KANûN-NâMÉ-I SULTânî
LI ʿÂZîZ Efendi

ʿÂzîz Efendi’s Book of Sultanic Laws and Regulations:
An Agenda for Reform by a Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Statesman

Edited and translated from the unique manuscript in the Oriental Manuscripts Department of the Preussischer Kulturbesitz in West Berlin
by
RHOADS MURPHEY

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KANÜN-NÂME-I SULTânî LI ‘AZîZ EFENDI

On yedinci yüzyılda bir Osmanlı Devletadaminin
İslahat Teklifleri

Batı Berlin Devlet Kütüphanesindeki tek nüshanın
tenkidli metnini izahlı İngilizce tercümesiyle birlikte
hazırlayan

RHOADS MURPHEY

Basıldığı yer
Harvard
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NOTE ON THE TRANSCRIPTION

The elaboration of a system of transcription which is universally applicable for all Ottoman texts and which accurately reflects vocalic patterns of the spoken language of different historical periods is a problem which continues to present an unsurmounted challenge to linguists and historians of language alike. In the transcription of Aziz Efendi’s text of circa 1630 I have made no effort and claim no success in recapturing or reproducing contemporary speech, but in the place of adopting the rules of modern Turkish orthography I have found it preferable to transcribe the text in the way more or less standardly accepted for old Ottoman Turkish.* Although none of the current systems for transcription can be regarded as perfect in every respect, it seemed to me more realistic to render a text of 1630 according to the accepted conventions and canons for reading of old Turkish texts than to the phonetic rules for modern Turkish. In any case, the fact that the text of Aziz Efendi’s kâmûn-nâmê exists in only one unique manuscript restricts us of necessity to adopting one or another of the mechanical methods of transcription. In transcribing the Turkish text the following equivalents served as our guide:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{a, ä} = \ddot{a} & \ddot{z} = \breve{z} & \dddot{e} = ' & \breve{g}, \breve{g} \\
\text{b, also p in final position} = \breve{r} & \breve{z} = z & \breve{c} = k & \breve{q} = \breve{f} \\
p = \breve{r} & \breve{e} = j & \breve{k} = k, \breve{n}, \breve{g} \\
t = \breve{s} & \breve{c} = s & \breve{l} = l & \breve{m} = m \\
g = \breve{e} & \breve{c} = \breve{g} & \breve{n} = n & \breve{v}, \breve{u}, \breve{u} \\
\breve{h} = \breve{h} & \breve{c} = \breve{d} & \breve{w} = \breve{a} & \breve{i} = i, \breve{i}
\end{array}
\]

Arabic expressions are transcribed in a “Turkicized” form. Pious extolling of the Sultan and laudatory phrases interjected into the text are set off from the narrative between parentheses, while direct quotations from the Koran and other written sources are indicated by quotation marks. The text has been reproduced as written without changes except in clear cases of scribal error, which are indicated in notes at the foot of the page. Additions to the text made by the editor are placed between brackets, while gaps in the text are indicated by the symbol [ . . . . ].

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. **Dictionaries, Encyclopaedias, and other reference tools**


S. Lane-Poole, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, Book 1, parts 1-8. London, 1863-1893. (Lane-Poole)


**Journals**


TOEM. *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası*.

WZKM. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.

II. Partial list of works cited in the notes


B. Miller, Beyond the Sublime Porte. New Haven, 1931.


III. Ottoman Advice Texts published together with a partial or full translation


Koçi Bey (Telhislər, 1040 [?]/1630). R. Murphey (ed. and trans.), “The Veliyuddin Telhis: Notes on the sources and interrelations between Koçi Bey and contemporary writers of Advice to Kings,” Belleten 43 (1979) 547-571.


ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like first of all to thank the German National Library, and in particular the director of the oriental manuscripts department Dr. Dieter George, for permission to print a facsimile of the unique manuscript copy forming part of the collections of the Preussischer Kulturbesitz in West Berlin (MS, Or Quart. 1209). During the preparation of the text edition and translation, I was helped at various stages and in questions of both detail and interpretation by my two teachers and guides, Professor Inalcik and Professor Ménage. Their patient advice and encouragement emboldened me to undertake the task of editing and publishing this relatively little known text so that others might also be introduced to it, albeit in a form distorted as it must inevitably be through the prism of my own perceptions and inadequacies.

I would like also to express my sincere gratitude to the National Endowment for the Humanities which provided funding for a larger scale project on seventeenth century Ottoman advice literature of which the present work forms the first part. Without their support, it is doubtful that the work could ever have been completed in its present form. I am grateful to Columbia University’s Dunning bequest and to that university’s Middle East Institute for a separate grant to cover the costs of final typing and preparation of the manuscript for the press. The illustration on the inside cover of the book was taken from the 1674 Geneva edition of Pietro della Valle’s travel account Reiss-beschreibung in die orientalische Länder, p. 62.
EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The kaman-name of Aziz Efendi has been known for some years, but its use so far has been limited to a few bibliophiles and scholars in Germany.\(^1\) As far as we know the text exists in only one unique copy consisting of nine closely-written leaves bound into a volume intended as a learning manual for professional scribes now housed in the oriental manuscripts department of the Preussischer Kulturbesitz in West Berlin.\(^2\) Its author, Aziz Efendi, cannot be identified with any certainty, but he does leave certain hints as to his profession and position in government scattered throughout the text. Like his predecessor, Mustafa Ali, who penned several treaties of advice to the then reigning Sultan Murad III (1574-1595/982-1003), Aziz Efendi seems to have been a member of the secretarial profession. Indications of this are seen in his ability to adhere to the rules of chancellery style when giving samples of imperial orders (hüküm) sent to the provinces (English translation, pp. 16-18; Transcription of the text, pp. 36-38). Such ability to reproduce the form as well as the content of genuine chancellery documents as issued by the office of the reis'al-küttat would point to actual experience on the part of our author in this service, perhaps as a scribe of the High Council (Divan katibi). In one of these imperial orders Aziz Efendi is able to give precise figures for the population of the small village of Topuzlar (English translation, p. 18; Transcription, p. 38) which shows that he must have had access to the official survey registers (defter) and other records kept in the Department of Finance.

