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196-207 **GÜLŞEN DIŞLI**

WOMEN'S PRAYER SPACE
IN THE CASE STUDIES
OF THE HISTORIC MOSQUES
IN THREE BALKAN COUNTRIES

ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER
UDC 726.2(497)"14/18"

MOLITVENI PROSTOR
ZA ŽENE U PRIMJERIMA
POVIJESNIH DŽAMIJA
U TRI BALKANSKE DRŽAVE

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI ČLANAK
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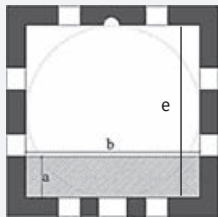
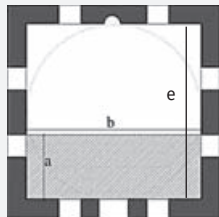
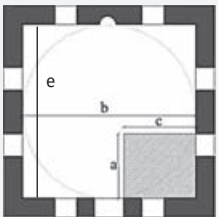
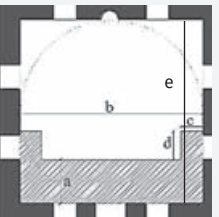
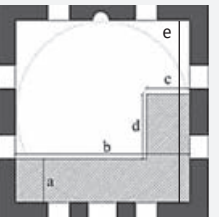
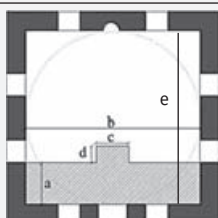
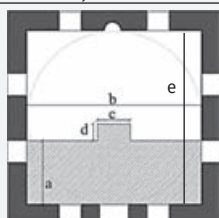
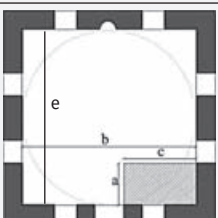
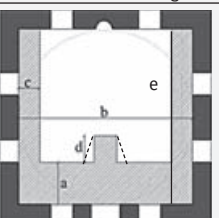
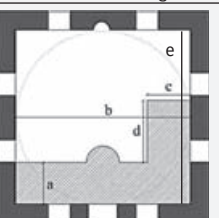
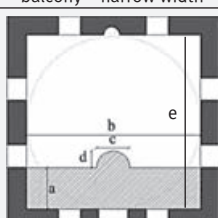
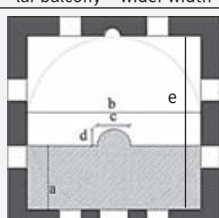
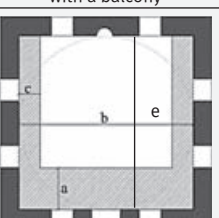
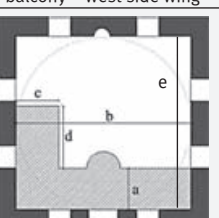
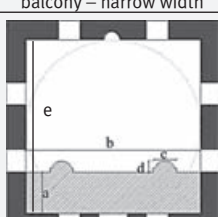
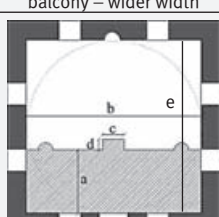
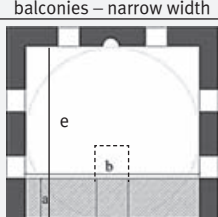
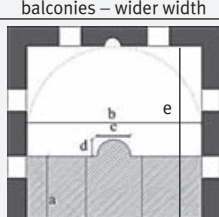





Type 1	Type 1-1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	
					
1 – Wps without a balcony – narrow width	1-1 – Wps without a balcony – wider width	2a – Wps on the northwest corner – wider width	3a – "U" type wps with short side wings	4a – "L" type wps – west side wing	
					
1a – Wps with rectangular balcony – narrow width	1-1a – Wps with rectangular balcony – wider width	2b – Wps on the northwest corner – narrow width	3b – "U" type wps with a balcony	4b – "L" type wps with a balcony – west side wing	
					
1b – Wps with a circular balcony – narrow width	1-1b – Wps with circular balcony – wider width		3c – "U" type wps	4c – "L" type wps with a balcony – east side wing	
					
1c – Wps with two circular balconies – narrow width	1-1c – Wps with three balconies – wider width				
					
1d – Wps with a raised central part – narrow width	1-1d – Wps with a raised central part – wider width				
<p><i>Maksura</i>, lying along the full length of the north wall with a narrow or wider width</p>  		<p><i>Maksura</i>, located on the northwest corner</p> 		<p>"U" type maksura</p> 	<p>"L" type maksura</p> 
K3/1d M6/1-1d		K16/2a		M7/3a	B17/4c*

TABLE I TYPOLOGY OF WOMEN'S PRAYER SPACE [WPS]/MAKSURAS IN HISTORIC CASE STUDY MOSQUES OF THREE BALKAN COUNTRIES
 TABL. I. TIPOLOGIJA MOLITVENIH PROSTORA ZA ŽENE [WPS]/MAKSURE U POVIJESNIM DŽAMIJAMA U TRI BALKANSKE DRŽAVE

* Photo Gazanfer Beg Mosque http://kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=50&lang=4&action=view&id=1827 [2.3.2015.]

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ARCHITECTURAL TYPOLOGY
BALKANS
HISTORIC MOSQUES
MAKSURA
WOMEN'S PRAYER SPACE

ARHITEKTONSKA TIPOLOGIJA
BALKAN
POVIJESNE DŽAMIJE
MAKSURA
MOLITVENI PROSTOR ZA ŽENE

Full or partial access of women to the mosque in various historical periods has influenced the architectural type and setup, especially in the mosque interiors in the form of women's prayer space (*maksura*) reserved for women. This study examines women's access to the mosque, particularly with emphasis on the architectural typology of women's prayer space in sixty mosques from 15th to 19th centuries located in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Macedonia as specific case studies, which has often remained relatively unrecognized.

Potpun ili djelomičan pristup žena u džamije u različitim je mjerilima i u različitim razdobljima utjecao na formiranje *maksure*, tj. molitvenog prostora namijenjenoga ženama u interijerima džamija koji se može smatrati specifičnim primjerom arhitektonske tipologije i prostorne organizacije. Ovaj se rad bavi analizom do sada relativno nepoznatih molitvenih prostora za žene u 60 džamija s osobitim osvrtom na njihovu arhitektonsku tipologiju. Analiza obuhvaća razdoblje od 15. do 19. stoljeća u Bosni i Hercegovini, Kosovu i Makedoniji.

