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Unraveling History: Latifi's Alleged *Ḥamse* and the Celalis' Persecution of His Son

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Context*

Housed in the Ottoman Archives (BOA, C..ML., 204-8439), the *telhîş*¹ presented here sheds new light on renowned *tezkiye* (collection of poets' biographies) author Latifi Çelebi's (d. 990/1582) own family and offers new insights into the relationship between the Ottoman administration and renowned literati after their death. The *telhîş*, dated 1 Muharram 1019/26 March 1610, states that Hacı Mehemed, Latifi's son, submitted a petition to the state requesting that ten *baṭmāns*² of paddy seeds be allotted to him from the land owned by the Sultan (*mīrī 'arāzī*) in Boyabat. Mehemed appealed to the state because he had been robbed four times and held captive by the Celalis. This, coupled with his advanced age, poverty, and responsibility for a sizable household, compelled him to appeal to the authorities for a monthly allowance. The *telhîş* includes the officer's address to Sultan Ahmed I, in which he expressed his opinion about Mehemed's request, as well as the Sultan's response. The officer deemed ten *baṭmāns* to be excessive and proposed that five *baṭmāns* be allocated to Mehemed instead, stating that this amount would suffice his needs. Thereupon the Sultan approved this officer's recommendation in his concluding remarks.

The *telhîş* directs our attention to two intriguing, previously unknown facets of Latifi.³ Firstly, although Latifi himself confirms his lineage to the prominent Ḥaṭīb-

* I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer and my dear colleagues Ercan Akyol, Edith G. Ambros, Günhan Borekçi, İsmail Emre Pamuk, and Sadık Yazar for sharing their valuable opinions on the document that I examined in this paper.

¹ While a *telhîş* refers to a summarized report written by any subordinate to a superior officer, it is most commonly used in reference to the correspondence of the grand vizier to sultan. See Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili (Diplomatik)*, (İstanbul: Kubbealtı, 1994), 206.

² The *baṭmān*, a unit of weight used particularly by Turks across different regions and historical periods, lacked a fixed equivalent and varied depending on both time and geographic region. While standardized at 10 kg in the Ottoman Empire in 1881, its weight had previously fluctuated between two and eight kg. See Cengiz Kallek, "Batman", in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV, 1992). Given this, we can infer that the aforementioned amount of ten *baṭmāns* corresponds to a range of 20 to 80 kg.

³ Biographical sources indicate that two additional poets using the nome de plume Latifi lived during the sixteenth century. The first, also known as Tûtî-i Latîf, was a qadi from Bursa who died in 972/1564-65 (Yunus Kaplan, "Latîfi, Tûtî-i Latîf," in *Türk Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü*, Ankara: Ahmet Yesevi Üniversitesi, 2014). The second, Latîfi-i Hânende, was a poet and composer from Iran who eventually settled in Aleppo (İsmail Hakkı Aksoyak, "Latîfi, Latîfi-i Hânende, Halepli" in *Türk Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü*, Ankara: Ahmet Yesevi Üniversitesi, 2014). Since the document

zâdeler family of Kastamonu,⁴ the specifics of his own immediate family had remained elusive until the discovery of this *telhîş*. Indeed, it reveals that Latifi had a son named Mehmed who, albeit in the autumn of his life, was still alive in 1610. As evidenced by his title of Hacı, Mehmed had completed the Hajj pilgrimage prior to filing his request, thereby suggesting that he had possessed sufficient wealth to cover the travel expenses to Mecca at some point earlier in his life. Yet his fortune took a downturn as he approached the twilight of his life. Despite his prominent lineage and wealth, he and his family were unable to shield themselves from the economic and social turbulence wrought by the Celalis during their era.

Secondly, the *telhîş* introduces Latifi as a *hamse*⁵ *şâhibi*—an author of five *meşnevîs*. In his biography of poets, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ*, Latifi states that he authored twelve works, including *Enisü'l-Füşeḥâ*, *Fuṣûl-i Erba'a*, *Evşâf-ı İstanbul*, and a voluminous *Divân*.⁶ Apart from what he mentioned, scholars have likewise determined the following works to belong to him: *Evşâf-ı İbrâhîm Paşa*, *Sübḥatü'l-Uşşâk*, *Nazmü'l-Cevâhir*, and *Esmâ'u Suveri'l-Ḳur'ân*. Of all the aforementioned works, only the latter three and his *Divân* are poetic works but not in *meşnevî* form.⁷ Assuming that he wrote his last three unknown works in *meşnevî* form, they would not suffice to classify him as a *hamse şâhibi*. Moreover, neither Latifi himself nor any other sources mention him with this title.⁸ Given that not everyone who had authored five *meşnevîs* called himself or was known as a *hamse şâhibi*, Arslan argues that being a *hamse şâhibi* requires that one meet additional criteria in addition to writing five *meşnevîs*. However, he does not specify what these criteria are.⁹

specifies that Latifi was from Kastamonu, the poet referenced in the document is the celebrated *tezkire* writer and not either of the two mentioned herein.

⁴ Latîfi, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ ve Tabsiratü'n-Nuzamâ*, ed. Rıdvan Canım (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2018), 468.

⁵ A *hamse* used to indicate a collection of five *meşnevîs* authored by a poet. See Mehmet Arslan, "Türk Edebiyatı'nda Hamse," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 5, no. 9 (2007): 305.

⁶ Latîfi, *Tezkire*, 470-471.

⁷ Ahmet Sevgi, "Latîfi," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: TDV, 2003).

⁸ Cf. Sevgi, "Latîfi" and Latîfi, *Tezkire*, 9-11, 468-474.

⁹ Arslan, "Türk Edebiyatı'nda Hamse," 310.

The title used in the *telhîş* gains importance in this context. Here are three possibilities explaining why Latifi was called a *hamse şâhibi*. Latifi may have written five heretofore undiscovered *meşnevîs* during the twilight of his life, or the official made an error. Yet, these two explanations are unlikely. The final and most probable explanation is that his works, which number well more than five, were deemed a *hamse*.

Arslan asserts that, at least in certain exceptional cases, any five works of an author could render him a *hamse şâhibi*.¹⁰ Although he fails to specify such cases explicitly, we can infer that he is referring to Nergisi (d. 1044/1635), as Nergisi is always presented as an exceptional case of being a *hamse şâhibi* of his five prosaic works in current studies. The manuscripts from the late seventeenth century also name Nergisi's works *hamse*, nevertheless, there is no evidence that he collected them under this title.¹¹ This means that Latifi might have been called *hamse şâhibi* due to his works which he himself pointed out in his *Tezkire*.¹² If so, it is still remarkable that the term was used for prosaic works at such an early date.¹³ Whatever the case, the official's use of *hamse şâhibi* in reference to Latifi suggests an effort on his part to convince the sultan to honor Hacı Mehemed out of esteem for his late father's standing. This document also illustrates how archival sources, even the most seemingly mundane *telhîş*, can stimulate new inquiries into Ottoman literary history and enrich prosopography studies.

¹⁰ Ibid., 306.

¹¹ Süleyman Çaldak, *Nergisi ve Nihâlistân'ı*, (Istanbul: Kesit, 2010), 84-85.

¹² Tradition allowed an author to be still called a *hamse şâhibi* even if he had written more. See Hüseyin Ayan, "Divan Edebiyatında Hamseler," 91-92.

¹³ Hüseyin Ayan points out that although Aşık Çelebi recognizes Celili of Bursa as a *hamse şâhibi* of prosaic works for the first time, he has five *meşnevîs* and no prosaic works mentioned in the edition of Aşık Çelebi's *tezkire*. Cf. Ayan, "Divan Edebiyatında Hamseler," *Atatürk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi Ahmet Caferoğlu Özel Sayısı* 1, no. 10 (1979): 90, 99, and Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü's-Şu'arâ*, ed. Filiz Kılıç, (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2018) 209-212. According to İ. H. Ertaylan, one copy of Aşık Çelebi's *tezkire* kept in Millet Library's Ali Emiri Collection includes a note stating that Celili authored a prosaic *hamse*. See Ağâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, (Ankara: TTK, 1973), 112.

Transcription

Hüve

Pāye-i serīr-i a'lāya 'arz olunduğda beş batmān ile berāt virilmek buyuruldı. Fī ğurre-i Muḥarrem sene 19.¹⁴

'Arz-ı bende-i bī-mikdār budur ki Kaştamonı sākinlerinden ḥamse şāhibi olan merḥūm Laṭīfī Çelebi'nüñ oğlı Hācı Meḥemmed du'acıları rikāb-ı hümayūna 'arz-ı ḥāl şunub vilāyet-i Anaṭolı'ya Celālī müstevlī olaldan berü dört def'a mā-meleki ğāret ve kendüsi esir olmağla ve merḥūm du'acıları pīr ü ihtiyār ve faḳīrū'l-ḥāl ve keşīrū'l-'iyāl olmağın Boyabad çeltüğünüñ mīrīden ziyāde kalan toḥmdan sebab-i ma'āşı için ayda on batmān çeltük şadağa vü 'ināyet buyurıla. ~~Bāki fermān sa'ādetlü pādişāhumuñdur.~~¹⁵ [Ricā ider.]¹⁶ Sa'ādetlü pādişāhum, ayda on batmān çoğdur. Nihāyet sebab-i ma'āşı için ~~üçer~~ beş batmān kifāyet ider. Bu bābda fermān sa'ādetlü pādişāhumuñdur.

Maḥalline kayd olına.

¹⁴ This statement is the Sultan's verdict.

¹⁵ An additional word has remained undeciphered.

¹⁶ Such corrections could be found in the archival records. They occurred here because the authority would add an objection immediately.

*Tezkire*¹⁷ *dāde şod.*

Fī 16 Muḥarrem sene 1019.

*Tābi ‘-i kalem-i Burusa*¹⁸

Translation

He [Allah]

Following the submission [of the subjoined missive] to the honor of the [Sultan’s] most sublime throne, an imperial warrant conferring five *baṭmāns* [of paddy seeds] was ordained on the first day of Muharram, [10]19 [March 26, 1610].

This humble servant has presented the petition of Hacı Mehemmed, supplicant of the sultan and son of the late Latifi Çelebi, the author of a *ḥamse* hailing from Kastamonu. In his petition to the majestic presence of the Sultan, he states that he has been robbed four times and also held captive by the Celalis since their incursion into Anatolia. Given his advanced age, impoverished state, and burden of looking after a sizeable household, he implores that a monthly stipend of ten *baṭmāns* of leftover seeds be allocated to him from the land owned by the Sultan in Boyabat to sustain him in charitable support for his livelihood. ~~The ultimate command belongs to my felicitous Sultan.~~

¹⁷ A *tezkiye*, as defined by Kütükoğlu, is essentially a communiqué exchanged between officials residing in the same town (*Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili*, 245). Pál Fodor, however, argues that *telhîşes* evolved out of *tezkires*, citing instances where *telhîşes* are referred to as *tezkires*. Whereas the two documents do indeed share similar forms, Fodor classifies *telhîşes* as “*tezkires* submitted by the grand vizier to the sultan”. Given this, there is no doubt that this particular document is a *telhîş*, as it includes all the characteristics cited by Fodor. These include the Arabic word *hüve*, which means *he* and is commonly used in Islamic culture to refer to God, at the top; the phrase “*arż-ı bende-i bî-miḳdâr*” used as an introduction to the body of the text; a summary of the event in question; the grand vizier’s opinion that begins with the phrase “*sa’âdetlü pâdişâhum*” and concludes with “*bâkî fermân devletlü pâdişâhumuñdur*”; and the sultan’s ruling written at the top left of the document. See Fodor, “Telhis,” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: TDV, 2011).

¹⁸ The *Mukataa-i Bursa kalemi* was responsible for all of northwestern Anatolia in addition to Bursa in the seventeenth century. See Linda Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire 1560-1660*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 76. Accordingly, the mention of Bursa here cannot be used to demonstrate that Hacı Mehemmed lived in Bursa proper.

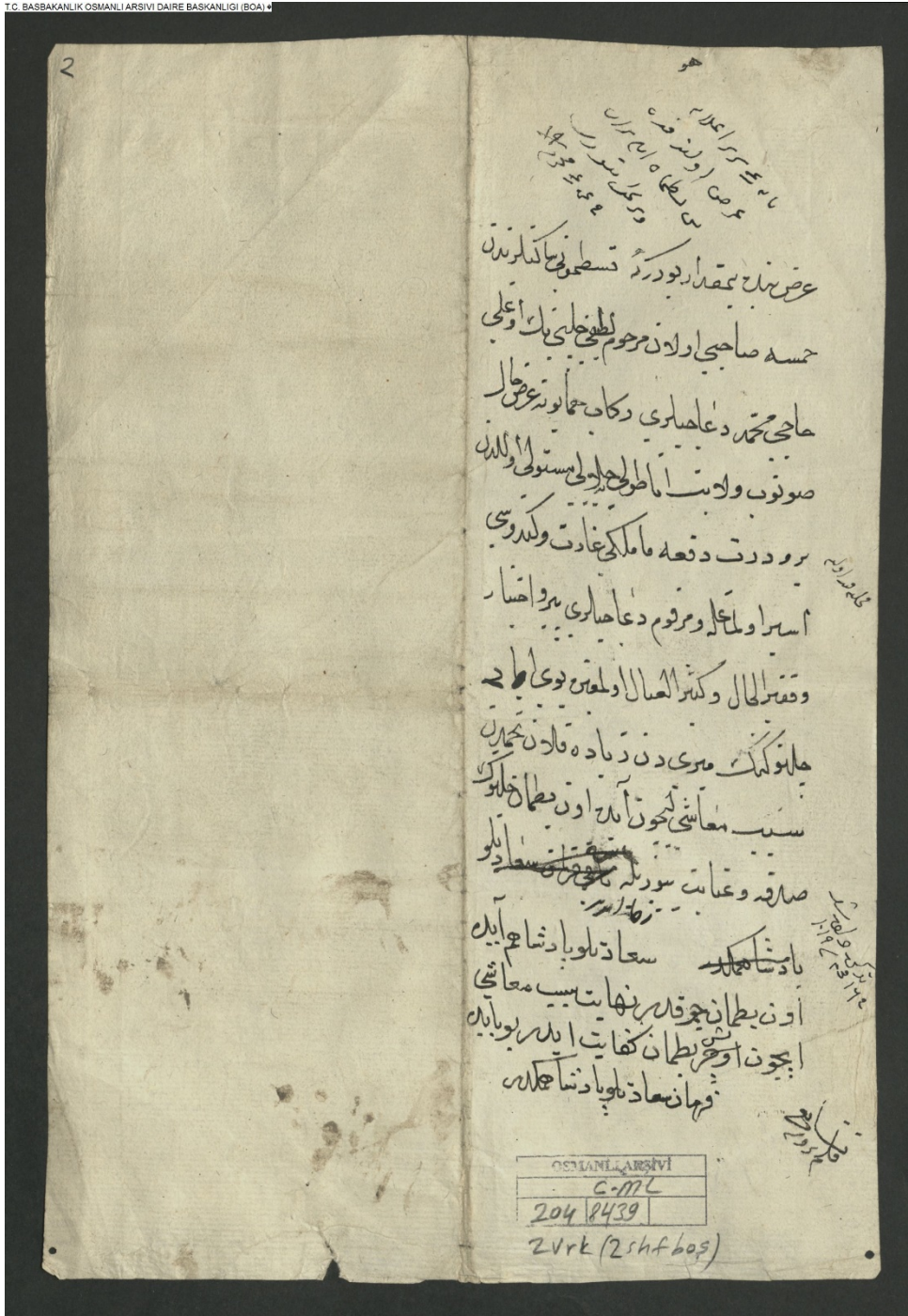
My felicitous Sultan! A monthly sum of ten *baṭmāns* is excessive. Rather ~~three~~ five *baṭmāns* shall suffice to cover his monthly upkeep. Verily the decision lies in my felicitous Sultan.

May it be duly recorded in the relevant place.

Tezkire was received on Muharram 16, 1019 [April 10, 1610].

Attached to the office of Bursa.

Facsimile



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<https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/latifi> (27.4.2024).

A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman: Müfide Kadri's Photograph

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Context

Anonymous portrait photographs are all too familiar to historians of photography. More often than not unknown faces posing for the camera of an unidentified nineteenth-century photographer appear in archives, libraries, collections, and also on flea market stalls enshrouding the historical, as well as personal circumstances leading to the photographic moment in a haze. However, rare instances, when both the photographer's and the sitter's identities are known, offer an enlightening glimpse into the rich sociocultural texture that the mute portrait conceals. In addition to this, should the photograph in question also bear material traces such as handwriting or marks on its recto or verso, the outcome will be a fuller historical contextualization, shedding light on various issues ranging from production, circulation, and consumption of the photograph. This brief essay focuses on one such example from the Ottoman Empire, a portrait photograph of the artist Müfide Kadri (1890-1912) on the back of which she wrote a dedication to her friend, also an artist, Vildan Gizer (1889-1974). The analysis developed here evaluates her photograph not only as a visual image but also as a material object and examines the interconnections between portrait photography, gift exchange, gender, and female friendship among Ottoman Muslim women at the turn of the twentieth century in Istanbul. By means of the portrait under discussion, the paper argues that gender played a significant and hitherto not sufficiently explored role in building alliances between Ottoman Muslim women through photography. Portrait photography orchestrated by a female photographer in Istanbul allowed Ottoman Muslim women to freely express themselves in front of the camera in the way they would like to be seen, transcending the expectations of society.

Although today neither the current location nor the fate of the only extant portrait photograph of Müfide Kadri is known, there are two publications where the portrait appeared in print. The first one was in 1982, and the second in 1988, which necessitate a brief note on the materiality of photographs and its importance both for archival practices and the historiography of photography. In the first instance, the

photograph was reproduced showing its recto and verso sides, and it accompanied researcher and writer Taha Toros' biographical article on artist Müfide Kadri, as a part of an article series devoted to the pioneering Turkish women artists from late Ottoman to early Republican periods.¹ The second case was a longer publication, again by the same author on the same subject.² However, this time Toros preferred to reproduce only the recto side focusing on the visual image on the photograph, thereby condemning to oblivion the handwriting at the back, which was, in fact, an integral part of the meaning of the portrait.

Since the late 1990s, materiality has been a critical term in photography studies owing to the engaging theoretical discussions initiated by such scholars as Geoffrey Batchen and Elizabeth Edwards. For example, Batchen has observed that “the photograph is an image that can also have volume, opacity, tactility, and a physical presence in the world,” and for this reason, it needs to be considered beyond its visual content.³ Similarly, visual and historical anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards has underlined the connection between material culture and photography by arguing that “photographs are not simply images but also *things* that people use in their everyday lives, collect in museums, or display in galleries...[T]he physical nature of photographs has been central to their understanding and social functions since the advent of the medium.”⁴ In the same vein, the portrait of Müfide Kadri needs to be analyzed not only as a visual representation of an Ottoman Muslim woman, but also as an object that was passed from one woman to another within the framework of gifting as a sign of mutual trust, bonding, and female friendship, which strictly excluded men. Here, a closer look at the photograph to examine the figure of the artist along with the portrait's iconographic implications will be combined with informed deduction regarding the identity of the photographer. At the same time, evaluation of the material aspects of the photograph,

¹ Taha Toros, “İlk Kadın Ressamlarımız (2),” *Sanat Dünyamız*, no. 25 (1982): 34-41.

² Taha Toros, *İlk Kadın Ressamlarımız / The First Lady Artists of Turkey* (Istanbul: Ak Yayınları, 1988), 22.

³ Geoffrey Batchen, *Photography's Objects* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Art Museum, 1997), 2.

⁴ Elizabeth Edwards, “Material Culture and Photography,” in *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph*, ed. Robin Lenman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 395.

including the handwritten dedication in Ottoman Turkish, will demonstrate that portrait photographs had an essential place in the gift exchange practices between Muslim women in Istanbul in the first decade of the twentieth century.

In his article, Taha Toros presents the portrait photograph in question to his readers as “Müfide Kadri’s picture handwritten for Vildan Hanım,”⁵ and for the same photograph, he writes the following caption in his book: “Müfide, Painter and musician, photograph signed in 1907 to Vildan Gizer,”⁶ thus identifying both the model and the recipient of the picture. The figure in the portrait, Müfide Kadri, led a short but historically quite significant life, as she became one of the early Ottoman Muslim women who chose painting as their professional career long before the foundation of the School of Fine Arts for Women [*İnas Sanâyi-i Nefise Mektebi*] in 1914. Being the adoptive daughter of a wealthy man, Kadri Bey, who was the Manager of the Artisans’ and Traders’ Office at the Municipality of Istanbul [*Şehremaneti Esnaf Kalemî Müdürü*], Müfide Hanım took private lessons from such prominent artists of her time as Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910), Salvatore Valeri (1856-1946), and Fausto Zonaro (1854-1929).⁷ During her lifetime, cut short by tuberculosis at the age of 22, she made portraits, genre paintings, still-life scenes, and romantic landscapes. Müfide Hanım was actively engaged in the art scene of her time, for instance, she was a member of the Ottoman Society of Painters [*Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti*],⁸ she participated in several exhibitions in Istanbul and Munich, and she received the Medal of Arts [*Sanayi Madalyası*] in 1907 for her artistic practice,⁹ and the Medal of Honor for the paintings she exhibited in the 10th International Art Exhibition in Munich in 1909.¹⁰ Moreover,

⁵ Toros, “İlk Kadın Ressamlarımız (2),” 36.

⁶ Toros, *İlk Kadın Ressamlarımız*, 22.

⁷ Toros, “İlk Kadın Ressamlarımız (2),” 36, and Wendy M. K. Shaw, “Where Did the Women Go?: Female Artists from the Ottoman Empire to the Early Years of the Turkish Republic,” *Journal of Women’s History* 23, no. 1, (2011): 20, doi: 10.1353/jowh.2011.0008.

⁸ Toros, “İlk Kadın Ressamlarımız (2),” 41.

⁹ BOA, İ.TAL. 428/10 (23 Cemazeyilahir 1325 [August 3, 1907]).

