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A Protection Against the Plague

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Context

This *mecmū`a*, officially cataloged as Cod. Mixt. 220, is housed in the Austrian National Library. Its contents cover a rich assortment of materials, comprising Ottoman and Persian poems of varying length, highly ornate letter samples, Arabic prayers, a list of common Persian vocabulary items, *fevā`id*¹ registers, official records, a singular pleasantry (*latīfe*), *şemsī* and *kamerī* calendar calculations, as well as the enthronement dates of Ottoman sultans. Comprising a total of 90 folios, it showcases an array of calligraphic styles, including *ta`līk*, *nesih*, *dīvānī*, and *siyākat*. Noteworthy is the elusiveness of the compilation's date; neither the existence of copy records, nor any clues regarding potential transcribers and owners are discernible.

A good case for attribution of the compilation to the 11th/17th century can nonetheless be made. It is plausible, indeed compelling, for a number of reasons: First, the poets mentioned in the manuscript—‘Azmi-zāde Hāletī Efendi, Bahāyī, Bākī, Hāfız, Hāşimī, Muhteşem-i Kāşānī, Nādirī, Nef‘ī, Riyāzī, Tıflī, Tıgī, Vaşşī, Vehbī, and Yaḥyā Efendi—all date to the period from the 8th/14th to the 11th/17th centuries, no later. Secondly, the list of Ottoman sultans' enthronement dates provided in the text ends with Aḥmed I, whose reign extended from 1603 to 1617. Lastly, the letter samples contained within the *mecmū`a* date to the period of the 9th/15th to the 11th/17th centuries. Within the *mecmū`a*, three distinct categories of *fevā`id* are discernible: i) a concise remedy for alleviating toothaches (found on 30a); ii) a medley of recipes pertaining to soap preparation (located on folios 74b to 76a); and iii) an Arabic prayer against the plague, with instructions (*şerḥ*) in Ottoman Turkish for how to apply it (present on folio 19a).

Fevā`id registers are a prevalent feature of Ottoman manuscript culture, frequently found in *mecmū`as* in particular. As far as the prayer to ward off the plague transcribed and translated here is concerned, it clearly bears relevance, both directly and indirectly,

¹ *Fevā`id* registers were handwritten notes in manuscripts that contained useful information on almost any subject. For more info, see Orhan Bilgin, “Fevāid Kaydı” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, online version (accessed: 15.08.2023), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/fevaid-kaydi>.

to the period in which the *mecmū`a* itself was compiled. Indeed, the 11th/17th century witnessed incessant onslaughts of plague epidemics upon Ottoman cities; these form the backdrop against which the inclusion of this prayer and the instructions for how to apply it, on folio 19a, must be read.²

Transcription

Şerh-i Du`ā-yı Tā`ūn

Her kim bu du`āyı bir koyun kulağına okuyub üzerine üfürse // andan soñra ol koyunu boğazlayub her kim ol koyun etinden bir loğma yirse // Allāh tebārek ü te`ālā celle zikruhu ḥazretleri kemāl-i lutfından ol kişileri tā`ūn // şerrinden ḥalāş olmağ müyesser ide bu du`ā berekātından her kim yazdurub götürse // yāḥūd evinde şaklasa ol eve vebā girmeye ve cemī` belādan ve kazādan ḥağ sübhānehu // ve te`ālā şaklıya bu du`ā-yı şerīf hürmetine inşā`l-lāhu te`ālā //

bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, allāhumma yā ḥabīb al-abrār yā şāni` al-ikhtiyār wa-yā ma`rūf al-samā`³ fi-l`arḍ wa-l-aqtār // yusabbih lahu al-ḥajar wa-l-shajar wa-l`uyūn wa-l-abrār⁴ wa-l-biḥār, wa-yā khāliq al-janna wa-l-nār, wa-yā aḥad al-qadīm al-qahhār, wa-yā şarīḥ al-mustaşriḥīn // wa-yā ghiyāth al-mustaghīthīn, wa-yā ilāh al-`ālamīn, wa-yā lā ilāh illā anta, allāh akbar wa-a`lā wa-naşara wa-adhalla wa-a`azza wa-akrama wa-aḥfaz ka-mā ḥafıza // jamī`an lā ilāh illā huwa al-ḥaqq al-mubīn wa-ḥfaznī min sharr al-jinn wa-l-ins wa-min sharr al-wabā` wa-l-balā` wa-l-tā`ūn bi`adad kalimātihi // wa-şallā`alā Muḥammad fi-l-awwalīn wa-şallā`alā Muḥammad fi-l-ākhirīn subḥānak mā a`zam şānak⁵ subḥān dhī al-mulk wa-l-malakūt // subḥān dhī al-`izza wa-l-jalāl wa-l-jamāl wa-

² On this issue, see Sam White, “Rethinking Disease In Ottoman History.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42, no. 4 (2010): 549–67. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41308709>; Nükhet Varlık, “New Methods for Governing Death in Istanbul.” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 42, no. 1 (2022): 146–62. <https://doi.org/10.1215/1089201X-9698190>.

³ The *hamza* of *samā`* here is elided through *tashīl*. I thank `Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maiman for pointing out that the *hamza al-tashīl* is not only a common aspect of handwritten texts, such as this, but a familiar grammatical feature found in a variety of contexts.

⁴ This word is crossed out in the manuscript. In light of the rhymed prose and images of nature (stones, trees, sources of water and seas) here, it is possible that the term intended was *ābār* (“wells”), written as *abrār* by mistake and subsequently crossed out.

⁵ Here, too, the *hamza* of *sha`nak* is elided through *tashīl*.

l-kamāl wa-l-baqā' wa-l-thanā' wa-l-ḍiyā' wa-l-ālā' wa-l-na'mā' wa-l-kibriyā' // wa-l-jabarūt, subḥān al-malik al-ma'būd, subḥān al-malik al-maqṣūd, subḥān al-malik al-mawjūd, subḥān al-malik al-masjūd, subḥān // al-malik al-khāliq al-ḥayy al-ḥalīm alladhī lā yanām wa-lā yamūt wa-lā yafūt abadan dāiman⁶ bāqiyān bi-yadik al-khayr innak 'alā kull shay' // qadīr sabūḥ quddūs, rabbunā wa-rabb al-malā'ika wa-l-rūḥ subḥān allāh al-'azīm wa-bi-ḥamdihi astaghfir allāh wa-bi-kalāmihi min // al-danb, al-ḥamd li-llāh 'alā kull ḥāl, allāhumma 'alā al-dīn⁷ wa-'hdinā fihā yā allāh yā arḥam al-rāḥimīn yā raḥmān yā raḥīm // yā mālik yā quddūs yā salām yā mumin⁸ yā muhaymin yā 'azīz yā jabbār yā qahhār yā mutakabbir yā wahhāb lā // tadharnī fardan wa-anta khayr al-wārithīn tawaffanī muslimān wa-lḥiqnī bi-l-ṣāliḥīn bi-raḥmatika yā arḥam al-rāḥimīn yā // fard[d]⁹ yā hū yā hū yā yā man huwa wa-lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwa illā bi-llāh al-'aliyy al-'azīm

Translation

Explanation of a Prayer for the Plague

Whoever recites this prayer into the sheep's ear, and blows it upon the ear, and then slaughters the sheep, and whoever eats a piece of the mutton, may the exalted God – let His name be praised and honored – facilitate for them salvation from the harm of the plague through His great favor. And with the blessings of this prayer, whoever has this prayer written and carries it with themselves or keeps it in their home, may the plague not enter this home, and may God – be praised and blessed – protect them from all troubles and accidents for the sake of this auspicious prayer.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Oh God, oh Beloved of the pious, oh Maker of choice, oh Known one of heaven on earth and in the lands, the stones and the trees praise Him, as do the sources of water, the wells and the seas. Oh, Creator of Paradise and Hell, oh Eternal One, oh Subduer, oh You who hears and helps those who

⁶ Again, *hamza al-tashīl* for *dā'imān* here.

⁷ There seems to be a verb missing here.

⁸ Again, *hamza al-tashīl* for *mu'min*.

⁹ The second *dāl* seems to have been added by mistake.

call for help. Oh You who gives rain to those who seek it; oh God of the worlds; there is no God but You; greatest God, and Highest, the Victor and the One who humiliates, the Mightiest and Most noble; the One who is most protecting, as is known altogether; there is no god save Him, the clear Truth; preserve me from the evil of the *jinn* and from [the evil of] humans; and from the evil of the infectious disease, the affliction, the plague, by a number of His words. God bless Muḥammad among the first ones and among the last ones;¹⁰ may You (God) be praised. How great is Your affair! Praised be the One to whom supreme power and sovereignty belongs. Praised be the One who has [supreme] might, majesty, beauty, perfection, eternal life (*baqā'*), praise (*thanā'*), light (*diyā'*), favors (*ālā'*), grace (*na'mā'*), glory (*kibriyā'*), omnipotence (*jabarūt*), praised be the Master who is worshipped, praised be the Master who is sought, praised be the Master who exists, praised be the Master who is prostrated to, praised be the Master, the Creator, who is alive, the gentle One (*ḥalīm*),¹¹ who does not sleep, nor die; who never, ever disappears, staying on (always) in your hand of goodness; you are omnipotent;¹² perfect (*sabbūh*),¹³ holy (*quddūs*), our Lord and the Lord of the angels, and [the Lord of] the spirit; praised be God, the great One, and extolled be He; seek forgiveness from God and by His words, from sin; Praise be to God, who is unrestrained by anything; Oh God, guide us according to the right religion, Oh God, Oh most Merciful of the merciful ones, Oh Compassionate, Oh Merciful, Oh Master, Oh Holy One, Oh peace, Oh believer, Oh Powerful One, Oh Almighty, Oh Subduer, Oh Proud One, Oh Giver. Do not leave me alone. You are the best of inheritors;¹⁴ make me die as a Muslim and make me join the righteous ones, by Your mercy, oh most Merciful of the merciful ones; Oh Singular One,

¹⁰ Or "later ones."

¹¹ For this, as well as the preceding and subsequent names of God, see David Burrell and Nazih Daher's translation of Ghazālī's classic treatise, *al-Maqṣad al-asnā' fī sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*. Burrell and Daher, (trans.), *Al-Ghazālī: The Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God* (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1992).

¹² "Powerful over everything," "able to do anything" (*'alā kull shay' qadīr*).

¹³ "All-perfect," "all-pure," "all-glorious," i.e. far removed from everything evil, free from every imperfection.

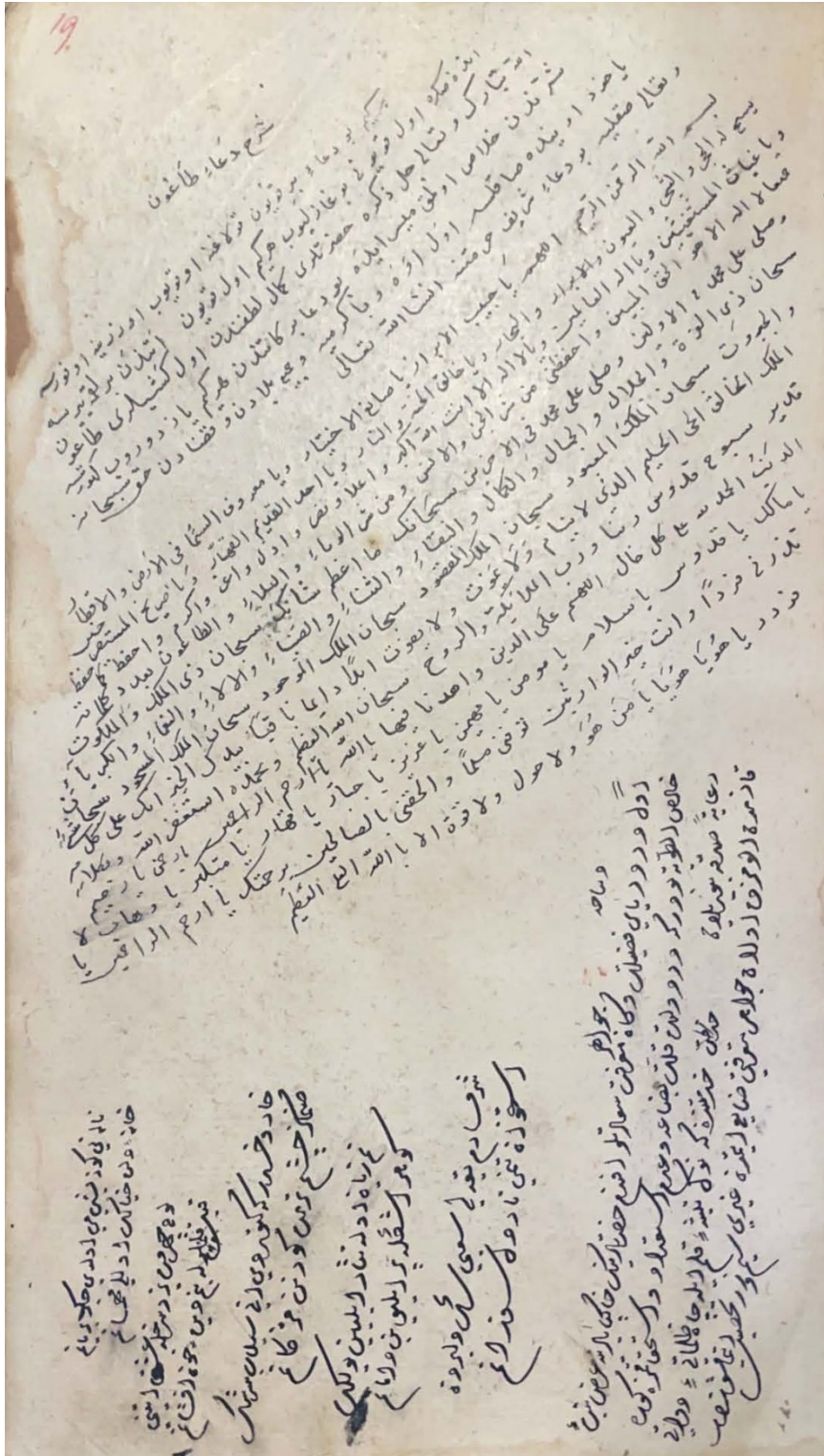
¹⁴ I.e. the one who *gives* something as an inheritance.