INTRODUCTION

UVOD

Women's prayer spaces, namely the *maksuras* (area in a mosque screened off or partitioned off) reserved for women in the historic mosques, are among the parts that have undergone massive changes in due course, passing from destruction to reconstruction, to additions and extensions, to disuse and reuse, the reason of which might have been their indurable construction materials or weak construction techniques. Most analysis of women and the mosque has focused on the "historic perspective on segregation in mosques, gendering of space, women's right to use mosques, and Islamic Law history of women's mosque access".¹ There is also a growing tendency to work on this issue in contemporary mosques through more general aspects such as "spatial segregation, physical division, boundary and women, gender inequality, women's religious and spiritual leadership, and gender justice in a prayer".² Yet, very few researchers in these fields specialize exclusively in the architecture and quality of women's space and the study of its typology in historic mosques, let alone in the mosques of a specific region as Balkans.³

Accordingly, the lack of research on these specific prayer spaces lead to their inappropriate restoration and/or reconstruction, examples of which can be seen in case study mosques and in selected three countries of the Balkan peninsula.⁴ Yet, a critical element in any preservation is the need to assess the

type and condition of building elements which can provide a baseline for the comparison during their preservation or reconstruction. Therefore, this study first briefly outlines the history of women's access to the mosque, focusing particularly on its effect in architecture. After a brief examination of the literature on women and the mosque, it follows with a discussion of how women's access to the mosque affected the architecture as in the form of women's prayer space, either as constructed, reserved, or separated area. At this section, different functions of *maksuras* and their emergence were explained. The next section presents an assessment of *maksuras* in case study mosques of selected Balkan countries, used by women today, originally constructed either for *muezzins* (caller of Muslims to mosque for prayer) or for women, by describing and analyzing the typology of those women's spaces.⁵

WOMEN'S ACCESS TO THE MOSQUE: FROM PAST TO PRESENT

PRISTUP ŽENA U DŽAMIJE KROZ POVIJEST DO DANAŠNJIH DANA

In order to fully understand the emergence for women's prayer space as part of mosque's architectural form in selected Balkan countries one must first look at the historical context of women's attendance to the mosques and the issue of gender segregation in these religious spaces. In Islam, mosques are not only spaces for religious practices, but also for education, social, political, and charitable activities.⁶ Reda's and Hussain's researches provide a historic perspective on women's access to mosque in early Islam, explaining the lack of material and textual evidence with regard to gender segregation in mosques, such as walls or barriers, during the Prophetic period.⁷ It is further stated that from the reign of second Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab,

1 BUISSON, 2013: 99-122; HOLMES-KATZ, 2014; MELCHERT, 2006: 59-69; REDA, 2004: 78-97; SAYEED, 2001: 10

2 GABER, 2014: 1-7; ARYANTI, 2012: 177-190; BUISSON, 2013: 99-122; HAMMER, 2010: 26-54; KAHERA, 2013: 679-682; ESKANDARI, 2011; ESKANDARI, 2012: 1-9; WOODLOCK, 2010a: 51-60; WOODLOCK, 2010b: 265-278; HOEL, 2013: 25-41

3 KAHERA, *et al.*, 2009; AVCI-ERDEMLI, 2013: 113-128

4 For instance in Kosovo, Peć, Abdürrezzak Efendi Mosque, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bugojno, Sultan Ahmed II Mosque, and in Macedonia, Ohrid Ali Pasha Mosque the *maksura* were totally reconstructed in a new style or with new material as concrete.

5 The author would like to thank to Prof. Dr. Orhan Cezmi Tuncer for all his invaluable suggestions and critical review on the subject matter.

6 KURAN, 1969: 1; ÖZALOĞLU, GÜREL, 2011: 337

7 ABBOT, 1942: 111; HUSSAIN, 2009: 54; REDA, 2004: 82

8 ABBOT, 1942: 114; HUSSAIN, 2009: 53-54; REDA, 2004: 77

9 ABBOT 1942: 106-126; AVCI-ERDEMLI, 2013: 113-128

the tradition changed; "total prevention of women from the mosque", "pro-segregation," and "anti-segregation" being the three major trends.⁸ Abbot's and Avci-Erdemli's works also examine the status of women in early periods of Islam addressing their right to attend the mosque for religious services without any discrimination.⁹ Ahmad and Aryanti, on the other hand, state that "instituting seclusion" did exist in Arabian territory during Prophet's time, relevant especially for His wives, and even far before Islam in Byzantium and Persian non-Muslim communities.¹⁰ In her studies, Aryanti further explains how this spatial and visual seclusion of women and quasi privilege of men, at the same time, provided freedom for women as the right for public attendance and thus "opportunities for her leadership" in the society.¹¹ Similarly, after a detailed research on early Islamic laws, Melchert argued that there were restrictions for women to go to the mosque even in medieval times and laws, among them Hanafi School being the least permissive and Hanbali the most. He also states that the degree of that restriction was still less than today.¹²

Above arguments demonstrate that there are different exegeses of Verses and Hadiths and scholarly disputes with regard to the history of women's access to the mosque that this study does not attempt to resolve. Instead, the study is limited to the question of how these Islamic laws and women's prayer practice at the mosques affected the architecture of those spaces. Even though there are narrations in important Hadith books concerning "separating the women from the men in the masjid (Why don't we leave this door /in the Masjid/ for the women?), women leaving their houses for the masjid, women's forming a separate line behind the men, rows for the women and their distance from the first row, and women leaving before men after the prayer", Hadiths do not directly restrict wom-

en's attendance to the mosque, yet they suggest the privacy of women.¹³ Thanks to those narrations, and to the scholarly research, it is understood that in Prophet's Mosque in Medina, there was a separate door for women's entrance called as Bab-an Nisa, which might be considered as the first architectural sign of women's seclusion in mosques, assigned for their privacy rather than prohibition.¹⁴

Maksuras, mezzanines, boundaries such as partition screens, curtains, ropes, and wooden balustrades/grilles/lattices in the mosques, balconies, or totally separate praying spaces reserved for women were the other architectural reflections of such segregation.¹⁵ For instance, in 870s, women's prayer space in the mosques was separated from the rest, by means of ropes tied between the columns by order of the governor in Mecca. Similarly, in Jerusalem, special *maksuras* for women were built inside the mosques, for which Aksâ Mosque can be given as an example with its three *maksuras* for women about 912-913.¹⁶ Masjid Kuwwat al-Islam (b. 1191) in Delhi is another early example; exhibiting architectural reflection of women's seclusion with its four-side mezzanine around the courtyard of the mosque allocated possibly for women.¹⁷ In two-storied mosques such as Afzal Khan's Mosque (b. 1653) and Anda Mosque (b. 1698), in Bijapur, similarly, the second floor was reserved for women as a separate prayer area.¹⁸ In some other examples, during the congregational prayers, women and men prayed on the same main prayer space, provided that women formed a distant row behind the men with or without partitions in-between, even in the mosques with *maksuras*. In nineteenth century, it was also common for women to use the main prayer space in addition to *maksuras* between the congregational prayers.¹⁹ As Holmes-Katz states, all those historic patterns demonstrating women's presence at the mosque for prayers or for social activities, though limited in number, time, and frequency, and rarely during the congregational prayers, suggest the gendering of activities as well as spaces at the mosques.²⁰

In consideration of today's boundaries separating women's prayer spaces in mosques, this subject is most aptly illustrated in the work of women scholars, which often draw attention to the poor quality of those spaces, gender inequality issues, and socio-spatial quality of mosques. Contributions range from mosques in Australia, Canada, and the United States to Indonesia, and Turkey.²¹ Research findings propose that cultural, traditional, social, regional, and religious forces are at work for the women's attendance and architectural composition of women's space at mosques in various ways.²² Dividing devices such as latticed screens, curtains, mez-



FIG. 1. KOSOVO, PRISTINA, SULTAN MEHMED II MOSQUE, WOODEN LATTICES AND CURTAINS AT WOMEN'S PRAYER SPACE; MACEDONIA, BITOLA, ĆIŠAK ĆELEBI MOSQUE, WOODEN SEPARATORS AT WOMEN'S SPACE, AND CURTAINS FOR WOMEN'S SEPARATION IN BITOLA, HAMZA BEG MOSQUE (FROM TOP TO BOTTOM)

