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HANDBOOK OF OTTOMAN-TURKISH DIPLOMATICS

by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS AND SOCIETIES

AO – Archiv Orientální, Praha.

ArPPr – Arkhiv za poselishtni prouchvaniîa, Sofiîa.

Belleten – Belleten (Türk Tarih Kurumu), Ankara.

BSOAS – Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

DII – Documenta islamica inedita, Berlin.

EI – The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leiden.

Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja – Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo.

GSUiff – Godishnik na sofiiskiîa universitet. Istoriko-filologicheski fakultet, Sofiîa.

IAN – Izvestiîa Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva or Leningrad.

IBID – Izvestiîa na Bŭlgarskoto istorichesko druzhestvo, Sofiîa.

IDBS – Izvestiîa, Dŭrzhavna biblioteka "Vasil Kolarov", Sofiîa.

IIBI – Izvestiîa na Instituta za bŭlgarska istoriîa, Sofiîa.

ITOIAE – Izvestiîa Tavricheskogo Obshchestva Istorii, Arkheologii i Etnografii, Simferopol'.

ITUAK – Izvestiîa Tavricheskoĭ Uchenoĭ Arkhivnoĭ Kommissii, Simferopol'.

JA – Journal Asiatique, Paris.

JAOS – Journal of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore.

JRAS – Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland, London.

KCsA – Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum, Budapest.

LK – Levéltári Közlemények, Budapest.

MO – Le Monde Oriental, Uppsala.

MOG – Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte, Wien.

MSOSW – Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin.

OLZ – Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Berlin–Leipzig.

OM – Oriente Moderno, Roma.

PO – Przegląd Orientalistyczny, Wrocław–Warszawa.

Prilozi – Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju i istoriju jugoslovenskih naroda pod turskom vladavinom, Sarajevo.

RO – Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Lwów.

RSO – Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Roma.

SAN – Srpska Akademija Nauka, Beograd.

SbNU – Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniia i narodopis, Sofiia.

Sbornik Imp. Russ. Istor. Obshch. – Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoricheskago Obshchestva, Sankt Peterburg.

Sogd. Sbornik – Sogdiiskii Sbornik, Leningrad.

TOEM – Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası, İstanbul.

TM – Türkiyat Mecmuası, İstanbul.

TTEM – Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası, İstanbul.

TTK – Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara.

UJ – Ungarische Jahrbücher, Berlin.

Věstník Král. Čes. Spol. Nauk – Věstník (Královská Česká Společnost Nauk), Praha.

VNOT – Vestnik Nauchnogo Obshchestva Tatarovedeniia, Kazan'.

WZKM – Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien.

Zap. Russ. Geogr. Obshch. Otd. Etnogr. – Zapiski Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva. Otdel Etnografii.

ZDMG – Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig–Mainz.

ZhMNP – Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniia, Sankt Peterburg.

ZOOID – Zapiski Odesskago Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostei, Odessa.

ZVO – Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniia Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva, Sanktpeterburg.

EDITOR'S NOTE

This edition of the *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatics* is a result of a meeting held in September 17, 1956 in Lenox, Massachusetts, at which Professors Hamilton A. R. Gibb, Tibor Halasi-Kun, Bernard Lewis, Wilfred Cantwell Smith and T. Cuyler Young were present. The aim of this meeting was to discuss ways and means of improving studies in Ottoman Diplomatics in the United States of America.

Among other questions, that of the desirability of a field handbook in English arose, and it was resolved to translate and enlarge the *Zarys dyplomatyki osmańsko-tureckiej* (Warszawa, 1955) by Jan Reychman and Ananiasz Zajączkowski to this end. This work was then made possible by means of the support of the Social Science Research Council, the sponsor of the meeting.

The translation and enlarging of the Polish original was effected, with the cooperation of the authors themselves, by Professor Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz. A new index was prepared by Mrs. Fanny E. Davis.

After a first scrutiny of the Ehrenkreutz-manuscript by Professor Stanford J. Shaw and Mrs. Davis the editor set himself to the task of revising the transliteration of the Arabic and Persian and of the transcription of the Turkish items throughout the work. (Transliteration of Arabic has been based on the Encyclopaedia of Islam, that of Persian on the system adopted in this series, and Turkish transcription on the 7th edition of the *İmlâ kılavuzu* of the Turkish Linguistic Society.) As a final step a careful revision of all the bibliographical materials, some 1,500 entries, was made. In this last rather complex task, which involved the checking of special collections in the New York Public Library, at the Columbia, Harvard, Leiden, and Princeton university libraries, the Library of Congress, the library of the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, in Washington, District of Columbia, the libraries of the Institute for Turkic Studies in Istanbul, of the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul and of the Turkish Historical Society in Ankara, the editor was helped by Professor Gustav Bayerle and Professor Bruce McGowan and feels especially endebted to Mr. Svat Soucek and Mr. Daniel C. Waugh for their valuable assistance. Despite all efforts, some of the entries could not be checked by the editor either because they could not be located or because, though located, they could not be reached by the editor. Also, in some instances, the information given was inadequate for checking. All these entries, about 125, are marked with an asterisk:*.

We hope that the Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatics will become an important contribution to the efforts aimed to further studies in Ottoman Diplomatics in the United States of America.

The Editor

I

INTRODUCTION

1. DEFINITION AND SCOPE OF ORIENTAL PALEOGRAPHY AND DIPLOMATICS

The purpose of Oriental paleography and diplomatics is the study of the scripts and documents of the Muslim East. By the Muslim East we here understand those areas which at one time or another have come under the influence of Islamic culture—in the past erroneously referred to as Arabic culture—*i.e.*, the countries of the Near East, especially those of Hither Asia, North Africa, and Central Asia. These countries have evolved various kinds of secretarial scripts and several different types of documents.

Although the main purpose of this book is the treatment of the scripts and documents of Ottoman Turkey, the scripts and documents of the Golden Horde, of the Crimean Khanate, and to a lesser extent of Persia have been included in the present discussion. The chronological range extends from the fifteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The best known studies of Ottoman-Turkish paleography are:

F. Kraelitz[-Greifenhorst], "Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Diplomatik", *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 197, iii (Wien, 1921), (this publication includes fifteenth-century documents); fourteen tables:

L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik der türkischen Botmäßigkeit in Ungarn* (Budapest, 1926), also published in Hungarian under the title *Bevezetés a török hódoltság diplomatikájába* (Budapest, 1926). The pagination in both versions is identical. This work deals chiefly with documents pertaining to Ottoman administration in Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Other more detailed studies are referred to in appropriate chapters.

The best study of Persian diplomatics is W. Litten's *Einführung in die persische Diplomatensprache*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1919). Two articles dealing with this subject have recently been published by H. R. Roemer, "Vorschläge zur Sammlung von Urkunden zur islamischen Geschichte Persiens", *ZDMG*, 104 (1954), pp. 362–70, and W. Hinz, "Die persische Geheimkanzlei im Mittelalter", in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen, Rudolf Tschudi, zum siebzigsten Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. by F. Meier (Wiesbaden, 1954), pp. 342–55. For samples of official Persian letters, consult A. Chodzko's *Grammaire de la langue persane* (Paris, 1883²). A collection of Persian documents, the so-called *inşa* material from the period of the Timurids, has recently been published by H. R. Roemer in his *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952). This work is provided with an introduction containing basic information about the character of documents which circulated in the area under the cultural dominance of Islam in that period. Also, H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen an Hand turkmenischer und safawidischer Urkunden* (Kairo, 1959); *idem*, "Persische Diplomatik im Überblick, Ergebnisse und Probleme", *Der Islam*, 37 (1961), pp. 202–245. For the study of Arabic diplomatics one must still rely on the fifteenth-century work of al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿšā*, 14 vols. (Cairo, 1913–19). Also, C. Cahen, "Notes de diplomatique arabo-musulmane", *JA*, 251 (1963), pp. 311–325; S. M. Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees* (London, 1964), pp. 85–175. The new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* contains an article on "Diplomatic", vol. 2, pp. 301–316, contributed jointly by W. Björkman (Classical Arabic), G. S. Colin (Maghrib), H. Busse (Persia) and J. Reychman and A. Zajączkowski (Ottoman Empire).

2. HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF ORIENTAL DIPLOMATICS

Interest in the study of Oriental documents was originally stimulated by purely practical considerations. A knowledge of Oriental scripts and documents was common among the official translators of Oriental languages, *i.e.*, the dragomans. Some of them should indeed be regarded as the first European experts in the problems connected with Oriental documents. Thus in 1615 F. Sauary published the text of the *ahitname*,[1] or agreement of 1604, concluded between Ahmet I

[1] For the meaning of *ahitname* and other technical terms referring to various types of documents, *see* Chapter III, Diplomatics: 1. Terminology of Ottoman documents.

and Henry IV, King of France.[2] The original manuscript of Holdermann's *Grammaire turque* contained a copy, transcription, and French translation of the treaty concluded in 1673 in Edirne by Mehmet IV and Louis XIV.[3] F. Meninski in his *Institutiones*[4] gave a few samples of official Oriental scripts, documents and treaties, providing each with a translation and commentary. Similar practical considerations prompted A. I. Silvestre de Sacy to publish some documents in his chrestomathy.[5] At the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a Transylvanian dragoman named Rozsnyay was engaged in the collection, reading, and utilization of Turkish documents.[6]

Special courses of instruction dealing with Oriental documents and scripts were included in the curricula of the practical schools for dragomans in France, Austria, Venice, and Russia.

The education of the eighteenth-century dragoman included training in the translation of official manuscripts. That the need for such instruction was felt in French government circles is evidenced by a quotation from a letter written in the first half of the eighteenth century by the French naval minister, Maurepas, to Villeneuve, the French ambassador to Turkey:

> Je crois qu'il serait bon pour obliger les drogmans à s'appliquer davantage à l'étude des langues orientales de leur faire traduire des manuscrits, dont il peut être utile d'avoir la traduction en français.[7]

As a result of this teaching policy, the pupils of the Oriental school in France (*l'Ecole des jeunes de langue*) translated many manuscripts, documents and chronicles.[8] Russian students attached to the embas-

[2] F. Sauary, *Articles du Traicte faict en l'annee mil six cens quatre, entre Henri le Grand Roy de France ... et Sultan Amat Empereur des Turcs* (Paris, 1615).

[3] *Cf.*, E. Blochet, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits turcs* (Paris, 1932–33), part i, pp. 86–87.

[4] F. à Mesgnien Meninski, *Institutiones linguae turcicae*, 2 vols. (Vindobonae, 1756).

[5] A. I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1806).

[6] *Cf.*, *Rozsnyay Dávid, az utolsó török deák történeti maradványai*, ed. by S. Szilágyi in *Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Második Osztály: Írók*, vol. 8 (Pest, 1867); Supplement (Pest, 1871).

[7] H. Dehérain, *Silvestre de Sacy* in *Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique* (Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban, Service des Antiquités), 27 (1938), part ii, p. 13.

[8] *Supra*; also O. Górka, "Nieznany żywot Bajezida II", *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 52 (1938), pp. 381–86. Most of these translations are in the Turkish manuscript collection of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris). *See* E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, part ii, No. 715–951 and *passim*.

sy in Turkey worked at copying documents. Some Turks also displayed interest in old documents. As a result, for instance, the sixteenth-century *Münşeat-üs-selâtin* of Feridun Bey for a long time constituted one of the largest collections of official Turkish documents.

Gradually, however the subject of Oriental paleography and diplomatics came into its own, changing from a purely utilitarian, practical skill into an independent academic discipline, ancillary to Oriental history and particularly important for the study of the relations between the West and the East.

In this development, one cannot overlook, among the archivists, the achievements of such translators as Silvestre de Sacy, von Hammer-Purgstall, and Gévay. Their works were frequently provided with lithographic facsimile reproductions of documents. Although all the details of the scripts and the seals could not be reproduced exactly, their procedure constituted definite progress. Sometimes these early studies of documents went beyond a mere explanation of their texts, yet the fruits of such attempts were not always proportionate to the amount of effort expended on them. Thus von Hammer[-Purgstall] (1774–1856), realizing the importance of Oriental documents, collected and utilized many of them in his monumental *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*.[9] He explained the structure of the Ottoman Chancery and offered solutions for converting the dates of the Muslim calendar. He was also interested in seals. Moreover, he translated and supervised the lithographic reproduction of a letter of Mehmet IV written to Bohdan Chmielnicki and published by Russian scholars.[10] Yet his explanation of the origin of the *tuğra* has proved to be erroneous.

Many examples of Oriental documents were contained in early chrestomathies and language manuals such as the Turkish works of A. Kasem-Beg, professor at Kazan University,[11] of Mukhlinskiĭ,[12] Smirnov,[13] and Quatremère.[14] The Arabic chrestomathy

[9] 10 vols. Pest, 1827–35, hereafter referred to as *GOR*

[10] *See, Pami͡atniki izdannye vremennoi͡u kommisiei͡u dli͡a razbora drevnikh aktov* (Kiev, 1852), one plate.

[11] A. Kasem-Beg, *Allgemeine Grammatik der türkisch-tatarischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1848).

[12] *A. Mukhlinskiĭ, *Osmanskai͡a khrestomatii͡a dli͡a universitetskago prepodavani͡a* (Sankt Peterburg, 1858–59).

[13] V. D. Smirnov, *Sbornik nekotorykh vazhnykh izvestiĭ i ofitsial'nykh dokumentov kasatel'no Turtsii, Rossii i Kryma* (S.- Peterburg, 1875).

[14] M. Quatremère, *Chrestomathie en turk oriental* ... (Paris, 1841).

of Silvestre de Sacy[15] and the Persian one of Chodzko[16] also included samples of Oriental documents.

In the course of the nineteenth century, Russian scholars such as Berezin, Grigor'ev, Î͡Artsev, Obolenski, and Smirnov, by studying coins and medals, especially those of the Crimean Tatars, laid the foundations for the development of Oriental epigraphy.

Knowledge of Oriental documents was enriched in the second half of the nineteenth century by the Austrian scholar Karabacek, who devoted a number of publications to the story of paper in the East. He also attempted, not always successfully, to explain certain expressions appearing in Ottoman documents, *e.g.*, the formula هو.[17] At the turn of the twentieth century, considerable attention was given to the study of Turkish documents by a German scholar, J. H. Mordtmann.[18]

In the second decade of the present century Georg Jacob (d. 1937), a professor at the University of Kiel, established the study of Oriental documents as a special university subject by introducing the reading of them into the curriculum of his university department. For the study of Turkish diplomatics Jacob used photographic reproductions. He examined many collections of Oriental documents, undertook the first registration of the contents of these collections, and brought many such documents to Kiel. He also copied the documents industriously collected by W. Bernhauer, which have been preserved in Budapest. And finally it was Jacob who initiated the first series of editions of Oriental documents as source material for seminar studies of Ottoman-Turkish paleography.

The main merit of Jacob's achievement was the stimulation of interest in documents dealing with internal Ottoman affairs. Hitherto the main emphasis had been laid on documents pertaining to the external relations of Turkey, such as letters from or to foreign rulers, treaties, and *fermans*. Jacob pointed out the previously neglected area of internal Turkish administrative documents, such as investiture certificates, receipts of tribute, etc. The documents used by Jacob dealt chiefly with the Turkish domination of Hungary in

[15] A. I. Silvestre de Sacy, *op.cit.*

[16] A. Chodzko, *Grammaire de la langue persane* (Paris, 1883²).

[17] For the works of Karabacek on the subject in question, consult *H. Bockwitz, *Zu Karabaceks Forschungen über das Papier im islamischen Kulturkreise* (Leipzig, 1940).

[18] Mordtmann's lectures dealing with disciplines ancillary to Turkish history were delivered in Istanbul, where they were published in 1331–32 under the title *İlm-i usul-i tarih*.

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His orientation was imposed by the character of the bulk of the material at his disposal, since the material was acquired through military conquests in the seventeenth century. Consequently, it was on this period that Jacob and his collaborators (Neumann, Jensen) focused their research.

The early researchers like Jacob interpreted documents from a philological point of view. They attempted to present information contained in the documents in the light of their historical background. Hardly anyone, however, treated the actual formal aspects of the Turkish documents. The focusing of attention on the document itself, on the necessity of examining it from a formal point of view—these were the crucial milestones in the progress of the young discipline of Oriental paleography and diplomatics. This development was prompted in the Twenties of the present century by the achievements of scholars such as F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst of Austria, F. Babinger of Germany, and L. Fekete, the Orientalist and archivist from Hungary. Their works, especially the manual of Fekete,[19] represented the beginning of a new phase of research studies. The journal *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, which appeared between 1921 and 1926 under the editorship of F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst and P. Wittek, implemented the studies of old Turkish diplomatics. And since that time fundamental contributions by other scholars from Germany (*e.g.*, Giese), from Czechoslovakia (Rypka, Kabrda), from Italy (Bombaci, Bonelli), from England (B. Lewis), and from France (Deny), have greatly added to our knowledge of Oriental documents. Some old Ottoman manuscripts were published for didactic purposes by the State Archives in Rumania. Before World War I, scholars in Bosnia and Herzegovina were engaged in the study of Turkish documents. During the period between the two World Wars valuable studies were contributed by the Yugoslav scholar F. Bajraktarević. In recent years these traditions have been carried on by a number of scholars both in Yugoslavia (Elezović, Đurđev, Šabanović)[20] and Bulgaria (Tsvetkova, Gŭlăbov, Nedkov, Popov).[21]

Both the *Einführung* of Fekete and the contributions of Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, Babinger, and others dealt with documents of a specific

[19] L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik der türkischen Botmäßigkeit in Ungarn* (Budapest, 1926), hereafter referred to as Fekete, *Einführung*.

[20] *See* J. Kabrda, "Les études orientales en Yougoslavie, (L'activité de l'Institut Oriental à Sarajevo)", *AO*, 25, i (1957), pp. 146–55.

[21] *See, idem*, "Orientalistyka Bułgarska", *PO*, 19 (1956), pp. 369–78.

character: documents originating only from Dubrovnik or the Turco-Hungarian provinces. And so our knowledge of Oriental documents would have remained limited if additional studies had not been made of documents available in the Turkish archives. Even before Turkish archivists became seriously interested in the materials at their disposal—materials consisting mainly of registers of old official institutions of the sultanate—a few European scholars such as I. Karácson of Hungary and G. Jarring of Sweden had made efforts to examine these archival holdings. But the turning point in the history of the study of Ottoman-Turkish diplomatics came when the contents of the Turkish archives were roughly arranged and their substance revealed to the public.

Considerable progress in the study of Oriental documents had also been achieved in Russia, especially in the field of Uyghur-Turkic diplomatics. The beginning of these studies goes back to the first half of the nineteenth century, when several Orientalists, above all Grigor'ev, Berezin, and I͡Artsev, treated many Tatar *yarlıks*, seals, inscriptions, and Oriental coins. Research in this field was later carried on by Smirnov, Radlov, Priselkov, and Samoĭlovich.[22] Valuable practical instructions were furnished by N. I. Veselovskiĭ in his "Pogreshnosti i oshibki pri izdanii dokumentov po snosheniiu Russkikh gosudareĭ s aziat͡skimi vladeltsami", *Zhivai͡a Starina*, 18, ii–iii (1909), pp. 237–68.

It was a Pole, J. J. S. Sękowski, who was commissioned by the Russian government to examine Turkish archives and documents. Sękowski thus contributed to arousing interest in the study of Turkish diplomatics. Yet another Pole, A. Muchliński, published a diplomatic chrestomathy[23] and carried on with the studies of diplomatics at Russian universities. Both these scholars published a number of works in Russian as well as in Polish; their Polish publications are treated below.[24] In the second half of the nineteenth century many monographs dealing with Oriental documents were contributed by V. D. Smirnov (d. 1922). In more recent times V. V. Bartol'd (d. 1935) showed interest in the problems of Oriental archives by setting down the principles of the study of them in his "Khranenie dokumentov v gosudarstvakh musul'manskogo Vostoka", *Arkhivnye Kursy*, 1 (1920), pp. 371–84. Other scholars, such as

[22] *See* below, pp. 95ff.

[23] *A. Mukhlinskiĭ, *Osmanskai͡a khrestomatii͡a*... (Sankt Peterburg, 1858–59).

[24] *See* below, pp. 82, 86.

N. F. Katanov (d. 1920), I. Orbeli (d. 1940), and L. V. Cherepnin (d. 1944), devoted works to the problems of Oriental chronology connected with Oriental documents. I. Ю. Krachkovskiĭ and V. Beliaev published valuable works treating ancient Central Asiatic documents preserved on skin and papyri. V. Dubrovskiĭ composed a manual of Turkish paleography, but it has not been published. In recent years scholars from Russia and from other Soviet Socialist Republics, such scholars as Ĭ. Akubovskiĭ, Khubua, Papazian, and Dzhikiia, have published many Persian and Turkish documents as well as some in other languages. Another Russian scholar, V. Minorsky, who lives in England, has dealt with privilege grants *suyurgals*) dating from the fifteenth century. The archives of the khans of Khiva, now in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library of Leningrad, have been systematically examined by P. P. Ivanov.[25]

In pre-partition Poland, knowledge of Oriental scripts and documents was primarily associated with the office of dragomans, *i.e.*, translators of Oriental languages at the Royal Chancery.[26] The Chancery had several good translators and experts in the field of Oriental documents, such men as K. and R. Dzierżek, Otwinowski, Strutyński, Romaszkiewicz, and Zajerski. Towards the end of the eighteenth century Oriental documents in the Royal Archives were translated by Crutta, an Albanian in the Polish service.

The necessity of improving knowledge of Oriental documents and of educating specialists not only for immediate utilitarian, but also for academic purposes, was realized during the reign of Stanislas Augustus (1764–97). Contemporary projects concerning the program of instruction for young dragomans, who were to be educated either in Poland or in the Polish institution of the "jeunes de langue" in Constantinople (1766–93), provided for special studies of Oriental documents. The young men were supposed to copy old *fermans* and to record from original sources, such as old acts and Turkish chronicles, any details referring to Poland. The collapse of the Polish Republic prevented a full realization of these plans.

After the fall of the Republic, Oriental studies continued to progress on an academic level. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Polish scholars raised the problem of examining Oriental

[25] P. P. Ivanov, *Arkhiv khivinskikh khanov XIX. v.* (Leningrad, 1940).

[26] For a detailed study on this subject, *see* J. Reychman, *Znajomość i nauczanie języków orientalnych w Polsce xviii w.* (= *Travaux de la Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Wrocław*, ser. A, No. 35) (Wrocław, 1950).

documents available in Polish archives. They also considered possible utilization of Turkish archival material for the treatment of Polish history. In 1819 it was decided to send Sękowski to the East. One of the aims of his journey was: "To search for and record acts and materials pertaining to Polish history".[27] Indeed, in 1820 he was able to report to Lelewel that he had been promised by the *reis efendi* "a transcript from the Chancery of the Porte listing all treaties, agreements, and pacts concluded by the Porte and Poland".[28]

The same Sękowski translated and published numerous extracts from Turkish chronicles in his *Collectanea*.[29] He included in this work letters from Sultan Murat III and the Grand Vizier to King Stefan Báthory, providing them with editorial comments and a lithographic reproduction. This was the first reproduction of an Oriental document in a Polish edition. Sękowski was eager to collect such documents and wrote in one of his letters: "... if anyone happens to be in possession of any Turkish diplomatic papers, let me have them immediately".[30]

Turkish diplomatics also attracted the attention of scholars in Vilna, an active center of Oriental studies. I. Pietraszewski published a few corrective remarks concerning Sękowski's translation of the letter of Murat III to Báthory.[31] A. Muchliński examined Turkish documents referring to Polish history. He published several documents (*e.g.*, *fermans* of 1743 and 1780) in various works, but he did not reproduce the original texts. He also presented in his chrestomathy a number of documents with translations, for the purpose of studies of Turkish paleography and diplomatics.[32]

A team of Hungarian scholars examining Turkish archives in 1889 included a Pole, Józef Korzeniowski. The latter, however, was not an Orientalist. He was interested merely in locating missing parts of royal birth certificates, but he failed. Studies in the temporarily

[27] A. Jabłonowski, "Orientalista Sękowski w korespondencyi z Lelewelem", *Pisma*, vol. 7 (1913), pp. 17–18.

[28] *See* Sękowski's letter to J. Lelewel of September 15, 1820; *see*, *idem*, *Pisma*, vol. 7 (1913), pp. 45–49.

[29] J. J. S. Sękowski, *Collectanea z dziejopisów tureckich rzeczy do historyi polskiey służących*, vol. 2 (Warszawa, 1825); *see* H. Neumann, "Türkische Urkunden zur Geschichte Ungarns und Polens", *Der Islam*, 8 (1918), pp. 125–33.

[30] Sękowski to Lelewel, February 1, 1825, in A. Jabłonowski, *op.cit.*, vol. 7, pp. 105–07.

[31] *I. Pietraszewski, *Nowy przykład dziejopisów tureckich dotyczących historii polskiej, a szczególnie Tarychy Wasyf Efendiego*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1846), pp. 1–7, 22.

[32] *A. Mukhlinskiĭ, *op.cit.*

neglected discipline of Turkish paleography and diplomatics were resumed at the beginning of the twentieth century by Jan Grzegorzewski. In 1916 he published a plan of studies to be pursued by Polish Orientalists.[33] In this he emphasized the necessity of copying all Oriental diplomatic documents which were available in Polish archives and collections. Grzegorzewski himself published a number of Turkish documents from the archives in Sofia, documents dating from the end of the seventeenth century.[34] His method was to present a copy, transcribed in printed Arabic characters, together with a translation and comments which, incidentally, were not always accurate. Unfortunately, Grzegorzewski did not provide either reproductions of the original texts or Latin transliterations. He also published two *fermans* from the archives of Sofia and the Czartoryskis' archives in Cracow.[35] Although in this case he supplied a facsimile of the texts, he failed to substantiate his translation by producing a transcription or an explanation of his reading. Grzegorzewski also published a number of other texts, *e.g.*, a *ferman* of Abdülhamit I, dated 1775,[36] with translations and transcriptions, but without reproductions of the original texts.

As Polish Oriental studies gradually progressed, knowledge of Oriental documents and editorial techniques also improved. O. Górka proposed a special publication, *Monumenta islamitica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia.*[37] T. Kowalski, assisted by J. Dutkiewicz, published an eighteenth-century *yarlık.*[38] A. Zajączkowski treated an interesting letter from Süleyman I to Sigismund Augustus. It is interesting to note that the letter in question was written both in the *divani* script and in a sixteenth-century Latin transcription.[39] Górka on several occasions

[33] *See* his letter, *"List otwarty do jego ekselencji j.w. Pana Marszałka Krajowego w sprawie orientalizmu i orientalistyki", published in the bulletin of the Polish Oriental Station, *Hyacinthaeum*, 1916.

[34] J. Grzegorzewski, *Z sidżyllatów rumelijskich epoki wyprawy wiedeńskiej. Akta tureckie (tekst turecki i polski)* (Lwów-Konstantynopol, 1912).

[35] *Idem*, "Dwa fermany sułtańskie z w. XVIII-go", *RO*, 1 (1914–18), pp. 333, one plate.

[36] **Idem*, "Ferman sułtana Abdul Hamida z r. 1775 w. sprawie wykupu jeńców chrześcijańskih", *Pamiątkowa Księga ku uczczeniu Józefa Tretiaka* (Kraków, 1913).

[37] *See*, *Collectanea Orientalia*, 6 (1934), pp. 28–29.

[38] T. Kowalski—J. Dutkiewicz, "Jarłyk tatarski z r. 1177 H. (= 1763 D.)", *RO*, 2 (1919–24), pp. 213–19.

[39] A. Zajączkowski, "List turecki Sulejmana I do Zygmunta Augusta w ówczesnej transkrypcji i tłumaczeniu polskim z r. 1551", *RO*, 12 (1936), pp. 91–118, one plate.

stressed the necessity of treating Oriental documents and sources, notably at the 1933 Meeting of Polish Orientalists in Cracow. At the same meeting and also at the Warsaw convention of 1935, S. Szachno-Romanowicz presented a short paper concerning the documents which he was personally examining in the Central Archives of Poland. A report on documents from the Czartoryskis' archives was given by Zawaliński, and S. Szapszał discussed Persian documents from the Central Archives. A few documents were exhibited and subsequently published[40] on the occasion of the 1929 State Fair in Poznań; others were exhibited on the occasion of the 1935 Convention of Polish Orientalists. In order to train new teams of young Orientalists in Oriental diplomatics and paleography, A. Zajączkowski conducted special seminars in the years 1935–39 and also after 1945. To accomplish his objectives he relied mainly on the tables of script enclosed in the *Einführung* of Fekete. A recent program of Oriental studies has introduced regular seminars in Oriental paleography and diplomatics for those advanced students who elect history as their field of specialization in Polish university programs of Oriental studies. These seminars are conducted in Warsaw by J. Reychman and in Cracow by W. Zimnicki. The latter published a hectographic edition of samples of the *divani* script, provided with comments.[41] Turkish diplomatics and paleography were included in the program of a "Symposium on Oriental sources of the history of Central and Eastern Europe", held in Warsaw in October, 1957. Ottoman diplomatics was discussed in the papers of J. Reychman, "Historical manuscript sources of the Ottoman Turks and of the Crimean Tatars available in Poland, and the problem of their publication"; of L. Fekete, "The immediate tasks and forms of publication of Ottoman-Turkish sources in Hungary"; of B. Đurđev, "Editorial and publishing activities of the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo in the field of Oriental sources"; and of others. *See* "Rencontres internationales des orientalistes", *PO*, 25 (1958), pp. 122–24; also J. Reychman, "La première conférence sur les sources orientales pour l'étude de l'histoire de l'Europe Orientale", *ibid.*, 26 (1958), pp. 155–59.

[40] *See*, *Dyplomacja dawnej Polski* (Warszawa, 1929) (published by J. Siemiénski).

[41] *W. Zimnicki, *Tureckie pismo dīvānī — Ze studiów nad paleografią i dyplomatyką turecką* (Kraków, 1951).

3. COLLECTIONS OF ORIENTAL DOCUMENTS IN TURKEY AND IN OTHER ASIATIC COUNTRIES

Turkey

Government offices in Ottoman Turkey preserved copies and registers of outgoing acts and collected incoming documents, and most of these records were stored in the archives in Istanbul. These archives are extremely rich in such material. Until recently, however, they suffered from a lack of proper care. Moreover, in the early years of the Turkish Republic, during the period of condemnation of all symbols of the Ottoman era, many tons of archival material were thrown out as waste paper. Almost 200 bales of records were even sold to a Bulgarian paper-mill, though the deal was fortunately discovered in time to save some but not all of the material.[42] The ensuing scandal had the good effect of making the Turkish government and the public archive-conscious. A new start was made in 1932, and since then excellent work has been done in housing, cleaning, and cataloguing the records.[43]

The largest number of state documents is preserved in the Archives of the Office of the Prime Minister (*Başbakanlık Arşivi* or *Başvekâlet Arşivi*) in Istanbul. This collection originally consisted of the records of the Imperial Council (*Divan-i Hümayun*) and of the Office of the Grand Vizier (*Bab-i Asafi*). It comprised international agreements (*ahitname*s), *ferman*s and other documents issued in the name of the sultan (*berat*s, *menşur*s); imperial writings (*hatt-i hümayun*s); personal letters or annotations of the sultans pertaining to their correspondence with army and navy commanders and provincial governors (*vali*s); registers of decrees and of directives (*ahkâm defterleri*);[44] registers of salaries (*mevacip defterleri*) and of fiefs (*timar defterleri*); and finally files pertaining to miscellaneous current affairs.[45]

[42] *Cf.*, B. Lewis, "The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands", *JRAS*, October, 1951, p. 141.

[43] *Idem*, "The Ottoman Archives. A Source for European History", *Report on Current Research*, The Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., Spring, 1956, p. 19.

[44] The number of such documents pertaining to the years 1554–1908 amounted to 1,592. They were discussed by Musa Kâzım, "Vesaik-i tarihiyemiz", *TOEM*, 1, ii, (1329), pp. 65–69.

[45] For a detailed list of the categories in this collection, *see* B. Lewis, "Başvekâlet Arşivi", *EI* (new ed.), vol. 1, pp. 1089–91.

This archival material was originally housed on the grounds of the Sublime Porte, but after a fire in 1754 it was transferred to a storehouse near the prison of the *Mehterhane* (former barracks of the Grand Vizier's military band). In 1846 the reforming vizier Reşit Paşa provided for the archives a special building called the *Hazine-i Evrak*. Here the archival materials were partially sorted according to departmental categories. This collection contained some 63,312 documents dating from 1730 to 1839. During the vizierate of Ali Paşa the collection was expanded by the transfer of the financial records, which had previously been kept in the *Mehterhane*. Copies of outgoing documents recorded in registers were arranged according to subject matter. Separate documents (*fermans* and incoming letters) were kept in boxes. By 1910 the total number of documents in the archives in question amounted to 350,000 items.

Connected with this institution are the archival deposits of the palace (*Topkapı Sarayı*), most of which were housed in the *Kubbe altı*. The materials in these archives were entirely neglected until after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 when Abdurrahman Şeref, the last imperial historiographer, transferred a greater part of these archives to *Babıali*. The rest, packed in 392 large boxes, was deposited in the galleries of *Aya Sofya*. These materials contained about 500,000 acts, including documents pertaining to more recent times.

There exist also a number of separate archival collections:
1. The archives of the former Ministry of Finance (*Maliye*), which are partially arranged and are located in the *Mehterhane*; 2. the archives of the *Defterhane*, popularly known as the "*tapu defterleri*", which contain documents pertaining to landed property and also approximately 600 cadastral surveys of the provinces of the Empire[46] (these provide bases for population estimates); 3. the archives of pious endowments (*Evkaf*); 4. the archives of the *şeyhülislâm* (*Meşihat*), containing documents of the *kazaskers* of Rumelia and Anatolia, *fetvas* (legal decisions), and nominations of *kadis* (some of these documents were destroyed in fires in 1926 and 1933; many of them have been published);[47] 5. the archives of the Fleet and of its Province of the Islands (*Cezayir*), comprising the islands and some coastal areas in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean; and finally

[46] *See* B. Lewis, "The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands", *JRAS*, October, 1951, p. 144. They include, among others, the cadastral survey made during the reign of Süleyman I.
[47] *See*, *İlmiye Salnamesi* (İstanbul, 1334).

6. the disorderly, partly dispersed and partly destroyed archives of the *şer'î* courts.[48]

Turkish archival collections have suffered not only from recurrent fires (1755, 1809, 1826, 1839, 1878, 1911, 1926, 1933), but also from humidity and general lack of care. They first attracted the attention of scholars at the beginning of the twentieth century when they were examined by a Hungarian historian, Karácson,[49] and later by a Swede, Jarring, but on the whole they were difficult to handle because of the lack of order. Countries historically associated with Turkey also became interested in Turkish archives, hoping to find there important sources pertaining to their own history. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Rumania took steps to copy documents relating to the history of the Rumanian territories. In 1929 Bulgaria sent P. Dorev to Istanbul, where he copied seventy volumes of documents, of which 1,300 documents, dating from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, bore on the history of Bulgaria under the domination of the Ottomans. These documents were subsequently translated with the collaboration of V. Šanov, and they were published in 1940, two years after the death of Dorev himself. In 1936 Yugoslavia sent a team of archivists, Turkologists, and other scholars to analyze the contents of the archives in Istanbul from the standpoint of the history of the Yugoslav provinces. The members of the team were S. Stanojević (who published a report on the activities of the expedition), G. Elezović, F. Bajraktarević, and B. Đurđev. After the war these activities were resumed, and many microfilms were made which are now in Belgrade, in the Oriental Institute of Sarajevo, in Skoplje, and in private hands.

Following the foundation of the Ottoman Historical Society (*Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni*),[50] Turkish historians began to turn their attention to the archives. In 1928, Ahmet Refik [Altınay] proposed that systematic steps be taken toward the publication of the materials in the *Babıali* archives.[51] He proposed separate publication of the sources pertaining to the relations of the Empire with foreign

[48] "These are now being collected in a number of regional centers, to serve as provincial archives. Cataloguing has begun and some documents have been published or studied", B. Lewis, "The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands", *JRAS*, October, 1951, p. 141. *See* also H. Ongan, *Ankara'nın 1 numarali şer'iye sicili* (Ankara, 1958).

[49] Karácson died in 1911 of blood-poisoning contracted during this work.

[50] Later renamed *Türk Tarihi Encümeni*, the present *Türk Tarih Kurumu*.

[51] *TTEM*, 19 (96) (1928), p. 164.

countries. Each group of documents refering to a particular problem, such as tributary territories or non-Turkish population, was to have its own publication. Unfortunately, his plan was not adopted, nor were any steps taken on that occasion towards the reorganization of the archives. As mentioned above, in 1931 a part of the archival collections was condemned and sold to a Bulgarian paper-mill as waste paper, but was recovered in time to be saved from destruction. This incident caused a change in the official Turkish attitude toward the archival materials, and thereafter they were treated with due respect and appropriate care. In a report presented on November 25, 1932, the Minister of Education, Reşit Galip, listed the following archives: the archives of the Sublime Porte, the *Hazine-i Evrak*; of the Ministry of Finance, *Maliye*; records pertaining to land, the *Defterhane* or *Defter-i Hakani*; archives of the *şeyhülislâm*, the *Meşihat*; of Pious Endowments, the *Evkaf*; of the Fleet, the *Bahriye*; and of the *şer'i* courts. A special commission was set up to care for the archival materials, and the Central State Archives were established at *Babıali*. A separate institution, the Archives of the *Saray*, was also created to house the remaining materials of *Topkapı Sarayı*. A part of them was deposited in *Aya Sofya* and subsequently transferred to the Central State Archives. Another part, pertaining to the *Hazine-i Hümayun* or *Enderun Hazinesi*, strictly connected with the affairs of the Ottoman Court, was left in the *Saray* as part of the well-organized and easily accessible Archives of the Sultan.

Among the materials available in the *Saray* archives one may distinguish materials lettered *D* (from *defter*, register), and *E* (from *evrak*, documents), lists of which show 10,726 and 12,274 items respectively. In many instances, however, several documents referring to the same subject are classified under a single number so that the actual number of specimens far exceeds the official count. In 1938–40 there appeared two fascicules of an alphabetic subject catalogue[52] containing reproductions, descriptions, and in some cases even transcriptions of selected documents. According to it these archives contain 270 European documents besides those in Turkish, Persian, Arabic, and Hungarian. The publication of the

[52] *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi kılavuzu*, ed. T. Öz (İstanbul, vol. 1, 1938; vol. 2, 1940). *Cf.*, review in *LK*, 17 (1939), pp. 296–300. Arranged alphabetically, this catalogue goes only through the letter H. The balance is available in MSS. in the readers' room.

catalogue was interrupted by the war, but after 1956 a new catalogue was begun according to a new system by a committee under the direction of M. Ç. Uluçay.[53] The documents from the *Topkapı Sarayı* archives pertaining to Mehmet II were discussed by T. Öz.[54] Specimens from the collection of *vakıf* documents have been published by *Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü*,[55] and the archives of the *Evkaf* have been treated by M. Yazır in his *Eski yazıları okuma anahtarı* (İstanbul, 1942), pp. VII—XV.

Turkish archives in general are discussed in Hamit Koşay, *Arşiv nedir* (İstanbul, 1936) and J. Deny, "Les archives turques", in *Histoire et Historiens depuis cinquante ans* (Paris, 1927), pp. 450–54. The latter author bases his article on material presented by Abdurrahman Şeref and Musa Kâzım in *TOEM*,[56] and on information obtained from Mükrimin Halil [Yınanç]. Other discussions may be found in P. Wittek, "Les archives de Turquie", *Byzantion*, 13 (1938), pp. 691–99; I. Karácson, "Török levéltárak", *Századok*, 41 (1907), pp. 763–64; H. N. Howard, "Preliminary Materials for a Survey of the Libraries and Archives of Istanbul", *JAOS*, 59 (1939), pp. 227–46; and L. Fekete, "A török levéltárügy", *LK*, 15 (1937), pp. 20–47. (The latter has been translated into Turkish by T. Gökbilgin, *Arşiv meseleleri*, İstanbul, 1939.) *See* also J. Reychman, "Archiwa tureckie i ich znaczenie dla nauki europejskiej", *Archeion* (Warszawa), 34 (1961), pp. 123–35; A. Sacerdoteanu, "Arhivele de Stat din Peninsula Balcanică", *Balcania*, 4 (1941), pp. 440–44; S. J. Shaw, "Archival Sources for Ottoman History: The Archives of Turkey", *JAOS*, 80, i (1960), pp. 1–12; B. Lewis, article in *EI* (new ed.), "Başvekâlet Arşivi", 1, pp. 1089–91. The importance of Turkish archives for the study of European history is discussed by B. Lewis in "The Ottoman Archives. A source for European History", *Report on Current Research*, The Middle East Institute, Washington, D. C., Spring, 1956, pp. 17–25.

More recently a number of works have appeared which are entirely devoted to the problem of Turkish archival materials. An exhaustive study by L. Fekete, "Über Archivalien und Archivwesen in der Türkei", *Acta Orientalia* (Budapest), 3 (1953), pp. 179–205, is

[53] *Cf.*, B. Lewis, "The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands", JRAS, October, 1951 p. 142.

[54] T. Öz, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivinde Fatih II. Sultan Mehmet'e ait belgeler", *Belleten*, 14 (1950), pp. 49–56.

[55] As monographs and in the *Vakıflar Dergisi* (Ankara), 1 (1938); 2 (1942); 3 (1956); 4 (1957).

[56] *TOEM*, 1, i (1329), pp. 9–19 and 1, ii (1329), pp. 65–69.

based on the author's research undertaken in 1937. The situation of Turkish archival materials existing at the time of his research activities was as follows: 1. The archives housed in the former residence of the Grand Vizier (*Babıali*), the so-called *Cevat Paşa Kütüphanesi*, contained many boxes of acts (consisting partly of the materials transferred in 1909 from *Topkapı Sarayı*). These acts numbered approximately ninety million.[57] 2. A collection of the papers of the most important financial departments was housed in the İbrahim Paşa Palace (*İbrahim Paşa Konağı*) on Sultan Ahmet Square. Similar documents may have been in former archives as well as in various other storehouses such as the buildings near *Topkapı Sarayı*. 3. 1,925 tax registers of individual administrative districts, and cadastral records (*tahrir-i vilâyet*), some of them dealing with later periods, were transferred to Ankara in 1930. They are now kept in the *Tapu ve Kadastro Müdürlüğü* and are consulted in the adjudication of land cases both in Turkey and in the successor states.[58] 4. A depot of 578 boxes, sixty-five bookcases and about 200 sacks filled with acts pertaining to the *Evkaf* and the Mint was housed in two buildings situated opposite the Fountain of Sultan Ahmet III (*Sultan Ahmet Çeşmesi*). 5. More *vakıf* documents were to be found in the *Dâr-üş-şafaka* near the *Nur-i Osmaniye* mosque, as well as in the office of the *Evkaf* in Ankara. Among these were the acts of the *Defterhane*. 6. Records of the Mint, covering the period after 1836 (earlier documents were located in the *Defterhane*) and written mainly in Armenian, were located in the Church of St. Irene, known for a while as the Military Museum (*Askerî Müze*). 7. A collection of Admiralty (*Tersane*) acts was housed in the Kâsım Paşa district. 8. About 10,000 volumes of the *sicils* (registers) of the former *şer'î* courts were deposited in the building of the former office of the *şeyhülislâm*, behind the *Süleymaniye* mosque. 9. In the same place were stored some forty boxes of documents of the office of the *şeyhülislâm* (rescued from a fire which destroyed a majority of these acts in the beginning of the twentieth century). 10. Another collection was stored in the New Library (*Yeni Kütüphane*) situated in the former *Ağalar* Mosque in *Topkapı Sarayı*. 11. Several series of acts which pertained to nineteenth-century foreign affairs were deposited in the Bayezit district, in the *Bab-i Hümayun*, and in *Topkapı Sarayı*.

[57] *Cf.*, newspaper *Tan*, No. 704, April 5, 1937.

[58] *See* S. J. Shaw, "Archival Sources for Ottoman History: The Archives of Turkey", *JAOS*, 80, i (1960), p. 7.

(Documents in the latter place had been transferred from *Yıldız*. They dated from the reign of Abdülhamit II.) Outside Istanbul interesting collections of archival materials could be found in Ankara.

These materials are arranged sometimes according to subject matter, sometimes chronologically, and sometimes according to their institutional provenance. For that reason it is imperative to be well acquainted with Ottoman state institutions, so well presented by J. von Hammer-Purgstall in his *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung* (Wien, 1815). The eighteenth-century list of categories of the *Defterhane* documents, referred to by Fekete, might also prove useful in the preliminary handling of the materials.

An inventory of the archives of the Office of the Prime Minister is contained in a booklet by M. Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekâlet Arşivi* (Ankara, 1955). After outlining the structure of the main Ottoman state institutions, the author introduces a discussion of the principal divisions of the archives in question. These consist of: 1. The acts of the *Divan-i Hümayun*, divided into *defter*s (registers), and *evrak* (loose documents); 2. the acts of the *Bab-i Asafi*, which include a series of documents on the relations of the Ottomans with foreign countries; 3. the acts of the *Bab-i Defter*; and 4. miscellaneous materials deposited in the archives. Sertoğlu's booklet also discusses other materials technically belonging to the same archives but deposited in various places in Istanbul. Another important archival collection, that of Muallim Cevdet, is housed in the Municipal (*Belediye*) Library in Istanbul.

Archival sources important for the study of Hungarian history were treated by I. Karácson, "A sztambuli mecsetek magyar vonatkozású kéziratai", *Századok*, 42 (1908), pp. 79–83, 455–57, 651–54 and 45 (1911), pp. 196–99. Those pertaining to Swedish history were discussed by G. Jarring, "Arkivforskningar i Turkiet. En preliminär rapport", *Karolinska Förbundets Årbok* (Stockholm, 1939), pp. 41–50. The significance of the Ottoman archives from the point of view of Danish history was discussed by B. Lewis, "A Note on some Danish Material in the Turkish Archives in Istanbul", *Acta Orientalia*, 22 (1955), pp. 75–76. The collection of the *mühimme defteri* (Register of Public Affairs)[59] from the Archives of the Sublime Porte, and its

[59] This series consists of 263 volumes running from 1553 to 1883. *Cf.*, B. Lewis, *Notes and Documents from the Turkish Archives, Oriental Notes and Studies*, 3, published by The Israel Oriental Society (Jerusalem, 1952), p. 2.

particular importance for the study of Yugoslav history, were treated by G. Elezović in "Iz carigradskih turskih arhiva mühimme defteri", *Zbornik za istočnjačku istorisku i književnu građu* (Istoriski institut SAN, Beograd, 1951). Other authors who have analyzed Turkish archives from a similar viewpoint are S. Stanojević in "Carigradski arhivi", *Jugoslovenski Istoriski Časopis*, 2 (1936), pp. 414–420; B. Đurđev in "Još nešto o carigradskom arhivu", *Jugoslovenski Istoriski Časopis*, 5 (1939), pp. 354–58; and H. Šabanović, "Turski diplomatički izvori za istoriju naših naroda", *Prilozi*, 1 (1950) (especially pp. 120–32), also, F. Bajraktarević, "Glavni carigradski arhiv i ispisi iz njega", *Prilozi*, 6–7 (1956–57), pp. 283–99. A few observations concerning the *mühimme defteri* are offered by U. Heyd, "The Mühimme Defteri (Register of Decrees): A Major Source for the Study of Ottoman Administration", *Akten des Vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, München* (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 389–91.

The value of the archives as a source for the history of the Asiatic provinces of the Ottomans has been dealt with by B. Lewis, "The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands", *JRAS*, October, 1951, pp. 139–55; and "Studies in the Ottoman Archives–I", *BSOAS*, 16 (1954), pp. 469–501. Such materials were used by Ş. Altundağ, *Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Paşa isyanı, Mısır meselesi 1831–1841* (Ankara, 1945); and T. Gökbilgin, "1840-tan 1861-e kadar Cebel-i Lübnan meselesi ve Dürziler", *Belleten*, 10 (1946), pp. 641–703. B. Lewis has also evaluated the significance of the Ottoman archives for the history of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire in his *Notes and Documents from the Turkish Archives* in *Oriental Notes and Studies*, 3, published by The Israel Oriental Society (Jerusalem, 1952). This deals chiefly with the *mühimme defteri*. *See* also Ch. Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Les bibliothèques et les archives de Turquie en tant que sources de documents sur l'histoire de Russie", *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*, 5 (1964), pp. 105–40.

Egypt

Turkish documents available in the Egyptian Archives are discussed in J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire* (Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte, Cairo, 1930); also in *Recueil de Firmans imperiaux ottomans adressés aux Valis et aux Khédives*

d'Egypte 1006 H.–1322 H. (1597 J.-C.–1904 J.-C.) published by the Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte (Caire, 1934). Also *see* J. Deny's review of Fekete's *Einführung* in *JA*, 217 (1930), p. 347; Mohamed Ahmed Hussein, *Archives. A Study on Historical Documents* (Cairo, 1954), pp. 58–103. Turkish and Arabic archival materials also exist in the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai; *see* A. S. Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A hand-list of the Arabic manuscripts and scrolls microfilmed at the library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai* (Baltimore, 1955), p. XI. Microfilms of this entire collection of 1,742 Arabic and Turkish *fermans* are now available in the Library of Congress; *see, Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1950,* prepared under the direction of K. W. Clark, part 2, B–Firmans (Washington, 1952), pp. 38–53. Also a very important recent publication on the subject has been contributed by S. J. Shaw, "Cairo's Archives and the History of Ottoman Egypt", *Report on Current Research,* The Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., Spring 1956, pp. 59–72.

The North Africa Turkish archives in Algeria are discussed by A. Devoulx, "Le registre des prises maritimes", *Revue Africaine,* 15 (1871–72), pp. 70 ff.; J. Deny, "Les registres de solde des Janissaires" *Revue Africaine,* 61 (1920), pp. 19 ff. Many Turkish documents of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are available in the archives of the Office of the Prime Minister (*Dâr-ül-bey*) of Tunisia, in Tunis. This collection consists of materials accumulated as a result of correspondence with the central authorities of the Empire: *Fermans* and investitures, and treaties concluded between Tunisia and France, Tunisia and England, etc. A part of this collection has been described by R. Mantran, "Documents turcs relatifs à l'armée tunisienne", *Les Cahiers de Tunisie,* 15 (1956), pp. 359–72. The same author is preparing for publication a complete catalogue of this collection; *see* his paper "La titulature des Beys de Tunis en XIX^{e} siècle d'après les documents d'archives turcs du Dar el-Bey (Tunis)", read at the Twenty-fourth Congress of Orientalists in Munich, 1957.[60]

[60] *Akten des Vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, München* (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 385–86; also, A. Decei, "Quelques documents turcs concernant la Valachie au XVI^{e} siècle", *ibid.*, pp. 391–94.

Syria

The Syrian Archives (consisting mainly of Arabic documents) are discussed by Asad Jibrail Rustum in *Materials for a Corpus of Arabic Documents Relating to the History of Syria under Mehemet Ali Pasha*, 5 vols. (Beirut, 1930–34).

Asiatic Russia

Documents of other countries of the Muslim East have met various fates. The archives of the former Crimean Khanate were partly dispersed and partly destroyed during the eighteenth-century invasions of the Crimea; *see* V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe khanstvo pod verkhovinstvom Ottomanskoĭ Porty do nachala XVIII veka* (S.-Peterburg, 1887). Some documents were preserved in the Bahçesaray Museum and in the collections of the Archaeological Society in Simferopol (previously belonging to the "Tavricheskoye Dvorianskoye Sobraniye). A part of these subsequently entered the archival collections in Moscow and St. Petersburg (*e.g.*, 124 registers transferred from Simferopol). Another part was found in Odessa (analyzed by I. Berezin, "Tarkhannye îârlyki krymskikh khanov", *ZOOID*, 8 pribavlenie (1872), pp. 1–9; *idem*, "Ârlyki krymskikh khanov Mengli-Gireia i Muhammed-Gireia", *ZOOID*, 8 pribavlenie (1872), pp. 10–23. Still another part remained in the Crimea; *see* K. Inostrantsev, "K voprosu o 'basme'", *ZVO*, 18 (1907–08), pp. 0172–79; also N. Murzakevich, "Pis'mennye pamîâtniki Tokhtamyshkhana", *ZhMNP*, 27, viii, otd. 2 (1840), pp. 143–48; and A. Samoĭlovich, "Tiiish' (tish') i drugie terminy krymsko-tatarskikh îârlykov", *IAN*, ser. 6, 11, ii (1917), pp. 1277–78. The archives of some Central Asiatic khanates are located in the capital of Russia; *see* P. P. Ivanov, *Arkhiv khivinskikh khanov XIX v.* (Leningrad, 1940).

4. COLLECTIONS OF ORIENTAL DOCUMENTS IN EUROPE

Several European countries possess large collections of Oriental documents. These collections often comprise complete sets of archival materials acquired as booty from conquered Ottoman territories (*e.g.*, the Archives of Osman Paşa, which reached Karlsruhe after 1683; *see* F. Babinger, "Das Archiv des Bosniaken 'Oşmân Paša", *MSOSW*, 34 (1931), pp. 1–64 and 35 (1932), eighty-four plates; and the collection of Marsigli which was brought to Bologna after the conquest of Buda in 1686). Many European archives

contain collections of Oriental documents accumulated as a result of connections with countries of the East (*e.g.*, collections in Moscow, Stockholm, Vienna, Venice, Berlin, and Paris). There are also a few collections consisting of the remnants of archives established during the domination of the Turks or the Tatars, archives subsequently taken over by their European successor states (*e.g.*, the remaining parts of the Bahçesaray archives and the archives in Sarajevo and Sofia). Finally, some private collections contain many single documents acquired during the seventeenth century by looting, and later on various purchases, gifts, etc.

In archives, documents pertaining to the Ottoman Empire are normally kept in a special section (*turcica*), but in ordinary institutions, museums, libraries, or private collections they are usually integrated with other Oriental manuscripts. The manuscript collections of many libraries have already been catalogued. A detailed list of the catalogues of Oriental manuscripts can be found in C. Brockelmann's *Arabische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1941), pp. 212–21; also in B. Spuler's "Der Vordere Orient in islamischer Zeit", *Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte, Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe*, Band 21, Orientalistik, iii. Teil (Bern, 1954), pp. 14–17; J. D. Pearson, *Oriental Manuscript Collections* (London, 1954); and G. Vajda, *Répertoire des catalogues et inventaires de manuscrits arabes* (Paris, 1949).

European collections of Turkish documents are discussed by A. N. Kurat, "Avrupa arşivleri ve kütüphanelerinde tarihimizi ilgilendiren bazı vesikalar ve kaynaklar", *III. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara, 1948), pp. 661–76.

The most important collections of Oriental documents are located in the following centers:

Austria

The *Staatsarchiv* (formerly *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv*) in Vienna possesses many Turkish documents, mostly of a diplomatic character and dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; *see* F. Zsinka, "Die türkischen Urkunden der Wiener Sammlungen", *KCsA*, 1 (1921–25), pp. 321–24, and also *MOG*, 1 (1921–22), pp. 2–4. Apart from these archives, many Turkish documents are available at the *National-Bibliothek* (formerly *K.-k. Hofbibliothek*); *see* G. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, 3 vols. (Wien, 1865–67).

The library of the Consular Academy also possesses about 15,000 Turkish documents consisting mainly of records pertaining to Turkish administration in Hungary. They were acquired during the wars of the seventeenth century and are now stored in the *Staatsarchiv*.

Bulgaria

The most important collection of Turkish documents is at the Oriental Department of the Kolarov National Library. Originally this collection consisted of materials belonging to Husrev Paşa of Samokovo. They were donated to the National Library in 1879 by Alabin, then governor of Sofia. Today the bulk of the collection consists of manuscripts from the Pazvantoğlu Library in Vidin and of materials from different provincial archives. From 1900 to 1907, the first director of the Oriental Department (then known as the Turkish Archives), D. A. Ikhchiev, described 2,400 manuscripts and 310 *sicil*s of the *kadı*s of Vidin and Sofia, as well as many books. He also translated about 300 documents, chiefly the *sicil*s of the *kadı*s dating from 1604 to 1872. It was during the period of the activities of Ikhchiev that Grzegorzewski carried out his research in Sofia; *see* J. Grzegorzewski, *Z sidżyllatów rumelijskich epoki wyprawy wiedeńskiej* (Lwów-Konstantynopol, 1912). The original archives of Pazvantoğlu comprised acts of the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries; *see* A. Shishmanov, "Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ v Sofii", *ZVO*, 23 (1915), pp. 61–76. *See* also, I. Y. Kratchkovsky, *Among Arabic Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1953), p. 114.

According to a note in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Instituts in Sofia*, Heft 1 (Sofia, 1943), p. 47, the original collection of the Oriental Department consisted of forty-nine *fermans*, twenty-nine *berats*, 111 volumes of the *sicil*s of the *kadı*s (of the *şer'î* courts) from Sofia and Vidin; forty-six and sixty-five volumes of the proceedings of the same courts in Sofia and Vidin, respectively; and finally 310 volumes of fiscal records.

In 1909, after the establishment of the Oriental Department, an Orientalist, I. Dimitrov, was appointed its librarian. His successor, V. Todorov-Khindalov (1913–35), increased the collection by 658 Turkish documents from the Istanbul *Hazine-i Evrak*. It was under him and his successors, Miiâtev (1935–42) and Nedkov (1942) that the holdings of the department were greatly enriched with the many boxes of Turkish documents acquired as waste paper from

Turkish authorities. It is difficult to assess the actual number of these documents, but certainly there are some hundreds of thousands, and they do not consist of parchment *fermans* or *names* alone. To a large extent this collection is made up of various minor papers, commissions, reports, and various kinds of texts such as the *ariza*, *arzuhal*, *defter*, *evrak*, *havadis*, *hesap*, *mektup*, *pusla*, *takrir*, *telhis*, *temessük*, and *tezkere*. They are not only small, but often mutilated. Since these documents come from the main Ottoman archives they do not concern Bulgaria in particular, but rather the entire Ottoman Empire.

Valuable information about the Oriental documents in the Bulgarian Archives may be found in a note by Kh. Khristov, "Nauchno-issledovatel'skaîa rabota bolgarskikh istorikov–II", *Voprosy Istorii*, 1955, vii, pp. 184–87. Until 1931 the Oriental Department of the National Library in Sofia possessed 1,609 documents. They consisted mainly of *berat*s with nominations of religious officials, of *fermans*, etc. Through the acquisition of the materials disposed of by Turkish authorities in 1931, this collection has been tremendously increased.

An exhaustive discussion concerning the collection of Turkish documents in the Kolarov National Library in Sofia is contained in the article of *M. Guboglu, "Despre arhiva turco-orientală din Biblioteca de Stat 'V. Kolarov' Sofia", *Revista Arhivelor*, 1959, ii, pp. 180–214. According to Guboglu this collection consists of c. 600,000 documents from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, the bulk of them dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The available card catalogue, consisting of 80,000 cards, does not, unfortunately, include all the documents. In the second part of the above article, *ibid.*, 1960, i, pp. 134–82, one finds a list of several hundred Turkish documents pertaining to Rumanian territories preserved in the Kolarov collection. The contribution of Guboglu also contains some legible reproductions of the most interesting documents. *See* also M. Guboglu, "Les documents turcs de la Section orientale de la Bibliothèque "V. Kolarov" de Sofia et leur importance pour l'histoire des Pays roumains", *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, 3 (Bucharest, 1960), pp. 93–115, twelve plates.

Documents in this collection referring to Polish affairs are discussed in J. Reychman, "W ośrodkach orientalnych i orientalistycznych Bułgarii", *PO*, 1 (21) (1957), pp. 37–54, four plates.

Turkish documents in Bulgaria have also been treated by: *G. Balaschev, "Turskite arkhivni tevteri v Sofiîa i znachenieto im za

nasheto minalo", *Premorets*, No. 23, June 22, 1904; V. Todorov, "Opis na fermanite, buyuruldiite i teskeretata v Sofiĭskata Narodna biblioteka", *Godishnik na Narodnata biblioteka v Sofiia za 1923 godina* (1924), pp. 101–20; G. *Gŭlăbov, "Turskite kadiĭski sidzhili v sofiĭskata Narodna biblioteka", *Zora*, No. 4873, September 26, 1935; P. Miiatev, "Osmano-turskite dokumenti v sofiĭskata Narodna biblioteka", *Prosveta*, 3 (1938), pp. 731–36; *idem*, "Török iratok Bulgáriában", *LK*, 14 (1936), pp. 99–104; B. Nedkov, "Orientalistikata v sofiĭskata Narodna biblioteka", *Godishnik na Bŭlgarskiia bibliografski institut*, 1 (1945–46), pp. 226–39; *idem*, "Orientalskiiat otdel na Dŭrzhavnata biblioteka 'Vasil Kolarov'", *Istoricheski Pregled*, 10, ii (1954), pp. 115–20; J. Kabrda, "Turecké prameny k bulharským dějinám a jejich zpracování v Bulharsku", *Časopis Archivní Školy*, 15–16 (1937–38), pp. 200–31; *idem*, "Les anciens registres turcs des cadis de Sofia et de Vidin et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Bulgarie", *AO*, 19 (1951), pp. 239–92 (five plates), 642–43; *idem*, "Nový zdroj pramenů k ruským dějinám (Turecké kadijské registry)", *Sborník prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University*, ser. C, 1953, 2, ii–iv, pp. 237–260.

The archives of Pazvantoğlu have been described in Russian by Shishmanov (*see* p. 35 above). Secular books from the same collection are treated by M. L. Maleev in *Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniia, nauka i knizhnina*, 3, ii (Sofiia, 1890), pp. 405–09.

Apart from the Oriental Department of the National Library, some older documents prepared for publications are available in the Archives of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (*BAN*). Provincial libraries and museums, such as those in Plovdiv, Vidin, and Koprivnica also hold scattered archival documents.

The collections of the *Synod* contain many Turkish documents from the old Rila Monastery; *see* G. Jacob, "Urkunden aus Ungarns Türkenzeit in türkischem Text und deutscher Übersetzung", *Der Islam*, 7 (1917), p. 178, n. 2. About 600 documents from the monastery were translated by D. Ikhchiev, *Turskite dokumenti na Rilskiia monastir'* (Sofiia, 1910). These archives were also discussed by *G. Balaschev, "Rilskiiat monastir i turskite dokumenti", *Pregled*, 3 (1907).

Czechoslovakia

Some documents from the period of the Turkish domination of Slovakia are in Bratislava. *See* J. Rypka, in *Prúdy*, 9 (1925), pp. 184–98; also *J. Blaskovics, "Islamské rukopisy v Knižnici

Slovenskej univerzity", *Z bratislavských knižníc* (Bratislava, 1950), pp. 77–85. Also J. Blaškovič, K. Petráček, and R. Veselý, "Arabské, turecké a perzské rukopisy Univerzitnej Knižnice v Bratislave" (Bratislava, 1961). Some documents are also scattered throughout other towns of Lower Slovakia; *see* J. Rypka, "Čtyři turecké listiny z Dolného Kamence na Slovensku," *Prúdy*, 11 (1927), pp. 355–65, 471–82. Many Turkish documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were discovered in Rimavska Sobota. Many of them were still preserved in their original envelopes of silk; *see, idem*, "L'Orientalisme en Tchécoslovaquie (1949)", *AO*, 19 (1949), p. 26. According to an article by E. Tejnil, "Přispěvky k dějinám tureckého panství na Slovensku", *Český Časopis Historický*, 41 (1935), pp. 373–81, there were 256 documents running from 1600 to 1686.

A general article about the Turkish sources for the history of Slovakia has been contributed by J. Kabrda: "Les sources turques relatives à l'histoire de la domination ottomane en Slovaquie", *AO*, 24, iv (1956), pp. 568–80.

Denmark

Turkish documents in the State Archives in Copenhagen have been treated by H. W. Duda, "Die osmanischen Staatsschreiben des Königlichen Reichsarchivs zu Kopenhagen", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 58 (1950), pp. 136–58, one plate. One of them was published by H. Scheel, "Über den ersten Dänisch-Türkischen Vertrag vom Jahre 1756", *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen septuagenario* ... (København, 1953), pp. 327–39, one plate.

Finland

Turkish documents found in Finland were discussed by J. Aro, "Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Universität zu Helsinki", *Studia Orientalia*, 23, iv (Helsinki, 1958).

