RAGUSAN SPYING FOR THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

SOME 16th-CENTURY DOCUMENTS 1 FROM THE STATE ARCHIVE AT DUBROVNIK

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INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovacka Republika) occupied, from the middle ages to 1808, a coastal strip in the south of present-day Yugoslavia, stretching from the south of Konavli, not far from Kotor (Cattaro), to the Neretva valley and including the peninsula of Peljesac, the islands of Mljet and Lastovo, and the city of Ragusa, nowadays called Dubrovnik, its Serbo-croatian name. It formed an aristocratically-ruled, trading city-state in the Italian tradition, and under the protection of the Ottoman Empire outlived that tradition for a long time.

At the beginning of the 13th century the territory became a possession of Venice. One and a half century later, the sovereignty passed to the kings of Hungary who interfered in no way with Ragusa's affairs, so that the Ragusans started to call their constitutional unit a Republic, as in fact it was, and which it remained until it was conquered by Napoleon.

As early as the Venetian period, Ragusa, besides being an important transit port for the western Balkans, possessed a merchant fleet whose ships regularly went all the way to the north coast of Africa, Lebanon and Asia Minor. Contacts with near-by Mediterranean ports, especially those on the Adriatic coast of Italy, were very frequent, and trade relations excellent. By the end of the 14th century Ragusa had become the most important harbour on the east coast of the Adriatic, and in the whole region ranked third, after Venice and Ancona.

¹ The collection of which was made possible by a grant from the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.)

About 1450, the Republic came gradually under Turkish influence, and the Sultan replaced the Hungarian monarch as its sovereign; but until 1526 the Ragusans cotinued to recognize the latter's rights, especially when they felt they needed his protection or mediation; which in any case proved of no great help.

Ragusa payed tribute of 12,500 ducats, and expressed its devotion to every new Sultan. For the rest, its freedom was considerable, and founded upon capitulations the first of which was issued in 1430 by Murad II, and they got their definitive shape from Süleyman I. The territory was guaranteed; Ragusans were allowed to trade freely in the Ottoman Empire on payment of exceptionally low cumtoms duties and often on better terms than the local people themselves; and no Turkish official was to prevent the coming and going of any foreign merchants, even of declared enemies of the Sultan, to the port.

In the firmans, stored at the Ragusan archives, Ragusans are often referred to as dhimmi's, and ranked with the other ra'aya². They didnot, however, pay an individual poll tax. When in these firmans the word jizya occurs, it means the same thing as is mostly called kharaj; that it to say, the annual tribute. On the other hand, tax collectors on the Balkans had to be reminded of the fact that they were not to treat them as ra'aya on matters of taxes and duties and thus claim too much from them³.

Still, the Ragusans, though in the course of time slavicised, ⁴ kept in close touch with the Mediterranean world; their religion being Roman Catholic, their official language Italian, and their trading interets being to a large extent situated in Christian countries. Cultural and sentimental ties with Italy were strong, notwithstanding a certain, and often bitter, rivalry with other trading cities; primarily with Venice.

Thus lying on the border of two antagonistic "blocs"- forming a loose part of the Turkish Empire, but in many ways attached to the

e. g. in A.T. K 127: . كذار رعايالرمدر. خراج كذار رعايالرمدر.

in the narratio of the same document: من دخي ساير رعايا كبي المينلر مرك وزياده نسنه طلب ايندوكلرين

⁴ In the firmans, Ragusa is always referred to as Dubrovnik; written دو بر ونیك or دو بر ونیك

Christian Mediterranean sphere- the Ragusans were in an excellent position to help both parties, and to profit from each one. The stress no doubt, was laid on the second element, as was usual in those times.

One of the most obvious ways in which the tiny republic could serve was by collecting information.

To the traders, scattered all over the Ottoman lands and more especially in Rumelia, together with the envoys who brought the yearly tribute to Istanbul by land, little from what was going on in the Empire could remain unknown, so that a substantial amount of information about conditions and events in Turkey was passed on to the West by way of Ragusa. The Turks were not perfectly unaware of this, and in 1591 a firman was issued to the Beylerbey of Bosnia, ordering that the Ragusan envoys on their way in Bosnia should be accompanied by reliable ς a'uşes, one of the reasons being that "with the envoys there came so many spies of the Frankish misbelievers" ⁵.

But nor on the other side did the Ragusan intelligence service remain inactive. Their widely developed Mediterranean trade kept them abreast of many things worth knowing, and often very interesting, to their Ottoman sovereigns. Especially of naval affairs the the Ragusans must have had a thorough knowledge, and probably most of their reports to Istanbul contained information on those matters.

