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*OTTOMAN STUDIES IN HUNGARY – II*

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## OTTOMAN BUILDINGS OF BUDA IN A TURKISH DRAWING OF 1684 FROM THE MARSILI-COLLECTION OF BOLOGNA

Mónika F. MOLNÁR\*

### Abstract

We have relatively few visual sources about Ottoman buildings and architecture in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Buda. I shall present a relatively little-known - because wrongly identified - large-size Turkish drawing portraying the unsuccessful attempt to liberate Buda in 1684. The drawing shows several Ottoman buildings and their architectural structure with Osmanli (Ottoman) inscriptions. The drawing constitutes part of the Marsili collection, which was found in the University Library of Bologna and contains the western (usually Italian, Latin, German), and Turkish written documents, or those which were collected by Luigi Ferdinando Marsili (1658-1730). Marsili, who spent a significant part of his life serving the emperor, fighting against the Ottomans in Hungary (practically from the siege of Vienna in 1683 to the peace treaties of Karlowitz in 1698-1699), was not only a soldier and talented, well-trained military engineer, but a passionate collector too. Having identified the inscriptions of the drawing, in comparison with the other two Turkish maps known from the era we can state that this image is significantly different from the other two Turkish works at several points. Since the maps of strategic importance showing the more important buildings and parts of the fortress, bastions, towers, gates and the important parts around the town like hills, waters (stream, lake) and the major buildings, these were most probably prepared and used for military purposes, while the Ottoman image of the siege of Buda in 1684 was made with miniature techniques, similar to the ones used in chronicles, with drawings and in artistic nature; this is a drawing of the town and the siege without significant military value.

**Keywords:** map, drawing, Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, Ottoman Hungary, Ottoman architecture.

We have relatively few visual sources about Ottoman buildings and architecture in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Buda.<sup>1</sup> I shall present a relatively little-known – because wrongly identified – large-size Turkish drawing portraying the unsuccessful attempt to liberate Buda in 1684. The drawing – conserved in the Marsili collection of Bologna<sup>2</sup> and published in Hungarian<sup>3</sup> – shows several Ottoman buildings and their architectural structure; furthermore Ottoman inscriptions help us to identify them one by one. My attention turned to this map of Buda during my research in Bologna on the basis of the verbal communication with Maurizio Pistoso, the Professor of Persian language at the University of Bolo-

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<sup>1</sup> Rózsa, G., *Budapest Régi Látképei (1493-1800)*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963, 1999<sup>2</sup> (Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia II), pp. 132-141; Fehér, G., *A Magyar Történelem Oszmán-Török Ábrázolásokban*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeva, O., "A Little-Known Collection of Turkish Manuscripts: The "Fondo Marsigli" of Bologna University Library", *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, 18/1 (Spring 1994), pp. 79-83.

<sup>3</sup> F. Molnár, M., "Egy 'Ismeretlen' Török Ostromrajz Luigi Ferdinando Marsili Gyűjteményéből", *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 119/2, 2006, pp. 373-388.

gna and his publication<sup>4</sup>. The present study takes part of my current research project entitled “Personal Network of Italian Military Writers and Diplomats between Vienna and Istanbul in the 17th Century”.



Fig. 1. Siege of Ottoman Buda in 1684

The drawing (Fig. 1.) constitutes part of the Marsili Collection. The so called ‘Fondo Marsili’ found in the University Library of Bologna, now is partially located in the manuscript collection of the library and partially in the Marsili Museum opened in the neighbouring rooms. The collection contains the western (usually Italian, Latin, German), or Turkish documents written, or collected by Luigi Ferdinando Marsili (1658–1730).<sup>5</sup>

This nobleman from Bologna had an extremely complex knowledge of the Turks, which he had got both in Europe and in the core of the Empire. First, in 1679, he went to the court of the Sultan with the staff of the new Venetian ambassador, Pietro Civrani, and stayed there for almost a year. Marsili started here collecting data on the recent situation and the military organization of the Ottoman Empire. When he returned, he entered the service of Emperor Leopold I. Immediately before the Ottoman siege of Vienna (1683), Marsili was

<sup>4</sup> Pistoso, M., “Una Pianta Ottomana di Buda”, *Oriente Moderno*, Nuova serie, 15/86 (1996), pp. 127-132.

<sup>5</sup> Stoye, J., *Marsili's Europe: 1680–1730. The Life and Times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, Soldier and Virtuoso*, New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1994; F. Molnár, M., “An Italian Information Agent in the Hungarian Theatre of War: Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli between Vienna and Constantinople”, *A Divided Hungary in Europe, vol. 2: Diplomacy, Information Flow and Cultural Exchange*, ed. by S. Brzeziński, Á. Zarnóczki, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2014, pp. 85-105; *La Política, la Ciencia, le Armi. Luigi Ferdinando Marsili e la Costruzione Della Frontiera dell'Impero e dell'Europa*, ed. Raffaella Gherardi, Bologna, 2010; Kolçak, Ö., “A Bolognese Polymath in Ottoman Lands: The Life and Activities of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli in the Ottoman Empire”, *Marmara Denizi 2010 Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı, 25-26 Eylül 2010*, ed. Bayram Öztürk, İstanbul: Türk Deniz Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2010, pp. 46-51.



