



## An Ottoman Historian: ‘Uthmān Fütūhī and His Work ‘Ajā’ib al-Meḥārib ve Gharā’ib al-Me’ārik

Veysel Göger<sup>1</sup>, Hüseyin Sarıkaya<sup>2</sup>

### Abstract

This study is on a less-known Ottoman historian ‘Uthmān Fütūhī and his works, particularly his chronicle about the Yemen expedition (1569-1571). The author wrote two books. The first, titled ‘Ajā’ib al-Meḥārib ve Gharā’ib al-Me’ārik, is about this Yemen expedition. The scribe committed this work to paper upon request of Kūjā Sinān Pasha who was the chief-commander of the Ottoman troops dispatched to Yemen to suppress the Zeydī uprising. We now have two copies of this work (full and incomplete), which are accessible. ‘Uthmān Fütūhī benefited to a considerable extent -as a reference- from *Nāme-i Fütūh-ı Yemen* by Muşţafā Rumūzī. However, we have additionally found out that Fütūhī narrates some specific information that Rumūzī doesn’t.

Fütūhī’s second work with religious content is called *Kenz al-Mewā’iz*. As far as we know, the sole copy is in the Egyptian National Library and Archives. Fütūhī submitted this manuscript to Khādim Mesīh Pasha, the then-Egypt Governor.

### Keywords

Ottoman Chronicle • Uthmān Fütūhī • Yemen Expedition (1569-1571) • Kūjā Sinān Pasha • Muşţafā Rumūzī • Khādim Mesīh Pasha

### Bir Osmanlı Tarihçisi: Osmān Fütūhī ve ‘Acā’ibü’l-Mehārib ve Garā’ibü’l-Me’ārik Adlı Eseri

### Öz

Bu çalışma, kimliği pek de bilinmeyen bir Osmanlı tarihçisi Osmān Fütūhī ve onun eserleri –özellikle de Yemen seferi hakkında kaleme aldığı kroniği– hakkındadır. Müellifin iki eser kaleme aldığı bilinmektedir. Bunlar arasında bulunan ‘Acā’ibü’l-Mehārib ve Garā’ibü’l-Me’ārik başlıklı eseri Yemen seferi (1569-1571) üzerinedir. Yazar, Zeydī isyanını bastırmak amacıyla Yemen’e sevk edilen Osmanlı askerî kuvvetlerinin başkumandanı Koca Sinān Paşa’nın isteği üzerine bu eseri kaleme almıştır. Bu eserin günümüze ulaşılabilen iki ayrı nüshasına da (biri tam diğeri eksik nüsha) sahibiz. Müellif, ana kaynak olarak Mustafa Rumūzī tarafından kaleme alınan *Nāme-i Fütūh-ı Yemen* adlı eserden önemli ölçüde faydalanmıştır. Bunun yanında, Fütūhī’nin Rumūzī’de yer almayan bazı özgün bilgileri naklettiği de anlaşılmaktadır.

Fütūhī’nin dinî muhtevaya sahip ikinci çalışması *Kenzü’l-Mevā’iz* olarak anılmaktadır. Bildiğimiz kadarıyla eserin tek nüshası Mısır Millî Kütüphanesi ve Arşivi’nde bulunmaktadır. Fütūhī bu nüshayı dönemin Mısır Valisi Hâdim Mesīh Paşa’ya sunmuştur.

### Anahtar Kelimeler

Osmanlı Kroniği • Osmān Fütūhī • Yemen Seferi (1569-1571) • Koca Sinān Paşa • Mustafa Rumūzī • Hâdim Mesīh Paşa

1 **Correspondence to:** Veysel Goger (Dr. Lecturer), Bingöl University, Faculty of Science and Literature, Department of History, Bingöl, Turkey. Email: [veyselgoger@yahoo.com](mailto:veyselgoger@yahoo.com) ORCID: 0000-0002-2918-9180

Hüseyin Sarıkaya (Dr. Lecturer), Istanbul University, Faculty of Theology, Department of Islamic History and Arts, Istanbul, Turkey. Email: [huseyin.sarikaya@istanbul.edu.tr](mailto:huseyin.sarikaya@istanbul.edu.tr) ORCID: 0000-0002-9398-1295

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## Introduction

Contemporary Ottoman historians need further resources to rightly elaborate and assess current information. This need is getting increase especially for the issues hardly resolved with available documents. Albeit putting the archives into service by the experts in an organizational structure provides a relatively regular data flow, unfortunately this state is a matter of question for the chronicles, which constitutes the second largest resource group. Therefore, identification, transcription and evaluation of the Ottoman chronicles in numerous archives and libraries around the world could be achieved by the efforts of individual Ottoman historians. Also, classification of these chronicles, commonly examined in M.A. and P.h.D studies allow other researchers to benefit fruitfully, which we believe is quite promising but there is still a lot to do. That is to say, various chronicles in private or public archives and libraries, the secrets of which are still undisclosed, are possible to be discovered.

Regarding the assessment above, we have examined a very-little-known Ottoman chronicle, describing the re-conquest of Yemen by the Ottomans between 1569 and 1571, additionally accentuated the value of the chronicle, the life and another work of the author.

