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A *Mülâzemet* Memorandum (*inhā*) by Zekeriyazade Yahya Efendi, Kazasker of Rumelia

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Context

The memorandum (*inhā*) presented here is from a manuscript entitled *Mecmū 'atū'l-Fetāvāü'l-Müteferrika* (No. 2865). This manuscript is housed within the Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Şehid Ali Paşa Collection, and although officially cataloged as a compilation of fatwas, closer examination reveals it to have a rich spectrum of content. Beyond the fatwas, it contains an array of letters, receipts, prayers, maps, fiscal entries, genealogies, and related material reminiscent of the diverse compilations characteristic of early modern Ottoman miscellanies.

The manuscript's most distinctive feature is evidence of the composition of letters directly by their senders or their scribes. Among them, certain letters emerge as preliminary drafts, anticipating later refinement before dispatch, while others stand as originals, encompassing responses sent to their writers. The scarcity of extant early modern Ottoman original letters renders this manuscript particularly authentic, providing a unique window into the practices of letter writing during the era.¹ The customary colophons or copy records are absent from this manuscript. However, given the content of the texts—originating from the Ottoman state elite and scholars from the first half of the 17th century—it is possible to surmise an approximate compilation date.

Zekeriyyazade Yahya Efendi's (1561? – 1644) memorandum possesses inherent value as a tangible exemplar, illustrating the practical subtleties involved in the formulation of *mülāzemet* enrollment records—a materialization of theoretical knowledge. The signature of Yahya Efendi serves as a temporal marker, indicating the memorandum's origin during his tenure as the Kazasker of Rumelia.² These *inhā* letters, by their

¹ I am preparing a review of this manuscript and two similar copies, in which I will include lists of names and details of the content. For now, I will give a few of the names mentioned: Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, Hocaazade Mehmed Efendi, Hocaazade Abdülaziz Efendi, Hocaazade Esad Efendi, Zekeriyyazade Yahya Efendi, Sunullah Efendi, Abdülhalim Efendi, Nevizade Atayi, Kafzade Faizi, Hafız Ahmed Paşa, Nasuh Paşa, Sultan Mehmed III, Sultan Osman II, etc.

² Unfortunately, it is not possible to know the exact year; Yahya fulfilled the duty of Kazasker of Rumelia three times between the following dates: 1605-1606, 1609-1611 and 1617-1619. The sources I consulted for these dates were: Uşşâkîzâde İbrâhîm Hasîb Efendi. *Zeyl-i Şakâ'ik, Uşşâkîzâde'nin Şakâ'ik Zeyli*, ed. Ramazan Ekinci, İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları,

nature, were intended for higher authorities than their authors, possibly finding their way to esteemed figures such as the grand vizier or the grand mufti of the period. The response from the recipient, inscribed in the margin, signals the letter's return to Yahya Efendi.

Transcription

[37b]³ *Meclis-i sāmī ve maḥfil-i kirāmīleri şavb-ı fazīlet-evbine mezīd-i muḥabbet ve ikrām birle aṭyeb-i taḥiyyāt u selām ve teslimāt-ı selāmet-i irtisām ithāfindan soñra // inhā-i muḥibb-i faḳīr budur ki eger bu taraḫa tevcīh-ı ḫāṭır buyurılırsa bi-ḫamdihī subhānehu ḫālā şıḫḫat u ‘āfiyet üzre olub bi-ḫasebi’l-miknet aḫvāl-i fuḫarā ile muḫayyedüz // ğıbbezā⁴ mektüb-ı şerīfleri vuşul bulub iltimās olunduğı üzre maḫdüm-ı mükerremiñüz mülâzım kayd olunub gendü mülâzımlarımız silkine mütesellik // olmuşdur ḫaḫ sübhānehu mübārek eyleye mütevaḫḫı’dur ḫayr-du ‘ādan ferāmüş buyurmayasız bāḳī ‘ömr ü devlet müstedām bād*

Mine’l-muḫliş Yahyā el-faḳīr el-ḳāḫı bi-‘asākiri Rümeli

Benüm efendüm allāhu te ‘ālā mübārek eyleye // ‘ilm-i nāfi’ ‘amel-i şāliḫ ile mu ‘ammer olasız // sizler de anlar da du ‘ādan ferāmüş // buyurmamaḫ mercüdür ed-du ‘ā

Translation

With abundant cordiality and reverence for your illustrious assembly and esteemed position, which leads towards goodness, and having paid the most beautiful salutations, homages, and prayers for well-being, my humble self's *inhā* (memorandum)

2017, 303-305; Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi, *Vekâyi’u’l-Fuzalâ I-IV*, İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu, 2018, 498; Kaya, Bayram Ali, “Yahya Efendi, Zekeriyâzâde”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/yahya-efendi-zekeriyazade> (28.11.2023); Andrews, W.G., and Kalpakli, Mehmet. ‘Yahyā’. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs, P.J. Bearman (Volumes X, XI, XII), Th. Bianquis (Volumes X, XI, XII), et al. Accessed October 5, 2023. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_8934.

³ Since the page numbers of the manuscript are scattered, I have numbered them myself, as they should be, without relying on the numbers in the original.

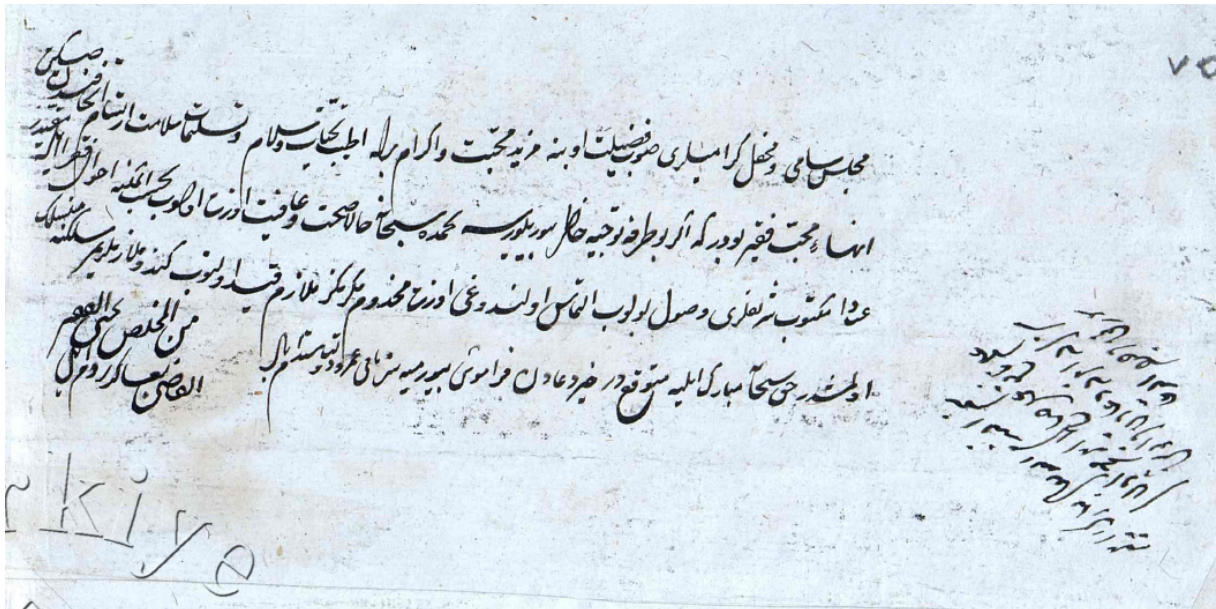
⁴ *ğıbbezā*: “Post hoc, post haec, deinde vero”, cf. Meninski’s dictionary, *Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae*, 3376.

is the following: If you inquire about us, we are – praise be to God – in good health. We are diligently taking care of the people to the best of our abilities. Since your precious letter arrived and since we showed special favor (*iltimās*) to it, your venerable son has been registered as *mülāzım* (apprentice) and thus entered into our circle of *mülāzemet* (apprenticeship). Blessed be God! We hope that you do not withhold your auspicious prayers from us. May God perpetuate your life and fortune!

From your sincere friend and humble servant Yahya, *kādı*- ‘asker⁵ of Rumelia.

My sire, blessed be Allah! I wish you a long life with beneficial knowledge and righteous deeds! It is requested that you and he too should not forget to pray for us. God bless you!⁶

Facsimile



⁵ “Military judge, title for the supreme judge of the Ottoman Empire” (Bayerle, s. 95)

⁶ This paragraph could be the answer.

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The Seas of Neglected History: A Muslim-Ottoman Merchant's Ordeal in Trieste

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Context

Although Trieste functioned as a crucial commercial hub and important port during the eighteenth century, it has so far not garnered sufficient attention from Ottomanists for reasons that warrant further discussion.¹ Since Stoianovich's seminal work, the study of diasporas in Central and Southeastern Europe's early modern history has gained prominence, with much of the resultant literature emphasizing national entities or religious fellowships.² The available scholarship focusing on the topic has notably disregarded the Muslim perspective.³

This diasporic approach, while emphasizing community bonds, tends to disregard the interactions and interdependence among diverse communities, reflecting political or ideological objectives that accentuate the division of Central Europe's history into numerous distinct and impermeable ethno-religious or national narratives.⁴ Braudel (1995) contends that understanding trade in the Mediterranean region is challenging without considering the role of the Ottoman Empire.⁵ Likewise, the limited use of Ottoman archival documents in European historiography poses a significant issue, particularly within the Mediterranean context. Even when exploring the archives of Trieste—a relatively small repository—it is still possible to uncover

¹ At the outset, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the editorial board of *Keshif* and the reviewer of my article for providing invaluable insights into the transcription and translation of the document analyzed in this article.

² Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," *The Journal of Economic History* 20, no. 2 (1960), 234-313.

³ A recently submitted PhD dissertation endeavored to incorporate the Muslim outlook within the scope. See Zeynep Arslan Çalık, "Crossing Borders and Bridging Differences: An Ottoman Mobility Narrative of Late Eighteenth-Early Nineteenth Century Habsburg-Ottoman Contacts" (PhD diss., Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 2023).

⁴ Among many others, see for example, Nathan Michael Gelber, "The Sephardic community in Vienna," *Jewish Social Studies*, no. 10 (1948): 359-96; Karl Teply, "Die erste armenische Kolonie in Wien," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, no. 28 (1973): 105-18; Vasiliki Seirinidou, "Griechen in Wien im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert. Soziale Identitäten im Alltag," *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich. Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, no. 12 (1997): 7-28; Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "Greek Merchant Colonies in Central and South-Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century," in *Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Victor N. Zakharov, Gelina Harlaftis and Olga Katsiardi-Hering (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 127-40.

⁵ To better comprehend the Ottoman presence in the Mediterranean region, see Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

Ottoman documents, which hold valuable insights into the Muslim perspective within the given historical framework.

In the State Archives of Trieste (*Archivio di Stato di Trieste*), two fonds preserve documents related to Ottoman-Trieste relations. One of these is the fonds named “Cesarea regia Intendenza commerciale per il Litorale in Trieste,” which contains documents from the period between 1731 and 1776. The second fonds, named “Cesareo regio Governo per il Litorale in Trieste,” contains documents dating from the period between 1776 and 1813. While conducting research on the eight folders kept within these holdings at the Trieste archives, I observed the presence of a few documents written in Ottoman Turkish. One of these documents pertains to an attack on an Ottoman merchant from Ulcinj named Derviş Hoca Ömer in Trieste.⁶ The document has been transcribed below, along with a tentative translation, for the consideration and assessment of interested researchers.

Transcription

28A

hüve

*Rağbetlü şadâkatlü muhibb-i şadîkım ve âşinâ dostumuz koñt kapudan ve sâyir zâbiñân begleri huñûrlarına hutimet ‘avâkıbühu bi’l-ğayrları
ğalbiyye-i [?] dostânelerine lâ`ik kelâm-i peyâm-ü meserret-i selâmet-encâm iblâğı ve
ihdâ kılındığı siyâkına ma`rüz-ı dostâneleri oldur ki
ğâliyâ bâ`is-i mektüb-ı meveddetimiz Ülgün tüccârlar[ın]dan Derviş H`âca ‘Ömer nâm
kimesne bundan aqdem sene-i ma`ziyelerde [?] Tırâyâşta kal`a gümrüğü derünında
pandur soldat ⁷ [?] gendüsini qatletmekliğına üzerine hüçüm ve gendüsini aqz ve yanında
mevcüd bulunan yüz Venedik altunlarını ma`a [?] bir sîmden [?] sâ`ati*

⁶ AST, C.R.S. Intendenza Commerciale per il Litorale in Trieste (1748-1776), 1010/585, 27A-28A.

⁷ I propose that this word is a corruption of “pandur soldat/soldatlar”. But it also could be a distortion of the Italian phrase “orza alla banda!,” meaning “Luff alee!,” which seems to be rendered in Turkish as “orsalabanda” (or “orçalabanda”) with the verb form “orsalabanda etmek” signifying “to put the helm down hard alee.” This term may have functioned as a moniker for the

alub gâşb u gâret eyledikleri [!] mezbûr Dervîş H'âca ol zamânda tarafumuzda geldiği [!] birle devlet-i 'aliyyemüzde varub tesellî-yi hâl eylemek [!] için bu muhibbiñüzden 'arz taleb ve gitmaçlığına hareketde iken bu muhibbüñüz [...] bu bir kalîl şey için üzerine pandur soldat [?] şulh-u şalâha ve 'ahdnâme-i hümâyûna muğâyir hareketleri ve ol mişillü kabâhati devlet-i 'Osmâniyyede ol vaqt eger i'lâm eylemiş idüm biñ Venedik altunlarıyla ol gûne kabâhat kıpatmağa kifâyet olmaz diyü bir ma'nâ idüb hemân zamân-ı mezbûrede siz dostânelerimize i'lâm ve ifâde [!] olunmayınca âhar yerlerde de i'lâm olmağa dostluğa binâ'en cevâz gösterilmeyüb diyü 'arz olunan altunları ve gerek sâ'ir harc [!] ve maşâriflerini siz dostumuza gendüsine virüb icrâ-y-u [!] istirdâd olmağ ümîdiyle memhûrlu kâğıtlarımız ile bi'n-nefs mezbûrı irsâl olunmuş iken siz ise haqqını gereği gibi virüb edâ ol[ın]maçlığına dikkat olmayub ihmâline vaz' eylemeñüz ile mezbûrdan bi'z-zarûret kalkub dođrı Nemçe'ye varub keyfiyyet-i ahvâlini ve gendüsine vâki' olunan zulm u te'addîleri devletli çârsârîçenüñ ceng divânına 'arz-ı hâl ile tesellî-yi hâl eyledikda [!] Nemçe devletinde muķim olan baş vekil ve gerek çârsârîçe ahvâline vuķuf olunduđı birle 'arz olunan altunlar muķâbelesinde ve mâ-'adâ sâ'ati ve sâ'ir şarf-ı harc eylediđi [!] muķâsebe idüb mâ fi setr mine'l-kelâm ve-d-devâm [?] 'alâ meni'tteba 'a'l-hüdâ fi Evâhîri Zî'l-ka'de 1161 el-fakîr [?] mîr-i mîrân-i [...] İskender bin Yûsuf

28A

Right Side:

Mezbûr Dervîş H'âca'ya yediyüz yetmiş bir buçuk Nemçe akçelerine göre fi[l]orinleri siz dostumuz Tîrâyâşta'ñüzde virmaçlığına fermân idüb ve fermâna göre principesâ Bürķ Çâhâvuz [?] dađı bir buyruldı taħrîr ve bi'z-zât Dervîş H'âca'nuñ yediyle

assailant, potentially uttered before engaging in the attack. See Henry Kahane, Renée Kahane, Andreas Tietze, *The lingua franca in the Levant* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958), 325-326.