Oh He Oh He, Oh, Oh the one who is He; there is no power and no force other than through God, the High, the Powerful.

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Facsimile



The Wild and Exotic Gifts of Shah Abbas I

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Context

One of the expressions in the world of sincerity that connects the Ottomans and the Safavids is the culture of gift giving such as books, textiles, military equipment, watches, and medicines. Elements of material culture, which seemed to be the routine of daily life, brought the two palaces closer to each other and ensured the consolidation and development of relations. One of these gift records is included in a *Mecmū 'a*, which can be found in the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, at Esad Efendi Collection nr. 3384.¹ The contents of the gifts which were sent by the Safavid ruler Shah Abbas I to the Ottoman Sultan Osman II via the ambassador Tohta Bey,² on 16 November 1620³ were detailed in this record.

When the contents of the presents in this record are analyzed, it is clear that textile products are predominant. As in previous periods, between the Safavids and the Ottomans, textile gifts were the most popular objects. However, the most remarkable feature of this gift list is the record of wild and exotic animals at the end.

In addition to the woven gifts, there are a total of 62 wild and exotic animals such as 40 lynxes, 12 foxes, 2 mare horses, 5 elephants (3 big and 2 young), 2 tigers and 1 rhino. Although animals are included in diplomatic gifts, they also have a very striking and popular aspect in terms of their appearance. Giving such gifts was another way for the

¹ Anonymous *Mecmū 'a*. Süleymaniye Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi Koleksiyonu nr. 3384. vr. 74a. The *Mecmū 'a*, which is estimated to have been compiled in the mid-seventeenth century, contains records on the Ottoman State's administrative and scientific organization, as well as poems by Veysî, Mustafa Âlî, and Ganîzâde Nâdirî and other texts. For *Mecmū 'a*, see. M. Kemal Özergin, "Eski Bir Rûznâme'ye Göre İstanbul ve Rumeli Medreseleri," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4-5, (1973/1974): 273.

² Özer Küpeli, *Osmanlı-Safevi Münasebetleri (1612-1639)* (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2014) 122.

³ Some Ottoman chronicles indicate that the gifts that are the subject of this study were brought to Istanbul by Yadiğar Ali Sultan about a year earlier. Topçular Kâtibi, *Topçular Kâtibi 'Abdülkâdir (Kadrî) Efendi Tarihi (Metin ve Tahlil)*, vol. II, ed. Ziya Yılmaz (Ankara: Türk Tarihi Kurumu, 2003), 687-689; Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke [Osmanlı Tarihi (1000-1065/1591-1655)]*, vol. I, ed. Zeynep Aycibin (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2016), 516-517; Sarı Abdullah Efendi, *Gazânâme-i Halîl Paşa (1595-1623)*, ed. Meltem Aydin (Ankara: Türk Tarihi Kurumu, 2017), 306-309.

sovereign to demonstrate, consolidate or legitimise his power.⁴ For this reason, Shah Abbas I utilised the symbolic power of the gift in order to demonstrate his position of power in the changing balances after the Treaty of Serav.

Transcription

[vr. 74a]

Şāh ‘Abbās-ı bed-esās tarafından sene tis ‘a ve ‘işrîn ve elf Zîlhiccesinüñ yigirminci günü gelüb harem-i muhtereme vâsıl olan hedâyâdur.

ibrişim, himl 50

katîfe, tonluk 220

münakkaş katîfe, tonluk 100

kemhâ-i ‘Acem, ‘aded 200

dârâyî, tonluk 150

kuşak-ı muṭabbak, ‘aded 100

destâr-ı muṭallâ, ‘aded 800

serâmî dülbend, 800

şâl-ı Keşmîr, 200

ķālîçe-i kebîr, ‘aded 450

keçe-i mütenevvi ‘a, 40

vaşak, 40

rübâh-ı siyâh, 12

kemân-ı ‘Acem, [‘aded] 220

fağfûr kablari, her gûneden [‘aded] 1000

esb-i kısrak, re’s 2

kebîr fîl, 3

⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Yeni Bir Hükümdar Aynası Osmanlı Padişahlarının Kamusal İmgesi ve Bu İmgenin Algılanması*, trans. Gül Çağalı Güven (İstanbul: Alfa, 2011), 25-26, Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Practicing Diplomacy, Practising Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate Gift and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World* (London-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2016) 17-26.

şagîr fîl, 2

bebr, 2

gergedân, 1

bu cümleden şoñra bir muraşşa ‘ şandık cevâhir-i nefise ile

Translation

[Vr. 74^a]

The gifts were sent to the palace⁵ by ill-natured Shah Abbas on 16 November 1620.

Silk, *himl*⁶ 50

Velvet, *tonluk*⁷ 220

Inwrought velvet, *tonluk* 100

*Kemhâ*⁸ Ajem, 200 pieces

Dârâyî,⁹ *tonluk* 150

Folded belt, 100 pieces

Gilt *destâr*,¹⁰ 800 pieces

*serâmî*¹¹ *dülbend*,¹² 800

Cashmere shawl, 200

⁵ “Harem-i muhterem” which is mentioned in the original text is the Ottoman palace.

⁶ It is one of the measurements used in the Ottoman Empire. See. Halil İnalçık, “Yük (Himl) in Ottoman Silk Trade, Mining, and Agriculture,” *Turcica XVI*, (1984): 131-156.

⁷ *Tonluk/Donluk* is the “length” of one garment. Hedda Reindl-Kiel, “Power and Submission. Gifting at Royal Circumcision Festivals in the Ottoman Empire (16th-18th Centuries),” *Turcica XLI*, (2009): 70.

⁸ *Kemha* is a heavy silk weaving. Hedda Reindl-Kiel, “The Empire of Fabrics: The Range of Fabrics in the Gift Traffic of the Ottomans,” in *Inventories of Textiles - Textiles in Inventorie (Studies on Late Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture)*, ed. Thomas Ertl and Barbara Karl (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2017), 162.

⁹ *Darayi* is ikat of light silk. Reindl-Kiel, “The Empire of Fabrics,” 162.

¹⁰ *Destar* is muslin for wrapping the turban. Reindl-Kiel, “The Empire of Fabrics,” 162.

¹¹ *Seram* is probably a place name. It is the name of a mountain peak on the border between Iran and Iraq. Ali Ekber Dekhoda, “Seram,” *Lugatnâme*, 1347, VIII, 11947. It is also the name of a settlement in what is now East India. I am grateful to Kaan Doğan for sharing this information with me.

¹² *Dülbent* is a length or square of muslin.

Large carpet, 45 pieces

A variety of felt, 40

49 lynxes

12 black foxes

Ajem bow, 220 pieces

Ceramic tiles, 1.000 pieces of all kinds

2 mare horses

3 big elephants

2 young elephants

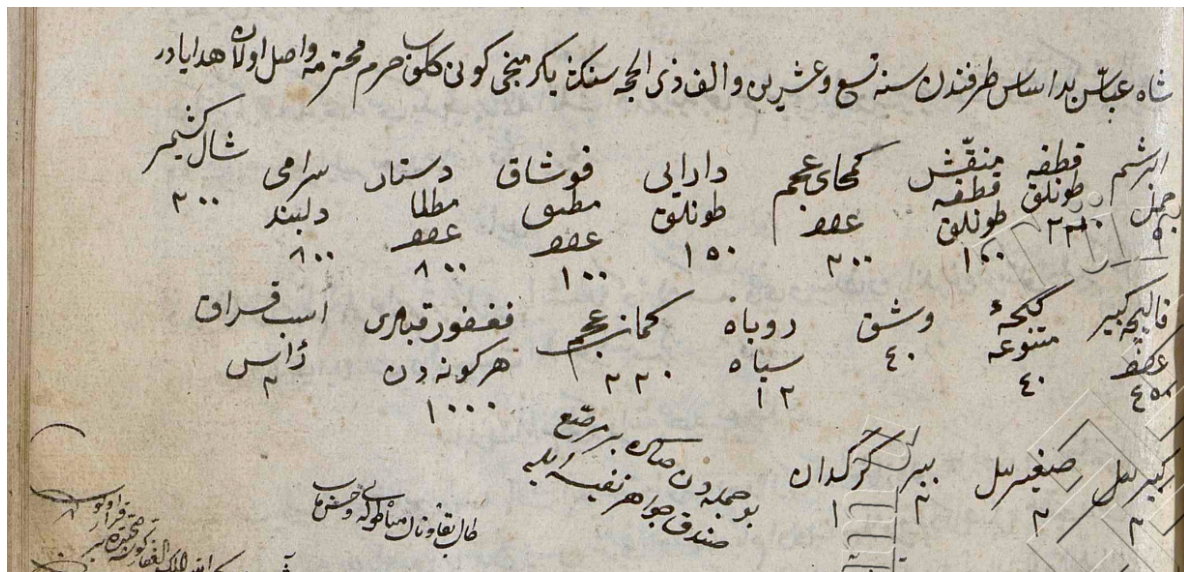
2 tigers

1 rhino

In addition to these presents, a jewelled chest with exquisite precious stones was also sent.

Facsimile

Fac. 1



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A Prescription for the Heart from the Late Ottoman Period

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Context

A prescription describing how to make medicine for the heart is written in a notebook in *rik'a*, indicating that it belongs to the late Ottoman period.¹ This notebook is housed in the National Library of Türkiye under the title *Mecmū'a-ı Eş'ār-ı Meḥmed 'Alī Efendi* (No. 06 Mil Yz A 2227). Meḥmed 'Alī Efendi, whose true identity is unknown, compiled a compendium of poems that he found particularly charming. Written on the first of the notebook's twenty-one folios, this prescription precedes the poems that follow. Peppered with literary finesse, this short text gracefully narrates how love blossoms and warns of what will happen if one overdoses on it.

Cemal Kurnaz states that within the larger corpus of Ottoman literature, the heart suffers under the beloved's cruelty and feigned apathy as well as its own yearning for the beloved. As visiting the sick and ailing is an act of worship in Islamic culture, the heart plunges itself into a state of perpetual sickness in an attempt to attract the beloved to the lover's bedside. The beloved arrives and cures the lover's aggrieved heart with his lips.² Kurnaz's statements coincide with the prescription below of a medicine for the heart composed of various ingredients: coyness, flirtation, coquetry, delicacy, truth, love, and kisses. Judging by the disparity between kisses and the other ingredients, it is clear that the former has the greatest effect in curing the lover's affliction.

Transcription

[1b] *Göñül 'İlâcı*

<i>nāz</i>	<i>şīve</i>	<i>cilve</i>	<i>leṭāfet</i>	<i>ḥaḳīkat</i>	<i>muḥabbet</i>	<i>būse</i>
<i>dirhem</i>	<i>dirhem</i>	<i>dirhem</i>	<i>dirhem</i>	<i>dirhem</i>	<i>dirhem</i>	<i>dirhem</i>
10	10	12	11	10	10	19

¹ Muhittin Serin, "Rik'a," in *TDVIA*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/rika--osmanli>.

² Cemal Kurnaz, "Göñül," in *TDVIA*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/gonul>.

Bu tertīb olınan eczā'larıñ cümlesini cefā tağından ve şafā bağçesinden toplayub vefā çömleğiyle eridüb haqıkat havanıyla döğüb 'aşıklar tekyesinde çile ocağında 'aşk âteşini yakub ve kalbiñ körüğüyle üfleyüb dide-i eşk-i ittifāk şuyıyla kaynadub haqıkat kâsesine doldırub şabâh ve aqşâm birer kaşık isti'mâl olına. Eger bir kaşıkdan fazla yiyecek olur iseñ bütün bütün çileden çıkarıñ. Ve's-selâm.

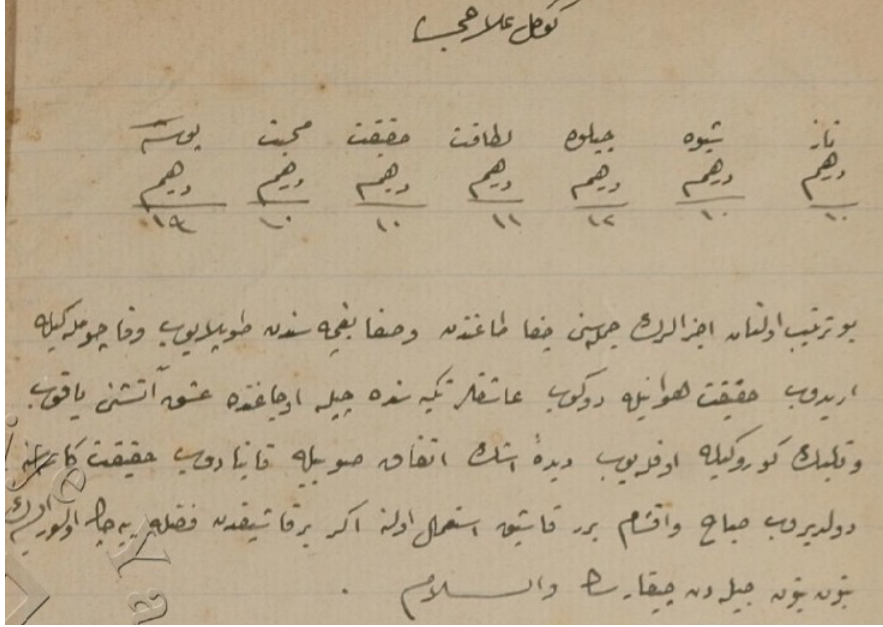
Translation

[1b] Medicine for the Heart.