¹⁰ X. Internationale Kunstausstellung was organized in Königlich Glaspalast. In Hall 53 entitled “Türkei,” Müfide Kadri exhibited three paintings: “Interieurstudie,” “Studie,” and “Studie.” *Offizieller Katalog der X. Internationalen Kunstausstellung im Kgl. Glaspalast zu München 1909* (Munich: Verlag des Zentralkomitees der X. Internationalen Kunstausstellung, 1909), 314-315, <https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0000/bsb00004016/images/index.html>; and S.C., “Ex-

she was a pioneering figure in fine arts education serving as the first female art teacher at several schools including the Süleymaniye Girls' Exemplary Middle School [*Süleymaniye Numûne İnas Rüşdiyesi*],¹¹ and the Istanbul Teachers' Training School for Girls [*Dârülmualimât*].¹² Likewise, Vildan Gizer, to whom Müfide Hanım dedicated and gifted her photograph, was also one of the early Ottoman Turkish women painters. Vildan Hanım, too, took art lessons from Salvatore Valeri, who was a teacher of painting at the School of Fine Arts [*Sanâyi-i Nefise Mektebi*] in Istanbul. She painted portraits and landscapes; nevertheless, she did not actively take part in the Istanbul art scene.¹³

The portrait photograph taken in 1907 shows Müfide Kadri not as a typical Ottoman Turkish Muslim woman wearing a *yashmak* and a *ferace*, but instead she appears dressed according to the latest European fashion. At the same time, she holds an open book in her hand, and her gaze is turned away from the camera as if to suggest that she paused her reading for a moment to ruminate on the text. Hence, the props seen in the portrait, e.g., the stack of books on the small coffee table, add to the overall impression that Müfide Kadri wants to portray herself as an enlightened intellectual Turkish woman upholding Western values.¹⁴ In other words, she clearly distinguishes herself from any hints of religious conservatism. Likewise, she visually sets herself apart from the previous generation of Turkish women, who had not had access to the level of education she had. Her profession as a painter and a painting teacher provides her financial freedom, authority, and sense of accomplishment, which contribute to her

position Mufidé Cadri Hanem," *Stamboul*, September 11, 1912, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bd6t551098s/f2.item> .

¹¹ Toros, "İlk Kadın Ressamlarımız (2)," 38.

¹² Burcu Pelvanoğlu, "Painting the Late Ottoman Woman: Portrait(s) of Mihri Müşfik Hanım," in *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives*, eds. Duygu Köksal, and Anastasia Falierou (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 159, and Shaw, 21.

¹³ See Taha Toros, "İlk Kadın Ressamlarımız (3)," *Sanat Dünyamız*, no. 26 (1983): 34-37.

¹⁴ In the 1920s and the 1930s, these kind of identity performances by Turkish women in studio photography intensify during the early Republican era chiming in with the rising nationalist and Kemalist ideology. Hence, Müfide Hanım's portrait can be regarded as a precursor to this modern female image-making in front of the camera. See Özge Baykan Calafato, *Making the Modern Turkish Citizen: Vernacular Photography in the Early Republican Era* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2022), 29-61.

self-confidence evident in the portrait embodying the ideas of female liberation, belief in progression, and modernity.

Müfide Kadri's photograph is quite exceptional in that had it not been for the Ottoman Turkish handwriting identifying the sitter, one could have easily mistaken her for a non-Muslim woman. This is mainly due to the historical preconceptions about the representations of Muslim women in Ottoman photography. The late nineteenth-century tourist market, for example, was replete with Orientalist photographs harking back to pictorial conventions, which claimed to represent Turkish women accurately. As is well known, these were staged imaginary harem scenes in which women, often non-Muslims, posed as Muslims wearing exaggerated exotic costumes. Furthermore, Engin Özendes states that, since it was not possible for Muslim women to pose in this manner, the Ottoman studio photographers had to use non-Muslims, prostitutes, or sometimes even men as their models for their Orientalist photographs purporting to represent Ottoman Muslim women.¹⁵ Other portrait photographs of Ottoman Muslim women belonging to the upper classes, however, unlike these Orientalist photographs in wide circulation, remained strictly within their limited social circle of family and close friends. Although further research is needed to shed light on the experiences of Ottoman Muslim women in photography studios, several portrait photographs which have emerged from family archives reveal that Muslim women, such as Abdülhamid II's daughter Ayşe Sultan (Osmanoğlu), poet Nigâr Hanım, or composer Leyla Saz Hanım preferred to pose for the male photographers veiled and in a *ferace*, especially before the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. Moreover, it was only later that an Ottoman women's magazine such as *Kadınlar Dünyası* (1913-1921, excluding 1914-1918) could publish photographs of unveiled Turkish women, which Serpil Çakır defines as "groundbreaking" and "a first."¹⁶ Nevertheless, for Muslim women, having one's portrait taken veiled, or unveiled, depended on

¹⁵ Engin Özendes, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğrafçılık 1839-1923*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Yem Yayın, 2017), 48.

¹⁶ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (Istanbul: Metis, 2016), 135.

various factors, among others, the photographer's gender, and the sitter's social, economic, and political status.¹⁷

Although Taha Toros did not indicate who took Müfide Kadri's portrait photograph, closer inspection of the details, such as the spindle back chair on which she sits, and the floral backdrop, ascertains the photographer as Elisa Zonaro (1863-1945). Both elements appear regularly in the Italian photographer's studio photography, which spanned from the 1890s until 1910 in the Ottoman capital.¹⁸ Elisa Zonaro, like other female photographers who worked in Istanbul, had easier access to women, including Ottoman Muslim women, who wanted to be photographed.¹⁹ In many accounts, it has been pointed out that women felt more comfortable posing for a woman photographer. Hence, her gender allowed Elisa Zonaro to approach Ottoman women clients without facing any sociocultural hesitations, and vice versa, Ottoman Muslim women found it reassuring to have her as their photographer. This gender-based alliance between women made it possible for Müfide Kadri, an aspiring young artist in her prime, to pose for the camera under the careful direction of the female photographer in the way she wanted to be remembered by her close female friends. It is impossible not to notice Müfide Hanım's pride in her portrait, for she deemed it worthy enough to be her "souvenir" to her close friend Vildan Hanım, whom she addressed as her "dear sister." Such a portrait, where the Muslim woman's face and hair are not covered, could not be circulated in a social network of men, hence it is a portrait reserved for women's eyes and female spaces. In other words, portrait photography executed by a woman photographer opened an alternative visual space that acted as a stage for Ottoman Muslim women like Müfide Hanım, which allowed them performances of identity and liberal expressions of self. These photographs of self-expression, in turn, became one of the most intimate and—together with

¹⁷ On gender and photographic accessibility in the Ottoman context, see Alev Berberoğlu, "Unwritten Histories of Photography: Elisa Zonaro, an Italian Photographer in Ottoman Istanbul" (PhD diss., Koç University, 2023), 159-169.

¹⁸ See Berberoğlu, "Unwritten Histories of Photography."

¹⁹ See Teresita Menzinger, "Il Pittore del Sultano: La degna compagna di un grande artista. Un matrimonio a Costantinopoli," *La Donna*, no. 63, August 5, 1907, 15-16.

handwritten dedications—personalized presents they could give to those female friends they held dear, and served to strengthen their bonds of affection.

Müfide Kadri's photograph taken by Elisa Zonaro in 1907 is a significant case, which shows the role of portrait photography in female friendship by means of gift exchange among educated well-to-do Ottoman Muslim women at the turn of the twentieth century in Istanbul. Combined with the production stage of this portrait, the handwritten dedication that Müfide Hanım penned on the verso of the photograph brings a new understanding of the uses of photography among Ottoman Turkish women. Further research examining similar photographs in their materiality will certainly add to the developing field of photo history studies and the role of gender in the Ottoman Empire.

Transcription

Sevgili hemşirem Vildân hanımefendiye yâdigâr-ı 'âcizânemdir. Fî 18 Temmuz sene [1]323. Müfide

Translation

To my dear sister Ms. Vildan, a humble souvenir from me.

On 18 Temmuz [1]323 [31 July 1907]. Müfide

Acknowledgments

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Facsimile



Taha Toros, "İlk Kadın Ressamlarımız (2)," *Sanat Dünyamız*, no. 25 (1982), 36.

Jakob Christmann's (d. 1613) Ottoman letter of 1589 to the Turkish Paulus aka Paul Willich

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Context

The letter presented here¹ from the Heidelberg university professor and orientalist Jakob Christmann (1554-1613)² was discovered in the letter collection of the librarian Sebastian Tegnagel (d. 1636). The addressee is “the Turkish Paulus”, i.e. Paul Willich, a Turk named Süleymān from Edirne who was captured in Veszprém around 1565. Süleymān or the Turkish Paul was in the service of Prince Joachim Friedrich,³ who was then the administrator of Magdeburg, where the Turkish Paul was also baptized and converted to Lutheranism.⁴ What is known about Paul Willich is mostly recorded by Bartholomaeus Radtmann (1560-1602) in his Arabic grammar (*Introductio in linguam Arabicam*) published in 1588, for which Paul Willich was an important informant.⁵

The content of the presented letter reflects a polemical view of Islam that was still common around 1600 among European orientalists and is also related to confessional differences within 16th-/17th-century European Christianity. Keeping in mind that Christmann himself was a Calvinist and that Paul Willich, whom Christmann probably never met, converted in Magdeburg where Lutheranism dominated, and Calvinists were only tolerated, helps to understand the contents of the letter more properly. In Calvinist manner Christmann refers to the Son of God, i.e. Jesus, and to a specific verse in the Qur'an (7:28). Significant is also the address “*yā Polus*” or “O Paulus” which can or rather should be read as a reference to the conversion of Paul in the New Testament.

¹ I thank Chiara Petrolini for bringing this letter to my attention and Claudia Römer for her help and comments at an earlier stage of this publication. The codex in which the letter is incorporated is digitized and available at <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/3864270>, the digital catalogue entry is available at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14253496>.

² I also do thank the anonymous reviewer of this paper for the reference to another important manuscript in connection with Jakob Christmann, namely his Turkish grammar titled *Jacobi Christmanni Institutiones Arabicae et Turcicae linguae* and preserved in University of Groningen Library, Special Collections, MS 169 (online: <https://dbc.rug.nl/digital/collection/manuscripts/id/36450/rec/2>). A comparison of the current micro-edition with the mentioned source is still pending, but would exceed the limits of this publication. For further information on Christmann see Gabriele Dörfinger, “Christmann, Jakob (1554-16.6.1613)” in *Homo Heidelbergensis mathematicus* (2015), pp. 1-31 (online available at <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/archiv/20136>).

³ Johannes Schultze, “Joachim Friedrich”, in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 10 (1974), pp. 438-439.

⁴ Robert Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505-1624)*, Leiden: Brill, 2020, pp. 54-56.

⁵ I thank the reviewer for bringing this work of Radtmann to my attention. For a digitized print see <https://digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10163749?page=52>.

When it became known in the *Republic of Letters* that Sebastian Tegnagel, the second court librarian in Vienna, employed a Turkish captive and copyist, Dervîş İbrâhîm, Christmann also sent a copy of his letter (originally dated 1589) to Tegnagel, among other things to obtain an assessment of his own knowledge of Ottoman.⁶ Even though the letter contains numerous errors from the point of view of standard Ottoman Turkish, it is only incomprehensible in a few places and is written in a simple style that is typical of a premodern learner of Turkish. Christmann's letter begins and ends in a style appropriate to Ottoman letter-writing culture.

Transcription⁷

ÖNB, Cod. 9737t, fol. 261v

*Bu kitâb Polus Türki hazretine // gelsün ki zâhiddür ve ki cev-merddür // maḳâmnda hâla⁸
yâ kırandaş⁹ ve sultânum //*

Haḳḳ te 'âlâ sizün 'ilmüñüz ve 'amelüñüz ve cev-merdligüñüz artura //

*bilgil kim Muḥammedün müsülmânlı 'i¹⁰ ulu ve gereklü olmaz zîra¹¹ Ḳur'ânda yalan söyler
// kengel ider¹² çok güldürür dünyâ sevgisine gidiricedür [?] bes anuñ-içün 'âlimler //
eyidüb-dururlar kengel çok etmek çok güldürür¹³ ve çok gülmek göñül aldurur ve daḳı //
göñülde kîn bağladur ve kişinüñ ḥürmetin burar¹⁴ hem-daḳı peygamber Muḥammed //*

⁶ Jones refers to another letter of Christmann in the letter collection of Tegnagel, which is about Paul Willich, namely Cod. 9737r, fol. 160r, whereas Jones does not read “Turkish Paul” (“*ad Paulum Turcam*”), but something else, namely “*ad Praelum Turcum*”; cf. Jones, *Learning Arabic*, p. 56, fn. 38. Cod. 9737r is also digitized and available at <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/7445499>, the digital catalogue entry is available at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13957619>.

⁷ Since Christmann's Ottoman has many errors, I have refrained from inserting an exclamation mark or a [sic] after each error but have put the expected correct spelling in the footnote. The Arabic lines have many errors but these obvious errors have not been marked as such.

⁸ For *ḥâlâ*.

⁹ Obviously for *ḳarındaş*.

¹⁰ Instead the 'ayn one would expect a *ḡayn*.

¹¹ Ms.: *r-y-r-h*. Here and later obviously for *zîrâ*.

¹² Cf. *Tarama Sözlüğü online*, s.v. *kengel* and Redhouse, s.v. *gengel*: joke, fun.

¹³ This expression seems to be a then known saying.

¹⁴ As *burmak* (as well as modern *burmak*) would mean among other things “to crook, to turn, to be in pain”, it is probable that Christmann forgot a dot and meant *bozmaḳ* (“to corrupt”) according to which I have translated this passage.

müslmānlara haber viridi sevindiler bunları azdurdı bil-ki tengri te 'ālā kendü oğlunda //
*Yesū 'el-mesīh¹⁵ imānı bildürdi ve selāmı viribidi¹⁶ anuñ öldüğünde kapu acdı // uçmağa **
'İvaz olsun saña gökde yā Polus ki Şeytānuñ yoyln¹⁷ // urduñ ve kesdüñ¹⁸ incilüñ nūrı
*almaduñ ol nūr kāfirler ve münāfıklar¹⁹ göñlünde // yoğdur * cev-merdsiz ve 'ālimsiz zīra*
tevbe itmek tengriden yaña dönmezdür // bilürsin kim tengri te 'ālā bu gökleri ve bu yirleri
ve bu maḳām dūnyānuñ²⁰ yaradmuşdur // ammā 'ilmüñ ululuğdur kim Yesū 'el-mesīh ibnu
llāh bize pādīşāhdur ve inna l-arzi [!] // li-llāhi yūrituhā man yaşā' u min 'ibādihī wa-l-
'āḳibatu li-l-muttaḳāna²¹ ma 'anisi²² budur kim // yir yüzi tengri te 'ālānuñdur ḳullarına
*kime kim dilerse vere āḫiret // tengri te 'ālādan ḳorḳub²³ buyruğun dutanlaruñdur * çoğ*
yazmağ vaḳt olmaz // ve daḫı bilgil-kim ol yaramaz²⁴ zīra her söz kim kişi söyler anuñ
göñlünde // bir şüret ḳalur ve daḫı kişiler olur kim görklü 'ibādet gösterürler // sözlerinde
ne düzdüğü kitāblarında ammā hiç kimse[ye] ḫayr idemezler //
senüñ 'ibādetine meşğül oluram //
Ya 'qūb Qrīstmān mutakallim bi-lisān // 'ibrī wa- 'arabī bi-madīnat Haydalbarq yawm //
z²⁵ Nīsān sanat alf ḫams-mi'a // tis' wa-tamānīn wa-naḫnu naḳkur hunā mā warad //
tawārīḫ an-Naşārā (?) li-llāh al-ḫamd

¹⁵ The Christian-Arabic designation of Jesus.

¹⁶ Or *viribdi*, nevertheless one would expect either *virib/virüb* or the finite form *viridi*.

¹⁷ For *yolin*.

¹⁸ See *Tarama Sözlüğü online*, s.v. *yol kesmek* “*yol almak, katımesafe etmek*”.

¹⁹ Ms.: *münāḳıklar*.

²⁰ For *dūnyā maḳāmını*?

²¹ Q 7:128.

²² For *ma 'nāsı*.

²³ Ms.: the dots of both *ḳāf* are missing.

²⁴ Ms.: the dot of the letter *zā* is missing.

²⁵ Probably to signal the number 7.

Translation

This letter should refer to the Turkish Paulus, who is pious and generous and still in his position (or residence).

My dear brother and sultan, may God the Exalted increase your knowledge and your deeds and your bounty.

Know that Muhammad's muslimship is neither great nor necessary because he tells lies and trifles in the Qur'an, makes merry, and pushes for the love of worldly things. Therefore the educated say 'trifles bring much laughter and laughter pleases, but it also brings enmity into the heart and corrupts a person's piety. And the prophet Muhammed preached to the Muslims, they enjoyed themselves and he seduced them. Know that God the Exalted made known the faith in his own son, Jesus the Messiah, and gave salvation, and when he died he opened the doors to paradise. He shall take your place in heaven, o Paulus, you who have taken the devil's path. You have not received the light of the gospel, that light is not in the hearts of the unbelievers and the hypocrites. You are generous and knowing, but to repent means to turn to God. You know that God the Exalted created these heavens and these lands and this world. But your knowledge is haughtiness because the Son of God, Jesus the Messiah, is our king and "the earth belongs to God—He gives it as their own to whichever of His servants He chooses—and the happy future belongs to those who are mindful of Him."²⁶ That means that the earth belongs to God the Exalted, and he gives from his subjects to whom he wishes. The hereafter (or the end) belongs to those who fear God the Exalted and obey his commandments. There is no time to write much and know that this is bad. For every word that a person says leaves an image in his heart and there are people who show holy²⁷ worship in their words and in what they write in their books, but they do not bless anyone with it.

I am engaged with praying for you.

²⁶ Translation from *The Qur'an. A New Translation* by M. A. S. Abdel Haleem. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 102.

²⁷ *Görklü* can also be read as *gereklü*, which would mean "the necessary worship/devotion".

Jakob Christmann, professor of Hebrew and Arabic in the city of Heidelberg. The 7th of April, 1589. And we mention here that the date is given according to the Christian calendar.²⁸ Thank God.²⁹

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²⁸ Actually I interpreted this passage as if Christmann was waiting for a chronicle titled *Tawārīḥ an-Naṣārā* but was not able to find a match. I would like to thank the reviewer once again for pointing out that Christmann may simply be stating that the date he gave has been rendered according to the Christian calendar.

²⁹ I thank Lorenz Nigst for his help with the Arabic lines of this letter. A very similar passage to “*wanaḥnu naḍkur hunā mā warad tawārīḥ an-Naṣārā (?)*” is to be found in the book *Historia Saracenicæ, qua res gestæ Muslimorum* (p. 11) by the Dutch orientalist Thomas Erpenius (d. 1624) but published posthumously in 1625 in Leiden. See a digitized version at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/107F4EF3>.

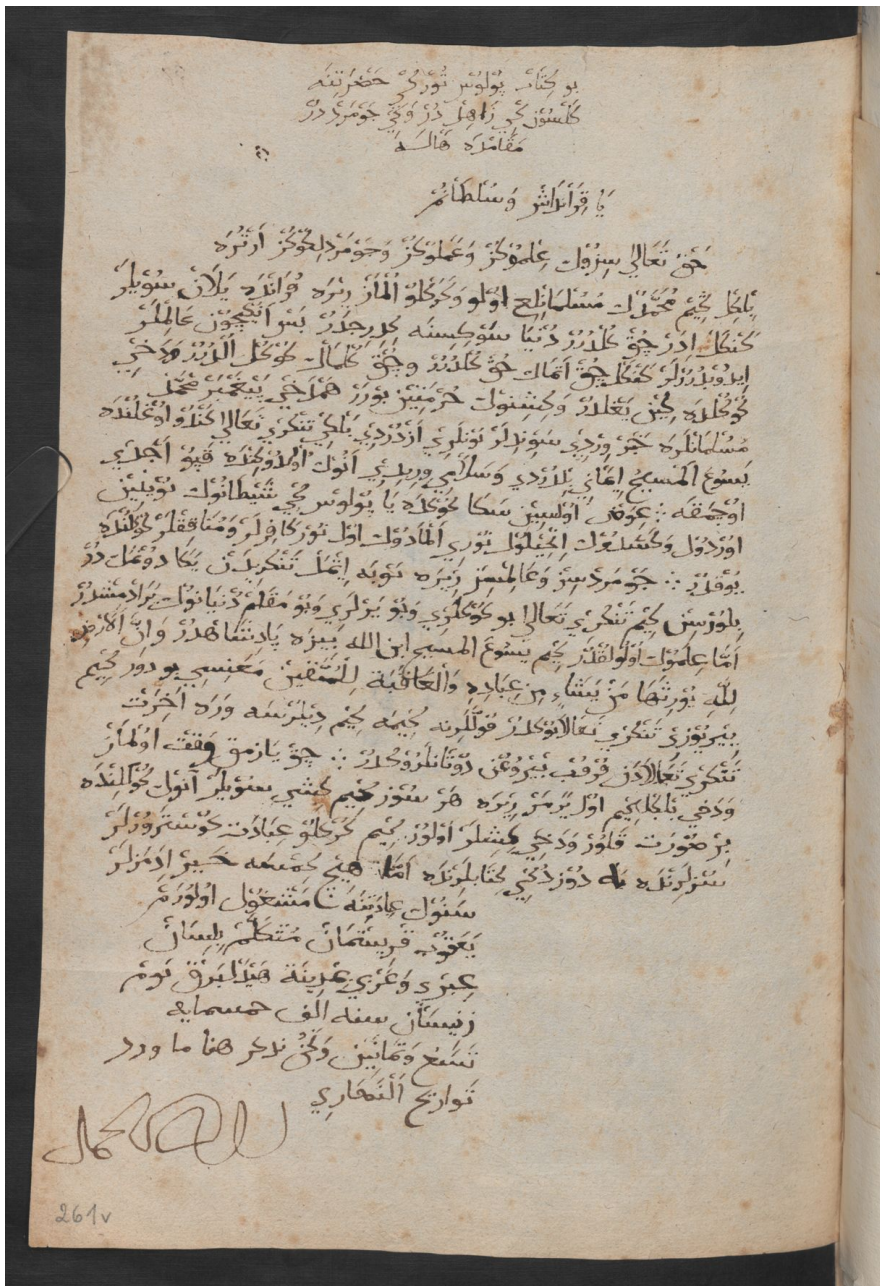
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Facsimile



The Tailed Signature of C nib  Ali Pasha, Ottoman Ambassador to Vienna

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Context

Ali Pasha (no later than 1690-20 April 1743), with the byname “Cânib”, which means inspection officer at the Naval Arsenal, ascended in the Arsenal chancery. He was regarded as a prudent financial expert. Ali Pasha was sent as grand ambassador by the Sublime Porte to the Habsburg residence in 1740 for the reconstruction and renewal of Ottoman-Austrian relations after the 1739 Treaty of Belgrade. He was a powerful Ottoman bureaucrat whose career reached as far as Egypt, and had close relations with Sultan Mahmud I and Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha, one of the grand viziers of the period. In the same year and for the same reason, the Habsburg grand ambassador Count Ulfeld was dispatched to Istanbul. These reciprocal diplomatic missions marked the last exchange of great ambassadors, and in terms of delegations, are the largest in the history of Ottoman Habsburg diplomatic relations.¹

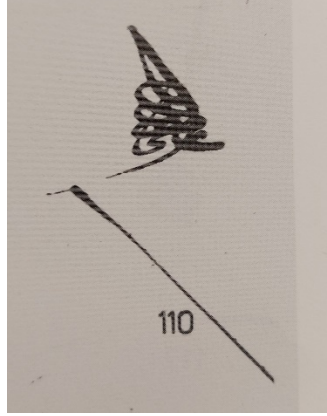
Cânibî Ali Pasha’s embassy, which lasted for approximately nine months, was replete with numerous and protracted protocol disputes with the Habsburg administration, which began even before the Pasha’s entry into the city and continued in the context of the reception ceremony. However, a document dated 1 September 1740 is available, which shows the rules of etiquette that the Pasha declared that he would abide by when he was admitted to the presence of Charles IV.² This original document, translated into German on the same day by Joseph Peter von Schwachheim (1707-1775), a translator at the Vienna Palace and the Kaiser’s secretary of the Department of Oriental Languages, measures 38.7 x 53.7 cm, is written on thick (*ābādī*), light straw-coloured paper and bears the grand ambassador’s tailed signature,³ a legacy of his office as keeper of the register, or director of finances (*başdefterdār* or *defterdār-ı*

¹ Ali Pasha’s embassy to Vienna, one of the neglected but, in terms of the history of Ottoman-Habsburg diplomacy, important subjects in the literature, has recently been published as a book; see Hüseyin Onur Ercan, *Cânibî Ali Paşa. Habsburg Viyanası’nda Son Osmanlı Büyük Elçisi (1740-41)*, İstanbul: VakıfBank Kültür Yayınları, 2024.