captured and returned to the imperial army only after nine months of Turkish captivity.<sup>6</sup> Marsili, spent a significant part of his life serving the emperor<sup>7</sup> fighting the Ottomans in Hungary (practically from the siege of Vienna in 1683 to the peace treaties of Karlowitz in 1698–1699). In addition he participated in various secret and official diplomatic missions in Rome and also in Istanbul. At the negotiations of the Treaty of Karlowitz (1698–99) he was “councillor assistant” of the imperial delegation<sup>8</sup>. After the signing of the peace, the Emperor appointed Marsili as the commissioner to the Habsburg–Ottoman border demarcation.<sup>9</sup> Marsili’s principal work about the Ottomans, entitled *Stato militare dell’Impero Ottomano, incremento e decremento del medesimo*, was published in Italian and in French only two years after his death when a number of authors recognized that the Ottoman Empire had arrived at a point of decline.<sup>10</sup> In this book Marsili summarizes all his knowledge about the Ottomans, while his main goal was to help, by means of information, the project of reconquering the European territories occupied by the Ottomans.<sup>11</sup>

Marsili was not only a soldier and talented, well-trained military engineer, but a passionate collector too. He collected all types of information and for this reason more recent scholars describe him also as a spy<sup>12</sup>. Accordingly, he collected quite a large amount of materials not only about the Ottoman geographical, ethnic, political etc. characteristics, but also that of the Hungarian Kingdom,<sup>13</sup> partly recording his own experiences and partly relying on

<sup>6</sup> Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Ragguaglio della Schiavitù*, ed. Bruno Basile, Roma: Salerno, 1996.

<sup>7</sup> Gherardi, R.–Martelli, F., *La Pace degli Eserciti e Dell’economia: Montecuccoli e Marsili alla Corte di Vienna*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009.

<sup>8</sup> F. Molnár, M., “Der Friede von Karlowitz und das Osmanische Reich”, *Frieden und Konfliktmanagement in interkulturellen Räumen. Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgmonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, hrsg. Arno Strohmeyer – Norbert Spannenberger, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner-Verlag, 2013, pp. 197–220.

<sup>9</sup> F. Molnár, M., “L. F. Marsili e gli ottomani. La frontiera asburgico-ottomana dopo la pace di Carlowitz”, *La Politica, la Scienza, le Armi. Luigi Ferdinando Marsili e la Costruzione della Frontiera dell’Impero e dell’Europa*, ed. Raffaella Gherardi, Bologna, 2010, pp. 147–172; Gardi, A., “Osservando il Nemico. Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli e il Mondo Turco”, *L’Europa Divisa e i Nuovi Mondi. Per Adriano Prosperi*, ed. Massimo Donattini, Giuseppe Marocchi, Stefania Pastore, II, Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2011, pp. 98–99.

<sup>10</sup> F. Molnár, M., “The Crisis of the Ottoman Empire Seen by 17–18th-century Italians”, *Empires and Nations from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, I, ed. Antonello Biagini – Giovanna Motta, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014, pp. 39–48.

<sup>11</sup> Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Stato Militare dell’Impero Ottomano, Incremento e Decremento del Medesimo*, Aia-Amsterdam, 1732.

<sup>12</sup> Bene, S., “Acta Pacis - Peace with the Muslims: Luigi Ferdinando Marsili’s Plan for the Publication of the Documents of the Carlowitz Peace Treaty”, *Camoenae Hungaricae*, 3 (2006), pp. 113–146.

<sup>13</sup> Veress, E., “Gróf Marsili Alajos Ferdinánd Olasz Hadi Mérnök Jelentései és Térképei Budavár 1684–1686-iki Ostromairól, Visszafoglalásáról és Helyrajzáról”, *Budapest Régiségei*, 9 (1906), pp. 103–170; F. Molnár, M., “Le Ricerche Ungheresi del Fondo Marsili di Bologna. Annuario”, *Studi e Documenti Italo-Ungheresi*, Roma-Szeged: Accademia d’Ungheria in Roma Istituto Storico ‘Fraknói’–Università degli Studi di Szeged, Dipartimento di Italianistica, 2004, pp. 38–49.

other sources.<sup>14</sup>

The large (length 144 centimetre, width 76.5), rectangular Ottoman drawing of the siege made with Indian ink and watercolour technique using bright colours, is found in the Bologna University Library in a small room full with display cabinets next to the manuscript collection, in the top part of display cabinet No: 4. of the so called 'Marsili Museum', under label *Rotulo 14*. The picture was restored in the early 1980s, but it was glued on the canvas framing it at the time of exhibiting in the museum or at the time when it arrived to Bologna. Unfortunately we do not have any information about neither the creator of the picture nor the exact circumstances of obtaining by Marsili. When he returned to Italy and embarked upon to organise to catalogue his collection, Marsili wrote an interesting letter about the creation of his oriental manuscript collection,<sup>15</sup> however it does not refer to the circumstances of obtaining the individual pieces. Therefore, since Marsili took part in the unsuccessful siege of Buda in 1684 as well as the successful siege by the Emperor in 1686, we can only assume that he obtained the drawing of the siege somehow in the fortress itself either during the first or the second occasion, presumably during the latter as we will see from the dates.