The author makes direct reference to his long years in government service at the close of his treatise (English, pp. 23-24; Transcription, p. 42) hoping to gain support for his expressed concerns out of respect both for his age and for the breadth of his experience. The division of his treatise into four segments dealing successively with the office of the Grand Vezir, the salaried troops of the Porte, and the claimants to descent from the Prophet follows the traditional concerns of most writers of advice who had preceded him. For instance, in an anonymous treatise entitled the “Amulet of Kings” dating from the reign of Murad III (1574-1595/982-1003)\(^3\) a long section is also devoted to the matter of corruption among members of the religious hierarchy (ulema). One unique aspect of Aziz Efendi’s work, however, is the subject dealt with in Part III concerning the condition of the Kurdish beys in eastern Anatolia which takes up nearly a third of the entire work (English, pp. 12-18; Transcription, pp. 33-38). Although the author’s recommendations with regard to reviving the traditional policy of istinalet\(^4\) hark back to the early days of the Ottoman Empire, his sentiments also reflect the actual historical circumstances at the time of the treatise’s writing.\(^5\) The author is careful to point out that, by denying material support to the Kurdish beys in the border areas, the Ottomans severely hampered their ability to function as an effective deterrent against Safavid incursions. In this attitude he differentiates himself from a long tradition of anti-Shi’i polemic in the Ottoman Empire whose main appeal was to the generally Sunni religious preference of the Kurds. Aziz Efendi, by proposing that material incentives be added to attract their support, inclines towards a more pragmatic approach. He emphasizes the fact that, despite their religious convic-

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\(^2\) Manuscript Or. Quart. 1209. Description of the contents of the twenty subdivisions making up this collective volume may be found in B. Flemming’s catalogue cited above.

\(^3\) *Hırz al-Müllük*, manuscript in the library of the Rumanian National Academy; section on the ulema, folios 161b to 170b.

\(^4\) For a definition of this term see the glossary.

\(^5\) See the notes to accompany the English translation, #56 below on page 52.
tions, economic necessity or military insecurity might force the Kurdish chiefs to align themselves with the Safavids and strongly urges that the government take steps to insure that this will not happen.

Although it is not possible to establish the identity of our author with much precision, the date of the work’s composition can be fixed within the limits of a nine-month period between September 1632 and June 1633 (Rebi’i’al-eevel 1042 and Zilhicce 1042). This dating, first determined by Klaus Röhrborn, is confirmed by references to two personalities in the text. The first is the Beylerbeyi of Rumelia, Huseyn Pasha, who is said (English, p. 20; Transcription, p. 39) to have “formerly” held that post, giving us the terminus ante quem, and the second is the chief defterdar, Mustafa Pasha, who is said (English, p. 7; Transcription, p. 30) to be the “current” holder of that office at the time of writing. Mustafa Pasha’s death by execution on 20 June 1633 (12 Zilhicce 1042) thus establishes the terminus post quem non for the writing of the treatise. Written as it was at a time soon after the third successive failure on the part of the Ottoman armies to recapture Baghdad which had fallen into the hands of their Safavid rivals from Iran in 1624 (1033), the treatise naturally reflects the most pressing concern of the day. Thus the author addresses a large proportion of his remarks to the question of the eastern wars and the condition of the Kurdish beys. However, his insights into the need for reform in the most basic institutions of the empire from the regimes of the Janissaries to the ranks of the religious hierarchy place our author firmly in the general tradition of Ottoman writers of Advice to Kings. Without mincing words he gives a critical appraisal of all aspects of government and society for his sovereign, Murad IV, convinced that the greatest compliment he could pay to his monarch’s intelligence would be to present his untrammeled perceptions of the state of the latter’s empire. The author’s own preference for such honesty is expressed in the words:

I would rather sacrifice my own life than to compromise any of the ideas in my head. (English, p. 24; Transcription, p. 42)

That the tradition of free and frank exchange of ideas between the sultan and his close advisers in the Ottoman Empire was a respected one is reflected in the survival of a substantial number of works such as the present one by Aziz Efendi, a close adviser to Sultan Murad IV, leaving as his enduring legacy this honest and straightforward account of Ottoman state and society in his time. The modern reader should be aware that such works, because of their often brutal candor, were never intended for wide circulation at the time of their writing, but were used as white papers or agendas for discussion and acted also as guides for the eventual enactment of reform measures. Through such works we gain a privileged insight into the issues and ideas motivating Ottoman government policy in a bygone era.

As for the style of composition in Aziz Efendi’s kanun-name, it is written in the standard ‘arz form and uses the form and terminology followed for presentation of memorials and official petitions to the sultan. The individual parts of the work, each devoted to a specific area for reform, are introduced either by pious benefactions wishing the sultan long life and health (dua), or by various eulogistic phrases praising the all-encompassing wisdom and intellect of the sultan while expressing the hope that his vision will not be obscured from seeing the truth either because of manipulative advisers or for any other reason.

6 K. Röhrborn, Untersuchungen zur Osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte, p. 11.

7 Mustafa Naima, Tarih (Istanbul, 1283 [1866]), Volume 3, p. 145.

8 Reference to this campaign known as the Hamadan campaign is made in the text—English, p. 15; Transcription, p. 36.

These latter usually include the phrase “nihan olmiya ki . . .” (May it not be hidden that . . .)\(^6\) By way of conclusion the individual reform proposals are brought to a close with appeals to the sultan to take appropriate action to rectify the problems addressed in the report with the words “baki emr u ferman . . . .” That the theoretical reform suggestions put forward in these reports were intended for action in the practical sphere is a well-established fact.\(^1^1\) In the case of Aziz Efendi’s text, it is interesting to note that the author even included some draft versions and outlines for royal proclamations (hatt-i humayun) which, subject to the sultan’s approval, are proposed for official release. The following examples are incorporated in full into the text of Aziz Efendi’s tract:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
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<td>1. Imperial rescript addressed to the Beyberbeyi of Diyarbekir</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Imperial Rescript to the Kurdish Beys</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Imperial Rescripts to the Sheyh’ul-Islam and to the Kadi Askers</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Imperial Rescripts to the Beylerbeyis of Rumelia and Anatolia</td>
<td>20</td>
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Thus, although it is not possible at this time to identify with any greater precision the biographical details pertaining to Aziz Efendi himself, his work may be firmly placed in the tradition and historical context of others composed by members of the secretarial class at the same period. Another work entitled Kanun-i ‘Osmanî meftûn-i defter-i hakani was composed at about this same time by the chief of the Ottoman chancery (re’s al-kuttab) Avni Ömer Efendi to lay down principles for a comprehensive reorganization of regulations relating to the timar system and land tenure.\(^1^2\) The survival of these works provides us with concrete evidence of the actual functioning of the Islamic principle of consultation (meseveret)\(^1^3\) in the Ottoman state which provided a traditional format for the presentation of suggestions for reform to the highest levels of government and the means for ensuring their implementation.