*size ırsāl-ü [!] ırād itmiş siz ise fermānına ve gerek prencesinüñ [?] buyuruldısında
alvirüb kaydına göre
yüz kırk fi[l]orinin tutub virmemişsiñüz diyü ta ‘accüb idüb devletli kraliçenüñ
fermānına ve gerek principesā-yi mesfūrenüñ buyuruldısına muhālefet eylediklarıñızdan
mā- ‘adā
Ülgünli bir mu ‘annid kavm olduğına bir hoşça ma ‘lūmuñuzdur ifāde olunmaqlığına
müzāyakası olmayub ihtimāldür ki eger bir def‘a zikr olınan yüz kırk
fi[l]orin virmişsiñizse re ‘āyalarıñızdan birisinde otuz kat
olub gāşb olunmağa bir ma ‘nādur ba ‘dehū kraliçeye ne gūne cevāb virmağ-
lığına kādır olasız zīrā [?] kraliçe mezbūr Dervīş H‘āca’ya virmağ-
lığına emr eyledüğü [!] çünki muhālefet idüb huşūş-ı mezbūr için
her ne şādır olunur ise suçsuz şādır olunur hemān
mülāhaza idüb bu bir kalīl şey için gerek başumuzu ve gerek
başuñuzu ağırtmaqlığına cevāz ve zikr olınan tuttuğunuz
yüz kırk fi[l]orinin āhar vechle taleb ve ihrāc olunmağa lā ‘ık
göstermeyesiz bākī siz a ‘lam zīrā [?] virmek hācet degildür*

27A

Back page of 28A

*Bi-mennihi te ‘ālā hāliyā Tīrāyāşta[da] olan rağbetlü muhibb-i şadīkum koñ kapūdān ve
sāyir zābiğ begleri huşūrlarına bād*

Translation

28A

He

To our esteemed and trustworthy friend and acquaintance, the count captain, along with the other respected commanders—may God make their lives end well—, as

follows the pleasures of the Sultanate have been brought forth with heartfelt sincerity.⁸ The joyous and sound message delivered to our friend and the friendly submission offered to him [?] are the following:

In the past couple of years, a merchant from Ulcinj, named Derviş Hoca Ömer, was attacked within the customs area of the Trieste fortress by a pandur soldat[?]⁹ with the intention to kill him and they captured him and seized a hundred Venetian gold coins together with [?] a silver [?] watch belonging to him [Derviş Hoca Ömer]. The said Derviş Hoca came to our side at that time, and sought comfort in our exalted state.

As he prepared to depart, Derviş Hoca, approached me, your sincere friend, after which I informed the Ottoman state of the pandur soldat's actions that contradicted the established peace and imperial treaties. However, at that time, a decision was made out of friendship not to widely publicize the matter before informing you, our friend, about it. It was believed that even a thousand Venetian gold coins were insufficient to conceal this offense. Furthermore, the issue was not openly discussed later on, also out of friendship.

The aforementioned gold coins, along with other expenses and costs, were sent to you, our friend, accompanied by our signed documents, for the purpose of implementing the reimbursement [to Derviş Hoca Ömer]. However, you did not fulfill your duty properly and neglected it. Due to your negligence, you went willy-nilly to Austria. When state officials observed the circumstances and the oppression faced by our friend, they reported the situation to the Austrian Aulic War Council. Subsequently, both the chancellor in Austria and the empress discerned the situation and calculated the reported gold coins and other expenses.

⁸ The aim of the translation here is not to offer a sentence-by-sentence rendition but rather to provide the most comprehensive translation possible, particularly when encountering illegible words. Translations are not strictly literal; when words were illegible or unclear, meanings were inferred from context, and when needed, they are marked with "[...]". Still, efforts were made to maintain fidelity to the original text and sentence structures as closely as possible.

⁹ See footnote 7. When reading "pandur soldat," both "pandur" and "soldat" would be translated as "soldier," with "pandur" historically referring to a light infantry unit of the Habsburg army.

In conclusion, peace (interpreted here as “long life” or “eternity”) be upon those who follow the right guidance.

Written in the last third of *Zil-ka‘de 1161* (November 11-21, 1748), by İskender bin Yūsuf, the beylerbeyi of [...].

28A

Right side

You, our friend, ordered that seven hundred and seventy-one and a half florins should be delivered to Derviş Hoca in your Trieste. According to [this] order, an order was written by the Princess of [...] burg [...] and made delivered to you by Derviş Hoca’s own hand. You, however, did not give back the firman nor the order of the princess and acted against the order of the princess. Moreover, there is no shortage [of money], so that you would have to [resort to] saying that the people of Ulcinj are a notoriously rebellious group.¹⁰ Upon delivering the specified one hundred and forty florins, each of your subjects will probably receive thirty times [that amount].

In that case, you may find it challenging to address the empress’s subsequent reaction, as she had explicitly instructed them to be delivered to the aforementioned Derviş Hoca, and failing to do so goes against her orders. Whatever happens in this matter, it is not [anyone’s] fault. Be careful, do not make your and my head ache for such a small thing. Any effort or plea on your part to demand and collect the aforementioned

¹⁰ The portrayal of the people of Ulcinj as rebellious was influenced by multiple factors: the strategic importance of Ulcinj on the Adriatic coast for Habsburg maritime trade, insights from Habsburg intelligence or diplomatic channels indicating local resistance, and the fluctuating territorial dynamics in border regions like Ulcinj. Among the extensive literature available, for a cohesive and multi-layered analysis of the issue, see Maria Pia Pedani, “Beyond the Frontier: the Ottoman-Venetian Border in the Adriatic Context from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Zones of Fracture in Modern Europe: Baltic Countries, Balkans and Northern Italy | Zone di frattura in epoca moderna: il Baltico, i Balcani e l’Italia settentrionale*, ed. Almut Bues (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005); Bernd J. Fischer, Oliver Jens Schmitt, *A Concise History of Albania* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 23-64; Abidin Temizer, Marijan Premović, “Montenegro under Ottoman Rule (1497-1697),” *Hiperboreea* 8, no.1 (2021): 1-15.

amount of one hundred and forty florins in any other way will not be acceptable, but you know best, as there is no need to give anything at all.¹¹

27A

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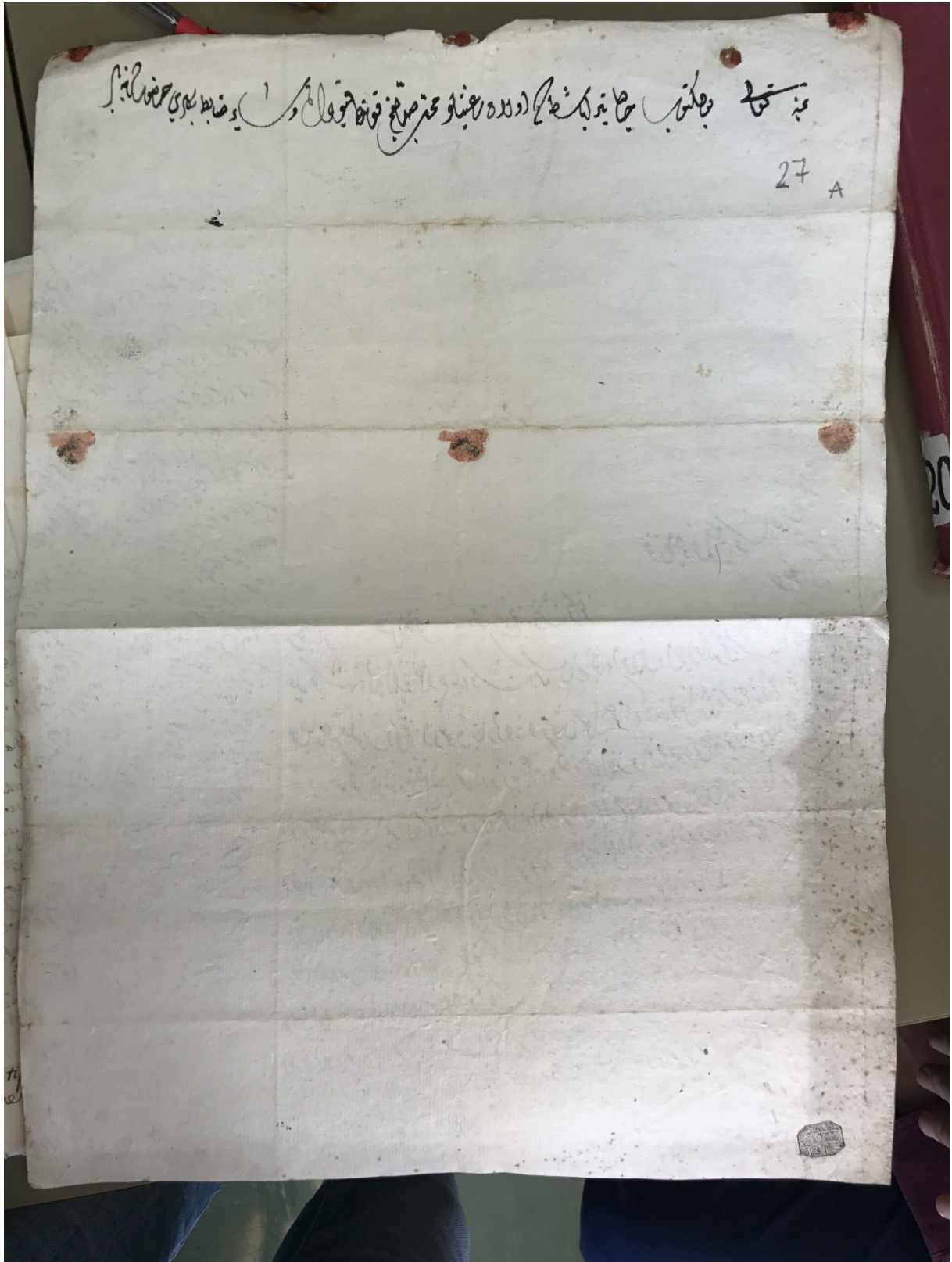
By the grace of the almighty, [this letter shall be sent] to our esteemed and beloved loyal friend in Trieste, the captain, and other distinguished commanders.

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¹¹ This sentence warrants consideration, albeit with reservations. It may hint that the author is disinclined to address the matter or facilitate an informal reimbursement of Derviş Hoca's loss by his acquaintance, the count captain, particularly given the apparent failure of official channels.

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The Love Ailment: A Prescription for a Lover

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Context

Based on the information contained in this *mecmū`a*, I could not ascertain its date or determine its ownership. This *mecmū`a*, officially cataloged as T 3005, can be found in İstanbul University's Rare Works Library. In the *mecmū`a*, the marginalia (*der-kenār*) that I transcribed is a love potion recipe produced in the *hezl* genre, which passes from the Arabo-Persian literary-cultural field to the Ottoman-Turkish-based literary-cultural field. Its contents cover a plentiful assortment of material from the Ottoman Turkish-based literary-cultural field such as the lover suffering physically and mentally due to the disease of love. Various frequently used phrases and literary arts are also included. This marginalia gives the recipe for the *ma`cūn* (elixir) that must be prepared for the lover to recover from the disease of love, as well as the symptoms that the lover demonstrates when he/she falls in love, how to prepare the *ma`cūn*, and how to use it.

Mecmū`as play a crucial role as primary sources of events and facts within the Ottoman literary-cultural field. The *mecmū`a* culture contributes to the same literary-cultural field as other sources such as *divans*, *mesnevis*, encyclopedias, works with biographical elements, and *tezkires*. *Mecmū`a* literature, consisting of compilation works that encompass diverse subjects in both verse and/or prose, is structured by one or more literary producers. Agâh Sırrı Levend classified *mecmū`a* literature as follows: those (works) that have the nature of parallels, those that have the characteristics of anthology, those that are composed of treatises brought together, those that are based on the same subject, and those that are prepared by well-known people.¹ Based on this classification, it can be asserted that anthology literature emerged by drawing on various sources. Moreover, it can be said that the compilation nature of the *mecmū`as* have helped to reveal the literary tendencies and tastes of the period in which the work was produced. In this respect, the genre is important since it conveys the literary producers and/or literary productions that are not included in works such as *divans* and *tezkires*.

¹ Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1973): 166-167.

Therefore, *mecmū* 'a literature holds an important position in enabling us to clarify the dynamic structure of the Ottoman literary-cultural field.

As can be seen in the works of the poets who organize *hezliyyât mecmū* 'as, components of praise and satire can also be encountered, as well as examples of wit, irony, and humor specific to the genre. *Hezl* can be defined as a literary genre containing pleasantries and entertainment in which serious ideas are expressed in humorous language.² It can be asserted that this humorous quality was a tool for criticizing the people, institutions, or state order of the period and thus structured a relatively free literary-cultural environment.³ This literary environment was formed interculturally. The *hezl* is defined as immoral and ethic words in Persian literature which is the source of the *hezl* genre in Ottoman classical literature.⁴ This definition positions the *hezl* genre in Ottoman classical literature as an intermediate genre between *latife* and *hiciv*. Thus, there is a literary production that can provide the various elements of the love potion concept, in which the lover is the innocent victim of the potion, including the sublimity of the relationship between the lover and the beloved, and the legitimization of the condition of being in love.⁵

It is also interesting that the love potion is presented in a way that is extremely similar to a culinary recipe, especially when considered in parallel with the understanding that food affects humors in Medieval Europe,⁶ just as food is a human's basic need, so love ensures the continuity of life. In a similar context, Pfeffer mentions a love potion with the concepts of "lovendrin" and "lovendrant" in Bérout's *Roman de Tristan*, indicating that the resulting mixture will not only cure the illness but also be its source.⁷ However, the point to be considered here is balance. The basis of the Hippocratic theory

² İsmail Durmaz, "Hezl", *Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi Cilt 17*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınevi, 1998): 304.

³ Ağâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 522.

⁴ İskender Pala, *Ansiklopedik Divan Şiiri Sözlüğü Cilt I- II*, (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1989): 484.

⁵ Gertrude Schoepperle, "The Love-Potion in "Tristan and Isolt"", 296.

⁶ Gunther Weitz, "Love and death in Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*— an epic anticholinergic crisis", *BMJ*, 327, (2003): 1469.

