Ottoman Architecture In The Hungarian Province

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on Ottoman architectural traditions and their application in the Hungarian province in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ottoman architectural styles appeared in Hungary, throughout the Balkans, a region that was already under Ottoman rule. By presenting the Ottoman architectural structures that have survived in Hungary, a Christian country, this thesis aims to underscore the importance of preserving the cultural heritage of a country no matter what the racial or religious traditions may be. By using Ottoman, modern Turkish, and Hungarian sources, in addition to other European and North American sources, this paper presents the history, construction, and significance of the Ottoman monuments, and their place in a Christian cultural environment. My intent is to make this information available to a broader readership, and to advance knowledge in the field of Hungarian Ottoman architecture.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

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I dedicate this work to my brother, Ákos,

who never lost his wit.

INTRODUCTION

> "Slave of God, master of the world, I am Suleyman and my name is read in all the prayers in all the cities of Islam. I am the Shah of Baghdad and Iraq, Caesar of all the lands of Rome, and the Sultan of Egypt. I seized the Hungarian crown and gave it to the least of my slaves."[1]

This essay explores Ottoman architectural activities in a particular provincial setting in the Ottoman Empire through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ottoman monuments in the Hungarian province represent a small but valuable part of the study of Ottoman architecture. This thesis focuses on the Ottoman architectural traditions and their application in Hungarian urban settings. It also focuses on how the projects were realized by tracing the interrelationships of the architectural styles in the Balkans and Hungary. For one hundred and seventy three years Hungary was an Ottoman province with a population largely Christian and an official architecture largely Muslim. By presenting the remains of the Ottoman monuments, this thesis aims to underscore the importance of preserving the cultural heritage of a country no matter what the racial or religious traditions may be.

It is unfortunate that we often forget to acknowledge and appreciate architectural structures as artistic expression. Extant architectural structures provide us with a wealth of historical information that allows us to trace cultural practice, traditions, technological advancement, and of course, religion. By examining the Ottoman architectural structures that have survived in Hungary, I hope to present their construction, their significance and their place in the new Ottoman cultural environment.

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[1] Quoted from http://www.wsu.edu:8080/~dee/OTTOMAN/SULEYMAN.HTM.

Our knowledge of extant Ottoman architectural monuments in Hungary is far from complete. This is partly due to the relatively late date at which Hungarian scholars began to realize their value, and also because it was difficult for foreign scholars to travel and record them. Earlier studies on the topic of Ottoman architecture in Hungary have not used primary or secondary sources systematically and have not compiled the available information for a broader readership. It is a huge task, and I hope that this thesis will be a small beginning for this work and will inspire others to continue.

This thesis incorporates the information contained in the Ottoman, modern Turkish, European and North American sources along with the examination of the actual architectural remains. Of the Ottoman sources, Evliya Çelebi's contemporary travel account is certainly the most important, and from the Hungarian sources, Győző Gerő's works are the most informative and reliable studies.

I believe that it is important to document and preserve the architectural heritage of the Ottoman Empire in the provinces, as it can provide invaluable information to the study of the Ottoman and Islamic architecture. My intent is to make this information available to the reader and advance knowledge in the field of Hungarian Ottoman architecture.

Since this study focuses on the Ottoman Empire, transliteration has been made in accordance with the modern Turkish alphabet. Names and expressions taken from other languages appear in their original spelling with explanatory translation in parentheses or

in footnotes. If they have an equivalent in English (like pasha, dervish), that spelling is used. Original spellings are italicized for better identification, unless the word is used as a proper name, and are listed in the Glossary of Islamic terms supplied at the end.

Emerging from the diverse population of the Ottoman Empire, most grand viziers or architects were not of Turkish origin but became full members of the empire by converting to the Muslim religion. To avoid confusion in this work, everybody under the rule of the Ottoman sultan is referred to as Ottoman. If there is something specific to the nomadic Turkic people or modern Turkey, then it is mentioned as Turkish.

The Bibliography contains not only the articles and books read during the preparation of this work but also other informative or useful sources. Translations are made by the author throughout the thesis unless noted otherwise.

CHAPTER ONE

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE IN HUNGARY

Interest in Hungarian Ottoman architecture emerged soon after the Ottoman occupation.[2] As the Turks established their lifestyle in the new province, foreign ambassadors and visiting military engineers observed the new construction during their travels through the country. Their accounts consisted of practical notes on interesting changes in the cities rather than scientific research into the material culture of Hungary.

Travelers from the East were also interested in buildings that were familiar to them, like mosques, *hamam*s (baths) or *türbe*s (mausoleums or tombs). The descriptions of these buildings recorded by the travelers were generally simple, sometimes in considerable detail, and other times with only minimal detail but usually based on good observation. They are important sources for today's researchers. Although the reliability of contemporary or near contemporary descriptions is sometimes suspect, they are still the only accounts of what the monuments might have looked like in their original state.[3]

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[2] The first military success of the Ottomans against Hungary was the Battle of Mohács in 1526. They occupied the country until 1699. Although the first decades were spent in recrudescent wars, the settlement of the subjects of the Ottoman Empire started right after an area was captured. More details will follow in Chapters Two and Three.

[3] The most important contemporary source for the history of the Ottoman Empire and its architecture is a ten-volume book written by Evlia Çelebi, a seventeenth-century Turkish traveler. He was born in Istanbul on March 25, 1611. His father, Dervish Mehmet Zilli, was a goldsmith in the court of the sultan. On his mother's side he had an uncle, Melek Ahmet Pasha, who became for a short period the Grand Vizier. He received a good education and had an interest in languages and art. Evliya's travels were started by a dream and he was encouraged to take notes and write a book about what he saw. In his ten volume book the entire sixth volume and part of the seventh volume deal with his travels in Hungary and some parts of Bosnia between 1660-66. I have relied upon my copy of the Hungarian translation of Evliya Çelebi's travels: *Evlia Cselebi török világutazó magyarországi utazásai 1660-1664,* trans. Imre Karácson, second print, Budapest, 1985. (Hereafter referred to as Evliya, *Travels*.) There is a Turkish edition by R. E. Kocu, *Evliya*

Interest in Ottoman lifestyle, garments, embroidery, dance and military organization can be noted as early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[4] After the Habsburgs liberated the capital of Hungary in 1686, a new focus on the country and on the remains of the Ottomans surfaced. Ottoman buildings were looked at as examples of an exotic culture. The cultural remains of the dreaded empire were more easily seen in Hungary, but traveling to the heartland of Ottoman Empire was still difficult.[5]

In the seventeenth century, several military engineers traveled to Hungary to create maps of different cities. The French surveyor Joseph de Haüy arrived to Buda in 1687, just after its liberation, and charted the Castle with its street structure, often noting the names of the streets and neighbourhoods.[6] The same year he traveled to Pécs and

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Çelebi seyahatnamesi, Istanbul, 1949. An English translation was done by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Narrative of travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the seventeenth century,* London, 1834-46. There is a reprint of this work by Johnson Reprint Corp., New York, 1968, under the same title. More recently selections from the *Seyahatname* in Turkish (in Arabic script) with roman transcription and English translation were edited by Klaus Kreiser: *Evliya Çelebi's book of travels: land and people of the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century*, a corpus of partial editions, Leiden, New York: E. J. Brill, 1988. Another contemporary who recorded events in Hungary was Ibrahim Peçevi. His *History* was published in 2 volumes in Istanbul (Matbaa-I Amire) in 1864-6 in Ottoman Turkish. The first volume was reprinted in 1980 with introduction and index by the editors, F. Ç. Derin and V. Çabuk, in Istanbul. I used the edition titled *Peçevi Tarihi*, ed. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, Başbakanlık Matbaasi: Ankara, 1981. (Hereafter referred to as Peçevi, *Tarihi*.) Peçevi is mentioned in the Hungarian source of Imre Karácson, *Török történetírók III, 1566-1659*, Budapest, 1916. As Peçevi rarely reported on architectural monuments, his work is used as a source for historical events and persons.

[4] Semra Germaner - Zeynep Inankur, *Oryantalizm ve Türkiye,* Istanbul, 1989, pp. 52-59.

[5] István György Tóth, "Athanasio Georgiceo álruhás császári megbízott útleírása a magyarországi török hódoltságról, 1626-ból," *Századok*, 132, 1998, no. 4. Georgiceo conducted his travels through Hungary and the Balkans in disguise and wrote about the dangers he had to face.

[6] Topographical mapping was always important in waging wars. It is not known on whose behalf he acted but besides militarily significant structures, de Haüy marked the Ottoman edifices on his maps which in several cases helped scholars to determine the location of the buildings. He is noted in Győző Gerő, *Az oszmán-török építészet Magyarországon (Dzsámik, türbék, fürdők),* Budapest, 1980, (Hereafter referred to as Gerő, *Dzsámik*.) footnotes 154, 155.

made a map of the city and the fort with its surrounding walls (Fig. 1). Another cartographer, Leandro Anguissola, surveyed the city of Szigetvár in 1689 and drew a map of the fort and the town (Fig. 2). His map includes the Ottoman buildings and the main street structure.[7]

Jacobus Tollius produced a record of selected inscriptions from the walls of mosques in Buda.[8] Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1658-1730), an Italian military engineer, wrote a remarkable work about the Ottoman monuments in Budapest.[9] Probably acting on the orders of his military superior, he composed notes that contain a list of the Ottoman architectural remains including remarks about their condition after the reconquest. He methodically grouped buildings according to their function and position in the city. Although his descriptions and maps are limited to Budapest and not to the whole country, it is essential to mention him since he compiled the first methodical and thorough account of Ottoman architecture in Hungary. A few decades after Marsigli, Fischer von Erlach from Vienna was engaged in drawing the plan, elevation and facade of one of the Ottoman baths.[10] These were the first significant technical drawings that are useful from an architectural-historical point of view (Fig. 142).

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[7] Leonadro Anguissola (1653-1720) was an engineer, cartographer and captain in Vienna. He is mentioned by József Molnár in *Szigetvár török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1958, p. 15, and in Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnote 157.

[8] I found a note about him in Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnote 3. The Dutch Jacobus Tollius traveled in Hungary in 1687 and wrote about his experiences in the V. letters, called "Iter hungarorum," of his *Epistolae itineriae*, ed. Henninius, Amsterdam, 1700.

[9] Endre Veres, "Gróf Marsigli Alajos Ferdinánd olasz hadi mérnök jelentései és térképei Budavár 1684-1686-iki ostromairól." *Budapest Régiségei*, vol. IX, Budapest, 1903. Also in Lajos Fekete, *Budapest a törökkorban*, Budapest, 1944.

[10] He also was mentioned in Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnote 4. Johann Fischer von Erlach (1656-1723) was one of the great masters of Baroque architecture in Austria; his engravings of the inscriptions were published in his book: *Entwurf einer historiscen Architectur* (Vienna 1721 and Leipzig

In the eighteenth century no other serious observations were made of Ottoman architecture in Hungary, but the next century brought new interest and scientific research. Though Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall did mainly historical research, his works are very important for architectural history, since his epigraphic collections preserved inscriptions that are now almost totally annihilated (Fig. 38).[11]

In the second half of the nineteenth century scientific interest in the monuments of the Ottoman period became livelier. Several articles in local newspapers started to deal with Ottoman baths and Gül Baba's Türbe in Budapest.[12] These articles described the current state of the buildings and mentioned some historical information about them. Despite this fact, there was no attempt at more detailed research to uncover the origins or condition of the monuments. A distinguished nineteenth-century Hungarian architect, Flóris Rómer, collected data on Ottoman architectural remains like the Valide Hamam (Bath of the Valide Sultan) in Eger in northern Hungary.[13]

1725). Some of his separate engravings can be found in the collection of the Budapesti Történeti Múzeum (Budapest Historical Museum).

[11] Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, "Szigetvári arab, török és perzsa feliratok," *Akadémiai Értesítő*, Budapest, 1844. Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856) was an orientalist, writer and historian. He also acted as a diplomat in Constantinople and acquired a great knowledge of Turkish and Persian culture and history. His work on Ottoman history, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches,* 10 vols, Pest, 1827-35, was an indispensable and most detailed source for all who did not speak Turkish. He provided a great deal of information as well as indications of other sources. Particularly valuable are the numerous excerpts from Süleyman's diary while on campaigns. R.B. Merriman uses quotes from him in his book *Suleiman The Magnificent 1520-1566,* New York, 1966. Another work by Hammer-Purgstall is *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staats verwaltung,* 2 vols, Vienna, 1815, which introduces the structure of the Ottoman Palace and Government.

[12] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnotes 9-11.

[13] There is one sketch by Flóris Rómer (1815-89) which was published in Dezső Dercsényi, P. Voit, *Heves megye Műemlékei I.*, Budapest, 1972.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, public attitudes toward Ottoman antiquities changed. Serious scholarship was undertaken in response to the recognition that Ottoman remains were a vital part of the nation's history. Since there was a need to compile a list of all Ottoman monuments in the country and provide descriptions of a scholarly kind, Lajos Némethy tried to fill in the missing documents on the mosques in Budapest.[14] Although his research was more topographical than art historical, he located certain mosques and determined the characteristics of Ottoman buildings. He was the first scholar to raise questions about the originality of Ottoman monuments and to promote the idea that they might be converted Christian churches.[15]

Other cities in Hungary with Ottoman monuments also paid attention to the different monuments in their vicinity. Instead of destruction or hostility towards the remains of a once oppressive empire, Hungarians began to make efforts to restore and conserve historic monuments. The period under the Ottoman occupation was acknowledged as part of Hungarian national history. Several historical monographs on the buildings of the Ottoman heritage were published in the nineteenth century. Among these works is Mihály Haas' book on Baranya County, which is a thorough study of extant and ruined buildings throughout the county, and remaining Ottoman inscriptions in Szigetvár and Pécs. László Gorove's work on the history of the city Eger and János Mogyorossy's publication about the city Gyula include the Ottoman remains among other monuments.[16]

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[14] Lajos Némethy, *Török mecsetek Budán,* Budapest, 1878.
[15] Ibid., p. 28.
[16] Mihály Haas, *Baranya,* Pécs, 1845; László Gorove, *Eger városának története*, Eger, 1826, the second edition was published in 1876. János Mogyorossy, *Gyula hajdan és most*, Gyula, 1858. All these are listed in Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnotes 16-18.

In the second half of the nineteenth century large-scale restoration and reconstruction of monuments began in Hungary, especially in the capital. In addition to the rebuilding of Buda Castle, several churches were restored. During the repair work, not only walls from the Middle Ages, but also construction materials and ruins from the Ottoman period were unearthed. Unfortunately, these remains were not properly documented, and there were no attempts to establish their age or to reassemble remnants within the same monument or among other monuments in the same area.

Despite the changes in attitude towards preservation of the cultural remains of earlier periods at this point, there were still no qualified scholars to do systematic archaeological work or research. Due in part to the absence of systematic research in this field, many Ottoman buildings had disappeared without any documentation by the beginning of the twentieth century. The big cities in Hungary at that time came under major reconstruction, and several Ottoman monuments were accidentally destroyed to give way to new constructions or roads. Among these was one of the monuments I will mention in my work: the Bath of Memi Pasha in Pécs, which was later excavated in 1977 by Győző Gerő, when its remains were documented in detail.[17]

After this slow period, the first decades of the twentieth century brought important changes in the approach to the study of Ottoman monuments. More and more articles and studies were published with detailed research results about their construction and about other objects found around the buildings. These years mark the beginning of scientific

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[17] Győző Gerő, "Das Bad Memi Paschas In Pecs," *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, Ankara, 1988, pp. 33-44.

works on Ottoman architecture in Hungary. In a 1906 topography the first systematic collection of the remains from the Ottoman period was published.[18] In his work Péter Gerecze focused on providing bibliography on monuments rather than on going into detailed descriptions of each building.

In southwest Hungary, Ottó Szönyi closely followed archaeological excavations and other restoration works and reported any new findings on the Ottoman period along with his observations and conclusions. His many works include information about the restoration of the Türbe of Idris Baba[19] and the discovery of some Ottoman window and wall remains in the St. Augustine Church.[20] Szönyi wrote about the stone washbasins (*kurnas*) found in Baranya County[21] and the Bath of Ferhat Pasha in Pécs.[22] While analyzing the remains of the bath in this later work, Ottó Szönyi presented a study of the cultural and structural construction of the Ottoman bath. He focused on the cityscape during the Ottoman reign in Pécs and published an article in which he tried to observe the city through Evliya Çelebi's eyes.[23]

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[18] Péter Gerecze, *Magyarország műemlékei,* Budapest, 1906.
[19] Ottó Szőnyi, "A régi puskaporos torony restaurálása," *Pécs-Baranya megyei Múzeumi Egyesület Évkönyve,* vol. VI, Pécs, 1913, p. 124.
[20] Ottó Szőnyi, "A restaurált budai külvárosi templom," *Dunántúl,* Pécs, 1912, Sep. 16 and Dec. 25.
[21] Ottó Szőnyi, "Török kútmedencék Baranyában," *Pécs-Baranya megyei Múzeumi Egyesület Évkönyve,* vol. X, Pécs, 1928, p. 30.
[22] Ottó Szőnyi, "Ferhád pasa fürdője Pécsett," *História,* Budapest, 1928, p. 232.
[23] Ottó Szőnyi, "Pécs városa Evlia Cselebi tükrében," *Archaeológiai Értesítő,* vol. XLII, Budapest, 1928, pp. 241-48.

Ernő Foerk at the beginning of the twentieth century wanted to assemble a complete list of the Ottoman monuments in Hungary.[24] Because of poor communication with other scholars, he omitted consideration of two important Ottoman structures, the Mosque of Malkoç Bey in Siklós and the towers in the fort of Buda, so that his work was not as comprehensive as it might otherwise have been.

Around the end of the 1930's and the beginning of the 1940's, there was a change in research on Hungarian Ottoman remains. This change took two main forms: archaeological excavations became more systematic in the application of rigorous research methods; and data were recovered and processed more precisely. Still, in some cases the study of the unearthed or renovated Ottoman monuments addressed a very narrow spectrum and did not expand to research on the building. Alternatively, these changes had a great impact on the scientific approach towards Ottoman cultural heritage in Hungary. Restoration and reconstruction became the first choice in the case of an Ottoman ruin as opposed to demolition and annihilation of the country's history.

Gyula Gosztonyi executed the first major archaeological excavation using scientific methods during the restoration of the Mosque of Gazi Kasim Pasha in the middle of the main square of Pécs.[25] He did a very thorough job of excavating not only the Ottoman ruins but also those of the preceding periods, mainly Roman and medieval

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[24] Ernő Foerk, "Török emlékek Magyarországban" *A Budapesti Magyar Állami Felső Építő Ipariskola 1917. évi szünidei felvételei,* vol VI, Budapest, 1918.
[25] Gyula Gosztonyi, *A várostemplom építéstörténete,* Pécs, no date.

remains, at the same time. Nevertheless, although Gosztonyi analyzed the Ottoman remains of the mosque in detail, his conclusions were sometimes mistaken.[26]

After the Second World War another monograph was prepared on the Ottoman monuments of Budapest by István Genthon, who described the monuments and their renovations after the war; but he went beyond his original task and looked for similar structures in other parts of Hungary.[27] Although he did not do any research on the buildings, he mentioned several times the necessity of it.

Research on Ottoman architecture in Hungary moved to a new level after the Second World War. The restoration of the damaged monuments made it possible to examine the buildings in detail, and this became the standard procedure for any kind of renovation under the new heritage preservation and restoration code.[28] The new preservation code stipulated a precondition of scientific research before any restoration

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[26] All of Gosztonyi's wrong conclusions were reevaluated and corrected in Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 50-53.

[27] István Genthon, *Török műemlékek,* Budapest, no date.

[28] The first institutional protection of historical monuments in Hungary dates back to 1872, and the first law on such protection passed in 1881. This law was strongly influenced by the concept of the sanctity of private property at that time. Restorations were carried out in the 'purist concept,' which meant that the historical monument was restored to its original state. In 1957 the National Commission for the Protection of Historical Monuments was replaced by the National Inspectorate for Historical Monuments. The new Hungarian protection policy has become two fold. It not only carries out the restoration of the buildings but also the ultimate goal is to find a framework for these buildings. For this reason the National Inspectorate for Historical Monuments has created its own staff of research workers and a design and construction department. After meticulous research the protection of the historical authenticity of the monuments and their presentation in an attractive form are the primary considerations of this policy. These modern principles of restoration were laid down in the 1964 Venice Charter. This law also protects the surroundings of historical monuments. The authority takes all decisions on the fate of the neighbouring buildings or if necessary even a larger area. Sixteen town centers and almost the whole of five villages were scheduled to be protected in this way in 1984. Deszö Dercsényi, *Historical Monuments and their Protection in Hungary,* Budapest, 1984.

work on a building. Moreover, this approach initiated new studies and excavations that revealed several Ottoman monuments or their ruins over the next few decades. Recording everything with scientific precision gave new information about Ottoman architecture in Hungary, as well as the possibility of modifying our knowledge and adding new aspects to already established conceptions.

A distinguished Hungarian scholar, Győző Gerő, who carried out several excavations in Baranya County and Budapest between 1955 and the 1980s, wrote a number of important studies, and still continues his research when his health permits. His research work went beyond detailed documentation and revealed connections between monuments in different parts of Hungary and even in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. His publications were used extensively in this thesis.

The Mosque of Yakovali Hasan Pasha in Pécs was excavated in 1955.[29] Research on the Mevlevi dervish monastery next to the mosque was carried out later in 1968-69 and 1971-72.[30] Gerő's 1961 excavation of the Türbe of Idris Pasha in Pécs uncovered the pasha's tomb and provided a record of the changes in the structure through the last century.[31] He continued to work in Budapest as well as in southwest Hungary.

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[29] Győző Gerő, *Pécs török műemlékei,* Budapest, 1960, pp. 22-30.
[30] Gerő, *Dzsámik.*
[31] Ibid.

In Szigetvár during the years 1960-61 Győző Gerő explored the Mosque of Sultan Süleyman, which is situated in the fortress of Szigetvár.[32] He also excavated the remains of the other mosque in Szigetvár, the Mosque of Ali Pasha, outside the fortress in 1967-68.[33] Two other research works in Szigetvár by different scholars were carried out. The little *Kuran* school was studied by Valéria Kováts, and the fortress of Szigetvár was excavated by Kováts and László Papp.[34]

János Fejes' study, written in 1937, examines the history of the city Siklós. This monographic work includes a short description of the Mosque of Malkoç Bey and according to his investigations the building was still standing at the end of the nineteenth century.[35] Excavations of the Mosque of Malkoç Bey were undertaken between 1969 and 1971, but the main structural research was only completed in 1976 by Győző Gerő.[36]

In addition to architectural undertakings, Győző Gerő also had salvage works scheduled very frequently. Any time a building was torn down in the historical part of the capital or other cities occupied by the Ottomans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he was there to salvage ruins or artifacts found during the digging. These works included one of the mosques in Pécs called the Mosque of Ferhad Pasha.[37] Today its ruins

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[32] Győző Gerő, "A szigetvári Szülejmán szultán dzsámi," *Műemlékvédelem,* vol. X, Budapest, 1966; *Török építészeti emlékek Magyarországon,* Budapest, 1976.
[33] Gerő, *Dzsámik.*
[34] Kováts Valéria, "Sziget várának kutatástörténetéhez," *Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve,* Pécs, 1966, p. 207.
[35] János Fejes, *Siklós múltja,* Siklós, 1937. The mosque was recently renovated and opened as a museum.
[36] Győző Gerő, "A Siklósi Malkocs Bej Dzsámi," Offprint from the *Építés- Építészettudomány,* vol. XV, no. 1-4, Budapest, 1983, pp. 117-31.
[37] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 67-69.

can be seen in the backyard of a house in downtown Pécs. The results of all these excavations and other related works in the country were published continuously in shorter or longer articles.[38] Monographs were also completed on the Ottoman architectural monuments in certain cities that were Ottoman centers, like Buda, Pécs, Szigetvár and Eger.[39]

Other scholars focused on the history of the above mentioned cities or on the development of city structure before and after the Ottoman occupation in the Middle Ages.[40] Ede Petrovich published and tried to identify Ottoman street names from a 1687 street and building registry.[41] He also delved into the history of the St. Augustine Church in the outskirts of Pécs, which was converted from a mosque after the Ottomans left the country.[42] Győző Gerő also prepared conference papers on the subject of Hungary as an Ottoman province,[43] on its trading connections in the Balkans,[44] and on the collaboration of Bosnian and Hungarian master builders and endowers.[45]

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[38] Győző Gerő, *Budapest Régiségei,* vol. XX, Budapest, 1963, p. 553; József Molnár, "A Rudas gyógyfürdő épitéstörténete," *Műemlékvédelem,* vol. XIII, Budapest, 1969, pp. 1-22.
[39] Győző Gerő, *Buda török műemlékei,* Budapest, 1957, and *Pécs török műemlékei,* Budapest, 1960; József Molnár, *Szigetvár török műemlékei* Budapest, 1958, and *Eger török műemlékei,* Budapest, 1961.
[40] Mária Sándor, "The town of Pécs in the Middle Age," *A középkori városalaprajz fejlődése a Kárpát-medencében,* Budapest, 1992; and Győző Gerő, "Középkori város – török város" *Dunántúli Dolgozatok (C) Történettudományi Sorozat,* vol. 3, Pécs, 1991, pp. 39-46.
[41] Ede Petrovich, "Pécs utcái és házai 1687-ben," *Baranya Helytörténetírás,* Pécs, 1969.
[42] Ede Petrovich, *A Szt. Ágostonról nevezett pécs-budai külvárosi plébánia története,* Pécs, 1952.
[43] Győző Gerő, "Die Stadt Pécs (Fünfkirchen) zur Türkenzeit," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae,* vol. 48, Budapest, 1996, pp. 454-62.
[44] Győző Gerő, "Die Türkische Provinz von Ungarn und Ihre Balkans – Beziehungen im XVI-XVII. Jahrhundert," *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi,* vol. II, Ankara, 1981, pp. 1454-60.
[45] Győző Gerő, "The Question of School and Master in the Study of the History of Muslim Architecture in Hungary," *The Muslim East: Studies in honour of Julius Germanus*, ed. Gy. Káldy-Nagy, Budapest, 1974, pp. 189-99.

Attila Gaál, an archaeologist and the director of the Museum of Szekszárd in Hungary, has excavated the Ottoman palisade fortresses along the Buda-Eszék-Belgrade route since 1975. He uncovered a palisade fortress at Újpalánk (New Palisade)[46] and reviewed the metal objects, clay moulds and blacksmith's tools found at the site, which indicates the existence of an Ottoman smithy in Hungary.[47]

Small articles covering materials found around the country from the Ottoman period include József Molnár's study on Ottoman stone washbasins.[48] He also wrote a book in French about Ottoman architectural monuments in Hungary, which was translated into Turkish in 1973.[49] This and an earlier work on the subject by Géza Fehér in Turkish[50] illustrate the growing willingness of Hungarian and Turkish scholars to work together.

As Turkish scholars started to pay attention to the Hungarian Ottoman monuments, they followed different approaches in documenting them. While Celal Esad Arseven only mentioned Ottoman remains in Hungary in his work,[51] Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi actually visited several Balkan countries and Hungary to collect information on

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[46] Attila Gaál, "Török palánkvárak a buda-eszéki út Tolna megyei szakaszán," *Studia Agriensia,* vol. 5, Eger, 1985, pp. 185-97.

[47] Attila Gaál, "Az ólommegmunkálás eszközei az újpalánki (Tolna megye) török palánkvár régészeti anyagában," *Iparrégészeti Kutatások Magyarországon (Égetőkemencék régészeti és interdiszciplináris kutatása), Sopron, 1980. VII. 28-30,* Veszprém, 1981, pp. 143-48.

[48] József Molnár, "Oszmán-török mosdómedencék Magyarországon," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő,* Budapest, 1957, pp. 3-4.

[49] József Molnár, *Monuments Turcs en Hongrie. Macaristan'daki Türk Anıtları,* Ankara, 1973. In my work I will be referring to the Turkish translation although the footnotes are not really useful as they were translated in a very ambiguous way and it is hard to tell what was the original title of certain references. (Hereafter referred to as Molnár, *Monuments*.)

[50] Géza Fehér, "Macaristan'da Türk mimari eserleri," *Akademi*, vol. V, Istanbul, March, 1966.

[51] Celal Esad Arseven, *Türk sanatı tarihi,* vol. IX, Istanbul, no date, p. 658; and *L'Art Turc,* Istanbul, 1939, p. 293.

remains and ruins.[52] Besides taking pictures of monuments, Ayverdi also took measurements and drew the plans and cross sections of them. I will be using a few of his architectural drawings of mosques in my study, although in some cases the scientific excavations confirmed that the precision of his drawings is debatable. Ayverdi used seventeenth-century contemporary sources, like Evliya Çelebi, to locate Ottoman monuments and to supplement information on the remains. As a result, his drawings make us reappraise the validity of earlier accounts on the buildings.

Oktay Aslanapa had several works published on Turkish art and architecture[53] as well as an article about the Ottoman monuments in Hungary.[54] I will be referring to his studies of Ottoman architecture to find comparisons for mosque, bath and tomb examples in Hungary. Important sources on the topic of Ottoman architecture by Turkish scholars were published in English. These include works by Aptullah Kuran[55] and Doğan Kuban.[56]

From the English sources on Ottoman history and art I looked at many works of accomplished scholars. The most basic literature includes books and articles by Stanford Shaw,[57] Godfrey Goodwin,[58] Robert Hillenbrand,[59] Oleg Grabar,[60] Howard Crane,[61] and

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[52] Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri. Romanya, Macaristan,* vol. I, Istanbul, 1977. Also *Yugoslavya'da Türk Abideleri ve Vakiflari*, Ankara, 1957.
[53] Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, London, 1971; *Türk Sanatı I-II,* Istanbul, 1973, second printing 1984; *Osmanli Devri Mimarisi*, Istanbul, 1986.
[54] Oktay Aslanapa, "Macaristan'da Türk Abideleri," *Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi,* vol. I, Istanbul, 1949, pp. 325-44.
[55] Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago, 1968; "Architecture: the Classical Ottoman Achievement," *Süleyman the Second and his time*, ed. Halil Inalcık and Cemal Kafadar, Istanbul, 1993, pp. 317-32.
[56] Doğan Kuban, *Muslim Religious Architecture*, Brill, Leiden, 1974; *Ottoman Culture and Arts*, BBA, Istanbul, 1986.
[57] Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. I, Cambridge, 1976; *Studies in Ottoman and Turkish History: Life With The Ottomans,* Istanbul, 2000; "Ottoman and

Gülru Necipoğlu.[62] On the organization and the role of the court architects in the Ottoman Empire there are several good sources in Turkish and English as well.[63]

Mimar Sinan, the most famous and influential chief imperial architect of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century, inspired many later architects with his buildings and innovative construction methods. A number of scholars have documented and analyzed his works and his working methods. I used several of these sources to provide a summary of the great architect.[64]

Turkish Studies in the United States," *The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History*, ed. Kemal H. Karpat, E. J. Brill: Leiden, 1974, pp. 118-26.

[58] Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London, 1971.

[59] Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning*, Edinburgh, 1994.

[60] Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, Yale University Press: London, 1973.

[61] Howard Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosque: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy," *Ottoman City and Its Parts*, ed. Irene A. Bierman, Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj and Donald Preziosi, New York, 1991.

[62] Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, The Architectural History Foundation, New York, New York, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991; "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas*, vol. 3, 1985, pp. 92-118; "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *Art Bulletin*, 71, 1989, pp. 401-27; *The Topkapi Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture,* Santa Monica, CA, 1995.

[63] Cafer Efendi, *Risale-i mi'mariyye: an early seventeenth-century Ottoman treatise on architecture,* trans. and notes by Howard Crane, in the series Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture, vol. 1, E. J. Brill: Leiden, 1987; Aptullah Kuran, " Ottoman Classical Mosques in Istanbul and the Provinces," *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies,* Cambridge, 1988, pp. 13-14; Gülru Necipoğlu, "Plans and Models in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* vol. 45, 1986, pp. 224-43; Cengiz Orhonlu, "Şehir Mimarları," *Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda Şehircilik ve ulaşım*, ed. Salih Özbaran, Izmir, 1984; Şerafettin Turan, "Osmanlı Teşkilatında Hassa Mimarları," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 1, 1964, pp. 157-202.

[64] Aptullah Kuran, *Sinan: the grand old master of Ottoman architecture*, Institute of Turkish Studies, Washington, D.C., Ada Press Publishers: Istanbul, 1987; Godfrey Goodwin, *Sinan: Ottoman Architecture and its Values Today*, Saqi Books: London, 1993; Gülru Necipoğlu, "Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas*, vol. 10, 1993, pp. 169-80; Doğan Kuban, *Sinan's Art and Selimiye*, Istanbul, 1997; and several articles in "Mimar Sinan The Urban Vision," *Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli, Rome, 1988.

Finally it is necessary to mention the most important source I have used during my research work: Győző Gerő's book on Ottoman-Turkish architecture in Hungary which was published in 1980.[65] His work is by far the most useful academic approach I have found to this subject in Hungary and Turkey, and his research has laid the groundwork for this paper. Even with his study, there is still much to discover, excavate, and investigate.

[65] His work includes only mosques, baths and tombs, Gerő, *Dzsámik*.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In order to understand Hungary's situation in the sixteenth century, it is necessary to look at the political circumstances in Europe that led to the conquest of the country by the Ottoman Empire. In this chapter I will attempt to summarize the events in the years 1519-1526 immediately preceding the Battle of Mohács that marked the beginning of the Ottoman occupation in Hungary. I will also review the previous century to present a picture of the power struggles among the European rulers. It is important to consider the complex political and religious situations in Europe and Asia Minor in order to perceive the social and cultural differences a great empire could make in a small corner of the world like Hungary. After that, the Battle of Mohács and the Ottoman conquest of the central part of Hungary between 1526-1566 will be discussed.

I have used texts from different languages to present a detailed picture of the historical events prior to and during the Ottoman conquests in Hungary and have tried to situate it within a broader framework of East-West relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

1. Political affairs in Europe leading to the fall of Hungary, 1519-1526

The political situation in the first decades of the sixteenth century in Europe is marked by the emergence of two possible nominees to the leadership of the Holy Roman Empire, the Habsburg emperor Charles V (1519-56) and the king of France, Francis I

(1515-46).[66] The two rivals, in order to get elected, agreed on mobilizing the military forces of Europe against the Ottoman Empire. However, this initial military cooperation deteriorated quickly as Francis' influence decreased and Charles amassed great power.

Süleyman I ruled the Ottoman Empire from 1520-66 (Fig. 6). He inherited a country that controlled rich trade routes and centres in Asia Minor and the Near East. With ample reserves in the treasury and a high state income,[67] he was able to support his plans for wider conquests. It was during his reign that the Ottoman Empire reached its peak. Although his legal and administrative achievements were so remarkable that the Ottomans gave him the title of Kanuni, the Lawgiver, he spent more time on military campaigns than at home controlling the corruption of the central ruling institutions.[68]

The Ottoman Empire stretched from the Danube to the Persian Gulf (Fig. 3) when Charles V was chosen to be the head of the Holy Roman Empire in March 1521. He was already king of his homeland Austria, as well as of Germany, Burgundy and Spain. It was he and Francis in the first quarter of the sixteenth century who had crossed swords over European territorial claims and conquests. As a consequence of the struggles between the two rulers, Europe was divided instead of united in defense of its territories.

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[66] Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age 1300-1600*, London, 1973, p. 35.
[67] On Süleyman's income see Albert Howe Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, New York, 1966, pp. 179-82.
[68] Süleyman was accused of causing the decline of the Ottoman Empire because of his absence from the Palace. See Inalcik, op. cit., p. 41-52; and Peter F. Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, Seattle, 1977, pp. 65-71.

Süleyman took advantage of this disunity and made his first move towards Belgrade, which was the last major fortress on the Danube in non-Ottoman hands. This key fortress had withstood Ottoman assaults for over half a century, but it finally collapsed in 1521. In the eastern Mediterranean the last main Christian stronghold, Rhodes, fell in 1522.[69] These series of captures marked the renewal of the Ottoman offensive in Europe.

Turkish scholars saw the war between the two European rulers as an opportunity for Süleyman's advances, but Peter F. Sugar states that Charles V "represented a serious danger" to the Ottoman sultan and also to Francis I.[70] Charles' eventual aim was to reestablish the "Christian unity within a new Holy Roman Empire,"[71] which would have helped to protect Hungary. Consequently, Süleyman and Francis of France made a secret alliance in order to prevent a single power from controlling Europe.

However, the spread of Lutheranism created an internal conflict for Charles with the Protestant princes of Germany. The Diet declined any assistance to Hungary before solving the German religious problem.[72] Süleyman also made contact with and supported the Protestants, a support that became one of the keystones of his policy in Europe.[73]

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[69] Roger Bigelow Merriman, *Suleiman the Magnificent 1520-1566*, New York, 1966, pp. 50-75.
[70] Sugar, op. cit., p. 68.
[71] Stephen A. Fischer-Galati, *Ottoman Imperialism and German Protestantism 1521-1555*, Cambridge, 1959, p. 14. For Charles' aims and foreign policy see W. Bradford, ed. *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V and his Ambassadors at the Courts of England and France*, London, 1850.
[72] Fischer-Galati, op. cit., pp. 13-37.
[73] Inalcik, op. cit., p. 37.

At this point it is necessary to examine the affairs of Hungary, especially as they concern the expansion of Habsburg power in the fifteenth century. The Habsburgs had had a legitimate claim on the Hungarian throne since Albert of Habsburg was crowned King of Hungary in 1437. After he died in 1440, the Habsburgs and the Hungarian nobles struggled to select a series of monarchs from their own factions.

Eventually a strong Hungarian ruler Mátyás (Matthias) Hunyadi came to the throne between 1458-90. He organized a permanent army, built several fortifications on the southern borders of Hungary by the Danube, and defeated the attacking Ottoman armies. The country flourished under him; security and internal order were not a concern for the population.

After the death of King Mátyás nobody considered anymore the possibility of an Ottoman offensive. The Hungarian nobles disregarded the events in the Balkans and elected a weak king, Uladislaus Jagiello of Bohemia, as their ruler.[74] Year by year the military strength of the country declined while the discord among the nobles grew.

The Habsburgs were interested in laying the foundations of their supremacy over the Hungarians and Europe. Maximilian I (1459-1519), the Holy Roman Emperor, arranged marriages between his granddaughter Mary and Uladislaus's infant son Lajos (Louis), and one of his grandsons, Ferdinand, to Lajos' sister Anna. From this point on,

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[74] The Jagiello dynasty ruled Poland and Lithuania from 1386 to 1572, Hungary from 1440-1444 and again from 1490 to 1526, and Bohemia from 1471 to 1526. It took its name from Ladislaus Jagiello, grand duke of Lithuania, who became king of Poland as Ladislaus II in 1386 when he married Queen Jadwiga of Poland. Under Jagiello rule Poland reached its golden age. Uladislaus Jagiello was crowned as Ulászló II in 1490 and ruled Hungary until 1516.

Maximilian's attitude towards Hungary changed. He became anxious to protect the interest of his family, and he wanted to strengthen Eastern Europe against the renewal of the Ottoman offensive.[75]

For these plans Maximilian needed help, and he turned to the German Diet to obtain support. Unfortunately, he could not persuade the German princes that military action against a remote enemy was of greater importance than their own problems. Charles V, Maximilian's grandson, succeeded him in 1519 as Holy Roman Emperor and had to face internal problems as well. Although Maximilian had assured the Habsburg succession and its control over Hungary and Bohemia, he could not deal with the increasing Lutheran revolt,[76] and anarchy prevailed in the Holy Roman Empire.

Between 1516-26 Lajos (Louis) II sat on the throne as the King of Hungary (Fig. 6). The Habsburgs had their territorial claims over Hungary but would not support it against an attack from the east. This attitude would play a decisive part during the next few decades in shaping the course of the history of Hungary, the Habsburg dynasty, and Europe.

2. The Battle of Mohács and the conquest of Hungary, 1526-1566

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[75] Fischer-Galati, op. cit., pp. 11-12. On Maximilian's biography see Glenn Elwood Waas, *The Legendary Character of Kaiser Maximilian*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, reprint 1966.

[76] Fischer-Galati, op. cit., p. 11.

Amid this chaos two years after Maximilian's death, Süleyman I started to advance toward southeastern Europe. After Belgrade's collapse in 1521, Süleyman continued his invasion towards Hungary and won the Battle of Mohács (Fig. 7) on August 29, 1526.[77] Jane de Iongh, in her biography of Queen Mary,[78] the wife of King Lajos, describes the battle as follows:

> "On August 29 a cloudless sky lay radiant over the wide plain of Mohács. At break of day the Hungarian commanders had drawn up their troops in battle order along as broad a front as possible. Their numbers had increased slightly in the last few days so that about twenty-eight thousand Hungarians were preparing to defend their country against a tenfold enemy....
> Exhausting hours passed in waiting. The Turkish troops, known to be encamped behind the hills, did not show themselves. ...
> Then, at three in the afternoon, out of the valley of Mohács the first Turkish riders appear and simultaneously the Hungarian trumpets announcing the attack echo over the plain. ... Like devils the armed figures cut themselves a path with their flashing swords through the picked Turkish troops. ...
> Then from more than three hundred cannon, chained together, the first salvo breaks forth upon the approaching Hungarian horsemen, who are not more than ten paces from the guns. Horses and riders crash to the ground, a thick fog of smoke and dust covers the battlefield, indescribable confusion overcomes the galloping squadrons. Then follows the Turkish flank-attack which is to cause the defeat of the heroic Hungarians. They fight on, surrounded by an overwhelmingly

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[77] The key contemporary accounts of the Battle of Mohács have been examined by Merriman in his book *Suleiman the Magnificent 1520-1566*, New York, 1966. Kemal Pasha Zadeh (b. 1468? - 9, d. 1534) was an Ottoman scholar and held the *Şeyhülislam* position from 1526 to his death. He wrote an important account of the Mohács campaign that became the last book of his biggest work on the history of the Ottomans, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, 10 books. The Mohács campaign was translated into French with notes by M. Pavet de Courteille under the title of *Historie de la Campagne de Mohács*, Paris, 1869. Recently the *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, was published with introduction and notes in Turkish by Sefaettin Severcan, and the text in romanized Ottoman Turkish in Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1996. On the Hungarian side Bishop-chancellor István Brodarics (ca.1470-1539), wrote about the battle, where he was present and survived. His *Clades in Campo Mohacs* appeared in Simon Richard's *Historicum Opus*, vol. II, Basel, 1574, pp. 1185-86. Its original edition was published in Krakow in 1527. The Hungarian translation was done by Imre Szentpétery under the title of *Brodarics Históriája a mohácsi vészről*, Budapest, 1903. I used a later publication of the account: Brodarics István, *Igaz leirás a magyaroknak a törökökkel Mohácsnál vivott csatájáról*, Budapest, 1983, preface and notes by Gábor Szigethy, translated by Tibor Kardos. Another Christian source is the *Oratio Protreptica*, Vienna, n.d., by John Cuspinianus, a doctor and diplomatic agent to the Emperor Maximilian.

[78] Jane de Iongh, *Mary of Hungary*, London, 1959, pp. 99-101.

> superior force, but their fate is sealed. Only a few succeed in escaping their pursuers at the fall of evening in the heavy downpour of a cloudburst."[79]

The young Hungarian king managed to escape the battle but lost his life in a nearby creek which was swollen from the rain. The inglorious death of King Lajos and the loss of his kingdom would become the most painful and shameful moment of the Hungarian nation's history.[80]

It is obvious that the country was not prepared to resist a major Ottoman offensive. As de Iongh writes: "Only next day did the Turks discover that what they had defeated in an hour and a half's battle was the entire Hungarian army."[81] The country was still suffering from the great peasant revolt of 1514, the nobility was restless and divided, the king had no money and power, and his distress messages to Charles V were received unfavourably.[82]

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[79] The size of the two armies has been a source of discussion ever since. Certainly the contemporary estimates on both sides are exaggerated. Hungarian commanders told the King that the Sultan had perhaps 300,000 men. But Turkish sources stated that the Sultan left Constantinople with 100,000 men and 300 cannon. He encountered losses on his way to the borders of Hungary, and it is doubtful that he still had the 300 cannon by that time. The total of the Turkish fighting troops was probably between 45,000 and 55,000. The actual size of the Hungarian army is almost equally difficult to estimate. There were reinforcements continuously joining the bare 4,000 men King Lajos brought with him from Buda. The Sultan announced after the victory that he put the numbers of the Christian enemies at approximately 150,000. But probably the true figures were somewhere between 25,000 and 28,000 men. See more details in Merriman, op. cit., pp. 85-90; Ferenc Szakály, *A mohácsi csata*, Budapest, 1981, pp. 28-29. Arminius Vambery gives a brief account of conditions in Hungary in his book *The Story of Hungary*, New York, 1886, reprint 1972. Vámbéry was partial towards his country and glamorized the Hungarian nation while he exaggerated the size of the Ottoman army. His accounts are not based on facts but rather on noteworthy events and personalities.

[80] To commemorate the event, the Historical Park of Mohács was established in 1976 at the place of the battle.

[81] De Iongh, op. cit., p. 101.

[82] Charles considered the Italian wars more important which were being fought against Francis I of France at the same time as the disaster of Mohács. Fischer-Galati, op. cit., pp. 13-16.

There were several reasons for the loss of the battle and it would be unfair just to blame Western Europe. The Hungarians were equally unprepared and unorganized. The army was without real artillery power. I found only a few notes about cannons, guns and "large numbers of heavy-armored wagons"[83] on the Hungarian side, and the same source later mentions that "the Turkish artillery was far more skilfully handled than that of their opponents."[84] Beside the Hungarian cavalry, there were professional soldiers from Germany, Poland and Bohemia, and their hostility and jealousy towards each other made it impossible for them to combine effectively. The peasants were unable to participate because the nobles were afraid of giving weapons to them after their revolt in 1514.

Reinforcements were coming from Croatia, Bohemia and Transylvania under the lead of the voivod, János (John) Zápolyai, who was the leader of the anti-Habsburg faction; but the Hungarian nobility did not want to wait for him because many of them were hostile to Zápolyai. Filled with overconfidence, they chose a battlefield that gave great advantage to the Ottoman army that occupied the other parts of the hills surrounding the plain of Mohács.

All the mistakes and selfish decisions made in previous years and at the battle led to the annihilation of the Hungarian army along with most of the country's leaders. From this point on Hungary was not a threat. After the victory at Mohács Süleyman led his

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[83] Merriman, op. cit., p. 90. He mentions only 80 guns. Also, István Brodarics talks about the request of King Lajos II to the Habsburg Empire to send cannons, because they heard that the Ottomans were well equipped with artillery but the Hungarians not, in *Igaz leirás a magyaroknak a törökökkel Mohácsnál vivott csatájáról*, Budapest, 1983, pp. 27-28, and 41.

[84] Merriman, op. cit., p. 91. In a footnote he mentions Cuspinianus, who speaks of the lack of expert direction for the Hungarian artillery. For Cuspinianus see footnote 77 in this thesis.

army towards the capital, and it plundered, murdered and burned everything that came in its path. He burnt Buda and spared only the Castle, which the Sultan chose as his residence. Several other cities fell under the Ottoman conquest, too. But Süleyman did not want to spend the winter in this devastated country and at the end of September he returned to Istanbul.[85] Hungary was not even considered capable of rising again.

That he left the country so quickly also indicates that Süleyman did not think about permanent conquest. As the Turkish historian Kemal Pasha Zadeh wrote: "The time when this province should be annexed to the possession of Islam had not yet arrived, nor the day come when the heroes of the Holy War should honour the rebel plains with their presence. The matter was therefore postponed to a more suitable occasion..."[86] The decisive defeat allowed the Ottomans to focus on their Persian front[87] and leave the new European territory only as a vassal state, like Wallachia and Moldavia.[88]

The state administration and the sultan were aware of the difficulties and the expenses that the establishment of direct Ottoman rule in a foreign country far away from the capital would cause to their empire. At this moment the sultan was not forced to change his plans until further complications disturbed the state of affairs in Hungary.[89]

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[85] Ibid., pp. 95-96.
[86] Quoted in Merriman, op. cit, p. 95.
[87] Inalcik, op. cit., pp. 38-39.
[88] Sugar, op. cit., pp. 121-26.
[89] Concerning the plans of Sultan Süleyman there are different views among scholars. Some Hungarian scholars believe that the Ottoman Empire's definite target was to occupy Hungary, and the prolongation of its completion can be explained by tactical reasons. For more details see Pál Fodor, "Ottoman Policy Towards Hungary, 1520-1541, *In Quest of The Golden Apple: Imperial Ideology, Politics, and Military Administration in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul, 2000, pp. 105-69.

We should briefly look at these affairs, since they are important in understanding Süleyman's changing decisions about the relation of the new province to the empire.

After the disastrous battle at Mohács Hungary was left without a king. János Zápolyai became one of the candidates for the Hungarian throne supported by the majority of the Hungarian nobility. Not only was he the richest man in the country and related to King Lajos II by marriage,[90] but his army was the only one left unharmed.

His opponent was Ferdinand of Habsburg who immediately claimed the country. Ferdinand, younger brother of Charles V, had inherited Austria and acquired the kingship of Hungary through his marriage to Anna of Hungary.[91] Unfortunately, he was lacking in political experience and power and was unable to fight the activities of the Hungarian nobility. He could not deal with the internal affairs (the spread of the Reformation and quarrels between the nobles), and without sufficient personal resources he had to rely on his brother and the German Diet to save Hungary from a possible Ottoman return.

Zápolyai was elected King of Hungary by the greater part of the noble faction in November. He occupied Buda and most of the country evacuated by the Ottomans. However, the Hungarian partisans of the Habsburgs crowned Ferdinand as King of Hungary a month later. He attacked Zápolyai in the capital and expelled him from the

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[90] Zápolyai's wife, Isabella, was the daughter of King Sigismund I of Poland (1506-48) who was the uncle of Lajos II. So she was a Jagiello as well as King Lajos II.
[91] She was the sister of King Lajos II.

city. This started a civil war in the country that lasted until 1538.[92] After a few unsuccessful years of fighting, Zápolyai asked Süleyman for help against the Habsburgs and recognized Sultan Süleyman as an overlord.

With the death of János Zápolyai in 1540, another problem arose for the Habsburgs when Zápolyai's widow, Isabella, could not hold the throne for their infant child, János Zsigmond (John Sigismund),[93] and needed substantial forces against the Austrian army. At this time Süleyman not only drove the invaders out but he finally changed Buda into an *eyalet*,[94] bringing the country under direct Ottoman rule.[95] He assigned the eastern provinces of Hungary to János Zsigmond, making him the king with his mother as a regent (Fig. 9).

This was a significant decision which divided Hungary into three parts (Fig. 4). The central part with the capital Buda was an Ottoman *eyalet*, on the east the Principality of Transylvania became a vassal state, and the west was seized by Ferdinand. Although Süleyman planned to transform all of Hungary into a province, he realized that by assigning the eastern parts to Isabella and her son he did not have to leave behind any of

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[92] For more details on the civil war and the campaigns of Süleyman see Merriman, op. cit., pp. 97-125, and Inalcik, op. cit., 35-40.

[93] János Zsigmond Zápolyai was born a few months before his father died in 1540. Süleyman recognized him as his vassal and king of Hungary. During his childhood his mother acted as regent from 1541-1551 and again from 1556-1559. János Zsigmond ruled between 1559-71 in Transylvania.

[94] *Eyalet* means province or administrative district in the Ottoman Empire. The administrative centers were originally called *sancak*s. Later they became known as *beylerbeyilik*s, and after the sixteenth century they were referred to as *eyalet*s with subdivisions called as *sancak*s.

[95] Prior to the reign of Beyazit I most European lands were tied to the Ottoman Empire by vassalage or by alliances. Beyazit began to transform his conquered lands into outright Ottoman provinces, but his work collapsed in 1402. It was only with the beginning of the rule of Mehmet I (1413) that the lands of Southeastern Europe became permanent Ottoman provinces again. Originally Süleyman wanted to follow the traditional vassalage example.

his manpower to create an Ottoman province. The lands of Transylvania were out of the zone of the sultan's political interest and too remote to hold without considerable difficulty.[96]

Süleyman's last campaign was against Szigetvár in 1566 (Fig. 8, 21). Szigetvár lay in the border territory between the Habsburg Empire and Hungary and had a brave commander, Miklós (Nicholas) Zrínyi,[97] who had previously defeated the Ottoman army. Zrínyi never yielded to his attackers and his last move was to rally out of the fortress and die by the sword of the enemy.

Süleyman did not live to see the capture of the fortress. When he left Istanbul his health was already failing. During the siege he became more and more furious because of the failed attacks and ordered the explosion of the principal bastion. He died that night, probably from a heart attack, at the age of seventy-two. His death was kept a secret until his successor Selim II (1566-1574) reached Istanbul and secured his throne.[98]

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[96] F. Szakály, *A mohácsi csata,* Budapest, 1981, pp. 120-22.

[97] Miklós (Nicholas) Zrinyi was originally a Croatian count but he had rendered a great service to Hungary so he was accepted by the Hungarian nobles as an equal. In 1566 he turned Süleyman's attention to him by killing Mohammed of Trikala, a *sancak bey* at Siklós, who was one of Süleyman's greatest favorites. Peçevi, *Tarihi*, p. 28.

[98] Merriman, op. cit., pp. 288-89.

CHAPTER THREE

CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES IN THE NEW PROVINCE

1. The establishment of Ottoman rule, 1566-1664

The year 1566 marked the separation between conquests and the establishment of Ottoman regulation.[99] The changes in the political status of Hungary brought economic and social changes as well. The migration of the Hungarian population from the occupied cities generated a vacuum soon to be filled by immigrants from Bosnia.[100] Previously, during an Ottoman conquest, these settlers would have been mostly Turkish migrants,[101] as in the *eyalet*s of Rumelia[102] and Bosnia. In Hungary the Ottomans appointed the converted Bosnian nobles to governing positions, and the development of urban settlements in the new province took a different direction.[103]

The conquest of the Balkans had started under Murad I (1360-1389) and it had been followed by the colonization of the eastern part of the peninsula called Thrace. This area had been mostly uninhabited because of border wars between Bulgaria and

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[99] Some smaller provinces were created later, thus besides Buda, Bosnia and Rumelia, the European mainland *eyalet*s also comprised the *eyalet* ofTemesvár prior to the seventeenth century. Later the *eyalet* of Kanizsa was added, and after 1660, for a period of about twenty-five years, Várad became an *eyalet* too. Sugar, op. cit., p. 71.

[100] Gyula Káldy-Nagy, "Madjar, Madjaristan, ii: The Ottoman Period," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 5, Leiden, 1986, pp. 1022-24.

[101] As the conquered lands belonged to the sultan he granted the rights to a share in the new domain to his loyal supporters. These rights were known as *timar*s, and the man who received such a right in return of military service was a *timar*-holder, see for more details Sugar, op. cit., pp. 93-100.

[102] The *eyalet* of Rumelia covered most of the Balkans except Bosnia, which was a separate administrative district.

[103] For more information see Sugar, op. cit., pp. 72-92.

Byzantium.[104] The Muslim Turks who began to populate the region created a popular base for the development and spread of Ottoman art and architecture. Slowly the Balkan Slavs in surrounding areas converted to Islam and in the beginning of the fifteenth century Albania was incorporated into the empire (Fig. 3). In Bosnia the followers of the long oppressed Bogomil sect[105] converted to Islam en masse, and by doing so they could keep their lands and their own ruling class rather than being governed by foreigners.

As one *sancak*[106] was established after another in Hungary, a considerable amount of local autonomy was left to the local Christian population according to their compliance with the new rules and taxes. The Ottomans were not oppressive patrons.[107] They did not want to disturb the existing outlines of the cities they captured, but they altered the nature of the focal points, such as Christian churches, by converting them into mosques, or by adding new structures to the city such as public baths, markets and schools. The earlier a city was captured by the Ottoman Empire and the more settlers they brought, the more and sooner these changes occurred. So the characteristic look of the Ottoman city had

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[104] Machiel Kiel, "Some Reflections on the Origins of Provincial Tendencies in the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans," *Islam in the Balkans – Persian Art and Culture of the 18th and 19th Centuries: Papers arising from a Symposium held to celebrate the World of Islam Festival at the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 28-30 July 1978*, ed. Jennifer M. Scarce, Edinburgh, 1979, pp. 19-28. This article was also published in Machiel Kiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, England, 1990, article X. (Hereafter referred to as Kiel, Some Reflections.)

[105] The Bogomils were a heretical Christian sect suffering from religious persecution. Even though they disliked the Roman Catholic Church, which tried to bring them back to the "true" church, the last Bosnian king applied for help against the Ottoman invasion to the Vatican. This help never arrived and the Bosnians were subjugated to the Ottoman Empire. Amir Pašić, *Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Hercegovina*, trans. Midhat Ridjanović, Istanbul, 1994, p. 181. For more information on the history of the Balkans see Edgar Hösch, *The Balkans: A Short History from Greek Times to the Present Day*, trans. Tania Alexander, London, 1972, pp. 87-103.

[106] A *sancak* is a provincial administrative unit, major subdivision of an *eyalet*, see footnote 94.

[107] Stanford J. Shaw discussed this in an essay "Ottoman and Turkish Studies in the United States," *The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History*, ed. Kemal H. Karpat, Leiden, 1974, pp. 118-26.

different features in particular provinces. The numerous mosques with their minarets, public baths, *bedestans* (covered markets) inns and fountains quickly became part of the cityscape in Rumelia and Bosnia, while their appearance in Hungarian cities was more limited or never emerged at all.

The differences in the establishment of Ottoman administration within the borders of Hungary mainly resulted from the geographic location of a specific city and its relation to the military and trade routes in the empire. The main route from Belgrade to Buda followed the line of the ancient Roman road system alongside the Danube (Fig. 5). In the Balkans under the Roman Empire the "Danubian cities" were created at strategically important positions. They developed around Roman military garrisons and "their inhabitants were almost exclusively soldiers, taverners, administrators, and traders."[108] This pattern was the same in the Roman-Hungarian province Pannonia,[109] where cities were built on the model of the Roman archetype. The town was an administrative unit that included the urban center as well as the surrounding agricultural lands. During the next centuries the garrisons developed into walled, towered and moated castles that became the permanent residences of the nobility, and the urban areas grew around the castles. From the thirteenth century on, invasions and the struggles for autonomy damaged the cities, and by the fourteenth century the clashes resulted in weakened

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[108] Traian Stoianovich, "Model and Mirror of the Premodern Balkan City," *La Ville Balkanique, XVe-XIXe Siècles*, vol. 3, of *Studia Balcanica*, ed. Nikolai Todorov, Sofia, 1970, p. 85.

[109] The Romans conquered Pannonia in the 1st century B.C.E. Its borders were the Danube in the north and east, the Alps on the west and the River Drava on the south. Under the Roman administration Latin was spoken and the cities became municipalities and colonies, and their inhabitants enjoyed the privilege of self-government. Life in the provinces was modeled after Roman models, and the cities started to be reminiscent of Rome with forums and other public buildings.

settlements. As a result the Ottoman Empire was able to establish itself easily in the Balkans and in Hungary.

City development in the interior regions (mainly between the Danube and the Tisza [Theiss] rivers), in part, took the form of the towns along the Danube. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the population growth of Hungary provided the motivation to build towns along the left bank of the Danube. These new medieval towns developed slowly before the spread of grain cultivation and the building of roads. A number of villages expanded into agricultural cities and market centers and became the so-called "prairie towns."[110] These prairie towns and the large plain between the Danube and Tisza rivers, which came under direct Ottoman rule as the central part of the tripartite country (Fig. 4), required particular attention. Although this area was largely cultivated, the inhabitants had to know how to work under special circumstances like spring floods and the high alkali content of the soil. It is suggested that newly settled Turkish farmers would not have survived under these conditions, and the empire could not have provided any support for them.[111]

The consequence was a unique development in these towns. Since the great peasant revolt of 1514, the Hungarian peasantry had been chronically at odds with the nobility. When the nobles retreated from the invading Ottoman army, the peasants chose

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[110] They are called in Latin *oppida*, in Hungarian *mezővárosok*, for more information on Prairie towns see Sugar, op. cit., pp. 89-92, and József Perényi, "Villes hongroises sous la domination Ottomane aux XVIe-XVIIe siècles. Les Chefs-lieux de l'administration Ottomane," *La Ville Balkanique, XVe-XIXe Siècles*, vol. 3, of *Studia Balcanica*, ed. Nikolai Todorov, Sofia, 1970, pp. 25-31.

[111] Sugar, op. cit., p. 88.

to remain but to live in well-protected towns rather than the villages. Therefore the Hungarian population remained mostly in these areas.[112] The prairie towns acquired the lands of the deserted villages which became properties owned by the Ottoman government. Despite this fact, the lands were identified with the cities and considered part of them.[113] Animal husbandry was introduced to the deserted areas, and the cities had to pay a tithe on the animals they raised and a land tax (*haraç*) to the Ottoman Empire. Another interesting feature of the prairie towns was that they did not have Muslim officials. These towns ruled themselves, and the representatives of the sultan appeared only to collect taxes.[114]

The areas between the Danube and the Tisza were militarily insignificant and therefore lacked substantial Ottoman architecture. The Ottoman military force was concentrated on the right bank of the Danube in a 250-kilometre-long narrow strip which did not reach a width of 100 km even at its widest southern area (Fig. 5). A chain of fortresses was taken over by Ottomans troops, who then brought craftsmen to renovate the damaged strongholds and to construct new fortresses. The surviving walls of Szigetvár and Buda are mainly the result of their creation.

Administrative centers were set up in cities such as Pécs, Szigetvár and Siklós in the southwest, and Buda, Esztergom and Székesfehérvár in the north-central area. In

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[112] According to Gyula Káldy-Nagy in the town of Szeged the population consisted of 1449 families in 1522 before the Ottoman conquest, but in the register of 1546 under the Ottoman occupation 1345 families were counted. So only around one hundred families left the town, "Madjar, Madjaristan, ii: The Ottoman Period," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 5, Leiden, 1986, pp. 1022-24.

[113] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 17-24.

[114] Sugar, op. cit., p. 91.

Hungary the "Turkish" officials were mostly converted Bosnians who had lived with Serbian merchants and artisans in the Balkans for centuries.[115] As the Bosnians moved into the new Ottoman province as higher-ranking officials, tradesmen, artisans and peasants of Serbian and other nationalities followed them.[116]

The types of troops and the number of soldiers in the garrisons fluctuated in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries but they were not reduced even in the relatively long periods of peace.[117] The ratio between the number of paid soldiers in Hungary and Bosnia (73%) and the number of the soldiers defending the eastern borders of the Ottoman Empire (16%) is significant.[118] These data suggest that the Ottoman Empire considered it necessary to keep a more substantial military force in the smaller European provinces than in the larger Middle East areas. Hungary was not a threat to the Ottoman Empire after the battle of Mohács and did not show any resistance to cooperation with the

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[115] Evliya Çelebi said about the inhabitants of Buda that all of them were Bosnians, but they spoke the Hungarian language very well, Evliya, *Travels*, p. 288. He mentioned the same thing about Szigetvár on p. 552. Peter F. Sugar also mentions that these places became truly Muslim cities because of the fleeing Christians. He brings Buda's population as an example: in 1500 the capital had 5000 Christian inhabitants, by 1547 the number of Christians was around 1000, and in 1627 this number had fallen to about seventy, Sugar, op. cit., p. 88.

[116] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 20-24. This was also pointed out by Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu in "Balkanlarda Osmanlı Mimarisi," *Tarih Çevresi, Tarih ve Kültür Dergisi*, no. 11, Istanbul, 1994, pp. 27-36.

[117] In the sixteenth century in Hungary the military force can be put at least 25,000 soldiers; that meant about 18,000 garrison soldiers and 7,000 *sipahi*s who received a *timar* for military services. For exact numbers see Klára Hegyi, "The Ottoman Military Force in Hungary," *Hungarian-Ottoman Military and Diplomatic Relations in the Ages of Süleyman the Magnificent*, ed. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, Budapest, 1994, pp. 131-48. Although there are several good studies on the Ottoman military forces, the scope of this work does not allow me to list all the data about them; for more information see also *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: the military confines in the era of Ottoman conquest*, ed. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, Leiden, Boston, 2000; Klára Hegyi - Zimányi Vera, *The Ottoman Empire in Europe*, Budapest, 1986; Klára Hegyi, *Török berendeszkedés Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1995.

[118] Klára Hegyi, op. cit., 1994, p. 148.

Sultan. For the Ottoman realm it was the Habsburg Empire and Europe that remained the enemies.

The geographical position of the conquered central part of Hungary determined the characteristics of Ottoman rule in the country. The fact that the Ottomans used Hungary as a buffer state against the European forces explains why they did not try to directly influence the everyday life of their new subjects. While Ottoman supremacy brought profound changes in the social, cultural and religious life of the different nations in the Balkans, Hungary survived the Ottoman period without major institutional changes. This fact influenced the number and size of the building projects.

In the Balkans Ottoman expansion overlapped with a period of unrest. In addition to social and economic discontent, there was the religious hatred between the competing Orthodox and Latin Christian churches. While the ruling classes looked to the West and the Catholic Church for help against the Ottomans, the peasants were aware of the religious toleration and less burdensome system of taxation associated with Islam. Many members of the Balkan military aristocracy were granted *timar*s on the same basis as those granted to Muslims,[119] and they became pashas and *bey*s[120] in Hungary and patrons of architecture in the new province.

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[119] Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*, New York, 1972, pp. 16-18.
[120] *Bey* can mean ruler, governor, and gentleman. In the provinces it usually referred to a governor.

In the Balkans and Hungary the members of the Bektashi or the Mevlevi dervish orders[121] who accompanied the Janissary troops led the Islamization. They had an important role in founding towns and cultivating the land, as well as spreading Muslim faith and culture. The remains of several *tekke*s (dervish convents) attest to their political and religious achievements.[122]

A unique Ottoman innovation, the *devşirme*,[123] the levy of Christian youths, came into being in the fourteenth century. It was introduced under the Ottoman slave system and grew with the successful conquests in Europe. As prisoners of war did not provide a balanced supply of slaves, the Ottomans established the periodic levy of young male children of Christian taxpayers. They were converted to Islam and trained in military and other educational programs to fill positions in the palace and administration. The first recorded *devşirme* took place in 1395. The collections were launched first in the Balkans and later in the sixteenth century in Asia Minor as well.[124]

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[121] The leaders and brothers of these mystic orders traveled to newly conquered areas to try to link ancient Christian cult centres and Islam. Similar ideas between the beliefs of the Bektashi order and Christianity may have played an effective role in conversions. For more detail on these see F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford, 1929; J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Derwishes*, London, 1937; Yaşar Nuri Öztürk, *Tarihi boyunca Bektaşilik*, Istanbul, 1990.

[122] Some of these historical monuments in the Balkans are in desperate state, but a few of them got attention and were restored; see Machiel Kiel, "A Monument of Early Ottoman Architecture in Bulgaria: The Bektaşi Tekke of Kıdemli Baba Sultan at Kalugerovo – Nova Zagora," and "The Türbe of Sarı Saltık at Babadag-Dobrudja. Brief Historical and Architectural Notes," reprinted in *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, England, 1990, articles II and IX. For Hungarian examples see Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 76-80, and Géza Fehérvári, "A Centre for Islamic Culture in Hungary," *Art & the Islamic World*, vol. 5, ii/18, 1990, pp. 46-48.

[123] The word derived from the Turkish verb *devşirmek* meaning "to collect."

[124] V. L. Ménage, "Devshirme," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 2, Leiden, 1965, pp. 210-13.