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\(^6\) For a fuller list of these formulae and comments on the content and structure of ‘arz see H. Inalcik, “Osmanlı bürokrasisinde aklam ve muamelat,” The Journal of Ottoman Studies 1 (1980) 1-14.

\(^1^1\) On the mode of implementation of reform suggestions and the discovery by Çağatay Uluçay of the original presentation copies of reports bearing orders for action in the margins in the sultan’s own hand, see my “Dördüncü Sultan Murad’ a Sunulan Yedi Telhis” in VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi: Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler (Ankara, 1981), Vol. 2, 1095-1099.


\(^1^3\) This principle rested on Koranic authority as expressed in the exhortation: “Consult with them upon the conduct of affairs,” Koran, Surah III, verse 153.
TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT

The Sultan's Register of Laws by 'Aziz Efendi

(Composed circa 1632)
INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXT

May the court of our illustrious, prosperous, and most august majesty (God’s shadow on earth) remain perpetually the place of worship for the great whose foreheads rub the ground in prayer and entreaty, and may his fortunate threshold be until the end of time the place of obsequant kissing for the lips of the masters of the world! And may God the Creator and absolute master (be His glory magnified) daily increase the extent and good fortune of our majesty’s reign, and may He prepare and bring to realization all of your majesty’s imperial wishes in full bounty so that the shade of your prosperity and the shadow of your protection be the cause for the repose of the world and the instigator of ease and comfort for all mankind.

O most just sovereign, if God (be He praised and exalted) looks upon the people of a nation with the eye of mercy he imbues the heart of the ruler of that nation with the ray-emitting light by which God sheds his compassion on all God’s creatures, so that that ruler in turn, by treating both his governors and his subjects with justice and equity, and daily increasing his compassion and protection, then by the grace of God the all-forgiving, his country will always prosper and his enemies will always be overcome. On the other hand if all-powerful and mighty God looks upon that country with the eye of rage, then the light of mercy is banished from the consciousness of that country’s ruler, and since he has failed to look upon his governors and his subjects with the eye of compassion the people of such a country have come to ruin through injustice and tyranny, and the state has been destroyed.

God the exalted be praised, our illustrious, prosperous and most august majesty has been blessed with perfect wisdom and knowledge and with powers of intellect, understanding, and decision. He inquires into the affairs of the governors and knows the righteous among them. He diligently concerns himself with the protection and preservation of all his most humble subjects, and whether it be the equestrian arts or any other of the activities and postures appropriate to rulership he has attained praise and merit as an accomplished horseman and most worthy sovereign, God’s shadow on earth. So great is his God-given capacity in all these things that among all his esteemed forebears and great ancestors no one was granted such favor nor vouchsafed such good estate and honor. May God the exalted restore to life every province and country of his imperial domains through his majesty’s auspicious efforts. In particular (129a/2) the ziamet and timar lands which have been bought at the price of the blood of the gazis in awesome battle, which for the past sixty years have been held captive and languishing in need of treatment in the prison of misappropriation (sepet timar) have been revived in the care of his healing measures, restored to life with his pronouncements of elixir-effect so that now each and every ziamet and timar enjoys the perfect health of youth and is harmoniously assigned to an able warrior of illustrious reputation.1 In a word, in a short time he has put to the sharp sword all those accursed ones who prefer harmful behavior and contradict upright religious law and the true path, and has corrected their wavering natures not withholding from settling them on the boundaries of oblivion nor refraining from confining them to the retirement of the deepest recesses of hell, and subjecting them to the tortures of pain has relegated them to banishment and contempt. Some of those stubborn sinners of viper race and weakly ant-like character who escaped the edge of his punishing sword fearing to end their unfortunate lives stricken with the stone of capital punishment have fled into the abyss of concealment, while others have become lost in the plain of frustration. May the most powerful and victorious majesty, and all-bountiful God always be the helper and protector to our felicitous sovereign of heavenly stature and our monarch of celestial power (God magnify his helpers
until the day of resurrection), and may He never hold back from confusing the lives of the troupe of evil-doers nor from holding them subject to punishment for their evil deeds by visiting them with due retribution. Amen, o our succourer.

O felicitous and munificent sovereign, previously a report was written and presented to the foot of the throne in which prosperity resides on the subject of the Grand Vezirate and other matters. However, since the reform of the salaried military class is also of the utmost importance, the author has again made bold to imporune your majesty with his effrontery. It is hoped that it may not be hidden from the felicitous prescience of your majesty that [these expressions] originate out of pure intent and in faithful conviction. Decision and command in this matter too are the prerogative of your imperial majesty, ruler of the world.

[PART I]: ON THE ANCIENT LAW CONCERNING THE GREAT MINISTERS

May it not be hidden or concealed from the world-adorning knowledge of your prosperous and great majesty shadow of God on earth that

