

SRĐAN KATIĆ, Institute of History Belgrade

ALEKSANDAR KRSTIĆ, Institute of History Belgrade

## FIRUZ AGHA AND HIS HAMMAM IN SMEDEREVO

e-mail: [srdjan.katic@iib.ac.rs](mailto:srdjan.katic@iib.ac.rs)

*Abstract* – This paper deals with the hammam in the Smederevo fortress, erected by Firuz Agha, the head of the Sultan's treasury, between 1485 and 1490. Using Ottoman sources, the authors are able to determine the time of construction, the method of work and the role that this public bath played for Smederevo's inhabitants. The hammam was very important for the functioning of the great Firuz's waqf, which included numerous buildings in the Balkans and Anatolia. Based on data on the waqf's revenue, it may be concluded that until the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century the hammam in the Smederevo fortress was one of the most profitable facilities of its kind in the Ottoman Empire. Over a quarter of a century, Firuz, as the court agha and later as the sanjak-bey, constructed another three hammams in Tokat, Sivas and Sarajevo, which help us discern patterns and changes in the manner of construction. Based on this knowledge and information about the appearance and manner of functioning of the numerous hammams built in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the authors present the presumed disposition of the rooms of the public bath in the Smederevo fortress. In the female section, the rooms can be determined with great certainty, while three possible types, based on the shape and dimensions, are offered for the hot part of the male section of the hammam.

*Key words* – Smederevo, Firuz Agha, hammam, waterworks, waqf, Bayezid II, Tokat, Sarajevo, sanjak-bey.

From the Ottoman conquest in 1459 until the 1520s, Smederevo was the most important military stronghold in the European part of the Ottoman Empire. Over the following decades it retained its military, economic and urban importance. However, the past of Ottoman Smederevo has been insufficiently explored. The majority of buildings, both at the time of the despots and during a considerable period of the Ottoman rule, were built of wood and other light materials, which is why few traces of the old urban structures have remained in Smederevo. In addition to fortifications, which largely survived until the present day despite heavy damage in World War I

and II, and traces of court buildings in the Castle (*Mali grad* – Little Fort), archaeologists have found remains of only a few constructions in the fortress (*Veliki grad* – Big Burg). These comprise three mosques, one of which was erected by altering and expanding the medieval church in the south-eastern corner of the fortress, and Firuz Agha's double (*çifte*) hammam, with male and female rooms.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ненадовић 1956, Fig. 11; Дероко, Ненадовић 1957, 185, Fig. 15; Цуњак 2011, 83–104; Поповић 2013, 8–9, 13, 16, 20, 35, 49–54, 56–57, 60–62, 70–72.

This paper is the result of a research within projects of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia: *From Universal Empires to National States. Social and Political Changes in Serbia and the Balkans* (rec. no 177030) and *Medieval Serbian Lands (13–15<sup>th</sup> Centuries): Political, Economic, Social and Legal Processes* (rec. no 177029).

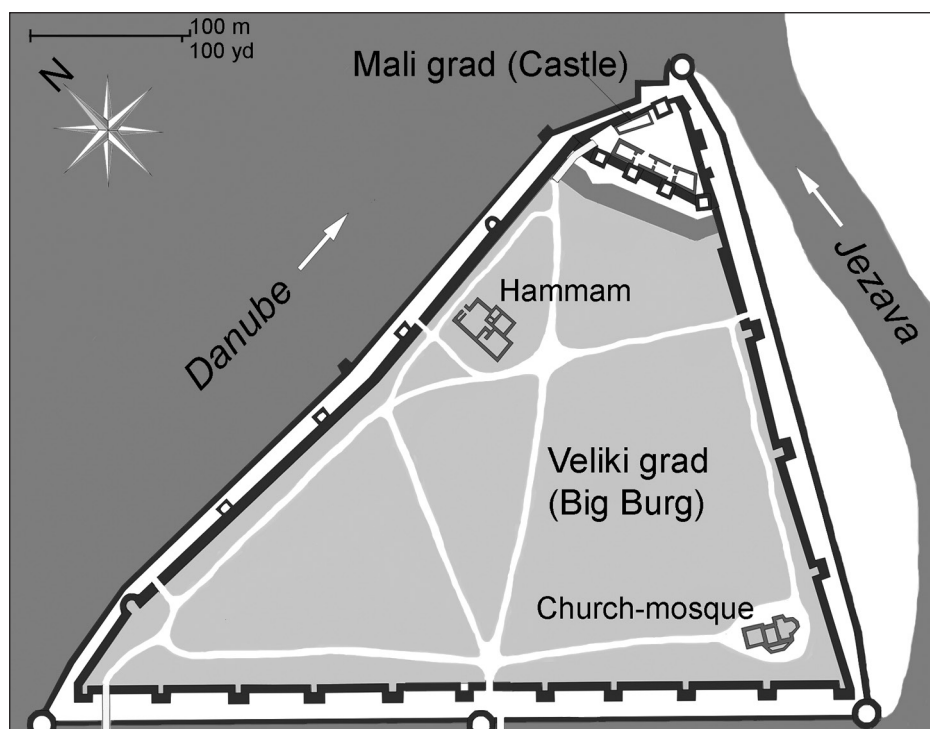


Fig. 1. Plan of the Smederevo fortress with the position of Firuz Agha's hammam (authors: A. Krstić, S. Katić)

Сл. 1. План Смедеревске тврђаве са положајем Фируз-агиној хамама (аутори: А. Крстић, С. Катић)

Hammams were buildings characteristic of the entire Ottoman civilisation, as Islam pays great importance to the maintenance of body hygiene and ritual washing, i. e. purification of the body. As only running water can be used for ritual washing and bathing, it is understandable that religious regulations were a great incentive for the construction of public baths, *sebils*, fountains and waterworks across the Islamic world. These were among the first public facilities, in addition to religious buildings, that the Ottomans erected in newly conquered towns, and they represented an important feature of their urban development. The construction of baths, fountains and water supply systems was considered a pious act. This is one of the two main reasons why these facilities were a significant part of numerous endowments, waqfs, in the Ottoman Empire. The second reason is the fact that the revenue generated by the hammams was important for the maintenance of the waqfs that they belonged to.<sup>2</sup>

The remains of Firuz Agha's hammam are located in the *Veliki grad* of the Smederevo fortress, five meters from the Danube rampart, between the second and third Danube tower when observed from the *Mali grad* (i. e. between towers 23 and 24). The hammam was

constructed at the crossroads of the main town streets, which connected the entrance to the Castle with the gates on the southern rampart of the *Veliki grad*, as well as the Danube with the Jezava gate (Figure 1).<sup>3</sup> Based on this, it is clear that this Turkish bath was one of the most representative buildings in Smederevo during the centuries-long Ottoman rule, which is also confirmed by some old cartographic records. The Austrian plan of Smederevo from the period of the War of the Holy League shows only two facilities in the fortress, the church-mosque in the south-eastern corner of the *Veliki grad* and the double hammam.<sup>4</sup> The same can be seen in an undated plan of Smederevo from the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> Given the significant role played by hammams in the

<sup>2</sup> Kiel 1976, 87; Kreševljaković 1991, 11–18; Eyice 1997, 402–430; Kanetaki 2004, 83; Kanetaki 2012, 204–205; Mikov 2012, 128, 148–150.

<sup>3</sup> Поповић 2013, 19, Fig. 7, 35, Fig. 20, 49.

<sup>4</sup> Zdravković 1965, 223; Катић, Поповић 2013, 82, Fig. 1.

<sup>5</sup> In this plan, the hammam is wrongly designated as a mosque. In addition to several other buildings in the fortress, Sparr's plan of Smederevo from 1738 also shows the hammam: Павловић 1980, 226, Fig. 166, 245, Fig. 177.

everyday life of the urban population in the Ottoman Empire, it is no wonder that such a building was among the most prominent features of the urban structure of Smederevo.

The remains of the Smederevo hammam are also important for the history of the Serbian Christian spirituality, architecture and art of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, because the hammam incorporated a part of the construction material from one of the monumental churches of Smederevo, most probably the main endowment of despot Đurađ Branković (1427–1456) – the metropolitan church of the Annunciation.<sup>6</sup> All this prompted us to present here data, until now unknown in Serbian historiography, about the Smederevo hammam and its founder Firuz Agha, later Firuz Bey, offered by Ottoman documentary, narrative and epigraphic sources. They shed light on the time and purpose of creation of this public bath, its work and role in the life of Ottoman Smederevo, and its role in the functioning of the great Firuz's waqf, which covered buildings in several Balkan and Anatolian sanjaks.

\* \* \*

Firuz was born as a Christian and was most probably of South-Slavic origin.<sup>7</sup> Given that he was a eunuch (*hadım*), he probably became a slave as a boy and was castrated by slave traders who sold him to Ottoman courtiers.<sup>8</sup> He was converted to Islam and trained in one of the royal sarays. It is hard to determine whether he was immediately taken to Amasya, to the saray of the prince, later Sultan Bayezid II (1481–1512), or this was done later. It is certain that Firuz obtained the prince's trust and was among the most capable and trustworthy courtiers that Bayezid II, after ascending to the throne, brought to Istanbul, intending for them important services in the Topkapı Palace.<sup>9</sup>

Idris Bitlisi, a contemporary, described Firuz as a handsome man, whose face always emanated goodness. Bitlisi also states that Firuz was driven by a strong wish to progress, that he was very useful in the palace and was adorned with honesty, sharpness of mind and, above all, excellent knowledge of finance, which is why Sultan Bayezid II entrusted him with tasks in the imperial treasury.<sup>10</sup>

The founder's inscription in Persian, set up in 1485 above the entrance to Firuz's hammam in Tokat, reads that the patron was the *hazinedar*, one of the treasurers of the imperial treasury.<sup>11</sup> The other founder's inscription on his mosque at At Meydanı (Hippodrome) in Istanbul<sup>12</sup> and the waqfiyya appertaining to the creation

of the waqf from 1491<sup>13</sup> testify that, in the meantime, Firuz was appointed the chief treasurer (*serhazine*), which was, during the 15<sup>th</sup> and major part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, after "the agha of the Gate" (*kapı ağası*), the most important function on the court. Firuz Agha served as the chief of the Sultan's internal treasury until June 1496, when he was appointed the sanjak-bey of the Scutari (Shkodër) sanjak.<sup>14</sup> (Figure 2)<sup>15</sup>

Soon after assuming his duties in Scutari, Firuz Bey incorporated the Crnojevićs' lands in Zeta into the Ottoman state. After the escape of Đurađ Crnojević, the *subaşı* for Montenegro was appointed upon Firuz Bey's order and until March of the following year (1497), the first Ottoman census of this area was carried

<sup>6</sup> Ненадовић 1956, 78–79, 82–84, Fig. 5, 6, 11; Ненадовић 1979, 404, 409–424; Поповић 2000, 201–202, 208, 211, 216; Цуњак 2011, 99.

<sup>7</sup> Testifying to the non-Muslim, Christian origin are the terms "the son of Abdallah" or "the son of Abdalhayy" instead of his father's name: *İstanbul Vakıfları Defteri 1546*, 23–24; Schwarz, Kurio 1983, 116–117. Kissling 1974, 294, states that a certain *Giorgio di Servia* (also recorded as *di Bosnia dictus da Spalato*, the envoy of the Mantova duke at the Porte, claimed that Firuz Bey was his cousin (*parente*). Based on this and based on Firuz Bey's communication with the Dubrovnik and Venetian authorities in Serbian (*schiaivo servo*: Sanuto I, 677–679, II, 506), and with the Mantova duke in Italian, Kissling believes that Firuz originated from Split or its environs. Two Cyrillic Firuz Bey's letters in Serbian have been preserved, sent from Sarajevo to Dubrovnik in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century: Truhelka 1911, 131, 135–136, 207–208. Cf. Reindl 2014, 150.

<sup>8</sup> About eunuch slaves in the Ottoman court service see: Ezgi Dikici 2013, 105–136.