Some twentieth-century scholars do not list Hungary as a source for the levy.[125] Possibly this is because they consider Hungary a Balkan territory and never discuss it separately. Also, the fact that Hungary was first a vassal state may have delayed the introduction of the *devşirme* system into the country. After Hungary became an *eyalet* the country was in warfare almost continuously until 1699. Some areas changed hands very often and did not give the collecting officers the opportunity to do their jobs.[126] However, Hungary is not listed among the exempted areas,[127] and close examination of archival materials reveals that several Christian Hungarian youths were taken to the capital and educated as administrative officials and as interpreters to serve the pashas of Buda or even the sultan himself.[128] Members of the *devşirme* class could acquire important positions in the Ottoman government. Some of them became grand viziers or high-

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[125] These scholars are mostly non-Hungarians, which means that they might not have access to materials in Hungarian archives. The only mention of Hungary I found was in Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, New York, 1966. p. 51. He lists the whole of the Balkan Peninsula, Hungary, the western coast of Asia Minor and the southern and eastern shores of the Black Sea where the children were collected. One of his footnotes also cites Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 3, Pest, 1827-35, p. 365, which lists the nationality of some of the high officials of the sixteenth century. According to this source "Ferhad Pasha was a Hungarian." Peçevi in his *Tarihi* (on p. 24) does not mention the origin of Ferhad Pasha, although in the Preface the editor, Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, mentions (on p. XIII) Ferhad Pasha as being Peçevi's uncle on his mother's side. Peçevi's mother was from the famous Bosnian family the Sokoloviç (Sokollu). This makes Ferhad Pasha a Bosnian not a Hungarian.

[126] According to an imperial edict, the number of boys to be levied was calculated based on one boy from every 40 households. The intervals of the collections were irregular and probably based on need.

[127] Vassal states like Moldavia and Wallachia were never subject to this levy, see Ménage, "Devshirme," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 2, Leiden, 1965, p. 211.

[128] Information on Hungarian *devşirme* can be found in Pál Fodor, "Adatok a magyarországi török rabszedésről," *Hadtörténeti Közlemények*, vol. CIX, Budapest, 1996, pp. 133-42; Géza Pálffy, "A rabkereskedelem és rabtartás gyakorlata és szokásai a 16-17. századi török-magyar határ mentén. Az oszmán-magyar végvári szokásjog történetéhez," *Fons*, vol. IV, Budapest, 1997, p. 5-78; Lajos Tardy, *Rabok, követek, kalmárok az oszmán birodalomról*, Budapest, 1977; Sándor Takáts, "A török és a magyar raboskodás" and "A pribékek," in *Rajzok a török világból*, vol. I, Budapest, 1915, p. 160-303 and 304-335; Ferenc Szakály, "Magyar diplomaták, utazók, rabok és renegátok a 16. századi Isztambulban," *Szigetvári Csöbör Balázs török miniatúrái [1570]*, Budapest, 1983; Pál Ács, "Osztrák és magyar renegátok mint szultáni tolmácsok: Mahmúd és Murád terdzsümán," *Palimpszeszt*, vol. 10, Budapest, 1998.

ranking officials and endowed Muslim edifices in their homeland. The greatest Ottoman architect, Sinan, was recruited in the *devşirme* system and through his talent was raised to the position of head of the court architects.

2. The decline of Ottoman rule in the Hungarian *eyalet*, 1664-1699

Although the Ottoman Empire's military successes made it one of the most powerful states in the world, this status did not continue for long. By the end of the reign of Süleyman I, the signs of trouble were clearly visible, and under Selim II (1566-1574) the power and organization of the state were declining rapidly. However, the provincial population hardly felt the troubles that started to plague the central administration. Life in the provinces remained largely the same.

It was during the rule of Murad III (1574-95) that economic problems became more acute. Inflation became pronounced, and the corruption of the central administration began to spread and to seriously affect the provincial administrative apparatus. All these factors indicate that it was roughly in the period from 1574-95 that the provinces began to feel the results of a destabilized and corrupt central government.

There was a second attempt to capture Vienna in 1683, but the Grand Vizier and his army were defeated by the allied Christian forces and driven from their encampment. The Habsburgs captured Buda in 1686 (Fig. 26) and crushed the Turkish army at the

second Battle of Mohács.[129] Despite the external defeat and the internal conflict, Mustafa II (1695-1703) initiated an aggressive policy and launched a counteroffensive against the Austrians.[130] The conclusion was a disastrous peace agreement for the Ottoman Empire in Karlowitz (Croatia) in 1699, which forced them to leave Hungary and Transylvania.[131] After centuries of expansion these were the first significant losses of territory.

The Ottoman Empire with its highly developed administrative systems, financial policies, land system and military organization made a great impact on the Balkans and, to a lesser extent, on Hungary. Ottoman influence appeared not only in the state organization, but also in the life and culture of its people. Possibly these changes would have turned Hungary into a more multicultural country if the Ottomans had remained there in more peaceful years. Nevertheless, after one hundred and seventy three years of rule the Ottomans left a significant legacy of art and architecture in Hungary.

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[129] Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1976, pp. 217-22.

[130] It took place between 1695 and 1696, and the Ottomans were crucially beaten at Zenta, Hungary in 1697.

[131] Except the Banat and Temesvár, see Shaw, op. cit., pp. 222-23.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ARCHITECTURAL SYSTEM IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND ITS EUROPEAN PROVINCES

The architectural system of the Ottoman Empire slowly evolved as this grand empire grew from a small community at the western tip of Asia Minor. The Ottoman Turks were great builders and left behind a rich legacy of architecture. They started extensive building activities as early as the first half of the fourteenth century in their first capital city of Bursa. As Ottoman architecture developed and innovative building techniques were used, the second capital Edirne, and then Istanbul, became showpieces of architectural excellence and significant works of art.

The limited scope of this work does not allow for discussion of the period of early Ottoman architecture,[132] when more modest and experimental buildings were commissioned, or for description of the edifices that prepared the groundwork for the monumental imperial constructions. The development of classical Ottoman architecture will be mentioned briefly, and examples from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will be discussed only in terms of their influence on provincial architecture. This chapter will illustrate the patronage of Sultan Süleyman within the cultured lifestyle of the capital. It will also discuss the training of imperial architects in the *Hassa Mimarlar Ocağı*,[133] Corps of Court Architects, headed by a *hassa mimarbaşı*, Chief Court Architect, as the

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[132] On this topic see Aptullah Kuran, *Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago and London, 1968.

[133] *Has* or *hassa* means the sultan's property and service, *mimarlar* means architects, and *ocak* is literally hearth, but in this case it is translated as corps.

centralized office that oversaw every construction and restoration not only in the capital but in the *eyalet*s as well.

The Ottoman Empire exploited the conquered territories but allowed its subjects to settle and build wherever the arms of the empire had reached. Today we can find examples of Ottoman architecture from as far north as the Crimea to as far south as Egypt, and from Hungary on the west to Iran on the east. The Ottomans encountered local traditions and were influenced by historic or contemporary works of art.

Ottoman architecture brought together traditional Turkish elements from the semi-nomadic steppe lifestyle with the classical heritage of Byzantium into a unique and outstanding style of architecture. Examples of mosques with a central dome surmounting a square or rectangular base already existed in the Turkish sultanates of Anatolia, but it was the fall of Constantinople which made the example of Byzantine churches, and most importantly Hagia Sophia,[134] accessible to the Ottomans and inspired a new concept of imperial architecture in a monumental scale. The new mosques built for the sultans combined the Ottoman-Islamic forms with features of Hagia Sophia in order to legitimize the new rulers' claim to the former capital of the Byzantine Empire.[135]

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[134] Hagia Sophia was built between 532-37 in Constantinople by Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Milletus for the emperor Justinian. It was based on a central plan with a dome over the central core. The central dome is flanked by two semi domes on the east-west axis to connect with the sanctuary apse on one end and the narthex on the other. Aisles on both sides of the longitudinal nave support galleries. The architects created a vast, light-filled space high above the processional area. Hagia Sophia became the embodiment of imperial power and Christian glory.

[135] For more information on allusions and challenging the past in Islamic architecture, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas*, vol. 10, 1993, pp. 169-80.

Early Ottoman architecture is characterized by its restraint in the use of interior space.[136] However, Sinan, the great master of classical Ottoman architecture, broke down the rigid forms to create a feeling of light and openness to free up interior space and alter exterior appearance at the same time.[137] The classical Ottoman mosque evolved from the earlier prototype, the single-domed mosque. Examples of the single-domed mosque from the fourteenth century can be found in Bursa and Iznik.[138] By the end of the fifteenth century, additions to this plan type in the form of a half-dome on the main axis created new possibilities for architects to explore spatial expansion and unity.[139] The main dome supported by a half-dome from the *kıble* wall became the plan type of the first sultan's mosque in Istanbul.[140] A development of this plan, with another half-dome supporting the main dome on the main axis opposite the one above the *mihrab*,[141] set the model for Mimar Sinan's design of the most impressive classical Ottoman building, the Süleymaniye Mosque (Fig. 10).

1. Sinan, the great architect of classical Ottoman architecture

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[136] The traditional date for the founding of the Ottoman state is 1299. The early Ottoman period starts at this date and encompasses the years when the empire had its capital in Bursa and then in Edirne. The buildings constructed in Istanbul during the period between the capture of the city (1453) and the construction of the Mosque of Beyazit II in Istanbul (1501-06) are also considered works of the early period.

[137] The classical Ottoman period is usually considered between 1501-1703.

[138] For example: Hacı Özbek Mosque at Iznik (1333) and Alaettin Mosque at Bursa (1335), for more details see Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London, 1971, (Hereafter referred to as Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*.) pp. 17-18.

[139] An example for this plan type is the Mosque of Atik Ali Pasha in Istanbul (1497). Ibid., pp. 115-17.

[140] The plan of the original Mosque of Fatih Mehmet II (1463-1470) included a central dome with a half-dome in the same axis, but an earthquake in 1766 destroyed the mosque which was rebuilt in a different plan type later. Only the courtyard and the portico are original. The mosque was built as the centre of the Fatih complex which became a model for the great complexes that followed. Ibid., pp. 121-31.

[141] This plan was carried out in the Mosque of Beyazit II in Istanbul. Ibid., pp. 168-74.

Mimar Sinan came to the Ottoman Empire as a *devşirme* and reached the highest possible rank in the Corps of Court Architects. He played a central role in the designation of architectural programs. Under the patronage of Sultan Süleyman and through his innovations, Sinan was able to bring Ottoman architecture to its classical supremacy. The dome, a key element in Ottoman buildings, became the dominant feature in his works, emphasizing verticality and centralization of space.[142] Another of Sinan's innovations was to integrate the domical superstructures with the traditional rectilinear ground plan of the mosques "without destroying the unity of inner space."[143]

According to Aptullah Kuran, Sinan was born in 1497 or 1498 in a little village in Cappadocia to Christian parents and was taken into the *devşirme* when he was about twenty years old.[144] He was assigned to the Ottoman army and began his career as a soldier. He took part in several campaigns and passed through his first service terms quickly. In 1521 he was already a Janissary when Sultan Süleyman led the Ottoman army against Belgrade. During the Mohács campaign Sinan was promoted to the rank of captain and ordered to rebuild and strengthen fortresses and bridges. He learned about masonry and the behavior of stone in different circumstances while he was employed on fortifications.

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[142] Aptullah Kuran, *Sinan: The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture*, Washington D.C. and Istanbul, 1987, p. 21. (Hereafter referred to as Kuran, *Sinan.*)
[143] Necipoğlu, op. cit., p. 174.
[144] The lack of proper documentation concerning his birthdate, the names of his parents, or his Christian name made it very difficult for scholars to trace his origin. After checking all the possible sources about Sinan, I found Aptullah Kuran's argument about his birthdate the most plausible, and I will use that date in this work. For more information on this matter see Kuran, *Sinan*, pp. 23-24.

Some scholars believe that even if Sinan studied the structural details of buildings in the Balkans and Hungary, he was not influenced by their style or the way the Christian population built their churches.[145] He certainly saw Byzantine monuments in Istanbul, which had already shaped Ottoman architecture in several phases. If there were any disadvantages in his training, Sinan made up for them with a brilliant mind. He continued to develop his skills between and during military campaigns. His brilliance drew imperial attention, and he was appointed Chief Court Architect in 1538. He stayed in this position for fifty years, and during this period his achievement was immense in experimenting with new forms of spatial organization.

The Süleymaniye Mosque, one of Sinan's great creations, was built for Sultan Süleyman between 1550-1557 in Istanbul (Fig. 10). The mosque and its ancillary charitable and educational buildings constituted a unified complex, or *külliye*. The mosque occupies the centre of the *külliye*, and its interior is reflected in the external appearance in almost every detail. The central dome is carried on four arches which rest on four massive piers. The transitional elements between the square inner structure and the round dome are pendentives. The central dome is supported with two half-domes of the same diameter, each of which is prolonged with a pair of exedras on the main axis.

The plan of the Süleymaniye resembles too closely that of Hagia Sophia to be accidental. Sinan was always aware of the scale of Hagia Sophia and of its dome. His

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[145] Ibid., pp. 24-25; Godfrey Goodwin, *Sinan: Ottoman architecture and its values today*, London, 1993, pp. 16-19.

mind was preoccupied with the creation of the same grandeur at larger size, for he wanted "to achieve a technical victory over the Byzantine master-builders."[146] On the east and west the great arches spanning the distance between the piers are exposed on the exterior similarly to Hagia Sophia. Buttresses convey the thrust from the piers and the arches of the aisles and nave to the ground. The aisles are covered with domes in alternating sizes which create a rhythm along the sides of the mosque. Although two columns are set between the nave and the aisles, the visual sweep of the interior is not blocked. The spaciousness of the mosque is emphasized with the high dome and the many windows around the drum and the walls enhance its mysticism. As Goodwin noted, the measurements are so perfect in the Süleymaniye that "it dominates the complexities which modulate the rigid form of the rest of the mosque."[147]

Although Sultan Süleyman and his chief architect Sinan were the most imposing figures of classical Ottoman architecture, within the centralized architectural system of the sixteenth century there were many other patrons and executors. By then there had been several Ottoman sultans interested in the arts who had commissioned grandiose architectural works and fostered the development of sciences and technology. However, it was under Süleyman's reign that skilled craftsmen and forced laborers were most abundant due to the conquests. This extensive patronage of the arts marked the cultural climax of the classical age of the Ottoman Empire.

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[146] Titus Burckhardt, *Art of Islam, Language and Meaning*, World of Islam Festival Trust, England, 1976, p. 144. In his design of the Selimiye Mosque at Edirne, built between 1569-75 for Sultan Selim II, Sinan created a central dome larger than that of Hagia Sophia. For more information see Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 261-70.
[147] Ibid., p. 231.

2. Sultan Süleyman as the patron of Ottoman architecture

Although Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566) is remembered primarily as a warrior, he was also a great legislator,[148] and a patron of the arts and architecture.[149] Only eight days after his father's death Süleyman reached Constantinople to become the next sultan of the Ottoman Empire. The day after his father's funeral he made his first official decree with the order to build a *türbe* (tomb) with a mosque and a *medrese* (school) in honor of his father.[150] This monument is known as the Külliye (architectural complex) of Sultan Selim in Istanbul. Although there is debate over who started the construction originally, the completion in 1522 is mostly attributed to Süleyman.[151]

There is some question as to who the architect of the complex was. Most scholars agree that it was Selim's royal architect, Esir Ali (d. 1537/8, also called Alaeddin), who was brought from Tabriz to Istanbul after Selim successfully captured the Persian city.[152] According to Godfrey Goodwin, this attribution is "reasonable but unsubstantiated." He argues that there was no lack of distinguished architects in the capital and thus no need to bring someone from Iran. However he also states that it is unlikely that Sinan was entrusted with the design of the Mosque of Selim I at so early a date in his career.[153]

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[148] Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1976, pp. 87-111.
[149] For a detailed account on his patronage of the arts see Michael Rogers, "The Arts Under Süleyman the Magnificent," *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, ed. H. Inalcik and C. Kafadar, Istanbul, 1993, pp. 257-94.
[150] Merriman, *Suleiman, The Magnificent 1520-1566*, New York, 1966, pp. 30-31, and Kuran, *Sinan*, p. 76.
[151] Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 184-86.
[152] Behcet Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman times, 1071-1923*, London, 1970, pp. 92-93; L. A. Mayer, *Islamic Architects and Their Works*, Geneva, 1956, p. 50.
[153] Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 187, 202.

One of the most important constructions of Sinan, was brought about by an unfortunate occurrence. Süleyman had just returned from a campaign in the Balkans in 1543, when he heard the news of the death of his beloved son, Şehzade (Prince) Mehmet, at the age of twenty-two. Sinan designed and built (1543-1548) a *külliye* including the structure of the Türbe of Prince Mehmet. The *türbe* is covered with marble on the outside and beautiful faience tiles on the inside. The ache of a father's heart could not have been molded into a more magnificent work of art.[154]

The Süleymaniye Mosque, mentioned above, was commissioned by Süleyman in 1550.[155] In addition to the mosque, buildings for the four major colleges (*medrese*), a hospital with an asylum, a soup kitchen (*imaret*), a *hamam*, a caravanserai, latrines, a primary school (*sibyan mekteb*), a medical school (*tıp medrese*), the *türbe*s of Süleyman and of his wife, Haseki Hürrem, along with shops and coffee houses, were constructed, all built on a monumental scale to dominate the third hilltop in Istanbul and the city itself. The silhouette of the Süleymaniye complex stands in Istanbul as a visual landmark of the

Süleyman's reign brought a new prospect to public building, since from the sixteenth century the women of the royal family were able to commission monumental public works. These complexes and endowments were built not only as acts of piety, but also to elicit the gratitude of the local residents for the builders' benevolence. The

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[154] Kuran, *Sinan*, pp. 60-64.
[155] Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas*, vol. 3, 1985, pp. 92-118; Kuran, *Sinan*, p. 60.

location and the size of the edifice were important statements of the political status and wealth of the sponsor.[156]

Süleyman completed a complex for his mother, Hafsa Sultan, in Manisa after she died in 1534.[157] Süleyman's wife, Haseki Hürrem Sultan, established several complexes in religious and political capitals of the Ottoman Empire. She ordered the construction of three *külliye*s in Istanbul, Jerusalem and Medina.[158] The complex erected in 1538-39 in Istanbul had a *medrese*, a soup kitchen and a *Kuran* school for orphans. Later Süleyman added a hospital, which gave the name to the surrounding *mahalle*.[159] Süleyman's daughter Mihrimah became a public figure, and she was able to build and support two mosque complexes in Istanbul. Her husband, the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha, also commissioned a mosque from Sinan close to the Golden Horn in Istanbul.[160]

As Süleyman was an influential patron of the arts and architecture, his support provided an impetus for other high-ranking officials in his government. Sinan designed hundreds of buildings for grand viziers and other officials who wished to emulate their sovereign. Although it is part of the religious requirements in Islamic society that the rich and powerful use part of their wealth to benefit the Muslim community, their acts did not

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[156] Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire,* New York, Oxford, 1993, pp. 186-205.

[157] Alan Fisher, "The Life and Family of Süleyman I," *Süleyman the Second and His Time,* ed. H. Inalcik and C. Kafadar, Istanbul, 1993, p. 9; and Mehmet İpşirli, "Scholarship and Intellectual Life in the Reign of Süleyman the Magnificent," *The Ottoman Empire in the Reign of Süleyman the Magnificent,* vol. II, ed. Tulay Duran, Istanbul, 1988, p. 46.

[158] İpşirli, op. cit., p. 25.

[159] *Mahalle* means district. Sinan executed this complex, see Rogers, op. cit., p. 285; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, p. 204.

[160] Mihrimah Mosque at Üsküdar (1548) and at Edirnekapi (c.1562-65) in Istanbul was built by Sinan as well as her husband's mosque (Rüstem Pasha Mosque, 1561-62), Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 212 and 249-52.

always derive from pure piety but were also intended to show their affluence and political importance. As infrastructure had to be made available for expanding centers of habitation, it became essential for new techniques to be developed in architecture and in engineering.[161]

During Süleyman's reign, Ottoman society grew and flourished, and at the same time important developments took place in scholarship, specifically in the social and natural sciences and in technology. The laws of Süleyman provided notable tolerance for intellectual and religious freedoms as long as they were not directly rebellious to the public order or to the security of the state. The number of educational and charitable institutions (*medrese*s and *vakıf*s) increased substantially, and there were significant achievements in theological thought.[162]

Süleyman's extravagant taste influenced the adornment of the buildings sponsored during the first half of his reign. However, toward the end of his reign the aging Süleyman adopted a new religious humility and became opposed to lavish lifestyles. The building programs reflected his personal transformation. The decoration of the Süleymaniye complex and the spending of the Ottoman treasury became much more restrained.[163]

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[161] İpşirli, op. cit., pp. 30-51.
[162] İpşirli, op. cit., pp. 18-29.
[163] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 71, 1989, pp. 401-27.

The sultan was not the only influence at work in the Ottoman Empire. While the distribution of the income of the state and Süleyman's own wealth had an immense role in the creation of art and architecture, other social forces within the empire contributed to intellectual and cultural life as well. In Istanbul during Süleyman's reign the diverse population included the ruling elite, the religious teachers, the mathematicians and physicians, the guilds and tradesmen, foreign merchants, traveling dervishes, the students of different colleges, and the poor. There were also artists and craftsmen pouring into the city from subjugated territories to escape poverty.[164] Süleyman's Istanbul attracted more skilled persons than any other city in his time. This conglomeration of diverse talents and tradesmen gave an enriching impetus to urbane living in Istanbul.

As life was flourishing in Istanbul, the newly conquered provinces had to recover from warfare. Tax compromises were made to bring the population back to the land and to encourage agriculture and farming. The buildings and irrigation systems destroyed by the Ottoman army were rebuilt. As new cultural institutions were constructed, services and roads had to be made available for the army and the population to travel in the provinces. The organization and supervision of these works belonged to the Corps of Court Architects.

3. The Corps of Court Architects

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[164] Godfrey Goodwin, "Art and Creative Thinking In the Reign of Süleyman the Lawgiver," *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, ed. H. Inalcik and C. Kafadar, Istanbul, 1993, pp. 293-315.

The Corps of Court Architects, headed by a Chief Court Architect, was established to control and distribute the principles and the technology that had been developed for building in the Ottoman Empire. The exact foundation date of the architectural office is not known. While it is believed to have been founded after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453,[165] the earliest reference to a chief architect is dated after 1514, so it is accepted that the corps of architects originated in the sixteenth century.[166]

Esir Ali (Alaeddin), mentioned above, became the first chief architect with seventeen other architects working under him. Sinan rose to this position in 1538 and he held it until his death in 1588. Under his supervision there were more than thirty subordinate architects and skilled workmen in particular crafts. In the first half of the seventeenth century the number of royal architects rose to 43, and after that a decline can be observed which shows only 34 members in 1664-65.[167]

The training of these court architects was in some ways different from that of other traditional Islamic architects. Most of them started their careers as *acemi oğlan*s or Janissary recruits specializing in a particular manual skill. Their education continued under a senior master until they were appointed to a higher rank by the chief architect or the sultan himself. A soldier could be assigned to jobs where showing his talent would enable him to rise among the secondary architects all the way to the chief court architect

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[165] Şerafettin Turan, "Osmanlı Teşkilatında Hassa Mimarları," *Tarih Arastırmaları Dergisi*, vol. I, 1964, pp. 157-202.
[166] Aptullah Kuran, "Ottoman Classical Mosques in Istanbul and in the Provinces," *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies,* Cambridge, 1988, pp. 13-22.
[167] Turan, op. cit., pp. 159-60.

position. In addition to Muslims, Christians could become members of the Corps of Court Architects. Documents show that in the seventeenth century the number of non-Muslim architects within the corps reached 40-43 per cent.[168]

4. The role of the central authority in the provinces

This centralized system ensured that all construction activities, both in urban and rural areas, were under its direct control. The corps of architects oversaw the designs and inspected and approved every main architectural project.[169] Among their duties was to arrange for the building materials and to check their quality, to keep the construction books, to estimate the cost of the projects, to set the salary of the workers, and to make sure that the craftsmen were qualified members of their trade. If the number of artisans was not enough for the construction of a state monument, the chief architect made sure that other cities or provinces sent their listed workers to help out.[170]

When the chief architect and the imperial council had approved a design, an executive architect was appointed along with a construction manager to carry out the project. In the case of provincial assignments a resident architect was also assigned who

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[168] Turan gives a document from 1604-05 with the list of the members of the *Hassa Mimarlar Ocağı* which includes several non-Muslim names. Ibid., p. 160, and Pl. 1. Maurice Cerasi points out that the Christian members of the corps of architects were not islamicized *devşirme*. He also argues that this institution must have had an open system as the number of the Christians increased, see "Late-Ottoman Architects and Master Builders," *Muqarnas*, vol. 5, Leiden, 1988. pp. 87-102.

[169] Cafer Efendi, "Risale-I mi'mariyye: an early seventeenth-century Ottoman treatise on architecture," trans. and notes by Howard Crane, *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture,* vol. I, Leiden, 1987, p. 2.

[170] Turan, op. cit., pp. 163-70.

might bring local flavor to the centrally designed plans. Aptullah Kuran argues that in faraway provinces the quality of the buildings showed a "distinct difference." As the supervision became less rigorous further away from the capital, the Ottoman classical style lost its fundamental characteristics and merged with regional styles. A trained eye could tell if a local decoration or technique was "superimposed on the classical framework with little concern for stylistic integrity."[171]

Differences appearing in distant areas can be attributed to the nature of Ottoman architectural practices. Even though the centralized system prepared the designs, there was an inadequate supply of plans and detailed elevation drawings[172] that could transmit the ideas to the provinces. The supervising architect used the measurements for the dome and its supporting walls to draw the outlines, but the formation of the building evolved according to the topography of the construction site and even the climate of the area. Most deviations from the true Ottoman style occurred in the elevation and the decoration of the Muslim edifices in the provinces.

When analyzing the role of the central authority it is important to consider the size of the Ottoman Empire. In the fifteenth century the total area of the empire was 2.5 million km^2 without any vassal states,[173] but toward the end of the sixteenth century it

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[171] Kuran, op. cit., pp. 13-22.

[172] Gülru Necipoğlu addresses this problem and argues that the Ottoman architects were bound by the conventions of miniature painting (two-dimensional system of representation) and were not trained in perspective drawing, so they were compelled to use architectural models to visualize three-dimensional designs, "Plans and Models in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* vol. XLV, No. 3. (March) 1986, pp. 224-43. See also Cerasi, op. cit., pp. 87-102.

[173] D. E. Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of The Ottoman Empire*, Leiden, 1972, p. 134.

reached approximately 20 million km² with the vassal states, and had a population of 100 million.[174] The campaigns also created financial difficulties for the state. All the necessary repair works on the roads, bridges and the captured fortresses required equipment and workforce, and the soldiers had to get their provisions and wages.[175] These expenses exhausted the treasury and affected the decisions taken by the central authority in construction activities.

Most scholars agree that it was impossible for the chief architect to travel and supervise all the constructions in this vast territory. Even if the plans were delivered to the site and the main architect was not present to conduct the construction, the final credit went to the chief architect. This can be seen in the list of buildings attributed to Chief Architect Sinan. His name is associated with more than four hundred edifices throughout the entire empire,[176] giving no chance to the provincial or local architects to be recognized. The vision of an appointed architect was never important in the centralized system. It was constrained by the regulations and determined by the limitations of the site, the approved size of the building and the financial situations of the patron.

Only a few sources give the names of the appointed architects who carried out building or repair works on significant structures in the provinces of Bosnia and Hungary. The Aladja Mosque in Foča was built by Ramada Agha, who was a substitute for Sinan

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[174] *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XXX, p. 78 and vol. XXVI, p. 101.
[175] Turan, op. cit., p. 173, and Káldy-Nagy, "Madjar, Madjaristan, ii: The Ottoman Period," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 5, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986, pp. 1022-24.
[176] Information on Sinan's real designs see Aptullah Kuran, "The mosques of Sinan," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Fehér Géza, Budapest, 1978, pp. 559-68.

sent by the corps of architects.[177] The name Hajruddin is associated with the bridge in Mostar and the fortification of Makarska.[178] Unfortunately there is no information about their involvement in building activities in the *eyalet* of Buda.

Evlia Çelebi mentions that larger cities in Hungary, like Buda, Pécs and Szigetvár, employed a *mimar başı* (chief architect).[179] Lajos Fekete brings up the name of Siavush Agha as a master builder[180] sent from Istanbul to repair the walls of the besieged Buda in 1684,[181] and the name of chief architect Hasan from 1628.[182] Fekete lists two fortifiers, Mehmet and Bayram, at Szigetvár in 1571-72,[183] but it is not certain if they were architects or supervisors. Evliya Çelebi also reports that Sinan was appointed to reconstruct the Cathedral of Esztergom into a mosque after the occupation of the city.[184] The Mosque and Türbe of Sokollu Mustafa Pasha in Budapest were attributed to Sinan as well.[185]

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[177] He was mentioned by Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 466-67.
[178] Hajruddin is mentioned in Győző Gerő, "The question of school and master in the study of the history of Muslim architecture in Hungary," *The Muslim East: Studies in honour of Julius Germanus*, ed. Gy. Káldy-Nagy, Budapest, 1974, p. 198, footnote 68.
[179] Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 268, 227, 548 respectively. He does not give any names.
[180] Maurice Cerasi differentiates between the architect and the master builder in the Ottoman administrative system. According to him the architect was a technician trained in military engineering and belonged to the sultan's institution, while the master builder was less cultured, the helper of the architect (but later assuming full responsibility), and an artisan who could join a free guild, Cerasi, op. cit., pp. 87-102.
[181] Fekete Lajos, *Budapest a törökkorban*, Budapest, 1944, p. 48.
[182] Fekete, op. cit., p. 253, footnote 5.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 312.
[185] None of these buildings exist today. The mosque is listed in C.E. Arseven, *L'art Turc*, Istanbul, 1939, p. 293, the same mosque with the Türbe of Sokollu Mustafa Pasha are noted in Kuran, *Sinan*, pp. 268, 287.

It is widely documented that the Ottomans showed tolerance towards other religions and their edifices, especially in the prairie-towns and other cities that remained mostly populated with Hungarians. In these towns, after the initial and necessary conversions of the principal churches into mosques, the lesser religious buildings were left undisturbed. However, new churches or synagogues were not allowed to be put up, and if there was a need to restore existing buildings the community had to obtain a permit from the official representative of the empire, usually the *kadi*[186] of the city in question. The *kadi* asked the Corps of Court Architects for an inspection, and after approval the community could go ahead with the renovations.[187]

5. Patronage in the Hungarian province

Most construction activities in the capital or bigger cities were financed by the sultan and his family, and high government officials and foundations. As a matter of policy, emphasis was given to the royal edifices in the main Ottoman cities. All other investments in the Balkans and the Middle East were modest in scale when compared with the royal commissions. In the provinces the distribution of mosques and other social infrastructure depended on the existence of wealthy people. In the case of a petition from a rich person to sponsor a work of construction in a town outside the capital, the plans had to be approved by the Corps of Court Architects. Usually the Chief Architect could not check all the private applications, so one of the subordinate architects had to consult on

[186] The *kadi* or judge was a Muslim official who administered both the religious and secular laws.
[187] Turan, op. cit., pp. 170-71.

the job. The process of gettting a building permit was the same whether it is was issued for a state or a private construction.[188]

In the Hungarian province after the occupation and in later years, no significant conversion to Islam took place among the inhabitants, and the shaping of the new Ottoman ruling class never really took place. Conversely the Slav-speaking native Bosnians converted to Islam after the Ottoman conquest and held high positions in the government. They founded several cities in Bosnia and became patrons of Ottoman architecture, which sometimes continued as a tradition in their families.[189] These Bosnian governors and administrators were appointed to Buda, Pécs, or other strategically important towns in the newly captured territories and sustained the customary building projects to meet the needs of the Muslim settlers.[190]

Among these private patrons we find significant families like the Sokoloviches (Sokollu), Malkocheviches (Malkoç) or Yahyaoğlus, who kept their good relations with their hometowns and might have considered bringing the master builders who worked for them to Hungary to meet their taste and requirements. Although there was urgent need for Muslim edifices in the new province to create similar conditions to the settlers' former residences, the patrons, by sponsoring the construction of such buildings, were also saving their souls with acts of benevolence in the eye of Allah.

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[188] Sevgi Aktüre, "Mimarbasi Sinan and the Building Policies of the Ottoman State," *Mimar Sinan The Urban Vision*, Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre, ed. Attilio Petruccioli, Rome, 1988, pp. 98-105.
[189] Kiel, Some Reflections.
[190] Győző Gerő, "The question of school and master in the study of the history of Muslim architecture in Hungary," *The Muslim East: Studies in honour of Julius Germanus*, ed. Gy. Káldy-Nagy, Budapest, 1974, pp. 189-99.

Several scholars have explored the issue of patronage in Ottoman provinces as well,[191] which helped in comparing the Hungarian situation with other occupied territories. In Syria and Egypt – which were conquered under Selim I (1512-20) – a Muslim population had already existed and these countries had been under the influence of Islamic traditions for a long time. During the Mamluk and earlier periods the stage had already been set for the accommodation of mosques and other endowments. Thus Ottoman buildings emerged from the cityscape in Damascus and Cairo as a visual declaration of the new conqueror's supremacy.[192] This is also true in the Hungarian province but in Syria and Egypt we find Sultan Süleyman and his grand viziers supporting huge complexes in several cities, while in Hungary lesser governors and pashas from Bosnia were engaged in smaller-scale constructions.

What was behind Süleyman's decision not to endow any large complexes in Hungary? Was this because Süleyman did not think of it as a "long-term" province? His initial plan was to keep Hungary as a vassal state. Unforeseen outcomes with the Habsburgs forced him to integrate Hungary as a province into the Ottoman Empire, but

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[191] Some recent studies on this subject: Irene Bierman, "The Ottomanization of Crete," and Ülkü Bates, "Façades in Ottoman Cairo," *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, ed. Irene Bierman, Rifa'at Abou-el-Haj, and Donald Preziosi, New York, 1991, pp. 53-76 and 129-72; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, ""In the Image of the Rum": Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus," *Muqarnas*, vol. 10, 1993, pp. 70-96; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule: Institutions, Waqf, and Architecture in Cairo, 16th and 17th Centuries*, Leiden, 1994; Taisir Khalil Muhammad el-Zawahreh, *Religious Endowments and Social Life in the Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Karak, 1992. In the European provinces research has been done by Machiel Kiel, see his articles in *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, England, 1990; Amir Pašić, *Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Hercegovina*, trans. Midhat Ridjanović, Istanbul, 1994 (Hereafter referred to as Pašić, *Bosnia.*); and Gerő, *Dzsámik*.

[192] Kafescioğlu, op. cit., pp. 70-96.

he never really wanted to act as an oppressor. Hungary served as a buffer between the Christian world and his realm. He also encountered in Hungary already existing urban structures built around churches that were hard to transform. To solve this problem he converted churches into mosques, which was more convenient and cheaper than building new ones and gave new meaning to buildings that had had religious significance for the subdued "infidels."[193] Marking the center of a Christian city with a mosque and its supporting structures clearly symbolized the Ottoman hegemony over the area. Süleyman wanted to proclaim his authority, as his father and he did in Syria and Cairo, but he looked on the Hungarian province as a military defense area rather than a new region with flourishing Muslim population.

A similar situation took place in Albania, which had been captured for strategic reasons[194] in the fifteenth century. The first arrivals to this region were the Ottoman soldiers with modest needs and small garrisons. Although Sultan Murad II (1421-1444) established a mosque in Vlore, the capital of the *sancak*, when he first conquered Albania, it seemed to have been his initial way of repopulating a devastated city.[195] Other major constructions by sultans or high-rank officials were limited to the restoration and

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[193] His *fethname* (letter of victory) to his Grand Vizier Süleyman Pasha in 1541 reads: "My true aim was to make the capital Buda one of the abodes of Islam and take possession of Hungary with my victorious sword... Having conquered and taken possession of the town of Buda with its inhabitants and the areas belonging to it, I had the great churches converted into *camis* in which Friday service was held with the participation of all the warriors and the prayer included my princely name. ..." Quoted in Pál Fodor, "Ottoman Policy Towards Hungary, 1520-1541," *In Quest of The Golden Apple: Imperial Ideology, Politics, and Military Administration in The Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul, 2000, p. 107.

[194] The country provided an entrance to the Adriatic Sea for the Ottoman Empire.

[195] For more information on the mosque, which was relatively small see Machiel Kiel, "Aspects of Ottoman-Turkish architecture in Albania," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér, Budapest, 1978, p. 545. On the repopulation policy of Murad II see Machiel Kiel, "Notes on the History of Some Turkish Monuments in Thessaloniki and their Founders," *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, England, 1990, article I.

strengthening of fortresses to prepare against assaults from the Albanian people, who resisted the Ottoman occupation.[196] A thin layer of foreign aristocracy acted as patrons because the greater part of the population did not convert to Islam until the end of the seventeenth century. This remote region of the Ottoman Empire was never really influenced by the styles and developments of the capital, and the imported forms of architecture from other parts of the Balkans remained alien to the residents. However, the Albanian mosques show great creativity in their decoration, which illustrates the continuity of the traditions developed in this ethnic group.[197]

6. Local employment and its effects on provincial constructions

The difference between the architectural quality of the buildings designed and constructed by the Corps of Court Architects in Istanbul and those in the faraway provinces is evident. Although the Ottoman building system was adapted in the Balkan Peninsula and from there to Hungary, several scholars also observe that a unique situation had occurred in the areas where the population kept its traditional pre-Ottoman style.[198] In the province of Rumelia, populated by Muslim settlers in the fourteenth and fifteenth

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[196] *Albania: a country study*, Area Handbook Series, ed. Raymond E. Zickel and Walter R. Iwaskiw, Lanham, 1994, pp. 9-14.

[197] Machiel Kiel, "Aspects of Ottoman-Turkish architecture in Albania," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér, Budapest, 1978, pp. 541-48; Richard I. Lawless, "Berat and Gjirocastër: Two Museum Towns of Albania," *Islam in the Balkans – Persian Art and Culture of the 18th and 19th Centuries: Papers arising from a Symposium held to celebrate the World of Islam Festival at the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 28-30 July 1978,* ed. Jennifer M. Scarce. Edinburgh, 1979, pp. 9-17.

[198] Some scholars call this period post-Byzantine or pre-Islamic. I think the label pre-Ottoman captures more of the traditional local arts in the Balkans not just the Byzantine heritage, and affirms that the Ottomans introduced Islam to this region.

centuries, great centers of Ottoman civilization developed.[199] Not only the Ottoman architectural forms and aesthetics were employed, but also architects from the capital and craftsmen from the empire were sent there. In other parts of the Balkans where the upper class – the main patrons of Christian art – fled from the invading Ottomans, the masons and other artisans remained without jobs. They probably sought employment at Ottoman construction sites and brought with them their own traditions and styles.[200]

In areas where the greater part of the Muslim population consisted of local converts it seems that variations resulting from pre-Ottoman regional traditions of construction were kept alive and continued to shape the vernacular and religious architecture of the local populations. For example, in Central Macedonia some buildings were still constructed in the Byzantine manner of decorative brick and stonework long after Ottoman influence had reached the region.[201] In the province of Bosnia the lack of traditional stone construction resulted in the introduction of foreign styles and building methods from Dalmatia during the Middle Ages. In Dalmatia, the city of Dubrovnik (Ragusa[202]), was especially influenced by Romanesque and Gothic styles and remained an open window towards Western European cultures even under the rule of the Ottomans. The features of European art continued to shape various types of structures like fortifications and clock towers.[203] However, because of their imported nature, the European styles did not appear to interfere with the spread of Ottoman architecture, which

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[199] For example: Edirne
[200] Kiel, Some Reflections.
[201] Ibid., p. 3.
[202] Important port city on the Adriatic coast north of Montenegro.
[203] Pašić, *Bosnia*, pp. 187-94. Later in the 18th century, the excessive decoration of the western Baroque and Rococo styles had an impact on Ottoman art. This period is called the *Lale*, or Tulip, period.

was just another cultural influence reaching the territories of an already diverse ethnic and religious population.

The Bosnian patrons kept their tradition of employing Dalmatian masons and other craftsmen because it would have been expensive for them to acquire builders directly from the capital. Methods of construction from Dalmatia merged with the forms of Ottoman designs that became easily accepted by the newly converted Muslims for its familiarity in some decorative elements. Moreover, the patrons saved on the cost by using local materials instead of true Ottoman construction materials.[204] Even after the establishment of Ottoman rule in the Balkans, Christian architectural elements continued to appear in the standard forms designed by the corps of architects in Istanbul.[205]

In the sixteenth century the Bosnian version of Ottoman art and architecture spread to Hungary. It is assumed that through the family connections of Bosnian officials the builders and the craftsmen of the Balkans assisted in the constructions of the settlers in the new *eyalet*. There was no time to look for a work force that could be educated but it was more convenient to import the members of a Bosnian studio and, through them, the Ottoman architectural styles into Hungary. According to Győző Gerő, local non-Ottoman

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[204] Machiel Kiel mentions how the domes of the Bosnian mosques were built of small pieces of stones instead of the brick, which was used in the Ottoman mosques. Also, the lack of pots or tubes in the Bosnian domes to absorb reverberation shows a local deviation from the ancient Anatolian technique, Kiel, Some Reflections, p. 4.

[205] Amir Pašić lists, among other things, windows with pointed arches, rosettes from Gothic style churches and arcades from Gothic house facades, Pašić, *Bosnia*, pp. 190-94.

master builders and architects rarely took part in important building activities.[206] However, there are supporting documents that indicate that local, as well as itinerant, workers were employed at construction sites in Hungary.[207]

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[206] Gerő, "The question of school and master in the study of the history of Muslim architecture in Hungary," *The Muslim East: Studies in honour of Julius Germanus*, ed. Gy. Káldy-Nagy, Budapest, 1974, pp. 189-99.

[207] In the Ottoman Treasury Books published in Hungary (Velics A. – Kammerer E., *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek I-II,* Budapest, 1886, 1890) there are several notes about artisans working in different cities. Besides their payments, some of them are mentioned by their names which show a divers workforce. Beside the names of Muslim Turks, there are names of Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Gypsies, Serbs and other Slavic nationalities recorded. Noted in Gerő, *Dzsámik,* footnotes 97-104.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSLIM CITYSCAPE AND URBAN STRUCTURE

The Ottomans occupied only fortified cities on or close to major trade routes and placed their representative (the *kadi* or a *sancak beyi*[208]) there. Buda, Esztergom, Pécs and Szigetvár were prime examples, for they were important cultural, trade and military centers (Fig. 5). This chapter will examine the development of Ottoman town planning, the principal building types, their origins, and their spread to Hungary.

The already established Hungarian cities from the Middle Ages became the ground for Ottoman urban development that affected the evolving cityscape of the Muslim towns in Hungary. Examining street maps and depictions of towns from the Middle Ages and after the Ottoman conquest, Győző Gerő came to the conclusion that the urban structure, including the orientation of the streets and the location of major buildings, did not change dramatically during the Ottoman occupation (Fig. 1, 2).[209] In fact, major cities kept their existing medieval structure as their perimeters were already surrounded with stone walls and forts. The streets connecting the gates with the city centers were functional and did not need reorientation. The religious buildings occupying focal points in the cityscape were considered for conversion from Christian to Muslim purposes by the Ottomans.

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[208] The *sancak beyi* was the governor of a *sancak*, or division, in a province.

[209] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 29. In 1687 the French military engineer Joseph de Haüy created maps of Buda and Pécs, while Leandro Anguissola in 1689 mapped Szigetvár showing the streets and main Ottoman buildings.

The Ottomans regarded the cities as good foundations for their settlements. In cases where parts of a city or a fortress were destroyed during battles, the Ottomans repaired the fortifications following the original layout and construction, and renovated main buildings. The demolished suburbs and houses were left to the new immigrants to rebuild. This construction brought only insignificant changes into the cityscape. However, the construction of domed mosques and tall minarets in the cities created considerable modifications to the urban skyline as images of the Ottoman Empire. Surrounding the mosque, the main Muslim edifice, special neighbourhoods (*mahalle*) started to develop. These residential areas had no definite borders, contained between twenty-five and fifty houses,[210] and were usually named after their central mosque.[211]

The first examples of urban complexes (*külliye*s) appeared in Bursa with only a few components: the mosque, the *medrese* and the soup kitchen (*imaret*). As the *külliye* evolved during the classical Ottoman period, several other building types such as baths, elementary schools, tombs, markets and inns were included in the structure and were often surrounded with a wall.[212] However, the complex in its classical meaning never developed in the Hungarian province, since the existing medieval city centers did not allow the grouping of newly built edifices. Efforts made by the patrons to keep their

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[210] Sugar, op. cit., p. 75. These numbers are related to the Balkan cities and not large centers like Istanbul or Edirne.

[211] Evliya Çelebi mentions in Pécs seven *mahalle* and he gives the names of the mosques, Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 228-30.

[212] Aptullah Kuran, "Form and Function in Ottoman Building Complexes," *Mimar Sinan The Urban Vision*, Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre, ed. Attilio Petruccioli, Rome, 1988, pp. 132-39.

establishments together sometimes resulted in the conversion to Muslim purposes of originally Christian buildings and gardens.[213]

Beside Muslim *mahalle*s, Christian and Jewish quarters were created outside the city walls.[214] With the separation of the various religious districts, the central part of the city was kept by the conquering forces and developed a characteristically Ottoman appearance, while other areas further away from the centre would house churches or synagogues that did not alter much of the medieval character.[215]

1. Stages of church conversions

The majority of the Ottoman monuments in Hungary date back to the second half of the sixteenth century when most of the campaigns were over and the establishment of Ottoman rule began. An important first step for the occupying soldiers was to have a place of worship.[216] The need for such places could not always be met quickly enough with new building projects. As the garrisons most often occupied the fortresses,[217] a convenient location was sought within the existing walls. Edifices with adequate room

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[213] In Pécs the Hamam of Memi Pasha was built next to the Mosque of Memi Pasha, which was converted from a Franciscan church. The vacant lot next to the church, possibly a square or a garden, was used for the building of the bath.
[214] Evliya Çelebi often points this out in his book, Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 228, 537, and 551.
[215] Usually the distance of a particular *mahalle* from the centre depended on the religion of its residents, Sugar, op. cit., p. 75.
[216] Robert Hillenbrand points out how the Ottoman army in Egypt or northern Iraq laid out the mosque in a garden or used other enclosures, which later took on a more permanent form, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning*, Edinburgh, 1994, p. 33.
[217] Evliya Çelebi mentions that the soldiers in the fortress of Pécs used the building of the medieval university as barracks, Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 331-32.

such as churches or other significant secular buildings became the first mosques.[218] As the Muslim population grew, other churches outside the fort were converted as well.

The first stage of the conversion meant that every statue, altar, pew and any other religious object was removed from the churches. The frescoes and interior decorations were whitewashed and Quranic citations and other decorations were painted on the walls. In the city of Székesfehérvár, Ottoman inscriptions and wall paintings were found in the medieval Hentel Chapel, while its Gothic vaults and windows were preserved.[219] Although there is no other evidence that this place was converted to a mosque, the important act of decorating the walls with messages from the *Kuran* confirms it.

The next step in a conversion was to create a *mihrab*[220] in the southeast wall of the church. During a restoration of the Downtown Parish Church of Budapest, the remains of a *mihrab* were found that had been turned into a Baroque side niche.[221] A *minber* (pulpit) was installed in significant mosques to aid in the delivery of the Friday sermon. Evliya

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[218] Mosque is the English translation for two separate words in Arabic: the *masjid* (*mescid* in Turkish) and the *jami* (*cami* in Turkish). *Masjid*, meaning the "place of prostration," indicates a simple place for private prayer. It can be a personal prayer rug or an elaborately designed mosque. Every Muslim community has a *masjid*, which sometimes means that every *mahalle* of the city has its own. The word *jami* derives from the Arabic root meaning "to assemble." Its function is to accommodate thousands of people for the Friday sermon or *khutba*. Although they differ from each other in function and size, their basic layout and decoration follow the same evolution throughout the Islamic world.

[219] This chapel is called the St. Anne Chapel (Szent Anna-kápolna) today, Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 39.

[220] The *mihrab* is a niche in the *kible* (prayer wall) indicating the direction of Mecca where Muslims have to face during worship.

[221] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 39. Today this church is called Budapesti Belvárosi plébániatemplom. Nothing else had been found from the Ottoman period in this church.

Çelebi mentioned beautiful *minber*s several times, but only a small fragment of a side panel from the Fethiye Mosque in Buda exists today (Fig. 11).[222]

Evliya wrote a long description of the church covered with a dome in the castle of Esztergom that was converted into a mosque. He stated that Sinan, the architect, upon the request of Sultan Süleyman, changed the interior. Sinan built a *mihrab*, a *minber*, and a *mahfil*[223] for the sultan in a manner "words cannot describe." Evliya also mentioned that his father, Dervish Mohammed Zilli, made the golden cover for the incense case in the wall of the *mahfil* and that he talked about the battle at Esztergom. Evliya was very glad to see his father's work with his own eyes.[224] The changes did not make a big difference in the exterior appearance of the converted building which never lost its Renaissance exterior.[225]

The same happened with the medieval St. George Church in the Castle of Buda when it was converted into the Orta Mosque.[226] The Gothic exterior was maintained as can be observed in contemporary engravings (Fig. 12, 22). However, a minaret was built beside the building in 1555 to mark its new function as an Muslim edifice .[227]

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[222] Ibid., p. 40.
[223] The *mahfil* in this mosque meant the royal lodge. It also can mean a tribune for the Muslim clergy or a gallery for women.
[224] Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 311-13. The *minber* was placed into one of the chapels of the church called the Bakócz Chapel.
[225] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnotes 174 and 188.
[226] According to Evliya this mosque was surrounded on all four sides by roads and was located in the middle of the city (in this case the Castle of Buda), that is why it was called *Orta*, or Middle Mosque. Evliya, *Travels*, p. 278.
[227] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnote 187.

The most important church in the Castle of Buda, the Church of Our Lady,[228] was converted into the Büyük (Great), or Sultan Süleyman Mosque in 1541 (Fig. 12). It was the symbolic declaration of Ottoman hegemony over the Hungarian territories which was recorded in Mustafa Celalzade's book on Süleyman's campaigns.[229] Evliya Çelebi spoke about it with great fondness as he surveyed Buda and Pest from the church's bell tower.[230] The Gothic cathedral kept its original ground plan and building structure throughout the Muslim occupation (Fig. 22, 26), but its interior was repeatedly altered and redecorated. It was restored at the end of the nineteenth century creating the opportunity to record its previous architectural phases (Fig. 14, 18). At that time a fragment of an original Ottoman decorative wall painting was found and documented by Frigyes Schulek (Fig. 13).[231]

As renovations became necessary on the walls of medieval buildings after battles between the Ottoman and Habsburg troops, alterations on the facades appeared. This corresponds with the next step in the conversion of churches. Traces of modification of the original windows into smaller ones with Ottoman pointed arches were observed at the Church of Our Lady (Fig. 15-16). Schulek identified these windows as well as vaults in the basement which were added to the church in the Ottoman period (Fig. 17).[232]

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[228] It was called the Church of Nagyboldogasszony (Our Lady); today it is Mátyás (Matthias) Church.

[229] Mustafa Çelebi Celalzade (ca. 1490-1567) was the historian of Sultan Süleyman. He wrote *Tabakat ül-Memalik ve Derecat ül-Mesalik*, which covers the history of Süleyman's campaigns between 1620-1557. Ibid., p. 39-40. On Celalzade see V. L. Ménage, "Djalalzade Mustafa Celebi," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 2, Leiden, 1965, p. 400.

[230] Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 277-78. He counted 210 steps in the bell tower which became the minaret.

[231] Frigyes Schulek was the architect who did the restoration. The results of his work were cited in József Csemegi, *A budavári Főtemplom*, Budapest, 1955, footnote 69, picture 149.

[232] Csemegi, op. cit., pp. 27-28, and footnotes 68, 69. Unfortunately, the Ottoman remains were later dismantled.

The emergence of wooden minarets with *şerefes*[233] on belltowers started the transformation of the skyline in the Hungarian cities. Evliya Çelebi mentioned that a wooden minaret was placed over the original bell tower of the Mosque of Sultan Süleyman after it was converted from the Cathedral in the fort of Pécs (Fig. 19).[234] The city was already in ruins from constant battles when Süleyman's forces captured it in 1543 without any resistance. The biggest cathedral with four bell towers at each of its corners was turned into a place of Muslim worship as a statement of Ottoman conquest. There must have been very few alterations on the church, for every detail of Evliya's admiring description fits with the medieval building. The wooden minaret on the southwest corner was destroyed by a lightening bolt, and Ahmet, the Ağa of Belgrade, ordered its repair in 1631.[235] This was recorded on a *kitabe* (Fig. 20)[236] that had, according to Ayverdi, very poorly executed inscriptions on it.[237]

Building minarets onto converted churches became the unmistakable sign of the conquering Ottoman Empire.[238] Like the previously mentioned Gothic Church of St. George, the Franciscan church converted into the Saray Mosque by the palace of the pashas in Buda, also had a minaret.[239] Evliya mentioned that this minaret was built as "Ottoman manner dictated, but it is ornate."[240]

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[233] *Şerefe* is the balcony or gallery on a minaret from which the call to prayer is announced.
[234] Its Hungarian name is Pécsi Székesegyház. Evliya, *Travels*, p. 231.
[235] Gerő, *Pécs török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1960, pp. 33-34.
[236] A *kitabe* is an inscriptive plaque or panel usually found over mosque doors to announce the pious founder of the edifice.
[237] Ekrem H. Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmalı Mimari Eserleri, Romanya, Macaristan*, vol. I, Istanbul, 1977, p. 210. (Hereafter referred to as Ayverdi, *Macaristan*.)
[238] See the example of Hagia Sophia and other Byzantine churches in Constantinople. For more details see Tahsin Öz, *İstanbul camileri*, Ankara, 1962.
[239] Both examples are noted in Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnotes 191 and 197.
[240] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 278.

Several of the first converted churches in the fortresses were named after the ruling sultan, usually Süleyman, in the sixteenth century.[241] Although the fort of Szigetvár was captured after Süleyman's death, a mosque was constructed in his name.[242] The Ottoman Treasury sponsored some of these mosques and all expenditure was documented in the official treasury records, or *defters*.[243] The signs of royal patronage are not extensive. They demonstrate that Süleyman had wanted to create a buffer zone rather than to effect a long-term conquest in the new province.

Within the converted mosques subgroups can be identified according to the degree of alteration of the original plans of the churches. The Mosque of Memi Pasha in Pécs was converted from a Franciscan church with the addition of a portico (*son cemaat yeri*[244]) on the west facade. It is possible to recognize the two *sofas*[245] on de Haüy's map (Fig. 1). According to Evliya's story Memi Pasha freed fifty Muslim children from the basement of this church, and therefore, when it was converted to a mosque, it was named after him. Evliya also mentioned that the mosque had a portico and a minaret and close to it there was a bath and a *medrese* built by the same person.[246]

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[241] In the fort of Buda the Church of Our Lady and in the fort of Pécs the Cathedral became Sultan Süleyman's Mosque. Evliya also mentioned a mosque named after him converted from a church in the fort of Siklós which does not exist today, Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 536-37.
[242] The Mosque of Sultan Süleyman in Szigetvár will be discussed later.
[243] Lajos Fekete, *Budapest a törökkorban*, Budapest, 1944, p. 262.
[244] *Son cemaat yeri* literally means the 'place for the latecomers.' As the extension of the mosque with external *mihrab*s, late people could pray without disturbing others.
[245] *Sofa* means stone bench. At a mosque it refers to the raised stone platform on both sides of the entrance in the portico.
[246] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 229. They will be discussed later.

In another subgroup of the converted mosques the polygonal apse of the church was turned into a straight wall. This alteration appeared in the Pasha Mosque that was converted from the Franciscan Church of St. John in the Castle of Buda. Excavations unearthed the three-sided apse and, to the west of it, the straight original Ottoman wall.[247]

It should be noted that some churches and synagogues on the outskirts of the cities did not get converted. These were left in the care of the local Christian or Jewish communities, which had to pay tax on the buildings and properties.[248] The non-Muslim populations always had to ask for permission to renovate an already existing religious building, but they were not allowed to build an extension on it or erect a new one. The residents of the town of Gyöngyös asked the *kadi* of the city of Hatvan several times for authorization to restore their church and to build a new school. They received their permission much later.[249]

Ottoman authorities were reluctant to approve any new Christian structures, and as the Christian population did not increase there were no new building programs carried out. Hungarian scholars agree that the country's Christian population after the Ottoman invasion decreased by one third. Although there were no official demographic counts before 1785, estimates based on tax collections were made. The results show that

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[247] Győző Gerő carried out the excavations in 1966, Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnotes 286 and 287.
[248] In Pécs the Church of Mindenszentek (All Saints) stayed in the possession of the Catholic Church during the Ottoman occupation, Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 32. Also the Church of Mary Magdalene in Buda was kept for use by the Christians until 1594, Oliver A. I. Botar, "From European Capital to Ottoman Outpost: The Decline of Buda in the Sixteenth Century," *Hungarian Studies Review*, vol. XIV, no. 1, 1987, pp. 3-25.
[249] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 23. Gerő found this information in Lajos Fekete, "Gyöngyös város levéltárának török iratai," *Levéltári Közlemények*, vol. X-XI. (no p. n.)

Hungary's population before the battle of Mohács was between 3-3.4 million.[250] As the Ottomans moved in, the Hungarian and German-speaking population left the cities; thus the two major ethnic components were almost annihilated. With the appearance of Ottoman garrisons and Balkan traders, the towns began to take on the ethnic composition of a Balkan city. The inhabitants consisted of many nationalities that spoke several languages and belonged to a variety of religions.[251]

Synagogues were present in Hungary as early as the tenth century.[252] As the Ottomans occupied Buda in 1526, the Jews left the city and settled at Saloniki (Thessalonica, Greece), but later some returned on hearing of the fair treatment under the Ottomans.[253] At the end of the fifteenth century Beyazit II (1481-1512) let the Spanish Jews into the Ottoman Empire after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. They settled mainly in bigger cities, but Saloniki became the chief center of Sephardic Jews.[254]

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[250] For more details see Joseph Held, *Hunyadi: Legend and Reality*, New York, 1985, pp. 56-79. The medieval Kingdom of Hungary had a multi-ethnic population consisting of large numbers of Hungarians, Germans, Wallachians (Romanians), Slavs and smaller numbers of Jews, Italians, Dalmatians, Frenchmen and others like Gypsies.

[251] The dominant Muslim class was made up of Turks, Bosnians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbs, Gypsies (who converted to Islam by 1580) and Albanians. There were the Orthodox Christians of Balkan Slavs and Greeks, and the Roman Catholics of Dalmatians, Bosnians and Croatians. Some of the Hungarians belonged to the already spreading Protestantism and the Jewish community was made up of German, Polish, Sephardic and Syrian Jews. See more in Botar, op. cit., pp. 8-12.

[252] Documents reveal that Jewish communities lived in small settlements after 900 C.E. Sometimes they received unfavorable treatments from the Hungarian kings; other times they were granted privileges. Their number was more than 2000 by the time the Ottomans arrived to Hungary. According to Alexander Büchler Sultan Süleyman ordered the deportation of the 2000 Jews. Alexander Büchler, "Hungary," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York, London, 1904, vol. VI, pp. 494-503.

[253] Botar mentions that by 1547 the numbers of Jewish families were 75 in Buda. He also noted that twenty-five of these families were listed as being of "recent Balkan origin," which could mean that they were among the deported Jews. Botar, op. cit., pp. 8-9, and footnote 19.

[254] Other cities were Istanbul, Edirne, Iznik, Jerusalem, Safed, Damascus, Cairo, Bursa, Tokat and Amasya, see "Turkey," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York, London, 1904, vol. VI, p. 280.

Scholars have been studying the effect of the settling Jews and noted the increasing number of synagogues in Saloniki at the end of the fifteenth century.[255]

In Hungary, the Jews living under Habsburg rule were treated far worse than those living in the parts occupied by the Ottomans. The Austrians pillaged synagogues, while the Jewish community in Buda had three synagogues and could practise its religion freely.[256] Conversely, there are no examples of newly built synagogues or ones that were converted by the Ottomans.

2. New construction

It is new Ottoman foundations that are the most significant monuments in the study of architecture in Hungary. These undertakings were often carried out on the sites of medieval churches in city centres and often used the stones of the previous buildings. Architectural examples exist in cut stone, rough stone or brick. In some stone buildings, brick has been used to emphasize the arches of windows and niches, as well as corner elements like squinches.

The transformation of the medieval cityscape did not happen overnight. After a few decades the occupied cities started to display signs of an atmosphere in which Christian elements mixed with Muslim architectural components. This can be observed

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[255] Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Balkanlarda Osmanlı Mimarisi," *Tarih Çevresi,Tarih ve Kültür Dergisi*, no. 11, Istanbul, 1994, pp. 27-36; Machiel Kiel, "Notes on the History of Some Turkish Monuments in Thessaloniki and their Founders," *Balkan Studies*, vol. 11, Thessaloniki, 1970, pp. 123-48.

[256] Botar, op. cit., p. 12.

from contemporary engravings (Fig. 22-28). The conquerors were not concerned about altering the local street structure and did not want to engage in extensive town planning. During the constructions of the mosques the main focus was on their new orientation, and the *kıble* wall was changed toward the southeast instead of following the east-west axis of the Christian churches. Accordingly, in the existing urban structure it was only the mosques which did not lie parallel to the medieval road system.[257] In Pécs the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha, and in Szigetvár, the Mosque of Ali Pasha replaced the churches in the middle of the main square and have a different orientation from the surrounding buildings (Fig. 1, 2). In Siklós the Mosque of Malkoç Bey has a distinctive southeast orientation compared to other buildings in its neighborhood (Fig. 76).

As the Muslim immigrants kept coming into Hungarian cities, new projects were carried out in almost every *mahalle*. It is impossible to tell how many mosques were originally built, but there must have been numerous Muslim edifices dotting the cityscape by the seventeenth century (Fig. 23-28). Evliya Çelebi reported the numbers of mosques and other Muslim buildings he saw – or heard about – during his travels. According to him there were twenty-four mosques in Buda, seventeen mosques in Pécs, fifteen mosques in Szigetvár, and fourteen in Siklós, just to cite a few examples.[258]

When Ekrem H. Ayverdi listed the Ottoman monuments in Hungary, he looked for each structure Evliya or other contemporaries had mentioned, but most of them were

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[257] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 31.
[258] Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 277, 228-9, 551, 537. In Buda he counted 129 Ottoman structures.

never found or could not be identified.[259] Nonetheless, Ayverdi included them in his list which makes his total number of 726 doubtful. József Molnár listed in his work on Ottoman monuments in Hungary only twenty monuments and remains, but in this number gravestones, a non-existing bridge and washbasins are included.[260] As he sparsely described major buildings, his work is far from comprehensive. Since the 1950's Győző Gerő has studied every existing Ottoman building in Hungary, excavated some of the ruins and researched buildings which have not yet been found. According to the results of his extensive research, the number of Ottoman edifices which can be documented is around 62.[261] Examples will be listed in the following pages grouped by their building types.

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[259] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*.
[260] Molnár, *Monuments*.
[261] He discussed 27 existing monuments and remains in details, but all together he mentions 62 buildings some of which are known only from sources, Gerő, *Dzsámik*.

CHAPTER SIX

PRINCIPAL BUILDING TYPES IN HUNGARY

1. The mosque

The mosque is the principal religious building in Islam and it provides shelter and refuge from the chaotic life of the busy city. It brings Muslims together in prayer. The architectural setting should sustain and enhance a calm inner mood, whether there be one worshiper or many. It was an important role of the Ottoman sultan to provide such places of worship for his subjects throughout his empire.

In Ottoman architecture the search for beauty and for different techniques of mosque construction developed simultaneously. The diverse architectural forms found in the Islamic world are due not only to the environment and cultural influences of a region but also to local building traditions, materials, and architectural ideas transmitted from other areas.

The Bosnian patrons and master builders were required to create essential edifices for the Muslim population and therefore carried their building traditions into Hungary. The mosques in Hungary, built from local materials, show similarities to the Bosnian Muslim edifices, but do not always use the same types of plan. Ottoman mosques in Hungary demonstrate two typological variations: a rectangular building with a hip roof

(Fig. 29/a),[262] and a cubic building covered with a single dome.[263] This latter type usually had a three-bayed portico roofed with cupolas; a minaret often adjoined the main chamber (Fig. 29/b,c).

There are no examples of hypostyle mosques[264] or *zaviye*-plan mosques[265] in Hungary. In the Ottoman Empire the hypostyle plan was used for *ulu camis*,[266] in order to accommodate a larger population and was most often bestowed by the sultan. The development of the *ulu cami* in big cities for large communities explains its absence in Hungary since this province was created quite late in the history of the Ottomans and did not have huge numbers of Muslims.[267]

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[262] A hip roof is characterized by sloping ends and sloping sides, but typically it is not as high as a pitched roof.

[263] It is also called the single-space or single-unit domed mosque and represents a prototype of the Ottoman mosque. Behçet Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman times 1071-1923*, London, 1970, pp. 19-20.

[264] A hypostyle building has a roof that rests upon rows of columns.

[265] This type of mosque is also called a multi-unit domed or T-plan mosque. Its development started with the addition of *eyvan*s (a vaulted or domed recess with three sides enclosed and one side open) to mosques in Bursa. A *zaviye* is a term for the cell of a recluse that was subsequently applied to lodgings for traveling dervishes and later the *imaret* (soup kitchen) system of the major mosques.

[266] *Ulu cami* means great Friday mosque. The Seljuks in Anatolia modified the hypostyle plan of early Arabic mosques. This plan consists of several square spaces covered with identical domes resting upon columns or pillars.

[267] Great examples of this type of mosque can be found in the first two capitals of the Ottoman Empire: Bursa Ulu Cami (built by Beyazit I between 1396-1400), Edirne Eski Cami (built by Emir Süleyman Çelebi between 1403-14). The Bursa Ulu Cami covers an area of 63 x 50 metres, while the Edirne Eski Cami measures 49.50 x 49.50 metres. For these examples see Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 51-57. In Sofia, Bulgaria, a smaller version of the Edirne Eski Cami was built by Vezir Mahmut Pasha in the fifteenth century. This mosque has three domes parallel and perpendicular to the *kible* wall from which one measures 9.30 metres. So one side of the mosque would be more than 27.90 metres with the width of the arches added. In comparison, in Hungary the biggest Ottoman mosque known to us, the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha in Pécs, measures only 16.35 x 16.35 metres on the inside.

Questions concerning the lack of *zaviye*-plan mosques in the Hungarian territories are not as easy to answer. Since their early appearance and wide use in Bosnia is apparent,[268] their absence in the new Hungarian province is both conspicuous and puzzling. It is known that some of the Bosnian patrons who commissioned *zaviye*-plan mosques in Bosnia did not sponsor any in Hungary (Fig. 30).[269] The common use of the *zaviye*-plan mosques up to the sixteenth century in the Balkans is explained by the need for accommodation for itinerant dervishes who traveled extensively in this area as far as Albania.[270] In a *zaviye*-plan mosque the added *eyvan*s or rooms were used as lecture halls for schools or living quarters. Itinerant dervishes could stay for the night in the rooms, or Muslim instructors could use the extra space for teaching. The multiple use of the building emphasized the hospitality function of the architectural form rather than its mosque role.[271]

Although dervishes traveled and established schools in Hungary, they were not as active there as in the Balkans. There are only a few *tekke*s[272] (dervish convents) and *türbe*s belonging to these orders and their leaders. It is possible that the high-ranking

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[268] Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, p. 73; Pašić, *Bosnia*, pp. 57-62.

