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Bayezid Paşa: Vezir, Entelektüel, Sanat Hamisi

Mustafa Çağhan Keskin*

Bayezid Pasha: An Ottoman Statesman, Intellectualist and Art Patron.

Abstract ■ One of the most influential figures of Ottoman World during Interregnum Period following the Ankara Battle, Bayezid Pasha stands out not only with his political career but also his enthusiasm of art patronage. Settling in Amasya with Çelebi Mehmed after the battle, Bayezid Pasha assisted him to achieve victory against the other Ottoman Princes. By commissioning architectural activities in Amasya and Bursa, he contributed to the reconstruction of the Ottoman State in the post-war period. Artist inscriptions on the Zawiya in Amasya commissioned by Bayezid Pasha indicate that some of the architects whom took part in the construction were slaves under his order. He, besides, was an intellectualist interested in literature and supported poets. Among the poets supported by him, 'Abdü'lvasî' Çelebi', wrote a Turkish biography of prophet Abraham, *Halîlnâme*. According to the chapters of *Halîlnâme* in which Bayezid Pasha is praised by the author, is stated that he organized royal amusements that poets and musicians performed.

His tendency of architectural patronage and to support poets and musicians associates with the early 15th century Germiyanid and Timurid elites. Being an exceptional figure in Çelebi Sultan Mehmed's reign, he was a priori the example for the Ottoman ruler elite of the classical period.

Keywords: Bayezid Pasha, Mehmed I, Ottoman History, Ottoman Architecture, Ottoman Literature, Ottoman Art, Amasya

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“Anun fikri ile oldu il ‘imaret
Kapusında ayrılmasun emaret”

Popüler Osmanlı kroniklerinde, erken dönem figürlerinin neredeyse tamamının karakterleri, siyasi olaylardaki tutumları ışığında yapılan “tedbirli”, “cesur”, “ileri görüşlü” gibi geleneksel öznel yorumlar ile değerlendirilmiştir. Çelebi Sultan Mehmed’in ünlü veziri Bayezid Paşa da, Osmanlı kroniklerinde yalnızca siyasi bağlamda ele alınmıştır. Bu genel tutuma karşın, onun teşviki ve hamiliği ile dönemin şairlerinden Abdülvasi Çelebi tarafından yazılmış olan *Halîlnâme*, Bayezid Paşa’nın siyasi kariyeri dışındaki faaliyetleri ve kişiliği hakkında ipuçları vermektedir. Bu araştırma, *Halîlnâme*’de çizilen portresi üzerinden hareketle, 1402’deki Ankara Savaşı’nı izleyen sıkıntılı süreçte Osmanlı Devleti’nin yeniden toparlanmasında önemli rol oynayan Bayezid Paşa’nın entelektüel eğilimleri, şair ve müzisyenlerle ilişkileri ile inşa ettirdiği yapılar aracılığıyla dönemin kültür-sanat ortamına bulunduğu katkıları içeren, daha kapsamlı alternatif bir portresini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır.

Vezir Bayezid Paşa

Bayezid Paşa’nın doğum tarihi kesin olarak bilinmemektedir. Amasya doğumlu olduğu kabul edilmekle birlikte aile kökeni tartışmalıdır.¹ Amasya’da inşa ettirdiği imaret için düzenlettirdiği vakfiyede, baba adının Yahşi Bey olduğu kayıtlıdır.² On iki ciltlik kapsamlı bir kent monografisi olan *Amasya Tarihi*’nin yazarı Hüseyin Hüsameddin, Yahşi Bey’in Amasyalı olduğunu ve on dördüncü yüzyıl başlarında vefat eden Emir Seyfedin Sungur’un soyundan geldiğini bildirir.³ Hüseyin Hüsameddin’in verdiği silsileyi belgeler eşliğinde doğrulamak mümkün olmasa da, Çelebi Mehmed’in şehzadeligi döneminde lala olarak atanması, Bayezid Paşa’nın bölgenin önemli ailelerinden birine mensup olabileceği şeklinde yorumlanmıştır.⁴ Öte yandan, dönemin görgü tanığı olan Rum tarihçi Doukas,

1 Aydın Taneri, “Bayezid Paşa”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 1992, V, s. 242-243.

2 VGMA, 650/330: 244.

3 Abdî-zade Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tarihi I*, haz. Ali Yılmaz ve Mehmet Akkuş, (Ankara: Amasya Belediyesi Yayınları, 1986), s. 262. Emir Seyfettin Sungur’un Amasya civarında etkinlik gösteren, Selçuklu sonrası yönetici elitine mensup biri olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

4 Hasan Karataş, *The City as a Historical Actor: The Urbanization and Ottomanization of the Halvetiye Sufi Order by the City of Amasya in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (Yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi), (Berkeley: University of California, 2011), s. 34.

Paşa'nın Arnavut bir köle olduğunu bildirirken,⁵ on dokuzuncu yüzyılda *Belâbilü'r-râsiye fi riyâz-i mesâili'l-Amâsiyye* isimli eserinde konuya değinen Amasyalı Mustafa Vazih Efendi onun Boşnak hanedanına mensup olduğunu kaydeder.⁶ Doukas ve Mustafa Vazih Efendi'nin Bayezid Paşa'nın devşirme kökenli olduğuna işaret eden kayıtları, onun Enderûn'da yetiştiğini bildiren *Sicill-i Osmanî*'de de desteklenir.⁷ Bu kayıtlar eşliğinde kesin bir çıkarım yapmak zor olsa da, vakfiyesinde baba adı olarak "Yahşi" isminin kayıtlı olmasına dayanarak en azından babasının Müslüman olma ihtimalinden söz edilebilir.

Siyasi kariyeri, Yıldırım Bayezid'in şehzadesi Çelebi Mehmed'in lalası olarak görevlendirilmesiyle başlayan Bayezid Paşa, şehzade ile birlikte Ankara Savaşı'na katılmıştır. Osmanlı ordusunun mağlubiyeti ve Yıldırım Bayezid'in esareti ile sonuçlanan savaşın ardından şehzadenin Amasya'ya sağ salım ulaşmasını sağlamıştır. Doukas'a göre, Paşa, henüz çocuk yaştaki şehzadeyi sırtında taşıyarak savaş alanından kaçırılmış, dilenerek, köylerden ekme toplayarak Amasya'ya ulaştırmıştır.⁸ Şehzadenin bölgedeki yerel unsurlarla mücadele ettiği kritik dönemde yanında bulunarak, Amasya çevresinde Osmanlı otoritesinin yeniden sağlanmasında kritik bir rol oynamıştır.⁹ 816/1413 yılında, Mehmed'in, kardeşi Musa Çelebi ile karşılaştığı ve Fetret Dönemi'ne son veren savaşta ordunun komutasını da Bayezid Paşa üstlenmiştir.¹⁰ Fetret Dönemi'nin ardından Çelebi Sultan Mehmed tarafından vezir tayin edilmiştir. 818/1415 yılında, Karamanoğulları üzerine yapılan seferde, sultanın hastalığı nedeniyle ordunun komutanlığını üstlenmiş, Karamanoğlu Mehmed Bey'i mağlup ederek esir almış ve vezaretinin yanı sıra, Rumeli Beylerbeyliği payesiyle de ödüllendirilmiştir.¹¹

5 Mikhael Doukas, *Tarih (Anadolu ve Rumeli 1326-1462)*, çev. Bilge Umar, (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2008), s. 112.

6 Mustafa Vazih Efendi, *Amasya Fetvâları ve İlk Amasya Şehir Tarihi (Belâbilü'r-râsiye fi riyâz-i mesâili'l-Amâsiyye)*, haz. Ali Rıza Ayar ve Recep Orhan Özel, (Amasya: Amasya Belediyesi, 2011), s. 65.

7 Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî (Osmanlı Ünlüleri)*, haz. Roman Nuri Akbayar, çev. Seyit Ali Kahraman, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), s. 359.

8 Doukas, s. 112.

9 Detaylı bilgi için bakınız: Dimitris J. Kastritsis (Ed.), *The Tales of Sultan Mehmed, Son of Bayezid Khan (Abval-i Sultan Mehmed bin Bayezid Han) : Bayezid Han Oğlu Sultan Mehmed'in Maceraları (Abval-i Sultan Mehmed bin Bayezid Han)*, (Cambridge: The Department of Near Eastern Languages & Civilizations Harvard Universtiy, 2007), s. 42-87.

10 Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tâcü't-Tevârih II*, haz. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1992), s. 71.

11 Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tâcü't-Tevârih II*, s. 85-88.

Bayezid Paşa, günümüzde halen tartışılmakta olan Şeyh Bedrettin hareketinin bastırılmasında da rol oynamış isimlerden biridir. Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in oğlu Şehzade Murad ile birlikte, Aydın ve Manisa çevresinde ayaklanan Şeyh Bedrettin müritleri Torlak Kemal ve Börklüce Mustafa'nın isyanını bastırmış, daha sonra Rumeli'ye geçerek Şeyh Bedrettin'i yakalamıştır.¹² Şeyh Bedrettin'in torunu ve *Menakıb-ı Şeyh Bedrettin* isimli manzum eserin yazarı Hafız Halil, sultanın Bedrettin'i affettiğini, ancak Bayezid Paşa'nın dolduruşuyla idam ettirdiğini bildi-
rerek, sorumluluğu ona atmaktadır.¹³

Şehzadeliğinden ölümüne kadar hizmetinde bulunduğu Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in 824/1421 yılında Edirne'de vefat etmesinin ardından, Şehzade Murad'ın kente ulaşmasına kadar ölüm haberini yaklaşık kırk gün gizleyen Bayezid Paşa, böylelikle çıkması muhtemel bir kargaşayı önlemiştir (Fig. 1).¹⁴

Murad'ın tahta çıkmasının ardından, Osmanlı müelliflerinin “Düzmece Mustafa” olarak isimlendirdikleri kriz patlak vermiştir. Ankara Savaşı sırasında ortadan kaybolan Yıldırım Bayezid'in oğlu Şehzade Mustafa olduğunu iddia eden biri Selanik'te ortaya çıkmış ve Rumeli'de büyük bir kalabalığı çevresine toplamıştır.¹⁵ Sultan Murad, bu isyanın bastırılması için babasının çok güvendiği Bayezid Paşa'yı görevlendirmiştir. Bunun üzerine, beraberindeki az sayıda askerle Rumeli'ye geçen Bayezid Paşa, Edirne yakınlarındaki Sazlıdere'de Mustafa ile karşılaşmış ve teslim olmak zorunda kalmıştır. Mustafa, Bayezid Paşa'yı önce ilgi ile karşılamış ancak daha sonra aralarında eskiye dayanan bir husumet bulunan Cüneyd Bey'in¹⁶ kış-

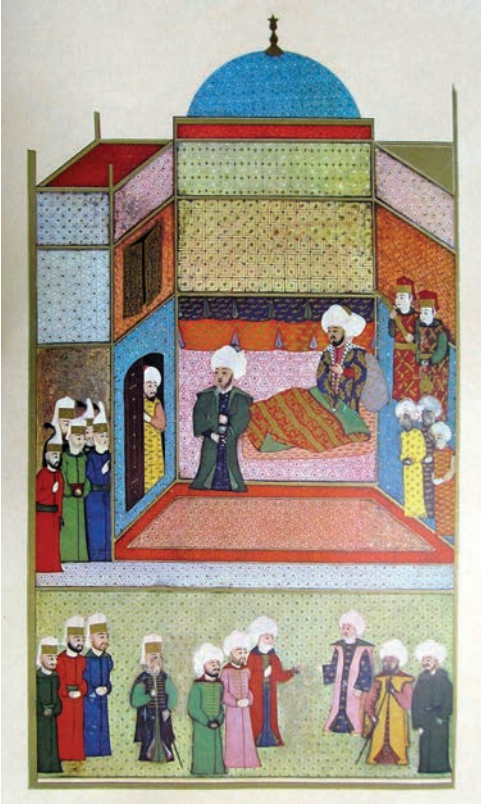
12 Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tâcüt-Tevarih II*, s. 111-113.

13 Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı ve İsmet Sungurbey, *Simavna Kadısıoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin ve Manâkıbı*, (İstanbul: Milenyum Yayınları, 2009), s. 379. Bedrettin olayını sosyalist bir hareket olarak gören günümüz yazarları da, bu sebeple Bayezid Paşa'yı şiddetle eleştirmektedir. Örneğin, Nazım Hikmet, *Simavna Kadısı oğlu Şeyh Bedrettin Destanı* adlı popüler şiirinde Bayezid Paşa'yı “*bilmem kaçımçı tuğuna ettiğim Bayezid Paşa*” diye anarken [Asım Bezirci, *Nazım Hikmet ve Seçme Şiirleri (İnceleme-Antoloji)*, (İstanbul: A Yayınları, 1975), s. 436], Hilmi Yavuz, *Bedreddin Üzerine Şiirler* adlı eserinde *Bayezid Paşa* başlıklı özel bir bölüm ayırmıştır.

14 Taneri, s. 243. Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in ölümünün askerlerden gizlenmesi, Seyyid Lokman'ın on altıncı yüzyılda tamamlanan *Hünernâme* isimli eserindeki minyatürlerden birinde tasvir edilmiştir (Fig. 1). Minyatürde ortada ayakta duran, yeşil kaftanlı sakallı kişi Bayezid Paşa olmalıdır. Yatakta uzanan Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in arkasındaki görevlinin cenazeyi sultanın öldüğünün anlaşılmasında için hareket ettirdiği görülmektedir.

15 Düzmece Mustafa hadisesi hakkında detaylı bilgi için bakınız: Fahamettin Başar, “Mustafa Çelebi, Düzme”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 2006, XXXI, s. 292-293.

16 Osmanlı tarihlerinde “İzmiroğlu” olarak anılan Cüneyd Bey hakkında detaylı bilgi için bakınız: Feridun Emecen, “Cüneyd Bey”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 1993, VIII, s. 122.



Figür 1. Bayezid Paşa'nın Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in ölümünün askerlerden gizlemesi [*Hünernâme Minyatürleri ve Sanatçıları*, haz. Şevket Rado, İstanbul: Doğan Kardeş / Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1969)]. Detay: Bayezid Paşa

kırtmasıyla öldürmüştür. Osmanlı tarihçileri, Bayezid Paşa'nın ihanet etmediğini, Mustafa tarafına geçmesinin bir hile olduğunu ve bu anlaşıldığında katledildiğini öne sürmektedir.¹⁷ Paşa'nın ölüm tarihiyle ilgili en açık bilgiyi Ramazan ayından bir gün önce öldürüldüğünü söyleyen Hafız Halil vermektedir :

*Bayezid Paşa idi hem birisi,
Halk ana olmuşdı koyun sürisi
Ramazan ayının evvelki günü,
Kesdi başın Şâh anın irdi günü
İntikam oldu ana da arada,
Türbesi yapıldı Sazludere'de*¹⁸

¹⁷ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tâcü't-Tevârih II*, s. 124-127.

¹⁸ Gölpınarlı ve Sungurbey, s. 381

Hafız Halil'in kaydı ölüm tarihi olarak miladî 29 Ağustos 1421 gününü işaret etmektedir. Hafız Halil, Sazlıdere'ye defnedildiğini belirtse de, Edirne'nin Keşan ilçesine bağlı bu köyde Bayezid Paşa'ya ait bir mezar henüz bulunamamıştır.¹⁹

Bayezid Paşa'yı ihanetle suçlamaktan çekinen Osmanlı kronikleri, onu kıskanan diğer vezirlerin ısrarıyla başarısızlıkla sonuçlanacağı açık olan bu sefere memur edildiğini kaydederler.²⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, özellikle, “*Rumili'nin beglerbegisi sensün şimdiye değin balını sen yidün, arusun dabı sen söyündür*” diyen İbrahim ve Hacı İvaz Paşaları işaret eder.²¹ Öldürülmeden önce, Mustafa'nın tarafına geçmiş olduğu söylene de, ihanet içinde olmadığı Sultan Murad tarafından da onaylanmış olmalı ki, ailesi Bursa'da varlığını sürdürmüş, kardeşi Hamza Bey uzun süre Osmanlı yönetimine hizmet etmeye devam etmiş,²² oğlu İsa Bey ise, Hisar'da mescit, medrese ve imareten oluşan bir külliye inşa ettirmiş ve zengin gelirler vakfetmiştir.²³

19 On sekizinci yüzyıl müelliflerinden Ayvansarâyî ise “*Erdel Yenicesi'ne nakl ve defn olunmuşdur*” diyerek, mezarın burada olmadığına ve ölümünün ardından taşındığını bildirir [Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî, *Vefeyât-ı Selâtin ve Meşâhîr-i Ricâl*. Haz. Fahri Ç. Derin, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1978), s. 156]. Öte yandan, Bayezid Paşa, Bursa'da inşa ettirdiği medresenin karşısında kendisi için bir türbe yaptırmıştır. Ünlü Bursa araştırmacısı Kamil Kepecioğlu, günümüze ulaşamayan türbenin temellerini gördüğünden bahseder [Kamil Kepecioğlu, *Bursa Kütüğü*, Cilt 1, haz. Hüseyin Algül, Osman Çetin, Mefail Hızlı, Mustafa Kara ve M. Asım Yediyıldız, (İstanbul: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 2009), s. 183; On dokuzuncu yüzyılda Bursa'yı ziyaret eden Mary Adelaide Walker'ın eskizleri arasında Bayezid Paşa'nın türbesi olarak adlandırdığı bir yapı yer almaktadır (Fig. 8) [Mary Adelaide Walker, *Brousse: Album Historique*, (İstanbul: 1866)]. Bayezid Paşa'nın cenazesinin daha sonra buraya nakledildiğine dair bir bilgi bulunmamaktadır.

20 Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tâcüt-Tevârih II*, s. 124; Mehmed Hemdemî Çelebi Solak-zâde, *Solak-zâde Tarihi*, cilt I, haz. Vahid Çabuk, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1989), s. 190.

21 Aşık Paşazade, *Osmanoğullarının Tarihi (Tevârih-i Al-i Osmân)*, haz. K. Kemal Yavuz ve M. A. Yekta Saraç, (İstanbul: Gökkuşe Yayınları, 2010), s. 368.

22 Hamza Bey hakkında detaylı bilgi için bakınız: Kamil Kepecioğlu, *Bursa Kütüğü*, Cilt 2, haz. Hüseyin Algül, Osman Çetin, Mefail Hızlı, Mustafa Kara ve M. Asım Yediyıldız, (İstanbul: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 2009), s. 142-144. Hamza Bey, ilerleyen yıllarda, ağabeyi Bayezid Paşa'nın ölümüne neden olan Cüneyd Bey'i ortadan kaldırarak bir nevi intikamı almıştır.

23 İsa Bey hakkında detaylı bilgi için bakınız: Kepecioğlu, Cilt 2, s. 241. İsa Bey'in inşa ettirdiği yapılar için bakınız: Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri 806-855, (1403-1451)*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1972), s. 295-296.

Entelektüel ve Sanat Hamisi Bayezid Paşa

Az tanınan bir on beşinci yüzyıl Osmanlı şairi olan Abdülvasi Çelebi²⁴ tarafından yazılan *Halilnâme* temelde İbrahim Peygamber'in biyografisi niteliğinde Türkçe manzum bir eser olmasının yanı sıra Ankara Savaşı'nı izleyen Fetret Dönemi için son derece önemli bir kaynaktır.²⁵ Tarih kısmının, “*Der Vâsıf-ı Ceng-i Sultan Muhammed Mehemmed bâ Musâ ve hezâmet-i Musâ*” başlıklı bölümle bitiyor olması eserin Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in Musa Çelebi'yi ortadan kaldırmasıyla sonuçlanan Fetret Dönemi'nin sonunda tamamlandığını göstermektedir.²⁶ Dönemin tanığı olan Abdülvasi Çelebi, eserinde Bayezid Paşa'dan sıkça söz eder. Siyasi kariyerinin zirvesinde olduğu bir dönemde yazılan çağdaş bir eser olan *Halilnâme*, Bayezid Paşa'nın popüler Osmanlı kroniklerinde bahsedilmeyen kişiliği, entelektüel birikimi ile kültür ve sanat ortamına katkılarını içeren alternatif /çok boyutlu bir portresini çizer.

24 Osmanlı şairlerinin biyografilerini ve beyitlerinden örnekleri içeren antolojiler olan tezkirelerin hiçbirinde bahsedilmeyen Abdülvasi Çelebi hakkındaki tek kaynak, günümüze ulaşan yegâne eseri olan *Halilnâme*'nin kendisidir [Günay Kut, “Abdülvasi Çelebi”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 1988, I, s. 283-284]. 926/1520 tarihli tahrir defterinde [BOA, Tapu Tahrir Defteri, nr.: 1070, s. 140], Şeyh Bedrettin'in Edirne'de bulunan vakfına ait bir kayıta, vakıf arazisine komşu olduğu kaydedilmiş olan Abdülvasi Çelebi vakfının, *Halilnâme* müellifi Abdülvasi'ye ait olabileceği ileri sürülmüştür [Hakan Yılmaz, “Halil-Nâme Yazarı Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin Edirne'deki Vakfına İlişkin Bir Belge”, *Şehir & Toplum*, 3 (İstanbul 2015), s. 99-105]. Bu kayıta zikredilen Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin, *Halilnâme* müellifi ile aynı kişi olup olmadığı sözü edilen vakfın özgün vakfiyesi bulunmamasından dolayı netlik kazanmamıştır. Öte yandan, on beşinci yüzyıl Edirne vakıflarına ait kayıtlar üzerinde titizlikle çalışmış olan M. Tayyip Gökbilgin'in ilgili eserinde Abdülvasi Çelebi vakfından söz edilmemektedir. [M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, *XV. Ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar Mülkler Mukataalar*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1952)].

25 *Halilnâme*, Dr. Ayhan Gültaş tarafından doktora çalışması olarak ele alınmış [Ayhan Gültaş, *Abdülvasi Çelebi ve Halilnamesi (İnceleme-Metin)*, (Doktora Tezi), (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1985) ve transkripsiyonu yapılarak yayınlanmıştır [Abdülvasi Çelebi, *Halilnâme*, haz. Ayhan Gültaş, (Ankara: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1996)]. Bu çalışma kapsamında, *Halilnâme*'nin Ayhan Gültaş neşri esas alınmıştır. Ayrıca bakınız: Abdülkadir Karahan, “15. yüzyıl Edebiyatımızda Mesneviler ve Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin Halil-nâmesi”, *Atti del Trezo Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici (Ravello, 1-6 Settembre 1966)*, (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1967), s. 417-424; Abdülkadir Karahan, *Eski Türk Edebiyatı İncelemeleri*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1980), s. 233-240. *Halilnâme*'nin günümüze ulaşan nüshaları için bakınız: Günay Alpay, “Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin eseri ve nüshaları”, *TDAY Belleteni*, (1969), s. 210-226.

26 Abdülvasi Çelebi, s. 254-278.

Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin, Bayezid Paşa'dan sıkça söz etme nedeni, kuşkusuz *Halîlnâme*'nin onun teşvik ve hamiliği ile yazılmış olmasıdır. İlgili beyitlerden anlaşıldığı kadarıyla *Veys ü Ramin* adlı Farsça manzum mesneviyi okumakta olan Bayezid Paşa, çok beğendiği eserin Türkçe olarak yazılmasını ister. Çevresinde bulunan birçok şair onun bu isteğini yerine getirmek ister. Ancak, Bayezid Paşa, dönemin en ünlü şairlerinden Ahmedî'yi görevlendirir.²⁷ Ahmedî, eserin tercümesine başlar, fakat birkaç ay sonra tamamlayamadan vefat eder. Bunun üzerine, eseri tamamlama görevi Abdülvasi Çelebi'ye düşer. Ahmedî'nin eseri üzerinden devam etmek isteyen Abdülvasi Çelebi, birkaç beyitten oluşan okunaksız müsveddenin yeterli olmadığını görür ve başka bir eser yazmaya karar verir. Bunun üzerine İbrahim Peygamber'in hayat hikayesini konu olarak seçer ve kendi eserini yazar.²⁸ *Halîlnâme*'nin yazılma nedenini kendi kaleminden şöyle anlatmaktadır;

*Nazar kılur iken bir gün kitaba
Ol eş'arun kitabındaki baba
Okır iken bir ulu dasitanı
Teferrüc eylemiş ol busitanı
Eline girmiş anun bir hikayet
Velikin Farisi manzum gayet
Dimiş n'olaydı bu Türki olaydı
İşidenler bunu cümle bileydi
Anun der-gahına cümle hüner-ver
Dirilüp 'arz iderlerdi hünerler
Ana varmış imiş ol hayr-ı a'zam
Şu şâir Ahmedî mahdum-ı a'zam
Ana göstermiş anda ol kitabı
Buyurmuş Türki nazm eyle bu babı*

27 Ahmedî hakkında detaylı bilgi için bakınız: Halil İnalçık, *Has-bağçede 'Ays u Tarab Nedimler Şâirler Mutrîbler*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015), s. 112-134; İsmâuddin Ebu'l-Hayr Ahmet Efendi Taşköprülüzâde, *Osmanlı Bilginleri - eş-Şakâiku'n-Numâniyye fî ulemâi'd-Devleti'l-Osmâniyye*, çev. Muharrem Tan, (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2007), s. 63, Franz Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*, çev. Coşkun Üçok, (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2000), s. 12-13; Günay Kut, "Ahmedî", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 1989, II, s. 165-167.

28 Abdülvasi Çelebi, İbrahim Peygamber'in İslâm geleneğindeki isimlerinden biri olan "Halîl'ül Rahman"ı nazaran eserini *Halîlnâme* olarak adlandırılmıştır.

*Vireyüm sana her beyte bir altun
Kılayum cümle şî'r ıssını meftun
Tama' odına düşmüş almış anı
Tama' fark itmez assıda ziyarı*

...

*Biş altı ay ana meşgul olmuş
Hüner dibacesin düzmemiş ölmüş
Bu ben biçare sandum kim ol üstad
Ol işde urmuş ola tuhfe bünyad
Yapam üstine bir divar-ı mabhub
Yaraşduram bir eyü sakf-ı mergub
Getürdiler ü gördüm bir beş on beyt
Esası yok sera divarı yok beyt²⁹*

Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin anlattıklarına bakılırsa, Bayezid Paşa edebiyat ile yakından ilgilenmektedir. Mesnevi okuyabilecek seviyede Farsça bilmesi iyi bir eğitim aldığına düşündürmektedir. Onu henüz çocukken tanıdığını belirten Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin, Bayezid Paşa'nın eğitiminde rol alan kişilerden biri olabileceği şu beyitlerden anlaşılmaktadır:

*Bu 'Abdülvasi'ün budur du'ası
Kapundan eksük olmasun senası
Küçücükden du'acundur bilirsün
Ki muhlis kuldur ol yokdur riyasi*

...

*Kadimi atadan kulundur el-hak
Anı hoş gör helal olsun bahası³⁰*

Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin aşağıdaki beyitleri irdelendiğinde, kendisi ve Ahmedî'nin yanı sıra başka şairlerin de Bayezid Paşa'nın çevresinde toplandığı ve onun tarafından desteklendikleri anlaşılmaktadır:

29 Abdülvasi Çelebi, s. 72-78.

30 Abdülvasi Çelebi, s. 67.

*Kime kim bir nazar kıldı o mahdum
Sa'adetten dahi olmadı mahrum
Kimün kim bir kez ol yakdı çerağın
Kılur dinlenmeden devlet yaragın
Niçeler devletinde buldı devlet
Niçeler işiginde buldı 'izzet
...
Menakıb yüzine bakmazdı kimse
Hüner kandilini yakmazdı kimse
...
Anun der-gahına cümle hüner-ver
Dirilüp 'arz iderlerdi hünerler³¹*

Bayezid Paşa'nın çevresinde bulunan şairlerden en tanınmış şüphesiz on dördüncü yüzyılın en önemli şairlerinden biri olan Ahmedî'dir. Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli *Künhü'l-Ahbâr* adlı tarihinde, Ahmedî'nin Ankara Savaşı'ndan sonra Timur tarafından dahi saygıyla karşılandığını bildirir.³² Ahmedî, Ankara Savaşı'ndan sonra Edirne'de Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in ağabeyi Emir Süleyman'a bağlanmış, onun 1411 yılındaki ölümünden sonra, yaklaşık seksen yaşlarındayken Amasya'ya taşınmıştır.³³ Emir Süleyman için *İskendernâme* isimli bir eser kaleme alan ve buna *Dâstan ve Tevârih-i Al-i Osman* başlığı altında bir Osmanlı tarihi ekleyen Ahmedî,³⁴ yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi, Bayezid Paşa tarafından *Veys ü Ramin*'i Türkçe'ye çevirmekle görevlendirilen ilk şairdir. Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin bildirdiğine göre, Bayezid Paşa bu çeviri karşılığında Ahmedî'ye her bir beyit karşılığında bir altın vaat etmiştir. Abdülvasi Çelebi bu alegorik ifadelerle kendi hamisini, İran edebiyatının efsanevi şairi Firdevsî'ye, altmış bin beyitlik *Şahname* adlı eserinin her beyiti için bir altın öneren Gazneli Sultan Mahmud ile özdeşleştirmektedir.

31 Abdülvasi Çelebi, s. 59-60, 73.

32 Mustafa İsen, *Künhü'l-Ahbâr'ın Tezkire Kısmı*, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 1994), s. 105.

33 Babinger, s. 12.

34 *İskendernâme*'nin yayınlanmış nüshaları: Ahmedî, *İskender-Nâme (İnceleme-Tıpkı Basım)*, çev. Süheyl Ünver, (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1983); Ahmedî, *İskendername*, haz. Mehmet Kanar, (İstanbul: SAY Yayınları, 2011). Osmanlı Tarihi ile ilgili bölüm için: Atsız (Hüseyin Nihal): *Üç Osmanlı Tarihi (Oruç Beğ Tarihi/Ahmedî: Dâstan ve Tevârih-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osman/Şükrullah: Behcetü'r- Tevârih)*, İstanbul: Ötügen Neşriyat, 2011, s. 137-160.

Bayezid Paşa'nın böylesine bir ihsanda bulunabilecek ekonomik güce sahip olup olmadığı tartışılır olsa da, bu ifadeler onun edebi eserlere verdiği yüksek değerın göstergesi olarak kabul edilebilir.

Aynı dönemin bir başka önemli eseri, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in Ankara Savaşı'ndan Fetret Dönemi sonuna kadarki faaliyetlerini konu alan *Abval-i Sultan Mehmed bin Bayezid Han* adlı anonim metindir.³⁵ Halil İnalçık, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in kendi anlatımından yararlanılarak yazılmış olduğunu düşündüğü bu eserin, o sırada Amasya'da bulunan Ahmedî'ye ait olduğunu belirtir.³⁶ Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin "*Menakıb yüzine bakmazdı kimse / Hüner kandilini yakmazdı kimse*" şeklindeki ifadesi, yazım faaliyetlerini himaye eden kişinin Bayezid Paşa olduğuna işaret eder. Bu durum, onun *Abval-i Sultan Mehmed*'in yazılması konusunda sultanı teşvik edenlerden biri olduğunu düşündürmektedir. *Abval-i Sultan Mehmed*'de, özellikle Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in ön plana çıktığı görülse de Bayezid Paşa'nın bu dönemdeki bazı başarıları ve sultanın ona olan güveninin özellikle vurgulanıyor olması,³⁷ Bayezid Paşa'nın bu eserin yazılmasındaki rolünün bir etkisi olabilir.

Abdülvasi Çelebi, *Halilnâme*'ye eklenen ve Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in kardeşleri ile mücadelelerini konu alan tarih kısmı için, o sırada yazılan *Abval-i Sultan Mehmed*'in yanı sıra Bayezid Paşa'nın anlatımından ya da kendi tanıklığından yararlanmış olmalıdır. Ancak, eserin asıl konusu olan İbrahim Peygamber'in biyografisi üzerine farklı tefsirlerden yararlandığını bildirir:

*Biş altı pare tefsirin içinden
çıkardım işbu ahbar-ı 'icabı*³⁸

Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin kendi eserini kaleme alırken başvurduğu farklı Kur'an tefsirlerine ulaşmış olması, bir kitap koleksiyonunun varlığını akla getirmektedir. Süheyl Ünver, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in özel bir kütüphanesi bulunduğundan bahsederek, günümüzde çeşitli kütüphanelere dağılmış olan yazmalardan örnekler

35 Dimitris J. Kastritsis (Ed.), *The Tales of Sultan Mehmed, Son of Bayezid Khan (Abval-i Sultan Mehmed bin Bayezid Han) : Bayezid Han Oğlu Sultan Mehmed'in Maceraları (Abval-i Sultan Mehmed bin Bayezid Han)*, (Cambridge: The Department of Near Eastern Languages & Civilizations Harvard Universtiy, 2007).

36 Halil İnalçık, *Devlet-i 'Aliyye Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Araştırmalar – I*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009), s. 101.

37 Kastritsis, s. 53-54; 73, 85-86.

38 Abdülvasi Çelebi, s. 493.

vermektedir.³⁹ Ancak, özel kitap koleksiyonlarının yalnızca sultanlara mahsus olmadığı, yönetici elitten bazı kimselerin, örneğin aynı dönemde yaşamış bir devlet adamı ve entelektüel olan Timurtaş Paşa'nın oğlu Umur Bey'in bir kişisel kitap koleksiyonuna sahip olduğu bilinmektedir. Bursa'da kendi inşa ettirdiği camide bulunan 865/1461 tarihli Türkçe taş vakfiyede camiden dışarı çıkartılmaması şartıyla dökümünü yaptığı kitapları vakfettiği belirtir; "...*kitablarım tafsille vakfettim ammâ câmi'den taşra çıkmaya...*".⁴⁰ Bunun dışında, babası Timurtaş Paşa'nın yaptırdığı imarete ve Bergama'da inşa ettirdiği medreseye de kitaplar vakfetmiştir. Tim Stanley ve Murat Yüksel tarafından envanteri yayınlanan kitaplar, farklı konular üzerine yazılmış 126 esere ait toplam 306 cilttir.⁴¹ Bunların bir bölümünün yazılmasına ya da Türkçeye çevrilmesine, tıpkı Bayezid Paşa gibi Umur Bey öncülük etmiş olmalıdır. Bayezid Paşa da, Umur Bey'in kitap koleksiyonunun bir benzerine sahip olabilir. Bayezid Paşa'nın, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'e armağan ettiği ilk nüshanın ardından, muhtemelen kendi koleksiyonu için Abdülvasi Çelebi'den *Halîlnâmê*'yi bir kez daha yazmasını istemiş olduğu "*Buyurdı lutf ile bu du'acı kulna ol / kim ol kitabı bana dahı yazgıl iy imam*" beyitlerinden anlaşılır. Bu ikinci kopyanın Bayezid Paşa'nın kişisel koleksiyonu için olma ihtimali yüksektir.⁴²

Şairler, *işret meclisi* adı verilen eğlence toplantılarında sultanların ya da diğer ileri gelenlerin dikkatini çekmektedir.⁴³ Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin ilgili beyitlerinden Bayezid Paşa'nın bu gibi toplantıların müdavimi olduğu anlaşılmalıdır:

Yine bir dürlü sözi saz idelüm
Eyü avaz ile agaz idelüm
Alalum ele şeşta nay u çengi
Uralum arkun arkun çenge çengi
Düzelim zir ü bam evtar-ı perde

39 Süheyl Ünver: "Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Hususi Kütüphanesi", *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*, 19 (Ankara 1970), s. 291-295.

40 Ayverdi, s. 339.

41 Tim Stanley, "The Books of Umur Bey", *Muqarnas*, XXI (Leiden 2004), s. 323-332; Murat Yüksel, "Kara Timurtaşoğlu Umur Bey'in Bursa'da Vakfettiği Kitaplar ve Vakıf Kayıtları", *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, XXXI (İstanbul 1984), s. 134-147. Ayrıca bakınız: İsmail, E. Erünsal, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi II Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a Kadar Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1991), s. 9-11; İsmail E. Erünsal, "Umur Bey Kütüphanesi", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XLII (Ankara 2012), s. 159-160.

42 Abdülvasi Çelebi, s. 499.

43 Halil İnalıcık, *Şâir ve Patron*, (Ankara: Doğu-Batı Yayınları, 2003), s. 25-27.

Yazalum şî'r-i esharı seherde
Makamı seyr idelüm cümle sazı
Neva nevrüz u 'uşşak u hicazı
Rehavi vü hüseyni vü irakı
Gezelüm düzelim Şam u 'Irakı
Bir avaz idelüm kim Zühre sazı
Unıtsun İsfahan ile Hicazı
Gehi bu söz ile mest olsun ervah
Gehi bu söz ile oynasun eşbah
'Ukulı kılalum bu sözde hayran
Nüfusa virelüm bu sazda seyran
Halayık eylesün bu sözde tahsin
Melayik söylesün bu saza temkin
'Utariid gökde yazsun bu senayı
Cihan tekrar kulsun bu du'ayı⁴⁴

Kökeni Selçuklulara kadar uzanan işret meclislerinin Osmanlı ortamındaki ilk düzenleyicisi Yıldırım Bayezid olmuştur. Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed için *Bezmi u Rezm* (Eğlence ve Savaş) adlı bir eser kaleme alan Aziz bin Erdeşir-i Esterâbadî'nin “*sade-dil bir Moğol*” olarak küçümsediği Murad Hüdâvendigâr'ın benzer eğlenceler düzenlediğine yönelik bir kayıt bulunmamaktadır.⁴⁵ Zaten, Esterâbadî'nin, Murad Hüdâvendigâr'ı küçümsemesinin nedeni de, kuşkusuz kendi şiirlerinden oluşan bir divana sahip olan işret meclislerinin müdavimi Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed gibi bir hayat sürmemesidir. On dokuz yaşında bir şehzade iken Murad Hüdâvendigâr tarafından Germiyanogulları'nın elinden alınan Kütahya'ya gönderilen Yıldırım Bayezid, burada, daha sonra oğulları Süleyman Çelebi ve Çelebi Mehmed'in de hizmetine girecek olan Ahmedî ve Şeyhî gibi şairlerle tanışmıştır.⁴⁶ Kütahya'daki şehzadelik günlerinin ardından, hükümdarlık günlerinde de işret meclisleri düzenlemeye devam eden Yıldırım Bayezid, Osmanlı tarihlerinde ağır şekilde eleştirilmiştir.⁴⁷ Ankara Savaşı'nın ardından Edirne'de hüküm süren Emir Süleyman

44 Abdülvasi Çelebi, s. 68-69; İnalçık, *Devlet-i 'Aliyye*, s. 113; Halil İnalçık, *Has Bağçede Ays u Tarab – Nedimler, Şairler, Mutripler*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2011), s. 107.

45 İnalçık, *Has Bağçede Ays u Tarab*, s. 75.

46 İnalçık, *Has Bağçede Ays u Tarab*, s. 75.

47 Aşık Paşazade, s. 341, Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tâcü't-Tevârih I*, haz. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1974, s. 109-110; Ayrıca bakınız: Feridun Emecen,

Çelebi de babasının izinden giderek gösterişli işret meclisleri düzenlemeyi sürdürmüştür.⁴⁸ Bayezid Paşa'nın vezirliğini yaptığı Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in de işret meclisi düzenlediğine dair kayıtlar bulunmaktadır.⁴⁹ Bayezid Paşa'nın, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in düzenlediği işret meclislerine katıldığı gibi kendisinin de benzer oturumlar düzenlediği anlaşılmaktadır.

İşret meclislerinin en önemli unsurlarından biri de kuşkusuz müzisyenlerdir. Mercimek Ahmed'in Farsça'dan Türkçe'ye çevirerek II. Murad'a sunduğu Keykâvus'un *Kâbüsnâme* adlı nasihatnamesinde, mutriplerin yani müzisyenlerin (çalgıcı ve şarkıcıların) şairlerin râvisi yani dili (söyleyeni) olduğu belirtilerek şairler ile müzisyenler arasındaki birlikteliğe dikkat çekilmiştir.⁵⁰ *Halîlnâme*'de de, Bayezid Paşa'nın işret meclislerindeki müzik unsuruna dair göndermeler bulunmaktadır. Bayezid Paşa'yı, şarkılar söyleyerek *şesta*, *ney* ve *çengi* çalarak; *Neva*, *Uşşak*, *Hicaz*, *Rehavi*, *Hüseyni*, *Irak* gibi makamlar arasında dolaşmaya, mest olarak kendinden geçmeye davet eden Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin müzik terminolojisine hakimiyeti dikkat çekicidir. Osmanlı ortamında varlığı bilinen en erken tarihli müzik kitapları II. Murad dönemine aittir. Bu dönemde yazılmış olan Şükrullah bin Ahmed'in *Edvâr-ı Mûsikî / Risâle min İlmi'l-Edvâr*,⁵¹ Hızır bin Abdullah'ın *Kitâbü'l-Edvâr*⁵² ve Timurlu coğrafyasının ünlü müzik adamı Abdülkadir Meragî'nin bir kısmını II. Murad'a ithaf ettiği *Makâsidü'l-Elhân*⁵³ gibi eserlerin Osmanlı kültür ortamında henüz yürürlükte olmadığı bir dönemde

“İhtirasın Gölgesinde Bir Sultan: Yıldırım Bayezid”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XLIII (İstanbul 2014), s. 77-80; Mustafa Çağhan Keskin, “Çağdaş Kaynaklarda Ankara Savaşı Sonrası Bursa Sarayı'nın Yağmalanması”, *Belleten*, LXXVIII, 283 (Ankara 2014), s. 892-894.

48 M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, “Süleyman Çelebi”, *İslâm Ansiklopedisi (İA)*, XI (İstanbul 1979), s. 182.

49 Solak-zâde, Musa Çelebi'nin Amasya'da düzenlenen böyle bir işret meclisinde Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'den izin alarak Emir Süleyman Çelebi ile mücadele etmek için harekete geçtiğini bildirir [Solak-zâde, s. 142].

50 Keykâvus, *Kabusnâme*, çev. Mercimek Ahmed, haz. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, (İstanbul: Kabcacı Yayınları, 2007), s. 194.

51 Ramazan Kamiloğlu, *Ahmed Oğlu Şükrullah ve “Edvâr-ı Mûsikî” Adlı Eseri* (Yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi), (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2007); Murat Bardakçı, Ahmed Oğlu Şükrullah / *Şükrullah'ın Risalesi ve 15. Yüzyıl Şark Musikisi Nazariyatı* (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2012).

52 Sadreddin Özçimi, *Hızır bin Abdullah ve Kitâbü'l-Edvârı* (Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi), (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1989).

53 Recep Uslu, *Meragî'den Sultan II. Murad'a Müziğin Maksatları Makâsidü'l-Elhân*, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 2015).

aynı enstrümanlara⁵⁴ ve makamlara⁵⁵ göndermelerde bulunuyor olması ve çağın müzik terminolojisini kullanması, Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin profesyonel müzisyenlerle tanışık olduğuna işaret etmektedir.

Tarihi kayıtlar, Bayezid Paşa'nın işret meclislerine yalnız Osmanlı eliti- nin değil yabancı konukların da katıldığını aktarmaktadır. Doukas, Bayezid Paşa'nın Philadephia/Alaşehir'li bir Bizans aristokratı olan Theologos ile dost olduğunu, sık sık bir araya geldiklerini ve birlikte yemek yediklerini bildirmektedir.⁵⁶ Bu kişi, Bizans sarayında tercümanlık yapmasının yanı sıra muhtemelen Bayezid Paşa için casusluk da yapmaktaydı. Bu gibi uluslararası dostlukları bulunan Bayezid Paşa, Farsça'nın yanında Balkan dillerinden birine hakim olmalıydı ki, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed, Musa Çelebi ile mücadelesi sırasında onu Sırp Despotuna elçi göndermiştir.⁵⁷ Bu bilgiler, onun Osmanlı ortamı ve çevresinde olup bitenle yakından ilgilendiğini ve güçlü bir ilişkiler ağına sahip olduğunu göstermektedir.

Edebiyatla fazlasıyla ilgilenen ve geniş bir çevreyle ilişki içinde olan Bayezid Paşa, dönemin tanınmış şairi Şeyhî'den de haberdar olmalıdır. Osmanlı şair tezkirelerinin hemen hemen tümünde bahsi geçen ünlü bir şair olmasının yanı sıra, başarılı bir hekim olarak da tanınan Şeyhî, bir dönem Yıldırım Bayezid ve Emir Süleyman Çelebi'nin maiyetinde yer almasının yanı sıra Bayezid Paşa ile birlikte Amasya'da bulunan Ahmedî'nin de yakın dostudur.⁵⁸ Ankara Savaşı'ndan sonra tekrar Kütahya'ya hakim olan Germiyanoglu II. Yakup Bey'in yanında bulunan Şeyhî, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in Karaman seferi sırasında rahatsızlanması üzerine davet edilmiştir. On yedinci yüzyıl müelliflerinden Hoca Sadettin Efendi, Şeyhî'nin Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in yanında bulunan beylerden birinin önerisi üzerine sultanı tedavi etmek üzere davet edildiğini özellikle bildirir, ancak

54 Kamiloğlu, s. 138-154.

55 Kamiloğlu, s. 91-96.

56 Doukas, s. 108-109.

57 Hoca Sadettin Efendi, *Tâcü't-Tevârih II*, s. 72-73; Kastritsis, s. 85. *Grekçe Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*'nde de Paşa'nın Düzmece Mustafa tarafından elçi sıfatıyla İstanbul'a gönderildiği belirtilse de bu bilgiyi onaylayan başka bir kaynak bulunmamaktadır [Şerif Baştav (haz.), *16. Asırda Yazılmış Grekçe Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi, Giriş ve Metin (1373-1512)* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1973), s. 118-119].

58 Rıdvan Canım, *Latîfî Tezkiretü's-Şu'arâ ve Tabsıratü'n-Nuzamâ (İnceleme-Metin)*, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 2000), s. 163. Şeyhî hakkında ayrıca: İsen, s. 111-114; İnalçık, *Has-bağçede 'Aş u Tarab Nedimler Şâîrler Mutribler*, s. 101-106.



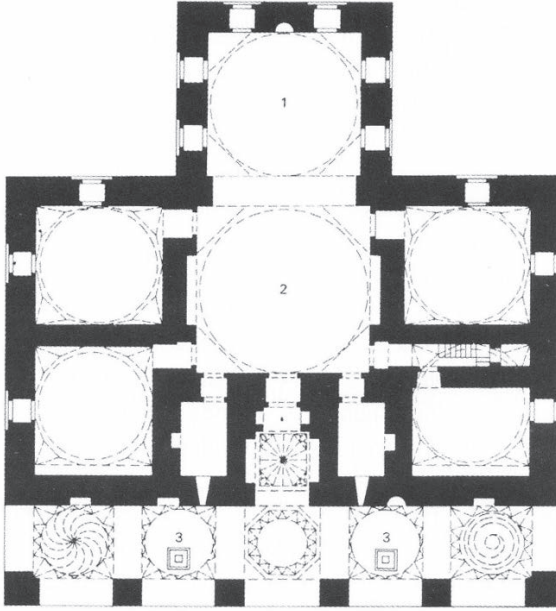
Figür 2. Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi (Amasya)

isim vermez.⁵⁹ Ankarâ'da bulunan sultanın yanına gelen Şeyhî, onun sefere katılmasını uygun görmemiş, bunun üzerine Karamanoğlu Mehmed Bey'in esir alınmasıyla sonuçlanan seferi Bayezid Paşa kumanda etmiştir. Bayezid Paşa, bu seferdeki başarısının ardından vezirlik ve Rumeli beylerbeyliğiyle ödüllendirilmiş ve sultandan sonra en yetkili kişi pozisyonuna gelmiştir. Görülen o ki, Şeyhî'nin gelişinin en çok Bayezid Paşa'ya yararı dokunmuştur. Bu durum, sultanın tedavisi için Şeyhî'yi öneren kişinin şairlerle arası iyi olan Bayezid Paşa olabileceğini düşündürmektedir.

Bayezid Paşa yalnızca edebiyat ve müzikle değil, tasavvufla da ilgilenmiş, bu vesile ile sosyal ve mimari hizmetlerde de bulunmuştur. Amasya'da inşa ettirdiği zaviye için düzenlediği vakfiyedeki şahitler arasında on ikinci yüzyılda Ahmed el-Rıfai tarafından Irak'ta kurulan ve on üçüncü ve on dördüncü yüzyıllardan itibaren Amasya'da varlık gösteren Rufai tarikatına bağlı olduğu anlaşılan çok sayıda *el-Rifâ'i* künyeli şahıs bulunmaktadır.⁶⁰ Muhtemelen, bu yapı özellikle Rufai tari-

59 Hoca Sadettin Efendi, *Tâcü't-Tevârih II*, s. 84-88.

60 Karataş, s. 21. Rufai Tarikatı hakkında detaylı bilgi için: Mustafa Tahrallı, "Rifâiyye", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 2008, XXXV, s. 99-103.



Figür 3. Bayezid Paşa Zâviyesi Planı

katına bağlı kişilerce kullanılmaktaydı.⁶¹ Bu durum, Paşa'nın bu tarikata mensup olduğunu düşündürmektedir.⁶²

Zaviye, erken Osmanlı döneminin çok işlevli yapılarının bir örneğidir (Fig. 2). Kitabesine göre, 817/1414 yılında inşa edilmiş, vakıfları ise 820/1418 tarihinde düzenlenmiştir.⁶³ Kubbeye örtülü orta sofa, buraya güneyinden bağlanan yine kubbeli mescit eyvanı, doğu ve batı yönlerde ikişer kubbeli oda, kuzeyde giriş kapısının iki yandan dikdörtgen biçimli birer penceresiz iki hücreden ve beş kubbeli son cemaat yerinden meydana gelmektedir (Fig. 3). Güney yönündeki, etrafı alçı nişlerle çevrelenmiş ocaklar bulunan yan odalar, vakfiyede “kış odası” olarak tanımlanan birimler olmalıdır. Kuzey batı yönündeki kubbeli odadan üst kata çıkan bir merdiven ve hela yer almaktadır. Merdivenle ulaşılan üst katta, kubbeye örtülü giriş koridoruna açılan karşılıklı iki maksure ve taç kapının arkasından bunları birbirine bağlayan dar bir geçit bulunmaktadır.⁶⁴ Yapının, çok farklı birimlere,

61 Karataş, s. 21.

62 Ayverdi, s. 5; Doğan Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi*, (İstanbul: YEM Yayınları, 2007), s. 110.

63 Vakfiyesi'nde “...sânat-ı âliye ile muttasıp olup, etrafında kulbsuz çanaklar, taze su dolu tulumlar, dizili akar sulu yalıklar, karşı karşıya iki kış odası, iki müsavi hücre, mahzen ve bir hizada üst kat maksureleri, havz-ı mâ'hı müştemil bina” biçiminde tanımlanmaktadır [VGMA 605/330: 244].

64 Kuban, s. 110.

özellikle de benzer Osmanlı yapılarının hiçbirinde bulunmayan bir iç helaya sahip olması, burasının şehzadelerin konutu olabileceği yönünde yorumlar yapılmasına neden olmuştur.⁶⁵ Kuzey yönünden eklenen beş kubbeli son cemaat yeri, yapının inşasından beş sene sonra 822/1419 tarihinde inşa edilmiştir.⁶⁶

Zaviyenin en ilgi çekici yanı, yapının çeşitli yerlerine dağılmış kitabelerdir. Goodwin'in tabiriyle yapı hakkındaki “*tek sorun sunduğu gereğinden fazla bilgidir*”.⁶⁷ Giriş kapısının üzerinde yapının Sultan Mehmed zamanında “*el-emîru'l-kebîr el-vezîru'l-hatîru'l-mufabham*” yani “*büyük emir, değerli ve şerefli vezir*” Bayezid Paşa tarafından yaptırıldığını ilan eden inşa kitabesi yer almaktadır (Fig. 4).⁶⁸ Yapının çeşitli yerlerine dağılmış beş farklı kitabede inşa sürecinde görev almış mimar ve ustaların isimleri, son cemaat yeri cephesinde bulunan yazı kuşağında ise vakfiye özeti bulunmaktadır (Fig. 6). Zaviyenin vakfiyesi ayrıca, yapıyı Yeşilirmak'ın karşı tarafına bağlayan köprünün ilerisinde kaya üzerine de işlenmiştir (Fig. 5).⁶⁹

65 Kani Kuzucular, *Amasya Kenti'nin Fiziksel Yapısının Tarihsel Gelişimi* (Yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi), (İstanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 1994), s. 57.

66 Ayverdi, bu durumu 818/1415 yılında gerçekleşen depremle ilişkilendirmektedir [Ayverdi, s. 22]. Tarihi takvimlerde bahsedilen bu deprem bölgede büyük zarara neden olmuştur; Osman Turan, *İstanbul'un Fethinden Önce Yazılmış Tarihi Takvimler*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), s. 21-57.

67 Godfrey Goodwin, *Osmanlı Mimarlığı Tarihi*, çev. Müfit Günay, (İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınları, 2012), s. 98.

68 Kitabenin Transkripsiyonu:

“*Enşee hâzihi'l-îmârete'l-mübâreketi fî eyyâi devleti's-sultani'l-a'zam eş-şâhînsâbi'l-mu'azzam es-sultân Muhammed bin es-sultâni'l-merhûm Bâyezid Hân halleda'llâü sultânehü el-emîru'l-kebîr el-vezîru'l-hatîru'l-mufabham Bâyezid Pâşâ 'azzama'llâhü celâle kadrihî Fî târihi muharram seneti seb'a 'aşerate ve semânimâyeh*”

Türkçe Tercümesi:

“*Bu mübarek imareti, merhum sultan Bayezid Han'ın oğlu, yüce sultan, büyük padişah, sultan Mehmed'in –Allah idaresini devamlı kılın- yönetimi zamanında, büyük emir, değerli ve şerefli vezir Bayezid Paşa –Allah şeref ve değerini yüceltsin- 817 yılının muharrem ayında inşa etti*”

Kitabenin Arapça metni, transkripsiyonu ve tercümesi için bakınız: Abdülhamit Tüfekçioğlu, *Erken Dönem Osmanlı Mimarisinde Yazı*, (Ankara: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001), s. 117-118.

69 Son cemaat yerinin dış cephesinde, tepe silmesinin altında 20 santimetre yüksekliğinde ve 25,50 metre uzunluğundaki vakfiye metni, kurulan iskele vasıtasıyla Prof. Dr. Ali Yardım tarafından okunabilmiştir; Ali Yardım, *Amasya Kaya Kitabesi*, (Ankara: T.C. Amasya Valiliği Kültür Yayınları, 2004), s. 95-126. Yeşilirmak'ın karşı tarafında, iki metre yüksekliğe kadar düzeltilmiş kayalık zemin üzerine işlenmiş olan vakfiye metni ise son cemaat yerindeki metnin bir özeti içermektedir [Yardım, s. 9-25].



Figür 4. Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi girişi, inşa ve mimar kitabesi

Vakfiyenin yapı bünyesinde bir kitabeyle temsili, erken Osmanlı mimarlığında yaygın bir uygulama değildir.⁷⁰ Yapıların işleyişi hakkındaki en temel belgeler olan vakfiyeler genelde kağıt üzerine yazılmış metinler halinde iken, Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi'nde vakfın işleyişi umuma özellikle teşhir edilmiştir. Osmanlı geleneğinde bu kapsamda öncül bir örneği bulunmayan Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi'nin son cemaat yerindeki vakfiye metni ancak birkaç sene öncesinde, Kütahya'da Germiyanoglu II. Yakup Bey İmaretî'nin girişinde bulunan 817/1414 tarihli ünlü Türkçe vakfiye ile karşılaştırılabilir.⁷¹ II. Yakup Bey İmaretî'nin taş vakfiyesinde, yapının inşa edildik-

70 Yapıda temsil edilen vakfiyelere çağdaş örnekler, 784/1382 tarihli Mudurnu Yıldırım Bayezid Hamamı'ndaki Arapça vakfiye, Tokat'ta 815 / 1412 tarihli Hamza Bey (Çekenli) Camii inşa kitabesinde vakıflar ile ilgili detaylar ve Bursa'da Umur Bey Camisi'ndeki 859/1455 tarihli Türkçe vakfiye ile sınırlıdır.

71 II. Yakup Bey'in vakfiyesi hakkında detaylı bilgi için bakınız: Ayverdi, s. 516; Ali Osman Uysal, *Germiyanogulları Beyliğinin Mimari Eserleri*, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 2006), s. 135-137.



Figür 5. Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi'nin Yeşilırmak'ın karşı yakasında kaya üzerine işlenmiş vakfiye özeti

ten beş ay sonra Karamanoğlu işgali sebebiyle iki seneyi aşkın bir süre atıl durumda kaldığı ve Osmanlıların Karamanoğullarını mağlup etmesinin ardından Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in izniyle tekrar hizmete girdiği belirtilmektedir. Vakfiyede sözü edilen sürecin en önemli figürlerinden biri Karamanoğulları üzerine yapılan sefer sırasında hasta olan sultanın yerine orduyu komuta eden Bayezid Paşa'dır. Hasta olan sultanın tedavi etmek üzere görevlendirilen dönemin ünlü hekim ve şairi Şeyhî'nin Kütahya'dan davet edilmesi sürecinde etkili olma ihtimali de dikkate alınarak, Bayezid Paşa'nın II. Yakup Bey ile iletişim içinde olduğu varsayılabilir. Bu muhtemel iletişimden yola çıkarak Bayezid Paşa'nın, II. Yakup Bey'in ünlü taş vakfiyesinden haberdar olabileceği, hatta bizzat görmüş olabileceği söylenebilir. Bu bağlamda, Bayezid Paşa'nın kişisel tercihi olduğu anlaşılan vakfiye metninin zaviyenin son cemaat yerine ve köprü'nün karşı yakasında bir kaya üzerinde temsilinin esin kaynağının II. Yakup Bey'in taş vakfiyesi olabileceği öne sürülebilir.

Erken Osmanlı mimarisinin temel yapıları olan ters T ya da zaviyeli camileri örnek alan Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi, bu tipin Amasya çevresindeki ilk örneği olmasının yanı sıra Bursa'da sultanlar tarafından inşa ettirilen örnekleri hatırlatan bir anıtsallığa sahiptir.⁷² Yapının plan kurgusu ve anıtsallığı, mimarının Bursa örnek-

⁷² Yapı özellikle kendisinden birkaç sene önce inşa edilen Yıldırım Zaviyesi'nin etkisindedir. Giriş bölümündeki kurgu, Yıldırım Zaviyesi'ni tekrar etmektedir. Yapının girişi, Yıldırım Zaviyesi'nde olduğu gibi derin bir eyvan içindedir. Üst katta, taç kapının ardında yer alan dar geçit tıpkı Yıldırım Zaviyesi'nde olduğu gibi eyvanın iki yanına açılan balkonları birbirine bağlar. Ve yine yalnızca Bursa'da, ilk kez Yıldırım Zaviyesi'nde ve daha sonra Yeşil Zaviye'de görülen, yan birimlerdeki alçı duvar kaplamasının bir çeşitlemesine Amasya civarında yalnızca Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi'nde rastlanır [Sema Gündüz Küskü, *Osmanlı Beyliği Mimarisinde Anadolu Selçuklu*

lerini yakından tanıdığını göstermektedir. Bu durum, yapının inşasında görev alan mimari aktörlerin Bayezid Paşa tarafından Bursa çevresinden Amasya'ya gönderilmiş olduğunu düşündürmektedir. Bursa Yıldırım ve Yeşil Zaviyeler arasındaki sürekliliğin en önemli halkası olan Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi'nin fazladan maliyet getiren anıtsal detaylarının karar vericisi kuşkusuz, yapının banisi Bayezid Paşa'dır.

Zaviyenin girişinde bulunan kitabeye göre yapının mimarı, Muhammed oğlu Ebu Bekr'dir (Fig. 4).⁷³ Amasya yakınlarındaki Merzifon'da bulunan Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Medresesi'nin de mimarı olan Ebu Bekr,⁷⁴ aynı zamanda Ankara'da Karacabey tarafından inşa edilen zaviyenin mimarı Ahmed'in babasıdır.⁷⁵ Amasya ve Merzifon'daki kitabelerinden Dımışk (Şam) yani Suriye kökenli olduğu anlaşılan Ebu Bekr'in amcası 776/1375 tarihinde Selçuk'ta inşa edilen Aydınöğlü İsa Bey Camisi'nin mimarı Ali ibn Müşeymeş el-Dımışkî'dir.⁷⁶ Amcası ve oğlu da mimar olan Ebu Bekr'in dönemin önemli mimarlarından biri olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Böylesine bir mimarın tayin edilmesi, Bayezid Paşa'nın kendi adını taşıyacak zaviyenin inşası için seçici davrandığını göstermektedir.

Yapının inşasından yaklaşık beş sene sonra eklenen son cemaat yerindeki kitabeler, Bayezid Paşa'nın bir diğer önemli yönünü ortaya koymaktadır (Fig. 6). Kitabelerde adı geçen üç mimardan biri Zekeriya oğlu Zeyneddin'dir.⁷⁷ Diğerleri ise mühtedi oldukları anlaşılan Abdullah oğlu Togan ve Abdullah

Geleneği, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), s. 270; Mustafa Çağhan Keskin, "Syrian-origin architects around Amasya region in the early 15th century", *A|Z ITU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 12 (2) (2015), s. 21-22].

73 Kitabenin transkripsiyonu:

'Amile'l-'abdu'l-fakir El-muhtac ilâ Rahmeti'llâhi te'âlâ El-Mu'allim Ebi Bekr bin Muhammed el-Ma'rûf bi-ibni Müşeymeş ed-Dımışkî rahime'llâhü men yeterabbamu 'aleybi.

Türkçe tercümesi:

(Bu binayı) fakir kul, Yüce Allah'ın rahmetine muhtaç, Dımışkî Müşeymeş oğlu diye bilinen Muhammed oğlu muallim Ebu Bekr yaptı. Allah ona rahmet eden kimseye rahmet etsin.

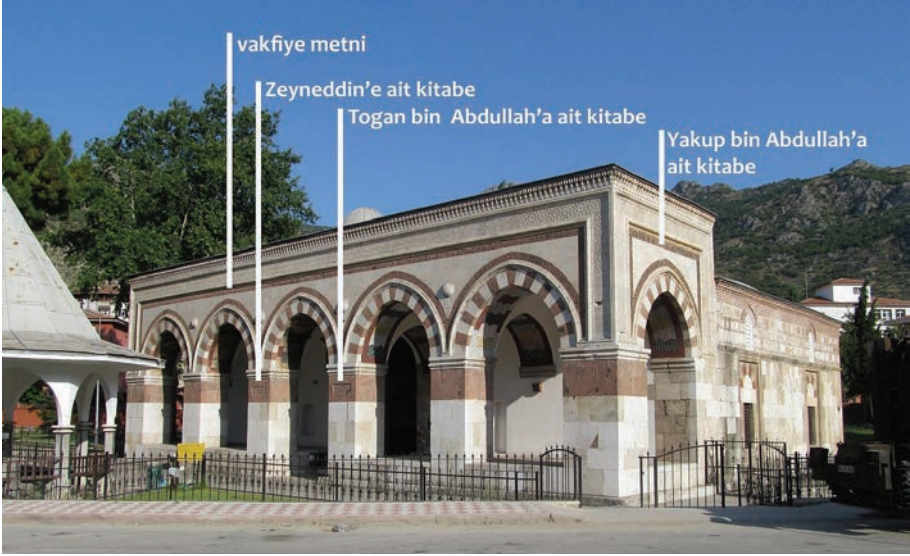
Kaynak: Tüfekçioğlu, s. 118-119.

74 Ayverdi, s. 22-23; Leo Aryeh Mayer, *Islamic Architects and their Works*, (Geneve: A. Kundig, 1956), s. 37; Yıldız Demiriz, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Süsleme I, Erken Devir (1300-1453)*, (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1979), s. 151-152; Zeki Sönmez, *Başlangıcından 16. Yüzyıla Kadar Anadolu Türk-İslâm Mimarisinde Sanatçılar*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1995), s. 403-404.

75 Tüfekçioğlu, s. 245; Karacabey Zaviyesi hakkında detaylı bilgi için bakınız: İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Ankara Abidelerinden Karacabey Mamuresi Vakfıyesi, Eserleri ve Tarihi*, I, İstanbul: İzzet Karacabey Yayınevi, 1943, s. 5-23.

76 Sönmez, s. 404.

77 Tüfekçioğlu, s. 121.



Figür 6. Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi son cemaat yeri revakı üzerinde kitabeler ve vakfiye metni

oğlu Yakup'tur. Abdullah oğlu Togan'ın “*Mi'mâr Fuḳâ Ṭugân bin 'Abdullâh 'atîḳu Bâyezîd Bâşâ el-Hamdü li'llâh*” şeklindeki kitabesinde kendisinin Bayezid Paşa'nın azatlı kölesi olduğunu bildirmektedir; “*Bayezid Paşa'nın azatlısı, Abdullah oğlu Fuka Togan. Hamd Allah'a mahsustur*”.⁷⁸ Abdullah oğlu Yakup ise, “*Mi'mâru hâze'l-bâb Ya'kub bin 'Abdullah min memâlîki Bâyezîd Bâşâ 'azzama'llâhü Celâle ḳadrihî ve nefeze ahkâme emrihî li-seneti isneyni ve işrine ve semanemie*” şeklindeki Arapça kitabesinde halen Bayezid Paşa'nın kölesi olduğunu kaydeder; “*Bu bölümün (son cemaat yerinin) mimarı, Bayezid Paşa'nın –Allah onun şerefini yüceltsin ve emirlerini yerine getirsin- kölelerinden Abdullah oğlu Yakup'tur. Sene sekiz yüz yirmi iki*”.⁷⁹

Osmanlı tarihlerinde, esir alınan bir mimarın öyküsünden bahsedilmektedir. Anlatıya göre, Bizans İmparatoru tarafından Yalova sahillerini yağmalamak üzere gönderilen bir donanma ile yapılan savaşın sonunda alınan esirler arasında usta bir mimarın bulunduğu anlaşılmış, bu kişi azat edilerek Bursa'daki Şehadet Camisi ve

⁷⁸ Tüfekçioğlu, s. 120-121.

⁷⁹ Tüfekçioğlu, s. 120-121. Bayezid Paşa'nın Amasya'daki Zaviyesi'nde görev almış mimar/ustalar hakkında özel bir araştırma: Keskin, “Syrian-origin architects around Amasya region in the early 15th century”, s. 19-33.

Hüdâvendigâr Külliyesi'nin yapımında görevlendirmiştir.⁸⁰ Bu örnek, kitabelerinde kendilerini sırasıyla Bayezid Paşa'nın azatlısı ve kölesi olarak tanımlayan Togan bin Abdullah ve Yakup bin Abdullah'ın da esir alınmış gayrimüslimler olduğunu düşündürmektedir.⁸¹ Anlaşılan, Bayezid Paşa yalnızca şair ve müzisyenleri değil çeşitli inşa faaliyetlerinde yararlanmak üzere yapı ustalarını da çevresinde toplamıştır.

İnşa ettirdiği çok sayıda yapı, Bayezid Paşa'nın dönemin önemli yapı banilerinden biri olduğunu göstermektedir. Bayezid Paşa'ya bağlı mimarlar/yapı ustaları, muhtemelen onun Bursa'da inşa ettirdiği ancak günümüze yalnızca bir bölümü ulaşabilen medrese (fig. 7),⁸² günümüzde yeniden inşa edilmiş olan cami,⁸³ günümüze ulaşamayan türbe (fig. 8)⁸⁴ ve bu medreseye gelir getirmesi amacıyla inşa edilmiş Yoğurtçu Han'ın⁸⁵ inşasında da çalışmıştır. Nitekim, onun emrindeki iş gücü dolayısıyla olsa gerek, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed, 815/1413 yılında Karamanoğulları'nın Bursa'yı işgali sırasında zarar gören Orhan İmaret'i'nin onarım görevini Bayezid Paşa'ya vermiştir (fig. 9).⁸⁶

Bayezid Paşa'nın kadrosundaki yapı ustalarının, dönem içinde başka yapılarda da görev aldıkları görülmektedir. Örneğin, Amasya'da çalışan Abdullah oğlu Togan'ın, 823/1420 tarihinde diğer vezirlerden Hacı İvaz Paşa tarafından Çelebi Sultan Mehmed adına Yunanistan sınırları içinde kalan Dimetoka

80 Solak-zâde, s. 45; Hoca Sadeddin Efendi: *Tâcü't-Tevârih I*, s. 129-130.

81 Osmanlı mimarlık tarihinde, Bayezid Paşa'nın azatlı kölesi Fuka Togan bin Abdullah ve kölesi Yakup bin Abdullah'ın durumlarına benzer bir örnek, Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in vezirlerinden Gedik Ahmed Paşa'nın azatlı kölesi mimar Ayas bin Abdullah'ın durumudur [Stefanos Yerasimos, "15.-16. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mimarları: Bir Prosopografya Denemesi", *Afife Batur'a Armağan Mimarlık ve Sanat Tarihi Yazıları*, (İstanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2005), s. 38

82 Medrese hakkında bakınız; Kepecioğlu, Cilt I, s. 184; Albert Gabriel, *Bir Türk Başkenti Bursa*, haz. Neslihan Er, Hamit Er ve Aykut Kazancıgil, (İstanbul: Osmangazi Belediyesi Yayınları, 2010), s. 156; Kazım Baykal, *Bursa ve Anıtları*, (Bursa: Hakiyet Tesisleri, 1993), s. 143; Cahit Baltacı, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri*, (İstanbul: İrfan Matbaası, 1976), s. 95.

83 Kepecioğlu, Cilt I, s. 183.

84 Kepecioğlu, Cilt I, s. 183; Baykal, s. 142.

85 Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006), s. 31.

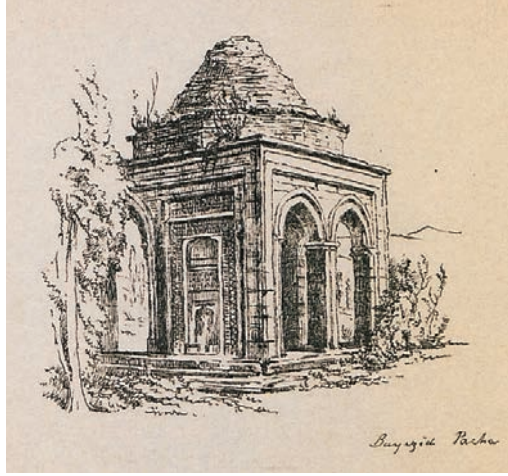
86 Yapının Karamanoğulları tarafından yakıldıktan sonra Bayezid Paşa tarafından onarılması kitabede özetlenmiştir:

"Osman Bey oğlu, gazilerin ve mücahitlerin sultanı Orhan Bey –makamları güzel olsun-, 740/1339-1340 senesinde bu şerefli imaretin yapılmasını emretti. Karamanoğlu'nun yakmasından sonra, Bayezid Han oğlu sultan oğlu sultan Mehmed'in –bükümdarlığı devamlı olsun- işaretleriyle büyük vezir nazır Bayezid Paşa 820/1417-1418 yılında (eserin tamirini) emretti"

[Tüfekçioğlu, s. 132].



Figür 7. Bursa'da Bayezid Paşa Medresesi'nin ayakta kalan duvarı



Figür 8. Mary Adelaide Walker'ın 1866 tarihli Bayezid Paşa Türbesi eskizi [Mary Adelaide Walker, *Brousse: Album Historique*, (Istanbul: 1866)].

kentinde inşa edilen camide de görev aldığı sanatçı kitabesinden anlaşılmaktadır.⁸⁷ Anlaşılan, Bayezid Paşa'nın emrinde çalışan yapı ustaları dönemin aranan isimlerindedir.

⁸⁷ Ayverdi, s. 150; Keskin, "Syrian-origin architects around Amasya region in the early 15th century", s. 24.



Figür 9. Bursa'da Orhan İmaret'i'nin kitabesi

Bayezid Paşa'nın mimari alandaki etkinliği, Ankara Savaşı'ndan çıkmış devletin yeniden imarına katkıda bulunmuştur. Tarafından inşa ettirilen yapılar Bursa ve Amasya'daki sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik ihtiyaçlara cevap vermektedir. Bursa'da inşa ettirdiği medrese kentteki eğitim olanaklarına bir yenisini eklerken buraya gelir getirmesi amacıyla inşa ettirdiği han, kent ekonomisine doğrudan katkıda bulunmaktadır. Aynı şekilde, Amasya'da inşa ettirdiği zaviye, yoksul halka yemek dağıtılması, yolcuların konaklaması ve ibadet gibi gereksinimleri karşılarlarken, vakfiyede görevleri ve alacakları ücretler ayrıntılı şekilde belirtilen, şeyh, imam, müezzin, nâkib, beş hâfız, bevâb (kapıcı), müşrif, câbi (tahsildar), himârî (eşekçi), tâbbah (aşçı), tâbbah yamağı, habbaz (fırıncı) ve yamağından oluşan on yedi kişilik personeli istihdam etmektedir. Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin beyitleri, Bayezid Paşa'nın Osmanlı yeniden yapılmasındaki vizyonunu özetler;

*Anun fikri ile oldı il 'imaret
Kapusında ayrılmasun emaret*⁸⁸

Sonuç

Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in şehzadelğinde, Ankara Savaşı'nın ardından kardeşleri ile girdiği taht mücadelesinde ve sonrasındaki hükümdarlık döneminde vezirliğini üstlenen Bayezid Paşa, Osmanlı siyasetine yön veren isimlerden biridir. Yalnızca siyasi kariyeri ile Osmanlı tarihçilerinin ve günümüz araştırmacılarının

⁸⁸ Abdülvasi Çelebi, s. 62.

dikkatini çeken Bayezid Paşa'nın vezirlik görevi dışındaki faaliyetleri göz ardı edilmiştir. Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin onun teşvikiyle yazdığı *Halîlnâme*, Bayezid Paşa'nın arka planda kalan kişiliği ile ilgili ipuçları veren tek kaynaktır. Abdülvasi Çelebi kendisini destekleyen Bayezid Paşa'yı övme eğiliminde olsa da onun hakkında verdiği bilgiler son derece değerlidir. Abdülvasi Çelebi'ye göre, Bayezid Paşa, iyi derecede Farsça bilen, çok okuyan bir entelektüel, şairleri çevresinde toplayan ve onları destekleyen bir sanat hamisidir. Düzenlediği eğlence toplantılarına şairlerle birlikte müzisyenler de katılmıştır. *Halîlnâme*'ye, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in kardeşleri ile mücadelesini içeren bir tarih bölümünün eklenmiş olması da muhtemelen onun fikridir. Osmanlı tarih yazımının henüz gelişmediği ve örneklerin *Yahşi Fakih Menakıbnâmesi* ve Ahmedî'nin *İskendernâme*'sindeki Osmanlı tarihine ayırdığı kısa bölüm ile sınırlı olduğu bir dönemde böyle bir teşebbüs, Bayezid Paşa'nın vizyonunu ortaya koymaktadır. Müellifi kesin olarak bilinmeyen ancak aynı dönemde yazılan *Ahval-i Sultan Mehemmed* adlı metin de Bayezid Paşa'nın teşvikiyle yazılmış olabilir.

On altıncı yüzyılda, Osmanlı saray çevrelerinde yaygın olan yazma hamiliği, Emine Fetvacı'nın tabiriyle “bir ‘imaj yaratma’ davranışı haline geldi ve kendini zengin, kültürlü ve padişaha faydalı bir kul olarak tanıtmanın bir aracı işlevi gördü”.⁸⁹ Bayezid Paşa'ya yapılan övgüler bağlamında ele alındığında, *Halîlnâme*'nin on altıncı yüzyılda yaygınlaşan ‘imaj yaratma’ davranışının erken bir örneği olduğu değerlendirilebilir. Yine de, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in en güvendiği isimlerin başında gelen Bayezid Paşa'nın, on altıncı yüzyılın sürekli değişen güç dengeleri içinde kendi pozisyonunu korumayı amaçlayan saray eliti benzeri bir ‘imaj yaratma’ eğiliminde olup olmadığını ya da buna ihtiyaç duyup duymadığını anlayabilmek için dönemin yönetici sınıfındaki diğer figürlerle ilişkilerini irdelemek gerekmektedir.

Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in diğer iki veziri İbrahim Paşa ve Hacı İvaz Paşa'nın, Bayezid Paşa'nın sultan neznindeki konumunu kıskandıkları değerlendirilmektedir.⁹⁰ Nitekim, Aşıkpaşazade, İbrahim Paşa ve Hacı İvaz Paşa'nın, sultanın ölümünün ardından patlak veren Düzmece Mustafa olayı sırasında, “*Rumili'nin beglerbegisi sensün şimdiye degin balını sen yidiün, arusun dahı sen söyündür*” çıkışını yaparak Bayezid Paşa'nın ölümüyle sonuçlanacak olan sürecin hazırlayıcısı olduklarını ima etmektedir.⁹¹ Bayezid Paşa ile rekabet halinde oldukları anlaşılan İbrahim Paşa ve

89 Emine Fetvacı, *Sarayın İmgeleri Osmanlı Sarayının Gözüyle Resimli Tarih*, çev. Nurettin Elhüseyni, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Yayınları, 2011), s. 19.

90 Taneri, s. 243; Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tâcü't-Tevârih II*, s. 124; Solak-zâde, s. 190.

91 Aşık Paşazade, s. 368.

Hacı İvaz Paşa'nın, kendi faaliyetlerinin övüldüğü *Halîlnâme* benzeri bir yazma eser girişiminde bulduklarına yönelik herhangi bir bilgi yoktur. Mimari bağlamında ise bir rekabetten söz edilebilir. Yalnızca şairleri desteklemekle kalmayıp, yapı ustalarını da istihdam ederek Osmanlı mimarlık tarihi içinde kendine özel bir yer edinen Bayezid Paşa, özellikle Çelebi Sultan Mehmed dönemi yönetici sınıfının mimari ile fazlasıyla içli dışlı olan bir diğer önemli figürü Hacı İvaz Paşa ile bu alanda bir rekabet içindeymiş gibi görünmektedir.⁹² Osmanlı mimarları ve yapı ustalarının Hassa Mimarlar Ocağı altında toplanmasından önce, kendine ait bir inşaat ekibine sahip olduğu anlaşılan Bayezid Paşa'nın, kendisi de bir mimar olan rakibi Hacı İvaz Paşa'dan geri kalmak istemediği ileri sürülebilir.

Öte yandan, Bayezid Paşa'nın, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed dönemi Osmanlı ortamı için sıra dışı görünen entelektüel vizyonu farklı geleneklerden etkilenmektedir. Şairlerden müzisyenlere ve yapı ustalarına uzanan geniş çevresiyle Bayezid Paşa, özellikle Germiyanoglu kültür dairesinden beslenmekle birlikte, Rönesans İtalyası ve Timurlu kültür merkezlerinin sanat hamisi elitini andırmaktadır. Germiyanoglu sarayı çevrelerinde süregelen sanat ve kültür hamiliği, Yıldırım Bayezid döneminden itibaren Osmanlı elitini sanat hamiliği bakımından etkisi altına almış,⁹³ Osmanlı klasik şiirinin temellerini atan, dönemin Şeyhoğlu Mustafa,⁹⁴ Ahmed-i Dâî,⁹⁵ Şeyhî ve Ahmedî gibi önemli şairler Germiyanoglu kültür ortamından ye-

92 Mimarlık ve sanat tarihi literatüründe, Hacı İvaz Paşa'nın Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Külliyesi'nin mimarı olduğu kabul edilmektedir. Hacı İvaz Paşa'yı mimar ve banî kişiliği bakımından ele alan geniş bir monografi: Mustafa Beyazıt, *Hacı İvaz Paşa'nın Vakıf Eserleri ve Mimari Faaliyetleri* (Yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi), (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2009).

93 Germiyanoglu sarayındaki kültür ortamı hakkında detaylı bilgi için bakınız: İnalçık, *Has-bağçede Aş u Tarab Nedimler Şâirler Mutribler*, s. 97-148.

94 Germiyanoglu idarecisi Süleyman Şah'ın sarayında nişancılık, defterdarlık ve musahiplik görevlerini üstelenen Şeyhoğlu, onun ölümünün ardından Yıldırım Bayezid'in ve daha sonra oğlu Emir Süleyman'ın hizmetinde bulunmuştur. Eserleri arasında Hürşid ü Ferahşâd, *Marzubân-nâme*, *Kâbûs-nâme*, *Kenzül-Küberâ* ve *Mebekkül-ümerâ* yer almaktadır. Ayrıca Taberî Tarihi'ni tercüme etmiştir [İnalçık, *Has-bağçede Aş u Tarab Nedimler Şâirler Mutribler*, s. 99-101; Ahmet Atilla Şentürk, *Osmanlı Şiir Antolojisi*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), s. 1-2].

95 Kütahya'nın Süleyman Şah'ın kızının çeyizi olarak Osmanlılara bırakıldığı dönemde kentin kadısı olan Ahmed-i Dâî, Emir Süleymani Çelebi Sultan Mehmed ve II. Murad'ın hizmetinde bulunmuştur. *Çengnâme*, *'Ukûdül-cevâhir*, *Tezkiretü'l-evliyâ*, *Câmasb-nâme*, *Vasiyyet-i Nüşrevân* adlı eserlerinin yanı sıra Attâr'ın *Tezkiretü'l-evliya*, Nâsır-ı Tusî'nin *Sî Fasl fi't-takvim*, Semerkandî'nin *Tefsiri* gibi tercümeleri bulunmaktadır [İnalçık, *Has-bağçede Aş u Tarab Nedimler Şâirler Mutribler*, s. 106-112; Şentürk, s. 14-15].

tişmiştir. Bayezid Paşa'yı etkileyen diğer bir kaynak, Ankara Savaşı'nın ardından Osmanlı kültür ve sanatını bir yüzyıldan fazla süre etkilemiş olan Timurlu ortamı olmalıdır.⁹⁶ Örneğin, Osmanlı ortamında şairlerin korunması geleneği Timurlu pratiklerine paralel olarak yerleşmiş olmalıdır. Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, Farsça yazan mahlas sahibi şairlerin Yıldırım Bayezid zamanında Timur ile Anadolu'ya geldiğini, bundan önce şairlere İran'da rağbet edildiğini ve Osmanlı ortamında ilgi gösterilmediğini belirtmektedir.⁹⁷ Bu bağlamda, Osmanlıların Timurluların izinden gittiği ileri sürülebilir.⁹⁸ On beşinci yüzyıl sonlarında *Tazkira al-Şu'ara* isimli bir şair antolojisi hazırlayan Timurlu edebiyatçısı Devletşah Samarkandî, Timur'un torunu ve aynı zamanda Bayezid Paşa'nın çağdaşı olan Baysungur Mirza şairleri himaye ettiğinden şu sözlerle bahsetmektedir:

“Hüner sahibi olma ve hüner sahiplerini korumasıyla dünyada meşhur oldu. Yazı ve şiir onun zamanında çok parladı ve güzelleşti. Onun bu şöhretini işiten etraf-taki âlimler ve şairler kalkıp huzuruna geldiler. Onun kütüphanesinde kırk tane hattat ve kâtibin çalıştığını söylerler... Hüner sahiplerine çok riayet eder ve şairleri severdi. İyi yaşamaya düşküncü, yanında zarif ve edip nedimler bulundururdu.”⁹⁹

Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin çizdiği Bayezid Paşa portresinin örneğin, Baysungur Mirza ile paralellik gösterdiği görülmektedir.¹⁰⁰ Bayezid Paşa, Timurlu kültür or-

96 Bu etkileşimin sanatsal boyutu üzerine bakınız: Gülru Necipoğlu, “From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles”, *Muqarnas*, VII (1990), s. 136-170; Gülru Necipoğlu, “Word and Image: The serial portraits of Ottoman sultans in comparative perspective”, *The Sultan's Portrait Picturing the House of Osman*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2000), s. 22-61). Özellikle Çelebi Sultan Mehmed ve II. Murad dönemi mimarisinde Timurlu etkileri için: Mustafa Çağhan Keskin, “Siyasi-Kültürel İlişkiler Çerçevesinde Tebrizli Çini Ustalarının Anadolu Yolculuğu (1419-1433)”, *Belleten*, LXXVII, 279 (Ankara 2013), s. 445-465.

97 “*Ta Bâyezid Han zamânına gelince ve Timur Hanla bâz-ı şu'arâ-yı 'Acem ve Nevâî lisânının zurefâsı mülk-i Rûma dâhil olunca sâhib-mahlas kimse var idüğü ma'lûm degüldi. Ammâ bunlar zamânında bâzı kimesne peydâ oldı... Ol târihde râğbet-i eş'âr diyâr-ı 'Acemde idi. Ve bâzâr-ı Rûmiyânda eş'âr-ı eş'âra çendân râğbet ü kıymet yog idi.*” [İsen, s. 101].

98 Timur ve varislerinin kültür-sanat hamiliği için bakınız: Thomas W. Lentz ve Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur And The Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1989).

99 Devletşah, *Şair Tezkireleri (Tezkiretü'ş-Şuarâ)*, çev. Necati Lugal, (İstanbul: Pinhan Yayıncılık, 2011), s. 443. Baysungur Mirza hakkında bakınız: Ali Alparslan, “Baysungur, Gıyâseddin”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, V (Ankara 1992), s. 276-277.

100 Baysungur Mirza'ya eser sunmuş şairlerden bazıları için bakınız: Khwandamir, “Habib al-siyar”, *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art*, ed. W. M. Thackston, (Cambridge,

tamı hakkındaki bilgileri muhtemelen Timurlu coğrafyasından Anadolu'ya göç etmiş kişilerden alıyor olmalıdır. Bunlardan en önemlisi kuşkusuz ailesi Timur tarafından Şam'dan Semerkand'a taşınan, uzun yıllar burada kalan ve Timur'un hayatını konu alan *Acâibu'l-Makdûr Fî Nevâib-i Timûr* adlı bir eser yazan İbn Arabşah'tır.¹⁰¹ 815/1412'den ölümüne kadar Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in yakınındaki isimlerden biri olan İbn Arabşah, sultandan sonra en yetkili kişi olan Bayezid Paşa ile de iletişim halindedir.

Sonuçta, Germiyanoglu ve Timurlu kültür ortamlarından beslendiği anlaşılan geniş bir vizyona sahip olan Bayezid Paşa, entelektüel kişiliği ve sanat hamiliği bakımından özellikle Klasik dönemde bu anlamda kurumsallaşan Osmanlı yönetici elitinin öncül bir örneğidir.

Bayezid Paşa: Vezir, Entelektüel, Sanat Hamisi

Öz ■ Ankara Savaşı sonrasındaki Fetret Dönemi Osmanlı ortamının en önemli figürlerinden olan Bayezid Paşa yalnızca siyasi kariyeri ile değil, aynı zamanda sanat hamiliği ile de öne çıkar. Savaştan sonra Şehzade Mehmed'in Amasya'ya sağ salim ulaşmasını sağlayan Bayezid Paşa, onun kardeşlerini saf dışı bırakarak Osmanlı tahtına geçişinde de önemli rol oynamıştır. Bu karışık dönemin ardından Osmanlı ülkesinin yeniden imarına, mimari etkinliğe katılarak yardım etmiştir. Amasya'da inşa ettirdiği zaviyede bulunan sanatçı kitabeleri, Bayezid Paşa'nın mimari faaliyetlerini çok sayıda farklı mimar ve kendine ait köleler ile yürüttüğünü göstermektedir. Bayezid Paşa yalnızca, yapı ustaları ile değil, şair ve yazarlarla da ilişki içindedir. *Halîlnâme* yazarı Abdülvasi Çelebi, eseri bizzat Bayezid Paşa'nın isteği ve teşvikiyle yazdığını bildirir. Abdülvasi Çelebi'nin aktardıklarına göre, Bayezid Paşa Farsça bilmekte ve edebiyatla fazlasıyla ilgilenmektedir. Tarafından düzenlenen eğlence toplantılarında şairler müzisyenlerle birlikte sanatlarını icra ederler.

Yapı ustaları köleleri olması, şair, yazar ve müzisyenleri çevresine toplaması ile Bayezid Paşa, on beşinci yüzyıl Osmanlı yönetici elitinin entelektüel eğilimlerini ortaya koyan özel bir örnektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bayezid Paşa, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed, Osmanlı Tarihi, Osmanlı Mimarlığı, Osmanlı Edebiyatı, Osmanlı Sanatı, Amasya

Massachusetts: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989), s. 154, 161-162.

101 İbn Arabşah hakkında detaylı bilgi için bakınız: İbrahim Kafesoğlu, "İbn Arabşah", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi (İA)*, V (İstanbul 1987), s. 698-701.

Ek:

Der medh-i Bayezid Beg Ebbed Allahu Devletehu¹⁰²

*Bu gün bir kana dahı başlayalum
Hünerde kimyalar aşlayalum
Bulalum girü kim sırr ü nihanı
Zer ü sim ile düzelüm cihanı
Yazalum ab-ı zerrin ile simab
Düzelüm anı kim kibrit-i simab
Birincün çünki pasın götürelüm
Ele bir halis altun getürelüm
Bakırın rengin ağırıcak el-hak
Gümüştür ol heman bittabi' mutlak
Bakır altun gümiştür kimyasuz
Sözüm medhüm ana bil kim riyasuz
Düzelüm çok du'alar ana layık
Ki görsün sevsün imrensün halayık
Senamun medhimün kanın açayın
Du'amı üstine saçu saçayın
Kim oldur şimdi sultan-ı vizaret
Selimü'l-kalb bürhan-ı emaret
Vizaret milketine iftihar ol
Emaret 'izzetine i'tibar ol
Müdebbirdür ki tedbir (i) uş anun
Götürdi zulmini cümle cihanun
Ne Asafbenzedi ana ne Cemşid
Anun tedbiri fikri nur-ı hurşid
Cihan anun (çün) abadan olupdur
Zeman anun için şadan olupdur
İder meyl eylemez 'adli karınca
Süleyman birle gelse bir karınca*

*'Adalet kanıdur zat-ı şerifi
Zulümden kurtarur ol her za'ifi
'Ata vü merhamet cud u haya çok
Anun zatında hergiz kibr kin yok
Müfekkirdür müdebbirdür mubassır
Müzekkirdür mukaddirdür musabbir
Vizaret kaddine cübeddür anun
Vezir-i serveridür bu cihanun
Yigane Bayezid Beg kan-ı devlet
Yaraşukdur ana erkan-ı devlet
Kim etegine yapışdıysa anun
Bu dem farkına basdı farkadanun
Kimün kim bir kez elin tutdı ol şah
Anı devlete kayim itdi Allah
Kime kim bir nazar kıldı o mahdum
Sa'adetden dahı olmadı mahrum
Kimün kim bir kez ol yakdı çerağın
Kılur dinlenmeden devlet yaragın
Niçeler devletinde buldı devlet
Niçeler işiginde buldı 'izzet
Cihanun oldı mutlak dest-giri
Çalap rahmet yaratmış ol emiri
Bu ben miskin (ü) biçare du'acı
Sözi tatlu velikin bahtı acı
Bilinmez yirde düşmişdür ziyana
Meta'um fasid ü ben fasidane
Menakıb yüzine bakmazdı kimse*

102 *Halilnâme*'de Bayezid Paşa için yapılan methiye bölümü, Abdülvasi Çelebi, s. 57-65.

*Hüner kandilini yakmazdı kimse
 Cevahir toprağa düşüp yaturdı
 Kimesne bilmez idi ol götürdi
 Bu gönlüm nurını ol kıldı ruşen
 Ki bitdi hatırumda uşbu gül-şen
 Çü toprakdan götürdi cevheri ol
 Bilürdi buldı uşbu geheri ol
 Hüner bazarınınun gevher-şinası
 Sa'adet kanınınun cevher-şinası
 Bu gün oldur ki 'akıl kamil oldur
 Cihan mülkine 'adil fazıl oldur
 Du'alar ma'dininin bir bir açalum
 Senalar gevherin ana saçalum
 Kabul olsun du'alar eyledüm çok
 Güle bülbül gibi söz eyledüm çok
 Kılısam ölince bu du'ayı
 Ana çok medh ü çok dürlü senayı
 Çalabum devletin payende kılsun
 Cihan beglerin ana bende kılsun
 Hemişe devlet ü 'izz ü sa'adet
 İrag olmasun andan bu sa'adet
 Yavuz gözden irag itsün Hak anı
 Yaman dilden beri olsun zamanı
 Bu devlet kapısından ırmasun Hak
 Bu sa'adetten anı ayırmasun Hak
 Anun fikri ile oldı il 'imaret
 Kapusunda ırılmasun emaret
 Cihan oldukça sağ olsun vücudu
 İrişsün 'aleme in'am u cudi
 Bu devlet işiginden olmasun dur
 Du'amuz gice gündüz ana budur*

Şi'rdür¹⁰³

*Çalabum (anı) ber-hurdar kılsun
 Ana baht u sa'adet yar yar kılsun
 Karar itsün hemişe devlet üzre
 Cihan kullığına ikrar kılsun
 Cihan begleri anun kapusunda
 Hemişe turup istihzar kılsun
 Ana erzani olsun varı dare
 Hasudun varı her dem dar kılsun
 Anı sevenleri şad eylesün Hak
 Anı sevmeyeni fi'n-nar kılsun
 Bu 'Abdülvasi'ün medh ü senasın
 Ana her sa'at (ü) her bar kılsun"*

103 Abdülvasi Çelebi, s. 65-69.

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Two 15th Century Ottoman Sufi Mysteries – An Historiographical Essay

Part II: The Case of Ümmi Kemal*

Bill Hickman**

XV. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Sufiliğinde İki Esrarlı Nokta – Tarih Yazıcılığı Açısından Bir Deneme
Bölüm II: Ümmi Kemal Örneği

Öz ■ Onbeşinci yüzyıl Anadolu tekke edebiyatında Ümmi Kemal iyi bilinen bir şairdir. Ancak *Divan*'nda geçen isimler haricinde hayatı hakkında pek az bilgi vardır. Pek detaylı olmasa da *Divan*'ndan Safevi tarikatı mensuplarıyla olan ilgisi anlaşılır. Kemal'in yaşadığı devire yakın menkıbevi kaynaktaki bir hikaye onun katledildiğini ima eder ve sonraki biyografilere temel oluşturur. Bu menkıbevi kaynak yeterince incelenmemiştir. 2008'de Hayati Yavuzer, Kemal'in hayatı ve *Divan* hakkında uzun yıllar boyu bu konudaki esas anlatı olarak kalacak kapsamlı bir kitap yayımlamıştır. Yine de Kemal'in hayatının sonu hakkındaki belirsizlik devam etmektedir. Bu yazıda, makalenin birinci kısmında olduğu gibi (Birinci Kısım, "Eşrefoğlu'nun Sonu Ne Oldu?") birincil kaynakların pek de ipucu vermeyen dilinin ötesine geçip bir şair olarak Kemal'in ününün yaygınlığına rağmen neden tarihi bir şahsiyet olarak karanlıkta kaldığını incelemeyi hedefliyorum. Bir 15. yy. eseri olan *Anonim Velayetname*, Ümmi Kemal'i yine ünlü ama karanlıkta kalmış bir başka şahsiyet olan Sultan Şücaüddin'le ilişkilendirir. Makalenin sonundaki ekte *Anonim Velayetname*'nin bu kısmının İngilizce çevirisi ve açıklamalar verilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ümmi Kemal, Sultan Şücaüddin, Hayati Yavuzer, Osmanlı mutasavvif şairler, menâkıbnâmeler

* The following essay was originally intended as a chapter of a book, tentatively titled and prematurely announced as "Two Tekke Poets". That project did not come to fruition. Despite the lapse of time this essay benefitted from the comments of V. L. Menage and the late Andreas Tietze, both of whom read a draft of that chapter. And thanks to Gary Leiser and Ralph Jaekel for their comments on this current version. Remaining errors are my own.

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{In the first part of this essay I examined the life of the 15th century Anatolian Turkish poet-sheikh, Eşrefoğlu Rumi.¹ I argued there that the account of his life, a work of hagiography first substantially sketched in the early 17th century and now often repeated, does not hold up under serious historical analysis and cannot be taken at face value throughout. In particular, the end of Eşrefoğlu's life is a mystery; sinister stories from more than one source, although persuasive, have not yet been adequately explained. If, as seems likely, Eşrefoğlu's life ended violently, that explanation is probably to be found in his extravagant expressions of spiritual ecstasy. And the "chill" of the next century, dating from the start of the Ottoman-Safavid struggle and deepened by a strident domestic reactionary movement, may help explain what was, in effect, a "cover-up" by biographers and hagiographers, beginning in the 16th century. Traces of that cover up have persisted into modern times.}

Now in Part II, I suggest that a similar situation may well obtain in the case of Ümmi Kemal, one of Eşrefoğlu's close contemporaries. Almost nothing is known about Kemal's life beyond names found in his poetry. A single hagiographic anecdote from a near contemporary source points to a violent death and informs the earliest accounts. That source has never been fully utilized, however. Other questions about the poet's life remain unanswered. In 2008 Hayati Yavuzer published the results of his comprehensive research, a massive volume including a definitive examination of Kemal's life and an edition of his *divan*, as well as an analytical and descriptive catalogue of the poetry.² Yavuzer's well-documented book should remain the "standard account" for a very long time. However, as in Part I, through this historiographic re-examination of the life of a major figure of the landscape of 15th century Anatolian Turkish sufi culture, I try to shift the emphasis away from the establishment of facts to an understanding of how and why an admittedly very skeletal "biography" developed as it did.

1 See my "Two 15th Century Ottoman Sufi Mysteries; An Historiographical Essay. Part I. What happened to Eşrefoğlu?" Published in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, vol. 46 (2015), pp. 1-42.

2 Hayati Yavuzer, *Kemal Ümmi Divanı (İnceleme-Metin)*, Bolu: Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi, 2008. The book does not appear to be widely available in the United States and I have seen no reviews of it. See also my [William C. Hickman], "Who Was Ummi Kemal?," *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi [Beşeri Bilimler]* v. 4-5 (1976-77), 57-82. The article is unfortunately marred by numerous misprints. I saw the late Muzaffer Akkuş's *Kemal Ümmi Divanı* (Niğde, 2007) too late to comment on it here. However, he has little to add to the discussion of the poet's life.

The Earliest Accounts

There is a curious irony at the heart of the story of the life of Ümmi Kemal³, an irony that persists in the telling of it through the centuries. His inclusion in one of the oldest Ottoman collections of poets' lives acknowledged his stature as one of the most creative figures associated with the *tekke* culture of 15th century Anatolia. Yet soon thereafter, Kemal's name disappeared, for centuries, from later works of the same genre--and apparently from the historical record altogether. At the same time, in the world of popular religious culture he emerged with the reputation of a respected sheikh with a number of his own followers. "Rediscovered" as a major poet only in the early 20th century⁴, Kemal has now, with Yavuzer's book, been restored to the place of distinction which he has all along deserved. Still, Kemal is nearly unique among Ottoman poets, for reasons not properly acknowledged, as I will try to show. But how to explain these vagaries of his reputation?

Before answering that question--and substantiating my claims--a review of the very little that is known of Kemal's life is in order.

In fact, Kemal's achievements as a poet were never entirely forgotten. Many copies of his collected verse output (*divan*) are known--attesting to popularity throughout the centuries.⁵ Some of his poems were also anthologized by urbane readers--in collective volumes (*mecmu'a*) today highly regarded by scholars for their reflection of literary standards and taste long-ago. These miscellanies are a further sign of his appeal.⁶ Finally, Kemal is perhaps the only contemporary of

3 His given name seems to have been Ismail.

4 Mehmet Fuat Köprülü described Kemal as "one of the most remarkable mystical poets of this period [15th century]" in his contribution on "Ottoman Turkish Literature" in *EL*, v. 4, pp. 938-59. That essay was based on his "Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Tekamülüne Umumi bir Bakış", *Yeni Türk Mecmuası*, v. 1, no. 4 and no. 5 (1933), pp. 277-92 and 375-94. (For Kemal see p. 382.) Those articles were subsequently appended to the re-edition of Köprülü's *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Istanbul, 1980). Köprülü reiterated that assessment of Kemal in *Eski Şairlerimiz* (Istanbul: 1931). For a poem by Kemal in English see my [William Hickman], "An Allegorical Poem of a Tekke Poet", Raymond Lifchez (ed.), *The Dervish Lodge* (Berkeley: University of California, 1992), p. 202-208.

5 Yavuzer identified 42 manuscript copies. See also my earlier [William C. Hickman], "On the Manuscripts of the Divan of Ümmi Kemal", *Journal of Turkish Studies* v. 3 (1979), 197-207.

6 See Yavuzer, p. 88, for six such manuscripts. The second oldest of these anthologies is dated 1534/940H; for it see Muharrem Ergin, "Cami-ul Meani'deki Türkçe Şiirler," *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* v.3/ iii-iv (1949), pp. 539-69. Kemal's poems are among the most numerous found in the volume.

Eşrefoğlu whose name is found in the latter's *Müzekki'n-nüfus*.⁷

Still, Kemal's *Divan* was never printed in Ottoman times, an indication that perceived readership was insufficient in the 19th (or 20th) century to justify the expense of mechanical reproduction.⁸

The oldest source for Kemal's life from a writer who may be identified with the Ottoman elite is the *Tezkiretü'ş-şuara* of the poet-biographer Latifi, the first recension of which was completed in 1546.⁹ Latifi's "facts", however, are meager in the extreme: Kemal was from Larende in the province of Karaman.¹⁰ Latifi concluded his account with a sampling of five lines from a (much longer) poem.¹¹ What makes Latifi's notice intriguing, though, is an anecdote which he says he "heard from the *dedes*", evidence that it derived from circles outside the elite, perhaps the Bektashis. Latifi wrote:

7 Eşrefoğlu's *Müzekki'n-nüfus* is a book intended for would-be sufis. See Abdullah Uçman's edition (İstanbul: İnsan, 2007), p. 440. In a section titled "An explanation of *tevbe*, *telkin*, *varidat*, *halvet* and *çile*", Eşrefoğlu quoted a single couplet of Kemal's poetry. For the full poem: Yavuzer, no.122, pp. 726-27. Could Eşrefoğlu have known Kemal? Had their paths crossed somewhere? Had he seen a copy of Kemal's poetry? Might he actually have owned the book?

8 The assertion that Kemal's *Divan* was published in Bukhara has not been substantiated. M.F. Köprülü, without providing more detail, stated that Kemal's poems spread to the Kazan Turks, by way of Crimea, and from there reached the Bashkurts and Özbeks. A. Zeki Velidi Togan had written that Kemal's poems, like the works of the Yazıcıoğlu brothers, had spread to Turkish Central Asia by the early 19th century. See his *Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve Yakın Tarihi* (İstanbul, 1942/47), p. 488. It seems likely that Köprülü must have based his information on his contemporary, Togan. Contrary to Yavuzer (p. 69, n. 269), and some earlier writers, Togan does **not** state that Kemal's poetry was published in Bukhara in 1870.

9 For the Ottoman edition: Ahmet Cevdet (ed.), *Tezkire-i Latifî* (İstanbul, 1314), pp. 286-87. For a modern Turkish version: Mustafa İsen, *Latifî Tezkiresi* (Ankara: TC Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990), 270-71. Latifi's notice likely prompted E.J.W. Gibb (and von Hammer before him) to include Kemal in his *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. 1 (London, 1900), pp. 413-14. Latifi's comments on Kemal did not change through several recensions of his work. (My thanks to Walter Andrews for providing a scan of the relevant passage from the earliest manuscript copy of Latifi's text.)

10 Larende: now the city of Karaman, on the northern slope of the Taurus Mountains about 80 miles southwest of Konya. Latifi's entry is under the name "Kemal (-i) Ümmi". Clearly the poet was **not** "illiterate"; the word *ümmi* should be understood only as a reflection of modesty. For a discussion of the issue, in the case of Yunus Emre, see Emine Gürsoy-Naskali, "Yunus Emre ve Edebiyat Tarihçileri", *Yunus Emre Sempozyumu. Bildiriler* (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 1992), pp. 41-46.

11 For the text of the entire poem see Yavuzer, pp. 733-36 #127. (For Gibb's translation see *HOP* v. 1, pp. 413-4. The *beyts* quoted by Latifi diverge slightly from the text given by Yavuzer.

“The said Kemal-i Ümmi went with Nesimi to the *tekke* of Sultan Şüca and sacrificed a useless ram belonging to the sheikh. Greatly angered by their act, Baba Sultan [Şüca] put a razor in front of Nesimi and a noose in front of the aforementioned [Kemal], thus indicating [the manner] of their passage from this world.”¹²

Dryly and without comment, Latifi added: “In fact, they flayed Nesimi and they hanged [Kemal].”

A few decades later the historian Mustafa Ālī (d. 1600) included in his account of the Ottomans, among the poets of the reign of Murad II (1421-51), a short notice on Kemal. Without mentioning names, Ālī wrote that Kemal “travelled to Iran and served several sufi masters”. He added: “And **some say** [Kemal] too was executed for revealing [forbidden] secrets.” He ended his notice by quoting from the same poem that Latifi had excerpted.¹³

A century and more after the prime of Kemal’s life, then, the man was well known--and his poetry respected well enough.¹⁴ Yet his name had sinister associations, not clearly explained. Kemal later disappeared from the historical record until well into the 18th century. A hint, only, of Latifi’s anecdote then re-emerged in the early 20th century, in the work of Bursalı Tahir Bey. He concluded his brief biographical narrative with the line: “It is written in the *Tezkire* of Latifi that he had a friendship with Nesimi.”¹⁵ But he did not elaborate.

12 For Sultan Şüca see below, n. 17. The Hurufi poet Nesimi was executed in Aleppo, most likely in 1417. Despite his extreme views Nesimi remained highly regarded as a poet for centuries. He has his own place in Latifi’s *Tezkire* where the biographer was more forthcoming about his life than he was about Kemal’s. (See Isen, 331-32; in Cevdet’s edition, 332-33.) For the salient biographical details see: Kathleen R.F. Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesimi Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi* (The Hague: Mouton, 1972).

13 See Ālī’s *Künh al-Ahbar*, vol. 4/2 (Istanbul, 1869), 243 [emphasis added]. See also below, n. 45.

14 That Latifi included Kemal at all is noteworthy: he excluded from his collection many other poets identified with the same *tekke* culture, Eşrefoğlu among them, for example. For more on the popularity of Kemal’s *Divan* see my “Toward editing Ottoman *tekke* poetry” (forthcoming in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*).

15 For Tahir Bey’s notice on Kemal see his *Osmanlı Müellifleri* (Istanbul, 1333 [1914]) v. 1, 152-53. Cf. the modern Turkish edition by A. Fikri Yavuz and İsmail Özen, v. 1 (Istanbul: Meral 1971), p. 141-42.

Latifi's Anecdote

Orhan Köprülü many years ago revealed the probable source of Latifi's anecdote: an anonymous hagiographic collection of tales, *Vilayetname-i Sultan Şücaüddin* ("Legends of Sultan Şücaüddin").¹⁶ Like all works of its sort, the *Vilayetname* aims to elevate its subject above all others.¹⁷ Much longer than Latifi's lines suggest, the story of Kemal and Nesimi in the *Vilayetname* is meant to cast those two in a decidedly negative light in comparison to the sheikh of the book's title.¹⁸ Nesimi is described as arrogant and self centered. Kemal is cast in an only slightly more ambiguous role: after the disrespectful slaughtering of the sheikh's ram, Kemal exhibited remorse and desired to become a follower of Şücaüddin. But the latter rebuffed him. In the account in the *Vilayetname* the guilty pair are joined by Kaygusuz Abdal who opposed the other men's killing of the ram. One of the best known figures of the movement of "deviant renunciation", the Abdal's favorable portrayal in this story is entirely in keeping with the *Vilayetname's* origin in the culture of that diverse community. By the end of the anecdote, the separate, violent deaths of both Nesimi and Kemal are recorded, although the explanations

16 Köprülü discussed the text in his "Vilayet-name-i Sultan Şücaüddin", *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 17 (1972), 177-84, largely unchanged from a chapter of his unpublished 1951 Istanbul University thesis. His discussion was based on a manuscript in his own library, and included a truncated transcription of the text of the anecdote: p. 178, footnote 3. Köprülü did not actually identify the *Vilayetname* as the source of Latifi's anecdote.

17 For a survey of the genre see A(hmet) Yaşar Ocak, *Türk Halk İnançlarında ve Edebiyatında Evliya Menkabeleri* (Ankara, 1984); reprinted as *Kültür Tarihi Kaynağı olarak Menakıbnameler* (Ankara: TTK, 2010). The "hero" of the book is known by various names: Sultan Şücaüddin, Şücaeddin Baba or Sultan Varlığı, a man who died sometime in the first half of the 15th century. For him see Haşim Şahin, "Şücaeddin Veli" in *TDVİA* v. 39, pp. 247-8. A complex of buildings erected in his name survives near the town of Seyyitgazi. A handsome türbe, dating only from 1515-6, has been restored. For the buildings see Zeynep Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), esp. pp. 126-28. Neither she nor other recent writers (including Şahin) have explained the assertions (with photographs) of Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi of material remains (including a tombstone) ascribed to "Şeyh Şüca' Karamani" in Edirne. See his (*Osmanlı Mimarisinde*) *Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri 806-55 [1403-51] II.* (İstanbul, 1972), p. 421. These remains support the statements by Mecdi that Sultan Murad II. had a *zaviye* and *mescid* (later converted into a *cami* by Suleyman) built in that city, structures known in that writer's time. (See his *Hada'ikuş-Şaka'ik* [Constantinople, 1853], p. 94-5.) Taşköprüzade himself had said only that Şeyh Şücaüddin Karamani was among those in the circle of Şeyh Hamid (on whom see below). Evliya Çelebi mentions, in passing only, a "Şeyh Şüca zaviyesi" in Edirne, without further identifying the sheikh. See Seyit Ali Kahraman & Yücel Dağlı (ed.), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 1999), p. 268.

18 For a translation of the entire anecdote see the Addendum.

offered are, in each case unrelated to the incident involving the ram.

Whether the anecdote depicts an actual meeting of the four men or is purely apocryphal is irrelevant here.¹⁹ It is well-established fact that Nesimi was executed on account of views unacceptable to the religious leadership [*ulema*] of his time and place (early 15th century Aleppo/Cairo). Kemal's death, however, has not been mentioned elsewhere--except in Ottoman sources apparently drawing upon this hagiographic tale. Why the *Vilayetname* narrative would suggest a bad ending for Kemal's life, if he did not in fact meet up with it, is inexplicable to me. I see no reason therefore to disavow the ending to the story. (Latifi affirmed it, after all, and Ālī probably also.) Yet Fuad Köprülü, in his enthusiastic, early discussion of Kemal, omitted altogether any reference to his death. And literary historians since then have paid surprisingly little attention to Latifi's remark; the anecdote from the *Vilayetname* has gone largely unexamined.²⁰

Yavuzer scrutinized every relevant source, narrative and archival (more than those I have just reviewed) in his painstaking efforts to sketch Kemal's life. But he ends his discussion of the poet-sheikh's death without expressing an opinion as to the validity of the anecdote.

The *Vilayetname*-i Sultan Şücaüddin

The prose *Vilayetname*, which celebrates the spiritual prowess of Şücaüddin, survives in at least six manuscript copies. Besides the one owned by Orhan

19 The historicity of the story is sometimes questioned, presuming a death date for our poet of 1475 (see below), on the grounds that Kemal would have been very young at the time of his associating with Nesimi. Given the uncertainty of that date, the objection seems moot. (See also Yavuzer's comment on the matter, pp. 21-22.)

20 Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı omitted any reference to the anecdote in his *Divan Şiiri. XV-XVI. Yüzyıllar* (Varlık, 1954), p. 11. In their semi-scholarly histories of Turkish literature, Banarlı, Güzel, Karaalioglu and Kocatürk made no reference either to Latifi's anecdote or to a violent death. Bombaci ignored Kemal altogether, both in his *Storia della Letteratura turca* and in Irene Melikoff's French translation of a revised text of his book. The unidentified author of the entry on Kemal in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi* [Istanbul: Dergah, 1982] quoted Latifi's story without comment, as did Abdullah Uçman in *Büyük Türk Klasikleri* v. 3 [Istanbul: Ötügen, 1986]. Among several authors who mention Kemal in the recent scholarly and comprehensive *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, edited by the late Talat Halman, only Ocak makes reference to a possible violent death ([Istanbul: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006], vol. 1, p. 600). The sole author who has embraced the story without question is Cemil Çiftçi, *Maktul Şairler* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 1997), 55-61.

Köprülü, a copy in the Hacı Bektaş Library served as the basis for a transcription published in 1984 by Şükrü Elçin, scholar of Turkish folk literature.²¹ A copy in the Ankara İl Halk Kütüphanesi was paraphrased by the amateur historian D. Ali Gülcan in 1987 (That was the version used by Yavuzer).²² Nejat Birdoğan published another paraphrase of the text in 1996, apparently following a copy in his own possession²³. Ayşe Yıldız, published a more careful transcription in 2006 following yet another copy.²⁴ Lastly, a copy in the Kastamonu İl Halk Kütüphanesi is cited by Haşim Şahin in his article, “Şücaüddin Veli” in *TDVIA*.²⁵ The above writers’ descriptions of the manuscripts they used are inadequate, however, and it is not certain that some are not simply recent copies of others. Despite the repeated publication of this work, no facsimile has appeared. Some readings remain uncertain²⁶, and the identity of the author of the *Vilayetname* remains unknown.²⁷

Early on in his story of Nesimi, Kaygusuz Abdal and Kemal, the author of the *Vilayetname* wrote that Kemal had a particular “skill” [*hüner*]: whenever he

21 See his “Bir Şeyh Şücaüddin Baba Velayetnamesi”, *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları* [= Necati Akdar Armağanı], v. 22 (1984), 199-218. Elçin’s transcription was the first complete publication of the text.

22 In his (self-published) *Karaman Velilerinden Şeyh Ali-yüs Semerkandi ve Kemal Ümmi* (Bolu, 1987), pp. 51-55.

23 See his *Alevi Kaynakları-1* (İstanbul: Kaynak, 1996), 142-45.

24 Yıldız’s transcription appeared in her “Şücaaddin Baba Vilayetnamesi”, *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi* no. 37 (Ankara, 2006), 49-97. The transcription is based on a 1938 (!) copy of an older manuscript, not well described, and of uncertain location. Her text is very close (but not identical) to the one published by Elçin. While her version of the text is the best currently available, Yıldız nonetheless was apparently unaware of the work of either Birdoğan or Gülcan and did not make use of either in her reading of problematic passages.

25 *TDVIA*, v. 39 [2010], pp. 247-48. No transcription of it has been published.

26 In his 1984 survey of the *menakıb* genre, Ocak noted Köprülü’s manuscript and the one in the Hacı Bektaş Library--but made no reference to Elçin’s publication.

27 Orhan Köprülü stated (p. 177) that the author of the *Vilayetname* was unknown, based on the text in his possession. Elçin concurred in that opinion. Ocak, despite using the same manuscript as Elçin, claims (p. 50) the *Vilayetname* was written by one “Esiri”, on the basis of a name found at the end of one of the verse *bikayes* which follow the prose text. Elçin apparently did not consider the verses to be part of the original work. Gülcan made no mention of an author. For the verse passages see Birdoğan, 149-72 (Esiri’s name appears on p. 156). I have not seen any of the manuscript copies but, like Elçin, believe the earliest text of the *Vilayetname* was in prose, the verse passages having been added at a later date, perhaps by several different individuals, the earliest being “Esiri”.

came upon a city he would raid it [*basardı*] and thus find food and drink to last him a week. He also behaved [badly] as if he were the master [*beg*] of the place. After seven days, so the story goes, neither city nor bazaar remained (presumably because of his depredations). The narrator added, offhandedly, “(And) Kemal used to say ‘I am God’.”²⁸

Echoing Husayn ibn Mansur al-Hallaj, these Turkish words would almost certainly have caused Kemal serious problems, if not cost him his life. Kemal’s poetry, however, hardly bears out the *Vilayetname*’s assertion (“[he] used to say”). In his exhaustive cataloging of Kemal’s *Divan*, Yavuzer found only two couplets with explicit reference to Hallaj. And only one of them includes the Arabic sentence, there put into the mouth of the Baghdad martyr himself, so not literally the Turkish poet’s own assertion.²⁹

In his *Tezkire*, Latifi had introduced Kemal’s verses with the words: “He was the author of couplets about the transitoriness of the world in the spirit of the *babas*; he was the source of words in the dervish-style.”³⁰ With his Turkish rhyming prose sentence was Latifi only aiming at stylistic affect, or with his reference to “the *babas*” was Latifi hinting that Kemal had uttered words “beyond the pale”? If nothing else, the biographer was hinting at poetic inspiration from other than Establishment sources.

In the *Vilayetname* text, Kemal’s words (“I am God.”) are not presented as the cause of his execution. They do, however, provide a reference for the sheikh’s sarcastic comment to his followers, shortly before the arrival on the scene of Kemal, Nesimi and Kaygusuz: “the Gods are coming.”³¹

28 The text reads “Ben tanrıyım.” However those Turkish words would have resonated with the reader of the *Vilayetname* centuries ago, today they immediately recall the (Arabic) words, *ana’l-haqq*, spoken by the mystic Husayn ibn Mansur al-Hallaj, executed in Baghdad in 309/922. The sentence has been suppressed in Elçin’s transcription where “...” fills the space between the preceding and following sentences. Nor does it appear in the rendering of the text by Gülcan. (It is therefore absent from the summary given by Yavuzer who relied on Gülcan and who was apparently unaware of Elçin’s transcription.) Birdoğan’s paraphrase includes the words, as does Yıldız’s transcription, but neither writer offers any comment.

29 Yavuzer, p. 382.

30 *Fenaya müteallik babayane abyatı ve dervişane kelimatı vardır* [emphasis added].

31 Further on in the *Vilayetname*’s narration, Nesimi is directed to Aleppo by the sheikh. His behavior, on arriving in that city, is again described as haughty: he told the people who met him to “Take God’s horse.”

Later Sources

Yavuzer found a single, previously overlooked source from the 18th century which pointed to the same outcome for Kemal: *Silku'l-Le'ali* by Ahmed Hasib Efendi ("Mü'minzade"), a minor member of the 18th century *ulema*. His poem about the era of Mehmed II drew heavily on works by major Establishment figures like Ali and Taşköprüzade. But in a brief passage devoted to Kemal, Mü'minzade stated that some of the poet's words were contrary to the sharia and that he had a fate like that of Hallaj.³² Without quoting Kemal, Mü'minzade's verses reinforce the insinuation of the *Vilayetname*.

After Latifi's *Tezkere* and Āli's *Künh al-Akhbar*, (and Mü'minzade's *Silk*), Kemal's name turns up in no non-hagiographic source until later in the 18th century, by which time it is safe to assume that writers based their comments on hearsay or local traditions of questionable reliability. Principal among such writers are Hüseyin "Ayvansarayı" (d.1201/1787) and Süleyman Sadeddin "Müstakimzade" (d. 1202/1788). They wrote, respectively:

"The sheikh Kemal Ümmi, his name is İsmail. He is a Karamani. He was a *tarikât* brother [*pirdaş*] of Sheikh Cemal-i Halveti. According to the chronogram "*şefkat*" ("compassion") he died in the year 880 (1475). He is buried in his dervish lodge in Karaman, his native land [*vatani*]."³³

And,

"Kemal Ümmi, the sheikh İsmail, buried in Mudurnu, a follower of the sheikh 'Ali the Halveti."³⁴

Apart from the discrepancy about Kemal's final resting place, these two writers oddly now describe him as a follower of the Khalveti order and refer to him as a sheikh, with no reference to his poetry. Latifi had made no reference to a *tarikât*,

32 See Yavuzer, 50. On Mü'minzade see Günay Kut's entry in *DIA*: "Ahmed Hasib Efendi" v.2, pp. 87-88. Mü'minzade's *Silk* remains unpublished; I have not seen it.

33 See Ramazan Ekinci and Adem Ceyhan (ed.) Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayı, *Vefayat-i Ayvansarayı* (İstanbul: Buhara, 2013), 163. For the Khalveti Cemal (d. 1484), see Mehmed Taysi, "Cemal-i Halveti", *TDVIA* v. 7, p. 302-3. No earlier source links him with Kemal. Ayvansarayı added to his brief notice two linked couplets supposedly from Kemal's poetry--verses which are not found today in copies of his *Divan*.

34 *Mecellet al-nisab*, Süleymaniye Library, Halet Ef. 628, f. 371b. The further identification of "Ali the Halveti" is unknown--unless Müstakimzade here intended **Hoca** Ali.

and the inclusion of Kemal in his *Tezkire* would have been based on an assessment of the poet's artistry, not on any tarikat affiliation. Furthermore, the anecdote which he summarized portrayed Kemal, not as a follower of what would become one of the most respected sufi orders of the Ottoman state, but rather as a fellow traveller of a man executed for his extreme views.³⁵

Kemal's Tarikat

Nearly a century ago, Fuad Köprülü identified the two men whom Kemal had written about in his poetry: "Sheikh Hamid" and "Hoca Ali". In his *Divan*, Kemal had devoted a *mersiye* (elegy) to the former, and both a *mersiye* and a *medhiye* (eulogy) to the latter.³⁶ Pivotal figures in Kemal's spiritual development, these two men are well known: Ali was the third sheikh in the (family-based) leadership line of the Safavid tarikat (named for Ali's grandfather Sheikh Safiyüddin), the prominent sufi movement dating to the turn of the 14th century and still centered in Ardabil in the 15th. Hamid, sometimes known by "Hamidüddin" but more widely by the nickname "Somuncu Baba", was one of the Hoca's best known Anatolian followers, and himself mentor of Hacı Bayram.³⁷

Köprülü, curiously, had referred to Kemal as "bu halvati derviş". Whether he intended to identify the widely ramified order of the late 15th century and after or only to suggest a preoccupation with the practice of solitary meditation [*halvet*], the characterization seems misplaced. Köprülü was perhaps merely echoing those later writers like Ayvansarayi who used the same term of affiliation. Most historians of Turkish literature have followed this lead.³⁸

35 Latifi's notice on Ümmi Kemal is preceded immediately by another, devoted to a "Kemal-i Halveti", a man who reportedly had links to Hacı Bayram. Might this sequence of entries in Latifi's *Tezkire* have contributed to confusion in later years about Kemal's tarikat association?

36 For the texts of the poems see Yavuzer, pp. 515-22, 524-28 (nos. 24, 25 and 27). The subject of a third elegy (Yavuzer, 525-26, no.26) is unclear. For a partial translation of the eulogy of Hoca Ali see my "Who Was Ümmi Kemal?" p. 64-65.

37 For Sheikh Hamid see Haşim Şahin, "Somuncu Baba" in *TDVİA* v. 37, pp. 377-78. The poems in Hoca Ali's name lend weight to Âli's assertion that Kemal had "travelled to Iran and served several sufi masters."

38 When literary historians have mentioned Kemal's tarikat affiliation at all they have consistently called him a Khalveti. So for example A. Yaşar Ocak, *Türk Halk İnançlarında ve Edebiyatında Evliya Menkabeleri* (Ankara, 1984), p. 52. Kemal has, mistakenly, also been described as the author of a *Menakıb-i Gilani* [about Abdülkadir]. See Ahmet Kartal in Halman, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* v. 1, p. 501 (relying on N. Küleççi).

Yavuzer devoted 10 pages to the question of Kemal's *tarikât*. and in the end found a kind of middle ground, writing: "Kendisi üzerinde etkili olan şeyhlerinden Şeyh Hamid'in Hoca Ali'ye bağlı olmakla birlikte Halveti olduğunu... Kemal Ümmi'nin, Halvetilik ile Şeyh Cüneyd öncesi Safeviliği istikametinde, Halvetiliğe daha yakın "Kemallü" şubesinin kurucusu olduğunu şimdilik kaydıyla kabul etmekteyiz."³⁹

In this opinion Yavuzer was likely also influenced also by the long verse *Menakıb-i Kemal Ümmi*, by the otherwise unknown "Dervish Ahmed". Early in his poem Ahmed stated: "[Kemal] was outstanding in the **khalveti** way / His wonders were manifest; they were extraordinary."⁴⁰ That statement sounds unambiguous, but in the immediately preceding line Ahmed had also written: "They say [Kemal] received permission [to initiate novices] from Safi Sultan." [f. 1b, l. 9b] Perhaps the name Safi Sultan had no real significance for Ahmed. In any event, his direct linking of Kemal and Safiyüddin reveals the chronological unreliability of his account. The trouble with details found in his *Menakıb*--and there is little else strictly factual about Kemal in it--is that we have no idea when the Dervish composed his poem and, so, how to interpret what he says. But the poet's *Divan* is an unimpeachable source and speaks for itself: Kemal's teachers were of a clearly Safavid, not Khalveti, orientation.

While the Safavid *tarikât* was, in its beginnings, a nominally sunni, quietist sufi movement, at some later time it was transformed into a shiite enterprise. How the transformation from sunni *tarikât* to a shi'i state came about, over the course of the mid-to-late 15th century, is still mostly unclear. And whether Hoca Ali, who died in 1429, had any role in it is debated. The later Safavids rewrote their own history, obscuring the true nature of earlier events.⁴¹ But as the 15th century turned into the 16th the leadership of the Safavid *tarikât* in Iran had long since become thoroughly politicized. Historians conveniently date that moment to 1501 when Hoca Ali's great grandson Ismail became the head of the "House"

39 Yavuzer, pp. 45-46.

40 For Ahmed's *Menakıb* see Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri manzum, 1323. The quote here is from f. 1b, line 10 (emphasis added). I agree with S.N. Ergun that the hagiography and the collection of short poems which follow it in the manuscript, and which have the mahlas Aşık Ahmed, were likely the work of the same man. See his *Türk Şairleri*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1935), p. 302. Yavuzer (p. 5) judged them to be by different authors. For our purpose the matter is of little real significance.

41 For early Safavid history see R. M. Savory's contribution to the article "Safavids" in *EI2*, v. 8, pp. 765-71; for a more expansive account see H. R. Roemer, "The Safavid Period" (Chapter 5) in *The Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 189-350 and esp. 189-232.

of Safi, had himself recognized as “shah”, and then moved his capitol to Tabriz.

Although Safiyuddin’s name came to be reviled in the late 15th century, he was still widely respected, long after his death, in many parts of Anatolia. Turkish tribesmen may have been drawn to the Safavid banner, may have taken the red headgear which identified them, and may have followed thoroughly unorthodox beliefs and practices which Ottoman rulers and theologians found anathema, but the teachings of the sheikh who gave his name to that movement--and of his followers--continued to be inspiring to many others--including the well educated, former scholar from İznik and the accomplished poet from Karaman. One thing can be said for certain: there is nothing in Kemal’s *divan* nor, more specifically, in the poems about Hoca Ali and Hamid to suggest sympathies which could later be branded shiite.⁴²

As is well known, the transformation of the Safavid organization in Iran quickly led to open warfare between the Ottoman and Safavid states, conflict which dragged on for over a century. Safavid followers were intermittently pursued and prosecuted by Ottoman sultans from the time of Selim I onward. Whether the frequently mentioned number of “40,000” killed in a widespread and long-lasting purge is a vast overstatement or not, it was exceedingly dangerous to have any affiliation with the Safavid movement, or be seen to have any sympathy for it.⁴³ Ottoman writers (especially in the 16th and early 17th centuries) must have had difficulty writing about anyone with perceived sympathies toward Safavid sheikhs (in however distant a past), and especially if that person had also been guilty of flagrant disrespect for propriety with regard to the expression of ecstatic sufi exclamation.⁴⁴ And biographers--like Latifi and Ālī--may themselves have found such behavior (including the direct quotation of Hallaj) distasteful, if not downright heretical.⁴⁵

42 Kemal does, however, several times refer to the *dā’va*, a call or appeal to action. The word was especially used by shiite polemicists. Whatever religious-political overtones the word had for Kemal cannot be said. For examples from his poetry see my “Who Was Ümmi Kemal?”, pp. 67-68.

43 For this figure, frequently mentioned, see Halil İnalcık, p. 42.

44 For one view of Ottoman writing in the period, see J.R. Walsh, “The Historiography of Ottoman-Safavid Relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries” in Bernard Lewis and P.M. Holt (ed.) *Historians of the Middle East* (London: Oxford, 1962), 197-211.

45 The historian Ālī’s remark, “And **some say** [Kemal] too was executed for revealing [forbidden] secrets,” may not be so much skepticism, as Yavuzer seemed to think (“Ālī, bu asılarak öldürülme hadisesine pek de inanmış görünmemekte...” p. 50), as judicious caution in writing about a

The assignment later, in the 18th century, of Kemal's *tarikāt* affiliation to the Khalvetis was most likely due to ignorance. The men by whom Kemal had actually been inspired were by then too remote in time, more than 300 years later, to be of interest. Perhaps confusion, intended or unintended, is due to the fact that Khalveti *tarikāt* branches sometimes trace their own genealogies also back through Zahid al-Gilani, father-in-law and spiritual mentor to Safiyuddin.⁴⁶

I belabor this issue, not to split hairs over what might seem a highly esoteric matter, but because understanding Kemal's actual *tarikāt* affiliation may help explain the circumstances surrounding his death.⁴⁷ Is it possible that already in the reign of Mehmed II (during which time, according to Ayyansarayi, Kemal died) people with known links to the Ardabil-based order were being sought out as likely fifth column dissidents or, worse--heretics?

Latifi began his notice by stating that Kemal was "from Larende in the province of Karaman". This is in keeping with the biographer's narrative style: initially identifying his subject's homeland. In Kemal's case it also highlights a geographical locus of particular significance. The territory of Karaman had long been a thorn in the side of Ottoman rulers. Held by a rival family, it had never been securely conquered and annexed by the Ottomans until Mehmed's final military action (1471-2) against the rival *beylik*. Even then, events in Karaman continued to vex the sultan, and later his son and successor, Bayezid II. Immediately after Fatih's death, Karaman was identified politically with Cem (Bayezid's rival for the throne); and it remained a seat of rebellion against its new Ottoman overlords for some time.⁴⁸

sensitive subject. "The Historian" used exactly the same distancing phrase [*ba'zılar kavlnca*] when writing about Eşrefoğlu: "Some say that he came into possession of the elixir." (See Part I, n. 16; emphasis added in both quotes.) I suggest that Âli knew more about the circumstances of the two men's deaths, but feigned doubt as a form of discretion.

46 On Sheikh Zahid see Roemer, "The Safavid Period", esp. 191-93; cf. Mustafa Bahadıroğlu, "İbrahim Zahid-i Gilani" in *TDVİA* v. 21, pp. 359-60. The latter author writes, aptly, " (İbrahim Zahid-i Gilani'ye nisbet edilen Zahidiyye'yi bir tarikattan ziyade çeşitli devirlerden farklı isim ve yorumlarla ortaya çıkan ve günümüze kadar etkilerini sürdüren bir meşrep olarak görmek daha doğrudur, p. 360.)

47 It is because of Kemal's unambiguous and open declarations of loyalty to figures from the Safavid movement that I call him nearly unique among Ottoman poets. For another Anatolian Safavid poet see Fatih Bayram, "A Karamanid Shaykh between the Safavid Order and the Ottoman Polity: Baba Yusuf of Aksaray", *Archivum Ottomanicum* 26 (2009), 253-98. Baba Yusuf ("Hakiki") was the son of Sheikh Hamid and a contemporary of Kemal's. He is absent from Latifi's work.

48 For the general background see Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, translated by Ralph Manheim and edited by William C. Hickman (Princeton: Princeton University, 1978),

At this point, three reasons may be suggested for Kemal's vulnerability and probably violent death: his self-identification with the extravagant words first uttered by Hallaj (as seemingly suggested by the *Vilayetname*); his association with the Safavid network of sufis; and his apparent connections with the troublesome province of Karaman and its nomadic tribesmen, never receptive to sedentary rulers and inclined toward heterodox beliefs.⁴⁹ Perhaps all three reasons played into Kemal's execution.

Kemal's Grave

Dervish Ahmed's *Menakıb* demonstrates what cannot be shown from other written sources: that Kemal had spiritual followers of his own (whom Ahmed called "Kemallü"), perhaps the reason why Ayvansarayi and Müstakimzade refer to Kemal as a sheikh? Besides Kemal's sons, the dervish author names another follower: Sarı Müderris, an otherwise unknown figure, copies of whose *divan*, however, Yavuzer managed to find.⁵⁰ The Müderris's poetry, together with Ahmed's *Menakıb*, firmly situate Kemal's story--and his grave--in the Bolu mountains, a region mentioned by no other source. These details bring us back, full circle, to our starting point. While Latifi and Ali, identified Kemal as **from** Karaman, Ayvansarayi had stated, for the first time, that he was also buried there.

In the last century writers have mentioned other places--notably Niğde and Manisa, but no material or epigraphic evidence has been produced to support those claims.⁵¹ Müstakimzade claimed Kemal's grave was in Mudurnu which

299-300; cf. Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire*, translated by Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973), pp. 27-29 and 116. See also Fatih Bayram, "A Karamanid Shaykh," especially pp. 254-56.

49 It is interesting that the oldest surviving copy of Kemal's *Divan*, dated 1517, was copied at a *yaylak*. See my "On the manuscripts", 197.

50 See Yavuzer, p. 22.

51 Manisa is mentioned by Bursalı Tahir Bey, *Osmanlı Müellifleri I*, 152-53. (In the transcribed 1971 edition see volume i, 141-42.) Çağatay Uluçay and İbrahim Gökçen, following his lead, claim that Kemal was buried in a neighborhood of Manisa now covered over by buildings. They state that a tombstone connected with the site is now in the Manisa museum, but the inscription is too worn to be read. See their *Manisa Tarihi* (Istanbul: Manisa Halk Evi, 1939), p. 126. (See also below, n. 70) For Niğde see M. Zeki Oral, "(Kemal Ümmi)'nin bir Ağıtı." *Akpınar [=Niğde Halkevi Dergisi]* yıl 1, #12 (Şubat 1936), p. 12; and again in the same journal: yıl 5, #54/61 (Mayıs-I. Kanun 1941), p. 16. Gölpinarlı has also suggested Muğla. See his *Divan Şiiri. XV.- ve XVI. Yüzyıllar* (İstanbul: Varlık, 1954), p. 11. See also Yavuzer, p. 52. Evliya Çelebi,

points to the general area of the Bolu mountains. It is unlikely that Istanbul writer had close knowledge of villages in that region, but in fact Kemal's name is firmly associated with a saint's tomb there. For an uncertain length of time his *türbe* in the village of Işıklar has been the site of annual visitation, drawing throngs from neighboring settlements seeking the poet-sheikh's blessings, from beyond the grave.⁵²

Rival claims for a "saint's" grave are hardly uncommon. In the Turkish case one thinks of Yunus Emre, for example, and the many locations claimed as the site of his grave.⁵³ Still, it is curious that Kemal, who had never been a "popular" poet, should have become the object of competing claims for afterlife veneration and the focus of an annual pilgrimage in a relatively remote area. I suggest the explanation for that has to do with Kemal's death: execution would have left him a martyr, at least in the hearts of some.⁵⁴ What would have taken him--or after his death, his name--to the Bolu mountains, however, remains a mystery.

If I am right, Kemal's association with prominent figures in the Safavid movement, together with his Hallajian identification, brought unwanted attention from religio-legal authorities and eventually a death warrant. The notoriety of Safavid partisans soon after led to a virtual blackout in establishment sources in the form of silence.

Overall Conclusion

In this linked pair of essays I have argued for a more exacting examination of available sources in trying to piece together the sparse details of the lives of two major figures of the cultural life of 15th century Ottoman Turkey. That both men likely fell afoul of religious authorities and were executed for the expression of their beliefs can be safely, if not unequivocally, asserted. Eşrefoğlu Rumi and Ümmi Kemal are linked not only by their probable common fate, but also by common inspirational sources: the Baghdad martyr-mystic Hallaj and the

in his discussion of a purported tomb of Sheikh Hamid in Aksaray, mentions also a türbe of one "Kemal Sultan". But he does not further identify the man.

52 The first to document the tradition was Ali Vahit: "Kemal Ümmi Hakkında", *Halk Bilgisi Haberleri*, yıl 3, no. 30 (15 ikinci Teşrin 1933), pp. 212-15. For my own account: "Ümmi Kemal in Anatolian Tradition", *Turcica* 14 (1982), pp. 155-67.

53 For a recent discussion see Mustafa Tatcı, *Yunus Emre Külliyyatı I. Yunus Emre Divanı. İnceleme.* (İstanbul: H Yayınları, 2008), pp. 54-68.

54 Neither Dervish Ahmed nor Sarı Müderris (according to Yavuzer) speak of Kemal's death.

Ardabil sufi teacher Safiyuddin.⁵⁵ I hope I have shown that the lives of figures such as Eşrefoğlu and Kemal, until now the provenance exclusively of students of Ottoman literature and tarikats, can illuminate the broader cultural history of the Ottoman state during a still formative, even tumultuous period. Hopefully other such case studies will bring out more clearly, and with finer definition, the contours of the Ottoman religious-political landscape of that time.

Addendum

In manuscript copies, the text of the entire work has been given the title, “Der beyan-i Kutb-ul Arifin Sultan Şücaüddin Baba'nın Vilayetnamesidir.” Şücaüddin is one of the major figures from the alternative religious culture of “dervish piety”, characterized by Ahmet Karamustafa for its “renunciation of society through outrageous social deviance,” a movement which was widespread in Anatolia in the 14th and 15th centuries.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, very little is known about this Baba. Halil İnalçık located “Sheikh Shuja” chronologically between Hajji Bektash and Otman Baba, one of the dominant “poles” (kutb; pl. aktab)--as the full title of the *Vilayetname* asserts--in the hierarchy of *evliya* of his time.⁵⁷ Such figures were believed to have nearly divine powers over ordinary events.

Although the *Vilayetname* has been known for over 60 years, and while other copies have come to light in that time, there is still no adequate edition. Nor is there any serious study of this important work. In particular, we have no examination of the point of view of the author, especially toward the secondary characters. Only one of 13 discrete stories, the anecdote [*bikaye*] describing the encounter of Sultan Kemal, Seyyid Nesimi and Baba Kaygusuz with Sultan Şüca[üddin] is the longest in the *Vilayetname* and takes up nearly 20 percent of the entire prose text. First alluded to by Latifi (and referred to several times above) the anecdote is a particularly good example of the nuanced views of a source which, however deep its roots in that socially deviant culture, nevertheless hewed to the sharia of Muhammad. It is notable that the two executed men are presented in such disparaging light by the “hero” of this tale, who is portrayed as a staunch defender of sunni orthodoxy.

55 In his *Müzekki'n-nüfus*, Eşrefoğlu also cited, a number of times, Sheikh Safiyüddin of Ardabil.

56 Ahmet Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends* (Oxford: One World, 2006 [reprint of the 1994 University of Utah Press first edition]), p. 13.

57 Halil İnalçık, “Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the Otman Baba Vilayetnamesi,” *Manifestations of Sainthood*, Grace Martin Smith and Carl W. Ernst (ed.), (Istanbul: İsis, 1993), 209-23; see especially 211.

What follows is an annotated translation of the *hikaye* relating that encounter. In the main I have followed the text given by Yıldız (see above, note 24) but here and there have preferred the readings of Elçin (note 21). Where uncertainty remains, in a small handful of places, I have marked my omission by [. . .]. None of these passages is more than a few words. For his help in elucidating the text at several points my thanks go to Bob Dankoff. I am, however, solely responsible for any remaining errors.

“Hikaye”

At a time when Seyyid Nesimi went to Anatolia [Rum], he and Baba Kaygusuz⁵⁸ and Sultan Kemal, all three together, met up in Larende.

They said, “We need a man who has reached spiritual perfection, “a true man.”⁵⁹

Kaygusuz Baba said, “There is such a man.”

“Who?” the others asked.

He replied, “Sultan Şüca.”

They said, “Come, then, take us to him.”

Kaygusuz said, “I’ll take you.”

So they went on to Rum. Sultan Kemal had this talent: wherever he went he would raid the bazaar of that city. He would eat and drink for seven days. He would make himself like a tribal chief [*beg*]. Then after seven days he would say, “There is no more city, no more bazaar here.” He used to say, “I am God.”

Seyyid Nesimi (God’s mercy upon him) said, “My dede⁶⁰ came; he established an order [*nizam*]. If there is no respect [for that] I will establish the order.” So he used to proclaim.

58 Baba Kaygusuz: Legendary figure from the world of Anatolian *abdals*. See “Kaygusuz Baba” in *TDVIA*, v. 25, 74-76 (Nihat Azamat). See now also Zeynep Oktay, *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz* (Cambridge, MA 2013) esp. p. 5-10.

59 I use “true man” to translate the text’s *er kişi* (as here [Elçin’s transcription, p. 209]) and *gerçek er* (or simply *er*), below. Note also the plural form, *erenler*, used later in the story.

60 “My dede” [*dedem*]: presumably Nesimi here refers to his own mentor, Fazlullah (executed 1394), who principally elaborated the ideas of the Hurufi sect, for which Nesimi was also executed.

Eventually they came to Seyyitgazi⁶¹. They asked around and learned of Sultan [Şüca]’s whereabouts. They sent after him. Then as they were coming, Sultan [Şüca] said [to his own followers], “Children⁶², [the people who call themselves] God and prophets are coming.” He arose and hastened off.

The three men reached that place but did not find Sultan. They said, “If he were a ‘true man’ he would be here. He has fled from us.”

Sultan had a ram. They called it “the ram with the golden horns”. Sultan would recite incantations over it. He would hunt and skin young deer and rabbits out in the open. If Sultan was not in his place he would leave the ram in his stead. If a guest arrived he would understand. Sultan had so many guests.

Seyyid Nesimi and Kemal found the ram instead of Sultan. They said, “What sort of ram is this?”

[Sultan’s] dervishes said, “He belongs to our Sultan.”

Seyyid Nesimi said, “What is Sultan doing with a ram? A sultan should be free of all attachments. What does he need a ram for? This ram is his idol. Let’s sacrifice the ram. In doing so, we’ll free him of his idol.”

Kaygusuz Baba said, “Let’s not behave in a way that a “real man” would think indecent.

Sultan Kemal and Seyyid Nesimi paid no attention to his words; they slaughtered the ram. Kemal hung the carcass up; Seyyid Nesimi skinned it. They put the animal in a cauldron but no matter how hard they tried they could not bring the pot to a boil.

At that moment Sultan appeared, naked, with his felt garment on his stick.⁶³

When Sultan saw them they were tongue-tied.

Sultan sat down and recited a litany. Then he got up and quickly started off, barefoot, toward Çambahçe. The three men, also barefoot, followed after

61 Seyyitgazi: a small settlement in west central Anatolia, approximately half way between Istanbul and Konya. In the text the place name is followed by the word “padishah”, presumably intended as an honorific for “Seyyid Battal Gazi”, legendary Arab warrior of the 8th century after whom the place was named.

62 “Children”: (Literally, “my child”) Şücaüddin addresses his followers with the word, *köçğüm*, which he uses throughout, whether addressing them, or Kemal or Nesimi. It contrasts sharply with the word *er*.

63 Şücaüddin’s stick or club is commonly associated with the *baba*.

him. The place was full of burdock. Nesimi's and Kemal's feet were quickly covered with burrs. They stopped and sat down. Sultan looked back at them and said, "Children, you make claims of divinity and prophethood; don't you have any power over these little stickers?"

Kemal had 40 followers--each of them was a somebody [kişizade]. They spread out felt mats under Kemal's feet.