⁷ Wendy Pfeffer, "The Love Potion in Bérout's *Tristan*", *Medieval and Renaissance Monograph Series*, Editors Guy R. Mermier ve Edelgard E. DuBruck, Michigan: Marygrove College, Fifteenth-Century Symposium, (1984): 170.

of balance was the four humors, which covered the four bodily fluids.⁸ The balance between them is a prerequisite for the continuity of life.

Similarly, a lover who falls into lovesickness has lost his/her vital balance and has isolated himself/herself from life, consciously or unconsciously. At this point, literary production offers a recipe to restore the lover's balance, but this recipe does not come from experts in the field of medicine. It comes from a narrator who knows, recognizes, and observes the disease of love and also belongs to the literary-cultural field. Based on this, it can be asserted that there is an ethnopharmacological aspect to the context of lovesickness in the Ottoman-Turkish literary-cultural field. As can be observed in the Ottoman-Turkish literary-cultural field, it can be argued that the lover suffers physically and mentally in the face of the lover's cruelty, and love stems from this pain. There are ten ingredients in the potion to cure the lover in distress, or, in other words, to secure his/her return to life, and the ingredients are listed in a balanced manner, without any difference in quantity. In addition, the stages involved in creating the potion consist of elements such as *cefā*, *vefā*, *şafā* and *şevk u muhabbet*. In other words, the main thing is to ensure that the lover can get rid of the ailment of love with a Neoplatonic understanding of balance.

Transcription

*Benüm 'ināyetkārum efendüm 'aşk 'illeti bir ālāyişdür ki
ibtidāsı gözden intihāsı yürekden bir nāzik gül [sic!] gibi şolub
āhū gözlerüñ süzüb pek dertli olub meded başum
ağrır cānum şıklır yüregim oynar ve beñzüm tiz tiz atar
güyā āh vāh hevāsı çeke beñzi şararır yemez ve içmez
elleri ve ayakları kāh āteş gibi yanar ve kāh demür gibi şovuk
olur ol kimseye hekīmler 'ilāc idemez aña 'ilāc şağ*

⁸ Philip van der Eijk, "Medicine in Early and Classical Greece", *The Cambridge History of Science: Volume 1*, Editors: Jones A., Taub L., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (2018): 310.

yanı bāġ [u] bostān ve şol yanı gül [u] gülistān olub
ba 'dehu bu ma 'cūn isti 'māl ideler ma 'cūn bu tertīb üzredür

nāz dirhem 1 şīve dirhem 2 cilve dirhem 3
istiġnā dirhem 4 edā dirhem 5 leṭāfet dirhem 6
firāset dirhem 7 şetāret dirhem 8 nezāket dirhem 9
muḥabbet dirhem 10

bu mezkūr olan eczāları alub
bir araya cem ' idüb içlerinden
cefā çöplerini çıkarub
vefā havānında saḥḥ idüb
şafā tülbindinden geçürüb
şevk u muḥabbet tenceresine koyub
ḥasret 'aleviyle kaynadub
kıvāma tamām geldükde
vuşlat meblaġıyla
şabāḥ aḥşām üçer meblaġ
ta 'yīn ideler ammā içlerinden
iḥtiyārlardan gāyet⁹

⁹ The text is left half finished in the manuscript.

Translation

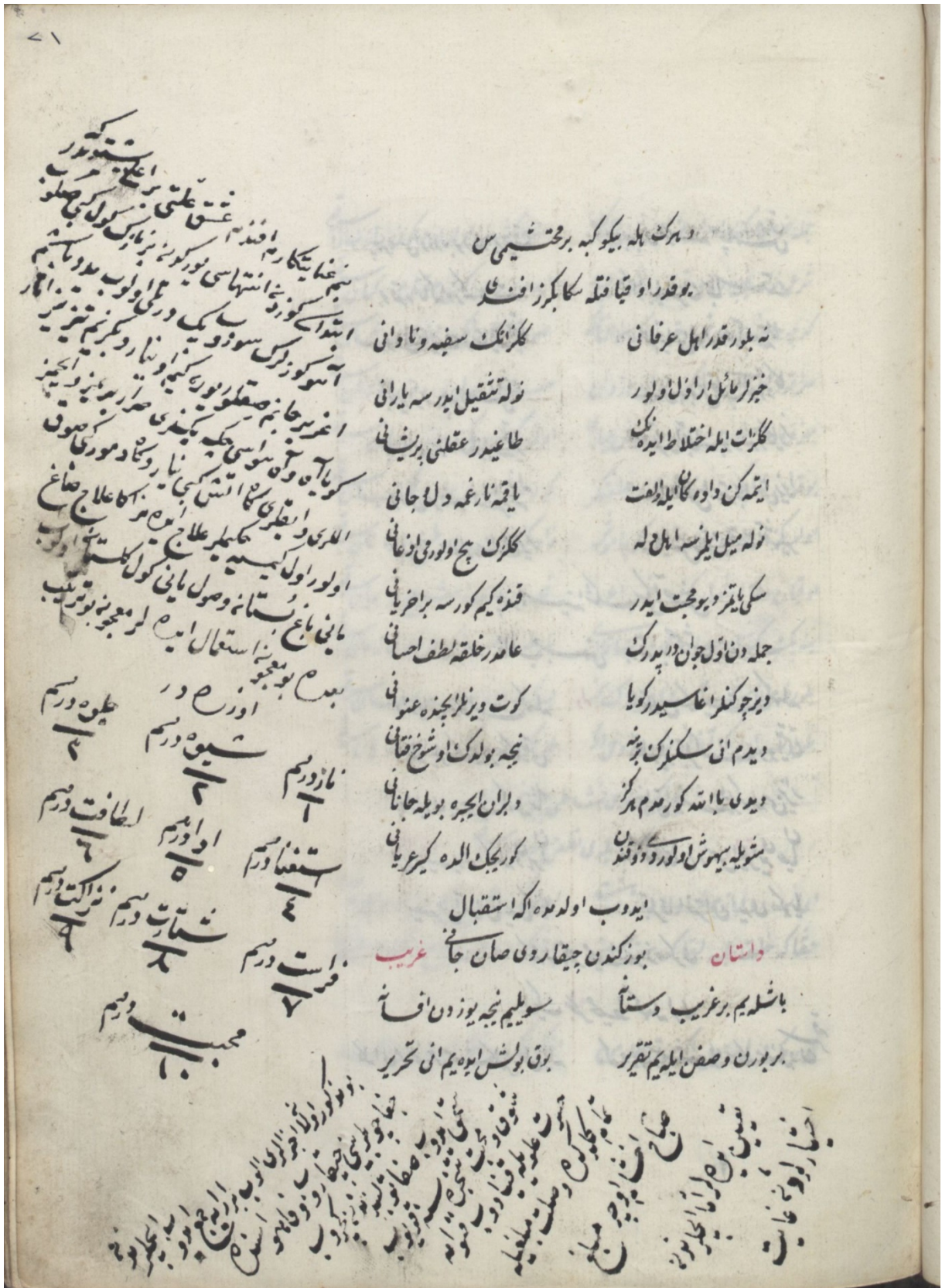
My benevolent master, the love ailment is an infection, it begins at the eye and ends at the heart. One fades like a delicate rose, looks through half-closed gazelle eyes, and one is very sorrowful.

Do help. My head aches, and I am in a low mood, and also, my heart flutters and my face grows glaringly pale. One grows pale, so to speak, as if breathing a sigh of pain, and does not eat or drink. One's hands and feet sometimes burn like fire and sometimes become as cold as iron. Physicians cannot cure that person. The remedy for that person is to let them be flanked by vineyards and orchards to their right and to their left by roses and rose gardens, and then use this elixir. The elixir is composed as follows:

1 dirhem of flirtation	2 <i>dirhem</i> of intonation	3 <i>dirhem</i> of coquetry
4 <i>dirhem</i> of reluctance	5 <i>dirhem</i> of affectation	6 <i>dirhem</i> of delicacy
7 <i>dirhem</i> of sagacity	8 <i>dirhem</i> of gratification	9 <i>dirhem</i> of courtesy
10 <i>dirhem</i> of love		

Take the drugs I mentioned, mix them together, and take out the dregs of long-suffering, pulverize them in the mortar of fidelity, sift them through the cheesecloth of pleasure, put them in the pot of enthusiasm and love and boil them with the flame of longing. When it comes to consistency, take it with the dose of union, three doses should be taken in the morning and evening. Among them, old people are immensely...

Facsimile



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An Ottoman Intelligence Report concerning Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots: Damsel in Distress

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Context

The intelligence report from the Topkapı Palace Museum Archive shared below (TSMA E. 5873/1) provides insight into the interests, intelligence sources, and reach of the Ottoman Empire. It contains the names of key players in Ottoman foreign policy during the reign of Süleymân the Magnificent and covers a wide variety of themes. Interestingly, although it does not explicitly mention her by name, it contains information about Mary, Queen of Scots. The archivists assigned the document the date of September 7, 1566, the day Süleymân passed away during the Siege of Szigetvár. However, internal evidence suggests that the archive's document date is incorrect. Since the betrothal between Mary and Francis II occurred on April 24, 1548, the Sublime Porte must have gotten the news in the latter part of that year. The information shared in the document about the political climate in Europe also confirms the date I suggest.

The three decades preceding the mid-sixteenth century witnessed a significant struggle between two great emperors, Süleymân the Magnificent and Charles V. Both claimed that their power was spread throughout the universe. Claiming that they were the *Şāhib-ķırān* (universal ruler),¹ *Romanorum Imperator* (Emperor of the Romans),² and *Mehdī-yi āķir üz-zamān* (Messiah of the Last Age),³ they engaged in an imperial image-making duel. Although they never faced each other on the battlefield, they continually provoked each other by their actions. In this rivalry, naturally, information-gathering activities were of the utmost importance. Consequently, intelligence became an indirect yet pervasive form of conflict. Both emperors used espionage and intelligence networks as a means of indirect conflict and a form of soft power against each

¹ *Tabakātü'l-memâlik ve derecâtü'l-mesâlik*, Istanbul, Istanbul University Library, Rare Books Section, MS 5997, F 165b.

² Gülru Necipođlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman Hapsburg Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin* 71, no.3 (1989): 409.

³ Cornell Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleymân," in *Soliman Le Magnifique et Son Temps*, edited by Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Rencontres de l'École de Louvre, 1992), 169. and, Ángeles Jordano, "The *Plus Oultra* Writing Cabinet of Charles V: Expression of the Sacred Imperialism of the Austrias," *Journal of Conservation and Museum Studies* 9, (2011): 14.

other, collecting information on military affairs, internal and external political events, and any other knowledge that might give them an advantage.⁴

Ottoman intelligence activities were not centralized but rather were closely tied to the Ottoman *kapus* (households) in the early modern period. Besides the sultan's imperial government members in Istanbul, many other noble households were also involved in espionage.⁵ In other words, information in the capital was not gathered solely by the Sublime Porte itself, since the court received significant information from various sources, including households of the Ottoman nobles. At the same time, the Sublime Porte also urged its vassals (*haraçgüzârs*) and allies to share information with Istanbul.⁶ The “friends” of the Sultan, the French, and the Republic of Venice were major suppliers of information to Ottoman policy-makers.⁷

The document under consideration is a translated intelligence report. It reveals that the French resident ambassador in Venice wrote the report and dispatched it to Istanbul, emphasizing the vital role of “friends” in Ottoman intelligence. While the French ambassador authored the document, the Serenissima facilitated this flow of information to the Sublime Porte. The French ambassador's involvement underscores the importance placed on intelligence provided by the French. The document must have been delivered to the Ottoman court by the French ambassador in Istanbul, Monsieur d'Aramon, who served in Istanbul between 1547 and 1553, and must have then been translated into Ottoman Turkish by court dragomans. It includes the names of the significant actors in Ottoman foreign politics during Sultan Süleymân I's reign and covers a broad range of topics, such as the political actions of the French King

⁴ Gábor Ágoston, “Information, Ideology, and Limits of Imperial Policy: Ottoman Grand Strategy in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry,” in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, ed. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁵ Emrah Safa Gürkan, “Fooling the Sultan: Information, Decision-Making and the ‘Mediterranean Faction’ (1585-1587),” *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 45 (2015): 57-58.

⁶ Emrah Safa Gürkan, “Espionage in the 16th Century Mediterranean: Secret Diplomacy, Mediterranean Go-Betweens and the Ottoman Habsburg Rivalry” (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, April 2012), 400-423.

⁷ Christine Isom Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel: The Ottoman and French alliance in the Sixteenth Century*. (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012): 39.

Henry II (r. 1547-1559), the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V's (r. 1519-1556) endeavor to provoke the French monarch, France's help to Mary, Queen of Scots, the Pope's uneasy position in the conflict, and King Ferdinand's (r. 1521-1564) actions and his undercover correspondence with Berata (Friar Giorgio Martinuzzi). Although the individuals named in the document are frequently mentioned in sixteenth-century Ottoman intelligence reports, archival documents, and chronicles, the mention of Mary Stuart is extraordinary.

While the document does not reveal the name of the "daughter of the late Scottish monarch," it clearly refers to Mary, the only surviving legitimate child and successor of James V Stuart. Mary, the infant Queen of Scots, had been betrothed to the *dauphin* of France after her father's death and sent to France, where she spent thirteen years. The document includes details related to predominant themes in Ottoman foreign policy, suggesting that including information regarding Mary serves a purpose. The war of the Scotland-France alliance against the English crown, with Mary at the center of the conflict, likely attracted the Ottoman government's attention. To summarize, TSMA E. 5873/1 not only contains significant intelligence but also reveals the information the French considered necessary to report to the Sublime Porte, as well as the sources of Ottoman intelligence, its nature, potency, and range.

