On the Trail of Evliya Çelebi’s Inscriptions and Graffiti

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Abstract The Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi was accustomed to leave a small graffito, or even a skillfully carved inscription, in the places he visited during his long travels across the whole Ottoman World. These traces can be compared with what he recorded in his oceanic Seyahatname and in other writings, a work in progress whose first results are offered in this paper.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Inscriptions Written by Evliya Çelebi. – 2.1 The Uyvar (Nové Zámk) Inscriptions. – 2.2 Crete-Kandiye (Heraklion). – 2.3 Zarnata Castle. – 2.4 Mora Zarnata Mosque. – 3 Evliya Çelebi’s Memento Inscriptions (graffiti). – 3.1 Wall and Tree Inscriptions Mentioned in the Seyahatname. – 3.2 Not Mentioned Wall Inscriptions in the Seyahatname. – 3.3 Evliya Çelebi’s Inscription on Pir Ahmed Efendi Mosque. – 3.4 Evliya’s graffito in Pécs (Hungary).

Keywords Evliya Çelebi. Ottoman inscriptions. Balkans.

I first met Gianclaudio in 2009 in a Symposium about Bektashism in Albania in Tirana (fig. 1). He presented there his findings of the Survey in Delvina, with a focus on the graffiti in the portico of Gjin Aleksi Mosque. On that occasion we spoke about the findings and I speculated that this graffiti could be the work of Evliya Çelebi and asked whether I could join him to see and inspect the graffiti. In December 2010 we made a research-journey to South Albania during which we stopped in Tepelene and Gjirokastro and collected material about Ottoman inscriptions for a publication. We could not proof that the graffiti in Delvina where from Evliya’s hand. One of the reasons is the fact that the graffiti in Delvina where too much damaged and too fragmentary (Macchiarella, Tütüncü 2012). However, this was the beginning of a relatively short but fruitful cooperation. We presented our researches in Delvina in one symposium in Eskisehir (Macchiarella, Tütüncü 2012) and he later invited me at the Ca’ Foscari Congress of Balkans Studies Venezia e i Balcani, he organized in 2014. In addition, he invited me for dinner at his home, which was served with his own cooked dishes.

During the next year, he was very busy with the preparation of the proceedings of this congress (Tütüncü 2015), which he could not see with his own eyes. A few days before the fatal heart attack he contacted me with
regard to the last procedures for my article, which due to the presence of Arabic and Ottoman fonts presented some difficulties for the Publisher. On 6 May 2015 he wrote me an email, which I will quote here:

Dear Mehmet, how are you doing? Looking at your intense activity in publications and research, you should be very well and energetic! Congratulations also for your recent, very interesting paper on the development of Mecca images!

I am writing to you because we are finally making the last steps leading to the publication of the Proceedings of the Ca’ Foscari Congress of Balkans Studies Venezia e i Balcani.

You will remember that last year I sent you my revision of your paper where I tried to embed the Arabic texts into the body of your Word original file. You checked the output and approved it.

Now, it seems that the open source publication system of the publisher does not accept this kind of non-text insertion. Now, the only way we have to make it compliant with the technical requirements is to get the Arabic fonts you have used in your Word original text.

Would you be so kind to send me that set of fonts along with the original Word file, by attachments, to your reply? Needless to say that this is very urgent and I hope you can give my request the necessary attention. Thank you indeed, hoping to hear from you very soon!

My warmest regards to Kamile and Canike!

Gianclaudio
Next day I wrote a short email:

Dear Gianclaudio, thanks for your fine words. Comparing your energy my energy is very small. I have admiration for your energy at this very young age. Chapeau... Attached are the fonts I used in my article, with article where I have replaced the pictures in text. If they give problems, you can decide to delete the Arabic fonts, because I give all the text in Latin Turkish also. Therefore, the Arabic is a doublet, and does not give much new information, except one who knows the Osmanli. If you decide to do so I will be have no problems also.

This was the last contact we had. A few days later, I heard about the very bad news... This article is homage of a friendship that ended too early, but will be remembered long. Rest in peace dear friend.

1 Introduction

Evliya Çelebi was not just a remarkable observer and traveller, but also a skilled calligrapher and engraver. In a few instances of his Seyahatname, he mentions marble inscriptions that he had personally written. In addition to this, he is known to have written short memorial wall engravings in a few places that he visited.