Sultan sat down with his back to a pine tree. The others came into his view. When they got closer Sultan Baba spread out a mat by his side. He called out to Kemal, "Come, my child, the *friends of God* bring the likes of you into the world. Let them be hidden; you be visible."⁶⁴

Then and there Kemal wished to go and surrender himself to Sultan. Kemal had a chosen successor [*halife*] named Kuşçuoğlu. He was the son of a judge.⁶⁵ He said [to Kemal], "Until now you behaved like another god; now you just want to follow someone else."

With that Kemal was quiet.

Sultan looked into Nesimi's face and said, "My child, the friends of God have given us something to eat. Let the period of rest be over. Sit down where I can see you."

Seyyid Nesimi then recited the following verse:

Two worlds are squeezed inside me. But I cannot be contained by this here and now.

Since I am beyond all space, the entire universe is not big enough to hold me.⁶⁶

Sultan Varlığı laughed and said, "My child, you speak wrongly. Muhammad's shari'a will squeeze you to bits."⁶⁷

64 Sultan Şüca's language sharply distinguishes between those near the pinnacle of the hierarchy of "friends of God" [*pirler*] and those (like Nesimi and Kemal) who are, at best, pretentious seekers. Here, contrasting the hidden men [*batın*] with the visible [*zahir*], Şücaüddin's language suggests the *gayb erenler* of other texts.

65 "judge": Birdoğan reads the word *gazi*, not *kadı*. "Kuşçuoğlu" is named as a follower of Kemal in no text known to me.

66 (*Bende sığar iki cihan ben bu cihana sığmazam / Çün la-mekan benem kevn ü mekana sığmazam*) For the text of the entire poem see Hüseyin Ayan, *Nesimi. Hayatı, Edebi Kişiliği, Eserleri ve Türkçe Divanının Tenkidli Metni* (Ankara: TDK Yayınları, 2002), v. 2, p. 518, #270.

67 "to bits": Literally, "inside the husk of a walnut". Sultan Şüca seeks to put Nesimi in his place,

Sultan got up from where he had been and sat down again a little further off. The others followed to where he could see them.

Kemal said, "Bravo, my Sultan!"

Sultan Varlığı said, "Hu ha," and turned away.

Kemal approached again and said, "My Sultan, we are wearing human's clothes, yet you make us out to be animals."⁶⁸

Sultan said, "My child, you are worse than an animal that does not know its master. [. . .] The friends of God are all you need."

From the pine tree next to Seyyid Nesimi, Sultan took an apple with his blessed hand and put it in front of the Seyyid with a knife. He said, "They want you in Aleppo; now, go!"⁶⁹

The Seyyid arose and went off.

Then the Sultan broke off a pear; he attached a twisted string to its stem and put it in front of Kemal.

He said, "My child, they're waiting for you in Manisa, with a decree⁷⁰ in hand."

Then he put out his hand again and broke off a red rose from a branch of that pine tree.⁷¹ He gave it to Baba Kaygusuz and said, "My child, may your hearth cool down." The reason he said "May your hearth cool down" was the following:

For 30 years Kaygusuz carried wood for Abdal Musa Padishah.⁷² Not one

using a form of the same verb [*sığmak*] on which the poet had based his rhyme in the preceding couplet.

68 Kemal's reply here is prompted by Sultan's words (in the previous line) which suggested those of one tending animals.

69 Aleppo: the city where Nesimi was executed.

70 The text here appears to be corrupt in most copies. I follow Gülcan in reading Manisa'da. Others have read "*ma'nada*" and Masnada, neither of which makes sense to me. I follow Elçin in reading *ber'at* where others have imagined *mir'at*.

71 Sultan's plucking an apple, a pear and a rose from the pine tree suggests the first line of a poem attributed to Yunus Emre: *Çıkdum erik dalına anda yedüm üzümü*. See Mustafa Tatçı, *Yunus Emre Külliyyati* (Istanbul: H Yayınları, 2008), v. 2, p. 428-30.

72 A semi-legendary figure, Abdal Musa is known in the hagiographic literature as the teacher of Kaygusuz. See "Abdal Musa", *TDVIA*, v. 1, 64-65 (Orhan Köprülü). In the *Vilayetname* written

day did he bring a crooked stick. ⁷³But one day when Kaygusuz was unloading the wood, . . . he complained . . . Abdal Musa Padishah interrupted his conversation and said, “Let everyone who loves me [lit., “us”] give Kaygusuz a single blow.”

There were 150 abdals in his company; each one gave Kaygusuz a single blow. Kaygusuz Baba said, “One hundred and fifty blows is a sign of the enlightened mystic [*arif*].”

Abdal Musa replied, “He is a denier. Don’t let him stay; put him out.” Abdal Musa’s followers put Kaygusuz Baba out. [. . .] Kaygusuz said, “If we’re shown the door on the way out, let’s come back down the chimney.” So he let himself back down the chimney; he landed face down in the fire.

Abdal Musa was still in conversation. He said, “Hey, Kaygusuz, you’ve really upset us. May your hearth not cool down.” They took him by the hand and put him out [again].

Later Kaygusuz Baba travelled the whole world. He established a *tekke* everywhere he went.⁷⁴ No ash settled on his hearth. Later when he went to Sultan, Abdal Musa (?) said, “May your hearth cool off. [. . .]” In the end he came to the land of Rumeli; he settled in Karacadağ.⁷⁵ His hearth cooled down. It smelled good.

As for Nesimi, he pressed on. He reached the city of Aleppo. As soon as he entered the city he said [to the people who met him], “Take God’s horse!”

The people of Aleppo were up in arms over that, hearing blasphemy in Nesimi’s words. It was a Friday. There was nearly a riot as the people reached the mosque. [. . .] Nesimi ruined their ritual prayers; he made unbelievers of them.

in his name a tale is told of Kaygusuz’s shooting of a deer belonging to Abdal Musa--a striking parallel with the incident involving the slaughter of Şücaüddin’s ram.

73 Yunus Emre is also said to have carried wood for his master, Tapduk Emre--for 40 years without bringing a green or crooked stick. See Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre ve Tasavvuf* (İstanbul: Remzi, 1961), p. 52.

74 Kaygusuz is said to have founded several tekkes, most notably one in Egypt.

75 Karacadağ: While there are several mountains of this name in former Ottoman territory (especially in Anatolia) none is close to the locus of this story.

After Nesimi left, the people of Aleppo said, "What kind of a situation is this! We've let a man turn our prayers into those of infidels."

They set out and caught up with him at a distance of a parasang [three and a half miles] and brought him back to the city. They threw him into prison and sent a man to the sultan in Egypt⁷⁶ with [Nesimi's] *divan*. They said, "A man came; he spoke blasphemously. What is your command in this affair?"

The courier reached Egypt. They showed the Seyyid's *Divan* to the sultan. [. . .]

The Sultan of Egypt said, "Send that man to me." He sent a camel (to bring Nesimi to Egypt).

Before the camel arrived from Egypt the people of Aleppo flayed Nesimi. When they reached his belly he said "Ah, ah." Then he gave up the ghost. "We belong to God and to Him we shall return."⁷⁷

They sent the camel back with the message, "We flayed him." When the camel arrived, the Sultan of Egypt was furious: "Why did you kill that saintly man [*aziz*] without telling me?"⁷⁸

So the sultan had the judges of the four [legal] schools flayed. And he imposed a tax of 30,000 akçe on all the judges. Since that time it has been a custom. They still levy it today.

As for Kemal, he too pushed on. He reached Manisa.

Sultan Murad [II] had a son. They called him Sultan Alaeddin. When the prince laid eyes on Kemal he took him as master [*baba*]. He had great affection for Kemal. When he went hunting he had Kemal mount his own horse; he went ahead himself on foot. But he didn't take the people with him.

They complained to the padishah: "A man has come. He has led your son astray. He mounts him on his own horse and goes ahead on foot.

76 In Nesimi's time Aleppo was ruled by the Mamluk sultan Muayyad Sayf al-din.

77 Quran ii, 156.

78 The Mamluk ruler alluded to here must be, not Muayyad Sayf al-din, but rather Qansuh Ghawri (reg. 1501-16), said to have been an admirer of Nesimi. See Louis Massignon, *The Passion of al-Hallaj*, translated by Herbert Mason (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1982), v. 2, 249-54. In that case the *Vilayetname* could not have been written before the early 16th century.

The padishah said, “Find out about this man; what sort of skills has he?”

When Sultan Murad got answers to his questions he said, “I won’t intervene. You know the situation. Do what you wish.”

His viziers issued their ruling: “What are you doing?” they said. “Kill him.” They didn’t waste a minute. They did not destroy his *divan*.⁷⁹ They hanged Kemal from a poplar tree.

[As he was being executed] Kemal said, “We are not offended by your actions. This is our fate, the hidden saints [*erenler*] have deemed it.”

As soon as Kemal was hanged they saw a pigeon come out of his mouth and fly away. One of the pigeons flew to the land of the Franks [Europe]; one flew to Istanbul. In Manisa there was a place called Kanluca.⁸⁰ A man there had knowledge of the mysteries of the *erenler*. Thinking he could catch it, that man went after the pigeon which had flown to Karaburun.⁸¹ At a place in Karaburun he saw two oxen. A boy was there lying down near them. The pigeon flew right into the boy’s mouth. The man gave the boy a kick. “My luck ran out,” he said.

Later the boy’s name became Samut [“Speechless”] Baba. And that’s the end.⁸²

79 Presumably this means the *ulema* could have (but did not) call for the destruction of his poetry. Despite the apparent intimation that the destruction of books containing blasphemous material was a common practice, there is little evidence for that. Carl F. Petry relates a “rare incident in which a jurist brought posthumous *kufri* charges against a famous mystic (Ibn ‘Arabi).” See his *The Criminal Underworld in a Medieval Islamic Society* (Chicago: Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 2012), p. 178. In the instance related, in 1483 Mamluk Egypt, the call for the burning of a book was ultimately denied by a higher jurist. (My thanks also to Th. Emil Homerin and Colin Imber for their comments on this matter.)

80 Kanluca: While there is a Bosphorus (Asiatic) “suburb” of Istanbul with this name, I am unaware of such a place in the Manisa region.

81 Karaburun: The name of the peninsula west of Izmir which juts north into the Mediterranean.

82 Trimmed to its essentials, the *hikaye* has been taken over and transformed into a Nasreddin Hoca story full of anachronism: Kemal is replaced by Hallaj himself while the role of Kaygusuz Abdal is taken by the Hoca. Nesimi and Baba Sultan [Şüca] retain their original roles. See Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Nasreddin Hoca* (Istanbul, 1961), p. 9.

Two 15th Century Ottoman Sufi Mysteries - An Historiographical Essay

Part II: The Case of Ümmi Kemal

Abstract ■ The name Ümmi Kemal is prominent in the history of 15th century Anatolian literature, especially in the tekke environment. However, almost nothing is known about the poet's life beyond names found in his Divan. His tarikat connection with the Safavids is clear if little understood. A single hagiographic anecdote based on a near contemporary source points to a violent death and informs the earliest biographical accounts. That source remains inadequately examined. In 2008 Hayati Yavuzer published a comprehensive study of Kemal's life and an edition of his Divan, a book which will remain the "standard account" for many years. In this article, as in Part I ("What Happened to Esrefoglu?") I attempt to get past the opaque language of the scant primary sources to understand better why Kemal remained obscure despite his popularity as a poet. I append an annotated translation of a section of the anonymous 15th (?) century Velayetname which connects Kemal to the prominent but obscure Sultan Şücaüddin.

Keywords: Ümmi Kemal, Sultan Şücaüddin, Hayati Yavuzer, Ottoman Mystic poets, Islamic hagiography

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Why Did Süleyman the Magnificent Execute His Son Şehzade Mustafa in 1553?

Zahit Atçıl*

Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Oğlu Şehzade Mustafa'yı 1553'te Neden Boğdurttu?

Öz ■ Bu makalede Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın 1553 yılında Nahçıvan Seferi sırasında oğlu Şehzade Mustafa'yı neden boğdurttuğu incelenmektedir. Osmanlı kaynaklarında ve literatürde hakim olan görüşe göre, Süleyman'ın gözdesi ve sonra eşi Hürrem Sultan ve onunla işbirliği içinde olan damadı Sadrazam Rüstem Paşa'nın tahtı Hürrem'in oğullarından birisi için korumak amacıyla toplumun her kesimince çokça sevilen Şehzade Mustafa'yı babası nezdinde gözden düşürüp öldürtmüşlerdir. Sonrasında pişman olan Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, Sadrazam Rüstem Paşa'yı azletmiştir. Makalede Osmanlı, Venedik, Habsburg, Fransız ve Fars kaynakları ışığında Sultan Süleyman, Şehzade Mustafa, Hürrem Sultan ve Rüstem Paşa'nın oynadıkları roller incelenmekte ve Osmanlı veraset tecrübesi çerçevesinde sultanın şehzadeyi neden boğdurduğu sorgulanmaktadır. Buna göre, otoritesini şehzade lehine kaybeden sultan, şehzadeyi öldürterek hem kendi gücünü yeniden tesis etmek istemiş hem de Osmanlı hanedanını daha önceki veraset mücadelelerinde var olan toplumsal gruplar arası rekabetin dışına çıkarmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Şehzade Mustafa, veraset, kardeş katli, Hürrem Sultan, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, Rüstem Paşa

In the summer of 1553, Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566) left Istanbul with the Ottoman army for his third campaign in the east against the Safavids—known as the Nahçıvan campaign. Before his departure, he had dispatched an order to the governor of Amasya, Şehzade (Prince) Mustafa (1515–1553), to prepare his forces to join this campaign. En route to Ereğli, Süleyman sent another messenger to his son indicating that the latter should join him there, where Süleyman's forces were scheduled to camp. Despite the warnings from within his

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entourage, particularly those of his mother, Mahidevran, Mustafa decided to join the sultan's army, telling advisers that he would not abstain from going "where destiny cast him."¹ It would not have been easy for Mustafa to decide whether to obey his father's orders, given that the sultan seemed to be accusing him of rebellion and of generating sedition.

On 6 October 1553 (27 Şevval 960), the prince arrived at the sultan's camp in order to kiss his father's hand; he dismounted his horse in front of the sultan's tent, leaving his steed with his *mirabûr* (stable master) and his sword with the sultan's guards. When he entered the fourth section of the imperial tent, he saw his father seated there with an arrow in his hand. He reverently saluted his father but received a shocking response: "Ah! Dog, do you still dare to salute me?" Then, at the sultan's order, three mutes caught Mustafa and began to strangle him. He nearly escaped their hands once, but ultimately he was overpowered and executed. His *mirabûr* and another *agha* who had been waiting outside were also killed. In the aftermath, the janissaries' mourning of their beloved prince was superseded by their fury, and the sultan dismissed Rüstem Pasha (d. 1561) from his position as grand vizier. It is perhaps for this reason that Rüstem has since been thought to bear principal responsibility for Mustafa's demise.

The death of Mustafa was a mournful event not only because he had been loved by janissaries, bureaucrats, religious scholars, and poets alike—in short, by almost every influential social group in the empire—but also because it was believed that he had been murdered in a plot staged by Süleyman's beloved wife Hürrem (d. 1558) and his grand vizier and son-in-law Rüstem Pasha. Hürrem and Rüstem knew that significant number of men loved and supported Süleyman's eldest son, Mustafa (thirty-eight years old at the time), and it would have been difficult for one of Hürrem's sons to ascend the throne as long as Mustafa was alive. For that reason, the commonly accepted story goes—in both major Ottoman historical accounts and the modern scholarly literature—Hürrem and Rüstem craftily planned to frame Mustafa as a rebel in the eyes of the sultan, who ultimately executed his innocent son.

While Hürrem and Rüstem have been seen as opposing the most talented

1 "Relazione Anonima della Guerra di Persia dell'anno 1553 e di Molti Altri Particolari," in *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, (Firenze: Tipografia e Calcografia all'Insegna di Clío, 1840), ser. III, v. 1, 208 [Hereafter "Relazione Anonima"]. Much of the details on the execution of Şehzade Mustafa is available in a Venetian source whose author is unknown. Although some information provided here is not present in other sources, the argument and certain details agree with others.

prince of their time, Süleyman has been criticized severely for allowing this faction to deceive him and for his selfish decisions to preserve his power that ultimately turned the Ottoman state from a “progressive” enterprise into a “stagnant” and “corrupt” one.² Writing in the late sixteenth century, historian Mustafa Ali, for example, pointed to the year 960/1553 in reference to Mustafa’s execution as the moment at which the Ottoman Empire began to decline.³ Based on this general belief, the dominant narrative recounting the death of Şehzade Mustafa holds that an innocent prince was executed by a naïve and credulous father who had been deceived by the prince’s stepmother and the sultan’s grand vizier, who wanted to guarantee the throne to one of Hürrem’s sons (Selim or Bayezid).⁴ Historians and poets even marked 960/1553 with the chronogram *mekr-i Rüstem* (Rüstem’s trick). This view, which has been accentuated in the Ottoman narrative and literary sources, as well as in modern scholarly literature,⁵ was not limited to the Otto-

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- 2 The elegy (*mersiye*) of Şehzade Mustafa, composed by Yahya Bey immediately after the execution of the prince starts with “One side of this world was destroyed/The *celalis* of death took away Mustafa Khan” (Meded meded bu cihânun yıkıldı bir yanı/Ecel celâlileri aldı Mustafa Han’ı).
- 3 Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 258–259.
- 4 Hürrem gave birth four sons who survived to adolescence. Her eldest son Mehmed died in 1543 and her youngest son Cihangir was gibbous. So these two were not considered as candidate for the throne in 1550s. See Alan Fisher, “Süleymân and His Sons,” in *Soliman le Magnifique et son Temps: Actes du Colloque de Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 7–10 Mars 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Documentation française, 1992), 117–24.
- 5 See Ali Cevat Bey, *Tarihî kanlı sahifeleri: Şehzade Şehit Mustafa: tarihi bir varaka-i mühimme* (İstanbul: İtimat Kütüphanesi, n.d.); İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011), v. II: 401–404; İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzablı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1947), v. II: 278–287. The date marking with *mekr-i Rüstem*, for example, was immediately adopted in Persian historical sources. See Būdāq Munshī Qazvīnī, *Javābir al-akbbār: bakhsh-i tārikh-i Īrān az Qarāqūyūnlū tā sāl-i 984 H. Q.* (Tehran: Äyene-ye Mīrās, 2000), 208; Qāzī Aḥmad Ghaffārī Qazvīnī, *Tārikh-i jahān-ārā: bā muqābalah-i chandīn nuskhab-i mu’tabar-i qadīmī va nuskhab-i muḥashshā ‘allāmah Qazvīnī* (Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-i Ḥāfiz, 1343), 301. In European drama and literature, the subject has been treated as a tragedy of an innocent prince, parallel to the Ottoman sources. In Italy, the most popular tragedy on Süleyman and the execution of Mustafa, Prospero Bonarelli’s *Il Solimano*, was first performed in Ancona in 1618. In addition to Bonarelli’s drama, other important theatrical works on the subject were F. Cerone’s *Il Solimano* (1722), C. Federici’s *Solimano il Magnifico* (1800), Anton Maria Caspi’s *Il Mustafa* (1606), Guido Dezan’s *Solimano II* (1886) and Michel Angelo Valentini’s *Solimano* (1756) etc. See Metin And, *Türkiye’de İtalyan sahnesi, İtalyan sahnesinde Türkiye* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1989), 160–173; Nazan Aksoy, *Rönesans İngiltere’sinde Türkler* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2004), 68; Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought,*

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man lands but was also prevalent in neighboring countries. Although some recent studies have analyzed the subject from different perspectives,⁶ this view remains dominant in literature and media.⁷

Mustafa's execution still receives attention, however, and many aspects of it have led historians to continue asking questions. Even if one accepts the dominant narrative, it is difficult to fault Hürrem for desiring to eliminate Mustafa, considering her role as the mother of four princes and her responsibility for training, educating, and preparing them as prospective sultans.⁸ Moreover, every prince had the right to ascend the throne, while the land was indivisible; therefore, competition between surviving princes had in the past led to fratricide, which was even codified in the Lawbook of Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481).⁹ If fratricide was an expected and likely phenomenon after the death of each sultan, it is reasonable that Hürrem should act to save the lives of her own sons, given that Mustafa was generally considered the favorite to become the next sultan. In addition, the asymmetry in the sources with respect to the actions of Hürrem and Rüstem, on one hand, and those of Mustafa and his mother, Mahidevran, on the other, may have misled researchers seeking to understand what happened. Almost every act of Hürrem and Rüstem can be followed in archival documents because they were in Istanbul, the imperial center; however, the relations, activities, and connections of Mustafa and Mahidevran were beyond the realm of recording because they had been living in the provinces. However, I have found documents in the Venetian archives demonstrating that Mustafa was not quietly standing by; indeed, he was as crafty in

and Literature (1520–1660). (Paris: Boivin, 1941), 421–466; Linda. McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks*, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 141–168.

- 6 Şerafettin Turan, *Şehzade Bayezid Vakası* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1961) emphasized the role of displeased groups in Anatolia who supported first Mustafa and then another prince Bayezid. Leslie Peirce treats the issue in relation to the dynastic reproduction policies and argues that Süleyman followed a policy of open succession without explicitly favoring any prince. See Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 79–86. See also Feridun M. Emecen, *Osmanlı Klasik Çağında Siyaset* (Istanbul: Timaş, 2011), 181–186.
- 7 Recently, the Turkish TV serial, *Muhteşem Yüzyıl* (The Magnificent Century), reflected the dominant narrative on the execution of Şehzade Mustafa (Episode 123, 12 February 2014).
- 8 Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 42–44.
- 9 Halil İnalçık, “The Ottoman Succession and Its Relation to the Turkish Concept of Sovereignty,” in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993), 59–60.

consolidating power and recruiting supporters as his competitors in Istanbul were.

The questions that I raise here are why Süleyman the Magnificent gave the order to execute Şehzade Mustafa and what implications this action had for dynastic legitimacy and succession thereafter. I treat the issue from the perspective that every actor was intentionally behaving according to the role he or she was expected to play in the system, as it existed. Thus, this study does not blame or exonerate anybody; rather, it considers the conditions the sultan faced, those he imagined for the future, and those under which he ultimately decided to execute his firstborn son. In other words, I explore how the sultan came to his decision and speculate about what might have occurred if the sultan had spared Mustafa's life. A bit of background on succession in Ottoman history leads into a discussion of each actor's position toward the mid-sixteenth century. Based on the available sources, I reconstruct the story of Mustafa's execution, providing a more nuanced account than the traditional narrative does. In addition, I identify some implications of the execution for later developments in Ottoman succession.

The Scene: Succession in Ottoman History

Ottoman succession was closely related to the Turco-Mongol steppe conception of political order, according to which, sovereignty was considered the purview of the whole dynastic family—that is, each male member of the reigning dynasty possessed the right to rule. In the Turco-Mongol tradition, the ruling sovereign had usually distributed the land as appanages among the living male members of dynasty (also known as the *ülüş* system).¹⁰ This arrangement led to competition and sometimes to civil war between princes who fought for supremacy that would keep the country united under a single ruler. The Ottoman experience did not include the division of the land into appanages, but it left the right of succession open to competition among princes. Having reached adolescence, then, the princes were sent to take up a provincial governorship and acquire political experience, as well as to prepare for the upcoming competition for the throne. On many occasions, unsuccessful brothers were executed by the ascending sultan, the one considered divinely blessed.¹¹

10 İsenbike Togan, *Flexibility and Limitation in Steppe Formations* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Abdülkadir İnan, ““Orun” ve “Ülüş” Meselesi” *Türk hukuk ve iktisat tarihi mecmuası*, v. 1 (1931): 121–133.

11 For example, When Murad I died on the Battle of Kosovo, his son Bayezid who was with his father at the time assumed the throne for himself and he commanded to kill his brother

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The question of Ottoman legitimacy also contributed from an early date to this deadly competition between princes. Because Ottoman sultans lacked outstanding sources of political legitimacy (such as a noble lineage like the Chingizid line or prophetic descent), the early Ottoman rulers had little to bolster their claims to legitimacy.¹² Although they supported and patronized some efforts to trace a noble lineage based on the Oghuzid line, together with the Aqqoyunlu clan, in the fifteenth century,¹³ the primary source of Ottoman legitimacy was their efficiency in *gaza*, the religious zeal to expand Islamdom and acquire booty that would benefit Muslims.¹⁴ The legitimacy of a sultan was to some extent based on his effectiveness as a *gazi* sultan—that is, in leading the army to victory in conquest. When a sultan died, the right to rule ideally passed to the prince who was most courageous and most capable of leading the army to further success. The competition between the princes was in a sense an arena in which each had the chance to demonstrate their competence and capacity to become a *gazi* sultan. While the competition was an open “game,” the one who overcame his brothers was considered to have received God’s dispensation (*kuṭ*) and to be destined for

(Ya’kub) who was sent heroically to chase the retrieving enemies. Although Ya’kub may be more courageous and heroic, the God’s favor, from the perspective of the Turco-Mongol tradition, was on Bayezid and so the fate raised him to the throne. See Neşri, *Kitâb-ı Cihannümâ*, eds. Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), v. I: 93a-b; Halil İnalçık, “The Ottoman Succession,” 58–59.

12 See İnalçık, “The Ottoman Succession”; Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, chap. 11.

13 Aldo Gallotta, “Il mito oguzo e le origini dello stato ottomano: Una riconsiderazione,” in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389)*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou (Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1993), 41–59; Colin Imber, “The Ottoman Dynastic Myth,” *Turcica* 19 (1987): 7–27; John E. Woods, *The Aqqoyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire*, Revised and expanded edition (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999), 1–10.

14 Paul Wittek argues that the rise of Ottomans from principality to the vast empire was a result of their engagement of *gaza* and their zeal for expanding the Islamdom. See Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire: Studies in the History of Turkey, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Colin Heywood, Royal Asiatic Society Books (New York: Routledge, 2012); Paul Wittek, “De la défaite d’anکارa à la prise de Constantinople,” *Revue des études islamiques* xii (1938): 1–34. Rudi Paul Lindner criticizes Paul Wittek with his disregard of tribal conditions and inconsistency between *gaza* ethos and Ottoman conflicts with neighboring Muslim principalities. See Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1983). For a critique of Lindner and the venues for use of Ottoman sources on early Ottomans see Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

success.¹⁵ Şehzade Mustafa appeared more courageous and competitive than his brothers were, thanks to his military prowess and leadership, attracting extensive support from diverse segments of society at a time when his father, Sultan Süleyman, seemed content to settle down in Istanbul and less eager to expand Ottoman territories (more on this in a moment).

What made princely competition and fratricide more profound, as mentioned earlier, was their codification in dynastic law (*Kanunname-i Âl-i Osman*) by Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481).¹⁶ The law states, “For the welfare of the state, the one of my sons to whom God grants the sultanate may lawfully put his brothers to death. A majority of the ulema consider this permissible.”¹⁷ With this code, fratricide gained firmer ground as acceptable and customary, and Mehmed’s law attempted to entrench its permissibility vis-à-vis Islamic law. The dynastic law code, further, not only justified the practice of fratricide but also seems to have rendered it imperative for any would-be sultan. The first thing a new sultan was

15 İnalçık, “The Ottoman Succession,” 52–53; Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein, *Le Sérail ébranlé: essai sur les morts, dépositions et avènements des sultans ottomans (XIVe-XIXe siècle)* (France: Fayard, 2003), 91. For example, As the sons of Bayezid II, Ahmed, Korkud and Selim, began to compete for the throne in early sixteenth century, Ahmed was most probable candidate for the throne because of his strong network and support. Both Ahmed and Korkud lost their credit because of their inertia and failure to suppress the Shahquli/Şahkulu rebellion (1509–11). Selim effectively used the rhetoric that he could suppress the rebellion and solve the Safavid problem, thereby he attracted the support of the janissaries and Sipahis of Rumelia for they believed that Selim seemed to be more courageous and having more zeal to engage in *gaza* to expand the lands of Islam. See M. Çağatay Uluçay, “Yavuz Sultan Selim Nasıl Padişah Oldu?-I,” *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 9 (1953): 53–90; (II): no. 10 (1954): 117–142; (III): no. 11–12 (1955): 185–200; Feridun M. Emecen, *Yavuz Sultan Selim* (Istanbul: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2010), 45–86; H. Erdem Çıpa, *Yavuz’un Kavgası: I. Selim’in Saltanat Mücadelesi* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2013).

16 The time of the codification of the *Kânûnnâme* has been a point of dispute among historians. The existence of some anachronistic elements in the content of the codified law has led some historians to question its authenticity from the time of Mehmed II. However, the regulation on the succession has been usually considered as a reflection of a practice that had already been in practice. See Konrad Dilger, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des osmanischen Hofzeremoniells im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. (München: Trofenik, 1967), 5–36; Abdülkadir Özcan, ed., *Kanunname Âl-i Osman (Tablil ve Karşılaştırmalı Metin)* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2007); Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tablilleri* (Istanbul: Fey Vakfı Yayınları, 1990), I: 317–345; Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 197–200.

17 “[V]e her kimesneye evlâdımdan saltanat müyesser ola, karındaşların nizâm-ı ‘âlem için katletmek münâsibdir, ekser ‘ulemâ dahi tecvîz etmiştir, anınla ‘âmil olalar.” See Özcan, ed., *Kanunname-i Âl-i Osman*. For a legal discussion of fratricide in Ottoman history, see Mehmet Akman, *Osmanlı Devletinde Kardeş Katli* (Istanbul: Eren, 1997).

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expected to do, then, was to chase after his brothers and execute both them and their children—even if no open crime or act of treason had been committed. The rationale was that leaving a potential contender for the throne might pave the way for sedition or give neighboring powers a means by which to interfere in Ottoman politics.¹⁸

After Selim I (r. 1512–1520), Süleyman ascended the throne without any competition: he was the deceased sultan's only son. As a result, he was able to direct his energy and capacity toward conquests and the consolidation of his power, marking his reign with glory and magnificence. As he grew old, however, competition among his surviving sons—Mustafa (b. 1515), Mehmed (b. 1521), Selim (b. 1524), Bayezid (b. 1525), and Cihangir (b. 1531)¹⁹—overshadowed this glory with bitter casualties and executions. The most striking of these was undoubtedly the execution of Şehzade Mustafa by Süleyman's order. What led the sultan to kill his own son, rather than leaving matters to take their course after his death?

18 False pretenders was a constant source of problem for the Ottoman sultanate. Two Düzmece Mustafa affairs in 1421 and 1555 show that these false pretenders could easily gather armed forces around themselves and they may be a stooge used by a foreign power. Besides, when Mehmed II died in 1481, Bayezid managed to ascend the throne before his brother Cem. Since the latter also asserted his claims for the throne and demanded from Bayezid the country be divided into two parts, the problem of succession grew first to be a civil war and then an international issue when Cem fled to Mamluk lands. Fearing an Ottoman attack, Mamluks sent Cem to Rhodes, which was the base of the knights of St. John. The issue became a pretext for a crusade, when he was transferred from Rhodes to Rome as a captive of the Papacy. Bayezid negotiated with Pope Innocent VIII to keep his brother safe in Rome. Ultimately, Cem died in 1495 and the succession problem was resolved. See Halil İnalçık, "A Case Study in Renaissance Diplomacy: The Agreement between Innocent VIII and Bayezid II on Djem Sultan," *Journal of Turkish Studies* III (1979): 209–30; Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976), II: 381–416. Similarly, when Selim I ascended the throne as his father, Bayezid II, abdicated in his favor, first thing he did was to chase after his brother Ahmed and Korkud who had supporters among the viziers and learned class. Their presence would pose continuous threats to Selim and made his rule fragile in the awaiting problems of the Safavids and *qizilbash* subjects. Selâhattin Tansel, *Yavuz Sultan Selim* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 6–30; Emecen, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, 71–86.

19 Three sons of Süleyman, Murad and Mahmud (d. 1521) and Abdullah (1522), died in infancy. See Fisher, "Süleymân and His Sons"; A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1956), Talbe XXX; M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1980), 34–38; Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 58–63.

The Actors: Süleyman and His Family

Having inherited a vast empire from his father, Süleyman continued to expand the lands of Ottoman dominion. In his first ten years as ruler, he consolidated the newly conquered Arab lands, captured Belgrade and Rhodes, and destroyed the medieval Hungarian kingdom. The rivalry between Süleyman and Habsburg Emperor Charles V grew into a competition for ideological innovations, erupting in heated battles in Europe and the Mediterranean. Amid the raging currents of apocalypticism in the first half of the sixteenth century, Süleyman was portrayed not only as “the master of the conjunction” (*sahib-qıran*) but also even as the messiah.²⁰ Süleyman’s enterprise was believed to have ushered in a universal monarchy, something that was expected to occur in the year 960/1553, when great astral planets (namely, Jupiter and Saturn) would align in a special conjunction.

After completing these ambitious ventures, however, Süleyman began to favor less bellicose foreign policy starting in the 1540s. In connection with this, his public image shifted from universal king to regional emperor; tired of waging war on the eastern or the western front almost every year, he preferred to stay in Istanbul for most of the year and to spend winters in Edirne, where he could rest better than he could in the imperial capital. Adopting a modest lifestyle in his domicile, he increasingly withdrew from politics and abstained from sumptuous exhibitions and ventures. Because of his chronic illnesses—particularly, gout and dropsy—Süleyman came to pass his days resting or hunting in the imperial gardens.²¹

In addition, seeing the growing tension between his sons, the sultan grew fearful that he would witness their conflict during his lifetime; for this reason, he did not wish to leave the capital long enough for any of his sons to supplant him,

20 Cornell H. Fleischer, “The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleymân,” in *Soliman le Magnifique et son Temps: Actes du Colloque de Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 7–10 Mars 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Documentation française, 1992), 159–77; Cornell H. Fleischer, “Shadows of Shadows: Prophecy and Politics in 1530s Istanbul,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13, no. 1–2 (2007): 51–62; Robert Finlay, “Prophecy and Politics in Istanbul: Charles V, Sultan Süleyman and the Habsburg Embassy of 1533–1534,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 2, no. 1 (1998): 1–31.

21 Navagero reports that Süleyman adopted a sober diet, rejecting to drink wine unlike he used to do during the time of Ibrahim Pasha (1523–1536). See Bernardo Navagero, “Relazione dell’Impero Ottomano del Clarissimo Bernardo Navagero, Stato Bailo a Costantinopoli Fatta in Pregadi nel Mese di Febbrajo del 1553,” in *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ed. Eugenio Albèri, III, v.1 (Firenze: Tipografia e Calcografia all’Insegna di Clio, 1840), 72–73 [Hereafter: Navagero, “Relazione”].

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and he was well aware of Mustafa's prestige and stature, as well as of the people's support for him. The sultan's noticeable absence from the public role of military commander and his leaving administration to Rüstem provoked many soldiers who had preferred a conquering sultan. In fact, as Venetian *bailo* Bernardo Navagero attests, the idea of the sultan's inclination to peace can be attributed to a large extent to Rüstem:

Because of age and the many accomplishments that made him a worthy successor by virtue of his past—having seized Rhodes and Belgrade, having driven the unlucky king of Hungary from rule and from life, and having won many regions in the Persian borders—Süleyman chose, not without good reason, to maintain peace.... [Rüstem] pasha who is inclined to tranquility ... in peacetime is safe to always keep the reputation he has now and to enjoy the grandeur of the whole empire.... It clear that in this last war in Transylvania with the most serene king of the Romans [i.e., Ferdinand of Austria], the sultan several times admitted with regret that things had gone too far. In sum, it is reasonably believed, as I say, that the sultan from now on will abhor war and will not resort to it unless he is forced, and then [will do so] neither by his hand nor by his person, but by the hand of others—just as this year [1552], though he had announced the desire to go in person to Hungary, he decided to send Achmet Pasha.²²

Süleyman's eldest son, Mustafa, was born in 1515 to the Circassian concubine Mahidevran,²³ who had been Süleyman's consort from the time of his governorship in Manisa when he was still a prince. However, Mahidevran fell from favor when Süleyman turned his attentions to Hürrem; therefore, Mustafa does not seem to have been the sultan's first choice as a successor. Initially, the eldest prince was appointed governor of Manisa (1534), his father's former seat, but he was transferred to Amasya (1540) just as the time came for Hürrem's eldest son, Mehmed, to take up a provincial princely governorate. The greater distance from

22 See *Ibid.*, 79–80.

23 The ethnic origin of Mahidevran is not firmly established. Although most of the sources (*Ibid.*, 74; Domenico Trevisano, "Relazione dell'Impero Ottomano del Clarissimo Domenico Trevisano, Tornato Bailo da Costantinopoli sulla fine del 1554," in *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ed. Eugenio Albèri, III, v.1 (Firenze: Tipografia e Calcografia all'Insegna di Clio, 1840), 115 [Hereafter: Trevisano, "Relazione"]) state that she was Circassian; there are a few sources indicating that she was Albanian. Compare in Daniello de' Ludovisi, "Relazione dell'Impero Ottomano Riferita in Senato dal Secretario Daniello de' Ludovisi, a dì 3 Giugno del 1534," in *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ed. Eugenio Albèri, III, v.1 (Firenze: Tipografia e Calcografia all'Insegna di Clio, 1840), 28–29 [Hereafter: Ludovisi, "Relazione"].

Amasya to Istanbul, relative to that from the capital to Manisa, now home to Mehmed's court, seems to have put Mustafa at a disadvantage in the competition for succession. On the other hand, however, while Manisa was the first provincial post for the princes in their youth, Amasya was a strategically important location along the route to the east; thus, moving from Manisa to Amasya was actually a promotion.²⁴ It seems that overall Mustafa did perceive himself to be at any disadvantage, even when Mehmed's sudden death (1543) escalated the silent competition into an overt war among the brothers. Mustafa's candidacy continued, and, according to a report from Navagero, even the sultan expected him to succeed, for he told his youngest son, Cihangir, "My son Mustafa will become the sultan and will deprive you all of your lives."²⁵

Mustafa held considerable power and great deal of credibility among various powerful social groups. He earned the goodwill of the janissaries; he also attained a considerable reputation as a patron of scholars and poets.²⁶ Navagero records his image as follows:

One cannot describe how much he is loved and desired by all in the empire to succeed. The janissaries want him, and they let this be known manifestly. There is no Turk or slave of the Gran-Signor who does not have the same opinion or desire, because in addition to primogeniture, which should rightfully give him the empire, his reputation as courageous, generous, and fair makes everybody yearn for him.²⁷

It was not easy to compete with a prince like Mustafa when so many hoped to see him become sultan. The janissaries, especially, who considered Sultan Süleyman aged and unable to lead military campaigns, wished Mustafa to ascend the throne even before the sultan's death. They hoped to see a Sultan Mustafa resume conquests in the west and decisively defeat the Safavids.²⁸ In this respect, the janissaries' preference recalls the accession of Selim I, Süleyman's father. Though Bayezid I (r. 1481–1512) and his viziers had preferred the oldest prince, Ahmed,

24 Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, 80.

25 Navagero, "Relazione," 77.

26 Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tarihi* (Istanbul: Hikmet Matbaa-i İslâmiyesi, 1910), III: 306.

27 Navagero, "Relazione," 77–78.

28 Such an expectation can be followed with the observations of Trevisano who stated that if Mustafa had become sultan, he could have channeled the enthusiasm and the love of his supporters to another expedition against the Christians. See Trevisano, "Relazione," 173.

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Selim—despite his distant governorship in Trabzon—had challenged his father by attaining the support of the janissaries and the *sipahis* in Rumeli. Under pressure, Bayezid finally surrendered the throne to Selim in 1512 and left Istanbul for Dimetoka (though he died on the way).²⁹ The janissaries' extensive support of Mustafa must certainly have reminded Süleyman of his father's success and of his grandfather's fate. As I discuss below, however, it was the janissaries' love for Mustafa that led to the prince's demise when the sultan's authority was put to the test.

Mustafa, for his part, did not ignore the enthusiasm of the janissaries. He wanted his rights to the throne respected and gathered important people around him. He disclosed his ambitions in a letter to Ayas Pasha, the governor of Erzurum, expressing his desire for the throne—although he clearly stated that he would not overthrow his father and wished to be sultan only after Süleyman's death. He requested the help of Ayas Pasha, who at the time was a promising bureaucrat.³⁰ Ayas Pasha responded positively, assuring the prince that he was worthier of the throne than his brothers were.³¹

In addition, Mustafa had been in communication with the Venetian *bailo* in Istanbul, Domenico Trevisano, and with the Venetian senate. A dispatch Trevisano sent to the Venetian Council of Ten written on 15 October 1553 indicates that Mustafa had sent a messenger, Nebi Bey, to the *bailo* asking for his help gaining the throne; this man had also traveled to Venice to negotiate with the senate.³² The *bailo* had received word on 6 October that Nebi Bey had arrived in Venice on the first of the month and was scheduled for an audience with the Venetian Collegio the following day. According to the rumors circulating in Venice, the mission of Mustafa's man was to broker a deal with Venetian authorities, who were willing to support Mustafa with Venetian intelligence and technical services if he would return to them the former Venetian strongholds in Morea (the Peloponnese).³³

29 See Uluçay, "Yavuz Sultan Selim Nasıl Padişah Oldu?"; Emecen, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, 64–70

30 Şerafettin Turan, *Şehzâde Bayezid Vak'ası*, 24 and 181–183. For Mustafa's plan to ascend the throne after the death of Süleyman, see Hans Dernschwam, *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55)*, ed. Franz Babinger (München and Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1923), 55.

31 Turan, *Şehzâde Bayezid Vak'ası*, 26.

32 Archivio di Stati di Venezia, *Consiglio di Dieci, Dispacci Costantinopoli*, Busta 2, 37r-v.

33 See the letter of M. de Selve to the French king Henri II in Ernest Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1848), II: 288–289.

Mustafa had sent Nebi Bey with precious gifts to Venice in order to guarantee Venetian support in his struggle for the throne. His messenger delivered the prince's letters and those of Mustafa's *emiralem* (standard-bearer), Thomas Michiel, the son of a Venetian nobleman who had been captured in the battle of Preveza. Nebi Bey was welcomed and hosted well in Venice; when he set out for Istanbul, the Venetians accompanied him as far as Ragusa in order to protect him from Uskok raids. He was carrying two letters from Venice, one for Mustafa and one for his *emiralem*, Thomas Michiel.³⁴

However, Mustafa never lived to see his messenger return; he was executed the same day Nebi Bey set out from Venice, 6 October 1553. The *bailo's* 15 October dispatch reported Mustafa's death to the Venetian senators.³⁵ The news was a shock for them, and they lost hope of regaining the old fortresses in Morea.³⁶ This abortive episode in princely diplomacy, however, demonstrates that just as Hürrem (probably in collaboration with Rüstem) did for her sons, Mustafa likewise was acting to bolster his claim to the throne; moreover, he was more successful than his half-brothers in gaining valuable support. Forming coalitions and seeking allies were perfectly legitimate moves for a candidate to the throne, and supporting a particular claimant constituted a way for various social groups (e.g., janissaries, viziers, scholars, middle-class citizens) to participate in imperial politics.

Süleyman's favorite concubine, Hürrem, gave birth to many children; of these, four sons, Mehmed (b. 1521), Selim (b. 1524), Bayezid (b. 1525), and Cihangir (b. 1531), and one daughter, Mihrimah (b. 1522), reached adolescence. Despite the tradition of "one concubine, one son,"³⁷ Süleyman's continued favoring of Hürrem and her bearing multiple sons show that she obtained incredible power and prestige within the imperial family. Naturally, she desired to retain this power even after Süleyman's death; the obvious way to achieve this was for one of her sons ascend the throne, making her the queen mother (*vâlîde sultan*)

34 Copies of the letters are in Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti*, Reg. 68, 184v-185v.

35 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti*, Reg. 68, 184r-v

36 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti*, Reg. 68, 200r-201r. For the disappointment, see Charrière, *Négociations*, II: 288–289.

37 In principle, one concubine was allowed to give birth only to one son, Hürrem as being an exception gave birth to more than one son, and we know four of them who lived relatively long. Each concubine, according to the principle, was expected to exert her effort to educate her son and invest him to be best candidate for the throne. For the working of the 'single-son concubine' principle see Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 42–50.

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and the most powerful woman in the empire. Hürrem also broke the principle of a concubine's accompanying her son to the province, instead remaining in the capital (close to the center of power) to care for her three younger sons. Hürrem wished to secure the throne for one of her sons, as any concubine would have,³⁸ but Mehmed's sudden death in 1543 placed her in a more desperate position because it rendered Mustafa, the son of Mahidevran, the most powerful candidate for the sultanate.

Toward the late 1540s and into the early 1550s, the silent competition between Mustafa and the sons of Hürrem became more apparent and more public. The aged sultan, who was struggling with illnesses, preferred to rest, sending his viziers to conduct military campaigns; he may have been reluctant to leave the capital, again, because he also feared a war of succession even before his death. The Habsburg ambassador Gerhard Veltwyck reported near the end of 1545 that Rüstem and the other viziers were ready for a peace agreement because of the discord among Süleyman's sons.³⁹ Both Veltwyck (in February 1547) and Habsburg ambassador in Istanbul, Malvezzi, (in February 1550) reported that Rüstem wanted to eliminate Mustafa in order to secure the throne for Selim.⁴⁰ In fact, Hürrem, Mihrimah, and Rüstem collaborated to facilitate the accession of either Selim or Bayezid to the throne.⁴¹

Süleyman's grand vizier and son-in-law, Rüstem Pasha, had been taken as a *değişirme* boy and trained with an Ottoman palace education. Having acquired the sultan's favor, Rüstem quickly climbed the steps of various positions, rising to the

38 The concubines were supposed to accompany their sons, when they leave the capital for provincial governorship. Mustafa was sent to the governorship of Manisa in 1533 and his mother Mahidevran accompanied him. When Hürrem's oldest son Mehmed was of the age for provincial governorship in 1542, he went to Manisa alone and his mother Hürrem stayed in Istanbul.

39 Srecko M Dzaja, Karl Nehring, and Günter Weiß, eds., *Austro-Turcica, 1541–1552: diplomatische Akten des habsburgischen Gesandtschaftsverkehrs mit der Hohen Pforte im Zeitalter Süleymans des Prächtigen* (München: Oldenbourg, 1995), 89.

40 *Ibid.*, 139 and 398.

41 For some sources, Hürrem and Rüstem preferred Selim whereas according to some other sources they were inclined to Bayezid. The other son Cihangir was gibbous and tacitly not considered as a candidate for the throne. In either case, they want to prevent Mustafa from accession and save the throne for Selim or Bayezid after the death of Süleyman. Danişmend calls them as 'palace party' (*saray partisi*). See Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, II: 279–281; Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 79–86; Turan, *Şehzâde Bayezid Vak'ası*, 18–21.

grand vizierate in 1544.⁴² His marriage with Mihrimah Sultan, the only surviving daughter of Süleyman and Hürrem, made him part of the palace network headed by Hürrem. Like his mother-in-law, he desired that the aged sultan be succeeded by one of Hürrem's sons. It was also to his advantage to prevent Mustafa from becoming sultan: Rüstem fell outside Mustafa's network by virtue of his proximity to Hürrem. Rüstem hoped that if the throne was occupied by one of Hürrem's sons, he could maintain his power as grand vizier and control the government. Therefore, Mustafa's demise would serve Rüstem's interests.

It is generally accepted that Rüstem tried to damage Mustafa's reputation, at least in the sultan's eyes. For example, in 1549, when the Georgians killed the governor of Erzurum, Mustafa, from his post in Amasya, requested help from Istanbul to attack the Georgians. However, Rüstem did not send assistance to the prince, calculating that Mustafa would gain still more prestige if he defeated the Georgians. In 957/1550, some highway robbers from Iran crossed Ottoman borders and looted several villages in eastern Anatolia. Mustafa again petitioned for help, and Rüstem again responded negatively. Being disturbed with constant appeals from Mustafa, Rüstem recalled Mustafa's vizier, Lala Cafer Pasha, to Istanbul and sent the Bosnian Ahmed Pasha to replace him and apparently to act as a spy. However, this plan disintegrated when Ahmed Pasha earned Mustafa's trust and married one of his daughters.⁴³ According to a document in the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives, a notice was sent to the sultan informing him that Rüstem had plotted against Mustafa in an attempt to frame him as a Safavid ally. The notice claims that Rüstem had forged Mustafa's seal and sent a letter of friendship, purportedly from Mustafa, to the Safavid ruler, Tahmasb, who did not know this was a ploy by Rüstem, responded positively to the invitation. Rüstem's men found the letter and delivered it to Rüstem.⁴⁴ Again, such behavior aligns with the grand vizier's ambitions to protect himself and his career interests in a volatile political environment.

42 See the career of Rüstem Pasha in Şinasi Altundağ and Şerafettin Turan, "Rüstem Paşa," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1940–1987); Zahit Atçıl, "State and Government in the Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire: The Grand Vizierates of Rüstem Pasha (1544–1561)" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Chicago, 2015).

43 These allegations are mentioned in *Amasya Tarihi* of Hüseyin Hüsameddin (III: 307–309) who does not cite any source.

44 Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, E. 5103. See the transcription of the document in M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Rüstem Paşa ve Hakkındaki İthamlar," *Tarih Dergisi* VIII, no. 11–12 (1955): s. 24–26 and 38–43. The author of the document seems to be Remmal Haydar. See more about Remmal Haydar in Cornell H. Fleischer, "Seer to the Sultan: Haydar-ı Remmal and Sultan Süleyman,"

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Mustafa was executed during the Nahçıvan campaign against the Safavids; indeed, the execution somewhat overshadowed the campaign. After the Ottoman army withdrew from eastern Anatolia in 1549, *kızılbaş/qızılbaş* forces began to disturb locales around Lake Van; it therefore seemed necessary to fortify Ottoman holdings in the region.⁴⁵ The question was who would lead the campaign to the east this time. The sultan had not headed an expedition for three years; after the eastern campaign in 1548–1549, he had grown severely ill, as mentioned earlier.⁴⁶ At Rüstem's urging, he sent Ahmed Pasha to head the Transylvanian campaign in 1552. This time he again remained in the capital, appointing Rüstem Pasha commander in chief for this campaign in the fall of 1552.⁴⁷ Süleyman's plan was probably this: as in the Two Iraqs campaign (1533–1536), the army would go east with the grand vizier (Rüstem Pasha) for the winter, and if necessary, the sultan would join him in the spring. Rüstem was likely meant to oversee only the mustering and organization of the soldiers coming from Rumeli.

Rüstem departed from Istanbul with fifty thousand soldiers in about September 1552.⁴⁸ He was supposed to proceed as far as Kayseri, but the grand vizier did not want to travel too far from the capital, fearing that Şehzade Mustafa would attempt to ascend the throne with the janissaries' assistance if the sultan's health deteriorated.⁴⁹ The ambassadorial reports and contemporary sources reflect that

in *Cultural Horizons: A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman*, ed. Jayne L. Warner (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 296–297.

45 Tahmasb and his *qızılbaş* armies looted the countryside and subdued the towns around Lake Van (particularly, Ahlat, Erciş and Adilcevaz). The quarrel between the governor of Erzurum, İskender Pasha and the Safavid prince Ismail Mirza alarmed the government in Istanbul to have another campaign against the Safavids. Compare in Mustafa Çelebi Celâlzâde, *Geschichte Sultan Süleymân Kânünis von 1520 bis 1557, oder, Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik ve Derecâtü'l-Mesâlik*, ed. Petra Kappert (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981), 426a–431b; Mustafa Âli, *Künhül-Abbâr: Dördüncü Rûkn, Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009), 323a-b; M. Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, *Osmanlılar'ın Kafkas-Elleri'ni Fethi (1451–1590)* (Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1976), 211–216; Remzi Kılıç, *Kânuni Devri Osmanlı-İran Münâbetleri (1520–1566)* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2006), 297–301.

46 Navagero, "Relazione," 72–73.

47 Celâlzâde, *Tabakât*, 432a; Mustafa Âli, *Künhül-Abbâr*, 324a. We see that Rüstem's commandership had been announced to the provincial governors in Anatolia by early November. See Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, AE.SÜLI, 2/131.

48 Celâlzâde, *Tabakât*, 432a; "Relazione Anonima," 202–203. [

49 See "Relazione Anonima," 203.

the primary mission of Rüstem (and of the sultan) was not to fight the Safavids but to force them to seek peace with the Ottoman government. As I discuss below, Rüstem and the sultan anticipated that the threat of war would position the Ottomans advantageously in negotiations, as it had during peace negotiations with the Habsburgs.⁵⁰ For this reason, too, Rüstem was less eager to progress farther east.

It seems that the critical episode deciding the fate of Mustafa took place while Rüstem was in Anatolia with the army. Hürrem and Rüstem's angling to eliminate Mustafa, like Mustafa's negotiating international alliances and his positive response to the soldiers' affection, align with the roles each was expected to play in the existing political system. It has been accepted in the literature that Rüstem's true intention was to expose Mustafa as a rebellious prince who wanted to overthrow his father and beat his brothers to the throne. Rüstem allegedly manipulated the rumor circulated among the soldiers that the aged sultan was poised to voluntarily give the throne to Mustafa but that Rüstem had prevented it. The campaign to the east thus became a perfect opportunity for Mustafa to eliminate Rüstem on his way to power. If Mustafa made a move against Rüstem, the absolute representative of the sultan, this could display Mustafa disloyal to his father, as he would disregard the sultan's appointment of Rüstem for the position of commander-in-chief.⁵¹

In the winter of 960/1553, Mustafa made a reckless move that gave his rivals an invaluable opportunity. I contend that the sultan considered his soldiers' show of extreme loyalty to Mustafa and his acceptance of this honor tantamount to rebellion because it could have altered the source of legitimacy and loyalty in Ottoman society. What happened when Rüstem was in Anatolia? The narrative penned by historian Âlî indicates that although it was soldiers who had turned Mustafa's head, the prince would ultimately be portrayed as the rebel:

At that time, the grand vizier and glorious royal son-in-law Rüstem Pasha was appointed commander in chief of the victorious soldiers. This way, they arrived in Aksaray, a district of the province of Karaman. God knows how [it began],

50 For negotiations see Dzaja, Nehring, and Weiß, *Austro-Turcica*, 48–179. For war preparations, see Halil Sahillioğlu, *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi H.951–952 Tarihli ve E-12321 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2002), *passim*.

51 The view that Rüstem manipulated the circulating rumors among the soldiers to display Mustafa as rebel to his father is the dominant one in the secondary literature. See Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, II: 278–280; Turan, *Şehzâde Bayezid Vak'ası*, 26–29; Kırzioğlu, *Osmanlılar'ın Kafkas-Elleri'ni Fethi*, 217; Kılıç, *Kânunî Devri Osmanlı-İran Münâsebetleri*, 306–307.

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but some news began to circulate in the imperial army. Gloomy consequences returned to Sultan Mustafa. Somehow, some stupid men among the soldiers offered obedience to the şehzade and altogether perverted him by saying, “Your magnificent father has grown old; he is unable to move and lead the campaign. That is why he appointed Rüstem Pasha as commander in chief and sent him into Anatolia. This pasha is malicious to you. But now, if you come to the camp and cut off his head, this will mark the realization of your aim.” Thus although the şehzade was true, they drove him to futile ambition. By sending continuous messages in this manner, they prompted the unfortunate prince to the path of rebellion and lured him to realize his ambition by going to the encampment.⁵²

In this account, it appears that Mustafa believed the words of some “stupid” soldiers, rebelling against his father by attempting to kill the sultan’s grand vizier because he knew that Rüstem did not want him to succeed Süleyman. Why should he not thus remove the principal impediment to his ascending the throne? Âlî seems to have thought that Mustafa was innocent, albeit deceived or misled.

Another source, the *Relazione Anonima*, whose Venetian author apparently observed closely the stages of the campaign, elaborates in detail what Âlî presented as Mustafa’s temptation to rebel:

Two days ahead of Iconio [Konya] on the way from Constantinople, they arrived at a passage in which there was a route leading to Amasya, the city of Cappadocia, where prince Mustafa, the primogenitor of Turco [i.e., Süleyman] had his residence. As [Rüstem P]asha arrived at this passage, most of the army having already moved on toward Iconio, the janissaries who were with him said that they wanted to go to pay respects to Mustafa, their future sultan. The pasha immediately understood the situation, and suspecting some threat to himself, issued a command that no one would leave him but that all the troops would accompany him in the direction of Iconio. The janissaries, however, did not want to be prevented from doing what they had decided [only] because of this command, so they all set out along the path toward Amasya. The pasha continued toward Iconio with the agha of the janissaries and with those others who had remained.

The janissaries who arrived in Amasya and went to kiss Mustafa’s hand were welcomed and fêted by him; they received abundant food and one ducat each. Then the next day, they were sent to Iconia, where they found the grand vizier with the rest of people; he had arrived some time earlier. At that time, he [Rüstem]

52 Mustafa Âlî, *Künhül-Abbâr*, 324a. For a slightly different version see *Künhül-Abbâr*, MS (Nuruosmaniye, 3409), 76b.

had a letter from Istanbul with the news that Sultan Süleyman was seriously ill and had little hope of recovering. Mustafa, too, received this news, immediately understood the situation, and prepared himself to ride [to Istanbul] in case [news of] the sultan's death should follow. It was said that he had a hundred thousand men ready who would mount horses to follow him at the sound of a trumpet. Actually, this was not so much the truth as a rumor circulated at the direction of Rüstem Pasha, who took this opportunity to procure the death of the unlucky prince. [With Mustafa] no more than five thousand men were found at that time, but all of them were well chosen and counted as three men [in prowess]. It is also true that the army would not have followed either Rüstem Pasha or the agha of the janissaries, no matter what they offered as present or promise to keep the troops together, because Mustafa was so loved by all the imperial soldiers, and everyone impatiently awaited the moment he would become emperor.⁵³

From this passage, it appears that the sultan almost lost control of the janissaries and indeed no longer stood as legitimate ruler. Even though he sent the army headed by his absolute deputy, the grand vizier, who had authority equal to his own, the janissaries disregarded this delegation of authority and stood ready to follow the prince. Rüstem warned those who were determined to visit Mustafa, but his words apparently bore no weight with them. What made the problem more profound was Mustafa's acceptance of their allegiance by allowing them to kiss his hand. If he had rejected this obeisance right away as a display due only the sultan himself, he could never have been portrayed as a rebel to his father; rejection of the soldiers' advances would have communicated that the legitimate sultan was alive in Istanbul and that he, as his son, by no means disregarded the authority of the sultan.

Mustafa probably did not intend to undermine Süleyman's power and prestige, but he almost certainly did not foresee that embracing the people's love would result in his demise. In fact, he did not trust Rüstem Pasha at all, believing that he was in collaboration with Hürrem to bring him down. He was evidently seeking alliances, as in his correspondence with Ayas Pasha and the Venetians, so he welcomed and offered his generosity to those who visited him by giving them each a ducat. Then the soldier's loyalty to Rüstem as the sultan's deputy ceased to exist and was transferred to the man they considered their future sultan, Mustafa.

The author of *Relazione Anonima* reports that the tension between Rüstem and the soldiers increased when news of the sultan's illness arrived in the camp.

⁵³ "Relazione Anonima," 203–204.

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The same news also reached Mustafa, who realized that he might need to depart immediately for the capital in order to reach it before his brothers did. He ordered his men to prepare to move quickly, for they would depart at the sound of a trumpet.⁵⁴ In addition, when the army reached Aksaray in central Anatolia, the heavy snow impeded the soldiers who were with Rüstem. Fatigued by Rüstem's slow and reluctant movement eastward, they petitioned the grand vizier: "If there is an enemy, let us go defeat him; if there is not, let us return to Istanbul." Rüstem responded that this was not his decision to make; they would go and winter in Konya, therefore, and he would tell them when he received other orders from the sultan.⁵⁵ The soldiers were infuriated by this; Rüstem believed he had lost the ability to command them. He knew that any move by Mustafa would draw all the soldiers to the prince, leaving Rüstem alone and defenseless.

The actions of Mustafa and the attitude of the army ultimately benefited Rüstem and Hürrem. Seeing the state the janissaries were in, Rüstem worried that a sinister accident might befall him, costing him his life. He refused to move farther and decided to remain at Konya. He secretly sent Sipahilerbaşısı Şemsi Agha and Çavuşbaşı Ali Agha to Istanbul to inform the sultan of the stalemate he faced.⁵⁶ When the sultan heard about the janissaries' inclination toward Mustafa and about Mustafa's ambition, he was extremely grieved, though he did not believe that Mustafa would plot against his father. As Âlî records, Süleyman told the aghas sent from Rüstem this:

God forbid that my Mustafa Khan should dare such insolence, and for the love of the sultanate during my lifetime should extend his foot from the quilt! It must be the idea of some troublemakers. They slander him in order to obtain the rule for the prince they support. See that you never let similar rumors appear and never again repeat such a thing.⁵⁷

54 Ibid., 204.

55 Göker İnan, "Rüstem Paşa Tarihi (H.699–968/M. 1299–1561): İnceleme-Metin, Vr. 120b-vr.293b" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Marmara University, 2011), 277a-b.

56 Celalzâde, *Tabakât*, 432b; Mustafa Âlî, *Künhül-Abbâr*, 324a; "Relazione Anonima," 205; İnan, "Rüstem Paşa Tarihi," 277b.

57 "Hâşâ ki Mustafa Han'ım bu makule küstahlığı irtikâb ede, ve benim zaman-ı hayatımda sevdayi mulke payini lihâfından taşra uzada. Nihayet ba'zı muüfsidiinin peydâlarıdır. Kendüler mâyil olduğu şehzâdeye verâset-i mülk münhasır olsun deyu iftiralarıdır. Zinhâr bu makule musâvilere vücûd verilmesin, bu def'a tezekkür olunduğu gibi kerreten ba'de uhrâ zikr olunmasın." See Mustafa Âlî, *Künhül-Abbâr*, 324a.

Nevertheless, the sultan apparently wanted to squelch this rumor, which might increase support for Mustafa at the expense of his own sultanate. He immediately sent the messengers back and recalled Rüstem and the armies, announcing that he himself would lead the campaign later⁵⁸ When Rüstem returned to Istanbul, he was relieved to find the sultan in better health. Preparations were completed, and the sultan left Istanbul with the army on 28 August 1553 (18 Ramazan 960).⁵⁹ Rüstem Pasha's brother Sinan Pasha was appointed deputy (*saltanat kaymakamı*) in Istanbul, and Şehzade Bayezid was charged with guarding Rumeli in Edirne.⁶⁰ The Venetian *bailo* Navagero wrote that Rüstem had appointed Sinan (who was not experienced in maritime affairs) as grand admiral of the navy in part so as to prevent Şehzade Mustafa from crossing the straits of Istanbul if he arrived in the capital before one of Hürrem's sons did. In his words, "There was no more secure way to prohibit the crossing than with the navy."⁶¹

According to *Relazione Anonima*, when the sultan and his army arrived at the passage where the route to Amasya lay, he sent several *ciaus* (*çavuş*, messengers) to Mustafa asking him to join him in Ereğli. The same source recounts that Mustafa discussed the sultan's call with his counselors, who unanimously advised him not to go to his father's camp, insisting that he would probably lose his life if he went. His mother, Mahidevran, who had left the harem and accompanied him in his appointments to provincial government, shared the same opinion.⁶² Obviously, then, this could not have been an easy decision for Mustafa to make. The Habsburg ambassador Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq explained the prince's dilemma briefly:

Mustafa hesitated between two choices: if he entered the presence of his father and found him angry and offended, he would certainly be at risk. But if he

58 Celâlzâde, *Tabakât*, 432a–b; Mustafa Âli, *Künhü'l-Abbâr*, 324a; "Relazione Anonima," 205; İnan, "Rüstem Paşa Tarihi," 277b–278a.

59 Celâlzâde, *Tabakât*, 433b; Mustafa Âli, *Künhü'l-Abbâr*, 324b; "Relazione Anonima," 207; İnan, "Rüstem Paşa Tarihi," 278a. Mehmet İpçioğlu argues that according to a *Rûznameçe* register (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Kamil Kepeci 1696, 1a), the sultan departed Istanbul on 16 Ramazan 960 (26 August 1553). It is probable however that the register might imply that the departure of the sultan was planned on 16 Ramazan but it delayed two days. See Mehmet İpçioğlu, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Nahçıvan Seferi* (Ankara: Nobel Yayın Dağıtım, 2003), 62.

60 See, Navagero, "Relazione," 78–79. For Sinan Pasha's appointment for the government of Istanbul, see Cristóbal de Villalón, *Viaje de Turquía* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1919), I: 138. Kırzioğlu, *Osmanlılar'ın Kafkas-Elleri'ni Fethi*, 218; Turan, *Şehzâde Bayezid Vak'ası*, 31.

61 Navagero, "Relazione," 78–79.

62 "Relazione Anonima," 207–208.

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avoided him, he would publicly admit that he had contemplated an act of treason. The decision he took is the one that required more courage and risk. Leaving Amasya, the seat of his government, he headed to his father's camp, which lay not far off, relying on his innocence; he was probably also confident that no harm could come to him in the presence of the army. Be that as it may, he went to meet an inevitable death.⁶³

Mustafa finally decided to obey his father and join the sultan's army, reportedly telling his advisers that he did not want to resist going "where destiny cast him."⁶⁴ The sultan's army had arrived in Ereğli on 5 October 1553 (26 Şevval 960);⁶⁵ Şehzade Mustafa's entourage camped about two miles away. First, all the viziers and governors visited Mustafa in his camp, and the next day the prince was scheduled to appear before his father.⁶⁶ According to *Relazione Anonima*, an arrow was thrown from the sultan's camp into Mustafa's to warn him that he would die if he visited his father. Mustafa, however, thought that this was another trick of Rüstem's and ignored it entirely.⁶⁷ On 6 October (27 Şevval), he arrived in the sultan's camp. As he entered to kiss his father's hand, he was attacked and strangled to death.⁶⁸

According to Celalzâde's account, after Mustafa's execution but while the viziers were still waiting in the divan room, the chief gatekeeper (*kapıcılar kethüdası*) demanded the grand vizieral seal from Rüstem Pasha and told him and the third vizier, Haydar Pasha, to return to their tents. The *kapıcılar kethüdası* went again to the divan room and handed the seal to the second vizier, Ahmed Pasha, announcing his appointment to the grand vizierate.⁶⁹ So Rüstem and Haydar were dismissed. Regarding the latter, it was rumored that Haydar was the one who had sent warning to Mustafa about the sultan's decision to execute him, but the author

63 Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, *Les Lettres Turques*, trans. Dominique Arrighi (Paris: Champion, 2010), 76–77.

64 "Relazione Anonima," 208.

65 Celalzâde, *Tabakât*, 436b; Mustafa Âli, *Künhül'Abbâr*, 324b. The date appears in *Rûznameçe* register 25 Şevval 960 (4 October 1553). See İpçioğlu, *Nahçıvan Seferi*, 67.

66 Celalzâde, *Tabakât*, 436b; Mustafa Âli, *Künhül'Abbâr*, 324b.

67 "Relazione Anonima," 208–209.

68 Ibid., 209–211. Also see Celalzâde, *Tabakât*, 436b; Mustafa Âli, *Künhül'Abbâr*, 324b; İpçioğlu, *Nahçıvan Seferi*, 68.

69 Celalzâde, *Tabakât*, 436b–437a; Mustafa Âli, *Künhül'Abbâr*, 324b; "Relazione Anonima," 211–212.

of *Relazione Anonima* doubted the veracity of this “because if he had fallen in such a suspicion, his head would have been gone [already].”⁷⁰

The Expedition’s Target: Mustafa or the Safavids?

Did the sultan intend to crush the Safavid shah or to execute Mustafa? For what purpose did he lead the army out once more? Despite the accounts of Ottoman chroniclers, particularly Celalzâde and Mustafa Âlî, outlining several reasons for a campaign to the east, there was never an intention to *fight* the Safavids. I contend that when the army first left Istanbul under the command of Rüstem Pasha, the expedition’s purpose was to force the Safavid shah to seek peace with the Ottoman government. Again, when the army departed from the capital a second time under Sultan Süleyman himself, the intention to force the Safavids to plead for peace remained in place, but the secret and perhaps more important aim in this case was to execute Mustafa. The sultan understood that his authority was threatened considerably if janissaries openly or secretly wanted to see Mustafa elevated as sultan even before Süleyman’s death. He knew that they might ask him to abdicate in favor of Mustafa, just as his grandfather, Bayezid II, had been forced to abdicate to his father, Selim I, in 1512. Therefore, Süleyman intended to eliminate Mustafa as a focus of sedition (and thus a cause of internal instability for the empire), while Süleyman and Rüstem Pasha both hoped at the same time that the Safavid shah, Tahmasb, would ask for peace. This argument can be substantiated with some facts that have not attracted much attention from historians.

First, expeditions against the Safavids had always been difficult and painful while producing fewer gains than expected. The Ottoman armies had been unable to destroy the Safavid state in any of their campaigns since the 1514 Çaldıran campaign, and Ottoman conquests rang hollow because the Safavid forces routinely evacuated the regions and burned the crops behind them. Whenever the Ottoman army captured Tabriz and other cities in the region, Safavid forces regained those locales as soon as the Ottoman army withdrew. This proved true once more in the last campaign of 1548–1549, after which Shah Tahmasb regained some of the territory Ottoman forces had occupied and began disturbing Ottoman frontiers. As contemporary observer Hans Dernschwam stated, the Ottoman army marched against the Safavids reluctantly because of the difficult, mountainous

⁷⁰ “Relazione Anonima,” 212. The explanation of Haydar’s dismissal based on his alleged attempt to warn Mustafa exists in Trevisano, “Relazione,” 175.

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terrain and because of the provisioning problem along the way caused by the Safavids' scorched-earth tactics. These hardships made imperial soldiers less eager to fight the Safavids than they were to fight in Hungary.⁷¹ Therefore, it was in the best interests of the Ottoman government to make peace with the Safavids in order to establish stable borders; peace would also have allowed the empire to allocate funds to other, more productive campaigns. The army's departure under Rüstem Pasha was thus intended to force Shah Tahmasb to seek peace.

It seems that the bluff initially worked well. Having learned that the Ottoman army had left Istanbul with Rüstem at its head, Tahmasb released a captive, Biga Sancakbeyi Mahmud Bey, carrying a letter seeking peace with the Ottoman sultan.⁷² As both the sultan and his grand vizier were inclined to peace, they replied that the Safavid shah should send an authorized representative to negotiate terms. Accordingly, Tahmasb sent as his ambassador Sayyid Shams al-Din Dilijānī, who arrived in Istanbul on 19 August 1553,⁷³ after all of the Ottoman war preparations had been completed. The sultan and the army left Istanbul on 28 August, and the ambassador was told that he would receive the sultan's response during the expedition.⁷⁴ On the way, Rüstem and Shams al-Din Dilijānī continued to negotiate the terms of peace.⁷⁵ The Safavid ambassador was then released to inform Tahmasb of Ottoman requests—but not before Mustafa was executed.⁷⁶

The sultan's actions clearly demonstrate that he was not inclined to fight the Safavids; if he had wanted war, he would have rejected outright both the letter and the ambassador sent by Shah Tahmasb. If there was a target when the army left Istanbul under Süleyman, it was Mustafa. The Venetian *bailo* Domenico Trevisano

71 Hans Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, 31.

72 Charrière, *Négociations*, II: 255; "Relazione Anonima," 206–207; Celälzâde, *Ṭabakât*, 432b–433b; Mustafa Âli, *Künhül-Abbâr*, 324a–b; Kırzioğlu, *Osmanlılar'ın Kafkas-Elteri'ni Fethi*, 217–218.

73 Ghaffārī Qazvinī, *Tārīkh-i jahān-ārā*, 301; Hasan Rūmlü, *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh*, 373; Tahmāsp, *Tazkirah-i Shāh Tahmāsb* (Qum: Maṭbū'at-i Dīnī, 1383), 141.

74 Celälzâde, *Ṭabakât*, 433a–b; Mustafa Âli, *Künhül-Abbâr*, 324a–b; "Relazione Anonima," 207; Charrière, *Négociations*, II: 277; İnan, "Rüstem Paşa Tarihi," 278a.

75 Charrière, *Négociations*, II: 280–281.

76 Although Celalzade and other Ottoman sources relying on him tell that the ambassador was released with the message of war, the Venetian and other European sources whose authors were also present on the army camp state that the ambassador went to Tahmasb with Ottoman terms for peace. Compare in Celälzâde, *Ṭabakât*, 438b; Mustafa Âli, *Künhül-Abbâr*, 326a; "Relazione Anonima," 214; Antal Verancsics, *Összes Munkái*, ed. Szalay László (Pest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd, 1857), III: 127–128.

agreed: the principal goal of this undertaking was to kill Mustafa; the sultan made peace with the Safavids on his way to this final objective. If the ambassador had been sent back immediately after arriving in Istanbul, Süleyman's reluctance to fight would have been apparent and his secret plan to kill his son might have been thwarted.⁷⁷ In that case, Mustafa would not have gone to his father's camp, and the sultan would have lost control of the army forever.

If the target of the campaign was Mustafa, when did the sultan actually decide to execute his son? The sources provide no hint as to the time of this decision. Busbecq reports that Süleyman had received the legal opinion (*fetva*) of the *şeyhülislam* (chief jurist-consult) Ebussuud Efendi, though no other source verifies this information.⁷⁸ In fact, even if the sultan had decided to execute Mustafa very early on, either he did not mention this decision until the last minute, or those who knew about it faithfully kept the sultan's secret. That no one knew or that they were very effectively keeping up appearances of normalcy is attested by the ordinary processes of salutation followed when the viziers visited Mustafa; even Mustafa's salutation of his father and the regular gift exchanges had nothing extraordinary about to them. According to the Rûznamçe register, on the day Mustafa visited his father, the gifts the sultan had been planned on presenting to him were registered; only after the execution was a note added that the gifts "remained in the imperial treasury" (*hızâne-i âmire mânde*).⁷⁹ Therefore, it seems that the sultan's decision was certainly kept secret until the moment it was implemented.

Who Was Responsible: Rüstem Pasha or Süleyman?

News of Mustafa's execution came as an extreme shock to the soldiers who had longed to see him as their sultan and had expected his accession very soon. The soldiers' affection for Mustafa had been even greater than that for the sultan, and grief in the camp continued for a long time. At the center of the criticism stood the sultan and especially Rüstem, whom the soldiers widely blamed for Mustafa's demise. It is reported that the grand vizier secretly escaped from the camp at night; had he remained there, he would almost certainly have lost his life when the janissaries attacked his tent the following day.⁸⁰ The sorrow of the

77 Trevisano, "Relazione," 166.

78 Busbecq, *Les Lettres Turques*, 77–78.

79 İpçioğlu, *Nahçıvan Seferi*, 67.

80 "Relazione Anonima," 213; Busbecq, *Les Lettres Turques*, 79.

janissaries was alleviated by Rüstem's dismissal, which they supposed indicated the sultan's awareness of the grand vizier's "crimes."

But the change in the grand vizierate could calm the popular anger only to a degree, and emotions surrounding Mustafa's death soon found a voice in poetry. Many *mersiyes* (elegies) were composed openly criticizing the sultan and Rüstem; among them, the most famous and perhaps most severe is the *mersiye* of Yahya Bey.⁸¹ The poet blames Rüstem Pasha for the prince's death, claiming that all of his intrigues depicted Şehzade Mustafa as evil and disloyal, and that these eventually brought death to him in the year of "Rüstem's trick." Yahya calls Rüstem a conspiring devil, and he refers to the story of the forged letters sent to Shah Tahmasb in Şehzade Mustafa's name, a ploy that only intensified the negative image of the *şehzade* in the sultan's eyes.

Busbecq mentions, however, the possibility that Rüstem himself asked the sultan dismiss him in order to preserve his life from the janissaries' fury.⁸² It is unknown exactly whose idea it was to remove the grand vizier, but contemporary accounts imply that Süleyman and Rüstem may have made a deal that would serve them both. Since the soldiers were extremely grieved at the loss, they were angry with the sultan; the author of *Relazione Anonima* relates that the men in the army began to curse and criticize Süleyman so loudly that the sultan could hear them

81 Yahya Bey was of Albanian origin and joined, following his father, the janissary army where he became a pupil of the janissary clerk/scribe Şahabeddin Bey, who exempted him from the regular duties and obligations of other janissaries. He participated in numerous campaigns starting with the Çaldıran (1514) and ending with the Nahçıvan campaign (1553). The historian Âlî reports that Yahya Bey composed the poem during the campaign, which began to circulate in the army very quickly though he tried to hide it. Yet, the satire to Rüstem was so harsh that Rüstem grew grudge on Yahya Bey and wanted to punish him with death but the sultan urged to forgive him. Later he was forced to retire in Izvornik. For Yahya Bey's life and *mersiye* see Mustafa Âlî, *Künhül-Abbâr*, 325a–326a; KA, 78a–79a; Mustafa Âlî, *Künhül-Abbâr'ın Tezkire Kısmı*, ed. Mustafa İsen (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1994), 286; Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü's-Şu'arâ*, ed. G. M Meredith-Owens, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial New Series, XXIV (London: Luzac, 1971), 95b; A. Atillâ Şentürk, *Yahya Beğ'in Şehzâde Mustafa Mersiyesi Yahut Kanuni Hicviyesi* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1998). In fact, the number of *mersiyes* composed on the death of Şehzade Mustafa exceeds that of *mersiyes* composed for others in the Turkish literature. For the *mersiyes* on the tragedy of Mustafa composed by other poets see Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, "Şehzade Mustafa Mersiyeleleri," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 12 (1982): 641–96; Ayhan Gültaş, "Bilinmeyen Şehzade Mustafa Mersiyeleleri," *Kubbealtı Akademisi Mecmuası* 18, no. 3 (1989): 37–49; Mustafa İsen, *Acıyı Bal Eylemek: Türk Edebiyatında Mersiye* (Ankara: Akçağ, 1993), 79–88 and 283–320.

82 Busbecq, *Les Lettres Turques*, 79–80.

from his pavilion.⁸³ However, in a historical moment when the sultan was officially at war with the Safavids, he needed the loyalty of his army more than at any other time. Dismissing Rüstem transferred the criticisms from the sultan to the deposed grand vizier, allowing Süleyman to consolidate his control over the army once more, as the soldiers interpreted this action as indicating that the sultan had finally realized Rüstem's "wickedness" and regretted giving the command for execution.⁸⁴

The possibility of a secret agreement between Süleyman and Rüstem is also supported by some sources that depict Rüstem's days following these events. He arrived in Istanbul on 31 October 1553, and although he had no official title at the time, he maintained his grand lifestyle, living much as he had done during his grand vizierate. According to the Venetian *bailo* Trevisano, Rüstem continued to grant audiences to the ambassadors and others, went to the mosque with the same pomp as before, and received visitors at his residence in Üsküdar.⁸⁵ Rüstem also told many in the capital that he would be restored to his position very soon.⁸⁶ This news circulated rapidly in Istanbul, and the new Habsburg ambassador Busbecq, who arrived in Istanbul on 20 January 1554, wrote that he needed to make an official visit to Rüstem's mansion "owing to his previous authority and the hope of a rapid restoration."⁸⁷ Similarly, the Venetian *bailo* Trevisano recommended in a dispatch to the Venetian senate dated 16 March 1554 that the newly elected Antonio Erizzo, who was to succeed him as *bailo* in Istanbul, should demonstrate great reverence to the former official and even bring with him two letters of credence—one of which he should submit to Rüstem.⁸⁸ Indeed, Rüstem was reappointed as grand vizier almost immediately, when the sultan returned from his campaign on 29 September 1555.⁸⁹

83 "Relazione Anonima," 212–213.

84 Celâlzâde, *Ṭabaḳât*, 437a–b; Mustafa Âlî, *Künhül-Abbâr*, 325a.

85 Trevisano, "Relazione," 175–176.

86 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, *Deciferazioni dei Dispacci da Costantinopoli*, Reg. 1, fol. 30–31 and 138–140. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, *Deliberazioni Secreti*, Reg. 69, fol. 35v.

87 Busbecq, *Les Lettres Turques*, 72.

88 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, *Dispacci Costantinopoli*, Filza 1-A, n. 8, fol. 14r and also in Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, *Deciferazioni dei Dispacci da Costantinopoli*, Reg. 1, fol. 7. The Venetian Senate took the advice of Trevisano and issued two copies of letters of credence for Antonio Erizzo to show his new position as *bailo* in Istanbul, and Erizzo too presented his letter on his first visit to Rüstem Pasha in his residence. See Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, *Deliberazioni Secreti*, Reg. 69, fol. 46r and Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, *Dispacci Costantinopoli*, Filza 1-A, n. 15, fol. 49r.

89 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, A.RSK 1455, fol. 7. Celâlzâde, *Ṭabaḳât*, 501b; Mustafa Âlî, *Künhül-Abbâr*, 337a.

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If the sultan had been angry about Rüstem's alleged deceptions and had dismissed him as punishment, how could Rüstem have been so sure of his restoration to the office? Did he not fear the anger of the sultan who had recently executed his own son? It is much more likely that Süleyman, needing the janissaries' loyalty, deliberately diverted their anger to his grand vizier in order to regain their support in the wake of a war with the Safavids. Though Rüstem became the main target of criticism, the sultan would have promised to reinstate him once conditions normalized.

Conclusion and Implications for Ottoman Succession

The most obvious observation to be made about the context in which Mustafa was executed is that Sultan Süleyman had lost control of the Ottoman army; the legitimacy of his sultanate was being questioned by those with the power to end it. In the majority view, Mustafa was superior to his brothers in leadership capacity, and he was even considered preferable to the aging and ill sultan. Mustafa had apparently gained the favor of janissaries, scholars, poets, and many others who wanted to see him take the throne—perhaps even before Süleyman's death. Dernschwam asserts that if the sultan had not acted when he did, Mustafa would have taken the initiative to dethrone his father; he certainly had the military support needed to do so, and the janissaries would have installed him as sultan.⁹⁰ Popular love for Mustafa grew to the extent that troops could disregard the reigning sultan's command when the interests of Mustafa (and their own) were threatened. The author of *Relazione Anonima* describes the janissaries' devotion to Mustafa in such a way that they could defend Mustafa even against the sultan himself:

Some important men in this army ... assured me that if poor Mustafa had left his father's tent alive when he escaped from the hand of the mutes who wanted to murder him, the majority of the army would have run to his aid against the sultan, his father.⁹¹

Some might argue that the army would naturally shift its devotion to the promising prince, perhaps especially considering that he had once been the ill sultan's own favorite. However, were not the janissaries supposedly the most loyal

90 Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, 59.

91 "Relazione Anonima," 213.

of the sultan's soldiers? How did they dare to ignore the command of the ruler to whom they owed absolute obedience? Even before the prince's execution, when Rüstem Pasha was in command of the army, a group of soldiers set out despite warnings to salute Mustafa, whom they considered the future sultan. They blatantly disregarded the command of the sultan's absolute deputy in order to pay respects to a prince who had not yet become sultan. All these actions might be considered simple errors of judgment committed by janissaries and other soldiers who had lost touch with the empire's hierarchical authority, but Mustafa himself welcomed these men and allowed them to kiss his hand. Did he consider himself to be sultan at the time? Or was he not aware that these soldiers had disobeyed their legitimate sultan's deputy by coming to greet him?

On the other hand, it seems unlikely that Süleyman was oblivious to the possible succession scenarios, including one in which Mustafa, backed by unequivocal military support, could overthrow the sultan, ascend the throne, and send his father into retirement or perhaps even to death. From either perspective, it seems that the sultan was convinced that Mustafa was a threat to his authority. Even if the prince never openly rebelled against his father, events positioned him as the potential leader of a rebellion, at least from the sultan's perspective. It is also worth remembering that the memory of Selim I's succession through the support of the janissaries and the provincial cavalry would still have been vivid in the 1550s. Even though Mustafa underlined, in his letter to Ayas Pasha, that he had no intention of overthrowing his father but hoped to ascend the throne when the sultan died, conditions appeared strikingly similar to those surrounding Selim's rise to power.

Like his courageous grandfather, Mustafa appeared to be the prince who could satisfy the various groups with a stake in choosing the next emperor. Given the importance of *gaza* and its role in Ottoman legitimacy, Mustafa's military prowess and leadership abilities were virtues seen necessary to a sultan's legitimacy. But while courage and enthusiasm for *gaza* fit the ideology of the Ottoman state in the early sixteenth century, when Selim had ascended the throne,⁹² in the mid-

92 Selim during his principality displayed a figure of war leader (*gazi*) who could resume the conquests, which had been mostly stopped during the reign of Bayezid II (1481–1512). Since the other claimants, Ahmed and Korkud, seemed pacifist to the provincial cavalry forces and the janissaries, the rhetoric of resuming conquests and ambitious policy against the Safavids propagated by Selim raised him to the status of most able candidate. This led to the abdication of Bayezid who had to leave the throne for Selim thanks to his popularity in the army. Then, on his way to the retirement resorts, Bayezid became sick and died, due to a poisonous meal

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sixteenth century those virtues seemed to conflict with an emerging state ideology and an Ottoman foreign policy characterized by peace agreements with foreign powers (including the Habsburgs, France, Venice, and even the Safavids).⁹³ How could Mustafa's willingness to engage in *gaza* be reconciled with this new reality, in which the sultan and his grand vizier were attempting to end hostilities and to sign treaties with rivals in both the west and the east?

If Mustafa had survived to sit on the imperial throne, he would have satisfied a wide spectrum of Ottoman society. The role of social groups in a prince's success cannot be denied, and various stakeholders (e.g., janissaries, governing elites, religious scholars) were involved in the accession of each sultan. For example, toward the end of Bayezid II's reign (1481–1512), while the governing elite and viziers supported Şehzade Ahmed, the janissaries and provincial forces supported Şehzade Selim. In this competition, Selim's triumph was also the triumph of the janissaries and the provincial forces. Similarly, Şehzade Mustafa's success would have paralleled the success of the social groups that supported him and marked the failure of the harem-palace faction.

It is worth asking whether by this time an Ottoman prince still needed support from outside sources. Given all of its military conquests and victories, had the Ottoman dynasty not yet achieved political legitimacy beyond competition between social groups? Recent historiography shows that the dynastic legitimacy of the Ottoman household had gained full legitimacy by the middle of the sixteenth century, when the focus of politics shifted from the identity of the sultan to that of viziers and bureaucrats—that is, by the end of Süleyman's reign.⁹⁴ Such full dynastic legitimacy can largely be attributed to Süleyman's lifting the Ottoman dynasty out of the realm of competition by executing Mustafa, who had in some ways been used by politically active janissaries, bureaucrats, and scholars. Süleyman's message may have been this: the dynasty would no longer tolerate investment in a princely enterprise that tested the legitimacy of the reigning sultan.

according to some rumors. See Emecen, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, 69–70; M. C. Şahabeddin Tekindağ, "Bayezid'in Ölümü Meselesi," *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 24 (1970): 1–16.

93 For a discussion on the emerging "peace consciousness" in international relations, see Zahit Atçıl, "State and Government in the Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire," chap. 2, especially pp. 176–184.

94 Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah"; Hüseyin Yılmaz, "The Sultan and the Sultanate: Envisioning Rulership in the Age of Süleymân the Lawgiver (1520–1566)" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2005).

If a prince intended to increase his power, or if any social group encouraged a prince, his chances of rule would only decrease because of his threat to the reigning sultan. Süleyman thus established the dynasty's absolute legitimacy, shifting the competition for power away from members of the imperial family and onto other social groups.

Indeed, the sultan's attitude in the following period, especially toward Şehzade Bayezid in the late 1550s, suggests that he wished to reassert his authority as well as to remove the dynasty from social competition. The sultan probably would not have begrudged Mustafa the throne, for he was the most capable and most talented of Süleyman's sons, but the problem of authority would not then have been resolved. If Mustafa had ascended the throne by overthrowing Süleyman, this would have strengthened the precedent, rendering it a standard course of action in every succession. How then could a sultan have secured his power against socially aggrieved groups who supported one of his children in a claim to the throne, even before his own death? Any person or any group that was disenchanted with the reigning sultan or his viziers would then gather around a promising prince and convince him to oust the current sultan and his court.

Beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century, the sultan gradually withdrew from daily politics and delegated his power to the imperial court, headed by the grand vizier: thus, the focus of politics shifted from the sultan to the ruling elite. The viziers came to control imperial politics, taking on full power and responsibility, while the sultan came to hold a symbolically lofty place. Related to this, books on politics written during this period increasingly focused on the qualities and responsibilities of the viziers rather than on those of the sultan.⁹⁵ Describing the age of Rüstem Pasha in the 1550s, Mustafa Âlî wrote that "at that time, the only point of recourse and refuge was the grand vizier's gate, and those who were in need had only to have his dispensation."⁹⁶ Thus, for Ottoman intellectuals, the identity of the grand vizier became more important than the identity of the sultan; the latter was no longer a question.

Could Mustafa have revived the image of the *gazi* sultan and resumed successful military conquests? It seems unlikely. Given the difficulties of provisioning the army and the slim returns that recent conquests had yielded, the empire's zeal for territorial gains was waning by his time, and conquest was growing marginal

95 Yılmaz, "The Sultan and the Sultanate," chap. 4.

96 Mustafa Âlî, *Künhül-Abbâr*, 359a.

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to the Ottoman enterprise as its ideological contribution faded. By the middle of the sixteenth century, peace treaties with the Habsburgs, Venetians, and Safavids were signed in order to avoid wasting funds on extravagant, unrealistic ambitions. Even if Mustafa had ascended the throne, it would have been very difficult for him to expand Ottoman lands farther east or west without technological or strategic innovations. In addition, it is clear that by the time of his death, controlling the government and a growing Ottoman bureaucracy had become a task well beyond the capacity of one individual, be he powerful sultan or vizier. If he had overthrown his father, sealing the precedent of deathly fraternal competition for rule, Mustafa himself could hardly have guarded his authority against socially aggrieved groups backing one of his own children. Although the execution of Mustafa was a bitter and tragic event, it resolved these questions for the Ottoman dynasty forever.

Why Did Süleyman the Magnificent Execute His Son Şehzade Mustafa in 1553?

Abstract ■ This article examines the reasons why Süleyman the Magnificent executed his son Şehzade Mustafa during the Nahçıvan military campaign of 1553. According to the dominant narrative in both Ottoman sources and academic literature, Süleyman's concubine and later wife Hürrem Sultan and her closest ally, Süleyman's son-in-law Rüstem Pasha, plotted against Mustafa in order to save the throne for one of Hürrem's own sons. Though the latter was widely beloved, this scheme cost him his father's favor. Afterward, however, the sultan regretted the decision and dismissed Rüstem Pasha from his position as grand vizier. This article examines the roles of Sultan Süleyman, Şehzade Mustafa, Hürrem Sultan, and Rüstem Pasha in the Ottoman, Venetian, Habsburg, French, and Persian sources, investigating why the sultan executed the prince in the context of the Ottoman succession experience. Adding complexity to the common narrative, this article concludes that the sultan, who was losing his authority to the prince, desired to consolidate his power and to remove his dynasty from the competition between social groups that had characterized earlier succession struggles.

Keywords: Şehzade Mustafa, succession, fratricide, Hürrem Sultan, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, Rüstem Paşa

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İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Lehistan Elçiliği ve Bilinmeyen Sefaretnâmesi*

Erhan Afyoncu – Ahmet Önal**

İbrahim Müteferrika's-Embassy of Poland and His Unknown Ambassadorial Account

Abstract ■ As a sophisticated intellectual, one of the least known aspects of İbrahim Müteferrika, the founder of Turkish printing press, is his service as a diplomat. İbrahim Müteferrika went to Poland and undertook negotiations during a time when the Ottoman Empire was fighting against Austria and Russia. However, hitherto we have not had much information about this particular diplomatic mission. In this article, we will examine his embassy to Poland between December 1736 and February 1737 under the light of contemporaneous historical sources and archival documents, through his ambassadorial account dedicated to this mission which we have recently discovered.

Keywords: İbrahim Müteferrika, Poland, Chief Hatman, Diplomacy, Ambassadorial Account

İbrahim Müteferrika, daha çok matbaacılık faaliyetleri ve entelektüel kimliği ile temayüz etmiş, bugüne kadar yapılan çalışmalarda da bu yönleri ön plana çıkarılmıştır¹. Buna mukabil üzerinde fazla durulmamakla birlikte Müteferrika,

* Bu makalenin hazırlanması sırasında yardımlarını gördüğümüz meslektaşlarımız Uğur Demir, Fatih Gürçan ve Hacer Topaktaş'a teşekkür ederiz.

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1 İbrahim Müteferrika ile yapılan çalışmaların genel bir değerlendirilmesi için bk. Erhan Afyoncu, "İbrahim Müteferrika", *DİA*, XXI, 324-327; Aynı yazar, "İlk Türk Matbaasının Kurucusu Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler", *Belleten*, sayı: 243 (Ankara 2001), s. 607-622; Fikret Sarıcaoğlu-Coşkun Yılmaz, *Müteferrika, Basımcı İbrahim Efendi ve Müteferrika Matbaası*, İstanbul 2008; Orlin Sabev (Orhan Salih), *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaasının Serüveni, (1726-1746)*, İstanbul 2006.

bazı önemli diplomatik teşebbüslerin de içinde yer almıştır. Bunlardan biri de 1736 yılının sonlarında Lehistan'a gizli temaslarda bulunmak ve özel görüşmeler yapmak üzere gittiği sefaret görevidir.

İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Lehistan'a gönderilme sebebini anlayabilmek için 1733-1736 yılları arasında hem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda hem de Lehistan'da meydana gelen gelişmelerin üzerinde duracağız. Kral II. August'un 1 Şubat 1733'te ölümü, Lehistan'ı büyük bir kargaşaya sürükledi. Yeni kralın kim olacağı tartışmaları kısa sürede milletlerarası bir mesele hâline geldi. Fransa, akrabalık bağlarını da bahane ederek, Stanisław Leszczyński'nin (Leşçinski) kral seçilmesini desteklerken, Rusya ve Avusturya ise ölen kralın oğlu Saksonya Hersek'i II. Friedrich August'un Polonya kralı olması için harekete geçti.

11 Eylül 1733'te Fransa'nın desteklediği Leszczyński kral seçildi, ancak bu seçimi tanımayan Rusya, Avusturya ve Saksonya, Lehistan'a asker gönderdi. Bu ittifak karşısında fazla direnemeyen Leszczyński, Varşova'yı terk ederek Gdańsk'a (Danzig) sığındı. Yapılan yeni seçim akabinde Saksonya elektörü II. Friedrich August, III. August adıyla taç giydi (17 Aralık 1733).

Osmanlı Devleti, Lehistan'daki taht mücadelesinin önemli taraflarından biri olarak II. August'un ölümü ve hemen ardından meydana gelen gelişmeleri yakından takip ediyordu. Kralın ölüm haberinin 1 Mart 1733'te İstanbul'a ulaşmasının hemen ardından Osmanlı başkentinde yoğun bir diplomasi trafiği başladı². Ancak Osmanlı yönetimi 1733 yılında Lehistan'daki gelişmeleri yönlendirebilecek bir durumda değildi. Zira devlet dikkatini daha çok doğudaki İran savaşına teksif etmişti. Bu durum, Topal Osman Paşa'nın 19 Temmuz 1733'te Bağdat önlerinde Nadir Şah karşısında zafer kazanmasından sonra değişti. Kazanılan zaferden sonra İstanbul'da Avrupa ülkelerinin elçileriyle muhtelif zamanlarda görüşmeler yapıldı. Osmanlılar, bu görüşmelerde Lehistan'daki kral seçiminde tarafsız kalacağını açıklamasına rağmen³; 1733 sonbaharına doğru Lehistan konusunda daha aktif bir

2 II. August'un ölümünün İstanbul'da nasıl karşılandığına dair bk. Uğur Demir, "Uzun Barış Asrı: Karlofça'dan Belgrad'a Osmanlı-Lehistan Diplomatik Münasebetleri", *Türkiye-Polonya İlişkilerinin 600. Yıldönümü Sempozyumu*'na (27-28 Eylül 2014) sunulan tebliğ; aynı yazar, *Osmanlı Hizmetinde Bir Mühtedi: Humbaracı Ahmed Paşa*, İstanbul 2015, s. 33-34; Hacer Topaktaş, "I. Mahmud Döneminde Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuzey Politikasında Lehistan Faktörü", *CIÉPO Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları Uluslararası Komitesi XVII. Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, haz. Kenan İnan-Yücel Dursun, Trabzon 2006, s. 377-389.

3 Fatih Ünal, *XVIII. Yüzyıl Türk-Rus İlişkilerinde Neplüyev (İstanbul'dan Orenburg'a)*, İstanbul 2014, s. 83.

politika izlemeyi ihmal etmediler. Bunda 1720'den beri Tekirdağ'da ikamet eden II. Rakoçi Ferenc'in⁴ de önemli bir etkisi vardı. Nitekim Rakoçi Ferenc, adamları vasıtasıyla Lehistan'daki gelişmeleri yakından takip ediyor ve bu bilgileri, kendini öne çıkarmak için Osmanlı yönetimine rapor ediyordu. Bu raporların birinde Türk tarafının seçimleri bizzat gözlemek için Varşova'ya bir elçi göndermesinin iyi olacağını ifade etmişti⁵. Yine tercümanı İbrahim Müteferrika vasıtasıyla gönderdiği başka bir raporda da Lehistan konusunda Osmanlı idaresini daha aktif bir politika takip etmeye davet etmişti⁶.

II. Rakoçi'nin İbrahim Müteferrika vasıtasıyla gönderdiği aktif siyaset izlenmesine dair raporlara rağmen, Osmanlı yönetimi Lehistan'daki kral seçiminin serbestçe yapılması gerektiği yönündeki tutumundan vazgeçmedi. Bâbîâli'nin bu pasif tavrının da etkisiyle Rusya ve Avusturya, Lehistan'da III. August'un krallığını sağlama almak için ülkedeki muhalifleri etkisiz hâle getirdiler. Lehistan'da kralı desteklemek için Rus birlikleri de bulundurdular. Rusya'nın gitgide Lehistan'da etkili bir konuma gelmesine rağmen Bâbîâli, 1736'ya kadar III. August'un krallığını resmen kabul etmedi⁷.

Türk tarafının III. August'e karşı tutumu 1736'da köklü bir değişime uğradı. Nitekim 2 Mayıs 1736'da bir beyannâme yayınlayarak Rusya'ya savaş ilan eden Bâbîâli, uluslararası alanda yalnız kalmamak ve elini güçlendirmek adına Lehistan politikasını değiştirdi. III. August'un krallığını resmen kabul etmek üzere önce sadrazam tarafından Lehistan Kraliyet Başhatmanı Józef Potocki'ye bir mektup gönderildi⁸. 1736 Aralık'ında ise yine başhatmanla doğrudan irtibata geçmek için İbrahim Müteferrika görevlendirildi⁹.

4 II. Rakoçi Ferenc'in Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki günleri için bk. Ahmed Refik, *Memâlik-i Osmâniyye'de Kral Rakoczi ve Tevâbii 1109-1154*, İstanbul 1333; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Rákóczi Ferenc II ve Osmanlı Devleti Himayesinde Macar Mültecileri", *Türk-Macar Kültür Münasebetleri Işığında II. Rákóczi Ferenc ve Macar Mültecileri Sempozyumu (31 Mayıs-3 Haziran 1976)*, İstanbul 1976, s. 1-17; Aynı yazar, "II. Rákóczi Ferenc ve Tevabiine Dair Yeni Vesikalar", *Belleterin*, sayı: 20 (Ankara 1941), s. 577-595.

5 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (=BOA), Bâb-ı Asafi, Amedi Kalemi (=A.AMD), nr. 3/100. Rakoçi Ferenc'in mektubunun özeti ve bu hususlar ilgili III. Ahmed'in görüşü için bk. A.AMD, nr. 2/1.

6 BOA, A.AMD, nr. 3/88. Bk. Ek IV.

7 Uğur Demir, "Barış Asrı".

8 Bu mektup Hotin Muhafızı Vezir İlyas Paşa vasıtasıyla başhatmana ulaştırıldı (Bk. BOA, A.AMD, nr. 2/1).

9 İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Lehistan başhatmanına gönderildiğine dair mektup için bk. BOA, HH,

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İbrahim Müteferrika'nın 1736 senesi Aralık ayında Lehistan Kraliyet Başhatmanı Józef Potocki ile görüşmek üzere gönderildiğine işaret eden ilk belge Müteferrika ile Başhatman'a yollanan bir nâmedir. 25 Şaban 1149 (29 Aralık 1736) tarihli bu nâmede iki ülke arasındaki sınır meselelerinin halledilmesi, III. August'un krallığının tanındığının bildirilmesi ve daha da önemlisi Lehistan ile Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Karlofça'da tayin edilen dostane münasebetlerinin idamesinin hem yazılı hem de şifahî olarak dile getirilmesi için Müteferrika İbrahim Efendi'nin gönderildiği kaydedilmiştir. Gönderilen nâmenin suretinin arkasına düşülen mektubu "Basmacı İbrahim"ın¹⁰ götürüleceği kaydı sayesinde, görevlendirilen kişinin matbaanın kurucusu İbrahim Müteferrika olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Basmacı İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Potocki ile görüşmek üzere görevlendirildiğinin bir diğer delili de bugüne kadar yalnızca bir suretini tespit edebildiğimiz ve bu çalışmanın ekler kısmında verdiğimiz sefaretnâme metni üzerindeki, "Merhûm Sultân Mahmûd Han asrında Basmacı İbrâhim Efendi'nin takrîridir. Mahfûz olan evrâk içinde bulundu"¹¹ kaydıdır.

İbrahim Müteferrika'nın böylesine önemli bir görev için seçilmesinde muhakkak ki Latince bilmesi ve de uzun süredir sabık Erdel Kralı Rakoçi Ferenc'in maiyetinde bulunması ve onun hem tercümanlığını yapıp hem de Bâbüali ile irtibatını sağlaması gibi etkenler tayin edici olmuştur. Müteferrika, Lehistan Başhatmanı Józef Potocki ile görüşmek üzere 1736 Aralık'ının son günlerinde İstanbul'dan ayrıldı¹².

İbrahim Müteferrika'nın başhatman ile görüşmesinin teferruatı, geri döndükten sonra kaleme aldığı takrirden ve sefaret raporunda anlatılmaktadır¹³. Buna göre

nr. 56; Ayrıca bk. Erhan Afyoncu, "İbrahim Müteferrika", *DİA*, XXI, 325; Fikret Sarıcaoğlu-Coşkun Yılmaz, *Basmacı İbrahim Efendi ve Müteferrika Matbaası*, s. 125-129.

10 BOA, Hatt-ı Hümayûn (=HH), nr. 56; Ek III. Ayrıca bk. E. Afyoncu, "İlk Türk Matbaasının Kurucusu Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler", *Belleter*, sayı: 243 (Ankara 2001), s. 613.

11 *Mecmua*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi Kısmı, nr. 3375, vr. 143b.

12 BOA, HH, nr. 56. Ayrıca bk. Afyoncu, "İbrahim Müteferrika", s. 325. Sabeve, İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Lehistan ile muahedeyi yenilemek üzere Kiev'e gittiğinin ileri sürer (*İbrahim Müteferrika Ya Da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, s. 88), fakat Müteferrika, Kiev'e gitmemiştir.

13 Bu takrir ve sefaret raporu şimdiye kadar bilinmiyordu (Bilinen sefaretnâmeler için bk. Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, tamamlayıp yay. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, Ankara 1992). Yeni bulduğumuz bu takrir ve sefaretnâmenin yalnızca bir sureti tespit edilebilmiştir. Takrir ve sefaret raporu Prusya, Rusya, Lehistan, İsveç ve İran ile Osmanlı İmparatorluğu arasındaki 18. yüzyıla ait çeşitli yazışmaları ihtiva eden bir mecmuanın içinde yer almaktadır (*Mecmua*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi Kısmı, nr. 3375, vr. 143b-146a, 148b-155b. Bk. Ek I-II).

Müteferrika, Başhatman Józef Potocki'nin Nemirov'da¹⁴ olduğuna dair bilgiler aldığından gidiş yolu için Bender'i tercih etmiştir. Zira Bender, Nemirov'a altı konak mesafedeydi. Bu yolun tercih edilmesinde ağır kış şartları da etkili olmuş gibidir. Çünkü kar yağışı yüzünden kara yolu kapanmış ve ancak Turla Nehri'nin kenarından gidilmek suretiyle yol alınabilmiştir¹⁵.

Müteferrika, Nemirov'a gitmek üzere donan Turla Nehri'nden geçmek ve ardından da nehir boyunca on iki saat yol kat etmek zorunda kaldı. Bu yolculuktan sonra Osmanlı-Lehistan sınırında bulunan Pohoryłówka (Pohurluk) adlı köye ulaştı. Pohoryłówka'da Müteferrika'yı salimen Nemirov'a götürmek üzere sınır muhafızı Lipka¹⁶ İsmail Binbaşı tarafından 12 lipka görevlendirildi. Pohoryłówka'dan itibaren yine Turla Nehri'ni takip ederek iki-üç konak devam edildi ve Raško (Raszków) adlı kasabaya ulaşıldı. Daha sonra Turla Nehri'ni takip etmeyi bırakarak, üç-dört konak devam ettikten sonra Nemirov'a vasıl oldu. Fakat yolculuk kış yüzünden oldukça zor geçti. Hatta bir defasında Müteferrika ve maiyetindekiler çığ altında kalmaktan zor kurtuldular. Yine bu yüzden Müteferrika'yı şehir kapısında gösterişli bir alayın karşılaması kararlaştırılmış olmasına rağmen bu da yerine getirilemedi¹⁷.

İbrahim Müteferrika, Nemirov'a gelmesine rağmen hatman burada değildi. Zira bazı işlerini halletmek üzere Nemirov'a on saat uzaklıktaki Winnyzia'ya¹⁸ (Vinniçe) gitmişti. Şiddetli kış yüzünden Başhatman Potocki de yolda kalmış, ancak bir köy evine sığınarak fırtınadan kurtulabilmişti¹⁹.

Potocki gelene kadar Müteferrika'nın Nemirov'da beklemesi gerekiyordu. Bu süre zarfında Müteferrika'nın ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak üzere kalenin yöneticisi (gubernator, Osmanlıca metinde subaşısı) görevlendirildi. Kalenin idarecisi, Müteferrika'yı kaledeki bir Yahudi'nin evine yerleştirdi. Burada Osmanlı elçisini kalenin ileri gelenleri ziyarete başladı. Müteferrika'nın kaleye gelişinin ikinci gününde komutan onu yemeğe davet etti, ancak diplomatik kaideler gereği Osmanlı temsilcisinin bu teklifi kabul etmesi pek doğru olmayacaktı. Bu yüzden

14 Ukrayna'da bir şehir.

15 *Mecmua*, vr. 149b-150a.

16 Litvanya'daki Kırım Tatarları'na verilen ad.

17 İbrahim Müteferrika'nın başhatman ile buluşmak üzere yaptığı yolculuğun teferruatı için bk. *Mecmua*, vr. 148b-150a.

18 Bölgenin idari merkezi olan şehir.

19 *Mecmua*, vr. 150a.

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Müteferrika, daveti kabul etmekte önce tereddüt etti fakat daha sonra komutanın ısrarcı olması ve şayet davetini kabul etmezse Potocki tarafından bu durumun iyi karşılanmayacağı yönündeki ifadelerinden sonra davete icabet etmek zorunda kaldı²⁰. Müteferrika'nın, Potocki tarafından henüz resmî olarak kabul edilmesine rağmen kalenin idarecesinin davetine olumlu cevap vermesi, diplomatik vazifesinin bir icabıydı. Nitekim Müteferrika, Potocki ile Osmanlı Devleti'nin münasebetlerinin iyileşmesi için buradaydı. Bu yüzden buna halel getirecek bir tutumdan uzak durmalıydı.

Müteferrika, Potocki'nin gecikmesini fırsat bilerek Nemirov'da gezmeye ve kale hakkında bilgi toplamaya da gayret etti. Her ne kadar gece gündüz kendisini takip eden askerlerden kurtulmak için bunları istemediğini yöneticiye ilettiyse de bu talebi diplomatik bir lisanla reddedildi, ancak o bir yolunu bularak kalenin mahallelerini gezmeyi başardı. Bu gezileri sırasında Türkçe bilen yaşlı bir Yahudi ile ilginç diyalog da yaşadı²¹.

İbrahim Müteferrika, Nemirov Kalesi'nde üç dört gün kaldıktan sonra Başhatman Potocki ile ilgili haberler aldı. Buna göre Potocki, Nemirov yakınlarındaki Zaloşça'ya gelmiş ve Osmanlı temsilcisini burada kabul edeceğini bildirmişti.²² Bunun üzerine Müteferrika, maiyetinde 12 lipka ve bir bayrakdar olduğu halde, tekrar yola çıktı. Müteferrika'yı götüren kafilenin yolu bilerek Lehistanlı idareciler tarafından uzatıldı. Zira Müteferrika'nın da ifade ettiği üzere yetkililer, "askerlerini göstermek" istiyorlardı. Bu yüzden Osmanlı elçisi, Aksu Nehri'ni ağaç köprüden ve buz üzerinden geçerek, ancak sekiz günlük zorlu bir seyahatten sonra Zaloşçe'ye bir günlük mesafedeki bir Karczma'ya (Karçma) ulaşabildi²³.

Müteferrika, Karczma'ya gelişini bildirmek üzere Başhatman Potocki'ye bir bayrakdar gönderdi. Osmanlı sefirinin Karczma'da olduğunu haber alan Potocki ise Müteferrika'yı karşılamak üzere hazırlıkların tamamlanmasını istedi ve bir gün sonra kabul töreninin olacağını bildirdi. Buna karşılık Müteferrika, zorlu bir yolculuk yaptığı gerekçesiyle Zaloşçe'ye girişinde tören yapılmamasını istedi ve bu talebi olumlu karşılandı. Sonraki gün ise altı at tarafından çekilen

20 *Mecmua*, vr. 150a-b.

21 *Mecmua*, 150b-151a

22 Zaloşçe/Saliszi/Saloschzy, Batı Ukrayna'da bir yerleşim yeri olup Siret Nehri'nin sol yakasında, bölgenin merkezi olan Ternopil'in 31 km kuzey-batısında yer almaktadır.

23 Karczma, yollardaki kervansarayvari konaklama mahallerine denir; *Mecmua*, 151b.

bir kızak gönderildi ve Müteferrika, kızakla Załozce'deki Potocki'nin sarayına götürüldü²⁴.

Müteferrika, sefaretnâmesinde Załozce'ye geldikten sonra önce kasaba ve Potocki'nin sarayı hakkında bilgiler verir. Bu minvalde kasabanın bir nehir tarafından ikiye bölündüğü ve kalesinin ahşaptan olup, yerleşimin de dağınık olduğunu kaydeder. Önünden nehrin aktığı Potocki'nin taştan yapılmış sarayı ise şehrin biraz dışında olup, mermerden iki ayrı yerde merdivenleri vardı. Saray, fevkani ve tahtani olmak üzere iki kısımdır; altında ise mahzenler mevcuttu. Sarayın odalarında birer soba ve ocak vardı. Yatak odalarında ise birer kerevet olup, genelde kadınlar bunların üzerinde oturmaktaydı. Bunun dışında odalarda başka bir mefruşat yoktu²⁵.

Müteferrika, Potocki'nin sarayına geldiği gün III. August'un krallığının Osmanlılar tarafından resmen tanınacağına dair mektupları tercümeleriyle birlikte teslim etti. Ertesi gün ise Osmanlı elçisi adına sarayda bir ziyafet tertip edildi. İbrahim Müteferrika, sefaretnâmesinde bu ziyafeti ve bu münasebetle Leh asillerinin eğlence kültürünü teferruatlı olarak anlatır²⁶. Bu minvalde ikindi vaktinde verilen ziyafet hakkında şunları kaydeder: Ziyafetin verileceği Potocki'nin sarayına Müteferrika'yı götürmek üzere altı at tarafından çekilen bir hinto arabası gönderilmiştir. Araba ile birkaç köprüyü geçen Müteferrika, sarayın geniş avlusuna geldiğinde beş saf halinde dizilmiş soltatar ve bunların da önlerinde şahi toplar bulunduğu halde karşılandı. Karşılama için "yançar (Janczar (yeniçeri))" denilen ve avlunun dört bir tarafında saf tutmuş olan askerler de bulunmaktaydı. Yançarların önünde de Osmanlı tarzında sarık ve kavuk giymiş mehterhane neferi bekliyordu. Meydanın hemen karşısındaki merdivende ise beyzâdeler, boyarzâdeler ve diğer ileri gelenler duruyordu. Asiller, meydana girdiğinde şapkalarını çıkartarak Müteferrika'yı selâmladılar. Müteferrika bu karşılama töreninden sonra saraya girdi, üç odadan yine soltatar tarafından selamlandıktan sonra yemek odasına geçildi.

İbrahim Müteferrika'nın yemek masasını tarif ederken kullandığı ifadeler sanki onun daha önce hiç böyle bir kültür dairesinin içinde bulunmadığı izlenimi verir ve diğer Osmanlı sefirlerinin yazdıklarını anımsatır. Bu minvalde kullanılmadığı için bilinmediği anlaşılan yemek masasını tarifi oldukça ilginçtir: Bu bazen "masa denilen büyük iskemle" olarak da tarif edilmektedir. "*yemek iskemlesi ise tûlu*

24 *Mecmua*, 151b-152a.

25 *Mecmua*, 152a-b.

26 *Mecmua*, vr. 153a-155a.

beş altı zirâ' ve arzı iki zirâ' yerden dahi pâyendeler üzere bir buçuk arşun yüksek tahtadan çatılmış ve musanna' peşkirler ile döşenmiş ve etrâfında dâ'iren mâ-dâr oturmak için iskemleler dizilmiş bir alaylıklı vaz'dır".

Müteferrika, yemek sofrasındaki oturma düzenini de şöyle anlatır: “*Elli altmış lenger ile et'ime envâ'ı dizilmiş ve otuz kırk âdem etrafına oturup her âdemın önüne lenger misillü baratalar?*²⁷ *ve bir bıçak ve bir çatal ve bir pâkça ve büyücek yemek makramesi konulur ve bu yemek âlât ve edevâtı cümle hâs gümüşdendir ve yemekleri sumât şeklinde döşenmiş herkes dilediği ta'âmdan bir müsâfire inâyet, ikrâm ederler”.*

Basmacı İbrahim, sefaretnâmesinde yemek masasındaki oturma düzeni hakkında şunları da rapor etmiştir: Masada ev sahibi ve eşi yanyana oturur, gelen misafir ise ev sahibinin hemen karşısına oturtulur. Ev sahibi günün menüsündeki ana yemeklerden misafire ikram eder. Yemekler tamamen bitmeden herkesin önüne şişeler içinde içecekler getirilir ve yanına da kadeh konulur. Bu minvalde Müteferrika'nın da önüne içi limon şerbeti dolu bir kâse konulmuştur. Müteferrika, içeceklerin ikramında bir sıkıntı ile karşılaşmamak için başhatman ile daha önceden konuşmuş, önüne şarap getirilmemesini ve arasına şunun bunun şerefine kadeh kaldırılmamasını talep etmiştir. Osmanlı sefirinin iki talebi de kabul edilmesine rağmen, yemek sırasında içki olarak şarap getirilmemesine karşılık arada sırada kadeh kaldırılmış, Müteferrika da bundan rahatsızlık duymuştur. Kadehler kaldırılırken sazlar eşliğinde müzik de icra edilmiştir. Ziyafetin ilerleyen safhalarında sarayın avlusunda saf saf bekleyen soltatar silahlarını, topçular da topları ateşlemiş, tüfek ve top seslerine mehterin nameleri eşlik etmiştir.

Yemek bittikten sonra İbrahim Müteferrika, Potocki'nin eşinin odasına götürülmüş ve burada Osmanlı sefirine kahve ikram edilmiştir. Bu sırada hatmanın eşi ve onun annesi kerevet üzerinde, Müteferrika ise sandalyeye oturmuştur. Kahvenin ikram edildiği odaya Potocki de gelmiştir. Kahveden önce tatlı ikramı yapılmış, bunun için de gümüş kaşıklar ve peşkir verilmiştir. Tatlı ve kahve ikramının ardından eğlenceleri izlemek üzere divanhaneye geçilmiştir. Burada Müteferrika, kendisi için tahsis edilen sandalyeye oturtulmuş ve derhal müzikle birlikte “horaz depmeğe” başlanmıştır. İbrahim Müteferrika, “horaz depmek” olarak adlandırdığı Lehlielerin horonunu şu şekilde anlatır: “*Beş-on avratlar ve kızlar giyinmiş ve cevhere gark olmuş her birinin eline berdâr yapışıp devre başladılar ve lâkin oyunları gâyet edebâne biri birine tapınarak ve ta'zîm ederek ve san'at-ı garibe ile cûş ve cünbüş ederek sıçradıkları çokluk belli olmayıp hemen su gibi akıp*

27 Barata = Platte, düz tabak.

deverân ederek devrin evvel ve âhîrinde karşımıza gelince birer kerre diz çöker gibi eğilip arz-ı ubûdiyyet ederlerdi”.

Müteferrika, bu ziyafet münasebetiyle Lehli kadın ve erkeklerin günlük kıyafetlerine de temas eder. Kadınların uzun elbiseler giydiklerini ve bunların eteklerinin yerlerde süründüğünü; kadınların ince bellisinin makbul olduğunu kaydeder. Erkeklerin de uzun kıyafetler ve çizme giydiklerini, ister büyük isterse küçük olsun hepsinin kılıçları olmadan dışarı çıkmadıklarını belirtir.

İbrahim Müteferrika, Potocki ile olan görüşmelerine dair, sefareti ilgili kaleme aldığı bir takrirden, sefaretnâmesinde bulunmayan önemli bilgiler verir. Takrirden kaydedildiğine göre Latince bilmesi Müteferrika'nın işini oldukça kolaylaştırmış ve hatmanla daha mahrem konuları konuşabilme imkânı elde etmişti. Zira hem hatman hem de Müteferrika, Latince bildiği için tercüman olmadan konuşabilmişlerdi²⁸.

Potocki ve Müteferrika, ikinci görüşmelerinde tercümana gerek duymadan ve daha samimi bir ortamda konuşma imkânı buldular. Bu görüşmede başhatman, Lehistan'ın dahilî vaziyeti ve meselelerine dair önemli bilgiler verdi. Bu minvalde Lehistan ricali arasında herhangi bir konu hakkında birlik sağlamanın nadir olduğu, bu yüzden son kral seçiminde istemedikleri birinin tahta çıkarıldığını ifade etti. Yine bu anlamda kral seçiminin haricî müdahalelere açık bir hâle geldiğini anlattı. Potocki, görüşmede maaşlı askerlerinin ancak 12 bin olduğu, buna rağmen bu kadar askerinin bile maaşının ödenmesinde zorluk yaşadıklarını; herkesin kendi menfaatini öne çıkardığını ve kimsenin ülke çıkarlarını gözetmediğini; tımarlı sipahilere benzeyen ve yaklaşık 100 bin kişi olan beyzâde/ayân askerlerinin ise savaş fennini bilmediklerini söyledi. Potocki tarafından görüşmede de açıkça ifade edildiği üzere, başhatman Lehistan'ın içinde bulunduğu dahilî vaziyetin sıkıntılarını, ülkenin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun dostluğuna neden önem verdiğini ortaya koymak adına anlatmıştı. İkinci görüşmede Lehistan başhatmanı son olarak bir zamanlar Osmanlı'ya iltica ettiğini ve kendisinin dostane karşılandığını da söylemişti²⁹.

Başhatman Potocki, akrabalarının da hazır bulunduğu başka bir görüşmede ise her hâlükârda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yanında olacaklarını söyleyip, akrabalarından da sözlerine destek vereceklerine dair söz aldı. Bu durum Müteferrika'yı oldukça memnun etmişti³⁰.

28 *Mecmua*, vr. 143b.

29 Müteferrika ve Potocki'nin ikinci görüşmesinin ayrıntıları için bk. *Mecmua*, vr. 143b-144b.

30 *Mecmua*, vr. 144b-145a.

Müteferrika, başka bir görüşmede ise Bâbüali'nin talep ve iyi niyetlerinin Lehistan Kralı III. August'e iletileceğine dair başhatman ve mecliste hazır bulunanlardan söz aldı. Söz verildiği üzere talepler krala iletildi ve buna dair cevap üç hafta sonra Założce'ye ulaştı³¹. Bu da Müteferrika'nın burada uzun bir süre kaldığını, bu vesileyle görüşmelerde bulunduğunu ve bölge hakkında istihbarat toplamaya vakit bulabildiğini gösterir.

Bazı araştırmalarda İbrahim Müteferrika'nın başhatman ile görüşmesinin gizli yürütüldüğü ve özellikle bunun III. August'e bildirilmemek için dikkatli olduğu ileri sürülmüştür³². Buna mukabil Müteferrika'nın sefaretnâmesinde yazdıkları bunun tersi yönünde bilgiler ihtiva eder. Zira sefaretnâmede Potocki ve Lehistan'ın diğer ileri gelenleri ile görüşükten sonra görüşülen hususların III. August'a mektuplar yoluyla bildirildiği ve kralın cevabının da üç hafta sonra geldiği kaydedilmiştir³³.

İbrahim Müteferrika, Założce'de kırk günden fazla kaldı. Bu süre zarfında bir taraftan adına verilen ziyafetlere katılırken, diğer taraftan da Potocki ile önemli ve kendi ifadesiyle verimli görüşmeler yaptı. Görüşmeler bittikten sonra ise bir daha Lehistan topraklarına girmeden Hotin üzerinden geri döndü. Dönüş yolunda da geçtiği yerlerin durumuna dair gözlemlerde bulundu ve bunları sefaretnâmesinde özetle nakletti. Bu minvalde Hotin'den itibaren Macar dağlarına kadar olan bölgenin Boğdan ile Lehistan sınırını teşkil ettiğini ve bu bölgede Leh ayânının özel mülklerinin bulunduğu, buna mukabil ayânın araziye "arentara" denilen Yahudilere iltizam olarak verdiklerini, belirtilen yerlerde Osmanlı sikkесinin cari olduğunu; altın, gümüş akçe ve yeni paranın İstanbul hesabı üzerine değerlendirildiğini; üç senedir devam eden taht mücadelesi yüzünden Rus askerinin Lehistan'ı istila

31 *Mecmua*, vr. 145a.

32 Józef A. Gierowski, "Dyplomacja Polska doby Saskiej (1699-1763)", *Historia Dyplomacji Polskiej*, Varşova 1982, s. 424'ten naklen Hacer Topaktaş, *Lehistan'da Bir Osmanlı Sefiri Zıstovili Hacı Ali Ağâ'nın Lehistan Elçiliği ve Sefaretnâmesi (1755)*, Ankara 2015, s. 32. Gierowski, eserinde "Doğu Savaşı (1736-39 savaşı) esnasında Türklerin ve Tatarların Lehistan sınırını karıştırmaları dolayısıyla ve Rusların geçişleri yüzünden Jozef Potocki kendi temsilcilerini Bükreş'te Rus komutan Münnich'in yanında ve Bender seraskeri yanında bulundurdu. Buna karşılık Türkler tarafından İbrahim Efendi iki yıllık göreviyle/elçiliğiyle (1737-1738) hatmana gönderildi. Zorunlu geleneklere rağmen, kendisine gönderilen bütün görevliler hakkında kralı bilgilendirme zorunluluğuna rağmen, İbrahim'in yanında bulunduğunu Potocki başlangıçta saraya bildirmemeye gayret etti. Daha sonra anti-Rus propagandasını tolere etti ve bunun yardımı sayesinde Bâbüali ile irtibat kurmaya çalıştı". Bk. *aynı eser*, s. 424. Ancak Gierowski'nin verdiği bilgi Müteferrika'nın yazdıklarıyla ve elçilik tarihiyle uyuşmaz.

33 *Mecmua*, vr. 145a.

ettiğini ve bu işgalin Osmanlı sınırına kadar uzandığını; Rusların kendilerine muhalif olanlara zulmettikleri; Lehistan topraklarındaki Sic ve Barabaş Kazaklarının Ruslardan kuvvet bularak isyan ettiklerini rapor etmiştir³⁴.

Zafozce'den ayrıldıktan sonra Hotin üzerinden, 1737 Şubat'ında İstanbul'a ulaşan Müteferrika, sefareti ile ilgili önce bir takrir daha sonra da bir sefaretnâme sundu. Osmanlı-Rus Harbi'nin devam ettiği günlerde Osmanlı Devleti'nin Rusya karşısında yalnız kalmaması ve daha da önemlisi Rusya'nın Lehistan'dan lojistik destek almasını engellemeye matuf olarak gerekli görüşmeleri yapmak üzere Başhatman Potocki'nin yanına gönderilen İbrahim Müteferrika'nın sefareti sonuçları itibariyle pek de başarılı sayılmaz. Zira her ne kadar Potocki tarafından iyi bir şekilde karşılanmış ve dostane münasebetlerin idamesi görüşmelerde defaatle dile getirilmiş olsa da Lehistan savaşta Rusya'ya destek vermekten geri durmamıştır. Bu durum daha sonra Osmanlı Devleti ile Lehistan ilişkilerinin bozulmasına sebep olmuştur³⁵.

Müteferrika'nın sefaretinin beklenildiği gibi başarılı olmamasının bir diğer sebebi de Rusya'nın barış için Lehistan'ın tavassutuna olumsuz yaklaşmasıydı. Nitekim Basmacı İbrahim, Potocki'nin yanında bulunduğu günlerde başhatman Müteferrika'nın getirdiği nâmenin bir suretini ve tercümesini Çariçe Anna İvanovna'ya göndererek Rusya ile Osmanlı İmparatorluğu arasındaki savaşta Lehistan'ın daha evvel olduğu gibi yine "alâ hâlihî" tarafsız kalacağını resmen bildirdi. Buna mukabil Rusya'dan, "*mademki Leh Cumbûru alâ hâlihî durup Devlet-i Aliyye tarafına meyl ve inhirâf ile Moskov Devleti aleyhine adüvviyâne hareketi zâhir olmaya Moskov Devleti tarafından Leh taraflarına ta'arruz olunmaktan emîn ola*" şeklinde bir cevap geldi. Lehistan'ın savaşta tarafsız kalması, zahiren, Rusya tarafından da olumlu karşılanmasına rağmen, barış için başhatmanın tavassut teklifine olumsuz cevap verildi. Bunun için Kiev'deki Rus General Münnich'e buradaki Lehistan kapıkethüdası vasıtasıyla birkaç kez müracaat edildi. Buna karşılık Münnich, "*bizim Çariçemiz sulha kâ'ildir ve murâdı ancak hudûdumuzun emniyetidir. Osmanlı yerlerine Çariçe'nin ihtiyâcı yokdur, bilmem araya niçin bigâneler girdi iki devlet vâsıtasız sulh olmak evlâ idi ve aksar-ı tarik bu idi*" şeklinde karşılık vererek barış için tavassut tekliflerini olumsuz karşıladı. Buna rağmen barışın temin edilmesinin mümkün olduğunu da "*Çariçe'nin aldığını vermeğe gönlü var görünür*" sözleriyle dile getirmişti. Münnich'in bu sözleri Osmanlı idarecilerini oyalama

34 *Mecmua*, vr. 149a-b.

35 Bu durumun etkileri için bk. Uğur Demir, "Barış Asrı".

İBRAHİM MÜTEFERRİKA'NIN LEHİSTAN ELÇİLİĞİ
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taktiğinden başka bir şey değildi. Bu duruma Müteferrika ile görüşmelerinde Potocki de “*Moskovlu sulha kâ'ilim der ammâ yine tedârükden hâlî değildir. Devlet-i Aliyye gafil olmasın*” sözleriyle dikkat çekti³⁶.

İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Lehistan sefreti diplomatik manada çok da olumlu sonuçlar doğurmasa da Müteferrika bu sayede bölgede bizzat gözlem yapma ve gelişmeleri yerinde takip etme imkânı bulmuştu. Hammer, Müteferrika'nın Lehistan sefretindeki “başarısızlık” yüzünden 1737 Kasım'ında bütün görevlerinden uzaklaştırılıp sürgün edildiğini iddia eder.³⁷ Ancak bu konuda Hammer'i teyit edecek başka bir bilgiye rastlanılmadığı gibi, Müteferrika'nın 2 Şubat 1738'de haccanlığa terfi ettirilerek top arabacıları kâtibi yapılması da³⁸ bu iddianın doğru olmadığını gösterir.

Lehistan sefreti sonrasında da Müteferrika Lehistan'la ilişkilerini sürdürmüş olmalıdır. Nitekim ömrünün sonlarına doğru açılması için yoğun bir çaba sarfettiği Yalova kâğıt fabrikasının ustalarını Lehistan'dan getirtmiştir³⁹. Buna mukabil sefaretnâmesinde veya sefaret takririnde Lehistan'daki kâğıt imaline dair herhangi bir bilgi vermemiştir.

36 Bu görüşmeler için bk. *Mecmua*, vr. 145b-146a.

37 Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reich*, IV, Pesht 1835, s. 326, 352.

38 Afyoncu, “İlk Türk Matbaasının Kurucusu Hakkında”, s. 613-614.

39 Yalova kâğıt fabrikası için bk. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, IV/2, İstanbul 1984, s. 518-519; Ahmed Refik [Altınay], *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1689-1785)*, İstanbul 1988, s. 164-168; Osman Ersoy, *XVIII. Ve XIX. Yüzyıllarda Türkiye'de Kâğıd*, Ankara 1963, s. 31-36; Afyoncu, “İlk Türk Matbaasının Kurucusu Hakkında”, s. 615; Fikret Sarıcaoğlu-Coşkun Yılmaz, *Müteferrika, Basmacı İbrahim Efendi ve Müteferrika Matbaası*, İstanbul 2008.

EKLER

-I-

[İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Lehistan Sefareti Takriri]

[143b]

*Merhûm Sultân Mahmud asrında Basmacı İbrahim Efendi'nin takriridir.
Mahfûz olan evrâk içinde bulundu.*

Leh'de esnâ-yı ikâmetde başhatman ile mahfice ve mahremâne müzâkere olunan ba'zı ahvâldir.

Hâk-i pâ-yi devletlerine bundan akdem ba'zı mertebede arz u i'lâma cesâret olunduğu üzere Zaloşca'ya (Założce) vusûlümüzde hemen bir-iki defa hatman ile görüşüldükde lisân-ı Latin ile âşinâlık takrîbiyle arada tercümânlar vesâtatına hâcet kalmadığından hatman-ı mûmâ-ileyhe küllî i'timâd gelüp âdetâ ketm ü ihfâsı lâzım nice keyfiyyâtı keşf ü izhârdan çendân tehâşî etmez oldu. Hattâ ikinci mücâlese de te'essüfâne kelâma âğâz edüp bizim ricâlimizde ittifâk ve ittihâd üzere bir emre mübâşeret olunduğu nâdirdir. Ol ecilden sa'yimizin semeresi olmayıp hâlâ kralımız olan zât-ı celîlü'l-cenâbı mutlak akıl ve re'yimize mugâyir bize takdîr-i ezel kral nasb u ta'yîn etdi. Ve fi'l-vâki' müddet-i medîdeden beru Nemçe ve İsveç ve Moskov gibi zî-be's ve zî-kuvvet hem-civâr devletler cebr ü kerh ile bize kral nasb edüp kral intihâbı emrinde serbestiyet-i kadîmenin ancak adı kaldı. Ulûfelü askerimiz ekall-i kalîl on iki bine bâliğ olur olmaz [144a] mîrî hazinemiz gûyâ yok. Her ferdimiz birer mikdâr arâzî ve re'âyâyı temellük ve menâfi'ini kendüye tahsîs edüp nef-i âmm-ı mühimmesi aranmaz oldu. Dâd-ı Hak'dan memleketimiz eğerçi vüs'at üzredir ve timârlı ve timârsız arâzî mutasarrıfı sipahi nâmında? ta'bir olunur halkımız yüz bine bâliğ olur ve lâkin çok zamandan beri seferler ve cenkler terk olunmağla perverlü ve zevk u safâ-perestler olmuşlardır. Râhat ile me'lûflar olup ne zahmete sabr u tahammül ederler ve ne ölmek isterler ve bu mertebede mahremiyet birle keşf-i esrârdan murâdımız, Devlet-i Aliyye'nin dostluğuna beher hâl muhtâc idüğümüz zımmen tefhîm ve size i'timâd gelmek içindir. Bir vakt-i zarûretimizde Moskovlu'ya veya anın emsâli bir gayrı devlete

1 Soylular?

mürâcâ'at ve ilticâ eylesek zimâm-ı ihtiyârımızı irâdetimiz ile gaddâr ellerine virmiş oluruz ve min-ba'd taht-ı kahr-ı hükûmetinde kalıp tasallutundan halâs düşvâr olurdu. Devlet-i Aliyye-i ebed-ittisâle ilticâ ve himâyesine tahassun eylediğimizde sâhib çıkarlar ve nev'an medâr-ı ma'âşımızı dahi görürler, [144b] görmezler ise de bari tahtül-kahr mahkûm ve re'âyâlık ve kulluk ile cebr ü kerh etmezler. Bu dâ'ileri iki defa Devlet-i Aliyye'ye varup ilticâ ve bir müddet memâlik-i mahrûse câ-yi penâhim olmuş idi. Envâ'-ı iltifât ve ikrâm gördüğimden gayrı vakt-i fırsatta yine diyârıma avdet ve insirâfa izin ve ruhsat erzânî buyurilup, "biz sana sâhib çıktık bizim kulumuzsun" dimediler. Bu vechile hâlâ Devlet-i Aliyye'nin memnûn-ı keremi ve senâkârıym deyü izhâr-ı hulûs ve vâfir teşekkürler eyledi. Yine vakt-i âharda bir tenhâ odada ol mahalde ve civârda mevcûd cümle akrabâ ve ta'allukâtını cem' eyledikte bize teveccüh edüp dedi ki "elçi efendi ma'lûmunuz olsun ki hâlâ Leh Cumhûri'nun ekser-i ricâl ve a'yânı bizim Potocki Hânedânı'ndandır ve ben sağ oldukça ve benden sonra bu hânedân evlâd ve ahfâd ve a'kâbından bir ferd hayâtta oldukça Leh Cumhûru Moskov'a veya Devlet-i Aliyye'nin âhar bir düşmanına tâbî olup yardım etmek ihtimâli yokdur" didikte akrabasına tevcih-i nazar edüp "siz de beni tasdik edüp bu emânetimi müte'ahhid olur mısınız ve elçi efendiye i'timâd virir misiniz" didikte cümlesi savt-ı a'lâ ile feryâd ve müte'ahhid ve mütekeffil oluruz deyüp Devlet-i Aliyye'nin devam ve bekâsı senâsında oldılar. Bu meclis hakîre hayli rikkat-i kalbe ve hatman cânibine bir alâka-i meveddete bâdî oldu. Hatman-ı [145a] merkûm min-ba'd bir türlü keyfiyeti ketm etmeyüp etrâfdan kendüsüne gelen mekâtibi ekseriya irâ'et edüp vürûd eden havâdis ve ahbârı bildirdi. Çün bir iki meclisde teklîf tekellûf ber-teraf olup mahremâne vaz' u mu'âmele tarafeynden şart olundu. Devletlü inâyetlü sâhib-i devlet efendimizin mektûb-ı şerîflerin tercemesiyle ma'an Leh Kralı'na ve bir suretin yazup Moskov Çarıçesi'ne gönderdiklerin hakîre bildirdiler. Birkaç günden sonra serasker olan Mareşkal ve Başmüşâvir Prens Vişneviçki² ve birkaç mu'teber boyarları gelüp görüşüldükde hatman feth-i bâb-ı musâhabet edüp kralın kabûl ve teslîmi husûsunu irâd ve der-i devlete ricânâme yazduğunu ve hakîrin dahi bu bâbda cidd ü sa'yimi ve kendüye i'timâd rütbesi tesliye virdiğümü takrîr eyledikte bu husûsu cümlesi tahsîn ve ittifâk ile krallarına keyfiyeti bildirmek üzere kâğıdlar yazup gönderdiler ve üç hafta içinde cevâbı gelüp kral-ı merkûm mahzûz olduğunu ve bundan böyle cânib-i Devlet-i Aliyye'den ziyâdesiyle dostluk me'mûl etdügünü tahrîr eylemiş deyü mektûbu irâ'et ve bu mahalli tefhim etdiler. Birkaç gün mürûrunda inâyetlü sâhib-i devlet efendimiz tarafından hatmanın ricânâmesine

2 Michał Serwacy Wiśniowiecki.

müsâ'ade buyurulduğunu müş'ir mektûb-ı celîlü'l-i'tibâr gelüp itminân-ı hâtır ile [145b] gâyet memnûniyyet izhâr etdiler ve sûr şenlikler etdiler. İnâyetlü kethüdâ beyefendimizden bu hakîre irsâl buyurulan mektûbu dahi ricâ etdiler. Bu hakîr dahi terceme edüp taraflarına teslîm eyledim. Çûn mektûb uslûb-ı hakîmâne üzre yazılıp müfâdında krallık teslîmi mâddesi tasdik ve te'kîd ve elçi gönderilmek husûsuna müsâ'ade buyurulmak va'adi işâret olunmuş-idi. Bu mektûbu dahi bize virin kralımıza gönderelüm deyü azîm niyâzda oldılar. Bu hakîr dahi kîsesiyle ve kapak ve kozalakıyla ellerine teslîm eylediğimizde bir kat dahi memnûn oldılar ve ol gün kâğıdlarını yazup ertesi gün ulağıyla gönderdiler ve lâkin mektûbun âhar fıkrasında bu kullarının avdeti emr u fermân buyurulmağla işbu mekâtib cevâbı gelince tevakkufa cesâret olunamadı. Çûn inâyetlü sâhib-i devlet efendimizden hatmana götürdüğümüz mektûb tercemesinin bir suretin Moskov Çarıçesi'ne dahi göndermişler idi. Anun dahi Kiev'de mukîm kapu kethüdâları vesâtatıyla cevâbı gelüp mademki Leh Cumhûru alâ hâlihî durup Devlet-i Aliyye tarafına meyl ve inhirâf ile Moskov Devleti aleyhine adüvviyâne hareketi zâhîr olmaya Moskov Devleti tarafından Leh taraflarına ta'arruz olunmaktan emîn ola deyü tahrîr olunmuş. Ba'dehû Münih³ nâm Moskov ceneralı Kiev'e geldikde hatmana kapu kethüdasından kâğıdlar gelüp mefhûmunda merkûm kapu kethüdâ[sı] Münih Ceneral'e varup buluşdukda sulh sadedi açılıp [146a] bizim çarıçemiz sulha kâ'ildir ve murâdı ancak hudûdumuzun emniyetidir. Osmanlı yerlerine çarıçenin ihtiyâcı yokdur, bilmem araya niçin bî-gâneler girdi iki devlet vâsitasız sulh olmak evlâ idi ve aksar-ı tarîk bu idi didüğünü merkûm kapu kethüdâ[sı] tahrîr eylemiş. Hatman vehle-i ûlâda çarıçenin alduğunu vermeğe gönlü var görünür dedi ve lâkin gitdikce ihtimâlât virmeğe başladı. Ba'dehû birkaç def'a dahi merkûm kapu kethüda[sı]nın mektûbu gelüp gâh asâkir-i Tatar'ın Moskov hudûduna duhulü ve gâh sâir ahvâllerini yazmış. Zaloşça'dan çıkdüğümüz esnâda Moskovlu sulha kâ'ilim der ammâ yine tedârükden hâlî değıldir. Devlet-i Aliyye gafil olmasun didi. Zaloşça'dan çıkmadan bir gün evvel gelen haberler Nemçe elçisi bizim ahvâlimizi keşf etmiş. Osmanlı bizi şimdi oyuncak edindi deyüp Uştuman nâm Moskov ceneralı Nemçe elçisine itâbâne kâğıd ve Çasar'a dahi teşekkî etmiş deyü Flemenk'den gelen kâğıdlarda yazılmış idi ve Avrupa'nın sulhu henüz i'lân ve işâ'a olunduğu yokdur ki sıhhatine delîl bu olsa gerekdir deyüp hatman-ı merkûmun aramızda âhir kelâmı oldu. Bâkî fermân men lehül-emrindir.

(*Mecmua*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi Kısmı, nr. 3375, vr. 143b-146a).

3 Burkhard Christoph von Münnich.

-II-

[İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Lehistan Sefâretnâmesi]

[148b]

Bu kulları Leh'in Başhatmanı Voyvoda Kiyovski tarafına me'mûr olup hatman-ı merkûmun bulunduğu Zaloşca (Założce) nâm kasabaya varup esnâ-yı tarîkde ve ahyân-ı ikâmetde müşâhede olunan ba'zı keyfiyyât ve gâh istimâ' olunup sıdk ve kizbi muhtemel ba'zı ahbâr ve ahvâlât bu mahalde cem' ü derc olunup hâk-i pâ-yi devletlerine küstâhâne ihzâra ictisâr olundu. Hatman-ı merkûmun mülk-i mevrûsu olup Bender'den altı-yedi konak ba'id Nimerova nâm kasabada olduğu haber alınmağla müsâra'at olunup kasaba-i merkûma vusûle ihtimâm olundu. Nehr-i Turla Bender'den buz ile karşı geçilüp Bender karşısı ve Nehr-i Turla sâhiliyle on iki sâ'at gidülüp Pohurluk (Pohoryłówka) nâm karye kurbüne varınca Hân Ukranyası ta'bîr olunur Rombasar (Rybnica?) nâmında bir küçük kasabası vardır. Hatman nâmıyla bir âdemini iltizâm ile alup zâbiti olur ancak Bender karşısında ve kurbünde vâki' bir mikdâr kurâ Bender ser-askerine tâbi'dir. Leh hudûdunun evveli Pohurluk nâm karyedir. Andan iki üç konak Turla sâhiliyle gidülüp Raşko (Raszków) nâm kasabaya varılır. Andan Turla'yı bırakup şark ve şimâle giderek üç dört konakda Nimerova nâm kasabaya varılır ki Leh'in başhatmanı ve müdebbir-i umuru Voyvoda Kiyovski'nin mülküdür. Ağaçdan palankası vardır. Derûn-ı palankada voyvoda-i merkûmun mükellef sarâyı vardır. Çûn Bender yoluyla gidülüp Hotin yoluyla avdet olundu ve iki tarîkin mâ-beyni Nehr-i Turla sâhiliyle dört-beş konak [149a] mesâfe olup Bender hizasından Hotin hizasında vâki' Kamaniçe Kal'ası'na varınca ve sâhil-i Turla'dan iki-üç konak içle varınca birkaç bin pâre kurâ ve kasabât halkı cümle Boğdan re'âyâsıdır. Ve Hotin'den yukarı dahi tâ Macar dağlarına varınca birkaç konak mesâfede Boğdan arâzisi Leh arâzisine muttasıl olup bu hâl üzre olmak gerekdir ve bu cümle kurâ ve kasabât Leh a'yânının müstakillen mülkleri olmağla ekser kasabâtda birer sarâyı vardır. Ve *gubernator* nâmıyla birer subaşları oturur ve cümle kurâ ve kasabâtı *arnetara* nâmıyla birer Yahudi iltizâm etmişdir ve garâbet bundadır ki bu kasabât ve kurâda câri olan nükûd cümle Âl-i Osman pâdişâhlarının sikkesidir. Altun ve gümüş akçe ve cedîd para cümle İstanbul hesâbı üzredir. Üç seneden beri Leh Krallığı nizâ'ı bahânesiyle Moskov askeri Leh diyarına istilâ ve memâlik-i mahrûse-i Osmâniyye hudûduna bir veya iki konak karîb yerlere gelince Leh içinde kasabât ve kurâya tevzî' olunup ve anlarda yazlayup ve kışlayup müft ü meccânen yiyüp içüp ve kendülerine ednâ muhâlefet edenlerin evlerini

mülklerini yakup yıkup çok cevri u eziyetler etdikleri vâki' hâldir ve bâ-husûs İstanislaw (Stanisław) Kral'a tarafdâr olan Lehlüyü ahz ve katle kasd edüp bir nice-lerinin mülklerini harâb etmişlerdir. Ve eğerçi bu def'a Moskovlu Leh diyarından çıkıp gâliben li-maslahatin Leh'e ta'arruzdan el çekmişlerdir ve lâkin Lehlüye göre Moskovlunun şerlerinden [149b] emîn olmak katî düşvâr görünür ve ol tarafda Ukrayna ve Volhilina (Wołyń) ve Podolya vilâyetlerinin Rus ve Kazak nâmında olan ekser re'âyâsı Lehlüye bağı ve isyâna ziyâde müsta'idlerdir. Hattâ geçen senede bir niceleri Moskov'a tâbi' Siç Kazaklarıyla ve devlete isyân eden Barabaş Kazakları'yla yek-dil ve yek-cihet olup kendi sâhibleri ve eben an-ced irs ve intikâl ile mutasarrıfları olan Lehlü boyarlarına âsî olup ba'zı kasabaları urup nice nice evlerini ve emvâl ve eşyâsını yağma ve gâret etmişlerdir. Ve eğerçi Lehlü askeri ol taraflara gelüp hudûdlarda ve civârda muhâfazaya tevzi' olunmalarıyla haydut ma'nâsına *haydamak* ta'bîr eyledikleri bâğûn-ı merkûmunun fesâdları bir mikdâr mündefi' olmuşdur ve ba'zıları sûret-i itâatde evlerine gelmişlerdir ve lâkin ekseri hâlâ Siç Kazakları ma'iyetinden münfekk olmayup onlar ile geşt ü güzâr ve fırsat buldukları mahalde fesâddan hâlî değillerdir.