## Name and Life of the Author

Biographical details of Fütūhī are limited with only what he presents in his own works. His name is ‘Uthmān but he came known under the pseudonym of *Fütūhī*, the son of ‘Abd al-Qādir, the son of ‘Alī al-Şabūhī.<sup>1</sup> However, ‘İsmā‘īl Pasha Baghdādli, writing about Fütūhī’s work titled as *Kenz al-Mewā‘iz*, mentions his pedigree as follows: ‘Uthmān b. al-Fütūhī b. al-Vizier ‘Abd al-Qādir Pasha b. Mesīh Pasha al-Rūmī.<sup>2</sup> According to him, Fütūhī’s father is a vizier and grandfather Mesīh Pasha. But we treat this claim with suspicion because Fütūhī himself conveys no such objective statement in his works.

In 1571, upon Kūjā Sinān Pasha’s (d. 1596) appointment to the governorship (*beylerbeyi*) in Egypt following the Yemen campaign, he meets with Fütūhī.<sup>3</sup>

1 The Library of Topkapı Palace Museum (LTPM), K. 908, f. 374a. Also see. The *Egyptian National Library and Archives [Dār al-Kütüb]*, *Taşawwuf wa Akhlāq al-Dīniyyah Türkī*, no. 160, fol. 37b.

2 Bābān-dhāde ‘İsmā‘īl Pasha Baghdādli, *İdāh al-Meknūn fī al-Dheyl ‘alā Keshf al-Zūnūn ‘an Asmā’ al-Kütüb wa al-Fünūn*, emend. Kilisli Rifat Bilge (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947), 2: 388.

3 Kūjā Sinān Pasha was appointed to Egypt governorship on May 10, AD 1571 for the second time and in the early July of this year; he arrived at Qāhirah See. Ahmet Önal, “Koca Sinan Paşa’nın Hayatı ve Siyasî Faaliyetleri (1520-1596)” (Ph.D Diss., Marmara University, 2012), 40-42.

During this visit, Kūjā Sinān Pasha orders him to write a book picturing the Yemen expedition. Likewise, he dedicates his another work called *Kenz al-Mewā'iz* to Khādīm Mesīḥ Pasha (1574-1580), predecessor of Khādīm Ḥasan Pasha, supposedly in late 1574.

## His Works

### 'Ajā'ib al-Meḥārib ve Gharā'ib al-Me'ārik

J. Richard Blackburn is the first researcher to mention this work in an academic article.<sup>4</sup> However, not seeing the work personally, Blackburn just refers to the information in a museum catalogue.<sup>5</sup> Thereafter, Hulūsi Yavuz namely alludes to this work in two of his studies, and<sup>6</sup> briefly introduces it in the third one.<sup>7</sup> Yavuz claims that Fütūhī writes his work as a result of a competition among several candidates by order of Kūjā Sinān Pasha (d. 1596), which is erroneous,<sup>8</sup> and gives concise information on the language and physical characteristics of the manuscript and avoids criticizing the content of the work.<sup>9</sup> With the aim of emendating the deficiencies mentioned, we will examine *'Ajā'ib al-Meḥārib ve Gharā'ib al-Me'ārik* by 'Uthmān Fütūhī.

### Manuscripts

Only the copy in the Library of Topkapı Palace Museum (T copy) has been known to all until very recently but we have found an incomplete one in France (Bibliothèque Nationale de France) as a consequence of extensive research. Both are subjected to review in this article. The copy in Koğuşlar Kitaplığı, no. 908 of the Library of Topkapı Palace Museum is the full version in size of 18\*21 cm,

- 4 J. Richard Blackburn, "The Collapse of Ottoman Authority in Yemen, 968/1560-976/1568" *Die Welt des Islams* 19, no. 1-4 (1979): 120.
- 5 Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yayınları, 1961), 229-230.
- 6 Hulūsi Yavuz, "Kâbe ve Haremeyn'in Muhâfazası Bakımından Hadım Süleyman ve Sinan Paşalar'ın Yemen Seferi," *Diyanet Dergisi* 19, no. 4 (1983): 50; Idem, *Kâbe ve Haremeyn İçin Yemen'de Osmanlı Hâkimiyeti (1517-1571)* (İstanbul: Serbest Matbaası, 1984), 160-161.
- 7 Hulūsi Yavuz, "Osman el-Fütūhī'nin Acâ'ibü'l-Muhârib ve Garâ'ibü'l-Ma'ārik Başlıklı Yemen Tarihi ve Ehemmiyeti," in *Siyaset ve Kültür Tarihi Açısından Osmanlı Devleti ve İslâm* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1991), 219-222.
- 8 The information referred by Yavuz is unavailable in the relevant folio (*'Ajā'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 370a-b), nor does Fütūhī relate such an event in his work.
- 9 Yavuz, "Osman el-Fütūhī'nin Acâ'ibü'l-Muhârib ve Garâ'ibü'l-Ma'ārik Başlıklı Yemen Tarihi ve Ehemmiyeti," 221-222.