² OeStA, HHStA, Türkei I, Turcica 224/1 (Sep. 1740), fol. 5.

³ On these kind of signatures, see Dia, “Kuyruklu Buyruldu”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kuyruklu-buyruldu> (09.06.2024); Maria Pia Pedani, “Le Prime ‘Sottoscrizioni a Coda’ dei tesorerieri nell’Impero Ottomano”, *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, nr. 8 (1990): 215-228.

şikk-ı evvel).⁴ Compared to Ali Pasha's signature in Velkov's article on the signatures of the head of the financial department with tails/queues, his signature as an ambassador does not change much.⁵



Transcription

Mâdde-i ūlâ: *defter-i hedâyâ-yı pâdişâhî ve şûret-i defter-i mükâleme ve muhâtaba ve meclis-i çâsâriye'ye muraħħaş duħûl olan on üç neferüñ esâmileri beyân olunub ilçî pâşâ ħâzretlerinüñ eslâfi resmi üzre alay defteri virilmek.*

Mâdde-i Sâniye: *Hedâyâ-yı pâdişâhâne olan obanuñ firâş u bisâtı ve bi'l-cümle levâzimi develer ile evvelki ħavluda iķâmet olunub taħtîrevân ve ħatâra taħmîl olunan hedâyâ şahn-ı sâñide vuķûf ve aġayân-ı enderün vesâatlarıyla pîşgâh-ı çâsâriye'ye naql ve irâ'et olunmaķ ve hedâyâ-yı mülükânededen olub zîn ve licâm ile mükemmel esb-i hümayün ve yelken-dest olan atlar şahn-ı sâlişe işâl olunub pâşâ ħâzretlerinüñ indigi maħalle deġin faķaķ ketħüdâ beg ve dîvân efendisinden ġayrı kimesne at ile girmemek ve hedâyâyı ħâmil*

⁴ Ali Pasha was appointed *başdefterdâr* in 1732 and then for the second time in 1742; see Ercan, *Cânibî Ali Paşa*, 56.

⁵ Asparouh Velkov, "Les başdefterdar ottomans et leurs "signatures à queue" (XVI^e-XVIII^e s.)", *Turcica. Revue d'études turques*, tome XVI (1984): 187. The length of the exaggerated tail of the signature on the document in the facsimile below is probably due to the Cânibî's desire to fill the page and prevent anything new from being added to the document after him. I would like to sincerely thank Prof. Dr. Claudia Römer for this valuable comment.

olan ağaları ‘arz oçası muķābilinde tertībḥāne maķāmından da‘vet maḥalline dek tevķīf eylemek.

Mādde-i Sālise: Pāşā ḥazretleri sa‘ādetle ‘arz oçası’na girdükde üç yirde selām resmi icrā eylemekdür ki ibtidā ḳapudan iķerü duḥūlde sāniyen ortaya varduķda sālisen muķābele-i mükāleme maķāmında ba‘dehū pāyitaḥtda cāsār’uñ durduķı maķām-ı maḥşüşda vāķı‘ bir ḳademe üzre vaz‘-ı ḳadem eyleyüb nāme-i hümāyūnı pīşgāh-ı cāsāriye’de mevzū‘ sofranuñ üzerine vaz‘ eyledükden şoñra yine ḳademedden ṫurduķı maķāma ‘avdet eyleyüb ba‘de-zālik devleteyn-i ‘aliyyeteyn beynine lāyık ādāb-ı risālet ve āyīn-i sefāreti mürā‘āt ile ṫarafeynden muķtezā-yı ḥāle göre ḥiṫāb u cevāb emri tamāmından şoñra pāşā ḥazretleri şevketlü kerāmetlü Āl-i Osmān-ı pādişāhī efendimüz ḥazretlerinüñ ḥuzūr-ı cāsāriye’ye dostluķ ve müşāfāta binā‘en hedāyā-yı mülükāneleri defteri ve vezir-i a‘zamlarınun mektūbıdur” diyü yine ol ḳademeye vaz‘-ı ḳadem eyleyüb nāme-i hümāyūnu vaz‘ eyledüķi sofranuñ üzerine defter ve mektūbı ma‘an ḳoymakdur ba‘dehū hedāyā-yı şāhāne iḥzārı için ketḥüdā beg’e işāret idüb sorgucdan mā‘adā olan hedāyā pāşā ḥazretleri ile cāsār beyninde vāķı‘ firāş üzerine tertīb ü tanzīm olunub sorguķ ṫaraf-ı cāsāriye’den ta‘yīn ve işāret olunan maḥalle vaz‘ olmaķdur.

Ve ṫaraf-ı cāsāriye’den hedāyā-yı pādişāhī ḳabūlini müş‘ir ḥüsn-i taḥiyyet ve senā vukū‘ından şoñra pāşā ḥazretleri ḥīn-i vedā‘da cāsār’ın ḳapaniķe meşābesinde olan bālā pūşī ṫarafın būs idüb ḥīn-i duḥūlde olduķı üzre rū-be-rū ric‘at ve yine üç yirde selām ve vedā‘ ile ‘avdet eylemekdür ve yine gidildiķi ṫavr üzre ‘unvan ve alayı ile ‘azīmet olunduķda kimesnenün üzerinde ḳaṫ‘ā silāḥ ve ālāt-ı ḥarb olmamaķ ve ‘arz oçasına Yehūd ve Naşārā ḳismından kimesne dāḥil olmayub ve dāḥil olanlardan ḳalpaķlu kimesne olmamaķdur ve anadan doĝma Müslimān olmaduķca ‘arz oçasına girmemekdür.

Translation

First Article:

The list of the Sultan’s gifts and the register of the speeches between the delegates and the names of the 13 diplomats who were delegates to the addressee and the council of

emperor are mentioned and the ceremonial regimental record is to be given by the ambassador pasha in accordance with the protocol followed by the previous ones.

Second Article:

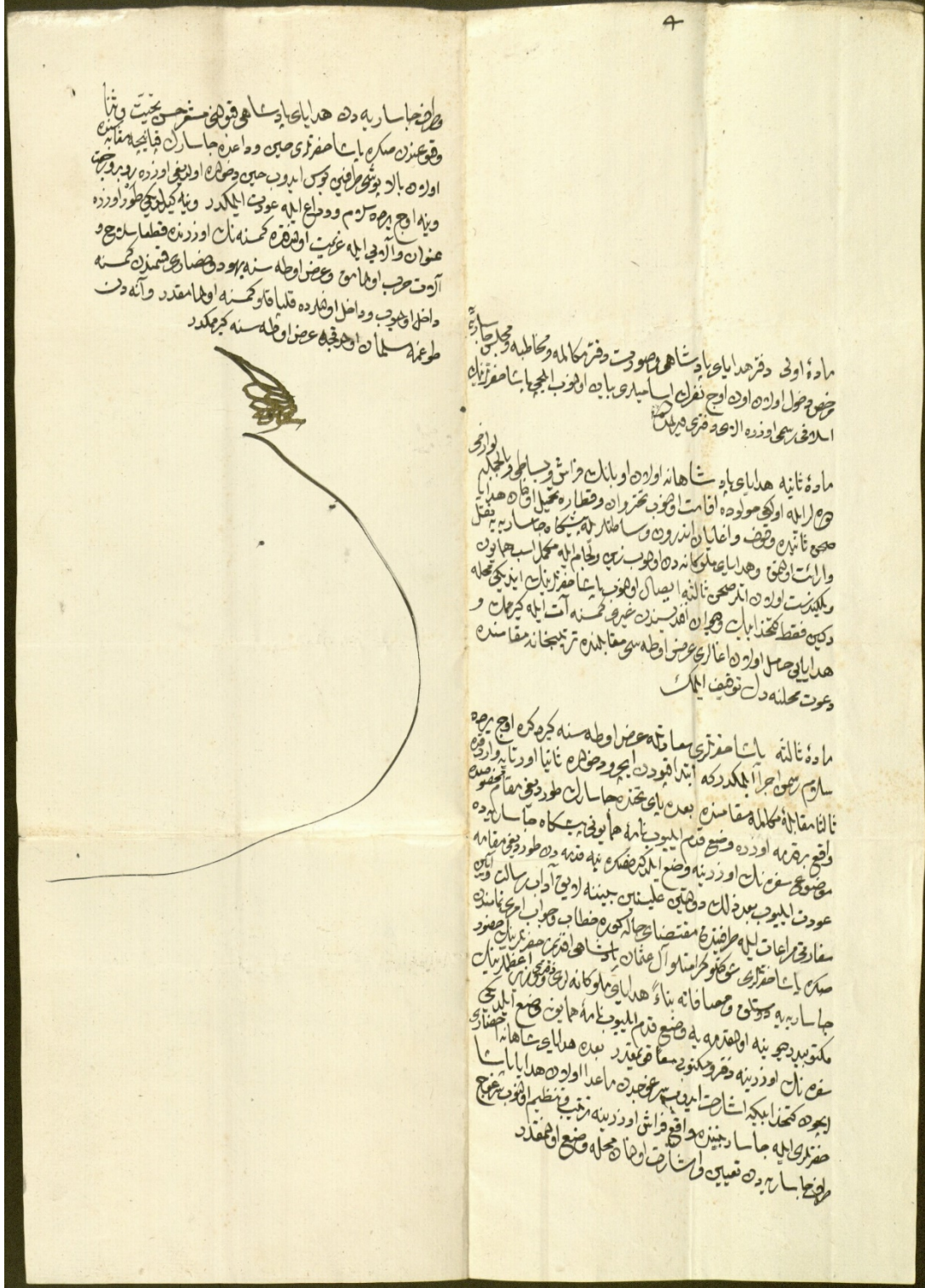
The Sultan's gifts, namely the couch and carpet of the tent and all necessary equipment will be brought by camels into the front courtyard. The gifts loaded on the palanquin and camel carriage will be carried to the emperor in the second courtyard by the officials and Enderun aghas and will be shown to the emperor. Saddles, bridles, fully equipped sultanic horses and racehorses, which are gifts befitting a sovereign, will be carried to the third courtyard to the place where His Highness the Pasha lands. No one other than the envoy, Kethüda Bey and the master of the divan shall enter this third courtyard on horseback. The aghas carrying the gifts will wait in the hall opposite the Audience Chamber.

Third Article:

When His Highness the pasha enters the Audience Chamber, he will perform the salutation ceremony in three places. Firstly, when he enters through the door, secondly when he reaches the centre and thirdly where he will address. After that, he will stand in front of the special place where the emperor rests, place the sultan's letter on the table next to the emperor and return to his previous place. Then he will make his speech and listen to the reply with the respect due to the ambassadorial ceremony in accordance with the etiquette worthy of the relationship between the two great states. After the address and reply, he will leave this register and letter on the table where the sultan's letter was placed, saying "this is the list of the sultan's gifts and the grand vizier's letter" based on the friendship and sincerity of His Majesty, the sultan of the glorious and honourable Ottoman family, to the emperor. After that, he will signal to Kethüda Bey to prepare the sultan's gifts, and the gifts other than the aigrette will be left on the bed next to the emperor by his highness the pasha. The aigrette will be left where the emperor shows and points to.

After the good wishes are expressed by the emperor, informing that the sultan's gifts have been accepted, His Highness the pasha will kiss the sash of the wide-collared fur-like garment during the farewell and leave the hall with his face turned towards the emperor in the same manner as he entered the hall, again bowing in three places. Again, no one will have any weapons or instruments of war on their person while leaving with the title and procession in the same manner as they left. No Jews or Christians shall enter the Audience Chamber. Those who enter will not have head wear. No one who is not a Muslim by birth will enter the Audience Chamber.

Facsimile



اول خباسباره ده هدايا و ساقي قوتلوي مستخرج تحت و ثنا
 و قوتلوي صكره است حضرتي صين و و اعنه جاسارن قبايجه ثابته
 اولون بالا بوشور افين بوس ادوب صين و صحران اولون اوورده بود و بوشور
 و يه اوج برده هم و دروغ اليه عونت اليدر و يه كيلون طوز اوورده
 عنوان و اولون اليه عونت او قوتلوي كمنه نان اوورده قطلماسد مع و
 آردت حصب او تامين و عرض او طه سنده بود و صحران شمشير كمنه
 داخل او بوج و داخل او فدره قدا قانو كمنه او و ما مقدر و آنه دت
 طوغه مسلمان او عرقه عونا و طه سنده كرمكدر

ماده اولي دفتر هدايا و ساقي قوتلوي مستخرج تحت و ثنا
 خصوص اولون اوورده اوج نقره اساسي و يابه اولون بوج است حضرتي
 اسد قوتلوي اوورده اوج نقره اساسي
 ماده ثابته هدايا و ساقي قوتلوي مستخرج تحت و ثنا
 جوه لاله او كچه موجوده اقامت او بوشور و صحران و قوتلوي اوورده هدايا
 صبحه ثابته و عونت اوورده و اساطير به شيخا و جاسارن بوشور
 و اليت او بوشور و هدايا و ساقي قوتلوي مستخرج تحت و ثنا
 و كليبت اولون اوورده اوج نقره اساسي او بوشور است حضرتي
 و كين فقط اخذ ابان و جوه اوورده عونت اوورده آنه كرمكدر و
 هدايا و ساقي قوتلوي مستخرج تحت و ثنا
 دعوت محمله دل توفيق اليدر

ماده ثابته است حضرتي ساقي قوتلوي مستخرج تحت و ثنا
 ساقي قوتلوي اوورده اوج نقره اساسي او بوشور است حضرتي
 نالما مقابله مكلله مسافره بعد ابي بختر جاسارن طوز قوتلوي مستخرج
 واقع مرقمه اوورده وضع قدم الميوت نامه او بوشور مسكاه جاسارن اوورده
 مستخرج مسكاه اوورده وضع قدم الميوت نامه او بوشور مسكاه جاسارن اوورده
 عودت الميوت بعد ذلك و كين عنتون جبينه او بوشور ادب رسالت اوورده
 سفارتي مرامات له مرامتيد مقتضايه كين خطاب جوب او بوشور است
 صكره است حضرتي عونت اوورده اوج نقره اساسي او بوشور است حضرتي
 جاسارن به كوتلوي و صحران به هدايا و ساقي قوتلوي مستخرج تحت و ثنا
 مكنو بوجي يه اوورده به وضع قدم الميوت نامه او بوشور مسكاه جاسارن اوورده
 سفن نان اوورده و هدايا و ساقي قوتلوي مستخرج تحت و ثنا
 او بوج مكله ابك است ايديم بوشور مرامتيد مرامتيد اوورده هدايا و ساقي قوتلوي
 حضرتي اليه جاسارن عونت اوورده اوج نقره اساسي او بوشور است حضرتي
 اولون خباسباره ده هدايا و ساقي قوتلوي مستخرج تحت و ثنا

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Exploring Fish Species in an Unexpected Source: Insights from the Inheritance Inventory (*tereke*) of *Baqqāl* Estavrinu

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Context

The inheritance inventory of *Baḳḳāl* Estavrinu, dated *evāsıt-ı ŧehr-i Rebī ü'l-evvel* 1143 (1730) in the *Hijri* calendar, is documented among the Galata Sharia Court Records as No: 275; 42b3. To remind the reader, inheritance inventories (*tereke* registers) contain lists of the movable and immovable possessions of the deceased person in addition to his/her dues and debts.¹ *Baḳḳāl* Estavrinu's inheritance inventory is significant on two fronts. First, it enhances our understanding of the fish species available in the Ottoman fish market, along with their prices, in the 18th century. Second, it illuminates the locations at which fish was sold beyond the boundaries of fishermen's stalls and associated guilds. Accordingly, this register offers micro-level insights from an unexpected source into the diverse array of fish species, accompanied by their corresponding market prices.

At the outset of the case, it is noted that *zımmī Baḳḳāl* Estavrinu, who was an inhabitant of Galata, in the vicinity of *Ḳaraköy Ḳapısı*, passed away without any heirs, resulting in the transfer of his assets to the state treasury. Following this declaration, the *ḳassām*² crafted five distinct lists unveiling the inventory of goods possessed by *Baḳḳāl* Estavrinu throughout his shops and cellars.

To start, the initial list encompasses staple grocery items such as lentils, chickpeas, rice, salt, onions, garlic, olives, assorted cheeses, and cooking oils. Of particular interest within this list is the presence of 57 *ḳıyye*³ of caviar, valued at 798 *ḡuruş*.

The following list reveals the contents of Estavrinu's small grocery shop situated within the specified neighborhood. It comprises 27 items, 10 of which are various types of fish and seafood, namely: *sardalya* (sardine), *uskumrı* (mackerel), *ḳolyoz* (chub mackerel), *ḳolirudya* (young horse mackerel), *mersin* (sturgeon), *'atīḳ çiroz* (aged sun-

¹ Said Öztürk, *Askeri Kassama Ait Onyedinci Asır Tereke Defterleri (Sosyo-Ekonomik Tahlil)*, Istanbul: Cihan Matbaası, OSAV, 1995, p. 11.

² *ḳassām*: The official of the local court attendant who implemented the Islamic laws in inheritance issues.

³ 1 *ḳıyye* = 1282 gr.

dried mackerel), *çütre* (grey triggerfish), *morina* (codfish), caviar and *tirkoz*⁴. While many of the fish listed may be familiar from existing literature,⁵ the inclusion of *kolirudya* and *çütre*, which have been mentioned only in Karekin Deveciyan's study, serves to further enrich our understanding of fish species documented in related literature.

The fixed prices in the list below help us to understand the hierarchy among these fish. In the list, nearly all of the fish are registered on a per-piece basis, with the exception of *morina*, which is recorded by weight (*kañtār*). Other seafood items such as caviar and *'atīk çiroz* are also registered by weight. Based on the pricing provided below, the most expensive fish is the *mersin*, followed by the *çütre*. Conversely, the list indicates that the *sardalya* is the least expensive fish among the species listed.

The third list unveils Estavrinu's other shop within the same vicinity, denoted as "*kebīr*", meaning "large". This shop surprisingly lacks the diversity seen in his smaller shop. It features merely 8 pieces of *çütre* fish and sardines in barrels, valued at 1700 *guruş*, within the inventory. Additionally, the following line in the register mentions that in the cellar near Estavrinu's *kebīr* shop, there are 13 more barrels of *sardalya* as well. The final list details the utensils (*ālāt-ı lāzıme ve bisāt-ı ma'lūmesi*) employed in his shops. The concluding section of the register comprises the taxes collected by the state, followed by a list of creditors from whom *Bağkāl* Estavrinu borrowed, presented at the very end.

To summarise, this register deepens our insight into 18th century Ottoman fish markets, detailing species and prices while also revealing alternative trading locations beyond the known stalls and guilds.

⁴ In the *tereke* register, the *kaşşām* spelled it as "*tirkoz*", while Evliya Çelebi mentioned a fish named "*tirkis*". It can be inferred that these two fish are most probably the same.

⁵ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Fish and Fishermen in Ottoman Istanbul", *Water on Sand: Environmental Histories of the Middle East and North Africa*, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 91-111. Faroqhi uses three primary sources to compile a list of fish species across various time periods. These include Pierre Belon du Mans's travel notes, Evliya Çelebi's writings, and the *narh* register dated 1640.

Transcription

İSTM.ŞSC.14.d.275 / 42b-3

Maħrüse-i Ğalaṭa kazası tevābi'inden Ķaraköy ḳapusu ħāricinde sākin iken bundan aḳdem hālik olan baḳḳāl Estavrinu [?] nām zımmīnūñ zāhirde vāris-i ma' rufi olmamaḡla terekesi cānib-i beytü'l-māle 'ā'id olduḡı müte'ayyin olduḡdan soñra maħrüse-i mezbūre tevābi'inde voyvoda ve beytü'l-māl emīni olan faħrū'l-eşbāh El-ħāc Muşṭafā Aḡa tarafından umūr-ı beytü'l-māli rū'yete vekīl-i müsecceli olan şehīr Meħmed Aḡa ma'rifetiyle hālik-i mezbūruñ taħrīr olunan muħallefāti defteridür ki vech-i āti üzre zıkr olınur ħurrire fī evāsīṭi şehri Rebī'ül- āħir sene 1143.