Yolumuz üzre hudûd başı olan Pohurluk'da muhâfız bulunan Lipka İsmail Binbaşı ma'iyetimize kendi bayrakdârı ile ma'an on iki lipka ta'yîn edüp Nimerova'ya varınca hizmetde bulundular. Hatmanbaşı ise Nimerova'ya vusûlümüzden iki gün mukaddem ba'zı umûr-ı mühimmesini görmek bahânesiyle kalkup andan öte on sâ'at mesâfede yine kendi mülklerinden Vinniçe (Winnica) nâm kasabaya gitmiş bulunmağla bu hakîri onda olan gubernatorune sipârîş ve iki üç güne dek meks etdirilmek üzre konağımız ve sâir havâyicimiz görülmek ve istikbâlimize kırk-elli âdem gönderilmek üzre muhkem tenbîh eylemiş ol gün ise [150a] bâ-takdîr-i Hudâ bir rîh-i sarsar zuhûr edüp üzerimize dağlar gibi karlar sürüp cümlemiz helâk olayızdık. Ol diyârda nice nice evler yıkup ve katı çok ağaçlar kökünden koparup kasabaya gücile can atabildik. İstikbâl ve ihtişâm değil kal'a kapusından bizi iki-üç âdem görünce gücile çıkdılar. Kapuyu dahi kar basup hezâr zahmet ile açdılar ne hâl ise kal'a içinde bir Yahudi hânede konak döşediler, meğer hatman ol gün Vinniçe'den dahi kalkup ileri giderken bu şedîd fırtınaya uğramış kendi hinto ve on iki aded zahîre arabaları devrilüp ve bir türlü gidemeyüp köyde nâ-çâr bir fakîr re'âyânın evinde kalduğunu mülâkâtımızdan sonra nakl eyledi. Bu hakîr dahi harf-endâzlığa fırsat bulup haz etdim ki bizden kaçdığınızı intikâmı sizden rüzgâr aldı dediğimde hatman-ı zarîf derhâl intikâl edüp gerçek ki size birkaç gün zahmet virdik ve lâkin afv edin zîrâ bu vaktin keyfiyeti böyle iktizâ eyledi. Nimerova'da üç dört gün meks iktizâ etmekle lipkalarına hudûda

iâde olunup bizi beklemeğe ol kal'a muhâfızlarından soltadlar ta'yîn olundu. Gubernator ve ol kal'ada bulunan askerî zâbitleri ve etrâfdan kasabaya gelen boyarlar ve zâbitler ekseriya hakîrin konağına gelüp görüşdiler. İkinci gün gubernator gelüp bizi ta'âma da'vet eyledi. Henüz me'mûr olduğumuz hatmanı görmeden sarây seyrine [150b] gitmek ve ziyâfetlerde gezmek bize ve size münâsib değildir deyü imtinâ' olunmuşıdı. Gubernator niyâza başlayup hatman gitdiğinde ve şimdi gelen kâğıdında sizin ikrâmınızı bize te'kîd ile tenbîh etmişdir. Teşrif etmediğinizi bizim taksîrâtımıza haml edüp bize itâb olunacağı mukarrerdir. Kerem edüp teşrifinizi ve bu vartadan bizi halâs buyurmanızı ricâ ederiz didikde gubernatorun kendi konağı yakın olmağla varılmak üzere cevâb virildi. Yanımıza ta'yîn olunan soltadlar ise bir çeyrek sâ'atde değışilürken yine şiddet-i berdden helâk mertebesine vardıklarını gördüğümde "Bunları neyersiz? İzin virin odalarına gitsünler" deyü bir iki defa terahhuman söylediğimi bunlar âhar ma'nâyâ haml edüp "Sultânım bu soltadlar size ta'yîn olunup konağınızda nevbet bekledikleri mücerred mu'tâdımız üzere size ikrâm içindür ve sizin safâ-yı hâtırınız cümlemizin matlûbu olup bilmezlik ile ba'zı kendüyü bilmez ser-hoş makûlesi semtinize uğrayup siz bir dürlü rencîde-i hâtır olmamanız içindür. Bir gayrı ma'nâyâ haml olunmamak mercû ve mütemennâdır. Esnâ-yı ikâmetde ne yerde az çok Türkce bilür Yahud ve nasârâ ve müsâfir ve mücâvir yerleri ve gayrı var ise gelüp bir defa görünmelüdür. Aralıkda Türkce bilür bir ihtiyâr Yahudi geldi. Sağa sola bakup ortalığı hâlî gördükde "Size bir iki sözüm var. Allah için beni ele virmeyüp didikde, "Korkma! Görelim ne işin var" dediğimizde, "Sultânım Lehlü'nün ahvâli tafralarına göre değildir fuzûllerdir. Kılıçları bellerinde ammâ ellerinden bir iş gelmez. Bir işiniz var ise hâllerinden gafil olmanız Osmânlu'dan gerçek korkarlar velâkin düşmanlıkları yokdur. Moskov'u sevmezler velâkin havflarından anlara dahi tapunırlar. [151a] Ve birkaç sene Moskovlu buraya dek geldi ve bunda dahi kışlayup çok zulümler etdi. Lehlünün çoğu kaçdı, yanlarına gelmedi ve çok asker cem' oldu. Ancak cenge kâdir olmadı ve beynlerinde bir dürlü ittîfâk yokdur. Zevk ü râhata alışmışlardır. Hiç ölmek istemezler bu taraf re'âyâları dahi başdan çıkdı ve geçenlerde baş kaldırıup çok fesâd etdiler. Benim evlâd ve akrabamdan falan köyde dokuz nefer kimesneyi katl etdiler. Bu âna gelince feryâd edüp gezdim. Ne kısâsa ve ne tarîk-i âhar ile ihkâk-ı hakka kâdir oldılar ve hâlâ başhatman sizden kaçıp gitdi. Zirâ Osmânlu'ya tarafdardır deyü müttehemdir ve sizin kendüsine yalnız buluşduğınızı istemez. Anın için içile gitdi ki etrâfda bulunan boyarlar dahi vardığınızda mevcûd bulanalar deyüp Yahudi-i merkûm akla karîb niçe niçe ahvâlden haber virdi. Encâmında eline iki Macar altunu virdim almadı âhar ayağıma düşüp siz elçisiniz sözünüz geçer ve ehl-i İslâm hayrı sever. Kerem edüp benim zulmen

katl olunan evlâd ve akrabâmda bana ihkâk-ı hak olunsun ve da'vâm görülsün deyü hatmandan ricâ edin. Sizden ancak bunu isterim” Yahudi'nin ve katl olanların ve karyenin ismini yazup zabt edüp ricâsını deruhde eyledim. Vâki'-i hâli ve da'vâsında sıdkını hatman tasdik eyledi ve karye-i merkûme sâhibi bir mütemerrid boyar iken ihkâk-ı hakkı ne tarîk ile mümkün olursa hatman görmeğe müte'ahhid oldu velâkin Yahudi-i merkûm bir daha gelüp zuhûr etmedi. Biz dahi Nimerova'da üç dört gün meks edüp hatman ilerüde Azbaras (Zbaraż) nâm kasabasına gitmiş ve ondan dahi [151b] bir iki günden sonra kalkup Zaloşca nâm kasabasına gidecek ve andan beher hâl tevakkuf ve vürûdumuza müterakkıb olacaktır deyü haberi ve kâğıdı geldiğinden gobernotör bizi âgâh edüp ve tedârükümüzü görüp yanımıza yine müceddeden bir bayrakdâr ile on iki nefer lipka ta'yîn edüp ale's-seher ol tarafa râhî olduk. Gâlibâ murâd askerlerini seyr etdirmek olduğundan rast-ı tarîk ile götürmeyüp askeri olduğu kurâ ve kasabâta kondırup fi'l-hâl olduğumuz konak kapusına bir alay soltat bekçi korlardı ve zâbitân ve rüesâ-yı kavimleri gelüp görüşüp hâtır sorup giderlerdi. Bu yolda Breşlav (Braclaw) nâm kasaba kurbünde Aksu nâm nehirden ağaç köprü üzerinden geçildi ve buzdan dahi geçilür. Velatcu (Laticzów?) ve Meziboza (Międzybóż) nâm ve sâir birkaç kasabaya uğranıldı. Sekizinci gün Zaloşca'ya varıldı ve meştâ-yı hümâyûndan mahall-i merkûma varınca tamam bir ay zamân mürûr eyledi. Avdetimizde ise aksar-ı tarîk ile Hotin yolundan gelüp ve Leh'de bir yerde eğlenmeyüp menzil ile on altı günde Babadağı'na vusûl müyesser oldu. Zaloşca'ya bir sâ'at mesâfede Karçama (karczma) nâmıyla meygededen kinâye bir Yahudihâneye nüzûl olunup bayrakdâr hatmana haber virmek üzere ilerü gitdi. Konak ta'yîn olunup bir hinto ve istikbâle iki yüz nefer atlı ta'yîn olundığına bayrakdâr haber gönderdi ol günlerde hava yazlanup bir mertebe de saf oldu ki ta'biri mümkün değildir. İstikbâl ve ihtişâma havada bir türlü müsâ'ade ve bizde dahi bir ân tevakkufa ve arabadan arabaya nakilde sabır ve tahammüle iktidâr yokdur. Bayrakdâr birkaç neferi ile dâmen-i kasabada bizi karşılayup bir lahza evvel konağa düşürmek ile iktifâ olunur ise bize nisbet [152a] minnet-i azîme olur deyüp haber gönderdiğimizde hatman muhâlefet etmeyüp bu vech üzere konağa gelindi ve fi'l-hâl yeniçeriye taklîd yançar (Janczar-yeniçeri) dedikleri birkaç yüz piyadegânın zâbiti hatman tarafından gelüp hâtırımızı ve yol zahmetlerimizi suâl etdirdi ve mîr-âhûrunu yanımızdan münfek olmamak üzere komisar (komisarz) nâmıyla mihmândar ta'yîn eyledi. Ve bugün râhat edüp yarın teşrif etsünler deyü haber gönderdi. Konak kapusunda bekçi olmak ve nevbet nevbet değişmek üzere dört nefer piyade yançar ve üç nefer karakullukçu ve *bâzâra giden* nâmıyla bir tercümân dahi ta'yîn olundu. Ol gün vâfir söz anlarları gelüp ve hoş geldiniz deyüp hâtır sorup görüşdiler ve ol takrîb ile ba'zı ahvâle fi'l-cümle

vukûf ve ittilâ' hâsıl oldu ve mezâk u meşrebleri icmâlen fehm olundu. Ertesi gün altı bârgîrli mükellef döşenmiş bir kızak ile mîr-âhûr-ı evvel ve sânisî ve birkaç şâtır ve çukadâr yollu sarıklı ve kemerli gaddâreli hıdmetkârları gelüp mîr-âhûrlar bizim ile ma'an kızağa süvâr olup hatmanın sarâyına gidildi. Kasaba mahalleleri ve evleri perâkende olup câ-be-câ çarşu pazarları dekâkîni vardır ve müsâfirhânedden ibâret vâfir Yahudi evleri vardır. Hatmanın sarâyı dahi hayli uzak düşdü. Bir nehr-i cârî kasabanın vasatından geçüp iki kıt'aya bölmüş ve hatmanın sarâyı önünden geçüp sed ile bir azîm göl yapılmış ve sedde nehir için mecrâlar yapılup üzerinde cisrler ve âsiyâblar kurulmuş. [152b] Sarây dahi taşdan ve şekl-i müdevverde kal'a mânendi mükellef sarâydır. İki mahalde mermerden musanna' nerdübânları vardır ve fevkânî ve tahtânî iki tabakadır. Altı bin pâre mahzendendir. Fevkânî odalarına birbirinden geçilür ve kapuları iki kanadlu yüksek kemerli porta kapuları gibidir ve odalarda ekseriya birer musanna' soba ve birer ocak vardır. Yatak odalarında birer kerevet vardır. İçinde bir puple döşek ve bir iki yüzyasdığı ve bir yorgan döşenmiş durur. Nisâ tâifesi ekseriyâ kerevetlere otururlar. Gayrı kat'â oda döşemesi makûlesi esvâbları yokdur. Dâimâ ayaklarında çizme ve iskemlelerde oturup aslâ yerde oturmağı bilmezler. Çün kral-ı cedîde teslîm-i ünvan mâddesi me'mûllerine mutâbık sûretde zuhûr eyledi. Kralları tarafına kâğıdlar yazup inâyetlü sâhib-i devlet efendimizden bu husûs için hatmana gelen mektûb-ı şerîfiyle ve sa'âdetlü kethüdâ begefendimiz tarafından bu kullarına yazılan kâğıdıyla ve tercemeleriyle ma'an ulağıyla kral-ı bâ-vakâr tarafına gönderdiler ve ol gün bu husûs ile meşgûl olup ihtimâm ile tamam etdiler. Ertesi gün ziyâfet tertîb olunup ikindi ta'âmına hakîri da'vet etdiler. Ve ol gece hatman ve hatmanice emekdârlarından bir kapudanı ve bir kızı çerâğ edüp birbirlerine tezvîc ve bu bahâne ile sûr ve şenlik esbâbın tertîb etmişler. Evvelâ hakîre altı bârgîrli bir hinto arabası ve mîr-âhûr ve mihmândârimız olan komsar ile birkaç âdem gelüp sarâyâ götürdüler. Birkaç köprüden geçdikde iç havluya vusûlümüzde kapularda olan soltatlardan gayrı havlu bir vâsî' meydan olup bir başdan ol bir başa mürûr iktizâ [153a] etmekle havlunun cânib-i yemîninde bir başdan ol bir başa ya'ni nüzûl olunacak nerdübâna varınca soltatlar beş saf olup dizilmişler ve bunların önlerinde on pâre kadar şâhî toplar dizilmiş ve havlunun cânib-i yesârında yançar dedikleri sekbânlar başdan başa ve onların önünde resm-i Osmânî üzre mehterhâne dizilip ve bunlar cümle kavuk ve sarık giymişlerdir ve tavır ve tarz-ı Osmânîyân üzre şâtırlar ve peykler yerinde olanlar ve muhzır ağa tâifesi yerinde olan kırk elli keçelü cümle selâma durur gibi tertîb olunmuşlardır. Beyzâdeler, boyarzâdeler gedik ağaları yerinde olanlar nerdübân ayağına gelüp kalpakları koltuklarında hoş geldiniz deyüp temennâ ederek nerdübândan yukarı gidildikde ibtidâ girilen

odada bir kat soltat dahi selâma dizilüp andan öte bir odaya girilüp onda dahi bir kat soltat dizilüp andan öte bir odaya dahi gidilüp ve ana yemek odası tesmiye olunup yemek iskemlesi ise tûlu beş-altı zirâ' ve arzı iki zirâ' yerden dahi pâyendeler üzre bir buçuk arşun yüksek tahtadan çatılmış ve musanna' peşkirler ile döşenmiş ve etrâfında dâ'iren mâ-dâr oturmak için iskemleler dizilmiş bir alaylıklı vaz'dır. Elli-altmış lenger ile et'ime envâ'ı dizilmiş ve otuz-kırk âdem etrâfına oturup her âdemin önüne lenger misillü baratalar ve bir bıçak ve bir çatal ve bir pâkça ve büyücek yemek makramesi konulur ve bu yemek âlât ve edevâtı cümle hâs gümüşdendir ve yemekleri sumât şeklinde döşenmiş, herkes dilediği ta'âmdan bir müsâfire gayet ikrâm ederler. Sâhib-i hâne ve anun yanında zevcesi [153b] vasatında oturup elçi veya gayrı bir mu'teber müsâfir bulunur ise sâhib-i hâneye karşı oturdurlar ve zevc ve zevce yemek tamam olunca müsâfirin hidmetiyle mukayyed olup her kangı ta'âm ziyâde mu'teber ise baratalar üzerine andan bir mikdâr ta'âm koyup müsâfire uzadır. Andan birkaç lokma yemedi birini dahi uzadır verir. Tertîb-i esbâb-ı nûş bir mikdâr ta'âma tenâvülden sonra herkesin önüne birer şişe bâde getürdiler ve birer kadeh kodılar ve bizim önümüze gâlibâ def'an li'l-iltibâs bir fağfurî kâse ile bir şişe limon şerbeti kodılar. Çûn mukaddemâ sofralarına da'vet etdiklerinde hatman ile kavlı edüp bize iki şeyi teklîf etmeyiniz, zîrâ bize göre dînen ve âdeten hadd-i imkânda değildir. Biri şûrb-i hamr ve biri ikide bir anun bunun aşka dedikçe ayağa kalkmak bu iki mâddede biz ma'zûruz, gururumuza haml olunmaya şer'an memnû'dur ve zâhirde dahi âdet olmamışdır deyü evvelce deprenip ifâde-i ahvâl olunmuşıdi. Ve bu vech üzre kendileri hilâf-ı rızâ bir şey teklîf etmemek üzre ve kendileri dahi kalmamak üzre kavlı ve muâhede olunmuşdu. Pes esnâ-yı ta'âmda nevbet-i nûşa gelince sâhib-i ziyâfet olan başhatman kalkmamak ahdini şikest edüp ayak üzre durdu ve eline mey-nâb ile memlû bir büyük kadeh alıp pâdişâh-ı İslâm aşkına deyüp lisanlarınca bir uzunca du'âya başladı. Cümle sofrada bulunan zükûr ve inâs ve odanın canib-i âharında kurulup vasatü'l-hâl olan boyarzâdeleriyle askerde i'tibârda olan zabitleriyle dâ'iren mâ-dâr memlû bir sofrâ halkı dahi cümle ayağ üzre sıçrayup pâdişâh-ı İslâm'ın [154a] ömrü uzun, devleti dâ'im, dostları mesrûr, düşmanları makhûr olsun deyü cümle yek-nefes alkışlar ile bir velvele kopardılar ki dîvân-hâne yıkılır sandım ve hatman nûşa mübâşir olup kadehi ağzına iletlediği gibi musikiler envâ'-ı sâzlar ve âlât-ı garibeler ile çalup çağırmağa müsâra'at etdiler. Bâdeyi bir cür'a kalınca merdâne ve rüstemâne nûş etdiğin cümleye göstermek için kadehi baş aşağı çevirüp yanında oturan marşkala (mareşal/marszałek) virdi. Derhâl dîvân-hânenin önüne çekilen zarlar açılıp aşağıda havluda dizilen birkaç yüz soltatlar ve sekbânlar cümle bir ağızdan tüfenklerine ateş etdiler anların akabinde toplara birer birer ateş etdiler

onlar tamam oldukda resm-i Osmânî üzere mehterhâneler çalınup beride sâkiler durmayup mûsikiler ârâm virmeyüp billûr kâseler idâre olunmakda ve her hâzır ve mevcûd pâdişâh-ı İslâm aşkına deyüp dolusun nûş ve du'âsın zikr u yâd etmektedir. Evvel pâdişâh-ı İslâm için olup du'â ve senâları hitâma karîn oldukda yine hatman ayağa kalkup vezîr-i a'zam ve serdâr-ı ekrem aşkına deyüp yine resm-i evvel üzere alkışlar ve du'â ve senâlar ve tüfenk ve top ve mehterhâneler çalınup devr-i evvel gibi azîm şenlikler etdiler. Nevbet-i sâlise Devlet-i Aliyye aşkına nevbet-i râbî'a elçi efendi aşkına olup her bir devirde tavır ve tarz-ı merkûmu tamam icrâ etdiler ba'dehû kralları ba'dehû cumhurları ba'dehû hatman ba'dehû marşkal aşkına deyüp [154b] minvâl-i muharrer üzere beş on nevbet resm-i ma'hûd üzere dolular içüp sûr ve şenlik levâzımını icrâ etdiler, yemek tamam oldukda hatman zevcesi kahve içmek için bizi ve ekâbirlerini odasına da'vet edüp önümüze düşdü. Odasına varıldıkda etrâfda iskemleler dizilüp başda olanı bize teklîf edüp kendüsi ve anası bir döşenmiş kerevet üzere oturdu. Hatman ve marşkal biri sağ ve biri solumuzda oturdular. Arada birkaç cüceler ve bir cüce kız gelüp kızın elinde bir gümüş tabak ve tabak içinde lengerler ile birkaç dürlü hulviyyât ve her lenger yanında birer gümüş kaşık olup her birimizin önüne birer pişkîr kodılar. İbtidâ bize sonra marşkala sonra hatmana sonra kayınatasına sonra kızına sonra hatmanın oğluna ve iki nefer yeğenine cümle tatlu virüp akabinde kahve virdiler. Meğer ol esnâda bir mikdâr âfâkî sohbetler olununca taşrada dîvânhânede lu'b ve lehv ve sûr ve şenlik esbâbı tertîb olunmuş hatman, "Buyurun dîvânhâneye gidelim lu'b ve lehvimizi temâşâ edin" didikde hatmanın zevcesi yerinden sıçrayup önümüze düşdü ve hatman ve marşkal ve sâir kibâr ve ricâl ve nisvânları mağrûrâne refâtâr ile dîvânhâneye gelindi. Etrâfda iskemleler dizilip bize yer gösterdiler. Derhâl mûsikiler velvele-endâz olup horaz depmeğe hâzır oldılar. Beş-on avratlar ve kızlar giyinmiş ve cevhere gark olmuş her birinin eline berdâr yapışup devre başladılar ve lâkin oyunları gâyet edebâne biri birine tapınarak [155a] ve ta'zîm ederek ve san'at-ı garîbe ile cûş ve cünbüş ederek sıçradıkları çokluk bellü olmayup hemen su gibi akup deverân ederek devrin evvel ve âhîrinde karşımıza gelince birer kerre diz çöker gibi egülüp arz-ı ubûdiyyet ederlerdi ve buyurun sizin ile dahi devr edelim deyü katı çok ibrâm ederlerdi. Zükûrları uzun libâslar giyüp haftanları ve kürkleri yere beraberdir ve kuşağı üstünden kuşanurlar ve bellerine kılıç kuşanup çizme ayakda kılıç belde sagîr ve kebîrleri bir ân kılıçsız gezmezler. Nisvânları gâyet uzun ve birkaç karış yerde sürünür libâslar giyerler. Eteklikleri fistan ta'bîr olunur gâyet ile vâsî' ve a'cûbe libâsdır. Belleri ise ne kadar ince olursa ol kadar beynlerinde makbuldür. Başlarına birer işlenmiş bez oturtup asarlar ve yüzlerine doğru zülûf gibi sarkıdırlar ve gâhice yukarı atup saçları ekseriya görünür, boyunları ve

gerdanları ve memelerinin çoğu açıktır. İş ü işrete zevk u safâya sıçrayup oynamağa sohbeta nükteli kelâma letâ'ife durûb-ı emsâle mâ'il bir kavimdir. Mahall-i merkûmda meks ve ikâmetimiz kırk günden ziyâde olup müddet-i merkûme hilâlinde dört-beş günde bir da'vet olunup minvâl-i muharrer üzre mu'tâdları olan iş ü işreti sûr u şenliği ve lehv ü lu'bı bir gün terk etmezleridi ve bu eyyâmda iki def'a düğünleri dahi vâki' olup [155b] biri hatmanın ricânâmesine der-i Devlet-i Aliyye'den cevâbnâme geldiği zamana müsâdefet ve biri celâdetlü hân-ı âlîşânın mansûr ve muzaffer olduğu haber-i meserret vürûdu esnâsına rast gelüp düğünleri bahâne edüp ol günlerde azîm sürûr ve şâdmânî izhâr ve birkaç gün lâ-yenkati' ifrât üzre şenlikler eylediler ol esnâda bu hakîrin dahi avdet ve insirâfî tedârükün görüp hezâr iştiyâk ile cânib-i devlete teveccüh olunup avn-i Hak ile vusûl mukadder oldu.

(*Mecmua*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi Kısmı, nr. 3375, vr. 148b-155b).

-III-

(Lehistan'a İbrahim Müteferrika ile Gönderilen Nâme)

Ba'de'l-elkab

Bender cânibleri ser-askeri vezîr-i mükerrer izzetlü Mehmed Paşa hazretlerine gönderilen elçiniz ile mashûben tarafımıza irsâl olunan mektûb-ı dosti-üslûbunuz vezîr-i müşârun-ileyh cânibinden meştâ-yı hümâyûna vâsıl ve derûnunda îrâd olunan dostâne takrîrat ve mu'amelâta bi'l-cümle ittîlâ'-i küllî hâsıl olup, ez-cümle Leh Krallığı ünvânıyla sıhhat-ı imtiyâzi bu esnâlarda intişâr bulan haşmetlü hürmetlü Üçüncü Augustus kral dostumuzun ve sâ'ir Leh cumhûrlarının iktizâ-yı murâdları Devlet-i Aliyye-i ebediyyü'l-istimrâr ile kadîmî der-miyân olan dostluğun bilâ-halel istidâmesi olduğu ve Lehlü'nün bir tarafa meyl ve medhali olmamak hasebiyle, böyle askerlik vakitlerinde fimâ-bâ'd sehven bir nesne dahi zuhûr eylemesün deyü Leh askeri hudûdlar muhâfazasına ta'yîn olunduğu, dostâne î'lâm olunmak siyâkında ba'zı gûne nesnelere îrâdına dahi tasaddî ile mukaddemâ Karloviçe'de akd olunan mevâdd Leh cumhûru taraflarından ile'l-ân bilâ-halel sıyânet olunmağla, Çehrin'de vâkı' Medveduka Kasabası'ndan ve sâ'ir Leh hudûdlarından bundan akdem Moskovlu olmak üzere ahz olunan üsârânın bakıyyesi ve eşyâları istirdâdına emir-i âlî sudûru istidâ olunup, bu bâbda cevâb-ı bâ-savâb iltimâsında olduğunuzdan gâyetü'l-gâye istiğrâb olunmuşdur. Devlet-i Aliyye-i rûz-efzûn el-hâletü hâzihi bi-hamdillâhi te'âlâ her husûsda umûrunu şer'-i şerîfe ve kânûn-ı münîfe tatbîk ile hareket edüp, mü'ebbed ve muvakkat beyler sulh u salâh ile tasfiye olunan hemcivâr dostlarımız ve kezâlik bu'd mesâfede bulunan musâfirimizden her birleri ile ma' kud olan şurût-ı müsâleme ve musâfâta kemâl-i mertebe ri'âyet ve anlar dahi bu gûne şurût ve kuyûdu sıyânet eyledikce, malları mallarımız ve nefisleri nefislerimiz misüllü hıfz u vikâyet olunmak merâsimine kemâ-yenbağî dikkat eylemek muktazâ-yı azîmet-i sâdikamız olmağla, bu cümleden Lehlü'nün ilâ hâze'l-ân hudûdları ve re'âyâ ve serbestiyetleri muhâfazası emrinde Devlet-i ebed-miknet ne-mertebe ihtimâm eylediği mu'teber devletlerin cümlesine ma'lûm ve âşikârdır. Lehlü tâ'ifesi kendülere nisbet hasm-ı gâliba cevâb veremezler fikriyle vükelâ-yı saltanat-ı Osmâniyye gâ'ibâne kadîmden Lehlü'yi himâyeye alup, Karloviçe'de fay-sal verilen müsâleme mücebince memâlik-i mahrûseden yalnız Boğdan câniblerinin tahdîdi ile iktifâ olunmayup, Moskov tarafından bir vakt-i gayr-i melhûzda Lehlü memâlikine ta'addî olunmasun deyü anlar ile dahi hudûdları ma'lûm olmak husûsunda mukaddemâ fevkal-merâm ikdâmlar zuhûr eylemiş-iken, yüz on beş

târîhinde vâki' cülûs-ı hümâyûna dek yine müşevveş kalup, târîh-i mezbûrda o husûsun dahi ber-taraf kılındığı ve ba'dehu Moskov ile Prut üzerinde vuku' bulan keyfiyyetin musâlahasında ve sonra müsâleme-i mü'ebbede akdinde Moskov çarı Lehlü'nün umûruna karışmayup bir dürlü bahâne ile askerini bundan sonra Leh memleketine göndermeyüp Leh memleketinden külliyyetle el çekmek hâlâtı yine ga'ibâne şurûtiyla musâlahalarda îrâd ve ahidnâmelere idhâl olunduğu, Lehlü'ye olan humâyeti isbât eyler. Ve geçen sene Augustus-ı sâninin fevtinden sonra Moskov tâ'ifesi ahidnâme-i hümâyûna mugâyir ve sulh-ı mü'ebbede münâfi Leh'e görüp ba'zı hilâf nesnelere mübâşeret eyledikde yine Leh'i muhâfaza için bu kadar asâkir ve mesârîf ile Devlet-i Aliyye Kırım Hânı'nı yerinden nühüzet etdirüp def-i gâ'ile için Bucak taraflarına gelmişken, Leh re'âyâsı çekinmesün deyü hân-ı müşârun-ileyhin içeri duhûlüne izn-i hümâyûn erzânî kılınmadığı ma'lûmdur. Farazâ ol vakit müşârun-ileyh hân hazretleri duhûl eylemiş bulunsalar şimdi bu işler zuhûra gelmemek aaleb-i ihtimâl idi. Ve Leh'in serbestiyyeti muhâfazası ve re'âyâ vü berâyânın sıyâneti Devlet-i Aliyye'nin bi't-tab' matlûb ve mergûbı olmakdan nâşî, mukaddemâ İstanislav kral tarafından gelen kâğıdları tevkif ve ba'dehu müteveffâ Augustus-ı sâni kral misüllü benâm ve dostluğu zâhirü'l-istihkâm kimesnenin ferzend-i necîbi ve bi'l-fi'l-Saksonya Dukası ve ale'l-husûs hurmetlü, haşmetlü, metânetlü ulu dostumuz Roma imparatoru çesar-ı bâ-vakârın elektöri müşârun-ileyh Augustus-ı sâlis dahi Leh krallığına nâmzed oldukda, tarafeyne enfa' ve ercah olan cânibeynin tav' u rızâları ve cümle düvelin re'yleri müttehid olmakdır deyü müşârun-ileyhin tarafından gelen nâmeler dahi nev'-i te'hîr olduğu Devlet-i Aliyye'nin Lehlü hakkında olan hüsn-i teveccüh ve resm-i kadîmini ve Leh'in dahi serbestiyyetleri ve kavânîn-i mevrûselerini icrâ ve ifâ için idüğü, size nümâyân olmak gerek ve bu cümle mülâhazalar Leh'e kral-ı benâm olan kimesne ile cumhûr beynlerinde bir güne nizâ' ve bürüdet vâki' olmayup, anlar kemâl-i tav' ve müsâfâtda oldukca hudûdlarını şark ve şimâl ecâniblerinden muhâfaza edüp, bu takrîb ile Devlet-i Aliyye hudûdları dahi me'mûnü'l-gâ'ile olarak kendülerin râhatı ve hudûd-ı İslâmiyye'nin emniyyeti için idüğü bir emr-i bedihîdir. Devlet-i Aliyye Lehlü ile olan sulh u salâhını ve Lehlü'nün serbestiyyeti muhâfazada ne rütbe ihtimâm üzre olduğu, bu mukaddemâtdan ma'lûm olur. Lehlü dahi meczûmumuz olduğu üzre kadîmden gerek serbestiyyetleri sıyânetinde ve gerek Devlet-i Aliyye ile olan musâfâtları muhâfazasında müttefikü'l-keâm olduklarına binâ'en, dâ'imâ Moskovludan mücânebet üzre olup onların ta'addilerini gördükce Der-Aliyye'ye ve hânân-ı Kırım câniblerine bess-i şekvâdan hâlî olmadıkları, siz dostumuza dahi hafî değıldir.

Yüz kırk beş târihinde müteveffâ kral ve cumhûr taraflarından cülûs-ı hümayûn-ı şevket-makrûn tebrik-için Âsitâne-i sa'âdet'e gelen Sirakunuski¹ elçi henüz Der-Aliyye'de iken cumhûrdan kendüye kâğıdlar gelüp, Moskovlu Devlet-i Aliyye ile akd olunan mevâdd-ı sulha mugâyir Özi suyunun berü cânibinde Leh Ukranyası'nda vâki' Çehrin kasabasının kurâlarına istilâ ve hâlâ alâyim vaz' eyledikleri, Leh tarafından kâğıdlar ile bana ifhâm ve Der-Aliyye'ye ifâde olunmasını i'lâm eylemişler deyü Moskov'dan şikâyet eylediği ve bundan akdemce o câniblerden gelen ba'zı haberlerinize göre, bizler hudûd-ı kadîmemizi sıyânetde kusûr eylemeziz, ancak hüküm gâlibindir deyü itizâr olunup bir müddetden berü Moskov'un Leh hudûdlarına girüp istilâ eylemesi ve o câniblerden tamâm zahîrenüp ve mahmûlât ve merkûbâtına nizâm verüp o kuvvet ile hudûd-ı İslâmiyye'ye duhûle cür'et eylediği bu müdde'aları izah eder. Ve Moskov'un kadîmî Leh hudûdlarına istilâ fikrinde olması, cumhûrun ve belki krallık ile bekâm olanların hilâf-ı marzîsi olmak hasebiyle, bu esnâlarda Moskov'un giriftâr olduğu nev'-i hasâra memnûniyyet izhâr ve bundan başka anlara tâbi' olan ba'zı Leh karyelerini dahi fi'l-cümle çekilindiğine istîşâr olunduğu istimâ' olunmuşdur. Zikr olunan mevâddan istinbât olunduğu üzre, Leh cumhûru Devlet-i Aliyye'nin himâyetini bilüp der-miyân olan musâfâtı istidâmesine ez-dil ü cân tâlibler olduğu mâ'lûm ve meczûmumuz olmağla, bundan akdem Moskovlu'nun bâ'zı gûne te'dîbler-için hudûdlarına âzım olan Bucak ser-askeri rifâtlü İslâm Girây Sultân Leh hudûdlarından kemâl-i mertebe mücânebet ve anlara ser-mû ta'arruzdan askerini gâyetü'l-gâye hıfz u hirâset eylemek husûsları sultân-ı mûmâ-ileyhe peyderpey te'kid olunduğuna binâ'en, mûmâ-ileyh dahi bi'l-ihityât hareket ile Çehrin havâlisine vardukda seksen mikdârı Tatarı dil ahzına irsâl, anlar dahi esnâ-yı râhda araba ile bir kazağa dûçâr olup ahz ve ahvâl-i sâ'ireden su'âl eylediklerinde mesfûr Leh'e tâbi' karyelerden Kabuste (Kapuşcińce ?, Kapustyne?) Karyesi ahâlisinden olup "Moskovlu'dan zahîrenlemek ve araba almak irâdesiyle karyemize birkaç nefer soltatları geldi, ben arabamı alup firâr eyledim, anlar hâlâ köyde halkı tazyîk üzredirler" deyü haber verdiğine binâ'en, asker-i Tatar mesfûrî irhâ edüp karye-i mezbûreye ilgâr ve ba'de'l-vürûd Moskovlular'ı talep eylediklerinde ibtidâ verirüz deyü cevâb ve ba'dehu manastıra kapanup Tatarın birini ihlâk ve birkaçını dahi cerh eylemişler iken, tenbîh olundukları cihetden yine muhârebe etmeyüp etrâfında buldukları çoban ve bağçevân makûlesinden altmış iki nefer kimesne ahz ve sultân-ı mûmâ-ileyhe getürdüklerinde, "hükm-i hümayûna mugâyirdir" deyü mesfûrları ism ü resmleri ile defter ve hîn-i mutâlebede mahallerine

1 Józef Sierakowski.

irsâl olmağ-ı için ashâbına teslim edüp, ol-vakit Leh taraflarından ancak karye-i mezbûre ahâlisi olan mezkûr altmış iki nefer kimesne matlûb ve anlar dahi irsâl olunmuş iken ve âhar gûne söz yoğ-iken, Devlet-i Aliyye şer'an ve kânûnen hasmı olan Moskovlu'dan ve âna bi'l-fi'l-asker yazılıp tâbî' olanlardan ahz ve istirkâk eyledikleri ricâl ve nisâ ve zâbit ve hâkimi Moskovlu ve Kazaklu olan Medveduka misüllü ve âna mânend yerlerden iğtinâm olunan eşyânın istirdâdı bâbında istid'â olunduğu, ol-vakitlerde Moskovlu Leh Ukranyası'na yerleşüp memleketinizden zehâyir ve mühimmât aldıkları, Devlet- Aliyye tarafından lisâna gelmesün fikriyle olmak gerekdir. Çünkü bu husûsda mecbûr olduğunuzu Devlet-i Aliyye bilür. Bu makule cüz'iyât için siz dostumuz ile dostluğu Devlet-i Aliyye fedâ etmez velâkin bu esnâlarda ber-vech-i muharrer hudûdlarınız Moskovlu'dan tathîr ve kadîmisi üzre Leh askeri ile tahkîm ve tersîn olunduğu ve miyâne olan musâlaha ve musâfâtın devâm ve istikrârına ihtimâm olunacağı hâlâtdan dahi hazz-ı mevfûr olunmuştur. Mâdâm ki Moskovlu Leh memâlikine dâhil olmaya, Devlet-i Aliyye tarafından Leh hudûduna bir hatve tecâvüz olunmak ihtimâli yokdur. Çünkü Devlet-i rûz-efzûnun aksâ-yı murâdı sâ'ir dostlarımız misüllü Leh kralı cenâbı ve cumhûrları ile olan musâlaha şurûtunun dahi ri'âyet olunmasıdır. Binâ'en-aleyh mektûbunuzda zikr olunan istirdâd iltimâsı, yine Kabuste Karye'sinden ahz olunan üsârânın bakıyyesi ile eşyaya müte'allık iğtinâm olunan şeyler midir ve yâhud bir âhar husus mudur. Meczûmumuz olan dostluğa binâ'en bu icmâlin tafsili bilinmek iktizâ eylemiştir. Zîra sarâhaten nakz-i ahd edüp bilâd-ı İslâmiyye'ye duhûl ve birkaç bin kurâyı derûnunda olan mesâcid ve me'âbid ve kütüb-i İllâhiyye ile ihrâk bi'n-nâr etmeğe cesâret eden Moskov tâ'ifesinin şer'an üzerlerine varılmak vâcib olup ve mesfûrlar Çehrin semtlerine ve hattâ Beyaleçarka Kal'ası'na istilâ o taraflara tasallut üzre oldukları cümle indinde müte'ayyin ve mütehakkık olmak hasebiyle, o misüllü şer'an üzerine varılan düşmandan ahz ve iğtinâm olunan üsârâ ve eşyâ, öteden berü gayretleri çekile gelen kâdîmî dostlarımızın lisânına gelmek emr-i garîbdir. El-hâletü hâzihi gelen hudûd defteriniz mucebince, fimâ-bâ'd dahi Lehlü taraflarına bir dürlü zarar u ziyân isabet etdirilmemek hâlâtı celâdetlü hân-ı âlişân hazretlerine ve Bender cânibi ser-askeri müşârun-ileyh vezîr-i mükerrem iz-zetlü Mehmed Paşa hazretleri ile Bucak ser-askeri mûmâ-ileyh rifâtlü İslâm Girây Sultân'a başka başka mü'ekked mekâtib ile tenbîh ve sipâriş olunmağla, zikr olunan keyfiyyâtı ve Devlet-i Aliyye Lehlü ile mâ-beyninde olan musâfâtın kemâl-i germiyyet üzre muhâfazası bâbında ihtimâm üzre olduğunu siz dostlarımıza ifâde ve tefhîm muktezî olmağın, işbu mektûb-ı vilâ-mashûb tahrîr ve asla mutâbık tercemesi dahi derûnuna vaz' ve iktiza eden keyfiyyâtı lisânen dahi takrîr ve tasvîr etmek arzusuyla, Dergâh-ı âlî müteferrikalarından olup teslim ve isâline me'mûr

İBRAHİM MÜTEFERRİKA'NIN LEHİSTAN ELÇİLİĞİ
VE BİLİNMEYEN SEFARETİNÂMESİ

ve ta'yîn kılınan, kıdvetü'l-emâcid ve'l-ekârim İbrahim Efendi dâme mecdûhu ile savb-ı dostî evbinize irsâl ve tesyîr olunmuşdur. Bi-mennihi te'âlâ lede'l-vüsûl mâbeynde nice müddetden berü mürâcât olunan emr-i musâfât inşa-Allahu te'âlâ bundan böyle o cânibden dahi mer'î tutulup ve keyfiyyât-ı sâ'ire mûmâ-ileyh İbrâhim Efendi vesâtatiyle bu dostunuz cânibine tahrîren ve işâreten ifâde ve i'lâm olunmasından ez-derûn mahzûz ve memnûn olmamız mukarrerdir.

Bâkî ve's-selâm.

Arkası: Leh Başhatmanına Basmacı İbrahim Efendi ile gönderilmiştir. 25 Ş 1149.

(BOA, HH, nr. 56; Fikret Sarıcaoğlu-Coşkun Yılmaz, *Müteferrika, Basmacı İbrahim Efendi ve Müteferrika Matbaası*, İstanbul 2008, s. 125-129).

-IV-

(II. Rakoçi Ferenc'in Raporu)

Müteferrika İbrahim kullarına Rakoçi kralın yazdığı mektûbun tercümesidir.

Devletlü inâyetlü re'fetlü kerîmü'ş-şiyem sadr-ı a'zam vezîr-i eham hazretlerinin emr-i âlilerine imtisâl ve müsâra'at birle tarafımıza tahrîr olunan mektûbunuz vusûl buldu. Mefhûmunda cenâb-ı devlet-meâb-ı sadr-ı a'zamîlerinden dâ'ileri hakkında mebzûl buyurulan rağbet-i kerîmâne ve iltifât-ı cemîlânelerine ez-dil ü cân hamd ü senâ ve teşekkür takdîm olunup suâl buyurulan mevâdda kendimize mahsûs ve melhûz fevâ'ide Devlet-i Aliyye'nin fevâ'id ve menâfi'i tercih olunup cevâb-ı hakîrâneye bu vech üzere ictisâr olunur. França elçisi Devlet-i Aliyye'yi tahrîkden ve França Devleti ile ittifâk ve ittihâda tergîbden hâlî olmadığı zâhir olup bu mahalde tetebbu' ve taharriye şâyân umûrdandır ki elbetde iki devletin ittifâk ve ittihâd üzere ahd ü mîsâkı evvelâ tarafeyne nâfi' olmak mülâhazasıyla bast ve temhîd oluna. Sâniyen ittifâk ve ittihâd zımnında tarafeynin âharın menâfi'i için der'uhde ve iltizâm eyledikleri şürût ve kuyûd icrâsı hadd-i imkânda olan mevâddan olmakda kemâl-i basîret lâzımdır. Zirâ âharın husûl-i merâmı için bir taraf iltizâm eyledüğü mâdde husûl-pezîr-i imkân olmadığı gibi taraf-ı âhara keder lâhık olup teşekkîye âğâz eder ve fırsat kendüye elvirdüğün gördüğü gibi kendi menâfi'i husûlüyle iktifâ edüp âharın zararını kayırmaz olur. Devlet-i Aliyye Leh'e sâhib çıkmak ve Leh Cumhûru serbestiyetini hıfz, vikâye etmek eğerçi şân ve şevket-i Devlet-i Aliyye'ye muvâfık bir emr-i azîmü'ş-şândır ve lâkin bu bâbda mutavassıtlar tavassutuyla veya tedric ve te'ennî ile amel olunmak tedbiri dahi nâ-ber-câ idüğüne haml olunmaz ve eğerçi İstanislaw'ın¹ Leh'e kral intihâb ve nasb olunmasında Leh'in ittifâk-ı derûnları vâki' ve mu'tad olan kavâ'id-i serbestiyetleri icrâ olunduğu müdde'â dahi sâbit olup merkûmun krallığa istihkâkı zâhir olduğu sûrette dahi krallık gayrılardan selb olunup mücerred İstanislaw'a tahsîs olunmak üzere Devlet-i Aliyye'den merkûma sâhib çıkmak mücerred França Kralı'nın nevâziş-i hâtırı için bir emr-i hatîre mübâşeret olunmak olur ve imtinân dahi götürür umûrdan olup mukâbelesinde dûr-bînlik ve dûr-endişlik ile Devlet-i Aliyye Françalı ile matlûbları olan ittifâk ve ahd ü mîsâk bast ve temhîdinde fâidesini arayup her ne mertebede hazm ve ihtiyât olunsa sezâdır. Ve bu mahalde Françalunun matlûbu Devlet-i Aliyye var kuvvetini bâzûya getirüp Moskov üzerine hareket ve İstanislaw'ı istihkâkıyla ku'üd eyledüğü Leh Krallığı tahtında ibkâ ve takrîr buyura. Taraf-ı Devlet-i

¹ Stanislaw.

Aliyye'den bu husûsun husûlü ne vechile mümkün olur deyü vâfir fikir ve mülâhazalar eyledim. Evvelâ Devlet-i Aliyye ağır asker ile Moskov'un Leh'den ihrâcî ve İstanisla'v'ın ibkâsî için Leh'e azîmet buyurdıklarında Moskov askeri mukâbeleye durmayup Devlet-i Aliyye askeri ta'kîb etdikce Moskovlu Leh içerüsüne çekilüp asker-i İslâma müzâyaka virmek için mürûr eylediği mahalleri yakup yıkup çekilse gerekdir. Leh'e sefer vakti Temmuz'dan Kasım'a dek olup bu müddetde askere kifâyet mikdârı zâd u zahîre istishâbı dahi düşvâr olup düşman askeri dahi mukâbeleye gelmeyüp asker-i İslâm şitâ takribiyle çekilmek iktizâ eyledikde yine Moskov Leh içinde kalmak lâzım gelüp murâd hâsıl olmamış olur. Lâkin Moskov'un kendi memleketlerine hücum olursa Leh memleketlerine hücumdan enfa' ve evlâ görünür ve bu sûrette Ukrayna memleketi içinden mürûr oluna veyahut Azak tarafından Nehr-i İtil ve Volga didikleri nehr-i kebîr semtine azîmet oluna ki bu takdîrce asker-i Osmânî ilerüde yürüyüp Kazak ve Tatar makûlesi asker gerüde kafada olmalıdır ve Dağistan'da Derbend taraflarında dahi Moskov üzerine hücum olunmalıdır ve lâkin gaflet olunmaya ki Moskov memleketleri mesâfe-i ba'ide olduğundan gayrı odunu, suyu yok kıraç yerler ve câ-be-câ berr u beyâbnlardan hâlî olmayup ol diyâra sefer kesret-i mesârîfa ve killet-i menâfi'a mü'eddî olup zamân-ı sâbıkda nice nâmdâr ser-askerler it'âb ve telef-i asker edüp tehî-dest avdet ettikleri vârid ve bu cümle birle umdetül-merâm olup ittifâk ve mîsâk zımında der'uhde ve iltizâm olunan şart ki İstanisla'v'ın Leh tahtında ibkâ ve takrîridir. Bu cümle birle husûle geleceği yine makâm-ı tahkîkde değildir. Ve kezâlik França Devleti tarafında dahi nice mahzurlar mukarrerdir. Memâlik-i França ile memalik-i Moskov mâ-beyninde gâyet ile mesâfe-i ba'ide vâki' olduğundan França Devleti Moskovluya îsâl-i mazarrata tarîk bulamaz. Nitekim Rañçika? tarafından asker-i küllî sevkine imkân olmadığı Bosna'da zâhir oldu ve mademki Devlet-i Aliyye Moskovlu ile harb ve kıtâl iştiğâlinde ola França Devleti Moskovlu ile ve müttefikleri ile yani Nemçe Çasarı veya gayrı ile sulh ve salâha rağbet etmemeği der'uhde ve iltizâm eder ve bu güne ahdinde sâbit-kadem dahi olur ve lâkin Devlet-i Aliyye'nin Moskovlu ile cenk ve kıtâlî hadd-i imkânda olmadığı hâlde şart-ı merkûmun semeresi ne olmuş olur. Mülâhaza olunmak gerekdir. Böyle oldukda muâhede akd ve temhîr olunmak esnâsında bu husûs gereği gibi müzâkere ve mükâleme olunup Devlet-i Aliyye cânibinden Moskovluyu tazyîk ne tarîk ile mümkün idüğü hilâl-ı mevâddda şerh ve beyân olunmak lâzımdır. Ve gaflet olunmaya ki bu mertebede tafsîle cesâretten dâ'îlerinin maksûdu Devlet-i Aliyye ile Françalı beyninde ahd ü mîsâk akdi himmetine fütûr getirmek için değildir. Belki asâkir-i Tatar-ı sebük-reftâr bu hizmete istihdâm olunup anlar dahi var kuvvetlerini bu mâddede bâzûya getirmek gereklerdir ve bu muâhede zımında Devlet-i Aliyye'ye âid olacak fâide

hakikatde bu olur ki evvelâ; bilâ-harb ve kıtâl Belgrad ve Tamışvar devlete râci‘ ola. Sâniyyen, bu dâ‘ileri mülk-i mevrûsum olan Erdel mülküne vâsıl olam. Sâlisen, Macaristan’ın kadîmî serbestiyyeti kemâ fi’l-evvel yerine gelüp alâ hâlihî kala ki bu sûretde Devlet-i Aliyye’ye adüvv-i ekber olan Nemçelünün kuvvet ve mikneti tamam kesr ve şikest bulmak emr-i muhakkaktır ve bu takdîrce Devlet-i Aliyye’ye göre küllî hareket ve var makdûrunu sarf ile himmet iktizâ etmez. Zirâ Serhumbaracıyân Ahmed Paşa’nın dahi ma‘lûmu bir tarîk vardır ki França Devleti ol tarîk ile hareket edüp karadan ve deryadan Hırvatlığa -ki Venedik Körfezi’nin nihâyetidir- asker nakl eylemek mümkündür ve França askeri Hırvatlığa vardıkda Beç yoluyla Leh’e varmak ve bi’l-cümle Macaristan halkını ma‘iyyete almak ve bir vecih üzere İstanislav’ı Leh’e götürmek ve asker kuvvetiyle iclâs ve takrîr ettirmek hadd-i imkânda görünür. Matlûb olan husûsun temşiyetine aksar ve eshel-i tarîk ve ahsen-i tedbîr idüğü bundan esbak França Devleti cânibine i‘lâm ve ifhâm olunmağla henüz cevâbı intizârındayım. Bu husûs ma‘lûm-ı devletleri buyuruldukda Devlet-i Aliyye’nin França Devleti ile musammem olan ittifâkı mevâddında bu dâ‘ilerinin duhûlü ne mertebede lâzım idüğü ilm-i âlem-şümûl-i âsafânelerinde zâhir ve hüveydâ olur ve bu vech üzere murâd olunan ittifâkdan İspanya Kralı ibâ ve i‘râz üzere olmayacağı muhakkaktır. Nitekim Edrene’de gelen elçisi vesâtatıyla bu ma‘nâ makâm-ı tahkika vâsıl olmuş idi. Ve kral-ı merkûm Devlet-i Aliyye ile ittifâk üzere hareketi elçisi vesâtatıyla ta‘ahhüde hâzır ve müteheyyi’ ve intizârda olmuşdu. Bu esnâda Nemçelünün hevâdârları cânibinden dahi ba‘zı mevâdd îrâd olunup Devlet-i Aliyye ol cânib ile ittifâk ve muâhedeye tergîb olunmak ba‘îd değildir. Ol cânibin ittifâkında menâfi‘ ziyâde ve bu dâ‘ilerinin dahi husûl-i merâmına tarîk-i eshel idüğü bedîhidir. Ve lâkin Nemçelünün ve hevâdârlarının bu bâbda olan da‘vâları cidd ü sıdk olmakda aksâ’l-gâye hazm ve ihtiyât ile amel olunmak lâzımdır. Zirâ Nemçelü henüz bu hâleti iktizâ eder ma‘raz-ı ihtiyâca ve müzâyakaya vâsıl olmakdan bu güne ittifâka tâlib olması istiğrâb olunur. Ancak hud‘a-i harbiyyede mâhir olduğuna binâ’en kendi husûmu ziyâde kesret ve kuvvet bulmamak için Devlet-i Aliyye’yi âhar devletlerin ittifâkına duhulden men’ ve kendisine tevsî‘-i evkât edüp husamâsıyla mukâvemete iktidâr hâsıl eylemek için ittifâka meyl ve rağbet izhârı tasannu‘ ve hîle olmak gâlib-i ihtimâldir. Hattâ bundan akdem ulu pederim Tökeli İmr’e nin Devlet-i Aliyye’ye ilticâsı esnâsında Macar tâifesini umûmen Nemçelüden rû-gerdân ve merkûm Tökeli’ye dönüp söz bir ettüklerinde Nemçelü min-ba’d Devlet-i Aliyye ile mukâvemette aczini idrâk etdüğü birle hîleye sâlik oldu ve Belgrad valisine haber gönderüp Devlet-i Aliyye’nin murâdı üzere sulh u salâha râzı olduk her ne teklîf olunur ise kabûl ederiz hemen devlete arz eyle ve bir ân evvel kendüye ruhsat ve vekâlet emrini ısdâra sa‘y eyle,

vali-i müşârun-ileyh arz edüp şân ve şevket-i devlete lâıyk vech üzre sulh akdine izin ve emir sâdır oldukda Nemçelü'den sulh akdine me'mûr olan vekiller vali-i müşârun-ileyhi igfâl edüp mukaddemâ haber gönderdiğimiz vech üzre eğerçi bir akd-i sulha murahhas ta'yîn olunduk ve lâkin bu hayırlı maslahatın husûlüne mâni' olmamak için lâzımdır ki Tökeli İmre Belgrad'a da'vet olunup birkaç gün derûn-ı kal'ada meks ve ikâmet etdirile sâde-dîl vali düşman hilesinden gafil olup merkûm Tökeli Belgrad'a dâhil olduğu gibi Tökeli, Devlet-i Aliyye tarafından ahz ve Belgrad Kal'ası'nda habs olundu ve Devlet-i Aliyye ile Nemçelü barışdı deyü Macaristan'da işâ'a ve münâdiler etdürdüp Macarlu tâifesini tahvîf ve cem'iyetlerini münhal ve perîşân ve kal'alarını müceddeden zabta müsâra'at edüp Macar gâulesini def' etdüğü gibi valiye dahi ye'is haberini gönderüp anun dahi katline bâ'is oldu. Ve kezâlik Pozorofça Musâlahası mükâlemesine mübâşeretden evvel İngiltere ve Netherlande elçileri Belgrad ve Tamışvar istirdâdını der'uhde eylemişler iken husûle gelmedi. Bu gûne misâl îrâdıyla tasdi'a cesâretimiz mücerred adüvvün hilekârlık mu'tâd-ı kadîmî idüğünü tezkîrdir. Ve bu esnâda Nemçelü ve hevâdârları mevâ'id-i arkûbiyye ile Devlet-i Aliyye'nin Françalu ile musammem ittifâkını feshe ve hiç olmaz ise bari avk ve te'hîre sa'y edeceği mukarrerdir. Tâ kim vakte vüs'at el virüp Françalu ile ve müttefikleri ile sulha bir tarîk buluna veya França müttefiklerini França ittifâkından ayıra ve ol taraflarda ba'zı memleketleri elinden nez' olunur ise de Moskov kuvvetiyle Leh'e nasb olunan kral kendi herseklerinde ve zımnen kendü nişândesi olup ol taraflarda ba'zı memleketler talebinde olsa gerekdir ve hevâdârlarının Don Karoloş'un Çeçilya ve Anabolu'ya kral olması Saksonya herseğinin Leh'e kral olmasından Devlet-i Aliyye'ye ziyâde muzırdır didikleri kelâm-ı nâ-ber-câdır. Zirâ hersek-i merkûm Moskov ve Nemçe'nin nişândesi olmağla müstakil olup min-ba'd tedbir-i umûr-ı cumhurun olmamak görünür. Don Karoloş ise eğerçi ber-vech-i tedîb Devlet-i Aliyye ittifâkına dahil olur deyü ta'ahhüd edemem ve lâkin kralzâde-i merkûm Devlet-i Aliyye'ye adüv farz olunduğu sûretde ancak ba'zı tüccâr taifesine îsâl-ı mazarrata kâdir olur kendi memleketleri ise Devlet-i Aliyye sefineleri gâreti havfından bir ân hâli olamaz. Bundan kat'-ı nazar Devlet-i Aliyye ile bi'z-zât ittifâka duhulde âyînleri muktezasinca ba'zı mevâni'i olduğu sûretde bi'l-vâsıta olan ittifâkına mâni' olmayup bu husûs Devlet-i Aliyye ile Françalu beyninde cârî dostluğa binâ olunup min-ba'd kralzâde-i merkûm tarafından memâlik-i mahrûse tevâbî'ine zarar u ziyân erişdirilmemek üzre França Kralıyla olan ittifâkı mevâddına derc olunmak üzre bir mâdde akd olunur bu da olmadığı hâlde Devlet-i Aliyye tarafından ocaklık veya tarîk-i âhar ile sayf ve şitâda muhâfaza eylemek üzre Mora Cezîresi'nde birkaç pâre kalyon vaz' olundukda gerek merkûmun ve gerek Maltalu'nun mazarratleri mündefi' olur. Eğerçi França elçisi bu gûne umûr-ı izâmın

temşiyetinde çendân rüşd ve kemâl erbâbından olmayup batî'ü'l-harekedir ve lâkin mebâdî-i emirde umûr ile âşinâ bulunup França başvekîli olan kardinalin dahi çırâğ-ı hâssı olup yerine bir âhar kimesne ta'yîn olunmak iktizâ eylese mesâfe-i ba'ide ve mâ-beynde deryâ olduğundan emr-i matlûbun dûrâ-dûr te'hîrine bâdî olurdu. Husûs-ı mezbûrun vücûd-pezîr olması ve ucâleten sûret-i matlûbeye ifrâğ olunması mültezem-i Devlet-i Aliyye olan umûr-ı mehâmdan addolunur ise bu dâ'ileri dahi hidemât-ı aliyyede sarf-ı makdûra müteheyyi ve âmâde olup iktizâsı olduğu hâlde Françaya varmakda dahi şedd-i rihalden ve uğur-ı devletde irtikâb-ı ta'b ve meşâkk-ı tarîk-i seferden bir dürlü tehâşî olunmayup münâsib addolunur ise birkaç nefer âdemlerim ile Kudüs-i Şerîf ziyâreti ziy ve nâmıyla bir beylik kalyon ile İzmir'e ve anda França seftinesine süvâr olup França Kralı'na varılır ve Kral-ı merkûm ile emr-i ma'hûd bi'l-müşâfehe müzâkere ve sûret-i mergübeye ifrâğ olunup Âsitâne'de mukîm olan elçisine iktizâ eden terbiye ve tavsiye ve ruhsat-ı lâzıme senedâtı irsâli ta'cîl olunur. Ancak bu sûretde Devlet-i Aliyye'ye vusûlümüz esnâsında ricâ ve iltimâs olunup ol esnâda müzâkere ve mükâlemesi sebkât eden ahidnâme-i hümayûn ihsân ve inâyet buyurulmak ricâ olunur ve ahidnâme mücerred teshîl-i maslahat için olduğu ol esnâda i'lâm ve ifâde olunmuş idi. Ya'ni avn-i Cenâb-ı Hak ile Macar ve Erdel memleketleri yed-i istilâ-yı adüvden himmet-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i ebed-peyvend ile tahlîs ve ol diyârın feth ü teshîri takdîr-i Rabbânî birle mukadder ve müyesser oldukda taraf-ı Devlet-i Aliyye'den ol memâlik ahâlîsine istimâletler verilüp kadîmî serbestiyetleri kemâ fi'l-evvel alâ hâlihî ibkâ ve takrîr ve hâkimleri içlerinden nasb olunup tedbîr-i umûrları yine kendilerine sipâriş olunup harâc-güzâr re'âyâ misillü cizye evrâkı teklîf olunmayup sene be-sene ma'kûl ve mu'tedil ma'lûmü'l-mikdâr maktû' ve hedâyâları kabûl olunup bu vech üzere zîr-i cenâh-ı himâye-i pâdişâh-ı âl-i Osmân'da müreffehü'l-hâl olmalarına ihtimâm olunur ve anlar dahi bu vech üzere kulluğu ve seferler vukû'unda kifâyet mertebede zâd ü zahîre virmek ile ve iktizâ eyledikde seferlere ma'an eşmek ile hidemât-ı aliyyede bezl-i makdûr ile kulluğu der'uhde ve iltizâm edeler deyü ahidnâmede kayd ve şerh ve beyân oluna ve bu kaydın semeresi budur ki memâlik-i merkûmenin minvâl-i meşrûh üzere Devlet-i Aliyye'nin zîr-i hükmünde ve taht-ı tasarrufunda olduğunu bi'l-cümle mülûk ve milel-i nasârâ isterler ve bu ma'nâ ma'lûmları oldukda Nemçelü'ye imdâd ve i'ânetleri âdetlerinde bir dürlü iktizâ etmez ve bu sûretde Macar ve Erdel memleketleri Devlet-i Aliyye ile mülûk-i Avrupa memleketleri miyânında bir sedd-i sedîd makâmında olup bu vech üzere Macar ve Erdel Devlet-i Aliyye zabt u tasarrufunda olmağı gerek mülûk-i nasârâ ve gerek Rim Papa'sı cümleten ârzû ederler. Bâkî emr u fermân men lehü'l-emrindir.

(BOA, A.AMD, nr. 3/88).

İBRAHİM MÜTEFERRİKA'NIN LEHİSTAN ELÇİLİĞİ
VE BİLİNMEYEN SEFARETNÂMESİ

İbrahim Mütefferika'nın Lehistan Elçiliği ve Bilinmeyen Sefaretnâmesi

Öz ■ Çok yönlü bir aydın olan ilk Türk matbaasının kurucusu İbrahim Mütefferika'nın en az bilinen yönlerinden biri de diplomat kişiliğidir. İbrahim Mütefferika, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Avusturya ve Rusya ile savaştığı dönemde Lehistan'a giderek çeşitli görüşmeler yaptı. Ancak bu diplomatik faaliyeti ile ilgili şimdiye kadar fazla bir bilgimiz bulunmamaktaydı. Aralık 1736-Şubat 1737 arasındaki Lehistan sefaretini, bununla ilgili kaleme aldığı ve ilk defa tarafımızdan tespit edilen sefaretnâmesi ile sefaret takririni dönemin kaynakları ve diğer arşiv belgeleri ışığında bu makalede değerlendirilmiştir. Anahtar Kelimeler: İbrahim Mütefferika, Lehistan, başhatman, diplomasi, sefaretnâme.

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İBRAHİM MÜTEFERRİKA'NIN LEHİSTAN ÇİLİĞİ VE BİLİNMEYEN SEFARETNAMESİ

شهره ای ابراهیم فولریزه را شرحی فلک ذاتی درجی مکتوب ترجمه شد

دردلو و خانیلو را هله کره افتم... در اول وقت که در این شهر رسیدیم... در این شهر که در این شهر رسیدیم... در این شهر که در این شهر رسیدیم...

دردلو و خانیلو را هله کره افتم... در اول وقت که در این شهر رسیدیم... در این شهر که در این شهر رسیدیم... در این شهر که در این شهر رسیدیم...

Translating Science in the Ottoman Empire: Translator-educators as “Agents of Change” in the Ottoman Scientific Repertoires (1789-1839)

Ceyda Özmen*

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Bilimi Çevirmek: Osmanlı Bilim Repertuarlarında “Değişim Özneleri” Olarak Mütercim-Hocalar (1789-1839)

Öz ■ 1789-1839 arası elli yıllık döneme odaklanan bu çalışma, modern bilimin batıdan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na aktarılmasında kilit rol oynayan tercümanları ve tercümelerini çeviribilim bakış açısıyla incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Tartışmanın somut verilere dayandırılması için seçilen dönemde eğitim amaçlı tercüme edilmiş bilimsel-teknik eserlerden bir bütünce oluşturulmuştur. Çalışma, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda askeri alanda yapılması öngörülen değişiklik ve ilerlemelerin Osmanlı eğitim ve bilim repertuarlarındaki batı odaklı tercüme faaliyetleri ile doğrudan ilgili olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. III. Selim ve II. Mahmud döneminde askeri kaygılarla açılan ilk sistemli, batı tarzı eğitim kurumları mütercim-hocaları, dil dersleri ve matbaaları ile hem tercüme bürosu hem de tercüman eğitim merkezleri olarak işlev görmüştür. Bu kurumlarda görev yapan mütercim-hocalar Osmanlı kültür repertuarında önemli değişikliklere neden olmuştur. Çalışmada ‘değişim özneleri’ olarak adlandırılan mütercim-hocalar Türkçe’nin bilim dili olarak gelişmesine, dine dayalı geleneksel ilim anlayışının çağdaş bilim anlayışına dönüşmesine katkı sağlamış ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda bilim repertuarları dışında kalan diğer repertuarlarda ortaya çıkacak epistemolojik kaymalara zemin hazırlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çeviri tarihi, Osmanlı Bilim Repertuarları, Mütercim-Hocalar, Değişim Özneleri

Recent research in translation studies points to the transmission of scientific knowledge as a significant and productive site of critical inquiry.¹ The historical

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1 The history of scientific translation and translators’ agency in the dissemination of scientific knowledge have not attracted much attention by translation scholars until quite recently. One of these

perspective on scientific translation highlights the agency of the translator in the dissemination of knowledge and the constitution of scientific discourse itself.² Rather than assuming the translation of scientific material as a neutral site, free from ideological manipulation, researchers have recently proposed a direct relation between scientific translation and power struggles, and have acknowledged “the potential of scientific translations and translators to generate epistemological, narrative, ideological shifts in the dissemination of scientific materials”³. Parallel to these historical perspectives, by focusing on the period which is characterized by the onset of modernization in the Ottoman Empire, the present study attempts to reveal which scientific texts were translated by whom, and from which language, and identify why and how, and with what effect. In the light of its findings, I aim to demonstrate the pivotal role of translators and translations in the transmission of modern science in the Ottoman Empire, which has long been overlooked from a translation studies perspective.

In the eighteenth century, the weakening of central authority, disruption of political and economic stability, decline in conquests, and perpetual territorial losses laid bare the urgency of a revision of the education system which had fallen behind the West in both terms of technical expertise and scholarly inquiry.⁴ The field of military education, in which reform first appeared, became by far the most important channel through which western sciences were transmitted from the West (particularly France) to the Empire.⁵ Therefore, the aspiration to raise the status of the Ottoman Empire in the military field brought with it the

recent stimulating publications which acknowledges the potential of translations and translators in the dissemination of scientific knowledge and reconceptualization of scientific discourses is the special issue of *The Translator* on scientific translation (2011). This special issue, from different perspectives, explicates the representation of scientific knowledge through translation.

- 2 Maeve Olohan and Myriam Salama-Carr, “Translating Science”, *The Translator*, 17/2 (New York: Routledge, 2011): pp. 179-188; Ruselle Meade, “Translation of a Discipline”, *The Translator* 17/2 (New York: Routledge, 2011): pp. 211-3; Sonia Vandepitte and others, “Travelling Certainties: Darwin’s Doubts and Their Dutch Translations”, *The Translator*, 17/2 (New York: Routledge, 2011): pp. 275-99; Dolores Sánchez, “Translating Science: Contexts and Contests: On the Translation of a Misogynist Scientific Treatise in Early Twentieth-Century Spain”, *The Translator*, 17/2 (New York: Routledge, 2011): pp. 325-48.
- 3 Olohan and Salama-Carr, p. 179.
- 4 Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Science, Technology in the Ottoman Empire*, (Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2004), pp. 27-28; Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 38.
- 5 Lewis, p. 56.

concomitant need to reshape the educational and scientific fields. Subsequent to the shortlived Western-style school for the bombardiers, *Humbarahane* (1735), and school of geometry, *Hendesehane* (1775),⁶ the first large-scale modern planning initiatives were launched in the era of Sultan Selim III (1789-1808), and continued with Mahmud II (1808-1839). During the reigns of these Sultans, western scientific knowledge was transmitted throughout the Ottoman Empire through three different but correlated transfers: the transfer of institutions, individuals and texts. The newly-introduced modern schools and their curricula were patterned after Western models; foreign experts who worked in tandem with Turkish interpreters were assigned to these schools. Many treatises were translated and published by the educators at the schools. The local educators, whose major role was as translators,⁷ had a say in matters of science, and they were given licence to select the content of and the approach to translation.⁸ Through translations, the translator-educators contributed to the modern Ottoman reform, and provided the continuence of the Ottoman contact with western science.

For the purposes of the present essay, in order to conduct a review of the translators of the era, their translations and the institutions they served, a corpus of translated scientific works (1789-1839) was established based on various secondary and tertiary sources.⁹ However, the information provided by these sources regarding translation and translated works was not considered without performing a careful evaluation. In the following part, the course for establishing the corpus and my criticisms regarding the conceptualization of translation in these secondary sources

6 Different sources provide different dates for the establishment of these schools. In the present study, the dates are cited from Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlılar ve Bilim*, (İstanbul: Nesil Yayınları, 2003).

7 Seyfi Kenan argues that not all local educators of the era acquired perfect language skills. See Seyfi Kenan. "III. Selim Dönemi Eğitim Anlayışında Arayışlar". *Nizam-ı Kadim'den Nizam-ı Cedid'e III. Selim ve Dönemi*, (Ankara: İSAM Yayınları), pp. 129-152.

8 However, the multi-functionality of the translator's role and the need to fulfill several tasks in the Ottoman scientific repertoire were not unique, as in history these mediators usually came out of diverse groups such as monks, scholars, explorers, soldiers to name but a few. See Scott L. Montgomery, *Science in Translation: Movements of Knowledge Through Cultures and Time*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 4.

9 The reason for resorting to secondary sources rather than primary sources is my inability to read Ottoman Turkish. As may be known, in 1928, as one of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's reforms in the early years of the Republic of Turkey, the Ottoman script was replaced with a phonetic variant of the Latin alphabet. Now, the vast majority of Turkish people in Turkey are unable to read Ottoman Turkish.

will be provided, along with brief information on the corpus itself. Throughout the study, the corpus will be analyzed from a systemic view point: the outputs will be associated to the dynamics of the Ottoman cultural “polysystem”.¹⁰ In this regard, Itamar Even-Zohar’s concept of “culture repertoire”¹¹ which refers to “the aggregate of options utilized by a group of people and by the individual members of the group, for the organization of life”¹² will be drawn upon. Even-Zohar states that culture repertoire can be constructed “deliberately” as well as “inadvertently” by people who are members of the repertoire and engaged in its making.¹³ When it is deliberate, agents openly and deliberately engage in devising or adopting some options for social and individual life while rejecting or eliminating others. This deliberate intervention, which comes to mean the promotion of certain cultural elements and the suppression of others, is labelled “culture planning” by Even-Zohar. The planning initiatives carried out via “import” and “transfer”.¹⁴ Such planning is either fulfilled openly, or discreetly by those “agents” who have the power to influence society.¹⁵ Referring these agents, who change and reinforce the culture repertoire they are in with the power they have, as “agents of change”; Gideon Toury underlines the significant role the agents play in the culture.¹⁶ Within this scope, the translator-educators will be referred to as “agents of change” due to their significant role in the military-oriented “planning” of the Ottoman educational and scientific repertoires, and also their engendering of significant changes in the Ottoman conception of science with the alternative “options” they provided to the “repertoire”.

Description of the Corpus on Translated Scientific Texts (1789-1839)

The corpus consists of scientific-technical texts translated for educational purposes during the reign of Sultan Selim III and Mahmud II. Only the texts which

10 Itamar Even-Zohar, “Papers in Culture Research”, (Tel Aviv: Unit of Culture Research, Tel Aviv University, 2010), accessed on February 3, see http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/books/EZ-CR-2005_2010.pdf

11 Even-Zohar 2010.

12 Even-Zohar 2010, p. 70.

13 Even-Zohar 2010, p. 72.

14 Even-Zohar 2010.

15 Ibid.

16 Gideon Toury, “Translation as a Means of Planning and the Planning of Translation: A Theoretical Framework and an Exemplary Case”, in *Translations: (Re)shaping of Literature and Culture*, ed. by Saliha Paker. (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002), p. 151.

were published (or remained as manuscript) in the Ottoman territories –apart from Egypt- were included in the corpus.¹⁷ In order to identify the translated materials in the chosen period, as well as secondary sources, several bibliographies¹⁸ were drawn upon. The meticulous nature of these studies greatly contributed to the creation of the corpus, and enabled arguments to be constructed. However, in the process of classifying the works as translation, rather than adhering strictly to the given and fixed definitions of translation in the discourse of science historians I critically surveyed, the detailed information they provided from the historical-descriptive and systemic perspective in Translation Studies. Considering the heterogeneity and time- and culture-specific aspects of translation practices in the Ottoman culture,¹⁹ I identified “translation-based text productions”²⁰ in the Ottoman scientific repertoires were identified and added them to the corpus.

17 It is known that a concurrent culture planning independent from the rest of the Ottoman Empire was carried out by Muhammed Ali Pasha in Egypt. See Ercüment Kuran, “Sultan II. Mahmud ve Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa'nın Gerçekleştirdikleri Reformların Karşılıklı Tesirleri”, in *Sultan II. Mahmud ve Reformları Semineri*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1990), pp. 107-111; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Mısır'da Türkler ve Kültürel Mirasları*, (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2006); J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, (London: Luzac&Co, 1938); Johann Strauss, “Turkish Translations from Mehmed Ali's Egypt: A Pioneering Effort and its Results”, in *Translations: (Re)shaping of Literature and Culture*, ed. by Saliha Paker. (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002), pp. 108-148. Muhammed Ali's culture planning which started with Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt (1798) bears resemblance to that of Selim III and Mahmud II; in so far as some scholars argue that Muhammed Ali's reforms in Egypt had an impact upon those carried out by II. Mahmud in Anatolia and İstanbul (See Kuran, 111). The culture planning and, in conjunction with this, the translation activity which took place in Egypt are the subject of a future study. Therefore, in the present study, only the scientific materials which were published or remained as manuscript in Anatolia and İstanbul will be dwelled upon.

18 Bibliographical references which are drawn upon throughout the study are as follows: Jale Baysal, *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyete Kadar Osmanlı Türklerinin Bastıkları Kitaplar*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1968).

Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Türk Kimya Eserleri Bibliyografyası*, (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1985).

Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Matematik Literatürü Tarihi 2*, (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1999).

Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi 2*, (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2000).

Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Askerlik Literatürü Tarihi 2*, (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2004).

19 For more information on time- and culture-bound translational practices see Cemal Demircioğlu, “From Discourse to Practice: Rethinking Translation(Terceme) and Related Practices of Text Production in the Late Ottoman Literary Tradition” (doctoral dissertation), Boğaziçi University, 2005.

20 Cemal Demircioğlu, “Tuzaklar ve ‘Kapılar’: Osmanlıda Çeviri Tarihini Araştırırken Nereden Başlamalı?”, in *Uluslararası Çeviribilim Konferansı Bildirileri, Çeviribilimde Yeni Ufuklar, 11-12 Mayıs 2006, Hacettepe University* (Ankara: Bizim Büro Yayıncılık, 2008), pp. 237-249.

Scott L. Montgomery, in a discussion of the transference of scientific knowledge beyond borders, regards translation as “canopy under which gather great crowd of phenomena”.²¹ Such an approach while pointing to the enormous variety and complexity of the transfers, underlines the creation of a “true cultural product”, which “is given a wholly new voice and context”.²² When viewed from this perspective, it becomes clear that many concepts and practices involved in the process of translation have passed unnoticed in the discourse of Turkish science historians. Most researchers consider the translation practices of the time as being detached from the given temporal and cultural context. While classifying the scientific texts as “*tercüme*” [translation] or “*telif*” (generally regarded as to refer to *originality*) or evaluating them as “*sadık*” [faithful], “*serbest*” [free], “*mealên*” [sense-for-sense], “*harfiyyen*” [literal], “*aşırı serbest*” [extremely free], they consider the translation practices of the period only in terms of the modern conceptualization of translation – “*çeviri*”.²³ However, the concept and practices of translation [*terceme*] in the Ottoman period and those of today [*çeviri*] are clearly distinct, and need to be considered as culture- and time-bound notions.²⁴ The diverse strategies used in producing translation-based texts in the Ottoman literary repertoires may well represent types of “translational works” which cannot be adequately explained in terms of the above-mentioned binary oppositions, such as *telif-tercüme* or *sadık-serbest*.²⁵

Translation practices such as *nazire*, *nakl*, *hülasa*, *taklid*, *şerh* may be cited as translation-based text productions in the “Ottoman interculture”.²⁶ To these

21 Montgomery, p. 3.

22 Montgomery, p. 4.

23 For example see Emre Dölen, “Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Bilim”. *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, I, (1985), p. 163; İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Matematik Literatürü Tarihi*, p. 593.

24 See Saliha Paker, “Translation as Terceme and Nazire: Culture-bound Concepts and their Implications for a Conceptual Framework for Research on Ottoman Translation History” in *Crosscultural Transgressions, Research Models in Translation Studies II Historical and Ideological Issues*, ed. by Theo Hermans, (Manchester, UK and Northampton MA, 2002), pp. 120-143; Saliha Paker, “Ottoman Conceptions of Translation and its Practice: The 1897 ‘Classics Debate’ as a Focus for Examining Change”, in *Translating Others*, Vol. 2, ed. by Theo Hermans, (Manchester: St. Jerome, 2006), pp. 325-348; Saliha Paker, “Translation, the Pursuit of Inventiveness and Ottoman Poetics: A Systemic Approach”, in *Between Culture and Texts: Itineraries in Translation History*, (Frankfurt A.M.: Peter Lang GmbH, 2011); Demircioğlu, “From Discourse to Practice”.

25 Demircioğlu, “Tuzaklar ve Kapılar”, p. 4.

26 Paker, “Translation as Terceme and Nazire”, pp. 137-139. Based on Anthony Pym’s concept of “interculture” (See Anthony Pym, *Method in Translation History*, Manchester: St Jerome, 1998),

terceme practices, Paker (2011, 2014) adds “*telif*” and correlates it with *terceme* practices of the time.²⁷ Paker argues that “*telif*, an equivocal term used in modern Turkish scholarship to describe the literary status of a work elevated above that of *terceme*, does not signify ‘originality’, but creative mediation, an inventive form of translation” (Paker 2011:2). At this juncture, Paker’s findings and arguments on *telif* and *terceme* manifest the correlation between the procedures of “invention” and “import”, which are mentioned in Even-Zohar’s work (2010), but which remain vague concepts, as they are not exemplified with unambiguous cases. Even-Zohar clearly argues that “even in cases of seemingly conspicuous ‘originality’, i.e., inventiveness which cannot be traced back to a simple source, import may be present” (ibid). For the very reason, the terms and concepts of *terceme* and *telif* in the Ottoman intercultural, which are scrutinized by Paker (2011, 2014), exemplify the inextricable links between the procedures of invention and import in the making of culture repertoire. The findings of the present study point out that Paker’s statements on *terceme* and *telif* in the Ottoman literary repertoires are also valid for Ottoman scientific repertoires. My arguments are supported by the information presented by science historians, and diverse definitions found in these studies, which lead to various conceptual confusions, for example, between terms such as “*telif*”, “*tercüme yoluyla telif edilmiş*” (translation-based *telif*), “*yarı-tercüme*” (semi-translation), “*tercüme-telif*”.²⁸ Many scientific works emerged as the result of translator-educators’ “creative mediations”.²⁹

Thus, the works which are not directly classified as translation in the studies of science historians, but, with the information provided, allude to *terceme* practices of the time are regarded as translation, and have been added to the corpus.

Saliha Paker suggests a new concept, “*Ottoman intercultural*”, in order to contextualize the translation practices of “poet-translators” in the Ottoman culture. She defines “*Ottoman intercultural*” as “a hypothetical site where poet-translators operated in the overlap of Turkish, Persian, and Arabic cultures, an overlap that should be distinguished from the generally held notion of a ‘common Islamic culture’”. Contrary to Pym’s ideas on “intercultural”, Paker argues that her concept of “*Ottoman intercultural*” refers to an autonomous literary and cultural system which, by the sixteenth century, had developed as a result of linguistic and cultural hybridization.

27 Saliha Paker, “*Terceme, Te’lif ve Özgünlük Meselesi*”, in *Metnin Halleri : Osmanlı’da Telif, Tercüme ve Şerh*, (İstanbul: Klasik, 2014); Paker, “Translation, the Pursuit of Inventiveness and Ottoman Poetics”.

28 İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Matematik Literatürü Tarihi-2*; İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi- 2*; İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Askerlik Literatürü Tarihi 2*.

29 Paker, “Translation, the Pursuit of Inventiveness”.

Some other scientific works that lacked detailed explanation or textual analyses, were not included in the corpus. However, it is clearly possible that there will be an increase in the number of the translations in the corpus after further textual analyses. The analyses of primary sources will provide translation scholars with invaluable information regarding diverse translation practices in the scientific repertoires.

My corpus of translated scientific texts includes the date/period of publication, the name of the work, author and translator, the scientific field of the work, the source language of the translation. I will discuss the inferences of the corpus analysis in detail in the following parts. However, in the first place, it will be useful to provide brief details of the quantitative data the corpus presents. There are 89 translated scientific works in the corpus. Of these, 35 were translated from French, 10 from Arabic, 6 from English, 5 from Italian, and 1 from Persian. The source languages of remaining 32 works are unknown. While most of the works in the corpus are direct translations, 6 works are indirect translations. Italian is used as mediating language in all 5 works and Arabic is used only once for indirect translation. The abundance of the texts translated from French in the corpus indicates that in the making of Ottoman scientific repertoires in the chosen period, the French scientific texts were seminal. The political relationship between the two empires, the prevalence of a knowledge of French among Turkish intellectuals and the urge to imitate the new order that arose in France as a result of 1789 revolution can be counted as the likely reasons for this situation.³⁰ When the time period of publications is considered, it is clear that 26 scientific texts were translated during the reign of Sultan Selim III, and 52 during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. Although the remaining 11 works were found to be translated between 1789 and 1839, no information could be obtained regarding the exact publication year, which makes it impossible to specify in whose reign the translations were carried out. The abundance of the translations in the reign of Mahmud II points out that the contact with western science, which had begun in the era of Sultan Selim III, continued its momentum in the following years. The texts were related to different scientific fields, such as military science, mathematics, geography, medicine, pharmacology, physics, chemistry and astronomy. However, it appears that the translations on military science, geography and mathematics outnumber other fields. Out of 89 works, 32 were on military sciences, 26 on mathematics and 11 on geography.

30 Lewis, pp. 56-57.

Such a finding supports the argument that scientific translations were mostly done with the intention of bringing the Ottoman armed forces up to the standards of contemporary Western armies in terms of technical equipment, training and skill. All translations –except for Yahya Zade Mehmed Ruhiddin’s *Terceme-i İlm al Hisab*– were in Ottoman Turkish rather than Arabic, which was for long time accepted as the language of science in the Ottoman Empire. Although the names of the authors were generally absent in the bibliographies drawn upon, the names of the translators for all works except 5 were provided as they appeared on the title or cover pages of the primary sources. The esteem accorded to the translator-educators may well be attributed to their scholarly reputation in the field. The investigation of the corpus also reveals that number of translator-educators in the scientific field was limited to a certain number of people serving specific enlightened institutions in the Ottoman Empire. Below, I will explore these institutions and their translator-educators in detail.

Leading Institutions as Channels of Scientific Transmission: *Mühendishane, Tıphane, Mekteb-i Harbiye*

The leading institutions of learning in the Ottoman Empire were the *medreses*. In these institutions, the rational sciences, such as mathematics and astronomy, -known as *ulum-i akliye*- were taught in addition to traditional sciences related to Islam, such as fiqh, hadith and tafsir -known as *ulum-i nakliye* during the classical period.³¹ But the dominating subjects or courses in medrese education were always centered around fiqh and kelam.³² However, from the seventeenth century onwards, this traditional education system failed to overcome the challenges of the era as well as satisfying the needs of the Ottomans.³³ The Empire shifted its

31 Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, “Ottoman Science in the Classical Period and early Contacts with European Science and Technology” in *Transfer of Modern Science and Technology to the Muslim World 1/48*, (Turkey: IRCICA, 1992), pp. 1-11; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *History of the Ottoman State, Society and Civilisation Vol. 2*. (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2002), pp. 365-390; Ahmet Cihan, *Reform Çağında Osmanlı İlimiye Sınıfı*, (İstanbul: Birey Yayınları, 2004); Benjamin C. Fortna, “Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman ‘Secular’ Schools”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32/3, (USA, Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 369-393.

32 Seyfi Kenan, “Türk Eğitim Düşüncesi ve Deneyiminin Dönüm Noktaları Üzerine bir Çözümleme”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* (2013) 41:2, pp. 1-32.

33 Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1970) p. 193; Roderic H. Davison, *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History 1774- 1923: The Impact of the West*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), p. 166; İhsanoğlu, *History of the Ottoman State*, p. 387.

educational focus and turned towards western sciences. Under the reigns of Selim III and Mahmud II, the *Mühendishane*, *Tıphane-i Amire* and *Mekteb-i Harbiye* were introduced as modern options to the Ottoman culture repertoire. These schools were modelled on western precedents and constituted the prototypes of the western-style educational institutions.³⁴ Efforts were made to overcome the language barrier, which “was the central problem of the educational and indeed of the entire reform project”,³⁵ by either incorporating foreign language classes into the curricula of these western-style schools, or, in the era of Mahmud II, by sending students to European countries.³⁶ Most of the students who graduated from western-modelled schools or returned from European countries either became translator-educators in their schools or served as translators in different institutions.³⁷ Many scientific and technical translations were published directly by the schools for their own use. These educational institutions, with the translator-educators working for them, with the print houses they harboured and with the language courses they provided, functioned as translation bureaus, and even as translator-training centers at the time.

Mühendishane

The foundation of the *Hendesehane* (school of mathematics) in 1775 within the Imperial Maritime Arsenal was a significant step forward in military education. The school was later reorganized and renamed as *Mühendishane* (1781) and *Mühendishane-i Babri-i Hümayun* [the Imperial School of Naval Engineering] (1793) by the imperial decree of Selim III. Another *Mühendishane*, which was also known as *Mühendishane-i Cedide*, was also established in 1795. It was reorganized and renamed as *Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun* [The Imperial School of Military Engineering] in 1806, again by the decree of Selim III. Under the reign of Mahmud II, following the destruction of the Janissaries (1826) and the transfer of control of the school to İshak Efendi, there was a growth of scientific and technical studies at the *Mühendishane*. Both these *Mühendishane* served the Empire for a considerable time.³⁸ The schools which were the first to introduce the accoutrements

34 İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlılar ve Bilim*, p. 267.

35 Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey 2*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 85.

36 Lewis, p. 104; Cahit Bilim, “Tercüme Odası”, *OTAM 1* (1990), pp. 29-43.

37 İhsanoğlu, *History of the Ottoman State*, p. 441.

38 İhsanoğlu, *Science, Technology in the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 29-30.

of modern-style education –e.g. chairs, classroom- and to incorporate western-language education into curricula in the Ottoman Empire, were based on French model.³⁹ Some of the classes taught at the *Mühendishane* were as follows: Arabic, French, mathematics, orthography, mechanical drawing, geography, astronomy, mapping, military organization, design and construction, artillery, and military engineering.⁴⁰ Most of the classes were new to the repertoire, and they represented a focus which was very different from the formal education offered in the *medreses*. Until then, the scientific and technical books written in these fields were few in number in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, in this reform era, the education relied heavily on foreign experts and educators who were also translators engaged in various forms of text production. Because some of the classes were taught in Turkish, foreign experts had to be accompanied with interpreters.⁴¹

Tıphane-i Amire

The first modern medical school was founded in 1827 in the era of Mahmud II under the name of *Tıphane-i Amire*.⁴² In the same year another medical school, *Cerrahhane-i Amire*, was also established. In contrast to the medical education based on old Turkish-Islamic scientific tradition in the *medreses*, these two institutions and their curricula were based on western models.⁴³ Because the language of education at *Tıphane-Amire* was French, French rather than Turkish text books were used, and medical translations were few in number. Hekimbaşı Mustafa Behçet Efendi, one of the translator-educators of the school at that time, contributed much to the foundation of the school. Many treatises taught at the school were brought from Paris.⁴⁴ *Tıphane-i Amire* and *Cerrahhane-i Amire* merged under the name of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Adliye-i Şahane* in 1839.⁴⁵ Medical classes continued to be given in French.

39 Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishane Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi*. (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 1995), pp. 29-30; Kenan, “Türk Eğitim Düşüncesi ve Deneyiminin Dönüm Noktaları Üzerine bir Çözümleme”.

40 İhsanoğlu, *History of the Ottoman State*, pp. 424-433; Beydilli, pp. 59-75.

41 Beydilli, p. 87.

42 Shaw and Kural, p. 48; Aykut Kazancıgil, *Osmanlılarda Bilim ve Teknoloji*, (İstanbul: Gazetecilik ve Yazarlar Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), p. 258; İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlılar ve Bilim*, pp. 275-78.

43 Lewis, p. 84.

44 İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlılar ve Bilim*, p. 276.

45 İhsanoğlu, *History of the Ottoman State*, p. 435; Dölen, pp. 154-196.

Mekteb-i Harbiye

This school was opened in 1834 in order to produce modern, westward-looking, military officers.⁴⁶ The institution was designed by Namık Paşa on the model of Lancaster system. The teaching staff of the school was composed of those graduated from the *Mühendishane* and of foreign experts.⁴⁷ Classes taught at the institution included chemistry, mathematics, geometry, astronomy, physics, language and military sciences.⁴⁸ The curricula were determined by the translator-educators who were also working for the *Mühendishane*. Besides scientific translations and indigenous works published in its printing house, the textbooks translated and/or written for the *Mühendishane* also constituted the primary sources of the institution.⁴⁹ The foreign experts and translator-educators at the school produced many works on modern sciences, military arts and sciences.⁵⁰ Niyazi Berkes, a well-known sociologist, states that the establishment of *Mekteb-i Harbiye* is a notable step in the process of the secularization⁵¹ of the Empire, since the military and ideological impact of the institution shaped the further development of the Ottoman intellectual thought.

Translator-educators and Their Translations (1789-1839)

From the sixteenth century onwards, the works of western science (particularly from the fields of geography, astronomy and medicine) were incorporated into the Ottoman scientific and educational repertoires. The transfer of scientific texts from German, Italian and, particularly, French continued intermittently in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁵² Thus the scientific-epistemic domain, dominated by Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages until

46 İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlılar ve Bilim*, p. 278; Cihan, pp. 129-131.

47 Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, (İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1973), pp. 170-171.

48 Cihan, 130; İhsanoğlu, *History of the Ottoman State*, pp. 438-439.

49 İhsanoğlu, *History of the Ottoman State*, p. 438.

50 İhsanoğlu, *Science, Technology in the Ottoman Empire*.

51 Berkes' conceptualization of 'secularism' is closer to the definition of 'rationalization' or 'modernization' than 'irreligion' (See Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, (London: C.Hurst&Company, 1998), pp. 5-10. He claims that in a non-Christian society "the basic conflict in secularism is often between the forces of tradition, which tend to promote the domination of religion and sacred law, and the forces of change" (ibid).

52 Feza Günergün, "Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Türkiye'sinde Kimyada Adlandırma", *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları*, 5, 1 (2003), p. 2; İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlılar ve Bilim*, pp. 248-254.

the sixteenth century, started to take a different path from the literary-epistemic domain of “poet-translators”, which is conceptualized by Saliha Paker as “Ottoman interculture”.⁵³ From the sixteenth century onwards, the site of operation of translators in the scientific repertoires became multicultural and multilingual, unlike the trilingual, tricultural site of operation of poet-translators in the literary repertoires.

The political and military alliance between the Ottoman Empire and France⁵⁴ at the time had an impact upon the transference of scientific works: most of the scientific texts were translated from French.⁵⁵ Some translation were printed at the press of the French Embassy, which was the best equipped press in the city.⁵⁶ The translator-educators serving these institutions usually acquired at least one western language in addition to Arabic and Persian. For instance, Hüseyin Rıfki Tamani, the first chief instructor of the Mühendishane, had learnt French, Latin, Italian and English as well as oriental languages.⁵⁷ Mustafa Behçet Efendi and Şanizade Ataullah Efendi could speak Italian and French.⁵⁸ Some translators, according to the foreign language they had acquired, engaged in mediated translations.⁵⁹ The translations of the educator-translators were used as textbooks in various schools.⁶⁰ In all the western-style schools, French was adopted as the language of education. The students who acquired the language and were well-informed about recent developments in the West were expected to translate them into Turkish. This body of translator-educators comprised people from different backgrounds: graduates of western-style schools; translators of the Imperial Chancery such as

53 Paker, “Translation as Terceme and Nazire”.

54 The French, out of regard for military alliance, provided the Ottomans with experts, instructors and technical equipment (See Halil İnalçık, “Some Remarks on the Ottoman Turkey’s Modernization Process”, *Transfer of Modern Science & Technology to the Muslim World*. (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1991), p. 54).

55 İnalçık, p. 54; Lewis, pp. 56-57.

56 Lewis, p. 57; Alpay Kabacalı, *Türkiye’de Matbaa, Basım ve Yayın*, (İstanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, 2000), pp. 27-28.

57 İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Matematik Literatürü*, pp. 266-272.

58 Kazancıgil, pp. 255-259.

59 e.g. Mustafa Behçet Efendi translated *Makale-i Emraz-ı Frengiye* not from its source language, German, but from its Italian translation (see Kazancıgil, p. 256).

60 Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Başhoca İshak Efendi: Türkiye’de Modern Bilimin Öncüsü*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1989), pp. 33-67; Kazancıgil, pp. 259-260.

İshak Efendi, Zenop Efendi and Yahya Naci Efendi;⁶¹ medrese teachers; and foreign experts.^{62 63} As in the case of Yahya Naci Efendi, many translators who were appointed as foreign language teachers to the schools taught not only French language but also science from their own translations.⁶⁴ The translator-educators sometimes worked for more than one institution at the same time.⁶⁵ For example, Hoca İshak Efendi who played a key role in the *Mühendishane* as chief-instructor also taught at *Mekteb-i Harbiye*.⁶⁶ Together with Yahya Efendi, he also worked for the Imperial Chancery [Divan-ı Hümayun] and undertook diplomatic missions.⁶⁷

The translator-educators who contributed translations to western-style military and technical schools, played a key role in the modernization and development of Ottoman scientific repertoires. Hüseyin Rıfki Tamani's translations on mathematics and engineering were leading texts in the field, and they were used as textbooks at the *Mühendishane* (İhsanoğlu 1998:9). In the field of medicine, Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah's compiled translation *Hamse-i Şanizade*⁶⁸ was the first to introduce modern anatomy to the Ottoman repertoires.⁶⁹ Moreover, the translations of Mustafa Behçet Efendi were the first to mention the concepts of modern physiology and biology.⁷⁰ İshak Efendi was also one of the pioneers in importing modern science into Ottoman scientific and educational repertoires. His compiled translation *Mecmua-i Ulum-i Riyaziye* covers all positive sciences except for biology.⁷¹ Therefore, this translation took on the role of reference

61 Some of these translators received scientific or technical education. For example İshak Efendi who later became the chief instructor of the *Mühendishane* had been student in the same school between 1806 and 1815 (see İhsanoğlu, Başhoca İshak Efendi, p. 9).

62 e.g. An English engineer who assisted the chief instructor Hüseyin Rıfki Tamani contributed to the translation of John Bonnycastle's book on Euclides geometry into Turkish (see Günergün, "Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Türkiye'sinde Kimyada Adlandırma", p. 3).

63 Beydilli, pp.312-321; Günergün, "Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Türkiye'sinde Kimyada Adlandırma", p.3; İhsanoğlu, *Başhoca İshak Efendi*, p. 264.

64 Ebru Ademoğlu, "Yahya Naci Efendi ve Fırlatılan Cisimlerin Hareketiyle İlgili Eseri", *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları*, 4, 1, (2002), p. 8.

65 Beydilli, pp. 312-321; Ademoğlu.

66 İhsanoğlu, *Başhoca İshak Efendi*.

67 İhsanoğlu, *Başhoca İshak Efendi*, pp. 16-17; Bilim.

68 In the corpus, the parts were taken as separate books.

69 Kazancıgil, p. 259; Ziya Yılmaz, *Şânî-zâde Mehmed 'Atâ'ullah Efendi, Şânî-zâde Târîhi (1223-1237 / 1808-1821)*. (İstanbul: Çamlıca Yayınevi, 2008).

70 Kazancıgil, pp. 256, 264.

71 Kazancıgil, p. 311.

guide for all western-style schools, and became the earliest form of an exhaustive modern textbook.⁷²

In the period under study, when the scientific and educational repertoires were shaped by translator-educators, and their translations took on a central position, the boundaries between indigenous writing and translations became less distinct. Translator-educators, through significant interventions in terms of omission, addition, adaptation of illustrations, appropriated the texts for the Ottomans. Many translated works, among which there were Şanizade's *Hamse-i Şanizade*, Yahyazade Mehmed Ruhiddin's *Tuhfe-i Zabîtan der Beyân-ı İstihkamât-ı Sahra*, İshak Efendi's *Mecmua-i Ulûm-i Riyaziye*, were supplemented with figures, explanations and translator-educators' own findings.⁷³ Konstantin İpsilanti, while translating *Vauban*, defined the practice he adopted as *mepsûten tercüme* [expanded translation], which involved appending his own figures and pictures.⁷⁴ Moreover the period was also marked by compiled translations. For example İbrahim Kami's *Maftuh* was a translation compiled from various sources, including Gıyasuddin Cemşid al-Kaşi's *Miftah al Hussâb* from Arabic, as well as diverse western scientific sources.⁷⁵ Hüseyin Rıfki Tamani compiled *Usûl-i Hendese* from John Bonnycastle's *Elements of Geometry* and Robert Simson's *Elements of Euclid*.⁷⁶ İshak Efendi's four volume *Mecmua-i Ulûm-i Riyaziye* was also compiled from different sources.⁷⁷ The sources of these translations generally remained unspecified. Of the translations in the corpus established for the present study, half mentioned no source texts, and were released as indigenous works. These concealed translations were revealed after meticulous exploration and discourse analyses undertaken by the science historians.⁷⁸

There were not any organized institutions responsible for examining translated works or establishing scientific terminology. The scientific translation activities of the era were determined through the individual efforts of both the

72 Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bilim, Teknoloji ve Sanayide Modernleşme Gayretleri", *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları II*. (İstanbul: İ.Ü. E.F. Yayınları, 1998), p. 9.

73 Kazancıgil, p. 260.

74 Beydilli, p. 183.

75 İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Matematik Literatürü Tarihi*, pp. 256-261.

76 Ali Rıza Tosun, "Hüseyin Rıfki Tamani'nin Çalışmaları Işığında Öklid Geometrisi'nin Türkiye'ye Girişi", (doctoral dissertation), Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2007, p. 159.

77 Kazancıgil, pp. 312-313.

78 For example see Günergün, "Kimyada Adlandırma", p. 10; Ademoğlu, p. 32.

Sultan and translator-educators. Some of the western sources were translated on the order of the Sultan in order to be used as textbooks at schools. Mehmed Raşid's translation of *Fenn-i Harbe Dair Risâle* from French, Mehmed Said Paşa's *Zavâbit-i Harbiye* and İpsilanti's *Vauban* are cases in point. They were translated on the orders of Selim III and Mahmud II respectively.⁷⁹ Selim III got personally involved in the translation process of *Vauban*, made suggestions and preserved the translation in his own library.⁸⁰ Many other scientific works, on the other hand, were selected for translation by the translator-educators themselves.⁸¹ For example while his predecessors taught from traditional Islamic sources, İshak Efendi gave preference to the translations of western scientific sources on becoming the chief instructor of the *Mühendishane*.⁸² However, whether or not translated by the order of the Sultans, almost all translated works were presented to them, and some translators used their prefaces to dedicate their works to the Sultans.⁸³ The presentation of the translated scientific works were appreciated by the Sultans, and translator-educators were given financial rewards or promotion.⁸⁴ To exemplify, İshak Efendi's *Riyaziye* was awarded 250 gold coins by Mahmud II.⁸⁵ Most of the translations were printed, while a small number remained in manuscript form. In some cases, the print runs were determined by the Sultan himself. For example, the first print run of Asım Efendi's *Kamus* was determined as 500 by Mahmud II.⁸⁶ The involvement of the Sultans in the selection and distribution of scientific translations, and their absolute control over the status and earnings of the translators indicate that the scientific and educational repertoires at the time were regulated by an undifferentiated imperial "patronage".⁸⁷ However, when it is considered that publishing as a private enterprise began only after the second

79 İhsanoğlu, *Science, Technology in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 64.

80 Kenan, "III. Selim Dönemi Eğitim Anlayışında Arayışlar", pp. 160-161.

81 Günergün, "Kimyada Adalandırma", p. 2.

82 İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlılar ve Bilim*, p. 272.

83 İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Matematik Literatürü Tarihi*, p. 304.

84 Beydilli, p. 184, 311.

85 İhsanoğlu, *Başhoca İshak Efendi*, p. 33.

86 Beydilli, p. 213.

87 Andre Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1992); According to Andre Lefevere, "undifferentiated patronage" occurs when the translator derives status, economic support and ideological legitimacy from one individual or group (Lefevere, p.17)

half of the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire,⁸⁸ the Sultans' control over translation practices is not unexpected.

Translator-educators as *Agents of Change*

Before the reigns of Sultan Selim III and Sultan Mahmud II, Ottoman educational and scientific repertoires had been under the auspices of the members of the *İlmiye*. The *İlmiye* was the leading religious institution, exercising power over law, justice, religion and education. It was in charge of traditional religious learning, or *ilm*, which was taught in the medreses at the time, and referred to “the acquiring of knowledge pertaining to God, to man's duties to Him, and to the relationship among men in terms of those duties”.⁸⁹ *İlmiye* comprised the *ulema* class, an elite class who were well-versed in the Muslim sciences, both theoretically and practically. The members of the *ulema* played significant roles in the empire as theologians, canon lawyers, judges, instructors and high state religious officials.⁹⁰

When modern learning was introduced along with the western-style schools and textbooks, rather than *ilm*, it was called *fen* [science], which meant “art or practical skill”, and referred to the rational sciences.⁹¹ The scientific translations of the translator-educators at the time replaced traditional, religious learning, *ilm*, with modern science [*bilim*], which was based on rational knowledge of the West rather than religion. They replaced the traditional system of learning, which was incapable of providing the repertoire with new options, with a modern sense of science, and saved the system from stagnation. It may be argued that the translator-educators of the period were the first members of the *modern intelligentsia* (*münevver*), destined to supersede the religious elite of scholars, *ulema*. When the far-reaching impact of *İlmiye* and *ulema* on various repertoires of the Ottoman culture is considered, it appears that the impact of translations did not remain restricted to the military, educational and scientific repertoires, but also caused gradual epistemological shifts in other repertoires. This process enabled the proliferation of enlightened thinkers, who would soon play significant roles in a series of reforms, such as those of the *Tanzimat*.⁹² Thus, the translator-educators took

88 Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, p. 54.

89 Berkes, *The Development of Secularism*, p. 100.

90 Fortna, p. 382.

91 Berkes, *The Development of Secularism*, p. 100.

92 In Turkish history, *Tanzimat* [re-organization] period (1839-1876), with many administrative,

on the role of ‘agents of change’ of the period of modernization that characterised the reigns of Selim III and Mahmud II’s. The modernising options provided by the agents of change also faced counter-forces. Some conservative scholars and physicians persisted in the traditional learning.⁹³ Such a case led to a dichotomy in the educational and scientific repertoires: modern scientific knowledge versus ulema’s *ilm*.⁹⁴ For the first time in Turkish history, with the translations from modern science, there appeared a segregation between rational science/enlightenment and traditional learning/religion. From then on, the ‘worldly’ sciences were regarded as separate from ‘religious’ sciences.⁹⁵ Particularly in the era of Mahmud II, when the Ottoman society was completely remodelled by diverse secular reforms, the translator-educators serving western-style schools played indispensable roles as part of the official cultural planning.

Another significant contribution of the translator-educators at the time was the development of Turkish as the language of science in the Ottoman Empire. However, efforts for achieving this end were not new to the field. In the empire, Arabic had long dominated the ‘scientific’ repertoires; nevertheless, in some ‘scientific’ disciplines, the scholars had been writing in Turkish since its establishment. Many texts available in Arabic were rewritten in Turkish. Particularly from the sixteenth century, the increasing preference of Turkish as medium in the scientific repertoires continued.⁹⁶ With the establishment of western-style schools, such as the *Mühendishane* in the era of Selim III and Mahmud II, Turkish as a scientific language gained wider currency⁹⁷ because of translations from western sources.⁹⁸ While these translations from the West occupied a central position in the scientific repertoires, at the periphery, translations from Arabic and Turkish indigenous works persisted. Based on a study of prologues and epilogues of scientific texts, İhsan Fazlıoğlu identifies three main motives for the adoption

legal and educational reforms, marks the beginnings of the intensive Europeanization movement (See Lewis, pp. 74-128).

93 Adivar, p. 190.

94 Adivar, pp. 192-193.

95 Berkes, *Türkiyede Çağdaşlaşma*, p. 90; İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlılar ve Bilim*, pp. 280-281.

96 İhsan Fazlıoğlu, “The Place and Importance of the Scientific Works Written in or Translated into Turkish in the Formation of Language Consciousness in the Ottoman Period”, *Kutadgubilig Felsefe-Bilim Araştırmaları* 3 (2003), pp. 151-184.

97 In the corpus, except for one work which was translated into Arabic, *Terceme-i İlm al-Hisab*, all translations are in Turkish.

98 İhsanoğlu, “Modernleşme Gayretleri”, p. 11.

of Turkish as scientific language in the Ottoman empire:⁹⁹ (1) Most authors/translators wrote in or translated into Turkish so as to be understood by the target audience, such as students at schools, occupational groups, or the Sultan himself. (2) By using Turkish, the translators and authors intended to publicize knowledge which had previously been under the control of the religious elite. (3) Moreover, some also wanted to raise awareness of the Turkish language. When focused on the era of Selim III and, particularly, Mahmud II, it may be also argued that the development of Turkish as the language of science in the Ottoman Empire was one of the goals of the official culture planning at the time. Kuyucaklızade Muhammed Atif, in the preface of his translation, writes that Mahmud II particularly ordered a Turkish translation of Bahauddin al-Amili's *Hulasat al-Hisab* -which until then had been read in Arabic in the medreses.¹⁰⁰ The remarks of Mahmud II at the inauguration of the medical school in 1838 also indicate that there were conscious efforts by the authorities to promote an official planning of translation and language in the educational and scientific repertoires: "You will study scientific medicine in French...my purpose in having you taught French is not to educate you in the French language; it is to teach you scientific medicine and little by little to take it into our language...work to acquire a knowledge of medicine from your teachers, and strive gradually to take it into Turkish and give it currency in our language..."¹⁰¹

The publication of dictionaries from Arabic and Persian into Turkish as well as scientific works in the *Mühendishane* can be considered as an attempt to expand the vocabulary of Turkish and to prepare the way for scientific and educational translations. Besides developing Turkish as a language in general, the translation of western sources with multitudinous unfamiliar scientific concepts and terms brought with it attempts to constitute a Turkish nomenclature. The translator-educators of the era were the first to take concrete steps towards developing scientific terminology in Turkish, either by transliteration or invention. While inventing Turkish terms, the translator-educators established linguistic rules and drew upon Arabic and Persian affixes and word roots, as well as Turkish ones.¹⁰² The resultant polyglossic scientific repertoire reflected par excellence the East-West synthesis of the period. Many Turkish scientific terms and concepts

99 Fazlıoğlu, pp. 151-184.

100 İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Matematik Literatürü*, p. 293.

101 Lewis, p. 85.

102 Ademoğlu, pp. 26, 46, 47; Günergün, "Kimyada Adlandırma", pp. 10-20.

introduced by the translator-educators of the era, Şanizade¹⁰³ and İshak Efendi¹⁰⁴ in particular, were used for many years in the disciplines.¹⁰⁵ In the later years, the translations from western sciences reached beyond the borders of Anatolia and were published in other Islamic cultures such as Egypt, Persia, Iraq. Therefore Turkish, for the first time in history, became the scientific lingua franca of the whole Islamic world.¹⁰⁶

Taking all the above into consideration, it is apparent that translator-educators in the chosen period played a determining role in the scientific and educational repertoires. However, the analysis of the corpus established for this study reveals that the translation activity, which was of key importance for the desired kind of reformation in the military, technical, educational and scientific fields, remained restricted to certain names and works in the era of Selim III and Mahmud II. This is due to the limited number of scholars acquainted with western sciences and languages. Moreover, when contemporary developments of the time are considered, the endeavours in the Ottoman scientific repertoires were deficient. İshak Efendi's translation *Mecmua-i Ulum-i Riyaziye* is a case in point. While it is regarded as a significant contribution to the Ottoman scientific and educational repertoires, it is also criticized by some science historians as being outdated for its time.¹⁰⁷ At this juncture, Emre Dölen states that the understanding of chemistry in İshak Efendi's book was far removed from that of the time, although adequate for Ottoman military objectives.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, Aykut Kazancıgil adds that the sections in the book on physics followed the developments in the West from afar.¹⁰⁹ Some translations are also criticized for being partial and lacking detail.¹¹⁰ The underlying reason for all these criticisms is that the decision on what and how to translate was driven by military concerns alone.¹¹¹ The evidence for this is the abundance of the military texts in the corpus.

103 See Kazancıgil, p. 26.

104 See Dölen, p. 163; Adıvar, p. 19.

105 Kazancıgil, p. 312.

106 Fazlıoğlu, p. 45

107 Kerim Erim, "Riyaziye". *Tanzimat*. (İstanbul, 1999), p. 479.

108 Dölen, p. 181.

109 Kazancıgil, pp. 312-314.

110 Kazancıgil, p. 312.

111 İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlılar ve Bilim*, pp. 283, 284.

Conclusion

Instead of literary translations which are largely dealt in mainstream translation studies and considered to have relatively closer ties to cultural policies, this study, by focusing on the reigns of Selim III and Mahmud II, attempted to explore scientific-educational translations in the Ottoman repertoires. In order to ensure that the discussion was based on tangible data, I established a corpus covering the scientific-technical translations of the era. The corpus was built on data gathered from secondary and tertiary sources, and therefore may well be incomplete. The findings of future research which will analyze primary sources will certainly contribute to expanding and improving the present corpus. Nevertheless the data gathered from secondary and tertiary sources enabled a descriptive and critical discussion on the scientific translations and translator-educators of the period. It was revealed that the earliest systematic, western-style schools with military concerns in the period under focus, with the classes and print houses they harboured also functioned as effective translation bureaus. The translator-educators who served these schools were responsible for translating many scientific-technical texts from modern western sources into Turkish. The shaping of the Ottoman educational and scientific repertoires through these translations, ultimately contributed to the process of conversion of the religion-based education system into a modern-secular system inspired by western science and modernity. Therefore, the translator-educators of the period can be regarded as agents of change in the Ottoman culture repertoire. Moreover, by using Turkish as the medium of translation and by introducing new scientific concepts and terms into the language, they played a key role in promoting Turkish at the expense of Arabic in the Ottoman scientific repertoires.

This study has the potential to contribute to translation studies, translation history and culture studies in three major ways: (1) It manifests that, in terms of culture planning, the translations in scientific-educational repertoires are likely to be as significant as those in literary repertoires. Moreover, it points to the diversity of the potential roles of the translators in different repertoires. (2) It reveals that future historical studies focusing on Ottoman scientific, educational and technical repertoires may well contribute to the discovery of culture- and time-specific aspects of Ottoman translation practices, terms and concepts. (3) It underlines that diverse institutions may function as translation institutions, even though translation was not their primary purpose.

The Scientific-Educational Texts Translated Under the Reigns of Selim III and Mahmud II in the Ottoman Empire

	DATE / PERIOD OF PUBLICATION	TRANSLATOR	AUTHOR	TITLE OF THE SCIENTIFIC TEXT	FIELD	SOURCE LANGUAGE
1	Selim III	Mehmed Raşid		Fenn-i Harbe Dair Risale Tercümesi	military	French
2	Selim III	İbrahim Edhem Paşa		Sath-i Müstevi Hakkında Risale	mathematics	French
3	Selim III	İbrahim Edhem Paşa	Legendre	Kitab-ı Usulü'l-Hendese	mathematics	French
4	Selim III	Abdurrahman Efendi	W. Faden	Cedid Atlas Tercümesi	geography	English
5	1786		Lafitte Clave	Usulü'l-Maarif fi Tertibü'l-Ordu	military	French
6	1786		De Truguet	Usulü'l-Maarif fi Vech-i Tasfif-i Sefâin-i Donanma	military	French
7	1787		De Truguet	Risalet fi Kavaninü'l-Melihat Ameliyyen	military	French
8	1792	Konstantin İpsilanti	Vauban	Terceme-i Risale-i Fenn-i Harb	military	French
9	1792	Hüseyin Rifkı Tamani		Logaritma Risalesi	mathematics	
10	1792-1794	İbrahim Kami B. 'Ali	Gıyasuddin Cemşid al-Kaşi's work atogetner with various western sources	Maftuh (compilation)	mathematics	Arabic and western languages
11	1793	Konstantin İpsilanti	Vauban	Terceme-i Risale-i Fenn-i Lağım	military	French
12	1794	Konstantin İpsilanti	Vauban	Usul-i Harbiye/ Fenn-i Muhasara	military	French
13	1794	Müfti-zade Abdurrahim Efendi		Terceme-i Aşkal al-Ta'sis	mathematics	Arabic
14	1796	Mustafa Behçet Efendi	Antonio	Vezaif-i A'za	medicine	Italian
15	1797	Mütercim Asım Efendi	Tebrizli Hüseyin	Burhan-ı Katı	dictionary	Persian
16	1797	Hüseyin Rifkı Tamani (with the help of English engineer Selim Efendi)	John Bonnycastle ve Robert Simson	Tercüme-i Usul el-Hendese (compilation)	mathematics	English
17	1800/01	Hüseyin Rifkı Tamani		Ma'rifet-i Terfi'-i Eskalde Telhis el-Eşkal	mathematics	
18	1801	Mustafa Behçet Efendi	Jenner	Risale-i Telkih-i Bakari	medicine	Italian (mediating lang)
19	1802	Mehmed bin Mustafa el-Vani	İsmail bin Hammad el-Cevheri	Vankulu Lugatı	dictionary	Arabic
20	1802	Hüseyin Rifkı Tamani		İmtihan el-Mühendisın	mathematics	English
21	1803	Mustafa Behçet Efendi	Johann Plenck	Makale-i Emraz-ı Frengiye	medicine	Italian (mediating lang.)

CEYDA ÖZMEN

22	1804 (2.baskı: 1826)	Yakovaki Efendi	Raif Mahmud Efendi	Ucalat al-Geography	geography	French
23		İbrahim Edhem Paşa	Jean François Callet	Tarcamat al-Kitab li İsti'mal Cadavil al-Ansab, Logaritma	mathematics	French
24	1805	Hüseyin Rıfki Tamani		Mecmua el-Mühendisîn	mathematics	Various languages
25	1806			Vesaya-yı Harbiye	military	
26	1807	Yahya-Zade Mehmed Ruhuddin	Jamberiche	Tuhfe-i Zabitan der Beyan-ı İstihkamat-ı Sahara	military	French
27	Selim III/ Mahmud II?	Hafız Mehmed Emin Efendi		Tertib-i Zi Azla'-ı Kasıra 'ala'l-Arz	mathematics	French
28	Selim III/ Mahmud II?	Hafız Mehmed Salih		Usul-i Tahtit-i Muhit al-Da 'ira	mathematics	French
29	Selim III/ Mahmud II?	Hafız Mehmed Salih		Zemin Üzerine Bir Hat Tahdid Etmenin Tarikidir	mathematics	French
30	Selim III/ Mahmud II?			Pergar-ı Nisbet Risalesi	mathematics	
31	Selim III/ Mahmud II?	Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi		Vesaya Name-i Seferriyye	military	
32	Selim III/ Mahmud II?	Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi		Usul-i Sak	military	
33	Selim III/ Mahmud II?	Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi		Tanzim-i Piyadegan ve Süveriyân	military	
34	Selim III/ Mahmud II?	Mustafa Behçet Efendi	Bonant	Mütalaa-yı Tabi'i		English
35	Selim III/ Mahmud II?	Mustafa Behçet Efendi	Abdurrahman al-Cabarti	Mazhar al-Takdis bi Huruci Taifat al-Francis	military	Arabic
36	Selim III/ Mahmud II?	Mustafa Behçet Efendi	Buffon	Tarih-i Tabi'i	geography	
37	Selim III/ Mahmud II?			Rehber-i Menazil	geography	French
38	Mahmud II	Mustafa Behçet Efendi	Johann Plenck	Ameliyat-ı Tıbbiye	medicine	
39	Mahmud II	Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi	Charles Bossut	Tercüme-i Cedide-i Usul-ü Talimiyye	mathematics	
40	Mahmud II	Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi	Charles Bossut	Cebr-i Mukabele	mathematics	
41	Mahmud II	Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi	Charles Bossut	Usul-i Hendese	mathematics	
42	Mahmud II	Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi		Mizan'ül Edviyye	pharmacology	
43	Mahmud II	Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi		Mufradat-ı Kulliyya fi Savahil al-Bahriya	geography	French (?)
44	Mahmud II	Güzeloğlu Aram		Hikmet-i Harbiye Tercümesi	military	French
45	Mahmud II	Güzeloğlu Aram		Hikmed-i Cedid	military	French
46	Mahmud II	Güzeloğlu Aram		Mecmu'a-i Musahabet	language	French
47	Mahmud II	Ahmed Tevhid Efendi		Nuhbat al-Hisab (compilation)	mathematics, geography	
48	Mahmud II	Ahmed Tevhid Efendi		Hall al-Aş'ab fi Taz'if al-Muka"ab	mathematics	

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49	Mahmud II	Ahmed Tevhid Efendi		Macmu'at al-Fara'id va Lubb al-Fava'id	mathematics	
50	Mahmud II	Mashariyeci-zade Hüseyin Efendi		Mesaha ve Musellesat Risalesi	mathematics	French
51	Mahmud II	Mehmed Arif Hilmi All-İstanbuli	Abi Bakr al-Haravi	Tarcama al-Tazkirat al-Haraviya fi'l-Hiyal al-Harbiye	military	Arabic
52	Mahmud II	Yahya-Zade Mehmed Ruhuddin		Teslis-i Zaviye Risalesi Tercümesi	military	French
53	Mahmud II	Kuyucaklı-zade Muhammed Atif	Bahauddin al-Amili	Nihaye el-Elbab fi Tercüme Hulasa el-Hisab	mathematics	Arabic
54	Mahmud II	Seyid Abdülhalim		Geometri risalesi	mathematics	French
55	Mahmud II	Mehmed Tahir		Müsellesat-ı Cebriye	mathematics	English
56	Mahmud II	Mehmed Tahir		Terceme-i Faslı Rabi' fi Bayan al-Zavaya	mathematics	French
57	Mahmud II	Mustafa Behçet Efendi	Bruno	Hikmet-i Tabiiyye		
58	Mahmud II	Mustafa Behçet Efendi		Ruhiye veya Kusur-i Lebeniye	medicine	
59	Mahmud II	Örfi Paşa		Geography (compilation)	geography	French
60	Mahmud II	Mehmed Said Paşa	Napolyon	Zavabit-i Harbiye	military	
61	Mahmud II	Theologu Aleko	Louis-Jean Charles	Fenn-i Harb	military	French/ German ?
62	Mahmud II	Theologu Aleko	Kuçek	Risale	military	
63	Mahmud II	Yahya-Zade Mehmed Ruhuddin		Risala fi'l-Misaha	military	
64	1809	Yahya Naci Efendi		Risale-i Hikmet-i Tabiiyye	physics and chemistry	
65	1811	İstavrakı	William Playfair		geography	English
66	1812	Yahya Naci Efendi		Risale-i Seyyale-i Berkiyye	physics	French
67	1814-1817	Mütercim Asım Efendi	Firuzabathı Hüseyin	Kamus (3 volumes)	dictionary	Arabic
68	1815	Güzeloglu Aram		Hikaye-i Bahriye	geography	French
69	1818	Şayh Vahid		Tuhfe-i Kemankeşan	military	
70	1819	Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi	Anton Baron von Störck	Mi'yarü'l-Etubba	medicine	Italian (mediating lang.)
71	1819	Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi	Anton Baron von Störck	Mirat'ül Ebdan fi Teşrih-i Aza'ul İnsan	medicine	Italian (mediating lang.)
72	1819	Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi		Usulü't- Tabia	medicine	
73	1824	Hüseyin Rıfki Tamani		Fenn-i Lağım (compilation)	military	
74	1824	Seyid Ali Paşa	Ali Kuşçu	Mir'at el-Alem	astronomy	Arabic
75	1825	Mehmed Mühib Efendi	İmam Muhammed	Siyer-i Kebir Tercümesi	military	Arabic
76	1826	Başhoca İshak Efendi		Naşb al Hiyam	military	
77	1826	Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi	Ladende	Tables Astronomiques'in tercümesi	astronomy	Arabic (mediating lang.)

78	1828	Mehmed İzzet		Logaritma Cedvellerinin İstihracına ve İstimaline Dair Risale	mathematics	French
79	1828	Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi		Kanun'ul Cerrahin	medicine	
80	1829	Theologu Aleko		Cruza Geographysı	geography	French
81	1830	Başhoca İshak Efendi	Robert Fulton	Deniz Lağımı Risalesi	military	French
82	1831-1833	Başhoca İshak Efendi		Usul üs siyağa	military	French
83	1831-1834	Başhoca İshak Efendi		Mecmua-i Ulum-i Riyaziye (compilation)	Compilation from diverse fields	
84		Başhoca İshak Efendi		Risale-i Ceyb	military	
85	1833	Mehmed Esad		Lağımçı Manevrası	military	
86	1834	Başhoca İshak Efendi	Beloin	Usul-i İstihkamat (compilation)	military	French
87	1835	Mehmed Hüsrev Paşa			military	
88	1836	Yahya-Zade Mehmed Ruhuddin	Charles Bossut	Terceme-i 'İlm al-Hisab (A)	military	French
89		Seyid Ali Paşa		Atlas de Zenfan	geography	French

Translating Science in the Ottoman Empire: Translator-educators as “Agents of Change” in the Ottoman Scientific Repertoires (1789-1839)

Abstract ■ Focusing on the fifty-year period between 1789 and 1839, the study aims to showcase the pivotal role of translators and translations in the transmission of modern science in the Ottoman Empire, which has long been ignored from a translation studies perspective. In order to ground the discussion, a corpus of scientific-educational translations of the era has been created. The paper reveals that the aspiration of raising the status of the Ottoman Empire in the military arena brought a concomitant need to reshape the Ottoman educational and scientific repertoires through translations of works from western sources. The first systematic, western-style military schools, which incorporated translator-educators, language courses and printing houses, functioned not only as translation bureaus but also translator-training centers at the time. The translator-educators serving at these institutions enabled significant transformation in the Ottoman culture, thus acting as ‘agents of change’: They promoted Turkish as a scientific language, contributed to the conversion of the religion-based learning system into a secular one, and also stimulated epistemological shifts in other repertoires.

Keywords: Translation History, Ottoman Scientific Repertoires, Translator-educators, Agents of Change

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Global Market Orientation of the Ottoman Agriculture Sector: An Interregional Comparison (1844)*

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Osmanlı Tarım Sektörünün Dünya Pazarlarına Oryantasyonu: Bölgelerarası Bir Karşılaştırma (1844)

Öz ■ Bu çalışma, 19. yüzyılda, İzmir ve Selanik gibi ticaret merkezleri ile iç bölge kırsallarının piyasa mekanizmasına eklenme süreçlerindeki muhtemel farklılaşmaların neler olduğunu kantifiye etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Aynı zamanda bu çalışma, söz konusu farklılaşmaların Osmanlı tarım sektörünün coğrafi yapısına nasıl yansıdığını bulmayı da amaçlar. Bu çalışmada kullanılan veriler, hepsi 1844–45 yıllarına ait olan İzmir, Selanik ve Akşehir bölgelerindeki 20 köyden toplanmıştır. Köylerden yarısı (434 hane) orta Anadolu'daki Akşehir kasabasından; geriye kalan köyler ise İzmir ve Selanik arasında eşit olarak dağılan köylerden (375 hane) oluşmuştur. Her iki grup, kırsal ekonomilerin piyasaya açılmalarında ortaya çıkabilecek olan muhtemel değişiklikler hesaba katılarak karşılaştırılmıştır. Bu değişiklikler, mesleki uzmanlaşma, gelir dağılımı, refah dağılımı ve vergi yapısıdır. Çalışmanın bulgularının kantifiye edilmesinde, Gini katsayısı ve standart sapma gibi istatistiksel yöntemler kullanılmıştır. Çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçlar, Osmanlı'nın İzmir ve Selanik gibi ticaret merkezlerinin kırsal kesimlerinin, ülkenin daha iç bölgelerindeki kırsal kesimlere göre pazara eklenmede önde olduğu göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı tarım sektörü, Gini katsayısı, tarım, standart sapma, Osmanlı vergi sistemi, gelir dağılımı.

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Introduction

In the first half of the 19th century, in parallel to the expansion of world trade, agricultural economies like that of the Ottoman Empire began to be exposed to the effects of market mechanisms and tended to be transformed into a commercial economy, a process that was to result in the formation of an industrial economy. The inclusion of an agricultural economy in market mechanism and its evolution into a commercial economy meant the transformation of self-subsistent household economies into an economic structure where the urge of profit was a decisive factor and production was decided by market conditions. This transformation was also reflected in economic indicators.

By the 19th century, rural hinterland of big coastal towns of the Ottoman Empire had already been integrated into regional and international market mechanisms in varying degrees. This integration was felt by the process of participation in commercial transactions by producing more than needed or by being specialized in the production of certain goods as well as by the emphasis put on the logic of higher profits as a primary motive. The reasons for the incorporation of the Ottoman agricultural sector to market mechanisms were related both to changes occurring in the world economy and the transformation of the Ottoman economy itself.

The most important development causing the Ottoman agriculture turn to produce for market was the transformation of the world economy itself. This development coincided with the increasing demand of European nations for raw materials and their search for new markets for finished goods. This meant an increase in the demand for Ottoman raw materials and agricultural products. The destruction of the Ottoman land (tumar) system in the interior, on the other hand, resulted in the changes which brought the local agricultural production under the influence of market conditions and increasing rates of profit, a process that could also be observed in the Balkans.¹ D. Quataert, in addition to the role of the increasing foreign demand, underlined the role of the transformation of Ottoman public finance policy in the commercialization of Ottoman agriculture. The resolution of the Ottoman State to collect the taxes in cash, he asserted, compelled the villagers to turn to market so as to be able to get the needed cash money, which resulted in their engagement in production for market. Another reason for this development was the increasing demand of the villagers to meet their own

1 Atilla Aytekin, "Cultivators, Creditors and State: Rural Indepedtness in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire", *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 35 (2), (2008), p. 294.

needs more and more from market. Seeing that their needs could be met by cash money, they turned to market.² Consequently, traditional mode of production was replaced by production for market.

Britain took the lead among the European states to show a keen interest in Ottoman commerce. The Ottoman liberal import policy, the decline of commerce in France with the Ottoman Empire after Napoleonic wars and the passive role of the Ottoman Empire in the political reconstruction of Europe encouraged the British to show a closer concern towards the Ottoman Empire.³ The transformation of the Ottoman export structure that resulted in the abandonment of finished goods in favor of raw materials further contributed to the process. According to C. Issawi the Ottoman export items at the beginning of the 18th century included both raw materials and manufactured products but towards the end of the century the manufactured products began to be replaced gradually by raw materials.⁴ Furthermore, Ottoman import articles from Western countries more and more began to consist of colonial, luxuries and other products with low production costs and high consumer attraction.⁵ Luxury goods, particularly, were consumed in the coastal towns and big city centers.⁶ Western demand for raw materials and Ottoman urban demand for consumption goods were met so as to allow a reciprocal trade. Cotton ranked first among the trade articles of Western Anatolia to be opened to market. The reasons behind the increase of cotton exports were the expansion of the volume of trade with France and Britain on the one hand, and the increasing demand of the looms in the interior for raw materials, on the other hand. Westerners preferred the higher quality of Western Anatolian cotton to those of inferior cotton obtained from other regions of the world.⁷

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- 2 Donald Quataert, “The Age of Reforms 1912–1914”, *An Economic and Social History of Ottoman Empire 1600–1914*, (Ed. H. Inalcık-D. Quataert), (UK: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), pp. 131–132.
 - 3 Reşat Kasaba, “İnen Merdivenden Yukarı: Britanya’nın Yakın Doğu Politikası: 1815–1874”, *Dünya İmparatorluk ve Toplum*, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005), p. 39.
 - 4 Charles Issawi, “The Transformation of the Economic Position of Millet in the 19th Century”, *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, (Ed. Benjamin Braude), USA: Lynner Publisher (2014), p. 160.
 - 5 Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1500–1914*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), p. 145.
 - 6 Suraiya Faroqhi, “Esnaf Ağları ve Osmanlı Zanaat Üretimi (16. ve 17. Yüzyıllar)”, *Osmanlı Dünyasında Üretmek Pazarlamak Yaşamak*, (Trans. G. Ç. Güven-Ö. Türesay), (İstanbul: YKY. Yayınları, 2003), pp. 29–30.
 - 7 Özgür Teoman and Muammer Kaymak, “Commercial Agriculture and Economic Change

According to van Zanden, one of the peculiarities of traditional agriculture was the limited demand towards agricultural production, which was associated with the inability of rural society in the specialization of production. The demand from outside the rural society, on the other hand, due to the failure of producers to market their products at profitable rates owing to high costs of transportation. The increase in the demand for agricultural products seen prior to industrial revolution was rooted in the urbanization and the improvement in the facilities of transportation.⁸ The same process in such Ottoman towns as Smyrna and Salonika were also accelerated by foreign demand in addition to the improvement of transportation facilities and population increase.

The European demand for raw materials increased the prices of agricultural products and encouraged market-oriented production on the one hand, and urged the production of industrial non food commodities such as cotton, valonia and tobacco so as to replace such traditional cereals as wheat, oat and barley, on the other hand.⁹

Specifically, internal factors in the opening of the hinterland of Smyrna and Salonika to market were more influential. Two of the major capitals were the advantages supplied by these towns to their merchant groups and low costs of transportation between their hinterland and city centers. Port facilities of Smyrna and Salonika were decisive in the process they opened the doors of the Balkans and Western Anatolia to world markets. Salonika was behind Smyrna in terms of naval trade, doubtless due to its prominent role in conducting the trade with central Europe by overland routes. Smyrna, however, owing to its advantageous geographical location, proved to be an important port both for foreign ships and the caravans coming from Persia and thus deservedly acquired fame.¹⁰ The port of Smyrna, then again, supplied protection to ships, while the mountain chain lying

in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th Century: A Comparison of Row Cotton Production in the Western Anatolia and Egypt”, *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 2, (2008), p. 321.

8 J. L. Van Zanden, *The Transformation of European Agriculture in the 19th Century*, (Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 1994), pp. 9–4.

9 Faruk Tabak, “Bereketli Hilalin Batısında Tarımsal Dalgalanmalar ve Emeğin Kontrolü (Yak. 1700–1850)”, *Osmanlı’da Toprak Mülkiyeti ve Ticari Tarım*, (Ed. F. Tabak-Ç. Keyder), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), pp. 142–143.

10 Necmi Ulker, “Batılı Gözlemciler Göre 17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısı İzmir Şehri ve Ticari Sorunları”, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, (1981–1982), p. 349.

along the coast, with their vertical location against the coast, eased the contact of the city with its hinterland.

Fertile land pieces in the hinterland capable of producing certain commercial goods of high foreign demand and the demographic structure of the city favoring commercial activities did further contribute to the advantageous location of the port of the city. Inalcık explains the commercial expansion of Smyrna by the increase in the cotton production in its hinterland¹¹ while Syrett emphasizes the settlement of European merchants in the city in parallel with the decline of trade along old trade routes.¹² Eldem and Kurmuş pointed out to the role of middle man who conducted a better part of the trade in the city and became agents between Western capitals and the Ottoman economy.¹³ Apart from the merchants acting as mediators, consisting mainly of non Muslim subjects of the empire and constituting about 40% of the population both in Smyrna and Salonika, activities of the representatives of Western nations also contributed to the expansion of trade with its axis centered in the Western world. Their relative ease in contacting the departments of the state in comparison to Muslims, canalized these non Muslim subjects to commerce, agency business, transportation and finance. Thus, soon emerged an interest among the Ottomans in the consumption of Western goods and the demand for ornamented textiles, jewelry, porcelain, crystal and other goods capable of satisfying the local taste began to increase in these two cities so as to contribute to the expansion of trade.¹⁴ In parallel with this increase of demand the agricultural production in the hinterland of both cities did also increase.

Cities like Smyrna and Salonika managed to escape the attention of central authority except for the revenue they yielded and remained partly free from the control of central administration. Hospitable relations between provincial notables and representatives of the central administration in the city relieved the

11 Halil İnalcık, “Osmanlı Pamuklu Pazarı Hindistan ve İngiltere: Pazar Rekabetinde Emek Maliyetinin Rolü”, *Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Gelişme Dergisi*, (1980), p. 13.

12 Elena Frangakis Syrett, “Trade between Ottoman Empire and Western Europe: The Case of İzmir in the 18th Century”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1–2.

13 Edhem Eldem ie., *Batı ile Doğu Arasında Osmanlı Kenti, Halep, İzmir, İstanbul*, (Trans. S. Yalçın), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), p. 349; Orhan Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye’ye Girişi*, Savaş Yayınları, (Ankara: 1982), p. 18.

14 A. Mesud Küçükcalay, *Osmanlı İthalatı-İzmir Gümrüğü 1818–1838*, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2007), pp. 77–79.

pressure on capital and commerce respectively and alleviated the political pressure hindering the transformation of the Ottoman land (*timar*) system. Therefore, in the first half of the 19th century in Smyrna and Salonika, contrary to other regions of the empire, big farms consisting of vast lands and employing salaried laborers, where the primary motive of production was to sell in the market, became widespread. These farms which usually had the outlook of a village were motivated by the urge of profit instead of self subsistent economic mode specialized in the production of certain industrial and commercial goods such as cotton, rice and valonia.

Broadly speaking, the incorporation of the rural hinterland of coastal towns beginning with their participation in the market mechanism in the first half of the 19th century is an ongoing discussion. The discussions rather concentrate on the time of incorporation¹⁵ and the limits of the geography it covered. The discussions about the latter can be categorized into two groups. The views in the first group assert that the Ottoman economy as a whole, including agriculture sector, was exposed to the effects of foreign markets and came under the siege of Western economies.

Such authors as O. C. Sarc, T. Cavdar ve A. D. Novicev have explored the incorporation process of the Ottoman economy to foreign markets on the basis of geographical and sectoral distribution. According to these authors it can be spoken of an overall process of incorporation. Sarc stated that Ottoman economy

15 For the discussions about incorporation of the Ottoman economy foreign market and world trade see: Reşat Kasaba, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Dünya Ekonomisi*, (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1993), p. 22; Donald Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Avrupa İktisadi Yayılımı ve Direniş (1881-1908)*, (Trans. S. Tekay), (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1987), pp. 18-22; Donald Quataert, *Anadolu'da Osmanlı Reformu ve Tarım 1876-1908*, (Trans. Ö. Gündoğan-A. Gündoğan), (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2008), p. 159; Daniel Goffman, *İzmir ve Levanten Dünya (1550-1650)*, (Trans. A. Anadol-N. Kalaycıoğlu), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), pp. 44-57 and 66); Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Türkiye İktisat Tarihi (1500-1914)*, p. 193; Çağlar Keyder, "Emperyalizm Azgelişmişlik ve Türkiye", *Toplumsal Tarih Çalışmaları*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), p. 104; Murat Çizakça, "Incorporation of the Middle East into the European World Economy", *Review*, Winter, (1985), pp. 371-374; Mehmet Genç, "18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş", *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, 5th Edition, (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 2008), pp. 214-217; Mehmet Genç, "Tarihimize Giydirilen Deli Gömleği: Osmanlı Tarihinde Periyotlaştırma Meselesi", *Osmanlı Geriledi mi?*, (Ed. M. Armağan), (İstanbul: Etkileşim Yayınları, 2006), p. 336; Immanuel Wallerstein, i.e., "The Incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the World Economy", *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, (Ed. H. C. Islamoğlu), (UK: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), pp. 96-97.

came under the influence of western economies at the beginning of the 19th century and the process of incorporation gained momentum towards the end of the mid-century. He even asserted that the early influence of the incorporation on commercial centers and big towns began to be observed in the rest of the country in 1850's and the domestic industry in such Anatolian towns as Erzurum, Maras and Malatya experienced a dramatic collapse.¹⁶ Cavdar and Novicev maintained that Ottoman Empire was reduced into a semi-colonial region towards the middle of the 19th century. The state of semi-colony suggests the encirclement of Ottoman economy by capitalist world markets, which corresponds to the incorporation of the country as a whole to world markets. In this connection, Novicev underlines the role of foreign capital in the Ottoman economy and financial dependency, while Cavdar brings forward socio-cultural factors as a whole and points out to foreign cultural and economic occupation which brought about changes in the judicial system of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷ At that point McGowan states that Ottoman exports consisted of raw materials and thus this trade had rather the outlook of a colonial trade at first look. This did not mean, however, at least until 19th century, a complete political surrender, as implied by the term *colonial*. This was because the control of the state in Ottoman foreign trade did not alleviate until the 19th century and this began to change only after the empire came under the control of world powers in 19th and 20th centuries.¹⁸

The advocates of the second view claim that the exposure of Ottoman economy to foreign markets and the process that it experienced the hegemony of world trade was materialized gradually and the regional economic differentiation resulting in the process was visible already by 1840s.

Indeed, Anatolia by the 1800s, its western parts particularly, participated in the world trade in agricultural products, whereas the rest of the Empire managed to take part in this trade only after the second half of the 19th century. According to Quataert, the activities of trade in Smyrna, Istanbul and Marmara region expanded towards the inner parts of Anatolia during the late decades of the century.

16 Ö. Celal Sarc, "Tanzimat ve Sanayimiz", *Tanzimat*, Vol. 1, (İstanbul: MEB. Yayınları, 1999), pp. 427-430.

17 See: A. D. Novicev, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Yarı Sömürgeleşmesi*, (Trans. N. Dinçer), (Ankara: Onur Yayınları 1979); Tefik Cavdar, *Osmanlıların Yarı Sömürge Oluşu*, (İstanbul: Gelenek Yayınları, 2000).

18 Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe-Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land 1600-1800*, (USA: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 10.

By 1890, for instance, agriculturally rich regions like Adana and Southeastern Anatolia had already been connected to the foreign trade of cotton and cereals by the railway line.¹⁹ According to Bruce McGowan a similar case was also true for the Balkans, which had been incorporated into the European market in the 17th and 18th centuries through big farms. Small farms, on the other hand, tended to produce for domestic markets.²⁰

C. Issawi is in the same parallel with Quataert in this regard. He underlines that the Anatolian agricultural sector had a stagnant character and failed to incorporate into the world capitalist market.²¹ Ottoman agriculture underwent yet more significant changes in the course of the 19th century and towards the end of century, under state protection, managed to achieve high rates of production.²² Robert Owen claims that in parallel with western economic developments Ottoman coast cities like Smyrna and Alexandria were exposed to powerful economic influences from Europe early in the 19th century. The rural areas in the interior regions in the empire, on the other hand, remained little effected until late in the century.²³

The process of incorporation did not turn out to be homogeneous geographically. The agriculture in Western Anatolia, Marmara region, Eastern Black Sea and the region around Adana was incorporated into distant world markets before the construction of railway routes, while in central Anatolia the same process took place only after the penetration of railway routes to the inner parts of Anatolia.²⁴ Pamuk stated that the Ottoman Empire managed to preserve its traditional structure to a great extent until the year 1820 whereas between 1820 and 1914 the Ottoman economy began to be effected by capitalism. There could be spoken of an increase in the agricultural production especially after 1820, in

19 Donald Quataert, "The Commercialization of Agriculture in Ottoman Empire 1800–1914", *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2, (1980), p. 40.

20 Bruce McGowan, "The Study of Land and Agricultural in the Ottoman Provinces within the Context of an Expanding World Economy in the 17th and 18th Centuries", *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, (1981), p. 62.

21 Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Middle East 1800–1914*, (Ed. C. Issawi), (USA: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 65.

22 Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey 1800–1914*, (London: The University of Chicago Press 1980), p. 199.

23 Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy 1800–1914*, (USA: Menhuen Co., 1981), p. 92.

24 Pamuk, *Osmanlı Türkiye İktisat Tarihi (1500–1914)*, p. 216–218.

contrast to the recession seen in other sectors. Therefore, the impact of capitalist markets on Ottoman agriculture and manufacture could be felt only indirectly and through the increasing production for foreign markets.²⁵ According to K. Karpat the increase of the trade with the Western world was not felt throughout the empire at the same level. Already in the 18th century the European part of the empire had come under the effect of Western economies and entered into the orbit of markets.²⁶

In this study, on the basis of the data obtained from archival materials, the validity of these two views are attempted to be testified. To this end, the possibility of the changes likely to arise in parallel with the process of incorporation into the market both in hinterland of the port cities and in the inner part of the empire was quantified.