<sup>9</sup> Schwarz, Kurio 1983, 118–119. About the court of Ottoman princes in Amasya see: Kappert 1976, 19–67.

<sup>10</sup> Dimitriadou 2000, 236.

<sup>11</sup> Uzunçarşılı 1927, 32–33.

<sup>12</sup> Ayvansarâyî 2001, 213; Öz 1962, 59–60; Eyice 1996, 136.

<sup>13</sup> The *waqfiyya* (endowment charter) states that Firuz Agha was Sultan's freedman (*atiq*): Schwarz, Kurio 1983, 116–118.

<sup>14</sup> Reindl 2014, 150–151. According to Mehmet Süreyya, Firuz Agha performed the duty of "the agha of the Gate" as well: Süreyya II, 538. However, Süreyya failed to notice that in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> century there was another court agha called Firuz, mentioned in documents also as Hacı Firuz Agha. It seems that he served for a longer time as an agha in the Old Palace. He is mentioned as "the agha of the gate" from 1504 to 1507, as his much better known namesake left the Topkapı Palace long time before and performed the service of a sanjak-bey: Gök 2014, 224, 351, 498, 603; *Ориенталски сбирки НБС*, F. 1A, a. u. 17657; F. 1A, a. u. 17797, ff. 1–2.

<sup>15</sup> The inscription was made by the famous calligrapher Sheikh Hamdullah, the founder of contemporary Ottoman calligraphy: Ayvansarâyî 2001, 213. About the work of Sheikh Hamdullah see: Serin 2007.

Fig. 2. Firuz Agha's mosque at At Meydanı in Istanbul (photo by A. Altun). The founder's inscription above the entrance to Firuz Agha's mosque in Istanbul (after Eyice 1996)

Сл. 2. Фуруз-аџина џамија на Ат мејдану у Истанбулу (фото: А. Алтун). Оснивачки натпис изнад улаза у Фуруз-аџину џамију у Истанбулу (према: Ејџе 1996)



out.<sup>16</sup> Firuz Bey also took Crmnica, as well as salterns and lands in Grbalj, which were previously held by the Crnojevićs and to which Venice laid its claims, which, along with other territorial disputes, led to the Ottoman–Venetian War of 1499–1503. During the war, waged on the sea and in maritime parts of Greece, Albania and Dalmatia, up to Friuli, Firuz Bey assaulted Kotor and the environs with his men, while during the peace negotiations he played an important role in determining the Ottoman–Venetian border.<sup>17</sup>

After the death of İskender Pasha in late 1504, Firuz Bey was appointed the sanjak-bey of Bosnia.<sup>18</sup> While in this position, in addition to performing military and administrative tasks, he coordinated an extensive espionage network. The Ottoman foreign policy towards Hungary, Venice and Dubrovnik,<sup>19</sup> as well as towards other European countries, which were in the sphere of Ottoman interests, was carried out by him to a significant extent.<sup>20</sup> Due to the complexity of his tasks, Firuz was not subjected to the customary rotation of officials, which most often took place every third year. Though it was expected that in 1511 he would be appointed Rumeli beylerbey, he served as the sanjak-bey of Bosnia until his death in December 1512.<sup>21</sup>

\*\*\*

Firuz's endowment activity was very rich and versatile. Although there were patrons among highly positioned eunuchs in the Ottoman court before, the rise of the architectural patronage of this specific group of courtiers is associated primarily with the rule of Sultan Bayezid II.<sup>22</sup> Like the ruler and his most prominent courtiers, Firuz began to erect his first endowments in the area of Amasya. Besides the wish to be memorialised as patrons and requite the population of the region where they spent a large portion of their lives, they were also driven by practical reasons, such as the knowledge of local needs and appropriate space for construction, as well as earlier acquired real estate.

In the second half of the 1480s, Firuz Agha founded a waqf dedicated to the madrasa in Havza, in whose complex there was also a mescid.<sup>23</sup> He ensured the resources for their maintenance by constructing the double hammam in Tokat, along with which he also erected a *çarşı* with around forty shops, and a smaller hammam in Sivas with several stores. Firuz's waqf collected revenue from around fifteen villages, from the sanjaks of Amasya, Sivas-Tokat and Sonisa-Niksar.<sup>24</sup> When the construction of buildings in the environs of Amasya was already in its advanced stages, Firuz focused on his main waqf complex in Istanbul, which he completed in 1491. He possessed a great estate at At Meydanı (Hippodrome), which covered the surroundings of Philoxenos' (Binbirdirek) cistern and was adja-

<sup>16</sup> Sanuto II, 372, 504; Đurđev et al. 1957, 153; Томић 1901, 68, 91–95, 113, 117; Đurđev 1954, 172; Šabanović 1958, 340; Zlatar 2013, 71.

<sup>17</sup> Томић 1901, 95–106, 113–132, 137, 140–143; Томић 1909, 21–26, 29, 30–34; Станојевић 1963, 45–46; Kissling 1974, 299–311; *Историја ЦГ* II/2, 337, 347; III/1, 13–14, 23; Reindl 2014, 152–153.

<sup>18</sup> Sanuto VI, 389.

<sup>19</sup> Поповић 1973, 79, 85, 424, note 113; Zlatar 2013, 72–73.

<sup>20</sup> Reindl 2014, 150–151, 153–155, with primarily sources and earlier literature.

<sup>21</sup> Sanuto X, 21, XIII, 187, XIV, 465; Truhelka 1911, 31, 135–136, 207–208; Schwarz, Kurio 1983, 123–124; Reindl 2014, 156. Firuz's cousins Suleyman and Davud and men from his escort held timars in Bosnia in 1516: TD 56, 35, 39, 40, 50, 58, 60, 61, 71, 81, 86; TD 157, 68, 214, 757, 873; Zlatar 2013, 70, 73–74.

<sup>22</sup> Ezgi Dikici 2009, 35–39.

<sup>23</sup> Baltacı 1976, 77–78.

<sup>24</sup> *Karaman ve Rûm defteri* 1530, II, 359, 361, 368–372, 380–381, 385, 433, 497, 542; *İstanbul Vakıfları Defteri 1546*, 23–24; *Defter-i Mufassal-ı Livâ-i Sivas 1574/1575*, 62, 193–194; Gürbüz 1993, 232–233.



cent to the yard of the Hagia Sophia. In the central part, Firuz built a mosque, türbe, sebil and school, where the famous calligrapher Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi held classes of calligraphy (Figure 2).<sup>25</sup>

In the surrounding area, Firuz Agha also constructed a number of accompanying facilities which generated revenue for his waqf from the lease of: 62 chambers for habitation or storage, 17 shops, a slaughter-house and a garden. The waqf was also entitled to revenue from leasing 56 chambers and shops near the coin mint, the colouring facility and Saraçhane in Istanbul, and from 11 shops and chambers in Edirne, together with loan interest, a village from *hâsses* in Istanbul and four villages from Iznikmid nahiye (Nicomedia, present-day Izmit),<sup>26</sup> and from the hammam in Smederevo, which generated by far the greatest profit.<sup>27</sup>

Firuz's waqfs of the madrasa in Havza and the mosque at At Meydanı were then consolidated to ensure better control and more efficient operation.<sup>28</sup> Being a financial expert, Firuz made a good selection of revenue and successfully motivated the administrators of the waqfs, bestowing upon them, instead of daily allowances, a tenth of the waqf revenue. Thus, long after Firuz's death, his waqf's revenue significantly exceeded expenditure, reaching almost 130,000 akçes in 1546.<sup>29</sup> Given their number and structure, this could have been considerably greater but, in some cases, the patron put mercy before profit such as when, for instance, he rented for a pittance tens of residential chambers at At Meydanı to the poor.<sup>30</sup>

Almost fifteen years after the establishment of the above two waqfs, Firuz Bey began to construct new endowments in Sarajevo. Similarly to Havza, the Sarajevo waqf was dedicated to the first Sarajevo madrasa and the mahalle mescid, and the main source of revenue originated from the double hammam in Baščaršija, which was under construction in 1509. He brought water to the hammam from the Sedrenik source, and built five fountains on the waterworks, which were around two kilometres long.<sup>31</sup> The waqf's revenue also originated from leasing land parcels near the madrasa and numerous shops in Sarajevo, and from water mills and land in Travnik in Bosnia, and in Peć in the Scutari sanjak.<sup>32</sup>

It should be noted that Firuz Bey, while serving as the Bosnian sanjak-bey, also founded a town in the region of Polimlje. The summary defter of the Bosnian sanjak of 1516 records "Firuz Bey's town" in the census of the Vlachs of the Banja nahiye as the only settlement of a town type in this nahiye.<sup>33</sup> This town, how-

ever, did not carry Firuz's name for a long time, as the censuses of 1530 and 1540/1541 already specified Kratovo (the present-day village south-east of Priboj) as the town in Banja.<sup>34</sup>

Fate was not benevolent towards numerous of Firuz's endowments. Only the mosque at At Meydanı has survived to date, although, due to the expansion of Divanyolu Street after 1865, the patron's türbe, school and sebil were pulled down, and the fence was moved significantly towards the mosque.<sup>35</sup> No trace has been left of the two madrasas in Havza and Sarajevo. Testifying to their existence are the names of parts of these two towns, which are still today called Medrese.<sup>36</sup> The hammam in Sarajevo was operational until 1810, when

<sup>25</sup> Ayvansarâyî 2001, 213; Eyice 1996, 135–137. Sheikh Hamdullah was the teacher of calligraphy of Prince Bayezid in Amasya, and when Bayezid became the new Sultan, he moved to Istanbul with him. According to Mehmet Süreyya, Firuz also learned from Sheikh Hamdullah and was rather successful, as he himself became known as a calligrapher: Süreyya II, 538; IV, 32.

<sup>26</sup> Firuz probably built or restored a mescid in the Karagollu village (Iznikmid) whose revenue belonged to the waqf, as the breakdown of revenue shows the daily allowances for the imam, muezzin, khatib and kâim in this village: *İstanbul Vakıfları Defteri 1546*, 23–24.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. In 1501, another smaller waqf was established in Istanbul, devoted to Firuz Agha's mescid near the Valens Aqueduct: *İstanbul Vakıfları Defteri 1546*, 230. However, the founder was another Firuz Agha (see note 14) about whom there is no information in historiography. This is also the reason why the mescid waqf was either wrongly ascribed to the former chief of the imperial treasury or wrongly dated to the period after the rule of Bayezid II: Öz 1962, 61; Eyice 1996, 137–138.

<sup>28</sup> Schwarz, Kurio 1983, 119, 123. Nine shops from Sarajevo were subsequently added to the waqf.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. For instance, in 1520 the revenue from villages in the Amasya sanjak amounted to 23, 593 akçes, and in 1576 to 55, 371 akçes: Gürbüz 1993, 233.

<sup>30</sup> *İstanbul Vakıfları Defteri 1546*, 23–24.

<sup>31</sup> Kreševljaković 1991, 57–58; Schwarz, Kurio 1983, 123–124.

<sup>32</sup> Information about this is contained in the defters from 1530, 1540/1541, 1567/1568, 1604 and 1624: TD 164, 380; TD 211, 770; TD 462, 41; TD 742, 686; Handžić 2000, 485; Kreševljaković 1991, 57–58; Kasumović 1999, 159–160; Zlatar 2013, 74–76.

<sup>33</sup> TD 157, 396–397.

<sup>34</sup> TD 164, 39; TD 211, 249.

<sup>35</sup> Eyice 1996, 137.