According to the note under the drawing in the display cabinet, the picture shows Vienna besieged by the Ottomans in 1683. The drawing of the siege was presumably recorded on the basis of the Italian („*Assedio di Vienna disegnato da 'Turchi'*") and Latin („*Obsideo viennensis Anno 1683 a turcis descripta*") descriptions and the description („*Disegno dell'Assedio di Vienna e che fu composto da Turchi e che fu trovato nelle Tende loro quando sotto di tale piazza restó disfatto l'esercito ottomano*"= Drawing of the siege of Vienna, prepared by the Turks, which was found in their tents when the Ottoman army suffered a serious defeat under the fortress mentioned) found in the inventory of the material of the Academy of Sciences (l'Accademia delle Scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna) founded by Marsili after 1712 (formally inaugurated in 1714)<sup>16</sup>. These statements were however certainly not written by Marsili, since the Italian

<sup>14</sup> Frati, L., *Catalogo dei Manoscritti di Marsili Conservati nella Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna*, Firenze, 1928. (This contains only the MSS written by himself, but does not include those writings and books collected by him during his trips, and brought to Bologna).

<sup>15</sup> Sorbelli, A., "Lettera-Prefazione al Catalogo dei Manoscritti Orientali", *Scritti Inediti di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili*, Bologna: Zanichelli, 1930, pp. 169-186.

<sup>16</sup> A constitution for the Institute of Science was approved on 12 December 1711. See: *Atti legali per la fondazione dell'Istituto delle Scienze, ed arti liberali per memoria degli ordini ecclesiastici, e secolari che compongono la città di Bologna*. Bologna, Nella Stamperia Bolognese di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1728.

Marsigli's goal with the Institute was to gather all modern scientific knowledge within the rooms of an old senatorial residence, the Palazzo Poggi, now headquarters of the rector of the University of Bologna.

military engineer who knew both fortresses very well personally could not have made such a serious mistake.

The drawing shows Buda attacked by the emperor's army, not Vienna besieged by the Ottomans<sup>17</sup> which is clearly proved. In order to justify this it is enough to carefully observe the buildings of the besieged fortress and it becomes immediately clear – even without translating the texts written in Turkish – that it is a place possessed by Ottomans, not Christians. The most obvious signs of this are the minarets among the houses here and there, the crescents on the buildings connected to them (i.e. on the mosques) as well as the clearly visible crescents on some of the flags that can not be perfectly seen due to not being finely elaborated (**Figs. 2.1., 2.2.**).



**Fig. 2.1.** Crescents on the flags



**Fig. 2.2.** Crescents on the mosque

Also carefully observing the schematic drawings of the besieging troops on the right and the top of the picture and especially their flags, we can state that many of them shows the cross, the sign symbolising Christian troops.

And if we read the few (total of 20) but very interesting Turkish definitions of the buildings of the town – let me refer to the simplest notes here like the tomb of Gül Baba (**Fig. 3.**) or the Vienna gate since we use these names unchanged even today – it becomes completely clear that the town shown is the Ottoman Buda itself.

<sup>17</sup> Before Prof. Pistoso, this fact had been already notified by a Polish orientalist, Zygmunt Abrahamowicz in the schedules of the library indicating the use of the pieces by researchers, on 26<sup>th</sup> September, 1980, and furthermore by Arduini, F., "La Biblioteca Universitaria", *Laboratori Storici e Musei dell'Università di Bologna. I Luoghi del Conoscere*, Bologna: Banca del Monte di Bologna e Ravenna, 1988, p. 162 and fig. 2.



**Fig. 3.** Tomb of Gül Baba (Gül Baba türbesi)

Let us turn to the issue of the dating of the picture: this is not difficult even despite the fact that there were six efforts to get the capital of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, Buda – occupied in 1541 with a ruse – back from the Ottomans (in 1542, in 1598, in 1602, in 1603, in 1684 and finally in 1686<sup>18</sup>) since the date of the picture is given on the drawing of the siege by the drawer himself three times. The year is first shown in the fenced area on page 1.3., then the same date is written twice close to each other on page 1.5. This date is year 1096 according to the Hijra, which refers to the period between 8th December 1684 and 27th November 1685 AD in Christianity.

Since this period refers to the period after the siege (which was finished in the end of October) we can reasonably assume that the drawing of the siege was prepared later, after the allied troops of the emperor's army, the Polish and the Hungarian had left the area of the fortress. This is verified by the elaboration of the composition by the artist who obviously had lived in the town

<sup>18</sup> Fekete, L., "Budapest a Törökörban", *Budapest Története*, III, ed. Szendy Károly, Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1944, p. 24.

or stayed there temporarily but certainly for a longer period of time: drawing the town in details like miniatures while showing the siege operations much more schematically.