France

Paris. The Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have a Turkish section containing many documents from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. They also have Persian, North African, Egyptian,

and similar divisions. *See, Inventaire sommaire des Archives du Département des Affaires étrangères, Mémoires et Documents* (Paris, 1883–96). Turkish documents are listed mainly in the second volume, pp. 359–65, and in the suplement, pp. 175–78. A general list of files, acts and subjects was given by N. V. Michoff, *Sources bibliographiques sur l'histoire de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie*, vol. 3 (Sofia, 1928), pp. 86–94. Numerous *ahitnames*, *fermans* and letters from the sultans and high dignitaries of the Porte are in the *Archives nationales*. This collection has a catalogue dealing with the materials dating from the period ending in 1789, and published by the *Ministère de l'Instruction publique, des Cultes et des Beaux-Arts. Archives nationales, Inventaires et documents publiés par la direction générale des Archives nationales. Inventaire sommaire et tableau méthodique des fonds conservés aux Archives nationales, I^er^ partie. Régime antérieur à 1789*, 2 parts (Paris, 1871–75). *See* J. Sauvaget, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Orient Musulman. Eléments de bibliographie* (Paris, 1943), pp. 167–70. Historical materials are available in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*; *see* E. Blochet, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits turcs* (Paris, 1932–33). Turkish documents are listed under the following positions: vol. 1, 34–43; 78–79; 81–85; 130 (here, file No. 172 contains a letter of a Polish king to a Grand Vizier, and another one to the Sultan, both dating from the sixteenth century); 144–46; 148; 221–27; Supplement; 63–123; 661; 662 (*Polonica*); 679; 691; 700–01; 724; 727–28; 751; 760; 821–27; 1026; 1057; 1195; 1197; 1241. Some Turkish materials are also found in the Archives of the Ministry of War (*Ministère de la Guerre*) in Vincennes.

Marseilles. Many of the Turkish documents in Marseilles pertain chiefly to commercial affairs; *see* J. Deny, "Documents d'archives turcs conservés à Marseille", *JA*, 219 (1931), pp. 176–78. A catalogue of the Archives of the Chamber of Commerce at Marseilles was published by O. Teissier, *Inventaire des Archives historiques de la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille* (Marseille, 1878).

Germany

Berlin. The State Archives in Berlin contained rich materials resulting from the eighteenth-century correspondence with Turkey, as well as many documents bearing *tuğras*. A part of them has been treated by H. Scheel, "Die Schreiben der türkischen Sultane an die preußischen Könige in der Zeit von 1721 bis 1774 und die ersten

preußischen Kapitulationen vom Jahre 1761", *MSOSW*, 33 (1930), pp. 1–82, seven plates. There are also other collections of Oriental documents; *see* W. Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der türkischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1889); and L. Fekete, "A berlini és drezdai gyűjtemények török levéltári anyaga", *LK*, 6 (1928), pp. 259–305 and 7 (1929), pp. 55–106.

Hamburg. The City Library of Hamburg is in possession of a series of documents dating from about 1678; *see* C. Brockelmann, *Katalog der orientalischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1908) (Turkish documents: Nos. 261–65), pp. 136–39.

Munich. The City Library and the State Archives possess many Turkish documents acquired during the campaigns of 1663 and 1686. These include an investiture document from 1599/1600; various documents from 1686; and a letter from the Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa written to King Ferdinand in 1530. *See* J. Aumer, *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften der k. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München* (München, 1875), p. 37; also, G. Jacob, "Zu türkischen Urkunden", *Der Islam*, 8 (1918), p. 140–42; *idem*, "Türkisches aus Ungarn–II. Schreiben des Sandschakbej von Hatvan an den letzten Pascha von Ofen", *Der Islam*, 8 (1918), pp. 245–51; *idem*, "Zur türkischen Diplomatik", *OLZ*, 31 (1928), pp. 1061–62; also F. Babinger, "Die älteste türkische Urkunde des deutsch-osmanischen Staatsverkehrs", *Der Islam*, 10 (1920), pp. 134–46, one plate. Some of these documents are forgeries.

Dresden. The *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv* in Dresden holds about fifty Turkish documents from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. *See* L. Fekete, *op. cit.* Among these documents are numerous letters from rulers and high dignitaries of Turkey and the Crimea to Polish kings. One of these letters was published by H. Scheel, "Die Sendung des polnischen Gesandten von Stadnicki an die Pforte 1733–1737", *MSOSW*, 35 (1932), 177–94, two plates. *See* G. Jacob, "Zu türkischen Urkunden", *Der Islam*, 8 (1918), pp. 140–42; and also H. O. Fleischer, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium Bibliothecae Regiae Dresdensis* (Lipsiae, 1831).

Kassel. Turkish documents in the Library of Kassel were treated by L. Kulisch in "Die türkischen Lehnsbriefe in der Landesbibliothek zu Kassel", *Mitteilungen der Ausland-Hochschule an der Universität Berlin W* (= *MSOSW*), 12 (1938), pp. 125–60, seven plates.

Göttingen. Many seventeenth-century Turkish documents were edited by J. Rypka. *See* also *M. Köppen, *Untersuchungen über zwei türkische Urkundenhandschriften in Göttingen* (Bremen, 1920). A

catalogue of these documents is included in *Verzeichnis der Handschriften im Preussischen Staate*, vol. 1, iii (Berlin, 1894), pp. 469–94.

Karlsruhe. In Karlsruhe were located the Archives of Osman Paşa, dating from the period of his governorship in Egypt. *See* P. Horn, *Die Handschriften der grossherzoglich badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe*, vols. 2, 3 (Karlsruhe, 1892, 1895); also F. Babinger, "Das Archiv des Bosniaken 'Oṣmân Paša", *MSOSW*, 34 (1931), pp. 1–64 and 35 (1932), eighty-four plates. A number of documents from this collection were edited by G. Jacob, "Urkunden aus Ungarns Türkenzeit in türkischem Text und deutscher Übersetzung", *Der Islam*, 7 (1917), in pp. 171–85; also, F. Babinger, *op. cit.* Unfortunately these materials were destroyed in an air attack during World War II.

Gotha. A few documents from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were published by H. Neumann, "Türkische Urkunden und Briefe", *Der Islam*, 7 (1917), pp. 294–98. A list of them can be found in W. Pertsch, *Die türkischen Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha* (Wien, 1864). A supplementary list is included in his *Die arabischen Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha* (Gotha, 1892), pp. 530–54.

Erlangen. Among the Turkish documents at the University Library is a *ferman* issued by Murat III to the *beylerbeyi* of Tımışvar in A.H. 990. It was published by G. Jacob in *Türkisches Hilfsbuch*, i (Berlin, 1916[3]), pp. 98–101. Some Oriental documents are listed in J. C. Irmischer's *Handschriften-Katalog der Königlichen Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Erlangen* (Frankfurt a/M. und Erlangen, 1852), pp. 7–14.

Halle a/S. There are Turkish documents in the collection of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* (German Oriental Society)[61] —*e.g.*, a letter from Ebubekir, head of the chancery of the *beylerbeyi* of Buda, written to a dragoman. It was reproduced by G. Jacob, *Türkische Urkunden aus Ungarn* (Kiel, 1917) (plate 6). Other documents are kept in the *Waisenhaus-Bibliothek.*

More Oriental documents exist in the city collections at Leipzig, Weimar, Tübingen (*Stiftbibliothek*), Ulm, Stuttgart (*see* G. Jacob, "Zur türkischen Diplomatik", *OLZ*, 31 (1928), pp. 1057–64), Bamberg (*see* F. Leitschuh and H. Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg*, Bamberg, 1887–1912), Regensburg (*e.g.*, a letter of Süleyman I, written at Szeged), and in a few other cities.

[61] Hereafter referred to as *DMG.*

Greece

Some Turkish documents pertaining to Ottoman administration are in Athens; *see* G. Jacob, "Urkunden aus Ungarns Türkenzeit in türkischem Text und deutscher Übersetzung", *Der Islam*, 7 (1917), p. 178, n. 2. According to E. Rossi, "Gli studi orientalistici in Grecia", *OM*, 21 (1941), pp. 538–47, the manuscript division of the National Library holds a few documents, *e.g.*, a series of treaties concluded by Turkey, listed under No. 1830. The *Gennadeion* Library in Athens also possesses some documents, *e.g.*, a copy of a Franco-Turkish treaty, listed under No. 147. *See* also D. Topping, "Sources for Ottoman History in the Gennadeion", *Report on Current Research*, The Middle East Institute, Washington, D. C., Spring, 1956, pp. 51–57. Many documents exist in provincial monasteries in Chios, Naxos, the Dodecanese Islands, etc.

Hungary

Budapest. The State Archives have about 4,000 Turkish documents dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They deal chiefly with the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire and with Ottoman administration in Hungarian territories, and they include many *defters*. This is by no means the entire body of former Turkish archives in Hungary. A great part was removed by the Turkish authorities at the time of their departure from Hungary, and another part has been destroyed. There also exist in Budapest other collections containing Oriental documents, such as that of the National Library, a catalogue of which was published by the illustrious Orientalist I. Goldziher, *A magyar nemzeti múzeumi könyvtár keleti kéziratai* (Budapest, 1880) (the *defters* are listed on page 37 of this catalogue). The Library of the Academy of Sciences possesses precious copies of Turkish documents made by W. Bernhauer.

Pécs. A series of Turkish documents exists in the Episcopal Palace at Pécs; *see* Fahreddin, "Macaristan'da bazı asar-i Osmaniye", *TOEM*, 21 (1329), pp. 1399.

Sopron. A few Turkish documents are preserved in the City Archives, *e.g.*, a letter from Kara Mustafa to the city of Sopron; *see* Halil Ethem, "Kara Mustafa Paşa'nın *Şopron* şehri ehalisine beyannamesi", *TOEM*, 15, (1328), pp. 924 f.

Gyöngyös. The Archives at Gyöngyös possess Turkish documents dating from 1549 to 1686. Registers from that collection were pub-

lished by L. Fekete, "Gyöngyös város levéltárának török iratai", *LK*, 10 (1932), pp. 287–318 and 11 (1933), pp. 93–140; one of the documents was included in Fekete's *Einführung*.

Nagy-Kőrös. Turkish documents from the City Archives were dealt with by *J. Repiczky, *Nagy-Kőrös város török levelei* (Kecskemét, 1859).

Debrecen. Turkish documents from the Archives of the City of Debrecen were treated by L. Fekete, "Debrecen város levéltárának török oklevelei", *LK*, 3 (1926), pp. 42–67.

Dömsöd. Turkish documents in Dömsöd are described in F. Zsinka, "Dömsödi török oklevelek", *KCsA*, 1 (1921–25), pp. 115–22.

Jászberény. A Turkish document from Jászberény was published by Fekete in his *Einführung*.

Hatvan. There are fifty-nine Turkish documents dealing with internal affairs in the local municipal archives. Forty-five of them are written in Turkish and the remaining ones in Hungarian. *See* J. Blaskovics, "Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte des Köprülü Mehmed", *Acta Orientalia* (Budapest), 11 (1960), pp. 51–55, one plate.

Other Turkish documents are located in the collections of the Zichy family (*see* L. Fekete, "Török iratok a gr. Zichy-család birtokában", *LK*, 2, 1924, pp. 70–85) and the Esterházy family. Some 150 documents from the latter collection were dealt with by L. Fekete, *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy* (Budapest, 1932).

Unfortunately many of these documents were destroyed during World War II, so that the above list does not represent the present situation of Turkish archival materials in Hungary.

Italy

Venice. The State Archives of Venice contain some 4,000 Turkish documents, including about 300 documents of the sultans dating from the second half of the fifteenth century. *See* L. Fekete, "A velencei állami levéltár "Documenti Turchi" c. gyüjteménye", *LK*, 4 (1927), pp. 130–38; also *idem*, "A velencei állami levéltár magyar vonatkozású fetḥnāméi", *op. cit.*, pp. 139–57; also A. Bombaci, "La collezione di documenti turchi dell' Archivio di Stato di Venezia", *RSO*, 24 (1949), pp. 95–107. According to a note contributed by I. Melikoff-Sayar, "Les documents turcs des Archives de Venise", *JA*, 242 (1954), p. 446, the total number of Turkish documents in the Archives of Venice

amounts to 1,000. Forty documents date from the period preceding the reign of Süleyman I. They include "une lettre de la Sultane mère, Sulṭān Vālide Jem, écrite en italien et datée du 5 juillet 1488". Many of these documents are written in Greek. The older documents are smaller in size, their script is more simple, and their *tuğra*s are small and done in black India ink.

Florence. The Florentine collection of Turkish documents has been treated by A. Bombaci, "Diplomi turchi del R. Archivio di Firenze", *RSO*, 18 (1939), pp. 199–217, five plates.

Bologna. The collection of Marsigli in Bologna was described by J. von Hammer[-Purgstall], *GOR* (French edition), vol. 12, pp. 206, 510–11; also by V. Rosen, *Remarques sur les manuscrits orientaux de la Collection Marsigli à Bologne* (Roma, 1885). In the collection are documents captured in Hungary towards the end of the seventeenth century.

Oriental manuscripts available in Italian libraries and archives are treated as a whole by Gi. Gabrieli, *Manoscritti e carte orientali nelle biblioteche e negli archivi d'Italia* (Firenze, 1930); also by E. Rossi, "İtalya kütüphane ve arşivlerinde Türk tarihine dair İtalyanca ve Türkçe mehazlar", *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara, 1943).

Poland

Most of the Oriental documents in Poland come from the old Archives of the Republic. Here were kept such documents as the texts of treaties, agreements, miscellaneous notes, as well as letters from Oriental rulers. These archives were located originally in Cracow. Subsequently a part of the Crown Archives was transferred to Warsaw.[62] During the Swedish invasions of Poland a part of the documents was seized and transported to Sweden, where it has remained until now.

After the partition of the Polish Republic, the archives were parceled out. A part of the collections, including a great number of Oriental documents, remained in Warsaw to be subsequently exported by Russian authorities and integrated into the Archives of

[62] In the 18th century some Oriental documents were apparently located in the library of the Załuski family. S. Sestrencewicz, in his *Histoir de la Tauride*, vol. 2 (Brunswick, 1800), pp. 206–07, referred to a *yarlık* sent in 1461 (A.H. 867) by Hacı Girey to the Polish king. This *yarlık* was allegedly located in that library, but its later whereabouts is unknown. *Cf.*, K. V. Bazilevich, *Vneshnîaîa politika russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva vtoraîa polovina XV veka* (Moskva, 1952), p. 102.

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. From that period originate many seals and annotations found on the archival documents. These documents were frequently consulted by Orientalists. Thus a Polish Orientalist, A. Muchliński, used this material for his chrestomathy as well as for the publication of documents presented in *Pamiętnik Religijno-Moralny*.[63] Some of the Tatar documents were published by a Russian Oriental historian, V. V. Vel'i͡aminov-Zernov.

After the re-establishment of an independent Polish state, the USSR restored to Poland her archival materials, including the Oriental documents. They were incorporated into the Main Archives of Old Acts in Warsaw. There the materials were sorted, arranged, and classified. After surviving the devastations of World War II, they were transferred to the Main Archives in the *Pod Blachą* Palace in Warsaw.

This collection consists of *name* texts and also numerous *fermans* issued by the Ottoman Chancery to Turkish authorities in the provinces adjacent to Polish frontiers. These *fermans* concerned Polish affairs, such as questions of ransom, trade, passports, etc. Oriental diplomatic materials in the Main Archives include Turkish, Tatar, and Persian documents. The *turcica* section contains peace and trade treaties (*ahitnames*), the earliest dating from 1489. It also includes letters (*names*) sent by Turkish sultans and dignitaries to Polish kings and officials and written in Turkish, Polish, Greek, Latin, Italian, and Serbian. The Tatar documents consist of treaties, safe-conducts issued to envoys, and miscellaneous letters written between 1514 and 1786 by Crimean khans and dignitaries. The Turkish and Tatar materials in the Main Archives of Old Acts in Warsaw at present amount to 350 and 273 documents respectively. There are only nine documents concerning Persia, of which two are written in Turkish.

A few important documents pertaining to the Orient are in other sections of the archives. Three small Turkish documents are sewn in with the twenty-third volume of the *Libri Legationum*. The latter include translations of some Oriental documents. These documents were being described and catalogued before 1939, but the catalogue cards have since disappeared. *See*, *Collectanea Orientalia*, 6 (1934), p. 10.

[63] *A. Muchliński, "Materiały do historii kościoła polskiego z języków wschodnich", *Pamiętnik Religijno-Moralny*, 1–2 (Warszawa, 1841).

Another part of the Oriental documents from the former Crown Archives was acquired by Thaddeus Czacki in Poryck after the partition of Poland. This portion was subsequently purchased by the Czartoryski family and integrated into their collections in Puławy, later in Paris, and finally in Cracow. Various members of that family were engaged in collecting Oriental manuscripts and documents during their stay in Puławy and later in Paris. Thus the Oriental holdings of the Collections of the Czartoryski family in Cracow are of dual provenance. After World War II the part of the Collections of the Czartoryski family which derived from the former Crown Archives was taken over by the State District Archives in Cracow. This set consists of about 700 Turkish and ninety Tatar documents. Thus the total number of Turkish and Tatar documents preserved from the former Crown Archives amounts to about 1,050 and 370 respectively.

Most of the Oriental documents in the *Collections of the Czartoryski family are to be found in folios 605–34, 859, 914–45, 2,760–66, containing *Orientalia, i.e., documenta quae ad necessitudines inter Poloniam et Turcas, Tartaros, Persas spectant.* These folios contain Turkish and Crimean Tatar documents from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Older documents were written only in Latin. The documents are sewn up in regular volumes with neatly trimmed pages. Unfortunately, this attempt at uniformity has resulted in the clipping of the margins of many documents. Some documents from a collection of private papers of A. K. Czartoryski were studied and translated by a Polish Orientalist, W. Kazimirski, in the nineteenth century while they were still in Paris. There are about fifty letters (*names*) written by the sultans to Polish kings; about twenty-five letters from the viziers to Polish kings; about sixty letters from the viziers to Polish dignitaries; and finally about seventy miscellaneous texts. There are also papers referring to Polish-Turkish relations, to embassies, and to various minor Turkish affairs. A separate set contains about ninety *yarlıks* and official documents from the Crimea. *See* J. Korzeniowski, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum musei principum Czartoryski cracoviensis* (Cracoviae, 1887–93); also a note by T. Kowalski in *Collectanea Orientalia*, 6 (1934), pp. 6–9; also E. Zawaliński, "Zbiory tureckich dokumentów w bibliotece Czartoryskich w Krakowie", *RO*, 14 (1938), pp. 132–35; and J. Hanusz "Orientalische Handschriften in Krakau", *WZKM*, 1 (1887), pp. 81–82.

The Oriental documents from the Archives of the Czartoryski

family in Cracow as well as other archival materials of the former Polish Republic have now been put under the control of the Board of State Archives and deposited at Wawel Castle at Cracow.

Another set of Oriental documents, deriving from a private collection of the last king of Poland, Stanislas Augustus, was acquired by Martin Badeni and subsequently went into the collection of the Popiel family. In 1930 this collection was purchased by the Polish State to be integrated with the Main Archives, where it luckily survived the devastations of World War II. But the Oriental documents in the possession of the Popiel family were scattered all through their collection, and they are not in the Turkish section of the Main Archives. They are mostly to be found in folios 62, 235, 236, 399, 400, 425, 426.

Polish Oriental collections have also been enriched by other transactions. Thus Adam Czartoryski sr purchased the Oriental documents in the possession of the dragoman Giuliani.

One should remember that relations with Turkey and the Tatars were maintained not only by the Crown Chancery, but also by the Great *Hetman* of the Crown. The latter exchanged correspondence with the Sultan and the Khan, dispatched messengers, and received Turkish and Tatar envoys. Some Polish dignitaries, emissaries to Turkey, chancellors, and *hetmans*, who were directly involved in Polish-Turkish relations, preserved Turkish documents in their private archives; these documents sometimes found their way into other collections. Thus, for instance, the Archives of the Czartoryski family include two volumes of Turkish documents originating from the chancery of *Hetman* Adam Sieniawski. Certain Turkish documents were preserved in the papers of *Hetman* Wacław Rzewuski; of the *Voyvode* of Kiev, Joseph Potocki; and also in the Radziwiłł family's collections, located today in Wilanow.

The same thing happened with the collection of Oriental documents of the Legation of Peter Potocki. One part of it was found in the Russian archives. Other parts were found in Kornik and in Lancut. Two volumes of the *turcica* from the Archives of the Potocki family in Podhorce are deposited in the State Archives in Cracow. Certain documents, *e.g.*, Turkish entry permits, issued to private persons, have been found scattered in various collections. Thus, for instance, a permit *ferman*, issued to Col. Bohdanowicz and dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century, reached the collection of the Ossoliński family now in Wrocław. Altogether, the

State Archives in Poland hold about 3,300 Oriental documents pertaining to Poland's relations with the Muslim East.

There are scattered Oriental documents whose contents do not bear on Polish affairs; these belong in a special category. Some of them are internal Ottoman administrative documents acquired by looting during the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or by purchase. Thus Turkish fiscal records, *defters*, lists of losses, etc., which were probably seized in the Vienna Expedition of John Sobieski, reached the collections of Cieplice Slaskie, to be transferred later to the National Library in Warsaw. Two loose sets of *turcica* from the former Archives of the Potocki family in Podhorce are located in Cracow. Among the documents in one of the volumes are about sixty letters which were probably seized in the Chancery of Kara Mustafa, the Grand Vizier at the time of the Siege of Vienna (1683). The second volume, a small one, consists of documents once belonging to *Hetman* Rzewuski. There are many similar documents in Polish collection, *e.g.*, two letters of Mehmet II written to the *Voyvode* of Moldavia.[64]

The collecting of exotic Oriental materials in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led to the acquisition of many scattered documents by private collectors. Thus, for instance, Denisko is reported to have built up a collection in Hetmanówka, near Balta in the Ukraine, towards the end of the eighteenth century. This collection included "*hatt-i hümayun*s and imperial *tanzimat* with *tuğra*s at the bottom ... and the *yarlık*s of the khans from the times of Mengli Girey". *See* J. Strutyński, quoted by *B. Sas, *Mozaika* (Lwów, 1881), p. 5. Many important Turkish state documents were in the possession of Wacław Rzewuski (1785–1831). His collection included, for instance, interesting sets of Ottoman documents such as the *İnşa-i reis efendi Mehmet Efendi*, the *Mükâtebat-i Nebi*, and *Telhisat-i Rağıp Paşa*, which were consulted by J. von Hammer[Purgstall]; *see GOR*, vols. 5, p. XII; 6, p. VII; 7, p. VIII; 9, pp. 250, 255. According to rumors circulating among Orientalists, these documents were be-

[64] One of them, addressed to Hospodar Peter, was published by *F. Babinger, "Cel dintâi bir al Moldovei către sultan", *Fraţilor Alexandru şi Ion I. Lăpĕdatu la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani. XIV. IX. MCMXXXVI* (Bucureşti, 1936), pp. 29–37. The second one, consisting of a *ferman* issued to Turkish authorities concerning the privileges of Moldavian merchants, was published by F. Kraelitz[-Greifenhorst], "Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Diplomatik", *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 197, iii (Wien, 1921), fourteen plates.

lieved to be somewhere in Warsaw or in Cracow; *see, Der Islam*, 18 (1929), p. 221, n. 1. Collecting activities of the eighteenth century are discussed by J. Reychman in his "Zbiory orientaliów w Polsce XVIII w.", *Studia nad książką poświęcone pamięci Kazimierza Piekarskiego* (Wrocław, 1951), pp. 283–94.

Even today some Turkish documents are held in private collections. Thus, for instance, the collection of J. Reychman includes a seventeenth-century tax register (*defter*) from the *Liva-i Sirem* (administrative district in the area of Srem, Yugoslavia).

In 1951, the Oriental Institute of Warsaw University set up a special committee to deal with the question of cataloguing Oriental manuscripts in Polish collections. The activities of the committee were also to include the problem of the treatment of documents; *see* S. Strelcyn, "Katalog rękopisów orientalnych", *PO*, 5 (1953), pp. 48–54. Concerning Turkish and Tatar documents in Polish collections, *see* Z. Abrahamowicz, "Dokumenty tatarskie i tureckie w zbiorach polskich", *PO*, 10 (1954), pp. 141–48, five plates.

The activities of the committee are now carried on by the Oriental Department of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The first issue of the planned catalogue appeared in 1959, **Katalog rękopisów orientalnych ze zbiorów polskich*, tom 1, cz. i, "Katalog dokumentów tureckich. Dokumenty do dziejów Polski i krajów ościennych w latach 1455–1672", compiled by Z. Abrahamowicz (Warszawa, 1959).

Rumania

Bucharest. The State Archives in Bucharest possess a rich collection of over 200,000 Turkish documents. A good many of them had originally come from the archives of the former principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and others came from the administrative records of provinces which at one time had been under the direct administration of the Ottomans, such as Dobruja, and Ada Kale (*see* *M. Guboglu, "Arhiva insulei Ada-Kale şi importanţa ei", *Revista Arhivelor*, 5, i (1962), pp. 117-147). Some of the documents were acquired from various private collections. The oldest documents date from 1550, the most recent from 1924. There are only a few documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the greatest number are from the eighteenth and nineteenth. This collection contains various types of documents: ornamented *fermans*, *e.g.*, a *ferman* of Süleyman I, dating from 1550 and pertaining to Transylvania; about 1,000 *tapu* documents, *i.e.*, title-deeds from Dobruja, kept in 145 folios; the *sicil*s or

registers referring to the *Sancak* of Tulcea; copies (*surets*) of the imperial *fermans* issued to the governors of Tulcea, Babadağ and Sulina; and about 5,500 Turkish acts dealing with the affairs of Ada Kale. These documents are in the process of being sorted and catalogued. The contents of this collection are discussed exhaustively by M. Guboglu in his treatise *"Documentale turceşti din arhivele statului şi importanta lor pentru cercetările istorice", published in *Arhivele Statului–125 ani de activitate* 1831–1956 (Bucureşti, 1957).

The Archives of the Academy of Sciences of the Rumanian People's Republic contain about 1,000 Turkish documents, 175 of which were issued in the sixteenth century by Süleyman I and Selim II. *See* I. I. Nistor, "Manuscrisele orientale din Biblioteca Academiei Române cu inventarul lor", *Academia Română, Memoriile Secţiunii Istorice*, ser. 3, vol. 28 (1945–46), pp. 77–126 (particularly Nos. 23–26; 28–33; 89; 98; 191–93).

The Municipal Library of Bucharest possesses about 600 Ottoman documents written in the Arabic and Armenian alphabets. They date from 1744 to 1878 and come from the archives of an Armenian Manug Bey, a prominent politician at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There are also several hundred Turkish documents in the Institute of the History of the Rumanian Communist Party. They originate from the former collection of the Bălcescu Foundation.

Iaşi. The State Archives in Iaşi hold a number of valuable documents from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Older documents from these archives were burnt by Polish troops who occupied the town towards the end of the eighteenth century.

Cluj. The former Museum of Transylvania in Cluj, and private collections such as that of Count E. Mikó possessed numerous Turkish documents. To a great extent they had originally belonged to the dragoman Dávid Rozsnyay (1641–1718) who had provided many of the texts with his own translations. The present State Archives in Cluj contain many Ottoman documents referring to the relations between Transylvania and Turkey in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Sibiu. The Municipal Museum once possessed a collection of Turkish documents, but they are now deposited in the District State Archives.

Braşov. The Municipal Archives once contained about fifteen Turkish documents; *see* G. Jacob, "Zu türkischen Urkunden", *Der*

Islam, 8 (1918), p. 141, but these are now in the District State Archives.

Other Turkish documents exist in the archives of Craiova, Tulcea, Constanţa, Galaţi, Bacău, and Turnu Severin. The total number of Turkish documents located outside Bucharest amounts to about 1,000.

Sweden

Stockholm. The Swedish Archives contain many Turkish documents, dating from 1587 to 1880; *see* K. V. Zetterstéen, "Svenska Riksarkivets orientaliska Urkunder", *Historisk Tidskrift*, 56 (1936), pp. 71–81; also *idem*, *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv* (Uppsala, 1945). Among these documents are some materials seized from Polish archives during the Swedish invasions of Poland.

Oriental documents are also found in the Royal Library in Stockholm; *see* W. Riedel, *Katalog över Kungl. bibliotekets orientaliska handskrifter* (Stockholm, 1923). They also exist in the Bibyer Archives. Some Turkish documents from these three collections were published by A. N. Kurat and K. V. Zetterstéen, *Türkische Urkunden herausgegeben und übersetzt* (Uppsala, 1938). Zetterstéen has also reported on Arabic documents, "The Oriental Documents in the Swedish State Archives", *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, part i (Budapest, 1948), pp. 191–208. *See* also W. Bjørkman, "Die Anfänge der türkischen Briefsammlungen", *Orientalia suecana*, 5 (1956), pp. 20–29; also Z. Abrahamowicz, "Four Turkish letters to the King and Chancellor of Poland at the Svenska Riksarkivet in Stockholm", *Acta Orientalia* (Budapest), 13 (1961), pp. 63–70.

Uppsala. Turkish documents, mainly from the eighteenth century, available in Uppsala, are discussed by C. J. Tornberg, *Codices arabici, persici et turcici Bibliothecae Regiae Universitatis Upsalensis* (Lundae, 1849); also by K. V. Zetterstéen, "Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala", *MO*, 22 (1928), pp. 346–53.[65]

[65] These documents were referred to by W. Björkman in his articles, "Die schwedisch-türkischen Beziehungen bis 1800", *Festschrift Georg Jacob zum siebzigsten Geburstag* (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 9–23; and "Schwedisch-türkische Beziehungen seit 1800", *MSOSW*, 35 (1932), pp. 149–61.

Switzerland

The University Library in Basel possesses a number of documents. These include a letter written in 1533 by Süleyman I to Emperor Ferdinand. *See* R. Tschudi, "Ein Schreiben Sülejmāns I. an Ferdinand I.", *Festschrift Georg Jacob zum siebzigsten Geburstag* (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 317-28, one plate.

United Kingdom

Turkish documents available in British archives were treated by A. N. Kurat, "İngiliz Devlet arşivinde ve kütüphanelerinde Türkiye tarihine ait bazı malzemeye dair [Some Turkish records and materials in the Public Record Office, London, and English Libraries]", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, 7, i (1949), pp. 1–27.

Certain historical materials may be found among the Turkish manuscripts in Oxford; *see* J. Uri, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium ... Catalogus* (Oxonii, 1787), pp. 302–17; also H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindûstânî and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, part ii (Oxford, 1930). Turkish manuscripts are listed on pp. 1157–1278; documents in Section "A", Chapter 4: "Official Documents Relating to Turkish History". Turkish documents are also to be found in the British Public Record Office; *see* B. Lewis, "The Ottoman Archives. A Source for European History", *Report on Current Research*, The Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., Spring, 1956, p. 22, n. 10.

USSR

The State Archives in Moscow and Leningrad have numerous documents originating from the correspondence of the khans of the Golden Horde and of the Crimea with the Muscovite tsars. There are also many documents seized as booty or otherwise acquired in the East during the campaigns of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The materials in Moscow do not go beyond the eighteenth century. Those in Leningrad consist of documents later than 1800.

The Saltykov-Shchedrin Library in Leningrad has many old manuscripts including some documents; these are listed in *B. Dorn, *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de Saint Pétersbourg* (St. Pétersbourg, 1852) (Turkish MSS. on pp. 455–540). This library also contains the archives of the Khans of Khiva; *see* P. P. Ivanov, *Arkhiv Khivinskikh*

khanov XIX v. (Leningrad, 1940). In the *Voprosy Istorii*, 6 (1953), p. 174, n. 13, there is a brief reference to the archival materials in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library. According to that note the collection includes "a set of Turkish documents from the seventeenth century, pertaining to the history of the Crimea . . ., the archives of the Khans of the Crimea and Khiva to be treated in a separate article".

A considerable number of documents are in the collections of the former Asiatic Museum; *see* B. Dorn, "Ueber die dem asiatischen Museum seit dem Jahre 1850 zugekommenen muhammedanischen Handschriften", *Bulletin de la Classe HistoricoPhilolgique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, 10, (1853), pp. 76–80 (Turkish MSS. on p. 80); also *idem*, "Das asiatische Museum im Jahre 1865", *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, 10, ii (1866), pp. 161–68 (Turkish MSS. on pp. 165–66). Manuscripts collected by Khanykov and available in the same library were also discussed by B. Dorn, in "Die vordem Chanykov'sche jetzt der Kaiserl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zugehörige Sammlung von morgenländischen Handschriften", *ibid.*, 8, iv (1865), pp. 245–309. Turkish documents acquired on the Caucasian Front at the beginning of World War I are treated in P. A. Falev, "Osmanskiĭa rukopisi, postupivshiĭa v Aziatskiĭ Muzeĭ Rossiĭskoĭ Akademii Nauk s Kavkazskago fronta", *IAN*, 12 (1918), pp.1619–30. The author has presented a description of the collection of the city of Van. This includes a set of *inşa* documents as well as eight manuscripts pertaining to Van and its environs from the last centuries. A complete picture of the collections from the former Asiatic Museum was presented in a collective work published on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the foundation of that institution; *see*, *Aziatskiĭ Muzeĭ Ross. Akademii Nauk* 1818–1918 (Peterburg, 1920), *see* also *Islamica*, 3 (1927), pp. 254–58. The Turkish manuscripts of the former Oriental Institute at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were catalogued by W. D. Smirnow, *Manuscrits turcs de l'Institut des Langues Orientales* (Saint-Pétersbourg, 1897). A special publication devoted to the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Les Archives principales de Moscou du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères* (Moskva, 1898), contains a photographic reproduction of a beautiful letter written by Mahmut II to Nicholas I in 1833 (twenty plates).

The manuscript and archival resources of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR were discussed in the journal *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniĭa*, 6 (1963), pp. 3–33 (two

plates), by D. I. Tikhonov, "Vostochnye rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSSR"; and by *N. P. Zhuravlev and A. M. Muginov, "Kratkii obzor arkhivnykh materialov, khraniashchikhsia v sektore vostochnykh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSSR", pp. 34–53. The collection includes a good number of documents from the Asiatic Museum and the Institute of Oriental Languages. Turkish manuscripts in the Oriental Institute have been treated by L. V. Dmitrieva, "Kratkii obzor dokumentov i fragmentov na tiurkskikh iazykakh iz sobraniia Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSSR", *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia*, 9 (1954), pp. 241-45. The author has reported on sixteen *fermans* included in that collection, one of which was a *ferman* of Bayezit II, written in Hungarian and dated 1488. *See* also *idem*, "Tiurkskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR", *Problemy vostokovedeniia*, 1959, iv, pp. 136–46, discussing Turkish documents and *fermans* from the eighteenth century, held by the Oriental Institute.

Oriental manuscripts in the University Library in Saint Petersburg (the present Lenin University of Leningrad) were listed in the catalogue of C. Salemann and V. Rosen, *Indices alphabetici codicum manu scriptorum persicorum turcicorum arabicorum* (Petropoli, 1888, *see* also *ZVO*, 2 (1887), pp. 241–62 and 3 (1888), pp. 197–220); a supplement to this catalogue was published by A. Romaskewicz in Leningrad, 1925.

Some documents were preserved in the Crimea. A number of *defters* and *yarlıks* was held in the collections of the Taurid Archaeological and Historical Society in Simferopol. About thirty *yarlıks* and *defters* were in the Bahçesaray Museum; *see* Th. Menzel, "Das heutige Rußland und die Orientalistik–II", *Der Islam*, 17 (1928), pp. 87–88; also *O. Akchokrakly, "Krymsko-tatarskie i turetskie istoricheskie dokumenty XVI–XIX vv., vnov' postupivshie v Krymskii tsentral'nyi arkhiv", *Biull. Tsentr. Arkh. Upravliyeniia Kryms. ASSR*, 1932, ii, pp. 12–16; **idem*, "Tatarskie dokumenty XV–XIX vv., khraniashchiesia v Tsentrarkhive Krym. ASSR", *ibid.*, 1931, iii, pp. 13–19. Moreover, some of the old Crimean *yarlıks* found their way to a number of other places, such as Odessa and Moscow.

Some materials are in the archives of the various Soviet republics. Oriental documents in the Archives of the Academy of Sciences in Uzbekistan have been dealt with by O. D. Chekhovich, "Sobranie Vostochnykh aktov AN Uzbekistana", *Istoricheskie zapiski AN SSSR*, 26 (1948), pp. 306–11. The holdings of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences in Uzbekistan are treated in a special

catalogue, the first volume of which has already appeared, *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoĭ SSR* (Tashkent, 1952). Documents are listed on pp. 143–68. The collection contains a number of documents which may prove important for comparative studies of the diplomatics of the Golden Horde, of the Crimea, etc.

The principles of the study of archives in Muslim countries are presented by V. V. Bartol'd, "Khranenie dokumentov v gosudarstvakh musul'manskogo Vostoka", *Arkhivnye Kursy*, 1 (1920), pp. 371–87.

Yugoslavia

Belgrade and Dubrovnik. Many Turkish documents were previously kept in the Archives of Dubrovnik. Some were transferred to the *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv* in Vienna after the annexation of Dubrovnik by Austria. In 1919 these documents were returned to Yugoslavia and added to the collection of the Serbian Academy of Sciences in Belgrade; *cf.*, F. Babinger, *Aus Südslaviens Türkenzeit* (Berlin, 1927), p. 35, n. 1. Subsequently these documents were sent to Dubrovnik. Some of the documents, however, were retained by Austria and kept in Vienna. According to an illuminating report by F. Giese, "Die osmanisch-türkischen Urkunden im Archive des Rektorenpalastes in Dubrovnik (Ragusa)", in *Festschrift Georg Jacob* (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 41–56, these rich archives contain many documents, *fermans*, *buyrultus*, etc., from the fifteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Some documents in Serbian and Italian date back to the fourteenth century. Giese included the text and translation of the oldest Turkish document, the confirmation by Mehmet II of the receipt of a tribute payment sent by Dubrovnik in 1460. Turkish documents from the old archives in Dubrovnik were also discussed by Ć. Truhelka, "Tursko-slovjenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive", *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja*, 23 (1911), pp. 1–162 (nineteen plates), 303–50, 437–84 (Turkish translation in *İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 1 (1955), pp. 39–65); F. Kraelitz[-Greifenhorst], "Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Diplomatik", *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 197, iii (Wien, 1921), fourteen plates; also F. Babinger, "Ein marokkanisches Staatsschreiben an den Freistaat Ragusa vom Jahre 1194/1780", *MSOSW*, 30 (1927), pp. 191–201, one plate. Registers from the archives in question are discussed by D. M. Korkut, "Nešto o turskim dokumentima Arhiva dubrovačkog", *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja*, 40

(1928), pp. 145–59. *Cf.*, also G. Elezović, *Tursko-Srpski spomenici dubrovačkog arhiva* (Beograd, 1932). According to F. Bajraktarević, "Les études islamiques en Yougoslavie", *AO*, 3 (1931), p. 495, n. 2, the number of Turkish documents in Dubrovnik does not exceed 5,000. It certainly does not reach the figure of 10,000 given by Korkut. This last figure is still quoted by H. Šabanović in his report on Turkish documents and archival materials in Yugoslavia, "Turski diplomatički izvori za istoriju naših naroda", *Prilozi*, 1 (1950), pp. 124–26. Turkish documents in Dubrovnik were also discussed by R. Muderizović, "Turski dokumenti u dubrovačkom arhivu", *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja*, 50 (1938), pp. 69–72. Some of the documents are in the Municipal Library of Dubrovnik.

About 1,000 Turkish documents are held by the Academy of Sciences in Belgrade. The Oriental Division in the Library of the Academy was established at the time of the restitution by Austria of the original documents from Dubrovnik. Although these documents were subsequently transferred to Dubrovnik, the Oriental Division of the Academy Library gradually expanded with the acquisition of new archival materials. Other Turkish documents in Belgrade are available in the State Archives.

Sarajevo. The so-called Turkish Archives of the National Museum (*Zemaljski muzej*) possess a rich collection of Turkish documents. Although they date mostly from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some of the documents are older. These archives were legally established in 1913. At that time the collection consisted of 407 manuscripts and Oriental books originating from purchases, gifts, etc. In 1915 it was increased by the addition of the former Archives of the Sarajevo *vilâyet* (about 200,000 documents), and in 1938 it absorbed the Archives of the *mutasarrıf* of Banja Luka. The collection consists mostly of the *sicil*s of the *kadı*s; *see* H. Šabanović, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–30. Other Turkish documents in Sarajevo can be found in various church and *vakıf* collections, and also in the library of *Gazi Husrev Beg*, which has about 3,200 *sicil*s of the *kadı*s originating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as other papers pertaining to Sarajevo; *see*, **Spomenici Gazi Husrevbegove četiristogodišnjice* (Sarajevo, 1932). Oriental documents in the Sarajevo collections are also treated by R. Hajdarović, "Orijentalni arhivi u Sarajevu i njihova organizacija", *Arhivist*, 6, ii (1956), pp. 15–27. Additional Turkish documents exist in other towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina; *see*, *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der*

Hercegovina, 2 (1894), and 4 (1899) with articles contributed by C. Hörmann, Ali Effendi Kadić, and Safvetbeg Bašagić; also *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja*, 1911, 1912, and 1916. More recent information about the documents in Bosnia and Herzegovina may be found in the following publications: *Godišnjak Istoriskog Društva Bosne i Hercegovine*, 1–11 (1949–60); *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja*, Nova Serija, 1946–; and above all, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju i istoriju jugoslavenskih naroda pod turskom vladavinom*, 1950–.

Skoplje. The Archives of Skoplje contain various types of documents, *e.g.*, *sicil*s of the *kadı*s of Bitola, the earliest of which dates from 1607; *vakıf* texts running from 1574 to 1811; *ferman*s from 1640 to 1859, and *berat*s from 1702 to 1911. Many of these documents are included in the publication of the Institute of Macedonian History, *Turski dokumenti za Makedonskata istorija* (Skopje, 1951–). According to a note in **Arhivist*, 2, iv (1952), Turkish documents also exist in other Macedonian localities such as Bitola, Kumanovo, Štip, Ohrid, Titov Veles, and Strumica.

Zagreb. Some Turkish documents are kept in the State Archives in Zagreb. About 1,600 handwritten codices and 600 Turkish documents are in the collection of the Historical Institute of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences in Zagreb; *see* *A. Oleśnicki, "Naše orijentalno blago", *Hrvatska Revija*, 5 (1932).

Split. The Archaeological Museum of Split has fifty-four Turkish documents dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They include fifteen *ferman*s of the sultans, mostly referring to the history of the privileged autonomous city of Poljica. They have been discussed in a general way by S. Bajraktarević, "Turski dokumenti u splitskom Arheološkom muzeju i u franjevačkom samostanu na Visovcu", *Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Starine*, kn. 44 (1952), pp. 25–62. A part of these documents was translated and published by A. Pavich, "Prinosi povjesti Poljica", *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja*, 15 (1903, pp. 59–100, 241–72, 405–82). The Municipal Library of Split has twenty-five documents dating from the seventeenth century. The Capitular Archives have 537 documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They originate from the archives of the former autonomous community of Poljica. They were examined by F. Bajraktarević, who is working on their description, which will appear in the *Ljetopis* of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences.

Zadar. The Municipal Archives of Zadar contain numerous Turkish documents. They belong to a larger collection, *Atti del dragomano*

veneto 1620–1797, *i.e.*, the correspondence between the former Venetian administration in Zadar and the neighboring Ottoman authorities. Some 1,500 Turkish documents are kept in nine volumes, but others are scattered in different sets. *See* H. Šabanović, "Arhivistička istraživanja u Makarskoj i Zadru", *Godišnjak Istoriskog Društva Bosne i Hercegovine*, 2 (1950), pp. 279–86. It is possible that more Turkish documents may exist in other collections in Zadar.

Monasteries. Turkish documents from the Holy Trinity Monastery near Plevlja are treated by F. Bajraktarević, "Turski dokumenti manastira Sv. Trojice kod Plevlja", *Spomenik, Srpska Kraljevska Akademija*, 79, ser. ii, 62 (1936), pp. 25–87, six plates. He has also dealt with 624 documents, dating from the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century, which are available in the Franciscan Monastery of St. Gospe at Visovac; *see* "Turski dokumenti u splitskom Arheološkom muzeju i u franjevačkom samostanu na Visovcu", *Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Starine*, kn. 44 (1952), pp. 25–62. Three thousand Ottoman documents are held in the Monastery of Fojnica. They date from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries and pertain to the internal affairs of the monastery; *see* M. V. Batinić, *Franjevački samostan u Fojnici od stoljeća XIV.–XX.* (Zagreb, 1913). A part of these documents, together with others originating from neighboring monasteries in Kreševo and Sutjeska (fifty-four *fermans* and four *buyrultus*), was published somewhat carelessly in an Italian version by D. Fabianich, *Firmani inediti dei sultani di Costantinopoli ai conventi francescani* ... (Firenze, 1884); *see* also J. Matasović, "Fojnička regesta", *Spomenik, Srpska Kraljevska Akademija*, 67 (1930), pp. 61–432. Turkish documents also exist in other monasteries of the Dalmatian Coast, *e.g.*, in Makarska, 600 documents of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries; in Zaostrog, 400 documents; unspecified numbers in Živogošac and in Duža. Three documents from the collection of the monastery in Duža were published in *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja*, 20 (1908), pp. 113–15.

Turkish documents in Serbian Archives have been treated in a general way by *W. Bernhauer, *Quellen für serbische Geschichte aus turkischen Urkunden* (Wien, 1857); and more recently by G. Elezović, *Turski spomenici*, 2 vols. (Beograd, 1940–52). The importance of Turkish sources in Yugoslavia has been discussed by G. Elezović, *Turski izvori za istoriju Jugoslovena* (Beograd, 1932); and by H. Šabanović, "Turski diplomatički izvori za istoriju naših naroda", *Prilozi*, 1 (1950), pp. 132–49. Documents from the Luburić collection

were treated by M. V. Žeravčić, "O zbirci turskih dokumenata nađenih u zaostavštini Andrije Luburića", *Arhivist*, 4, ii (1954), pp. 61–71.

5. PUBLICATIONS OF ORIENTAL DOCUMENTS

Since many collections of Oriental documents are so dispersed, and some almost inaccessible, their publication is of great importance to researchers dealing with Oriental history, paleography, and diplomatics. Apart from containing rich factual data, they provide indispensable material for comparative studies.

As mentioned above,[66] early publications of Oriental documents in Europe were primarily dictated by practical considerations: the necessity of getting prospective translators and diplomats acquainted with documents from the East. One of the first published documents was the *ahitname* or treaty of 1604 concluded by Ahmet I with Henry IV, King of France.[67] It was printed in 1615 on the new Oriental printing press established in Paris by the Orientalist Sauary. Meninski published samples of the letters of the sultans in his *Institutiones linguae turcicae*, vol. 2 (Vindobonae, 1756), pp. 169 f. The letters had been seized in 1686 in the captured Turkish archives of Buda. Meninski presented them in Arabic script and also provided a Latin transcription, translation, and comments. On page 202 of this work he gave the texts of the treaties concluded by Emperor Leopold of Austria with Mehmet IV in 1664 and with Venice in 1669. Extracts from Oriental documents were also published by Silvestre de Sacy in his *Chrestomathie Arabe*.[68]

It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that Oriental documents began to be treated as historical sources whose publication was desirable for genuine academic purposes. Initially, only isolated documents of particular decorative value were reproduced, above all the highly ornamented *ahitname* texts. New, hitherto unknown types of documents also attracted the attention of scholars who were primarily interested in the formal aspect of Turkish documents. A gradual improvement in reproduction technique, from lithography to photography, increased the benefits to be derived from the publication of documents. Published reproductions began to replace original documents in classrooms, in paleographic research, etc. Also the substance and methods of publication under-

[66] *See* above chapter, "History of the study of Oriental diplomatics", p. 14.

[67] *See* above, pp. 14–15.

[8] *See* above, p. 15.

went an evolution. Instead of isolated documents there were published whole sets of documents pertaining to particular historical figures or specific problems. Among such publications were those contributed by Fekete pertaining to the Turkish occupation of Hungary, and the Turkish documents derived from the archives of the Esterházy family. Other examples of this new approach to publishing are Babinger's edition of the documents from the Archives of Osman Paşa; the documents, referring to a Serbian monastery, published by Bajraktarević; and finally the documents from the Swedish Archives relating to the sojourn of Charles XII in Turkey, the last edited by Kurat and Zetterstéen. The methods of publishing the documents have not been uniform. Some scholars have laid their emphasis on facsimiles, being chiefly interested in paleographical problems. Others have published Turkish texts *in extenso*, being motivated by philological or historical considerations. Still others have limited themselves to giving translations or résumés of the substance of documents, being concerned with the needs of their own historiography. All of them have provided their publications with indices and some facsimiles, although treating them as illustrative rather than as reading material.

These publishing activities in the field of Ottoman-Turkish documents during the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries were initiated by European scholars. In the early decades of the present century they were joined by Turkish scholars whose most prominent representative was Ahmet Refik, who dealt with documents from the *ahkâm defterleri*. However, his publications were of less value after 1929, since the texts of the documents were given in the newly adopted modern Latin alphabet without reproducing the exact text in the original script. Somewhat inferior also were the publications in the field of paleography undertaken at the initiative of Ahmet Refik by other Turkish scholars of that period, who preferred to deal mostly with the diplomatic registers, which presented relatively few problems. The facsimiles produced by them were often treated as illustrations, being accompanied by only fragmentary translations without any texts to substantiate the reading of the documents. This procedure, according to Fekete, "often serv edto conceal the fact that the reading of one or another document was not completely established".[69] Even when on occasion the reading of the docu-

[69] L. Fekete, "L'édition des chartes turques et ses problèmes", *KCsA*, Suppl. 1 (1935–39), p. 513.

ments was established, the texts were given in the new Turkish alphabet, so that the paleographic value of such publications was necessarily reduced.

A general discussion of problems connected with the publication of Ottoman-Turkish documents is presented by L. Fekete, "L'édition des chartes turques et ses problèmes", *KCsA*, Suppl. 1 (1935–39), pp. 503–14. The following report on the published Ottoman-Turkish documents lists only the more important ones. It is believed that this compilation, being the first attempt of its kind, should prove useful for various research purposes. The list is arranged by countries of publication.

Austria

After the appearance of some documents in Meninski's *Institutiones*,[70] a number of documents from Austria were treated by J. von Hammer-Purgstall, mainly in *GOR*, but also in many of his other contributions. His publications were provided with neither reproductions nor Turkish texts. A Turkish text with French translation was published by J. Argiropulo, a former Turkish envoy to Berlin, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, 1 (1809), pp. 435–37. The text is a *hatt-i şerif* of Mahmut II issued in 1810 (A.H. 1225) and dealing with the war against Russia. In another issue of that journal appeared a document belonging to Uyghur-Turkic diplomatics. It consists of a *yarlık* issued in 1397 (A.H. 800) by Kutluk Timur. This publication was contributed by von Hammer-Purgstall and was provided with a lithographic reproduction and editorial comments; *see*, *Fundgruben des Orients*, 6 (1818), pp. 359–62. von Hammer-Purgstall also translated and supervised a lithographic reproduction of a letter written by Mehmet IV to Chmielnicki, which was published in Kiev by Russian scholars in the middle of the nineteenth century.[71]

A Hungarian archivist, Gévay, translated a letter of the Grand Vizier, İbrahim, in his *Gesandtschaft König Ferdinands I. an Sultan Suleiman I. 1530* (Wien, 1838), pp. 92–95. (For other publications of Gévay, *see*, *Hungary*, p. 77.) Turkish documents were also treated by W. F. A. Bernhauer, among whose publications are "Sulṭân Aḥmad's I. Bestallungs- und Vertrags-Urkunde für Gabriel Báthori von Somlyó ... 1608", *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen*, 18 (1857), pp. 299–330. A facsimile reproduction of a

[70] *See* above, p. 15.
[71] *See* above, p. 16; also, p. 99, below.

Turkish tax receipt issued in the *vilâyet* of Thessaloniki and dated 1755 (A.H. 1169) was published in *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Wien, 1894), p. 176, table XV.[72]

New methods for the publication of Oriental manuscripts were introduced by F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst. It was mentioned above that his editorial activities attracted the attention of scholars for the first time to the hitherto neglected formal and external aspects of documents. He accomplished this mainly through the publication of his "Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Diplomatik", *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 197, iii (Wien, 1921), fourteen plates. By his publication of twenty-four fifteenth-century documents from the former Archives of the Ragusan Republic, which until 1919 had been deposited in Vienna, Kraelitz-Greifenhorst laid the foundations for the development of modern studies of Ottoman documents. He also published a document dealing with a levy imposed in 1683 on Wiener Neustadt by Murat Girey; *cf.*, "Aufforderungs- und Kontributionsschreiben des Tataren-Ḫans Murād Giraj vom Jahre 1683 an Wr. Neustadt", *MOG*, 1 (1921–22), pp. 223–31. The same author also contributed "İlk Osmanlı padişahlarının isdar etmiş oldukları bazı beratlar" *TOEM*, 28 (1330), pp. 242–50. H. Duda and R. Kreutel are engaged in the preparation of an edition of the oldest Turkish documents held in the archives in Vienna. It is to appear in the publications of the *Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Vienna, under the title *Osmanische Majestäts- und Staatsschreiben aus der Zeit Sulejmans des Prächtigen im Wiener SA*. This work is to constitute the first volume of the projected series *Das Urkundenwerk Osmanica*. *See* H. W. Duda, "Das Urkundenwerk Osmanica", *Anzeiger der Östereichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 84 (1947), pp. 27–29. Duda has also published a document from the archives in "Die ersten Friedensfühler der Pforte nach der Eroberung von Belgrad im Jahre 1717", *DII*, 1952, pp. 262–72, one plate. Here he presented a facsimile and a translation of the document, which consists of a letter written by the governor of Belgrade to Prince Eugene of Austria on October 5, 1717. Another article by Duda, "Zur Lage der christlichen Untertanen der Pforte", *WZKM*, 51 (1948–52), pp. 56–63

[72] A similar receipt for the *cizye* from Belgrade, dated from 1783, was discussed by J. Rypka, "Z deníku Jana Jeníka z Bratřic", *Literární Noviny* (Praha), 2, xxxix (Nov., 26, 1953).

(one plate), contains a letter of the sultan dated July 25, 1817, and dealing with the privileges of the Metropolitan of Plovdiv, together with a facsimile, a transcript in the Arabic alphabet, and a translation of the text of the document. Duda also included a *vakıf* document concerning a *medrese* in Shumen (Bulgaria) in his *Balkantürkische Studien* (Wien, 1949), pp. 74–88, 115–26. The publication of that eighteenth-century document, written in *talik* script, was provided with commentary and a facsimile.[73] In the same work Duda presented a *ferman* of Mahmut II dated January 4th, 1825 (from the Museum of Koprivshtica, translation: pp. 97–109, transcription of text: pp. 127–31). *See* also P. Wittek, "Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden", *WZKM*, 53 (1957), pp. 300–13; 54 (1957), pp. 240–56; 55 (1959), pp. 122–41; 56 (1960), pp. 267–84.

Bulgaria

The first Turkish documents published in Bulgaria were presented at the beginning of the twentieth century by D. Ikhchiev in the following works: *Turskite dokumenti na Rilskiia͡ monastir'* (Sofiia͡, 1910); "Turski dŭrzhavni dokumenti za kŭrdzhaliite", *SbNU*, 22–23 (1906–07); "Turski dŭrzhavni dokumenti za Osman Pazvantoglu Vidinski", *ibid.*, 24 (1908); "Prinos kŭm vŭprosa za spakhiite v otomanskata dŭrzhava i turski dokumenti vŭrkhu tekh", *ibid.*, 25 (1909); *"Material za istoriia͡ta ni pod turskoto robstvo", *IBID*, 1–2 (1905–06), pp. 60–129. In these publications Ikhchiev has presented translations of several hundreds of documents of different types such as *fermans*, *buyrultus*, *emirnames*, *hüccets*, *fetvas*, *mazbatas*, *müraseles*, and other miscellaneous acts. Unfortunately the translations are not reliable; they are often too idiomatic, and sometimes even inaccurate. Moreover it is impossible to check them because Ikhchiev as a rule did not provide transcriptions of the original texts. Only in a few instances did he present a reproduction of the document, but without any transcription explaining his reading of the text. Such, for instance, was his treatment of a *ferman* with a *tuğra*, presented in *"Privilegiite na khrist. v chastine sult. zemi", *Minalo*, 1 (1909–10). Because of these shortcomings, the publications of Ikhchiev are not of much use for the study of diplomatics and paleography. His editorial methods were sharply criticized by the Orientalist I. K. Dimitrov; *see*,

[73] *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 226, i (Wien, 1949). For observations concerning that publication, *see* A. Bombaci's note in *RSO*, 25 (1950), pp. 127–31.

Periodichesko Spisanie, 71 (1910), pp. 447–66. Ikhchiev's career was discussed by A. Diamandiev, who presented a list of his works in **IIBI*, 14–15 (1937), pp. 186–94.

No reproductions are included in the publication of Turkish texts of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, *Dokumenti iz turskite dŭrzhavni arkhivi* (Sofiia, 1940–42), presented by P. Dorev and Kh. Tilkov, with the assistance of V. Shanov. A more recent collective publication, *Polozhenieto na bŭlgarskiia narod pod tursko robstvo* (Sofiia, 1953), includes Turkish texts, but no facsimiles of the original documents.

Another Bulgarian scholar engaged in publishing was G. D. Balaschev. In his *Finansovoto polozhenie na okhridskata arkhiepiskopiia* (Sofiia, 1908), he presented one *ferman* and one *berat* from the *sicils* of Sofia (No. 001-bis) with photocopies and translations. In another work, "Sofiiskiiat moneten dom (zarb-khana) i dva fermana ot 1616–17 god", *Minalo*, 2 (1911–13), pp. 217–26, Balaschev presented two *fermans* of 1758 pertaining to the problems of the Mint (*zarbhane*) in Sofia. This publication included translations and photocopies, but no transcription of the original text.

The real pioneer in the field of Turkish documents in Bulgaria was a Pole, Jan Grzegorzewski. In his *Z sidżyllatów rumelijskich epoki wyprawy wiedeńskiej* (Lwów-Konstantynopol, 1912), Grzegorzewski published a series of documents dating from 1680–85 and taken from the collection of the *sicils* in Sofia. The presentation of the documents included Turkish texts with commentary. Grzegorzewski's part in the development of the study of Ottoman diplomatics in Poland has been discussed above.[74] His contributions to this field in Bulgaria are treated by J. Kabrda in *Časopis Archivní Školy*, 15–16 (1937–38), pp. 217–19; in *IBID*, 14–15 (1937), pp. 267–70.; also by Gŭlăbov in *GSUiff* 34, ii (1938), pp. 13–14. Grzegorzewski's initiative was not immediately followed by Bulgarian scholars. Bulgarian publications of Turkish diplomatic documents began to appear only shortly before World War II. One should list above all a number of articles contributed by G. Gŭlăbov, especially in the series, "Osmano-turski izvori za bŭlgarskata istoriia", which consists of the following articles: "Nekolko stari osmano-turski dŭrzhavni dokumenti otnosno voĭniganite", *GSUiff*, 34, ii (1938), "Tri stari zakona i drugi osmanoturski dokumenti otnosno voĭniganite", *ibid.*, 39, vii (1943); "Edin zakon i drugi dŭrzhavni dokumenti po sŭbiraneto na momcheta za enicheri",

[74] *See* above, p. 22.

ibid., 35, vi (1939). The first two articles contain archival sources pertaining to the problem of the *voynuk*s and their position in the Turkish feudal system. The last one deals with the question of the *devşirme, i.e.*, the child tribute imposed by the Ottomans in order to provide soldiers for the corps of the Janissaries. Gŭlăbov also published "Sultanski ferman v zashchita pravata na zhitelite na selo Sheĭtanovo, Asenovgradska okoliia", *IBID*, 19–20 (1944), pp. 161–70. A *ferman* published in that article was reproduced, but without any editorial comment, in **Pomagalo za izuchavanie na turski ezik po arabskata azbuka* (1954²), p. 42. The latter constitutes a kind of manual for the reading of Turkish documents. It contains a number of reproductions of documents, samples of different scripts, etc. Some other documents were presented by G. Gŭlăbov in his "Osmano-turski izvori za istoriiata na Sofiia", which appeared in the journal, *Serdika*, 6 (1942). These documents, dating mostly from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, pertain to economic matters and come from the collection of *sicils* in Sofia. In all these publications Gŭlăbov has produced Turkish texts, usually with facsimiles of the documents, editorial comments, and reliable translations.

Other documents were published by *P. Miiatev, "Niakolko turski dokumenta ot XVI v. po prodovolstvieto na sultanskata voĭska s ovtse ot bŭlgarski selishcha", *ArPPr*, 1, i (1938), pp. 130–35, and corrections, **ibid.*, 2, i (1939), p. 124. He also published *"Turski dokumenti vurkhu nasheto blizko minalo", *Rodina*, 1, ii (1939). This last article deals with the activity of the revolutionary poet Botev and his companions. Miiatev further published "Edin turski dokument po izbukhvaneto i potushavaneto na Aprilskoto vustanie", *Uchilishten Pregled*, 38 (1939), pp. 62–73. It consists of an annotated translation of a Turkish telegram referring to the April Revolution of 1876. The same event was dealt with in other documents published by P. Miiatev, "Niekolko turski dokumenti iz nasheto blizko minalo", *Godishnik na plovdivskata narodna biblioteka i muzeĭ, 1940–1941* (Sofiia, 1942), pp. 133–40, two plates.

B. Kh. Nedkov, the present director of the Oriental Department of the National Library in Sofia, has published several unknown Turkish sources directly or indirectly connected with Bulgarian history. One should list here B. Nedkov, "Turski dokumenti za Botevata cheta", *Khristo Botev Sbornik* (Sofiia, 1949), pp. 675–766, containing translations of 103 documents with several facsimiles. In his publication "Ungarskata emigratsiia v Bŭlgariia prez 1849–1850 g.",

IDBS, 1953, pp. 232–61, Nedkov produced a number of financial documents pertaining to the stay of a group of Hungarian refugees, headed by Kossuth, in Bulgaria in 1849–50. The same author published a monograph in Germany, B. Ch. Nedkoff, *Die Ǧizya (Kopfsteuer) im Osmanischen Reich. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Bulgarien* (Leipzig, 1942).[75] It includes the text of two Turkish *berat*s dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, together with a translation.

Among other publications of Turkish documents in Bulgaria are: V. Nikolaev, "Edin berat na sultan Selim III za lĭutichkiiâ (ortak'oĭskiiâ) mitropolit Grigoriĭ ot 1796 g.", *IIBI*, 1951, iii–iv, pp. 411–25, three plates, containing an edition of a *berat* of Selim III issued to the Metropolitan of Ortaköy; and V. Shanov, "Nov vazhen dokument okolo predavaneto na Vasil Levski", *IBID*, 14–15 (1937), pp. 216–28, one plate, consisting of a translation of a Turkish telegram. Finally there is a collective work, *Vasil Levski i negovite spodvizhnitsi pred turskiiâ sud. Dokumenti iz turskite arkhivi* (Sofiiâ, 1952). *See* also N. G. Popov, "Niâkolko fermana ot vremenoto na sultan Mehmed II", in *Izvestiiâ na Dŭrzhavna Biblioteka "Vasil Kolarov", za 1955 g.* (Sofiiâ, 1957).

Turkish diplomatics is taught at the University of Sofia by G. Gŭlăbov, V. Shanov, and others. The manual of Gŭlăbov has been mentioned above. (*See* also his *Die Protokollbücher des Kadiamtes Sofia*, bearbeitet von G. D. Gŭlăbov, herausgegeben von H. W. Duda = *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten*, 55, München, 1960.) More specialized topics were treated by Miiâtev and N. Popov. The former was interested in the *tuğras*,[76] the latter in the methods of reading the numerals (*erkam-i divaniye*) in the *siyakat* script. In his work *Paleografski osobenosti na chislitelnite imena v pismoto siiâkat* (Sofiiâ, 1955), Popov also presented reproductions of a number of documents.