10	10	12	11	10	10	19
drachmas	drachmas	drachmas	drachmas	drachmas	drachmas	drachmas
of coyness	of flirtation	of coquetry	of delicacy	of truth	of love	of kisses

All of the ingredients listed above are to be gleaned from the mountain of cruelty and the garden of delight, melted in the cauldron of constancy, and molded in the mortar of truth. A fire should be lit in the furnace of anguish in the lovers' lodge, blown with the bellow of the heart, boiled with the water of harmony born from tear droplets, and emptied into the bowl of truth. Take one spoon in the morning and evening. Know that should you take more than one spoonful, you will find yourself overcome with passion. *Wassalâm.*

Facsimile



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The Daughter of Kelemen Bemoans Her Father

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Keywords:

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Context

The story we present here is taken from a miscellany (*mecmū'a*) kept in the manuscript collection of the University of Tübingen.¹ It consists of two parts: the first comprises poems of mystical content² and the second consists of poems written by Vaşfi from Nazilli (d. 1850).³ Most of these poems are chronograms (*tārīḥ*), several entitled *güfte*.⁴ It is not yet clear whether we are dealing with an autograph of Vaşfi. The poet was a member of the 'Uşşākīye, and given the nature of its content, the *mecmū'a* was obviously written in the circle of this mystical order. We also know that the manuscript once was in the possession of János Eckmann.

Our story, which is located among Vaşfi's poems, has part of its origins in the Koran; four of the suras mention that God gave the Prophet Shu'ayb the task of converting the people in the land of Madyan⁵ to monotheism and imbuing them with ethical values.⁶ However, Madyan's leaders resisted and Shu'ayb's life was spared only because he was a member of the same group. Because of this rejection, a divine judgment came upon the people, and after a horrific night, all but Shu'ayb and his followers lay dead in their homes. In suras 7 and 29 this catastrophe is an earthquake, in sura 11 a shriek/blast (*الصيحة*), and in sura 26 the "day of the shadow" (*يوم الظلّة*).⁷ This last version is found in various Koran translations as "day of the black cloud", "day of gloom", "day of overshadowing gloom", "day of covering", and "day of canopy".⁸

At that time (this is now the folklore part of the story) there allegedly reigned in the land of Madyan six kings with the strange names: *Ebced*, *Hevvez*, *Huṭṭi*, *Kelemen*, *Sa'feş* and *Karaşet*. These names are mnemonics without meaning, made up from the ancient sequence of the letters of the Arabic alphabet – the same sequence as in the

¹ The manuscript comprises 48 folia; shelfmark Ma VII 178, DOI: 10.20345/digitue.8778.

² Fol. 1v-8r and fol. 9v-17v are poems from Niyāzī-yi Mıṣrī (d. 1694) and Şalāḥaddīn 'Uşşākī (d. 1783).

³ Fol. 19r-46r; only two short prose texts are inserted into this second part (fol. 44r-v).

⁴ These ca. 80 poems are currently being prepared for publication by the authors of this article.

⁵ The biblical Midian on the Arabian Peninsula; see Harman, "Medyen", in *TDVİA*.

⁶ Q 7:85-93, 11: 84-95, 26:177-189, 29:36-37.

⁷ For an analysis of these stories see Wansbrough 1977, 21-25.

⁸ See <https://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=26&verse=189>.

Hebrew and Aramaic alphabets. In their above order they also correspond to the numerical values of the alphabet's letters. In Ottoman, this is a well-known mnemonic device for remembering the numerical values of letters when composing chronograms. This was because the original, ancient order of the alphabet had already fallen into oblivion by the time of the Ottomans, and meanwhile more letters had been included, forming the words *şehaz* und *zazağ*. Numerous stories emerged around the first six of these mnemonic words – stories that are completely unfounded and likely stem from the need to explain them and give them meaning. They are associated with the most beautiful names of God (*esmā`-i ħüsna*), Adam's banishment from Paradise, the primary elements, the names of six Shaitans, and finally the names of the kings of Madyan.⁹

In the 10th century the story is found in Ibn al-Nadīm's (d. 998) *Kitāb al-Fihrist* in the chapter on the origins of the Arabic script, with reference to an older source. As in all the sources we were able to locate, it comprises only a few lines. Al-Nadīm reports that Ebced, Hevvez, Ĥuṭṭī, Kelemen, Sa'feş and Ķaraşet were six men from a Bedouin tribe, who were the kings of Madyan and to whom we owe the Arabic alphabet. They were destroyed on the Day of the Shadow, and the sister (not as in our text the daughter!) of Kelemen (al-Nadīm: "Kalamūn") recited his elegy.¹⁰ We also find the same story in Firūzābādī's (d. 1414) dictionary *Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* under the entry *ابجد*.¹¹ In 1814 Seyyid Aḥmed 'Āşım, better known as Mütercim 'Āşım Efendi, translated this comprehensive work into Ottoman Turkish and presented it to Sultan Maḥmūd II. (r. 1808-1839), who issued a *fermān* for its immediate printing.¹² Mütercim 'Āşım's translation was apparently the template for the copyist of the story in our *mecmū'a*,¹³ as there is no other way to understand the note "Oḳyānūs" at the end. Apart from a small transcription error the

⁹ See Uzun, "Ebced", in *TDVİA*.

¹⁰ Flügel (ed.), al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, p. 4; al-Nadim refers to Hişām al-Kalbī.

¹¹ https://islamweb.net/ar/library/index.php?page=bookcontents&ID=198&bk_no=123&idfrom=1842&idto=1861. Visited 08-08-2023.

¹² See Kaçalın, "Mütercim Âşım Efendi", in *TDVİA*.

¹³ Mütercim 'Āşım, *Al-Ūqiyānūs al-basīṭ fi tarġamat al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ wa-l-qābūs al-wasīṭ*, Cairo: Matbaa al-Kubra bi-Bulaq, 1834, vol. 1, p. 572 (digital catalog entry: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC10145156>). Visited 08-08-2023.

elegy in Arabic is a literal copy: the story itself is faithfully rendered in terms of content, but in different words. It gives the impression that the writer read it and then reproduced it from memory.

Why he had the idea of including this short story among Vaşfi's poems is unclear – it is the only “foreign” insertion in this part of the manuscript and is not thematically related to its surroundings. However, the fact that it is found among chronograms and contains the *ebced*-mnemonics suggests a very pragmatic reason: the writer may simply have wished to check the numbers of the chronograms and looked up the entry “ebced” in his (or someone else's) dictionary *Okyānūs*.

Transcription

*Beytun li-binti Kelemen*¹⁴

Kalaman hudima ruknī hulkuhū waṣṭa l-maḥalla

*Sayyidu l-qawmi atāhu l-ḥanfu*¹⁵ *nāran waṣṭa zilla*

Ğu 'ilat nārun 'alayhim dāruhum ka-l-muḍmaḥilla

*Yevm-i zülle Şu 'ayb 'aleyhi s-selā[m] kavminüñ helāk oldığı gündür ki ol günde Ebced 1
Hevvez 2 Huṭṭi 3 Kelemen 4 Sa feş 5 Karaşet 6 Medyen ülkesinüñ pādişāhları olub şehen-
şāhları Kelemen idi ol günde cümlesi helāk oldılar ve Kelemenüñ kıızı babasına merşiyeye
olarak ebyāt-ı mezkūreyi inşād eyledi*

Okyānūs

Translation

Poem by Kelemen's Daughter¹⁶

Kelemen, the pillar [of my strength], was destroyed, his ruin was in the middle of the camp.

¹⁴ Metre: *remel* - v - - / - v - - / - v - - / - v - - with the variant v v - - / v v - - / - v - - / - v - - .

¹⁵ Recte: *ḥatfu*.

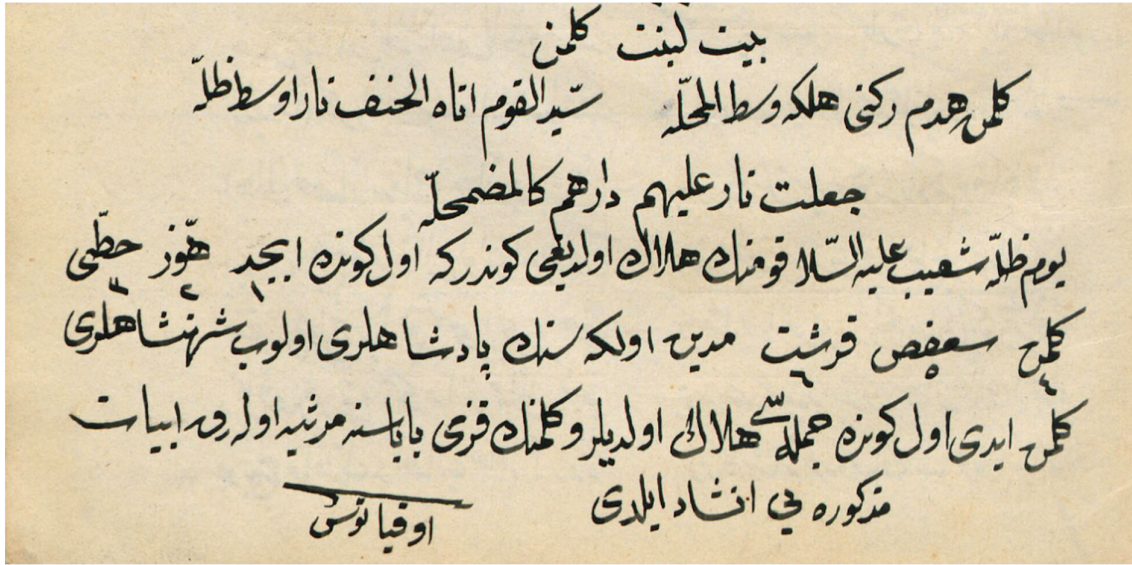
¹⁶ There is an English translation (Dodge 1970, p. 7) of the elegy, but because we had some different views we have provided our own translation.

The ruler of the people – death came upon him as a fire amid a shadow.

Their house[es] became fire above them and vanished, as it were.

The “Day of the Shadow” is that day when the people of Şu‘ayb – peace be upon him – perished. On that day the rulers of the land Madyan were 1. Ebced, 2. Hevvez, 3. Huṭṭī, 4. Kelemen, 5. Sa‘feş and 6. Ƙaraşet. Their shahinshah was Kelemen and on that day all of them perished. And Kelemen’s daughter recited the [above] mentioned verses as an elegy on the death of her father. *Oḳyānūs*.

Facsimile



Ma VII 178 fol. 37r

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(http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ162138205)

Edition of the last entry: <http://ekitap.yek.gov.tr/urun/kam%C3%BBsu%E2%80%99-muhit-tercumesi--takim-6-cilt-536.aspx>, vol 2, p. 1353.

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Petition (‘*Arzuḥāl*) and Literature are Intertwined: Various Couplets Written on a Petition

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Keywords:

‘*arzuḥāl*, *mābeyn kitābeti*, *kātib*, Ottoman manuscripts, Diplomatica, Scribe

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Context

Considering the geographies governed by the Ottoman Empire, it is quite possible that various correspondence, documents or bureaucratic documentation in many archives and libraries other than the Ottoman Archives based in İstanbul could come to light. The document under examination here was also accessed in this respect. The document which is found in the *Manuscripts and Old Printed Works* section of the Austrian National Library under the shelfmark Cod. H.O.143 in folio 2V, is categorized as a petition in terms of diplomacy. And also, this manuscript is a judicial miscellany which belonged to the famous Austrian historian Joseph von Hammer Purgstall (1774-1856).

An *arzuḥāl* is a document written by a person from a rank below to a higher authority to present a request or a complaint.¹ In the petition under examination, İskender, a scribe (*kātib*) who was still in employment and who stood out among the other scribes with his skills, is requested to be assigned to the secretariat of the Ottoman administration (*Mābeyn Kitābeti*) in Požega (Pojege).² If we analyse the signature at the end of the petition, we can see that the petitioner and the employer of İskender's is Ali (*Aḥlaşu'l-vedād 'Alī el-fakīr*). What makes this document remarkable are the couplets written at the end of the document. Famous Şeyhü'l-islām Ebū's-su'ūd Efendi³ who also had a literary works as a poet⁴ is referred to in the second couplet. Except for the first and fourth couplets, we have not been able to determine to whom the other couplets belong. Accordingly, the first couple belongs to Sādıkī (in *Tāhmīs-i Sādıkī*)⁵ and the fourth couple belongs to Osmanzāde Ahmed Tāib.⁶ Apart from the couplet, although no date is given in the document, the dates when the Paşa named İbrahim became the

¹ Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili: Diplomatik*, (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), 303.

² Pojege was a sanjak of the Bosnian province in 1580. See, Tahir Sezen, *Osmanlı Yer Adları*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2006), 412.

³ Ahmed Akgündüz, "Ebussuud Efendi", *TDV İslām Ansiklopedisi*, 1994, X, 365-371.

⁴ Akgündüz, "Ebussuud Efendi", 370.

⁵ Tuğba Yiğit, *Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Atıf Efendi Bölümü 2254 Numaradaki Şiir Mecmuası: 55a-99a Varakları Arası Transkripsiyonlu Metin ve İnceleme*, (Master thesiss, Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi, 2018), 112-113.

⁶ Murat Turğut, *Osmanzāde Ahmed Tāib'in Ahlāk-ı Ahmedī isimli Eseri: İnceleme-Metin-İndeks*, (Dicle Üniversitesi, 2019), 133.