Transcription

- (1) *'arż-ı bende-i bî-miḳdâr budur ki Venedik' de sâkin olan France elçisinden bu faḳîre mektûblar vâşıl oldu yazılalı iki ay olmış*
- (2) *haberleri bunlardır ki France pâdişâhı Peyamonte nâm serḥadden ḳalkub Liyon şehri cānibine teveccüh eyledi*
- (3) *oradan Martçelyayı ve sâir yarar ḳal'alarını gezüb görse gerekdür ve İspanya serḥaddinde olan ba'z-ı ḥalḳ*
- (4) *İspanya iḡvâsıyla serkeşlik idüb France pâdişâhınıñ ol cānibde olan beglerine ve ḥâkimlerine itâ'at*
- (5) *eylemediler zîrâ Ḳarlo anlara çok nesne adamaḡla kendüye mâyil itmek isterdi France pâdişâhınıñ teveccüh itdiği*

- (6) *taraf ol cānibe olub mezkūr tā'ife anı göricek boy başlarını gönderüb gadrının dileyüb kendülerini France*
- (7) *pādişāhına tefvīz eylediler ve İngiltere elinden İskotcya vilāyetini hālāş eylemek-çün mu 'āvenet eylemeye France pādişāhı*
- (8) *tonanma göndermişdi hayli fetḥler idüb hālāş eylemiş hemān bir ḳal'a ḳalmıḫ anı daḫı muḫāşara idüb almaḫ üzereymiş*
- (9) *ve mezbūr İskotcya vilāyetinüñ ḳralı mürd olub bir kızı ḳalmıḫdı ol kız France pādişāhınıñ aḳrabāsından olmuḫdı*
- (10) *İngiltere ḳralı ol kızı ḫātūnluḫa almaḫ murād idünüb ol-vechle memleketi ḳaplamāḫ isterdi ol ümīdini ḳat'*
- (11) *eylesün deyü France pādişāhı ol kızı kendü memleketine getürtdi Ḳarlo France pādişāhınıñ bu fütūḫına*
- (12) *ḫased idüb İngiltereye ḳuvvet-i ḳalb olsun France pādişāhı maşlahatlarında muzāyaḳa üzerine olsun*
- (13) *deyü Fiyandore cānibine yürüdi dā'imā cehdi bu emn ü emānı bozmaḫa bir sebep zuhūra getürmekdür ki*
- (14) *kendüden olmadı deyü behāne eyleye ve Rim Papa Ḳarloyla muḳābele eylemek-çün France pādişāhıyla ittifāḫ eylemek murād idinüb*
- (15) *tālib oldı amma France pādişāhı Ḳarlo ḫikāyet idüb 'ahde muḫālefet Franceden oldı dimemek-çün ve yüce pādişāh*
- (16) *ḫazretleri ḫāliyā sefer-i hümāyūnda olmaḫın rāzī olmadı lākin Ḳarlo ḳādir olduḫı ḳadar mu 'āhedeye muḫālif*
- (17) *France'ye ve dōstlarına zarar eylemekden ḫāli degildür Rim Papa daḫı bu aḫvāli görüb ne-ümīd olıcaḫ Ḳarloyla kendü*
- (18) *maşlahatlarını bir vechle ber-ḫaraf eyledi ki mā-beynlerinde eyü dōstlık ve bārışıklık oldı ve daḫı Ferandoş Erdel vilāyetinden olan*
- (19) *Beratayla maḫfi meşveretler idüb Erdel vilāyetin kendü eline getürmege cehd ider anlara ḫayli ḫehrler ve ḳal'alar teklif ider*
- (20) *Berata daḫı maşlahata muḫkem muḳayyeddür ve mezbūr Ferandoş Egri ḳal'asını ve serḫadde olan sāyir ḳal'alarını muḫkem berkitmek*

- (21) *üzerinedür ve Andreyā Dori cümle tonanmasıyla İspānya kralınıñ oğlını İtālyaya getürmek-çün Bartçelona nām şehri*
- (22) *limānından gemiye koymağa gitmişdi bu güz eyyāmında gelüb erişse gerekdür hāliyā alınan haberler bunlardur.*

Translation

It is the submission of this worthless slave that letters came to this poor [soul] from the French ambassador who is resident in Venice. It has been two months since the letters were written. They report that the French king departed from the frontier region called Piedmont and headed for the city of Lyon. From there, he is expected to go to Marseille and other prominent fortresses. Some people on the Spanish border disobeyed the French king's lords and governors there, for Charles had promised them many things to cultivate their inclination towards himself. The direction the French king is heading in is close to that border. When the abovementioned people saw the French king, they sent their leaders to him, asked for his mercy, and ceased their disobedience.

The French king had sent a fleet to help free Scotland from the English rule. [This way] he conquered and liberated many places, except one castle, which he is also about to besiege. The king of Scotland had died, leaving behind one daughter, who is a relative of the French king. The English king wanted to marry that daughter to take over that country. To put a stop to his [the English king's] wishes, he ordered that girl to be brought to his realm. Charles was envious of the conquests of the French king and marched toward Flanders to help the English and to hinder the affairs of the French king. His [Charles'] goal is always to create a pretext to break the peace.

The Pope wished to side with the French king and requested this so as to oppose Charles. However, the French king did not consent to this alliance, both because he did not want to give a pretext to Charles for complaints about any French breach of peace and because his majesty, the Supreme Padishah is on an imperial campaign. Nonetheless, Charles never stops opposing the peace and harming France and its

friends. The Pope, seeing this situation, lost hope, and hence he settled all his matters with Charles, and a close friendship and peace arose between them.

Finally, Ferdinand had secret meetings with Fráter, who is in Transylvania, and, in an attempt to have the province of Transylvania delivered into his hands, offered many cities and castles [to Berata and Hungarian magnates]. Fráter also strongly follows this policy. The same Ferdinand is strengthening the castle of Eger and other castles on the border. Andrea Doria sailed to the port of Barcelona with his entire navy to transport the son of the Spanish king to Italy. He should arrive this autumn.

This is the news that we have received so far.

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 اوران مارتیلیای وسایر برار قلعلر کزوب کورسه کرکدر و اسپانیه سجددن اولان بعض خلق
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 ایلدر زرا قاروانلر چوق سننه ادا مغله کندر به مایل ایتمک استردی فرایجه پادشاهنک توجه ایتدی
 طرف اول جانبته اولوب مذکور طایفه انی کورچک بوی باثارن کوندر غدرلر دیلیوب کندورن فرایجه
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 طوانته کوندر مشدی خلی قنلر ایدب خلاص ایش هان برقله قالمش انی دخی محاصر ایدب المق اوزرنه مش
 و مزبور اسقوتچی و لابتنک قرل مرع اولوب برقی قالمش اول قیز فرایجه پادشاهنک اقریاسنک اولمشدی
 انکلازا قرالی اول قری خاتونلغه المق مراد ایدنوب اولوجه ملکتی قیلاق استردی اول امیندی قطع
 ایلسون دیو فرایجه پادشاهی اول قری کندر مملکنه کتورتدی قارلو فرایجه پادشاهنک بونقجه
 حسد ایدب انکلازیه قوت قلب اولسون فرایجه پادشاهی مصلحتلرن مضایقه اوزرنه اولسون
 دیو فیاندور جانبته یورودی دایما جهدی بو امن و امان بوزماغه برسبب ظهور کتورمکدر که
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 طالب اولدی اما فرایجه پادشاهی قارلو شکایت ایدب عهد مخالفت فرایجه دن اولدی دیه مچکون و بوجه پادشاهی
 حضرتلی حالیا سفرهما یونن اولماغین راضی ولما دی لکن قارلو قادر اولدی قده معاهدیه مخالف
 فرایجه دوستلر ضرر ایلکن خالی دکدر ریم پاپا دخی بو احوالی کورب نومیند اولجا قارویله کندر
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 بر اتا دخی مصلحه حکم مقیددر و مزبور فراندوش آری قلعینی و سجدده اولان سایر قلعلر حکم بر کیمت
 اوزرنه در و اندر یوروی جمله طوانته سیده اسپانیه قرالک اوغلی ایسالیه به کتورمچکون بازچکوت نام شهر
 لیماندن کی به قوماغه کتشدی بو کوز ایامند کلوب ایشسه کرکدر حالیا النان خبرلر بونلدر

T.S.M.A.-E 750/48

5873

A Prescription for Love Sickness*

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Context

A prescription describing how to make a paste with the power to soothe love-stricken hearts is explained in a multiple-text. This anonymously compiled anthology is housed in IMM Atatürk Library (*Bel Yz K0633*). Dated between 19 September 1714 and 3 November 1739, the anthology includes folk tales, love poems, allegorical works, and fortune-telling pieces composed in verse. For recovering from lovesickness and epilepsy, the author offers to mix precise quantities of beautifying qualities possessed by the love-stricken individual. After directing where, when, and how this paste should be consumed, the author asserts that an afflicted soul will be relieved of its sickness after consuming the prescription for forty days. The author assuages any doubt prospective consumers may harbour as to the paste's effectiveness by boldly stating that anyone who does not benefit from it is free to curse him.¹ There are also some spelling errors in the text, which implies that it was penned by an insufficiently educated copyist.

We require further evidence before we are able to designate such prescriptions as their own independent genre within the wider corpus of Ottoman literature. Nevertheless, the existence of seemingly analogous examples, both in terms of content and in style, suggests that such a genre may have indeed occupied a place in Ottoman literature, especially during the 17th and 18th centuries.²

Transcription

[79a] *Benüm cānum 'aşk maraızı şar'a zaḫmeti müşābihi bir şeydür. İbtidāsı gözden intihāsı yürekden olur. Allāhü 'azīmü'ş-şān ümmet-i Muḫammedi ol maraızdan emīn eyleye. Bir tāze nāzenīn gül gibi şolup āhū gözlerin süzüp biñ dürlü nāz ile ve istiğnā ile başum agrır ve yüregim [?] oynar ve cānum şıkılır ve sevdām kılkdı dir. Giceler serserī ve bir sā'at bir yerde qarār idemez. Evvel mācinse [?] bir ṭabīb-i hāzık [?] ve bir ḫakīm-i 'ārif gerekdür. Muḫkem nabzdan bilüp ve bildire yañlış 'amel eylemeyeler ve daḫı yahūdī*

¹ Doğan, p. 300–301.

² Şeyma Benli, "A Prescription for the Heart from the Late Ottoman Period", *Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions* 1/2 (Summer 2023): 15–18.

aķrānuñ ĥakīmlerine yapışdırup ve baķdırmayalar. Zīrā anuñ aķ beñzi ve gāh timur gibi kızarır [79b] ve tīz tīz āh vāh ider. Binā'en 'alā zālik bunuñ hevāsınca bu 'ilāc bir ĥūb āvāzlı tāze ile deşt-i şahrā idüp şaĝ yanı bāĝçe ve şol yanı deryā deñiz ve gül-i gülistān olan bir maħalde bülbüller eĝān ide böyle bir yerde teselli-i ĥātır idüp tesķin ide ve andan daħı bir terkīb ile bir ma 'cūn yapup isti 'māl ideler. Terķīb-i ma 'cūn:

<i>nāzdan</i>	<i>şīveden</i>	<i>vādīden</i>	<i>edādan</i>
<i>1 dirhem</i>	<i>2 dirhem</i>	<i>3 dirhem</i>	<i>4 dirhem</i>
<i>āvāzdan</i>	<i>cünbişden</i>	<i>aĥlāķdan</i>	<i>revişden</i>
<i>5 dirhem</i>	<i>6 dirhem</i>	<i>7 dirhem</i>	<i>8 dirhem</i>
<i>terennümden</i>	<i>eṭvārdan</i>	<i>reftārdan</i>	<i>tırızdan</i>
<i>9 dirhem</i>	<i>10 dirhem</i>	<i>11 dirhem</i>	<i>12 dirhem</i>

üslūbdan

13 dirhem

[80a] *İşte benüm cānum benüm efendüm ĥünkārum bu eczāları cefā çöplerinden ayırdlayup vefā ĥavānında döĝüp şafā eleginde iliyüp ve daħı şevķ tenceresinde muħabbet āteşiyle ĥaynadup ve zevķ gicesiyle ĥarışdırup tamām-ı ĥasret 'aleviyle kıvāma gelince bu eczāları içine ĥoyup ma 'cūn ide. Andan şoñra aĥşām ve şabāĥ vuşlat meblāĝıyla isti 'māl ide ve andan şoñra sīne ĥammāmına girüp muħkem derleye ĥarāret aldıķça 'anberli vişne şerbetin içe ve kendi bāĝçesi mīvesinden ĥelāl mīve daħı olur ise o daħı a 'lā olur. Ba 'dehū kırķ gün böylesine tīmār olduķdan şoñra eger bir daħı ol ādemde bir marāz ĥalur ise baña söĝe. İşte ĥukemālīķ da budur yoĥsa Hind'den [80b] Yemen'den ĥakīm getürseler fā'ide eylemez. Bāķī ve's-selām bāķī olasin bāķī durduķça cihān bāķī.*

Translation

My dear, love sickness is reminiscent of epilepsy. It emerges in the eye and reaches its pinnacle in the heart. May Almighty Allah protect the Ummah of Muhammad from this disease. He slowly withers like a delicate, freshly bloomed rose and, with a thousand shades of coyness and self-denial, proclaims, “My head hurts whilst my heart palpitates; my spirit grows jaded whilst my spleen soars.” He wanders at night, unable to find repose in one place for even an hour. Such a fearless, indifferent lover needs, first and foremost, a skilled doctor and a sagacious physician. They should take his pulse and not act with indiscretion; nor should they take him to one of the Jewish doctors for examination. For he has a light complexion, thus causing him sometimes to blush and sigh quickly. As such, they should take this appropriate medicine with a young man with a beautiful voice, and venture into the desert, letting the nightingales serenade him at a place flanked by a garden on the right and the sea and a rose garden on the left. There, they should be consoled and make a paste with this? compound and use it.

Paste composition:

1	2	3	4
drachmas	drachmas	drachmas	drachmas
of coyness	of flirtation	of tenor	of affectation
5	6	7	8
drachmas	drachmas	drachmas	drachmas
of voice	of amusement	of moral qualities	of mincing gait
9	10	11	12
drachmas	drachmas	drachmas	drachmas
of singing	of manner	of pompous walking	of ornamentation

13

drachmas

of savoir-faire

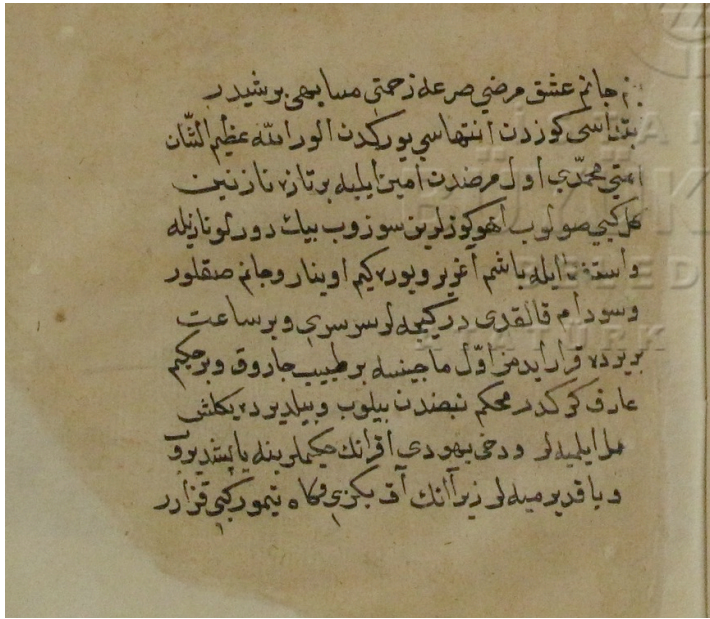
Here, my dear! My sir -my sultan- should glean these ingredients from the refuse heaps of cruelty, mould them in the mortar of constancy, sift them in the sieve of delight, boil them in the saucepan of eagerness with the fire of love, and mix them with the night of pleasure. Once it attains its proper consistency by the flame of longing, he should add these ingredients into it and make it into a paste. He should then ingest it in the evening and morning with the spatula of reunion after which he should enter the bathhouse of warm embrace and sweat it out completely. He should drink sour cherry sherbet with ambergris for as long as he sweats. It would be excellent if ḥalāl fruit from his own garden accompanied this. Should any remnants of his sickness persist after forty days of treatment, let him curse me. This is what it means to be sagacious, (a quality) without which this medicine shall not have any effect, even if they were to bring a physician from India or Yemen. Everlasting greetings. May you too thus remain everlasting for as long as this transient world should endure.