Thinking today it is easy to imagine that the Ottomans were happier to preserve for themselves and posterity a heroic battle ending in victory than a siege ending in a bad failure and withdrawal like the one under Vienna in 1683. Drawings of sieges like the one presented here have helped historians, who wrote chronicles of these decades later times as well. For example Raşid, the official historian of the court (died in 1740) or Silahdar Mehmed (1658–1723), who is also called Findikli after his birthplace. A chapter describing the siege of Buda in 1684 of the chronicle entitled 'Zeyl-i Fezleke' of Silahdar telling the history of the events between 1659 and the 1720s has been published in Hungarian thanks to the work of Lajos Fekete.<sup>19</sup> Talking about the chronicle of Silahdar, Fekete mentions that official documents, verbal information and most probably the map and drawing of the besieged fortress could serve as his sources, since Silahdar proves to have had very precise and detailed topographic knowledge in his description, in spite of the fact that he did not take part in these battles so he could not be an eyewitness of the events.<sup>20</sup>

The question is raised: How is it possible that such an important and striking size of drawing has not been noticed by either Endre Veress, who actually worked in the Fondo Marsili collecting and processing the materials related to the sieges in 1684 and 1686 including two unparalleled Turkish maps of Buda, or any other researchers arriving from Hungary to Bologna?

The answer to this question seems to be relatively simple: the above mentioned explanatory text of the drawing of the siege referring to the siege of Vienna may easily deceive the observer and since the subject drawing was not categorised either with the documents written in western languages or the eastern manuscript materials, its modern categorisation has not taken place, therefore it has remained hidden from researchers approaching the material through the catalogues. The eastern material of the Marsili collection containing over 500 volumes has two more detailed, printed catalogues in addition to the two old handwritten catalogues<sup>21</sup>: the first one was compiled in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by a Russian orientalist, Rosen, who was young at that time, which pri-

<sup>19</sup> Fekete, "Budavár 1684-ik Évi Ostroma", *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 39 (1938), pp. 77-103 and 205-228.

<sup>20</sup> Fekete, "Budavár 1684-ik Évi Ostroma", p. 82.

<sup>21</sup> Mezzofanti: *Catalogo de' Manoscritti Orientali, che si Conservano nella Biblioteca della R. Università di Bologna* (BUB Ms. 4111); Assemani: *Index Librorum Bibliothecae Marsilianae Graecorum, Latinorum, Hebraicorum, Arabicorum, Turcicorum et Persicorum, nec non Ruthenicorum et Illyricorum Sermone, tum Manoscriptorum, tum Impressorum...* In *Septem partes dividus*. (BUB Ms. 2951)

marily organises the Arabian works<sup>22</sup> constituting the majority of the collection of course according to the scientific expectations of the era; the other one is a really modern, carefully prepared, detailed work about the materials written in Persian.<sup>23</sup> However, apart from a few short announcements, a comprehensive, printed catalogue of the Turkish material containing approximately 170 volumes has not been published – although as I know it has been prepared as a result of the work of a Turkmen researcher, Orazgozel Machaeva<sup>24</sup> – which makes access to the materials and navigation in them very difficult.

The drawing presented here rises some interesting questions to be resolved in addition to the problem of its “unknown” nature<sup>25</sup>. During a more careful study of the drawing of the siege it soon emerges that the schematic drawing of the fortress wall and the hillside below, together with the bastions and houses etc. does not form a continuous line everywhere; moreover, the lines of the map are completely broken and split in one place.

It is not difficult to point out however that this really large map was not one piece, but compiled from ten same size, larger parts, which are each divided further by one less sharp line. Folding these out and joining them together, the parts were glued on a large canvas (most probably in Bologna), which still keeps them together.

After all we could conclude that the pieces of the map were placed together wrongly, but this is not true because it can not be compiled any better from the existing pieces. We might think that some parts are missing, but comparing the number and location of the bastions with the other two maps in Turkish language also found in the Marsili collection and published by Veress<sup>26</sup> – which belong to the few sources we have that help us study Buda in the Ottoman times in addition to the detailed description by Evliya Çelebi<sup>27</sup> – the drawing

<sup>22</sup> Rosen, V., *Remarques sur les Manuscrits Orientaux de la Collection Marsili à Bologne. Suivies de la Liste Complète des Manuscrits Arabes*, Rome, 1885.

<sup>23</sup> Piemontese, A. M., *Catalogo dei Manoscritti Persiani Conservati nelle Biblioteche d'Italia*, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1989, pp. 3-35.

<sup>24</sup> Machaeva, O., “A Little-Known Collection of Turkish Manuscripts: The “Fondo Marsigli” of Bologna University Library”, *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, 18/1 (Spring 1994), pp. 79-83.

<sup>25</sup> In Hungary worked some cartographers in that time. For example Ebu Bekir b. Behran el-Dımaşkı Efendi (from Damascus, d. 1691) was trusted to survey the Hungarian and German territory (“*ale'l-acele Engürüs ve Cermanya memleketinin şekli-i müşahhasla tahrîr ve tasvîri ile me'mûr olduğumuz ecilden ...*”, Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Eb. 370, vr. 1b) for his huge geographical project of *Atlas Major*. See Sarıcaoğlu, F. “Ebû Bekir b. Behrâm”, *DİA*, X (1994), 110-111. This anonym map can be inserted in the rich tradition of city and waterway maps, see Sarıcaoğlu, F., *Pîrî Reis'den Örfî Paşa'ya Osmanlı Tarihî Haritaları ve Tarihî Coğrafya Eserleri*, İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2015, pp. 35-40.