<sup>36</sup> After Havza was proclaimed the seat of the *kadılık*, in 1832/33 the madrasa in that town was turned into a state administration building. As it was unfit for work, it was demolished after some time, so that a new building would be built: Abdizade 1909–1912, 367. The madrasa in Sarajevo was ruined in the 1697 fire and was never restored: Kreševljaković 1991, 58; Kasumović 1999, 160; Zlatar 2013, 76.

it was, due to damage to the dome and its danger of collapse, closed and left to dilapidation.<sup>37</sup> The Smederevo hammam persisted until the Turkish troops were in the fortress, but when they left in 1867, it was abandoned and, soon after, demolished.<sup>38</sup> The hammam in Tokat was the longest surviving. It was active even in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, but for military purposes it was first converted into a warehouse, only to be pulled down in the 1930s for the sake of expanding a military facility.<sup>39</sup>

\* \* \*

The exact time of construction of Firuz Agha's hammam in Smederevo is not known. Its first direct mention is associated with the establishment of Firuz's

waqf in Istanbul in 1491. Agha also designated the revenue from the Smederevo bath to his endowment in the capital, which means that the hammam already existed in the Smederevo fortress, and was active for at least a year. Firuz Agha, other eminent courtiers or Prince Bayezid himself did not construct waqf facilities during their stay in Amasya. This was very rare, even after Bayezid's rise to the throne on 22 May 1481, as in the first year and a half the new sultan had to settle a score with the pretender to the throne, Prince Cem, the rebellious Karamanids and the conspirators led by Grand vizier Ishak Pasha and the conqueror of Otranto Gedik Ahmed Pasha.<sup>40</sup> Even when Bayezid consolidated his rule, the main endowment activity of the sultan and his most prominent courtiers began first in Amasya and

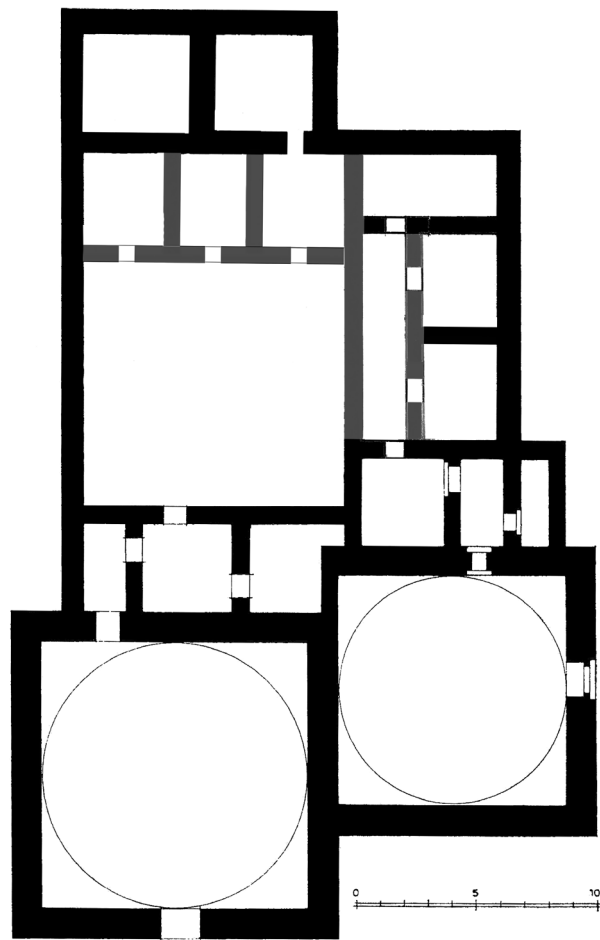
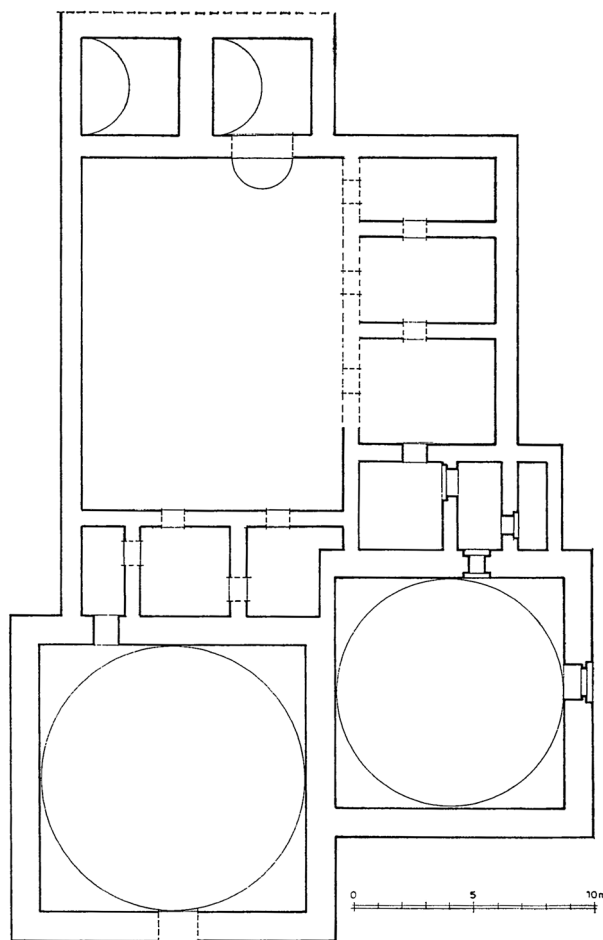


Fig. 3. Plan of the Smederevo hammam (according to S. Nenadović)

Fig. 4. Plan of Firuz Agha's hammam in Smederevo (according to S. Katić and A. Krstić)

Сл. 3. План хамама у Смедереву (према С. Ненадовићу)

Сл. 4. План основе Фируз-аиној хамама у Смедереву (према С. Катичу и А. Крстићу)

the surrounding towns such as Tokat, Sivats and Havza.<sup>41</sup> Given the political circumstances, Firuz's endowment activity, which first began in the environs of Amasya, the direct connection of the Smederevo hammam with his main waqf complex at At Meydanı in Istanbul (completed in 1491), the time needed for construction and at least one year of work, it is possible to conclude with great certainty that the works on the public bath in Smederevo began in the period from 1485 to 1487, and were completed during the late 1480s.

The above also shows that until the mid-1480s, there was a lot of construction material in the Smederevo fortress, which remained after the destruction of the Annunciation Church. Fragments of stone decoration (parts of arosette and doorpost or window jamb decorated with plaits), and stone blocks with a fragment of the fresco of the Holy Warriors were found in the foundations of the southern room of the hammam.<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, only the foundations remained of the Smederevo bath and it is, therefore, not possible to determine the quantity and structure of the incorporated spolia. Therefore, the time of construction of the hammam cannot be a precise indicator for dating the Ottoman polygonal cannon tower on the outer rampart near the Jezava confluence, which also contains parts of the demolished church.<sup>43</sup>

Firuz Agha built waterworks for the needs of the Smederevo hammam, along which he erected several fountains.<sup>44</sup> The three-kilometre route of the waterworks went from the spring of the creek of Petrijevski potok, across Jasenak and the present-day Kneza Mihaila Street. It is believed that waterworks were built on this route back in Antiquity and that this route was also used in the Ottoman period, with narrower pipes placed above the existing ones.<sup>45</sup>

Along with Firuz Agha's hammam, two other public baths existed in Smederevo. The older hammam was constructed by the first Smederevo sanjak-bey, Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey (1459–1463), soon after the conquest. He built it outside the fortress, in the *çarşı* of Smederevo town, somewhere near the road leading to the Jezava bridge. He built waterworks to the hammam, as well as a fountain and 12 shops in the hammam's complex.

The costs of Mehmed Bey's mescid in the Smederevo fortress were covered to a lesser extent from the revenue of the hammam, shops, plots of land and the slaughter house on the Jezava, while the major part was intended for his main endowment, the *imaret* complex in Konush, a small town south-east of Plovdiv.<sup>46</sup>

The third Smederevo hammam, younger than Firuz's, was built by Ferhad Pasha, who stayed in Smederevo as a sanjak-bey in 1523–1524. Due to repeated abuse, Ferhad Pasha was withdrawn from duty in Smederevo and executed in Istanbul in 1524. Thus, there is almost no information about his Smederevo waqf, nor do we know whether the hammam was located in the fortress or the town. Only a short note from the 1532 census has been preserved, stating that the hammam and the revenue belonged to the state.<sup>47</sup>

Chart 1 shows that the revenue of Firuz-aga's hammam was by far the greatest. The exception is the 1522/1523 census, which contains data from the previous

<sup>37</sup> On the eve of World War I, the hammam was almost demolished. After World War II, the ground-floor artisan and catering facilities were built on its remains. After the archaeological research of 2009–2010, the remains were preserved: Kreševljaković 1991, 58; Kasumović 1999, 160; Sanković Simčić 2012, 9–11; Pravidur 2012, 17–25.

<sup>38</sup> In the First Serbian Uprising (1813), the hammam served as a prison. A photo from March 1912 shows that only the foundations remained from the hammam at the time: Павловић 1980, 202, 318.

<sup>39</sup> According to the waqfiyya, Firuz Agha's hammam in Tokat was located at the foot of the fortress, in the mahalle that was called – owing to its position – Tahtakale. In time, the hammam was no longer identified with its patron, but with the mahalle, which is why it was known as the Tahtakale hammam: Schwarz, Kurio 1983, 120. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı wrongly associates Firuz Agha's hammam with the Sultan's hammam in Tokat: Uzunçarşılı 1927, 32–33. In contrast to these hammams, there is no information about the smallest hammam – the one in Sivas, or about its location.

<sup>40</sup> Tansel 1966, 15–69; Мантран 2002, 123–125.

<sup>41</sup> It is believed that by building the bedesten in Amasya in 1483/1484, *kapı ağası* Hüseyin Agha was the pioneering patron among the court eunuchs, and that the hammam built in 1485 by Firuz Agha in Tokat was an introduction to his extensive construction activity in the years that followed: Uzunçarşılı 1927, 32–33; Ezgi Dikici 2009, 35–39.

<sup>42</sup> Ненадовић 1956, 78–79, 82–84, Fig. 5, 6, 11. One stone block with a fragment of the fresco of the Holy Warriors and one block painted on two adjacent sides were found in the revising archaeological research of the hammam carried out in 1986 and 1987, which suggests that this was a part of a pillar, doorpost or window jamb: Цуњак 2011, 99.

<sup>43</sup> Ненадовић 1956, 79, 83, Fig. 6; Ненадовић 1979, 409–415, 419–424, Fig. 13, 20, 21; Павловић 1980, 118–120, 187; Цуњак 2011, 99–100; Поповић 2000, 216–217; Поповић 2013, 53, 62, 67–73.

<sup>44</sup> *İstanbul Vakıfları Defteri 1546*, 23.

<sup>45</sup> Kanitz 1904, 153–154; Павловић 1967, 44–45; Павловић 1980, 11, 56, Fig. 50; Катић, Поповић 2013, 98.

<sup>46</sup> About Mehmed Bey's waqf in Smederevo see: Катић, Поповић 2013, 96–97, 103; about the imaret in Konush, see: Войков 2010, 47–67.

<sup>47</sup> TD 978, 149; Катић, Поповић 2013, 96.