2 Inscriptions Written by Evliya Çelebi

In Seyahatname, Evliya Çelebi mentions written marble inscriptions that he had carved, which were located in at least four places that he had visited.

2.1 The Uyvar (Nové Zámky) Inscriptions

Evliya Çelebi was present during Fazil Ahmed Paşa’s conquest of the Uyvar Castle in 1074/1663; he describes the conquest in detail. Following

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1 Evliya Çelebi was born in 1611 in Istanbul and died in Egypt in 1685. He travelled far and wide across the Ottoman Empire and neighbouring areas and wrote extensively about his travels in his Seyahatname (The Book of Travels). It is the longest and most detailed travel account in Islamic (if not world) literature. It is a vast panoramic description of the Ottoman world and is a unique source for reconstructing the Ottoman Empire’s social and cultural life in the mid-seventeenth century. He left also some imprints in the places he visited. For further informations see my article.

2 Evliyâ Çelebi (1996-2008), 6, p. 228.
the conquest, the cathedral in the city was converted into a mosque, now called Mehmed IV Mosque. The Austrian Church inside the castle was also converted into a mosque and given the name Valide Mosque. This church is still standing today.

Evliya notes that during the conversion of the church into a mosque, inscriptions were made; he took on the task of inscribing the mihrap (altar). He adds that he personally carved the marble with a poem by Nişancı Paşa Ömer Beğ:

3

Kal’a-i üstüvâr-ı Uyvar’i
Câmi’-i Hân Mehmedmed olmağiçün
Döndü hakkâ ki Beyt-i Ma’mûr’a
Dedi târihin ânnî Ömeri
Sene 1074/1663

Evliya tells us that Kubûrizâde Halîl Efendi wrote the inscriptions on the mihrap and the Kelime-i Tevhid (testimony to the Oneness of Allah) on top of the main door; he goes on to tell us that he personally engraved the above-mentioned lines into the marble. The verse from the Qu’ran (Âl-i İmran, 3/37), which is commonly used in mosques in Anatolia and Rumelia, was also inscribed on the shrine.

After re-conquering the Uyvar Castle, Emperor Charles VI was afraid of losing it again, so in 1724-1725 he had it demolished. No remnants of this castle or of the inscriptions remain in Uyvar today. However, purely by chance, a copy of this inscription was published in Holland in 1700. Following their defeat during the Siege of Vienna, the Ottomans started losing cities in Hungary, and abandoned this territory after losing Budin in 1686. The European voyage of the Dutch traveller Jacob Tollius (1633-1696) started in 1687 and coincided with the Ottoman retreat from Hungary; this makes Tollius instrumental in providing us with first-hand information about the situation of Hungary under Ottoman rule (fig. 2).

In his book Tollius also published copies of the Ottoman inscriptions he found in Uyvar and Budin. Although he was not familiar with the Ottoman language, Tollius made an effort to copy the inscriptions accurately, in their original Arabic script. He offers the following explanation for the Inscriptions in Uyvar, under the heading Neuheufelæ äd Templum Turcarum supra januam; aureis literis scripta (The Inscription written above the temple door of the Turks in Uyvar) (p. 150) (fig. 3):

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The final line records the year, according to ebjed calculations.

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Jacobi Tollii, Epistolae itinerariae, ex Auctoris schedis postumis recensitae, suppletae, digestae; Annotationibus, Observationibus, & Figuris adornatae cura & studio Henrici Christiani Henninii. Amstelaedami 1700. Travel memoirs (letters) left behind by Jacob Tollius. Examined, revised, notes and pictures added by Henrik Christian Heninius, Halma Publishing House Amsterdam 1700.
Figure 2. The cover of Tollius's *Epistolae itinerariae*, Amstelaedami 1700 (source: Library Leiden University)

Figure 3. A plaque of the inscriptions in Tollius's *Epistolae itinerariae*, Amstelaedami 1700 (transcriptions in Arabic and Latin alphabet by the Author)
When touring the two temples, which were in ruins, I took a copy of the inscriptions embossed in gold. One of them was located over the exterior door of the temple, and the other, which was in a worse condition than the first, was located on the interior wall of the temple.

