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TRABZON'S YENİ CUMA CAMII (NEW FRIDAY MOSQUE): WHY IS IT CALLED WHAT IT IS?

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The two most important recent works to appear on the history of Trabzon both give similar descriptions of the means whereby the church of St. Eugenious was transformed into the **Yeni Cuma Camii** (New Friday Mosque) following the Ottoman conquest of the city in the year 1461.

In a full length study which appeared in 1969, Emile Janssens¹ writes that the church of St. Eugenios was the site where Fatih Mehmet II chose to make his first prayers on the day following the conquest of the city. The church was then immediately converted into a mosque and given the name of the New Friday Mosque.²

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The research for this paper was carried out in the **Başbakanlık Arşivi** in İstanbul, the archives of the **Tapu ve Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü** in Ankara, and in the İstanbul University and Süleymaniye libraries. I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Directors and Staffs of each of the above for the many kindnesses they showed me. My research was supported by a Grant from the American Research Institute In Turkey.

¹ Emile Janssens : **Trébizonde en Colchide**. Bruxelles, 1969. (Hereafter cited as : Janssens, **Trébizonde**).

² Janssens, **Trébizonde** refers to the conversion in two different passages. As they vary slightly in content I have given them both below :

p. 159 : "Ce n'est cependant pas dans l'église de la Chrysokephalos ainsi transformée que Mehmet rendit à Allah sa première oraison d'actions de grâces. Il choisit pour cela la sanctuaire du patron de la cité, Saint Eugène, qui prit des ce moment le nom qu'il a gardé jusqu'à présent de Yeni Cuma Camii (La Nouvelle Mosquée du Vendredi)."

p. 222 : "Consacrée au protecteur de la ville et de l'Empire, l'église Saint-Eugène fut aussi convertie en mosquée au lendemain de la conquête et prit le nom de Yeni Cuma Camii ou 'Mosquée du Nouveau Vendredi.'"

Janssens who does not supply his sources for the above accounts also translates the name Yeni Cuma Camii in two different ways; first as "La Nouvelle Mosquée du Vendredi" (The New Mosque of Friday) and also as the "Mosquée du Nouveau Vendredi" (the Mosque of the New Friday). This indicates some confusion on his part as to whether the adjective **Yeni** (new) modifies the noun **Cuma** (Friday) or the noun **Cami** (Mosque). This confusion arises out of a basic ambiguity in the Turkish form of the name **Yeni Cuma Camii**. My English rendering of **Yeni Cuma Camii** as "New Friday Mosque" retains this inherent ambiguity which, as will be shown subsequently, stems from the historical development of the name itself.

In a 1974 **İslâm Ansiklopedisi** article on Trabzon, Şehabeddin Tekindağ³ was even more explicit, stating that after the conquest of the city, Fatih (Mehmet II) performed his first Friday prayers in the church of St. Eugenios. As a result of this action it was renamed the **Yeni Cuma Camii** (New Friday Mosque).⁴

Prior to the appearance of either of these publications a similar account had been presented in the works of Anabolu (1969),⁵ Ballance (1960),⁶ Miller (1926),⁷ and Lynch (1901).⁸ While each of the above vary slightly in their rendering of this story, they

3 Şehabeddin Tekindağ: "Trabzon". **İslâm Ansiklopedisi**, 125. cüz (1974), pp. 455-477. (Hereafter cited as: Tekindağ, Trabzon).

4 Tekindağ, Trabzon., gives the story in two slightly varying passages, as follows:

p. 462: "Kritovulos'a göre, Fâtih, Trabzon'da hisar ve sarayı gezdikten sonra, ilk cuma namazını Saint-Eugenius kilisesinde kıldı. Sonra burası Yeni-Cuma adıyla camiye çevrildi."

His source for the above statement is the Turkish translation by Karolidi of Kritovulos' History which appeared as a supplement to the **Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası** under the title: "Tarih-i Sultan Mehmed Han-ı Sani." İstanbul, 1328. A thorough reading of the relevant passages in this edition of Kritovulos (pp. 153-6) has failed to uncover the above account.

p. 472: "Yeni Cuma Câmii, şarkta, Aşağı-hisar'ın karşısında ve Boztepe'nin cenübündeki düzlükte bulunup, imparator Aleksios'un St. Eugenios'a ithafen yaptırdığı bir kilise (Hagios Evgenios) idi. Fâtih, Trabzon'u fethettikten sonra ilk cuma namazını burada kılmış olduğundan Yeni Cuma Câmii adını aldı (bk. Mehmed Âşık, var. 29b; Minas, s. 51; Ömer Akbulut ayn. esr., s. 19.); yanında yapılan mahalle de Yeni Cuma Mahallesi olarak isimlendirildi."