The archival sources utilized in the research are based on the registers of the population and wealth (*temettuât*) census undertaken in 14 Ottoman provinces between 1844 and 1845.. The source material consists of registers for 20 villages as shown in the map with their approximate locations. Registers for each village have been recorded under separate books. The purpose of this census was to redress the inequality in the tax system and, in line with the increasing use of cash money, to reduce different kinds of taxes in use to certain categories and to enable the collection of the taxes in cash. In making the source material ready for use, first the documents have been transcribed and the data collected from the transcribed documents have been put into tables in Appendix 1 and 2. Appendix 1 and 2 are also source for the series used in tables and graphs in the text as well as for rest of the appendixes.

As the first step in processing the information acquired from the source material, the registers of 10 villages (434 households) (Appendix 1) of Akşehir, a town in inner Anatolia (Sample 1) and the registers other 10 villages (375 households) (Appendix 2) in the hinterland of Smyrna and Salonika (Sample 2), both commercial cities situated along the Aegean coast, have been selected so as to form two separate sample groups. These sample groups of the selected villages have been compared with regard to professional variation, income distribution, wealth

25 This argument is further illustrated for the period between 1820 and 1914. See: Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme 1820-1913*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2005), pp. 14–15.

26 Kemal Karpat, “Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789–1908”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 3 (1972), p. 247.

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distribution (cattle, sheep and land) and tax structure. The starting point for the study has been the assumption that a differentiation likely to be seen in different regions in the level of incorporation to the market should also be reflected in the results to be reached after the comparison of these sample groups.

First, it will be tried to find out whether there is a differentiations between sample groups in respect to professional specialization. For agricultural economies one of the evidences of getting into market is the increase in professional variation. Having entered the market, self subsistent agricultural mode of production is replaced by profit-motivated production and acts according to conditions of market. Thus, the process results in the entry of some of the rural population to new sectors according to market conditions.

Next to be examined is the income distribution between the two regions. The results to be attained from the examination are capable of demonstrating whether the household income with respectively equal distribution in Ottoman traditional agricultural sector was exposed to a regional differentiation. They can also point out to a possible capital accumulation originating from a differentiation of income. In this stage of the research certain tools of econometrics like Gini Coefficient and standard deviation are used.



The third analysis of the research involves the comparison of the sample groups in terms of wealth. To this end, the households of the two groups have been compared with respect to their holdings, cattle, sheep and the amount of land and the standard deviation for each of the wealth parameters were obtained.

The last analysis to be made is the tax structure of the sample groups. In agricultural societies the tax sources are limited and are doomed to change once these societies began to participate in market economy. This participation naturally leads to a differentiation in tax structure depending upon the level of participation of different agricultural societies into market.

The analyses to be made in the study have had to verify at least one of these three assumptions:

- ✓ The Ottoman agricultural sector was incorporated into market as a whole with no regional differentiation.
- ✓ The incorporation of the Ottoman agricultural sector to market was confined only to the rural areas in the hinterland of big commercial centers.
- ✓ In the Ottoman agricultural sector, neither the hinterland of big commercial centers nor the rural areas in the interior were incorporated into market.

Professional Differentiation

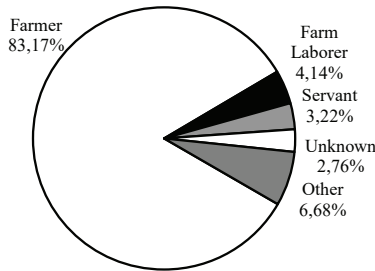
One of the preconditions of the incorporation of rural economies into the market and the resulting change of production mode is to achieve professional differentiation. This differentiation is principally imposed by the market mechanism. Rural economies can be transformed in two ways: First, they may remain in a predominantly agricultural mode of production but can still be linked into market through agricultural products. Here comes in view an increase in agricultural products both in terms of amount and assortment with no professional differentiation. The increase of agricultural products is essential for the peasants so as to have a surplus and to supply it to the market. As to the emergence of a rich assortment of products, it is the result of the efforts of the peasants to increase their profits by supplying the market with more expensive products instead of such cereals as wheat and barley. At that point, however, the villages located within the hinterland of the commercial centers but lacking professional differentiation should be handled more carefully. In order to understand whether they fell into

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the orbit of market mechanism or not, first the variety of agricultural products and the equilibrium between the amount of agricultural products and the amount of food to be consumed by the peasants should be determined.

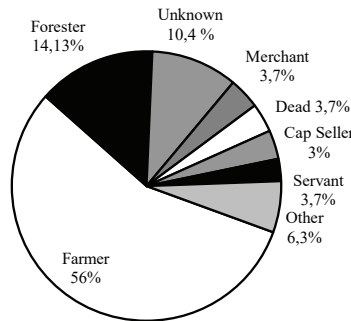
The Graph 1 and 2 shows the professional differentiation in the Ottoman rural interior (Sample 1) and the countryside of commercial centers (Sample 2) for the year 1845. They reveal that 92% of the rural interior (Graph 1) remains within the limits of agricultural sector with almost no professional differentiation. In the countryside of commercial centers (Graph 2), on the other hand, the householders in agricultural sector make up 60% of the total.

Figure 1: Professional Differentiation in Sample I



Others 29 (%6,68)= Sweet-meat Seller 3 (%0,6), Tenant 1 (%0,2), Shepherd 7 (%1,6), Orphan 2 (% 0,4), Imam 4 (%0,9), Tile-maker 3 (%0,6), Deserter 9 (%2).

Figure 2: Professional Differentiation in Sample II



Others 23 (%6,13)=Poor 1 (%0,2), Imam 1 (%0,2), Elderly 2 (%0,5), Cobbler 2 (%0,5), Shepherd 2 (%0,5), Retired 1 (%0,2), Mosque Keeper 1 (%0,1).

Although the sample material does not reveal an increased degree of differentiation in terms of professional specialization, taking into account the variety of products in the countryside of commercial centers, one can assume that they made use of their regional comparative advantage and were linked to the market. The deficiency of rural wheat production in the vicinity of commercial centers, for instance, must have been compensated by the income obtained from other products. This assumption is verified by the fact that the villages in the region with an annual average of wheat production well below their necessities were still producing such products as cotton, tobacco, grapes, rice and valonia.

Similar results concerning the level of professional differentiation in different regions could be reached by other explorations as well. In the Cukurhisar village of Eskisehir, a town deep inside Anatolia, for example, 39 (78%) of the 50 householders were farmers while the rest consisted of servants and the unemployed. In the Alpu village, still within the boundaries of the same town, similarly, 139 (69%) of the 200 householders were engaged in agriculture whereas the rest consisted of servants, laborers and shepherds.²⁷ Similar results could also be extended to the rural areas of Thrace and the Eastern and Central Anatolia. An exploration on three villages in the inner parts of Thrace reveals that 34 (70%) of the 48 householders were farmers, although 9 (18,75%) of them were unqualified laborers. As for three villages in the vicinity of Amasya, here 27 (79%) of the 34 householders were farmers in addition to 5 (14%) laborers.²⁸ In the Cumra village of Konya, on the other hand, 107 (66,88%) of the 160 householders were farmers whereas the agricultural laborers and shepherds numbered 27 (16,88%) and 7 (4,38%), respectively.²⁹

As for the results relevant to the level of professional differentiation in the hinterland of commercial centers, they can also be observed in the town and city centers and in the big agricultural farms of Western Anatolia. Within the town of Aksehir in central Anatolia, for example, only 85 (11,30%) of 752 householders

27 Ayla Efe, "1844–45 Temettuat Sayımı Işığında Çukurhisar Köyünün Ekonomik ve Sosyal Görünümü", *Anadolu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, No. 1, (2006), Compiled from the data in Graph 1, p. 27.

28 Şeref Şener, "19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kırsalında Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapı", *İktisat İşletme ve Finans*, No. 262, (2008), compiled from the data Table 3.3. and 3.4, p. 125.

29 Hüseyin Muşmal, "19. Yüzyılın Ortalarında Çumra'nın Sosyo Ekonomik Görüntüsü (10353 Numaralı Temettuat Defterine Göre)", *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, No. 24, (2007), compiled from the data in Graph 2, p. 259.

were farmer while the remaining 667 (87,7%) belonged to about 100 different professions with varying proportions. In the countryside of the same town, however, the level of professional differentiation was lower.³⁰ The same is also true for the city of Salonika, where the proportion of those engaged in agriculture is extremely low. Here, out of 9.924 tax payers the rate of those engaged in industry, commerce and agriculture amounted to 4.225 (62%). 1.423 (22%) of them were unemployed whereas 853 tax payers (12%) were paid laborers. The number of tenants amounted to 283 (4%), the number of those householders earning their lives from agricultural activities remaining only at 122 (2%).³¹ The proportion of the householders engaged in agriculture in Odemis in Western Anatolia constituted 14% of the total figures in contrast to the agricultural laborers and servants who had a rate of 25%.³²

Getting closer from Eastern to Western Anatolia, greater the degree of professional differentiation is, as in the hinterland of such commercial centers as Smyrna, Manisa and Aydın. Having a look at the level of professional differentiation in the villages of Kemalpaşa (Nif), a town in the vicinity of Smyrna, one can see that the level of differentiation is higher than the rural areas in the interior parts of Anatolia.³³ As for the high level of professional differentiation seen in interior towns and cities, it could be conceived as a response to meet the demand in the neighborhood. Some of the villages in Western Anatolia, however, do not support the above findings despite the fact that this could not be regarded as a challenge to the argument of incorporation of Western Anatolia into world capitalist markets. Indeed, in villages organized as big farms and converted into commercialized agricultural enterprises in the region, in response to foreign demand, all of the householders might have been specialized in the supply of certain articles such as cotton, rice and tobacco. In these villages the land as a whole or partially belonged to only one person or family and the agricultural production therein intended to meet both internal and foreign demand. Since the 16th century, the production in this region had basically served the

30 Muhittin Tuş, "XIX. Yüzyılın ve Anadolu'nun Ortasında Akşehir", *Manas Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, No. 17, (2007), Compiled from the data in Graph 2, p. 112.

31 Mehmet Ali Gökaçtı, "1845 Yılında Selanik", *Tarih ve Toplum*, Vol. 28, No. 168, (1997), compiled from the data in Graph 2, p. 18.

32 Tefik Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1998), p. 165.

33 Sabri Sürgevil, *Kemalpaşa (Nif) ve Çevresinin Tarihi*, (İzmir: KHGB Yayınları, 2000), compiled from the data in Table pp. 68-69.

provisioning of Istanbul and other big cities but by the second half of the 19th century the weight of capitalist world markets in the agricultural production in the same region increased. A research on seven farm villages of Manisa in Western Anatolia, for example, indicated that almost all of the householders, totaling 573 in number, were seen to have engaged in agricultural sector. The intensification in the agricultural center does not mean a denial of the engagement of the villages to capitalist world markets but, just the contrary; it justifies the view that the villages as a whole had been specialized in the production of certain articles with high market value.³⁴ This point is also attested by the fact that the agricultural products produced in the region such as cotton, tobacco, rice, grapes and oat were adequately varied and destined to reach market.³⁵ D. Quataert asserts that the town of Aydın in the vicinity of Smyrna in Western Anatolia, for example, tended more and more to engage in the production of marketable commercial products and the farmers in the region began to cultivate different sets of articles.³⁶ To conclude, the rural hinterland of commercial centers like Smyrna and Salonika, as far as the level of professional differentiation was concerned, could be argued to have incorporated to capitalist world markets more intensively than the rural regions in the inner parts of the Empire.

Income Distribution

Researches on the distribution of income in the Ottoman Empire are extremely negligible. One of the reasons behind this neglect is the lack of regular registers concerning the income of the householders before 19th century. With respect to rural population, on the other hand, it is harder to find similar registers. But, the register of the census of 1844–45 utilized in this exploration enable us to make an analyses on the distribution of income in the villages, towns and the cities

34 Halil İnalçık, “Çiftliklerin Doğuşu: Devlet Toprak Sahibi ve Kiracılar”, *Osmanlı’da Toprak Mülkiyeti ve Ticari Tarım*, (Ed. Ç. Keyder-F. Tabak), (Trans. Z. Altok), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), p. 33. Halil İnalçık points out to the fact that in the farm villages of Western Anatolia, particularly, the only aim of the villagers, who generally were responsible to one landed notable, was to increase their profits.

35 H. Ortaç Gürpınarlı, “Manisa Kazası’nda Bulunan Bazı Çiftlik Köylerinin XIX. Yüzyıl Ortalarındaki Durumu”, *Uluslararası Osmanlı Tarihi Sempozyumu*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2004), pp. 491 and 525.

36 Quataert, “The Age of Reforms 1912–1914”, p. 845.

censused. For the given period, there are already two studies having the distribution of income in the selected research area as the subject matter.³⁷

The distribution of income in the two sample groups examined in this study is different from each other. The reason why this difference occurred in spite of the resolution of Ottoman central authorities to assure justice in taxation and income distribution should be sought in the changes in the relations of production, credit, market and proprietorship in the rural hinterland of commercial centers, which can be interpreted as the incorporation of the region into market. It is obvious that the transformation of the pre-industrial agricultural production mode and the ensuing adaptation to market conditions necessarily brings about changes in the composition of income distribution between householders, and the relatively fair income distribution of the pre-industrial period disappears in parallel participation in the market mechanism. This process is elaborately described S. Kuznets. According to Kuznets, the traces process of evaluation of an economy from an agricultural structure towards industrialization is first observed in the inequality in income distribution, which is followed by a trend toward equality (reverse U curve). This is an unavoidable result of economic development.³⁸ Although Williamson applies the findings of Kuznets to the England of 1823-1915, Acemoglu and Robinson are of the opinion that this trend in the income distribution is the result of the political changes caused by social dynamics, rather than being the result of an economic development. According to the latter, the equitable trend of the income distribution is the result of political decisions aimed at preventing social conflicts and the ensuing changes.³⁹

The agricultural producer now squeezed between the profit and his own needs may either choose to maximize his profit or insist to continue his traditional agricultural production. If he prefers the former choice he would be obliged to specialize in the production of only certain articles and obtain most of his needs

37 See: A. Mesud Küçükkalay and Ayla Efe, "Osmanlı Zirai Sektörünün Ticarileşebilme İmkânı Üzerine Bir Deneme", *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (OTAM)*, No. 20, (2009), and Abdülkadir Atar, "Maliye Nezareti Temettuat Defterlerine Göre Tavşanlı Nahiyesinin Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapısı", (Unpublished MA. Thesis), Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2007.

38 Simon Kuznets, "Economic Growth and Income Inequality", *The American Economic Review*, Vol. XLV, No. 1, (1995), pp. 1-28.

39 Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, "The Political Economy of the Kuznets Curve", *Review of Development Economics*, 6 (2), (2002), pp. 183-184.

directly from market. This process in fact is one of the main reasons behind the destruction of the traditional income distribution.

The income distribution of the two sample regions, after calculation by means of Gini Coefficient, yielded striking results. In internal regions, with respect to total income and disposable income, the figures turned out to be 0,33 and 0,34 respectively. As for the villages in the hinterland of the commercial centers the same rates amounted to 0,42 and 0,43.⁴⁰ These rates imply that the income distribution in the hinterland of commercial centers is more unequal than the villages in internal regions by 0,25%. It is also true that the rates revealing the difference of income distribution in the two regions do not change after taxation. This suggests that taxation does not bring about substantial changes in the distribution of income.

That taxation does not spoil the income distribution in both regions is compliance with the Ottoman economic mind. In fact, the very reason behind the censuses held during the research period was to assure the justice in taxation and to get adapted to the practices of a cash economy. The criteria of taxation introduced during the censuses did even contribute to insure a fair income distribution. This contribution could be well seen in the case of the Alpu Village of Eskisehir, for which the Gini Coefficient of total income before taxation, 0,45, turned out to be 0,37 after the taxes were collected.⁴¹ In Graphs 1 and 2 are seen the scattered diagrams showing the disposable income distribution in both regions. The differences in income distribution can be determined by the standard deviation of income distribution of both regions.⁴²

The standard deviation of total income distribution for villages in interior regions is 491,120 whereas in the villages in the hinterland of commercial centers it is as high as 856,920. The same rates for the disposable income appear as 400,382 and 752,646 respectively. The difference of income distribution in two

40 Gini Coefficient rates regarding both the total and disposable income are obtained by means of the formula of.

$$G = \frac{1}{n} \left[n+1 - 2 \left(\frac{\sum_{i=1}^n (i-1)Y_i}{\sum_{i=1}^n Y_i} \right) \right]$$

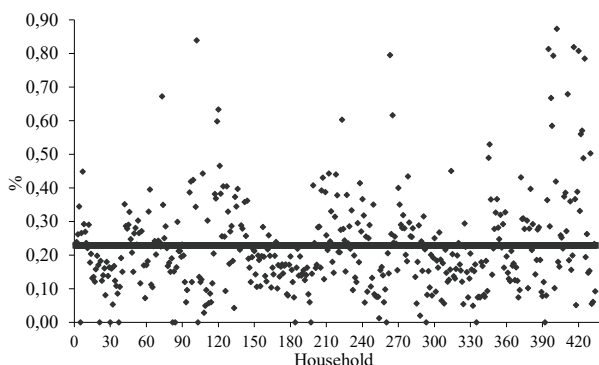
The series in the formula are taken from Appendix 2-3.

41 Küçükcalay and Efe, "Osmanlı Zirai Sektörünün Ticarileşebilme İmkânı Üzerine Bir Deneme", p. 257.

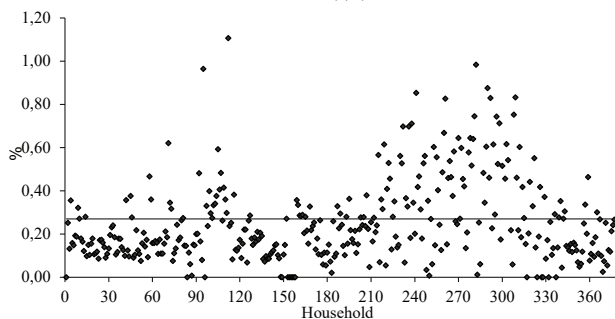
42 The standard deviation for both sample research regions are calculated by means of the formula of $s = \sqrt{\frac{\sum (x_i - \bar{x})^2}{n}}$. The series needed in for the formula are taken from Appendix 2-3.

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Graph 1: Distribution of Disposable Income Per Household in
 Sample I



Graph 2: Distribution of Disposable Income Per Household in Sample II
 ((%)



regions does also show parallels with the differences in Gini Coefficients for the same regions. The difference in income distribution is also reflected in the amount of income per capita. Total income per capita in internal regions is 157,57 piaster, while it is 115,48 piaster for disposable income. The same figures come to 188,85 and 154,36 piaster respectively in the hinterland of commercial centers. (See: Appendix 2). It should be noted that the income distribution for the villages in the hinterland of Salonika and Smyrna, both in total and disposable income, is less unequal than the income distribution of the villages in interior regions. Despite this unequal income distribution, yet, the income distribution per capita and per household in the hinterland of commercial centers is higher than those in internal regions. This suggests that the villages in the hinterland of commercial centers

have a higher level of welfare than their counterparts in interior regions. The unfair income distribution of the former could also be observed in the distribution of wealth, which is reflected in the rates of total figures for cattle, sheep and goats and land proprietorship. (See: Appendix 3 and 4).

Another interesting aspect of the income distribution is the reverse relation between the tax burden and the amount of tax per household in the two regions. The income per household in internal regions is 777,85 piaster whereas it amounts to 944,26 piaster in the villages in the hinterland of commercial centers. This proportion between the two regions is reversed if we compute the average tax burden for each households which appear to be 25,76 piaster in the villages of internal regions in contrast to 18,28 piaster in the villages of the hinterland of commercial centers. This means that, paradoxically, the villages in the latter group paid less tax although they were richer than their counterparts in the former category. (See: Appendix 3).

Wealth Comparison

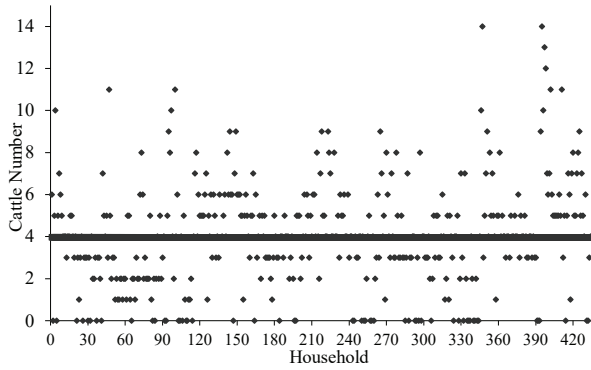
The major sources of wealth for the Ottoman peasants were land, cattle and sheep. They were also an indication of richness. Thus the disposal and the distribution of wealth in the Ottoman rural regions can be seen as the indicators of the level of production and welfare of the villagers. This research makes a comparison of land, cattle and sheep in sample regions in terms of amount, distribution and disposal by the villagers, and the results revealed by it contribute to the illumination of the process how these regions were incorporated into capitalist markets. The deterioration of the distribution of wealth, in particular, brought about a change in the relations of production and proprietorship in the Ottoman rural economy of the classical period. The changes taking place thereafter can be best observed in agricultural land, which increasingly tends to be accumulated under certain hands, although this process solely does not account for the reasons behind these changes. It is rather a process whereby the classical mode of production is abandoned in favor of a production for capitalist markets.

Graphs 3, 4, 5 and 6 show the distribution of agricultural land and animals (cattle, sheep and goat) per household in the sample regions.

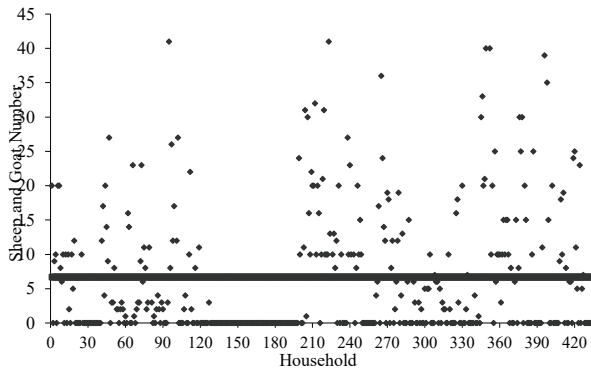
The average number of cattle and sheep per household in both regions are very close to each other. This closeness is also valid for the average amount of agricultural land per household and per capita. The only striking difference between the two regions can be seen in the amount of fallow land per household and per

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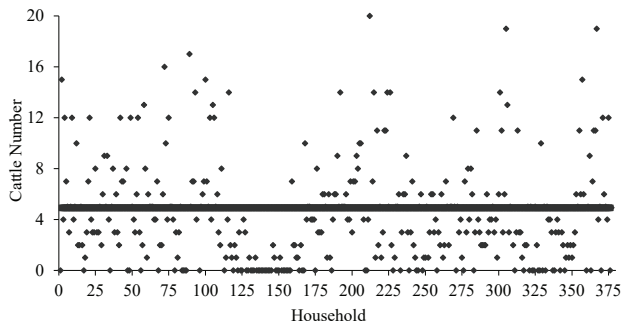
Graph 3: Distribution of Cattle Per Household in Sample I



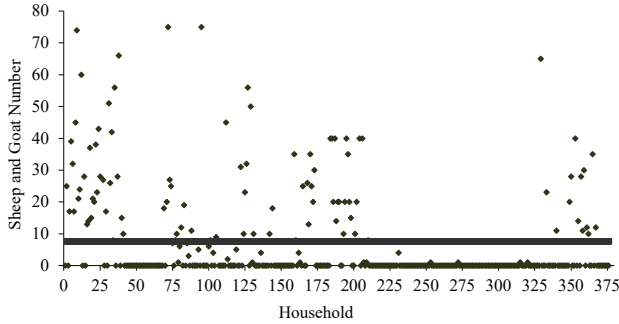
Graph 4: Distribution of Sheep and Goat Per Household in Sample I



Graph 5: Distribution of Cattle Per Household in Sample II



Graph 6: Distribution of Sheep and Goat Per Household in Sample II



capita. (See: Appendix 3). It is noticeable that the average values for wealth per household and per capita do not differ from each other very much in the two regions. But this does not suggest an equal distribution of wealth therein. Indeed, the land, cattle and sheep seem to have been distributed less equally in the hinterland of commercial centers than the villages in the interior. The standard deviation for the distribution of land per household in the interior regions is 41,951, while it amounts to 69,292 in the hinterland of commercial centers. The same values for cattle appear to be 2,626 and 5,946, while for sheep they are 11,374 and 15,657 respectively. (See: Appendix 5).

The most significant difference between the two regions is derived from the amount of fallow land and wheat surplus. Beyond any doubt, the increase in the amount of disposable land within the total agricultural land and the access of production, especially in wheat, to be sold, are among the most important aspects of incorporation into capitalist markets.

The total agricultural land of the 10 villages in the interior regions (Sample 1) amounts to 13.305 decare, of which only 5.785 (43,49%) decare is cultivated, in contrast to 7.156 (53,78%) decare left as fallow. 2,73% of the land, on the other hand, is assigned to the cultivation of grapes, opium and vegetables. In the hinterland of commercial centers, on the other hand, out of a total of 10,294 decare land, only 3.613 (35,39%) decare is left as fallow, in contrast to 4.977 (48,34%) decare cultivated land. The rest of the land (16,57%) is assigned to the cultivation of the products in high demand in the market such as grapes, tobacco, cotton, valonia, and rice. (See: Appendix 2). That 64% of the land in the hinterland of commercial centers is cultivated and that the articles cultivated therein consisted of industrial products prove that the agricultural production in this region has

been commercialized and the sale of the surplus became the primary aim of the production. In the interior regions, where a two-field rotation was the major type of production, there can not be spoken of a commercialization of the production. This difference between the two regions can not be explained by the intensity of population either. The ratio of the cultivated land to the population is quite approximate to each other in both regions with respective values of 2,66 and 2,65. The absence of the three-field rotation in the interior regions of Anatolia, a process in use in Europe since the 13th century, should be considered one of the basic reasons behind the failure of the commercialization of agriculture and the lack of surplus product.

This inference is supported by the results of other researches on the rural regions in the heart of the Empire as well. In the village of Cukurhisar in the city of Eskisehir in central Anatolia, for instance, out of a total of 3.576 decare land 1.858 decare (51,95%) which has been cultivated, while 1.718 (48,05%) decare of it was left fallow.⁴³ In the village of Alpu, still within the vicinity of Eskisehir, the cultivated land, out of a total of 8.523 decare, remained at 4.162 (48,83%) whereas the land left as fallows amounted to 4.361 (51,16%) decare.⁴⁴ Similarly, in the Cumra village of Konya, still in the deep interior of Anatolia, out of 7.405 decare land in total, the amount of cultivated land has remained at 3.322 decare (44,86%) in contrast to 3.907 decare (52,26%) fallow land.⁴⁵ Going further into eastern parts of Anatolia and the interior regions of Thrace the distribution of cultivated and fallow lands within the total figures still does not change significantly. In the Kangal village of Sivas the cultivated and fallow lands appear as 952 (49,59%) and 968 (50,42%) decare respectively out of 1.922 decare land,⁴⁶ whereas in the 10 villages of the Koyuntepe district of Filipolis in Thrace, the total land is divided between cultivated and fallow lands as 5.288 (49,94%) and 5.300 decare (50,06%) respectively.⁴⁷

43 Efe, "1844-45 Temettuat Sayımı Işığında Çukurhisar Köyünün Ekonomik ve Sosyal Görünümü", p. 28.

44 Küçükkalay and Efe, "Osmanlı Zirai Sektörünün Ticarileşebilme İmkânı Üzerine Bir Deneme", p. 253.

45 Muşmal, "19. Yüzyılın Ortalarında Çumra'nın Sosyo Ekonomik Görüntüsü (10353 Numaralı Temettuat Defterine Göre)", compiled from the data in Table 12, p. 267.

46 Galip Eken, "19. Yüzyılda Kangal Kazasının Sosyo Ekonomik Yapısına Dair", *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, No. 23, (2008), p. 279.

47 Güran, Compiled from the data in Table VI: 3.3, p. 213.

The further into the western parts of Anatolia have been penetrated, the less the amount of fallow lands appears to be. Out of a 9.382 decare land in the Marmara town of Western Anatolia, for instance, only 7,56% (768 decare) of the land is left as fallow in contrast to 92,43% (9.381 decare) cultivated land.⁴⁸ Similarly, the percentage of the fallow lands in the Saruhanlı village in Manisa is as low as 10%.⁴⁹ Intensive cultivation of land and low percentages of fallow lands are especially true for the villages organized as big farms in Western Anatolia. In the 7 villages organized as big farms in the vicinity of Manisa, for example, out of a total of 38.192 decare arable land only 6.241 decare (16,35%) was left as fallow in contrast to 31.951 decare (83,65%) cultivated land.⁵⁰

In addition to the rates of fallow and cultivated lands in the sample regions, the variety of articles does also contribute to find out the establishment of the degree of commercialization of production in the two regions. The articles produced in the interior regions are seen to have been limited to such products as wheat, barley, oat and opium whereas the articles produced in the hinterland of commercial centers comprises, in addition to the above set of articles, rice, tobacco, cotton, valonia, grapes and olive. This variation can be explained by the fact that, when an autarchic agrarian economy is opened up to trade with a manufacturing sector, whether domestic or foreign, it obtains a new set of transformation possibilities. Here it can be specialized in producing certain food items in demand in the city or abroad and it can be imported manufactured goods in return for domestic products.⁵¹

A comparison of the two regions in terms of population and the amount of wheat produced therein reveals a lack of wheat needed to sustain the population in both regions. In the interior regions there are 434 households, while the number of the households in the hinterland of commercial region is 375. The population

48 Necdet Bilgi, “Tanzimat’ın Döneminin İlk Yıllarında Saruhan Sancağı Marmara Kasabası’nın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durumu”, *Uluslararası Osmanlı Tarihi Sempozyumu*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2004), compiled from the data in Table 5, p. 73.

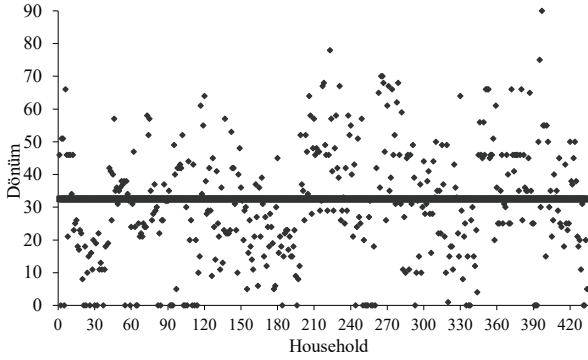
49 Necdet Bilgi, “Tanzimat Dönemi Başlarında Saruhan’lı Manisa’da Bir Ova Köyünün Sosyo Ekonomik Yapısı”, *Uluslararası Osmanlı Tarihi Sempozyumu*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2004), p. 430; Necdet Bilgi, “Temettuat Kayıtlarına Göre Manisa Uncubozköyü ve Tarihi Gelişmesi”, *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, XIII, (1988), pp. 125–127.

50 Gürpınarlı, “Manisa Kazası’nda Bulunan Bazı Çiftlik Köylerinin XIX. Yüzyıl Ortalarındaki Durumu”, p. 491 and 525.

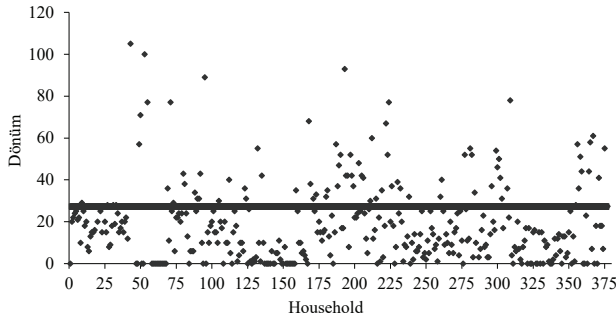
51 Stephen Hymer and Stephen Resnick, “A Model of an Agrarian Economy with Nonagricultural Activities”, *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 59, No. 4, (1969), p. 504

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Graph 7: Distribution of Land Per Household in Sample I



Graph 8: Distribution of Land Per Household in Sample II



in the former amounts to 2.170 souls 1.875 souls acquiring to the latter.⁵² Supposing that the yearly wheat consumption capacity of a person is 205 kg,⁵³ the amount of wheat needed in the interior regions would be 444.850 kg (2.170x205) whereas it is 384.375 kg (1.875x205) in the hinterland of commercial centers. If we look at the amount of the wheat produced in the two regions it is 238.080 kg and 92.672 kg respectively. The lack of wheat in the sample region 1 comes to 206.777 kg while in the sample region 2 this gap amounts to 291.703 kg.

52 Ö. Lütfi Barkan, "Tarihi Demografi Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Türkiye'si", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, Vol. 10, (1953). p. 12. In the studies on Ottoman demographic history it is generally suppose that one household consists of 5 members.

53 Güran, p. 16.

There are different reasons behind the deficiency of wheat in the two regions. The deficiency in the sample region 1 is due to the low level of productivity and production. In sample region 2, on the other hand, it drives from intensive cultivation of commercial items.

Tax Comparison

A comparison of the tax structure of both regions reveals certain clues about whether it can be spoken of an economic construction that allows an interaction with market. When we look at the tax burden in both regions it is 24,65% in the villages in interior regions and 18,26% in the rural hinterland of the commercial centers. (See: Appendix 2). This distribution is also visible in the figures calculated according to households and per capita. At that point, it is interesting to see that the tax burden of the interior regions, however it is more sizeable than the villages in the hinterland of commercial centers, with regard to its distribution among households, yields more equitable results. This equitable distribution is further strengthened by the standard deviation of 119,072, which comes to 153,667 in the villages of the hinterland of commercial centers. Nevertheless, this difference of the distribution of tax burden in the two regions should be conceived as normal. The difference could also be the result of an unequal distribution of wealth in sample region 2. The distribution of tax burden in both regions is shown in Graphs 9 and 10.

The generalization of Güran on how the Ottoman peasant expended his income has also been illustrated by other researches. Güran has established that the Ottoman peasants paid 1/5 of their income as tax, expended 2/5 of it for their own needs and the remaining 2/5 set aside for the agricultural activities of the next season.⁵⁴ For example, in the village of Cukurhisar in the town of Eskisehir the tax burden per household was 14,87%,⁵⁵ while in the Alpu village of the same town it was 22,48%.⁵⁶ These figures for the 23 villages of Kutahya came to 21%⁵⁷ in contrast to 10 villages of Kangal in Sivas, where the tax burden varied between 10% and 20%.⁵⁸

54 Güran, p. 91.

55 Efe, "1844–45 Temettuat Sayımı Işığında Çukurhisar Köyünün Ekonomik ve Sosyal Görünümü", pp. 40–43.

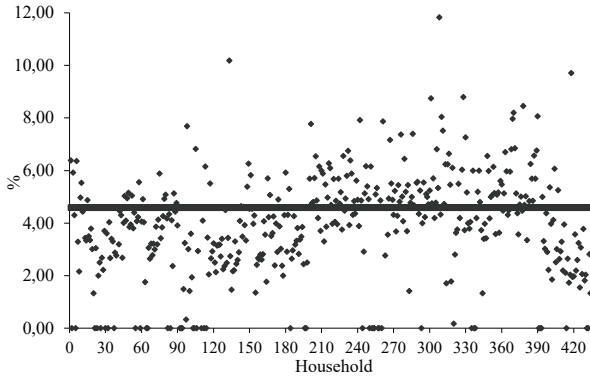
56 Küçükcalay and Efe, "Osmanlı Zirai Sektörünün Ticarileşebilme İmkânı Üzerine Bir Deneme", p. 26.

57 Atar, p. 99.

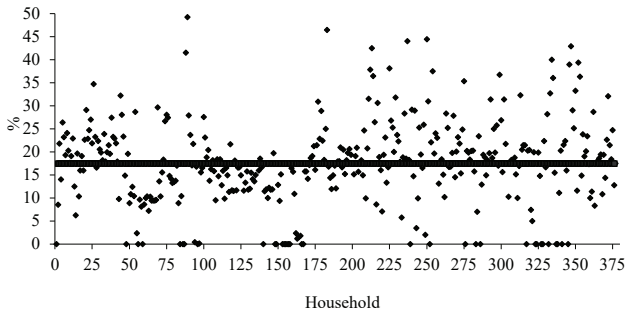
58 Eken, p. 291.

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Graph 9: Distribution of Tax Burden Per Household in Sample I
(%)



Graph 10: The Distribution of Tax Burden Per Household in Sample II
(%)



When we turn to the Balkans it was between 20% and 22% in the 5 villages (Timurtaslı, Ada, Kadı, Kavakdere, Ayvacık) in Filipolis whereas in the other 4 villages of the same town the figures were 17% (Ustune, Izderebcika and Izzeddinli Sagir) and 13% (Degirmendere).⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Güran, p. 200.

Conclusion

Ottoman economic structure, starting from the early ages of the Empire, has always been in contact with European economy. The level and development of the relations with European economy has been determined by a series of political, social, geographical, religious, technological and economic factors. The transformation underwent by European economy within capitalist market economy from 1500s onwards has also changed the dimensions of the relations with Ottoman economy. Starting with the industrial revolution attempts of the European countries to expand the boundaries of their own markets to distant regions of the world did also penetrate the Ottoman Empire. The basic problem faced by the Ottoman Empire was to adapt itself to the newly emerged European economic structure within a short time. On the one hand, the Ottoman Empire had to resist against the forces aiming at the colonization or semi-colonization of the Empire, on the other hand, it had to evolve its domestic economy so as to take part in capitalist markets. In fact, it was these two obligations that the Ottoman State tried to achieve most ardently.

The results of this research show that between 1844 and 1845 the villages in the hinterland of commercial centers like Smyrna and Salonika were different from the villages in the interior regions of Anatolia with respect to four basic criteria of comparison: The level of professional differentiation, income, and wealth and tax structure.

The professional differentiation is more varied in the hinterland of commercial centers than in the rural areas of the inner regions. Similarly, the distribution of income, wealth and tax in the former is less unequal than in the latter. The figures for wealth per capita and per household are quite proximate to each other and the differences seen between wealth and tax figures are due to unequal distribution of wealth. The distribution of income and wealth within the hinterland of commercial centers points out to a transforming agriculture which is under the process of incorporation into market economy. This process is also attended by the variety of articles produced therein.

The most important finding of this study is that the incorporation of Ottoman agricultural sector into capitalist markets, even as late as the middle of the 19th century, was limited only to the hinterland of big commercial centers, while the interior countryside still preserved their traditional mode of production with no orientation to market. This finding, in this respect, seems to have verified

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the assumptions of the earlier studies of similar content, although it challenges some of their arguments. These points of challenge are the assumptions that the Ottoman industrial and agricultural structure was incorporated into capitalist markets as a whole; Ottoman economy was reduced to a semi-colonial state; Ottoman agricultural sector was completely manipulated by capitalist markets and the incorporation process of the Ottoman economy to world markets started as early as the 17th and 18th centuries.

Global Market Orientation of the Ottoman Agriculture Sector: An Interregional Comparison (1844)

Abstract ■ This study tries to testify the possibility of a periodical differentiation likely to be seen in the process of break into the market of the hinterland of the Ottoman commercial centers like Smyrna and Salonika and of the rural regions in far interior to the market mechanism in the mid 19th century by sampling method. It also attempts to find out how this differentiation applied to the geography of Ottoman agricultural economy. The data utilized in the study is obtained from 20 villages of the districts of Smyrna, Salonika and Aksehir, all dated 1844–45. Half of the villages (434 households) belong to Aksehir, a town in central Anatolia, while the rest (375 households) are equally divided between the commercial centers of Smyrna and Salonika. Both groups are compared by taking into account the changes likely to arise when rural economies are opened to market. These changes are seen as professional groups, income distribution, wealth distribution and tax structure. In quantifying the findings of the research such technical instruments as gini coefficient and standard deviation are used. The results obtained from the research show that the rural hinterlands of Ottoman commercial centers like Smyrna and Salonika have precedence to the rural regions in deep interior of the country.

Keywords: Ottoman agrarian sector, Gini coefficient, agriculture, standard deviation, regional economy, Ottoman tax system, income distribution.

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Appendix 1: Figures for the Villages in Internal Regions (Sample I)¹

<i>Household No (I)</i>	<i>Occupation (II)</i>	<i>Tax in Cash (III)</i>	<i>Tithe (IV)²</i>	<i>Sheep Tax (V)</i>	<i>TAX TOTAL (VI) (III+IV+V)</i>	<i>Cultivated Land (VII)</i>	<i>Fallow Land (VIII)</i>	<i>Other Types of Land³ (IX)</i>	<i>TOTAL LAND (X) (VII+VIII+IX)</i>	<i>Cattle (XI)⁴</i>	<i>Sheep and Goat (XII)</i>	<i>Total Income (XIII)</i>	<i>Disposable Income (XIV) (XIII-V)</i>
(I) İLYASLAR VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 9592)													
1	Farmer	74	64	1	139	20	25	1	46	6	20	721	582
2	Tile-Marker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	600	600
3	Farmer	136	67	1	204	25	25	1	51	5	9	861	657
4	Farmer	236	83	1	320	25	25	1	51	10	10	1.185	865
5	Deserter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
6	Farmer	288	82	2	372	30	35	1	66	5	20	1.038	666
7	Farmer	166	106	2	274	25	20	1	46	7	20	1.398	1124
8	Farmer	191	50	-	241	20		1	21	6	8	973	732
9	Farmer	196	54	-	250	20	25	1	46	5	6	926	676
10	Farmer	191	47	-	238	20	25	1	46	4	10	831	593
11	Farmer	191	23	-	214	15	18	1	34	4		767	553
12	Farmer	196	85	1	282	25	20	1	46	4	10	1.009	727
13	Farmer	186	37	-	223	10	12	1	23	3		670	447
14	Farmer	196	42	1	239	10	15		25	4	10	750	511
15	Farmer	156	48	-	204	10	15	1	26	4	2	533	329
16	Farmer	156	21	-	177	6	12		18	5		515	338
17	Farmer	156	48	1	205	16		1	17	5	10	507	302
18	Farmer	156	56	-	212	10	12	1	23	4	5	608	396
19	Farmer	206	27	1	234	10	12	-	22	3	12	731	497
20	Farmer	156	17	-	173	8		-	8	4		600	427
21	Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
22	Farmer	94	39	-	133	8	10	-	18	3	-	591	458
23	-	90	-	-	90	-	-	-	-	1	-	400	310
24	Farmer	131	20	-	151	6	2	2	10	3	-	501	350
25	Farmer	186	13	-	199	8	6	1	15	4	10	602	403
26	Shepherd	46		-	46			-	-	-	-	250	204
27	Farmer	116	29	-	145	6	9	1	16	3	-	596	451
28	Farmer	136	14	-	150	5	6	-	11	3	-	495	345
29	Farmer	96	34	-	130	8	12	-	20	3	-	540	410
30	Deserter			-				-			-	-	0

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31	Farmer	96	29	-	125	8	10	1	19	3	-	526	401
32	-	66	-	-	66	-	-	-	-	-	-	200	134
33	Farmer	94	31	-	125	10	12	-	22	4	-	546	421
34	Farmer	94	8	-	102	5	6	-	11	2	-	412	310
35	Farmer	94	16	-	110	5	6	2	13	2	-	382	272
36	Farmer	94	23	-	117	5	6	-	11	3	-	333	216
37	Deserter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
38	Farmer	94	23	-	117	5	6	-	11	3	-	383	266
39	Farmer	156	15	-	171	8	10	-	18	3	-	650	479
40	-	24	-	-	24	-	-	-	0	2	-	400	376
TOTAL		4.940	1.251	11	6.202	392	397	21	810	130	162	23.030	16.828

(2) ELFIRAS (ILICAK) VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 9589)

1	Imam	-	23	-	23	6	10	3	19	-	12	595	572
2	Farmer	-	61	1	62	15	25	2	42	7	17	942	880
3	Farmer	198	36	-	234	15	25	1	41	5	4	953	719
4	Farmer	198	71	1	270	10	15	1	26	4	20	969	699
5	Farmer	198	68	2	268	15	22	3	40	5	14	997	729
6	Farmer	198	111	1	310	25	30	2	57	3	9	1.133	823
7	Farmer	158	75	2	235	15	20	-	35	11	27	856	621
8	Farmer	138	69	-	207	15	20	1	36	5	-	727	520
9	Farmer	158	67	-	225	10	20	1	31	2	3	602	377
10	Farmer	158	89	-	247	13	20	2	35	3	3	910	663
11	Farmer	158	50	1	209	15	20	1	36	3	8	913	704
12	Farmer	118	55	-	173	15	20	3	38	1	-	754	581
13	Farmer	136	78	-	214	15	20	2	37	2	2	973	759
14	Farmer	131	68	-	199	15	22	1	38	1	2	865	666
15	Sweet-meat Seller	58	-	-	58	-	-	-	-	1	-	350	292
16	Farmer	198	56	-	254	15	22	1	38	2	2	935	681
17	Farmer	170	62	-	232	15	18	1	34	2	3	805	573
18	Farmer	108	44	-	152	12	18	2	32	1	2	576	424
19	Servant	98	-	-	98	-	-	-	-	2	-	280	182
20	Farmer	128	36	-	164	10	14	-	24	2	1	591	427
21	Farmer	128	48	-	176	12	16	3	31	1	-	631	455
22	Farmer	248	92	1	341	20	26	1	47	5	16	1.166	825
23	Farmer	248	126	1	375	22	-	2	24	5	14	1.365	990
24	Tile-Marker	98	-	-	98	-	-	-	-	1	-	380	282
25	-	38	-	-	38	-	-	-	-	-	-	300	262

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26	Farmer	198	52	1	251	10	14	1	25	2	23	818	567
27	Farmer	118	68	-	186	8	12	1	21	2	1	793	607
28	Farmer	118	58	-	176	8	13	1	22	1	-	683	507
29	Farmer	118	61	-	179	8	12	1	21	3	2	756	577
30	Farmer	106	62	-	168	10	14	1	25	2	3	777	609
31	Farmer	138	65	-	203	10	13	1	24	2	3	802	599
TOTAL		4.263	1.751	11	6.025	359	481	39	879	86	191	24.197	18.172

(3) SİLİND (UNCULAR) VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 9597)

1	Imam	-	57	-	57	10	12	2	24	6	9	622	565
2	Farmer	-	132	1	133	20	35	3	58	8	23	1.819	1686
3	Farmer	270	115	-	385	25	25	2	52	6	6	1.260	875
4	Farmer	280	61	-	341	25	30	2	57	2	11	968	627
5	Farmer	240	67	1	308	15	18	2	35	3	8	1.024	716
6	Farmer	81	42	-	123	10	13	3	26	2	2	677	554
7	Farmer	200	36	-	236	12	16	-	28	2	3	657	421
8	Farmer	240	69	-	309	15	19	3	37	2	11	752	443
9	Farmer	140	53	-	193	10	15	4	29	5	-	571	378
10	Farmer	200	41	-	241	12	16	2	30	1	3	718	477
11	Deserter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
12	Farmer	100	27	-	127	8	12	2	22	2	1	507	380
13	Deserter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
14	Farmer	200	23	-	223	10	14	2	26	2	2	633	410
15	Farmer	280	73	-	353	25		1	26	4	4	1.102	749
16	Farmer	140	49	-	189	15	18	4	37	2	2	721	532
17	Farmer	140	49	-	189	12	16	4	32	5		721	532
18	Farmer	140	42	-	182	12	16	4	32	2	3	671	489
19	Farmer	200	38	-	238	12	16	4	32	3	2	818	580
20	Farmer	215	48	-	263	15	18	2	35	4		761	498
21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	300	300
22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	150	150
TOTAL		3.066	1.022	2	4.090	263	309	46	618	61	90	15.452	11.362

(4) DİPİ VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 9587)

1	Imam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	3	240	240
2	Farmer	340	192	3	535	20	27	2	49	9	41	3.300	2.765
3	Farmer	150	116	1	267	20	20		40	8	8	1.236	969
4	Farmer	340	120	3	463	2	2	1	5	10	26	1.512	1.049
5	Farmer	200	45	1	246	20	21	1	42	4	12	546	300

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6	Farmer	200	130	2	332	20	20	2	42	2	17	1.394	1.062
7	Farmer	340	261	6	607	20	20	3	43	11	75	3.048	2.441
8	Farmer	200	105	1	306	20	20	2	42	4	12	1.167	861
9	Farmer	340	236	3	579	20	30	2	52	6	27	2.682	2.103
10	Orphan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
11	Shepherd	60	-	-	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	400	340
12	Farmer	100	40	-	140	15	15	-	30	4	-	440	300
13	Farm laborer	60	-	-	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	380	320
14	Farmer	250	141	-	391	20	20	4	44	5	2	1.500	1.109
15	Farmer	60	12	-	72	10	10	-	20	1	4	143	71
16	Servant	27	-	-	27	-	26	-	26	-	-	150	123
17	Farm laborer	60	-	-	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	300	240
18	Farmer	191	99	1	291	20	21	2	43	1	10	1.050	759
19	Shepherd	60	-	-	60	-	-	-	-	1	22	204	144
20	Farmer	80	31	-	111	10	10	-	20	2	2	325	214
21	Servant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	150	150
TOTAL		3.058	1.528	21	4.607	217	262	19	498	73	261	20.167	15.560

(5) BOZLOĞAN VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 9600)

1	İmam	-	-	-	-	5	5	-	10	4	-	290	290
2	Farmer	150	70	-	220	10	5	-	15	7	8	732	512
3	Farmer	50	99	-	149	30	30	1	61	8	-	1.107	958
4	Farmer	253	104	-	357	15	16	3	34	4	-	1.280	923
5	Farmer	256	122	-	378	21	30	4	55	6	11	1.878	1.500
6	Farmer	203	190	-	393	30	31	3	64	5	-	1.980	1.587
7	Farmer	208	149	-	357	20	15	3	38	5	-	1.525	1.168
8	Farmer	228	128	-	356	15	10	3	28	5	-	1.315	959
9	Farmer	187	94	-	281	14	11	4	29	5	-	922	641
10	Farmer	187	123	-	310	19	21	2	42	6	-	1.325	1.015
11	Farmer	187	85	-	272	16	12	1	29	7	-	912	640
12	Sweet-meat Seller	97	-	-	97	-	8	1	9	1	-	330	233
13	Farmer	187	124	-	311	20	22	3	45	5	3	1.325	1.014
14	Farmer	147	96	-	243	15	7	2	24	4	-	1.069	826
15	Farmer	97	59	-	156	10	3	1	14	6	-	592	436
16	Farmer	143	91	-	234	19	20	2	41	3	-	912	678
17	Farmer	187	100	-	287	12	10	3	25	6	-	1.005	718
18	Farmer	92	61	-	153	8	12	1	21	5	-	612	459

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19	-	-	-	-	-	6	5	-	11	3	-	108	108
20	Farmer	252	128	-	380	18	15	3	36	4	-	1.315	935
TOTAL		3.111	1.823	-	4.934	303	288	40	631	99	22	20.534	15.600

(6) ÇAKILLAR VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 9586)

1	Farmer	-	25	-	25	6	5	2	13	3	-	890	865
2	Farmer	-	66	-	66	10	11	2	23	6	-	1.062	996
3	Farmer	-	203	-	203	49	5	3	57	17	-	2.587	2384
4	Farmer	85	41	-	126	10	10	2	22	4	-	667	541
5	Farmer	143	31	-	174	10	10	2	22	5	-	897	723
6	Farmer	116	31	-	147	10	10	2	22	6	-	847	700
7	Farmer	164	59	-	223	12	10	1	23	4	-	796	573
8	Farmer	304	99	-	403	30	20	3	53	8	-	1.300	897
9	Farmer	174	87	-	261	20	20	2	42	6	-	905	644
10	Farmer	223	74	-	297	20	20	2	42	9	-	1.205	908
11	Farmer	140	56	-	196	15	15	1	31	6	-	672	476
12	Farmer	144	34	-	178	10	12	1	23	6	-	587	409
13	Farm laborer	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	10	-	-	300	300
14	Farmer	184	70	-	254	20	18	2	40	7	-	742	488
15	Farmer	174	49	-	223	25	22	1	48	9	-	766	543
16	Farmer	190	71	-	261	20	15	1	36	6	-	793	532
17	Farmer	144	47	-	191	15	12	5	32	6	-	550	359
18	Farmer	132	44	-	176	10	8	2	20	6	-	440	264
19	Farmer	164	68	-	232	15	12	2	29	5	-	731	499
20	Farmer	164	70	-	234	15	12	3	30	5	-	700	466
21	Farm laborer	101	-	-	101	-	5	-	5	1	-	370	269
22	Farmer	106	63	-	169	16	-	-	16	5	-	662	493
23	Farmer	174	90	-	264	15	10	1	26	6	-	976	712
24	Farmer	132	65	-	197	10	7	1	18	5	-	687	490
25	Farmer	106	47	-	153	8	5	1	14	4	-	500	347
26	Farmer	84	32	-	116	5	5	1	11	3	-	422	306
27	Farmer	132	71	-	203	10	10	1	21	5	-	747	544
28	Farmer	180	80	-	260	15	20	2	37	5	-	910	650
29	Farmer	184	80	-	264	15	10	2	27	7	-	760	496
30	Shepherd	69	10	-	79	-	5	1	6	-	-	340	261
31	Farmer	164	59	-	223	15	18	3	36	6	-	632	409
32	Farmer	94	46	-	140	10	8	3	21	3	-	497	357

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33	Farmer	200	73	-	273	20	18	1	39	4	-	770	497
34	Farmer	200	85	-	285	15	15	1	31	5	-	885	600
35	Farmer	130	31	-	161	8	5	2	15	2	-	415	254
36	Farmer	144	63	-	207	15	10	2	27	5	-	635	428
37	Farmer	110	50	-	160	6	5	1	12	4	-	502	342
38	Farmer	130	57	-	187	12	10	2	24	5	-	602	415
39	Farmer	150	39	-	189	8	10	-	18	3	-	620	431
40	Farmer	150	57	-	207	13	13	2	28	3	-	572	365
41	Farmer	150	47	-	197	13	10	1	24	3	-	620	423
42	Farmer	150	49	-	199	10	8	1	19	3	-	630	431
43	Farm laborer	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5	2	-	210	210
44	Farm laborer	100	-	-	100		5	1	6	1	-	300	200
45	Farmer	200	67	-	267	16	13	1	30	3	-	697	430
46	Farmer	200	68	-	268	25	18	2	45	5	-	760	492
47	Farmer	130	29	-	159	7	8	1	16	4	-	550	391
48	Farmer	139	48	-	187	8	10	3	21	3	-	487	300
49	Farmer	120	34	-	154	8	7	3	18	3	-	340	186
50	Deserter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
51	Farmer	120	38	-	158	6	8	1	15	4	-	567	409
52	Farmer	145	49	-	194	9	10	3	22	4	-	742	548
53	Farmer	135	56	-	191	11	10	2	23	3	-	540	349
54	Farmer	164	69	-	233	12	8	3	23	5	-	724	491
55	Farmer	130	33	-	163	8	7	2	17	4	-	511	348
56	Farmer	134	50	-	184	10	10	1	21	4	-	550	366
57	Farmer	106	35	-	141	5	5	5	15	4	-	531	390
58	Farmer	106	24	-	130	4	10	1	15	2	-	445	315
59	Farmer	134	29	-	163	7	10	1	18	3	-	516	353
60	Farmer	134	56	-	190	10	10	3	23	4	-	597	407
61	Shepherd	30	130	-	160	-	8	1	9	2	-	370	210
62	Farm laborer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	150	150
63	Deserter	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	8	-	-	-	0
64	Farmer	90	28	-	118	5	7	-	12	5	-	481	363
	TOTAL	8.002	3.262	-	11.264	712	637	106	1.455	276	-	41.259	29.995

(7) REIS VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 9591)

1	Farmer	-	102	2	104	25	25	2	52	5	24	1.125	1.021
2	Farmer	-	59	-	59	15	20	2	37	5	10	650	591

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3	Farmer	-	45	-	45	15	20	35	2	-	450	405	
4	Farmer	64	54	-	118	10	15	1	26	3	-	547	429
5	Farmer	267	106	-	373	25	25	2	52	4	11	1.082	709
6	Farmer	37	70	2	109	20	25	2	47	6	31	823	714
7	Farmer	64	48	-	112	15	18	1	34	4	1	520	408
8	Farmer	218	114	2	334	30	32	2	64	6	30	1.318	984
9	Farmer	176	128	1	305	25	30	3	58	5	16	1.384	1.079
10	Farmer	90	42	-	132	12	15	1	28	3	10	455	323
11	Farmer	212	112	1	325	20	25	3	48	5	22	1.296	971
12	Farmer	212	89	1	302	25	30	2	57	4	20	951	649
13	Farmer	172	69	1	242	20	25	1	46	6	20	781	539
14	Farmer	213	131	2	346	20	25	3	48	6	32	1.456	1.110
15	Farmer	172	83	-	255	20	25	2	47	4	10	860	605
16	Farmer	282	104	1	387	20	25	2	47	8	20	1.216	829
17	Farmer	90	42	1	133	12	16	1	29	4	16	584	451
18	Farmer	90	51	-	141	15	16	1	32	2	-	510	369
19	Farmer	212	101	-	313	30	35	2	67	7	10	1.100	787
20	Farmer	212	136	1	349	30	35	3	68	9	21	1.451	1.102
21	Farmer	172	112	2	286	20	26	3	49	5	31	1.234	948
22	Farmer	212	73	-	285	20	25	1	46	5	10	810	525
23	Farmer	130	65	-	195	12	15	2	29	4	10	717	522
24	Farmer	172	87	1	260	20	25	1	46	4	10	949	689
25	Farmer	282	177	3	462	35	40	3	78	9	41	1.972	1.510
26	Farmer	212	91	1	304	25	30	2	57	8	13	1.001	697
27	Farmer	172	83	-	255	18	21	2	41	7	-	865	610
28	Farmer	130	50	-	180	12	16	1	29	4	10	560	380
29	Farmer	212	119	-	331	15	30	3	48	4	13	1.280	949
30	Farmer	212	83	-	295	26	30	2	58	8	8	885	590
31	Farmer	135	87	1	223	18	22	2	42	4	12	939	716
32	Farmer	172	68	-	240	12	26	1	39	4	-	790	550
33	Farmer	212	107	1	320	30	35	2	67	5	20	1.156	836
34	Farmer	95	48	-	143	10	15	1	26	3	-	385	242
35	Farmer	172	68	-	240	12	16	1	29	6	10	740	500
36	Farmer	135	48	-	183	14	18	1	33	5	-	517	334
37	Farmer	95	29	-	124	10	14	1	25	5	-	425	301
38	Farmer	135	99	-	234	18	22	2	42	6	-	975	741
39	Farmer	95	57	-	152	12	16	1	29	4	-	600	448

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40	Farmer	165	122	2	289	25	30	3	58	4	27	1.328	1.039
41	Farmer	165	83	-	248	22	28	2	52	6	10	925	677
42	Farmer	130	77	1	208	25	28	2	55	3	23	1.126	918
43	Farmer	135	97	-	232	16	22	2	40	4	10	1.030	798
44	Farmer	95	23	-	118	8	12	1	21	4	-	265	147
45	Farmer	160	85	-	245	20	22	1	43		10	885	640
46	Farm laborer	20		-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	250	230
47	Farmer	120	77	-	197	10	12	2	24	4	8	824	627
48	Farmer	172	94	2	268	23	26	2	51	3	20	994	726
49	Farmer	130	41	-	171	12	14	1	27	3	10	438	267
50	Farmer	90	40	1	131	10	12	3	25	4	15	463	332
51	Farmer	172	110	-	282	25	30	2	57	4	10	1.160	878
52	Farm laborer	40		-	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	250	210
53	Farmer	100	29	-	129	8	12		20	4	-	325	196
54	Farm laborer	60	-	-	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	250	190
55	Shepherd	60	-	-	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	250	190
56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	30
57	Farmer	90	50	-	140	12	14	1	27	4	-	530	390
58	Farmer	130	57	-	187	15	16	1	32	5	-	600	413
59	Tile-maker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	350	350
60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	150	150
61	Farmer	90	34	-	124	8	10		18	4	-	370	246
62	Deserter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TOTAL		8.059	4.256	30	12.345	982	1.212	91	2.285	254	635	48.152	35.807

(8) GÜRNES (ALTINTAŞ) VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 9582)

1	Farmer	-	18	-	18	10	32	-	42	2	4	534	516
2	Farmer	-	37	-	37	15	135	-	150	3	6	401	364
3	Farmer	282	69	6	357	19	46	-	65	6	17	2.350	1.993
4	Farmer	80	48	-	128	14	22	-	36	3	-	787	659
5	Farmer	282	135	3	420	32	38	-	70	9	36	1.965	1.545
6	Farmer	282	135	2	419	30	40	-	70	7	24	1.418	999
7	Farmer	220	88	1	309	26	42	-	68	4	14	949	640
8	Farmer	190	74	1	265	15	32	-	47	5	12	853	588
9	Farmer	120	23	-	143	10	16	-	26	1	-	532	389
10	Farmer	282	127	2	411	26	35	-	61	8	19	1.413	1002
11	Farmer	282	118	2	402	31	36	-	67	6	18	1.281	879

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12	Farmer	130	95	-	225	15	20	-	35	4	-	952	727
13	Farmer	120	88	-	208	17	22	-	39	3	8	913	705
14	Farmer	282	130	1	413	31	35	-	66	7	12	1.212	799
15	Farmer	190	65	-	255	11	35	-	46	4	-	956	701
16	Farmer	130	70	1	201	17	35	-	52	3	2	705	504
17	Farmer	120	43	-	163	10	21	-	31	3	6	619	456
18	Farmer	292	141	4	437	27	35	-	62	8	12	1.525	1.088
19	Farmer	220	88	2	310	31	37	-	68	5	19	1.055	745
20	Farmer	156	88	-	244	21	25	-	46	3	-	887	643
21	Farmer	145	57	-	202	13	18	-	31	3	4	839	637
22	Farmer	282	98	1	381	26	33	-	59	5	13	1.083	702
23	Farmer	145	56	-	201	11	-	-	11	3	-	777	576
24	Farmer	120	106	-	226	12	15	-	27	3	-	566	340
25	Servant	60	-	-	60	-	10	-	10	-	-	200	140
26	Farmer	130	28	-	158	15	30	-	45	3	6	609	451
27	Farmer	220	38	1	259	16	30	-	46	7	15	983	724
28	Servant	-	-	-	-	1	10	-	11	-	-	50	50
29	Farmer	140	87	-	227	16	30	-	46	3	-	832	605
30	Farmer	120	52	-	172	11	20	-	31	3	-	557	385
31	Farmer	220	117	-	337	19	30	-	49	4	6	1.126	789
32	Farmer	130	70	-	200	14	25	-	39	4	3	744	544
33	Deserter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
34	Farm laborer	40	5	-	45	-	10	-	10	-	-	250	205
35	Farmer	140	51	5	196	12	20	-	32	3	3	577	381
36	Farm laborer	80	15	-	95	5	10	-	15	-	-	355	260
37	Farmer	156	65	-	221	16	21	-	37	8	2	724	503
38	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	10	-	-	200	200
39	Farmer	110	43	-	153	15	15	-	30	4	-	636	483
40	Farmer	130	77	5	212	19	25	-	44	4	5	840	628
41	Farmer	60	32	-	92	10	18	-	28	3	-	320	228
42	Farmer	130	63	-	193	14	17	-	31	3	5	653	460
43	Farmer	190	68	-	258	16	22	-	38	3	5	666	408
44	Farmer	220	88	1	309	16	25	-	41	4	10	979	670
45	Farmer	80	38	-	118	13	15	-	28	2	-	587	469
46	Servant	60	12	-	72	6	10	-	16	-	-	235	163
47	Farmer	60	23	-	83	12	16	-	28	2	-	525	442

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48	Farmer	156	75	-	231	19	25	-	44	5	7	372	141
49	Farmer	140	81	1	222	14	19	-	33	3	6	764	542
50	Farmer	190	60	1	251	20	30	-	50	5	6	622	371
51	Farmer	130	33	-	163	15	20	-	35	5	-	466	303
52	Farmer	110	38	-	148	10	12	-	22	3	5	466	318
53	Farmer	110	56	-	166	13	22	-	35	3	-	561	395
54	Farmer	120	37	-	157	10	12	-	22	4	3	1.286	1.129
55	Farmer	220	56	-	276	19	30	-	49	6	2	785	509
56	Farmer	140	74	-	214	17	20	-	37	4	2	557	343
57	Farmer	40	18	-	58	11	10	-	21	1	-	385	327
58	Farmer	140	23	-	163	10	-	-	10	2	-	562	399
59	Farmer	220	82	1	303	23	26	-	49	5	10	803	500
60	Tenant	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	2	592	592
61	Farmer	80	23	-	103	5	10	-	15	5	-	535	432
62	Farmer	80	29	-	109	8	10	-	18	4	-	495	386
63	Farmer	130	47	-	177	8	10	-	18	3	-	480	303
64	Servant	60	5	-	65	1	10	-	11	-	-	200	135
65	Farmer	220	68	1	289	18	25	-	43	4	16	1.027	738
66	Farmer	170	53	-	223	16	20	-	36	4	18	787	564
67	Farmer	120	51	1	172	15	18	-	33	5	3	547	375
68	Servant	60	5	-	65	-	22	-	22	-	-	250	185
69	Farmer	60	15	-	75	5	10	-	15	2	-	403	328
70	Farmer	282	82	4	368	26	38	-	64	7	20	882	514
71	Farmer	110	56	-	166	14	15	-	29	3	-	561	395
72	Servant	70	5	-	75	8	-	-	8	-	-	200	125
73	Farmer	120	53	-	173	6	15	-	21	7	2	554	381
74	Farmer	150	38	-	188	10	15	-	25	2	7	619	431
75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
76	Servant	65	-	-	65	15	-	-	15	-	-	250	185
77	Servant	60	-	-	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	250	190
78	Servant	65	-	-	65	-	-	-	-	4	-	250	185
79	Farmer	135	37	-	172	11	15	-	26	2	-	620	448
80	Farmer	130	27	-	157	15	15	-	30	-	4	578	421
81	Farm laborer	44	-	-	44	15	-	-	15	-	-	250	206
82	Farm laborer	60	-	-	60	-	12	-	12	2	-	250	190
83	Farmer	120	38	-	158	11	12	-	23	-	1	616	458

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84	Servant	60	5	-	65	-	4	-	4	-	-	300	235
	TOTAL	10.995	4.239	47	15.281	1.104	1.727	-	2.831	269	400	56.345	41.064

(9) KOCAS VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 9593)

1	Farmer	-	121	6	127	21	25	-	46	4	30	1.354	1.227
2	Farmer	-	81	5	86	26	30	-	56	10	33	1.412	1.326
3	Farmer	306	123	1	430	26	20	-	46	14	20	1.346	916
4	Farmer	266	63	1	330	25	20	-	45	3	21	686	356
5	Farmer	306	76	3	385	26	30	-	56	5	40	937	552
6	Farmer	309	90	4	403	21	25	-	46	7	50	1.100	697
7	Farmer	306	190	5	501	31	35	-	66	9	60	1.320	819
8	Farmer	266	119	-	385	31	35	-	66	4	40	1.305	920
9	Farmer	266	100	1	367	31	35	-	66	8	10	1.074	707
10	Farmer	226	29	1	256	25	20	-	45	5	20	876	620
11	Farmer	366	116	-	482	26	20	-	46	7	-	1.285	803
12	Farmer	266	78	2	346	21	25	-	46	5	25	905	559
13	Farmer	166	90	-	256	21	30	-	51	4	6	988	732
14	Farm laborer	106	37	-	143	10	10	-	20	1	10	550	407
15	Farmer	166	100	1	267	26	35	-	61	5	10	1.088	821
16	Farmer	106	60	-	166	16	20	-	36	5	10	658	492
17	Farmer	146	43	-	189	10	15	-	25	8	3	559	370
18	Farm laborer	146	18	-	164	10	15	-	25	4	10	488	324
19	Farmer	166	47	1	214	15	20	-	35	5	15	522	308
20	Farmer	166	71	1	238	21	25	-	46	4	10	771	533
21	Farmer	106	52		158	10	15	-	25	4	15	580	422
22	Farmer	186	65	1	252	11	20	-	31	3	15	692	440
23	Farmer	166	22	-	188	10	20	-	30	4	10	504	316
24	Farmer	186	78	-	264	21	25	-	46	4	-	675	411
25	Farmer	146	45	-	191	15	25	-	40	3	8	502	311
26	Farmer	106	12	-	118	10	15	-	25	5	-	305	187
27	Shepherd	106	18	-	124	10	15	-	25	4	-	365	241
28	Farmer	186	20	-	206	31	35	-	66	4	6	1.288	1.082
29	Farmer	186	95	1	282	21	25	-	46	5	15	1.052	770
30	Farmer	266	109	-	375	21	20	-	41	4	-	1.150	775
31	Farmer	189	93	-	282	21	25	-	46	4	8	979	697
32	Farmer	266	78	2	346	21	25	-	46	6	30	919	573
33	Farmer	172	96	2	270	21	25	-	46	3	25	1.030	760

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34	Farmer	126	30	2	158	15	20	-	35	5	30	414	256
35	Farmer	186	95	-	281	21	25	-	46	4	-	980	699
36	Farmer	186	134	1	321	31	35	-	66	4	20	1.316	995
37	Farmer	166	70	1	237	11	15	-	26	5	15	777	540
38	Farmer	166	96	-	262	21	25	-	46	4	-	995	733
39	Farmer	109	71	-	180	16	20	-	36	3	-	745	565
40	Farmer	146	56	-	202	15	20	-	35	3	-	560	358
41	Shepherd	106	43	-	149	15	20	-	35	4	-	615	466
42	Farmer	149	87	-	236	20	25	-	45	4	10	928	692
43	Farmer	186	92	2	280	30	35	-	65	3	25	990	710
44	Farmer	106	43	-	149	15	20	-	35	4	-	615	466
45	Farmer	106	37	-	143	10	15	-	25	3	-	370	227
46	Farmer	83	31	-	114	10	15	-	25	3	-	310	196
47	Farm laborer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	300	300
48	Orphan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
49	Servant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	200	200
	TOTAL	8.139	3.320	44	11.503	892	1.070		1.962	219	655	39.380	27.877

(10) ATSIZ VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 9588)

1	Farmer		89		89	15	35	-	50	9	11	1.000	911
2	Farmer	76	139	9	224	35	40	-	75	14	76	2.262	2.038
3	Farmer	196	79	3	278	15	15	-	30	10	39	993	715
4	Farmer	258	115	9	382	35	55	-	90	13	93	2.055	1.673
5	Farmer	258	164	5	427	25	30	-	55	12	35	1.893	1.466
6	Farmer	258	222	6	486	25	30	-	55	7	15	2.475	1.989
7	Farmer	-	25	-	25	5	10	-	15	6	-	280	255
8	Farmer	198	138	-	336	20	35	-	55	7	-	1.386	1.050
9	Farmer	258	248	3	509	20	30	-	50	11	20	2.698	2.189
10	Farmer	208	69	-	277	10	20	-	30	6	-	728	451
11	Farmer	108	54	-	162	10	25	-	35	5	-	577	415
12	Farmer	108	80	-	188	10	11	-	21	5	-	838	650
13	Farmer	150	83	-	233	11	15	-	26	5	-	865	632
14	Farmer	138	73	-	211	15	25	-	40	5	-	762	551
15	Farmer	196	120	-	316	15	18	-	33	5	9	1.255	939
16	Farmer	118	111	1	230	15	20	-	35	6	18	1.197	967
17	Farmer	118	82	-	200	14	15	-	29	5	10	881	681
18	Farmer	158	193	1	352	20	25	-	45	11	19	2.053	1.701

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19	Farmer	108	63	-	171	10	15	-	25	3	-	633	462
20	Farmer	118	118	-	236	11	13	-	24	5	8	1.139	903
21	Sweet-meat Seller	58	-	-	58	-	-	-	-	-	-	450	392
22	Farmer	118	65	-	183	8	10	-	18	5	-	682	499
23	Farmer	188	245	-	433	18	25	-	43	7	6	2.485	2.052
24	Farmer	188	118	-	306	12	13	-	25	6	6	1.226	920
25	Shepherd	108	-	-	108	8	15	-	23	1	-	237	129
26	Farmer	188	115	2	305	13	12	-	25	7	24	1.280	975
27	Farmer	258	254	2	514	18	32	-	50	8	25	2.539	2.025
28	Farmer	137	97	1	235	13	25	-	38	5	11	1.065	830
29	Farmer	118	163	-	281	15	22	-	37	5	5	1.685	1.404
30	Farmer	138	170	-	308	15	30	-	45	7	-	1.737	1.429
31	Farmer	188	131	2	321	20	30	-	50	8	23	1.545	1.224
32	Farmer	258	237	-	495	18	20	-	38	9	-	2.462	1.967
33	Farmer	108	89	-	197	12	9	-	21	5	5	684	487
34	Farmer	138	76	-	214	10	8	-	18	7	7	873	659
35	Farmer	108	53	-	161	8	12	-	20	5	-	530	369
36	Farmer	108	115	-	223	8	3	-	11	4	-	607	384
37	Farmer	118	149	-	267	15	16	-	31	6	-	1.527	1.260
38	Farm laborer	61	-	-	61	-	-	-	-	-	-	200	139
39	Farm laborer	48	-	-	48	-	-	-	-	-	-	200	152
40	Farmer	58	68	-	126	12	8	-	20	3	-	710	584
41	Farmer	108	37	-	145	4	1	-	5	4	-	377	232
TOTAL		5.830	4.447	44	10.321	563	773	-	1.336	252	465	49.071	38.750
General TOTAL		59.463	26.899	210	86.572	5.787	7.156	362	13.305	1.721	2.881	337.587	251.015

1) The values for all kinds of taxes are given as piaster; lands as decare.

2) Under the category of tithe tax some other taxes of secondary importance are included as well.

3) The small spots of land given under column IX are excluded from the calculations.

4) The cattle involve cow, buffalo, ox, horse, donkey and mule.

Source: BOA. M. TMT. VRD., 9592, 9589, 9597, 9587, 9600, 9586, 9591, 9582, 9593, 9588, 11561, 11499, 9453, 9151, 16095, 11551, 11556, 2346, 17556, 11624.

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Appendix 2: Figures for the Villages in the Hinterland of Commercial Centers (Sample II)¹

<i>Household No (I)</i>	<i>Occupation (II)</i>	<i>Tax in Cash (III)</i>	<i>Tithe (IV)^a</i>	<i>Sheep Tax (V)</i>	<i>TAX TOTAL (VI) (III+IV+V)</i>	<i>Cultivated Land (VII)</i>	<i>Fallow Land (VIII)</i>	<i>Other Types of Land (IX)^b</i>	<i>TOTAL LAND (X) (VII+VIII+IX)</i>	<i>Cattle (XI)^c</i>	<i>Sheep and Goat (XII)</i>	<i>Total Income (XIII)</i>	<i>Disposable Income (XIV) (XIII-VI)</i>
(1) SELONIKA TOWN BOZALAN VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 11561)													
1	Farmer	-	65	3	68	12	8	-	20	15	25	795	727
2	Farmer	60	46	-	106	8	12	2	22	4	--	486	380
3	Farmer	60	106	2	168	7	13	4	24	12	17	1.197	1.029
4	Farmer	110	50	4	164	8	7	10	25	7	39	622	458
5	Farmer	80	48	2	130	12	8	1	21	5	32	560	430
6	Farmer	64	68	1	133	13	8	1	22	3	17	689	556
7	Farmer	100	70	3	173	10	-	-	10	5	45	718	545
8	Farmer	130	102	5	237	16	10	3	29	12	74	1.167	930
9	Farmer	70	97	1	168	15	7	3	25	4	21	954	786
10	Farmer	62	58	2	122	10	5	3	18	5	24	639	517
11	Farmer	80	57	4	141	12	8	-	20	10	60	616	475
12	Farmer	50	-	-	50	-	-	8	8	2	-	400	350
13	Farmer	53	-	1	54	-	-	6	6	2	28	864	810
14	Farmer	30	39	-	69	8	5	-	13	5	-	351	282
15	Farmer	50	-	-	50	-	7	8	15	2	13	482	432
16	Farmer	50	6	1	57	-	-	15	15	-	14	357	300
17	Farmer	100	4	2	106	-	-	16	16	1	37	556	450
18	Farmer	40	58	1	99	15	10	2	27	3	15	619	520
19	Farmer	50	38	2	90	12	8	-	20	7	21	397	307
20	Farmer	90	39	3	132	15	10	2	27	12	20	454	322
21	Farmer	60	39	3	102	12	13	-	25	4	38	447	345
22	Farmer	50	29	2	81	8	7	-	15	3	23	328	247
23	Farmer	120	62	3	185	15	10	2	27	3	43	684	499
24	Farmer	80	59	2	141	8	10	2	20	8	28	644	503
25	Farmer	180	61	5	246	8	7	-	15	3	90	708	462
26	Farmer	70	51	2	123	12	15	1	28	3	27	528	405
27	Farmer	30	22	-	52	8	-	-	8	5	-	313	261

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28	Farmer	50	39	1	90	8	-	1	9	2	17	403	313
29	Farmer	50	50	-	100	10	6	2	18	6	-	487	387
30	Farmer	80	55	5	140	12	13	3	28	9	51	704	564
31	Farmer	70	78	1	149	10	6	3	19	5	26	819	670
32	Farmer	130	85	3	218	15	10	3	28	9	42	913	695
33	Farmer	60	57	-	117	10	10	4	24	4	8	653	536
34	Farmer	70	3	3	76	-	3	12	15	-	56	381	305
35	Farmer	50	43	-	93	8	8	1	17	5	-	433	340
36	Farmer	80	43	3	126	8	10	2	20	8	28	644	518
37	Farmer	180	9	5	194	8	7	-	15	3	66	708	514
38	Farmer	60	61	-	121	12	8	-	20	6	-	528	407
39	Farmer	50	58	1	109	12	8	2	22	3	15	475	366
40	M e r - chant	40	41	-	81	-	10	2	12	2	10	370	289
TOTAL		2.889	1.896	76	4.861	357	287	124	768	207	1.070	24.093	19.232

(2) SELONIKA TOWN BAMYOLU VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 11499)

1	Farmer	38	187	-	225	80	130	-	210	12	-	1.258	1.033
2	Mer- chant	38	1	-	39	2	103	-	105	7	-	399	360
3	Farmer	38	94	-	132	70	138	-	208	7	-	410	278
4	Farmer	115	310	-	425	120	380	-	500	26	-	1.515	1.090
5	Farmer	58	186	-	244	80	100	-	180	8	-	1.045	801
6	Servant	45	1	-	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	309	263
7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	300	300
8	Farmer	36	118	-	154	40	17	-	57	12	-	786	632
9	Mer- chant	35	-	-	35	16	55	-	71	5	-	395	360
10	Mer- chant	38	-	-	38	-	-	-	-	4	-	350	312
11	Mer- chant	31	-	-	31	-	-	-	-	3	-	250	219
12	Imam	52	1	-	53	25	75	-	100	6	-	509	456
13	Farmer	106	133	-	239	80	150	-	230	12	-	833	594
14	Mosque Keeper	10	-	-	10	10	67	-	77	3	-	420	410
15	Mer- chant	-	-	-	-	150	-	-	150	-	-	500	500
16	Orphan	29	-	-	29	40	140	-	180	2	-	300	271
17	Farmer	119	-	-	119	-	-	-	-	13	-	1.470	1.351
18	Servant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	1.040	1.040
19	Servant	43	-	-	43	-	-	-	-	1	-	500	457
20	Farmer	51	-	-	51	-	-	-	-	6	-	510	459
21	Servant	56	-	-	56	-	-	-	-	5	-	540	484
22	Farmer	36	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	5	-	500	464

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23	Mer- chant	36	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	5	-	350	314
24	Mer- chant	53	-	-	53	-	-	-	-	4	-	560	507
25	Farmer	33	-	-	33	-	-	-	-	4	-	350	317
26	Mer- chant	33	-	-	33	-	-	-	-	7	-	350	317
27	Servant	48	-	-	48	-	-	-	-	-	-	500	452
TOTAL		1.177	1.031	-	2.208	713	1.355	-	2.068	165	-	16.249	14.041

(3) ODEMIS TOWN DERE VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 9453)

1	Alder- man	175	82	2	259	32	4	-	36	2	18	874	615
2	-	48	36	-	84	7	4	-	11	2	-	618	534
3	-	92	115	-	207	74	3	-	77	6	20	2.004	1.797
4	-	102	82	-	184	25	-	-	25	16	75	1.184	1.000
5	-	102	104	-	206	29	-	-	29	10	27	1.125	919
6	-	30	50	-	80	6	-	-	6	4	25	300	220
7	-	60	66	-	126	22	-	-	22	12	7	449	323
8	-	106	35	4	145	22	-	-	22	5	-	529	384
9	-	61	61	-	122	23	-	1	24	5	8	823	701
10	-	51	31	-	82	20	-	-	20	4	10	580	498
11	-	43	38	-	81	22	-	2	24		1	612	531
12	-	68	51	-	119	43	-	-	43	3	6	883	764
13	-	74	52	-	126	38	-	-	38	1	12	918	792
14	-	58	29	-	87	23	-	1	24	3	-	512	425
15	-	10	31	-	41	12	-	1	13	5	19	461	420
16	Dead	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
17	-	38	-	-	38	6	-	-	6	-	7	366	328
18	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	3	177	177
19	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	-	21	21
TOTAL		1.118	863	6	1.987	416	11	5	432	78	238	12.436	10.449

(4) SEFERİHİSAR TOWN ORTAKLAR VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 9151)

1	Farmer	245	66	-	311	15	10	9	34	29	11	749	438
2	Farmer	245	70	-	315	15	5	5	25	17	-	843	528
3	Farmer	165	60	-	225	20	10	1	31	5	-	805	580
4	Farmer	75	106	-	181	16	12	3	31	7	-	765	584
5	-	163	124	-	287	20	20	3	43	7	-	1.679	1.392
6	Farmer	70	63	-	133	5	5	-	10	14	5	611	478
7	Servant	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	-	232	231
8	-	300	252	12	564	40	40	9	89	29	75	3.356	2.792
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

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TOTAL		1.264	741	12	2.017	131	102	30	263	112	91	9.040	7.023
(5) MUSEVLİ TOWN GENZİLE VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 16095)													
1	Farmer	-	1	-	1	15	-	-	15	5	-	955	954
2	Farmer	100	26	-	126	10	-	-	10	6	-	810	684
3	Cap Seller	200	28	-	228	10	-	8	18	7	-	1.380	1.152
4	Farmer	300	27	-	327	20	-	-	20	15	6	1.185	858
5	Farmer	200	38	-	238	25	-	-	25	7	8	1.030	792
6	Cap Seller	200	24	-	224	15	-	-	15	5	-	1.190	966
7	Cap Seller	214	39	-	253	15	-	-	15	12	4	1.241	988
8	Cap Seller	160	13	-	173	10	-	-	10	4	-	1.260	1.087
9	Farmer	268	64	-	332	30	-	-	30	13	9	2.047	1.715
10	Farmer	225	37	-	262	20	-	-	20	12	8	1.438	1.176
11	Cap Seller	222	41	-	263	17	-	-	17	5	-	1.660	1.397
12	Cap Seller	80	-	-	80	-	-	-	-	6	-	840	760
13	Farmer	225	46	-	271	20	-	-	20	3	-	1.470	1.199
14	Cap Seller	180	-	-	180	10	-	-	10	2	-	1.220	1.040
15	Cap Seller	165	29	-	194	10	-	-	10	8	-	1.055	861
16	Farmer	394	61	15	470	40	-	-	40	31	45	3.671	3.201
17	Cap Seller	130	-	-	130	5	-	-	5	-	2	818	688
18	Cap Seller	80	-	-	80	-	-	-	-	1	-	810	730
19	-	28	24	-	52	15	-	-	15	4	-	290	238
20	Farmer	150	64	-	214	25	-	-	25	14	-	1.300	1.086
TOTAL		3.521	562	15	4.098	312	-	8	320	160	82	25.670	21.572

(6) SELONIKA TOWN BESİK-I SAGIR VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 11551)

1	Farmer	35	12	-	47	13	5	-	18	2	-	414	367
2	Farmer	95	3	-	98	1	-	-	1	1	-	453	355
3	Farmer	50	2	-	52	1	3	-	4	-	5	447	395
4	Farmer	61	4	-	65	5	5	-	10	2	-	565	500
5	Farmer	45	12	-	57	10	-	-	10	1	-	314	257
6	Farmer	55	4	-	59	-	6	-	6	-	31	507	448
7	Farmer	100	27	-	127	11	25	-	36	3	-	765	638
8	Farmer	90	37	1	128	21	10	-	31	-	10	767	639
9	Farmer	35	-	-	35	-	-	-	-	-	23	234	199
10	Farmer	100	53	7	160	11	15	-	26	4	32	918	758
11	Farmer	100	4	5	109	1	-	-	1	3	56	938	829
12	Farmer	80	-	-	80	-	-	-	-	-	-	600	520
13	Shepherd	76	-	5	81	2	-	-	2	-	50	514	433

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14	Farmer	70	1	-	71	1	-	-	1	1	1	602	531
15	Farmer	65	-	-	65	-	3	-	3	-	10	540	475
16	Farmer	90	19	2	111	25	30	-	55	-	-	718	607
17	Farmer	80	3	-	83	5	5	-	10	-	-	588	505
18	Farmer	90	4	-	94	1	-	-	1	1	-	690	596
19	Farmer	75	22	-	97	22	20	-	42	-	-	648	551
20	Farmer	50	2	-	52	-	10	-	10	-	4	298	246
21	Farm laborer	40	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	250	210
22	Farmer	65	-	-	65	-	-	-	-	-	-	350	285
23	Farm laborer	50	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	300	250
24	Farm laborer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	250	250
25	Farmer	40	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	350	310
26	Farmer	45	-	-	45	-	6	-	6	-	10	380	335
27	Farmer	40	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	400	360
28	Farmer	50	10	-	60	-	-	-	-	-	18	490	430
29	Farmer	55	4	-	59	1	4	-	5	-	-	500	441
30	Farmer	40	-	-	40	-	5	-	5	2	-	336	296
31	Farm laborer	60	2	-	62	1	10	-	11	1	-	314	252
32	Orphan	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	3	3
33	Retired	0	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
34	Farmer	45	-	-	45	-	-	-	-	-	-	350	305
35	Farmer	45	-	-	45	-	8	-	8	1	-	480	435
36	-	140	-	-	140	-	-	-	-	-	-	926	786
37	Dead	0	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
38	Dead	0	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
39	Dead	0	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
40	Dead	0	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
41	Dead	0	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
42	Dead	0	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
43	Farmer	160	41	3	204	20	15	-	35	7	35	1,239	1,035
44	Farmer	111	68	1	180	15	10	-	25	2	8	1,149	969
45	Farmer	80	19	2	101	10	-	-	10	2	-	928	827
46	Farmer	-	19	1	20	10	-	-	10	1	4	839	819
47	Farmer	-	10	-	10	5	-	-	5	1	1	844	834
48	Farmer	-	9	-	9	6	-	-	6	-	-	601	592
49	Farmer	-	14	1	15	4	-	-	4	2	25	825	810
50	Farmer	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	628	628

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51	Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	450	450
TOTAL		2.508	405	28	2.941	204	197	-	401	37	323	24.702	21.761

(7) SELONIKA TOWN KULFULLU VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 11556)

1	Farmer	57	118	2	177	25	40	3	68	10	26	1.123	946
2	Farmer	40	75	3	118	20	15	3	38	4	13	750	632
3	Farmer	33	75	5	113	20	5	2	27	5	35	799	686
4	Farmer	60	88	3	151	20	10	1	31	5	25	882	731
5	Farmer	40	43	3	86	6	16	3	25	4	20	461	375
6	Farmer	55	61	6	122	16	15	2	33	4	30	639	517
7	Farmer	40	43	-	83	-	12	3	15	4	-	391	308
8	Farmer	45	101	-	146	-	18	2	20	-	-	908	762
9	Farmer	40	42	-	82	-	14	1	15	8	-	382	300
10	Farmer	50	27	-	77	10	-	1	11	3	-	249	172
11	Farmer	50	47	-	97	-	12	3	15	3	-	425	328
12	Farmer	40	25	-	65	15	-	1	16	3	-	225	160
13	Farmer	50	46	-	96	18	10	4	32	6	-	428	332
14	Farmer	40	58	-	98	18	15	2	35	6	-	536	438
15	Farmer	40	30	-	70	-	11	2	13	5	-	280	210
16	Farmer	40	12	-	52	2	-	2	4	1	-	112	60
17	Farmer	60	86	6	152	20	-	3	23	6	40	903	751
18	Mer- chant	40	-	6	46	-	-	-	-	1	40	320	274
19	Mer- chant	40	-	3	43	-	15	-	15	-	20	360	317
20	Farmer	65	95	7	167	25	30	2	57	4	40	1.120	953
21	Farmer	65	66	3	134	20	15	2	37	6	14	789	655
22	Farmer	60	54	3	117	20	25	2	47	6	20	970	853
23	Farmer	65	86	3	154	25	25	2	52	9	20	858	704
24	Farmer	38	54	-	92	15	-	2	17	5	-	512	420
25	Farmer	37	41	-	78	15	-	2	17	14	-	372	294
26	Farmer	57	104	1	162	40	50	3	93	5	10	973	811
27	Farmer	57	56	3	116	20	20	2	42	5	20	567	451
28	Farmer	60	113	6	179	20	20	2	42	5	40	1.241	1.062
29	Farmer	60	74	6	140	2	2	4	8	6	35	769	629
30	Farmer	60	63	3	126	25	25	2	52	4	20	637	511
31	Farmer	60	57	2	119	20	20	2	42	4	15	577	458
32	Farmer	65	84	-	149	20	15	2	37	7	-	770	621
33	Farmer	25	44	-	69	-	20	2	22	3	-	396	327
34	Farmer	25	53	1	79	20	-	2	22	7	10	522	443

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35	Farmer	65	89	3	157	2	19	3	24	7	20	795	638
36	Farmer	130	75	7	212	25	20	3	48	9	100	1.015	803
37	Farmer	50	74	6	130	20	1	4	25	8	40	830	700
38	Farmer	65	109	-	174	22	18	2	42	10	-	978	804
39	Farmer	68	79	6	153	20	19	2	41	10	40	841	688
TOTAL		2.037	2.447	97	4.581	566	552	85	1.203	212	693	25.705	21.124

(8) MENEMEN TOWN EMİRÁLEM VILLAGE (BOA. M. TMT. VRD. 2346)

1	-	60	133	-	193	16	-	8	24	24	1	1.290	1.097
2	Elderly	100	111	-	211	9	-	3	12	4	-	857	646
3	Dead	15	-	-	15	3	-	2	5	-	1	151	136
4	-	147	46	-	193	12	-	14	26	-	8	929	736
5	Servant	147	73	-	220	14	-	16	30	4	-	698	478
6	Farmer	300	185	-	485	37	-	23	60	20	-	1.281	796
7	Farmer	355	91	-	446	4	-	8	12	57	-	1.049	603
8	Egg Seller	320	78	-	398	-	-	16	16	7	-	1.092	694
9	Farmer	450	140	-	590	21	-	10	31	14	-	2.227	1.637
10	-	-	19	-	19	-	-	-	-	1	-	221	202
11	Farmer	395	64	-	459	16	-	6	22	11	-	1.500	1.041
12	Forester	200	13	-	213	-	-	1	1	2	-	1.126	913
13	Farmer	295	44	-	339	9	-	26	35	5	-	2.116	1.777
14	Dead Soldier	-	12	-	12	-	-	3	3	1	-	169	157
15	Forester	230	54	-	284	10	-	8	18	3	-	1.467	1.183
16	Farmer	335	126	-	461	16	-	51	67	11	-	1.993	1.532
17	Farmer	45	158	-	203	39	-	13	52	11	-	1.522	1.319
18	-	45	30	-	75	57	-	20	77	14	-	450	375
19	Forester	450	49	-	499	15	-	5	20	5	-	1.308	809
20	Farmer	280	92	-	372	11	11	15	37	14	-	1.387	1.015
21	Forester	150	35	-	185	17	-	1	18	2	-	731	546
22	Forester	100	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	500	400
23	Forester	200	2	-	202	8	-	-	8	1	-	635	433
24	Farmer	395	109	-	504	7	12	20	39	5	-	2.128	1.624
25	Farmer	395	43	-	438	6	-	18	24	5	4	1.966	1.528
26	Farmer	395	45	-	440	30	-	6	36	6	-	2.461	2.021
27	Servant	-	12	-	12	10	10	-	20	-	-	208	196
28	Forester	230	16	-	246	-	-	1	1	3	-	1.305	1.059
29	Farmer	335	40	-	375	-	-	9	9	6	-	1.323	948
30	Farmer	395	64	-	459	2	-	6	8	6	-	2.479	2.020

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31	Farmer	395	19	-	414	8	-	5	13	9	-	940	526
32	Forester	395	64	-	459	8	-	24	32	3	-	2.516	2.057
33	Forester	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.000	1.000
34	Farmer	230	10	-	240	8	2	-	10	3	-	822	582
35	Farmer	395	31	-	426	-	2	-	2	7	-	2.894	2.468
36	Forester	395	97	-	492	9	-	5	14	2	-	1.699	1.207
37	Forester	-	49	-	49	5	-	1	6	1	-	1.401	1.352
38	-	100	-	-	100	5	-	1	6	-	-	1.007	907
39	Forester	140	35	-	175	3	-	5	8	-	-	692	517
40	Farmer	335	34	-	369	13	-	1	14	5	-	1.895	1.526
41	Farmer	260	62	-	322	10	-	15	25	6	-	1.945	1.623
42	-	20	15	-	35	-	-	3	3	-	-	135	100
43	Forester	16	5	-	21	-	-	5	5	1	-	1.045	1.024
44	Dead	10	6	-	16	-	-	2	2	1	-	36	20
45	Farmer	335	15	-	350	8	-	3	11	5	-	1.130	780
46	Dead	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	5	1	-	176	176
47	Farmer	450	44	-	494	2	-	23	25	3	1	2.237	1.743
48	Farmer	200	57	-	257	10	-	7	17	6	-	685	428
49	Forester	335	58	-	393	5	-	9	14	6	-	2.001	1.608
50	Forester	350	19	-	369	5	2	-	7	3	-	1.535	1.166
51	Forester	170	40	-	210	-	3	6	9	4	-	912	702
52	Servant	50	5	-	55	-	1	-	1	-	-	420	365
53	Forester	280	27	-	307	6	-	6	12	3	-	1.711	1.404
54	Forester	395	42	-	437	28	-	4	32	2	-	2.371	1.934
55	Farmer	395	30	-	425	18	22	-	40	6	-	2.816	2.391
56	Elderly	50	-	-	50	21	-	4	25	1	-	490	440
57	Forester	395	129	-	524	3	-	6	9	2	-	1.851	1.327
58	Forester	450	75	-	525	8	3	3	14	7	-	2.083	1.558
59	Forester	230	40	-	270	6	4	-	10	5	-	1.610	1.340
60	Forester	180	40	-	220	1	4	-	5	2	-	1.311	1.091
61	Farmer	335	80	-	415	18	-	2	20	5	-	2.100	1.685
62	Forester	280	10	-	290	3	-	6	9	5	-	1.041	751
63	Forester	100	21	-	121	-	-	5	5	12	-	834	713
64	Farmer	450	18	-	468	12	-	3	15	5	-	2.334	1.866
65	Forester	200	37	-	237	5	2	10	17	-	-	1.023	786
66	Forester	395	88	-	483	11	-	13	24	5	1	2.214	1.731
67	Forester	230	8	-	238	-	-	4	4	3	-	1.554	1.316

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68	Farmer	395	8	-	403	15	-	10	25	4	-	1.619	1.216
69	Forester	200	12	-	212	4	5	2	11	1	-	600	388
70	Forester	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	600	600
71	Forester	395	28	-	423	10	-	42	52	7	-	2.093	1.670
72	Farmer	450	12	-	462	4	-	32	36	3	-	2.326	1.864
73	Forester	300	35	-	335	7	-	4	11	8	-	1.829	1.494
74	Farmer	395	74	-	469	9	-	3	12	4	-	2.319	1.850
75	Cobbler	450	99	-	549	17	-	38	55	8	-	2.706	2.157
76	Farmer	450	82	-	532	14	-	38	52	6	-	3.377	2.845
77	Poor	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	35	35
78	Forester	25	30	-	55	24	10	-	34	3	-	787	732
79	Farmer	45	9	-	54	7	-	3	10	11	-	231	177
80	Dead	-	-	-	-	491	500	52	1.043	4	-	8.569	8.569
81	Forester	200	8	-	208	-	-	3	3	3	-	1.606	1.398
82	Forester	230	10	-	240	2	2	3	7	2	-	1.237	997
83	Forester	395	11	-	406	2	13	1	16	2	-	2.154	1.748
84	Forester	335	111	-	446	12	3	8	23	2	-	2.981	2.535
85	-	280	15	-	295	6	1	1	8	2	-	1.630	1.335
86	Forester	450	140	-	590	2	-	7	9	6	-	2.990	2.400
87	Shepherd	280	19	-	299	2	-	1	3	3	-	953	654
88	Forester	395	14	-	409	2	-	1	3	4	-	2.189	1.780
89	Forester	280	-	-	280	7	6	1	14	4	-	1.120	840
90	Forester	450	84	-	534	7	20	10	37	5	-	2.686	2.152
91	Forester	450	76	-	526	-	-	20	20	3	-	2.043	1.517
92	Forester	335	88	-	423	14	-	2	16	4	-	2.485	2.062
93	Forester	230	64	-	294	21	18	15	54	1	-	800	506
94	Farmer	395	152	-	547	35	-	11	46	6	-	2.037	1.490
95	Farmer	450	283	-	733	37	-	13	50	14	-	4.688	3.955
96	Farmer	450	154	-	604	20	15	6	41	11	-	1.923	1.319
97	Farmer	395	100	-	495	12	15	4	31	3	-	2.277	1.782
98	Forester	335	-	-	335	4	10	3	17	6	-	1.904	1.569
99	Farmer	500	-	-	500	260	-	30	290	19	-	4.852	4.352
100	Farmer	335	354	-	689	120	-	206	326	13	-	1.318	629
101	-	25	13	-	38	10	-	26	36	3	-	208	170
102	Farmer	450	34	-	484	11	-	11	22	5	-	2.660	2.176
103	Farmer	450	106	-	556	19	22	37	78	26	-	2.966	2.410
104	Forester	230	8	-	238	4	-	-	4	2	-	1.572	1.334

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105	Forester	70	-	-	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	700	630
106	Forester	335	21	-	356	7	-	1	8	3	-	2.100	1.744
107	Forester	240	15	-	255	5	-	1	6	11	-	790	535
108	Forester	280	31	-	311	19	-	1	20	3	-	1.519	1.208
109	Farmer	195	22	-	217	1	4	2	7	3	1	1.011	794
110	-	120	2	-	122	2	-	-	2	1	-	568	446
111	Dead	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
112	Forester	130	19	-	149	5	-	3	8	2	-	736	587
113	Forester	280	47	-	327	5	3	3	11	2	-	1.603	1.276
114	Farmer	335	18	-	353	9	-	8	17	5	1	4.769	4.416
115	Forester	50	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.000	950
116	Farmer	335	63	-	398	6	-	11	17	5	-	1.994	1.596
117	Cobbler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	400	400
118	Dead	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TOTAL		29.510	5.665	-	35.175	1.883	725	1.167	3.775	614	18	184.595	149.420

(9) AYDIN TOWN KURUCAOVA VILLAGE (BOA. M. VRD. TMT. 17556)

1	Farmer	100	35	-	135	10	5	-	15	5	-	680	545
2	Farmer	150	60	-	210	16	-	-	16	2	-	1.420	1210
3	Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4	Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
5	Farmer	240	50	20	310	15	-	-	15	10	65	1.385	1075
6	Farm laborer	50	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	300	250
7	Farmer	180	16	-	196	15	-	-	15	5	-	695	499
8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
9	Farmer	350	-	10	360	10	-	1	11	5	23	1.100	740
10	Farmer	200	-	-	200	-	8	-	8	4	-	500	300
11	Farmer	210	10	-	220	8	-	1	9	4	-	610	390
12	-	150	5	-	155	-	-	1	1	3	-	1.000	845
13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
14	Servant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	400	400
15	Farm laborer	100	-	-	100	-	2	-	2	3	-	900	800
16	Farmer	230	15	15	260	10	-	2	12	4	11	1.280	1020
17	Orphan	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4	3	-	130	130
18	Farmer	200	15	-	215	10	-	2	12	-	-	1.000	785
19	Farmer	240	15	-	255	13	-	1	14	3	-	1.140	885
20	-	80	-	-	80	6	-	-	6	2	-	500	420
21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	400	400

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22	Farmer	216	10	-	226	10	-	3	13	1	-	580	354
23	Farmer	310	25	-	335	4	-	9	13	2	-	780	445
24	Farmer	130	8	-	138	3	-	-	3	1	-	475	337
25	Farmer	140	15	1	156	5	-	-	5	2	20	620	464
26	Farmer	200	15	1	216	15	-	-	15	1	28	650	434
27	Farmer	30	17	-	47	25	-	-	25	2	-	405	358
28	Farm laborer	130	-	-	130	-	-	-	-	3	-	330	200
TOTAL		3.636	311	47	3.994	175	19	20	214	65	147	12.280	13.286

(10) SELONICA TOWN BAZARGAH VILLAGE (BOA. M. VRD. TMT. 11624)

1	Farmer	48	33	5	86	13	-	-	13	6	40	223	137
2	Farmer	26	5	-	31	-	-	1	1	5	-	209	178
3	Farmer	68	38	2	108	13	-	15	28	11	14	453	345
4	Farmer	95	74	-	169	14	40	3	57	6	-	888	719
5	Farmer	126	113	7	246	20	15	1	36	15	28	1.221	975
6	Farmer	113	65	1	179	16	15	20	51	6	11	764	585
7	Farmer	155	123	4	282	20	20	2	44	41	30	1.622	1.340
8	Servant	25	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	250	225
9	Merchant	35	4	1	40	-	-	-	-	5	12	351	311
10	Farmer	108	76	-	184	5	18	1	23	9	10	641	457
11	Servant	25	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	300	275
12	Farmer	65	49	-	114	13	10	21	44	7	-	652	538
13	Farmer	125	61	6	192	16	40	2	58	11	35	1.061	869
14	Merchant	48	25	-	73	-	-	7	7	11	-	392	319
15	Farmer	113	73	1	187	13	30	18	61	19	12	962	775
16	Merchant	35	-	-	35	-	-	-	-	4	-	324	289
17	-	15	3	-	18	-	-	18	18	5	-	93	75
18	Servant	35	-	1	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	250	214
19	Forester	106	107	-	213	27	12	3	41	12	-	940	727
20	Farmer	49	26	-	75	7	10	1	18	6	-	234	159
21	Farmer	49	50	-	99	15	-	3	18	5	-	462	363
22	Farmer	49	28	-	77	4	-	3	7	4	-	418	341
23	Farmer	128	74	-	202	24	30	1	55	12	-	818	616
24	-	102	-	-	102	-	125	145	270	-	-	800	698
TOTAL		1.743	1.027	28	2.798	220	365	265	850	200	192	14.328	11.530
General TOTAL		49.403	14.948	309	64.660	4.977	3.613	1.704	10.294	1.850	2.854	354.098	289.438

1) The values for all kinds of taxes are given as piaster; lands as decare.

2) Under the category of tithe tax some other taxes of secondary importance are included as well.

3) The small spots of land given under column IX are excluded from the calculations.

4) The cattle involve cow, buffalo, ox, horse, donkey and mule.

Source: BOA. M. TMT. VRD., 9592, 9589, 9597, 9587, 9600, 9586, 9591, 9582, 9593, 9588, 11561, 11499, 9453, 9151, 16095, 11551, 11556, 2346, 17556, 11624.

Source: BOA. M. TMT. VRD., 9592, 9589, 9597, 9587, 9600, 9586, 9591, 9582, 9593, 9588, 11561, 11499, 9453, 9151, 16095, 11551, 11556, 2346, 17556, 11624.

Appendix 3: Some Figures for the Villages (Sample 1 and 2)

	<i>Villages in the Interior Regions (Sample I)</i>	<i>Villages in the Hinterland of Commercial Centers (Sample II)</i>
<i>Per Household</i>		
Total Income (piaster)	777,85	944,26
Tax Amount (piaster)	199,49	172,42
Tax Burden (%)	25,64	18,25
Cattle	3,96	4,93
Sheep and Goat	6,63	7,61
Cultivated Land (decare)	13,33	13,27
Follow Land (decare)	16,48	9,63
<i>Per Capita</i>		
Total Income (piaster)	155,57	188,85
Disposable Income (piaster)	115,48	154,36
Tax Amount (piaster)	39,89	34,48
Tax Burden (%)	25,64	18,25
Cattle	0,79	0,98
Sheep and Goat	1,32	1,52
Cultivated Land (decare)	2,66	2,65

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	<i>Other</i>	
Total Land (decare)	13,305	10,294
Cultivated Land (decare)	5,787	4,977
Follow Land (decare)	7,156	3,613
Population/Cultivated Land (decare)	0,37	0,37
Household/Cultivated Land (decare)	0,07	0,07
Cultivated Land/ Population (decare)	2,66	2,65
Cultivated Land/Household (decare)	13,3	13,27

Source: BOA. M. TMT. VRD., 9592, 9589, 9597, 9587, 9600, 9586, 9591, 9582, 9593, 9588, 11561, 11499, 9453, 9151, 16095, 11551, 11556, 2346, 17556, 11624.

Appendix 4: Gini Coefficient (Sample 1 and 2)

	<i>Villages in the Interior Regions (Sample I)</i>	<i>Villages in the Hinterland of Commercial Centers (Sample II)</i>
Gini Coefficient for Total Income	0,33	0,42
Gini Coefficient for Disposable Income	0,34	0,43

Appendix 5: Standard Deviation (Sample 1 and 2)

	<i>Villages in the Interior Regions (Sample I)</i>	<i>Villages in the Hinterland of Commercial Centers (Sample II)</i>
Standard Deviation in Total Income	491,120	856,920
Standard Deviation in Disposable Income	400,382	752,646
Standard Deviation in Total Land Proprietorship	41,951	69,292
Standard Deviation in Cattle Ownership	2,626	5,946
Standard Deviation in Sheep-Goat Ownership	11,374	15,657
Standard Deviation in Total Tax	119,072	153,667

“Such a Koran no individual might own”: The Biography of a Mamluk Qur’an from Ottoman Jerusalem

*Esra Akın-Kvanç**

“Kimsenin sahip olamayacağı bir Kur’an”: Osmanlı Kudüs’ünden bir Memluk Kur’an’ının Biyografisi

Öz ■ 19. ve 20. yüzyılların Dünya Sergilerini sosyolojik, antropolojik, politik, teknolojik, ve endüstriyel açılardan inceleyen pek çok çalışma bulunmasına rağmen, bu etkinliklerde sergilenmiş olan eserler üzerinde bir çalışma yapılmamıştır. Bu makale, 1904 St. Louis Dünya Sergisi için Kudüs’ten St. Louis’e gönderildiği iddia edilen 15. yüzyıla ait bir Memluk Kur’an’ı ile ilgili bir araştırmadır.

1913 tarihinde William Eleazar Barton (1861-1930) tarafından Oberlin Koleji ve Konservatuar’ına emanet edilen bu Kur’an, yüz yılı aşkın bir süredir gözlerden uzak bir rafta korunmaktadır. Osmanlı ve Amerika hükümetleri arasında geçen yazışmalar, Kur’an’ı elinde bulundurmuş olan kişilerin şahsi mektupları, fotoğraflar, ve gazete raporları gibi belgeler yardımı ile bu Kur’an’ın biyografisini kurgulayan bu çalışma, mushafın kıtalar, ülkeler ve şehirler arası uzun yolculuğunun izlerini sürerken, güncelliğini koruyan kültür varlıklarını koruma meseleleri üzerinde odaklanmaktadır. Bu Memluk Kur’an’ının biyografisi, aynı zamanda, Osmanlı devletinin hakimiyeti altında bulunan Kudüs’te yaşayan Hristiyan ve Samiriye vatandaşları ile olan zorlu ilişkilerine de ışık tutmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Memluk Kur’an’ı, 1904 St. Louis Dünya Sergisi, William E. Barton, Jacob ben Aaron, Lydia Mamreov, Kudüs, Kubbetü’s-Sahra, İslâm kültür varlıkları, Kudüs Yahudileri, Kudüs Samirileri, Filistin Amerikan Kolonisi, Clara Barton.

Described as the world’s greatest event by the period’s newspapers, the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair commemorated, with a one-year delay, the centennial of the massive land acquisitions known as “the Louisiana Purchase” that had doubled

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Fig. 1. Westward view of the Fair grounds with Jerusalem and the Ferris wheel

the territory of the United States.¹ The Fair was to serve as “a social encyclopedia in the most comprehensive and accurate sense, [in order to give] to the world, in revised and complete detail a living picture of the artistic and industrial development at which mankind has arrived.”² With fitting pomp, the organizers created a stage on which the “advanced” nations of the West displayed their scientific, technological, social, artistic, and cultural feats, while also mounting a comparatively forlorn, if romanticized, display of “less civilized” peoples of the world. The spectacular show stayed open for seven months and attracted roughly twenty million visitors from around the globe who marveled at Western nations’ progress in various aspects of “civilized life,” and viewed in awe the exotic peoples and animals of the world.³

1 For a discussion of and bibliography on the Exposition, see Astrid Böger, “St. Louis 1904,” in *Encyclopedia of World’s Fairs and Expositions*, eds. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2008), 171-178. The ambitious project was not ready for the Centennial, and in order to achieve greater international participation, organizers delayed the opening by one year, until 30 April 1904. See, *The Minneapolis Journal*, 17 January 1902.

2 *World’s Fair Bulletin*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1903-1904): II.

3 Böger, *St. Louis*, 176.

At the “heart”⁴ of the Fair grounds lay a replica of the Holy Land.⁵ Situated over an eleven-acre plot,⁶ next to the Machinery Building, with the towering Ferris wheel behind it, the “New Jerusalem”⁷ created a curious, if deliberate, geographical, historical, visual, and semantic incongruity (Fig. 1). With a budget of 1,400,000,000 US dollars,⁸ the American Jerusalem was an unprecedented enterprise built to “attract the attention of all Christendom,”⁹ and transplant “with wondrous success”¹⁰ such hallmarks as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Via Dolorosa, the Wailing Wall, the Dome of the Rock, and the Aqsa Mosque.¹¹ For increased verisimilitude, organizers brought in more than five-hundred¹² Palestinians whom they placed inside the houses on the “dirty, foul-smelling and unpaved”¹³ streets of the replica town so the natives could pursue their avocations, if they had them, “as at home.”¹⁴ As “the lame, halt and blind” asked for alms and “the cunning artificers practiced their art,” tourist-pilgrims could attend lectures on life in the Holy Land, and observe the faithful Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the act of prayer “in their tattered yet picturesque garments.”¹⁵

4 *World's Fair Bulletin* (August 1903): 36.

5 The laying of the cornerstone of “The New Jerusalem” occurred on 11 July 1903. The Exhibition was inaugurated on 17 May 1904, about two weeks after the opening of the Fair. See, Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exhibition* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 260-261. For the dedication address delivered by U.S. Senator J. R. Burton, see *World's Fair Bulletin* (August 1903): 35-36.

6 According to *World's Fair Bulletin* (February 1904), the acreage was thirteen.

7 *World's Fair Bulletin*, Vol. 4, No. 10 (1903-1904): 38.

8 *The Advance*, No. 1939 (8 January 1903): 36.

9 *World's Fair Bulletin* (September 1902): 6.

10 *World's Fair Bulletin* (April 1904): 33.

11 For maps and diagrams of the Fair-grounds, see *Grandeur of the Universal Exposition at St. Louis: An Official Book of Beautiful Engravings Illustrating the World's Fair of 1904* (St. Louis: Official Photographic Company, 1904).

12 Mark Bennitt and Frank Parker Stockbridge, *History of the Louisiana purchase exposition: comprising the history of the Louisiana territory, the story of the Louisiana purchase and a full account of the great exposition, embracing the participation of the states and nations of the world, and other events of the St. Louis world's fair of 1904, compiled from official sources* (St. Louis: Universal Exposition Pub. Co., 1905), 720. *World's Fair Bulletin* (May 1904): 20 gives the number as one thousand.

13 *Jackson's Famous Photographs of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Chicago: Metropolitan Syndicate Press, [1904]), n.p.

14 *World's Fair Bulletin* (August 1903): 36, 112.

15 Lester I. Vogel, *To See a Promised Land: Americans and the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 215.

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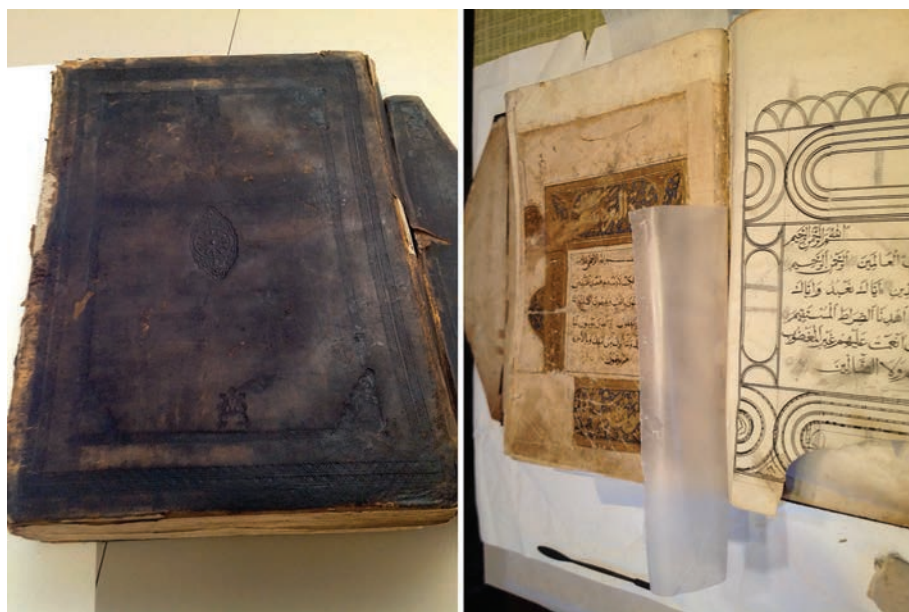


Fig. 2. Mamluk Qur’an, binding, incipit page, modern page

Never shy of making a claim to an authentic and complete experience of the Holy Land within the convenience of a modern city, the Fair’s organizers dismantled “Jerusalem in miniature”¹⁶ at the close of the Fair in December of the same year. Characteristic of World’s Expositions, however, many artifacts that had been brought from overseas on the occasion of this historic, if transitory, event were kept on American soil permanently, with or without the consent of their original owners. One such item, the topic of this article, was a 15th-century Mamluk Qur’an from Ottoman Jerusalem (Fig. 2).

Presently housed in the Special Collections of Oberlin College and Conservatory in Ohio,¹⁷ this Qur’an is a single volume *mushaf* with two hundred and forty-one leaves in a leather binding that is old but not contemporary with its composition. It is missing the recto side of its opening page, on which the *surah al-Fatiha* would have been written, as well as a few of its final leaves that would have contained the last five chapters and possibly a colophon, an endowment deed, or an imprint of a personal or institutional seal (Fig. 3). The Qur’an

¹⁶ *World’s Fair Bulletin* (September 1902), 5.

¹⁷ Special Collections, Oversized, 091.297 K 84. 295654. Koran. Arabic.

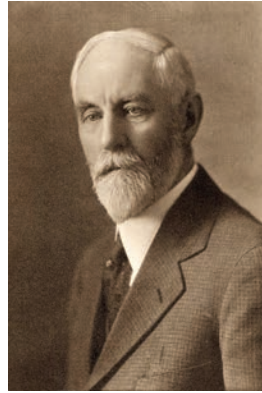


Fig. 4. William E. Barton (1861-1930)

Fig. 3. Mamluk Qur'an, final page ending with *surah al-Kafiruun*

was deposited at Oberlin College in 1913¹⁸ by the Reverend William Eleazar Barton (1861-1930)—an alumnus (1890) of Oberlin’s Theological Seminary, an American Congregational Minister, and one of the 20th century’s most prominent writers and lecturers on the life of Abraham Lincoln¹⁹ (Fig. 4). Reverend Barton officially donated the *mushaf* to Oberlin College in 1926, where it was preserved with care for over a century, though it never became the subject of scholarly research.²⁰

18 22 November 1928 issue of *Lorain County News* records the “Gifts of Korans, Pentateuchs” on its first page. A more detailed account of the donation is found in *Annual Reports of the President and the Treasurer of Oberlin College for 1927-28* (Oberlin: Oberlin College, 1928), 73-74. *The Oberlin Ohio News* (Vol. LXVIII, no. 47, 3) also records the gift: “Mention was made of valuable gifts by Dr. William E. Barton of Oak Park, Ill., who contributed a manuscript copy of the Koran from the Mosque of Omar, of the Pentateuch in Hebrew from the Mount Zion Synagogue in Jerusalem and the Pentateuch in Samaritan from Nableus, Palestine.”

19 For an account of Barton’s life, see *The Autobiography of William E. Barton* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company Publishers, 1931, 1932), *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1908-1984), Vol. 23, No. 4 (January 1931): 685-686, and *The Oberlin Alumni Magazine* (January 1931): 121.

20 A handwritten note (later typed on a catalog card) in Oberlin College’s Special Collections gives this information: “Professor [Joseph] Eliash [1932-1981] was interested in this Qur’an and planned to date it. However, his death intervened [sic.], and no one has been interested since

My initial interest in this *mushaf* was limited to identifying its date and provenance. Intrigued by a short note that William E. Barton inscribed in black ink on the Qur’an’s inner cover, however, I soon found myself immersed in research on its fascinating history. The biggest challenge to my quest was that many details of the *mushaf*’s journey from Ottoman Jerusalem to American Jerusalem—details that I believe make this particular *mushaf* more interesting than many others from the same era and geographical region—were deliberately erased from its history by one or more of its several owners. Regardless, my research has revealed adequate evidence that helped construct a cohesive narrative about the *mushaf*’s past, although, it seems, none of the theories I propose below might be established with certainty any time soon.

Much compelling work has been produced on World’s Fairs of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with meticulous analyses of their commercial, sociological, cultural, political, anthropological, technological, and industrial aspects perspectives.²¹ However, to my knowledge, there exists no study to date dedicated solely to a work of art that was on display at one of these fairs, though lists of such items are not entirely lost.²² It is, therefore, with great excitement that I present this Qur’an to the attention of researchers and specialists with various interests. I must add immediately, however, that, despite the existence of an object at its very center, this study refrains from sustaining the “back to the object” trend that has been regaining currency (in the literal sense of the word) in the field of Islamic art over the past decade primarily as a result of a proliferation of Arab, European, and American museums and galleries with a revived interest in Islamic material culture. To offer a counterpoint, the article focuses on the object’s sociocultural contexts through a study of its biography. The complexity of the landscape within which the last hundred years of this *mushaf*’s biography was shaped is attested in the variety, if not the number, of the surviving records (ranging from correspondence between the governments of the Ottoman Empire and the United States

so far as I know.” Born in Jerusalem, Professor Eliash (d. 1981) taught Arabic, Hebrew, Islamic studies, and history of Judaism.

21 For Ottoman perspectives, see Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth Century World’s Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), and Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998).

22 A recent work on display items is Jason T. Busch, Catherine Futter, Regina Lee Blasczyk et. al., *Inventing the Modern World: Decorative Arts at the World’s Fairs, 1851-1939* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Museum of Art, 2012).

to newspaper reports, personal letters, business inventories, photographs, and diagrams), the languages in which they were disseminated (Ottoman Turkish, English, Arabic, and Samaritan), as well as the places where they were dispersed across continents (Istanbul, Jerusalem, Nablus, St. Louis, Boston, Washington, and Oberlin).

In *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*, Finbarr B. Flood examines practices of circulation, displacement, and translation in South Asia under Muslim rule, and deconstructs teleological approaches to art and culture that "collapse all possible identities into a single monolithic identification, producing as singular, static, and undifferentiated what was often multiple, protean, and highly contested."²³ Within the framework of this study, a subsidiary object of Flood's pioneering work, exploration of the "constitutive relationships between subjects, objects, and political formations, and the ways in which these relationships were implicated in process of transculturation," is particularly relevant.²⁴ Working towards similar goals, as it traces the history of this Qur'an, this article transcends a much-too familiar story of an equivocal antiquities transaction and, displacing attention away from the object, points toward the object's shifting functions, meanings, and value within the framework of its reappropriation process. Accordingly, the narratives below examine the intercultural transmissions, the "routes" that the *mushaf* traveled across "interlocking and overlapping zones and networks," rather than its "roots" within fixed geographical or cultural territories.²⁵

On these routes, a small, yet influential group of Muslim, Christian, Jewish, and Samaritan men and women crossed paths in Ottoman Jerusalem at the dawn of the 20th century thanks to their interest in or possession of this *mushaf*. An exploration of their professional activities, aspirations, and frustrations leads us to an account of this Qur'an that is entangled with the political, economic, social, and religious anxieties of a "rising" United States, a Muslim empire in transformation, and a Palestine caught in between. This ultimately is an account that illustrates a sacred text's commoditization process—an episode in the course of so many objects' lives that we rarely acknowledge, let alone delineate, in exhibition catalogs or on

²³ Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), 3.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁵ James Clifford, *Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).

museum wall labels. As it traces the *mushaf*'s movements and transformations, and reveals the intentional and convenient blurring of the line between the sacred and commodity, I hope that this study will contribute to existing conversations on objects' active lives, making evident the futility of art-historical debates that confine artifacts within imagined moments when they were frozen in time and in space.

The article begins with a discussion of William Barton's ownership narrative regarding this Qur'an. This leads to an exploration of the activities of and interactions among people within Barton's professional circles, who, in one way or another, might have played a role in the transmission of this *mushaf*. The accounts that seek to reconstruct this Qur'an's biography start in Oberlin and St. Louis, continue in Van, New York, Istanbul, Jerusalem, and Nablus, and, making full circle, end in St. Louis and Oberlin. In addition to this biographical account, the article presents for the specialists a description and analysis of the *mushaf*'s physical and aesthetic qualities.

From Scripture to commodity In “Commodities and the Politics of Value,” Arjun Appadurai argues that in order to understand “the human and social contexts of things,” specifically, the transactions and calculations that enliven them, “[W]e have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories.”²⁶ Because of the lapses in pertinent records, it is easier to trace this Qur'an's past backwards, starting from its current location.

The written history of the *mushaf* begins with an ownership record dated 24 March 1913, signed by the Reverend William E. Barton.²⁷ Typed on the letterhead of the First Church of Oak Park, Illinois, where Barton served as pastor until his retirement in 1924, the letter was submitted to the Oberlin College Library at the time Barton had deposited the *mushaf* there. In his statement, Barton declares that the Qur'an was brought to the United States “as part of the Jerusalem exhibit in St. Louis.” This information is repeated in a handwritten note that Barton penned on the inside of the Qur'an's cover upside down (suggesting his illiteracy in Arabic), which identifies the specific display venue within St. Louis as the “Mosque of Omar.”

26 Appadurai Arjun, “Commodities and the politics of value,” in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. idem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 5.

27 William E. Barton files, Oberlin College Library Special Collections.

As is well known, “Mosque of Omar” was a common misnomer that Westerners used in reference to the Dome of the Rock. A diagram of the American Jerusalem attached to a letter dated 10 *Şevval* 1321 [30 December 1903] and sent from Washington to Istanbul testifies to the exhibition organizers’ confusion: within the replica city titled “The New Jerusalem” stands the Dome of the Rock, mislabeled in capital letters as the “Mosque of Omar.”²⁸ An interesting unofficial source, a widely disseminated article by Helen H. Hoffman entitled, “Must Do As Moslems When They Worship,” is proof of that mix-up at popular level: discussed in detail, with its location, history, as well as architectural plan and decoration, the monument to which the author refers as the Mosque of Omar is, again, the Dome.²⁹ Hoffman’s reference to a minaret whose spiral stairway, she writes, the *müezzin* will climb to make the call to prayer, reveals her further confusion since her reference must have been to the minaret of the Aqsa Mosque, a replica of which was also created inside the American Jerusalem.³⁰ Because of these erroneous designations, it is not possible to determine with certainty whether this Qur’an was displayed (or read) inside the “mimic mosque”³¹ or the replica of the Dome in St. Louis.³²

Regardless, how was the *mushaf* taken out of its home in Jerusalem in the first place? Partial answers to this question come from Reverend Barton’s above-mentioned letter to Oberlin College:

[The] exquisite copy of the Qur’an manuscript...I am afraid was obtained through some misrepresentation. The sheiks of the Mosque of Omar were asked to send genuine articles from that mosque, and sent some banners, a brass candlestick and some other articles to be placed in the reproduction of that building. I am afraid, [the sheiks] did it under the impression that the building thus erected was to have been a place of worship. The other treasure which they contributed was this rare old Koran. At the close of the Fair, these articles were sold and I was able to procure this fine book (Fig. 5).³³

28 BOA.YA.HUS.00463.00037.001.

29 *St. Paul Globe* (2 January 1904): 6, *Salt Lake Herald* (2 January 1904): 6.

30 According to *World’s Fair Bulletin* (August 1903), 37, the Aqsa Mosque was going to be reserved for the worship of Jews and Christians.

31 *Louisiana and the Fair: An Exposition of the World, Its People and their Achievements*, Vol. 9 (1905): 3476.

32 *Ibid.*, published a year after the Fair, gives the contradictory information that, “In neither of these edifices was worship held, for the reason that no Mahommedan priest could be found in St. Louis.”

33 William E. Barton files, Oberlin College Library Special Collections. In the original document, the word “sold” is underlined and followed by a check mark, presumably at a later time.

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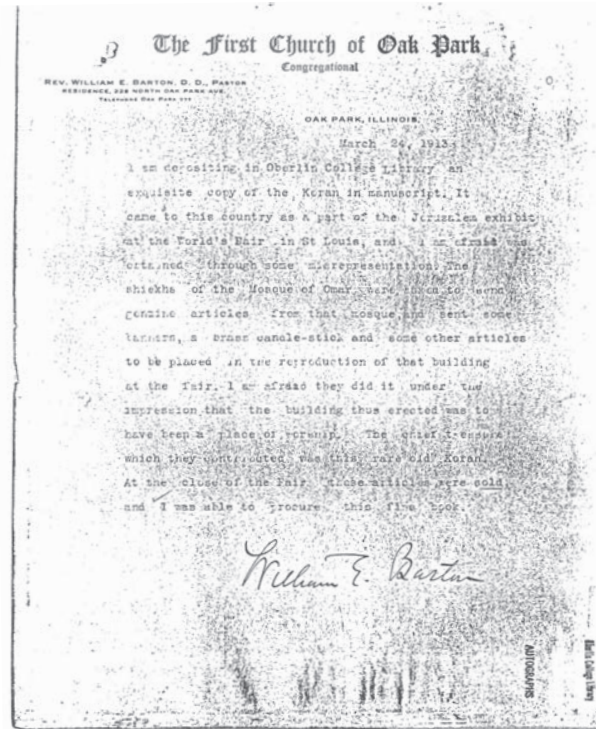


Fig. 5. William E. Barton’s letter to Oberlin College Library, dated 1913

These statements, which convey that a good fortunate, if compunctious, collector had purchased the old Qur’an, raise a number of questions about the authenticity of their author’s claims. Why, for instance, would the sheikhs choose to send to St. Louis a nearly four-hundred-year old Qur’an, rather than a more contemporary one, even if they had seriously thought that their American friends were erecting a real and permanent mosque in the middle of the city? If the sheikhs were so beneficent as to “contribute” overseas this fine “treasure” as souvenir, did they keep its first and final pages, which possibly contained some sort of ownership record, as memorabilia for themselves? And if they did send the Qur’an abroad in their naiveté, as William Barton claimed, why was it not returned to Jerusalem at the end of the Fair along with various other items, but “sold” instead? Last but not least, had Barton really procured the *mushaf* through this alleged sale? Surviving evidence does not provide conclusive answers to these questions. It does, however, prompt us to look one step further back in history, towards the places and events outside of St. Louis that marked the beginning of the *mushaf*’s commoditization process.

Records in Ottoman archives suggest that communication regarding Ottoman participation at the Fair was initiated in 1903 by Alexander Konta, General Manager of The Jerusalem Exhibition Co., through the Ottoman embassy in Washington. A banker and broker from St. Louis, Konta was a frequent visitor to Jerusalem, spoke the native languages of the region, and was “intimately acquainted with high Turkish officials at Jerusalem and Constantinople.”³⁴ Correspondence between Konta and Şekip Bey, Ottoman ambassador to Washington, reveals the former’s determination to succeed at the ambitious Jerusalem project, and the Ottoman government’s belated response. On 27 *Receb* 1321 [29 September 1903], in response to Konta’s request for Ottoman participation, the *Ticaret ve Nafia Nezareti* (Ministry of Commerce) had appointed Şekip Bey “Honorary Commissioner of the St. Louis Exhibition.”³⁵ It is clear from a letter dated 7 *Şevval* 1321 [30 December 1903], however, that, despite taking this initial step, Istanbul had not followed through on Konta’s request for delivery of such items as “Hereke rugs, porcelains from the royal factories, and products and textiles from the *Tophane-i Amire*” to be displayed and sold at the Ottoman concessions.³⁶ Unmoved by Konta’s assurance that participation in the Fair would reinforce “the excellent prestige of the caliphate within the Islamic world,” and indifferent to his threat of a call to the governments of Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco should the Ottomans refrain from participation, Istanbul, it appears from these early correspondences, shared neither the Americans’ enthusiasm nor their sense of urgency to celebrate the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase.³⁷

In a lengthy telegram addressed to Şekip Bey, which the ambassador translated and forwarded to Istanbul on 4 *Zilhicce* 1321 [21 February 1904], a frustrated Konta demanded an immediate response to a letter he had sent nearly two months earlier. Added to Konta’s renewed invitation was an extended and enumerated list of requests: antiquities from the *Müze-i Hümayun* (Imperial Museum) and a military band to perform daily in the American Jerusalem “in order to demonstrate the Ottomans’ advancement in the sciences and industry.” The products delivered, Konta reassured, would be fully insured and safely returned to Istanbul.³⁸ Failing

34 *Prospectus of The Jerusalem Exhibit Co.* (St. Louis: n.p., 1904), 9-10.

35 BOA.YA.HUS.00459.00115.001.

36 BOA.YA.HUS.463.37.

37 For details of the rivalry between the Ottoman Empire and Egyptians “who did not know their proper station,” within the context of World’s Fairs, see Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, Chapter 6, “Ottoman Image Management and Damage Control.”

38 BOA.YA.RES.00124.00059.003.

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again to persuade Istanbul, Konta had to wait until 24 *Muharrem* 1322 [10 April 1904], when Şekib Bey would send yet another letter of reminder to the *sadaret* to win the government's approval.³⁹

The active, if belated, participation of the Ottomans in the Fair was announced only in passing in Ottoman newspapers, but with commotion in American media.⁴⁰ While *Servet-i Fünun* published six photographs from the Fair site with no accompanying text, American papers, especially keen to highlight the reasons for the sultan's apparent reluctance that caused delay, reported that Abdülhamid II "[G]ave his official sanction to participation in and representation of his country at the world's fair, [but] did so upon one distinct condition: that visitors to the Mosque of Omar remove their shoes before entering the sanctuary."⁴¹ In addition to this "strange request," papers stated, the Sultan "also objected to the inclusion of 'several dances' that [had] been credited to his people in earlier international shows," referring no doubt to the infamously popular component of such events: belly dancers.⁴² Americans were especially intrigued by Muslim religious practices: the five-time daily prayers, papers reported, were going to be held by "two high priests who [were] known personally to the sultan of Turkey."⁴³ A letter from the Office of the Grand Vizier to the Sublime Porte Foreign Ministry dated 4 *Zilhicca* 1321 [21 February 1904] confirms the appointment of an imam and a *müezzin* for the needs of the Muslim attendees of the Fair, but suggests that the detail about the Sultan's personal acquaintance with the imams was an elaboration of American journalists.⁴⁴

Such matters as shoes, belly dancers, and imams were no doubt germane to the image of a dignified empire, which Selim Deringil demonstrates, the Hamidian state aimed to deliver abroad through carefully crafted "fairs policies." The government's "image management and damage control"⁴⁵ efforts, Deringil

39 BOA.BEO.2310.173185.001. For the response to the letter, see BEO.2311.173290.001.

40 *Servet-i Fünun*, 15 July 1320 [1903], cover page.

41 *Rock Island Argus* (29 December 1903), 3. For other news of the Sultan's pre-conditions for participation in the Fair, see *Sunday Morning Star* (28 February 1904), *Salt Lake Herald* (3 January 1904), Last Edition, 6, and *St. Paul Globe* (2 January 1904), 6.

42 For the *Rock Island Argus* (29 December 1903), 3 quotes the Sultan as saying, "Whatever represents my country and subjects at the fair, I want to be an exact and faithful representation."

43 *St. Paul Globe* (2 January 1904), 6.

44 BOA.YA.RES.00124.00059.

45 Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 154.

states, aimed to “present the Ottoman Empire as the leader of the Islamic world yet a modern member of the civilized community of nations... [and to] repel any slight or insult to the Sublime State’s prestige.”⁴⁶ Documents exchanged among the Ottoman Embassy in Washington, Ottoman Foreign Ministry, and Ottoman Ministry of Commerce between 1903 and 1904 indicate that an important component of these policies related to the Fair’s commercial activities. The beginning of a series of stringent efforts to achieve successful representation through first-hand management of resources is marked by an order that appoints Matief, a mercantile agent from Edirne, as commissioner of the Exposition’s affairs.⁴⁷ Activities following Matief’s appointment demonstrate strategic planning: while an order issued by the Sublime Porte Foreign Ministry declared participation at the conference of raw edibles and the conference of dentistry unnecessary,⁴⁸ the Ministry of Commerce released a call to “male and female producers” in the provinces to urge contribution of “hand-made crafts and products” to be sold at the Ottoman pavilions. The formation of an organization dedicated exclusively to the activities and needs of craftswomen was assigned directly to the highest-ranking Ottoman representative, Şekib Bey.⁴⁹ A lengthy discussion of the question of the applicability of custom’s tax on exhibition items involved twenty-three members of the Ministry of Commerce. The Ministry’s significant decision that items “exported to” and “imported from” St. Louis be tax-exempt both testifies to the government’s judicious efforts to encourage participation, and serves as proof that at least some of the exhibition items were expected to be “imported back,” either as surplus or because they had not been intended for sale.⁵⁰ The question that arises here is whether an old Qur’an from Jerusalem was among the items to which these correspondences refer.

The existence of a document released from the Sublime Porte Foreign Ministry on 10 *Şevval* 1321 [30 December 1903], mentioned earlier, instructing producers outside of the capital to send their merchandise to Istanbul to be shipped by boat to St. Louis, hints at a hitherto undiscovered list (or lists) of items that had

46 Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 154.

47 A.MTZ.(04).00110.00061.001.

48 BEO.002373.177936 and BEO.002370.177676.

49 For details of this women’s organization, see, BEO.002389.179172, BEO002369.177636, BEO.002331.174820.003, DH.MKT.00884.00004.004.

50 BEO.002308.173058, BEO.002319.173911, ŞD.OI221.00025. BEO.002350.176234 orders that in lieu of taxation, “export items” be subjected to escrow money or registered with a guarantor.

been delivered to the United States.⁵¹ Even in the absence of such a list, however, the government's scrutiny of the Fair's affairs as attested in these records make unconvincing the proposition that an official of the "Mosque of Omar" would be allowed to offer a precious Qur'an for sale. The unsustainability of Barton's claim thus leads to two suppositions: either the alleged sale had been conducted illegitimately, or it actually never took place. Research that examines these possibilities brings us close to a group of men and women whose personal interests and professional activities altered this *mushaf's* course of life and transformed it into a "sacred commodity."⁵²

Trajectories in and out of Palestine Igor Kopytoff, author of "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," describes commoditization as "a process of becoming rather than as an all-or-none state of being."⁵³ In this process, Kopytoff argues, commoditization of things such as public lands, monuments, state art collections, and ritual objects that are "publicly precluded from being commoditized" occurs when power "asserts itself symbolically by insisting on its right to singularize an object or a set or class of objects."⁵⁴ The case of this *mushaf*, because of the involvement of multiple powers (individuals, institutions, and states) and the fluidity of their positions at once as possessors, donors, and brokers, adds a new dimension to Kopytoff's theory of singularization and his discussion of how "power" operates. The relationships of these powers to the *mushaf* are best substantiated through a study of their engagements in Ottoman Jerusalem.

In his autobiography, William Barton makes no mention of a visit to the St. Louis Exposition. Yet, based on a brief reference to an invitation that he received to the 1898 Tennessee World's Fair, as well as a note about a heart attack that his wife Esther Barton suffered in St. Louis in 1904, it is possible to conjecture that Barton was present in St. Louis at the time of, if not prior to, the Fair.⁵⁵ Though a critical part of the *mushaf's* transaction narrative, however, Barton's possible

51 BOA.Y.A.HUS.463.37.

52 Patrick Geary, "Sacred Commodities: the circulation of medieval relics," in Appadurai, *Social Life of Things*, 169.

53 Igor Kopytoff, "The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process," in Appadurai, *ibid.*, 73.

54 *Ibid.*, 73.

55 William E. Barton, *Autobiography*, 310.



Fig. 6. William E. Barton's handwritten note on the inside of the Qur'an's cover

presence on the Fair grounds, before or during the exhibition, does not necessarily verify his statement about his purchase of the Qur'an on that site.

A significant piece of information that challenges Barton's claims in his 1913 letter is the above-mentioned note that he inscribed upside down on the inside of the Qur'an's front cover. In ornate handwriting, Barton records these words:

This exquisite old Ms. Koran is from the Mosque of Omar, procured with great difficulty from a high sheikh of that mosque for the reproduction of that building at the World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904. Such a Koran no individual, even a Mohammedan, might own in Turkey, and no Christian could lawfully procure it (Fig. 6).

The discrepancy between a remorseful official statement submitted to Oberlin College and a handwritten note of triumphal ownership suggests that the transmission of the Qur'an from Muslim hands to a private owner involved more maneuvering than William Barton had wanted to reveal. The implication of these staggering contradictions is that the Qur'an was not sent to St. Louis voluntarily or as a result of a misunderstanding on the part of the sheikhs. Furthermore, the note suggests the *mushaf* was procured prior to the opening of the Fair, rather than through a sale at the end of it. If Barton had not purchased this Qur'an at the Fair though, but rather prior to it, where had he acquired it? Precisely what was that "great difficulty," which he felt the need to record on the *mushaf*, and how did he overcome it? Answers to these questions bring to light the dynamics of the type of commoditization that brings together, as Appadurai expounds, "actors from quite different cultural systems" who share "only the most minimal understanding (from the conceptual point of view) about the objects in question and agree *only*

about the terms of trade.”⁵⁶ What follows is an account of each of these actors’ interactions with, or rather interference in, the social life of this *mushaf*.

William Barton came from a humble background. Despite this, like his elder cousin and close friend Clara Barton (1821-1912), founder of the American Red Cross, he aspired to a life and career that would leave a mark on history. The close relationship between the two cousins is attested in the letters they exchanged between 1901 and 1929, with occasional interruptions because of both of their demanding careers. In letters penned with deference and warmth, Clara and William Barton discussed various family matters, but their exchanges more often concerned professional activities and future plans.⁵⁷ The Bartons’ tight relationship is also evident in Clara Barton’s visit to Oberlin in 1868 to deliver a lecture on the Civil War.⁵⁸ Several years later, after earning his degree from the Theological Seminary, William Barton gave speeches at various Red Cross events and campaigns, and in his old age, wrote a biography of Clara Barton.⁵⁹

Among Clara Barton’s extraordinary deeds was a missionary visit to the Ottoman Empire in 1895. Cable dispatches that the legendary nurse sent from the towns of Van and Bitlis to the Red Cross headquarters in New York, as well as the reports that she submitted to American newspapers, shed light on the period’s events from her perspective.⁶⁰ In these reports, as well as William Barton’s account of her activities in Ottoman lands, Clara Barton emerges as a woman fully preoccupied with a humanitarian, rather than a bibliophilic, agenda, though she did own a quite extensive library.⁶¹ Although she received from the Sultan the

56 Appadurai, “Commodities and the politics of value,” 15.

57 Library of Congress, Clara Barton Papers; 1901-1929.

58 *Lorain County News* (8 January 1868), 3.

59 William E. Barton, *The Life of Clara Barton: Founder of The American Red Cross* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922).

60 For a report dated 3 *Muharrem* 1314 [14 June 1896] relating to a statement that Clara Barton gave to an American newspaper about her efforts to distribute humanitarian aid in Ottoman lands and the aid she stated Ottoman officials provided to her, see BOA.DH.TMIK.M.7.24. Another document (Y.A.HUS.00349.00037.001) released from the *sadaret* on 21 *Şevval* 1313 [5 April 1896] contains a commentary on Clara Barton’s statements to American papers about the events in Anatolia and Russia’s involvement. For articles announcing her return to New York and reporting her activities in Anatolia, see *Washington Times* (13 September 1896), *St. Paul Daily Globe* (12 December 1895), and *Morning Times* (13 September 1896).

61 For an account of Clara Barton’s activities in the Ottoman Empire, see, William E. Barton, *ibid.* 256-57.



Fig. 7. Lilian von Finkelstein Mountford (Lydia Mamreov) with her siblings or members of her troupe

prestigious *şefakat nişanı*⁶² for her relief work in Anatolia, presentation to her in Istanbul of a 15th-century Qur'an from Jerusalem as an honorary gift appears quite unlikely. For these reasons, Clara Barton's name cannot be directly associated with this Qur'an. She does lead us, however, to a more likely agent, the Mamreov family.

The Mamreovs were a renowned Russian family. The father, a colonel in the Russian army, had fled his native land due to political troubles, and settled in Jerusalem where his four children, Bruce, Peter, Anna, and Lillian, were born. According to the introduction of *Iesät Nassar: The Story of the Life of Jesus The Nazarene*, authored by Bruce, Peter, and Anna Mamreov, the family held privileges in Palestine: in 1840, Sultan Abdülmecid granted the father "a *firman*, a decree that gave him and his family prestige, not only with the ruling Mohamedan families, but also with the leading Oriental Christian and Moslem ecclesiastics."⁶³ Furthermore, two of the siblings (presumably Peter and Anna) were connected with the United States Consulate in Jerusalem, and one of them also worked with the representative of the Palestine Exploration Society in that city (Fig. 7).⁶⁴

62 A medal of honor given exclusively to women who conduct charitable work. For a photograph of the *şefakat nişanı*, see William E. Barton, *ibid.*, 257.

63 *Iesät Nassar: The Story of the Life of Jesus the Nazarene* (New York: Sunrise Publishing Company, 1895), introduction.

64 *New-York Tribune* (16 August 1900), 9. Peter Mamreov's service as U.S. Vice Consul in Palestine is also noted in his obituary in *New-York Tribune* (10 January 1902), 9.