Tollius also took a copy of the inscription on the *mihrap* that was mentioned by Evliya. According to this, the verse on the *mihrap* was placed between the names of the first Caliphs of Islam, which were written inside two round plates. Even though the inscriptions mentioned in *Seyahatname*, written and engraved by Evliya Çelebi himself, were destroyed, copies of them have remained intact thanks to Tollius.

### 2.2 Crete-Kandiye (Heraklion)

Evliya Çelebi took part in the conquest of Crete by Fazıl Ahmed Paşa and attended the first Friday prayer that was held at Sultan Mehmed Han Mosque, a building that was the result of the conversion of a church into a mosque. The prayer was held on the 27 September 1669 (or 8 Cemaziyel-evvel 1080, according to the Islamic calendar). Evliya wrote «(From whatsoever place thou issueth), turn thy face towards the Holy Mosque» (Al-Baqara, 2/149) on the wall of the shrine. Evliya chronicles that, according to *ebced* calculations, this verse from the Qur’an equals the year 1077. Evliya Çelebi tells us that the grand vizier said:

> This Qur’anic verse marks the date of the beginning of the conquest of this castle and the transformation of this church into a mosque» and Çelebi adds: «Indeed, by writing the verse in the Karahisari style on the wall of the mihrap we were awarded with 100 gold coins... (Evliyâ Çelebi 1996-2008, 8, p. 224)

### 2.3 Zarnata Castle

Following the conquest of Crete, Manya was conquered and the Zarnata Castle was restored and fortified in 1081/1679. Evliya engraved the following inscription on a marble plaque placed above the first door through which the Muslims entered, also known as the Door of Conquest; it was then gilded and painted dark blue:

> Avn-i Hakk ile Ali Paşa yapup bu kal’ayı
> Manya mülkü bî-emân iken olup emn-i emîn
> Evliya hayır du’â ile dedi târîhin
> Hakk Te’âlâ eyleye bu hısnı a’dâdan emîn
> Sene 1081 (Evliyâ Çelebi 1996-2008, 8, p. 263)
Ali Paşa built this castle with the aid of Allah
When property is not safe, to feel secure
Evliya (Allah’s friends) prayer and uttered this chronography
May Allah make this castle secure against the enemy
Year 1081

Even though an ebcde calculation of the last line adds up to give us the year 1072, Evliya Çelebi used the same verse as a date for the conquest of the Heraklion Fort:

Evliya fethin görüp dedi bu hısnın târîhin
Hakk Te’álâ eyleye bu hısm a‘dâdan emîn
(Evliyâ Çelebi 1996-2008, 8, p. 216)

Evliya, seeing the conquest of this castle, ‘uttered a chronography’
May Allah secure this castle against the enemy

No traces remain of the poem that Evliya inscribed for the Zarnata Fort.

2.4 Mora Zarnata Mosque

Evliya wrote various inscriptions for the Hünkâr mosque in Zarnata (1081/1670)

I have written an inscription in the Karahisari style and the verse on the mihrab, the Kelime-i Tevhidi on the minber; the composition is in the şikeste style. The lyric history (composition) is in Zarnata on the mihrap of the Sultan’s Mosque, on the marble there. I carved the seal on the marble, and placed it on the castle gates. I have dedicated the tekke shops that I have built with hundreds of wonderful works and apparently have enlightened them.(Evliyâ Çelebi 1996-2008, 8, p. 270)

No traces remain today in Zarnata of these works by Evliya. An overall analysis of these inscriptions reveals that they were all written after the conquest of a particular city or area, in order to mark the conversion of a church into a mosque. It is obvious that Evliya was the most suitable person in the conquering army to carry out this task. He makes no mention of having made such inscriptions during times of peace or in other places in his Seyahatname. However, we can conclude that Evliya was a skilled engraver. On the issue of whether he made the inscriptions with the embossing method or the engraving method, it seems more reasonable to assume that he used the embossing method. As confirmed by Tollius,
Evliya’s inscriptions were ornamented with gold and navy blue, and since they were gilded, the inscriptions were most likely embossed, as it is not possible to gild engravings. Unfortunately, no trace of these inscriptions by Evliya Çelebi remains today.

