HUNGARY'S RELATIONS WITH THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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The paths of the Turkish and Hungarian peoples, from their prehistory to these days have been connected by hundreds of threads.

An objective evaluation of the connection between Turkey and Hungary in the 16th-17th centuries /the Turkish occupation of Hungary/, as well as in the 18th-19th centuries /a generous relation, fruitful for both parties/ requires going back to the most ancient past common to them.

As far as we know at present, the original home of the Hungarian nation /the Magyars/—whose way of life at that time was determined by fishing and hunting— might have been at the western ranges of the Ural, in the provinces around the rivers Volga and Kama. After migrating from the original home southward, the Hungarian nation lived, for centuries, in the neighbourhood of Iranian and Turkish-speaking tribes, in the northen region of the Eurasian steppes. Here the Hungarians, though at a slow pace, changed over to animal keeping. When their culture and economy had changed, their vocabulary became enriched with Iranian and Turkish words. However, the answers to the questions that might be raised in connection with this process, are given, as we have not any written sources, first of all by the results of linguistics, archeology, and anthropology. In the second half of the 5th century, when, in a wave of the great invasions, the Turkish peoples dragged the Hungarian nation along with them, and, hence, the latter drifted to the south of its earlier settlement, to the coast of the Black Sea and the regions beside the river Kuban, the connection between the two nations became closer. At that time, the most prominent Turkish peoples living in the neighbourhood of the Hungarians were the Ogurs, Onogurs, and Kutrigurs, and later, after the fall of Attila's empire beside the Danube, certain Hunnish tribes that migrated eastward.

The most telling proof of the close connection that linked the Hungarians to the Turkish peoples, and especially to the Onogurs, is the name of the Hungarians in Western languages, such as 'hungarus', 'Hungarian', 'hongrois', and 'Ungar' —which all derive from the term

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'onogur'— as well as a few hundred Turkish words, preserved even from prehistoric times, in Hungarian language.

As we have seen, during its prehistory, the Hungarian nation had close contacts with Turkish peoples several times, and it even assimilated certain Turkish-speaking nationalities. Hence, when the Hungarians arrived in the Carpathian Basin /9th century/, as regards their way of life, organization, tactics /in fight/, and the features of their costumes, equipments, and fittings, they were similar to the Turkish peoples. The archeological heritage of their 'top people' also bears witness to the early Turkish-Hungarian connections. Thus in the Byzantine sources they are justifiably mentioned as 'türks'.

At the age of the Hungarian Conquest, Hungarian men of high rank kept their flint and steel in leather haversacks. It was decorated with a silver plate, with Eastern motifs on it.

It was also favourable for the further formation of the Turkish-Hungarian relation that in the territory surrounded by the Carpathians there had lived, even centuries before the Hungarian Conquest, peoples that had had close connections with the Turkish peoples, and whose ways of life had been similar to that of the latter. The Hungarian land is a rich treasury of archeological relics inherited from the Turkish peoples that had been living here from the 5th century on.

This territory was the centre of the Hunnish Empire. Between 401 and 411, the Huns ruled over the Great Hungarian Plain and mainly other plain regions of the Carpathian Basin, and then occupied the province between the Danube and the Tisza, as well as the territory of the Banat. Yet the enormous empire proved to be short term, as after Attila's death /453/, it soon fell.

As regards the rich archeological heritage of the Huns, the most precious relic in Hungary is the treasure of Szeged-Nagyszéksós. Most of it was discovered in 1926, and eight years later it was enriched with further, complementary finds. The treasure consists of a solid golden torques, two golden cups, golden belt mountings, boots 'and costumes' ornaments, golden mountings on the sheaths of a sword and a dagger, and of the ornaments on a harness and a saddle cloth. Though it was found incomplete, it is beyond doubt that it has preserved the memory of a grave that belonged to a Hunnish princely warrior.

The most characteristic remains of the Huns are the beautiful finds at Förtel, Regöly, Dunapentele, and Várpalota; more closely, the counter-

parts of the bronze boilers used in Central Asia. As to their use, it is South Siberian pictographs that provide information.

From among the peoples that had lived here through centuries before the Hungarian Conquest, it was the Avars whose rule was the longest /567-800/, who, however, belonged to the Turkish race, too. Accordingly, in the Carpathian Basin the number of the respective findspots is over 1200, and that of Avar graves is over 30.000.