The sources Tekindağ gives for the above statement are as follows:

1) Mehmet Âşık, **Menazır ül-avâlim**. İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi TY No. 916 (Manuscript) Varak 29b. While I have not had access to this particular manuscript, I have utilized two copies of the same work in the Süleymaniye Library collection:

a) Halet Efendi Kütüp. No. 616 which is the original Authors copy of the work. (Hereafter cited as: Âşık, Halet Ef. Kt. No. 616).

b) Esad Efendi Kütüp. No. 2421, a copy dated 1006/1599. (Hereafter cited as: Âşık, Esad Ef. Kt. No. 2421).

Neither of these copies contain the above account.

2) P. Minas Bijışkyan, **Karadeniz Kıyıları Tarih ve Coğrafyası**. (Translated by: Hrand Andreasyon) İstanbul, 1969. (Hereafter cited as: Bijışkyan, Karadeniz). Bijışkyan who visited Trabzon between 1817-19 gives the following information in regards to Saint Eugenios:

p. 51: "S. Evgenios kilisesi, Aşağıkale'nin karşısında doğuda ve Boztepe'nin batı ucundadır. İmparator Aleksios'un martir Evgenios'a ithafen yaptırdığı söylenen bu kilise... Fatih Sultan Mehmed, şehri feth ettikten sonra ilk cuma namazını burada kılmış olduğundan kiliseye Yeni Cumağa Camii, mahalleye de Yenicumağa Mahallesi adları verilmiştir."

3) Ömer Akbulut, **Trabzon Kitabeleri**. İstanbul, 1954. Akbulut's work makes no mention of the above story regarding the church of St. Eugenios.

Tekindağ's account would appear therefore to be based in its entirety upon that of the 19th century traveller P. Minas Bijışkyan.

5 Mükerrrem Anabolu: **Trabzon'daki Bizans Çağı Yapıları**. İstanbul, 1969. On page 8 of this work Anabolu states the following: **AZİZ EUGENIOS KİLİSESİ**: Fatih Sultan Mehmed fetihten sonra ilk olarak doğu uçurumuna yakın bir yerde bulunan bu kilisede namaz kılmıştır. **Bundan** ötürü burası camie çevrildikten sonra 'Yenicuma Camii' adını almıştır.

6 Selina Ballance: "The Byzantine Churches of Trebizond." **Anatolian Studies**, Vol. X (1960). On page 156 of this article Ballance writing about Saint Eugenios says: "When Mehmet II finally took Trebizond in 1461 he first said his prayers in this church, which is therefore known as Yeni Cuma Camii."

7 William Miller: **Trebizond, The Last Greek Empire**. London, 1926. On page 124 of this work Miller writes: "In the church of St. Eugenios he (Fatih Mehmet II) said his first prayer -- hence its Turkish name, Jeni-djouma."

all convey implicitly or explicitly, as do Janssens and Tekindağ the following information:

- 1) Following the conquest of Trabzon Fatih Mehmet II performed his first FRIDAY prayers in the church of St. Eugenios;
- 2) by this action the church was immediately converted into a mosque and renamed **Yeni Cuma Camii** (New Friday Mosque);
- 3) the derivation of the word **cuma** (Friday) in the name 'New Friday Mosque' rests upon the assertion that Fatih Mehmet II performed his first Friday prayers there.

In addition to these scholarly interpretations each of which link the FRIDAY in the name of the mosque to Fatih's FRIDAY prayers, the same story is well in Trabzon today in the form of a local tradition. This tradition has recently been recorded by the Trabzon Director of Tourism, Bey Cevat Şentürk, as follows:

"After taking Trebizond in 1461, Fatih Sultan Mehmet (Mohammed II) transformed the church (St. Eugenios) into a mosque. It was in St. Eugenios that Mehmet said his first Friday Prayer after taking the city, thus naming the church Yeni Cuma Camii (New Friday Mosque)."⁹

In the following article I will re-examine the above interpretation, in the light of 15th and 16th century Ottoman archival documents and contemporary travellers' reports, in an attempt to determine its origins and historical accuracy or the lack thereof.

The Ottoman practice of converting Christian places of worship in conquered cities into mosques was general and widespread. In the case of Trabzon we can state with some certainty that in the wake of the conquest the Cathedral church of Panaghia Chrysokephalos (located within the walled city) is an example of one such conversion. (See: MAP, p. 102).

A Survey of the extant Ottoman **Tahrir Defterleri**¹⁰ (Provincial Surveys made for tax purposes) show that within 60 years of the conquest Panaghia Chrysokephalos, under

⁸ H.F.B. Lynch: *Armenia, Travels and Studies*, London, 1901. Vol. I. (Hereafter cited as: Lynch, *Armenia*). On page 31 Lynch writes: "Nor should a traveller omit a visit to the church of St. Eugenios..... the church having been converted to the service of Islam by the Ottoman conqueror. It was here that Mohammed II. is said to have worshipped on the first Friday after the capture of the city by his troops. The event is commemorated by the name of New Friday (Yeni Cuma), under which the mosque is known."