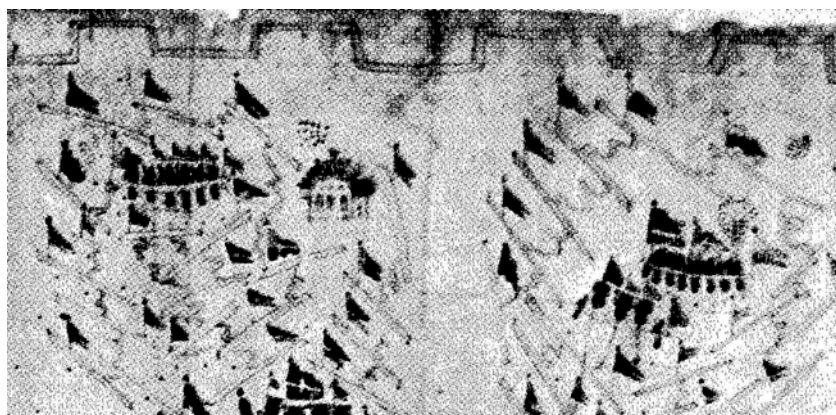
<sup>26</sup> Veress, E., “Gróf Marsili Alajos Ferdinánd Olasz Hadi Mérnök Jelentései és Térképei Budavár 1684–1686-iki Ostromairól, Visszafoglalásáról és Helyrajzáról”, *Budapest Régiségei*, 9 (1906), pp. 103-170.

<sup>27</sup> *Evliya Cselebi Török Világutazó Magyarországi Utazásai, 1660–1664*, ed. Karácson Imre, Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1985<sup>2</sup>, pp. 266-296.; Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zillî,

completely correlates with the situation known from other sources especially at the seemingly problematic joints, in spite of its disproportional characteristics.

So we can exclude the possibility of wrong adjustment and state that the drawing is complete, and we only have the strange explanation that the artist drawing the picture of the siege of Buda in 1684 from an Eastern side perspective tried to somehow 'correct' the rather deformed proportions of his own picture this way.

Let me say a few words about the problem of the top and bottom parts of the drawing that has already been mentioned. It becomes clear from the details on the top of the picture that it is a siege of a fortress, but the two parts of the picture – apart from a few spots that look like flying bombs – are not closely related to each other, they could be completely separate, if there were not the same type of troops on the right of the map, and we could not see a Turkish style building among the troops on part 2.2. (**Fig. 4.**).



**Fig. 4.** Building among the troops

Approximately locating the building we most probably see the *Hizir Baba monastery*.<sup>28</sup> The drawing of the siege may be mostly deemed as authentic, since it was mostly directed towards the lower part of the Western side of the fortress from *Tabán* and *Naphegy*, and towards *Föld* (Ground) bastion from today's *Rózsadomb* and *Kis-Svábhegy* on the Northern side, as the attackers positioned their troops here according to chronicles.

*Evlüyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Revan 1457 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini 6. Kitap*, haz. Seyyid Ali Kahraman-Yücel Dağlı, İstanbul, 2002.

<sup>28</sup> See Veress, "Gróf Marsili Alajos Ferdinánd", p. 50; Fekete, "Budavár 1684-ik évi Ostroma", p. 100 (Map of Buda and its surroundings).

Let us examine the Turkish building names found on the drawing.

(Fig. 5.) (part 1.1.)

- The larger bastion on the right *Toprak tabyası* (Ground bastion). The Turkish artist used the words *tabya* (bastion) and *kule* (tower) to define the bastions. The creator of the other known Turkish language map of Buda used the expression 'kule' for all bastions except for the *Gümüş* and *Altın tabya* (bastion).<sup>29</sup>

- The smaller bastion on the left *Erdel tabyası* (Transylvanian bastion). As we know today the *Erdel tabyası* was not located in the place shown on the drawing, that is not between the Ground bastion and the Vienna gate, but it could be the second large bastion in the opposite direction from the Vienna gate. The creator of the picture nicely drew this large size bastion, only the name is missing.

- Small Turkish style building with trees *Gül Baba Türbesi* (the tomb of *Gül Baba*). The writing of the word *türbe* is strange because instead of the normal writing of ت the writer used an other Arabic letter of the 't': ط.



Fig. 5. Underside detail, right side

<sup>29</sup> See Veress, "Gróf Marsili Alajos Ferdinánd", pp. 43-48 and the map.



(Fig. 6.) (part 1.2.)

- Ekşi Aş tabyası (Sour Soup bastion) on the top of the picture
- The ornamental tower with crescent Saat kulesi (Clock tower). This tower was the 'church tower' of the *Fetih* (victory), or *Saat* (clock) mosque converted from a Christian church. This tower remained from the Maria Magdalene church that can be seen today in the Buda Castle on *Kapisztrán* Square.
- High tower on the right Beç kapusu (Vienna gate)
- Small gate on the left Orta kapusu (Middle or Central gate). Not marked on the map of Buda published by Endre Veress, he does not mark a gate here. The Jewish gate was here in medieval times, the place of which is still an existing entrance to the Castle.



Fig. 6. Underside detail, 2nd from the right side

(Fig. 7.) (part 1.3.) The name of the gate above *Su tabyası* (water bastion) is indistinct, illegible, but if we try to identify it with the help of our other Turkish map, it can not be anything else than the *Ahorluk kapusu* (Stable gate), since this led to the stables also presented on the drawing. The inscription next to *Kasım Paşa's* Tower, between the two flags is also illegible, but it would presumably be *Karakaş* too, see part 1.4.