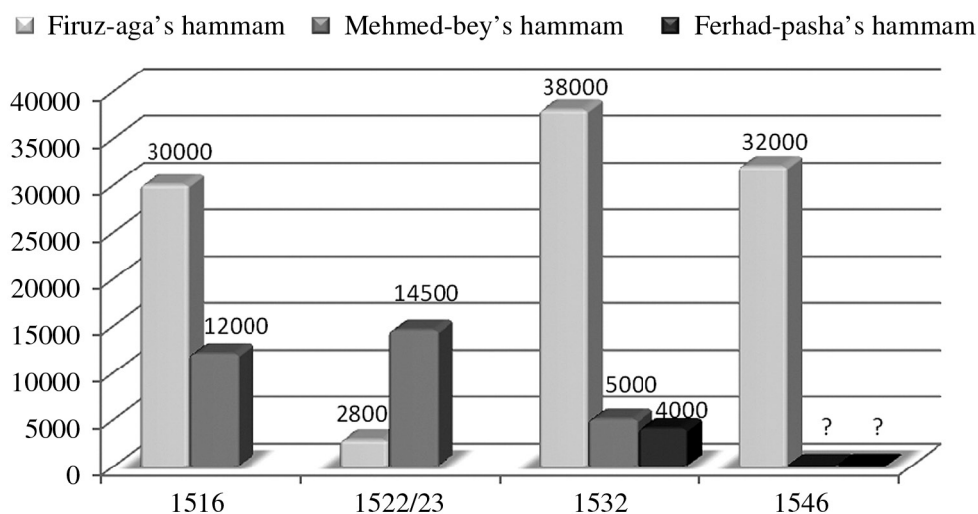


Chart 1: Revenue from Smederevo hammams in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>48</sup>

Графикон 1. Приходи од смедеревских хамама у првој половини 16. века

accounting year. In this period, the hammam obviously did not work for a long time, due to the military campaign of 1521, during which thousands of the wounded and plague infected were accommodated in public facilities and later in private houses in Smederevo.<sup>49</sup> It is only the 1532 census that contains information about the revenue of all three hammams. From the total turnover of the Smederevo public baths, Firuz Agha's hammam accounted for as much as 80.9%, Mehmed Bey's for 10.6% and the newly opened Ferhad Pasha's hammam for 8.5%.<sup>50</sup>

FiruzAgha's hammam in Smederevo also generated much greater income in comparison with his other hammams. In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, the annual profit of the Smederevo hammam equalled 32,000 akçe, while the hammams in Tokat and Sarajevo generated 12,000 each, and the hammam in Sivas around 3,000 akçe, which together is a much smaller amount than that produced in Smederevo.<sup>51</sup> In normal circumstances, the revenue from Firuz Agha's hammam in Smederevo ranged between 30,000 and 38,000 akçe, which makes it, in the period shown in the chart, one of the most important hammams in the Ottoman state.<sup>52</sup>

The expenditure of Firuz's hammam in Smederevo rose overtime. When the waqf was established in 1491, two akçe a day were earmarked for maintenance, and one akçe for the kadi's supervision. After more than half a century of work, the amount for maintenance was twice as much (four akçe) – the daily allowance for the person charging for entry to the hammam now

equalled two akçe, while the kadi still received one akçe.<sup>53</sup> The masseur's services were paid separately. This was a traditionally Muslim occupation and it is interesting that Dimitrij, a resident of the Dubrovnik colony in Smederevo, performed this task.<sup>54</sup>

At the time when Evliya Çelebi visited Smederevo in 1661, the town no longer enjoyed its erstwhile importance and only Firuz Agha's public bath was active. The Ottoman travel writer only briefly mentions that this was the hammam of *Kızlar ağası*, that it was

<sup>48</sup> TD 1007, 413, 416; TD 978, 149, 152, 154, 158. Information about hammams from the lost census of 1522/1523 is preserved in two summary defters, created in 1530 and 1531: MAD 506, 13–14; TD 135, 123–124. About dating of census TD 135 in 1531 and TD 978 in 1532, see: Катих, Урошевић, 2015, 38–40.

<sup>49</sup> BOA, *Kamil Kepeci Tasnifi*, d. 61, s. 371. Катих, Поповић 2013, 84.

<sup>50</sup> Later, comprehensive censuses (*mufassal defteri*) of the Smederevo sanjak of 1536, 1560, 1572, 1586 and 1741 do not contain information about waqfs, while the defter of the Istanbul waqfs of 1600 does not give new information, but only repeats information from 1546. This is why the period in the chart is limited only to the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century: BOA, TD 187; TD 316; TD 517; TK, KKA, TD 168 (184); TD 170 (18); *İstanbul Vakıflar Defteri 1600*, 48–49.

<sup>51</sup> *İstanbul Vakıfları Defteri 1546*, 23–24; TD 462, 41.

<sup>52</sup> TD 1007 (1516), 416; TD 978 (1532), 152.

<sup>53</sup> Schwarz, Kurio 1983, 120; *İstanbul Vakıfları Defteri 1546*, 24.

<sup>54</sup> TD 1007 (1516), 32; Зиројевић 1970, 190–191; Катих, Поповић 2013, 94.



the only one in the town, that it was located in the fortress and was very spacious.<sup>55</sup> Evliya misnamed the Smederevo hammam, because its patron, as already mentioned, performed services only in the court treasury, while the duty of the agha of the harem (*kızlar ağası*) was instituted only in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and was reserved only for black eunuchs.<sup>56</sup>

\* \* \*

Compared to the architecture of public baths in other Islamic states, Ottoman hammams are unique in terms of their monumental appearance, artistic design of the exterior and interior, and careful planning of architectural structures and shapes. Hammams had several main spatial units. The first room that a visitor would enter was called the *soyunmalık*, and served the function of a waiting and changing room. It was a large, domed room with a square base, usually with a decorated fountain, a *şadırvan*, in its centre.<sup>57</sup> Along the walls of the changing room there were low wooden or stone benches (*taş sekisi*) and wooden dressing cabins (*kafes*) with curtains at the entrance. The wooden pillars carried the gallery, where visitors to the hammam could rest and consume coffee and sweets. From the changing room, one would go to the “cold” or tepid section, called the *soğukluk* and *ılıklik* in Turkish.<sup>58</sup> These were smaller rooms where a visitor could prepare himself for bathing and get accustomed to the rising temperature in the hammam. Within this section, there was usually a toilet and a depilation room.

From the tepid section, one would go to the hot part of the hammam, the *sıcaklık*.<sup>59</sup> This was a larger room intended for massage and preparation for bathing, and for bathing itself. The central part of the hot room contained an elevated marble plate (*göbektaşı*), where massage was carried out. Stone benches were placed along the walls of this section, where visitors would sit during bathing and steaming. Between them there were *kurnas*, chiselled stone basins above which there were two bronze taps for warm and cold water. Bathers would collect water from the *kurnas* with buckets (*tases*) and splash themselves. Smaller, private bathing rooms, *halvets*, were separated from the hot section, which also contained *kurnas* and stone benches. The number and distribution of *halvets* shaped the appearance of the hot part of the hammam, which could have several *eyvans* (spaces recessed from the central part of the room). A dome rose above the central part of the hot room, while the *eyvans* and *halvets* were topped with smaller domes or semi-arched vaults. The

domes and vaults were covered with tile or lead, in the cases of larger and more sumptuous hammams. The domes contained round or star-like apertures as a source of daylight. They were closed with characteristic convex glasses called the “elephant’s eye” (*fil gözü*).<sup>60</sup>

The water tank (Turkish: *hazine*, *su hazinesi*) and the furnace room, *külhan*, leaned against the hot section of the hammam. The *hazine* was entered into from one of the *halvets*. While the *hazine* was at the level of the hammam, the *külhan* was dug in the earth. The water tank contained a copper cauldron, which was stoked from the *külhan*. Water was brought to the water tank from the waterworks, and flowed into it just above the cauldron. Hot water was distributed from the *hazine* through pipes placed 100–120 cm above the floor level. The fire stoked to heat water in the copper cauldron also heated the hammam itself, as the hypocaust system (*cehennemlik*) under the marble floor of the building carried smoke and hot air to all premises (apart from the changing room). The smoke and air were carried from the floor towards the chimneys through vertical ceramic pipes (*tüteklik*) placed in the walls, which thus, just like the pipes with hot water, additionally heated the rooms.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Çelebi 1979, 313; Çelebi 2010, 5/2, 819. Evliya Çelebi writes that the Tahtakale hammam (i.e. Firuz Agha’s hammam) in Tokat was much visited and very old: Çelebi 2010, 5/1, 98.

<sup>56</sup> Ezgi Dikici 2009, 20–27; also see: Мантрап 2002, 211, 214.

<sup>57</sup> In South-Slavic areas, this room was named the *şadrvan* after this fountain: Kreševljaković 1991, 20–21. In Turkish and other literature, the Turkish words *soyunmalık* or *camekan* (after Persian *camegah*) or Arabian *musluk* (*mestakh*) are usually used to denote the changing room: Kiel 1976, 87; Kanetaki 2004, 85; Eyice 1997, 415–416; Antonov 2012, 110–111.

<sup>58</sup> Unlike the changing room, the *soğukluk* had floor heating (hypocaust), however, as it was far from the furnace room, its temperature was moderate. In the South-Slavic area, this section is called the *kapaluk* (Turkish: *kapalık*). The name originates from the door of this room which was always closed: Kreševljaković 1991, 21; Kiel 1976, 87, 94.

<sup>59</sup> The hot section is called the *beyt al-harare* or *harare* in Arabic. In the region of the former Yugoslavia, the term *mejdan* (Turkish: *meydan*), is used to denote the central part of the hot hammam section, which is not found in the Turkish and foreign literature that we have used: Kreševljaković 1991, 21; Ђорђевић 1975, 141; Pravidur 2012, 24, 31; Škarpa Dubreta 2012, 54, 59.

<sup>60</sup> Kreševljaković 1991, 21–22; Ђорђевић 1975, 141–143; Kiel 1976, 87–88, 94; Kanetaki 2004, 85, 97–99, 102–105; Eyice 1997, 416–417.

<sup>61</sup> The water tank was isolated with a special type of waterproof mortar: Kreševljaković 1991, 23; Ђорђевић 1975, 139, Fig. 2, 142; Kiel 1976, 94; Kanetaki 2004, 85, 99–100.



Fig. 5. The hammam of Firuz Agha in Tokat, a view from the north: the dressing rooms. In the left corner is the entrance to the male part; in the left foreground is a fountain in front of the hammam (after Bilgen 2013)



Fig. 6. The hammam of Firuz Agha in Tokat, a view from the east: the male dressing room; parts of the hot sections can be seen behind it (after Bilgen 2013)

Сл. 5. Хамам Фируз-аџе у Токаџу, поглед са севера: свлачионице, у левом уџлу улаз у мушки део; у првом плану лево чесма испред хамама (према: Билген 2013)

Сл. 6. Хамам Фируз-аџе у Токаџу, поглед са истока: мушка свлачионица; иза ње виде се делови вруће секције (према: Билген 2013)

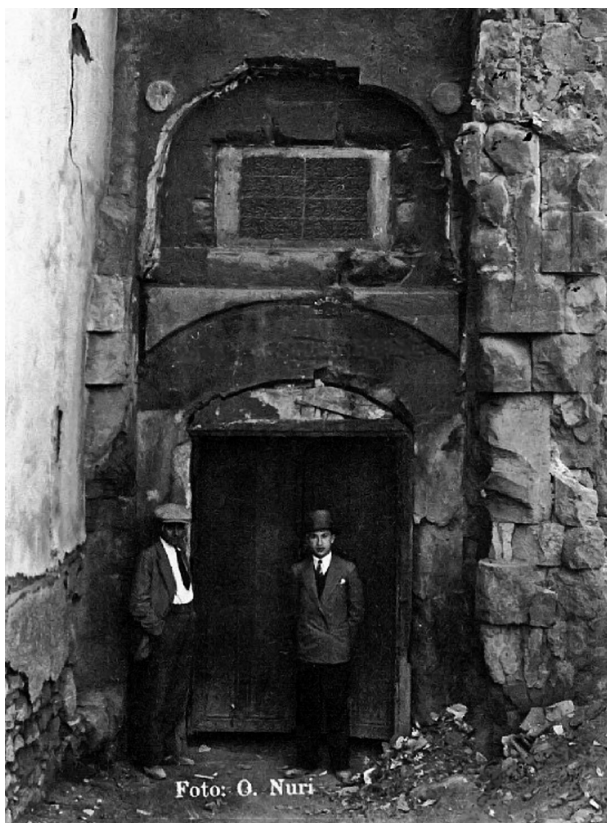


Fig. 7. The hammam of Firuz Agha in Tokat, the entrance to the male part of the bath with the founder's inscription (after Bilgen 2013)