⁹ Cevat Şentürk: *Trebizond*. Istanbul, 1975, p. 20

¹⁰ Four such **Tahrir Defterleri** from the 15th. and 16 th. centuries have been preserved. The three earliest ones are stored in the **Başbakanlık Arşivi** in Istanbul under the following classifications:

- a) **Maliyeden Müdevver Defter No. 328** from the year 892/1486. (Hereafter cited as: **M.M. No. 328**).
- b) **Tapu-Tahrir Defteri No. 387**. undated, but probably c. 1523. (Hereafter cited as: **T. - T. No. 387**).
- c) **Tapu-Tahrir Defteri No. 288**. from the year 961/1553. (Hereafter cited as: **T. - T. No. 288**).

The fourth and last of the **Tahrir Defterleri** containing information on Trabzon is housed in the Archives of the **Tapu ve Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü** in Ankara under the following classification:

- d) **Kuyudu Kadimi Fihristi No. 29**. from the year 991/1583. (Hereafter cited as: **T. ve Kad. No. 29**).

its new name of **Cami-i Atik** (the Old Mosque), had become the principal mosque of the city as well as the center of a large Muslim **mahalle** (quarter) bearing the same name.¹¹ Throughout the 16th century it continued to be known as the **Cami-i Atik** (the Old Mosque), though later we find it referred to as the **Orta Hisar Camii** (Middle Castle Mosque).¹² Today it is known as **Fatih Cami** (the Mosque of the Conqueror).¹³ In addition to the testimony of the **Tahrir Defters** we have an account written in the last quarter of the 16th century by Mehmet Âşık, himself a native of Trabzon which supplies additional confirmation:

“And in Orta Hisar there is a great and old mosque (**camii atik**), which prior to the conquest was a church in the hands of the Christians, and where subsequently Sultan Mehmet Gazi (may his grave be pleasant to himself) performed his Friday prayers”,¹⁴

This description of the ‘conversion’ of the Panaghia Chrysokephalos is suspiciously close to the aforementioned events ascribed to the church of St. Eugenios. Unfortunately no such clear accounts are available in either the **Tahrir Defters** or the literary texts to support the thesis that Sultan Mehmet II also held his Friday prayers in the church of St. Eugenios. To the contrary the earliest rendering of this story appears to be in the work of the 19th century Armenian traveller P. Minas Bijişkyan, who states:

“Following the conquest of the city Fatih Sultan Mehmet performed his first Friday prayers in the church of St. Eugenios and as a result the church became known as the **Yeni Cuma Camii** (New Friday Mosque) and the **mahalle**/quarter was given the name of the **Yeni Cuma Mahalle** (New Friday Quarter).”¹⁵

We do not know whether this story was a local tradition which Bijişkyan, who was himself a native of Trabzon, passes on, or whether it represents his (or someone else’s) attempt to explain the rather strange name the mosque bore,¹⁶ i.e., an example

11 The first of the **Tahrir Defters** (M.M. No. 828, pp. 6-11) does not list the city’s Muslim population by **Mahalle** (Quarter) but rather by **Cemaat** (Community). This reflects the fact that the earliest Muslim Settlers were forcibly resettled in the city, hence 25 years after the conquest they are still listed according to their places of origin and we find communities from Niksar, Ladik, Amasya, Bafra etc. However by the time of the second **Tahrir** c. 1523 these settlers have been incorporated into the city’s population and are listed under the **Mahalles**/Quarters they reside in. In that period Trabzon’s largest Muslim **Mahalle** is the **Mahalle-i Cami-i Atik der kale-i evsat** (the District of the Old Mosque in the Middle Castle), i.e., the District of the former church of Panaghia Chrysokephalos. (T.-T. No. 387, p. 716).

12 Bijişkyan, **Karadeniz**: p. 46; Lynch, **Armenia**: p. 23.

13 **Trabzon II Yılığ**/1967. Ankara, 1967. p. 123. The District which encompasses Fatih Camii is presently known as Orta Hisar Mahallesi.

14 Âşık, **Halet Ef. Kt. No. 616**. C. II, Varak (Hereafter cited as: V) 28v. and: Âşık, **Esad Ef. Kt. No. 2421**, V313v give the identical text as follows:

“Ve bu Orta Hisarda kablefeth nasâra yed inde kenisi olup; badelfeth Sultan Mehmet Gazi (taba serâhu) içinde Salavat-ı cuma edâ etmiş bir cami-i atik ve azimi vardır.”