[269] The mosque of Hüsrev Bey in Sarajevo (Gazi Husrevbegova Mosque, 1531, severely damaged in the Balkan war) belongs to the *zaviye*-plan type, but the same *bey*'s mosque in Buda was of a different plan type. In Banja Luka the mosque built by Ferhat Pasha (Ferhatpašina Mosque, 1579, totally destroyed during the Balkan war) has a *zaviye*-plan, while his foundations in Pécs do not include this plan type. He was also the Pasha of Buda between November 1588 and September 1592, but nothing is known to have been commissioned by him there, Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 41-42 and Pašić, op. cit., p. 62.

[270] Goodwin points out that Orhan Bey's first *zaviye*-mosque in Bursa in 1339 was built with the dervishes and the Ahi brotherhood in mind, Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, p. 35.

[271] For examples see ibid., p. 75.

[272] A *tekke* was a building built for long-term accommodation of dervishes who took care of the building, taught and attended to other duties. A *zaviye* was a room that served as lodging for travelers for short periods of time and were usually attached to a mosque. Both could serve as schools or as housing.

Ottoman provincial officials who built *zaviye*-plan mosques in the Balkans to demonstrate their piety, did not consider their post towns in Hungary as permanent homes where the teachings of Islam had to be continued, and did not want to engage in more building than was necessary. Accordingly, they chose the simplest plan types to carry out pious endowments.

a. Rectangular mosques with hip roofs

One of the most common plan types in the Balkans during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the rectangular prayer hall topped with a hip roof (Fig. 29/a, 31).[273] The spread of this architectural form in Hungary was considerably slower than that of the single-unit domed mosques. There is only one existing original Ottoman example belonging to this plan type while there are seven mosques – some in ruins – which show the domed plan type. The hip roof mosque is situated in the fort of Szigetvár and is named after Sultan Süleyman (Fig. 32, 33). It was built after the fortress was captured in 1566, but two years later Sultan Selim II ordered its renovation. Gerő believes that the first mosque was probably made of wood or less durable material than today's brick building. This would explain the need for restoration in such a short period. Gerő also excavated the Mosque of Sultan Süleyman and did not find any signs of an earlier building or of later additions.[274] This implies that the first building was totally replaced by the brick one when the builders had more time to erect a proper structure.[275]

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[273] Pašić, op. cit., p. 62.
[274] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 44-45.
[275] As Sultan Süleyman died during Szigetvár's siege there was more concern with the return of his body to Istanbul, than with supervising the construction of a mosque. Molnár pointed out that

The basic rectangular prayer hall of the Mosque of Sultan Süleyman in Szigetvár was surrounded on two sides by an open portico in an L-shape with the minaret joined to the main chamber at the southwest side of the building (Fig. 34).[276] The minaret, according to Evliya Çelebi, used to be 110 steps high.[277] The access to the minaret was through a door which opened from inside the mosque. Today only eight meters of its fourteen-sided shaft stand on a square base (Fig. 33). Drop-shape openings (Fig. 33, 35) can be found in the wall by the minaret and above the *mihrab*. These window shapes are unique examples in the provincial and capital architecture of the Ottoman Empire.

The original *mihrab* on the *kıble*[278] axis is on the southeast end of the rectangular chamber (Fig. 35). It was built from brick, as is the whole mosque, and decorated with *muqarnas*[279] at the top (Fig. 36). Traces of the *minber* on the floor and in the wall to the right of the *mihrab* were found, indicating that its material was stone rather than the more

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Ottoman historian Mustafa Selaniki reported how quickly the construction was finished in six weeks. Molnár, *Szigetvár török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1958, p. 12.

[276] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 249. József Molnár wrongly concluded the plan of this mosque to be centrally planned with a big dome and three smaller domes as the roof structure, *Szigetvár török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1958, p. 18, picture 9. His mistake was pointed out and corrected in Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 45-46. Gerő says that there were no traces of connecting elements between the roof and the main chamber of the mosque which would have indicated a domed structure.

[277] This means that he counted up to the *şerefe* 110 steps (25-30 m) which does not mean that the height of the minaret was the same. Evliya, *Travels*, p. 551.

[278] The *kıble* or *qiblah* is the direction of prayer for Muslims. The *kıble* wall contains the *mihrab*.

[279] *Muqarnas* is a decorative element in Islamic architecture. It resembles stalactites or other geometric patterns and is used to smooth the transition between flat and rounded surfaces, as in the vaults of a dome and the main wall of a building.

perishable wood.[280] The *minber* was probably removed when the Austrian army captured the city in 1689 and General de Vecchi established his headquarters in the mosque.[281]

There were also traces of a wooden *kadınlar mahfili*, or women's gallery, found alongside the northwest wall of the mosque above the main entrance. The stairs leading to the minaret were used to reach the women's gallery. Outside the prayer hall the L-shaped portico was closed only on the southeast end and had an external *mihrab* in this wall. It was altered into a door and its measurements could not be established (Fig. 37).[282] However, this is the only example of a second *mihrab* in a mosque in the Hungarian province.[283]

The Mosque of Sultan Süleyman harbors an important collection of the few original Islamic inscriptions that were found during the renovations of 1960 and 1962.[284] Although in 1844 Hammer-Purgstall published the Arabic, Turkish and Persian inscriptions he recorded in the mosque (Fig. 38),[285] today only a few can be read and are in good condition (Fig. 39). These were painted or engraved into the walls inside the prayer hall, in the window bays, and in the portico around the second *mihrab*. According to Gerő, the inscriptions originated from several different persons. Among the recurring

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[280] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 46.
[281] József Molnár, *Szigetvár török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1958, pp. 21-22. Molnár also mentions how this general pillaged everything moveable in the areas under his command and sold them.
[282] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 48.
[283] Today the portico area is enclosed from all sides and it is a place for exhibitions as the mosque was turned into a museum in 1963.
[284] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 48.
[285] J. von Hammer-Purgstall, "Szigetvári arab, török és perzsa feliratok," *Akadémiai Értesítő*, Budapest, 1844.

quotes are the *Bismillah*[286] and the name of Muhammad. Since most of the inscriptions are badly damaged, it is difficult to put these names into context. Other quotes appear to be moral teachings and references to the tribulations of different individuals.

Another example of the rectangular-plan mosque is the Mosque of Užičeli Hacı Ibrahim in the city of Esztergom (Fig. 40). Since this building was converted from a Christian barbican it has no importance in the study of the development of this plan type, but it is an existing Ottoman structure. The barbican was probably already rectangular in shape, and for the convenient size and form the Ottomans used it as a prayer hall without changing much of its outline. It was recorded by Evliya Çelebi as a tall, attractive building with a brick minaret.[287] There is a drawing (Fig. 41) thought to represent the mosque in 1683, but it was disregarded by Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi in his book where he claimed that it has no relationship to the mosque.[288] Today the building is used as a house, although its original door is half buried by new road expansion (Fig. 42).

b. Domed mosques

In Hungary the most representative examples of Islamic monumental architecture are the domed mosques (Fig. 29/b,c). This plan type is usually extended with a portico (*son cemaat yeri*) covered with three smaller cupolas and adjoined by a minaret at the northwest corner of the building. The single-unit domed mosques were widely used in the

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[286] "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful." The opening phrase of the first chapter of the *Kuran*, which has become a pious invocation.
[287] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 314.
[288] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 177.

Balkans, especially in Bosnia, as small mescids in the outskirts of a city and sometimes for greater mosques in the central *mahalle*s. From there the type spread to the Hungarian province in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The most impressive example of the single-unit domed mosques is the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha on the main square of Pécs (Fig. 43). It is shown on Joseph de Haüy's city map (Fig. 1) and extensively described by Evliya.[289] According to him, the mosque was "eye-appealing and beautiful," which made it very popular among the inhabitants. Evliya measured both its length and width as a hundred steps, and complimented the artistic qualities of its *minber*, *mihrab*, *mahfil* for the *müezzin*s, and a *kürsü*[290] decorated with gemstones. He was also amazed by the size of the dome, which he compared to that of the Mosque of Selim I in Istanbul.[291] He even noted that their architectural designs were similar, for both were built above "square walls" and covered with a single dome.

The most ambiguous part of Evliya's description is of the portico. He oriented the entrance toward southeast, although the *mihrab* should face southeast and thus the entrance would face northwest. He described the *sofa*s on both sides of the entrance as being covered with two cupolas which were carried by six columns. The three-bayed portico had only four columns and not six, as proved by the results of an excavation.[292]

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[289] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 228.
[290] The *kürsü* is a high chair used by the *imam* when teaching.
[291] Although the measurements of the Mosque of Sultan Selim I (the diameter of the dome is 24.5 m, height is 32.5 m) are bigger than that of Gazi Kasım Pasha's (the interior measures 16.35 x 16.35 m), Evliya probably had not seen other such great constructions in Hungary during his travels.
[292] This is explained later in this chapter.

Evliya concluded his interpretation of the mosque with the minaret which was "quite tall and its placement required engineering skills."

The Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha was built on the site of the medieval Church of Szent Bertalan (St. Bartholomew) and mostly from its stones. The exact date of its construction is unknown.[293] After the liberation of Hungary the mosque was used as a church by the Jesuits at the end of the seventeenth century. Although the mosque was in very good shape, major alterations began in the early eighteenth century which turned the building into a Baroque parish church and removed its Ottoman character (Fig. 44).[294] Finally, between 1939-42 an excavation took place under Gyula Gosztonyi's guidance, in an effort to reestablish the mosque's original appearance. With scientific precision Gosztonyi managed to reveal the building's foundations. His ground plan has been used since as a standard reference among Hungarian scholars (Fig. 45).[295] Ayverdi did not accept this plan, questioned the accuracy of the research works, and created a new version

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[293] Gerő, *Pécs török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1960, p. 13. According to Gerő the mosque was built at the end of the 1570's or the beginning of the 1580's. He based this on an oral tradition about Rüstem, the *kadi* of Pécs, who collected money from the citizens for the purpose of erecting a grand mosque in the city. Ayverdi put the possible building date between February 1548 and May 1551 when Gazi Kasım Pasha was the governor in Buda, Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 199. Interestingly he did not consider the Pasha's second appointment in Buda between August 1557 and November 1558. Peçevi mentioned that before Kasım Pasha got the governorship in Buda he was the *sancak beyi* in the southwest part of Hungary with Pécs and Szekszárd under his command, Peçevi, *Tarihi*, p. 26. I also found a note in his book about Mehmet Çelebi, the secretary of the imperial council, who died during the conquest of Szigetvár and was buried in the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha in Pécs, ibid., p. 34. This points to the existence of the mosque in 1566.

[294] Gerő, *Pécs török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1960, p. 16.

[295] Nevertheless, his conclusions were somewhat mistaken and corrected by Gerő, see ibid.; Molnár, *Monuments*; Gerő, *Dzsámik*.

based on similarities in Istanbul and by following what Evliya wrote about the mosque (Fig. 46).[296]

The roof atop the main chamber is slanting at the corners, a device that is repeated in the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha in Pécs. Inside, above the square-planned prayer hall, a semi-spherical dome sits on an octagonal drum. The transition between the dome and the body of the mosque is made by four big arches and four squinches (Fig. 47).

The original entrance to the mosque on the northwest side of the building was destroyed when a new modern semicircular addition was put in (Fig. 48).[297] Gosztonyi could establish only the entrance's foundation, but that gave an idea of the size and decorative frame of the doorway. Comparing these data with other Hungarian examples, we can determine that the entrance of the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha was probably very similar to the entrance of the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha (Fig. 55). On both sides of the doorway the bases of the *sofa*s were found which correspond with the depiction of the mosque in de Haüy's map (Fig. 1).

On the west side of the three-domed portico Gosztonyi unearthed the foundation of the minaret with its door opening from the last bay of the portico. After the necessary research was done to expose what was left from the original Ottoman building, plans for its restoration were prepared by an architect. His plan included two new minarets on both

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[296] He established a five-domed portico and positioned the minaret behind it. There are no examples of this typological variation of the single-domed mosques in Hungary. Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, pp. 199-207.

[297] Gerő, *Pécs török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1960, p. 17.

sides of the mosque; this is historically inaccurate (Fig. 49). Only royal commissions in Ottoman architecture could have more than one minaret. This mosque was obviously not built for the sultan, and the excavation confirmed only one minaret. Fortunately the restoration plans were altered, and the minarets did not get built.[298]

The internal corners of the building are articulated with *muqarnas* and two rows of stalactite decoration that connect to the squinches (Fig. 50). Similar transition elements were used in the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha (Fig. 58) and in the Mosque of Ali Pasha in Szigetvár (Fig. 66). The same stalactite pattern is sculpted out of stone in the *mihrab* niche, representing the simplest form of *muqarnas* in Islamic art. To the right of the *mihrab* the outlines of a *minber* were found in the wall, but the base of it had disappeared when the Baroque church was formed.[299] A *mahfil* was connected to the northwest part of the prayer hall with stone columns and a wood structure. The simple stalactite capitals of these columns were found during renovation and today they are in the local museum.[300]

Both Molnár and Gerő write about original Quranic inscriptions which decorated the walls[301] where today only a small piece can be seen to the left of the *mihrab*. The names of Allah and Muhammad are recognizable. Today the decorations of the *mihrab* and the *muqarnas* are a bit jarring and stylistically incorrect (Fig. 47, 50). However,

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[298] The architect was Nándor Körmendy who wanted to emphasize the transition between the new addition and the original mosque with two minarets on both sides of the building. Today the mosque is used as the parish church of downtown Pécs.
[299] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 51.
[300] In the Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs.
[301] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 51; Molnár, op. cit., p. 11.

sections of the red and white voussoirs, along with pieces of colored glass and circular stucco, were collected at the site during the excavations and used as guides in the restoration process for accuracy. The same colour combination can be found among the decorative elements in the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha in Pécs, and in the Mosque of Ali Pasha in Szigetvár. The fusion of Christian crucifixes and a fresco depicting the veneration of Jesus along with the Islamic decorations in the inside creates an interesting atmosphere in the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha (Fig. 47).

The Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha in Pécs is another example of the single-unit domed plan type (Fig. 51). This is an important building, which became the center of the religious community outside the city walls close to the gate leading to Szigetvár. The name of the founder could be identified from Evliya Çelebi's account, and it indicates that Hasan Pasha was from Yakova (Djakovo, in the Balkans), but nothing else is known about him. Evliya also described a *medrese* and an *imaret* beside the mosque which was frequented by dervishes who spoke Persian.[302] These will be discussed under dervish centers later in this chapter.

The mosque itself is the best preserved among the Hungarian structures, although its portico has disappeared. Győző Gerő first researched the remains of the portico in 1968 and found its floor, but there was nothing left of the columns or their bases. He suggested, following other examples in Hungary, that it was an open, three-bayed portico

[302] Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 232-33.

covered with domes (Fig. 29/b).[303] Ayverdi proposed a porch covered with barrel vaults instead of the cupolas since the depth of the individual bays were larger than their width (Fig. 52).[304]

The exact date of the establishment of the mosque or that of the other buildings is unknown, but Gerő argues that they must have been built in the second half of the sixteenth century.[305] Ayverdi points out that the orientation of the mosque is off by 21 degrees from the correct 44-degree *kıble* direction in Pécs. Since the orientation was executed correctly in the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha, he suggests that the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha was erected before it; otherwise the builders would have been able to copy the right *kıble* direction.[306]

The entrance to the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha is the only example of Ottoman doorway which has survived in its entirety (Fig. 55). Above the lintel of the door a hole used to house the *kitabe* which is bordered by a triangle-shaped *muqarnas* decoration and a laced half circle. This is the best example of Ottoman stone decoration in the Hungarian province, but a similar design can be found on the doorway of the Mosque of Šišman Ibrahim in Počitelj, Bosnia.[307]

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[303] Gerő, *A Jakováli Haszán Pasa Dzsámi és Múzeum Kiállítási Vezetője*, Pécs, 1979, p. 9. In Gerő's opinion the porch must have been dismantled as early as the seventeenth century along with the tombstones from the graveyard.
[304] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 210.
[305] Gerő, *Pécs török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1960, p. 24.
[306] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 220. His dating of the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha falls between 1548-51 thus the Yakovalı foundation had to be built between 1543 (the conquest of Pécs) and 1548 which gives a narrow time frame for the execution of this well designed building complex.
[307] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 53.

The minaret of the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha is an important example of Ottoman minarets since this is the only one which has survived almost entirely in its original shape and height (Fig. 51). With the exception of the cap and the iron rails of the *şerefe*, the minaret is a fine model of the sixteenth-century Ottoman style which spread into the Balkans and from there to Hungary.[308]

The top of the minaret was damaged and rebuilt so that it could house a bell. A painting from the eighteenth century (Fig. 53) and an engraving by Lajos Rohbock from the middle of the nineteenth century (Fig. 54) depict the mosque as a church with a Baroque dome and a bell tower.

The decoration of the minaret of the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha shows unique techniques in Hungary. The pedestal, which stands on a stepped square base, has a series of blind pointed arches carved in low relief (Fig. 56), and under the balcony colored tiles decorate the polygonal shaft of the minaret (Fig. 57). Colored terracotta ornaments on minarets can be observed at the Üç Şerefeli Mosque in Edirne (1438-47) and later at the Mosque of Sultan Beyazit in Istanbul (1501-06).[309]

Among the original decorative elements of the mosque, geometric, flower motifs and inscriptions can be found. Inscriptions within borders decorate the walls under the squinches on both sides of the *muqarnas* (Fig. 59, 62). The lower zone of the drum is accentuated with a ring which has alternating red and white stripes. Above this ring a

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[308] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 58.
[309] Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 99, 172.

series of stylized red and white tulips decorates the drum (Fig. 58). The connection between the dome and the drum is enhanced with a belt of small pointed arches carved in low relief; it was originally coloured (Fig. 59). These pointed arches show similarity to the minaret's decorative blind arches (Fig. 56). Below this element, a ribbon filled with interlacing patterns of foliate scroll-work tries to emulate the Ottoman *rumi* decoration, although in a very simple way (Fig. 60).[310] The arches and squinches are decorated with a row of rosette motifs alternating in black and red colors (Fig. 58, 59, 61). These are the only examples of decorative wall paintings in Hungary that have survived in relatively good shape. According to Gerő, the Alaca Mosque in Foča had a similar stylized tulip decoration, but its scroll-work is more refined.[311]

After 1686 the mosque became a Christian church, and its interior was altered to hide the Muslim decorations. In the eighteenth century a hospital was built next to the mosque and covered part of the dome (Fig. 51). In 1955 the government restored the building and declared it a historical monument. A museum was established in the adjacent building to house the partially reconstructed details of the portico and an exhibition about the life and culture of the Hungarian province during the Ottoman period (Fig. 63).[312] Today the local Muslim community uses it as a prayer hall.

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[310] *Rumi* (literally means Greek or Anatolian), along with *hatayi* (literally Chinese), are variant styles of arabesque, which is a characteristic Islamic decoration. It usually consists of sinuous unbroken interlacing scroll-works.

[311] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 55-56. The Alaca Mosque in Foča was built in 1550 and was destroyed in the Balkan war.

[312] Gerő, *A Jakováli Haszán Pasa Dzsámi és Múzeum Kiállítási Vezetője*, Pécs, 1979, p. 62.

Another example of the second plan type is found in the city of Szigetvár and it is called the Mosque of Ali Pasha (Fig. 64). The name of the founder and the date of the construction were preserved by Evliya Çelebi, who recorded the inscriptions on the *kitabe* above the entrance.[313] Not much is known about Ali Pasha. The date on the inscription plate is 997 A.H., which corresponds with the year between November 1588 and November 1589.[314]

The brick building had a stone foundation, and some of its decorative elements were constructed of stone as well. The mosque was covered with a semi-spherical dome and had a three-bayed portico with smaller domes above. The dome is carried on an octagonal drum with four big arches and four squinches (Fig. 66-67). The portico was open only on the front and the north side. The placement of the minaret shows a variation on this plan type. It stood in front of the portico connecting to its closed west side (Fig. 29/c). Anguissola's map clearly shows its position in the city with the portico and the minaret (Fig. 2).

Unfortunately, a lightning bolt in 1719 knocked down the minaret, and a Baroque-style tower was built onto the converted church in 1789.[315] During the alterations of 1910 the *mihrab* was demolished and an elongated apse was built on the east side of the church

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[313] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 551. Evliya recorded the position of the plate as being above the southeast entrance. This was probably the northwest facade as the southeast wall is the kıble wall with the mihrab in opposition.

[314] Gerő, Molnár and Karácson gave this date. Interestingly Ayverdi calculated the corresponding years to be 1577-1579, Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 239. According to my calculations the date should be 1588-89.

[315] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 240.

according to Ernő Foerk's plan.[316] Foerk also surveyed the original Ottoman building with its extension and drew its ground plan. Excavations in 1967-68 by Gerő verified the latter.[317] He noticed that the mosque had three niches in the main prayer hall and two in the portico on the west wall that connected the mosque to the minaret (Fig. 65, 68-69). Gerő argues that the unusually high number of niches might indicate that the mosque was used as a *dershane*, or lecture hall, as well.

The transition between the walls and the dome of the mosque as well as the consoles supporting the arch system are accentuated with *muqarnas* (Fig. 70-71). Gerő found red and white stucco pieces covering the inside of the pointed-arch windows, which showed similarity to the decoration of the arches in the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha.

Evliya pointed out that Ali Pasha's Türbe was standing by the mosque and that the same builder also endowed a *çeşme*[318] and a judicial building in this city.[319] Ali Pasha might have created a religious educational center in the heart of the city. Today the mosque is used as a Presbyterian church (Plébániatemplom), but nothing else has survived of his foundations.

Another example of the domed mosques is the Mosque of Malkoç Bey in Siklós (Fig. 72). It was first mentioned by Evliya, who named the mosque and described its situation in a grove outside the fort in the city. (Fig. 27 shows two mosques in the city of

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[316] József Molnár, *Szigetvár török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1958, p. 26.
[317] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 60.
[318] *Çeşme* means a drinking fountain, it can be a tap alone or a monument.
[319] Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 551-552.

Siklós.)[320] In the nineteenth century it was cited several times, and Lajos Rohbock made a superb sketch of it when it was used as a house (Fig. 73).[321] Mysteriously, the demolition of the mosque was reported to the National Inspectorate for Historical Monuments at the beginning of the twentieth century.[322] This never happened. Győző Gerő went on a survey in 1969, hoping to discover some remains of the mosque, and found the building standing but in very bad shape (Fig. 74-75). The orientation of the building toward the southeast (Fig. 76) and the windows with pointed arches (Fig. 77) convinced him that he was correct, and he began excavations between 1969-1971.[323]

Gerő identified the founder of the mosque as Malkoç Bey, who served as a *sancak beyi* in Klissza[324] and who died there in 1566. He argues that the dates of the building of the mosque then should fall between 1543-1566.[325] Ayverdi relied on Ibrahim Peçevi's History in dating the mosque, and he gave the credit to another Malkoç Bey who had family connections in the Hungarian province. Ayverdi dates the building of the mosque to the beginning of the sixteenth century.[326]

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[320] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 537.

[321] This sketch was used by G. Heisinger to create an engraving which was published in János Hunfalvy, *Magyarország és Erdély eredeti képekben*, Darmstadt, 1860, vol. II, on the plate after p. 398. I found this information in Gerő, "A Siklósi Malkocs Bej Dzsámi," Offprint from the *Építés- Építészettudomány*, vol. XV, no. 1-4, Budapest, 1983, p. 117.

[322] The dome and part of the walls collapsed in 1901 and was probably declared to be demolished.

[323] Gerő, op. cit., 1983, pp. 117-20.

[324] Kilis in Bosnia. Malkoç Bey's türbe is in Banja Luka, Bosnia.

[325] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 63.

[326] Peçevi wrote about a story that happened in the year of 1595 and included another Malkoç Bey (the brother of the *alay beyi*, or colonel, of the city of Szeged) who fought in Hungary. Ayverdi believed that this person built the mosque in Siklós. He then concluded that the mosque was built in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Obviously this is incorrect as there were no Ottomans in Hungary at that time. Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, pp. 259-60.

The building had a slanted roof when Gerő found it. In an engraving by Blumberg (Fig. 78) some of the houses at the foot of the fort have the same roof type.[327] They might represent a local construction method for houses which was employed on the building of the Mosque of Malkoç Bey when its roof collapsed.

The mosque had a square ground plan and a double octagonal drum, which supported the lead-covered dome (Fig. 79). The external articulation of the drum can be observed in Rohbock's drawing. Gerő points out the structural similarities between this mosque and others in the Balkans, like the Karadjozbegova Mosque in Mostar.[328]

The Mosque of Malkoç Bey was built of stone and brick. Brick was mainly used to accentuate the decorative pointed arches (Fig. 77), the frames of the *mihrab* (Fig. 80) and the entrance (Fig. 81). Only traces of the stalactite ornaments of the squinches could be found. On the other hand, Gerő believes, the terracotta pots that were discovered in the squinches confirmed the existence of a dome on this building.[329]

The minaret was set in the southwest corner of the mosque, and its original foundation was unearthed. The minaret had hexagonal base, two sides of which were enclosed in the wall (Fig. 79).[330] This is the only example of the hexagonal-based minaret

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[327] Blumberg's engraving first appeared in the Hungarian periodical *Hazánk s a Külföld*, Bp. 1865, p. 520. I found it in Csaba Csorba, *Regélő váraink*, p. 218.
[328] This mosque was built by Mimar Sinan in 1557 for Karadjozbeg (Karagöz Mehmet Pasha) who was the brother of two times grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha (1544-52, 1554-61). Pašić, op. cit., p. 67, and Kuran, *Sinan*, pp. 270, 293. It has to be added that even if Sinan designed the mosque he might not have had the time to supervise it as well.
[329] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 65.
[330] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 64.

in the Hungarian province. In the restored mosque, steps lead to the gallery and continue to the minaret. The opening to the stairs in the interior is formed as a doorway, but on the exterior it is executed as a window in order to keep the symmetry of the facade. On the northwest side a three-domed portico joined the mosque. On the facade the remains of the supporting arches were found but nothing from the columns.[331] The portico was open from all sides and its middle part was narrower than the side portions (Fig. 79/a, 81). Ayverdi visited the mosque before its restoration and based his plan of the mosque on his own measurements and to similar examples of Ottoman architecture.[332] His plan includes a portico with three identical bays and domes (Fig. 79/b).

In the interior, niches break up the surface among the window openings. With their various sizes and wooden shelves they are the most diverse among the Hungarian examples (Fig. 82). The only signs of a *mahfil* are the steps leading up to it. Gerő suggested that the *mahfil* was built of wood and occupied only the right corner of the northwest side.[333]

c. Remains of mosques, minarets

Extensive research provided information about other original Ottoman mosques that survived with only a few remains. In Budapest the only original Ottoman architectural example of a mosque consists of fragments of two walls remaining from the

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[331] Gerő, "A Siklósi Malkocs Bej Dzsámi," Offprint from the *Építés- Építészettudomány,* vol. XV, no. 1-4, Budapest, 1983, pp. 123-25.
[332] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, pp. 259-64.
[333] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 65.

Mosque of Toygun Pasha (Fig. 83). This mosque was the center of the same *mahalle* and was built during the first governorship of Toygun Pasha in Buda between 1553-56. According to Evliya, Toygun Pasha also built a bath and a *medrese* in the same neighborhood.[334] The mosque was turned into a Capuchin church and altered several times, and finally most of its walls were removed at the end of the seventeenth century.

Győző Gerő carried out important research work in 1970-72 on the building which revealed the two remaining walls of the mosque.[335] Part of the *kıble* wall with the *mihrab* (Fig. 85) and window openings, and a small portion of the northwest wall were discovered (Fig. 84). With the help of written sources and the results of the excavation, Gerő established the plan of the building as a single-unit domed mosque preceded by a three-domed portico and adjoined by a minaret at the northwest corner (Fig. 29/b). There is another plan of the mosque prepared by Ayverdi, who again assumed that the building had a five-domed portico (Fig. 84).[336] The revealed original cut stone parts of the mosque can be seen today in the walls of the church (Fig. 83, 87).

In Pécs the remains of the Mosque of Ferhat Pasha stand in the backyard of a residential house (Fig. 88-89). Once it was the center of Ferhat Pasha's *mahalle* with a bath, and a *tekke*[337] that can be located on de Haüy's map (Fig. 1). This pasha was a descendant of the Sokollu (Sokolovič) family in Bosnia, where he held a governorship

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[334] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 282.
[335] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 66-67.
[336] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, pp. 94-96.
[337] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 233.

and endowed a mosque in Banja Luka.[338] Between 1588-92 Ferhat Pasha became the governor of Buda and it was probably during this period that he commissioned the mosque in Pécs.[339]

Both Gosztonyi and Gerő explored the remains and found several window openings as well as the *muqarnas* decoration in one of the squinches (Fig. 86). A little opening at the west corner of the building denotes the staircase up to the *mahfil* and possibly the minaret. According to the calculations of Gerő, the building had a square base with a dome on top and a three-bayed portico with the minaret joined to the main chamber of the mosque. He also adds, however, that more research work is needed to be able to establish the original plan of the Mosque of Ferhat Pasha.[340]

The final example of an original Ottoman mosque once stood in a *mahalle* outside the city walls of Pécs. Evliya Çelebi did not record its name and it cannot be identified on de Haüy's map. The only remains of the mosque can be found today in the walls of the St. Augustine Church (Fig. 90). The orientation of the building towards the southeast (Mecca) undeniably determines its origin.[341] The *mihrab* was destroyed when a chapel was erected, but two window frames with their arches and part of the cut stone wall are still recognizable. So little is left of the mosque, and the evaluations of it are so divided,

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[338] Pašić, op. cit., p. 62.
[339] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnote 552.
[340] Ibid., pp. 68-69.
[341] There is dispute among scholars concerning its medieval or later, Ottoman origin. It is known that the members of the order of St. Augustine started the church from the Turkish ruins in 1712. Gerő, *Pécs török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1960, p. 34.

that Gerő does not try to reconstruct the plan of the mosque, but rather stresses the necessity of more detailed research.[342]

As integral parts of mosques, single minarets should also be discussed in this chapter. In the occupied territories the minarets were usually the first to perish or be destroyed, as their upkeep was difficult and required special building knowledge. Furthermore, after the liberation of Hungary they were the most visible signs of the oppressive Ottoman forces. As a result, many examples were demolished rather than restored. In some cases in Hungary however, the minarets survived, while the mosques beside them disappeared. There are two examples of single minarets still standing, one in the city of Eger (Fig. 91) and one in the town of Érd (Fig. 92).

Evliya identified the mosque beside the minaret in Eger as being the Kethüda Mescid. Although an engraving of 1687 shows several mosques with minarets in Eger (Fig. 28), this is the only one which has survived. A drawing from the first half of the nineteenth century depicts the minaret by the Kethüda Mosque (Fig. 93). The cut stone mosque was converted to a church after the city's fall to Christian forces. By 1841 the mosque stood on the verge of collapse and had to be dismantled.[343] According to nineteenth century records, the mosque had a dome, and the minaret was joined to the main chamber by a door on the west side.[344] Gerő concludes that the mosque must have

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[342] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 69-70.
[343] Molnár, *Monuments*, p. 13.
[344] Lászó Gorove, *Eger városának története*, Eger, 1826, second print 1876; B. Ringelhann, "Az 1841-ben lebontott egri mecset (dzsámi) pontos méretei," *Műemlékvédelem*, vol. VII, Budapest, 1963. Both were noted in Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnotes 574, 575.

had a square body belonging to the single-unit domed plan type (Fig. 29/b).[345] The minaret was hit by a lightning bolt in 1897, and the cap (*kas*) was renovated using the original parts as guides (Fig. 94-95). The original stone railing was also damaged and was replaced with an iron railing (Fig. 96). Ayverdi did not like the result of the restoration, which according to him looked incongruous and forced on the minaret.[346]

The tall and slender shaft of the minaret is 35 meters high and has 97 steps up to the gallery. The height of the minaret made Ayverdi wonder how a small *mescid* like this could have had such a tall minaret without a strong base, and he came to the conclusion that it must have been the wish of the sponsor.[347] Although in Bosnia tall minarets standing by small mosques are common,[348] without concrete evidence, and in the absence of the mosque, it is hard to explain the reasons for this decision.

The decoration on the shaft of the minaret in Eger is a unique example of stylized geometric motifs in Hungary. The base of the minaret is decorated with a frieze of shallow recesses in the form of oriental arches (Fig. 97). The transition from the polygonal base to the shaft has a pyramidal form, on which the tapering surfaces are decorated with chevron motifs. Under the *şerefe* is a frieze of palmette shapes and elongated hexagonals executed in low relief (Fig. 95).

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[345] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 70.
[346] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 156.
[347] Ibid.
[348] Zeynep Ahunbay, "Ottoman Architectural Heritage in Mostar and Its Preservation," *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture "A Supra-National Heritage,"* Istanbul, 2000, pp. 382-90.

The elongated hexagonal decoration can be found on the other single minaret in the city of Érd, 20 km southwest of Buda. The decoration of the minaret in Érd includes carvings of stylized tulip motifs that were also used in the interior of the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha.

This minaret in Érd is the smallest (15 m) and has much simpler stone construction than the other examples in Hungary (Fig. 92). The entrance is situated two metres high above the ground and was connected to the *mahfil*, or gallery, of the mosque which stood next to it (Fig. 98). The same architectural example can be observed in the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha.

There is not much information about the mosque in Érd. Evliya mentioned that the original palisade fortress was named after Hamza Bey[349] and dated to the middle of the sixteenth century. It burned down in 1661-62 and was rebuilt by Ismail Pasha of Buda.[350] When Evliya visited the palisade fortress in 1663, he saw twenty houses and a mosque, which verifies the seventeenth-century archaeological evidence defined by Géza Fehér Jr.[351]

2. Tombs, *medreses*, dervish centers

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[349] He was the *bey* in another Hungarian town called Simontornya. Sultan Süleyman ordered him to build the palisade fortress at Érd which was originally called Hamzabey Palankası. Evliya, *Travels*, p. 246.

[350] Ismail Pasha's governorship lasted from May 1660 until February 1663.

[351] The excavations were carried out between 1963-66. Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 71-72. József Molnár and Ekrem H. Ayverdi listed the mosque as Hamza Bey's Cami in Érd. Molnár, *Monuments*, p. 13; Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, pp. 185-86.

In Islam great respect is paid to the deceased, but there is no actual cult of the dead. Islamic law requires that the dead be buried under ground, and several *hadith*s, or Traditions, condemn mourning practices and funeral processions.[352] Early tombs did not rise above ground level and no marker was used to identify them. This ensured the equality of all Muslims in death. This orthodox view prevailed till the late ninth century, when some minor violations occurred as grave markers appeared. According to Hillenbrand, the practice of erecting mausolea over the graves of martyrs and important persons was a religious guise to overcome the patrons' feeling of guilt for having contradicted the Prophet's will.[353] Moreover, a tomb of a saint became a source of sanctity and an honoured place in the life of the community.

The idea of burying someone in a tomb did not exist in early Islamic society, and the origins of such structures are traced back to the ancient Roman mausoleum and the Christian martyrium. These edifices with their simple square structures and pitched roofs resembled the structure of a house.[354] In the early Islamic world another type of burial structure was developed as the tomb tower (*türbe*). This tomb reproduced the tent, or *yurt*, of the nomadic Turkic peoples.[355] The tradition of burying the deceased under their place

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[352] The Hadith is the collection of traditions and sayings of Muhammad and his companions. They were recorded after Muhammad's lifetime. He specifically forbade his family and his followers to mourn him in any way or mark his grave. Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture, Form, Function and Meaning*, Edinburgh, 1994. p. 253. (Hereafter referred to as Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*.)

[353] Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, pp. 254-58.

[354] Other forms like circular, polygonal, lobed or multi-foil existed as well.

[355] The descriptive name for this sepulchre is the türbe in Turkish which literally means dust. Another name derived from the Persian *gunbad* (dome) is the *kümbet*, referring to the tomb's distinguishing roof structure, the dome. Examples of the kümbet demonstrate shapes of rectangles and circles with high drums and domes.

of living existed in a large number of cultures. The Muslims' choice of funerary structures shows that the same practice lived on.[356]

In pre-Seljuk times and under the Seljuks the *türbe*s evolved into a two-tier structure: the lower level served as the burial place and the upper level, with a symbolic coffin, was the place of veneration. From the late tenth century the refined tomb towers became more popular then the domed square mausolea.[357] In Anatolia the tradition of the Seljuk tomb towers continued to be productive until the thirteenth century. The pre-Ottoman funerary structures were executed with a cylindrical or polygonal body topped with a pyramidal or conical roof, and marked by regional differences in material and ornamentation.

The *türbe*s for the members of the Ottoman royal family continued the Anatolian traditions. Although Ottoman patrons preferred a dome, usually with a high drum, to a conical roof, they still used the polygonal plans in their monumental burial structures. However, the use of windows and columns became a new feature of the *türbe*s under the Ottomans. Likewise, their decorations with brilliant glazed tiles in the interior and brick patterns or cut stones with elaborate carvings on the exterior walls gave the Ottoman *türbe*s a special place in Islamic funerary architecture.[358]

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[356] The Prophet Muhammad was buried under the floor of his house, but it did not take long to mark his tomb when the Umayyad caliph al-Walid I rebuilt the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina in 707-9. Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture,* p. 253.

[357] Like the Tomb of the Samanids in Bukhara (built in 943), Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture,* pp. 287-90.

[358] Behçet Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman times 1071-1923*, London, 1970, pp. 44-46.

The richly ornamented Ottoman Sultans' *türbe*s surpass the Hungarian examples. They can be compared only in their ground plan and structural layout, but not in their decoration and aesthetic appearance. In the Hungarian province there are only two existing examples of the architecture of the *türbe*: the Türbe of Gül Baba in Buda (Fig. 99) and the Türbe of Idris Baba in Pécs (Fig. 100). Both demonstrate the octagonal shape covered with a dome (Fig. 29) that originated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Bursa and Iznik. This early Ottoman type of *türbe* was used until the nineteenth century with only a few changes, like an adjoining portico, or a *mihrab* in the interior wall.

Closer similarities to the Hungarian *türbe* examples exist in simpler constructions in the Balkans. The Türbe of Ferhat Pasha[359] in Banja Luka has the same ground plan, but its dome sits on a drum and its facade is more articulated. In the *türbe*s of the eyalet of Buda, the drum connecting the main body to the dome is omitted (Fig. 99-100). Also, there is no example of an added portico and no sign of *mihrab*s or other niches inside the buildings. The only decoration in the interior is the series of blind pointed arches that carry the semispherical dome in both Hungarian examples (Fig. 101-104). These arches are emphasized with brick, while the Türbe of Gül Baba is built from cut stone, and the Türbe of Idris Baba is a rough stone construction.

The Türbe of Gül Baba was built by the third pasha of Buda, Yahyapaşazade Muhammad, between 1543-1548. Gül Baba was a Bektashi dervish who founded a

[359] The already mentioned Ferhat Pasha was the pasha of Buda between 1588-1592.

dervish monastery in Buda on the "Hill of the Roses."[360] He died soon after the siege of Buda in 1541, and a tomb with a lead dome was built later above his grave.[361] The only decorative element on the exterior of the *türbe* is the shallow blind frame on each segment of the octagonal building. It has one window and one door, each with an open arched tympanum above, accentuated with iron grills from the outside (Fig. 99). The interior was covered with Quranic verses as Evliya noted.[362] Unfortunately, nothing of the interior has survived the conversion to a chapel in 1689. Several renovation attempts were carried out in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[363] The last renovation was in the 1970's; this brought the *türbe* to the attention of the Turkish government. In 1973 they presented today's cenotaph, some calligraphy panels and other furniture to create a shrine for the use of the Muslim communities in Hungary (Fig. 104). In the 1980s a new development was considered around the *türbe* that would serve the religious and cultural needs of the Hungarian Muslims. Several ideas and plans were presented to the Council of Budapest and the Institute of Historical Monuments which in 1990 still awaited evaluation.[364] Today it is a museum and open to the public to view and pray.

The other existing example of an Islamic tomb is the Türbe of Idris Baba in the outskirts of Pécs (Fig. 100).[365] Not much is known about the origins of Idris Baba. His

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[360] Gül Baba means the father of roses. Géza Fehérvári, "A centre for Islamic Culture in Hungary," *Arts & the Islamic World*, vol. 5, ii/18, 1990, pp. 46-48.
[361] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 284.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Fehérvári, op. cit., p. 46.
[364] Fehérvári illustrates one of the projects submitted to the Hungarian authorities in his article, op. cit.
[365] This tomb is also situated on a hill called Rókus-domb. Dervishes usually set up their convents on top of a hill further away from the noise of the town centers. Machiel Kiel also points this out in accordance with the Türbe of Kıdemli Baba above the village of Kalugerovo in southeast

name is mentioned only by Ibrahim Peçevi and Evliya Çelebi. Peçevi knew Idris Baba personally[366] and talked about the wondrous deeds which made Idris Baba famous. He was mentioned by Evliya as a Muslim doctor who was still alive in the year 1591; in the seventeenth century the elderly still talked about his miracles.[367] Evliya stated that there was no cupola or other structure above the tomb of Idris Baba but just a long marble stone with writing in different languages on it. This statement indicates that he did not visit the *türbe*, which Peçevi saw and described as a high dome erected above his grave. The *türbe* was probably built at the end of the sixteenth century, after 1591.

After the liberation of Hungary the sepulchre was turned into a chapel by the Jesuits to provide religious help to the patients of the nearby hospital. Later, in the nineteenth century, it became a depot for gunpowder. The chapel was renovated in 1913, and the hospital continued to use it for storage.[368] In 1963 excavations found the Baba's skeleton, and the building was restored to its original appearance under the supervision of the local museum.[369] When I visited the *türbe* in 1994 it was rarely opened for tourists since it is situated outside of the main attractions of the city. Unfortunately, I could not see the interior, for the key provided by the museum did not open the door of the tomb.

The Türbe of Idris Baba belongs to the octagonal plan type (Fig. 102). It is covered with a dome which was constructed of stone. An interesting feature of the *türbe*

Bulgaria, and the Türbe of Sarı Saltık at Babadağ in the Rumanian Dobrudja, *Studies of the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, England, 1990, articles II and IX.

[366] Gerő, *Pécs török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1960, p. 36; Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 226.

[367] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 235.

[368] Gerő, op. cit., p. 37.

[369] Molnár, *Monuments*, p. 15.

is its window arrangement. It has four almost square, small windows on the main level, and at the second level there are three round windows (Fig. 104). There are no other examples of round windows in Hungary, but their use can be observed in the Balkans and in Istanbul.[370] The arches above the square windows and the frames of the round ones are articulated with brick. The original door ended in a horizontal lintel, but it was changed to a pointed Gothic stone frame, probably taken from a nearby medieval building in the eighteenth century (Fig. 100).[371]

Contemporary accounts and engravings show more than these two *türbe* examples, but none of those has survived. Close to Gül Baba's sepulcher stood the Türbe of Veli Bey, which can be observed in two drawings.[372] In the 1570's Veli Bey was a *sancak beyi* in the city of Hatvan, and his name was connected to other buildings as well, including a bath in Buda.[373]

Another documented *türbe* with a lead-covered dome belonged to Ahmed Bey. According to Evliya it was positioned in the *avlu*[374] of the Saray Mosque in Buda.[375] In Szigetvár, the already mentioned Ali Pasha's *türbe* stood in the courtyard of his mosque

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[370] Gerő mentions the Gazi Hüsrevbegova Mosque in Sarajevo and the Banjabasi Mosque in Sofia. Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 80. Examples in Istanbul are the Mosque of Bali Pasha and the Süleymaniye Mosque, Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 175, 196.
[371] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 80.
[372] According to Gerő it is shown on Marsigli's and Fontana's engravings from 1686, Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 77, footnotes 236, 610, 611.
[373] Lajos Fekete, *Budapest a törökkorban*, Budapest, 1944, p. 275. The bath will be discussed later.
[374] Also called the *harim* which means the courtyard of a mosque.
[375] Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 278, 288, also in Fontana's 1686 engravings.

with a tile-covered dome.[376] This is confirmed by Anguissola's map that clearly shows a round or polygonal building in front of the mosque (Fig. 2).

The most important monument of the Ottoman Empire was the Türbe of Sultan Süleyman, which was built three kilometers east of Szigetvár. After Süleyman died during the siege of Szigetvár in 1566, his organs were buried there, and his body was carried to Istanbul. His *türbe* with a *tekke* and other buildings were erected within the enclosure of a palisade fortress by Sokollu Mustafa Pasha, the governor of Buda.[377]

Gerő believes that the *türbe* was constructed within the walls of a small Gothic church.[378] A ground plan of the palisade fortress was drawn by general Pál Eszterházy in 1664 during a winter campaign led by Miklós Zrínyi[379] in the southwest part of Hungary.[380] His plan shows the polygonal apse area with a square structure in it (Fig. 105). This might be the church and the *türbe* itself as Gerő suggested. Zrínyi and his men destroyed the palisade fortress and killed the members of the garrison and the keepers of the religious center, but they did not touch the *türbe*. As Zrínyi said: "Non venimus contra mortus, sed vivos."[381]

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[376] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 551.
[377] József Molnár, *Szigetvár török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1958, p. 29. Sokollu Mustafa was the pasha of Buda between 1566-1578.
[378] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 77.
[379] He was the grandson of the great commander of Szigetvár who defended the fortress against Süleyman.
[380] His manuscript was published by Zs. Bubics, *Eszterházy Pál Mars Hungaricusa*, Budapest, 1895, the drawing is on p. 44.
[381] "We came against the living, not the dead." Quoted in József Molnár, op. cit., p. 31-32.

This story is verified by Evliya, who visited the area in the summer of the same year. His description of the Turbék[382] matches the ground plan, and he gave an account of the destruction around the *türbe* by the Hungarian soldiers. Later Sultan Mehmet IV (1648-1687) ordered the rebuilding of the fortress, which was occupied again by the Ottomans until the liberation of Szigetvár in 1689.[383] The symbolic tomb of the great Sultan Süleyman had an unfortunate ending. A greedy Austrian officer named Gallo Tesch pulled down the building in 1693 and sold its stone and the lead cover of the dome in Vienna.[384] In the nineteenth century a Baroque church was constructed here which in the twentieth century served as a memorial. In 1994, close to the church, a park was established to commemorate the great sultan and to celebrate the friendship of the two nations (Fig. 106-107).[385]

A new mosque usually had charitable services built around it which constituted the center of the neighborhood or *mahalle*. These buildings were *medrese*s, *tekke*s, *han*s,[386] soup kitchens and baths. In the Ottoman state *medrese*s were built for a specific purpose, and their plans followed a few typological models.

In the Hungarian cities *medrese*s were opened beside mosques by the same Muslim endower. The Ottomans often converted existing buildings for this purpose, as in for example the fort of Pécs, where the building of the medieval university was turned

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[382] The sepulchre of Sultan Süleyman became known in Hungary as Turbék which derived from the Turkish word *türbe*.
[383] József Molnár, op. cit., p. 32; Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 252.
[384] József Molnár, op. cit., p. 32.
[385] The park is called the Hungarian-Turkish Friendship Park.
[386] Inn, usually in towns.

into a *medrese*.[387] In Hungary medieval buildings could comfortably house Islamic institutions, which saved expense on construction; hence, only a few *medrese*s and *tekke*s were actually built by the Ottomans.

*Medrese*s were facilities for advanced education, not just in theology but also in medicine, mathematics, astronomy and other sciences. The first examples of these schools date to the eleventh century in eastern Iran. Researchers discovered more and more evidence that in the pre-Seljuk period *medrese*s were established under the Ghaznevid state[388] and even in Nishapur before the Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk (1064-92) founded his *medrese*, the Nizamiya, in Baghdad in 1068.[389] The large scale of Nizam al-Mulk's building program set up a chain of *medrese*s in Iran and created the precedent for other state leaders and officials to endow similar institutions.

The original plan of the *medrese* is called the four-*eyvan* plan. This consisted of a central courtyard with the students' rooms surrounding it and one to four classrooms usually on the axis and the cross axis of the building (Fig. 108). These classrooms had one of their sides open, creating the *eyvan* system. This design was transferred to Anatolia by the Great Seljuks.[390] Hillenbrand argues that the architectural history of the *medrese*

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[387] According to Evliya this building had seventy vaulted rooms for students coming from east and west. Evliya, *Travels*, p. 231-32.

[388] It was a Turkish state founded in 977 with the capital of Ghazne. The state was defeated by the Seljuks in 1040, and was looted and destroyed by the Ghurids several times. The Ghaznevi rulers remained a dependency of the Seljuk Empire until 1191. The ruins of the earliest *medrese* can be found in Horasan built by Sultan Mahmut (998-1030).

[389] Although the Nishapur *medrese*s and other early *medrese*s are well documented none of them survived. Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, pp. 173-74.

[390] Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, London, 1971, pp. 78-79.

cannot be traced back before 1136, due to the lack of surviving structures.[391] Thus the surviving examples in Anatolia – the closest in relation to the Great Seljuk *medreses* – are the "earliest considerable group of *medreses*."[392]

Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries the number of *medreses* indicates an intensive building activity in Anatolia. Often these *medreses* were part of a building which also served as a mosque, a mental institution, a tomb, an observatory, an *imaret*, a bath or even a *kervansaray*. Joining the commercial facilities to the *medrese* helped to finance the running of the institute. In addition to the open courtyard plan, the Anatolian *medreses* show a distinctive new category: the closed type with a dome covering the courtyard (Fig. 109).[393] Also, the positioning of the students' room on the longitudinal axis of the rectangular and the arcades surrounding the courtyard started to diminish the centralizing function of the four-*eyvan* plan.

In the Ottoman period the Seljuk traditions of *medrese* architecture were adapted but modified to a symmetrical and rational plan. The *eyvans* lost their dominating features, and domed square chambers took their places in the axial locations. In addition to the rectangular *medreses*, U-plan types began to take shape, with one domed classroom opposite the entrance and student cells on three sides of the courtyard.[394] This shape

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[391] This is the date of a free-standing medrese at Busra, Syria which had a two-eyvan plan. Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, pp. 186-88 and 206.
[392] Hillenbrand also mentions how the examples of Seljuk Anatolian medreses were neglected in the history of its type. Ibid., pp. 206-7.
[393] For more detail see ibid., pp. 210-12.
[394] For a classical example see the Medrese of Beyazit II. Ibid., pp. 216-18.

became the standard Ottoman *medrese* plan and served as an example for the building programs in the European eyalets (Fig. 110).

With the conquest of the Balkans, the spread of the *medrese* form was very important as a center of Islamic education and training ground for potential clerics and preachers to convert people to Islam. In Bosnia there were ten educational facilities in the sixteenth century, but by the end of the seventeenth century this number rose to eighty-three. The Bosnian examples were small buildings with one or two lecture halls and up to a dozen rooms for students (Fig. 111). They were built close to the mosque of the same founder.[395]

The tradition of *medrese* and *tekke* building produced only a few examples in the Hungarian province. Evliya Çelebi is the most important source for noting *medrese*s, as today there are no existing original Ottoman constructions. Evliya knew the significance of these educational facilities and always mentioned them by name or gave the number of them in certain cities. It is only from his account that we know that there was a *medrese* as well as Toygun Pasha's mosque, bath and shops in Buda in the Toygun Pasha *mahalle*.[396] Evliya mentioned another *medrese* which was built by Mustafa Pasha in Buda. Along with these two, Evliya mentioned five *medrese*s in the *Büyük varoş* altogether, and in the middle fort of Buda he referred to seven.[397]

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[395] Pašić, *Bosnia*, p. 75.
[396] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 282.
[397] The *Büyük varoş*, meaning Big Suburb, extended between the Buda Castle and the Danube. Its Hungarian name was Víziváros, or Water Suburb. Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 280 and 278.

According to Evliya the middle town of Szigetvár had two *medrese*s and two *tekke*s.[398] None of them can be identified or located today. In the city of Pécs, beside the medieval college, Evliya mentioned the *medrese*s of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha and Memi Pasha. Nothing more is known about Memi Pasha's *medrese*, while Evliya described the Yakovalı *medrese* as adjoining the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha (Fig. 51). These endowments were part of the *tekke* established by the same person. The dervish convent also included a soup kitchen (*imaret*), a hall (*semahane*) where the dervishes danced and played music, and seventy-eighty rooms. Evliya stated that the convent belonged to the Mevlevi order and had a twenty thousand piaster pious endowment (*vakıf*) that made it possible for them to give food to the poor and to travelers.[399]

The complex of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha is the only example of a dervish convent in Hungary built by the Ottomans which was recorded and excavated (Fig. 112). The *tekke* with the buildings of the *medrese* has totally disappeared. Only excavation by Győző Gerő made it possible to reconstruct the building complex (Fig. 113). According to him the *tekke* had a resemblance in its plan to Gazi Hüsrevbegova *hanikah* in Sarajevo and to Mehmet Pasha Kukavičina Mosque with *medrese* in Foča (Fig. 111).[400]

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[398] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 549.
[399] Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 232-33.
[400] Győző Gerő had the opportunity to excavate the ruins of the walls of the *tekke* in 1969 and 1970, Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 58-59. *Hanikah* means dervish convent as well. The Gazi Hüsrevbegova Hanikah was built around 1530 and it got damaged in the Balkan war. Mehmet Pasha's complex in Foča was built in 1751/52 and was destroyed in the Balkan war.

Other dervish convents such as the Bektashi Tekke of Gül Baba in Buda[401] or the Tekke of Ferhat Pasha in Pécs[402] were mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, but they did not survive. The only other ruins of a dervish convent can be found in Pécs on the hill called today the Tettye,[403] but it was converted from the summer residence of the bishop of Pécs, György Szathmáry. Its name has not come down to us, and the ruins would have to be excavated in order to understand the *tekke*'s layout or even which parts of it were constructed by the Ottomans.

In the Hungarian province it is virtually impossible to trace any development in the plan type of *medrese*s or *tekke*s. These building types were usually related to bigger mosques or complexes which did not appear in large numbers in the new territory.

3. Public baths, fountains

In addition to mosques, Turkish baths (*hamam* and *kaplıca*[404]) were the building types most noted by western travelers. The appearance of the domed baths and their atmosphere were admired and enjoyed by everybody who visited them. In the Hungarian province baths emerged quickly after the first mosques were built, in order to sustain the cleanliness and healthy living the settlers were used to in their homeland. They were also important public places where people socialized, gossiped or carried out traditional bathing rituals.

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[401] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 284.
[402] This *tekke* was for dervishes who chose solitary life, Evliya, *Travels*, p. 233.
[403] This name derived from the Turkish *tekke*.
[404] *Hamam* is a steam bath, while *kaplıca* means thermal bath.

The origin of the Turkish bath is traced back to Roman and Byzantine traditions which were adopted by the early Islamic states. The Ottomans inherited the Seljuk bath model and further developed it until it reached the classical form. The symmetrical design with the combination of harmonious proportions and decoration was later adopted by Sinan, who perfected the bath design in the Hamam of Haseki Hürrem (1556), the wife of Sultan Süleyman (Fig. 114).

Baths were also frequent additions to mosques in the Balkan territories of the Ottoman Empire. Unfortunately, only a few were preserved. In Sarajevo, for instance, out of seven baths only the Hamam of Gazi Hüsrevbey has survived.[405]

In the Hungarian province baths were always of original Ottoman construction even if they occupied another building's site. Their presence was noted in almost every Hungarian city, but Buda, with its thermal springs, was the most favoured area for building baths (Fig. 22-24, 26).[406] Bigger cities such as Pécs (Fig. 25) and Eger (Fig 28, 115) had two or three baths, but Szeged, Székesfehérvár, Esztergom and Tolna could boast that they had at least one bath within their city walls.

Contrary to an antique bath, a *hamam* has no pool for swimming or bathing for health reasons.[407] A pool can be found only in a *kaplıca*, which has a fresh supply of

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[405] Pašić, *Bosnia*, p. 87.
[406] According to Gerő, contemporary sources listed at least nine Turkish baths in Buda. Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnote 207.
[407] Muslims considered the water which touched another person's body dirty.

water all the time.[408] In the Hungarian province examples of both types of bath can be found and will be discussed later.

Externally, the typical Ottoman bath has a distinguishing domed profile with bottle-glass lights directing the sunbeams inwards (Fig. 116). The first room in a bath is the *camekan*,[409] a square room covered by a dome, with a fountain (*şadırvan*) in the middle. This is used for disrobing and getting ready for bathing. This leads into a small *soğukluk*,[410] or cooling off room, which is used for repose and for accustoming the body to the heat. The last section and the most distinctive is the *sıcaklık*,[411] or hot room, for the actual bathing. In a *hamam* the hot room contains a raised marble platform[412] in the centre for massage, recesses with washbasins (*kurna*), and small private rooms (*halvet*). In a *kaplıca* this part includes a pool with descending stairs for the thermal water. This pool is usually in the shape of an octagon or a circle.

Beyond the hot room is the furnace area (*külhan*) which is usually entered from the street, not from the hot room. The floor of this area is set lower than the rest of the bath (Fig. 117) and serves as a base for the furnace and the water tank (*hazne*). This is where the water is heated and carried through terracotta pipes to the taps in the bathing rooms. The heating of the whole *hamam*, with the exception of the disrobing room, is

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[408] In the case of a kaplıca the pool is only for medicinal purposes. Behçet Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman times 1071-1923*, London, 1970, p. 70.
[409] This is the same place as the *apoditarium* in Roman baths.
[410] It is called the *tepidarium* in Roman baths.
[411] This area also called the *hararet*, or *harara* in Arabic, it equals with the *caldarium* in Roman baths.
[412] It is called the *göbek taşı*, literally navel stone, which usually has an octagonal shape.

provided by the hypocaust system. In this underground heating system channels created by brick pillars are responsible for the even distribution of the hot steam.

Smaller baths were used by both men and women but on different days of the week. In double baths (*çifte hamam*) the women's and the men's sections were designed side by side with separate entrances (Fig. 114). These designs were usually symmetrical, and the two parts used the same furnace for heating. The one existing example of a double bath in Hungary is the Hamam of Memi Pasha in Pécs (Fig. 118-119).

Evliya Çelebi was an assiduous describer of the Hungarian baths. He not only mentioned them but also several times explained them in detail.[413] In Pécs he counted three *hamam*s, and all of them can be recognized on de Haüy's map (Fig. 1). One of them was the Bath of Memi Pasha which was located to the east of the mosque built by the same Pasha.[414] According to Evliya, this bath had a pleasing appearance with bath attendants "whose hands were like the sun."[415]

The bath was probably built between 1543-1585 since Memi Pasha died and was buried in Foča, Bosnia, in 1585, where he also had a mosque and a *medrese*. In 1977 Gerő managed to unearth part of the bath under a park, but most of it remained under the neighbouring building (Fig. 119-120). His conclusion that it was a double bath was made after he excavated the furnace area and the hypocaust system and found that they both

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[413] Reference for all these baths is Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 282-84.
[414] Memi Pasha and his mosque were discussed earlier in the mosque section.
[415] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 233.

extended beyond the *sıcaklık*.[416] The floor of the hot room was destroyed, but it gave the chance to examine the heating system of the *hamam*. The position and shape of the brick pillars in the hypocaust system helped in the reconstruction of the *göbek taşı* (Fig. 121-122). In all three rooms pieces of the sitting areas (*sofa*s) and remains of the wall taps were found and reconstructed (Fig. 123).[417]

In Hungary this is the only bath example where most parts of the *camekan*, or disrobing room, were found, providing information about the structure and its layout. There were *in situ* remains of an eight-sided *şadırvan* in the middle of the room with its terracotta water pipes (Fig. 121, 124).[418] Surprising details, like brick vaulted spaces under the *sofa*s, were found, which probably served as shoe-storing compartments (*papuçluk*). Usually the hypocaust system did not continue under the disrobing room which was heated with a separate fireplace. This was found in the northeastern corner of the room providing an idea for the reconstruction of the heating system of this room in other baths in Hungary.[419]

Among the bath examples in Hungary three main groups can be identified – with some subgroups – according to the design of their hot rooms (Fig. 125). One design includes an octagonal domed chamber flanked by four *eyvan*s including the entryway. Between these *eyvan*s on the other four sides of the octagon are four separate rooms for

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[416] Although Gerő mentions that without excavating all parts of the bath this conclusion cannot be certain, I think that his precise work and documentation confirm it.
[417] Gerő, "Das Bad Memi Paschas in Pecs," *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, Ankara, 1988, pp. 33-44.
[418] The *şadırvan* was reconstructed and was put into the furnace room which was turned into a little exhibition area.
[419] Gerő, op. cit., p. 39.

privacy (Fig. 125/b).[420] The best example for this type is the Hamam of Valide Sultan in the city of Eger (Fig. 126). The other type also has an octagonal chamber, but a recess articulates every side of it (Fig. 125/a).[421] While the first type is usually found in steam baths, or *hamam*s, the second type is used for thermal baths, or *kaplıca*s, with an octagonal pool in the middle. Good examples of the second type are the Bath of Horoz Kapısı (Fig. 131)[422] and the Bath of Debbağhane (Fig. 132).[423] The third type has an octagonal hot room covered with a dome (Fig. 125/c). This plan type has only one example in Hungary, the private Bath of the Pashas in Buda (Fig. 145).

Although *hamam*s were widespread in the Hungarian province, their upkeep and repair required personnel who were familiar with the heating system. After the Ottoman retreat from the country, the maintenance of the *hamam*s fell short, and soon they decayed. On the other hand, more thermal baths survived, as the available spring water made them easier to operate.

The above mentioned Hamam of Valide Sultan in Eger was built at the beginning of the seventeenth century and was still in use in the middle of the eighteenth century, but after that it fell into ruins. A house was built on top of the *hamam*'s disrobing room, but

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[420] Also called the cross shape with corner cells, or the nine-division plan.

[421] After the shape of the hot room this type is also called the star shape. Both types are enlisted by Semavi Eyice in "Iznik'de 'Büyük Hamam' ve osmanlı devri hamamları hakkında bir deneme," *Tarih Dergisi*, vol. XI, No. 15, Istanbul, 1960, pp. 108-120. Quoted in Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 92.

[422] This bath was located inside of the Horoz Kapısı (Rooster Gate) of Buda. Today it is known as Kiraly Fürdő (King Bath).

[423] This bath was located in the Debbağhane Suburb of Buda which was named after the tanneries established by the Ottomans. Today it is known as the Rác Fürdő (Rác Bath). These examples will be discussed later.

all other parts of the bath were located in the backyard, which gave easier acces to excavations carried out in 1958 and 1962.[424] This is the best preserved and documented among the Hungarian *hamam*s (Fig. 126-127).

Evliya is the only contemporary source to mention the Hamam of Valide Sultan. He wrote fondly of its pleasant water. Interestingly, he counted six cells in the *hamam*[425] although the plan clearly shows the four corner cells and the four *eyvan*s in addition to the domed middle part. In the middle, despite the ruined floor, the octagonal *göbektaşı* was definable. During the excavation the *hamam*'s heating system was extensively studied. According to Gerő, this *hamam* is similar in its design to the Hacı Hamza Hamam in Iznik and the Beyazit Hamam in Istanbul (Fig. 128).[426]

In addition to the Hamam of Valide Sultan and the Hamam of Memi Pasha, only a few examples of *hamam* constructions in Hungary are available to us today. Most were never excavated or were only partially researched. The Hamam of Güzelce Rüstem Pasha in Székesfehérvár provides a unique demonstration of the star-shaped plan type with six small recesses in the domed *sıcaklık* (Fig. 125/a). This plan type was usually used for *kaplıca*s and not for *hamam*s. Among similar designs, the Incile Hamam in Bursa and the Hamam of Kılıç Ali Pasha in Istanbul can be found. Güzelce Rüstem Pasha was governor of Buda between 1559-1563, which provides a guideline for the date of his *hamam*.

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[424] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 106.
[425] Quoted in Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 107.
[426] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 108.

During excavations only a part of the wall of the *sıcaklık* and of the hypocaust was found which was enough for the reconstruction of the design.[427]

The Hamam of Ferhat Pasha in Pécs was mentioned by Evliya as a pleasant and clean *hamam*, and a place frequented by the poor of the city.[428] It can be located on de Haüy's map (Fig. 1) which shows a double bath near the Mosque of Ferhat Pasha. It is debatable whether the *hamam*'s design belonged to the double-bath or the single-bath category. Plans of the *hamam* from 1774 clearly show a *çifte hamam*, while drawings made during the dismantling in 1885 illustrate a single-bath plan.[429] Unfortunately, it is now too late for the reconstruction of the *hamam*, for even its ruins have disappeared.

There was another important *hamam* in Pécs built at this time by Gazi Kasım Pasha, who also endowed the big mosque in the main square. According to Evliya, the bath was across from the mosque on the other side of the street; this is confirmed by the map drawn by de Haüy (Fig. 1). Evliya mentioned its fame, cleanliness, pleasant water, and the attractive building which had a dome covering a fairly large *camekan*, or disrobing room. Evliya was awestruck by the white marble *şadırvan* in the middle of the room. It had a brass cup, "big enough for fifteen people to sit in," which was raised upon three bronze bull's heads and three bronze turtle's shells, with water pouring out of it

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[427] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 109-10.
[428] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 233.
[429] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 111, and footnotes 945, 946.

through twelve dragon's mouths.[430] The *hamam* was dismantled, and in 1891 the city's courthouse was built on its site.[431]

Thermal baths, or *kaplıcas*, are the best extant examples of Hungarian Ottoman architecture. These baths are still in operation today, which attests not only to their remarkable design and construction, but also to public interest in keeping them functioning. Although contemporary travelers reported *kaplıcas* in several cities like Pest, Esztergom, Tata and Eger, their names or locations are not known. However, most of the *kaplıcas* were located in Buda close to thermal springs: north of the city walls of the Water Suburb, and south of the city in the Debbağhane suburb.

The already mentioned basic plan type for *kaplıcas* can be found in the Bath of Horoz Kapısı (Rooster Gate), the only bath located within the city walls close to the gate from which it derived its name (Fig. 116, 129). The octagonal *sıcaklık* had seven recesses and a passageway on the axis of the building, thus resembling an eight-sided star (Fig. 131). Evliya noted this when he wrote how the dome was carried on eight arches (Fig. 130). He also mentioned that on four sides of the pool, which was squarely in the middle, clean and hot water poured out of four lion's heads. The water was so hot that people could not sit in it, but they used it for washing down a saint's statue when someone died in their family.[432]

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[430] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 233.
[431] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 224.
[432] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 283.

The Kaplıca of Horoz Kapısı kept its original Ottoman structure and now is open to the public as the Király Bath. Its builder is not known, but Ayverdi suggests that it was Sokollu Mustafa Pasha.[433] The bath went through the hands of several owners, and in the eighteenth century a Baroque house was built instead of the *camekan*. In 1796 it was sold to a family called Király (King); hence the present-day name. Its furnace and chimney were replaced several times, and finally in 1955-1957 the whole building was renovated under Gerő's guidance.[434]

An octagonal pool marks the middle of the *sıcaklık*. Originally the steps of the pool were covered by alternating red marble and white limestone, and the whole bath had a red marble floor. In the recesses of the hot room parts of washbasins (*kurna*) and sitting areas (*sofa*) were found. As with other *kaplıca*s, there are private rooms in this bath. On the north side of the hot room a vaulted passageway provides connection to these *halvet*s, or cells (Fig. 131). Along the walls of the passage *sofa*s are situated for the comfort of the bathers. As this *kaplıca* was not exactly situated near a thermal spring, the water had to be directed to the site. The closest spring was in the garden of the Lukács bath. The track of the water channel was established with the help of exposed parts.