your esteemed forebears and great ancestors who rest in heaven (129/1), those rulers of just repute and emperors of dignified renown (may God the exalted illuminate and make pleasant their graves), in their era in which statelessness abides and through the command in which felicity resides took into their service four ministers of Asaf²-like wisdom. It is clear and proven that the stipend fiefs (hâs) of the four ministers were formerly fixed and recorded and that the stewardship (voyvodâlîk) of these fiefs was given to the personal servants of each minister of luminous intellect who year after year oversaw their operation by way of trusteeship (emanet). Hence these stewards (voywoda) in turn protected and preserved the villagers and collected the revenues with justice and equity, aware that when they gave account of the revenues in detailed registers each foresighted minister would ask them to swear that they had not included any forbidden or ill-gotten gains in their accounting. Since the ministers took such care to avoid forbidden acts, their lands were bountiful and their estates prosperous and abundant while they themselves were generous patrons, expending efforts in the building of mosques, great and small, schools, and performing many other such charitable deeds and good works. In addition to this, each Grand Vezir of Asaf-like vision had a retinue of more than a thousand men, and the other world-adorning ministers had five or six hundred fully-armed and equipped slaves so that should the necessity be occasioned the four ministers could muster a force of three thousand armed and outfitted warriors and call them out to act as a firm barrier against the Gog of sedition and rebellion. This being the case, with them standing in readiness who could dare to be so bold as to commit any unbecoming action? But since the time of your illustrious and great forefather, now dwelling in paradise and residing in heaven, Sultan Murad son of Sultan Selmâ³ (may God lodge him in the highest reaches of paradise) the number of high ministers has been in excess of the legal limit, and since there are no stipend fiefs allocated to them in the registers, lands from the Imperial Domain had to be distributed. This latter group (i.e. the vezîrs) [abandoning the above-described system of assigning long-term trusteeship (emanet) over their prescribed lands to trusted stewards] farmed out these domains formerly belonging to the Imperial Domain on a short-term year-to-year (îlîzâm) basis to members of their own household (kapu kullan) and allowed them to ruin and destroy them; and when [a domain had become so impoverished by their abuse that] no one was ready to accept the farm, the vezîr would then reject that domain and choose another of his liking from among the Imperial Domain and ruin that in turn. As the choice estates were successively diverted (129/2) to such use the end result was the destruction of the Imperial Domain as a whole and now, in contradiction to the law, mining, rice paddies, fishing lakes, and similar revenue sources preserved for the Sultan alone have illegally been assigned as stipend domains to ministers.¹⁴ Not only is this treachery to the sovereign, but it also gives consent and
encouragement to oppression and injustice and creates obstacles to good deeds and benefaction. Furthermore, because of their lack of power and forcefulness, each only supported by thirty or forty men, these ministers are incapable either of performing the customary duties of previous ministers or of revivifying the ancient ceremonies so that some time ago when the forces of the perpetrators of obstinacy were striving in rebellion against the state, the Sultan was not able to find among his ministers any loyal friend and he was forced of necessity to retire into seclusion in his palace. In the end, God awakened the Sultan, possessor of might and power, our felicitous sovereign of Djem-like stature and aroused him to the nature of the current situation, and after by his own personal sound decision and correct and appropriate measures he had separated far from one another those two conspiring and collaborating groups of the ministers and rebels he first of all reassigned the ziamet and tinmar lands, and then extirpated the rebels and evildoers through royal steps and imperial stances, putting a part of them to the sharp sword while reducing the others to penitence. In this ordering and securing of obedience and loyalty the Sultan showed such a great courage and miraculous capacity that among all his great forebears no monarch of respected lineage nor any sovereign of awe and majesty could equal him. After this had been accomplished, just at the point when young and old all well-wishers of the Ottoman dynasty and those eaters of the benefice of the generous-natured Sultan of perpetual dynasty had hope and expected that the felicitous and distinguished Sultan (may God the almighty extend the shadow of his sword over both this world and the hereafter) would reform the ministers also in accordance with the ancient law and were waiting expectantly that, by compliance with the felicitous customs of his predecessors and through the grace of God the exalted, in his own fortunate reign a degree of prosperity much greater than that of his high-born predecessors would be achieved and victory and triumph would be the share of the successful soldiers (130a/1) who set out on campaign and defeat and destruction the lot of their enemies, suddenly an additional three ministers were appointed so that now they are astonished and distressed to find that there are at present contrary to the law an extra seven ministers. Above all, it is known to the Sultan that excess of ministers is the cause of the poverty of the treasury. In fact, although in the summary registers stipend fiefs are recorded for no more than four ministers, the extra seven are now all assigned estates from the lands of the Imperial Domain which each have recorded revenues of 1,200,000 akça a year, but in reality yield an income of four to five million akça. Is it proper that the public treasury should suffer a loss of thirty millions each year on their account? More particularly, whereas the Finance Ministers are in the position of trustees and protectors of the depositories and guardians of the public treasury of the Muslim community, and whereas they have stipulated stipend domains plus incomparable and innumerable incidental income and bonuses assigned to them, and although to their head the chief Finance Minister the rank of vezir was only recently conferred, it has now become the usual practice that in addition to his own benefice as defterdar he uses his authority as minister to assign to himself substantial additional revenues from the Imperial Domain amounting to as much as a million akça. By this practice he has betrayed the public treasury and perpetrated an unwarranted wrong. This being the case [it is respectfully submitted that] the most appropriate and fitting course for your great and felicitous majesty to follow is to require that the Sultanic law be observed to the highest degree possible and that four mature and perfect ministers be chosen to serve in the felicitous Imperial Council. Each of these four should in accordance with the ancient law be accompanied by five or six hundred slaves in the procession to and from sessions of the Imperial Council. It is necessary that the Grand Vezir be independent from interference in the performance of his office and that the ministerial rank of the chief finance official as well as his vezirial domain be abrogated. For, the fact that the chief finance official should hold the rank of minister has meant a severe waste of the public treasury.

It is also observed that in those lands which were ennobled by conquest in the time of past Sultans some villages have been granted and bestowed as freehold estate to many undeserving persons who have never performed any service for the state or religion, in total violation of the noble canon law (130a/2).
Such people in turn build small mosques and religious schools on these lands and declare them to be *wakf* stipulating that income from the estate in excess of operating expenses for the upkeep of the buildings be enjoyed by their offspring. Clearly there can be no question of their earning religious merit through such pious endowments established in opposition to both religious and sultanic law. It would be preferable and more beneficial to distribute and assign to battle-ready warriors those villages which have been given by way of freehold grant to the undeserving in this fashion. Nevertheless, so that those shrines, religious schools and other charitable institutions not fall into ruin, care should be taken that the new assignee possess only those revenues left in excess after the needs and salaries of the stipendaries of the foundations have been satisfied. God willing, after these freeholds granted in contradiction to the exalted sultanic law have been distributed to warriors, a military force capable of giving answer to a powerful adversary will be created.

[Another matter which should be brought to the Sultan's attention is that] the esteemed service in the Sultan's palace has become filled with low, undesirable types and city boys, from whose employ it is fruitless to expect any good will ever come. These should immediately be removed from the Palace service and sent out to serve in the appropriate career (*yol ile*) and replaced with Albanians, Boshnak and others of slave origin who recognize each one of them that willingness to sacrifice life and soul in the service of the state and the sultanate is the way to [earn] admittance to paradise and to enjoy eternal life. Furthermore it is the best and most beneficial policy that ostentation and adornment among the court dignitaries should be forbidden. So, if through the aid of God the master of the universe, affairs may be accordingly set right and brought to completion in conformity with this policy, the heavenly spheres will come into conjunction for the fulfillment of the wish of Sultan Selim the indomitable, and the reform of the salaried troops of the Porte too will become easy. Such being the case, through the support of God the lord of all diets, may the throne of felicitous fortune never be lacking in the glory and pride conferred by those who make it the accustomed place of the obeisance of the esteemed.