Besides the Avar princely grave that was disclosed in Bócsa in 1935, and which contained valuable golden jewels, and belt, quiver, and arms mountings, and besides the unique golden finds from a grand duke's grave, which was discovered in Kunbábony in 1971, magnificent belt mountings, belt fasteners, arms, jewelery, and various ceramics, from thousands of graves, bear witness to the extraordinary richness of this people.

The fact that Bulgarian Turks had been present in Hungarian territory for a shorter period of time is again indicated by archeological findings, in that the number of the finds is less and their accomplishment is more modest.

In Hungarian history, connections with the Turks during the Middle Age stare highly important. The Hungarian king Béla IV (1235-1270), in order to strengthen his army before the Mongol/Tartar/ invasion of Hungary/1241-1242/, permitted a great number of fugitive Cumanians escaping from the Tartars to settle down in Hungary. The memory of their settlement here is preserved by several place names and proper names that have survived to this day. Even in Hungarian language, a considerable Cumanian and Pecheneg influence can be pointed out.

In the course of archeological research in Hungary, arms of light cavalry, a richly mounted sling of firearm, and a similarly embellished pair of stirrups occurred in the graves of Cumanian soldiers. Apart from these arms, there is a relief on a floor tile, describing a soldier who is shooting an arrow backward, as an authentic representation of the tactics of the Cumanian light cavalry.

The points of contact between the Turks and Hungarians did not stop because of the latter's close Cumanian and Pecheneg connections. The next relatively significant point in their relation was the Ottoman conquests in the Balkan Peninsula.

At the end of the 14th century, Beyazit I (1389-1402) regarded the subjugation of all of the Balkan as finished and was going to occupy Constan-

tinople. When he started he received the news that the Hungarian king, Zsigmond, was progressing, with an enormous army of crusaders, through the land of the Wallachs, toward the Lower Danube. Beyazit did not hesitate to get in the way of Zsigmond, (1387-1437) and the two armies encountered at Nikápoly (Nicopolis), on 28 September 1396. The bloody battle ended in the complete annihilation of the crusaders' army.

In fact, due to this victory, the way became open for the Ottomans toward Hungary. Yet the process, which at first sight seemed to be successful, was temporarily stopped, as Beyazit, for a long time, focussed his attention on his military expeditions in Asia Minor.

Murad II, (1421-1444; 1446-1451) also set as his main aim the occupation of Constantinople. He was in the position to begin its siege, but, due to disturbances in Asia, he was forced to give it up.

Then he turned his forces against Hungary. During his successful military expedition, in the southern region the fortress of Galambóc fell, too, but further on he had to face serious difficulties. In the defence of Hungary, its governor, János Hunyady deserves credit that will never fade: his victories in the battles of Szendrö, Vaskapu, and Szentimre, and then the so-called 'long expedition' compelled Murad to make peace. The sultan was deeply hurt by Hunyady's successful military actions; hence, it is no wonder that in the Turkish chronicles the Hungarian general was consequently mentioned as 'şeytan' /Satan/. Subsequent to Hunyady's series of successes, the power relations, as well as military fortune favoured Murad for long. He defeated János Hunyady at Varna in 1444, and four years later at Rigómezö/Kosovo/.

After Murad's death, Mehmet/Fatih/II (1444-1446; 1451-1481) occupied Constantinople in 1453, and, naming it Istanbul, he took up his residence there, too. The great, world-conquering sultan had to face only one failure during his thirty-year, glorious rule, but that one blocked his expansion for a long period of time. In 1456, near Belgrad, he suffered a serious defeat from Hunyady, when he lost not only all of his cannons and war stores, but he was even almost taken captive. Following this battle, Turkish expansion was cancelled by seventy-five years.

As for the 'Turkish age' in Hungary in the 16th-17th centuries, I am going to mention only a few essential moments, disregarding annals history.

The events outlined above, as preliminaries, give an explanation of why it was only in the 16th century that Hungary became the northern border province of the Ottoman Empire. Even under these circumstances,

the country could experience the most glorious days of the empire of Suleyman the Great and Suleyman the Legislative (1520-1566), respectively—but, before the long conquest ended, it could experience the unavoidable decline of the vast empire, too.