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Facsimilia

79a:



79b:

دیترتیزاه راه ایدر بناء علی ذلک بوندک هو استیجه بو
 علاج برضوب اوزلی تازه ایله دشت صحرای ایدوب صحرای
 یانی باغچه وصول یانی دریا دکن و کل گلستان اولان
 برمه لدر بلبلر افغان ایدر بویله بروردن تسلطی خاطر ایدوب
 تسکین ایدر و اندن دخی بر ترکیب ایله بر معجون یاپون
 استعمال ایدر لو ترکیب معجون

نارزدن درهم ۱	شیوه دن درهم ۲	وادیدن درهم ۳	ادادن درهم ۴
اوزدن درهم ۵	جنبشدن درهم ۶	اخلاقدن درهم ۷	روایستدن درهم ۸
تورتمدن درهم ۹	اطواردن درهم ۱۰	رفساردن درهم ۱۱	طرظدن درهم ۱۲
اوسلوبدن درهم ۱۳			اشنه

80a:

اشته بنم جانم بنم افندم بنم حنکارم بواجز اوی
 جفا جو پلر نزن آبر دلیوب وفا حوانندار و کوب
 صفا الکنده ایلوب و دخی شوق تیغ سند
 محبت اندیشه قینادوب و زوق کجه سیله
 فرشدروب تمام حسرت علویه قوامه کلنجه
 بواجز اوی ایچنه قیوب معجون اید اندن
 صکره اخشام و صباح و صلت مبالا غیله
 استعمال اید و اندن صکره سینده حجامنه
 کیوب محکم در لیه حرارت الدنجه عنبر ای
 ویشنه شریقتی ایچنه و کندی بغچه سی میوه سندن
 هلال میوه دخی اولور ایسه او دخی اعلا اولور
 بعده قرق کون بویله سنه تمار اولدندن
 صکره اکبر دخی اول آمدد بر مرض قاور ایسه
 بکاسوکه اشته صکره تقد بودریوخسه کهندن

80b:

یمندن حکیم کتور سه لر فایده ایلن باقی و التسلام
 باقی اوله سین ایچن باقی دور دتجه جهاه باقی

A Mixture of Sugar and Tail Fat: 17th Century Recipes for Pastry and Medicine

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Recipe, Sugar Pastry, Substances, 17th century

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Context

This contribution consists of three different recipes found in a miscellany in the Esad Efendi Collection in Süleymaniye Library (Esad Ef. 3479). The date of the miscellany and recipes is not specified. The first recipe is for a sweet sugar pastry (*şeker börek*) and the other two are for medicines for a dry throat and hypochondria respectively. The pastry recipe was written on the edge of the page and some of the ingredients and instructions are missing (possibly due to a cut during bookbinding?). However, the recipes for the medications are complete. They mostly contain plants. While gargling, a practice also found in modern medicine, is recommended for a dry throat, an inhalation made from a mixture of senna, anise, and fennel, known for their calming effect, is recommended for anxiety. These three recipes show the similarity between food and medicine preparation in terms of enumerating ingredients and the provision of brief instructions. The recipes use both accurate and approximate measures, such as a handful and a cup, and units of measurement, like *okka* and *dirhem*.¹

The first recipe is a pastry recipe. Today, although pastries (*börek*) are mostly prepared with cheese, potatoes, spinach, or minced meat, it is still possible to come across sweet pastry recipes such as Laz pastry and Kurdish pastry in Anatolia that are just like this sugar pastry. Pastry is a food made over a wide range of geographical areas and each society makes its own type of pastry. The basic component of pastry is the dough and the filling, whether sweet or savory is placed between this dough. More extensive research on sweet and savory pastries and perhaps more new recipes discovered in manuscripts may give us more information on changes in tastes from the Ottoman Empire to the present day. These days butter and oil are used in pastry instead of tail fat, so it is difficult to find a pastry like the one in the miscellany. However, this is not the case for the recipes for medicines, as the ingredients in them are still used today in herbal

¹ A *dirhem* is equal to 3.148 grams although it changes from time to time or from place to place, and an *okka* is equal to 1283 grams. See *Kitâb-ı Mekûlât*, ed. Günay Kut (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2023), 23.

or alternative medicine to treat the diseases mentioned. The miscellany appeals to readers from all eras with these recipes.

Transcription (157a, recipe 1)

Terkīb-i şeker börek

190 m² sükker

400 m daķik-i hāşş

180 m revġan-ı sāde

40 m kıyruk yaġı

[...]³

Cümlesin bir yirde ħalt idüb muĥkem ova tā ki ħall ola ba '[dehū]

bādāmı döküb bir miķdārçe şekerle ova ve içine [...]

ķoyub bir tepsi üzerine dizüb furuna ķoy[ub]

[...] ħar[ā]ret pişürüb çıkara ve's-selām

Translation

Recipe for Sugar-Pastry (*Börek*)⁴

190 *dirhem* sugar

400 *dirhem* pure flour

180 *dirhem* ghee

40 *dirhem* tail fat

[Almonds] (May be forgotten or omitted)

Mix all of the ingredients and rub them well in until they are mixed. Then take the almonds, rub them with some sugar, and put [...] in it. Put on a tray, put the tray in the oven, [...] and bake it. That is it.

² The letter *mim* is the abbreviation of *dirhem*.

³ The almonds might be forgotten or omitted.

⁴ In this recipe the unit of measurement used is *dirhem*. The amount of ingredients used is too much if *dirhem* has no other meaning?

Transcription (158b, recipe 2)

Boğazda olan uruluĐa nāfi ‘ bir ‘ilācdır

Bir avuc arpa bir miĐdār ul urusı bir fincān ‘asel ve bir vakiyye mā ile ab olınub argara olına

Translation

A useful medicine for a dry throat

Boil a handful of barley, some dried rose petals, a cup of honey, and a *vakiyye*⁵ of water and gargle them.

Transcription (158b, recipe 3)

Merāa nāfi ‘ olan mu ‘ālecedir aflet olunmaya

40 direm sināmekī

25 direm ırım artar

5 direm dārīn

5 direm anīsūn

5 direm rāziyāne

Bir miĐli Őeker ile safūf olınub ũ [?] nesem isti ‘māl olınub ũzerine Őıca bir fincān Őu ie

Translation

A useful medicine for hypochondria – Keep it in mind!

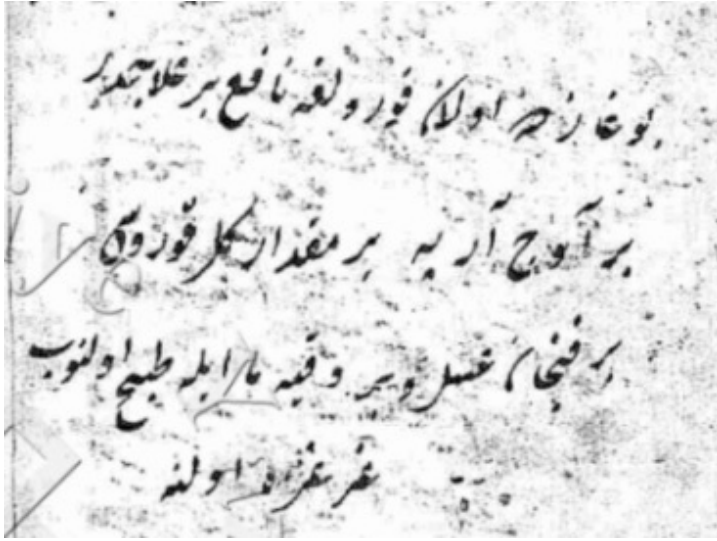
40 dirhem senna

25 dirhem cream of tartar / potassium bitartrate

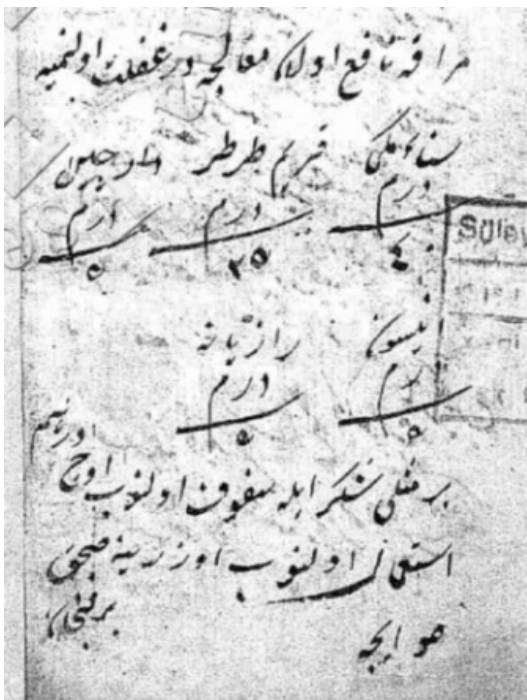
5 dirhem cinnamon

⁵ An ancient unit of weight measurement.

Recipe 2



Recipe 3



A Chronogram Dating the Construction of the Mevlevi Lodge in Gelibolu

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Chronogram, Gelibolu, Mevlevi lodge, Ağazade Muhammed Efendi, ‘Ayānī, 17th century

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Context

The chronogram (Tr. *tārīḥ*) examined in this article can be found in a collection of correspondence in the Halet Efendi Collection at the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library under the catalog number 264369.¹ Chronograms are dates hidden within texts based on the numerical values of the Arabic alphabet and are usually penned in the form of couplets. They signify notable events such as an enthronement, the birth or death of an influential person, or the construction of a monument or building.² The chronogram in the above-mentioned document was written by a poet with the pseudonym ‘Ayānī and marked the date of the construction of Gelibolu Mevlevi Lodge by Ağazade Şeyh Muhammed Efendi. Deciphering the last line of the second couplet by adding up the numerical values of the letters reveals the date of 1020 AH (1611-12 AD), and it overlaps with the construction date noted in the document.

Shortly after this chronogram was recorded, the historian Mustafa Safi referred to Gelibolu as “the lock of the Aegean Sea” (*deryā-yı sefīdīñ kilidi*), as the city played a crucial role during the early modern Ottoman period due to its strategic location in the northern entrance to the Dardanelles.³ The founder and head (*postnişin*) of Gelibolu Mevlevi Lodge was Ağazade Şeyh Muhammed Efendi, as stated in the document. According to Esrar Dede’s collection of biographies (*tezkiye*) on Mevlevi poets, Ağazade Muhammed was born in Gelibolu as the son of a janissary agha. In addition to his role at Gelibolu Mevlevi Lodge, he was also the head of Beşiktaş Mevlevi Lodge in Istanbul for a while. The Beşiktaş Mevlevi Lodge in Istanbul was built by Ohrili Hüseyin Pasha.⁴ After the Pasha was executed, Ağazade Muhammed left his post in Beşiktaş and stayed in Gelibolu, where he died in 1063 AH / 1652-1653 AD.⁵ Although the exact date of its

¹ Anonymous *Mecmū ‘a-i Münşe’ât*. Süleymaniye Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, Halet Efendi Koleksiyonu nr. 264369. vr. 3a.

² Ali Asghar Seyed-Gohrab, “Chronogram, Persian.” In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, edited by Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Devin J. Stewart, accessed 23.12. 2023.

³ Feridun Emecen, “Gelibolu,” *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/gelibolu>, accessed 23.12.2023.

⁴ Esrâr Dede, *Tezkire-i Şu‘arâ-yı Mevleviyye*, ed. İlhan Genç, (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2018), 27-28.

⁵ Ş. Barihüda Tanrıkorur, “Gelibolu Mevlevihanesi,” *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*,

establishment is unknown, as the foundation certificate-charter (*vaḳfiyye*) has not survived, Tanrıkorur argues that the foundation of the Mevlevihane predated 1621, the date when Ohrili Hüseyin Pasha assumed the position of grand vizier.⁶ His estimate does not contradict the date of 1020 AH / 1611-12 AD given in the chronogram.

In the light of the transcribed document, it can be ascertained that ‘Ayānī, the poet who penned the couplets, was a 17th-century poet who lived during the reign of Sultan Ahmed I. ‘Ayānī may be the same person as Beyānizāde (son of Beyānī) ‘Ayānī, one of the poets of Sultan Ahmed I’s reign, whose ghazals Ahmet Sevgi came across in a miscellany in the Konya Manuscript Library.⁷ The fact that Cārullāhzāde Beyānī was a Halveti sheikh who had spent some time in a convent (*zāviye*) in Gelibolu⁸ and a reference to the city found in Beyānizāde’s ghazals both lend weight to this theory.

Transcription

Tārīḥ-i binā-yı Mevlevihāne-i

Gelibolu be-zāt-ı

Ağazāde Şeyḥ

Meḥemmed Efendi

Devr-i ‘adlinde şeh-i baḥr u berr Aḥmed Ḥāniñ

Sā ‘i-i ḥayr-ı cemil oldı Meḥemmed Ağa

Söyledi añā ‘Ayānī-yi süḥan-dān tārīḥ

Mevlevihāne-i i ‘lā’ cinān-āsā cā

1020

<https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/gelibolu-mevlevihanesi>, accessed 23.12.2023.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ahmet Sevgi, “Beyānizāde Ayānī’nin Gazelleri,” *Selçuk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 34 (2015): 90.

⁸ Mustafa İsen, “Beyani”. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, edited by Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Devin J. Stewart, accessed 24. 12. 2023.

Translation

Chronogram of the construction of
the Gelibolu Mevlevi Lodge by
Ağazade Sheikh
Mehemmed Efendi

In the reign of justice of Ahmed Khan, the sultan of sea and land
Mehemmed Agha was zealous (in his pursuit) for good deeds.

The eloquent ‘Ayānī said its chronogram,
The exalted Mevlevi lodge, a place like the heavens
1020

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İsen, Mustafa. “Beyani.” In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, edited by Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Devin J. Stewart, accessed 24.12.2023.