3 Evliya Çelebi’s Memento Inscriptions (graffiti)

3.1 Wall and Tree Inscriptions Mentioned in the Seyahatname

Evliya Çelebi left evidence of his presence behind him in the places that he visited; in different locations he would write a line or a verse of poetry, or his name and the year in which he visited. Dankoff gives us a list of close to thirty inscriptions on walls. Evliya Çelebi refers to these in the Seyahatname as simple poems or inscriptions.

3.1.1 Osman Baba Derviş Lodge, Now in Bulgaria Near Haskovo

Merhum Melek Ahmed Paşalı seyyâh-ı âlem
Evliya rûhıyçün Allah rızâsına Fâtiha
Sene 1081 (Evliyâ Çelebi 1996-2008, 8, p. 344)

Recite Fatiha for Evliya,
(Who traveled this world with the late Ahmed Pasha)
Year 1081

3.1.2 Gazi Sinan Paşa Mosque, Elbasan, Albania

Evliya Çelebi states that the walls of the mosque were covered with inscriptions left by visitors from various parts of the world, that not even the smallest of spaces had been left blank; he tells us that he wrote the following verse in a corner:

Ketehebu Seyyâh-ı âlem Evliya sene 1081 deyü tenmîk etdik.
(Evliyâ Çelebi 1996-2008, 8, p. 320)

We recorded this as written by the world traveller Evliya in 1081

This mosque was demolished along with other mosques in Elbasan during the reign of Enver Hodja.
3.1.3 The Nephew of Kara Murad Paşa, Çelebi Hüseyin Paşa Mosque, the Berat District (Albanian Belgrade)

Evliya penc ism-i a’zam ile dedi tarihın
Hayy Aziz ü yâ Basir ü yâ Kaviyy ü yâ Metîn sene 1081
(Evliyâ Çelebi 1996-2008, 8, p. 320)

Evliya ‘made history’ with five of Allah’s great names
Hayy, Aziz and Basir and Kaviyy and Metin, year 1081

3.1.4 Al-masjid an-Nabawi (the Prophet’s Mosque), and al-Madinah al-Munawwarah (the Radiant City)

Seyyâh-ı âlem Evliya rûhiyçün el-fâtiha
Şefâ’at yâ Muhammed Evliya’ya sene 1082
(Evliyâ Çelebi 1996-2008, 9, p. 314)

Recite Al-Fatiha for the soul of the world traveller Evliya
Please intervene (for our mercy) Dear Rasulullah, year 1082

In addition to these inscriptions, there are also inscriptions that Evliya carved on the trunks of large trees. The most interesting of these is an inscription that he claims he carved in Germany on a tree located inside the Korokonder Castle in Kanije. He has also carved the following inscriptions on tree trunks.

3.1.5 On a cypress tree in Patras, Mora

Seyyâh-ı âlem Evliya rûhiyçün Fâtiha sene...
(Evliyâ Çelebi 1996-2008, 8, p. 132)

Recite Al-Fatiha for the soul of the world traveller Evliya. Year...

3.1.6 On the trunk of a 600-700 years old plane tree on the Island of Kos

Seyyâh-ı âlem Evliya rûhiyçün Fâtiha sene 1082
(Evliyâ Çelebi 1996-2008, 9, p. 114)

Recite Al-Fatiha for the soul of world traveller Evliya. Year 1082
3.2 Not Mentioned Wall Inscriptions in the *Seyahatname*

A number of other wall inscriptions that are not mentioned by Evliya Çelebi in the *Seyahatname*, yet which have been proven to have been written by him, have also been discovered. These inscriptions are important because they are concrete evidence left behind by Evliya. These four well-known wall inscriptions have been published by researchers. Most recently, Erich Prokosch has published them (1988-1989). Hereafter these inscriptions are reported in chronological order.

3.2.1 Inceli Ahmed Bey Mosque, Kjustendil (fig. 4)

Melek Ahmed Paşa hazretlerinin müezzini
Evliyâ-i gülsen-i ruhiyçün Allah rızası içün
sene 1071, m(uharrem)

Muezzin of Melek Ahmed Paşa
For the soul of Gulseni Evliya, for the sake of
fatiha Allah, recite Surat al-Fatiha
Year 1071 Month of Muharram.
(November 1660)

3.2.2 Alaca Mosque, Foça (fig. 5)

Allâhü avnî ve là sivâhü hayrî
Ketebehû müezzin Evliya
sene 1074

Our succor is Allah and there is no one but He
Evliya, the muezzin,
wrote this in 1074 (1663/64)