SL. 1. KOSOVO, PRISTINA, DŽAMIJA SULTANA MEHMEDA II., DRVENE REŠETKE I ZAVJESE U MOLITVENOM PROSTORU ZA ŽENE; MAKEDONIJA, BITOLA, ĆIŠAK DŽAMIJA, DRVENE RAZDJELNICI U ŽENSKOM PROSTORU I ZAVJESE ZA ODVAJANJE ŽENA U BITOLI, HAMZA-BEGOVA DŽAMIJA (ODOZGO PREMA DOLJE)

10 AHMAD, 1986: 683; AHMAD, 1992; ARYANTI, 2012: 180

11 ARYANTI, 2013: ii, iii, 114

12 MELCHERT, 2006: 64, 69

13 QADHI, 2008: 284, 349-351, 372-374, 379, 404, 609-610; KASADAR, ŠENASLAN, 2007: 260

14 SÖYLEMEZOĞLU, 1954: 30

15 SAMB, 1991: 654-655

16 SAMB, 1991: 662

17 SAMB, 1991: 691

18 SAMB, 1991: 696

19 HOLMES-KATZ, 2014: 188

20 HOLMES-KATZ, 2014: 7

21 ARYANTI, 2012: 177-190; BUISSON, 2013: 99-122; ESKANDARI, 2011; ESKANDARI, 2012: 1-9; GABER, 2014: 1-7; HAMMER, 2010: 26-54; HUSSAIN 2009: 52-66; ÖZALOĞLU, GÜREL, 2011: 336-358; WOODLOCK, 2010a: 51-60; WOODLOCK 2010b: 265-278

22 KAHERA, et al., 2009; MAZUMDAR, MAZUMDAR, 2001: 302-324



FIG. 2. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, SARAJEVO, CAREVA/EMPEROR'S/FATIH MOSQUE, BUILT 1565, SEPARATE ENTRANCE AND SEPARATE PRAYER SPACE RESERVED FOR WOMEN, ATTACHED AT THE EAST SIDE OF THE MOSQUE IN 1848

SL. 2. BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA, SARAJEVO, DŽAMIJA CARA FATIHA II., SAGRAĐENA 1565., ODVOJENI ULAZ I ODVOJENI MOLITVENI PROSTOR REZERVIRAN ZA ŽENE, PRIDODAN UZ ISTOČNU STRANU DŽAMIJE 1848.

zanines, separate entrances, and spaces (mostly the basements or anterooms) are the most common ways to create constructed spaces for women, examples of which can also be seen in historic mosques of Balkans (Fig. 1, 2).²³

MAKSURA AS ARCHITECTURAL FORM OF SEGREGATION

MAKSURA KAO ARHITEKTONSKA FORMA RAZDVAJANJA

The *maksuras*, introduced at the beginning of Ummayyad period during 7th century, had several functions. They were reserved either for the rulers²⁴, for *muezzins*²⁵, or for women.²⁶ At the beginning, the *maksuras* were constructed mostly with a separate door as "an enclosed box or compartment in a mosque in order to protect the ruler from the hostile attacks during the prayer".²⁷ Later, this tradition spread through the whole Islam territory including Anatolia, such that Divriği Kale Mosque (b. 1180-1181), Divriği Great Mosque (b. 1228-1229), and Beyşehir Eşrefoğlu Mosque (b. 1297-1299) are known among the earliest examples in Anatolia, with a *maksuras* reserved for the Sultan, and there are many others built for the same function in Seljuk and Ottoman periods, the effects of which also observable in Balkans.²⁸ They either lie

on the ground or are raised, for which wood, stone, and iron were the primary materials of construction.²⁹

On the other hand, *makasîrs*, separate rooms or raised platforms shut off by partitions in a mosque were introduced for teaching, gathering, and women's praying, and were also often called as *maksura*. In addition, *maksura* was the name of the raised platform or balcony often located over the entrance to the mosque or on the north façade of it as a projection (often called as *mukebbire*), on which the *muezzin* repeated the words of the *imam* (prayer leader) during the prayer for the rear prayers (Fig. 3).³⁰

Due to the relative scarcity of archival and historic documents, the exact date for the first appearance and primary function of *maksuras* and *makasîrs*, whether initially built for women or for *muezzins* in the early mosques, is unknown. Similarly, due to their mix use (*maksuras* for *muezzins* were also assigned for the use of women out of prayer times), today in most of the historic mosques of Balkans and of Turkey, their original function is unidentified.³¹ Though it seems that the rulers and noble women used the balconies by the fourteenth century, it was only by the eighteenth century that the use of those balconies by women becomes a standard in major Ottoman mosques.³²

FIG. 3. MONTENEGRO, PLJEVLJA, HUSEIN PASHA MOSQUE, MAKSURA FOR THE MUEZZIN ON THE NORTHWEST CORNER, AND MUKEBBIRE ON THE NORTH FAÇADE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, BUGOJNO, SULTAN AHMED II MOSQUE AND CAREVA/EMPEROR'S/FATIH MOSQUE, AND MUKEBBIRE ABOVE THE ENTRANCE DOOR IN MACEDONIA, BITOLA, MEHMED EFENDI MOSQUE (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT)

SL. 3. CRNA GORA, PLJEVLJA, HUSEIN-PAŠINA DŽAMIJA, MAKSURA ZA MUJEZINA NA SJEVEROZAPADNOM UGLU I MUKEBBIRE (MALI BALKON) NA SJEVERNOM PROČELJU DŽAMIJE SULTANA AHMEDA II. U BUGOJNU, BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA I DŽAMIJA CARA FATIHA, TE MUKEBBIRE IZNAD ULAZNIH VRATA U MAKEDONIJI, BITOLI, MEHMED-EFENDIJIINA DŽAMIJA (S LIJEVA NA DESNO)



TABLE II TABLE SHOWING THE NAME, PERIOD, LOCATION (B – BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, K – KOSOVO, M – MACEDONIA), PLAN TYPE (SQUARE TYPE /S/, RECTANGULAR TYPE /R/, T TYPE /T/), AND CURRENT CONDITION (U – USED, UR – UNDER RESTORATION, NE – NOT-EXISTENT, R – RESTORED/RECONSTRUCTED) OF CASE STUDY MOSQUES AND TYPOLOGIES OF THEIR WOMEN'S PRAYER SPACES (FOR DIFFERENT TYPOLOGIES OF WOMEN'S PRAYER SPACES [WPS]/MAKSURAS SEE TABLE I)

Tabl. II. Tablica pokazuje naziv, vremenski period, lokaciju (B – Bosna i Hercegovina, K – Kosovo, M – Makedonija), tip tlocrta (kvadratičan /S/, pravokutan /R/, T tip /T/) te sadašnje stanje (U – korišteno, UR – restauracija u tijeku, NE – nepostojeće, R – restaurirano /rekonstruirano) džamija koje su predmet analize te tipologije njihovih molitvenih prostora za žene (za različite tipologije takvih prostora [WPS]/maksure v. tablicu I.)