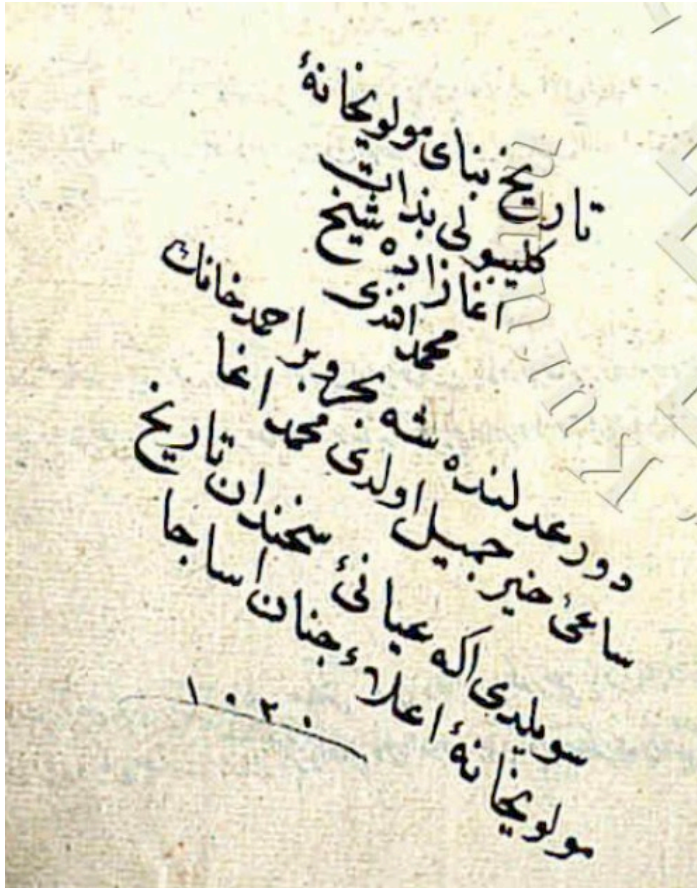
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<https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/gelibolu-mevlevihanesi>, accessed 24.12.2023.

Facsimile



One Era, Two Sultans of Words:

A Story About Karamanlı Nizâmî and Ahmed Paşa

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Context

This article discusses a story concerning Ahmed Paşa (d. 1496–97), one of the poets of Mehmed II’s reign, and Karamanlı Nizâmî (d. 1469–1473), that mainly focuses on Nizâmî’s life. The story is found in the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, Esad Efendi 3384, between folios 39b–40b. Nizâmî’s *gazel* is also featured in the continuation of the story. The same collection includes Veysî’s *Hâb-nâme*, Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî’s *Kavâidü’l-Mecâlis*, *Mir’âtü’l-Avâlim*, Ebüssüûd Efendi’s *Du’ânâme*, some fragments from Nâdirî’s *Dîvân*, and treatises written in various genres. Based on these works, it can be said that the collection was compiled in the 18th century at the earliest.

During the reign of Mehmed II, when Ottoman poetic language was beginning to take shape, Ahmed Paşa,¹ a protégé of the sultan, and Nizâmî,² a protégé of Mahmud Pasha, were depicted as rival poets of their time. In the story examined here, traces of this rivalry can be seen, albeit briefly. The poems of Nizâmî, who was a poet envied by everyone in his homeland, reached the capital and attracted the attention of Ahmed Paşa, the vizier-poet of the time. Ahmed Paşa, who desired an *arparlık* (a revenue-yielding land grant) in Konya, encountered Nizâmî in a bathhouse and, upon recognizing his talent, reported it to the sultan. In response, Mehmed II instructed the vizier to send Nizâmî to Istanbul as a *muşâhib*,³ accompanied by a substantial sum. On his way to Istanbul, Nizâmî encountered a dervish-like Persian poet⁴ who had previously presented a *kaşîde* to Mehmed II. Nizâmî claimed that the *kaşîde* the Persian poet presented to the sultan actually belonged to Sa’dî-i Şîrâzî. When Nizâmî accusing this poet of theft, asked him to recite a new *kaşîde*, he claimed to have been reciting his own poem. Offended by the accusation, the poet left Nizâmî, cursing him. According to the story, Nizâmî passed away at the age of 18 under the influence of this curse.

¹ Günay Kut, “Ahmed Paşa, Bursalı,” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, online version (accessed: 04.12.2023), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ahmed-pasa-bursali>.

² A. Azmi Bilgin, “Karamanlı Nizâmî,” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, online version (accessed: 04.12.2023), <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/karamanli-nizami>.

³ An official who accompanies sultan and serves as a kind of advisor in the Ottoman palace.

⁴ It may be a reference to the story of Le’âlî, the famous ‘muajjam’ (i.e. pretending to be a Persian) poet of this era. Mustafa İsen, *Kühûl’l-Ahbâr’ın Tezkire Kısım*, Ankara: AKM Yay., 1994, 142.

The story reveals some traces of the literary culture of the era. We can divide the story into a few sections. In the first section, Ahmed Paşa sees Nizâmî as a rival, a theme that also appears in later poet biographies (*tezkires*).⁵ Ahmed Paşa, who wrote parallels (*nażîres*) to Nizâmî's *kaşîdes*, critiqued some of his poems to test him. However, he became an admirer of Nizâmî after receiving a parallel from him. In the second section, there is a reference to Ahmed Paşa's bathhouse story during his years in Bursa.⁶ In the third section, there is a rumor about the early death of Nizâmî. A different version of this rumor is also found in the poet biographies of the time.⁷

Transcription

[1b] Şehr-i Konya'da Şeyh-zāde Nizāmî Çelebi'nüñ vezîr-i a 'zam-ı sâbık Aḥmed Paşa ile olan hikāyetidür.

Sultān Mehmed merḥūm devrinde emîrū 'ş-şu 'arâ ve serdâr-ı vüzerâ merḥūm Aḥmed⁸ olan Aḥmed Paşa'nuñ şöhreti nihāyetde // iken Konya şehrinde Nizāmî nām bir şâ 'ir-i benām civân-ı bî-hemtâ ve sultān-ı hûbân-ı ğarrâ misâl-i hilâl-i 'îd ve bedr-i // kemâl-i bedîd mânend-i pençe-i hürşîd peydâ olup Aḥmed Paşa'nuñ kaşîde ve ğazellerine nażîre diyüp her bir // nażîresinde ğalebe idüp Aḥmed Paşa'ya îşâl ider. Aḥmed Paşa daḥı ol diyârūñ halkından:// "Nizāmî Çelebi ne maḳûle kimesnedür?" diyü su 'âl ider. Cevâb bu yüzden virürler ki "Meşâyiḥ-i 'izâmdan // bir 'azîzüñ veled-i kirâmlarıdur ḥüsnüyle bî-hemtâ ve şöyle müstesnâdur ve 'l-ḥâşîl dünyâda nażîri bulunmaz." didüklerinde // Aḥmed Paşa kulaḳdan 'aşîḳ olup mülâkât ve müşerref olmasın murâd idinüp vezîr-i a 'zam iken arpalık // tarîkıyla Konya'yı alup gelür. Günlerden bir gün Nizāmî Çelebi'yi su 'âl ider. Dirler ki: "Kaḫ'an taşra çıkmaz ve illâ // haftada bir gün ḥammâma gelür? Ol daḥı niḳâbla cemâl-i bâ-kemâlini kimseye göstermez." Aḥmed Paşa ol ḥammâmuñ // nâḫırını

⁵ Rıdvan Canım, *Latîfi Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ ve Tabsıratu'n-Nuzamâ (İnceleme- Metin)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2000, 533, 535.

⁶ Mefail Hızlı, "Ahmed Paşa ve Eğitime Katkıları", *Bursalı Şair Ahmet Paşa ve Dönemi*, Ed.: Bilal Kemikli, Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2010, 33.

⁷ Haluk İpekten, *Karamanlı Nizâmî Hayatı, Edebi Kişiliği ve Divanı*, Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1974, 20.

⁸ The copyist mistakenly wrote "late Ahmad".

iḥzār idüp şūret-i ḥālī aña şorar ol daḥı anlar virdügi cevābı eyidür. Aḥmed Paşa // dir ki: “Nizāmī ḥammāma geldügi gün tiz gel baña ḥaber vir saña vāfir filori müjde virürem.” didükde nātır // müterakḫıb olup gözler. Nāgāh bir gün Nizāmī şehāb içinden māhtāb toğar gibi ḥammām ḫapusından ṭulū ‘ // ider. Nātır sür ‘atle varup Aḥmed Paşa’ya müjde eyidür. Aḥmed Paşa da tiz ḥammām ḫapusında bulinup ‘ale’l-fevr // şoyinup ḥammāma girer. Nizāmī Çelebi’nüñ yunduğı ḥalvete gelüp peştemāli ḫaldurup içeri varur. Ne görür ki // bir cevān-ı bī-mānend deryā māliki gibi gīsuların perīşān eylemiş ṭurma yunur. Aḥmed Paşa’nuñ ‘aklı başından // gidüp şūret-i dīvār-misāl ḥalvetüñ dīvārına ṭayanup ḫalur. Nizāmī Çelebi ḫarīniyle kim idügin fehmi idüp // ayağa şıçrayup: “Buyuruñ sultānum.” diyü yer gösterür. Aḥmed Paşa daḥı: “Ḥazreti Allāh’ı severseñüz kendi ‘ālemüñüzde // oluñ muḫayyed olmañ.” diyü ḥalvetüñ güşesine geçüp bunu temāşā iderken fikr ider ki āh bir laṭife düşüp [2a] bir yerden muşāḥabet açılrsa dirken ḥātırına Nizāmī’nüñ ihām-ıla bir maḫṭa ‘ı var ol gelür dir ki: “Benüm efendüm böyle // size ṭoḫunacak yeri olan maḫṭa ‘ı ne ‘aceb ihtiyār [!] itmişsiz? Hele ben olsam ihtiyār [!] itmezdim.” didükde Nizāmī “Buyuruñ // ol maḫṭa ‘ı işidelüm.” didükde, Aḥmed Paşa oḫur:

İy Nizāmī vaşla şād olma vü hicrāna melül

Kāyınātuñ ḥālī çüñkim inḫılāb üstindedür⁹

didükde Nizāmī aldurmaz renginde eyidür: “Vaşlalığımız muḫarrer ammā sizüñ // daḥı ihām-ıla bir maḫṭa ‘ıñuz vardur. ‘Acebdür ihtiyār [!] itmişsiz” didükde, Aḥmed Paşa “Buyuruñ işidelüm” dir. Nizāmī de // Aḥmed Paşa’nuñ bu maḫṭa ‘ınuñ mışrā ‘ın oḫur:

Aḥmed iblīse ḫiyāmetden su ‘āl itmek neden¹⁰

didükde // Aḥmed Paşa görür ki fi’l-vāḫi ‘ bir ṭabī ‘at ki ḫābiliyyet bundan ziyāde olmaḫ muḫāldür. Ḥammāmdan evine geldügi // gibi merḫūm ve mağfūrun leh Ebū ‘l-fetḫ Sultān Meḫemmed’e Nizāmī’nüñ ḫüsn ü ḫulḫını ve ṭabī ‘at-ı şı ‘riyyesin şol // mertebe vaşf ider ki ḫābil-i ta ‘bīr degül. Ḥattā ḥammāmda olan laṭifeyi ‘ayniyle yazar. Sultān Meḫemmed de Nizāmī’ye // derūndan maḫabbet idüp hemān fi’l-ḫāl Aḥmed Paşa’ya ḫaṭṭ-ı ḫümāyün

⁹ İpekten, *Karamanlı Nizāmî*, 142.

¹⁰ Ali Nihat Tarlan, *Ahmed Paşa Divanı*, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1966, 273.

gönderür ki: “Nizāmî’yi muşāhiblük // için bu cānibe gönderesin ve yanūnda harc-ı rāh beş biñ filori virüp pederinüñ dağı hātırın // hoş itmek için biñ filori viresin” didükde fi’l-ḥāl Ahmed Paşa beş biñ filori harc-ı rāh virüp // ‘azizine biñ filori ri’āyet idüp merhūm Sultān Meḥemmed cānibine gönderür.

İttifāk şafāyla giderken // bir şahrāya konar. Bahār faşlı görse ki bir ‘Acem-i nemed-pūş ‘azm-i İstanbul idüp gider meger ki şu ‘arā-yı ‘Acemden bir // faşih şā’ir Sultān Meḥemmed merhūma yüz beyt bir kaşide diyüp bahsle gelmiş. Bu kaşidenüñ her beytinde ‘azīm // kaşdlar ve ğarīb şan ‘atlar harc eylemiş. Dervişüñ yolu Nizāmî’nüñ çadırı önüne uğraduğda Nizāmî // fi’l-ḥāl bunda bir neşveyi mülāḥaza idüp ḥademedden birin gönderür ki var şol derviş da ‘vet eyle.” // ḥidmetkār da şitāb idüp varur: “Gel seni efendimiz ister” diyü çağırıp derviş gelüp Nizāmî’ye // selām virüp Nizāmî’den selāmın alup ta ‘zīmen yer gösterür. Dervişdür iki dizi üzerine cülūs idüp // iki nüktedān-ı suḥan-perdāz muşāhabete koyulurlar. Esnā-yı kelāmda Nizāmî dervişe su’āl ider ki: // “Yağın zamānda kaşāyid ve ğazeliyātdan şudūr itmiş bir nesneñüz var mı?” Derviş dağı Ebū’l-fetḥ Sultān Meḥemmed [2b] ḥazretine didüğü kaşideyi okur. Nizāmî fi’l-ḥāl cümle kaşideyi ḥıfzına alup tamām olduğıda tebessüm idüp ve “Bu // kaşide Şeyḥ Sa’dī ḥazretinün dīvānındandur sirkat eylemişsin bu eskidür bir yeñi var ise görelüm, // ben bu kaşideyi tuḫūliyyet ‘āleminde ḥıfzıma almışam ister iseñ bilā-noqşān saña okıyayın” dir. Dağı fi’l-ḥāl // dervişüñ maḥzarında cümlesin okur. Derviş ta ‘accüb ider ve yine dir ki bu kuvvet-i ḥāfızaya mālīkdür ancak eyidür: // “Sultānum ma’lūm oldu kuvvet-i ḥāfızaya mālīk olduğıñuz bize ‘arz ancak cefā ise kifāyet ider.” didükçe // Nizāmî kaṭ’an aldurmayup: “Sirkat itdügüñ kaşide benümdür deyü i ‘timād itdüreyin dirseñ ol olmaz” // bu kelāmdan derviş ol kadar müte’ellim ve muḫtarib olur ki kâbil-i tavşif degül. Muḥaşşıl ḥātır-mānde olup // hemān kalçup gitdüğü yolu dutup girüye döner şahrāda başın açup derūndan bir du’ā ider // ki Ḥaḫ sübhānehu ve te’ālā dergāhından recām budur ki mu’ammer olmayasın. Fi’l-ḥāl derviş-i mezbūruñ tır-i du’ası // hedef-i kabülde vāki’ olup üç güne varmaz Nizāmî on sekiz yaşında iken vefāt ider, Sultān Meḥemmed’e // mülākāt müyesser olmaz.

*Bu kışşayı baş itmekden murād oldur ki eger gerçekden ve eger laţifeden h atıra t okınaca 
// s z a l  c yiz olanlardan deg ld r. K dir olursa  h atır yap deg l ise n yı ma  ne. Borc
d ny da ve  horetde ey  deg ld r hazer gerekd r. Beyt:*

Budur  s yiş-i  alem budur ma b l-i ins   cin

Ne senden kimse incins n ne hod sen kimseden incin

Translation

This is the story of Şeyho lu Niz m  and the former vizier A med Paşa, which took place in the city of Konya.