After the fall of Belgrad, Szabács /Šabac; its Turkish name in the Middle Ages was Böğürdelen/, and other fortresses beside the Danube /1521/, there was no obstacle in the way of the Turkish armies, which could have prevented them from drawing up against Buda. Suleyman the Great, in his war of conquest, won a decisive victory over the Hungarians at Mohács in 1526. Lajos II, (1508-1526) king of Hungary, found his death in the battlefield, just like the majority of his army.

After the lost Battle of Mohács, the Turkish troops progressed forward to Hungary wedgewise, occupying huge territories. Hence, the country was broken up into three parts. The territory occupied by the Turks lay in the middle. The Hungarian noblemen commanding the main armies were divided, constituting two parties. One party, that of those living in the eastern part of the country, in Transylvania, declared the Prince of Transylvania, János Szapolyai (1526-1540) the son of the ex-palatine István Szapolyai/, the king of Hungary—while the aristocrats of the other, western part of the country, those of the royal or Hapsburg Hungary, declared Ferdinand Hapsburg (1526-1563)/ the husband of Anna, sister of Lajos II/, the ruling Prince of Austria and Czech King, the king of Hungary. During the war between the two rival kings, Ferdinand I defeated János Szapolyai, who was forced to escape to Poland.

Suleyman the Great transported the furniture of the king's palace and of other, more important buildings —as booty— to Istanbul even in 1526, at the first Turkish occupation of Buda. At the same time, he converted the Church of Our Lady into a principal jami, carrying its fittings to Istanbul, too. From among the treasures taken away from Buda, today only two bronze candlesticks can be found in Istanbul, which have been standing for more than four hundred and a half centuries on the two sides of the oratory of the Aya Sophia, the one-time (Mohammedan) mosque.

From the point of view of finding out the whereabouts of the two works of art that are highly precious for Hungarian research into the Renaissance, Evliya Çelebi's record was particularly important. As he wrote: 'Suleyman khan made the treasures of King Lajos to be packed into seven thousand leather cases, and removing a lot of armaments, uncomparably beautiful objects, thrones, hundreds of window blinds, and doors, all studded with

gems, gilded bronze figures of angels, the bronze sculptures of one-time kings, and the bright candlesticks that are at present at the Aya Sophia Jami of Istanbul, on the right and left sides of its mihrab, as well as a lot of other similar objects, from their places, he sent them on board to Istanbul.'

There are two interesting Turkish-language notes in verse form, dated 933/i.e., 1526/, on each candlestick, which inform the reader about the history of the brilliant works of art.

At this point, it should be mentioned that in 1526, during the first Turkish invasion of Buda, even the famous library of Matthias Corvinus, (1458-1490) the great Hungarian Renaissance ruler, fell into the hands of the Turks. The gracious attitude of the Turkish people and their love for the Hungarians are praiseworthy, as in 1869 Abdülaziz (1861-1876) gave back four masterpieces of the Corvinus manuscripts to the Hungarian nation, and, in 1877, Abdülhamit II returned (1876-1909) thirty-five of them. They are the most precious treasures of the Széchényi National Library even today.

In this brief summary we should highlight first of all the excellent diplomatic manoeuvres of the Ottoman rulers, and especially those of Suleyman the Great. Hence, for example, the fact that he supported the Principality of Transylvania, which was connected to his empire by a feudal relation, at all times the most consequently, should be regarded as an excellent diplomatic method. In the light of this, it is easy to understand that during his 1529, Viennese military expedition, when he spent a short time in Buda, he gave the Hungarian Holy Crown —which got into his hands in 1526— to János Szapolyai, who in turn was declared king.

It was also Suleyman the Great who, at the occupation of Buda in 1541, wanted to create such a situation for the orphan of János Szapolyai, the baby János Zsigmond, that he later —as an adult— should be able to occupy first the throne of the Principality of Transylvania, and, afterward, that of the king of Hungary. However, he failed in his attempt at acquiring the royal power for János Zsigmond, but, as the Prince of Transylvania, in the following years János Zsigmond might well enjoy the support of the great sultan. János Zsigmond, accompanied by his attendants, visited the greatest Ottoman ruler in the field of Zimony even in 1566, to pay homage to him—who, however, soon met his death at Szigetvár.