[Part II]: A CANDID ASSESSMENT OF THE TRUE CONDITION OF THE SALARIED TROOPS OF THE PORTE

To the foot of the fortune-accommodating throne of the felicitous and majestic sovereign of Alexander-like dignity and Suleyman-like power it is submitted that:

at the time of the felicitous imperial accession of your most respected forebear the Emperor Sultan Murad son of the Emperor Selim (may God show him mercy (130b/1) and forgiveness) in the year 982 (1574 A.D.) there was at the Sublime Porte a force of 13,500 Janissaries and 6,200 members of the Six Cavalry regiments who being few but excellent and both obedient and submissive were, by the help of God the greatest of the lords, vouchsafed success and victory in battle in no matter what direction they turned their expeditions and campaigns. Presently the Janissaries number 43,000 men and the reason for their increase to this extent and for the destruction of their ancient customs is that it has now become the practice to recruit Janissaries under the categories ağa-çiraği and ferzend -i sipahi. Even with these methods though the system was capable of being borne, since both the ağa-çiraği and the ferzend -i sipahi recruits were still required to work for a number of years as adjemi-oglan either in the gardens of the imperial palaces, on board the ships carrying supplies to the capital, or in other branches of service, and they were only accepted into permanent regiments after successfully completing this period of training and service. In those days could a company commander (*oda-bashi*) or a company chief (*tordadjii*) ever dare to try to conceal the death of a soldier [in order to defraud the treasury]? If a man was accused of serious crimes, even were he lucky enough to escape execution would certainly have to pay for his actions
by expulsion from the ranks and demotion to the provincial timariot army. But in the year 1032 (1623 A.D.) when the current chief Finance Minister Mustafa Pasha became commander of the Janissaries, through his pure greed he introduced the unfortunate institution of becayesh or place switching, and because of that innovation many abominations were committed, allowing outsiders (edjebi) to enter into Janissary companies so that through such dilution the fires of the Janissary hearth (odjak) were extinguished. And should it be your imperial wish to have your world-adorning knowledge informed as to what kind of despicable innovation this becayesh is, it consists of the company commanders’ concealing of the death of one of their soldiers and claiming for themselves his wages. The company commander subsequently finds a shepherd, an agriculturalist or else a robber or one of the highwaymen who block the roads and passes to murder the populace and rob them of their possessions, and taking from these a bribe of forty or fifty gurush he hands over to them the pay-ticket (tezkire) of the deceased man, and in opposition to the law promotes them to the deceased’s regiment by using his name (130b/2) thus making Janissaries of them in a single day. To those who are promoted to a regiment in this way the name becayesh, or “place switcher” has been given. Now, what benefit can be expected from a person who while formerly one of the miscreants of the age has been made a Janissary overnight?

As for the men of the Six Cavalry regiments, they have now grown to 27,000. The reason for their becoming so numerous and for their corruption has been the adoption of the two new recruitment categories of ibtidadan boluk and veledesh which has allowed entry into the ranks of the cavalrymen of nondescripts, disgraceful Djelali rebels, Turks, men of low character, and city boys. In sum, while during the reign of the late Sultan Murad all the salaried personnel of the Porte from the lowest paid to those receiving 100,000 akça totalled only 36,400, today the Janissaries and members of the Six Cavalry regiments alone make up 70,000 which together with the more than 30,000 salaried staff in other services brings the total to over 100,000. Thus, even if this group were perfectly obedient and submissive it would still be impossible to keep them satisfied with our current treasury resources. As for counting the extent of the quarterly cash pay installments, it is outside the limits of the numerable. The non-military tax-paying class have some of them become the Sultan’s soldiers, some have laid claim to the title of servant of the Sultan (kul) while others purport to be descendants of the Prophet (müteseyyid), so that the remainder of their brethren are no longer able to bear the burden of their share of the taxes and have most of them fled their lands and become scattered and confused, which means that the portion of the state’s revenues capable of being collected is now insufficient to meet current expenditures. When it happens that treasury income is insufficient to meet expenditures, officials of the sultanate are of necessity forced to harass the populace for funds. Under these circumstances, in a short time the populace has been left without estate or property and the state has lost its abundance and prosperity. In particular the aforementioned group, disreputables of unknown origin, those without civic pride, tillers of the land from generations past have all abandoned their trades and their fields each in the hope of somehow securing a paying position (dirlik) as either Janissary or cavalryman. But that type of shameless and insincere recruit brought up in baseness is mostly absent from campaigns, and in the event they should go no good could be expected of them anyway, for such bad-natured and ignoble types flee in the midst of battle causing the crushing defeat of the forces of Islam (131a/1) and leading to the destruction of the structure of the state and the sultanate. Therefore, the reform of the aforementioned group has become one of the most necessary requirements and most important necessities of both religion and the state. If the imperial will decides for it (God the exalted willing) its accomplishment is easy. May God the exalted (be He praised) inspire and reveal to the sacred heart of our noble Sultan the importance of their reform. Amen, by the grace of the lord of the prophets.
Concerning the Reform of the Membership of the Janissary Corps:

It is sincerely submitted and suggested to the brilliant intellect which penetrates all difficulties and to the mind which perceives all truths belonging to the fortunate Sultan who adorns the world and to the sovereign of Djemshid-like insight that:

if his felicitous majesty in which religion finds its refuge should concentrate his imperial measures and incisive decisions to the reform of the military forces through expulsion of the outsiders (edjnеби) from amongst the salaried troops and the punishment of the rebels, the way in which, if God the most highly esteemed of the mighty wills it, this may best be accomplished is by issuing imperial orders to all the currently-appointed governors general who have been assigned to the task of reforming the corrupt timar system. In this order (феман) it should be stated that:

It is my imperial wish that you undertake an inspection of all the ziamet and timar lands in your districts so that all wrongfully-assigned timars may be discovered, and a record made of the identity and number of those ziamets and timars available for reassignment to the rightful possession of the eligible. Thus you should gather together in all speed with your provincial commanders (умера) and their subordinates (алы-беялети) together with all their timariots and zaims and wait in expectation for subsequent orders to be issued by me.