Yeniçeri Ağası and *Beylerbeyi* are also recorded. We searched the Ottoman archives to identify İbrahim Paşa and found official records related to his position.⁷ Furthermore, this note has nothing to do with the rest of the text. It may even have been added later by someone else.

Transcription

- 1) fe‘ilātün – fe‘ilātün – fe‘ilātün – fe‘ilün
Dime cānāneye aǵyār-la şoḥbet itme
Seni sevsin dir-iseñ aña naşīḥat itme
- 2) *Merḥūm Müftī Ebū’s-su ‘ūd Efendi’nüñdür.*
fā‘ilātün – fā‘ilātün – fā‘ilātün – fā‘ilün
‘Āḳıbet ḥayretden özge nesne taḥşīl itmedüm
Müntehā-yı rāh-ı ‘irfān ‘ālem-i ḥayret gibi
- 3) *lehu*
fā‘ilātün – fe‘ilātün – fe‘ilātün – fe‘ilün
Ol cefālar kılcı pashı Tımuşķi cāhil
Yārdan kesdi bizi mişāl-le [?] Frenk olsun
- 4) *lehu*
mefā‘ilü – fe‘ülün – mefā‘ilü – fe‘ülün
Bülend-himmet ü ‘ālī-naẓar gerek ādem
Ki himmetine göre kişide olur miḳdār
- 5) *lehu*
mefā‘ilün – mefā‘ilün – fe‘ülün
Ġanīmet bil huzūr-ı dostānı
Vefāsuzdur vefāmuz bil sen anı

⁷ For the period when Paşa was *Yeniçeri Ağası*, See, BOA, MD.43,122. And for the period when Paşa was *Beylerbeyi*, See, BOA, MD.43, 84.

6) *lehu*

fā' ilātün – fe' ilātün – fe' ilātün – fe' ilün

Cümle keyfiyeti gördük mey ü ney her ne ki var

Bāk̄isin añlamaduk aşk u muḥabbetden eyü

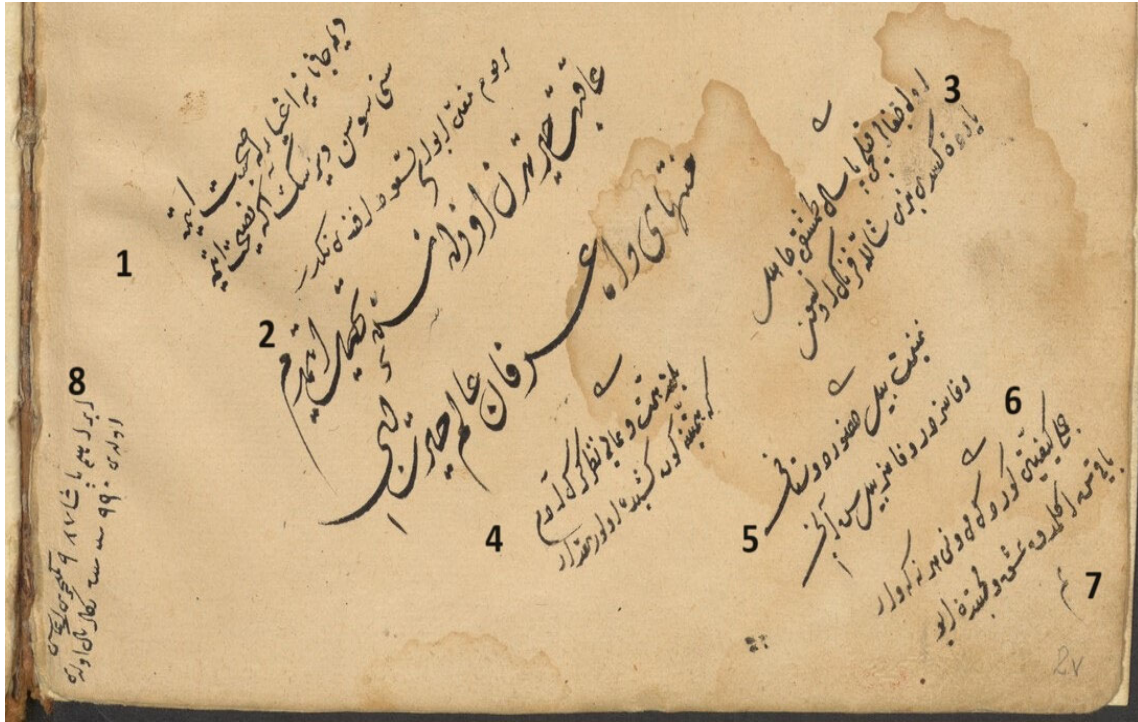
7) Temme

8) *İbrāhīm Paşa 987 yeñiçeri ağası oldı, 990 senesinde beylerbegi oldı*

Translation

- 1) Do not tell your lover, do not speak with the strangers
If you want her/him to love you, don't advise her/him.
It belongs to the deceased SheikhuIslam Ebu's-su'üd Efendi.
- 2) At the end I attained nothing but astonishment.
The end of the path of knowledge is like the world of astonishment
- 3) The sword of those miseries is rusty, absolutely ignorant
It separated us from the lover by order, let it be Frank. [?]
- 4) Man needs great endeavour and far sight
That every day is a testimony to man's endeavour
- 5) Consider the presence of friends as a booty.
Our loyalty is disloyal, know that.
- 6) We've seen the every aspect of [the world], wine, ney, whatever it is
The rest we did not understand better than love and affection.
- 7) Finished
- 8) İbrahim Pasha became the Janissary agha in 987 (1579/1580), became Beglerbegi in 990 (1582/1583).

Facsimile



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The Sea Sight of Istanbul: A Description from Rūḥī al-Khālidī's (1864–1913) Notebook¹

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Istanbul, Rūḥī al-Khālidī, Voyage by Boat, Late Ottoman, 1908 Revolution

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¹ This work was supported by The Orient-Institut, Beirut (OIB) where I served as a postdoctoral fellow (September 2022–2023), yet the findings herein presented are solely my responsibility.

Context

A prominent Ottoman Arab diplomat and writer, Muḥammad Rūḥī al-Khālīdī (1864–1913) was born into the scholarly Khālīdī family of Jerusalem. Along traditional learning at al-Aqṣā Mosque in his birthplace, his advantaged upbringing enabled him to attend modern educational institutions in Lebanon and Palestine, before he joined the prestigious *Mekteb-i Mülkiye* in Istanbul in 1887. He later made it to Paris in 1894, and capped his educational pursuit in the *École libre des sciences politiques* the institutional “ancestor” of today’s *Sciences Po*; then in *Sorbonne*, where he accomplished his degrees in political science and in Islamic philosophy and Oriental literature consecutively. Since that time, he was actively involved in academic circles that put him in close touch with distinguished orientalist of the era, while he also initiated an extended writing career that went on until his premature death. His *Tārīkh ‘ilm al-adab* (1904)² is an exemplary piece of the Arab *Nahḍa* or Awakening literature. Rūḥī assumed the office of Consul General of the Ottoman State in Bordeaux for ten years (1898–1908), and soon after the proclamation of the Ottoman constitution, he returned to Jerusalem and was elected to be one of its representatives in the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) twice in 1908 and 1912, and he became the Chamber’s deputy speaker. In 1913, following a typhoid infection, Rūḥī died in Istanbul at the age of 49 and was buried there.³

The present facsimile is extracted from unpublished fragmentary drafts, in which Rūḥī, apparently inspired by his recurrent sailing trips to the city, describes Istanbul.

² Rūḥī al-Khālīdī, *History of the Science of Literature among Europeans and Arabs, and Victor Hugo* [Tārīkh ‘ilm al-adab ‘ind al-ifranj wa-l-‘arab wa-fiktūr Hükü], trans. Tarif Khalidi (2020), Khalidi Library Website, <https://www.khalidilibrary.org//public/files/server/1.3%20Ruh%20Tarikh%20%60ilm%20al-Adab%20Translation/index.html>.

³ For the most recent detailed sketch of his biography, works, and overall cultural profile in late Ottoman Palestine see Mariam Saeed El Ali, ed., introduction to *Muḥammad Rūḥī al-Khālīdī al-Maqdisī (1864–1913): Kutubuhu wa-maqālātuḥu wa-muntakhabāt min makhṭūṭātihi* [Muḥammad Rūḥī al-Khālīdī al-Maqdisī (1864–1913): Books, Articles, and Selected Manuscripts], 2 vols (Beirut and Jerusalem: IPS and Khalidi Library, 2021), 3–68. The appended bibliography of secondary sources on Rūḥī is particularly useful too, see *ibid.* 69–72. A classic introduction to his life and works in English is also Khairieh Kasmieh, “Rūḥī al-Khālīdī 1864–1913: A Symbol of the Cultural Movement in Palestine Towards the End of the Ottoman Rule,” in *The Syrian Land in the 18th and 19th Century*, edited by Thomas Philipp (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), 123–146.

This definitely rings a bell with those acquainted with his writings, as he also penned his experiences of other places, such as his voyage to Andalusia, Spain and his lengthy visits to the National Library of Paris.⁴ Featured in Rūḥī's private papers collection, these unfinished drafts are preserved in the Khalidi Library, Jerusalem under 'KHD_Rwhi Kh_Tr_02'.⁵ The manuscript of a total of 16 pages jointly encloses multiple drafts, each paginated separately, as following: 7–9 [pages 1–3], 5–10 (starting with 10 and decreasing backwards) [4–9], 4–8 (starting with 8) [10–14], 4 [15], and a final sheet with no pagination number [16].

Fragmentary though they are, the cultural importance of these descriptions lies in the fact that they record splendid personal real-time experience, not otherwise accessible to us today. How else could we —modern readers— acquire the information that Rūḥī embarked on this journey at least 14 times, and that his shortest travel duration [from Yafa Port] to Istanbul was 72 hours?⁶

Rūḥī's text presents a sweeping panoramic portrait of Istanbul that emphasizes the iconic buildings of the city and the surrounding fascinating green vistas. It is a piece that captures the sentiment of a loyal Ottoman subject, rather than a 'foreign' Arab traveler. One can feel his profound sense of belonging to the Empire when reading his comparison of the broader landscape of Constantinople [al-Qusṭantīniyya], capital of the Ottoman Empire, to Paris; when he notes that the former 'tops Paris and even every European capital in size and urban stretch' (*tafūq bārīs bal wa-jamī' al-'awāšim al-'ūrūbāwiyya fī al-masāḥa wa-l-imtidād*).⁷ For a graduate of the *École libre des sciences politiques* who had resided in France for over fifteen years, Europe was no doubt an expected 'civilizational' reference and constitutional model, too. This short description

⁴ See Mariam El Ali, ed., 2/971–1036; 1069–1083.

⁵ The Khālīdī family papers, including Rūḥī's, have been partially digitalized and catalogued. The papers feature court documents, official letters of appointment of family members, personal correspondences, and other writings. Selected papers are accessible on the Khalidi Library website, but the full collection may only be consulted at the Library in Jerusalem. The most recent introduction to the library's history and collections is Walid Khalidi, *The Khalidi Library in Jerusalem, 1720–2001* (Beirut: IPS, 2021).

⁶ KHD_Rwhi Kh_Tr_02, page 14.

⁷ Ibid., page 13.

of Istanbul likely dates back to before the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 which marked the restoration of *Mebusan*, formerly dismissed by Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1878.

The Ottoman Jerusalemite *effendi* yearns for ‘the old days when the Ottoman Nation had deputies and senates’ (*ayyam kān li-l-umma al-‘uthmāniyya nuwwāb wa-a’yān*), those who used to assemble in the serail of the Ministry of Justice near Aya Sophia, clearly referring to the first constitutional era (1876–1878).⁸

Furthermore, as he mentions the inauguration of the Ottoman General Assembly (*Meclis-i Umumi*) in *Dolmabahçe* Palace which took place in 1877, while remarking that the famous serail ‘still hosts the ceremonies of allegiance and Eid salutation’,⁹ one can again identify his aching for the more ‘democratic’ past of the Empire, combined with a longing for a change at his present moment. This is to be fully expounded in his enthusiastic *Asbāb al-inqilāb al-‘uthmānī* (1908)¹⁰ where his bold Ottomanist persuasion is evidenced.

Rūḥī’s enchantment with Istanbul can be perceived as yet another facet of his staunch faith in the Ottoman “system”. It is in a garden of *Taksim* overlooking the Bosphorus where his friend Ibrāhīm Salīm Najjār sought in vain to convince him to leave the *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (The Committee of Union and Progress, CUP), increasingly swayed by its Turkish national element. Their lengthy discussions ended at the point where Rūḥī proposed to the Arab deputies to form an independent group, not affiliated with any political party, which he then would be a part of, or that they all join CUP, as one sub-group, to influence its strategy from within, but the Arab deputies refused.¹¹

Rūḥī’s unique political perspective thus proves to have been challenging to embrace from as early as his own days. A concise note, which mentions Rūḥī by name in

⁸ Ibid., page 11.

⁹ Ibid., page 7 transcribed and translated below.

¹⁰ Rūḥī al-Khālīdī, *The Ottoman Revolution and the Young Turks* [Asbāb al-inqilāb al-‘uthmānī wa-turkyā al-fatāt], trans. Tarif Khalidi (2020), Khalidi Library Website. <https://www.khalidilibrary.org/public/files/server/1.1%20Ruh%20Inqilab%20Translation/index.html>.