The documents edited here, in any case, deal, as far as the subject of the news received is mentioned, with reports concerning the sea, and the Venetian fleet being the most important in the surroundings of Ragusa, we may presume that a good deal of the information bears on this traditional rival and enemy, of Ragusa and the Turks alike.

Our first three documents on Ragusan spying date from the years 1541-51, on the seaways a comparatively quiet period as a result of the Turco-Venetian peace treaty of 1540, which was to remain in force for 30 years.

The Sultan, Süleyman I, was occupied in Europe and Persia. Still, rather intensive pirate activity was taking place in the western Mediterranean, not wholly outside Ragusa's sphere of inte-

ایلچی ایله بیله فرنکستان کفرهسندن نیجه جاسوس کلوب In A.T. A 109:

rests. Khair ed-Din Barbarossa infested the coast of Italy, besieging Nice in cooperation with the French in 1543; and he was succeeded in those regions by Turghut reis, who raided the Neapolitan shores in 1548 and took the fortress of Mahdiya in Tunesia shortly after, only to be expelled from it in 1550 by Andrea Doria. He sustained, however, Doria's subsequent siege of the island of Djerba.

The receipts for the information from this period are very brief, maybe because the Ragusans had not very much to tell, and they do not even go into the subject matter of the information, with the exception of A8 10, which mentions "some information concerning the sea".

The last three, from the years 1570 and '71, are far more explicit in their statements, as a result of the circumstances of the moment: Christian states preparing for an all-out naval attack on the Turks.

After actions in the Aegaean and elsewhere Turkish troops had landed under the command of Lala Mustafa Paşa, on the lst of July, 1570, at the Venetian possession of Cyprus, near Limasol, and soon occupied the whole island, with the exception of two fortified places, Nicosia and Famagusta. It seems that Venice had invited Ragusa to assist her, but the Ragusans refused. This appears from a firman (A. T. K 112) from May 1570 to Sinan, the Sancakbey of Bosnia, ordering him to assist the Ragusans in every possible manner, "as it is likely that the Venetians will attack them, because they donot give them assistance...6"

During that time, the Venetian captain-general, Girolamo Zane, was waiting with his fleet in the Adriatic -at Zadar until June, and then at Corfu; the papal commander Colonna waited at Otranto for the Spanish ships that were waiting with Andrea Doria for an order of king Philip II.

At the end of August, finally, they all assembled in the bay of Suda, Crete 7. On September 9th Nicosia surrendered, and nine days later the siege of Famagusta started.

Che le XII galee del Papa, per quanto s'intende, si sono unite con 49 galee del, Re Filipo. Che in tutto sono 61 galee, le quali intorno a XVIII del passato

ونديكلويه ياردم ويرمدوكلريچون اوزرلرينه كلمك احتمالى اولوب ٥

⁷ In the instructions for the Ragusan ambassadors at Constantinople of 11.9.1570 we read, among other things:

[&]quot;Nuove scritte al signor bassa (paşa):

Still, the commanders at Suda could not for a long time agree on going to Cyprus; and when at last they sailed eastward, Doria turned back off Karpathos, and Zane and Colonna felt they had to follow his example; so Doria returned to Messina, Colonna to Otranto, and Zane with a loss of thirteen galleys to Corfu. Discontent was great in Venice, and Zane was dismissed and punished. In his place was appointed Sebastiano Venier.

In the autumn and winter 1570-71 talks took place between Venice and Spain to form an anti-Turkish league; because of mutual distrust and disagreement over the choice of a commander and vice-commander the talks were without quick results. After lengthy deliberations, however, and partly because of the interest taken by Pope Pius V, a Holy League, consisting of Venice and Spain, together with the Pope was proclaimed in may, 1571.

The supreme command would be with Don Juan of Austria, the vice-command with Colonna. In the treaty, among other things, was recognized the inviolability of Ragusa, which had passed into Venetian hands on the occasion of an earlier cruisade, in 1205.

The place of rendezvous was Messina. The papal ships arrived in June; the Venetians came from Crete and the Adriatic in July; and the Spanish fleet, with Don Juan and Doria, arrived on the 25th of august.

On the first day of that month Famagusta had surrendered to the Turks. The combined fleet sailed on september 16th from Messina, and crushed the Turkish forces at Lepanto on october 7th.