3.2.3 Atik Ali Paşa Mosque, Foça (fig. 6)

All of the mosques in Foça were demolished during the Bosnian War that started in 1992; of the inscriptions that belonged to Evliya, unfortunately only the one in Atik Pasha Mosque could be saved.⁵ And when Atik Ali Paşa

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⁵ When Mr. Machiel Kiel visited Foça in June 2007 he provided me with this information based on his own observations.
Figure 4.
Graffito in Köstendil
(photo: M. Tütüncü)

Figure 5.
Drawing of the
inscription in Alaca
Mosque in Foça
(source: Prokosch
1988-1989, p. 326)

Figure 6.
Drawing of the
inscription in Atik Ali
Paşa Mosque in Foça
(source: Prokosch
1988-1989, p. 329)
Figures 7-8. Newly reconstructed Foça Atik Ali Paşa Mosque in Bosnia with the inscription by Evliya restored into the walls (photos: Müfid Yüksel, 2015)
Mosque was rebuilt again in 2015, the stones where the grafitto of Evliya was written was restored into the wall (figs. 7-8).

Habibullah rühîycün
Allah rızâsiycün celle ve alâ
Fâtiha, Sene 1074
Ketebehû müezzin Evliya

For the soul of Allah's beloved
To please the Mighty and Lofty Allah
Recite Fatiha, Year 1074 (1663/64)

3.2.4 Hasan Ağa Mosque, Adana

This was written by the muezzin Evliya, to the right of the entrance door, 1,80 meters high (fig. 9).

Melek Ahmed Paşalî Seyyah-i Alem
Evliyâ ruhîycün Allah Rızasina/ fatiha
fatiha
sene 1082

Traveller of the world of Melek Ahmed Pasha
For the soul of Evliya, for the sake of Allah
Recite Surat al-Fatiha
Year 1082
During the restorations that took place after the earthquake of 1998, the inscription in Adana was plastered over, displaying a prime example of the shameful insensitivity and disrespect that has been showed to Evliya.

In addition to these four inscriptions by Evliya, I was extremely excited to find another inscription of his, in the same format. This wall inscription is in Karaman (fig. 10).

This latter inscription, which is located in a mosque close to the castle of Karaman, has not yet been published. In his book *The History of Karaman* (p. 263), İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı mentions this inscription, but claims that it does not belong to Evliya Çelebi. He claims that it was written by an admirer, 23 years after Evliya’s visit to Karaman in 1082 AH. According to Konyali, this inscription must have been written in 1105 AH. However, it is clear that the year is 1082 AH, as this has been carved below the writing.
In other words, the inscription was written when Evliya visited Karaman. I compared this inscription to the one at the Hasan Ağa Mosque in Adana, which was written in the same year, and concluded that this inscription really does belong to Evliya Çelebi.

There is no inscription for the construction of this mosque, which is located in the Hisar district, right next to the citadel of the Karaman Castle, and is also known as the Boyalı Kadi Mosque (fig. 11). According to the foundation charter, dated 954/1547, as featured in *The History of Karaman* by İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, Boyalı Kadi Pir Ahmed Mosque was most likely constructed before 1547, while Pir Ahmed was still alive.

Evliya Çelebi records the following about Boyalı Kadi mosque in his *Seyahatname*. He visited this mosque in 1082 on his way to pilgrimage: «And the Boyali Kadi Mosque, situated inside the Market Gate in the middle citadel, has an unfinished minaret; the dome is high but is covered
with tiles. The Market Gate of the Karaman Castle which Evliya mentions still exists (fig. 12).

According to another inscription, the Boyali Kadi Mosque in Karaman was renovated and renewed in 1132, in other words, fifty years after Evliya’s visit. The inscription, related to this renovation, reads as follows:

Bi-hamdillâh tamirine sebeb ehl-i hisar
Fehmi dedi tarih Efgan

Praise be to Allah, the residents of the castle have caused it to be repaired
Fehmi, has recited Afgan’s chronogram

According to this inscription, the mosque was renovated by local inhabitants. Someone called ‘Fehmi’ noted the date of the restoration with the word ‘Efgan’ in the last sentence, which corresponds to the year: 1132 (1722) (1+80+1000+1+ 50 = 1132). I would like to state my opinion that Evliya Çelebi might have attended the renovation or re-opening of the mosque.