¹¹ Ibrāhīm Najjār, “Rūḥī Bik al-Khālīdī mab‘ūth al-quds al-sābiq: ḥayātuh, siyāsātuh, akhlāquh” [Rūḥī Bey al-Khālīdī the Ex-Deputy of Jerusalem: Life, Politics, and Morals], *al-Ahrām*, August 9, 1911.

an issue of the Beirut newspaper *al-Mufīd*, dating back to 1912, expresses as much. Co-edited and co-owned by none other than ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-‘Uraysī (1897–1916), the pioneering dynamo of the then emerging Arab nationalist movement, *al-Mufīd* does not hesitate to warn the people (*al-ahlūn*) of Syria of the CUP intrigue (*al-dasīsa al-ittihādiyya*) of sending Rūḥī to Syria on its behalf to propagate for the election of pro-CUP deputies under the pretext of supporting Arab nationalism (*taḥt ism al-qawmiyya al-‘arabiyya*).¹² Slowly but decisively, holding by the Ottoman national umbrella became more burdensome to maintain, just before the Ottoman Empire itself was on the verge of crumbling and leaving the former Arab subjects to their fate—times Rūḥī would never live to see.

Transcription

wa-kāna al-bābūru yataqaddamu binā ruwaydan ruwaydan naḥwa madīnati Ghalāṭa (Ġalāṭa) ma ‘Bik[-] ‘Ūghlī (Begoġlı) wa-hiya mabniyyatun ‘alā safḥi jabalin murtafi ‘in irtaṣafat dūruhā wa-quṣūruhā fawqa ba ‘dihā al-ba ‘di ṭabaqatan ta ‘lū ṭabaqatan min qimmatī al-jabali ilā sāḥili al-baḥri wa-irtafa ‘a[t] bayna tilka al-ṭabaqāti ma ‘ādḥinu al-jawāmi ‘i wa-ashjāru al-sarwi wa-fī dhurwati al-jabali sarāyātu al-sufarā ‘i al-ajnabiyyati wa-manāratu al-Ghalāṭa (Ġalāṭa) wa-fī asfalihi al-ṭūbkhāna (Ṭobḥāne) wa-hiyā sarāya wa-ma ‘malun kabīrun li-l-madāfi ‘i wa-ālāti al-ḥarbi wa-l-madīnatu tastaṭīlu li-dākhili al-būsfūri wa-tattaṣilu bi-Qabā[-]ṭāsh (Kabaṭaş) wa-Bishk[-]ṭāsh (Beşiktaş) wa-fīhi sarāya Bishk[-]ṭāsh (Beşiktaş) allatī hiya akbaru sarāyāti al-Asitāna wa-atqanuhā ṣun ‘an wa-aḥsanuhā manẓaran amara bi-binā[‘i]hā al-sultānu ‘alā sāḥili al-baḥri fī madkhali al-būsfūri mina al-rukhāmi al-abyaḍi wa-iftutiḥa bihā al-majlisu al-‘umūmiyyu al-‘uthmāniyyu wa-lam yazal yajrī fīhā rasmu al-bay‘ati wa-l-mu‘āyadati wa-bi-jānibihā wa-amāmahā sarāyātun ukharun laṭīfatu al-manẓari ka ‘annahā mabniyyatun ‘alā wajhi al-baḥri wa-bi-jānibihā dūrun faqīratun ḥaqīratun wa-akwākhun wa-‘arāyishu ka ‘annahā qāmat bi-janbi al-uwali li-tuzhira baḥjatahā wa-ubbahatahā wa-yatakhallalu

¹² *Al-Mufīd*, 5, 9, 1912, page 2, East View Global Press Archive (GPA), <https://gpa.eastview.com/crl/mena/newspapers/amufiq120905-01.1.2> (Last Accessed: 11 07 2023).

jamī`a dhālika al-rayāhīnu wa-l-ashjāru al-kabīratu wa-l-ma`ādhinu wa-l-quşūru al-mukhtalifatu al-alwāni al-rafi`atu al-bunyāni.

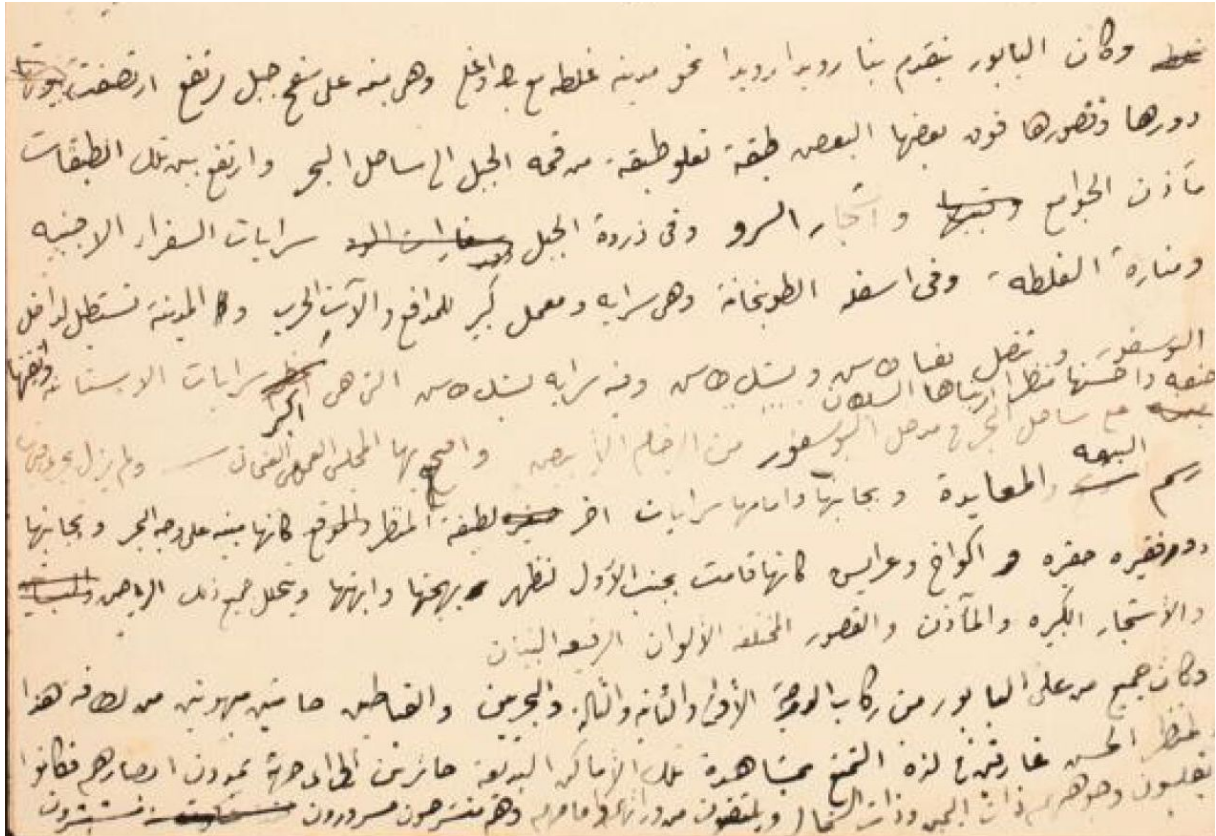
wa-kāna jamī`u man `alā al-bābūri min rukkābi al-darajati al-ūlā wa-l-thāniyati wa-l-thālithati wa-l-bahriyyīna wa-l-qabāṭīni şāmitīna mabhūtīna min laṭāfati hādhā al-manẓari al-ḥasani ghāriqīna fī ladhdhati al-tamattu`i bi-mushāhadati tilka al-amākini al-badī`ati ḥā`irīna ilā ayyi jihatin yamuddūna abşārahum fa-kānū yuqallibūna wujūhahum dhāta al-yamīni wa-dhāta al-shimāli wa-yaltafitūna min warā`ihim wa-amāmahum wa-hum munshariḥūna masrūrūna mustabshirūna.

Translation

The ship was steadily propelling us towards Galata and Beyoğlu, erected at the slope of a lofty mountain, its residences and castles piled up on top of each other layer upon layer from the summit of the mountain to the shoreline of the sea; mosque minarets and cypress trees reigned between the layers. Atop the mountain are situated the palaces of foreign ambassadors and the Galata tower, and to its foot lies the *Tophane*, a serail and grand factory for cannons and war apparatus. The city stretches into the Bosphorus where it joins Kabataş and Beşiktaş, home of Beşiktaş Serail [*Dolmabahçe Palace*], Istanbul's greatest, most finest, and loveliest palace, made of white marble at the behest of the Sultan by the sea on the Bosphorus opening where the Ottoman General Assembly (*Meclis-i Umumi*) was inaugurated [in 1877], and it still hosts the ceremonies of allegiance and Eid salutation. Other regal palaces stand close by, seeming to emerge from the sea, adjoined by modest and destitute dwellings, cabins, and cottages as if the latter were built to flaunt the extravagance of the adjacent palaces. Everything was permeated with blossoms, towering trees, mosque minarets, and elegant castles of variegated shades.

Everyone on board including passengers in first, second, and third class, sailors, and captains were just hushed by the breathtaking view, immersed in the pleasure of beholding the views of these magnificent places, at a loss as to where to look, swiveling their heads right and left, glancing both backwards and forwards, while evidently joyous, delighted, and blissful.

Facsimile



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Echoes of Days Gone By: Ottoman Words in the Former Concentration Camp Gusen II, Austria

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Context

It was a speck of colour on an inconspicuous table, a small watercolour painting printed on a 'postcard' whose colourful design and motive mismatched the sombre atmosphere of the room dedicated to commemoration: It was the painted testimony devoted to the unlikely survival of Henri Cheramian, a former prisoner in the Austrian concentration camp Gusen (Upper-Austria), who contributed to a memorial project initiated by the Polish survivor Stefan Józewicz in 1946, prior to his death. His entry, showing a mosque (reminiscent of Ayasofya in form, shape, and number of minarets) through an artistically shaped archway and a brief four-liner underneath, was duplicated and transferred onto a 'postcard,' consequently made available by the Gusen Memorial Committee. Having been created between summer 1944 and May 1945, the aquarelle preceded the text which was added later in the course of the memorial project. The aquarelle thus constitutes a prime example of clandestine artistic activity in concentration camps but deviates from other contributions as far as its theme is concerned: In contrast to other paintings and sketches secretly created in concentration camps,¹ Henri Cheramian's aquarelle is not concerned with camp life and its horrors, but with life before: Encouraged by the camp scribe Stefan Józewicz, he created a colourful, material memory of his home country that is ripe with nostalgia and internal conflict linked to his life as an expat and French citizen.²

Interestingly, the four-liner underneath also constitutes a reminiscence of days gone by as it is composed in Ottoman Turkish: a language that is at odds with both time and place. By referring to a cultural heritage that had been largely diminished to a side note in Republican Turkish historiography, the Ottoman script constitutes an echo of the past and reconnects the author and painter to his Ottoman roots: Henri Cheramian, born in Diyarbakır on 5 March 1904 as Haroutioun Cheramian, left his country of birth

¹ For camp Gusen, see Franciszek Znamirovski's ten aquarelles that provide a very clear picture of camp 'life.' (Hanausch et al. 2012).

² I sincerely thank Mr Rudolf A. Haunschmied, founding member of the Gusen Memorial Committee, for sharing his knowledge regarding the origins of the aquarelle. Additional thanks goes to the Gusen Memorial Committee for allowing me to publish said aquarelle.

and emigrated to France. While the date and circumstances of his emigration are left unclear, his Armenian name points towards forced migration as a result of the Armenian genocide. In France, he adopted the name Henri, settled in Bourges (Central France), and worked in construction: His prisoner cards [*Häftlingskarten*] later compiled by the Nazi camp authorities identified him as a concrete worker ‘concreter’ [*Betonierer*]. Arrested in the autumn of 1943 as ‘protective custody prisoner on political grounds’ [*politischer Schutzhäftling*], he endured imprisonment in Bourges, Fontevrault, Blois, and Compiègne before he was transferred to the concentration camp Mauthausen (Austria) on 22 March 1944. There, in a camp infamously known as ‘*Mordhausen*’³ owing to the high death rates attributable to the work in the local quarry, he suffered imprisonment until 12 May 1944, when he was transferred to the satellite camp Gusen II. Only a few kilometres away from Mauthausen, camp Gusen II mirrored the main camp with regards to death rates and backbreaking labour. He endured almost a year in Gusen II before he was liberated on 5 May 1945. One year later, he commemorated his survival by adding the four-liner to his aquarelle in Stefan Józewicz’s memorial book and hence left a lasting mark that links the gruesome story of Gusen to Turkey, and to the nine Ottoman-born prisoners⁴ that did not survive to tell their story in the camp system Mauthausen. His entry is an echo of the hell he and many others went through in Gusen or other satellite camps within the Mauthausen camp system. Adding a further dimension of remembrance, Ottoman Turkish, the chosen language of verbal expression, links his words, few as they may be, to an old self and an era gone by: Notwithstanding emigration and adoption of French citizenship, Henri Cheramian seems to turn into Haroutioun again, the Ottoman Armenian living in Diyarbakır, and hence testifies to the longevity of Ottoman heritage ingrained in individual identity and identity construction. This might also be

³ A pun used among camp prisoners that was based on the German word ‘*Mord*’ referring to ‘murder.’ (See Wachsmann 2016, 253).

⁴ All nine were listed as Jews, eight of them were Turkish citizens: Abdul Hasan, Abramo Amiel, Davide Amiel, Nissin Amouraben, Alexander Aslan, Maurice Eskenazi, Rifat Sevi, Victor Sidi. Maximilian Schiffmann, born 1899 in İzmir, was identified as a citizen of Nazi Germany.

underlined by his choice of motive: While it can only be speculated why he chose Aya-sofya or a mosque with striking similarity as his motive, it stands in line with his choice to use Ottoman-Turkish as his language of verbal expression. Potentially driven by nostalgia and an inner urge to express his identity as a former Ottoman, he may have picked it as a site of cultural heritage that was popular enough throughout Europe to stand out as a signifier of his Ottoman identity: an identity which he seemed to cherish despite the time that separated him, a survivor of Nazi extermination policy, from his former self.