Code of the mosque	Typology of women's space	Plan type of the mosque	Name of the Mosque (M.)	Period	Country/City	Condition	Code of the mosque	Typology of women's space	Plan type of the mosque	Name of the Mosque (M.)	Period	Country/City	Condition
B1	1-1	S	Čekrekci Muslihudin M.	16 th	Bosnia and H. /Sarajevo	U	K6	1	S	Hadži Kasim M.	16 th	“ /Prizren	U
B2	1-1a	S	Sultan Selim II. M.	16 th	“ /Knežina	NE	K7	1-1	S	Sinan Pasha M.	16 th	“ /Kačanik	U
B3	1-1b	S	Kursumljija M.	16 th	“ /Kladanj	R	K8	1a	S	Hadim M.	16 th	“ /Cakova	R
B4	2a	S	Arnaudija M.	16 th	“ /Banja Luka	NE	K9	1a	S	Emir Alaaddin M.	16 th	“ /Pristina	U
B5	2b	S	Careva/Sultan Suleiman M.	16 th	“ /Blagaj	U	K10	1b	S	İlyas Kuka M.	16 th	“ /Prizren	U
B6	2b	S	Aladza M.	16 th	“ /Foca	UR	K11	1b	S	Kukli Mehmedbeg	16 th	“ /Prizren	U
B7	2b	S	Musluk M.	16 th	“ /Foca	R	K12	1d	S	Defterdar M.	16 th	“ /Pec	R
B8	2b	S	Kursumljija M.	16 th	“ /Maglaj	R	K13	2b	S	Gazi Mehmed Pasha M.	16 th	“ /Prizren	U
B9	2b	S	Karadžobeg M.	16 th	“ /Mostar	R	K14	3a	S	Süzi Çelebi M.	16 th	“ /Prizren	U
B10	2b	S	Hadži Alija M.	16 th	“ /Pocitelj	R	K15	1d	S	Kursumljija M.	17 th	“ /Pec	R
B11	2b	S	Jeni-Hasan Aga M.	16 th	“ /Travnik	R	K16	2a	T	Sufi Sinan Pasha M.	17 th	“ /Prizren	R
B12	2b	T	Ferhadija M.	16 th	“ /Sarajevo	R	K17	1a	S	Hadži Ömer M.	18 th	“ /Cakova	U
B13	2b	S	Careva/Emperor's/Fatih M.	16 th	“ /Sarajevo	R	K18	1b	S	İskender Beg M.	18 th	“ /Prizren	U
B14	2b	S	Sinan Beg M.	16 th	“ /Čajnice	NE	K19	1	S	Pehlivan Meydan M.	19 th	“ /Pec	R
B15	2b	S	Balagusa M.	16 th	“ /Livno	R	K20	1	R	Gazi Ali Beg M.	19 th	“ /Vushtri	U
B16	4a	S	White (Bijela) M.	16 th	“ /Sarajevo	U	K21	1a	R	Abdürrezzak Efendi M.	19 th	“ /Pec	R
B17	4c	S	Gazanfer Beg M.	16 th	“ /Banja Luka	R	K22	1a	S	Kosar M.	19 th	“ /Cakova	U
B18	1-1b	R	Jalska M.	17 th	“ /Tuzla	U	K23	1-1a	S	Mahmud Pasha M.	19 th	“ /Cakova	U
B19	2b	S	Koski Mehmed Pasha M.	17 th	“ /Mostar	U	K24	1d	R	Taftali M.	19 th	“ /Pec	U
B20	4a	S	Behram Efendi M.	17 th	“ /Banja Luka	R	K25	1d	S	Yasar Pasha M.	19 th	“ /Pristina	UR
B21	1-1a	S	Hadži Hasan M.	19 th	“ /Tuzla	U	K26	2b	T	Emin Pasha M.	19 th	“ /Prizren	R
B22	3b	R	Hadži Ali Beg M.	19 th	“ /Travnik	U	M1	1a	R	Hünkar M.	15 th	“ /Debar	U
B23	3b	R	Suleiman Pasha M.	19 th	“ /Travnik	U	M2	3a	S	Ali Pasha M.	15 th	Macedonia/Ohrid	U
B24	3c	R	Sukiye/Čarsija M.	19 th	“ /Maglaj	U	M3	1a	S	Mustafa Pasha M.	16 th	“ /Skopje	R
B25	4b	S	Hussein Kaptan M.	19 th	“ /Gradacac	R	M4	1c	S	Ishak Chelebi M.	16 th	“ /Bitola	R
K1	1d	S	Bulazade Hasan Beg M.	15 ^h	Kosovo /Pec	R	M5	1-1c	S	Sultan Murad M.	16 th	“ /Skopje	U
K2	1d	R	Fatih/Bajrakli M.	15 th	“ /Pec	R	M6	1-1d	S	Yahya Pasha M.	16 th	“ /Skopje	U
K3	1d	S	Sultan Mehmed II. M.	15 th	“ /Pristina	R	M7	3a	S	Murad Pasha M.	16 th	“ /Skopje	U
K4	1d	S	Sultan Murad/Čarsija/Fatih M.	15 th	“ /Pristina	UR	M8	1	S	Zeynel Abidin M.	17 th	“ /Ohrid	U
K5	1	S	Ramadanije/Lap M.	16 th	“ /Pristina	U	M9	1b	T	Hamza Beg M.	17 th	“ /Bitola	R

According to Çam, if a *maksura* has a balcony like projection at its front (for the *muezzin*) or if there is *Ya Bilal-i Habeşî* written calligraphy on the wall of the mosque, through which the

maksura lies, it is originally constructed for the *muezzin* during the prayer times and also used for women out of those times.³³ All above scholarship demonstrate that we still know surprisingly little about *maksuras* reserved for *muezzins* and for women, which might be the reason for the neglect of the subject, though its obvious importance.

23 In Sarajevo, Careva (Emperor's/Fatih) Mosque, today women use the left wing addition to the mosque added in 1848, measuring 4,47×12,74 m, instead of the *maksura* at the main prayer hall.

24 SUDALI, 1958; ÖNGE, 1969: 8-9-20; ÇETINASLAN, 2013; ÇALIŞKAN, 2010: 61-74

25 ÇAM, 1995: 541-555

26 ÇETINASLAN, 2005; ÇAMAY, 1989

27 ARSEVEN, 1950: 1260; UGAN, 1954: 35-37, 105, 662

28 TANMAN, 2003: 662, 680

29 TANMAN, 2003: 662, 680

30 TANMAN, 2003: 662, 680; ÇAM, 1995: 543

31 ÇAM, 1995: 543

32 HOLMES-KATZ, 2014: 187

33 ÇAM, 1995: 544

WOMEN'S PRAYER SPACES IN THE CASE STUDIES OF THE HISTORIC MOSQUES IN THREE BALKAN COUNTRIES: AN EVALUATION AND DISCUSSION

MOLITVENI PROSTORI U POVIJESNIM DŽAMIJAMA U TRI BALKANSKE DRŽAVE: EVALUACIJA I DISKUSIJA

Many scholars have done important contributions particularly on the inventories of the



FIG. 4. DIFFERENT MAKSURAS OBSERVED IN PRIZREN, EMIN PASHA MOSQUE, PRISTINA, SULTAN MEHMED II MOSQUE, AND SKOPJE, ALACA MOSQUE, AND MUSTAFA PASHA MOSQUE (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT)

SL. 4. RAZLIČITE MAKSURE: EMIN-PAŠINA DŽAMIJA U PRIZRENU, DŽAMIJA SULTANA MEHMEDA II. U PRISTINI I ALADŽA DŽAMIJA I MUSTAFA-PAŠINA DŽAMIJA U SKOPJU (S LIJEVA NA DESNO)

historic mosques still existent in Balkans³⁴, and even on the Ottoman women in Balkans.³⁵ Yet, little historical data exists to provide information on the architecture of women's prayer spaces in those historic mosques. This article, therefore, different from the existent literature, identifies and describes the women's prayer spaces, namely the *maksura*, as a special part of the mosque building, with a particular attention to their typologies.