3.3 Evliya Çelebi’s Inscription on Pir Ahmed Efendi Mosque

The inscription (fig. 13) on the marble pillar located 180 cm above the ground on the left side of the entrance door to the Pir Ahmed Efendi Mosque reads:

Seyyâh-ı âlem Evliya
rûhiyçün fatiha
sene 1082

For the soul of world traveller Evliya.
(Recite) Al-Fatiha
year 1082 (1671/72)

3.4 Evliya’s graffito in Pécs (Hungary)

If we follow Evliya Çelebi’s route, perhaps other inscriptions and evidence of his presence could be determined. In a Hungarian journal there is a reference to a graffito which was discovered before 1857, and since
B. HAMNER-PURGSTALL JÓZSEF
közléséből néhány Pécen környékén talált török, arab és persze
feliratokat terjeszlett elé. Azok a következők:

Figure 13. Evliya Çelebi's
inscription on Pir Ahmed Efendi
Mosque (detail of the red circled
area in fig. 10)

Figure 14. Facsimile of Hammer-
Purgstalls 1847, p. 365

Figure 15. Facsimile of Hammer-
Purgstalls 1847, p. 366

— Ezek után a titoknak

1. Török feliratok.

Sifát ja Mohammed Evliáje 1074.
Légy szőzölőja, o Mohammed Evliának 1074 (1663).

Evliya (Vetié, szent, többsé) tulajdonó, melly az ozman irodalomtörténetben, különösen Evliya híres utazó által híresedett el. Nem csak lehető, de igen valószínű, hogy e feliratok tőle származnak, mert azon életrajzai vázlatból, melly üleírása első része előtt áll a londoni ázsiai társaság 1834-ki kiadásában, kitűnik, hogy ő 1074-ben (1663.) Magyarországban tartózkodott, a következő évben pedig Kara Mohammed Pasa török követtel mint követségi titoknak Bécshen járt.2) Evliya Efendi tudományosan képzett férfit volt, ki üleírásában minden alkalommal tanúságot tesz tudományok iránti szeretetéről, 's igen ihlető, hogy a főnöke által alapított mecsetet nevével kívánta díszesíteni. Ez esetben e felirat, mint a legnagyobb török utazó emléke, bizonyosan egyszer-mind legfrívbább és becsesb emléke a török irodalomnak Magyarországban.
then passed unnoticed in academic literature. This graffito is from Pecs (Hungary).

The article by Jozsef Hammer von Purgstall (1847) gives quotes of graffiti in Ottoman buildings in Pecs (fig. 14). The author does not specify where he found this graffito, though he quotes them in Arabic script (fig. 15).

The first quote is of our remarkable Evliya Çelebi from the year 1663. It is good to reproduce the short notice in Hungarian here.

Şefa’at ya resulullah Evliya’ya sene 1074 (1663)

Intercession o Prophet of Allah for Evliya Year 1074 (1663).

From the Seyahatname we know that Evliya Visited Pecs in 1073 (1662/63), so he could have written this graffito during his visit.

This inscription in Pécs, which is probably lost, is an important addition to the five earlier mentioned graffiti of Evliya Çelebi. Çelebi makes no mention of this inscription in his Seyahatname. Neither does he mention the other five inscriptions that we have presented here (Köstendil, Foça, Adana and Karaman). For instance, there is no information about him visiting the Hasan Ağa Mosque in Adana in Seyahatname. However, this inscription did exist in the mosque until the earthquake. When the inscription in Karaman, where he stopped on his pilgrimage journey, and the one in Adana, where he stopped by a few days later, are compared, it can easily be seen that both inscriptions were written by the same person.

These inscriptions are evidence left behind by Evliya during his journey. The inscription of Pecs which was seen and noticed and published by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall should be added to the other five that are currently recognized. As a result, the total number of Evliya’s wall inscriptions is now six, and the number of inscriptions in Turkey is two. Since the inscription in Adana has been destroyed, the Karaman inscription is even more important in terms of being the only evidence of Evliya’s handwritten inscriptions in Turkey.

This article was brought to my attention by Yük. Mimar Mehmet Emin Yılmaz from Ankara, who is doing research to Ottoman Heritage in Hungary. I would like to thank him.
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