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Keshif is a peer-reviewed electronic journal dedicated to collecting and editing small, fine texts and providing easy, free access to the material through a database with sound search functions.

Layout:

Aysu Akcan

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Welcome to the first issue of *Keshif*!



If you read these lines, it means that you have already made the discovery of our journal – *keşf-i keşif*, so to speak.

It was last summer when two of the editors, Ercan Akyol and Gisela Procházka-Eisl, were sitting in the pizzeria of the University Campus, their bodies bent over a pizza and their full focus on a scan displayed on their smartphones. As they tried to decipher an intriguing detail from an Ottoman handwriting, they talked about the joys of reading Ottoman manuscripts, and of the manifold surprising treasures they hide within. This seemingly unremarkable event actually marked the birth of later-to-be-named *Keshif* journal. It was not difficult to get Aysu Akcan excited about this idea. She was immediately on board too.

Now, almost a year later, we are thrilled to launch the first issue of *Keshif*. This volume gathers twelve contributions from internationally renowned scholars as well as from young researchers and, finally, also from us, the "hosts". *Keshif* became the colorful mosaic we dreamed for it to be, as it includes a broad range of texts— from a recipe for a paste against constipation, a book list and an Anatolian inscription, a stray letter from an Ottoman diplomat, the introduction to a hitherto unknown history of the Armenians, to notes on bibliomancy, genealogy and family matters, on the construction of a bridge in Bosnia, a calculation of the apocalypse and a polemic poem on the Turks.

Not all of the original texts included in the contributions are carefully and neatly written, it is, therefore, no surprise that some words have remained indecipherable. For this reason, *Keshif*'s final chapter summarises these illegible or debatable words and text passages, in an attempt to encourage all our readers to take up the challenge to participate in solving them.

Without further adue, we would like to wish you a pleasant read and to kindly remind you that we very much appreciate your feedback — be it suggestions, constructive criticism or ideas for improvement.

Vienna, March 2023

Gisela, Ercan and Aysu

And please bear in mind: No text is too short to be published in *Keshif*!

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A *ma 'cūn* Recipe from the 18th Century

Aysu Akcan*

Context

In a manuscript at the *Istanbul University Library* MS no. 3688 in folio 125a we find the ingredients and preparation description of a paste (*ma 'cūn*).

This manuscript is one of the copies of Lāmi'ī Çelebi's (1472- 1532 AD) widely-read work *'İbretnümā*.¹ In a preface of his *Şerefü'l-insân*, Lāmi'ī Çelebi referred to the name of this work *'İbretnāme*.² On the other hand, this work is well-known and referred to as *'İbretnümā* in many works and copies.³ The titles *'İbretnümā* and *'İbretnāme* can be found in this manuscript's colophon (1a) as an illustration of this case.

This copy was compiled in 16 *Şa 'bān* 1188 Hijri (22 October 1774 AD), the copiest was Aḥmed bin el-ḥācc Meḥmed bin el-ḥācc Abdü'l-kerīm.⁴ Unfortunately, I can associate neither the work itself nor Lāmi'ī Çelebi, nor the colophon with the paste recipe.

Keywords: Recipe, paste, plants, substances, *'İbretnümā*, *'İbretnāme*, Lamii Çelebi, 18th century

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¹ Kut, Günay. "Lamii Çelebi and His Works" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 35 No. 2 (1976): 81

² Eğri, Saadettin. *Lāmi'ī Çelebi Şerefü'l-insân The Debate on Creation Between Man n Animals Before the Sultan*. Vol 2, (Boston: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations Harvard University, 2011): 17.

³ see Günay Kut, "İbretnāme" TDV İslām Ansiklopedisi (DİA), 2000, XXI, 76-77.

⁴ "Kitāb-ı Mevlānā Lāmi'ī Çelebi li-muḥarirrihi el-fakīr [...] el-ḥakīr Aḥmed bin el-ḥācc Meḥmed bin el-ḥācc Abdü'l-kerīm sene 1188 şa 'bānū'l-mua'zzam 16" *Istanbul University Library* MS no. 3688, 1a.

Transcription

ma'cūn-ı müleyyin terkibi beyān olınur

<i>sināmekī yaprağı</i> <i>dirhem</i> 40	<i>maḥmūdiye</i> <i>dirhem</i> 10	[...] <i>dirhem</i> 5
<i>cevz-i bevḡā</i> <i>dirhem</i> 30	<i>maṣṭakī</i> <i>dirhem</i> 10	<i>zencebīl-i ebyāz</i> <i>dirhem</i> 27
<i>cörek oḡı</i> <i>dirhem</i> 5	<i>kākūle-i kebīr</i> <i>dirhem</i> 5	<i>kırımṭırṭır</i> <i>dirhem</i> 8
<i>rāvend-i Cinī</i> <i>dirhem</i> 10	<i>aḡgūnlük</i> <i>dirhem</i> 5	<i>'asel-i muṣaffā</i> <i>dirhem</i> 500

bu mezkūru 'l-ism olan eczā'ları saḡḡ idüb 'asel ile berāber ḡall ide ol 'aseli ḡaynadub ba 'dehu andan ṣoñra ceke ceke yoḡıra evvel dōrt miṣḡāl isti 'māl ide andan ṡabī'atı her ne miḡdār ider ise isti 'māl ide üc 'amelden ṣoñra ḡaṡ' ide

Translation

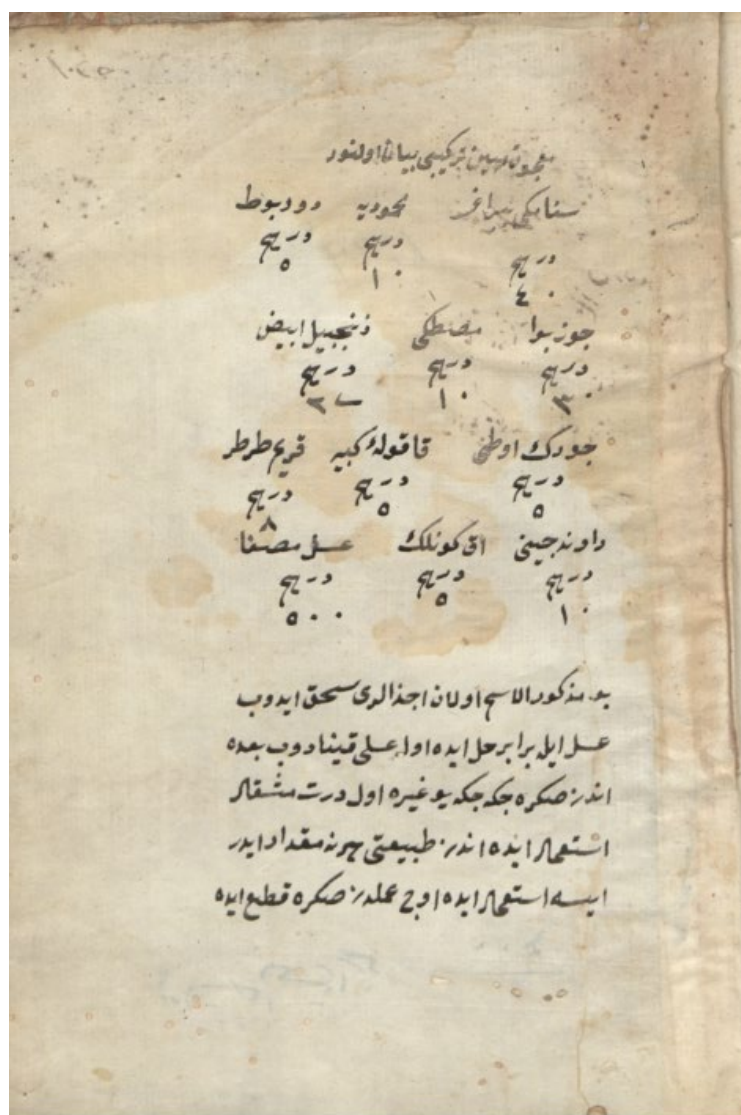
Description of the preparatin of a laxative paste

senna Leaf 128 gr ⁵	scammony 32 gr.	[...] 16gr.
nutmeg 96 gr.	mastic 32 gr.	white ginger 86,4 gr.
nigella seed 16 gr.	big cardamon 16 gr.	cream of tartar 25,6 gr.
chinese rhubarb 32 gr.	white frankincense 16 gr.	clarified honey 1600 gr.

⁵ Calculated approximately on the basis of 3.2 grams per *dirhem*.

The aforementioned ingredients should be mixed by pounding and blending with honey. And this honey should be boiled, and then kneaded by stretching and firstly 20 grams of it should be used [for each one-time]. And then one should eat from it as much as the appetite gratifies. One should stop using it after three times.

Facsimile



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A Book List from the Early 17th Century

Ercan Akyol*

Context

The folio 123a of the *Zübdetü'l-eş'âr*, registered in the Şehit Ali Paşa Collection of the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, contains a list of books. Some of these books belonged to the early modern Ottoman 'ilmiye curriculum. The list contains books that a certain Veysî Efendi's son lent to the one who took the note. Considering the author of the text and the colophon, we can glean information on the identity of this person who made a list and the book circulation among the early modern Ottoman 'ulemâ. The author of *Zübdetü'l-eş'âr* was Kâf-zâde Fâ'izî ('Abdü'l-hayy) Çelebi (1589-1622). It is the oldest copy of the manuscript and was copied by Fâ'izî's close friend Nev'î-zâde 'Aṭâyî Efendi (1583 – 1635) in 1624.¹ These two were not only friends² but also members of the 'ilmiye class and the same literary coterie. The famous prose writer and judge Üveys Çelebi, or with his penname, Veysî (1561 – 1628) stayed in touch with this circle.³

Could this Veysî be the Veysî mentioned in the list? I argue that he could be the one and his son lent these books to Nev'î-zâde 'Aṭâyî. My claim is based on three points:

- 1) These names were the members of the same literary and social circle;
- 2) The owner and copyist of the manuscript was Nev'î-zâde 'Aṭâyî;
- 3) There was a personal and literary relationship between Veysî and 'Aṭâyî.

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¹ "İstektebehü el-fakîr [...] 'Aṭâyî eş-şehîr bi-Nev'î-zâde munfaşılan 'an kaẓâ-i Hezarğrad 'afâ 'an-humâ el-'iyâd reb? hılâl-ı sene 1033" (Kafzade Faizi. *Zübdetü'l-eş'âr*. Süleymaniye Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, Şehid Ali Paşa Koleksiyonu, 1877, 5a).

² "şâhib-i âsar-ı maḳbûle 'Aṭâyî merhûm ki şâhib-i imzâdur // bu nüshada ḥaṭṭ-ı nesta'lik ile ol mevâzî' eyler kendi ḥaṭṭı iledür // câmi'-i kitâb ol Kâf-zâde Fâ'izî muḥlis 'Abdü'l-hayy Efendi // ile mu'âşır olub anlar ile âmîziş üzerelerdür" (Ibid, 5a).

³ Aslı Niyazioğlu, "The Very Special Dead and A Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Poet: Nevizade Atai's Reasons for Composing His *Meşnevîs*," *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 25 (2008): 221–31.

The latter meant to write a parallel to Veysi's *Dürretü't-tâc fî sîreti şâhibi'l-mi'râc*.⁴ Besides, in 'Aṭâyî's *Hadâ'ikü'l-Hakâ'ik fî Tekmîleti' ş-Şakâ'ik* some parts were directly conveyed from Veysi.⁵

The booklist must have been written between 1628 and 1635, the dates of Veysi's and 'Aṭâyî's deaths, considering the phrase "Veysi Efendi merhûm" (the late Veysi Efendi).

Keywords: Booklist, 'ulemâ, 'ilmiye, Veysi, Atayi, Faizi, 17th Century

Transcription

Hâlâ Veysi Efendi-i merhûm maḥdûmı tarafından fakîrde emânet olan kütübdür

<i>Ḳāmūs nüshâ-i celîledir</i>	<i>Merhûmuñ ḳāmüsü tahrîru bi-ḥaṭṭihi</i>	<i>El-ḳavlü 'l-me'nūs 'ale l-ḳāmūs</i>
<i>'Uyünü'l-eşer fi's-siyer</i>	<i>min Ḥayavâni 'l-Câḥiz dört cildedür cild 2 alındı</i>	<i>Fâyık el-luğa vaḳf cild 1</i>
<i>Fâyık fi'l-ḥadîs vaḳf</i>	<i>Fâyık [...] -zâdeden gelmişdür</i>	

Görölmek için gelüb ḳalan kütübdür

<i>Nihâye-i İbnü 'l-Eşîr fi'l-luğa nüshâ-i celîledür</i>	<i>El-Misbâḥü 'l-Münîr fi'l-luğa</i>	<i>Hâvî li 'l-Ḥaşîrî kâtib Muşlî Çelebi 300</i>
<i>Mu'inü 'l-Müftî</i>	<i>Mezcü 'z-Zühür fi Veḳâyi 'i-d-Dühür cild 2</i>	<i>Dürretü 'l-Eslâk fi Devleti 'l-Etrâk cild 3</i>
<i>Şerḥ-i Mantûka En-Neseftî</i>	<i>[...] li'l- 'Allâme [...]</i>	<i>Târîḥ-i Güzîde</i>

⁴ Bayram Ali Kaya, "Veysi," TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2013, XLIII, 76-77.

⁵ Nevizade Atayi, *Hadâ'iku'l-Hakâ'ik Fî Tekmîleti'ş-Şakâ'ik*, vol. I-II, ed. Suat Donuk, İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları 2017, p. 1756.

<i>Telvîh</i> “ <i>cild-i evvel-i İbn Hâllikân</i>	<i>Ḳıṭ‘a-i âḫîre-i Ravzatü ’l- Aḫbâb</i> <i>iki cildde tamâmdır</i>	<i>Kitâb</i> <i>11</i> <i>Cild geldi [?]</i>
		<i>3</i>
		<i>14</i> <i>1</i> <i>15</i>

Translation

These are the books that the late Veysi Efendi’s son lent to me and which I still have in my possession.

<i>Ḳāmūs</i> , it is a beautiful copy	<i>Ḳāmūs</i> ⁶ of the deceased by his handwriting	<i>El-ḳavlü ’l-me ’nūs</i> <i>’ale l-ḳāmūs</i>
<i>’Uyünü ’l-eşer</i> <i>fi ’s-siyer</i>	From the <i>Ḥayavâni ’l-Câhiz</i> ⁷ four volumes, volume 2 was taken	<i>Fâyıḳ el-luĵa</i> waqf volume 1
<i>Fâyıḳ fi ’l-ḫadîs</i> ⁸ vaḳf	<i>Fâyıḳ</i> , it has come from [...]zâde	

⁶ Probably Veysi Efendi’s *Merace’l-baḫreyn fi-ecvibe ’alâ-i ’tirâzâti’l-Cevheri*. See, Şensoy, Sedat: Veysi (Üveysi b. Muhammed El-Alaşehrî) ve Eseri ‘Merace’l-Baḫreyn’in Tahkiki, (MA Thesis) Konya: Selçuk University, 1995.

⁷ *Kitâb al-Ḥayavân*, one of el-Câhiz’s books. See, Pellat, Ch., “al-Djâhiz”, in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 17 January 2023 http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1935

⁸ Probably Zemahşeri’s (d. 1144) work entitled *el-Fâyıḳ fi ğarîbi’l-ḫadîs*. See, Selman Başaran, “El-Fâik Fî Ğarîbi’l-Hadîs”, TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/el-faik-fi-garibil-hadis> (17.01.2023).

These are the books that came to be seen [but] remained in our hands.