As one of the objectives of this study was to identify different and primary types of *maksuras* from most important monuments located in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Macedonia chosen as the case countries, in total sixty mosques, from 15th to 19th centuries, were evaluated in terms of their women's prayer spaces. Twenty-five mosques from Bosnia and Herzegovina (B), twenty-six mosques from Kosovo (K), and nine mosques from Macedonia (M) constitute the base of the research. As shown in Table II, the initials (B, K and M) of location country were used for coding of the mosques. First, they were listed alphabetically (B1-B25, K1-K26, M1-M9) and then chronologically according to their construction period. If the mosques in the same country share the same construction period, they were listed according to typology of their women's prayer space, namely, the *maksura* Type 1 was listed at the first rows compared to Type 4 (Table I and Table II). Case study mosques are classified into three groups according to their plan types as "square type (S)", "rectangular type (R)", or "T type (T)"; only four of them are in T type, nine are in rectangular plan, and the rest lie on a square base.³⁶ Some of those mosques are not existent, totally destroyed/demolished/dynamited (NE), during the war in 1990s or earlier, some are under restoration (UR) or restored/

reconstructed (R), and some others are damaged waiting to be restored or used in their original function (U). (Fig. 4; Table II).³⁷

For the non-existent mosques and for the ones, whose *maksura* was totally reconstructed in a new style or with different materials during the restorations/interventions, their original style was detected from archival and historic sources and used for the typology study. For instance, in Bugojno, Sultan Ahmed II Mosque and Ohrid, Ali Pasha Mosque (M2/3a) *maksuras* were replaced with concrete columns and with iron and wooden balustrades (Fig. 5).

According to their form and location inside the mosque, *maksura* types can be divided into four main groups; women's prayer space (wps)/*maksura* lying along the full length of the north wall of the mosque, with a narrow or wider width ("a") (Type 1 and Type 1-1), women's prayer space (wps)/*maksura* located on the northwest corner of the mosque (Type 2), "U" type *maksura* (wps) (Type 3), and "L" type *maksura* (wps) (Type 4; Table I). In addition to these four main *maksura* arrangements, are there also eighteen sub-categories divided according to the existence, number, and form (rectangular or circular) of front balconies/projections. Of the sixty *maksuras* being studied, stone, marble, and wood are the primary construction materials, the later comprising the largest number, which might be one of the reasons for their faster destruction (Table III). Names, periods, current conditions, and locations of the case study mosques and various *maksura* types observed in those mosques are presented in Table I, and their approximate interior dimensions including the dimensions of women's prayer spaces are shown in Table IV.

FIG. 5. CURRENT MAKSURAS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, BUGOJNO, SULTAN AHMED II MOSQUE, MACEDONIA, OHRID, ALI PASHA AND HADŽI DURGUT MOSQUES, AND BITOLA, HAMZA BEG MOSQUE (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT)

SL. 5. DANAŠNJE MAKSURE U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI, U BUGOJNU, U DŽAMIJI SULTANA AHMEDA II., U MAKEDONIJI, U OHRIDU, U ALI PAŠINOJ I HADŽI DURGUT DŽAMIJI, TE HAMZA-BEGOVOJ DŽAMIJI U BITOLI (S LIJEVA NA DESNO)



Maksuras in oldest surviving mosques from 15th century in selected Balkan countries, including Sultan Mehmed II. Mosque (K3/1d) (Pristina), Sultan Murad/Čarsija/Fatih Mosque (K4/1d) (Pristina), Fatih Mosque (K2/1d) (Pec), Bulazade Hasan Beg Mosque (K1/1d) (Pec), Ali Pasha Mosque (M2/3a) (Ohrid), and Hûnkar Mosque (M1/1a) (Debar), are all constructed with wood except for Fatih Mosque (K2/1d) (Pec), and lie along the full length of the north wall of the mosque with varying widths ("a") ranging between 2,23-2,90 m (Table III and IV). In the 16th century, *maksuras* experienced new styles and continued to be used in later periods and almost all the *maksuras* in "Type 2" are built either with stone or marble with a few wooden exceptions. In this century, *maksura* widths ("a") showed a great variety allowing one (below 2,00 m – examples: K6/1 and K10/1b) to three rows (above 4,00 m – example: M5/1-1c) of prayer spaces at the same time (Table IV).³⁸

Reviewing Tables II, III and IV, it becomes clear that there is no strong break between the 16th century and later period *maksuras* in terms of architectural typology and material, also that all three case study neighboring regions deeply influenced each other comprising fairly similar *maksuras*. Since dimensions and proportions are two important elements in a typology study, approximate areas of women's prayer spaces are also compared with the total interior prayer area of the mosque. The study showed that in nearly half

TABLE III TABLE SHOWING THE CONSTRUCTION MATERIAL OF THE WOMEN PRAYER SPACES IN CASE STUDY MOSQUES (CODES&TYPES REPRESENT THE CODE OF THE MOSQUE AND TYPOLOGY OF WOMEN'S PRAYER SPACE SHOWN IN TABLES I AND II)
TABL. III. TABLICA POKAZUJE GRAĐEVINSKI MATERIJAL MOLITVENOG PROSTORA ZA ŽENE U DŽAMIJAMA (OZNAKE CODES&TYPES PREDSTAVLJAJU ŠIFRU DŽAMIJE I TIP MOLITVENOG PROSTORA ZA ŽENE U TABLICAMA I. I II.)

Code & type	Stone/marble	Wood	Code & type	Stone/Marble	Wood	Code & type	Stone/marble	Wood	Code & type	Stone/marble	Wood
B1/1-1		√	B16/4a		√	K6/1		√	K21/1a		√
B2/1-1a		√	B17/4c		√	K7/1-1		√	K22/1a		√
B3/1-1b		√	B18/1-1b		√	K8/1a		√	K23/1-1a		√
B4/2a		√	B19/2b	√		K9/1a		√	K24/1d		√
B5/2b		√	B20/4a		√	K10/1b		√	K25/1d		√
B6/2b	√		B21/1-1a		√	K11/1b		√	K26/2b	√	
B7/2b	√		B22/3b		√	K12/1d		√	M1/1a		√
B8/2b	√		B23/3b		√	K13/2b		√	M2/3a		√
B9/2b	√		B24/3c		√	K14/3a		√	M3/1a		√
B10/2b	√		B25/4b		√	K15/1d		√	M4/1c		√
B11/2b	√		K1/1d		√	K16/2a	√		M5/1-1c		√
B12/2b	√		K2/1d	√		K17/1a		√	M6/1-1d		√
B13/2b	√		K3/1d		√	K18/1b		√	M7/3a		√
B14/2b	√		K4/1d		√	K19/1		√	M8/1		√
B15/2b	√		K5/1		√	K20/1		√	M9/1b		√

of the case study mosques mostly from 15th and 19th centuries, the ratio of women's prayer space to the whole prayer area ranges between 20-30%, following it the ones below 10% and between 30-40% percent, respectively (Table IV and V). As can also be seen from Table V, in almost all case study mosques, women's prayer space is smaller than men's, which is a common tradition³⁹, and the ones with ratio of women's prayer space to the main prayer hall above 40% is most common especially in 19th century mosques. This can be explained to some extent that in case study mosques, women could attend to the Friday prayers only at some specific mosques such as Careva/Emperor's/Fatih Mosque (B13/2b) and Gazi Husrev Beg Mosque in Sarajevo (Fig. 2), most frequently during the Ramadan for night prayers and rather less for daily prayers.⁴⁰ The increasing base areas of women prayer spaces especially in 19th century, on the other hand, can be seen as the sign of increasing number of women attendance to the mosque as well as developments in architectural programme of *maksuras*.