15 Bijişkyan, **Karadeniz**: p. 51; For the Turkish text of this passage see footnote 2 above.

16 Ottoman mosques were generally named after their founders, i.e., those who endowed them, or in some cases after the **mahalle**/quarter in which they were located. Less frequently they

of 'ex post facto' reasoning to account for the meaning of the 'Friday' in the name "New Friday." He was however the first writer to state that the name of the mosque was **Yeni Cuma Camii**. Earlier observers and in particular the 16th century native of Trabzon Mehmet Âşık and the 17th century traveller Evliya Çelebi (who visited the city c. 1640) make no mention of a mosque known as **Yeni Cuma Camii**. Evliya Çelebi's description of the city makes it quite clear that he knew the former church of St. Eugenios not as **Yeni Cuma Camii** but rather as the **Yeni Cami/new Mosque**.¹⁷ As the information supplied in these two works is central to an understanding of the problem I have extracted the relevant passages and present them (with English translation) below :

MEHMET ÂŞIK¹⁸

V27r : "Ve Orta Hisar dedikleri suru bir tulani surdur ve dört kapısı vardır. Evvel bu surun hayat-ı şarkisinden kule ile maruf kal'anın Orta Hisara meftuh olan kapısı kurbundadır ki buna Bab-i Yeni Cuma derler."

And the walls of Orta Hisar are long and have four gates. The first is known as the New Friday Gate (Bab-i Yeni Cuma) and is located in the east wall near to the gate which opens into the Orta Hisar (Middle Castle) from the Fortress.

EVLİYA ÇELEBİ¹⁹

V257r-258v : "Ve Orta Hisar bir tulani suru metin ve müstahkemdir. İptida bu kal'anın şark tarafı duvarında kule demekle maruf kal'anın Orta Hisara meftuh olan kapısı kurbında Yeni Cuma Kapısı derler."²⁰

And the walls of Orta Hisar are long and strong. Beginning with the eastwards wall of this Castle (Orta Hisar) there is a gate called New Friday (Yeni Cuma Kapısı) which is near to the gate which opens into the Middle Castle (Orta Hisar) from the fortress.

were named after a trade or occupation centered in the **mahalle** where they were built. In the case of churches converted into mosques they were either renamed according to the above principles or, as in the case of Trabzon's church of Saint Sophia/Ayasofya Cami, their original names were adopted into Turkish. Thus the name Yeni Cuma Cami which apparently fits none of the above principles would seem to invite some explanation as to its origins.

¹⁷ For purposes of this study I have used the manuscript of Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* in the collection of the *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi* : No. 5939 (Hereafter cited as : Evliya, I.Ü. Kt. No. 5939). This was necessitated by the fact that the section dealing with Trabzon in the printed edition : *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, İstanbul, 1314. Vol. II, pp. 80-94 does not include (due to censorship) many of Evliya's comments on the non-muslim inhabitants of the city. The only translation of this section of the work : Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Narratives Of Travel In Europe, Asia, And Africa, In The Seventeenth Century by Evliya Efendi*. London, 1834-6. Vol. II., pp. 41-50, suffers from an abundance of errors.

¹⁸ These sections are taken from : Âşık, *Halet Ef. Kt. No. 616*, C. II., V27r-29r. They were checked against : Âşık, *Esad Ef. Kt. No. 2421*, V313v-314v.

¹⁹ Evliya, I. Ü. Kt. No. 5939, V257r-259v.

²⁰ The close similarity between this and other passages in the two works indicate that one of Evliya's sources for Trabzon was Mehmet Âşık. This relationship is the subject of a paper I plan to present at the Eighth Congress of the Turkish Historical Association in Ankara, later this year.

MEHMET AŐIK

V29r: “Ve Trabzonun canlbi Őarkisinde olan iki camiden evvel cami-i Mahalle-i Yeni Cumađır ki bu cami ile hayat-ı suru Őarki Trabzon beyni sũls mildir ve bu cami bir mekan-ı mũrtefidedir ve bu cami ebniye-i kãfiryeden bir kenise-i azime idi. Feth-i Trabzondan sonra bazı eyyamda bu kenise yed-i nasãradan ahz olunup salavat-ı cuma ikamet olunmak iĥin bir minber ve mahfel-i mũezzin olundu ve bu cami bir tulani ve vasi binadır.”

And the first of the two mosques located on the east side of Trabzon is that in the Quarter of Yeni Cuma which is 1/3 of a mile from the city's east wall. This mosque is located in a high place and this mosque was a great church built by the unbelievers. At some time after the conquest of Trabzon this church was taken from the hands of the Christians and in order that Friday prayers might be performed there a pulpit and a gallery for the mũezzin were added, and this mosque is a long/tall building.

V29r: “Gãvur hamamıdır ki mahalle-i Yeni Cuma ile mahalle-i Gãvur Meydan beynindedir.”

The Unbeliever's Bath is located between the New Friday Quarter and the Quarter of the Unbelievers square.

EVLİYA ĆELEBİ

V258r: “Ve Yeni Cami matakaddem kenise imiŐ. Badehu mahalle-i mũslmin iĥindedir kũffar memnudur deyu emri padlŐahile desti kũffardan ahz edip (sic: for olunup) Cami olmuŐtur. Zemini bir mũrtefi yerde vaki olmađıla bir havadar cami bir (pũr) envardır.”