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The Mamreovs' connections with Palestine were most visible in their activities at the Chautauqua Institution in New York, which, incidentally, housed for many years a model of Jerusalem.⁶⁵ Upon emigrating to the United States, the young Peter von Finkelstein Mamreov (1855?-1902), a linguist well versed in English, French, Russian, Italian, German, Spanish, and Arabic, settled in New York where he began to work for *The New York Times*.⁶⁶ His lectures on the Holy Land, often accompanied by an entertaining troupe dressed in native Palestinian clothes, were highly popular in Chautauqua circles.⁶⁷ On more than one occasion, Peter Mamreov's active career brought him into the company of Clara Barton at Glen Echo.⁶⁸

Also active participants at the Chautauqua, the two Mamreov sisters, Anna Mamreov (d. ?) and Lilian (more commonly known as Lydia) von Finkelstein Mountford (1855-1917), were likewise dedicated to teaching on Palestine. Like her brother Peter, in her personal and professional life, Lydia had a theatrical side to her: as she promoted the life in the Holy Land, "the Oriental lecturess" loved to dress up in native garb and made frequent public appearances in costume.⁶⁹ On a more significant note, both Lydia and Anna were present in the American Jerusalem in 1904, Anna as translator and spokeswoman, Lydia as director of displays and exhibitions.⁷⁰

Of the two sisters, Lydia attracted more attention from the media. The "Daily Notes" section of the *Star*, dated 9 February 1904, lauds her appointment, only a few months before the inauguration of the Fair, with the words: "[T]he celebrated delineator of the manners and customs of the mysterious East, has been appointed director of displays and exhibits." At the time of the paper's publication, Lydia was in Jerusalem, "gathering specimens of the different nationalities which inhabit the Holy Land, and forming a collection of costumes, curios and other objects of interest."⁷¹ Given the specific purpose of her visit, it is possible that the Mamluk Qur'an was among those objects of interest that Lydia had brought to St.

65 *World's Fair Bulletin* (September 1902): 5.

66 *New York Tribune* (16 August 1900), 9, *The Evening World* (16 March 1895), 4.

67 For narratives of Peter Mamreov's lectures, see, *Belmont Chronicle* (24 August 1893), np., *The Evening World* (16 March 1895), 4, and *Shenandoah Herald* (26 June 1891), n.p.

68 *The Sunday Herald* (12 July 1891), 2, and (28 June 1891), 2.

69 *Star, Daily Notes* (9 February 1904), issue 7931, 2.

70 *World's Fair Bulletin* (August 1903): 38.

71 *Star, Daily Notes* (9 February 1904), issue 7931, 2.

Louis. Assuming this was the case, one wonders whether she might have acquired the *mushaf* through purchase or through personal contact with the sheikhs of “Mosque of Omar,” assuming William Barton’s handwritten note on the Qur’an’s cover is truthful, at least in this regard.

Americans’ preparatory activities in Jerusalem are attested in two documents preserved in Ottoman archives. Of these, the first is a telegram that the Governor of Syria sent to the Ministry of Interior Affairs in Istanbul on 1 *Zilkâde* 1321 [19 January 1904], reporting the visit of one Monsieur Batur, “a member of the St. Louis Exhibition,” to Jerusalem “on invitation from the *mutasarrıf*.” The telegram informs the Ministry that M. Batur was visiting “to observe the environs of the Valley of Moses” and was in the company of local gendarmerie.⁷² Though it is tempting to think that the name Batur is a badly misspelled form of Peter, which would suggest a visit by Peter Mamreov, the identity of this guest remains to be discovered.

The second piece of correspondence, a letter sent by the *Nezaret-i Evkaf Hümayunu* (Ministry of Imperial Religious Foundations) on 3 *Rebiülevvel* 1322 [16 May 1904] is more revealing. The letter reports intelligence from Ben Halek, Keeper of Pious Endowments in Jerusalem, about “an American woman contacting the workers of the Noble Sanctuary regarding antiquities.” As investigation of the report continues, in the face of the “increasing numbers of foreign travelers who visit the Holy Land each year,” and who “try every method to gain possession of these antiquities,” the Ministry orders the Customs Office to search the belongings of foreign visitors at departure points for stolen artifacts. For added security measures, the Ministry orders that, with assistance from the sheikh of the Sanctuary, and under the supervision of the Pious Endowments, such items as “exalted Qur’ans, prayer rugs, candle sticks, and similar items that are not in constant use be gathered and protected in a special area within the premises of the Noble Sanctuary,” and that “a well-organized inventory of these items be prepared.”⁷³

The earnestness with which officials of the Noble Sanctuary responded to this order did not quite match the government’s expectations. In fact, Istanbul’s challenges in protecting and managing the holy sites and their relics only escalated thereafter, reaching an embarrassing climax in 1911 when Khalil Danaf, the chief sheikh and guardian of the Dome, was accused of accepting bribery from the

72 BOA.DH.MKT.00811.00047.001 and 002.

73 BOA.BEO.002333.174972.

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Fig. 8. Sheikh Khalil Danaf in his living room

British to facilitate secret excavations at the Haram enclosure.⁷⁴ Khalil Danaf’s name appears frequently in contemporary British and American newspapers reporting the incident, but his only photograph comes from an unexpected source. At the center of this undated and now yellow picture, the self-confident sheikh appears seated cross-legged at ease on the floor in what appears to be his living room. He wears a dark-colored turban that matches his dark, long, curly beard, and a light-colored heavy robe with a long embroidered scarf that touches softly the old, cushioned floor *kilims*. In his right hand, the sheikh holds loosely what appear to be two large and thick metal keys, while he secures a *tespih* between his left thumb and index finger. Because his eyes under a deeply wrinkled forehead look slightly above the center of the camera, the sheikh’s gaze transcends the viewer. To his left is a floor bed made of the same torn *kilims*, and a pillow that is laid against a closet fitted inside a niche on the bare wall. On the shelves of an open cupboard to his right are scattered cups and plates. The only articles of distinction inside the otherwise modest room are two pairs of metal keys, similar to the two in his hand, presumably those of the Dome, that hang prominently

⁷⁴ For detailed accounts of the incident, including Khalil Danaf’s removal from his position, see, BOA.DH.İD.23. For similar events of 1911, see *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, Vol. XXXIII, 1911 (Michigan: The Antiquarian Publishing Co.): 60.



Fig. 9. Sheikh Khalil Danaf and Lydia Mamreov under the Rock, Jerusalem

from a high shelf behind the sheikh. From his outfit and the items in his hand, Khalil Danaf appears to have just returned from outside. The powerful image of the sheikh becomes all the more arresting with knowledge that the photograph was once part of Lydia Mamreov's private library (Fig. 8).⁷⁵

The clandestine amity between Lydia Mamreov and Sheikh Danaf did not remain entirely undocumented: a photograph published in 1910 in *The Juvenile Instructor*, the organ of the Deseret Sunday School Union, shows the two within the chamber beneath the Rock inside the Dome (Fig. 9). The accompanying text by Charles E. Johnson of Iowa (1859-1939) is intriguing for both what it discloses and its triumphal tone that echoes that of Barton's note on the inside of the Qur'an's cover: "Through his [i.e., the sheikh's] friendship for Madam Mountford [i.e., Mamreov], I was enabled to secure many photographs which are impossible ordinarily to obtain. On one occasion, I made a picture by flashlight of Madam

⁷⁵ Library of Congress, *Miscellaneous material relating to the career of Lydia Mamreov von Finkelstein Mountford*, LCCN 2005692663, LOT 5918.

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Mountford standing on the Rock, a thing which has probably never been allowed before. The rank and file of the Moslems would have considered it sacrilege and desecration of the Rock, and would have doubtless made it extremely unpleasant for us had it become known."⁷⁶ "The American woman" in Jerusalem reported by the intelligence was, then, almost certainly, Lydia Mamreov.

If the Qur'an was indeed brought to St. Louis by Lydia Mamreov through the agency of Sheikh Danaf, though, how did it come into William Barton's possession? The Reverend's close involvement in Clara Barton's circles and in various Red Cross and Chautauqua events suggests that he might have met the Mamreovs prior to the World's Fair. Regardless of the time of their acquaintance, it is reasonable to think that, with her authority as Director of Exhibitions, Lydia Mamreov might have gifted, or more likely sold, the Qur'an to William Barton, either directly or through Clara Barton, with whom her brother (and possibly also she herself) was acquainted. Although this explanation is plausible, since the Mamreovs' purchase or sale of the *mushaf* cannot be documented, it is necessary to consider other actors as well, especially because the Mamreovs were not the only visitors from the United States to Palestine prior to the Fair.

As someone who traveled extensively in his own country, touring every state in the Union, and as a religious figure connected to a group of learned people with similar interests in the Holy Land, it seems only natural that William Barton visited Palestine himself. It is quite a coincidence, however, that his first overseas visit took place in 1902, only one year before the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase and the original date intended for the Fair's inauguration.⁷⁷ Despite the length of his tour and the variety of locations he visited, in his autobiography, Barton writes only this of his trip to the Holy Land: "We camped in Palestine, in those days when we traveled on horseback and dwelt in tents."⁷⁸ His nostalgic words notwithstanding, the Reverend's activities in Palestine were anything but an Orientalist fantasy.

Barton's days in Palestine are recorded in his post-visit communication. Among the individuals with whom the Reverend exchanged letters upon his

76 Charles E. Johnson, "The Mosque of Omar (Kubbet es-Sakhra, The Dome of the Rock," in *The Juvenile Instructor Organ of the Deseret Sunday School Union*, Vol. XLV, No. 11 (November 1910): 581.

77 Barton, *Ibid.*, 308-09. The date 1902 is misprinted as 1920.

78 Barton, *Ibid.*, 309.



Fig. 10. American Colony Store

return to the United States two stand out: Samuel Johnson (d. ?), an antique dealer, and Jacob ben Aaron, High Priest of the Samaritans (1840-1918). The contents as well as the frequency of the correspondence between Barton and these men shed light on two of Barton's interests: collecting old books, especially scriptures, and his commitment to help protect the small community of Samaritans.⁷⁹

Samuel Johnson was an independent book dealer who operated the American Colony Store in Jerusalem. Established in 1881 for philanthropic work, the American Colony was popular among the local Jewish, Christian, and Muslim communities. In around 1899, at the same time as it began to function as a hostel for visitors to the Holy Land, the society opened Vester and Co.—The American Colony Store. Established near the Jaffa Gate in the Old City in order to support the Colony's economy, the Colony Store offered to a clientele of tourists from America and Europe rugs, embroidery, costumes, jewelry and, although not recorded in the Colony's official publications, old manuscripts as well (Fig. 10).⁸⁰

Samuel Johnson's letters to William Barton from Palestine and Cairo between 1903 and 1904 do not include any references to a Qur'an. They do, however,

⁷⁹ Samaritans claim descent from the Northern Tribes of Israel. They were persecuted by Greeks and Romans, and their numbers diminished significantly in the 6th century under Justinian. For a history of the Samaritans, see Alan D. Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1989), and Alan D. Crown, Reinhard Pummer and Abraham Tal, *A Companion to Samaritan Studies* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1993).

⁸⁰ <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/americancolony/timeline05.html>. Accessed on 15 November 2015.

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Fig. 11. Jacob ben Aaron with his sons, holding the “oldest Pentateuch”

attest to the Reverend’s penchant for accumulating religious and historical manuscripts. In these letters, Johnson offers Barton several Torahs, with “most reasonable” asking prices, and reminds the Reverend of his first viewing of the scrolls at the Colony Store “while [he was] visiting with his group.”⁸¹ At least one of these Torahs, which Johnson identifies as Yemeni and dates to the early 14th century, is also housed at Oberlin College today. Of greater significance, however, is a Pentateuch in the same collection. Described in the Library’s “Gifts and Souvenirs” report as “a very old manuscript...from the Mount Zion synagogue of Jerusalem,” the manuscript is noted to have been “sent from that synagogue for display in the reproduction of the synagogue at the World’s Fair, St. Louis.”⁸² The emergence

81 Samuel Johnson’s letter dated 6 April 1903 is in the William E. Barton files at Oberlin’s Special Collections. Barton announces his plan to donate some manuscripts to the College in a letter he sent on 7 December 1912 to President King of Oberlin College. Barton explicitly requests not to be “thanked publicly.”

82 Incorrectly recorded as being from the 19th century. Accession number 091.222.1 / B 471.2 / 243808. In a handwritten note today preserved at Boston University (William E. Barton papers, nu. 17), Barton records, “This copy of the Samaritan Torah was purchased by me March 11, 1902, from one of the priests, Abu Hassan, son of the High Priest of the Samaritans, in Nablus, Palestine. It is complete and a good copy.” For his purchase narrative and analysis of the codex, see William Eleazar Barton, *The Samaritan Pentateuch: The Story of Survival Among the Sects* (Oberlin: The Bibliotheca Sacra Company, 1903).

of this sacred text within close proximity to the Mamluk Qur'an strengthens the conjecture that the *mushaf*, like the Pentateuch, had changed hands prior to the opening of the Fair.

A brief letter of ownership dated 1913, the same year Barton deposited the *mushaf* at the College, introduces a most interesting figure into the narrative, Jacob ben Aaron. In this letter written in Samaritan with an abbreviated translation in Arabic, the High Priest informs the Oberlin College of Barton's notice to him about his donation of the Pentateuch to the College (Fig. 11).⁸³ Barton had met Jacob ben Aaron in Nablus and, upon his return back home, exchanged numerous letters with him until 1912.⁸⁴ With help from his son Abu Hasan, who was literate in Arabic, the High Priest wrote in Arabic, and the Reverend responded in English.⁸⁵ During the course of his friendship with the High Priest (and after the Priest's death, with his son), Barton committed a great amount of time to helping the nearly vanishing community of Samaritans. Passionate to promote the significance of Samaritan heritage for Christianity and, as he would later mention in passing, also to convert the Samaritans,⁸⁶ Barton wrote essays on their religion, history, and culture, and prepared for publication a number of papers that the High Priest had authored.⁸⁷ As part of his efforts to help improve the Samaritans' financial state, Barton also purchased from Jacob ben Aaron at least a dozen manuscripts penned in Arabic on the lives, beliefs, and practices of Samaritans.⁸⁸

83 Informing the Library that he had copied the manuscript in his own hand, the High Priest assures the College that the codex is "complete and correct." He also adds that he had copied the book from an original in his synagogue to present it to his "brother and beloved friend Dr. Barton." William E. Barton files, Oberlin Library Special Collections.

84 About a year after his acquaintance with Barton, the High Priest sends a letter to the *sadaret*, requesting permission to travel to the healing thermal waters in Vienna. It is unknown whether the High Priest extended his trip to other places. For his letter and the subsequent permission from the government, see BEO.002130.159742.001 and DH.MKT.00749.00055.001.

85 Letters are today in the Barton collection at Boston University. For a study of this collection, see, James D. Purvis, "Studies on Samaritan Materials in the W. E. Barton Collection in the Boston University Library," in *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1972): 134-143.

86 William E. Barton, *Bibliotheca Sacra: The War and the Samaritan Colony* (1903) in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. 78, No. 309 (1921): 3. Barton mentions his discussion with E. K. Warren of an appropriate strategy for the Samaritans' hoped-for conversion.

87 William E. Barton, *ibid.*

88 This collection is today housed at Boston University.

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Exposed in the early years of the 20th century to a wave of avid American and European pilgrim-tourist-collectors, the Samaritans, it seems, found the sale of old manuscripts, mostly copies but originals as well (in "pretentious secrecy," as Barton described it in an account of one of his own bargainings),⁸⁹ to be a quick and effective remedy for their dire living conditions under Ottoman rule. The most significant group of visitors that the Samaritans hosted in that period was the participants in the World's Sunday School during its Convention in the Holy Land.⁹⁰ Under the leadership of such affluent members as E. K. Warren, the eight hundred members of the Convention's American branch arrived in the real Jerusalem in April 1904, just as their less fortunate fellows had begun to stroll the streets of the imitation town in St. Louis.⁹¹

The Cruise of the Eight Hundred: To and Through Palestine is a richly illustrated and collectively authored official publication of the 1904 Convention. Of particular interest in the book is an essay titled, "How We Dined as Guests of Abou Hassan," an eyewitness account of a dinner in honor of some of the Convention's participants. The author's account begins with the words, "Some of us were bidden to dine with Abou Hassan, officially attached to the Mosque of Omar." He remembers the arrival of the host "fresh from his duties at the Mosque," and "all smiles." The author then elaborates on how, initially startled by absence of plates, silverware, and napkins, the guests then followed their host, and "rolled up their sleeves and seized the lamb dish." Another memorable moment of the dinner was the viewing of the Mount of Olives: "From our point of observation, we could almost look into Gethsemane, while yonder all the while lay the foundation stone of Zion, elect, precious, but surmounted these many years by the dome of Mohammed. 'How long, O Lord? How Long?'" At the end of the evening, as "Abou Hassan, having dispensed a gracious hospitality," bid goodbye to his hosts, the author concludes, "his father, Brother Jacob, kissed him good-bye."⁹²

89 For a fascinating account of Barton's visit to the High Priest's house to purchase manuscripts, see, William E. Barton, *The Samaritan Pentateuch*, 10-13.

90 For announcement of the Convention, see *World's Fair Bulletin* (September 1902): 6.

91 After Warren's death, the manuscripts were transferred to the Warren family museum. In 1950, when the Warrens closed the museum, the collection was given to Michigan State University. For more on the history of the collection, see, Robert T. Anderson, "The Museum Trail," in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (March 1984): 41-43.

92 *The Cruise of the Eight Hundred: To and through Palestine* (New York City: The Christian Herald Press, 1905), 199-204.

This account of a lamb-dish dinner further reveals the complexity of the network of people and events within which the *mushaf* was circulated. Could it be Abu Hasan whom William Barton called “the high sheikh of Mosque of Omar” on the inside of the Qur’an’s cover? Barton’s friendship with the High Priest’s son strengthens this supposition, especially in light of Abu Hasan’s prominent rank within the local community and the privileges that he held as a mosque official. At the same time, Abu Hasan’s friendship with E. K. Warren, the likely author of the essay on the sumptuous dinner, prompts one to also consider Warren’s role in this transaction.

E. K. Warren (1847-1919) was a wealthy manufacturer from Michigan. After his visit to Palestine, like William Barton, he had become a guardian of the Samaritan heritage. In order to help the financial state of the Samaritans, he purchased manuscripts from them, and even envisioned a Samaritan museum in Palestine.⁹³ Though he was not able to realize his dream of a museum, Warren helped establish the American Samaritan Community, a charitable organization run by prominent religious figures, including William Barton. Warren’s plausible acquaintance with Abu Hasan and his friendship with Barton through the Community have implications, though faint, that might shift the outlines of this Qur’an’s journey: If Abu Hasan had indeed been instrumental in the *mushaf*’s departure from “the Mosque,” and if it was to Warren that he had delivered the book, then the *mushaf* would have been a later addition, if it was present at all, to the display in the American Jerusalem. In this case, one might surmise that Warren presented the *mushaf* to Barton upon his return to the United States (at which time the Jerusalem exhibition had already been inaugurated) or at a later date. The Fair, then, would simply have served as a convenient pretext to legitimize Barton’s latest addition to his collection.

The active journey of the *mushaf* came to a halt in the year 1926, when William Barton officially donated the Qur’an to Oberlin College. Interestingly, this date corresponds to the year when the Reverend visited Nablus, for a second and last time, to distribute what remained of the treasury of the American Samaritan Community after Warren’s death. With its disposition, the Community had ceased to exist, also bringing to an end Barton’s relationship with the Samaritans.⁹⁴ It was perhaps no coincidence that Barton decided this was time to officially separate from his Jerusalem treasury.

⁹³ A Samaritan museum was established in 1997.

⁹⁴ James D. Purvis, “Studies on Samaritan Materials,” 143.

These names and events offer us possibilities that might account for this Qur’an’s journey from Jerusalem to St. Louis, and thence to its final destination in Oberlin. Despite the ambiguities of their cases, the possible roles that Sheikh Danaf and Abu Hasan played in the biography of this *mushaf*, much like the involvement of the highly religious community of the Samaritans in transactions of their own sacred texts, complicate the operations of power as they have been delineated by Kopytoff. In cases where objects are commoditized by the very power(s) entrusted with their protection, as the world witnesses with ever-increasing frequency in geographies where traditional political systems are disintegrating and being replaced by erratic, if potent, forms of governance, terms of commoditization are becoming dangerously elusive, imposing a whole new array of challenges on issues of protection of Islamic cultural heritage. The story of this *mushaf* illustrates that circulation of sacred objects through exchange, sale, gift, or theft, as it transforms the holy into mundane, also results in the reconstruction at each stage of reappropriation a new value and meaning for the object. This, I believe, is all the more reason why objects’ social lives, which surely will not fit on a museum wall label, should be acknowledged as an essential part of their art-historical narratives. It seems more likely to me that the challenges that we face today as art historians and museum experts could be rallied through scholarship that brings to the fore the itinerant lives of objects, rather than through practices that confine them within impervious glass cases.

Finally, Appudurai’s emphasis on the form of objects, within which, he argues, their meanings are inscribed, redirects attention to the importance of analytical approaches to formal issues. As I discuss in detail below, this *mushaf* bears the marks in several places of a number of intentional damages: its opening and final folios were removed and replaced at a later date with European leaves and a page salvaged possibly from another Mamluk Qur’an (further complicating this codex’s biographical narrative), and its inner cover and several pages are disfigured with scribbles in pencil and ink. Coupled with unintentional damage (trimming of the text on the edges during the rebinding process, and water damage), the long-lasting effects of the abuses the *mushaf* has suffered are nonetheless helpful in documenting the various stages of its life from its creation, active use, displacement, and circulation, to its nascent state in a storage room. Though specific details of each of these stages might escape us, the current physical condition of the codex testifies in tangible terms to the alterations and mutilations that its long journey inflicted on it. Regardless of how he acquired this Qur’an, from the Mamreovs,

from Samuel Johnson, Jacob ben Aaron, Abu Hasan, or E. K. Warren, William Barton played an important role in its history. An ambitious collector though he was, Barton was not a diligent cataloguer, and left us with little information about the individual items in his collection. I, therefore, conclude this article with a description and analysis of the Qur'an.

The codex The Qur'an is a single volume *mushaf* with two hundred and forty-one leaves, abruptly ending on f. 241b with *surah al-Kafiruun*. The pages are not foliated. A rectangular Oberlin College Library sticker on the inside of the back cover identifies the codex as a gift of William E. Barton and contains the information, "Accession number 295654, Class 091.297, Book K84." A pencil notation on the front cover of the Qur'an, written upside down, reads, "091 K 84 (on deposit)." In addition, f. 241a bears the imprint of a stamp in blue ink with the numbers 295654. An embossed Oberlin College stamp is visible on the right lower corner of the Qur'an's last page. A notation written upside down on the same page and inscribed and signed by Barton in black ink has been noted above. The only other evidence of ownership is a notation in Arabic found on the recto side of the opening page, scribbled faintly in pencil, presumably by a child. It reads, "*hadha al-mushaf li-shaykh ...*[illegible word]" (this *mushaf* belongs to sheikh).

The Qur'an, which is missing the recto side of its original illuminated opening page as well as its final folios that would have contained the last five *surahs*, bears no internal evidence for exact dating. The word *waqf*, inscribed on its numerous pages in brownish ink by a scribe and in pencil by the later childish hand mentioned above, certifies that the Qur'an once belonged to a pious institution (Fig. 12). However, no colophon, impression of a seal, or indication of an endowment deed is visible.

The leather binding of the Qur'an measures 27 cm. x 38.5 cm. It is composed of pressed board and covered possibly with goatskin. The leather is glued to the back and no liner cords are sewn in. Both the front and back covers are blind-stamped at the center with a plain, oval *semse* composed of a thick circle surrounding ten thinner rings that make the background to a sun motif with teardrop-shaped arms diminishing in size toward the center. The area between the outer border of the *semse* and the sun motif is filled with two symmetrical plant motifs whose arabesque leaves spring from a double-leaved root. The *semse* on

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Fig. 12. Page from the Mamluk Qur’an showing scribbles in pencil

both the front and back covers is surrounded first by a single and then, toward the edges of the cover, by a double frame of small heart motifs. The inner single frame is blind-stamped on four corners with a fan-like arabesque pattern. The fan-like patterns at the corners flank a different arabesque motif found at the center of the top and the bottom of the inner frame. The binding has a tuck flap decorated with a frame composed of the same small heart motifs and two arabesques facing one another at the center. The fore-edge flap lining contains a chain of black diamonds that run its length. The spine and the tuck flap are heavily worn. The Qur’an has been rebound at least twice. During the process, pages were re-trimmed and some of the marginalia was lost (Fig. 13).

The unpolished, thick, creamish, and unwatermarked paper is one-quarter *Baghdadi*. Page dimensions are 35 cm. x 25 cm. The text block measures 22 cm. x 30 cm. Catchwords are added in black ink in a later hand. Laid lines are inconsistent, and even the more pronounced ones are visible only under powerful light. The number of folios nested in each gathering varies between three and six: while the first gatherings show a pattern of fours and sixes (with the exception of the first gathering, which has folios of threes), the final gatherings have folios of five, with the exception of the last gathering, which has folios of four, and the second to the last gathering, which has folios of three. The first and the final gatherings are sown in white thread, while in the remainder of the book red thread is used.



Fig. 13. Page from the Mamluk Qur'an showing lost edges as a result of trimming

The original flyleaf is replaced with European paper, possibly Italian. The recto side of the flyleaf is firmly glued to the inside of the cover, and its verso side is blank except for two large letters (*kaf* and *alif*) scribbled in pencil, presumably by a child. The backside of the flyleaf contains *surah al-Fatiha*, inscribed at a later time. Close examination of the folios during partial separation of the binding from its pages revealed that the next page that follows the flyleaf is a single European sheet tipped in with generously applied adhesive. Laid on and consolidated firmly with glue on the verso side of this single sheet is the Qur'an's only illuminated page, salvaged possibly from another Mamluk Qur'an, containing the first four verses of *surah al-Baqarah*. This side is further consolidated on the edges and on the left bottom corner with patches of European paper, creating a paper surface with several uneven layers. *Surah al-Baqarah* continues on the backside of the single European sheet.

The replacement with European paper is done casually, as attested by the non-matching direction of the chain lines; while the flyleaf is laid out so that the chain lines appear vertically, the single sheet tipped in with adhesive has chain lines that appear horizontally. Three different watermarks are visible on the European paper used for replacement or repair. Of the three, the one found on the verso side of the flyleaf is especially helpful since its recto side is glued to the inside of the front cover, which indicates that it was replaced at the same time the

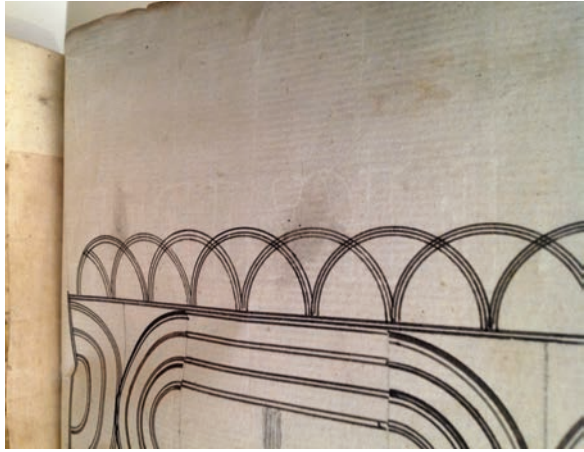


Fig. 14. Watermark on the modern page

Qur’an was rebound. This watermark contains in capital letters the word FRATELLI, showing the paper’s Italian origin, specifically, as being produced by the Fratelli Andreoli Cartiera Company. Two other watermarks by the same company, a three crescent motif on f. 135b and a watermark composed of capital letters A and C topped by the letter F to form a triangle on f. 152b (following verse 38 of *surah al-Qisas*), allow us to propose a late 18th-century *terminus post quem* for the Qur’an’s present binding as well as its major repair (and, possibly, concurrent infringement) (Fig. 14).⁹⁵

Other pages bear repairs done with lower quality white or yellowish scrap paper used either to cover a hole or to consolidate a decaying surface. Many of the folios are in need of restoration for tears and decomposed edges. A pre-modern reconstruction attempt that used excessive adhesive on the hinges caused some of the pages to stick together, making it unsafe to flip the pages without the help of a conservator. Hinges that create resistance to turning pages pose a danger of fissure, and call for an urgent need for restoration.

While the folios did not suffer from insect damage, a number of pages through one third of the Qur’an contain large water stains and patches of mold that are eating into the paper. Also damaging is the ink that is penetrating through the paper in places, creating holes and weakening it. Further damage to the book, though removable, is done carelessly, as if accidentally, in pencil and ink by the hand of a child. Among the words scribbled in this hand are *waqf* (anywhere from one to

⁹⁵ Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 291-92.

eleven times on a double page), *haqq*, Allah, and praises of Allah and the Prophet Muhammad. In addition, f. 12a (*surah al-Baqarah*: 196) contains on top three drawings of David's star (one in pencil and two in black ink) and three drawings on the left margin that together resemble the Seal of Solomon, a talismanic mark intended to protect the Holy Book from worms and insects. In a few *surah* headings, the eyes of the letters are filled in pencil. Pencil is also used to scribble on several folios circular *ayah* dividers. Doodles in pencil (and, in one case, in purple crayon) are visible on a few folios. In addition, f. 12a bears a drawing in yellowish brown ink of what resembles a magic square.⁹⁶

In the absence of internal written evidence, the dating of the Qur'an to the Mamluk period, and specifically to the 15th century, is possible through an analysis of its formal and stylistic features. As noted earlier, the paper used is one-quarter *Baghdadi*, frequently seen in Mamluk Qur'ans of the period. Unlike a typical Ilkhanid Qur'an (as this *mushaf* is erroneously recorded to be) with few lines to a page, this *mushaf* contains thirteen lines to a page, except for f. 1b (the single European sheet tipped in with adhesive), which has twelve lines, and f. 241b, which has fourteen lines. A striking feature of the Qur'an is the six-line division of the main text on its incipit pages.

96 For magic squares, see, Gacek, *ibid.*, 137.

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Fig. 15. The only illuminated page of the Mamluk Qur’an

Another interesting feature of this Qur’an is the text block found on its only illuminated page (the salvaged page that contains the opening verses of *surah al-Baqarah*) that is framed on all four sides, creating a self-contained illumination. The square format of the text block is contrasted above and below with a central oval cartouche with semi-circular ends filled with free-floating arabesques in gold finely outlined in black ink and set against a blue background. While the upper oval cartouche contains the name of the *surah* and place of revelation, the lower cartouche indicates the number of *ayahs*. Unlike most Qur’ans from this period, which have titles in stylized Kufic, inscriptions in the oval cartouches are penned in *naskh* in white with a thick gold outline. Vertical panels forming the right and left side of the border contain medium-sized flower motifs resembling carnations painted in gold with black outlines and lightly touched with blue on the inside. The background is also painted gold. The upper and lower panels end with a circular medallion on the left margin. The upper medallion is partially smashed and trimmed, the lower one is entirely lost, and its place is patched with a square of now soiled and worn European scrap paper. To the left of the frame is a characteristically Mamluk hemisphere filled with golden arabesques set against a blue background. The six lines of calligraphy inside the text block are framed by cloud motifs joined by lively arabesques (Figs. 15 and 15a).



Fig. 16. The modern page facing the illuminated page

The recto side of the incipit pages (the backside of the European flyleaf) replicates the salvaged verso side in two aspects—in its square text block with an even number (six) of lines, and in its four-sided frame—but otherwise bears no similarity to it. Both the text and the frame are in black ink and unilluminated. All four panels forming the rectangular frame block contain oval cartouches that end in semi-circles, but the cartouches contain no inscription. As opposed to the small spikes that surround the frame and the medallions on the verso side, the frame of the recto side is crowned by eight interlocking semi-circles and does not have any medallions on the edge. Overall, the design that is created by use of a regular or a bullseye compass appears very modern, rigid, amateurish, and out of place (Fig. 16).

The discrepancy between the recto and verso sides of the opening pages raises questions about the book's physical integrity and motivations for its restoration. Why, for instance, was only the verso side of the opening pages salvaged? Was *surah al-Baqarah*, written in a different hand, reinscribed on a new page because the lines originally on the backside of the salvaged page did not match this Qur'an? If the salvaged page was part of the original Qur'an, where is the other half of the folio? The fact that the illumination appears on a single sheet detached

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Fig. 17. The first three pages of the Mamluk Qur’an inscribed in different calligraphic hands

from its other half (which should have been sewn into the same gathering) and is tipped into the gathering by use of adhesive increases the likelihood that this illuminated page once belonged to another Qur’an. The presence on each of these three pages of three different calligraphic hands that do not appear again in the rest of the Qur’an also supports this argument (Fig. 17). I contend, therefore, that the opening and final folios of the Qur’an were removed intentionally, in order to obliterate evidence of ownership, or to increase profit by selling the removed pages separately. Either at the time of this damage or at a later date, these leaves were then replaced with modern European paper and with a single page salvaged from another Mamluk Qur’an.

As is the case with a prominent group of Mamluk Qur’ans, this Qur’an’s pages are not framed, nor do they have any decorative elements other than the red ink used in *surah* headings, *ayah* separations, and orthographic marks. *Surah* headings include the name of the chapter, place of revelation, and the number of *ayahs* inscribed in large *thuluth* extending the length of a line, and at times bracketing the final words of the preceding *surah*. The main text is written in bright and intense black ink, which has faded on several folios toward the bottom of the page as a result of frequent physical contact. *Ayahs* are separated in an archaic manner by upturned apostrophes arranged in clusters of three. The text is divided into *ajza* and each *nisf* and *rub*’ is indicated in the margins in large letters in red ink, often trimmed during a rebinding process. Other marginal notations include



Fig. 18. Page showing water damage

editorial corrections in different hands and various scribbling in the childish hand mentioned above.

Five major and at least a couple of minor different calligraphic hands are visible. Both of the minor hands are in *riq'a*, and are used to make interlinear corrections in pencil and in felt red ink. The recto side of the opening page with *surah al-Fatiha* is penned in an elegant and well-proportioned *naskh* in black ink without punctuation marks. The hand in the facing illuminated page containing the first four verses of the *surah al-Baqarah* is written with a thicker pen using darker black ink in a hand that verges on Mamluk *naskh*: letters are smaller, *kaf* is written in two-strokes, the swooping curve of the final *nun* ends before it forms a full bowl. There are no punctuation marks. The *surah* continues on the backside of this consolidated page and is inscribed in a third different hand writing in a small and spread-out *naskh*. The calligrapher uses the archaic, S-curved *kaf*, and his single-stroke *lam-alif* is circular at the bottom. Punctuation marks are indicated in red ink in the form of three unfilled teardrops creating a triangle. A handful of orthographic marks in red ink indicate elongated pronunciation. The fourth hand is the major corrective hand in a neat and vibrant *naskh*. This scribe's *ayns* are slightly curved up and elongated on top, and his single-stroke *lam-alifs* are gently tipped to the left and flat at the bottom. His archaic, single-stroke *kafs* are likewise curved up, bringing a subtle and attractive dynamism to his writing. His corrections are found more often on scrap paper that is whiter than the paper

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used by the original scribe of the *mushaf*. Finally, the fifth hand, the hand of the original scribe, is a neat and legible *naskh* with slightly elongated forms. He uses both the archaic, S-curved *kaf* and the two-stroke *kaf*. His *alifs* are a stroke without a serif. The tail of his *mims* curve up, and the curve of his *nuns* do not extend to complete a bowl. Typical of Mamluk writing, the scribe marks the otiose *alif* and other orthographic marks in red ink (Fig. 18).

The Qur’an has been preserved reasonably well by its past owners, and given its age and the distances it traveled, it did not deteriorate as might be expected. Future research and display do call for, however, comprehensive conservation and preservation plans.

“Such a Koran no individual might own”: The Biography of a Mamluk Qur’an from Ottoman Jerusalem

Abstract ■ Much compelling work has been produced on World’s Fairs of the 19th and 20th centuries that discusses the sociological, anthropological, political, technological, and industrial aspects of these ventures. While some catalogs remain, individual objects that were on display at these expositions have received no scholarly attention. This article presents the research findings on such an item, a 15th-century Mamluk Qur’an from Jerusalem that was brought to the United States, alleged to have been displayed at the World’s Fair of 1904 in St. Louis.

Since its donation to Oberlin College and Conservatory in 1926 by the Reverend William Eleazar Barton (1861-1930), the celebrated biographer of Abraham Lincoln, this Qur’an has never been the subject of scholarly research. This study places the Mamluk Qur’an at its center, but avoids the recent “back to the object” trend in the field of Islamic art history. Rather, using primary sources (such as written correspondence between the United States and Ottoman governments, personal letters of the Qur’an’s past owners, photographs, and newspaper reports), the article works to contribute to scholarship that explores the “routes” that objects travel, rather than their “roots.” Instead of focusing on a much too familiar story of illicit antiquities transaction, the article explores the Mamluk Qur’an’s biography that testifies to issues of protection of cultural heritage in the early-modern period. Furthermore, the distances that this Qur’an traveled and its fragile state provide an insight into the Ottoman government’s complicated relationships with its Christian and Samaritan subjects at the dawn of the 20th century.

Keywords: Mamluk Qur’an, 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair, The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, William E. Barton, Jacob ben Aaron, Lydia Mamreov, Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock, cultural heritage protection, Jews in Jerusalem, Samaritans in Jerusalem, American Colony in Palestine, Clara Barton.

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Special Section

Introduction:

Contacts, Encounters, Practices:

Ottoman-European Diplomacy, 1500-1800

Michael Talbot & Phil McCluskey***

On 24 June 2014, a small group of doctoral students and early career researchers met at the University of St Andrews to discuss ideas of contacts, encounters, and practices between the Ottoman Empire and European states between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.¹ The east coast of Scotland may not seem the most obvious location for a workshop on Ottoman-European diplomacy – Scotland as an independent kingdom never sent ambassadors to Istanbul, and only in the later nineteenth century do we find local Scottish businessmen acting as Ottoman consuls in Edinburgh and Glasgow to protect the interests of Ottoman commercial shipping in the docks on Clydebank and Tayside – but the beautiful surroundings of the oldest of Scotland’s ancient universities, which celebrated its 800th anniversary in 2013, and the surprisingly sunny and warm weather, helped the conversations to flow. The fruits of this workshop are presented in the following five papers, each of which examines Ottoman-European diplomacy in the early modern period from a different empirical and methodological base from archival sources and the increasingly rich scholarship in Ottoman studies,

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1 We would like to express our gratitude to the School of History at the University of St Andrews, the Department of History at the University of Sheffield, the Society for the Study of French History, and the Royal Historical Society for their generous support of this workshop. We would also like to thank Caleb Karges, Ninal Lamal, and John Condren for their probing questions and helpful comments, and are very grateful to Dr Condren for writing up a thorough conference report, available via ottomaneuropeandiplomacy.blogspot.co.uk/p/conference-report.html. We would also like to thank the editorial board of *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* for the opportunity to present these papers as a coherent group within this issue of the journal.

and which, in their sum, demonstrate the variety and vibrancy of the field of Ottoman-European encounters.

The historiography of Ottoman-European diplomacy is increasingly wide-ranging, with much of its focus on questions of international politics, particularly from the later eighteenth century when the Ottoman Empire began to dispatch regular resident ambassadors to foreign capitals.² Pivotal moments in Ottoman-European relations, notably the peace treaties of Carlowitz in 1699 and Passarowitz in 1718, have provided a chronological structure that emphasises different periods of interaction, adding nuance to the so-called ad-hoc period of diplomacy to demonstrate a variety of changing patterns of diplomatic practices.³ Given the central role of commerce in Ottoman-European relations throughout the early modern period, particularly with the northern European states, studies on diplomacy often take a commercial approach, through the Capitulations and through commercial disputes.⁴ Increasingly, historians have focused on the rhetoric and

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- 2 For instance: J.C. Hurewitz, 'Ottoman diplomacy and the European state system', *Middle East Journal* 15 (1961), 141-152; J.C. Hurewitz, 'The Europeanisation of Ottoman diplomacy: The conversion from unilateralism to reciprocity in the nineteenth century', *Bellesten* 25 (1961), 455-466; Thomas Naff, 'Reform and the conduct of Ottoman diplomacy in the reign of Selim III, 1789-1807', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83 (1963), 295-315; Gilles Veinstein, 'Les fondements juridiques de la diplomatie ottomane en Europe', *Oriente Moderno* 88:2 (2008), 509-522; Ercüment Kuran, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı İkamet Elçiliklerinin Kuruluşu İlk Elçilerin Siyasi Faaliyetleri* (Ankara, 1968); Onur Kınılı, *Osmanlı'da Modernleşme ve Diplomasi* (Ankara, 2006); Ömer Kürkcüoğlu, 'The adoption and use of permanent diplomacy' in *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed. A. Nuri Yurdusev (Basingstoke & New York, 2004), 131-150.
- 3 Rifaat Ali Abou-El-Haj, 'Ottoman diplomacy at Karlowitz', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87 (1967), 498-512; Rifaat Ali Abou-El-Haj, 'The formal closure of the Ottoman frontier in Europe, 1699-1703', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89 (1969), 467-475; Charles Ingraio, Nikola Samardžić & Jovan Pečalj (eds.), *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718* (Indiana, 2011). On the idea of ad-hoc diplomacy: Bülent Arı, 'Early Ottoman diplomacy: Ad Hoc Period' in *Ottoman Diplomacy*, ed. Yurdusev, 36-65; Virginia Aksan, 'Ottoman-French relations, 1739-1768' in *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History*, ed. Sinan Kunalp (Istanbul, 1987), 41-58.
- 4 Maurits van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls, and Beratlis in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 2005); Ali İhsan Bağış, *Osmanlı Ticaretinde Gayri Müslimler Kapitülasyonlar: Beratlı Tüccarlar Avrupa ve Hayriye Tüccarları, 1750-1839* (Ankara, 1983); Daniel Goffman, 'The Capitulations and the question of authority in Levantine trade', *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986), 155-161; Alistair Hamilton, Alexander de Groot & Maurits van den Boogert (eds.), *Friends and Rivals in the East; Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Levant from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century* (Leiden, 2000); Suraiya Faruqi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London & New York, 2004).

practice of relations throughout Ottoman history, producing in sum a rich body of scholarship upon which emerging Ottomanists can build their research.⁵ Beyond the ever-growing body of case-studies and examples, comparative studies of diplomatic aims, practices, and ideologies, both within the Ottoman context and beyond, will help us even further in making sense of the mass of evidence in European and Ottoman archives regarding diplomatic activities.⁶ Moreover, by acknowledging the importance of what has been termed “new” diplomatic histories – that is, a methodology that scrutinises diplomatic interactions using a variety of (often interdisciplinary) analytical frameworks – but not dismissing more state-centred scholarship, the study of Ottoman diplomacy is moving away from ideas of Ottoman or European exceptionalism, typified in the question of “conventional or unconventional” practices or ideas posed in A. Nuri Yurdusev’s edited volume on the subject, and towards more integrative and comparative approaches.⁷

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- 5 Gülrü Necipoğlu, ‘Süleyman the Magnificent and the representation of power in the context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal rivalry’, *The Art Bulletin* 71 (1989), 401-427; Konrad Dilger, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des osmanischen Hofzeremoniells im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (München, 1967); Güneş Işıksel, ‘Les méandres d’une pratique peu institutionnalisée: La diplomatie ottomane, XVe-XVIIIe siècle’, *Monde(s)* 5:1 (2014), 43-55; Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, ‘Polish embassies in Istanbul: Or, how to sponge on your host without losing your self-esteem’ in *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi & Christoph K. Neumann (Würzburg, 2003), 51-58; Karin Åhdal (ed.), *The Sultan’s Procession: The Swedish Embassy to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657-1658 and the Rålamb Paintings* (Istanbul, 2006); Christine Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel: The Ottoman and French Alliance in the Sixteenth Century* (London & New York, 2011).
- 6 In her study on sixteenth-century Ottoman power and diplomacy, Palmira Brummett suggested that a focus on the Ottomans’ eastern borders would greatly advance our understanding of their global outlook and diplomatic mechanisms, and recent studies have certainly borne this out. Palmira Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany, 1994), 10. See, for example: A.C.S. Peacock, ‘Introduction: The Ottoman Empire and its frontiers’ in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World* (Oxford, 2009), 1-27; A.C.S. Peacock & Annabel Teh Gallop (eds.), *From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks and Southeast Asia* (Oxford, 2015); Cihan Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans and the Mamluks: Imperial Diplomacy and Warfare in the Islamic World* (London & New York, 2014).
- 7 John Watkins, ‘Toward a new diplomatic history of medieval and early modern Europe’, *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38:1 (2008), 1-14; Stephen Pelz, ‘Towards a new diplomatic history: Two and a half cheers for international relations methods’, in *Bridges and Boundaries: Historians, Political Scientists, and the Study of International Relations*, eds. Colin Elman & Miriam Fendius Elman (Cambridge MA, 2001), 85-110; A. Nuri Yurdusev (ed.), *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional?* (Basingstoke & New York, 2004).

The St Andrews workshop was not, therefore, conjured from the ether, but aimed to build on historiographical trends in Ottoman studies and in the wider field of diplomatic history by showcasing the approaches and sources of emerging scholars. In formulating the intellectual rationale for this workshop, we were particularly concerned with the tensions between embassies as instruments of the state (with the ambassador as its personification), and ambassadors as individuals with their own networks, ideas, and agency. To borrow Daniela Frigo's framework: diplomacy in the early modern period was not an abstract *institution* but an *institutio*, a set of specific functions and roles.⁸ As part of this, we wanted to think critically about the sorts of sources that are available for the study of Ottoman-European diplomacy in the archives in Istanbul and beyond, and, more importantly, what different facets of diplomatic practice could be reconstructed. In particular, we hoped that the workshop would provide a comparative perspective on what Frigo called 'the social and institutional aspects of diplomatic practice'.⁹ From this, the three major analytical categories were developed: *contacts* consist of the correspondence and daily interactions between Ottoman and European actors, as well as the individuals that comprised their networks; the spaces of diplomatic interaction form Ottoman-European *encounters*, from the tentative delegations of the earliest relations to more regular meetings in embassies, courts, and borders; and *practices* refer to the daily functioning of embassies, from salaries to ceremonial to forms of address and writing. Analysing these categories requires individual case studies, and the papers that follow, ranging from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, and covering Ottoman relations with Venice, France, Britain, and Prussia, all provide examples based from a variety of Ottoman and European sources.

Emrah Safa Gürkan's examination of the Venetian *renegado* Uluc Hasan in the later sixteenth century and his relationship with the Venetian *baili* in Istanbul uses sources from the Venetian archives to provide a compelling narrative of their contacts and interactions, particularly when it came to securing and providing information, a key role of any early modern diplomat, and one that deserves further comparative consideration in the Ottoman context.¹⁰ Practices of knowl-

8 Daniela Frigo, 'Prudence and experience: Ambassadors and political cultures in early modern Italy', *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38:1 (2008), 35-55.

9 Daniela Frigo, 'Introduction' in *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy: The Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450-1800*, ed. Daniela Frigo, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge, 2000), 1-24 at 12.

10 Some fairly recent examples include: Emrah Safa Gürkan, 'Espionage in the sixteenth century Mediterranean: Secret diplomacy, Mediterranean go-betweens, and the Ottoman-Habsburg

edge transmission through encounters and contacts are explored further in Lela Gibson's study of the journey of the *Kâbusnâme* (Mirror of Princes) from Istanbul to Berlin via the Prussian diplomat Heinrich von Diez, beautifully demonstrating how the intelligence gathering by ambassadors sought out intellectual as well as political capital.¹¹ More than this, the transfer of such an important Ottoman political text to the Prussian milieu was indicative of closer political ties resulting from stronger Ottoman-Prussian relations. Moving from Berlin to Paris, Phil McCluskey considers the embassy of Müteferrika Süleyman Ağa to the court of Louis XIV in 1669 from the perspective of the French archival sources concerning the practices of this particular diplomatic encounter.¹² In seeking to critically reconstruct this delegation, it is possible to get a sense of the tensions arising from the encounters between the king and the envoy as individuals and as personifications of their respective states; it also demonstrates how ideas of court practices could clash. Similar forms of court practices of ambassadorial embassies and gift-giving are examined in Michael Talbot's critical analysis of the Ottoman text of the British Capitulations granted by Sultan İbrahim in 1641. Looking around the articles governing trade and consular jurisdiction, the treaty reveals a historical narrative that expressed Ottoman hierarchies of power through relating earlier encounters, but also codified ideas of friendship and gifting through a narrative of practices. Last, but certainly not least, Irena Fliter examines one of the most important but understudied elements of diplomatic practice: ambassadorial pay.¹³ In particu-

rivalry', Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University, 2012; Gábor Ágoston, 'Information, ideology, and limits of imperial policy: Ottoman grand strategy in the context of Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry' in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, eds. Virginia Aksan & Daniel Goffman (Cambridge, 2007), 75-103; Dror Ze'evi, 'Ottoman intelligence gathering during Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and Palestine' in *The Ottoman Middle East: Studies in Honor of Amnon Cohen*, eds. Eyal Ginio & Elie Podeh (Brill, 2014), 45-54, especially 47-50; Metin Ziya Köse, *Doğu Akdeniz'de Casuslar ve Tacirler: Osmanlı Devleti ve Dubrovnik İlişkileri, 1500-1600* (İstanbul, 2009).

11 On the *kâbusnâme* in general and in comparison, see: Linda Darling, 'Mirrors for Princes in Europe and the Middle East: A case of historiographical incommensurability', in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin, 2013), 223-242.

12 There is a much-disputed travel account of this embassy: Süleyman Ağa, *Süleyman Ağa Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Gündüz Akıncı (Ankara, 1973). See: İbrahim Şirin, *Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa* (Anara, 2006), 144-160.

13 Hacer Topaktaş, 'Osmanlı diplomasisinde "tayinat" sisteminin uygulanışı ve kaldırılışı (1794) üzerine bazı tespitler', *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi* 10:1 (2015), 31-49.

lar, by examining the debts accrued by the Ottoman ambassador Mehmed Esad Efendi at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Fliter reveals the importance of regular and accountable finance to the professionalisation or bureaucratisation of diplomacy; the financial records also shed light on a variety of diplomatic practices and contacts that would otherwise be unknown.

Some of the key themes that emerged at the workshop are further borne out in the papers presented here. One idea that emerged again and again in our discussions was that of language. The use of language, obvious though it may seem, was at the heart of diplomatic interactions. The linguistic role of the ambassador and his translators was crucial in shaping relations and their practices.¹⁴ All of the sources examined here, from the reports of the Venetian *baili* to the correspondence of the French ambassadors to the financial records of the Ottoman and Prussian ambassadors to the translations of Capitulations and political texts, have been mediated through translation or reported speech. With Ottoman texts, be they *ahdnames*, *mühimmes*, or archival *evrak*, accurate translation and comprehension of often dense language – not always an easy task, particularly given the sometimes near impenetrable scrawl of long-dead *yazıcı*s – is absolutely central to making sense of the Ottoman side of the story.¹⁵ This is particularly important given the mistranslation or wilful reinterpretation of Ottoman terms or ideas by contemporary dragomans and ambassadors. By examining Ottoman texts in conjunction with European sources, archival and printed, our understanding of the Ottoman perspective can be enhanced, and a more rounded picture of diplomacy can be produced. Moreover, sometimes the European versions are all the evidence that survive of certain embassies or practices, requiring an extra-special effort of contextualisation.

Linked to language, the second key theme that emerged was one of identity. This is not simply the question of who or what was Ottoman or non-Ottoman

14 E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca & London, 2012), especially 165-188; Maurits van den Boogert, 'Intermediaries par excellence? Ottoman dragomans in the eighteenth century' in *Hommes de l'entre-deux: Parcours individuels et portraits de groupes sur la frontière de la Méditerranée, XVIe-XXe siècle*, eds. Bernard Heyberger & Chantal Verdeil (Paris, 2009), 95-116; Emrah Safa Gürkan, 'Mediating boundaries: Mediterranean go-betweens and cross-confessional diplomacy in Constantinople, 1560-1600', *Journal of Early Modern History* 19 (2015), 107-128; G.R. Berridge, 'Dragomans and Oriental Secretaries in the British embassy in Istanbul' in *Ottoman Diplomacy*, ed. Yurdusev, 151-166.

15 Virginia Aksan & Daniel Goffman, 'Introduction: Situating the early modern Ottoman world' in *Early Modern Ottomans*, eds. Aksan & Goffman, 1-12 at 9.

– although this is an extremely important question in the context of Ottoman relations with the wider world – but rather who was an ambassador or diplomat. Aside from the *sefirs*, *elçis*, *baili*, and other *ambassadeurs* who held official credentials, a whole variety of historical actors engaged in diplomatic practices and shaped diplomatic contacts and encounters, from naval captains and generals to poets to humble scribes and not-so-humble translators. Moreover, through diplomatic actors possessing multiple identities, diplomatic practices in the Ottoman Empire were often polysemic in nature, a feature greatly helped by ambiguities of language and translation. Certainly, key diplomatic roles such as formally representing the monarch and delivering royal or imperial letters and gifts were the prerogative of certain kinds of diplomat, but so much more was going on in Ottoman-European diplomacy at a number of political and social levels that might be classed as *diplomacy*.

One thing that the workshop's participants did not attempt to do was to provide a comprehensive definition of what diplomacy was or meant in the early modern Ottoman context. If we take Yurdusev's definition that it was 'the conduct of relations between states and other entities with standing in world politics by official agents and by peaceful means', then there are certain elements that our papers support, and other elements that might not fit so well.¹⁶ The various ways in which relations were conducted, recorded, and reported were not always by official agents, and the question of world politics was not always at the forefront of diplomatic concerns. Moreover, this definition perhaps makes the assumption that both parties saw themselves on an equal footing, and that the goal of diplomatic interactions, beyond the basic premise of maintaining peace, was the same. By not taking into account commercial, intellectual, financial, rhetorical, or personal interests, large segments of the stories presented here would not fit into this framework. In part, this is because diplomacy, not being a word really in use before the nineteenth century, is ahistorical for much of what we are dealing with. As such, we should perhaps think not in terms of Ottoman-European diplomacy, but rather in terms of Ottoman-European negotiations. The eighteenth-century French diplomat and writer, François de Callières, spoke not of diplomacy, but of the manner of negotiating with sovereigns (*de la manière de negocier avec les souverains*), a phrase translated into English in the early twentieth

16 A. Nuri Yurdusev, 'The Ottoman attitude toward diplomacy' in *Ottoman Diplomacy*, ed. Yurdusev, 5-35 at 10.

century as ‘the practice of diplomacy’.¹⁷ De Callières’s opening statement might well suit our cases better:

The art of negotiating with sovereigns is so important, that the fortune of the greatest states often depends on the good or bad conduct and on the level of capacity of the negotiators that are so employed, so that princes and their principal ministers cannot examine with too great a care the natural and acquired qualities of the subjects that they send into foreign countries in order to maintain a good correspondence with their masters, to make there treaties of peace, of alliance, of commerce, and of other kinds, to impede those that other powers might conclude there to the prejudice of their prince, and generally to take care of all the interests that they can manage there in the different junctures that may present themselves.¹⁸

The Ottoman and European diplomats engaged in Ottoman-European relations were nothing if not negotiators. As well as negotiating the practices and products of high politics – the treaties, the alliances, and the all-important notion of friendship – they negotiated identities, ideas, languages, finances, and many other features of diplomacy in practice. And if we take a common Ottoman equivalent, *mükâleme*, then the negotiation becomes a kind of dialogue between the two parties, Ottoman and non-Ottoman, resulting in a rich variety of contacts and practices.¹⁹ Much work remains to be done on Ottoman-European diplomacy, from both Ottoman and European sources, but it is hoped that the following papers will play some role in helping to further our understandings.

17 François de Callières, *De la maniere de negocier avec les souverains* (Amsterdam, 1716); François de Callières, *The Practice of Diplomacy*, trans. A.F. Whyte (London, 1919).

18 De Callières, *De la maniere de negocier*, 1-2. ‘L’Art de negocier avec les Souverains est si important, que la fortune des plus grands Etats dépend souent de la bonne ou de la mauvaise conduite et du degré de capacité des Negociateurs qu’on y employe, ainsi les Princes et leurs principaux Ministres ne peuvent examiner avec trop de soin les qualitez naturelles et acquises des sujets qu’ils envoient dans les Pays Etrangers pour y entretenir une bonne correspondance avec leurs Maîtres, pour y faire des Traitez de Paix, d’Alliances, de Commerce et d’autres especes, pour empêcher ceux que les autres Puissances pouroient y conclure au préjudice de leur Prince, et generalement pour prendre soin de tous les interêts qu’on y peut menager dans les diverses conjonctures qui se presentent.’

19 For an example of the use of *mükâleme* in a diplomatic context, specifically on the negotiations of the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739, see: Mustafa Sami Efendi, Hüseyin Şakir Efendi & Subhi Mehmed Efendi *Tārīḫ-i Sāmī ve Şakir ve Su’bḫi* (Köşantiniye, 1198 [1783]), especially 90-112.

His Bailo's Kapudan:

Conversion, Tangled Loyalties and Hasan *Veneziano* Between Istanbul and Venice (1588-1591)

*Emrah Safa Gürkan**

Balyosunun Kapudanı: İhtida, Çetrefilli Sadakatler ve İstanbul ile Venedik Arasında Uluc Hasan Paşa (1588-1591)

Öz ■ Bu makale İstanbul'daki Venedik balyosu ile Venedikli bir mühtedi olan Kapudan-ı Derya Uluc Hasan Paşa (*Hasan Veneziano*) arasındaki ilişkiye odaklanmaktadır. Bu iki Venedikli arasındaki ortak geçmişin, ikilinin kişisel ilişkilerini ve Osmanlı Venedik arasındaki diplomatik görüşmeleri nasıl etkilediğini Venedik ve İspanyol arşivlerine dayanarak incelemektedir. İlk olarak, karşılıklı fayda üzerine bina edilmiş diplomasinin en üst seviyesindeki bu yardımlaşma çeşitli açılardan ele alınmaktadır. İkinci olarak ise, çalışmamız Uluc Hasan Paşa'nın geçmişi ve geleceği, anavatanı ve yeni yurdu, kısacası Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Venedik Cumhuriyeti arasındaki yalpalamasını etüd etmektedir. Bu Osmanlı mühtedisinin iç çatışmalarını nasıl çözdüğü ve çetrefilli sadakatlerin diplomatik görüşmelerde nasıl bir rol oynadığı gibi konular üzerinde durmaktadır. Son olarak, Hıristiyan hükümdarlar ve mühtedi paşalar arasında gerçekleşen benzer dinler-ötesi diplomatik görüşmeleri bir karşılaştırmaya tâbi tutarak, Avrupalı devletlerin mühtedilere karşı değişik tavırlarını incelemeye çalışmaktadır. İmparatorluk projelerindeki ve mühtedilerin sosyal arka planlarındaki farkların eski tebâlarıyla pazarlık ederken Habsburglar ve Venediklileri nasıl değişik argümanlar üretmeye ve farklı kavramlar kullanmaya ittiği gösterilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İhtida, mühtedi, kimlik, uyruk, aidiyet, dinler-ötesi diplomasi, gizli diplomasi, Kapudan-ı Derya, bailo, Osmanlı – Venedik ilişkileri, Habsburglar.

Introduction

Even though the Ottoman attitude towards them fluctuated over time, renegades remained the dominant group in the Ottoman administration and military

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throughout the sixteenth century. These renegades without local roots were expected to be utterly loyal to the Sultan to whose household they belonged. Mehmed II's policy of centralization entrusted these *kuls*¹ of the Sultan with the most important state offices. While most of these *kuls* were collected from the Sultan's domain through a system called *devşirme* (child levy), there were other means for renegades to join the Ottoman ranks. In addition to sporadic instances of voluntary conversions, a good number of them were incorporated into the Ottoman Empire through the Ottoman navy. Thanks to the rise of the privateering on the one hand and the intensification of the imperial rivalry between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs on the other, several entrepreneurial corsairs found employment in the Ottoman Empire. While some of these corsairs were Muslim-born, most were renegades, usually coming from the Western Mediterranean.

Earlier experimentation in fifteenth-century Italy proved the usefulness of resident ambassadors, a practice which, hand in hand with the emergence of centralized bureaucratic apparatuses, spread throughout Europe in the early 16th century.² Meanwhile, Istanbul gradually became a center of diplomacy as one after another Christian states started to send resident diplomats. Cross-confessional diplomatic negotiations³ usually took place between the mostly renegade Ottoman grandees and the European diplomats, two groups that shared a common Christian background. As the *devşirme* officers were Orthodox and of Balkan origin, the effects of this common religious background with Catholic diplomats may have remained rather limited. However, the Ottomans also employed renegades with Catholic and Western Mediterranean backgrounds, especially among

1 This word has a triple meaning. It could mean a slave, a servant or more broadly, the people of the Sultan. İ. Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Administration, 1550-1650* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 41.

2 Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (New York: Dover Publications, 1988, 1st ed. 1958), 132-140. For a revisionist approach to the issue of the emergence of modern diplomacy, see Isabella Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict: Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350-1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), especially 1-48.

3 The term allows us to move away from an unnecessarily dichotomic understanding of early modern diplomacy between a monolithic "East/Islam" and "West/Christianity". For a recent volume on cross-confessional diplomacy, see Maartje van Gelder and Tijana Krstić (eds.), *Cross-Confessional Diplomacy and Diplomatic Intermediaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, special issue of the *Journal of Early Modern History* 19/2-3 (2015): 93-259, especially eadem, "Introduction: Cross-Confessional Diplomacy and Diplomatic Intermediaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean," *Journal of Early Modern History* 19/2-3 (2015): 93-105.

the palace dragomans (*Divan-ı Hümayun tercümanı*) and the members of the Ottoman navy.

This article concentrates on the relationship between a high-level Ottoman official with such a background and the European diplomats of Western Mediterranean origin. It seeks to analyze how their shared background shaped diplomatic negotiations as well as their personal relationship. The relationship between the Ottoman Grand Admiral Uluc Hasan Pasha (a.k.a. *Hasan Veneziano*) and his compatriots, the Venetian baili, will enhance our understanding of the basic dynamics of cross-confessional diplomacy in late sixteenth-century Istanbul. Furthermore, due to the dearth of documentation such an exceptional relationship between a renegade Ottoman official and European diplomats has rarely been subject to careful scrutiny, especially for such an early period. Thanks to the detailed correspondence that the baili left behind for us⁴ and the supplementary documentation from other European archives, we are now in a position to shed light on an Ottoman renegade's tangled loyalties and inner conflicts, an unusual luxury for those studying the diplomatic and cultural history of the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire.

In the first part of what follows, we will discuss the political nature of the relationship between the baili and Hasan.⁵ To what extent did the two sides co-

4 Venetian diplomatic mission was the longest-serving one in the Ottoman capital and the baili were expert diplomatic negotiators and keen observers of political and military developments in Istanbul. Eric R. Dursteler, "The Bailo in Constantinople: Crisis and Career in Venice's Early Modern Diplomatic Corps," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 16/2 (2001): 1-30. For two reasons the baili had to be in contact with the Ottoman grand admirals continuously. First of all, early modern diplomats had intelligence duties as well. The chief information gathering objective of the diplomatic representative of a naval power such as Venice was to learn the military preparations in the Arsenal who fell under the purview of the Grand Admiral. Moreover, one of the baili's major diplomatic responsibilities was to ensure the Ottoman cooperation in punishing or at least restraining the unruly corsairs who, based in Ottoman port cities along the Aegean, Morean and Adriatic coasts, was attacking Venetian ships in contravention to the capitulations, the *'ahdnames*. Because of these two reasons, Ottoman grand admirals are the most frequently mentioned Ottoman officials after grand viziers in the bailate correspondence with Venice, the *dispacci*.

5 The relationship between the Venetian baili and Hasan started earlier when the latter was Grand Admiral Uluc Ali's majordomo. A grandee's majordomo was an important diplomatic figure because he functioned as an intermediary between his master and the European diplomats. However, in this essay we will rather focus on the years between 1588, the year when Hasan became the Grand Admiral, and 1591, the year when his career ended with an abrupt death. Hasan's early dealings with the baili as part of Uluc Ali's household cannot be taken to represent Hasan's own political agency as he was representing his master.

operate? What type of favors did they expect from and do for each other? What were the practical and material considerations at play behind their cooperation? How did their contemporaries see this close cooperation between two Venetians? What kind of methods did the latter employ in order to ward off accusations of betrayal and double game?

After delineating the particularities of this relationship, in Part II, we will analyze the mental framework of an Ottoman renegade while negotiating with his compatriots and facing a past that he had to forego years ago. First, we will demonstrate how he vacillated between the *Serenissima* and the Ottoman Empire, his past and present, his *patria* and his new home. By concentrating on Hasan's expressions and words of affection that betray his attachment to his natal land, we will try to scrutinize his tangled loyalties and conflicted trans-imperial identity.⁶ We will also discuss whether we can take these expressions, mentioned in a non-ego document, as genuine and thus whether they could reveal Hasan's inner conflicts arising from an identity tension. Then, we will compare and contrast the negotiations between Hasan and the baili with three similar cases of cross-confessional diplomacy: 1) a round of negotiations throughout the 1560s and 1570s between Uluc Ali (*né* Giovanni Dionigi Galeni) and a number of Habsburg go-betweens, 2) negotiations between Grand Admiral Cigalazade Yusuf Sinan Pasha (*né* Scipione Cicala) and his brother Carlo Cicala who was a Habsburg spy, 3) negotiations for surrender between Charles V and the Governor-General of Algeria, the Sardinian renegade Hasan Agha, during the Habsburg siege of Algiers in 1541. The difference in the rhetoric employed by the Habsburgs and the Venetians in these negotiations will highlight their divergent views on the issue of subjecthood as well as their relationship vis-à-vis their renegade subjects in Ottoman service.

6 The term, coined by Natalie Rothman, is an extremely useful one because it qualifies a simplistic understanding of cultural intermediaries. Trans-imperial subjects did not only forge ties across linguistic, religious and political boundaries and straddle them. They also consolidated the same boundaries they purported to mediate by articulating differences in specific institutional sites where these boundaries were constantly negotiated. With a careful combination of alterity and familiarity, trans-imperial subjects strategically positioned themselves between identities (local and foreign) and thus highlighted their indispensability as intermediaries; in Rothman's words, they "regularly mobilized their roots 'elsewhere' to foreground specific knowledge, privileges, or commitments to further their current interests." E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 11, also see Part Three.

PART I:

A MUTUALLY BENEFICIENT RELATIONSHIP

Although not as famous as his master Uluc Ali, Uluc Hasan Pasha, or Hasan Veneziano as he was known by the Europeans, was a key figure in the Ottoman maritime establishment throughout the 1580s. Thanks to a detailed study by Antonio Fabris,⁷ we have some information regarding his early life: He was born in 1544 as Andrea Celeste and the members of the Celeste family belonged to the *cittadini*, the citizens of the Most Serene Republic.⁸ At the age of 16, he was enrolled as a scrivener (*scrivanello*) in a Ragusan ship named *Fabiana* and then captured in 1563 by Turgud Reis, the most famous corsair of his time and then the Governor-General of Ottoman Tripolitania.⁹ Hasan soon converted to Islam, following the footsteps of several other Christian captives who were lured by a combination of disillusionment with captivity and desire for enrichment. When his captor Turgud died during the siege of Malta (1565), another corsair on the rise, the Calabrian renegade Uluc Ali, became his new master. Hasan quickly gained Ali's favor and became his majordomo (*kahya*), managing his vast household full of renegades like himself. When his master quickly furthered his career (Governor-General of Tripolitania (o. 1565-1568), Governor-General of Algeria (1568-1572) and Grand Admiral (1572-1587)), Hasan reaped the fruits of being close to power. Following the tradition of the time,¹⁰ he left his master's household in 1577 as the Governor of Salonica. Then he established himself as a major figure in Ottoman North Africa when he was appointed, a few months

7 Antonio Fabris, "Hasan 'il Veneziano' tra Algeria e Costantinopoli," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5 (1997): 51-66.

8 The class of *cittadini* constituted a hereditary elite with special economic, social, and bureaucratic privileges that opened for them careers in lower rank government offices. Unlike the aristocratic *patrici*, they did not have political rights; however, they played an important role in bureaucracy, charitable institutions, and commerce. They could be considered as mediators between the patrici and the rest of the population, the *popolo*.

9 "Relazione di Giovanni Moro, bailo a Costantinopoli, letta in Pregadi l'anno 1590," in *Le Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato durante il secolo decimosesto, vol. IX*, ed. Eugenio Albèri (Firenze: Società Editrice Fiorentina, 1855), 323-380; here 356-7.

10 Following the example of the sultanic household, members of the Ottoman grandee households, too, left their masters for independent careers. For sure these members established a patron-client relationship (*intisab*) and acted in alliance with their former masters; but this does not rule out the possibility that in time they could become rivals.

later, as the Governor-General of Algeria (o. 1577-1580, 1582-1585),¹¹ and then of Tripolitania (1585-1587), and Tunisia (1587-8). He gained so much political power and military prestige that at one point he openly defied his old master and became a serious contender for the leadership of the Mediterranean faction, as I discussed elsewhere.¹²

Recent studies prove that converts did not sever ties with their past.¹³ They retained their familial relations,¹⁴ as well as their regional identities,¹⁵ continued using their mother tongues,¹⁶ kept traces of their former

11 For his appointment as the Governor-General of Algeria, see Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri, *Mühimme Defterleri* XXX, no. 432 (H. 5 Rebiülevvel 985, A.D. 23 May 1577). No. 489 stipulates that he was formerly the governor of Salonica.

12 Emrah Safa Gürkan, "Fooling the Sultan: Information, Decision-Making and the 'Mediterranean Faction' (1585-1587)," *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 45 (2015): 57-96; here 89-90.

13 Bartolomé Bennassar and Lucile Bennassar, *Les chrétiens d'Allah: l'histoire extraordinaire des renégats, XVI et XVII siècles* (Paris: Perrin, 1989), passim.

14 Bennassar, *Les chrétiens d'Allah*, 396; Beatriz Alonso Acero, *Orán Mazalquivir, 1589-1639: Una sociedad española en la frontera de Berbería* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000), passim; Diane Austin Broos, "The Anthropology of Conversion: An Introduction," in *The Anthropology of Religious Conversion*, eds. Andrew Buckser and Stephen D. Glazier (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 1-12; Eric Dursteler, *Renegade Women: Gender, Identity, and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), passim; Emilio Sola, *Uchali: El Calabrés Tiñoso, o el mito del corsario muladí en la frontera* (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2011), passim; Fabris, "Hasan 'il Veneziano,'" 60-1, Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Das Ende einer Kavaliersreise – Beginn einer osmanischen Karriere?," in *Deutsch-türkische Begegnungen/Alman Türk Tesadüfleri: Festschrift für Kemal Beydilli/Kemal Beydilli'ye Armağan*, eds. Hedda Reindl-Kiel and Seyfi Kenan (Berlin: EB Verlag, 2013), 106-187. For the most unusual meeting between Ottoman Grand Admiral Cigalazade Yusuf Sinan Pasha and his mother aboard the Ottoman fleet anchored off Messina, see Archivo General de Simancas [hereafter AGS,] *Papeles de Estado* [hereafter E] 1158, fols. 186 (1 October 1598) and 187 (15 letters dated September 1598).

15 Bennassar argues that conversion does not efface regional solidarity which was more important than religious solidarity. *Les chrétiens d'Allah*, 387, 394. Also see p. 395 for the Ferrarese clan in Tunis in the 1630s and 1640s. Maartje van Gelder has shown that the Dutch corsairs in Algiers preferred to sail with their compatriots. "The Republic's Renegades: Dutch Converts to Islam in Seventeenth-Century Diplomatic Relations with North Africa," *Journal of Early Modern History* 19/2-3 (2015): 175-198; here 187.

16 For instance, in the last years of his life Uluc Ali could still speak Italian. Sola, *Uchali*, 68, 366. The devşirme, too, did not forget their language. Metin Ibrahim Kunt, "Ethnic-Regional (Cins) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 5/3 (1974): 233-239, here 235. It was not unheard of that a renegade gave his

faith,¹⁷ and even hung on to their clothing habits.¹⁸ Moreover, they built alliances and established political networks based on common geographical, ethnic and linguistic origins. Mehmet Kunt's paradigmatic argument holds, for instance, that there existed an ethnic/regional (*cins*) solidarity among the devşirme recruits in the seventeenth-century and that this solidarity shaped the factional rivalries in the Ottoman administration. Relations of clientelism along the *cins* solidarity created two factions vying for power: one consisted of westerners (Albanians and Bosnians) and the other of easterners (Abkhaz, Circassians, Georgians).¹⁹

A similar factional network can be observed among the Venetian renegades in key political, military and diplomatic positions in the Ottoman Empire, especially in the 1580s and 1590s.²⁰ Here I would like to propose a new approach to the study of Ottoman political networks by including European diplomats within the larger framework of factional rivalries.²¹ These European diplomats had to curry favors, establish political alliances and influence the Ottoman decision-making process through bribes, information manipulation, and persuasion. They thus became active players of high politics in the early modern Ottoman Empire.

children Christian names; a certain Memi Reis, for instance, gave her daughter a Christian first and surname, reminiscent of his Sicilian origins. Bennassar, *Les chrétiens d'Allah*, 417.

17 Several renegades contacted the Christian monarchs and indicated their desire to return to Christianity. AGS is full with documents testifying to their genuine regret. Moreover, we know of a convert who was planning to introduce the religion he had abandoned to the Ottoman Sultan. Friedrich Seidel, *Sultanın Zindanında: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na Gönderilen Bir Elçilik Heyetinin İbret Verici Öyküsü (1591-1596)*, trans. Türki Noyan (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2010), 70. Finally, Bennassar relates the story of the two corsairs who sealed a Muslim marriage by swearing on the Bible, Bennassar, *Les chrétiens d'Allah*, 417.

18 Kunt, "Ethnic-Regional," 236. The clothing was of utmost importance for the construction of identity and religious conversion was closely intertwined with a ritualized changing of clothes. A person who became Muslim, for instance, "took the turban," i.e. donned the Muslim headgear.

19 Kunt, "Ethnic-Regional."

20 Members of this network were Chief White Eunuch Gazanfer Agha, Hasan Veneziano, Ömer Agha (a eunuch in the palace, born in Zara), Beatrice Michiel (Gazanfer's sister), Gazanfer's protégée and Beatrice's husband Ali Agha (janissary agha for a few months) and finally, the Venetian baili.

21 I have elsewhere argued that foreign diplomats participated in factional politics and influenced the Ottoman policy, domestic and foreign, thanks to their political connections with the Ottoman grandees. Emrah Safa Gürkan, "Mediating Boundaries: Mediterranean Go-Betweens and Cross-Confessional Diplomacy in Constantinople, 1560-1600," *Journal of Early Modern History* 19 (2015): 107-128.

How did two Venetians, one a patrician on official duty, the other an apostate of lower origin, negotiate across political and religious boundaries? What kind of a role did their common patriotic, cultural, religious, and linguistic background play? How did Hasan situate himself between Venice and the Ottoman Empire and make use of his trans-imperial identity? How did he deal with his tangled loyalties? How did he remember his former life?

First, we should state that Hasan's Venetian background did not automatically entail the baili's sympathy. After all, he was a corsair and an aggressive one at that; through the 1580s, his *razzie* brought him so much money and fame that he was able to challenge his former patron Uluc Ali as the leader of the Mediterranean faction. Moreover, his Venetianness did not seem to have stopped him from capturing Venetian goods and ships and enslaving the Serenissima's subjects.²² This was the reason why bailo Lorenzo Bernardo did his best to prevent his appointment to the Grand Admiralty. Uluc Ali's successor Ibrahim Pasha was an *Enderun*-educated *devşirme* who owed his position to his connections rather than his naval skills; therefore, he was definitely less dangerous than Hasan who spent several years in engaging in privateering in the Western Mediterranean. The appointment of a corsair to the Grand Admiralty could be taken as a portent of a bellicose policy in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, in order to fight off the Christian corsairs, the Ottomans were entertaining the idea of establishing a separate admiralty of Morea under the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of Rumelia. Venice who considered the Adriatic as her own sea, a *mare clausum*,²³ saw in this project an encroachment of her rights and the baili did everything to prevent the establishment of this office, and in case it was established, to impede the appointment of Hasan to this post.²⁴ They succeeded partially; even though Hasan was appointed to the Grand Admiralty, he was not given the post in Morea.

Hasan knew that Bernardo lobbied against his appointment.²⁵ However, in spite of this bad start, he quickly established close relations with the latter's suc-

22 In 1587, when he captured Venetian ships, the bailo complained to Hasan's superior at the time, the Grand Admiral Uluc Ali. Archivio di Stato di Venezia [hereafter ASV], *Senato Deliberazioni Costantinopoli* [hereafter *SDelC*], reg. 7, cc. 62v (18 April 1587), 79r-80v (19 September 1587).

23 Maria Pia Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine* (Venezia: Herder Editrice, 2002), 73-5. In the early 1400s, Captain-General Carlo Zeno labeled it as *chaxa nostra*.

24 ASV, *SDelC*, reg. 7, cc. 77v-78rv (12 September 1587), 102r-102v (11 May 1588), 113r (5 July 1588).

25 ASV, *Senato Dispacci Costantinopoli* [hereafter *SDC*], fil. 28, c. 432v (27 January 1588, m.v.).

cessors. Cooperation fitted the interests of both sides. The baili ingratiated Hasan with presents and money, acquiesced to his demands for small favors and acted on his behalf in front of the Venetian authorities. Hasan, on the other hand, returned the favor by keeping his corsairs under control, leaking state secrets and protecting Venetian interests in the Ottoman capital. Now let us get into more details.

Most of the Ottoman grandees had extensive financial and trade connections throughout the Mediterranean and their agents conducted business on their behalf. Thus, they often asked the intervention of the Venetian baili in solving their trade-related problems or granting them privileges. Hasan had an agent named Cristoforo Bertolotti in Venice. He asked the Venetian authorities to allow Cristoforo to export silk clothes without paying the necessary custom dues. Bailo Giovanni Moro was at first hesitant as he did not want to set up a precedent that could be turned into a regular concession in the future (“*per non introdurre questo mal esempio di lassar estrazer robba con pregiuditio delli datii.*”)²⁶ However, such requests were granted to other grand admirals before, and in the end, the Venetians accepted Hasan’s request. Bertolotti arrived in Venice with a letter of exchange for 1131 zecchini, issued by the bailo himself.²⁷ He bought 100 silk clothes²⁸ for Hasan without paying the customs dues worth 94 ducats.²⁹ A small favor, perhaps, but clearly a gesture of good will.

Recent studies show us that converts kept their ties with their families. Within the Ottoman context, we know that some of the renegade Ottoman grandees called their relatives to their side and tried to strengthen their household by incorporating them into Ottoman politics. To this end, they offered them government positions, arranged marriages for them and granted other favors.³⁰ For those whom they left behind, however, all they could do was to use their political power in Istanbul to secure the goodwill of their former rulers.

26 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 28, cc. 463v-464r (11 February 1588).

27 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 29, c. 454r (5 August 1589); fil. 31, cc. 227v-228r; *SDelC*, reg. 7, c. 140r (14 January 1588, m.v.), 145v (26 January 1588, m.v.), 153r (24 March 1589).

28 See the list of these clothes in ASV, *SDC*, fil. 31, 232r (9 June 1590). Apparently there was an error with the shipment and three items were left behind. The Venetian authorities took great interest in assuring Hasan that these would be sent as soon as possible. ASV, *SDelC*, reg. 7, cc. 163r-164v (24 June 1589).

29 ASV, *SDelC*, reg. 7, c. 162v (9 June 1589).

30 The most famous examples are Makbul Ibrahim Pasha, Cigalazade Yusuf Sinan Pasha and Gazanfer Agha who all brought their relatives to Istanbul. Hasan also called his cousin Livio Celeste to his side and used him as a spy. Fabris, “Hasan ‘il Veneziano,’” 60-1.

Hasan had a sister named Camilla in Venice. The two were not on good terms as she got married without his brother's consent.³¹ The fact that Hasan was offended by his sister's disobedience is a clear proof that in spite of his "civil death"³² as a result of his apostasy, he still considered himself a *pater familias*. It was this perceived role that must have made him ask the bailo to intervene so that the Serenissima would provide her with a house. The Senate accepted his request and decided to give Camilla 100 zecchini per annum to help her pay the rent of her current house until a new house could be arranged for her.³³ The Venetians made this payment until the relations between Hasan and Venice soured in the autumn of 1590. When the rationale behind the assignment of this pension which was already increased to 200 ducats was not relevant anymore ("*essendo cessata la causa per la quale gli fu assignata il detto danaro*"), the Venetian Senate stopped the payment.³⁴ Still, Hasan continued asking for favors for his relatives. In 1591, his brother-in-law came to Istanbul and sought Hasan's assistance in securing several concessions from the Venetian Senate. Hasan turned down most of his requests which were as much impractical as insolent (he wanted to be inducted into the nobility, for instance). He merely asked for a bakery license in S. Aponal for his sister and recommended his brother-in-law for a secretary post in the Senate. If the latter was not granted, the Senate could perhaps give him a pension.³⁵

31 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 28, c. 432r (27 January 1588, m.v.).

32 Gauri Viswanathan, "Coping with (Civil) Death: the Christian Convert's Rights of Passage in Colonial India," in *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, ed. Gyan Prakash (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995): 183-210; Tobias Graf, "Of Half-Lives and Double-Lives: 'Renegades' in the Ottoman Empire and Their Pre-Conversion Ties, ca. 1580-1610," in *Well Connected Domains: Towards an Entangled Ottoman History*, eds. Pascal W. Firges et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 131-149; here 131-2; Eyal Ginio, "Childhood, Mental Capacity and Conversion to Islam in the Ottoman State," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 25 (2001): 90-119; here 94-5; Marc Baer, "Islamic Conversion Narratives of Women: Social Change and Gendered Religious Hierarchy in Early Modern Istanbul," *Gender and History* 16/2 (August 2004): 425-458.

33 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 31, cc. 25r-25v, 33r (3 March 1590); fil. 31, cc. 49r (17 March 1590); *SDelC*, reg. 7, cc.183r-183v (20 January 1589, m.v.). This amount is in the same range with the amount asked from the Signoria by another relative of an important Venetian Ottoman renegade. Francesca Michiel, the mother of Chief White Eunuch Gazanfer Agha and the Head of the Privy Chamber (*Hasoda Başı*) Cafer Agha, asked for an office with a monthly income of ten ducats. ASV, *SDelC*, reg. 6, cc. 164v-165r (29 December 1584). The register mistakenly names Cafer, who died in 1582, instead of Gazanfer.

34 ASV, *SDelC*, reg. 8, c. 85r (19 September 1592).

35 Fabris, "Hasan 'il Veneziano,'" 61; ASV, *Documenti Turchi*, busta 8, no. 1011-1013.

It was not only his relatives on whose behalf Hasan contacted the Venetian authorities. He also asked the bailo to intervene for the lifting of a childhood friend's banishment. His friend, a priest, had fired an arquebus in the city and even though he did not injure anybody, the punishment for carrying and using weapons in Venice was banishment. Apparently, years ago Hasan had made a similar demand to Venetian ambassador Jacobo Soranzo for his banished cousin, Livio Celeste. Soranzo had then agreed to intercede for a *salvocondotto*; yet, this time, Giovanni Moro refused the offer. The punishment for crimes such as these was very strict, he stated. Also, it was not easy to influence the verdict as it was impossible to influence the judges who voted according to their conscience. He also reminded Hasan that several well-born men (*diverse persone di qualità*), including a patrician from the Pesaro family, were sent to gallows, the *forca*, for a similar transgression, even though they did not hurt anybody.³⁶

Ironically, Hasan's galleys, too, fell prey to the corsairs. On at least one occasion, when the Knights of St. John captured one of his galleys laden with goods, he asked the bailo to intervene.³⁷ The Venetians genuinely tried; but as they had no leverage on the Maltese knights, they failed to secure the restitution of the ship and the goods. Still, it is worth noting that they decided to pay Hasan 1000 zecchini in order to placate him.³⁸ This decision should be considered within the framework of Venetian claims on the Adriatic Sea which obliged the Venetian authorities to recompense an influential Ottoman official who lost a ship in the waters that they considered in their own jurisdiction.

Hasan returned these favors by helping the baili in many respects. Even though grand admirals with corsair backgrounds proved themselves recalcitrant when it came to enforcing anti-piracy clauses of the *ahdnames*, Hasan made some effort to protect Venetian shipping. For instance, when a Venetian galleon named *Mocenigo* was seized by corsairs in 1589, the bailo chose to keep the matter secret and contacted the Grand Admiral first. Only when Hasan told him to secure a commandment from Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha, he made a formal complaint, and then he did this only in order to give Hasan an official reason to punish the corsair ("*accio potesse haver occasione di castigare il corsaro*").³⁹ The problem was

36 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 31, c. 160v-161r (12 May 1590).

37 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 28, cc. 266v-267r (17 December 1588).

38 ASV, *SDeIC*, reg. 7, c. 124v (13 October 1588).

39 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 29, cc. 358r-358v (6 July 1589). For translations of the commandments that Sinan gave to the bailo, see cc. 362r-363r and 364r-365r. For an order prohibiting Hasan from attacking Venetian possessions, see cc. 366r-366v.

left unsolved in 1590 when bailo Girolamo Lippomano decided to capitalize on the favor granted to Hasan's sister and demanded the return of the enslaved passengers without ransom.⁴⁰ Although Hasan was complacent at the beginning, he tried to squeeze more money by claiming that he paid a certain Hasan Reis for the aforementioned slaves and that the Venetians owed him.⁴¹ The infuriated bailo considered going directly to the Grand Vizier, but he then gave up in order not to alienate Hasan any further. The slaves were still not restituted when Hasan died.

Next year, Giovanni Moro complained about a certain Ampra (Emrah?) Reis who attacked Venetian ships. This time, Hasan punished the corsair by confiscating his ships and slaves and conveyed a strong message, according to the bailo, to similar transgressors. A thankful Serenissima authorized Moro to give a present up to the value of 1000 zecchini to the Grand Admiral.⁴² Moro also noted that he gave Hasan an imperial commandment from the Sultan against the corsairs located in St. Maura. His hopes that Hasan would punish these corsairs seem to be justified; according to another dispatch dated 1590, Hasan wrote two letters, one to the governor of Karliili, the other to the castle-keepers of St. Maura and Prevesa. Both letters were forbidding privateering and the illegal sale of Venetian slaves.⁴³

A similar incident occurred when the bailo asked Hasan's help in securing the restitution of Leon da Trapani, a Capuchin friar. Hasan first seemed receptive and asked for further information that might be helpful in locating the friar.⁴⁴ Later, however, he backed down, claiming that he could not help the bailo without giving his enemies an alibi to attack him. Moreover, the *negotio di schiavi* should have been mutually beneficial, he stated and asked the bailo to act as mediator in the liberation of a corsair named Hasan Reis. This nephew of an important palace official, the *Bostancıbaşı*, was then a slave at the hands of the Grand Duke of Florence. Realizing the inconvenience such an initiative might cause with the Florentines, however, the bailo backed off and the issue remained unsolved.⁴⁵

40 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 31, cc. 25r-25v, 33r (3 March 1590).

41 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 30, c. 405r (February 1589); 453v-454r (17 February 1589, m.v.); fil. 31, cc. 49v-50v (17 March 1590), 64r-64v (31 March 1590), 106v (14 April 1590), 114v (28 April 1590).

42 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 31, cc. 116r-117r (28 April 1590).

43 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 32, cc. 117r-117v, 118r (undated letters sent in a dispatch dated 29 September 1590).

44 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 28, c. 434r (27 January 1588, m.v.).

45 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 28, cc. 463v-464r (11 February 1588, m.v.), 499r-501v (25 February 1588, m. v.); fil. 29, cc. 315v-316r (22 June 1589).

It was common that the European ambassadors used their connections in the Ottoman palace in order to influence appointments. As active participants of factional politics in sixteenth-century Istanbul, the baili actively sought to control who was appointed to key positions such as the Grand Admiralty, governor-generalships of North African provinces and governorships of strategically located ports. We have already stated how Lorenzo Bernardo opposed Hasan's appointment to the soon-to-be-created Admiralty of Morea. When it became evident that Hasan was not getting the post, the Venetians switched strategy and tried to convince Hasan to resist the creation of such an admiralty which, bailo Moro argued, was a blow to his honor ("*attion tanto pregiuditial al honor suo*"). Hasan had to "impose his authority" (*interponere l'autorita sua*) for otherwise this would be "a great scandal" (*una pietra di scandolo*). The creation of a new admiralty would not prevent corsair attacks; moreover, most of those who took part in the new fleet would turn to privateering themselves rather than fighting the Christian corsairs.⁴⁶ Not convinced that this would do him any harm (Morea fell under the purview of the Governor-General of Rumelia), Hasan still agreed to talk to the Grand Vizier about the issue. Two weeks later, Hasan claimed that the bailo should not take the issue directly to the Grand Vizier and leave the matter to him.⁴⁷ When he failed to provide concrete results, he told the bailo to refer the issue to another Venetian, the influential Chief White Eunuch (*Babüssaade Ağası*) Gazanfer Agha.⁴⁸ In the end, the admiralty was not established; yet Hasan's role in this decision seems to have been very limited.

Hasan's position as the highest-ranking officer of the Ottoman maritime establishment helped to smooth the effects of unfavorable appointments to strategic positions. In 1589, for instance, Giovanni Moro summoned Hasan's help against the newly elected Governor-General of Algeria, Ramazan Pasha, an enemy of the Venetians.⁴⁹ As Ramazan would soon take control of the corsair fleet in Algiers, it was of vital importance for the Venetians that his actions could be controlled. Only somebody like Hasan, the Grand Admiral and a frontier creature with extensive ties in the Western Mediterranean, could make sure Ramazan would not attack Venetian ships.

46 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 30, cc. 248v-249v (9 December 1589).

47 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 30, cc. 261r-261v (23 December 1589).

48 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 30, cc. 320v-321r (6 January 1589, m.v.).

49 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 29, cc. 317v-318r (22 June 1589).

The relationship between Hasan and the baili also had a financial side that transcended the humble realm of gift exchange. The baili regularly paid Hasan; he gave him 1000 zecchini on three occasions, in November 1588,⁵⁰ March 1589⁵¹ and April 1590.⁵² They were also authorized to make lavish presents such as clothes, worth as much as 1000 zecchini,⁵³ and Hasan regularly made requests for a number of luxury goods such as Piacenza cheese⁵⁴ or the *corone* and 4 *cuori d'oro* to be used in the decoration of the rooms in his new palace.⁵⁵ Apparently, there was also the custom of giving silk clothes to grand admirals and their men before the Ottoman navy left the capital, a powerful argument against potential anti-Venetian sentiments, conveyed surely at the most strategic moment.⁵⁶

Financial benefits seemed to have whetted the appetite of Hasan who tried to cheat the Venetian baili into giving him more money by seeking a combined strategy of threat, self-promotion, and manipulation. According to the bailo, he did this without “without a trace of shame” (*alcun risegno di vergogna*) because he was in dire need of money in order to keep his position. Complaining that he was not duly “recognized” by the Venetians, Hasan pretended to have accomplished things in which he had not played a direct part, such as the failure of Ottoman-Spanish truce negotiations and the prevention of the creation of the Morean admiralty.⁵⁷ Moreover, he was constantly talking about large fleets in preparation in order to make veiled threats. Finally, he did not forget to point out the importance of money in diplomatic negotiations.⁵⁸

Another important part of their mutually beneficial cooperation was the exchange of information. It was of utmost importance for the Venetian baili to gather information on the Ottoman naval preparations and the decisions taken in the Imperial Council. Thus, Uluc Hasan Pasha was their prime target. Hasan did not hesitate to share classified information with the baili, especially regarding the preparations in the Arsenal and the possible targets should there be any naval

50 ASV, *SDelC*, reg. 7, c. 132r (17 November 1588).

51 ASV, *SDelC*, reg. 7, c. 150r (9 March 1589).

52 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 31, c. 117r (28 April 1590).

53 ASV, *SDelC*, reg. 7, cc. 148v (4 February 1588, m.v.); 150r (9 March 1589).

54 ASV, *SDelC*, reg. 7, cc. 153r-153v (24 March 1589); *SDC*, fil. 29, cc. 356r-356v (6 July 1589).

55 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 29, cc. 357v (6 July 1589), 440r (4 August 1589); fil. 31, c. 117r (28 April 1590).

56 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 29 315r (22 June 1589).

57 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 30, cc. 306r (6 January 1589, m.v.), 379r-380v (20 January 1589, m.v.).

58 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 30, c. 406r (3 February 1589, m.v.).

expedition.⁵⁹ Even when the Ottoman fleet was out in the Mediterranean, the baili had access to the most up-to-date information; Hasan's men communicated to bailo Moro the latest news that their masters wrote to the capital regarding the actions and whereabouts of the Ottoman navy.⁶⁰ Hasan also shared information about a wide range of issues such as the Ottoman army fighting with the Safavids in the East, discussions in the Imperial Council, the Sultan's opinion on war and peace, rivalries between pashas, other states' diplomatic initiatives in Istanbul and the Mahdi Rebellion in Tripolitania.⁶¹ Apart from sharing the fruits of his galleys' reconnaissance missions, he even informed the baili about the strength and composition of the Habsburg fleet in the Western Mediterranean, an information exchange that one would expect to have occurred in the opposite direction.⁶²

Hasan must have seemed very cooperative when he assured bailo Giovanni Moro that he would tell him if anything detrimental to Venetian interests occurred ("*se seguisse alcuna cosa a pregiudicio a quella Serenissima Repubblica*").⁶³ Even though Hasan was sharing information with his own agenda and it is hard to tell to what extent he was manipulating the information that he shared, the baili appreciated his efforts. In addition to sharing the incoming information, Hasan also lent his expert opinion on certain matters, providing the baili with a unique glimpse of how the Ottoman government functioned and how certain problems were solved. A very good example to this is his plan to reform the administrative structure in Tripoli where the unruly and seditious behavior of local janissaries started a large-scale revolt.⁶⁴

It was not only Hasan who provided information. Even though documented to a lesser extent, Hasan seemed to have benefitted from the information exchange as well. The asymmetry in our sources does not necessarily mean that the Grand Admiral received less than he gave. It is likely that the baili hid the fact that they

59 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 28, cc. 265r (17 December 1588), 434r (27 January 1588, m.v.); fil. 30, c. 236v (23 December 1589).

60 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 29, c. 402v (21 July 1589).

61 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 28, cc. 58r-60v (24 September 1588), 434r (27 January 1588, m.v.), 497r-498r (25 February 1588, m.v.); fil. 29, cc. 87r-87v (4 April 1589); 133v-135r (27 April 1589), 207r-207v (13 May 1589); fil. 30, cc. 249v (9 December 1589), 317v (22 June 1589), 335v (20 January 1589, m.v.).

62 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 29, cc. 135r-135v (27 April 1589).

63 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 29, c. 316v (22 June 1589).

64 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 29, cc. 134r-135r (27 April 1589).

had to “exchange” information, i.e. to give in order to get. Given the Ottoman propensity to rely on Venetian diplomatic and commercial networks in order to obtain information, it is fair to assume that Hasan, too, frequently demanded information from the Venetians. To give an example: in March 1589 rumors arrived from Ragusa that the Duke of Guise, the leader of the Catholic League in France, had been assassinated. Hasan could not verify this important piece of intelligence that could (and did) change the balance-of-power in the French Wars of Religion and by extension in European diplomacy. When his intelligence network could not provide him with reliable information (*lettere di certi*, i.e. his spies’ letters, were yet to come), he would directly go to Giovanni Moro and ask what he knew about the issue.⁶⁵

Such close collaboration between Hasan and the baili did not escape the attention of their contemporaries. Renegades’ close ties with their former compatriots and coreligionists resulted in rumors which forced renegade Ottoman officers to be careful in their cross-confessional dealings. For instance, the most influential Venetian of the era, Gazanfer Agha was extremely cautious not to appear pro-Venetian; it was only through his sister that the baili could influence him.⁶⁶ Similarly, when Hasan’s successor Cigalazade Yusuf Sinan Pasha, a Genoese renegade trained in the palace, called his brother Carlo to his side, he was openly criticized by his sailors who were themselves renegades. They accused Cigalazade’s brother of

65 ASV, SDC, fil. 29, cc. 26v-26r (10 March 1589). We should bear in mind here, as I discussed elsewhere, that unlike the Venetians and the Habsburgs, the Ottomans never established a centralized bureau in charge of collecting information, but rather left this task to high-level officers who recruited spies and informants as part of their household. Collecting information regarding the Western Mediterranean and Europe fell upon the Grand Admiral’s shoulders. Emrah Safa Gürkan, “Espionage in the 16th century Mediterranean: Secret Diplomacy, Mediterranean Go-Betweens and the Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry” (Ph.D. Diss., Georgetown University, 2012), 362-368.

66 Maria Pia Pedani, “Veneziani a Costantinopoli alla fine del XVI secolo,” *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 15 (1997): 67-84, here 70, fn. 8; Dursteler, *Renegade Women*, 23-4; Tobias Graf, “‘I am Still Yours’ Christian-European ‘Renegades’ in the Ottoman Elite during the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries” (Ph.D. Diss., Universität Heidelberg, 2013), 191-2; “Relazione dell’Impero Ottomano di Lorenzo Bernardo, 1592,” in *Le Relazioni*, vol. VI, ed. Eugenio Albèri (Firenze: Società Editrice Fiorentina, 1844), 321-426; here 361, “Relazione di Matteo Zane, bailo a Costantinopoli, letta in Pregadi l’anno 1594,” in *Relazioni*, vol. IX, 381-444; here 437, “Relazione di Giralomo Capello, bailo, 1600,” in Maria Pia Pedani (ed.), *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato tratte dalle migliori edizioni disponibili e ordinate cronologicamente*, vol. XIV: *Costantinopoli, relazioni inedite (1512-1789)* (Torino: Bottega d’Erasmus, 1996), 395-474; here 417.

being a Habsburg spy and they were right in their accusation.⁶⁷ Moreover, hearing that the same Cigalazade anchored off Messina with the entire Ottoman fleet and arranged a meeting with her mother, brothers and nephews aboard his capitana,⁶⁸ the *Valide Sultan* Safiye attacked him fiercely.⁶⁹

As a self-made frontier creature, Hasan was an outsider to the Enderun-educated ruling elite of the empire. With a limited power base in the Ottoman capital, he would be even more susceptible to the criticism of duplicitousness. In other words, he had to be extra careful. For instance, in September 1588, Hasan and Giovanni Moro agreed that if others learned about their one-on-one negotiations, the bailo should deny it. According to their arrangement, Moro would directly come to Hasan only for urgent matters (*di momento*). For regular business, he should contact Hasan through the influential courtier David Passi, a Marrano power broker.⁷⁰ The idea was to manipulate Passi, who had connections with other pasha households (“*pratica per li porti di questi grandi*”), so that he would tell other pashas that Moro and Hasan did not negotiate directly.⁷¹ A year later, Hasan came with an even more ingenious strategy to exonerate himself from accusations of playing a double game. Following the appointment of Sinan Pasha to the grand vizierate and amidst rumors of his replacement with another renegade, the Neapolitan Yusuf, Hasan’s political position was at best fragile. In order to fend off possible accusations of being a friend of the Venetians (“*quando essi non habbiano alcun sospetto che egli sia amico della Serenità Vostrà*”), he asked Moro to make a complaint to Sinan Pasha right before he left Istanbul at the helm of the imperial fleet and to accuse him of attacking Venetian ships and capturing Venetian subjects. Hasan even wanted Moro to act behind Sinan by writing an official complaint (*arz*) directly to the Sultan, because it was possible that Sinan

67 Horatio Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice* [hereafter *COSP*], vol. 9 1592-1603 (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1894), no. 273 (3 May 1594).

68 AGS, E 1158, fols. 186 (1 October 1598) and 187 (15 letters dated September 1598).

69 The National Archives of United Kingdom, *State Papers*, Lello to Cecil, Istanbul, 4 November 1598, fol. 264r, quoted by Tobias Graf, “I am Still Yours,” 202.

70 On the trans-imperial career of this power-broker, see Emrah Safa Gürkan, “Touting for Patrons, Brokering Power and Trading Information: Trans-Imperial Jews in Sixteenth-Century Constantinople,” in *Detrás de las apariencias. Información y espionaje (siglos XVI-XVII)*, eds. Emilio Sola Castaño and Gennaro Varriale (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2015), 127-151; here 136-137, 141-146; Gürkan, “Espionage,” 318-327, 385-387.

71 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 28, cc. 61r, 62r (24 September 1588).

would bury the issue. When Moro refused to bypass the Grand Vizier, Hasan made a counter-offer and urged the bailo to use one of these blank letters (*carte bianche*) that the ambassadors had in their possession and to forge a letter in the name of the Serenissima. If handed an official letter, Sinan would have to pass it to the Sultan. Moro denied that he possessed such blank letters. In the Venetian practice, he argued, official letters were written on a parchment (*pergamino*) with a lead seal, unlike other states who used paper (*carta bombacina*), stamped with wax (*bolino con cera*). In short, it was impossible to forge one. Hasan did one more move and requested Moro to ask his government to send an official letter against him. Such a letter needed to be sent with an express courier for otherwise it would not arrive on time, that is, before Hasan left with the Ottoman fleet.⁷² Realizing the benefits of keeping a pro-Venetian Hasan in office, Moro agreed to write the Signoria which quickly dispatched an official letter on May 16, only three weeks after the bailo wrote his letter.⁷³ Next month, Moro submitted an 'arz to Sinan who, just as Hasan presumed, did not give it to the Sultan. He provided Moro, however, with an imperial commandment forbidding the Grand Admiral from attacking Venetian ships.⁷⁴ This commandment dispelled rumors around Hasan's pro-Venetian proclivities and gave him a free hand in letting Venetian ships go.

To conclude: the common Venetian background played a facilitative role for cross-confessional diplomacy between the Ottomans and the Venetians; it provided a stable channel of communication between the two sides. An important detail here is that a similar channel between the baili and Hasan's predecessor, Uluc Ali, was also secured via another Venetian: A renegade named Rıdvan who was Hasan's successor as Ali's majordomo. The explicit discontent that Lorenzo Bernardo expressed when he heard that Uluc Ali dismissed his Venetian kahya clearly demonstrates how important solidarity was among the compatriots, especially in the realm of cross-confessional diplomacy.⁷⁵

Our source base that draws heavily on Venetian archives allows us to see how the Venetian side benefitted from the common background. However, this does not mean that the benefit was not mutual; it would be naïve to expect from seasoned diplomats such as the baili to reveal to their superiors the other side of the coin. More important political figures than Hasan sought to capitalize on

72 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 29, cc. 131r-133v (27 April 1589).

73 ASV, *SDelC*, reg. 7, c. 159v (16 May 1589).

74 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 29, cc. 275r, 286r (8 June 1589), 316v (22 June 1589).

75 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 22, c. 225v (13 November 1585).

trans-imperial ties that would help their dealings with the Venetian government that could do a number of favors for the Ottoman elites as was elucidated in the first part of this article. One good example is the Queen Mother Nur Banu who claimed to be descended from a Venetian patrician family, a statement which was not true.⁷⁶ The fact that the Queen Mother, most probably belonging to a well-off Corfiote family, bothers to forge a trans-imperial link in order to ingratiate herself with the Venetians suggests that the Ottomans, too, considered the common background as a diplomatic asset.⁷⁷

PART II:

FORSAKING THE PAST: MEMORY, IDENTITY, AND THE RENEGADE'S DILEMMA

While there has been a recent interest on Ottoman self-narratives, autobiographies, and diaries,⁷⁸ we have to concede that such first person accounts are

76 Benjamin Arbel, "Nûr Bânû (c. 1530-1583): A Venetian Sultana?," *Turcica* 24 (1992): 241-259.

77 Nabil Matar has demonstrated how North African rulers encouraged their wives to retain their ties with their motherlands for diplomatic purposes. Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 100-102.

78 M. Meredith-Owens, "Traces of a Lost Autobiographical Work by a Courtier of Selim II," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XXIII/3 (1960): 456-463; Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 121-50; idem, "Mütereddît Bir Mutasavvîf: Üsküplü Asiye Hatun'un Rüya Defteri, 1641-43," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 5 (1992): 168-222, reprinted in Cemal Kafadar (ed.), *Kim Var İmiş Biz Burada Yoğ İken – Dört Osmanlı: Yeniçeri, Tüccar, Derviş ve Hatun* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2009), 123-191; Derin Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyazi-i Misri (1618-1694)," *Studia Islamica* 94 (2002): 139-65; Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire, Niyazi-i Misri (1618-1694) (Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 1999), 424-434. There are also a number of captivity accounts: Fahir İz, "Macunzade Mustafa'nın Malta Anıları: Sergüzeşt-i Esiri-i Malta," *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı – Belleten* (1970): 69-122 [for a German translation, see W. Schmücker, "Die Maltesischen Gefangenschaftserinnerungen eines türkischen Kadi vor 1599," *Archivum Ottomanicum* II (1970): 191-251, for a transliterated text, see Cemil Çiftçi, *Mâcuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi. Malta Esirleri* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1996)]; Erhan Afyoncu, "Necati Efendi: Târih-i Kırım (Rusya Sefaretnamesi)" (M.A. Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1990); Harun Tolasa (ed.), *Kendi Kalemiyle Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa: Bir Osmanlı Türk Sipahisi ve Esirlik Hayatı* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2004); Ahmet Karataş (ed.), *Sergüzeştname-i Hindî Mahmûd: İnebahı*

relatively few compared to the rich corpus at the service of European historians. This scarcity makes it hard for the historians to thoroughly analyze the mental framework of the Ottomans, especially when it comes to a sensitive issue such as a renegade's memories of his life as a Christian and his attachment to his natal land. In her groundbreaking work on Ottoman self-narratives of conversion, Tijana Krstić has recently scrutinized five polemical religious treatises.⁷⁹ These are extremely valuable sources; nevertheless, as they were penned by converts with little political relevance,⁸⁰ we are still at a loss as to how the most powerful converts in the empire, the Ottoman pashas, experienced their conversion and what kind of a relationship they developed with their past. For those who were constantly engaged in fierce factional rivalries, it would be foolishly unsafe to reveal in writing their inner conflicts and tangled loyalties between two civilizations.

Gâzisi Hindî Mahmûd ve Esâret Hatıraları (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2013). I should finally mention three diaries (two of them entitled *ceride* and the third *yevmiye*) whose authors hardly reveal anything about themselves so much so that even identifying them proved a taxing challenge. These diaries contain detailed entries on natural disasters, astronomical and meteorological information, building activities, major political and military events, career-related news, appointments, dismissals, exiles and executions of Ottoman administrative, military and judicial officers, public festivals and birth, death and marriages in the neighbourhood. The "I" is conspicuously absent in the texts that include nothing about the authors' feelings or opinions. They may be diaries, but they most definitely are not self-narratives or ego-documents. Madeline C. Zilfi, "The Diary of a Müderris: A New Source for Ottoman Biography," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1977): 157-174; Kemal Beydilli, *Osmanlı'da İmamlar ve Bir İmamın Günlüğü* (İstanbul: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2013); Selim Karahasanoğlu, *Kadı ve Günlüğü: Sadreddinzâde Telhisi Mustafa Efendi Günlüğü (1711-1735) Üstüne Bir İnceleme* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012).

79 Tijana Krstić, "Illuminated by the Light of Islam and the Glory of the Ottoman Sultanate: Self-Narratives of Conversion to Islam in the Age of Confessionalization," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51/1 (2009): 35-63. This article discusses only two treatises. All five are discussed in her book, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), Chapter Four. Also for an analysis of the impact of Anselm Turmeda's Arabic treatise on one of these treatises and on the Ottoman genre of self-narratives on conversion in general, see eadem, "Reading Abdallâh b. Abdallâh al-Tarjumân's Tuhfa (1420) in the Ottoman Empire: Muslim-Christian Polemics and Intertextuality in the Age of "Confessionalization," *Al-Qantara* 36/2 (2015): 341-401.

80 The authors of the five treatises are a Hungarian dragoman in the imperial service, a provincial Orthodox student of theology-turned-Muslim jurist, a learned Jew and a Christian priest both of whom became sufis and another Hungarian priest, the famous Ibrahim Muteferrika, who established the first Ottoman Arabic script printing press in 1727.

European sources seem to be the only way out of this impasse as ambassadors, spies and travelers left detailed accounts of their encounters and negotiations with the Ottoman officials, especially those with a renegade background. Even though it is true that these sources must be read with a critical eye, they possess an extraordinary potential in highlighting renegades' identity tensions. Letters that the baili regularly sent to the Signoria, the *dispacci*, give us some clues regarding how Hasan Veneziano expressed his feelings and opinions regarding his natal land which he had to abandon for good against his own will.

We have to concede that we are still far from having an ego-document as it is still the bailo and not Hasan himself speaking in the *dispacci*. Still, it should be noted that even though they had a liberal arts education, the baili did not write their regular dispatches in a formulaic form. They made almost no embellishments except for a few words while opening and concluding the letter. Most of the time they gave direct quotations with only small alterations such as changing the first person singular to third person singular and replacing certain words with more appropriate forms, i.e. Venice to Serenissima or Serenità Vostra, Sultan to Gran Signore. In short, the hints which we find in their letters are the closest we can get to catch a glimpse of how an Ottoman renegade pasha behaved in front of a compatriot and how his tangled loyalties played out in the sphere of cross-confessional diplomacy.

Words of affection

Now, let us concentrate on Hasan's wording. Certain words that betray his affection for his natal land appear very frequently in the baili's dispatches. *Patria* is one of them. For instance, when Giovanni Moro complained of corsair attacks on Venetian shipping, Hasan openly underlined his attachment to the Serenissima by saying that "in the end, he was born a Venetian and he could not forget the *patria*" (*che egli infine era nato Venetiano ne li poteva scordar della patria*).⁸¹ He uses the same word when he talks about his sister who "sometimes reminded him of his *patria*" (*quella gli haveva fatto raccordarsi alle volte della patria*).⁸² Similarly, when the Venetians acquiesced to his request for exemption from customs dues, he expressed his gratitude towards "the Most Serene Republic which he saw after all as his *patria*" by stating that "he could not so easily forget the *love of patria*"

81 ASV, SDC, fil. 28, c. 262r (17 December 1588).

82 ASV, SDC, fil. 28, c. 432r (27 January 1588, m.v.).

(*Serenissima Repubblica la quali in fine conosceva per patria sua et che l'amore della patria non poteva cosi facilmente scordare*).⁸³

With the last sentence, we passed to other keywords that often appear in documentation, (to) love, *amare*, *amor*, *amorevolezza* and friend(ship), *amico* and *amicitia*. There was a close relationship between these two sets of words; true friendship was born out of love, not utility. Thus, their interchangeable use suggests a friendship that transcended the cold and calculated realm of a mutually beneficial political reciprocity. More importantly, the concept of "friendship" was part-and-parcel of the discursive realm of gift-exchange. The word emerged several times in Renaissance discourse on gifts so much so that one contemporary author dubbed them as the fifth law of friendship.⁸⁴ Given that the gift economy and political reciprocity dominated the relationship between Hasan and the Venetian baili, it is not surprising that they employed the word "friend" and its derivatives so often.

Less frequently used but more powerful than Hasan's generic *affectione*, the word "love" was directed as much at Serenissima as other Venetian officers, first and foremost the baili themselves. For instance, when Provedditore Marc'antonio Barbaro wrote him a letter asking for the release of Leone da Trapani, Hasan told Moro that he "loved" Barbaro very much (he knew the Provedditore from his days as bailo between 1568 and 1573).⁸⁵ He wanted to "placate" (*compiacere*) him; but there was not much he could do. Given that he was turning down Barbaro, it could be claimed that Hasan was pretending to be friendlier than he actually was and that he was kindly refusing an old acquaintance's request with nice words. Still, it does not mean that the sentiment was not genuine. It is worthy of note that Barbaro wanted to capitalize on their personal relationship; he believed it to be an asset that would help him secure Hasan's cooperation in Leone da Trapani affair. Moreover, in a totally different context, Hasan once again used a word of affection, "friendship," *amicitia*, for not only Marc'antonio Barbaro but also his son Francesco.⁸⁶

83 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 29, c 315v (22 June 1589).

84 Jean Bouchet, *Les Triumphe de la Noble et amoureuse Dame* (Paris: Guillaume de Bossonzel, 1536), 41r-41v, quoted by Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 20.

85 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 29, c. 316r (22 June 1589).

86 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 28, c. 432v (27 January 1588, m.v.).

Hasan knew Barbaro since the time when he was an important but minor creature in the Ottoman politics as Uluc Ali's majordomo; his positive feelings towards the baili did not change after his appointment to higher offices. In the same conversation where he expressed his amicable feelings towards Marc'antonio and Francesco, he also added Moro to his list of friends. Moreover, in another conversation, he expressed the sentiment of *amor* he "carried" for Moro and told the bailo how much he esteemed his "friendship" (*in quanto grado tiene la mia amicitia*). Moro thanked Hasan and added, with "a happy face" (*con faccia allegra*), that he deserved to be "loved" by him for being his "friend" ("*ch'io meritavo di essere amato da lui essendo tanto suo amico*").⁸⁷

These feelings of love had a mutual character, it was not only that Hasan loved Venice or her officers; he also expected to be loved by his *patria*. In December 1589, Hasan assured the bailo that he would do his best for Venice ("*faria cosa gratissima alla Serenità Vostrà*") because the love and respect (*stima*) Venice "carried" for him obliged Hasan to favor her all the time.⁸⁸ In another conversation, the bailo pointed out to the Serenissima's "good opinion" (*buona mente*) about him as well as their friendship (*la nostra amicitia*) and reminded him that from Venice "he always received gestures of courtesy and love" (*receve sempre segno di cortesia et di amorevolezza*).⁸⁹

If Hasan loved Moro and Barbaro, he most definitely disliked Lorenzo Bernardo in spite of the fact that the duo knew each other from childhood. Hasan could not reconcile with the fact that Bernardo tried to impede his appointment and in the same conversation in which he expressed his sentiments of friendship towards Marc'antonio Barbaro and his son Francesco, he complained to the bailo that Bernardo treated him poorly ("*il Bailo passato si porta male meco*").⁹⁰

The issue of sincerity

Should we take these expressions and words of affection seriously? To what extent do they reveal Hasan's true feelings towards his natal land and his former compatriots? Were they mere strategic tools for diplomacy or could they provide

87 ASV, SDC, fil. 28, cc. 497r-498r (25 February 1588, m.v.).

88 ASV, SDC, fil. 30, c. 249v (9 December 1589).

89 ASV, SDC, fil. 28, c. 433v (27 January 1588, m.v.).

90 ASV, SDC, fil. 28, c. 432v (27 January 1588, m.v.).

us with some clues as to how Hasan felt about Venice? Can we infer from them to what extent Hasan's conversion and his trans-imperial life trajectory between Venice, North Africa, and Istanbul affected his identity? To put it more simply: did Hasan still have a genuine sense of belonging to Venice?

It is hard to give a definite answer, but a number of arguments could be made, highlighting Hasan's conflicted trans-imperial identity. First of all, in defense of the reliability of our source base, we have to add that the two Venetians conversed in their native language; thus, we have dodged a danger that would put us even further from Uluc Hasan's mind: there is no cultural/linguistic discrepancy between what Hasan said and what the baili wrote down. Most of the conversation took place either between the bailo and Hasan or, when the two could not meet, between the latter and the bailate secretary. There were no interpreters (dragomans) involved in the negotiations. These Venetians may have purposefully manipulated the words of their compatriot Hasan; this is a risk that we always face while working on non ego-documents. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that they misunderstood it or substituted a word for another that made sense in the culture of the translator, but not in that of the speaker.⁹¹ In short, when the bailo included in his report a loaded word such as *patria*, it was most probably the exact word that Hasan himself used.⁹²

91 One of the translation methods in early modern Europe was what Venturi called the "fluent strategy," i.e. domesticating the foreign text by a *sensum de sensu* approach in a process similar to "acculturation." Peter Burke, "Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe," in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 7-38; here 26-27.

92 Jocelyne Dakhlia has asserted cautiously ("it seems it cannot be excluded") that while negotiating with the baili, Hasan Veneziano may have spoken *franco*, i.e. the pidgin *Lingua franca*, a vehicular dialect widely spoken in the early modern Mediterranean among those who did not have a common language. This he did, according to Dakhlia, in order to "donner des gages de sa rupture avec son milieu original," i.e. to keep a distance from his Venetian past, "a fortiori within the context of tense or hostile relations with Europe." Jocelyne Dakhlia, *Lingua Franca: histoire d'une langue métisse en Méditerranée* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2008), 82-3. For converts' strategic use of code-switching and an interesting example of how they evaded the responsibilities imposed by their former life and underscored a complete identity transformation by refusing to converse in their native language, see Ella Natalie Rothman, "Between Venice and Istanbul: Trans-imperial Subjects and Cultural Mediation in the Early Modern Mediterranean" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan, 2006), 380-382. I do not agree with Dakhlia for a number of reasons. First of all, throughout the *dispacchi*, I have never encountered any reference to *franco*. Even though her argument that the contemporary observers, especially those with proper education, refrained from mentioning this spoken

Secondly, the baili themselves used similar words that tied Hasan to his Venetian past and reminded him of his responsibility towards his *patria*. In 1589, for instance, Moro admonished that a man as wise as him should not act against to his *patria* which one could never forget.⁹³ More important than the fact that the baili employed these words is that they deemed them worthy to be included in their correspondence with Venice. They summarized long conversations in a couple of paragraphs; so what they chose to leave and what to take out in their (more or less bi-weekly) reports, i.e. how they formed their narrative, is of utmost importance. Rather than merely omitting or dubbing them as mere negotiation strategies aimed at endearing a potential source of benefit, they carefully related Hasan's words of affection, remaining loyal to their content. Moreover, even when they were pointing out that in order to extract money Hasan was exaggerating the deeds he had done for Venice,⁹⁴ or when they were accusing him of acting contrary to Venetian interests,⁹⁵ the baili did not seem to doubt the sincerity of Hasan's sentiments. They suspected his motives, but not his sentiments of love, affection, and friendship for his *patria*, feelings on which they did not hesitate to capitalize in order to reach their diplomatic ends.

language in writing might have a grain of truth (see Chapter Three), the unique reference she relies on ([Gabriele Cavazza], *Viaggio di un ambasciatore veneziano da Venezia a Constantinopoli nel 1591* (Venice: Fratelli Visentini, 1886), 76) by no means suggests that Hasan used franco. Moreover, the examples given in this article clearly demonstrate the cordial relationship between Hasan and the baili; therefore, it was unlikely that the same Hasan who often accentuated his Venetian past would attempt to create a distance between his past and present by employing a pidgin language as asserted by Dakhliia. When he was captured, Hasan was too old to forget his mother tongue; in his conversations with the baili that took place without an interpreter, he must have used the Venetian dialect, perhaps a little bit tainted by Spanish words, reminiscent of the long years spent in the Western Mediterranean. However, even if Hasan Veneziano spoke franco with the baili, as this was a Romance-based pidgin language spoken without conjugations, the baili would not have to translate words such as *patria*, *amare*, *amicitia* into Italian. In short, we still do not face the risks posed by cultural incommensurability and the linguistic discrepancies that frequently occurred in translations.

93 "... non era conveniente che un huomo savio come lui dovesse cercare di fare una offesa alla Ser^{na} V^{na} et alla sua patria, della quale in fine non puo l'huomo scordarsi gia mai." ASV, SDC, fil. 28, c. 433r (27 January 1588, m.v.)

94 ASV, SDC, fil. 30, cc. 379r-380v (20 January 1589, m.v.), 405r-408r (3 February 1589, m.v.), cc. 453v-454r (17 February 1589, m.v.); fil. 31, cc. 64r-64v (31 March 1590), 106v (14 April 1590), 114v, 116v (28 April 1590), 455v-456v (18 August 1590).

95 ASV, SDC, fil. 30, c. 313r (6 January 1589, m.v.); fil. 31, c. 452r (16 August 1590); fil. 32, cc. 64v (15 September 1590), 173r-175r and 179v-180r (both 18 October 1590).

Thirdly, there is other evidence that Hasan retained a part of his Venetian identity. Conversion for most renegades did not mean severing their ties with their past; it brought a “civil death” not a “social” one. We have already mentioned how Hasan kept ties with the relatives and friends whom he had to leave behind and on behalf of whom he negotiated with the Venetian authorities. Moreover, as the relationship between identity and memory is self-evident, Hasan’s ongoing ties with his past becomes more palpable in a few instances where he evoked his memories. For instance, he told Giovanni Moro that he used to go to Lorenzo Bernardo’s (the bailo whom he disliked) house in SS Giovanni e Paolo to “play ball” (*giocar alla balla*) with him.⁹⁶ In another instance when he asked the lifting of a childhood friend’s banishment from Venice and when the bailo said he could not intervene given the harshness of the crime (firing an arquebus in the city), Hasan only gave in because he remembered a scene from his childhood: guilty of a similar crime, an important figure (*persona di qualità*) was hung with an arquebus tied to his foot in the *Piazza Pubblica*.⁹⁷

In his passage from one society to another, it is evident that Hasan had some tangled loyalties. If he kept remnants of a forsaken past, he also had trouble in blending into a new society, if not in Algiers, at least in the Ottoman capital. Algiers was home to renegades and captives from the Mediterranean, northern Europe and beyond;⁹⁸ it was in fact those renegades from the four corners of

96 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 30, c. 379v (20 January 1589, m.v.); Fabris, “Hasan ‘il Veneziano,’” 52.

97 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 31, c. 161r (12 May 1590).

98 According to Portuguese cleric Doctor Antonio Sosa, captive in Algiers with Miguel Cervantes between 1577 and 1581, renegades and their children outnumbered Moors, Turks and Jews in Algiers, “because there is no Christian nation on earth that has not produced renegades in this city” (*porque no ay nacion de christianos en el mundo, de la cual no aya renegado y renegados en Argel*). A good number of those renegades were from the Western Mediterranean shores, even though the Venetians, protected by capitulations, were few among them. In addition to those of the Mediterranean, Europe and the Balkans, Sosa’s long list of nations includes far-away nations as well: Russians, Abbyssinians and even Indians from India, Brazil and New Mexico. Diego de Haedo, *Topographia e Historia General de Argel, repartida en cinco tratados, do se veran casos estraños, muertes espantosas, y tormentos exquisitos, que conuiene se entiendan en la Christiandad: con much doctrina, y elegancia curiosa* (Valladolid: Diego Fernandez de Cordoua y Ouiedo, 1612), Chapter XIII, 10. For English translation, see Maria Antonia Garcés (ed.), *An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam: Antonio de Sosa’s Topography of Algiers (1612)*, trans. Diana de Armas Wilson (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2011), 125. On the captivity of Sosa and Cervantes in Algiers, see María Antonia Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive’s Tale* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002).

the world that made the North African port cities the rich corsair nests that they were. Istanbul, however, was not on the frontier; it was an imperial capital with an established palace protocol, rules of etiquette and an entrenched political elite with exclusivist tendencies. No matter how big a role the renegade devşirme recruits (mostly of Balkan origin unlike Hasan) played in the governing of this Muslim empire, corsairs remained on the margins of Istanbul politics, their fortunes remaining strictly tied to naval offices. The Ottoman elite generally looked at the self-made corsairs with suspicion and disdain.⁹⁹ In spite of the fact that the sixteenth-century Ottoman society still retained the traces of a renegade identity,¹⁰⁰ those with Western Mediterranean provenance had trouble in adjusting to the rules of Ottoman politics and the lifestyle in the capital.

I have elsewhere discussed how Hasan's predecessor Uluc Ali had a hard time in adjusting to the politics of the Ottoman capital.¹⁰¹ Financially pressurized by the twin forces of the expensive tradition of gift-giving in the Ottoman capital and the lack of a large naval expedition which would financially relieve him, the Calabrian Grand Admiral demanded more than once to be transferred to the frontier and appointed as the Governor-General of Algeria (with authority over Tunisia and Tripolitania as well), even though this meant volunteering for a demotion.¹⁰² Uluc Hasan did not stay in Istanbul long enough to request a similar demotion; however, when he felt challenged by other contenders for the grand admiralty, he told the bailo that he would prefer to go back to the North African frontier where he could reap the fruits of the turmoil caused by the French Wars of Religion.¹⁰³ There is

99 Emrah Safa Gürkan, "The Centre and the Frontier: Ottoman Cooperation with the North African Corsairs in the Sixteenth Century," *Turkish Historical Review* 1/2 (2010): 125-163, here 147-9.

100 The Ottomans still remembered their renegade background in the late sixteenth century. See Mustafa Ali's famous passage in *Kunhül'-Abbar*, vol. I, 16, cited by both Fleischer and Kafadar. For sixteenth-century Ottomans, the Rumi identity denoted a society of mixed origins that emerged as a result of the intermingling of Christians (autochthonous as well as slaves) and Turkish Muslims in Anatolia and the Balkans over the centuries. Fleischer, *Mustafa Âli*, 253-257; Salih Özbaran, 14-17. *Yüzyıllarda Rûm/Rûmi Aidiyet ve İmgeleri* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004); Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World, History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum"* 24 (2007): 7-25.

101 Gürkan, "Fooling the Sultan."

102 ASV, SDC, fil. 21, cc. 241v-242r (14 May 1585).

103 He could be rich and make half a million ducats worth of *preda* at a time when France was in a chaotic civil war without a King. ASV, SDC, filza 30, c. 405v (3 February 1589).

some proof, moreover, that he had trouble, at least in the beginning, to adjust to the imperial capital's customs. For instance, bailo Nicolò Barbarigo related that Hasan could only speak 25 words of Turkish in 1577, the year when he was appointed first Governor of Salonica and later Governor-General of Algeria. The fact that a renegade governor-general could hardly express himself in Turkish 14 years after his enslavement and 5 years after his settlement in Istanbul is quite telling.¹⁰⁴ Finally, Hasan's taste for artistic goods from Italy as well as cheese from Piacenza (Uluc, on the other hand, favored those of Mallorca) betrays his North Italian, if not necessarily Venetian, origins.¹⁰⁵

Finally, even though a common background could serve in a facilitative fashion, the extent to which mere rhetoric could profoundly affect diplomatic negotiations was limited. Nor was there an exceptionally good relationship between the baili and Hasan. He did not seem to have received from the Venetian government more than what was generally due to cooperative Ottoman grand admirals. We had already shown how he had tried to trick the Venetians into giving him more money by pretending to have worked for Venetian interests even though he in fact did not move a finger. As an opportunist who demonstrated his self-seeking character while negotiating with the baili, he was not an unconditional Venetian supporter either. While on the one hand he harvested good relations with the Venetian diplomats, on the other he sought ulterior motives, sometimes at the expense of his former patria. In 1590, for instance, the Queen Mother Safiye Sultan's mute told Giovanni Moro that Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha and Hasan Veneziano were acting against Venetian interests; with the intermediation of Gazanfer Agha, the Grand Admiral was provoking the Sultan against the Serenissima ("*gli fa saper molte cose contra la Sublimita Vostrà*").¹⁰⁶ The mute's hostile attitude towards Hasan and his highlighting the Queen Mother's favorable mood towards Venice suggest that factional concerns were at play; nonetheless, his claim is supported by other evidence. Eight months later, Hasan asked Sinan Pasha's *hoca* (tutor) to help him convince the Sultan to launch an expedition against Candia, the most prized target in the eastern Mediterranean. The pro-Venetian *hoca*, who was already acting as a middleman between Sinan and the bailo, refused Hasan's offer of cooperation. Hasan had already gone to Sinan, but the *hoca* had dissuaded the

104 "*...appena sa dir vinticinque parole in Turchesco.*" ASV, SDC, fil. 11, fol. 103v (20 May 1577).

105 ASV, SDC, fil. 29, c. 315r (22 June 1589).

106 ASV, SDC, fil. 30, c. 313r (6 January 1589, m.v.).

Grand Vizier from undertaking a Candian expedition.¹⁰⁷ With or without the hoca's help, it turned out that Hasan had already set to work for an expedition; the next month news reached Istanbul that his agents were discovered in Candia. Amidst rumors of his replacement with Cigalazade Yusuf Sinan Pasha, a Genoese renegade with Enderun background (see below), Hasan was hastily pushing for a naval expedition that could save his office, bailo Lippomano suggested.¹⁰⁸ In order to convince the recalcitrant Sinan, he even dismissed his Venetian origins in a meeting in Grand Vizier's palace. He was aware that he was born a Venetian; but if he knew there remained one drop of Venetian blood in his veins, he would bleed himself to death in order to get rid of it.¹⁰⁹ In light of his words of affection towards Venice, this last sentence, regardless of its melodramatic tone and strategic employment, clearly points to an identity tension: being born as a Venetian could be an asset as well as a liability; something that Hasan could choose to accentuate or understate, but could under no circumstances ignore, even after 25 years spent in Muslim lands.

In short, despite their shortcomings as non-ego documents, the baili's dispatches are the most useful source that can help us understand the vacillation of an Ottoman renegade between his former and new homeland. They take us closer than any other source to getting a glimpse of what an Ottoman renegade felt about his natal land and how he remembered his forsaken past. Even though uttered in the less-than-friendly environment of diplomacy, certain words that Hasan employed betray his Venetian identity. Stuck between two identities and three worlds (Venetian, North African, and Ottoman), Hasan's expressions speak volumes about inherent contradictions in the trans-imperial life trajectory of a Mediterranean go-between.

Uluc Hasan's patria vs. Uluc Ali's Ecclesia:

Hasan's case is one of several examples of cross-confessional negotiations between the Europeans and the Ottoman officers with trans-imperial careers.¹¹⁰ For

107 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 31, c. 452r (16 August 1590).

108 ASV, *SDC*, fil. 32, c. 64v (15 September 1590).

109 *COSP*, vol. 8, no. 1008 (2 February 1590, m.v.).

110 C. Capasso, "Barbarossa e Carlo V," *Rivista storica italiana* XLIX (1932): 169-209; A. Berbrugger, "Négociations entre Hassan Agha et le comte d'Alcaudete, gouverneur d'Oran, 1541-1542," *Revue Africaine* IX (1865): 379-385; AGS, E 488, document dated 21 June 1576.

instance, I have elsewhere focused on negotiations between Hasan's predecessor, Uluc Ali, and the Habsburg agents who sought to arrange the latter's defection from the Ottoman to the Habsburg camp.¹¹¹ Engaging in a round of negotiations that spanned two decades, Habsburg agents tried to lure Uluc Ali to return to Christianity by accentuating his obligation to the Catholic Church and to his natural monarch. By employing such an argument, they used religion, rather than civic identity as was the case with Uluc Hasan, as a reference point. What was the reason for this fundamental difference? To answer this question, we have to concentrate on the divergent views of the Habsburg and the Venetian authorities on the issue of subjecthood and on their different attitude towards their renegade subjects in Ottoman service.

Even though what was at the heart of the defection negotiations were financial benefits and political concessions, Habsburg agents also presented moral arguments as to why Uluc Ali should switch sides. Born in Calabria, the troublesome corsair was, in fact, a Habsburg subject. He was thus bound by a religious duty, the Habsburg argument went, and as a good Christian he had to obey his Christian monarch, Philip II. The Habsburgs instructed Andrea Gasparo Corso, the agent who would undertake the negotiations, to remind the Calabrian corsair of his Christian past and add that he should leave this life he conducted "against reason, natural law, and the God's truth" and "return to him" ("*deve tener aborrescido camino tan contra la razon y ley natural y contra la verdad de dios como por el que ha bivido hasta agora y que deve de desear en su animo y coraçon grandemente bolverse a el*").¹¹² Neither Gasparo Corso nor several other agents who negotiated with Uluc Ali employed the word *patria*, an abstract notion that would attach Uluc to a particular place. Moreover, his natal land Calabria did not come up even once in the conversation. It was not that the Habsburgs were indifferent to Uluc Ali's local links; they went to great lengths to locate a relative who would negotiate with Uluc Ali.¹¹³ It was just that Philip II was a foreign ruler whose sovereignty gained meaning only when expressed in universal terms. The same agents also touched upon Uluc Ali's apostasy by arguing that he should return to the bosom of the Catholic Church, again stressing a religious rather than a civic duty.

111 Emrah Safa Gürkan, "My Money or Your Life: Habsburg Hunt for Uluc Ali," *Historia Moderna* 36 (2014): 121-145.

112 AGS, E 487, document dated 2 July 1569.

113 AGS, E 487, documents dated 15 December 1568 and 18 March 1569.

A similar religious tone is apparent in the negotiations for defection between the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Grand Admiral Cigalazade Yusuf Sinan Pasha, *né* Scipione Cicala. When Scipione called his brother Carlo to his side, the latter, who was in Habsburg employ at the time, had to ask permission from the authorities. In order to cloak his self-interested voyage, he offered to lure his brother to switch sides and convert back to Christianity. Emphasizing the benefit that his voyage would do for his brother's soul as well as for his majesty's interests, he proposed to remind Scipione "the fealty and devotion that all of us had for his Majesty and his duty and obligation to serve his *natural principe et signore* with some memorable and distinguished deed."¹¹⁴ After receiving permission and sailing to the Levant, Carlo highlighted this moral obligation to his brother who came to Chios with the Ottoman fleet and stayed in Carlo's house. He told Scipione that he should once again enter to the service of his *Re Naturale* with an outstanding deed that is worthy of a man of his quality and thus he would return to *antica sua Religione*.¹¹⁵

A third example is the negotiations that took place between Emperor Charles V and Governor-General of Algeria Hasan Agha during the siege of Algiers by the Habsburgs in 1541. In search of a quick victory, the Emperor tried to convince this Sardinian renegade to surrender. If he did so, the imperial envoy argued in front of Hasan, his corsairs could go wherever they wanted while the Muslim population (*i Mori del paese*) could observe their religion unmolested. More importantly for our argument, the envoy assured Hasan that he would receive from the Emperor "great presents in times of war and peace" (*premi grandii in guerra et in pace*) and reminded that it was his duty to help the Christian cause. He had been born in Sardinia and had received the water of Holy Baptism (*l'acqua del santo battesimo*); this was the perfect opportunity (*una bellissima occasione*) to go back to the true religion (*vera religione*), save one's faith and enjoy imperial favor. Doubting the chances of a siege at such a late time in the campaigning season, Hasan flatly refused the offer,¹¹⁶ a decision that he would not regret when a few days later the tempest transformed the siege into an ignominious defeat.

114 "...ricordando a ditto mio fratello la fedelta et devotion di tutti i nostri verso sua M.^{ta} et il debito et obbligo suo all'incontro di perpetuarsi con qualche memorabil et segnalato servitio come a suo natural principe et sig.^{ra}..." AGS, E K 1675, fol. 44 (30 April 1591).

115 "...acostandosi di nuovo con qualche opra segnalata e degno del suo valore alli servitii del suo Re naturale poi che in questo modo ritornerebbe all'antica sua Religione..." AGS, E 1158, fol. 26 (3 November 1594).

116 Paolo Giovio, *Delle istorie del suo tempo, seconda parte*, trans. M. Lodovico Domenichi (Vinegia: Altobello Salicato, 1572), 616, also cited by Gennaro Variale, *Arrivano li Turchi: guerra navale e spionaggio nel Mediterraneo (1532-1582)* (Novi Ligure: Città del silenzio, 2014), 98.

This emphasis on apostates' double religious duty towards the true Church and the natural monarch demonstrates the Spanish perspective of a renegade who crossed the boundary and changed sides. An Ottoman renegade was still a Habsburg subject as long as he was born in one of the Habsburg provinces. Religion was what legitimized the King's sovereignty over a renegade who by the very act of abjuring his faith denied this sovereignty. Thus, he had to recant his erroneous ways and "return" to his original state, that of being a Catholic and a Habsburg subject which in this case appears as the one and the same thing.

The relationship between the Habsburg rulers and their subjects was not conditioned by a local sense of belonging or citizenship; it was rather a moral duty towards a monarch, expressed in religious terms that connected the subject to the dynasty. Running an empire that stretched from Americas to the Philippines, from Flanders to Sicily, from Portugal to Milan, it was natural that the Habsburg understanding of subjecthood was religious; the Catholic identity was the only thing that could link people born in a number of different places to a common monarch.¹¹⁷ The Venetians themselves had their own empire in the Eastern Mediterranean and it could be argued that they would employ a more religious language if they were negotiating with their Greek subjects that settled in Constantinople. Still, I doubt that this was the case; because, being a Venetian entailed certain political and financial benefits even for these members of the 'unofficial nation'.¹¹⁸ Moreover, Hasan was not a simple Greek subject; he was a citizen, if not

117 Contemporaries such as Fray Juan de Salazar and Tommaso Campanella saw religion as the glue which held the Habsburg Empire together. See Juan de Salazar, *Política Española* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1945), proposition 3, cited by Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 99; Tommaso Campanella, *De Monarchia Hispanica Discursus* (Amsterdam, 1640), 18-19 cited by Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political History, 1513-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 51. According to their opinion, the Spanish Monarchy was founded upon the providence of God which not only legitimated Spanish imperialism (especially in the New World) but also gave the monarchy a historical role: uniting Christendom under a universal sovereignty, extirpate heresy and defeat the Turks.

118 It would be helpful to know whether the baili seriously argued that as good Christians these Orthodox should not serve an infidel ruler; unfortunately, however, we do not have detailed information on what kind of arguments they set forth while trying to persuade their Greek subjects to leave Istanbul where they settled in great numbers. Even when the Senate sent bailo Ottaviano Bon the instructions on how to encourage the Greek Venetians working in the Ottoman Arsenal to return, it did not make moral arguments but provide practical suggestions such

a patrician, and thus had social, economic and bureaucratic privileges that allowed the likes of him to have a career in the permanent civil service, the lower echelons of the diplomatic corps, the law, notarial offices, trade, and medicine. Hasan's privileged background meant that he shared a political vocabulary with the bailo and the two Venetians could muster the sense of a civic belonging¹¹⁹ in their cross-confessional negotiations. Habsburg agents, coming from different Habsburg possessions and negotiating on behalf of a distant king, on the other hand, could not rely on such vocabulary while negotiating neither with Cigalazade Yusuf Sinan who belonged to a Genoese aristocratic family that lived in Sicily nor with Uluc Ali who was the son of a Calabrian fisherman. Negotiations between a Calabrian (Uluc) and a Corsican (Andrea Gasparo) on behalf of a Castilian king in Madrid (Philip II) had to rely on a more universal vocabulary.

Here one can also observe a clash between the Habsburg universalism supported by religious doctrine and the Venetian republicanism that located civic identity, rather than religious duty, at the center. While the sovereignty of Philip II was expressed in religious terms¹²⁰ and historically the making of the Castilian

as offering to provide stable labor in the Cretan Arsenal, making small donations and granting safe-conducts to the *banditi* among their numbers. ASV, *SDelC*, fil. 11, 6 February 1606, m.v. cited in Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 84. Still, it is worth noting that while religion did not seem to establish a link between Venice and his Greek subjects, the subjecthood did: the latter carefully avoided being subsumed into the much larger community of Ottoman Greeks and insisted on identifying themselves as members of the Venetian community. They regularly asked from the baili *fedi* and *bollettini*, documents that attested to their status of Venetian subjects so that they would not have to pay the *kharaj* tax. *Ibid.*, 88.

119 According to Brian Pullan, citizenry and patriciate comprised “two élites which, though legally distinct, discharged analogous economic, social and administrative functions.” Patricians were not a military caste; in spite of the differences in their status, the two classes derived their wealth from similar sources and even intermarried to a limited extent. Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 105-107.

120 Spanish Habsburg monarchs considered themselves as the defender of the faith. Charles V, for instance, pursued a messianic imperialism in his struggle against the Ottomans and the Protestants. Juan Sánchez Montes, *Franceses, Protestantes, Turcos: Los españoles ante la política internacional de Carlos V* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995), 42-51. As for Philip II's reign, the religious principle always prevailed over political calculation. This was the result of a distinctive political philosophy expressed in messianic imperialism. Philip II, who saw himself as *rex et sacerdos*, felt that he possessed a direct mandate to uphold the Catholic faith and to this end his number one priority was to defend the Catholic Church: *Suma Ratio pro Religione*,

kings had a deep religious element, the legitimacy of the Venetian government did not derive from religion. A republic with a well-ordered system of magistracies, it imbued its inhabitants with a sense of civic identity so much so that one contemporary saying went *non est vivere extra Venetiis*.¹²¹ Not only a political ideology shared by an exclusive political elite but also a myth communicated to masses by means of art, architecture, literature, history, and most importantly civic rituals,¹²² the myth of Venice¹²³ made the Venetians believe that they lived in an exceptional place: a divinely ordained centre of religious, civic and commercial life, governed by a balanced constitution in the Aristotelian sense, one that harmonized the monarchy, aristocracy, and republican liberty. Someone born in Venice belonged to a privileged community; he was a member of the Most Serene Republic, a polity that was protected by St. Mark and autonomous from other powers in the world. In short, he was a proud Venetian.

The emphasis on *patria* during the negotiations between Hasan and the baili demonstrates Hasan's awareness of his status as a citizen of a republic with civic institutions; one can sense a veiled sentiment of pride. Other Venetian renegades also expressed similar civic concerns. Beatrice Michiel/Fatma, the sister of the influential Chief White Eunuch Gazanfer Agha, is a case in point.¹²⁴ Having converted to Islam and married an Ottoman officer, Beatrice left her estate in Venice to three charitable institutions: the Hospital of the Pietà as well as the nunneries

as one contemporary historian writing on Philip II's life asserted. It is important to note that this was a popular image accepted by his subjects as well. While contemporary historians and artists portrayed him as the defender of the faith, a powerful propaganda machine supported the king's religious image with triumphal arches, sermons, medals and commissioned books. Parker, *Grand Strategy of Philip II*, 92-109.

121 Arturo Segre and Roberto Cessi (eds.), *I Diarii di Girolamo Priuli (AA. 1494-1512)* (Città di Castello: Casa Editrice S. Lapi, 1912-1938), 4 vols, cited without page number by Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 18.

122 On these rituals, see Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual*. Muir argues that while ideology is the exclusive possession of politically or educationally advantaged groups, myth is the communal property of the entire society. *Ibid.*, 57. Ritual is the most effective way to communicate a myth to the masses.

123 With its roots in the medieval ages, the "myth of Venice" was transformed into a coherent political ideology in the sixteenth century. It was a mythic vision of Venice as a sovereign and free city with a perfected social hierarchy and contented classes.

124 On her extraordinary story, see Eric Dursteler, "Fatima Hatun née Beatrice Michiel: Renegade Women in the Early Modern Mediterranean," *The Medieval History Journal* 12/2 (2009): 355-382; *idem*, *Renegade Women*, Chapter One.

of Santa Croce and the Convertite. Even though these three were religious institutions, Tobias Graf convincingly argued that her motivations were “civic” and “charitable” rather than religious.¹²⁵

Conclusion

Virginia Aksan has drawn attention to the difficulties of writing pre-modern lives in the field of Ottoman history.¹²⁶ She has asserted that the lack of personal records due to the “communal silence” as well as the “amnesia of the archives,” a direct result of the oral nature of Ottoman correspondence, reduced the Ottomanists to ‘listening to silence’ in order to reconstruct the lives of the Ottomans. What Aksan has suggested for eighteenth-century sources is even truer in our period where the archival documentation is thinner, more formulaic and less diversified; in the sixteenth century, through the records of a yet-to-develop chancellery, the voices of the Ottomans are simply harder to reconstruct.