Among the studied *maksuras*, the ones in Gazanfer Beg Mosque (B17/4c) in Banja Luka, Hussein Kaptan Mosque (B25/4b) in Gradačac, Ishak Celebi Mosque (M4/1c) in Bitola, and Sultan Murad Mosque (M5/1-1c) in Skopje represent one of a kind with their unique architectural types, differentiated from others with their shape and number of balcony projections. If there is no specifically reserved area for women inside a mosque, either the late comers portico partitioned with (Bitola, Hatuniye Mosque and Sarajevo, Gazi Husrev Beg Mosque) or without (Bitola, Hasan Baba Mosque) curtains or wooden

34 AYVERDI, 2000a; AYVERDI, 2000b; AYVERDI, 2000c; AYVERDI, 2000d; YÜCEL, 1991; PASIC, 1994; TURAN, İBRAHİMİGİL, 2004; GERÖ, 1976; ÖZER, 2006; İSEN, 2005; KIEL, 2000; KONUK, 2008; İBRAHİMİGİL, KONUK, 2006

35 BUTUROVIC, SCHICK, 2007

36 Plan type of a mosque is considered to be "square type" if the difference between the width and depth dimensions of the mosque is less than 1,00 m.

37 For instance for the totally destructed mosques in Foča, Bosnia and Herzegovina, see NEMLIOĞLU, 1996. Among the totally destructed mosques, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Banja Luka, Ferhat Pasha Mosque and Pocičelji, Hadzi Alija Mosque were recently reconstructed and Foča, Aladza Mosque is under reconstruction. Macedonia, Bitola, Haydar Kadi Mosque, Kosovo, Pristina, Yasar Pasha Mosque are under restoration and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mostar, Karadžozbeg Mosque, Maglaj, Kursumlija/Kalavun Yusuf Pasha Mosque, Kosovo, Prizren, Sinan Pasha Mosque, Pristina, Sultan Mehmed II Mosque, Macedonia, Skopje Mustafa Pasha Mosque, and Bitola, Ishak Celebi Mosque have been recently restored. In addition, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Čajnice, Sinan Beg Mosque, Kosovo, Pristina, Emir Alaaddin Mosque, Vushtri, Gazi Ali Beg Mosque, and Cakova, Kosar Mosques are planned to be restored or reconstructed by Turkish Republic, Directorate General of Foundations.

38 Approximate width ("a") of a row needed during the prayer is 1,50 m and approximate dimensions of prayer space required per woman during the prayer are 0,50x1,50 m (depth x width). For more detailed information see ESKANDARI, 2011: 66-67.

39 ÖZALOĞLU, GÜREL, 2011

40 This information became public to the author during an interview with Macedonia, Bitola Mufti and with the imam of Ohrid, Ali Pasha Mosque in March and April 2015.



FIG. 6. WOMEN'S PRAYER SPACES IN MACEDONIA, BITOLA, HATUNIYE MOSQUE, ISHAK CELEBI MOSQUE, HASAN BABA MOSQUE, AND IN TETOVO, SERENA/ALACA MOSQUE (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT)

SL. 6. ŽENSKI MOLITVENI PROSTORI U MAKEDONIJI U BITOLI, HATUNIYE DŽAMIJI, ISAK DŽAMIJI, HASAN-BABINOJ DŽAMIJI I U TETOVU, SERENA/ALACA DŽAMIJI (S LIJEVA NA DESNO)

screen, back rows of the main prayer space, or the second floor of the late comers portico with projecting balconies (Tetovo, Serena/Alaca Mosque) are used for women during the prayer times (Fig. 6). Even in some cases, such as Ishak Celebi (M₄/1c) and Hamza Beg Mosques (M₉/1b) in Bitola, which have *maksuras*, reserved spaces partitioned with curtains at latecomer's portico instead of interior *maksuras* are used for women.

CONCLUSION

ZAKLJUČAK

Balkan Peninsula, located on southeast Europe, had an important geopolitical location and was under considerable power of Byzantine and Latin feudal lords at the time of Ottoman arrival.⁴¹ The Peninsula has a long history with its rich historic monuments and cultural landscape including Islamic religious architecture, yet, they are disappearing gradually. Ottoman penetration began in the Balkans in mid-fourteenth century, and so did the effect of Islamic art and architecture in the area, among them mosques being at the first place.⁴² During its approximately 550-year rule of Balkans, Ottoman Empire built mosques, *hans* (buildings for housing a caravan), *hammams* (public baths), and *madrasas* (theological schools) in the entire peninsula as can still be seen in many surviving works, despite the destruction of several hundred. Among them, literature on historic mosques of Balkan countries helps us understand several dimensions of those monuments ranging from their history, founder, and architectural features to wall paintings. Yet, very few researches specialized exclusively in the architecture and quality of women's space and the study of its typology in historic mosques, let alone in the mosques of a specific region as Balkans.⁴³ Accordingly, the lack of research on these specific prayer spaces lead to their inappropriate restoration and/or reconstruction, examples of which can be seen in case study mosques.

This study, therefore, aimed to provide a broader perspective in Islamic religious ar-

chitecture of the peninsula in the historic process of time by forming its relation with women's prayer space, whose primary function in the mosque was religious activities, as well existed as the result of especially education and social activities of women. First, the study briefly outlined the history of women's access to the mosque, focusing particularly on its effect in architecture either as constructed, reserved, or separated spaces. The research, then, analyzed architectural reflection of women's attendance to mosques and formal aspects of women's prayer spaces, namely, *maksuras* by identifying both common elements and variations in styles. For instance, *maksuras*, mezzanines, boundaries such as partition screens, curtains, ropes, and wooden balustrades/grilles/lattices in the mosques, balconies, or totally separate praying spaces reserved for women, were examples of architectural reflections of women segregation in historic mosques.⁴⁴ Different functions of *maksuras* in the history and their emergence were also explained.

The current study, which summarizes four major *maksura* types (Table I), also indicates practical and detailed indicators such as dimensions, local construction materials, proportions, current condition of women's prayer spaces and mosques, as well as the ratio between the size of the *maksura* and the size of the mosque. There are primarily three different plan types observable in case study sixty historic mosques of three Balkan countries, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Macedonia, which are square type, rectangular type, and T type. Among them, square type is the most common mosque plan type observed in different periods. Of the sixty mosques, six are from the 15th century and the rest are built in 16th to 19th centuries. The architectural styles of women prayer spaces in these case study mosques are classified into four main groups with eighteen sub-groups based on their spatial scheme, loca-

⁴¹ KARPAT, 2004: 525

⁴² INALCIK, 2009: 49-52

TABLE IV TABLE SHOWING THE APPROXIMATE INTERIOR DIMENSIONS AND THE DIMENSIONS OF WOMEN'S PRAYER SPACES OF THE MOSQUES BEING STUDIED – WS – AREA OF WOMEN'S PRAYER SPACE; M – AREA OF MOSQUE (DIMENSIONS: A /WIDTH/, B /LENGTH/, C,D,E AND THE CODES&TYPES REPRESENT THE ONES SHOWN IN TABLES I AND II).