<i>Nihāye-i İbnü'l-Esîr</i> ⁹ <i>fi'l-luġa</i> , it is a beautiful copy	<i>El-misbāhü'l-münîr</i> ¹⁰ <i>fi'l-luġa</i> “	Ḥāvî li-l-Ḥaṣîrî ¹¹ kâtib Muşlî Çelebi 300
<i>Mu'înü'l-Müftî</i> ¹² “	<i>Mezcü'z-zühûr fi vekāyi'</i> <i>ed-dühûr</i> volume 2	<i>Dürretü'l-eslāk</i> <i>fi devleti'l-etrāk</i> ¹³ volume 3
<i>Şerh-i mantūka</i> <i>En-Nesefti</i> ¹⁴	[...] li'l- 'Allāme [...]	<i>Tārîh-i Güzide</i> ¹⁵
<i>Telvîh</i> “ the first volume of İbn Ḥallikān ¹⁶	The last part of the <i>Ravzatü'l-Aḥbāb</i> ¹⁷ two volumes in total	Book 11 volumes have come
		13 1
		14 1 15

⁹ Mecdü'd-dîn İbnü'l-Esîr's (d. 1210) dictionary on less common words and meanings occurring in the Prophetic traditions, *en-Nihāye fi ġaribi'l-ḥadîṣ*. See, Rosenthal, F., “Ibn al-Aṭḥîr”, in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 17 January 2023 http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3094

¹⁰ *el-Misbāhü'l-münîr fi ġaribi's-şerhi'l-kebir li'r-Rāfi'*, Aḥmed b. Muḥammed Feyyûmî's (d. 1368-69) dictionary on Islamic jurisprudence. See, Hüseyin Elmalı, “Feyyûmî, Ahmed b. Muhammed”, TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/feyyumi-ahmed-b-muhammed> (17.01.2023).

¹¹ *el-Ḥāvî fi'l-fetāvā*, Muḥammed b. İbrāhim Ḥaṣîrî's work on fiqh.

¹² *Mu'înü'l-müftî fi'l-cevāb 'ale'l-müsteftî*, Pîr Mehmed Üskübî's (ö. 1611) work, in which his fatwas were compiled. See, Şükrü Özen, “Pîr Mehmed Üskübî”, TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/pir-mehmed-uskubi> (17.01.2023).

¹³ İbn Ḥabîb el-Ḥalebî's work on Mamluks. See, Süleyman Tülücü, “İbn Ḥabîb El-Halebî”, TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ibn-habib-el-halebi> (17.01.2023).

¹⁴ I could not find information about the work and its author.

¹⁵ Ḥamdu'llāh el-Müstevfî's work on history. See, Abdülkerim Özeydın, “Târîh-İ Güzide”, TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/tarih-i-guzide> (17.01.2023).

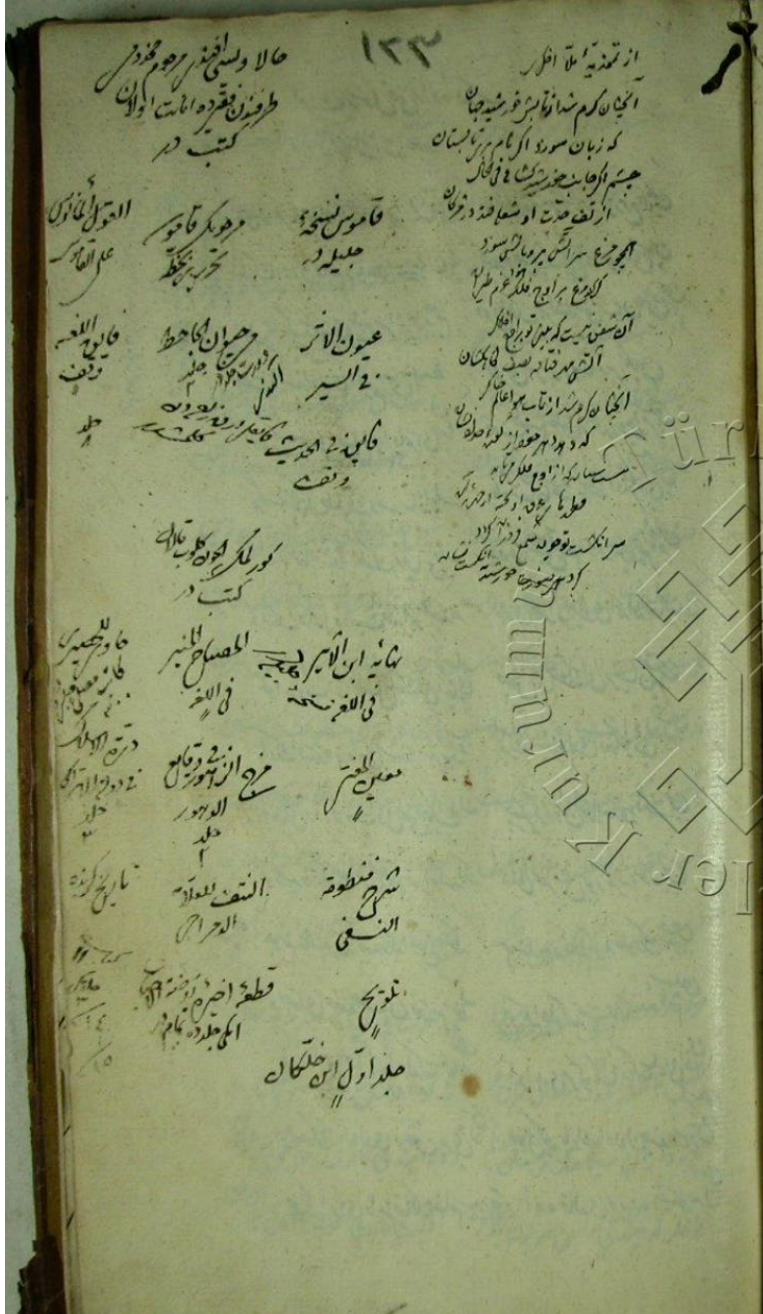
¹⁶ İbn Ḥallikān (d. 1282), the author of *Vefeyātü'l-a'yān*. He was a historian, scholar and poet from Arbil.

¹⁷ *Ravzatü'l-aḥbāb fi siyeri'n-nebî ve'l-âl ve'l-aşhāb*, Cemāl el-Ḥüseynî's (d. 1521) work on the Prophet Muhammed. See, Mehmet Aykaç, “Cemāl El-Ḥüseynî”, TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/cemal-el-huseyni> (17.01.2023).

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Reactions to the Negative Portrayal of Turks in a Seventeenth-Century Multiple-Text Manuscript

Şeyma Benli*

Context

This study focuses on two couplets and a one-sentence response written adjacent to them in the margin that demonstrates how Turks were perceived by the Arabs and two different reactions to how they were portrayed. They are found in a multiple-text manuscript (*cönk*) held in İBB Atatürk Library Muallim Cevdet Manuscript Collection MC_Yz_Ko564, folio 74a. Sized 180x180-160x165 mm, the manuscript in question includes numerous works, including a translation of *Pend-i Atṭār*, Būşirī's *Qaṣīda al-Burda*, Suleymān Çelebi's *Vesīletü'n-Necāt*, anecdotes of Abū Ayyūb al-Anşārī, Ḥamdullāh Ḥamdī's *Ḳiyāfetnāme*, Nihādī's (?) translation of *farā'iz*, Ḳadrī's translation of a hundred hadiths in verse (written before 1623)¹, another translation of forty hadiths, an anonymous debate between several personified narcotics, fatwas issued by Ibn Kemal (d. 940/1534) and Şun'ullāh Efendi (d. 1021/1612), as well as various poems, letters, and prayers. Given this miscellany's contents, we may deduce that it was compiled as early as the seventeenth century. Accordingly, the couplets included may very well have been written prior to the seventeenth century, and the accompanying marginal record either in the same century or sometime after that.

The first and more important one of the two couplets is written in Arabic and advocates rather emphatically that burning in Hell is preferable to being a neighbor to Turks in Heaven. One of the reactions to it takes the form of a couplet, albeit written in

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¹ The date was deduced from another manuscript dated 1623. See Nihat Öztoprak, "Klâsik Türk Edebiyatı'nda Manzum Yüz Hadîsler" (PhD diss., Marmara University, 1993), 51.

a macaronic style. Whereas the first line affirms the idea expressed in the original couplet *in Turkish*, the second line advises *in Arabic* to distance oneself from Turks even if that Turk is his own brother. Most likely penned sometime later, the marginal record states that the Arabic couplet is a form of blasphemy. Moreover, the one who inserted this record similarly crossed out the parts of the couplet he deemed offensive. Contextualizing the two reactions requires adopting of a two-facet approach: (1) the negative perception of Turks among Arabs in the pre-modern era, especially given that the couplet was written in Arabic, and (2) the mindset that perceived this couplet to constitute blasphemy.

Turks were perceived in an overwhelmingly negative light by medieval Arabs. In a general sense, Turks were depicted in various poems, proverbs, and hadiths as being callous enemies against whom that Arabs needed to seek protection. For instance, the following proverb advises Arabs to maintain their distance from Turks and not to associate with them, “*Tarāki tarāki min ṣuḥḥati’l-atrāki.*”² Likewise, the following hadith advises the Muslims not to touch the Turks until they have touched the Arabs, “*Utruku’t-turka mā tarakūkum.*”³ In a similar vein, Turks have been identified as Gog and Magog, even described as a barbaric and brutal people in early historical sources. In later sources, however, we observe praise for Turks’ bravery, devotion, and military prowess. Al-Jāhez (d. 255/869), for instance, endeavored to eulogize Turks’ virtues in his *Manāqeb al-Turk*, thus overcoming the prejudices held against them. It is remarkable that the majority of all negative discourse appears prior to the Turks’ embrace of Islam. With following their conversion, we notice a gradual increase in laudatory discourse.⁴ As such, the Turks have not been portrayed in a monolithic, static manner. Still, as the couplets bear witness, exceptions may exist throughout history.

One explanation for these offensive words’ effacement may be found in the concept of *alfāz al-kufr*. This concept is defined as utterances that contravene revelation (*waḥy*),

² Ramazan Şeşen, “Eski Arablar’a Göre Türkler,” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 15 (1968): 30.

³ Abu Dawud, *Sunan*, 4302, accessed December 3, 2022, <https://sunnah.com/abudawud:4302>.

⁴ Ahmet Karadeniz, “İslam Kaynaklarında Türk İmgesi ve Onun Değişimi,” *Genel Türk Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (2019): 32-33.

thus causing one to leave the fold of Islam. These utterances can manifest as open revilement of religious values and injunctions, mocking religion, and deeming what Allah has ruled haram to be halal and vice versa.⁵ Handled predominately in the Ḥanafi school and fatwa books, *alfāz al-kufr* constitutes a broad corpus of literature among the Ottomans, both as a section in catechisms (*‘ilm-i ḥāl*) and individual treatises.⁶ Because apostasy has a dramatic impact on how one is treated both in this life and the next, Muslim scholars have undertaken painstaking efforts to raise awareness among Muslims not to utter *alfāz al-kufr*, whether intentionally or unintentionally.⁷ It appears that this marginal writing is a consequence of this consciousness. Moreover, the probable date of the manuscript’s composition coincides with the peak written Islamic catechisms dedicating a separate section to *alfāz al-kufr*.⁸ Concerning *alfāz al-kufr*, the Arabic couplet also reminds us of a question asked to Ebussuud Efendi: “What does the sharia require if Zayd states that he will refuse to enter the same heaven that women also enter?” Ebussuud’s response to this question is telling: “If he refuses to enter, [let him go] to Hell.”⁹ Both this question and the couplet are based on the same mentality of rejecting entry to heaven if an undesired group also resides there. Ebussuud’s reply is meaningful in this respect. Moreover, beyond the scope of *alfāz al-kufr* but still within the larger bounds of sharia, it should be emphasized that Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Kemal ruled insulting Turkishness to constitute a crime requiring *ta‘zīr* punishment.¹⁰

Although the poet’s identity is unknown, he or she was presumably an Arab who had had negative experiences with Turks. It is also reasonable to suggest that these couplets are, in fact, a rewriting of the aforementioned proverb and hadith. Regarding

⁵ S. Nuri Akgündüz, Zübeyir Bulut, “Akâidden Fıkha: Hanefî Fıkıh Kitaplarında Elfâz-ı Küfür,” *İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6, no. 2 (2017): 911.

⁶ Muharrem Kuzey, “Osmanlı’da Elfâz-ı Küfür Literatürü ve Önemli Eserler,” *TALİD* 14, no. 27 (2016): 206.

⁷ Kuzey, “Osmanlı’da Elfâz-ı Küfür,” 229.

⁸ Tijana Krstic, “You Must Know Your Faith in Detail: Redefinition of the Role of Knowledge and Boundaries of Belief in Ottoman Catechisms (*‘ilm-i ḥāls*),” in *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450-c. 1750*, ed. T. Krstic, D. Terzioğlu, (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 168.

⁹ Pehlul Düzenli, “Osmanlı Hukukçusu Şeyhülislâm Ebussuûd Efendi ve Fetvaları” (PhD diss., Selçuk University, 2007), 35.

¹⁰ Ahmet İnanır, “İbn Kemal’in Fetvaları Işığında Osmanlı’da İslâm Hukuku” (PhD diss., İstanbul University, 2008), 286.

why the second couplet begins in Turkish but continues in Arabic, this may be an attempt to forestall public indignation among readers who do not know Arabic. Consequently, these couplets are one instance of the negative portrayal of Turks in various texts. The marginal record claiming the original couplet to constitute blasphemy similarly demonstrates the praxis of a vibrant manuscript culture that approaches texts critically and the reception of *alfāz al-kufr* as a concept within Ottoman literature.

Keywords: Couplet, marginal record, 17th century, Turk, Arab, blasphemy

Transcription

Law kānati l-atrāku fi l-jannati jāran Bu söz küfürdür

La-taraktu l-jannata wa-htartu nāran

Hoş buyurmuş bunu ol gevher-i pāk

Utruku't-turka wa law kāna aḥāk

Translation

Should Turks be my neighbor **in Heaven** *This statement is blasphemy*

Preferring **Hellfire**, I would definitely leave **Heaven**

The immaculate gem uttered this pleasantly

Leave the Turks, even if he is your brother

Detail



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<https://sunnah.com/abudawud:4302>.

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Şeşen, Ramazan. “Eski Arablar’a Göre Türkler.” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 15, (1968): 11-36.

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An Unpublished Inscription from Bidlīs

Mustafa Dehqan & Vural Genç*
In Memoriam İsmail Kaygusuz (1944-2022)

Context

Bidlīs is important in the history of the Ottoman Empire and especially its south-eastern frontiers. It has already delivered some Persian and Turkish inscriptions, but as in other parts of the Empire, unpublished inscriptions appear from time to time. The present inscription, which commemorates the building of a complex in the 16th century, is engraved on an outcrop of the Sharafiya to the centre of Bidlīs.¹ The Sharafiya has been carried out during the time of Sharaf Khan I, the Kurdish emir who ruled Bidlīs from 909/1504 to 940/1533.² The monumental complex was built during his alliance with the Ottomans when he governed his territory without the interference of the Ottoman Empire. The complex, at the confluence of the Ribāt and Kuchūr streams in the city centre of Bidlīs, is formed of a mosque, a mausoleum, a fountain, a madrasa with a covered market, a *qaysāriya* (bazaar), a bath-house and a *zāwīya* with a minaret.

The stones carrying the present inscription are of limestone and are formed of many parts. The surface of the stones is well prepared to receive the inscription. The text is completely preserved. Except an Arabic line to recall respect for this building by Sharaf Khan I in 935/1528, the other lines are in Persian, in cursive thuluth. The basmala or invocation to God is twice mentioned. Following this *basmala*, the name of Prophet Muḥammad occurs eight times.³ There are also two squares that each one contains four

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¹ For a detailed description about the site, see Arık (1971: 118), Goodwin (1971: 309), and especially Açıkyıldız (2018). Compare also Kâtib Çelebi (1824: 414), and İtimād al-Saltana (2010: 774).