A general discussion of the significance of Turkish documents in Bulgaria was contributed by *G. Balaschev, "Turskite arkhivni tevteri v Sofiiâ i znachenieto im za nasheto minalo", *Premorets*, No. 23, June 22, 1904; S. S. Bobchev, "Turskite dokumenti kato istoriko-pravni iztochnitsi", *IÛridicheski Pregled*, 17 (1909), pp. 361–65; P. Mutafčiev, "Die osmanisch-türkischen Urkunden als Quelle für die Geschichte des Bulgarischen Volkes", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Wissen-*

[75] For the Turkish translation of this article, *see* "Osmanlı İmperatorluğunda cizye (baş vergisi). Bulgaristan hususi bir surette nazar-i itibara alınmıştır", *Belleten*, 8 (1944), pp. 599–652.

[76] *See* below, p. 142.

schaftlichen Instituts in Sofia. Sofia, Heft 1, 1943, pp. 19–26; J. Kabrda, "Turecké prameny k bulharským dějínam a jejich zpracování v Bulharsku", *Časopis Archivní Školy*, 15–16 (1937–38), pp. 200–31; *idem*, "Les documents turcs relatifs aux impôts ecclésiastiques prélevés sur la population bulgare au XVII^{e} siècle", *AO*, 23 (1955), pp. 136–77; *idem*, "Les anciens registres turcs des cadis de Sofia et de Vidin et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Bulgarie", *AO*, 19 (1951), pp. 329–92 (five plates), 642–43; *idem*, "Les problèmes de l'étude de l'histoire de la Bulgarie à l'époque de la domination turque", *Byzantinoslavica*, 15 (1954), pp. 173–208; *idem*, "Nový zdroj pramenů k ruským dějínam. (Turecké kadijské registry)", *Sborník prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University*, 2 (1953) pp. 237–60; **idem*, *Les codes ottomans et leur importance pour l'histoire économique et sociale de la Bulgarie* (Sofiîa, 1957); *idem*, "Les documents turcs relatifs aux droits fiscaux des métropolites orthodoxes en Bulgarie au XVIII^{e} siècle", *AO*, 26 (1958), pp. 59–80, six plates.

For Turkish documents from Bulgaria published by Kabrda, *see* the section on Czechoslovakia. For those published by the Austrian scholar Duda, *see* the section on Austria. J. Kabrda's article "Orientalistyka bułgarska", *PO*, 19 (1956), pp. 369–78, lists further bibliographical references.

Czechoslovakia

Czech Orientalists formerly paid little attention to the study of Oriental documents. Czech archives were poor in such material, since during the period of the more active relations between Turkey and Europe, the kingdom of Bohemia was ruled by the Hapsburgs. Some materials originating from the period of Turkish domination have been located in Slovakia. The first steps in the study of Turkish diplomatics were undertaken by Jan Rypka who published some documents from Czechoslovakian archives in "Čtyři turecké listiny z Dolného Kamence na Slovensku", *Prúdy*, 11 (1927), pp. 355–65, 471–82. This article included facsimiles. Rypka also treated a number of documents located in Göttingen, in a series of consecutive publications: "Aus der Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bogdan Chmelnicki", *Sborník věnovaný Jaroslavu Bidlovi* (Praha, 1928), pp. 346–50, 482–98 (containing a letter from Mehmet IV to B. Chmielnicki); "Die Türkischen Schutzbriefe für Georg II. Rákóczi, Fürsten von Siebenbürgen, aus dem Jahre 1649", *Der Islam*, 18 (1929), pp. 213–35; "Weitere Beiträge zur Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bohdan

Chmel'nyćkyj", *AO*, 2 (1930), pp. 262–83, one plate (containing three letters from the Grand Vizier to B. Chmielnicki, of which one belonged to the Archives of the Czartoryski Family); "Další příspěvek ke korespondenci Vysoké Porty s Bohdanem Chmelnickým", *Časopis Národního Musea*, 105, i (1931), pp. 209–31. In this last publication Rypka presented three letters of the Sublime Porte to B. Chmielnicki, dated 1651, 1652/53, and 1655 respectively, a letter written to the Khan of the Crimean Tatars, and another one addressed to a Polish king. All of these letters belonged to the Göttingen Collection (*turc* 29). Rypka provided this presentation with a facsimile of a fragment of the documents, with a transcript of the Turkish text, and a translation. Polish translations of the text of these letters were preserved in the Archives of the Czartoryski Family, under No. 611. For their publication *see* *N. I. Kostomarov, *Istoricheskiĭa monografii i izsliedovaniĭa* (Sankt Peterburg, 1863–89), 607, xiv/611; also M. Grushevs'kiĭ, "Z privodu listuvanniĭa B. Khmel'nits'kogo z Ottomans'koiu Portoiu", *Ukraïna*, 1930, xLii, pp. 4–7. The Polish version of the letter of the Sultan to Chmielnicki, with a French translation by von Hammer-Purgstall, appeared in the middle of the nineteenth century in the Kievan publication *Pamiatniki izdannye Vremennoiu Kommissieiu* ... (Kiev, 1845–59); *see* O. Pritsak, "Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)", *Oriens*, 6, ii (1953), pp. 266–98.

Subsequently, in their work "Polsko, Ukrajina, Krym a Vysoká Porta v první pol. XVII. stol.", *Časopis Národního Musea*, 110, i (1936), pp. 19–49, D. Dorošenko and Rypka presented a translation of a number of letters from the collection of Feridun dated 1617–34 and issued by the Porte to Polish kings. They compared them with corresponding documents available in the Main Archives in Warsaw as well as with pertinent texts published in Poland (in *S. Przyłęcki's *Ukrainne sprawy*, Lwów, 1842; also L. Hubert's, *Pamiętniki Historyczne*, Warszawa, 1861, 2 vols.). Other documents from Feridun's collection were published by J. Rypka in "Diplomatische Miszellen–I, Turco-Valachica", *AO*, 5 (1933), pp. 78–84; and "Diplomatische Miszellen–II, Turco-Indica", *AO*, 6 (1934), pp. 82–94.

The above publications have been very carefully edited. They contain meticulous commentaries and explanations. In many instances they include facsimiles, copies of the Oriental texts, phonetic transcriptions, and translations. They also supply many methodological observations that will be appreciated by scholars interested in the study of Turkish documents.

Another Czech Turcologist, J. Kabrda, nowadays residing in Brno, has studied and published many documents from the collection of the *sicil*s located in Bulgaria, *e.g.*, "Berát vidinského metropolity Josefa z r. 1763", *Věstník Královské České Společnosti Nauk*, Třída filosoficko-historická, i (Praha, 1937), pp. 4–76; also "Quelques firmans concernant les relations franco-turques lors de l'expédition de Bonaparte en Egypte (1798–1799)", *Cahiers de la Société Asiatique*, 10 (Paris, 1947). Kabrda has also published materials from the Turkish registers of the *kadı*s of Sofia and Vidin, in "Les anciens registres turcs des cadis de Sofia et de Vidin et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Bulgarie", *AO*, 19 (1951), pp. 329–92 (five plates), 642–43. He has further presented "Les documents turcs relatifs aux impôts ecclésiastiques prélevés sur la population bulgare au XVII^{e} siècle", *AO*, 23 (1955), pp. 136–77. Kabrda also published in Bulgaria "Dva berata na sofiĭskiia͡ i vidinskiia͡ mitropolit ot pŭrvata polovina na XVIII v.", *IIBI*, 1956, vii, pp. 377–404. The same scholar treated a *kanunname* pertaining to Slovakia (*Kanunname-i Eyalet-i Uyvar*), located in the Turkish archives, publishing it in "Les sources turques relatives à l'histoire de la domination ottomane en Slovaquie", *AO*, 24 (1956), pp. 568–80.

In *Charisteria Orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia* (Praha, 1956) (published in honor of J. Rypka), pp. 60–71, J. Blaskovics presented "Ein Schreiben des Ofener defterdār Muṣṭafā an den Hatvaner Mauteinnehmer Derwīš baša", pertaining to Hungarian affairs. The document belonged to the Slovakian Collection in Rimavska Sobota. Blaskovics presented a photocopy, a transcription, and also a translation. Finally, one should mention a student of J. Rypka, V. Kubíčková, who is engaged in the edition of a *ferman* issued by Murat III to Stefan Báthory. This document is located in Czechoslovakia. It was once edited by J. J. S. Sękowski, *Collectanea z dziejopisów tureckich rzeczy do historyi polskiey służących*, vol. 2 (Warszawa, 1825), pp. 302–08, and subsequently by H. Neumann, "Türkische Urkunden zur Geschichte Ungarns und Polens", *Der Islam*, 8 (1918), pp. 125–32, one plate.

More documents from the Göttingen collection were treated by Z. Veselá-Přenosilová, "Zur Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Siebenbürgen (1676–1679)", *AO*, 26 (1958), pp. 585–602.

Denmark

In *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen septuagenario* . . . (København, 1953), pp. 327–39, one plate, a German scholar, H. Scheel, presented

an article entitled "Über den ersten Dänisch-Türkischen Vertrag vom Jahre 1756". This article deals with a document from the archives in Copenhagen. The document consists of a Turkish letter written by the Grand Vizier to a Danish king and pertaining to a Turkish-Danish treaty. The article includes a facsimile of the document, the original French translation of its text, and the French version of the treaty preserved in the same archives. The Turkish original of the treaty has disappeared.

Egypt

The *İnşa-i Hayret Efendi* (Bulak, 1242) is an extensive collection of Ottoman administrative documents from the archives in Cairo. A collection of the *fermans* issued by the sultans between 1597 and 1904 and pertaining to Egyptian affairs was published by the Société Royale de Géograhie d'Egypte under the title, *Recueil de Firmans impériaux ottomans adressés aux Valis et aux Khédives d'Egypte 1006 H.-1322 H.*... (Caire, 1934), with separate volumes for the original texts and the French translations. A French scholar, J. Deny, included Turkish documents and fifty-six tables from Egyptian Archives in his *Sommaire des archives turcs du Caire* (Caire, 1930). *See* also, Anonymous, "Trois firmans inédits", *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, ser. 1, fasc. v/vi (1948), pp. 413–417.

France

In his **Paléographie Universelle* (Paris, 1839), Silvestre de Sacy presented a sumptuous edition of a fragment of a letter from Süleyman I to Francis I of France, dated 1526. Belin in his "Relations diplomatiques de la République de Venise avec la Turquie", *JA*, 7^{e} sér., 8 (1876), pp. 381–424, published an *ahitname* pertaining to the relations between Venice and Mehmet IV. A Czech scholar, J. Kabrda, published in France *Quelques firmans concernant les relations franco-turques lors de l'expédition de Bonaparte en Egypte 1798–1799* (Paris, 1947). *See* also N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris. I. Actes de Mehmed II et de Bayezid II du ms. fonds turcs ancien 39* (Paris–La Haye, 1960). Vol. 2 of this work appeared in 1964. It contains translations and facsimiles of 25 decrees of the sultans, dating from 1390–1512, and referring mainly to Ottoman mining activities in the Balkans.

Germany

Editorial activities with regard to Oriental documents were conducted in Germany by Georg Jacob, who published several Turkish texts with translations for the use of historians interested in Turcological problems, in his *Türkisches Hilfsbuch*, i (Berlin, 1916³), pp. 78–101; ii (Berlin, 1916²), pp. 8–16. Some of them were accompanied by facsimiles of the original documents, *e.g.*, an interesting *ferman* sent in 1582 by Murat III to the *beylerbeyi* of Tımışvar.

In 1917 Jacob published two articles, "Urkunden aus Ungarns Türkenzeit in türkischem Text und deutscher Übersetzung", and "Türkische Urkunden", *Der Islam*, 7 (1917), pp. 171–85 and 269–87, respectively. They contain many Turkish documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries preserved in the National Library in Vienna as well as in libraries in Hamburg, Wrocław, and Karlsruhe. The texts of the documents pertain to Turkish administration in Hungary. Jacob provided these articles with reconstructed versions of the texts, with translations and exhaustive historical commentary, as well as fragmentary reproductions of some of the documents and seals. Facsimiles of some of the documents were also included in the *Hilfsbuch*. In the subsequent issue of the same journal Jacob treated a letter of the *sancak beyi* of Hatvan, written in 1686 to the *paşa* of Buda; *cf.*, "Türkisches aus Ungarn–II", *Der Islam*, 8 (1918), pp. 245–51. This article included a Turkish text, a translation, the facsimile of a fragment of the original document, and finally explanatory remarks. The editions presented by Jacob led to an interesting exchange of views by a number of scholars, such as J. H. Mordtmann, C. Brockelmann and others, who offered their interpretations of the texts involved; *see*, *Der Islam*, 7 (1917), pp. 345–48; 8 (1918), pp. 108–12, 346–48; 9 (1919), pp. 106–11. On the other hand, in his *Türkische Urkunden aus Ungarn* (Kiel, 1917), Jacob presented eleven reproductions of documents, but without any transcripts or translations. The documents were from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and pertained to Turkish administration in Hungary. Originally acquired as booty, they were deposited in the Dresden Collection. Another publication by Jacob consisted of a hectographic edition of an imperial order addressed to the *paşa* of Buda, **Großherrlicher Befehl an den Beglerbeg von Ofen* (Kiel, 1917). This document is dated A.H. 971.

Jacob was also an initiator and editor of a series of German translations of Turkish documents conceived as working material for practical exercises in the study of Turkish diplomatics at the University of Kiel. The series appeared as *Deutsche Übersetzungen türkischer Urkunden* (Kiel, 1919–22) and consisted of the following seven parts: "15 Schreiben Mustafas, des Großen Paschas von Ofen" (two plates), "23 Schreiben Mustafas, des Großen Paschas von Ofen", "Beiträge zum osmanischen Geldwesen–Weitere Mitteilungen aus dem Kodex der Wiener Konsular-Akademie Nr. 137", "Stambuler Urkunden, meist auf Bauwesen und Polizei bezüglich–Urkunden aus Ungarn", "Urkunden zur Baugeschichte, Wirtschaftskunde und Verwaltung des Osmanischen Reiches im 16. Jahrhundert", "Chatt-i-humajune Murad des Vierten", "Urkunden zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Kunstgeschichtliches. Index". To a great extent this series consisted of documents from the sixteenth century dealing with construction, economic matters, and Turkish administrative problems. The documents were located in the collection of the Consular Academy in Vienna (Codex No. 137), or were taken from the transcripts of Bernhauer,[77] or in some instances consisted of some of the texts published by Ahmet Refik [Altınay] in his *İstanbul hayatı*.[78] Some of them were published by Jacob in his work *Aus Ungarns Türkenzeit* (Frankfurt a. M., 1917). The series also included facsimiles of a few documents.

It can hardly be disputed that Georg Jacob should be credited with the inception of a serious editorial movement in Germany in the field of Oriental documents. One cannot, however, overlook the contributions of other German scholars. J. H. Mordtmann gave a summary of a surrender appeal issued by Kara Mustafa to the inhabitants of Vienna, in "Die Kapitulation von Konstantinopel im Jahre 1453", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 21 (1912), pp. 29–44. The same document was treated by Jacob in "Türkische Urkunden", *Der Islam*, 7 (1917), pp. 281–84. Mordtmann also published "Türkischer Lehensbrief aus dem Jahre 1682", *ZDMG*, 68 (1914), pp. 129–41, one plate. He presented "Zwei osmanische Paßbriefe aus dem XVI. Jahrhundert", *MOG*, 1 (1921–22), pp. 177–202 (one plate), and also a number of brief observations concerning Turkish documents in *MOG*, 1 (1921–22), pp. 232–33; *see* also *idem*, *Der Islam*, 9 (1919), pp. 106–11, 245–47, Mordtmann also contributed a lithographic survey of disciplines ancillary to the study of Turkish history entitled *İlm-i usul-i tarih*

[77] *See* above, p. 17.
[78] *See* below, p. 91.

(İstanbul, 1231–32). The publication was based on notes from his lectures given in Istanbul. A treatise of a similar character was published by Mordtmann in volume eight (1928) of the *Ungarische Jahrbücher* (pp. 164–71) under the title "Osmanische Historiographie und Urkundenlehre".

Meticulous editorial comments concerning two Turkish documents from the Göttingen collection were presented by *M. Köppen, *Untersuchungen über zwei türkische Urkundenhandschriften in Göttingen* (Bremen, 1920). A few documents written in the *siyakat* script were published by L. Kulisch, "Die türkischen Lehnsbriefe in der Landesbibliothek zu Kassel", *MSOSW*, 41 (1938), pp. 125–60, seven plates. H. Neumann produced reproductions, texts, translations, and commentaries in connection with his publication of a number of Turkish documents in the two following articles: "Türkische Urkunden und Briefe", *Der Islam*, 7 (1917), pp. 288–98, and "Türkische Urkunden zur Geschichte Ungarns und Polens", *ibid.*, 8 (1918), pp. 113–33, one plate. The first of these articles deals with documents from the collections in Karlsruhe and Gotha. The documents, dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, include a letter with a *tuğra* written by Mehmet IV in 1682. The second one contains a letter of Süleyman I written to the *paşa* of Buda, dated about 1542 and belonging to the National Library in Vienna, and also a letter from Murat III to King Stefan Báthory of Poland. This last document was taken from Sękowski's *Collectanea z dziejopisów tureckich rzeczy do historyi polskiey służących*, vol. 2. (Warszawa, 1825), pp. 302–08, where it had been produced in *nesih* script with a free translation. At the time of the publication of Neumann's study the whereabouts of the original document was unknown. Recently, however, it has been located in Czechoslovakia where it is being prepared for publication anew by a Turcologist, Mrs. Veselý. Yet another document in the same article was taken from J. Grzegorzewski's *Z sidżyllatów rumelijskich epoki wyprawy wiedeńskiej. Akta tureckie (Tekst turecki i polski)* (Lwów-Konstantynopol, 1912). The document deals with the problem of mobilization in Rumelia for the campaign of 1681. It was presented by Grzegorzewski in *nesih* transcript with a Polish translation. In another issue of the same journal appeared an article by Faik Bey-Sade, "Ein Rechtfertigungsschreiben des Mustafa Pascha von Ofen", *Der Islam*, 9 (1919), pp. 100–05.

Of great importance were the editorial activities of F. Babinger. One should list here his "Zum türkisch-venedigischen Friedens-

vertrag vom Jahre 1540", *RSO*, 8 (1919–20), pp. 651–52 (the original document dated from 1540); and his "Zwei türkische Schutzbriefe für Georg II. Rákóczi, Fürsten von Siebenbürgen, aus dem Jahre 1649", *MO*, 14 (1920), pp. 115–51, one plate. These documents belonged to the Göttingen Collection. "Die älteste türkische Urkunde des deutsch-osmanischen Staatsverkehrs", *Der Islam*, 10 (1920), pp. 134–46 (one plate), dealt with a letter of the Grand Vizier İbrahim written to Hapsburg King Ferdinand in 1530. The document is preserved in the Library of Munich. In this last instance Babinger presented not only a transcription of the text, a translation, and detailed philological and historical commentary, but also a photocopy of the entire document, almost three meters long. The copy is reduced but nevertheless entirely readable. In another article, "Ein Dutzend osmanischer Urkunden in Wiedergaben", *MOG*, 1 (1921–22), pp. 171–72, Babinger produced a bibliographical list of a dozen publications containing editions of Ottoman documents which had been overlooked by G. Jacob in his "Bibliographie in Faksimile veröffentlichter türkischer Urkunden", *Der Islam*, 7 (1917), pp. 286–87. Babinger further published: "Bestallungsschreiben Aḥmeds III. für Chalîl Pascha, Statthalter von Tripolis (Berberei), vom Jahre 1120/1708", *MSOSW*, 33 (1930), pp. 130–37, one plate; "Zwei großherrliche Schenkungsurkunden aus den Jahren 1008/1600 und 1023/1614", *MSOSW*, 30 (1927), pp. 161–90, two plates; and "Ein marokkanisches Staatsschreiben an den Freistaat Ragusa vom Jahre 1194/1780", *MSOSW*, 30 (1927), pp. 191–201, one plate. *See* also Babinger's *Aus Südslaviens Türkenzeit* (Berlin, 1927), pp. 35–45. This last work deals with documents captured in 1683 and deposited in Karlsruhe. The collection in question was destroyed during World War II. Fortunately Babinger had published good reproductions of eighty-four documents from that collection in a supplement to *MSOSW*, 35 (1932). In "Qara Muṣṭafâ Paschas Essegger Sendschreiben an den Markgrafen Herman von Baden", *AO*, 4 (1932), pp. 23–33, Babinger treated a document which, prior to its discovery in the Archives of Baden, had been known only from Italian translations. This article consists of a well-commented-upon text, a facsimile of the original Turkish document, and the Italian versions.

Babinger's publications are characterized by careful paleographical presentation. They contain a series of methodological notes of great value to editors of Oriental documents. One of Babinger's later publications consists of an analysis of a document issued by Vizier Murat Paşa and referring to land tenure in Bosnia;

see "Eine Verfügung des Paläologen Châṣṣ Murâd-Paša von Mitte Regeb 876h=Dez./Jan. 1471/72", *DII*, 1952, pp. 197–210, two plates In *Westöstliche Abhandlungen. Rudolf Tschudi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern* (Wiesbaden, 1954), pp. 315–30, Babinger returned to his studies of early German-Turkish diplomatic relations, presenting "Zwei diplomatische Zwischenspiele im deutsch-osmanischen Staatsverkehr under Bâjezîd II. (1497 und 1504)". In a volume dedicated to J. Rypka, *Charisteria Orientalia* (Praha, 1956),pp. 29–37, Babinger published a document issued by Mehmet II to an Armenian monastery, "Ein Besitzstreit um Sulu Manastir unter Mehmed II. (1473)". The document, dated 1473, is very interesting since it was signed on behalf of the Sultan with special signatures called *kuyruklu imza* (*see* p. 148). The contributions of F. Babinger, "Zwei diplomatische Zwischenspiele im deutsch-osmainschen Staatsverkehr unter Bâjezîd II (1497 und 1504)" (*see* above) and "Zwei türkische Schutzbriefe für Georg Rákó czi" (*see* above, p. 74), have been published in **Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropa und der Levante, I* (München 1962).

Among other German publications in the field of Ottoman diplomatics one should list: W. Lehmann, *Der Friedensvertrag zwischen Venedig und der Türkei vom 2. Oktober 1540* (Bonn, 1936) (text and translation); H. Scheel, *Die Schreiben der türkischen Sultane an die preußischen Könige in der Zeit von 1721 bis 1774 und die ersten preußischen Kapitulationen vom Jahre 1761* (Berlin, 1930). This publication contains seven Turco-Prussian documents from the eighteenth century, including a three-meter-long *ahitname* of 1761, found in the Archives of Prussia. Scheel provided the work with clear facsimiles, printed texts, translations and detailed commentary. He also treated a document from the archives in Dresden, "Die Sendung des polnischen Gesandten von Stadnicki an die Pforte", *MSOSW*, 35 (1932), pp. 177–94, two plates. Its presentation consists of a facsimile, transcript, and an old Latin version of the original letter. This letter was written by Vizier Abdullah Paṣa Muhsinzade in 1737 and deals with the problem of the recall of a Polish envoy, Stadnicki. W. Caskel published "Schenkungsurkunde Sultan Ibrahims für die Valide Mahpeyker Sultan (Kösem) von 1049/1640", *DII*, 1952, pp. 251–62, a document dealing with fiscal privileges for certain possessions in Greece. Caskel produced the text, providing it with a commentary and an identification of names of localities. F. Taeschner published "Ein Zunft-Fermān Sultan Muṣṭafā's III. von 1773", *Westöstliche Abhand-*

lungen ... (Wiesbaden, 1954), pp. 331–37. E. Kühnel in *Islamische Schriftkunst* (Berlin-Leipzig) presented a legible reproduction of a document with a *tuğra*, issued by Mahmut I in 1732 for the benefit of the Patriarch. The original document was in the Museum of Writing in Berlin. M. Hartmann translated and commented on a document published by him in "Das Privileg Selims I für die Venezianer von 1517", *Orientalische Studien, Fritz Hommel zum sechzigsten Geburtstag, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, ii (Leipzig, 1918), pp. 201–22. In spite of its being issued by a Turkish ruler, this is really an Arabic document. However, since it pertains to Turkish domination in Egypt, it may prove useful as comparative material for the study of Turkish diplomatics. Recently P. Wittek studied and described the characteristic features of early fifteenth-century Turkish documents in "Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden", *WZKM*, 53 (1957), pp. 300–13; 54 (1957), pp. 240–56; 55 (1959), pp. 122–41; 56 (1960), pp. 267–84. Early fifteenth-century Turkish epistolography has been treated by W. Björkman in "Die Anfänge der türkischen Briefsammlungen", *Orientalia Suecana*, 5 (1956), pp. 20–29. Finally, two publications have been contributed by H. Scheel, "Ein Schreiben des Krim Giraj Khan an den Prinzen Heinrich, den Bruder Friedrichs des Großen", and by O. Spieß, "Ein Ferman Sultan Sülejmans des Prächtigen an König Johann Sigismund von Siebenbürgen", both of which appeared in the *Jean Deny Armağanı* (Ankara, 1958; pp. 213–20, four plates, and pp. 221–29).

Greece

Turkish documents pertaining to Chios were published by X. B. Μαυρόπουλος, Τουρκικὰ ἔγγραφα ἀφορῶντα τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Χίου (Athens, 1920), pp. 272–85. A number of Turkish documents dealing with the affairs of St. Anthony's Monastery in Naxos was treated by *G. Zerlentis in *Deltíon*, 7 (1918), pp. 459–69. In the same journal, *6 (1901) pp. 321–50, appeared two imperial *fermans* with privileges for Syme (Dodecanese Islands), presented by Dh. Khaviaras. In *Hellenika*, 5 (1932), pp. 211–19, P. Ioannu published some *fermans* issued for Naxos. In the same journal, 11 (1939) pp. 137–50, A. Papazoglu treated a number of *fermans* that had been presented to the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. More recently A. E. Bakalopoulos has dealt with Turkish documents in his *Thasos. Son histoire, son administration de 1453 à 1912* (Paris, 1953). Turkish documents have also been presented in numer-

ous works scattered in various periodical publications; *cf.*, E. Rossi, "Gli studi orientalistici in Grecia", *OM*, 21 (1941), pp. 538–47. A number of Turkish documents in Greek translation are included in Ph. P. Argenti's *Chius vincta or The Occupation of Chios by the Turks (1566) and their administration of the Island (1566–1912)* (Cambridge, 1941), pp. 180–95. More Turkish documents in translation have been presented by Th. H. Papadopoullos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination* (Bruxelles, 1952).

Hungary

Hungary is one of the countries which early recognized the need of publishing Oriental sources. This attitude may have been brought about by the existence in Hungary of a great number of Turkish documents whose substance relates to the history of that country. Already in the first half of the nineteenth century the archivist A. Gévay presented the treaties of 1625 and 1627 under the titles **Az 1627-iki gyarmati békekötés czikkelyei deákul, magyarul és törökül* (Wien, 1837). These publications include Turkish texts. He also published several Turkish diplomatic documents in German: *Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Verhältnisse zwischen Österreich, Ungern und der Pforte im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderte*, 3 vols. (Wien, 1838–42) (**Index*, Budapest, 1874). Several Turkish documents relating to the history of Hungary and Transylvania were published in Hungarian with Latin translation by A. Szilády and S. Szilágyi, *Török-magyar-kori történelmi emlékek*, 9 vols. (Pest, 1863–72) (**Index*, 1875). Most of these documents were located in the Hungarian archives of Nagy-Kőrös, Cegléd, Dömsöd, Szeged and Halas. The last volume of that work appeared under the title **A Defterekről* (About the *defters*). Two other volumes containing *defters* pertaining to Hungary were issued separately in a translated version by E. Kammerer and A. Velics, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek 1540–1639*, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1886–90). Turkish documents dealing with Rákóczi's stay in Turkey were collected in the Turkish archives by I. Karácson and published by him in translation under the title *A Rákóczi-emigráczió török okmányai. 1717–1803* (Budapest, 1911). All these documents were published in translation. Apart from the early works of Gévay, Turkish texts were included in the publication of G. Bálinth, "A magyarországi török hódoltságról", *Századok*, 4 (1870), pp. 233–44, 297–308, and in the collection of documents from the

Istanbul archives presented by I. Karácson, *Török-magyar oklevéltár 1533–1789* (Budapest, 1914), as well as in his separate edition of a document entitled **Egy egri török emlékirat* (Budapest, 1913).

After World War I, twenty-one documents from the Viennese and Hungarian archives, referring mostly to Hungary and to the relations of Turkey with the Austro-Hungarian Empire, were published by L. Fekete in his *Bevezetés a hódoltság török diplomatikájába* (Budapest, 1926). This publication consists of reproductions, facsimiles and translations of the original texts (*see* reviews by G. Jacob in *OLZ*, 31 (1928), pp. 1057–64; J. Deny, *JA*, 217 (1930), pp. 338–52; W. Björkman, *Der Islam*, 17 (1928), pp. 307–10; J. H. Mordtmann, *UJ*, 8 (1928), pp. 168–71; by Gy. Németh, *Századok*, 61–62 (1927), pp. 428–29).

Fekete also published seventy-seven texts with eight facsimiles (in ten plates) in a separate publication entitled *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nicolaus Esterházy* (Budapest, 1932). The documents, belonging to the Archives of the Esterházy Family, refer to public (internal Turkish) and private affairs. Apart from providing these texts with annotated translations, Fekete also presented seventy-three extracts from the remaining documents (*see* review by W. Björkman in *Der Islam*, 22 (1935), pp. 275–78).

Yet another fundamental contribution of Fekete is his *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung* (= *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, 7), 2 vols. (Budapest, 1955). Seventy Turkish documents published in this work were examined by the author in the Hungarian, Turkish, German, Austrian, and Bulgarian archives. These texts are mostly of a fiscal character and pertain to Hungary, to the Balkans in general, to Turkey herself, and even to Syria and Egypt. They consist of provincial cadastral surveys (*vilâyet tahrirleri*), registers of tax farms (*mukataa defterleri*), wages and salaries (*mevacip defterleri*), treasury records (*hazine defterleri*), and feudal holdings (*timars*). Fekete provided this work with 104 photographic plates, translations of documents, and excellent comments and explanations (*see* review by J. Perényi in *Századok*, 90 (1956), pp. 269–71; G. Hazai in *Acta Orientalia* (Budapest), 5 (1955), pp. 335–40). Fekete also presented translations of four documents dated 1543, 1566, 1596, and 1600, in his treatise on the *fetihnames* from the archives in Venice; this work is entitled "A velencei állami levéltár magyar vonatkozású fetḥnāméi", *LK*, 4 (1927), pp. 139–57.

Turkish documents from Dömsöd were published by F. Zsinka, "Dömsödi török oklevelek", *KCsA*, 1 (1921–25), pp. 115–22. Gy.

Hazai in "A Topkapu Szeráj Múzeum levéltárának magyar vonatkozású török iratai", *LK*, 26 (1955), pp. 286–95, presented translations of eleven Turkish documents from the *Topkapı* archives, without reproductions or transcriptions of the original texts. Although written in Hungarian, the article was provided with a French and a Russian summary. The following documents were presented in a similar way:

The 1554 *ahitname* or treaty of Süleyman I with Hungary and Transylvania. It was published in the old version of the translator Rozsnyay and in the edition of Lőcsei, in the journal **Hon és Külföld*, 2 (1842), p. 17.

The 1559 *ahitname* or treaty of the same sultan with Hapsburg Emperor Ferdinand, **ibid.*, 2 (1842), p. 93.

A letter of Dant Bey to Stefan Báthory, King of Poland, concerning the victory of 1578 over the Hospodar of Moldavia, **ibid.*, 2 (1842), p. 161.

A letter of the Sultan to Poland, dated 1662. Edited by I. Karácson in the journal **Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1863.

A letter of Murat Paşa to Sigismund Rákóczi, dated 1607, published by T. Lehoczky in **Tört. Lapok*, 1875.

A reply of Hasan Ağa to Prince Michael Apaffi, dated 1662, **ibid.*, 1874.

Two letters of Ali Paşa of Tımışvar, **ibid.*, 1875.

A letter of Mehmet Ağa, dated 1662, **ibid.*, 1875.

A letter of the *Defterdar* Mustafa Bey, dated 1579, and another by Mahmut Bey, written in 1580, published by T. Lehoczky in **Vasárnapi Ujság* (1858).

A letter of Mehmet IV, written in 1683 from his camp at Edirne, published in the journal **Hasznos Mulatás*, 1 (1826), p. 22.

A few less significant documents were published in the journal *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 17 (1916), pp. 192–95, 232–33. They include a letter, dated 1663, of Kason Paşa to the city of Miskolc, and some Turkish letters of 1559, 1660, 1669, 1672, and 1684. In that same issue (pp. 195–97) L. Merényi published a Turkish letter, dated 1632, from İbrahim, Paşa of Eğri, to the Commandant of Kassa. *See* also in the same issue (p. 451) a sixteenth-century letter of Hamza Bey to the judges of Jolsva and Rátka. A letter of Oğlar Paşa, written in 1666, appeared in the journal **Hortobágy*, 22 (1922). Also many seventeenth-century documents which pertained to the relations between the Ottomans and Transylvania appeared without the

reproduction of the original Turkish texts. They were published in the work contributed by *I. Mikó and K. Szabó, *Erdélyi történelmi adatok*, 4 vols. (Kolozsvár, 1855–62). Many translated documents were included in the collection of the papers of the last dragoman of Transylvania, Dávid Rozsnyay (1641–1718); these were published by S. Szilágyi under the title *Rozsnyay Dávid, az utolsó török deák történeti maradványai* in the series *Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Második Osztály: Írók*, vol. 8 (Pest, 1867); *Supplement* (Pest, 1871). Some of the documents appeared in both publications. Most of them were contemporary translations done by Rozsnyay himself. The correspondence of the *paşa*s of Buda, also carried out in Hungarian, was published by S. Takáts, F. Eckhart, and Gy. Szekfű, *A budai basák magyar nyelvű levelezése, I. 1553–1589* (Budapest, 1915); and by H. Jensen, "Ungarische Urkunden aus der Türkenzeit", *Festschrift Georg Jacob* (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 100–11; *idem*, "Ungarische Urkunden aus der Türkenzeit", *Der Islam*, 10 (1920), pp. 146–50. Documents pertaining to Hungary were treated by G. Jacob in his *Türkische Urkunden aus Ungarn* (Kiel, 1917); *idem*, *Deutsche Übersetzungen türkischer Urkunden*, 7 issues (Kiel, 1919–22). *See* also the documents published by Jacob in "Türkisches aus Ungarn", *Der Islam*, 8 (1918), pp. 237–51; by H. Neumann, "Türkische Urkunden und Briefe", *Der Islam*, 7 (1917), pp. 288–98, and "Türkische Urkunden zur Geschichte Ungarns und Polens", *Der Islam*, 8 (1918), pp. 113–33, one plate; finally, by Faik Bey-Sade, "Ein Rechtfertigungsschreiben des Mustafa Pascha von Ofen", *Der Islam*, 9 (1919), pp. 100–05. J. Blaskovics in his article, "Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte des Köprülü Mehmed", *Acta Orientalia* (Budapest), 11 (1960), pp. 51–55 (one plate), published a document of the *kadı* of Eğri of 1664 dealing with certain internal problems of that city.

It is necessary to mention that Hungarian Orientalists were also interested in certain problems in the fields of Uyghur-Turkic diplomatics (*see* below, pp. 93–99, 152–58). Thus H. Vámbéry presented a *yarlık* of Timur Kutluk in *Uigurische Sprachmonumente* (Innsbruck, 1870), pp. 172–73. T. Halasi-Kun (now residing in the USA) gave the Turkic text of four fifteenth-century *yarlık*s, with translation and commentary. Two of them were issued by Uluğ Mehmet and his son Mahmut, khans of Kazan, and the others by Ahmet, the Khan of the Golden Horde. The publications of Halasi-Kun appeared under the title "Monuments de la langue tatare de Kazan", *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dicata* (= *Bibliotheca Orientalis*

Hungarica, 5) (Budapest, 1947), pp. 138–55; and "Kazan Türkçesine ait dil yadigârlari", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, 7 (1949), pp. 603–44.

Israel

The British Orientalist B. Lewis presented in the publications of the Israel Oriental Society a number of documents under the title "Notes and documents from the Turkish Archives. A contribution to the history of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire", *Oriental Notes and Studies*, 3 (Jerusalem, 1952). These documents, dating from the sixteenth century, pertain to various administrative affairs of the Jews in the sixteenth century. Apart from giving the Turkish texts and English translation with comments, Lewis also produced clear photographic copies of the original documents. Another important work was contributed by U. Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552–1615* (Oxford, 1960).

Italy

In the nineteenth century, Italian Orientalists were interested mainly in Arabic diplomatics and in the publication of Arabic documents. A series of editions of such documents was produced by the outstanding Italian Orientalist, M. Amari, *e.g.*, *I diplomi arabi del R. Archivio Florentino* (Firenze, 1863) and **Documenti toscani* (Firenze, 1866–93). Similar studies have been carried on during the present century. Thus the documents pertaining to the relations of Tuscany with the Arab countries in the seventeenth century were treated by P. Carali, *Fakhr ad-Din II principe del Libano e la corte di Toscana 1605–1635*, 2 vols. (Roma, 1936–38). Arabic documents dealing with the relations of Genoa with Morocco were treated by M. Nallino, "Documenti arabi sulle relazioni tra Genova e il Marocco nella seconda metà del secolo XVIII.", *RSO*, 21 (1946), pp. 51–76, ten plates. Documents in translation can be found in other publications, as for instance *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, 2 vols. (Venezia, 1880–99).

As far as Turkish documents are concerned, L. Bonelli presented "Il trattato turco-veneto del 1540" in the publication entitled *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, ii (Palermo, 1910), pp. 332–63, three plates. This edition consists of a preliminary *ahitname*; *see* F. Babinger, "Zum türkisch-venedigischen Friedensvertrag vom Jahre

1540", *RSO*, 8 (1919–20), pp. 651–52; also *W. Lehmann, *Der Friedensvertrag zwischen Venedig und der Türkei vom 2.X.1540* (Stuttgart, 1936). The final version of the text of the treaty, which was studied by Lehmann, was later discussed by A. Bombaci, "Ancora sul trattato turco-veneto del 2 ottobre 1540", *RSO*, 20, iii–iv (1943), pp. 373–81. For the *ahitname* of 1595, which was concluded between Venice and Mehmet IV and published in Belin's translation, *see* the section on France.[79] *See* also L. Bonelli, "Una collezione di firmani ottomani riguardanti l'Egitto dal 1597 al 1904", *OM*, 15 (1935), pp. 42–44.

Poland

The first Turkish document to appear in print in Poland was a letter of Murat III written in 1578 to Stefan Báthory. A facsimile and translation were appended (vol. 2, pp. 302–08) by J. J. S. Sękowski to his *Collectanea z dziejopisów tureckich rzeczy do historyi polskiey służących*, 2 vols. (Warszawa, 1824–25). The translation met with the criticism of I. Pietraszewski in **Nowy przykład dziejopisów tureckich dotyczących historii polskiej a szczególnie Tarychy Wasyf Efendiego*, 1 (Berlin, 1846), pp. 1–7, and on p. 22: "Ferman, czyli list sultana Murada III do króla polskiego Stefana Batorego 1578".

Jan Grzegorzewski presented a *ferman* of Abdülhamit I, dated 1775, dealing with the problem of ransoming Christian prisoners, *"Ferman sultana Abdul Hamida z r. 1775 w sprawie wykupu jeńców chrześcijańskich", *Pamiątkowa Księga ku uczczeniu Józefa Tretiaka* (Kraków, 1913). This article consists of a rather inaccurate transcription of the text, a translation, and a poor critical and philological commentary. In his "Dwa fermany sułtańskie z w. XVIII-go", *RO*, 1 (1914–18), pp. 297–333, one plate (French abridgment, *RO Bulletin*, 2 (1917–19), pp. 13–21), Grzegorzewski published two eighteenth-century *fermans*. One of them, dated 1760 and sent by Mustafa III to frontier authorities, concerns the improvement of trade relations in Poland. It has been preserved in the Archives of the Czartoryski Family. The second one, dated 1793, contains instructions for local authorities in Danubian provinces concerning customs imposed on goods exported to Poland. This document was in the archives of Sofia. Both documents were presented by Grzegorzewski in facsimile, but greatly reduced and consequently hardly readable. They were provided

[79] *See* above, p. 70.

with an inaccurate translation and equally useless explanatory comments. He supplied neither a transcription in the Arabic alphabet, nor a transliteration in Latin characters.

The largest publication of Grzegorzewski was *Z sidżyllatów rumelijskich epoki wyprawy wiedeńskiej. Akta tureckie* (*Tekst turecki i polski*) (Lwów-Konstantynopol, 1912), containing 129 documents of the most diverse character, preserved in the archives in Sofia. It included Turkish texts and translations. Except for its introduction, this contribution of Grzegorzewski has proved of permanent significance "as a collection of documents, not necessarily important ones, but nevertheless unknown and the first of its kind to be published at all".[80] The publication of the *sicils* by Grzegorzewski was favorably received by scholars working in the field of Ottoman-Turkish diplomatics (G. Jacob, H. Neumann, L. Fekete). An Austrian historian, Barbar, relied on these *sicils* in his study of the economic background of the Turkish campaign of 1683: L. Barbar, "Zur wirtschaftlichen Grundlage des Feldzuges der Türken gegen Wien im Jahre 1683", *Wiener Staatswissenschaftliche Studien*, 13, i (1916), pp. 1–45. As late as 1942, the Bulgarian scholar Nedkov relied on the work of Grzegorzewski for the publication of a few similar documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[81]

T. Kowalski and J. Dutkiewicz, "Jarłyk tatarski z r. 1177 H. (= 1763 D.)", *RO*, 2 (1919–24), pp. 213–19, treated a *yarlık* issued by Kırım Girey with respect to indemnities for Tatar merchants. The original document belonged to J. Wróblewski in Cracow. For technical reasons the editors were unable to produce a facsimile or a copy of the text, but they offered a transliterated version, a translation, and a detailed commentary. W. Zimnicki, "Jarłyk Maksud ben Selamet Girej Chana z r. 1767" (*RO*, 8 (1931–1932), pp. 161–66), presented a document from the collection of the University Library in Vilna. Besides giving a transcription and translation, the author supplied a small photograph of the document. A. Zajączkowski contributed a description of a letter of Süleyman I to Sigismund Augustus, written

[80] *See* biographical note by T. Kowalski, *RO*, 2 (1919–24), p. 336.

[81] *See* above, p. 66. A critical evaluation of the work of Grzegorzewski was contributed by W. Mejbaum, *Kwartalnik historyczny*, 27 (1913), pp. 123–28. A reply of Grzegorzewski, *Kwartalnik historyczny*, 28 (1914), pp. 140–44. A positive attitude towards the work of Grzegorzewski was taken by J. Kabrda who expressed his opinion in *Časopis Archivní Školy*, 15–16 (1937–38), pp. 217–19, and in some Bulgarian publications, *e.g.*, *IBID*, 14–15 (1937), pp. 267–70. A positive opinion was also given by Gŭlăbov, *see* above, p. 64.

in 1551 and preserved in the Main Archives in Warsaw: "List turecki Sulejmana I do Zygmunta Augusta w ówczesnej transkrypcji i tłumaczeniu polskim z r. 1551", *RO*, 12 (1936), pp. 91–118, one plate. This letter contains an enclosed contemporary translation as well as a contemporary Latin transcription, which gives this document a special philological value. The translation, a modern transcription of the text, and a facsimile of the original text, which was written in *divani* script, were provided by Zajączkowski with accurate comments bearing on the field of diplomatics. The publication of A. Z. Soysal, *Jarlyki krymskie z czasów Jana Kazimierza* (Warszawa, 1939), contains translations of fifty-four seventeenth-century *yarlıks* from the Main Archives and from the Archives of the Czartoryski Family, as well as three photographs of eighteenth-century documents other than those translated by the author (*e.g.*, *Rocznik Tatarski*, 1 (1932), pp. 209–14), but is of little academic value.

As ancillary material one can use the correspondence of Polish sovereigns or dignitaries with the rulers of Turkey, of the Crimea or of Persia, for instance those included in J. Ostrowski, *Swada polska y łacińska* (Lublin, 1745); S. Oświęcim, *Diariusz* (= *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, 19) (Kraków, 1907) (containing, *e.g.*, a letter of Sultan İbrahim to Ladislas IV); M. Hrushevsky, *Zherela do istorii Ukraïni-Rusi*, 22 vols. (L'viv–Kiïv, 1895–1913) (Turkish and Tatar documents mainly in vols. 8 and 12); S. Gołębiowski, "Szahin Giraj i Kozacy", *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1852, ii, pp. 1–27.

A letter of Augustus II to Devlet Girey appeared in **Biblioteka Ossolińskich*, 2 (1830). *Biblioteka Polska*, 1826, i, pp. 91–95, announced the purchase of a set of Polish-Turkish correspondence from the sixteenth century, and produced a number of texts such as: a letter from Bayezit II to Sigismund I, dated 1509; an *ahitname* of October 9, 1502, with the text of the treaty concluded by Bayezit II and Alexander I; and an *ahitname* of A.H. 935 containing the text of the treaty between Sigismund I and Süleyman I. A number of *ahitname*s pertaining to Polish-Turkish relations, dated A.D. 1519, 1525, 1553, 1563, and of letters from Süleyman I from A.D. 1527, 1539, 1540, A.H. 947, A.D. 1542, 1544, 1546, 1550, 1560, and 1565, which were found among the manuscripts of the Library of the University of Vilna, appeared in Polish translation in *"Z rękopisów Dogiela-Wyjątki ściągające się do działań między królami Zygmuntem I i Zygmuntem II a Solimanem sułtanem", *Dziennik Wileński*, 1826, i, ii. Copies of letters "sent to the Turkish Emperor

and the Persian king" were published in **Bibliografia Krajowa*, 5 (1857). *S. Przyłęcki, *Ukrainne sprawy* (Lwów, 1842), presented Polish texts of a number of letters written in 1627–28 by Mehmet Girey, Şahin Girey, Murat IV, and Abbās I, to Sigismund III. A number of letters sent to Augustus II and Polish dignitaries between 1616 and 1731, which formed part of a collection of papers left by Strutyński, the official translator and envoy to the Crimea, were published by J. I. Kraszewski in **Ateneum*, 1846. These letters include those written by Kaplan Girey, Saadet Girey, Mengli Girey, Ottoman Mahmut I (wrongly referred to as Mehmet), and by the Grand Vizier Mehmet Paşa. A letter of Mehmet IV to the Cossacks of Chehrin was published in Polish translation in the journal **Lwowianin*, 1841, p. 120. Several letters of the Crimean Khan and the Sultan, written to John Casimir in 1667, Polish translations of which were preserved in the Main Archives in Warsaw, were published by L. Hubert, *Pamiętniki Historyczne*, vol. 2 (Warszawa, 1861). A letter of Murat IV to Ladislas IV of March 7th, 1637, was published in **Słowo Ruskie* (Lwów), pp. 83–84. A copy of a letter written in 1654 by the vizier to the Kievan *voyvode* was included in the first volume of *F. K. Nowakowski, *Źródła do dziejów Polski* (Berlin, 1841). An imperial letter of December 10th, 1671, containing a declaration of war, was presented by A. Przezdziecki, *Podole, Wołyn, Ukraina*, vol. 1 (Wilno, 1841), pp. 201–03 (*cf.*, **Przegląd Krytyczny*, 1877).

Certain documents were appended to the work of J. I. Kraszewski, *Podróże i poselstwa polskie do Turcyi* (Kraków, 1860). A letter of Roxelana in a French translation by Crutta was published by Sz. Askenazy, "Listy Roxolany", *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 10 (1896), pp. 113–17. A Latin translation of a passport issued by Murat II to Count Radziwiłł Sierotka was included in the latter's *Peregrynacja*, edited by J. Czubek, p. 139 (*Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwilla peregrynacja do Ziemi Świętej (1582–1584)* = (*Archiwum do dziejów literatury i oświaty w Polsce*, 15), ii (Krakow, 1925). A number of acts are included in the *Akta Aleksandra* ..., edited by F. Papée (Kraków, 1927). The work of K. Pułaski, *Stosunki z Mendli Girejem chanem Tatarów perekopskich (1469–1515)* (Warszawa, 1881), has a misleading subtitle, *Akta i listy* (Acts and letters). In reality this publication does not contain original letters pertaining to relations with Mengli Girey, but only sixteenth-century Polish translations thereof, taken from Lithuanian correspondence registers (*Metryka litewska*).

Some Turkish documents pertaining to Polish history have been included in foreign publications, and these are referred to in other sections of the present discussion. Many acts or diplomatic texts referring to Poland's relations with Oriental countries appeared in almost contemporary printed editions, *e.g.*, *Copia e. Schreibens v. d. Türck. Kayser an Kön. in Polen*, printed in 1619; **List przymierza i pokoju od sułtana Mustafy do Zygmunta III*; *Copia listu Cessarza tureckiego, 1623*; *Lettres du Chan du Petits Tartares de Krim au Roy de Pologne, 1655*; *Schreiben (Des Türck. Kaysers) (Mahomet IV.) welches er an König in Polen abgehen lassen, 1667* (*see* K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska*, vol. 8 (Kraków, 1883), pp. LXXXIX, CXXIX, 181, 292); **Selim III, tłumaczenie listów sułtana do Najj. Króla*, printed about 1794.

Some acts pertaining to the eighteenth century were published in translation by *B. Załęski, "Stosunki Polski z Portą Ottomańską na początku panowania Stanisława Augusta", *Rocznik Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu*, 1869–70, and by K. Waliszewski, *Ostatni poseł polski do Porty Ottomanskiej, Akta legacyi stambulskiej Franciszka Piotra Potockiego*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1894). A few *fermans* were given by *A. Muchliński, "Materiały do historii kościoła polskiego z języków wschodnich", *Pamiętnik Religijno-Moralny* (Warszawa, 1841), 1, p. 30 and 2, pp. 299–300.

Scattered copies of acts pertaining to relations with Persia can be found in Th. Krusiński, *Prodromus Ad Tragicam Vertentis Belli Persici Historiam* (Leopoli, 1740); a few letters can be found in S. Oświęcim, *Diariusz* (= *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, 19) (Kraków, 1907); *S. Przyłęcki, *Ukrainne sprawy* (Lwów, 1842), and J. Ostrowski, *Swada polska y lacińska* (Lublin, 1745). M. Dogiel published the **Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae*, 5 vols. (Vilnae, 1758–59), but omitted documents dealing with Polish-Persian affairs. These were subsequently published in *"Listy szachów perskich do królów polskich", *Dziennik Wileński*, 1821. Little known acts from the correspondence of Polish kings and Persian shahs were contained in foreign works; *see* Kämpfer, *Amoenitatum Exoticarum politico-physico medicarum* (Lemgoviae, 1712), and Sir John Chardin, *Voyages du chevalier de Chardin en Perse* ... (Paris, 1811).

Rumania

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, a series of publications of Turkish sources has appeared in the territory of the pres-

ent Rumania. These sources consist mainly of documents pertaining to the Danubian Principalities, documents such as treaties and *fermans*. These publications, however, have not been provided with reproductions of the Turkish texts. At the turn of the last century, on the initiative of the Rumanian Academy, about 200 Turkish documents were copied in the Imperial Archives in Istanbul. They consisted of different texts (*ferman, hüküm, emir*) referring to the history of the Rumanian territories from 1558 to 1788. The first Rumanian scholar to publish Turkish documents with a facsimile of the original texts was C. G. Mano, who contributed *Documente din secolele al XVI-lea–XIX-lea privitoare la familia Mano* (Bucureşti, 1907). This publication contained two *berats* of 1776 and 1808, and a *ferman* of 1858. In 1926 eight documents from the end of the sixteenth century were presented by N. Bănescu, "Opt scrisori turceşti ale lui Mihnea II 'Turcitul'", *Academia Română, Memoriile Secţiuni Istorice*, seria 3, tomul 6 (1926), pp. 177–91, eight plates. This work includes eight tables with reproductions of Turkish documents preserved in the archives of Venice and translated by Gh. Iogu. A few Ottoman documents concerning the economic history of the Rumanian lands in the second half of the sixteenth century were treated by D. Z. Furniča, *Documente privitoare la Comerţul Românesc 1473–1868* (Bucureşti, 1931), pp. 3–14. A series of documents selected from Feridun's work was published by J. Rypka and N. Iorga, "Noi porunci turceşti către Domnii noştri (1572–1658)", *Revista Istorică*, 20 (1934), pp. 381–83. A. Antalffi translated from Turkish and Arabic two *fetih-names* of Bayezit II, "Două documente din Biblioteca Egipteană de la Cairo despre cucerirea Chiliei şi Cetăţii-Albe în 1484", *Revista Istorică*, 20 (1934), pp. 33–42. M. Regleanu published ten eighteenth-century Turkish documents in "Zece documente turceşti din vremea lui Alexandru Ghica Vodă", *Balcania*, 2–3 (1939–40), pp. 319–30. Many Turkish documents were published after 1931 by a Rumanian specialist in Armenian studies, H. Dj. Sirouni. One should list his "O corespondenţă necunoscută în limba turcească a lui Scarlat Callimachi, Domnul Moldovei", *Revista Istorică*, 17 (1931), pp. 177–85; *"Documente turceşte relative la evenimentele din 1821–1822", *Arhiva Românească*, 4 (1940), pp. 259–60; "O năvălire necunoscută a bandelor turceşti în Ţarile Române la 1769", *Revista Arhivelor*, 4, i (1940), pp. 6–68, four plates; "Acte turceşti privitoare la hotarele dunărene ale Ţării Româneşti", *Revista Arhivelor*, 5, i (1942), pp. 129–65, seven plates. The same author treated twenty-eight Turkish documents from

the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries held in the State Archives in Bucharest. He published them with transcriptions and brief notes on the contents, in *Culegere de facsimile pentru şcoala de arhivistică, seria turcă, fasc. i* (Bucureşti, 1943). They constitute a series sponsored by the Rumanian State Archives for the use of the School of Archivists. One can also find Turkish documents in other works of Siruni, but the form and the method of their presentation are not always up to the desired standard. A translation and facsimile of a *ferman* was included in an article dealing with economic conditions of eighteenth-century Moldavia, contributed by M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, "A propos d'un firman du sultan Mustafa III", *Balcania*, 7 (1944), pp. 363–91, one plate. A. Decei published "Tratatul de pace–sulhnâme, incheiat între sultanul Mehmed II şi Stefan cel Mare la 1479", *Revista Istorică Română*, 15 (1945), pp. 465–94. This article contains the Turkish text and a Rumanian version of the 1470 treaty made between Mehmet II and Stephen the Great and taken from a manuscript in the *Süleymaniye* Library in Istanbul. It also includes a copy dating from 1490. Recently A. Decei contributed "Quelques documents turcs concernant la Valachie au XVI^{e} siècle", *Akten des Vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, München* (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 391–94.

It is also necessary to state that many Turkish documents referring to the history of Rumanian territories were published by F. Babinger, *e.g.*, *"Cel dintâi bir al Moldovei către sultan", *Fraţilor Alexandru şi Ion I. Lăpĕdatu la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani. XIV. IX. MCMXXXVI* (Bucureşti, 1936), pp. 29–37 (for a German version of the same article see his "Beginn der moldauischen Zinspflicht" in "Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien (14.–15. Jahrhundert)", *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten*, 34 (1944), pp. 21–29, two plates). A detailed discussion concerning Turkish documents published in Rumania may be found in the work of *M. Guboglu, *Orientalistica romînâ* (=*Studii şi articole de Istorie*, 1) (Bucureşti, 1956), pp. 314–50, and also *idem*, "Contributions roumaines aux études orientales", *AO*, 24 (1956), pp. 454–75 (*see* review by J. Reychman, "Parę słów o rumuńskiej orientalistyce", *PO*, 20 (1956,), pp. 523–29). *See* also M. Guboglu, *Paleografia şi diplomatica turco-osmană* (Bucureşti, 1958).

Sweden

In Sweden, H. Almkvist was the pioneer in the field of the publication of Oriental documents. He contributed a monograph, *Ein türkisches*

Dragoman-Diplom aus dem vorigen Jahrhundert in Faksimile herausgegeben und übersetzt (Uppsala, 1894); *see* also his supplement, **Nachträgliche Bemerkungen zum türkischen Dragoman-Diplom* (Uppsala, 1895).

Publication activities were later carried on by K. V. Zetterstéen who, together with a Turkish scholar, A. N. Kurat, presented *Türkische Urkunden herausgegeben und übersetzt* (Uppsala, 1938). This publication used Turkish materials from the Swedish archives. It includes a number of letters from the sultans and the Crimean khans to Polish kings (*e.g.*, a letter from Mehmet IV to John Casimir, written in 1657), which reached those archives as a result of Swedish invasions of Poland. Summaries of the contents of some of the documents or extracts therefrom were published more recently by K. V. Zetterstéen, *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv* (Uppsala, 1945). This work also contains valuable methodological remarks as well as instructions concerning the publication of Turkish diplomatic documents. Crimean correspondence relating to Swedish history was discussed by Zetterstéen in his article, "De krimska tatarernas diplomatiska korrespondens med den svenska regeringen", *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala*, 1952, pp. 7–16. In his article, "The Oriental Documents in the Swedish State Archives", *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, part i (Budapest, 1948), pp. 191–208, Zetterstéen dealt with Arabic documents, not Turkish. Another Swedish Orientalist, W. Björkman, published "Ein türkischer Schenkungsbrief vom Jahre 1587", *Orientalia Suecana*, 3 (1954), pp. 145–54.

Switzerland

In a contribution entitled "Ein Schreiben Sülejmāns I. an Ferdinand I.", *Festschrift Georg Jacob* (Leipzig, 1932), a Swiss scholar, R. Tschudi, presented (pp. 317–28, one plate) an excellent edition of a document composed in 1535 and preserved in the Library of the University of Basel. This document is about three meters long and has a beautiful metallic blue *tuğra*. The editor produced a large, perfectly readable facsimile of the document, a Turkish copy of the text, and a translation, as well as a detailed commentary.

Turkey

In Turkey itself, prior to the present century, little attention was paid to the proper editing of old documents. It is true that in the sixteenth

century Feridun Bey (d. 1583) made a compilation of documents entitled *Münşeat-üs-selâtin* (published in Istanbul, 1274–75), but, besides including many forgeries, his work consisted only of copies of original documents. *See* F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 106f.; J. H. Mordtmann, "Die Orientalischen Handschriften der Sammlung A. D. Mordtmann sr.", *Der Islam*, 14 (1925), p. 362, n. 1; A. A. Olesnicki in *Serta Hoffilleriana* (Zagreb, 1940), pp. 495–512; K. Holter, "Studien zu Aḥmed Ferîdûn's Münše'ât es-selâṭîn", *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, 14, Erg.-Bd. (1939), pp. 429–51; and Mükrimin Halil [Yınanç], "Feridun Bey münşeatı", *TOEM*, 63–77 (1336–39), pp. 161–68; *TTEM*, 1 (78) (1340), pp. 37–46; 2 (79) (1340), pp. 95–104; 4 (81) (1340), pp. 216–26.

The documents from Feridun's work which referred to relations with the Crimea were discussed and correlated with texts published elsewhere by J. Rypka, "Briefwechsel der Hohen Pforte mit den Krimchanen im II. Bande von Ferīdūns Münšeāt. (Regesten and Chronologie)", *Festschrift Georg Jacob* (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 241–69. Other documents from Feridun's work were treated by D. Dorošenko–J. Rypka in "Polsko, Ukrajina, Krym a Vysoká Porta v první pol. XVII. stol.", *Časopis Národniho Musea*, 110 (1936), pp. 19–49; also in "Diplomatische Miszellen–I, Turco-Valachica," *AO*, 5 (1933), pp. 78–84.

In the seventeenth century Sarı Abdullah produced *Düstur-ül-inşa*, which was supposed to constitute a kind of continuation of Feridun's work; *see* F. Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 207f. In the eighteenth century a few documents, without any facsimiles or editorial commentary, were published by *Debbağzade Numan Efendi, *Tuhfet-üs-sükûk* (İstanbul, 1259).

More active editorial work in Turkey began in the present century. In most cases, however, Turkish historians have been interested in the publication of registers, such as the *hulâsa* or *muhteviyat*, material more accessible and easier to edit. Thus Ahmet Refik published sixteenth-century documents referring to Istanbul economic life, *Onuncu asr-i hicrîde İstanbul hayatı* (İstanbul, 1333). Ahmet Refik also treated a number of *hatt-i hümayuns* from 1631 to 1634 in "Sultan Murat Rabi'in hatt-i hümayunları", *TOEM*, 39 (1332), pp. 129–41. Neither of these publications had any plates. Some of these documents were included by Ahmet Refik in the above-mentioned work, *Onuncu asr-i hicrîde İstanbul hayatı*, which included 258 documents pertaining

to life in Istanbul in the sixteenth century. (Five documents from that work were translated by G. Jacob in *Der Islam*, 9 (1919), pp. 250–53.) Ahmet Refik also published several documents referring to eighteenth-century relations between Turkey and Prussia, taken from transcripts preserved in the *Divan-i Hümayun name defteri*. This publication was entitled *Osmanlılar ve Büyük Frederik* (İstanbul, 1333); *see* H. Scheel, *Die Schreiben der türkischen Sultane an die preußischen Könige in der Zeit von 1721 bis 1774 und die ersten preußischen Kapitulationen vom Jahre 1761* (Berlin, 1930). Some documents pertaining to the relations between Turkey and the Poland of Henry Valois were presented by Ahmet Refik in *TOEM*, 35 (1331), pp. 662–87, in the article "Sokollu Mehmet Paşa ve Lehistan intihabatı". Two sets of documents referring to the history of Istanbul from the end of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century were produced by the same scholar in two publications printed in the Latin alphabet, *Hicrî on birinci asırda İstanbul hayatı (1000–1100)* (İstanbul, 1931), and *Hicrî on ikinci asırda İstanbul hayatı (1100–1200)* (İstanbul, 1930).

A letter of Kara Mustafa written in 1682 to the city of Sopron was published by Halil Ethem, "Kara Mustafa Paşa'nın *Sopron* şehri ehalisine beyannamesi", *TOEM*, 15 (1328), p. 924–37, two plates. A. Cemalüddin presented a number of documents in **Bektaşi sırrı nam risaleye müdafaa* (İstanbul, 1327), pp. 40–41.

Numerous *fetvas* of the highest religious authority (*şeyhülislâm*), running from the fifteenth century onwards, were included in the *İlmiye Salnamesi* (İstanbul, 1334). This presentation consists of facsimiles of texts selected from the *şer'î* archives in Istanbul. Other documents were published in *TOEM* by Abdurrahman Şeref, Mehmet Arif, Osman Ferit, Mehmet Galip, and Mükrimin Halil [Yınanç]. Two documents from the period of Mehmet II, the *Fâtih*, were treated by T. Öz in "Zwei Stiftungsurkunden des Sultans Mehmed II. Fatih", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 4 (1935) (*cf.*, *Fâtih Mehmet II vakfiyeleri*, Ankara, 1938); they contain a facsimile, text, and translation of two sources from the archives of the Ministry of the *Vakıf*. A Turkish document from the reign of Queen Elizabeth I of England was published by A. N. Kurat, "İngiliz Devlet Arşivinde ve kütüphanelerinde Türkiye tarihine ait bazı malzemeye dair (Some Turkish Records and Materials in the Public Record Office, London, and English Libraries)", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, 7 (1949), pp. 1–27. H.

İnalcık published "Osmanlı-Rus rekâbetinin menşei ve Don-Volga kanalı teşebbüsü (1569)", *Belleten*, 12 (1948), pp. 349–402.