The Kaplıca of Horoz Kapısı is similar in its ground plan to another bath in Buda, the Kaplıca of Debbağhane (Fig. 132). The star-shaped hot room design was often used in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. The closest in design is the Incile Hamam and the Bit Pazar Hamam in Bursa.

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[433] His governorship in Buda extended between 1566-1578. Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 107.
[434] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 107.

The Kaplıca of Debbağhane (Rác Bath) can be found in the suburb of the same name, south of the Castle of Buda. In contemporary sources it also appeared as Küçük Ilıca, or Small Bath. Evliya described the bath as an ornate building covered with a lead dome. Inside he saw several separate recesses and eight basins for ablutions. According to him, the bath had sulphurous water which was used by goldsmiths for polishing purposes. Even Evliya's silver ring became gold coloured after he used the bath, and stayed like that for a year. Evliya also explained how men used this *kaplıca* in the morning and women from noon till midnight. He also noted that a person who did not have his or her own towel could get one for one *akçe*.[435]

After the fall of Buda to the Habsburgs, the royal family donated the bath to an Austrian person. The bath went through different owners and was renovated in 1869 with some additions. In the twentieth century it became quite damaged and had to be rebuilt in 1958; this provided the opportunity for partial excavation to establish the original plan. The Bath of Debbağhane was opened to the public in 1965.[436]

The dome of the *sıcaklık* is carried on eight pointed arches (Fig. 133). Under the arches is a series of alternating *eyvans*, or recesses. Originally each of the *eyvans* had a water tap and a washbasin. Above the octagonal pool a small opening in the middle of the dome lets the light in and the steam out. Gerő suggests that originally this opening was

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[435] *Akçe* was a basic silver coin of account in the Ottoman Empire from the fourteenth century until the end of the seventeenth century. Evliya wrote that this was a custom at other baths as well. Evliya, *Travels*, p. 283.
[436] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 104.

covered with a lantern as in the Ayasofya Hamam in Istanbul,[437] or it could have been left open like in the Eski Kaplıca in Bursa (Fig. 139). There were no bottle glass lights in the dome of the Kaplıca of Debbağhane, but Gerő found in the wall of the bath traces of small windows that had pointed arches and were accentuated with stone frames on the exterior.[438] As this is the only *sıcaklık*, or hot room, built with windows, this feature of the Kaplıca of Debbağhane is unique in the entire Ottoman bath architecture.

This unique feature raises some questions. Were people employed for the design or construction who were not familiar with the traditions of Ottoman bath architecture? Were these people non-Muslims who had never visited a bath before? How strict was the supervision of the construction? Was the structure changed later but in the Ottoman style? Evliya described this bath quite extensively and even bathed in it, and would have noticed if something was different or uncomfortable for him, such as windows opening to the streets. Győző Gerő is acknowledged as a meticulous scholar, so I cannot refute the results of his research. Nevertheless, since there are no other examples to compare with, we need more research before we can come to any decisive conclusion about the structure of the hot room.

In the same *mahalle*, the Debbağhane or tannery row, another *kaplıca* is known. This is called the Yeşil Direkli Kaplıca (Fig. 134)[439] after a green column in the hot room.

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[437] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 97.

[438] Gerő mentions that in a contemporary drawing by Count Marsigli the central hole and the missing bottle glass lights in the dome can be clearly observed. Unfortunately, Marsigli did not illustrate any windows. Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 98.

[439] From 1797 it is called the Rudas Fürdő (Rudas Bath).

Although Sokollu Mustafa Pasha built the bath[440] between 1566-1578, the single green column was noted by visitors and gave the name to the *kaplıca*.[441] Unfortunately, there is no sign of the green-coloured column today. The fact that there are columns makes it unique among Hungarian examples (Fig. 135).

From the Yeşil Direkli Kaplıca only the hot room has survived from the Ottoman period. The *sıcaklık* is a square chamber with an octagonal pool in the middle. Around the pool eight columns carry eight pointed arches which hold up the dome (Fig. 136). The corridor between the columns and the walls of the bath is covered with a vaulting system in an octagonal shape. The upper corners of the chamber are accentuated with *muqarnas* as the transitional elements (Fig. 137). The corners which might have been closed off originally were altered into little polygonal pools, probably during a renovation at the end of the eighteenth century.[442] The private rooms opening off the *sıcaklık* on the north were badly damaged and demolished. The door connecting these two parts was walled up, but its Bursa arch[443] can be still seen (Fig. 138).

There are no close similarities in the Ottoman bath architecture to the unique design of the *sıcaklık* of the Yeşil Direkli Kaplıca. Gerő names the Eski Kaplıca in Bursa as a similar design with its columns surrounding a round pool.[444] In the Eski Kaplıca the

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[440] Several contemporary sources noted this, Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 98-99.
[441] Beside Evliya, Count Marsigli cited the bath with the same name. Edward Brown, an English doctor and traveler, also noted the columns in the bath. Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 100.
[442] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 100-102. Also Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 113.
[443] *Bursa kemeri* is a type of arch which was used in the early Ottoman architecture mostly in Bursa, hence the name.
[444] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 102.

corners are designed as *eyvan*s which makes the plan of the bath belong to the star-shaped plan group (Fig. 139).

The Kaplıca of Veli Bey is another interesting design among the Hungarian Ottoman bath examples (Fig. 140). Evliya recorded its *kitabe* in his book which mentions that it was built by Mustafa Pasha (Fig. 141).[445] However, even Evliya and other contemporary sources[446] call the bath by Veli Bey's name. It was suggested by Ayverdi that the bath was not a *vakıf* but rather the pasha's property, and it was sold to Veli Bey, who was the *sancak beyi* of Hatvan around 1570.[447]

In 1721 the Austrian architect Johann Fischer von Erlach drew the ground plan, section and elevation of the bath (Fig. 142).[448] At this time it was called the Kaiser, or Emperor Bath. His engineering drawings carry great importance as early depictions of Ottoman baths. Von Erlach's ground plan shows a lot of detail and is a proof of the continuous use and good condition of the *kaplıca*.[449] The original Ottoman structure of the bath starts at the *soğukluk*, or cooling off area, as can be observed in von Erlach's drawing.

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[445] It reads: "Bu makam-i dilküşanın dediler tarihini/ Mustafa Paşa binasıdır ne âlâ bi-bedel," quoted from Molnár, *Monuments*, p. 17, although he mistakenly attributed this tarih to the Bath of Horoz Kapısı. Ayverdi could not find the kitabe when he visited the bath before 1977, but he recorded it from a photograph taken from a copper engraving from 1837, Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 122; and Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnote 883. Further on, this picture was used as reference by other scholars. In Ayverdi's opinion, Evliya made a mistake when writing the *tarih*, or date, of the construction. Instead of 'ne âlâ' which calculates to 1056 A.H./1650 C.E., he should have written 'bina ki' which would give the date of 977 A.H. /1569 C.E. This coincides with Mustafa Pasha's governorship and Veli Bey's appointment as *sancak beyi*.

[446] Like Edward Brown and Count Marsigli.

[447] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 120. Today it is called the Császár Fürdő (Emperor Bath).

[448] See footnote 10.

[449] Except the *camekan*, or disrobing area, which is not present on his drawing, and probably was already destroyed.

The ground plan of the *sıcaklık* demonstrates a new plan type which has no similar examples in the Hungarian material (Fig. 140). The precisely square chamber is divided into nine compartments. In the middle the octagonal pool area is covered with a dome. Four recesses articulate four sides of the octagon, and on every alternating side a rectangular room extends the bathing section. This would make for a star-shaped plan, but in each corner of the *sıcaklık* there is a private room accessed from the two rectangular rooms which are on the axis of the building. The rectangular rooms are covered with barrel vaults, while the corner rooms are topped with small domes. In essence, this plan combines the star-shaped design and the nine-division plan with the corner rooms which demonstrates an accurately executed and unique design. The only partially similar design can be observed in the Yeni Kaplıca in Bursa, although in the hot room of this bath the corner rooms are triangular in shape and entered from the *eyvan*s located in front of them (Fig. 143).

In von Erlach's drawing two little pools can be seen in two diagonally situated private cells. One of these is present today, but they might have been added after the Ottoman period in Hungary.[450] The same is true of the windows which are shown as narrow shooting holes in a fortress wall in von Erlach's plan, section and elevation.[451]

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[450] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, p. 106.

[451] Ayverdi opposed to the idea that any kind of window in the *sıcaklık* would be original. Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 121.

Other *kaplıca*s included in Evliya's account in the city of Buda are the Açık Ilıca,[452] and the Kaplıca of the Baruthane.[453] In the city of Eger, Evliya mentioned a thermal bath that had healing water for some illnesses. A marble plaque from the Ottoman period proclaimed that the bath was built by Arnaut (Albanian) Pasha, who was the second pasha of Eger.[454] This plaque was destroyed, but the bath still stands, although much altered. An engraving by Georgius Houfnaglius from 1617 (Fig. 115, marked with the letter B) shows the round building outside the fort, by the River Eger. Another engraving from 1687 also depicts a bath on the other side of the river (Fig. 28, marked with the letter Q). The Bath of Arnaut Pasha was noticed by the leading men of the city, who restored and enlarged it through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Today only a few walls within the bath complex indicate its Ottoman origin.

In the city of Pest, Evliya listed two *hamam*s but did not give their names or locations. Because of hard winters, he said, people in Pest tended to use their private baths rather than venturing out to use a *hamam*. "Every house was equipped with a furnace and a little washroom."[455] He noted the same practice in the cities of Gyula and Eger, where people were very proud of their own baths.[456]

A private Turkish bath was found by the Castle of the Pashas (Pasapalota) close to the already mentioned Saray Mosque (Fig. 144). Among contemporary Ottoman and

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[452] *Ilıca* means hot spring and *açık* means open. This spa was probably an open bath. Its location is unknown.
[453] *Baruthane* means gunpowder-magazine. Evliya mentioned that this bath was close to the Bath of Veli Bey and it was not that ornate. Today the Bath of Lukács is located here.
[454] Molnár, *Eger török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1961, pp. 31-34.
[455] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 295.
[456] Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 229, 118.

western sources in addition to Marsigli's memoirs, only Evliya, in a few short words, has noted this.[457] It still makes one wonder how he was able to get so close to the pashas and other dignitaries to know about this little bath which was not mentioned by other travelers.

The private bath of the pashas was probably built at the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth century. The one-story building was destroyed by fire when Buda fell to the Austrian army in 1686, but according to Marsigli's report it could have been restored. In 1734 a convent of the Carmelite order was built on top of the ruins which leveled part of the Castle and the bath. During the 1966 excavations Gerő unearthed and examined the remains of the small bath. The plan of the private *hamam* is rectangular, enclosing an octagonal *sıcaklık*, or hot room (Fig. 125/c). This part of the building is unique in Hungarian bath architecture, as it does not have any recesses in its walls (Fig. 145). However, Gerő concluded that this private bath did not differ in its construction and heating system from other examples in the Ottoman Empire.[458]

Fountains are important parts of daily life and public structures in the Islamic world. Their popularity and significance in the Ottoman Empire are proven by their number in the seventeenth century.[459] There are several terms for fountain in Turkish: *çeşme*, *sebil*, and *şadırvan*. The *çeşme* is a drinking fountain which can be attached to a

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[457] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 273.
[458] He listed the Köprülü Palace and Bath in Samsun and the Vezir Konak in Edirne. Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 112-15.
[459] 10,390 *çeşme*s were recorded in the Tahrir-i Emlak (Land Registry) at the time of Murad IV (1623-40), from Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, London, 1971, p. 257.

mosque, *medrese* or *hamam*, or stand alone as a monument. The fountains are usually attached to a water system and have clean flowing water all the time. The simplest *çeşme* looks like a wall niche decorated with a pointed arch, and the water flows from a tap in the middle to a trough (Fig. 146). Wall *çeşme*s have one or more stone or marble slabs with inscriptions or decorative reliefs on them. The four-sided, single standing *çeşme*s were built primarily to add to the splendour of a mosque or to advertise the grandeur of the sultan. The individual *çeşme* reached its monumental form in the fountain built by Sultan Ahmed III (Fig. 147).

A *sebil* has a tank from which an attendant serves water or *şerbet* (sweetened fruit juice) to passers-by. They are set in the walls of buildings and have a grilled facade. A *şadırvan* is a fountain for ritual ablutions and is located in the courtyard of a mosque, *medrese* or in the first room of a *hamam*. A *şadırvan* contains an open or covered water-basin with taps all around. Sometimes seats and cloth-hooks are provided. It is designed with a trough for the overflowing water in accordance with Islamic regulation that cleansing should be performed in running water.

The total number of fountains in Hungary recorded by Evliya is astonishing. It is impossible to tell if all the fountains were erected by the Ottomans or if some had medieval origins. Evliya recorded 47 *çeşme*s and *sebil*s in Pécs,[460] one *çeşme* in the Castle of Buda,[461] but 75 *sebil*s in the city itself.[462] In Szigetvár, Evliya encountered only one

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[460] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 233.

[461] This fountain was located at the gate of the courtyard – beside the Türbe of Gazi Ahmed Pasha – of the Saray Mosque.

çeşme, at the corner of Ali Pasha's *hamam*.[463] None of these endowments by Ali Pasha has survived. In the city of Eger, Evliya counted twenty *sebil*s, but not one can be found today.[464]

In Pécs, only two of the original 47 fountains can be found today. Evliya gave the name of the more famous ones like Kasım Pasha's *çeşme*, Kadi's *çeşme* and Memi Shah's *çeşme*. The *çeşme* of Memi Shah or Pasha was identified with the wall fountain found at the same person's *hamam* during excavations.[465] The remains of the *çeşme* were uncovered at the northeastern corner of the building.

Another fountain which can be identified through Evliya's account is the Kadi's *çeşme* in Pécs (Fig. 148). Unfortunately, it was dismantled at the end of the nineteenth century. The *çeşme* stood in the main square of the city. It had an octagonal pool with a column in the middle which had a nicely carved basin on top of it. This basin had a small spout that let the water out.[466]

Two *çeşme*s that had survived in the city of Pécs and were still running in the second half of the twentieth century cannot be identified with an original name. The first

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[462] Evliya explained that the Castle was constructed on rock, so it could not have expensive water features. The water was carried up the hill on horses for everyday use in homes. Evliya, *Travels*, p. 279.
[463] Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 549 and 551.
[464] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 157.
[465] Gerő, "Das Bad Memi Paschas in Pecs," *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, Ankara, 1988, pp. 33-44. The *hamam* was previously discussed.
[466] Gerő, *Pécs török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1960, p. 40. Today a modern fountain is located at the same place.

one is a simple stone-framed *çeşme* with a spout in the wall of a house.[467] The other is situated on the same hill (Rókus domb) as the Türbe of Idris Baba. Despite the fact that the building around it is in ruins and that it was renovated, it kept part of its original Ottoman construction (Fig. 149). The name 'Kerlejela' came down to us with the *çeşme*.[468]

4. Houses, business facilities

In Hungary during and after the Ottoman period, contemporary sources hardly recorded houses as points of interest, unless the house was the accommodation of a Pasha (Fig. 150) or high-ranking officials and rose above the other dwellings.[469] Travelers often described places they stayed at, like *kervansaray*s, *imaret*s, *han*s or even old mansions converted into resting places for the people on the road.[470] Simple family dwellings were mentioned by travelers to account for the population of a certain city,[471] to comment on the neglected situation of the neighbourhoods[472] or, as Evliya often did, to demonstrate the diversity of the building materials.

Neighboring Bosnia has many examples of houses reflecting the Ottoman-Anatolian house that has spread over a period of five hundred years to the Balkan

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[467] The address is Vak Bottyán utca 23.
[468] Gerő, op. cit., p. 40.
[469] These places were usually built before the Ottomans, but they were convenient for dignitaries to move in.
[470] István György Tóth, "Athanasio Georgiceo álruhás császári megbízott útleírása a magyarországi török hódoltságról, 1626-ból," *Századok*, 132, 1998. (Hereafter referred to as Tóth, Athanasio Georgiceo.)
[471] Tóth, Athanasio Georgiceo; Evliya, *Travels*, passim.
[472] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnote 249.

peninsula (Fig. 151). Although Pašić writes that because of "non-durable construction materials" there is no house in Bosnia older than hundred and fifty years, the structure and the formulation of the parts within the dwelling show the continuity of house-building traditions taken over from the Ottomans.[473] Gerő used contemporary sources to examine the changes in cityscape caused by houses built in the Ottoman period. Unfortunately, nothing from this tradition was documented by scholars or can be found today in Hungary.[474]

The only building from the Ottoman period that looks as if it could have been a house is located in Szigetvár outside the medieval city wall on the road towards Pécs (Fig. 152).[475] Although I listed this building in the section about houses and business facilities, there is no written source or other document to prove its nature. Several scholars tried to solve the question of the building's function and came to different conclusions. It was called a house, a *Kuran* school, or *medrese*, and even a *kervansaray* because of its location by a well-traveled route.

The first reference to this building can be found in Leandro Anguissola's map of Szigetvár (Fig. 2) which marks the locations of the Ottoman structures. He did not make any comments about the building, but the location certainly matches with the small building's site. Molnár listed it as a *Kuran* school in two of his works.[476] Later, Ayverdi

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[473] Pašić, *Bosnia*, pp. 103-116.
[474] Gerő, *Dzsámik*, pp. 35-36. Because there is no tradition and development of the Ottoman house in Hungary, I will not discuss it in details.
[475] Today this area is called Újváros (New City), the building is on Bástya Street.
[476] Molnár, *Monuments*, p. 14; Molnár, *Szigetvár török műemlékei*, Budapest, 1958, pp. 28-29.

visited the building and listed it in his work as a "Turkish house."[477] It was used as a depot by the town council, but when I visited it in 1996 it had already been turned into a little museum.

The building has a rectangular plan and was built of brick like other important Ottoman structures[478] in the city. It has two stories: the lower level, which is slightly below street level today, and the upper level which can be reached by a few stairs from the outside. The lower room has big brick pillars holding up the ceiling (Fig. 153), while the upper room is covered by a barrel vault. The interior walls are broken up by three windows with their original stone frames and iron grilles (*parmaklık*) (Fig. 154), and seven little pointed-arched niches (Fig. 155). The latter might have served as shelves for books. The building is covered with a wooden roof, which is a twentieth-century renovation based on Evliya's account that mentions several times that in Szigetvár he saw tiled and wood covered buildings.[479]

Evliya also recorded that houses built of wood were small in the town but bigger outside the city wall as more space became available. The brick structure of the above mentioned Ottoman building would suggest that it was important enough to use more durable and expensive material for its construction.[480] In addition, the niches in the

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[477] Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 251.
[478] See the Mosque of Ali Pasha (pp. 95-96, above).
[479] Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 548-51.
[480] Stoianovich in his study points out how Muslim citizens were reluctant to built strong and expensive houses. He attributed this to the wide spread belief that it was sinful to construct a house which would exceed the lifetime of the builder, and also to the fact that every house would fall to the sultan when the owner dies. Traian Stoianovich, *A Study in Balkan Civilization*, New York, 1967, p. 97.

interior point to the building's use as a school. In my opinion, this little building on the outskirts of the city was some kind of an educational facility.

Business facilities in the Hungarian province certainly grew in number as the Ottoman army moved in with Bosnian and Serb merchants following. New building styles appeared for the use of the new trades-people as well as for travelers: *bedesten*, *çarşı*, *han*, and *kervansaray*. Of these the tallest and most noticeable was the *bedesten*.[481] Evliya mentioned *bedestens* only in bigger cities like Buda, which was already in ruins when he visited the city in 1663, and in Pécs, where the goods surpassed merchandise in other provincial *bedestens*.[482]

Çarşıs[483] were found in almost every city in the commercial part of the town. They were usually located close to the main mosque. Evliya generally counted from one hundred to three or four hundred shops in a *çarşı*. In Buda the most adorned and most prestigious shops belonged to the spice market.[484] In Pécs goods from India and Yemen were sold in the Karanlık Çarşı.[485] Evliya also noticed that in Pest there were only fifty shops, and the city did not need any *çarşı* as the people went over to Buda to do their shopping.[486] As all these shops and markets were built from perishable materials and lined along narrow, irregular streets, they were frequent casualties of fires and earthquakes and nothing tangible is left of them.

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[481] *Bedesten* was a covered (sometimes with domes) building where luxury goods were sold and stored. It was locked during the nights.
[482] Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 279, 233.
[483] *Çarşı* means market place which can be covered or open spreading through several streets.
[484] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 279.
[485] It means Dark Market, it was probably a covered market. Evliya, *Travels*, p. 233.
[486] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 295.

For travelers there were two kinds of lodging: the *han* (inn) in the city and the *kervansaray* beside the highways. Evliya gave the numbers of inns only in certain cities but never recorded the names or locations. According to him there were altogether nine *han*s in Buda, two with several rooms in Siklós, and one inn in Szigetvár.[487] The name of one of the *han*s in Buda was recorded by Count Marsigli in his map as the Han (beside) Yeşil Direkli Ilıca, but this is the only name or location that has come to us regarding inns in the cities.[488]

According to Stoianovich, on the main trade route from Istanbul to Buda there were two different types of *kervansaray*s. In one, the travelers would pay for their lodging and food for their animals, while the others were pious foundations where food was distributed free.[489] Athanasio Georgiceo traveled from Buda to Banja Luka, Bosnia, in 1626, and gave informative descriptions of *kervansaray*s and other places where he stayed. His first accommodation was at the palisade fortress of Hamza Bey's,[490] where he was led to a big building with no windows. He wrote that the place was called a *kervansaray* and that it had been built ten years before his visit by Sefer Pasha.[491] This building was an original Ottoman *kervansaray*. Georgiceo noted that it had eighteen chimneys and plenty of room for travelers, horses and wagons.

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[487] Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 280, 282, 538, 549.
[488] Quoted in Gerő, *Dzsámik*, footnote 226.
[489] Traian Stoianovich, *A Study in Balkan Civilization*, New York, 1967, p. 93.
[490] See footnote 349.
[491] Sefer Pasha's governorship in Buda lasted only for eight months in 1614, twelve years before Georgiceo visited the place. Tóth, Athanasio Georgiceo.

Georgiceo explained that in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire *kervansaray*s were built by "wealthy Turkish people to save their souls" and that the inns were so close to each other that travelers could get from one to another in a day. This kind of proximity was characteristic: it provided security and hence stimulated trade. Contemporary caravanserais in Anatolia and Iran were also similarly spaced. At another city, called Paks, Georgiceo mentioned a *kervansaray* which was built by a pasha from the stones of a nearby church and was covered with a lead roof. Unfortunately, it was raided and burnt by Hungarian soldiers, and only the walls remained.[492]

The *kervansaray*s were usually stone structures, one or two stories high with a gate opening to a central courtyard. Animals were accommodated on the lower level or on one side of the building, while people could either rent separate rooms or stay with their animals. Since nothing has remained of any of these lodging buildings, it is impossible to study their architectural development in the Hungarian province.

5. Military buildings

During the Ottoman occupation of Hungary the continuous warfare and raids between the Habsburg and Ottoman forces required the forts and fortresses to be in a defensible shape. After the Ottoman army seized a town, its first order of business was to renovate the city and rebuild the fortress walls and defense systems. Contemporary accounts list several works on fortifications carried out by the sultan or on the sultan's order.

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[492] Tóth, Athanasio Georgiceo.

Two types of fortification construction can be distinguished from the Ottoman period. Hewn stone or a combination of stone and brick[493] was mostly used in bigger cities where existing stone walls were present, for instance at Buda and Szigetvár. Another type is the palisade fortress which could be built in a shorter period but was not durable for its construction materials were wood and mud. Most of these palisade fortresses were built on the main military and trade route between Belgrade and Buda for the protection of travelers, the army and commercial goods.

It is certain that the palisade fortresses were original Ottoman constructions in all their parts since their building date and founder were noted by contemporary accounts. In addition, the fortresses were always under Ottoman supervision until the retreating forces burned all of them down in 1686.[494] While stone forts were medieval in origin, after the expulsion of the Ottomans restorations continued even up to the twentieth century. Today it is very difficult to tell which part of a tower is Ottoman in origin. Still, after comprehensive research, some scholars have identified monuments that were built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as Ottoman constructions. I will look at both the palisade and stone structures as much as documentation makes it possible.

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[493] Ayverdi pointed these two construction types out as original Ottoman works, Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 139.

[494] Attila Gaál, "Török palánkvárak a buda-eszéki út Tolna megyei szakaszán," *Studia Agriensia*, vol. 5, Eger, 1985, pp. 185-97.

Evliya and Georgiceo both mentioned the Yeni Palanka[495] as an Ottoman garrison built by Sultan Mehmet III (1595-1603) in 1596 as he headed a campaign against Eger.[496] It was also recorded and sketched by Heinrich Ottendorf who traveled in the occupied territories in 1663 with the Habsburg envoy (Fig. 156). The palisade fortress was to protect the bridge above the river Sárvíz in Tolna County en route to Buda. Excavations unearthed the slightly rectangular outline of the Yeni Palanka with four corner towers of different shapes (Fig. 157). The width of the walls was between 80-100 cm. The walls were smeared and filled with mud which was excavated from the trench around the fortress. The walls of the towers were made even thicker for defensive purposes.[497]

Other towns on the same route with palisade fortresses recorded by the same contemporary accounts were Bátaszék, Tolna, Paks, Földvár, Cankurtaran, Ercsi and Hamzabey (Fig. 5). Of these, their names suggest, Bátaszék, Tolna, Paks and Földvár were built by Hungarian kings before the Ottomans and had a medieval nucleus.[498] However, Cankurtaran, Ercsi[499] and Hamzabey[500] were original Ottoman structures. Cankurtaran[501] was built by Sultan Süleyman in 1529. According to Evliya's narrative, the Sultan fled from Vienna after its unsuccessful siege, and when he stopped he ordered

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[495] The name means New Palisade. Today only a moorland called Palánka can be found at this location.

[496] Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 238-39. Georgiceo wrote that the palisade was built twenty years before his visit in 1606, if his information is correct, then it could not have been built by Mehmet III, in Tóth, Athanasio Georgiceo.

[497] Gaál, op. cit.

[498] Bátaszék was built around the ruins of a medieval abbey, Tolna had a strong medieval church, Paks evolved around the church and monastery of the Franciscan order, and Földvár had a tower (Öregtorony) from the sixteenth century. Gaál, op. cit.

[499] Evliya reports that it was built by a Turkish soldier called Erdsin as a pious foundation. It was burnt by Zrínyi in 1662 and rebuilt by Ismail Pasha. There is no other mention of this story.

[500] See footnote 349.

[501] Means 'soul saver'

the construction of a fortress at Cankurtaran for other soldiers to find shelter. Georgiceo gave the same story and added that this palisade fortress was defended by eighty equestrian and eighty foot soldiers who received their wages from the sultan.[502]

Monumental stone towers were erected and renovated by several pashas in the fort of Buda. Evliya listed Ali Pasha, Karakaş Pasha (Fig. 158-160), Bali Pasha, Süleyman Pasha, Sarı Kenan Pasha, Siyavuş and Kara Murat Pashas as the builders.[503] The works of some of these pashas cannot be identified today. Other towers are known by their names like the towers of Kasım Pasha (Fig. 161), Mahmut Pasha and Veli Bey, or the Toprak Kule (Earth Tower) and Acı Çorba Kulesi (Sour Soup Tower).

The towers of Kasım Pasha and of Mahmut Pasha were renovated several times, and their bases are probably the only untouched parts. Fortunately, their *kitabe*s were preserved. Kasim Pasha's *kitabe* (Fig. 162) has seven *sülüs*[504] couplets, of which the first six are in six rows and the last couplet is in two shorter rows placed in the middle beneath the others. It bears the date 1078 A.H./1667-1668 C.E. Cerrah Kasım Pasha was the governor of Buda between April 1666 and May 1667.[505] The *kitabe* of Mahmut Pasha's tower (Fig. 163) was written in *talik*[506] and consists of three couplets in three rows. The date on it is shown as 1079 A.H., which corresponds to the years 1668-1669. Mahmut

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[502] Tóth, Athanasio Georgiceo.
[503] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 270.
[504] *Sülüs* is a style of Arabic script. It was used in the Ottoman Empire in the decoration of architecture. In this form of writing the shafts of the vertical letters are elongated.
[505] Today the kitabe is located in the History Museum within the walls of the fort. Its size is 92.5 x 64.5 cm. Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 140.
[506] *Talik* is another style of Arabic script which developed in Iran in the early fourteenth century. It shows a greater smoothness and less prominent verticality. The size of the kitabe is 67 x 67 cm. Today it is located in the Hungarian National Museum. Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 141.

Pasha spent three years in Buda as a governor between October 1667 and October 1670. It is interesting that two different styles were used for the *kitabe*s which were created approximately one year apart. This might suggest that the two pashas used two different architects or masons, one probably originally from Iran. Or it may be that the builders of the later construction abruptly switched to a new style of Arabic script for the *kitabe*. According to Oktay Aslanapa, the *talik* script became fashionable only in the late Ottoman period.[507] However, more research is required to establish the reasons for the sudden change to a new style within one year.

The Baruthane, or gunpowder magazine, was located to the north of the Castle of Buda on the right side of the Danube (Fig. 164). It was constructed under Sultan Süleyman's reign between 1529-30 by Arslan Pasha.[508] According to Evliya it was a pleasant, smallish fort with four towers on each of its corners. It did not have any houses as it was used for making gunpowder. The magazine used the water of the nearby spring to turn its wheels. I found a note in Evliya's account about skillful Hungarian craftsmen who were the prisoners of Arslan Pasha and built the big wheels from wood and iron, a demonstration of Ottoman use of local workforce even for special structures.[509]

The fort at Szigetvár is known to have been rebuilt by Sokollu Mustafa Pasha after the siege in 1566. Although the new construction kept the outline of the medieval fort, the

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[507] Aslanapa, op. cit., p. 344.

[508] It is an interestingly early date (936 A.H.) given by Evliya as Buda became permanently part of the Ottoman Empire in 1541, and Arslan Pasha held a governorship there between 1565-66. Evliya, *Travels*, pp. 289-90. Ayverdi attributed the Baruthane to Sokollu Mustafa Pasha and did not mention in all details Evliya's account on the building. Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 102.

[509] Evliya, *Travels*, p. 290.

brick Ottoman walls (Fig. 165) with their decorative rows of brick work (Fig. 166) still attest to a new architectural style in the Hungarian province. The renovations took only three years. Leandro Anguissola's map from 1689 shows the shape of the fort as an elongated trapezoid with four massive corner towers (Fig. 2 and Fig. 32). All these towers are original Ottoman structures. Beside the gate of the fort (Fig. 167), a *kitabe*, with the date 1573, gave the news to the passers-by about Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's undertaking (Fig. 168).[510]

The city of Szeged in southeast Hungary also had some structures from the Ottoman period. When Szeged was captured in 1526 it had a very small fort on the right side of the river Tisza. According to Evliya, Sultan Süleyman ordered the construction of a bigger fortress which Evliya attributed to Mimar Sinan.[511] The shape of the fort and the location of the towers can be studied from an eighteenth century map by De La Croix Paitit (Fig. 169).[512] Unfortunately, the small part of the wall of the fort that remains is not enough to make any conclusions about the construction.

The most salient point of the fort was its round Water Tower (Su Kulesi) which was situated beside the river. Its plan and elevation were drawn by Bourgeois in 1756 (Fig. 170).[513] The last record of the standing tower is from 1882, when its picture was taken (Fig. 171). It was destroyed by warfare and by flooding, and today only its renovated lower part can be found (Fig. 172).

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[510] The date was preserved by Evliya, today the plaque is missing. Evliya, *Travels*, p. 550.
[511] Quoted in Ayverdi, *Macaristan*, p. 232. At this time Sinan might have been in the army as a soldier, but he was not an architect.
[512] I found this map with a date 1713 in Molnár, *Monuments*, Pl. XLIV.
[513] Both pictures are from Molnár, *Monuments*, Pl. XLIX.

CONCLUSION

I believe that my documentation of Ottoman monuments in Hungary is a first step in the preservation of Ottoman architecture, an architecture which exists in the service of Islam in a country that remains largely Christian. The surviving pieces of Ottoman architecture in Hungary, although much reduced in number and variety as regards building types, present a remarkable collection. The Ottoman monuments in the Hungarian province were built in the second half of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, a period coinciding with the classical period of the Ottoman Empire.

The Hungarian Ottoman monuments are most immediately connected with the material remains in Bosnia and Hercegovina, where so much was lost in the violent Balkan War at the end of the twentieth century. Hence, it is essential that adequate research and comprehensive studies be prepared on the existing monuments. The study of the history and original appearance of the monuments is a more difficult task, for there are only a few contemporary sources that deal with these architectural examples in details. The passage of time since the sixteenth century, and the contemporary lack of interest in the Ottoman tradition of Hungary, mean that we may know as much about it from texts and drawings as we do from extant monuments – in other words, in a phrase used by novelist Milan Kundera, "History is the art of forgetting."

Foreign and Hungarian documents from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries represent a valuable but minor collection that can be used as a guide for the reconstruction of original Ottoman structures. In this work I have tried to use

contemporary or near-contemporary sources as much as possible to provide an authentic picture of the Ottoman architectural heritage in the Hungarian province.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought significant changes both in public attitudes toward the remains of a once dominant empire and in scientific research and excavation of the monuments. This research and archaeological work had a great impact on the preservation of Ottoman cultural heritage in Hungary. Unfortunately, negative public attitudes towards preservation in the Balkan Peninsula, not to mention the war itself, resulted in the gradual destruction of the cultural heritage of the Ottoman Empire.

Much work has been done by Hungarian and Turkish scholars to document and preserve the Hungarian Ottoman monuments. However, these studies cover either individual monuments or a few together, and what is missing is a concerted effort to establish the relationship between individual Ottoman remains in the Hungarian territory and other examples from the Ottoman Empire. Although the second half of the twentieth century brought progress in this matter, still only a few valuable and scientifically acceptable works emerged. Relatively little of this information is available in English, French, or German, and my command of Hungarian and Turkish sources makes it possible to bring together an impressive and largely unknown bibliography and present new monuments and new sites to a broader community of scholars.

In previous studies, scholars observed from every possible aspect the military history of the Ottoman Empire and the occupation of the Hungarian territories and came to different conclusions about Sultan Süleyman's intent for the new province. The power

struggles between European leaders and the unstable internal affairs of Hungary assisted Süleyman in the conquest of the country. The sultan's initial plan was to keep Hungary as a vassal state, while investing as little as possible of the treasury's money into it. In Süleyman's view, Hungary was too Christian, and too far away for settling Muslims. However, unforeseen attacks by the Habsburgs forced him to integrate Hungary into the Ottoman Empire as a province. With a large number of permanent Ottoman soldiers stationed in Hungary, the new province became a buffer zone between the Christian world and the Muslim realm.

Immigrants from the Balkans settled in the abandoned towns as the population left the country in fear of the impending Ottoman invasion, which actually took forty years. Tradesmen followed the soldiers with their goods, craftsmen helped in the renovations of the fortresses, and Bosnian governors were appointed to the new province. These Muslims brought their religion, culture and architectural style to Hungary.

In the Ottoman Empire, the Corps of Court Architects controlled all construction activities in the capital and the provinces as well. This centralized, well-thought-out system might have worked, but the country was so vast, and the construction activities were so widespread, that it was impossible for an architect to be on-site for every single project. In faraway provinces, qualified supervision was lacking and the quality of the buildings showed variation from the classical style of the Ottoman capital. The architectural style merged with regional traditions. As a result, local decorative motifs and provincial construction techniques appeared on the classical framework.

My thesis delineates the struggle between provincial style and capital classical style, using Hungary as an example of how a mature Ottoman style briefly transformed the architectural landscape of Hungary, and itself was transformed, to some extent, by indigenous Hungarian architecture. The newly built religious and charitable foundations contributed considerably to the shaping of the new Muslim look of the towns, which can be observed in contemporary engravings. On the other hand, some Hungarian Ottoman monuments bear architectural elements or solutions that have no match in other parts of the empire – for example, the drop-shape windows of the Mosque of Ali Pasha in Szigetvár.

During the one hundred and seventy three years of Ottoman occupation, Hungary experienced no mass conversion to Muslim religion, as happened in the Balkans. Hungary remained largely Christian. At the same time, funding for construction went almost entirely to building Ottoman edifices, and few permissions were issued for the building of Christian buildings. The Ottomans tended not to alter the overall urban plans and street plans of the cities they occupied. However, their presence was attested to by the orientation of the mosques, in particular the domed profiles and minarets.

Nevertheless, Ottoman architecture retained its foreign, imported character in Hungary. This situation characterized the whole period, and thus also its architectural activity. I believe that Sultan Süleyman looked at the Hungarian province as a military defence area rather than a new region where Islam could flourish.

The Christian reconquest and the surviving Hungarian vernacular led to the demise of this relatively brief period of Hungarian Ottoman architecture. The years following the Ottoman occupation of Hungary did not entirely wipe out the evidences of the occupation. I hope this thesis opens Hungarian and Turkish sources to foreign scholars and helps them in their own research on this period and its architectural remains.

GLOSSARY OF ISLAMIC TERMS

Acemioğlan. Cadet.

Ağa. Commander, guild-master, head servant.

Akçe. Basic silver coin of account in the Ottoman Empire from the fourteenth century until the end of the seventeenth century.

Alay beyi. Military rank, roughly equivalent to colonel. Served as local provincial administrators.

Asper. Unit of silver currency in the Ottoman Empire.

Avlu. The courtyard of a mosque, also called *harim*.

Baba. Father or holy man.

Baruthane. Gunpowder magazine.

Bedesten. Covered market for luxury goods. Other spellings: *bazestan, bezistan* from the Persian *bezzazistan*.

Bey. Ruler, governor or gentleman.

Beylik. Small domain or vassal after the Seljuk period in Anatolia.

Beylerbeyi. Highest ranking governor.

Bismillah. *Bismi 'llahi ' l-rahmani ' l-rahim* (In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful), the opening phrase of the first chapter of the Koran and can be found throughout the Koran. The phrase has become a pious invocation.

Bursa kemeri. A type of arch, it was used in the early Ottoman architecture mostly in Bursa, hence the name.

Camekan. Disrobing room of a *hamam*.

Cami. A Friday mosque with a *minber* from which the weekly sermon is delivered.

Çarşı. Market place.

Çelebi. Title of respect in general or title of the leader of a religious order in particular.

Çeşme. A drinking fountain. It can also be a tap, or a monument.

Çifte hamam. Double bath containing two symmetrical sections, one for men the other for women.

Defter. Official treasury records.

Defterdar. Chief treasury official.

Dershane. Study or lecture hall in a *medrese* or *tekke*.

Derviş. Wandering Muslim holy man.

Devşirme. Christian child levy.

Evliya. Friend. In folk Islam it also means saint.

Eyalet. Ottoman province, also called *vilayet*.

Eyvan. A vaulted or domed recess open on one side. In English *iwan* is also used.

Ferman. Imperial edict.

Fethname. Imperial charter or letter of victory.

Gazi. Ottoman border warrior or fighter for Islam.

Göbektaşı. Navel stone. The marble platform in the middle of the hot room of a *hamam*.

Hadith. Traditions; collection of the deeds and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad.

Halvet. Cubicle or cell, private room in a *hamam*.

Hamam. Turkish steam bath.

Han. Inn, usually in towns.

Haraç. Land tax.

Harara, hararet. The hot room of a *hamam*, also called *sıcaklık*.

Harem. Place of privacy, especially for women, in a home or in a palace.

Has, hassa. Royal, belonging to the sultan.

Haseki. The mother of the heir apparent.

Hazne, hazine. Tank, reservoir.

Ilıca. Hot spring, thermal bath.

İmam. Leader of the prayers in a mosque, Muslim clergy.

İmaret. A soup kitchen for students, the poor, etc.

Kadi. District judge who administered both the religious and secular laws.

Kanun. Law and regulation issued by the sultan.

Kanuni. Lawgiver.

Kaplıca. A thermal bath built above or close to a hot spring. It has a pool unlike a *hamam*.

Kas. The cap of a minaret.

Kervansaray. Hostelry, usually beside the highway. In English caravanserai is also used.

Khutba. Friday sermon for the Muslims.

Kıble, qiblah. The direction of Mecca and therefore of prayer.

Kitabe. Inscriptive plaque or panel announcing the founder and the date of the edifice.

Kuran, Qur'an. The sacred book of Islam.

Kurna. Washbasin.

Külhan. The furnace room in a *hamam*.

Külliye. Complex foundation, usually consists of the mosque and its educational and charitable dependencies.

Kürsü. High chair for the *imam* when teaching.

Mahalle. Distirct in a city, neighbourhood, borough.

Mahfil. Tribune for *imam* or the royal lodge. *Kadınlar mahfili* is the gallery for the women.

Medrese. Muslim school of higher education.

Mescit. Small, neighbourhood mosque not used for the Friday sermon.

Mihrab. Niche in the *kıble* wall indicating the direction of prayer.

Mimar. Architect, hence *Mimarbaşı*, Chief Architect.

Minare. A tall slender tower of a mosque having one or more balconies from which the summons to prayer is cried by the *müezzin*, also minaret in English.

Minber. Pulpit which is used during the Friday sermon.

Muqarnas. Stalactite vaulting.

Müezzin. Mosque officer responsible for the call to prayer.

Nişancı. Affixer of the official imperial signature and secretary of the imperial council.

Ocak. Hearth, fireplace. Corps of the Janissaries, or an organization, deriving from the concept of gathering around a camp fire.

Papuçluk. Little holes or compartments for shoes or slippers.

Parmaklık. Iron grille on the outside of windows.

Revak. A domed or vaulted colonnade enclosing a court.

Rumi. Variant style of arabesque, characteristic Islamic decoration.

Sancak. Provincial administrative unit, major subdivision of an *eyalet*.

Sancak beyi. Governor of a *sancak*.

Saray. Palace.

Sebil. Public fountain, not an independent construction. Usually in the walls of buildings.

Semahane. Hall of a dervish convent used for ritual dances.

Sıcaklık. Hot room of a *hamam*.

Sipahi. Cavalryman who holds a *timar* in the provinces in return for military service.

Sıbyan mektebi. Elementary school.

Sofa. Stone bench. At a mosque it refers to the raised stone platform on both sides of the entrance in the portico.

Soğukluk. The transitional or cool room in a *hamam*.

Son cemaat yeri. The portico of a mosque where latecomers can pray.

Sülüs. A style of Arabic script. In this form of writing the shafts of the vertical letters are elongated.

Şadırvan. The fountain for ritual ablutions before prayer.

Şerbet. Sweetened fruit juice issued from a *sebil*.

Şerefe. The balcony or gallery of a minaret from which call to prayer is made.

Şeriat, shari'ah. Islamic law derived from the *Kuran*.

Şeyhülislam. Chief of the Ottoman *ulema*.

Talik. A style of Arabic script which was developed in Iran in the early fourteenth century. It shows a greater smoothness and less prominent verticality.

Tekke. Dervish convent, also called *dergah* and *hanikah*.

Timar. An estate with an annual income of less than 20,000 aspers.

Türbe. Mausoleum, tomb, also called *kümbet*.

Ulema. The class of learned men, doctors of law, theology and jurisprudence.

Ulu cami. Great mosque in the Seljuk period.

Vakıf. A trust established with a grant of land or other income to support a pious foundation.

Vakfıye. Donation deed establishing a *vakıf*.

Yeniçeri. Direct translation is new recruit.

Yeniçeriler. Janissary corps and the sultan's standing elite infantry corps.

Yurt. Home, native land, camping ground, tent.

Zaviye. A term for the cell of a recluse that was subsequently applied to lodgings for traveling dervishes.

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Figure 1: Topographical map of Pécs by Joseph de Haüy, 1687.

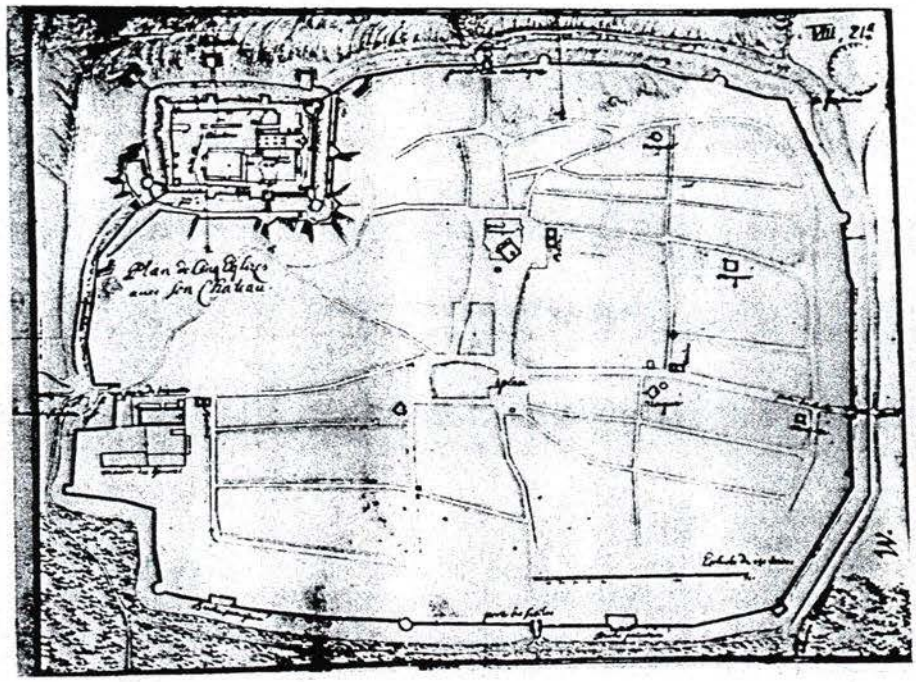


Figure 2: Topographic map of Szigetvár by Leandro Anguissola, 1689.

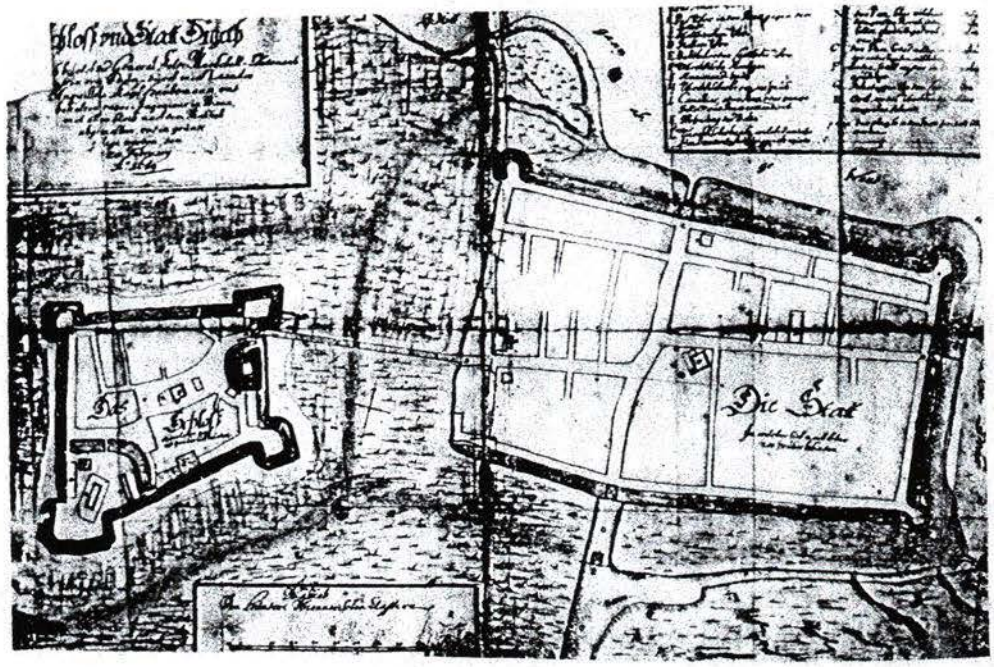


Figure 3: The Ottoman Empire in 1683.

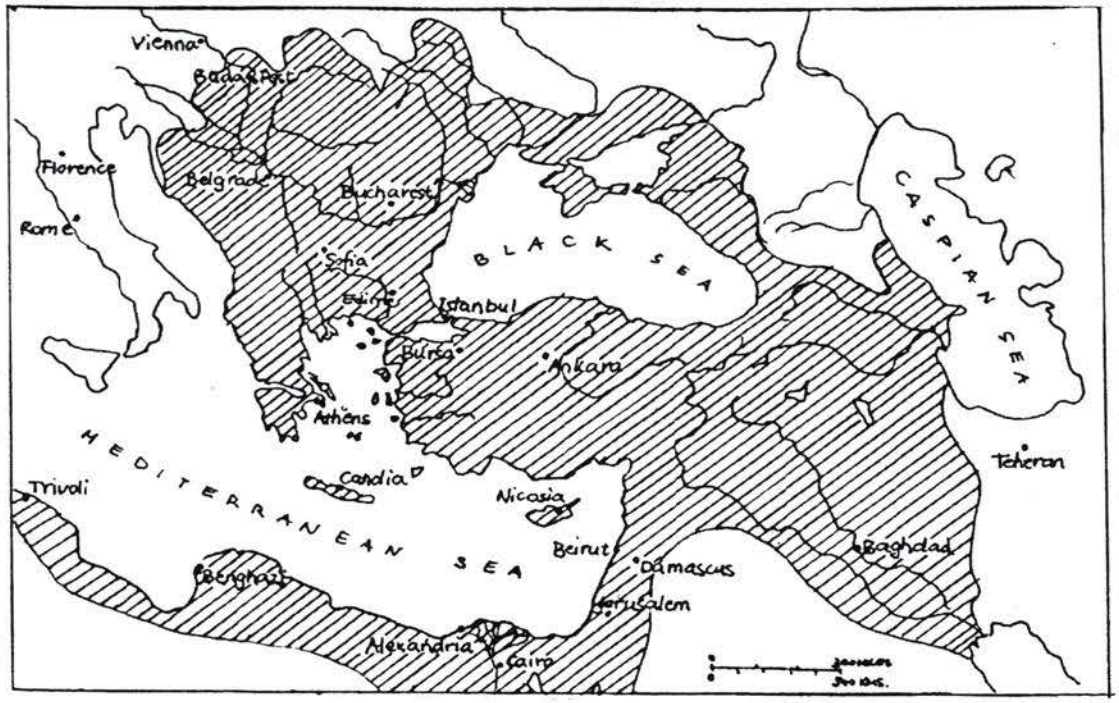


Figure 4: The divided Hungary.

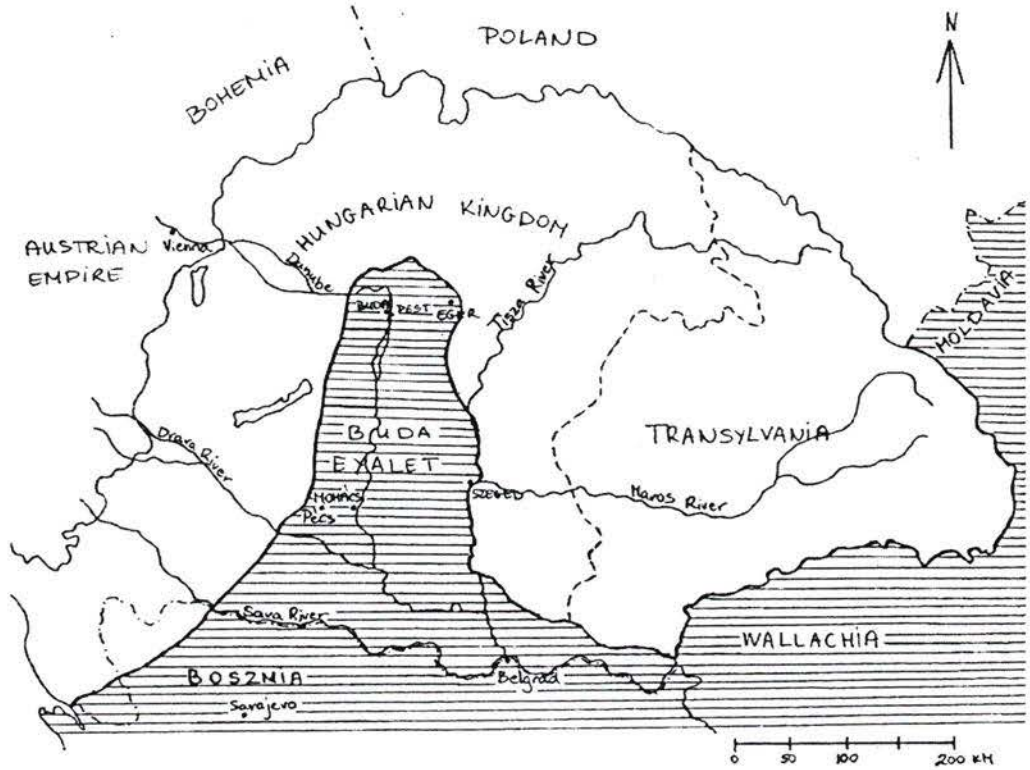


Figure 5: Main military and trade route from Belgrade to Buda.

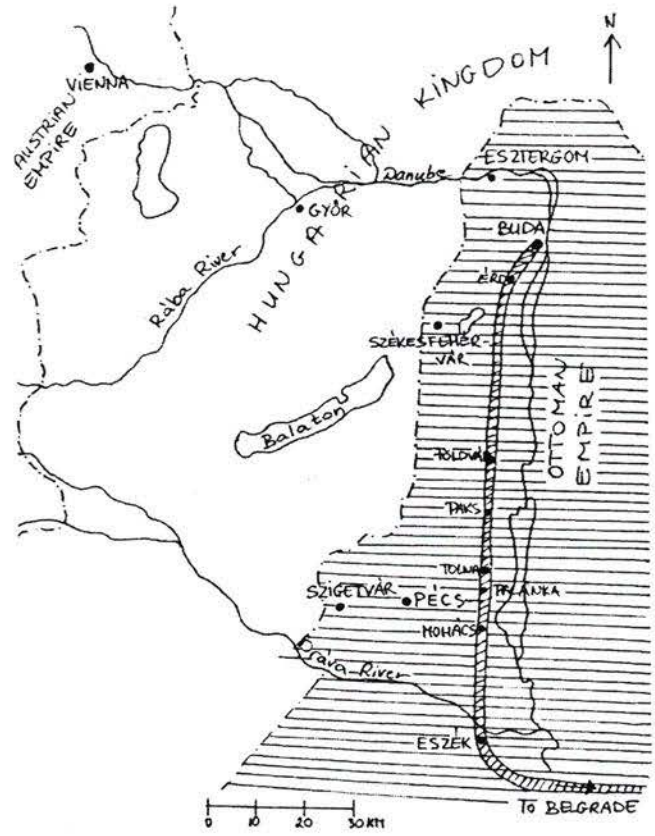


Figure 6: Lajos (Louis) II King of Hungary and Sultan Süleyman.

Figure 7: Battle of Mohács, miniature from the Süleymanname.

Figure 8: Siege of Szigetvár, miniature from the Hünername.

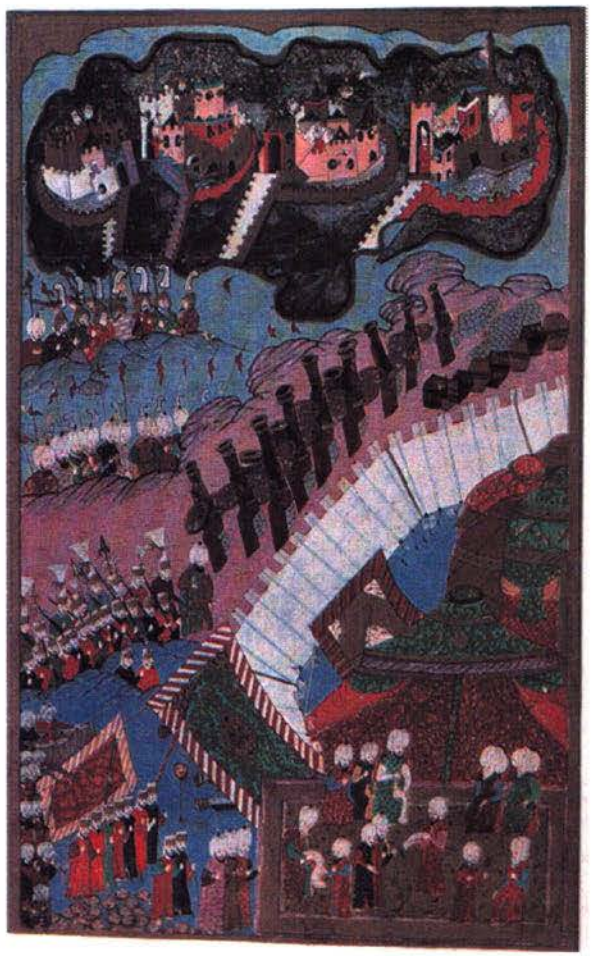


Figure 9: Reception of the son of the King of Erdel and his mother by Süleyman, miniature from the Hünername.

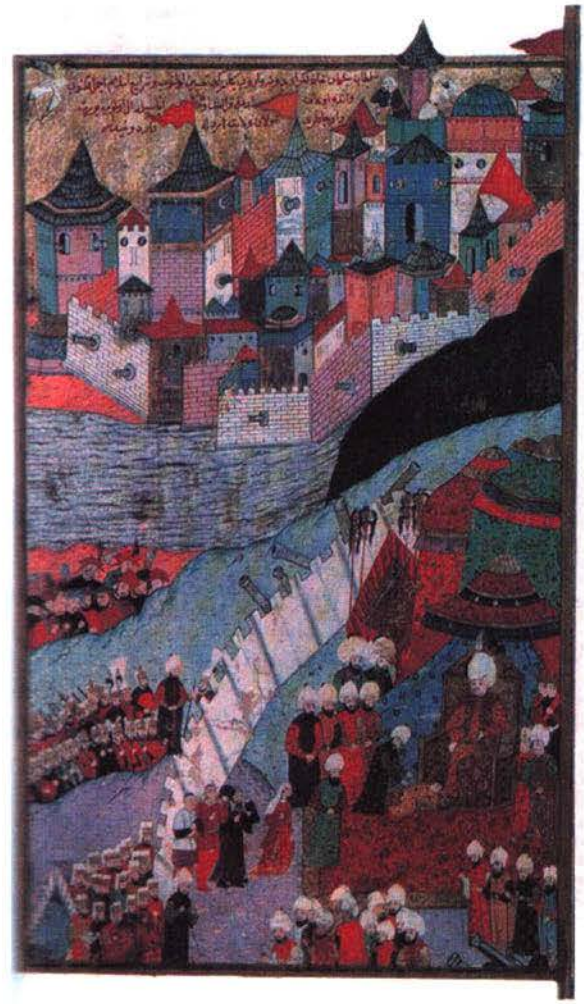


Figure 10: Plan and main section of Süleymaniye Mosque.

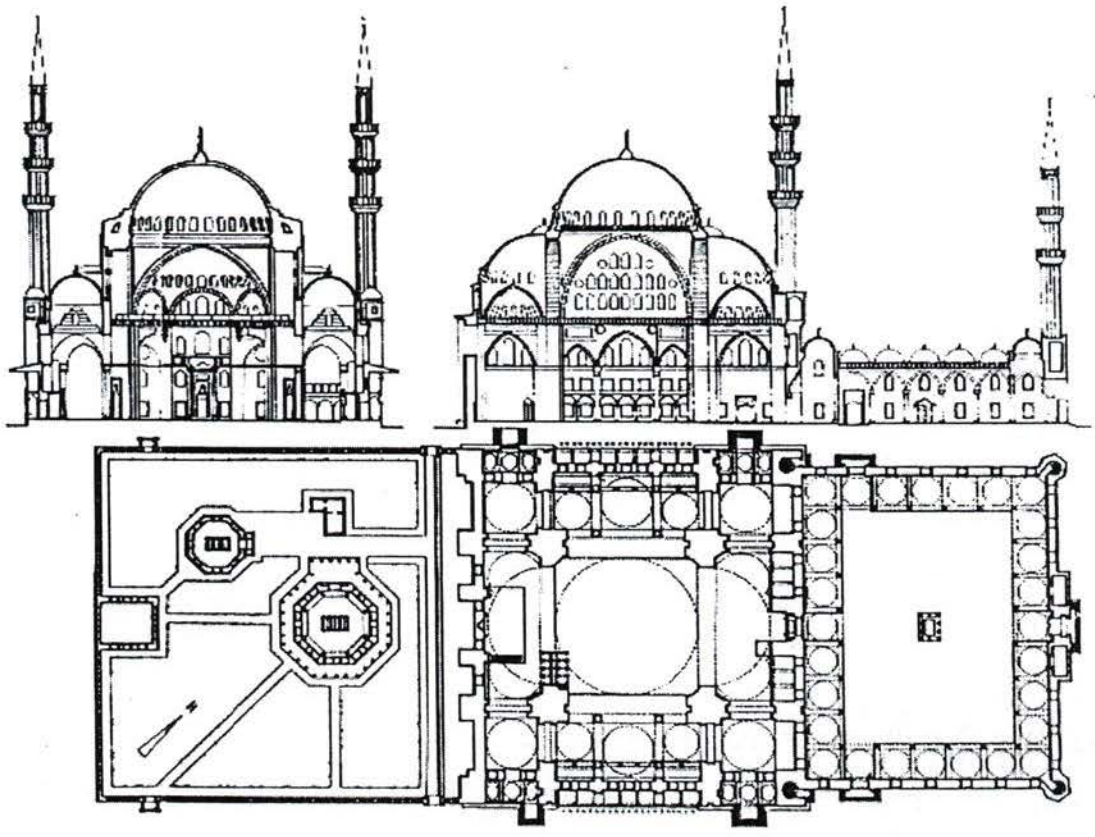


Figure 11: Fragment of a side panel from the Fethiye Mosque in Buda.

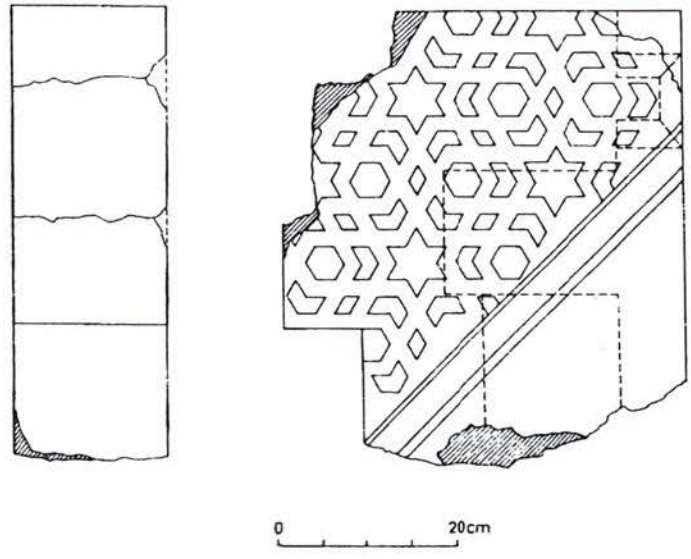
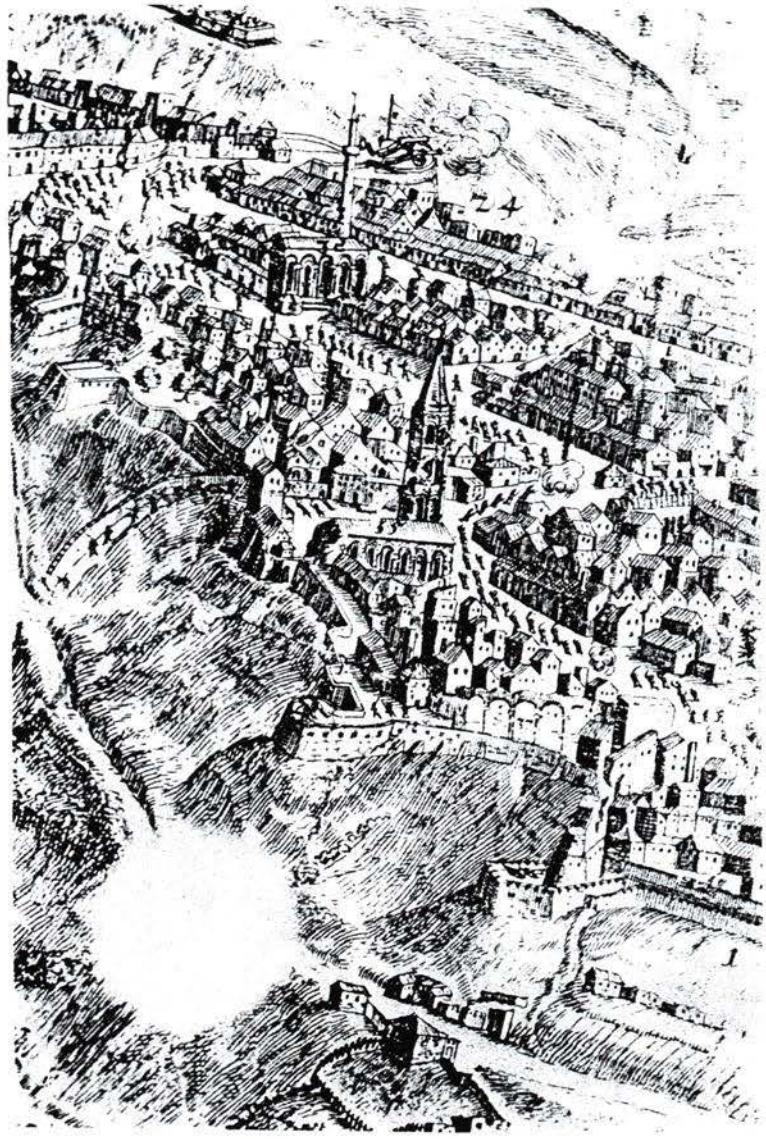


Figure 12: Detail of the engraving of the Castle of Buda by Fontana, 1686.



32- Orta Mosque

35- Sultan Süleyman Mosque

Figure 13: Ottoman decorative wall painting found in the Church of Our Lady in Buda.

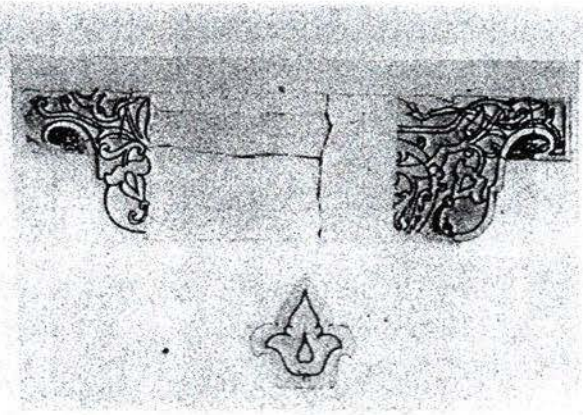


Figure 14: South elevation of the Church of Our Lady.