² For the life and career of Sharaf Khan I, see Scheref (1860: i, 400-423).

³ Some scholars have suggested that such inscriptions were not meant to be read as individual statements, but rather, that the repetition of sacred names was comparable to verbal repetitions in the Sufi *dhikr*. See Golombek and Wilber (1988, 210).

identical words-the Persian word *mubārak bād* ‘be blessed’. The main text includes four Persian hemistiches.

Persian poetry used in the inscription epitomizes the taste for an iconography in which the functional and the literary elements are thematically unified. The poem is written in *rubā’ī* or quatrain which has an extremely rigid metrical scheme. To be more precise, it is a Persian poem consisting of four lines with a modified form of the *hazaj* meter. The inscription is over a doorway. Hence the allusions to doors (closing and opening of doors, the doors of heaven) in the poem.

Keywords: Inscription, Bidlīs, Ottoman, Kurdish, 16th century, Persian, Sharafīya

Transcription

Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm

Muḥammad Muḥammad Muḥammad Muḥammad

Muḥammad Muḥammad Muḥammad Muḥammad

Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm

mudabbirī ki asās-i dar-i bihisht nahād (Fac. 1)

mubārak bād mubārak bād mubārak bād mubārak bād

nabast hīch darī tā diḡar darī nagushād (Fac. 2)

amara bi- ‘imārat hādha al-masjid Amīr Sharaf Bak 935 (Fac. 2)

dar-i bihisht bi-rūy-i kasī gushād ū ki (Fac. 2)

mubārak bād mubārak bād mubārak bād mubārak bād

dar-īn kharāba-yi fānī darī bi-khayr gushād (Fac. 3)

Translation

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Muḥammad, Muḥammad, Muḥammad, Muḥammad

Muḥammad, Muḥammad, Muḥammad, Muḥammad

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A prudent person who based the foundation of the door of Paradise
Be blessed! Be blessed! Be blessed! Be blessed!
He did not close any door unless he opened another door
Amir Sharaf Beg ordered the foundation of this mosque, 935
He opened the door of Paradise to a person who
Be blessed! Be blessed! Be blessed! Be blessed!
Opened a door to the goodness in this mortal wreckage

Facsimiles

Fac. 1



Fac. 2



Fac. 3



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Interpreting with Bibliomancy: Shiite-Sunni Convergence Policy between Mahmud I and Nadir Şah

Nimet İpek*

Context

The following passage is taken from MS Ayasofya 163, Süleymaniye Manuscript Library. It is present in f. 1r of a *Tafsîr al-Beyzâwî* copy, one of the favorite books Mahmûd I enjoyed being read out loud.¹ The copy has the seal of Selim I, the endowment seal of Mahmûd I, and the *taftîsh* seal of Şeyhzâde Ahmed on fol. 1r. It bears neither a colophon nor another written identifier that specify a date of production. Given the note was jotted down on this codex, the copy under consideration must be the copy Mahmûd I looked at. Divining by means of *Tafsîr al-Beyzâwî* brought glad news to Mahmûd I and the result was written down so that it wouldn't fade into irrelevance.² The divination broadly supports his convergence policy because the Quranic verse says the Prophet Yûsuf, in other words Nâdir Şâh, was employed in the service of the King, namely Mahmûd I, as a highly esteemed and fully trusted officer.

Keywords: Mahmûd I, Nâdir Şâh, bibliomancy, Shiite, Sunnite

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¹ Hatice Aynur, "I. Mahmud Döneminde Edebi Kültür". *Gölgelenen Sultan Unutulan Yıllar 1. Mahmud ve Dönemi*, ed. Hatice Aynur. (Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul: 2021). 167.

² Qur'an 12: 54. "The King said, 'Bring him to me. I will employ him exclusively in my service.' And when Joseph spoke to him, the King said, 'Today you are highly esteemed and fully trusted by us.'" (accessed at 27 January 2023 <https://quran.com/yusuf/54>)

Transcription

Sene-i müteyemmine-i tis 'a ve erba 'ine ve mi 'e ve elf şehri-i recebül-müreccebi evâ ilinde işârât-ı kur'âniyyeden bir latîfe-i gaybiyye ser-zede-i şahîfe-i zuhûr olmuşdur ki sebt ü tahrîre muktezâ-yı hâl oldu. Vechi budur ki memâlik-i İrân-zemînde seyf-i meslûl-i cihâd ile kal ' u kam ' -i rafz u ilhâda âgâz idüb mezheb-i sedîd-i ehl-i sünneti memâlik-i maşûrede neşr ü icrâ dâ 'iyesiyle serîr-i şâhiye cülûs iden Nâdir Şâh bā-intibāh hālā çār-bāliş-nişîn-i mesned-i 'izz ü temkîn halîfe-i rûy-ı zemîn sultānu'l-berreyni ve'l-bahreyn hādîmu'l-harameyni's-şerîfeyn şevketlü kerâmetlü hamîyyetlü pâdişahumuz Sultân Maḥmûd Hân ibn Sultân Muştafâ Hân e'azza'llāhu enşārahu ḥazretlerinüñ sūdde-i seniyye-i 'ālem-maşîr-i devletlerine ilticâ idüb memâlik-i İrânda icrâ-yı mezheb-i ehl-i sünnet ve teşyîd-i mebânî-i milk ü milletde inâyet-i 'aliyye-i hüsrevâneleri recâsıyla mu'teber ve münteḥab süferâ irsâl ve mesâlih-i 'adîdeyi mütezammın zürâ'atnâmeler irsâl olduğda maḥzûrât-ı şer'iyye ve 'örfiyyeden 'arî ba'zî mevâd üzerine 'aḳd ü vifâḳ ve 'ahd ü mîşâḳ olunub nâme-i hümâyûn-ı cihândârî tahrîr olunmuş idi. Binâ'en 'aleyh bu aḳd ü 'ahdüñ sebat ve kıvâmı ve ilâ mâşâ Allāh devâmı müyesser ve muḳadder ise levḥ-i gayb ve kitâb-ı lâ-reybden işâret ve beşâret recâsıyla şevketlü kerâmetlü mehâbetlü efendimiz ḥazretleri ve şâhu's-şadr 'izz ü iclâlî olan Muşhaf-ı şerîfi yed-i mü'eyyedleriyle fetḥ ü küşâd buyurduklarında suver-i şerîfeden sûre-i Yûsufda ser-i şahîfede kâla'l-maliku ütünî bihi³ ilh.⁴ naşş-ı kerîmi nûr-baḥş-ı nazar-ı hümâyûn olmağla 'aḳd-i ma'hûduñ kemâl-i metânet ve emn ü selâmetle ḥuşûline işâret ve beşâreti mütezammın âyet-i hikemiyyedür deyü istidlâl olunmağın bu maḥalle me'mûren sebt olundu.

Translation

At the beginning of Rajab of the auspicious year 1149, a concealed delicacy came out of Quranic guidance, and therefore, it emerged as a necessity to jot down and record this. This is the reason that in the Iranian lands, Mahmûd I commenced exterminating and curbing bigotry and heresy with his bare sword of holy war. Nâdir Şâh sat on the sultanic throne claiming to extend and fulfil the claims of the apposite Sunnite sect on these mentioned lands. Vigilant Nâdir Şâh resorted to the imperial sublime threshold, where the whole world shelters, of our still-on-the-throne sultan, prop of dignity and consolidation, the caliph of the earth, sultan of two earths and two seas, servant of two noble

³ Qur'an 12: 54.

⁴ for ilâ âhirihi.

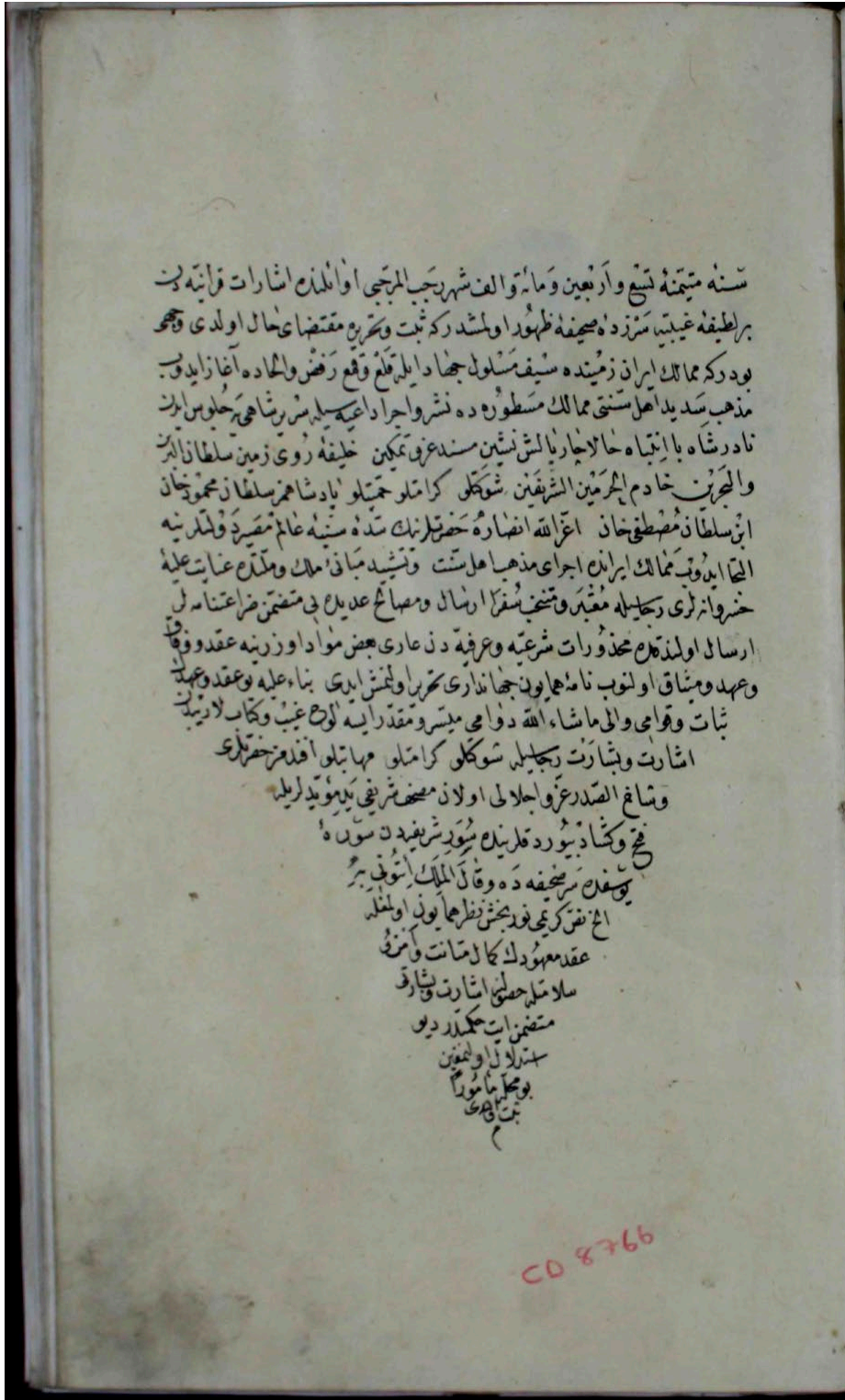
harams,⁵ strong, bountiful, benevolent Mahmûd Hân b. Mustafâ Hân – may Allah glorify his followers. Nâdir Şâh asked for the exalted sultanic support of Mahmûd I for to perform *ahl al-sunna*⁶ and to construct religious buildings across the Iranian lands. Therefore, he sent a reliable and selected envoy and letters relating to various affairs. Then, free from legal and traditional restrictions, an agreement was made on some provisional points and an imperial letter was thus written down. Consequently, Mahmûd I anticipated a sign or a message from the invisible world and the unquestionable book about whether this agreement and covenant were destined to come true to the extent God wished or not. Accordingly, our almighty, bountiful, flamboyant lord opened the almighty and honorable Quran with their corroborated hands. As a result of this bibliomancy, in the *sûrat Yûsuf*, a verse at the top of the page that begins with “The King said, ‘Bring him to me’” *ad finem*⁷ became a target for his divine light bestowing glance. It was deduced that this verse is a sign and a harbinger of the completion of this agreement with perfect steadiness, safety, and peace. The result of the bibliomancy is here jotted down by order.

⁵ This word refers to the two holy cities, Makka and Madina.

⁶ People who adhere to the authentic lifestyle (sunnah) of the Prophet Muhammad are referred. The opposite term is *ahl al-bid'a*, namely, followers of fabricated beliefs and deeds.

⁷ Qur'an 12: 54. Full quote: “The King said, ‘Bring him to me. I will employ him exclusively in my service.’ And when Joseph spoke to him, the King said, ‘Today you are highly esteemed and fully trusted by us.’” (accessed at 27 January 2023 <https://quran.com/yusuf/54>)

Facsimile



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Esavitic Genealogy for the Ottomans

Furkan Işın*

Context

The genealogy of ‘Osmān I (r. 1299-1326), which is transcribed below, is found in an Ottoman manuscript (Ayasofya, 3229), *Kenzü’l-cevāhirü’s-seniyye fî fütühāti’s-Süleymāniyye* (*Treasure of the Brilliant Jewels among the Conquests of Süleyman*), written by Şāh Kāsım Tebrīzī (d. 1539-40).¹ The compilation date of the manuscript is unknown.² It starts with gratitude to God and His prophets (1b-4a) and continues with epithets, glorification, and description of Süleymān I (r. 1520-1566) (4a-34a). Then, it mentions the death of Selīm I (r. 1512-1520), the enthronement of Süleymān, and the revolt of Cānberdī Ġazālī (d. 1521) (34a-63a). This is followed by the Belgrade campaign in 1521 and the elimination of Şehsuvāroġlī ‘Alī Beg in 1522 (63a-122b). The manuscript ends abruptly with the campaign of Rhodes in 1521 (122b-135b), omits the Hungarian campaign and the battle of Mohács in 1526, continues amid the campaign of Vienna in 1529 and finishes with the return journey of Süleymān from Vienna (136a-191b).

In the introduction, Şāh Kāsım enumerates ten qualifications (*hāşşe*) of Süleymān to argue his patron’s superiority over past and current rulers. Ten is not selected randomly but a deliberate reference to Süleymān being the tenth Ottoman Sultan and also the “perfect” number, as Şāh Kāsım explains with the help of numerology. These ten

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¹ Şāh Kāsım Tebrīzī, *Kenzü’l-cevāhirü’s-seniyye fî fütühāti’s-Süleymāniyye*, Süleymaniye Library, Ms. Ayasofya 3392. I have examined Şāh Kāsım’s life and book in detail in an MA thesis. See Furkan Işın, “Politics of Persian Historiography at the Court of Süleyman: Shāh Qāsım and his Kanz al-jawāhir” (MA Thesis, Sabancı University, 2020). The book is edited and translated into Turkish, see Ayşe Gül Fidan, “Kenzü’l-cevāhiri’s-seniyye fî fütühāti’s-Süleymāniyye (İnceleme – Metin – Çeviri)” (PhD Diss., Kırıkkale and Ankara Universities, 2020).