- The large bastion on the top *Kasım Paşa kulesi* (Kasım Pasha's tower)
- The gate below is *Tabya kapusu* (Bastion gate)<sup>30</sup>
- Opposite to it *Haber kulesi* (News tower)
- The two gates next to each other *Su kapusu aded 2* (Water gate, two pieces)
- The bastion on the bottom *Su tabyası* (Water bastion)
- Area with rails at the Water gate *Şaronpo* (barrier)<sup>31</sup>
- Area with rails next to the bastion *Yeni Şaronpo sene 1096* (New barrier, 1096 year)



**Fig.7.** Underside detail, middle part

<sup>30</sup> According to the map published by Veress, here, close to the *Kasım Paşa Kulesi* should be found the *Ova kapusu*, i.e. Plain-Gate.

<sup>31</sup> Also the other map mentions a *serampo*, describing it as made by Siavuş Ağa, full of water, and that it was defended by the troops of the *yeniçeri-ağası* of Buda. See: Veress, "Gróf Marsili Alajos Ferdinánd", p. 45.

(Fig. 8.) (part 1.4.)

- Bastion on the top *Karakaş kulesi* (Karakas tower)<sup>32</sup>
- On the bottom in the town *Ahorlar* (Stables)

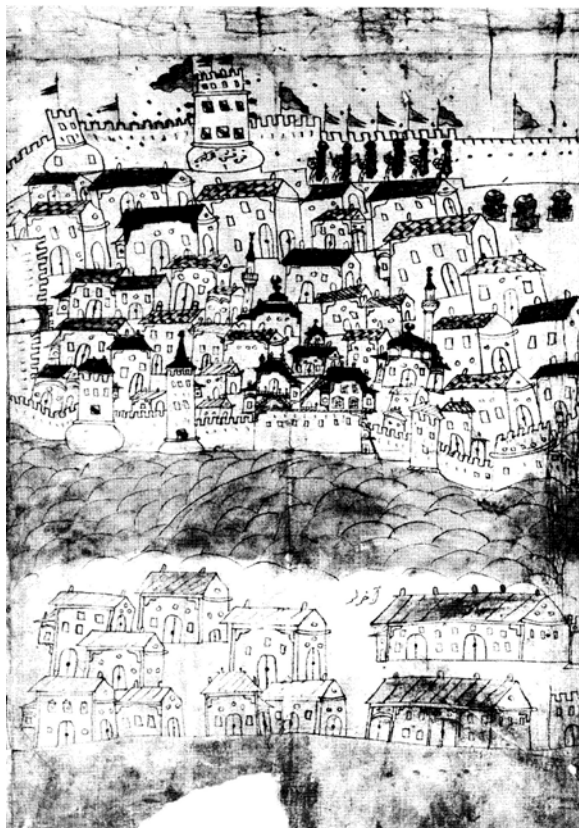


Fig. 8. Underside detail, 2nd from the left side

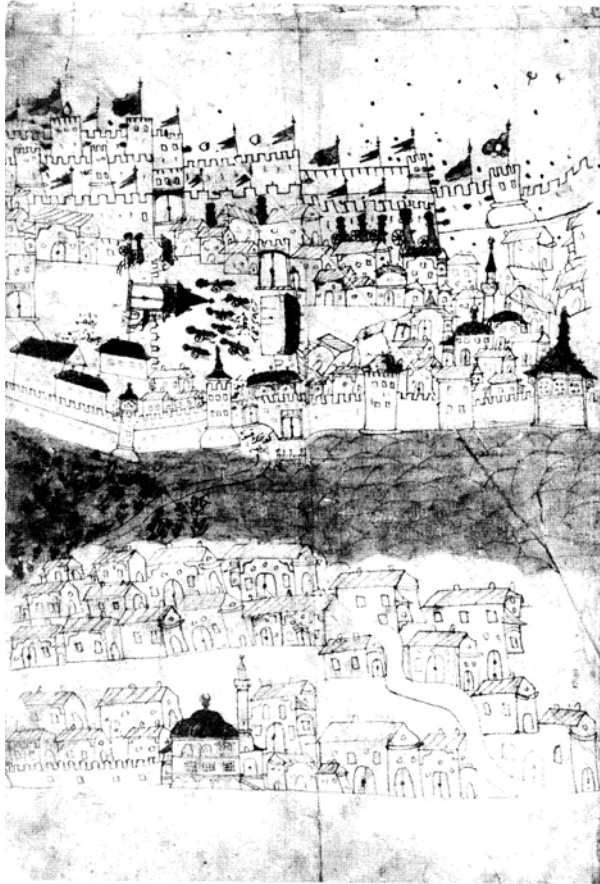
(Fig. 9.) (part 1.5.)<sup>33</sup>

- In the first square *Topçı kerhanesi* (Workshop of artillerymen), ?, 1096
- 1096 again in the other interior place, the part below is illegible
- Below the house next to the tower on the right side of the square *Zindân* (Prison)
- The gate opening from the first square *Küçük kapusu* (Small gate)

<sup>32</sup> On the map by Veress it is called the Tower of Karakaş Paşa. It has also been mentioned that it was built by Karakaş Paşa when he was the governor of Buda in 1620. Veress, "Gróf Marsili Alajos Ferdinánd", p. 44.