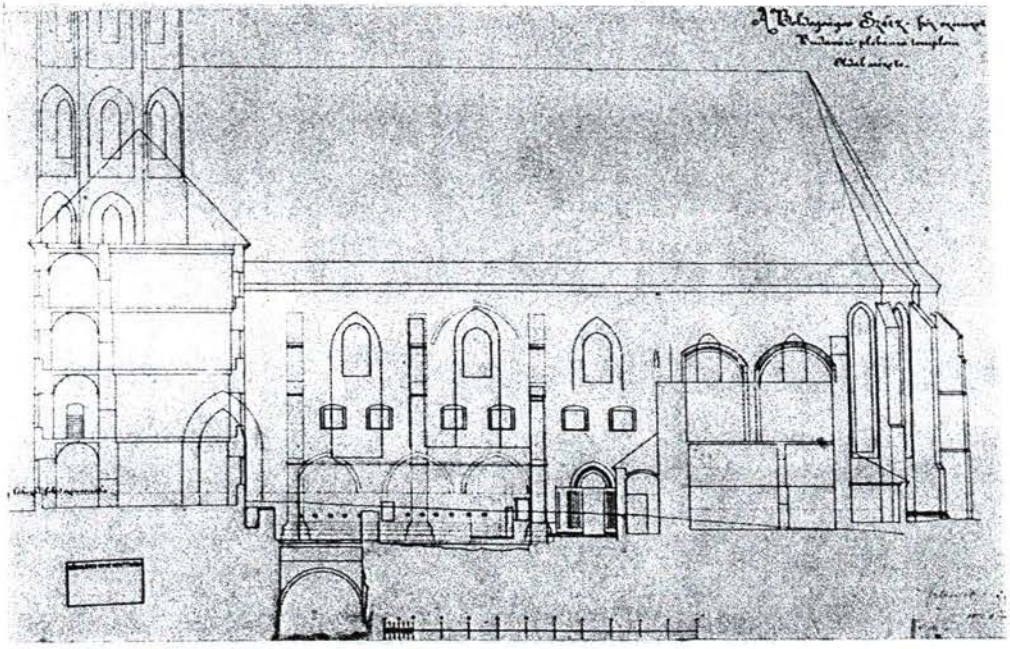


Figure 15: Drawing of the Gothic and Ottoman window remains of the apse of the Church of Our Lady.

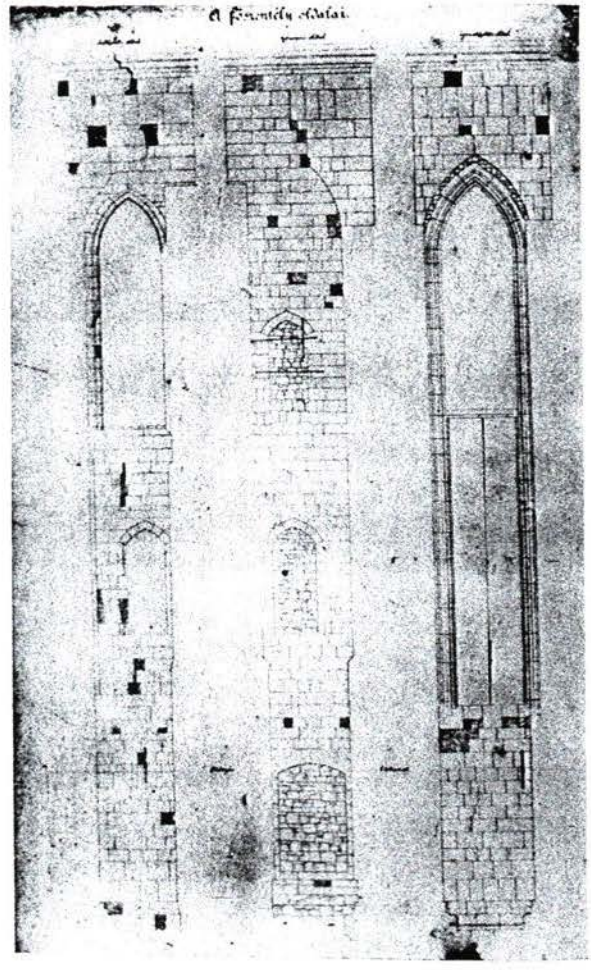


Figure 16: Gothic and Ottoman window remains of the apse of the Church of Our Lady during restoration.

Figure 17: Ottoman vaults in the basement of the Church of Our Lady.

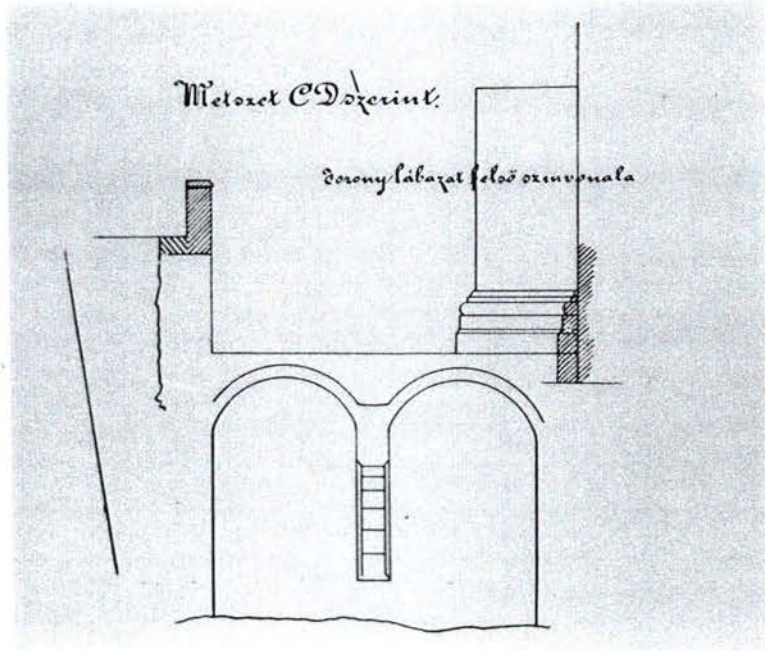


Figure 18: The Church of Our Lady from the southeast before restoration in 1874.

Figure 19: Cathedral in the fort of Pécs.

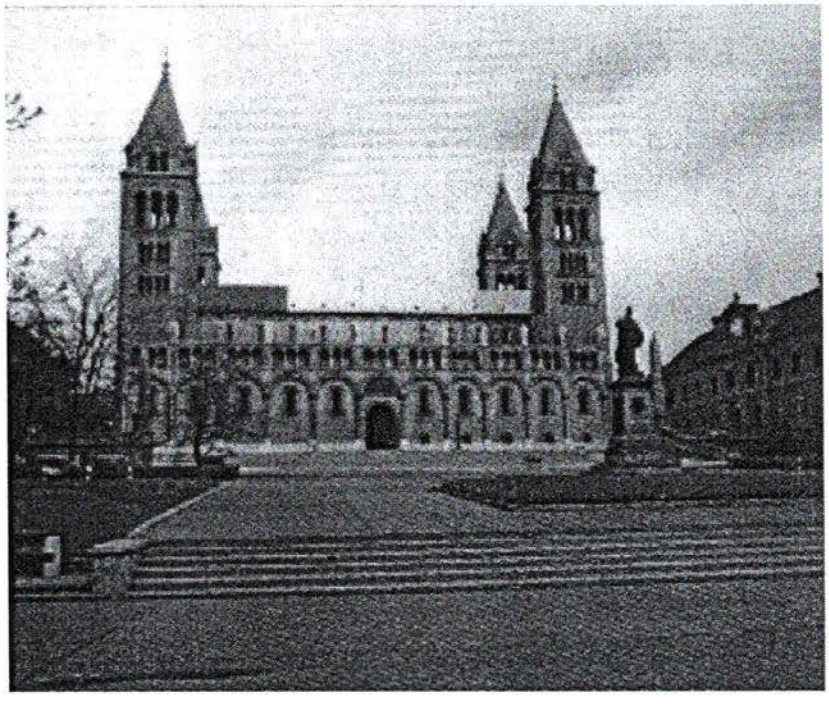


Figure 20: The *kitabe* in the wall of the Cathedral in the fort of Pécs.

Figure 21: Szigetvár under siege in 1566. Engraving by Mathias Zundt.

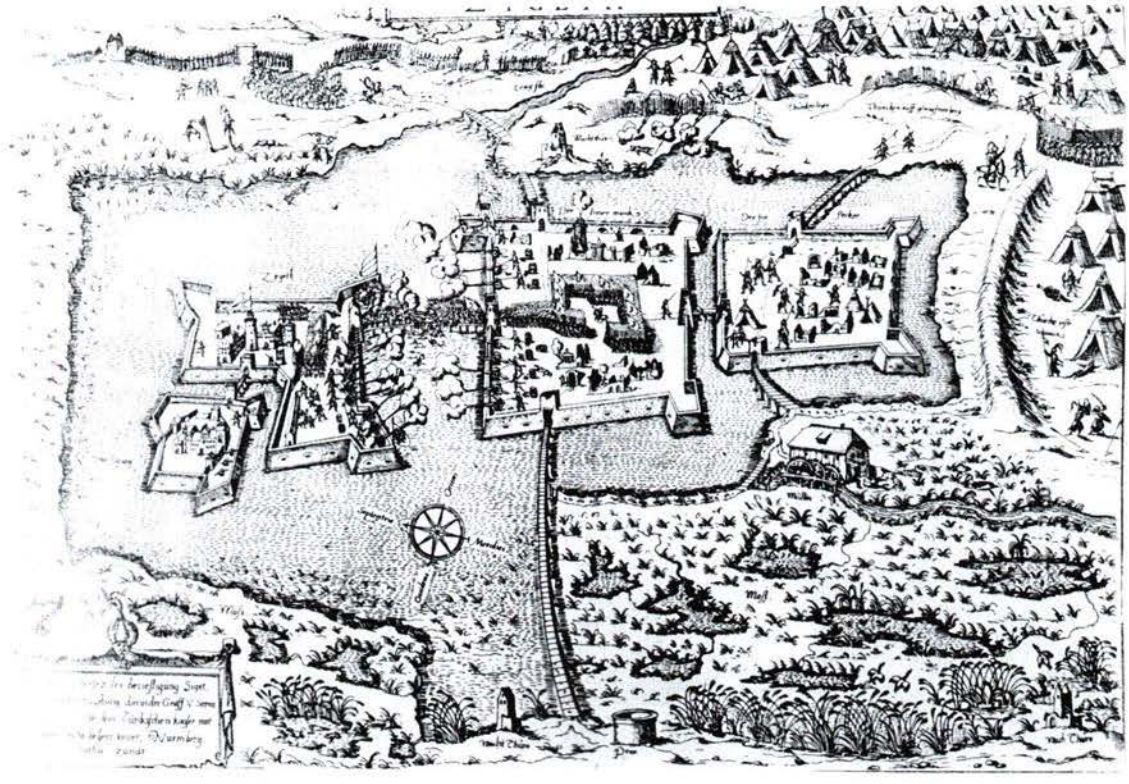


Figure 22: Siege of Buda in 1598 under the command of Archduke Matthias of the Habsburgs.

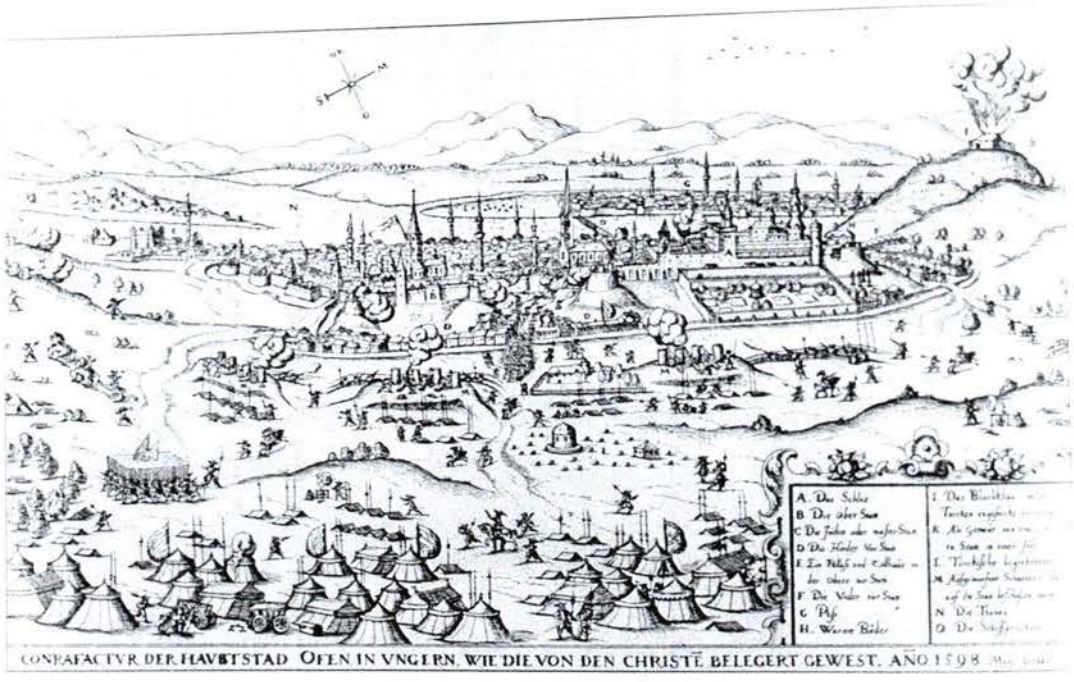


Figure 23: Pest and Buda in 1617 by György Hufnagel.

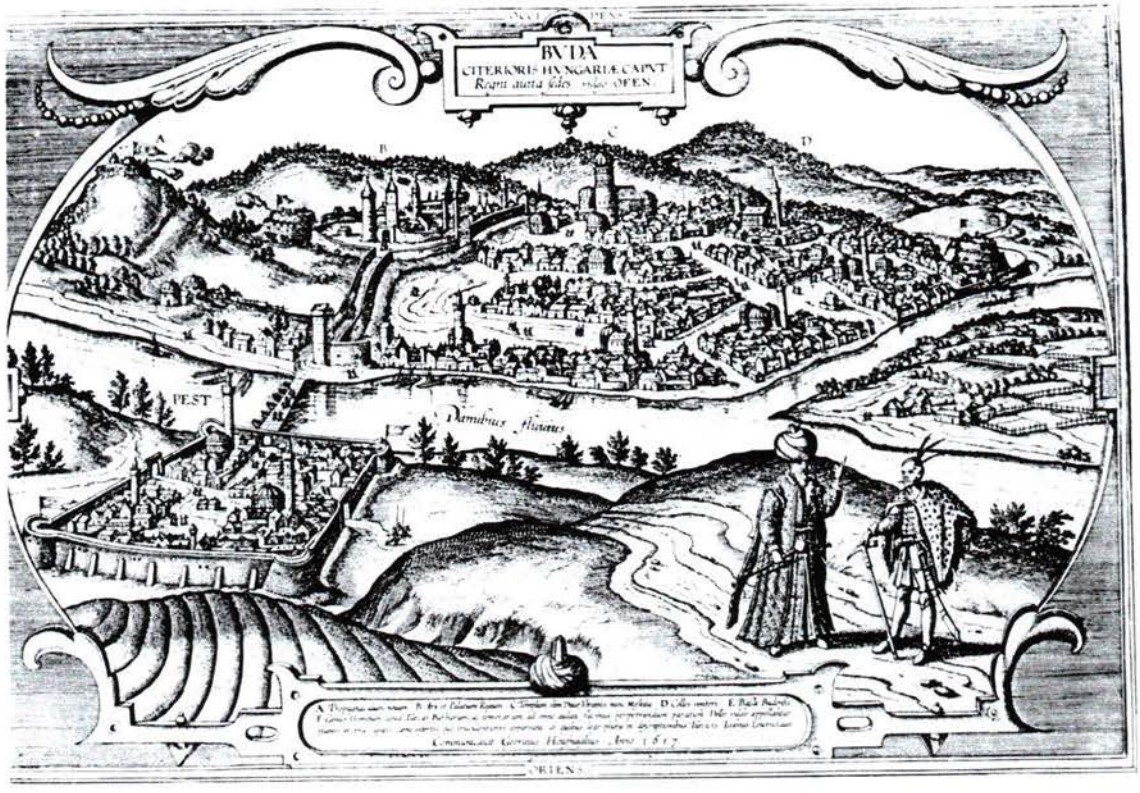


Figure 24: Buda and Pest from the direction of Margaret Island, etching by Wilhelm Dilich, 1600.

Figure 25: Siege of Pécs in 1686 by the Habsburg army, engraving by anonymous artist.

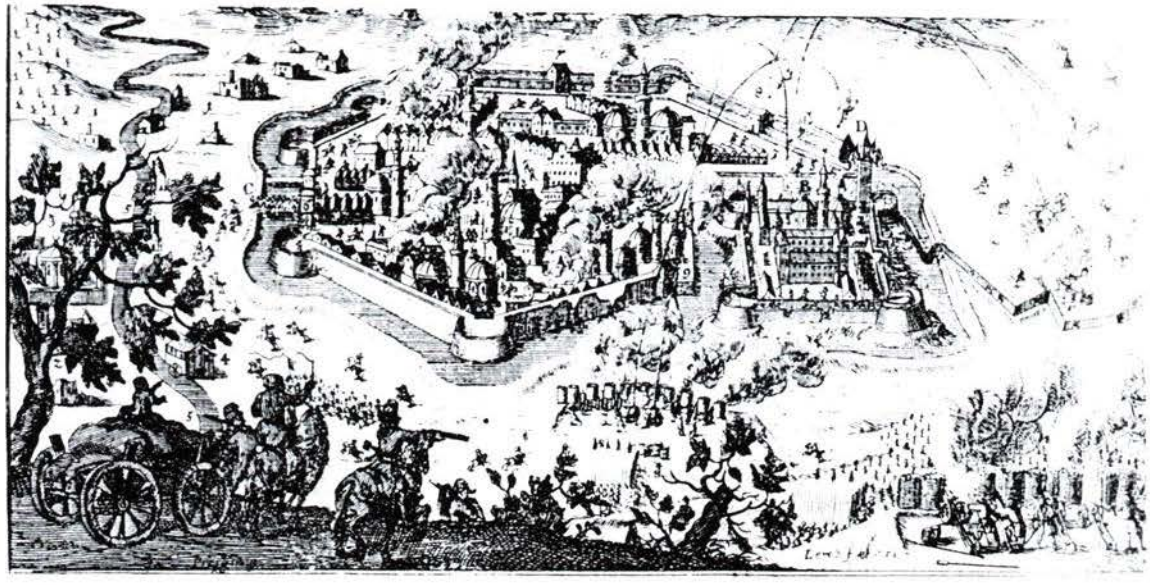


Figure 26: The recapture of Buda in 1686 under the command of Charles of Lorraine, etching by anonymous artist.

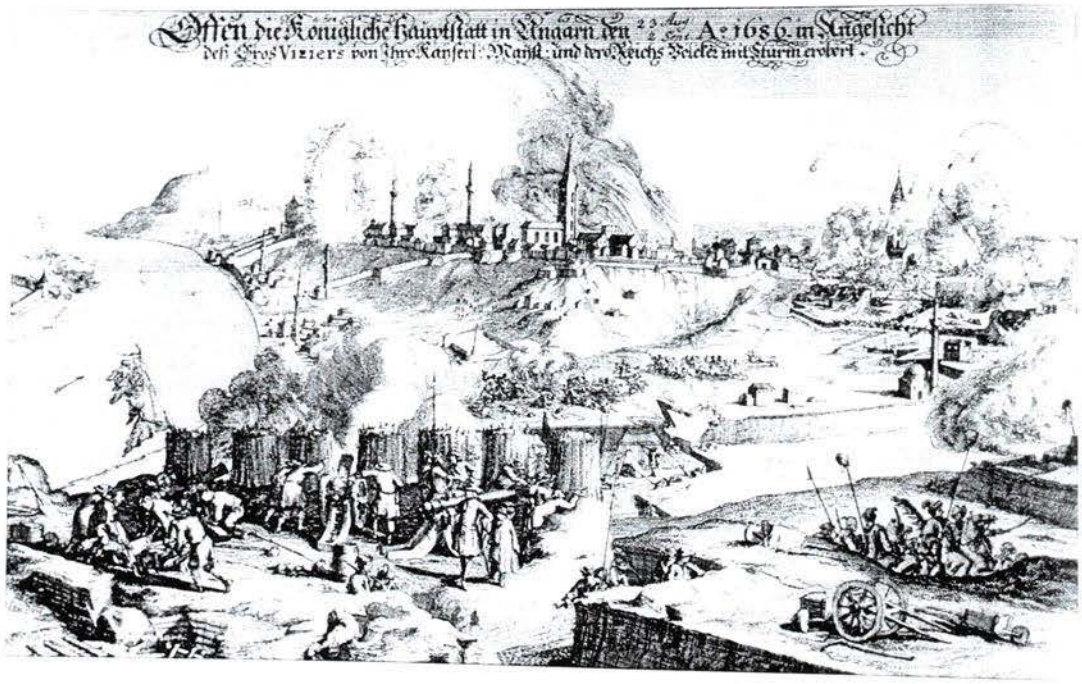


Figure 27: The city and fort of Siklós, engraving by anonymous artist.

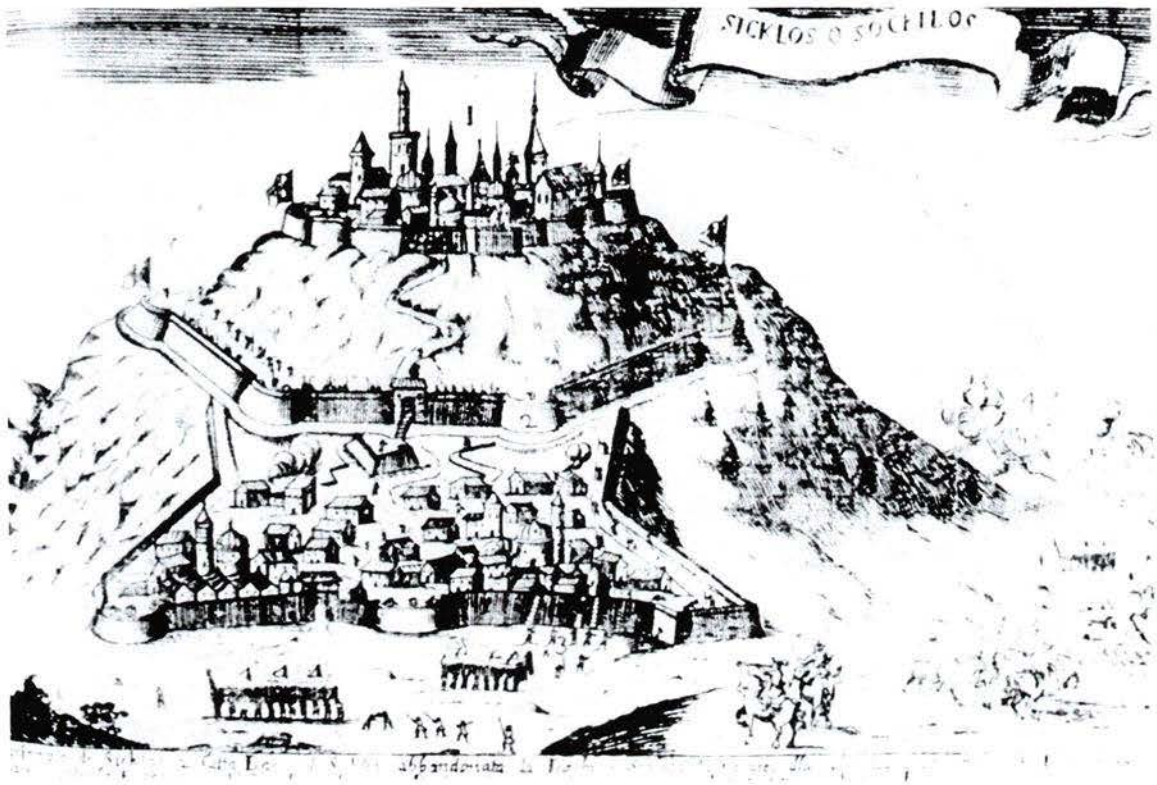


Figure 28: View of Eger in 1687, copper engraving by Giacomo Rossi.

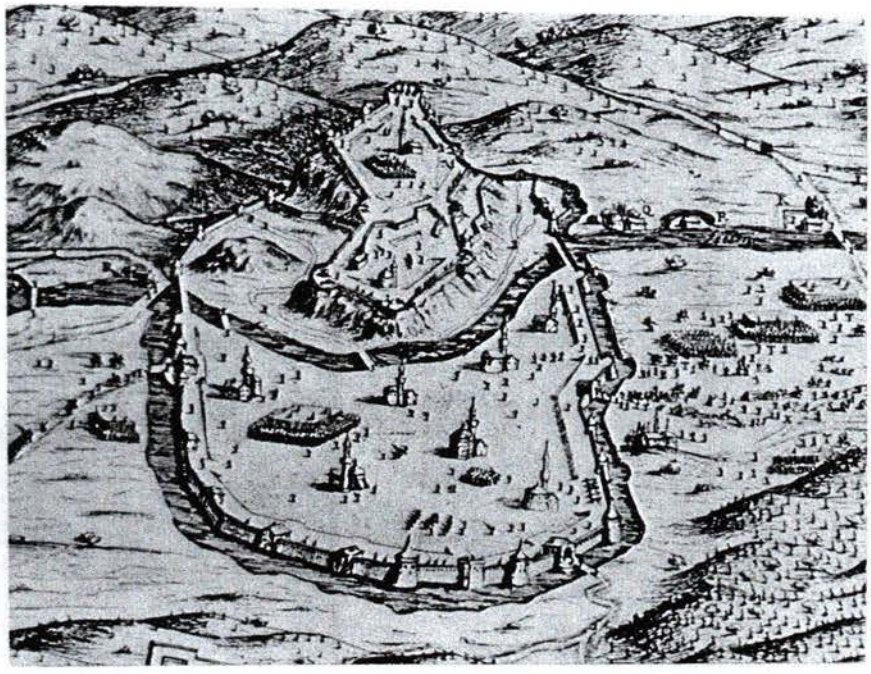


Figure 29: Typological variations of the Hungarian mosques and türbes.

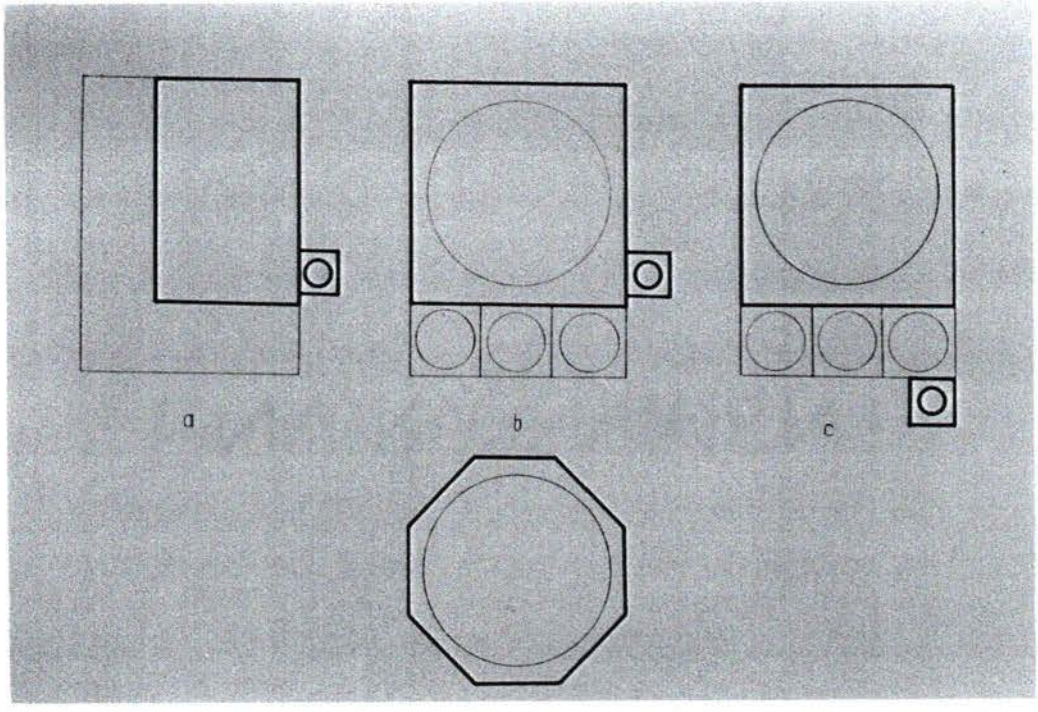


Figure 30: *Zaviye*-plan of the Gazi Hüsrevbegova Mosque in Sarajevo.

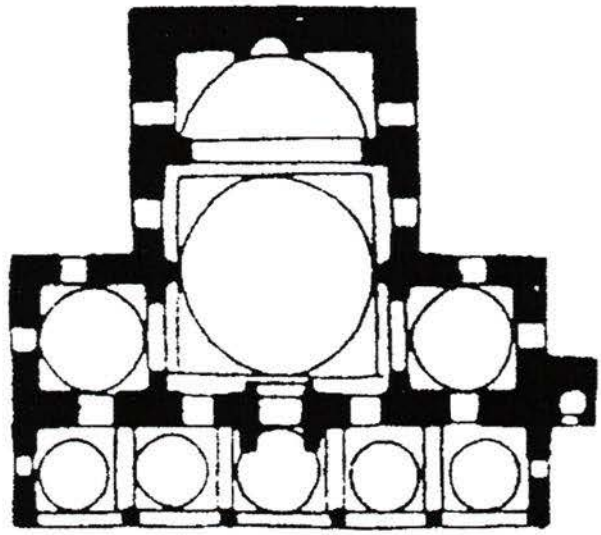


Figure 31: Mosque of Gazi Ali Pasha in Babadağ.

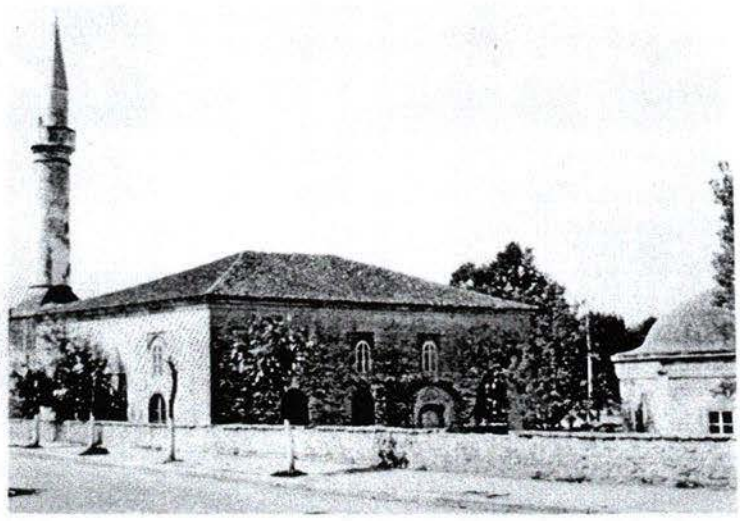


Figure 32: The plan of the fort of Szigetvár and the Mosque of Sultan Süleyman.

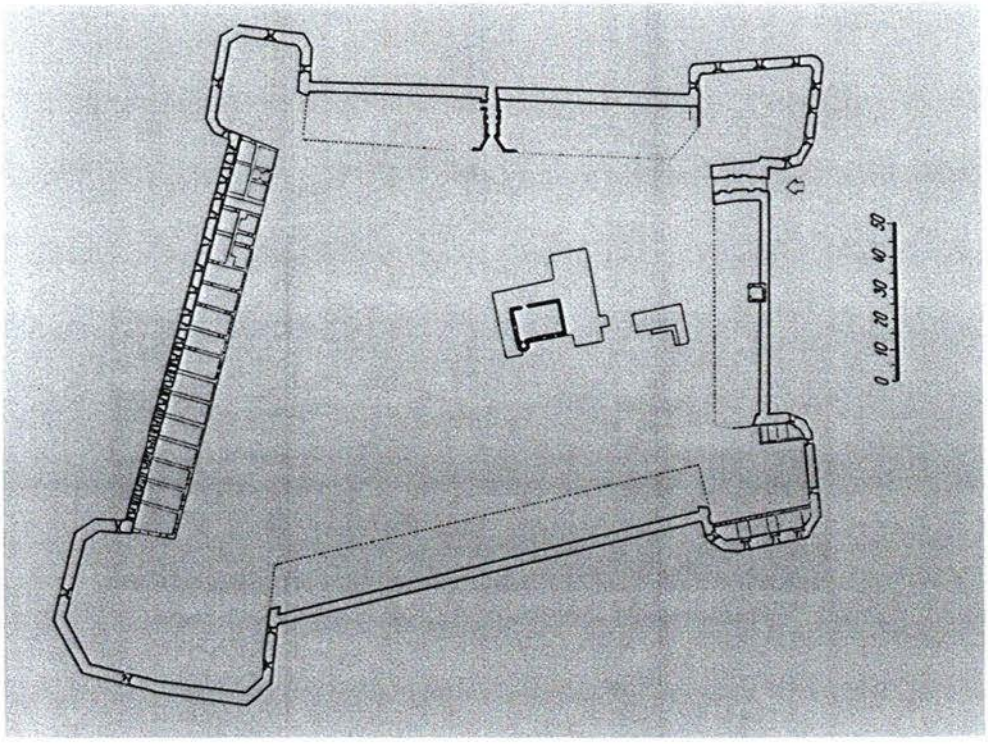


Figure 33: Mosque of Sultan Süleyman in Szigetvár.

Figure 34: Plan of the Mosque of Sultan Süleyman in Szigetvár by Ayverdi.

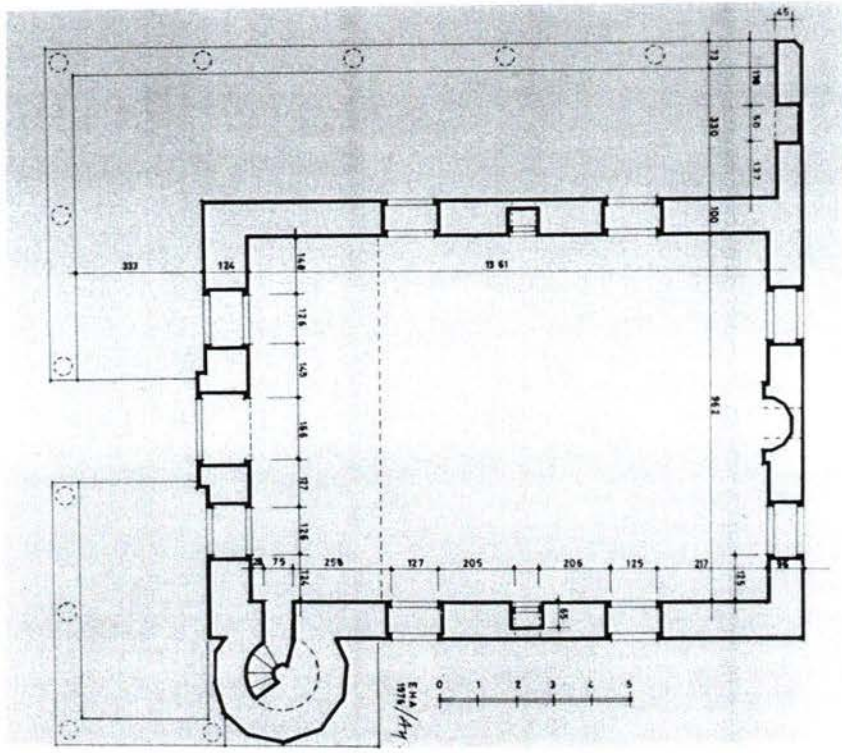


Figure 35: Reconstituted interior of the Mosque of Sultan Süleyman.

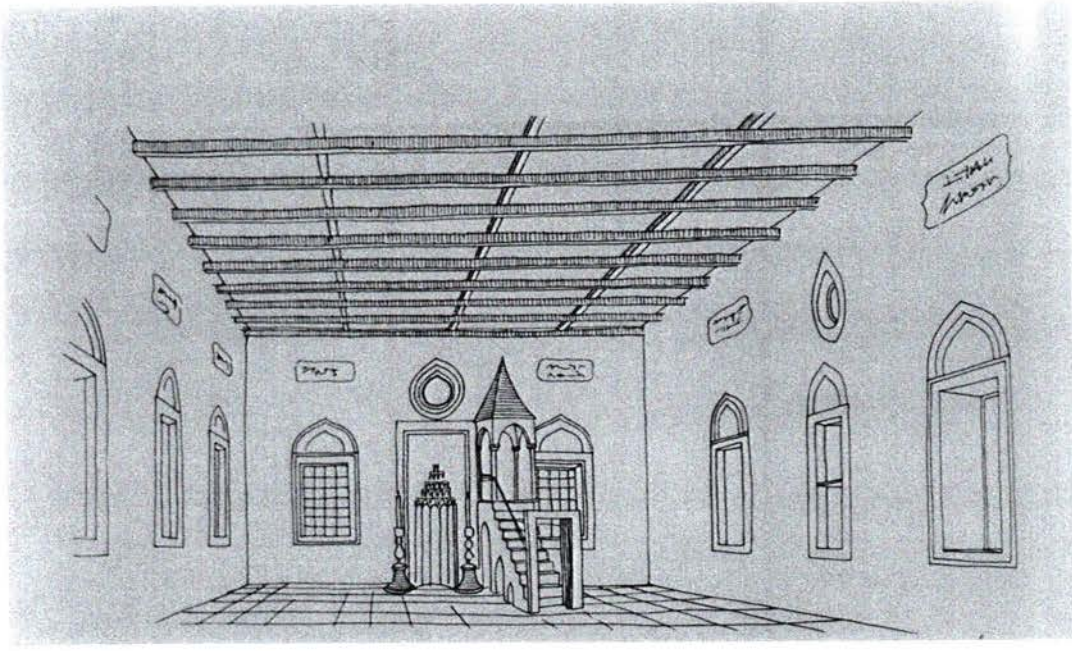


Figure 36: Original *mihrab* of the Mosque of Sultan Süleyman.

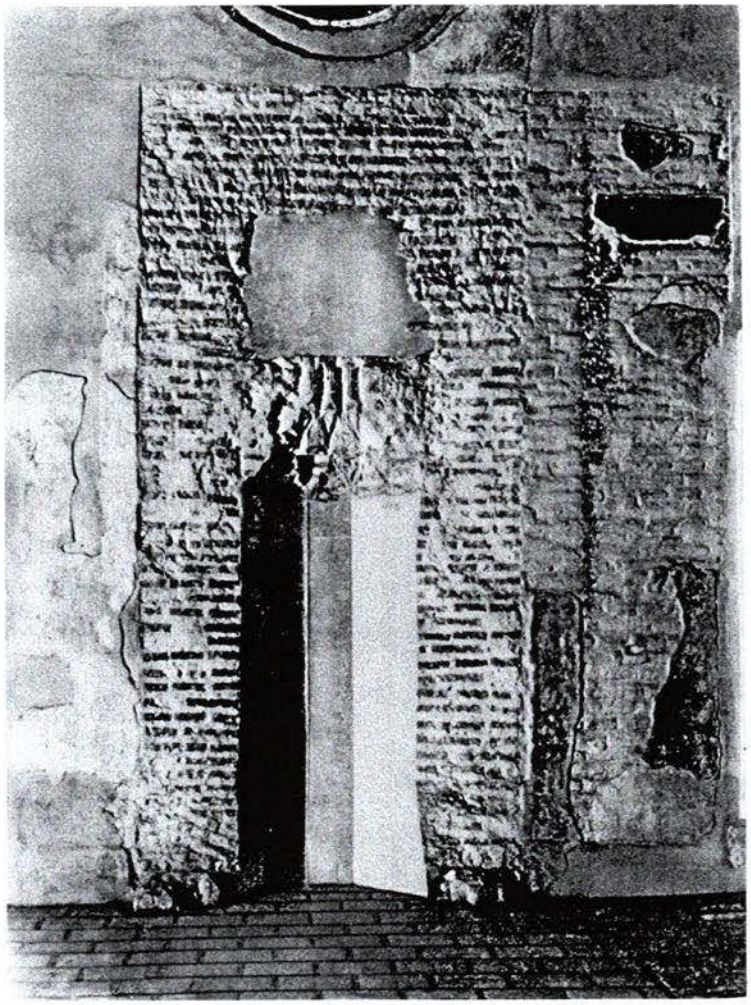


Figure 37: External niche in the portico of the Mosque of Sultan Süleyman.

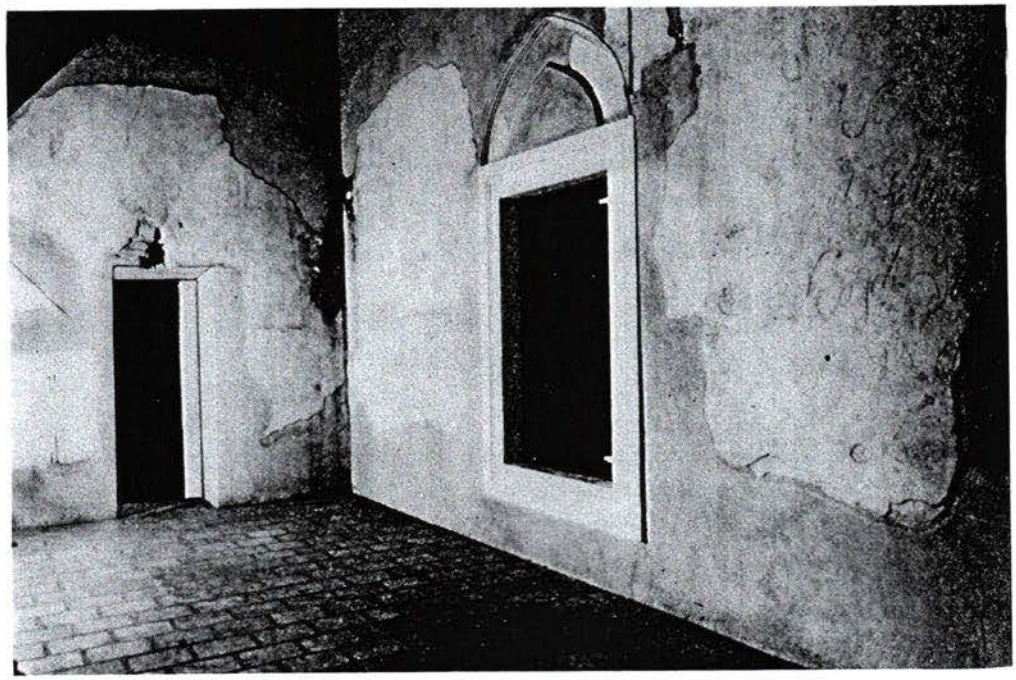
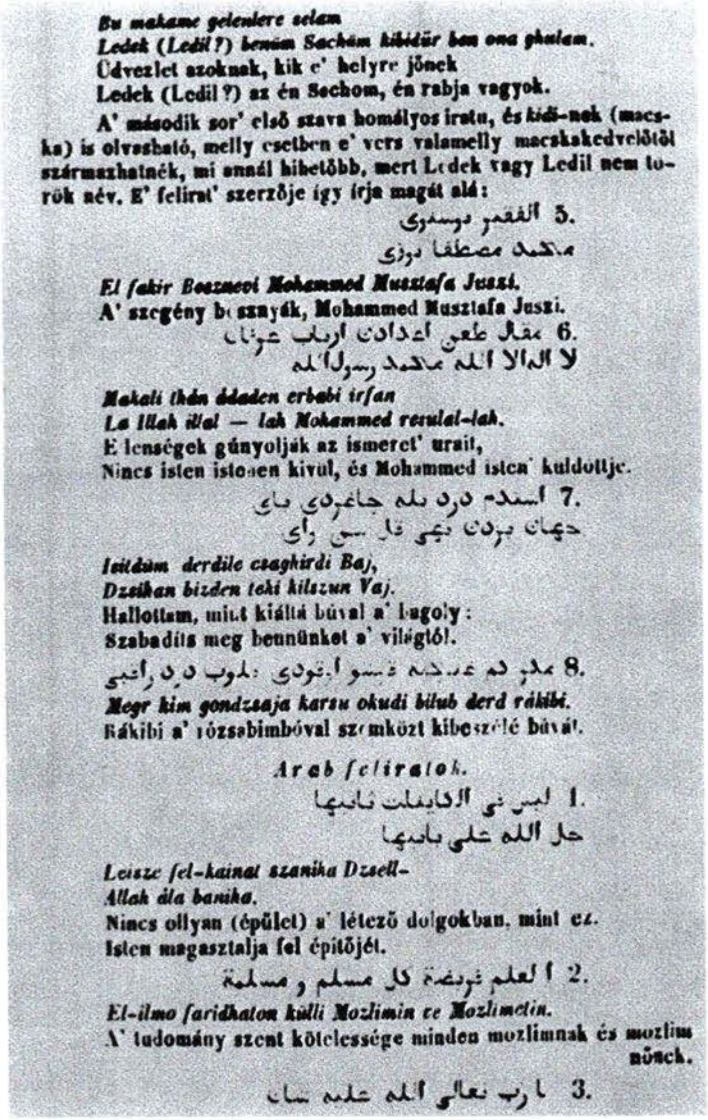


Figure 38: Recorded inscriptions in the Mosque of Sultan Süleyman by Hammer-Purgstall.



Bu makame gelenlere selam
Ledek (Ledil?) benüm Sachüm kibidür ben ona ghulam.
Üdvezlet azoknak, kik e' helyre jönek
Ledek (Ledil ?) az én Sechom, én rabja vagyok.

A' második sor' első szava homályos iratu, és *kidi-nek* (macska) is olvasható, melly esetben e' vers valamelly macskakedvelőtől származhatnék, mi annál hihetőbb, mert Ledek vagy Ledil nem török név. E' felirat' szerzője így írja magát alá:

5. الفقیر بوسنوی
محمد مصطفی یوزی

El fakir Bosznevi Mohammed Musztafa Juszi.
A' szegény bosznyák, Mohammed Musztafa Juszi.

6. مقال طعن اعدادن اربابِ عرفان
لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Makali th̓án ádaden erbabi irfan
La Illah illal — lah Mohammed resulal-lah.
Ellenségek gúnyolják az ismeret' urait,
Nincs isten istenen kivül, és Mohammed isten' küldöttje.

7. اشتدم دردیله چاغردی بای
جهان بزدن نیجه قالسون وای

Isitdüm derdile csaghirdi Baj,
Dzsihan bizden teki kilszun Vaj.
Hallottam, mint kiáltá búval a' bagoly:
Szabadits meg bennünket a' világtól.

8. مگر کم غنجه قرشو اوقودی بلوب درد رقیبی

Megr kim gondzsaja karsu okudi bilub derd rákibi.
Rákibi a' rózsabimbóval szemközt kibeszélé búvát.

Arab feliratok.

1. لیس فی الکاینات ثانیها
جل الله علی بانیها

Leisze fel-kainat szaniha Dzsell-
Allah ála baniha.
Nincs ollyan (épület) a' létező dolgokban, mint ez.
Isten magasztalja fel épitőjét.

2. العلم فریضة کل مسلم و مسلمة

El-ilmo faridhaton külli Mozlimin ve Mozlimetin.
A' tudomány szent kötelessége minden mozlimnak és mozlim nőnek.

3. یا رب تعالی الله علیه شان

Figure 39: Inscription in the Mosque of Sultan Süleyman.

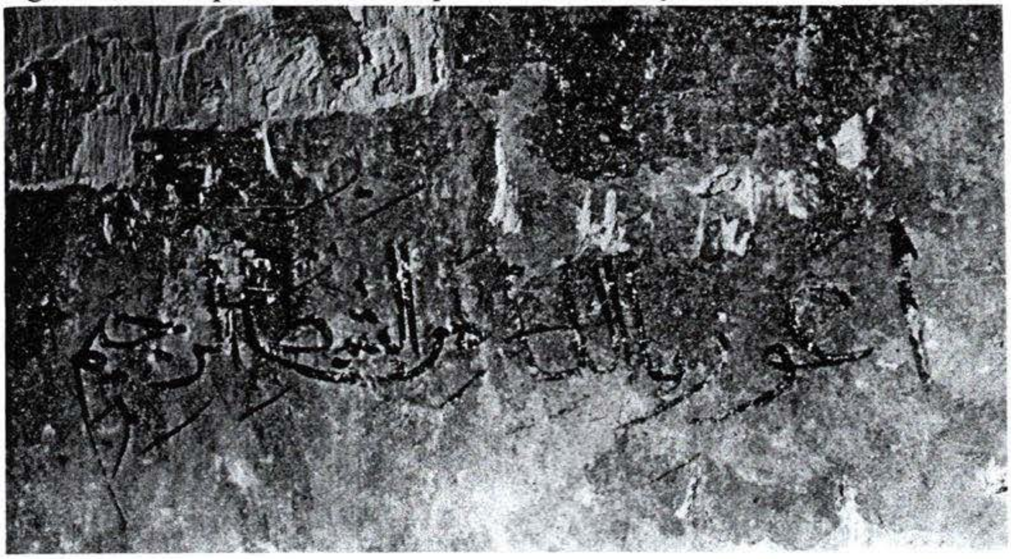


Figure 40: Mosque of Užičeli Hacı Ibrahim in Esztergom.

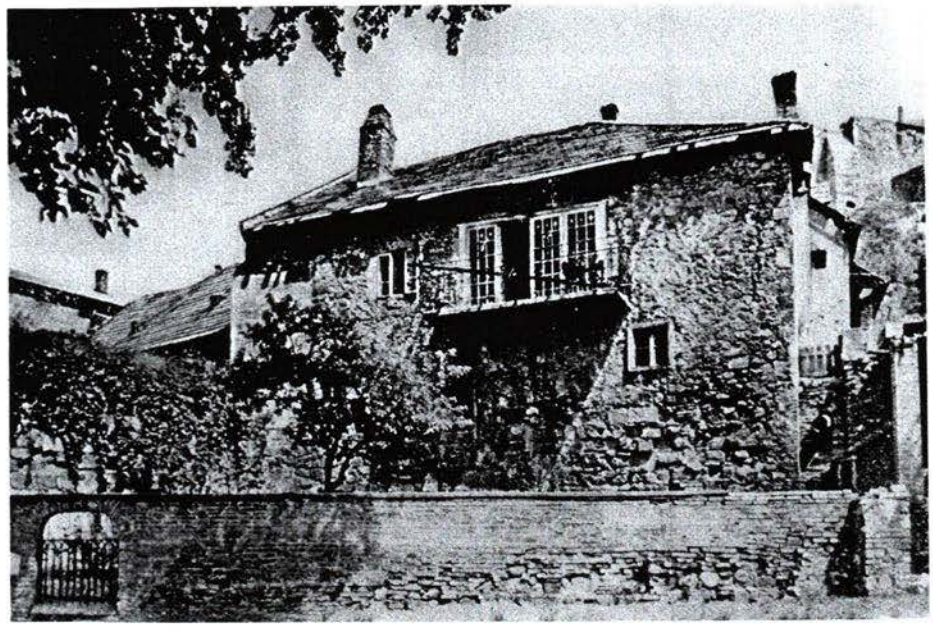


Figure 41: Drawing of Mosque of Užičeli Hacı Ibrahim, detail from the city's topographic map from 1683.

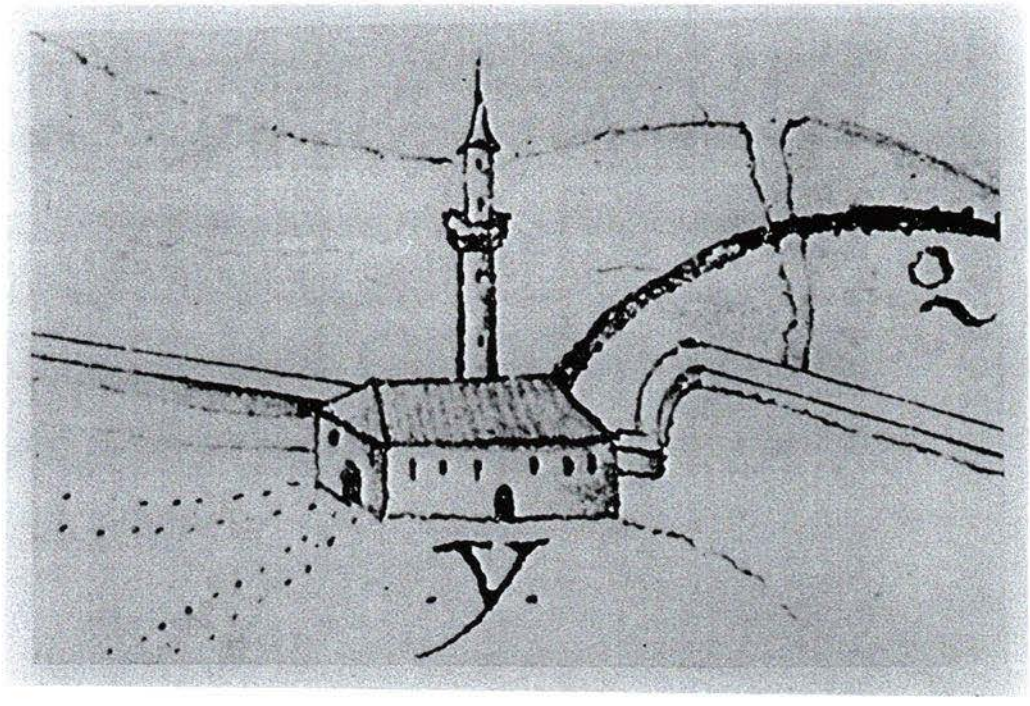


Figure 42: Original door of the Mosque of Užičeli Hacı Ibrahim.

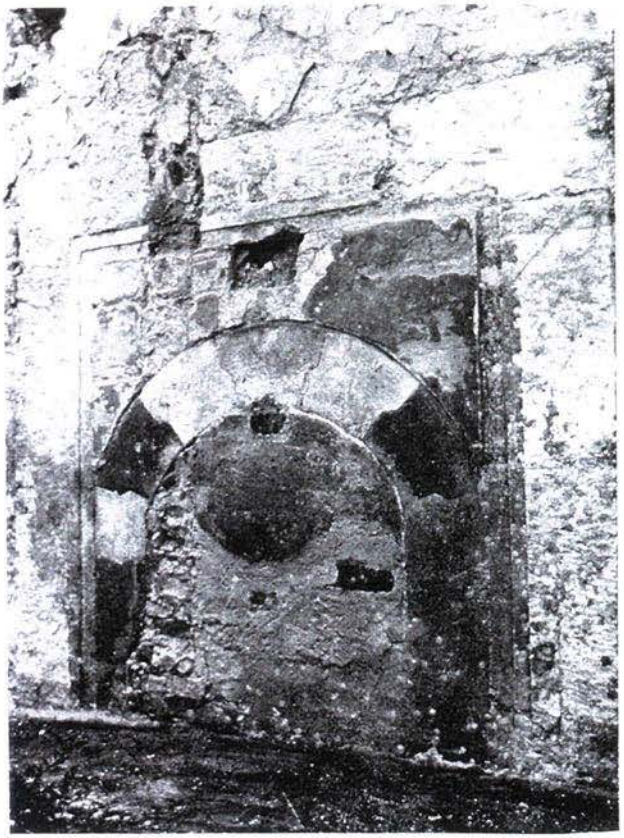


Figure 43: Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha in Pécs.

Figure 44: Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha converted into a Baroque parish church.

Figure 45: Plan of the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha by Gerő.

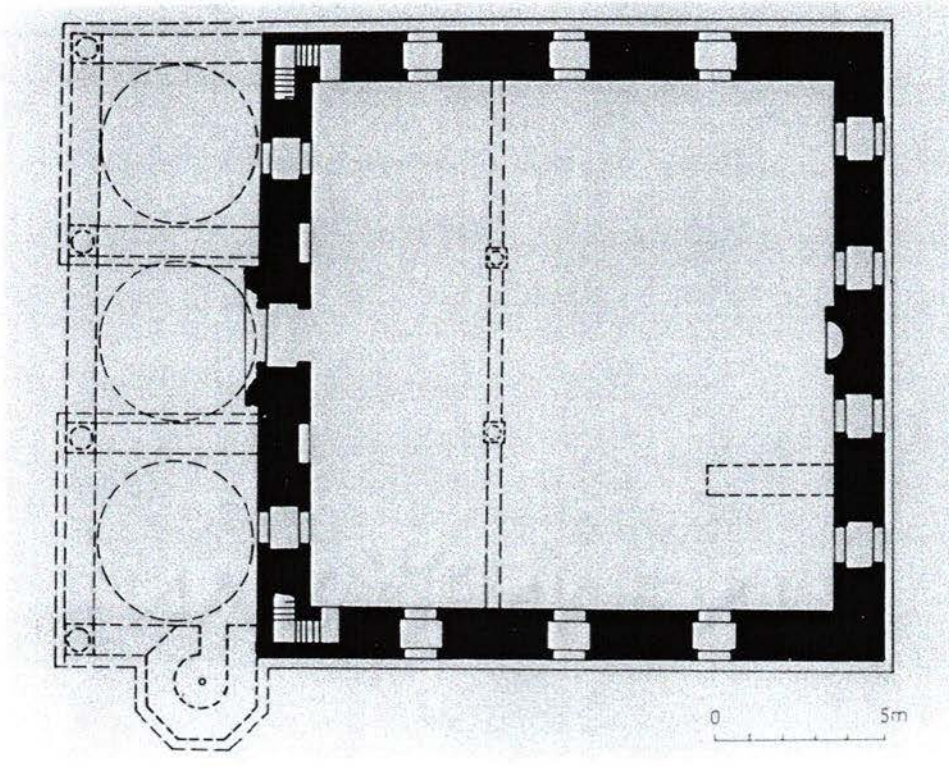


Figure 46: Plan of the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha by Ayverdi.

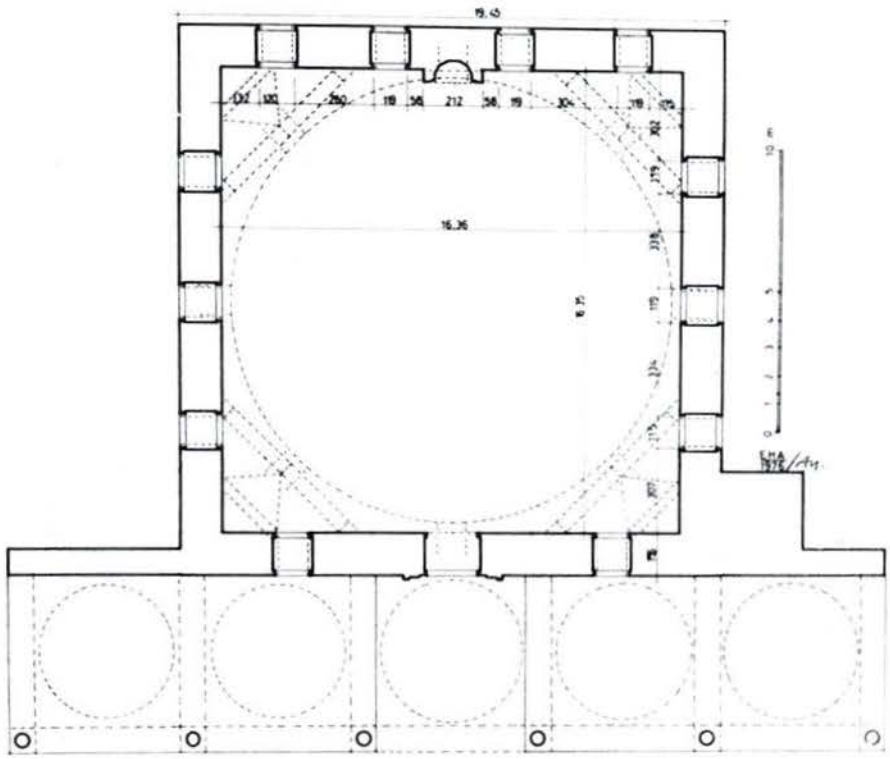


Figure 47: Apse and the supporting system of the dome of the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha.

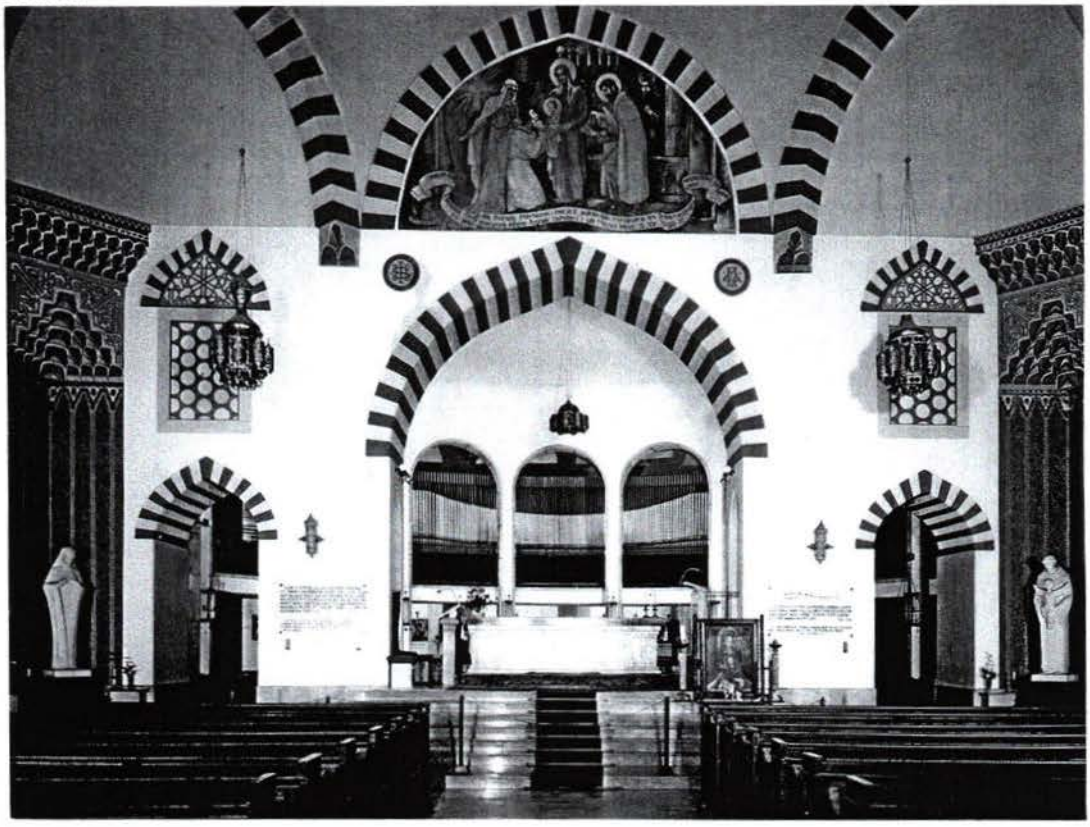


Figure 48: Semi-circular addition that replaced the original entrance and portico of the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha.

Figure 49: Plan for the renovation of the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha by Körmendy.

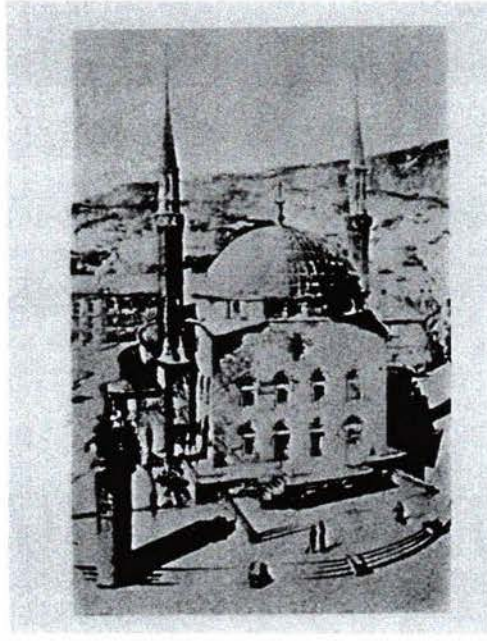


Figure 50: Interior decoration of the Mosque of Gazi Kasım Pasha.

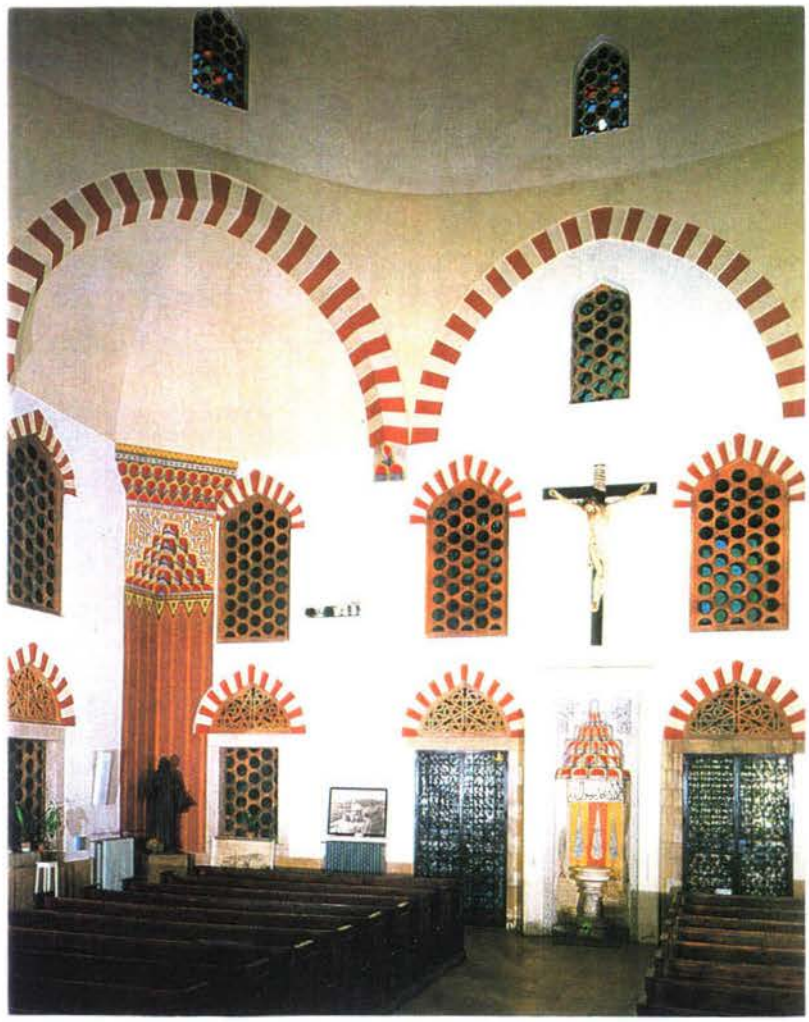


Figure 51: Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha in Pécs.

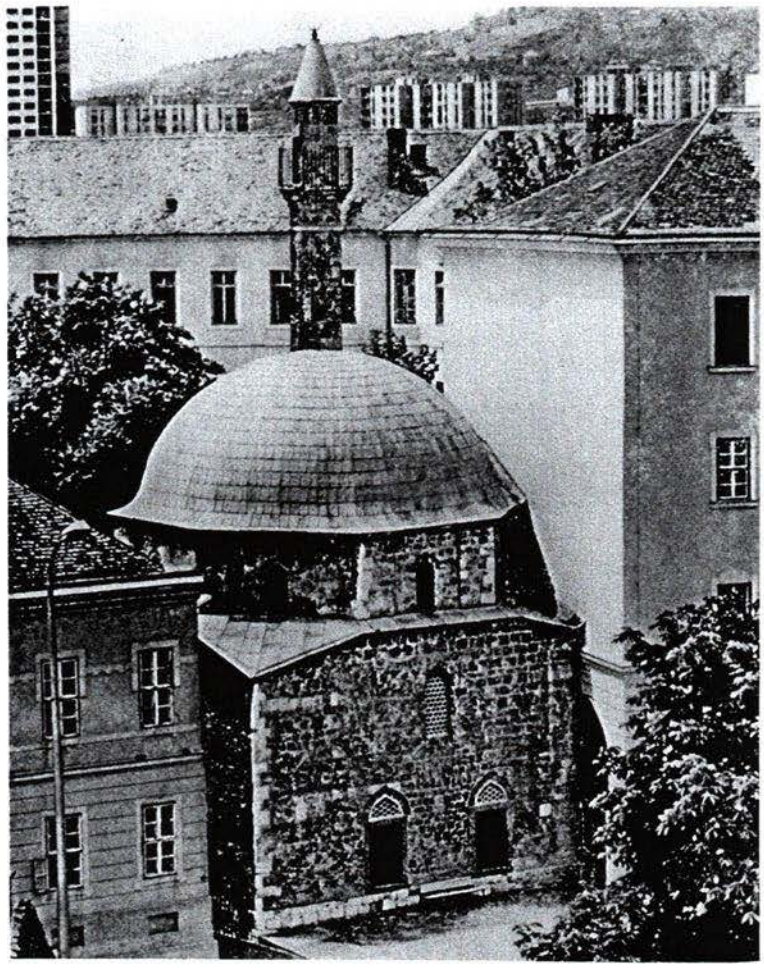


Figure 52: Plan of the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha by Ayverdi.