² Tauer claims that it was copied after the execution of the grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha (d. 1536) because this copy does not refer to him, whereas a possible author’s copy housed in Manisa narrates İbrāhīm Pasha’s appointment to the army general (*ser-’asker*) in nine folios. See Felix Tauer, *Histoire de la campagne du sultan Suleyman Ier contre Belgrade en 1521* (Prague: F. Řivnáče, 1924), 12.

qualifications are (i) Süleymān's glorious and God-chosen dynasty and his genealogy, (ii) the regularity in the Ottoman succession system, (iii) Süleymān being the religious renewer (*müceddid*) of the tenth Hijri century, (iv) Süleymān as the shadow of God (*zill-i ḥodā*), (v) his peaceful enthronement, (vi) his protection over his subjects, (vii) his generosity, (viii) his wealthy and powerful empire, (ix) his holy wars (*ğazavāt*) and, (x) his fidelity as a vicegerent to his father, Selim I, when the latter was on military campaigns against the Safavids and the Mamluks.³ Şāh Kāsım aims by juxtaposing these ten qualifications to bolster the claim that his patron is "the superior and most perfect ruler among the rulers of the past and present."⁴ By providing an Ottoman genealogy, he intends to show the divine favor and worldly kingship bestowed upon the ancestor of Süleymān, Esau b. Isaac b. Abraham.⁵

Who was Esau? Transmitting from Idrīs-i Bidlīsī's (d. 1520) *Heşt Bihişt* (*The Eight Paradises*), an Ottoman dynastic history in Persian up to the reign of Bāyezid II (r. 1481-1512), Şāh Kāsım states that Esau was the son of Isaac, son of Abraham. After Esau and his subjects had consumed the riches of the Arab lands, they immigrated to Turkistan and the lands of Tūrān, where he became the ruler and kingship rested with his offspring.⁶ Bidlīsī's account mentions another layer in which Jacob tricked his blind father Isaac to claim the prophecy for himself which was reserved for Esau because of the right of primogeniture. Isaac pitied his eldest son and wished him and his descendants to have worldly sovereignty until the end of times.⁷ Although he mentions that some historians claimed a Japhetic lineage for the Ottomans, Şāh Kāsım chooses Esavitic genealogy for his patron, because, as Flemming argues, through Esavitic pedigree with its "Semitic"

³ Şāh Kāsım Tebrīzī, *Kenzü'l-cevāhir*, 23b-33a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 24b.

⁵ To be sure, in the genealogy Şāh Kāsım gives the name of the grandfather of Oğuz Ḥān as "Kāyti" and states that this is how Esau was known in Central Asia.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 25b-26a.

⁷ Idrīs-i Bidlīsī, *Heşt Bihişt*, Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, 3209, Ms. Nuruosmaniye, 21b-24a. For a Turkish translation, see Vural Genç, "İdris-i Bidlīsī: Heşt Bihişt Osman Gazi Dönemi (Tahlil ve Tercüme)" (MA Thesis: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, 2007), 371-375. To be sure, both historians recognize the Japhetic pedigree, yet the Esavitic ancestry is central to their narratives.

connotations, the Ottomans could exploit the Islamic tradition to their advantage, especially after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.⁸

Keywords: Genealogy, historiography, legitimation, Esau, 16th Century

Transcription

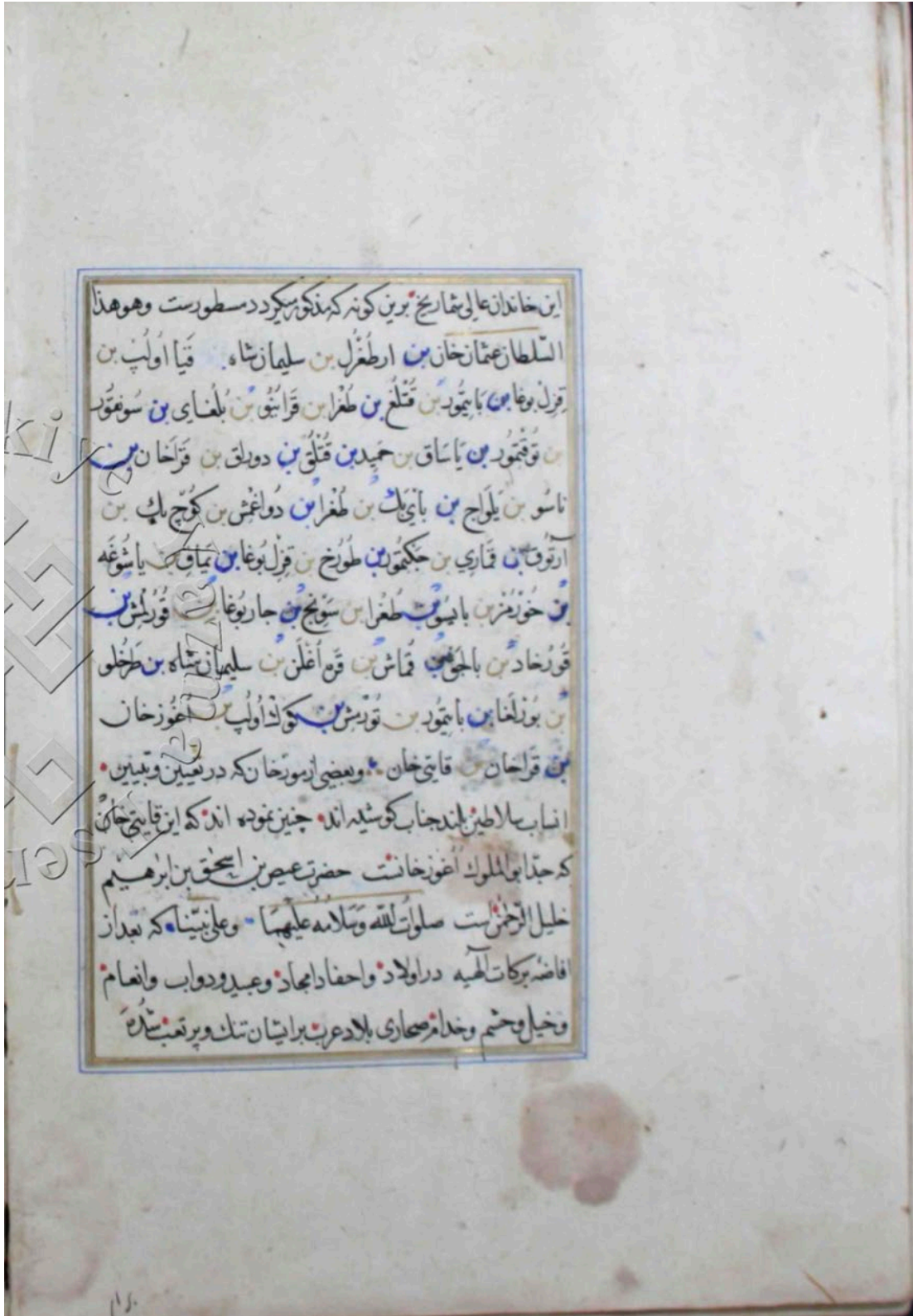
Es-Sultān ‘Osmān Ḥān bin Ertuğrul bin Süleymān Şāh bin Kayā Ülp⁹ bin Kızılbuğā bin Bāytemūr bin Kutluğ bin Tuğhurā bin Karāyunū bin Buluğāy bin Sünkūr bin Tüktemūr bin Yāsāḳ bin Ḥamīd bin Kutluğ bin Dūrluğ bin Karā Ḥān bin Nāsū bin Yalvāc bin Bāy Bey bin Tuğurā bin Duvağmış bin Gūç Bey bin Ārtūḳ bin Kamārī bin Çektemūr bin Turuḥ bin Kızılbuğā bin Yamāḳ bin Yāşūğā bin Ḥürmüz bin Bāysū bin Tuğurā bin Sevinç bin Cārbūğā bin Kūrulmuş bin Kūruḥād bin Bālcū bin Kumāş bin Kara Oglān bin Süleymān Şāh bin Tarḥulū bin Būrlağā bin Bāytemūr bin Dürmuş bin Gök Ülp bin Oğūz Ḥān bin Karā Ḥān bin Kāytī Ḥān (also known as ‘İş bin İshāḳ b. İbrāhīm).¹⁰

⁸ Barbara Flemming, “Political Genealogies in the Sixteenth Century,” *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 7-8 (1988): 137.

⁹ Although “Alp” is the accepted version by the Ottoman historians, Şāh Kāsım spells this name as “Ülp”.

¹⁰ Şāh Kāsım Tebrīzī, *Kenzü’l-cevāhir*, 25b.

Facsimile



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A Juxtaposition of Happiness and Sadness on the Same Page

Ömer Koçyiğit*

Context

Manuscript notes such as birth and death records, meaning writings unrelated to the main text, are frequently encountered in oriental manuscripts. An inventory of these manuscript notes would be useful for conducting a systematic study of these records, but such an inventory does not currently exist. Despite this, the notes found in manuscripts are significant as they provide insight into various stories, events, and connections.

One example of such a text is in the *Tuḥfetu'l-Küttāb*, an eighteenth-century book of legal documents on Islamic Law, by Mūsāzāde 'Ubeydullāh Efendi (d. 1782-83). The manuscript is now housed in the Leiden University Library (Cod. Or. 12.032).¹ In the book, there are birth and death records dating from 1860 and 1862 which demonstrate how happiness and sadness can be found on the same page.²

Those notes were written by Meḥmed Emīn Bey, the owner of the book in the nineteenth century. Emīn Bey was the regent of the town of Küre-i Nuḥās/Küretu'n-Nuḥās in the sanjak of Kaşamonu in the 1860s. In his seal in the Ottoman archival documents, he is referred to as al-Sayyid, the lineage of which goes back to Prophet Muḥammad.³

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¹ For more information about the manuscript, see Jan Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections in the Netherlands: Comprising the Acquisitions of Turkish Manuscripts in Leiden University Library between 1970 and 2003*, v. 2 (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2002), pp. 683-685.

² Leiden University Library, Special Collection, Cod. Or. 12.032, p. 534.

³ His seal can be seen on a document related to the tender of a mine in Küre. See BOA, İ..MVL., 442/19642, no. 2, 25 Rebiülevvel 1277 [October 11, 1860]. The same seal appears on another document concerning the death of an individual. See BOA, MVL, 613/24, no. 2, 11 Zilkade 1277 [May 21, 1861].

On December 22, 1860, Meḥmed Emīn Bey's son was born at the family's home in Küre. Meḥmed Emīn Bey wrote the sentences in the book in black ink, expressing his happiness about the birth of his son. He says he named his son Muştafâ 'Âşım. His excitement and hope are reflected in the prayers he wrote. Those joyous sentiments, however, were short-lived. As it is understood from the note below the birth record, Meḥmed Emīn Bey suffered the grief of losing his son, who died at the age of one on January 6, 1862. Moreover, he must have been reminded of a similar grief he had suffered before, as he noted saying that his other son, Meḥmed Râsim, had passed away when he was six months old.

Meḥmed Emīn Bey recorded those accounts of deaths in red letters that were shaped like droplets, as if he were weeping tears of blood. It is not known how long he lived, nor what else he experienced after writing those lines. However, the book in which he recorded those moments of happiness and sadness in Küre in 1860s somehow made its way to Leiden in 1960s⁴ and thus carried his memories down to the present day.

Keywords: Ego-document, 19h Century, Meḥmed Emīn Bey, Küre-i Nuḥās, Birth and Death

Transcription

İşbu biñ iki yüz yetmiş yedi senesi şehr-i Cemāzıyelâḥire'niñ sekizinci yevm-i Cum'a sā'at dokuzda Küretu'n-Nuḥās kaşabasında bir oğlumuz dünyāya gelüb ismi Muştafâ 'Âşım tesmiye olunmuşdur. Allah 'azîmü'ş-şān ḥazretleri cemī' ümmet-i Muḥammed'iñ evlādıyla aṭvel 'ömr ile mu'ammer eyleyüb 'ulemā-i 'āmilīn ve aḡniyā-i şākirīn ve ḥādīm-i şer-'i mübīnden eyleye, āmin, bi-ḥürmeti seyyidi'l-mürselīn.

[...] Meḥmed Emīn En-nāib bi-ḳaza-i Küretu'n-Nuḥās.

Tārīḥ-i vefātı: Sene 1278 fi 5 Be (Receb)

⁴ Leiden University bought this manuscript from the Egyptian trader A. A. Fatatri in 1969. See Jan Schmidt, "Manuscripts and Their Function in Ottoman Culture; the Fatatri Collection in the Leiden University Library," *Journal of Turkish Studies = Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları*, 28/1 (2004), pp. 345-369.

Şehr-i mezbūruñ beşinci Bazar ertesi gicesi sâ'at sekizi on beş dakika geçerkeñ irtihâl-i dâr-ı beķā itmişdir. Mevlam şefâ'atine mazhar eyleye, âmin.

Bundan aķdem daķı altı aylık Meķmed Râsim nâmında bir oğlumuz daķı irtihâl-i dâr-ı beķā itmişdi. Mevlam şefâ'atlerine mazhar eyleye, âmin.

Translation

At nine o'clock on Friday, the eighth day of Cemâziyelâhir in the year one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven, our son was born in the town of Küre-i Nuķās. He was named Muştafâ 'Âşım. May Almighty Allah grant the children of the entire Ummah of Muķammad long lives. May He make my son from among scholars who act with their knowledge, from among the wealthy who are grateful, from among servants of Shari'a. Amen! May Allah accept my prayer for the sake of the chief of all prophets.

[...]

Meķmed Emîn, the regent of the town of Küre-i Nuķās

Date of his death: The fifth of Receb in the year 1278.

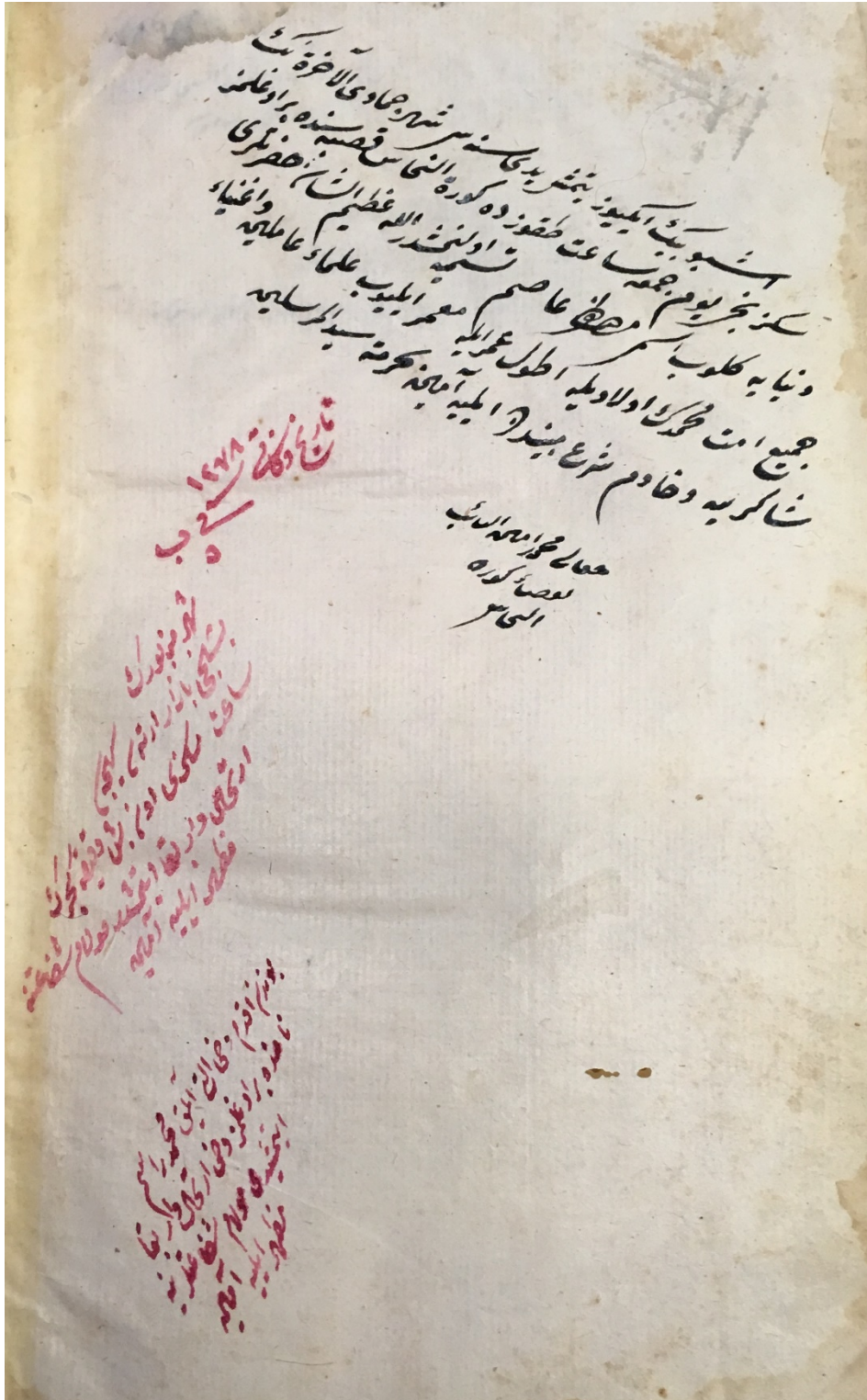
On the fifth of the month of Receb, on Monday at a quarter past eight, he passed away.