Many Turkish documents referring to economic and administrative life have been presented in modern Turkish script in a special journal published by the Ministry of Education (*Maarif Vekâleti*) and called *Tarih Vesikaları*, No. 1–17 (1941–58). The Turkish Ministry of War has been publishing documents from its archives in *Harb Tarihi Vesikaları Dergisi*, which has been appearing since 1952 as a supplement to *Ordu Dergisi*. At least forty-one issues have come out to date, the last dated *eylül* (Sept.), 1962. An important contribution in this field was made by Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI-ıncı asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve malî esasları, Birinci cilt, Kanunlar* (İstanbul, 1945). This volume contains the texts of 107 *kanunnames* from all parts of the Ottoman Empire. Specimens from registers for Anatolia and the Balkans were published by the same scholar in his articles, "XV ve XVI-ncı asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda toprak işçiliğinin organizasyonu şekilleri", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 1 (1939), pp. 29–74 (ten plates), 198–245 (fifteen plates), 397–447 (five plates) (French summaries, pp. 14–44, 165–80, 297–321), and "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda vakıflar ve temlikler", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 2 (1942), pp. 279–386.[28] More reproductions of fiscal documents were included in his "H. 933–934 (M.1527–1528) malî yılına ait bütçe örneği", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 15 (1953–54), pp. 251–329. In that same issue appeared some documents discussed by H. İnalcık, "15. asır Türkiye iktisadi ve içtimai tarihi kaynakları", pp. 51–75. Other documents published by İnalcık were included in his *Fâtih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar, I*, Ankara (1954); H. İnalcık, *Hicrî 835 tarihli suret-i defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara (1954). *See* also N. Lugal ve A. Erzi, *Fâtih devrine ait münşeat mecmuası* (İstanbul, 1956), and T. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de yürükler, Tatarlar ve evlâd-i Fâtihan* (İstanbul, 1957). A *fetihname* issued on the occasion of the victory at Varna in 1444 has been published by A. Erzi, "Türkiye kütüphanelerinden notlar ve vesikalar II.", *Belleten*, 14 (1950), pp. 595–647. The text of a letter written in 1688/89 by Süleyman II to Aurangzeb, the Moghul ruler of India, is given in modern Turkish script by H. Bayur, "Osmanlı pâdişahı II. Süleyman'ın Gurkanlı pâdişahı I. Âlemgîr (Evrengzib)'e mektubu", *Belleten*, 14 (1950), pp. 269–87, and facsimiles and tran-

[82] *Cf.*, B. Lewis, "The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands", *JRAS*, October, 1951, p. 145, nn. 3 ,5.

scriptions of numerous *vakıf* documents from the reign of Bayezit II, are presented by M. T. Gökbilgin in *XV–XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası, vakıflar-mülkler-mukataalar* (İstanbul, 1952) (*see* review by H. J. Kissling, *ZDMG*, 102 (1952), pp. 413–15).

The publications of A. Galanté, *Documents officiels turcs concernant les juifs de Turquie* (Istanbul, 1931) and *Appendice à l'ouvrage Documents officiels turcs concernant les Juifs de Turquie* (Istanbul, 1941) and *Recueil de nouveaux documents inédits concernant l'histoire des juifs de Turquie* (Istanbul, 1949), partially containing materials presented previously in Turkish by Ahmet Refik, are of no paleographic significance. For publications of documents pertaining to the history of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire, *see* B. Lewis in the section on Israel.

Several publications in Turkey have been devoted to Uyghur-Turkic diplomatics. Although they might be regarded as belonging in a separate section, it has been decided to include them here to avoid further subdivisions.

A *yarlık* of Tohtamış of 1392, originally published in Russia,[83] was produced in *Kutadgu Bilig, Tıpkıbasım*, 1 (1942), pp. 198 f. Some Uyghur-Turkic documents pertaining to relations with the Golden Horde, the Crimea, and the Central Asiatic khanates were presented by A. N. Kurat in *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler* (İstanbul, 1940) (*see* reviews by A. Zajączkowski, "Dyplomatyka Złotej Hordy i Krymu z XV w. (Nowe materiały z archiwum tureckiego)", *Przegląd Historyczny*, 37 (1948), pp. 212–17, and S. E. Malov, "Izuchenie i͡arlykov i vostochnykh gramot", *Akademiku Vladimiru Aleksandrovichu Gordlevskomu k ego semidesi͡atipi͡atiletiiu, Sbornik stateĭ*, Moskva, 1953, pp. 187–95). Kurat published separately a *yarlık* of Uluğ Muhammet, the Khan of Kazan, dated 1424. This publication contained a facsimile, reduced a little too much, as well as a number of philological observations. It was entitled "Kazan Hanlığını kuran Uluğ Muhammet hanın yarlığı", *Edirne ve Yöresi Eski Eserleri Sevenler Kurumu Yayınlarından*, 2 (1937); *see* critical notes by T. Halasi-Kun, "Monuments de la langue tatare de Kazan", *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dicata* (= *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, 5) (Budapest, 1947), pp. 143–45, and "Kazan Türkçesine ait dil yadigârları", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, 7 (1949), pp. 603–644.

[83] *See* below, p. 95.

One of the documents published by A. N. Kurat, the *suyurgal* of Hacı Girey, the Crimean khan in the fifteenth century, was transcribed, translated and provided with comments by W. Hinz, "Zwei Steuerbefreiungs-Urkunden", *DII*, 1952, pp. 211–20. Two *yarlıks* were published by Abdullah Oğ Hasan, "Temir Kutluğ yarlığı", *TM*, 3 (1926–33), pp. 207–28, and "Birinci Mengili Giray han yarlığı", *ibid.*, 4 (1934), pp. 99–109. R. R. Arat in "Fâtih Sultan Mehmet'in yarlığı", *TM*, 6 (1936–39), pp. 285–322 (twenty plates), presented a *fetihname* of Mehmet II, written in the Arabic and Uyghur alphabets, after his victory over Uzun Hasan; *see, idem*, "Un yarlık de Mehmed II, le Conquérant", *Annali dell' Istituto Superiore Orientale*, N. S. 1 (1940), pp. 25–68 (twenty plates) with a *yarlık* of 1473, referring to the campaign against Uzun Hasan. Abdullah Battal [Taymas] published a *yarlık* of Sahip Girey, the Khan of Kazan, "Kazan yurdunda bulunmuş tarihî bir vesika, Sahip Girey han yarlığı", *TM*, 2 (1926), pp. 75–101, together with a facsimile and editorial notes. Finally, F. Kurtoğlu presented a reproduction of a letter written in 1477 by the last Khan of Kazan to Mehmet II, in "Son Altınordu hükümdarının Osmanlı hükümdarı Mehmet II-ye bir mektubu", *Belleten*, 2 (1938), pp. 247–50 (two plates); and in "İlk Kırım hanlarının mektupları", *ibid.*, 1 (1937), pp. 641–55 (eight plates), he published some letters of the first Crimean khans. *See* also B. Lewis, "Some Danish-Tatar Exchanges in the 17th Century", *Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armağan* (İstanbul, 1950–55), pp. 137–44, two plates.

All these publications in the field of Uyghur-Turkic and Crimean diplomatics should be compared with documents published in Russia and with those presented by Halasi-Kun, *op. cit.*

United Kingdom

P. Wittek has treated "A Letter of Murad III to the Doge of Venice, of 1580", *BSOAS*, 14, ii (1952), pp. 381–83, giving a translation and meticulous editorial comments, but no facsimile of the text. Useful reproductions and reconstructed Turkish texts of fiscal acts, as well as translations with elaborate philological and historical comments, may be found in B. Lewis, "Studies in the Ottoman Archives–I", *BSOAS*, 16, iii (1954), pp. 469–501 (three plates), and *idem*, "The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands", *JRAS*, October, 1951, pp. 139–55, four plates. An interesting document has been published by G. M. Meredith-Owens, "An Otto-

man Patent of Protection", *British Museum Quarterly*, 21 (1957–59), pp. 33–35. *See* also M. Hasluck, "Firman of A.H. 1013–14 (A.D. 1604–5) regarding Gypsies in the Western Balkans", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, ser. 3, 27 (1948), pp. 1–12.

USA

A translation of a letter of Murat III to Queen Elizabeth, written in mid-şaban 998 (15–24 June, 1590), is given by B. Lewis, "The Ottoman Archives. A source for European history", *Report on Current Research*, The Middle East Institute, Washington, D. C., Spring, 1956, pp. 17–25. The same report includes a reproduction of a fiscal document of the Ottoman authorities in Egypt, presented with transliteration and translation by S. J. Shaw, "Cairo's archives and the history of Ottoman Egypt", *op. cit.*, pp. 59–72.

USSR

Already in the nineteenth century, Russian Orientalists and historians were publishing many documents referring chiefly to Russo-Tatar relations. These scholars studied Tatar documents (*yarlıks*) preserved in St. Petersburg and Moscow. To a considerable extent their publications pertained also to Uyghur-Turkic diplomatics.

In 1850 M. A. Obolenskiĭ and the Orientalist I. N. Berezin treated a *yarlık* of Tohtamış, *I͡Arlyk khana Zolotoĭ Ordy Tokhtamysha k pol'skomu korolı͡u I͡Agaĭlu, 1392–1393 goda* (Kazan', 1850). (Philological comments were provided by a Polish Orientalist, O. M. Kowalewski. His contribution was entitled "Izvlechenie iz pis'ma . . . k N. A. Polevomu, ot 7 Fevr. 1835 g., s vkli͡ucheniem sdelannago im perevoda Tokhtamysheva i͡arlyka".) Another *yarlık* of Tohtamış, of 1382, as well as a Tatar-Turkic one of Saadet Girey of 1523, appeared in a translation by I. O. I͡Artsev, with facsimiles in the original size, in the publication of V. Grigor'ev, "I͡Arlyki Tokhtamysha i Seadet-Geraia", *ZOOID*, 1 (1844), pp. 337–46. This same *yarlık* was also treated by V. Radlov, together with that of Timur Kutluk, in "I͡Arlyki Toktamysha i Temir-Kutluga", *ZVO*, 3 (1888), pp. 1–40, one plate. The *yarlık* of Tohtamış of 1382 had previously been translated by N. Murzakevich, "Pis'mennye pami͡atniki Tokhtamysh-khana", *ZhMNP*, 27, viii, otd. 2 (1840), pp. 143–48. This publication was not provided with any Arabic text or facsimile. Several methodological observations concerning the editing and translation of Cri-

mean *yarlıks* were contributed by A. N. Samoĭlovich in "Neskol'ko popravok k ĭarlyku Timur-Kutluga", *IAN*, 12 (1918), pp. 1109–24 and in "Neskol'ko popravok k izdaniĭu i perevodu ĭarlykov Tokhtamysh-khana", *ITOIAE*, 1 (58) (1927), pp. 141–44; and by N. I. Veselovskiĭ in "Neskol'ko poĭasneniĭ kasatel'no ĭarlykov, dannykh khanati Zolotoĭ ordy russkomu dukhovenstvu", *Zap. Imp. Russ. Geogr. Obshch. Otd. Etnogr.*, 34 (1909), pp. 525–36.

I. O. ÍArtsev presented a translation of a *yarlık* of Sahip Girey of 1550 in *ZhMNP*, 21, otd. 7 (1839), pp. 39–44. In addition to the previously mentioned *yarlık* of Tohtamış to Iagiello, I. N. Berezin also published a second *yarlık* of Tohtamış (presented earlier by Grigor'ev), as well as the *yarlıks* of Timur Kutluk and Saadet Girey, in his work *Tarkhannye ĭarlyki Tokhtamysha, Timur-Kutluka i Saadet-Gireĭa* (Kazan', 1851). A number of the *yarlıks* which had been issued to the Russian clergy became accessible through yet another publication of Berezin, *Tarkhannye ĭarlyki, dannye Khanami Zolotoĭ Ordy Russkomu dukhovenstvu* (Kazan', 1852). All these publications of Berezin had also a common title, *Khanskie ÍArlyki*. Later on, Berezin published some more Crimean *yarlıks* in his "Tarkhannye ĭarlyki krymskikh khanov", *ZOOID*, 8, pribavlenie (1872), pp. 1–9. This article included a *yarlık* of Mengli Girey of 872/1467, presented with two translations: one contributed by a local translator, Abdürrahman Çelebi Kırım Hoca, and another by himself. He provided this publication with a meticulous philological commentary. In that same issue of *ZOOID*, pp. 10–23, Berezin treated two *yarlıks* of Mengli Girey and Mehmet Girey of 873/1468 and 923/1517, under the title "ÍArlyki krymskikh khanov Mengli-gireĭa i Mukhammed-Gireĭa".

Several reproductions, without translations, transcriptions, or comments, were presented by V. V. Vel'ĭaminov-Zernov, *Materialy dlĭa istorii Krymskago Khanstva* (Sanktpeterburg, 1864). *See* also the contribution of Th. Th. Lashkov, "Arkhivnyĭa dannyĭa o beĭlikakh v Krymskom khanstve", *Trudy Arkheologicheskago S'ezda v Odesse*, 4 (1884), pp. 96–110.

Many Tatar documents were used in the work of V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe khanstvo* . . . (S.-Peterburg, 1887). In the field of documents the same scholar also contributed "Krymsko-khanskiĭa gramoty", *ITUAK*, 50 (1913), pp. 140–78 (*see*, **ibid.*, 1919, No. 54), and *"Tatarsko-khanskie ĭarlyki iz kollektsii Tavricheskoĭ Uchenoĭ Arkhivnoĭ Komisii", *ITUAK*, 1917, No. 54. The latter included a *yarlık* of Mengli Girey of 1485. For notes concerning the place of issue of

the *yarlık* of Timur Kutluk, *see* K. A. Inostrantsev, "O meste vydachi i͡arlyka Timur-Kutluga", *IAN*, 11 (1917), pp. 49–50. A letter of Ömer Bahadır was dealt with by P. Melioranskiĭ, "Document *uigurskago pis'ma sultana Omar*-Sheĭkha" *ZVO*, 16 (1904–05), pp. 01–012, two plates.

Documents referring to privileges granted by the khans to Russian Metropolitans were published by M. D. Priselkov, *Khanskie i͡arlyki russkim mitropolitam* (Petrograd, 1916); *see* V. Grigor'ev, *O dostovernosti i͡arlykov, dannykh khanami Zolotoĭ Ordy russkomu dukhovenstvu* (Moskva, 1842). A number of Crimean Tatar documents dealing with the Karaims were included in a compilation edited by *Z. A. Firkowich, *Sbornik starinnykh gramot i uzakoneniĭ rossiĭskoĭ imperii kasatel'no prav i sostoi͡anii͡a russko-poddannykh Karaimov* (Sankt Peterburg, 1890). The introduction to this work was contributed by V. D. Smirnov.

One should also list collective historical publications containing Russian translations of Tatar documents without philological comments, *e.g.*, *Th. Lashkov, "Pami͡atniki diplomaticheskikh snosheniĭ Krymskogo khanstva s Moskovskim gosudarstvom v XVI i XVII vv.", *ITUAK*, 1891, ix, x, xi, xii; G. F. Karpov, "Pami͡atniki diplomaticheskikh snosheniĭ Moskovskago Gosudarstva s krymskoi͡u i nagaĭskoi͡u ordami i s Turtsieĭ, 1, 1474–1505, 2, 1508–1521", *Sbornik Russ. Imp. Istor. Obshch.*, 41 (1884) and 95 (1895); *W. Kazimirski, *Documents sur les rapports diplomatiques de l'ancienne Russie avec les puissances étrangères et notamment la Crimée* (St. Petersburg, 1884–98); as well as those of Uli͡anitskiĭ, Malinovskiĭ, Bantysh-Kamenskiĭ, and others.

To this list of *yarlık*s treated by Russian scholars in the nineteenth century one should add those published recently. A few *yarlık*s on the relations of the Crimea with the Ukraine were published in an article by *F. Petrun, "Khans'ki i͡arliki na ukraĭns'kiĭ zemli", *Skhidniĭ svit* (Kharkiv), 2 (1928), pp. 170–87. A *yarlık* of Sahip Girey was presented by Seyid Vakhidov, "I͡Arlyk Khana Sakhib-Gireia", *VNOT*, 1–2 (1926), pp. 29–37;[84] *see, idem*, "Issledovanie i͡arlyka Sakhib-Gireĭ Khana", *Izvestii͡a Obshchestva Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnografii pri Kazanskom Universitete imeni V. I. Lenina*, 33, i (1925), pp. 61–92. In a collective volume, *Akademiku Vladimiru Aleksandrovichu Gordlevskomu k ego semidesi͡atipi͡atiletii͡u, Sbornik stateĭ* (Moskva, 1953),

[84] *Cf.*, M. Mazankówna and K. Tyszkowski, "Bibljografja historji polskiej za rok 1926", *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 41 (1927), p. 223.

pp. 187–95, there appeared a contribution by S. E. Malov, "Izuchenie i͡arlykov i vostochnykh gramot". The author discussed the documents of the khans of the Crimea and of the Golden Horde which had been published by A. Kurat.[85] Besides translating a *yarlık* of Hacı Girey of 1453, Malov also offered a number of valuable linguistic observations. S. M. Shapshal, "K voprosu o tarkhannykh i͡arlykakh", *op. cit.*, pp. 302–16, studied the problem of the *tarhan yarlık*s, as well as the problem of the very term *tarhan*. A number of Tatar documents in translation were included in different editions of historical sources, *e.g.*, *Istori͡a Tatarii v materialakh i dokumentakh* (Moskva, 1937). A *yarlık* of Ahmet Khan was published by K. V. Bazilevich, "I͡Arlyk Akhmed-khana Ivanu III", *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta*, 1948, i, pp. 29–46. *See, idem, Vneshni͡ai͡a politika russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva vtorai͡a polovina XV veka* (Moskva, 1952), containing on pp. 163–67 a discussion concerning that *yarlık*.

Certain documents pertaining to Turkish diplomatics were published by V. D. Smirnov, *Sbornik nekotorykh vazhnykh izvestiĭ i ofitsial'nykh dokumentov kasatel'no Turtsii, Rossii i Kryma* (S.-Peterburg, 1881). In his chrestomathy the same author produced samples of imperial *fermans* pertaining to the Crimean Khanate, *Obraztsovyi͡a proizvedeni͡ia osmanskoĭ literatury* (S.-Peterburg, 1903), pp. 204–07, 210–11, and in "Vostochnye zametki" he presented the writings of Osman II to the Kira progeny, **Gramota Sultana Osmana II go semeĭstvu iudeĭki Kiry* (Sankt Peterburg, 1895). V. D. Smirnov included also a letter of Mehmet IV to Chmielnicki, in his *Krymskoe khanstvo* ... (S.-Peterburg, 1887), pp. 550–52. A facsimile of this letter, written in the middle of the seventeenth century, was presented in *Pami͡atniki, izdannye vremennoi͡u kommisi͡eĭ͡u dli͡a razbora drevnikh aktov*, iii (Kiev, 1852). It was accompanied by an old Polish translation by A. Crutta, dating from the end of the eighteenth century, as well as by a new French translation contributed by von Hammer-Purgstall. The latter personally supervised the execution of the lithographic reproduction of that document in Vienna. The original document was borrowed by Obolenski from the Central Archives of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. It was undoubtedly the same document which appeared in the publication of Rypka.[86] A. Kasem-Beg of Kazan University gave six reproductions of Turkish documents

[85] *See* above, p. 93.
[86] *See* above, pp. 67–68.

(*fermans*, letters, passports) from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, in his *Allgemeine Grammatik der türkisch-tatarischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1848). He also presented his reading of the texts in *nesih* script and their translations, but without any editorial notes or comments. A note on two letters of Sultan Abdülhamit I to the last Crimean khan Ṣahin Girey was published by S. M. Szapszał, "O dvukh gramatakh turetskago sultana Abdul' Khamida I-go", *ITUAK*, 49 (1913), pp. 142–49.

Turkish documents published by N. I. Kostomarov[87] are not very useful for the study of paleography since they are not provided with facsimiles of the original texts. *See*, however, V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe khanstvo . . . , loc. cit.*, and M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukraïni-Rusi*, vol. 9, i (Kiïv, 1928), pp. 60–62 and 132–38, vol. 9, ii (Kiïv, 1931), pp. 1099–1101, 1539–50; also *idem*, "Z privodu listuvannia B. Khmel'nits'kogo z Ottoman'skoiu Portoiu", *Ukraïna*, 1930, xlii, pp. 4–7. Many Turkish documents presented exclusively in contemporary translations can be found in P. N. Butsinskiĭ, *O Bogdane Khmel'nitskom* (Khar'kov, 1882). Reproductions of the original texts of some of these documents were later published by J. Rypka.[88]

Many Turkish documents have been published in recent years by S. S. Dzhikiia, *Prostrannyĭ reestr giurdzhiustanskogo vilaïeta*, vols. 1–3 (Tbilisi, 1941–58). This work treats Turkish documents referring to the fiscal administration of Georgian territories which belonged to the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century. *See* also S. S. Dzhikiia, "Turetskyĭ dokument XVIII veka ob Okros-Tsikhe", *Trudy Tbilisskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta imeni Stalina*, 91 (1960), *Seriia vostokovedeniia*, ii, pp. 161–185, one plate. Persian documents referring to Armenia and Georgia were presented with Persian texts in *M. Khubua, *Persidskie firmany i ukazy Muzeia Gruzii*, vol. 1 (Tbilisi, 1949), and in a recent publication of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, A. D. Papazian, *Persidskie dokumenty Matenadarana*, 2 vols. (Erivan, 1956–59). The latter work contains the texts of Persian documents and their translations, as well as a dictionary of technical terms.

Yugoslavia

A number of documents from the former archives of Bosnia were published by Ć. Truhelka in the *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja* and also

[87] *See* above, p. 68.
[88] *See* above, pp. 67–68.

in *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina.* In *Glasnik*, 4 (1892), pp. 387–89 (one plate), appeared a publication by K. Herman, "Diploma sultana Gazi-Ahmed-kana iz g. 1127. po hedžri" (1714. poslije Hr.). This article consists of a facsimile and a rather poor translation of a *berat* issued to the city of Dubrovnik. Also in the same journal, 9 (1897), pp. 437–46 (one plate), Safvet Beg R. Bašagić presented "Najstariji ferman begova Čengića" (its German version: "Der älteste Ferman des Čengić-Begs", *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, 6 (1899), pp. 478–86). In reality the document in question is not a *ferman* but a Persian *suyurgal* issued by Kâzım, a ruler of the Ak Koyunlu dynasty which rose to prominence in the fifteenth century.

Numerous articles on Ottoman documents concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina have been published in the two periodicals mentioned above. They were contributed by such scholars as H. Hadžibegić, N. Filipović, Ali Effendi Kadić, Kemura Fehmi ibni Ali Sejfuddin Šejh, R. Muderizović, A. Pavić, V. Skarić, F. Spaho, H. Šabanović, and others. In addition Kemura published some Turkish documents referring to the First Serbian Insurrection in his *Prvi srpski ustanak pod Karagjorgjem ... po turskim vrelima* (Sarajevo, 1914). Further Turkish materials pertaining to the history of that insurrection were published by a Bulgarian scholar, G. Balasčev, in the journal *Srpski Književni Glasnik*, 14 (1905), pp. 27–34, 122–30, 212–20, 287–93.

A few *fermans* with privileges for falconers were published with texts in *nesih* script, but without facsimiles, by G. Elezović, "Sokolarstvo i sokolari", *Južna Srbija*, 4 (1923–24), Nos. 30–39, 42–43. Other documents were presented by this author in his *Turski spomenici*, 2 vols. (Beograd, 1940–52).

A very important work for the purpose of research in the field of Turkish paleography and diplomatics is the publication of F. Bajraktarević, "Turski dokumenti monastira Sv. Trojice kod Plevjla", *Spomenik, Srpska Kraljevska Akademija*, 79, ser. ii, 62 (1936), pp. 25–87, which contains six facsimiles. Bajraktarević also published "Jedna bujuruldija o prvom srpskom ustanku", *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, 11 (1932), pp. 145–57. A series of Turkish documents from Bosnia was published by H. Šabanović, "Turski dokumenti u Bosni iz druge polovine XV stoljeća", *Istorisko-Pravni Zbornik*, 1, ii (Sarajevo, 1949), pp. 177–208. The author gave the texts in transcription with translations, editorial comments, and eleven plates. One of these documents was treated independently by

F. Babinger in his study, "Eine Verfügung des Paläologen Châṣṣ Murâd-Paša von Mitte Reǧeb 876 h = Dez./Jan. 1471/2", *DII*, 1952, pp. 197–210, two plates. Šabanović earlier published "Novi turski dokumenti u turskom odsjeku Hrvatskih zemaljskih muzeja u Sarajevu", *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja*, 1942, pp. 357–70. Fourteen *fermans*, *buyurultus*, etc., dating from 1563 to 1752 and preserved in the Archives of Dubrovnik, were published with facsimiles and translations by G. Elezović in *Tursko-srpski spomenici dubrovačkog arhiva* (Beograd, 1932). Three Turkish documents dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, also preserved in the same archives, were published with translations by R. Muderizović, "Turski dokumenti u dubrovačkom arhivu", *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja*, 50 (1938), pp. 69–72. Several documents dealing mainly with the internal history of the Yugoslav territories were presented by B. Đurđev in a number of publications, such as "Nešto o vlaškim starješinama pod turskom upravom", *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja*, 1940, pp. 49–67, one plate. In that article, Đurđev treated a few *berats* and *fermans* of the seventeenth century, producing facsimiles, transcriptions of the original texts in the *nesih* script, and translations. A useful discussion concerning the publications of Oriental documents in Yugoslavia was offered by H. Šabanović, "Turski diplomatički izvori za istoriju naših naroda", *Prilozi*, 1 (1950), pp. 117–49. Of the many interesting editions listed by Šabanović only the more essential among those bearing on the subject of Ottoman-Turkish diplomatics have been considered in the present discussion.

Many Turkish documents have recently been treated by Yugoslav scholars in a new serial publication issued since 1950 by the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo called *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju i istoriju jugoslovenskih naroda pod turskom vladavinom* (*Revue de philologie orientale et d'histoire des peuples yougoslaves sous la domination turque*). Beginning with the second issue, all articles are followed by a French résumé. From the point of view of the publication of Turkish documents, the following contributions are particularly important: N. Filipović, "Les timars 'odžakluk' en Bosnie et Herzégovine", 5 (1954–55), pp. 251–74 (containing a number of *fermans* from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries); H. Hadžibegić, "'Cizja' ou la contribution (le 'harač')", 3–4 (1952–53), pp. 55–135; 5 (1954–55), pp. 43–100; B. Đurđev, "Les defters pour le sandjak monténégrin au temps de Skender-bey Crnojević", 1, (1950), pp. 7–22, 2 (1951), pp.

39–56; 3–4 (1952–53), pp. 349–402 (five plates); H. Šabanović's presentation of the translation of two *kanunnames* from the *Sancak* of Bosnia, "Kanun-nama bosanskog sandžaka iz godine 922/1516", 1 (1950), pp. 163–66, and "Kanun-nama bosanskog sandžaka iz godine 948/1541", 1 (1950), pp. 166–67.[89] The same scholar, with the collaboration of H. Hasandedić, treated a number of *vakıf* documents (*vakfiye*) in "Le 'vakouf-name' de Moustafa-Bey Skenderpašić", 3–4 (1952–53), pp. 403–13. *See* also H. Hadžibegić, "Tri fermana iz prve polovice XVI stoljeća", 2 (1951), pp. 83–94; *idem*, "Turski dokumenti grbaljske župe iz XVII stoljeća", 1 (1950), pp. 23–50 (twenty-four plates); N. Filipović, "Nekoliko dokumenata o trgovini za vrijeme turske vladavine u našim zemljama", 2 (1951), pp. 57–81; *idem*, "Sedam dokumenata iz kodeksa br. 1 Orijentalnog Instituta u Sarajevu", 3–4 (1952–53), pp. 437–54; M. A. Mujić, "Jedna bujuruldija Husejin-bega Gradaščevića", 2 (1951), pp. 195–99. *See* also B. Đurđev, "Kanun-nama za bosanski, hercegovački i zvornički sandžak iz 1539 godine", *Istorisko-Pravni Zbornik*, 2, iii–iv (1950), pp. 227–40; F. Spaho, "Turski rudarski zakoni", *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja*, 25 (1913), pp. 133–94; V. Skarić, "Turski agrarni zakonici za sandžake Bosnu i Hercegovinu od godine 1074", *ibid.*, 46 (1934), pp. 107–11; B. Đurđev, "Požeska kanun-nama iz 1545 godine", *ibid.*, N. S. 1 (1946), pp. 129–38; *idem*, "Sremska kanun-nama iz 1588–9 godine", *ibid.*, N. S. 4–5 (1949), pp. 269–83; N. Filipović, "Jedna kanun-nama zvorničkog sandžaka", *ibid.*, N. S. 3 (1948), pp. 223–34; H. Hadžibegić, "Bosanska kanun-nama iz 1565 godine", *ibid.*, N. S. 3 (1948), pp. 201–22; *idem*, "Kanun-nama sultana Sulejmana Zakonodavca iz prvih godina njegove vlade", *ibid.*, N. S. 4–5 (1949), pp. 295–382.

The Institute of Macedonian History in Skoplje has also published Turkish documents in *Turski dokumenti za Makedonskata istorija* (Skopje), vols. 1 (1800–03) (1951); 2 (1803–08) (1953); 3 (1809–17) (1955); 4 (1818–27) (1957); and 5 (1827–38) (1958). This work consists essentially of translations of the *sicil*s of the *kadı*s of Bitola (Manastir). These *sicil*s form a part of a collection of such documents running from 1607 to 1912, and contain much valuable data concerning the economic, legal and social conditions of the popu-

[89] These translations are based on the edition of Ö. L. Barkan, which appeared in his *XV ve XVI-ıncı asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve malî esasları, Birinci cilt, Kanunlar* (İstanbul, 1945), pp. 395–99 and 401 respectively.

lation of Macedonia under the regime of the Ottomans. Unfortunately only in a few instances does the publication include transcriptions of the original texts. A few of the documents are given in poor facsimiles, and the external form of the work also leaves much to be desired. The translations were accomplished by P. Dzhambovski and Arif Starov.

Other materials pertaining to the history of Macedonia, available in the archives in Istanbul, were published in *Makedonija vo XVI i XVII vek. Dokumenti od tsarigradskite arkhivi (1557–1645)* (Skopje, 1955). The introduction and editorial comments for this work were contributed by D. Šopov. The work consists of 142 pages and seventy facsimiles (*see* review by B. A. Tsvetkova, "Izdanija na turski dokumenti v Narodna Republika Makedonija", *Istoricheski Pregled* (Sofiia), 12, iii (1956), pp. 88–95).

For a general discussion of the publication of Turkish documents in Yugoslavia, consult also the articles by J. Kabrda, "Les études orientales en Yougoslavie, (L'activité de l'Institut Oriental à Sarajevo)", *AO*, 25 (1957), pp. 146–55; and "Rozwój orientalistyki w Jugosławii", *PO*, 22 (1957), pp. 197–200. Recently S. Bajraktarević treated a court document dealing with the rebellion of Makarska of 1621, "Jedan značajan turski dokumenat o pobuni u Makarskoj g. 1621", *Zbornik historijskog instituta Jugoslavenske akademije*, 2 (1959), pp. 69–74.

II

PALEOGRAPHY

1. WRITING MATERIALS

The following materials were used for writing in the Muslim East:

a. Paper manufactured from papyrus (L. *cyperus papyrus, papyrus antiquorum*), commonly called (including the whole roll):

قرطاس *qirṭās*, sometimes *qarṭās* or *qurṭās* (Gr. χάρτης). *Qirṭās* was used in the Chancery of the Caliphs and in the provinces of the Caliphate. For some time it was produced in Egypt, but in A.D. 836 the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim established a factory in Samarra, employing workmen transferred from Egypt. The use of *qirṭās* slowly disappeared between the tenth and eleventh centuries.

ورق القصب *waraq al-qaṣab*, or ورق آبادی *waraq ābādī*. It was greatly used in Egypt and Mesopotamia down to the eleventh century of the Christian era.

For paper from papyrus, *see*:

V. A. Krachkovskaĭa–I. Ĭu. Krachkovskiĭ, "Drevneĭshiĭ arabskiĭ dokument iz Sredneĭ Azii", *Sogd. Sbornik* (Leningrad, 1934), pp. 52–90; *V. Beliaev, "Arabskie papirusy", *Sbornik AN SSSR*, 1934; A. Grohmann, "Ḳirṭās", *EI*, Suppl. (1936), pp. 117–18; *idem*, *Allgemeine Einführung in die arabischen Papyri nebst Grundzügen der arabischen Diplomatik* (Wien, 1924), pp. 21–64; A. Bataille, *Les papyrus* (Paris, 1955); H. H. 'Abdalwahhāb, "al-Bardī wa-'l-Raq wa-'l-Kāġid fī Ifrīqiya at-Tunisiya", *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes*, 2 (1956), pp. 34–45. The story of the use of paper by the Arabs has also been treated by G. Jacob, *Der Einfluß des Morgenlands auf das Abendland vornehmlich während des Mittelalters* (Hannover, 1924), pp. 29–36.

b. Leather, called جلد *jild*. Leather was used in the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, and Persia. Sheep or calf leather was usually used, but sometimes that of other animals such as camels and antelopes.

c. Parchment, called رقّ *raqq* or *riqq*, رقّ عجل *raqq-e ejl*, later also called قرطاس *qirṭās*, ورق *waraq* and *jild*. Leather and parchment originated in Persia, and the tanners introduced them into Egypt.

d. Paper made of textiles, of the bark of the mulberry tree, and possibly also of other plants, called ورق *waraq* or كاغد *kāġid*. After the discontinuation of the manufacture of papyrus, paper from other sources was also called قرطاس *qirṭās*.

Invented in China, paper reached the countries of the Caliphate in the eighth century of our era. It was brought there by Chinese prisoners who were kept in Samarkand. The Arabs perfected its manufacture and contributed to its introduction into Sicily and Spain, from where it spread over the rest of Europe. Paper was in common use in Central Asia (Samarkand). Although paper originally reached Europe from Oriental countries, in later periods the manufacture of high quality paper was discontinued in the East. Ultimately Europe became the supplier of good paper for the needs of the East.

Paper (كاغد *kāġid*, Turkish *kâğıt*) was used for the composition of Ottoman-Turkish and Crimean, as well as Persian documents during the period treated in the present book. Two kinds of paper were used; one yellow, brittle and less durable, and another white, stiffer and thicker. The latter was used more frequently, but for correspondence with foreign monarchs the first kind of paper was preferred as indicating more respect. Traceable watermarks indicate that this paper was usually imported from abroad, especially from Italy.

Concerning the manufacture of paper, *see*: J. von Karabacek, "De Involutio im arabischen Schriftwesen", *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 135, v (Wien, 1896), *idem*, "Das arabische Papier", *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, 2–3 (1887), pp. 87–178; *idem*, "Neue Quellen zur Papiergeschichte", *op. cit.*, 4 (1888), pp. 75–122; *idem*, "Die arabischen Papyrusprotokolle", *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 161, i (Wien, 1909), pp. 19–20 (on the works of Karabacek consult *H. Bockwitz, *Zu Karabaceks Forschungen über das Papier im islamischen Kulturkreise* (Leipzig, 1940)); F. Babinger, "Das Archiv des Bosniaken ʿOs̱mân Paša", *MSOSW*, 34 (1931), pp. 25–33; *idem*, *Zur Ge-*

schichte der Papiererzeugung in Osmanischen Reiche (Berlin, 1931); *idem*, "Appunti sulle cartiere e sull'importazione di carta nell'Impero Ottomano specialmente da Venezia", *OM*, 11 (1931), pp. 406–15 (*Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante, I* (München, 1962), pp. 22–23); **idem*, "Papierhandlung und Papierbereitung in der Levante", *Wochenblatt für Papierfabrikation*, No. 52, 62 (1931); L. Fekete, *Einführung*, pp. X–XII; A. Geiher and C. J. Lamm, *Orientalische Briefumschläge in schwedischem Besitz* (Stockholm, 1944). On the subject of watermarks, *see* V. A. Mošin and S. M. Traljić, *Filigranes des XIII^e et XIV^e ss*, 2 vols. (Zagreb, 1957).

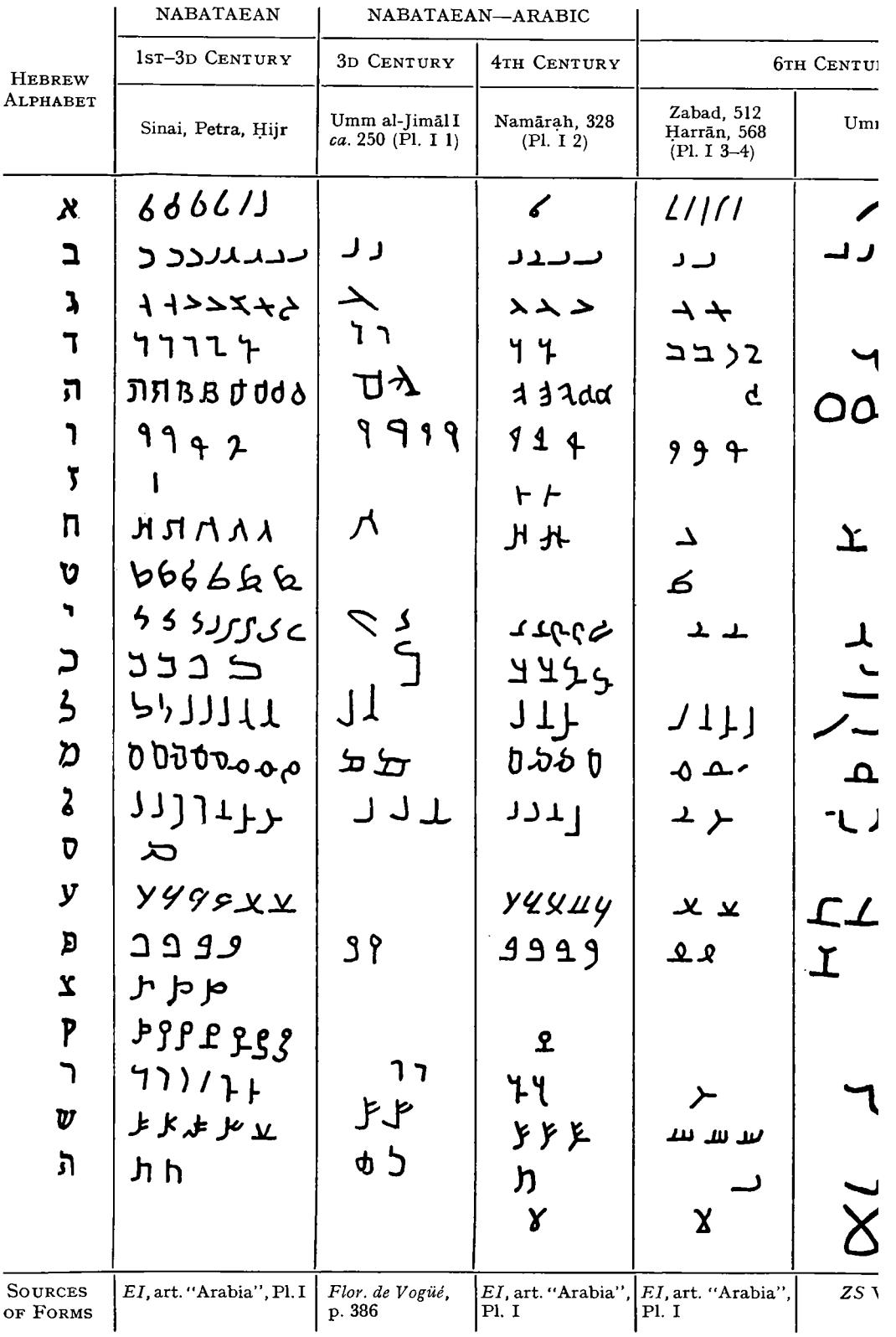
2. WRITING IMPLEMENTS

In earlier periods of the Muslim East there were various kinds of writing pens made of various materials, among others of camel bones. In later periods, however, a special type of reed pen was introduced, called قامش قلم *kamış kalem* (*kalem* < Gr. κάλαμος) in Turkish. This pen was pointed with a special knife called قلمتراش *kalemtraş*.

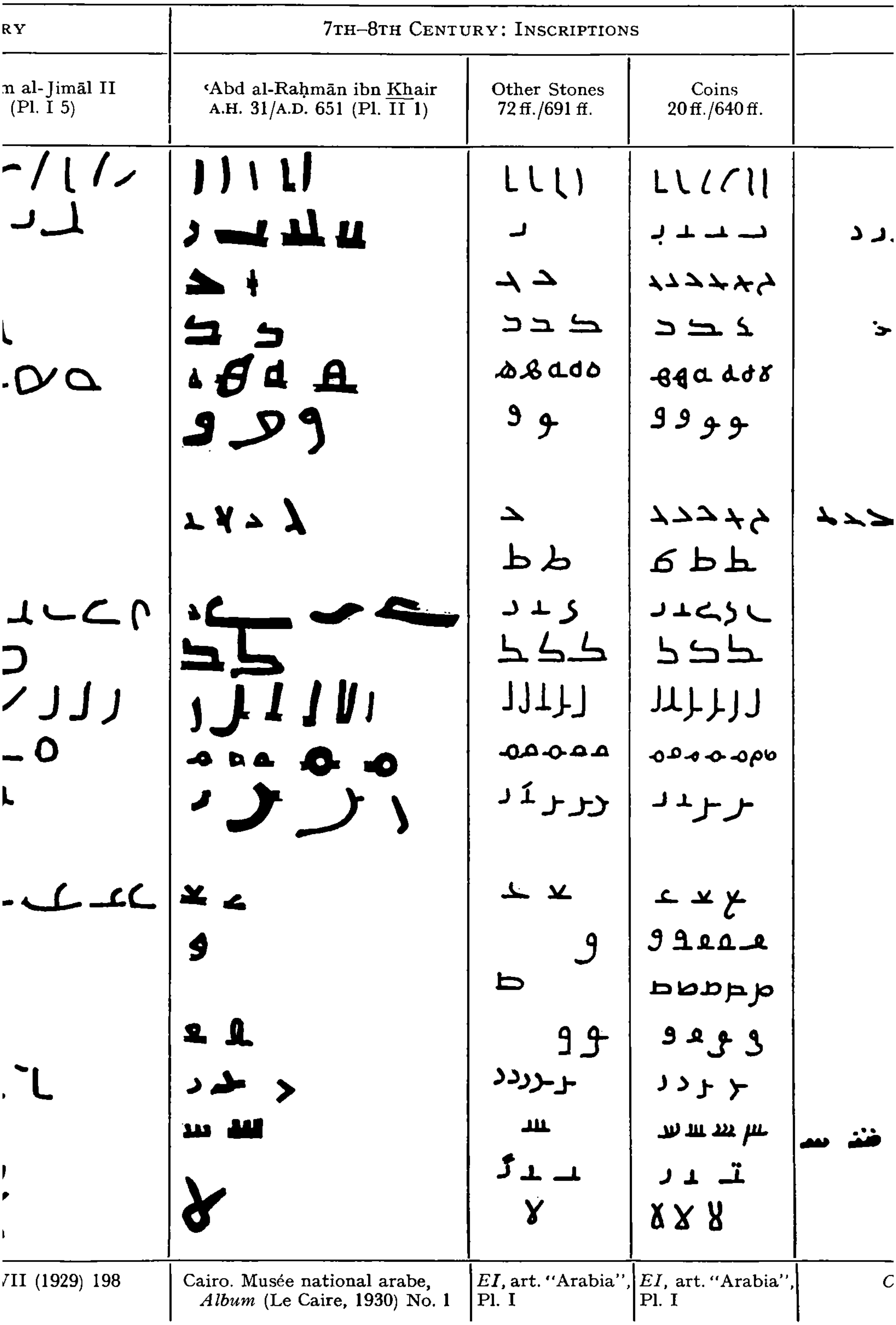
Black fluid, مركّب *mürekkep*, was used as ink. It was made according to special formulas from black nuts, vinegar, water, a little *atramentum* and gum Arabic. Colors were also used, *i.e.*, gold, light blue, maroon, and red. The ink was kept in a small porcelain container, حقّه *hokka*, in which was placed a piece of some material which absorbed the liquid. The pen was not dipped into the ink; instead it was moistened with the piece of cloth. Sometimes a little gold powder was added to the ink in order to intensify the color of the script.

3. THE ARABIC SCRIPT AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

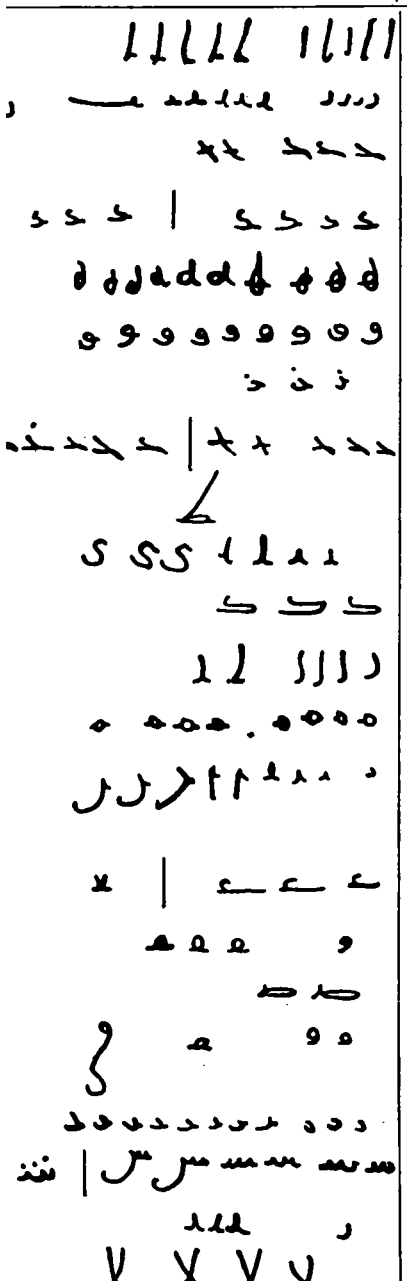
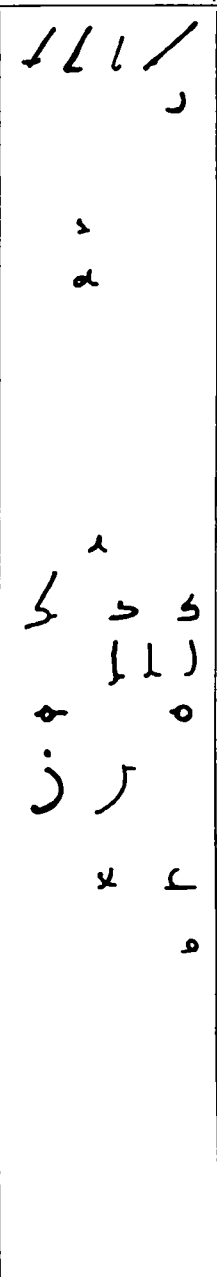
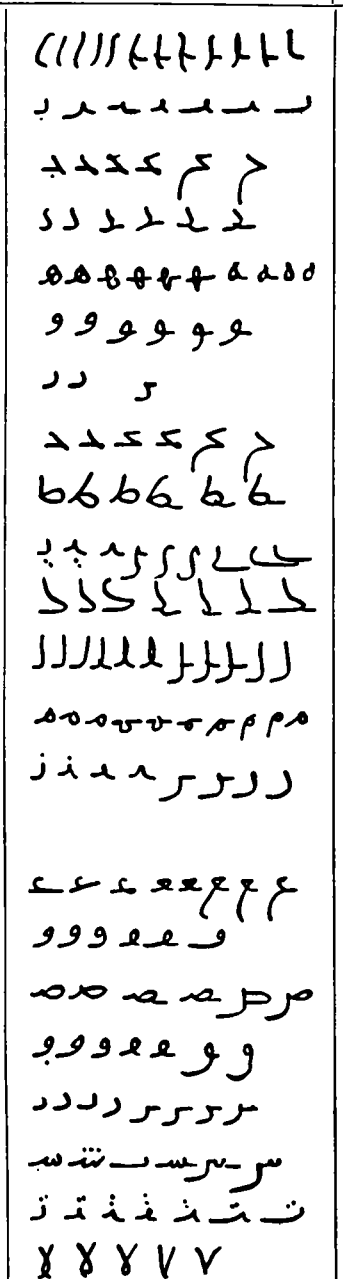
Most Muslim documents were written in the Arabic script. The Arabic script developed from the same family as other Semitic alphabets: Phoenician, Syrian, and Nabatean. Nabatean, which preceded the development of the Arabic script, constituted an important link with it (*see* Illus. 1).



Hebrew Alphabet	Nabataean	Nabataean—Arabic			
	1st–3d Century	3d Century	4th Century	6th Centu	
	Sinai, Petra, Ḥijr	Umm al-Jimāl I *ca.* 250 (Pl. I 1)	Namārah, 328 (Pl. I 2)	Zabad, 512 Ḥarrān, 568 (Pl. I 3–4)	Umm
א					
ב					
ג					
ד					
ה					
ו					
ז					
ח					
ט					
י					
כ					
ל					
מ					
נ					
ס					
ע					
פ					
צ					
ק					
ר					
ש					
ת					
Sources of Forms	*EI*, art. "Arabia", Pl. I	*Flor. de Vogüé*, p. 386	*EI*, art. "Arabia", Pl. I	*EI*, art. "Arabia", Pl. I	*ZS* V



ustration 1. Development of the Arabic Alphabet from the Third to the Eight Century after Christ.
(From N. Abbot's *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, Chicago, 1939)

7th–8th Century: Papyri			Arabic Alphabe
PERF No. 558 22/643 (Pl. IV)	*PER* Inv. Ar. P. 49 *ca.* 30/650	Others	
			ا ب ج د ه و ز ح ط ى ك ل م ن ع ف ص ق ر ش ت لا
CPR III, Bd. I, Teil 2, p. xxii	*CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 2, p. xxii	*EI*, art. "Arabia", Pl. I	

For the story of the Arabic script consult: H. Jensen, *Geschichte der Schrift* (Hannover, 1925); chapter on Arabia in *EI*, 1913 edition (pp. 381–93, ten plates), and under *Khaṭṭ* in the new edition; V. A. Krachkovskaîâ, "K voprosu ob alfavitnom pis'me", *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 5 (1951), pp. 5–9; V. Georgiev, "Proiskhozhdenie alfavita", *Voprosy ÎAzykoznaniîâ*, 1952, vi, pp. 48–83; N. Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script* ... (Chicago, 1939); S. Strelcyn, "Obecny stan badań nad pochodzeniem alfabetu fenickiego", *PO*, 4 (1952), pp. 3–33; M. Cohen, *L'écriture* (Paris, 1953).

In Ottoman-Turkish diplomatic documents the Arabic script shows a number of variants. These are called types, kinds, variations, or graphic styles, also *ductus* after the Latin fashion, or simply various scripts. The occurrence of a particular script corresponds more or less to the occurrence of a particular style of writing such as *antiqua* (roman), *cursive* (italic), and *Gothic* (black letter), in the documents and monuments of Western Europe.

The *kūfī* (Turkish *kûfi*) script is one of the oldest types of Arabic script (*see* Illus. 2). It was probably developed in the second and third centuries of our era out of the cursive Nabatean script. It was used for monument inscriptions, and was executed on hard materials, as, for instance, tombstones. For that reason the chief characteristic of the *kūfī* script is the angular shape of its letters. The oldest

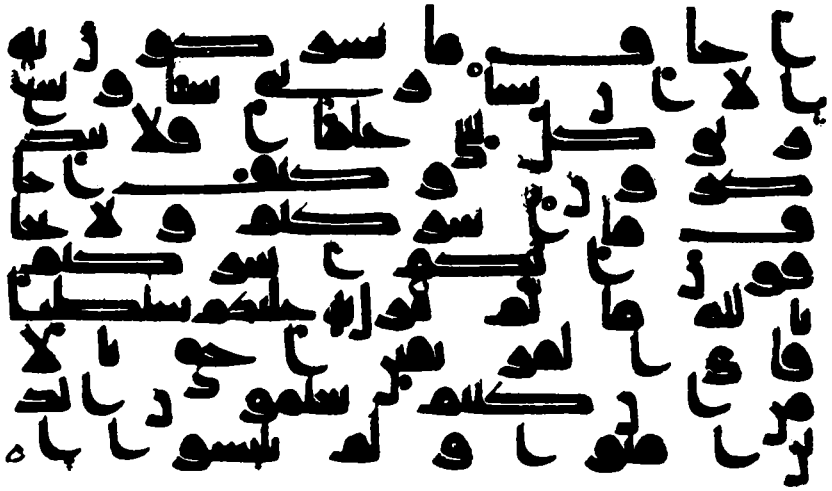


Illustration 2. *Kûfi* script

(From A. J. Arberry's *Specimens of Arabic and Persian Palaeography*, London, 1939)

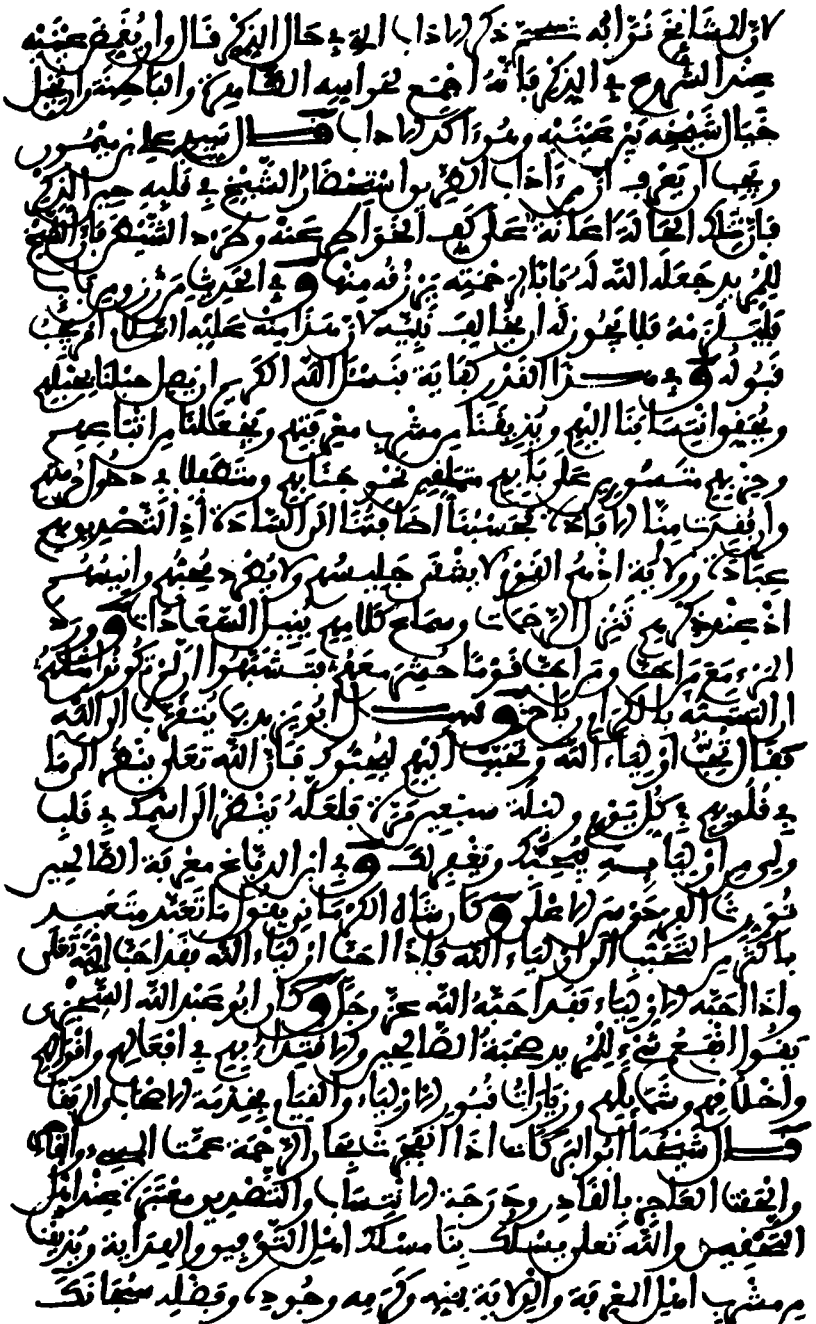


Illustration 3. *Maġribī* script

(From A. J. Arberry's *Specimens of Arabic and Persian Palaeography*, London, 1939)

known examples of *kūfī* are the inscriptions of Zabad (A.D. 512) and Harrān (A.D. 568). *Kūfī* script went through its greatest efflorescence in the tenth to twelfth centuries.

This script usually appeared on the Muslim coins of that period, and they are therefore often called *kūfī* coins. These coins have been found even in Poland; *see* J. Lelewel, "Objaśnienie trzech pieniędzy kufickych sammanidów w zbiorze królewskiego warszawskiego przyjaciół nauk towarzytwa znajdujących się" in the tenth volume of *Polska, dzieje i rzeczy jéj* (Poznań, 1863); *M. Gumowski, *Wykopaliska monet polskich w X i XI wieku* (Kraków, 1905); R. Jakimowicz, "Jakiemi drogami przyszły monety kufickie do Polski", in *Pamiętnik IV powszechnego Zjazdu historyków polskich w Poznaniu 6–8 grudnia 1925*, section 6, part a (Lwów, 1925), (reviewed by W. Kotwicz in *RO*, 3 (1925), pp. 326–33; and T. Lewicki, "Z dziejów pieniądza arabskiego w Europie wschodniej", *Archeologia*, 3 (1949), pp. 224–29, 436–38).

The *kūfī* script has a number of variations, such as: كوفى عتيق *kûfi-i atîk*, كوفى جچكلى *çiçekli kûfi*, and كوفى شطرنجى *kûfi-i şatranci*. In North Africa *kūfī* script developed into the *maġribī* script (*see* Illus. 3). *Kūfī* script also led to the evolution of the محقّق *muḥaqqaq* script, which in turn brought about the development of the ريحانى *rayḥānī* script. For other varieties of *kūfī* script, *see* A. Grohmann, "The Origin and Early Development of Floriated Kūfic", *Ars Orientalis*, 2 (1957), pp. 183–213, ten plates. *Kūfī* script and its derivatives were not used in the documents treated in the present book. In Ottoman Turkey, *kûfi* script was used exclusively for engraved inscriptions, seals and coins. The *tamğa*s of the Crimean khans were also executed in *kûfi* script.

On the other hand the نسخ *nasḫ* (Turkish *nesih*) script was frequently used. This script also derived from the Nabatean. It was characterised by the rounded shape of its letters (as distinguished from *kūfī*), by a more flowing and simple form, and by lack of ornament (*see* Illus. 4).

It was from this script that there developed in the eighteenth century the type used by printers in Turkey and the Arab countries. The same script served to produce an Arabic script which has been used in Europe from the sixteenth century for printing Oriental texts. A type called نسخ ديوانيسى *nesih divanisi* evolved separately. Another, formal form of *nesih* was اجازت *icazet*. Particularly deco-

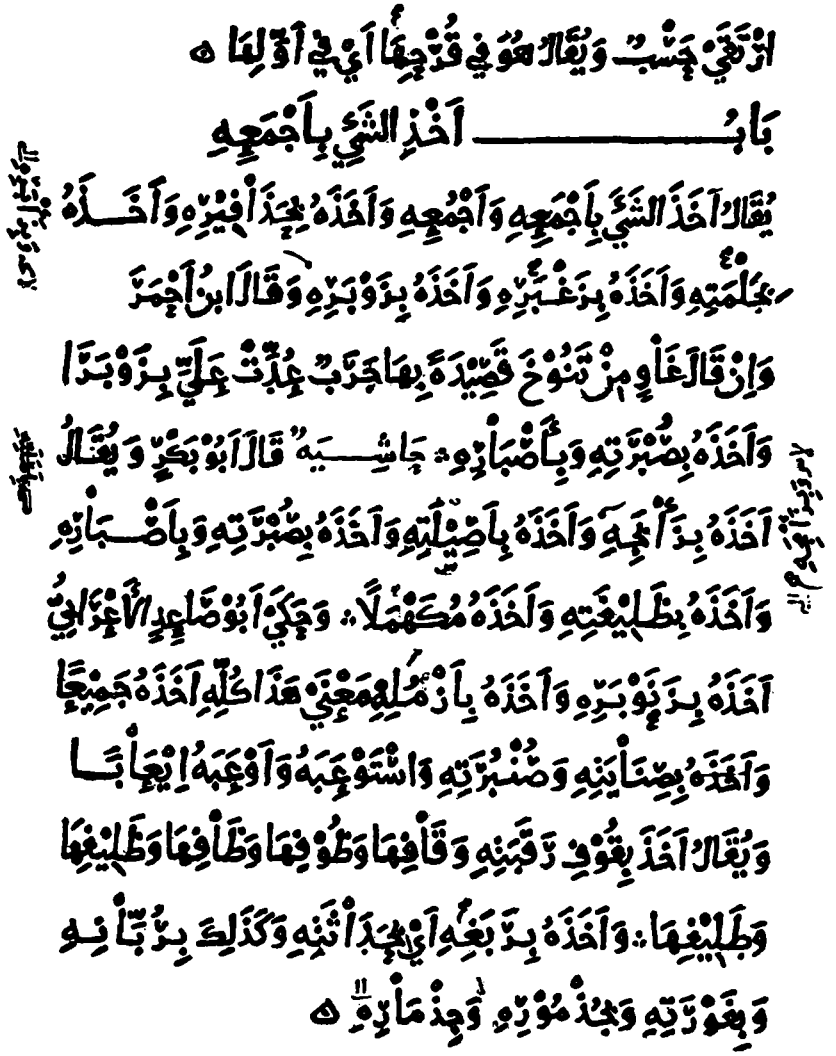


Illustration 4. *Nesih* script

(From A. J. Arberry's *Specimens of Arabic and Persian Palaeography*, London, 1939)

rative and suitable for titles was still another type, *sülüs* ثلث. This script developed from extended *nesih* under the influence of *muḥaqqaq*. It was characterized by great symmetry and proportion in the filling up of space (*see* Illus. 5). Particular letters were placed on different levels, so that they might be evenly distributed.

Sülüs was more formal than *nesih*. It was commonly used by the Ottoman Turks and by the Persians for the execution of various kinds of ornamental texts, inscriptions on tombstones and in mosques. Various religious formulas such as بسمله *besmele* and توحيد *tevhit* were executed in this script. It was also used for the titles of books, and parts of documents and codices. Variants of *sülüs* were جلی ثلث *celi sülüs*, قلن ثلث *kalın sülüs*, آجق ثلث *açık sülüs*, سلجوقی ثلث *Selcuki sülüs*, عثمانلی ثلث *Osmanlı sülüs* and جفته *jaftah* (this last was used chiefly in Persia).



Illustration 5. *Sülüs* script

In Persia the fusion of *kūfī* and Middle-Persian (*Pahlavi*) scripts produced the style تعليق *ta'liq*. It reached the climax of its development under the Safavid dynasty in Persia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This was the Persian script *par excellence*. The main characteristic of the script was that it was not written on even regular lines and that certain elements of particular letters were superimposed on each other (*see* Illus. 6).

A fusion of the *ta'līq* with the *nasḫ* produced a script called نستعليق *nasta'liq* (*see* Illus. 7).

The type of script called by the Turks *talik* was really the *nasta'liq* of the Persians, *i.e.*, a combination of *ta'līq* and *nasḫ;* the script the Ottomans called *nestalik* was in reality a variation of the Ottoman *talik*, closely related to *nesih*. This script was widely used in religious documents. For instance, Ottoman-Turkish *fetva*s were written in Ottoman *talik*, *i.e.*, Persian *nasta'liq*. Beginning with Ahmet III (1703–30) this script was used also for inscriptions on fountain stones, on wells, on stones near water springs, as well as on seals.

Apart from *ta'liq*, the Persians used a special type of script called شكسته *shekastah*, and in Turkey called *kırma* (*see* Illus. 8). It looked like a cursive with very loose ligatures, with elimination of identa-

tions and other details in particular letters. This script was rather difficult to read. It was frequently used for the writing of bills. Even today it is still used in commercial correspondence in Persia.