(i.e. the month of august) passorno da Corfu, ueleggiando inuer' Candia per unirsi con l'armata uenetiana, la quale si trouaua in Candia, che in tutto tra l'una et l'altra armata saranno galee sottili 195, galee grossi XI, il galeone Fausta et XX naui. Et s'intende che e fatta la lega tra il Papa, il Re Filipo et i Venetiani. Il Re di Francia ha fatto pace con gli Ugonoti, suoi ribelli. Quanto altro intenderemo, subito ne daremo auuiso a vostra Signoria illustrissima per fante a posta. Ma delle armate difficilmente potremo intendere cosa alcuna, per essere molto lontane di qui.

(Radonic 2,2 - p. 238)

D.A.D.A.T.⁸)- A8 9a 1d.4.948 h—
25.7 - 3.8 1541 a.d.

هو

TUGHRA OF SÜLEYMAN I (سلمان بن سلم خان مظفر دائما)

افتخار امراء المله المستيحيه مختار كبراء الطايفه العيسويه دوبرونيك بكلري توقيع رفيع همايون واصل اوليجاق معلوم اولاكه 2 حاليا دركاه سعادت دستكاهمه ادمكز ايله مكتوب كوندروب بعض اخبار عرض ايلمشسز بو بابده هرنه كه دنلمش ايسه 3 تمام معلوم ومفهوم اولدي ايله اولسه بيوردوم كه من بعد داخي اول جانبلره كوز قولاق طوتوب 4 لايح وسائح اولان اخبار صحيحه اصلى وحقيقتيله 10 مفصل دركاه سعادت دستكاهمه يازوب 5 عرض ايلمكدن خالي اولميهسز شويله بلاسز علامت 6 شريفه اعتماد قلاسز تحريراً في اوايل شهر ربيع الآخر 7 سنه ثمان واربعين وتسعايه اعتماد قلاسز تحريراً في اوايل شهر ربيع الآخر 7 سنه ثمان واربعين وتسعايه

بيورت مورش صويو

HE 9

(Süleyman, son of the sovereign Selim, the ever-triumphant)
Pride of the rulers of the Christian community, choice of the great of the nation of Jesus, the Beys of Ragusa.

When the imperial, illustrious Cipher arrives, it shall be known that now you have sent to my Court, the seat of felicity, one of your men and a letter, and you have submitted some information.

Everyting thet was said on this matter has become completely known and understood.

So, then, I have ordered that henceforth, too, you keep your eyes and ears to those parts, and do not cease to write and submit the true information that appear and that circulate, in accordance with ¹⁰

⁸ i. e. Drzavni Arhiv u Dubrovniku Acta Turcorum

⁹ i. e. God!

¹⁰ comp. this use of-la in expressions such as (A.T. K 131) شرعله كفالتى ثابت (A.T. K 166a) مرعله ثابت او لورسه الالر (A.T. K 166a) دكيل ايكن

their source and with the real state of affairs, in detail to my Court, the seat of felicity. Thus you shall know; upon the noble Sign you shall rely.

Dated in the first (decade) of the month of Rabi' al-akhir of the year 948 in the camp on the river Mureş 11).

D.A.D.A.T. - A8 10. 3d.11.953 h-13 - 22. 1. 1547 a.d.

هو

TUGHRA OF SÜLEYMAN I

مفاخر الامراء الملته المستبحيه دو برونيك بكلرى توقيع رفيع همايون واصل اوليجاق معلوم اولا كه 2 حآليا دركآه معلاهم مكتوب كوندروب دريآيه متعلق بعضى خبرلر بلدرمش سز 3 هر نه كه دنلمش ايسه مفصلا معلوم اولدى امدى بيور دوم كه من بعد دآخى 4 خبركك عقبن كسايوب منصال كفار خاكسار طرفلرندن و دونانمه سندن 5 وأنكر و فراست باطله لرى نهنك اوزرنه ايدوكين ألم حقيقتى ايله معلوم ايدنوب ألم يوجه استانمه عرض ايلمكدن خآلي اولميه سز شويله بلآسز علامت شريفه اعتماد قلاسز 8 تحريراً في اوآخر شهر ذى القعده سنه ثلث و خمسين و تسعايه

بمقام ادرنه

Pride of the rulers of the Christian community, the Beys of Ragusa. When the imperial, illustrious Cipher arrives, it shall be known that now you have sent a letter to my Court and communicated some information concerning the sea.

Everything that was said has become known in detail.