When the provincial governors general on their part have informed the Sultan that they, in accordance with his noble order, have gathered their forces, a few of them will be secretly summoned to the capital with their victorious soldiers, and when the word is received that the governors general of Rumelia and Bosnia have reached the camp at the plain of Edirne with all their armed and equipped soldiers and that the governor general of Anatolia has left the seat of his government at Kutahya and set out for the capital, the Janissary commander and other officers of the permanent standing army regiments will be brought to the imperial presence of the Sultan upon which he will address them in the following words:

Each one of you is to the extent of his capacity a shareholder in the fate of this noble state. Up until now through neglect and unawaresness our subjects have been reduced to such poverty and helplessness that no longer able to meet their tax obligations (131а/2) they, while mostly formerly heads of households, have now been forced to leave their lands and homes and to opt to serve as laborers in a distant place to one of the wealthy possessors of might and power in my kingdom. My subjects however being sacred charges granted by the Lord of Mankind, (Praises be to God, the Lord, the Pardoner) the all-protecting God to show his favor to me has awakened me from the sleep of unawareness, and I have realized that when on a day as full of reproach and remorse as the final day of judgment a special council of the King of kings is convened and I am questioned in the presence of the Almighty, master of vengeance, about the good and evil I have accomplished, I intend to have an answer for the lord God and to be in possession of the pride of being able to look into the face of God's beloved, the Prophet. Consequently, I have enforced the laws of my great forefathers (May God shed light on their graves) and in accordance with the ancient law I have appointed four ministers only, revoking the offices of all others; I have recovered the aforementioned misappropriated ziamets and timars and distributed them to warriors deserving of assignment to a military fieф (хулез), and in order to protect my subjects from oppression and injustice I have assigned county commanders and governors general to the government of the banner units (санджак) and to the provinces (эялет) and given them confirmation in their offices in perpetuity.21 At the same time I have expelled all those low and despicable characters and the city boys who by one means or another have entered into the palace service, and replaced them in accordance with the ancient law with Albanians, Boshnaks and boys from slave origin. All in all, I sought to abolish completely all of the reprehensible innovations which came to my knowledge. As for you (the Janissaries) your company too is a part of the palace service and as
such its reform and improvement is required by both religious and sultanic law. For many from among the common subjects have entered your ranks in the place of deceased Janissaries, and many of you who so often while completely fit and in possession of bodily power have in opposition to religious and sultanic law declared yourselves unfit for active service (oturak) and retired (korudju) and it is these people who are now earning their livings as merchants in the markets and emporiums. Regarding such people who defraud and waste the funds of the public treasury in this way, what is your answer?

And after the Sultan has thus pronounced the accused will have no alternative but to answer:

Order and command belongs to our Sultan. We stand ready to sacrifice our bodies and our souls (131b/1) on behalf of our Sultan.

In response to this answer the Sultan will then say:

May you be truly deserving of enjoying happiness and may my blessed favors be justly earned by you.22 How, I request you to summon to my presence all my military personnel who are presently resident in the provinces.

Accordingly they, saying: "we hear, and we obey" will congregate for a time at the residence of their commander and afterwards, while each of them returns to his own company barracks for debate and discussion with his men, all at once the governors general of Rumelia and Bosnia will appear with their troops this side of Çekmedje,23 and the groans of the star-emblazoned steed24 [will be heard] and the crash of the tympani and drums of thunder-like action will ring in the ear of the heavens and the arch of heaven will echo their sound with moans, and after coming in troops to make camp in the plain of Davud Pasha25 the hills and mountains will be made like the moon-shaped crescents of the heavens by the marks of the hooves of the victorious troops' horses, and both plain and steppe will be filled with the celestially-ordered tents of the warriors of Behram26-like vengeance. At that time, the gazis displaying their jewel-studded and plumed aigrettes27 will like ferocious lions stealthily set out in the direction of the market of Karaman and of the shops of the covered market (bedestan)28 holding in their hands iron clubs in the place of rose buds, and grasping the six-pronged maces and in the hands of the Albanian warriors Ebu-Muslim29 battle axes and shields in the place of fans. At the same time, on the other side, the Anatolian troops will sound the cry to the vault of the heavens with the clamor of their tympani and drums so that those who hear will ask one another: "This clamor of assembly is the song of the tuneful playing of the tympani and drums of which statesmanlike governor general, and this dreadful sound comes from the high cry of the star-emblazoned steed of which commander of Evrenos30-like attribute?" And while they are thus engaged, the endless plain of Üskudar will be made by the setting of the multicolored, heavenward-rising tents of the troops of Rûstem31-like power into a flower garden and transformed into the nursery of the season of spring by the many-colored banners of the rows of troops. Thus, the heads of the Anatolian troops with their pointed lances and the brave armoured warriors of the forces of the province of Karaman (131b/2) too will be set into motion and hasten from all sides to the marketplace of sale and purchase in the city of Istanbul so that not just our own rebels will be overcome but, if God the merciful wills it, all of our enemies in particular the Shah of Khorasan will be reduced to fright and trembling. And while these forces are seeking a secluded place in which to hide, the ağā of the Janissaries and other officers shall once again be summoned, and when they come into the exalted presence of the Sultan he will first of all order them to surrender the rebels and troublemakers and after meting out to them their just punishments in full, he will call for the pay registers dating from over the past forty to fifty years and summon to the foot of the illustrious throne the Janissary secretary (katib), the Infantry Rollmaster (yaya mukabeledi) and a few righteous and intelligent pages in the Inner Service (ic-oğlan) who are close associates familiar with affairs of the court of the Sultan in whom justice takes refuge. Each of them will have ready in their hands paper and pen, and summoning starting with the first company of the Janissaries they will ask first the company mess officer (çorbadji) then the company chief (oda-bashi) and then one by one
all the other members from which town they were first recruited, and to which religion and ethnic group they belonged. The same procedure of inspection and investigation would then be carried out for each company one by one recording the town, village and province of each member together with a physical description in an orderly register. Thereafter they would each be questioned as to the manner in which they were recruited as Janissaries; where it took place and whether it was by devshirme levy or as a son of a member of a regiment (kul-oğlu) so that those giving appropriate answers who had become Janissaries by the proper path would be given a diploma bearing their own description and a document of proof (temessük) sealed by the commander of their regiment. At the same time, the wounded veterans’ (oturak) and retired soldiers’ (korudfu) membership should be inspected in order to evict entirely outsiders who did not become Janissaries by the proper path and to enter into the rolls of the active those strong and powerful, young and vigorous soldiers capable of serving in battle, and send to retirement those who are truly old and unfit for further service; however their retirement pay should be at a level in accordance with the ancient law,22 and the abuse of the status of korudjuluk given to guardians of the Sultanic parks should be entirely abolished for such practice is [unseemly] innovation.