Girid şābūni: fī 21 / kıyye 49 / kıymet 1029	Mercümek: fī 3 / kıyye 62 / kıymet 186	Noħūd: fī 6 / kıyye 53 / kıymet 318	Beglerce: fī 3 / kıyye 43 / kıymet 129	Pirinc: fī 9 / kıyye 38 / kıymet 347	Trilye zeytūni: fī 5 / kıyye 40 / kıymet 200	Ĥavyār: fī 14 / kıyye 57 / kıymet 798
Revḡan-ı zeyt: fī 15 / kıyye 91 / kıymet 1365	Ķaşḳaval: fī 16 / kıyye 7.5 / kıymet 126	Fınduḳ: fī 6 / kıyye 14.5 / kıymet 87	Şa'riye: fī 5 / kıyye 8 / kıymet 40	Bögrülçe: fī 6 / Kıyye 5.5 / kıymet 33	Ṭulum pegniri: fī 8 / kıyye 23 / kıymet 184	Ṭoñ yaḡı: fī 24 / kıyye 3.5 / kıymet 84
Sirke: 10	Nārdeng: fī 10.5 / kıyye 35 / kıymet 360	Şalamura pegniri: fī 9 / kıyye 17.5 / kıymet 157	Ķavanozlar: kıymet 100	Şoḡan şarmısak: kıymet 70	Eflaḳ tuzı: fī 2 / kıyye 128 / kıymet 256	Nişāşta: fī 8 / kıyye 10 / kıymet 80
Revḡan-ı sāde: fī 30 / kıyye 12 / kıymet 360	-	-	-	-	-	-

Yekūn: 6179

Hâlik-i mezbûruñ maḥall-i mezbûrdaki saġir dükkânında taḥrîr olınan rızkıdur:

Sardalya balġı fuçı: 'aded 2500 / kıymet 237	Uskumrı balġı: 'aded 500 / kıymet 120	Ḳolyoz balġı: 'aded 800 / kıymet 240	Ḳolirudya balġı: 'aded 1500 / kıymet 240	Mersin balġı: fî 17 / 38 / kıymet 646	'Atık çiroz balġı: kıymet 30	Çütre: 'aded 6 / fî 12 / kıymet 72
Ṭoñ yaġı: fî 24/ kıyye 58 / kıymet 1392	Girid pegniri: fî 16 / kıyye 80 / kıymet 1280	Şıġır dili: fî 14 / 'aded 22 / kıymet 308	Revġan-ı sâde: fî 33 / kıyye 37 / kıymet 1221	Pirinc: fî 9 / kıyye 36 / kıymet 324	Mercümek: fî 3 / kıyye 5 / kıymet 15	Büber turşusu: Fuçı 1 / kıymet 30
Zift: fî 5 / kıyye 18 / kıymet 90	Ḥavyâr: fî 14 / kıyye 13.5 / kıymet 189	Ḳaramürsel zeytünü: fî 2 / kıyye 5 / kıymet 10	Ḳavanoz fuçılar: kıymet 350	Morina balġı: kantar 1 / 240	Keŧe tuzı: fî 3 / keyl 160 / kıymet 4800	Tirġoz balġı: fî 90 / 'aded 9000 / 810
Sardalya balġı: 'aded 1000 / kıymet 90	Bakla: fî 45 / keyl 4 / kıymet 180	Noḥüd: fî 120 / keyl 6 / kıymet 720	Def'a şıġır dili: fî 14 / 5 / kıymet 70	Odun pekmezi: fî 48 / kıyye 3 / kıymet 144	Ihlamur ipi: 'aded 50 / kıymet 50	-

Yekün: 13898

Ḥâlik-i mezbûruñ maḥall-i mezbûrdaki kebir dükkânında taḥrîr olınan rızkıdur:

Çütre: Fî 12/ 'aded 8 / kıymet 96	Sintine yaġı: 39	Cam ḳova: fî 10 / 'aded 75/ kıymet 750	Ṭünis küpi: 2 / 80	Ḳaramürsel zeytünü: fî 2 / kıyye 15 / kıymet 30	Şalamura pegnir: fî 8 / kıyye 179.5 / kıymet 1436	Revġan-ı zeyt: fî 16 / kıyye 170 / 2720
Sardalya balġı fuçıda: kıymet 1700[...]	Ḥavyâr: fî 16 / kıyye 317 / kıymet 5072	-	-	-	-	-

Yekün: 11923

Hâlik-i mezbûruñ maḥall-i mezbûrda Cāmi‘-i şerif taḥtındaki maḥzende taḥrîr olınan rızkıdur

Ḳebîr dükkân ḳurbındaki maḥzende sardalya balığı: Fuçı 13 / 100 / ‘aded 13000 / kıymet 130000

Cem ‘an Yekûn: 45000

Hâlik-i mezbûruñ işbu dört maḥalde taḥrîr olınan metâ‘ıdur iki ‘aded baḳḳâl dükkânınıñ âlât-ı lâzıme ve bisât-ı ma‘lûmesidür

Köhne piyāde kayık: kıymet 330	Def‘a köhne piyāde kayık: kıymet 600	Def‘a köhne piyāde kayık: kıymet 480	Def‘a köhne piyāde kayık: kıymet 750	Def‘a köhne piyāde kayık: kıymet 1800	Köhne yaşdıq: kıymet 15	Köhne kilim: kıymet 51
Köhne iḥrām: ⁶ kıymet 21	Kebe: kıymet 90	Ġilāf ve torba: kıymet 36	Minder: kıymet 159	Def‘a kebe: kıymet 147	Şalvār: kıymet 90	Def‘a kebe: kıymet 300
Ġilāf ḥırdavāt: kıymet 51	Mismār ḥırdavāt: kıymet 45	Don: kıymet 75	Naḳd meblağ: 4044	-	-	-

Cem ‘an Yekûn: 67284

⁶ *iḥrām*: Name of several ornamental types of woolen cloth, usually with a long-twisted pile on the face, used as sofa covers, etc. *Redhouse* p.38

Minhā el-ihrācāt

Resm-i emlak: 6720	Resm-i 'ādī: 3360	Resm-i mübaşiriyye: 1680	Resm-i nāzır ve kātib beytülmāle virilen: 840	Resm-i muhziyye⁷ ve çukā-dāriyye: 840	Dellāliye-i dekākin: 120	Ücret-i bāzārbaşı: 480
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Yekūn: 14040**Der yed-i emin el-mezbūr: 53244**

Ba 'dehū hālik-i mezbūruñ düyünü zuhūr itmekle yed-i eminde olan sahhü'l-bākī terekesi ğuremālar beyninde tevzī⁶ ve taqsīm olunduğı işbu maḥālle şerh virildi. Fī selḫ-i şehr-i Rebī 'ü'l-āḫır 143

Deyn-i müsbet 'Alī Çelebi: ğuruş 164 / 19480 / 7560	Deyn-i müsbet Mehmed Bey: ğuruş 26 / 3120 / 1100
Deyn-i müsbet Es-seyyid Ebūbekr Çelebi: ğuruş 130 / 15600 / mine'l-ğuremā 5800	Deyn-i müsbet Yani zımmī : ğuruş 100 / 1200 / mine'l-ğuremā 4540
Deyn-i müsbet Hasan Çelebi: ğuruş 140 / 12780 / mine'l-ğuremā 6240	Deyn-i müsbet Manaki zımmī: ğuruş 200 / 24000 / mine'l-ğuremā 9080
Deyn-i müsbet Mūşā Çelebi: ğuruş 147 / 17640 / mine'l-ğuremā 6730	Deyn-i müsbet diğeri Yani: ğuruş 114 / 13680 / 5200
Deyn-i müsbet Mehmed Ağa: ğuruş 100 / 12000 / mine'l-ğuremā 4540	Deyn-i müsbet şarrāf Ağyazar: ğuruş 24 / 2880 / 900

Zımmiler terekede biñ beş yüz altmış dört aqçe kırkına şarf itmekle düyününden muqaddem virilüb mā- 'adāsı tevzī⁶ olunmağla sahhü'l-bākī elli üç biñ ikiyüz kırk dört aqçeden yed-i eminde bir aqçe bākī kaldığı ecilden işbu maḥālle şerh ve nüşā olundu

⁷ *muhzi*: An officer who cites or summons people before a court of justice. Redhouse p.772. Based on this explanation, it can be understood that "muhziyye" is a fee paid to the officer who summons individuals to court.

⁸ *çūha-dār*: *me'mur*, officer, Devellioğlu, 191. Based on this explanation, it can be understood that "çukadariye" is a fee paid to the officer of the local court.

Translation

The estate of the dhimmi Grocer Estavrinu, proprietor of a grocery store who passed away while residing near the outskirts of the Çaraköy gate in the Ğalaça district, was bequeathed to the state treasury due to the absence of known heirs. This inheritance was documented by the well-known Meḥmed Ağa, acting as the deputy of *pride of the [people] like him* El-ḥac Muştafâ Ağa, the authorized representative responsible for overseeing affairs within the specific region. Written in the middle decade of *Rebî'ül-âḥir* 1143 (24 October – 2 November 1730).

Cretan soap: price 21 / kıyye 49 / value 1029	Lentils: price 3 / kıyye 62 / value 186	Chickpeas: price 6 / kıyye 53 / value 318	Raisins (Beglerce): price 3 / kıyye 43 / value 129	Rice: price 9 / kıyye 38 / value 348	Olives from Trilye: price 5 / kıyye 40 / value 200	Caviar: price 14 / kıyye 57 / value 798
Olive oil: price 15 / kıyye 91 / value 1365	Kashkaval: price 16 / kıyye 7.5 / value 136	Hazelnuts: price 6 / kıyye 14.5 / value 87	Vermicelli: price 5 / kıyye 8 / value 40	Black-eyed peas: price 6 / kıyye 5.5 / value 33	Tulum cheese: ⁹ price 8 / kıyye 23 / value 184	Tallow: price 24 / kıyye 3.5 / value 84
Vinegar: 10	Nârdeng: ¹⁰ price 10.5 / kıyye 35 / value 360	Cheese in salt: price 9 / kıyye 17.5 / value 157	Jars: value 100	Onions and garlic: value 120	Salt from Wallachia: price 2 / kıyye 128 / value 256	Starch: price 8 / kıyye 10 / value 80
Clarified butter: price 30 / kıyye 12 / value 360	-	-	-	-	-	-

Total: 6179

⁹ A kind of granulous curd cheese, marketed in small skins. *Redhouse*, p. 1262

¹⁰ Treacle made from the juice of pomegranates or of damsons, *Redhouse* p. 2061

These are the possessions of the aforementioned deceased documented within the small shop located in the aforementioned neighborhood.

Sardines barrel: piece 2500 / value 237	Mackerel: piece 500 / value 120	Chub mackerel: piece 800 / value 2400	Young horse mackerel: piece 1500 / value 2400	Sturgeon: price 17 / 38 / value 646	Aged sun-dried mackerel: value 30	Grey triggerfish: piece 6 / price 12 / value 72
Tallow: price 24/ kıyye 57 / value 1392	Cretan cheese: price 16 / kıyye 80 / value 1280	Beef tongue: price 14/ piece 22 / value 308	Clarified butter: price 33 / kıyye 37 / value 1221	Rice: price 9 / kıyye 36 / value 324	Lentils: price 3 / kıyye 5 / value 15	Pickled peppers: barrel 1 / value 30
Tar: price 5 / kıyye 18 / value 90	Caviar: price 14 / kıyye 13.5 / value 189	Olives from Karamürsel: price 2 / kıyye 5 / value 10	Jar and barrels: value 350	Codfish: Kañtar 1 / 240	Salt from Kefe: price 3 / keyl 160 / value 4800	Tirkoz balığı: piece 9000 /
Sardines: piece 1000 / value 90	Broad bean: price 45 / keyl 4 / value 180	Chickpea: price 120 / keyl 6 / value 720	Recurring beef tongue: price 14 / 5 / value 70	Wood smoked treacle: price 48 / kıyye 3 / value 144	Linden thread: 50 / 50	-

Total: 13898

These are the possessions of the aforementioned deceased documented within the larger shop located in the aforementioned neighborhood.

Grey triggerfish: price 12/ piece 8 / value 96	Bilge oil: 39	Glass bucket: price 10 / piece 75/ value 750	Tunisian pot: 2 / 80	Olives from Karamürsel: price 2 / kıyye 15 / value 30	Salted cheese: price 8 / kıyye 179.5 / value 1436	Olive oil: price 16 / kıyye 170 / 2720
Barreled sardines: value 1700	Caviar: price 16 / kıyye 317 / value 5072	-	-	-	-	-

Total: 11923

These are the documented possessions of the aforementioned deceased in the cellar beneath the *Cāmi 'i Şerīf* in the aforementioned neighborhood.

Sardines stored in the cellar adjacent to the large shop: barrel 13 / 100 / piece 13000 / value 130000

Sum Total: 45000

These are the utensils and essentials belonging to the deceased in the two grocery shops (were) recorded in the four locations mentioned.

Old Rowing boat: value 330	Recurring old rowing boat: value 600	Recurring old rowing boat: value 480	Recurring old rowing boat: value 750	Recurring rowing boat: value 1800	Old pillow: value 15	Old rug: value 51
Old woolen cloth: (<i>İhrām</i>) value 21	Thick felt: value 90	Covering and bag: value 36	Cushion: value 159	Recurring thick felt: value 147	Baggy trousers: value 90	Recurring thick felt: value 300
Scraps of cover: value 51	Scraps of nails: value 45	Underwear: value 75	Cash: 4044	-	-	-

Sum total: 67284

Payables

Fee of possessions: 6730	Customary Fees: 3360	Fee of a mubashir (remuneration): 1680	Fee due to clerk and state treasury: 840	Fee of <i>muḥziriye</i> and <i>çukādāriye</i>: 840	Fee due to a crier or broker: 120	Pay due to the warden of a market: 480
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Total: 14040

The amount that depository owns: 53244

It is hereby explained that the debts of the deceased person have emerged, and the remainder of his estate has been allocated and distributed among the creditors.

Debt of `Alī Çelebi: <i>guruş</i> 164 / 19480 / 7560	Debt of Meḥmed Beg: <i>guruş</i> 26 / 3120 / 110
Debt of Es-seyyid Ebübekr Çelebi: <i>guruş</i> 130 / 15600 / from the creditors 5800	Debt of Yani dhimmi: <i>guruş</i> 100 / 1200 / from the creditors 4540
Debt of Ḥasan Çelebi: <i>guruş</i> 140 / 12780 / from the creditors 6240	Debt of Manaki dhimmi: <i>guruş</i> 200 / 24000 / from the creditors 9080
Debt of Mūşā Çelebi: <i>guruş</i> 147 / 17640 / from the creditors 6730	Debt of other Yani: <i>guruş</i> 114 / 13680 / 5200
Debt of Meḥmed Ağa: <i>guruş</i> 100 / 12000 / from the creditors 4540	Debt of goldsmith Ağyazar: <i>guruş</i> 24 / 2880 / 900

It is hereby elucidated and documented that 1564 *aķçe* have been expended for the fortieth day of the death (religious ritual) by the dhimmis prior to his debts, after discharging the debts from the total of 53244 *aķçe* depository had 1 *aķçe* left.

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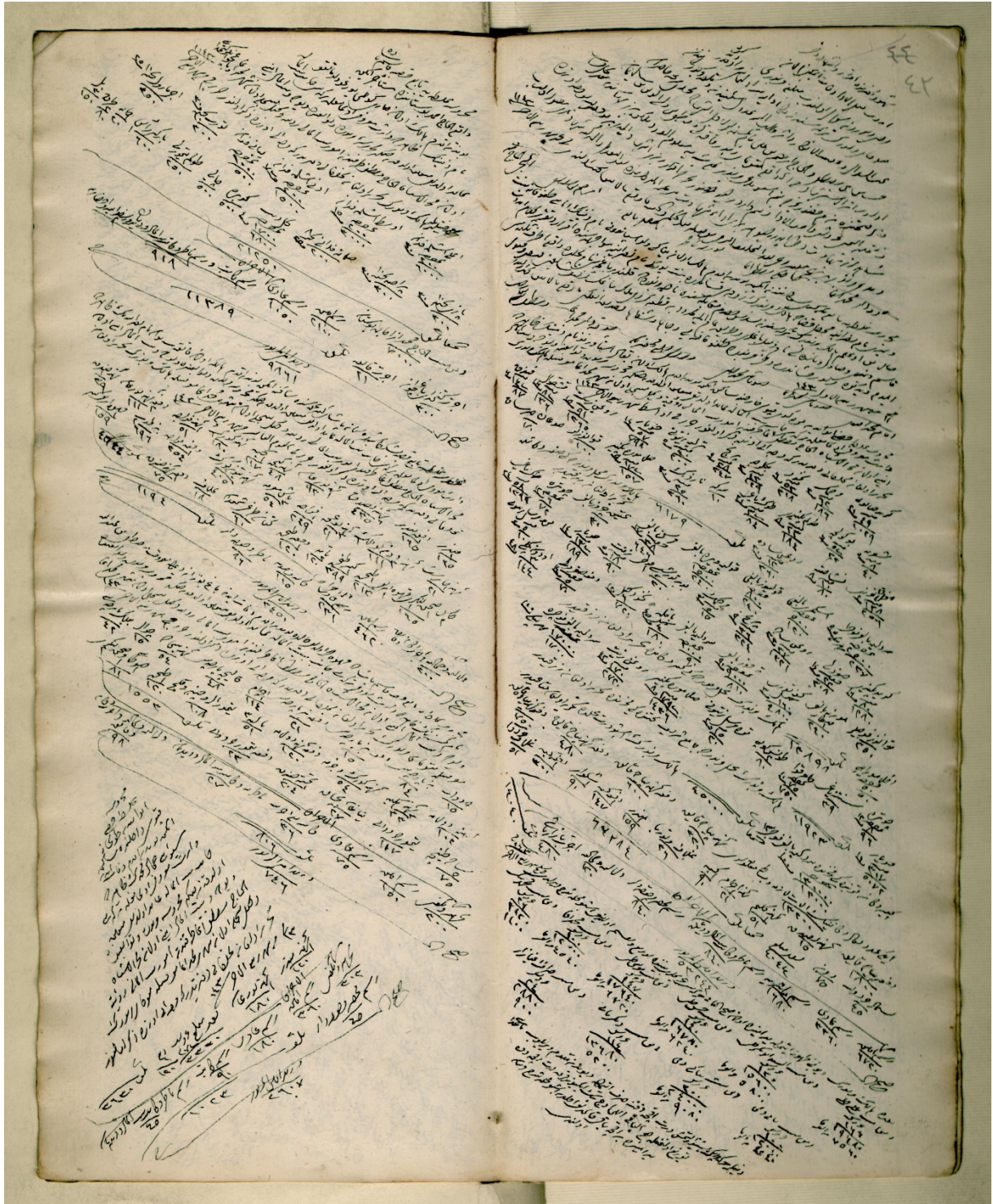
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Facsimile



Illegitimate Means of Reuniting with a Beloved: Description of Five Love Spells

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Context

Magic is defined as the practice of obtaining beneficial, protective, or harmful outcomes by establishing a connection with metaphysical powers or by using objects believed to possess hidden powers.¹ Magic, believed to have been taught to humanity by two angels named Harut and Marut, is employed to eliminate human will, reunite with a beloved, and transform people into various forms.² In the tradition of classical Turkish poetry, magic and enchantment are motifs that effectively contribute to the initiation of the adventure between the lover and the beloved. The act of enchanting the lover by the beloved serves as a kind of catalyst for the development of their relationship. Although the beloved is portrayed as a bewitching woman with elements of beauty such as hair, eyes, etc. in classical Turkish poetry, poets themselves have occasionally enchanted their beloved and made them fall in love with them through their poems. In the following couplet, as expressed by Sānī (d.?), he claims to have enchanted his beloved with his heartfelt poems. This experience leads him to lose faith in the power of magic, attributing the act of bewitchment, which is typically associated with the beloved in classical Turkish poetry, to the poet in this particular instance.

Şi'r-i dil-sūzumla teshīr ettim āhīr ol mehi

İ'tikādım kalmadı sihre de efsūna da³

In the end, I enchanted the beloved with my heartrending poems.

I have no belief in magic or enchantment.

However, in real life, it is not as easy for a lover to enchant their beloved with words alone. Therefore, lovers have resorted to love spells that involve various rituals, specific letter symbols, and the use of different materials in order to reunite with their

¹ Hikmet Tanyu, "Büyü", <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/buyu> (Accessed April 12, 2024) Magic is also considered to be the first belief of mankind, the source of art and religion. Orhan Hançerlioğlu, *Dünya İnançları Sözlüğü*, (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2010), 93.

² İskender Pala, *Ansiklopedik Divan Şiiri Sözlüğü*, (İstanbul: Kapı Yay., 2004), 404.

³ Hüseyin Cöntürk, *Divan Şiiri Üstüne Denemeler*, (İstanbul: YKY, 2012), 412.

beloved or attract them towards themselves. This study includes five love spells prepared using materials such as pigeon blood, chicken egg, ash, and paper. Four of these love spells involve letters with different numerical values in the abjad system. One of them, on the other hand, is a spell that includes the names of the Ashab al-Kahf⁴ and the 16th verse of the Surah Al-Qiyamah. In the first part of the spell that mentions the names of the Ashab al-Kahf, a verse from Surah Al-Qiyamah is quoted, which means, “Move not your tongue concerning (the Qur‘ān, O Muhammad) to make haste therewith.”⁵ “لَا تُحَرِّكْ بِهِ لِسَانَكَ لِتَعْجَلَ بِهِ”. The expression *lā tuḥarrik* لَا تُحَرِّكْ in the first part of the verse is written as *lā merake* لَا مَرَك.⁶ This seems to be the result of either a mistake on the part of the copyist or a deliberate change of the verse by the compiler.

This *mecmū‘a*, found in Dr. İsmail Bayer’s private library, has dimensions of 12*9 cm and consists of 122 pages. The compendium, which has missing pages, has a varying number of lines, and some folios are left blank. Except for later-added folios, the manuscript utilizes watermarked paper with a six-pointed star shape and the inscription "SANSA" on it. This small *mecmū‘a* contains prayers, invocations, talismans, and spells related to topics such as protection from dogs, swords, and firearms, attracting the beloved, protection from accidents and misfortunes, enhancing milk yield in animals, acquiring wealth, and attaining intercession through the Prophet Muhammad. There is no record indicating when the compilation was written and the identity of the compiler. The presence of numerous errors in the spelling of words and affixes suggests that the compiler may not have been well-educated. All of the

⁴ “This is the name given in the Kur’an, and further in Arabic literature, to the youths who in the Christian Occident are usually called the “Seven Sleepers of Ephesus”.

<https://archive.org/details/volume-5/Volume%201/page/691/mode/2up> (Accessed May 28, 2024)

⁵ *The Translation of the meanings of The Noble Qur’an*, By Muhammad Taqī-ud-Dīn Al-Hilālī ann Muhammad Muhsin Khān (Madinah: King Fahd Complex for the Printing of the Holy Qur’an), 800.

https://dn790006.ca.archive.org/o/items/UploadWay2sona_20161017/The%20Holy%20Quran%20Translation%20By%20Hilali%20and%20Khan.pdf (Accessed May 28, 2024)

⁶ This expression is quoted from the 16th verse of Surat al-Qiyamah. However, the first phrase of the verse has been misspelled or changed. The expression written as *lā merake* لَا مَرَك is لا تحرك لَا تُحَرِّك in the original verse.

talismans transcribed in this study were written to make the beloved fall in love with the spell caster.

Transcription

Bāb

İki ḥelāl⁷ arasında muḥabbet için yaza üzerinde götüresin tılsım budur

ب و م الاله ال مرح
م ان ۱۱ د غ ی ج ب و ن
ه م لام ب الاله ول
و ح ی زال ذی ف ظ هل
م و الا ص در ن ال انا
ر ا ب ال ف د ن ل الاله
ع ا ف ان ' ج س م
الاله ش و ی د ال ع نمان⁸

Translation

It should be written for the love between a married couple. (Person) should carry it.

Here is the talisman.

b v m a l ā h e l m r ḥ
m a n u d ḡ y c b v n
h m l ā b a l ā h v l
v ḥ y z ā l z y f z h l
m v a l ā ṣ d r n e l a n ā
r a b e l f d n l a l ā h
‘ā f e n ‘ c s m
A l ā h ṣ v y d e l ‘ n ü m ā n

⁷ This spell refers to the husband and wife using the term “halal,” which means “lawful” in Islamic context.

⁸ The letters provided in these spell descriptions are the equivalent numerical values of Arabic letters in the Abjad system. The Latin alphabet equivalents are not provided in this section in order to ensure a clear understanding of the numerical values of the letters.

Transcription

Muhabbet için

*eger dilerseñ bir kişiyi kendüye ‘āşık kılsuñ bu tılsımı yazgıl üç bāre kâğıda yaz birisini
odda bıraķasuñ birin de şuya atasuñ birini işigüniñ altına gömesüñ ğāyet mücerrebdür
tılsım budur*

۲۷۶۱۱۱ ۱۱۱ م م م و

۱۱ ۱۱۸۴۶ و م و

۱۱۱۱۱ م م و ط م م

Ġāyet şınanmışdur ğaflet olunmaya.