Transcription⁵

Mināre[y]i çalan kılfını hāzır (!) yapar⁶
Guzen kân[p]ında (!) durduğum günlerden
Ştefan arkadaşım yādīgeri (!)
Harutyun Şiramyān

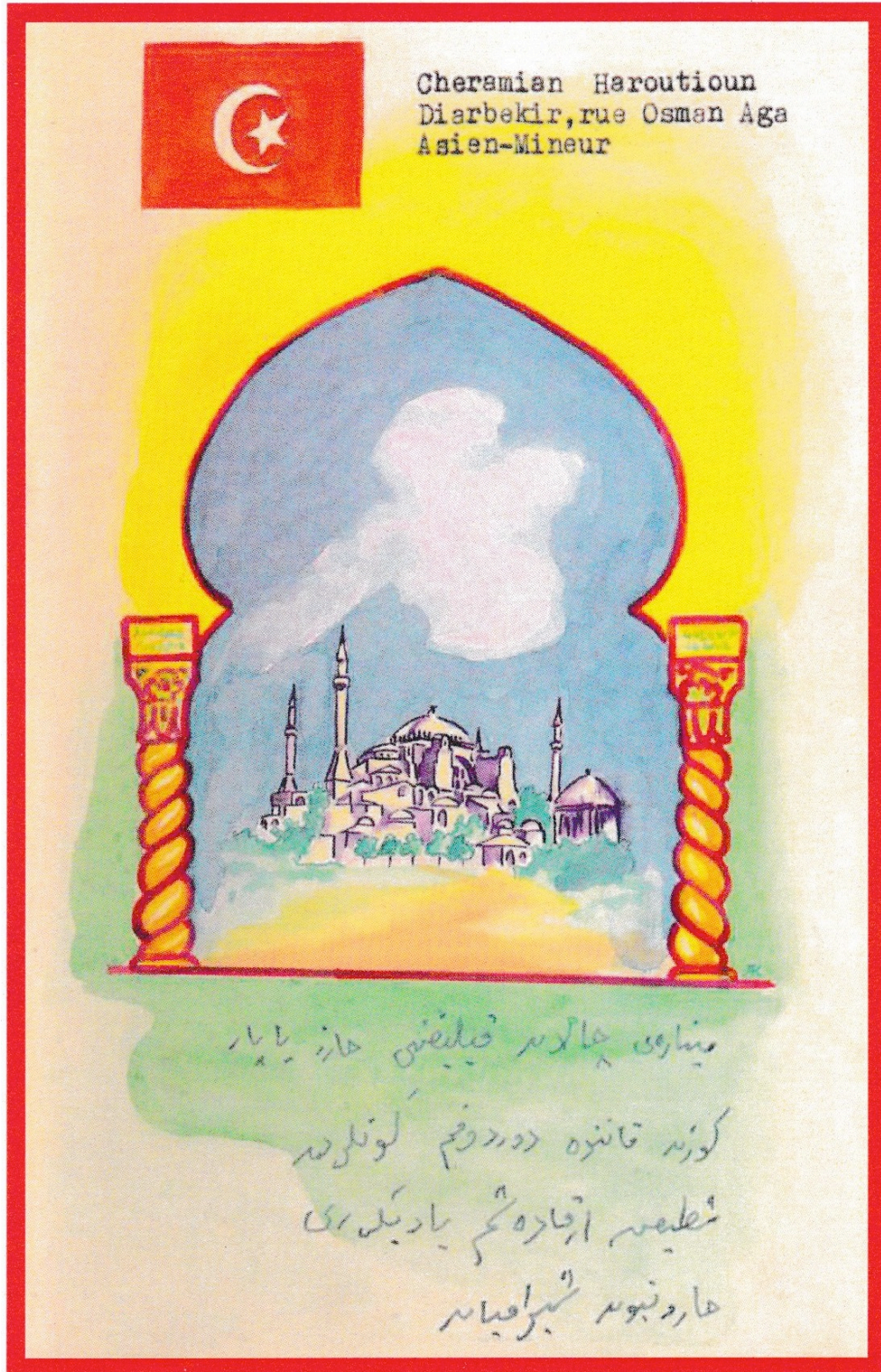
Translation

Those committing a crime brace themselves
 From the days which I spent in the camp Gusen
 In memory of my friend Stefan
 Haroutioun Cheramian

⁵ Many thanks to Hülya Çelik who assisted me with the transcription.

⁶ According to the *Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü*, this proverb refers to 'kolay kolay gizlenemeyecek kadar büyük bir yolsuzluğu yapan kimse, sorumluluktan kurtulma yollarını önceden düşünür' [someone committing such an evil deed that it will not be easily disguised thinks about ways to escape responsibility]. See *Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlükleri. Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü*. URL: <https://sozluk.gov.tr/> (visited 26-07-2023).

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Citizens support the Jew Bekhor Levy: A collective petition from nineteenth century İzmir

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Context

The one-page large document we analyze, kept in the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem,¹ is a petition signed by Muslim, Armenian, and Jewish residents of İzmir to approve a certain Bekhor Hayim haLevi's character. Presenting collective petitions (*arż-ı maḥzar*) to complain about state officials or ordinary people was a very old tradition in the Ottoman Empire. However, complaints were not always the main reason for compiling these documents. By the seventeenth century, dwellers in cities or in villages also expressed their preferences through such collective petitions.² Thus, residents in different locales collectively declared their support of a government office holder or their other co-dwellers in order to demonstrate the level of the local populace's content.³ The document under consideration can be regarded as a collective declaration supporting the cause of a Jewish man who was under investigation in nineteenth century İzmir.

Bekhor haLevy⁴ was born in 1817 to Nissim Refael haLevy, a well-to-do Jew in İzmir.⁵ Though we know very little about his early years, it seems that Bekhor (the meaning of the name is "firstborn") received a rabbinic education but became famous as an astronomer (which also meant a fortuneteller), a magician, and a popular healer. He is also known to have collected many Hebrew manuscripts in these fields.⁶ Bekhor was well connected in İzmir. One of his two sons, Refael, married the granddaughter of Rabbi Hayim Palache, the Chief Rabbi of İzmir. Eliyahu Mazliah, his second son, married a daughter of the Shalem family, a rich merchant household. Eliyahu immigrated to Palestine and settled in Jerusalem in 1934, bringing with him

¹ YBZ L-0137. It measures 79 x 52 cm. Our thanks to Dr. Lavi Shay, director of the Ben-Zvi Institute Library, for providing us with a copy of this document and enabling its publication.

² İnalçık, "Şikâyet Hakkı."

³ For various petitions regarding Ottoman Palestine in the same period see Avcı, Lamire, Özdemir, "Collective Petitions."

⁴ Interestingly, the title *chelebi* (Tr. *çelebi*) appears only in the Hebrew sources for Bekhor but not in hundreds of documents produced by Ottoman central and local authorities. In the document we see Şabetây Levi with the same title (see the text). This calls for a check of other cases of Jews who are noted with honorific titles. For titles in the Ottoman Empire, see Tülüveli, "Honorific Titles".

⁵ His "Ottoman identity card" (*Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmâniyye tezkiresi*) issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (*Nezâret-i Umûr-ı Dâhiliyye*) clearly states that he was born in 1817 (H.1233). The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, P-74/1.

⁶ HaCohen, "Rabi Chelebi Behor Haim."

many of his father's manuscripts.⁷ Eliyahu's son, Avraham (1901-1990), died in Jerusalem.⁸ Bekhor died in his native city, İzmir on September 22, 1905.⁹

Bekhor haLevy, who was involved in a real estate lawsuit, managed to get a certificate attesting to his positive personality as a loyal and beneficial Ottoman subject. Dozens of Muslims, nearly twenty Armenians, and over a hundred Jews (including his son, Baḥur Refā'īl Levi), all citizens of İzmir, signed the document. Moreover, representatives of twelve of the city's Jewish guilds also signed it, thus adding, at least symbolically, hundreds if not over a thousand other men. Who was Bekhor haLevy? How was he able to secure this letter? And by whom was it meant to be read – in İzmir or even in the capital? The reader may raise more questions, but these call for a much broader future research that will be based on Hebrew documents, rabbinic responsa literature, and Ottoman documents produced by local and central governments.¹⁰ Until then, we can still note a few matters of interest: The discourse about Ottoman subjectivity versus a foreign one; relations between members of the various *millet*s in the midst of the *Tanzimat* period; the need of such a “recommendation” in the age when *nizāmiye* courts began operating; the importance of the guilds (the “*eşnāf*”) as an important protagonist – at least in intra-communal matters; the presence of so many Jews, some of whom are known as belonging to the upper echelons of Jewish society at the time – and the absence of others, hinting at inner networks. Even petty matters such as the use of a personal stamp, Jews writing their names in Latin characters, the fact that they resorted to such a measure, and more, all attest to the beginning of a cultural change among Ottoman Jews.¹¹

⁷ Some are now in the collection of the National Library of Israel, while others may have made their way to Prof. Meir Benayahu's collection in Jerusalem.

⁸ <https://tinyurl.com/y778tvn7> (accessed September 18, 2022).

⁹ His tombstone is found in Gürçeşme Cemetery, I-4 153 (courtesy of the academic research site “A World Beyond: Jewish Cemeteries in Turkey, 1583-1990” of the Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center at Tel Aviv University, headed by Prof. Minna Rozen).

¹⁰ We intend to conduct such a research, based on hundreds of documents soon.

¹¹ As can be seen in the fascimile, not all the seals are legible or they are only partly legible. At this stage of our research, we transcribed Ottoman Turkish words (and only seals when there is no word), checking the Armenian and Hebrew seals and stamps as well. We would like to thank Diana Yayloyan for her help with the Armenian words.

Transcription

İşbu mevzū ‘olan mūhūr ve imzālar muḳırrān-ı ahālīniñ mūhūr ve imzāları oldığı añlaşılmiş olmağla taşdıken temhīr olunmuşdur fī 4 Receb sene [12]85

[...] ¹²

İzmir ahālīsinden ve hāhām tā`ifesinden Baḫur Levi teb`a-i şādıka-i saltanat-ı seniyyeden ve ehl-i ırz ve nāmūsdan ve herkes kendüsinden emīn ve hoşnūd olur bir ādem olub muḳaddemā bir emlāk nizā`ından ṭolayı bi-ğayr-ı ḫaḳḳ külliyetlü zarar-dīde olması memleketce mūcib-i te`essūf olmuş iken bu def`a daḫı zātına ḫaḳāret olunması sā`ir hemşehrīlerimizle berāber cümlemize te`essūr-i `azīmi mūcib olmuşdur. Mumā ileyhiñ gerek kendüsi ve gerek familyası mine`l-ḳadīm saltanat-ı seniyyeniñ ḫayr-ḫ`āhı olub müteveffā pederi ve ceddī müste`men oldukları ḫālde devlet-i `aliyye ve millet-i `Osmāniyyeye kemāl-i şadāḳat ve muḫabbetlerinden tābi`iyyet-i ecnebiyyeyi terk ile zīr-i cenāḫ-ı müstelzimü`l-felāḫ saltanat-ı seniyyeye şıḡınmış bulduḳları ve kendüsi daḫı peder ve ceddiniñ eşerinden ayrılmaz ḫāliyle meşḡül beyne`l-ahālī mu`teber her ḫālde mu`temed vazīfe-i tābi`iyyetini bilür aşdıka-i teb`adan bulduḳı her birerlerimiziñ meczūmı oldığından beyān-ı ḫāl zımnında terkīm ve ṭaraflarımızdan imzā ve temhīr ḳılındı fī 11 Cemāziyü`l-āḫir sene [12]85 ve fī 15 Eylöl [12]84

[Line 1] ¹³	[Line 2]	[Line 3]
Bende [...]	Bende [...]	Hıçaṭur Ağazaryān
Bende Es-seyyid El-ḫāc İsmā`il[?]	kātibi Es-seyyid İbrāḫīm Edhem 1284	Kıforḳ Elmasyān Temyīz-i ḫuḳūḳ a`zāsından
Bende Es-seyyid Meḫmed Emīn	Bende Zeynel`ābidīn Rızvān	Bende sā`atçı Serkiz
Bende Meḫmed Nūrī 1282 ¹⁴	Bende `Alī	İstefan Balasanyān
Bende `Abdülḫalīm	Bende Es-seyyid İbrāḫīm [?]	Artin Papazyān tüccār
Bende Şāliḫ [...]	Bende [...]	Ḳarabet Bedrosyān

¹² İllegible seal.

¹³ In line 1, we transcribed only the seals unless personal details were written as in `Osmān `Ömerzāde Kātib-i Bānḳ-ı `Osmānī.

¹⁴ Date on the seal most probably refers to the date when the seal was made. Only the legible dates on seals are mentioned.