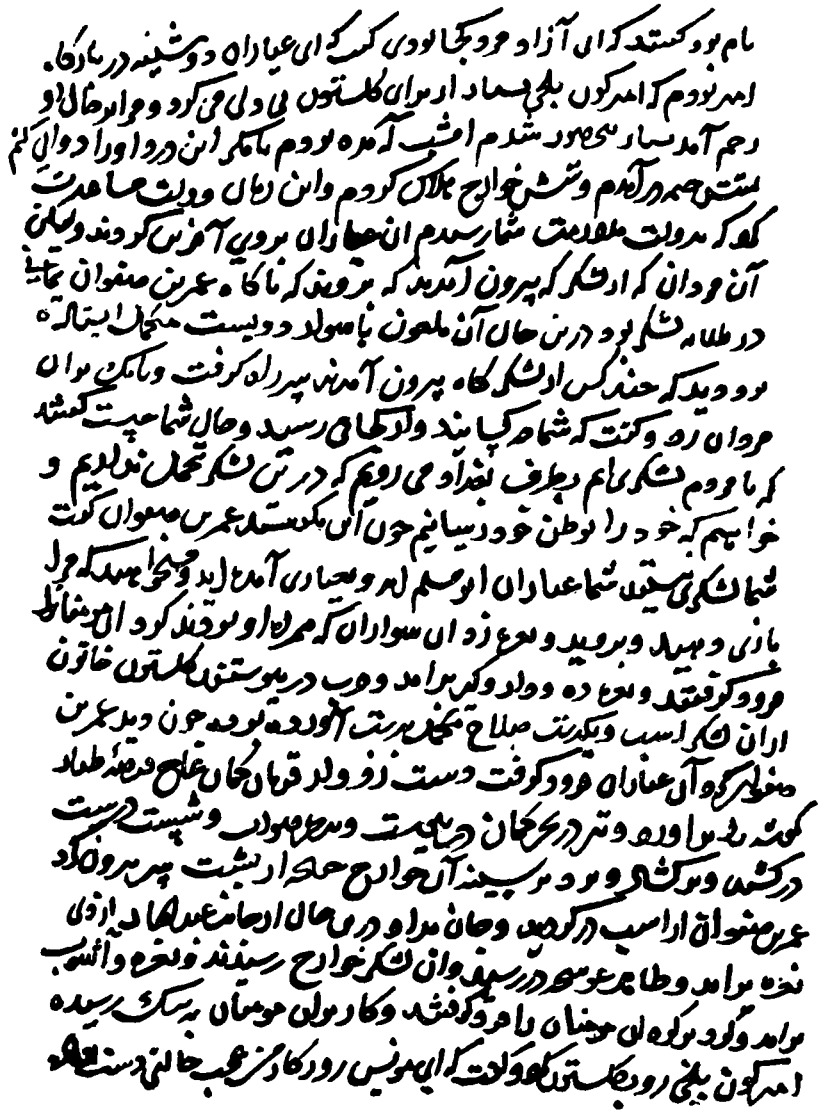


Illustration 6. Persian *ta'liq* script

(From A. J. Arberry's *Specimens of Arabic and Persian Palaeography*, London, 1939)

The special ديوانى *divani* type of script was evolved in Turkey for administrative purposes. It was somewhat similar to *nesih*, but it was more decorative and elaborated, and its letters were distributed on different levels (*see* Illus. 9).

In most formal documents such as the *ahitnames* (treaty documents) and *name-i hümayuns* (imperial letters), a special, highly ornamental type of *divani* script was used, called ديوانى جليسى *divani celisi*.

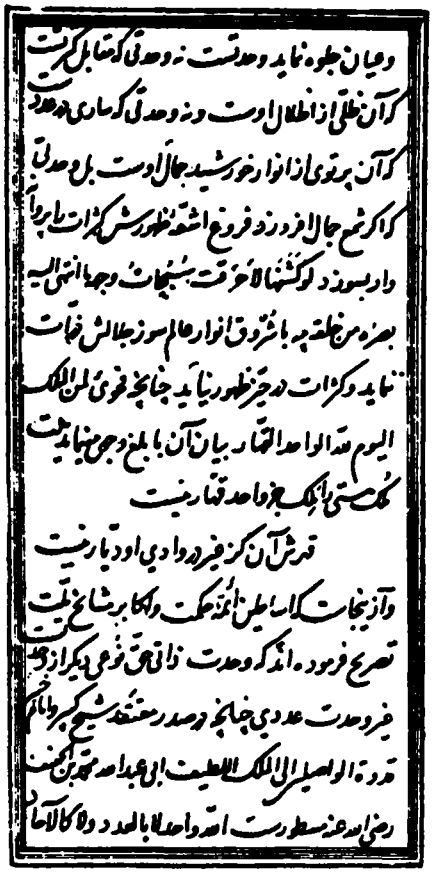


Illustration 7. Persian *nasta'liq* (Ottoman *talik*) script.

(From A. J. Arberry's *Specimens of Arabic and Persian Palaeography*, London, 1939)

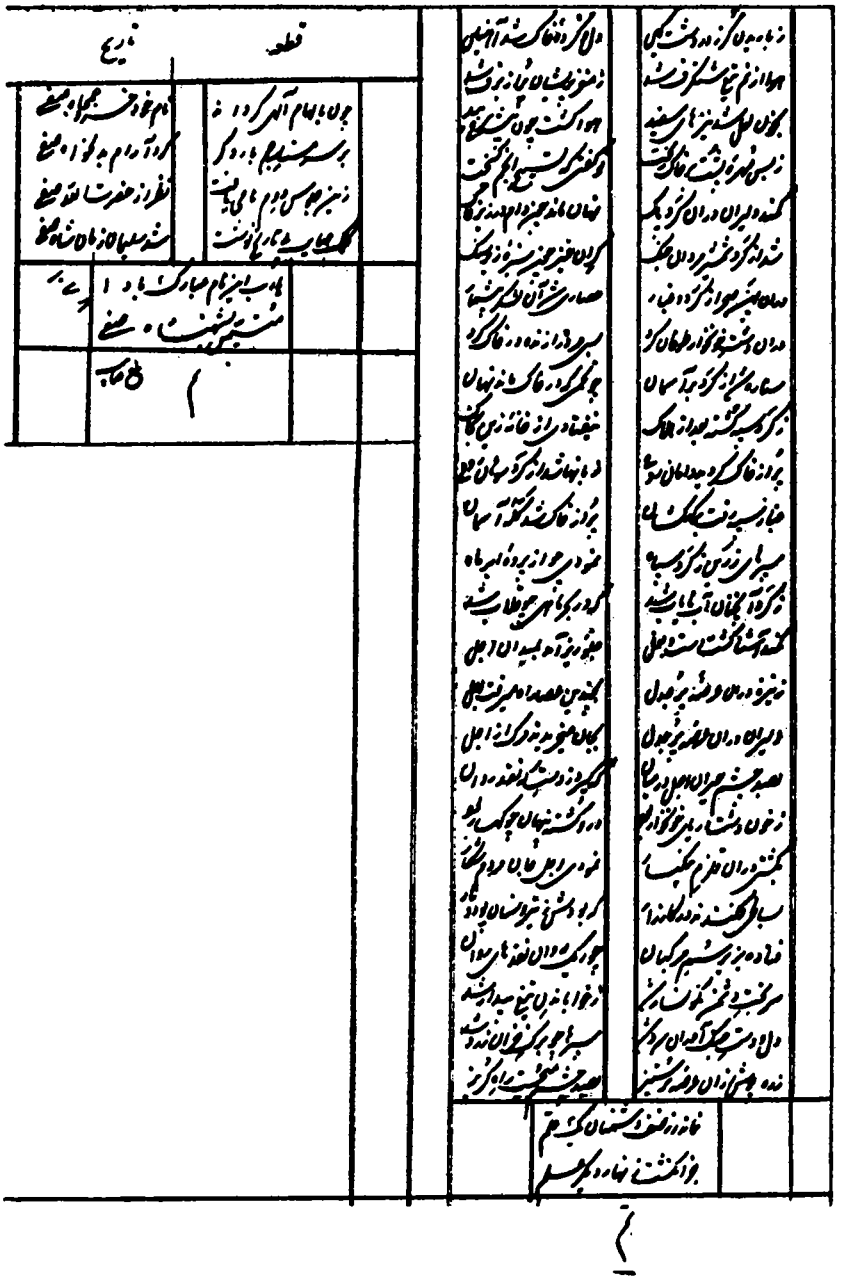


Illustration 8. *Shekastah* script.

(From A. J. Arberry's *Specimens of Arabic and Persian Palaeography*, London, 1939)

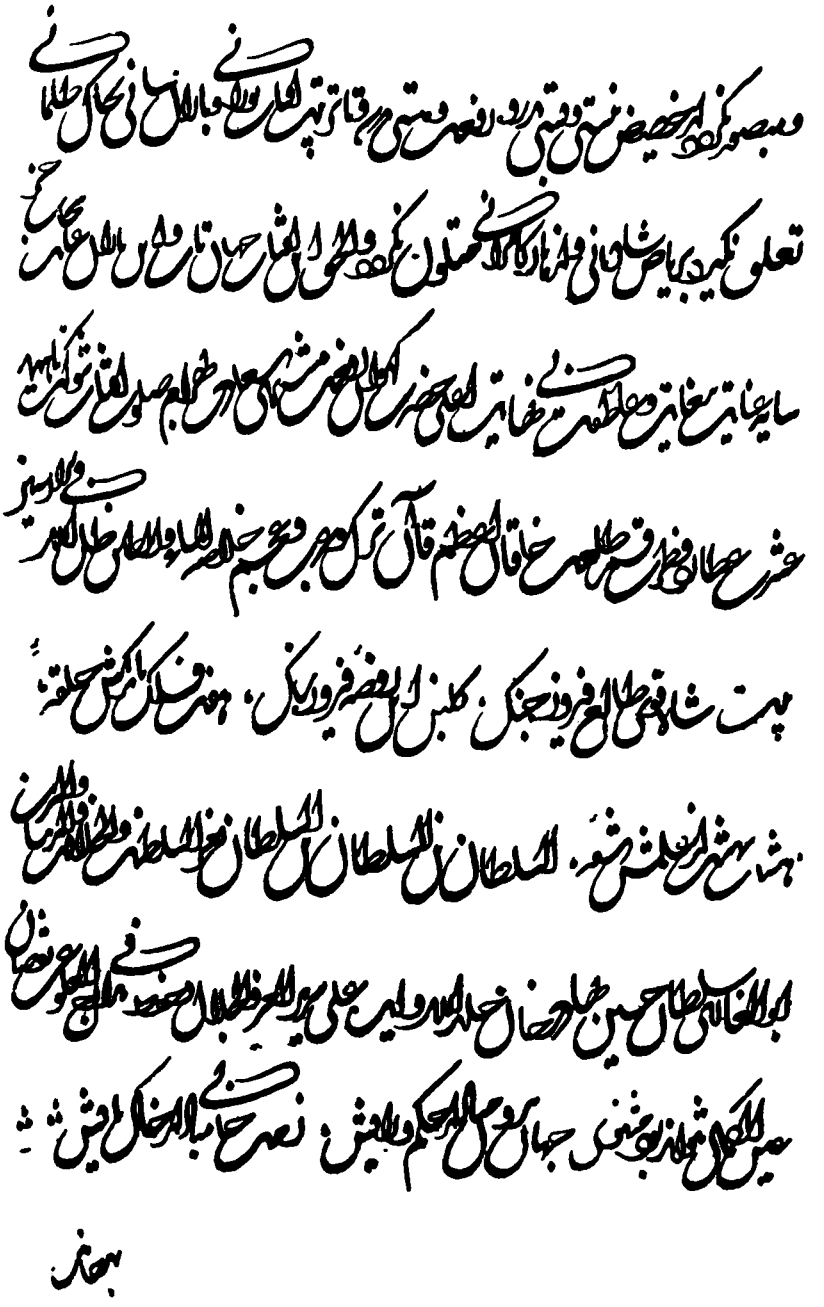


Illustration 9. *Divani* script

(From A. J. Arberry's *Specimens of Arabic and Persian Palaeography*, London, 1939)

A combination of the *divani* with the *talik* resulted in the evolution of the *divani celisi* script, and that of the *divani* with the *kırma* in the *kırma divani* script.

Finally there was a script called رقعه *rika*, which may be regarded as a kind of Arabic cursive. In use since the fifteenth century, it spread chiefly in Ottoman-Turkish territories. *Rika* served for writing notes and drafts, for jotting down suggestions, and for composing less important documents. It was not used for more formal occasions. Until more recent periods it seems to have performed the function of the cursive. It showed a tendency towards eliminating the details in the drawing of letters. One needs considerable experience to read this script (*see* Illus. 10).

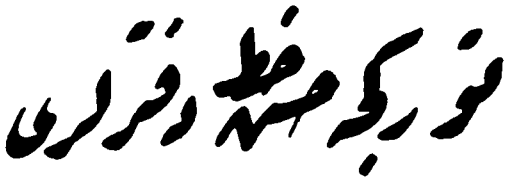


Illustration 10. *Rika* script

Independently of the scripts used in the East, several types developed from the *maġribī* script in North Africa. This script was used in the documents of the rulers of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria, and has been preserved in Venice, Dubrovnik, etc. (*see* Illus. 3).

Frequently intermediate graphic styles were evolved. Pure types of script appear only in documents and very neat codices.

Apart from documents written in Arabic script, many Imperial Ottoman letters addressed to European rulers or Christian tributaries were composed in the Turkish language but were written in Latin or Greek characters. Some documents were not written in Turkish but in any of various other languages, which then performed the function of a *lingua franca*. Such documents, however, usually included certain Turkish expressions and always the imperial *tuğra*. A number of such documents written in the Greek language and alphabet between 1450 and 1481 were included in the publication of F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. 3 (Vienna, 1865). Turkish documents in the Greek language were also discussed by E. Dalleggio D'Alessio, "Le texte grec du traité conclu par les Génois de Galata avec Mehmed II le 1er juin 1453", *Hellenika*, 11 (1939), 115–124; by F. Babinger and F. Dölger,

"Mehmed's II. frühester Staatsvertrag (1446)", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 15 (1949), pp. 225–58, one plate (for *addenda, see, Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 43 (1950), pp. 77, and 267–71); by A. Bombaci, "Il 'Liber Graecus', un cartolario veneziano comprendente inediti documenti ottomani in greco (1481–1504)", *Westöstliche Abhandlungen, Rudolf Tschudi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag* ... (Wiesbaden, 1954), pp. 288–303; *idem*, "Nuovi firmani greci di Maometto II", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 47 (1954), pp. 298–319, one plate. *See* also *idem*, "Due clausole del trattato in greco fra Maometto II e Venezia, del 1446", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 43 (1950), pp. 267–71: M. Marković, "Jedan grčki ferman sultana Mehmeda II El Fatiha", *Istoriski Časopis*, 4 (1952–53), pp. 1–8.

In their letters addressed to the rulers of the Balkan territories, the sultans often used Church Slavonic written in the Cyrillic alphabet. Such was the case of a letter written by Mehmet II to the ruler of Moldavia, preserved in the Archives of Warsaw and published by *F. Babinger, "Cel dintâi bir al Moldovei către sultan", *Fraților Alexandru și Ion I. Lăpădatu la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani. XIV. IX. MCMXXXVI* (București, 1936), pp. 29–37. Sometimes the language in the letters resembled Serbian (also executed in Cyrillic characters), *e.g.*, in the document containing the text of a treaty concluded in 1498 by Bayezit II with the Hungarian king, Ladislas II. This document was first published by R. A. Hodinka in the *Šišićev Zbornik* (Zagreb, 1929, pp. 635–39) and subsequently by V. Ćorović, "Der Friedensvertrag zwischen dem Sultan Bayazid II. und dem König Ladislaus II.", *ZDMG*, 90 (1936), pp. 52–59. Also a number of documents pertaining to Hungary, Dubrovnik, and other places were written in Cyrillic characters. A special work dealing with the use of the Serbian Church Slavonic language by the Ottoman Chancery was contributed by *M. Kostić, *Serbian as a diplomatic language of South Eastern Europe* (Skoplje, 1924) (in Serbian).

In those parts of Hungary which were occupied by the Ottomans, Turkish administration partially resorted to the Hungarian language; *see* S. Takáts, F. Eckhart and Gy. Szekfű, *A budai basák magyar nyelvű levelezése, I, 1553–1589* (Budapest, 1915). Some letters were written in Italian, Armenian, Ruthenian, and even in Polish, *e.g.*, the letters of the khans to Swedish kings; *see* K. V. Zetterstéen, *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv* (Uppsala, 1945). There are also instances of documents composed in some of these languages but written in the Arabic alphabet.

The Turkish language was used by Persian shahs in their correspondence with Europe; *e.g.*, a letter of one of the Persian shahs to one of the Polish kings, preserved in the Main Archives of Warsaw and registered under No. 11, was written in Turkish; another such letter written in Turkish was that sent by Shāh Hosein to Augustus II, King of Poland. This last document was published by L. Fekete, "İran şahlarının iki Türkçe mektubu", *TM*, 5 (1935), pp. 273–74.

Arabic manuscripts were frequently illuminated with colored ornamentation. In Turkish documents there was a tendency to write paragraphs deserving distinction in colored inks of gold, light blue, maroon, and red. *Tuğras* especially were written in various colors, as well as the paragraphs mentioning the name of the sultan and that of Allah. The seal of the viziers was also painted in gold in foreign correspondence. Colored script appears in the formal writings of the sultans, less frequently in those of the grand viziers, and quite rarely in the letters of minor officials.

Calligraphy in the Muslim East was regarded as a special, highly respected art. History has preserved the memory of many calligraphers; most renowned were those credited with certain calligraphical reforms or with the creation of new types of script. Prior to the introduction of the printing press in Turkey, the guilds of calligraphers constituted powerful associations, often influencing the life of the society.

Concerning the Arabic script, calligraphy, and scribes, consult: F. J. A. Herbin, *Dévelloppemens des principes de la langue arabe moderne, suivis ... d'un Essai de Calligraphie orientale* (Paris, 1803); B. Dorn, "Die berühmtesten muhammedanischen Schönschreiber", *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 10 (1853), pp. 65–75; Rüştü Bey, *Nuhbet-ül-atfal* (İstanbul, 1274); Ebüzziya Tevfik, *Hatt ve hattatan* (İstanbul, 1305); Müstakimzade Süleyman Sadeddin Efendi, *Tuhfet-i hattatin* (İstanbul, 1928); C. Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman* (Paris, 1908); A. Takáts, "Ungarische und türkische Berufsschreiber im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert", *UJ*, 1 (1921), pp. 204–14; A. J. Arberry, *Specimens of Arabic and Persian Paleography* (London, 1939); *H. Kissling, *Über muslimische Schreiberkunst* (Leipzig, 1940); E. Kühnel, *Islamische Schriftkunst* (Berlin-Leipzig). For Turkish scripts, *see*: İsmail Hakkı [Uzunçarşılı], "Türk yazılarının tetkikine methal", *İlâhiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 2, v–vi (1926), pp. 111–36; M. Yazır, "Eski yazıları okuma anahtarı", *Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü*

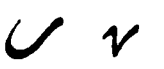
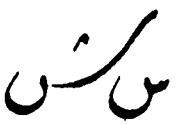
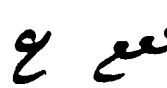
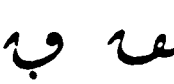
Neşriyatı, B, 4 (İstanbul, 1942). For Arabic diplomatics *see* al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿšā*, 14 vols. (Cairo, 1913–19); B. Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography. A Collection of Arabic Texts from the First Century of the Hidjra till the Year 1000* (Cairo, 1905) (*cf.*, review by J. von Karabacek, "Arabic Palaeography", in *WZKM*, 20, 1906, pp. 131–48). B. N. Zakhoder translated and published a late sixteenth-century Persian treatise about calligraphers and calligraphic styles by Qāḍī Aḥmad Ibrāhīm b. Mīr-Munshī al-Ḥusaynī, *Traktat o kalligrafakh i khudozhnikakh 1596–1597/1005. Vvedenie, perevod i kommentarii B. N. Zakhodera*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1947. *See* especially p. 63 on *sülüs* script and p. 89 on *taʿlīq* script). *See* also **Obraztsy kalligrafii Irana i Sredneĭ Azii XV–XIX vv.*, compiled by G. Kostigova, edited by A. Boldirev and A. Troitskaîa (Moskva, 1961).

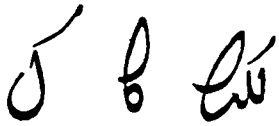
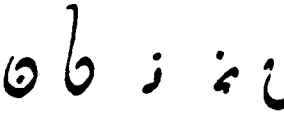
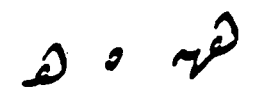
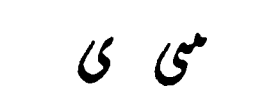
4. TYPES OF SCRIPT USED IN OTTOMAN DOCUMENTS

The modern manual of paleography composed for Turkish students by M. Yazır, "Eski yazıları okuma anahtarı" in *Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı*, B, 4 (İstanbul, 1942), lists nineteen kinds of script:

1. *Sülüs* ثلث or *sülsi* ثلثی
2. *Sülüs kırması* ثلث قیرمه‌سی
3. *Muhakkak* محقّق
4. *Reyhani* ریحانی
5. *İnce reyhani* انجه ریحانی
6. *Tevki* توقیع
7. *Neshî* نسخی
8. *İnce neshî* انجه نسخی
9. *Neshî kırması* نسخی قیرمه سی
10. *Divani* دیوانی
11. *Celi divani* جلی دیوانی
12. *İnce divani* انجه دیوانی
13. *Divani kırması* دیوانی قیرمه‌سی
14. *Talik* تعلیق
15. *İnce talik* انجه تعلیق
16. *Talik kırması* تعلیق قیرمه‌سی

Illustration 11. Table of *divani* script

Alphabet in divani	*Transcription into* nesih
	ا ا
	بـ ب
	تـ تـ
	حـحـ حـ ج
	د د
	ر ر
	سـ سـ
	سـسـ سـ
	صـ ص
	صـصـ
	طـطـ ط
	عـعـ ع
	فـفـ ف

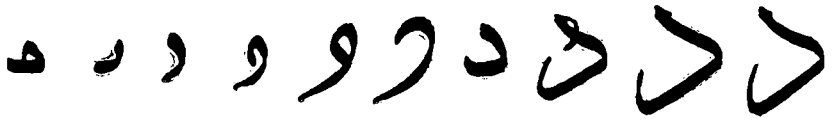
Alphabet in divani	*Transcription into* nesih
	قفق ق
	كككا كا ک
	ككك
	لل ل
	مم م م
	نن ن ن
	وو و و
	هه ه ه
	هه هه
	لا لا
	یی ی

17. *Rika* رقعه
18. *Rika kırması* رقعه قیرمه‌سی
19. *Siyakat* سیاقت

This wealth of paleographic forms may be reduced to six basic types. This is implied even in the terminology which contains several names differing from each other only by the specifications *ince* "thin" or "subtle", *kırma* "broken" or "deformed", etc. In reality they amount to certain sometimes hardly distinguishable variations of the basic types of script. There are thus six basic types:

1. *Sülüs* (ornate script)
2. *Neshî* (ordinary, rounded script)
3. *Divani* (chancery script; *see* Illus. 11 and 12)
4. *Talik* (elongated script, used especially in Persia in poetical writings; *see* Illus. 13, 14 and 15)
5. *Rika* (a kind of cursive; *see* Illus. 16)
6. *Siyakat* (a kind of shorthand, a script without any diacritical marks; *see* Illus. 17).

That these numerous variants sometimes differ only slightly may best be seen by putting them next to each other. Thus Yazır demonstrated the shape of the letter *dal* د in the following 10 variations:



the sequence being: (right to left) *sülüs, reyhani, tevki, neshî, celi divani, divani, ince divani, talik, rika, siyakat.* These can be reduced to six types: namely *sülüs, neshî, divani, talik, rika,* and *siyakat,* as shown below in the *dal*:



The most important script from the standpoint of research in Ottoman-Turkish diplomatics is the *divani* with its different variations. This script differs somewhat from the widely accepted and better known *neshî* script. One of its peculiarities is the shape of the letter *elif*, the bottom part of which ends in a curve on the left side, so that it resembles the letter *lâm*. This script is also referred to as *tevki* (*see* p. 138).

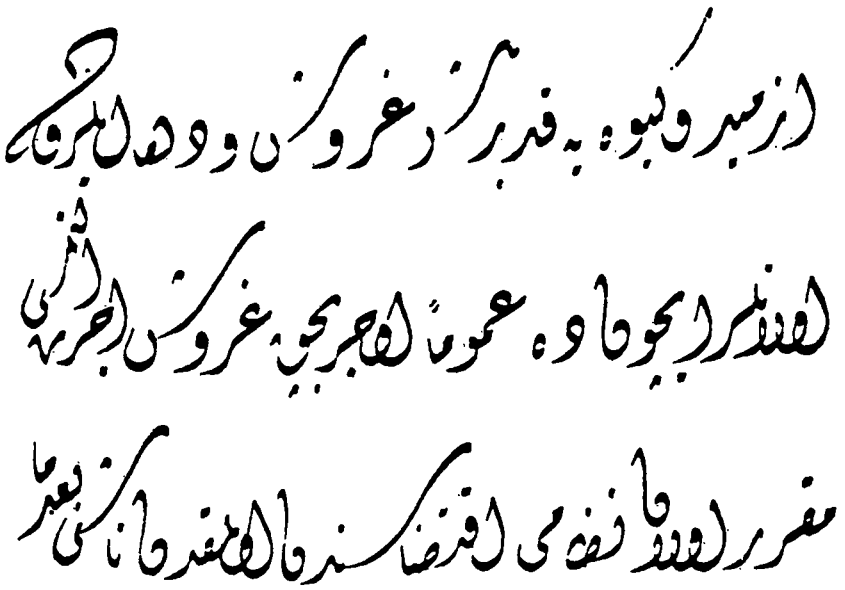


Illustration 12. Example of a text written in *divani* script

ازمید و کیوه‌یه قدر بشر غروش و دها ایلروده اولانلر ایچون ده عموماً اوچر
بچق غروش اجرة النمسی مقرر اولان نظامی اقتضاسندن اولمقدن ناشی بعد ها

"Because of the official regulation which stipulates that a fee of five *kuruş* should be levied as far as Izmit and Geyve, and that for those further on generally [a fee] of three and a half *kuruş* should be levied, henceforth ..."

Many samples of the *divani* script, each with a short commentary, can be found in W. Zimnicki, *Tureckie pismo dīvānī – Ze studiów nad paleografią i dyplomatyką turecką* (Kraków, 1951).

Siyakat script is undoubtedly the most difficult to read. It was used in tax registers, conscription lists, lists of impositions, trade registers, census lists, minutes of meetings, etc., until about 1880. It is characterized by the lack of diacritical marks.

Examples of words in *siyakat*:

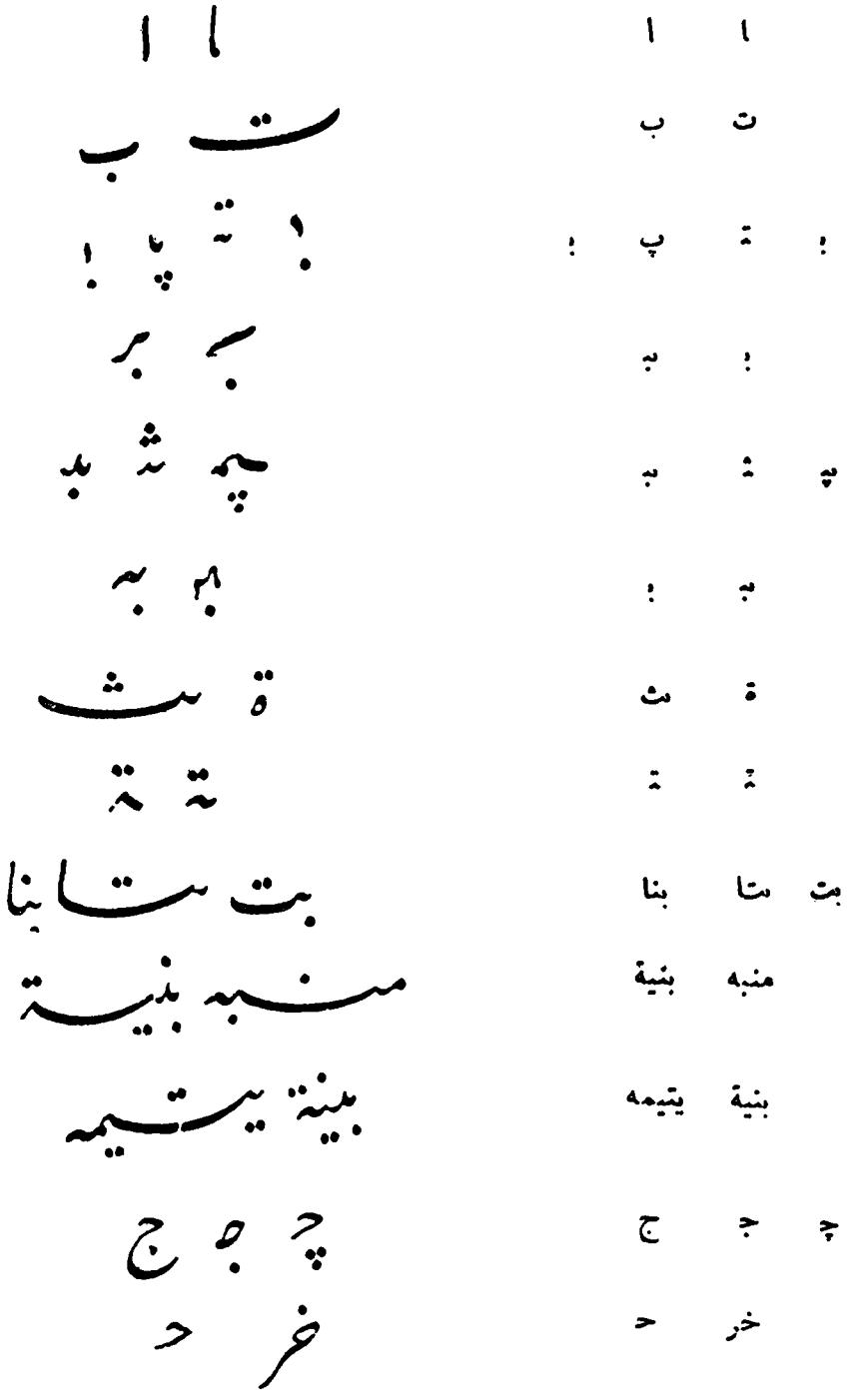
1.  = ولایت سنوب = *Vilâyet-i Sinop*
2.  = حرحی

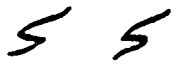
This last word can be read *curcu* or *circi*, *harci* or *cirhi*, because they were all written identically in the *siyakat* script. Similarly

 = حلیل

may be read *halil* or *calil*, and the correct reading cannot be established without the help of the context.

Illustration 13. Table of *talik* script



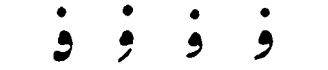
Alphabet in talik	*Transcription into* nesih
	ک ک
	ج
	تج جخ
	در د د
	ر ر
	س س
	ش
	سر س
	سس
	س
	ص
	صر ص
	صصص
	ط ط
	ططط

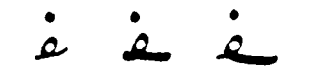
Alphabet in talik







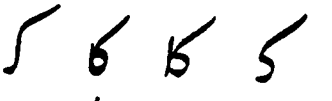


















Transcription into nesih



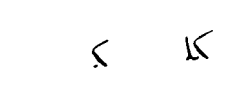








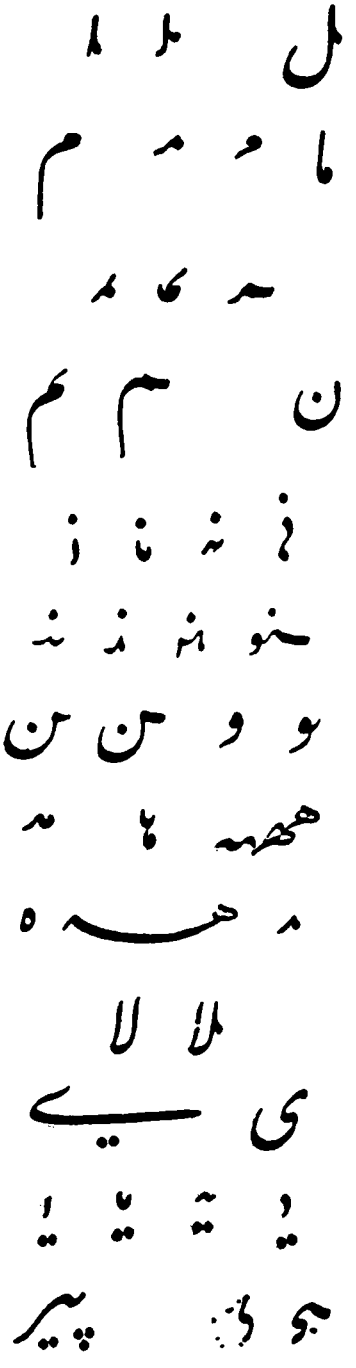








Alphabet in talik



Transcription into nesih

ل ا

ما ه م

ه

ن م

ذ ا

نو بعض ذ

و د ن

هه بعا هـ

ه هـ ه

لا لا

ى ي

يـ ـيـ يا ـيـ

پير

The *siyakat* script was formerly neglected by Turcologists. Only in more recent times has it received adequate treatment; *see* Ahmet Süheyl [Ünver], "Siyakat yazısı ve kuyud-i atîka", *Belediye Mecmuası*, 87 (1931), pp. 88–95; M. Yazır, "Siyakat yazısı", *Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı*, B, 3 (1941). A special work dealing with this script was contributed by the illustrious Hungarian expert in the field of Ottoman diplomatics, L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung* (= *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, 7), 2 vols. (Budapest, 1955). In the introduction the author surveyed in detail the evolution of that script down to its disappearance around 1880. The illustrative material in this work consists of seventy documents from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, with 104 appended plates. Furthermore, a Bulgarian archivist, N. Popov-*Paleografski osobennosti na chislitelnite imena v pismoto siîâkat* (Sofiîâ, 1955), has treated certain peculiarities of the numerals in the *siyakat* script. *See* also S. Elker, *Divan rakamları* (Ankara, 1953), for a detailed analysis of the *siyakat* numbers.

5. ABBREVIATIONS

The texts in Turkish documents usually contained a number of recognized abbreviations. Thus, for instance: ربيعين stood for the two months, *rebiyülevvel* and *rebiyülâhır*. Religious formulas were usually abbreviated: لـه = الله. The letter م alone frequently signified يوم *yevm* (day), or مرقوم *merkum* (listed, mentioned), or some other word that began with the letter *mim*. الخ stood for *ilâhirihi* (et cetera). Ordinarily, the name of a person dealt with in a document appeared only once, whereafter the person was referred to by expressions such as *mezbur*, *merkum* or *mezkûr*.

To indicate the names of the months the following abbreviations were used:

1. م *muharrem*	2. ص *safer*	3. ربا *rebiyülevvel*
4. ر *rebiyülâhır*	5. جا *cemaziyelevvel*	6. ج *cemaziyelâhır*
7. ب *recep*	8. ش *şaban*	9. ن *ramazan*
10. ل *şevval*	11. ذا *zilkade*	12. ذ *zilhicce*

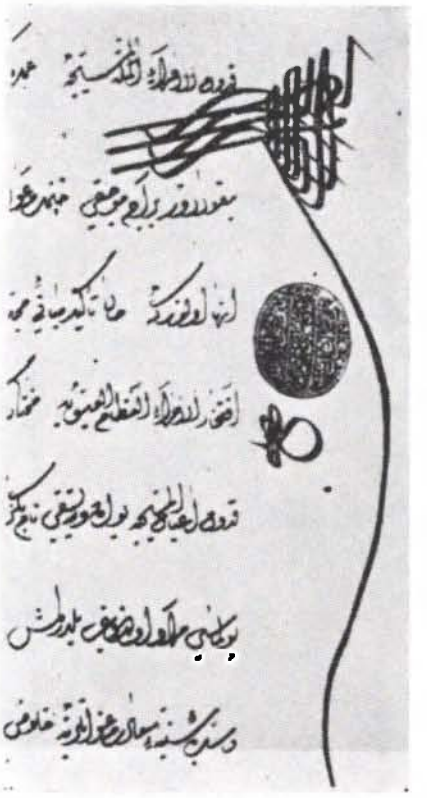


Illustration 14.

Introductory part of a letter from the Grand Vizier, Ahmet Köprülüzade, to the Grand Chancellor of the Polish Crown, Nicholas Prazmowski. Written in 1666, it concerned his negotiations with the Polish courier, Jan Wieniawski. (From the Main Archives of Old Acts in Warsaw.)

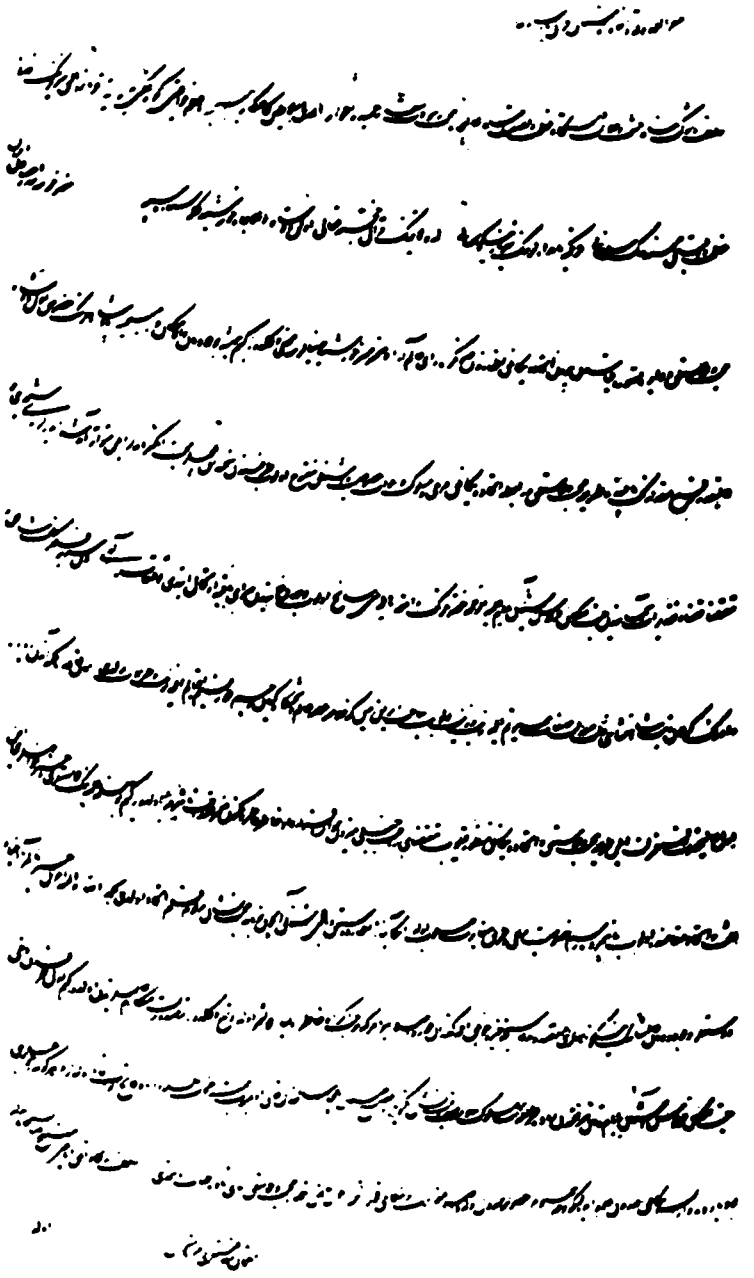
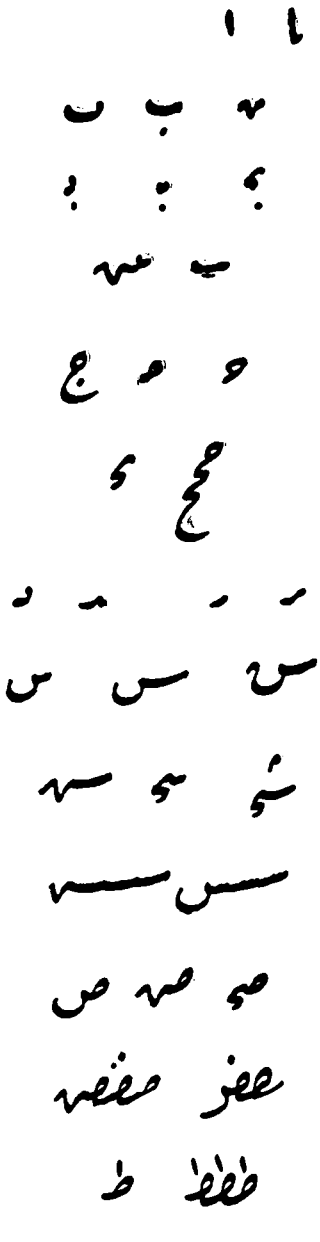


Illustration 15.

Example of a seventeenth-century text written in *talik* script

Illustration 16. Table of *rika* script

Alphabet in rika



Transcription into nesih

ا ا

ب ب

ت ت

ج ج

خ خ

د د

ر ر

س س

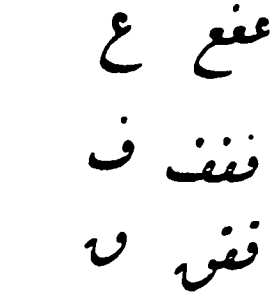
ش ش

ص ص

ض ض

ط ط

Alphabet in rika



Transcription into nesih

عفع ع

ففف ف

قفق ق

كاكا كاكا كاكا

ككك

لالا لالا

ممم ممم

ننن ننن

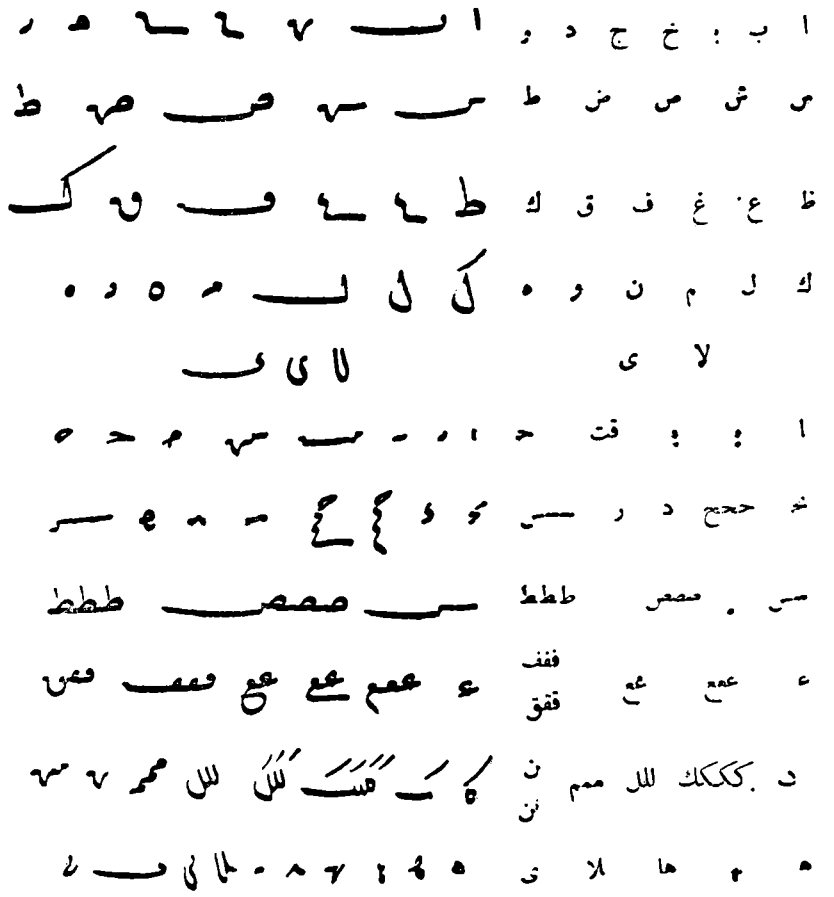
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Illustration 17. Table of *siyakat* script

Alphabet in siyakat *Transcription into* nesih



In order to indicate the quarters of the year special abbreviated combinations were made of the above forms of the names of the months:

مصر *mısır* first quarter (m s r)

رجج *recec* second quarter (r c c)

رشن *reşen* third quarter (r ş n)

لذذ *lezez* fourth quarter (l z z)

As a rule these abbreviations appeared in documents written in the *siyakat* script. As mentioned above, that script lacked any diacritical marks, so that in reality the abbreviations of the names of the month looked like the following:

م *muharrem*	ب *recep*
ص *safer*	ش *şaban*
ر *rebiyülevvel*	ر *ramazan*
ر *rebiyülâhır*	ش *şevval*
ج *cemaziyelevvel*[1]	ذ *zilkade*
ج *cemaziyelâhır*	ذ *zilhicce*

See G. Jacob, *Türkisches Hilfsbuch*, i (Berlin, 1916[3]), p. 105; J. H. Mordtmann, "Zu den Türkischen Urkunden", *Der Islam*, 9 (1919), p. 108; F. v. Kraelitz[-Greifenhorst], "Zum Worte لذ in türkischen Urkunden", *Der Islam*, 8 (1918), pp. 139–40; L. Fekete, "A török oklevelek nyelvezete és forrásértéke", *LK*, 3 (1925), pp. 206–24; M. Yazır, "Eski yazıları okuma anahtarı", *Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı*, B, 4 (İstanbul, 1942), p. 150.

6. CRYPTOGRAPHIC SYMBOLS

In special cases such as confidential reports (*e.g.*, intelligence reports), and texts containing secret data (*e.g.*, figures concerning the size of military contingents and reports concerning the results of the *devşirme*) the Ottoman Turks used various kinds of cryptographic symbols, codes, and secret scripts. This particularly applied to reports containing any kind of numerical data.

For certain military reports dealing with the situation of the army from the point of view of its size and equipment, a special system called اردوی شیلو *ordu-i şeylü* was used. It was based on the

[1] Concerning the transcription and pronunciation of the name of that month, *see* [J. Th.] Zenker, "Über die richtige Aussprache des Namens امرؤالقیس und der Monatsnamen جمادی الاولی und جمادی الثانیه", *ZDMG*, 8 (1854), pp. 589–593.

old Arabic alphabetical device known as *ebcet* which consisted of the arrangement of letters into the following eight artificial words: ابجد هوز حطی کلمن سعفص قرشت نخذ ضظغ.

The Turkish system consisted of vertical lines with oblique arms on both sides. The number of arms on the right side referred to the particular word in the *ebcet*, and the arms on the left indicated the position of the letter in the word in question. Thus  indicated the third letter in the sixth word, *i.e.*, ش. This device was used for letters as well as for numbers.

To enumerate reserves of supplies, especially for the needs of the fleet, a system called دمغلو *damgalı* was devised, consisting of a combination of dots and dashes.

In calculations referring to the results of the *devşirme* a script called کوتکلو *kütüklü* was used. According to this system, to certain symbols (corresponding to units) there were attached circles or oblique dashes symbolizing tens, hundreds and thousands. Thus

 symbolised 30,  300,  3,000, etc.



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

There also existed a secret script called مصرلو *mısırlı* (Egyptian) consisting of special symbols somewhat resembling the Egyptian hieratic or the Hebrew script. This script was often used in Spanish texts.

Old cryptographic systems are discussed in the work *Ad-dürer-ül-müntahabat-ül-mensure fi ıslah-il-galatat-il-meşhure*, known under its abbreviated name, *Galatat-i meşhure* (İstanbul, 1221), pp. 337–60; a résumé of this book is contained in the article of J. A. Decourdemanche, "Notes sur quatre systèmes turcs de notation numérique secrète", *JA*, 9e sér., 14 (1899), pp. 258–71.

III

DIPLOMATICS

1. TERMINOLOGY OF OTTOMAN DOCUMENTS

The science of diplomatics deals with the study of the external and internal characteristics of various state documents, *i.e.*, diplomas. In the Ottoman-Turkish language there was a considerable number of terms which had the meaning of "document" or "diploma". The rich lexical variety in the terminology in question was increased by the use of synonymous terms of Arabic, Persian, and purely Turkish origin. Thus the most general name for document in Ottoman Turkish is *yazı*, the word for "letter" or "writing". From the point of view of its meaning, it corresponded to the expression widely spread in Medieval European chanceries (used in Poland since the second half of the twelfth century): *litterae* ("letter", "privilege", "confirmation", "law").

In Ottoman-Turkish documents, the following terms for "writing" occurred depending on the period, situation, and purpose:

1. *name* (Per. نامه), "writing";

2. *mektup* (Ar. مكتوب), "letter";

3. *kitap*, *kütüp* (Ar. كتاب, كتب), from Arabic *kataba*, "to write";

4. *yazı* (Turk. يازى, يزى), from *yazmak*, "to write";

5. *biti* (Turk. بيتى), "writing".

These terms were frequently used interchangeably in one and the same document (*e.g.*, *kitap* next to *biti*).

To the same category belong two other terms used only in a ceremonial form in imperial correspondence: *hatt-i hümayun* (خط همايون), "imperial writing", and *tevki* (Ar. توقيع), "sign", "signature", "note".

In a later period (the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), *hatt-i hümayun* signified the writing of the sultan (*hümayun* comes from Persian *humā*, "bird bringing luck", "imperial", "phoenix", hence

hümayun — "happy", "blessed", "exalted", "imperial"). *Tevki* was most frequently connected with the word *refî* (Ar. رفيع), "exalted".

Apart from the general name of "writing", there are several terms derived not from words for "to write", as the preceding ones are, but from roots signifying "to order".

There were various kinds of "orders", "dispositions", "decrees", "diplomas", etc. Thus:

1. *ferman* (Pers. فرمان), "order". This was a term of Persian origin, used in the Middle Ages in the state of the Ilhans and subsequently taken over by Turkish chanceries; *see* İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Ferman", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4, pp. 571–72;
2. *emir*[1] (Ar. امر) from *amara*, "to order";
3. *hüküm*, pl. *ahkâm* (Ar. حكم, احكام), "injunction", "mandate";
4. *buyrultu* (from Turk. *buyurmak* "to command"), "order", "sentence"; in Old Turkish often *buyurdun*. The problem of *buyurultus* was examined by İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Buyruldı", *Belleten*, 5 (1941), pp. 289–318 (twenty plates);
5. *berat* (Ar. برات), "diploma", "privilege"; this term was applied particularly to diplomas dealing with the appointment of dignitaries, with the granting of feudal estates, with the specification of obligations, etc., and as such it assumed different forms such as *tımar beratı*, *iltizam beratı*, *serdarlık beratı*, etc. The *berats* in respect to the appointments of Christian religious officials were discussed by J. Kabrda, "Sur les bérats des métropolites orthodoxes dans l'ancien Empire ottoman au XVIII[e] siècle", *IBID*, 16–18 (1940), pp. 259–68.
6. *jarlьq* (Turkic يرلك), "command", used only in Tatar documents.

Apart from these two distinct groups of synonyms for "writing" and "order", there were other specific terms in use, often consisting of two elements, such as *name* and a definition: *e.g.*, *ahitname*, "alliance letter" (Ar. عهد, "treaty", "alliance"); *mülkname*, "investiture", "privilege" (synonymous form *temlikname*); *sulhname*, "peace treaty" (from Ar. صلح, "peace"); *name-i hümayun*, "imperial letter", etc.

[1] In 17th-century Polish literature the word *emir* commonly appeared with the meaning of "order", *e.g.*, in *S. Twardowski, *Przewaźna Legacja*, and W. Potocki, *Wojna chocimska*, Kraków, 1949 (ed. Kijas).

There were also other terms less strictly defined, such as: نشان *nişan*, "patent"; منشور *menşur*, "investiture", "diploma"; مثال *misal*, "decision", "disposition". The scope of the meaning of any particular term was rather fluid and its delimitations often unclear, so that the same document might be called *nişan* on one occasion and *berat* on another, or sometimes even by a still different name.

Some documents were accompanied by a number of epithets, *e.g.*, *nişan-i şerif-i âlişan, name-i hümayun-i meserret makrun saadet meskûn, hükm-i şerif-i cihanmuta, ferman-i beşaret unvan.*

In contemporary Turkish the term *evrak* (Ar. اوراق "documents", "sheets"), or in a more general way *vesika* (Ar. وثيقه, "document"), is also employed. It must be stressed, however, that the custom of applying the term *ferman* to all Ottoman-Turkish documents as practised in European literature is quite erroneous. In no case should the term *ferman*, "order", be applied to the correspondence of the sultans with foreign sovereigns. Such correspondence should be referred to as *name* (in recent German works translated by *Schreiben*) or by *tevki*. The terms *ferman, emir*, etc. should be given only to documents dispatched by the sultans, viziers, etc. to lower and subordinate officials (*e.g.*, *sancak beyi*s).

Apart from documents issued by the sultans or high dignitaries, there also existed various papers made out by lower officials, such as تلحيص *telhis* (a report made by an official), تحويل *tahvil*, تحرير *tahrir*, and above all تذكره *tezkere* (*e.g.*, *yol tezkeresi*, "passport"; *mürur tezkeresi*, "customs certificate"). Finally, there were registers called دفتر *defter* or سجلّ *sicil* (for the problem of *defter*s *see* W. Padel, "Das Grundeigenthum in der Türkei nach der neueren Gesetzgebung", *MSOSW*, 3 (1900), p. 116; E. Kammerer and A. Velics, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek 1540–1639*, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1886–90). Among religious documents the *fetva*s constituted the most important papers. They contained decisions of the religious authorities with regard to questions coming under their jurisdiction.

For a detailed discussion and classification of documents from Turkish archives, *see* Abdurrahman Şeref, "Evrak-i atîka ve vesaik-i tarihiyemiz", *TOEM*, 1, i (1329), pp. 9–19, and Musa Kâzım, "Vesaik-i tarihiyemiz", *ibid.*, 1, ii (1329), pp. 65–69.

2. DESCRIPTION OF DOCUMENTS

In describing the external characteristics of a document one should consider the material on which it is executed, its color, thickness, and format (shape and size).

Ottoman-Turkish diplomas were executed mostly on paper of Oriental production (wax paper), albeit paper of Italian provenance was also used. The story of paper in the Ottoman Empire has been told by F. Babinger, *Zur Geschichte der Papiererzeugung im Osmanischen Reiche* (Berlin, 1931) (*see* also an expanded Italian translation of this monograph, "Appunti sulle cartiere e sull'importazione di carta nell'Impero Ottomano specialmente da Venezia", *OM*, 11 (1931), pp. 406–15). In establishing the origin of watermarks on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents one should use the manual of C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, 4 vols. (Genève, 1907), Supplement in *The Briquet Album* (Hilversum, 1952). Watermarks on medieval Ottoman documents were treated by V. Nikolaev, *Watermarks of the Mediaeval Ottoman Documents in Bulgarian Libraries*, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1954). Watermarks in general are discussed by I. Bogdán, "Vízjelek és vízjelkutatás", *Levéltári Híradó*, 6, ii–iii (1956), pp. 27–35.

As for the format of documents, they were usually oblong, fifty centimeters long and twenty centimeters wide. There occurred, however, imperial letters, such as the solemn *ahitnames*, whose length reached four meters or more.

To other external characteristics of a document belong: script, arrangement of text, margin, and ink.

The various styles of script are discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with paleography. In Ottoman documents the scripts that appear most frequently are the *tevki* (hence the name given to the diplomas themselves, *see* above, p. 135), and the *divani*.

The lines of the text usually curved upwards toward the left-hand edge of the paper, so that they more or less resembled a bowed saber or a sword with a crescent-shaped blade. This impression was particularly true in the case of extremely embellished documents where each line was introduced by a sign that looked like the handle of a sword. The final letter in each line had an oval shape; most frequently it was the letter ن *nun* (n), ر *re* (r), ز *zal* (z), or ت *te* (t).

Each page of the text was provided with a margin (كنار *kenar*), a few centimeters in width, on the right side of the document; on the

left side, the writing was carried out almost to the very edge. In the Turkish administration the margin was used for annotations and instructions (*see* below, chapter on the organization of the Ottoman Chancery, pp. 159 f.). The margin on the imperial letters was not so wide.

Ottoman-Turkish documents were usually executed in a special shining black ink. Only the *tuğra*s and sultans' *name*s were written with gold and blue inks. The whole text was usually bestrewn with gold sand, the so-called *altın rig*. Ornamental gold circles were frequently added above the lines in the *divani* script.

3. METHODS OF FOLDING AND PRESERVING DOCUMENTS

Documents were folded in accordion style so that when they were unfolded the upper section of the document would appear first, *i.e.*, the part containing the title of the ruler, the address, various formulas, etc. Longer documents were usually rolled. The documents preserved in Polish archives were folded. As a rule documents were underlaid with a piece of cloth sewed to them so that their backs were covered. Some documents were sewed together to make substantial volumes. Unfortunately, the edges of the documents were trimmed in the process of such binding. Some of these documents in non-Turkish archives have various annotations written by the European translators.

In Ottoman Turkey old documents were placed in small bags (*keses*) which were frequently of satin in various colors. Imperial letters were further wrapped in paper as a token of great respect. A small piece of paper called *kulak* (ear), sticking out from the bag, served as address label. For different textiles from which these bags were made, *see* A. Geiher and C. J. Lamm, *Orientalische Briefumschläge in schwedischem Besitz* (Stockholm, 1944).

4. ARRANGEMENT OF COMPONENTS OF DOCUMENTS

The contents of a document, or its internal characteristics, depended on its subject, destination, and the date of its composition. But in general, the form of arrangement remained unchanged for centuries.[2]

[2] For the influence of Medieval European documents on the arrangement of components of Ottoman-Turkish letters, *see* F. Babinger, "Zwei großherrliche Schenkungsurkunden aus den Jahren 1008/1600 und 1023/1614", *MSOSW*, 30 (1927), pp. 163–64.

A constant feature of the composition was a basic division into two sections: protocol and context. Usually the subject matter, or context, was placed between two parts of the protocol, *i.e.*, between its introductory part and its closing section or eschatocol. Both the protocol and the context were further subdivided into a number of sections whose order was rigidly adhered to. In Ottoman-Turkish correspondence the following parts (ارکان *erkân*) may be distinguished:

I. Introductory protocol
  1. *Invocatio* (Invocation)
  2. *Tuğra* (Imperial cipher)
  3. *Intitulatio* (Intitulation)
  4. *Inscriptio* (Inscription)
  5. *Salutatio* (Salutation)

II. Context of document
  6. *Narratio et dispositio* (Narration and disposition)
  7. *Sanctio et corroboratio* (Sanction and corroboration)

III. Final protocol or eschatocol
  8. *Datatio* (*Tarih*, "Date")
  9. *Locus* (Place of writing)
  10. *Mühür* (Seal)

Invocatio

As a rule each document began with an invocation دعوت *davet*, تمحید *temhit*, or تمجید *temcit*. The formulas of invocation (*see* Illus. 18, 19 and 20), which included the name of God, were of varying length, from the most simple and shortest, هو *Huwa*, "He", to elaborate, lengthy lists of divine attributes such as:

هو المغنی *Huwa 'l-Muġnī*, "He the Enricher"

هو الغنی المعین *Huwa 'l-Ġanī 'l-mu'īn*, "He, the Rich, the Helper"

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم *Bismi'llāhi'r-Raḥmāni'r-Raḥīm*, "In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate".

Invocatory formulas were sometimes expressed by means of abbreviations. Numerous examples of invocations are contained in F. Kraelitz[-Greifenhorst], "Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer

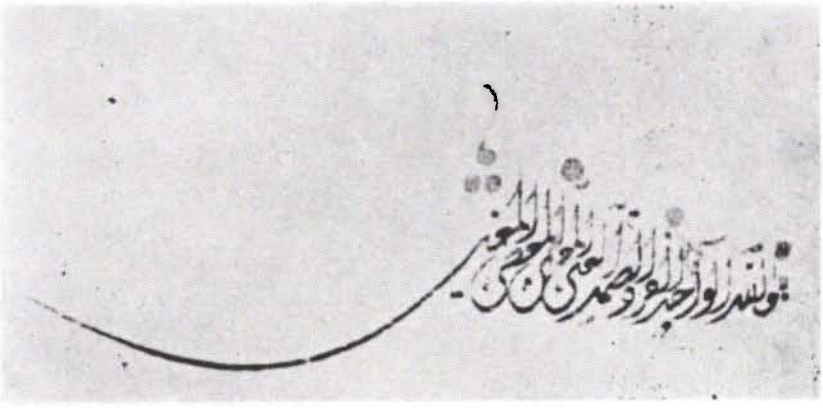


Illustration 18. Example of a simple invocation

هوالله الواحد الفرد الصمد الغنى المعين المعطى المغنى

"He is the One God, the Unique, the Everlasting, the Rich, the Helper, the Donor, the Enricher"

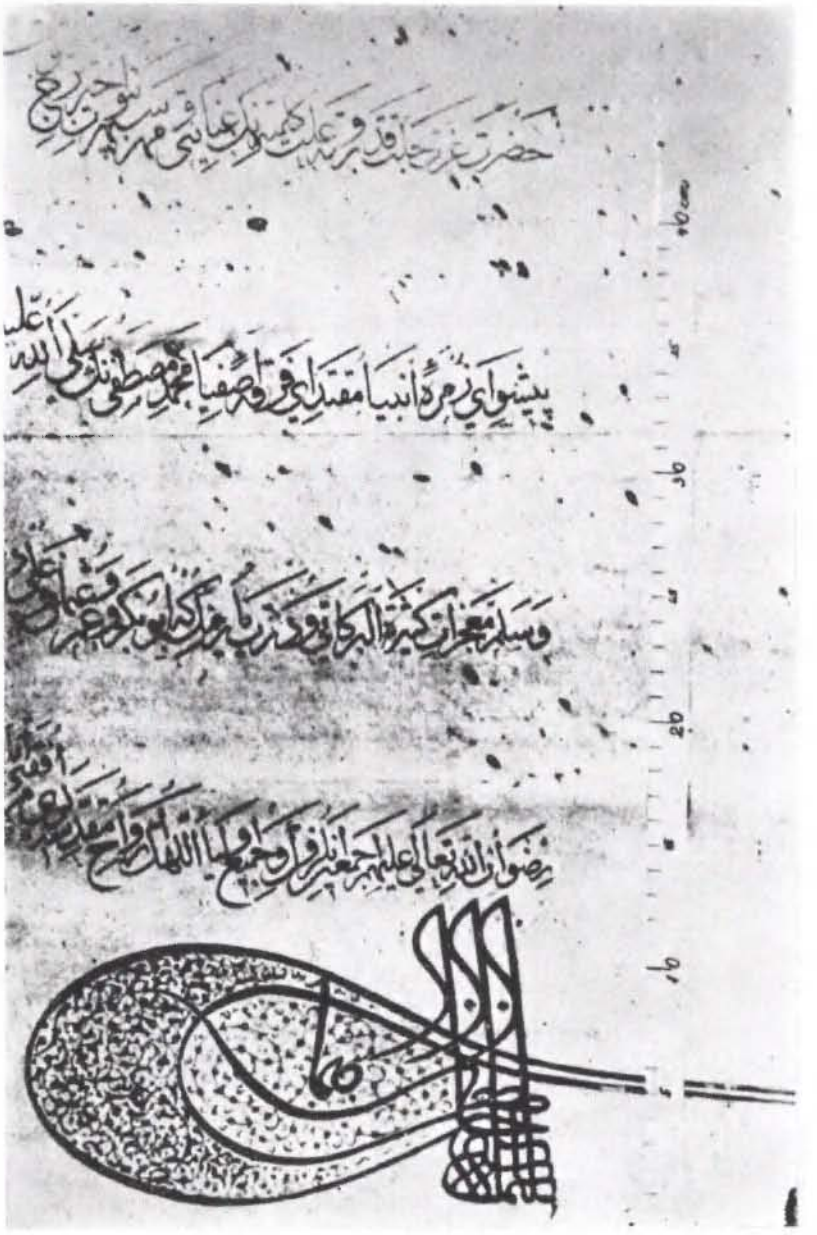


Illustration 19.

Example of a solemn and elaborate invocation from an original letter of Süleyman I, dated 1527

حضرت عزّت جلّت قدرته وعلت كلمته بك عنايتي ومهر سپهر نبوت أختر برج فتوّت

پيشواى زُمرهٔ انبيا مقتداى فرقهٔ اصفيا محمدٌ مصطفى نك صلّى الله عليه

وسلم معجزات كثيرة البركاتى ودرت يارنك كه ابوبكر وعمر وعثمان وعلى در

رضوان الله تعالى عليهم اجمعين انلروك وجميع اوليا اللهك ارواح مقدسه‌لرى مرافقتى ايله

"By the grace of His Powerful Majesty (great may his power be and sublime his word); with the miracles of manifold blessings of Muhammet (the elect of God — may God pronounce a blessing and a salutation on him), the sun of the heavens of Prophecy, the star of the constellation of munificence, the prince of the class of Prophets, the model of the host of saints; with the accompaniment of the holy spirit of his four companions who are Ebubekir, Omer, Osman and Ali (may the approbation of God — may He be exalted — be upon them all) and of all the saints of God . . ."