In the era of the late Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, when the fame of the leader of poets and the head of viziers, the late A med Paşa, was at its peak, a unique young poet emerged in the city of Konya by the name of Niz m , who was considered the sultan of beauties, akin to the new moon, and he composed responses (*na ires*) to Ahmed Pasha’s *kaşides* and *gazels*. The *na ires* he wrote were superior to A med Paşa’s, and he sent them to him. A med Paşa asked the people of that city, “What kind of man is Niz m   elebi?” The people replied, “He is the son of a great sheikh, matchless and unparalleled in beauty; there is no one like him in the world.” Upon hearing this, A med Paşa fell in love with the young man and, while serving as the Grand Vizier, requested Konya as his *arpalık* for retirement and went to that city to meet him. One day, A med Paşa asked the people of Konya about Niz m   elebi, and they responded, “He never goes outside, without fail once a week he comes to the bathhouse covered up and does not reveal his beauty to anyone.” A med Paşa then approached the keeper of the bathhouse and asked the same question, and he gave the same answer. Upon hearing this, A med Paşa said to the keeper, “When Niz m  comes to the bathhouse, quickly come and inform me. I will reward you generously.” The keeper waited, and one day he saw Niz m  arriving at the bathhouse like the moon rising in the clouds. He immediately went to A med Paşa and delivered the good news. A med Paşa swiftly appeared at the bathhouse door, undressed quickly, and entered. He went to the bathing area wearing the bathhouse attire and saw an unparalleled young man washing, letting his hair fall like a mermaid. A med Paşa was mesmerized; his mind went blank, and he leaned against the bathhouse wall like a statue. Niz m   elebi, upon realizing who A med Paşa was, jumped to his feet and said, “Please, my Sultan,” offering him a place. A med Paşa replied, “For God’s sake, be at ease; don’t spoil your mood,” and moved to a corner of the bathhouse to observe him, hoping a topic would come up naturally. Soon, he thought of a story, hoping to bring it up if a conversation opened up. Then, he remembered a verse that Niz m  had subtly mentioned and said, “My lord, why did you utter a verse with such teasing words? If it

were me, I wouldn't have said it." When Nizāmī asked, "Please, tell us which verse it is," Aḥmed Paşa replied:

"O Nizāmī, be not too joyous in reunion, nor too sorrowful in separation. For the order of the world is ever in flux, constantly changing."

Upon hearing this, Nizāmī, unfazed, responded, "Perpetual is the state of reunion, but you also have a veiled verse; how did you express it?" Aḥmed Paşa then said, "Come, let's hear it." Nizāmī recited the following verse from Aḥmed Paşa:

"Aḥmed, why ask the devil about the Day of Judgment?"

Upon hearing this, Aḥmed Paşa realized that Nizāmī's natural ability was remarkable. As soon as he returned home from the bathhouse, he described in great detail the beauty, creation, and poetic talent of Nizāmī, to the father of victories, Sultan Mehmed in a way that words cannot express. He even narrated the story that took place at the bathhouse in every detail. Sultan Mehmed, feeling affection for Nizāmī, immediately sent a decree to Aḥmed Paşa: "Send Nizāmī to me to be a companion, provide him with a travel allowance of five thousand florins, and also give him a thousand florins to please his father's heart." At this, Aḥmed Paşa provided five thousand florins as a travel allowance for Nizāmī and an additional thousand florins for his father. He then sent Nizāmī to Sultan Mehmed. Nizāmī, on his way to Istanbul in the spring season, set up his tent and encountered a Persian poet wearing a felt garment. It turned out that this person was one of the Persian poets heading to Istanbul to present a hundred-verse panegyric to Sultan Mehmed. In each verse of this panegyric, he uttered lofty expressions and (demonstrated) original arts. As the Dervish passed by Nizāmī's tent, Nizāmī sent a servant to say, "Invite that dervish." The servant went and called out, "My master calls you; come." The dervish came, greeted Nizāmī, and he reciprocated the greeting. Nizāmī respectfully gestured to a seat, and the dervish sat down on his knees. The witty and eloquent poets began speaking. During the conversation, Nizāmī asked the dervish a question, saying, "Have you recently produced anything from your *kaşide* and *gazel*?" The dervish recited the panegyric he had performed to the father of victories, Sultan Mehmed. Nizāmī immediately memorized this panegyric, laughed, and said, "This panegyric is from the divan of Şeyh Sa'dî; you've plagiarized it; it's an old one. If there's something new, let us see it. I memorized this panegyric in my childhood. If you want, I can recite it flawlessly for you." And he recited the entire panegyric in front of the dervish. The dervish was astonished and said, "Your memory is strong. Your only purpose seems to be to torment us with your knowledge." Nizāmī remained unfazed and said, "If you say,

'This panegyric is mine; let me assure you,' then it's not acceptable. The dervish was saddened beyond description by these words .

The dervish, with a broken heart, got up from his place and, on his way back, in the wilderness, uncovered his head and sincerely prayed to Allah, saying, "O Allah! I ask you that he may not live long." In this state, the dervish's prayer arrow reached its target, and within three days, Nizāmī passed away at the age of 18 without meeting Sultan Mehmed. The purpose of recounting this story, whether true or anecdotal, is to emphasize that the words that break hearts are not the good ones. If you have the strength, build bridges in hearts; don't break them. Causing harm is not good in this world and the hereafter. It is to be avoided. Verse:

"In the order of this world, what is acceptable for everyone is this: No one should be hurt by you, nor should you be hurt by anyone else."

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Facsimile

شهر توپردن شیخ زاده نظایر جلایی ننگ وزیر اعظم ابن
لحم پاشا ایله اولون حکایتیدار

سلطان محمد حور زورین امیر لشکر و سردار وندا روح و عدل و انور لود باشانک شهرتین بائند
ایک توپه شهرین نظایر ناسر بر شاعر ناسر جلیز بیچمان لطان خیلان غلامشال هلال جید و بند
کمال بدیدان اندیشی خورشید پید اولور لحم پاشانک مقصیده و غیر لریه نظیم دیوهر بر
تظیر سنه غلبه ایوب لحم پاشا یه ایصال ایله احمد پاشا ریخی اول زبارک خلقندن
نظایر جلایی نه مقولر کسسه خردیو سوال ایله خیار نو یوزد ویرد که مشایخ عظامند
بر عزیزک ولد کولردن حسنله بیچمان شواله مستننار و حاصل دینار و نظیری بولغیز بر کلن
لحم پاشا قرقاق غاشق اولور ملک قاز و شرف انا سین نر ایدینر وزیر اعظم ایکن ایرون
طر قبیل توپردن اولور کولور کولور کولور نظایر جلایی سوال ایله دیر که قطعاً اهنس جعفر اول
هفته بر برکت قاده کولور اول ریخی تقابله جمال با امانی کسسه کوسن لحم پاشا اول قماله
ناظرین احضار ایله صورتی عالی انما صور اول ریخی امل ویردکی جواب ایله لحم پاشا
دیر که نظایر قاده کلدکی کولر نین کل بخا غیب دیر سکا و افزون بیرون دیر هر دیر که نظر
مترقی اولور کولر ناهجه برکت نظایر سخا بر اچیندن ناخا بر طوغری قاره قوسندن طلوع
ایله ناظر سر عله و دیو لحم پاشا یه خرزم ایله لحم پاشا اریقین قاره قوسندن اولون علی لغند
صنوبر قاده کولور نظایر جلایی ننگ یوزدی خلوته کولور پشقای نالد و بر اچر با لور نر کولر
بر خیلان بی ناند دریا ناکلی ای کسولرین پریشان المیش طوره یونور لحم پاشانک عیلمی بائند
کندعب صورتی دیوهر مشال خلقن دیوار نه طیار تو فالور نظایر جلایی بریندله که ایدر کین خرم ایدر
ایاغه صحرایوب یوزدن سلطان دیوهر کوس لحم پاشا ریخی حضور اللهی سوس کندی لکن
اولک مقصد اولک دیو خلقن کوشنه کویب بوغیا ناسا ایدر کولر دیر که راه بلطفه خروشوب

الذکر

برین مصاحبت اجلسه درین خاطر از نظای تک ایها میله بر مقطعی در ادا لکل دریکه بر افند بر بله
 سین طوقی بری اول از مقطعی نه عجب احبنا انتم من هلم بن الوسم احبنا انتم من هلم بن الوسم احبنا انتم من هلم بن الوسم
 اول مقطعی بشین بر درین اهدایت اوقور ای نظای جمله شاد اوله هجرانه نول
 کاتبانک خالی چون انقلاب استند در دریکه نظای الله من رکن ایدر جمله لغز مقرر آما اینک
 درخی ایها میله بر مقطعی و در عجب احبنا انتم من هلم بن الوسم احبنا انتم من هلم بن الوسم احبنا انتم من هلم بن الوسم
 اهدایت تک بر مقطعی مصرع اوقور اهدایسه قیامتند شوال ایتمک ندر دریکه
 اهدایت کدر کی فی الواقع بر طبیعت که قابلیت بندن زیاده اولی بحالکد تمامند این کد
 کبی روح و معقوله ابو الفتح سلطان محمد نظامینک حسن خلیقی و طبیعت شعرین شول
 رتبه وصف ایدر قابل تعبیر و کل حتی تمام اول از لطیفه فی عینله یازن سلطان محمد نظامین
 در بند محبت بدب همان فی الحال اهدایت ایه خط هانوز کوند که نظای بی صاحبک
 ایچون بوجانینه کوند سن و یا کندر خرج راه بش بیک دلوری و دروس بدینک درخی خاطرین
 خوش ایتمک ایچون بیک دلوری و دروس درین فی الحال اهدایت بش بیک دلوری خرج راه پوی
 عزیز بیک دلوری غایت بدب روح سلطان محمد جانیسه کوند با اتفاق صفایه کیدر کن
 بر صحنه توبان بنار نصیل کدر سکر بر عجز غلبه بش غیر استانبول ایدر کیدر کلک شعری محمد بن
 نصیح شاعر سلطان محمد جوهر بود بیت بر قصید دین عجز کلک بر قصید کله هینتند عظم
 قصید و غریب صنعتل خرج ایتمک در ویشک بوی نظامینک چاری و کله غلامه نظای
 فی الحال بوز بر نشو ملا خطه ایدر خنده غم برین کوند که در شول در ویشی رعوت ایله
 خدسکار در شتاب ایدر کل بی اندین استر دیو چاغند در ویش کلک نظای بر
 سلور در ویش نظامینک سلور لور تعظیم ایدر کوند در ویش ایدی در ویش در ویش در ویش
 ایکی کدک در سخن بر نازن مصاحبت قوی لور انبای کلادند نظای در ویش شوال ایدر
 بقیه ناندن قضا بد غم ایتمک صد و ایش بر نسته کن دلوری در ویش در ویش ابو الفتح سلطان محمد

Ottoman Relations with the Danubian Principalities during the Fifteen Years War (1591-1606)

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Context

The letter transcribed below is a letter addressed to Sultan Mehmed III (r.1595-1603) regarding the tributary states of Moldavia and Wallachia during the then ongoing Long War (1591-1606) with the Habsburg Monarchy that drew in rebels against Ottoman rule from Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia.¹ Notably, it is in the *İbnülemin Dahiliye* fond of the archives whereas the majority of the documents related to Transylvania from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century are in the *Mühimme Defterleri* fond of the archives, indicating that this document may be an original dispatch. It dates from September 11th, 1603 (4 Rabia II 1012) and describes in some detail the movements of the Christian coalition army into the Danubian region and the relations between the tributary principalities and the Ottoman government. The text of the document is in two parts, the first being a longer communiqué followed by a second part that is a draft edict for the action recommended to the sultan. The document is but a small part of the voluminous sources on the Long War, a pivotal conflict in early modern Ottoman history that deserves greater analysis.

The details of the relatively brief letter give important context for the strategic situation of the Ottoman Empire late in the Fifteen Years War, which had been exhausting and difficult. From Moldavia, tribute was not imposed but many cavalymen and infantrymen were recorded. The Wallachians waited for their companions and then came to Transylvania, where it was thought possible that they may be found cooperating with Ottoman troops. The language of the letter also highlights the Ottoman understanding of the forces arrayed against them, as the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the enemy coalition are referred to as the “Austrian” and “Magyar” states, showing that the empire recognized the composite nature of the Habsburg Monarchy and enemy coalition.

Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania had been briefly unified from May to September 1600 by Mihai Viteazul (known also as Michael the Brave), prince of Wallachia

¹ İstanbul, Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı, Başbakanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, I.E.D.H.7/690.

(1591-1600) and commander against the Ottoman government during the course of the Long War. Unfortunately for the ambitions of Prince Michael and those in his army, his death in 1601 prevented a personal union of the three provinces under his rule. The late sixteenth century was a contentious period for Ottoman rule over Moldavia and Wallachia, as Ottoman officials faced opposition in trying to collect the yearly tribute from both principalities that led to cyclical revolts that persisted for decades.² The author of the letter was still concerned about the possibility of the forces of the principalities joining the Christian coalition as the letter writer explicitly invokes the rebellion of Michael. It also demonstrates that the principalities were crucial sources of manpower for the power that controlled them, evidenced by the letter-writer's suggestion of levying Moldavian troops. The tributary states like Moldavia, Wallachia, and the Crimean Khanate gave the empire additional sources of troops that were essential in the arduous, multi-front fighting of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While the numbers for the Danube principalities are not precise, the two states furnished several thousand troops each, predominantly cavalrymen. In addition to raw numbers, they also had vital regional knowledge when the Ottoman army campaigned in the west.³ The document provides a small window into the Ottoman military situation and response during the 1591-1606 war, fought on a much larger scale than the campaigns of Süleyman and at a much greater cost both socially and economically to the empire. The war was also a turning point in the balance of power between the Habsburgs and Ottomans, with the Habsburgs reaching strategic parity and having the ability, as implied by the document, to force the Ottomans to fight on a wider front. Moldavia and Wallachia mobilizing against the Ottomans also threatened the flow of important trade goods and supplies from the Black Sea. The Polish-Lithuanian

² Radu G. Păun, "Enemies Within: Networks of Influence and the Military Revolts against the Ottoman Power (Moldavia and Wallachia, Sixteenth–Seventeenth Centuries)," in *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 220.

³ Ovidiu Cristea, "The Friend of My Friend and Enemy of My Enemy: Romanian Participation in Ottoman Campaigns," in *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 267-270.

Commonwealth also became drawn into the rule of Moldavia.⁴ The Danubian principalities were just one of many challenges confronted during the conflict, one that had complex military and diplomatic circumstances.