May Allah grant us his intercession, amen.

Before this, our son Meķmed Râsim had also passed away, dying at the age of six months.

May Allah grant us their intercessions, amen.

Facsimile



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The First Ottoman-Turkish History of the Armenians

Yavuz Köse*

Context

Rıza Nur (1879-1942) was a physician, professor, politician, and publicist. According to Andrew Mango, he was also “a man of violent passions, and a racist nationalist” and is “most remembered as one of Atatürk’s main detractors.”¹

He graduated from the military medical school and worked as a doctor and teacher at the Faculty of Medicine in Istanbul until 1908, when he decided to pursue a political career. After the restoration of the constitution in 1908, he was elected to the parliament at the age of 29 and became its youngest member. Being supportive of the *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (The Committee of Union and Progress, CUP), he soon joined the opposition liberal party (*Osmanlı Ahrar Fırkası* – Ottoman Liberal Party, September 1908–April 1909). Accused of playing a role in the 31 March Incident – the conservative countercoup of 1909 –, he fled to Egypt but returned shortly afterwards. Rıza Nur was a founding member of another opposition party, the *Ḥürriyet ve İ'tilâf* (Freedom and Accord Party, 1911). After the coup d'état of the CUP leaders Talât, Cemal, and Enver, in January 1913, the party was forbidden and Rıza Nur was arrested and finally exiled. He lived in Switzerland, France (where he married), and Egypt, before returning to Istanbul after the armistice in October 1918, and was again elected as a member of the Ottoman parliament for Sinop.²

Rıza Nur began to work on his “History of the Armenians” (*Ermeni Tarihi*) in the autumn of 1914 in exile in Cairo and continued to work on the draft until May 1918.

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¹ Andrew Mango, *Atatürk* (London: John Murray, 2001), p. 553.

² The short section on Rıza Nur’s biography is taken from Yavuz Köse, “Vienna is a treasure to Us’: Vienna and the Austro-Hungarian Empire as Role Models for the Late Ottoman Empire”, *Comparative* 32, 3/4 (2022) (Special Issue “The Ottoman Empire and the “Germensphere” in the Age of Imperialism”), pp. 395-411.

However, some sections of the work concerning later events between the years 1919 and 1923 were added either in Turkey or when he was in exile in France (from 1926), most probably during his stay in Lausanne between November 1922 and July 1923, when he was part of the Turkish delegation. In Lausanne, he also assigned one of the Turkish secretaries to prepare the fair copy of his draft, which the author sold, together with other manuscripts, to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in 1935 (with a blocking period until 1960). The manuscript is now kept under the title Ms. or. quart 1934. The copy is written on white paper with 258 sheets (some pages are blank) and contains the original pagination (508 pages). In addition, it includes a bibliography of around 30 French titles and “*plusieurs ‘Histoire ottoman’*” written in Latin script, as well as a separate manuscript table of contents in French. The format of the work, bound in Alexandria, is 24 x 16.5 cm. The pages contain 19 lines written in blue ink in *rıkā‘*. The preface transcribed here is an autograph.

Unlike his twelve-volume “History of the Turks” (*Türk Tarihi*, 1924-1926), which he worked on at the same time, *Ermeni Tarihi* was never published. Rıza Nur planned this work as a prelude to a series on the histories of non-Turkish peoples. In his preface, he states that he also wanted to compose a work on the Greeks and Arabs. He aimed to educate Turks about the intentions of these peoples, whose goal was to “exterminate the Turks” (*Türk’ü yok etmek*). The author saw his work as a patriotic service to empower Turks with knowledge and thus provide them with the appropriate arguments to “defend their rights.” This justificatory work, ultimately designed to deny the Armenians any right to exist in Turkey, is the first monographic work in Ottoman-Turkish to date that focuses exclusively on the history of the Armenians.

Keywords: Rıza Nur, 20th century, Ottoman Armenians, genocide, history of Armenians, Turkish nationalism

Transcription

[3] Başlangıç

Yurdumuzda bizimle oturan, sayıları bize nisbetle pek az olan bir takım milletler vardır ki millî da vâlar ve hevâlarla ikide bir Türk 'aleyhine kalkınırlar. Türk'i yok etmek [itmek], yerine oturmak isterler. Bunuñ için ileri sürdükleri sebep ise Türk ahâlıden, devletinden zulm gördükleri, Türk idâresiniñ bozuk oldığı ve kendilerinde târîhî bir haq bulunduğı huşûşdaki iddi 'alarıdır.

Biz Türkler henüz bu milletleri târîhleriyle, diğer şûretlerle hiç tedkîk itmemişiz. Tanımıyoruz. Bugünkü hâlleri, hareketleri nedir bilmiyoruz. Onlarıñ da vâlarıniñ târîhî bir haqka dayandığını haqkıındaki sözlerine inanıyoruz. Onlara inanmasaq bile onları te 'yîd eden [iden], yalnız te 'yîd değil himâye ve teşvîk eden [iden], hattâ sâde bunlarda değil, bu mes 'eleleri kendi siyâsî ve iktisâdî menfa 'atleri için hiç yokdan ihdâs etmiş [itmiş] olan Avrupaya inanıyoruz.

[4] Türk bu iddi 'alarıñ boşluğunu öğrenirse kendi haqkını daha iyi müdâfa 'a ider. İşte bu mülâhazalar bu milletleri tanıtan eşeriñ birinci derecede vaţanî hizmetlerden olduğunu gösterir. İşte bu sebebledir ki büyük harb zamanında bu eşeri yazdım. Kezâ Rûmlar, 'Arablar diye de böyle birer eşer yazmak fikrindeyim.

*Mayıs 1918, Mışrû'l-Kâhire
Doğtor Rızâ Nür*

Translation

[3] Beginning

Some nations live with us in our homeland, whose numbers are tiny in comparison to ours, and they are always turning against the Turks with national matters and claims. They wish to exterminate and replace the Turk. The reason they propose this is their allegations that they are oppressed by the Turkish people and state, that the Turkish administration is corrupt, and that they have a historical right.

We Turks have not yet studied these nations in terms of their history and other aspects. We do not know them. We do not know what their present conditions and activities are. We believe their words that their claims are based on a historical right. Even if we do not believe them, we believe in Europe, which not only supports them but also protects

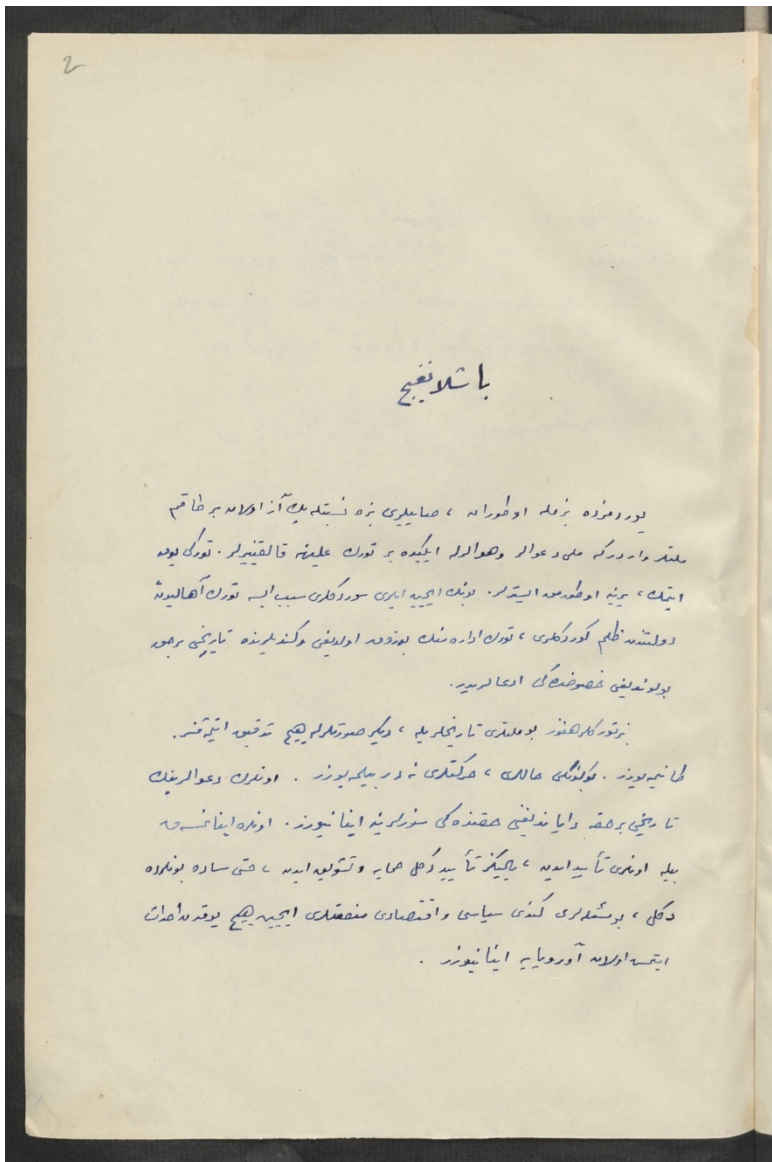
and encourages them, and furthermore has created these issues out of nothing for its own political and economic interests.

[4] If the Turk learns the futility of these claims, he will be better prepared to defend his own rights. These considerations show that the work introducing these nations is a patriotic service of the first degree. That is why I wrote this work during the Great War, and I have been thinking about writing such works on Greeks and Arabs as well.

May 1918, Cairo

Doctor Rıza Nur

Facsimile



۴

تورک بواچارلک بو سلفی اوکمه نیرم کنی صفی داهایی مدافع
 ایدر . ایتیه بو مدافع اچ بوملندی قانینا ائرنک برنجی درجه ره وطنی خدمتورده
 اولدنی کوستیر . ایتیه بوسبیلیم ورنه بودوک حرب زمانده بواتری یازدم .
 کذا روملر ، عربلر دیره بویلم بید ائر یازمعه فلانکیم .

دوقوزم صنف

مایی ۱۹۱۸ ، صرافاقره

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An Ottoman Letter of Recommendation for an Austrian Scientist

Gisela Procházka-Eisl*

Context

This document is kept in the Diözesanarchiv (Diocesan Archives) in St. Pölten, Lower Austria, with the shelf number AT-DASP_I/04-14_A04/269. There is no information available on how it ended up there.

It is a letter of recommendation, issued in 1837 by Aḥmed Fethī Paşa for the well-known physician and geologist Ami Boué (1794-1881). We do not know to whom it is addressed, but we can assume that the addressee was the provincial governor of the Sandjak Manastir, which then belonged to the *eyālet* of Edirne. However, it is possible that the letter was intentionally left without an address so that Boué could use it at any time when need arose.

Ami Boué undertook lengthy research journeys in the years 1836, 1837 and 1838 through the Balkan Peninsula and the European part of Turkey. In 1840, he published the result of these journeys in four volumes, entitled *La Turquie d'Europe, ou Observations sur la géographie, la géologie, l'histoire naturelle, la statistique et les moeurs de cet empire*. Among his countless publications on the field of geology, this is considered his most important work. Contrary to what is claimed in the letter, Boué – in the letter de Boué – neither was an Austrian subject nor an aristocrat.

Ferīk Aḥmed Fethī Paşa was, in 1835 and 1836-1837, for several months each Ottoman ambassador in Vienna.

Keywords: Letter of recommendation, 19th century, Ami Boué, Ahmed Fethi

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Transcription

hüve

Devletlü 'ināyetlü 'atıfetlü re'fetlü veli'ü n-ni'am efendüm hazretleri

Avusturya devlet-i fahîmesi teb'asından ve aşılzâdegândan¹

Ami Döbovay nām tabīb Rumilide kā'in memālik-i maħrûse-i hazret-i şāhāneyi

*ziyāret ü temāşā iderek der-se'ādete 'azîmet eylemek üzre bu taraftan hareket eylemiş
olmağla mersūmuñ dāhil-i*

*ķalem ü hükümet-i destürāneleri olan Manastıra bi-l-vuşul zāt-i 'alileriyle mülākātında
haķķında mu'āmele-i cemile-i dil-nüvāzī*

*ve iltifāt-i mekārim-sāzīleri bī-dirīg u şāyān buyurularaķ mümkün el-ķuşul olan niyāz u
iltimāsātınıñ karīn-i is'āf*

*buyurulması ķuşuşı mütemennā-yi 'ācizānem idügi ve devlet-i 'alīye ile dost u mu'āhid olan
bi-l-cümle düvel-i müteħābbe teb'asınıñ*

*her hālde himāyet ü şiyānetleri 'ahdnāmeler şerāyiți iktizāsından oldıgi rehīn-i 'ilm-i
'alileri buyrulduķda her hālde emr ü irāde*

hazret-i men lehü l-emrūñdür fi 5 Ş sene 53

Seal: *Aħmed Fetħī*

[1]247

Translation

He

His Highness, my lord – happy, gracious, benevolent, powerful and merciful benefactor!

As the physician named Ami de Boué, a subject and aristocrat of the highly esteemed country of Austria, set out from here with the destination of the sublime porte, to visit in Rumeli the well-protected domains of his Majesty, the padishah, it is my humble wish that the aforementioned (Boué), when he arrives in Manastir, which belongs to the office and administration of the grand vizier, and when he meets [your] exalted Lordship, be

¹ Scribal error for *aşılzâdegân*

received with utmost politeness and generosity and [that he] be treated with the unrestricted beneficence worthy of him, and that those of his wishes and pledges that can be met will be generously facilitated.

The conditions of the treaties require each and any protection and safeguarding of the subjects of all befriended countries, which are on good terms with the Ottoman Empire. When [all this] is left to his exalted knowledge, wish and order are left by all means to the highness who has the [power to] order.