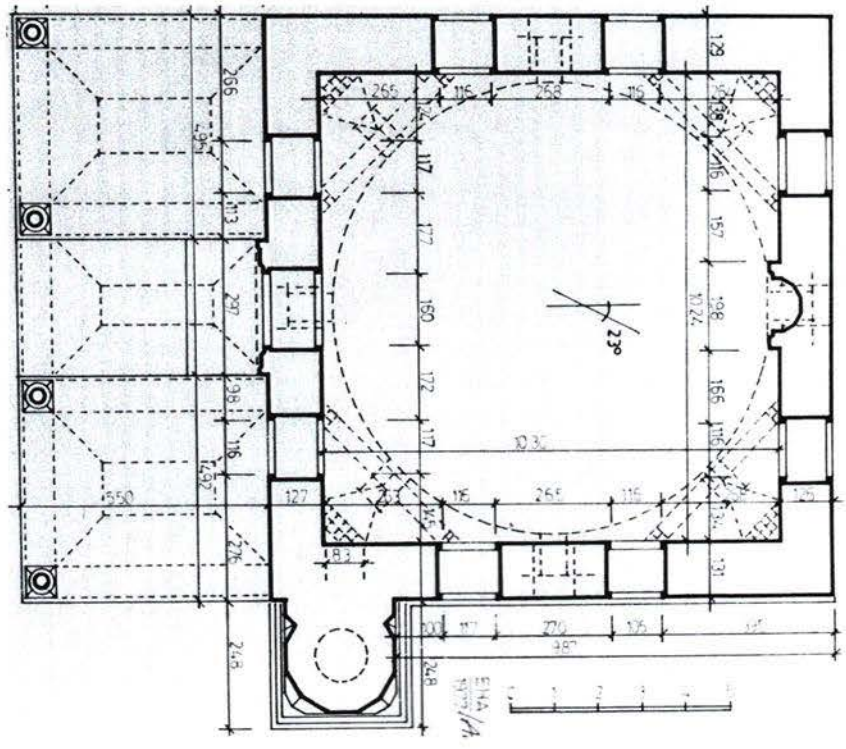


Figure 53: Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha, detail of an eighteenth century painting.

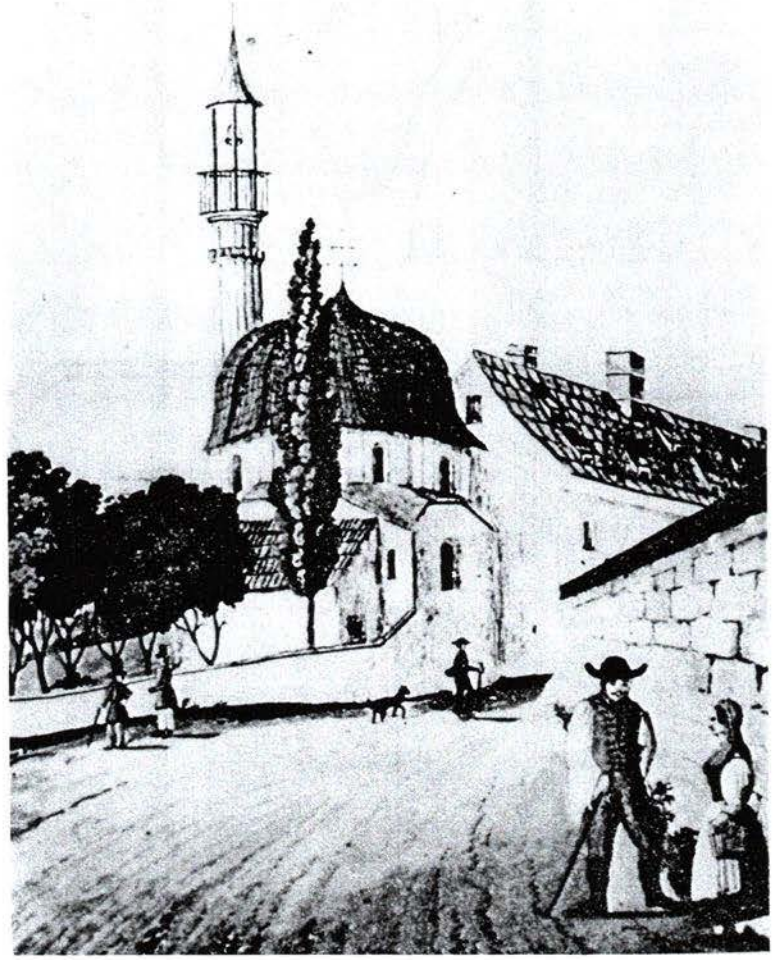
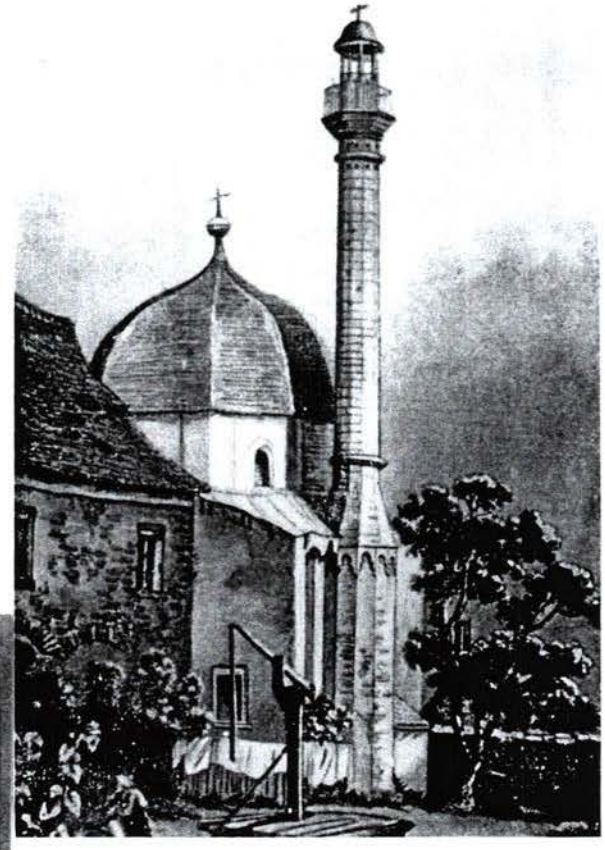


Figure 54: Engraving of the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha by Lajos Rohbock, middle of the nineteenth century.



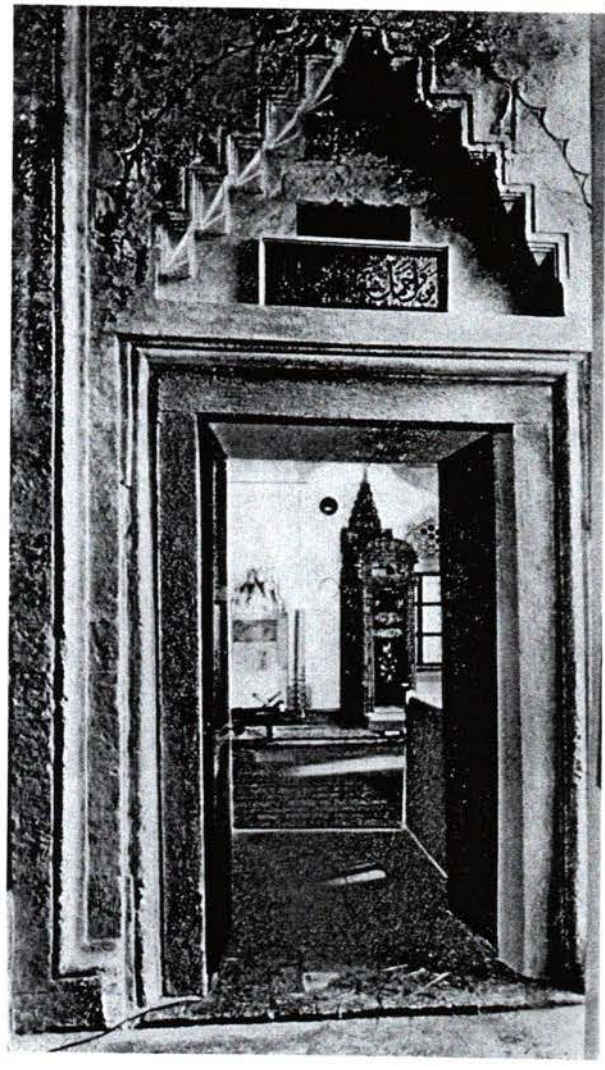


Figure 55: Entrance of the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha.

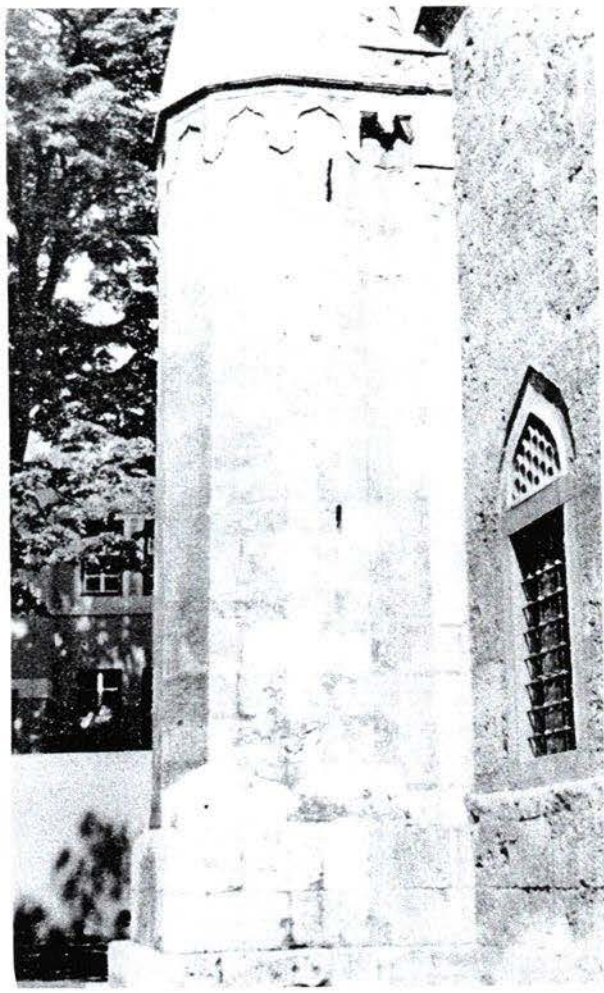


Figure 56: Pedestal of the minaret of the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha.

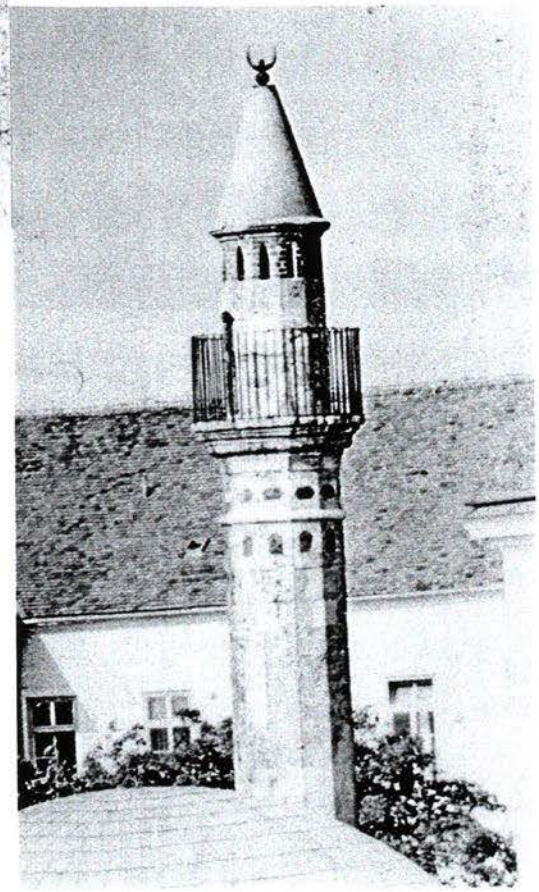


Figure 57: Shaft with colored tile decoration of the minaret of the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha.

Figure 58: Interior decoration of the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha.

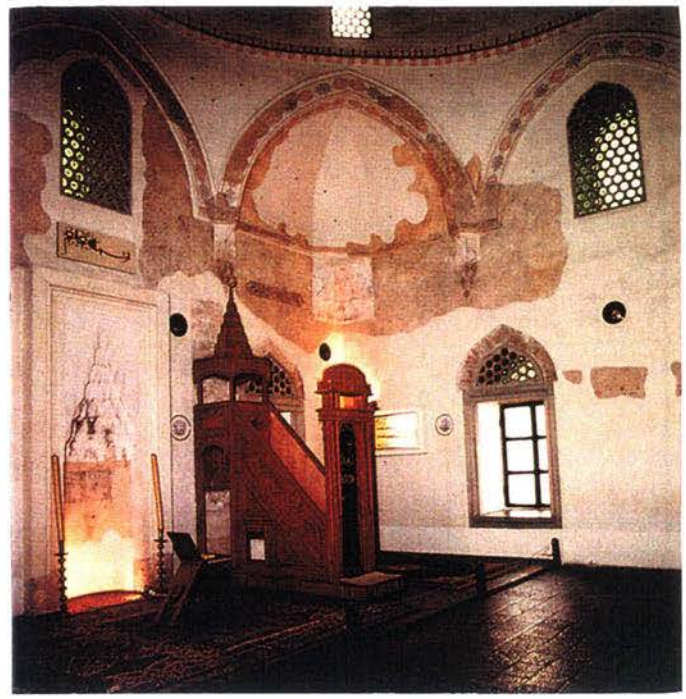


Figure 59: Decoration of the squinches and the drum of the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha.

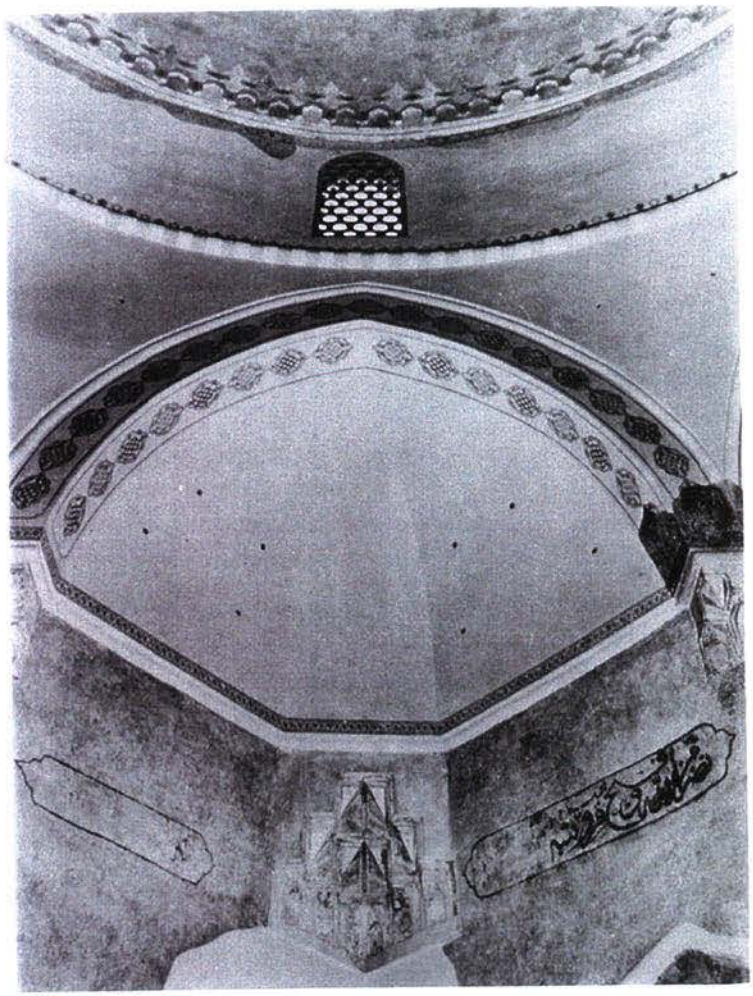


Figure 60: Foliate scroll-work decoration of the drum of the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha.

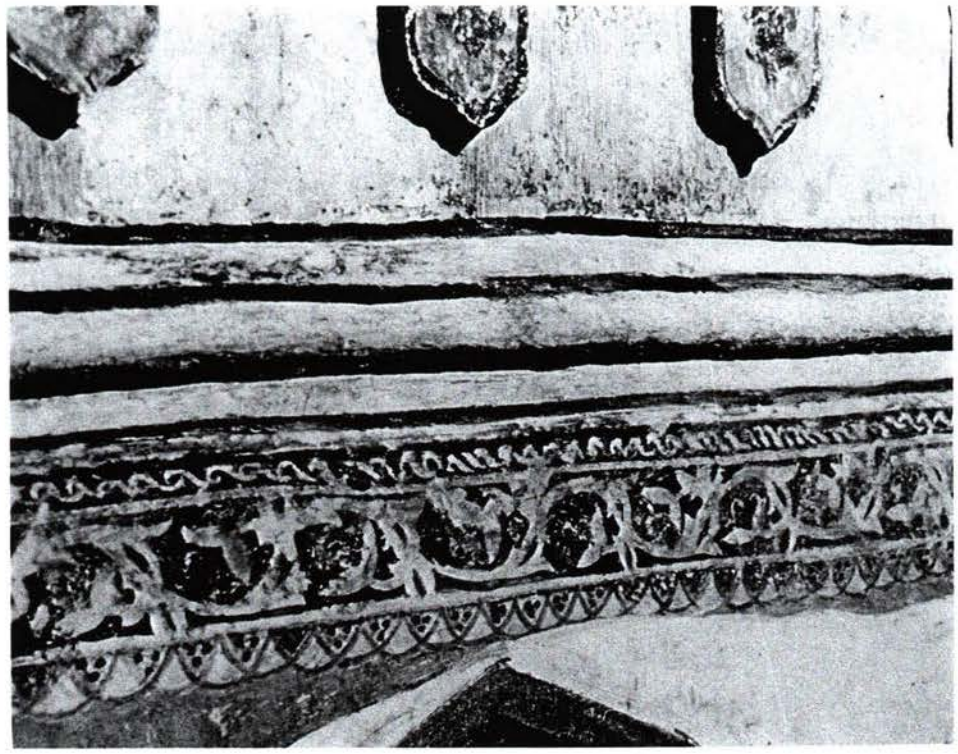


Figure 61: Rosette shape decoration on the squinches of the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha.

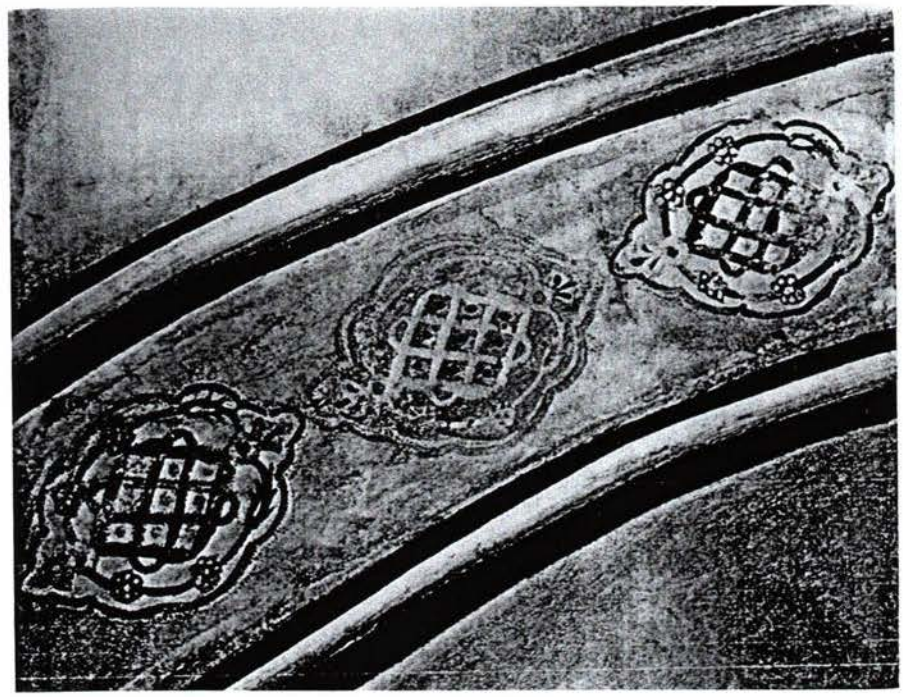


Figure 62: Painted inscription on the wall of the Mosque of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha.

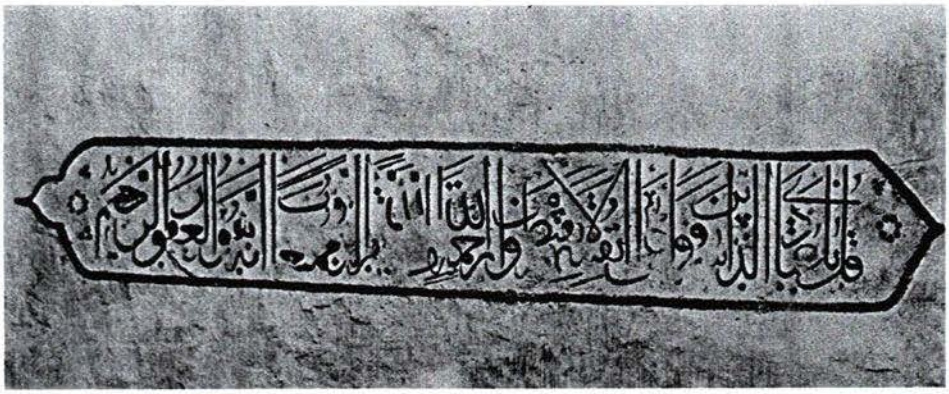


Figure 63: Reconstructed portico and column in the Museum of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha.

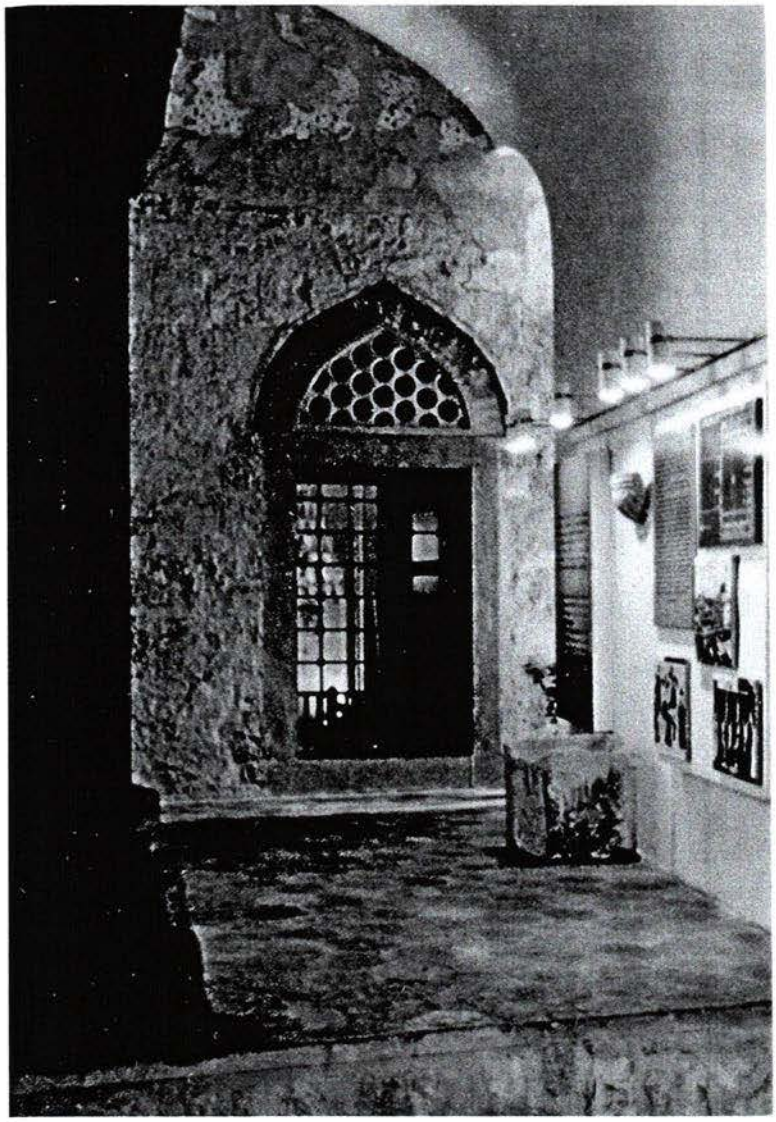


Figure 64: The Ottoman wall remains of the Mosque of Ali Pasha in Szigetvár.

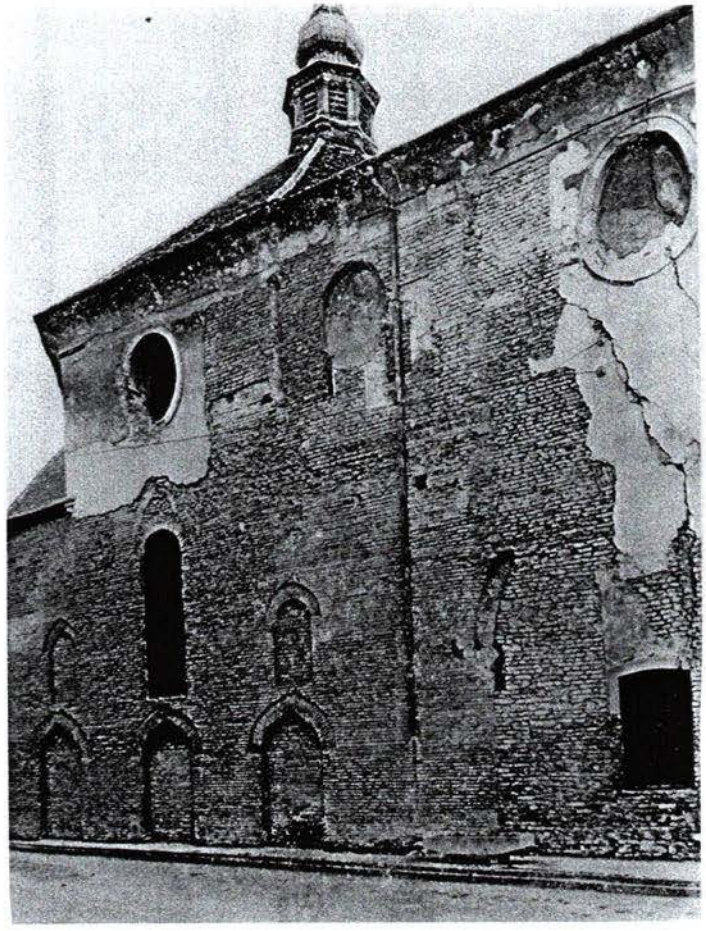


Figure 65: Plan of the Mosque of Ali Pasha by Ayverdi.

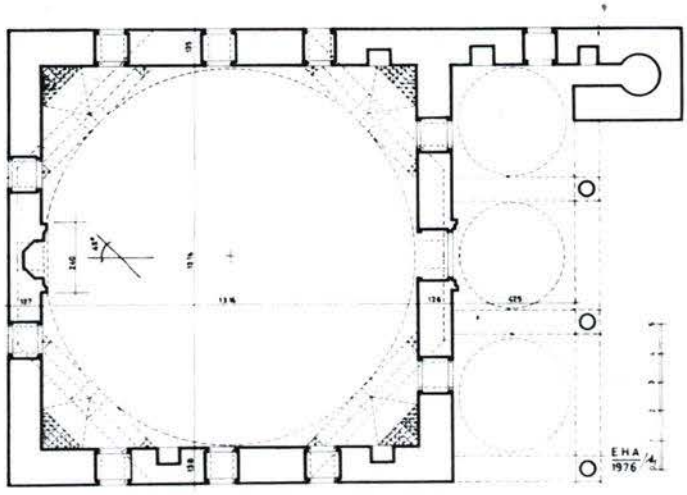


Figure 66: Interior of the Mosque of Ali Pasha during restoration.

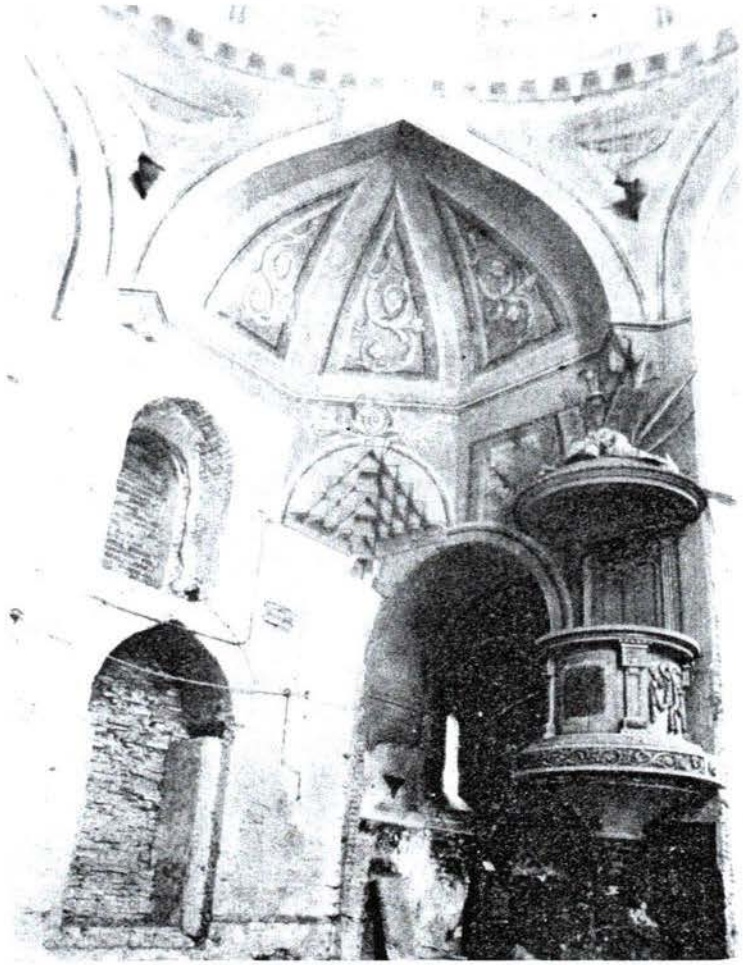


Figure 67: Interior of the Mosque of Ali Pasha after restoration.

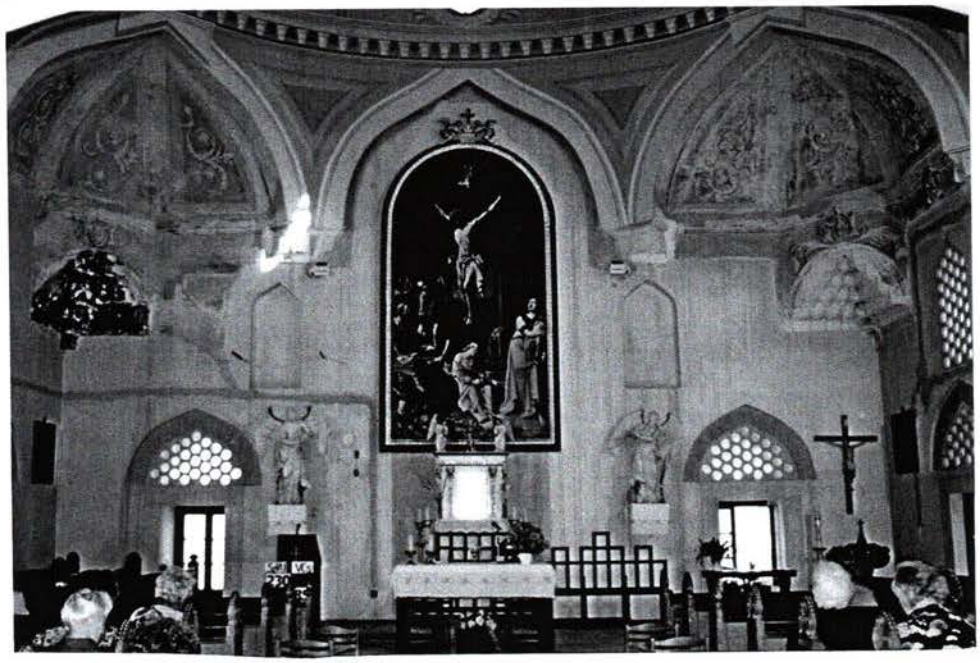


Figure 68: Ottoman niche and windows in the Mosque of Ali Pasha.

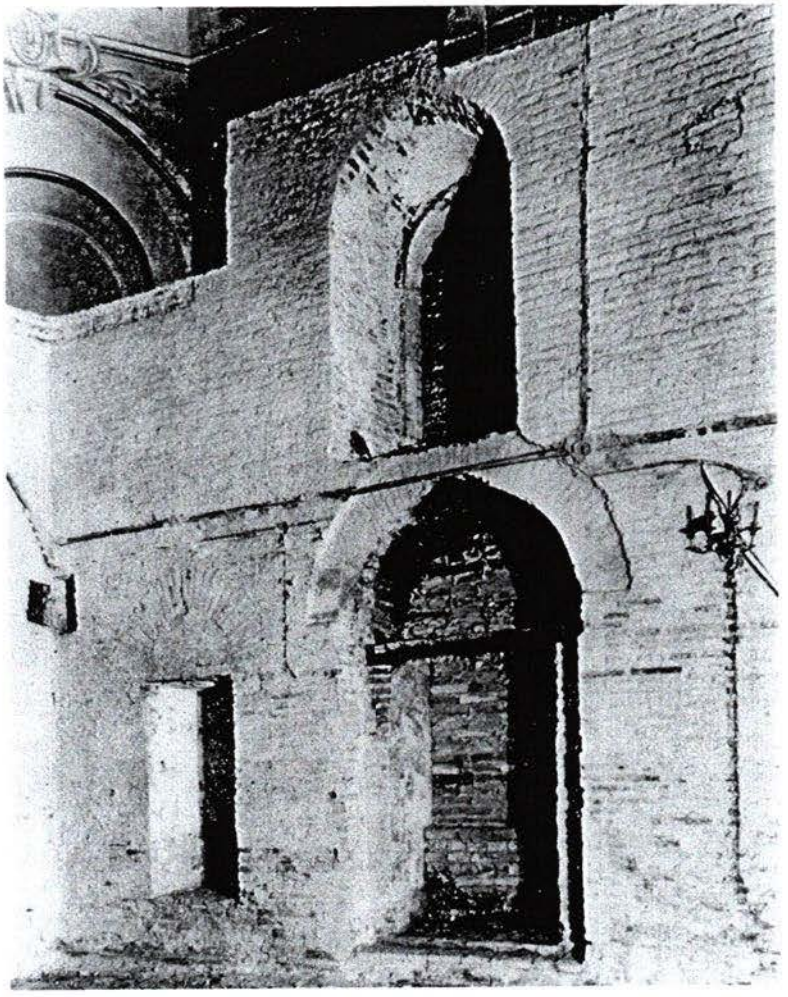


Figure 69: Niche in the portico of the Mosque of Ali Pasha.

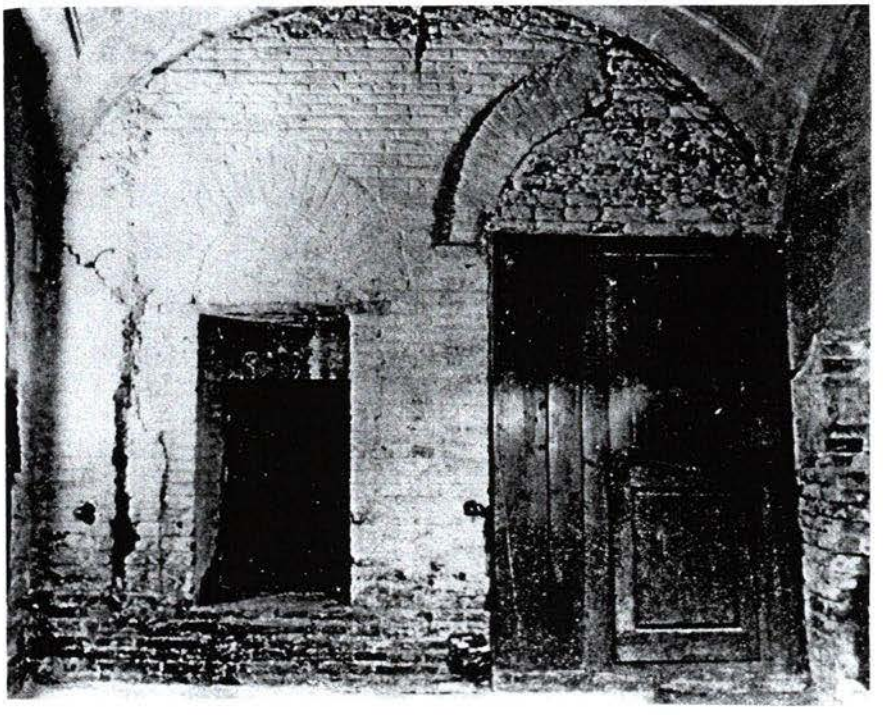


Figure 70: *Muqarnas* decoration in the Mosque of Ali Pasha.

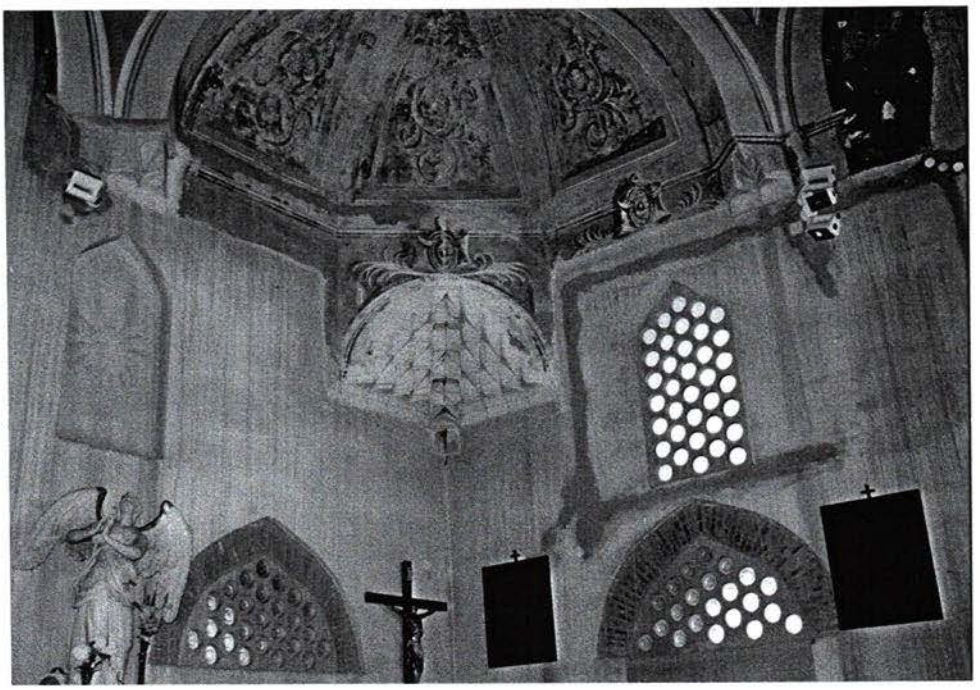


Figure 71: *Muqarnas* decoration of the consol in the Mosque of Ali Pasha.

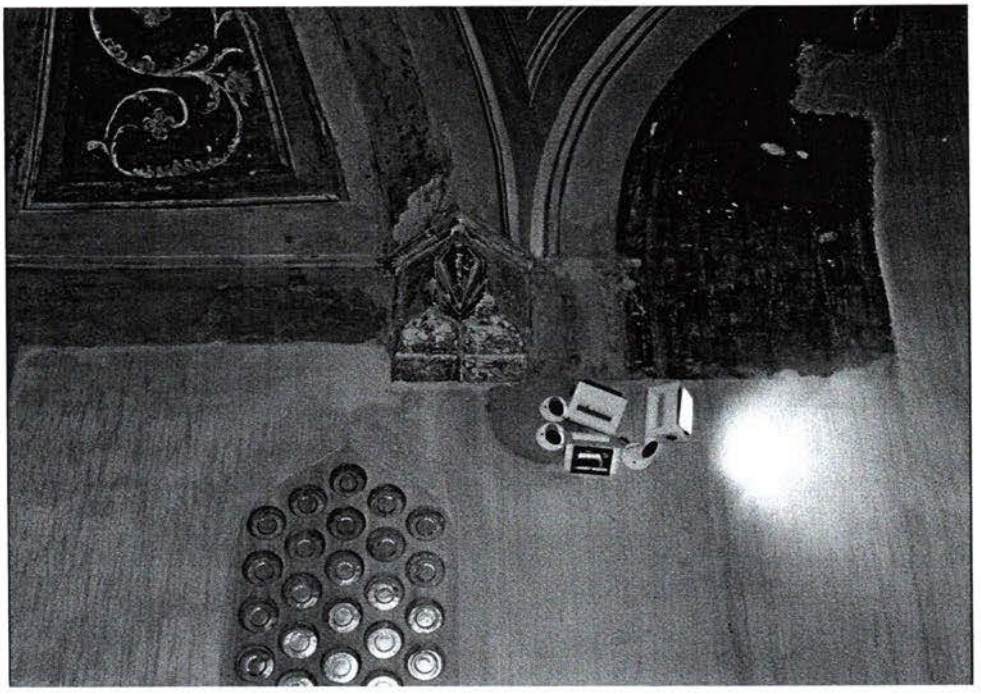


Figure 72: Mosque of Malkoç Bey in Siklós after restoration.

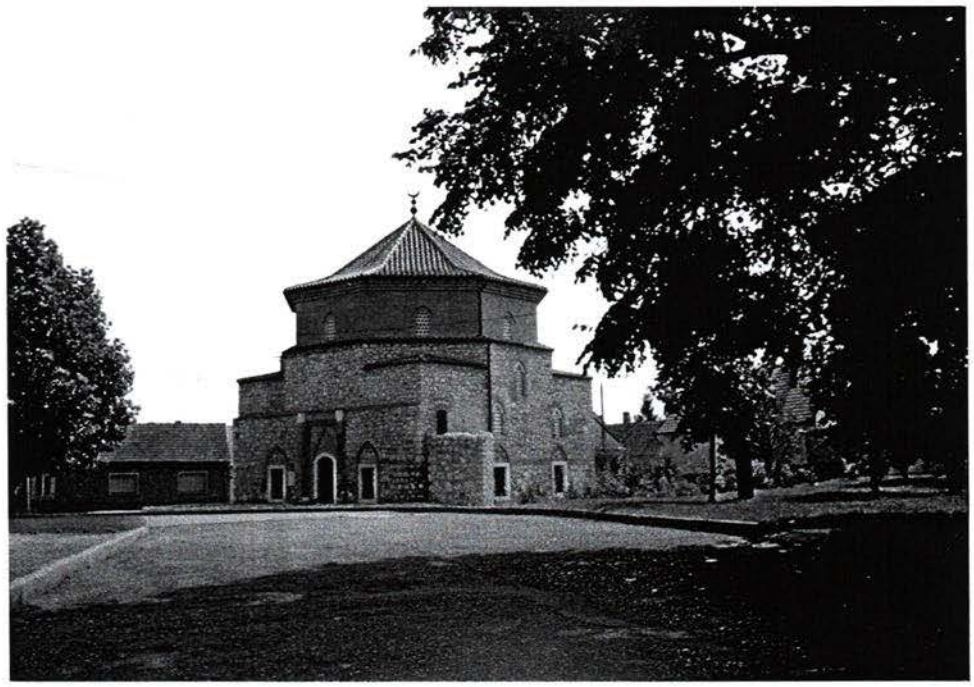


Figure 73: Engraving of the Mosque of Malkoç Bey by G. Heisinger after Rohbock's sketch, middle of the nineteenth century.

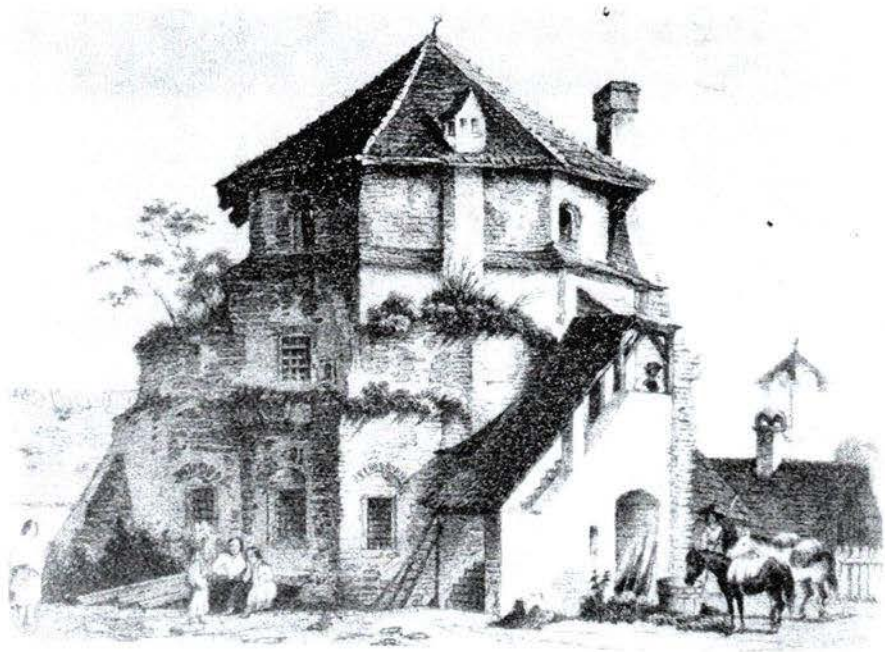


Figure 74: Mosque of Malkoç Bey before restoration.

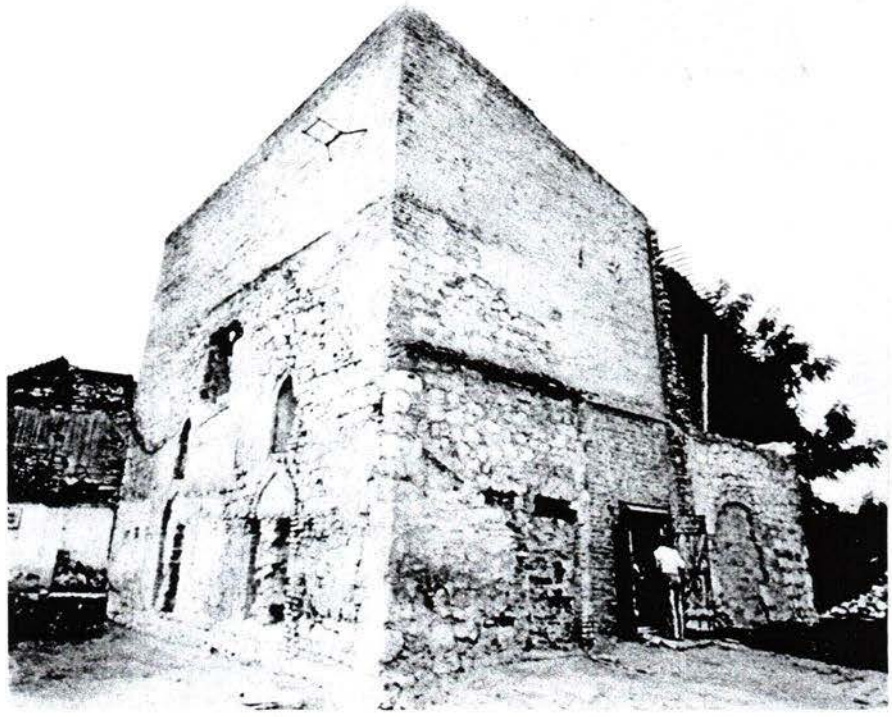


Figure 75: Mosque of Malkoç Bey before restoration.

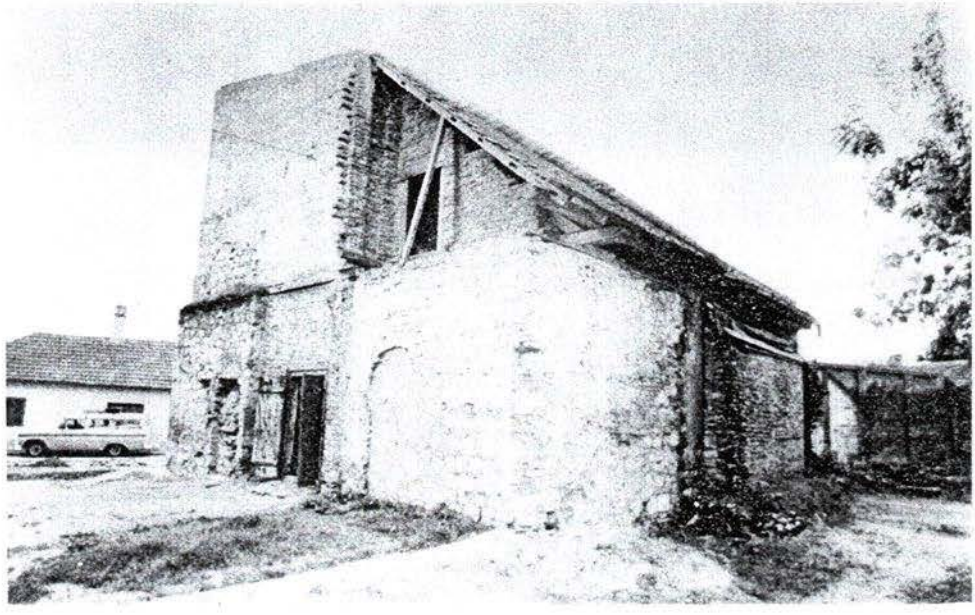


Figure 76: The orientation of the Mosque of Malkoç Bey in the city of Siklós.

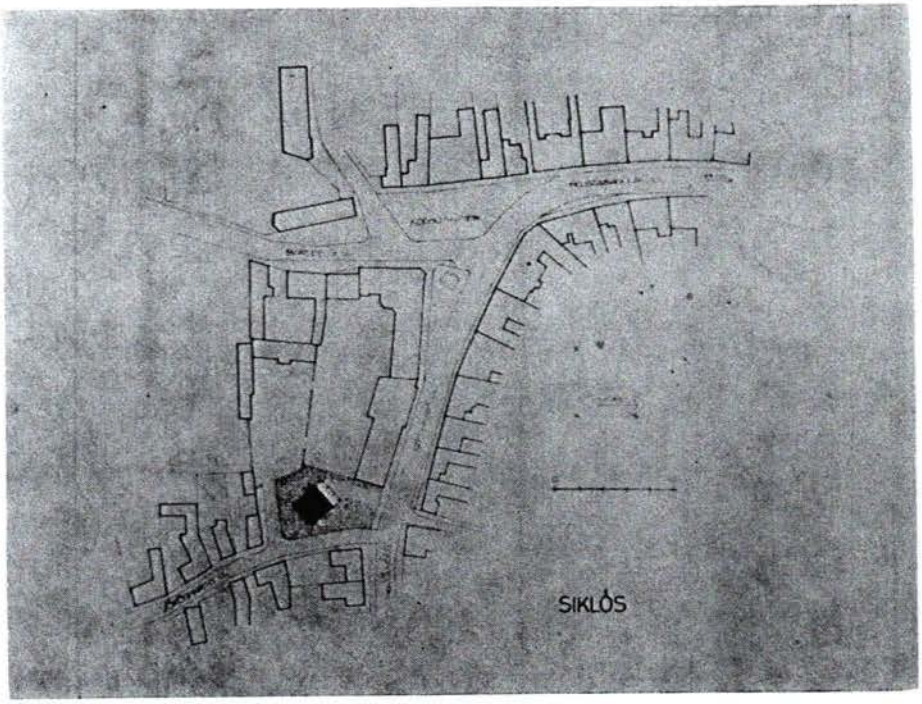


Figure 77: Ottoman pointed-arch windows in the wall of the Mosque of Malkoç Bey.

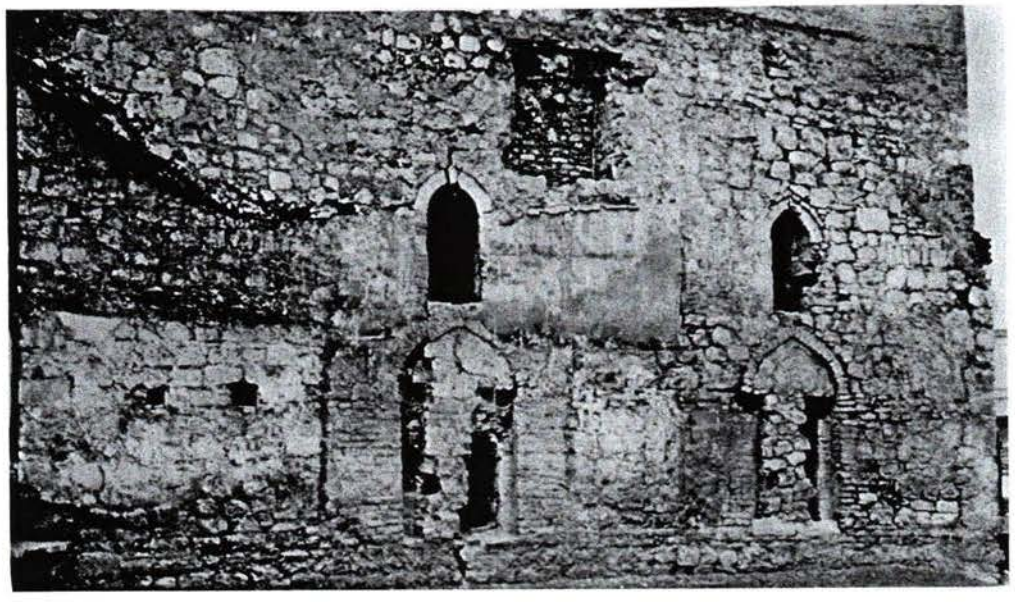


Figure 78: Engraving of Siklós by Blumberg.

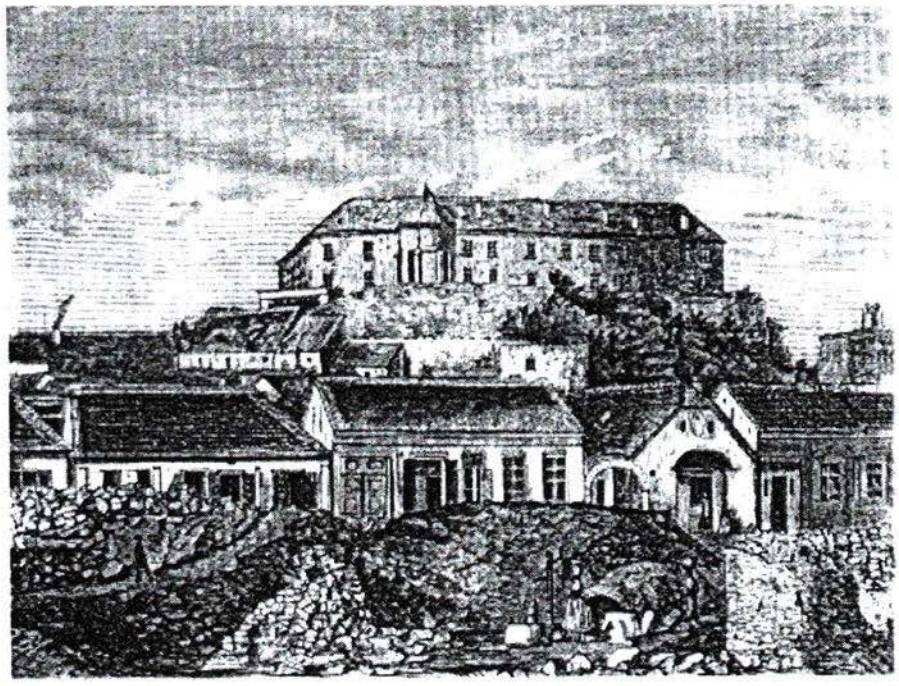


Figure 79:
a) Plan of the Mosque of Malkoç Bey by Gerõ.

b) Plan of the Mosque of Malkoç Bey by Ayverdi.

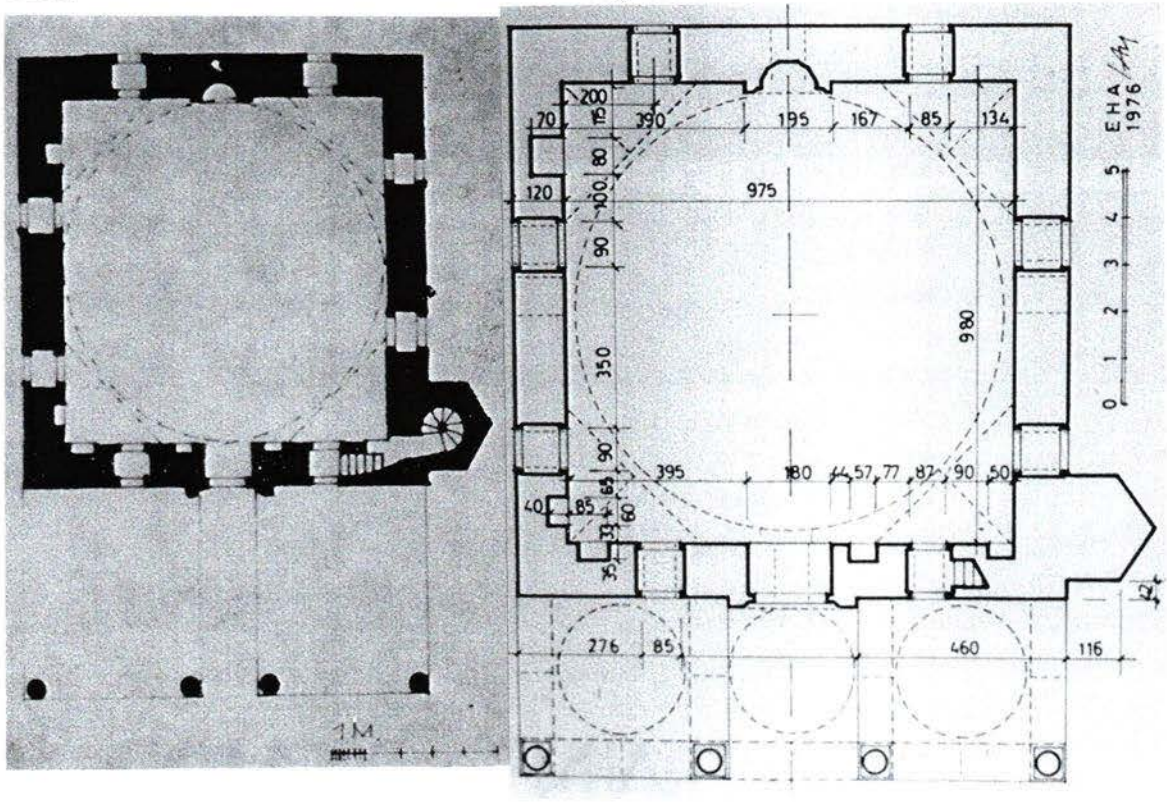


Figure 80: The *mihrab* from the Mosque of Malkoç Bey.

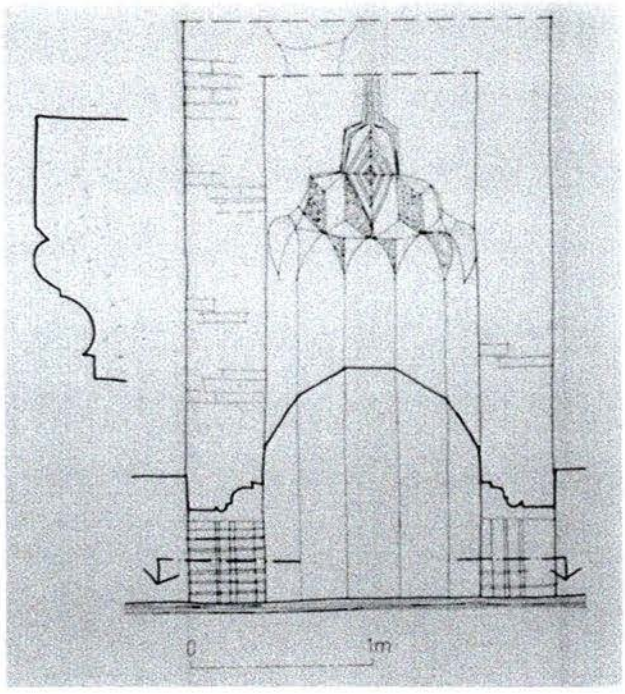


Figure 81: The entrance of the Mosque of Malkoç Bey with the stone *sofas* after restoration.

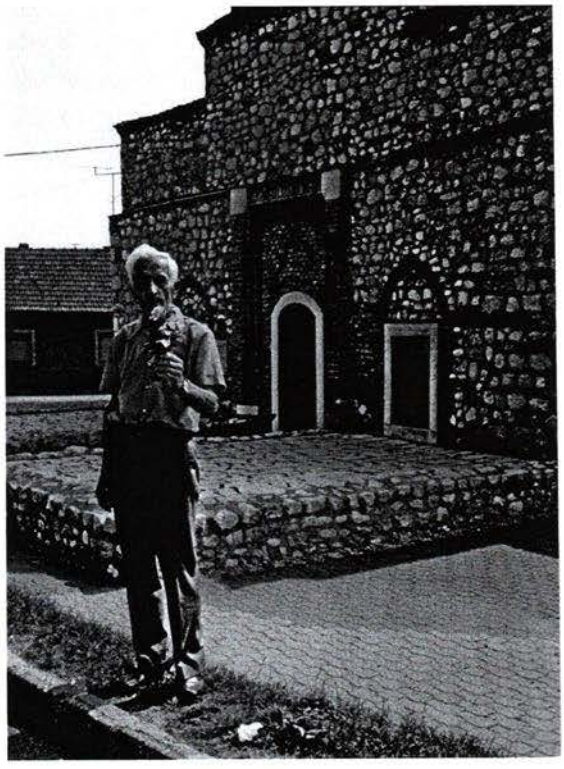


Figure 82: Niche and windows in the wall of the Mosque of Malkoç Bey before restoration.

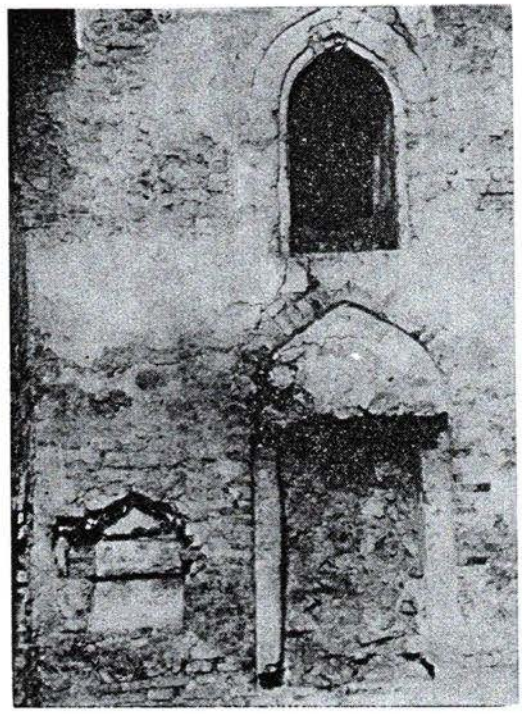


Figure 83: Remains of the Mosque of Toygun Pasha in Buda.

Figure 84: Plan of the Mosque of Toygun Pasha by Ayverdi. The shaded areas represent the Ottoman remains.

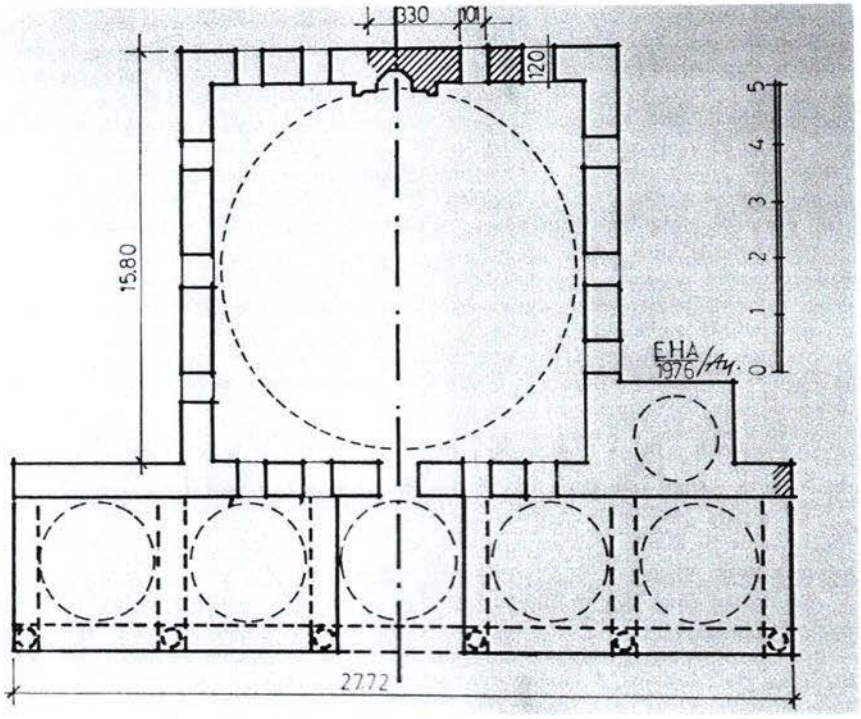


Figure 85: Remains of the *muqarnas* decoration of the *mihrab* in the Mosque of Toygun Pasha.

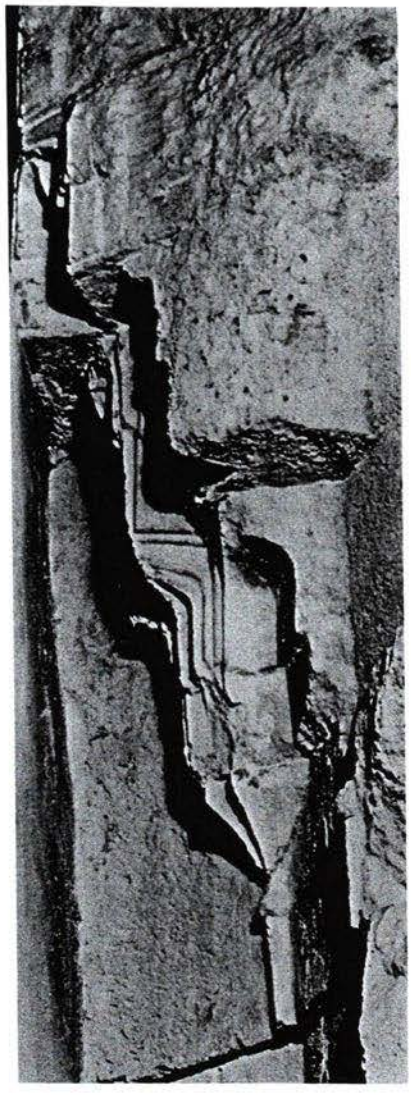


Figure 86: *Muqarnas* decoration in one of the squinches in the Mosque of Ferhat Pasha in Pécs.