As this article tries to show, the solution to this problem lies in diversifying the source base by including European archival and other primary sources which recorded daily conversations between the European diplomats and the Ottoman grandees. By reading between the lines in these cross-confessional dialogues, the historian can overcome the Ottoman sources’ taciturnity especially while dealing with personal issues such as conversion, memory, and identity.

Regular meetings between the two Venetians, one the resident ambassador of his fatherland in a rival capital and the other a self-made renegade entrepreneur who reached the top in an infidel empire, are curious episodes of cross-confessional diplomacy in the early modern Mediterranean. They possess the unique potential to demonstrate us how an Ottoman renegade pasha perceived his passage from one religious community to another, how he felt about his conversion, how he resolved his inner conflicts and what kind of a role his tangled loyalties played in diplomatic negotiations. As such hesitations were extremely dangerous to be expressed publicly, it could not be expected that the Ottoman sources, already

125 According to him, had she been motivated by religious concerns she would have chosen *Pia Casa dei Catacumeni*, a religious institution that prepared neophytes for membership in the Catholic community. Graf, “I am Still Yours,” 181-3.

126 Virginia Aksan, “The Question of Writing Pre-Modern Biographies of the Middle East,” in *Auto/Biography and the Creation of Identity and Community in the Middle East*, ed. Mary Ann Fay (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 191-200.

silent about even the most innocent personal detail, would reveal the Ottoman grandees' link with their past and their sympathies for their former fatherlands.

It is this potential that prompted us to delve into the mindset of a relatively overlooked figure of sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire. Hasan's Western Mediterranean origin, a liability for a career in the imperial capital, has become an asset for the historian. The common background and the shared political vocabulary between Hasan and the baili, recorded on paper by the latter, allow the historian to catch a glimpse of Hasan's persona and reconstruct identity tensions in an Ottoman renegade. Given that the Venetian ambassadorial dispatches are one of the two regularly classified corpora of diplomatic correspondence that had the potential to shed light on Ottoman individuals (the other is Austrian diplomatic correspondence), we know more about a Venetian renegade such as Hasan than many other more important figures of the time.

In Ottoman historiography focusing on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, even the most prominent sultans and grand viziers were left without an extensive biography.¹²⁷ Neither do some of those few monographs that include in their title the name of an Ottoman individual reveal much about their subjects' feelings or personal opinions.¹²⁸ Thus, in the face of the double forces of "communal silence" and the "amnesia of archives," the Ottomanists had to face the dangers inherent in "the imaginary and ambiguous reconstruction of historical lives and the messy intertwining of the factual with the speculative."¹²⁹ This article ventured into this hazardous task in order to give voice to at least one of the numerous political figures that steered the empire's policy and strategy.

127 One notable exception is Feridun Emecen, *Zamanın İskenderi, Şarkın Fatihi: Yavuz Sultan Selim* (İstanbul: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2010).

128 Consider, for instance, Colin Imber, *Ebu's-Su'ud: The Islamic Legal Tradition* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Théoharis Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1543-1474)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Jane Hathaway, *Beshir Agha: Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Imperial Harem* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005).

129 Aksan, "The Question," 191.

His Bailo's Kapudan: Conversion, Tangled Loyalties and Hasan Veneziano between Istanbul and Venice (1588-1591)

Abstract ■ This article concentrates on the relationship between the Ottoman Grand Admiral Uluc Hasan Pasha (*Hasan Veneziano*), a Venetian renegade, and the Venetian ambassadors (*baili*) in Istanbul. Based on documentation from Venetian and Spanish archives, it analyzes how two compatriot's shared background shaped diplomatic negotiations and their personal relationship. First, it scrutinizes several aspects of this mutually beneficent cooperation in the higher echelons of cross-confessional diplomacy. Secondly, it studies Hasan's vacillation between the *Serenissima* and the Ottoman Empire, his past and present, his *patria* and his new homeland. It examines how this Ottoman convert resolved his inner conflicts and what kind of a role his tangled loyalties played in diplomatic negotiations. Finally, by comparing and contrasting a number of similar cross-confessional diplomatic negotiations between Christian rulers and renegade pashas, it aims to analyze the Europeans' different attitude towards Ottoman renegades and illustrate how divergences in imperial projects and the renegades' social background led the Habsburgs and the Venetians employ different arguments and use a different vocabulary while negotiating with their former subjects. **Keywords:** Conversion, renegade, identity, subjecthood, belonging, cross-confessional diplomacy, secret diplomacy, Ottoman Grand Admiral, bailo, Ottoman – Venetian relations, Spanish Habsburgs.

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Navigating the *Qabusnamah*'s Journey from Istanbul to Weimar: Ottoman-European Philosophical Exchange in the Age of Enlightenment

Lela Gibson*

Qabusnamah'nin İstanbul'dan Weimar'a Yolculuğu: Aydınlanma Çağı'nda Osmanlı ve Avrupa arasındaki Felsefi Alışverişler

Öz ■ Bu makale 11. yüzyılda İran'da kaleme alınmış olan *Qabusnamah*'nin İstanbul'dan ilk önce Berlin'e, daha sonra Weimar'a yolculuğunu belgelemektedir. Prusya maslahatgüzarı ve Aydınlanma çağı düşünürlerinden Heinrich Frierich von Diez'in (1751-1817) hareketlerini takip etmektedir. 1790 yılında elyazmasını İstanbul'dan Berlin'e götüren Diez, daha sonra Fransız İhtilali ve Napolyon Savaşlarının akabinde mutlaki düzenin yeniden canlanmasını savunmak amacıyla, eseri tercüme edip yayınlamıştır. Diez'in çevirisi Goethe'yi etkilemiş ve Alman yazar eserdeki bir çok ögeyi *Doğu-Batı Divanı*'nda kullanmıştır. Metnin akışının incelenmesi, modern Alman devletinin oluşumunu tamamladığı kritik önemi haiz bir dönemde artan Osmanlı – Avrupa diplomatik karşılaşmalarının sonucu olarak Osmanlı felsefesinin Alman edebiyatı üzerindeki etkisini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Diplomasi, Tasavvuf (Sufilik), Entelektüel Alışveriş, Prusya-Osmanlı İlişkileri

*Frage nicht durch welche Pforte
Du in Gottes Stadt gekommen,
Sondern bleib' am stillen Orte
Wo du einmal Platz genommen.*

*Schau dann umher nach Weisen,
Und nach Mächt'gen, die befehlen;
Jene werden unterweisen,
Diese That und Kräfte stählen.*

* University of California, Los Angeles

NAVIGATING THE *QABUSNAMAH*'S JOURNEY
FROM ISTANBUL TO WEIMAR

*Wenn du nützlich und gelassen
So dem Staate treu geblieben,
Wisse! niemand wird dich hassen
Und dich werden viele lieben.*

*Und der Fürst erkennt die Treue,
Sie erhält die That lebendig;
Dann bewährt sich auch das Neue
Nächst dem Alten erst beständig.*

*Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 1815
(Goethe 1888: 77)*

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) penned these lines on May 19, 1815 to celebrate fifty years of service of two Weimar court officials (Mommsen 1995: 124). Written towards the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the poem also praises the absolutist order. Goethe drew inspiration for these verses from the *Qabusnamah*, an eleventh-century Persian advice manual, translated into German by Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751-1817), a former Prussian *Geschäftsträger* to the Ottoman Empire (Mommsen 1995: 125).¹ The poem was the result of Goethe's larger interest in classical Persian poetry, which culminated in a collection of poems first published as the *West-östlicher Divan* in 1819. An expanded edition, which included the above poem, was published in 1827.

Goethe's engagement with Persian poetry in the *West-östlicher Divan* was the result of closer diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and the German-speaking world in the period between the French Revolution and end of the Napoleonic Wars (1789-1815). This article primarily focuses on the movement of one influential text for Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan*, the *Qabusnamah*, by tracing its circulation from the Ottoman Empire to the German-speaking world. Persian poetry flourished in Istanbul in the eighteenth century, and German-speaking diplomats in Istanbul collected manuscripts and imported them to Prussia and the Habsburg Empire. Some of them, including the *Qabusnamah*, were translated into German. Prussian envoy Heinrich Friedrich von Diez published translations

1 Note: Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words have been transliterated in accordance with the standards of the International Journal of Middle East Studies. Original German orthography has been preserved in publication titles. All dates are AD unless otherwise noted.

of numerous Ottoman works from his manuscript collection, including the *Qabusnamah*, which he translated as *Buch des Kabus oder Lehren des persischen Königs Kjekjawus für seinen Sohn Ghilan Schach* (1811) and a two-volume collection of translations entitled *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien in Künsten und Wissenschaften, Sitten, Gebräuchen und Alterthümern, Religion und Regierungsverfassung* (1811, 1815), which were highly influential for Goethe's *Divan*. Austrian diplomat Joseph von Hammer (1774-1856, later Hammer-Purgstall) similarly collected manuscripts during his mission and translated them into German. Goethe also drew extensively from Hammer's translation of the *Divan-i Hafiz*, published as *Der Diwan von Mohammed Schemsed-din Hafis* in 1812 (see Shamel 2013). The main sources for Goethe's *Divan* originated in Istanbul and were translated into German by former diplomats to the Ottoman Empire.

Diez used his translations, including the *Buch des Kabus*, to outline his support of the monarchy in the turbulent era following the French Revolution, which had called the absolutist order into question. The style of the *Buch des Kabus* would have been familiar to European readers, since it resembled "mirrors for princes," (*Fürstenspiegel*) a genre of literature tracing back to ancient Greece which advised princes on proper behavior and theories of statecraft, and they would have recognized Diez's translation as an argument for an enlightened ruler in the wake of the political turmoil. Diez's views were, however, controversial; for example, his work was described in a January 1813 review in the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* as building "a temple to poor taste or boredom." Diez sought to appropriate Ottoman political theory for absolutist renewal, which was a controversial position in an era where the absolutist order was beginning to break down.

Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* is one example of how German-speaking authors drew upon texts from the Ottoman Empire in an era of deepening political engagement between the Ottoman Empire and the German-speaking world. The *Qabusnamah's* journey shows how German thinkers appropriated Ottoman philosophy to articulate their visions of the future in a critical historic juncture between absolutism and modern systems of governance. Thinkers such as Goethe and Diez were especially interested in moral philosophy, and the *Qabusnamah* was a cornerstone of Ottoman ethical ideals. This particular instance demonstrates the wider areas of inquiry the study of European-Ottoman diplomacy can offer cultural and intellectual history by highlighting the significance of Ottoman texts in German literature.

The Qabusnamah from Istanbul to Berlin

When Heinrich Diez arrived in Istanbul on July 16, 1784, he fit with what historians Margaret Jacob and Jonathan Israel have described as an Enlightenment “radical” (Jacob 1981; Israel 2001). A lawyer by training, he studied at the Friedrichs-Universität in Halle (now Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg), a center of German Enlightenment thought, and envisioned a new society freed from the influence of the Church through state-supported religious toleration and freedom of the press. He worked for the Prussian judiciary in Magdeburg for eleven years before his appointment to Istanbul and published numerous treatises on his views during that time (Diez 2010).

Diez was particularly engaged with moral philosophy and published several works outlining his ideas. His first publication, *Vortheile geheimer Gesellschaften für die Welt* (1772), argued that secret societies “educate” (*bilden*) young men through the cultivation of morality (Diez 2010: 16). Diez wrote the work while he was still a student in Halle, where he was also a member of a student group with ties to freemasonry called the Amicisten Order (*Amicistenorden*). Freemason lodges provided a space for new forms of sociability, which encouraged Enlightenment thought, placing particular importance on the cultivation of morality through fraternal association (see Jacob 1981). Diez’s second publication, *Beobachtungen über der sittlichen Natur des Menschen* (1773), argued that the development of morality is humankind’s highest goal, stating “Moral virtue is the only real and true virtue that the Everknowing God begs from us” (Diez 2010: 79). The cultivation of morality outside of Church doctrine was a central question for Enlightenment thinkers such as Diez, and freemasonry offered ideas and institutions for a new moral system.

Diez engaged in major debates of the German Enlightenment before going to Istanbul. His 1781 work, *Apologie zur Duldung und Preßfreiheit* has been described by Jonathan Israel as “the first major plea for comprehensive freedom of thought and press in central Europe” (Israel 2011: 188). Diez also supported religious toleration and participated in the debate about Christian von Dohm’s 1781 work, *Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* through his own response, *Ueber Juden* (1783), which argued for equal rights for Judaism as a religion (Hess 2002: 35). The next year, Dohm facilitated Diez’s diplomatic appointment as the Prussian envoy to the Ottoman court. Diez’s interest in moral philosophy and participation in the German Enlightenment set the stage for his engagement with Ottoman philosophy in Istanbul.

Diez continued his philosophical interests in Istanbul by learning Ottoman Turkish (the court language consisting of Turkish, Persian and Arabic words in Arabic script) and collecting manuscripts. Diez's language abilities were rare for European envoys, who often relied on translators. Knowing the local language allowed Diez to interact with Ottoman intellectuals without an intermediary, thus increasing his access to Ottoman literary, religious and philosophical knowledge. He collected manuscripts, including the *Qabusnamah*, a work central to Ottoman thought, which he later translated upon his return to Prussia. Learning Turkish enabled Diez to continue his philosophical inquiry in Istanbul and import Ottoman knowledge to Prussia to answer Enlightenment questions.

Istanbul in Diez's time was the second largest city in Europe after London and had a population of approximately 570,000 persons (Chandler & Fox 1974: 377). European embassies lined the Grande Rue de Péra (now İstiklal Caddesi) in Pera (Beyoğlu), a two-mile stretch in Galata. By the late eighteenth century, a thriving European community inhabited Pera, including European churches, schools and hospitals to support the growing European diplomatic staff, their families, and other resident Europeans including merchants and artisans (Çelik 1993). Pera was also a center of European society and amusement with balls, operas and other gatherings connected to the embassies.

The main diplomatic question in late-eighteenth century Istanbul was the future of the Ottoman Empire, or what would later become known as the "Eastern Question." European diplomats in Pera sought to advance the interests of European states vis-à-vis what they viewed as the weakening of Ottoman power and the rise of Russia under Catherine the Great (1729-96). Through Russia's "Greek project," Catherine allied with Habsburg Emperor Joseph II (1741-1790) in a plan to gain Ottoman territory and divide it between the two empires (Aksan 2007: 137). Habsburg chancellor (1711-1794) also saw an alliance with Russia as a way to counterbalance Prussia (Roider 1982: 171). Great Britain allied with Prussia, since Russian expansion threatened British trade routes to India. Pera in the late eighteenth century was a site for negotiating these imperial rivalries among European states concerning the future of the Ottoman Empire.

Although German imperialism is usually viewed as a late nineteenth-century phenomenon, Prussia's diplomatic engagement with the Ottoman Empire in Diez's time could be considered part of this system of European imperial rivalry (Illich 2007). As the Prussian "Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

of His Prussian Majesty at the Court of Constantinople,” Diez’s mission was to advance Prussian interests regarding the Eastern Question. When the Ottoman state declared war on Russia in August 1787, Prussian officials viewed alliance with the Ottoman Empire as an opportunity to advance Prussia’s interests within the diplomatic competition of European imperial rivalries over the future of Ottoman territory and gain territory in Poland, a commercial treaty for Mediterranean trade, and increased prestige through an alliance with the Ottoman state (Margoliouth 1917: 48). Diez’s negotiations in Istanbul, which resulted in an alliance treaty in 1790, were part of Prussia’s ambition to become a major European power.

European ambassadors collected material culture from the Ottoman Empire within this system of European imperial rivalry. Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste de Choiseul-Gouffier 1752-1817, the French ambassador during Diez’s stay in Istanbul, collected Greek antiquities, some of which are now in the Louvre. The British ambassador from 1776-1794, Sir Robert Ainslie (ca. 1730-1812), amassed a large collection of coins in Istanbul as well as antiquities and drawings. His replacement, Lord Elgin (1766-1841), famously removed what became known as the “Elgin Marbles” from the Parthenon during his mission as British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1799-1803. Habsburg diplomat Joseph von Hammer also collected manuscripts while in diplomatic service in the Ottoman Empire (see Finkel 2015: 43–46). Diez’s collection corresponded to this larger pattern of European collecting in Istanbul, although, like Hammer, his interest was mainly in Ottoman manuscripts rather than ancient Greek artifacts.

Diez used his diplomatic mission to collect hundreds of Ottoman manuscripts in Istanbul. His diplomatic position enabled manuscript collection in two ways. First, Diez made a small fortune in Istanbul by selling Prussian passports and licenses of privilege (*berats*), which funded his manuscript collection (Gronau 1824: 113). Second, Diez used political connections to acquire new items. For example, Diez purchased manuscripts from the Ottoman palace when the harem relocated upon the succession of Sultan Selim III (1761-1808) in 1789, and the transaction was brokered through a palace servant who was aware of Diez’s collecting activities (Roxburgh 1995: 113). By the time Diez set sail on the Dutch ship *Esther en Dirk* from Istanbul on May 23, 1790, he had collected hundreds of Ottoman manuscripts, including the *Qabusnamah*, which he later considered to be one of the most important pieces in his collection.

Diez's Translation: From Qabusnamah to Buch des Kabus

Diez devoted the rest of his life to translating selections from his manuscript collection into German after his arrival in Prussia in September 1790. His contemporaries reported that he often studied late into the night, seldom extinguishing the candle in his study before 2 AM (Ersch & Gruber 1834: 168). One of the first translations Diez completed was of the *Qabusnamah*, a piece of advice literature written in 1082 AD by the Ziyarid ruler Kaykavus (ca. 1021-1087) to his son Gilan Shah, and translated into Turkish numerous times. Diez published it in 1811 as the *Buch des Kabus*.

Diez's translation of the *Qabusnamah* into German was an attempt to gain new perspectives on moral philosophy from the Islamic world. The *Qabusnamah* offered practical ethical guidance on all aspects of human life, and Diez referred to it as the "entire methodology of oriental (*morgenländische*) morals" (Diez 1811a: 191). Each of the forty-four chapters gave practical recommendations on a specific topic, including religious belief (Chapters 1-3), everyday activities such as eating and sleeping (Chapters 10 and 17), family matters such as selecting a wife and raising children (Chapters 26 and 27) and the art of governance (Chapters 37-42). Throughout the work, Kaykavus referred to the Qur'an, hadith, Arabic proverbs, and folk tales to support his advice. The final chapter, Chapter 44, focused exclusively on virtue, and Diez described it as "the sum of all previous chapters," since it outlined the ethical ideals of chivalry (Persian: *javanmardi*, Arabic: *futuwwa*). Taken together, the book can be read as an advice manual on the cultivation of virtue through proper behavior.

The *Qabusnamah* had a long-lasting and significant impact on the Ottoman court, and Turkish authors translated the *Qabusnamah* from Persian into Turkish numerous times. As a work of advice literature, or "mirrors for princes," the *Qabusnamah* offered guidelines to the ruler and upper classes. It was one of a group of oft-cited pieces of Ottoman advice literature that also included the *Siyasatnamah* of Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk (1090) and the *Kutadgu Bilig* by Yusuf Has Hacib (1069) (Aksan 1993: 53). The earliest known existing manuscript of the original Persian *Qabusnamah*, dated 1227, is in the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi in Istanbul (de Bruijn 2010). Turkish authors translated the *Qabusnamah* into Turkish six times in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the most well-known and widely-circulating example of these translations was by Mercimek Ahmed b. İlyas in 1432 for Sultan Murad II (1421-51) (Doğan 2012). Mercimek's translation was

revised by Nazmizade Murtaza in 1705 to update the language to reflect the Persianized literary style of the early eighteenth century (Birnbaum 2012). Through these translations from Persian to Turkish over three centuries, the *Qabusnamah* had a long-lasting and significant influence on Ottoman literature.

Diez's *Buch des Kabus* was the first full translation of the *Qabusnamah* into a European language.² The 867-page work includes an extensive introduction and footnotes.³ Diez drew upon three Ottoman manuscripts from his collection to produce the German translation. He did not consult the original Persian text and instead exclusively relied on the Ottoman translations (Diez 1811a: 178). Diez originally worked from the Nazmizade translation (MS Diez A Quart 60 in his collection), which he had acquired during his residence in Istanbul (Diez 1811a: 180).⁴ According to Diez, this manuscript had many mistakes, presumably as the result of being copied many times (Diez 1811a: 181). This caused Diez to doubt the accuracy of his translation (Diez 1811a: 181), so he drew upon two additional Ottoman manuscripts, which he had possibly acquired after his return to Prussia (Diez 1811a: 181). The first was MS Diez A Oct 60, which was a more faithful hand-written copy, and the second was a copy of the Mercimek translation (MS Diez A Folio 2). These three Ottoman translations of the *Qabusnamah* in Diez's manuscript collection served as the basis for his own translation of the work into German.

Originally, Diez translated manuscripts from his collection, including the *Qabusnamah*, for his own personal study and did not intend to publish them. For example, he wrote about the *Qabusnamah*: "very few books have benefited me as much as this work" (Diez 1811a: 267). Diez completed the translation in 1802, yet he did not publish it until 1811, when he made the decision to publish his other works as well. That year, Diez published several other translations, including *Über Inhalt und Vortrag, Entstehung und Schicksale des Königlichen Buchs* and a collection of translations entitled *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien in Künsten und Wissenschaften, Sitten, Gebräuchen und Alterthümern, Religion und Regierungsverfassung* (Volume 1). He described his decision to publish in the introduction to the *Königliches Buch*: "I decided for myself long ago to leave the ripe fruits of my labor until after my death, since completely different motivations other than fame

2 Excerpts of the *Qabusnamah* were available in French (see Galland 1730).

3 A reproduction, without the introduction, was printed in 1999 (see Diez 1999).

4 Diez's manuscript collection, which includes the manuscripts cited above, is now located at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Orientabteilung.

and fortune motivated my work. However, unexpected times have interfered...” (Diez 1811b: 4-5) The “unexpected times,” for Diez, were the destruction in the German-speaking world caused by the Napoleonic Wars. Also concerned with what he viewed as the exclusive rationalism of the Enlightenment, Diez sought to bring moral philosophy back to the forefront of discussions through his translations. Diez did not seek remuneration for his endeavors, as indicated by the title pages of his works, since he published all of his translations at his own expense and donated the proceeds to charity.

Published during the Napoleonic Wars, Diez’s *Buch des Kabus* addressed early nineteenth-century discussions of moral philosophy that were tied to the future of German society. Featuring a perspective from the Islamic world, it provided practical advice to cultivate human virtue, which was a central issue of concern in a post-Enlightenment world increasingly shaped by secular philosophical values. This was further underscored with its 1823 adaptation into a children’s book as *Das Buch des Kabus: Aus dem Persischen für die Jugend bearbeitet nebst einem Anhang morgenländischer Geschichten*.

The Qabusnamah in Weimar: Goethe and the Buch des Kabus

Goethe checked the *Buch des Kabus*, along with *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, out of the Weimar Library on January 8, 1815 and began reading it three days later (Mommsen 1995: 78). He read it throughout the first half of 1815 before returning it on May 22, 1815 (Mommsen 1995: 78). A week later, Goethe bought six copies of the *Buch des Kabus* from a Weimar bookseller and gave some of them to friends (Mommsen 1995: 83). He described his experience reading the *Buch des Kabus*: “At the time when I was carefully researching Oriental poetry, the *Buch of Kabus* came into my hands. It seemed so important that I devoted much time to it and invited many friends to have a look at it” (Goethe 2010: 273). The *Buch des Kabus*, along with Diez’s other works, had a significant influence on the *Divan*.

Written between 1814 and 1827, the *West-östlicher Divan* is a collection of over two hundred poems inspired by classical Persian poetry. The poems are divided into twelve “books” bearing names from themes and figures in Persian poetry such as “Hafis Nameh” (Book of Hafiz), “Ushk Nameh” (Book of Love) and “Suleika Nameh” (Book of Zuleika). An attachment, the *Noten und Abhandlungen*, explains background information for the poems, including an extensive discussion of the historical context of the *Qabusnamah* and Diez’s translation. Goethe’s

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Divan draws from the symbolism of classical Persian poetry, such as wine and the cupbearer, and its catalog of Sufi metaphors. In doing so, Goethe's *Divan* in a way continues the tradition of Persian (and Ottoman) poetry by using a shared set of symbols and naming the book a "divan," which was common for similar collections of poems in the Islamic world.

Goethe began corresponding with Diez four months after reading the *Buch des Kabus*. A mutual acquaintance, philologist Ferdinand Hand (1786-1851), wrote Diez that Goethe was reading Diez's work (Mommsen 1995: 79). In response, Diez sent two copies of his recently published translation, *Vom Tulpen- und Narcissen-Bau in der Türkei*, one for Hand and one for Goethe. Hand delivered the booklet to Goethe on April 21, 1815 (Mommsen 1995: 79). That same day, Goethe composed a poem praising Diez and the *Buch des Kabus* (Mommsen 1995: 80):

Wie man mit Vorsicht auf der Erde wandelt,
Es sey bergauf, es sey hinab vom Thron,
Und wie man Menschen, wie man Pferde handelt
Das alles lehrt der König seinen Sohn.
Wir wissens' nun, durch dich der uns beschenkte;
Jetzt fügest du der Tulpe Flor daran,
Und wenn mich nicht der goldne Rahm beschränkte,
Wo endete was du für uns gethan!
(Mommsen 1995: 291)

The poem expressed Goethe's gratitude for Diez's translations. It highlighted the *Buch des Kabus* as a piece of advice literature encompassing all aspects of life ("Wie man Menschen, wie man Pferde handelt / Das alles lehrt der König seinen Sohn"). The "king" who teaches his "son," refers to Kaykavus, the original author of the *Qabusnamah*, and his son, Gilan Shah. Goethe praised Diez for making the text accessible by translating it into German ("Wir wissens' nun, durch dich der uns beschenkte"). He also thanked Diez for the book, *Vom Tulpen- und Narcissen-Bau in der Türkei* ("Jetzt fügest du der Tulpe Flor daran"). Goethe had this poem framed in a golden frame and sent it to Diez one month later, which he referred to as the "goldne Rahm" (Mommsen 1995: 80) in the poem. While Hand originally

put the two men in touch, Goethe used this poem to praise Diez and initiate a direct correspondence.

Read on another level, the poem also implicitly acknowledges the contribution of the *Buch des Kabus* as a work of moral philosophy. “Wie man mit Vorsicht auf der Erde wandelt / Es sey bergauf, es sey hinab vom Thron” refers to the “inward track,” or the soul’s journey towards the Divine (represented by the throne), a concept from Sufism (*tasawwuf*) found in Ottoman and Persian poetry (see Şeyh Galib 2005: xiii), which requires moral cultivation for advancement. Mirrors for princes such as the *Qabusnamah* can be considered works of *ādāb* (etiquette) literature which offer formulas for cultivating virtue through recommended actions (Marlow 2009). For Goethe, the main question was if these recommendations were specific to eleventh-century Ziyarid culture or could be applied to the early nineteenth-century German-speaking world. He wrote in a letter to Diez, “it is only a question of the situations interesting us merely historically and analogously or if it really continues to our time” (Goethe 1901: 339-340). Like Diez, Goethe’s interest in the *Qabusnamah* rested on its potential usage as an advice manual for the cultivation of morality in the early nineteenth-century German-speaking world.

Goethe’s poem to Diez began a correspondence of ten letters between the two authors (see Almond 2010: 87). Goethe often posed questions to Diez about Ottoman literature (which included Persian, Turkish, and Arabic works), which Diez promptly answered. In the *Noten und Abhandlungen*, Goethe described his correspondence with Diez: “Because I was working in a planned, methodical way, I needed accessible information that would have required time and energy to locate in books. So when in doubt I consulted him and always got an adequate, practical reply to any question” (Goethe 2010: 274). In his first letter to Diez, written May 20, 1815, Goethe asked Diez if he could send his questions to him, writing, “I ask for permission to call upon your protection and grace in a kingdom which I visit only as a stranger, and where you rule absolutely” (Goethe 1901: 339-340). Goethe’s metaphor of the stranger in a kingdom ruled by Diez reflects his earlier imagery of absolutist rule.

Goethe drew upon Diez’s *Buch des Kabus* for eighteen poems in the *Divan* (Mommsen 1995: 342–6). Many of these are in the *Divan*’s “Buch der Sprüche,” and were written by Goethe in the spring of 1815 when he was engaged with the *Buch des Kabus* (Mommsen 1995: 110). For example, Katharina Mommsen shows

how the poem “Betrübt euch nicht ihr guten Seelen!” is related to a passage in the *Buch des Kabus* (Mommsen 1995: 111). The poem in Goethe’s *West-östlicher Divan* reads:

Betrübt euch nicht ihr guten Seelen!
Denn wer nicht fehlt weiß wohl wenn andre fehlen;
Allein wer fehlt der ist erst recht daran,
Er weiß nun deutlich wie sie wohl gethan.
(Mommsen 1995: 111)

This poem draws from the following passage in the *Buch des Kabus* (Mommsen 1995: 111):

Man fragte jemanden: hast du denn gar keine Fehler? Er antwortete ich habe keine! Man fragte weiter: ey! hast du den nie an andern Leuten Fehler gesehn? und da er sagte, sehr viel! so sprach man zu ihm: also hat es denn keinen Menschen gegeben, der mehr Fehler hätte als du? (Diez 1811a: 474-5)

Goethe’s reworking of the *Buch des Kabus* into poetry for the *Divan* is one example of the transmission of knowledge from the Ottoman Empire to the German-speaking world. This particular passage relates to recognizing one’s own faults in those of others, an ancient Greek concept also found in *tasawwuf*, as a means to moral development.

Diez’s concept of moral philosophy rested on the idea of self-knowledge (“*Selbsterkenntniss*”). In the introduction to the *Buch des Kabus*, Diez described self-knowledge as “the only science that is never understood by most people and only by a few in advanced age” (Diez 1811a: 6). In the introduction to another translation published the same year, the *Königliches Buch*, Diez described self-knowledge as the “key to wisdom and the path that leads to God and all good things” (Diez 1811b: 18). Diez’s concept of moral philosophy was rooted in the necessity to know oneself in order to reach knowledge of the Divine, a concept from ancient Greek thought which also informs Sufism. In the first chapter of the *Buch des Kabus*, Kaykavus advised his son to not attempt to know the Divine, which is unknowable, but to instead “first know yourself and take lessons from your situation, since he who knows himself also knows God [...] you are the Known and He is the Knower, that is, you are the Creation and He is the Creator.

So try to focus your contemplation on your createdness rather than His act of creation” (Diez 1811: 285-6). In a page-long footnote, Diez described this concept as “one of the greatest truths that can be spoken and also the basic truth of real Christianity” (Diez 1811a: 286). Diez believed that the essence of Christianity was knowledge of oneself, a notion shared by ancient Greek and Islamic thought, and the *Qabusnamah* offered keys to this self-knowledge.

The *Qabusnamah* offers an example of how a text, tied to historical developments, can make its way from Persia to the Ottoman court and subsequently to the German-speaking world. It began as a work of advice literature in Persia and then, through multiple translations into Turkish, became a significant work in Ottoman literature. Its subsequent transmission from Istanbul to Berlin was the product of diplomatic engagement between the Ottoman Empire and the German-speaking world, and Prussian diplomat Heinrich von Diez used his diplomatic position in Istanbul to collect valuable Ottoman manuscripts, including the *Qabusnamah*. He translated it into German as the result of an interest in moral philosophy stemming from an Enlightenment search for new ethical systems outside of Christian institutions. Diez’s translation influenced the literary production of a new text, Goethe’s *West-östlicher Divan*, which also drew upon other texts imported from the Ottoman Empire and translated by German-speaking diplomats.⁵ In this sense, perhaps one legacy of the Ottoman Empire’s rich intellectual heritage is to be found - surprisingly - in German literature.

5 Goethe’s *Divan* also later became a source of literary inspiration in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries as authors such as Muhammad Iqbal (*Payam-i-Mashriq*, 1923) and Martin Bidney (included in his translation of *West-East Divan*, 2010) wrote poems inspired by Goethe’s *Divan*.

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Navigating the Qabusnamah's Journey from Istanbul to Weimar: Ottoman-European Philosophical Exchange in the Age of Enlightenment

Abstract ■ This article documents the journey of the *Qabusnamah*, originally written in eleventh-century Persia, from Istanbul to Berlin and, subsequently, Weimar. It follows the movements of Enlightenment thinker and Prussian chargé d'affaires in the Ottoman Empire, Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751-1817), who imported the manuscript from Istanbul to Berlin in 1790. He later translated and published it to advocate for a renewal of the absolutist order following the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. His translation inspired the German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), who included several elements of it in his *West-östlicher Divan*. A study of the movement of this text demonstrates the influence of Ottoman philosophy on German literature as the result of broadened Ottoman-European diplomatic encounter.

Keywords: Diplomacy, Tasawwuf (Sufism), Knowledge Exchange, Prussian-Ottoman Relations

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An Ottoman envoy in Paris: Süleyman Ağa's mission to the court of Louis XIV, 1669

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Paris'te Bir Osmanlı Elçisi: XIV. Louis'nin Sarayında Süleyman Ağa, 1669

Öz ■ IV. Mehmed 1669 yılında Süleyman Ağa'yı elçi olarak Fransız Kralı XIV. Louis'ye göndermiştir. Fransa ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu arasında bir seri savaşın sonunda gelen bu diplomatik misyonun hedefi geleneksel Osmanlı-Fransız itilâfındaki krizi çözmektir. Her ne kadar bu diplomatik misyonun ardındaki fikir açıksa da, aynı şeyi Süleyman Ağa'nın rolü için söylememiz mümkün değildir. Fransızlar bir büyükelçi beklemekte ve büyükelçi karşılımları için gerekli hazırlıkları yapmış bulunmaktadır; oysa Osmanlı elçisinin statüsü çok daha kısıtlıdır. Bu makale, Osmanlı ve Fransız diplomatik protokolünün karşı karşıya gelmesiyle ortaya çıkan sorunları ve Fransız hükümetinin bu sorunları nasıl çözdüğünü araştırmaktadır. Onyedinci yüzyıl Osmanlı-Avrupa diplomasisinde uygulamada çıkan zorlukların büyük bir kısmını yansıtmakla beraber, elimizdeki vak'a aynı zamanda Fransız ve Osmanlı hükümetlerinin yüksek siyasi çıkarlar adına makul ve pragmatik kalabildiklerinin altını çizmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı – Fransız İlişkileri, Süleyman Ağa, diplomasi, tercümanlar.

In June 1669, the Ottoman Imperial Chancery drew up a letter from Mehmed IV addressed to Louis XIV, announcing the despatch of the first Ottoman diplomatic mission to France in half a century:

'We send to you one of our confidants; he is the most capable and the most esteemed among our servants: Süleyman, the exemplar of illustrious and glorious personages [...] May his glory be augmented with our powerful and magnificent letter on the part of our High, Royal and Sublime Porte.'¹

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1 The letter exists in translation in the French foreign affairs archives; the original Ottoman Turkish document appears not to have survived. Archive des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Politique Turquie 9, f.327: Mehmed IV to Louis XIV (June 1669).

The 'confidant' in question arrived in Paris in November of that year, tasked with the delivery of the sultan's letter to the king. The mission did not go smoothly, and was marked by a series of misunderstandings culminating in an awkward audience with Louis XIV, which was widely regarded as a fiasco. But the negative aspects of the episode should not be overstated, as the circumstances behind this encounter reveal much about this neglected and misunderstood period in Franco-Ottoman relations, as well as developments in Ottoman-European diplomacy more generally.

During the seventeenth century, the Ottomans did not follow the example of Europeans and refused to establish permanent embassies abroad. This was partly due to the Ottoman worldview, which put Istanbul at the center of the world, with the sultan as king of kings at the highest position in the hierarchy of world's rulers. The Ottoman bureaucracy was underdeveloped as a result. While European states developed rules and protocols of diplomacy and trained diplomats to be sent abroad, the Ottoman approach was usually to delegate the responsibility for international missions to palace officials such as *çavuş* and *müteferrikas*. These figures generally had little knowledge of the finely calibrated rules of European diplomacy.²

While this presented difficulties to contemporaries, it also poses significant problems for historians. One of the main challenges of writing the history of Ottoman-European diplomatic encounters is the lack of Ottoman documents; this is particularly problematic for missions such as this one. Before the second half of the seventeenth century, sultans' envoys were debriefed orally after their return to Istanbul.³ While later Ottoman delegations composed *sefâretnâme* (written reports on delegations abroad) no such document exists for Süleyman Ağa's 1669 mission.⁴ This may be because it was perceived as being relatively insignificant, and no report was therefore commissioned: after all, Süleyman was only supposed to deliver a message to the king and return immediately afterwards.

2 A shift in this approach appeared towards the end of the seventeenth century: Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj, 'Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87 (1967), 498-512.

3 Suraiya Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire* (London, 2014), 7.

4 Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefâretnâmeleri*, ed. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal (2nd edn., Ankara, 1987). There is a brief mention Süleyman Ağa's mission and a French depictions of his visit: 18 and passim. The first *sefâretnâme* was written only a few years earlier, in 1666, by Kara Mehmed Pasha following his embassy to Vienna shortly after the Treaty of Vasvar (1665). *Ibid.*, 47-48.

The lack of Ottoman documents mean that we have to rely instead on the European, and in this case French, sources.⁵ Süleyman Ağa's mission to France generated significant interest at the French court and in society more generally: this has left not only a number of detailed memoranda in the French foreign affairs archives which describe what happened; there are also memoirs of several of those present, the correspondence of other ambassadors who were present, and French newspaper accounts. Of course, each of these present their own problems to historians: for example the official record of ceremonial events was often manipulated for political ends and cannot be relied upon to give a true picture of what occurred.⁶ Up to now Süleyman Ağa's mission to France has mainly been studied from the perspective of its cultural impact on the Parisian elites. Not since the late nineteenth century has the mission been studied from a diplomatic angle; works of that period are often marked by islamophobia: the French historian Albert Vandal, for example, described Süleyman's dominant characteristics as, 'religious fanaticism, fiery pride... and above all, mistrust of infidels'; his prayer rituals meanwhile were a 'complicated pantomime'.⁷ As a result of both historical neglect and scant evidence, therefore, little is known about Süleyman Ağa or those who travelled with him.

These difficulties are offset to some extent by recent developments in historical method, which have revealed how fruitful the study of such encounters can be if we use existing sources in new ways. The history of international relations has become more concerned of late with individuals and organizations involved in shaping foreign policy, as well as an interest in incorporating the perspectives of two or more governments into one and the same study.⁸ Newer approaches also highlight the importance of mediators between the two polities (for example interpreters and dragomans). This article therefore aims to provide more information on these aspects of Süleyman Ağa's mission.

The arrival in late 1669 of an official Ottoman delegation was an unusual occasion – while the Ottomans had sent several such envoys to the French court

5 As Ethem Eldem put it, 'documents composed by Frenchmen or other non-Ottomans may provide vital information on Ottoman subjects who came to France': Ethem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 1999), 61.

6 See for instance Giora Sternberg, *Status interaction at the court of Louis XIV* (Oxford, 2014)

7 Albert Vandal, ed., *L'Odysée d'un ambassadeur: Les voyages du marquis de Nointel (1670-1680)* (Paris, 1900), 23, 27.

8 Faroqi, *Travel and Artisans*, 3-4.

during the sixteenth century, the last one had arrived in 1618, reflecting the waning of the Franco-Ottoman entente under the Cardinal Ministers.⁹ By the time Louis XIV assumed personal control of his government in 1661, the two former allies appeared to be on a collision course. The Bourbon monarchy in France had a heightened sense of its status in Europe at this time; as such the king was determined to get recognition of his equal standing from the sultan. The French kings had long claimed this parity, insisting in diplomatic correspondence with the Ottomans on the use of term *empereur* (or *padişah*) to refer to the king, rather than *roi* (or *kral*). Up to this point, however only the Holy Roman emperors had been granted imperial recognition by the sultan.¹⁰ The resurgent Ottoman Empire during the early Köprülü era, meanwhile, was not characterised by a willingness to compromise with or adapt to European practices, and the Porte continued to employ a so-called 'unilateral' approach to diplomacy.¹¹

The 1660s was a particularly troubled period in Franco-Ottoman relations. The decade witnessed—for the first time in nearly 300 years—the armies of the king of France and the Ottoman sultan facing each other in battle. This happened at Saint Gotthard in Hungary in 1664. Just prior to this was an amphibious expedition against Algiers at Djijelli, where the French tried to establish a North African military outpost. And later on in the decade the French sent two separate expeditions to Crete to help the Venetians. These military encounters were accompanied by a related upsurge in turkophobic or 'crusading' sentiment, spurred on by government propaganda.¹²

Unsurprisingly, this resulted in a period of tension in the diplomatic sphere. The French ambassador Jean de La Haye had been imprisoned in Istanbul in 1658, on charges of spying for the Venetians, and Louis XIV did not send a replacement

9 Gérard Poumarède, 'Les envoyés ottomans a la cour de France: une présence controversée' in Lucien Bely, ed., *Turcs et turqueries (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 2009), 63-95. The Venetian archives suggest that unofficial representatives may have visited France in the intervening period: according to Maria Pedani, 'in 1652 an interpreter and a janissary reached Venice and then proceeded to France'. Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, 'A seventeenth century Muslim Traveller in Paris', *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 13 (1995), 227-36 at 229.

10 This had been granted by the Treaty of Zsitvatorok of 1606. Gustav Bayerle, 'The Compromise at Zsitvatorok', *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980), 5-53.

11 George R. Berridge, 'Diplomatic Integration with Europe before Selim III' in Yurdusev, *Ottoman Diplomacy*, 114-130.

12 Phil McCluskey, "'Les ennemis du nom chrestien": Echoes of the crusade in Louis XIV's France', *French History* 29 (2015), 46-61.

until 1665: pointedly, Louis chose La Haye's son, Denis, for the role. Furthermore the commercial situation in the Levant turned decisively against French interests in the later 1660s. The Ottoman authorities frequently requisitioned the ships of French merchants to carry men and munitions to Crete. Often these vessels were then intercepted and seized by the Maltese corsairs, who preyed on Ottoman shipping. In February 1668 the Porte demanded compensation from the French ambassador for the lost cargoes on the grounds that many of the Knights of Malta were in fact French, telling the ambassador that: 'the French are worse enemies than our enemies' and 'the French are all corsairs'.¹³

During the summer of 1668, the Porte ordered restitutions from the French for losses caused by the Maltese corsairs, threatening to put the French consul in Izmir, his dragomans, merchants and the owners of French vessels into prison.¹⁴ In protest, Louis XIV recalled his ambassador.¹⁵ By this stage Louis had probably lost confidence in La Haye anyway; in his *mémoires* he explained that the grand vizier's personal enmity towards La Haye had proved the main impediment to improving relations with the Ottomans.¹⁶ The king also revealed later that year that he decided 'to recall his ambassador from the Porte in order to make them afraid of what his intentions might be'.¹⁷ Yet the Ottomans remained firm, and continued to use the issue of the Maltese corsairs to block any talk of new capitulations (these had not been renewed since 1604).¹⁸ By the spring of 1669, the French felt they had to intensify the pressure, and the king sent a fleet of four warships to Istanbul to collect his ambassador, and also to display French naval prowess to the Porte.¹⁹

13 AAE CP Turquie 9, f.37: La Haye to Lionne (18 May 1668).

14 AAE CP Turquie 9, f.49: La Haye to Lionne (18 July 1668).

15 AAE CP Turquie 9, f.69: Louis XIV to La Haye (5 August 1668).

16 Louis XIV, *Mémoires for the Instruction of the Dauphin*, ed. Paul Sonnino (London, 1970), 183-6.

17 'Mémoire pour servir d'instruction au Sieur Président de Saint-André s'en allant ambassadeur ordinaire à Venise (1668)', in *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France*, vol. XXVI: *Venise*, ed. Pierre Duparc (Paris, 1958), 60.

18 AAE CP Turquie 9, f.153: La Haye to Lionne, (April 1669). In theory the capitulations were renewable at the accession of every new sultan, but this had lapsed after 1604. Géraud Poumarède, 'Négocier près de la Sublime Porte, Jalons pour une nouvelle histoire des capitulations franco-ottomanes' in Lucien Bely, ed., *L'Invention de la diplomatie* (Paris, 1998), 71-85.

19 Archives Nationales de France, Archives de la Marine, B²8, f.34: Louis XIV to d'Almeras (15 April 1669). This was on the advice of La Haye: Archives Nationales de France, Archives Etrangères B1 376 f.19, 'Memoire de M. l'ambassadeur de Constantinople sur la decadence de commerce du Levant et des raisons et moyens d'y remédier' (March 1669); f.22, La Haye to Colbert (9 April 1669).

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It was in this tense atmosphere, in April 1669, that the sultan summoned La Haye to his hunting lodge at Larissa. Audiences between Ottoman sultans and foreign ambassadors were rare events; many ambassadors would only meet the sultan once during their term of office. It appeared, therefore, that the Porte's stance was shifting. The absence of the grand vizier on Crete (he was personally directing the siege of Candia) may have worked in France's favour in this respect: Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed's personal dislike of Denis de la Haye was well known. Negotiations were handled instead between La Haye and the kaymakam (Kara Mustafa Pasha). It became clear that the Porte was still not prepared to renew the French capitulations; yet nor did they wish to see a full breakdown in relations. Instead they reached a compromise whereby the sultan would choose 'une personne considérable' from among his officials to deliver a letter to Louis XIV to assure the king of his friendship and to request the assurance of his.²⁰ The French warships anchored in Istanbul would escort the Ottoman envoy to France. La Haye, meanwhile, would be required to remain in post, and the Porte made it clear that they would await the prompt return of the messenger before making any decision on the capitulations.²¹

This idea may have been La Haye's originally, and had been discussed in his correspondence as early as June 1668.²² The Ottomans did occasionally send out such envoys for various reasons, one of which was the continuance of peaceful and friendly relations.²³ As a gesture of goodwill it was not out of keeping with Ottoman policy to France up to that point. The Ottomans were well aware of the double politics of Louis XIV, as is clear from the ambassador's reports.²⁴ However, self-interest seems to have been sufficient motivation for them to preserve the long-standing accord with France.²⁵ This would explain the relative clemency of

20 AAE CP Turquie Supplement 7 f.318, La Haye to Lionne, (9 April 1669).

21 Ibid.; AN AE B1 376 f.37, La Haye to Colbert (12 June 1669).

22 AAE CP Turquie 9, f.43; La Haye to Lionne, 10 June 1668. Rumours circulated (probably originating from Provençal merchants in the Levant) that La Haye was personally bankrolling Süleyman to the tune of 3,000 *écus*. AAE CP Turquie Supplément 7 f.348, Matharel to Matharel (30 June 1669).

23 Bülent Arı, 'Early Ottoman Diplomacy: Ad Hoc Period' in A. Nuri Yurdusev, ed., *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional?* (Basingstoke, 2004), 36-65 at 48.

24 AN AE B1 376 f.19, 'Memoire de M. l'ambassadeur de Constantinople sur la decadence de commerce du Levant et des raisons et moyens d'y remédier' (March 1669); f.30, La Haye to Colbert (April 1669).

25 Kenneth Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, PA, 1991), 223.

the Porte in the 1660s in spite of France's duplicitous behaviour. French merchants and shipping were by this stage crucial to the Ottoman economy and the movement of goods within the Empire.²⁶ Whereas the sixteenth century alliance between France and the Ottomans had been based on shared geopolitical concerns, the new relationship which developed from the late seventeenth century and which went on to flourish through the eighteenth century was far more commercially and economically-driven.

The mission was clearly ad hoc and hastily arranged. As the commander of the French fleet had orders to set sail by mid-June, this left little time for the Ottomans to prepare either the messenger or his entourage – his suite only numbered between twenty and thirty, and he had little in the way of baggage (this should be compared to the Ottoman delegation to Vienna in 1665/6, which numbered nearly 300).²⁷ The choice of envoy also seems to have been a very last-minute decision. It was thought that the kaymakam had been in favour of sending either Mehmet Ferenc Bey, a Greek renegade, or the kapıcıbaşı, with a larger delegation.²⁸ However it appears that shortly before the fleet was due to leave, an instruction from the grand vizier arrived, insisting on a simpler mission to deliver the sultan's letter.

Ultimately the choice fell upon a man by the name of Süleyman Ağa. Little is certain about his identity, though the honorific *Ağa* ('master' or 'elder') was a title given to senior officers in the military and in the Topkapi Palace.²⁹ Fortunately, however, the comte de Matharel, a senior officer on board the French vessel on which Süleyman Ağa was escorted to France, wrote a long letter to a relative, providing important information on the envoy's background and characteristics. He was Bosnian; he was from the *bostancı*³⁰ of the Topkapi Palace, and his role

26 Archives Nationales de France, Archives de la Marine B⁷205, f.72, 92, Arvieux to Colbert (1669).

27 AAE B1 376 f.37-42, La Haye to Colbert, 12 June 1669; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Manuscrits Françaises 14118, 'Relation de ce qui s'est passé a la réception de Soliman Aga Mustapharaca envoyé par Sultan Mahomet Han Empereur des Turcs en 1669'; Ekkehard Eickhoff, *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen: Umbruch in Südosteuropa 1645–1700* (Munich, 1970), 222-27; Karl Teplý, 'Evliyâ Çelebi in Wien', *Der Islam* 52 (1975), 125-131, at 127.

28 AAE CP Turquie Supplément 7 f.340, Matharel to Matharel (30 June 1669); Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux, envoyé extraordinaire du Roy à la Porte*, ed. by Jean-Baptiste Labat, 6 vols (Paris, 1735), IV, 124.

29 Gustav Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis: A historical dictionary of titles and terms in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul, 1997), 2.

30 Literally, 'gardener'. The *bostancı* were initially recruited via the *devşirme* system, forming a

was currently *müteferrika* (meaning 'miscellaneous [duties]'). As such he was a member of the elite mounted personal escort of the sultan, who accompanied him everywhere, cleaned his room, and made his bed; these individuals received orders only from the sultan who often used them for special missions.³¹ Matharel added that Süleyman Ağa passed commands between the sultan and the grand vizier, which suggests that he may have held the position of *vezir karakulağı*, one of the *Bostancı-Haseki* who delivered correspondence between sultan and grand vizier.³² He may have held another senior palace position: accounts of Süleyman's physical appearance describe him as bearded; according to Gustav Bayerle the only palace official permitted to grow a beard was the *Bostancıbaşı* (the commander of *bostancı* corps), a particularly close aide of the sultan.³³

Matharel described Süleyman as aged around 50; he was strong, wise and highly esteemed. This reflects the fact that the Porte placed much emphasis on personality in its selection of envoys.³⁴ Matharel added that the envoy was 'sage, honest, and very civil', which he thought was contrary to the custom of the Turks, 'who are almost all brusque, boorish, uncivil and crude – even those who hold high rank at the Porte'.³⁵ The letter even described a mealtime, where the envoy and his entourage 'ate on the floor cross legged, eating with very bad manners, extraordinarily quickly and without saying anything; and without drinking anything throughout meal.' This kind of information offers an important insight into French perceptions of Ottomans at this time, when face-to-face encounters was still very rare. What is striking is the relative objectivity of the report, compared to the negative descriptions which characterized 'official' French descriptions of Süleyman after he arrived in France.

Having been treated with honours aboard the French vessel, the fleet arrived at Toulon on 4 August. Süleyman Ağa stayed there at the *Hôtel de ville* until the arrival of the sieur Giberti, one of Louis XIV's *gentilshommes ordinaires*, who then escorted him to Paris. The order was given 'to receive and defray him in

training pool of the Janissary corps while performing manual labor in the imperial gardens, as well as other tasks in the palace. Bayerle, *Pashas, Beks, and Effendis*, 1, 23.

31 Ibid., 45, 116

32 Ibid., 23; AAE CP Turquie Supplément 7 f.341, Matharel to Matharel (30 June 1669).

33 Bayerle, *Pashas, Beks, and Effendis*, 23.

34 Ari, 'Early Ottoman Diplomacy: Ad Hoc Period', 48.

35 AAE CP Turquie Supplément 7 f.341, Matharel to Matharel (30 June 1669).

towns along route according to his dignity'.³⁶ However what that 'dignity' was remained uncertain. The French fixated in particular on whether Süleyman held the title *elçi*, which they (incorrectly) believed meant ambassador.³⁷ In fact, in keeping with Ottoman practice, Süleyman Ağa was not an ambassador, but a messenger tasked simply to deliver the sultan's letter, which evoked the ancient alliance between the two powers and requested the reason for the recall of the French ambassador. Unlike European diplomats, Süleyman did not carry a letter of credence, and refused to show the sultan's letter to anyone but the king. This made it very difficult to ascertain his status. In an attempt to clarify matters, the Parlement of Provence investigated. A cross-examination of Georges Fontana, the second dragoman of the French embassy in Istanbul who had accompanied Süleyman from Larissa, appeared (rather confusingly) to confirm that he was indeed an ambassador.³⁸

Having mis-identified Süleyman's status, the French accorded him municipal ceremonial receptions as he proceeded towards Paris via Marseille, Aix, Lyon and Fontainebleau. Almost immediately problems of protocol emerged. One report from Marseille complained that in his 'arrogance' he neglected to get off his horse when he was received by the *échevins* of the city.³⁹ Such cultural misunderstandings reflected the inadequacies of the mission. Süleyman had no knowledge of France and its customs and would have relied on the Greek dragoman Fontana for information; yet Fontana's own knowledge of France was probably limited to his experience at the embassy in Istanbul. Furthermore Fontana's Turkish language skills have been placed in doubt from a number of quarters.⁴⁰ What happened in Marseille provided a foretaste of what was to come in the capital. During his visit to the French court in November and December of 1669, inadequacies on both sides became increasingly apparent.

36 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Manuscrits Françaises 14118 f. 85, 'Relation de ce qui s'est passé a la reception de Soliman Aga Mustapharaca envoié par Sultan Mahomet Han Empereur des Turcs en 1669'.

37 The word referred to foreign envoys generally: Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs and Effendis*, 45.

38 Fontana is not to be confused with the Fonton family, originally from Drôme, who provided a long line of interpreters to the French embassy in Istanbul. Marie de Testa and Antoine Gautier, *Drogmans et diplomates européens auprès de la porte Ottomane* (Istanbul, 2003), 163, 258

39 AAE CP Turquie 9, f.188: Monsieur de Meaux to Lionne (1 October 1669).

40 Mary Hossain, 'The Training of Interpreters in Arabic and Turkish under Louis XIV: The Ottoman Empire 1', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 15 (1993), 282.

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For the French government, there remained some uncertainty over Süleyman Ağa's rank. Many seemed to believe that Süleyman was an ambassador, including the court poet Jean de La Fontaine, who penned the following in July in anticipation of his arrival,

Nous attendons du Grand-Seigneur
Un bel et bon ambassadeur:
Il vient avec une grande cohorte;
Le nôtre est flatté par la Porte.
Tout ceci la paix nous promet,
Entre Saint-Marc et Mahomet.⁴¹

It would cause significant embarrassment if, when the sultan's letter was finally opened before the king, he turned out not to be an ambassador after all. In order to shed further light on his status, the French foreign minister Hugues de Lionne gave Süleyman two preliminary audiences at his estate at Suresnes outside of Paris in November. This was in line with Ottoman ceremonial, where the French ambassador would be received by the grand vizier on arrival in Istanbul, rather than by the sultan. The intention to imitate Ottoman practice reflects Louis XIV's desire to achieve official equal standing with the sultan. To underline this, Lionne's audience constituted a deliberate imitation of the Ottoman court, with an attempt to recreate the *divan* of the grand vizier - a role played by Lionne. Coffee and sorbets were even served after the meeting, following the practice of the Porte. No doubt aware of the ambiguity with which these proceedings could be reported to the reading public in France and abroad, the French government issued official accounts which stressed that Lionne had lectured the envoy on the advantages of the French absolutist system.⁴²

The main eye-witness account of the two Suresnes audiences comes from Laurent d'Arvieux, a Marseillais former merchant who had travelled extensively throughout the Levant and spoke fluent Turkish. According to Arvieux, he was there at the invitation of Lionne and provided the information upon which the

41 Jean de La Fontaine, 'A Son Altesse Sérénissime Madame la Princesse de Bavière' (July 1669) in *Œuvres complètes de Jean de La Fontaine*, ed. Charles Athanase Walckenaer (Paris, 1835), 537.

42 *La Gazette* 139 (23 November 1669), 'Relation de l'audience donnée par le Sieur de Lyonne, à Soliman Musta-Féragea, Envoyé au Roi, par l'Empereur des Turcs, le Mardi 19 Novembre 1669, à Suresnes', 1125-1128.

audiences were organized. His account must be treated critically, however, as he clearly intended to highlight his own importance in proceedings and advance his career (he wished to be appointed as the new French resident in Istanbul). He also seems to have personally disliked Süleyman, describing him as having a ‘disagreeable physiognomy’ and being ‘too melancholic’;⁴³ furthermore he had already set out his advice to Lionne that Süleyman’s supposed ‘insolences’ (such as had happened in Marseille) should not go unpunished.

In his memoirs, Arvieux highlights Lionne’s apparent desire to belittle Süleyman first by making him wait several hours and then through seating (he was made to sit on a stool just beyond the rim of a carpet).⁴⁴ This may have been another attempt to mirror Ottoman practice. Ottoman receptions of foreign diplomats in Istanbul were calculated to deliberately belittle them: Edhem Eldem has called this ‘degrading hospitality’, as the reception of foreign envoys became an occasion to enact the Ottoman sultan’s claim of superiority, by establishing a delicate balance between magnanimous hospitality and scornful disdain. The clearest sense of this was in the way in which the envoy entered the audience chamber: two officials of the palace held his arms and forced him to the ground in prostration before the sultan.⁴⁵

Arvieux also highlights the deficiencies of the official court interpreters (another role he coveted for himself). The interpreter on the French side was François Petis de la Croix, *Secrétaire Interprète du Roi pour les langues Turquesque et Arabesque*, who was an accomplished scholar but who had never been to the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁶ As one of a group of scholars meeting at the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, he had, at Colbert’s request, compiled a Turkish Dictionary and catalogued Arabic and Turkish books for the library. However Arvieux describes him as completely lost without his dictionaries and, in the first interview between Süleyman Ağa and Lionne, ‘all he could do was babble, so the envoy could understand nothing

43 Arvieux, *Mémoires*, IV, 125.

44 Ibid., 133–35.

45 Edhem Eldem, ‘Foreigners on the threshold of felicity: the reception of foreigners in Ottoman Istanbul’ in Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen, eds., *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe. Volume 2. Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge, 2013), 114–131 at 119–20.

46 Paul Sebag, ‘Sur deux orientalistes français du XVIIe siècle: F. Petis de la Croix et le sieur de la Croix’, *Revue de l’Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 25 (1978), 89–117.

of what he said'.⁴⁷ He had to be rescued by Arvieux and Fontana.⁴⁸ At the second Ottoman-style audience on 19 November Arvieux took over as chief interpreter, Petis de la Croix apparently being told to remain in the background. Arvieux was also critical of the dragoman Fontana, claiming that he was not to be trusted as he was in the pay of Ambassador La Haye.⁴⁹ That very same month, the twin problems of the competence and reliability of Turkish interpreters was addressed directly by Jean-Baptiste Colbert: on 18 November 1669, the *Conseil royal de commerce* issued an edict creating the *Ecole des jeunes de langues*: six boys were sent to the French Capuchin monasteries in Istanbul and Izmir to study Turkish, with a view to eventually supplying reliable French interpreters.⁵⁰

At the subsequent audience with the king at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on 5 December, Fontana represented Süleyman Ağa and Arvieux Louis XIV. It was apparent by this stage, however, that Süleyman did not carry the credentials of an ambassador. In spite of this, the status-obsessed French court was determined to capitalize on the prestige associated with the reception of an Ottoman envoy. The royal audience included a very deliberate display of French military might – the palace was surrounded by the French and Swiss Guards, musketeers and gendarmes. Inside, Louis XIV was dressed in a golden costume studded with diamonds and adorned with plumage (perhaps designed to approximate the sultan's own clothing).⁵¹ This extravagant show of opulence organised by Louis XIV jarred with the simplicity of Süleyman Ağa's status and function. It was designed above all to impress upon him the power and wealth of the king of France.

That the French were determined to emphasise the king's equality with the sultan is shown by what happened next. When it came to the moment where Süleyman Ağa was to present the sultan's letter to the king, he stepped forward, and waited, apparently expecting Louis to rise to receive it.⁵² Louis, having been told that the sultan remained seated when he presented the letter to La Haye in

47 Arvieux, *Mémoires*, IV, 136-7.

48 AN AE B1 376 f.40, La Haye to Colbert (12 June 1669).

49 Arvieux, *Mémoires*, IV, 131

50 Hossain, 'The Training of Interpreters', 283-4; Testa and Gautier, *Drogmans et diplomats* 30-31, 43-48.

51 Adile Ayda, 'Molière et l'envoyé de la Sublime Porte', *Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Études Françaises*, 9 (1957), 103-116 at 112.

52 BNF Ms. Fr. 14118 f.85 'Relation de ce qui s'est passé à la reception de Soliman Ağa Mustapharaca envoyé par Sultan Mahomet Han Empereur des Turcs en 1669'.

Larissa, refused to do so. The French sources state how Süleyman then ‘withdrew brusquely, murmuring with clenched teeth, with signs of anger’. As the superscription to the sultan’s letter was being read out by the interpreter, Süleyman descended from the steps of throne; he bowed, then shook his head and reportedly said loudly in Turkish that the sultan would not be satisfied by the manner in which Louis received the letter.⁵³ His displeasure is perhaps understandable: his role, after all, was to uphold the status of his sovereign at all costs.⁵⁴ According to Arvieux, Süleyman also expressed his displeasure that the king had not presented him with the gift of a kaftan, as was practiced at the Porte (although he himself had brought no gifts for the king).⁵⁵ The papal nuncio reported that the king and the envoy ‘showed little signs of being pleased with one another’ and the audience seems to have been brought to a swift end.⁵⁶

Following the audience at Saint-Germain, Süleyman Ağa remained in Paris, lodged at the Hôtel de Venise for several months. Contrary to the strict instructions from the Porte that he return immediately after delivering the letter, Süleyman’s requests for leave to return home were refused. The pretext given was that the French wished to spare him a long journey during the rigors of winter,⁵⁷ but the royal council was divided and playing for time to consider its next move.⁵⁸ The Porte’s anxiety about Süleyman’s whereabouts is clear from the dispatches of La Haye: on numerous occasions the kaymakam asked him for news about Süleyman Ağa and the reasons for the delay in his return; La Haye always responded that he had no information.⁵⁹ According to several accounts, Süleyman appears to have been kept under surveillance during this period and his contact with other Ottoman subjects in Paris was strictly proscribed;⁶⁰ this was presumably to stop

53 Ibid.

54 This appears to have been the main priority of Ottoman emissaries in this period, as noted by Faroqhi in respect to Kara Mehmed Pasha’s mission to Vienna in 1665: Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans*, 6.

55 Arvieux, *Mémoires*, IV, 183.

56 Pietro Bargellini, quoted in Poumarède, ‘Les envoyés ottomans’, 89.

57 Arvieux, *Mémoires*, IV, 201.

58 Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce Francais dans le Levant au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1893), 211-12.

59 AN AE B1 376, f.47-50 La Haye to Colbert (15 Jan 1670); f.81-2 La Haye to Colbert (24 May 1670); f.90-91 La Haye to Colbert (15 June 1670); f.96. La Haye to Colbert (8 July 1670); f.108 La Haye to Colbert (16 Aug 1670).

60 Arvieux mentions that it was necessary to stop several ‘Turks’ dressed in French fashion from visiting him, ‘for fear of the information they may have provided him with’. Arvieux, *Mémoires*, IV 154-5; Vandal, *L’Odyssée d’un ambassadeur*, 30.

him becoming a point of refuge for fugitive Muslim galley slaves. Given Süleyman's inability to speak French, his contact with other Parisians seems to have been limited, the dragoman Fontana being the only possible point of contact. No evidence of his activities during this period appears to have survived.

Finally, in May 1670, the French government resolved to dispatch a new ambassador to Istanbul to replace La Haye. Süleyman had his final audience with Lionne that month, during which he received letters to be presented to the sultan and the kaymakam. In the weeks following, reciprocal visits were arranged between Süleyman and the new ambassador to the Porte, the marquis de Nointel. During his visit to the latter, 'a great number of Ladies, and persons of quality' were present, highlighting the public interest in Süleyman.⁶¹ Finally leaving Paris in mid-July, he was escorted to Toulon by Giberti, where he embarked with Nointel. In contrast to his journey the previous year, he was not received officially in any towns along the way. Furthermore his journey did not include a stop at Marseille, as the authorities were supposedly concerned that this might agitate the Muslim galley slaves there.⁶² At Toulon, however, Nointel was instructed by the king to make a point of showing Süleyman the naval forces in the port, so that he might report this to the sultan.⁶³ The king did not give him leaving gifts, since he had brought none;⁶⁴ however the newly constituted *Compagnie du Levant* did present him with gifts including a watch, some brocade and some cloth.⁶⁵

Süleyman Ağa and Nointel arrived in Istanbul in late October 1670, nearly a year after his audiences in Paris.⁶⁶ Before they were separated Nointel impressed upon Süleyman the importance of their remaining friends, and that he tell the sultan of 'the merits, and sovereign power of His Majesty at sea, on land, and the

61 *La Gazette*, 66 (31 May 1670), 528.

62 Arvieux, *Mémoires*, IV 156.

63 AAE CP Turquie 4 19, Louis XIV to Nointel (12 June 1670); AE B1 376 109, Nointel to Colbert (19 August 1670).

64 'Mémoire du Roy pour servir d'instruction au Sieur de Nointel allant ambassadeur à Constantinople' in *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France*, vol. XXIX: *Turquie*, ed. Pierre Duparc (Paris, 1969), 50-66 at 53.

65 BNF Ms. Fr. 14118 79, 'Relation de ce qui s'est passé à la réception de Soliman Ağa Mustapharaca envoyé par Sultan Mahomet Han Empereur des Turcs en 1669'; Jean Rousset de Missy, *Le cérémonial diplomatique des cours de l'Europe* (Amsterdam and The Hague, 1739), 101.

66 AN AE B1 376 115, La Haye to Colbert (30 October 1670); 122, Nointel to Colbert (6 November 1670).

beauty, magnificence and populousness of his empire'.⁶⁷ From Nointel's dispatches, we know that Süleyman debriefed the sultan and grand vizier on his return, and that he and his entourage cast France in a positive light.⁶⁸ Furthermore at subsequent diplomatic audiences Süleyman Ağa was present and gave the ambassador 'the warmest welcome possible'.⁶⁹ Whether he had any further agency in the negotiations for the renewal of the capitulations in June 1673 remains unclear.

On one level, Süleyman Ağa's mission to France and his reception by the French court was clearly not a successful encounter. The mismatch between the expectations of the messenger and his hosts was simply too great. Yet the episode does nevertheless demonstrate several important aspects of the Franco-Ottoman relationship. Despite all of its shortcomings, it reveals the desire of both the French and the Ottoman governments to save their old friendship before it was irredeemably lost. Admittedly, each side was concerned with maintaining or enhancing their own status as far as possible, often at the other's cost. Yet it is possible also to detect a willingness to accommodate each other. Instead of forcing Süleyman to conform to French practice, Louis XIV and Lionne decided to mirror Ottoman practice, albeit based on partial knowledge and approximation. Furthermore, Ottoman diplomacy may have been less 'unilateral' than previously appreciated: Süleyman's mission consisted ostensibly of one task, which was to deliver the sultan's letter to the king. Yet the fact that the French foreign ministry archives also hold a letter from the kaymakam Kara Mustafa Pasha to Lionne suggests that there was some willingness to negotiate; Suraiya Faroqhi has noted that this was also practiced in Ottoman diplomacy with Venice.⁷⁰

The episode also reveals some of the broader problems of Ottoman diplomacy at European courts in the second half of the seventeenth century. The low-key diplomatic practice of the Ottoman envoys which had worked reasonably well in a functional way in the sixteenth century was now largely incompatible with the culture of diplomatic practice in the second half of the seventeenth century, which was increasingly elaborate. No further Ottoman envoys were sent to France during the reign of Louis XIV, suggesting that neither side felt they had much to gain from another such mission. Yet as is well known, the weakening of the Ottoman

67 AN AE B1 376 122, Nointel to Colbert (6 November 1670).

68 AN AE B1 376 124, Nointel to Colbert (12 November 1670).

69 AN AE B1 376 128 Nointel to Colbert (30 November 1670).

70 AAE CP Turquie Supplément 7 f.328, Kara Mustafa Pasha to Lionne (June 1669); Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans*, 5.

military position after the failed siege of Vienna in 1683 eventually forced the Ottoman government to adapt to European diplomatic practices.⁷¹ Although they did not have permanent residents in European countries until after 1789, the Sublime Porte began more regularly to send ambassadors with specific missions to Europe after the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699).

The next Ottoman envoy to France would arrive in the politically more relaxed atmosphere of the 1720s. The embassy of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi of 1720-21, which has been well documented, is regarded as a much more successful encounter and conformed more closely to what the French expected.⁷² Unlike Süleyman Ağa, Mehmed Efendi was learned and experienced in European diplomacy; he held the rank of ambassador, came with a substantial suite, and brought numerous gifts with him. His written report gathered all sorts of information about France and was marked by a sense of curiosity, and openness. Furthermore it has been argued that Mehmed Efendi's report had a significant and lasting impact on Ottoman society.⁷³

In a similar way, despite the apparent diplomatic shortcomings of Süleyman Ağa's mission to France, it did have a deeper impact on a cultural level in France. He is often credited with popularising the practice of drinking coffee,⁷⁴ as well as an interest in Turkish culture more generally (or a heavily mediated version of it). His supposed hubris was also the object of some of the satire in Moliere's play *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.⁷⁵ An 'orientalised' Ottoman Empire was clearly visible in these representations, as it was in the recreation of the grand vizier's audience at Suresnes. This was a product of the limitations in French knowledge of the Ottoman practices; as well as vice versa. It added a new layer to French society's

71 Ari, 'Early Ottoman Diplomacy', 52.

72 Julia A. Landweber, 'How can one be Turkish? French Responses to Two Ottoman Embassies' in Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp, ed., *Europa und die Türkei im 18. Jahrhundert = Europe and Turkey in the 18th century* (Bonn, 2011), 403-16.

73 Fatma Müge Göçek, *East encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century* (New York, 1987); Mehmed Efendi, *Le paradis des infidèles: Relation de Yirmisekiz Celebi Mehmed efendi, ambassadeur en France sous la Régence, Traduit de l'ottoman par Julien-Claude Galland*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris, 1981).

74 Emma C. Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment: Food and the Sciences in Paris* (Chicago, 2012), 55.

75 Ayda, 'Moliere et l'envoyé de la Sublime Porte'; Darren Hodson, 'A Would-Be Turk: Louis XIV in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 32 (2010), 90-101; Mary Hossain, 'The chevalier d'Arvieux and *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 12 (1990), 76-88.

already complex perspectives on the Ottoman world, a layer which would last for a long time to come.

On several levels, then, the 'encounter' associated with this particular mission had implications well beyond its original diplomatic goals. Even without Ottoman source material, we can still learn much from looking at this mission and the European sources generated by it: reading between the lines of French sources can reveal much about lower-level encounters between Christian Europeans and Muslim Ottomans such as that between the Matharel and Süleyman. Furthermore, behind the rhetoric from both sides, what emerges could be regarded as a precursor to Ottoman bilateral engagement with France, and is therefore a crucial step in the development of Ottoman diplomatic engagement with Europe more generally.

An Ottoman envoy in Paris: Süleyman Ağa's mission to the court of Louis XIV, 1669
 Abstract ■ In 1669, Sultan Mehmed IV dispatched Süleyman Ağa as emissary to King Louis XIV of France. Coming at the end of a decade which saw a series of military confrontations between France and the Ottoman Empire, the mission was an attempt to resolve the crisis in the traditional Franco-Ottoman entente. If the thinking behind this diplomatic mission is reasonably clear, the precise role of Süleyman Ağa was anything but. While the French expected an ambassador and made preparations to receive him accordingly, the Ottoman envoy's status was in fact far more limited. This article investigates the problems encountered as Ottoman and French diplomatic protocol clashed, and the ways in which the French government attempted to resolve these problems. The episode reflects many of the difficulties in conducting Ottoman-European diplomacy in the seventeenth century. But it also underlines the ability of the French and Ottoman governments to remain reasonably pragmatic in the name of higher political imperatives.

Keywords: Franco-Ottoman relations, Süleyman Ağa, diplomacy, interpreters.

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A Treaty of Narratives: Friendship, Gifts, and Diplomatic History in the British Capitulations of 1641

Michael Talbot*

Anlatuların Antlaşması: 1641 İngiliz Ahdnamesi'nde Dostluk, Pişkeş, ve Diploması Tarihi

Öz ■ Bu makale şimdiye kadar incelenmemiş 1641 yılında İngilizlere verilen ahdname-i hümayunun Osmanlıca metnini incelenmektedir. Osmanlı-İngiliz ticareti ve diplomatik nüfuz alanlarını düzenleyen maddeleri içermenin yanısıra, kapitülasyonlar diplomatik karşılaşmaların ve uygulamaların resmi kaydını ortaya koyan bir anlatıyı da barındırmaktaydı. Sultan'ın dostluğundan yararlanmak için hediyeler ve kraldan mektup getirmenin öneminin altını çizmek suretiyle, tarihsel anlatının ahdname metnine dahil edilmesi, Sultan'ı saltanat hiyerarşisinin tepesinde konumlandıran Osmanlı dünya görüşünü göstermekle kalmamakta, aynı zamanda kadim dostluk yoluyla ittifak retorikini güçlendiren katmanlı bir öncelik anlatısı yaratmaktadır. Tarihsel anlatuların tam tercümelerini zeylde vermek suretiyle bu ahdnamenin Osmanlıca ve Türkçe versiyonlarını inceleyen makalemiz, Osmanlı ahdnamelerini sadece tarihsel antlaşmalar değil, aynı zamanda tarihsel metinler olarak da görmek gerektiğini savunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kapitülasyonlar, Ahdname, Osmanlı-İngiliz ilişkileri, tarihsel anlatılar, diplomasi

Introduction

The premise of the workshop held at the University of St Andrews in 2014 on Ottoman-European diplomacy was to explore diplomacy through contacts, encounters, and practices. One key source for considering these categories of analysis

* University of Greenwich. I am grateful to the two anonymous reviewers for their encouragement and constructive critiques. I should also like to thank all the participants of the 'Contacts, Encounters, Practices' workshop for a stimulating session that really helped to shape my thoughts on approaching Ottoman diplomatic history.

are the imperial Capitulations – *ahdnâme-i hümayûn* – granted to foreign states. These provided fundamental commercial privileges to foreign merchants, ensured significant legal and consular jurisdictions for European ambassadors and consuls, and wide-ranging rights and exemptions for those under their protection. These crucial legal and political texts have received significant scholarly attention and, as more examples are examined and compared, our understanding of the textual basis of the practice and form of diplomatic and commercial relations in the Ottoman Empire before the nineteenth century increases.¹ There is still much work to be done on later Capitulations, particularly on comparative work and notably on those treaties renewed and newly granted – for instance to Belgium, Sardinia, and a number of states in the German *Zollverein* (customs union) – in the aftermath

1 The literature on the Capitulations is extensive, and the following are only a few of the important studies on this subject: Hans Theunissen, ‘Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics: The ‘Ahd-Names. The historical background and the development of a category of political-commercial instruments together with an annotated edition of a corpus of relevant documents’, *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 1:2 (1998), 1-698; Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations, 15th-18th Centuries: An Annotated Edition of ‘Ahdnames and Other Documents* (Leiden, 2000); ‘The Ottoman Capitulations: Text and Context’, ed. Maurits van den Boogert, *Oriente Moderno* 22:3 (2003), particularly Alexander de Groot, ‘The historical development of the capitulatory regime in the Ottoman Middle East from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries’, 575-604; Maurits van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls, and Beratlis in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 2005), especially chapter 1; Halil İnalçık, ‘İmtiyâzât’ in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2, vol. 3, 1185-1189; Gilles Veinstein, ‘Les Capitulations franco-ottomanes de 1536 sont-elles encore controversables?’ in *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community: Essays in Honour of Suraiya Faroqhi*, eds. Vera Constantini & Markus Koller (Leiden, 2008), 71-88; Gilles Veinstein, ‘Le sheikh ul-Islâm et l’ambassadeur: De l’autorité religieuse à la diplomatie’, in *L’autorité religieuse et ses limites en terres d’islam: Approches historiques et anthropologiques*, eds. Nathalie Clayer, Alexander Papas & Benoît Fliche (Leiden, 2013), 55-68; Bülent Arı, ‘The first Dutch ambassador in Istanbul: Corenlis Haga and the Dutch Capitulations of 1612’, Ph.D thesis, Bilkent Üniversitesi, 2012; Edhem Eldem, ‘Capitulations and western trade’ in *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Volume 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge, 2006), 283-335; Viorel Panaite, ‘French Capitulations and consular jurisdiction in Egypt and Aleppo in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries’ in *Well-Connected Domains: Towards an Entangled Ottoman History*, ed. Pascal Firges, Tobias Graf, Christian Roth & Gülay Tulasoğlu (Leiden, 2014), 71-87; Gérard Poumarède, ‘Négociier près la Sublime Porte: Jalons pour une nouvelle histoire des capitulations franco-ottomanes’ in *L’invention de la diplomatie: Moyen âge à temps modernes*, ed. Lucien Bély (Paris, 1998) 71-85; Güneş Işıksel, ‘II. Selim’den III. Selim’e Osmanlı Diplomasisi: Birkaç Saptama’ in *Nizâm-ı Kadim’den Nizâm-ı Cedid’e: III. Selim ve Dönemi*, ed. Seyfi Kenan (Istanbul, 2010), 315-338.

of the Treaty of Baltımanı of 1838.² Nonetheless, bit by bit, article by article, a clearer picture is being revealed of the complex intertextuality and competing provisions of this large corpus of commercial and political agreements.

Whilst the contents and contexts of these Capitulations are an important tool in making sense of Ottoman-European relations in the early modern period, particularly when it comes to trade, they are also historical texts, conscious of their own part in shaping those relations. In particular, the British Capitulations up to 1675 provide a running narrative of the history of relations between the two states in a way not found in many of the other treaties with foreign powers. Why this should be is unclear from a documentary perspective, and it would be particularly helpful to know more about the process of writing the Capitulations in terms of the identity of the authors. There is no similar narrative provided in either the French (up to 1740) or Dutch (up to 1680) Capitulations, and I can find no articulated explanation in either the archives or the chronicle record as to why the British should be different in this respect. Nonetheless, I contend that the British Capitulations demonstrate that we should think about these texts not just as historical treaties, but as historical narratives. In this paper, I will examine the Ottoman text of the Capitulations granted to the British in 1641, the cumulative result of the first formative decades of relations between London and Istanbul. Between the all-important provisions governing customs duties, commercial freedoms, and consular jurisdiction, the Ottoman authors of these treaties also provided a series of historical episodes that gave weight to arguments of precedent, and provided a rhetorical basis for practices such as gift-giving and court ceremonial. In this sense, we might apply the premise explored in Erdem Çıpa and Emine Fetvacı's edited volume on Ottoman historical writing – 'the role of historiography in fashioning Ottoman identity and institutionalising the dynastic state structure' – seeing the capitulatory texts such as this as part of a wider corpus of literature exploring, defining, and shaping the Ottoman state's view of its place in the world.³ More than this, by recording and repeating diplomatic practices surrounding the arrival of ambassadors, the Capitulations in effect gave the observation of practices such as gift-giving equal importance to fundamental articles guaranteeing freedom of trade and movement.

2 Ali İhsan Bağış, *Osmanlı Ticaretinde Gayri Müslimler: Kapitülasyonlar, Avrupa Tüccarları, Berath Tüccarlar, Hayriye Tüccarları, 1750-1839* (Ankara, 1983);

3 H. Erdem Çıpa & Emine Fetvacı, 'Preface' in *Writing History at the Ottoman Court; Editing the Past, Fashioning the Future*, eds. H. Erdem Çıpa & Emine Fetvacı (Bloomington, 2013), vii-xii at ix.

Ensuring *dostluk*: Friendship and gifts in capitulatory texts

The British *'abdnāme-i hümayūn* are, in a number of respects, unlike any of the others granted by the Ottoman state to European powers in terms of the historical narrative that they provide. However, they share the same broad content of the other Capitulations granted between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in setting the freedoms, restrictions, rights, and prohibitions that regulated trade at a number of levels, including governing disputes, customs duties, maritime practices, and diplomatic rights. Although, as Hans Theunissen has argued in his extensive examination of the Capitulations, a standardised form of diplomatic language began to emerge from the later sixteenth century, this did not mean that there were not differences in the details of provisions themselves.⁴ These commercial treaties, as opposed to those that formally ended wars, are an important source not just on changing trends in commerce and developing legal authorities among the *müstemin* (protected foreigners) in the Ottoman Empire, but also present a narrative history of Ottoman foreign relations prior to the development of bilateral diplomacy in the later eighteenth century. These narratives began by typically recording the monarch of a European power seeking friendship with the Ottoman sultan and sending an ambassador to secure it. In a number of these treaties, that is about as detailed as the narrative gets. In part, this is because they were the formative treaties, and when no subsequent additions were granted to particular states, like the Two Sicilies or Denmark, there was no need or opportunity to develop the historical narrative. In such treaties, practices that we find as central features in the British Capitulations, particularly descriptions of the ambassador presenting gifts, get little or no mention. What is key to all of the treaties, however, is the importance of friendship. As Güneş Işıksel has argued in his examination of Ottoman foreign policy in the later sixteenth century, 'peace and stability applied to international relations, that is to say to the universal order, are frequently presented as the ultimate political objective' in Ottoman royal letters and treaties.⁵ Without friendship there could be no peace; but without gifts and royal letters, there could be no friendship.

In some Capitulations and peace treaties, gifts relating to friendship are the subject of entire clauses, although with a different sort of tone presented between the Ottoman and European texts. For instance, in the Treaty of Zitvatoruk

4 Theunissen, 'Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics', 190-192, 300-309.

5 Güneş Işıksel, 'La politique étrangère ottomane dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle: le cas du règne de Selim II (1566-1574)', Ph.D thesis, EHESS, 2012, 91, and passim.

between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans in 1606, the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth articles concerned the exchange of presents as part of the maintenance of peace and friendship:

Latin text:

10. That for our part an ambassador is to be sent with gifts to the Turkish Emperor and the great Murat Pasha Zerdar, and he is also to send his ambassador to our most esteemed Archduke Matthias, our most gracious lord, with gifts. And when our ambassador arrives at Constantinople in order to ratify the peace, as well as the ambassador sent thence by the Turkish Emperor to our [city of] Prague, he will come with a greater number of gifts than has been the usual custom.⁶

11. That now the ambassador of His Caesarean Majesty promises to bring to Constantinople a gift with the value of two-hundred thousand florins, once and for all.⁷

12. That the peace will last for twenty years, calculated from the first of January to future years, and after three years both [parties] will reciprocally [send] ambassadors with gifts, without obligation, and nominate gifts of their own volition and choice [...]⁸

Ottoman Turkish text:

And after sending tributary presents to our Lofty Porte, nothing further may be demanded for three years after the writing [of the treaty at] the River Zitava. Three years from that date, tributary presents are to be dispatched for the requirements of friendship between the two [parties], with suitable presents to be sent together with a letter-bearing ambassador to our Exalted Footstool.⁹

6 *Treaties between Turkey and Foreign Powers* (London, 1855), 3. ‘Ut ex nostra parte mittatur legatus cum muneribus ad Imperatorem Turcarum, et magnificus Murath Bassa Zerdar mittat etiam legatum suum ad nostrum Serenissimum Archi-Ducem Matthiam, dominum nostrum benignissimum, cum muneribus; et quando nostri legati Constantinopolim venerint, ad ratificationem pacis, inde quoque mittat Turcarum Imperator ad nostrum Pragam legatum cum maioribus muneribus quam antea solitum erat.’

7 *Treaties between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, 3. ‘Ut nunc legatus suæ maiestatis Cæsaræ adferat Constantinopolim munus valoris ducentorum millium florenorum iuxta promissum, semel pro semper.’

8 *Treaties between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, 4. ‘Ut pax duret per annos xx, computando à primo ianuarii future anni, et post triennium mittat uterque imperator legatos cum muneribus ad invicem sine obligatione et nomine munerum, ad libitum eiusque et arbitrium suum [...]’

9 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri (BOA), Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri (A.DVN.DVE.d 57/1), fol. 6. ‘Ve Südde-i Vâlâmıza gönderilen pişkешlerden şoñra Jiṭve Boğazı’nda yazılan târiḥden üç yıla

As with most of the Ottoman treaties of whatever form, there are substantial differences in tone and content. The Habsburg text focuses on detail and reciprocity, noting the precise value of the tributary gift, and emphasising that the dispatch of gifts would be reciprocal (*invicem*) between two emperors, whilst the Ottoman text simply lays out the three-year grace period following the signing of the treaty, completely ignoring any notion of reciprocity. Indeed, the emphasis on the resumption of regular tributary gifts for ‘the friendship between the two [parties]’ (*mâbeynde olan dostluk üzere*) indicates a completely different understanding to the *laissez-faire* attitude expressed in the Latin text that speaks of the two parties ‘nominating gifts of their own volition and choice’ (*nomine munerum ad libitum euiusque et arbitrium suum*). For the Ottomans, gifts were a central expression of the key concept of *dostluk*, friendship, between themselves and any other contracting parties. Unlike gifts given to receive or renew Capitulations, peace treaty gift giving was often reciprocal. Almost a century after Zitvatoruk, the language used seems to have converged somewhat, such as in the Treaty of Passarowitz of 1718, where the Latin text of the seventeenth article spoke of the voluntary giving of gifts as a sign of friendship (*in signum amicitiae spontaneum munus*), complementing the declaration in the Ottoman text that ambassadors will be dispatched ‘with gifts appropriate to the glory of each side as a sign of friendship of their own free-will’ (*dostluk nişânesi için hüsn-ü ihtiyâra tâlik her taraflın şânına lâyiğ hedâyâ ile*).¹⁰

Gifts given for Capitulations, however, were generally one way, European to Ottoman. Ambassadors would receive *hîl'ats*, robes of honour, at their first audiences with the grand vizier and sultan, but the bulk of gifts were the kaftans, fabrics, timepieces, and jewellery given to Ottoman officials and their retinues. However, there was little mention of the practice of giving gifts in the Habsburg Capitulations of 1718, nor in the additions of 1784, and the same goes for the Capitulations of the Two Sicilies in 1740, of Tuscany in 1747, of Denmark in 1756, and those of Spain in 1782. This is not to say that gifts played no role in the practice of these relations – indeed, for example, one of the first acts of the Spanish after their Capitulations were granted was to dispatch a ship with the king’s presents to the sultan – but that it was not seen as necessary to regulate these gift-giving practices within the treaty itself.¹¹ More important was the idea

değın nesne talep olunmaya üç yıl şofıra irsâl olunacak pışkes olageldiğı üzere mâbeynde olan dostluk muķtezâsınca münâsib olan hedâyâ be-nâm elçiler ile ‘atebe-i ‘âliyemize göndereler.’

10 *Treaties between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, 75-76; BOA, A.DVN.DVE.d 57/1, fol. 60.

11 Hüseyin Serdar Tabakoğlu, ‘The re-establishment of Ottoman-Spanish relations in 1782’, *Turkish Studies / Türkoloji Araştırmaları* 2/3 (2007), 496-524 at 518-519.

of friendship as a key part of the opening narratives of these treaties, with the Spanish text of the Capitulations referring specifically to establishing a peace ‘in the form and manner that the other friendly powers enjoy’ (*en la forma y norma que la gozan las otras potencias amigas*).¹² As part of a commitment to that friendship, in the majority of the texts gifts appear only in their exemption from being subject to Ottoman taxes. The tenth article of the Swedish Capitulations of 1737, for example, stipulates only that ‘customs duties and taxes will not be demanded from the gifts and clothes brought by the Swedish ambassador’, with a close similarity in the Ottoman Turkish and Latin texts (*İsveç elçisiniñ getirdileri hedâyâ ve libâslarından gümrük ve bâc taleb olunmaya | Et rebus legati Sueciae munerum gratia allatis, ac vestimentis eiusdem, nec telonium, nec datum, Bazz dictum exigatur*).¹³ The same prohibition was included in the second article of the Prussian Capitulations of 1761 (*l’ambassadeur de Prussia per quelle robbe, abiti, e cose appartenenti alla sua persona e per i suoi regali, non sia ricercato di dritta di dogana nè dazio*).¹⁴ It would seem that this provision has its roots in the French Capitulations of 1604, with the twenty-first article stating ‘that the materials that the ambassadors of the aforementioned emperor [of France] residing at our Porte bring for their own use and for presents shall not be subject to any imposition or tax’ (*que les estoffes que les ambassadeurs d’iceluy empereur residens à nostre Porte serõt venir pour leur usage et presens; ne soient subjectes à aucunes daces ou imposts*), with the Ottoman text specifically listing ‘their presents, clothes, food, and drink’ as being exempt from customs duties and taxes (*ve hedâyâ ve libâsları ve me’kûlât ve meşrûbâtları mühimmi için akçeleriyle getirdikleri nesnelerden gümrük ve bâc taleb*

12 G.F. Martens, *Recueil des principaux traites d’alliance, de paix, de trêve, de neutralité, de commerce, de limites, d’échange &c. conclus par les puissances de l’Europe tant entre elles qu’avec les puissances et états dans d’autres parties du monde* (Göttingue, 1791), vol. 2, 218. Martens gives the German translation as ‘wie ihn andere freundschaftliche Mächte genießen’; I have not seen the original Ottoman text, but I imagine it would be very similar to the first agreements of the British Capitulations, that speaks of ‘ve sâ’ir ‘atebe-’i ‘aliyeme ‘arz-ı ihtîşâş eyleyen kıralar ile mâbeynde mün ‘âkîd olan müvâlât ve müşâfât mukteżâsınca’.

13 BOA, A.DVN.DVE 49/1, fol. 22; F.A.W. Wenck, *Codex Iuris Gentium Recentissimi* (Leipzig, 1781), vol. 1, 484. It is interesting to note the translation of the Ottoman term *bâc* (transliterated in the Latin text as *Bazz*) as *datum* – a donative – when the Ottoman word refers to a particular form of taxation. It would be interesting to see how the Swedish text, also in Wenck’s collection, compares, but this is a language that is beyond my reach. The word that seems best to correspond is ‘afgiften’, which, from a search in an eighteenth-century dictionary, is given the definition of ‘tribute’, or ‘duty’: Jacobus Serenius, *Dictionarium Suethico-Anglo-Latinum* (Stockholm, 1741).

14 Wenck, *Codex*, vol. 3, 273.

olunmaya), confirmed subsequently in the new Capitulations of 1673 and 1740.¹⁵ This was followed by a similar article in the Dutch Capitulations of 1612, with the additional mentioning of two other exempted taxes – *ref*t (a sort of departure tax) and *kaşşābiye* (a tax on animals or meat) – again carried over to their renewed treaty in 1680.¹⁶

A further instruction about gifts came with the French Capitulations of 1673 relating to encounters between the Ottoman navy and French ships, with the French text instructing that ‘we desire also that [Ottoman galleys] should in no case take young children by force, or similar things, under the pretext of a gift’ (*nous voulons aussi qu’ils ne puissent point prendre par force de jeunes enfants, et autres choses semblables, sous prétexte de présent*), and the Ottoman text similarly cautioning that ‘if [the French] do not give gifts by their own volition, [Ottoman subjects] may not commit an attack by taking weapons, goods, young boys, and other things’ (*mādām ki kendü rızālarıyla hediye vermeyeler cebren ālet ve esbābların ve emred oğlanların ve ğayrī nesnelerin alub te’addī itmeyeler*).¹⁷ The same article appears, almost verbatim, in the Dutch Capitulations of 1612 and 1680.¹⁸ The prohibition on Ottoman naval personnel demanding gifts indicates another form of practice, similar to the provisions stopping taxation on gifts and personal goods brought by ambassadors, that damaged the link between *hediye* and *dostluk*, gift and friendship.

However, in the majority of the Capitulations with European powers, gifts, despite their importance in regular diplomatic practice, play little role in

15 *Fransa pādīşāhi ile Āl-ı ‘Osmān pādīşāhi mabeyninde mun’akid olan ‘ahdnāmedir ki zikr olunur / Articles du traite fait en l’annee mil six cens quatre entre Henri le Grand Roy de France et de Navarre et Sultan Amat Empereur des Turcs* (Paris, 1615); Archives Diplomatiques (AD), Traités et accords 16730010, Capitulations entre Louis XIV et le sultan Mahomet IV, 1673; AD, Traités et accords 17400002, Capitulations de la cour de France avec la Porte ottomane, 1740.

16 Alexander de Groot, ‘The Dutch Capitulation of 1612’, in Alexander de Groot, *The Netherlands and Turkey: Four Hundred Years of Political, Economical, Social and Cultural Relations: Selected Essays* (Istanbul, 2009), 131-154 at 139;

17 *Treaties between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, 199; AD, Traités et accords 16730010, Capitulations entre Louis XIV et le sultan Mahomet IV, 1673.

18 De Groot, ‘The Dutch Capitulation’, 137; BOA, A.DVN.DVE 22/1, fol. 12; *Treaties between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, 358. This is the thirty-seventh article in the Dutch text of 1680, which shows a closer relationship to the Ottoman text: ‘[...] ende soo sy in Zee ofte in de Havens geene presenten met haere vrye wille begeeren te geven, soo sal men haer nogtans geen Scheeps Gereetschap, ofte goet, nogte jongens, ofte eenige andere saken met geweld ofte force mogen afnemen, ofte haer daerom eenige overlast nogte quellinge aan doen.’

developing the narrative history of relations. If we take, for example, the French Capitulations of 1673, a text that built on and expanded those of earlier treaties and had a significant influence on the content and tone of other capitulatory texts, the narrative that is presented after the various titles of the sultan and king gives two interesting accounts of the flow of relations:

French text:

We have received a sincere letter by the hand of the Sieur Charles François Olier, Marquis de Nointel, on the part of his master the said emperor of France, who is his advisor in all his councils, and his ambassador to our Ottoman Porte, chosen from among the gentlemen of his kingdom, supporting the prosperity of the greatest of all the grandees of the Messianic faith, and his ordinary ambassador to our Porte; finding that the Capitulations that have persisted for a long time between our ancestors and the emperors of France should be renewed under this consideration; and by the inclination that we have to preserve this ancient friendship, we have accorded that which follows.

[Article] 1. [...] We further desire that, beyond the observation of our Capitulations, that those granted by our forefather, glorious in his life and a martyr in his death, be inviolably observed in good faith; and for the honour and friendship that the said emperor of France has always had with our Porte, we have granted to him to renew the Capitulations that had been given in the time of the Emperor Mehmed [III], our ancestor, and to add there certain articles in accordance with the request that has been made of us, that we have granted, and commanded, that they should be inserted.¹⁹

19 *Treaties between Turkey and Foreign Powers, 194-195.* 'Nous ayant reçu une lettre sincère par le main du Sieur Charles François Olier, Marquis de Nointel, de la part du dit Empereur du France, son seigneur, comme son conseiller en tous ses conseils, et son ambassadeur à nostre Porte Ottomane, choisi entre les gentils-hommes de son royaume, soutien de la prospérité du plus grand de tous les grands de la croyance du Messie et son ambassadeur ordinaire à nostre Porte; de trouver bon, que les Capitulations qui ont long-temps duré entre nos ayeuls et les empereurs de France, fussent renouvelées sous cette considération: et par l'inclination que nous avons à conserver cette ancienne amitié, nous avons accordé ce qui s'ensuit. 1. [...] Voulons de plus, qu'outre l'observation de notre Capitulation, celle qui fut faite et accordée par nostre feu père, glorieux en sa vie et martyr en sa mort, soit inviolablement observée de bonne foy: et pour l'honneur et l'amitié que le dit Empereur de France a toujours eu avec nostre Porte, nous luy avons accordé de renouveler les Capitulations qui luy avoient esté données du temps de l'Empereur Mehmet nostre bis-ayeul, et d'y ajouter quelques articles sur la demande qui nous en a esté faite, que nous avons acordée, et ordonné, qu'elle y fut insérée.'

Ottoman Turkish text:

Louis, the emperor of the province of France (may he end his days in goodness and truth) [sent] to the exalted footstool of my mighty capital his own servant, approved and esteemed from among his gentlemen, the commander and advisor of all the affairs of the province and of the Paris council, and now engaged with the duty of ambassadorship at the Threshold of Felicity, the wisest of the great men of the Messianic confession, the pillar of the mighty men of the Nazarene nation, Charles François Olier, Marquis de Nointel (may his days end in goodness), who came with a letter in his hand bearing tidings of a sincere heart and a perfection of unity. The covenant in force from the former and earlier age between [us] and the emperors of France from the joyful time of our august forefathers and great ancestors, with God as their evident supporter, that joined us in former manner with the bonds of sincere friendship, the most ancient of which and oldest of that which has passed is that given in the felicitous time of the aforementioned departed Sultan Mehmed [III] Khan, happy in life, a martyr in death (mercy upon him). After that, in the time of our departed ancestor, Sultan Ahmed [I] Khan (mercy upon him, may his tomb be restful), they were again renewed, and they took the imperial Capitulations given to their hands. As the said friend at our Threshold of Felicity came for the perfection of unity, sincerity, and affection so that the aforementioned imperial Capitulations be renewed and certain articles appended through a gracious bestowal, this favour was granted with full approval. The imperial Capitulations that had originally been given were fixed as they are held, and the requested articles that were also to be appended to the imperial Capitulations, were set by our firm command emanating with the noble touch of our imperial signature.²⁰

20 AD, Traités et accords 16730010, Capitulations entre Louis XIV et le sultan Mahomet IV, 1673. '[...] 'atebe-i 'aliye-i devlet-medârimıza [...] vilâyet-i França pâdişâhı Luiz hutimet 'avâkıbuhu bi'l-hayr ve'r-reşad kendünün müdebbir ve maqbül ve mu'teber beğzâdelerinden olub vilâyetlerinin cem'i umûrlarından ve Paris divânın müşir ve müsteşârı ve hâlâ Âsitâne-i Sa'âdet'de elçilik hizmetinde olan kıdvetü'l-ümerâ'ü'l-milletü'l-mesîhiye 'ümdet'ül-küberâü't-çâ'ifetü'n-naşrâniye olan Şarle Franseviye Olyer Markiz dö Natvantel hutimet 'avâkıbuhu bi'l-hayr yediyle hulus-u fû'ad ve kemâl-i ittihâdî müş'ir nâmesi gelüb 'ahd-ı pişin ve devr-i dirinden ilâ hizâü'l-hin ibâ'-ı kirâm ve ecdâd-ı 'azâmımız enâr-Allahü berâhinuhum ile França pâdişâhları mâbeynlerinde mün'aqid olan dostluk üslub-u sâbık üzere mer'î olmak mümâ-ileyhîn kuşvâ-yı âmâl ve akşâ-yı mâ'fiü'l-bâli olub [...] sa'idü'l-hayât şehidü'l-memât merhûm ve mağfûr-leh Sulţân Meşmed Hân zamân-ı sa'adetlerinde verilüb ba'adehu merhûm ve mağfûr-leh ceddemiz Sulţân Ahmed Hân t̄ba şerâhu zamânında tekrâr tecdid olunub ellerine verilen 'ahdnâme-i hümayûnu getirüb ve mümâ-ileyh Âsitâne-i Sa'âdetimiziñ dostu olub kemâl-i ittihâd ve hulus ve vidâd üzere olmağla zikr olunan 'ahdnâme-i hümayûn tecdid ve ba'zi mevâd ilhâk olunmağ bâbında istid'âyı 'inâyet imtekle iltimâsı hayr-ı kabûlde vâk'î olub ve muqaddemâ verilen 'ahdnâme-i hümayûn muqarrer tutulub ve iltimâsı olunan mevâd dahî 'ahdnâme-i hümayûna ilhâk olunmağ üzere hatt-ı hümayûn-u şevket-maqrûnumuz ile fermân-ı kazâ-ı cereyanımız şâdir olub.'

The French text retained a truncated version of the description of the qualifications of de Nointel, and, crucially, kept the description of the ambassador bringing Louis XIV's letter by his own hand (*par le main du / yediyle*) and that the letter was sincere (*sincère / hulus*). Yet, the French text only contained one reference to 'this ancient friendship' (*cette ancienne amitié*) that played such a crucial role in the Ottoman narrative. As well as sincerity, the French king's letter in the Ottoman version spoke of 'a perfection of unity' (*kemâl-i ittiḥādî*); the Capitulations 'joined us in the former manner with the bonds of sincere friendship' (*mün'akıd olan dostluk üslub-u sâbık üzere*); and the ambassador was a 'friend' (*dost*) at the imperial court who came to Istanbul 'for the perfection of unity, sincerity, and affection' (*kemâl-i ittiḥād ve hulus ve vidād üzere*). A number of references were made to the longevity of relations, with a number of references to a deep past, although it is interesting that the earliest text cited here is the 1597 renewal by Mehmed III.²¹ One especially important feature missing from the French translation was that the ambassador's mission to secure the new document was a petition (*istidā*) treated as a supplicant request (*iltimās*) that was approved by a gracious bestowal (*ināyet itmekle*) of the sultan. Thus, we see another important link between friendship and gifts; the bestowal of the Capitulations was a gift for the advancement of friendship. This is something completely lost in the French text, where the sultan simply 'granted to [the ambassador] to renew the Capitulations [...] and to add there certain articles in accordance with the request that he has made of us' (*nous luy avons accordé de renouveler les Capitulations [...] et d'y ajouter quelques articles sur la demande qui nous en a été faite*). We might take from the Ottoman text that the articles of the Capitulations themselves were a form of gift. However, in this narrative, physical gifts, and in particular the tributary gifts (*pışkeş*) are lacking, with physical items appearing only in the articles prohibiting abuses. In this sense, as we shall see, the narrative contained in the British Capitulations was comparatively unusual in making physical gifts so central to the historical narrative presented in the text of the treaty.

Constructing an historical narrative of early Ottoman-British relations

The texts of the British Capitulations, held in both The National Archives in London (TNA) and the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives in Istanbul (BOA) provide a fascinating insight into how the history of Ottoman-British relations

21 De Groot, 'Historical development', 597; Panaite, 'French Capitulations', 72.

was recorded and remembered by the Ottoman state. The first rights, granted in the later sixteenth century, took the form of correspondence between the Ottoman and English monarchs, followed by the setting of formal Capitulations in 1580, and were the subject of a significant discussion following the first major publication on the subject using sources from all sides, Susan Skilliter's *William Harborne and the Turkey Trade, 1578-1582* (1977).²² Scholars who reviewed that study at the time – Gilles Veinstein, Madeline Zilfi, and, notably, V. L. Ménage – pointed to Skilliter's skill in hunting out the relevant correspondence, and her study has left us with an incredibly comprehensive history of early relations; Professor Ménage's prediction that Skilliter would have the last word on the subject seems to have held true to this day.²³ With nothing really to add to the contemporary empirical data that shapes our understandings of Anglo-Ottoman encounters in the late-sixteenth century, I will instead consider how those earliest relations were recorded in later treaty documents. Leaping slightly forward in time, I will use the extensive, detailed, and largely unexamined treaty of 1641 to view how the Ottoman treaties with Britain acted as a written record of earlier encounters, laid the foundation for later gifting practices, and how those relations formed part of Ottoman imperial worldview.

The British copy of the Ottoman text of the *'ahdnāme-i hümāyūn* of 1641 is stored in TNA as part of the State Papers, Foreign: Treaties collection, and, when I first consulted the document, I found that the catalogue had it wrongly labelled as being written in Arabic rather than in Ottoman Turkish. The beautifully illuminated *tuğra* of Sultan İbrahim (1640-1648) heads the treaty (see Appendix 1), which is written in clear *divani* script on one side with an English translation scrawled on the other.²⁴ A more legible English translation was provided in an

22 Susan Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Turkey Trade, 1578-1582* (Oxford, 1977). For an earlier Turkish study on this period, see: Akdes Nimat Kurat, *Türk-İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Başlangıcı ve Gelişmesi, 1553-1610* (Ankara, 1953).

23 Gilles Veinstein, 'Review: S. A. Skilliter, William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578-1582: A Documentary Study of the First Anglo-Ottoman Relations, published for The British Academy, by Oxford University Press, 1977', *Journal for the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 22:3 (1979), 341-343; Madeline C. Zilfi, 'Review: S.A. Skilliter, William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578-1582: A Documentary Study of the First Anglo-Ottoman Relations, published for The British Academy, by Oxford University Press, 1977', *The American Historical Review* 84:1 (1979), 124; V.L. Ménage, 'The English Capitulation of 1580: A review article', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 12 (1980), 373-383.

24 The National Archives, London (TNA), State Papers (SP) 108/540.

accompanying booklet written at roughly the same time.²⁵ To my knowledge, this important text, which greatly expands on earlier privileges and sets the foundation for those of 1675, has received little scholarly attention, and I am unaware of any study citing this original copy of the treaty.²⁶ It was not in itself a major development in terms of articles granted; it was simply a renewal of earlier articles, with only the historical narrative being developed. It came a number of decades after the expanded British Capitulations gained by Thomas Glover in 1607, and the crucial additions gained in 1621 by Thomas Roe, which posed a serious challenge to the French Capitulations of 1604 and the new Dutch Capitulations of 1612, something of a diplomatic victory on the part of the British against their commercial rivals. Other articles had been added at an earlier point – notably the guarantee of a customs rate of three per-cent in 1601 – but this treaty represents the official confirmation Roe’s additions, including forbidding unlawful customs levies in Aleppo, ensuring the customs officials did not levy double duties on British goods by refusing to accept payment receipts or trying to levy payments on goods transported via other ports, and confirmation of basic freedoms to trade. The Capitulations of 1641 therefore confirmed the 1621 additions together with the earlier grants, totalling fifty-five articles in the English text including renewals and confirmations.

The physical document itself bears an interesting history, noted in the appended English translation written by the embassy translators – Dominico Timone, Georgio Dapieris, and Lorenzo Zuma – who did a far more accurate job than the later translation found in the printed copy of the 1675 Capitulations.²⁷ At some point after the dating of the document at the beginning of Şaban 1051 (5 November 1641) in the Ottoman text, and the dating of the English translation on 28 October 1641 in the Julian calendar (i.e. 7 November in the Gregorian

25 TNA, SP108/541.

26 It is given the briefest of mentions, without any communication of its contents or context, in *A Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and Other Powers*, ed. George Chalmers (London, 1790), 431. Edward Van Dyck’s overview of the Capitulations in the late nineteenth century says ‘fuller capitulations were granted on the 28th October, 1641, to King Charles I by Sultan Ibrahim’, indicating he knew of the existence of the treaty in the British records and that the text was comprehensive: Edward Van Dyck, *Report of Edward A. Van Dyck, Consular Clerk of the United States at Cairo, upon the Capitulations of the Ottoman Empire since the Year 1150* (Washington, 1881), 16.

27 *The Capitulations and Articles of Peace between the Majesty of the King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland &c. and the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1679).

calendar), this original copy of the Capitulations disappeared until it was passed to Joseph Williamson, a senior British civil servant, almost three decades later. Williamson noted on the Ottoman original that he had received the original copy of the treaty from the former ambassador Sackville Crowe in 1668, 'together with some other papers relating to ye Turkish Empire and ye affaires of ye Nation there', with a note on the separate translation booklet that it had been passed to Williamson in 1670.²⁸ The long absence of the document can be accounted for by the political turmoil during and following Crowe's ambassadorship. Crowe was appointed to the embassy in Istanbul on the orders of Charles I (1625-1649), arriving there at the end of 1638. His ambassadorship was first marred by economic difficulties that affected the trade of the British merchants, but it was his royalist sympathies coupled with his mismanagement of fees collected from *harbī* merchants (lit. enemy, but referring to merchants from states without Capitulations) using British ships that saw him recalled by London and imprisoned following a major dispute with the governors and merchants of the Levant Company. He was forcibly shipped back to Britain after the king's defeat in the British civil wars in 1647. Imprisoned in the Tower of London on his return, he was not formally released until 1659, and, despite receiving some royal favours following the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, he found himself in debtors prison, where he died in 1671.²⁹ Crowe had evidently passed on these documents during his final incarceration, perhaps in the hope of obtaining favour from a high-ranking statesman like Williamson.

Stored in the British archives with the other original copies of international treaties, the 1641 Capitulations therefore come with their own history as a material object. As a text, they contain their own version of a history of Ottoman-British relations right up to their inscription at the beginning of the 1640s. Of particular interest is the narrative presented in the Ottoman text that describes

28 TNA, SP108/540, 541.

29 A detailed biography of Crowe can be found in Alan Davidson & Andrew Thrus, 'CROWE, Sackville (1595-1671), of Laugharne, Carm: formerly of Brasted Place, Kent and Mays, Selmeston, Suss.' in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1604-1629*, available online via: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/>. On the Civil War viewed in Istanbul, see: Mark Fissel & Daniel Goffman, 'Viewing the scaffold from Istanbul: The Bendysh-Hyde Affair, 1647-1651', *Albion* 22:3 (1990), 421-448. A letter from the British merchants in the Ottoman Empire to the Levant Company in London dated 28 June 1646 registered a number of grievances and complaints against Crowe: Richard Knolles & Paul Rycout, *The Turkish History, from the Original of that Nation to the Growth of the Ottoman Empire*, 6th edn. (London, 1687) vol.2, 67-71.

the very earliest relations, included at the beginning of the document after the usual titles and honorifics:

Ottoman Turkish text:

In the past, the chief of the nobleman of the queen [Elizabeth I] of the aforementioned province originally came to our gate of the workings of felicity – which is the refuge of asylum of the sultans of the world, the place of retreat of the rulers of the globe – with her gentlemen and her ships with her tributary gifts, and the gifts that she had sent were gladly accepted. In the time of my ancestor Sultan Murad [III] Khan (may his tomb be pleasant to him) who dwells in the shining celestial nest of heaven, she sent a gentleman to our Threshold of Felicity, making displays of friendship and affection and signs of amicability. He petitioned that [British] gentlemen might come and go, and in this matter imperial permission was given in the time of my said departed [ancestor] by giving a noble provision saying that ‘at the stopping places and stations, and at the crossings and the gateways, at sea and on land, no person may trouble them’.³⁰

English text:

Lett it bee Knowne to all How in tymes passt the Queene of the abovementioned Kingdomes, haveing sent her Ambassador, with divers his well esteemed Gentlemen, and other Persons of Quality, with letters, shippes & her Presents to this Imperiall High Port, (the Refuge of the Princes of the World, and the Retraict of the Kings of this wholl Universe) in the happy tyme of famous memory of my Great Grandfather Sultan Muratt Han, now place in Paradise, whose soule lett bee replerate with Divine mercy, Which Ambass[ado]r Gentlemen and Presents were gratefully accepted, making declaration and offering in the Name of the sayde Queene, a sincere good Peace, and pure friendshippe, and demanding that his subjects might have leave to come from England into these parts, The saide my Greate Grandfather of Happy Memory, did then Graunt his Imperiall License, and gave into the handes of the saide Ambass[ado]rs for the Crowne of England divers his Especiall and Imperiall Commands to the end the Subjects of

30 TNA, SP108/540. ‘Bundan aqdem vilayet-i mezbûre kraliçesi südde-’i sa’adet-destgâhımıza ki melâz-ı melcâ’-ı selâtin-i cihân ve penâh-ı menca’-ı hevâkin-i devrândir müdir-i beyzâde ve adâmları ve gemilerile pîşkeşleri gelüb ve asl ve irsâl eyledikleri hedâyâ hayr-ı kabûlda vâka’ olub cennet-mekân firdevs-i aşyân-ğarıķ rahmet-i rahmân ceddım Sultân Murâd Hân tabe şerâhu zamânında Âsitâne-i Sa’adetlerine adem gönderüb izhâr-ı muşâfât ve ihlâş ve eş’âr-ı meveddet idüb adamlar gelüb gitmek bâbında isticâbe eylediklerinde merhûm mûmâ-ileyh zamânında icâzet-i hümâyûn olub menâzil ve merâhilde ve ma’âbir ve binâ-derde deryâda ve qarada kimesne rencide eylemeye deyü aḥkâm-ı şerife verilmeikle’

the saide Crowne might safely, and securely come & goe into these Dominions, and in cominge or returneing either by Lande or Sea in their wage or passage, that they should of noe man be molested or hindred.³¹

In sum, Elizabeth I dispatched an un-named ambassador who was described as ‘the chief of the noblemen’ (*müdir-i beyzāde*), who arrived with a retinue of gentlemen and ships (*ve adāmları ve gemilerile*), and, most importantly, the queen’s tributary gifts (*pışkeşleri*) at the court of Murad III (1574-1595). Only when the sultan accepted these gifts (*irsāl eyledikleri hedāyā hayr-ı kabūlda vāka’olub*) could relations truly be established. It was after the acceptance of these initial gifts, the Ottoman narrative tells us, that she sent another man to Istanbul who made ‘displays of friendship and affection and signs of amicability’ (*izhār-ı muşāfāt ve ihlās ve eş’ār-ı meveddet idüb*). It was only then that this Englishman received imperial permission for his countrymen to trade in the Ottoman realms. The English translation of the story follows basically the same pattern, with a slightly less deferential tone, so that the queen’s presents were ‘gratefully’ accepted, rather than the Ottoman text saying they were simply ‘gladly’ accepted. This, then, is an important record of the first encounter from the perspective of the Ottoman state looking back from the seventeenth century. By beginning with the story of the first ambassadors sent to Istanbul from London, the intention was, perhaps, to remind the British that their friendly commercial relations came through two key acts: the giving of gifts; and the active display and declaration of friendship. But we might also see this narrative as constructing two forms of hierarchy: a hierarchy of power, with the queen of a mere province (*vilāyet*) sending her ambassador in a performance giving value to the claim of the sultan’s court as ‘the refuge of asylum of the sultans of the world, the place of retreat of the rulers of the globe’ (*melāz-ı melcā’-ı selāṭin-i cihān ve penāh-ı mencā’-ı hevākīn-i devrān*); and a hierarchy of historical precedent, with the friendship – designated in different degrees by the terms *muşāfāt*, *ihlās*, and *meveddet* – established by these early encounters through the ambassador and practices through gift-giving and consolidated through memory.

This was only the first of a number of places in the 1641 Capitulations that these practices were recorded. Indeed, unlike the French and Dutch Capitulations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the British *‘ahdnāme* was structured by historical events; it was, in fact, a sort of chronicle of past relations, showing

31 TNA, SP108/541, fol.1.

how they informed the present, and dictating future practices and interactions. The act of the sending of an ambassador was developed, with each arrival of a new ambassador to renegotiate the Capitulations given a place in the text along similar lines. The formative events of the earliest relations, however, were given particularly special treatment, and it was in the second part of the first narrative section that we learn that Sultan Mehmed III (1595-1603) had received ‘a pure and affectionate petition of a sincerity of intention and purity of conviction’ (*hulûş-u şavîyet ve safâ-yı ‘akidet üzere ‘arz-ı ihlâş ve ihtîşâş*) from the British requesting that treaties made ‘in a spirit of friendship and amity’ (*muwâlât ve muşâfât muktezâsınca*) by France, Venice, Poland and other states ‘who made affectionate petitions’ (*arz-ı ihtîşâş*) be similarly granted to the British, resulting in the ‘cordial request’ (*istid’â-yı âtıfet*) being granted.

There is some clear similarity of language with the French Capitulations of 1604 examined above, with de Nointel’s letter bearing ‘tidings of a sincere heart and a perfection of unity’ (*hulûş-u fû’âd ve kemâl-ı ittihâdî*), and continual references to friendship. This was a friendship that was therefore a quantifiable element of relations, through the provisions of past and present Capitulations granted to other states. Although gifts are not mentioned in the second part of this passage, the request had been enabled through another petition that gained credence through its amicability and sincerity. This was, in practical terms, the most important part of early relations according to the Ottoman narrative, as it is following this embassy that the original, full articles laying down basic commercial rights and obligations were fixed, nineteen articles in all, protecting British merchants from pirates, corrupt officials, and ensuring their general safety and basic rights in travelling and trading. Moreover, unlike the French Capitulations that spoke in 1604 of ‘the covenant in force from the former and earlier age between [us] and the emperors of France from the joyful time of our august forefathers and great ancestors’ (*ahd-ı pîşîn ve devr-i dirînden ilâ hizâül-ḥîn ibâ’-ı kirâm ve ecdâd-ı ‘azâmımız [...] ile França pâdişâhları mâbeynlerinde*), these British Capitulations, as the first, had no deeper history to which to refer.³²

This grant of friendship, however, came with a specific caveat that also shows how the account of early encounters served as a legal as well as a narrative text:

32 AD, Traités et accords 16730010, Capitulations entre Louis XIV et le sultan Mahomet IV, 1673

Ottoman Turkish text:

As long as this pact, covenant, and pledge is faithfully and purely observed by the aforementioned queen on a fixed foundation enduring the passage of time, from our part we will also hold these provisions of covenant and safety, and regulations of peace, harmony, and old friendship with full-force and with esteem. In the noble time of my departed grandfather (may his tomb be pleasant to him), full details and explanations of the imperial Capitulations were given, saying 'we will not see anything commanded to the contrary'.³³

English text:

[...] and as longe as the sayde Queene of England according to this present agreement of sincere friendshippe, and good Correspondence shall shew herselfe, and continue with us in peace, friendshippe and league, firme constant and sincere, Wee doe promise alsoe on o[u]r part reciprocally that this Peace friendshippe, Articles and Capitulations, and Correspondence in the fore written forme shall for ever of us bee mainteynd observed and respected, and of noe man any a[rtic]le thereof shalle [be] contradicted or infringed. All of which above mentioned Articles of Peace and Friendshippe were Concluded Signed, and our Imperiall Capitulations granted to the sayde Ambass[ado]s for the Crowne of England by o[u]r Greate Grandfather of happy Memory Sultan Muratt, & confirm'd by my Father of famous Memory Sultan Muchmett, in the tyme of the blessed Memory of the sayde Queene Elizabeth.³⁴

The implication here is that the Ottoman state would never break the accord first, but rather blame would inevitably fall on the other contracting party for doing something to disturb the friendship established.³⁵ This was therefore a friendship conditioned on constant renewal and maintenance. Moreover, friendship acquires a new form of gravitas in this confirmatory text, so that the 'provisions of covenant and safety' (*şerā'it-i 'ahd ve emān*) were given equal weighting with 'the regulations

33 TNA, SP108/540. 'Ve işbu mışāk ve 'ahd ve peymān üzere mādām ki mūmā-ileyh kraliçeniñ tarafından şadākat ve ihlās-ı müşāhede oluna ve müddetde şābīt-kađem ve rāsih-dem ola cānibimizden daħi işbu şerā'it-i 'ahd ve emān ve kavā'id-i şulh ve salāh ve muşāfāt-ı kemā-kān mer'ī ve muħterem tūtulub ašlā hilāfına cevāz gösterilmez deyü dedem-i merħūm ũbe şerāhu zamān-ı şeriflerinde mufaşşal ve meşrūh-i 'ahdnāme-i hūmāyūn verilüb'.

34 TNA, SP108/541, fol.4.

35 This seems to have a root in the Qur'anic narrative of treaties, with verse 56 in sura *al-Anfāl* speaking of 'those with whom you have made a treaty/covenant, then they break their treaty/covenant every time, and they do not fear [God]'. Qur'an 8 :56 : الَّذِينَ عَاهَدْتُمْ مِنْهُمْ ثُمَّ يَنْقُضُونَ عَهْدَهُمْ : فِي كُلِّ مِرَّةٍ وَهُمْ لَا يَتَّقُونَ

of peace, harmony, and old friendship' (*kavâ'id-i şulh ve salâh ve muşâfât-ı kemâ-kân*). With the emphasis on the friendship being 'old' by the time this narrative was drafted, we can see how quickly the early phase of relations became a space of antiquity and precedent.

The purpose of this narrative was therefore to situate the genesis of Ottoman-British relations, a point from which precedent could be measured. The fact that the two sultans involved in the opening narratives were Murad III and Mehmed III gives us a firm historical period of the ambassadorships of William Harborne, Edward Barton, and Henry Lello, and the language used to refer to those monarchs as 'my ancestor' (*ceddim*) and 'my grandfather' (*dedem*) respectively begins to give situate the narrative perspective of this part of the document quite accurately. The next clue comes with the following piece of narrative, which rounds off the first "set" of capitulatory articles by bringing in the arrival of a new British monarch, James I/VI (1603-1625). This takes place 'in the noble time of my departed father' (*bâbâm-ı merhûm [...] zamân-ı şeriflerinde*), Sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617), probably referring to the Capitulations received by Thomas Glover in 1607. The fact that the narrative refers to Ahmed I as a father, Mehmed III as a grandfather, and Murad III as an ancestor points to this part of the Capitulations being narrated from the viewpoint of Osman II's reign, (1618-1622), meaning that the narrative was added with the new Capitulations granted to Thomas Roe in 1621. Here, the story established with the arrival of the ambassador of Elizabeth I was repeated, so that the Ottoman text recorded that the king 'sent a letter with his ambassador, dispatching his ships with his tributary gifts, and these presents were well-received' (*nâme ile elçileri gemileriyle ve pîşkeşlerini gönderüb irsâl eylediği hedâyası hayr-ı kabûlde vâka' olub*). Once again, gifts and a royal letter, being gladly accepted, mark the formal beginning of the relationship between this foreign monarch and the sultan. Friendship again takes centre-stage, so that 'the strengthening of friendship' (*te'kîd-i muşâfât*) took equal weighting with confirming the previously granted Capitulations, and ensuring that the 'peace, harmony, friendship, and amity' (*şulh ve salâh ve muvâlât ve muşâfât*) granted to other monarchs also be granted to the British. This is an intentional and direct reference to the earlier narrative, and thus reinforces the two hierarchies of power and precedent that gave the narrative of early Ottoman-British encounters a relevance in practice.

‘The fixed foundation of perfect friendship’ and a fluid narrative

So far, the narrative portions of the 1641 Capitulations have recorded the beginning of relations up to 1607, narrated from some time during the reign of Osman II, probably around 1621, and establishing the significance of practices like gift-giving and emphasising the importance of the performance and maintenance of friendship. However, one crucial historical article used the narrative trope in order to strengthen the legal foundation for preventing disputes between the British and the French. The thirty-fourth article (by the count of the English translation) details a dispute over whose authority Dutch merchants would fall under. In the fourth article of the French Capitulations of 1604, *ḥarbī* nations – those not in treaty with the Ottoman state – specifically ‘the merchants of Genoa, Portugal, and Catalonia, and all those of Sicily, Ancona, Spain, Florence, and Ragusa’ (*Ceneviz ve Portuḳal ve Ḳatalan tācirleri ve Ciciliya ve Anḳona ve İspanya ve Florentin ve Dobro-Venedik bi’l-cümle*), were granted the right to come to the Ottoman Empire under the French flag.³⁶ This was further confirmed in the fifth article, extending the protection to ‘all merchants of the enemy merchant nations without their own separate ambassadors [coming] under the French flag’ (*müstakīl elçileri olmayan cümle ḥarbī tüccār tā’ifesi Fransa sancāḡı altında ḥarbī tüccār / toutes les autres nations alienees de nostre grand Porte, lesquelles n’y tiennet Ambassadeur [...] soubz la banniere et protection de France*).³⁷ What is more, that same article specifically commanded that ‘there may not be any interference or aggression by the British ambassador’ (*İngiltere elçisi tarafından dahl ve ta’arruz olunmaya / sans que jamais l’ambassadeur d’Angleterre, ou autres ayent de sen empescher*).³⁸ However, Dutch merchants, who were considered to be *ḥarbī* prior to their receiving Capitulations in 1612, made use of both the French and British flags, causing consular disputes. This was complicated by the fact that the British had succeeded in getting sole rights to protect the Dutch in their Capitulations, with a clause recording an imperial rescript issued to Elizabeth I that ‘all the merchants of the four parts of Flanders called Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Gelderland shall come and go under the flag of the queen of Britain [...] and from now on the ambassador and consuls of France may not interfere or cause any aggression’

36 *Articles du traite fait en l’anné mil six cens quatre*. The French text differs slightly in listing ‘les Espagnols, Portugais, Cattelans, Ragusois, Geneuois, Anconitains, Florentins, et generalement toutes autres nations quelles qu’elles soiet.’

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

(*cemî' Flandra vilâyetlerinde Holanda ve Zelanda ve Farlandya ve Gelderlanda nâm dört pâra vilâyetleriniñ tüccâr tâ'îfesi İngiltere kraliçesi bayrağı altında gelüb gidüb [...] min-ba'd França elçisi ve konsolosları tarafından dahl veta'arruz olunmaya*).³⁹ This dispute was important; if the Capitulations granted the right to protect *harbî* merchants, it also gave those merchants the obligation to pay consular and other duties to the authorities of the protecting state. The tussle between the British and the French over the right to protect Dutch and other *harbî* merchants was not one simply of prestige, but of economic imperative.

This narrative flashback to the time of Elizabeth I sets up the legal basis for the argument that followed, returning to the present and the articles gained by Glover through the trope established in the earlier narratives: 'Afterwards the ambassador of the aforementioned king of England came again, and when the presents and tributary gifts arrived and were accepted, the ambassador of the said [king] recorded and communicated his desire that certain matters be added to the imperial Capitulations' (*ba'dehu mûmâ-ileyh İngiltere kralınıñ tekrâr elçisi gelüb irsâl ittiği hedâyâ ve pîşkeş vaşıl ve maqbûl olmağla müşârun-ileyhiñ elçisi 'ahdnâme-i hümayûna ba'zı huşûşlar ilhâk olunmasını murâd eylediğın defter ve i'lâm idüb*).⁴⁰ Once again, the capitulatory text emphasises the importance of the presentation and acceptance of gifts before any of the new articles would be considered for inclusion, and as a fundamental precondition for friendship. And, in this case, the first article granted was a clarification of article four of the French 1604 Capitulations – granted 'in the noble time of my ancestor Sultan Süleyman Khan' (*ceddem Sultân Süleymân Hân [...] zamân-ı şeriflerinde*) – removing the French claim to sole responsibility over *harbî* merchants.⁴¹ The narrative complexity of this particular article, using historical encounters to build a solid legal foundation for the new provisions and regulations, demonstrates the centrality of precedent and legal argument to the development of the capitulatory text, and the recurring trope of gifts preceding political business and ensuring bilateral friendship solidifies the relationship between material (gifts) and rhetorical (letters) expressions of *dostluk* within the framework of practical applications of imperial justice and law.

39 TNA, SP108/540.

40 Ibid. The English text from TNA, SP108/541, fol. 4, reads: 'After w[hi]ch there beinge arrived another Ambass[ado]r att this High Port sent from the Kinge of England that now reigneth w[it]h letters and presents (w[hi]ch were most acceptable) the sayde Ambass[ado]r did make request, that certayne other Necessary Articles should bee added and written into ye Imperiall Capitulation.'

41 TNA, SP108/540.

The story to this point has still only got us as far as the early years of the seventeenth century, to the ambassadorship of Thomas Glover – who would become something of an expert in his day of Ottoman capitulatory practices – and his renewal in 1607 that secured a number of privileges for the British, including the rights over foreign merchants. Aside from the resort to historical precedent in the extended article concerning jurisdiction over the Dutch, subsequent narratives of ambassadors during the reigns of James I/VI and Ahmed I were brief. The next mention of a new ambassador in the Ottoman text simply states, ‘afterwards, the ambassador of the king of Britain came to the Threshold of Felicity’ (*ba’dehu İngiltere kralının elçisi Āsitāne-i Sa’ādete gelüb*), probably referring to the arrival of Paul Pindar and the renewal of the Capitulations in 1612.⁴² For simple renewals, it seems not much was needed in the way of extended narrative, but every instance is recorded in the text, adding further to the strength of relations and emphasising the number of times the British monarch sent an ambassador to pay respects to the sultan’s court.

The final narrative sections of the 1641 Capitulations largely relate to the deaths of old and accessions (*cülūs*) of new Ottoman sultans. The first is that of Osman II in 1618, at which time the narrative described in now familiar terms how ‘the ambassador of the said king of Britain came with his letter and tributary gifts; the presents that were sent arrived, and were gladly received’ (*müşārūn-ilyeh İngiltere kralının elçisi nāme ve pişkeşlerin ile gelüb irsāl itdikle hedāyā vāsıl ve hayr-ı kabūlda vāk’a olub*).⁴³ As a result, Pindar was able to confirm the Capitulations granted ‘in the esteemed time of justice of my great ancestors and my august father’ (*ecdād-ı ‘azāmım ve ābā-ı kirāmım zamān-ı ma’dalet-ı ‘unvānlarında*).⁴⁴ There is evidently a narrative transition here, as the voice of Osman II speaks about the provisions granted by his father, i.e. the Capitulations granted by Ahmed I in 1607, but a new narrative voice speaks of Osman II as ‘the departed’ (*merhūm*), thus shifting the history into a new phase. The account moves directly from this confirmation and renewal following Osman’s accession to the arrival of yet another British ambassador, this time Thomas Roe in 1621. Roe succeeded in gaining a number of valuable new additions to the existing Capitulations, and his arrival is given full attention in the narrative: ‘After the accession to the imperial throne, the king of Britain again sent an ambassador with a letter and tributary

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

gifts, appointing and sending one of his loyal and esteemed noblemen to reside at the imperial capital, who made demonstrations of friendship and signs of amity at the Threshold of Felicity; the gifts that were sent arrived and were gladly accepted' (*ve cülüs-u hümayündan sonra İngiltere kralı tekrâr elçisi ve nâme ile pîşkeşin gönderüb Âsitâne-i Sa'âdete izhâr-ı muşâfât ve iş'âr-ı muvâlât eydüb yarâr ve mu'teber beğzâde birin der-i devlet mütemekkin elçi olmağı için ta'yîn ve irsâl idüb irsâl ittiği hedâyâ vâsıl ve hayr-ı kabûlda vâk'a olub*).⁴⁵ Here the narrative shows us the full manifestation of the link between gifts and friendship, and emphasising the credentials of Roe as one of the king's 'esteemed noblemen', showing how seriously the British king took his friendship with the sultan. The language of the Ottoman text emphasises the importance of gifting even further; just as the gifts were gladly accepted (*hayr-ı kabûlda vâk'a olub*), so too was the petitionary request of the king receive new articles gladly accepted (*istid'âsı hayr-ı kabûlda vâk'a olub*).⁴⁶

The English translation – although not the Ottoman original – finishes the final confirmation of the articles gained by Roe by dating the whole of the preceding text as 'Written in the Middle of the month of September in the yeere 1031, Given in our Imperiall and Majestique Cittie of Constantinople', with the later part of the *hicri* year 1031 falling in 1621.⁴⁷ The Ottoman text, however, goes straight into the final part of the narrative that takes us forward directly to the beginning of the ambassadorship of Sackville Crowe in 1638. Crowe was described as a 'retainer, servant, trusted agent, and nobleman of the said king of Britain' (*İngiltere kralının yarâr ve müdebbir ve mute'medül-kavl ve beğzâde*), again showing how much the British king was invested in maintaining this friendship.⁴⁸ The description of his arrival, and of the gifts and letter he brought, were more detailed than usual, with Crowe described as bringing 'treasures and presents' (*tuhfe ve hedâyâsı ile*), which accepted as both tributary gifts and presents (*pîşkeş ve hedâyâ*).⁴⁹ The king's letter, meanwhile, 'professed a sincerity of heart and a perfection of unity' (*hulûş-u fû'âd ve kemâl-ı ittihâdı müş'ir nâmesi*) repeating the descriptoin found elsewhere in the Capitulations.⁵⁰ However, despite the gifts and letter being acceptable, the Capitulations were not renewed 'in accordance with

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 TNA, SP108/541, fol.11.

48 TNA, SP108/540.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

[sultanic] law' (*kānūn üzere*).⁵¹ The reason for this refusal to renew the treaty was given as the absence of Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640) 'on campaign in Baghdad' (*Bağdād seferinde*), with the implication that the renewal could not go ahead as the sultan was unable to receive the gifts or the ambassador personally.⁵² It is curious to note that this was more than a question of custom (*âdet*) or ceremonial (*âyîn*), but of imperial law (*kānūn*), so that the processes of gift and letter giving were legal requirements. Interestingly, the English translation omits this part of the narrative, simply recording that, 'Notwithstanding [the gifts] were most gratefull to his Imperiall Ma[jes]tie of Glorious Memory, yett before the Capitualtions according to the ancient Custome could bee renewed betweene theyr Ma[jes]ties, Wee ascending the Throne [...] so that law became custom and the Baghdad part of the story was entirely erased; it is not clear why the embassy translators chose to alter the text this way.'⁵³

In the Ottoman version, the fact that the narrative text refers to the sultan as '*karındaşım*' – literally 'my womb companion', less poetically, 'my brother' – points to the narrative voice having shifted to Murad's successor, İbrahim (1640-1648). The accession of İbrahim to the Ottoman throne in 1640 is narrated in suitably glorified terms, but also gives us an insight into how Ottoman court etiquette was able to get around the problem of Crowe having already arrived, not received his audience, and then been faced with the accession of a new monarch. The new sultan sent a royal letter 'in accordance with official Ottoman ceremonial' (*âyîn-i resm-i 'Osmani üzere*) to Charles I (1625-1649), and in sending his own letter back congratulating İbrahim on his accession, the British king 'demonstrated his friendship and amity' (*işhâr-ı muşâfât ve muvâlât eyleyüb*).⁵⁴ Crowe's request to have the Capitulations renewed were therefore granted, and thus the exchange of royal letters was accepted in lieu of the dispatch of a new ambassador with gifts. We know from the British archival records that both the grand vizier Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa and the new sultan wrote to Charles I soon after İbrahim's accession in February 1640 informing him of this event, and a copy of Charles's letter to İbrahim later that year congratulates him on his accession and requested an audience on behalf of Crowe.⁵⁵ Letters exchanged and audience arranged, this

51 Ibid.

52 This refers to the Siege of Baghdad in 1638.

53 TNA, SP108/541, fol.11.

54 TNA, SP108/540.

55 TNA, SP105/109, fols. 156, 162-163.

final part of the document concluded with an echo back to the caveat originally made to Elizabeth I, that ‘so long as the king of Britain, Charles (may his days be sealed in goodness) continues the fixed foundation of perfect friendship and amity firmly lasting the passage of time with my Exalted Footstool as in the time of my great ancestors, I will also honour this friendship’ (*mādām ki İngiltere kralı olan Karolo hutimet ‘avākıubuhu bi’l-hayr ‘atebe-i ‘alİYemiz ile ecdād-ı ‘azāmım zamānında olduđu gibi meveddetde sâbit-kadem ve hüsn muvâlât ve muşâfâtde rāsıh-dem ola ben dahı dostluđu kabül idüb*).⁵⁶

This final section gives us important insights into the workings of Ottoman court ceremonial, but also at how the history of that ceremonial and of relations in the first part of the seventeenth century were chosen to be remembered. These incidents and events were recorded not simply as a record of history, but as a means of directing future interactions. However, the narrative from Sackville Crowe’s arrival in 1638 to renewal of the Capitulations in 1641 was largely erased from later versions of the British capitulatory text, and by the recording of the final major version in 1675, the story had become rather truncated:

Ottoman Turkish text:

Afterwards, in the time of my departed mighty uncle who dwells in the shining celestial nest of heaven (mercy upon him), Sultan Murad [IV] Khan (may his tomb be pleasant), the ambassador of the said king of Britain, called Baronet Sir Sackville Crowe, came to my imperial stirrup with treasures and presents, and the tributary gifts and presents received imperial acceptance. The period [of residency] of the aforementioned ambassador being completed, the ambassador called Baronet Sir Thomas Bendish came to reside in his place in the imperial capital, arriving at my Threshold of Abundant Benevolence with tributary gifts and presents, and a letter professing a sincerity of heart and a completeness of unity. The said ambassador also brought your capitulations in his hands and according to [sultanic] law they were renewed.⁵⁷

56 TNA, SP108/540.

57 BOA, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Defterleri (TS.MA.d) 7018.0002, fol. 14. ‘Ba’dehu cennet-makân firdevs-i aşıyan merhûm ve mağfûr-leh ‘amm-ı buzurgvârim Sultân Murâd Hân tabe şerâhu zamânında müşârun-ileyh İngiltere kralının rikâb-ı hümayûnlarına Barotel [sic] Siz [sic] Stefil [sic] K̄ro nâm elçisi ve tuhfê ve hedâyâsi ile gelüb irsâl itdiđi pîşkeş ve hedâyâ maqbûl-u hümayûnları olub ve hâlâ elçi-i mûmâ-ileyhiñ müddeti tamâm olmağla yerine der-i devlette mütemmekin olmağ için âsitâne-i fâ’izü’l-ihsânıma Baronel [sic] Ser Nomaz [sic] Petus [sic] nâm elçisi ile pîşkeş ve hedâyâsi ve hulûs-u fû’âd ve kemâl-ı ittihadı müş’ir nâmesi gelüb izhâr-ı

English text:

In the time of the happy memory of my Uncle Sultan Murat Han, the King of England sent his Ambassador Sir Sackville Crow, Baronet, with his Present and Letter, which was received in good part; and the time of his Embassie being expired, Sir Thomas Bendish arrived to reside at the Port with his Present and courteous Letter, the which was in like manner well accepted, And the said Ambassador having tendered the Imperial Capitulations formerly granted, that according to the ancient Canon they might be renewed [...]⁵⁸

By 1675, the narrative voice had again moved forward, this time to Mehmed IV (1648-1687) – indicated by his calling Murad IV his uncle (*amm*), Mehmed being the son of İbrahim, Murad's brother – and the extended description of the period 1638 to 1641 had been written out in both the Ottoman text and the English translation. This, of course, reminds us of the fluidity of these documents through their renewals and additions, so that although the transmission of the provisions regarding trade and so forth were largely unchanged, the historical narrative was altered to fit with the times and to account for later developments. Yet the tropes found throughout the earlier incarnations of the capitulatory text, of gifts being brought and accepted, and letters professing friendship presented, continued to build a documentary memory of practices and encounters.

Conclusions

The British Capitulations of 1641 did not grant new articles favouring British merchants or consuls, nor were they the completion of the story of Ottoman-British relations in the seventeenth century. However, this *'ahdnâme* shows quite nicely how historical narrative was woven into the treaty text not simply as ornament, but as a way of recording and processing historical memory, and of relaying and confirming diplomatic practices and enacting rhetorical claims of power. The poetic description at the very beginning of the treaty recalling the arrival of William Harborne at a court that thought itself 'the refuge of asylum of the sultans of the world, the place of retreat of the rulers of the globe' (*melâz-ı melcâ'-ı selâtin-i cihân ve penâh-ı mencâ'-ı hevâkin-i devrân*) is more than rhetoric. With every arrival of a new British ambassador bearing tributary gifts and friendly royal

muşâfât ve muvâlât idüb elçi-i müşârun-ileyh dađı ellerinde olan 'ahdnâmeñizi getirüb kânün üzere tecdid olunmasın'.

58 *The Capitulations and Articles of Peace*, 31-32.

letters, this claim was confirmed and enacted. The historical narratives in the 1641 Capitulations therefore placed the British within a particular space within the Ottoman world hierarchy, confirmed half a dozen times over the course of this treaty's narration. We see the significance of gift and letter giving as a means of accessing the sultan's friendship, but other parts of the narrative give us other insights into other court practices and attitudes, so that the ceremonial legally required the presence of the sultan in Istanbul, and that in one case gifts could be substituted for an exchange of letters. The emphasis on friendship as a means of enabling peace, and of diplomatic practices such as gift-giving being the route to securing friendship, chimes with other Ottoman treaties, but presents this information in a rather different way. Further comparative studies of capitulatory texts will doubtless reveal more recurring tropes and themes, and on that front there is much work yet to be done, particularly in comparing the Ottoman Turkish texts with their European translations. We should also start thinking more about the authorship of these treaties, and how particular phrasings and terms became standardised. Above all, by treating the Capitulations as historical texts as well as treaties, further light can be shed onto changes and continuities in diplomatic practices and the Ottoman *Weltanschauung* between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

A treaty of narratives: Friendship, gifts, and diplomatic history in the British Capitulations of 1641

Abstract ■ This article examines the hitherto unexamined Ottoman Turkish text of the Capitulations granted to the British in 1641. As well as containing the articles governing Ottoman-British trade and diplomatic jurisdiction, the Capitulations contained a historical narrative that provided a formal record of diplomatic encounters and practices. By emphasising the importance of bringing tributary gifts and royal letters as a precondition for receiving the friendship of the sultans, the inclusion of the historical narrative within the treaty text presented an Ottoman worldview that saw the sultan at the top of a hierarchy of monarchical power, but also created a layered narrative of precedent that strengthened the rhetoric of alliance through an ancient friendship. In examining the text of the Ottoman Turkish and English versions of this treaty, including full translations of the historical narratives in an appendix, this article makes the case for viewing the Ottoman Capitulations not just as historical treaties, but as historical texts.

Keywords: Capitulations, Ahdname, Ottoman-British relations, historical narrative, diplomacy

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APPENDIX 1:

**THE TUGRA AND OPENING LINES OF THE
1641 BRITISH CAPITULATIONS**



Ottoman Turkish text:

Shah İbrahim son of Ahmed Khan, the forever victorious.

The noble mark of high-renown of the glorious sultanic presence, and the radiant sign of the world-ruler: by the power of the assistance of the Lord, the benefactor of gracious blessings and the eternal protector, his command is that:

By the near grace of lordly blessings, and the desire of the divine path of truth, I who am the sultan of the sultans of the world and the proof of the rulers of the globe, crown-giver of the princes of the age, Sultan İbrahim Khan son of Sultan Ahmed [I] Khan son of Sultan Mehmed [III] Khan son of Sultan Murad [III] Khan son of Sultan Selim [II] Khan son of Sultan Süleyman [I] Khan son of Sultan Selim [I] Khan:

The pride of the greatest of the great men of the Jesuans, overseer of the mightiest of the powerful men of the Messians, the orderer of the affairs of the commonwealths of the Nazarene peoples, master of the limits of glory and possessor of the proof of majesty and renown, Charles, king of the provinces of England, France, Ireland, and Great Britain⁵⁹, may his end be sealed in goodness.⁶⁰

English text:

Ebrahim Han Prince ever Victorious

By the Mercy, and wonted Grance & favor of the Greate & blessed God, Wee att this present Prince of Princes of the world, Magnamonious King of Kings of

59 This is good evidence that the Ottoman state paid attention to, but did not necessarily understand, the intricacies of British royal titles. British ambassadors were constantly pressured by London in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to ensure that the title ‘King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland’ was used in full in Ottoman correspondence, as the Ottomans, understandably, were under the impression that the title of king of France was already taken. As we can see here, the Ottoman scribes have first used the name they were most familiar with, *İngiltere*, which in practice was a catch-all term for the British polity as well as England specifically, but have also included France (*França*), Ireland (*Hiperniye*, from the Latin *Hibernia*), and Great Britain (*Britaniya-ı Kebir*), listing them all as provinces (*vilâyetler*) of Charles I. This was repeated in the 1675 Capitulations and many other official letters.