On Şafer 5, year [12]53 (= May 11, 1837)

Seal: Aḥmed Fethī

[1]247

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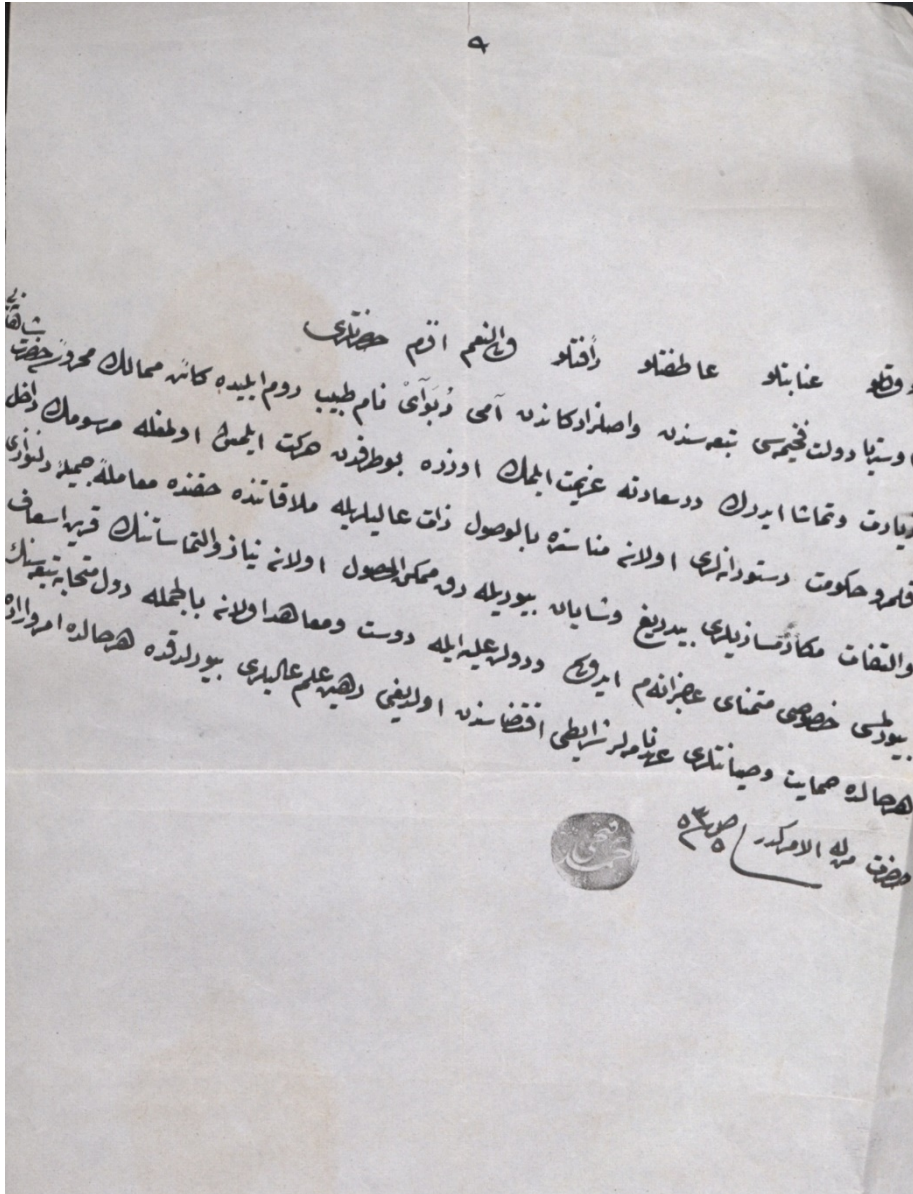
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Facsimile



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A Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Reader Calculating the Apocalypse

A. Tunç Şen*

Context

How did sixteenth-century Ottoman subjects relate to debates and calculations regarding the end of the universe? A Turkish manuscript at Oxford Bodleian Library (Arch. Sel. 31) that houses a copy of an almanac with prognostications (*taḳvīm*) from the year 872 Hijri (1467/1468 AD) offers some intriguing insights. On the left half of the first page of the manuscript are inserted some back-of-the-envelope type calculations of dates accompanied by their explanations. These notes are located close to an ownership statement documenting the possession of the book by a certain Ca'fer b. 'İvaż, who, as the statement reveals, was an instructor (*müderris*) teaching at the Torumtay *medrese* in Amasya. We cannot claim with certainty that these calculations were made by Ca'fer b. 'İvaż. I was not able to trace any instructor with the name Ca'fer from Amasya in contemporary biographical sources of the sixteenth century. In any case, these notes capture a particular moment of the note-taker, who, in the Hijri year 959 (1551 or 1552 AD), computes how much time is left until the end of the world, which was largely believed to have 7000 years of lifespan.

In order to find out the remaining number of years, the note-taker first calculates how much time has elapsed since Noah's flood and finds 4656 after making simple arithmetic mistakes. They take the Hijri year 862 as a starting point and add that 4570 years have passed from the time of Noah's flood till the Hijri year 862. It is difficult to

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I would like to thank Hakan Karateke and Hasan Karataş for their invaluable suggestions in reading the manuscript note.

trace the sources of the note-taker's information; there were already irreconcilable discrepancies at the time among the chronological computations of the biblical past. For instance, another *takvīm* from the Hijri year 858 that includes chronology tables notes that 3996 years passed since Noah's flood until the year 858.¹ No matter what their source was, the note-taker departs from 4570 years and adds, consecutively, 38 (900-862) and 59 (959-900) to identify the number of years that have elapsed since Noah's flood to their particular moment in the Hijri year 959. Instead of writing 4667, however, which should be the correct sum of 4570, 38, and 59, they compute the sum as 4656. The note-taker further notes that in between Noah's flood and the time of Adam (i.e., the Creation) are there 1200 years, which they add to the previous 4656 and reach 5856. To make their calculations easier, they round it up to 6000 and mark the 144-year difference. Based on the belief that the world had a 7,000-year lifespan, the note-taker registers that there were then 1,144 years left till the end of the world. As the note-taker says, this is attested by many books in theology, philosophy, Quranic exegesis, or Prophetic tradition.

Although debates and expectations about the imminency of the apocalypse was a theme frequently visited by the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman literati and individuals with overt Sufi leanings, astrological texts from the period reveal surprisingly little about the millenarian and apocalyptic discourse.² In that regard, this note found in an astrological almanac is a precious documentation of the use of astrological texts as a space for the manifestation of apocalyptic and millenarian concerns by their readers and copyists.

Keywords: Apocalypse, almanac, astrology, chronology, millennium, 16th century

¹ Nihal Atsız, "Hicrî 858 Yılına Ait Takvim," *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* IV (1975): 223-283.

² For examples of the apocalyptic discourse penetrating the varying textual corpus of the period, see Cornell H. Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Suleyman," in *Soliman le magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992), 159-177; Barbara Flemming, "Sāhib-kırān und Mahdī: Türkische Endzeiterwartungen im ersten Jahrzehnt der Regierung Süleymāns," in *Between the Danube and the Caucasus*, ed. by György Kara (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 43-62.

Transcription

Tārīḥ-i hicret

862

Tārīḥ-i Nūḥ nebī

4570 yıl

38

1+159

4656 [sic]

Tārīḥ-i hicretüñ

bu yıl toḳuz yüz elli toḳuzudur

Ḥazret-i Nūḥ nebī tūfānından berü

Dört biñ altı yüz elli altı yıl [sic]

olmuşdur vesselām

Nūḥ ile Ādem arasında daḥi

tūfāna gelince biñ iki yüz [ḥod?] oldı

teşmīl [?] olursa

1200

1+ 4656

5856.

144 ile 6000 yıl olur

Ammā kitāblarda eger kelām eger ḥikmet eger şurūḥ-ı eḥādīşdir ba 'z-ı tefāsīrde daḥi vardır bu nev '-i insānuñ

yedi biñ yıl ḥükmi vardır, anuñçündür dār-ı āḥiretde nev '[-i insānu]ñ ḥükmini

Ḳurān virir

Āḥir cefāsı cihetleri yedi biñ yıldan şoñra çıkar pes ma 'lūm oldı ki müddet-i dünyā

yedi biñ yıl imiş. Bu taḳdirce bāḳī 1144 yıl daḥi

vardur ki yedi biñ yıl tamām ola

Va-llāḥu 'a 'lam

Translation

The Hijri year: 862 [corresponding to 1457 or 1458]

The number of years that have elapsed since the [flood at the] time of prophet Noah:
4570

When added by 38 [i.e., 900-862] and 59 [i.e., 959-900], it equals 4656 [sic].

The present year is 959, according to the Hijri calendar

Thus, 4656 [sic] years have elapsed since the flood at the time of the prophet Noah.

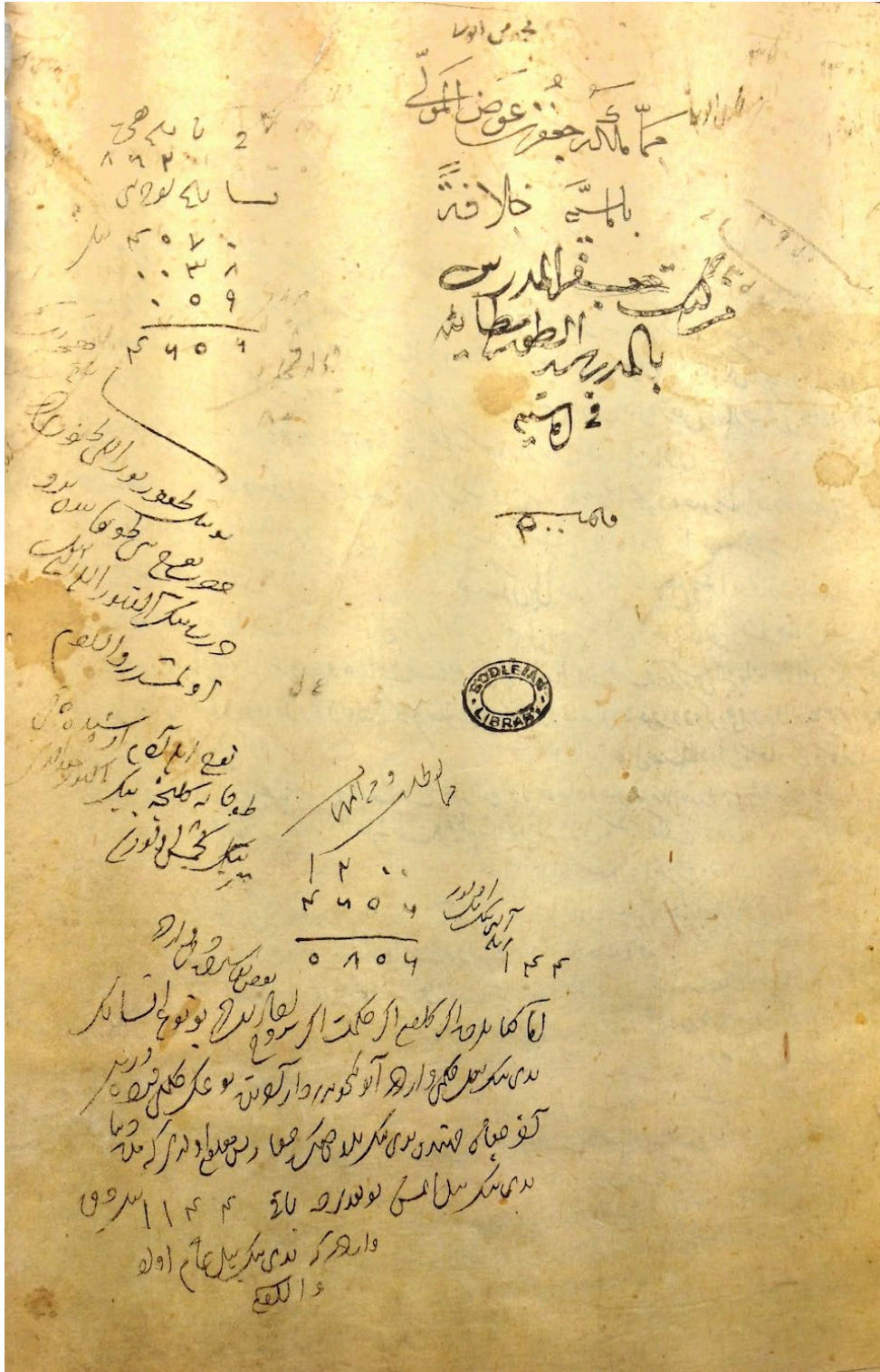
And from the time of Adam to the flood in the era of Noah are also 1200 years. When this is added to 4656, it makes 5856.

When 144 is added to it, it makes 6000.

It has been written in books, be it books on theology, philosophy, commentaries on Prophetic tradition, and even Quranic exegesis, that humankind has 7000 years of lifespan [on earth]. God gives their decrees in the abode of the afterlife; the suffering begins after 7000 years. It is thus known that the world's lifespan is 7000 years and that 1144 years have remained.

God knows best.

Facsimile



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A derkenar about the Sultan's Bridge across Krka River in Dalmatia, c. 1600

Michael Ursinus*

Context

Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Tapu Arşiv Dairesi Başkanlığı, Tapu Tahrir Defteri No. 13 (KGM\TADB\TTD\00013) from Ankara is a detailed (*mufassal*) Survey Register (*tapu tahrir defteri*) for the sancaks of Klis and Krka, comprising 321 folia (the original text breaks off after fol. 321b). On fol. 2a it carries the Tughra of Sultan Ahmed I. and the following note by a later hand: *hicri 1015 tarihidir* ('it is dated 1015H/ 1606-7'). On its front cover it is described as *mufassal-i liva'-i Klis mea Krka 475, Yeni No. 13*. Several *derkenars* from later periods (from as early as 1037H/1627: fol. 65b) include those on fol. 223b dated 19 Receb 1284H/ 16 November 1867 and on fols. 52b, 205b and 233a dated 19 Zilhicce 1285H/ 2 April 1869 which suggests that this is the *mufassal defter-i cedid* for the area in question which was in administrative use over centuries right until the second half of the 19th century.

The *derkenar* we are concerned with here can be found on fol. 257b. With its 27 lines it is one of the most comprehensive of its kind in this Survey Register. It highlights the importance of a river crossing near the fortress of Knin situated on the strategically important trade route which led from Banja Luka in Bosnia (seat of the Ottoman provincial government) towards the (Venetian) port cities of Zadar, Šibenik, Split and Trogir (beyond the 'Marches of the Padishah' [*ser-hadd-i padişahi*]) and describes the urgency for having a bridge constructed across Krka river below Knin fortress with a length of 360 *zira* (c. 270 metres). But when the inhabitants (*reaya*) of a number of villages north of Knin were ordered by imperial decree to construct the bridge, they replied that on

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their own they would be unable to build the bridge, and instead submitted a petition to have one of their local notables (*ayan-i vilayet*) together with two of his servants (*hademe*) appointed as their 'supervisor' (*nazır*), who would assist them in whatever way necessary. The three were duly allocated appropriate wages (*vazife*) by the Sultan, whereas the villages in question were given extensive tax exemptions after completion of the bridge across Krka river. On occasion of the new land survey (*hin-i tahrirde*) in c. 1604, the responsible officials, on producing their credentials, were given *timars* in exchange for their rations (*ulufe*) by imperial decree, and *nazır* Ibrahim the 'freehold' (*serbestlik*) of the *bad-i hava* levy from the villages in question, which were assured special protection against anybody intent on violating their exemptions, such as *emins* and *voyvodas*. Would there be any such attempt at violating their freedoms, they would renege on their fiscal obligations by abandoning their homeland. All this was recorded in the New Survey Register (*defter-i cedit*).