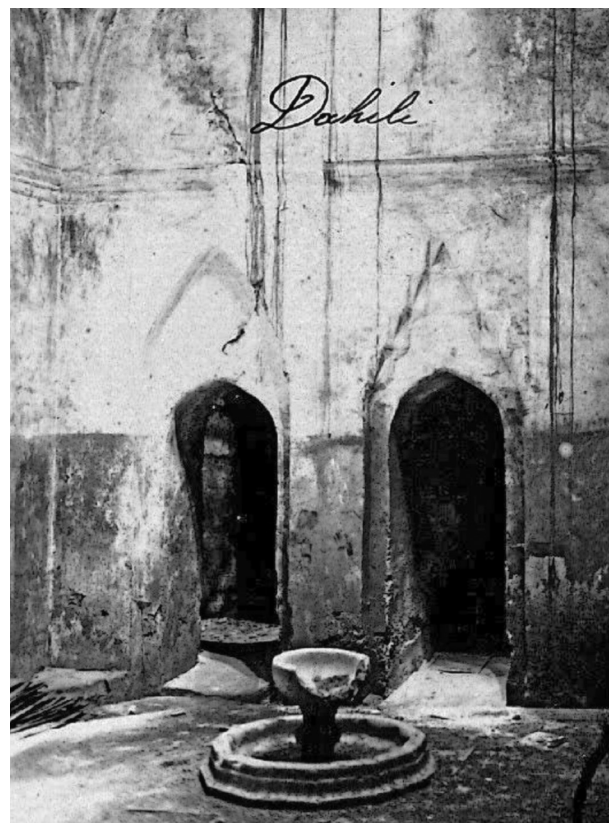


Fig. 8. The hammam of Firuz Agha in Tokat, interior of the dressing room with the şadirvan (after Bilgen 2013)

Сл. 7. Хамам Фируз-аџе у Токаџу, улаз у мушки део хамама са оснивачким напписом изнад вратица (према: Билген 2013)

Сл. 8. Хамам Фируз-аџе у Токаџу, унутрашњост свлачионице са шадрваном (према: Билген 2013)



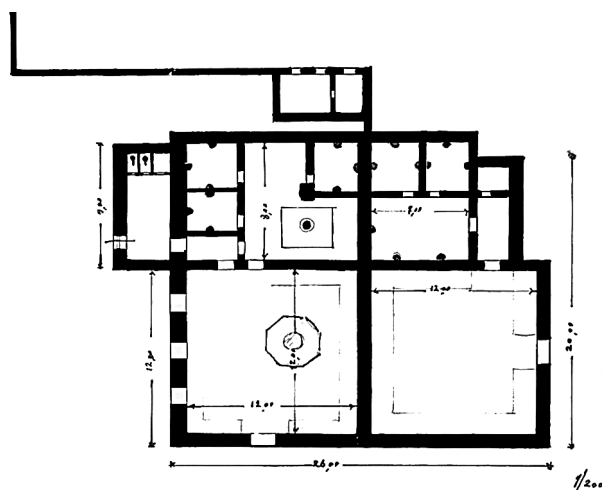


Fig. 9. Plan of Firuz Agha's hammam in Tokat (after Bilgen 2013)

Сл. 9. План хамама Фируз-аге у Токаџу (према: Билген 2013)

Although the basic organisation of space in the hammam, the changing room, the tepid and hot part, was practically common for all hammams, Ottoman builders achieved a considerable degree of versatility in the plans of these buildings, the decoration and the combination of shapes. Several authors have classified the types of these buildings, starting primarily from the spatial disposition of the hot sections of hammams from Anatolia, Istanbul, Edirne, Greece and Bulgaria. Despite differences among them, it is possible to single out five or six basic types of hammams.<sup>62</sup>

Making conclusions about the appearance of the Smederevo hammam is somewhat limited. The reason is that there are no old photographs or sketches of the hammam made by witnesses, as far as we know. Besides, it is not only that the hammam was demolished after the Turkish army eventually left the Smederevo fortress in 1867, but its remaining foundations were heavily damaged in bombing in World War II. Its remains were archeologically explored in 1942/1943, but the results and documentation from this research have been lost.<sup>63</sup> Revising archaeological research was carried out in 1986 and 1987.<sup>64</sup>

Based on the knowledge obtained so far and the preserved remains of the foundation zone of the Smederevo hammam, it is possible to define the dimensions of this Firuz endowment. Oriented in a south-north direction, the building was made of crushed stone in lime mortar. Finely carved stone blocks were built in

the lower zones. The foundations were dug into the unbroken ground and founded at an altitude of 68.60 m above sea level. The total width of the front, southern part of the construction is 24.14 m, and that of the back, the northern part (which, by all accounts, has not been preserved in its entirety) is 19.35 m. The total length (of the preserved parts) of the hammam is 35.52 m.

As this was a double, *çifte* hammam, envisaged for simultaneous bathing of men and women, it was divided by a wall, along the entire length, into two, completely separate parts. Given that it was not possible in double hammams to go directly from the male to the female part and vice versa, it is possible to claim with certainty that there were no apertures or passages in the now destroyed wall in the northern part of the building.<sup>65</sup>

The somewhat larger male part of the hammam was located on the western side and it was entered directly from the main street, while the female part on the eastern side of the building was entered from the flank, i. e. from a side street. Such an orientation of the entrance was customary for *çifte* hammams so that, in accordance with Islamic regulations, men and women would not have direct contact in public.<sup>66</sup> The entrance into the male part of the hammam was more sumptuously shaped than the entrance into the female part, which was, as a rule, modest. A tablet with the patron's inscription was likely located above the entrance into the male part of the Smederevo hammam, similar to the one on Firuz Agha's hammam in Tokat (Figure 7). As Firuz Agha's hammam was located at the crossroads of the main streets in the *Veliki grad* of Smederevo, a square with a fountain was most probably situated in front of the bath, as was the case with other such buildings.

<sup>62</sup> Glück 1921; Klinghardt 1927; Kiel 1976, 89–90; Eyice 1997, 417–419; Kanetaki 2004, 82, 84, 86, 88–93; Kanetaki 2012, 206–207.

<sup>63</sup> Archaeological works were carried out under the authority of the architect Miša Radovanović. At the time, the facility was still, to a significant degree, covered in shattered construction material: Павловић 1980, 202.

<sup>64</sup> The works were led by Mladan Cunjak, who presented the main research results: Чуњак 1998, 115–119; Чуњак 2011, 97–100.

<sup>65</sup> The ground-plan of the hammam, prepared by S. Nenadović, assumes that the now demolished wall which separated two parts of the building contained three pairs of doors: Ненадовић 1956, 83; Павловић 1980, 203, Fig. 156; Чуњак 2011, 98. See Fig. 3.

<sup>66</sup> Eyice 1997, 415; Миков 2012, 138–139. Therefore, the claim presented by M. Cunjak (Чуњак 2011, 97–98) that the entrance to the male part was on the eastern side and the entrance to the female part on the southern side is wrong. It was, in fact, the opposite way round.



*Fig. 10. The hammam of Firuz Bey in Sarajevo: a) remains of the male (left) and female dressing room (right); b) remains of the hot sections: the male section is to the right and the female to the left; c) kurnas (after Sanković Simčić 2012)*

*Сл. 10. Хамам Фируз-беџа у Сарајеву: а) остаци мушке (лево) и женске свлачионице (десно); б) остаци вруће секције: мушке са десне стране и женске са леве; в) курне (према: Санковић Симчић 2012)*

Both the male and the female changing rooms in the Smederevo hammam were rooms with a square base, outer walls 123–130 cm thick and internal, northern walls (towards other parts of the bath) 99–104 cm thick. The walls of the changing rooms were, at the same time, the thickest walls in the entire building – the thickness of outer walls of other hammam rooms ranged from 99 to 116 cm, and that of internal walls from 72 to 90 cm.<sup>67</sup>

The male changing room was larger than the female one, its base measured 13.44 x 13.20 m, while the dimensions of the female changing room were 10.70 x 11.54 m. The square shape of the base, the thickness of the walls and analogies with other hammams suggest that a massive dome rose above each of the changing rooms of the Smederevo bath. The diameter of the dome above the male part was somewhat longer than 13 m, and the diameter of the dome above the female part was somewhat longer than 10.5 m.<sup>68</sup> Semavi Eyice emphasises the exceptionally large domes above the changing rooms as one of the main features of the construction of hammams in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The domes of the largest hammams ranged from 10 m to as much as 16 m. She specifies the diameters of the domes above male changing rooms of around ten largest ham-

mams from that period, and singles out the Kaygan (Koca Mehmed Pasha's) hammam in Bursa, with a diameter of 12 m, Davud Pasha's hammam of 14.5 m, also in Bursa, Sultan Bayezid's hammam in Istanbul of 15 m, and Demirtaş' hammam of 16 m in Bursa.<sup>69</sup> Based on this, it is possible to conclude that, in terms of the size of the most monumental part of the hammam, Firuz Agha's public bath in the Smederevo fortress was among the largest in the Empire.

There were no party walls in the changing room as the changing cabins and the gallery were made of wood. The male changing room would have relatively large windows, and the female room would have smaller ones, placed at a greater height, above the eye-shot of passers-by. The examples of other hammams, including Firuz's public baths in Tokat and Sarajevo

<sup>67</sup> We received the ground-plan of the hammam with dimensions by courtesy of Dejan Radovanović, director of the Regional Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments in Smederevo, whom we thank for his kindness.

<sup>68</sup> Цуњак 2011, 99. See Fig. 5–6.

<sup>69</sup> Eyice 1997, 423.



clearly suggest that stone fountains, *şadırvars*, were located in the central parts of the changing rooms. Also, these rooms were certainly covered in stone tiles,<sup>70</sup> while the domes and walls must have been decorated in shallow relief with geometric and floral motives (“stalactite decoration”), carved in stone or made using the stucco technique.<sup>71</sup>

The tepid section in both parts of the hammam consisted of three small rooms, of which one was separated, while two were passing rooms. In addition to the use of the toilet and the depilation segment, the tepid part also served as a chamber preventing the circulation of air and steam from the hot part into the changing rooms and vice versa. The passing part was, therefore, probably divided into two rooms with doors that were not placed opposite one another, but at right angles. It is possible to claim with a fair degree of certainty that the separate, far right rooms both in the male and female tepid section of the hammam served as a toilet.<sup>72</sup> The total internal dimensions of this section in the male part of the hammam were 3.09 x 9.73 m, and in the female part 2.80 x 7.90 m. The small tepid sections placed between the monumental changing room and the spacious hot part became a feature of Ottoman hammams from the period of Bayezid II.<sup>73</sup>

While the male and female changing rooms and tepid sections were the same or very similar, the organisation of space in the hot parts of Firuz Agha’s hammam in Smederevo was very different. According to the present state of the hammam’s remains, the hot section in the male part of the hammam was a rectangular room, with internal dimensions of around 11.60 x 13.28 m. However, it is certain that the present situation does not correspond to the original appearance of the bath, as there are no dividing walls of *halvets*, separate rooms for bathing in greater privacy, which were integral to any larger Ottoman hammam. Given its size and revenue, Firuz Agha’s hammam in Smederevo must have had several *halvets*. In the entire room, only the remains of one wall around 3.22 m long and 0.90 m wide have been preserved – the wall was placed aslant, at an angle of 75 degrees against the south-western wall of this large room.<sup>74</sup> However, as it was customary for the dividing walls of smaller rooms to be placed at right angles against the bearing wall of the hammam, it is possible that this wall was raised at some later stage, when the building was remodeled.<sup>75</sup> The present state of the building’s remains leads us to assume that either the hammam underwent more significant alterations and remodelling in time, or that during the bombing in

World War II the foundations of the *halvets* were destroyed along with the now demolished eastern wall of the hot section, which separated this room from the female part of the hammam. It is highly possible that both things happened.