consists of 374 folios and 13 lines, fully vocalized naskh script on oil painted paper doublure, leather-covered with separator and decorative elliptical rosette. The work has an illuminated head piece (fol. 1b). Significant words, proper names, headings, Koranic verses and hadiths are in red ink. The exact name of the author *'Uthmān al-Fütūhī b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī al-Şabūhī* and copying date on Sha'bān 11, AH 980 / December 17, AD 1572 appear in the colophon. No copy info is available.<sup>10</sup>

The second (incomplete) one (P copy) is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Suppl. Turc. no. 174. The text is incomplete. It contains only the last 163 folios of T copy. It begins with the passage entitled *Muḥārebe-i 'Ajībe-i Ākhar ve Mu'āreke-i 'Ajībe-i Dīger*, is in size of 12,5\*21 cm, consists of 166 folios and 11 lines. The manuscript is written in Nasta'liq script, with fist page and certain pages framed, marks specific words and headings in red. The manuscript colophon testifies that the scribe is *'Uthmān al-Fütūhī b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī al-Şabūhī* who wrote the text on Jumādā al-Ākhirah 16, AH 980 / October 21, AD 1572. Likewise, no copy information is available.<sup>11</sup>

Comparing the two copies, there seems to be several differences in relation to sentences and wording. For instance, certain words, sentences and full name of the text (T copy, fol. 374b) are in T but not in P. Moreover, two particular folios (comp. T, fol. 371b-373b, P, fol. 166a) are missing from the P copy.

Unavailability of copy information raises the possibility of them having been written by the scribe himself. Moreover, less than two month duration between the dates in colophons imply that the scribe wrote the text twice. The author composed P copy first and then T copy with revisions. He must have given T copy to Kūjā Sinān Pasha before being called back to Istanbul on Ramaḍān 16, AH 980 (January 14, AD 1573)<sup>12</sup> and Pasha devoted it to the Topkapı Palace Library. Given the possibility, we assume that the revised version (T copy) is remarkable, which leads us to prioritize it in this article.

### ***The Reason for Writing***

The author begins to speak about why he wrote this book by saying: "*Sebeb-i tahrīr-i şahāyif-i evrāq-ı fütūhāt-ı Wilāyet-i Yemen...*" under the heading of *Bā'ith-i teswīd-i fütūhāt-ı Yemen, Khātıme-i şafha-i evrāq hem*. According to this narration, Kūjā Sinān Pasha returns to Egypt subsequent to the suppression of *al-Muṭahhar b.*

10 *'Ajā'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 374a-b.

11 *'Ajā'ib al-Meḥārib*, P, fol. 166a.

12 The Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive (BOA), Mühimme Defteri (MD), no: 21, the provision no: 82.

*al-Mutawakkil Yahyá Sharaf al-Dīn's* revolt in Yemen (*Sinān Pasha feth-i wilāyet-i merqūme için ghazā edüp, ... mahmiye-i Mısır'a hüşül u wuşül...*). There Fütūhī appears before Pasha who requests him to write about the Yemen campaign in a literary and vivid manner ('*alá qadr al-imbkân elsen-i lisān ve ahsen-i zebān üzere...*). Upon this request, Fütūhī commences to write the Yemen expedition and composes his work added with Koranic verses and hadiths, quotations by well-known statesmen and his own poems (*āyāt-i kerīme-i mu'jiz-nizām ve idkhālāt-i ahādīth-i Nebewiyye-i fesīh al-kelām... kelimāt-ı güzīn-i ekābirīn[i] ilhāq eyledim*).<sup>13</sup>

### ***The Content and Literary Method***

The work starts with *besmele*, praising Allah (swt), Muhammad (pbuh) and Sultān Selīm II (1566-1574), then describes the background of turmoil in Yemen, preparations for battle by Grand Vizier Şoqullu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579) and mobilization of Kūjā Sinān Pasha as chief army commander (*Serdār-ı Ekrem*) with 4000 soldiers against rebels.<sup>14</sup> Subsequently, it recounts the details of Sinān Pasha's arrival after a long journey at Mecca on Sha'bān 22, AH 976 (January 28, AD 1569) and then Cāzān bordering on Yemen-Hijāz on Ramađān 30 (March 18), Ūdhdemūr-ūghlu 'Uthmān Pasha's (d. 1585) military operations in the region and conditions of armed forces suffering food shortage etc.<sup>15</sup> The author continues to convey the re-conquest of castles and cities in Yemen -Qāhiriyyah, Bahranah, İbb, Ta'ker, Ba'dān, Şan'a, Derām, Habb, Adamān, Nihād, Kawkabān etc.- by Sinān Pasha. The broadest subject touched in the text is the struggles in front of Kawkabān fortress and surrounding areas.<sup>16</sup> The book culminates with a chapter describing a peace settlement between warring parties at the request of defeated *al-Mutahhar b. al-Mutawakkil Yahyá* (d. 1572) the then-chief of rebels after capture of Kawkabān (Dhulqa'ada, AH 977 / April, AD 1570), Sinān Pasha's moving to Egypt following arrival at Mecca and Medīnah, administrative practices in Egypt and the reason for written this book by Fütūhī.<sup>17</sup>

Particularly some other subtopics are mentioned: the physical characteristics of certain mountains and castles in Yemen,<sup>18</sup> Ūdhdemūr-ūghlu 'Uthmān Pasha's smoking cannabis, which ends up with failure in commanding soldiers,<sup>19</sup>

13 'Ajā'ib al-Mehārib, T, fol. 369b-371b.