And the New Mosque was in the past a church. Afterwards because it came within the Muslim Quarter it was removed from the hands of the unbelievers by order of the Sultan and made into a mosque. As it happens to be located in a high place it is light and airy.²¹

V259v: “Ve kãfir hamami mahalle-i Yeni Cuma ile Gãvur meydanı mabeyninde bir hamam-i hoŐ-i havadar.”

And the Unbeliever's Bath is a pleasant and airy bath located between the New Friday Quarter and the Unbeliever's Square.

From the above descriptions we may extract a number of useful topographical clues relating to the city of Trabzon as it was in the late 16th and early 17th centuries :

- 1) Trabzon's **Orta Hisar** (Middle Castle) had a gateway leading out of its east wall which was known as the **YENİ CUMA KAPISI** or the New Friday Gate.
- 2) One third of a mile to the east of the city in a high and airy place there was a converted former church known as the **YENİ CAMİ** (New Mosque).
- 3) The Quarter of the city in which the **YENİ CAMİ** was located was known as **YENİ CUMA MAHALLE** (New Friday Quarter).

²¹ J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Narratives Of Travels...* Vol II, p. 46 translates this passage in the following way :

“The new mosque was formerly a church, and stands in a lofty situation.”

- 4) Lying between the Quarters of **YENİ CUMA** and **GÂVUR MEYDAN**²² there was a **hamam** (bath) belonging to the unbelievers.

That the site referred to above is the former church of St. Eugenios is beyond dispute. Both the location (one third of a mile to the east of the city) and the description of it (as being a high and airy spot) point directly to St. Eugenios. (See : MAP, p. 102) The unavoidable conclusion on the basis of these sources is that in the late 16th and early 17th centuries the converted church of St. Eugenios was known as the **YENİ CAMİ** (New Mosque).

Further evidence in Support of this interpretation comes from the extant 16th. century **Tahrir Defters**. Dated respectively c. 1523, 1553 and 1583 these surveys, which list separately each **mahalle** (quarter) of the city and the heads of households resident therein, are uniformly devoid of any reference to a **Yeni Cuma Camii** or indeed to a **Yeni Cuma Camii Mahallesi**. What they do show however is a **Mahalle-i Cami-i Cedid der birun-i şehir** (the Quarter of the New Mosque outside the city).²³ From a relatively small quarter of 19 tax paying householders and three tax exempt religious persons in c. 1523, the quarter grew to encompass 49 households by 1583.

The identification of Evliya Çelebi's **Yeni Cami** with the **Cami-i Cedid** of the **Tahrir Defters** rests not only on the fact that the names are identical but is confirmed by a study of the **Tahrirs** which shows that every other 16th century mosque in the city is otherwise accounted for.

Aided by the information thus provided we may return to an examination of the three points we set out to analyze earlier. First, the statement that following the conquest of Trabzon Fatih Mehmet II performed his Friday prayers in the church of St. Eugenios. As we have seen this story seems to derive from the 19th century traveller Bijişkyan²⁴ and does not appear in earlier accounts of the events surrounding the conquest, (though Mehmet Âşık gives a similar account in relation to another church, Panaghia Chrysekephalos)²⁵ and therefore should be discounted.

The second point rests on the first in that, if Fatih Sultan Mehmet did not pray in the church of St. Eugenios, we have no reason to assume that it was converted into a mosque at the time of the conquest. Indeed a strong case can be made to support the idea that St. Eugenios remained for some years a church :

- 1) The use of the name **Cami-i Atik** for Panaghia Chrysekephalos and **Cami-i Cedid** for St. Eugenios would seem to imply a difference between them. This difference can not be based on their former status as churches since both were 'old' by the time of the conquest.
- 2) We know that Panaghia Chrysekephalos was converted at the time of the conquest, yet as regards St. Eugenios both Evliya Çelebi²⁶ and Mehmet Âşık²⁷ imply that it was converted at some unstated time following the conquest.

²² For the location of these and other sites mentioned in this study see the map on p.

²³ See : T.T. No. 387 (c. 1523) p. 716; T.T. No. 288 (1553) p. 14; and T. ve Kad. No. 29 (1583) V11v-r.

²⁴ Bijişkyan, *Karadeniz* : p. 51.

²⁵ Âşık, *Halet Ef. Kt. No. 616*. C. II, V28v; Âşık, *Esad Ef. Kt. No. 2421*. V313v.

²⁶ Evliya, *I.Ü. Kt. No. 5939*, V258r.

²⁷ Âşık, *Halet Ef. Kt. No. 616*. C. II, V29r; Âşık, *Esad Ef. Kt. No. 2421*. V314v.

Evlıya in particular says that: "The New Mosque was in the past a church **Afterwards, because it came within the Muslim Quarter** it was removed from the hands of the unbelievers by order of the Sultan and made into a mosque."²⁸

- 3) Finally there is the testimony of the earliest of the **Tahrir Defters**, that of 1486, which lists a large Christian mahalle of 48 households plus 7 widows and three bachelors as the **MAHALLE-I AYA AYOS** (St. Eugenios).²⁹ By c. 1523 this mahalle has disappeared from the **Tahrirs** to be replaced by the aforementioned Muslim mahalle of **Cami-i Cedid**.