Translation

For the sake of love,

if you want to make someone fall in love with you, write this talisman. Write it on three pieces of paper. You should throw one into the fire, one into the water. The third one should be buried at the doorstep of the beloved. It has been tried many times.

Here is the talisman.

111672vmm111

11vv64811

11111mmvç

(This spell) has been performed many times. One should be cautious.

Transcription

Bāb

Muhabbet için yaza

*Birisini odta bıraķa birisini şuya ata üç nüşha ide birisini daħı ķapusunuñ öñüne şuyın
şacalar ğāyet mücerrebdür tılsım budur*

ه ١١١١ الا ه ن ٥ ١١١١
 ك ن ل م و س و ت
 د ل م ن ه و و م م ١١١ ١١١١
 س ع ١١١١١١١ م ا ١١١١١١١١
 ر ر م و و و و و و و و ٩١
 و و و ح د د م ٤ ح ر م

Translation

It should be written for the sake of love.

One should throw one copy into the fire and throw one into the water. Three copies should be written. One should also sprinkle its water in front of the door of the beloved. It has been tried many times. Here is the talisman.

111115 h 1111 a lā h n
 k n l m v s v t
 111 d l m n h v v m m 1111
 s ' 11111 m ' 1111 n v r
 19 r r m v v v v v v
 v v v ḥ d d m 4 ḥarem

(This spell) is completed.

Transcription

Bāb

Muḥabbet için yazalar

Ḳara tavuḳ yumurṭasına yazalar küle göme bir sā 'at ḳarārı ḳalmaya yanına gele ḡāyet mücerredür tercübe olunmuşdur

م ك ث ل ی نام و دش
 ویز ترش ش ل ی نا
 و دن و ش د و ز ت دش
 ش ذ ن و ش ك ت ن

ل ی نام حا صام صاه
دمی عام ل ل ی حا
ش ذن و ش ک ن ت
طا عای و ش ف ط م ی ل
لا لا لا لا لا لا

Tamām olunmuşdur

Translation

It should be written on the black hen's egg and buried in ash. Within one hour, the steadiness of the beloved disappears and she will come to your side. It has been extensively experimented with. It has been experienced.

m k s y nā m v d ş
vī z ter ş ş l y nā
v d n v ş d v z ted ş
ş z n v ş k t n
l y nām şā şā m şā h
d mī 'ām l l y hā
ş z n v ş k n t
tā 'āy v ş f t m y l
lā lā lā lā lā lā

(This spell) is completed.

Transcription

Bāb

Muḥabbet için yazalar

Gögercin(i) kanyla yaza şol қoluna baғlaya қаңғı 'avrat gö[r]se 'āşık olur du 'ā budur

Yā Rabbi Yā Rabbi Yā Rabbi

*Hā yehebu lā merake bihi lisānike lita ‘cele bihi elā seylenā yem ‘ahun⁹ kuhuf Yemlihā
Mekselinā Mislīnā Mernūş Debernūş, Şāzenūş, Kefeştetāyūş, Kīţmīr*

İtmām olunmuşdur

Translation

It should be written for the sake of love.

They should write (this spell) with pigeon's blood and tie it to their left arm. Any woman who sees (the person carrying the spell) will fall in love with them. Here is the prayer.

My God, My God, My God,

Hā yuhibbū lā marake "(Messenger!) Do not move your tongue quickly to hasten it."

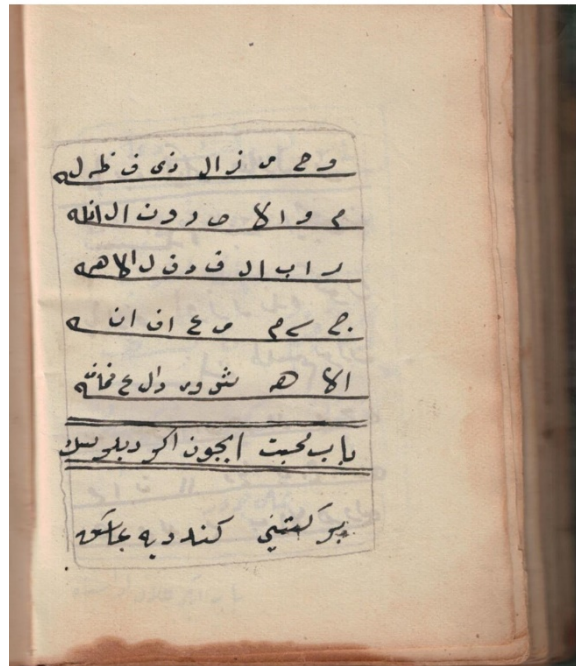
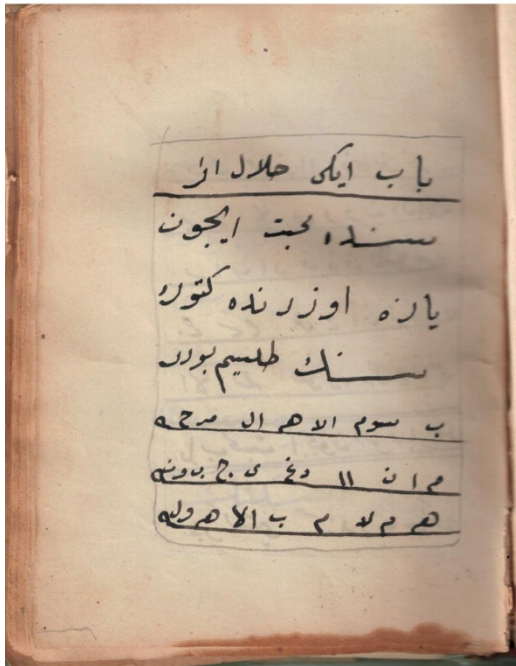
This is the verse. *seylenā yem ‘atun caves*. *Yemlihā Mekselinā Mislīnā Mernūş
Debernūş, Şāzenūş, Kefeştetāyūş, Kīţmīr*

(This spell) is completed.

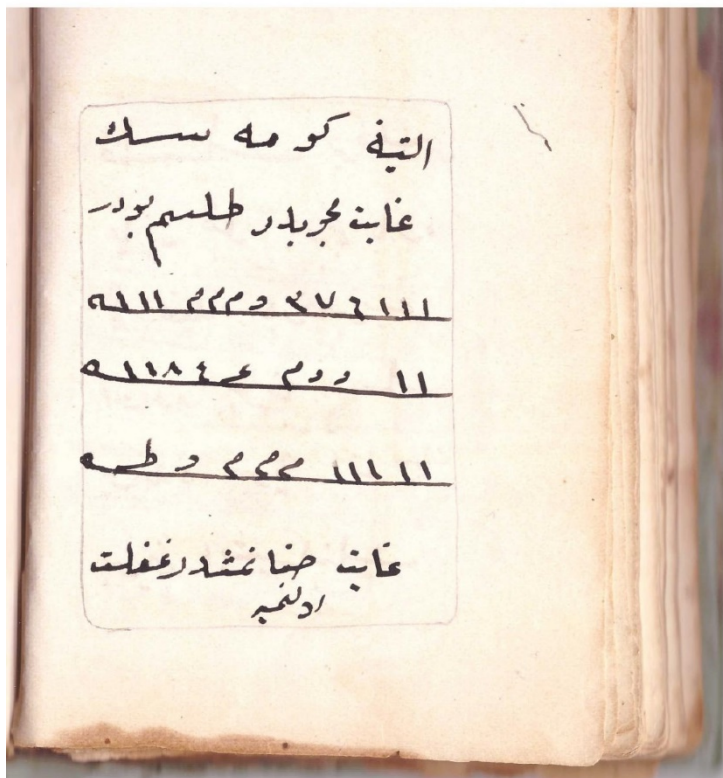
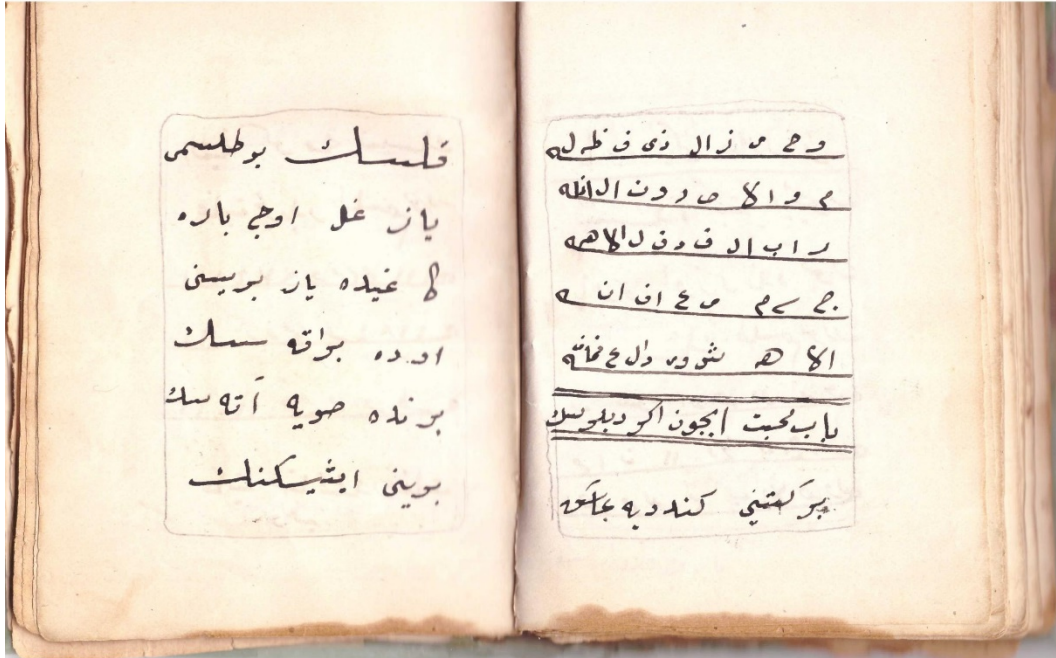
⁹ Non-italicised words have no exact equivalent in Arabic. These expressions were probably misspelled when the text was copied.

Facsimilia

Spell 1:



Spell 2:



Spell 3:

باب محبت ايجون بازه
 برپسنی اوده براتنه
 برپسینی صوبه آتیه اوج
 نسیخه ایده برپسینی دین
 فوستان ادرکنه مویون
 حجاب لر غایت مجربدر
 طلسم بودر

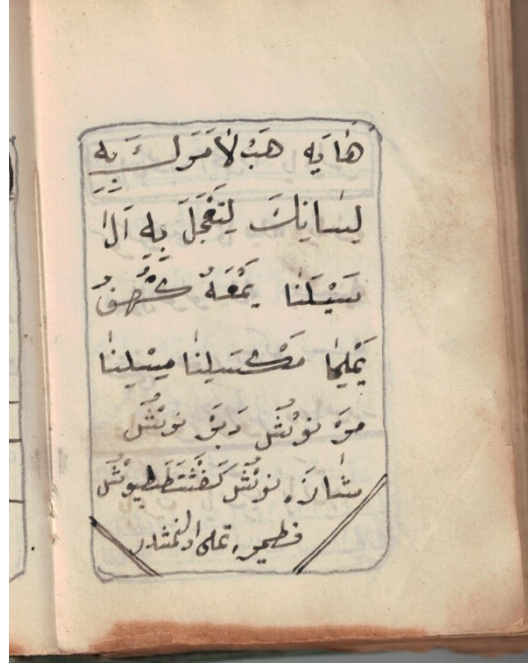
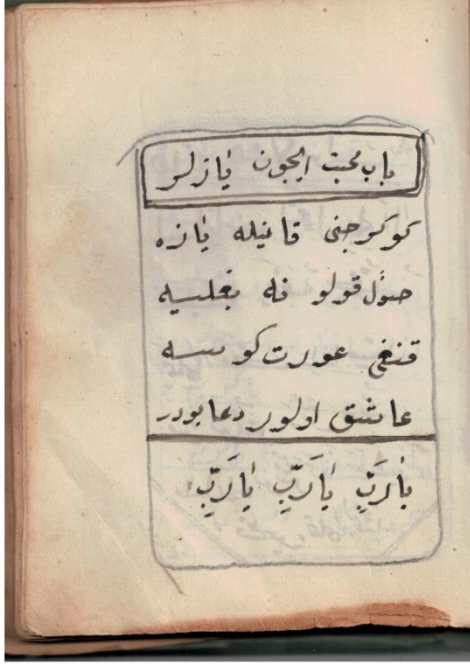
۱۱۱۱ ۹۰۰ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱
 ک ن ل م و س د ت ه
 ۱۱۱ ۱۱۱ ۱۱۱ ۱۱۱ ۱۱۱
 س م ل ل ل ل ل ل ل ل ل ل
 ا ل ل ل ل ل ل ل ل ل ل ل ل ل
 د د د د د د د د د د د د د

Spell 4:

شور دین و شوق لری ش
 ل ر نام عالم صلوه
 مد مر عام ل ل ل حله
 شور دین و شوق لری ش
 طای نامی و شوق و ط م ط ل
 لا لا لا لا لا لا غلمه
 اولنجه -

باب محبت ايجون بازه لری
 قشوه طویوه مجور طسنه
 بازه لری کوله کومه بر سعت
 قراری قلمبه باشه کله غایت
 مجربدر فجورده اولنجه لری
 م ک ش ل ل نام روشنه
 دین و شوق شور لری نام
 و دین و شوق دین نوشنه

Spell 5:



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<https://archive.org/details/volume-5/Volume%201/page/691/mode/2up> Accessed May 28, 2024

“My Daughter Fatma Aliye Was Born”: The Birth Note Taken By Ahmed Cevdet Pasha

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Keywords:

Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, Fatma Aliye, Marginal Note, *tevellüt kaydı*, 19th century

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Context

Ahmed Cevdet Pasha noted his daughters, Emine Semiye and Fatma Aliye's dates of birth in a miscellany that is currently kept in Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality's Atatürk Library (call no. CP_Yz_0058) and loosely cataloged as Remil Risalesi ("Treatise on Geomancy"). Such notes, taken by the owners of manuscripts in the marginalia or blank folios and pertaining to the birth of their children, are called *tevellüt kaydı* "birth note" in Turkish and can be frequently seen in MSS.

Although such personal notes inevitably pertain to a privileged class, they provide valuable insights into the social and daily life of the people. Apart from the annotations in the marginalia (*derkenar*, *haşiye*, *hamiş*), which serve a more fixed purpose, these personal notes encompass a wide spectrum of other items. Such records may include notes on significant events, such as births and deaths of loved ones, earthquakes, service appointments, dates of constructions, monetary transactions, medicines and draft poetry, as well as humorous notes directed at future readers.

Fatma Aliye Topuz (1862-1936) was a writer, essayist, and one of the inaugural female novelists in Turkish literature. Alongside her sister Emine Semiye Önasya (1864-1944), she played a pivotal role in the advancement of women's rights beginning in the late Ottoman Empire. Fatma Aliye wrote extensively on women's rights, women's education, gender inequality, and other social and gender-related issues during her lifetime.

The bottom half of folio 2^r of the miscellany bears the birth note of Fatma Aliye while in the top half of folio 1^v, there is Emine Semiye's birth note. According to this note by Ahmed Cevdet, Fatma Aliye was born on Tuesday, 27 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1279 AH and *Rumi* 9 Tishrīn al-Awwal.¹

¹ As per the Date Conversion Guide of the Turkish Historical Society, 27 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1279 AH should be a Wednesday rather than a Tuesday and correspond to *Rumi* 10 Tishrīn al-Awwal [1278] and 22 October 1862; however, since a deviation of one or two days from the guide is expected, 27 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1279 AH and *Rumi* 9 Tishrīn al-Awwal [1278] can be seen as corresponding.

Transcription

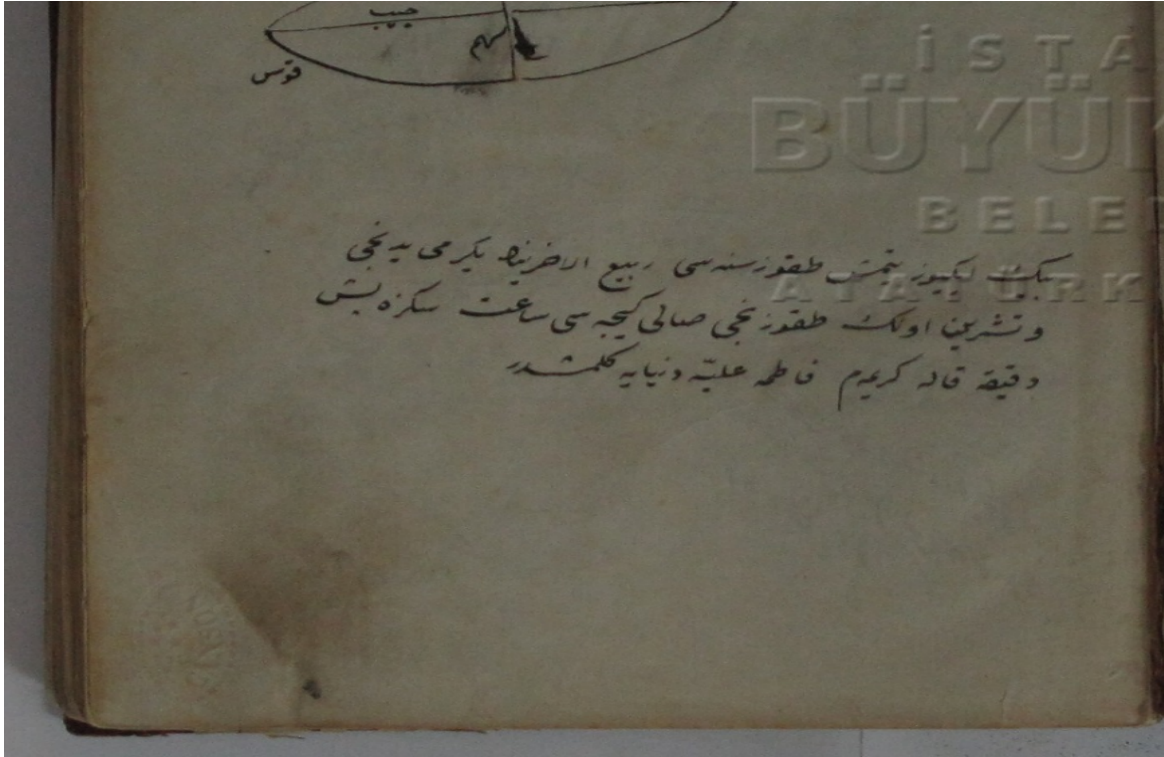
[2r, bottom half] *Biñ ikiyüz yetmiş tokuz senesi rebî'ü l-âhîriniñ yigirmi yedinci — ve teşrîn-i evveliñ tokuzuncı — şalı gècesi sâ'at sekize beş daķıķa kıala kerîmem Fâţıma [or Fâţma] 'Aliyye dünyāya gelmişdir.*

Translation

[2r, bottom half]

My daughter Fatma Aliye was born on the twenty seventh Tuesday night of Rabî' al-Ākhir — and the ninth of Tishrîn al-Awwal — in the year one thousand two hundred and seventy-nine [1279] at five minutes to eight o'clock.”

Facsimile



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- Özdoğan, B. D. (2019). “In the Beginning Was “A Woman”: Motivation, Agency, and the Will of Fatma Aliye”. *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, 6(2), 55–72. <https://doi.org/10.2979/jottturstuass.6.2.06> (Özdoğan’s remarks on Fatma Aliye’s motivations for translating Georges Ohnet’s *Volonté* into Ottoman Turkish (as *Meram*) in 1889, which marks the beginning of her literary career, are worthy of consideration.)
- “Date Conversion Guide,” n.d. <https://www.ttk.gov.tr/tarih-cevirme-kilavuzu/>. (Visited on 25.3.2024)

A Letter Concerning the Parents of Patrona Halil*

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Keywords:

Letter, Patrona Halil, 18th century, İstanbul, Ottoman Empire, Rebellion, Albanians, Rodosto

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Context

This document from the Muslim court registers of Rodosçuk or Tekfurdağı (modern-day Tekirdağ in Turkey) is a copy of a letter written to the court registers, which was sent to the deputy judge and the local notable of the city. It is about the parents of Patrona Halil who was believed to be the main culprit of the so-called Patrona Rebellion of 1730, a significant event in Ottoman history. Unfortunately, no further information is known regarding the final fate of the two people. The importance of the document comes from the fact that it reveals the details of the parents of Patrona Halil, an unknown aspect of the main figure of the 1730 Rebellion.

The rebellion was led by Patrona, an Albanian sailor who is believed to have been previously engaged in piracy. He became the leader of a group of janissaries, sailors, and various disaffected dwellers in Istanbul where widespread dissatisfaction with the rule of Sultan Ahmed III and his administration was evident. During the period, the economic difficulties were exacerbated by the luxury and extravagance of the so-called Tulip Era (*Lâle Devri*), during which there was significant spending on palaces and parties. Furthermore, failure in foreign policy, notably the loss of the war against Austria (1715-1718), which led to the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, was also a reason. With this treaty, the Ottoman Empire lost significant territories in the Balkans from which many displaced families poured mainly into the Ottoman capital.

In September 1730, the armed rebels seized control of Istanbul, exploiting the general discontent among the populace. The insurgents demanded the execution of several high officials whom they blamed for the state's poor governance. Consequently, Sultan Ahmed III was deposed on October 1, 1730, and replaced by his nephew Mahmud I. Also, several of Ahmed III's ministers and prominent figures were executed or exiled. Seeking to restore order and consolidate his power, the new sultan Mahmud I executed Patrona Halil and his main supporters in November 1730, barely two months after the rebellion. On top of this, given the strong suspicion towards Albanians in Istanbul in the post-Patrona period, the Ottoman authorities probably wanted to deliver a symbolic message too. As shown in the document, almost six

months after Patrona's execution, Patrona's parents were exiled from Istanbul, never to return. By their banishment, the authorities may have wanted to erase the legacy of Patrona from Istanbul.