14 'Ajā'ib al-Mehārib, T, fol. 1b-4b.

15 'Ajā'ib al-Mehārib, T, fol. 4a-11b.

16 'Ajā'ib al-Mehārib, T, fol. 213a-304b.

17 'Ajā'ib al-Mehārib, T, fol. 311b-372b.

18 'Ajā'ib al-Mehārib, T, fol. 12a-b, 90a-91b.

19 'Ajā'ib al-Mehārib, T, fol. 9a-b.

another troop urged to ‘Aden under the command of Curtogoli Khıdır Beg and actions taking place,<sup>20</sup> expedition route followed by Ottoman army,<sup>21</sup> difficulties encountered by Sinān Pasha,<sup>22</sup> a legendary war hero named Gedik Ferhād’s superhuman-effort and bravery<sup>23</sup>, ‘Abdullah Dā‘ī’s, an influential indigenous figure, activities to help Ottoman army,<sup>24</sup> ambushes set up by rebels and counter-measures taken,<sup>25</sup> fiscal appearance and incomes of Yemen<sup>26</sup> etc.

Narrating events, ‘Uthmān Fütūhī uses present tense rather than preterit. For instance, the description of what rebels aimed for an ambush is written as follows: “*rāh-ı ‘askerin boghazin alalar, ya ‘nī dhikr ulan bāblarda tūralar... jemī’sin jū’ ile helāk ideler.*”<sup>27</sup> Similarly, several consecutive cases are taken down as the following: “*kilāb ü şighāl-minwāl ülüşib, ja ‘lī jür’etler kılurlar.... ul arada nūdhūlden ‘udül iderler*”.<sup>28</sup> The script starts describing each event by the generic expression *al-Qışşah* as well.

The literary style of the work, when compared to that of *Feth-nāme-i ‘Aql-i Wādī* by *Serhengī*<sup>29</sup> taking part in Tunisian expedition under the command of Kūjā Sinān Pasha and leaving a chronicle about this campaign in 1574, is quite flowery but much simpler than other *Shahnāmas* written in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. From an overall perspective, we as historians can consider the wording to be moderate. The work is composed of both prose and verses. The later sometimes contains chronograms of particular conquests and scribe’s pseudonym *Fütūhī*.<sup>30</sup>

### **The Source Value**

By comparison to the other texts depicting the Yemen campaign of Kūjā Sinān Pasha in the 1569-1571 period, we recognize noticeable similarities

20 ‘*Ajā’ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 43a-51a, 55b-62a.

21 ‘*Ajā’ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 61a-72a, 81a-89b, 162a-174b.

22 ‘*Ajā’ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 29a-33a, 72b-74b.

23 ‘*Ajā’ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 74b-78b.

24 ‘*Ajā’ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 37b-38b, 102b-109b.

25 ‘*Ajā’ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 62b-63b, 109b-120b.

26 ‘*Ajā’ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 139a-142a.

27 ‘*Ajā’ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 112b.

28 ‘*Ajā’ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 113a.

29 *Serhengī, Feth-nāme-i ‘Aql-i Vādī-i Serhengī*, ed. Veysel Göger - Hüseyin Sarıkaya (İstanbul: Nizamiye Akademi, 2015).

30 See also ‘*Ajā’ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 6b, 39b.

between *'Ajā'ib al-Mehārib ve Gharā'ib al-Me'ārik* and *Nāme-i Fütūh-ı Yemen*<sup>31</sup> by *Muştafā Rumūzī*. Although Fütūhī avoids expressing obviously, he utilizes Rumūzī's extensively.<sup>32</sup> The sequence of events in both texts is almost the same. Fütūhī's narration overlaps with Rumūzī's. However, Rumūzī's records are more elaborate. Notwithstanding this resemblance, Fütūhī gives particular details Rumūzī doesn't. For example, Fütūhī just narrates the conflict taking place in front of Ta'ker castle during three days and three nights;<sup>33</sup> a rebellious man, *Abū al-Naşr* killed in combat at the outskirts of Ba'dān Mountain;<sup>34</sup> slaying 600 insurgents sheltered in Hezzān castle;<sup>35</sup> 'Abdallāh Dā'ī's movement to Şay'ān with backup forces;<sup>36</sup> Kūjā Sinān Pasha's order for repairing Alexandria weirs.<sup>37</sup>

As a result, Fütūhī refers to *Nāme-i Fütūh-ı Yemen* as the main source and ingeniously composes his work by transcribing Rumūzī's into prose. The comparisons given below exemplify the transcription:

31 Hulūsi Yavuz, *Yemen'de Osmanlı İdāresi ve Rumūzī Tārihi (923-1012/1517-1604)*, 2 vol. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2003).

32 While *Muştafā Rumūzī* mentions only the first name of Yemen Treasurer (Rumūzī himself, indeed) sent to negotiate with al-Mutahhar the commander-in-chief in Thula castle (see Yavuz, *Rumūzī Tārihi*, 2: 1170-1172); Fütūhī introduces both name and pseudonym of this man by recording "*Nāzur-ı Emvāl-i Wilāyet-i Yemen Mīr Muştafā ki, Rumūzī Beg dimekle müte'āref...*" (see *'Ajā'ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 311b-312a). This fact indicates that Fütūhī knows a lot about Rumūzī and elaborates on *Nāme-i Fütūh-ı Yemen*.