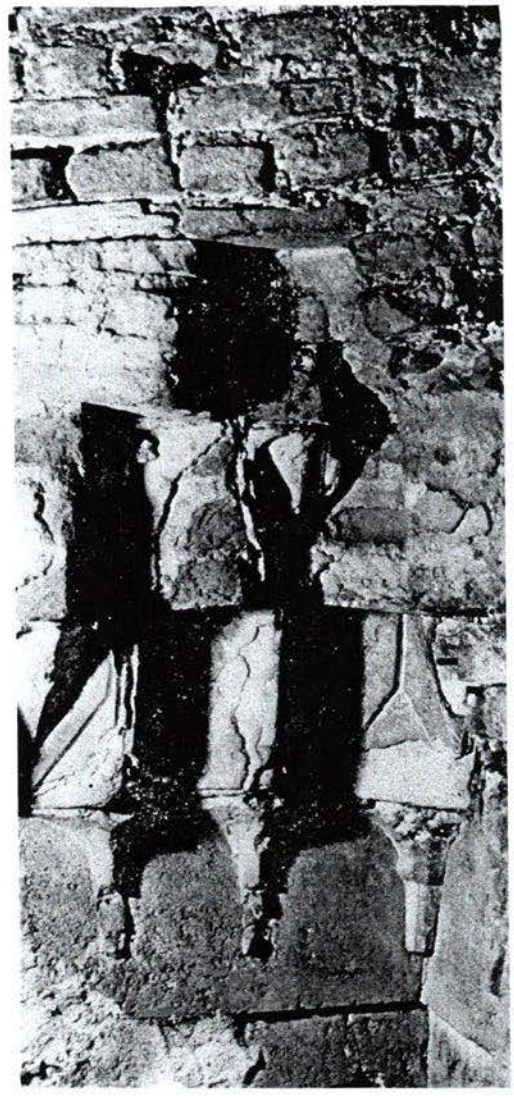


Figure 87: Ottoman window of the Mosque of Toygun Pasha from the inside.

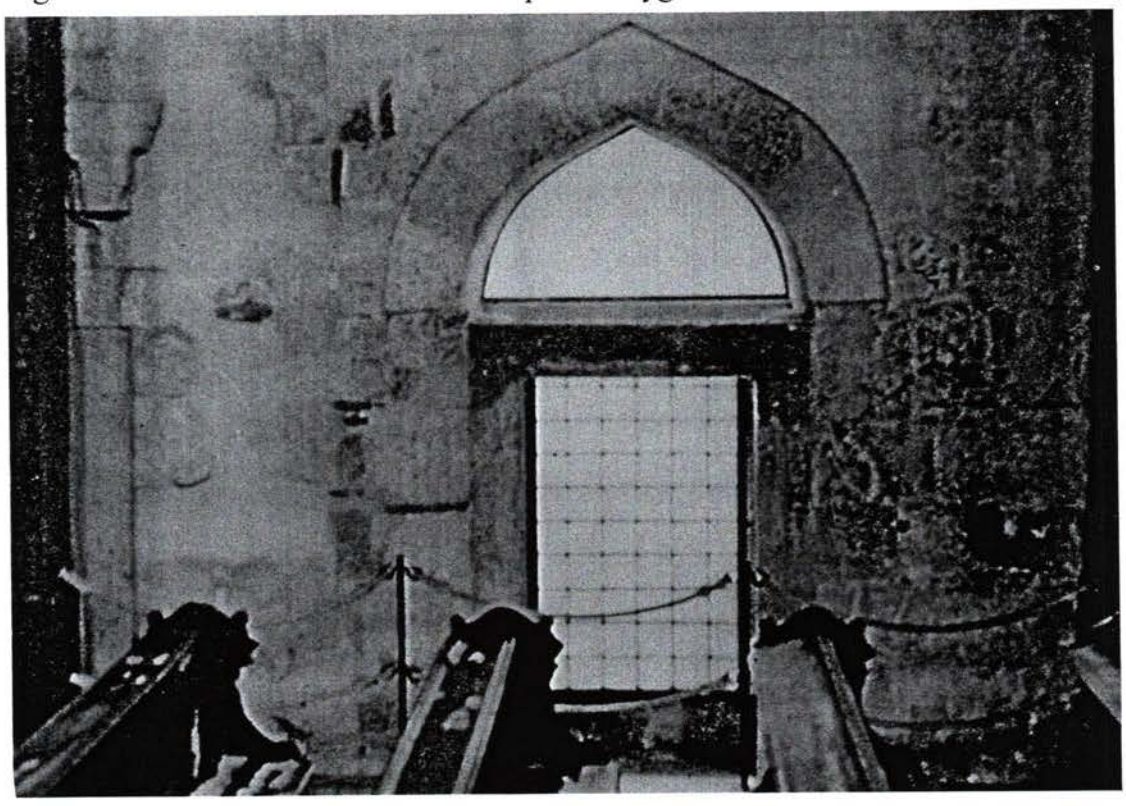


Figure 88: Remains of the Mosque of Ferhat Pasha in Pécs.

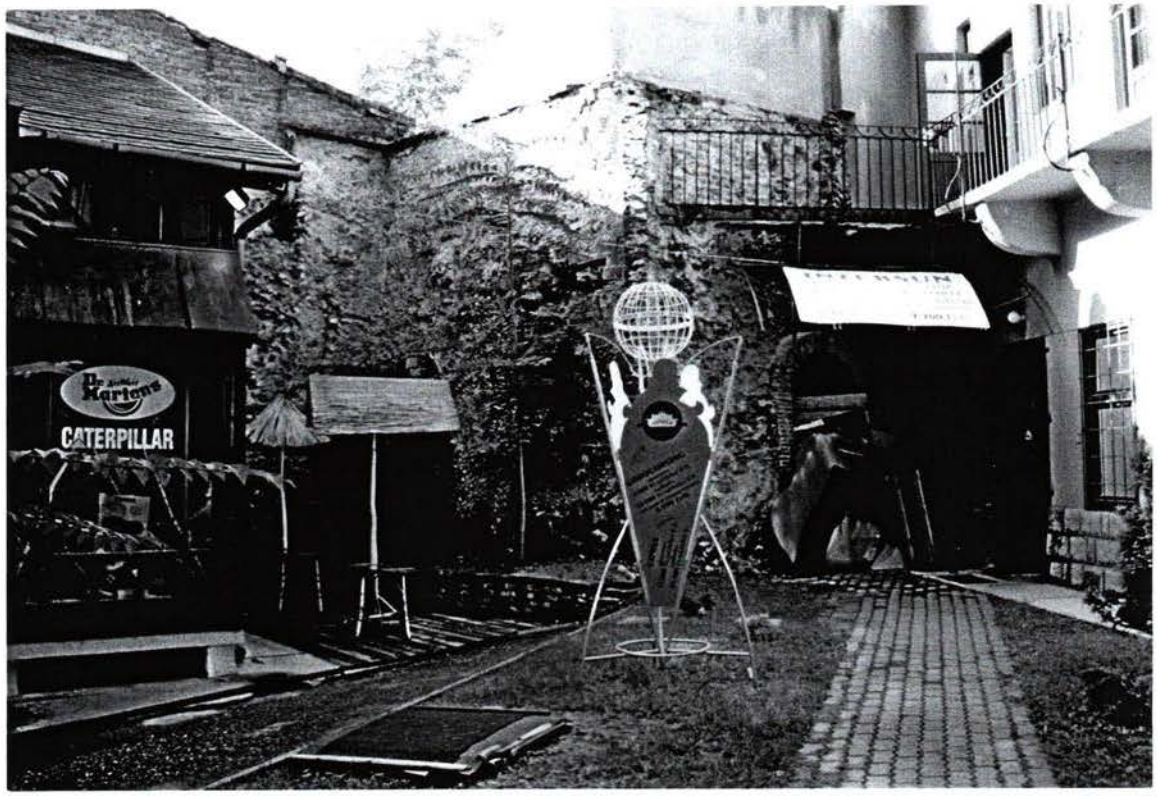


Figure 89: Remains of the Mosque of Ferhat Pasha in Pécs.

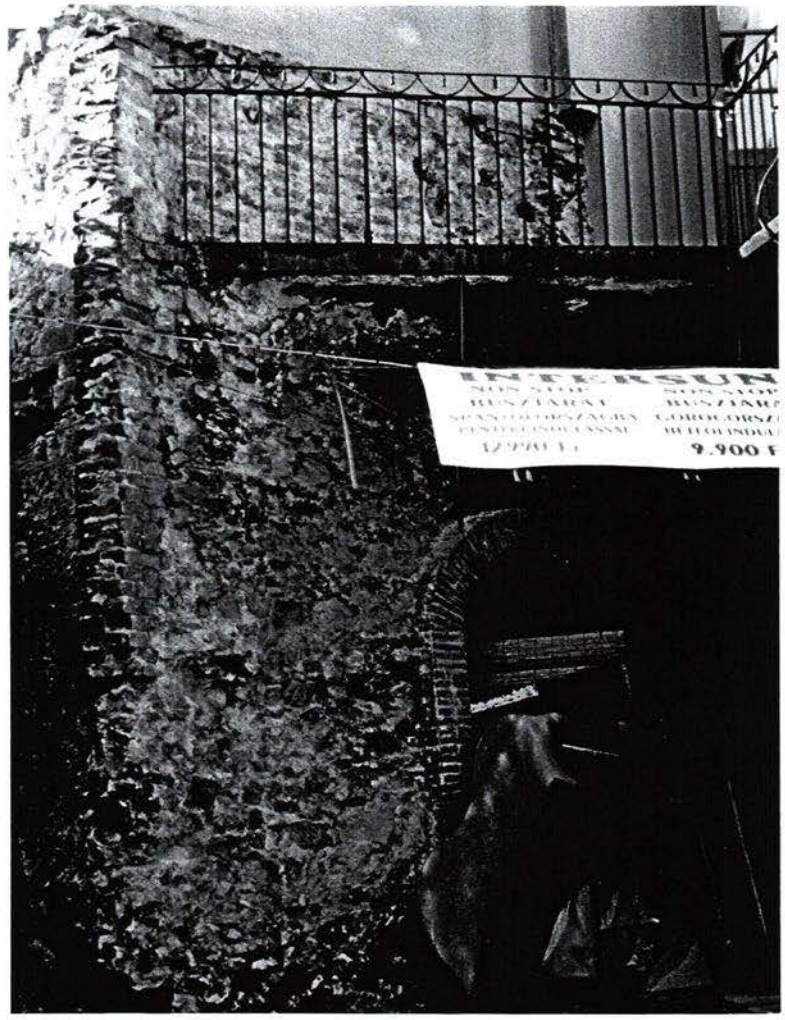


Figure 90: Remains of a mosque in the wall of St. Augustine Church in Pécs.

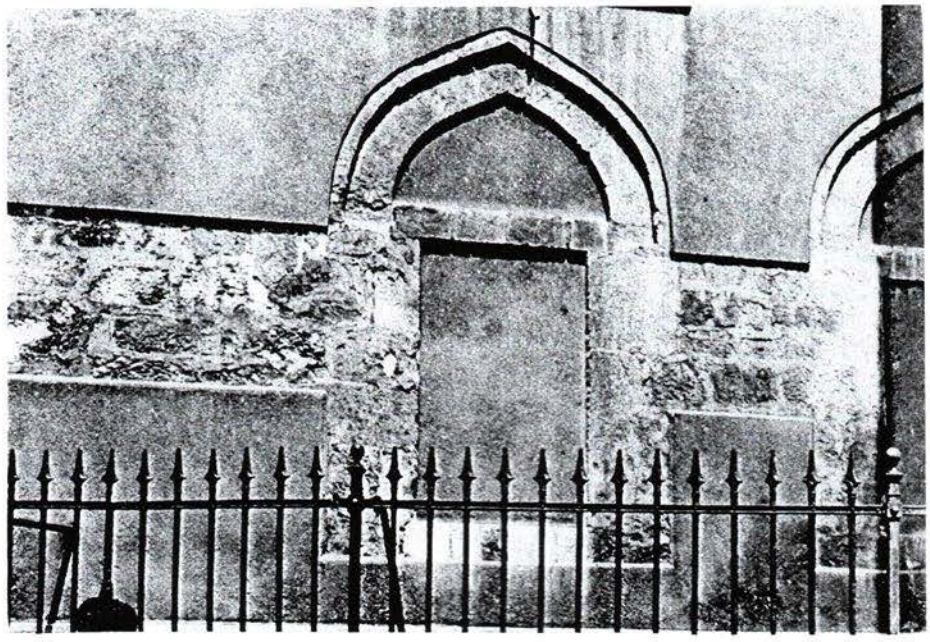


Figure 91: Minaret in Eger.

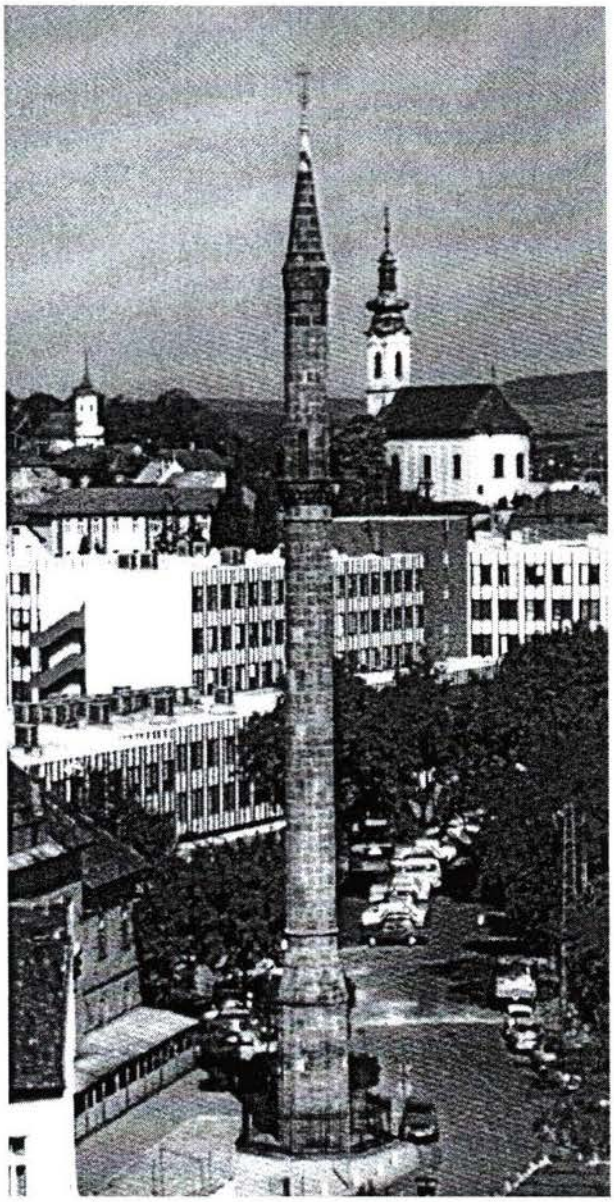


Figure 92: Minaret in Érd.

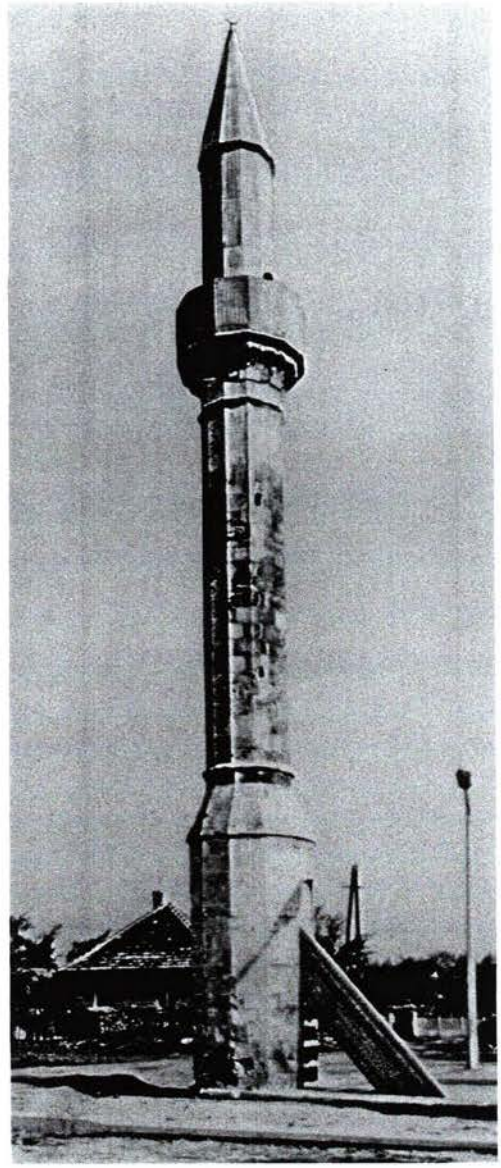
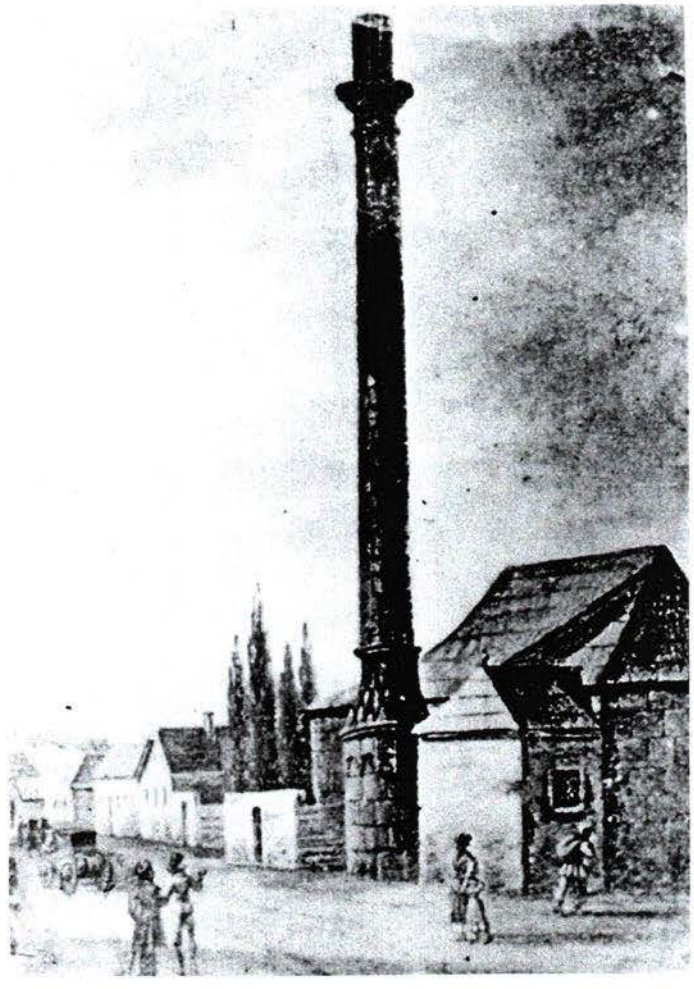


Figure 93: Drawing of the minaret and Kethüda Mosque in Eger, first half of the nineteenth century.



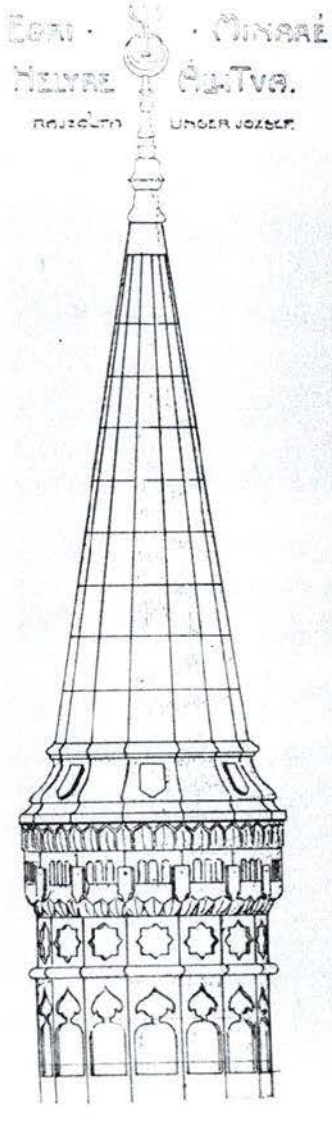
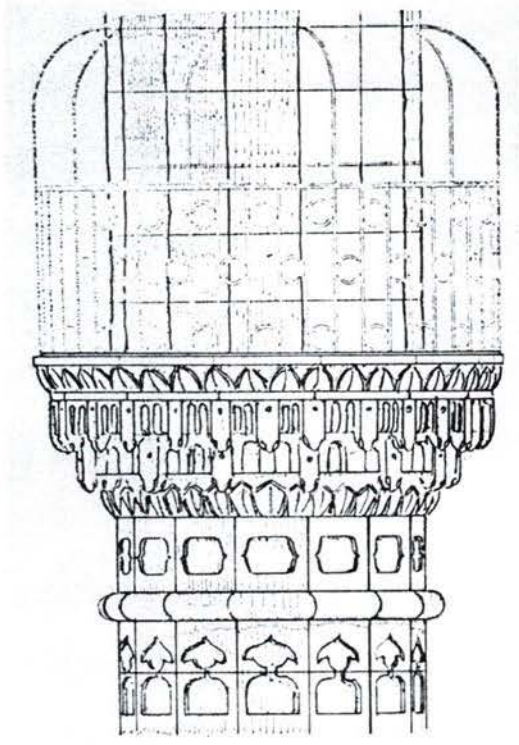


Figure 94: The cap of the minaret in Eger after restoration.

Figure 95: The gallery of the minaret in Eger after restoration.



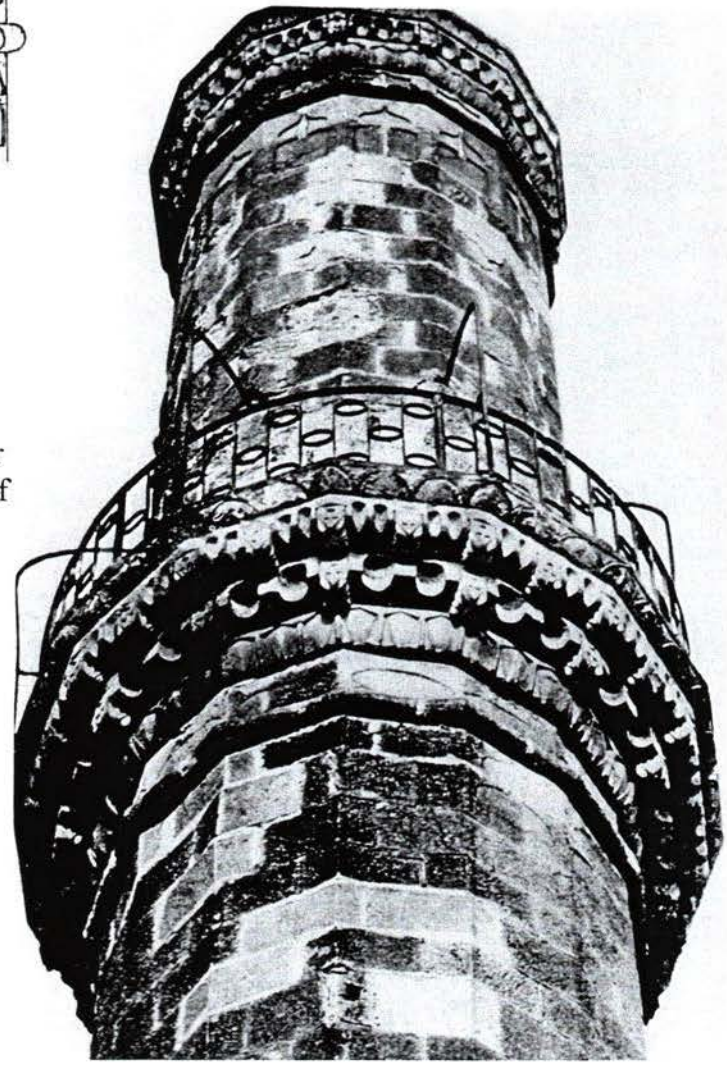


Figure 96: The decoration under the gallery and the new railing of the minaret in Eger after restoration.

Figure 97: Decoration on the base and the transition part of the minaret in Eger.

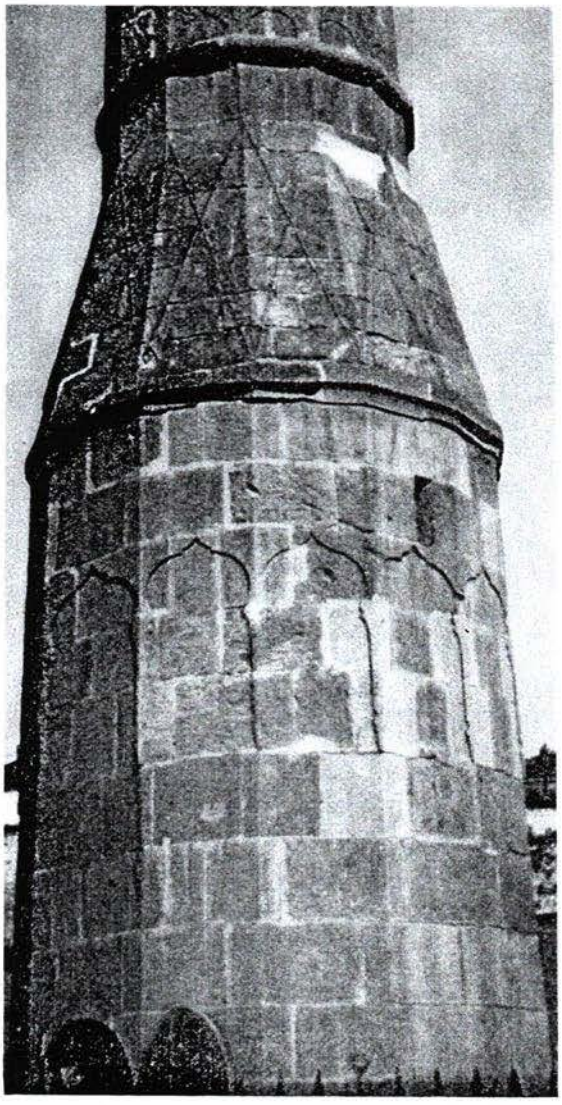


Figure 98: Entrance of the minaret in Érd.

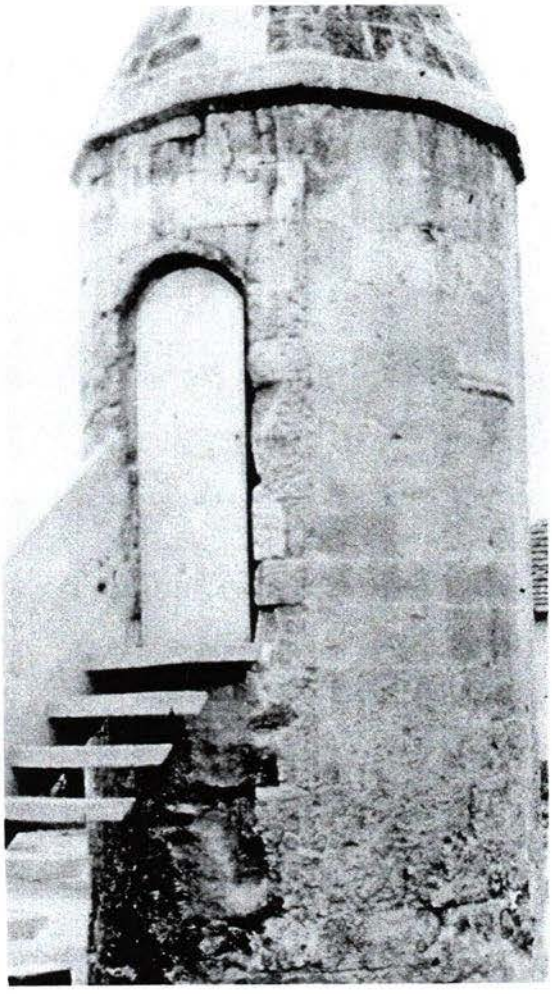


Figure 99: Türbe of Gül Baba in Buda.

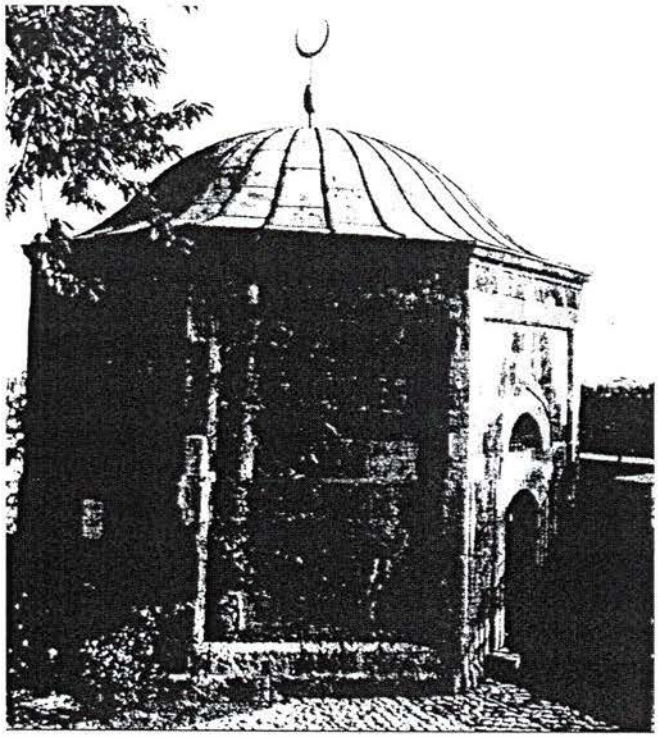


Figure 100: Türbe of Idris Baba in Pécs.

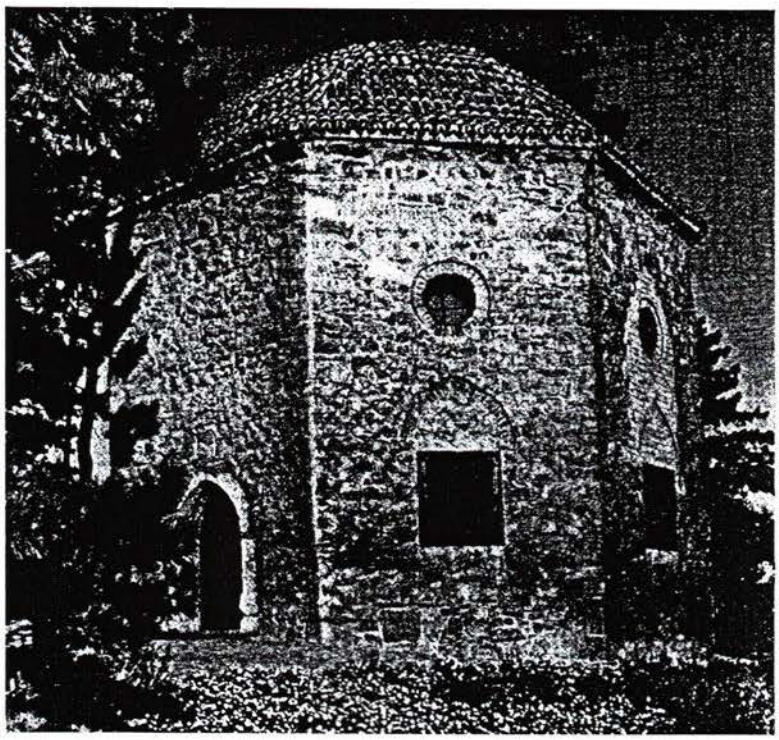


Figure 101: Plan and section of the Türbe of Gül Baba.

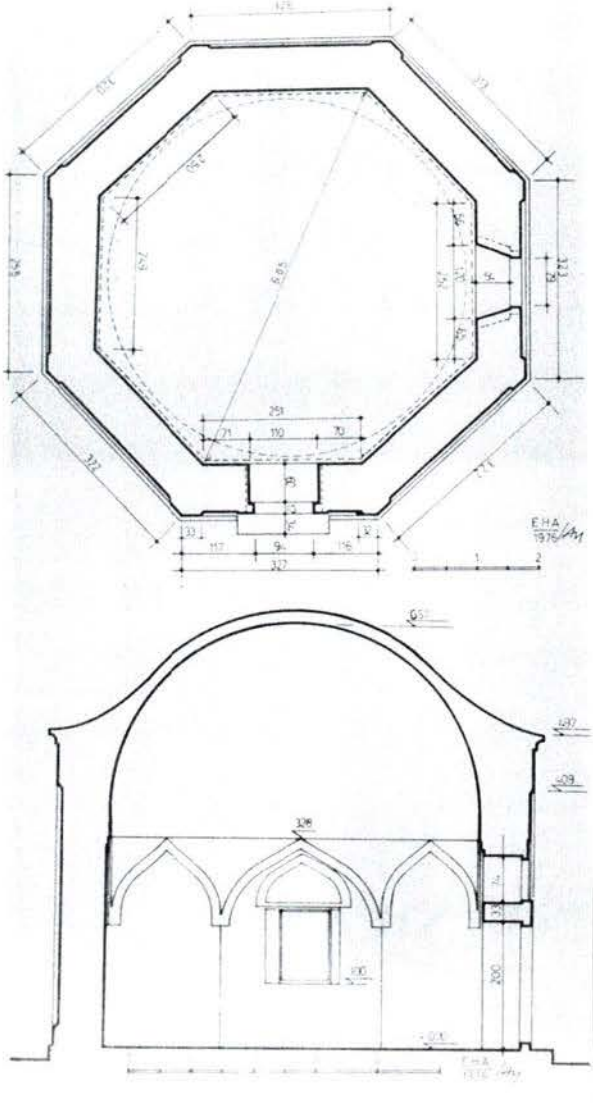


Figure 102: Plan and section of the Türbe of Idris Baba.

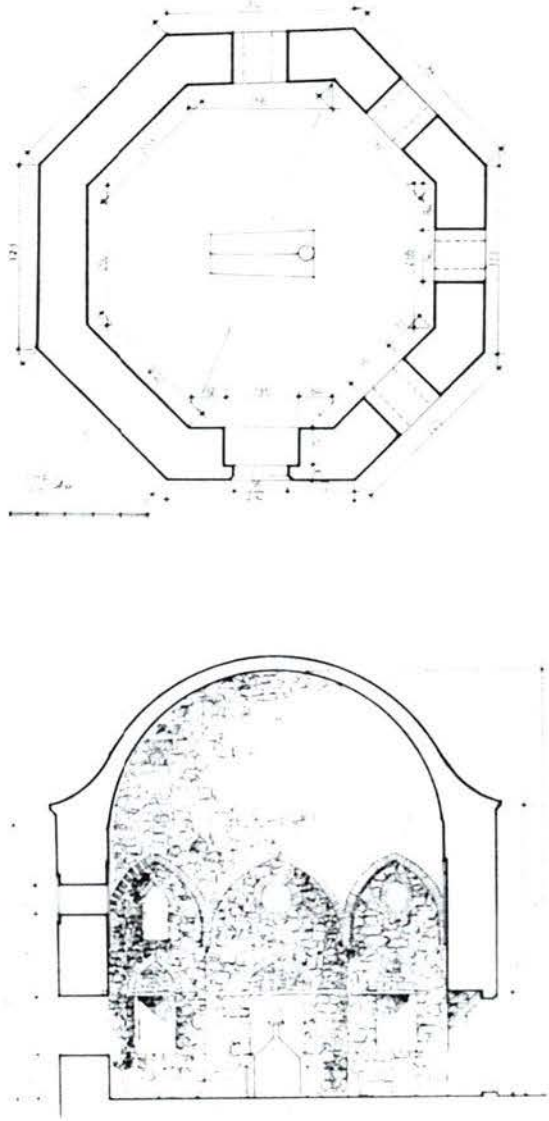


Figure 103: Interior of the Türbe of Gül Baba.

Figure 104: Interior of the Türbe of Idris Baba.

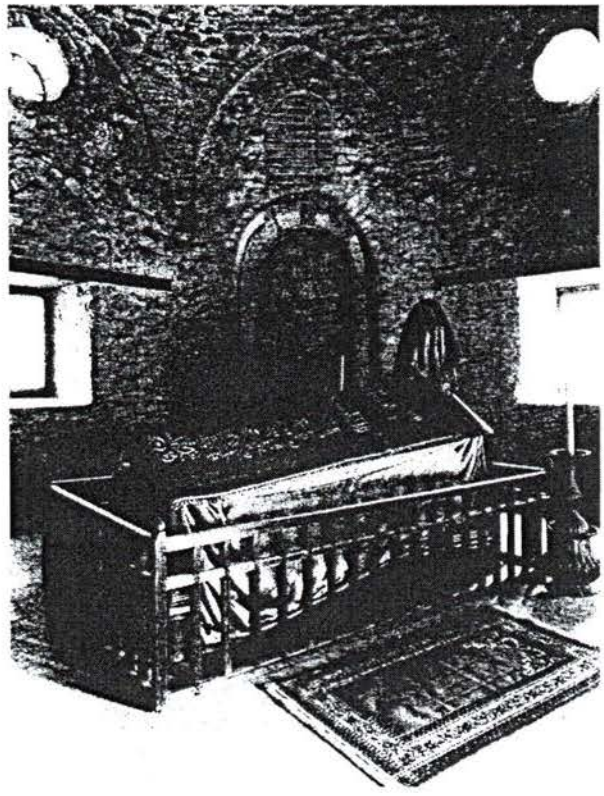


Figure 105: Plan of Turbék (Türbe of Sultan Süleyman) and its palisade fortress by Pál Eszterházy, 1664.

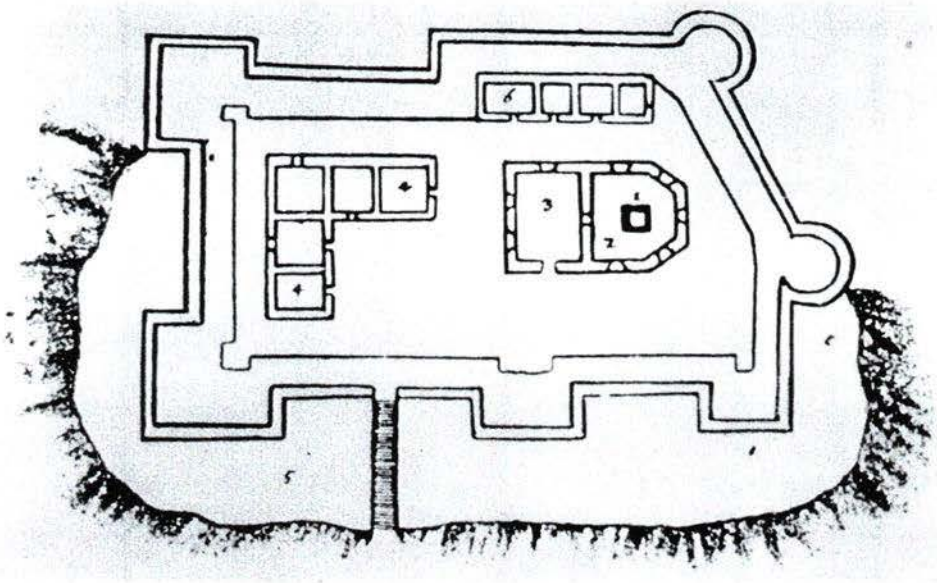


Figure 106: Hungarian-Turkish Friendship Park in the vicinity of Szigetvár.

Figure 107: Symbolic *türbe* of Sultan Süleyman in the Hungarian-Turkish Friendship Park.

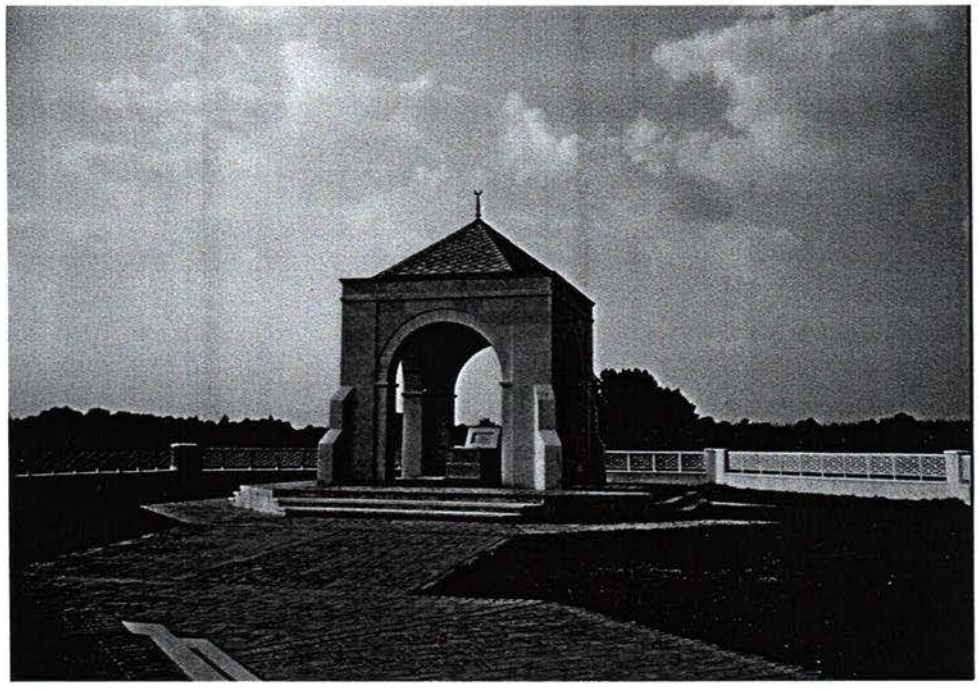


Figure 108: Plan of the Medrese of Ibrahim Bey in Aksaray.

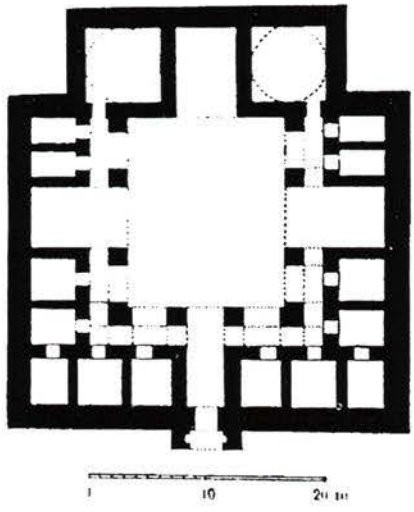


Figure 109: Plan of the Medrese of Ince Minare in Konya.

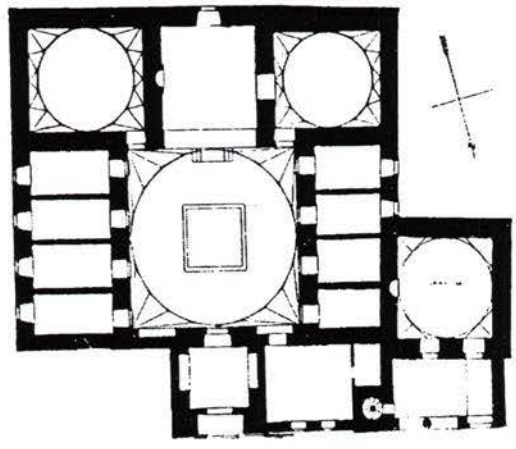


Figure 110: Plan of an Ottoman *medrese*. The Tıp Medrese of the Beyazit Complex in Edirne.

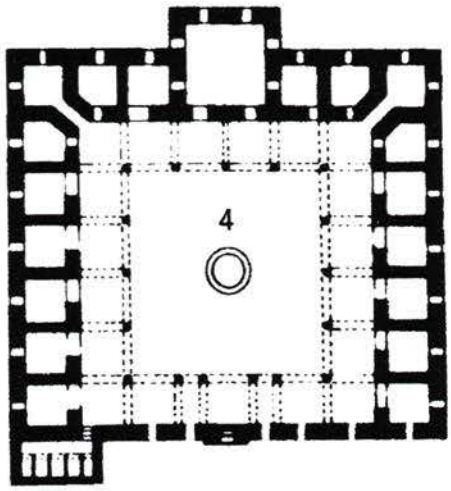


Figure 111: The Mosque and the Medrese of Mehmet Pasha Kukavičina in Foča.

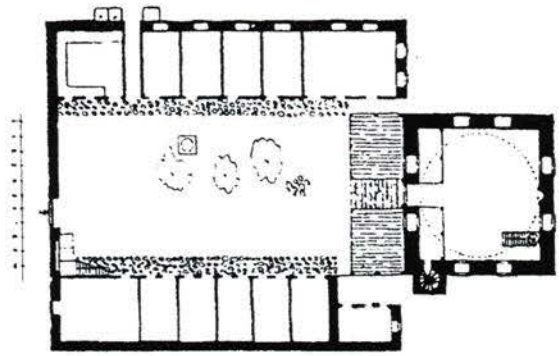


Figure 112: Proposed plan of the Tekke of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha in Pécs by Gerő. The shaded areas represent the excavated parts of the medrese.

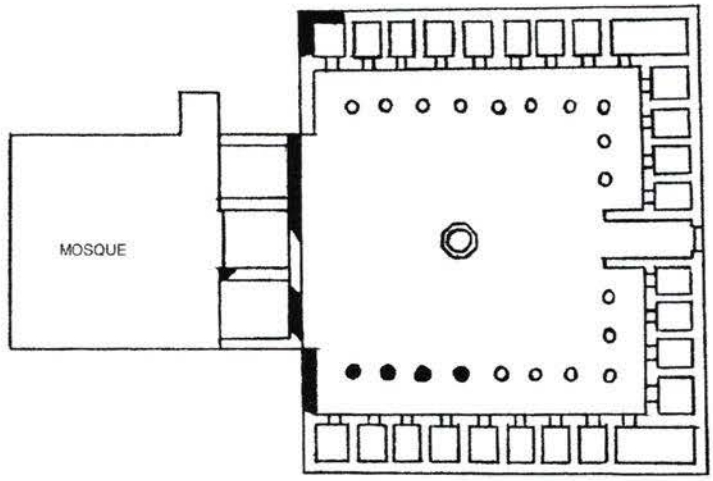


Figure 113: Excavated remains of the wall and columns of the Tekke of Yakovalı Hasan Pasha incorporated into a museum.

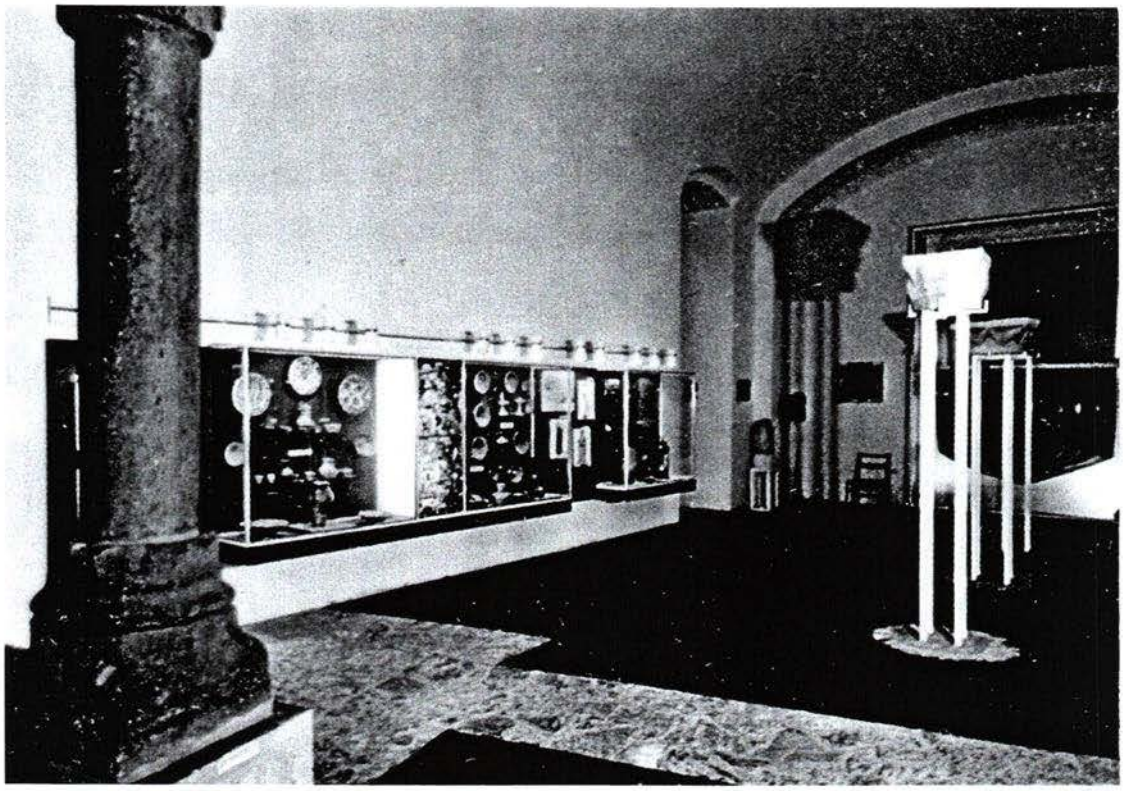


Figure 114: The Bath of Haseki Hürrem in Istanbul.

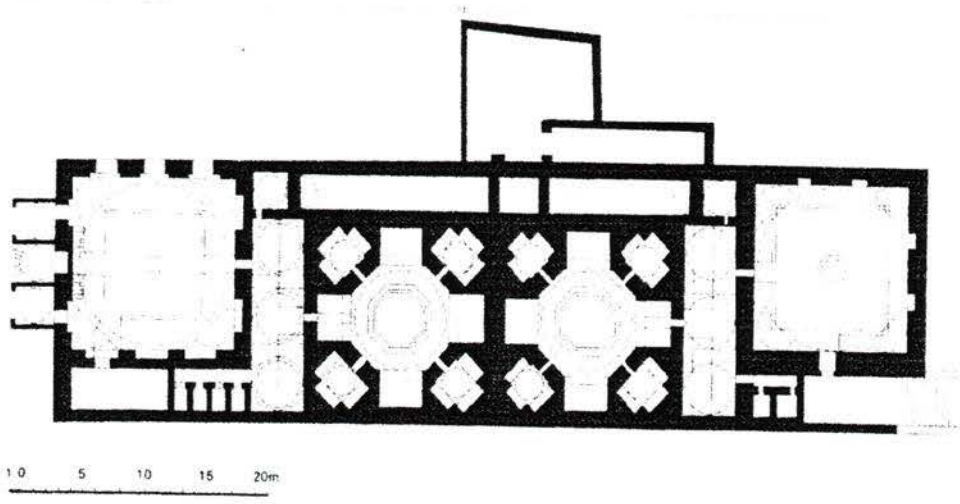


Figure 115. Detail from the view of the fort and town of Eger by György Hufnagel, 1617.

Figure 116. Domes with bottle glass lights in the Bath of Horoz Kapısı in Buda

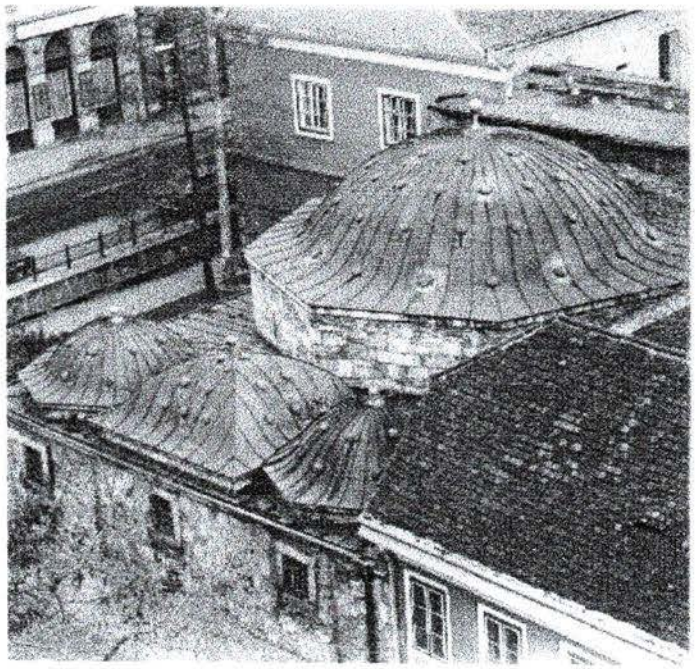
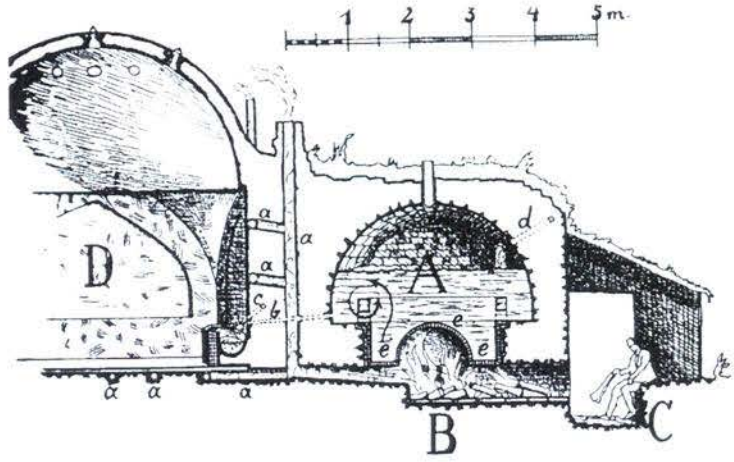


Figure 117. Heating system of a Turkish bath.



A- Water tank, B- Furnace, C- Place to feed the furnace, D- Hot room
a- Pipes for the steam, b- Hot water pipes connected to the taps, c- Cold water pipes connected to the taps, d- Cold water pipe to the water tank, e- The actual boiler.

Fig. 118: Bath of Memi Pasha in Pécs, entrance to the disrobing room.

Figure 119: The site of the Bath of Memi Pasha in the street structure.

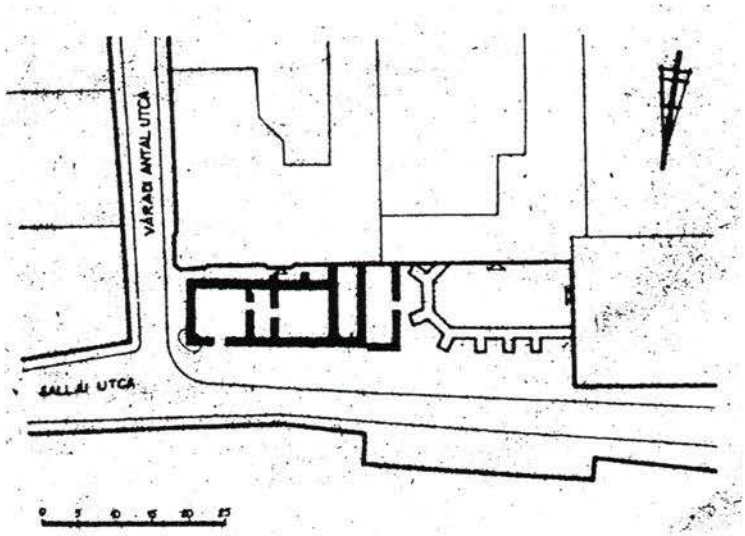


Figure 120: Plan of the Bath of Memi Pasha.

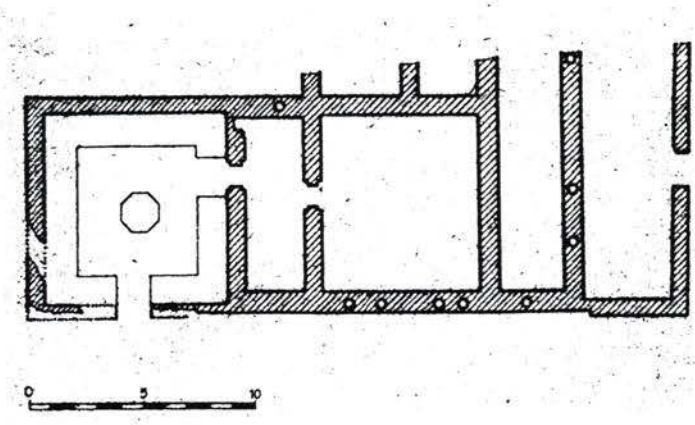


Figure 121: Heating system of the Bath of Memi Pasha.

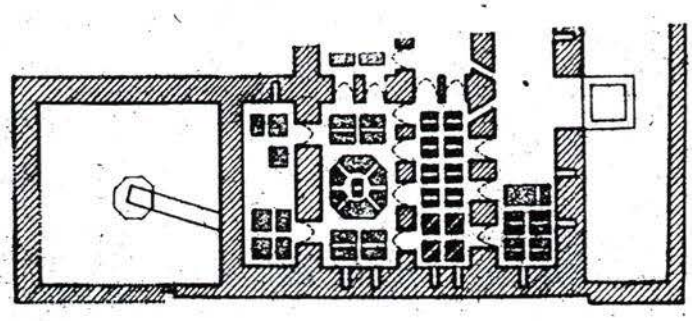


Figure 122: Hot room with the *göbek taşı* and *sofa*s in the Bath of Memi Pasha.

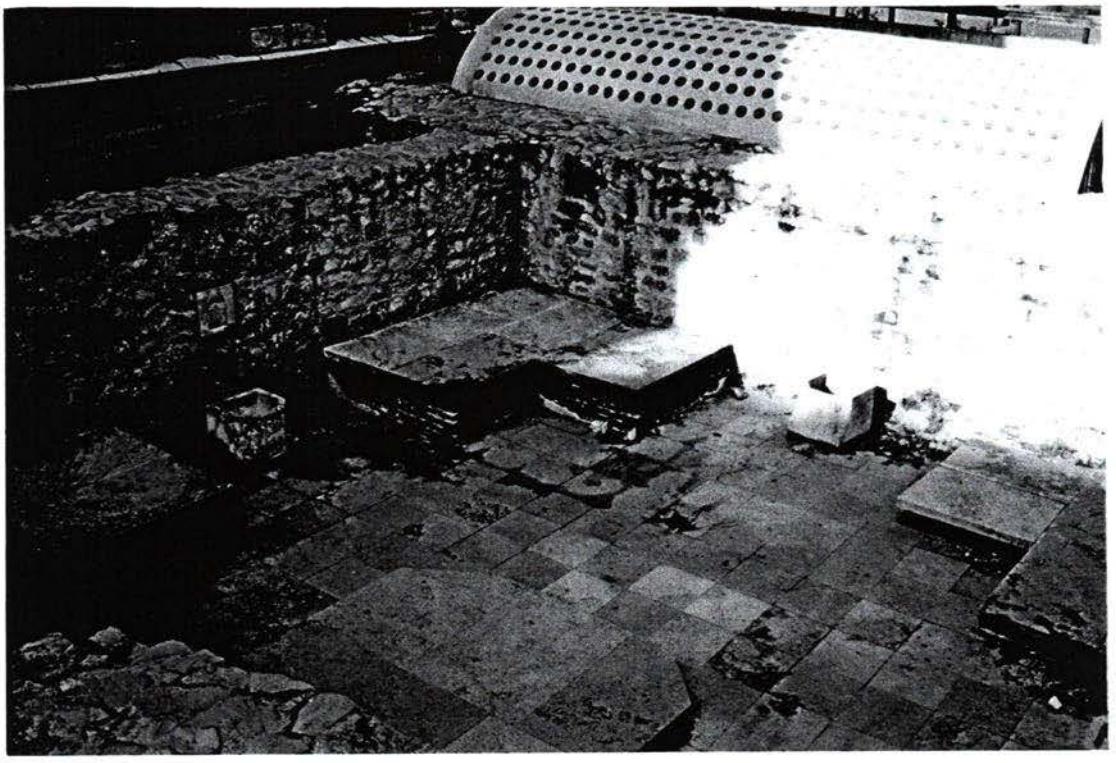


Figure 123: *Soğukluk* and *sıcaklık* with reconstructed *sofa*s and wall taps of the Bath of Memi Pasha.

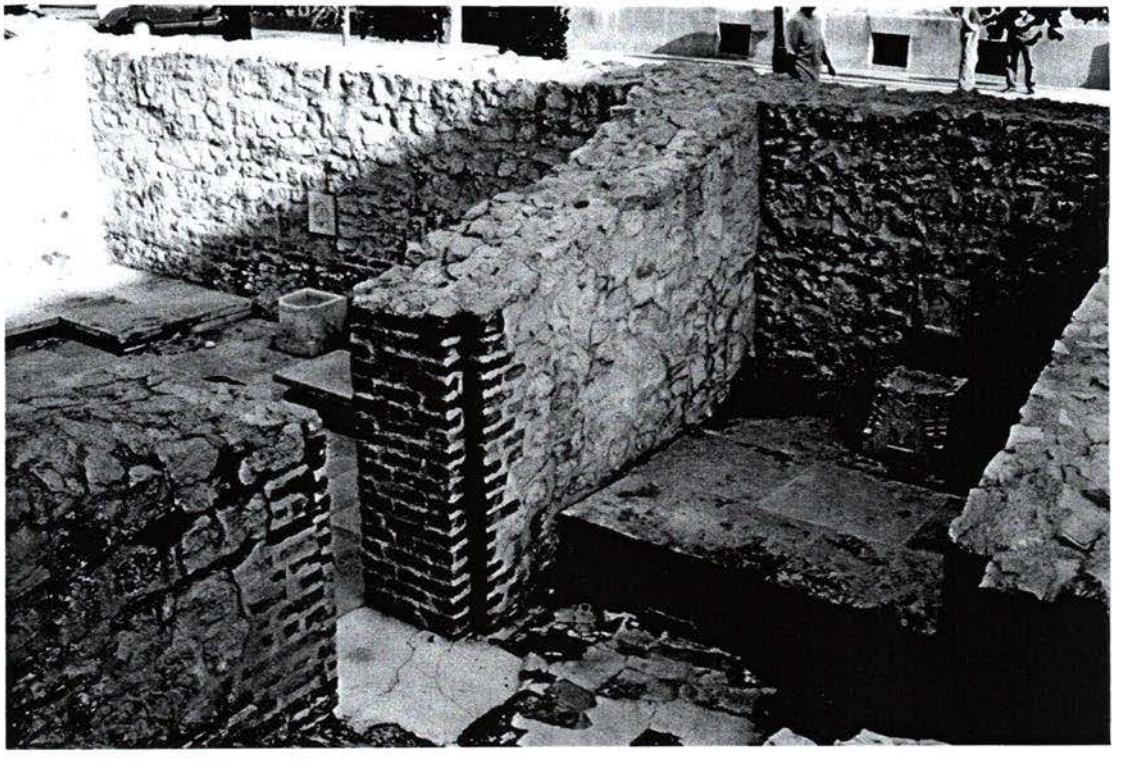


Figure 124: Disrobing room with reconstructed fountain of the Bath of Memi Pasha.

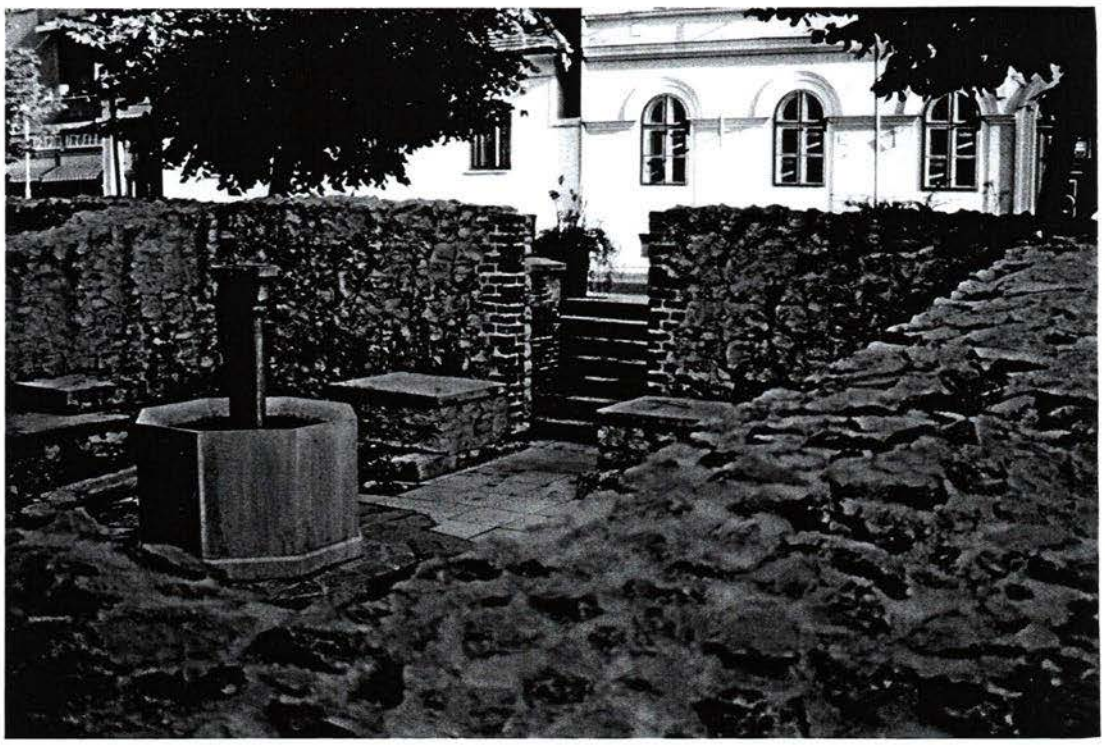


Figure 125: Hungarian bath plan types according to the design of the hot room.

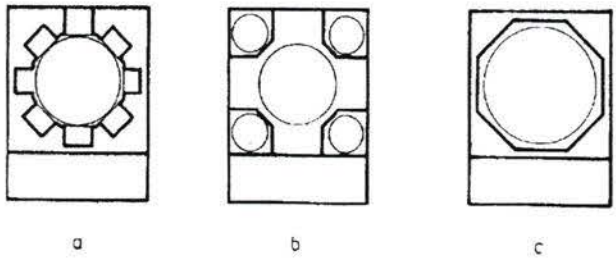


Figure 126: Plan of the Bath of Valide Sultan in Eger.

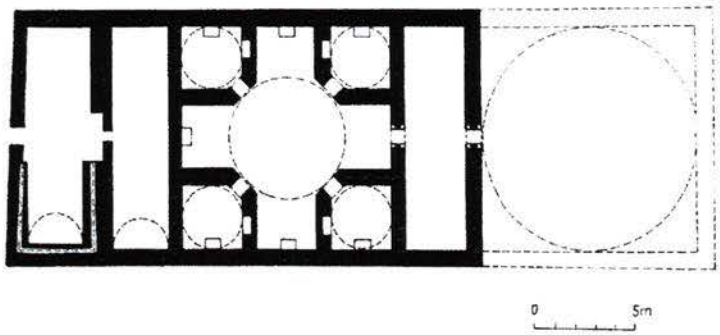


Figure 127: Remains of one of the private rooms in the Bath of Valide Sultan.