Outsiders who have abandoned their fields and former trade to become Janissaries on the strength of a pay certificate belonging to someone else,33 not being capable of giving satisfactory answer to the questions about their origins, will remain absent at the time of inspection, and after those pay certificates belonging to pretenders present in name but nonexistent in body (127a/1) and those expelled from the ranks and demoted to the timar orthogonal forces34 are excluded, the number of true Janissaries, if God the Almighty wills it, who remain will be only 15,000. If it is the imperial wish of your felicitous majesty that the number of the aforementioned group not become excessively large a law should be put into effect stipulating a maximum size for each of the one hundred and sixty-two companies of the Janissary corps so that henceforth as is the case for the solaks of the Sultan’s private guard a limit be set on their membership. And when by God’s command one of them should die, the pay certificate of the deceased should be surrendered by his company commander (oda-bashi) to the supreme commander of the Janissaries, who will select as his replacement a boy who fulfills the following conditions:

1) the candidate must be either a devshirme recruit or the son of a Janissary who came to service through the devshirme
2) he must have been employed in the cadet corps of the ademi-oğlan and posted to service in the Palace gardens
3) he must have gained seniority in the garden service and be among those ready for promotion

When the commander has duly reported his choice in a memorandum (telhis) to the imperial sturup of his felicitous majesty in which the world takes refuge, then [and only then] he should be entered into the rolls of one of the regiments at the Porte, presented with a diploma bearing his description, and sent to take up his place in his company. Furthermore, in accordance with the ancient law, members of the Janissary corps should be resident and present in the barracks in Istanbul which have been assigned to their companies, and not one of them should ever be allowed to reside outside Istanbul. Also, those who are presently bachelors and those who are called to permanent service in regiments at the Porte after the inspections are carried out should not be permitted to marry. For, the Sultans who built these quarters built them with the intention that the Janissaries should remain unmarried and reside in one place in the capital, not dispersing themselves in the country at large. At present too warnings and injunctions to this effect should be given, and henceforth the recruitment categories of handpicked assistant to the commander (ağa-çınāği), sons of cavalrymen (ferzend-i sipahi) and place switching (becayeshi) should be completely abolished. By God the exalted's willing in this manner the desired reforms may be accomplished. Amen.
On the Reform of the Membership of the Six Cavalry Regiments and others:

Felicitous and just Sultan of the seven climes, brave sovereign it is submitted to your exalted threshold by this abject slave and this servant of low account that:

if in accordance with the greatness of your imperial fame the imperial will should decide to inspect and investigate the membership of the Six Cavalry regiments and to expel the outsiders and punish the rebels so as to reform and reduce the defects of the aforementioned group (127a/2) God willing it is possible by the following means. After having first reformed the membership of the Janissary Corps, on a certain auspicious day the commanders of the Six Cavalry regiments and their secretaries and other regimental officers shall be brought to the foot of the exalted throne and to them an imperial proclamation should be issued saying:

Through the negligence and carelessness of my state ministers, outsiders of various types have insinuated themselves amongst my cavalry troops so that their regiments have become spoiled and disordered giving rise to my imperial wish to reform their ranks. Consequently, it is requisite that messengers and regimental officers bearing orders should be dispatched to my soldiers (kul) throughout the Empire informing them of the holding of an imperial inspection and summoning them to present themselves such that those who come quickly within a period of three months for inspection are my personal and loyal servants, whereas those who fail to present themselves will find that there is no benefit in repentance.

After the issuing of this Sultanic proclamation the pay registers for the preceding forty or fifty years should be brought out and the regimental secretary (kâtib) and Master of the Roll (mukâbedeldji) together with clerks (ehl-i kalem) who have been appointed from among the close associates in the service of the court in which justice takes its refuge they, beginning first with the sipahi cavalrymen will one by one, regiment by regiment enter into a well-organized register the following information—the place of origin and parentage of the recruit, his ethnic background, the number of years since becoming a sipahi, the names of the commander and the lieutenant-commander (kethuda) and the regimental secretary (kâtib) and the master of the rolls (mukâbedeldji) at the time of his entering the ranks, and in return for what accomplishments and services he had been awarded promotions—knowing that at the time of this inspection the rebels and outsiders would keep away. In sum, to those true and pure servants of the Sultan (kul) who are able to give answer as is required a diploma bearing their description should be given, and their commanders should issue to them a signed and sealed confirmation document (temessûk) and a pay receipt memorandum (mukâbele tezkiresi). If, by the will of God the most high master, affairs are accordingly set right with such care and pains and are brought to a successful conclusion through these efforts and strivings, then (God the master of all knowledge knows) the membership of the Six Cavalry regiments will be reduced to no more than six or seven thousand men. And after these reforms have been put into effect [and the inspections are carried out], the recruitment methods of direct promotion to regiments (ibtisâdan bûlûk) and promotion as a son of a sipahi (veledesh) shall be entirely abolished and the remaining true and pure sipahîs will be required to reside only in the environs of Istanbul, Edirne (127b/1) and Bursa, and forbidden to settle in any place distant from the capital. After this, the other groups among the Sultan’s salaried servants should be summoned one by one for inspection in the manner described above. All the artisans [in the palace service] should be inspected and investigated and to those true servants (kul) who have been properly recruited and advanced who are both skillful in their craft and capable of service, diplomas bearing their description should be given [— — —]. In addition the armourers (deveddji), gunners (topdji), and imperial standard-bearers and grooms (mehter) each have their own individual barracks in Istanbul to which they are assigned. It is ancient law that they all should be resident and present in their own quarters. Your felicitous majesty, shadow of God on earth, should
always renew and reinforce this regulation and not permit any action to the contrary. If, God the exalted willing, through the auspicious efforts of the Sultan these beneficial measures are blessed with success by the decree of God the Almighty and these my suggestions are through God’s aid brought to realization, the outsiders within each company and each group will be eliminated, and other troublemakers punished as required, and the genuine servants of the Sultan (kul) will then number only some thirty or forty thousand men. That these types of troublemakers should be punished and that this degree of benefit be realized for the treasury, thus releasing the Sultan’s poor subjects from under the grip of the powerful grasp of the tyrannical ones, these constitute a great achievement and a supreme victory beyond what was accomplished by any of the preceding sultans among your majesty’s great forebears. May God (be He praised and exalted) immediately bestow on you his divine guidance and grant success and providence to all your wishes and desires. Amen, by the grace of the Prophet Muhammad, lord of the messengers.