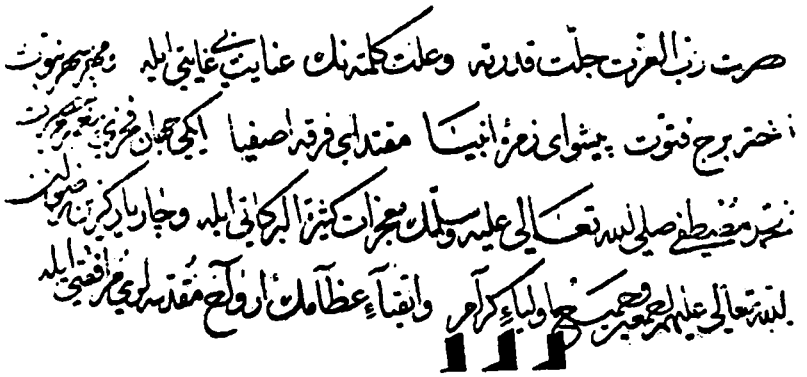


Illustration 20. Another version of the invocation, dated 1577

Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Diplomatik", *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 197, iii (Wien, 1921), pp. 12–17; also R. Tschudi, "Ein Schreiben Sülejmāns I. an Ferdinand I", *Festschrift Georg Jacob* (Leipzig, 1932), p. 323.

Tuğra and pençe

The *tuğra* طغرا, also known as نشان همايون *nişan-i hümayun*, توقيع *tevki*, or علامت *alâmet*, was a monogram-like signature of a monarch, different for each ruler, corresponding to the coat of arms or monogram appearing on documents, diplomas, coins, and passports. The *tuğra* was already known under the Seljuks and was subsequently adopted by the Ottomans. The oldest known *tuğra* is that appearing on the coins of Murat I (1359–89).

The problem of the origin of the *tuğra* has attracted the attention of many scholars. According to some (*e.g.*, Ahmet Vefik, *Lehçe-i Osmani* (1306), p. 532) its origin went back to a bird called طغرى *tuğrı* (a kind of hunting falcon) which was adopted as a totem by certain Turkic tribes; hence the shape of the *tuğra*, which resembles a bird. According to others, this emblem was derived from the imprint of the hand of Murat I. Still others linked the long lines appearing in the *tuğra* with *tuğ* ("horsetail", often used as a symbol of dignity), with *tuğramak*, "to cut", or with the branding marks on horses (*see* below, the problem of the *tamga*, pp. 156 f.). A more recent hypothesis concerning the origin of the *tuğra* was offered by P.

Wittek, "Notes sur la tughra ottomane", *Byzantion*, 18 (1948), pp. 311–34 (*see* Illus. 21 and 22). This article also contained a list of thirty *tuğra*s from various Oriental publications, beginning with the *tuğra* of Orhan of 1324 and ending with that of Mahmut II of 1830.

Earlier *tuğra*s were less complicated in composition then they became later. Thus the *tuğra* of Mehmet II read simply: "Mehmet b. Murat han al-muẓaffar daima". The formula *al-muẓaffar dā'iman* has been treated by Z. Orgun in "Tuğra. Tuğralarda el-muzaffer daima duası ve şah unvanı, şehzade tuğraları, Mehmet II.-nin tuğra, imza ve mühürleri", *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, 5 (1949), pp. 203–220.

The size of the *tuğra*s varied from ten or twelve centimeters to thirty centimeters. They were executed in gold, red, and blue, and were produced by special clerks called *tuğrakeş*. The affixing of *tuğra*s was performed by the *nişancı*, also called توقيعى *tevkiî* (*see* below, chapter dealing with the organization of the Ottoman Chancery). In later periods other dignitaries were also entrusted with the affixing of *tuğra*s. Many dignitaries used to give the shape of a *tuğra* to their *pençe*s or signatures (*see* below, p. 143). This custom was practiced even by commoners. A knowledge of imperial *tuğra*s and skill in reading them is very important for the identification of Ottoman documents.

Rich illustrative and documentary material pertaining to the *tuğra* is included in the contribution of İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "طوغرا tuğra ve pençeler ile ferman ve buyurultulara dair", *Belleten*, 5 (1941), pp. 101–57. This article contains sixty-one plates. P. Miiâtev, "Tugrite na osmanskite sultani ot XV–XX st.", *Godishnik na Plovdivskata Narodna Biblioteka i Muzei*, 1937–1939 (Sofiîâ, 1940), pp. 215–39, offered a reproduction of twenty-eight *tuğra*s, from Murat II to Abdülmecit, accompanied by an exhaustive discussion of the subject matter (*see* review by F. Dölger, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 41 (1941), p. 235; also by Gŭlăbov, *IBID*, 19–20 (1944), pp. 161–70). Miiâtev contributed another article on the subject of *tuğra*s in "Za cheteneto na znaka varkhu sultanskite diplomi", *IBID*, 22–24 (1948), pp. 446–49. Still another contribution by this scholar, "Tuğrata vŭrkhu sultanskite dokumenti", appeared in *Prosveta*, 1 (1936), pp. 1259–60. A reproduction of some *tuğra*s was presented by E. Kühnel in *Islamische Schriftkunst* (Berlin–Leipzig), pp. 74–76; in "Die osmanische Tughra", *Kunst des Orients*, 2 (1955), pp. 69–82. Kühnel presented reproduc-

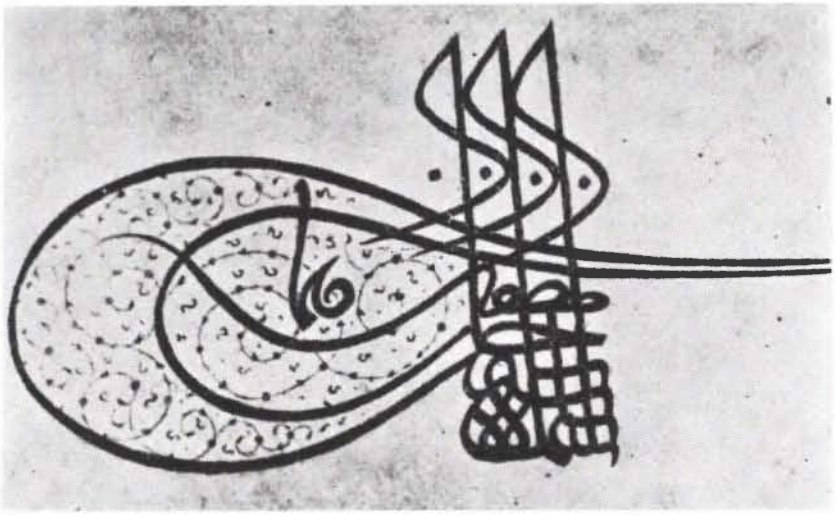


Illustration 21. *Tuġra* of Süleyman I

The correct reading is سلیمان شاه بن سلیم شاه خان المظفر دائما "Süleyman ṣah, son of Selim ṣah, the khan always victorious"

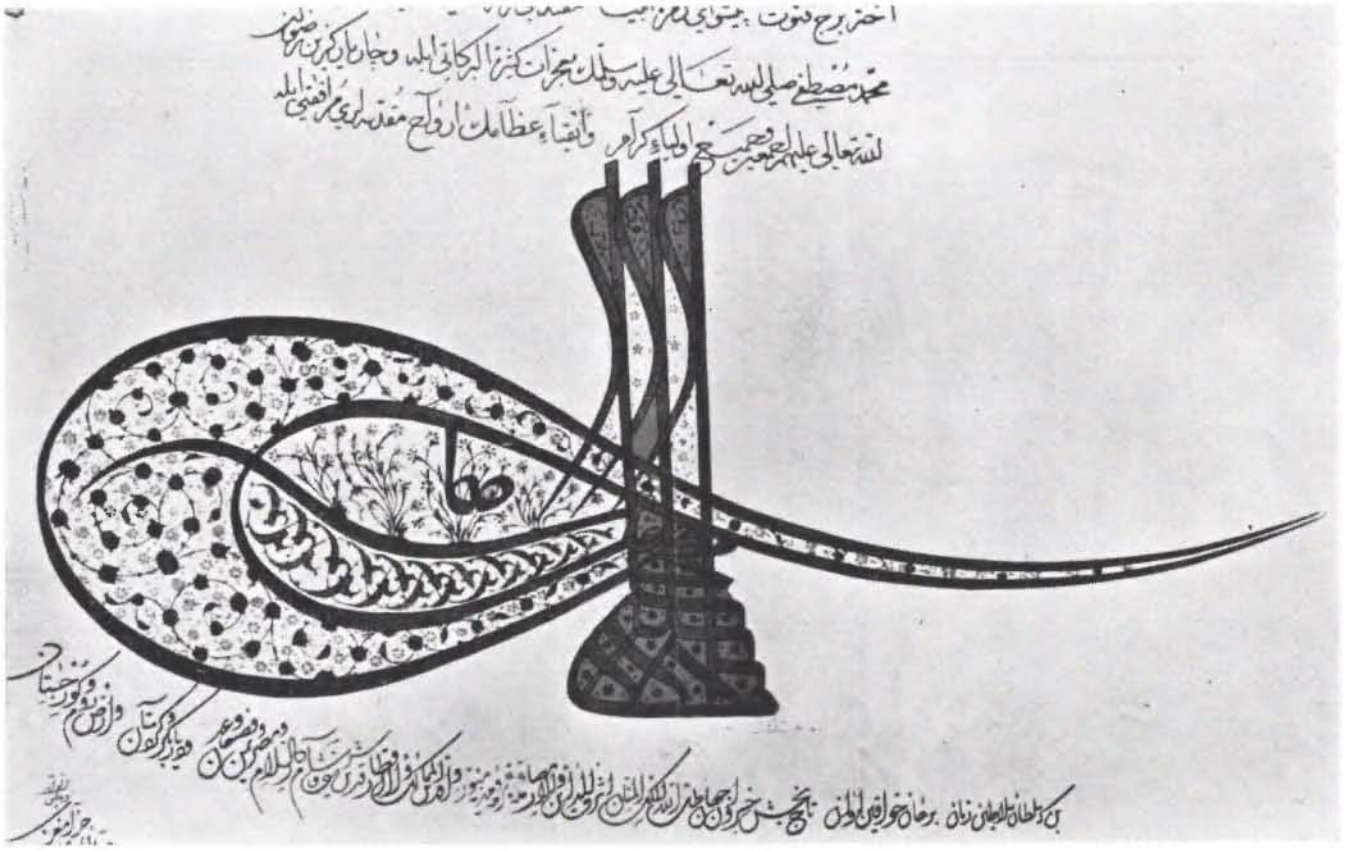


Illustration 22. *Tuğra* of Murat III

From an *ahitname* sent by Murat III to King Stefan Báthory of Poland in 1577
(from the Main Archives of Old Acts in Warsaw)

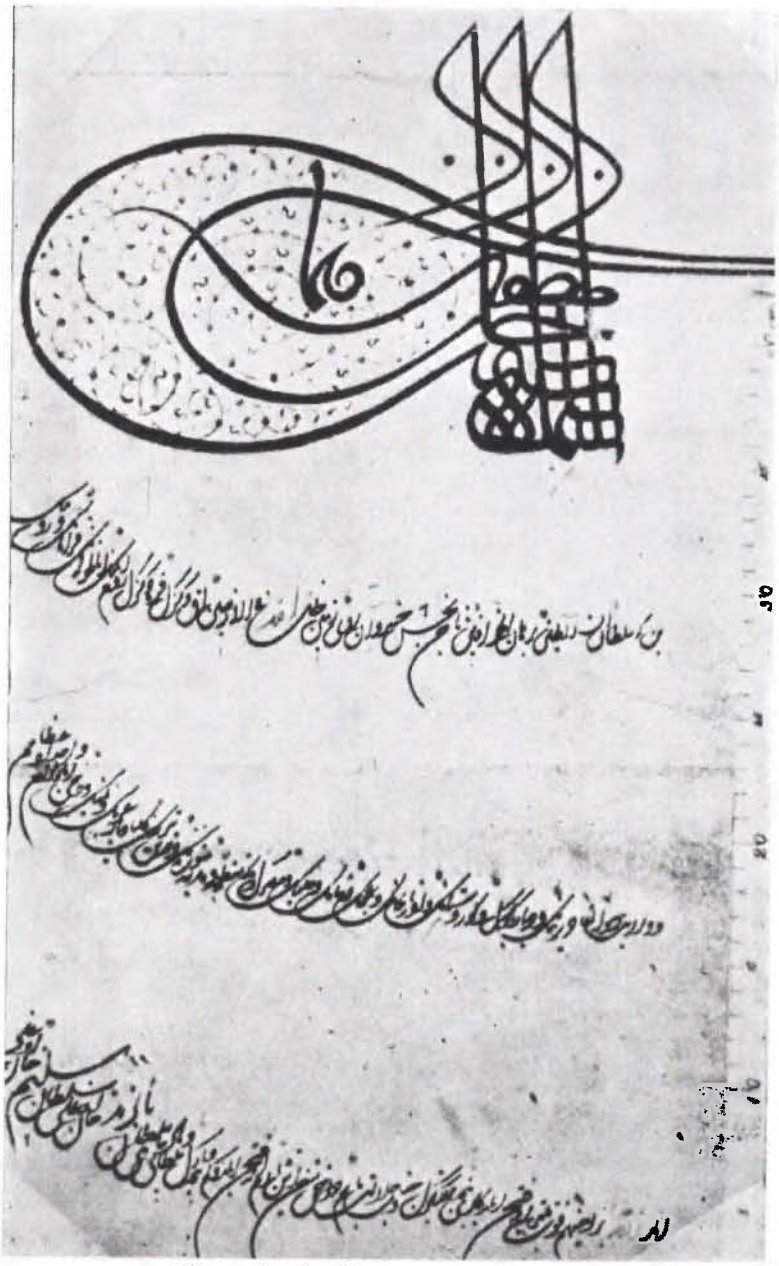


Illustration 23. *Intitulatio* of Süleyman I

بن كه سلطان السلاطين برهان الخواقين تاج بخش خسروان روى زمين ظل الله فى الارضين اق ذكزك قره دكزك روم ايلنك اناطولنك قرامانك و روملك و ولايت ذو القادريه‌نك و ديار بكرك و كوردستا نك و اذربايجانك و عجمك و شامك و حلبك و مصرك مكّه معظمه و مدينه منوره‌نك و قدس شريفك كليا ديار عربك و يمنك و دخى ابا كرام و اجداد عظام انار الله برأهينهم قوت قاهره‌لر ايله فتح ايلدكلرى نجه مملكتلرك و جناب جلالت مآبم داخى تيغ اتش بارم ايله فتح ايلدوكم نجه ديارك سلطانى و بادشاهى سلطان بايزيد خان اوغلى سلطان سليم خان اوغلى سلطان سليمان شاه خانم

"I who am Sultan Süleyman Şah Han, the son of Sultan Selim Han the son of Sultan Bayezit Han, the sultan of sultans, the proof of emperors, the distributor of crowns to the monarchs of the surface of the earth, the shadow of God on the lands, the sultan and the padişah of the White Sea [Mediterranean], the Black Sea, Rumelia, Anatolia, Karamania, of Rum, of the provinces of the Zülkadirs, of Diyarbakır, of Kurdistan, of Azerbaycan, of Acem [Persia], of Şam [Damascus], of Halep [Aleppo], of Mısır [Egypt], of Mecca and Medina of Kudüs [Jerusalem], of all the lands of Arabia, of the Yemen, and of the many lands conquered by the irresistible power of my noble fathers and illustrious ancestors — may God illuminate their manifestations —, and of the many lands which my glorious and august majesty has conquered with a flaming sword"



Illustration 24. Part of a letter of Süleyman I
to Sigismund Augustus of Poland, dated 1551

قد وت الا مراء العظام العيسويه اسوة كبراء لفخام فى ملة المسيّبه مصلح مصالح جماهير الطايفه
النصرانيّه ساحب اذيال الخشمة و الوقار صاحب دلايل المجد و الافتخار له قرالى

"The paragon of the great Christian princes, the model of the dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the promoter of improvements with the peoples of the Christian Community, trailing the trains of majesty and dignity, the master of fame and glory, the King of Poland"



Illustration 25. Fragment of a letter from Süleyman I to Sigismund I, with the titulatory formula, *sen ki* ...

سن که ... ولا بت له قرالی سجزمندوس

"You who ... are Sigismund, king of the province of Poland"

tions of *tuğra*s from Murat II to Abdülhamit II, treating them from an artistic point of view (*see*, *OLZ*, 51, ix–x (1956), p. 407). Consult also: J. von Hammer-Purgstall, "Abhandlung über die Siegel der Araber, Perser und Türken", *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Classe, 1 (Wien, 1850), pp. 1–36, one plate; F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, "Die Ṭuġra der osmanischen Prinzen", *MOG*, 1 (1921–22), pp. 167–70; F. Babinger, "Die großherrliche Tughra. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des osmanischen Urkundenwesens", *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, 2 (1925), pp. 188–96; L. Fekete, *Einführung*, pp. XLII–XLV; article, "Tughra", in *EI*; P. Wittek, "Notes sur la tughra ottomane", *Byzantion*, 18 (1948), pp. 311–34; 20 (1950), pp. 267–93.

Documents issued not by the sovereigns, but by high dignitaries, viziers, *sancak beyi*s etc., were characterized by the *pençe* instead of the *tuğra*. The *pençe* was an imitation of the *tuğra* and consequently closely resembled it (*see* Illus. 27). However, it was affixed not at the top but on the side margin or at the end of the document. Sometimes this sign was called *tuğra*, but its most frequent name was *pençe* پنچه or *imza* امضا. Down to the end of the sixteenth century the *pençe* of a vizier resembled the imperial *tuğra* and was affixed at the top of a document. Although the *pençe* imitated the *tuğra* functionally, its shape was less complicated. Apart from the name of the vizier, a *pençe* sometimes contained certain formulas; *e.g.*, عبد الله *'abdallāh*, a specification حرّره *ḥarrarahū* or كتبه *katabahū* (amounting to "written by"), or the phrase المظفّر دائمًا *al-muẓaffar dā'iman*. This last formula, however, disappeared from the *pençe* with the beginning of the seventeenth century; *see* F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, "Studien zur osmanischen Urkundenlehre–I, Die Handfeste (Penče) der osman. Wesire", *MOG*, 2 (1923–26), p. 262.

In analyzing the origin of the *pençe* some scholars have derived its shape from the imprint of a hand, and the lines embellishing it from the *tuğ* (*see* above, p. 141). The number of the lines in a *pençe* indicated the rank of a dignitary (*e.g.*, a *paşa* of three *tuğ*s would have more lines than one of two). For these problems *see*: L. Fekete, *Einführung*, p. L; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *op. cit.*; F. Babinger, *op. cit.* The above mentioned article of F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, *MOG*, 2 (1923–26), pp. 257–68 (three plates), includes plates with reproductions of vizierial *pençe*s of the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries. *See* also F. Babinger,

"Die älteste türkische Urkunde des deutsch-osmanischen Staatsverkehrs", *Der Islam*, 10 (1920), p. 136; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*

Intitulatio

In this section of a document one can distinguish the *intitulatio* proper and the so-called القاب *elkap* (*cf.*, *inscriptio*, pp. 144–45). The *intitulatio* proper consisted of the name or rank (عنوان *unvan*) of the man issuing the document. (Sometimes this part was omitted, and occasionally a *tuğra* took its place.) The *elkap* consisted of non-Arabic titles. In extremely formal documents the *intitulatio* was composed of elaborate titles of the sovereign, which were introduced by the formula *ben ki* "I, who ...". Some examples of Ottoman *intitulationes* were presented by Fekete, *Einführung*, p. XXXII. The problem of the *intitulatio* has been discussed by Z. Orgun, "Tuğra. Tuğralarda el-muzaffer daima duası ve şah unvanı, şehzade tuğraları, Mehmet II.-nin tuğra, imza ve mühürleri", *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, 5 (1949), pp. 203–220; also by R. Mantran, "La titulature des Beys de Tunis au XIX^{e} siècle d'après les documents d'archives turcs du Dar el-Bey (Tunis)", *Akten des Vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, München* (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 385–86 (*see* Illus. 23). A variant of the *intitulatio* may be found in Tschudi's, "Ein Schreiben Sülejmāns I. an Ferdinand I.", *Festschrift Georg Jacob* (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 317–28. The earliest European work containing many examples of an imperial *intitulatio* was that of Meninski, *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium* (Viennae, 1680), where they appeared under the heading, *padişah*, vol. 1, pp. 632–39.

Sometimes the *intitulatio* would be introduced by الله عنایتی اللهك *Allahın inayetiyle*, which form probably originated from the European *Dei Gratia*. *See* F. Babinger, "Die älteste türkische Urkunde des deutsch-osmanischen Staatsverkehrs", *Der Islam*, 10 (1920), p. 144; *idem*, "Zwei türkische Schutzbriefe für Georg II. Rákóczi, Fürsten von Siebenbürgen, aus dem Jahre 1649", *MO*, 14 (1920), p. 140, n. 1. Letters of high dignitaries usually had no *intitulatio* (*see* Illus. 24).

Inscriptio

The *inscriptio* consisted of the name of the addressee combined with his titles, the so-called *elkap*. Many examples of the *elkap* are given by L. Fekete, *Einführung*, pp. XXXIII–XXXVI, who presented them

according to various ranks and countries. But he listed only one short formula as the *elkap* of Polish kings ("Elkab des Königs von Polen", *op. cit.*, p. XXXVI): قدوت الامراء العظام العيسويه *kudvet-ül-ümera-il-ızam-il-İseviye* "the Paragon of Great Christian Princes". In reality the *elkap* of Polish kings consisted of much more elaborate elements. Existing documents from different collections display a great many variants of the *inscriptio*. This may be illustrated by means of the example of the *elkap* of Sigismund Augustus, which formed a part of a letter of Süleyman I, dated 1551 (*see* Illus. 24). For a study of the *elkap*, *see* A. Zajączkowski, "List turecki Sulejmana I do Zygmunta Augusta w ówczesnej transkrypcji i tłumaczeniu polskiem z r. 1551", *RO*, 12 (1936), pp. 91–118.

Several examples of the *elkap* were given by von Hammer[-Purgstall], *GOR*, 9, pp. 681–87.

Sometimes the *elkap* was preceded by the titles of the addressee introduced by means of the formula *sen ki* "thou, who". (*Cf.*, titles introduced by the formula *sen ki* or *hâlâ*, *see* Illus. 25 and 26).



Illustration 26. Fragment of the titulatory formula in a letter from Murat III to Stefan Báthory

خالا ولايت له قرالی ولتوانيه وپروسيه واوروسيه ومازو و... ولتوه وسائر يرلرك اولو دوقەسی اولان افتخار الامرا

"King of Poland, and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Prussia, Ruthenia, Masovia, ... Latva, and of other lands ...

Many valuable observations concerning titles in Ottoman-Turkish diplomatics may be found in a discussion of the titles of the Moldavian and Wallachian princes contributed by Dj. Siruni, "Haşmetlù– Pe marginea titulaturii Domnilor români în cancelaria ottomană", *Hrisovul*, 2 (Bucureşti, 1942), pp. 139–202. Useful information about the titles of various dignitaries of the Ottoman Empire is provided by M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, 3 vols. (İstanbul, 1946–56).

Salutatio

The name and titles of the addressee were followed in Ottoman documents by greeting and wishing formulas, the دعا *dua*, which to

a certain limited degree corresponded to the *salutatio* of Medieval European documents.

If the addressee was a Muslim, then the *dua* or wishings contained blessings of such a type as: ادام الله اجلاله *adāma'llāhu ijlālahū*, "may God prolong [his] greatness".

It was different, however, when the addressee was a Christian, as was the case in the correspondence between the Ottoman sultans and European monarchs. In such cases a formula was added containing wishes of successful ultimate results, that is, for final conversion to Islam, as: ختمت عواقبه بالخير *ḫutimat ʿawāqibuhū bi-'l-ḫayr*, "may his ultimate results be terminated with success". This wish was even more strongly stressed in the phrase: ارشده الله تعالى *aršadahū 'llāhu taʿālā*, "may God guide him onto the right path". *See* Kraelitz [-Greifenhorst], "Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts, Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Diplomatik", *op. cit.*, p. 24; L. Fekete, *Einführung*, pp. XXXVI–XXXVII. For other formulas *see* J. Østrup, *Orientalische Höflichkeit, Formen und Formeln im Islam* (Leipzig, 1929), pp. 76–77.

Narratio et dispositio

The narrative part of a document was most frequently introduced by the formula: توقيع رفيع همايون واصل اوليجاق معلوم اوله كه *tevki-i refi-i hümayun vasıl olıcak malûm ola ki*, "as soon as this exalted imperial letter reaches [your hands] it should be known that . . .". This was followed by the substance of the *narratio* and *dispositio*.

The *narratio* (نقل *nakil*, ابلاغ *iblâğ*, or تصريح *tasrih*) consisted of information explaining the reasons for the issuance of the document, *e.g.*, a report or application creating the necessity for writing. It was sometimes preceded by a kind of appeal, somewhat apologetic and allusive, usually consisting of a Koranic quotation, proverb, etc.

The *dispositio* was normally introduced by the word حكم *hüküm* "injunction", or امر *emir*, "order". This should not suggest that such a document had the character of an order. In letters written to foreign monarchs the presentation of the *narratio* hardly differed from that of the *dispositio*. Only Süleyman I used an imperative tone in his correspondence with foreign rulers.

Sanctio et corroboratio

The *sanctio* or the strengthening of the preceding *dispositio* (called تأكيد *tekit*) was introduced by the formula: شويله بلاسز *şöyle bilesiz*, "thus you must know", or بر درلو داحی اتمياسز *bir türlü dahi etmiyesiz*, "hereafter you will not act by any means". (*See* Kraelitz[-Greifenhorst], *op. cit.*, pp. 27–28.) This was followed by an ominous warning (لعنت *lânet*) of stern measures to be proceeded with against those who disobeyed or transgressed the prescribed instructions: عظيم بلايه اغرارسز *azîm belâya uğrarsız*, "a great misfortune will befall you".

The formula of credentials or the *corroboratio* consisted of the following: بتی تحقيق بلوب اعتماد قلاسز *biti tahkik bilip itimat kılasız*, "you ought to recognize and trust this text as being true (verified)". *See* Kraelitz[-Greifenhorst], *op. cit.*, pp. 29–30.

Datatio (tarih)

Dates in Ottoman-Turkish documents were most frequently expressed by means of Arabic formulas. They were preceded by تحرير فی *tahriren fi* (less frequently by كتب فی *kutiba fī*), "written in ...". This was followed by the month and year of the *hicrî* era. As a rule no day was included in the *datatio*, reference being made to the appropriate part of the month (initial, middle, or final).

Arabic numbers appearing in dates were usually spelled out with no diacritical marks, *e.g.*, سنه اربع تلين و تسعمايه اواخر شهر جمادی الاول, "the last part of the month of *cemaziyelevvel*, of the year 934", (تلين should be read as ثلثين). The names of some months were frequently used with special attributes, *e.g.*, رمضان المبارك *ramazan al-mubārak*, "the blessed Ramadan". (*See* E. Littmann, "Über die Ehrennamen und Neubenennungen der islamischen Monate", *Der Islam*, 8 (1918), pp. 228–36). The names of the months were often abbreviated. These abbreviations were discussed above in the section dealing with abbreviations (pp. 128–33). Further details concerning the Muslim calendar are presented below, in the chapter on Chronology (pp. 186–91).

Place of issuance of document

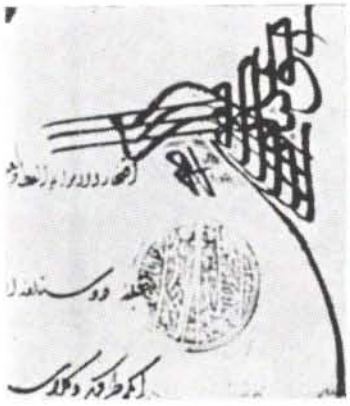
The *datatio* was followed by an indication of the place of the composition of the document. It was most frequently introduced by the expression بمقام *bi-maqām*, "in the place ...", followed by specification of the town, etc., *e.g.*, قسطنطينيه *Kostantiniye* (Constantinople); ادرنه *Edirne* (Adrianople). Sometimes another formula was used: بيورت *biyurt*, "on a campaign, in camp". *See* Kraelitz[-Greifenhorst], *op. cit.*, pp. 34–39. Occasionally an epithet was added to the name of the town, *e.g.*, محروسه *mahrusa*, "protected", this epithet being chiefly applied to Istanbul.

Those responsible for the issuing of documents did not sign them. In the case of the sultan a signature was replaced by the *tuğra*, in the case of a vizier or other high dignitary, it was taken care of by a *pençe* (*see* above, pp. 141–44). F. Babinger in his treatise, "Ein Besitzstreit um Sulu Manastir unter Mehmed II. (1473)", *Charisteria Orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia* (Praha, 1956), pp. 29–37, discussed the problem of the *kuyruklu imza*, "tail-like signature". This kind of signature was used when a document written in the name of the sultan had to be issued during his absence. It was signed by two dignitaries who certified to the validity of the document on behalf of their ruler. Apart from that, high officials used to endorse documents by affixing the sign *sah*, standing for "correct, valid, authentic" (*see* Illus. 27). This sign corresponded more or less to the *vidi* sign appearing in European documents.

On the other hand documents containing copies or transcripts, or decisions of lower officials, were normally signed by witnesses, *şühud-ül-hal*. Sometimes documents were also provided with various observations, remarks, or paraphs attesting to their reliability.

Mühür

Ottoman documents were stamped with a seal مهر *mühür*, or خاتم *hatim*, which served as a proof of authenticity (*see* Illus. 27). Since the people issuing documents often could not write, a great deal of importance was necessarily attached in Muslim countries to the presence of the seal. Only sultans' documents needed no seals because they were sufficiently certified by the presence of the *tuğra*. Like the crown and the throne, the seal was regarded as a royal attribute.



افقر العباد موسی پاشا

زائار دعای صحکاهی
موسی شد مظهر
عون الهی ۱۰٤۱

Illustration 27.

(a) *Pençe, sah,* and *mühür* of the *beylerbeyi* of Buda, from the middle of the seventeenth century. (b) Inscription on *pençe.* (c) Inscription on *mühür.*

The seal was affixed either with black ink or on wet paper. The letters on the seals were either sunk or executed in relief. Consequently, their impression could appear black or white, depending on the kind of engraving.

The size of the seal varied according to the rank held by the man, issuing the document. The shape was round, oval, elliptical, square or polygonal. Apart from the name of the man issuing the document, the inscription on the seal included a religious formula, quotation from the Koran, etc. Seals were also decorated with ornamental motives.

In the Crimea too *mühür* meant seal, but other terms were also in use there. *Altın mühür* signified an oval seal. *Altın nişan* meant the golden square seal of the khan. Finally, *altın paiza* signified a square seal, or a golden cylinder seal tied to a string (*see* p. 157, below).

The origin of the *mühür* is linked to the cattle or horse brand called *damga* (*tamga*), used by old nomadic Turkic tribes. *See* M. Reinaud, *Monumens arabes, persans et turcs*, vol. 1–2 (Paris, 1828); J. von Hammer-Purgstall, 'Abhandlung über die Siegel der Araber, Perser und Türken", *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Classe, 1 (Wien, 1850), pp. 1–36, one plate; J. Deny's article, "Muhr", *EI* (1913–34), vol. 3, pp. 701–02; L. Fekete, *Einführung*, pp. XXVI–XXVII; Muderizović, "Nekoliko muhurova bosanskih valiya", *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja*, 28 (1916), pp. 1–39; F. Babinger, "Das Archiv des Bosniaken 'Oṣmân Paša", *MSOSW*, 34 (1931), p. 23, n. 5; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı devleti zamanında kullanılmış olan bazı mühürler hakkında bir tetkik", *Belleten*, 4 (1940) pp. 495–544. Tatar seals were treated by A. N. Samoĭlovich, "O 'paĭza'-'baĭsa' v Dzhuchievom uluse", *IAN*, 20 (1926), pp. 1107–20; O. Akchokrakly, *Tatarskie tamgi v Krymu* [Simferopol', 1927 ?]; also by P. Pelliot, "Notes sur le 'Turkestan' de M. W. Barthold", *T'oung Pao*, 27 (1930), pp. 35–38. For a catalogue of the collection of the *Topkapı Sarayı* Museum, *see*, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi mühürler seksiyonu rehberi* (İstanbul, 1959).

5. COPIES AND TRANSCRIPTS OF DOCUMENTS

A copy, صورة, صورت *suret*, was made of the original of each imperial edict, حكم *hüküm*, as well as of every other imperial document (خط شريف *hatt-i şerif*, خط همايون *hatt-i hümayun*). Such copies were sewn together into volumes (منشآت *münşeat* or مجموعة المنشآت

mecmuat-ül-münşeat) corresponding to our registers or folios. The volumes contained copies of documents arranged chronologically according to the period in which they were composed. These periods often corresponded to the rule of a sultan or to the duration of service of a minister, *nişancı* or *defterdar*, the latter usually being responsible for the compilation of such collections. In his work *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952), H. R. Roemer devotes the first chapter to a discussion of the importance of the collections of *inşa* for the study of the history of the Near East.

Apart from collections of copies, special registers (each called دفتر *defter*) were made which contained short résumés, extracts from all official correspondence, *fermans*, edicts or directives issued by particular departments of metropolitan and provincial authorities. Such registers were kept in the Imperial Chancery (from such a register originated a manuscript now in the possession of the National Library of Vienna; *see* G. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, vol. 1 (Wien, 1865–67), No. 334, Mxt. 683).

Documents of this kind were inscribed with a formula such as صورت حکم شریف *suret-i hükm-i şerif*, or صورت مکتوب *suret-i mektup*. A certified copy consisted of the entire substance of the original text, except the *tuğra* and various chancery endorsements.

The place of the *tuğra* in a copy was taken by the phrase طغرا یری *tuğra yeri* or محل طغرا شریف, *mahall-i tuğra-i şerif*, both signifying "place for *tuğra*". Sometimes the place of the *tuğra* was outlined. Legalization of a document was performed by a *kadı* who, in such a case, assumed the rôle of a notary. The formula of legalization inscribed on the copies was called امضا *imza* or توقیع قاضی *tevki-i kadı*. It was usually written in the Arabic language in one or two lines. It attested to the conformity of the text of the copy to that of the original document. This formula was placed at the right side of the few top lines of the text of the copy. The validity of the *kadı*'s statement was attested by his seal. Verification formulas in later centuries did not show any dates. In the seventeenth century special terms were used to certify copies of dispatched letters: *yazılıcak*, *gönderilecek* or *irsal olunan*. *See* J. Rypka, "Aus der Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bogdan Chmelnicki", *Sborník věnovaný Jaroslavu Bidlovi* (Praha, 1928), pp. 346–50, 482–98.

A number of legalization formulas from the former archives of Dubrovnik have been published by F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, "Legalisierungsformeln in Abschriften osmanischer kaiserlicher Erlässe und Handschreiben", *MOG*, 2 (1923–26), pp. 137–46. The problem of copies has also been discussed by L. Fekete, *Einführung*, pp. LVII–LVIII.

6. FORGERIES OF DOCUMENTS

In studying Ottoman documents one has to beware of forgeries. One may find them either in a period contemporaneous with the events referred to in the spurious document or at a later date. Thus G. Jacob in his *Türkische Urkunden aus Ungarn*, vol. 1 (Kiel, 1917), demonstrated that the alleged copy of a letter written in 1595 by Sinan Paşa, the *beylerbeyi* of Buda, to Matthew, a brother of Hapsburg Emperor Rudolph II, should be treated with great skepticism in spite of the attitude of W. Pertsch, who believed in its authenticity.

7. TRANSLATIONS OF DOCUMENTS

The documents preserved in European archives are often accompanied by translations. These were made either at the time of the composition of the documents or later on by translators at various European courts. Early documents (dating from the sixteenth century, for instance) were provided with translations supplied by the Chancery of the Ottomans. These translations were usually made into Italian or Latin, or sometimes into Polish (*e.g.*, those published by Strasz). In later centuries these translations were made in other countries too. Thus in Poland Turkish documents were converted into Latin, Italian, and Polish.

Though one does not deny their value, such translations are not always reliable; they are not innocent of mistakes, and consequently they must be carefully scrutinized prior to their utilization for research purposes. Errors occur in dates also.

In European countries translations were usually attached to documents. In Austria they were produced by Podesta and Meninski; in Sweden by Rubens; in Russia by Kerr; in France by Petit de la Croix. Critical observations in respect to these translations have been presented on many occasions. *See*, J. Rypka, *op. cit.*,

p. 486 (*see* above p. 150); *idem*, "Weitere Beiträge zur Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bohdan Chmel'nyćkyj", *AO*, 2 (1930), p. 262; V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoĭ Porty do nachala XVIII veka* (S.-Peterburg, 1887), p. XXV; F. Babinger, "Die älteste türkische Urkunde des deutsch-osmanischen Staatsverkehrs", *Der Islam*, 10 (1920), p. 135; E. Zawaliński, "Zbiory tureckich dokumentów w bibliotece Czartoryskich w Krakowie", *RO*, 14 (1938), pp. 113–32 (résumé, pp. 132–35); J. Reychman, "Tłumacze języków wschodnich w Polsce XVIII wieku", part i, *Myśl Karaimska*, N. S. 2 (1947), pp. 66–78, part ii, *PO*, 1 (1948), pp. 83–90; B. Baranowski, "Znajomość języka tureckiego w dawnej Polsce (do połowy XVII wieku)", *RO*, 14 (1938), pp. 9–37.

Some Armenian translators used to begin their task by transcribing Turkish texts into the Armenian alphabet, after which they would proceed with their translation; *see*, B. Baranowski, "Ormianie w służbie dyplomatycznej Rzeczypospolitej", *Myśl Karaimska*, N. S. 1 (1945–46), p. 127. There exist further Turkish texts transcribed into the Latin alphabet; *see* A. Zajączkowski, "List turecki Sulejmana I do Zygmunta Augusta w ówczesnej transkrypcji i tłumaczeniu polskim z r. 1551", *RO*, 12 (1936), pp. 91–118.

Translations were written on the backs of documents or attached on separate sheets of paper. Some translations were gathered into separate volumes. For example such a volume, dating from the seventeenth century, was preserved in Poland in the collection of the Ossoliński family (No. 3555) (*see* Illus. 28).

8. DOCUMENTS OF THE CRIMEAN TATARS

Polish collections (chiefly in Cracow and Warsaw) hold many documents of the Crimean Tatars. The earliest ones date from 1514, the latest from 1786. The evolution of Crimean diplomatics was influenced on the one hand by Ottoman-Turkish practices, on the other hand by those of the Uyghur Turks who were responsible for the infiltration of certain Mongol and Chinese patterns. In the fifteenth century the documents of various European khanates (the Golden Horde, Kazan, initially even the Crimea), as well as their correspondence with foreign sovereigns such as Ottoman rulers, were written in the Uyghur and Arabic scripts. The Uyghur script was used by the chanceries of various successor states emerging after the disintegration of the Empire of Genghis Khan. This practice

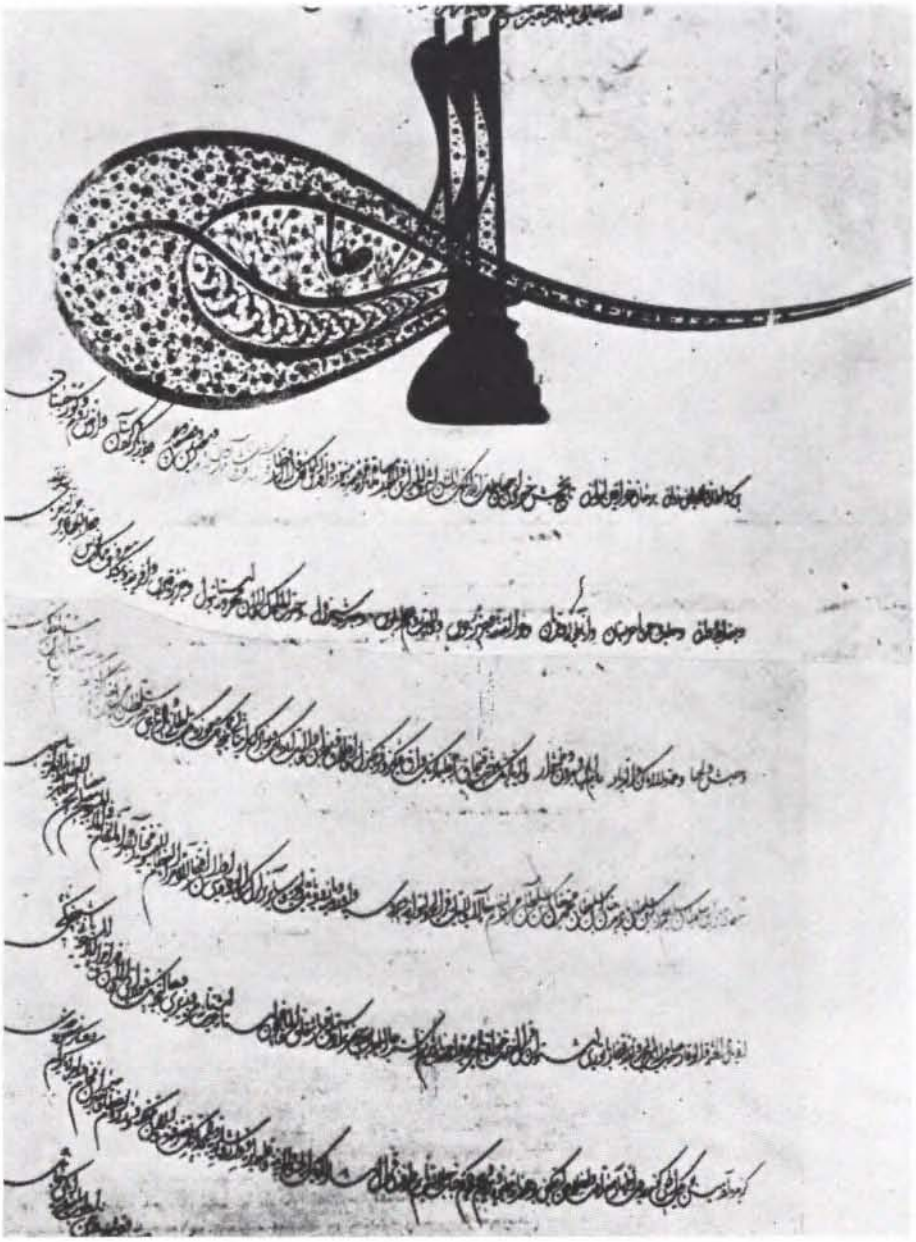
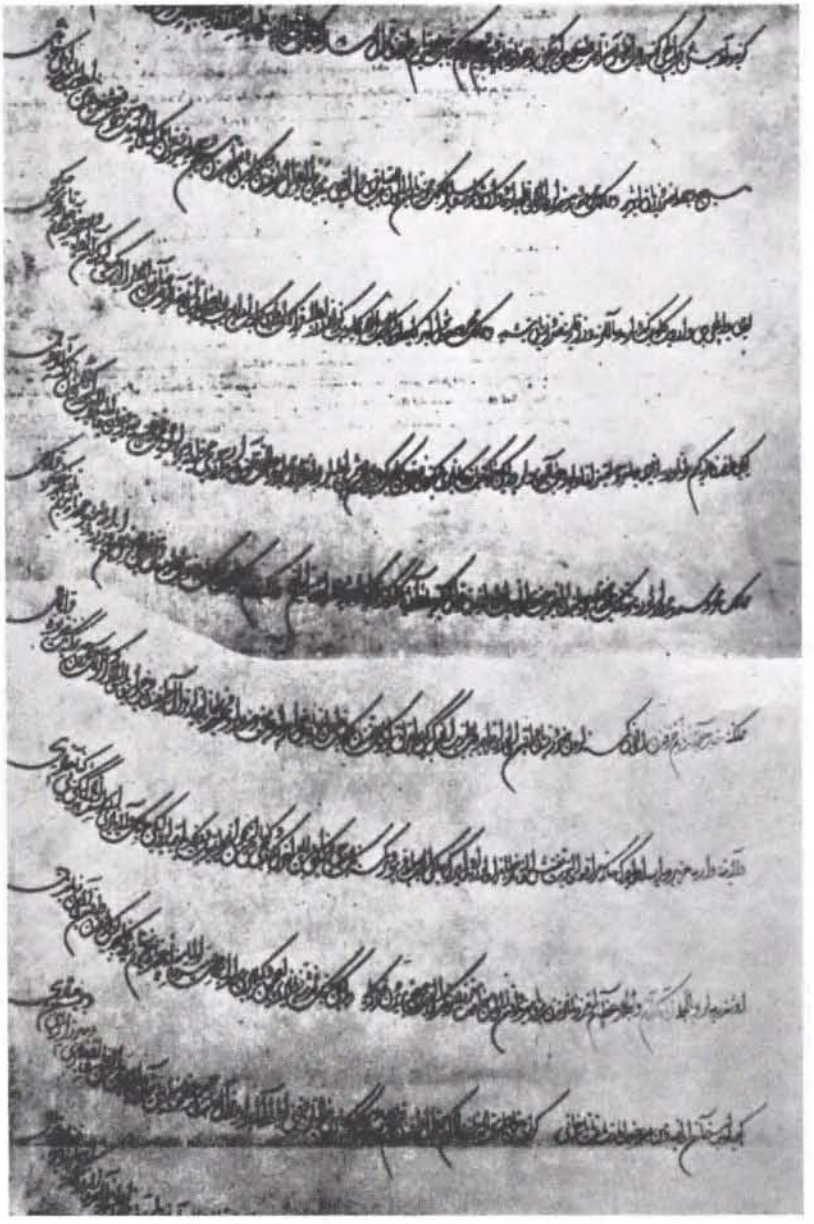
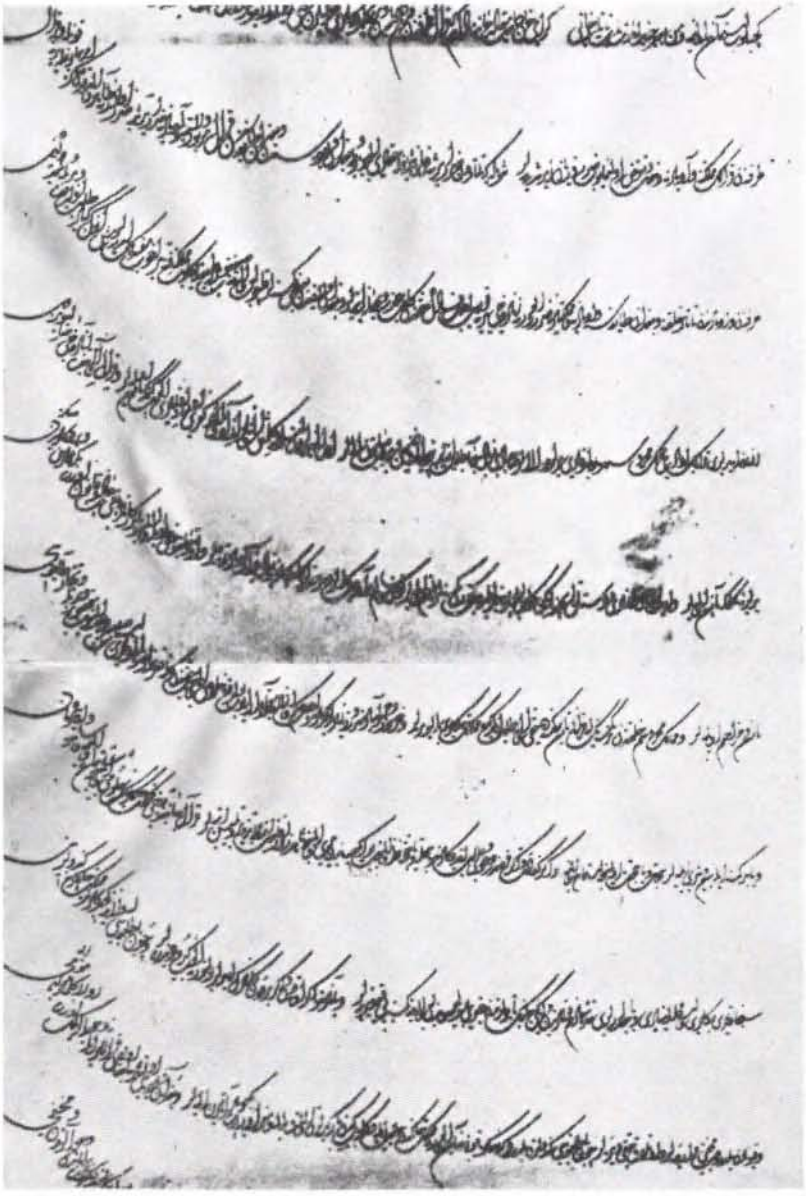


Illustration 28. (a)

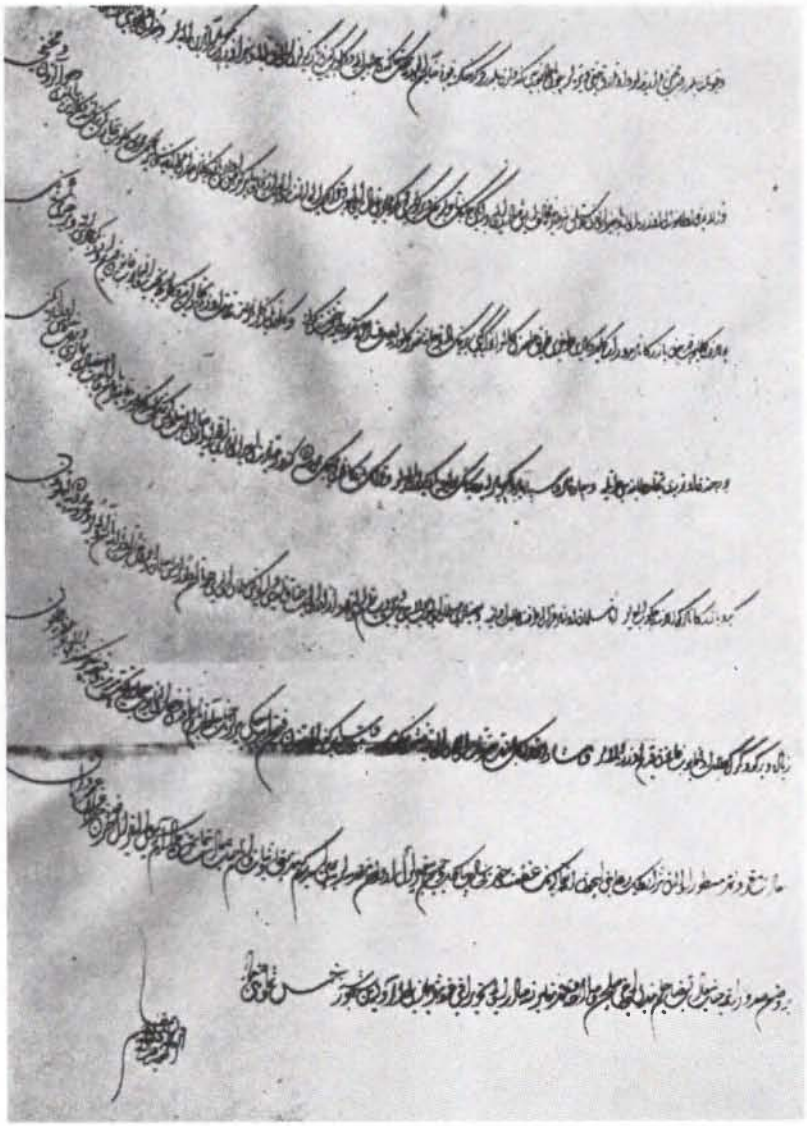
Ahitname of Murat III to Stefan Báthory



(b)



(c)



(d)

was caused by the employment of Uyghur scribes, clerks, etc., by these chanceries. (Concerning the Uyghur script, *see* A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1950²), pp. 15–28).[3]

Although from the fourteenth century on, the Mongolian language was replaced by Turkish in the East European khanates, the Uyghur script continued to be used for some time along with the Arabic.

A knowledge of Uyghur-Turkic diplomatics may prove helpful for the study of the diplomatics of the Crimean Tatars. This subject was treated in a general way by P. Melioranskiĭ, "Dokument uĭgurskago pis'ma sultana Omar-Sheĭkha", *ZVO*, 16 (1904–05), pp. 01–012, two plates; B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde – Die Mongolen in Rußland* 1223–1502 (Leipzig, 1943), pp. 305–12 (*see* discussion on the language, pp. 285–93); A. Zajączkowski, "Dyplomatyka Złotej Hordy i Krymu z XV w. (Nowe materiały z archiwum tureckiego", *Przegląd Historyczny*, 37 (1948), pp. 212–17. A number of notes discussing the form, language, and technical terminology of Uyghur-Turkic diplomatics may be found in the various publications of *yarlıks* discussed above (pp. 80–81, 93–99). One should mention here the publications of Obolenskiĭ, Grigor'ev, and Radlov dealing with the *yarlık* of Tohtamış; *see*, the remarks of S. Gołębiowski, "Szahin Girej i Kozacy", *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1852, ii, pp. 1–27 and of J. Bartoszewicz, *Pogląd na stosunki Polski z Turcyą i Tatarami* (Warszawa, 1860), pp. 153–55. Additional treatments of the *yarlık* of Timur Kutlug were contributed by J. von Hammer[-Purgstall], *Fundgruben des Orients*, 6 (1818), pp. 359–62, four plates; by H. Vámbéry, *Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku Bilik* (Innsbruck, 1870), pp. 172 f.; by V. Radlov, "I͡Arlyki Tokhtamysha i Temir-Kutluga", *ZVO*, 3 (1888), pp. 18–20: transcription, pp. 20–21; translation, p. 40; facsimile; and by Samoĭlovich, "Neskol'ko popravok k i͡arlyku Timur-Kutluga", *IAN*, 12 (1918), pp. 1109–24 (containing very valuable methodological and philological notes). Publications dealing with other *yarlıks* were presented by Samoĭlovich, "Tiĭish (tish') i drugie terminy krymsko-tatarskikh i͡arlykov", *IAN*, ser. 6, 11 (1917), pp. 1277–78; *idem*, "O 'paĭza'-'baĭsa' v Dzhuchiyevom uluse", *IAN*, 20 (1926), pp. 1107–20; *idem*, "Neskol'ko popravok k izdaniiu i perevodu i͡arlykov Tokhtamysh-khana", *ITOIAE*, 1 (58) (1927), pp. 141–44;

[3] From the Uyghur script were derived the Mongolian and Manchurian scripts which were still in use in recent times. *See* S. E. Malov, *Pami͡atniki drevnetiurkskoĭ pis'mennosti* (Moskva-Leningrad, 1951); also A. Le Coq, "Kurze Einführung in die uigurische Schriftkunde", *MSOSW*, 22 (1919), pp. 93–109, seven plates.

idem, "K istorii krymsko-tatarskogo literaturnogo i͡azyka", *VNOT*, 7 (1927), pp. 27–32; and finally *idem*, "Kitaĭskai͡a 'paĭ-dzy' v staroturetskom tolkovanii na arabskiĭ koran", *ibid.*, 9–10 (1930), 27–28; by V. Grigor'ev, *O dostovernosti i͡arlykov, dannykh khanami Zolotoĭ Ordy russkomu dukhovenstvu* (Moskva, 1842); by I. Berezin, "Tarkhannye i͡arlyki Krymskikh Khanov", in *ZOOID*, 8 (1872), pribavlenie, pp. 1–9; by N. I. Veselovskiĭ, "Neskol'ko poi͡asneniĭ kasatel'no i͡arlykov dannykh khanami Zolotoĭ ordy russkomu dukhovenstvu", *Zap. Russ. Geogr. Obshch., Otd. Etnogr.*, 34 (1909), pp. 525–36; by V. V. Vel'i͡aminov-Zernov, *Materialy dli͡a istorii Krymskago khanstva* (Sanktpeterburg, 1864); by Inostrantsev, "O meste vydachi i͡arlyka Timur-Kutluga", *IAN*, ser. 6, 11 (1917), pp. 49–50; by M. D. Priselkov, *Khanskie i͡arlyki russkim mitropolitam* (Petrograd, 1916); by Vakhidov, Bazilevich, and others. *See* also the editions by Halasi-Kun and Kurat (*see* above, pp. 80–81, 93–94, Illus. 29).

The arrangement of the components in Uyghur-Turkic documents, as well as in those of the Crimean Tatars, did not differ much from the arrangement in other Oriental documents. In the fifteenth century, however, the *invocatio* (*temcit*) was much more simple, *e.g.*, "By the grace of the Exalted God", or "By the miracles of the Prophet Muhammet". Also the *inscriptio* was simple, *e.g.*, *Møxəmmətən Oɬazi Muratqa səlam*. Later on, more elaborate formulas appeared: *Xaqi təoɬalə inajət belən Møxəmmət pəjgambər moоɬçiza belən Møxəmmətən Oɬazi Muratqa*. The *invocatio* was frequently followed by the old Turkic formula of order, consisting of an expression invoking respect; *e.g.*, *Toktamış sözüm, Hacı Girey sözüm*, "My words are Toktamış-like . . .", "My Hacı Girey-like words". The use of the formula *sözümüz* in its literal Turkic meaning, was a legacy of the diplomatic practices of the chanceries of Timurlane and of his successors. But this practice was not limited to documents issued by Turkic successors of the great conqueror. This expression was used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as a standard formula in documents issued by rulers under the influence of Persian culture. This may be observed in Persian, Georgian, and Armenian documents written in Persian and belonging to a collection lately treated by A. D. Papazi͡an, *Persidskie dokumenty Matenadarana*, 2 vols. (Erevan, 1956–59). *See* discussion by L. Fekete, "Arbeiten der grusinischen Orientalistik auf dem Gebiete der türkischen und persischen Paläographie und die Frage der Formel *sözümüz*", *Acta Orientalia* (Budapest), 7, i (1957), pp. 1–20; and A. Zajączkowski, "Przyczynek

Illustration 29.
Initial part of Tohtamış' letter to Iagiello, King of Poland, dated 1393

do dyplomatyki muzułmańskiej", *PO*, 23 (1957), pp. 325–27. Fekete is of the opinion that the occurrence of the formula in those documents had the character of a graphic symbol corresponding to the *tuğra* in Ottoman documents. *See* also V. Minorsky, "A Soyūrghāl of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu (903/1498)", *BSOAS*, 9, (1937–39), pp. 927–60; J. Aubin, "Note sur quelques documents Aq Qoyunlu", *Mélanges Louis Massignon* (Damas, 1956); H. Horst, "Ein Immunitätsdiplom Schah Muḥammad Ḫudābandäs vom Jahre 989/1581", *ZDMG*, 105 (1955), pp. 289–97.

In the case of documents pertaining to the granting of some privilege, the formula *sözümüz* was followed by a list of names of the persons on whom these privileges were bestowed. The text itself alluded to requests submitted or to dispositions previously issued. It thus constituted a kind of *narratio*, followed by a *dispositio*, and concluded by a *sanctio*. The name of the khan was usually written in gold ink. The dating on the documents of the Crimean Tatars of the early period was based on the so-called animal cycle of Mongol-Turkic origin. (*See* below, chapter dealing with chronology, pp. 190–91.) In the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries the documents were usually written in the *divani*, or sometimes in the *rika* script.

Uyghur-Turkic documents as well as those of the Crimean Tatars also had signs of verification. This function was performed by the

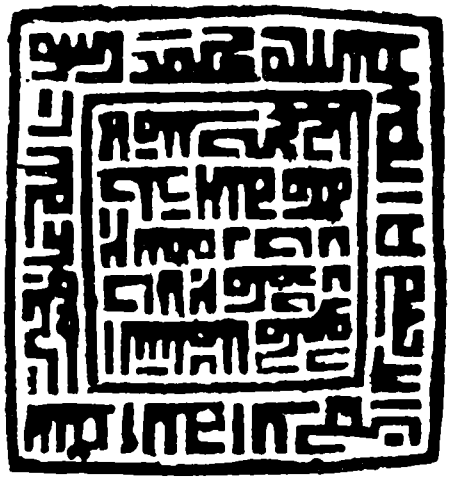


Illustration 30.
Тамга of Maxmut, Khan of Kazan in the fifteenth century

tamga (*see* Illus. 30). The origin of the *tamga* is traced back to primitive family symbols which were once branded on cattle. The shape of the Uyghur *tamga* was geometrical and quadrangular and differred somewhat from the shape of the *tamga* appearing on the coins of the Crimean khans. *See* F. W. K. Müller, "Uigurische Glossen", *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 8 (1919–20), pp. 310–24; O. Akchokrakly, *Tatarskie tamgi v Krymu* [Simferopol', 1927?]; P. Pelliot, "Notes sur le 'Turkestan' de M. W. Barthold", *T'oung Pao*, 27 (1930), pp. 35–38. In later periods *tamgas* were circumscribed with a kufic inscription, usually consisting of a religious formula. The *tamga* was impressed with red ink. Tatar-Turkic peoples used *tamgas* as family insignia. It is possible that the coats of arms of Polish nobility of Tatar origin are derived from *tamgas*; *see* S. Dziadulewicz, *Herbarz rodzin tatarskich w Polsce* (Wilno, 1929). For verifying purposes a golden *nişan* and a *paiza* were used besides the *tamga*. The use of the *paiza* was in fashion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It consisted of a small metal bar on which were engraved words confirming the grant of privilege. In later periods it was used as a kind of seal. *See* A. Spitsyn, "Tatarskiia͡ baĭsy", *Izvestiia͡ Imperatorskoĭ Arkheologicheskoĭ Komisii*, 29 (1909), pp. 130–41; also A. Samoĭlovich, "Kitaĭskaia͡ 'pai-dzy' v staro-turetskom tolkovanii na arabskiĭ koran", *VNOT*, 9–10 (1930), pp. 27–28.

Also in use was a *basma*, but its nature has not been sufficiently studied as yet. It was evidently some sort of symbol with an image, and served for purposes of certification. It could have been a small piece of flat wood. *See* P. M. Melioranskiĭ, "Chto takoe basma zolotoordynskikh poslov khana Akhmata?", *ZVO*, 17 (1906), pp. 0129–40, and *N. Likhachev, "Basma zolotoordynskikh khanov", *Sbornik stateĭ v chest grafini Praskov'i Sergeevny Uvarovoĭ* (Moskva, 1916).

In later documents of the Crimean Tatars, there appeared a pear-shaped seal (*mühür*). This was sometimes called *altın mühür*; the earlier quadrangular seal of the khan had the name of *altın nişan*. The suspended cylinder seal was called *altın paiza*. In later documents the *tuğra* also appeared and according to Babinger, was called *pençe*. (*See* F. Babinger, "Die älteste türkische Urkunde des deutsch-osmanischen Staatsverkehrs", *Der Islam*, 10 (1920), p. 136, n. 2). Some of the documents, *e.g.*, a *yarlık* of Mehmet Girey of 1654, were provided with a small golden bulla on a string, which also served as a symbol of legalization.

In earlier periods the language of the documents of the Crimean Tatars betrayed certain dialectical characteristics; it was influenced by local dialects as well as by Central Asiatic languages. The latter influenced not only the official language but also chancery practices and diplomatic terminology in the khanates of Southeastern Europe. Older documents contained many Mongolian borrowings; in later documents, on the other hand, there appeared Kipchak elements mixed with Ottoman-Turkish borrowings. In still later periods the language of the documents of the Crimean Khanate preserved its own peculiar features, resisting the influence of Persian or Arabic. For relevant discussion, *see* T. Halasi-Kun, "Monuments de la langue tatare de Kazan", *Analecta orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dicata* (= *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, 5) (Budapest, 1947), pp. 138–55; *idem*, "Kazan Türkçesine ait dil yadigârları", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, 1949, pp. 603–44; A. Samoĭlovich, "K istorii krymsko-tatarskogo literaturnogo i͡azyka", *VNOT*, 7 (1927), pp. 27–32; S. E. Malov, "Izuchenie i͡arlykov i vostochnykh gramot", *Akademiku Vladimiru Aleksandrovichu Gordlevskomu k ego semidesi͡atipi͡atiletiiu*, *Sbornik Stateĭ*, Moskva, 1953, pp. 187–95.

One should also remember that the oldest documents of the Crimean Tatars pertaining to relations with Poland were frequently written in Latin or Italian.