33 *'Ajā'ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 91b-92a.

34 *'Ajā'ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 117b.

35 *'Ajā'ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 125b.

36 *'Ajā'ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 164a.

37 *'Ajā'ib al-Mehārib*, T, fol. 353-369b.



<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Muṣṭafá Rumūzī,</b> <i>Nāme-i Fütūh-ı Yemen</i>, ed. Hulūsi Yavuz, vol. 1-2</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>‘Uthmān Fütūhī,</b> <i>‘Ajā’ib al-Meḥārib ve Gharā’ib al-Me’ārik</i></p>
<p><b>pp. 269-273.</b> “Şöyle bî-behre kalmaz el-kıssa Kara paydan alur hele hisse Mîrîye nef’i ol kadarca olur Kim niçe yük güherçile bulur ... Lâzım olur ki olmayup te’hîr Sû-yı Paşaya gönderile beşîr Tâ bu ahbâr-ı ferrûh-ı vâlâ Ola ma’lûm-ı Hazret-i Paşa Lâ-cerem âdemin idüp irsâl Gönderür uşbu resme ‘arz-ı hâl ... Eyler ol lutf-ı Müste’ân-i Ganî Hoş ri’âyet beşârete geleni Ana mebzul olup o gün himmet Geydürür hil’at-i girân-kıymet Hadden efzûn ana keremler olur Hâsıl in’âm-ı ‘âma mazhâr olur Âdemine bu lutfi eyliyecek Kendü geldükde gör ki n’olsa gerek Kendüsi dahî irtesi çü gelür Gerçi Paşa hikâyeti bilür Lîkin ol kân-ı hilm ü lutf u kerem İdüp ana ri’âyeti muhkem Makdemine anun o Ferruh-fâl Kıldı haddinden artuk istikbâl ... Dir ana hâlünüz nedür kardaş Çok zamân oldu mı niceydi savaş Vâki’ olan husûsı bilürken Eyler ana su’âli bilmezden Hâlünüz ne belâ vü zahmetden Ta’ab u mihnet ü meşakkatden ...”</p>	<p><b>[29a]</b> ...<b>al-Qısshah:</b> Bu ghanâyim-i ‘uzmâdan herkes pür-hisse ulduktan sonra, ‘Uthmân Pâshâ kendü khüddâmından birini beshârete <b>[29b]</b> irsâl eyler. Huḍûr-ı Vezîr-i nasîre irdikde, ahbâr-ı beshâretü ‘alâ mâ-huwa al-wâqı’ bir bir söyler. Hemân-dem ul ehl-i jâd u kân-ı kerem, a’nî Düstûr-ı manşûr-ı muhterem, beshârete gelene bî-hadd ü bî-qiyâs müzhdegâniler wirir. el-Hâşıl mawhibe-i beshâreti hâdden ashırır. ‘Alâ al-seher ki, mihr-i münewwar, qabâ-yı zerrîn ile ‘âlemi khil’âtlar. Ul hîn ü ân ‘Uthmân Pasha dakhî huḍûr-ı haḍrat-ı Düstûr-ı ‘âlî-shâna gelür. Derhâl ul kerîm al-khişâl dakhî niche qadem ânî maqdemine hâddinden artıq istiqbâl eyler. “Zahmetlerden hâliniz nedür?” deyüb, telaṭṭufla ahwâl-i jidâlden su’âl eyler. Eyledügi kâr-ı nâ-hemwâra bi-al-jümle wâqıf iken rıfıq u mülâyemeti elden kumaz...</p>
<p><b>p. 283:</b> “Müflis ü bî-nevâ vü yalun u ac Birkaç akçe ‘alûfeye muhtâc Kaçan üç ay ola ‘alûfe ala Alduđı da ‘alûfe olsa hele On üç akçe ‘alûfesi olan Bir filori alur üç ayda hemân Kankı harcın görür anunla ‘aceb Kim yetişmez virürse kahveye heb Dirliği bunlarınsa kahve ile Cânı yok kahvesiz dirile bile Çıkamaz taşra kahve içmeksiz Kahvesiz olmaz olur etmeksiz İki üç gün yemezse etmek olur Kahveyi bir gün içmez ise ölür ...”</p>	<p><b>[34b]</b>... bir âlây bî-kâr üç ayda birkâc aqche ulûfeye intizâr cheker nâ-chârlardır. Yawmî un üç aqche ulûfesi ulan üç ayda bir altun alub, günde bir ‘Uthmânî tütmez. Ul dakhî seherî qahwalarına yetmez. Haḍret-i Sheykh Shâdilî, evreng-i taqwânî sulṭân-ı ‘âdili, hadhâqat-i hikmetden <b>[35a]</b> khâlî ulmayub, Wilâyet-i Yemen’îñ hewâ-yı hârına muwâfık ve âb-ı shürâbına muṭâbıq, nef’-i shurbın ishrâb u ish’âr eylemegin, herkes müdâwametden bir gün qalmazlar. Ashsız, etmeksiz ulup, qahwasız ulmazlar.</p>