<sup>33</sup> I could not read the word written below the year (which can be seen three times in this drawing). And also the inscription below is damaged, nevertheless, we have learnt from the other map, that this square was called: *Bali Paşa Meydanı*.

Having identified the individual inscriptions, in comparison with the other two Turkish maps known from the era we can state that this image is significantly and in terms of its nature fundamentally different from the other two Turkish works at several points. Since the maps of strategic importance showing the more important buildings and parts of fortress, bastions, towers, gates and the important parts around the town: hills, waters (stream, lake) and the major buildings on these were most probably prepared and used for military purposes, and the Ottoman image of the siege of Buda in 1684 was made with miniature techniques similar to those used in chronicles, with drawings and artistic nature; it is a drawing of the town and the siege without significant military value.



**Fig. 9.** Underside detail, left side

Other images of Buda created in this period of time, the *vedute* made by Western people are worth mentioning. Although the 17<sup>th</sup> century was the golden age of multiplied landscapes all over Europe, the particular history of Buda did not allow for making and spreading landscapes in similar quantities and standards to other European towns until the time of the liberating wars. Since the town was physically closed as a part of the Ottoman Empire, surveys but even drawings were not made about it in this period.<sup>34</sup>

The most important motives of the creation of *vedute* were historical events, especially sieges (mostly the two last ones mentioned several times), which were most frequently used as the illustrations of the texts of handbills giving news about events and serving as a predecessor of newspapers. The works of experts fulfilling essential technical tasks, the military engineers arriving with the army against the Ottomans during the sieges in 1684 and 1686, who took time to prepare images of the events of the sieges in addition to their work. Their pages are significant due to their topographical value and as sources in the history of war, not to their artistic quality.<sup>35</sup> We must mention *Louis Nicolas d'Hallart*, the general adjutant of Maximilian Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, who made series of several pages about both sieges, multiplied by Michael Wening, court engraver. The large-size, scaled maps of *Nicolas Marcel de la Vigne*, lieutenant-colonel, an engineer of the emperor, and the map prepared by *Carl Joseph Juvigny*, military engineer, dedicated to Leopold I on which we can find a reliable general view of the city are also worth mentioning. The picture of the siege from a Northern perspective bird's eye view by *Giovanni Domenico Fontana*, an Italian architect and painter is outstanding among the works of military engineers with its artistic value, on which the architectural details are worth mentioning in addition to military operations.<sup>36</sup>

The Ottoman picture described above is worth comparing with the works of the Western *veduta*-makers mentioned above, in order to examine its credibility and source value. The identification of the religious buildings in Buda seems to be most obvious, so let us examine these in comparison with the Western examples. The most important mosques can be recognised and identified on the basis of their minarets (or their towers in case of buildings converted from big Christian churches) and the crescents on the buildings.

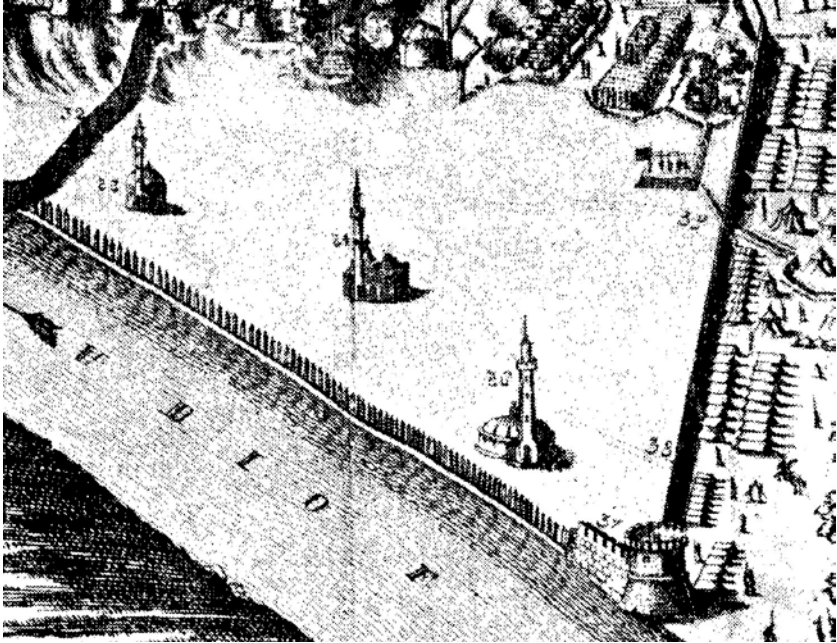
The mosques of *Alsóváros* (Lower Town) or *Víziváros* (Water Town) are as follows from right to left: (**Fig. 10.**)

- Osman Bey (or Su, or Horos) mosque
- Sokollu Mustafa mosque
- Hacı Sefer mosque.

<sup>34</sup> Rózsa, *Budapest Régi Látképei*, p. 13.

<sup>35</sup> Rózsa, *Budapest Régi Látképei*, p. 15.

<sup>36</sup> Rózsa, *Budapest Régi Látképei*, p. 20.