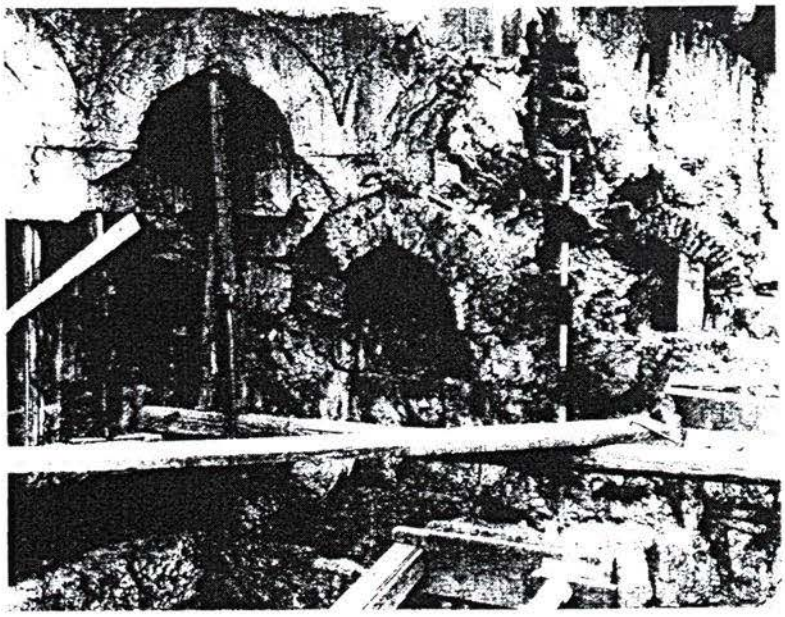


Figure 128: Plan of Beyazit Hamam in Istanbul.

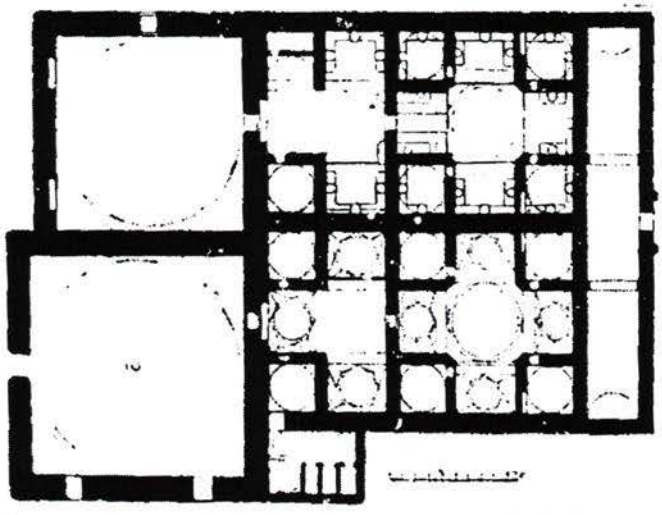


Figure 129: The Bath of Horoz Kapısı in Buda.

Figure 130: Interior of the Bath of Horoz Kapısı.

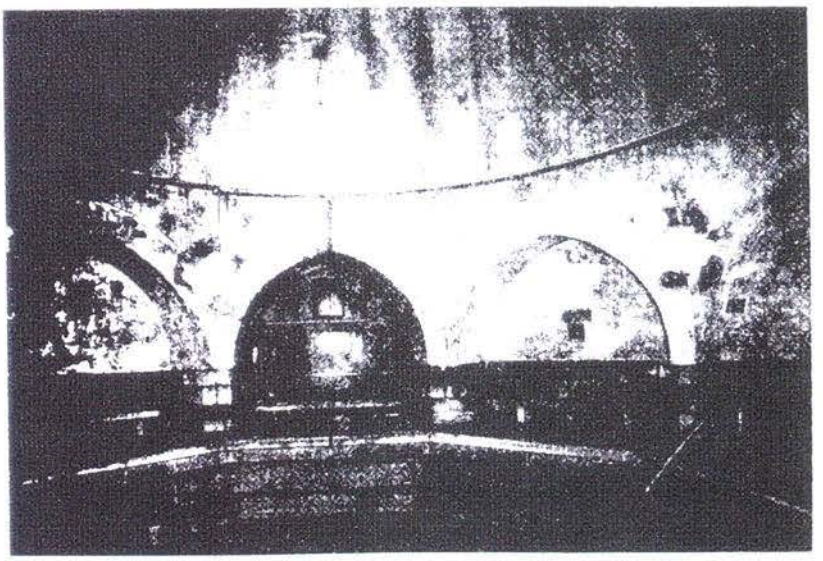


Figure 131: The plan of the Bath of Horoz Kapısı.

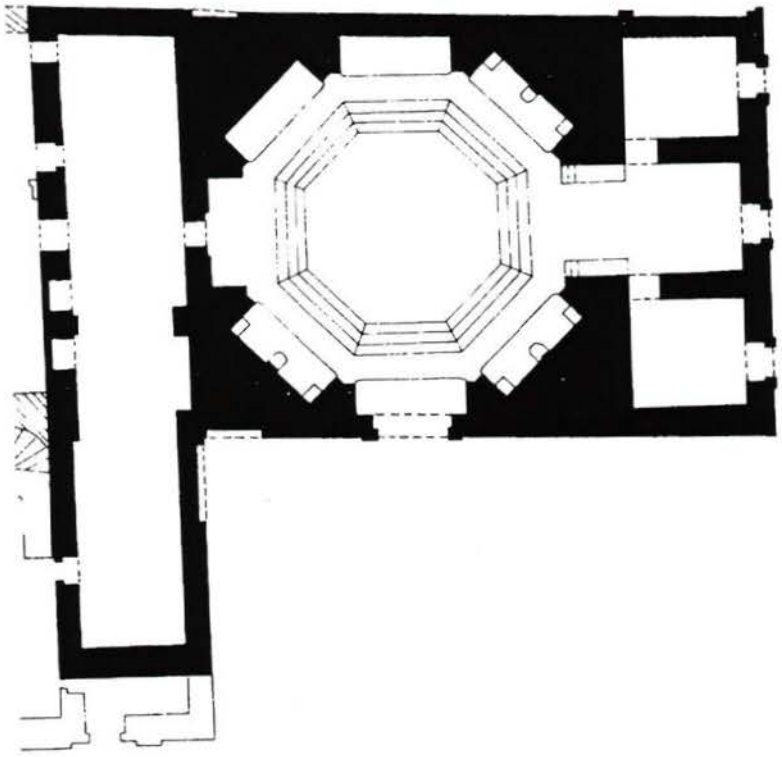


Figure 132: The plan of the Bath of Debbağhane in Buda.

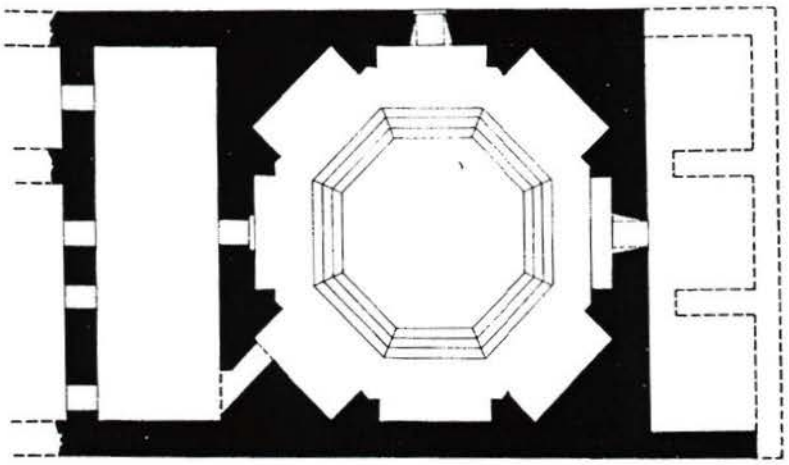


Figure 133: Interior of the hot room of the Bath of Debbağhane.

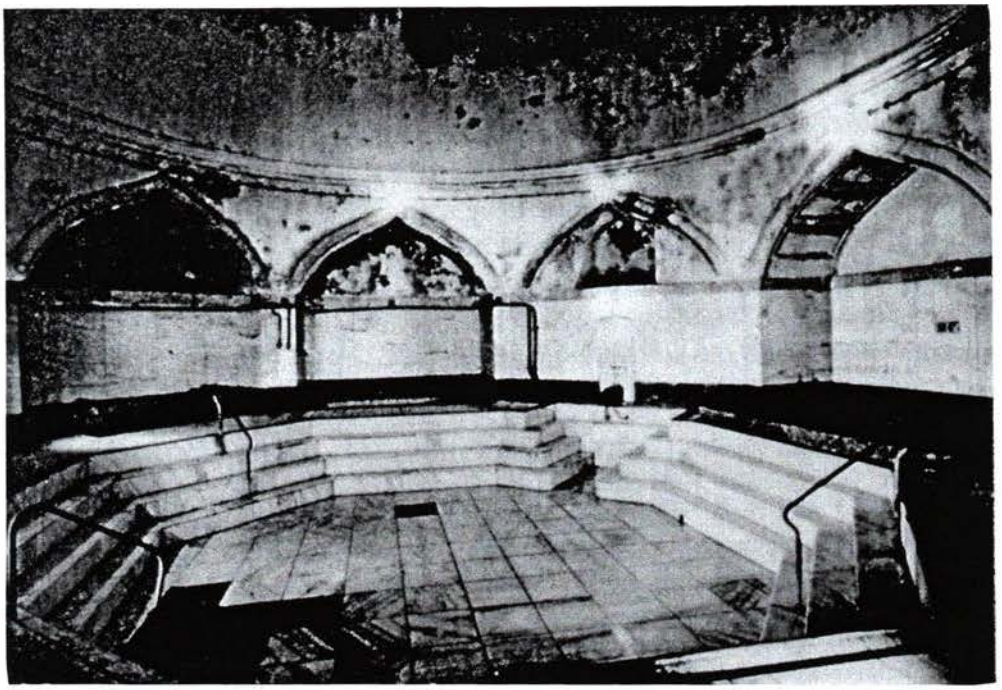


Figure 134: The Yeşil Direkli Bath in Buda.

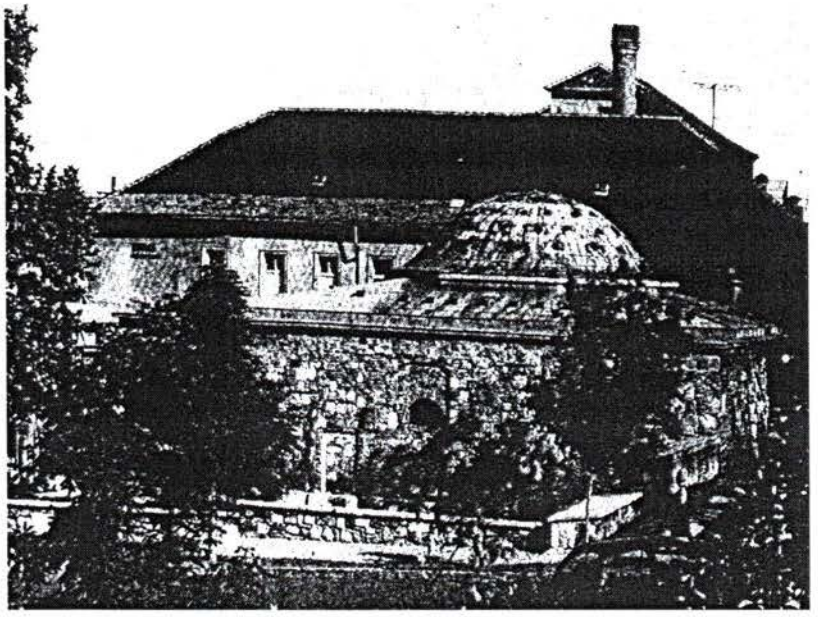


Figure 135: Interior of the Yeşil Direkli Bath.

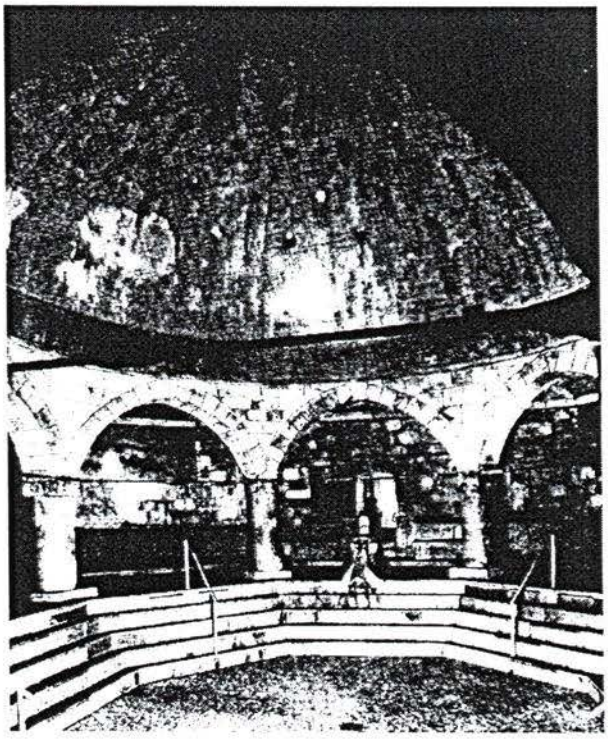


Figure 136: The plan of the Yeşil Direkli Bath in Buda.

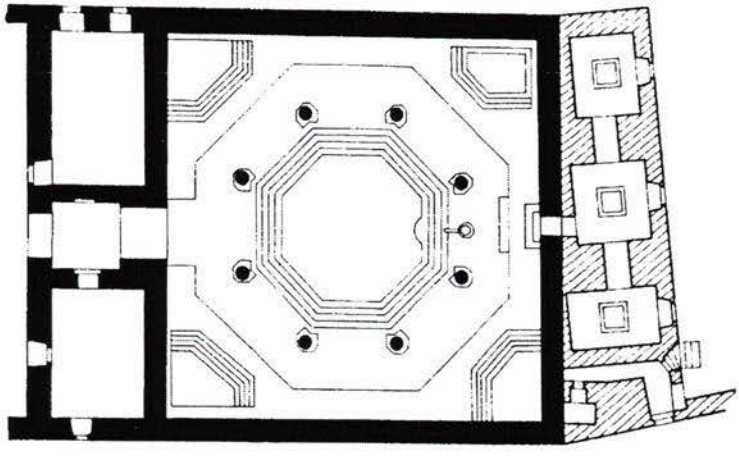


Figure 137: *Muqarnas* decoration in the Yeşil Direkli Bath.

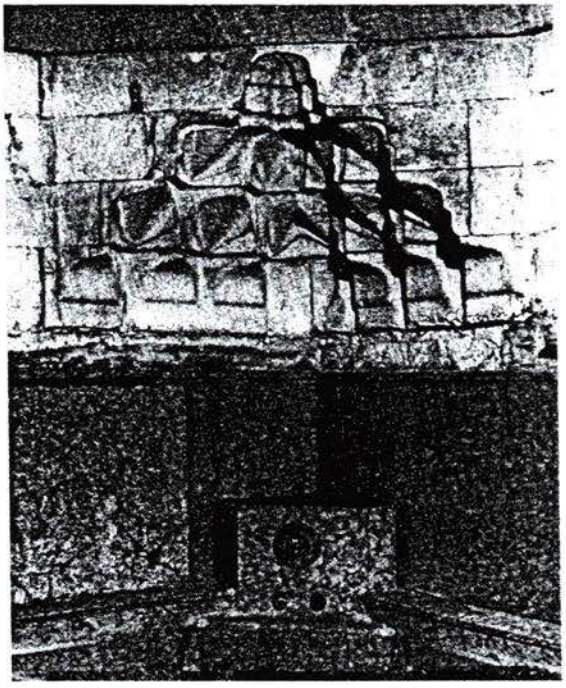


Figure 138: Bursa arch in the wall of the Yeşil Direkli Bath.

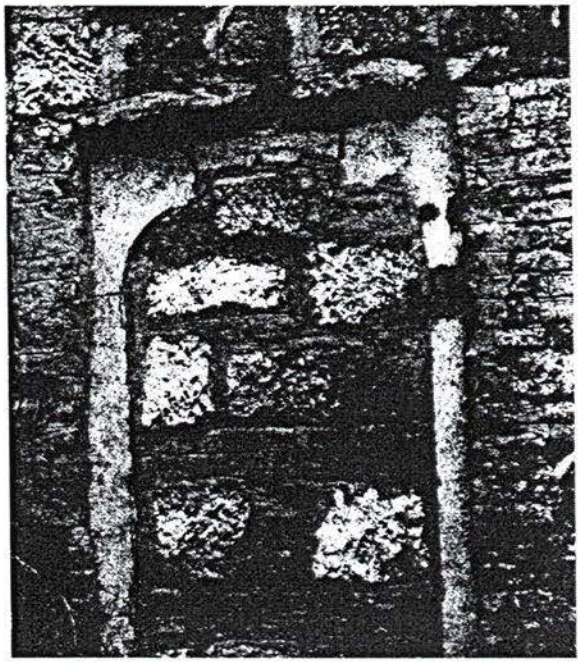


Figure 139: Plan of Eski Kaplıca in Bursa.

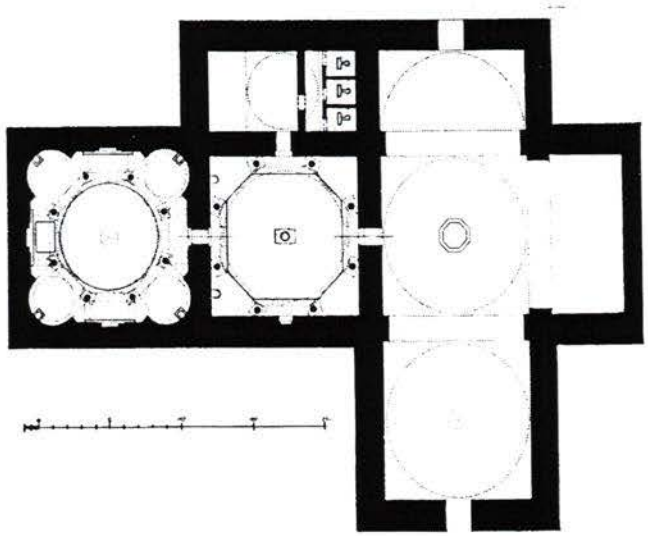


Figure 140: Plan of the Bath of Veli Bey in Buda.

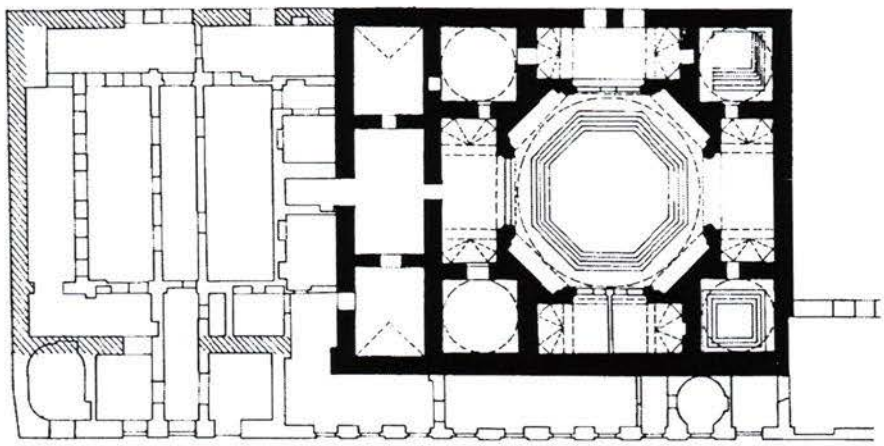


Figure 141: Kitabe from the Bath of Veli Bey.

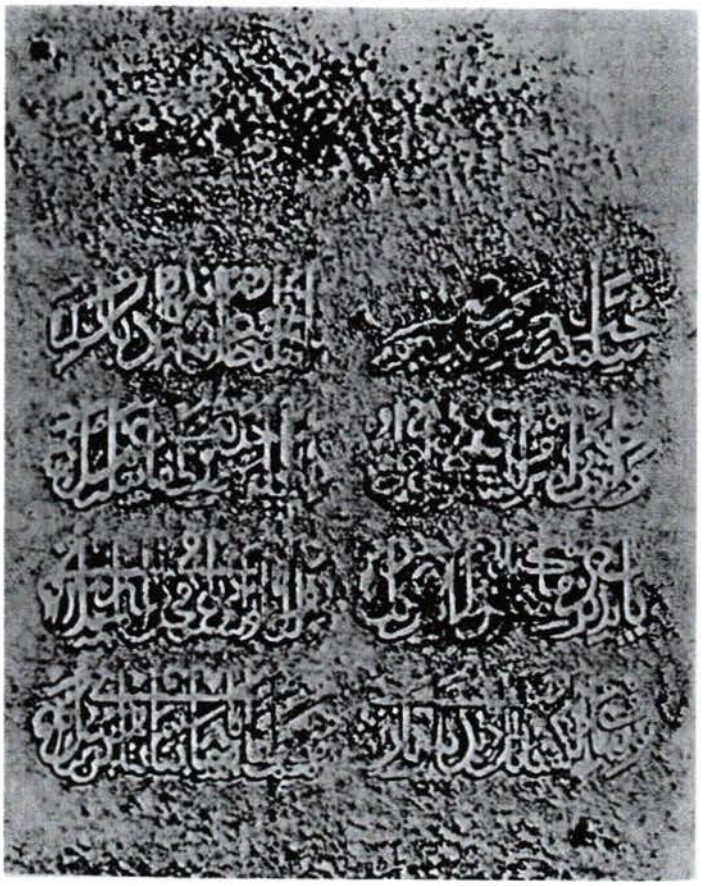


Figure 142: Architectural drawings of the Bath of Veli Bey by Fischer von Erlach.

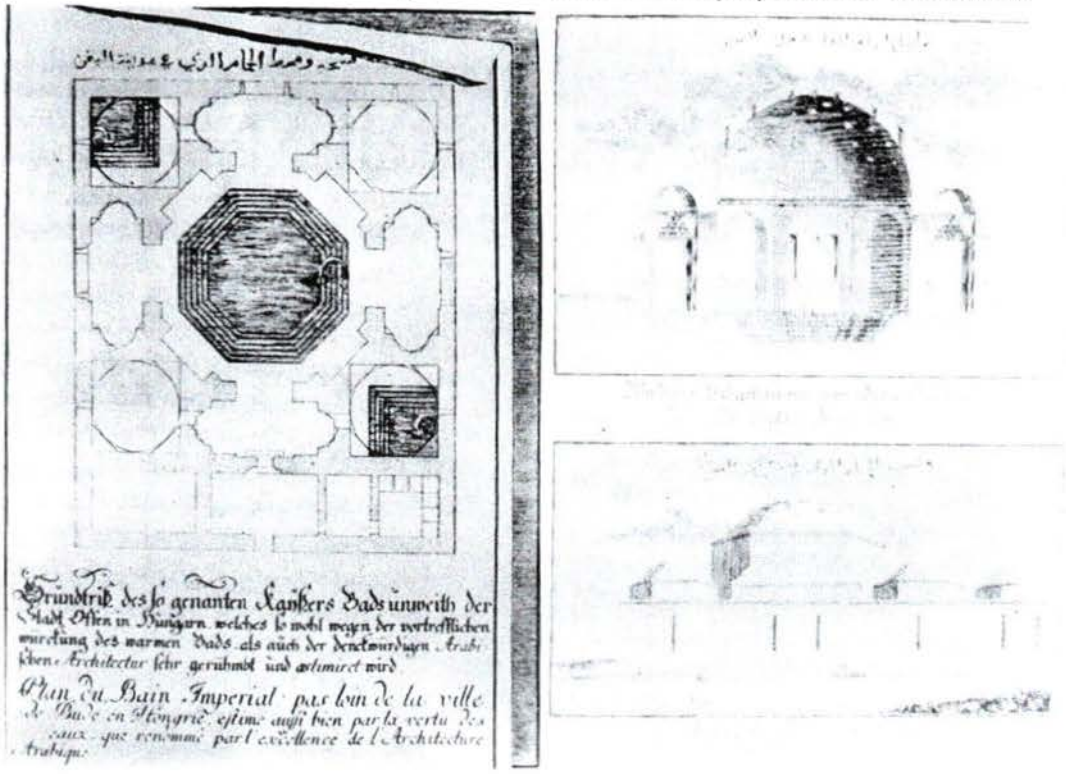


Figure 143: Plan of the Yeni Kaplıca in Bursa.

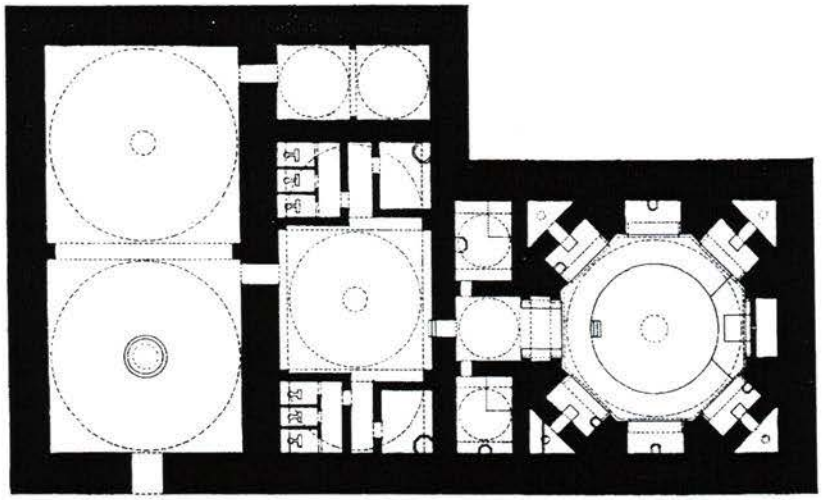


Figure 144: Remains of the private bath of the pashas in Buda.

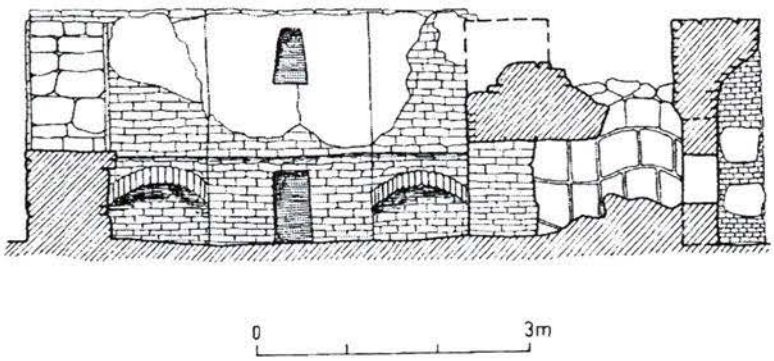


Figure 145: Plan of the private bath of the pashas in Buda.

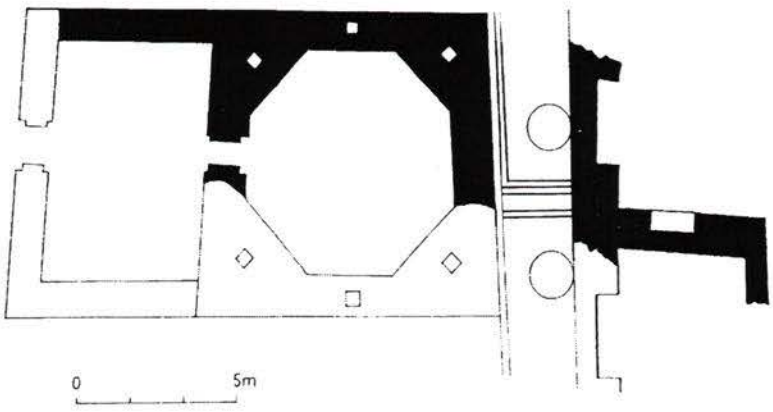


Figure 146: Çeşme in Bosnia.

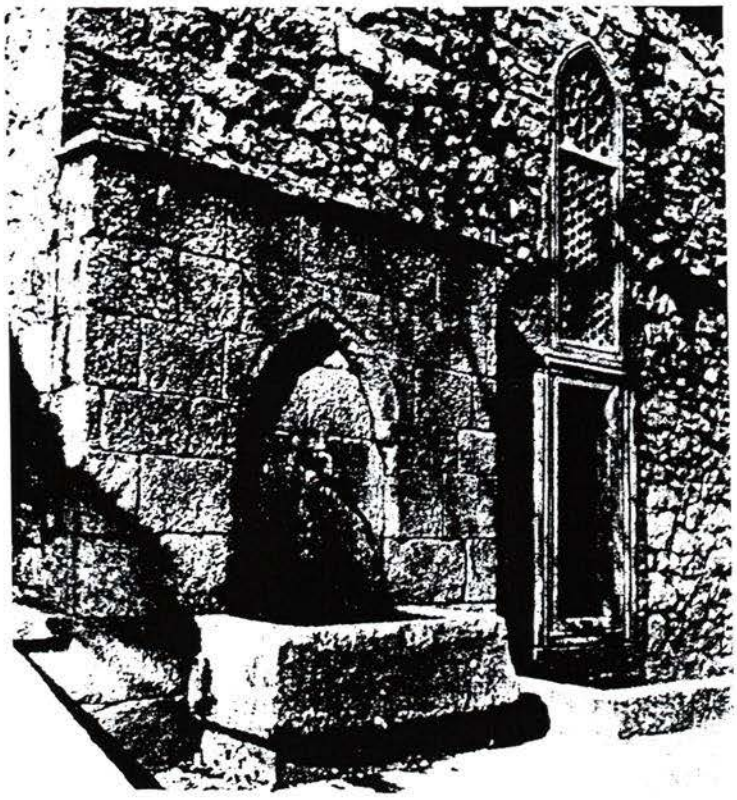


Figure 147: The Fountain of Sultan Ahmet III in Istanbul.

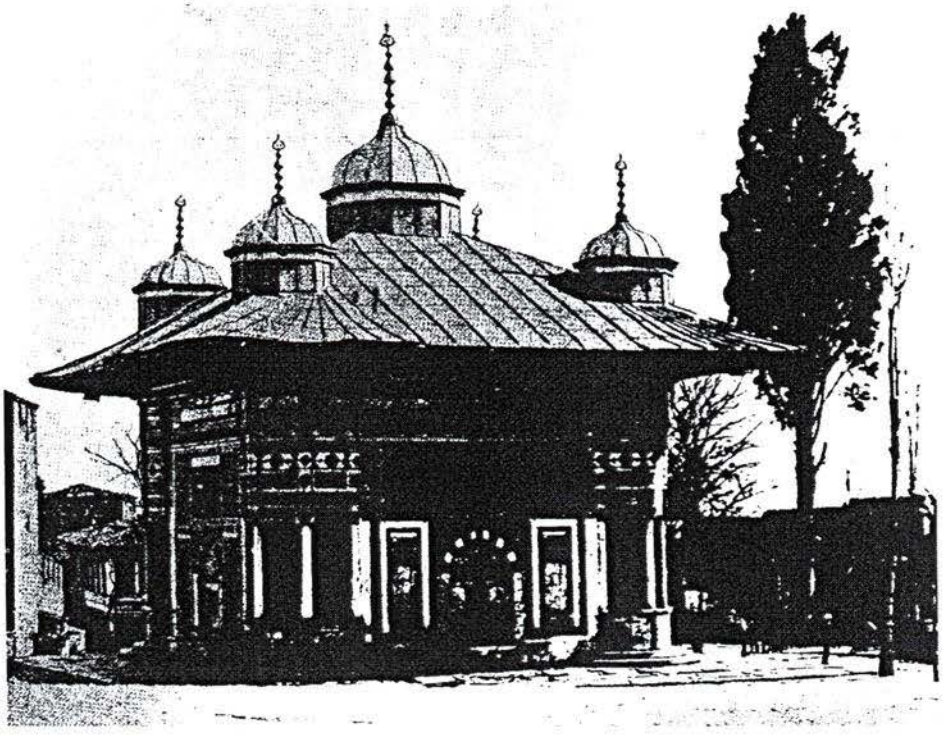


Figure 148: Kadi çeşme in Pécs, photograph from 1892.

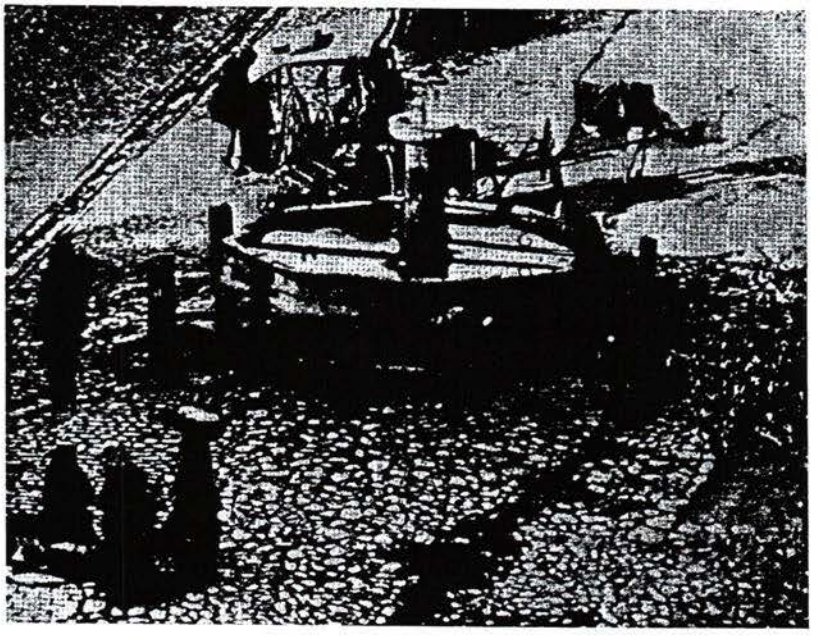


Figure 149: Kerlejela çeşme in Pécs, photograph.

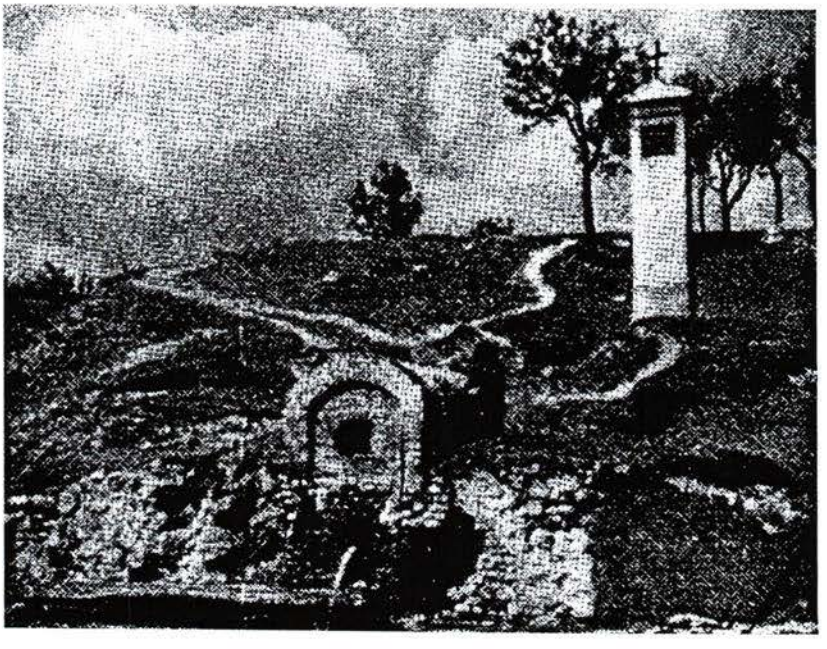


Figure 150: Pasha's house in Hungary by Arminius Vambery.

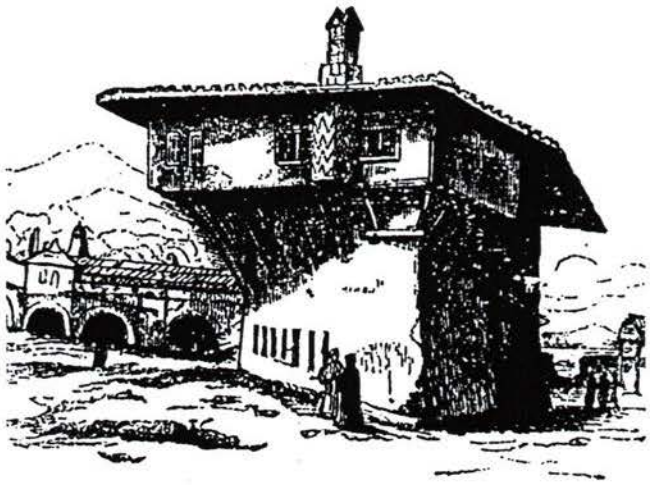


Figure 151: House in Jajce, Bosnia.

Figure 152: Koran school in Pécs.

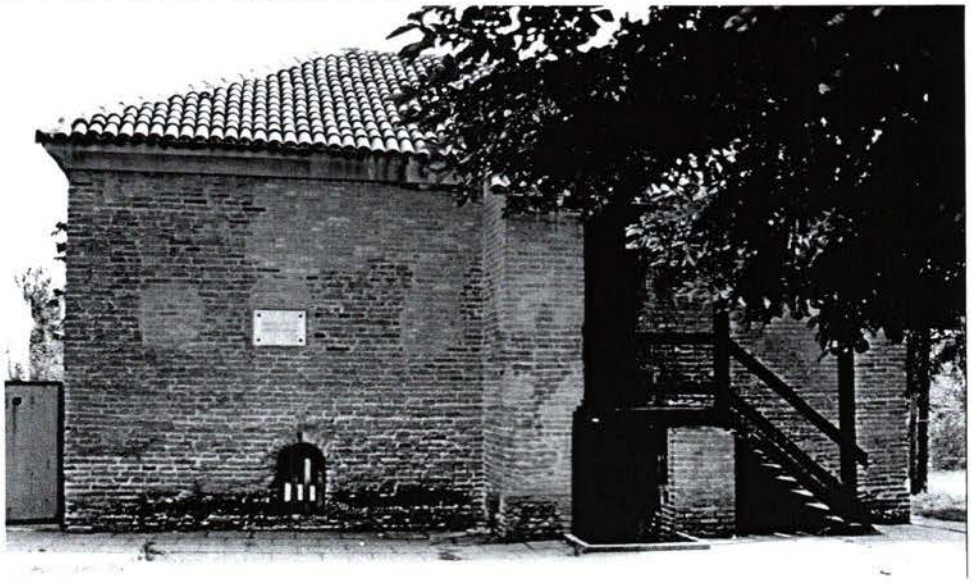


Figure 153: Lower level of the Koran school.

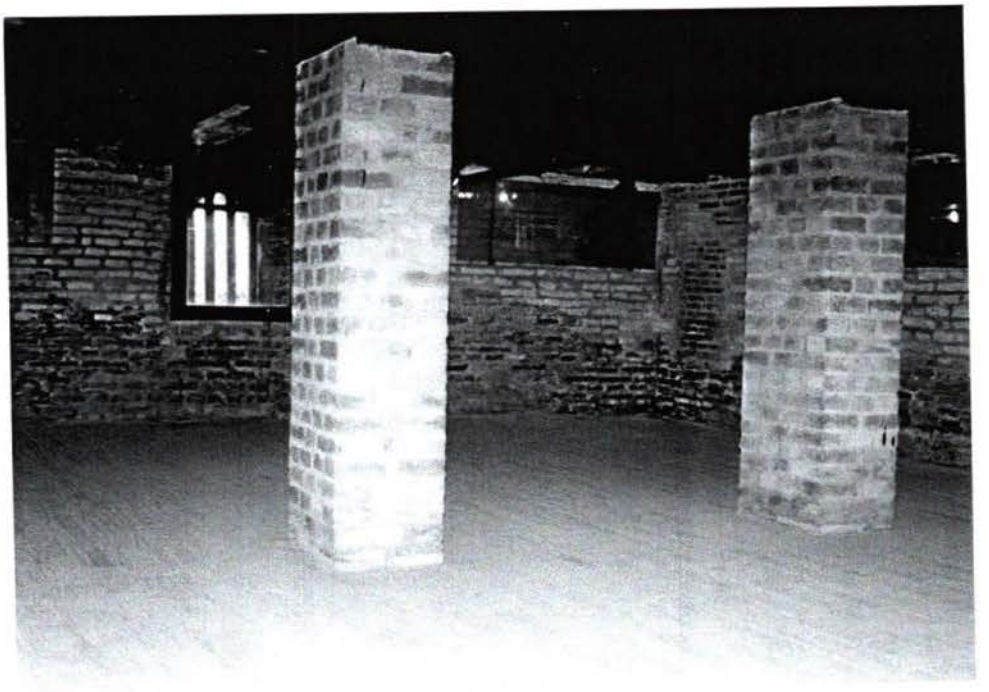


Figure 154: Upper level with the windows of the Koran school.

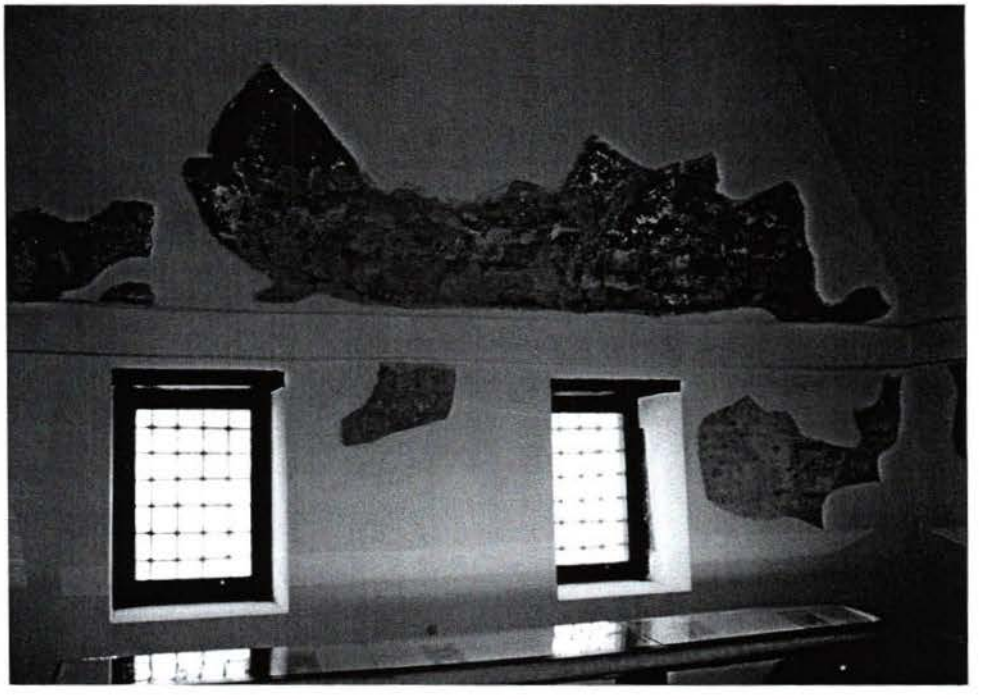


Figure 155: Niches in the walls of the Koran school.

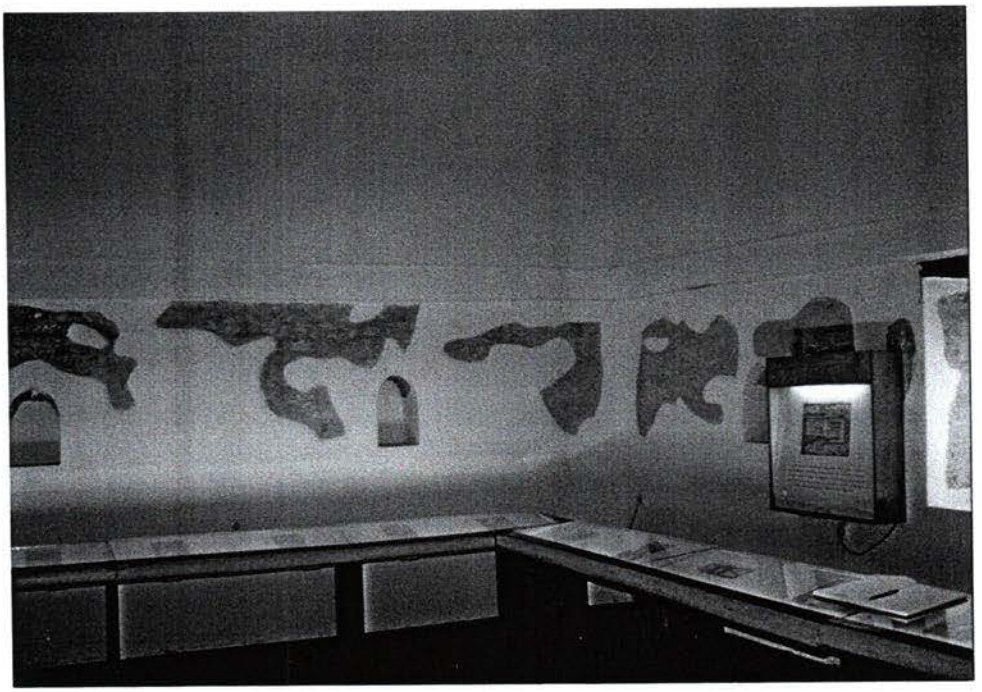


Figure 156: Sketch of Yeni Palanka by Heinrich Ottendorf, 1663.

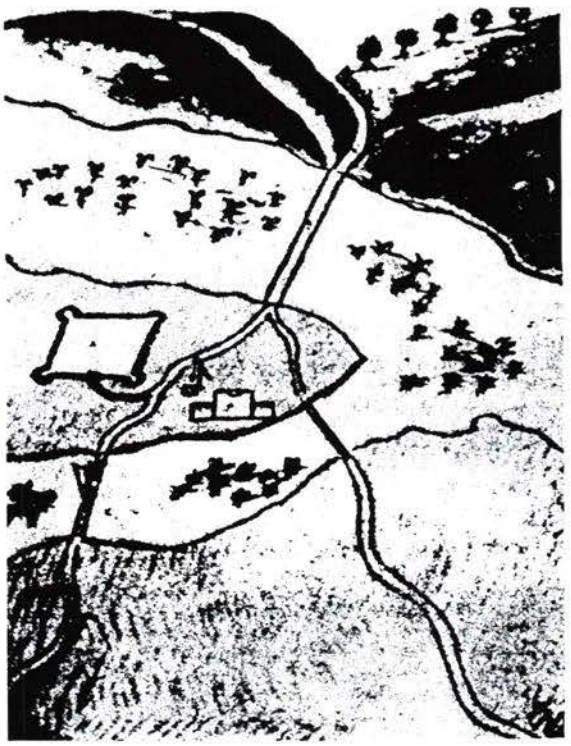


Figure 157: Excavated northwest tower of Yeni Palanka.

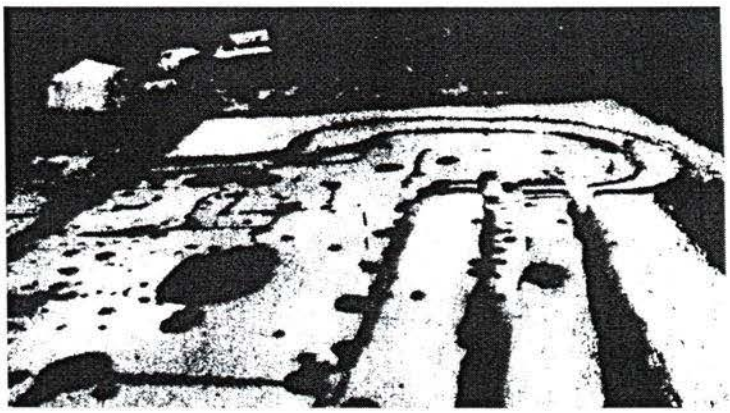


Figure 158: The Tower of Karakaş Pasha in Buda, painting by Károly Brocky, 1880.

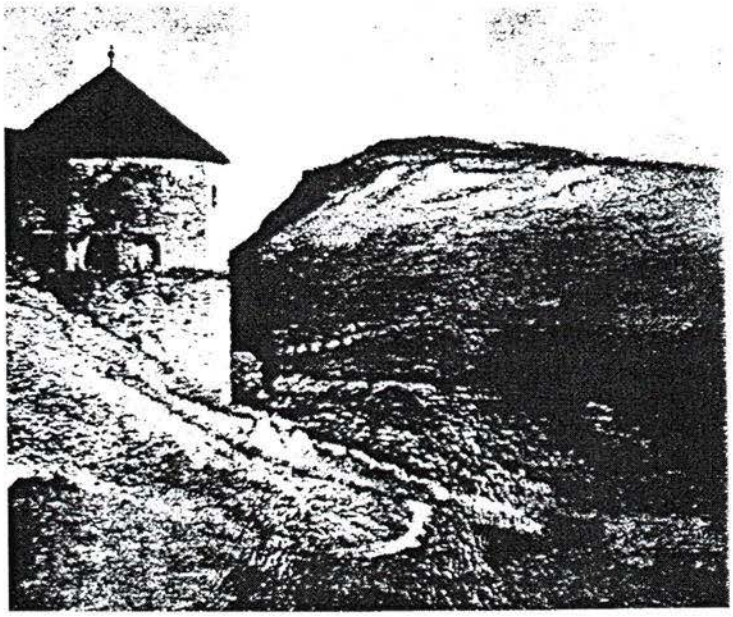


Figure 159: Plan of the Tower of Karakaş Pasha.

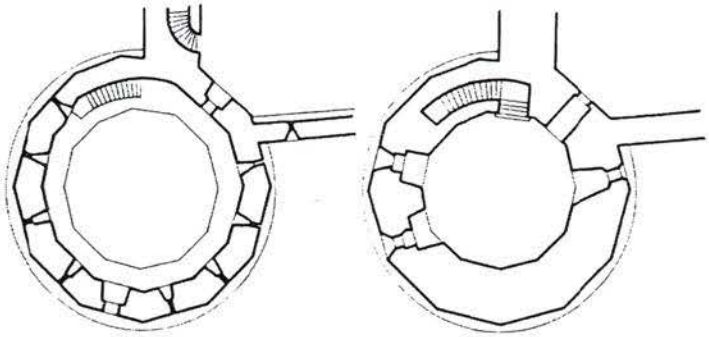


Figure 160: The Tower of Karakaş Pasha in Buda today.

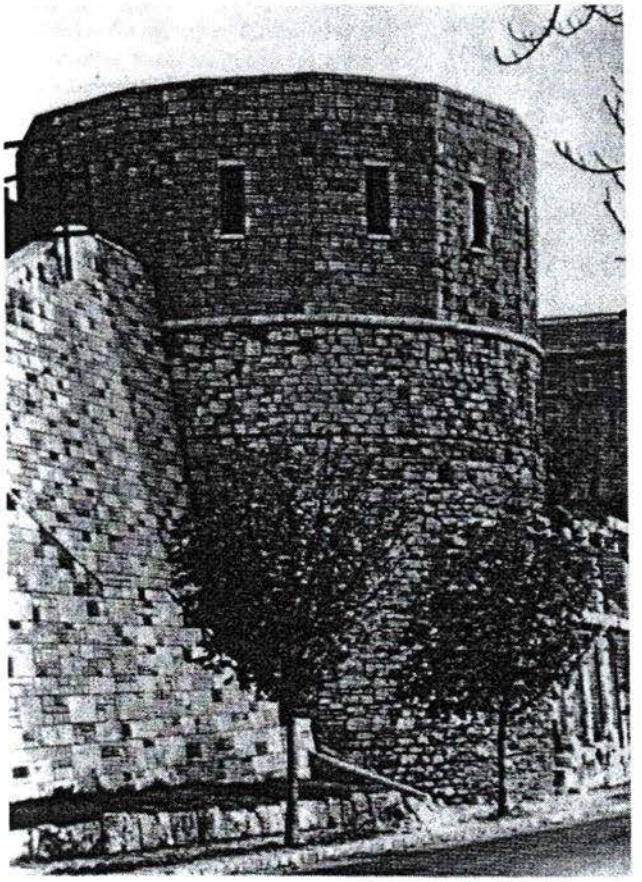


Figure 161: The Tower of Kasım Pasha in Buda.

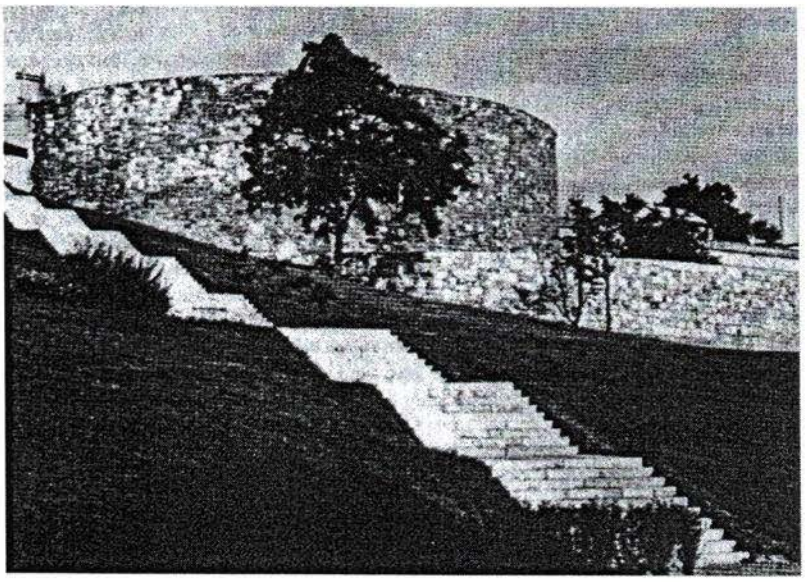


Figure 162: The *kitabe* from the Tower of Kasım Pasha.

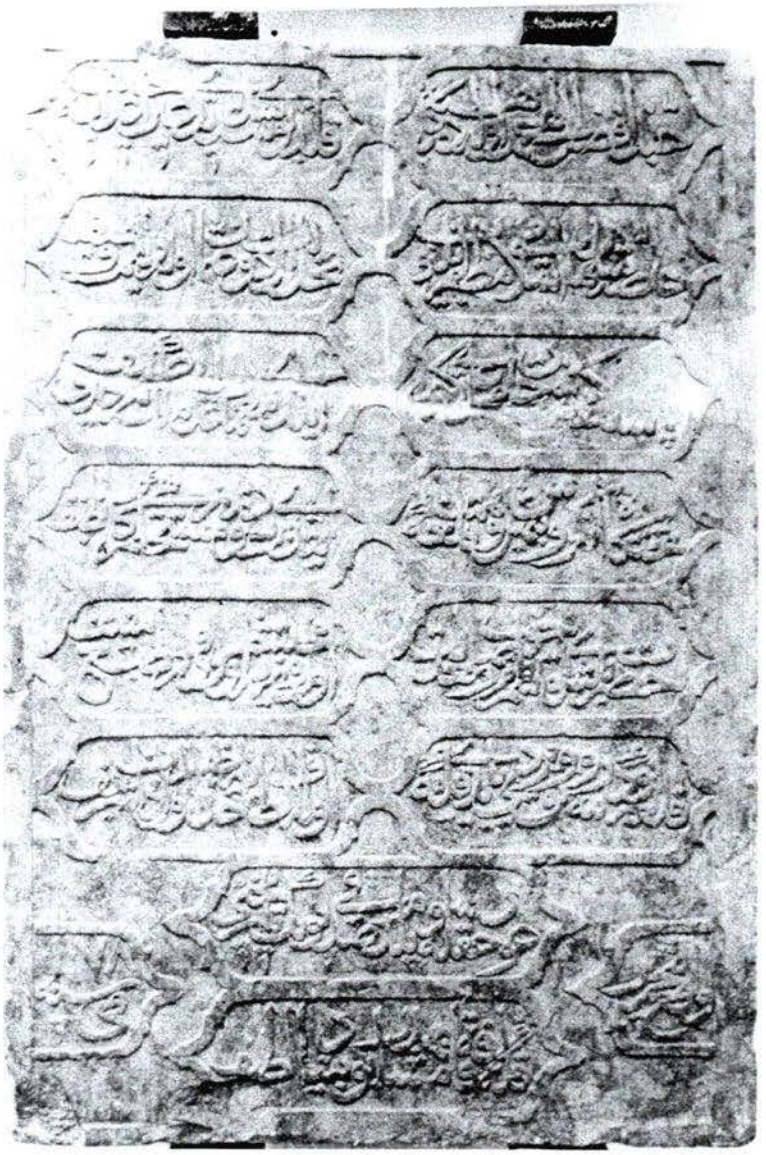
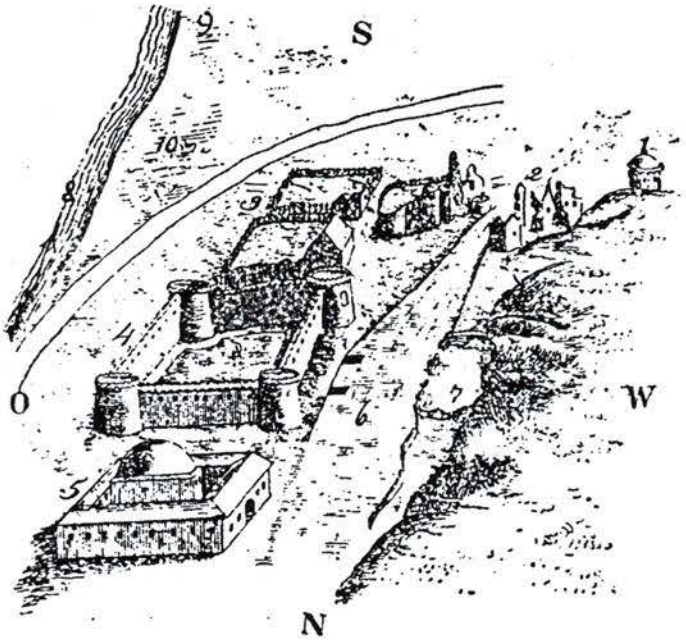


Figure 163: The *kitabe* from the Tower of Mahmut Pasha.

Figure 164: Baruthane, or gunpowder magazine in Buda, contemporary sketch.



1- Türbe of Gül Baba, 2- Tekke of Gül Baba, 4- Baruthane, 5- The Bath of Veli Bey.

Figure 165: Walls of the fort of Szigetvár.

Figure 166: Decorative brickwork in the walls of the fort of Szigetvár.

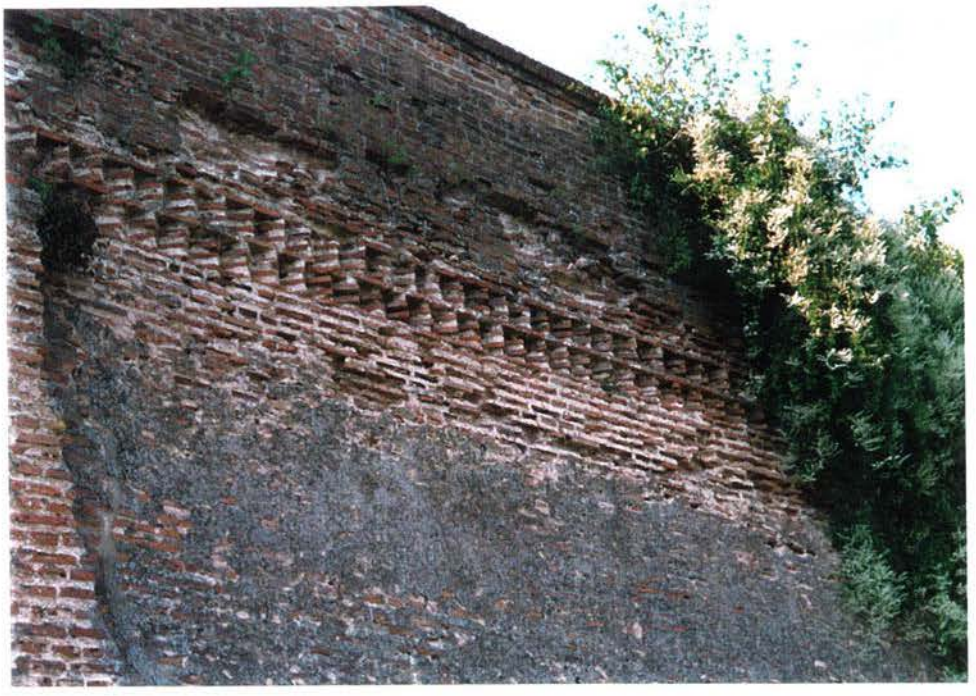


Figure 167: Gate of the fort of Szigetvár.

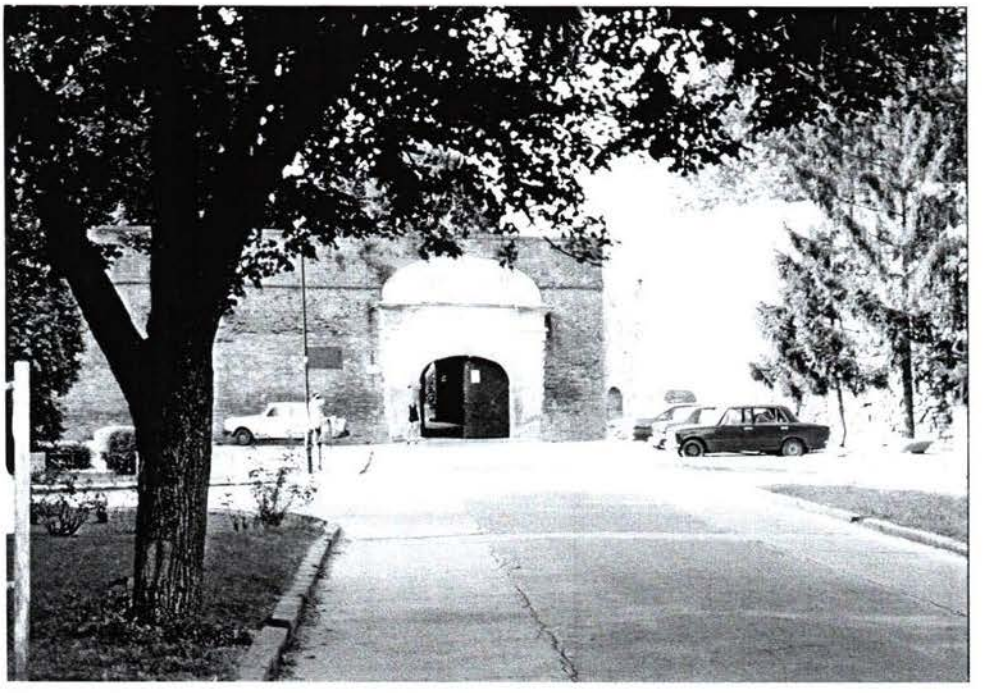


Figure 168: Place of the missing *kitabe* in the wall of the fort of Szigetvár.

Figure 169: Plan of the fort at Szeged with the section of the walls by De La Croix Paitits.

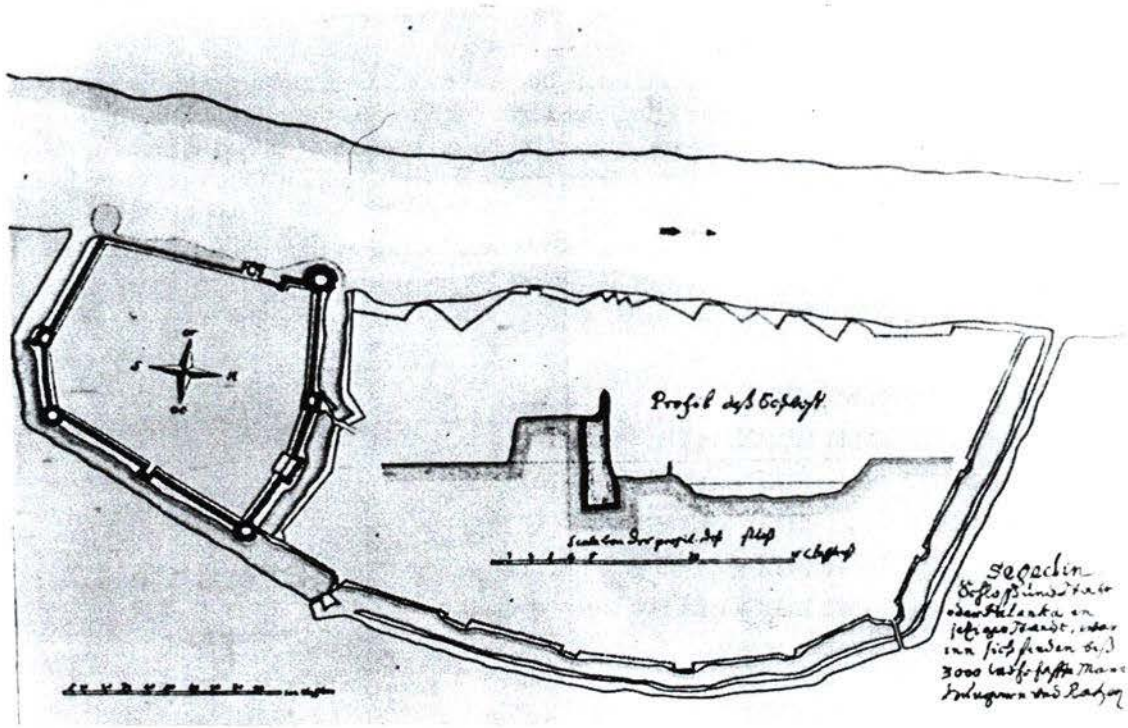


Figure 170: Plan and elevation of the Water Tower in Szeged.

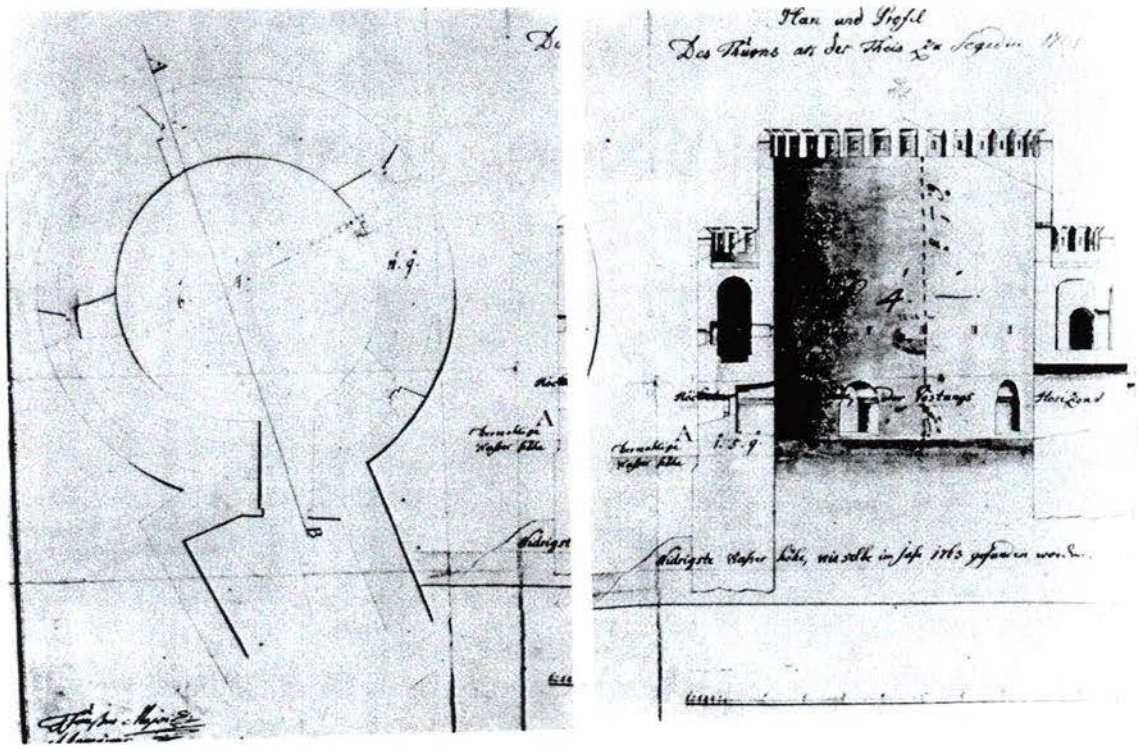


Figure 171: Photograph of the Water Tower from 1882, anonymous.

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