Transcription

Şerī'at-şi'ār Tekfurtağı nā'ibi efendi zīde 'ilmuhū ve kıdvetü'l-emācid ve'l-a'yān Tekfur[ta]ğında Ağa olan Hāšekī Meḥmed Ağa zīde mecduhūya inhā olunur ki bundan aḳdem āstāne-i sa'adetde ref'-i livā-i 'iṣyān iden şaķilerūñ başları olan mağzūb-ı ilāhī ve mebjūz-ı zıllullāhī olmağın ḳatlı olınan Patrona dimekle ma'rūf şeķāvet-piṣenūñ üvey babası Hālil ile anası Hāfşa nām avrat[uñ] İstanbul'da durmaları münāsib olmaduğundan ḫard u ib'ādaları mühimm ü muḳtezi olub vaḫan-ı aṣliyyelerine gitmek üzere Tekfurtağına nefy ü iclā olınmaları ile işbu mektūb taḫrīr ve kıdvetü'l-emāsil ve'l-aḳrān [Dergāh-ı 'ālī yeñiçerilerinden Şāhin Meḥmed Ağa] zīde ḳadruhū mübāşeretiyle irsāl olındı vuṣūlünde gerekdür ki vaḫan-ı aṣliyyelerine gitmek üzere mezbūrlara gereği gibi tenbīh eyleyüb İstanbul ḫarafına 'avdet itdürmekden be-gāyet ihtirāz ve ictināb eylesesiz taḫrīren [fī] evā'il-i şehr-i Zī'l-ḳa'deti ş-şerīfe sene selāse ve erba'in ve mi'e ve elf vaşale ileynā ve ḳuyyide fī 8 Zī'l-ḳa'de sene 1143 mine'l-faḳīr Şāhin Meḥmed Ağa-yı Yeñiçeriyān-ı Dergāh-ı 'ālī

Translation

It is reported to the deputy judge of Tekfurtağı [Tekirdağ], the symbol of Shari'a – may [God] increase his knowledge – and the model of the most illustrious ones and of the notables, Hāšekī Meḥmed Ağa, who is an Ağa at Tekfurtağı – may [God] increase his glory – that since it is inappropriate for Hālil and Hāfşa, the step-father and mother of the bandit-natured man known as Patrona who was the leader of the insurgents who took the path of rebellion in the Abode of Felicity [İstanbul] before and was executed because of the wrath of God and grudge of the shadow of God, to remain in İstanbul, their deportation to Tekfurtağı is important and necessary. This letter was written and sent by the initiative of the model of the most honored ones and of his counterparts,

[Şâhin Meḥmed, Ağa of the Janissaries] – may [God] increase his power – after they were banished to Tekfurtağı in order for them to return to their original homeland. Upon the arrival [of the letter], warn them properly about their return to their original homeland and prevent them from returning to Istanbul. It was written in the first ten days of the month Zî'l-ka'de in the year 1143 (May 1731).

[The letter] arrived to us and registered at 8 Zî'l-ka'de 1143 (15 May 1731).

from humble Şâhin Meḥmed, Ağa of the Imperial Janissaries

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Facsimile

شعرا مکتوبه و غنائی فنند ز سر علمه و قدوة الاله و الایمان مکتوبه غننه اغا و نه صاحب محمد اغا
زید بجه انوار انور که بوندند ز اقدم استیاء سعادت سر شیخ لواء عین ابدیه شفق کرب و بینا
اولاد مغضوب الملهی و بیغوض نظر الالهی مکتوبه قتل اولاد بطر و نه دیعکله مورق
شفاوت بیسته نکت اوکی بایر خلیل الیه اتاسی قصده نام عودت استانبولده
دور مله مناسبت مکده غننه نظر دو ایعالاری مکتوبه و مفید فی ارب و طبع اصلیه لرینه
کتمک اوزره مکتوبه طغنی نغی و اجلاله انملری الیه ایست و مکتوبه تجر و قدوة الامل
والاوان زید قدسه مبارک تله اربک اولند و صولنده کما کدر که وطن اصلیه لرینه کتمک
اوزره مزبور لی که کبسی تنبه المیوب استانبول طرفنه عودت ایستدر ممکنه نجات
اصراز و اجتناب المیز تجر و اول شریف ذی القعدة سنه ثلث و اربع و یاءه و انف
مصلحینا و صوره ۱۲۰۰ در القوه کماله
مصلحینا محمد
اعا کماله
در کماله

David Ungnad Wants his Money Back

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Keywords:

David Ungnad, Letter, Marin Babali, Dubrovnik, 16th century

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Context

In August 1573, Emperor Maximilian II sent David Ungnad von Weißenwolf¹ as an envoy (*orator*) to the Porte in Istanbul. Ungnad, a Lutheran aristocrat from Sonnegg (Carinthia, southern Austria) was perfect for this mission: One year before, in 1572, he had spent several months in Istanbul,² when he was entrusted with the responsibility of leading the ambassadorial delegation that along with many presents delivered the tribute to the Ottomans.³ This meant he already had some experience of the East, had an excellent international network, was highly educated, spoke Slavic languages and proved to be a reliable gatherer of information for the emperor during the five years that his mission was to last.

Ungnad also maintained business contacts, and the two documents presented below bear witness to a precarious situation in which he approached the Sultan: It concerns a loan that Ungnad had granted to a Dubrovnik merchant residing in Galata. However, the merchant had gone bankrupt and absconded. In spring 1578, as Ungnad's time to return to Austria approached,⁴ he turned to the Sultan to request his money back by the highest order.

The two documents presented here were issued roughly three months before Ungnad's departure from Istanbul and are today in the archives of St Florian's Abbey in Upper Austria under the shelfmarks "Fragment 24a" and "Fragment 24b". As with many such Ottoman documents that ended up in monasteries and regional archives, it is not possible to determine who acquired them, when and from whom. It could be that the choirmaster Franz Kurz (1771-1843) bought them, along with "Fragment 23" written in Arabic, during one of his stays in Vienna. But that is pure speculation.⁵

¹ For biographical details on David Ungnad (1530-1600) see Wurzbach 1886, 180-181 (s.v. Weißenwolf), and Ferus 2007.

² He wrote a report on this journey, which was published by Ferus in 2007.

³ Incidentally, he had brought the emperor horse chestnuts from that trip, which were further cultivated by the famous court botanist Carl Clusius. They represent the beginning of Vienna's beautiful chestnut avenues. Cf. Ferus 2007, 40.

⁴ Ungnad left Istanbul on 4. June 1578.

⁵ Thanks to Dr. Friedrich Buchmayr for this hint.

Fragment 24a was prepared in Istanbul at the end of March 1578 and is addressed to the Begs of Dubrovnik. According to its form (*tevķī`-i refī`-i hümāyūn vāşıl olıcaķ ma`lūm ola ki*), it is a copy of a sultan's decree.⁶ The Begs of Dubrovnik are urgently requested to raise Ungnad's money somehow, as the ambassador was about to be relieved and return to Austria.

Transcription

Fragment 24a

1. *Mefāhirü l-ümerā`i l-milleti l-mesihīye merāci`ü l-küberā`i t-ṭā`ifeti l-`isevīye Dubrenik⁷ begleri tevķī`-i refī`-i hümāyūn vāşıl olıcaķ ma`lūm ola ki ḫāliyā Peç kralı*
2. *imparaṭoruñ ilçisi ve Şonek nām maḫallüñ begi olub bi-l-fi`l südde-i se`ādetde olan David Ungnad bāb-i sa`ādetüme `arz-i ḫāl gönderüb bundan*
3. *aķdem Dubreniküñ `ayānından [!] Marin Babali nām tācire Ğalaṭada sākın [!] iken ḫarz-i ḫasen ḫeyli [!] aķçe virüb mezbūr Marin Babali daḫı Dubrenikte Conyo Babali*
4. *nām `ammūsı ile dā`imā alış viriş idüb mā-beynlerinden külli mu`āmeleleri olub mezkūr Conyo mezbūr Marin Babalinüñ metā` ü esbābın ve aķçesin*
5. *göndermeyüb Dubrenikte alıķomağ-ıla mesfūr Marin Babali nām daḫı müflis olub geçinmege ḫudreti olmamağın ğaybet idüb ilç-i mezkūr mezbūr*
6. *Marin Babali Dubreniküñ yarar kişizādelerinden olub āsitāne-i sa`ādetde Dubrenik ilçileri ḫāzır olmadükleri [!] zamānda vāķi` olan*
7. *ilçilik ḫidmetin itmekle i`timād u i`tikād idüb daḫı⁸ aķçe`i virüb şimdikiḫâlde ne cānibe gitdüği ma`lūm olmayub müşārün ileyh ilç-i daḫı*

⁶ There is also an entry on this topic in a *Mühimme Defteri*, which was edited in an unpublished MA thesis (Eren 2011). However, the edition contains no translation and presents some difficulties with the names, which makes it impossible to find them: David Ungnad becomes David Onkidek (p.109).

⁷ With one exception Dubrovnik is written in this document „Dubranik/Dubrenik“.

⁸ Reading uncertain, paper damaged.

8. *bir nice def`ā [!] size mektūblar gönderüb zıkr olınan aqçe`i müteveccih olanlardan taḥşıl idüb gönderesiz diyü ricā itmişken aşlā*
9. *mektūblarına iltikā` itmeyüb aqçesi taḥşıl olunub gönderilmeyüb ve gendüsi daḥı`an qarīb vilāyetine gitmek üzre olmağın qadīmü z-zamāndan*
10. *dergāh-i sa`ādet-destgāhumuza olan şadākat u ihlāşuñuz [!] müsted`āsınca mezkūr Marin Babali nām zımmīye virdügi qarż aqçesi anda olan*
11. *aqçe ve esbāb ve metā` ve emlākından ve anuñ iflāsına sebep olan `ammūsı mezkūr Conyo Babalinüñ emvāl ü esbābından taḥşıl ü*
12. *tedārük olunub vilāyetine gitmezden muqaddem südde-i sa`ādetüme irsāl olunmaq içün ḥükm[!]-i hümāyūnum taleb itmegın āsitāne-i sa`ādetümüze*
13. *olan qadīm ihlāş [!] u istikāmetüñüz muqtezāsınca ilçi-i mūmā-ileyhüñ mezkūr Marin Babali nām zımmīye virdügi aqçesi*
14. *zāyi` ü telef olmayub her ne tarīq-ile mümkün olursa taḥşıl olunub dergāh-i mu`allāma gönderilmesini emr idüb*
15. *buyurdum ki ḥükm-i şerīfümle Covan V/Delfaro [?] ve Vidmar nām ādemleri vardüklerinde [!] bu bābda envā`-i iqdām u ihtimāmuñuz zuhūra*
16. *götürüb müşārün ileyh ilçinüñ mezkūr Marin Babaliya qarż virdügi aqçesini Dubrovnikde vāqi` olan emlāk u emvāl*
17. *ü esbābından ve dā`imā mu`āmele üzre olub alış viriş idüb mezbūr Marinüñ iflāsına sebep ü bā`iş olan*
18. *`ammūsı Babalinüñ emvāl ü esbāb u emlākından āyın ü `ādetüñüz muqtezāsınca ihmāl ü müsāhele olunmayub ilçi-i*
19. *mezbūr henüz vilāyetine teveccüh itmezden muqaddem her ne tarīq-ile mümkün [!] ü mutaşavver olursa bī-kuşūr taḥşıl ü tedārük*
20. *eyleyüb ḥükm-i hümāyūnumla gönderdügi mezkūrān ādemlerine teslim idüb göndermek bābında dergāh-i mu`allāmuza olan qadīmī*
21. *şadākat u istikāmetüñüzi zuhūra götürüb ilçi-i mūmā-ileyhüñ ḥaqqını kimesneye bel` u ketm itdürmeyüb vücūda*
22. *götüresiz [!] bu def`a ilçi-i merķūmuñ aqçesin taḥşıl itmek ḥuşuşınd[a] [!] envā`-i iqdām u ihtimāmuñuz bezl eyleyüb tekrār*

23. *şikāyet itmege muhtāc eylemeyesiz şöyle bilesiz ‘alāmet-i şerīfe i ‘timād kılasız taḥ-rīren fī evāsiti min şehri Muḥarrem*
24. *sene tis ‘e mi ‘e semānīn sitte⁹ (986 H., end of March 1578)*
bi-makāmi Koştan[t]inīye

Translation

Renowned rulers of the Christian confession, refuges of the greats of the Christian community, Begs of Dubrovnik! As soon as the sublime royal letter arrives, may it be known that David Ungnad, who is currently the envoy of the ruler of Vienna and the owner of the place called Sonnegg and an official at the threshold of fortune, has sent a petition to my porte of felicity.

Previously, he had lent a large sum of money without interest to the merchant Marin Babali, a nobleman from Dubrovnik, at the time he was resident in Galata. The aforementioned Marin Babali constantly conducted trade with his uncle Conyo Babali in Dubrovnik, and there was a lot of business between them. The mentioned Conyo failed to send his goods, products and money to the mentioned Marin Babali, and since he withheld them in Dubrovnik, the mentioned Marin Babali went bankrupt. As he no longer had the power to sustain himself, he disappeared.

The mentioned envoy (Ungnad) had confidence and believed that the aforementioned Marin Babali belonged to the honourables of Dubrovnik and, at the time when there were no envoys from Dubrovnik at the Sublime Porte, performed the necessary envoy services and lent him money. And now there is no idea where he is. The aforementioned envoy sent several letters asking: “You ought to collect the aforementioned money from the responsible persons and send it”, but there was no response to his letters. The money was not collected and sent.

And since he is soon to return to his homeland, in accordance with the long, close relationship and sincerity with our Porte, he has demanded my sublime

⁹ The word order of this number is somehow mixed up; and *tis ‘a* looks more like *sitta*.

decree/*hüküm* that the borrowed money he had given to the subject called Marin Babali be collected and made available from his property, goods, chattels and real estate, as well as from the goods and possessions of his aforementioned uncle Conyo Babali, who was the cause of his bankruptcy, and sent to my threshold of felicity before he (Ungnad) returns to his homeland.

Given the long trust and appreciation that exists for our threshold of felicity, I have ordered that the money given by the aforementioned envoy to the subject called Marin Babali not be lost, be collected by whatsoever means, and be sent to my Sublime Threshold.

I have ordered with my sublime decree that you, as soon as his (i.e. Babali's) men named Covan, V/Delfaro and Vidmar have arrived, make an effort and endeavour in this matter, and as is your custom and practice, do not be negligent in taking the money which the said envoy has lent to Marin Babali from his goods, wares and properties located in Dubrovnik, and also from the goods, wares and properties of his uncle, with whom he has constantly been trading and who was the cause of Marin's bankruptcy, in whatever way this may be possible, before the aforesaid envoy returns to his homeland, collect it and make it available, and, as for handing it over and sending it with the aforesaid men whom I have sent with my exalted command, let the ancient fidelity and sincerity which you have shown to my exalted threshold and the right of the aforesaid envoy not be violated by anyone.

You shall endeavour and work hard this time in the matter of collecting the money of the aforementioned envoy, and give him no further cause for complaining.

So you should know. Believe in the Sublime Sign (i.e. the Tugra). Written in the middle decade of the month of Muḥarrem in the year 986 (20-30 March 1578) in Constantinople.

Transcription

Fragment 24b

Türkische Copey des sultanischen Bevelches (German)

1. *Şāhib-devlet paşa hazretlerinüñ mektüb-i şerîfinüñ içinde olan ma'delerüñ [!] 'ayn ile şüretidür*
2. *müşārün ileyh ilçi imparator cānibine teveccüh ü 'avdet¹⁰ eylemedin mu'accelen irsāl ü işāline sa'y vü ikdām ve cehd*
3. *ü ihtimām eylesesiz eger mezbūrlardan taḥşilinden zamān mürür idüb eglenmek lāzım gelür-ise müşārün ileyh*
4. *ilçi 'avk olunmaḳ¹¹ için gendü ~~cānibünüzden~~ cāniblerünüzden gönderüb soñra siz mezkūrlardan alub*
5. *ḳabz eylesesiz müşārün ileyh daḫı gönderdügünüz māl ile bize olan deynimüzi edā eyleye şöyle ki bu def'a*
6. *daḫı sāyir zamāna ḳıyāsen te'allül ü ihmāl veyāḫūd taḥşilinde 'usret vardur diyü ihmāl yāḫūd*
7. *'arz olunmaḳ lāzım gelse küllī sū'-i zann bā'is ve 'itāb u gāzab-i pādişāhinüñ izrārına¹² [!]*
8. *sebeb olunmaḳ muḳarrer ü muḫaḳḳaḳdur aña göre tedbīr ü tedārük aşasız [?] bir yirde fermān-i*
9. *'ālīşān-i vācibü l-iz'ānuñ tenfīzinde müsāhele taḳşir revā görilmeyüb taḥşilinde*
10. *isti'cāl olına zīrā imparator-ile bizüm mā-beynümüzde olan dostlık muḳtezāsı budur ki*
11. *anlaruñ müte'allikātı ve birden bizüm cānibimüze müte'allik olan dostlarımızdan ašlā rencide*
12. *vü remīde olmya taḫrīren fī evāsiti şehri Muḫarremi l-ḫarām sene sitte ve semānīn ve tis'a-mi'a*

bi-medīneti

Ḳoştanīniye

El-maḫrüse

¹⁰ Probably a misspelling: 'azimet [?]

¹¹ Should be *olunmamaḳ*.

¹² Or *isdārına*?

Translation:

Turkish Copy [?] of the Sultan's Order

This is the exact copy of the issues contained in the exalted letter of His Majesty the Pasha, the Lord of Happiness.

Before the aforementioned envoy sets out for the Kaiser, you should urgently endeavour, exert yourselves and pass it on. If collecting [the money] from the aforementioned (i.e. the merchants) takes time and it is necessary to wait, then in order not to delay the aforementioned envoy, forward it from your own side and only afterwards collect it from the aforementioned (merchants).

Let the aforementioned (merchant) pay the debt he owes us with the money you send him. If you neglect [the matter], claiming that there is delay and procrastination or difficulty in collection as compared to otherwise, or if it becomes necessary [to submit the matter again], then that is the cause of utter suspicion, anger and wrath of the Padishah.

Accordingly, you must take precautions. No negligence should be shown in the execution of the high command to be obeyed and (the money) should be collected with all speed. Because the friendship that prevails between the Kaiser and us requires that none of our friends, be they his people or ours, be harassed or molested.

Written in the middle decade of the month of Muḥarrem, in the year 986.

In the city of Constantinople, the well-protected.

Fragment 24b

مفاتيح الامور و الملكة المسبية ... الطائفة الصالحة في جميع نواحيها ...
لا بد ان تكون في الجيب و صورتها انما تكون في دولته بالفتح ...
اكرم في ذلك عاقبتة ما بين ابان نام تاجين غلظت سالكيه في حق صرح حياتي ...
نام عيسى كبره ابا العيسى و في ابن ابيرون ما بينه و بينه ...
خونر مويون في بنات الله اليه و غلبه مغفور ما بين ابان نام و في غلظت ...
ما بين ابان في بنات الله في دولته استانه و معاونت في بنات الله ...
الطائفة الصالحة التي هي في حقها كالماء في جانبا كالماء في جانبا ...
في حقها و فاضله في كل ما هو كذا في دولته كذا في دولته ...
مليونونه القضاة ايتيون في كل حيث اولون كذا في دولته ...
و كذا في دولته و كذا في دولته و كذا في دولته ...
في دولته و كذا في دولته و كذا في دولته ...
ندارة اولون و لانته كذا في دولته و كذا في دولته ...
الصفه قديم اطلاق و استقامت مقتضيات الجلب و موى الين ...
ضايح و تلف اولون هو في طيفيل حلت اولون ...
بيور و م كذا في دولته و كذا في دولته ...
كوتون مساه اليه الين كذا في دولته و كذا في دولته ...
و اسبائنه و و اعما معامل اولون الين و كذا في دولته ...
عوس بابا الين كذا في دولته و كذا في دولته ...
في بور هوز صفينه توبه كذا في دولته و كذا في دولته ...
اليلون حكم هاونم كذا في دولته و كذا في دولته ...
مداق و استقامت كذا في دولته و كذا في دولته ...
كوتون بوضع الين في دولته و كذا في دولته ...
لكمايت اعلم ختاف الين في دولته و كذا في دولته ...
سنة معاه ما بين سنت

عاهل
مصطفى

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Napoléon's Oath: A Declaration of Amity with Selīm

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Context

The rapid expansion of Napoléon Bonaparte's territorial conquests caused widespread concern, which extended to the Ottoman Empire under the rule of Sultan Selim III. However, the threat of Napoléon was not new to the Ottomans. In July 1798, Napoléon embarked on a campaign to Egypt. He successfully defeated the Mamluk army. Through his reforms, Bonaparte sought to establish an Arab nation and undermine the Ottoman Empire. In February 1799, he invaded Syria, where he defeated the Ottoman garrison at Jaffa and the French army executed 4,000 prisoners.¹ By 11 September that year, the Ottomans, in alliance with Russia and Britain, were at war with their long-time allies.

Initially, Selim explored diplomatic avenues with Russian and British ambassadors to forge an alliance against this emerging threat. Faced with Napoléon's continued belligerence, the Ottoman Empire adopted a careful attitude towards France. However, after the victory at the Battle of Austerlitz, the Ottoman Empire considered it necessary to undertake a major revision of its policy towards France.² When Napoléon evacuated the French army from Egypt following the signing of a treaty with Russia and Britain in 1801, the Ottomans, seeing Napoléon's rapid expansion and growing strength, decided to join forces with the French. As a result, they signed the Treaty of Paris in 1802.³

Selim's views were also influenced by Pierre Ruffin (d.1824), the French *chargé d'affaires*⁴ (chief of mission) in Istanbul, and Ahmed Vâşif Efendi (d.1806), who served as *Re'is ül-Kuttâb* (Head of chancery of the Imperial Council). Ruffin engaged in a discussion with Selim, explaining Napoléon's alleged benevolent sentiments towards the

¹ Virginia H. Aksan, *The Ottoman Wars 1700 - 1870: An Empire Besieged*, Modern Wars in Perspective (London New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013), 229.

² Karaer Nihat, "Abdurrahim Muhib Efendi'nin Paris Büyükelçiliği (1806-1811) ve döneminde Osmanlı-Fransız diplomasi ilişkileri," *OTAM(Ankara)* 0, no. 30 (2011): 2, doi:10.1501/OTAM_0000000577.

³ Kahraman Sakul, "An Ottoman Global Moment: War Of Second Coalition In The Levant" (Ph.D., Georgetown University, 2009), 430.

⁴ The Chargé d'Affaires is a diplomat who acts as the head of an embassy when the Ambassador fails to appear.

Ottoman Empire.⁵ Ruffin claimed that Napoléon wanted the Ottoman Empire to stand alongside France as a trusted ally and friendly partner.⁶ Their influence culminated in the achievement of the long-sought formal Ottoman recognition of Napoléon's full imperial title in 1806.⁷ Following the self-proclamation of Napoléon as Emperor of France, Selīm sent an extraordinary ambassador to formally acknowledge Napoléon's accession. Abdurrahīm Muḥib Efendi (fl.1806-1811)⁸ embarked on this diplomatic mission to Paris on 30 March 1806.⁹

Muḥib Efendi arrived in Paris bearing presents from Sultan Selīm to the newly crowned Emperor, accompanied by two letters. The first letter was the formal recognition of Napoléon Bonaparte as the reigning monarch of France, while the second letter conveyed Sultan Selīm's praises and compliments to Napoléon for his victory at the Battle of Austerlitz.¹⁰ Muḥib Efendi read both letters in public in front of the emperor and confirmed his official capacity as the envoy of Selīm to the court of Napoléon, addressed as the Emperor of France and the King of Italy.¹¹ He emphasized

⁵ Napoleon's strategic aim of aligning the Ottomans with his cause, and thereby deterring their allegiance to Russia and Britain, is evident in his letter, where he attempts to secure Ottoman support through rhetoric.