After the death of Suleyman the Great, the opposition between the Turks and the Austrian mercenary troops of the Hapsburg Hungary re-

mained deep, too. Thus it is no wonder that the political trend of the Ottoman rulers remained unchanged at the beginning of the 17th century. They went on regarding the kings of the Hapsburg House ruling over Hungary as their worst enemies, and, with the intention of subverting their power —an intention which they had never concealed— the Turks supported the princes of Transylvania to the most. Whenever the relative equilibrium created by Transylvania and the Ottomans became unstable, the position of Hungary under Turkish rule —which was rather unbalanced even apart from this equilibrium— turned worse at once. Hence, for example, Hungary drifted into the Fifteen-Year (end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century). War because the Prince of Transylvania, Zsigmond Báthori, changed sides and went over, from the side of Mehmet III (1595-1603), to King Rudolf Hapsburg (1576-1608). In this process, the betrayal of the alien guard caused the fall of the fortress of Eger, too, passing it over to the hands of Ottomans (1596). Then, after a two-day Hungarian success, the Battle of Mezökeresztes ended again in Turkish victory (1596).

Ahmet I, (1603-1617) in the hope of the full occupation of the country, focussed his attention on one task, namely, that the excellent Prince of Transylvania, István Bocskai should be declared king. It should be known that István Bocskai, from the spring of 1605, bore the title of 'Prince of Hungary and Transylvania'. He had to secure his reign in military and legal terms, therefore, in the summer of the same year, he went to Transylvania. After his return to Hungary in the autumn, he had to comply with the repeated request of Grand Vizier Lala Mehmet, to the effect that he should visit the Turkish leader in the latter's camp at Buda, in order to take over the sultan's presents and to settle the cause of their alliance. In november, Bocskai, together with his attendants and with an army of 7 000 soldiers —infantry and cavalry troops— progressed toward Buda. He met the grand vizier on 11 November, who girded him with a valuable sword, put a gemmed sceptre into his right hand and a flag into the left one, and a fine crown onto his head. Bocskai was glad to receive the crown, but he felt uneasy when it was put on his head. So he took it off at once and announced that he accepted the present with pleasure as a sign of friendship, but he did not regard it as the symbol of kingship, as in Hungary no one was allowed to wear any crown as long as the crowned king was alive.

In the 17th century, there appeared the signs of serious disintegration. In Hungary, during 1605-1606, only less than three quarters of the spahis ordered here presented themselves to enter into service. The

runaway soldiers caused great destruction in the provinces. Later on, Grand Viziers Mehmet and Ahmet Köprülü tried to hinder the decline of the empire by means of bloody terror. The temporal consolidation in Hungary was still soon followed by complete fall. In 1683, after the second unsuccessful siege of Vienna, the overall liberation of the country was started. In Buda, this took place in 1686, but in the whole territory of the country, including the southern region, the process lasted for three decades.

The research into Hungarian history somehow cannot give a unified —and, more importantly, objective— picture of the Turkish period, which was burdened with serious contradictions. In general, there are two, diametrically opposite views. The extremely Turcophobe standpoint lays stress on the negative aspects. The advocates of the other standpoint, disregarding the serious fights and troubles that lasted for more than a century, put forward an illusory and idyllic picture about the Turkish—Hungarian coexistence.

When evaluating the connection between the two peoples in positive terms, it cannot be stressed enough how important it was that, in Hungarian territory, the Turks had never tried to assimilate the alien, non-Turkish nationalities, that is, to convert them to Mohammedans. It explains that relative liberty, from national and religious points of view, which the Hungarian inhabitants could enjoy under the Turkish rule. It gives the reason of the fact, too that the most appropriate soil of the Reformation, the most radical cultural movement in 16th-century Europe, was in Hungary, and, first of all, in Transylvania.

It was precisely this tolerance on the part of the Turks that made possible the wide-range development of Hungarian-language literature, which was inseparable from the Reformation.

Hence, we can see that the one-sided and extreme Turcophobe view in historical research is rather wrong. The most convincing refutation of this view is provided by the intensive inquiry of Hungarian scholars into the common historical past, the Turkish language, and into Turkish history and customs. In this field, gathering information began already early.

Besides those listed above, several cultural effects can be attributed to the conquerors, mediated in the course of the long-term common past, more closely, the long-term coexistence.

From the period of the Turkish rule, a great number of Turkish charters and, what is more, Hungarian-language correspondence attest the

close connection between the Buda pashas and the Hungarian aristocracy. As regards the more peaceful, transitional periods, the contact among the valiant warriors in the border fortresses —the ways in which they kept in touch with one another— is, however, not less important.