<p><b>pp. 296-299:</b>  Çün gelürler huzûr-ı Paşa'ya  Tapu kılup Salâh-ı kem-pâyê  Resm-i takbîl-i yed bulup tetmîm  Kal'a miftâhını ider teslîm  ...  Çünkü olur rûsûm-ı şükr-i edâ  Başladı itmege Salâh'a nidâ  ...  Didi yidün mi etmegin şâhın  Dirliğini alup şehinşâhın  ...  Didi bu mıydı hakk-ı ni'met-i şâh  İy yüzi kara bahtı bed gümrâh  Gelmeyüp akluna hakk-ı nânı  İdesin pâdişâha 'işyânı  Dimedün mi iki gözüne tura  Dâr-ı 'ukbâda Hak yüzüne tura  Didi bilmez miyem hakk-ı nânı  Neydügin yâ cezâ-yı küfrânı  N'itdiler gör ki bana neylediler  Dir dimez 'âsî eylediler  Olmadum 'âsî kendü kendümden  Cebren oldı Hudâ hakı cebren  Sanmanuz siz ben şehe 'âsî  Hak bilür dilde olan ihlâsı  'Âsî oldumsa zâlîme oldum  İşte geldüm çü 'âdili buldum  Kıssa ma'lûm idi Paşa'nun  Oldı aradığı ağzın anun  ...  Döndi idüp lutfına âgâz  Hoş idüp gönlin anun ol mümtâz  ...  Pes buyurdu yarar serâserler  Getürüp anda hâzır eylerler  Geydürürler Salâh'a mergûbin  Kethüdâ-yı hisâra bir hûbin ..."</p>	<p><b>[37b]</b> ...Ul dem, Didhâr-ı Qal'a-i Şalâh dakhî felâh-ı seri ve islâh-ı leshkeri ichün teshmîr-i âstîn idüb, Âsitâne-i itâ'ate bash qür. Khâk-pây-i <b>[38a]</b> sheriflerine rû-mâlîde ve ghubâr-âlûde gelür. Miftâh-ı bâb-ı qal'ayı ul hînde pîsh-i sheriflerinde qür. Khidmet-i âlî-nühmetlerinde el qawshırır turur. Hađret-i Düstür-ı ghayür: "Nichün 'âşî uldîñ, Haqq-ı nân-ı Sultân-ı 'âlî-shânı ferâmûsh qıldıñ?" deyü su'âl itdikde, hezâr i'tidhâr idüb, dir ki: "Bu bizim tâyife-i Khâyifeden ilâ al-ân 'işyân u tuğhyân hichbir zemânda şâdir ulmamışdır. Belki ul khâtıra khâtır-ı fâtire bir kerre şudür da bulmamışdır. Lâkin;</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Qıt'ah</b></p> <p>Her gelen Beglerbeginin zulm ü qahriyla bizüm  Bashımızdan bir dem eksik ulmaz idi çarb-ı let  Bu metheldür tâ ezelden atalardan süylenür  Küfr ile qâyim ulur, zulm ile çürmaz memleket</p> <p><b>Nesr:</b> Anların hezze-i hezzâtı hezîmet-i ehl-i Wilâyet ve qâtı'-ı shiryân-ı ehâlî-yi memleket ve bâ'ith-i newrân-ı <b>[38b]</b> ra'ıyyet ulmışdır. Ul ejilden iqlîm-i Yemen âshüb u fiten ile çulmuşdur. Ne ân ki, bizden Pâdishâh-ı <i>zullullah</i> hađretlerine zerre 'işyân wa shemme tuğhyân şâdir olaydı, Wilâyet châq [châq] büyle belâ-yı fitne ile dulaydı. Bizde istiçâmet wardur, ne seqâmet! Kemâl-i istiçâ'at wardur, ne khiyânet!" deyüb jewâb wırdikde, ul ân girân kıymetlü khil'atlerle Didhdâr-ı mezbür wa Ketkhudâsı khil'atlenüb...</p>
<p><b>p. 309:</b>  "...  Ceys ü Paşa çü Mûzi'a geldi  İtdiler çây beş gün ol beledî  İllerine Zibîd'ün uş bu beled  İntihâ-yı nevâhî vü serhâd  Hem Ta'iz'le Zibîd'edür mâbeyn  Vâkı' olmuş miyân-ı memleketeyn  Hem yakın anda bender-i Mîha  Varmak ister o bendere Paşa  Varup anda göre kadırgaları  'Aden'e göndere kadırgaları ..."</p>	<p><b>[40a]</b> ... mezbür Ta'iz'le Zebîd'e mâ-beyn ulub, nevâhîsine serhadd wâkı' ulan Mawzi'a nâm mevdi' u maqâmıda birkach gün ârâm eylemek niyyetine nüzül qılınur. Tâ ki, hađret-i Vezîr-i kethîr al-tedbir 'aşâkir-i naşîri ve ahmâl ü athqâl ile jimâl ü bighâl ü hamîri, mevdi'-i mezbürda kuyub gideler. Bender-i Mîkhâ ki, ul mahalle qarîbdür, bi-zâtihî warib, fetî-i 'Aden tedârükün ideler...</p>