Thus we can state with some assurance that sometime between 1486 and c. 1523 a group of Muslim families settled near the church of St. Eugenios. To meet the needs of this Muslim community the Christian residents of the quarter were resettled in another part of the city and the church itself was converted into a mosque.³⁰ To distinguish between this communities converted church/mosque and the converted church/mosque in **Orta Hisar** theirs was named the 'New Mosque'.³¹

Having rejected the idea that Fatih Mehmet II actually performed his Friday prayers in the church of St. Eugenios and that this action resulted in its being immediately converted into a mosque, the third point (which concerns the meaning of the name) is answered as well since the original name was in fact the New Mosque not the New Friday Mosque.

Despite having rejected the 'traditional' explanation of the conversion of the church of St. Eugenios by showing that: a) Fatih Sultan Mehmet did not say his first (or indeed to our knowledge, any) Friday prayers there; b) it was not converted into a mosque at the time of the conquest; and c) when it was converted in the late 15th or early 16th century it was given the name of the New Mosque, we are still left

²⁸ Evliya, I.U. Kt. No. 5939, V258r.

²⁹ M.M. No. 828, p. 20. This identification of Aya Ayos and St. Eugenios has been confirmed in correspondence with the leading scholar on Byzantine Trabzon, Professor Anthony Bryer of the University of Birmingham.

³⁰ The reason for this Muslim settlement is unknown. It was not as one would imagine the result of a sudden growth in the general Muslim community. Indeed the city's Muslim population dropped 22.1% between the years 1486 when M.M. No. 828, pp. 6-11 shows it to have numbered 258 families and c. 1523 when T.T. No. 387, p. 716 shows a total of 201 families (actually 179 households (hane) plus 22 tax exempt Muslim religious figures who presumably had families as well (nefer) equals a total of 201 not 220 as has been suggested in a recent article by Ronald Jennings, "Urban Population In Anatolia In The Sixteenth Century: A Study Of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon and Erzurum." *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 7 (1976, p. 43). Yet despite this drop the Muslim population which in 1486 was living almost entirely within the walled city, has by c. 1523 begun to spread out into the eastern and western suburbs. One possible explanation for this 'spread' may stem from the fact that in the interval between these two surveys Yavuz Sultan Selim (then Şeyzade) resided in Trabzon as Governor (c. 1491-1511). If his retinue was large the Muslim community may have spread beyond the walls at that time. With his departure in 1511 the overall Muslim population must have decreased (but not returned to its previous boundaries). This would account for the establishment of a new Muslim Mahalle and also explain why the c. 1523 **Tahrir Defter** does not show a corresponding increase in the Muslim population.

³¹ It is also not inconceivable that the adjective 'new' was intended to distinguish this mosque from the **Hatuniye Cami** (also known as: **İmaret Cami**) which was built in the western suburbs of the city in the year 1505. If one accept this explanation it would date the conversion of St. Eugenios as post 1505.

with the reality that by the late 16th century the name **Yeni Cami** had been replaced in the popular usage (though not officially) by that of **Yeni Cuma Camii**.³² To account for this name change I would suggest the following chain of events :

- 1) As Muslim settlement began to expand beyond the walls of the city eastward one of the areas involved was the stretch between the **Yeni Cuma Kapısı** (Leading out of **Orta Hisar**) and the **Yeni Cami** a third of a mile further east. (See : MAP, p. 102).
- 2) As shown by Mehmet Âşık, by the late 16th century this area was already known locally as **Yeni Cuma Mahallesi**,³³ despite the fact that its official name in the **Tahrir Defters** as late as 1583 was still the **Mahalle-i Camii Cedid der Birun-î şehir** (the Quarter of the New Mosque outside the City).³⁴
- 3) Gradually the name by which the quarter was known locally, i.e., **Yeni Cuma Mahallesi** became the officially accepted name as well. In turn the mosque which served this quarter became known as the **Yeni Cuma Camii** or the mosque of the **Yeni Cuma Mahallesi**.³⁵
- 4) Once the mosque became so known, the local tradition that Fatih Sultan Mehmet had said his Friday prayers in a church (actually, as we have seen, the Panaghla Chrysokephalos) became attached to the **Yeni Cuma Camii** as an explanation for the meaning of the 'Friday' in its name. This 'mix-up' most likely stemmed from the fact that succeeding generations soon forgot that it was the mosque which had been named after the **Mahalle** and not other way around.³⁶

While this explanation accounts for the way in which the church of St. Eugenios became first the **Yeni Camii** and then finally the **Yeni Cuma Camii**, in so doing it raises an additional question that of the derivation of the names **Yeni Cuma Mahallesi** and **Yeni Cuma Kapısı**.