We can prove by written records, too how precious were for the Hungarians such Turkish masterpieces as arms, leather goods, goldsmith's works, and musical instruments. At the same time, Western textiles, arms, and masterworks of craftsmanship were highly popular among the Turks.

The Turkish influence was manifest in the case of the greatest lyric poet of 16th-century Hungary, too, who lived the eventful life of ups and downs of the valiant warriors. Bálint Balassa (1551-1594), the brave captain of the fortress of Esztergom, who knew and liked the Turkish language, put down a considerable number of soldiers, songs, and he also enriched our literature with similar ones, writing a few poems in Turkish metre, and using Turkish similes.

The results produced by Hungarian scholarship tackling the Turkish language, literature, and the common past of the two nations are highly important and interesting. Miklós Oláh, the archbishop of Esztergom, in his book entitled *Hungaria* /1536/, when touching on the Hunnish origin of the Hungarian nation, already took sides with the view alleging the common origin of the Turkish and Hungarian peoples. Bartholomaeus Georgievits, who had lived for long decades in Hungarian territory under Turkish rule, in his book *De origine imperii Turcarum* /1555/, investigated into the origin of the Turks and their history. In another book, *De Turcarum moribus epitome* /published in the same year/, he was dealing with Turkish customs, and attached a brief grammar and vocabulary to his work, too. In 1668, Miklós Illésházy published a small Turkish dictionary. Jakab Harsányi-Nagy, who had spent several years in Turkey, compiled an excellent Turkish-Hungarian manual of conversation in 1672, which also provides information for the reader about Turkish history and customs. The Transylvanian Dávid Rozsnyai, in the 17th century, published his translation of *Hümayûn-nâme* under the title of *Horologium Turcicum*. Sámuel Decsy presented a detailed discussion of Turkish history in a three-volume work /1788-1789/. Laurentinus Toppeltinus de Medgyes, in his *Origines et occasus Transylvanorum* /written in 1667/, derived a number of Hungarian words from the Turkish language. In 1761, György Pray also treated the question of the Turkish and Hungarian linguistic affinity. And, at the end of the century, Daniel Cornides and Sámuel Gyarmathi expounded a similar topic in their books either.

It was the result of the long-lasting Turkish-Hungarian contact that in Hungary Turkish influence manifested itself in several crafts. What we have in mind here is mainly pottery, coppersmith's, goldsmith's, and gunsmith's work. The obvious influence exerted on leather working also deserves attention. But perhaps it is more important that motifs and stitching techniques were taken over from Turkish needlework, both in the stitch work of the Hungarian aristocracy and in its popular versions. Besides the enrichment of the set of Hungarian motifs and taking over techniques from craftsmanship, the Turkish influence can be recognized considering dressing and costumes; especially the clothes of the aristocracy became enriched with new elements.

Hungarian cooking was not free from the Turkish influence either. Certain meals reached Hungary through Turkish and Balkan mediation; for example, stewed meat, granulated dried pastry, stuffed cabbage, and stuffed paprika. Together with meals, new kitchen utensils also spread in Hungary.

Coffee and tobacco arrived in Hungary through Turkish trade, and the habit of coffee drinking and smoking were taken over from the Turks, too.

A proof of the deep Turkish influence on music and musical instruments is the fact that, for example, in common knowledge, the most characteristic Hungarian musical instrument is the *tárogató* /oboe-like shawm/, which is, in fact, a further developed version of the so-called 'Turkish reed'. Hungarian people began to use the latter during the days of the Turkish rule, and it is identical with the instrument called 'zurna', used in Turkey even today.

In the period of the Turkish rule, in the huge eastern Hungarian territory, that is, in the Principality of Transylvania, flourishing intellectual and economic life could be conducted only as a result of a steady, consequent, and thoughtful policy. No doubt, here we can face an almost unparallelled, complex phenomenon, in which, beyond the recognition of common interests, mutual sympathy was also a considerable factor in shaping the circumstances in that way.

After the expulsion of the Turks, in the Hapsburg Hungary the oppressive power of Hapsburg absolutism came to the foreground. Against this anti-Hungarian policy, independence movements evolved even beginning in the eighties of the 17th century, and chiefly at the beginning of the 18th century, which became ever more wider. In the course of the 'strug-

gle for life' of the Hungarian nation, sympathy and readiness to help on the part of the Turks became incressingly deeper, and they provided more and more signs of it.