Now I have ordered that henceforth, too, you shall not interrupt the flow of your information, and shall not cease to find out from the

¹¹ The Mureş (Hung. Maros) takes its rise on the Carpathians, runs through Transylvania, and discharges into the Tisza near Szeged, in southern Hungary. The Sultan was on his way to Buda, which he took and annexed about a month later.

 $^{^{12}}$ superfluous (note 2)

¹³ idüğin

¹⁴ edinüp

troops of the dust-like infidels and from their fleet what in fact their absurd thoughts and intuitions are about, and submit it to my high Threshold.

Thus you shall know; upon the noble Sign you shall rely.

dated in the last (decade) of the month of Dhu'l-qa'da of the year 953 in the Residence Edirne.

D.A.D.A.T. - K 68. 216 x 562 mm. 3d.12.957 h— 31.12.1550 - 8.1.1551 a.d.

هو

TUGHRA OF SÜLEYMAN I

مفاخر امراء المله المستيحيه مراجع كبراء الطايفه العيسويه دوبره ونيك بكلرى توقيع رفيع همايون واصل اوليجاق معلوم اولا كه 2 حاليا سده عدالت بخشمه مكتوب كوندروب اول طرفلره متعلق بعض اخبار بلدرمش سزة هرنه كم ديمش ايسكز مفصلا معلوم اولدي بيوردوم كه حكم شريف واجب الاتباعم 4 واردوقده من بعد داخي خبركزك عقبن كسميوب معلومكز اولان احوال واخباري 5 مفصل ومشروح يازوب سده سعادتمه عرض واعلام اتمكدن خالي اولميه في الحجه سنه سبع وخمسين وتسعايه

ممقام ادرنه

Pride of the rulers of the Christian community, recourse of the great of the nation of Jesus, the Beys of Ragusa. When the imperial, illustrious Cipher arrives, it shall be known that now you have sent a letter to my Gate, the giver of justice, and have communicated some information concerning those parts.

Everything you have said has become known in detail.

I have ordered that, when my noble decree, with which conformity of action is imperative, arrives, you shall henceforth, too, not interrupt the flow of your information, and shall not cease to write down, in detail and with a commentary, the circumstances and information known to you, and submit and report them to my Gate of felicity.

Thus you shall know; upon the noble Sign you shall rely. dated in the last (decade) of the month of Dhu'l-hijja of the year 957 in the Residence Edirne.

D.A.D.A.T. K 113. 2d.2.978 h-15-24.7.1570.a.d.

هو

TUGHRA OF SELİM II

(سلم بن سلمان خان مظفر دائما)

مفاخر الامراء المله المسيمية مراجع الكبراء في الطايفه العيسوية دوبرونيك بكلرى توقيع رفيع همايون واصل اوليجق معلوم اولا كه 2 سده سعادتمه مكتوب كوندروب دوبرونيكه قريب التمش بش پاره كوچك قادرغه سي ألم ايله ونديكلو كچوب 3 وبيله اون پاره بيوك قادرغه واون پاره كميلرى داخى اولوب هر برى آدملرى و يراقلرى ايله 4 حاضر اولوب و كريتده داخى اوتوز پاره قادرغه ايله برقاچ كوندن صكره كچمك اوزره اولدقلرين 5 بلدروب اولبابده داخى هر نه كه عرض اتمش اسكوز معلوم شريف اولدى ايمدى بيوردوم كه حكم شريفم واردوقده 6 آستان ساى مكانمه اولان عبوديت و اخلاصكوز مستدعاسنجه اعدا طرفلرنه يرار جاسوسلر كوندروب 7 فكر فاسد و خيال كاسدارين تتبع ايليوب و دونانمهلرى وساير احواللرى نه اسه صحتى ايله معلوم ايدوب 8 واقف اولدوغكوز اخبار وساير احواللرى نه اسه صحتى ايله معلوم ايدوب 8 واقف اولدوغكوز اخبار وساير احواللرى نه اسه صحتى ايله معلوم ايدوب 8 واقف اولدوغكوز اخبار قلاسز 9 تحريراً في اواسط صفر المظفر سنه ثمان وسبعن و تسعائيه قلاسز 9 تحريراً في اواسط صفر المظفر سنه ثمان وسبعن و تسعائيه

بمقام قسطنطنيه

HE

(Selim, son of the sovereign Süleyman, the ever-triumphant)

Pride of the rulers of the Christian community, choice of the great in the nation of Jesus, the Beys of Ragusa.

¹⁵ The qadırga (Byz. katergon) was one the smaller warships - H. and R. Kahane - A. Tietze - The Lingua Franca in the Levant, 1958. 241, 523-526.