The diplomatic documents of the khans contained a number of technical terms such as the following. For *tiyiş*, *see*, A. Samoĭlovich, "Tiĭish (tish') i drugie terminy krymsko-tatarskikh i͡arlykov", *IAN*, ser. 6, 11, ii (1917), pp. 1277–78; for *baskak*, *see* A. A. Semenov, "K voprosu o zolotoordynskom termine "baskak" ", *IAN*, Otd. Lit. i I͡Az., 6 (1947), pp. 137–47; for *tarhan*, *see* S. M. Szapszał, "K voprosu o tarkhannykh i͡arlykakh", *Akademiku ... Gordlevskomu ...*, *Sbornik Stateĭ*, Moskva, 1953, pp. 302–16; for *basma*, *see* A. Inostrantsev, "K voprosu o 'basme'", *ZVO*, 18 (1908), pp. 0172–79; and H. Ortekin, "Basmaya ve baysaya dair", *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, 2 (1939), pp. 65–71, five plates.

The *yarlıks*, or documents of the Tatar khans, are discussed in *Ch. Bourgeois, "Les yarliks ou lettres patentes des Khans tartares", *Revue de l'histoire des missions*, 10 (1933), pp. 296–301. In the study of the *yarlıks* one should not overlook the existence of Central Asiatic documents; *see*, an article by O. D. Chekhovich and his bibliographical list, "Vakufnyĭ dokument vremeni Tīmūra iz kollektsii Samarkandskogo muzei͡a", *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 4 (1951), pp. 56–67.

9. BASIC FACTS OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE OTTOMAN CHANCERY

In research in the field of Ottoman-Turkish diplomatics one should be familiar with the structure and functioning of the institutions responsible for the issuing of documents, *i.e.*, the Chancery and the related departments of the Ottoman government.

The principal complex of offices from which letters or documents were dispatched was called the Sublime Porte, *Babıali*. It was headed by the grand vizier, the *sadrazam*. This institution dated from the fifteenth century. Originally there were a number of viziers who constituted an advisory council known as the *kubbe vezirleri*, but later they retained only the title and convened only on purely formal occasions. The institution was finally abolished in 1730.

The grand vizier was entrusted with the grand imperial seal, مهر همايون *mühr-i hümayun* which was engraved in a ring. This was the symbol of his authority and was handed over to him at a special ceremony, hence his title, *sahib-i mühür*, "seal master". At the meetings of the *divan* the grand vizier handed the grand seal to the *çavuş başı*, who was in charge of sealing the registers.

Apart from the grand imperial seal which he gave to the grand vizier, the sultan had another seal, a quadrangular one, which remained in his personal care. Two other seals were the responsibility of certain officials, one of the *haznedar*, the official in charge of the Treasury of the Harem, and the other of the *has oda başı*, the official in charge of the Imperial Bedchamber. The grand vizier also possessed a small seal, كوچوك مهر *küçük mühür*, which was affixed by him beneath the *pençe* on the margin of documents issued in his own name. Yet another seal of the grand vizier was affixed at the bottom of documents. Smaller wax seals, with no inscriptions, were used for the closing of correspondence. The seals were changed with every new ruler.

The grand vizier performed a number of important functions. He represented the sultan, received foreign ambassadors, and dispatched letters to foreign ministers and chancellors. He presented reports to the sultan and was in charge of the archives of the Sublime Porte (*see* above, pp. 24–31). In time of war the grand vizier, as the *serdar-i ekrem*, could perform the function of commander-in-chief.

A list of grand viziers is given below, in the section dealing with chronology (pp. 195–97). *See* also E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hannover, 1955), pp. 161–66; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*; Osmanzade Tayip Ahmet, *Hadıkat-ül-vüzera* (İstanbul, 1271); Mehmet Şemi, *Esmar-üt-tevarih* (İstanbul, 1267), pp. 20–39; also Şemseddin Sami Bey, *Kamus-ül-alâm*, 6 vols. (İstanbul, 1889–98).

Direct control over the Chancery of the Sublime Porte was in the hands of a special official called *reis-ül-kûttap* or *reis efendi*. His office was strictly an Ottoman institution which developed from the institution of the secretary of the *divan*. The title *reis-ül-kûttap* was not known prior to the reign of Süleyman I. Until the establishment of the new office, imperial correspondence had been conducted by an official called *emin-i ahkâm*. The institution of the *reis-ül-kûttap* was set up about 1524. The function of the *reis-ül-kûttap* or *reis efendi* corresponded more or less to that of chancellor or minister of foreign affairs. He too was in charge of correspondence with foreign ministers, and received envoys, chargés d'affaires, and secretaries of embassies. As far as internal affairs were concerned, the *reis efendi* was responsible for the drafting of documents which were to be submitted to the sultan by the grand vizier. These documents were kept by the *reis efendi* in a special bag called *kese*. At official meetings the *reis efendi* had to supply the grand vizier with relevant documents. The *reis efendi* was the head of all officials employed in the departments of the Sublime Porte and in the Chancery of the sultan, the *Divan-i Hümayun Kalemi*.

The following is a list of *reis efendi*s from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, with dat es when they can be ascertained:

Haydar Efendi, about 1530
Celâlzade Mustafa, until 1534
Recep Çelebi
Mehmet Eğri Abdi Bey Abdullah Efendizade, 1545–53
Mehmet Çelebi Ramazanzade, 1553–56
Abdürrahman, till 1561
Muhyi Çelebi, 1561
Naîmî Çelebi, 1562
Derviş Çelebi, 1562
Boyalı Mehmet, till 1566
Lâlezar Mehmet Çelebi, 1566–70
Muhiddin Çelebi, 1570
Abdülmuhyi Çelebi, 1570
Feridun Ahmet Bey, 1570–73

Piriştineli Derviş Çelebi, 1573
Hamza Bey, 1573–79
Piriştineli Derviş Çelebi, 1579
Abdülmuhyi Çelebi, 1580
Hamza Çelebi, 1580–82
Okçuzade Mehmet Çelebi, 1581
Lâm Ali Çelebi, 1581
Küçük Hasan Bey, 1582
Hamza Bey, 1582–84
Küçük Hasan Bey, 1584
Taçzade Mehmet Çelebi, 1586
Hamza Bey, 1587–89
Dal Mehmet Çelebi, 1589–90
Lâm Ali Çelebi, 1590
Musa Çelebi, 1591
Ferruh Bey, 1591
Dal Mehmet Çelebi, 1592
Hüseyin Çelebi, 1592
Yahya Çelebi, 1592–95
Okçuzade Mehmet Çelebi, 1595
Musa Çelebi, 1595
Lâm Ali Çelebi, 1596
Yahya Çelebi, 1597
Musa Çelebi, 1597
Yazıcızade Küçük Hamza Çelebi, 1599–1600
Hasan Beyzade, 1600
Medhî Çelebi, 1600
İlyas Bey Efendi, 1600–02
Küçük Hasan Beyzade, 1602
Yazıcızade Küçük Hamza Çelebi, 1603
Kâtip Mim İbrahim Efendi, 1603–06
Meç Mehmet Çelebi, 1606
Mustafa Efendi, 1606
Ali Ali Efendi, 1613
Meç Mehmet Çelebi, 1614
Şemi Efendi, 1614
Hükmi Hasan Efendi, 1614
Meç Mehmet Çelebi, 1616
Hükmi Hasan Efendi, 1620
Lâla Mehmet Efendi, 1620
Turak Çelebi, 1622
Yazıcızade Küçük Hamza Çelebi, 1622
Kadı Kadri Çelebi, 1623
Bosnalı Hüseyin Efendi, 1623
Mehmet Efendi, d. 1627
Sarı Abdullah Efendi, 1627 (in charge of the *destur-ül-inşa*)
Muslih Efendi, 1627
Bosnalı Hüseyin Efendi, 1628

Avni Ömer Efendi, 1629
Kadı Kadri Çelebi, 1632
Trabzoni İsmail Efendi, 1633
Bosnalı Hüseyin Efendi, 1634
Ebubekir Efendi, 1636
Koca Hüseyin, 1638 (in charge of the *bedayi-ül-vakayi*)
Sarı Abdullah, 1638
İsmail Efendi, 1638
Kadı Kadri Çelebi, 1641
Ebubekir Efendi, 1647
Sıdkı Ahmet Efendi, 1648–50
Mevkufatçı Mehmet Efendi, 1651
Samizade Mehmet Efendi, 1651–54
Sıdkı Ahmet Efendi, 1654–55
Samizade Mehmet Efendi, 1655–63
Koca Mustafa Efendi, 1663–65
Acemzade Hüseyin Efendi, c. 1665
Telhisçizade Mustafa Efendi, 1666
Koca Mustafa Efendi, 1666–76
Tâlip Efendi, 1672
Telhisçizade Mustafa Efendi, 1674, 1678–83
Koca Mustafa Efendi, 1684–86
Yeğen Mehmet Efendi, 1685
Mehmet Bey, 1686–87
Yeğen Mehmet Efendi, 1688
Şirvani Ebubekir Efendi, 1689
Hüseyin Paşazade Hacı Mehmet Bey, 1689
Şemsi Ahmet Efendi, till 1690
Acem Bekir, or Ebubekir Efendi, 1690–95
Seyfullah Efendi, 1695
Rami Mehmet Efendi, 1695–97
Küçük Çelebi Mehmet Efendi, 1697
Rami Mehmet Efendi, 1698
Şeyhzade Abdullah Efendi, 1698–1702
Abdülkerim Bey, 1702–03
Acem Bekir, or Ebubekir Efendi, 1703–06
Abdülkerim Bey, 1706–10
Acem Bekir, or Ebubekir Efendi, 1710–12
Ahmet Efendi, 1710–17
Abdülkerim Bey, 1712–13
Süleyman Efendi, 1713–14
Hacı Mustafa Efendi, 1714–15
Süleyman Efendi, 1715–16
Ramazanzade Abdülkadir Efendi, 1716–17
Arisi Ahmet Efendi, 1717
Üç Ambarlı Mehmet Efendi, till 1720
Süleyman Efendi, 1720–30
Kastamonulu İsmail Efendi, 1730–36

Tavukçu Mustafa, till 1740
Rağip Mehmet Efendi, 1744
Tavukçu Mustafa, 1744–47
Nailî Abdullah Efendi, 1747–52
Hacı Abdi Efendi, 1752–55
Kâmil Ahmet Efendi Soba Salan, 1755
Hamza Hâmit, 1755
Avni Mehmet Efendi, 1755
Ebubekir Rasim Efendi, 1756
Avni Efendi, 1757
Abdi Efendi, 1757–58
Kâşif Mehmet Emin Efendi, 1758–59
Dilâver Ağazade Ömer Efendi, d. 1759
Abdullah Efendi, 1759–60
Kâşif Mehmet Emin Efendi, 1760–61
Recai Mehmet Efendi, 1761–63
Numan Efendi, 1762
Hacı Abdi Efendi, 1763–64
Mehmet Emin Efendi, 1764
Hamamizade Ömer Efendi
Yenişehirli Osman Efendi, 1768
Recai Mehmet Efendi, 1768–72
Abdürrezzak Efendi, 1772
İbrahim Münip Efendi, 1772
Recai Mehmet Efendi, 1773
İbrahim Münip Efendi, 1774
Hacı Mustafa Efendi
İsmail Raif Bey
Atıfzade Ömer Efendi, 1775
Halil Hâmit Efendi
Abdürrezzak Efendi, 1778–79
Feyzi Süleyman, 1779
Hayri Mehmet Efendi, 1780
Hacı Mustafa Efendi Abdi Yeğeni, 1781
Feyzullah Efendi, 1782, 1785
Atâullah Bey, 1785
Hayri Mehmet Efendi, 1786
Raşit Efendi, 1787–88
Feyzullah Efendi, 1788
Abdullah Berî Efendi
Firdevsi Efendi, 1790
Raşit Efendi, 1791
Nahifî Efendi
Daru Mehmet Efendi, 1794
Atıf Efendi
Firdevsi Efendi, 1795
Rasih Efendi, 1796
Raşit Efendi, 1797

Atıf Efendi
Rasih Efendi, 1798

The grand vizier had a special deputy in Istanbul called *kaim-i makam*. There also was another official, called *ordu* (army) *kaim-i makamı*. The latter deputized for the grand vizier, the *serasker*, and the *kapudan paşa* in strictly military affairs.

An important function in the organization of the chancery was performed by the *nişancı*, who was an expert in the field of documents. In the Ottoman state this official was also called *tevkiî*. With the passage of time he assumed certain responsibilities pertaining to legislative acts. As *müftü-i kanun* he prepared and analyzed texts of the laws known as *kanun*. But the main function of the *nişancı* was to study acts submitted for sealing. Later the scope of his activities was narrowed in favor of the *reis-ül-kûttap*. The function of the *nişancı* was by then limited to the affixing of the *tuğra* (*see* above, p. 142).

The highest fiscal official was the *defterdar*, the intendant of finances. The institution of the *defterdar* was set up at the turn of the fifteenth century; the *defterdar* administered the imperial treasury. The rank of *defterdar* was equal to that of the *beylerbeyi*. Originally there had existed only the *defterdar* of Rumelia, who developed later on into the chief *defterdar* (*başdefterdar*), also called *şıkk-i evvel*. Aside from him there developed corresponding offices for other areas. There were thus the *defterdar*s of Anatolia (subdivided in 1584 into two *defterdarlık*s: Sivas and Karaman), of the Arab countries and the Ottoman part of Persia (*Arap ve Acem defterdar*), and of other areas. These officials were also referred to by means of ordinal numbers, *şıkk-i sani*, *şıkk-i salis*, etc. With a lapse of time the office of the chief (or first) *defterdar* was transformed into a kind of ministry of finance (and administration of the imperial domains). The *defterdar* was also in charge of tax collectors. He received the lists of state revenue and of payments in cash and kind. These lists, called *defter*s, provided a basis for the statistical surveys (*see* above p. 137). Documents issued by a *defterdar* were prepared in an office called *defterdar kapısı*. Originally each *defterdar* used to put his signature on the back of each document that concerned his fiscal area. But with the beginning of the seventeenth century only the signature of the chief *defterdar* preserved its official importance. The chief *defterdar* also put his signature on letters dealing with financial matters which were addressed or referred to the grand vizier. During

the period of reforms, that began in the eighteenth century, the office of the second *defterdar* was transformed into that of the *irad-i cedit defterdarı*, and the third *defterdar* was put in charge of the management of the naval arsenal. In 1839 the office of *defterdar* was supplanted by that of the *maliye nezareti*.

The organization of the offices of the *defterdar*s was highly elaborated; it consisted of a great many chanceries each dealing with different matters, types of revenue, fees, and levies. A list of these offices is included in von Hammer-Purgstall's *GOR*, vol. 9, pp. 31–35. Concerning the institution of *defterdar see* also Mehmet Zeki [Pakalın], "Teşkilât-i atîkada: defterdar", *TTEM*, 16 (1926), pp. 96–102, 234–44; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, article "Defterdar" in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 3, pp. 506–08.

Of the central offices, one should mention also those of the *kazasker* (military judge) and *kapudan paşa* (admiral commanding the fleet, the islands and certain parts of the coastal territory), and the *serasker* (in charge of the army). Each of these dignitaries had his own chancery. The highest religious official was the *şeyhülislâm* whose *fetva*s or official decisions in religious matters were kept in the Religious Archives. This group of high dignitaries constituted the State Council of the sultan, the so-called *divan-i erkân-i devlet*.

Of the provincial offices one should list those of the *beylerbeyi*s, who held the highest rank among the governors of the provinces. They too had their own chanceries to prepare the documents issued by governors. To each of these offices were attached a local *defterdar*, *reis-ül-küttap*, and others. There were also lower-ranking governors with the title of *paşa*.

The chancery of the Sublime Porte, *Divan-i Hümayun Kalemi*, controlled by the *reis-ül-küttap*, was divided into the following sections:

1) *Beylik, Beylik Kalemi*

In this office were prepared the *ferman*s and *evamir* (pl. of *emir*) (*see* above, p. 136), except for those which remained in the sphere of the activities of the *defterdar*. Copies of documents were kept both by the office in question and by the grand vizier. Every *emir* was signed by the official submitting it as well as by the head of the office, who was called *beylikçi*. The *beylikçi* submitted the document to the *reis efendi*, who affixed his cipher, the so-called *reşit*; in the case

of a *ferman*, he dispatched it to the *nişancı* to have a *tuğra* placed on it.

Original texts of civil and military regulations (*kanunnames*) prepared by the *nişancı* were also preserved by the *beylikçi* as were those of treaty and capitulatory agreements (*ahitnames*). The *reis efendi* consulted these documents whenever he had to confirm *der kenar* answers, *i.e.*, marginal replies composed by his subordinates on the *tekarir* (pl. of *takrir*) or on the notes submitted by the representatives of foreign countries.

2) *Tekvil*

In this office there were renewed and dispatched annually the *berats*, diplomas of provincial governors, grants of *zaîm* and *timars*, and investitures (*tevcih fermanıs*).

3) *Rüus*

This was a supply office taking care of the needs of the officials.

The officials in all these three sections were divided into three categories: 1) *kâttap* (pl. of *kâtip*), "scribes"; 2) *şacirt*, "reporting officials"; 3) *şerhli* "clerks".

Higher chancery officials were called *kalem zabitleri* or *hocagân*. Secretaries and clerks of the grand vizier were called *vezir mektupçusu* or *tezkereci*. The *reis-ül-kâttap* was normally recruited from the ranks of *hocagân*, *mektupçu* and *tezkereci*; there was furthermore a kind of corps of undersecretaries of state composed of dragomans. It included: four *kesedars* who were responsible for the safety of documents and who levied special fees; the *mümeyyiz* who looked the texts over and countersigned them; and finally the *kanuncu* who meticulously examined the legal validity of the documents.

A very important function in regard to relations with foreign countries was performed by the imperial dragoman of the Porte, the *divan-i hümayun tercümanı*. He translated speeches and documents, and he was the intermediary between foreign diplomats on the one hand and the Court and the Porte on the other hand.

The following is a list of the chief dragomans (*baştercümans*) of the Sublime Porte with dates when they can be ascertained:

Ali Bey, c. 1502
Yunus Bey, c. 1533, d. c. 1550
İbrahim Bey, Strasz, a Pole, c. 1551, d. June 9th, 1571
Oram, c. 1573

Mahmut, a German from Passau, c. 1573, d. 1575
Murat Bey, a Hungarian
Hürrem Bey, c. 1578
Zülfikâr, a Hungarian, in the first half of the 17th century
Mamucca della Torre, c. 1667
Alexander Mavrokordatos, 1673, d. 1709
Sefer Ağa
Nicholas Mavrokordatos, 1709–11
John Mavrokordatos, 1711–24
Gregory Ghica, 1724–27
Alexander Ghica, 1736–41
John Callimachi, 1744–52
Matthew Ghica, 1751–52
Gregory Ghica, 1758–64
Gregory Karadja, 1764–65
Skarlat Karadja, 1765–68, 1770–74
Nicholas Suzo, 1768–69
Michael Racovitza, 1769–70
Alexander Ypsilanti, 1774
Constantine Moruzi, 1774–77
Nicholas Karadja, 1777–82
Michael Suzo, 1782–83
Alexander Mavrocordatos, 1783–85
Alexander Callimachi, 1785–88, 1794
Constantine Ralett, 1788
Emmanuel Karadja, 1788–90
Alexander Moruzi, 1790–92
George Constantine Moruzi, 1792–94
George Moruzi, 1795–96
Constantine Alexander Ypsilanti, 1796–99
Alexander Nicholas Suzo, 1799–1802
Alexander Michael Suzo, 1802–07

See J. Gottwald, "Phanariotische Studien", *Leipziger Vierteljahrschrift für Südosteuropa*, 5 (1941), pp. 1–58, three plates (to be used with reserve); the dragomans of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century were accurately discussed by F. Babinger, "Der Pfortendolmetsch Murād und seine Schriften", *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit* (Berlin, 1927); *E. Stamiade, *Biografile marilor dragomani (interpreti) greci din imperiul ottoman, traduse din grecesce de Constantin Erbiceanu* (Bucureşti, 1897) (reprint from *Biserica Ortodoxă Romînă*); and B. Spuler, "Die europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel bis zum Frieden von Beograd (1739)", *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, N.S. 11 (1935), p. 175. For the problem of dragomans and of the so-called Turkish chancery in Dubrovnik, *see* *Fehim Efendić, "Dragomani, kancelarija turska

u Dubrovniku", *Almanac Gajret* (Sarajevo, 1940). For a general discussion of dragomans, *see* *Marghetitch, *Etude sur la fonction des drogmans* (Constantinople, 1898).

Several officials, even departments in the chancery of the Ottomans, were entrusted with special tasks of a technical character related to documents. A special department of the *divan* was in charge of comparing final, clean versions of documents with their original drafts. This department was called *Mukabeleci Kalemi*. There was also a special official whose occupation consisted of painting the *tuğras*. He was called *tuğrakeş*. He was an assistant of the *nişancı başı*; *see* F. Babinger, "Die älteste türkische Urkunde des deutsch-osmanischen Staatsverkehrs", *Der Islam*, 10 (1920), p. 136, n. 2.

The structure of the Ottoman Empire, including the organization of its chancery and of its various offices, is discussed in detail by J. von Hammer-Purgstall in his *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung* (Wien, 1815), and in an abbreviated form in his *GOR*, vol. 9, pp. 1–46; also by M. d'Ohsson, in *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* (Paris, 1787–90), vol. 2. For a discussion of titles *see* S. Kekule, *Über Titel, Ämter, Rangstufen und Anreden in der offiziellen osmanischen Sprache* (Halle, 1892). For more recent discussions of the structure of the Ottoman Empire *see* F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, "Die Verfassungsgesetze des osmanischen Reiches", *Osten und Orient*, 1919; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına methal* (İstanbul, 1941); *idem*, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı* (Ankara, 1945); *idem*, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu teşkilâtı* (*Türk tarihinin anahatları*, ser. 2, part xxii and ser. 3, part xiv); *idem*, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından kapukulu ocakları*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1943–44). The work of H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. 1, part. i–ii (London, 1950, 1957), is the most recent contribution to the study of Ottoman state organization. Also, Th. Naff, "Reform and the Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789–1807", *JAOS*, 83 (1963), pp. 295–315.

10. SOURCES FOR OTTOMAN HISTORY

Any historian studying Turkish documents and desiring to become acquainted with the period in which these documents were composed should be familiar not only with archival material but also with

contemporary Ottoman chronicles. Although the chronicles were written by official chroniclers and therefore often suffered from tendentious presentation, they nevertheless are of considerable value for the studies in question.

For the period with which the present study is concerned the most important are the chronicles of the following writters: Oruç, Neşrî, Tursun Bey, Sadüddin, Kemal Paşazade, Lûtfi Paşa, Ferdî, Mustafa Celâlzade, Kâtip Mehmet Zaîm, Peçuyi, Naima (d. 1715), Raşit (d. 1730), Çelebizade, Suphi, İzzi, Vasıf, and Cevdet. There also existed many less important historians who treated particular periods or military campaigns.

As far as Poland is concerned, early attempts to utilize information contained in old Ottoman chroniclers were made during the reign of Stanislas Augustus (1764–95). At that time students of the Oriental School were instructed to make extracts from old Turkish chronicles, to learn "what Turkish writers report about the wars with Poland, especially about the last siege of Vienna". Later on, several extracts were published by J. J. S. Sękowski in his *Collectanea z dziejopisów tureckich rzeczy do historyi polskiey służących* (Warszawa, 1824). Corrections to this work were supplied by I. Pietraszewski in his little work **Nowy przykład dziejopisów tureckich dotyczących historii polskiej, a szczególniej Tarychy Wasyf Efendiego*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1846). (The manuscript of vol. 2 was preserved in the collections of Rappersville, *see*, *Collectanea Orientalia*, 6 (1934), pp. 53–54, but was probably destroyed in 1939–44.) Sękowski's methods of translation met with objections on the part of von Hammer-Purgstall, Smirnov, and others, and more recently of Górka and Zawaliński. During the period between the two World Wars O. Górka insisted on the necessity of publishing *Monumenta islamitica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*. He himself discussed some Turkish sources in **Białogród i Kilia* (Warszawa, 1932); "Zagadnienie czarnomorskie w polityce polskiego średniowiecza. Część I. 1359–1450", *Przegląd Historyczny*, 30 (1932–33), pp. 325–91; and "Nieznany żywot Bajezida II", *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 52 (1938), pp. 375–427. E. Zawaliński discussed the problem of Poland in Turkish chronicles in his *Polska w kronikach tureckich XV i XVI w.* (= *Collectanea Orientalia*, 14, Stryj, 1938).

Similar attempts were made elsewhere. Thus in the eighteenth century in France the chronicles of Sadüddin, Naima, Raşit, Çelebizade, and others were translated; *see*, O. Górka, *op. cit.*, and E. Blochet,

Catalogue des manuscrits turcs, ed. cit. In Russia, several chronicles were translated into Russian by J. Sękowski, and V. Smirnov. In Hungary, chapters from Turkish chronicles pertaining to Hungarian history were edited and translated in *Török történetírók*, 3 vols. (Budapest, 1893–1916), by I. Karácson, J. Thúry, and Gy. Szekfű. Similar editions appeared in Serbia, Sweden, and other countries.

Ottoman historiography as a whole has been treated by both European and Turkish scholars. A pioneer in this field was J. von Hammer-Purgstall with his contribution *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches.* A detailed bibliographical treatment of all Ottoman chronicles is given by F. Babinger in his conscientious work *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927). This work contains not only biographical data and lists of works, but also detailed bibliographical references about every author, work, edition, etc. Turkish-language contributions are: Bursalı Mehmet Tahır, *Osmanlı müellifleri*, 4 vols. (İstanbul, 1333–46); Cemalüddin, *Osmanlı tarih ve müverrihleri* (İstanbul, 1314); T(ürkiye) C(umhuriyeti), Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İstanbul kitaplıkları tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, 10 fascicules (İstanbul, 1943–51).

Quite recently M. Sertoğlu published a survey of sources of Turkish history entitled "Osmanlı tarihinin kaynakları hakkında bazı düşünceler", *TM*, 12 (1955), pp. 145–54. Apart from considering foreign archival materials, this work meets the requirements of modern historiographical research. One should also mention the recent Turkish work *Osmanlı tarihi* (Ankara, 1947–). Vols. 1–4, part i (1947–56), by İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, and vols. 5–8 (1947–62), by E. Z. Karal. A useful work for the study of Turkish historical materials was contributed by M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, vols. 1–3 (İstanbul, 1946–56).

11. POLAND'S RELATIONS WITH ORIENTAL COUNTRIES

From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century Poland maintained close relations with Oriental countries. These relations consisted of exchanges of correspondence, negotiations of agreements, exchanges of embassies, and discussions concerning frontier problems.

The Polish state department in charge of relations with Oriental countries was above all the office of the Crown Chancellor, later called the Crown Chancery. This office received all letters pertaining

to these relations. After sewing the letters together, it retained them in the so-called Crown Matricula (*Metryka koronna*). All treaties, agreements, etc., were kept in that office, which had special sections called *turcica*. Papers pertaining to embassies were kept separately in the so-called *Libri Legationum*, which was subdivided into sections dealing with embassies to Turkey, Crimea, and Persia.

After the setting up of the Permanent Council (*Rada Nieustająca*) in 1775–88, relations with Turkey were given to the Department of Foreign Affairs of that institution, where there was a special office called *Bureau d'Expédition Orientale* (*Biuro Ekspedycji Orientalnej*), headed by Boskamp and subsequently by Everhardt. After the dissolution of the Permanent Council, relations with the Sublime Porte were taken over by the Deputation of Foreign Affairs and later by the minister of foreign affairs of the Guard of the Laws (*Straż praw*, 1791–92). Later relations with the Porte were again submitted to the competence of the Grand Crown Chancellor and then again to the reconstituted Permanent Council. During the insurrection of Kościuszko, the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Supreme National Council became responsible for the problem in question.

An additional special chancery of foreign relations existed for the Royal Privy Council.

List of translators of the Crown Chancery

The Polish Crown Chancery had at its disposal a separate service of translators dealing with Oriental documents. Apart from translating documents, these translators were also in charge of verifying them, of checking particular treaties, etc.

The following is a list of the translators in question, with dates when they can be ascertained:

Mikołaj Atabiowicz, 1551–65
Krzysztof Dzierżek, end of the 16th century
Marcin Lubieniecki
Selim Achmetowicz
Achmed Miszkiewicz
Asłan Ibrahimowicz
Dawid Bachtyr
Sulejman Rubaj
Zygmunt Lubieniecki, first half of the 17th century
Aleksander Otwinowski, first half of the 17th century
Prandota Dzierżek, 1638–50
Jerzy Ilicz, c. 1640

Wojciech Bieczyński, middle of the 17th century
Grzegorz Muratowicz
Romaszkiewicz, c. 1634–66
Krzysztof Dzierżek II, middle of the 17th century
Samuel Otwinowski
Stefan Serebkowicz
Piotr Serebkowicz
Kantymir Rubaj
Piotr Starkowiecki
Kazimierz Zajerski, 1667
Franciszek Mesgnien Meniński, 1656–61
Krzysztof Piotrowicz
Zachariasz Piotrowicz
Jan Juchna
Remigiusz Dzierżek, 1672–97
Mikołaj Bajduła
Jan Strutyński, beginning of the 18th century
Anastazy Piotrowicz, 1710
Piotr Marini, first half of the 18th century
Lomaca, till 1735
Franciszek Giuliani, 1736, d. 1766
Serafin, d. 1764
Saadet, 1763–65
Jan Karoński
Chabert, 1764, d. 1766
Antoni Crutta, 1765–94, d. 1812

The question of translators has been discussed by: *J. Antoni [Rolle] in "Ostatni dragomani Rzeczypospolitej", *Świat*, June 1, 1891; B. Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku* (Łódź, 1950); J. Reychman, "Tłumacze języków wschodnich w Polsce XVIII w.", part i in *Myśl Karaimska*, N.S. 2 (1947), pp. 66–78, and part ii in *PO*, 1 (1948), pp. 83–90.

Independently of the Crown Chancery, additional diplomatic relations with Ottoman Turkey and the Tatars were maintained by the Great Crown *Hetman*. He had a separate office at his disposal, dispatched messengers, received letters, and even employed translators. In the frontier regions, local Polish authorities (*e.g.*, the commandant of the fortress of Kamieniec) were also in contact with Turkish authorities (*e.g.*, with the *paşa* of Chocim). In Kamieniec itself there was established the post of special frontier translator; this post was successively held by: Zachariasz Krzysztofowicz (1730), Stefan Agopsowicz, Mikołaj Czerkies (d. 1776), Michał Dederkat (1777–78), Piotr Giuliani (1778–85), and Stanisław Pichelstein (1785–95). In the second half of the eighteenth century official

translators were also active in Mohylow (Piotr Giuliani, 1785–95), and in Batta (Owsiński); *see* J. Antoni [Rolle], *op. cit.*, and *idem*, *Zameczki podolskie na kresach multańskich* (Warszawa, 1880), vol. 1, pp. 247–54; also *idem*, *Nowe opowiadania historyczne* (Lwów, 1878), pp. 41, 55, 157–59.

List of envoys to the Ottoman Empire

Apart from correspondence, Polish-Turkish diplomatic contacts involved exchanges of envoys. Therefore lists of mutually dispatched envoys will be of great use and are given below. The earliest list of Polish envoys to Turkey, and of Turkish envoys to Poland, prepared on the basis of East and West European sources, was published by J. von Hammer-Purgstall in his *GOR*. Subsequently, a list based on Polish sources was compiled by J. Bartoszewicz, *Pogląd na stosunki Polski z Turcyą i Tatarami* (Warszawa, 1860). Polish and Oriental sources were consulted by B. Spuler. Unfortunately his work "Europäische Diplomaten in Konstantinopel", *Zeitschrift für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 1 (Breslau, 1936), pp. 383–412, has many mistakes. A detailed and competent list based on primary sources is contained in L. Bittner and L. Gross, *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1936), pp. 425–27, but it deals only with the period extending from 1648 to 1715. And finally a list of Polish envoys to Turkey from the fifteenth century to 1793 was quite competently compiled by R. Przeździecki and published in the *Rocznik Służby Zagranicznej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, 1938, pp. 139–40. One should remember that Turkish documents sometimes did not mention the names of Polish envoys and listed only their ranks or titles (*e.g.*, *Voivode* of Masovia). In such cases one can identify the envoys in question by means of lists of Polish dignitaries. Descriptions of the journeys of ambassadors are contained in P. P. Panaitescu, *Călători poloni in țările române* (Bucureşti, 1930), and in Kh. Kesi͡akov's, "Stari pŭtuvanii͡a prez Bŭlgarii͡a . . .", *see* p. 179.

The following is a list of Polish envoys to Turkey:

Name	*Date*	*Reference*
Skarbek of Góra and Grzegorz the Armenian	c. 1414	Wapowski, *Dzieje korony polskiej*, i, 356
Dobragost of Ostroróg and Łukasz of Górka	c. 1440	Bielski, *Kronika*, iv, 196

Name	*Date*	*Reference*
Jan Suchodolski, Rzewuski, and Marcin Wrocimowski	1475–76	*Ibid.*, v, 227
Mikołaj Firlej	1489–1502	*Ibid.*, vi, 25
Wawrzyniec Fredro	c. 1500	
Jan Buczaczki	d. 1509	*Tomiciana*, i, 44
Jędrzej of Radziejowice	1509–10	**Biblioteka Polska*, 1826, i
Jędrzej Zakrzewski	1509,1510, 1513	*Tomiciana*, i, 56–78; ii, 179
Janusz Świrczewski	1511–12	*Ibid.*, i, 110, 117, 194
Jan Krupski	1514	*Ibid.*, iii, 22
Mikołaj Lanckoroński	1517	A. Jocher, *Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury i nauk w Polsce* (1840–57), iii, 625–26
Jakób Seczigniewski	1517	*Tomiciana*, iv, 207
Jan of Tęczyn	1524	*Biblioteka Polska*, 1826, i, 92
Jakób Wilamowski	1531 and 1539	Bielski, *op. cit.*, vii, 18, 56; A. Grabowski, *Ojczyste spominki* (1845), i, 1–3
Piotr Opaliński	1532	Bielski, *op. cit.*, vii, 25
Jan Ocieski	1533	*Ibid.*, vii, 43
Erazm Kretkowski	1538	**Pamiętniki Warszawskie*, 1818, 396, 405
Hieronim Domański, courier	1539	
Tomasz Sobocki	1539	Bielski, *op. cit.*, vii, 57
Henryk (probably a courier)	1543	*J. U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce, 1822–1830*, (instrukcja)
Stanisław Broniewski	1546	Bielski, *op. cit.*, vii, 74
Mikołaj Cikowski	1546	
Jędrzej Jakubowski	1546	*Ibid.*, vii, 75
Jędrzej Burski (perhaps a courier)	1549	
Mikołaj Bogusz	1549–50	
Stanisław Tęczynski	1550 and 1553	
Andrzej Bzicki	1551, 1553	Kraszewski, *Podróże i poselstwa* (1860)
Jan Osiecki	1553	
Jerzy Jazłowiecki	1552–53 and 1563–64	*Teka Wileńska*, iii, 176
Jan Piotr Pilecki	1554	
Mikołaj Brzozowski	1554	
Stanisław Warszewicki	1554	

Name	*Date*	*Reference*
Erazm Otwinowski	1557	*Kraszewski, *op. cit.*; Matković: *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije*, 105, xxii (1891), 142–201
Mikołaj Brzeski	1565	
Mikołaj Sieniawski	1565	*GOR*, iii, 402
Piotr Zborowski	1567–69	*MS. Ossoliński Coll., 1911, iii; Bielski, *op. cit.*, vii, 184; Kraszewski, *op. cit.*, 65; Pajewski, *RO*, 12 (1936), 29–90
Andrzej Taranowski	1569–70, 1572, 1574–75, 1579	Bielski, *op. cit.*, vii, 185, 213, 217; Kraszewski, *op. cit.*
Krzysztof Dzierżek	1574, 1576, 1577, 1578, 1580, 1581–82, 1583, 1587, 1590–91	
Jan Sienieński	1577	
Marek Sobieski	1578	
Adam Parowski (courier)		*GOR*, iv, 38
Grzegorz Łobzowiecki	1578	
Jan Drohojewski	1579	*Polski Słownik Biogr.* v, 382
Jan Tomasz Drohojewski	1581	*Polski Słownik Biogr.* v, 382–85
Hieronim Filipowski	1582	
Kacper Kłodziński	1582	
Marcin Lubomirski	1583	*GOR*, iv, 152
Jakób Podlodowski (d. at Adrianople)	1583	**Supra*; *Archivum J. Zamoyskiego*, iii, 178–79
Piotr Słostowski	1584	
Jan Zamojski	1587, 1590–91	Sobieszczański, *Bielski, Kronika, 1587–1598*, 151
Jędrzej Fredro	1589	
Paweł Uchański	1589	Grabowski, *Starożytności historyczne polskie* (1840), ii, 417
Mikołaj Topor Czyżewski	1589	
Adrian Rembowski (courier)	1595	Sobieszczański, *op. cit.*, 261
Piotr Ostrowski	1596	*Ibid.*, 297
Stanisław Gulski	1597	*Ibid.*, 301
Szczęsny Herburt	1598	
Krzysztof Kochanowski	1601	*Niemcewicz, *op. cit.*, v
Stanisław Studnicki	1606	
Mikołaj Daniłowicz	1607–08	
Jerzy Molich	1609	*GOR*, iv, 439
Samuel Targowski	1613	
Jan Kochanowski	1615–16	
Grzegorz Fery	1617	Naima, ii, 170; *Niemcewicz, *op. cit.*, vi, 7, 290

Name	*Date*	*Reference*
Piotr Ożga	1617–18	*Niemcewicz, *op. cit.*, vi, 7
Stanisław Żórawiński	1619	
Jakub Sobieski		
Samuel Otwinowski	1620	
Stanisław Suliszewski	1621, 1628	
Krzysztof Zbaraski	1622	*Niemcewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 300; Naima, ii, 245–46; Kuszewicz, *Narratio legationis*; **Zbaravianae*, 1645
Stanisław Koniecpolski		**Dziennik Wileński*, 1827; **Lwowianin*, 1840; **Przyjaciel Ludu*, 1839
Jerzy Zbaraski	1626	Letters in the *Archivum Komisyi Historycznéj*, 2 (1880), 1–171
Korycki	1629	
Aleksander Lis Piaseczyński	1630	*Przeździecki–Malinowski, *Źródła*, ii, 190; *MS., Czartoryski Coll., 359
Aleksander Trzebiński	1633–34	*Naima, iii, 206
Jerzy Kruszyński	c. 1635, 1636	*Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*,
Wojciech Miaskowski	1640, 1647	*Niemcewicz, *op. cit.*, v, 52; xix **Warta*, 1884, xi, 469 f.; **Kłosy*, 1883, 202 f.
Mikołaj Chmielecki	1643–44	
Mikołaj Bieganowski	1643, 1654	Grabowski, *Ojczyste spominki*, i, 91–96; *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, xix; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, ii, 26–27; B. Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku* (1950), index
Zebrowski	1648	Kubala, "Dwa poselstwa", *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1906, iv, 532–58
Mikołaj Bieganowski	1654	Naima, v, 377; iv, 98; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, ii, 26–27; Baranowski, *op. cit.*, index
Wojciech Bieczyński	1655	
Wojciech Bienieski	1656, 1657	
Albert Radzewski	1656	
Mariusz Jaskólski	1657–58	*GOR*, v, 647
Nabiański	1657	
Sebastian Machowski	1658	
Franciszek Mesgnien Meniński	1660	

Name	*Date*	*Reference*
Jan Szomowski	1661	
Jan Wieniawski (courier)	1665, 1672	
Jerzy Godlewski (courier)	1667	L. Hubert, *Pamiętniki Historyczne* (1861), ii, 98, 149; *Biblioteka Warszawska*, N. S. 1858, ii, 466
Jan Jerzy Podlodowski	1667	
Hieronim Radziejowski	1667	Hubert, *op. cit.*, ii, 89 ff.; Święcki, *Historyczne pamiątki* (1858), i
Franciszek Wysocki	1667	Hubert, *op. cit.*, ii, 122 ff.; Raşit, i, 136 ff.,; *S. Baracz, *Pamiętnik dziejów Polski* (1855), 74–76; *MS., Ossoliński Coll., 1614, ii
Jan Szomowski	1672	F. Kluczycki, *Pisma do wieku i spraw Jana Sobieskiego* (1880–81), ii, 1099
Bieńkowski (courier)	1672	
Jan Lubowicki, Jan Złotnicki	1672	*Ibid.*, ii, 1099–1119
Jan Jabłonowski	1673	
Siekierzyński	1674	
Jan Karwowski	1674	
Stanisław Dąbrowski	1676	
Korycki and Bidziński	1676	
Samuel Proski	1676, 1678–83, 1686	**Biblioteka Ordynacyi Krasińskich*
Andrzej Modrzejowski	1677	Święcki, *op. cit.*, i
Jan Gniński, Michał Rzewuski	1677–79	F. Pułaski, *Źródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego . . . do Turcji* (1907); Raşit, i, 341; N. Iorga, *Acte şi fragm.*, i, 88–95
Spandowski	1678–79	
Dzierżek (resident)	1679	
Władysław Łoś	1689	
Stanisław Małachowski	1698–99	*A. Górkowski, *Compendium legationis J. W. Imci Pana Stanisława Małachowskiego* (1699, 1778)
Stanisław Rzewuski	1699	Raşit, ii, 448 ff.
Rafał Leszczyński	1700	*MS., Czartoryski Coll., 523, Jagiell. 3605; **Poselstwo Wielkie* . . . (Lwów, 1744); *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1882, iii, 353–70; Iorga, *op. cit.*, i, 306–07

Name	*Date*	*Reference*
Mikołaj Milkiewicz (courier)	1707	
Górski	1707	**GOR*, vii, 123
Bąkowski	1710–11	
Jakub Rybiński	1710	
Franciszek Goltz	1711–14	
Stanisław Chomentowski	1713–14	*MS., Czartoryski Coll., 200, 613; **Poselstwo Wielkie...* (1732)
Dominik Bekierski	1714	*Teka...Podoskiego* (1854–62), i, 193, 196 ff.
Lomaca (resident)		
Jan Strutyński	1720	**Ibid.*, i, 248; **GOR*, vii, 207
Krzysztof Popiel	1721–22	*Teka ... Podoskiego*, ii, 158; **GOR*, vii, 312
Józef Sierakowski	1732–33	**Kurier Polski*, 1733; **Przyjaciel Ludu*, 1843, x
Jan Stadnicki	1733–38	H. Scheel: *MSOSW*, 35 (1932), 177–94; **Kurier Polski*, 1738, No. 61, 64
Gurowski	1739	
Paweł Benoe	1724–44	*A. Muchliński, *Pam. Relig. Mor.* ser. 2, vol. 1, 299; F. Skibiński, *Europa a Polska w dobie wojny o sukcesyę austryacką* (1913), i, 228, 290–97
Dzierżanowski	1748	
Malczewski	1755	
Jan Karol Mniszech	1755–56	*K. Kantecki, *Z archiwum Mniszchów* (1883), 347; W. Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792* (1936), index; *N. Iorga, *Călatori, Ambasadori şi Misionari in Ţarile Noastre şi Asupra Ţerilor Noastre* (1899), 33–43
Stankiewicz (resident)		Konopczyński, *op. cit.*, index
Józef Podoski	1756–60	*Iorga, *Călători...* (1899), *N. Iorga, *Doc. Callimachi*, ii, 239; Konopczyński, *op. cit.*, index
Tomasz Aleksandrowicz	1765–66	*MS., Ossoliński Coll., 1615, iii; *B. Załęski, "Stosunki Polski z Porta ..." *Rocznik Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu*, 1869–70; Konopczyński, *op. cit.*, index; *Iorga,

Name	*Date*	*Reference*
		Doc. Callimachi, ii, 350–65; *MS. Kórnicki, 1186; **Wiadomości Warszawskie*, 2/19/1766, 3/26/1766, 3/29/1766
Everhardt (resident)	1766–77	
Karol Boskamp Lasopolski	1777–78	Konopczyński, *op. cit.*, index; W. Kalinka, *Ostatnie lata panowania Stanisława Augusta* (1891), i, 233–39
Antoni Dzieduszycki (resident)	1778–80	
Stanisław Pichelstein	1780–85	
Kajetan Chrzanowski	1785–90	
Piotr Potocki	1790–92	*K. Waliszewski, *Ostatni poseł polski do Porty* (1894)
Franciszek Chabert	1792–93	*J. Dutkiewicz, *Polska a Turcja w czasie Sejmu Czteroletniego* (1934)
Piotr Crutta (sent by Kościuszko)	1794	*J. Reychman, *Piotr Crutta emisariusz Kościuszki do Turcji* (1938)

See, J. Bartoszewicz, *Pogląd na stosunki Polski z Turcyą i Tatarami* (Warszawa, 1860); B. Spuler, "Europäische Diplomaten in Konstantinopel bis zum Frieden von Belgrad (1739)", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 1 (Breslau, 1936), pp. 383–412); *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, edited by L. Bittner and L. Gross, i (1936), pp. 425–27; *Rocznik Służby Zagranicznej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, 1938, pp. 139–40. Descriptions of the journeys of the envoys may be found in P. P. Panaitescu, *Călători poloni in țările române* (București, 1930); Kh. Kesi͡akov, "Pŭtuvani͡a prez Bulgarsko v 1636 god", *Periodichesko Spisanie*, 19–20 (1886), pp. 63–69; *idem*, "Stari pŭtuvani͡a prez Bulgari͡a, *ibid.*, 21–22 (1887), pp. 339–47 and 58 (1899), pp. 630–40; *Sbornik za narodni umotvoreni͡a, nauka i knizhnina*, 11 (Sofi͡a, 1894), pp, 155–94. A list of European diplomats at the court of the Ottoman sultans is presented in the above mentioned work of Spuler. Transylvanian envoys were discussed by V. Biró, *Erdély követei a portán* (Cluj-Kolozsvár, 1921). Moldavian envoys (*kapıkâhya*) are treated in *A. Golimas, *Despre capuchehăile Moldovei şi Poruncile Porții către Moldova Până la 1829. Contributii la cunoaşterea raporturilor di drept dintre Moldova şi Turci* (Iaşi, 1943).

List of envoys to the Crimean Tatars

Name	*Date*	*Reference*
Iwonin, in the 14th century		
Niewoista		*Yarlık* of 1392: *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1853, iii, 573
Kirej	c. 1470	
Dymitr Puciatycz		
Ivan Gliński	1479	
Piotr Paszkowicz		
Miszko Swirynicz (member of the palace staff)		
Bohdan Andrejewicz		
Jan Dowojnowicz and		
Jakub Domotkan	1486	
Krzysztof Terlik and		
Michał Halecki	1501	
Olechno Skoriesza (Skorutha)	1504	
Jan Zborowski		
Ostafi Daszkowicz	1528	*Akty Zap. Rossii*, ii, 190–91
Wasyl Tyszkowicz	1532	*Teka Wileńska*, iv, 224
Andrzej Taranowski	1577, 1578	
Marcin Broniowski	1578, 1589, 1591	*Raczyński, *Mater. do Pam. Stef. Bat.*; *Grabowski, *Ojczyste spominki*, ii, 417
Ławryn Piaseczyński	1601–03	*Pułaski, *Przewodnik Naukowo Literacki* (1911)
Dzierżek	1639	
Wojciech Bieczyński	1649–51, 1653, 1655	Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w davnej Polsce do XVIII wieku* (1950), index; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, ii, 22–23
Gabriel Woyniłłowicz	1653	
Korycki	1653	
Mariusz Jaskulski	1654	Grabowski, *op. cit.*, i, 131–37
Jan Szomowski	1656, 1660	**Pam. Kiev. Arkh. Kom.*, iii, 102
Jan Horain	1659	
Władysław Szmeling	1661	
Jan Wieniawski	1661	
Krzysztof Piotrowicz	1663	
Adam Myśliszewski	1664	
Zachariasz Piotrowicz	1664, 1668	
Jan Karwowski	1663–67, 1670–71, 1679	Hubert, *Pamiętniki Historyczne* (1861), ii, 137 ff.; *Biblioteka Warszawska*, N. S. 1858, ii, 464
Jan Stadnicki	1664	

Name	*Date*	*Reference*
Zbigniew Bliskowski	1664	
Wojciech Petrykowski	1664, 1672	
Samuel Węsławski	1665	
Franciszek Kobyłecki	1666–67	
Mikołaj Złotnicki	1667–68	Grabowski, *op. cit.*, ii, 170–81
Lichocki or Łychowski	1667–68	
Jan Michał Myśliszewski	1674	
Fryderyk Gröben	1675	
Tomasz Karczewski, Krzysztof Korycki, Stefan Bidziński	1675	
Franciszek Okolski	1679	
Tomasz Golczewski	1685	Chowaniec: *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 42 (1928), 52–66
Stanisław Rzewuski	1693	**Ateneum*, 6 (1848), 94
La Mare	1713–15	
Jan Matczyński		
Adam Rostkowski	1726–28	*Muchliński: *Pam. Relig. Mor.*, 33, 278
Gurowski	1731	
Maliński	1732	
Łopuski	1742–43	Bartoszewicz, *op. cit.*, 153; *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder* (1950), ii, 285

List of envoys to Persia

Sefer Muratowicz	1601	**Relacja Sefera Muratowicza* ... (1777)
Teofil Szemberg	1639, d. 1640	Chardin, *Voyages* ... (1811), viii, 107–08
Jerzy Ilicz	1643, d. 1647	*Berchet, *Relacje*
de Santis	1647	
Antoni de Handres	1652	
Błażej	1660	
Bohdan Gurdziecki	1668, 1671, 1676–78, 1682–84, 1687	Struys, *Drie ... Reysen* (1676), 270 f.; Hubert, *op. cit.*, ii, 87
Stanisław Świderski	1670	
Grzegorz Ortalowicz	1676	N. N. Bantysh-Kamenskiĭ, *Obzor vneshnikh snosheniĭ Rossii po 1800 g.* (1894–1902), iii, 149
Piotr Zukowski (courier)	1676, 1682	*Chardin, *Voyages* ..., iii, 124

Name	*Date*	*Reference*
Suski		
Konstanty Salomon Syri		
Zgorski	1684, 1686–87, 1688–89	
Adam Kantecki (courier)	c. 1684–87	Chowaniec: *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 40 (1926), 151–60
Sebastian Knab	1684–85	Chowaniec: *loc. cit.*; **Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 22 (1910)
Teodor Miranowicz	1684, d. 1686	
Grzegorz Artakowicz	c. 1687	
Jan Gostkowski		
Ignacy Zapolski	1689	
Radomski	1690	
Simon Petrowicz	1691, d. 1696	
Petroszewicz		
Revelli de Turoi Uzzoni	1695	
Zurabek	1698–1703	Bantysh-Kamenskiĭ, *op. cit.*, iii, 174
Jakub Nurkiewicz		
Ignacy Zapolski	1700	

See *Th. Krusiński, *Appendix de legationibus persico-polonis*, supplement to *Prodromus* (Lwów, 1734), pp. 237–83; *B. Załęski, *Misje w Persji w XVII i XVIII w.* (Kraków, 1882); *A. Muchliński, "Materiały do historii kościoła polskiego z języków wschodnich", *Pamiętnik Religijno-Moralny*, ser. 2, vol. 7; **idem*, "Dawne stosunki Korony Polskiej z Persją", *Czas*, No. 110, 1854; M. Pachucki, "Lew Złoty a Orzeł Biały", *Gazeta Warszawska*, Nov. 3, 1924, p. 2, and **Kurier Poznański*, Mar. 22, 1925; Cz. Chowaniec, "Z dziejów polityki Jana III na Bliskim Wschodzie 1683–1686", *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 40 (1926), pp. 150–60; S. Kościałkowski, *L'Iran et la Pologne à travers les siècles* (Teheran, 1943); *Repertorium...*, *ed. cit.*, pp. 418–19.

List of Turkish envoys in Poland

Name	*Date*
Simon Çavuş	1509
İbrahim	1510
Zygmunt Laskowski (renegade)	1511
Jan Kierdej (Sait Bey)	1531, 1538, 1543
İbrahim Strasz	1564, 1569

Ahmet Çavuş	1575
Ahmet and Mustafa Çavuş	1576
Ahmet Çavuş	1582
Mustafa Çavuş	1584
Turgut and Mustafa	1587
Şahin Ağa	1634
Mustafa	1640
Mustafa Ağa	1719
Münif Mustafa Efendi	1737
Hacı Ali Ağa	1754
Mehmet Paşa	1756
Numan Bey	1776–77

List of Polish-Turkish treaties

The texts of treaties and agreements concluded or renewed between Poland and Turkey are essential for the study of Polish-Turkish relations.

Important treaties were concluded or renewed in the following years: 1489, 1493, 1510, 1525, 1533, 1553, 1568, 1587, 1592, 1598, 1607, 1617, 1618, 1621, 1623, 1624, 1630, 1634, 1640, 1667, 1672, 1676, 1677, 1679, 1699, 1703, and 1714.

The texts in question were to appear in the publication of *Dogiel (*Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae*, Vilnae, 1758–59), but they have remained in manuscript. A part of them was included in the collection of treaties published in the pre-partition period of Poland by Oberländer, Skrzetuski, and Siarczyński.

The treaties of Ottoman Turkey with foreign powers are contained principally in the publication of Noradounghian Gabriel Efendi, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1897–1903), a valuable collection of international acts of Turkey. Treaties are also included in the publication of G. Aristarchi Bey, *Législation Ottomane*, 7 vols. (Constantinople, 1873–88); in I. de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte Ottomane avec les puissances étrangères*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1864–1901), a very valuable collection of treaties, reports, and dispatches. A Turkish publication dealing with old agreements is معاهدات عموميه مجموعسی *Muahedat-i umumiye mecmuası*, comprising the treaties of Turkey with foreign countries. It consists of five volumes and was published in Istanbul in 1294–98. Certain documents of a similar character are contained in the publication of Feridun Bey, *Münşeat-üs-selâtin* (İstanbul, 1274–75).

A general collection of old international treaties was published by *J. Du Mont, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens*, 8 vols. (Amsterdam, 1726–31). It contains the texts of several Polish-Turkish treaties (that of 1598—vol. 2, p. 536; 1617—vol. 2, p. 536; 1623—vol. 2, p. 540; 1630—vol. 2, p. 540; 1634—vol. 2, p. 541; 1672—vol. 7, i, p. 212; 1676—vol. 7, i, p. 325; 1699—vol. 7, ii, pp. 451–53). The frontier settlement of 1703 can be found in J. Rousset, *Supplément au Corps universel diplomatique* (Amsterdam, 1739), vol. 2, ii, pp. 37–38. A number of treaties was listed by von Hammer-Purgstall in *GOR*, vol. 9, 277–302; by *M. Kromer (treaty of 1489; *see*, *Polonia*, Liber XXIX); and by Naima (treaty of 1598: vol. 1, 251; of 1607: vol. 1, 251; of 1634: vol. 1, 585). They are mentioned in other Turkish chronicles and collections too.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Polish-Turkish treaties were studied by Thaddeus Czacki, who treated them from the point of view of commercial advantages to Poland; *see* *Th. Czacki, *Dzieła* (Poznań, 1843–45).

Poland's relations with Turkey were treated by several scholars. An old monograph of J. Bartoszewicz, *Pogląd na stosunki Polski z Turcyą i Tatarami* (Warszawa, 1860), contains a list of embassies. This monograph constituted the first attempt to compile the then available historical data pertaining to relations of Poland with Turkey.

An outline of W. Łopaciński, "Stosunki polityczne Polski z Turcją w XVIII i XIX w.", *Przegląd dyplomatyczny*, 1 (1919), pp. 671–88 offered only general practical conclusions. Such an approach was dictated by the immediate needs of the diplomatic agencies of the re-established Polish state.

W. Konopczyński in his work *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792* (Warszawa, 1936), presented a survey of developments in the period, in question, basing it chiefly on European sources and disregarding Oriental ones.

Particular periods have been discussed by B. Stachoń, *Polityka polski wobec Turcyi i akcyi antytureckiej w wieku XV do utraty Kilii i Białogrodu* (Lwów, 1930); *J Pajewski, *Turcja wobec elekcji Batorego* (Kraków, 1935); **idem*, *Projekt przymierza polsko-tureckiego za Zygmunta Augusta* (Warszawa, 1935); J. I. Kraszewski, *Podróże i poselstwa polskie do Turcyi* (Kraków, 1860); *J. Feldman, *Polska a sprawa wschodnia 1709–14* (Kraków, 1926); *B. Załęski, "Stosunki Polski z Portą Ottomańską na początku panowania Stanisława Augusta", *Rocznik Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu*, 1869–70, pp. 104–05.

The period of the Four-Year Diet (1788–92) is presented by J. Dutkiewicz in **Polska a Turcja w czasie Sejmu Czteroletniego* (Warszawa, 1934), but this monograph was based on Western sources without taking Oriental data into account. The period of Kościuszko is discussed by *J. Reychman, *Piotr Crutta, emisariusz Kościuszki do Turcji* (Warszawa, 1938).

Polish-Turkish cultural relations were treated by A. Zajączkowski in "Turcja", which appeared in the series **Polska i Polacy w cywilizacjach świata* (Warszawa, 1939), pp. 155–59.

Poland's relations with the Tatars are discussed in the old publication of Bartoszewicz (*see* above). They are outlined in a general way in A. Czołowski, "Polska i Tatarszczyzna", *Pamiętnik IV. powszechnego zjazdu historyków polskich w Poznaniu 6–8 grudnia 1925*, 2 vols. (Lwów, 1925–27). Particular periods are treated by: Pułaski, fifteenth century; Koneczny, sixteenth century; Kolankowski, sixteenth century; Baranowski, prior to eighteenth century; Woliński, eighteenth century.

The cultural relations of Poland with Persia are discussed by A. Zajączkowski, *Persja*, in the series *Polacy w cywilizacjach świata, ed. cit.*; also by Krusiński, Załęski, Chowaniec, Muchliński, and Kościałkowski (*see* above references following the list of Polish envoys to Turkey, p. 179).

IV

ANCILLARY DISCIPLINES

1. CHRONOLOGY

The chronology of Muslim countries is entirely different from that of Christian ones, and consequently an ability to interpret dates in the Muslim calendar is indispensable for studies of the paleography and diplomatics of the Ottomans and the Crimean Tatars.

A fundamental feature of Muslim chronology is the fact that its calendar is based on the lunar system. In this system the year consists of twelve lunar months. A lunar month contains approximately 29.5 days, and thus a lunar year has 354 days. However, for convenience the Muslim year is divided not into twelve months of equal length but into six full months (each consisting of thirty days) and six empty months (each consisting of twenty-nine days).

Names of the months of the Muslim calendar

Number of days elapsed from the beginning of the year to the beginning of each month	Muharrem	Safer	Rebiyül-evvel	Rebiyül-âhır	Cemaziyel-evvel
	—	30	59	89	118
	Cemaziyel-âhır	Recep	Şaban	Ramazan	Şevval
	148	177	207	236	266
	Zilkade	Zilhicce			
	295	325			

The fact that an artificial length of twenty-nine or thirty days has been accepted for the lunar month, instead of the exact length of 29.5 days, produces a differential in the Muslim calendar. To adjust for this differential, eleven days are added in the course of every thirty years. Thus during a period of thirty years there are nineteen

shorter and eleven longer (355-day) years; the longer years are the second, fifth, seventh, tenth, thirteenth, sixteenth, eighteenth, twenty-first, twenty-fourth, twenty-sixth and the twenty-ninth years of the thirty-year period.

The beginning of the Muslim Era is July 16, 622, the date of the exodus of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina, or the *Hicret*, hence the name *hicrî* given to the calendar of the Muslims.

The difference between the *hicrî* and Gregorian calendars amounts on the average to about eleven days per year. Thus over a period of thirty-three years this difference amounts to a full year. Consequently, thirty-three Muslim years correspond more or less to thirty-two European years.

In order to convert a *hicrî* date, one has to divide the date by 33, subtract the result from the date, and finally add 622 (this being the beginning of the Muslim era) to the result of the subtraction.

One obtains, therefore, the following mathematical formula:

$$H = \frac{H}{33} + 622$$

However, the date obtained is still only an approximate one, since the number 33 only approximately represents the difference between the two chronologies. Since the Muslim year is shorter, it sometimes begins and ends within one Gregorian year; and it often includes the end of one Gregorian year and the beginning of the following Gregorian year.

The above formula is helpful only in converting *hicrî* years into years of the Christian era without trying to establish months and days. The margin of error will never exceed one year. It is quite wrong, however, simply to substract the number 622 from the Christian date, as some people still like to do. The following empirical formula is somewhat more accurate:

$$H = \frac{3H}{100} + 621$$

but even this formula will not yield an exact date. In order to make an accurate conversion one must use special chronological tables. The most useful tables are: Ghazi Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha, *La réforme calendrier* (Leide, 1893); W. Haig, *Comparative Tables of*

Muhammadan and Christian Dates (London, 1932); F. R. Unat, *Hicrî tarihleri milâdi tarihe çevirme kılavuzu* (Ankara, 1943); F. Wüstenfeld, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen der mohammedanischen und christlichen Zeitrechnung*, second edition, revised by E. Mahler (Leipzig, 1926). New edition by B. Spuler, *Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, unter Mitarbeit von Joachim Mayr (Wiesbaden, 1961). A recent, studiously prepared handbook for the conversion of dates from the Muslim era has been published by a Rumanian Turcologist, *M. Guboglu, *Tabele sincronice. Datele hegirei şi datele erei noastre. Cu o introducere în cronologia musulmană* (Bucureşti, Direcţiunea Arhivelor Statului, 1955). This work contains a prefatory part constituting a real introduction to the problems of Muslim chronology, datings of Turkish documents, etc. There also exist: an old treatise in Polish by *A. Krzyżanowski, "O Kalendarzu arabsko-tureckim", *Koran (al-Koran) z arabskiego przekład polski Jana Murzy Tarak Buczaczkiego*, vol. 1 (Warszawa, 1858); Gi. Gabrieli, *Manuale di bibliografia musulmana* (Roma, 1916), pp. 358–80; and H. W. Hazard, *Atlas of Islamic History* (Princeton, 1954), pp. 44–45. A detailed treatment of the means of accurate conversion was provided by J. Mayr in "Probleme der islamischen Zeitrechnung", *MOG*, 2 (1926), pp. 269–304, and *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Babinger), pp. 417–30 and tables; also *see*, *Handbook of Oriental History*, edited by C. H. Philips (London, 1951), pp. 32–40; S. H. Taqizade, "Various Eras and Calendars used in the Countries of Islam", *BSOAS*, 9 (1937–39), pp. 903–22 and 10 (1939–42), pp. 107–32; E. Lacoine, *Table de concordance des dates des calendriers Arabe, Copte, Grégorien, Israélite, Julien, républicaine, etc.* (Paris, 1891); J. A. Orbeli, *Sinkhronisticheskie tablitsy khidzhry i evropeĭskogo letoschisleniia* (Leningrad, 1961); N. F. Katanov, "Vostochnaia khronologiia", *Izvestiia Severo-Vostochnogo Arkheologicheskogo i etnograficheskogo Instituta v gor. Kazani*, 1920; J. Mayr, "Islamische Zeitrechnungen", *MSOSW*, 30 (1927), pp. 202–05; and *idem*, "Das türkische Finanzjahr", *Der Islam*, 36 (1961), pp. 264–68; *L. V. Cherepnin, *Russkaia Khronologiia* (Moskva, 1944); V. V. Tsybulskiĭ, *Sovremennye kalendari stran Blizhnego i Srednego Vostoka. Sinkhronisticheskie tablitsy i poyasneniia* (Moskva, 1964); G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Muslim and Christian calendars being tables for the conversion of Muslim and Christian dates from the Hijra to the year A. D. 2000* (London, 1963).

The numbers are often spelled out in Ottoman-Turkish documents. A table of numerals is given below:

Table of Arabic numerals

1–١	6–٦
2–٢	7–٧
3–٣	8–٨
4–٤	9–٩
5–٥	0–٠

In order to be able to read a date one must be familiar with parts of the month, because sometimes only these are mentioned in the dates, as:

الاوائل *al-awā'il*	1st to 10th days of a month
الاواسط *al-awāsiṭ*	11th to 20th
الاواخر *al-awāḫir*	21st to 29th or 30th

The first day of a month is called غره *gurre*; the last one سلخ *selh*; the fifteenth or the middle of a month منتصف *müntasaf*.