While a detailed analysis of this question is outside the scope of this paper, a possible explanation for the origins of these names, is not. As regards the **Yeni Cuma Mahallesi** I would hypothesize the following. In a newly conquered city the use of the adjective **yeni** (new) can cause no surprise. Indeed a survey of Turkish place names published in 1946-7 shows no less than 598 village and Mahalle names beginning with this adjective.³⁷ As for the noun **Cuma** (Friday), the frequency with which it

32 Âşık, *Halet Ef. Kt. No. 616. C. II, V28v.*

33 Âşık, *Halet Ef. Kt. No. 616. C. II, V28v.*

34 *T. ve Kad. No. 29. p. 11.*

35 As has been shown earlier a similar change occurred in the case of the **Camii Atik** which was located in the **Mahalle** of the same name. Later the **Mahalle's** name was changed to **Orta Hisar** and consequently the mosque became the **Orta Hisar Camii**.

36 A more recent example illustrating the 'short-livedness' of local memories concerns a **Cephane** (Armory) built in Trabzon by order of the Sultan Abdülhamid II in the year 1887. This Armory which exploded around the turn of the century leaving an interesting circular ruin of walls is now known locally as having been built by either Justinian, one of the Commene Emperors or Fatih Mehmet II. (*Trabzon II Yılığ/1967*. Ankara, 1967, p. 124 and Şentürk, *Trebizond* : p. 38).

37 *Türkiye'de Meskün Yerler Kılavuzu*. (T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı Yayınlarından : Seri II, Sayı 2) Ankara, Vol. I (1946) and Vol. II (1947). Vol. II, pp. 1132-1142. (Hereafter cited as : *T.M.Y. Kılavuzu*).

(and other days of the week) appear in Turkish place names is usually linked to local markets and the days upon which they were held.³⁸ It is therefore not infeasible that such a 'Friday Market' was held outside the eastern walls of Trabzon in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. This new 'Friday Market' in turn gave its name unofficially to the area in which it was held, i.e., **Yeni Cuma Mahallesi**. In addition the Gateway which led to this area from the walled city (See: MAP, p. 102) became known as the **Yeni Cuma Kapısı**.

In conclusion I would reject completely the traditional explanation regarding the conversion of the church of St. Eugenios as proffered in the works of Bijişkyan (1819), Lynch (1910), Miller (1926), Ballance (1960), Anabolu (1969), Janssens (1969), Tekindağ (1974) and Şentürk (1975).³⁹ As we have seen this explanation is predicated upon the existence of a 'causal' relationship between the **Cuma** (FRIDAY) in the name **Yeni Cuma Camii** and the erroneous story that Fatih Mehmet II, following the conquest of the city in 1461, held his first FRIDAY prayers in the church of St. Eugenios, thus converting it into the **Yeni Cuma Camii** (New FRIDAY Mosque). In the course of this paper I have demonstrated that such a 'causal' relationship did not in fact exist. To replace this traditional account I would propose the following chronology as concerns the church of St. Eugenios in the Ottoman Period:

- 1461 : The conquest of the city by Fatih Mehmet II did not affect the church of St. Eugenios, which remained a Christian place of worship at least until 1486 when it appears as part of the Christian **Mahalle-i Aya Ayoş** (Quarter of St. Eugenios).
- 1486-c. 1523 : At some time during this period, in order to meet the needs of a Muslim community that had settled in the area, the Christian inhabitants were removed from the Mahalle and the church was converted into a mosque and given the name **Cami-i Cedid** (The New Mosque).
- c. 1523-1583 : Throughout this period, as shown by the extant 16th century **Tahrir Defters**, the 'official' name of the mosque was **Cami-i Cedid** and the quarter in which it was located was 'officially' known as the **Mahalle-i Cami-i Cedid**.
- c. 1590 : Writing near the end of the 16th century Məhmet Aşık, himself a native of Trabzon (born: c. 1550), identifies the name of the quarter where the mosque was located as the **Mahalle-i Yeni Cuma**; thus indicating that the quarter was 'popularly' known as the New Friday **Mahalle**, while its 'official' name was still the **Mahalle-i Cami-i Cedid** (**Mahalle** of the New Mosque).
- c. 1640 : Evliya Çelebi while calling the mosque the **Yeni Cami** (New Mosque), describes the area in which it was located as the **Mahalle-i Yeni Cuma**.
- 1600-1800 : Sometime during the 17th or 18th centuries the 'popular' name for the area, **Yeni Cuma Mahallesi** became the accepted or 'official' form. In turn the mosque which served the **Mahalle** became known as the **Yeni Cuma Camii**.

³⁸ T.M.Y. Kılavuzu, Vol. I, pp. 215-16 lists 15 place names called **Cuma**. I should like to take this opportunity to gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Andreas Tietze for calling this to my attention and for other useful comments he made relating to this paper.