When the imperial, illustrious Cipher arrives, it shall be known that you have sent a letter to my Gate of felicity, and have communicated that the Venetians passed near Ragusa with 65 of their small galleys, and that there were also 10 big galleys and 10 of their ships with them, each one prepared with its men and arms; and that a few days later they were passing by at Candia, too, with 30 galleys; on that matter, too, everything you submitted has come to my noble knowledge.

Now I have ordered that, when my noble decree arrives, you shall, according to the demands of your devotion and sincerity towards my illustrious Threshold, not cease to send capable spies to the enemies' parts, study their wicked thoughts and unmarketable fancies, make known anything concerning their fleet and other circumstances in accordance with the truth, and report continuously the true information of which you are cognizant.

Thus you shall know; upon the noble Sign you shall rely.

Dated in the middle (decade) of triumphant Safar of the year 978 in the Residence, Constantinople.

D.A.D.A.T. - A7 29a. 3d.11.978h - 16-25.4.1571, a.d.

At the beginning of the dispositio we find کر کدر که instead of accustomed بیوردوم که.

is left out. شویله بلاسز is left out.

هو TUGHRA OF SELİM II

مفاخر امراء الملته المسيحية مراجع كبراء الطائيفه العيسوية دوبرونيك بكلرى توقيع رفيع همايون واصل اوليجق معلوم اولاكه 2 سدّه سعادتمه مكتوب كوندروب فليب قرال ونديكه معاونت ايچون يوز پاره قدرغه پاپايه ويروب 3 احضارينه عجله ايلدوكلرين وبالجمله اكر ونديكه متعلق واكر پاپا و دوقه و پچ قرالي وساير فرنكستان 4 وغيريه متفرع هر نه كه اعلام اولنمش ايسه مفصلا معلوم شريفم اولمشدر كركدر كه قديمدن 5

آستان سعادت آشیانمزه اولان وفور عبودیت و اخلاصکز موجبنجه من بعد داخی اول طرفلردن 6 غفلت ایلمیوب دایما احوال و اطوارین تتبع و تجسس ایلیوب واقف اولدو غکز اخبار صحیحه یی 7 علی التوالی اعلامدن خالی اولمیهسز علامت شریفه اعتماد قلاسز تحریراً فی اواخر ذی القعده سنه ثمان و سبعین و تسعایه

Pride of the rulers of the Christian community, recourse of the great of the nation of Jesus, the Beys of Ragusa.

When the imperial, illustrious Cipher arrives, it shall be known that you have sent a letter to my Gate of felicity (and made known) that king Philip has given 100 galleys to the Pope to assist Venice 16, and that they make haste to get there; (that,) and in short, everything that was communicated, that which concerns Venice as well as that which touches the Pope, the Doge, the king of Vienna and the rest of Europe, etc. came in detail to my noble knowledge.

It is necessary that henceforward too, you donot cease to study and spy in those parts, without neglect, unceasingly their condition and circumstances, and report continuously the true information of which you are cognizant, according to the abundance of devotion and sincerity that you have had from olden days towards my Gate of felicity.

You shall rely upon the noble Sign.

Dated in the last (decade) of Dhu 'l-qa'da of the year 978 in the Residence, Constantinople.

¹⁶ before the proclamation of the Holy League (see introd.)

D.A.D.A.T. - K 82 217×572 mm. 1d. 4. 979 h— 23/8 - 1/9. 1571. a.d.

هو

TUGHRA OF SELİM II

مفاخر امرآء الطايفه النصرانيه مراجع كبرآء في المله المسليحية دوبرونيك يكلري توقيع رفيع همايون واصل اوليجاق معلوم اولاكه 2 سدّه سعادتمه مكتوب كوندروب ونديكلو اسپانيه ايله اتفاق و اتحاد ايلدكلرين ونديك قبوداني 3 جنهرال 1 احوالن بلدروب اولبابده داخي هر نه ديمش ايسكز معلوم اولدي امدي بيوردوم كه 4 حكم شريف واجب الاتباعم وصول بولدقده سده سعادتمه اولان وفور عبوديت 5 و اخلاصكز موجبنجه من بعد داخي يرار ادملريكز كوندروب احوال و اطوارين تتبع و تجسس 6 ايدوب فكر و 1 فاسدي و خيال كاسدي نه ايسه واقف اولدو غكز اخبار صحيحه اعلامدن 7 خالي اولميهسز شويله بلاسز علامت شريفه اعتماد قلاسز 8 تحريراً في اوايل ربيع الاخر سنه تسع و سبعن و تسعايه

بمقام قسطنطنيه المحروسه

Pride of the rulers of the Nazarene nation, recourse of the great in the Christian community, the Beys of Ragusa.