Based on the different variants of the architectural design of the space of the hot sections of the hammam,<sup>76</sup> we may assume that the male part of Firuz’s public bath in Smederevo had *halvets* in the northern wall, behind which there was a heating facility. This was customary practice because the room with the water tank was always entered from one of the *halvets*, and this passage is also visible in the hammam’s remains.<sup>77</sup> The *halvets* most probably covered the entire northern wall, while the 11.60 m room width allowed for the existence of three *halvets*. In the female part of the hammam, the *halvet* width ranged between around 2.74 m and around 3.54 m. For instance, in Firuz’s hammam in Tokat, the *halvet* dimensions ranged from around 2.70 x 3.60 m to around 3.30 x 3.30 m.<sup>78</sup> We cannot exclude the possibility that two *halvets* were

---

<sup>70</sup> Archaeological excavations revealed stone panels in the central part of the female changing room in Firuz’s hammam in Sarajevo; these are the remains of the base of the stone *şadırvan* with parts of ceramic pipes found *in situ*. The remains of benches stretch along the northern and southern walls, with bases for the wooden pillars of the gallery and cabins (which have not been preserved). In the male changing room, a large part of an erstwhile floor of rectangular, regularly distributed stone panels has remained: Pravidur 2012, 21, 23. See Fig. 10. Fig. 8 and 9 show the appearance of one stone *şadırvan* from the changing room of Firuz Agha’s hammam in Tokat and its position in the room.

<sup>71</sup> Kiel 1976, 92–93; Рецић 1961, 98–99; Кумбараџи-Богојевић 1998, 169–182; Eyice 1997, 417; Kanetaki 2004, 96–97, 100; Pavlov, Petkova 2008, 22–25, 36–37, 80–83, 84–87; Mikov 2012, 142–143.

<sup>72</sup> Based on this, we must reject the assumption of the existence of a passage between the far right room in the male tepid section and the hot section, drawn in the hammam plan of S. Nenadović. The non-existence of traces of the wall in this place and between the male and female tepid section is most probably due to the destruction of the hammam’s foundations. Cf. Fig. 3 and 4.

<sup>73</sup> Earlier Ottoman hammams had a more spacious and more decorated tepid section, which also served for rest after bathing. The changing room later assumed this role: Kiel 1976, 93.

<sup>74</sup> This wall is not drawn in the hammam’s ground plan by S. Nenadović. Cf. Fig. 3.

<sup>75</sup> This could also be the wall of a small *halvet* of an irregular shape.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. literature in note 62.

<sup>77</sup> Kreševljaković 1991, 23; Antonov 2012, 113–114.

<sup>78</sup> In the hammam in Ihtiman, Bulgaria, the *halvet* size was 27.5 x 2.72 m: Antonov 2012, 113–114.

separated by a niche, an *eyvan*.<sup>79</sup> Assuming that the *halvets* were around 3.30 m deep and that the wall separating them from the central part of the hot section (*meydan*) was around 0.70 m thick, the *meydan* may have had a rectangular base of around 11.20 x 9.30 m. It is possible that there were another one or two *halvets* in the south-western and south-eastern corner of the hot room, along the wall towards the tepid section.<sup>80</sup> In view of the analogies with other Ottoman public baths of the period, it is quite certain that a larger dome topped the central part of the hot room, while the *halvets* and other smaller rooms were either topped with smaller domes or with semi-arched vaults. The height of the vaults and domes over the hot part of the hammam was significantly lower than above the changing rooms as it was necessary to heat these premises as well as possible.<sup>81</sup>

The distribution of rooms in the female part of the hammam poses no dilemma. It is possible to say with certainty that there was no central part of the hot section (*meydan*). Instead, one would go from the tepid section into three smaller *halvets*. Such a difference in the spatial conception of the male and female part of the hammam existed in some other Ottoman hammams as well.<sup>82</sup> The female hot part of the hammam had a corridor along the now destroyed wall which separated the female from the male part of the bath. From this corridor, one would enter two *halvets* from the right side, the first of which was around 3.35 m wide and the second 3.54 m. At the end of the corridor, there was the third *halvet*, which, due to such a distribution, was rectangular with dimensions of around 5.00 x 2.75 m.<sup>83</sup> It may be assumed that the corridor was around 1.50 m wide, and that the depth of the first two *halvets* was around 3.50 m. The *halvets* contained two or three *kurnas* each, as was the case with other public baths, including Firuz Agha's hammams in Tokat and Sarajevo.<sup>84</sup> The female part of the hammam was probably much smaller because Firuz's Smederevo bath was erected in a fortress with a considerable military garrison, and it was expected that it would have many more male than female visitors.

The foundations of walls in the northern part of the building, which have most probably not been preserved in their entirety (present-day outer dimensions are 11.56 x 4.07 m) represent the remains of the *hazine* – the water tank, and of the *külhan* – the furnace room. The water tank was made of brick with dimensions of 40 x 40 x 5 cm, filled with heavy lime mortar. The small pillars of the hypocaust (heating system) were

made in the same way. These rooms were lower than the hot parts of the hammam, with a slanting, single or double-pitched roof, covered most often in tiles.

The hammam's rooms were mutually connected with ceramic pipes of different diameters. The pipes with an 8 cm diameter, placed at an approximately same height from the floor, served to bring in warm water.<sup>85</sup> Pipes of twice this diameter (16 cm) were placed in two levels, one pipe system, much higher than the floor, served to bring in pure water, while the other, at the floor level, served to drain dirty water.

The above described, assumed, appearance of Firuz Agha's hammam in Smederevo indicates the evolution of Firuz's construction activity in terms of this type of building. Firuz Agha's public bath in Tokat, constructed in 1485, several years before the one in Smederevo, was also a *çifte* hammam. The bath is oriented towards north-south, with dimensions of around 26 x 21.8 m. It has two changing rooms with a square base, of almost the same size (around 12 x 11.5 m), leaning against one another. The female part was entered from the western, and the male part from the northern side. Until the destruction of the hammam in 1931/1932, an elegant fountain was preserved in the male changing room. From the female changing room, one would go through

<sup>79</sup> See Kanetaki 2004, 82, 84, 87, 92, Fig. 1, 2, 4.

<sup>80</sup> See the ground plan of the Pasha hammam in Thessaloniki: Kanetaki 2004, 92. Also see the ground plan of the Hunkyar hammam and Çifte hammam in Plovdiv: Boykov 2013, 383.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. pictures of Daut Pasha's hammam in Skopje, Isa Bey's hammam in Novi Pazar and Mehmed Pasha's hammam in Prizren: Реџић 1961, 109–110, Fig. 8–10; Ђорђевић 1975, 139–140, Fig. 1–8; Pavlov, Petkova 2008, 80–82.

<sup>82</sup> For instance, the female part of Gazi Orhan's hammam in Bursa, which had two *halvets*, was designed in a similar way: Kiel 1976, 88, Fig. 1.

<sup>83</sup> The ground plan of S. Nenadović (Fig. 3) shows one pair of doors almost at the middle of two dividing walls which separated two rooms in the eastern part of the hammam. The same plan shows traces of these dividing walls left of the doors, in the part towards the destroyed wall between the male and female section of the bath. However, the plan of the Regional Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments in Smederevo shows only the remains of the dividing walls along the eastern wall of the hammam. This, as well as analogies with other hammams, indicates that the corridor was positioned up to the destroyed wall which separated the male from female part of the hammam. Cf. Fig. 4.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. the plan of the Tokat hammam, Fig. 9. Nicely cut stone *kurnas* have been discovered in the remains of Firuz Bey's Sarajevo hammam: Pravidur 2012, 31–32, Fig. 10c.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Kiel 1976, 94. Цуњак 2011, 98, believed that these pipes "served for water levelling in basins".

the narrow tepid section into a smaller hot room, from where two *halvets* could be reached. The distribution of rooms in the male hot section was somewhat different. There were three *halvets*, while the toilet was situated in a room constructed on the left side of the building. Both changing rooms were topped with massive domes.<sup>86</sup>

On the other hand, the hammam built by Firuz while he was serving as the Bosnian sanjak-bey in Sarajevo, most probably in 1509, was more sumptuous than the one in Smederevo. Firuz Bey's hammam in Sarajevo was also a *çifte* hammam. It is oriented towards east-west, with total dimensions of 32.50 x 24.00 m. The male part of the hammam was entered from Baščaršija, and the female part was entered from the side street. Of the square-shaped changing rooms, with dimensions of 10.00 x 11.75 m (male) and 10.00 x 9.25 m (female), parts of the massive walls 1 m thick and 6–8 m high have been preserved. Both the male and female part had representative hot, square-shaped sections. The male hot section was, in its inner part, divided by niches radially positioned in the space, which, thus, represented separate architectural units with *kurnas*.<sup>87</sup> There were also three *halvets*, one in front of the polygonal *meydan*, while the other two were behind it, leaning against the *hazine* and *külhan*, which have not been preserved. The female hot section had basically the same distribution, though it was more modestly architecturally shaped, with a rectangular central part. In Firuz Bey's Sarajevo hammam, the entrance and cen-

tral parts of the building were also topped with domes. The preserved remains of the marble floor and other found archaeological material, including the *kurnas*, indicate a richly appointed interior.<sup>88</sup>

The hammam in the Smederevo fortress, constructed in the second half of the 1480s through the efforts of the eunuch Firuz Agha, the chief treasurer of Sultan Bayezid II, was one of the most representative buildings in this town during the centuries-long Ottoman rule. This is testified by the dimensions of its archaeological remains and the old plans of Smederevo. Ottoman documentary sources provide information about the importance of Firuz Agha's hammam in the life of the predominantly Muslim citizens of Smederevo during the 16<sup>th</sup> century and its role in the financing of Firuz's extensive waqf. They indicate that the double hammam in the Smederevo fortress in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century belonged among the most important and most profitable public baths in the Ottoman Empire. By analysing the remains of Firuz Agha's hammam in Smederevo and based on analogies with other buildings of this type, primarily Firuz's public baths in Tokat and Sarajevo, we came to a number of conclusions regarding the architectural structure of this hammam, and the function and appearance of some of its rooms. The presented, thus far insufficiently researched facts indicate the need to devote more attention to this archaeological site than has been the case to date, and to have it systematically archeologically explored and preserved.

---

*Starinar* is an Open Access Journal. All articles can be downloaded free of charge and used in accordance with the licence Creative Commons – Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Serbia (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/rs/>).

Часопис *Старинар* је доступан у режиму отвореног приступа. Чланци објављени у часопису могу се бесплатно преузети са сајта часописа и користити у складу са лиценцом Creative Commons – Ауторство-Некомерцијално-Без прерада 3.0 Србија (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/rs/>).

---

<sup>86</sup> Bilgen 2013, 1337. See Fig. 5–9.

<sup>87</sup> For this type of hammam cf. Kiel 1976, 90; Eyice 1997, 417–419; Kanetaki 2004, 82, 84, 86, 88–93; Kanetaki 2012, 206–207. See Fig. 10.