**pp. 743-744:**

“...  
 Dir isen kimler idi bu umerâ  
 Ne idi anlara ‘aceb esmâ  
 Biri Mahmûd Beg ki şöhret ana  
 Dinilür Hîş Mustafâ Paşa  
 Mısr’da mîr iken o fâriğu’l-bâl  
 Yemen’e oldı Nâzır-ı Emvâl  
 Habs çekmek ana mukadder imiş  
 Pes bu kâr ana kazâ itmiş  
 Birisine Arık Hasan dinür  
 Yemen’ün ol bir eskice begidür  
 Karagöz Beg birisinin nâmı  
 Yemen’ün mîr-i ehl-i ikdâmı  
 Birinün nâmidur Muhammed Beg  
 Lakabıyla anılsa er ola yeg  
 Çün Kızılbaş olmuş ana lakab  
 Şarkî olduğudur pes ana sebeb  
 Dinilür birisine Şâh ‘Alî  
 Ba‘zıları itdi Şâh’ı Şeyh Velî  
 Biri Kabak Beg ana halk lakab  
 Kethüdâ-yı Kılıç dimişler heb ...”

[187a]...Bu cümleden maḥmiye-i Mısr ümerâsından ulub, hîn-i khıyânet-i a‘rej-i a‘vejd[e] Nâzır-ı Emvâl-i Wilâyet-i Yemen ulan Maḥmûd Beg’i ve ümerâ-yı Yemen’den Arık Hasan Beg’i ve Qaragüz Beg’i ve Qızılbaş dimekle mûlaqqab [187b] Muḥammed Beg’i ve Shâh ‘Alî Beg’i ve Qılıc Beg Ketkhudâsı Fâyiğ Beg’i wa al-hâşil dhıkr ulan altı enfâr-ı şâhib-waqâr kimesneleri...

We have already mentioned above the background of *Ajâ’ib al-Meḥârib ve Gharâ’ib al-Me‘ârik*. Besides, one study among all others describing Yemen expedition belongs to *Qutb al-Dîn Muhammed al-Nehrewâlî*,<sup>38</sup> the then-mufti of Mecca (d. 1582). According to Nehrewâlî’s statement in the preface of his work,<sup>39</sup> when Kūjā Sinān Pasha visits Mecca in the aftermath of Yemen expedition, he also orders him to write a History of Yemen by giving a copy of *Nāme-i Fütūḥ-i Yemen*. Given all this information, we can conclude that Kūjā Sinān Pasha passes two copies apiece to Nehrewâlî and Fütūḥî, who are instructed to write the Yemen campaign inspired by Rumūzî.

**Kenz al-Mewā’iz**

As far as is known, the sole copy is no. 160 in the Egyptian National Library and Archives (دار الكتب = Dār al-Kütüb), Taşawwuf wa Akhlâq al-Dīniyyah Türkî. The manuscript is written in Nasta’lîq script, in size of 12,5\*20 cm, consists of 37 folios and 11 lines. Endowment deed is in inner-cover. According to this endowment deed, Abd al-Rahmān Aghā, the former Treasurer of Sultān

38 Qutb al-Dîn Muhammed b. Ahmed al-Nehrewâlî al-Mekkî, *Ghazawât al-Jerākise wa al-Etrāk fi Jenūb al-Jazīrah al-Müsemma al-Barq al-Yemānî fi al-Feth al-‘Uthmānî*, inves. Ḥamed al-Jāsir (Riyād: Dār al-Yemāmah li al-Baḥḥ wa al-Terjamah wa al-Nashr, 1387/1967).

39 Nehrewâlî, *al-Barq al-Yemānî*, 11-14.

(*Khazīnedār-ı Shahriyārī*) and Sheikh of Madinah al-Munawwarah consecrates it to Qāyīnah Madrasah behind colonnades of Aqsungūr Mosque (Blue Mosque / Jāmi' al-Arzāq) for the sake of Sultān Mahmūd I (1696-1754). The very end of the deed records that the script was endowed in Jumādā al-Ākhirah, AH 1167 (March/April, AD 1754) and adds the 181<sup>th</sup> verse of Sūrah al-Baqarah.<sup>40</sup> The manuscript has an illuminated head piece (1b) and the text is framed. Significant words, proper names, headings, Koranic verses and hadiths are in red ink. The exact name of the author 'Uthmān al-Fütūhī b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī al-Şabūhī appears in the colophon. This copy highly likely belongs to the scribe himself considering author's being in Egypt at a time when the text is written, dedicating it to Egypt Governor and the author's name at the very end of the text but not the copyist's.

The author, in this book, mentions roughly about the virtue of Ramaḍān and, in relation to this month Laylat al-Qadr and Bairām days. The work is composed of an introduction and three chapters.