- 1817-1819 : Bijişkyan, a native of Trabzon, clearly shows that he knows the mosque and the quarter in which it is located as, respectively, the **Yeni Cuma Camii** and the **Yeni Cuma Mahallesi**.
- 1976 : Today the former church of St. Eugenios is known as the **Yeni Cuma Camii** and the quarter in which it lies is known as the **Yeni Cuma Mahallesi**.

The answer to the question posed in the Title of this paper is that the mosque is named after the **Mahalle** in which it is located, that is, **Yeni Cuma Mahallesi**. Consequently the name **YENİ CUMA CAMİİ** should be understood to mean, THE MOSQUE OF THE NEW FRIDAY (QUARTER).⁴⁰

³⁹ With the exception of Tekindağ (whose account is taken from Bijişkyan), the degree of the relationships between these works is hard to determine. My own feeling is that they all have a common 'origin' in the strong local tradition regarding the conversion of the church, which is still very much alive in Trabzon.

⁴⁰ It should be noted that this is not the same reading given by Janssens as his second 'variant' (See : Footnote, No. 2) of "Mosquée du Nouveau Vendredi" (The Mosque of the New Friday). Were his **du** changed to a **de** it would be, however.

T R A B Z O N†
(The Walled City and the Suburbs In
The 15th and 16th Centuries)

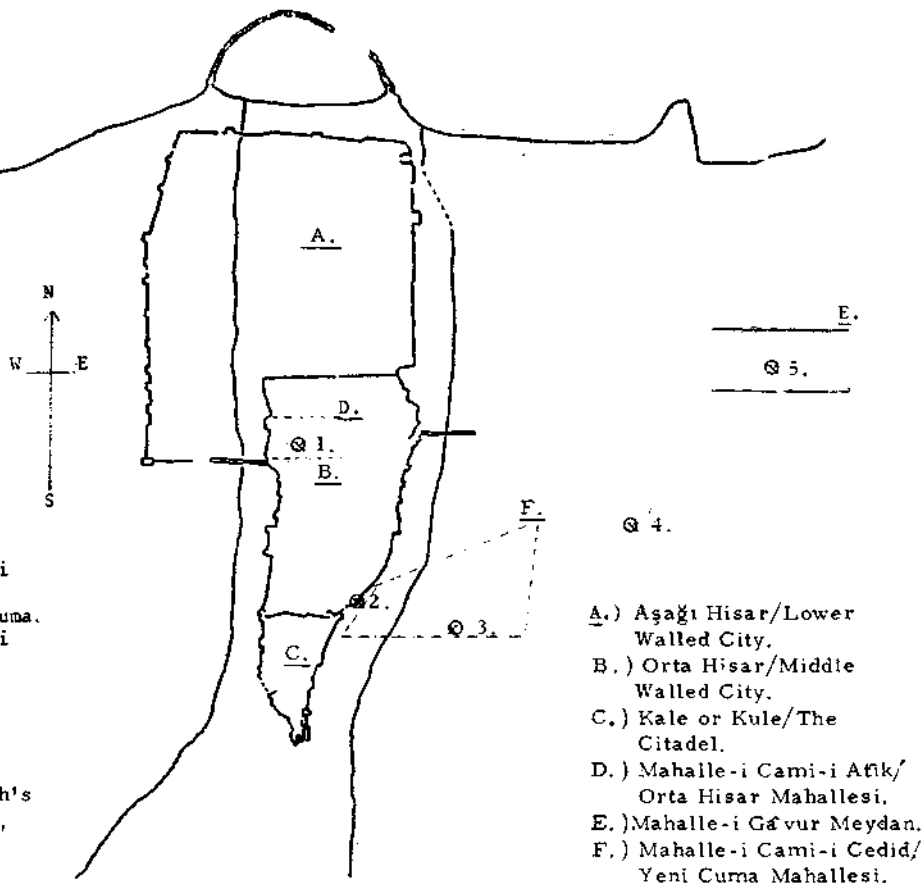
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YARDS

EXPLANATION:

- 1.) Panaghia Chrysokephalos/Cami-i Atik/ Orta Hisar Cami.
- 2.) Yeni Cuma Kapısı/Bab-i Yeni Cuma.
- 3.) St. Eugenios/Cami-i Cedid/Yeni Cami/Yeni Cuma Cami.
- 4.) Gâvur Hamamı/Kâfir Hamamı.
- 5.) Gâvur Meydanı.

†
(This Map is adapted from Lynch's 1898 plan of the city. See: Lynch, Armenia, Vol. II, p. 40)



- A.) Aşağı Hisar/Lower Walled City.
B.) Orta Hisar/Middle Walled City.
C.) Kale or Kule/The Citadel.
D.) Mahalle-i Cami-i Atik/ Orta Hisar Mahallesi.
E.) Mahalle-i Gâvur Meydan.
F.) Mahalle-i Cami-i Cedid/ Yeni Cuma Mahallesi.