<i>Bende Es-seyyid Muştafā</i> 1284	<i>Bende Es-seyyid İsmā'īl</i> <i>İşmet</i>	<i>Simon Dimyān</i>
<i>Bende Es-seyyid 'Alī Rızā</i> 1280	<i>Bende Ebūbekir</i>	<i>Haçatur Karakaşyān</i>
<i>Bende 'Osmān Nūrī</i> [?] 1282	<i>Bende Es-seyyid 'Osmān</i>	<i>Serkiz 'Arabyān</i>
<i>Bende Meḥmed Fa'it</i> [?] 1272	<i>Bende [...]</i>	<i>Hācı Ohannes 'Avakisyān</i>
<i>Bende Meḥmed Emīn</i>	<i>Bende 'Alī</i>	<i>Serkiz Artinyān</i>
<i>Bende [...]</i>	<i>Bende Ḥasan</i>	<i>Hācı Aḳob Ağacānyān</i>
<i>Bende 'Osmān 'Ömerzāde</i> <i>Kātib-i Bānḳ-ı 'Osmānī</i>	<i>Bende Meḥmed Tevfīk</i>	<i>Aḳob Simonaki</i>
<i>Bende Es-seyyid Ḥasan</i> <i>Ḥayrī</i>	<i>Bende 'Alī</i>	<i>Aḳob Davityan¹⁵</i>
<i>Bende Süleymān Sāmi</i>	<i>Bende Es-seyyid Aḫmed</i> 1280	
<i>Bende Üveys Fethī</i>	<i>Bende 'Ātıf</i> 1280	
<i>Bende Aḫmed Şādīk</i> 1280	<i>Bende Tevfīk</i> [?] 1281	
<i>Bende Es-seyyid Muştafā</i> <i>maḫhar-ı nūr-ı ilāhī</i>	<i>Bende Muştafā</i> [12]85	
<i>Bende Es-seyyid Meḥmed</i> <i>Tāhir</i>	<i>Bende Meḥmed 'Alī¹⁶</i>	
<i>Bende [...]</i>	<i>Bende Meḥmed Emīn</i> 1281	
<i>Bende [...]</i>	<i>Bende be-cū ḫātem-i mühr-</i> <i>i 'Alī//lākin müstemirr-i</i> <i>'izz u velī</i>	
<i>Bende [...]</i>	<i>Bende Süleymān [...]</i> 1282	

[Line 4]	[Line 5]	[Line 6]
<i>Banḳ-ı 'Osmāniyye'den</i> <i>İstefan Nubaryān</i>	<i>Bende Yaḳo Ḳohen</i>	<i>Bende Refā'īl İshāḳ Şansolo</i>
<i>Mıḳırdıç Ohanyān</i>	<i>Bende Yeşoa Albaglı</i>	<i>Bende Avram Bardavid</i>
<i>Ḳarabet Şāhinyān</i>	<i>Bende Yuda Ponpaz</i>	<i>Bende Mūşā [...]</i>

¹⁵ His signature is in Roman characters.

¹⁶ This seal also has "M. A." in Roman characters.

<i>Ispartalıođlı Zahariya [?]</i>	<i>Bende Avram Beşuşān</i>	<i>Bende Rabenu Yađo Albađlı</i>
<i>Kıfork Hıorasānyān</i>	<i>Bende Yosef Aboāv [?]</i>	<i>Bende Yađo Hābif</i>
<i>Qalust Qumaryān [?]</i> <i>İngiliz Qonsolos tercümānı</i>	<i>Bende Avram Benđabay</i>	<i>Bende Hāim Ventura</i>
	<i>Bende Hāim Benđabay</i>	<i>Bende İřhāk Ardi[ti]</i>
	<i>Bende Refael Alazraqı</i>	<i>Bende hāhām İřhāk Biçon</i>
	<i>Bende İsrā 'ıl Estruđo</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Şimo 'ıl Sināy</i>
	<i>Bende Bađur Yeşoā Qori</i>	<i>Bende İsrā 'ıl Albađlı</i>
	<i>Bende Yuda Qohen</i>	<i>Bende Mūsā Romi</i>
	<i>Bende Hā'im Sināi</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Avram Yosef</i>
	<i>Bende İřhāk Kohen</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Hāim İřhāk Nađum</i>
	<i>Bende İřhāk Cicurel</i>	<i>Bende hekim Şimo 'ıl miPādova</i>
	<i>Bende İřhāk Alđranate</i>	<i>Bende Siyon Azikri</i>
	<i>Bende Mūsā Şuđāmi</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Eliya Susi</i>
	<i>Bende Baruh İsrā 'ıl</i>	<i>Bende Yuda Yabes</i>
	<i>Bende a 'zā Hāim Qohen</i>	<i>Bende İřhāk Sinay</i>

[Line 7]	[Line 8]	[Line 9]
<i>Bende hāhām Mūsā Barkı</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Haron Avram Qohen Arias</i>	<i>Bende Avram Sivita</i>
<i>Bende hāhām Yađo Melamed</i>	<i>Bende Avram Qardozo</i>	<i>Bende Avram Şansolo</i>
<i>Bende hāhām Hāim Bađur Hābif</i>	<i>Bende Rabeno Qori</i>	<i>Bende Hāim Qohen</i>
<i>Bende Yađo Çaviz</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Şalamon Ardit[i]</i>	<i>Bende Avram Qarmona</i>
<i>Bende hāhām Nesim Mūsā Qohen Arias</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Rahamim Nesim İřhāk Palaçi</i>	<i>Bende Çelebi Şābetāy Levi</i>
<i>Bende İřhāk Qorı</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Yosef Bađur Avram</i>	<i>Bende Avram Mātiya</i>
<i>Bende Mordehay Qarmona</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Hāim Şemtov Melamed</i>	<i>Bende Bađur Mūsā Yeruşalemı</i>
<i>Bende Ben Siyon Taranto</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Yosef Ardit[i]</i>	<i>Bende Bađur Refā 'ıl Levi</i>

<i>Bende Marqado Beraḥa Danon</i>	<i>Bende Avram Mizrāḥī</i>	<i>Bende Meir Kohen</i>
<i>Bende Ruben Esperansa</i>	<i>Bende ḥāḥām Yuda Rebi</i>	<i>Bende Şalomon Benḡiyāt</i>
<i>Bende Haron Azriel</i>	<i>Bende Halifa Poliṭi</i>	<i>Bende Yosef Kohen</i>
<i>Bende Baḥur Yeṣoa Ardit[i]</i>	<i>Bende Baḥur Yomtov Danon</i>	<i>Bende Baḥur Avram Sustiyel</i>
<i>Bende David Rabenu Albaḡlı</i>	<i>Bende Nesim Ruso</i>	<i>Bende ḥāḥām Baḥur Yaḡo Yaḡbes</i>
	<i>Bende Mūṣā Ades</i>	<i>Bende ḥāḥām Refā ʿil Eliezer</i>
	<i>Bende Refā ʿil Ruso</i>	<i>Bende ḥāḥām Hāim Mūṣā Hasan</i>
	<i>Bende ḥāḥām Danyel Kohen</i>	<i>Bende Ğabriel Mizrāḥī</i>

[Line 10]	[Line 11]	[Bottom Line] ¹⁷
<i>Bende Hāim Çorbacı</i>	<i>Bende tüccār Salomon Roditi</i>	<i>kethüdā-yı eṣnāf-ı [Yahūdī] na ʿlincılar</i>
<i>Bende David Albaḡlı</i>	<i>Bende tüccār Hāim Politi</i>	<i>kethüdā-yı eṣnāf-ı [Yahūdī] billürçılar</i>
<i>Bende Nesim Ben ʿEzrā</i>	<i>Bende tüccār Yosef Şalom¹⁸</i>	<i>kethüdā-yı eṣnāf-ı [Yahūdī] tenekeçiler</i>
<i>Bende ḥāḥām Şimo ʿil Kālimide</i>	<i>Bende Yosef Ben ʿezrā</i>	<i>kethüdā-yı eṣnāf-ı Yahūd[i] terziler</i>
<i>Bende ḥāḥām Şimo ʿil Kālimide</i>	<i>Bende Meir Benḡabbay</i>	<i>kethüdā-yı eṣnāf-ı [Yahūdī] sīmciler</i>
<i>Bende Nesim deÇāves</i>	<i>Bende Danyel ʿAşem</i>	<i>[Yahūdī] baḡḡālbaşı</i>
<i>Bende Nesim deÇāves</i>	<i>Bende ḥāḥām Moşe A[l]ḡranati</i>	<i>kethüdā-yı Yahūd[i] ḡazzāzlar eṣnāfi</i>
<i>Bende Yosef Moşe Benḡiyāt</i>	<i>Bende Yaḡo Sonsin[?]</i>	<i>kethüdā-yı Yahūd[i] manavlar eṣnāfi</i>

¹⁷ This line is the transcription of the Ottoman-Turkish seals. The Hebrew words above these seals have been verified and we can see that the content corresponds to the seals.

¹⁸ His signature is in Roman characters.

<i>Bende ḥāḥām Aharon dePās</i>	<i>Bende David Rebi</i>	<i>kethūdā-yı eṣnāf-ı [Yahūdī] tiftikciler</i>
<i>Bende Yosef Köhen Hemsı</i>	<i>Bende İshak Rebi şarrāf</i>	[...]
<i>Bende Rabeno Yaço Şahul</i>	<i>Bende ḥāḥām Hāim Nesim A[l]kranati</i>	<i>kethūdā-yı eṣnāf-ı [Yahūdī] iskemleciler</i>
<i>Bende ḥāḥām Nesim Barki</i>	<i>Bende İlyā Alazrāki</i>	<i>kethūdā-yı eṣnāf-ı [Yahūdī] yapağıcılar</i>
<i>Bende ḥāḥām Şemţov Alazraki</i>		
<i>Bende ḥāḥām Avram Rebi</i>		
<i>Bende tüccār Moşe Şalom</i>		
<i>Bende Moşe Arditi</i>		
<i>Bende 'Aluşer Maţalon</i>		
<i>Bende Moşe Alazraki</i>		

Translation

It is hereby certified that the signatures and applied stamps belong to those of the inhabitants who made statements, and they are genuine and original 21 October 1868.

A resident and a rabbi in İzmir, Bekhor Levy is a loyal citizen of the Sublime Porte and is an honorable man. Everyone [in İzmir] is fond of him. Previously, he was unjustly harmed totally due to a quarrel over property, which made us unhappy in the city. And now he was again harassed, which caused great sadness to all of us and all our co-citizens. Both the said honorable man himself and his family have been very beneficial to the Sublime Porte from very old days. His father and his ancestors had been protégés [of foreign states]. Yet, due to their loyalty to and friendship for the Porte, they gave up being the subjects of foreign countries and took refuge under the beneficial wings of the Sublime Porte. Being on the footprints of his ancestors he is known among the people [of İzmir] as credible and trustworthy. Each one of us recognizes that he is a loyal citizen who knows his national duty. Therefore, we wrote this within the [above] text and signed and stamped it. 29 September 1868 / 27 September 1868.

[Line 1]	[Line 2]	[Line 3]
----------	----------	----------

[Your] servant [...]	[Your] servant [...]	Haçatur Ağazaryān
[Your] servant Es-seyyid El-ḥāc İsmā'īl[?]	[Your] servant Es-seyyid İbrāhīm Edhem 1284	Kiforḳ Elmasyān member of the appellate court
[Your] servant Es-seyyid Meḥmed Emīn	[Your] servant Zeynel'ābidīn Rızvān	Serkiz watch maker/seller
[Your] servant Meḥmed Nūrī 1282	[Your] servant 'Alī	İstefan Balasanyān
[Your] servant [...]	[Your] servant Es-seyyid İbrāhīm [?]	Artin Papazyān merchant
[Your] servant Şāliḥ [...]	[Your] servant [...]	Ḳarabet Bedrosyān
[Your] servant Es-seyyid Muştafā 1284	[Your] servant Es-seyyid İsmā'īl 'İşmet	Simon Dimyān
[Your] servant Es-seyyid 'Alī Rızā 1280	[Your] servant Ebübekir [...]	Haçatur Ḳarakaşyān
[Your] servant 'Oḡmān Nūrī [?] 1282	[Your] servant Es-seyyid 'Oḡmān	Serkiz 'Arabyān
[Your] servant Meḥmed Fa'it [?] 1272	[Your] servant [...]	Hācı Ohannes 'Avakisyān
[Your] servant Meḥmed Emīn	[Your] servant 'Alī	Serkiz Artinyān
[Your] servant [...]	[Your] servant Ḥasan	Hācı Aḳob Ağacānyān
[Your] servant 'Oḡmān 'Ömerzāde Clerk of the Ottoman Bank	[Your] servant Meḥmed Tefḳ	Aḳob Simonaki
[Your] servant Es-seyyid Ḥasan Ḥayrī	[Your] servant 'Alī	Aḳob Davityan
[Your] servant [...]	[Your] servant Es-seyyid Aḳmed 1280	
[Your] servant Üveys Fethī	[Your] servant 'Āṭıf 1280	
[Your] servant Aḳmed Şadıḳ 1280	[Your] servant Tefḳ [?] 1281	
[Your] servant Es-seyyid Muştafā maḫhar-ı nūr-ı ilāhī	[Your] servant Muştafa [12]85	
[Your] servant Es-seyyid Meḥmed Ṭāhir	[Your] servant Meḥmed 'Alī	

[Your] servant [...]	[Your] servant Meḥmed Emīn 1281	
[Your] servant [...]	Look for the final seal of Ali // but continuous power and authority	
[Your] servant [...]	[Your] servant Süleymān [...] 1282	

[Line 4]	[Line 5]	[Line 6]
İstefan Nubaryān from the Ottoman Bank	[Your] servant Yaḳo Ḳohen	[Your] servant Refā ʿil İshāḳ Şansolo
Mıḳırdıç Ohānyān	[Your] servant Yeşoa Albaḡlı	[Your] servant Avrām Bārdavid
Ḳarabet Şāhinyān	[Your] servant Yuda Ponpaz	[Your] servant Mūşā [...]
Ispārtalıođlu Zaḡariya [?]	[Your] servant Avram Benşuşān	[Your] servant Rabenu Yaḳo Albaḡlı
Kiforḳ Hōrasānyān	[Your] servant Yosef Aboāv [?]	[Your] servant Yaḳo Hābif
ḲaluşḲ Ḳumāryān [?] Translator of the English consul	[Your] servant Avram Bengābay	[Your] servant Hāim Ventura
	[Your] servant Hāim Bengābāy	[Your] servant İshāḳ Ardi[ti]
	[Your] servant Refael Alazraḳı	[Your] servant Rabbi İshāḳ Biçon
	[Your] servant İsrā ʿil Estruđo	[Your] servant Rabbi Şimo ʿil Sināy
	[Your] servant Baḡur Yeşoa Ḳorī	[Your] servant İsrā ʿil Albaḡlı
	[Your] servant Yudā Ḳohen	[Your] servant Mūşā Romi
	[Your] servant Hāim Sināi	[Your] servant Rabbi Avram Yosef