The work starts with *besmele*, praising Allah (swt), Muhammad (pbuh), and specifies responsibility (*fardh*) of fasting (*şawm*) imposed during Ramaḍān and Koranic verses and hadiths spelling out the virtue of this month.<sup>41</sup> Following the referring to the scribe's pseudonym (*Fütūhī*) in a couplet of a *mathnawī* (fol. 2a-b), he points out the name of the work (*Kenz al-Mewāiz*) and implies to have dedicated it to Mesīh Pasha (d. 1592). Also, he expresses his two purposes of writing: seeking Mesīh Pasha's approval and receiving readers' blessings.

The first section<sup>42</sup> emphasizes the importance of Ramaḍān and put an interpretation on the verses (Koran, 2:183-185)<sup>43</sup> revealing the obligation of fasting.

40 "If anyone changes the bequest after hearing it, the guilt shall be on those who make the change. For Allah hears and knows (All things)" (Koran, al-Baqarah (The Cow) 2/181).

41 *Kenz al-Mewā'iz*, fol. 1b-4b.

42 *Kenz al-Mewā'iz*, fol. 4b-17b.

43 "O you who have believed, decreed upon you is fasting as it was decreed upon those before you that you may become righteous. [Fasting for] a limited number of days. So whoever among you is ill or on a journey [during them] - then an equal number of days [are to be made up]. And upon those who are able [to fast, but with hardship] - a ransom [as substitute] of feeding a poor person [each day]. And whoever volunteers excess - it is better for him. But to fast is best for you, if you only knew. The month of Ramaḍān [is that] in which was revealed the Koran, a guidance for the people and clear proofs of guidance and criterion. So whoever sights [the new moon of] the month, let him fast it; and whoever is ill or on a journey - then an equal number of other days. Allah intends for you ease and does not intend for you hardship and [wants] for you to complete the period and to glorify Allah for that [to] which He has guided you; and perhaps you will be grateful" (Koran, al-Baqarah (The Cow) 2/183-185).

Here also, discussing etymological background of the name Ramaḍān (رمضان), he conveys some information as to the mystery of fasting through a hadith narrated by Ibn ‘Abbās (cca. d. 687-688) and quoted from *Ihyā al-‘Ulūm al-Dīn*.

The second chapter is about the merits and worth of Laylat al-Qadr.<sup>44</sup> The topical remarks of Sheikh Mohyiddīn İbn ‘Arabī (d. 1240), İmām Ebū Ḥanīfa (d. 767) and İmām Shāfi (d. 820) are conveyed to readers.

The final chapter is on the importance of Bairām days.<sup>45</sup> Fütūḥī discusses the etymological sense of the feast term (عيد = al-‘Īd), the wisdom of Şalāt al-Eīd and people’s gathering in a mosque for worshipping such as Friday prayer and five time şalāh.

Fütūḥī completes his work with a chronogram. The last couplet of the above-cited stanza is as below: “*Qalemden qaṭ‘ ūlündughunda taḥrīr / Düşer wa‘za ana tārīkh-i itmām*”.<sup>46</sup> Considering the term wa‘za (وعظه) in abjad notation, we realize that it falls in AH 981. On the other hand, Khādim Mesīḥ Pasha to whom the work was dedicated by Fütūḥī was assigned to Egypt governorate on Jumādā al-Ākhirah 5, AH 982 / September 21, AD 1574.<sup>47</sup> Combining the two different findings, we assume that Fütūḥī wrote the work and shortly afterwards, submitted to Mesīḥ Pasha.

### Conclusion

As a result of this study, we offer some new findings about an Ottoman historian living in Egypt in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and his works. Accordingly, ‘Uthmān Fütūḥī is the son of a man by the name of ‘Abd al-Qādir and the grandson of ‘Alī al-Şabūhī. Upon Kūjā Sinān Pasha’s appointment to the Egypt governorship following the Yemen campaign (1569-1571), Fütūḥī meets with him. During this rendezvous, Kūjā Sinān Pasha orders him to write a book picturing Yemen expedition, which encourages him to write ‘*Ajā’ib al-Meḥārib ve Gharā’ib al-Me‘ārik* and uses *Nāme-i Fütūḥ-ı Yemen* by Muştafa Rumūzī writing a voluminous his own book about Yemen expedition as a primary reference. However, Fütūḥī narrates some specific information that Rumūzī doesn’t. Two copies of this work are housed in the Library of Topkapı Palace Museum (full

44 *Kenz al-Mewā‘iz*, fol. 17b-35b.

45 *Kenz al-Mewā‘iz*, fol. 35b-37b.

46 *Kenz al-Mewā‘iz*, fol. 38b.

47 Mesīḥ Pasha administered for about five years and later became the Grand Vizier (See also. Şefaattin Deniz, “Mesih Paşa, Hadım”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, Suppl. 2, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2016), 259-260).

and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (incomplete). Besides, another point we have realized during examination of this text is that Rumūzī created one of the most significant sources about Yemen and even Fütūhi and Nehrevali extensively used his writings as their reference material.

Fütūhī's other work is *Kenz al-Mewā'iz*. He dedicates it to Egypt Governor Khādīm Mesīh Pasha in circa AH 982 / AD 1574. The sole copy of the text is in the Egyptian National Library and Archives. The author, in this book, mentions roughly about the importance of Ramaḍān month, Laylat al-Qadr, Bairām days etc. and quoted from Koranic verses, hadiths and some specific works spelling out the virtue of this month.

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