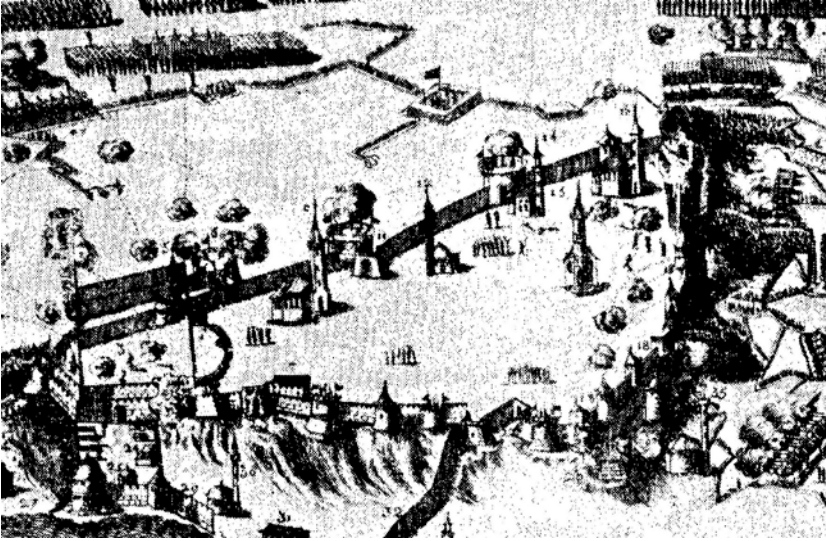


**Fig. 10.** Andreas Magliar: Vero disegno della regal città di Buda, metropoli di Ungheria con la dichiarazione de' luoghi più principali; detail

(**Fig. 11.**) The Orta Hisar and İç Kale, i.e. the Central and the Inner castle mosques from the right to the left:

- Saat mosque, or Fetih mosque, this used to be the Christian Maria Magdalene church
- Büyük (Sultan Suleyman, or Eski) mosque
- Orta mosque converted from the Christian St. George church
- Paşa mosque (or Seray mosque)
- There is one more mosque on the drawing in the inner castle area, this may be the Murad paşa mosque, or rather the Seray, or Enderun mosque.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> For the identification see Fekete, "Budapest a Törökörban".



**Fig. 11.** Andreas Magliar: Vero disegno della regal città di Buda, metropoli di Ungheria con la dichiarazione de' luoghi più principali; detail

The Hamam mosque, the Hüsrev Paşa mosque and one of the two mosques in the Inner castle are not shown on the image. The location of bastions, gates and individual wall sections can be more or less identified with the same method.

To summarise we can state that – as we know today – the Ottoman drawing of the siege presented here seems to be a credible image about Buda before the Christian reoccupation of the town, and although we have not come closer to the siege itself with it, we can say that we can not only get a picture of the sieges of 1684 and 1686 and the circumstances of Buda on the basis of the Western sources mentioned above, but also with the help of this image, which reflects how the Ottomans saw Buda, the pride of their westernmost province in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

## Öz

**Bologna Marsili Koleksiyonundan 1684 Tarihli  
Bir Türk Çiziminde Budin'deki Osmanlı Binaları**

17. yüzyıl Budin'ini süsleyen Osmanlı binaları ve mimarisi hakkında nispeten az miktarda görsel malzeme mevcuttur. Bu yazı, - hatalı teşhis edildiği için - pek az bilinen, Habsburg kuvvetlerinin 1684 tarihli başarısız Budin kuşatmasını tasvir eden büyük ölçekli bir Osmanlı resmini tanıtmayı amaçlamaktadır. Resimde Osmanlı Türkçesiyle yazılmış ibarelerle birlikte birçok Osmanlı binasının mimari yapısını görülebilir. Resim, Bologna Üniversite Kütüphanesi bünyesinde yer alan Marsili koleksiyonuna aittir. Bu koleksiyon, batı dillerinde (çoğunlukla İtalyanca, Latince, Almanca) ve Türkçe evrakın yanı sıra bizzat Luigi Ferdinando Marsili (1658-1730) tarafından bir araya getirilmiş belgeleri ihtiva etmektedir. Ömrünün hatırı sayılır bir bölümünü Habsburg imparatoru hizmetinde, Macaristan'da Osmanlılara karşı mücadele etmekle geçiren (1683 Viyana kuşatmasından 1698-1699'daki Karlofça barış görüşmelerine değin) Marsili, bir asker ve iyi eğitilmiş, yetenekli bir askeri mühendis olmanın yanı sıra tutkulu bir koleksiyonerdi. Aynı döneme ait bilinen iki Osmanlı haritasıyla karşılaştırıldığında, bu resimdeki yazılar üzerinde yapılan tetkikler, bu sonuncu çizimin birçok açıdan diğer iki haritadan farklı olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Stratejik önemi haiz, öne çıkan binalarla birlikte kale, tabya, kapıları ve tepe, su (nehir, göl) gibi şehri çevreleyen önemli doğal unsurları gösteren haritalar çok büyük ihtimalle askeri gerekçelerle hazırlanıyordu. Bununla birlikte 1684'te Budin kuşatmasını tasvir eden Osmanlı çizimi, vakayiname tarzı eserlerde kullanılan benzer minyatür teknikleriyle, sanatsal iddia taşıyan biçimde, belirgin bir askeri değer taşımaksızın üretilmişti.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** harita, resim, Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, Osmanlı döneminde Macaristan, Osmanlı mimarisi.

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