⁶ The explanation of Napoleon's behavior towards the Ottoman ambassador will be further elucidated by examining the transcription and translation of the focal document under discussion in this study. This claim will be substantiated by the document itself, which will reveal Napoleon's conspicuously friendly behavior towards the Ottoman ambassador. Napoleon's strategic aim of aligning the Ottomans with his cause, and thereby deterring their allegiance to Russia and Britain, is evident in his letter as he seeks to gain Ottoman support through his words.

⁷ Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New, The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), 254.

⁸ Born in Istanbul, Muḥib Efendi was raised and educated within the confines of the city. He took on various administrative roles. During his six-year tenure as the Ottoman ambassador to Paris, Muḥib Efendi meticulously produced a comprehensive document known as the *Sefāretnāme* (the book of embassy). The manuscript consists mainly of coded communications between Muḥib Efendi and the Grand Vizier, as well as incoming correspondence. It also includes documentation of Muḥib Efendi's meetings with foreign ambassadors, perspectives on negotiations with the French cabinet, and meticulous first-hand observations of Paris. Aḥmed 'Aşım's extensive use of Muḥib Efendi's *Sefāretnāme* in his historical works is testimony to Muḥib Efendi's keen powers of observation and his diplomatic skills.

⁹ Shaw, *Between Old and New*, 335.

¹⁰ Bekir Günay, "Seyyid Abdurrahim Muḥib Efendi'ni Paris Sefirliği ve Büyük Sefaretnamesi" (Ph.D., İstanbul University, 1998), 34.

¹¹ Aşım, *Aşım Efendi tarihi: Osmanlı tarihi 1218-1224/1804-1809: (inceleme - metin. 1. Cilt*, ed. Ziya Yılmaz, 1. baskı, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı yayınları tarih ve toplum bilimleri serisi, 58 5 (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2015), 165.

the honor that was given to France by the triumphs and conquests of Napoléon and expressed his hope for the strengthening of the sincere relations between the Ottoman Empire and France.¹² The following account is the transcription of Napoléon's reply to the speech delivered by Muhib Efendi. The relevant document is archived in the Türkische Urkunden collections of the Austrian State Archives in Vienna (*Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv*).¹³

Transcription

Devlet-i 'aliyyeniñ İlçisiniñ

Nuḡkuna Cevāb

İlçi Beg seniñ me'muriyyetiñden hażz itdim, veli-ni 'metiñ olan Sulṭān Selim hażretleriniñ hulūş-ı niyyetleri ḡalbime te'sir ider ḡadim dost u müttefikim olan devlet-i 'aliyyeye istizhāri fütūhātımızıñ a'zam şemeresidir saña 'alenen taşdıḡ itmekden maḡzūzum her ne devlet-i 'aliyyeye ḡayr u şerr vāḡi ' olursa Frānçe milletine rāci 'dir bu kelāmları Sulṭān Selim hażretlerine ifāde eyleye her ne vaḡt ki benim düşmenlerim ki anıñ daḡı olmak gerekdir naşihat-i fāsıd virmek üzre ise bu kelāmlarım ḡaḡırlarına gele ḡarafımdan hiç bir vechle ihtirāz itmeye ikimiz birlikde iken düşmenleriniñ kuvvetinden hiç bir ḡavf itmeye mīm

Translation

Reply to the speech of the ambassador of the Sublime State.

¹² Günay, "Seyyid Abdurrahim Muhib Efendi'ni Paris Sefirliḡi ve Büyük Sefaretnamesi," 259–60.

¹³ The above-mentioned document is part of the collection of "*Türkische Urkunden*" in the *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv*. However, it is noticeable that the document has been archived without any accompanying details or contextual information; the box is part of the unsorted documents, having been discovered by chance in the course of my research into other materials within the same collection. It is also worth noting that the document exists in both French and German within the aforementioned box.

Mister Ambassador, I was delighted with your appointment. The sincere intentions of your benefactor, His Majesty Sultan Selim, have touched my heart. Supporting our old friend and ally, the Sublime State, is the greatest fruit of our conquests. I am pleased to publicly confirm this to you. Whatever befalls the Sublime State, whether good or bad, concerns the French nation. Convey these words to His Majesty Sultan Selim, that he may recall them whenever my enemies, who must be his enemies too, offer malicious advice. Do not abstain in any way from my side. When both of us are together, do not fear the strength of our enemies.

Finished.

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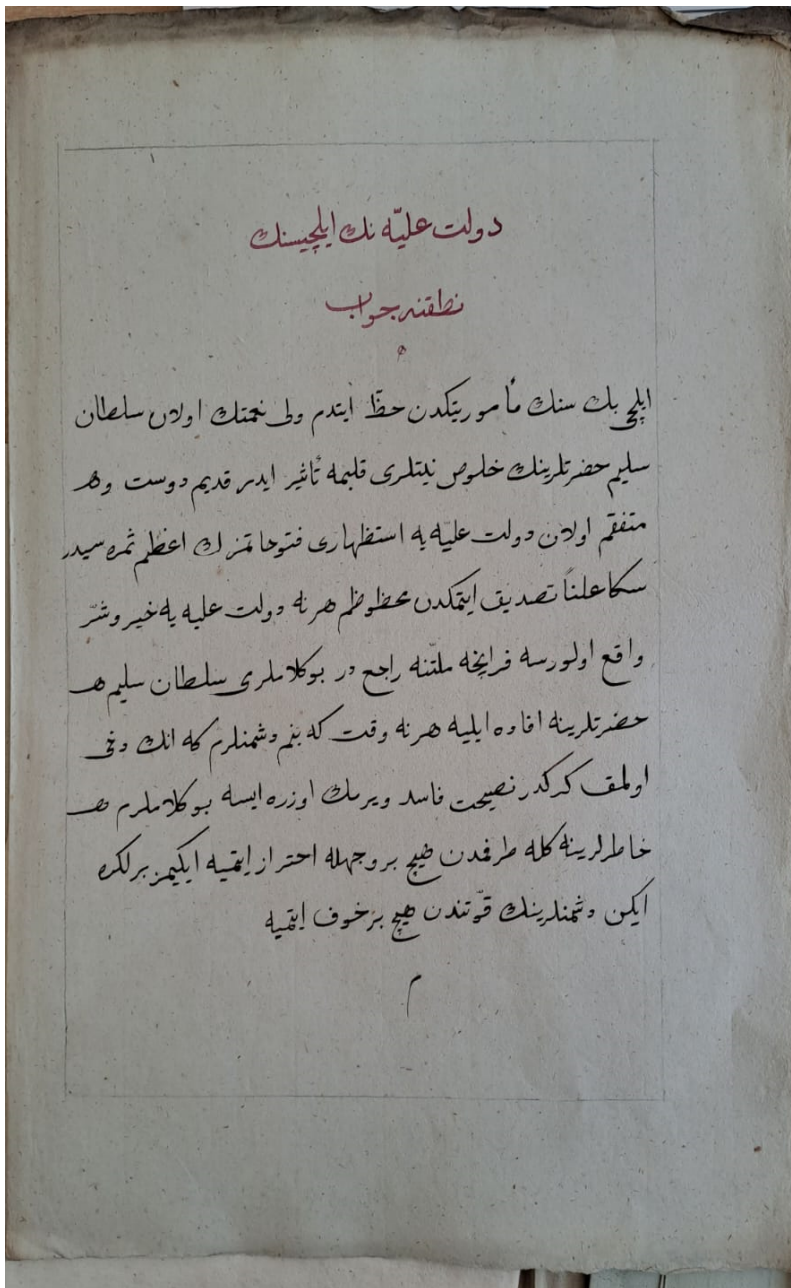
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Facsimile



Two Literary Genres, One Work: A Chronogram Poem by Ḥaḳḳī in Rūknī's Versified Dictionary

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Context

The chronogram poem (*tārīḥ manzūmesi*) by Ḥaḳḳī (d. 1894) presented in this article is found in the Ottoman-English versified (*manzūm*) dictionary entitled *Lehce-i Lanḳıvic*¹ (dictionary of the language), a manuscript written by Rūknī (d. ?) in 1865. The only known copy of this manuscript to date is in the manuscript collection (No. AA. 6881) of the Deniz Müzesi Library in Istanbul. Measuring 205 x 130, 160 x 115 mm, this work contains 43 sheets (*varaḳ*), with sheets [1a, 1b and 42a-43b] being blank, and is written in *nesih*. Ḥaḳḳī's chronogram poem is on [41b] and is written in *riḳ'a*.

As Ottoman chronogram poems were formally composed according to the rules of Arabo-Persian prosody (*'arūz*), they are classified as a sub-branch of the “science of poetic adornment” (*'ilm-i bedī'*), one of the three main branches of the Arabic “science of rhetoric” (*'ilm-i belāḡat*).² The act of composing a chronogram (*tārīḥ düşürme*) in the Ottoman Empire permeated almost every aspect of life, including birth, death, the enthronement of the sultan, the appointment of a statesman to a new duty or position, marriage, architectural construction, or the completion of a book.³ Chronogram poems constitute a literary genre due to their distinctive formal and thematic characteristics. There are numerous examples of this extremely popular genre among the Ottomans over the centuries that have still to be studied systematically,⁴ and the chronogram poem by Ḥaḳḳī examined in this article is just one.

To understand why Ḥaḳḳī's chronogram poem is found in Rūknī's manuscript, let us consider the sources and the manner in which such poems generally appear: the Ottoman chronogrammatic poets assembled these poems in their own poetry collection (*dīvān*) under a separate heading (or without a heading), for example under

¹ *Lanḳıvic* is the pronunciation of the English word *language* in Ottoman. In the dictionary, the English words are written in Arabic script (according to Ottoman orthography) as they are pronounced: (لنقويج).

² Karabey, Turgut, “Tarih Düşürme”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/tarih-dusurme> (10.04.2024).

³ Akay, Sedat, “Arap Edebiyatında Şiirsel Tarih Düşürme Sanatı ve Siirt Nezdinde Bazı Örnekleri”. *Şırnak Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 28 (2022), p. 266- 283, p. 271.

⁴ Ambros, Edith Gülçin, *Ottoman Chronogram Poems: Formal, Factual, and Fictional Aspects*, Berlin: EB-Verlag (2021), p. 6.

the title “*tevārīḥ*” (pl. of *tārīḥ*).⁵ However, Ḥaḳḳī’s *dīvān* was published in 1875,⁶ ten years after Rükni’s manuscript of 1865. In addition to these *dīvāns*, there were the chronogram poems collected in poetry miscellanea (*mecmū‘a-i eṣ‘ār*) or included in manuscripts on the blank sheets at the start and end or even on any page of the works as “*fevā‘id kaydı*” (< *fevā‘id*: pl. of Ar. *fā‘ide* “benefit”), a record of beneficial information.⁷ In this regard, we can consider Ḥaḳḳī’s chronogram poem as a “*fevā‘id record*”, and suggest that it appears in Rükni’s work on page [41b], one of the blank sheets at the end of the manuscript, and after the concluding section on page [41a] of this versified dictionary.

Moreover, as there is no information on the compilation date of Rükni’s work and its copyist, we should ask the following interesting and important questions in the context of the history of Ottoman literary culture: Who wrote Ḥaḳḳī’s chronogram poem as a “*fevā‘id record*” in Rükni’s work? Where did the copyist obtain this poem, which was likely one of Ḥaḳḳī’s unpublished poems up to that point? Was it written or orally transmitted? More precisely, was the poem orally dictated to the copyist?

Yunus Kaplan, who recently found Rükni’s versified dictionary, analysed its structural and textual features and published his article in 2022,⁸ transcribing the full text of the manuscript apart from Ḥaḳḳī’s chronogram poem. Kaplan noted in his article that the manuscript contains a “puzzle chronogram poem” (*ta‘miyeli tārīḥ manzūmesi*) of six couplets by a poet with the pen name (*maḥlaṣ*) Ḥaḳḳī, in praise of the captaincy

⁵ Karabey, Turgut, “Tarih Düşürme”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/tarih-dusurme> (10.04.2024).

⁶ See Tayşi, Mehmet Serhan, “Hakkı Bey, Üsküdarlı”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/hakki-bey-uskudarli> (26.03.2024).

⁷ Karabey, Turgut, “Tarih Düşürme”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/tarih-dusurme> (10.04.2024). See Orhan Bilgin, “Fevâid Kaydı”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/fevaid-kaydi> (14.04.2024). The “*fevâid records*”, often unrelated to and disassociated from the subject of the manuscript in which they appear, cannot be limited in terms of their contents. These records can be, for example, the dates of important days or events, a short poem, useful information extracted from other works, a medicinal recipe, or any kind of recipe.

⁸ Yunus Kaplan, “Tuhfe Türüne Bilinmeyen Bir Örnek: Rükni’nin İngilizce-Türkçe Manzum Sözlüğü (Lehce-i Lankiviç)”, *Akademik Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi* 6/2 (2022), p. 485-531.

of Vesîm Paşa (d. 1910) on page [41b].⁹ He also mentioned in the footnote that he did not see the manuscript himself.¹⁰ Thus, he took the reference that the poem is a “puzzle chronogram” from the catalogue entry of the Deniz Müzesi Library. In this article, I will therefore check whether the poem is a puzzle chronogram and will also consider other possibilities.

Neither the work “*Lehce-i Lanķivic*” nor its author Rükni is mentioned in the biographical and bibliographical sources. Apart from the pen name “Rükni” in the concluding section of the versified dictionary, the only biographical information about the author is found in the introduction. Rükni writes here that he travelled to England to get engines for the warships of the Ottoman navy and that he wrote the dictionary during this trip (to avoid wasting the time) with the help of a passenger who was familiar with English.¹¹ Thus, it can be assumed that Rükni travelled to England on an official mission and was probably an Ottoman naval officer. This biographical information is important as it may provide a possible answer (apart from the explanation about the “*fevâ'id* record” above) to the question of why Hakkî’s chronogram poem was included in Rükni’s work: as Hakkî’s chronogram poem was written on the appointment of Vesîm Paşa as “the grand admiral”¹² (*ķapudân-ı deryâ*) in 1281 (*hicri*), corresponding to 1864-65 CE, its content is closely associated with Rükni as an Ottoman naval officer in the same military context and in the same year, 1865.

With reference to the literary identity of Hakkî, in Faṭîn’s (d. 1866) biography of poets (*tezķire*) from 1853, Hakkî’s literary skills are described as “well versed in all the finer aspects of the poetry”.¹³ In the *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, it is written that Hakkî

⁹ Kaplan, “Tuhfe Türüne Bilinmeyen Bir Örnek” (2022), p. 496.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 496 (footnote 6).

¹¹ Rükni, *Lehce-i Lanķivic: Manzum İngilizce-Türkçe Sözlük*, Deniz Müzesi Komutanlığı Kütüphanesi; Yazmalar Koleksiyonu Nr. AA. 6881, (1865), f. 1b/3-8.

¹² “The Grand Admiral” is common; however, in 1863 the title *ķapudan paşa* (the grand admiral) was abolished and the *umûr-ı bahriye nâzırı* “minister of navy” took its place as commander of the Ottoman navy. See Bayerle, Gustav, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire*, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press (2011), p. 93.

¹³ Faṭîn Davud, *Fatîn Tezķiresi (Hâtimetü'l-Eşâr)*, (1853), ed. Ömer Çiftçi, T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kütüphaneler ve Yayımlar Genel Müdürlüğü Kültür Eserleri Dizisi Nr. 469, (Ankara, 2017), p. 100, <https://ekitap.ktb.gov.tr/TR-195831/fatin-tezķiresi.html> (26. 03. 2024): “[...] *mezâyâ-yı şî'ri tedķike muktedir bir şâir olup* [...]”.

was “a powerful poet who could be considered equal to Nef‘ī (d. 1635)”, that he was described in the sources as “Nef‘ī of the time” (*Nef‘ī-yi zamān*), and that he became very famous in his day.¹⁴ The inclusion in Rūknī’s work of a chronogram poem by a famous and powerful contemporary poet, in praise of the naval commander Vesīm Paşa, would also increase the importance of Rūknī and his work. This may also explain why Ḥaḳḳī’s chronogram poem was included in Rūknī’s work.

In this literary genre, there are more than thirty different types of chronogram.¹⁵ To ascertain whether Ḥaḳḳī’s poem is a puzzle chronogram and how this type is composed, let us take a closer look at the last couplet of Ḥaḳḳī’s poem:

“*Tuyunca bi’l-bedāhe söyledim tārīhini Ḥaḳḳī*

Vesīm Paşa eḥaḳḳdur baḳ kapuādn [sic] [recte kapudān] oldı deryāyā.”

وسیم پاشا احقدر بق قپودان اولدی دریایه

230 + 51 + 163 + 102 + 313 + 304 + 116 = 1279¹⁶

The total of the numerical values of the letters in the last line is 1279, which is less than the required date (1281). In such cases, the poet gives the number to be added to or subtracted from the required figure in the previous verse of the last line.¹⁷ Assuming that Ḥaḳḳī gives us the hint to add the letter “b (ب)” (= its numerical value 2) in the previous verse of the last line with the formulation “*bi’l-bedāhe*” (extemporaneously), we get the required date of 1281/1865. This can happen with the interpretation of the meaning of “*bi’l-bedāhe*” as “with one more b”, which is obviously a daring and yet noteworthy interpretation.

Another possible and the better interpretation would be to assume that Ḥaḳḳī’s poem is not a puzzle chronogram. The fact that the copyist misspelled the word

¹⁴ Tayşi, Mehmet Serhan, “Hakkı Bey, Üsküdarlı”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/hakki-bey-uskudarli> (25.03.2024).

¹⁵ Demirayak, Kenan, “Osmanlı Dönemi Arap Edebiyatında Tarih Düşürme Şiirleri Ya Da Şiirle Tarih Düşürme”, *Şarkiyat Mecmuası* 25/2, (2014), p. 87-124, p. 91. For information on types of chronogram, see Ambros, *Ottoman Chronogram Poems* (2021), p. 35-42.

¹⁶ For table of numerical values of letters used in the calculation of chronograms and the rules for composing chronograms, see Akay, “Arap Edebiyatında Şiirsel Tarih Düşürme” (2022), p. 269ff.

¹⁷ Yakıt, İsmail, “Yakut’un Kendi Seyahatlarına Düşürdüğü Tarihler”, *A.Ü. Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi* 39, (2009), p. 211-219, p. 212.

kapudān is a strong indication that he may also have misspelled other words.¹⁸ This is also proven in the case of *baḳ* (بق) instead of *bāḳ* (باق) with the letter *elif*. And *kapudān* (قپودان) can also be written *kāpudān* (قاپودان) with the letter *elif*. If we add the numerical value of these two *elif* (1+1) to the total, we get the correct date 1281/1865. Thus Hakkî's poem can be considered as *tam tāriḥ*, a type of chronogram in which all the letters in the *tāriḥ*-hemistich are added up.¹⁹ The possibility that the poem may have been orally dictated to the copyist and therefore the two missing *elifs* may have been written by mistake indicates that this interpretation is more likely to be correct.

Transcription

[*mefā'ilün – mefā'ilün – mefā'ilün – mefā'ilün*]

1. *Ḥudā tahtında dā'im eylesün 'Abdü l-'Aziz Ḥānı*
Bütün erbābını ta'yin ider cāh-ı mu'allāya
2. *Ḳapudān-ı mükerrem itdi şahenşeh müşirlikle*
Vesim Paşa dem-ā-dem nā'il olsun lutf-ı Mevlāya
3. *İdüb keştileri rāyāt-ı gūn-ā-gūn ile tezyin*
Donanma 'askeri resm-i bihini çıkdı icrāya
4. *Hemān rabbü l-'azizüñ lücce-i tevfiḳine şalsun*
Yemm-i 'adl ile toplatdı pence-i fülk-i hümmā-pāye
5. *Sa 'adetle ide ol tā Ḥudāyī bādbān-pirā*
Hübüb itdükce bād-ı feyz-i Ḥaḳḳuñ dār-ı dünyāya
6. *Ṭuyunca bi'l-bedāhe söyledim tāriḥini Ḥaḳḳı*
Vesim Paşa eḥaḳḳdur baḳ kapuādn [sic] oldı deryāya

— 1281 —

Translation

1. May God keep 'Abdü l-'Aziz Ḥān constantly on his throne,
He appoints all the masters to the high positions.

¹⁸ Misspellings in chronograms are very common. For the question of orthographic mistake frequency, see Ambros, *Ottoman Chronogram Poems* (2021), p. 25-35.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 35.

2. The Sultan of Sultans honoured the grand admiral with the marshal's rank,
May Vesīm Paşa always attain the favour and grace of the Lord.
3. By adorning the ships with various flags,
The naval soldiers started their duty with the best ceremony.
4. May the great favour of the Lord Almighty always be upon [them],
With the sea of justice [he] summoned the power of the ship with a high rank.
5. May that God make the adorned sails [float] with happiness,
When the wind of God's grace blows into the world.
6. Hakkî, when I heard [this] I said extemporaneously its chronogram:
Look! Vesīm Paşa is the most suitable, he has become grand admiral.

— 1281 (= 1865 CE) —

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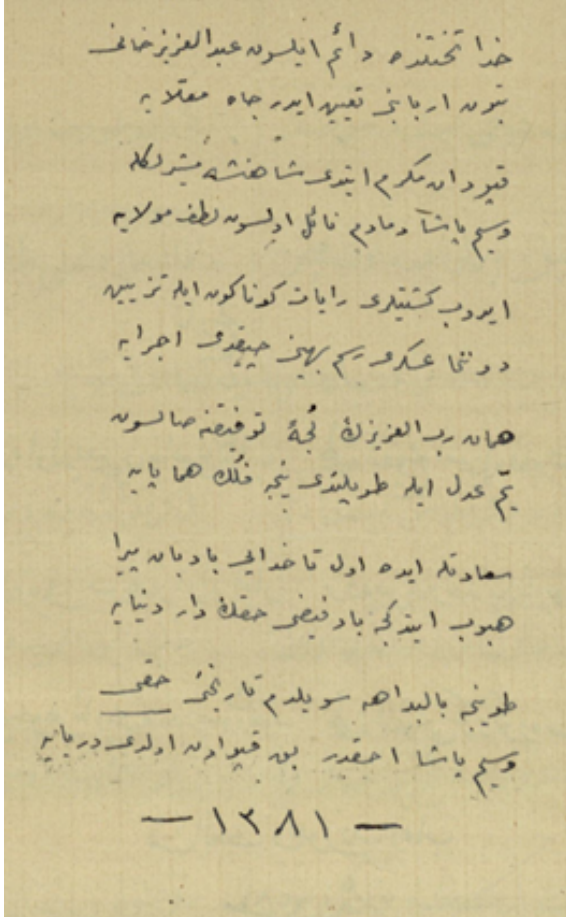
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Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi 39, (2009). P. 211-219.