<sup>88</sup> Pravidur 2012, 21–24. See Fig. 10c.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Abdizade 1909, 1912** – Hüseyin Hüsameddin Abdizade, *Amasya Tarihi I*, İstanbul 1327–1330 [1909–1912].
- Antonov 2012** – A. Antonov, Development of Early Ottoman Architecture on Bulgarian Territory. Mahmut Bey's Imaret in Ihtiman, *Études balkaniques XLVIII/4*, 2012, 88–117.
- Ayvansarâyî 2001** – Ayvansarâyî Hüseyîn Efendi /Alî Sâtî' Efendi/ Süleymân Besîm Efendi, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmî' (İstanbul Câmileri ve Diğer Dîni-Sivil Mi'mârî Yapılar)*, A. N. Galitekin (ed.), İstanbul 2001.
- Baltaci 1976** – C. Baltaci, *XV–XVI asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri*, İstanbul 1976.
- Bilgen 2013** – Ç. Bilgen, Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Tokat Müzesi'ne Ait Bir Kent Tarihi Kitap Projesinde Yer Alıp Günümüzde Varlığını Sürdüremeyen Bazı Mimari Eserler, in: *II Türkiye Lisansüstü Çalışmalar Kongresi – Bildirler Kitabı V*, Ü. Güneş (ed.), İstanbul 2013, 1329–1354.
- BOA, Kamil Kepeci Tasnifi** – Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) İstanbul, *Kamil Kepeci Tasnifi*.
- Boykov 2010** – G. Boykov, In Search of Vanished Ottoman Monuments in the Balkans: Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey's Complex in Konuş Hisarı, in: *Monuments, Patrons, Contexts: Papers on Ottoman Europe Presented to Machiel Kiel*, Leiden 2010, 47–67.
- Boykov 2013** – G. Boykov, *Mastering the Conquered Space: Resurrection of Urban Life in Ottoman Upper Thrace (14<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> C.)*, unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Department of History, İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, Ankara 2013.
- Цуњак 1998, 2011** – М. Цуњак, *Смедеревска тврђава: новија исцртаживања*, Смедерево 1998, друго допуњено издање Смедерево 2011 (М. Сунјак, *Смедеревска тврђава: новија истраживања*, Смедерево 1998, друго допуњено издање Смедерево 2011.)
- Čelebi 1979** – Evija Čelebi, *Putopis. Odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*, prevod i komentar H. Šabanović, Sarajevo 1979.
- Čelebi 2010** – *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 5. Kitap, 1, 2. Cilt, S. A. Kahraman (ed.), İstanbul 2010.
- Дероко, Ненадовић 1957** – А. Дероко, С. Ненадовић, Смедеревски град – испитивања 1956. године (Résumé: Château fort de Smederevo – Fouilles de 1956), *Старинар VII–VIII 1956–1957*, 181–194 (A. Deroko, S. Nenadović, Smederevski grad – ispitivanja 1956. godine, *Starinar VII–VIII 1956–1957*, 181–194).
- Defter-i Mufassal-ı Livâ-i Sivas 1574/1575** – H. 982 (M. 1574/1575) tarihli ve TKG. KK. TTd. 178 Numaralı Defter-i Mufassal-ı Livâ-i Sivas, T. C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara 2014.
- Dimitriadou 2000** – A. Dimitriadou, *The Heşt Bihişt of Idris Bidlisi: the Reign of Bayezid II (1481–1512)*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The University of Edinburgh 2000.
- Ђорђевић 1975** – С. Ђорђевић, Хамам у Новом Пазару (Résumé: L' hammam de Novi Pazar), *Раука башићина 1*, 1975, 137–148 (S. Đorđević, Hamam u Novom Pazaru, *Raška baština 1*, 1975, 137–148).
- Ђурђев 1954** – В. Ђурђев, Из историје Црне Горе, брдских и малосорских племена, *Radovi Naučnog društva BiH II*, Сарајево 1954, 165–220.
- Ђурђев et al. 1957** – В. Ђурђев, Н. Филипović, Н. Hadžibegić, М. Мујић, Н. Šabanović, *Kanuni i Kanunname za Bosanski, Hercegovacki, Zvornički, Kliški, Crnogorski i Škardarski sandžak*, Сарајево 1957.
- Ergin 2011** – N. Ergin, Bathing Business in Istanbul: A Case Study of the Çemberlitaş Hamamı in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, in: *Bathing Culture of Anatolian Civilizations: Architecture, History and Imagination*, N. Ergin (ed.), Leuven–Paris–Walpole 2011, 143–168.
- Eyice 1996** – S. Eyice, Firuz Ağa Camii, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, cilt 13, İstanbul 1996, 135–137.
- Eyice 1997** – S. Eyice, Hamam: Tarih ve Mimari, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, cilt 15, İstanbul 1997, 402–430.
- Ezgi Dikici 2009** – A. Ezgi Dikici, *Obscure Roots, Solid Foundations: A Comparative Study on the Architectural Patronage of Ottoman Court Eunuchs*, unpublished master thesis, Koç University İstanbul 2009.
- Ezgi Dikici 2013** – A. Ezgi Dikici, The Making of Ottoman Court Eunuchs, *Archivum Ottomanicum* 30, 2013, 105–136.
- Glück 1921** – H. Glück, *Probleme des Wölbungsbauers I. Die Bäder Konstantinopels*, Arbeiten des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Wien 12, 1921.
- Gök 2014** – İ. Gök, *İstanbul Büyükşehir Kütüphanesi MC. O. 71 Numaralı 909–933/1503–1527 Tarihli İn'âmât Defteri, (Transkripsiyon, Değerlendirme)*, T. C. Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, İstanbul 2014.
- Gürbüz 1993** – A. Gürbüz, *XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı, Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çevresinde*, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, doktora tezi, Ankara 1993.
- Handžić 2000** – *Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604. godine II/2*, prir. A. Handžić, Sarajevo 2000.
- İstanbul Vakıfları Defteri 1546** – *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri 953 (1546) Târihli*, O. L. Barkan, E. H. Ayverdi (eds.), İstanbul 1970.



**İstanbul Vakıfları Defteri 1600** – *İstanbul Vakıflar Tahrîr Defteri, 1009/1600 Târihli*, İstanbul'un 550. Fetih Yılı İçin, M. Canatar (eds.), İstanbul 2004.

**Историја ЦГ** – *Историја Црне Горе II/2, III/1*, Титоград 1970 (*Istorija Crne Gore II/2, III/1*, Titograd 1970).

**Kanetaki 2004** – E. Kanetaki, The still existing Ottoman hamams in the Greek Territory, *Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, Middle East Technical University, vol. 21, no 1–2, 2004, 81–110.

**Kanetaki 2012** – E. Kanetaki, The Creation of Historical Cultural Heritage in Greece during the Ottoman Period, in: *Balkanlarda Osmanlı Vakıfları ve Eserleri Uluslararası Sempozyumu: İstanbul–Edirne 9–11 Mayıs 2012*, M. Kurtoğlu (ed.), Ankara 2012, 197–208.

**Kanitz 1904** – F. Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart I*, Leipzig 1904.

**Kappert 1976** – P. Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Istanbul 1976.

**Karaman ve Rûm defteri 1530** – 387 numaralı muhâsebe-i vilâyet-i Karaman ve Rûm defteri (937/1530) II, <Dizin ve Tıpkıbasım> T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Ankara 1997.

**Kasumović 1999** – I. Kasumović, *Školstvo i obrazovanje u Bosanskom ejaletu u vrijeme osmanske uprave*, Mostar 1999.

**Катић, Поповић 2013** – С. Катић, Б. Поповић, Смедеревска варош од 1459. године до краја 16. века (Summary: The Varoş of Smederevo from 1459 till the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century), *Историјски часопис LXII* 2013, 79–116 (S. Katić, B. Popović, Smederevska varoş od 1459. godine do kraja 16. veka, *Istorijski časopis LXII* 2013, 79–116).

**Катић, Урошевић 2015** – С. Катић, У. Урошевић, Сумарни попис вакуфа Смедеревског санџака из 1530. године (Summary: Waqfs in the Summary Register of the Smederevo Sanjak from the Year 1530), *Меџовита грађа (Miscellanea) XXXVI* 2015, 37–72 (S. Katić, U. Urošević, Sumarni popis vakufa Smederevskog sandžaka iz 1530. godine, *Mešovita grada (Miscellanea) XXXVI* 2015, 37–72).

**Kiel 1976** – M. Kiel, The Ottoman Hamam and the Balkans, *Art and Archeology Research Papers*, no 9, London 1976, 87–96.

**Kissling 1974** – H. J. Kissling, Fîrûz-Beg, Grenzstatthalter Sultan Bâyezîd's II. (1481–1512), und der Salinenkrieg von Cattaro, in: *Geschichte in der Gesellschaft. Festschrift für Karl Bosl zum 65. Geburtstag*, F. Prinz, F. J. Schmale, F. Seibt (eds.), Stuttgart 1974, 292–311.

**Klinghart 1927** – K. Klinghardt, *Türkische Bäder*, Stuttgart 1927.

**Kreševljaković 1991** – H. Kreševljaković, Banje u Bosni i Hercegovini (1462–1916), u: *Izabrana djela III. Banje*,

*vodovodi, hanovi i karavansaraji...*, A. Sućeska, E. Pelidija (prir.), Sarajevo 1991<sup>2</sup>.

**Кумбараџи-Богојевић 1998** – Л. Кумбараџи-Богојевић, *Османлиски споменици во Скопје*, Скопје 1998. (L. Kumbaradži-Bogojević, *Osmanliski spomenici vo Skopje*, Skopje 1998).

**MAD 506** – *MAD 506 Numaralı, Semendire Livâsı İcmâl Tahrîr Defteri (937/1530)* <Dizin ve Tıpkıbasım> Ankara 2009.

**Мантран 2002** – Р. Мантран (прир.), *Историја Османској царствиња*, Београд 2002. (R. Mantran (prir.), *Istorija Osmanskog carstva*, Beograd 2002.)

**Mikov 2012** – Ly. Mikov, Ottoman Bathhouses in Bulgaria (in the Context of Bathing Culture in the Balkans and Anatolia), *Études balkaniques XLVIII/4*, 2012, 118–151.

**Ненадовић 1956** – С. Ненадовић, Уређење Смедеревског града (Résumé: L' Aménagement de la forteresse de Smederevo), *Саопштења Завода за заштити и научно проучавање споменика културе Народне Републике Србије I* 1956, 75–84. (S. Nenadović, Uređenje Smederevskog grada, *Saopštenja Zavoda za zaštitu i naučno proučavanje spomenika kulture Narodne Republike Srbije I*, 1956, 75–84.)

**Ненадовић 1979** – С. Ненадовић, Размишљања о архитектури цркве Благовештења у Смедереву (Résumé: Reflexions sur l' architecture de l' egise de l' Annonciation elevee par le despote Djuradj Brankovic a Smederevo), *Зборник Народној музеја IX–X*, 1979, 403–424. (S. Nenadović, Razmišljanja o arhitekturi crkve Blagoveštenja u Smederevu, *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja IX–X*, 1979, 403–424.)

**Öz 1962** – T. Öz, *İstanbul Camileri I*, Ankara 1962.

**Ориенталски сбирки НБС** – *Ориенталски сбирки в Националната библиотека Св. Кирил и Методиј*, Софија (*Orientaliski sbirki v Nacionalnata biblioteka Sv. Kiril i Metodii*, Sofia).

**Pavlov, Petkova 2008** – Z. Pavlov, R. Petkova, *Macedonian Cultural Heritage. Ottoman Monuments*, Skopje 2008.

**Павловић 1972** – Л. Павловић, *Музеј и споменици културе Смедерева*, Смедерево 1972 (L. Pavlović, *Muzej i spomenici kulture Smedereva*, Smederevo 1972).

**Павловић 1967** – Л. Павловић, *Смедеревска тврђава од 1813–1867. године*, Смедерево 1967 (L. Pavlović, *Smederevska tvrđava od 1813–1867.godine*, Smederevo 1967).

**Павловић 1980** – Л. Павловић, *Историја Смедерева у речи и слици*, Смедерево 1980 (L. Pavlović, *Istorija Smedereva u reči i slici*, Smederevo 1980).

**Поповић 1973** – Т. Поповић, *Турска и Дубровник у XVI веку*, Београд 1973 (Т. Поповић, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*, Beograd, 1973).

**Поповић 2000** – М. Поповић, Ка проблему средњо-вековних цркава Смедеревског града (Summary: Towards the Question of Medieval Churches in the Fortress of Smederevo), *Старинар* L 2000, 201–219. (М. Поповић, Ка проблему средњовековних цркава Смедеревског града, *Старинар* L 2000, 201–219).

**Поповић 2013** – М. Поповић, *Смедеревски траг*, Београд 2013 (М. Поповић, *Смедеревски град*, Београд 2013).

**Pravidur 2012** – А. Pravidur, Firuz-begov hamam kao arheološki lokalitet / preliminarno izvješće (Firuz-bey's Turkish bath as an archaeological locality / preliminary report), у: *Firuz-begov hamam: Revitalizacija arheološkog lokaliteta (Firuz-bey's hamam: Revitalization of the archaeological site)*, V. Sanković Simčić (ur.), Sarajevo 2012, 17–35.