60 Şâh İbrâhîm bin Aḥmed Ḥân el-muzaffer dâ'imâ / Nişân-ı şerîf-i 'âlî-şân-ı sâmi-mekân-ı sulṭânî ve tuğrâ'-yî ġarrâ'-yî cihân-sitân-ı ḥâkânî nüffuze-i bi'l-'avnü'r-rebbânî ve'l-mennü'l-mennânî ve's-savnü's-samedânî ḥükümü oldur ki / Şimdiki ḥâlde 'avn-ı 'inâyet-i rabbânî ve meşî't-i hidâyet-i subḥânî müķâreneti ile ben ki sulṭân-ı selâṭîn-i cihân ve burhân-ı havâķîn-i devrân tâc-baḥş-ı ḥüsrevân-ı zamân Sulṭân İbrâhîm Ḥân ibn Sulṭân Aḥmed Ḥân ibn Sulṭân Mehmed Ḥân ibn Sulṭân Murâd Ḥân ibn Sulṭân Selîm Ḥân ibn Sulṭân Süleymân Ḥân ibn Sulṭân Selîm Ḥânım / İftihârü'l-ümera'ül-'izâmü'l-'İseviye müḥtârü'l-küberâ"ü-l-faḥâm fî'l-milletü'l-Mesîḥiye muşliḥ-i maşâliḥ-i cemâhîrü't-tâ'ifetü'n-Naşrâniye sâhib-i ezyâlül-ḥaşmet ve'l-vaķâr sâhib-i delâ'ilü'l-mecd ve'l-iftihâr İngiltere ve França ve Hiperniye ve Britaniya-ı Kebîr vilâyetleriniñ krâli Ķarolo ḥatimet 'avaķıbuḥu bi'l-ḥayrdır

the Universe, Giver of all Earthly Crownes, Sultan Ebrahim Han sonne of Sultan Mustapha Han, sonne of Sultan Machmett Han, sonne of Muratt Han, sonne of Sultan Selim Han, sonne of Sultan Solyman Han, sonne of Sultan Selim Han.

To the renowned and famous Prince, amongst the Ma[jes]ties of the mighty Princes of Jesus obeyed of the greatest Potentates of the Followers of Messiah, sole Director of the Important affayres of the Nazarene People, Lord of the Limmitts of Hon[ou]r and Power Fountayne of Greatnesse and Authority, The Glorious Charles Kinge of Greate Brittain France and Ireland whose last dayes the Lord God accomplish, and fulfill with all true felicity.

APPENDIX 2:

THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE OF THE 1641 BRITISH CAPITULATIONS

The following texts – first the translation of the Ottoman Turkish original and then the original English translation – have been taken from the 1641 Capitulations, and these are the instances of historical narrative being provided. I hope in the near future to publish a full comparative translation of the entire text of this treaty, together with a comparison with the final version granted in 1675. For now, and for the purposes of this article, the narrative portions of the 1641 texts must suffice. The narrative takes us from the crucial first rights gained by William Harborne in 1579, through the additions and renewals granted to Henry Lello in 1601, Thomas Glover in 1607, Paul Pindar in 1612 and 1618, Thomas Roe in 1621, and Sackville Crowe in 1641. The first part immediately follows the titles noted above in Appendix 1.

Ottoman Turkish text:

In the past, the chief of the nobleman of the queen [Elizabeth I] of the aforementioned province originally came to our gate of the workings of felicity – which is the refuge of asylum of the sultans of the world, the place of retreat of the rulers of the globe – with her gentlemen and her ships with her tributary gifts, and the gifts that she had sent were gladly accepted. In the time of my ancestor Sultan Murad [III] Khan (may his tomb be pleasant to him) who dwells in the shining celestial nest of heaven, she sent a gentleman to our threshold of felicity, making displays of friendship and affection and signs of amicability. He petitioned that [British] gentlemen might come and go, and in this matter imperial permission was given in the time of my said departed [ancestor] by giving a noble provision saying that ‘at the stopping places and stations, and at the crossings and the gateways, at sea and on land, no person may trouble them’.⁶¹

61 Bundan aqdem vilâyet-i mezbûre kraliçesi südde-’i sa’adet-destgâhımıza ki melâz-ı melcâ’-ı selâtin-i cihân ve penâh-ı mençâ’-ı hevâkin-i devrândır müdür-i beyzâde ve adamları ve gemilerile pîşkeşleri gelüb ve asl ve irsâl eyledikleri hedâyâ hayr-ı kabûlda vâka’ olub cennet-mekân firdevs-i aşyân-garıķ rahmet-i rahmân ceddim Sulţân Murâd Hân tabe gerâhu zamânında Âsitâne-i Sa’adetlerine âdem gönderüb izhâr-ı muşâfât ve ihlâş ve eş’âr-ı meveddet idüb adamlar gelüb gitmek bâbında isticâbe eylediklerinde merhûm mûmâ-ileyh zamânında icâzet-i hümâyûn olub

In the time of my deceased grandfather Sultan Mehmed [III] Khan (may his tomb be pleasant to him), a pure and affectionate petition of a sincerity of intention and purity of conviction was made at the sovereign threshold of justice, [requesting that], agreements having been made in a spirit of friendship and amity with France, Venice, Poland, and with other kings who made affectionate petitions to my lofty footstool, the said [queen] also [petitioned], in accordance with friendship, that her gentlemen with their translators be permitted to come to the Well-Protected Domains in security and safety to engage in trade, and that the same imperial capitulations of the great presence given to the aforementioned kings in accordance with friendship, and the noble rulings accorded them, be also given [to her]. A command was made [granting] the petition made by the said queen of Britain in accordance with her cordial request.⁶²

Afterwards, in the noble time of my deceased father Sultan Ahmed [I] Khan (may his tomb be peaceful), the king of Britain, James (may his end be sealed in goodness), sent a letter with his ambassador, dispatching his ships with his tributary gifts, and these presents were well-received. The peace, harmony, amity, and friendship contracted in the time of my deceased grandfather, the devotee of God (may his tomb be peaceful), as well as the imperial capitulations, provisions, and limits, were agreed and renewed, and the friendship strengthened. A petition and declaration was brought to our imperial capital to be favoured, so that certain articles be added to the imperial Capitulations, and that imperial Capitulations, restrictions, and provisions, the peace, harmony, friendship, and amity, as well as that the imperial Capitulations and capitulations given to other kings in friendship with the Threshold of Felicity, also be granted to and renewed for the said king. It is commanded that the provisions of the imperial Capitulations are always to be enforced.⁶³

menâzil ve merâhilde ve ma'âbir ve binâ-derde deryâda ve kırada kimesne rencide eylemeye deyü aḥkâm-ı şerife verilmele

62 Merḥûm dedem Sulṭân Meḥmed Hân ṭabe şerâhu zamânında dergâh-ı ma'delet-i penâhilerine ḥulûş-u ṭaviyet ve safâ-yı 'âkidet üzere 'arz-ı ihlâş ve ihtişâş idüb França ve Venedik ve Leh ve sâ'ir 'atebe-i 'aliyeme 'arz-ı ihtişâş eyleyen kıralar ile mâbeynde mün'âkid olan müvâlât ve müşâfât muḳtezâsınca mûmâ-ileyh ile daḥi dostluḳ üzere olub adamları ve tercümânları ile memâlik-i maḥrûsaya emin ve emân üzere gelüb ticâret idüb ve muşâr-ileyhim kıralara dostluḳ mücebince verilen 'ahdnâne-i hümâyûn-ı 'izzet-makrûn ve aḥkâm-ı şerife mücebince mûmâ-ileyhâ canibine daḥi verilmek bâbında istid'â-yı 'âṭifet olub mûmâ-ileyhâ İngiltere kıraliçesi ṭarafından iltimâs olunduḡu üzere fermân olunub

63 Ba'dehu İngiltere kıralı olan Yaḳub ḥutimet 'avâkıbuhu bi'l-ḥayr bâbâm-ı merḥûm Sulṭân

Afterwards, the ambassador of the aforementioned king of England came again, and when the presents and tributary gifts arrived and were accepted, the ambassador of the said [king] recorded and communicated his desire that certain matters be added to the imperial Capitulations.⁶⁴

Afterwards, the ambassador of the king of Britain came to the Threshold of Felicity.⁶⁵

Afterwards, the departed Sultan Osman [II] (mercy upon him, may his tomb be peaceful) acceded to the splendid fortuitous throne, and the ambassador of the said king of Britain came with his letter and tributary gifts. The presents that were sent arrived, and were gladly received. In accordance with the desire of the ambassador of the said king that the imperial Capitulations given in the esteemed time of justice of my great ancestors and my august father be renewed, the said [sultan] also agreed to hold firm [with friendship] by giving anew the imperial Capitulations.⁶⁶

After the accession to the imperial throne, the king of Britain again sent an ambassador with a letter and tributary gifts, appointing and sending one of his loyal and esteemed noblemen to reside at the imperial capital, who made demonstrations of friendship and signs of amity at the Threshold of Felicity. The gifts that were sent arrived and were gladly accepted. A petition to be favoured was made by the ambassador of the said king that the imperial Capitulations given

Ahmed Hân ta'be serâhu zamân-ı şeriflerinde Âsitâne-i Sa'âdetlerine nâme ile elçileri gemileriyle ve pişkeşlerini gönderüb irsâl eylediği hedâyası hayr-ı kabülde vâk'a' olub merhûm dedem hüdâvendigâr ta'be serâhu zamânında mün'aqid olan şulh ve şalâh ve muvâlât ve muşâfât ve verilen 'ahdnâme-i hümâyûn ve şurût ve kıyûd muqarrer ve tecdid ve te'kid-i muşâfât olunması ve 'ahdnâme-i hümâyûna ba'zı maddeler ilhâk olunmağ iltimâs olduğu pâ-y-ı taht-ı hümâyûnlarına 'arz ve i'lâm olunduğ da şulh ve şalâh ve muşâfât ve muvâlât ve 'ahdnâme-i hümâyûn ve sâ'ir Âsitâne-i Sa'âdet ile ve dostluğ üzere olan kıralara verilen 'ahdnâme gibi müşârun-ileyh kırala daği 'ahdnâme-i hümâyûn ve kıyûd ve şurût muqarrer ve tecdid olunub dâ'imâ 'ahdnâme-i hümâyûn mücebince 'amel olunmağ fermân olunmuşdur.

64 Ba'dehu mûmâ-ileyh İngiltere kıralının tekrâr elçisi gelüb irsâl itiği hedâyâ ve pişkeş vaşıl ve mağbûl olmağ la müşârun-ileyhiñ elçisi 'ahdnâme-i hümâyûna ba'zı huşuşlar ilhâk olunmasını murâd eylediğ in defter ve i'lâm idüb

65 Ba'dehu İngiltere kıralının elçisi Âsitâne-i Sa'âdete gelüb

66 Ba'dehu merhûm ve mağfûr-leh Sultân 'Osman Hân ta'be serâhu taht-ı ferruğ-ı bahta cülûs itdikle müşârun-ileyh İngiltere kıralının elçisi nâme ve pişkeşlerin ile gelüb irsâl itdikle hedâyâ vâsıl ve hayr-ı kabülde vâk'a' olub müşârun-ileyh ecdâd-ı 'azâmım ve âbâ-ı kirâmım zamân-ı ma'dalet-ı 'unvânlarında verilen 'ahdnâme-i hümâyûn tecdid olunması mûmâ-ileyh kıralın elçisi istedikleri üzere mûmâ-ileyh daği muqarrer tutub müceddiden 'ahdnâme-i hümâyûn verüb

in the noble time of my great ancestors and august father be renewed and the Capitulations earnestly desired by the said king be renewed and fixed, and that certain articles be revised and explained by writing them in the Capitulations, to which assent was gladly given. The imperial Capitulations given in the era of my great ancestors and august father were also fixed firm by the said [sultan], and his imperial agreement was given.⁶⁷

Afterwards, when my departed brother who dwells in the shining celestial nest of heaven (mercy upon him), Sultan Murad [IV] Khan (may his tomb be pleasant) was on campaign in Baghdad, the ambassador called Baronet Sir Sackville Crowe came in order to reside in the capital, being a retainer, servant, trusted agent, and nobleman of the said king of Britain, with treasures and presents together with a letter professing a sincerity of heart and a perfection of unity. The tributary gifts and presents that had been sent arrived and were given our imperial acceptance. However, in accordance with [sultanic] law, their Capitulations were not renewed. My felicitous imperial accession taking place to the splendid fortuitous Ottoman throne and the dias of the global sultanate with prosperity, signs of good-fortune, and strength, in accordance with official Ottoman ceremonial in sending my imperial letter, the said king again proved his friendship by the arrival of his letter wholeheartedly congratulating my customary accession, and thus a display of friendship and amity was made. The aforementioned ambassador also made a representation for the clarification of the imperial Capitulations in his hands, saying that the said king desired them to be renewed. The declaratory petition was favoured at the honoured throne, so that the said bond of friendship was favoured by confirming all the regulations and restrictions of the imperial Capitulations, and my imperial acceptance gave its blessing and deemed worthy the renewal of my imperial Capitulations. So long as the king of Britain, Charles (may his days be sealed in goodness) continues the fixed foundation of perfect

67 Ve cülüs-u hümayündan sonra İngiltere kralı tekrâr elçisi ve nâme ile pîşkeşin gönderüb Âsitâne-i Sa'âdete izhâr-ı muşâfât ve iş'âr-ı muvâlât idüb yarâr ve mu'teber beğzâde birin der-i devlet mütemekkin elçi olmağı için ta'yîn ve irsâl idüb irsâl ittiği hedâyâ vâşil ve hayr-ı kabûl'da vâk'â olub ve ecdâd-ı 'azâm ve âbâ-ı kirâmım zamân-ı şeriflerinde verilen 'ahdnâme-i hümayün ve mûmâ-ileyh kral tarafından verilen 'ahdnâme-i mütemennî-i makrûn tecdid ve muqarrer olmağ için ve 'ahdnâme-i hümayüna ba'zî mühimm ve elzem mevâdd ilhâk olunub ve 'ahdnâmede meşûr olan ba'zî mâddeler tashîh ve taşrih olunmak için elçi-i mûmâ-ileyh kral tarafından iltimâs ittirmekle istid'âsî hayr-ı kabûl'da vâk'â olub ecdâd-ı 'azâm ve âbâ-ı kirâmım 'aşr-ı şeriflerinde verilen 'ahdnâme-i hümayün mûmâ-ileyh tarafından dañi muqarrer tutulub ve maqbûl-u hümayünları olub

friendship and amity firmly lasting the passage of time with my exalted footstool as in the time of my great ancestors, I will also honour this friendship.⁶⁸

English text:

Lett it bee Knowne to all How in tymes passt the Queene of the abovementioned Kingdomes, haveing sent her Ambassador, with divers his well esteemed Gentlemen, and other Persons of Quality, with letters, shippes & her Presents to this Imperiall High Port, (the Refuge of the Princes of the World, and the Retraict of the Kings of this wholl Universe) in the happy tyme of famous memory of my Great Grandfather Sultan Muratt Han, now place in Paradise, whose soule lett bee replete with Divine mercy, Which Ambass[ado]r Gentlemen and Presents were gratefully accepted, making declaration and offering in the Name of the sayde Queene, a sincere good Peace, and pure friendshippe, and demanding that his subjects might have leave to come from England into these parts, The saide my Greate Grandfather of Happy Memory, did then Graunt his Imperiall License, and gave into the handes of the saide Ambass[ado]rs for the Crowne of England divers his Especiall and Imperiall Commands to the end the Subjects of the saide Crowne might safely, and securely come & goe into theise Dominions, and in cominge or returneing either by Lande or Sea in their wage or passage, that they should of noe man be molested or hindred.⁶⁹

68 Ba'dehu cennet-makân firdevs-i aşyân merhûm ve mağfür-leh qarındaşım Sulţân Murâd Hân şabe şerâhu Bağdâd seferinde iken müşârun-ileyh İngiltere kralınıñ yarâr ve müdebbir ve mut'e medü'l-kaavl ve beğzâde der-i devlet mütemekkin olmağ için Baronet Ser Sağfil Kıro'nâm elçisi ve tuhfе ve hedâyâsı ile hulûş-u fü'âd ve kemâl-i ittihâdı müş'ir nâmesi gelüb irsâl itdiği pişkeş ve hedâyâ vâşıl ve mağbûl-u hümâyûnları olub lakin kânûn üzere 'ahdnâmeleri tecdid olunmadın devlet ve iğbâl-ı işâret ve iclâl ile taht-ı ferruğ-u baht-ı 'Osmânî ve serir-i sulţanat-ı cihâniyânı olan cülûş-u hümâyûn-u sa'âdet-mağrûnum vâk'a olmağla âyin-i resm-i 'Osmânî üzere nâme-i hümâyûnum gönderildikde tehniyet-i cülûş-u mütemenni-i me'nûsum için mûmâ-ileyh kral tarafından tekrâr dostluğ müş'ir nâmesi gelüb izhâr-ı muşâfât ve muvâlât eyleyüb elçi-i müşârun-ileyh dağı vech-i meşrûğ üzere ellerinde olan 'ahdnâme-i hümâyûnu ibrâz idüb tecdid olunmanı kral-ı mûmâ-ileyh murâd eylemişdir deyü iltimâs itdiği pâye-i serir i'lâm-ı 'arz olundukda ben dağı zikr olunan 'ahdnâme-i hümâyûnuñ cümle-i şurûğ ve kıyûdun muğarrer tutub ve mağbûl-u hümâyûnum olub müceddiden 'ahdnâme-i hümâyûnum erzâni ve inâyet idüb mādâm ki İngiltere kralı olan Kârolo hutimet 'avâkıbuhu bi'l-hayr 'atebe-i 'aliyemiz ile ecdâd-ı 'azâmım zamânında olduğı gibi meveddetde şâbit-kaadem ve hüsn-ü muvâlât ve muşâfâtda râsiğ-dem ola ben dağı dostluğ kabûl idüb

69 TNA, SP108/541, fol.1.

After w[hi]ch tyme in the days of my Grandfather Sultan Machmett Han of famous Memory (unto whose soule bee granted divine absolution) the sayde Queene haveing agayne shewed unto this High Port (the Sanctuary of Justice) sincere & Royall friendshippe and continuance of good Peace & Correspondance equall to the Peace & ancient amity contracted with France Venice & Poland, and others in League with the Imperall Porte, and haveing anew desired, that her Subjects, Merch[an]ts, and theyr Interpreters might freely, and securely come, merchandize and negotiate through all the parts of the Imperiall Dominion, and that such Capitulations and other Priviledges, and Imperiall Commandes as had beene Granted unto the Ammbass[ado]rs for the sayde Kinges & Princes in Peace and amity with this High Porte, might alsoe bee Granted unto her. In Conformitie of w[hi]ch request of the sayde Queene were given and Confirmed by my saide Greate Grandfather, Grandfather, & Father of Happy Memory, the Imperiall Capitulations and Priviledges succedeing, To say, It is Commanded.⁷⁰

Since w[hi]ch tyme, his Ma[jes]ty the Kinge of England that now reigneth, James whose Last departure pray the Divine Ma[jes]ty to fulfill w[i]th all Prosperity, In the tyme of our Great Uncle of Happy Memory Sultan Achmett Han, haveing sent unto our Imperiall Porte his Ambass[ado]r, Letters, Presents w[hi]ch were most acceptable, and seird that the already contracted peace, friendship, and good Correspondence, amde with our Father Sultan Mechemett, and the Capitulations Articles and Priviledges above written, should be agayne rattified, and the sayde Peace and friendshippe renewed, furhter requesting that Certayne Articles very necessary should to the sayde Capitulations bee added. The desire of his Ma[jes]tie beinge declared in the Imperiall Presence of our sayde uncle, was presently accepted, and hee gave expresse com[m]and and order that the sayde Peace, friendship and league should be renewd and fortiyed, and the ancient Capitulations and Priviledges Confirmed, and that the new desired Articles should bee written in, and added to ye Imperiall Capitulation. Granting further unto ye sayde English Ambass[ado]r all those Articles and other Priviledges, w[hi]ch were tranted and written in any capitulations, given to any other Nation, Potentate or Kinge in Peace and amity with this Imperiall Porte, And by his Imperiall Com[m] and he gave order that these his Imperiall Capitulations should be obeyed of all men, and the Tenor of them duly observed.⁷¹

70 TNA, SP108/541, fol.1.

71 TNA, SP108/541, fol.4.

After w[hi]ch there beinge arrived another Ambass[ado]r att this High Port sent from the Kinge of England that now reigneth w[it]h letters and presents (w[hi]ch were most acceptable) the sayde Ambass[ado]r did make request, that certayne other Necessary Articles should bee added and written into ye Imperiall Capitulation [...]⁷²

Since w[hi]ch tyme of my Greate Grandfather, and Grandfather of famous Memory, and the Grante of these abovementioned Articles, Capitulations, and establishment of peace and friendshipp, the sayde Majesty of England haveinge in the tymes of our Greate Uncle of Happy Memory Sultan Achmet Han, sent one his well deserving Ambass[ado]r a Person of Quality to this High Port to Confirme the sayde Peace and amity Articles and Capitulations [...]⁷³

Our sayde Uncle Sultan Achmett Han beinge deade, In the tyme of the Inauguration to the Imperiall and high Throne of Sultan Osman Han of happy memory, the sayde Ma[jes]tie of England did send anew a famous and noble Gentleman his Ambass[ado]r with his letters and Presents, w[hi]ch were most acceptable: And the sayde Ambass[ado]r desiring in the Name of his Kinge and Lord, that the ancient Capitulations, Articles, and Contracts granted in the dayes of his Greate Grandfather, Grandfather, and Father of happie Memory, should of him bee renewed and Confirmed, and the ancient Peace and Amity anew fortified and establisht, Which his Request was to the sayde Sultan Osman most acceptable and the Ancient Capitulations, Articles, and Privileges were herein written, renewed, and confirmed, and the Longe since contracted peace and amity by him promised, accepted and establisht.⁷⁴

After whom in like manner, in the Dayes of the sayde Sultan Osman Han of famous memory the sayde Ma[jes]tie of England haveinge anew sent unto the high and happy Port his Ambass[ado]r the Elect, Hon[our]able Illustrious S[i]r Thomas Roe K[nigh]t with his Royall letters, and Presents to Reside in our happy Port, w[hi]ch Ambass[ado]rs letters and Presents were to him most acceptable, who professing and declaring in the Name of the Kinge his Lord all good Tearmes of friendshipp and sincere Correspondence, and requiring that the ancient Imperiall Capitulations, and all the Articles from his Ancestors Grandfather and father, and from himselfe formerly granted unto the royal Crowne of England, might

72 TNA, SP108/541, fol.4.

73 TNA, SP108/541, fol.9.

74 TNA, SP108/541, fol.9.

be anew Confirm'd, and the Peace League and good Correspondence long since betweene both parts cotracted, might in like manner bee renewed, reinforced and rattified, and that some other Articles very necessary might newly be added to ye Imperiall Capitulations, and divers others already granted, renew'd amended, and in better forme expalined. Which his request and demand was very acceptable unto him, and in conformity thereto, the ancient Imperiall Capitulations, and all the Articles, and other Priviledges in them often confirmed, and the Peace amity, and good Correspondence contracted in ye tymes of his Ancestors, Grandfather and Father, and by himselfe confirmed were agayne by the sayde Sultan Osman Han then rattified established promised and accepted.⁷⁵

After which whilst our Brother Sultan Moratt Han (now in Paradise wih celestiall habitations in the mercy of the Eternal God) the most honored S[i]r Sackville Crow Barr[one]t one of the most acceptable and faythfull serv[an]ts of the most Glorious Charles new Kinge of Greate Brittainne, arriving heere att our Glorious Port to Reside as his Ma[jes]ties Ambass[ado]r in our Sublime and Happy Courte, with his Ma[jes]ties most loveing and effectuall letters full of sincerity, As also with Noble Presents and Gentilezzas (w[hi]ch Ambass[ado]r Kingly letters and Presents arriveing in Safety) Notwithstanding they were most gratefull to his Imperiall Ma[jes]tie of Glorious Memory, yett before the Capitulations according to the ancient Custome could bee renewed betweene theyr Ma[jes]ties Wee ascending the Throne of our Imperiall Ma[jes]tie and Dominion over the Prosperous and our Glorious Othoman Empire (by w[hi]ch the Universe became preserved) and in Conformity to ye Custome alwayes observed by the Othoman Empire haveing sent our Imperiall Letters to the abovenamed most renowned King of England, who on the other side to performe the office of Congratulation with our Imperiall Ma[jes]ty haveing sent other letters to our Imperiall Courte full of all Sincerity and affection, signifyinge his cleere friendshippe and abundant Love, Whereof Talchis beinge made and represented before our Imperiall Throne, and thereby the Ambassador abovesaide on the part of his King desireing that the Capitulations might be renewed, Wee alsoe in Conformity, and agreeable to his instance, doe hereby Confirme and ratifye all the Articles and Conditions of the Capitulations beforementioned, And doe declare that they are all well-pleasinge to, and allowed by our Imperiall Ma[jes]ty, and doe renew Graunte, and ordeyn the same, declaring th[at] as longe as the sayde Charles his Ma[jes]tie the Kinge of England (whose end God make happy and Glorious) shall continue constant

75 TNA, SP108/541, fol.9.

A TREATY OF NARRATIVES: FRIENDSHIP, GIFTS, AND DIPLOMATIC
HISTORY IN THE BRITISH CAPITULATIONS OF 1641

and firme in this friendshippe and good Correspondence concluded w[i]th our
Glorious Port in manner as itt hath beene observed in the tyme of our Mighty and
Greate Ancestors, Wee also accepting the sayde friendshippe oblige our selves to
continue firme in this promise and Confederacy of ours [...] ⁷⁶

76 TNA, SP108/541, fols.11-12.

The Diplomats' Debts: International Financial Disputes between the Ottoman Empire and Prussia at the end of the Eighteenth Century

Irena Fliter*

Diplomatların Borçları: Onsekizinci Yüzyılın Sonunda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Prusya Arasındaki Uluslararası Mali İhtilâflar

Öz ■ Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Avrupa Devletler Sistemi arasındaki artan temaslar neticesinde, Osmanlı Devleti, Prusya'ya 1763 ve 1806 yılları arasındaki iki orta elçi, bir büyükelçi ve dört maslahatgüzar yolladı. Osmanlı diplomatlarının Berlin'deki görevleri boyunca ortaya çıkan yolculuk, konaklama, tayinat ve harçlık gibi masrafları ilk başta ev sahibi ülke karşıladı. Ancak, 1798'de Berlin'e ilk daimi Osmanlı büyükelçisinin gönderilmesinin ardından, Prusyalılar diplomatların finansal sorumluluğunu reddetmeye başladı. Bu karar, diplomatlar ve hükümetler arasındaki karşılaşmaları yoğunlaştırdı ve Osmanlı diplomasisinin artan bir şekilde profesyonelleşmesiyle sonuçlandı. Değişen tahsisat uygulamalarının sonucunda, artık yabancı başkentlerin günlük yaşamına daha çok katılmak zorunda olan Osmanlı diplomatları, maaşlarını almak ve başkentlerdeki ikametlerini organize etmek için yeni kanallar bulmak zorunda kaldılar. Hem Osmanlı, hem de Prusya kaynaklarını kullanan bu makale, uluslararası bankalar gibi resmi kuruluşların ortaya çıkmasından önceki uluslararası tahsisat uygulama ve ağlarını tekrardan inşa etmeyi hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı diplomatları, Osmanlı-Prusya ilişkileri, tahsisat, profesyonelleşme.

When the Ottoman chargé d'affaires Mehmed Esad Bey passed away in April 1804 after lying ill for several months in Berlin, he left an open promissory note along with many uncovered bills.¹ One of the unpaid bills was issued by the Prussian cook named Mehlbär, from whom Mehmed Esad had regularly ordered

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1 Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (GStA), HA I, rep. 11, no. 10552, Berlin, April 1801 and September 1804 *Conto pour Monsier Esad Bey Effendi*, Mehlbär.

lunch for two, mostly veal and chicken soups, piling up an open account of 201 *Reichstaler*. When Mehmed Esad had arrived at his post in Berlin almost four years earlier, in June 1800, he carried an imperial letter from Sultan Selim III (1761–1808), who had dispatched the diplomat to Prussia in order to perpetuate friendly relations established with a defensive alliance in 1790.² Yet, instead of the friendly terms, the open accounts and outstanding salary payments accumulated by Mehmed Esad in Berlin would lead to a long lasting dispute between the Ottoman and Prussian governments.³

Until the sixteenth century, the material requirements of diplomatic mission were in the care of the host countries. With the establishment of permanent embassies throughout Europe this practice began to change and diplomats became increasingly concerned with financing their needs abroad. For instance, by the end of the seventeenth century, the Habsburg Empire and Russia agreed on reciprocal withdrawal from financing each other's embassies.⁴ The Ottoman Empire as the first non-Christian country introduced reciprocal diplomacy with Europe at the end of the eighteenth century and was subsequently also faced with the challenge to finance its diplomatic missions.⁵ Arguments about money involved not only the Ottoman Empire and the hosting European countries, but also a broader network of bankers, agents, and trading houses. Addressing the history of Ottoman-European encounters, this paper inquires if changes in the funding were indicating a growing professionalization of the Ottoman diplomats through increased everyday life encounters in the hosting countries at the end of the eighteenth century? By scrutinizing how creditors were reimbursed on the occasion of a sudden death of a diplomat, this paper further illuminates how international transactions and cases of indebtedness were handled practically.

2 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10562, June 1800, *Traduction substantielle et abrégée de la lettre de créance de SM sultan Selim trois, qui constitue Son Charge d'Affaires près la Cour de Berlin, Mehemmed Essad Bey Effendi, Assesseur de la Chancellerie Impériale Ottomanne. faite à Berlin le 28. Juin 1800.*

3 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10562, Berlin, June 1800, foreign minister Count Christian von Haugwitz (1752–1832) to the Prussian envoy Friedrich Wilhelm Ernst von Knobelsdorff (1752–1820), Berlin; *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri* (BOA), C.HR, no. 35/1715.

4 Neumann, Iver B. "Sustainability and Transformation in Diplomatic Culture: The Case of Eurocentrism." In *Sustainable Diplomacies*, eds. Costas M. Constantinou and James Der Derian, Basingstoke: New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, 128–50, 139.

5 Hurewitz, Jacob C. "The Europeanization of Ottoman Diplomacy: The Conversion from Unilateralism to Reciprocity in the Nineteenth Century." *Belleten* 25, no. 99 (1961): 455–66, 455.

I suggest that a shift in funding practices had a significant impact on the intensification Ottoman-European contacts and compelled the diplomats to participate in the daily life of the visited cities. Additionally, the altered funding situation of Ottoman diplomats, after the establishment of the first permanent embassies in London (1793), Vienna, Paris and eventually in Berlin in 1797, gave space for new financial as well as communicational networks. These changes, as the following discussion elaborates, played an important role in the delimitation of the diplomatic profession at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

Diplomacy and intercultural relations have been in the focus of several recent studies, which challenge the binary model of separate Ottoman versus European cultural realms. Most strikingly is their turn to the actor-oriented perspective and micro-historical case studies, which enable a distinct picture of contacts and encounters between Ottomans and Europeans.⁶ Research by Christian Windler, Mehmed Yalçinkaya, Nathalie Rothman and Jean-Paul Ghobrial examines the hybrid identities and transcultural practices of diplomatic agents along with the exchange of information and material culture.⁷ As for the financial aspect of diplomacy, Harriet Rudolph suggests that a comparative approach can further shed light on the institutionalization processes of diplomacy.⁸ Diplomatic salary patterns along with other financial privileges were detrimental not only for an effective and successful diplomacy, but also to the development of the diplomatic profession. Following the calls for a re-examination of funding practices as well

6 Kühnel, Florian. "Berichte und Kritik: Westeuropa und das Osmanische Reich in der Frühen Neuzeit." *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 42 (2015): 251–83, 276.

7 Windler, Christian. *La Diplomatie Comme Expérience de L'autre: Consuls Français Au Maghreb (1700-1840)*. Genève: Droz, 2002; Yalçinkaya, Mehmet Alaaddin. *The First Permanent Ottoman Embassy in Europe: The Embassy of Yusuf Ağâh Efendi in London*. Istanbul: Isis, 2010; Rothman, E. Natalie. *Brokering Empire Trans-imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2012; Ghobrial, John-Paul A. *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

8 Rudolph, Harriet. "Diplomatiekosten als Transaktionskosten? Ein Forschungsansatz zur vergleichenden Analyse der Finanzierung außenpolitischer Kommunikation," In *Politische Kommunikation zwischen Imperien*, eds. Gunda Barth-Scalmani, Christian Steppan, Harriet Rudolph, Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2013, 69–86; *ibid.* "Ökonomische Grundlagen der habsburgisch-osmanischen Diplomatie im 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert. Ein Problemaufriss" In *Frieden und Konfliktmanagement in interkulturellen Räumen: Das Osmanische Reich in Europa (16.–18. Jahrhundert)*, eds. Arno Strohmeyer, Norbert Spannenger, Stuttgart: Steiner 2013, 239–263.

as the new trends in diplomatic history reflected in the present edition, this paper examines the role of governments, diplomats and their networks in jointly solving financial disputes and disagreements.⁹

The documents from the collections on Ottoman diplomats in the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (GStA) in Berlin and from the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri* (BOA) in Istanbul illuminate how the Ottoman and Prussian governments approached the funding of diplomats as well as subsequent financial disputes. The GStA collections give an insight into cases of international disputes and their resolutions with the help of various networks. In addition, notes mostly from the collection *Cevdet Hariciye* (CH) of the BOA provide an accurate account of Ottoman diplomatic finance and show the salaries along with travel allowances paid for the Ottoman diplomats abroad. The combination of both archives allows an inquiry of both sides of the disputes as well as an account of the funding of diplomacy around 1800 at large.

Using case studies from petitions and diplomatic correspondence this paper examines the funding of Ottoman diplomats in Prussia until the first permanent Ottoman embassy to Berlin in 1797. It then addresses the shifts which followed the establishment of permanent embassies by Sultan Selim III and finally illuminates how Mehmed Esad's debts to the cook Mehlbär and other creditors were eventually covered and what sort of new diplomatic practice this dispute came to represent.

9 For more examples of the *New Diplomatic History* see: Carrió-Invernizzi, Diana. "A New Diplomatic History and the Networks of Spanish Diplomacy in the Baroque Era." *The International History Review* (2013): 1–16; Frigo, Daniela. "Prudence and Experience: Ambassadors and Political Culture in Early Modern Italy." *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 38, no. 1 (2008), 15–34; Gelder, Maartje v., and Tijana Krstić. Introduction: Cross-Confessional Diplomacy and Diplomatic Intermediaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean, *Journal of Early Modern History* 19 (2015): 93–105; Goffman, Daniel. "Negotiating with the Renaissance State: The Ottoman Empire and the New Diplomacy." In *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, eds. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman. Cambridge University Press, 2007; Mcenaney, L. "Personal, Political, and International: A Reflection on Diplomacy and Methodology." *Diplomatic History* 36, no. 4 (2012): 769–72; Watkins, John. "Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe." *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 38, no. 1 (2008): 1–14; Yurdusev, A. Nuri. (ed.) *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional?* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

1. Funding Ottoman Diplomats in Prussia before the Permanent Embassies

As part of the increased participation of the Ottoman Empire in the European state system, the Sublime Porte dispatched three ambassadors – two *orta elçi* (envoys) and one *büyükelçi* (great ambassador) – and four *chargés d'affaires* (*maslahatgüzar*) to Prussia between 1763 and 1806. Before the end of the eighteenth century, European governments imitated Ottoman practice and paid the travel expenses as well as the daily allowance (*tayin*) to Ottoman ambassadors, envoys, lower ranking emissaries and other prominent members of the diplomatic mission residing in Venice, Paris, London, Vienna, Warsaw/Krakow, Moscow/St. Petersburg and Berlin. Originally, it was an Ottoman practice to defray the expenses of the journey and pay a *tayin* to foreign ambassadors and representatives in Istanbul. These customs were applied to ad-hoc missions, which were sent to congratulate a ruler, announce a royal succession or for any other ceremonial event. The payment of the *tayin* also eased the troubles of international financial transactions and relied on reciprocal hospitality. Rather than having the guests bring large sums of cash along on a strenuous and dangerous journey or receiving a periodical payment from their governments, the host country would fund the main expenses of the embassies.

When the first Ottoman envoy Ahmed Resmi Efendi (1694/5–1783) came to Berlin in 1763, the Prussians – just as the other Europeans – aimed to imitate the Ottoman practice, providing the Ottoman diplomats with a daily *tayin* and covering his travel expenses. Yet, when Ahmed Resmi arrived at the Ottoman-Polish border, the first disagreements regarding his travel expenses and allowances arose between the Prussians and the Ottomans. Ahmed Resmi's mission, which the Ottomans dispatched to urge Frederick II (1712–1786) to conclude a defensive alliance, had been planned meticulously. Before the Ottoman ambassador's departure to Berlin, the Prussian ambassador in Istanbul had promised Ahmed Resmi that all travel expenses would be covered and that he would receive a *tayin* of 100 *Reichstaler*. However, once Ahmed Resmi had reached the border of the Polish territory, the Prussian government refused to pay for his travel expenses through Poland, arguing that all the other European countries had only paid for the journey once the Ottoman missions had reached their borders.¹⁰ Moreover, instead of the promised 100 *Reichstaler*, the Prussian foreign minister Karl Wilhelm Fink von

¹⁰ Prussia was one of the few European countries, with which the Ottoman Empire did not share a direct border or which the Ottoman diplomatic missions could not reach by water.

Finkenstein (1714–1800) offered the Ahmed Resmi only 50 *Reichstaler*.¹¹ After a prolonged argument during which the Ottoman ambassador declined to continue his journey from Jaroslaw (nowadays Poland on the Ukrainian border), where he and his mission came to a halt, the Prussian minister complied to refund the ambassador's journey costs as well as to pay him a daily *tayin* of 60 *Reichstaler*.¹²

The argument between the Ottoman ambassador and the Prussian government was resolved with the help of Ahmed Resmi's dragoman and merchant Abraham Camondo (also: Commandi), who advanced the ambassador the amount of money needed for his mission to reach the border of Prussia.¹³ After these initial complications, the Prussian foreign ministry took all the responsibility for further costs of maintaining the mission within the Prussian lands and particularly in Berlin, organizing various details of daily life such as food supply, purchase of wood for heating and furnishing the lodgings. The Prussian ministry kept a careful log of all the services provided to the Ottoman missions. The accurate lists in the cash book show the monthly allocation of 5000 *Reichstaler* from the Prussian treasury for the use of various expenses such as presents, crockery, and drapery as well as the fodder for the horses.¹⁴ Since these expenditures of Ahmed Resmi's mission strained the Prussian treasury, Frederick II had to find ways to balance the costs. One such solution was to sell the gifts, which the Ottoman envoy had brought along with him, using the money to make up the spending.¹⁵

Both governments were eager to receive as much as possible for spending as little as possible. At the same time, financial questions also exhibited cultural demarcations and commonalities. Disputes regarding the salary and the travel expenses were representative of the honor and respect two rulers were paying to each other, yet money was more important to the Prussians than the prestige of presents. This practice might have also been known and accepted by Ahmed Resmi, as the sale of the gifts was processed by Ephraim & Söhne, the close associates of his dragoman Abraham Camondo, who might have also been involved in the business. Unlike many other cultural performative contacts and encounters,

11 Volz, Gustav B. "Eine türkische Gesandtschaft am Hofe Friedrichs des Großen im Winter 1763/64." *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch* 11 (1907): 17–54; GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10553, Berlin October 1763, Finkenstein to Georges Pirch

12 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10553, Jaroslaw, September 1763, Johan Alexander Hevelcke to Finkenstein.

13 GStA, HA I, rep. 96, no. 71 Q.

14 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10554.

15 GStA, HA I, rep. 96, no. 71 Q, April 1764, Ephraim & Söhne to Frederick II.

this was a very real commodity, which determined the success or failure, but also the pleasure and discomfort of a diplomat abroad.

The manner in which diplomatic missions were financed remained consistent also with the succeeding Ottoman diplomat. Ahmed Azmi Efendi (ca. 1740–1821) returned to Berlin in 1791 as the new Ottoman envoy after having accompanied his brother-in-law Ahmed Resmi to Berlin almost thirty years earlier in 1763. He also received a *tayin* and free passing through the Prussian territories along with a daily *tayin* of 40 *Ducats*¹⁶ for the period of six months from February until August 1791.¹⁷

The funding of Ahmed Azmi's embassy in Berlin soon became an issue, this time involving wider international networks. In April 1791, a short time after Ahmed Azmi's arrival in Berlin, the foreign minister Ewald Friedrich Graf von Hertzberg (1725–1795) received a letter from the Prussian diplomat Girolamo Lucchesini (1751–1825), who was at that time attending the Sistova Conference, where Prussia mediated the end of the Austro-Turkish War (1787–1791). In the letter Lucchesini explained that he was addressed by Alexander Mourousis (d. 1816), the Great Dragoman of the Ottoman Empire, with the request to allocate a daily *tayin* not only to the ambassador but also to his dragoman Constantin Caradja (Karatzas or Karacas) (1735–1811) and to the mission's secretary Mustapha. Following such an explicit request, the Prussian ministry distributed three *Ducats* to Caradja and of two *Ducats* to Mustapha daily, paying not only from the moment of Mourousis' inquiry, but also retroactively.¹⁸ The Ottomans' request to pay not only the Ahmed Azmi but also his dragoman and his secretary was not unreasonable as the Ottoman government had generously rewarded the Prussian ambassador and his secretary for the mediation of the Treaty of Sistova in 1791.¹⁹

16 It is difficult to determine if forty *Ducats* corresponded to Ahmed Resmi's sixty *Reichstaler*, but most likely the Prussians tried to emulate the honors given to the previous envoy in order not to offend Ahmed Azmi.

17 The amount of the daily allowance to Ahmed Azmi was based on the amount of *tayin*, which the latest Prussian envoy to Istanbul Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817) had received from the Ottoman government (GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10556, February 1791, *Extrait über Einnahme und Ausgabe*).

18 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10556, Berlin, April 1791, Ewald Friedrich von Hertzberg (1725–1795) to Frederick William II (1744–1797).

19 Naff, Thomas. "Reform and the Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789-1807." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83, no. 3 (1963): 295–315, 307.

The Prussian treasury also kept a cash register of money allocated towards the expenses of Ahmed Azmi's mission along with a list recording the *tayin* and the rent for Ahmed Azmi's residence. Following the precedent of the previous Ottoman mission, Frederick William II (1744–1797) designated a monthly sum of 5000 *Reichstaler* for the costs of Ahmed Azmi's embassy. The money had to cover, among other things, the carpentry work and the salaries of servants in addition to the bills of merchants, who had brought clothing, wood, and food. In total, the Prussians treasury disbursed almost 50,000 *Reichstaler*, from which the daily allowances accounted for 33400 *Reichstaler*.²⁰ These lists kept for Ahmed Resmi's and Ahmed Azmi's missions testify precisely the everyday needs and errands involved in sustaining an Ottoman embassy. As the records show, besides representative and political matters such as ceremonies and gift exchanges, daily matters had to be addressed and resolved swiftly. In the early 1790s, it was still the responsibility of the Prussian authorities to take care of seemingly minor questions regarding the travel expenses, pocket money but also regarding interior design of the diplomats' rooms, their eating habits and medical treatment. The registers of the Prussian foreign ministry give an impression of the contact between Ottoman diplomats and European subjects, thereby illuminating the extent of the encounter with the everyday life of a European capital which became necessary once the hosts stopped paying for their diplomatic guests.

In August 1791, the Prussian ministry learned that Ahmed Azmi was not leaving Berlin after six months as originally planned and it was decided that the treasury will continue paying the mission's expenses for an additional two months. Yet, once the two months had passed and September came, Ahmed Azmi announced that he would again prolong his stay. Yet, this time the Prussian king decided to cease all payments, including the *tayin* and the rent, by the end of the month. It is not clear how Ahmed Azmi and his entourage financed their lives in Berlin for another three and a half months, but they might have used their private assets or the savings of their *tayin*. The embassy finally departed in January 1792, after staying almost six months longer than they had initially indicated at their arrival.²¹ Upon departure the envoy rejected the offer of the Prussian foreign ministry to proceed with the usual organization of their return journey and to provide him with accommodation, horses and a military guide until the Habsburg border. Instead, Ahmed Azmi preferred to receive a cash payment of

20 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10556, *Recapitulation aller Ausgabe*.

21 *Ibid.*, Berlin, January 1792, *Ausgabe*.

2500 *Reichstaler* for his return, which he then would use to cover his mission's expenses during the journey.

The Prussian king's refusal to cover additional months of the Ottoman mission's stay and Ahmed Azmi's choice to organize his own return to Istanbul – not surprising after his journey to Berlin was marked by various impediments and difficulties²² – point to beginning changes in Ottoman and European funding practices of diplomatic missions. The Prussians were increasingly unwilling to pay for their guests and their guests were increasingly willing to organize their own sojourns in exchange for cash. Against the established practice of financial reciprocity, Frederick William II decided to cut the finances of the Ottoman mission. And Ahmed Azmi, rather than relying on Prussia's assistance, preferred to take care of his own return journey – a task not to be underestimated considering the distance, language barriers, and other challenges involved in travelling overland from Berlin to Istanbul at the end of the eighteenth century. The Ottoman-European diplomatic exchanges were beginning to take a different shape and the diplomats had to find new channels to organize and finance their residence abroad. Professionalization of diplomacy also meant finding official permanent means, which would enable the Ottomans and Europeans to encounter each other in the political arena.

2. Permanent Embassies and their Funding

In his article from 1963 Thomas Naff addresses the practice of funding diplomatic missions after the reforms of Sultan Selim III, yet without elaborating on the implications for the general course of diplomatic exchanges. According to Naff, the first permanent mission to London received a generous fund of 10,3000 *kurus*, but remained the only mission with sufficient funding, since the rest of the Ottoman diplomats to Europe constantly complained about financial shortages.²³ The funding of the diplomatic missions came from the newly established *Treasury of New Revenue* (*irade-i cedid hazinesi*), which was supposed to cover Selim's reform

22 For the obstructions during the journey of Ahmed Azmi to Berlin, see Minaoglou, Charalampos. "Harassing the Enemy's Diplomats: The Embassy of Azmi Effendi Travelling through the Austrian-Occupied Balkans and Habsburg Lands during the Austro-Ottoman War (1787-1791)." In *Forschungswerkstatt: Die Habsburgermonarchie im 18. Jahrhundert = Research Workshop: The Habsburg Monarchy in the 18th Century*, eds. Gunda Barth-Scalmani and Peter Andorfer, Bochum: Dieter Winkler, 2012, 15–26.

23 Naff, *Reform and the Conduct*, 305.

projects, or from the *darbhane*, the mint or regular treasury.²⁴ In theory, the diplomats would receive their salaries quarterly, but in reality these payments were often delayed due to a lack of communication and other circumstances. Some of the Ottoman diplomats seem to have received only a one-time payment of their salary and travel expenses upon departure from Istanbul. Naff also suggests that there were no clear regulations on how much diplomats were to receive for their salaries, which depended on their personal connections and influence.²⁵ Even more nebulous was the situation of the *chargé d'affaires*, such as Mehmed Esad Bey, whose income could vary between 20,000 and 30,000 *kurus*.²⁶

Before Sultan Selim III introduced permanent missions to Europe, there was no regulated system to resolve issues of monetary transactions or to address financial disputes between the Ottomans and Prussians. Although by the end of the eighteenth century information and money were regularly flowing between the Ottoman Empire and Europe, their pathways were rarely intertwined. The communication passed mostly along postal channels and money moved along the networks of trade. European states such as Britain and France used their trading companies and other commercial resources to send money to their envoys in Istanbul. Prussia, which did not have an enterprise resembling the Levant Company, probably equipped its diplomats with a large sum of money before their departure to Istanbul and also used the commercial connection of Jewish and other merchants to the Ottoman territories.²⁷ Despite the existence of a vibrant community of merchants trading between the Ottoman Empire and Europe the contacts between diplomacy and trade were rare and often only temporary. The permanent missions were, therefore, facing the challenge of finding new ways and networks to receive the salaries and to deal with general questions of finance.

Ali Aziz Efendi (1748/9–1798), who was the first permanent Ottoman ambassador to Berlin, arrived in the Prussian capital in 1797 and, like his predecessors, was not spared from an argument regarding his funding and the organization of his mission. The trouble began with the Ottoman's request to the Prussians to treat Ali Aziz just "like all other European ambassadors." The Ottoman government was probably not aware that this meant that Ali Aziz would not be funded

24 Ibid., 306.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 The *Levantinische Compagnie*, established by Frederick II in 1764, was not successful and ceased to exist in 1769.

in any way, as none of the European envoys – except those from Kur-Mainz and the Netherlands – received a *tayin* or a compensation for their travel expenses.

At the beginning of 1797, while Ali Aziz was still on his way to Berlin, another misunderstanding between the Prussian embassy and the Prussian foreign ministry regarding the rank of the Ottoman ambassador added to the confusion. Alexander Callimachi (1737–1821), the *Voyvoda* (lord) of Moldavia and former Great Dragoman, had sent a letter announcing the arrival of a new diplomat with the rank of a full “ambassadeur” to the foreign ministry, yet the Prussian ministry mistakenly considered Ali Aziz as a second ranked diplomat. Subsequently, the foreign minister Haugwitz not only refused to pay for his travel expenses but also to organize an official reception at the court in Berlin.²⁸ Once Ali Aziz realized that he had been denied the privileges of a full ambassador, he refused to continue his journey from the Polish-Prussian border to Berlin.²⁹ Only after the Prussian minister agreed to pay the travel expenses and to grant him military escorts, the ambassador resumed his trip to the Prussian capital. The expenses of Ali Aziz’s journey amounted to 1003 *Reichstaler*, of which most was spent on horses brought by the ambassador as presents for the Prussian king and on some minor expenses for housing and food supplies.

As the first permanent Ottoman ambassador to Berlin Ali Aziz had to fend for himself and organize his own supplies and lodgings. Unlike for previous missions the Prussians did not prepare a residence for the ambassador, who at first had to stay temporarily in the *Ephraïmische Palais*, and then move for one year to a private house, which he eventually exchanged for a hotel.³⁰ At both residences, Ali Aziz had been involved in an argument regarding the rent, when either misunderstanding or intentional misinterpretation of the rent contract caused further trouble for the Ottoman diplomat and his entourage.³¹ The establishment of the perma-

28 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10559, Jassy, April 1797, Scarlat Callimachi; H. Achmed Schmiede, “Vor 190 Jahren ... Tod des türkischen Botschafters Ali Aziz Efendi,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte Berlins* 84/4 (1988), 102–107, 102; H. Achmed Schmiede, *Osmanlı ve Prusya Kaynaklarına Göre Giritli Ali Aziz Efendi'nin Berlin Sefareti*, İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırma Vakfı [1990], 22–23.

29 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10559, May 1797, Haugwitz to count Karl Georg Heinrich von Hoym (1739–1807), minister in Silesia.

30 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10559.

31 Cf. GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10550, Berlin 1799–1802, *Acta das Gesuch des Balluseck wegen seiner Forderung an den türkischen Gesandten*; GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10563; Berlin 1799–1812, *Acta betr. die Forderung des Petschke an den verstorbenen, türkischen Gesandten Aziz Ali Effendi*.

ment embassies and the ceasing of funding by the hosts meant that the Ottoman diplomats now had to deal with matters of everyday life and to address challenges such as finding suitable housing or paying the rent. The requirement to arrange basic needs in a foreign country was a further step from the highly formal practice of diplomacy to a more practical and professional activity – a trend of integration of Ottoman diplomats and diplomacy into the European diplomatic system and a more frequent encounters and contacts, which continued with Ali Aziz's successors.

The task of funding a diplomatic mission in a foreign country while being unfamiliar with local languages, laws, and customs proved to be challenging. Like his predecessors Ali Aziz too used his salary, which he received from the regular imperial mint, the *darbhane*, to cover his everyday life expenses such as rent, salaries for servants and bills for food in Berlin.³² The ambassador obtained his salary through the channel of the same Prussian banker-merchant and Jewish court factor Mendel Oppenheim (1758–1820), which Mehmed Esad would come to use several years later.³³ One can only speculate if Oppenheim had been recommended or was the only and best available channel for diplomatic money transfer. Around 1800, he was, however, a contact point for Ottoman diplomats traveling to Prussia.

Oppenheim, as probably other merchants and bankers moving between the two regions, was using the promissory notes to transfer money between the Ottoman Empire and Prussia. Unlike mercantile activities diplomatic exchanges did not involve the exchange of products for money. Instead, funds had to move from one country to another without any obvious exchange in the form of goods. An alternative way to the physical carrying of cash or jewels, were promissory notes. The instrument of banking, resembling the idea paper money, was commonly used by merchants and governments alike, also playing an important role not in contacts between the governments. The changed funding of diplomatic missions opened new opportunities for bankers and contributed to the growing importance of new financial means such as the promissory notes.

3. Solving Disputes

According to the cook Mehlbär, the Prussian foreign ministry declared in local newspapers that after Mehmed Esad's death his debts would be covered

32 Unlike the salary of Ali Aziz's successor Mehmed Esad's salary came from the *darbhane* rather than from the *irade-i cedid hazinesi* (cf. BOA, C.HR, 35/1716; BOA, C.HR, 101/5045).

33 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10562, Berlin, November 1802, Oppenheim to Frederick Wilhelm III.

by the succeeding Ottoman envoy to Prussia.³⁴ Following the announcement Mehlbär approached the new chargé d'affaires Jacques Argyropoulo (Yakovaki) (1776–1850), who had arrived in Berlin in September 1804, with his demands. Argyropoulo, however, rejected any claim and referred the cook to Mendel Oppenheim, who was Mehmed Esad's main creditor.³⁵ As also Oppenheim's efforts to obtain a repayment were not immediately successful, Mehlbär composed a petition to the Prussian foreign ministry asking for assistance in regaining the repayment of the 201 *Reichstaler*.³⁶ The Prussian foreign minister, Christian von Haugwitz (1752–1832), forwarded Mehlbär's claim to the Prussian chargé d'affaires in Istanbul, Friedrich Wilhelm von Knobelsdorff (at his post from 1790–1803), ordering him to demand the cook's paycheck from the Reis ül-Küttab (the chief scribe, later assuming the responsibilities of a foreign minister).³⁷ Mehlbär's bill was added to Mehmed Esad's debts of 19,000 *Piasters* to several creditors, among them Oppenheim, who had advanced a large sum of money to Mehmed Esad as part of the diplomat's salary.³⁸

Oppenheim had approached the foreign minister von Haugwitz already in 1802 regarding two outstanding promissory notes that he had received from Mehmed Esad. He explained that the Ottoman chargé d'affaires normally drew his salary, which he received regularly from the Ottoman government, from Oppenheim's bank in Berlin and in return provided him with a promissory note. This promissory note would then be cashed by Oppenheim's agent in Istanbul – probably either from the *darbhane* or from the *irade-i cedid hazinesi*. Yet, when Oppenheim's agent approached the Reis ül-Küttab with Mehmed Esad's latest promissory notes, the Ottoman minister rejected them rigorously, adding that

34 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10552, Berlin, March 1806, Mehlbär to the Prussian foreign ministry.

35 Jews such as Mendel Oppenheim had been court factors (*Hofjuden* or *Hoffaktoren*) at the Prussian court since the end of the seventeenth century, financing the Prussian kings and noblemen through moneylending, trade, and other financial enterprises such as coinage. Oppenheim was a prominent Prussian master of the mint, thus, considering the importance of Oppenheim to the Prussian treasury, the government was inclined to solve the financial dispute of one of its main financiers (cf. Keuck, Thekla. *Hofjuden und Kulturbürger: die Geschichte der Familie Itzig in Berlin*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011, 56.)

36 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10552, Berlin, March 1806, Mehlbär to the Prussian foreign ministry.

37 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10552, Berlin, July 1806, Haugwitz to Knobelsdorff.

38 The exchange rate of *Ottoman Piaster* to *Reichstaler* was 5:3 around the year 1790 (cf. Karamuk, Gümeç. *Ahmed Azmi Efendis Gesandtschaftsbericht als Zeugnis des osmanischen Machtverfalls und der beginnenden Reformära unter Selim III*. Bern: Herbert Lang, 1975, 232, fn. 3.)

he would not cover them under any circumstances.³⁹ It is unclear why the Reis ül-Küttab had rejected Mehmed Esad's notes, but as a consequence the Prussian foreign ministry as well as Oppenheim and Mehlbär – along with several other creditors – were facing a tedious dispute with the Ottoman government.

More than a year before his death in March 1803 and half a year after Oppenheim's first complaint, Mehmed Esad attempted to defend himself in a letter to the Prussian foreign minister Haugwitz claiming that he had not received his salary from the Ottoman government for more than a year. Mehmed Esad further explained that he had spent all his resources due to a long disease and did not have any private funds, therefore being completely dependant on the Sublime Porte's salary.⁴⁰ Despite Mehmed Esad's personal letter to the foreign ministry and the official termination of his diplomatic work after three years along with the Reis ül-Küttab's request to let their diplomat return to Istanbul, the Prussian foreign ministry revoked the travel papers of the indebted diplomat.⁴¹ Several months later, the Reis ül-Küttab finally agreed to cover Mehmed Esad's debts, but first Mehmed Esad had to be allowed to return to the Ottoman Empire.⁴² The Prussian foreign ministry informed Oppenheim about the Reis ül-Küttab's request to issue travel papers to Mehmed Esad despite the open accounts, but Oppenheim objected and insisted that the Prussian government would continue to withhold the diplomat's passport.

In April 1804, while the negotiations between the Prussian and the Ottoman foreign ministries were still ongoing, Mehmed Esad, still in Berlin, had succumbed to his disease. In the following months the Reis ül-Küttab informed the Prussian minister that Mehmed Esad had been wealthy and that the liquidation of his estates would cover the outstanding debts.⁴³ At the same time, the Ottoman government requested from its chargé d'affaires Jacques Argyropoulo in Berlin the resolution of the debts not according to Prussian demands, but according to "the Ottoman needs."⁴⁴ This meant that Argyropoulo was ordered to send Mehmed Esad's remaining possessions from Berlin to Constantin Ypsilantis

39 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10562, Berlin, October 1802, Mendel Oppenheim to Frederick William III (1770–1840).

40 Ibid., Berlin, March 1803, Mehmed Esad Efendi to Haugwitz.

41 Ibid., Berlin, October 1803, Haugwitz to Anton von Bielfeld.

42 BOA, HAT, 122/4989; GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10562.

43 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10562, May 1803, Knobelsdorff to Frederick William III.

44 BOA, HAT, 1350/52722 F.

(1760–1816), the Vovvoda of Wallachia, where they should be used to cover a part of the debt.⁴⁵

In June 1805, the Sublime Porte informed the new Prussian chargé d'affaires in Istanbul, Anton von Bielfeld (at his post from 1803–07) that Mehmed Esad's assets had finally been sold and that the profit will be used to pay off his creditors.⁴⁶ Thereupon, the Prussian ministry proposed that Oppenheim, who had already forwarded a list of all other creditors to Istanbul, would receive the entire payout of Mehmed Esad's debts, which totaled 35,783 *Piaster*, with the Istanbul based banking house Hübsch & Timoni as an intermediary.⁴⁷ Oppenheim's agent in Istanbul would then draw the money from Hübsch & Timoni and the banker would then, after taking his part, disburse the rest among Mehmed Esad's other creditors in Berlin. After both governments came to this agreement the actual repayment took another year, mostly because it was implemented by the Ottoman government in three installments. Finally, in May 1806 a note by Hübsch & Timoni to Bielfeld testified that all of Mehmed Esad's debts had been settled.⁴⁸

This case study shows the actors involved in the financial exchanges between the Ottoman Empire and Europe. Diplomacy was not merely a political or elite practice, but also involved the contacts between bankers, merchants and trading houses of different religion and origin. Money was not simply a means to acquire material or cultural products and to engage in social exchange, it was itself a commodity of culture and encounter through which two governments and their subjects communicated and encountered each other. It was further also a reflection on the process of normalization and institutionalization of diplomacy. The financial sources of diplomacy such as the state treasury, private bankers or funds are indication of the state-building process.⁴⁹

A major challenge of living abroad during the early modern period was the organization of finances and the surrounding networks of merchants, agents, and bankers. Understanding how and through whom money, promissory notes, and other financial resources moved gives an insight into these inter-cultural and trans-regional networks, which spanned from the Ottoman Empire to almost

45 Ibid.

46 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10562, September 1804, Karl August Freiherr von Hardenberg (1750–1822) to Oppenheim.

47 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10552, Berlin, March 1806, Mehlbär to the Prussian foreign ministry.

48 GStA, HA I, rep. 11, no. 10562, May 1806, Hübsch & Timoni to Bielfeld.

49 Rudolph, *Diplomatiekosten*, 84.

every major city in Europe. These networks intensified their activities towards the end of the eighteenth century and eventually received a more permanent and official character, thereby supporting the professionalization of diplomacy and the contact between the Ottomans and Europeans. In the early and mid-nineteenth century, diplomats could increasingly count on these networks, which would prevent their sudden bankruptcy and support them in cases of emergency during their stays in European capitals.

The study shows how changes in funding also resulted in diplomats' increasing participation in everyday life of the visited cities. Taking up loans and accumulating debts forced the diplomats to deal with ordinary Prussian subjects and matters of everyday life – a practice earlier hospitality conventions did not require. Finally, the inquiry implies that by linking the financial networks of two separate political systems such as the Ottoman and the European – in this case the Prussian – both became internationalized. Diplomacy between Europe and the Ottoman Empire was shaped not only through shifted military and administrative reforms, but also through financial changes prompted by very real and immediate needs of Ottoman envoys abroad.

The Diplomats' Debts: International Financial Disputes between the Ottoman Empire and Prussia at the end of the Eighteenth Century

Abstract ■ As part of the increased contact between the Ottoman Empire in the European state system, the Ottoman Empire dispatched two envoys, one ambassador and four chargés d'affaires to Prussia between 1763 and 1806. At first, the hosts had funded the diplomats' stays in Berlin including their travel expenses, housing, provisions and daily allowances, but following the sending of the first permanent Ottoman ambassador to Berlin in 1797, the Prussians rejected financial responsibility for the diplomats. This resulted in the intensified encounters between diplomats and governments and eventually in the growing professionalization of Ottoman diplomacy. As a consequence of changing funding practices, Ottoman diplomats had to find new channels to receive their salaries and organize their stays capitals being now compelled to greater participation in the daily life of in the foreign capital. Using both Ottoman and Prussian sources this article is able to reconstruct funding international practices and networks in a period before the establishment of official institutions such as international banks.

Keywords: Ottoman diplomats, Ottoman-Prussian relations, funding, professionalization

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Batılı İki Seyyahın Kaleminden İstanbul Masalları: Cyrus Adler ve Allan Ramsay'nin Kahvehane Ziyaretleri

Melike Tokay-Ünal*

Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kahvehane Kültürü

Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda kahvehanelerinin “kamusal mekan” sayılarak sosyal hayatın bir parçası oluşu 16. yüzyıla dayanır. Kamuran Sami'nin de belirttiği gibi,¹ Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 16. yüzyılda yaşadığı en parlak dönemden 20. yüzyılda dağılma ve yıkılma dönemine kadar sancılı bir süreç geçirmiş, ve bu süreç kamusal alanda gün geçtikçe yerini daha da sağlamlaştıran kahvehaneleri de etkilemiştir (s. 161). 16. yüzyılın ortalarında kamusal alandaki camii ve çarşı ikilisine bir alternatif olarak oluşan kahvehane, çoğunlukla camilerin yanına kurulmuş, namaz aralarında sohbet etmek ve dinlenmek isteyen cemaatin kahvelerini yudumlayıp namaz saatini bekledikleri bir mekan olarak betimlenebilir. Zamanla, bu sade ve gösterişsiz olarak tabir edebileceğimiz mekanlar Osmanlı kültürel zenginliğinin en önemli figürü haline gelmiştir. Kahve tüketilen mekan olduğu için kahvehane ismini alan bu kamusal mekan namaz aralarını bekleyen cemaat dışında Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun zengin sosyal yapısı içindeki diğer kesimlerden de ilgi görünce yapısal değişikliklere uğramıştır. Toplumun hemen her kesiminin uğrak yeri haline gelen kahvehaneler “sohbet ve dedikodu edilen, eğlenilen, dinlenen, dini ve güncel tartışmaların yapıldığı ve halk hikayelerinin

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1 Kamuran Sami. “Halk Kültürü Bağlamında Kahvehanelerin Toplumsal ve Mekânsal Dönüşümleri Diyarbakır Kent Örneği”, *Milli Folklor* 2010, Yıl 22, Sayı 85:159-172.

anlatıldığı” nargile içilen, tavla ya da başka oyunların oynandığı, zengin Osmanlı kültürünü temsil eden mekanlar haline gelmiştir (s. 159-172).

İstanbul’da cami yakınlarına kurulan küçük mahalle kahvehaneleri dışındaki ilk kahvehanelerin 1554-1555 yıllarında Tahtakale semtinde “Halepli Hakem ve Şamlı Şems adında iki Arap kökenli tüccar” tarafından açıldığı bilinir.² Mısır Çarşısı’nın hemen arkasında yer alan Tahtakale, 16. yüzyıl ortalarında İstanbul’un ticaret merkezidir. Bu bağlamda Arap kökenli iki tüccarın Tahtakale’de açtığı bu ilk kahvehane “tüccarların, gemicilerin, çeşitli eğlence sanatlarını icra eden oyuncuların, kayıkçı, hammal, tellak, rençber ve fırıncıların” (s. 25) uğrak yeri olmuştur. Bu tür çarşı ya da liman yakınında açılan kahvehaneler cami yakınında açılan mahalle kahvehanelerinden müşteri profili bakımından farklılık göstermiş olsa da kahve ve nargile eşliğinde yaşatılan kültür benzerdir. Ekrem Işın’a göre, “16. yüzyıldan itibaren Osmanlı gündelik hayatını sosyalleşme sürecine sokan belli başlı kültürel dönüşümler” (s. 34) yapısal olarak farklılık göstermelerine rağmen genel olarak kahvehanelerde yaşanır. Bu bağlamda kahvehaneler cami ve çarşı dışında kalan gündelik hayatı ve değişik sınıflardan, mesleklerden, dinlerden, ve kültürlerden insanların bu gündelik hayata katılımlarını anlamak açısından önem taşır. Genel anlamda kahve ve nargilenin tüketildiği bu mekanlarda farklı kesimlerden insanların dahil olduğu muhabbetler, oynanan oyunlar, ya da paylaşılan masallar-hikayeler o toplumun değer yargıları çerçevesinde şekillenmiştir. İstanbul’da değişik semtlerdeki kahvehanelerde bu değerler farklılık gösterse de ortak olan bir gerçek vardır: 16. yüzyıldan Tanzimat, Meşrutiyet ve erken Cumhuriyet dönemine kadar İstanbul kahvehaneleri İstanbul ahalisinin sosyo-kültürel yapısını betimlemeye yardımcı önemli öğelere sahiptir; ki bu öğelerden belki de en değerlisi bu kahvehanelerde anlatılan, kulaktan kulağa yayılan, batılı seyyahlar tarafından derlenen, yabancı dillerde kitap haline gelen masallar-hikayelerdir.

Kahvehaneleri kahve içilen, nargile ya da çubuk (sigara) tütürülen, namaz aralarının mahalleli ile sohbetle geçirildiği bekleme salonları olarak tanımlamak başlı başına Osmanlı kahvehanelerine ve onları yaşatan sınıf, uyruk, dil ve dinen zengin Osmanlı halkına haksızlık olur. Kahvehaneler hem sohbet, hem eğlence mekanlarıdır; hem dini ve destani kitaplar okunur hem de tavla veya satranç gibi çeşitli oyunlar oynanır; hem meddahlar siyasi kıssalar anlatır hem

2 Ekrem Işın. “Kahve ve Kahvehanelerin Toplumsal Tarihi”, *Tanede Saklı Keyif; Kahve*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2001:10-43.

de aynı siyaset gölge tiyatrosunun malzemesi olur ve kahvehane müşterisiyle buluşur³ (s. 35).

Kahvehaneler Osmanlı kamusal alanına dahil olduğu andan itibaren siyasi sohbetlere ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Kimi zaman Saray ve Devlet-i Aliyye eleştirilir, kimi zaman da övgülere boğulurdu; kimi zaman kahvehane ahalisi aynı görüşte olur, övgüler ya da yergiler hep bir ağızdan dillendirilir, kimi zaman da karşıt görüşler ateşli tartışmalara sebep olur, kahvehaneler kavgalara sahne olurdu. İşte tam da bu gibi durumlarda kahvehanedeki bilge kişinin ortamdaki anlaşmazlığa bir hikayeyle son vermesi adet olmuştu. Bazen de açıla gelmiş bir sohbeti bağlamak, anlamlı bir noktaya erdirmek için de anlatırdı “bilge kişi”⁴ hikayelerini (s. 5). İşte bu hikayeler-masallar bu çalışmanın baş karakterleridir⁵.

Cyrus Adler ve Allan Ramsay’nin Kahvehane Masalları

1890 ve 1891 yıllarında ziyaret ettikleri kahvehanelerdeki bu hikayeleri-masalları dinleyen Amerikalı, Sami Dilleri uzmanı ve din bilimci Cyrus Adler ve İskoçya kökenli, İstanbul doğumlu, İstanbul Tütün Rejisi idari amiri Allan Ramsay, 1898 yılında bu hikayeleri derler ve *Told in the Coffee House: Turkish Tales* adıyla

3 Ahmet Yaşar. *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri: Mekan, Sosyalleşme, İktidar*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009, s. 96 ve Işın, 2001.

4 Sabri Kaliç. *İstanbul 1898: Kahvehane Hikayeleri* İstanbul: Maya Kitap, 2012.

5 Cyrus Adler ve Allan Ramsay’nin 1898 yılında yayımladıkları kitaplarının orijinal ismi *Told in the Coffee House: Turkish Tales*’dir. “Tales” kelimesi 2012 yılında kitabın çevirisini yapan Sabri Kaliç tarafından “hikaye” olarak tercüme edilmiştir. “Tales” kelimesini hem “hikaye” hem de “masal” olarak tercüme etmenin daha doğru bir kullanım olduğunu düşünerek bu yazıda Adler ve Ramsay’nin kahvehanelerde dinleyip derlediği ve kitap olarak bastığı edebi türü hem “hikaye” hem de “masal” olarak nitelendirmek yanlış olmayacaktır. Bu yazıda “masal” kelimesi Güncel Türkçe Sözlükteki karşılığı “*Genellikle halkın yarattığı, hayale dayanan, sözlü gelenekte yaşayan, çoğunlukla insanlar, hayvanlar ile cadı, cin, dev, peri vb. Varlıkların başından geçen olağanüstü olayları anlatan edebi tür,*” ve Orhan Acıpayamlı’nın Halkbilim Terimleri Sözlüğündeki karşılığı “*İnsanoğlunun evren, dünya, yaşam, doğa, toplum, ve kendisiyle ilgili tarihsel oluşum, düşün, istek ve izlenimlerinin az ya da çok değişikliğe uğrayarak ağızdan ağıza geçme yoluyla çağımıza ulaşan geleneksel anlatı örnekleri*” anlamları çerçevesinde kullanılmıştır. “Hikaye” kelimesi ise Güncel Türkçe Sözlükteki karşılığı “*Gerçek veya tasarlanmış olayları anlatan düz yazı türü, öykü,*” ve Edebiyat ve Söz Sanatı Terimleri Sözlüğündeki karşılığı “*Hayalde tasarlanan meraklı bir takım olayları anlatarak okuyanda heyecan veya zevk uyandıran ve çoğu ancak bir kaç sayfa tutan yazı*” anlamları çerçevesinde kullanılmıştır. Bu yazıda “masal” ve “hikaye” kelimeleri birbirlerinin yerine de kullanılmıştır.

okuyucuyla buluşturur⁶. Adler ve Ramsay'nin kitabı 29 kısa masaldan oluşmaktadır. Kitabın başında, başlığın hemen altında “Cyrus Adler ve Allan Ramsay tarafından derlenip İngilizceye çevrilmiştir” ibaresi yer almaktadır (s. iii).

Kısa bir araştırma sonrası, Adler ve Ramsay'nin kahvehane masallarının 1914'te Atlantik okyanusunu aşip Londra'da İngiliz okurlarla buluştuğunu öğrenebiliriz. *Told in the Coffee House: Turkish Tales* kitabındaki hikayeler 1914 yılında Allan Ramsay ve Francis McCullagh tarafından bir araya getirilip, Nasreddin Hoca masallarıyla birlikte *Tales from Turkey* adıyla Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co Ltd. yayınevinde basılmıştır. Bu kitaba uzun ve açıklayıcı bir önsöz yazan yazar Francis McCullagh kitaptaki bazı hikayelerin Adler ve Ramsay'nin kahvehane ziyaretlerinde dinledikleri masallar olduğunu belirtir, ve Cyrus Adler'e bu masalların tekrar basılmasına izin verdiği için teşekkürlerini sunar.

Adler ve Ramsay'nin İstanbul kahvehaneleri hikayelerinin Atlantik'i aşip New York'tan Londra'ya geçişi on altı yıl sürmüştür. McCullagh'nin de belirttiği gibi 20. yüzyılın başında British Museum'da, ki Londra'da bulunan British Museum dünyanın en zengin etnografya koleksiyonuna ev sahipliği yapmaktadır, “Türk-Osmanlı folkloru” adı altında hiçbir eser bulmak mümkün değildir. Türk insanının da birçok millet gibi mizah anlayışı ve bu mizahı sunduğu hikayeleri olduğunu savunan McCullagh, British Museum'daki “Türk-Osmanlı folkloru” boşluğunu doldurmak amacıyla bu hikayeleri bir araya getirip basmaya karar verdiklerini kitabın önsözünde anlatmaktadır⁷ (s. ix). Bir diğer neden ise 20. yüzyılın başlarında artık ne İstanbul kahvehanelerinde ne de Anadolu kahvehanelerinde masal-hikaye anlatı geleneğinin sürdürülüyor olmasıdır. McCullagh modern Türk'ün masal anlatmaya ya da dinlemeye vakti olmadığını belirtir ve bu gelenek bütünüyle terkedilip bu masallar unutulmadan masalların derlenmesi ve yazılı olarak arşivlenmesi gerektiğini savunmaktadır (s. xix).

Told in the Coffee House kitabının basım tarihi olan 1898'ten 2012 yılına kadar, yani 114 yıl boyunca, New York ve Londra kütüphanelerini ve kitabevlerini ziyaret edip bu kitapla tesadüfen karşılaşan Türkler dışında hiçbir Türk 1890-1891 yıllarında Adler ve Ramsay'nin İstanbul kahvehanelerinde dinlediği masalları okumamıştır. Atlantik'in iki kıyısında da İngilizce basılan bu hikayeler

6 Cyrus Adler ve Allan Ramsay. *Told in the Coffee House: Turkish Tales*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898.

7 Francis McCullagh ve Allan Ramsay. *Tales From Turkey*. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co Ltd., 1914.

2012 yılına kadar anlatıldığı orijinal dilinde basılmamıştır. 2012 yılında, Sabri Kalıç'ın çevirisiyle *İstanbul 1898 Kahvehane Hikayeleri* adı altında Maya Kitap'tan basılan bu hikayeler, dillendikten ve dinlendikten 122 sene sonra tekrar Türkçeye çevrilmiştir. 1898'deki orijinal baskısında olduğu gibi 2012 baskısında da en başta Cyrus Adler'in 1 Şubat 1898'de Washington'da yazdığı önsöz bulunmaktadır. Bu önsözde Adler İstanbul kahvehaneleri gözlemini kısaca okuyucuyla paylaşır. Adler'e göre İstanbul'da ziyaret ettiği kahvehaneler,

genelde odadan birazcık büyük, duvarlarında cam paneller olan yerlerdir. Mobilya olarak cezve asacak tertibatı olan küçük bir sacayak ve kahve pişirmek için ateş bulunur. Üzerinde halı olan bir kerevet tüm duvar boyunca uzanır. Bunun üzerinde, sarıklı Türkler bacıklarını altlarına alarak oturur; nargile veya sigara tütürür, kahvelerini yudumlarlar. Birkaçı tavra oynar ama geneli sohbetlere katılır (s. 5).

Bu hikayeler, 19. yüzyılın sonlarında kaybolmaya yüz tutmuş ve sonrasında da unutulmuş bir Türk geleneği olan masal-hikaye anlatı geleneğinin parçası olması yönünden okunmaya ve arşivlenmeye değerdir. Bunlar sayesinde masal anlatı geleneğinin yanı sıra Türk-Osmanlı kültürünün vazgeçilmez folklorik öğesi kahve ve kahvehanelerin de tarihi önemi hatırlanmış ve irdelenmiş olur.

2012 yılında *Radikal* gazetesinde yayımlanan “Bir Orta, Bir de Sade”⁸ ve *Boxer* dergisinde yayımlanan “Eski İstanbul Kahvehaneleri”⁹ adlı iki kitap tanıtım yazısı dışında Adler ve Ramsay'nin İstanbul kahvehanelerinde dinlediği masallar ve bu iki seyyahı İstanbul'a getiren sebepler hiçbir araştırmacının dikkatini çekmemiş olacak ki hiçbir akademik araştırmaya ya da esere konu olmamışlardır. Konu edildikleri bu iki popüler kültür yazısı da okuyucuyu yanlış bilgilendirmiş, referans göstermeden varsayımlarda bulunmuş, araştırma yapılarak öğrenilecek bir çok tarihi bilgiyi okuyucuya yanlış iletmiştir. Mesela, *Radikal* gazetesindeki yazıda Adler ve Ramsay'nin İstanbul'a gitme hikayesi tamamen yanlış olarak aktarılmıştır:

Adler'in uzun yıllar İstanbul'da yaşayan arkadaşı Ramsay'den dinlediği “kahvehane hikâyeleri” aklını kurcalayıp durmuş bir süre. Sonunda arkadaşı Ramsay'i de yanına alıp hikâyeleri derlemek üzere Osmanlı topraklarına gelmiş. İstanbul kahvehanelerini dolaşıp anlatılan hikâyeleri dinleyip derleyen iki arkadaş ülkelere döner dönmez hikâyeleri kitaplaştırmışlar.

8 Ayşe Bengi. “Bir Orta, Bir de Sade”, *Radikal*, 13 Nisan 2012.

9 İsimli. “Eski İstanbul Kahvehaneleri”, *Boxer* Haziran 2012, Sayı 96: 60-62.

“Eski İstanbul Hikayeleri” adlı yazıdaki açıklama da yanlıştır:

“20’li yaşlarının sonlarında iki Amerikalı genç İstanbul’a gelirler...Allan Ramsay’nin İstanbul’a ilk gelişi değildir. Bir bakıma Cyrus’un rehberliğini yapacaktır. Cyrus, Allan’dan onlarca kahvehane hikayesi dinlemiştir ve bunların peşindedir” (s. 61).

Masalların iki yabancı seyyah tarafından dinlenmesi, derlenmesi, ve kendi dillerine çevrilip bu tür masallara yabancı bir ülkede okuyucuyla buluşması önemsiz detaylar gibi görünse de bu masalların üç kıtaya yayılmış yolculuklarını anlamak için çok değerlidir. Bu anlamda iki yazarın kimler olduğunu, niçin İstanbul’da bulduklarını ve neden bu hikayeleri derleyip bastıklarını doğru kaynaklardan öğrenmek gerekmektedir.

Cyrus Adler ve Allan Ramsay’nin 1890 yılında İstanbul’da bulunmaları ve kahvehaneleri birlikte ziyaret ediyor olmaları bir tesadüf değildir. Sultan Abdülmecid tarafından Tersane-i Amire’de görevlendirilmek üzere Aberdeen’den İstanbul’a davet edilen İskoç Alexander Ramsay, Allan Ramsay’nin babasıdır¹⁰ (s. vii). Tersane-i Amire’deki işinin üzerine bir de 1862’de İstanbul’daki İngiliz Elçiliğinde Christina McGregor ile evlenen Alexander Ramsay ailesine İstanbul’da kalıcı bir hayat kurmuştur. McGregor ve Ramsay’nin oğlu Allan İstanbul’da doğmuş ve büyümüştür. Böylece Allan, ana dili İngilizce dışında Türkçeyi de iyi derecede konuşabiliyor ve yazabiliyordu. Cyrus Adler ile İstanbul’da yolları kesiştiği sırada Ramsay “19. yüzyılın son çeyreğinde” kurulan “çok uluslu bir yabancı sermaye yatırımı” olan Tütün Rejisinin yönetim kurulu üyeliği görevini yapıyordu¹¹ (s. 116). Görevi gereği sık seyahat eden Ramsay zengin bir kültüre sahip Anadolu, Rumeli ve Arap Yarımadasındaki Osmanlı topraklarında çok seyahat etmiş, ve yine görevi gereği farklı sınıflarından insanlarla bir araya gelmiştir¹² (s. vii). Bu seyahatleri sırasında birçok kahvehanede bulunmuştur ve buralarda anlatılmış çoğu birbirine benzeyen masallara hiç de yabancı değildir.

Sami Dilleri uzmanı ve din bilimci, Amerikalı Cyrus Adler’in 19. yüzyılın sonlarında İstanbul’da bulunmasının ise bambaşka bir hikayesi vardır. 1887 yılında Johns Hopkins Üniversitesi’nden Sami Dilleri uzmanlığını kazanan Adler 1890

¹⁰ McCullagh ve Ramsay, 1914.

¹¹ Melda Yaman Öztürk ve Nuray Ertürk Keskin, “Osmanlıda Yabancı Yatırımlar: Duyunu Umumiye ve Tütün Rejisi”, *Memleket Siyaset Yönetim*, c.6 s.16 2011/16.

¹² McCullagh ve Ramsay, 1914.

yılına kadar aynı kurumda öğretim görevliliği yapmıştır¹³ (s. 35). Sami dillerine olan tutkusu dışında Adler'in bir diğer ilgi alanı İncil'de bahsi geçen kültürlerin tarihini aydınlatmak amacıyla yapılan arkeolojik kazılardı. Bu ilgisi Adler'i 1888 yılında Smithsonian Enstitüsünün idaresinde olan *U.S. National Museum'un* (kuruluşundaki ilk ismiyle Amerikan Ulusal Müzesi'nin) Eski Uygurluklar Bölümünün onursal müdürü yaptı. Ve Adler'in bu ilgisi ve atandığı bu görev 1890'da Amerikan Başkanı Benjamin Harrison'ın Adler'i Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ni temsilen özel vekil olarak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Mısır, Tunus, Cezayir ve Fas'a göndermesine kapı açmıştır.

1893 yılında Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin Chicago şehrinde düzenlenecek olan *World's Columbian Exposition'da* (Dünya Kolomb Fuarı veya Chicago Dünya Fuarı) bir çok ülkenin katıldığı ve kendi kültür ve folklorlarının tanıtımını yaptığı bir sergi düzenlenecektir¹⁴. Kristof Kolomb'un Amerika kıtasını keşfinin 400. yıldönümü Chicago'daki fuarda dünya folklorlarının tanıtımı ve birbiriyle etkileşimi ile kutlanacaktır ve Amerikan Başkanı Harrison yakın doğu ülkelerini bu kültürel şenliğe davet etmek için Adler'i elçi tayin etmiştir¹⁵ (s. 41). 1890 yılı Kasım ayında ülkesinden ayrılan Adler on beş ay boyunca Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Mısır, Tunus, Cezayir ve Fas'ta ziyaretlerde bulunur ve bu ülkelerin fuara katılmaları için diplomatik görüşmeler yapar. Hatta Adler'in Osmanlı Vezir-i Azamı Kamil Paşa ile yakın arkadaşlık kurduğu tarihçiler tarafından söylenmektedir¹⁶ (s. 42). İstanbul ve kahvehaneleriyle ve tabii ki kahvehane hikayeleriyle bu on beş ay süren diplomatik gezi sırasında tanışmıştır.

Hem Maya Kitap'ın bastığı çeviride, hem de çeviriyle aynı yıl yayımlanan iki kitap tanıtım yazısında bahsedilen Cyrus Adler'in “uzun yıllar İstanbul'da yaşamış arkadaşı Ramsay'den şöhretini duyduğu kahvehane hikayelerini derlemek üzere İstanbul'a” gelmiş olması doğru bir yargı değildir¹⁷ (s. 42). Adler görevli olarak İstanbul'a geldiğinde – 1890 yılının Kasım ayında New York'tan gemiyle ayrıldığına göre tahminen Aralık ayında İstanbul'a varmıştır – Allan Ramsay ile

13 Abraham A. Neuman “Cyrus Adler: A Biographical Sketch”, *American Jewish Year Book*, New York: 1941: 23-144.

14 Pensilvanya Üniversitesi, Herbert Kartz Yahudi Çalışmaları Merkezindeki Cyrus Adler Koleksiyonu, bilgi için bkz. <http://www.library.upenn.edu/cajs/Adler.html>

15 Neuman, 1941.

16 Bu görüşmelerin sonucudur ki 1893 Chicago Dünya Fuarında Allan Ramsay Bedevi sergisi düzenlemiştir.

17 Kaliç, 2012.

tanişıyor muydu, yoksa İstanbul'da gerçekleştirdiği resmi ziyaretler sırasında mı Ramsay ile tanıştı bilinmiyor. Ramsay'nin İskoç ve Adler'in Amerikalı olduğu düşünüldüğünde İstanbul'da tanışmış olma ihtimalleri artıyor. Adler, 1898'de yazdığı kısacık önsöze şu cümleyle başlamıştır: “İstanbul'a yaptığım çeşitli ziyaretler sırasında kahvehanelerde anlatılan hikayelerle ilgilenmeye başladım” (s. 7). Adler'in bu ilgisi hikayelerin anlatıldığı dil olan Türkçeye hakim, ama aynı zamanda Adlerle de İngilizce iletişim kurabilecek, öncelikle İstanbul kahvehane kültürüne ve kahvehane müşterilerine, sonrasında ise genel olarak Osmanlı kültür ve tarihine aşina bir yoldaş – arkadaş bulmasını gerektirmiş olmalı ki, Ramsay Adler'e İstanbul kahvehanelerinde eşlik etmiştir. 1914'te İngiltere'de basılmış olan *Tales from Turkey*'in önsözünde yazar McCullagh de, Adler ve Ramsay'ın İngilizceye çevirdiği birçok masalı Ramsay'ın işi gereği Osmanlı topraklarındaki ziyaretleri sırasında uğradığı kahvehanelerde birçok kez duyduğunu belirtmiştir¹⁸ (s. vii). Bunların bir kısmını Ramsay, Adler ile İstanbul'daki kahvehane ziyaretleri sırasında tekrar dinlemiş, bir kısmını da zamanında dinlediği ve hatırladığı haliyle Adler'e anlatmıştır.

Pertev Naili Boratav'a göre Türk kültürü ve Türk halk edebiyatı üç farklı kültürün kaynaşması sonucu oluşmuştur: Türklerin Müslüman olmadan önce eski yurtlarındaki komşu kültürlerden aldıkları ile kendi atalarından miras kalan geleneklerin toplamı bir Orta Asya kültürü; İslâm dinine girdikten sonra etkisi altına girmeye başladıkları Arap ve Müslüman-İran kültürü, ve yeni yurtlarındaki gelmiş geçmiş uygarlıklardan kalıntıların, çeşitli ırk, dil ve dinden olan kavimlerin geleneklerinin birleşimi bir kültür¹⁹ (s. 294). Boratav, Türk kültürü ve edebiyatının bu zengin yapısını en iyi gösteren eserlerin sözlü halk geleneğinde bulunduğunu ve maalesef bu geleneğin eserlerinin çok azının günümüze ulaşabildiğini belirtmektedir. Adler ve Ramsay'ın kahvehane hikayeleri Boratav'ın kaybı için yakındığı o sözlü halk geleneğinin örneklerindedir.

Türk sözlü geleneğinde birçok anlatma türü vardır: “masallar, fıkralar, latifeler, hayvan masalları, tekerlemeler, efsaneler, menkıbeler...”(s. 293). Boratav'ın üzerinde durduğu ve kitabında birçoğuna yer verdiği Türk sözlü geleneğinin parçası masallar Adler ve Ramsay'nin 1890'ların başında kahvehanelerde dinlediği türdür. Matbaa baskısıyla en uzununu on sayfa olan bu kahvehane masallarının özel hikaye anlatıcıları, okuyucuları veya meddahlar tarafından anlatılıp anlatılmadığı kesin

¹⁸ McCullagh ve Ramsay, 1914.

¹⁹ Pertev Naili Boratav. *Az Gittik Uz Gittik*, İstanbul: Adam, 1992.

değildir. Adler kitabın önsözünde masalların kahvehanelerde nasıl bir ortamda anlatıldığı ile ilgili şunları belirtmiştir:

Önceleri bir iki kelime olarak başlayan konuşmalar sonraları genel sohbete döner. Sonunda o civarın bilge bir kişisi gelir ve herkes ona dönüp konuyu bağlamasını bekler. Bu da genellikle adamın bakış açısını tarif eden bir hikaye anlatmasıyla yapılır (Kaliç 2012: 5).

Bu kısacık nottan şu anlaşılmaktadır: kahvehanede masalları Türk sözlü geleneğiyle büyümüş bir Osmanlı efendisi anlatır. Bu kişi büyüklerinden ve çevresinden dünyevi veya manevi konularda öğütler veren hikayeleri çok dinlemiş ve ezberlemiştir. Vakti gelip kendisi anlatmaya başladığında da hikayeleri kendi zamanına uyarlamıştır. Yani, Adler ve Ramsay'nin bir araya getirip bastığı bu masallar meddah gösterilerinden veya aşık dinletilerinden alınmış hikayeler değildir. Bunlar, günümüzde örneğini çok sık görmediğimiz, hatta kaybolmaya yüz tutmuş bir Türk geleneği olan sözü bağlamak ya da sohbeti daha eğlenceli kılmak amaçlı hikaye anlatma geleneğinin parçası olan masallardır ve sözü bağlamak, öğüt vermek, kötülüğü yermek, iyiliği yüceltmek, ya da sadece eğlendirmek için anlatılırlardı.

Adler ve Ramsay'nin bu hikayelere “kahvehanede anlatılan hikayeler – Told in the Coffee House” adını vermesi hikayelerin kahvehane kültürü içinde yoğrulmuş ve hatta o kültürün vazgeçilmez bir parçası oluşuna işaret eder. Kahvehanelerin vazgeçilmez parçası sadece hikayeler değildir elbette, başlı başına hikaye anlatma geleneği kahvehanelerde gelişir ve belki de bu geleneğin en yaygın olduğu kamusal mekanlar kahvehanelerdir. Gündelik hayatın dünyevi veya manevi sorunlarını ve bu sorunların olası çözümlerini, bu sorunlardan çıkarılan dersleri, ya da genel anlamıyla halkın yargılarını, yasaklarını, günah veya sevap olarak nitelediklerini içinde barındıran bu hikayeler Adler'in de belirttiği gibi “adetlerin, geleneklerin ve insanların düşünme yöntemlerinin niteliklerini belirtmesi açısından korunmaya değer hikayelerdir” (s. 7).

Cengiz Kırılı, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda kahvehanelerin ve kahvehane muhabbetlerinin Osmanlı kültürünü ve sosyal yapısını anlamak için çok önemli bir yer tuttuğunu belirtmektedir.²⁰ Kırılı'ya göre kahvehane, toplumun farklı sınıflarından, farklı mesleklerinden, hatta farklı dinlerinden “insanların konuşmak veya

²⁰ Cengiz Kırılı, “Kahvehaneler: 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kamuoyu”, *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri: Mekan, Sosyallik ve İktidar* (ed.) Ahmet Yaşar, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009, s. 95-118.

haber, bilgi ve düşünce alışverişinde bulunmak üzere bir araya geldikleri başlıca mekandı” (s. 96). Daha önce de değinildiği gibi, kahvehaneler toplumun her kesiminden insanın siyaseti konuştuğu, hatta fikir ayrımlarına düşüp tartıştığı mekanlar olmuştur hep. Kırılı, 19. yüzyılın ortalarında bu fikir ayrımlarını yakından takip etmek ve padişah ve yönetim hakkında olumsuz konuşanları cezalandırmak için Osmanlı kahvehanelerine hafiyelerin yerleştirildiğini belirtmiştir. Osmanlı arşivlerinde yer alan hafiye raporları – jurnaller bu bilgiyi doğrular niteliktedir (s. 106). Hafiye raporları gün içinde kahvehaneye gelen kişilerin kimliklerinden, konuştukları konulara kadar her detayı içermektedir. Hafiyelerin varlığının çok da gizli kalmadığı aşıkardır; zira raporların bazıları gün içinde kahvehane müşterileri tarafından anlatılan masallarla-hikayelerle doludur. Hikaye anlatıcısı hikayenin karakterleri üzerinden gündelik hayata, siyasete veya Saray’a gizli gizli göndermeler yaparak fikrini beyan eder ve sohbeti derinleştirir. Yani hikayelerin siyasi yapıyı eleştiren, eleştirmiyorsa bile dönemin siyasi gelişmeleri ile ilgili dinleyiciye bilgi veren ve bunu da gizli ve nükteli bir dille yapan bir yanı da vardır. Cengiz Kırılı’nın da belirttiği gibi,

masal anlatmak, karmaşık bir süreçtir... masalın satır aralarında fantezi ve gerçeklik, gerçek ve hayali karakterler birbirinin içine geçer... masallar, gerçek sorunlar için hayali, ancak arzulanan çözümler sunar (s. 106).

Yani, kahvehanelerde sohbet sırasında anlatılan bu masallar Osmanlı sosyal yapısını, düşünme şekillerini, Osmanlı insanının gündelik sıkıntılarını, inançlarını, korkularını, ve sevinçlerini bu sözlü geleneğe yabancı büyüyen kuşaklara tanıtan en önemli kaynaklardan biridir.

Adler ve Ramsay’nin derlediği masalların kahvehane ortamında anlatılmış olmasının dışında elimizde masallarla ilgili detaylı bilgi bulunmamaktadır. İstanbul’un hangi semtindeki kahvehanelerde dinlendikleri, kimler tarafından anlatıldıkları ya da ne tür sohbetler sırasında anlatıldıkları bilinmemektedir. Önsözde Adler masallar “genellikle Arap veya Acem kökenlidir, ama Türk zihni onlara yeni bir biçim ve felsefe kazandırır”²¹ (s. 7) demiş ve masalları Arap, İran ve Türk üçgeninde değerlendirmemiz gerektiğini vurgulamıştır. Adler’in değindiği bir diğer kaynak ise Ermeni masallarıdır. Adler, kitaptaki iki masalın Ermeniceden çevrilmiş olduğunu söylese de hangi iki masal olduğunu belirtmemiştir. Önsözde üzerinde durduğu bir diğer önemli nokta ise masalların “hiçbir kitaptan veya yazılı

21 Adler ve Ramsay, 1898.

kaynaktan çevrilmemiş ve mümkün olduğunca anlatıldıkları gibi korunmalarına dikkat edilmiş” (s. 7) olmasıdır. Pek tabii ki bu göreceli bir yargıdır. Adler’in belirtmek istediği, derledikleri masalları yazılı bir kaynaktan değil de doğrudan anlatıcının ağzından öğrenmiş olduklarıdır. Yoksa elbette anlatıcı da bu masalları birilerinden duymuştur. Belki de anlatıcıdan çok önceki kuşaklar bu masalların metinlerini el yazmaları olarak yazıya geçirmiştir. İşte tam bu noktada Osmanlı kültürünün “hem sözle hem yazılı anlatımla” gelişmiş olduğunu savunan Mehmet Kalpaklı’nın Osmanlı kültürünü “sözel kültür” olarak tanımlamasına göndermede bulunmak gerekmektedir.²²

Francis McCullagh, 1914’teki Londra baskısının önsözünde, bu masalların yağmurlu ve fırtınalı gecelerde, soba ateşinin ışığında, yarı-han yarı-kahvehane olarak betimlenen mekanlarda anlatıldığı gibi bir de gündüz vakti, Musevinin de camii hocasının da, berberin de hamamcının da, polislin de dilencinin de uğradığı mahalle kahvelerinde anlatıldığını belirtmektedir²³ (s. xv). Anlatıldığı zamanın ve mekanın, masalların anlattığı zaman ve mekandan daha önemli olduğunu savunan McCullagh, bu masallarla tanışmanın en güzel yolunun aslında onları bir İstanbul kahvehanesinde Türk bir anlatıcının dilinden dinlemek olduğunu altını çizmektedir (s. xxix).

Genel hatlarıyla, Adler ve Ramsay’nin derlediği, daha sonra Francis McCullagh ve Ramsay’nin uzun bir önsöz ile tekrar basımını yaptığı bu masalların kahramanları çok çeşitlidir. Günde beş kez şeytana lanet eden demirci ustası, Musevi dönmesi Müslüman, emanet aldığı paranın siyah zeytinlere dönüştüğünü söyleyen Yahudi komşu, domuzuyla konuşabilen Papaz, padişahın baş müneccimi ayak-kabı tamircisi, cennetten arazi satan müftü, Yahudi tefeci, Hıristiyan köyündeki açgözlü Türk seyyah, kurnaz kadın, adaletsiz kadı, düzenbaz uşak, rüşvetçi şeytan, Yahudi tarafından dolandırılan Ermeni tüccar, karısını dayakla iyileştiren çiftçi bunlardan bazılarıdır. Masalarda ortak bir konu mevcut değildir. Masalların konuları, kadın ve erkeğin farkı, ticari ilişkilerde güven ve dini ilişkilerde maneviyat gibi çok genel çerçeveler içine yerleştirilebilir. Kadın ve erkek ilişkilerinde kadının keskin zekaya sahip olması, kurnazlığı, ama aynı zamanda diline sahip olamayıp boşboğazlık etmesi, boşboğazlığı nedeniyle kocasını konu komşuya rezil etmesi, kadının gözünün yükseklerde olması, şana, şöhrete ve paraya düşkün olması ve

22 Mehmet Kalpaklı. “Evlıya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi ve Osmanlı Kültürünün Sözellıği / İşitselliği”, *Evlıya Çelebinin Sözlü Kaynakları*, Ankara: Unesco Türkiye Milli Komisyonu Yayınları, 2013: 85-90.

23 McCullagh ve Ramsay, 1914.

fazla meraklı olması masallarda yer alan kadın karakterlerin özelliklerindedir. Ticari ve komşuluk ilişkilerinde işlenen en göze çapan temalar güven duyup duymamak, yalan söylemek, dolandırmak ve açgözlü olmak olarak sıralanmaktadır. Maneviyat ilişkilerindeki ana temalar ticari ilişkilerdeki temalarla çok benzerlik göstermektedir. Cennetten dönüm satarak masum insanları kandıran müftünün ve çöpçünün hayatı boyunca biriktirdiği paranın üstüne yatan adaletsiz kadının hikayeleri din adamlarının dahi dürüstlük ve adalet yolunda gitmediklerini vurgulamaktadır. Farklı din ve milletten karakterlerin aralarındaki anlaşmazlıklar birçok masala konu olurken, masalların bütünü göz önüne alındığında belli bir din ve milletin devamlı olumsuz sıfatlarla resmedilmesi söz konusu değildir. Yani, Musevi, bir masalda dolandırıcı komşuyu canlandırırken, bir diğerinde dolandırıcı müftünün oyununa gelen tefecidir. Birbirine çok da zıt olmayan örneklemeler olsa da bir masalda suçluyken diğerinde mağdur olmaktadır. Genel hatlarıyla masalların kıskançlık, aldatma, parasızlık, geçim derdi, güvensizlik, aç gözlülük, adaletsizlik, kurnazlık gibi dünyevi konularla ilgili olduğu söylenebilir.

29. Hikaye: “How The Hodja Saved Allah”

Son olarak, 1890-1891’de İstanbul’da bir kahvehanede muhtemelen bir Türk’ün ağzından dinlenen, 1898’de *Told in the Coffee House* kitabıyla New York’ta okunan, 1914’te *Tales From Turkey* kitabıyla bu kez de Londra okuyucusuyla buluşan, ama, maalesef ki 2012 yılında *İstanbul 1898 Kahvehane Hikayeleri* basılırken dillendirildiği dile, yani Türkçeye çevrilmemiş, unutulmuş, sansürlenmiş bir masaldan söz etmek isterim; *How the Hodja Saved Allah* (Hoca Allah’ı Nasıl Kurtardı). *İstanbul 1898 Kahvehane Hikayeleri* 28 hikaye olarak basılmıştır. Halbuki orijinal hali, yani *Told in the Coffee House: Turkish Tales* kitabı 29 hikayeden oluşmaktadır. Kitabın orijinal halinde ilk masal olan *How the Hodja Saved Allah* kitabın çevirisinde hiç yer almamıştır. Yayınevi tarafından mı yoksa çevirmen tarafından mı bu masalın çeviri kitaba dahil edilmesi sakıncalı bulunmuştur bilinmemektedir; ancak şu aşıkardır ki, kitabın çevirisini yapan Maya Kitap ve Sabri Kalıç ile kitabın tanıtımını yapan gazete-dergi yazıları kitabın orijinalini kaynak göstermek nezaketinde bulunmamışlar ve 29 masaldan birini tamamen unutulmaya bırakmışlardır.

How the Hodja Saved Allah hikayesi bir camii hocasının bir gün öğrencilerine Bakara suresinin 261. ayetini okurken “ilahi bir gücün hocanın manevi gözünü açması” ile başlar²⁴ (s. 2). Bakara suresinin 261. ayeti şöyle buyurmaktadır:

24 Adler ve Ramsay, 1898.

“Mallarını Allah yolunda harcayanların durumu, yedi başak bitiren ve her başakta yüz tane bulunan bir tohum gibidir. Allah dilediğine kat kat verir. Allah lütfu geniş olandır, hakkıyla bilendir”²⁵ (Birebir tercümesi olmasa da Adler ve Ramsay de hikayede Bakara suresininin 261. ayetine yer vermişlerdir). Yaşadığı aydınlanma sonucu hoca, Allah yolunda harcanan her kuruşun katbekat geri geleceğini ve bunun çok karlı bir yatırım olacağını düşünür. Bugüne kadar yüzlerce kez okuduğu bu ayetin anlamını gözden kaçırdığı için hayıflanılan hoca, öğrencilerini evlerine gönderir göndermez sokağa çıkıp elindeki tüm parasını fakir ve muhtaç insanlara dağıtır. Hesaplamalarına göre Allah’ın yoluna yaptığı yatırım hocaya 1000 kuruştan az kazandırmayacaktır.

1000 kuruşun heyecanıyla hoca öğrencileriyle derslerini bile iptal ederek paranın gelmesini evinde beklemeye başlar. Ancak Allah’ın ona sözünü verdiği 1000 kuruştan haber yoktur. Üçüncü günün sonunda hocanın elinde hiç para, evinde de hiç yiyecek kalmamıştır. Aç ve parasız hoca ümitsizce şehirden uzaklaşıp kimsenin onu duyamayacağı ıssız bir yerde Allah’a yakarmaya, kaderine lanet etmeye başlar. Tam da o sırada uzun saçlı, korkutucu, feryatları yeri göğü inleten “Fakir Derviş” görünür. Hoca, başına gelenler yetmezmiş gibi bir de Fakir Dervişe yakalanıp canından olmak istemez ve hemen bir ağacın üzerine çıkıp saklanır ve Allah’a ona yardım etmesi için yalvarmaya başlar. Derviş kendi kendine

Neden dünyaya geldim ki? Atalarım neden dünyaya geldi ki? Neden insanoğlu dünyaya geldi ki? Of Allahım, of Allahım! İnsanoğluna ıstıraptan başka bir şey vermedin. Atalarımın çektiği ıstırapın intikamını ben almalıyım²⁶ (s. 6).

demekte ve hoca bunları dinlemektedir. Derken, Derviş çantasını açar, ve içinden sırayla Hz. Eyyub, Hz. Davud, Hz. Süleyman, Hz. İsa ve Hz. Muhammed’in figürlerini çıkartır. Sonsuz sabırla insanlığa örnek olan Hz. Eyyub’u insanları kandırmakla ve görüldüğü gibi sabırlı olmayıp zor anında Allah’a lanet etmekle suçlayan Derviş, Hz. Eyyub’un figürünü eline alıp uzun kılıcıyla kafasını keser. Derviş, sesinin güzelliğiyle ünlü Hz. Davud’un insanları, faziletli ve dürüst bir hayat süren karşılığını muhakkak alacaktır diyerek kandırdığını, cinler ve yer-yüzündeki yaşayan her türlü canlıyla konuşabildiğine inanılan Hz. Süleyman’ın ise insanlara ıstırap ve yıkımdan başka bir şey getirmediğini ileri sürerek onların

25 Halil Altuntaş ve Muzaffer Şahin. *Kur’an-ı Kerim Meali*, Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2006.

26 Adler ve Ramsay, 1898.

figürlerinin de kafalarını keser. Sonrasında da, Hz. İsa ve Hz. Muhammed'in anlatılarının insanları birbirine kırdırıldığını, bu kıyımların nehirlerin suyunun kan kırmızı akmasına yol açıldığını ve dünyada barış ve huzurun kalmadığını gerekçe gösteren Derviş onların da figürlerini eline alıp kafalarını keser.

Son olarak, Derviş çantasından bir figür daha çıkartır. Bu figürün, her şeyin tek yaratıcısı olan Allah olduğunu vurgular ve onunla konuşmaya başlar. Yaptıkları yanlışlar ve insanlığa kötü örnek oldukları gerekçesiyle sırasıyla Hz. Eyyub, Hz. Davud, Hz. Süleyman, Hz. İsa ve Hz. Muhammed'i cezalandırdığını söyleyen Derviş, cezalandırılma sırasının bu peygamberlerin yaratıcısına geldiğini belirtir. Derviş tam da kılıcını çıkartıp savuracakken hoca bütün cesaretini toplayıp saklandığı yerden “dur, dur, onun bana 1000 kuruş borcu var” (s. 11) diyerek çıkar. Hocanın yüksek sesinden irken ve korkan derviş olduğu yere yığılıp kalır. Hoca, Dervişin ölmüş olduğunu anlar ve karnı o kadar açtır ki Derviş'in para kesesinden para alıp uzaklaşmak ister. Keseyi eline aldığı anda ağır olduğunu fark eder ve Derviş'in parasını sayar. Kesede tam 1000 kuruş vardır. Hoca nüktedan bir tavırla “ey Allahım, sözünü tuttun, bana 1000 kuruşumu verdin, ama bunu senin hayatını kurtardıktan sonra yaptın” (s. 12) diyerek evinin yolunu tutar.

KİTÂBİYAT / BOOK REVIEWS

Noel Malcolm,

Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in The Sixteenth Century Mediterranean World,

London: Allen Lane, 2015, xxv+604 pp., ISBN 978-019-0262-78-5.

Noel Malcolm's exhaustively researched new book on several generations of the Albanian Bruni family will no doubt receive a good deal of attention from historians of Catholic Europe and the Counter-Reformation, and deservedly so. But Ottoman historians should read it as well. In vivid and elegant prose, Malcolm gives us the best account I have seen yet of the Ottoman conquest of the Albanian world, as well as a fine-grained study of cross-border relations and Ottoman diplomacy at work, both in the region and in Istanbul.

As he tells us in the Preface, the idea for the book took shape more than twenty years ago while reading a sixteenth-century Italian text on the Ottoman Empire. There was a reference to a treatise written by a certain Antonio Bruti who was identified as an Albanian. This was a thrilling moment for Malcolm because "[h]ere was a reference to a text about (or at least partially about) Albania, written by an Albanian – something of special significance to those who study the history of that country, since it would appear to be the first ever work of its kind by a named Albanian author." (p. xvii)

Thus began a hunt for the traces left by Antonio Bruti in the historical record, a hunt that ended up uncovering a number of prominent individuals, all of whom were members of either the Bruni or the Bruti family, the latter having married into the former. Over the course of the sixteenth century the family could boast of, among others, a knight of the Order of St. Mark for services rendered to Venice, a Knight of Malta, an Archbishop and a servant in the entourage of Sultan Murad III. Given their remarkable history, Malcolm decided to write his book as a “collective biography” and to use that biography “as a framework on which to build some broader, more thematic accounts of East-West relations and interactions in this period.”

Malcolm’s lengthy study is divided into twenty two chapters and an Epilogue. The book moves chronologically, beginning with the Ottoman advance into the western Balkans in the fifteenth century and concluding with the Long War of 1593-106. Various members of the Bruni family figure prominently in the tumultuous events of these one hundred and fifty years and many of the chapters are organized around one particular individual. Others are of a more general nature and serve to move the narrative along.

The book opens with the Ottoman conquest of Albania, viewed from the then Venetian town of Ulcinj (Dulcigno) in today’s Montenegro, because it is there that the family’s story begins. Malcolm does this throughout, weaving together the history of the region with the family’s history; this makes for a text that is more engaging than most academic writing and no doubt explains why a book about a sixteenth century Albanian family has been reviewed, and reviewed very positively, by publications such as *The Times Literary Supplement*.

Ottomanists will appreciate his synthetic narrative of the arrival of the sultan’s armies since, outside of the rebellion of Skanderbeg, Albania in this early period usually gets short shrift. The northern/southern divide is key in Malcolm’s account. Most of the country’s ports clustered towards the northwest and were strongly oriented towards Venice. In Shkodër, Lezhë and Durrës the largely Catholic, Italian-speaking population fled, either to Venice itself or to other towns in the Venetian Adriatic, and these towns became majority Muslim. Vlorë, in the south was different. There the Greek-Orthodox residents surrendered and urban life was far less disrupted. The city remained majority Christian into the Ottoman period and a number of Spanish Jews settled there as well. More generally, mostly peaceful conditions prevailed in southern Albania under the new masters

while the Ottoman advance “was more traumatic for the northern half of Albania than for almost any other part of the Balkans.” (p. 16) This, he suggests, was not because the Ottomans adopted harsher policies towards the north. Rather, the flight of most of the commercially active population combined with the drawn-out wars of resistance to devastate local society.

The Bruni and Bruti families were among those who fled from the sultan’s armies over the course of these decades, ending up in Ulcinj just across the border. But flight did not mean the cutting of ties with their ancestral cities. Malcolm begins his story of the family with Antonio Bruti, who was born in Lezhë in 1518 and moved to Ulcinj when he was nineteen, under pressure, it seems, from the Ottomans. Arriving during the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1537-1540, Bruti was immediately given a ship and sent to report on Ottoman ship movements along the coast. Charmingly, this activity had a name; he was sent to “*pigliar lingua*,” literally “to take tongue (p. 37), which involved landing on the coast and questioning local sailors and fishermen about conditions. It seems he also took the opportunity to buy a good deal of Albanian grain. After the war ended he continued his services, including negotiations with local Ottoman officials, becoming, in Malcolm’s words, “a negotiator, local diplomat and all-purpose ‘fixer.’” (p. 38) Indeed, far from breaking with the Ottoman Balkans, Bruti’s value lay precisely in his ability to operate on both sides of the border.

Antonio Bruti lost his life in 1571 when the Ottomans seized Ulcinj, and subsequent chapters move on to his brothers-in-law. Giovanni Bruni was in attendance at the Council of Trent as the Archbishop of Bar and Gasparo Bruni became a Knight of Malta. One of the things that the books shows very well is how many opportunities there were for well-connected Catholics in this sixteenth-century world, both within the world of Catholic politics as well as across the eastern Mediterranean. Like Antonio, Gasparo became a key figure in the transmission of information across political and religious boundaries. No sooner was he inducted into the Order of St. John than he was sent to Dubrovnik (Ragusa) to await letters from informants in Istanbul. Malcolm takes this opportunity to describe the extraordinary events that took place in the city just before Gasparo’s arrival. A commander of the fortress at Barletta, in Spanish held Italy, went to Istanbul and converted to Islam. He then promptly turned around and denounced the Ragusans for sending intelligence reports to Naples, something which he knew all about since his own father was a vital part of this chain. (p. 96) The authorities at

Ragusa immediately put a complete (if temporary) halt to all intelligence-gathering in the city. The book is full of such vivid anecdotes, which marvelously convey this connected world stretching from Istanbul to the Italian peninsula.

One story in particular has already been mentioned more than once in other reviews of this book and I must give it here too. Not only is it dramatic; it is also a particularly dazzling example of the assiduous research undergirding this book. In the run up to the battle of Lepanto, the Ottomans seized Bar and Giovanni Bruni was enslaved. Despite his high status, the Ottomans decided to humiliate him, because he had passionately opposed the city's surrender, by making him a galley slave. Thus he participated in the famous battle as a rower on an Ottoman ship. He survived the battle but not its aftermath. In the wake of the Ottoman defeat, victorious Christian soldiers poured onto the Ottoman galleys, looking for loot. But not only that, they actually killed Christian captives in order to rob them of what little they had. From a report compiled by the Vatican after the events, we learn that Giovanni Bruni was among their victims, even though he shouted "I'm a bishop, I'm a Christian." (p. 168) As if that weren't wrenching enough, Malcolm's meticulous reconstruction of the battle strongly suggests that Giovanni's brother, Gasparo, was less than a hundred yards away, commanding his own galley, when his brother died. (p. 169)

In the wake of the war, the Bruni/Bruti families relocated to Koper, in the north-eastern corner of the Adriatic. Their services to the Ottomans, the Venetians and now the Spanish, continued. By the mid 1570s Bartolomeo Bruti, a member of the next generation, was a Spanish spy resident in Istanbul. Their story goes all the way up to the Long War, 1593-1606, when we find Benedetto, the son of Antonio whose treatise started Malcolm on his long quest, assisting the Habsburg Ambassador in Istanbul. Prior to that he had spent time in Moldavia, acquiring a position at the voivod's court as well as property in the province.

Malcolm's book comes to an end in the 1590s, with a wave of deaths in the Bruno and Bruti families. Some of their descendants would go on to have illustrious careers of their own "but theirs is a different story." (p. 430) Considering that both families continued in some ways, it would have been interesting to have Malcolm's thoughts, however brief, on how their descendants story was different. In the 17th century how did the world change for these Albanian Catholics, hanging on at the edges of the Ottoman and Catholic worlds? But

perhaps that is too much to ask in what is already a very long and thorough study.

I have already mentioned the contributions that Malcolm has made to Ottoman history. Let me conclude with one more. Although Malcolm's book is structured in the decidedly old-fashioned form of a *histoire événementielle*, his keen observations of the Ottoman borderlands are very much in line with recent trends in Ottoman diplomatic history, as well as diplomatic history more generally. For a long time historians emphasized a radical divide between Europe and the Ottoman Empire; the former established embassies in Istanbul while the Ottomans did not do the same in Europe. Therefore, it was pronounced, the Europeans engaged in diplomacy and the Ottomans did not. Then, all sorts of essentialist statements about the Ottomans – their insularity, their commitment to an eternal *jihad* and so on and so forth – were piled on top of the discussion about embassies. More recently, scholars have begun to develop the concept of “vernacular diplomacy” which, among other things, shifts the focus from official diplomatic channels and offices to the many informal diplomatic actors who operated in diverse networks of contact and exchange, including on the borders. Malcolm's book is full of these people. There are, of course, the Brunis and the Brutis themselves but the Ottomans also appear. For example, when writing about Dubrovnik we think first of the tribute which this city had to send to the Ottomans. But “the registers of the city council record a regular flow of gifts from the Ottoman side.” (p. 40) The voyvoda of Trebinje sent livestock and cheese, the emins of Vlorë delivered carpets and two sets of horse's harnesses; even a feared corsair captain, Kara Hoca, sent a carpet to Dubrovnik. (p. 40) In the last ten years or so, in fact, enough has been written on Ottoman vernacular diplomacy that perhaps it is time to convene a conference to bring everyone – from the Adriatic to the Kurdish tribal zones – together. Noel Malcolm's outstanding book makes it clear that the Bruni family deserves to be there.

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Mohammad Gharipour and Nilay Özlü (eds.),

The City in the Muslim World: Depictions by Western Travel Writers, Culture and Civilization in the Middle East

Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2015, 332 pp.,

ISBN 978-113-8842-62-5.

The question of space and place's relevance has slowly been gaining momentum in historiography for several years now. To an increasing extent, historians, especially those in the field of urban history, are asking questions inspired by their colleagues in geography and philosophy departments. The volume currently under review is an interesting addition to this body of work; yet it is also very much situated in the academic debate on Orientalism and 'Islamic cities'. As the editors rightfully indicate, much of this discussion has unfortunately ignored the urban locality of these cities. The editors aim to scrutinize the idea of the Islamic city through the lens of European travel writing, employing the term as a heuristic device to analyse how the cities of the 'Muslim world' were represented by travellers from Europe and America. Though it is obvious that employing terms such as 'Islamic city' and 'Muslim world' is problematic, the authors convincingly argue that the categories are vital both to understanding the context of European travel writing on 'the Muslim World' and further problematizing the idea of Orientalism as a homogeneous project of representing 'the West's' most significant 'Other'. The volume covers a broad array of geographies – from North Africa to the Indian subcontinent – through the lenses of travellers from Europe and the United States between the eleventh and twentieth century.

The book is subdivided in 12 essays which all include a number of illustrative pictures of reasonable quality. The first chapter, written by Mohammad Gharipour and Manu P. Sobti, provides an excellent account on tent cities in medieval travel writing. The authors analyse the duality of what they metaphorically, yet also quite literally, describe as the 'marriage between the tent and the palace'. They argue that the sedentarizing nomads made the conscious decision to incorporate the culture of the tent city in their urban surroundings, which had a notable and very visible effect on urban culture and space. The encampment functioned as a vessel of transference from a nomadic to a sedentary realm. One of the striking findings the authors present is the radical difference between the observations of local historians and travel writers. Contrary to the former, the travel writers from

the western world considered nomadic elements as a mere curiosity in comparison to contemporary developments in Europe.

Felicity Ratté discusses in the second chapter the perceptions of Cairo by two fourteenth-century Italians, Niccolò da Poggibonsi and Leonardo di Niccolò Frescobaldi. The author analyzes written and visual material of these Italian travellers in order to comprehend how they understood their surroundings in Cairo. What is striking about this chapter is that it discusses the period that predates a ‘common Orientalism’ and concludes, based on the accounts of Niccolò and Leonardo, that rather than looking to distinctly ‘othering’ the city, the travellers are focusing on the elements in the urban landscape which make sense to them. The author argues that both of them give the impression that they felt a familiarity with the urban atmosphere of Cairo. As the author indicates, their sources provide an apt illustration of the level of cultural integration of societies around the Mediterranean. At no point do they refer to the city as fundamentally different from their own respective urban frame of reference.

The third chapter, by Mehreen Chida-Razvi, is centred around the question of how European travellers to Mughal cities represented the importance of these cities in their home countries. The Mughal court travelled along with the emperor between Delhi, Agra and Lahore, all three being imperial capitals. The author aims to bring attention to the apparent lack of discussion on Lahore in the travel accounts of European travellers, particularly in comparison to the accounts of their Mughal contemporaries. Three issues were presented as possible explanations: the asymmetry in the discussion of the urban landscape might be explained through the attention Europeans attached to the Lahore Fort, which they perceived as the representation of the emperor’s political power. Secondly, Lahore was harder to frame as an Islamic city by the European travellers due to its heterogeneous religious and cultural reality. Another possible presented explanation is the travellers’ intentions: they came to the Mughal Empire for attempts to convert locals, most notably the Mughal emperor. It would have been interesting and clarifying if the author had elaborated a bit further on the second and third argument, including a reflection on Agra and Delhi vis-à-vis Lahore.

Stefan Peychev in the fourth chapter discusses the descriptions by Western travellers of Sofia, with particular attention to its public baths and in comparison to Ottoman authors. Peychev tackles the Western perception of Sofia as an Oriental city, despite the fact that the city was in the European continent and its public

baths were part of its urban landscape since Roman times. The baths functioned as an image, if not the city's image. Through four centuries, the author observes how European travellers 'othered' the city, though the process of representing the city as the 'other' evolved through history. Both on the local level and the level of the 'Islamic world' the author reveals how regional diversity and transformation challenges the understanding of categories such as 'Islamic world' and 'Islamic cities'.

In the fifth chapter Jørgen Mikkelsen analyses the expedition to the Islamic world – covering Egypt, the Levant, Anatolia, the Arabic peninsula, Persia and the West coast of the Indian subcontinent – by the Danish scholar Carsten Niebuhr between 1761 and 1767. The author argues that Niebuhr was an unusual person in the history of science due to his capacity to carefully describe localities and his 'remarkable empathy'. Niebuhr's strategy was to provide new findings to the existing knowledge on the Orient. Mikkelsen's main conclusion is that Niebuhr was an empiricist who did not align with his contemporaries who considered Arabs to be either people to be brought to the level of European civilization, or as 'noble savages' whose supposed positive traits were employed to criticize European societies. Niebuhr rather chose to perceive them as morally no better or worse than Europeans.

The author of the sixth chapter, Renia Paxinou, analyses the representation of Jannina in textual and pictorial sources – written accounts, maps, paintings and engravings – in the period of Ali Pasha's reign, i.e. 1788-1822. She describes how Western visitors perceived Jannina as the entrance to an exotic and uncivilized Orient. Pictorial and textual sources were produced to further substantiate ideas on what the Orient was, with Jannina featuring in the paradigm as an Oriental city, trapped between the mountains and ruled over by a despot. Within that context the author rightfully concludes that this is a challenging categorization; the Ottoman Balkans is a sub-category within both the Ottoman Empire and the 'Islamic world'. Jannina is even more problematic in that context as it had been and remained to be a predominantly Christian Greek city.

In chapter 7, Nilay Özlü investigates the changing representation of the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, based on the accounts of several European and American travellers. She reveals how the act of travelling and travellers themselves have evolved over time, coinciding with changing perceptions of the palace; from a bulwark of power and seclusion to a tourist spectacle. In one of the more theoretically engaging contributions of this volume she argues that the travellers were not only transferring the transformation

of the palace's position in the empire and courtly culture, but also were active contributors in the process of place making for the Topkapı palace.

In Chapter 8, Valérie Géonet covers the chronological evolution of travellers' discourse on Arabs and Jews in Palestine, focusing on their perceptions of urban space. Through an analysis of 64 accounts written between 1799 and 1948, the author reaches the conclusion that there were mainly two representations of urban planning in Palestine. Christian towns were framed in a positive fashion, whereas Muslim towns were negatively framed between 1800 and 1917. From that period onward, incoming Europeans started to sympathize with Zionists and gave positive representations of their towns. Géonet argues that religious and ethnic backgrounds influenced the travellers' descriptions of the Palestine urban space. What was civilized and what was not was determined by the travellers' ethnocentrism, most of them from French descent. The idea of Western colonization was relayed from being a French effort to a European Zionist effort.

The volume continues with chapter 9 by Marie-Sofie Lundström who discusses the visual representation of the urban landscape by two Finnish painters. The author analyses how Hugo Backmanson and Oscar Parviainen painted Tunis as a stage to their pictorial representations of the 'Muslim city'. They employed strategies to transmit objectivity, i.e. signing with time and place, or painting specific elements of the 'Muslim' locale. The goal, however, was not to provide a truthful rendition of the Tunisian urban landscape, but rather a pictorial pastiche which could be sold as an appealing souvenir which would invoke a romantic and nostalgic longing for the past, described by Lundström as a response to the negative aspects of modernity.

Chapter 10 by M. Reza Shirazi investigates Tehran in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century through the lenses of European travel writers. The author argues that the consequence of the city's westernization was that it developed into a bipolar city in which the old city and the newly built quarters represented the typical Persian cityscape and a European one respectively. It provides an interesting case demonstrating the effects that Tehran's additional cityscape had on the representation of European travellers. Shirazi shows that the travellers concluded that there was a deep division in the city. The city's duality, represented as the 'old Orient' and the 'new Occident' in the old and new part of the city, made Tehran particularly interesting for European travellers and left a strong imprint on the way they described the city in their accounts.

Michelle H. Craig analyses the case of travel photographer Burton Holmes' narration of Fez through the lenses of his camera. Craig argues that Holmes

upheld old Orientalist stereotypical representations on the Islamic city for Fez in order to appeal to American audiences. The chapter shows how Orientalism can be constructed by means of photography, in many ways similar to the way Orientalist representations have been used in texts. Holmes' work can be considered to attract interest to a romantic escapism while it can also be seen as a celebration of American modernity.

The final chapter by Davide Deriu discusses, in combination with reports from *The Times* newspaper, the views of four British travel writers, two from the 1920s and the other two between the late 1930s and early 1940s. Deriu convincingly shows how Ankara in the early republican era brought further disorder to already heterogenic representations of the Orient and Islamic cities. Although the author acknowledges the multiplicity of opinions in his sources, he does show that there is continuity in the argumentation on Ankara, particularly with regard to contrasting Old and New. More important according to Deriu is Atatürk, who appeared to be emblematic to the city's development. In conclusion, Deriu argues that the act of recognizing Ankara's modernism by the West in fact may well be perceived as an example of an enduring Orientalist tendency towards discursive colonization.

The editors have aimed to bring together essays which investigate the relation between individuals and their urban surroundings. A second common objective of the editors and authors is to show how the Islamic city as a category is used by travellers. Finally, they aim to reveal how multi-dimensional and complex the travel literature is in general and in the context of travelling in the 'Muslim World' in particular. Although it seems – and it is – a daunting task to compile a volume which provides critical analysis on so many fronts, its authors have been successful at providing a cross section of geographies, temporalities and travellers' descent. A consequence of the volume's scope is that both the relation between the editors' theoretical framework and the contributions of some of the authors on the one hand and the coherence among the essays on the other may seem somewhat diffuse. Nevertheless, at large its scope is a significant merit and an impressive attempt to capture the multiplicity of travel writing on the urban spaces of the 'Muslim world'. On the practical side, the book's availability as an ebook is an advantage, especially considering the price of the volume's hardcover edition.

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Isabella Lazzarini,

Communication and Conflict: Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350-1520

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, ix+326 pp.,

ISBN 978-019-8727-41-5.

Isabella Lazzarini offers a new take on the issue of modern diplomacy's emergence in late medieval Europe. Following the basic tenets of new diplomatic history, her account carefully scrutinizes the evolution of diplomatic interactions in Italy through what she calls the long Quattrocento. In her presentation of a multilayered and multifaceted diplomacy, she espouses a revisionist approach against the traditional historiography which sees diplomacy within the grand narrative of modern state's emergence and places its roots firmly in the mid-fifteenth century, taking Florence as its case-study. Criticizing the established historiography's obsession with formality, neglect of social and cultural aspects of diplomacy, and reduction of diplomatic agency to state actors and to the official ambassador, Lazzarini depicts diplomacy as a flexible political activity in which negotiation, information-gathering, representation and communication interacted in accordance with political and cultural transformation of power and authority. Moreover, she offers a more extended time period and a wider geographical and political framework. She accentuates a gradual and far-from-linear process of adaptations and appropriations that took place between 1350 and 1520, thus defying the traditional historiography's focus on a mid-fifteenth century turning-point. Moreover, she covers a wider geography by including Italians' diplomatic interactions with the Christian West and the Levant. Finally, she opposes the historiography's exclusivist tendency to study diplomacy only within the formal framework of authority and power and offers a more nuanced picture in which different political forces, including a myriad of non-state actors, interact in complex patterns of conflict and negotiation.

The work that outlines the processes and developments in diplomacy in its infancy consists of Four Parts, each divided into three chapters. Part I gives a general framework. Chapter One provides a map of diplomatic actors and accentuates the multiple layering of daily negotiations as well as the fluidity of boundaries between diplomacy and politics, or in other words, between international and internal spheres of politics. Moreover, the chapter points to a structural flexibility

that would gradually lessen in the second half of the fifteenth century with the appearance of a hierarchy of polities; a flexibility that refuses another rigid boundary between “formal” and “informal” and considers other actors such as cities, condottieri, rural communities, great prelates, etc. as diplomatic players. Chapter Two draws attention to the multiple origins, polygenesis, of modern diplomacy, a product of the merging of different models and different traditions. She rejects a linear and ubiquitous progression from ad-hoc to permanent diplomacy and criticizes the idea of a diplomatic revolution with an exclusive focus on resident diplomacy, central governments and formal ambassadors. Instead, she proposes a more flexible system which still included informal and traditional forms and developed in interaction with local conditions and specific circumstances. The figure of the ambassador, on which the exigencies of everyday negotiations imposed an inevitable decision-making autonomy as well as a high public status, emerged gradually during the long Quattrocento, in a process of trial and error in which different types of envoys were used for different types of missions. Chapter Three covers the sources under scrutiny, the documents that proliferated as a result of intensified diplomatic activity: first and foremost ambassadorial letters, but also other types of sources, not necessarily issued from the chanceries, such as histories, travel journals, memoirs and treatises.

Part II concentrates on diplomacy as a political action. Chapter Four deals with the issue of information, i.e. news, rumors and speculations which became part-and-parcel of modern diplomacy with the establishment of resident embassies. Continuous diplomatic negotiations required ambassadors to actively engage in gathering, verifying, classifying, distributing and manipulating information while decision-makers and chanceries had to figure out how to deal with a continuous flow of intelligence. Moreover, an emerging mistrust towards the increasingly available news, rumors and speculations created a paradoxical situation in which information fed suspicion rather than assuring decision-makers and thus deepened conflicts rather than solving them. Chapter Five deals with another, and perhaps the most important, aspect of diplomatic interaction: negotiation, a practice which underwent a major change from a highly formalized activity that concluded a conflictual relationship into a series of continuous verbal interactions or “dialogues”. This intensifying of diplomatic exchanges enhanced the scope of negotiations beyond the sphere of high politics, the realm of treaties and alliances; diplomats now had to reason, discuss, analyze and argue in order to deal with more “mundane” issues and take all sorts of private and collective

interests into account. Chapter Six focuses on the development of a complex system of communication networks between diplomatic actors with different status, legitimacy, and power. It analyzes a process whereby a dense web of diplomatic alliances slowly produced a hierarchy of polities in which minor powers were denied access to diplomatic circles that were increasingly dominated by a handful of major powers. This hierarchy was further strengthened by a shared discourse of diplomacy with a specific grammar and a common conceptual framework. These twin development of the emergence of complex communication networks and of a hegemonic group of major powers allowed the containment, if not the resolution, of conflicts through diplomatic negotiations at least until the French descent into Italy in 1494.

Part III investigates diplomacy as a flexible and adaptable practice. Chapter Seven studies the physiognomy of the agents of Renaissance diplomacy: their skills, education, geographical origin, social background, prerogatives, roles and the nature of their actions. The diplomatic “agency” is not limited to official ambassadors, but also extended to “occasional” (the author intentionally evades the term “informal”) diplomats such as clerics, condottieri, artists, scientists, physicians, merchants, bankers and all sort of economic agents and even to aristocratic women whose diplomatic function went at times beyond the maintenance of familial communication networks between dynasties. Chapter Eight scrutinizes the tension in diplomatic interactions between formality and ritual on the one hand and adaptation and improvisation on the other. It moreover adds that the formalization and the ritualization of diplomacy prioritized a visible language of pre-eminence which imposed the afore-mentioned hierarchy of polities by closing the door on several minor powers that could not compete in the game of precedence. Chapter Nine studies several different places in which negotiations took place: capital cities (a novel idea at the time), towns, villages, bathing sites, castles, palaces, squares, streets, rural villas, farms, gardens, hunting grounds, building sites, etc. As diplomatic events became more theatrical, the space attained a political meaning and use. The location and the spatial *mise-en-scène* orchestrated by governments not only conditioned the tenure, style and rules of diplomatic interactions but also strengthened the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion that promoted a rigid hierarchy of polities.

Part IV concentrates on the cultural processes tied to the changes in diplomacy and the emergence of an innovative political language of power and domination. Chapter Ten studies the discursive techniques which express, through words

and gestures, a new set of concepts that were increasingly gaining currency in long-Quattrocento diplomacy. Accentuating the intertwined nature of orality and writing, the author makes an important reminder that a dualistic view which prioritizes written over spoken communication or assumes a linear process whereby the former overtakes the other is simply flawed. She then analyzes the diplomats' strategic employment of words and their code-switching between talking, reading, and writing during diplomatic negotiations by scrutinizing each of these communication forms in detail. The sub-chapter on written forms contains an argument of cardinal importance that points to a change in the textual characteristic and the narrative style of diplomatic correspondence. As ambassadors grew more and more autonomous with the regularization and intensification of diplomatic negotiations, they started to develop an attentive eye on human behavior and social interactions and to use a more refined language.

In the most interesting chapter of the book, Lazzarini focuses on another type of code-switching in diplomatic interactions and analyzes the interplay between two discursive strategies that would appear at first sight at the opposite ends of the spectrum: argument and emotions. The author first demonstrates how developments repeated throughout the book –the endless flow of information, varying political circumstances and the continuous nature of diplomatic interactions, created a new language for political reasoning, inspired by Ciceronian rhetoric and employing a tight reasoning strategy to be used in public debate, whether in the internal or in the external sphere, in domestic or diplomatic settings. Concurrently, however, emotions started to appear in diplomatic dispatches more frequently and in a more sophisticated manner; diplomats started to use in refined sentences a larger collection of words that described emotions with a deeper meaning and intentionality, hinting at a new interest in human behavior and actively contributing to the development of an innovative diplomatic language.

The final chapter deals with a number of key elements of diplomatic interaction: languages, lexeis and gift-giving practices. It provides the reader with a linguistic map of European and Mediterranean diplomacy and deals with linguistic mediation through interpreters. Then, it tackles the issue of linguistic discrepancies between diplomats with different cultural origins. The increasing use of technical and cultural lexeis, as if the existence of different languages were not enough to complicate the negotiations between men with different cultural backgrounds, might have created ambiguities that were proven hard to overcome. But they also provided a common background, such as a shared

language like Latin or a common literary genre like poetry, that facilitated negotiations, especially between unequal negotiation partners. The chapter ends with an analysis of gift-giving, an issue long discussed by diplomatic and cultural historians. Casting her nets wider and accepting immaterial goods as gifts as well, Lazzarini shows the multiple functions of strategically conveyed gifts in diplomatic interaction.

Lazzarini's work is about nuances and fine points, depicting a complex picture and challenging simplistic explanations and rigid dichotomies (formal vs. informal, official vs. unofficial, internal vs. international, oral vs. written). It is an essential corrective to the traditional approach to Renaissance diplomacy that relies on an outdated bibliography and a teleological fine-tuning of facts so that they fit into the grand narrative of the birth of resident diplomacy. Over and over she takes issue with a linear understanding of history, one that sees an uninterrupted progress towards a more developed form of diplomacy. Her account is replete with details, pointing out to ruptures, discontinuities and contradictions, natural results of a complex process of trials and errors, conditioned by the contingencies and exigencies of international politics.

A prolific historian (in the bibliography, she includes 38 works of herself, excluding document compilations), Isabella Lazzarini scrutinizes every aspect of Renaissance diplomacy with carefully conveyed arguments that are supported by an impressive array of examples, testifying to her mastery of contemporary sources (after all she edited several of them). Non-experts might get lost among a myriad of states, politicians, soldiers and events cited in several examples throughout the book; moreover long quotations which skillfully nuances the characteristics of Quattrocento diplomacy runs at times the risk of wearing the reader. To make things more complicated, Lazzarini uses a heavy jargon. This is to a certain extent inevitable in a book that revises a well-entrenched historiography; one should not, therefore, assume that Lazzarini is one of those historians who invent complex words to endorse old arguments, adding few to what we already know without offering a fresh image. Her account is revisionist in content and unless you are quickly overwhelmed by massive amount of data and a heavy jargon, it is a very interesting read.

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Suraiya Faroqhi,

Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire: Employment and Mobility in the Early Modern Era,

London: I. B. Tauris, 2014, 320 pp., ISBN: 978-178-0764-81-8.

Suraiya Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire: Employment and Mobility in the Early Modern Era (Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Seyahat ve Zanaatkârlar: Erken Modern Çağda İstihdam ve Hareketlilik)* adlı kitabında, hareketlilik konusuna eğilmesinin nedeni olarak çokça seyahat etmesini göstermektedir. Ayrıca Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yer değiştirme, göç ve ticaret, kaçınılmaz bir şekilde hareketlilik konusunu ilgilidir (s. xi). Eserde bunu, ticaretin seyahat etmeksizin mümkün olamayacağı noktasından hareketle, 16. yüzyıl ve erken 17. yüzyıl boyunca yüzlerce Osmanlı tüccarı Yahudi, Müslüman ve Hristiyan'ın *Serenissima*'yı düzenli olarak ziyaret ettiğini (s. xi) ve ayrıca Balkan tüccarlarının Leipzig'deki panayirlara katıldığını söyleyerek örneklendirmektedir (s. xi).

Faroqhi'nin seyahat/hareketlilik konusuna odaklanmasının nedenleri arasında, Osmanlı yönetiminin uygulamış olduğu politikaları anlama ihtiyacı da vardır. Şöyle ki, Osmanlı yönetimi bir taraftan yer değiştirme vb. nedenlerle hareketliliği motive ederken (s. xv, xiii) diğer taraftan da tarımsal vergileri sekteye uğratacağı düşüncesiyle vergi veren kesimin yerinde kalmasını sağlayacak şekilde davranmaktaydı. Faroqhi, devletin hareketliliği teşvik veya tam tersi politikalarından başka, esnaf, tüccar gibi öznelerin kendi ihtiyaçları nedeniyle hareket ettiklerini belirtmektedir. Örneğin İstanbul'daki sebze ve sütçülerin kırsal kesime işlerini halletmek amacıyla seyahat ettikleri üzerinde durmaktadır (s. xv). Yazarın burada vurgulamak istediği, sultanların teb'alarının tüm aktivitelerini kontrol etmesinin mümkün olmadığı ve de elit olsun veya olmasın Osmanlı topraklarında inisiyatifi ele alarak seyahat edenlerin varlığıdır (s. xii-xiii).

Hikayesi Viyana'da başlayıp İstanbul'da biten *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire*, 3 ana, toplamda ise 14 alt bölümden oluşmaktadır. Kitabın 1., 2., ve 5. bölümleri Almanca, 4. bölümü Türkçe olarak yayımlanmış, fakat 9. ve 13. bölümler daha önce herhangi bir yerde yayımlanmamışlardır (s. viii). Bu kitabın Faroqhi'nin geniş alt yapısının bir ürünü olduğu kesindir. Bununla birlikte, son dönemlerde tahrir defteri, sefaretname, seyahatname, sicil, anı, günlük, kronik, risale, harita vs. üzerine yapılmış olan incelenmelerin sayısındaki artışın da kitabın doğuşunu hızlandırdığı aşikardır.

Daha detaylı bir inceleme yapmak gerekirse; kitabın 1. ve 2. bölümlerinin konularını, 18. yüzyılda Avrupa başkentlerini ziyaret eden Osmanlı elçileri ve onların yazdıkları oluşturmaktadır. 1. bölümde yazar, Osmanlı'nın diplomatik açıdan bilgi toplama ve kendi varlığını yabancı saraylarda hissettirme ihtiyacı içinde olduğunu, Zülfikâr Paşa, Seyfullah Ağa, Ebû Sehil Nu'mân Efendi, Mustafa Hattî, Ahmed Resmî ile Ebubekir Ratib Efendi'nin değerlendirmelerini dikkate alarak ifade etmektedir. Faroqhi, anlatılarının konjonktürel olduğunu söylemekle birlikte bu anlatıların, diplomatların farklı altyapılarının ve Avrupa'ya yapmış oldukları seyahat sıklıklarının etkisi altına kaleme alınmış olduklarını da belirtmektedir (s. 25). Bu gözle bakıldığında Faroqhi, dönemin tek tip bir sesi olmadığını da göstermiş olmaktadır.

2. bölümde yazar, Osmanlı elçilerinin seyahatlerine ve onların 18. yüzyılın Latin Avrupa'sının materyal kültürünü aktarmalarına yer vermektedir. Avrupa'daki materyal kültür ile kurumsal düzenlemeleri konu edinmekle birlikte (s. 31), 1720'de Fransa'ya gitmiş olan Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi'nin de anlatımlarına yer vermektedir. Ayrıca kitapta, meddah üslubuyla ve detaylı anlatımıyla bilinen Evliya Çelebi'nin deneyimlerine de rastlamak mümkündür (s. 33).

3. bölümün konusunu savaşlar, işkenceler ve sürgünlerden dolayı hareket halinde olanlar oluşturmaktadır; örneğin İspanya'dan Yahudiler ile Safevi İran'dan gelmiş olan Sünniler gibi. Yazar burada, Akdeniz dünyasındaki insanların seyahat etme nedenlerini sorgulamaktadır. Onların daha iyi bir yaşam arzusu veya dini özgürlük arayışı içinde olduklarını anlatmaktadır (s. 53). Bununla aslında, Avrupa ile Osmanlı arasındaki etkileşim ve ayrışma alanlarına dikkat çekmekte, bir bakıma her iki deneyimin de karmaşık süreçleri içerdiğini ve de ne homojen ne de izole olduklarını ortaya koymaktadır.

Bu bölüm, bireysel ilticalara yer vermesi bakımından da önem taşımaktadır. İltica edenler arasında Macaristan ve Transilvanya'dan gelen elitler vardır. Örneğin İsveç Kralı 12. Karl (Charles), Safevi bir prens ve de Kırım'daki Tatar aristokrasisinden bazı kişiler bulunmaktadır. Marquis de Bonneval veya bilinen diğer adıyla Humbaracı Ahmed Paşa, önce I. Leopold'un daha sonra ise Osmanlı'nın himayesine girmişti. Humbaracı ve daha üst düzey statüde olup himaye arayışında bulunanlara dikkat çeken yazar, erken modern dünyanın katı ideolojilerle yoğrulmamış bir dünya olduğunu göstermektedir.

4. bölümde, Evliya Çelebi'nin Kahire esnafını anlatımı üzerinde durmaktadır. Yazarın Evliya Çelebi'yi seçmesinin nedeni basittir. Evliya, dönemin esnafını

listelemiř ve yazmıř olduđu konular hakkında detaylıca betimlemelerde bulunmuřtur. Birçokları gibi Faroqi de, dnemin esnafı hakkında ilk Evliya'ya bakmaktadır (s. 64). 4. blmde hem Kahire'deki, hem diđer Osmanlı kentlerindeki ticareti, esnaf geidini, eđence sektrn, egzotik Őeyleri, tuhaflıkları, kahvehaneleri, sıra dıřı kiřilikleri, dilencileri, hayyl stdlarını anlatarak okuyucusunu karnavalistik bir kente seyahat ettirmektedir (s. 64-74).

5. blmde yazar, Venedik'i ziyaret eden hem elit hem de elit olmayan seyahatnı yazdıkları zerinden bir anlatı geliřtirmektedir. *Documenti Turchi* denilen ve Venedik devlet arřivinde yer alan bazı belgeler zerinden Osmanlı teb'asının endiřelerine dikkat ekmektedir (s. 85). Kısacası, Osmanlı brokrasisinin filtresinden gemeyen belgelerden yararlanarak kltrler arası iliřkilere, Osmanlı teb'ası ile Venedikliler arasında ortaya ıkan sorunlara eđilmektedir. Bu yolla farklı bakıř alarını ve farklı sesleri duyurmak amacındadır.