Keywords: *derkenar*, 16th century, Krka River, Dalmatia, bridge, *bad-i hava*, *serbestlik*

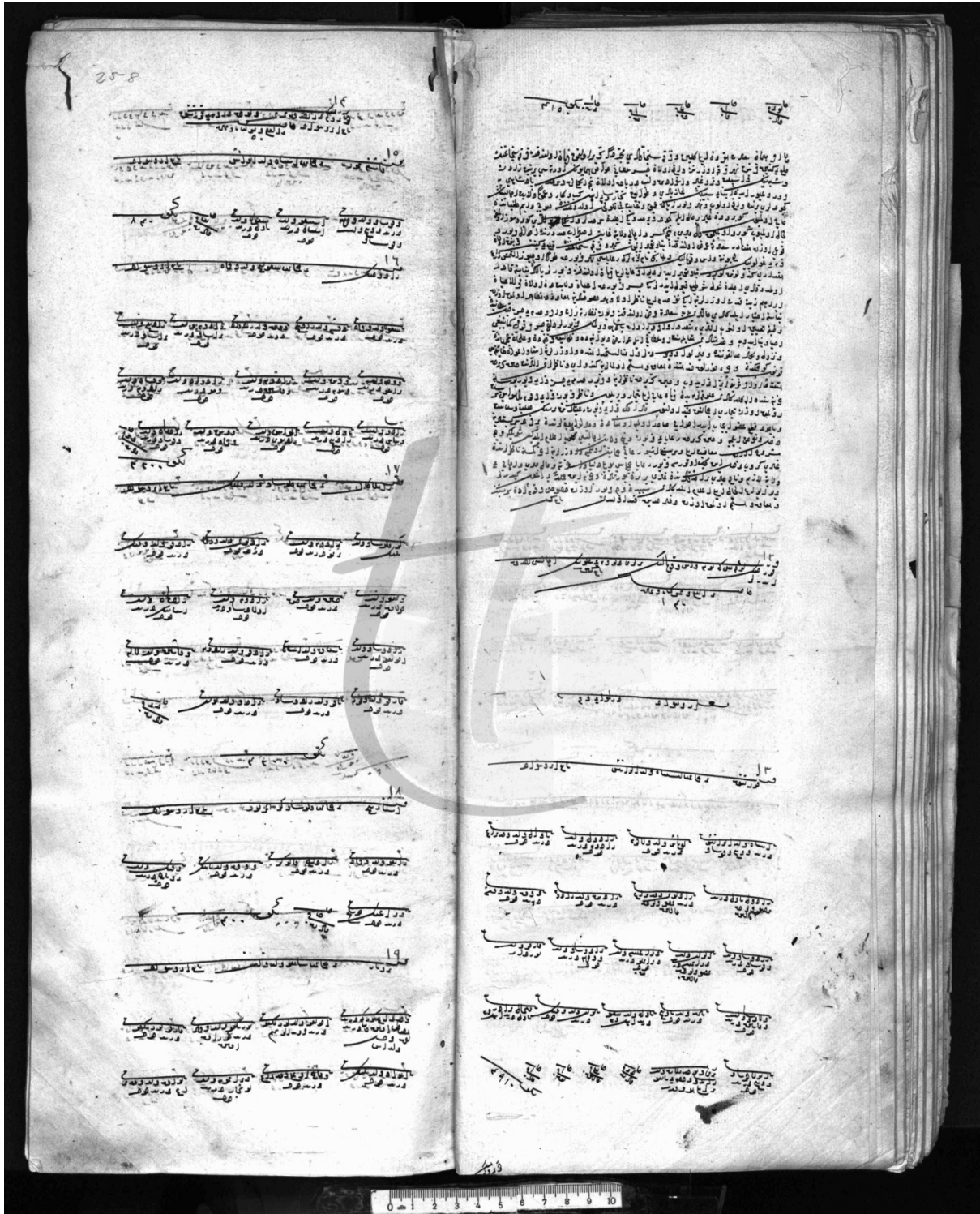
Transcription

- (1) *Hālā emr-i hümā[yū]n-ı sa'ādet-maqrūn ile Klis ve Krka sancaqları müceddeden tahrir olunmaq fermān olındıqda Krka sancağında*
- (2) *kal'e-i Knin qurbında nehr-i Krka üzerinde vāki' olan cisr-i sulṭānī havāşş-ı hümāyūnıñ ortası yirinde Zadra*
- (3) *ve Şibenik ve İspilit ve Troğir ve Iskradin ve leb-i deryāda olan nice iskelelere ve ser-ḥadd-i pādişāhīye*
- (4) *mürür ü 'ubūr iden ebnā-yı sebīlñ gāzīleri ve tevāyif-i tüccār ve sâ'ir ehl-i kesb ü kār ve 'umūmen vilāyet ehālisiniñ*
- (5) *geçüdləri yirinde vāki' olub ve nehr-i mezbūr ziyāde 'amīk ve gāyet bataqlu maḥall olduğundan şuyı dāyim tuğyāndan*
- (6) *ḥālī olmayub köprüden gayrı bir ḥāl ile geçüd virmedügi ecilden ser-ḥaddlar ve iskele yolları köprüsüz olmağa*

- (7) *mecāl olmayub köprü olmayıcağ māl-i mīriye niçe kesr ve ehāl-i vilāyete gāyet iztırāb şudūrından aḥvāl-i mezbūr vu-*
- (8) *ķū 'i üzere muḳaddemā der-sa 'ādete 'arz olındıķda binā ve ta 'mīr için girü Krka sancağından ḳal 'e-i Knin ḳurbında olan*
- (9) *ḳarye-i Ğolubik me 'a Bunye Vas ve Ḳumalik ve Blanice/Planci [cf. BOATD 284, fol. 1b] nām ḳaryeleriñ re 'āyāsı nehr-i mezbūrda ḫülen üç yüz altmış zirā '*
- (10) *miḳdārı kendülerinde köprü binā ve ta 'mīr ideler diyü emr-i 'ālī ile fermān olındıķda mezbūrlar yalnız bināsına ḳādir*
- (11) *olmadıķları ecilden şol şartıyla ḳabül iderler ki cistr-i mezbūrda 'ayān-i vilāyetden olan faḫrū'l-a 'yān*
- (12) *İbrāhim zīde ḳadrühü üzerlerine iki nefer ḫademe ile nāzır ola ve her ḫuşūşlarına mu 'āvin ve muḫāhir olmağ üzere*
- (13) *bināsına ihtiyār eyledikleri ḫālleri bāb-i sa 'ādete 'arz olındıķda mezbūre nezārete yazan ve emred ḫademe-i cisre ḳibel-i sultāniden*
- (14) *vazīfe ta 'yīn olunub elleriye müte 'addid evāmir ve berāvāt-i pādişāhī virilmek mezbūrlar daḫı cistr-i merḳūmı kemā yanbağı*
- (15) *iḫyā ve binā idüb ve ḫidmetleri muḳābelesinde emr-i sultānī ile 'avāriż-i dīvāniyeden ve tekālīf-i 'örfiyeden ve ḡilmān-i 'acemiyāndan*
- (16) *ve nüzül ve begler şalkunından ve mīr-i livā ve voyvodalar ve ümenā istiḫdāmından ve üzerlerine ümenā ve aḡavāt ḫāyifesi*
- (17) *ḳonub göçmekden ve çerāḫorlık ḫidmetinden mu 'āf ve müsellemler olmalarına kendüleri ve nāzırları ellerinde ḫīn-i taḫrīrde*
- (18) *müte 'addid evāmir-i şerīfe irād (ibrāz?) idüp ve ḫīn-i taḫrīrde nāzırlarına ve mezbūr ḫademe-i cisre ḳurā-i mezbūr Bosna*
- (19) *ḫazīnesinden alageldikleri 'ulūfelerine bedel fermān-i 'ālī ile tīmār virilüp ve nāzır-i mezbūr ḳurā-i merḳūme bād-i havāsın serbest*
- (20) *olmağ üzere tīmārī icmālinde ḳayd olunup mādāmki ḳurā-i mezbūre ra 'iyetlerinde serbestlik [?] şalb ü siyāset*
- (21) *ve yāhūd ḳaḫ 'i 'uzuv icāb ider aḫvālī şādır olmiya ümenā(!)dan ve mīr-i livā voyvodalarından bir ferd serbestilerine*

- (22) *daħl ve ta‘arruż eylemiye ve ħīn-i taħrīrde re‘āyā-i mezbūre ve nice vilāyet ehālisi gelüb i‘lām eyledigin şöyle ki vech-i*
- (23) *meşrūħ üzere mu‘āfiyet ile ve serbestiyle işbu re‘ā[yā]yı ħimāyet olunmıya ve üzerlerine āħer kimesne nāzırlarından*
- (24) *ğayrı girüp daħl idecek olursa mezbūr re‘āyā cümlesi böyle dünyā ve āħirete ve māl-i mīri ve ehālī-i*
- (25) *vilāyete lāzım ve nāfi‘ ħayrı bıraқdıklarından ħayrı yirlerin yurtların ve cizyelerin cümleten bıraқup giderler*
- (26) *diyü ibrā‘ü [?] ‘l-ħāl ile i‘lām eyledikleri sebebden vech-i mezbūr üzere ħuşūş-i merkūmelerden serbest*
- (27) *ve mu‘āf ve müsellemler olmak üzere defter-i cedīde kayd olındı tābi‘-i Knin*

Facsimiles



Source: TKGM\TADB\TTD\00013 (Ankara), fol. 257b - 258a



Detail from TKGM\TADB\TTD\00013 (Ankara), fol. 257b

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A Defter Entry from 1489 about the Fortress and Town of Travnik in Bosnia

Michael Ursinus*

Context

BOA TD 24 appears to be the first Survey Register to specifically mention the situation in and around the fortress (*kale*) of Travnik during the first 25 years or so after the initial Ottoman conquest of much of Bosnia in 1463. It is well established that the Hungarian counter-attacks secured for the king the banate (*banovina*) of Jajce (with the towns of Jajce, Banjaluka, Greben, Sokol, Jezero, Vinac, Vrbaški grad, Livač, Komotin, Bočac and Zvečaj along Vrbas river), and the banate of Srebrenik to the east of Doboј and Gračanica, i.e. well east of Bosna river. The *nahiye* of Lašva (named after one of the tributaries of Bosna river of the same name) and mentioned in Ottoman sources for the first time in 1468/9, was situated between the rivers Vrbas and Bosna. Its original main settlement is unknown; its centre only later became identified with Travnik. Equally uncertain is the situation in and around the fortress of Travnik after the fall of Bosnia: Hazim Šabanović assumes that Travnik, founded before 1463, lay waste between 1463 and 1477 (based, no doubt, in part on evidence like the *icmal defteri* dated 1468/9 in Atatürk Kitaplığı O.76, fol. 169a: *karye-i Travnik hâli*), or was under the control of the Bosnian puppet-kingdom established by the Ottomans (H. Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, p. 125). It is now known that the fortress of Travnik was initially handed over to the Ottomans, probably already in 1463, by Pavao, son of Grgur, who (later) held the stronghold of Hum near the village of Podhum south of Livno.¹

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¹ Michael Ursinus, "Serving King and Sultan: Pavao Grgurić and his Role on the Hungaro-Ottoman Frontier in Southern Bosnia, c. 1463 – 1477", in: Veran Kursar (ed.), *Life on the Ottoman Border. Essays in Honour of Nenad Moaćanin* (Zagreb, 2022), p. 19 – 30, especially p. 19.

The entry in BOA TD 24 refers to Ayas Beğ (Paşa), the ‘first *sancakbeği* of Bosnia’, as the Ottoman commander who ‘made prosperous’ (*imaret etmek*) the fortress of Travnik and who also appointed *voynuk* Stjepan Branković to the position of *knez* of Travnik, a position that was to be confirmed on him by (Hass) Murad Paşa who held the post of *beğlerbeği* of Rumili until 1473 (H. Reindl, *Männer um Bayezid*, p. 162f.). Ayas (Ayaz) Beğ was *sancakbeği* of Bosnia between 1470 and 1475 and again during the early part of 1484.² Given his appointment of Stjepan Branković to the *knezlik* of Travnik being confirmed by Hass Murad Paşa who drowned in 1473, it is probable that the reinforcement of Travnik fortress by Ayas Beğ also happened during the early part of his first term of office, offering exemption from the *avarız-i divaniye* tax to anyone who was prepared to settle there, be they Muslim or Christian. As the text of the defter entry makes abundantly clear, years of conflict with the unbelievers (of nearby Jajce) caused the settlers considerable losses, be that by being killed, taken prisoner or losing their possessions. In order to avoid their dispersal which would cause great injury (to the state) it became imperative to appease them (*istimale etmek*) by offering the settlers to be charged one ducat from every (Muslim) household and two from any Christian family while altogether exempting them from paying the *harac*, *ispençe* and any *avarız* taxes.

Keywords: *derkenar*, 15th century, Travnik, *kale*, *istimale*

Transcription

- (1) *Nefs-i Travnik (sic) hāşşa-i mīrlivā bundan evvel hāzret-i hīlāfet-penāh pādīşāhımız haledet hīlāfetühü*
- (2) *hāzretleri Bosna'nıñ evvelki sancağibegi Ayās Beg mezbūr ḳal'e imāret itmesi olındıḳda hūkm-i hümāyūn*
- (3) *mūcibiyle ılıcaḳ virilüb şart olunmuş ki her kim ki müsliḿāndan ve kefereden gelüb mezbūr*

² Ćiro Truhelka, “Tursko-slovenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive”, in *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* XXIII (Sarajevo, 1911), p. 341f; 344f.

- (4) *yirde mütemekkin idecek olurlar ise 'avārız-i dīvānīyeden mu 'āf ve müsellemler olub timār irene*
 - (5) *'ādet üzre 'öşrin ve resmin vireler diyü ammā mezkūr mevzi' bāğīye muttaşıl olmağın bir nice kere*
 - (6) *urulub ba 'zı kırılıb ve ba 'zı esir olmış ve ba 'zınıñ mälleri telef olmış ol sebebden*
 - (7) *dağılub gitmelü olmuşlar ammā tefettüş olunub görilüb anlarıñ ol arada olunur mā[l]lerinden*
 - (8) *nef'-i 'āmm ve dağılub gitmelerinden zarar-i tamām var ol cihetden bākī kalanlarına istimālet idüb*
 - (9) *hāneden hāneye birer filūrī ve keferesinden hāneden hāneye ikişer filūrī vaz' olunub*
 - (10) *harāc ve ispençe ve sāyir 'avārızātadan mu 'āf ve müsellemler olub civārı sınırında eger kilārından*
 - (11) *'ādet üzre 'öşrin vireler ve zikr olan filūrī harman vaqtinde vireler ve ol*
 - (12) *yirleri geregi gibi ihtiyāt evin beklileyeler bu mücibince şart olunub deftere sebt olındı*
 - (13) *şimdikihâlde dahı öyle kayd olındı*
-
- (1) *Hisse-i İstipan veled-i Brançovik [Stjepan Branković] nām kāfir ki voynuç evi pādişāhımız yolında zaferlık (sic)*
 - (2) *idüb düşmāndan haber getürdügi sebebden Ayās Beg voynuçlukdan çağırub*
 - (3) *Travnik'in knezligin virüb merhūm Murād Paşa dahı muqarrer tutub eline mektüb*
 - (4) *virmiş ve voynuçlukları üzere bundan soñra dahı tapuyla baştinalar zamm eylemiş*
 - (5) *bunlardur kim zikr olunur evvelden elinde olan Leşicaca'nuñ aşā[gı]sı ve yukarusı*
 - (6) *ve Mabatik Sercune [?] nām çayır ve soñra zamm olan Travnik'da Radivoy veled-i*
 - (7) *Privik [Radivoj Privić/Pribić ?] ve qarındaşı Vuç baştinalarıyla Radovac Doglovik [Radovac Doglavić ?] evi havlısı ve bostānlığı*
 - (8) *yirler virilmiş taşarruf ider şimdikihâlde sultānu'l-islām ve'l-müslimīn pādişāhımız 'ezze maqarrühü*