**Reindl 2014** – Н. Reindl, *II. Bayezid ve Çevresi Hükümdarın Adamları*, İstanbul 2014.

**Рецић 1961** – Х. Рецић, Пет османских поткуполних споменика на Косову и Метохији, у: *Старине Косова и Метохије* I, Приштина 1961, 98–99 (Н. Redžić, Pet osmanskih potkupolnih spomenika na Kosovu i Metohiji, у: *Starine Kosova i Metohije* I, Priština 1961, 98–99).

**Sanković Simčić 2012** – V. Sanković Simčić, Odabir pristupa revitalizaciji arheološkog lokaliteta Firduz/Firuz-begovog hamama u Sarajevu (Selection of approach to the revitalization of Firduz/Firuz-bey's hammam archaeological site in Sarajevo), у: *Firuz-begov hamam: Revitalizacija arheološkog lokaliteta (Firuz-bey's hamam: Revitalization of the archaeological site)*, V. Sanković Simčić (ur.), Sarajevo 2012, 9–15.

**Sanuto I–XIV** – М. Sanuto, *I diarii* I–VII, IX–XI, XIII–XIV, Venezia 1879–1886.

**Schwarz, Kurio 1983** – К. Schwarz, Н. Kurio, Firuz-beg Sangaqbeg von Bosnien im fichte seiner Stiftungsurkunde (rezime: Firuz-beg, bosanski sandžak-beg – u svjetlu njegove vakfije), *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 32–33, 1982–1983, 115–127.

**Serin 2007** – М. Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah*, İstanbul 2007.

**Süreyya II, IV** – М. Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî* II, IV, İstanbul 1308, 1315. [1890/1891, 1897/1898].

**Станојевић 1963** – Г. Станојевић, Црна Гора и црногорско приморје у вријеме млетачко-турског рата 1499–1502. године, *Историјски записи* XX, 1, 1963, 40–48. (G. Stanojević, Crna Gora i crnogorsko primorje u vrijeme mletačko-turskog rata 1499–1502. godine, *Istorijski zapisi* XX, 1, 1963, 40–48).

**Šabanović 1958** – Н. Šabanović, Firuz-Beg, у: *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* III, Zagreb 1958, 340.

**Škarpa Dubreta 2012** – D. Škarpa Dubreta, Primjer prezentacije sačuvanih prostorija hamama u Iloku (The example of presentation of the preserved hammam rooms in Ilok), у:

*Firuz-begov hamam: Revitalizacija arheološkog lokaliteta (Firuz-bey's hamam: Revitalization of the archaeological site)*, V. Sanković Simčić (ur.), Sarajevo 2012, 53–61.

**Tansel 1966** – S. Tansel, *Sultan II. Bâyezid'in Siyasî Hayatı*, İstanbul 1966.

**Taşçioğlu 1989** – Т. Taşçioğlu, *The Turkish hamam*, İstanbul 1989.

**TD** – Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) İstanbul, *Tapu Tahrir Defterleri*.

**TK, KKA** – Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Kuyud-ı Kadime Arşivi.

**Томић 1901** – Ј. Томић, Црнојевићи и Црна Гора од 1479–1528. године, *Глас Српске краљевске академије* LX, други разред 38, 1901, 65–152. (Ј. Tomić, Crnojevići i Crna Gora od 1479–1528. godine, *Glas Srpske kraljevske akademije* LX, drugi razred 38, 1901, 65–152).

**Томић 1909** – Ј. Томић, Прилози за историју Црнојевића и Црне Горе (1489–1536), *Споменик Српске краљевске академије* XLVII 1909, 1–48. (Ј. Tomić, Prilozi za istoriju Crnojevića i Crne Gore (1489–1536), *Spomenik Srpske kraljevske akademije* XLVII 1909, 1–48.)

**Truhelka 1911** – Џ. Truhelka, *Tursko-slovenski spomenici Dubrovačke arhive*, Sarajevo 1911.

**Uzunçarşılı 1927** – İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Tokat, Niksar, Zile, Turhal, Pazar, Amasya Vilayet, Kaza ve Nahiye Merkezlerindeki Kitabeler*, İstanbul 1927 (Н. 1340).

**Здравковић 1951** – И. Здравковић, Рестаурација и адаптација Даут пашиног амама у Скопљу, *Зборник заштите споменика културе* I, Београд 1951, 45–56 (I. Zdravković, Restauracija i adaptacija Daut pašinog amama u Skoplju, *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture: Recueil des travaux sur la protection des monuments historiques* I, Beograd 1951, 45–56).

**Zdravković 1965** – I. Zdravković, Stari planovi u zbirkama nekih ustanova u Beču, *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture: Recueil des travaux sur la protection des monuments historiques* XVI 1965, 222–224.

**Зиројевић 1970** – О. Зиројевић, Смедерево од пада под турску власт до краја XVI века, у: *Ослобођење градова у Србији од Турака 1862–1867. године*, В. Чубриловић (ур.), Београд 1970, 193–200. (О. Zirojević, Smederevo od pada pod tursku vlast do kraja XVI veka, у: *Oslobodenje gradova u Srbiji od Turaka 1862–1867. godine*, V. Čubrilović (ur.), Beograd 1970, 193–200).

**Zlatar 2013** – B. Zlatar, Prilog biografiji bosanskog i skadarskog sandžak bega Firuz-bega (Summary: A Contribution to the Biography of Firuz-bey, the Sanjak-bey of Bosnia and Skadar), у: *Spomenica Ibrahima Karabegovića*, Zbornik radova, Н. Kamberović (ur.), Sarajevo 2013, 69–78.

Резиме: СРЂАН КАТИЋ, Историјски институт, Београд  
АЛЕКСАНДАР КРСТИЋ, Историјски институт, Београд

## ФИРУЗ-АГА И ЊЕГОВ ХАМАМ У СМЕДЕРЕВУ

Кључне речи. – Смедерево, Фируз-ага, хамам, водовод, вакуф, Бајазит II, Истанбул, Токат, Сарајево, санџакбег.

Рад се бави хамамом у Великом граду Смедеревске тврђаве, који је у периоду између 1485. и 1490. године подигао Фируз-ага, управник султанове благајне. Фируз је рођен као хришћанин, по свему судећи јужнословенског порекла. Био је евнух, међу најспособнијим и најповерљивијим дворјанима на двору принца Бајазита у Амасији. По ступању Бајазита II (1481–1512) на трон, Фируз-ага је постао ризничар царске благајне. На том положају Фируз-ага се налазио 1485, када је у Токату подигао хамам, а до 1491. године постављен је за главног ризничара. Фируз је на месту управника султанове унутрашње благајне остао до јуна 1496, када је именован за управника Скадарског санџака. Убрзо по ступању на дужност у Скадру, Фируз-бег је припојио земље Црнојевића османској држави. Као скадарски санџакбег Фируз је имао значајну улогу током османско-млетачког рата (1499–1503) и потоњих мировних преговора о утврђивању османско-млетачке границе. Крајем 1504. Фируз-бег је постављен за санџакбега Босне. На тој дужности је, поред војних и административних послова, водио и разгранату шпијунску мрежу, а преко њега је у значајној мери спровођена и османска спољна политика према Угарској, Венецији и Дубровнику, као и другим европским државама које су биле у сфери османских интереса. Док је био босански санџакбег, основао је и једну варош у Полимљу – данашње село Кратово, југоисточно од Прибоја. На положају санџакбега Босне Фируз-бег је остао све до смрти, децембра 1512. године.

Фирузова задужбинарска делатност била је веома богата и разноврсна. Он је прве задужбине почео да гради у Анадолији у области Амасије, у градовима Хавза, Токат и Сивас. Потом се посветио свом главном вакуфском комплексу у Истанбулу, који је завршио 1491. године. Он је на Ат мејдану (Хиподрому) у Истанбулу подигао џамију, турбе, себиљ и школу. Фируз-ага је свом вакуфу приложио бројне објекте у Истанбулу, Анадолији и на Балкану, укључујући и хамам који је подигао у Смедереву. Петнаестак година касније Фируз је почео да гради нове задужбине у Сарајеву. Сарајевски вакуф био је посвећен првој сарајевској медреси и махалском месциду, а главни извор прихода потицао је од двоструког хамама на Башчаршији, који је 1509. године био у изградњи. Судбина није била благонаклона према бројним Фирузовим задужбинама, од којих је до данас остала једино џамија у Истанбулу. Хамам у Смедереву срушен је пошто је турска војска коначно напустила тврђаву 1867, а преостали темељи те грађевине тешко су оштећени у бомбардовању у Другом светском рату.

Фируз-агин хамам био је међу најрепрезентативнијим грађевинама у Смедереву током вишевековне османске вла-

давине. У њега је био уграђен део грађевинског материјала са једне од монументалних цркава Смедерева, највероватније главне задужбине деспота Ђурђа Бранковића – митрополијске цркве Благовештења. Османски извори омогућавају да се утврди оквирно време градње, начин рада и улога коју је то јавно купатило имало у животу становника Смедерева. Уколико се узму у обзир политичке околности, Фирузова задужбинарска делатност, која је прво почела у околини Амасије, директна повезаност смедеревског хамама с његовим главним вакуфским комплексом на Ат мејдану у Истанбулу (завршен 1491), време потребно за градњу и најмање једну годину пословања, с великом извесношћу се може закључити да су радови на јавном купатилу у Смедереву почели у периоду од 1485. до 1487. године и да су завршени до краја осамдесетих година 15. века. Овај хамам био је веома значајан за функционисање великог Фирузовог вакуфа. На основу података о вакуфским приходима може се закључити да је до средине 16. века хамам у Смедеревској тврђави био међу најпрофитабилнијим објектима те врсте у Османском царству. Хамаме изграђене у 15. веку карактеришу велике куполе над пријемним делом, које су код оних највећих имале пречник 10–16 m. Купола Фирузовог хамама с пречником нешто дужим од 13 m била је четврта по величини. Фируз-ага је за потребе хамама у Смедереву изградио водовод, уз који је подигао и неколико чесама.

Фируз је током четврт века, као дворски ага и касније као санџакбег, изградио још три хамама у Токату, Сивасу и Сарајеву, што омогућава да се уоче одређени обрасци, као и промене у начину градње. На основу археолошких остатака, као и података о изгледу и начину функционисања бројних хамама саграђених у другој половини 15. и првој половини 16. века, укључујући и Фирузове хамаме у Токату и Сарајеву, у раду је дат претпостављени распоред просторија јавног купатила у Смедеревској тврђави. Како се радило о двоструком, *чифте* хамаму, предвиђеном за истовремено купање и мушкараца и жена, грађевина је читавом дужином била зидом подељена на два потпуно одвојена дела. И у мушком и у женском делу хамама постојала је репрезентативна свлачионица – *шадрван*, квадратне основе и надвишена великом куполом. У женском делу се из свлачионице ишло преко малог млаког одељка (*капалук*) до дела за купање. Он се састојао од три *халвеша*, у које се улазило из ходника ослоњеног на преградни зид између женског и мушког дела хамама. У мушком делу се из шадрвана улазило кроз капалук у врући одељак купатила. Извесно је да садашње стање локалитета не репрезентује оригинални изглед ове секције, па су за врући одељак мушког дела хамама понуђена

три могућа типа, која одговарају облику и димензијама просторије. Највероватније је да је у мушком делу постојала једна већа централна просторија – *мејдан*, где је обављана масажа и где се такође могло купати, из које су биле издвојене мање просторије за купање у већој приватности – *халветши*.

Два или три халвета су се налазила на северној страни мушког дела хамама, према *ћулхану* (ложионици). Вруће секције хамама биле су ниже од свлачионица и највероватније су биле покривене већим и мањим куполама и полуобличастим сводовима.