Example: تحريرا فى اواسط شهر شعبان المعظم اربعين وتسعمائه "Written in the second third of the respected month of *şaban* of 940".

In the eighteenth century the Ottomans introduced a special treasury calendar called *maliye*, devised for fiscal purposes. It was based on the Julian calendar, but the years were numbered according to the *hicrî* era. The difference between the usual Muslim and the *maliye* system was made up by the omission of one year every thirty-three years, *e.g.*, the year 1220 was followed immediately by the year 1222. In 1872 this measure was abandoned. In 1917 the Gregorian calendar was introduced with the retention of the names of months according to the *maliye* calendar. These names are as follows:

I.	*mart*	March
II.	*nisan*	April
III.	*mayıs*	May
IV.	*haziran*	June
V.	*temmuz*	July
VI.	*ağustos*	August

VII.	*eylül*	September
VIII.	*teşrin-i evvel*	October
IX.	*teşrin-i sani*	November
X.	*kânun-i evvel*	December
XI.	*kânun-i sani*	January
XII.	*şubat*	February

Since 1917 the days of the month have corresponded to those of the Gregorian calendar, *i.e.*, the first of *kânun-i sani* has been the first of January.

More recently new names for the months have been introduced in Turkey. During the transition period, October, November, December, and January were called *birinci teşrin, ikinci teşrin, birinci kânun* and *ikinci kânun* respectively. Not long ago these months were renamed *ekim, kasım, aralık* and *ocak* respectively. The rest of the names have remained unchanged.

The *maliye* calendar can easily be converted into the Julian era (and hence into the Gregorian and *hicrî* calendars). To convert a *maliye* date into a Gregorian date, one should add to a *maliye* year as follows:

	Years		
	1203–20	1222–54	from 1256–
from the 1st *mart* to 31st *kânun-i evvel*	586	585	584
from the 1st *kânun-i sani* to 28/29 *şubat*	587	586	584

Maliye conversion tables are found in: F. Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (1927), pp. 424–25; F. R. Unat, *Hicrî tarihleri milâdi tarihe çevirme kılavuzu* (Ankara, 1959[3]), pp. 94–102; J. Mayr, "Islamische Zeitrechnungen", *MSOSW*, 30 (1927), pp. 202–05; "Das türkische Finanzjahr", *Die Welt des Islams*, 23 (1941), p. 90; and *ibid.*, 24 (1942), p. 136.

The Persians use a solar calendar which differs from the Christian calendar by 621 years; thus the year 1337 of the present Persian calendar corresponds to our year 1958.

In the study of the diplomatics of the Crimean Tatars one must be acquainted with Mongolian chronology. The Mongols counted their years in twelve- and sixty-year cycles. However, in Tatar documents only the twelve-year cycle occurs. Tables for conversion of that type of calendar may be found in *L. V. Cherepnin, *Russkaia khronologiia* (Moskva, 1944), pp. 82–87 (the relation of Mongolian

dates to Turkish ones, pp. 87–89). This problem was also treated by N. Katanov, *op. cit.*; A. Pozdneev, *Mongol'skaia letopis' 'Erdeniĭn erikhe'* (Sanktpeterburg, 1883) (containing fundamentals of chronology and tables, in Mongolian); V. Grigor'ev, *O dostovernosti i̯arlykov* ... (Moskva, 1842).

For general information concerning Mongolian chronology, *see*: W. Kotwicz, "O chronologji mongolskiej", *RO*, 4 (1926), pp. 108–66; *W. Zimnicki, "Turecko-mongolska chronologia", *Nauka i Sztuka*, 2 (1946), pp. 298–308; Old Turkic chronology connected with the animal cycle was discussed by E. Chavannes in "Le cycle turc des douze animaux", *T'oung Pao*, 7 (1906), pp. 51–122; and by O. Turan in *On iki hayvanlı Türk takvimi* (İstanbul, 1941).

2. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF RULERS

For easier identification of rulers issuing documents and for the establishment of the dates of their reigns one should use special chronological tables.

Lists of dates of the reigns of Oriental monarchs and their genealogical tables were composed by S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties* (London, 1894). This work was translated into Russian and revised by V. V. Bartol'd. A Turkish edition of the work of Lane-Poole was made by Halil Ethem and entitled *Düvel-i islamiye, tarihî methaller ile takvimî ve ensabi cetvelleri muhtevidir* (İstanbul, 1927).

A chronographical treatment of events of the Muslim world, of dates of important men, as well as a rich bibliography, was given by L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica ossia riassunto cronologico della storia di tutti popoli musulmani dall'anno 1 all'anno 922 della Higrah (622–1517 dell'Êra Volgare)* (Paris, 1914).

A fundamental work, containing lists of all rulers, their genealogies and maps of the historical geography of Muslim territories, was composed by E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hannover, 1955). Dates are given there according to the *hicrî* calendar. Extremely useful genealogies and chronological tables are contained in A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford, 1956).

Turkish historical chronology, including chronological lists of state dignitaries, is contained in a work of İ. H. Danişmend,

İzahlı Osmanlı kronolojisi, 4 vols. (1947–) vol. 1, 1947: 1258–1512; vol. 2, 1948: 1513–1573; vol. 3, 1950: 1574–1703; vol. 4, 1955: 1703–1924. M. Guboglu in his treatise, "Sultani şi mari dregători otomani", *Hrisovul*, 7 (1947), pp. 49–136, compiled carefully accurate data concerning the dates of the rules of Turkish sultans and of the years of office of higher dignitaries of the Porte.

It is worth while also to use an old, but always valuable, and at times irreplaceable work of Mehmet Süreyya, *Sicil-i Osmani*. (The composition of this work is discussed by Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, 1927, pp. 385–98.)

The following chronological lists pertain to the periods and areas relevant to the subject of the present book:

Sultans of the Ottoman Empire, with dates of accession[1]

Sultan	*Date of accession*
1. Osman I	680 [1281]
2. Orhan	724 [1324]
3. Murat I	761 [1360]
4. Bayezit I	791 [6/1389]
Devr-i fitret	804 [7/28/1402]
5. Mehmet I	816 [7/5/1413]
6. Murat II	824 [5/26/1421]
7. Mehmet II	848 [12/1/1444]
Murat II (again)	850 [9/1446]
Mehmet II (again)	855 [2/3/1451]
8. Bayezit II	886 [5/3/1481]
9. Selim I	918 [4/24/1512]
10. Süleyman I	926 [9/22/1520]
11. Selim II	974 [9/7/1566]
12. Murat III	982 [12/15/1574]
13. Mehmet III	1003 [1/16/1595]
14. Ahmet I	1012 [12/21/1603]
15. Mustafa I	1026 [11/22/1617]
16. Osman II	1027 [2/26/1618]
Mustafa I (again)	1031 [5/19/1622]
17. Murat IV	1032 [9/10/1623]
18. İbrahim	1049 [2/9/1640]
19. Mehmet IV	1058 [8/8/1648]
20. Süleyman II	1099 [11/9/1687]

[1] Adapted from A. D. Alderson's *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford, 1956).

Sultan	*Date of accession*
21. Ahmet II	1102 [6/23/1691]
22. Mustafa II	1106 [2/6/1695]
23. Ahmet III	1115 [8/22/1703]
24. Mahmut I	1143 [10/1/1730]
25. Osman III	1168 [12/14/1754]
26. Mustafa III	1171 [10/30/1757]
27. Abdülhamit I	1187 [1/21/1774]
28. Selim III	1203 [4/7/1789]
29. Mustafa IV	1222 [5/29/1807]
30. Mahmut II	1223 [7/28/1808]
31. Abdülmecit I	1255 [7/1/1839]
32. Abdülaziz	1277 [6/25/1861]
33. Murat V	1293 [5/30/1876]
34. Abdülhamit II	1293 [8/31/1876]
35. Mehmet V (Reşat)	1327 [4/27/1909]
36. Mehmet VI (Vahdüddin)	1336 [7/3/1918]
	1341 [11/1/1922] (Caliph only)
37. Abdülmecit II	1341 [11/19/1922] (Caliph only)
	to 1342 [3/3/1924]

Crimean Khans[2]

823 Hacı Girey ibn Giyasüddin (until 861) 1420–56
871 Nur Devlet ibn Hacı (until 878) 1466–73
872 Mengli Girey ibn Hacı 1475
882 Canı Bek Girey I (usurper) 1477
921 Mehmet Girey I ibn Mengli 1515
929 Saadet Girey I ibn Mengli 1523
929 Gazi Girey I ibn Mehmet 1524
932 Eslem Girey I ibn Mehmet 1525 (1526)
939 Sahip Girey I ibn Mengli 1540
957 Devlet Girey ibn Mübarek 1551
985 Mehmet Girey II ibn Devlet 1578
992 Eslem Girey II ibn Devlet 1584
996 Gazi Girey II Bora ibn Devlet 1588
1005 Fetih Girey ibn Devlet 1596
1016 Tohtamış Girey ibn Gazi 1608
1017 Selâmet Girey ibn Devlet 1608
1019 Canı Bek Girey II ibn Mübarek 1610 (again 1036 = 1627)
1032 Mehmet Girey III ibn Saadet 1623
1044 İnayet Girey ibn Gazi 1635
1046 Bahadır Girey ibn Selâmet 1636
1051 Mehmet Girey IV ibn Selâmet 1641 (again 1064 = 1654)

[2] Adapted from E. de Zambaur's *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hannover, 1955).

1054 Eslem Girey III ibn Selâmet 1644
1076 Âdil Girey ibn Devlet (Çoban) 1666
1082 Selim Girey I ibn Bahadır 1671 (again 1095–1103, 1104–10, 1114–16 = 1683, 1692, 1702)
1089 Murat Girey ibn Mübarek 1677
1094 Hacı Girey II ibn Kırım 1682
1103 Saadet Girey II ibn Kırım 1691
1103 Safa Girey ibn Safa ibn Selâmet 1692
1110 Devlet Girey II ibn Selim 1699 (again 1121–25 = 1709)
1116 Gazi Girey III ibn Selim 1704
1119 Kaplan Girey I ibn Selim 1707 (again 1125–28, 1143–51 = 1713, 1730 (1731))
1128 Kara Devlet Girey ibn Âdil 1716
1129 Saadet Girey III ibn Selim 1716
1137 Mengli Girey II ibn Selim 1724 (again 1150–52 = 1737)
1149 Fetih Girey II ibn Devlet 1736
1152 Selâmet Girey II ibn Selim 1739
1156 Selim Girey II ibn Kaplan 1743
1161 Aslan Girey IV ibn Devlet 1748 (again 1180 = 1767)
1169 Halîm Girey ibn Saadet 1756
1172 Kırım Girey ibn Devlet 1758 (again 1180–81 and 1182 = 1766–67, 1768)
1178 Selim Girey III ibn Fetih 1764 (again 1184–85 = 1770)
1181 Maksut Girey I ibn Selâmet 1765
1182 Devlet Girey III ibn Aslan 1769 (again 1189–94 = 1775)
1183 Kaplan Girey II ibn Selim 1769
1185 Maksut Girey II 1771
1186 Sahip Girey II ibn Ahmet 1771
1191 Şahin Girey (until 1197) 1777

Shahs of Persia[3]

Safavids

A.H.	A.D.	A.H.	A.D
907 Esmā'il I	1502	1038 Safi	1629
930 Tahmāsp I	1524	1052 Abbās II	1642
984 Esmā'il II	1576	1077 Soleimān	1667
985 Mohammad Khodāban-deh	1578	1105 Hosein	1694
		1135 Tahmāsp II	1722
985 Abbās I	1587	1144–48 Abbās III	1731–36

Afghans

1135 Mahmud	1722	1137–42 Ashraf	1725–29

[3] Adapted from the *Handbook of Oriental History*, edited by C. H. Philips (London, 1951).

Afshars

A.H.	A.D.	A.H.	A.D.
1148 Nāder	1736	1161–1210 Shāh Rokh	1748–96
1160 Ādel	1747		

Zands

1163 Karim Khān	1750	1193 Sādeq	1779
1193 Abo'l-Fath	1779	1196 Ali Morād (again)	1782
1193 Ali Morād	1779	1199 Ja'far	1785
1193 Mohammad Ali	1779	1203–09 Lotf Ali	1789–94

Kajars

1193 Aqā Mohammad	1779	1313 Mozaffar ed-Din	1896
1211 Fath Ali	1797	1324 Mohammad Ali	1906
1250 Mohammad	1834	1327 Ahmad	1909
1264 Nāser ed-Din	1848		

Pahlavis

1345 Rezā Shāh	1925	1360 Mohammad Rezā	1941

Grand viziers of the Ottoman Empire with dates of investiture[4]

A.H.	A.H.
888 Davut Arnavut	960 Kara Ahmet Arnavut
902 Hersekzade Ahmet	962 Rüstem (again)
903 İbrahim ibn Halil Çendereli	968 Ali Semiz
905 Mesih	972 Tavil Mehmet Sokollu
907 Hadim Ali	984 Çigalazade Sinan
909 Hersekzade Ahmet (again)	987 Ahmet
912 Hadim Ali (again)	988 Sinan
917 Hersekzade Ahmet (again)	990 Siyavuş
917 Koca Mustafa	992 Osman Özdemiroğlu
918 Hersekzade Ahmet (again)	993 Hadim Mesih
920 Hadim Sinan	994 Siyavuş (again)
923 Yunus	997 Sinan (again)
923 Mustafa	999 Ferhat
926 Mehmet Pirî	1000 Siyavuş (again)
929 İbrahim	1001 Sinan (again)
942 Ayas	1003 Ferhat (again)
946 Lûtfi	1003 Sinan (again)
948 Hadim Süleyman	1004 Lâla Mehmet
960 Rüstem	1004 Sinan (again)

[1] Adapted from E. de Zambaur's *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hannover, 1955).

A.H.

1004 İbrahim Damat
1005 Çigalazade Sinan (again)
1005 İbrahim Damat (again)
1006 Hadim Hasan
1006 Cerrah Mehmet
1007 İbrahim Damat (again)
1010 Yemişçi Hasan
1012 Yavuz Ali
1013 Lâla Mehmet
1015 Derviş
1015 Murat
1020 Nasuh
1023 Damat Öküz Mehmet
1026 Kayserili Halil
1028 Damat Öküz Mehmet (again)
1029 Çelebi Güzelce Ali
1030 Hüseyin
1030 Dilâver
1030 Kara Davut
1031 Mere Hüseyin
1031 Lefkeli Mustafa
1031 Gürcü Mehmet
1032 Mere Hüseyin (again)
1032 Kemankeş Kara Ali
1033 Çerkes Mehmet
1034 Hafız Ahmet
1036 Kayserili Halil (again)
1037 Husrev
1041 Hafız Ahmet (again)
1041 Recep
1041 Tabanı Yassı Mehmet
1046 Bayram
1048 Tayyar Mehmet
1048 Kara Mustafa Kemankeş
1052 (or 1053) Sultanzade Mehmet
1055 Salih
1057 Ahmet Hezarpare
1058 Sofu Mehmet
1059 Murat
1060 Melik Ahmet
1061 Siyavuş
1061 Gürcü Mehmet
1062 Tarhuncu Ahmet
1063 Derviş Mehmet
1064 İbşir Mustafa
1065 Murat (again)
1065 Süleyman

A.H.

1066 Deli Hüseyin
1066 Zurnazen Mehmet
1066 Siyavuş (again)
1066 Boynu Eğri Mehmet
1066 Köprülü Mehmet
1072 Köprülüzade Ahmet Fâzıl
1087 Kara Mustafa Merzifonlu
1095 Kara İbrahim
1097 Süleyman
1098 Abaza Siyavuş
1099 Nişancı İsmail
1099 Mustafa Tekirdağlı
1101 Köprülüzade Mustafa
1102 Arabacı Ali
1103 Hacı Ali Merzifonlu
1104 Bıyıklı Mustafa
1105 Defterdar Ali Sürmeli
1106 Elmas Mehmet
1109 Amcazade Hüseyin Köprülü
1114 Daltaban Mustafa
1114 Rami Mehmet
1115 Nişancı Kavanoz Ahmet
1115 Damat Hasan
1116 Kalaylıkoz Ahmet
1116 Baltacı Mehmet
1118 Çorlulu Ali
1122 Köprülüzade Numan
1122 Baltacı Mehmet (again)
1123 Yusuf
1124 Süleyman
1125 İbrahim Hoca Kapudan Paşa
1125 Şehit Damat Ali
1128 Arnavut Halil
1129 Nişancı Mehmet
1130 Damat İbrahim
1143 Silâhtar Mehmet
1143 İbrahim Kabakulak
1144 Topal Osman
1144 Hekimzade Ali
1148 Gürcü İsmail
1148 Silâhtar Seyit Mehmet
1150 Muhsinzade Abdullah Çelebi
1150 Yeğen Mehmet
1151 Hacı İvaz Mehmet
1153 Hacı Ahmet
1155 Hekimzade Ali (again)
1155 Hasan Seyit

A.H.
1159 Hacı Mehmet Tiryaki
1160 Seyit Abdullah
1163 Divittar Mehmet
1165 Bâhir Köse Mustafa
1168 Hekimzade Ali (again)
1168 Nailî Abdullah
1168 Nişancı Bıyıklı Ali
1169 Mehmet Seyit
1169 Bâhir Köse Mustafa (again)
1170 Ragıp Mehmet
1176 Hâmit Tevkiî Hamza
1177 Bâhir Köse Mustafa (again)
1178 Muhsinzade Mehmet
1182 Silâhtar Mahir Hamza
1182 Yağlıkçızade Nişancı Mehmet Emin
1183 Moldovani Ali
1183 İvaz Halil
1184 Silâhtar Mehmet
1185 Muhsinzade Mehmet (again)

A.H.
1188 İzzet Mehmet
1189 Derviş
1190 Darendeli Mehmet
1192 Kalafat Mehmet
1193 Silâhtar Seyit Mehmet
1195 İzzet Mehmet (again)
1196 Yeğen Hacı Mehmet
1197 Halil Hâmit
1199 Şahin Ali
1200 Yusuf
1203 Kethüda (Çerkes Abaza) Hasan
1204 Gazi Hasan
1204 Rusçuklu Celâyırlı Hasan
1205 Yusuf (again)
1206 Melik Mehmet
1209 İzzet Mehmet
1213 Yusuf Zıya
1220 Hafız İsmail
1221 Hilmî İbrahim

3. HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

In Turkish documents various geographic names from the territory of the Ottoman Empire and neighboring countries often occur. The art of interpreting such names is very important for the correct reading of the contents of the documents. There are a few treatises dealing with old Turkish geographic terminology and the historical geography of the lands of Ottoman Turkey, and these can be supplemented by old Turkish descriptions of countries and by geographic works such as those of Hacı Halfa and Evliya Çelebi. As regards the terminology of names pertaining to the Balkans, the work of Hacı Halfa, *Rumeli ve Bosna,* edited by von Hammer-Purgstall, may prove helpful. *See* also C. J. Jireček, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe* (Prag, 1877); L. Fekete, "Hódoltságkori oszmanli-török helyneveink", *Századok,* 57–58 (1923–24), pp. 614–26; P. Wittek, "Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie", *Byzantion,* 10 (1935), pp. 11–64; and a table of place-names of the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire compiled by E. Halasi-Kun, in F. Eckhart, *Macaristan Tarihi* (Ankara, 1949), pp. 273–78; finally, T. Halasi-Kun, "Sixteenth-Century Turkish Settlements in Southern Hungary", *Belleten,*

28 (1964), pp. 1–72, ten plates. Turkish names pertaining to Hungarian territory of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries may be established by means of a map enclosed in the publication of L. Fekete, *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy* (Budapest, 1932). One should also use Turkish encyclopedias such as: Ahmet Rifat Efendi, *Lûğat-i tarihiye ve coğrafiye*, 7 vols. (İstanbul, 1882), and Şemseddin Sami Bey, *Kamus-ül-alâm*, 6 vols. (İstanbul, 1889–98). European atlases may also be of some help, such as: K. V. Bazilevich, I. A. Golubtsov, M. A. Zinov'ev, *Atlas istorii SSSR*, 3 vols. (Moskva, 1948–50); A. V. Efimov, A. P. Aver'ĭanov, *Atlas novoĭ istorii*, 2 vols. (Moskva 1952–54); H. W. Hazard, *Atlas of Islamic History*, (Princeton, 1954[3]); R. Roolvink, *Historical Atlas of the Muslim Peoples* (Cambridge, 1957). Naturally one should also use various articles in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, whether in the English, French, or German editions, or in the Turkish version, *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Also interesting from this point of view is the article of Ö. L. Barkan, "Osmali İmparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 11 (1949–50), pp. 524–70. Finally there are also C. Mostras, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Empire Ottoman* (St. Pétersburg, 1873); and T. Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı yer adları hakkında araştırmalar", *Türk Dili ve Tarihi Hakkında Arastırmalar*, 1 (1950), pp. 63–104.

4. NUMISMATICS

Knowledge of Oriental numismatics may prove helpful for the study of Turkish paleography and diplomatics, especially as regards the analysis of seals, *tuğra*s, *pençe*s, etc.

Here we must mention the latest edition of the work of L. A. Mayer, *Bibliography of Moslem Numismatics. India Excepted* (London, 1954[2]), whose analytical arrangement permits the location of various types of Muslim numismatic source material. Also, A. Kmietowicz, "Supplements to L. Mayer's *Bibliography of Moslem Numismatics*", *Folia Orientalia*, 2 (1960), pp. 259–275. Of bibliographical character is the contribution by Halil Ethem, *İslâmi numismatik için bir bibliyografi tecrübesi* (Ankara, 1933).

Turkish coins have been treated in the following important works: Halil Ethem, *Meskûkat-i Osmaniye* (İstanbul, 1334); İsmail Galip, *Takvim-i meskûkat-i Osmaniye* (*Essai de numismatique otto-*

mane, Kostantiniye-Istanbul, 1307/1890). For Oriental numismatics in general, *see* S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1875–80); H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale Khalifes orientaux* (Paris, 1887–96); E. von Zambaur, "Orientalische Münzen in Nord- und Osteuropa", *Monatsblatt der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 5 (1902), pp. 667–78.

Crimean coins are treated in O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Gireï* (Moskau, 1905); also by O. Blau, *Vostochnyîa Monety Muzeîa Imperatorskago Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnosteĭ v Odesse* (Odessa, 1876); V. Grigor'ev, "Monety Dzhuchidov, . . .", *ZOOID*, 1 (1844), pp. 301–14. Concerning Crimean coins, *see* also V. D. Smirnov, "Tavricheskaîa moneta. (Ocherk istorii Feodosiĭskogo dvora)", *Gornyĭ Zhurnal*, 1892, pp. 1–60; and *O. Bert'e-Delagard, "O nominal krymskokhanskikh monet", *ITUAK*, 1915, i, p. 56. Tables of many Crimean coins were presented by S. Szapszał, in *Myśl Karaimska*, 2, i (1929), pp. 3–20, two plates. For the coins of the Crimean khans in Poland, *see* *K. Świdziński, "O monetach chanów Kipczaku czyli Złotej Hordy", *Biblioteka Ordynacji Myszkowskiej* (Kraków, 1859), and *Przegląd Biblijograficzno-Archeologiczny*, 3 (1882), pp. 46–49.

It is also important to be familiar with the monetary system of the Ottomans. Certain information in this respect is contained in the above-mentioned handbooks of Oriental numismatics. The Ottoman monetary system was subject to frequent changes, so that it is impossible to present detailed concrete data here. A useful outline of the history of the Ottoman monetary system can be found in H. İnalcık, "Dār al-Ḍarb – Ottoman period", *EI*, new edition, vol. 2, pp. 118–19.

Monetary systems of the Muslim East are treated in H. Sauvaire, "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes", *JA*, 1879–82. The materials compiled by Sauvaire pertain chiefly to Arab countries. F. A. Belin, "Essais sur l'Histoire économique de la Turquie", *JA*, 1864, presented an interesting discussion of the monetary system of the Ottomans. The monetary history of Turkey was further presented by T. Kitapci in *L'histoire monétaire de la Turquie* (Dijon, 1939). E. von Zambaur's "Prägungen der Osmanen in Bosnien", *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, N. F. 1 (1908), pp. 143–56, refers to types of coins the Ottomans issued in Bosnia. The coins struck in Bulgaria were discussed by D. Ikhchiev in *"Materiali za monetnoto delo v Turtsie",

IBID, 3 (1911), pp. 75–207; those referring to Rumania, by H. Dj. Siruni, *Monetele turceşti în Ţările Române* (Bucureşti, 1944).

5. ELEMENTS OF TURKISH HISTORICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

There exists as yet no complete bibliography of works dealing with Turkish history. However, Riza Nur, von Hammer-Purgstall, Zinkeisen, and Iorga treated the problem of bibliography in their respective works.

A good introduction to the bibliography of the history of the Muslim East is the work of J. Sauvaget, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Orient Musulman – Éléments de bibliographie* (Paris, 1943), with a special section devoted to Ottoman Turkey on pp. 164–78. A new edition of this work, revised by C. Cahen, appeared in 1961 (Paris).

An attempt to present a bibliography of works dealing with Turkey was made by *N. V. Michoff, *Bibliographie de la Turquie* (Sofia, 1908–13), and *Sources bibliographiques sur l'histoire de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie*, 4 vols. (Sofia, 1914–34).

There also exists G. Auboyneau – A. Fevret, *Essai de bibliographie pour servir à l'histoire de l'empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1911). *See* also A. Tveritinova, "Katalog knig po istorii na turetskom i͡azyke, nakhodi͡ashchikhsi͡a v bibliotekakh Leningrada", *Bibliografii͡a Vostoka*, 10 (1936), pp. 201–26; *Bibliografii͡a Vostoka, Istorii͡a, 1 (1917–1925)*, edited by D. N. Egorov (section on Turkey on pp. 96–105). Turkish historical works are contained in the bibliography of E. Koray, *Türkiye tarih yayınları bibliyografyası* (Ankara, 1952). The manual of historical bibliography of B. Spuler and L. Forrer, *Der Vordere Orient in islamischer Zeit* (Bern, 1954), refers to the area of the Muslim East. General bibliographies such as J. Th. Zenker, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leipzig, 1846–61), K. Frederici, 1876–83; and *Orientalische Bibliographie* ([1887]–1911), edited by A. Müller, E. Kuhn, and L. Scherman, may also prove helpful. Consult also Z. V. Togan, *Umumi Türk tarihine giriş* (İstanbul, 1946); and *idem*, *Tarihte usul* (İstanbul, 1950). The latter consists of a methodological survey of research problems pertaining to Turkish history.

There exist special periodicals dealing with Turkish historical literature. To these belonged *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası*, later succeeded by *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası*, and *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, the last appearing since 1937. Another

historical journal is the *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*. Historical topics are also treated in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*. A West European journal dealing with the history of Turkey and surveying pertinent literature was the *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte* (1921–26). A discussion of Turkish historical literature down to the twentieth century was included in Babinger's *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*. A survey of more recent Turkish historical literature is given by *Oriente Moderno*, 6 (1926), pp. 443–60 (for the years 1900–25); *Századok*, 81 (1947), pp. 192–202; *Journal Asiatique*, 239 (1951), pp. 211–35; and *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 62 (1950), pp. 98–110. Current publications are registered in *Türkiye bibliyografyası* and *Türkiye makaleler bibliyografyası*. These publications are arranged according to modern bibliographical methods and include special sections devoted to historical works.

APPENDIX

CONVERSION TABLES OF A.H. AND A.D. DATES

The *hicrî* year begins on the day of the month indicated

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
1	622	16 July	35	655	11 July	69	688	6 July
2	623	5 July	36	656	30 June	70	689	25 June
3	624	24 June	37	657	19 June	71	690	15 June
4	625	13 June	38	658	9 June	72	691	4 June
5	626	2 June	39	659	29 May	73	692	23 May
6	627	23 May	40	660	17 May	74	693	13 May
7	628	11 May	41	661	7 May	75	694	2 May
8	629	1 May	42	662	26 April	76	695	21 April
9	630	20 April	43	663	15 April	77	696	10 April
10	631	9 April	44	664	4 April	78	697	30 March
11	632	29 March	45	665	24 March	79	698	20 March
12	633	18 March	46	666	13 March	80	699	9 March
13	634	7 March	47	667	3 March	81	700	26 Feb.
14	635	25 Feb.	48	668	20 Feb.	82	701	15 Feb.
15	636	14 Feb.	49	669	9 Feb.	83	702	4 Feb.
16	637	2 Feb.	50	670	29 Jan.	84	703	24 Jan.
17	638	23 Jan.	51	671	18 Jan.	85	704	14 Jan.
18	639	12 Jan.	52	672	8 Jan.	86	705	2 Jan.
19	640	2 Jan.	53	672	27 Dec.	87	705	23 Dec.
20	640	21 Dec.	54	673	16 Dec.	88	706	12 Dec.
21	641	10 Dec.	55	674	6 Dec.	89	707	1 Dec.
22	642	30 Nov.	56	675	25 Nov.	90	708	20 Nov.
23	643	19 Nov.	57	676	14 Nov.	91	709	9 Nov.
24	644	7 Nov.	58	677	3 Nov.	92	710	29 Oct.
25	645	28 Oct.	59	678	23 Oct.	93	711	19 Oct.
26	646	17 Oct.	60	679	13 Oct.	94	712	7 Oct.
27	647	7 Oct.	61	680	1 Oct.	95	713	26 Sept.
28	648	25 Sept.	62	681	20 Sept.	96	714	16 Sept.
29	649	14 Sept.	63	682	10 Sept.	97	715	5 Sept.
30	650	4 Sept.	64	683	30 Aug.	98	716	25 Aug.
31	651	24 Aug.	65	684	18 Aug.	99	717	14 Aug.
32	652	12 Aug.	66	685	8 Aug.	100	718	3 Aug.
33	653	2 Aug.	67	686	28 July	101	719	24 July
34	654	22 July	68	687	18 July	102	720	12 July

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
103	721	1 July	150	767	6 Feb.	197	812	12 Sept.
104	722	21 June	151	768	26 Jan.	198	813	1 Sept.
105	723	10 June	152	769	14 Jan.	199	814	22 Aug.
106	724	29 May	153	770	4 Jan.	200	815	11 Aug.
107	725	19 May	154	770	24 Dec.	201	816	30 July
108	726	8 May	155	771	13 Dec.	202	817	20 July
109	727	28 April	156	772	2 Dec.	203	818	9 July
110	728	16 April	157	773	21 Nov.	204	819	28 June
111	729	5 April	158	774	11 Nov.	205	820	17 June
112	730	20 March	159	775	31 Oct.	206	821	6 June
113	731	15 March	160	776	19 Oct.	207	822	27 May
114	732	3 March	161	777	9 Oct.	208	823	16 May
115	733	21 Feb.	162	778	28 Sept.	209	824	4 May
116	734	10 Feb.	163	779	17 Sept.	210	825	24 April
117	735	31 Jan.	164	780	6 Sept.	211	826	13 April
118	736	20 Jan.	165	781	26 Aug.	212	827	2 April
119	737	8 Jan.	166	782	15 Aug.	213	828	22 March
120	737	29 Dec.	167	783	5 Aug.	214	829	11 March
121	738	18 Dec.	168	784	24 July	215	830	28 Feb.
122	739	7 Dec.	169	785	14 July	216	831	18 Feb.
123	740	26 Nov.	170	786	3 July	217	832	7 Feb.
124	741	15 Nov.	171	787	22 June	218	833	27 Jan.
125	742	4 Nov.	172	788	11 June	219	834	16 Jan.
126	743	25 Oct.	173	789	31 May	220	835	5 Jan.
127	744	13 Oct.	174	790	20 May	221	835	26 Dec.
128	745	3 Oct.	175	791	10 May	222	836	14 Dec.
129	746	22 Sept.	176	792	28 April	223	837	3 Dec.
130	747	11 Sept.	177	793	18 April	224	838	23 Nov.
131	748	31 Aug.	178	794	7 April	225	839	12 Nov.
132	749	20 Aug.	179	795	27 March	226	840	31 Oct.
133	750	9 Aug.	180	796	16 March	227	841	21 Oct.
134	751	30 July	181	797	5 March	228	842	10 Oct.
135	752	18 July	182	798	22 Feb.	229	843	30 Sept.
136	753	7 July	183	799	12 Feb.	230	844	18 Sept.
137	754	27 June	184	800	1 Feb.	231	845	7 Sept.
138	755	16 June	185	801	20 Jan.	232	846	28 Aug.
139	756	5 June	186	802	10 Jan.	233	847	17 Aug.
140	757	25 May	187	802	30 Dec.	234	848	5 Aug.
141	758	14 May	188	803	20 Dec.	235	849	26 July
142	759	4 May	189	804	8 Dec.	236	850	15 July
143	760	22 April	190	805	27 Nov.	237	851	5 July
144	761	11 April	191	806	17 Nov.	238	852	23 June
145	762	1 April	192	807	6 Nov.	239	853	12 June
146	763	21 March	193	808	25 Oct.	240	854	2 June
147	764	10 March	194	809	15 Oct.	241	855	22 May
148	765	27 Feb.	195	810	4 Oct.	242	856	10 May
149	766	16 Feb.	196	811	23 Sept.	243	857	30 April

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
244	858	19 April	291	903	24 Nov.	338	949	1 July
245	859	8 April	292	904	13 Nov.	339	950	20 June
246	860	28 March	293	905	2 Nov.	340	951	9 June
247	861	17 March	294	906	22 Oct.	341	952	29 May
248	862	7 March	295	907	12 Oct.	342	953	18 May
249	863	24 Feb.	296	908	30 Sept.	343	954	7 May
250	864	13 Feb.	297	909	20 Sept.	344	955	27 April
251	865	2 Feb.	298	910	9 Sept.	345	956	15 April
252	866	22 Jan.	299	911	29 Aug.	346	957	4 April
253	867	11 Jan.	300	912	18 Aug.	347	958	25 March
254	868	1 Jan.	301	913	7 Aug.	348	959	14 March
255	868	20 Dec.	302	914	27 July	349	960	3 March
256	869	9 Dec.	303	915	17 July	350	961	20 Feb.
257	870	29 Nov.	304	916	5 July	351	962	9 Feb.
258	871	18 Nov.	305	917	24 June	352	963	30 Jan.
259	872	7 Nov.	306	918	14 June	353	964	19 Jan.
260	873	27 Oct.	307	919	3 June	354	965	7 Jan.
261	874	16 Oct.	308	920	23 May	355	965	28 Dec.
262	875	6 Oct.	309	921	12 May	356	966	17 Dec.
263	876	24 Sept.	310	922	1 May	357	967	7 Dec.
264	877	13 Sept.	311	923	21 April	358	968	25 Nov.
265	878	3 Sept.	312	924	9 April	359	969	14 Nov.
266	879	23 Aug.	313	925	29 March	360	970	4 Nov.
267	880	12 Aug.	314	926	19 March	361	971	24 Oct.
268	881	1 Aug.	315	927	8 March	362	972	12 Oct.
269	882	21 July	316	928	25 Feb.	363	973	2 Oct.
270	883	11 July	317	929	14 Feb.	364	974	21 Sept.
271	884	29 June	318	930	3 Feb.	365	975	10 Sept.
272	885	18 June	319	931	24 Jan.	366	976	30 Aug.
273	886	8 June	320	932	13 Jan.	367	977	19 Aug.
274	887	28 May	321	933	1 Jan.	368	978	9 Aug.
275	888	16 May	322	933	22 Dec.	369	979	29 July
276	889	6 May	323	934	11 Dec.	370	980	17 July
277	890	25 April	324	935	30 Nov.	371	981	7 July
278	891	15 April	325	936	19 Nov.	372	982	26 June
279	892	3 April	326	937	8 Nov.	373	983	15 June
280	893	23 March	327	938	29 Oct.	374	984	4 June
281	894	13 March	328	939	18 Oct.	375	985	24 May
282	895	2 March	329	940	6 Oct.	376	986	13 May
283	896	19 Feb.	330	941	26 Sept.	377	987	3 May
284	897	8 Feb.	331	942	15 Sept.	378	988	21 April
285	898	28 Jan.	332	943	4 Sept.	379	989	11 April
286	899	17 Jan.	333	944	24 Aug.	380	990	31 March
287	900	7 Jan.	334	945	13 Aug.	381	991	20 March
288	900	26 Dec.	335	946	2 Aug.	382	992	9 March
289	901	16 Dec.	336	947	23 July	383	993	26 Feb.
290	902	5 Dec.	337	948	11 July	384	994	15 Feb.

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
385	995	5 Feb.	432	1040	11 Sept.	479	1086	18 April
386	996	25 Jan.	433	1041	31 Aug.	480	1087	8 April
387	997	14 Jan.	434	1042	21 Aug.	481	1088	27 March
388	998	3 Jan.	435	1043	10 Aug.	482	1089	16 March
389	998	23 Dec.	436	1044	29 July	483	1090	6 March
390	999	13 Dec.	437	1045	19 July	484	1091	23 Feb.
391	1000	1 Dec.	438	1046	8 July	485	1092	12 Feb.
392	1001	20 Nov.	439	1047	28 June	486	1093	1 Feb.
393	1002	10 Nov.	440	1048	16 June	487	1094	21 Jan.
394	1003	30 Oct.	441	1049	5 June	488	1095	11 Jan.
395	1004	18 Oct.	442	1050	26 May	489	1095	31 Dec.
396	1005	8 Oct.	443	1051	15 May	490	1096	19 Dec.
397	1006	27 Sept.	444	1052	3 May	491	1097	9 Dec.
398	1007	17 Sept.	445	1053	23 April	492	1098	28 Nov.
399	1008	5 Sept.	446	1054	12 April	493	1099	17 Nov.
400	1009	25 Aug.	447	1055	2 April	494	1100	6 Nov.
401	1010	15 Aug.	448	1056	21 March	495	1101	26 Oct.
402	1011	4 Aug.	449	1057	10 March	496	1102	15 Oct.
403	1012	23 July	450	1058	28 Feb.	497	1103	5 Oct.
404	1013	13 July	451	1059	17 Feb.	498	1104	23 Sept.
405	1014	2 July	452	1060	6 Feb.	499	1105	13 Sept.
406	1015	21 June	453	1061	26 Jan.	500	1106	2 Sept.
407	1016	10 June	454	1062	15 Jan.	501	1107	22 Aug.
408	1017	30 May	455	1063	4 Jan.	502	1108	11 Aug.
409	1018	20 May	456	1063	25 Dec.	503	1109	31 July
410	1019	9 May	457	1064	13 Dec.	504	1110	20 July
411	1020	27 April	458	1065	3 Dec.	505	1111	10 July
412	1021	17 April	459	1066	22 Nov.	506	1112	28 June
413	1022	6 April	460	1067	11 Nov.	507	1113	18 June
414	1023	26 March	461	1068	31 Oct.	508	1114	7 June
415	1024	15 March	462	1069	20 Oct.	509	1115	27 May
416	1025	4 March	463	1070	9 Oct.	510	1116	16 May
417	1026	22 Feb.	464	1071	29 Sept.	511	1117	5 May
418	1027	11 Feb.	465	1072	17 Sept.	512	1118	24 April
419	1028	31 Jan.	466	1073	6 Sept.	513	1119	14 April
420	1029	20 Jan.	467	1074	27 Aug.	514	1120	2 April
421	1030	9 Jan.	468	1075	16 Aug.	515	1121	22 March
422	1030	29 Dec.	469	1076	5 Aug.	516	1122	12 March
423	1031	19 Dec.	470	1077	25 July	517	1123	1 March
424	1032	7 Dec.	471	1078	14 July	518	1124	19 Feb.
425	1033	26 Nov.	472	1079	4 July	519	1125	7 Feb.
426	1034	16 Nov.	473	1080	22 June	520	1126	27 Jan.
427	1035	5 Nov.	474	1081	11 June	521	1127	17 Jan.
428	1036	25 Oct.	475	1082	1 June	522	1128	6 Jan.
429	1037	14 Oct.	476	1083	21 May	523	1128	25 Dec.
430	1038	3 Oct.	477	1084	10 May	524	1129	15 Dec.
431	1039	23 Sept.	478	1085	29 April	525	1130	4 Dec.

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
526	1131	23 Nov.	573	1177	30 June	620	1223	4 Feb.
527	1132	12 Nov.	574	1178	19 June	621	1224	24 Jan.
528	1133	1 Nov.	575	1179	8 June	622	1225	13 Jan.
529	1134	22 Oct.	576	1180	28 May	623	1226	2 Jan.
530	1135	11 Oct.	577	1181	17 May	624	1226	22 Dec.
531	1136	29 Sept.	578	1182	7 May	625	1227	12 Dec.
532	1137	19 Sept.	579	1183	26 April	626	1228	30 Nov.
533	1138	8 Sept.	580	1184	14 April	627	1229	20 Nov.
534	1139	28 Aug.	581	1185	4 April	628	1230	9 Nov.
535	1140	17 Aug.	582	1186	24 March	629	1231	29 Oct.
536	1141	6 Aug.	583	1187	13 March	630	1232	18 Oct.
537	1142	27 July	584	1188	2 March	631	1233	7 Oct.
538	1143	16 July	585	1189	19 Feb.	632	1234	26 Sept.
539	1144	4 July	586	1190	8 Feb.	633	1235	16 Sept.
540	1145	24 June	587	1191	29 Jan.	634	1236	4 Sept.
541	1146	13 June	588	1192	18 Jan.	635	1237	24 Aug.
542	1147	2 June	589	1193	7 Jan.	636	1238	14 Aug.
543	1148	22 May	590	1193	27 Dec.	637	1239	3 Aug.
544	1149	11 May	591	1194	16 Dec.	638	1240	23 July
545	1150	30 April	592	1195	6 Dec.	639	1241	12 July
546	1151	20 April	593	1196	24 Nov.	640	1242	1 July
547	1152	8 April	594	1197	13 Nov.	641	1243	21 June
548	1153	29 March	595	1198	3 Nov.	642	1244	9 June
549	1154	18 March	596	1199	23 Oct.	643	1245	29 May
550	1155	7 March	597	1200	12 Oct.	644	1246	19 May
551	1156	25 Feb.	598	1201	1 Oct.	645	1247	8 May
552	1157	13 Feb.	599	1202	20 Sept.	646	1248	26 April
553	1158	2 Feb.	600	1203	10 Sept.	647	1249	16 April
554	1159	23 Jan.	601	1204	29 Aug.	648	1250	5 April
555	1160	12 Jan.	602	1205	18 Aug.	649	1251	26 March
556	1160	31 Dec.	603	1206	8 Aug.	650	1252	14 March
557	1161	21 Dec.	604	1207	28 July	651	1253	3 March
558	1162	10 Dec.	605	1208	16 July	652	1254	21 Feb.
559	1163	30 Nov.	606	1209	6 July	653	1255	10 Feb.
560	1164	18 Nov.	607	1210	25 June	654	1256	30 Jan.
561	1165	7 Nov.	608	1211	15 June	655	1257	19 Jan.
562	1166	28 Oct.	609	1212	3 June	656	1258	8 Jan.
563	1167	17 Oct.	610	1213	23 May	657	1258	29 Dec.
564	1168	5 Oct.	611	1214	13 May	658	1259	18 Dec.
565	1169	25 Sept.	612	1215	2 May	659	1260	6 Dec.
566	1170	14 Sept.	613	1216	20 April	660	1261	26 Nov.
567	1171	4 Sept.	614	1217	10 April	661	1262	15 Nov.
568	1172	23 Aug.	615	1218	30 March	662	1263	4 Nov.
569	1173	12 Aug.	616	1219	19 March	663	1264	24 Oct.
570	1174	2 Aug.	617	1220	8 March	664	1265	13 Oct.
571	1175	22 July	618	1221	25 Feb.	665	1266	2 Oct.
572	1176	10 July	619	1222	15 Feb.	666	1267	22 Sept.

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
667	1268	10 Sept.	714	1314	17 April	761	1359	23 Nov.
668	1269	31 Aug.	715	1315	7 April	762	1360	11 Nov.
669	1270	20 Aug.	716	1316	26 March	763	1361	31 Oct.
670	1271	9 Aug.	717	1317	16 March	764	1362	21 Oct.
671	1272	29 July	718	1318	5 March	765	1363	10 Oct.
672	1273	18 July	719	1319	22 Feb.	766	1364	28 Sept.
673	1274	7 July	720	1320	12 Feb.	767	1365	18 Sept.
674	1275	27 June	721	1321	31 Jan.	768	1366	7 Sept.
675	1276	15 June	722	1322	20 Jan.	769	1367	28 Aug.
676	1277	4 June	723	1323	10 Jan.	770	1368	16 Aug.
677	1278	25 May	724	1323	30 Dec.	771	1369	5 Aug.
678	1279	14 May	725	1324	18 Dec.	772	1370	26 July
679	1280	3 May	726	1325	8 Dec.	773	1371	15 July
680	1281	22 April	727	1326	27 Nov.	774	1372	3 July
681	1282	11 April	728	1327	17 Nov.	775	1373	23 June
682	1283	1 April	729	1328	5 Nov.	776	1374	12 June
683	1284	20 March	730	1329	25 Oct.	777	1375	2 June
684	1285	9 March	731	1330	15 Oct.	778	1376	21 May
685	1286	27 Feb.	732	1331	4 Oct.	779	1377	10 May
686	1287	16 Feb.	733	1332	22 Sept.	780	1378	30 April
687	1288	6 Feb.	734	1333	12 Sept.	781	1379	19 April
688	1289	25 Jan.	735	1334	1 Sept.	782	1380	7 April
689	1290	14 Jan.	736	1335	21 Aug.	783	1381	28 March
690	1291	4 Jan.	737	1336	10 Aug.	784	1382	17 March
691	1291	24 Dec.	738	1337	30 July	785	1383	6 March
692	1292	12 Dec.	739	1338	20 July	786	1384	24 Feb.
693	1293	2 Dec.	740	1339	9 July	787	1385	12 Feb.
694	1294	21 Nov.	741	1340	27 June	788	1386	2 Feb.
695	1295	10 Nov.	742	1341	17 June	789	1387	22 Jan.
696	1296	30 Oct.	743	1342	6 June	790	1388	11 Jan.
697	1297	19 Oct.	744	1343	26 May	791	1388	31 Dec.
698	1298	9 Oct.	745	1344	15 May	792	1389	20 Dec.
699	1299	28 Sept.	746	1345	4 May	793	1390	9 Dec.
700	1300	16 Sept.	747	1346	24 April	794	1391	29 Nov.
701	1301	6 Sept.	748	1347	13 April	795	1392	17 Nov.
702	1302	26 Aug.	749	1348	1 April	796	1393	6 Nov.
703	1303	15 Aug.	750	1349	22 March	797	1394	27 Oct.
704	1304	4 Aug.	751	1350	11 March	798	1395	16 Oct.
705	1305	24 July	752	1351	28 Feb.	799	1396	5 Oct.
706	1306	13 July	753	1352	18 Feb.	800	1397	24 Sept.
707	1307	3 July	754	1353	6 Feb.	801	1398	13 Sept.
708	1308	21 June	755	1354	26 Jan.	802	1399	3 Sept.
709	1309	11 June	756	1355	16 Jan.	803	1400	22 Aug.
710	1310	31 May	757	1356	5 Jan.	804	1401	11 Aug.
711	1311	20 May	758	1356	25 Dec.	805	1402	1 Aug.
712	1312	9 May	759	1357	14 Dec.	806	1403	21 July
713	1313	28 April	760	1358	3 Dec.	807	1404	10 July

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
808	1405	29 June	855	1451	3 Feb.	902	1496	9 Sept.
809	1406	18 June	856	1452	23 Jan.	903	1497	30 Aug.
810	1407	8 June	857	1453	12 Jan.	904	1498	19 Aug.
811	1408	27 May	858	1454	1 Jan.	905	1499	8 Aug.
812	1409	16 May	859	1454	22 Dec.	906	1500	28 July
813	1410	6 May	860	1455	11 Dec.	907	1501	17 July
814	1411	25 April	861	1456	29 Nov.	908	1502	7 July
815	1412	13 April	862	1457	19 Nov.	909	1503	26 June
816	1413	3 April	863	1458	8 Nov.	910	1504	14 June
817	1414	23 March	864	1459	28 Oct.	911	1505	4 June
818	1415	13 March	865	1460	17 Oct.	912	1506	24 May
819	1416	1 March	866	1461	6 Oct.	913	1507	13 May
820	1417	18 Feb.	867	1462	26 Sept.	914	1508	2 May
821	1418	8 Feb.	868	1463	15 Sept.	915	1509	21 April
822	1419	28 Jan.	869	1464	3 Sept.	916	1510	10 April
823	1420	17 Jan.	870	1465	24 Aug.	917	1511	31 March
824	1421	6 Jan.	871	1466	13 Aug.	918	1512	19 March
825	1421	26 Dec.	872	1467	2 Aug.	919	1513	9 March
826	1422	15 Dec.	873	1468	22 July	920	1514	26 Feb.
827	1423	5 Dec.	874	1469	11 July	921	1515	15 Feb.
828	1424	23 Nov.	875	1470	30 June	922	1516	5 Feb.
829	1425	13 Nov.	876	1471	20 June	923	1517	24 Jan.
830	1426	2 Nov.	877	1472	8 June	924	1518	13 Jan.
831	1427	22 Oct.	878	1473	29 May	925	1519	3 Jan.
832	1428	11 Oct.	879	1474	18 May	926	1519	23 Dec.
833	1429	30 Sept.	880	1475	7 May	927	1520	12 Dec.
834	1430	19 Sept.	881	1476	26 April	928	1521	1 Dec.
835	1431	9 Sept.	882	1477	15 April	929	1522	20 Nov.
836	1432	28 Aug.	883	1478	4 April	930	1523	10 Nov.
837	1433	18 Aug.	884	1479	25 March	931	1524	29 Oct.
838	1434	7 Aug.	885	1480	13 March	932	1525	18 Oct.
839	1435	27 July	886	1481	2 March	933	1526	8 Oct.
840	1436	16 July	887	1482	20 Feb.	934	1527	27 Sept.
841	1437	5 July	888	1483	9 Feb.	935	1528	15 Sept.
842	1438	24 June	889	1484	30 Jan.	936	1529	5 Sept.
843	1439	14 June	890	1485	18 Jan.	937	1530	25 Aug.
844	1440	2 June	891	1486	7 Jan.	938	1531	15 Aug.
845	1441	22 May	892	1486	28 Dec.	939	1532	3 Aug.
846	1442	12 May	893	1487	17 Dec.	940	1533	23 July
847	1443	1 May	894	1488	5 Dec.	941	1534	13 July
848	1444	20 April	895	1489	25 Nov.	942	1535	2 July
849	1445	9 April	896	1490	14 Nov.	943	1536	20 June
850	1446	29 March	897	1491	4 Nov.	944	1537	10 June
851	1447	19 March	898	1492	23 Oct.	945	1538	30 May
852	1448	7 March	899	1493	12 Oct.	946	1539	19 May
853	1449	24 Feb.	900	1494	2 Oct.	947	1540	8 May
854	1450	14 Feb.	901	1495	21 Sept.	948	1541	27 April

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
949	1542	17 April	992	1584	14 Jan.	1037	1627	12 Sept.
950	1543	6 April	993	1585	3 Jan.	1038	1628	31 Aug.
951	1544	25 March	994	1585	23 Dec.	1039	1629	21 Aug.
952	1545	15 March	995	1586	12 Dec.	1040	1630	10 Aug.
953	1546	4 March	996	1587	2 Dec.	1041	1631	30 July
954	1547	21 Feb.	997	1588	20 Nov.	1042	1632	19 July
955	1548	11 Feb.	998	1589	10 Nov.	1043	1633	8 July
956	1549	30 Jan.	999	1590	30 Oct.	1044	1634	27 June
957	1550	20 Jan.	1000	1591	19 Oct.	1045	1635	17 June
958	1551	9 Jan.	1001	1592	8 Oct.	1046	1636	5 June
959	1551	29 Dec.	1002	1593	27 Sept.	1047	1637	26 May
960	1552	18 Dec.	1003	1594	16 Sept.	1048	1638	15 May
961	1553	7 Dec.	1004	1595	6 Sept.	1049	1639	4 May
962	1554	26 Nov.	1005	1596	25 Aug.	1050	1640	23 April
963	1555	16 Nov.	1006	1597	14 Aug.	1051	1641	12 April
964	1556	4 Nov.	1007	1598	4 Aug.	1052	1642	1 April
965	1557	24 Oct.	1008	1599	24 July	1053	1643	22 March
966	1558	14 Oct.	1009	1600	13 July	1054	1644	10 March
967	1559	3 Oct.	1010	1601	2 July	1055	1645	27 Feb.
968	1560	22 Sept.	1011	1602	21 June	1056	1646	17 Feb.
969	1561	11 Sept.	1012	1603	11 June	1057	1647	6 Feb.
970	1562	31 Aug.	1013	1604	30 May	1058	1648	27 Jan.
971	1563	21 Aug.	1014	1605	19 May	1059	1649	15 Jan.
972	1564	9 Aug.	1015	1606	9 May	1060	1650	4 Jan.
973	1565	29 July	1016	1607	28 April	1061	1650	25 Dec.
974	1566	19 July	1017	1608	17 April	1062	1651	14 Dec.
975	1567	8 July	1018	1609	6 April	1063	1652	2 Dec.
976	1568	26 June	1019	1610	26 March	1064	1653	22 Nov.
977	1569	16 June	1020	1611	16 March	1065	1654	11 Nov.
978	1570	5 June	1021	1612	4 March	1066	1655	31 Oct.
979	1571	26 May	1022	1613	21 Feb.	1067	1656	20 Oct.
980	1572	14 May	1023	1614	11 Feb.	1068	1657	9 Oct.
981	1573	3 May	1024	1615	31 Jan.	1069	1658	29 Sept.
982	1574	23 April	1025	1616	20 Jan.	1070	1659	18 Sept.
983	1575	12 April	1026	1617	9 Jan.	1071	1660	6 Sept.
984	1576	31 March	1027	1617	29 Dec.	1072	1661	27 Aug.
985	1577	21 March	1028	1618	19 Dec.	1073	1662	16 Aug.
986	1578	10 March	1029	1619	8 Dec.	1074	1663	5 Aug.
987	1579	28 Feb.	1030	1620	26 Nov.	1075	1664	25 July
988	1580	17 Feb.	1031	1621	16 Nov.	1076	1665	14 July
989	1581	5 Feb.	1032	1622	5 Nov.	1077	1666	4 July
990	1582	26 Jan.	1033	1623	25 Oct.	1078	1667	23 June
			1034	1624	14 Oct.	1079	1668	11 June
990	1582[1]		1035	1625	3 Oct.	1080	1669	1 June
991	1583	25 Jan.	1036	1626	22 Sept.	1081	1670	21 May

[1] Transfer from Julian to Gregorian calendar.

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
1082	1671	10 May	1129	1716	16 Dec.	1176	1762	23 July
1083	1672	29 April	1130	1717	5 Dec.	1177	1763	12 July
1084	1673	18 April	1131	1718	24 Nov.	1178	1764	1 July
1085	1674	7 April	1132	1719	14 Nov.	1179	1765	20 June
1086	1675	28 March	1133	1720	2 Nov.	1180	1766	9 June
1087	1676	16 March	1134	1721	22 Oct.	1181	1767	30 May
1088	1677	6 March	1135	1722	12 Oct.	1182	1768	18 May
1089	1678	23 Feb.	1136	1723	1 Oct.	1183	1769	7 May
1090	1679	12 Feb.	1137	1724	20 Sept.	1184	1770	27 April
1091	1680	2 Feb.	1138	1725	9 Sept.	1185	1771	16 April
1092	1681	21 Jan.	1139	1726	29 Aug.	1186	1772	4 April
1093	1682	10 Jan.	1140	1727	19 Aug.	1187	1773	25 March
1094	1682	31 Dec.	1141	1728	7 Aug.	1188	1774	14 March
1095	1683	20 Dec.	1142	1729	27 July	1189	1775	4 March
1096	1684	8 Dec.	1143	1730	17 July	1190	1776	21 Feb.
1097	1685	28 Nov.	1144	1731	6 July	1191	1777	9 Feb.
1098	1686	17 Nov.	1145	1732	24 June	1192	1778	30 Jan.
1099	1687	7 Nov.	1146	1733	14 June	1193	1779	19 Jan.
1100	1688	26 Oct.	1147	1734	3 June	1194	1780	8 Jan.
1101	1689	15 Oct.	1148	1735	24 May	1195	1780	28 Dec.
1102	1690	5 Oct.	1149	1736	12 May	1196	1781	17 Dec.
1103	1691	24 Sept.	1150	1737	1 May	1197	1782	7 Dec.
1104	1692	12 Sept.	1151	1738	21 April	1198	1783	26 Nov.
1105	1693	2 Sept.	1152	1739	10 April	1199	1784	14 Nov.
1106	1694	22 Aug.	1153	1740	29 March	1200	1785	4 Nov.
1107	1695	12 Aug.	1154	1741	19 March	1201	1786	24 Oct.
1108	1696	31 July	1155	1742	8 March	1202	1787	13 Oct.
1109	1697	20 July	1156	1743	25 Feb.	1203	1788	2 Oct.
1110	1698	10 July	1157	1744	15 Feb.	1204	1789	21 Sept.
1111	1699	29 June	1158	1745	3 Feb.	1205	1790	10 Sept.
1112	1700	18 June	1159	1746	24 Jan.	1206	1791	31 Aug.
1113	1701	8 June	1160	1747	13 Jan.	1207	1792	19 Aug.
1114	1702	28 May	1161	1748	2 Jan.	1208	1793	9 Aug.
1115	1703	17 May	1162	1748	22 Dec.	1209	1794	29 July
1116	1704	6 May	1163	1749	11 Dec.	1210	1795	18 July
1117	1705	25 April	1164	1750	30 Nov.	1211	1796	7 July
1118	1706	15 April	1165	1751	20 Nov.	1212	1797	26 June
1119	1707	4 April	1166	1752	8 Nov.	1213	1798	15 June
1120	1708	23 March	1167	1753	29 Oct.	1214	1799	5 June
1121	1709	13 March	1168	1754	18 Oct.	1215	1800	25 May
1122	1710	2 March	1169	1755	7 Oct.	1216	1801	14 May
1123	1711	19 Feb.	1170	1756	26 Sept.	1217	1802	4 May
1124	1712	9 Feb.	1171	1757	15 Sept.	1218	1803	23 April
1125	1713	28 Jan.	1172	1758	4 Sept.	1219	1804	12 April
1126	1714	17 Jan.	1173	1759	25 Aug.	1220	1805	1 April
1127	1715	7 Jan.	1174	1760	13 Aug.	1221	1806	21 March
1128	1715	27 Dec.	1175	1761	2 Aug.	1222	1807	11 March

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
1223	1808	28 Feb.	1270	1853	4 Oct.	1317	1899	12 May
1224	1809	16 Feb.	1271	1854	24 Sept.	1318	1900	1 May
1225	1810	6 Feb.	1272	1855	13 Sept.	1319	1901	20 April
1226	1811	26 Jan.	1273	1856	1 Sept.	1320	1902	10 April
1227	1812	16 Jan.	1274	1857	22 Aug.	1321	1903	30 March
1228	1813	4 Jan.	1275	1858	11 Aug.	1322	1904	18 March
1229	1813	24 Dec.	1276	1859	31 July	1323	1905	8 March
1230	1814	14 Dec.	1277	1860	20 July	1324	1906	25 Feb.
1231	1815	3 Dec.	1278	1861	9 July	1325	1907	14 Feb.
1232	1816	21 Nov.	1279	1862	29 June	1326	1908	4 Feb.
1233	1817	11 Nov.	1280	1863	18 June	1327	1909	23 Jan.
1234	1818	31 Oct.	1281	1864	6 June	1328	1910	13 Jan.
1235	1819	20 Oct.	1282	1865	27 May	1329	1911	2 Jan.
1236	1820	9 Oct.	1283	1866	16 May	1330	1911	22 Dec.
1237	1821	28 Sept.	1284	1867	5 May	1331	1912	11 Dec.
1238	1822	18 Sept.	1285	1868	24 April	1332	1913	30 Nov.
1239	1823	7 Sept.	1286	1869	13 April	1333	1914	19 Nov.
1240	1824	26 Aug.	1287	1870	3 April	1334	1915	9 Nov.
1241	1825	16 Aug.	1288	1871	23 March	1335	1916	28 Oct.
1242	1826	5 Aug.	1289	1872	11 March	1336	1917	17 Oct.
1243	1827	25 July	1290	1873	1 March	1337	1918	7 Oct.
1244	1828	14 July	1291	1874	18 Feb.	1338	1919	26 Sept.
1245	1829	3 July	1292	1875	7 Feb.	1339	1920	15 Sept.
1246	1830	22 June	1293	1876	28 Jan.	1340	1921	4 Sept.
1247	1831	12 June	1294	1877	16 Jan.	1341	1922	24 Aug.
1248	1832	31 May	1295	1878	5 Jan.	1342	1923	14 Aug.
1249	1833	21 May	1296	1878	26 Dec.	1343	1924	2 Aug.
1250	1834	10 May	1297	1879	15 Dec.	1344	1925	22 July
1251	1835	29 April	1298	1880	4 Dec.	1345	1926	12 July
1252	1836	18 April	1299	1881	23 Nov.	1346	1927	1 July
1253	1837	7 April	1300	1882	12 Nov.	1347	1928	20 June
1254	1838	27 March	1301	1883	2 Nov.	1348	1929	9 June
1255	1839	17 March	1302	1884	21 Oct.	1349	1930	29 May
1256	1840	5 March	1303	1885	10 Oct.	1350	1931	19 May
1257	1841	23 Feb.	1304	1886	30 Sept.	1351	1932	7 May
1258	1842	12 Feb.	1305	1887	19 Sept.	1352	1933	26 April
1259	1843	1 Feb.	1306	1888	7 Sept.	1353	1934	16 April
1260	1844	22 Jan.	1307	1889	28 Aug.	1354	1935	5 April
1261	1845	10 Jan.	1308	1890	17 Aug.	1355	1936	24 March
1262	1845	30 Dec.	1309	1891	7 Aug.	1356	1937	14 March
1263	1846	20 Dec.	1310	1892	26 July	1357	1938	3 March
1264	1847	9 Dec.	1311	1893	15 July	1358	1939	21 Feb.
1265	1848	27 Nov.	1312	1894	5 July	1359	1940	10 Feb.
1266	1849	17 Nov.	1313	1895	24 June	1360	1941	29 Jan.
1267	1850	6 Nov.	1314	1896	12 June	1361	1942	19 Jan.
1268	1851	27 Oct.	1315	1897	2 June	1362	1943	8 Jan.
1269	1852	15 Oct.	1316	1898	22 May	1363	1943	28 Dec.

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
1364	1944	17 Dec.	1384	1964	13 May	1404	1983	8 Oct.
1365	1945	6 Dec.	1385	1965	2 May	1405	1984	27 Sept.
1366	1946	25 Nov.	1386	1966	22 April	1406	1985	16 Sept.
1367	1947	15 Nov.	1387	1967	11 April	1407	1986	6 Sept.
1368	1948	3 Nov.	1388	1968	31 March	1408	1987	26 Aug.
1369	1949	24 Oct.	1389	1969	20 March	1409	1988	14 Aug.
1370	1950	13 Oct.	1390	1970	9 March	1410	1989	4 Aug.
1371	1951	2 Oct.	1391	1971	27 Feb.	1411	1990	24 July
1372	1952	21 Sept.	1392	1972	16 Feb.	1412	1991	13 July
1373	1953	10 Sept.	1393	1973	4 Feb.	1413	1992	2 July
1374	1954	30 Aug.	1394	1974	25 Jan.	1414	1993	21 June
1375	1955	20 Aug.	1395	1975	14 Jan.	1415	1994	10 June
1376	1956	8 Aug.	1396	1976	3 Jan.	1416	1995	31 May
1377	1957	29 July	1397	1976	23 Dec.	1417	1996	19 May
1378	1958	18 July	1398	1977	12 Dec.	1418	1997	9 May
1379	1959	7 July	1399	1978	2 Dec.	1419	1998	28 April
1380	1960	26 June	1400	1979	21 Nov.	1420	1999	17 April
1381	1961	15 June	1401	1980	9 Nov.	1421	2000	6 April
1382	1962	4 June	1402	1981	30 Oct.			
1383	1963	25 May	1403	1982	19 Oct.			

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