On the basis of the traditional Turcophil policy of Transylvania, its prince, Imre Thököly, after the suppression of his 1682-1684 uprising, found refuge, with his wife, Ilano Zrínyi, and his brothers in arms, in Izmit/Nicomedia/.

Between 1703 and 1711, after a long military preparation, Ferenc Rákóczi II conducted a war of independence against the oppressive policy of the Hapsburg House. Following a number of successful military expeditions, the glorious movement fell, due to superior numbers. It was again Turkey that afforded help: the great prince and the other refugees enjoyed the hospitality of the Turkish people in Tekirdağ /Rodostó/ for several decades. Rákóczi's secretary, Kelemen Mikes (1690-1761) described in a vivid manner the life of the prince and the refugees in emigration in his *Törökországi levelek* [Letters from Turkey]. The work is a valuable document of the period and a prominent masterpiece in Hungarian literature.

One of the chief events in the Turkish-Hungarian cultural relations, the creation of Turkish printing, dates back to the period of the Rákóczi emigration. The pioneer of Turkish publishing, Ibrahim Müteferrika, was born in Kolozsvár/Cluj/Transylvania, in 1674. He was a Székely, but we do not know his Hungarian name. He fell into Turkish captivity during the Thököly uprising, that is, during the Austrian military expedition of Mustafa II (1695-1703). In his confinement, he converted to the Islamic religion and learnt the Turkish language. He got acquainted with Turkish customs and laws, too, and, in 1711, he even wrote a study, entitled "Risâle-i Islâmiye". Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damat Ibrahim Paşa took a liking to the writing of the talented young man, and he became his most devoted supporter. Ibrahim Müteferrika got into the sultan's court, where he soon was entrusted with important diplomatic tasks. We know that in 1718, during his stay in Tekirdağ, he was Ferenc Rákóczi II's interpreter. It was he who established, with the support of the grand vizier, the first printing office in Turkey in 1727. He died in 1746. Above his grave in Beyoğlu, an ornamental epitaph informs us that during his 14-year activity in the printing trade he published seventeen great works in twenty-two volumes. One of them is a masterpiece, illustrated with maps with highly refined engravings.

The sympathy of the Turks for the Hungarian people did not decrease later on either.

In Hungary, the Hapsburg oppression went on even in the 19th century. Lajos Kossuth, the brilliant leader of the 1848 war of independence, heroically struggled for the freedom of the Hungarian people. Eventually, after the initial success and glorious battles, superior force won in 1849. Lajos Kossuth was forced to take refuge in the Turkish Empire, too, where he lived first in Šumen, then in Kütahya for years. From among his attendants of a few hundred persons, many took up military service in the Turkish army, but the majority chose bourgeois or *citoyen* life in their new homeland.

On the Asian coast, in the Karacaahmet cemetary of Istanbul, an epitaph on the grave of one of the most prominent members of the Kossuth emigration gives an interesting evidence of his entering into the Turkish sultan's service:

"Here lies Count Richard Guyon
Turkish major general
Progeny of France
Native of England
Warrior of Hungary
Died on 11 October 1856
In the 44th year of his life".

The memory of the Hungarian political emigrations in the 18th and 19th centuries has also been preserved by the graves of the doctor of Ferenc Rákóczi II and by those of the brave brothers in arms of Lajos Kossuth, which are in the Protestant Feriköy cemetary of Istanbul.

Fig. 1 – The Battle of Nicopolis. 1396. Miniature. Istanbul Topkapı Palace. Inv. No. H. 1523. Page: 108 b.

Fig. 2 – Battle of Belgrad. 1456. Miniature. Istanbul Topkapı Palace. Inv. No. 1523. Page: 165 a.

Fig. 3 – The King Lajos II. with his war-councel, in 1526.
Miniature. Istanbul Topkapı Palace. Inv. No. H. 1517. Page: 200 a.

Fig. 4 – Suleyman I. 1529. Topkapı Palace. Inv. No. H. 1517.
Page: 297 a.

Fig 5 – Akinji horsman near by Esztergom. 1529.
Miniature. Topkapı Palace. Inv. No. H. 1517. Page: 353 a.

Fig. 6 – Suleyman I. in Buda Castle. 1541. Miniature.
Topkapı Palace. Inv. No. H. 1524. Page: 266 a..

Fig. 7 The Castle Szigetvár. 1566. Miniature. Topkapı Palace. Inv. No. H. 1524. Page: 279 b.