TABL. IV. TABLICA POKAZUJE PROSJEČNE DIMENZIJE INTERIJERA KAO I DIMENZIJE MOLITVENIH PROSTORA ZA ŽENE U DŽAMIJAMA – WS – POVRŠINA ŽENSKOG PROSTORA ZA MOLITVU; M – POVRŠINA DŽAMIJE (DIMENZIJE: A /ŠIRINA/, B /DUŽINA/, C,D,E I OZNAKE CODES&TYPES PREDSTAVLJUJU ONE IZ TABLICA I. I II.)

Code & Type	≈Dimensions (m)					≈Area(m ²)		Code & Type	≈Dimensions (m)					≈Area (m ²)	
	a	b	c	d	e	WS	M		a	b	c	d	e	WS	M
B1/1-1	2,53	7,80	–	–	8,00	20	62	K6/1	1,67	7,66	–	–	7,53	13	58
B2/1-1a	2,70	8,25	1,66	0,51	8,25	23	68	K7/1-1	3,36	10,25	–	–	10,25	34	105
B3/1-1b	2,60	7,67	1,08	0,61	7,51	21	58	K8/1a	2,55	12,40	2,25	0,87	12,30	34	153
B4/2a	2,12	8,44	3,39	–	8,44	7	71	K9/1a	2,57	10,14	2,45	0,41	9,48	27	96
B5/2b	3,00	10,85	4,30	–	10,80	13	117	K10/1b	1,49	7,96	2,07	0,67	7,97	13	63
B6/2b	2,56	11,39	4,35	–	11,39	11	130	K11/1b	2,51	7,03	1,06	0,50	7,17	18	50
B7/2b	1,97	10,55	4,27	–	9,75	8	103	K12/1d	2,03	9,50	2,10	1,00	9,35	21	89
B8/2b	2,60	12,40	4,29	–	12,60	11	156	K13/2b	2,97	13,35	4,95	–	13,20	15	176
B9/2b	2,35	10,80	4,00	–	10,80	9	117	K14/3a	2,23	8,60	1,51	0,86	8,60	23	74
B10/2b	2,33	9,73	3,50	–	9,73	8	95	K15/1d	2,90	11,85	–	–	11,50	34	136
B11/2b	2,60	9,80	4,20	–	9,60	11	94	K16/2a	3,86	13,95	5,87	–	14,25	23	199
B12/2b	2,63	10,90	4,50	–	11,20	12	122	K17/1a	2,77	8,97	2,03	0,60	9,02	26	81
B13/2b	2,55	13,16	5,00	–	13,20	13	174	K18/1b	3,35	8,60	1,80	0,90	8,63	30	74
B14/2b	2,63	10,97	4,25	–	10,97	11	120	K19/1	1,70	8,60	–	–	8,60	15	74
B15/2b	2,30	8,47	3,40	–	8,53	8	72	K20/1	1,56	6,79	–	–	7,81	11	53
B16/4a	2,94	9,25	3,72	1,75	10,12	34	94	K21/1a	2,35	7,80	1,42	0,55	9,60	19	75
B17/4c	2,95	10,60	2,23	2,98	10,70	38	113	K22/1a	1,90	8,15	1,77	0,80	9,10	17	74
B18/1-1b	2,87	9,55	1,29	0,60	8,60	28	82	K23/1-1a	2,54	8,80	2,35	0,83	9,20	24	81
B19/2b	2,33	10,10	3,55	–	10,10	8	102	K24/1d	2,48	6,93	–	–	9,48	17	66
B20/4a	2,73	6,05	1,90	0,48	6,85	17	41	K25/1d	1,63	9,68	3,15	0,97	9,68	19	94
B21/1-1a	3,31	11,57	2,19	0,73	11,98	40	139	K26/2b	2,31	9,23	3,34	–	9,20	8	85
B22/3b	4,56	13,73	2,63	1,20	16,65	127	220	M1/1a	2,90	7,57	–	–	10,86	22	82
B23/3b	3,20	14,20	2,65	1,00	16,50	117	234	M2/3a	2,73	12,45	1,74	1,53	12,50	42	156
B24/3c	2,25	9,50	2,00	–	10,70	55	102	M3/1a	3,03	16,40	3,41	0,80	16,52	52	271
B25/4b	2,40	11,20	2,23	2,56	11,23	33	126	M4/1c	2,40	14,60	2,98	1,16	14,54	39	212
K1/1d	2,47	10,23	–	–	9,40	25	96	M5/1-1c	5,28	24,05	2,50	0,85	24,28	130	584
K2/1d	2,23	7,29	–	–	9,59	16	70	M6/1-1d	4,06	17,95	2,91	0,97	18,00	74	323
K3/1d	2,54	14,00	–	–	13,98	36	196	M7/3a	4,27	12,96	3,30	4,88	19,90	83	258
K4/1d	2,79	10,30	–	–	10,45	29	108	M8/1	1,94	7,90	–	–	7,95	15	63
K5/1	1,90	9,15	–	–	9,17	17	84	M9/1b	1,48	8,90	2,00	0,48	8,90	14	79

tions inside the mosque, and existence and number of balcony projections, determined by means of *in situ* analysis, literature survey, and comparative studies (Table I). Of the sixty case study mosques in three Balkan countries, most of them are used in their original function, three are not existent and three are under restoration (Table II) and construction materials of *maksuras* in those mosques are stone, marble or wood, which is the most common material (Table III).

Thanks to the case studies, it became possible to better understand the different typologies of *maksuras*, either damaged or totally destroyed, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Macedonia, experienced violent war damages, during which most of the mosques,

as well as the archives were wiped out. The study on Balkan mosques and their *maksuras* not only illustrates undiscovered information about their typologies with regard to formal and proportional changes that can be used to explore the others in the South-eastern Europe, they also display historic phases in the region, which can inform conservation efforts. Thus, all allows the preservationist and designers to make comparison during decision making for the correct intervention and/or reconstruction of those and other *maksuras* of historic mosques in Balkans, as well as to draw a guideline to application of choices as different models for the new projects inspired by the historic ones. This study also leads to another important conclusion in case study mosques; pointing to the smaller and separated spaces allocated for women as the continuation of tradition in many other Muslim communities.

TABLE V TABLE SHOWING THE RATIO OF WS-AREA OF WOMEN'S PRAYER SPACE AND M-AREA OF MOSQUE
TABL. V. TABLICA POKAZUJE OMIJER WS – POVRŠINE ŽENSKOG MOLITVENOG PROSTORA I M – POVRŠINE DŽAMIJE

Ratio % WS/M area	#	Most common types of women prayer spaces in this range	Most common period of the mosques in this range
Below 10%	12	2a, 2b	16 th century
10-20%	7	2b	16 th century
20-30%	25	1, 1a, 1d	15 th and 19 th century
30-40%	11	1-1, 1-1b	16 th century
Above 40%	5	3b	19 th century

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SOURCES

İZVORI

ILLUSTRATION SOURCES

İZVORI ILUSTRACIJA

FIG. 1, 6 Photo: author, 2011, 2015

FIG. 2 Photo: author, 2011

FIG. 3, 5 Photo: author, 2009, 2015

FIG. 4 Photo: author, 2011, 2013, 2015

SUMMARY

SAŽETAK

MOLITVENI PROSTOR ZA ŽENE U PRIMJERIMA POVIJESNIH DŽAMIJA U TRI BALKANSKE DRŽAVE

Balkanski je poluotok, kao specifična tranzicijska regija, oduvijek bio središte utjecaja brojnih civilizacija koje su na ovim prostorima slijedile jedna iza druge, npr. civilizacije antičke Grčke i Rima, bizantska i turska. Njihov je utjecaj na društvene, kulturne i religijske institucije na Balkanu bio značajan, što je posljedično utjecalo i na povijest arhitekture u toj regiji. Tijekom svoje duge povijesti Balkanski je poluotok svojim položajem u jugoistočnoj Europi bio jedinstveno područje civilizacijskih dodira, budući da se preko njega širio ranokršćanski i islamski utjecaj, o čemu svjedoči bogato naslijeđe povijesnih spomenika. Moć Turskoga Carstva snažno se osjecala u svim sferama života na poluotoku između sredine 14. i početka 20. stoljeća, a osobito u političkoj, društvenoj, kulturnoj i religijskoj. Turska osvajanja ostavila su značajan trag u umjetnosti i arhitekturi, pri čemu valja izdvojiti arhitekturu džamija kao najtipičniju formu islamskoga graditeljstva.