	[Your] servant İřhak Kohen	[Your] servant Rabbi Hāim İřhāk Naḥum
	[Your] servant İřhak Cicurel	[Your] servant Őimo ĩl miPadova physician
	[Your] servant İřhak Alġranate	[Your] servant Siyon Aziġri
	[Your] servant Mūřā Őuḥāmi	[Your] servant Rabbi Eliya Sūsi
	[Your] servant Baruḥ İsrā ĩl	[Your] servant Yudā Yābes
	[Your] servant Hāim Kohen member [of council]	[Your] servant İřhāk Sinay

[Line 7]	[Line 8]	[Line 9]
[Your] servant Rabbi Mūřā Barġi	[Your] servant Rabbi Haron Avram Kohen Arias	[Your] servant Avram Sivita
[Your] servant Rabbi Yaġo Melamed	[Your] servant Avram Kardozo	[Your] servant Avram Őansolo
[Your] servant Rabbi Hāim Baḥur Hābif	[Your] servant Rabeno Kori	[Your] servant Hāim Kohen
[Your] servant Yaġo Çaviz	[Your] servant Rabbi Őalamon Ardit[i]	[Your] servant Avram Kārmona
[Your] servant Rabbi Nesim Mūřā Kohen Arias	[Your] servant Rabbi Rahamim Nesim İřhak Palaçi	[Your] servant Çelebi Őābetāy Levi
[Your] servant İřhak Kori	[Your] servant Rabbi Yosef Baḥur Avram	[Your] servant Avram Mātiya
[Your] servant Mordeḥay Kārmona	[Your] servant Rabbi Hāim Őemtov Melamed	[Your] servant Baḥur Mūřā Yerūřalemī

[Your] servant Ben Siyon Taranto	[Your] servant Rabbi Yosef Ardit[i]	[Your] servant Baḥur Refā ʿil Levi
[Your] servant Marḳado Beraḥa Danon	[Your] servant Avram Mizrāḥī	[Your] servant Meir Ḳohen
[Your] servant Ruben Esperansa	[Your] servant Rabbi Yuda Rebi	[Your] servant Şalamon Beḡiyāt
[Your] servant Haron Azriel	[Your] servant Halifa Poliṭi	[Your] servant Yosef Ḳohen
[Your] servant Baḥur Yeşoa Ardit[i]	[Your] servant Baḥur Yomtov Danon	[Your] servant Baḥur Avram Sustiyel
[Your] servant David Rabenu Albaḡlı	[Your] servant Nesim Ruso	[Your] servant Rabbi Baḥur Yaḳo Yaḡbes
	[Your] servant Mūşā Ades	[Your] servant Rabbi Refā ʿil Eliezer
	[Your] servant Refā ʿil Ruso	[Your] servant Rabbi Ḥāim Mūşā Ḥasan
	[Your] servant Rabbi Danyel Ḳohen	[Your] servant Ğabriel Mizrāḥī

[Line 10]	[Line 11]	[Bottom Line]
[Your] servant Ḥāim Çorbacı	[Your] servant Salomon Roditi merchant	Head of [Jewish] horseshoemakers'/nailmakers' guild
[Your] servant David Albaḡlı	[Your] servant Ḥāim Politi merchant	Head of [Jewish] glassware makers'/sellers' guild
[Your] servant Nesim Ben ʿezrā	[Your] servant Yosef Şalom merchant	Head of [Jewish] tinsmiths' guild
[Your] servant ḥāḥām Şimo ʿil Ḳalimide	[Your] servant Yosef Ben ʿezrā	Head of [Jewish] tailors' guild
[Your] servant ḥāḥām Şimo ʿil Ḳalimide	[Your] servant Meir Benḳabbay	Head of [Jewish] embroiderers in silver thread guild
[Your] servant Nesim deÇāves	[Your] servant Danyel ʿAşem	Head of [Jewish] grocers

[Your] servant Nesim deÇāves	[Your] servant ḥāḥām Moşe A[l]ḳranati	Head of Jewish silkmakers' guild
Bende Yosef Moşe Benḳiyāt	[Your] servant Yaḳo Sonsin?	Head of Jewish fruit and vegetable sellers' guild
[Your] servant Rabbi Ahāron dePās	[Your] servant David Rebi	Head of [Jewish] producers of mohair wool guild
[Your] servant Yosef Ḳohen Ḥemsi	[Your] servant İſḫāḳ Rebi money changer	[...]
[Your] servant Rabeno Yaḳo Şahūl	[Your] servant Rabbi Ḥāim Nesim A[l]ḳranati	Head of [Jewish] street vendors' guild
[Your] servant Rabbi Nesim Bārki	[Your] servant İlyā Alazrāki	Head of [Jewish] producers of woolen cloth guild
[Your] servant Rabbi Şemṭov Alazraki		
[Your] servant Rabbi Avram Rebi		
[Your] servant Moşe Şalom merchant		
[Your] servant Moşe Ardit		
[Your] servant 'Aluſer Maṭalon		
[Your] servant Moşe Alazraki		

Facsimile



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A Defter Note of 1489 about the Founding of Sarajevo

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Context

The detailed survey register BOA TT24 from 1489, the first detailed (*mufassal*) Survey Register for Bosnia to have been preserved in full, offers considerable insights into the development of an urban centre downstream from the stronghold of Hodidede. In a *defter* recording on page 35 and 36 of this volume, immediately below the names of the four arable fields (*mezraa*) recorded as being in the possession of the inhabitants of the town of Saray (starting with Rakovica), the scribe refers to the village of Brodča (Brodac). This village had been recorded in the survey register of 1468/9 as the first village belonging to the market of Torkovište right after the four arable fields (without inhabitants) of Rakovica, Kakrin, Kotoriča and Vojković (?), listing three Muslim households, twelve Christian and two unmarried.¹ By 1489, however, the date of completion of BOA TT24, the situation had changed dramatically – at least for the inhabitants of Brodac, the village that had already been recorded in the *vakfname* of 1462 written in Arabic by which Īsa Beg founded a *tekke* ‘in the village of Brodac [situated] in one of the districts of Saray Ovasi’ (lit. *dāḥil qaryati Brodġa min a‘māli Sarāy Ovasi*). According to the *defter* entry just mentioned, Brodča village had, by 1489, not only lost large parts of its peasant inhabitants (with only eight Christian, one widowed and three Muslim households remaining), but much of its grounds, too – in other words: it had been drawn into the orbit of a rising urban centre. It had, in modern terms, become the object of urban development. The man instrumental in this process is identified in the entry as Īsa Beġ (Ishaković) himself, until 1470 *sancakbeġi* of Bosnia. The exact wording is as follows:

“... and the grounds on which the city of Saray was built were originally plots belonging to the unbelievers of Brodac village. [But] because the late Īsa Beġ thought it proper to erect a city (*şehir*) [here], he took (or bought) [those plots] from the aforementioned unbelievers, giving the unbelievers the place called Vrančić in exchange”.

Vrančić, according to Mušeta-Aščerić, is situated in the area of Hrasnice village a few kilometres southwest of Sarajevo, a little beyond Ilidža.

¹ Ahmed A. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine* (Mostar, 2008), p. 69f.

The same defter entry also reveals that additional ‘urbanistic’ developments had taken place at about the same time. Referring to the *mezraa* of Kakrin, our entry reveals that it had been the sowing grounds belonging to the unbelievers of the *varoş* of Saray who had come into its ownership at their own free choice in order to till it, and that their names were written in the *hüccets* issued by Mevlana Zahid, *kadi* of Saray. The text goes on saying:

“But then İskender Pasha bought it (on the open market). Before that, İskender Pasha had also bought the *voynuklık* plot [ground held by an armed horseman generally of Vlach origin often living in a tent] called Iskubriç [according to Aličić tentatively read as Vojković] belonging to the *voynuk* (horseman) Đure, son of Pop, situated in the vicinity of the *varoş*, in order to turn it into an orchard, giving Đure with mutual accord the *mezraa* of Kakrin in exchange. He was consequently registered as a *voynuk* in the *mezraa* of Kakrin, while his former *voynuk* plot was turned into an orchard”.

This İskender Pasha, the second ‘developer’ named in our source, is no other than İskender Voyvoda, the lieutenant of İsa Beğ (Ishaković).² It is worth noting that the *voynuklık* of Vojković (?), being described as being situated ‘in the vicinity of the *varoş*’, is being turned into an orchard (a potential building plot), while its former owner is transferred, together with his (military) obligations but also with his former rights of ownership, to the *mezraa* of Kakrin which had been worked by the inhabitants of the *varoş* at some distance from there (Kakrin lies to the southwest of Sarajevo near present-day Ilidža).

This entry in BOA TT24 clearly underlines the repeated interference by the *sancak* government in the local fabric of small privately owned agricultural holdings being bought up in the area of the later city of Sarajevo against compensation of the former owners with land further away from this increasingly urban zone. It is worth noting that the former owners, standing as it were in the way of the ‘urbanistic’ intentions of the governor and his lieutenant, were not simply removed, but compensated for their losses.

² Vesna Mušeta-Aščerić, “Sarajevo – od kasabe do šehera”, in: Eadem., *Sarajevo i okolina u XV stoljeću: između zapada i istoka* (Sarajevo 2005), 143-97; here: 147, note 450.

Furthermore, the process of being removed and the details of being compensated were carefully recorded in the present Survey Register.

Transcription

- (1) *Mezra 'a-i Raḳoviçe mezra 'a-i Ḳuḳurinçe mezra 'a-i Isḳovnik (?) [Aličić: Vojković (?)] mezra 'a-i Ḳaḳrin*
- (2) *bu zikr olan mezra 'alar nefis-i Sarāyiñ ekinliklerdir*
- (3) *ammā mezkūr Ḳaḳrin nām mezra 'a varoş keferesiniñ ekinlikler olub kendü ihtiyārlarıyla*
- (4) *mezbūr mezra 'aya mālİK olub zirā 'at idüb kimesneler ki esāmİleri Sarāy ḳāḳısı Mevlānā Zāhid*
- (5) *ḥüccetinde meştürdir İskender Pāşā ḥāzretleri şirā 'i 'örfiyle alub ve bundan aḳdem Güre veled-i Pop nām*
- (6) *voynuḡiñ varoş ḳurbında olan Isḳomrik [Aličić: Vojković (?)] nām voynuḳlık yirini mezbūr İskender Pāşā şirā 'i*
- (7) *'örfiyle alub bāḡçe iderek Ḳaḳrin nām mezra 'ayı müşārün ileyh Güreyle ḫarafeynden ihtiyāriyle istibdāl olma ki*
- (8) *mezkūra mezbūr Ḳaḳrin üzerine voynuḳ ḳayd olub ve mezbūr voynuḡiñ yiri bāḡçe olub*
- (9) *(p. 36:) ve nefis-i Sarāyiñ yiri fi'l-aşli Bro(d)ca nām ḳarye kefereleriniñ yirleriymiş merḥūm 'İsā Beg*
- (10) *şehir bünyād itmegi lāyık gördüḡi sebebden mezbūr kāfİrlerden alub Virancik nām*
- (11) *yiri kāfİrlere bedel virmiş.*

مرعی قاضی
 مرعی کورچا
 مرعی مسویسا
 مرعی قاضی
 بود که اولان مزرعی نفس سرائیکرا افلاک در

اما مد کور قاضی مرعی نام مزی و اردنی کفن شکر اکتلکار اولوب کندن و اعتبار لریب
 مرعیور مزرعه مالک اولوب در اعق لقب که لریکا اسامیری برای قاضی مولانا زاهد
 حسد مطور در لکنه ریاضا حضرتگی شزا، عقیق اولوب و پوند لری اقدام کور. ولری لوب
 و بنوعی وار دنی قربین اولان اسفون مکر نام و بنوعی سونا مرعیور لیسکدر ریاضا شزا
 عقیق اولوب باغ ادر قاضی مرعی نام مزی، منشور ال کوریم و بنوعی اعتبار لری استبدان اولنه کا
 مد کور. مزیور قاضی مرعی از رنه و بنوعی اولوب و مزیور و بنوعی مکر ری باغ اولوب.

Detail from BOA TD 24 (1489), p. 35

ونفس سرائیکری فی الاصل روح نام فزه کفنه لریکری بر لیش روح هم عیسی لری
 شهید لری اتلک لری کور که سید لری مزیور که فولون الوب و میرا بنیکر نام
 بری کافولون برل دیش

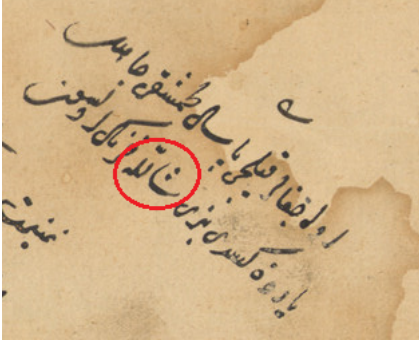
Continued: BOA TD 24 (1489), p. 36

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Sarajevo i okolina u XV stoljeću: između zapada i istoka. Sarajevo 2005.

Summary of illegible or debatable words

Cenez Ülker – Petition (*‘arzuḥāl*) and Literature



Yārdan kesdi bizi *miṣāl-le* [?] Frenk olsun

Karagedikli, Cohen, Ben-Naeh – Bekhor Levy