معترداً وبقی حاله میرلوب نونه لرادول هرن خلافتنا بارشامر خدن خلافتنا
 هرغری نوسنه نکر اولان بیگانی ایاس بکر لوبور قلعو عارتن امانا اولنه فته . حکم مهالون
 موجب ایلیکان دیولوب شرط اولمش کما هرکم کما مهالانه لزو کفره دن کلوبن هر لوبور
 برده متمکله اذ . بکر اولور لولای عوارضی اولوانه ن معافی و مسلم اولوب تیمار از
 عالته ازر . عتیز و در سمنز و بالو صوا امانه کوز موضع یا غیه متمکله اولما غیر بر بند کر .
 اور دلوب بعضی تر لوب و بعضی ایدر اولمش و بعضی مالکین تلف اولمش اول سببه ن
 طاعون کتملوا اولمش اما تقش اولنوز کور لوب آنکر که اوله اداد . اذ نور مالونیم ن
 نفع عام و طاعون کتا لوندن صزر نام وار اول جهنن یا تا قلاک لونه اسمال لوبو
 خانه ن خانه بر فلوری و کفاسندن خانه ن خانه اکثر فلوری وضع اولنوز
 خویج و اسپله و سایر عوارضانه ن معافی مسلم اولوب صواری سنور فح الک کلرین
 عالته ازر . عتیز و ویر . لو و ذکر اولان فلوری حوزم و قند و ویر . لرادول
 بر لور کما کی احتیاط اون بکلیا لوبو موجب شرط اولنوز و قدر نشت اولنه
 نمده کهنه و حق ابله فیه اولنه ک

عصا شیمان و لوبور ایقونیکر نام کافرک دینون اولی بکشامر لوبور . طوق
 لوب دستانه ن خبر کتور حوز یا سببه ن ایاس بکر دینو قلو قدن حوز و ب
 ترا و نیقکر کز لکسر . و یرو ب حوزم بر لوب با شاه فی معوز طونون انه ملکون
 و برش و دینوقان لری ازر . بوندن صکر . وحی طا پوم بشته لوصم المیش
 بوندر که ذکر اولنوز اولدن العذ . اولان لشبیه نکر اشاسی و یوفاروسی
 و ما با تیکر رجونه نام چایر و صکر . هم اولان تر او نیقده . دل و ده و له

Continuation:

پر یو بیکر و قوند لاش و قی پشته لرم له و لیه و غلو و کیرادی حویلی و بوستانین
پر لور و لیش بقرق لور شمه کمالی سلطان الاسلام و المسلمین. اینها هموز و بقرق
صفر ترینه و قی و قی اولون حکم سما یون صدفه اولمشن شمه کجی و قی کور و ار عالم
مطای از ر. بر قزار سابق ذکر اولان بر لر کجی بقرقده. اولوب له. کله و کجا
خدیقه له ابله هو و قی شمه اولمشک

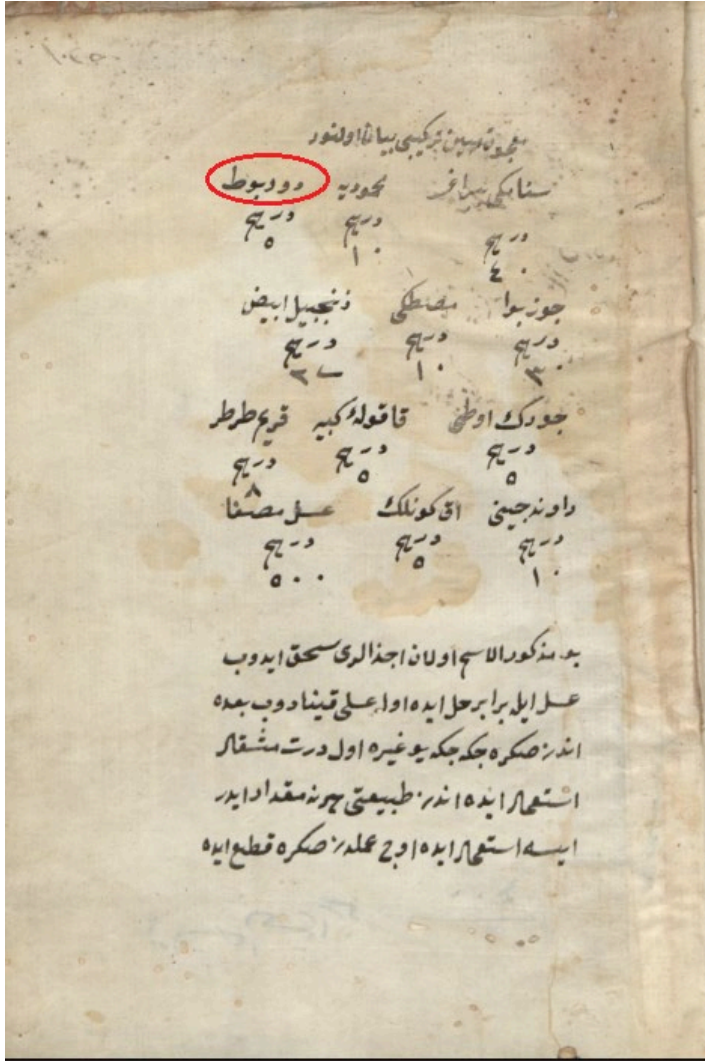
Cite this article

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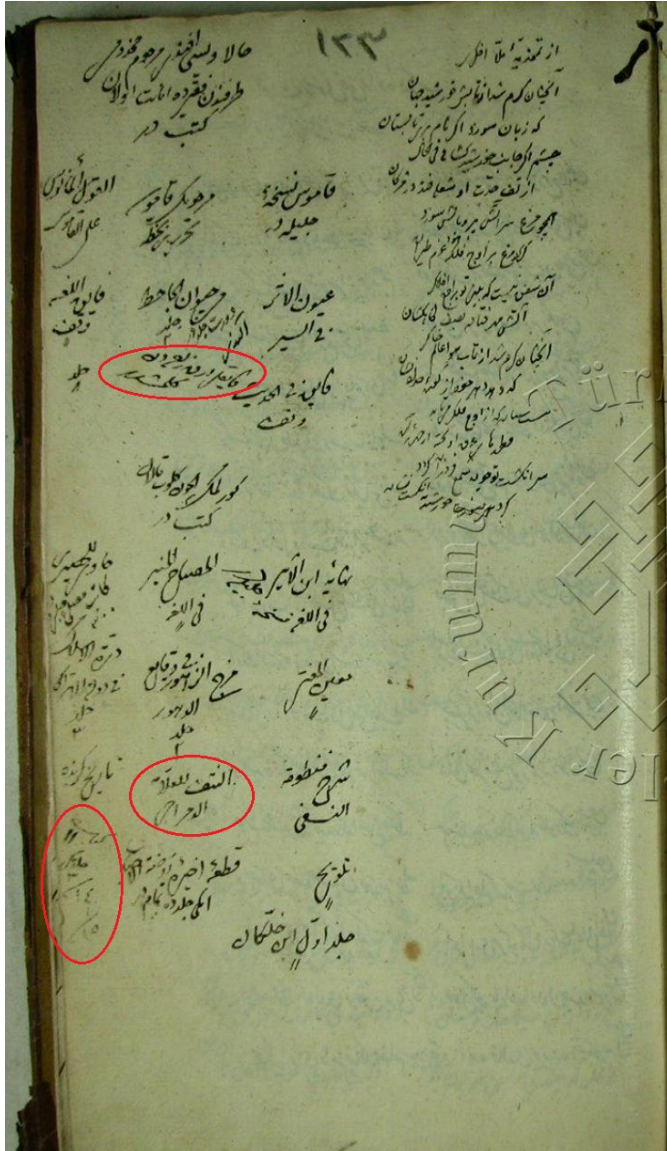
Summary of illegible or debatable words

Aysu Akcan – *ma'cūn* Recipe



sināmekī yaprağı *maḥmūdiye* [...]

Ercan Akyol – Book List



Fāyık [...] -zādeden gelmişdür

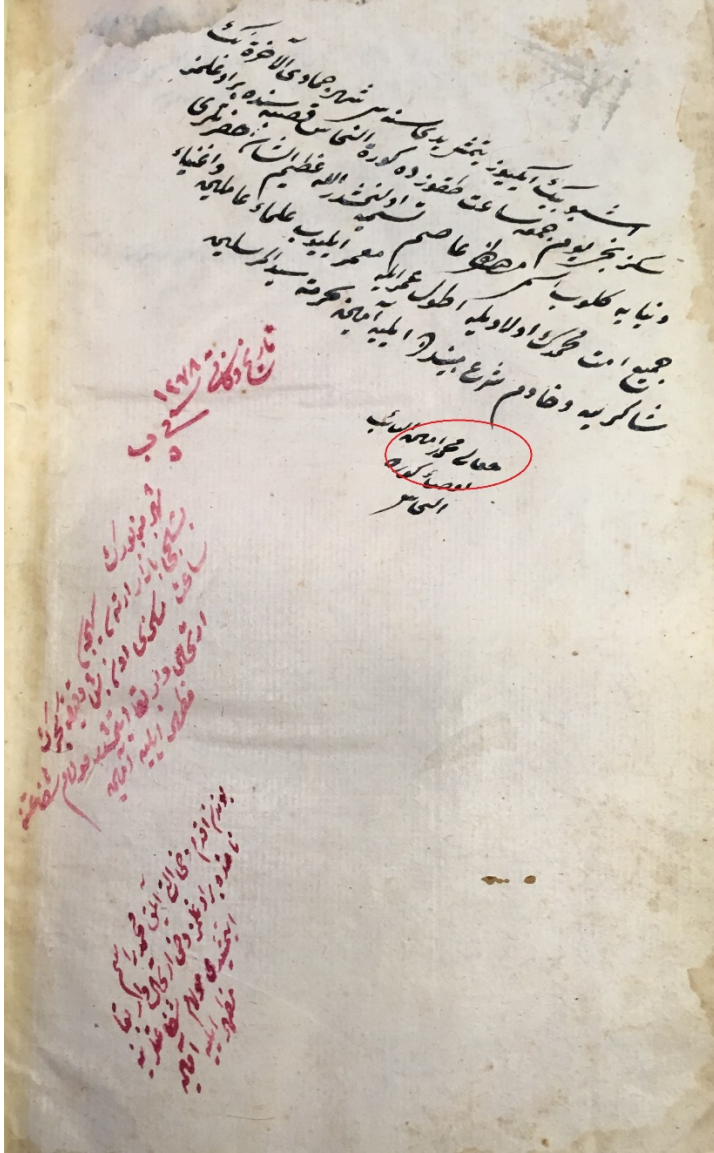
[...] li'l- 'Allāme [...]

Kitāb

ii

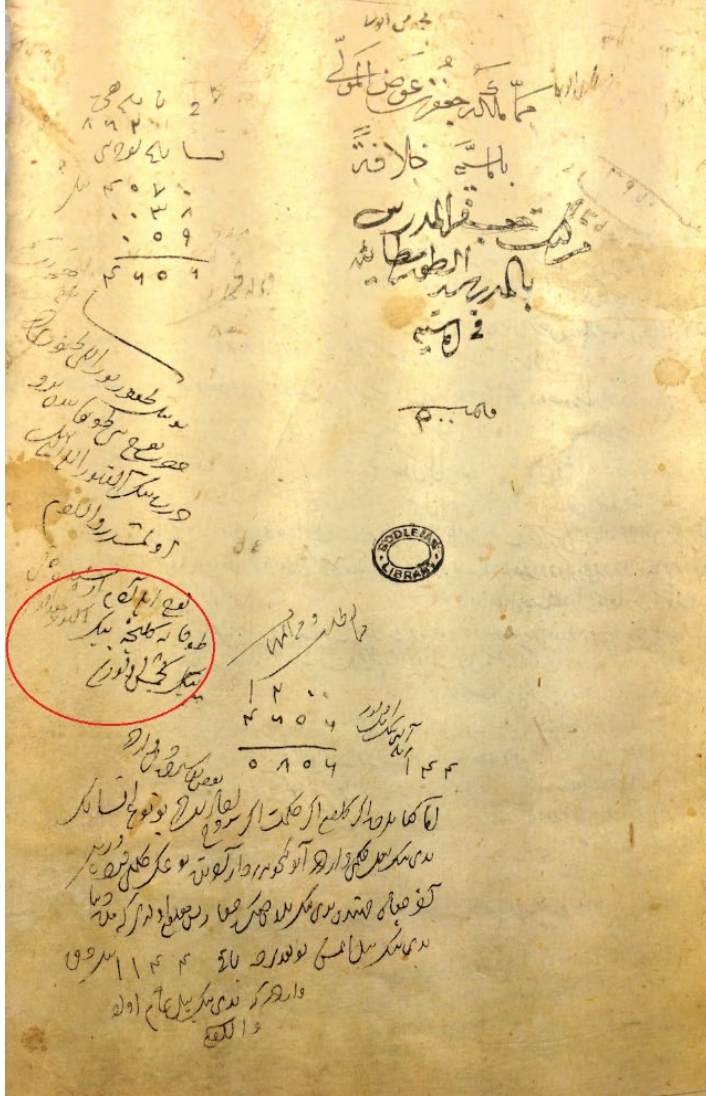
Cild geldi [?]

Ömer Koçyiğit, Juxtaposition



[...] Mehmed Emîn

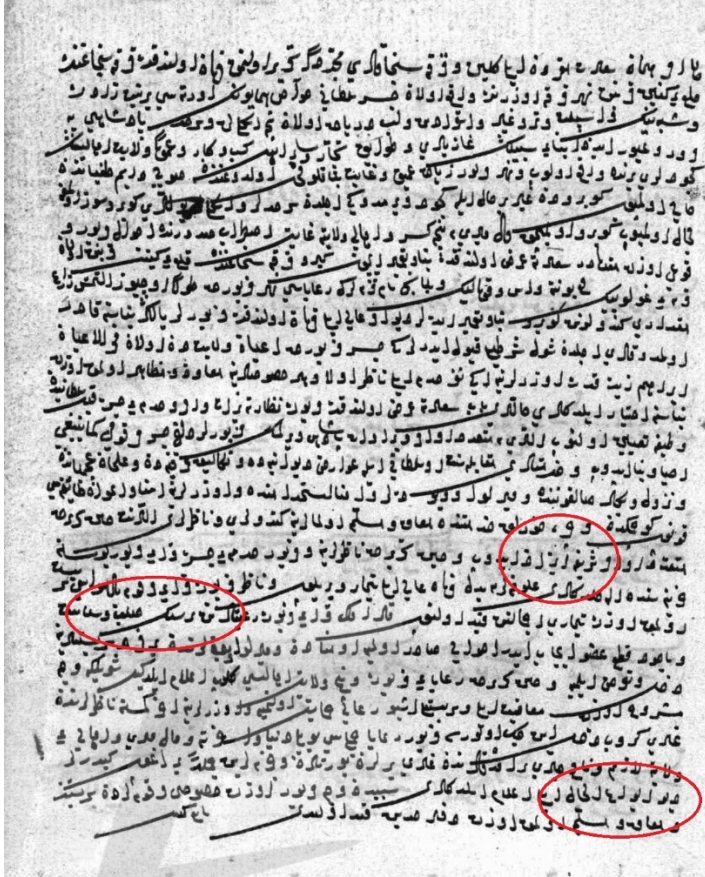
A. Tunç Şen, Ottoman Reader



tūfāna gelince biñ iki yüz [hod?] oldı

teşmil [?] olursa

Michael Ursinus, a *derkenār*



irād (*ibrāz*?)

serbestlik (?)

ibrā'ü (?) *l-hāl*

Michael Ursinus, a *defter*

عصا سنبان و تبره ایقونیکر نام کافرک دینون اولی بفرشایم اولغور. طوق
له با دشمنان خبر کنور جو یا سبیدن ایاس بکر ایقونیکر که جنون با
ترا و نیق کز لکسر. و پرو با هجوم اوله با ساه فی معوز طوقون انه مکفون
و برش و دینوقان لکسی از زر بوندن حکر. و صی طا بوم بشته لوصم المیش
بوغور که ذکر اولغور اولدن العذ. اولان لشیچر نکر اشاس و یون فاروسی
و ما با تیکر رجونه نام جابر و حکر. هم اولان ترا و نیق کز دل و ده اوله

Mabatik Sercune [?]