Transcription

Sa 'ādetlü pādişahım Boğdān ve Eflāk voyvodaları kādīmü'l-eyyāmdan devlet-i 'aliyyenüñ dostına dost u düşmenine düşmendür hāliyā Nemçe ve Macār mel'ūnları Erdel ve Eflāk içine girüb Eflāk voyvodası olan Simon voyvoda muķāvemete kādır olmamağla tağallüben Eflāk içine girmişlerdür lākin Boğdan'dan bu sene hārāc teklif olunmayub atlu ve yaya vāfir 'asker yazub Eflāk'dan kendü karındaşını bekleyüb Erdel'e varub anda olan 'askerimüz ile ittifāk u ittiḥād üzre ḥidmetde bulunsa olur idi birkaç zamāndur ki Boğdan'dan hārāc daḥı gelmeyeyor [!] hele bārī bu tārīk ile 'asker yazub göndermek küllī fā'idedür bu sene olan hārācına tuta vāfir 'asker yazub Eflāk içinde olan iḥtilālī ber-ṭarafidüb andan Erdel'e varub Erdel'de Tımişvār beglerbegisi Bektaş Paşa ve 'asker-i İslām'a mulākī olub 'asker-i İslām ile müttefik olub vilāyet-i Erdel'den Nemçe ve Macār leşkerini çıkarub uğur-ı hümāyunda ḥidmetde olmaḥ üzre bu sene hārāc taleb olunmasun ve eger bu ḥidmete müte'ahhid olmazsa zamānı ile hārācuñı gönderesin deyü ḥükm-i şerif gönderilmek bābında emr ü fermān devletlü ve sa 'ādetlü pādişahumuñdur.

Sa 'ādetlü pādişahım şöyle ki bu ḥidmeti görmez ise yine hārācı taleb iderüz gerci Miḥāl 'işyānından berü ol cānibden hārāc gelmemişdür ammā biri biri ardınca emrler daḥı gönderiliyor hele şimdilik ādemleri bu vechle emr-i şerif virilürse bu ḥidmeti edā iderüz deyü cevāb ideyorlar ol-bābda emr ü fermān devletlü pādişahumuñdur.

⁴ Gábor Ágoston, *The Last Muslim Conquest: The Ottoman Empire and Its Wars in Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 252-254.

Translation

My felicitous emperor, the voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia have been the friends of the friends and the enemies of the enemies of the Sublime Porte from time immemorial. At this time the accursed Austrians and Hungarians have entered Transylvania and Wallachia. As the Wallachian voivode Simon was unable to resist them, they have been advancing victoriously into Wallachia. On the other hand, this year, there was no tribute imposed on Moldavia. He [the voivode of Moldavia] could conscript a large number of cavalry and infantry, then wait for his brother from Wallachia [to join him], and then proceed to Transylvania to serve in alliance with our soldiers there. For some time now, Moldavia has not been sending the tribute. At least conscripting and sending soldiers will be of great benefit, and it could count as this year's tribute.

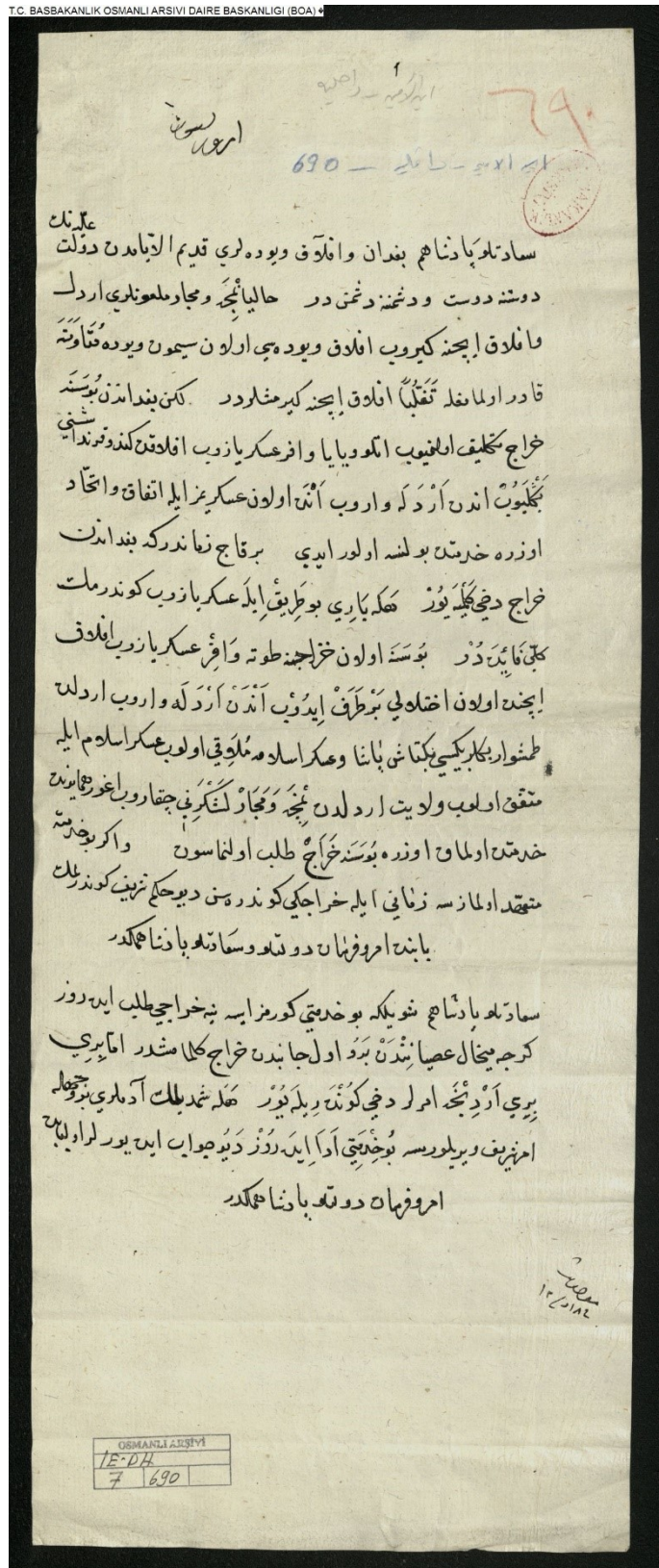
My felicitous emperor, it is your prerogative to send your sacred edict to order [the voivode of Moldavia] that he shall conscript many soldiers and eliminate the upheaval in Wallachia. After that he shall go to Transylvania where he will join the governor-general of Timisoara Bektash Pasha and the Ottoman forces and ally himself with them. In return for expelling Austrian and Hungarian soldiers from Transylvania in the service of the sultan, he shall not be asked to pay the tribute this year. If he does not fulfill this service, he shall send the tribute in time.

My felicitous emperor, if he does not carry out this order we will ask for the tribute. It is true that, since Mihal's rebellion, we have not received any tribute from there. On the other hand, we regularly send orders, and his men reply, for now, that they will fulfill this service if they receive your sacred edict. Whereby the decision belongs to my felicitous sultan.

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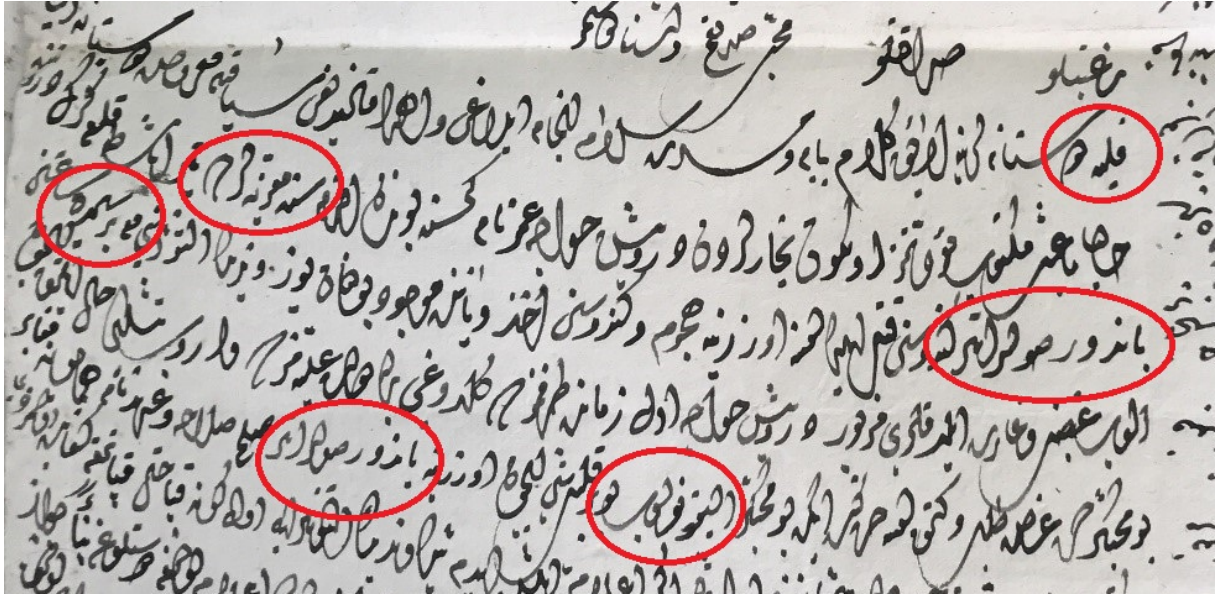
Facsimile



Summary of illegible or debatable words

Zeynep Arslan Çalık – The Seas of Neglected History

fol. 28a, main section



kalbiyye-i [?] *dostānelerine*

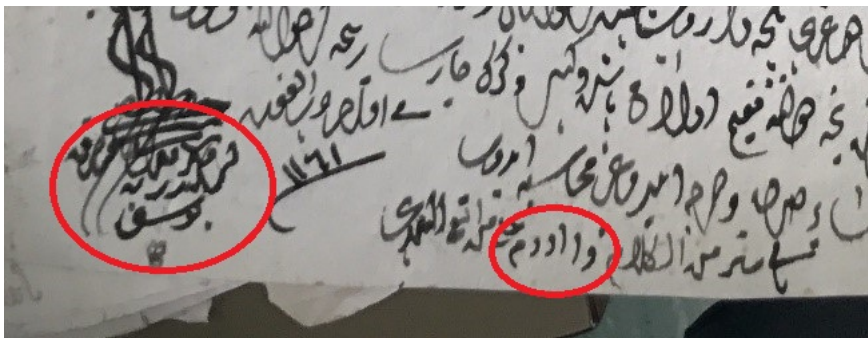
sene-i ma'zîyelerde [?]

pandur soldat [?]

ma'a [?] *bir sîmden* [?] *sā'ati*

bu muhibbünüz [...] *bu bir qalîl şey*

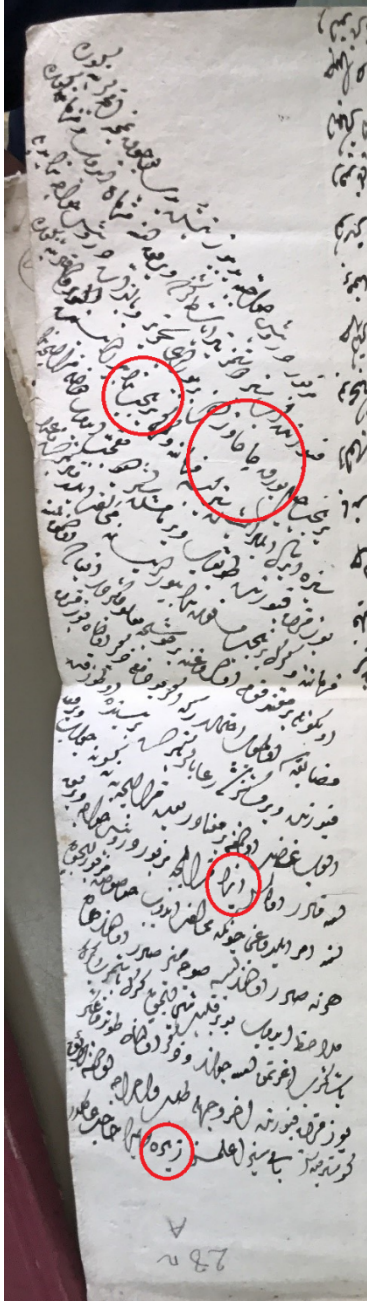
pandur soldat [?]



mine'l-ke'elām ve-d-devām [?]

el-fakîr [?] *mîr-i mîrân-i* [...] *İskender bin Yūsuf*

fol. 28 a, right side



Bürķ *Çahāvuz* [?]

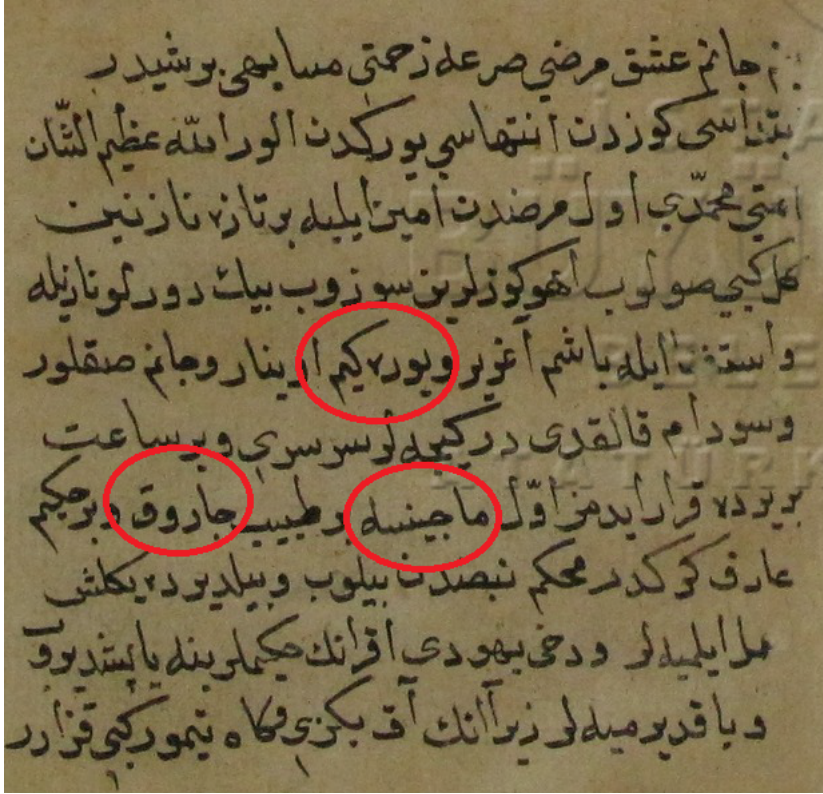
gerek *prenceninüñ* [?] buyuruldsında

ķādir olasız *zīrā* [?]

a lam *zīrā* [?] virmek

Hasan Doğan, A Prescription for Love Sickness

fol. 79a



ve *yüregim(?)* oynar

evvel *mācinse (?)*
bir *ṭabīb-i ḥāzık (?)*