6. ve 11. blmlerin yer aldıđı 2. ana blmde ise yazarın zneleri daha belirgindir. Bu blmde Faroqi, hacılara, esnafa ve klelere yani elit olamayanlara odaklanmaktadır. Sıradan insanlar ile onların rettikleri nem kazanmaktadır.

2. ana blm detaylandırmak gerekirse: 6. blmde, 17. yzyıl Mekke'sinin sadece hacı ile anılmadıđını ifade eden yazar, dindarlık, riteller ve ekonomi zerinden bir Mekke yksnn geniř bir bađlama oturtulması gerekliliđi zerinde durmaktadır.

7. blmde, Bursa ve Bursa'daki kumař sektr zerinde durmaktadır. Bursa, yazarın daha nceki yazılarının genel bir zeti gibidir. Bursa'nın bir ticaret ve endstri merkezi olmasından ve insanların buradaki hareketliliđinden bahseden Faroqi, kentin İstanbul ve dnya piyasası aısından bir deđerlendirmesini yapmaktadır. Bu amala Bursa ipeđinin, İmparatorluk dıřından alıcılarını konu edinmektedir. Yazar bu blmde, pamuk endstrisi, ipek ticareti, ipekli giysiler, lonca yesi olanlar ile lonca yesi olmayan kadın iřilere yer vermektedir. Bursa'daki hareketlilik ve istihdam konuları kente geliř gidiřlerin srekli olmasıyla, bir bakıma ekonomik faaliyetlerin sıklıđıyla ifade edilmektedir. Yazar, bu hareketliliđi, rneđin dokuma ile boyama sektrlerinin aynı meknda olmaması zerinden rneklemektedir ve bylece iki mekn arasındaki geliř gidiřlerin nasıl sıradanlařtıđına dikkat ekmektedir.

8. blmde, 16. yzyıl ortasında ok da geliřmiř olmayan bir beldenin, řkdar'ın hikayesini anlatmaktadır. řkdar, Osmanlı bařkenti olan İstanbul'a aılan bir kapı olarak tasvir etmektedir (s. 118). 16. yzyıl ortalarında kk bir

yer olup zamanla büyümüş olan Üsküdar'ı, *Bilâd-ı Selâse*'nin diğer iki beldesi olan Galata ve Eyüp ile karşılaştıran yazar, Üsküdar'daki hareketliliğin aktörleri olan tüccarlar, himaye veya iş bulmak amacıyla gelenler, kaçak köleler, kayıkçılar, kartırcılar vb.'den bahsetmektedir (s. 128). Kısacası, Üsküdar'ın transit ve dolayısıyla hareketliliğiyle değişen/çeşitlenen bir yer olması üzerinden bir çeşit mikro tarihçilik icrası söz konusudur. Mikro düzeyde yapılan tarihçilikle Faroqhi, Osmanlı dünyasının ne kadar dinamik olduğunu gözler önüne sermektedir.

Kitabın 9. bölümünün konusu yine 16. yüzyıldaki Üsküdar'dır. Burada tema kölelik ve köleler olup, kaçak kölelerin durumları, kaçırılma hikâyeleri ve köle kadınların karşılaşmış oldukları zorluklar anlatılmaktadır. Yazar bu bölümde, köleliğin Osmanlı'ya has olmadığını, dünya tarihinin bir parçası olduğunu belirtmektedir. Böylece hem Osmanlı deneyimini hem de Osmanlı dışı deneyimleri normalleştirmektedir. Ayrıca, 16. yüzyılın Üsküdar'ında sanıldığığının aksine çoğunlukla Müslümanların yaşamadığını belirterek bugünün dünyasından farklı bir Osmanlı dünyası resmetmektedir.

10. bölümde yazar, 18. yüzyıl Tunus'undan İstanbul'a yapılan göçlere yoğunlaşmaktadır. Bu bölümde, kölelerin yerini 18. yüzyıl İstanbul'undaki Tunuslu fes satıcıları ile fesin Osmanlı'daki hikâyesi almaktadır. Kısacası Faroqhi, fes üretimi ile fesin nerelerde üretildiğine, nerelerde satıldığına değinerek hareketlilik ve seyahat konusunu İstanbul'a yerleşen Tunuslular üzerinden irdelemektedir (s. 154).

11. bölümde, 18. yüzyıla odaklanan yazar, sınırların kontrolünden ve Hotin kalesinin tamiri için gönderilen işçilerden bahsetmektedir. Çoğunluğu Hristiyan Arnavutlardan oluşan bu işçilerin, uzak bir kaleye gönderilmelerinin muhtemel nedeni, onların Osmanlı başkentine gelmesini engellemektir. Faroqhi bunu, onların nitelikli usta olamayacak kadar genç olmalarına bağlamaktadır. Dolayısıyla yazara göre, Hotin'e gönderilmelerinin ardında, asayiş sorununa çözüm aramak ve sınırların kontrolünü sağlamak yatmaktadır. Bu bölümde, aynı zamanda, devletin kontrol prosedürlerinin nasıl kimlik tanımlamaya yönelik olduğuna dikkat çekerek Osmanlı tarihçiliğinde son dönemlerde sıklıkla yer bulan bir konuya da vurgu yapmış olmaktadır.

3. ana bölümde ise, seyahatten çok buldukları hatta doğdukları yerde kalanlar üzerinde durulmaktadır. Yani madalyonun bir yüzünde hareketlilik varken diğer yüzünde hareketsizlik veya daha doğru bir deyimle mikro hareketlilik vardır. 12.-14. bölümlerden oluşan bu ana bölümün tamamında, 18. yüzyılın İstanbul'u ve İstanbul'un gündelik yaşamındaki mikro hareketlilikler yer bulmaktadır.

12. bölümde, İstanbul'da ikamet edenlerden bahsedilmektedir. Başkentte insanların yürüyerek veya tekneyle uzak mesafelere gidiş gelişleri detaylandırılmakta fakat birçoğunun çok da doğdukları kentin dışına çıkmadıkları vurgulanmaktadır. Örneğin esnaf, çıraklık, hatta ustalık dönemlerini aynı yerde/kentte geçirmekteydiler. Yazar, bir kentin sınırlarından çıkmadan yani ölene kadar aynı yerde yaşayanların da (s. 175) bir şekilde hareket halinde olduklarını abartıya kaçmadan ifade ederek, durağan olmayan bir toplumun varlığına işaret etmektedir.

Konu esnafın hareketliliği olunca yazar, ister istemez bir çeşit tekel olan ve bu niteliğiyle zanaat, ticaret, dükkân veya destgâh sayısını kısıtlayan gedik üzerinde durmaktadır. Bir başka ifadeyle, gediğin ne ölçüde İstanbul'daki hareketliliği engelleyip engellemediğini sorgulamaktadır (s. 182-83). Bu bölümde odak noktaları, Kapalıçarşı-Aksaray arası ile Fatih bölgesi ve Haliç alanı olmaktadır. Faroqhi, helvacıların yer aldığı bir listeyi baz alarak, o dönemdeki esnafın nerelerde toplanmış olabileceğini, kent trafiğinin ana arterlerini ve iletişim ağlarını ortaya koymak istemektedir. Neden helvacıların belli yerlerde yoğunlaştıklarını anlatmakla birlikte, bir çeşit müşteri profilini de ortaya çıkarmış olmaktadır. Eyüp, Galata, Üsküdar ve deniz kenarında daha küçük yerlerde açılan dükkânları betimleyen yazar, buralara nasıl gidilmiş olabileceğine dair okuyucusuna bir seyahat rehberi de sunmaktadır.

13. bölümde Faroqhi, esnafın bulunduğu yerdeki hareketlilik durumunu anlatmakla birlikte, İstanbul'daki kumaş sektörünü, o günün dünyasında mobilya kullanımının fazla olmaması açısından ele almaktadır. Talebin daha fazla yatak örtüleri, perdeler vs.'ye olduğunu göstermektedir (s. 188). Ayrıca nerelerde ucuz kumaş bulunmaktaydı veya talep daha çok nerelerden gelmekteydi gibi sorularına cevap aramaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, kurmuş olduğu empati ve hayal gücüyle kendi merak ettikleri üzerinden okuyucusunun merak edebileceklerini kestirebilmektedir. Sorularına bu yolla cevap bulmaya çalışmasının yanı sıra bu son bölümlerde Osmanlı esnafı çalışacak olanlara bir çeşit araştırma ajandası ve rehberi de sunmaktadır.

14. bölüm, III. Selim dönemi (1789-1807) İstanbul'una odaklanmaktadır. Gıda krizi, yönetici elitin kent nüfusunun nasıl doyurulacağına dair endişeleri ile ardından gelen kontrol mekanizmaları, bu bölümün dikkat çeken konularıdır. Faroqhi, bunun III. Selim dönemine has bir şey olmadığını söyleyerek, bir önceki dönemle keskin bir kopuş bulunmadığına vurgu yapmaktadır. Bu bölümde yazar ayrıca, gıda temini probleminin ve askeri isyanların, esnaf desteğiyle mümkün olup olmadığının sorgulamasını yapmaktadır.

Sonuç olarak bu kitap, Suraiya Faroqhi'in geniş altyapısının bir ürünü olup bir çeşit araştırma rehberi ve ajandası sunmaktadır. Ayrıca bu çalışmasıyla Faroqhi, hem elitin hem de sıradan insanın hareketliliğine odaklanmaktadır. Özellikle sıradan insanlara yoğunlaşmasının özel nedeni, toplumun çoğunluğunu oluşturan fakat seslerini az duyduğumuz özneler olmalarından dolayıdır. Onları tarihte var ederek unutulmaktan kurtarırken, bir yandan da devletin/siyasi elitin endişelerini göz önünde bulundurmaktadır. Endişelerine rağmen, devletin her alana nüfuz eden/edebilen bir devlet olmadığını gözler önüne sermektedir. Yazar, var olan literatüre, değişebilen, aktif ve devlet dışı aktörlerin de bulunduğu bir dünyayı resmederek katkı sunmaktadır. Bunu yapabilmesinin yolunun da öznelerden ve onların içinde buldukları ağlara bakmaktan geçtiğini bildiği aşikardır. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yollara Düşenler: Zanaatkarlar, Köylüler, Tacirler, Sığınmacılar, Elçiler, 16.- 18. Yüzyıllar* adıyla 2016 yılında Kitap Yayınevi tarafından piyasaya çıkarılacak olan *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire* adlı kitap, yazarın diğer çalışmalarında olduğu gibi gündelik yaşamın birçok yönünü gözler önüne sermektedir. Kısacası, Suraiya Faroqhi bu kitabıyla da bizi, Osmanlı dünyasına seyahat ettirmekte ve o dünyanın içine sokma başarısını göstermektedir.

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Elina Gugliuzzo,

Economic and Social Systems in the Early Modern Age Seaports: Malta, Messina, Barcelona and Ottoman Maritime Policy,

Lewiston/Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2015, 249 pp.,

ISBN 978-149-5503-86-3.

The Mediterranean in the early modern period witnessed a great struggle between the Ottoman and Spanish empires. In this imperial rivalry for maritime domination, the Ottomans and the Spanish mobilized immense resources to build and arm galley fleets. While the Ottomans mostly made these naval efforts in the Tersâne-i Âmire in a centralized way, the Spanish distributed their naval

construction to different shipyards: Barcelona in the Iberian Peninsula; Messina and Napoli in the central Mediterranean.

Elina Gugliuzzo's objective in her book is described by Prof. Giuseppe Restifo in his preface as a "desire towards the mutual understanding and the peaceful co-existence of the Mediterranean people, with the denial of the clash of civilizations, the refusal of the old-fashioned orientalism, the criticism of the limited vision of the western historiography" (p. xxvi). The author's foreword largely focuses on the Military Revolution and criticizes "Eurocentric and Orientalist scholars" for excluding the Ottomans (p. xv-xx). Gugliuzzo focuses on the Mediterranean history and shipbuilding industry with four case studies: Constantinople (İstanbul), Malta, Messina and Barcelona. She excludes the Venetian Arsenal because it has been one of the most studied arsenals in the Mare Nostrum. Each of these strategical Mediterranean naval centers is examined separately in different chapters. Gugliuzzo says that these Mediterranean centers were "linked together in terms of rivalries, alliances and reciprocal behaviors" and thus "coexistence between Muslim and Christian was possible, and even common on the Mediterranean frontier, and this was facilitated by the fluidity of both individual and collective identity" (p. xxiii).

In the first chapter entitled "The Ottoman Empire Maritime Policy," Elina Gugliuzzo discusses the rise of the Ottoman navy, Tersâne-i Âmire, Ottoman crews, renegades, dragomans, spies, Tophane-i Âmire and the Ottoman military organization. In this chapter, the author challenges "the myths of the Orientalist and Eurocentric historiography regarding the supposed conservatism, rigidity and backwardness of the Ottoman Empire." Although Gugliuzzo criticizes "Eurocentric and Orientalist historiography", she too fails to escape from the myths about the Ottoman military. For instance, she repeats the cliché on the Ottoman cannons: "...the Ottomans' penchant for big, heavy guns placed them at a disadvantage in mobile field battles against European forces armed with rapid-fire cannons" (p. 64). It is difficult to understand how she can make this error despite the fact that she constantly gives references to Gabor Ágoston and his monumental work in which he debunks this myth by giving details of Ottoman construction of cannons, not just only heavy ones but also high quantity of medium and light cannons.¹

Gugliuzzo asserts that it is not right to place the Ottomans into the wrong context with the western European states, because they operated in east Europe

1 Gábor Ágoston, *The Guns for the Sultans: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

and the eastern Mediterranean (p. 6). The author mentions that Ottomanists prefer to focus on “convergences... and ...ongoing interaction between members of different societies” rather than “simply comparing” the Ottoman and European states (p. 74). Although it is wrong to compare the Ottomans with England, France or Holland of the industrial age, it does not mean that comparative historical method is unnecessary. With the comparative method the historian may better understand his subject by analyzing similarities and differences of two entities under scrutiny. As March Bloch stated a long time ago, the comparative study is only meaningful when based on solid data, detailed facts and analysis. The Ottoman Empire can be compared with the other pre-industrial empires such as the Spanish Monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire in terms of state structure and the military-fiscal bureaucracy in the early modern era.

When she scrutinizes the Ottoman military organization Gugliuzzo writes that “because of the similarity between galley fighting compared with fortress assault and defense, the Ottomans never felt the need to create specific marine units and used regular land forces instead” (p. 69). It is not easy to understand what the author means by similarity between galley fighting and fortress assault and defense. The character of naval warfare is completely different from the terrestrial engagements and there is hardly any similarity to compare it with the siege warfare. First of all, the galley as a fighting platform in the sea hardly provides any cover for defenders with low hulls; so it is not possible to compare it with the protection provided by renaissance fortifications. The galley, by nature, is an assault ship and its tactical usage is boarding the enemy vessel, which means, the firing of heavy cannons in prow is followed by hand-to-hand combat. The siege warfare, on the other hand, is a completely different enterprise which needs elaborate tactics to advance under cover and breach the walls by heavy guns and mining.

In the first chapter Gugliuzzo provides basic information about the Ottoman naval organization based on the secondary sources. This might be useful as a general introduction to non-Turkish readers; but this chapter has very little to offer to academic readers who study naval organization and shipbuilding history. It might have been better if Gugliuzzo had used famous Venetian reports “relazioni” published by Albèri in her first chapter. For example, reports of Venetian representatives Bernardo Navagero (1553), Trevisano (1554), Marino Cavalli (1560), Costantino Garzoni (1573) and Marcantonio Tiepolo (1576) give us detailed information about the Ottoman naval organization, Tersâne-i Âmire, Kapudan Pasha, his office and responsibilities.

The Chapter II deals with the Hospitaller Order of St. John in Malta and the maritime arsenal in Birgu. This part is composed of the history of the Knights of St. John, their operations in the island of Malta, the Ottoman siege of 1565, the arsenal of Birgu, the arsenal workforce, the galley squadron, the galley slaves and corsairing activities of the knights. In the great siege of Malta (p. 88-91) Gugliuzzo highlights successful defense of the knights, the courage of the Maltese, the lack of coordination among the Turkish commanders and the late arrival of the Barbary corsairs; however, she does not mention the Spanish contribution to victory very much. Although they were autonomous in their affairs, Malta and the Order of St. John were under the rule of the Spanish monarchy and the defense of the island was under the joint responsibility of the Spanish naval commanders as well as the Grand Master. We know that the Spanish reinforcements and the final relief force commanded by D. García de Toledo were quite important for the decision of withdrawal of Ottoman forces. In addition, during the siege the Spanish galleys were harassing Ottoman galleys carrying much-needed grain and other supplies.²

In the second chapter of her book the author also discusses the galley squadron of the Knights, the arsenal in Birgu and the construction of galleys. The Order of St. John gave great importance to corsairing activities as a part of their crusading mission against the Muslims. Gugliuzzo mentions that there was an arsenal in Birgu in 1374 for constructing and repairing ships (p. 91-92). In 1538 the Order of St. John decided to build an arsenal which seemed necessary for constructing and maintaining its galley fleet. Its galley squadron was composed of five units; its small size did not require a large shipyard and storehouse. Moreover, galleys were also built in Sicilian royal arsenals, Barcelona and Marseille due to the lack of timber and other building materials. However, according to the author, foreign-made galleys hardly met the high standards of performance expected by the Order (p. 99). Although the Maltese galleys followed the western Mediterranean standards of heavily armed and equipped galleys, they were supposed to have the agility and the maneuverability in order to capture their preys in corsairing activities.

Elina Gugliuzzo gives details on the naval construction in Messina in chapter III and deals with the arsenals in this important port city, namely the Tarzanà, the Arsenale Nuovo and the Arsenale Nuovissimo. In the beginning of this chapter the author describes Messina as “during the early modern age, a dynamic place

2 John F. Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and the Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the 16th Century* (London, Conway Maritime Press, 2003), 191-206.

for international exchange, an important hub that connected the Mediterranean trade with the macro-economies of the European colonial powers” (p. 119). Gugliuzzo emphasizes the importance of Messina as a “gate of Sicily, gate towards the Levant, gate between East and West” (p. 120). Sicily was conquered by Arabs in the 9th century and the Muslim rule over the island lasted until the 11th century. Under the Muslim sovereignty Sicily served as a commercial intermediary between Al-Andalus and the Muslim East. Since the defense of Sicily depends on a fleet, a small shipyard, the Tarzanà, was built in order to construct, arm and maintain Muslim galleys (p. 127).

In the 11th century the Normans overthrow the Arabs and Sicily became a Christian dominion once again. According to the author, “in order to encourage the maritime traffic the Normans decided to enlarge and restructure the previous arsenal” (p. 131). However, economic reasons were not the only ones for constructing a new arsenal in a new location. The *Arsenale Nuovo* was built to meet the military aims of the Normans: the construction and reparation of the Royal Fleet. In the second half of the 16th century, while the Ottoman and Spanish naval forces were fighting for the control of the Mediterranean, Sicily became an important naval base for Spain’s Mediterranean strategy. The Viceroy of Sicily and the commander of the Spanish Mediterranean Fleet D. García de Toledo ordered the construction of a new dockyard, storehouses, biscuit ovens and all facilities necessary for galleys and their crews. A new shipyard, the *Arsenale Nuovissimo*, was also built to increase the shipbuilding capabilities of Messina. Gugliuzzo emphasizes the importance of Messina as the principal rally base of Spanish fleet for its operations against the Ottomans, for instance during the siege of Malta (1565) and the naval battle of Lepanto (1571). Shipyards of Messina lost their importance and they were dismantled in 1615 by the order of the viceroy Duke of Osuna.

In the final chapter, Elina Gugliuzzo focuses on the Spanish naval policies and Drassanes in Barcelona. According to her the arsenal of Barcelona “...was to be result both of Barcelona’s commercial prosperity and the Catalan-Aragonese monarchy’s drive for supremacy in the Mediterranean” (p. 178-179). The author examines timber resources which were crucial for the galley construction, and the regulations set by the Spanish royal authority to protect forests. She argues that Spain and Venice had strict regulations for preserving their forests while on the other hand the Ottomans “instituted no such regulations, instead relying on continued extensive exploitation of the abundant forests within its territory” (p. 162). It is not easy to agree with this assumption, because several imperial edicts

in the archives clearly demonstrate the Ottoman concern for the conservation of the forests.¹ The author furthermore deals with the foreign experts in the Spanish shipyards and focuses on the importance of Genoese craftsmen, carpenters and caulkers in the arsenal of Barcelona (p. 168).

Gugliuzzo's work is very ambitious as she aims to cover all major naval construction centers in the Mediterranean except the Venetian arsenal. This book deals with the Ottoman naval policy, Tersâne-i Âmire, the Knights of Malta, the arsenal of Birgu, the shipyards of Messina and lastly the Spanish maritime policy and the royal arsenal in Barcelona. This should be a challenging task to achieve in only 249 pages. For that reason, this book inevitably lacks the necessary details and references. The introduction of the book focuses on the Military Revolution which has no or very little relevance to the title of early modern seaports. Although every chapter has its own plan and conclusion, the book does not include a general conclusion which evaluates the study. Furthermore, it does not establish a relation among the major naval centers in the general context of the Mediterranean history.

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Palmira Brummett,

Mapping the Ottomans: Sovereignty, Territory, and Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean,

New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015, xviii + 365 pages, 113 b/w illus., 15 colour plates, ISBN: 978-110-7090-77-4.

This book is about more than merely maps. The "mapping" in the title encompasses more than making drawings of coastlines, rivers, mountains, and cities on flat sheets of paper. Beyond delineating, mapping is also an activity of appropriating, compartmentalizing, characterizing, representing, and misrepresenting.

1 İdris Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilatı: XVII. Yüzyılda Tersane-i Amire* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), 102-120.

This is particularly true of the representation of the European ideas of the Ottoman Turks – the “Other” – in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. The ways in which these commercial, diplomatic, military, and personal perceptions were recorded by Europeans in their maps and travel narratives are closely scrutinized in this well-written and richly-illustrated study of Early Modern cartography, iconography, and rhetoric. One-hundred and twenty-eight maps are reproduced and examined. The symbolic images used on the maps are disclosed. The messages encoded in the images are identified. How the images are manipulated to convey the messages is revealed. The purpose of the book is to uncover, identify, and interpret how the Ottoman Turks were envisioned and imagined by Europeans in both image and text, primarily through an examination of the maps representing the lands and seas of the Ottoman Empire, and the associated texts and narratives. The thesis is that the maps, images, and narratives by Europeans are mediated through a discourse of signs and symbols which can be deconstructed and “read” to reveal the underlying assumptions Europeans held about themselves and the Ottomans and the space between them. The author argues her case by a deep and detailed analysis of the words and pictures, narratives and maps, made by Europeans of the Ottoman Turks and their lands, but also in Ottoman self-mapping. During this period, the Ottoman Empire stretched from Algiers to the Caspian Sea, from the Horn of Africa to the Gates of Vienna, but the focus of the book is chiefly upon the borderlands of Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean between the two empires of the Hapsburgs and the Ottomans.

The work is not strictly about cartography and may more appropriately be thought of as “visual rhetoric,” that is, an analysis of the discourse by which images are used to create meaning, often in collaboration with a written text, to persuade an audience of an argument or position, or legitimize an existing power structure, or sanctify shared community values. On the face of most (if not all) maps are vignettes, portraits, icons, names, words, phrases, sentences, and text. Much of the discussion and analysis is explaining how the images and associated texts amplify and clarify, expound and drive home, the hidden agenda and veiled message of the map. Often text in the form of narratives, diplomatic reports, campaign accounts, merchant itineraries, captives’ testimonies, travel journals, and pilgrimage tales is accompanied by maps illustrating the routes of journeys and locations of events. Itineraries from narratives of eyewitnesses who had actually travelled through the permeable, transimperial boundaries to the “exotic” East, were highlighted on the face of maps to lend authority and legitimacy, through

seeming privileged knowledge, to the depiction of the interpreted space encompassed by the map. Narratives often recount of places as seen by the eye of an educated witness through the prism of the past. Constantinople, the center of Ottoman power, was at the same time also the former seat of the Eastern Emperors. Jerusalem was always to be the Holy City and its Jewish and Christian importance always noted on the map, even though it was in Ottoman territory. The lands of the Middle East were spoken of as eventually being returned to Western hegemony but, tellingly, Europeans never articulated their own space, their lands, their Europe, as an eventual tableau of Ottoman conquest. The eye can see everywhere but into itself, and the European mapmakers were oblivious to their own biases and predispositions.

Since the beginnings two-hundred years ago of the history of cartography as an field of scholarship, it has been overshadowed by two assumptions about the history of maps and mapmaking: 1) it is the pictorial recording of the advancing expansion of geographical knowledge, especially by Europeans; and 2) it is the history of the continually increasing improvement in the accuracy of maps, moving away from the “quaint” distortions of the more “primitive” maps of the past and, by the impersonal gathering of impartial facts, progressively becoming an objective form of knowledge grounded in science. In the last thirty years, the theoretical foundations of the history of cartography have taken steps away from this domination by the history of geography and the narrow claims of the makers of maps. The non-geographical, that is, the decorative and textual, elements of European-made maps were previously viewed as old-fashioned and superfluous. Professor Brummett has fixed upon these non-geographical elements of cartography to expose the social and human aspects portrayed in the maps, and the social and human aspects that drive the creation of the maps, that are reflected in the symbols and semiotics of the map, that are encoded by the mapmaker with the language of images and signs understood by the audience of the map. Today, maps are viewed as representations of institutional power, governmental control, and the social order. Professor Brummett’s presentation reveals maps to be canvases of space – *tabulae rasae* – on which the mapmaker, as a voice representative of his time and place and culture, renders the shared vision of that space. These spaces are sometimes war space, sometimes commercial space, sometimes spaces of shared ethnicities and nationalities. Sometimes the space is presented as disputed space, sometimes divided with hard borders where no such firmness existed, only the prejudicial perception of the mapmaker and his milieu. But it is always space

as envisioned by European culture and articulated through the map. The maps were routinely used to delineate the contested territory, the frontier zone between Europeans and Ottomans, thus futilely attempting to pinpoint and delimit a vague, fluctuating space as the possession of European Christendom. And, if not the property at present, then soon to be in the on-again, off-again, wars. The hard, immutable lines of printed ink on the authoritative map created the illusion of a place of unquestionable extent and location, banished any hint of ambiguity, and forever immobilized and made concrete the disputed target. The triumph over space and territory was frequently emblazoned with images of fortresses, armies, captives, corpses, and severed heads.

An important theme repeatedly returned to by the author is the layering of historical time in the maps and narratives. Events of the past were exhibited on the terrain of the present. Over and over, again and again, cities and provinces in the Ottoman lands are reidentified and labeled with their Classical or Biblical names, and the events of the distant past are juxtapositioned with contemporary times. Quoting ancient authors on the face of a map tied the present-day locations to their past, non-Turkish, histories, and lent authority to the European interpretation of the visualized space. A single map frequently entwined and interwove the spaces of the past, present, and future, with political space, journey space, and conflict space. The presence or absence of ships (friend or foe) in the surrounding seas, or scenes of marching armies on the nearby shores, or the sizes and details of fortresses, can give to the map reader a sense of confidence and security, or a foreboding of the dangers and risks of contested lands and islands. Maps could be drawn from a peculiar perspective, such as a bird's-eye-view, to frame the map reader's perception and assessment. Distances could be collapsed or expanded to fit the requirements of the contention being asserted, which was predominately presented in an unconscious argument, formed by the social structures of the mapmaker, and formulated in a common symbolic language to authorize and authenticate the world view of those social structures, e.g., monarchies, bureaucracies, religious organizations, class hierarchies, social rankings, etc. The lines drawn for edges of shores and courses of rivers fade into the background of the map and become secondary to the so-called "decorative" elements of the map. These decorative elements, such as, scenes of people, their dress, buildings, flags, coats-of-arms, scenes, events, horses, weapons, ships, etc., are brought to the forefront against the geography of lines to explicate the message of the map.

Though it would be expected that the Ottoman Turk would, in the European imagination, be perceived as both foreign and enemy, the ubiquitous images of the “Turk” in European maps and narratives betray a greater variety of motifs and topoi. Europe vs. Asia, Christianity vs. Islam, the West vs. the Orient, Sacred vs. Profane, and other basic dualisms were consciously used by Europeans. But the evidence of the documents, the maps and associated narratives, which together form the focus of Professor Brummett’s study, present a much greater variety, complex, and nuanced imagery than can be subsumed under the simplistic dichotomies. The depictions and meanings of fortresses depicted on maps, for instance, receive special attention. As formulaic icons, they were used on maps to represent dominion and power and control over the surrounding territory. If an area or territory had changed hands from Christian to Muslim, or even if never in the power and control of the Europeans, on the map it could still be shown as “belonging” to the West; a flag with a cross placed here or portrait of a sovereign there, was all that was needed to show the subjugation of vast swaths of the frontier lands of the Greco-Balkan Peninsula, between Venice and Vienna on one flank and Constantinople on the other.

To read this book is to train one’s eye to look beyond the merely geographical or ornamental on a map and, instead, expand one’s vision to decode the semiotics and rhetoric of the imagery and text, to learn to read what the mapmaker is consciously and unconsciously saying with his map and how he uses the language of cartography to convey that statement. The exposure and articulation of the authentic nature of maps as fundamentally representations of power, sovereignty, territory, and identity – this is the essential point of Brummett’s work. It emerges that the seemingly incidental aspects of the map unmask and subvert the outward public meaning of the map. Geographical accuracy is subordinated to the political and cultural message of the map. And the message was clearly the preeminence of Christian Europe over the Muslim Ottoman Turks, and the legitimacy and authority of the European power structures, i.e., the political, social, and religious institutions, in imposing that supremacy, even if only on paper.

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Kecia Ali,

The Lives of Muhammad,

Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014, 352 pp,
ISBN 978-067-4050-60-0.

Lives of Muhammad is not the life story of Prophet Muhammad. Rather than tracing the true facts of Muhammad's life, Kecia Ali examines the prophet's biographies written by both Muslims and non-Muslims in the centuries after his death. As she states, "it is a book not about the life of Muhammad but about the ways in which his life has been told" (p. 1) According to her, the perception of Muhammad has dramatically changed over centuries. This diverse, multifaceted and changeable nature of Sira literature is widely known. However, less well-known is that since the nineteenth century, as Ali points out, "they [Muhammad's biographies] have become increasingly interdependent. In the twenty first century, it makes no sense to speak of the Muslim views of Muhammad in opposition to Western or Christian views" (p. 2).

The author's comprehensive overviews of Prophet Muhammad's biographies aim to demonstrate the interdependencies between the discourses in Islam and the West. Her study also challenges Huntington's well-known theory of the "clash of civilization" in which cultural and religious identities are presented as the main source of conflict between the Christian West and the Muslim East, two irreversibly separated entities. However, Ali states that in time Muslim and non-Muslim writers have compromised on certain methodological issues such as questions, evidence and facts via modern printing, mass dissemination of the publications, and recent exchanges of scholars between the East and West. They have achieved shared values and assumptions on Prophet Muhammad's life, and a moderate body of literature, neither Western nor Eastern, has eventually been constituted.

The book consists of six thematic chapters: "The Historical Muhammad," "A True Prophet," "Eminent Muslims," "The Wife of Muhammad," "Mother of the Faithful," "An Enlightened Man." A simple chronology of fourteen events, which include the migration to Medina, Battle of Badr and Uhud and the Conquest of Mecca, appear in the book before the Introduction. However, there is little mention of such issues in the book itself. His marriages to Khadija and Aisha, his night journey and the Banu Qurayza incident mostly compose the headlines of such chronology.

In essence, Kecia Ali focuses on the biographies written in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries although she also briefly mentions the earlier accounts. She aims to reveal the interconnection between non-Muslim biographers from Britain and North America and Muslim biographers who wrote English responses from Egypt and India. One of the deficiencies of the book is that it does not touch upon works by other Muslims from different countries. She restricts Prophet Muhammad's life to Arab cultures only. There is almost no reference to Turkish or Persian biographies in the book and Indian sources are insufficient to draw a whole picture. There could be two reasons for this exclusivist attitude. First, Ali does not know Turkish, Persian or any other language spoken by the Muslims in different parts of the world. Second, the non-English speaking academia of Muslims does not publish in English. To some extent such restrictions are necessary and understandable to draw the borders of a wide-ranging research like that of Ali; but in any case, this exclusion jeopardizes the main arguments of the study that excludes the biographies and thus misses the possibility of introducing different narratives about the perception of the Prophet Muhammad. Moreover, Although Kecia Ali includes several biographies extended to certain centuries, she fails to explain or defend them. The reader cannot understand the author's analysis or approach to certain events. In addition, the connection among the chapters is not sufficiently strong. Apart from the chronological order, they lack coherence. Nevertheless, it still provides a wide-range of information and it is an updated biography for students, scholars and others interested in the processes of the Prophet Muhammad's life story.

At the beginning of each chapter, Ali gives an excerpt from a conventional narrative of Muhammad's life and constructs her narrative around these excerpts. In the first chapter, she touches upon the historical Muhammad. On the basis of the Hagarism debate¹, Ali seeks answers to the questions such as what one can really know about Muhammad and how one can know this information, or as to whether or not Muhammad really existed (p. 11). In the issue of reliability of early sources there is a divergence of opinion in the field. Some of them believe that traditionally transmitted sources are fabrication, whereas others remain optimistic about earlier sources, although they preserve their skepticism. Daniel Peterson

1 Hagarism is a book published in 1977 by the historians Patricia Crone and Michael Cook who refused to rely on Islamic sources by questioning the basic outlines of early Muslim history. Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

produced more moderate remarks by stating, “If we were to restrict ourselves entirely to the undisputed facts of Muhammad biography, we should run out of information after only a few pages” (p.12). So, to some extent, one has to trust the narratives about him.

In the medieval accounts, Muhammad was depicted as a heretic, fraud and false prophet. The understanding of the false prophet converged in the eighteenth century within the three overlapping bodies of literature: Orientalist scholarship, Enlightenment thought, and Christian apologetic. In the period of Enlightenment, all religions were considered false and discussion went beyond the prophecy of Muhammad. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries western scholarship on Arabic and Islam gained speed and paved the way for the flourishing of different approaches about Islam and the Prophet Muhammad. With the Qur’an and the Prophet’s medieval biographies being translated into the western languages, the European perception dramatically shifted.

In the second chapter, Ali mentions the affirmation of Muhammad’s prophethood within the tradition of Biblical prophecy, through his encounter with certain Christian figures. Khadija’s Christian cousin Waraqa’s confirmation of Muhammad’s revelation and the monk Bahira’s recognition of the seal of the prophecy indicate the non-Muslim affirmation of his prophethood. Ali sheds light on early Muslims’ Biblical categories and miracles that prove Muhammad’s true prophecy as well as the superiority of Islam against the Christian opponent. Then the theme of rebutting western misconceptions becomes ubiquitous in studies of Islam. Syed Ahmad Khan and Amer Ali’s names come to the forefront as upper-class reformer Muslims. These English-educated people’s attempts to correct the western misunderstanding of Islam provide agreement on standards of the proof and dialogue between Muslims and non-Muslims. They problematize the same sort of questions as European scholars. Even the miracles of Muhammad are opened up to the discussion. Many European writers and reformer Muslims emphasize Muhammad’s humanity and see the function of miracles as unnecessary to fulfill Muhammad’s mission as prophet. Islam as a more rational religion diminishes the role of miracles in the eyes of both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars.

In the third chapter, Ali dwells on Pakistani scholar Fakir Syed Waheed-Ud-Din’s *Benefactor* (1987) and Egyptian Muhammad Husayn Haykal’s *The Life of Muhammad* (2005). Both works are modern biographies that drew on the Muslim

reform movements. According to these authors, Muhammad was not only the political or religious leader of the Islamic society but also a social reformer. They present a less religious Muhammad, free of miracles. When Ali refers to the aforementioned approaches of modern Muslim scholars, she concurrently reveals the ongoing relationships with European writers (p. 103).

In the fourth and fifth chapters, Ali focuses on Muhammad's marriages. For several modern authors, his marriage to Khadija is important for showing who Muhammad really was. Through his marriage, he is depicted as a man rather than a prophet. If one pays attention to the headlines of Muhammad's life stories, it can be seen that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, biographies turned into life stories and religious titles were transformed into personal names. The subject of such studies was no longer the prophet, the God's messenger, but a man (p. 116). In this chapter, Ali touches upon the controversial issues in the Prophet's life and offers plausible explanations taken from certain biographies. For instance, the symbolic significance of the number forty is crucial in the Prophet's story, because at the age of forty, he received the first revelation and married Khadija (p. 120). In the Sunni tradition, Khadija was praised due to her impunity and neutrality against the sectarian threat. On the other hand, the prophet's remarriages after Khadija's death have been questioned by many authors. Believing that the power corrupts, some European authors defend that Muhammad's increasing social status changed his attitude towards marriage. In addition, polygamy was a custom of the seventh-century Arab society. One cannot judge the Prophet's attitude from a modern point of view (p. 132). The protection of the widows within the institution of marriage was another possible explanation of the Prophet's marriages. "Author after author" as Ali points out, "Muslims and non-Muslims insisted that Muhammad's motives were political and therefore salutary rather than lustful and therefore deplorable" (p. 144). After centuries of European criticism of the Prophet's lustfulness and lechery, modern historiography replaced such arguments with his pre-marital chastity and his longtime fidelity to Khadija became proof to his sexual morality.

On the other hand, the marriage age of Aisha was another topic of debate among scholars. In the literature, Muhammad's marriage to Aisha has been associated with his lustfulness and polygamy. Many authors believe that the girls who live in hot climates mature rapidly and at the age of nine or ten they become suitable for marriage. Many argue that Aisha was betrothed at the age of seven, and then the marriage was consummated when she turned nine. Since this was the

custom at the time, the accusations of children abuse and pedophilia are frivolous and anachronistic.

In the last chapter, Ali mentions the recent biographies written by academics, (Jonathan Brown, Tarif Khalidi, Daniel Peterson, Omid Safi), journalists (Lesley Hazelton, Barnaby Rogerson), public intellectuals (Karen Amstong, Tariq Ramazdan), and spiritual figures (Deepak Chopra), as well as poet Elliott Weinberger and professional polemicist Robert Spencer. With the exception of Spencer's accounts, others carry positive attitudes towards Muhammad's life and present more accurate information. They also take into account the Beni Qurayza incident and offers different approaches to this sad event in Muhammad's life. Likewise, in the previous chapter, Ali had remained neutral and refrained from attributing a meaning to the ongoing debates.

In conclusion, pre-modern biographers recount Muhammad's prophethood with his special seal of prophecy and his miraculous ascent into heaven, while modern biographers reconstruct his life as an ideal statesman or social reformer. The enlightenment critique of the religion, the growth of academic Orientalism and the rise of colonialism have led to an increased interplay between Muslim and non-Muslim narratives of Muhammad's life. Today, there is a more moderate depiction of the Prophet. However, this does not mean that twenty-first century accounts are free from prejudices. The Danish cartoon debacle and the Charlie Hebdo cartoon are two recent examples of such misconceptions showing that they still exist in the non-Muslim societies. However, the main reason behind the changing perception of Muhammad in historiography is the Europeans' own intellectual development. The interconnection between Muslim and non-Muslim authors, emphasized throughout the book, are actually a following of western counterparts by the Muslims scholars. Western texts, ideas, and strategies shape the Muslim history writing of Prophet Muhammad and directed them into historicist explanations.

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***“Mabmiye-i Trabzon Maballâtından”*: Onyedinci Yüzyıl Ortalarında Trabzon’da Sosyal ve İktisadi Hayat,**

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Şer’iye sicillerine dayalı yerel çalışmalar günümüz Osmanlı tarih yazımının en çok ilgi gösterdiği konular arasında yer alır. Ronald C. Jennings, M. Hanefi Bostan ve tanıtımını yapacağımız eserin yazarı Kenan İnan gibi Osmanlı tarihçileri de Trabzon tarihi konusunda Trabzon şer’iye sicillerine dayalı pek çok sayıda bilimsel çalışma ve lisansüstü tez danışmanlığı yapmış önemli isimlerdir. Bir bölgenin sosyal hayatına dair detaylı bir çalışmanın ortaya çıkarılmasında şer’iye sicillerinin rolü çok büyüktür. Elimizdeki eser de Trabzon şer’iye sicillerine dayanarak 17. yüzyıl ortalarında Trabzon’un sosyal, iktisadi, içtimâî ve kısmen de olsa siyasi tarihine dair okuyucuya zengin bilgiler sunmaktadır. Eser toplamda on dört makaleden oluşmaktadır. Eseri oluşturan on dört makalenin on üçü çeşitli dergilerde ve bildiri eserlerinde yayımlanmıştır. Sadece son makale ilk kez bu eser içinde okuyucuya sunulmuştur. Müellifin önsözde belirttiği gibi bu çalışma Trabzon tarihi üzerine bilgi edinmek isteyen ve bu konuda çalışan geniş bir topluluğa hitap etmektedir. Çalışmada makaleler tarihsel sürekliliğe ve konu bütünlüğüne uygun olarak sıralanmıştır. Bu bağlamda ilk sırada “Trabzon’un Fethi” başlıklı makale yer alır.

“Trabzon’un Fethi” başlıklı ilk makalede müellif fethi anlatmaya geçmeden önce kısaca bölgenin Türkleşmesi yanında bölgede Çepniler ile Osmanlı Türklerinin faaliyetlerine değinmiş ve Fatih Sultan Mehmed’in Karadeniz’de Türk hakimiyeti kurma süreci hakkında okuyucuya bilgi sunmuştur. Trabzon Rum İmparatorluğu’nun Osmanlı tehdidi karşısında müttefik arayışı ve Akkoyunlu hükümdarı Uzun Hasan ile ittifakına yer verilen makalede Trabzon’un fethinde takip edilen güzergâhlar görgü şahitlerin gözlemleriyle anlatılmıştır. Şehrin nasıl ve ne zaman fethedildiği dönemin ana kaynakları içinde ihtilaflıdır. Bu hususta yazar Osmanlı ve Bizans kaynaklarını karşılaştırarak çeşitli tarihçilerin tespitlerini ve Osmanlı fetih sistemini analiz ederek şehrin fetih tarihini 15 Ağustos 1461 olarak belirlemiş ve fetih şeklini de bir karara bağlamıştır. Fetihden sonra Trabzon’da gerçekleşen yeni düzenlemeler ve nüfus politikası hakkında da önemli malumat verilen makale zengin dipnotları sayesinde araştırmacılara yol gösterecek niteliktedir.

“Kadı Sicillerine Göre Trabzon Şehrinin Fiziki Yapısı (1643-1656)” adlı makalenin giriş bölümünde yazar Trabzon’un Osmanlı topraklarına ilhakından sonra şehrin önce sancak sonra eyalet merkezine dönüşmesini kısaca anlatmıştır. Ardından Trabzon Kalesi, Trabzon’un nüfusu ve mahalleleri, ticari, dini ve sosyal müesseseleri, çarşıları, dini ve eğitim kurumları, vakıfları, hamamları ve kiliselerini başlıklar halinde incelenmiştir. Antikçağdan itibaren 17. yüzyıl ortalarına kadar Trabzon’un fiziki yapısının geçirmiş olduğu dönüşüm hakkında tafsilatlı bilgi verilmiştir. Makalede Trabzon’un fiziki yapısıyla birlikte Trabzon’da yaşayan insanların ticari faaliyetleri ve gelir giderleri, şehrin güvenlik sistemi, mahalle yapısı, nüfus hareketliliği gibi konular da ele alınmıştır. Şehrin fiziki yapısı anlatılırken Clavijo ve Evliya Çelebi gibi seyyahların renkli betimlemeleri makaleyi daha da çekişici kılmıştır. Kısaca makalede fetihten sonra Trabzon şehrinin iki yüzyıl içinde bir Hıristiyan şehirden Türk-İslâm şehrine dönüşümünün panoraması verilmiştir.

“Kadı Sicillerine Göre 17. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Trabzon Esnafı ve Faaliyetleri” adlı makalede öncelikle Trabzon’un ekonomik ve ticari kapasitesi hakkında okuyucuya faydalı bilgiler sunulmuştur. Bir liman şehri olan Trabzon’un ticaret merkezini oluşturan Aşağı Hisar bölgesi, Trabzon’daki meslek grupları, şehirde ticari hayatın en canlı olduğu Suk-i Sultani çarşısı ve Trabzon Bedesteni gibi önemli ticari yapılar hakkında tafsilatlı bilgi verilmiştir. Araştırmamanın yapıldığı dönemin uzun süren Girit seferi yıllarına denk düşmesi ve Osmanlı Devleti’nin mali açıdan zor durumda bulunması Trabzon’da esnaftan vergi toplanmasına ve asker ve donanmaya gerekli gelir ve mühimmat talep edilmesine yol açmıştı. Bu durum da birtakım sorunların mahkemeye yansımaya sebep olmuştur. Belirtilen konulara ek olarak Trabzon esnafının birbirleriyle ve halkla yaşadığı sorunlar şer’iye sicillerindeki kayıtlardan alıntılanan örneklerle işlenmiştir. Son olarak makalede Trabzon vakıf gelirlerine değinilmiştir.

“17. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Trabzon’da Ahiler ve Faaliyetleri” adlı makalede ilk olarak ahiliğin tarihi süreçte gelişimi ve Osmanlı Devleti’nin kuruluş yıllarındaki önemi hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Makalenin incelendiği döneme ait sicillerde Trabzon’da ahilik faaliyetlerini yürüten isimlerden Ahi Baba Mustafa Çelebi ve Ahioğlu Elhac Mustafa gibi isimler ön plandadır. Müellifin de belirttiği gibi adı geçen Ahi babalarının miras ve alım-satım gibi meselelerde sicillerin özellikle şühudü’l-hâl kısmında yer almaları onların toplumda güvenilir kimseler olduğunu göstermektedir. 17. yüzyılın ortalarında Trabzon’da Ahi babaları adli ve özellikle iktisadi konularda danışılan ve sözlerine itimat edilen bir zümre olarak mahkemelerde karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

“Bedestenlerin Türk Ticari Mimarisindeki Yeri ve Trabzon Bedesteni” adlı makalede yazar öncelikle Türk-İslâm şehrinin iktisadi faaliyet alanındaki en önemli yapısı olan bedesten hakkında ayrıntılara yer vermiştir. Yazar bedesten geleneğinin tarihsel sürecini açıklarken bedestenin “Türk şehirciliğinde ticaret bölgesinin çekirdeğini teşkil” ettiğini (s. 100) belirtmiştir. Bedestenin fiziki özellikleri, kısımları ve kullanım alanları tasvir edilmiştir. Makalede bedesten geleneğinin kökeni tarihçilerin ve sanat tarihçilerinin iddiaları doğrultusunda tartışılmış ve bedestenin bir Türk-İslâm yapısı olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Selçuklu ve Osmanlı dönemi bedesten geleneği irdelenerek Trabzon bedesteninin yapılış tarihi ve geçirmiş olduğu tamirler ele alınmıştır. Sicil kayıtlarından yola çıkarak 17. yüzyıl ortalarında bedesten içinde ve çevresinde gerçekleşen satışlar, ihtilaflar ve bedestende görev yapanlar hakkında da kayıtlardan örnekler verilmiştir.

“Trabzon Şer’iye Sicillerine Göre 17. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Borç-Alacak İlişkileri” adlı makalede yazar öncelikle Osmanlı Devleti’nin siyasi ve iktisadi vaziyeti hakkında kısaca bilgi vererek devletin içinde bulunduğu sıkıntılı durumun Trabzon’u ne ölçüde etkilediğini anlatmıştır. Daha sonra 1648-1656 yılları arasında kadı sicillerine yansıyan borç-alacak ilişkileri ve bu ilişkilerle bağlantılı hususlar pek çok örnekle derinlemesine incelenmiştir. Bu verilerden Trabzon’da ileri gelenlerin, yöneticilerin ve askerî kesimin borçlanması konusuna dikkat çekilerek Osmanlı Devleti’nin içinde bulunduğu mali sıkıntının Trabzon yöneticilerini borçlanmaya sevk ettiği sonucuna varılmıştır. Borç-alacak ilişkilerinde sicillerde sıklıkla geçen terminolojinin açıklanması ve yapılan araştırmanın sayısal verilerinin tablolar halinde sunulması okuyucuya büyük ölçüde kolaylık sağlayacak niteliktedir.

“1831 Nolu Şer’iye Siciline Göre 17. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Trabzon’da Mülk Satışları” başlıklı makalede adı geçen dönemde mülk satışları içinde kadınların durumu, Müslüman ve gayrimüslimlerin mülk sahibi olma oranı, mülklerin kimlere satıldığı, mahkemenin işleyişi gibi konular ele alınmıştır. Mülk satışlarının gerçekleştiği yerler Trabzon içi ve dışında olmak üzere iki kısımda incelenerek tablolar halinde verilmiştir. Bu verilerden yola çıkılarak Trabzon’daki Müslim ve gayrimüslim nüfus hakkında bilgi edinilebilmektedir. Mülk satışlarında fiyatlardan bahsedilirken aynı zamanda Osmanlı piyasalarını etkileyen yabancı paralar meselesine değinilmiş ve Trabzon’da mülk satışı sırasında yabancı paraların kullanım nedenleri izah edilmiştir. Sicillere yansıyan mülk satışları kayıtlarından bölgedeki nüfus hareketliliği de tespit edilmiştir. Mülk satışlarıyla ilgili makalede kullanılan çok sayıda örnekten Osmanlı Devleti’nde Müslim ve gayrimüslim kadın ve erkeklerin güven ortamında sosyo-ekonomik faaliyetlerini yürüttükleri anlaşılmaktadır.

Aynı zamanda bu veriler hukuki meselelerde Osmanlı bürokrasisinin pratikliğini göstermesi açısından da dikkat çekicidir.

“Kadı Sicillerine Göre Akçaabat’ta Mülk Satışları (1648-1658)” adlı makalede öncelikle Akçaabat’ın Müslim ve gayrimüslim nüfusu hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Kadı sicillerine yansıyan mülk satışlarından bölgede Müslim ve gayrimüslim nüfusun dağılımı, halkın ekonomik kapasitesi, mülk satışlarının hangi dini gruplar arasında ne şekilde gerçekleştiği ve fiyatları hakkında fikir edinilebilmektedir. Yine şer’iye sicillerindeki örneklerden yola çıkılarak bölgenin tarım faaliyetleri hakkında elde edilen bilgiler de makalede yer almıştır.

“Trabzon’da Yönetici-Yönetilen İlişkileri (1643-1656)” adlı makalenin giriş kısmında incelenen dönemde Osmanlı merkezi yönetimin zayıflaması ve iç çekişmelerin Osmanlı taşrasını ne şekilde etkilediği anlatılmıştır. Makale iki kısımdan oluşmaktadır. Birinci kısımda taşradaki beylerbeyi, mütesellim, müftü, subaşı gibi ehl-i örf ve ehl-i şer’ zümresinden birtakım görevlilerin vazife alanları hakkında genel bilgi verilmiştir. Akabinde Trabzon ölçeğinde bu görevlilere akseden olaylardan örnekler verilerek dönemin asayiş ve ticari kapasitesi gibi konulara ışık tutulmuştur. İkinci kısımda Trabzon’da yöneticilerle yönetilenler arasında ilişkiler üzerine durulmuştur. Yöneticilerin vazifelerini uygulamaları, karşılaştıkları meseleler, halkın bunlara tepkisi incelenerek Trabzon’un içtimai hayatı hakkında bilgi verilmiştir.

“Kadı Sicillerine Göre Trabzon’da Beşlü Taifesi (1648-1658)” adlı makalenin girişinde Osmanlı ordusu içindeki eyalet kuvvetlerine bağlı kale kuvvetlerinden sayılan ve yerli halktan oluşan beşliler hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Trabzon kalesinde görev yapan beşlilerin ağaları, vazifeleri, sayıları, maaşları, harcamaları hakkında okuyucu bilgilendirildikten sonra Trabzon İskele eminliğini de yapan beşli ağalarının tayinleri ve görev süreleriyle ilgili sicil kayıtlarından örnekler verilmiştir. Mahkeme kayıtlarından anlaşıldığı üzere Beşliler başta muhafızlık alanında olmak üzere Trabzon şehir hayatının her kesiminde aktif olmuştur.

“Taşrada Bir Yeniçeri Zabiti Ebubekir Çavuş” adlı makalede 17. yüzyıl Osmanlı Devleti’nin içinde bulunduğu sosyal ve ekonomik durum ve Yeniçeri ocağı hakkında okuyucuya genel bir tablo sunulduktan sonra Trabzon’da iki kez Yeniçeri zabıtlığına atanmış Ebubekir Çavuş’un sicil kayıtlarına yansıyan dava konuları incelemiştir. Ebubekir Çavuş’un ismi kadı sicillerinin şühûdü’l-hâl kısımlarında, asayiş ve vergiyle ilgili meselelerde, vekalet ve miras gibi davalarda geçmiştir. Yazarın da belirttiği gibi Yeniçeri Zabiti Ebubekir Çavuş bir yandan kanunu, bir

yandan kanunsuzluđu, otoriteyi, arabuluculuđu kısaca taşrada merkezi otoriteyi temsil ederken bize 17. yüzyıl Osmanlı Devleti'nin genel görüntüsünden bir kesit sunmaktadır (s. 273).

“Trabzon Kadı Sicillerinde Girit Seferi Hakkında Kayıtlar (1648-1669)” adlı makalede öncelikle Girit seferi hakkında detaylı bilgi verilmiştir. Makale daha fazla yerel hayatın yansımalarından oluştuđu düşünölen şer'ie sicillerinde Osmanlı Devleti'nin siyasi ilişkilerine dair tafsilatlı bilgilerin bulunabileceđi gerçeđini dile getirmesi açısından oldukça ilgi çekicidir. Girit seferi nedeniyle İstanbul'dan Trabzon'a gelen ferman niteliğindeki hükümler ile Trabzon çevresinde sefere katılanlarla ilgili olarak kadı mahkemesine intikal eden dava örneklerinden yola çıkılarak yaklaşık 25 yıl süren Girit seferinin taşraya yansımaları anlatılmıştır. Şer'ie sicillerinde göze çarpan dava konuları özellikle kadirge yapımı, harp malzemesi ve asker temini, nakliyesi gibi Osmanlı donanmasını ilgilendiren meselelerdir. Bunların dışında uzun süren muhasaranın Osmanlı maliyesine getirdiđi yük, bunun sonucu olarak talep ve tahsil edilen vergiler, bu vergilerin miktarlarının belirlenmesi, sefere asker temini için gönderilen hükümler ve son olarak sefere Trabzon yöresinden katılanlarla ilgili meseleler mahkeme kayıtlarına yansımıştır.

“Trabzon'da İhtida Olayları (1648-1656)” adlı makalede genel olarak ihtida yani din deđiştirme kavramının tanımı yapılmıştır. Sonraki bölümde ihtida kayıtlarının sicillerde ne şekilde geçtiđi belirtilmiş ve 17. yüzyıl ortalarında Trabzon'da yaşanan az sayıdaki ihtida olaylarından örnekler verilmiştir. Makalede aynı zamanda köle ve cariyelerin azatlarına dair bilgi ve sicillere kayıt şekilleri de bulunmaktadır. Bu makale verdiđi bilgilerin yanında bu konuların sicillerde ne şekilde geçtiđi hususunda bilgi vermesi yönünden araştırmacılar için örnek teşkil edebilir.

“17. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Osmanlı Taşrasında Hayat” adlı son makalede yazar öncelikle Trabzon'un fethinden itibaren bölgedeki nüfus hareketlerini ve Of kazasının ortaya çıkışını anlatmıştır. Of kazasının nüfus hareketliliđi tapu tahrir defterlerinin verileri ışığında belirlenmiştir. Daha sonra sicil kayıtlarından yola çıkarak yazar Of kazasında boşanma, mihr, köle azadı, kefillik ve vekil tayini, mülk satışları, hibe gibi konularla miri arazinin tasarrufu, bu tasarruf üzerindeki anlaşmazlıklar ya da hak ihlalleri, vergi, borç alacak ilişkileri, miras ve asayişle ilgili meseleleri konu edinmiştir. 17. yüzyılda merkezi yönetimin zayıflaması, eyaletlerde otoritenin gevşemesi gibi sorunlar paralelinde bu yüzyılda Osmanlı taşrasının genel özellikleri birçok açıdan tespit edilmiş ve Of ölçeğinde incelenmiştir.

Elimizdeki çalışma, dayandığı belge zenginliği yönünden Trabzon tarihi konusunda araştırma yapanlar için olduğu kadar Osmanlı Devleti'nde 16. yüzyılın sonlarında başlayarak 17. yüzyılın geneline yayılan ve dönemin siyasetname yazarları tarafından bozulma olarak nitelenen tüm gelişmelerine taşra ölçeğinde misal teşkil etmesi açısından da önemlidir. Bu meyanda eser yerel tarih çalışması olarak ön plana çıkmışsa da klasik dönem Osmanlı şehir tarihi ve Osmanlı sosyal hayatıyla ilgilenenler için bir model oluşturur. Bu eser içinde şer'îye sicillerinin tarih çalışmaları açısından kullanım alanlarının ve kullanım şekillerinin belirtilmesi, sicillerdeki terminolojinin açıklanması, sayısal verilerin analiz edilme yöntemleri ve yeri geldikçe klasik dönem Osmanlı kurumları hakkında tanımlayıcı ve açıklayıcı bilgiler verilmesi, bu alanda çalışma yapacak kişilere yol gösterecek niteliktedir.

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Thomas Gaskell Allan ve William Lewis Sachtleben,

Accross Asia on a Bicycle,

Seattle: Inkling Books, 2003, 167, s. ISBN 978-158-7420-20-1

Kitabın başlığını ilk okuduğumuzda günümüz yazın yelpazesi içinde pek de şaşırtıcı olmayacak bir bisikletle gezi teması görmekteyiz. Ancak bu seyahatmanenin Amerikalı iki yazarı Thomas Gaskell Allan ve William Lewis Sachtleben'in bu dünya turuna 1890 Haziran ayındaki mezuniyetlerinin hemen ardından çıktıklarını öğrenmek bu anlatıyı hem akademik hem de genel okura oldukça ilginç kılmaktadır. Bu iki maceraperest eğitimleri boyunca öğrendiklerini bir de gözleriyle görmek için çıktıkları bu yolculukta 3 yıl boyunca bisiklet üstünde yaklaşık 24 bin km. boyunca pedal çevirirler. Liverpool'dan başlayarak Normandiya, batı Fransa, Bordeaux, Marsilya ve Fransız Riviera'sını izleyerek İtalya'ya geçerler; Roma'dan sonra Yunanistan'daki Korfu ve Patras'ın ardından Korinth Körfezini geçerek Atina'ya ulaşırlar. 1891 kışını burada geçirdikten sonra Nisan'da bir gemiyle İstanbul'a ulaşırlar. Kitap asıl buradan itibaren başlar. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu,

İran, Rusya ve Çin'e kadar uzanırlar. Çin'e batıdan Gobi Çölü'nden girerek Marco Polo'nun izinden içeri bölgelere kadar ilerlerler.

David Herlihy iki gencin bisikletleri keşfetmelerinin Washington Üniversitesi'nden mezun olmadan 15 ay öncesine dayandığını söyler.¹ Yola çıkmadan önce bu çok hafif bir yükü yapmak zorunda oldukları yolculuk için aylar öncesinden hazırlık yapmaya başlarlar ve kendileri için özel kıyafet ve bisikletler için gerekli alet geliştirirler (ayakkabı, miğfer vs.). Sachtleben ve Allen 1890-92 yılları arasında 3 kitada yol alırlar. Yanlarına onları kendi dönemindeki bisikletçilerden ayıracak olan 2 tane de Kodak film kamerası alırlar ve gezi boyunca kendilerinin aktardığına göre 2500'den fazla fotoğraf çekerler. Onlar için bu yol dünya insanlarıyla birinci elden yüzyüze gelmek anlamını taşır.

2003'de tekrar baskısı İnkling Books'dan yayımlanan Allan ve Sachtleben anlatıları Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, İran Rusya, Çin rotalarını kapsıyor ve sonradan eklenen 7. ve 8. bölümler – Thomas Allen'in bir "Tekerlek Üstünde Aslan ve Güneşin Diyarında" adlı makalesi ile Washington Üniversitesi'nde yazarlar hakkında yazılmış bir yazıyı içermekte. İlk baskısı 1894 olan kitaba yeni baskısında orijinal metne paragraf bölme, noktalama düzeltmeleri gibi değişiklikler yapılmış ve sona iki bölüm eklenmiş. Ancak asıl farklılık orijinal kitapta da bulunan gravür ve fotoğraflarda olmuş. İlk baskıda resim kalitesi düşük olarak eklenmiş fotoğraflar bu baskıda çıkartılmış. Anlatım dili oldukça sade, abartısız ve hatta bazen Batı'nın doğu fantazisini sorgulayıcı bir üslupta.

Yolculuğun ilginç olan kısmı 1891 baharında İstanbul'dan Anadolu'ya, Erzurum'a doğru yola çıktıklarında başlıyor. Zaten gezinin Amerika ve Avrupa kısmı, daha çok Avrupa ve Amerikalı gözler için yazılmış olan bu kitapta dâhil edilmemiş. Buradan itibaren karşılaştıkları yerel insanların "demir at" veya "şeytanın arabası" diye adlandırdıkları bisikletleri her gittikleri yerde ilgi ve bazen de korku yaratıyor. Kitabın editörü Michael Perry'ye göre onları bu yabancı yerlerde koruyan şey de bu ilginçlikleri ve eskiyen kıyafetleri ile verdikleri fakir görüntüdür (s. 8). Özellikle de Anadolu'da çeteler onlar için zorlayıcı oluyor. Birçok sıtma gibi sağlık sorunları, siyasi ve coğrafi zorluğu atlattıktan sonra 1894'de "dünyaya bir kemer takmış olarak New York'a" tekrar tekerlek basarlar (s. 11).

Avrupa ve Amerika'da bisiklet 1870'lerden itibaren elit bir sporcu genç grubu heyecanlandırır. Önceleri büyük ön tekerlek ve küçük bir arka tekerleği olan

1 David Herlihy, "Crossroads in the Desert," *WUSTL Magazine* Ağustos 2012 (<https://magazine.wustl.edu/2012/august/Pages/AlumniAllenandSachtleben.aspx>)

“yüksek tekerler” (*high wheelers*) oldukça ilgi çeker, ancak tehlikeli bir maceraperestlik olarak kalır. Asıl 1880 ve 1890’larda geliştirilen pedalların bir zincir aracılığıyla arka tekerleğin dönmesini sağlayan ve tekerlekleri şişirilebilir lastikten yapılmış “emniyet bisikleti” (*safety bicycle*) Amerikalı elit maceraperestler arasında çok rağbet görür. Bu bisiklet hem kendi tarihi, hem de taşımacılıkta bir devrimdir. Yeni araç eskisi kadar tehlikeli değil, büyük sporcu ve hatta akrobatik olmayı gerektirmeyen, herkesin, hatta kadınların bile, kullanabilecekleri yapıdadır. Bu tarihlerden itibaren birçok Fransız ve Amerikalı küçük veya büyük turlara çıkıp bu gezilerinin hikâyelerini dergilerde makale veya gezi kitabı olarak yayınlamaya başlar.

Allen ve Sachtleben böyle bir yolculuğuna çıkan ilk bisikletçi değillerdir. Onlara ilham veren Thomas Stevens’in *Bisiklet Üstünde Dünya Turu* (1887-88) eseri olmuştur. Fakat Tebriz’de yanında kaldıkları misyoner William Whipple’in yılmaz ve tam Amerikalı diye tarif ettiği bu iki genç bu yolculuklarında yanlarına bir rehber ve koruyucu almadan yola çıkmalarından ötürü ilginç bir örnek teşkil ederler. Kendileri bu durumu tamamiyle aracısız tanışıklık ve iletişim istedikleri için tercih ettiklerini söylerler. Ancak bunun zorluklarıyla birçok defa karşılaşmak zorunda kalırlar.

Kitabın yayınlandığı haberi ancak Allan ve Sachtleben döndükten birkaç yıl sonra Haziran 1894’de çıkan bir ilanla öğreniyoruz.² Bu ilanlarda kitabın yazarı olarak Thomas Gaskell Allen isminin daha çok yer alması yayım aşamasında onun daha fazla çaba harcamış olduğu çıkarımı için yeterli olmasada bu konuya dikkat çekiyor. 1894 Aralık ayında çıkan bir başka ilanda da kitabın bazı kısımlarının daha önce makale olarak *The Century* adlı dergide yayınlandığını anlıyoruz.³ Bu tanıtımların birinde ise “Bu çok detaylı ve ilginç basım sayın Allen ve Sachtleben’in *Century Magazine*’e yazılarından oluşuyor” deniyor ve özellikle de illüstrasyonlarına dikkat çekiliyor.⁴ Bu dönemde bir nevi yerel muhabir olarak görülen bu

2 *The Record-Union*. (Sacramento, Calif.), 01 June 1894. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015104/1894-06-01/ed-1/seq-6/>>;

3 *The morning call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 09 Dec. 1894. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn94052989/1894-12-09/ed-1/seq-15/>>

4 *Evening star*. (Washington, D.C.), 14 Dec. 1894. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1894-12-14/ed-1/seq-9/>>

gezinlerin makaleleri dergilerce çok rağbet görüyordu. Allen ve Sachtleben ve onlardan sonra Louis Jeffersen ve Frank G. Lenz de böyle yazılar sayesinde para kazanırlar. Hatta Doğu'daki sürekli muhabirleri olarak bu tip gezilere finansman sağlayan *Outing* gibi Amerikan dergileri de vardır.

Bir kaynak olarak bisikletçilerin anlatılarının iki alanda ilgi çektiği söylenebilir. Birincisi dönemin önemli modernite sembollerinden olan fotoğraf makinesi, bisiklet ve tuhaf giysileri ile bisikletçilerin Anadolu ve Asya'da aldığı tepkiler ve gezinlerin gözüyle bu bölgenin resmine bakmak toplum ve modernite algıları açısından değerli. Bir diğeri ise yine modernite bağlamında incelenen boş vakit geçirme/gezi, modern devlet ve beden politikaları ve hatta spor ve erkeklik çalışmaları alanında tarihe ilginç bir pencere açmaktadır. Sachtleben ve Allan kendilerini birçok kez gördükleri toplumları özdeştirdikleri geleneksel olan ile kendilerinin temsil ettiği modernite arasında sıkışmış ve hatta kaçarken bulurlar. Bu konumdaki imtihanlarını en güzel kendilerinin Çin İmparatoru Li-Hung-Chang'ı tarif ederken kullandıkları ifade açıklamaktadır: “Yabancı ilericiliğinin ve yerli önyargı ve muhafazakarlığının arasında arabuluculuk ışığı” konumudur kendilerinin durduğu yer (s. 154).

İki gezgin gezilerinde “hiç bir rehber veya tercümana” başvurmamış olduklarını yazar. Dolayısıyla da nereden geçiyorlarsa yerel dili idare edecek kadar öğrendiklerini yazıyorlar (s. 11-12). Bu dönemde elit grupların yaptıkları gezi turları genelde lüks buharlı vapurlar, tren veya faytonlarla yapılır, yüklü sandık ve bavullar eşlik ederdi. Genellikle korunaklı, iyi ve bilindik yerlerde kalınırdı. Her ne kadar onlar bunu özgürleştirici olarak görseler de bisiklet yolculuğu bisikletçileri korumasız bir şekilde direkt olarak olabildiğince kıt kanaat bir tedarikle yola çıkarak yer yer onlara düşmanca davranabilen halklarla karşı karşıya bırakır (s.25-26). Kaldıkları yerlerde ve tehlikeli diye uyarıldıkları yerlerde Vali mektupları, izin belgeleri ve yerel rehberlerle onlara yardımcı olacak birilerini bulurlar ve tutarlar. Bir takım yerel güçler ve idareciler ikisinin sağ salim devam edebilmesi için yanlarına hep bir mektup ya da zaptiye verirler. Bu gezilerin pek de tekin olmadığını söylemek gerekir. Yazarlarının dönüşünden sonra onlardan esinlenerek 1894'de yola çıkan bir Amerikalı bisikletçi Franz G. Lenz Mayıs'ta Erzurum yakınlarında kaybolur ve Sachtleben onun izini bulmak için 1895'de tekrar Anadolu'ya gelir.⁵ Nitekim bu arama gezisinde de Sachtleben kürt çetelerle karşılaşır, Erzurum'da

5 *The Wichita daily eagle*. (Wichita, Kan.), 10 April 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014635/1895-04-10/ed-1/seq-6/>>

Ermenilerin Kürtler tarafından katliamına tanık olur.⁶ Onun bisikletini almaya çalışan iki kişiden ancak tabancasını çekerek kurtulur.⁷ Yani bir diğer emniyet unsuru da bisikletçilerin ilk gezilerinde de yanlarında taşıdıkları tabancalarıdır.

Bu eseri değerli kılan unsurlardan biri gezinin yapıldığı yıllardır. İki arkadaşın üzerinden geçtikleri topraklar dönem itibarıyla oldukça çatışmalıdır. Onsekizinci yüzyılın sonlarından beri Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Anadolu'daki merkezi oteritesi ayan ve ağalarla çekişmektedir. Hem iktisadi hem de sosyal olarak bu güzergahta bir bakıma İstanbul'un çok dışında hem Diyarbakır, Bitlis ve Van gibi şehirlerde, hem de kırsal kesimde yerel bey ve çetelerin güçlü olduğu özgün sistemler sürmekteydi. Bununla birlikte Güney Kafkasya, Batı ve Doğu Anadolu'da Osmanlı-Rus ve İran-Rus savaşları bir nüfus rekabeti oluşturarak Kürt aşiretleri ve Ermenileri karşı karşıya bırakmıştır.⁸ Buradaki duruma paralel gezinin ilerleyen kısımları ise bu sefer Rusya-Çin anlaşmazlıklarıyla tehlikeye bürünmüş başka bir coğrafyadır. Rusya'nın Orta Asya'ya doğru ilerlemesine karşı Britanya Kolonyal Hindistan aracılığıyla Çin'i batıya doğru baskı yaması için ikna etmeye çalışır. Orta Asya'daki Anglo-Rus "Büyük Oyun" döneminde Londra'dayken Rus ve Çin delegasyonları aracılığıyla izinler alarak hazırlık yapsalar da cesaret gerektirir. Detaylı bilgiler vermese de bu anlatı bir taraftan ortaya çıkan çeteciliğin ve yerel yetkililerin ilişkilerine dair ipuçları sunarken, diğer taraftan yer yer yerel halk, kültür ve sosyo-ekonomik durum hakkında resimler göstermektedir. İkinci bölümü oluşturan Ararat dağına çıkma faslı Kürt çeteler ve konargöçerlerle ilgili küçük de olsa bölgenin iç siyasetinin dengeleri üzerine ipuçları verir.

Bisikletçiler Anadolu'da olduğu gibi Çin'de de büyük bir ilgiyle karşılanırlar. *The Eagle* gazetesinde 1895'de yayınlanan bir makalede İmparator'un naibinin onları soru yağmuruna tuttuğunu anlatılıyor.⁹ Nitekim bu iki bisikletçi Çin'in iç kısımlarına bisikletle giren ilk yabancı olurlar.¹⁰ Bunlar gezinin bütçesi,

6 *Der Deutsche correspondent.* (Baltimore, Md.), 02 Jan. 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.* Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045081/1896-01-02/ed-1/seq-2/>>

7 Jamieson, *Self-Propelled Voyager*, 63.

8 Fikret Adanır, "Ermeni Meselesi"nin Doğuşu," içinde *1915 Siyaset, Tehcir, Soykırım*, ed. Fikret Adanır ve Oktay Özel (Istanbul, 2015), 5-8.

9 *The eagle.* (Silver City, N.M.), 27 March 1895, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.* Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn92070477/1895-03-27/ed-1/seq-13/>>

10 Duncan R. Jamieson, *Self-Propelled Voyager: How the Cycle Revolutionized Travel* (London, 2015), 63.

Amerika'da makamlara rüşvet verip vermedikleri gibi anlaşılır siyasi ve güvenlik çerçevesinden görülebilecek sorular olduğu gibi evli olup olmadıkları gibi daha özel ve muhtemelen kültürlerini anlamaya çalışan soruları da içerir. Bu kitabın kendinden öncekilerinden bir farkı da kendi çektikleri fotoğraflardan oluşan seçkilerdir. Kitap boyunca birçok yerel otorite ve devlet adamının adları geçiyor, yerel siyasete dair bazı ipucu olacak bilgilere de rast geliniyor. Bunlar akıcı bir şekilde ilgiyle okunsa da ne yazık ki bilgilerin detaydan yoksun olması bisikletçilerin bölge ile ilgili düşünceleri hakkında bütüncül bir resmin ortaya çıkmasına izin vermiyor; ancak 19. yüzyılın son çeyreğinde Anadolu'daki aşiretler, etnik çatışmalar, modernlik ve gündelik hayat gibi izleri sürülebilecek konular sunuyor. Bu esnada tabii ki akla tamamlayıcı olabileceğinden dolayı iki gezginin yol boyunca aldığı notlar gelmektedir. Bu kitabın gezilen bölgelerden habersiz bir okur grubuna hoş zaman geçirecek bir anlatı olması için yazıldığını bildiğimizden asıl detayların notlardan bulunabileceğini düşündürmektedir. Gezi boyunca ikisi de ayrı ayrı notlar almış ve fotoğraf çekmişler (s. 12).

Gezinin dokümantasyonuna dair uzun süre Allen'in İngiltere'de bir bilim müzesine bağışladığı ve sırtında Asya'yı geçtiği bisikletten başka bir şey bulunamamıştır. Ancak 1984'de bu notları ve fotoğrafların bir kısmı bir taşınma esnasında tesadüfen ortaya çıkarlar. Artık notları ve fotoğraflar University of California at Los Angeles'da Sachtleben Koleksiyonu'nda araştırmacılara açılmıştır. Yanlarındaki Kodak film kamerası ile çektikleri fotoğraflardan 1200 fotoğraf 3 ½-inç nitrat negatifler olarak kaydedilmiş ve bunların da hepsi bugüne ulaşamamıştır. Fotoğraflardan bir kısmı 2015 Kasım ayında tarihçi David Herlihy'nin küratörlüğünde *Round Trip: Bicycling Asia Minor, 1891* adlı sergide izleyiciye sunulmuştur. Bu kitabı ilginç kılan bazı gravürler arasında Ayasofya önünde Sachtleben'in bisikletini inceleyen halk, Ankara'da bir çoban, Kürt aşireti ile geçirilen bir gün de çekişmiş kadın ve çocuk fotoğrafları bize gündelik hayattan enstantaneler ve onların gözünden bir Anadolu'yu açıkça gösteriyor. Kitap gezginlerin notları ve fotoğrafların tümüyle birlikte incelendiğinde tarihçiler için zengin bir kaynak sunuyor. Bu döneme ait böyle az kurgulanmış ve samimi bir fotoğraf seçkisi bu çalışmayı ve buna bağlı koleksiyonu paha biçilmez kılıyor.

Özlem Çaykent

İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi

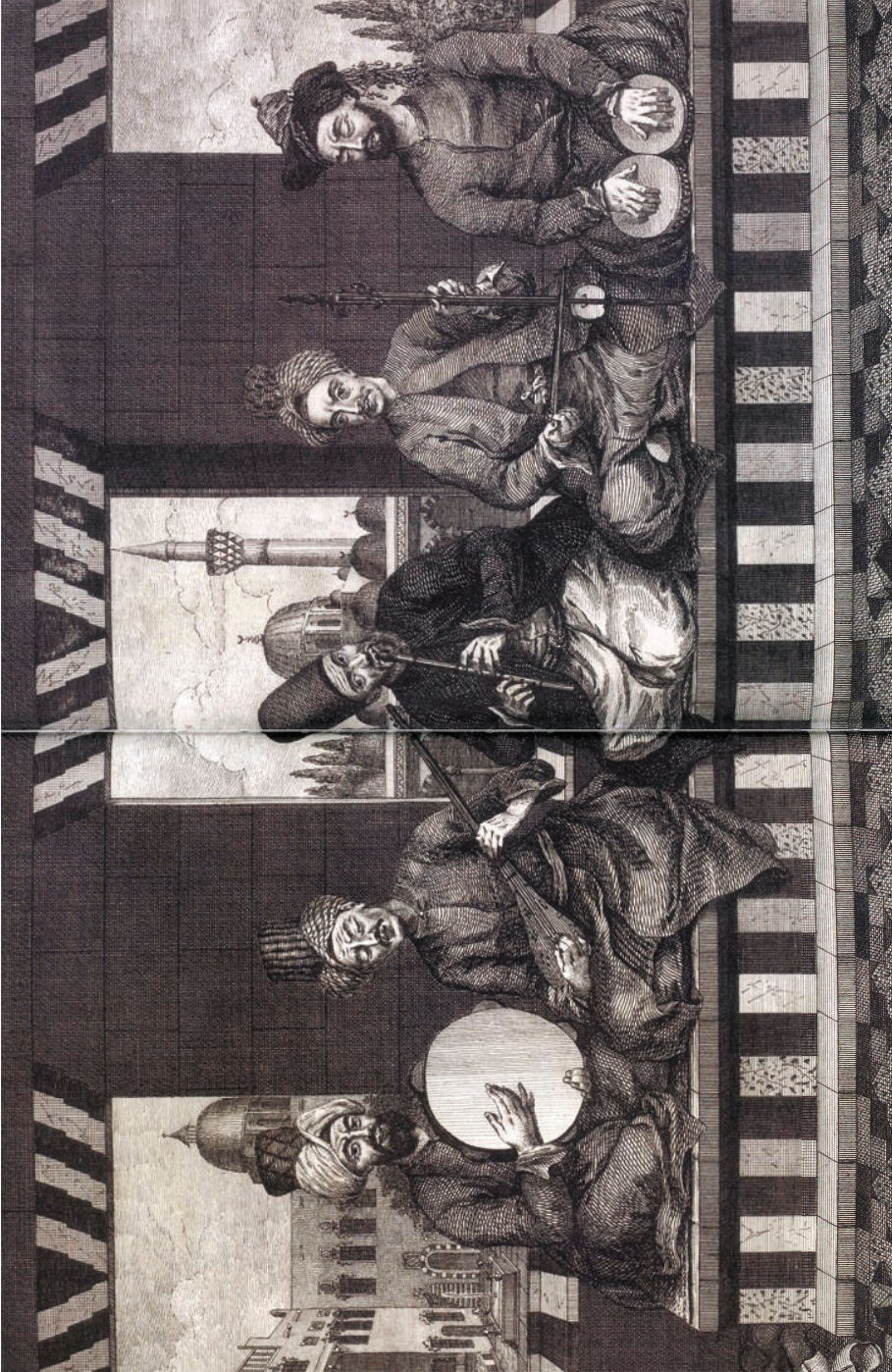
Maurits van den Boogert,

Aleppo Observed: Ottoman Syria Through the Eyes of Two Scottish Doctors, Alexander and Patrick Russell (Studies in the Arcadian Library),

The Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press, 2010, 256 s.,
ISBN: 978-019-9588-56-5

Avrupa'da 17.-18. yüzyıllarda daha etkin bir çerçevede şekillenen ve bilimsel devrimin oluşumunda önemli katkılar yapan *Respublica Literaria*, dönemin akademileriyle birlikte çalışan bir çeşit sınır tanımayan bilim insanları cumhuriyeti mahiyetinde iş görmüştür. Evren ve doğayla ilgili tükenmez bir merak ve araştırma ruhuna sahip olan bu bilim insanları, dönemin üniversitelerinin hâlâ devam eden skolastik eğitim anlayışları dolayısıyla genellikle akademilerde bir araya gelmişler veya bazen gündüz çalıştıkları işlerden sonra özellikle dolunayın olduğu geceler bir araya gelerek – çünkü dolunayın güçlü ışığı sayesinde bir araya gelebilmeleri nedeniyle kendilerini “Dolunay Cemiyeti” diye adlandırmışlardı – doğanın bilinmeyen yönlerini keşfetmek için çaba sarfetmişlerdir. Bazen de yaşadıkları çevreye göre çok farklı ve zorlu coğrafya, iklim ve kültürel yaşam tarzının meydan okumalarına aldırılmaksızın uzak bir çevrede ve doğal ortamlarda gözlem ve deneyimin peşinde koşmuşlar ve sayısız zorluk ve meşakkatlerin üstesinden gelerek hangi konuyla veya alanla uğraşmışlarsa onunla ilgili doğru bilgiyi, en azından dönemleriyle ilgili en doğru bilgiyi keşfetmek için gayret göstermişlerdir. İlk kurulan akademilerden Londra'daki Royal Society'nin ambleminde bulunan *Nullius in verbal Hiç kimsenin sözüne bağlı kalmadan* düsturu, dönemdeki otoritelerin nüfuzunu sorgulamayı ve onlardan duyulan veya eserlerinden okunan her sözün veya iddianın, gözlem ve deneyime dayanarak elde edilen gerçeklikle teyit edilmesini öngören bu dönemle birlikte modern çağın bilim insanının en temel özelliği de böylece daha belirgin hale gelmiştir.

18. yüzyıl bilim insanlarından bir tanesi de, hatta ikisi şüphesiz, 18. yüzyıl dünyasında Osmanlılar'ın en büyük üç şehriden biri olan Halep'te uzun yıllar yaşayan Russell kardeşlerdir. İskoç Aydınlanması'nın şekillendiği bir dönemde tıp alanındaki çalışmalarıyla katkıda bulunan ağabey Alexander Russell, Edinburg'da, daha sonra *Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh*'a dönüşecek 1752'deki gayr-ı resmi ilk tıp cemiyetinin kurucuları arasında yer almıştır. *The Natural History of Aleppo* başlığıyla 1756'da Alexander Russell (1715-1768) tarafından Halep'in daha çok doğal tarihi, ancak yer yer sosyal ve kentsel tarih konusunda önemli bilgiler ve



Türk müziđi icra esnasında. Alexander Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo*, Londra 1756.

çeşitli çizimler içerecek şekilde hazırlanan bu kitabın ilk nüshası piyasada hızla tükenmiş, 18. yüzyıl boyunca birçok baskısı tekrarlanmış, ünü okuyucular arasında hızla yayılmıştır.

Alexander Russell, 1736'da Londra'da doktorluk eğitimini tamamladıktan sonra Halep'e gitmiş ve 1740'da buradaki bir İngiliz fabrikasında doktor olarak istihdam edilmişti. Tıp alanındaki bilgi ve becerisi sayesinde şehrin eşrafının ve yöneticilerinin dikkatini çeken Russell, kısa zamanda Halep başhekimliğine getirilmişti. 1753'te Londra'ya dönüşüne kadar görevde kalmış, bu esnada 1750'de tıp eğitimini tamamladıktan sonra yanına gelen üvey kardeşi Patrick Russell (1726-1805) onun görevini üstlenmişti. 18 yıl Halep'te hekimlik yaptığı süre içinde büyük kardeşinin hazırladığı kitaba pek çok notlar eklemiş, dönemindeki çeşitli olaylara yer vermiş, örneğin 1760-1762 yılları arasında Halep'te patlak veren veba salgını hakkında dikkat çekici bilgiler kayda geçmiştir. Ağabeyi Russell 1768'de öldükten sonra da çeşitli notlarla ve çizimlerle geliştirdiği ve zenginleştirdiği *Natural History of Aleppo*'nun gözden geçirilmiş nüshasını Patrick Russell, 1794'de tekrar yayınlamıştır. Her ikisinin de Royal Society'nin üyesi olduğu bilinmektedir. Russell kardeşler hem başarılı birer hekim hem de dikkatli doğa bilimcisi olmuşlardır. Her ikisinin de Halep'teki sosyal ve kültürel hayata özel ilgi gösterdiği, ortak çalışmalarından anlaşılmaktadır. Patrick Russell'in özellikle Halep'teki kültürel hayatıyla ilgili dikkatli incelemeler yapmış, şehirdeki sahaflardan ve kitapçılardan pek çok yazma eser toplamış – Osmanlı dünyasına gelen bu dönemin Avrupalı seyyahlarının tipik bir tutumu olmuştur –, İngiltere'ye döndüğünde bu kitap koleksiyonunu beraberinde götürmüş ve Avrupa'daki Osmanlı veya İslâm dünyasıyla ilgili çalışmalara dikkate değer katkıda bulunmuştur. Alexander Russell ise bazen Halep kadısı ve serdârı gibi şehrin önde gelenlerini bazen de halktan insanları tedavi ettiğini notlarından öğreniyoruz.

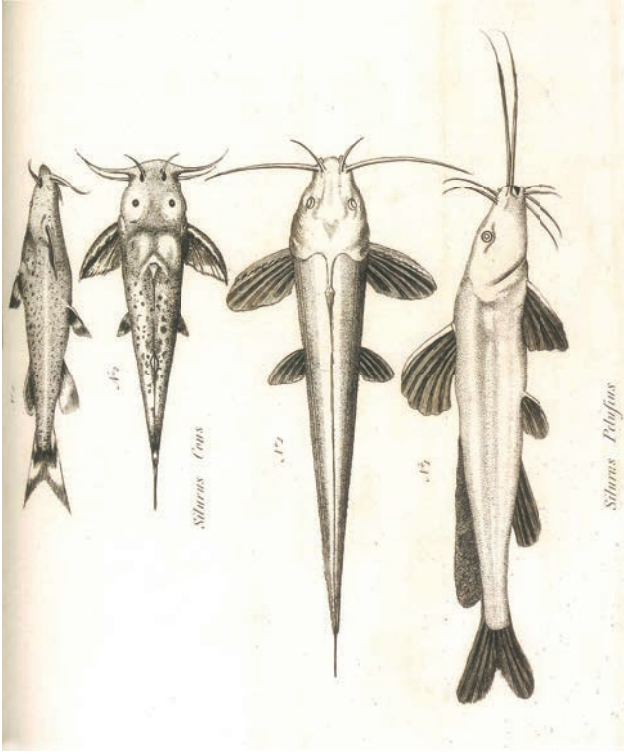
Bütün bu kıymetli bilgileri ve çok daha fazlasını, az önce adı geçen eser ve müellifleri hakkında modern bilimin şekillenmeye başladığı eşikte bir kez daha beliren temel tavır ve tutumlarla, özen, dikkat, merak, ciddiyet ve keyifle inceleyen Maurits van den Boogert'in *Aleppo Observed* adlı kitabında rastlamak mümkündür. Avrupa aklının, uzun yıllar bir yandan içe hapsedilmenin, öte yandan yanlış ve yanıltıcı bilgi kaynaklarının getirdiği – Descartes'in 17.yüzyıldaki bunalımını düşünelim – bir tepkiyle doğaya ve fizik dünyaya büyük coşku, heyecan ve hayretle açılmaya başladığı; gözlemin daha ayrı, ayrıntılı ve geniş bir şekilde ortaya çıktığı bir zamanın mizacını başarılı bir şekilde araştıran yazar,

Russell kardeşlerin hazırladığı eserdeki bilimsel bilgileri ve kaynaklarını, müelliflerin hayat hikayelerini, kendi kültür ve coğrafyasından uzaklarda yaşayan insanların dini gelenek, eğlence ve kültürleriyle birlikte şehir yaşamlarını adeta katılımcı bir antropolog gibi rahatsız etmeden ve incitmeden tetkik etmeye; doğal ortamlarını, bitki ve çiçek türlerine, kuş ve balık çeşitlerine varıncaya kadar pek çok ince ayrıntıya ve bu ayrıntının arkasındaki dikkatli gözleme özenle nüfuz eder.

Kitabını iki bölüme ayıran Maurits van den Boogert, birinci bölümde Russell kardeşlerin biyografilerine yer vermiş, ikinci bölümde ise Halep şehrini, doğal yapısını, tıp hayatını ve Osmanlı toplumsal yaşam düzenini ve Arap kültürünü incelemiştir. Halep'teki tıp ve sağlık hayatından önemli kesitler veren yazar, 17. ve 18. yüzyıl Avrupalı hekimlerin Osmanlı hekim meslektaşlarına göre kendilerini nasıl daha üstün gördüklerini ifade ederken, bu durumun Osmanlı tıp hayatından öğrenme kapılarını kapatmalarına yol açtığını vurgular. Örneğin bu dönemde vebaya göre daha sık ve çok daha yaygın olarak ortaya çıkan ölümcül çiçek hastalığıyla, Osmanlı hekimlerinin geliştirdikleri aşıyla üstesinden gelme deneyimini kaçırdıklarına parmak basar. Osmanlı tıp tarihi konusu, hâlâ pek çok noktanın keşfedilmesini bekleyen sayısız ince ve esrarlı unsur ve sorularla doludur. Türkçe yayınlanan eserler arasında, Osmanlı tıp tarihi konusunda önemli emekler veren Süheyl Ünver'in çalışmalarının yanı sıra Aykut Kazancıgil'in Bedizel Zülfikar ile birlikte modern dönemde Osmanlı tıbbının kurucu isimlerinden Şânizâde hakkında hazırladıkları *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Anatomi* adlı eser zikredilebilir. IRCICA'nın 2008'de 4 cilt halinde yayınladığı *Osmanlı Tıbbi Bilimler Literatürü Tarihi*'nde, 1430 müellif-çevirmenin Osmanlı dünyasında 5607 kitap, risale, makale ve raporun varlığına rastladığımızı belirtmek gerekir. Miri Shefer-Mossenshon'un *Ottoman Medicine, Healing and Medical Institutions 1500-1700*¹ adlı eseri Russell kardeşlerin gözlemlerini ve Boogert'in analizlerini anlamada yardımcı olabilir.

Halep'in, modernite öncesi dönemde Osmanlı kültürüyle Arap dünyasının pek çok açıdan birbiriyle başarılı bir şekilde etkileşim yaşayarak sentezlendiği ve kaynaştığı noktalardan birisi olduğuna şüphe yoktur. Bu ifade, özellikle farklı yaşam tarzlarının, dini inançların, yemek kültürlerinin ve sokaklarında konuşulan dillerin aynı şehir kültürü içinde sosyalleşerek birbirleriyle kaynaşmasını içermektedir. 1989'da Halep üzerinde çıkardığı *The Middle East on the Eve of*

1 Albany: SUNY 2009. Bu çalışma Bülent Üçpınar tarafından Türkçe'ye çevrilmiş ve 2014'de Kitap Yayınevi yayınları arasında çıkmıştır.



Alexander Russell'in, Peter Collinson'a gönderdiği bir mektupta bahsettiği "Halep'in bilinmeyen dört balığı". Bilinen ilk hakemli dergi *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*'nin 1755 sayısı (29/ s.445-9). Aynı zamanda *The Natural History of Aleppo*'nun ilk baskısı.

*Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*² adlı kitabından sonra çalışmalarına ara vermeden hâlâ çeşitli arşivlerde büyük emekle çalışan Abraham Marcus'un, yakında yine Halep hakkında önemli başka bir eseri ortaya koymasını ilgiyle beklemekteyiz. Son zamanlarda arşiv araştırmaları için İstanbul'a sıklıkla gelen Marcus'un, bir sohbet anımızda, Osmanlı Halebi üzerinde dünyanın farklı ülkelerinde çalışan araştırmacıların katılımıyla, 2014'de Montreal'da bir araya gelip iki günlük *Requiem for Ottoman Aleppo* toplantısını nasıl gerçekleştirdiklerini içi acıyarak anlatışını hiç unutmam. Marcus'un ailesi de uzun yıllar önce Halep'ten Amerika'ya göç edenler arasında yer almıştı, ancak daima Halep'e bağlı kalmışlardı. Bu "*Requiem*"e Marcus'la birlikte Charles Wilkins, Stefan Winter, Bernard Heyberger, Sylvain Cornac, Stefan Knost, Elyse Semerdjian, Marco Salati, Mary Momdjian, Nicolas Jodoin, Mafalde Ade ve Heghnar Watenpaugh gibi araştırmacılar da katılmıştı.

2 New York: Columbia University Press, 1989. Mehmet E. Baş tarafından Türkçe'ye de çevrilmiş ve Küre Yayınları arasında 2013'de çıkmıştır.

Maurits van den Boogert, Russell kardeřlerin *Natural History of Aleppo* hakkında, dnemindeki eřitli dergilerde tanıtım ve eleřtirisinin yapıldıđını, ancak gerek dnemindeki veya gerek daha sonraki bilim insanları ve eleřtirmenlerin bu kitapta geen toplumsal olayların veya bilimsel olguların gvenilirliđini sarsacak bir yorumuna řimdiye kadar rastlanmadıđını ifade etmektedir. Gerek bađlam analizi, gerekse ierik analizi aısından bařarılı bir kitap alıřması ortaya koyan yazar, hem bilim ve kent tarihi ve hem karřılařtırmalı entelektel tarih konularında arařtırma yapanlar aısından ellerinde keyifle okuyacakları ve inceleyecekleri bir eser ortaya koymuřtur. Russell kardeřler nasıl ki seyahat ettikleri lke ve řehirlerin veya blgelerin insanların yařamları ve kltrlerinin yanı sıra dođasını, bitki rtsn, nehirlerinde veya gllerinde barındırdıkları balık eřitlerine varıncaya kadar pek ok unsuru itinayla ve dikkatle sistematik bir řekilde gzlemlemiř ve incelemiřlerse, *Aleppo Observed* un yazarı da onların hayatlarını, notlarını ve alıřmalarını aynı titizlikle ve zenle incelemiř ve bizi, karřısında saygıyla eđilmeye mecbur bırakan bir eser ortaya koymuřtur.

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Nkhet Varlık,

***Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World:
the Ottoman Experience, 1347-1600,***

New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016, 336 pp.,

ISBN 978-110-7013-38-4.

Most visitors will be struck by the multitude of cats that seem to dominate the cityscape of modern Istanbul. Despite whatever municipal attempts to control the feline population have been carried out in the past and present, one senses that Istanbulites regard cats not as nuisances but rather as benign and welcome components of the urban fabric. The ubiquity of street cats is often anecdotally-linked to the observation that in comparison with comparable world cities such as New York, Istanbul is relatively rodent-free. This mundane aspect of life in Istanbul today attains new meaning alongside a reading of Nkhet Varlık's groundbreaking *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World*. In her discussion of

disease in the early Ottoman Empire, Varlık documents the city's long and intricate relationship with plague and the rats that facilitated its spread, leading this reviewer to ask whether Istanbul's love affair with cats is just as much a question of epidemiology as it is of emotion.

Plague and Empire is a book that tackles and raises major questions about Ottoman history and the hitherto under-studied subject of disease. Much as the subject of plague has been ascribed great importance within the historiography of medieval and early modern Europe, Varlık demonstrates that plague in the Eastern Mediterranean merits consideration as the focal point in the study of the Ottoman Empire and its capital in Istanbul. The Ottoman domains have long been evoked in historiography of the plague, but primarily as an external, eastern source of the pestilence that periodically swept across Europe. By contrast, Varlık places the Ottoman experience of plague at center-stage, drawing on an impressively diverse array of Ottoman and European sources to make sense of this historiography and the latest scientific developments in the historical epidemiology of plague.

Plague and Empire is divided into three parts totaling eight chapters that speak to three different genres of historiography. The first part of the work is concerned with the behavior of plague as a disease and the relationship between plague historiography as a whole and the Ottoman experience. The second part of the book is devoted to different phases of the long Ottoman encounter with plague and the relationship of these phases to the political and socioeconomic expansion of the empire. The final part of the book studies the Ottoman experience of plague as a social phenomenon, delving into the cultural history of disease and how the processes discussed in earlier sections of the book impacted the development of Ottoman society.

Chapter 1 offers what Varlık refers to as a natural history of plague with an emphasis on the Ottoman domains. In addition to integrating the latest developments in the study of plague, Varlık offers some clues as to how plague fits into the different climatic, environmental, and social conditions of the Ottoman Empire. This chapter attempts to bring together as many clues as possible concerning how plague may have functioned and the wide variety of factors that may have contributed to outbreaks and epidemics. With regard to human activity, she places particular emphasis on the diverse and often ignored types of movement and mobility in the empire such as trade, nomadic rhythms, and population movements both within and into the Ottoman Empire. Chapter 2 tackles misrepresentations of plague in the Ottoman Empire and seeks to rectify the silence of Ottoman historiography

on the history of plague and disease, complicating the orientalist notion of the “fatalistic Turk.” Chapter 3 deals with the period of the Black Death (1346-1353)—a cataclysmic and pivotal moment in European historiography—from the vantage point of the Ottoman Empire, tracing the spread of plague and the century that followed up until the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

Chapter 4 focuses on the early spread of plague eastward to the Ottoman Empire from European ports during the period of Ottoman expansion between 1453 and 1517 and explores the relationship between the emergence of new urban centers and the transformation of the plague. Chapter 5 charts the movements of plague during the 1517-70 period and its intertwining with conquest, commerce, and continued urbanization. Chapter 6 details the consolidation of Istanbul as the empire’s plague hub during the apogee of Ottoman expansion over the last decades of the 16th century. Chapter 7 reconstructs Ottoman understandings of and attitudes towards plague as a disease and studies how ideas and practices changed in light of plague’s spread and persistence. Chapter 8 outlines the administrative response to plague in Istanbul and other Ottoman cities, bringing to light the ways in which the Ottoman government sought to document the plague and in the process, track as well as regulate the spaces and bodies that facilitated its spread. According to Varlık, the encounter with plague brought early examples of public health practices that are sometimes ascribed later provenance and played an important role in the making of the early modern state.

Varlık’s most important corrective to the extant historiography is found in the central argument of the work. Neither Ottoman society nor the presence of plague within it were static; rather, plague spread and changed as the empire itself grew and new geographical connections took shape. Varlık argues that “the growth of the Ottoman Empire and the expansion of plague epidemics are intimately intertwined.” (p. 4) During the medieval period and the Black Death, the typical manifestation of plague was eruption in certain locations, a spread along main routes, and an eventual disappearance. This pattern would recur every ten to fifteen years. However, beginning in the second half of the 15th century, plague in the Ottoman Empire deviated from this pattern to recur in locations such as Istanbul on a practically annual basis. This shift was the result of the growth of the Ottoman Empire as an interconnected imperial space and the creation of what Varlık calls “a capital effect,” which is to say the intensification of plague in Istanbul due its dense population and its place at the center of various social and economic flows within the empire.

Readers will no doubt be intrigued by the periodization and subdivision of *Plague and Empire*, which conform neatly to a conventional periodization of early Ottoman political history. While the historiography of disease and environment tends to emphasize that microbes and other ecological factors rarely conform to human-made boundaries of space and time, Varlık makes a good case that the phases of political expansion and restructuring in the empire coincide with phases of distinct plague contagion and spread. While plagues are often cited in the fall of empires, Varlık notes that the processes that shaped the Ottoman Empire were the same that would facilitate the spread of plague. Thus in contrast to the typical presentation of plague as harbinger of imperial decline, in the Ottoman Empire plague was part and parcel of the empire's formation. As a handy table on page 132 suggests, plague outbreaks became more frequent as the Ottoman domains and state apparatus grew.

Plague and Empire is an excellent complement to the other studies of environment and disease in the early modern Ottoman Empire released through Cambridge University Press, especially Sam White's *Climate of Rebellion* (2011). Whereas the latter's narrative emphasizes the impacts of global climate change on Ottoman society and economy, Varlık emphasizes the impact of human activity in the empire on the creation of new plague networks and environments. Together, these studies demonstrate the complex and dialectical relationship between human society and the environment in the Ottoman Empire.

Another important contribution of *Plague and Empire* is its incorporation of detailed discussion concerning the latest scientific developments in the understanding of plague and consideration of new findings in light of evidence of plague epidemiology in the Ottoman Empire based on Ottoman and European sources. With imagination and rigor, Varlık brings a multi-layered reading of plague in the "natural history" laid out in Chapter 1 and throughout the subsequent chapters on plague's transformation. This reviewer was particularly enticed by the interspersed details concerning differentiated responses to plague among the Ottoman populace. For example, Varlık shows that in different parts of the empire, both urban and rural populations took to the mountains during warm seasons associated with the proliferation of plague. In later centuries, this behavior is also observable as a response to summertime malaria, even as plague ceased to be a central public health concern in the 19th and 20th centuries. The fact that seasonal migration to the mountains was a common response to malaria does not mean that the supposed link between seasonal migration and plague is

invalid or overstated but rather suggests that the frequent conflation of different epidemic diseases among the early modern Ottoman population was not merely due to an inability to differentiate. Strategies such as the avoidance of particular environments may have proven effective in warding off a range of ailments with similar seasonal signatures. While historians of disease have learned the dangers of over-speculative retroactive diagnosis, the overlap and convergences between past understandings of what may be identified as distinct ailments in epidemiological terms point to the potential benefits of studying past disease and environments through the ecological worldviews of the actors in question.

In this regard, the final chapters of *Plague and Empire*, which deal with the intellectual, social, and political reactions to the plague, are especially critical for working towards a means of studying the subject of plague through the eyes of contemporary historical observers. Varlık demonstrates that views and understandings of plague changed, arguing that plague was both *naturalized* in the sense that it became part of the Ottoman cultural landscape as well as medicalized in that it was approached not merely as a natural disaster but as a disease to be studied and treated. These chapters raise important questions for historians of disease and medicine working on later periods of history in the Middle East. They also suggest that the Ottoman encounter with the plague was on the whole similar to the better studied experience of European societies during the medieval and early modern periods.

Plague and Empire contends that the Ottoman experience, rather than being a foil or counterpart to the European experience, was one facet of a broader early modern encounter with plague that occurred within an increasingly interconnected world. In this important response to a Eurocentric field of study, Varlık has written a new narrative that will be the subject of much discussion and interest within plague studies. Likewise, by connecting the spread of plague to the rise of the Ottoman Empire as we know it, Varlık impels the field of Ottoman studies to pay more attention to disease and environment. Whether continuing the study of diseases and their relationship with a transformation polity or exploring how cats became cuddly co-agents in an Ottoman reaction to repeated epidemics, Ottomanist scholars will return to *Plague and Empire* as an important source of new questions in the years to come.

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Bilgin Aydın, İlhami Yurdakul, Ayhan Işık, İsmail Kurt, Esra Yıldız,

İstanbul Şer'iyeye Sicilleri Vakfiyeler Katalogu,

Ankara: İSAM, 2015, 708 s., ISBN 978-975-389-853-9.

Osmanlılarda vakıflar, eğitim, öğretim başta olmak üzere, sosyal ve ekonomik açıdan çok geniş bir alanda faaliyet göstermekteydiler. Bu kurumların işleyiş şekli ve şartları ise vakfiye adı verilen belgelerde açıklanmaktaydı. Bir nevi işletme mevzuatı şeklinde tanımlanabilecek olan bu belgeler, bir “vakıf medeniyeti” olarak da adlandırılan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun tarihi bakımından en önemli arşiv belgeleri arasında yer almaktadır. Vakıfların taşınır ve taşınmaz varlıklarının vakfiyelerde sıralandıktan sonra, bu varlıkların işletilmesinden çalışacak personelin görevleri ve günlük ücretlerine, gelirlerin toplanmasından dağıtılmasına varıncaya kadar hizmet amacının sınırları belirlenmekte ve vakfın şartları irad edilmekteydi.

Osmanlı dönemi vakıflarına dair nazariyat ve tatbikat açısından birçok çalışma yapılmıştır. Söz konusu çalışmalar 1) müstakil vakıflara dair olanlar, 2) vakıfların toplumsal ve ekonomik yönleri ile ilgili araştırmalar, 3) vakfiyelerin transkripsiyonlu neşirleri¹ ve 4) katalog yayınları şeklinde tasnif edilebilir. Bunlardan ilk ikisi analitik özelliğe sahipken son ikisi, araştırma aracı (finding aids) düzeyinde referans çalışmaları sınıfına girmektedir. Analitik düzeyli çalışmaların yaygınlaşabilmesi de bir bakıma bu başvuru kaynaklarının varlığına bağlıdır. Bilgin Aydın, İlhami Yurdakul, Ayhan Işık, İsmail Kurt, Esra Yıldız tarafından hazırlanmış olan vakfiyeler katalogu bu alandaki önemli bir boşluğu doldurmaktadır.

Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi gibi muhtelif merkezlerde önemli sayıda vakfiye bulunmaktadır. İstanbul Müftülüğü Şer'iyeye Sicilleri Arşivi’nde muhafaza edilen defterlerde kayıtlı vakfiyeler ise çok daha fazladır. Bu nedenle söz konusu arşiv, yayınlanan katalogun Giriş’inde “vakfiye suretlerinin kayıtlı bulunduğu en önemli arşiv” olarak takdim edilmektedir (s. 14). Burada bulunan 27 Osmanlı mahkemesinden sadece bir tanesi (Maliye Beytülmal Kassâmlığı) hariç olmak üzere diğer 26 mahkemeye ait kadı sicillerinde H. 709-1309 / M. 1342-1923 yılları arasını kapsayan müslüman ve gayrimüslimlere ait

1 Değerli bir örnek için bkz. *Balkanlar’da Osmanlı Vakıfları: Vakfiyeler, Bulgaristan = Ottoman Waqfs in the Balkans: Waqf Deeds Bulgaria*, 3 c., haz. Halit Eren, Önder Bayır, Mustafa Oğuz, Zekai Mete, editör: Halit Eren, IRCICA, İstanbul 2012.

toplam 9867 vakfiye kayıtlıdır. Bu belgelerin katalog bilgileri ilk defa elimizdeki çalışma ile bir bütün halinde gün yüzüne çıkarılmış olmaktadır.

Ev, dükkân, çiftlik, bağ, bahçe, hamam vs. gibi gayrimenkullerin vakfedildiğine dair vakfiye sayısı 5917 adet iken, para vakıflarının toplam sayısı 3950'dir. Bir mahkemenin sorumluluk alanları, tutulan defter sayısı ve bu defterlerin kapsadığı yıl aralığı ile ihtiva ettiği vakfiye sayısı arasında doğru bir orantı olduğu görülmektedir. Nitekim, en çok vakfiye tespit edilen (2665 adet) mahkemelerin başında 454 (888-1342/1483-1923) yılı kapsayan Evkâf-ı Hümayun Müfettişliği gelmektedir.²

Eserin giriş kısmında genel bir vakıf değerlendirmesi yapılmakta, yukarıda sözü edilen muhtelif arşivlerdeki vakfiyeler ve vakıf belgeleri hakkında genel bilgiler verilerek yayınlanan katalogun değeri vurgulanmaktadır. Katalogu oluşturulan vakfiyeler, buldukları sicillerin ait oldukları mahkeme isimleri (*Kasımpaşa Mahkemesi*, *Kısmet-i Askeriyye Mahkemesi*, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi* gibi) altında birer bölüm şeklinde gruplandırılmış olmakla birlikte, bütün vakfiye kayıtlarına ilkin-den sonuncusuna kadar müteselsil katalog numarası verilmiştir. Dizinden tespit edilen bir vakfiye kaydına, bu yöntem sayesinde doğrudan ulaşmak mümkün olmaktadır. Bu bilgilerden sonra ise sırası ile, ilgili mahkeme sicillerinin başlangıç ve bitiş yılı, sicillerin genel toplamı, tespit edilen vakfiyelerin sayısı ile ilk ve son vakfiyenin taşıdığı tarih verilmektedir.

Örneğin, Kısmet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi başlığı altında vakfiyeler listesinden önceki bilgiler şu şekilde verilmektedir: "Kısmet-i Askeriyye Mahkemesi'nde 1000-1342 (1591-1923) yılları arasında, 332 yıllık bir zaman zarfında 2138 adet sicil tutulmuş olup bu sicillerde kayıtlı vakfiye sayısı 263 adettir. Bu mahkemeye ait vakıf kayıtları 1 Safer 1000 (5 Kasım 1591) tarihinde başlayıp 27 Receb 1331 (2 Temmuz 1913) tarihinde son bulmaktadır. Vakfiyelerin tamamı Türkçe'dir."

Önem arz eden bütün detayların katalog başlıklarının oluşturulmasında dikkate alınmış olduğu görülmektedir. Vakıflar üzerine çalışan araştırmacıların ihtiyaç duyabileceği başlıklar olan vakıf sahibinin ismi, vakfedilen şeyin türü (para, ev, dükkân vs.), vakfın yeri, tarihi ve son olarak da kime-neye vakfedildiği şeklindeki başlıklar altında vakfiyelerin muhtevaları yansıtılmıştır. Evkâf-ı Hümayun Müfettişliği Mahkemesi'nden birkaç örnek şöyledir:

2 27 mahkemeye ait liste için bkz. s. 15.

Sıra nr.	Sicil nr.	Varak nr.	Dili	Vakfı	Mevkûfatın Cinsi	Mevkûfatın Yeri/Mahallesi	Tarihi	Vakfedildiği Cihet
1335	1	1/B-2/A	T	Mısır Paşası Mehmed Paşa	İki ev, iki dükkân	Nevbethâne M	yok	Evlâdına ve Medine fukarasına
1336	1	2/B	A	Abdülbâki b. Hasan	Ev	Kızılminare M	30 L 1016	Evlâtlarına ve fukaraya
1337	1	6/B	A	Sâliha Hatun bint Abdullah	Ev	Camcialı M	1 N 997	Kendisine, evlâdına ve Medine fukarasına
1359	1	27/A – 28/A	T	Şemsiruhsar Hatun bint Abdulgaffâr	1100 adet altın	Saraylı	30 R 1022	Mescid-i Nebevî'de ruhuna Kur'an okuma
1360	1	28/A-B	T	Mustafa b. Abdülmennân	240.000 guruş	Haremağası	30 R 1022	Mescid-i Nebevî'de ruhuna Kur'an okuma

Katalogun sonuna Vakıflar, Mevkûfat Mahalli ve Vakıf Cihetleri dizinleri olmak üzere üç farklı indeks konulmuştur. Araştırmacının vakfiyelere ulaşmasını kolaylaştıracak bir kapsam, esneklik ve incelikte hazırlandığı görülen söz konusu dizinler, bu açıdan da oldukça yarar sağlayacak bir nitelik taşımaktadır. Fakat, eserin giriş kısmında sunulan vakfiye ve vakıflar değerlendirmesinin nispeten dar bir kapsamda ele alınmış olduğu söylenebilir. Buradaki atıfların birincil kaynaklar yerine ikincil kaynaklara yapılmış olması da ayrıca dikkati çekmektedir.

İstanbul mahkemelerine ait sicillerdeki bütün vakfiye kayıtlarını ihtiva etmesi bir tarafa, bu mahkemeler hakkında derli toplu bilgiler sunması açısından da elimizdeki katalogun ayrı bir yere sahip olduğu söylenebilir. Zira, İstanbul ve Bilâd-ı Selâse'de (*Galata, Eyüp, Üsküdar*) faal olan mahkemeler hakkında literatürde bu özellikte hiçbir araştırma mevcut değildir. Kataloga bu açıdan bakıldığında, İstanbul'daki 26 kadı ve naib mahkemesinin tanımlanmasının gerekliliği ve daha derinlikli çalışmalara ihtiyaç bulunduğu açığa çıkmaktadır.

İlk bakışta yalnızca İstanbul merkezli vakıfları ihtiva etmekteymiş gibi görünse de, yayınlanan katalogun İstanbul dışında kurulmuş olan bazı vakıflara ait kayıtları içerdiği de ayrıca vurgulanmalıdır. Amasya, Antakya, Antalya, Antep, Arapkir, Bosna, Bolu, Diyarbakır, Edremit, İzmir, İzmit, İznik, Mora, Rodos, Rusçuk, Selânik, Üsküp, Yozgat gibi yerler bunlardan bazılarıdır. Günümüze ulaşmış olan İstanbul dışındaki siciller (Anadolu, Rumeli, Ortadoğu coğrafyası vd.) üzerinde de benzer bir çalışmanın yapılarak mevcut bütün vakfiyelerin bir katalogda toplanmasının Osmanlı vakıflarının anlaşılması açısından çok daha yararlı olacağı şüphesizdir.

Kenan Yıldız

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Julia Phillips Cohen,

Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era,

Oxford; New York, Oxford University Press, 2014, xxi+219 pp.

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One of the main promises of the modernizing Tanzimat reforms of the nineteenth century was the creation of a new civic order whereby the subject communities – particularly Christians and Jews – would be treated as equal imperial citizens irrespective of their religious and ethnic affiliations. It was expected that the promises of this new order would further cement relations between the state and its subjects. The available research suggests that this promise of equality was not welcomed by the empire's Muslim elite. The responses of other communities – i.e. Orthodox Greek, Armenian and Jewish – to these modernizing reforms, however, have not been studied in detail.

Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era by Julia Phillips Cohen explores Sephardi Jewish elites' struggle to fit their community into the above-mentioned new civic imperial order in the late Ottoman Empire. It focuses on the Jewish elites' responses to the modern reforms and the ways they imagined and invented their coreligionists as loyal and ideal imperial citizens. In surveying these elite responses, the present study analyses the private and public transcriptions of this process of invention/imagination in the Hamidian, Second Constitutional, and post-Ottoman periods. It addresses the question of how the Jewish elites' vision of ideal imperial citizenship and model community resonated in the larger Ottoman Jewish community and abroad.

Julia Phillips Cohen argues that the aspiration to imperial citizenship among Ottoman Jews started much earlier than most studies suggest, and notes that 'already by the mid-nineteenth century, Ottoman Jews as well as other Ottomans across the empire had begun to attempt to understand, debate, and perform their newly acquired roles of imperial citizens' (p. xiii). In contrast to top-down imperial patriotic projects, she further claims, 'Ottoman Jews fashioned their own form of patriotism from below.' Yet, this process of inventing a model community 'with a special relationship to the state' was, according to Cohen, 'fraught with contradictions', since they had to compete with other groups – i.e. Christian communities – to garner the attention of the state, putting new strains on Ottoman Jews' relations with other groups in the empire.

In delineating the transformation of the late Ottoman Jewish community, the book takes as its starting point the post-Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839) period, an era when the Jewish community felt particularly insecure because of the murder of a number of its leading businessmen. These terrifying experiences resulted from a top-down authoritarian modernization policy which aimed at the eradication of one of the most powerful centrifugal actors, the Janissaries and their Jewish business partners. The murders were followed almost immediately by the declaration of the Noble Rescript of the Rose Chamber (1839) which guaranteed the life, honor, and property of all Ottoman subjects, and the *Islahat Fermanı* (1856) which heralded even more radical changes for Ottoman society in general and Ottoman Jews in particular. The book argues that these modernizing reforms laid the foundation 'for the creation of an equal Ottoman citizenry undifferentiated by religion.' It was within this milieu that the Ottoman Jewish elite - with the active involvement of their European brethren - 'began to propagate new discourses of belonging' (p. 11).

Becoming Ottomans chiefly traces the making of Ottoman Jewish model communities in Salonica, Istanbul and Izmir whose members were envisioned as loyal imperial citizens. According to Cohen, the proclamation of the First Ottoman Constitution (1876) and the opening of the first Ottoman Parliament, which drew representatives from all regions and communities of the empire, coupled with the wars with Serbia and Montenegro (1876) and Russia (1877) 'dramatically propelled the Ottoman Jewish patriotic project' (p. 20). In the light of these developments, the first part of the book investigates the processes through which various Jewish communal leaders from the above-cited cities 'attempted to mobilize their communities to patriotic and philanthropic ends' (p. 22) and also to create new bonds between Jews and their Christian and Muslim neighbors. In inventing a Jewish civic imperial citizen, the Jewish elites, the book shows, utilized journals to warn and instruct their coreligionists concerning proper types of public behavior; they 'sought to eradicate the image of poor and backward Jew roaming the streets with outstretched hand, replacing it with that of enlightened and philanthropic citizen...' (p. 24). As Cohen notes, the Jewish leaders' concern here, besides earning the respect of their Christian and Muslim neighbors, was also to gain the attention of their state. In that regard, one sees in this period an active involvement of Jewish elites in education to provide their community members - who were believed to be underrepresented in government offices because of the language barrier- opportunities of upward social mobility by offering them languages classes or compiling Ottoman-Ladino dictionaries.

The process of creating a model community also involved the invention of new traditions. Chapter 2 outlines the discussions around the organization of two occasions: the celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Spanish Jews in Ottoman lands following their expulsion from Spain in 1492 and the 1893 Chicago Exposition. Ottoman Jewish elites believed and expected that the proposed holiday and public celebrations of the four-hundredth anniversary would further contribute to their community's image in state circles. The author uses a description of the discussions surrounding the four-hundredth anniversary celebrations to explore the alternative visions of model community that existed among the Ottoman Jewish secular and religious elites. Unlike the four-hundredth anniversary commemoration, the exhibit for the Chicago Exposition, organized by Elia Souhami, a prominent Jewish entrepreneur and philanthropist, was widely covered in the Ottoman and Jewish press because of its less controversial nature. Cohen claims that the two events had distinct outcomes. While the former ran the risk of upsetting the political sensibilities of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) by 'parading differences' (p. 74), the latter – i.e. the 1893 Chicago Exposition – served the idea of Ottomanism wherein differences were downplayed and more importantly it had no potential to disturb the political sensibilities of the reigning sultan.

Within the milieu of escalating ethnic confrontations and violence in the last decades of the nineteenth century, Cohen identifies a shift from a civic to an Islamic form of Ottomanism whereby the Jewish community was expected to reclaim and find new ways of demonstrating its loyalty to the state. Chapter 3 outlines the Jewish elites' behavior in the new political context which prioritized Islamic-Ottomanism. By looking at the 1896 Armenian Massacres and the Ottoman-Greek War (1897) respectively, Cohen scrutinizes Jewish elites' responses and the repercussions of these events on inter-communal and community-state relations in the empire's capital as well as Salonica and Izmir. On the one hand, the Jewish elites of these cities strove to maintain friendly relations with their Orthodox/Christian neighbors; on the other, they sought alternative ways to demonstrate their own loyalty to the state. In this atmosphere of war and impending inter-communal conflict, Cohen writes, Islamic Ottomanism offered the Ottoman Jews a disturbing option. 'Responding to the growing politicization of Islam in the empire, on the one hand, and to long-standing frictions and competition with Ottoman Christian groups on the other,' Jews across the empire 'came to express their identification with Ottoman Muslims, and even with Islam, throughout the period' (p. 79). The 1896 Armenian Massacres, in which some members of

the Ottoman Jewish community also took part, and especially the war between the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Greece (1897) constitute two crucial historical instances in the present work where the loyalties of the Ottoman Jews to the state were tested. Under these circumstances, the compulsory rapprochement between parties echoed in their relations, as Ottoman Jews ‘emphasized their identification with their “Muslim brothers” in speeches and the press and attempted to make such links concrete through their participation in projects clearly marked as Islamic’ (p. 100).

The short-lived liberal atmosphere of the 1908 revolution has been described as a period of intellectual flowering in the late Ottoman history, one in which several journals and organizations were formed. As Cohen argues, ‘various competing Jewish groups [the Zionists, anti-Zionists, socialists and liberals] battled one another while striving to earn the attention and support of the new regime.’ In keeping with this political atmosphere, ‘Jewish leaders found it increasingly difficult to speak of Ottoman Jewry as a single collective.’ The final chapter takes the occasion of Sultan Mehmed V’s (r. 1909-1918) 1911 visit to Salonica as a lens through which to observe the conflicting visions of loyalty between various Jewish social and political organizations. Cohen describes this competition as a ‘symbolic battle’, a battle over who could best appropriate the symbols of the new regime by erecting arches and hosting galas to embody the slogans of the new regime.

The modernizing reforms, which promised the creation of a new civic order, have been studied mainly from the perspective of the state and ruling classes. Moreover, these studies have focused exclusively on the experiences of Muslim subjects of the empire. The repercussions of these reforms among the other subject populations, especially the non-Muslims, constitute an understudied field of late Ottoman history. How did the Tanzimat’s promise of equal imperial citizenship – a promise designed specifically to address the concerns of Christian communities – resonate among these subject *millets*? The present study explores the reception, negotiation, and adaptation of these ideals by Ottoman Sephardi Jews in general and the Jewish elite in particular in the era following the Tanzimat. By exploring the Jewish elites’ responses, the present study provides an important insight into the experiences of one of the underrepresented communities of late Ottoman history. It outlines the elites’ concerns and expectations as well as the challenges that awaited them and their community. Furthermore, it portrays the elites’ precarious task of seeking a balance between their community and the state

in order to become a model loyal community, while at the same time maintaining inter-communal relations with Orthodox Greeks and Armenians.

The present study challenges the conventional narrative which attributes a special nature to Ottoman/Turkish – Jewish relations. In contrast to the myth of a special relation based on collaboration after 1492, the book successfully explains the processes and the means utilized by the Ottoman Jewish elites to realize the Ottoman Jewish model project. In that sense the relations between the two parties could at best be described as an invention which addressed the Ottoman Jewish elites' desire to fit their community members into the new imperial social, economic, political and legal order.

Despite reasonable expectations that the book will provide an account of how Ottoman Sephardi Jews became Ottomans, the emphasis here is not so much on Ottoman Sephardi Jews as a community but on the Jewish elites. Through the book one reads the elites' concerns and responses on behalf of their community. Thus, it was not the 'Ottoman Jews' in the book who 'collectively took it upon themselves to learn and teach each other how to become citizens of their empire', but the Ottoman Jewish Sephardi elites who imagined and invented their coreligionists as members of a model community. Though the book describes the responses and mobilization of Ottoman Jewish youth and women during war efforts, it would be interesting to see how the values formulated and propagated by the elite resonated among the Jewish subaltern classes.

Relations between the state and its subject non-Muslim populations in the modern period have often been seen through the lenses of nationalism and ethnic and religious conflicts and the non-Muslim *millet*s were further imagined as a single collective irrespective of social, political, and economic distinctions. However, as Cohen's book demonstrates, these relations had nuances which cut across religious, ethnic, and class differences within the communities as these groups came to embody alternative and contending visions of model communities and loyalties. In that regard, by providing an analysis of the invention of a model Ottoman Jewish community, *Becoming Ottomans* enhances our perspective on the Ottoman modernizing reforms and how the Tanzimat ideals and promises were negotiated, adapted and challenged by the Jewish elite - a project which also had repercussions in Republican Turkey.

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Özgen Felek (haz.),

Kitābü'l-Menāmāt, Sultan III. Murad'ın Rüya Mektupları,

İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012, xii+377 pp.

ISBN 978-975-3333-01-6

Osmanlı padişahları nasıl rüyalar görürlerdi? Ne tür hayalleri, kaygıları ve beklentileri rüyalar aleminde şekil bulup paylaşıldı? Bu soruların cevaplarını araştırmak için değerli bir yayına Özgen Felek'in özverili ve özenli çalışması sayesinde sahibiz. *Kitābü'l-Menāmāt, Sultan III. Murad'ın Rüya Mektupları*, 259 varaklık hacimli tek nüsha yazmanın çeviriyazısını kapsamlı bir giriş yazısı ve çeviriyazıda kullanılan yöntem üzerine detaylı bir değerlendirme ile okurlara sunuyor. Sultan III. Murad'ın şeyhi Şüca ve annesi Safiye Sultan ile ilişkilerini, iç sıkıntılılarıyla çaresizliklerini, siyasi olaylar konusundaki tutumlarıyla mistik tecrübelerini bu rüya metinlerinde görmek mümkün. Bir sultanın siyasi ve ruhani deneyimleri üzerinde düşünmemiz ve on altıncı yüzyıl sonunda Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki hayatlar üzerine sorular sormamızı sağlayan bu çalışma, farklı alanlarda çalışan bir çok Osmanlı tarihçisi için değerli bir kaynak eseri okurlara sunuyor.

Felek'in çalışması, metin neşri yöntemleri konusunda bizlere önemli bir örnek sunuyor. Bu yayınlı Sultan III. Murad'ın şeyhine gönderdiği mektuplar olduğu iddia edilen Nuruosmaniye kütüphanesindeki tek yazma nüshanın artık birçok araştırmacı tarafından okunabilecek olmasının yanında, Felek'in kapsamlı giriş yazısı sayesinde yeni araştırmalar ve çeşitli okuma yöntemleri geliştirilebilecek. Giriş yazısında Felek *Kitābü'l-Menāmāt* üzerine Michigan Üniversitesi'nde yaptığı doktora incelemesinin sonuçlarını okurlarla paylaşmış bu çok yönlü ve zengin metnin tasavvufi, siyasi ve edebî yönlerini inceleyebilmemizi sağlıyor. 1994'de Cemal Kafadar tarafından yayınlanan on yedinci yüzyılda yaşamış Üsküplü mutasavvıf Asiye Hatun'un rüya mektupları psikanalizden tasavvufa farklı değerlendirme yazılarına kaynaklık etmiş ve çeşitli disiplinler arasında Osmanlıların rüyalarını okuma biçimlerimiz üzerine bir tartışma alanı yaratmıştı. Felek'in çalışmalarının da, elimizdeki diğer rüya metinleri, tabirnameler, tasavvuf risaleleri ile bunlar üzerine yapılan incelemeleri karşılaştırılarak yeni değerlendirmelere kaynaklık edeceğini ve zengin rüya metinlerinin Osmanlı kültür tarihimize katkısı üzerine yeni tartışmalar başlatacağını umuyorum.

Girişi takip eden bölümde ise çeviriyazıda takip edilen yöntem açıklanıp yazmanın dil ve üslup özellikleri sunuluyor. III. Murad'ın ölümünden birkaç yıl

önce, Mirahur Nuh Aęa tarafından H. 1001 (M. 1592/93)'de istinsah edilen ve bugün sadece tek nüshası bilinen bu eserdeki mektuplar, III. Murad'ın elinden çıkmıř deęil. Ancak Felek, mektupların devrin sultanına ait olduęu iddiasını dikkate alarak, istinsah ařamasında müstensihin mektupların asıllarına sadık kalmaya dikkat etmiř olabileceęine iřaret ediyor. Metni çeviriyazıya aktarıırken de metne mümkün olduęunca az müdahale etmeyi ve yazma metinle çeviri metin arasındaki mesafeyi kısa tutmayı amaçlıyor. Metni olması gerektięini düřündüęü en mükemmel haliyle yayınlama yöntemini seçmemesi sayesinde, *Kitābü'l-Menāmāt*'ın kaleme alındıęı devirde dilin yařadıęı deęiřimler ve zenginlikleri canlı bir řekilde gösteren, morfolojik ve fonetik özelliklerini inceleyebileceęimiz bir yayına sahibiz.

Son olarak, Felek'in metin üzerindeki çalıřmalarına devam ettięini de ekleyelim. Metnin dięer nüshalarını aramaya devam eden yazar, bulduęu takdirde tenkitli metin neřretmeyi planlıyor. Aynı zamanda ilk yüz rüyanın İngilizce çevirisini Washington Üniversitesi'ndeki 'Sultan'ın Rüyalari' projesi (<http://depts.washington.edu/ndtwp/sultansdreams/>) bağlamında dijital olarak yayınlayan Felek, *Kitābü'l-Menāmāt*'ı karşılařtırmalı tarih arařtırmaları için dünya rüya tarihçilerine sunuyor. *Sultan III. Murad'ın Rüya Mektupları* rüyalar üzerine olan çalıřmaların yanında tasavvuf, edebiyat, siyaset tarihi ve dilbilim üzerine yapılan çeřitli arařtırmalara rehberlik etmek ve birçok yeni incelemeyi başlatmak için biz arařtırmacıları bekliyor.

Aslı Niyazioęlu
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Osmanlı Edebiyatı Tarihçisi Akün Hoca'nın Ardından

Osmanlı edebiyat tarihinin büyük hocalarından Prof. Dr. Ömer Faruk Akün 2 Mayıs 2016'da vefat etti. İlim çevrelerinde genellikle "Akün Hoca" olarak bilinen duayenimiz, 5 Nisan 1926'da İstanbul'da doğdu. Fatma İrfan Hanım ile Mehmet Ziyaeddin Bey'in oğludur. Beşiktaş-Akaret'lerde 38. İlkokul'da başladığı ilk öğrenimini Sultanahmet'te 44. İlkokul ile Beylerbeyi 27. İlkokulu'nda tamamladı (1936). Daha sonra önce orta kısmına kaydolduğu Kabataş Erkek Lisesi'nden mezun oldu (1943). Burada devrin tanınmış şairlerinden Zeki Ömer Defne, Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel ile Nihad Sami Banarlı değişik sınıflarda hocaları oldu. Yüksek tahsilini İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü'nde "Dede Korkut Hikâyelerinde Kompozisyon ve Tasvir" konulu teziyle tamamladı (1947). 1947-1948 yıllarında askerlik görevini yaptı. 1951 yılında mezun olduğu bölüme Prof. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar'ın başında bulunduğu Tanzimat Edebiyatı Kürsüsü'ne önce okutman, daha sonra asistan olarak tayin edildi. 1953'te "Türk Halk Şiirinde Tabiat" konulu teziyle doktorasını tamamladı. 1954-1956 yılları arasında Paris'te Sorbonne Üniversitesi'nde Mukayeseli Edebiyat derslerini takip etti, aynı zamanda Bibliothéque National'da Türk edebiyatı ile ilgili yazmalar ve kaynaklar üzerinde çalıştı. 1959'da "Abdülhak Hâmid'de *Makber*'den Önce Ölüm Temi" adlı teziyle doçent oldu. 1971 yılında da *Nâmık Kemal'in Mektupları* adlı çalışmasıyla profesörlüğe yükseltildi. 1984'te Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı Başkanı, 1990'da da Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü Başkanı olan Ömer Faruk

Akün, 1993 yılında yaş haddinden emekliye ayrıldı. 1983-2000 yılları arasında Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Bilim Kurulu üyeliğine seçildi. 1989 yılından itibaren *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Bilim Kurulu'nda çalıştı. Türk kültürüne yaptığı hizmet ve katkılarından dolayı 2005 yılında Türk Kültürüne Hizmet Vakfı tarafından kendisine “Şükran Ödülü” verildi. Uzunca bir hastalık dönemini müteakip 2 Mayıs 2016'da vefat etti, cenazesi Karacaahmet Kabristanı'na defnedildi.

İlim hayatında ve araştırmalarında Türkiye'de Türkoloji'nin kurucusu kabul edilen Fuad Köprülü'nün izinden giden ve onun metodunu benimseyen Ö. F. Akün, Fransızca, Almanca, İngilizce, Farsça ve Rusça dillerine hakim olup uzun yıllar büyük emekler harcıyarak ortaya koyduğu bilimsel nitelikli çalışmalarını 1949 yılından itibaren İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi'nin yayını olan *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* ile *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı tarafından neşredilen *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* ve Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı'nca çıkarılan *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*'nde yayımlamıştır.

İlim çevrelerinde kılı kırk yararcasına araştırmacılığı ve kaynaklara hakimiyeti ile tanınan Ö. F. Akün, üniversite hocası olarak vermiş olduğu dersler yanında dokuz yüksek lisans tezi ile dokuz doktora tezi idare etmiştir.

Gerek derslerinde, gerekse çeşitli konferanslarında Türk dili ve edebiyatı ile Türk tarihi ve Türk sanatını birbirinden ayrılmaz bir bütün olarak ele alan Ö. F. Akün, çalışmalarını bu çerçevede geniş bir sahayı kapsayacak şekilde gerçekleştirmiştir. Küçük yaşta başlayan okuma ve yeni şeyler öğrenme tutkusu hayatı boyunca doymak bilmez bir şekilde devam eden hoca, sayı bakımından az eser vermiş olmakla beraber, onun bütün çalışmaları Türkoloji sahasında çalışanlara örnek olacak ayrıntılara ve zenginliğe sahiptir.

Zaman zaman konferanslar vermek ya da bildiriler sunmak üzere yerli ve yabancı birçok ilmî toplantıya katılmış, çeşitli tezler hakkında ayrıntılı raporlar hazırlamış, bu gibi faaliyetlerinde başkalarının dikkatini çekmeyen çeşitli hususları ortaya koymak suretiyle ilmî hassasiyetini ortaya koymaktan da geri kalmamıştır.

Ö. F. Akün'ün ilim âleminde ses getiren ve konuyla ilgili çeşitli bilimsel çalışmalarda kaynak olarak gösterilen “Abdülhak Hâmid'in ‘Merkad-i Fâtih’i Ziyaret’ Manzumesi ve İçindeki Görüşler”, “Şinasi'nin Bugüne Kadar Ele Geçmeyen *Fatin Tezkiresi* Baskısı”, “Şinasi'nin *Fatin Tezkiresi* Baskısındaki Yeni Biyografik Bilgiler”, “Nâmık Kemal'in Kitap Hâlindeki Eserlerinin İlk Neşirleri”, “Abdülhak Hâmid'in Basılı Eserleri Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler”, “Nâmık Kemal-Süleyman Paşa Mektuplaşması”,

“La Marseillaise’in Türkçe’de En Eski Manzum Tercümesi”, “Tanzimat Edebiyatı Tabiri Ne Dereceye Kadar Doğrudur?” ve “Osmanlı Tarihi Karşısında Yahya Kemal’in Şiiri” adlı ve her biri küçük birer kitap çapındaki makaleleri ile eski (M.E.B.) ve yeni *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*’nde (DİA) yayımlanan “Nâmık Kemal”, “Nergisi”, “Şemseddin Sâmî”, “Şinasi”, “Ahmed Vefik Paşa”, “Âlî”, “Bianchi”, “Çaylak Tefik”, “Fuad Köprülü”, “Gülzar Hanım”, “Hayrullah Efendi”, “Hoca Tahsin”, “İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal” ve “Koçi Bey” gibi maddeleri henüz kitaplaşmamıştır.

Ömer Faruk Akün’ün kitap halinde basılan çalışmaları şunlardır: *Nâmık Kemal’in Mektupları* (İstanbul 1972), *Türk Dili Karşısında Türk Münevveri* (İstanbul 1982), *Divan Edebiyatı* (İstanbul 2013).

Abdullah Uçman

1990’da genç ve acemi bir araştırmacı aday olarak girdiğim İSAM’da, Akün hocamızı *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (DİA) çalışmaları çerçevesinde tanımış, daha sonra *Divan Edebiyatı* kitabını yayına hazırlarken duyuşunu ve bilgi derinliğini yakından keşfetmiştim. 2 Mayıs 2016’daki bir ders esnasında vefat haberini aldığım da ise, “bir âlimin ölümü, bir âlemin ölümü gibidir” sözünün anlamını bir kez daha derin bir teessürle idrak ettim. Gerçekten öyle değil mi? Bir âlimin ölümüyle, bazen bir derya gibi olan bir bilgi ve duyüş derinliğini de beraberinde kaybetmiyoruz muyuz?

2004’te İSAM Yayınları, yeniden düzenlenmiş şekliyle devreye girdikten sonra, nitelikli kültür okuryazarlığına katkıda bulunmak amacıyla temel kültür dizisini tasarlamış, pek çok kitabın hazırlanmasını gündemimize almıştık. *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*’nin en çok çoğaltılan ve okunan hacimli maddelerinden biri olan *Divan Edebiyatı*’nı, 2007’de bu yayınlar arasında ayrı bir kitap olarak hazırlanmasına karar vermiştik. Günümüzde Türk edebiyatı tarihinin tartışmasız en büyük isimlerinden olan Ömer Faruk Akün hocamızın o sene, “İsmim izzet-i nefsimdir” diyerek, temel kültür dizimiz için, bazen maruz kaldığı hastalık ve yürüme zorluğu gibi engellere hiç aldırış etmeksizin, gıpta edilecek bir azim ve heyecanla *Divan Edebiyatı* kitabını hazırlamaya başlamasını unutmam hiç mümkün değil. Bu hazırlık aşamasını takip eden aylar içerisinde zaman zaman birçok defa konuşma, birkaç defa uzun saatler süren sohbet etme ve bu sayede, onun “duyüşü”nu yakından gözleme fırsatım oldu. Bu kitapta, özellikle, kendi ifadesiyle, “Türk

muhayyilesinden” süzülerek şekillenen divan edebiyatının nasıl kendine özgü ve özgün yönlerinin bulunduğunu enine boyuna, daha derinlemesine ortaya koyacağından bahsetmişti. O saatlerce süren sohbeti, kayıt altına alamadığıma çok yanarım. Ancak nerede ve nasıl bir kasırgaya, duyuş fırtınasına yakalanacağınızı nereden bilebilirsiniz ki?! Akün hocamızın kendi iç dünyasında, hiç gevşetmeksiz belirlendiği “sağlam yazı”nın sınırları için daima ideal bir seviye vardı. Bu “sağlam yazı”yı inşa etmek için duyuşu daima yerinde olmasına rağmen fiziki şartları, bu duyuşa yetişemedi ve *Divan Edebiyatı*’na eklemeyi arzu ettiğinin önemli bir kısmını gerçekleştirmedi, daha doğrusu bizim için bilinir hale getiremedi.

“Duyuş, her şeydir. İsim ise boş bir seda ve gürültü, göknurunu sislendiren bir dumandır”¹ demişti Goethe. O duyuş, Akün hocanın da her şeyiydi. Bazen o duyuşa uygun ismi koydu ve eserini verdi, ama bazen de uygun bulmadığında veya bilemediğimiz başka nedenler dolayısıyla o ismi koyamadı, veya koymadı, ya da sadece duyuşuyla kalmayı tercih etti.

İstanbul zarafetiyle yetişen ve yaşayan Akün hocayla olan bir sohbetimizin küçük bir ânını, Türk kültüründe hoca-talebe ilişkisinin ne çerçevede şekillendiğini göstermesi bakımından şimdi paylaşmalıyım diye düşünüyorum. Hocamızla Tanpınar’ın, meşhur *19. Yüzyıl Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* adlı eserinin o uzun girişinde sergilediği düşünür edasını konuşuyorduk. Onun da kitabın hazırlanmasında genç bir asistan olarak katkıda bulunmasından bahsetmişim bir ara. Tanpınar “sizin hocanızdı” demiştim ve nasıl bir hoca olduğunu soruşturacaktım bu esnada. 1950’lerden konuşuyorduk... Bir anda toparlandı ve ceketinin önünü ilikledi: “Tanpınar hocamdı... hayır hocam değil, o benim velinimetimdi” demişti, adeta kendisini hocasının manevi huzurunda hissedercesine.

Hem duyuşu ve duruşu ve hem verdiği eserlerle Akün hocamıza edebiyat, eğitim ve düşünce dünyamıza yaptığı büyük katkılar için ne kadar teşekkür etsek azdır, ancak onun ilim dünyasındaki uzun ve meşakkatli yürüyüşü esnasında pek çok fedakarlıklara göğüs gererek onunla yakından ve özenle ilgilenen ailesinin, eşi Nebile Hanım ve kızı Neslihan Hanım’ın desteğini de unutmamak gerekir.

Seyfi Kenan

1 *Faust*’un Sadi Irmak çevirisi. Aslı şu şekildedir;
 “... Gefühl is alles;
 Name is Schall und Rauch,
 Umnebelnd Himmelsglut”

ANMA / In Memoriam

*“Dergimizin kurucusu Nejat Göyünç’ü
vefatının 15. yıldönümünde rahmetle anıyoruz”*

To the memory of Prof. Nejat Göyünç

It was a Sunday morning on the 1st of July (2001) when I received a phone call in Athens informing me of the death of Nejat Bey. I had only returned from Istanbul two days ago. The evening before my departure we had dined together with his family as usual at Üsküdar, a meal prepared as always with love and great care by kind-hearted, untiring Ayten Hanım. I had not even had time to open the package containing the biscuits with the pul biberi that he always prepared for me when I returned to Greece. “To go with your wine”, he would say, and on saying goodbye he would hand me the package.

The home of Nejat Bey and Ayten Hanım was open to all, without discrimination. Everyone was welcome. Foreign academics coming to Istanbul for conferences or research in archives and libraries, and local young students arriving from Anatolia during the hot summers to find material for their theses and doçentlik in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi. Nejat Bey served as director at the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi where he would spend hours helping young students with their archival research, ever eager to discuss their topic, to treat them to lunch, in the knowledge that most of them would only eat a simit with tea to save money for their photocopies at the Archive. The good-natured, discreet, jovial Nejat Bey, always had a kind word for everyone.

I, too, met him in the Ottoman Archives, where he unfailingly worked for many hours, unless he was in some provincial university teaching voluntarily,

helping young colleagues set up proper departments in Ottoman Studies. The case of Nejat Bey is, I believe, very special. I don't know many academics that have done so much voluntary work in their field, and I must say that nobody from the field of Ottoman Studies has worked for the field so generously and without bias. All young Ottomanologists owe him a great deal, and Turkey even more as it was very fortunate to have such an exceptional citizen. In today's world with its excess of pettiness and narrow-mindedness, one feels his absence more than ever. Different customs and practices are now the order of the day. I say this with great remorse.

His example is there though to provide a yardstick. He always tried to repay the help he received as an orphan from the Turkish state to study and become an academic, to return the favour. There is a story behind his famous book *Mardin Sancađı*, a landmark for all those of us who have worked with the defters. He dedicated his first academic efforts to far-off, isolated Mardin where he was first appointed as a high school teacher. In difficult times, without subsidies, with his savings and his diligence only, he launched the first international periodical on Ottoman Studies. I hope that those who took it on will never forget the profile Nejat Bey chose for his periodical. It was open to all, a podium for all. While he was still alive he donated his outstanding library and Archive to İSAM Kütüphanesi which at that time was being formed, and what he didn't have time to give, his family donated with the same generosity.

I feel very lucky to have known such a good academic and at the same time such a good person as Nejat Bey. The combination is unusual. And as I grow older, I increasingly recognize and admire the wisdom that made him choose this particular attitude to life.

Nur içinde yatsın!

Evangelia Balta

Yazarlar için not

Osmanlı Araştırmaları, yılda iki sayı halinde başta Osmanlı tarihi olmak üzere, iktisat tarihi, Türk edebiyatı, eğitim ve düşünce tarihi alanlarında hazırlanmış, tarih araştırmalarına katkı sağlayacak nitelikteki özgün makale telifi, kitap değerlendirme ve tanıtımlarının yanı sıra sempozyum, seminer ve konferans değerlendirmelerini yayımlar. Makalelerde daha önce başka bir yerde yayınlanmamış veya başka bir yere söz verilmemiş olma şartı aranır. Dergide hangi yazıların yayımlanacağına hakem usulüne göre Yayın Kurulu karar verir. Tercih edilen dil Türkçe olmakla birlikte İngilizce, Arapça, Fransızca ve Almanca makalelere de yer verilir. Makaleler A4 kağıdının bir yüzü kullanılmak suretiyle çift aralıklı olarak yazılmalıdır. Mümkünse makaleler 10.000 kelime, kitap değerlendirmeleri 2.500, kitap tanıtımları ise 1.500 kelime civarında olmalıdır. Makale teslim edilmeden önce gerekli dipnotlar, bibliyografya, tablolar vb. tamamlanmış olmalıdır. Ayrıca makalelere 150 kelimelik ayrı ayrı Türkçe ve İngilizce özetleri anahtar kelimeleriyle eklenmelidir.

Türkçe ve İngilizce makalelerde uyulması gereken transkripsiyon ve dipnot sistemi için bk. www.isam.org.tr Dergiye gönderilen yazılar iade edilmez. Yazısı yayımlanan makale sahiplerine derginin yayımından sonra 20 adet ayrı basım gönderilir. Başvurular, CD'yle birlikte bir nüsha halinde, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* Yayın Kurulu, TDV İSAM, Altunizade, İcadiye Bağlarbaşı Cad. 40, Bağlarbaşı 34662 Üsküdar-İstanbul adresine postalanmak veya ek dosya halinde dergi.osmanli@isam.org.tr e-posta adresine gönderilmek suretiyle yapılır.

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