Brojni znanstvenici istraživali su povijesne spomenike Balkana na samome terenu te došli do važnih arhivskih, arhitektonskih i povijesnih podataka o njima, uključujući i povijesne džamije. Ipak, ti su podaci većinom temeljeni na inventarizaciji džamija, pri čemu se molitveni prostori za žene uglavnom ne spominju, dok su neki podaci prilično zastarjeli. Nije, naime, bilo dovoljno interesa za istraživanje pristupa žena u džamije, a posljedično i na uređenje njihovih interijera. S obzirom na nedostatak publikacija o toj temi, ovo je istraživanje usmjereno na analizu razvoja ženskih molitvenih prostora kao arhitektonske forme. Analiza obuhvaća šezdeset povijesnih džamija u trima balkanskim državama: Bosni i Hercegovini, Kosovu i Makedoniji. Ove džamije više ne postoje ili su razrušene, oštećene ili u postupku restauracije i rekonstrukcije, dok one koje su u dobrom stanju ili tek manje oštećene i dalje služe svojoj prvobitnoj

namjeni. Arhitektonski stilovi tih džamija klasificirani su u tri glavna tipa na osnovi forme: kvadratične, pravokutne ili džamije T-forme, ovisno o prostornoj shemi utvrđenoj terenskom analizom te arhivskim i povijesnim istraživanjem.

Nadalje, s obzirom na uništavanje islamske sakralne arhitekture na Balkanu zbog ratnih razaranja ili političkih nestabilnosti tijekom 20. stoljeća, a osobito tijekom 90-ih godina 20. stoljeća, ovim se radom nastoji utvrditi tipologija ženskih molitvenih prostora u šezdeset povijesnih džamija sagrađenih između 15. i 19. stoljeća. Iako one pokazuju neke promjene tijekom vremena, osobito u pogledu funkcije i osnovnih arhitektonskih obilježja, cilj je ovoga rada omogućiti širi uvid u sakralnu arhitekturu poluotoka kroz povijest, te osobito u ženske molitvene prostore i njihov utjecaj u arhitekturi. Pristup žena u džamije utjecao je na formiranje molitvenih prostora rezerviranih za žene u interijerima džamija, poznatih pod nazivom *maksura*. Kako bi se točno objasnio pojam *maksure*, rad obrađuje i povijest pristupa žena u džamije te posljedičan utjecaj na formiranje i funkciju takvih prostora, bilo da se radi o posebno izgrađenim prostorima ili rezerviranim prostorima, ili pak odvojenim prostorima. Donosi se i pregled literature o razdvajanju spolova u džamijama. Nedostatak istraživanja o ovim specifičnim prostorima doveo je do njihove neadekvatne restauracije i/ili rekonstrukcije. Kako bi se ukazalo na probleme njihove konzervacije, u ovome je istraživanju provedena klasifikacija i revalorizacija tih prostora na temelju analize šezdeset odabranih primjera džamija u balkanskim državama s obzirom na nekoliko bitnih kriterija: njihovu formu, proporcije, građevinski materijal, dimenzije, broj balkona i lokaciju unutar džamija. Analiza ukazuje na postojanje 4 različita tipa *maksura* s 18 podtipova koji se mogu uočiti u povijesnim džamijama u trima balkanskim državama. Iz

analize proizlazi i zaključak da su ove tri susjedne regije značajno utjecale jedna na drugu pa tako sadrže slične tipove *maksura*. Usto, u gradnji *maksura* opaza se tendencija iskoristavanja onih građevinskih materijala koji su bili najdostupniji u tim regijama, kao što su kamen, mramor i drvo. Analizirani tipovi ovih prostora karakteristični su za određena područja i povijesna razdoblja pa je stoga pitanje njihove konzervacije od izuzetne važnosti jer oni omogućavaju uvid ne samo u arhitekturu ovih područja već i njihovu sociologiju i kulturu. Primjerice, kvaliteta ovih molitvenih prostora, njihove dimenzije, proporcije u odnosu na cjelokupan molitveni prostor džamije te elementi razdvajanja, kao što su drvene rešetke, zavjese i povišeni balkoni, ukazuju na kolektivna značenja i sličnu tradiciju u korištenju tih prostora.

Analiza tih prostora u primjerima povijesnih džamija otkriva nepoznate podatke o njihovoj tipologiji s obzirom na formalne promjene, koji mogu poslužiti kao predložak pri projektiranju novih *maksura* po uzoru na one povijesne. Ona također daje pregled povijesne dokumentacije o *maksurama* unutar jednoga ograničenog područja balkanskih država, a koja može poslužiti kao osnova njihove buduće konzervacije. Tako se u ovoj analizi princip „konzervacije na temelju dokumenata” smatra temeljnim konceptom koji može poslužiti u identifikaciji kulturnog potencijala regije i u očuvanju njezina kulturnog naslijeđa. Nadalje, analizirane *maksure* omogućavaju uvid u prirodu rane islamske arhitekture na poluotoku sve do početka 20. stoljeća i mogu korisno poslužiti u budućim istraživanjima takvih prostora diljem jugoistočne Europe. Za buduće analize potrebno je definirati metode zaštite i održavanja u cilju njihova konzerviranja, dok tipološka analiza i tablice iz ovoga istraživanja mogu korisno poslužiti za istraživanje takvih prostora u povijesnim džamijama drugih balkanskih država.

GÜLŞEN DIŞLI

BIOGRAPHY

BIOGRAFIJA

GÜLŞEN DIŞLI is a preservationist architect holding an M.S. from University of Minnesota and Middle East Technical University and a PhD from Gazi University. She has conducted restoration studies at the chief governmental institution in Turkey responsible for preservation of historic monuments in both Turkey and abroad including historic mosques in Balkans since 2005. She has also participated in the inventory projects of Turkish traces in Yemen and Crimea. Her research interests include Islamic architecture, historic preservation, cross-cultural analysis, and functional systems in historic monuments.

GÜLŞEN DIŞLI je arhitektica i konzervatorica. Magistrirala je na Sveučilištu Minnesota i Tehničkom sveučilištu Srednjeg istoka, a doktorirala na Sveučilištu Gazi. Od 2005. godine bila je voditeljica projekata restauracije u glavnoj državnoj instituciji u Turskoj koja se bavi zaštitom povijesnih spomenika u Turskoj, ali i u drugim zemljama uključujući i povijesne džamije u balkanskim državama. Također je sudjelovala u projektima inventarizacije turskih tragova u Jemenu i na Krimu. Njezin istraživački interes usmjeren je na islamsku arhitekturu, povijesnu zaštitu, interkulturalnu analizu te funkcionalne sustave povijesnih spomenika.