When the imperial, illustrious Cipher arrives, it shall be known that you have sent a letter to my Gate of felicity and communicated that the Venetians have formed an alliance 19 and united with Spain and you have reported the case of the Venetian captain-general 20; on that matter, too, everything you have said became known.

I have ordered that when my noble decree, with which conformity of action is imperative, arrives, you shall, according to the re-

most probably to be read: جنهرال قپودانی

¹⁸ comp. K 113, line 7

¹⁹ The so-called Holy Alliance (see introd.)

²⁰ by this time Sebastiano Venier; maybe Zane's dismission from that post, and his being replaced by Venier-which, however had taken place as early as december 1570(see introd.)

quirements of the abundance of devotion and sincerity that you have towards my Gate of felicity, not cease to send henceforward, too, capable men of yours to study and spy their condition and circumstances, and report the true information of which you are cognizant about any wicked thoughts and unmarketable fancies they have. Thus you shall know; upon the noble Sign you shall rely.

dated in the first (decade) of Rabi' al-akhir of the year 979 in the Residence, Constantinople, the well-protected.

itt: I. Bozic - Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku - Beograd, 1952

J. von Hammer - Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, Pest, 1827/35

W. Heyd-Histoire du Commerce du Levant-Leipzig, 1885/6

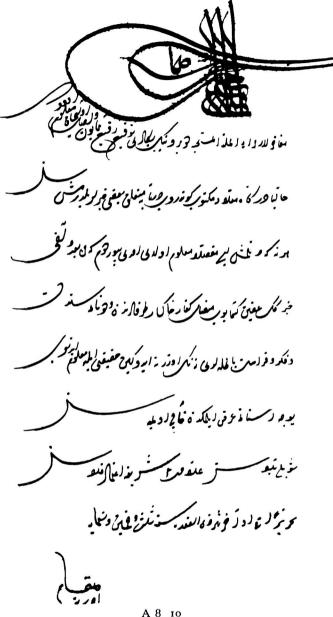
H. Kretschmayr - Geschichte von Venedig, Band 3-Sruttgart, 1934.

J. Radonic - Dubrovacke Akta i Povelje - Beograd, 1938.

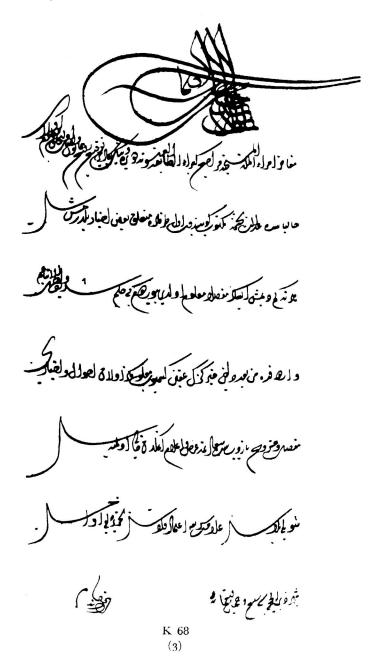
B. Stulli-Pregled Drzavnopravne Historije Dubrovacke Republike-Dubrovnik 1956.



A 8 9 a



(2)



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ر . رق مه دَ مَوْ رُكُورُ وروبر ورونكه وْ رالِعِنْ بْنِ الْأَوْلِ الْعِنْ الْعِنْ الْعِنْ الْعِنْ الْمُوجِيْ د بلداده بان بوک مارخ واده بان کمبره رخ اداری مرین که هری رای کخت مه فراد د په رو د کومتر و حافی لو تو ز باره قدر فد ر بد برّ قا چونرهٔ مثال مجدور در الحافی ایم می منافع در د در میر و حافی لو تو ز باره قدر فد ر بد برّ قا چونرهٔ مثال مجدور و الحافی ایم می برروب ا د د بر بر و د فی مرزیمی فی کورسی شیخ ا دار ما میر مانی و این این کورسی شیخ ادار ما میر مانی و داری این ر المقالان الولدوعكور (ف) رهيم عاالنول الالدهال المبرسول الالركال عدوم والمالك

عف

كوردة دوار مرملكفور ماه دريسار

(4)

من انول دا طعرمة من الوكيم عاد المعرب الما للوكر من عاد المعرب الما للوكر المعرب عاد المعرب الما للوكر المعرب ا

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