Facsimile



A Defter Entry from 1489 about the Fortress of Tešanj in Bosnia

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Context

The earliest Ottoman evidence for the fortress of Tešanj¹ can be found in BOA TD 24 (p. 870). The significance of this *defter* entry for the early history of this fortress and the question of the “Bosansko Kraljevstvo” (the Ottoman-installed “Kingdom of Bosnia”) has recently been emphasized by Aladin Husić.² The relevant text (like TD 24 as a whole still unpublished) contains information about the time and circumstances when this fortress was apparently put under siege (*kapanub*) while being bravely defended by a certain Dobrešin³ who, in recognition of his (defensive) *yoldaşlık* or fortress duties, had been awarded an imperial decree by Sultan Mehmed II, exempting him from the poll-tax (*haraç*), the field-tax (*ispençe*), the sheep-tax (*koyun adeti*) as well as all extraordinary taxes (*avarız-i divaniye*). This bravery award can be dated to the time before Muhiyuddin Efendi (alias Mevlâna Vildan), the official responsible for the survey (*tahrir*) of Herzegovina,⁴ had completed work on the survey of the sanjak of Bosna by the autumn of 1477 (neither the detailed [*mufassal*] nor the corresponding synoptical [*icmal*] register appear to have survived, but are referred to repeatedly in BOA TD 24 as the “old register” [*defter-i atik*] or even “Mevlâna Vildan’s defter”).⁵ The (retrospect) mentioning, in BOA TD 24 (dated *evail* Ramazan 894/ 29 July - 7 August 1489), of Mevlâna Vildan as having recorded Dobrešin’s sultanic exemption in his survey register for Bosnia, and having handed him a *hüccet* enabling him to further document his exemption status, makes it clear that the bravery episode must pre-date the autumn of 1477, if not the summer of 1475 when Vildan’s new survey of Bosnia had just begun or was about to begin.⁶

¹ Here spelt “Tišan” instead of the usual “Tešne”, probably as the result of *ikavica* influence.

² “Tešanj u XVI. stoljeću”, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 61 (Sarajevo, 2012), 301 – 318.

³ Written “Dûbrâšin”, from the village of Ričica near Kraljeva Sutjeska.

⁴ Resulting in *defter* BOA TD 5 dated *evail* Ramazan 882/ 7 – 16 December 1477.

⁵ A copy of it had apparently arrived in Istanbul by 18 November 1477. This is supported by a note in O.76, edited in translation by Ahmed S. Aličić entitled *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine* (Mostar, 2008), p. 200, which makes it quite clear that the new survey of Bosnia had been completed by then: “sada je u novom defteru ovoj timar upisan u iznosu od 4.163 akče” - “now this timar was recorded in the new register with a *hasil* figure of 4,163 aspres”.

⁶ See Ćiro Truhelka, “Tursko-slovenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive”, in *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosni i Hercegovini XXIII* [Sarajevo, 1911], p.1-484; here: 319.

At least a decade later, probably by about 1485, Dobrešin had petitioned the new ruler, Sultan Bayezid II, to confirm Mehmed Fatih's exemption act, but Bayezid declined. Dobrešin's tax exemptions were not to be renewed, so in the survey of 1489 he was recorded, under the name of *Dobrašin veled-i Golubik* (Golubić), as the first householder among the taxpaying inhabitants of Ričica village.⁷ At this time, Ričica near Kraljeva Sutjeska formed the fiefdom (*timar*) of *bölükbaşı* Yusuf from Yeleč, one of the personnel of Bobovac fortress nearby. Ričica had already been in his hands by 1485,⁸ having been transferred from (*an tahvil-i*) Veli Beğ. At the same time, in 1485, we find a certain *Dobrašin birader-i Hasan Ağa* holding the village of *Tişine* (Tišina near Zenica) as his *timar* with a revenue (*hasıl*) of 11,528 *akçe* – the same village which, by 1489, was to be in the hands of two joint occupants (*müşterek*), Dama[d] Halil and *Mehmedî veled-i Dobrašin*,⁹ again with a revenue of 11,528 *akçe*. Husić assumes the identity of these Dobrešins without further discussion.¹⁰ If correct, we would be able to argue, as does Husić, that “our” Dobrešin was rewarded not only with tax exemptions for his bravery at Tešanj, but with a (for a Christian unusually) sizable *timar*, a sign of considerable advancement within the Ottoman system, which *Mehmedî veled-i Dobrašin* (his son?) was to partly ‘inherit’. This Tišina *timar*, albeit with less than half of its later revenue, can be traced back to the late 1460s/early 1470s.¹¹ As the *timar* of a certain *Mehmedî veled-i Şeyh* it was passed on to *aşçı* Ali on 4 – 13 March 1470; to be handed over to Ali, son of the *dizdar*, on 31 December 1472. It was then recorded as being in possession of Radoja Krajčinović, from whom it was transferred to the brave youth (*hrabri mladić*) Hamza on 12 September 1476, who is likely to have held it for a number of years. No word of *Dobrašin birader-i Hasan Ağa* until the end of the defter's recording span,¹² which suggests that he was awarded the Tišina *timar* only at some point during the late 1470s or early 1480s.

⁷ BOA TD 24, p. 868-9.

⁸ BOA TD 18, p. 183.

⁹ BOA TD 24, p. 356-7.

¹⁰ Husić, “Tešanj”, p. 301.

¹¹ Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, p. 79.

¹² The latest *derkenar* entry in O.76 dates from 10 – 19 June 1478; see Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, p. 97: evasit Rebiyülevvel 883.

While any exact date cannot be established with certainty, we can say with confidence that *Dobrašin birader-i Hasan Ağa* must have lost his Tišina timar at some point between 1485 and 1489, by which later date it was already in the joint hands of Halil and Mehmedî. This is the same period during which “our” Dobrešin (Golubić) lost his tax exemption status and was recorded as tax-paying inhabitant of Ričica, apparently his native village near Kraljeva Sutjeska, not far from Bobovac, the old residence of the kings of Bosnia. If “our” Dobrešin were to be identical with *Dobrašin birader-i Hasan Ağa*, he would have experienced a kind of “free-fall” demotion from being the recipient of a bravery award for gallantry at the frontier with Hungary, then being granted a prestigious and substantial timar unrivalled by most other Christian-held assignments, before being reduced to a tax-paying *reaya* duly recorded under his native village “back home”. Or was it merely a case of demobilisation, of old-age retirement? The untimely and rather laconic rejection of his appeal, submitted to Sultan Bayezid II with the intention of having his tax exemptions confirmed, makes this rather unlikely.

The answer may lie hidden in the *defter* entry itself (see below). It opens with the information that Dobrešin, a Christian “man of the sword” from Ričica village, had fought bravely while being put under siege by the enemy in the fortress of Tešanj “together with his lord of hero warriors (*yiğit beğiyle*)”. This seems a rather unusual expression to refer to what in effect must have been the chief commanding officer of Tešanj fortress at the time. One would perhaps expect the term “*yiğit başı*” (head hero warrior) or, less poetically, “*kale dizdari*” (fortress commander) when allusion is made to his superior rank. Yet the entry leaves little doubt as to its correct interpretation: “*yiğit beği*”. Why use such a colourful expression in a matter-of-fact *defter* entry? Interestingly, Ottoman archival sources, when referring to Venetian military or civil potentates or officials, sometimes employ equally vivid expressions such as “*derya beğleri*” (Lords of the Sea). Usages of this type appear to carry the notion of sovereignty and/or allied status in the Christian person or group of persons thus entitled, and it shows once again that in Ottoman chancery practice, the title “*beğ*” is not restricted to Muslims. Might perhaps the chief commander of Tešanj fortress, in the run-up to Mevlâna Vildan’s land survey

(*il yazısı*) of 1475-77, have been a Christian lord, with the Christian “man of the sword” by the name of Dobrešin (Golubić) under his command bravely defending his fortress?

According to Aladin Husić, several reasons can be quoted for suggesting that the residence of the Ottoman-installed King of Bosnia, like that of the voivode Radivoj Ostojić (Kotromanić, died 1463), the anti-king of Bosnia from 1432 until 1435 before him, was situated in Tešanj during the years 1465 – 1476, before the fortress was taken by the Hungarians in 1476, possibly together with the fortress of Dobož.¹³ It is therefore possible that the expression “*yiğit beği*” alludes to Matija (Matthias), the Ottoman-installed King of Bosnia and lord over Tešanj fortress during these years, or his deputy (*kethüda*).¹⁴ With the end of this era, and the disappearance of the Ottoman-installed ‘Kingdom of Bosnia’ from history, “our” Dobrešin (Golubić) must have looked elsewhere for his livelihood, intensifying his efforts to make his fortune in the Ottoman system “proper”. But it must be remembered that Sultan Mehmed Fatih had evidently already considered the Tešanj warriors sufficiently integrated into the Ottoman military organisation to grant one of them a bravery award by tax exemption, being confirmed by means of a *hüccet* and recorded in his defter by Mevlâna Vildan, the *il yazıcı*. If Husić is correct, he was to prove very successful indeed – at least for as long as Mehmed Fatih lived!

Because of the importance of the defter entry for any wider discussion of our topic, the full text of the relevant entry and the corresponding facsimiles are given below:

¹³ Husić, op.cit., p. 302-3

¹⁴ For a map of what is presently considered the territorial extent of the ‘Bosansko Kraljevstvo’ see. Dubravko Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti (sveta kruna ugarska i sveta kruna bosanska) 1387-1463* (Synopsis: Zagreb – Sarajevo, 2006), karta 13. This map shows the fortresses of Dobož, Tešanj, Maglaj and Žepče as part of the ‘Bosansko Kraljevstvo’. For the king’s deputy see. Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, pp. 82, 99, 104, 106, 108, 172, 173.

Transcription

- 1) *ķarye-i mezbūre içinde Dobraşın nām kāfir Tişan ķal'asında yigid begiyle ķapanub emānet*
- 2) *ve istikāmetiyle yoldaşluk itdügi sebebeden şābika merħūm mağfūr Sulţān Meħemmed Ħan*
- 3) *tābe serāhu ħazretleri mezkūrī ħarācdan ve ispenceden ve ķoyun 'ādetinden ve 'avārız-i*
- 4) *divāniyeden mu'āf ve müselleme ķılıb ħükmi hümayūn virilmiş min ba'd Mevlānā Vildān*
- 5) *daħı bu üzre deftere sebt edüb eline ħüccet virdükden soñra pādişāhumuz ħalide ħilāfetuhu*
- 6) *ħazretlerine daħı 'arż olunub evvelden mu'āf ve müselleme olıgeldi gerü virmiye*
- 7) *diyü ħükmi hümayūn virilmiş gerü emri pādişāhī üzre bu ķarār deftere sebt olındı.*

Translation

Because the unbeliever by the name of Dobraşin [who is recorded] in the aforementioned village [Ričica near Kraljeva Sutjeska] had fulfilled [his] comradeship (*yoldaşlık*) [= fortress duties] with trustworthiness and righteousness [while being] shut up (besieged?) together with his lord of hero warriors (*yiğit beğiyle*) in the fortress of Teşanj, His Majesty the late Sultan Mehmed Khan whose sins are forgiven (may his grave be pleasant!) had previously (*sabika*) made the aforementioned privileged and exempt from the poll-tax, field-tax, sheep-tax and [all] extraordinary taxes, and an imperial decree was issued [to this effect]. Hereafter, Mevlāna Vildan had accordingly recorded this in the survey register [of 1475-77] and, having handed him a *ħüccet*, His Majesty our Padişah (may his caliphate be eternal!), was also petitioned [to renew his tax privileges]. An imperial decree was issued, saying: “He used to be exempt and free beforehand. One shall not give [the privilege] again!” This decision was, in accordance with the imperial decree, again recorded in the survey register [now that of 1489].

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442

840

قره نوبر. اصدا. اکتبر نام کنده
ضلعی و در در عفت اورده تا در نه
عزیز نوبر جامیل



قره نوبر. اصدا. اکتبر نام کنده
در استغیثه سید الشیخ زکریا سیدنا
طاب ثوابه حضرت زکریا فرامیدن و استغیثه
و در استغیثه سید الشیخ زکریا سیدنا
طاب ثوابه حضرت زکریا فرامیدن و استغیثه
و در استغیثه سید الشیخ زکریا سیدنا
طاب ثوابه حضرت زکریا فرامیدن و استغیثه

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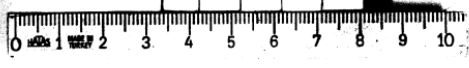
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T. T. - 0024



Detail from BOA TD 24, p. 870:

- و تبه بریدر. ایزد. و در شهر نام کافر تیشان تعلق شد یکدیگر کجای فجا نوب امانت
 و استقامتیم بعد اشلن زده و یک سببه ن سابقا و هووم مغفور سلطان محمد خان
 طاب ثوان حضرتان مذکور می خواهدن و اسبهدن و قیون عالته ن و عوررض
 و بولیدن معاف و مستم قلوب کم ممالیک و پولش من بعد مولانا ولد لسن
 و فی بو زر. و هنر. ثبت لب لاله جن و در هر کزن حکم. بال ساهمور خله خلاصه
 حضرتان معنی عرض اولمویب اوله ن معاف و مسلم اوج کلدب کرو و برید
 می حکم ممالیک و برینن کرو لری بال شامی از زر. برقرار و هنر. ثبت اوله کم

The Beauty of Elbasan in the Verses of Zaimi Mehmed from Gyula

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Keywords:

Za'ımī Mehmed, Elbasan, miscellany, poem, Vienna, 17th century

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Context

Evliya Çelebi left a detailed description of Elbasan, which he visited in 1670. He wrote that “Just as the city of Antep is the bride of Anatolia, so is this city of Elbasan the bride of Albania in Rumelia”.¹ According to Evliya, the city was famous among other things for having 47 doctors and pulse-takers.² However, the chroniclers called Elbasan the city of poets (*Dār-ı Şu‘arā*).³ A certain Zaimi Mehmed (*Za‘imī Meḥmed*) was also enchanted by the beauty of the city of Elbasan, which he recorded in verses in his miscellany (*mecmū‘a*). His miscellany is kept in the Archives of the Francke Foundations in Halle under the shelfmark AFSt/H Q 44. Zaimi was from Gyula in Hungary but there is reason to assume that his ancestors were originally from Bosnia. Namely, in his miscellany (fol. 78v-79r) there is a copy of the firman by which the Bosnian fiefholders are granted the right that only their legal heirs can acquire fiefs in Bosnia, i.e. that people who were not born in Bosnia cannot obtain fiefs on its territory.⁴ His miscellany spans the years 1678-1683. He noted that his daughter Ayşe was born on 10 Muharrem 1091 (11 February 1680) and his son Deli Ahmed on 15 Safer 1094 (13 February 1683).⁵ Zaimi participated in the Ottoman campaign against Vienna in 1683. Near to Vienna, on 13 Şaban 1094 (7 August 1683), he wrote a folk song (*türkü*).⁶ It cannot be said whether he died during this campaign or if he managed to survive.

His verses about the beauty of Elbasan read as follows (fol. 6r):

¹ Robert Dankoff, Robert Elsie, *Evliya Çelebi in Albania and Adjacent Regions (Kosovo, Montenegro, Ohrid)*. Leiden: Brill 2000, p. 160, 161.

² Dankoff, Elsie, *Evliya Çelebi*, p. 174, 175.

³ Dankoff, Elsie, *Evliya Çelebi*, p. 170, 171.

⁴ As far as I know, apart from this, the only known copy of this firman is in a miscellany that is kept in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (former Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts) in Zagreb, see Nedim Filipović, “Odžakluk timari u Bosni i Hercegovini”. *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju i istoriju jugoslovenskih naroda pod turskom vladavinom* 5 (1955), p. 266.

⁵ Fols. iv, 3r.

⁶ Fol. 79v.

Transcription

Hüve el-Ḥayy el-Vedūd
İlbaşanuñ dilberānı ḥabbezā bisyār imiş
medḥ iderlerdi velī didüklerince var imiş
şehr içi cennet-misāli bāğ u bağçe [sic] bī-ḥisāb
mīvesi incīr ü engūr u daḥı hem nār imiş
Ṭalibī dirlerdi şöyle böyledür bu İlbaşan
Ḥaḳka minnet anı gördük gözlerümüz var imiş⁷

Translation

He [God]! The Ever-Living, the All-Loving God!
They said the heart-ravishers of Elbasan – how charming! – were numerous.
They praised them – but they were indeed as [lovely as] they said!
They said the inner city was like paradise with countless orchards and gardens,
Its fruits were figs and grapes and also pomegranates.
Talibi!⁸ They said this Elbasan was like this and like that.
God be thanked! We⁹ saw it, we had eyes for it!

⁷ *Remel* (- v - - / - v - - / - v - - / - v -).

⁸ Talibi was probably a friend of Zaimi because Zaimi himself wrote one *kit'a* about him. At the time Zaimi wrote his miscellany, Talibi was dead (*el-merḥūm*), see fol. gr.

⁹ Presumably pluralis modestiae.

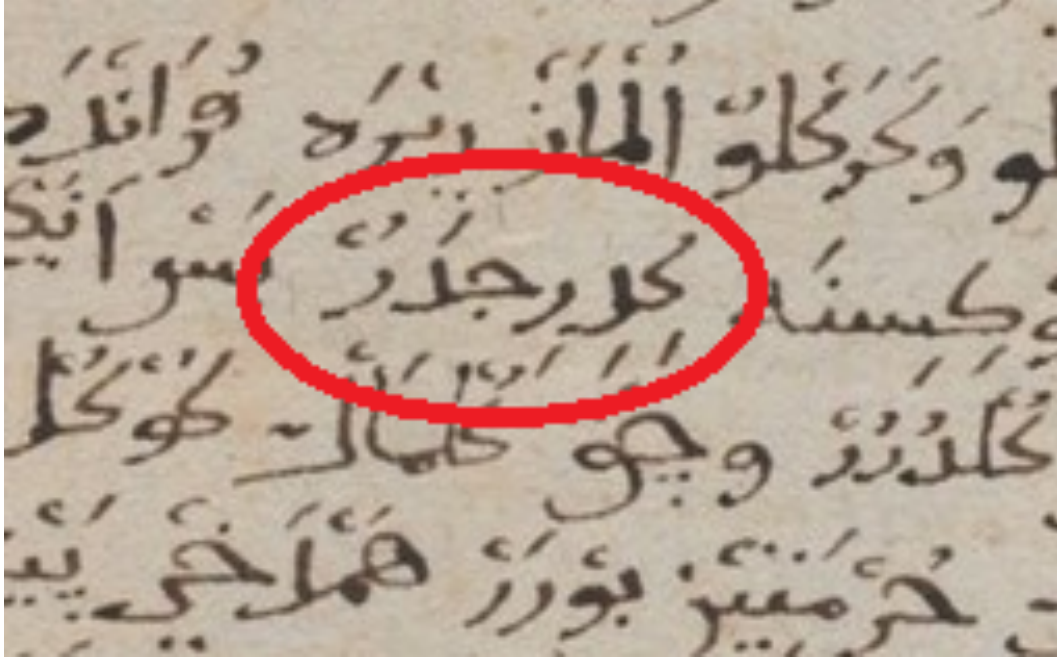
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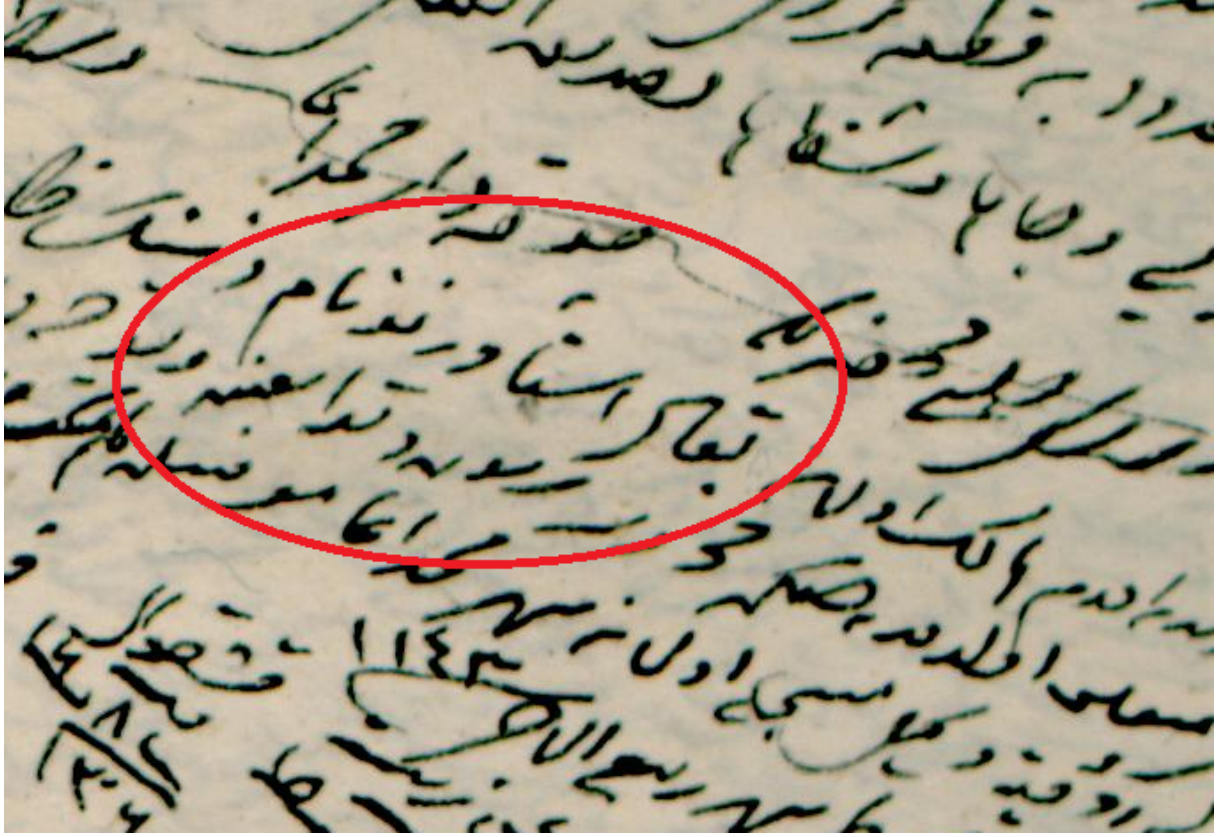
Summary of illegible or debatable words

Hülya Çelik – Jakob Christmann's Ottoman letter



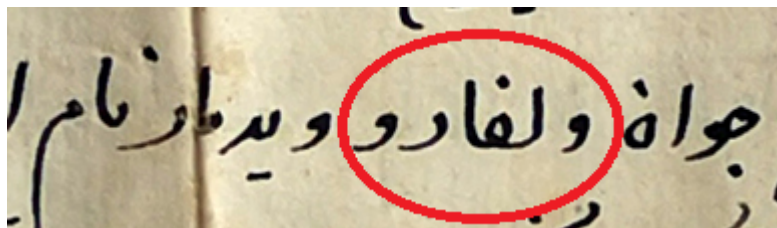
dünyā sevgisine *gidiricedür* [?] bes anuñ-içün

Sümeyye Hoşgör Büke - Exploring Fish Species



baqqāl Estavrinu [?] nām

Gisela Procházka-Eisl - David Ungnad



Covan *V/Delfaro* [?] ve Vidmar nām