[PART III]: ON THE POWER AND STRENGTHS OF THE KURDISH CHIEFS AND ON THE TIMELY SERVICES WHICH THEY HAVE PERFORMED

May God the creator (be He magnified and exalted) increase and raise beyond all limit and measure the felicitous and auspicious, great and majestic sovereign of the seven climes and subject-nourishing Sultan in the justice and equity through which he extends protection encompassing all the peoples of the world, and in the extent and good fortune of his reign on the imperial throne. May it be open and clear to the perception of Alexandrian reflection and to the pure mind and intellect where inspiration is received and light transmitted and which is the locus and place of manifestation for depictions of the true essence of things that:

among the beneficial matters and affairs whose reform is one of the most important tasks facing religion and the state (127b/2) and one of the most necessary requirements of state and nation are the chiefs of brave reputation of the governors (hükkâm) of Kurdistan who making part of the provinces of Diyarbekir, Van, and Mosul by their loyal and steadfast service to the Sultan risking body and soul and make the blood of the enemies of religion boil [with fear] by their devastating and overwhelming fire on the day of conflagration and battle. These chiefs, each one of them, acts as a strong barrier along the victorious frontier against the “redheads” (i.e. Iran) and as a firm stronghold protecting the realms of Islam in those parts. In particular, the fortress of Diyarbekir, while formerly in the possession of the petty dynasty of the White Sheep (Ak-Koyunlu) at the time of Shah Ismail’s rise to power, when in accordance with the accustomed practice the White Sheep left Diyarbekir to go to their summer pasture at Karaca Dag and left the fortress unguarded and empty, Shah Ismail supplied some of his forces to join those of a ruler by the name of Kara Han who swept down on the city and took the aforementioned fortress into the grasp of their possession and put the Muslims who they found within to the sword. When this occurred, the Kurdish chiefs of the surrounding country at Cizre, Hazo, Pulu, Egil, as well as other Kurdish governors (hâkim) and commanders, being Sunni Muslims and friends and supporters of the ruling members of the everlasting dynasty of the House of Osman (May God make eternal their prosperity until the Day of Resurrection) made secret advances to the Kurds and other Muslims within the fortress of Diyarbekir and by messenger sent them the following communication:

“You, while being of true descent and believers in the Sunni creed, had no greater enemy than the hell-bound heretics and the irreligious hypocrites. It is better that your name be erased from existence on the page of the world than that you be made subject to that inauspicious bond of corrupt practice. Therefore, it now behooves you to act in accord with your Islamic fervor and in agreement with the law of the Prophet knowing that the Ottoman Sultan who shares your religion and belongs to the same sect,
and whose good qualities are enhanced by the exhortation 'God enjoins us to the practice of justice [meeting the good done to us with equal good] and charity [refraining from the requital of evil done to us].

37 is pious and devout and so famous in his day for his fervent commitment and enthusiastic efforts [on behalf of the good] that all the [other] illustrious monarchs have been diminished to slaves with rings through their ears at his lofty-arched court, and all the emperors of distinguished esteem have become like saddle-bearing grooms at his sun-reflecting stirrup. Since he is indeed so worthy and deserving a sovereign of brave distinction, let us rely upon the portals of his court which is the center of greatness and seek help from his overwhelming imperial strength. It is hoped that his imperial grace will be forthcoming, and that by freeing the aforementioned fortress and bestowing it on us he will provide to us the basis of our salvation and refuge.'

When, in this way, they had mutually agreed to petition and seek help from your late ancestor of illustrious descent Sultan Selim the Resolute who rests in heaven, he in accordance with his royal zeal enlightened by the signs of felicitous portur from the time of their first appearance immediately sent his Master of the Stable Biyikli Mehmed Pasha with a force of 12,000 men hurrying to Diyarbekir, whereupon Mehmed according to the imperial command quickly arrived, and by expending great efforts he approached the environs of the fortress. When Mehmed's arrival at Harput became known to Kara Han he informed his brother the governor of Mardin, and himself set out from the fortress of Diyarbekir with the intention of repulsing the army of Islam. When the fortress was thus left empty, the Muslims within realized their opportunity and tightly sealing the gates of the fortress they killed whomever of the hell-abiding heretics they found there and took the fortress into the grasp of the followers of Islam. Kara Han, finding himself lacking the strength to resist the army of Islam, was forced into flight, but the aforementioned Biyikli Mehmed Pasha fell into pursuit with the warriors of the land of Rum and the gazi of happy aspect making most of them prey to the sword on the plain of Mardin, and making others the target of his destructive arrows. The surviving soldiers of the damned fled with their commanders in the direction of Imadiyye (132a/2) and when they arrived there they were met by the governor (hakim) of that place who proceeded to destroy all trace of those defeated troops from the page of existence. Thus they made possible the easy capture of a choice province such as Diyarbekir and its annexation to the royal lands of the Empire. Thereupon Selim himself proceeded with prosperity and good fortune set out and aimed for the repulsion and destruction of Shah Ismail. Planning and intending to transform that choice part of the kingdom of Iran and plain of Çaldıran into a model of the Garden of Paradise with his tents of heavenly order, when he had made the imperial departure for Diyarbekir, all the chiefs of Kurdistan, after making obeisance to the imperial stirrup, fell into the vanguard of the victorious army of Islam in order to demonstrate their claim of loyalty and to perform the ceremonies of faithfulness. In that victorious campaign, being the cause and impetus for many praiseworthy victories, and the means for the accomplishment of a variety of laudable services beneficial and useful to the honor and good reputation of the noble sultanate, they were thanked in the presence of the Sultan and became deserving of limitless commendation, and in reward for their services, in addition to enjoying each one of them all sorts of preferential treatment and courtesy of the Sultan, they were from that time on, apart from the requirement of doing battle and combat with the heresy-embracing "redheads" freed from all obligation to pay the extraordinary impositions (tekâlîf), and autonomy was granted to them over their ancestral hearth lands (odjak) and homes (yurt) on the traditional basis as "cut off from the feet [of intruders] and set aside from the pen [of the surveyors] and so on" confirmed in perpetuity generation after generation in order to console and gratify their minds. Afterwards, your great forefather the late deceased Sultan Suleyman also turned the reins of enterprise in the direction of Tabriz and Azerbaidjan, and expending efforts in liberating and grasping many of those provinces which languished under the hand of oppression of the "redheads," on reaching the frontier of Persia and entering the environs of Kurdistan the aforementioned group again scouted in the front ranks of the army of Islam and gave cause to the capture of the fortress of Van and the conquest of (132b/1) all the
climes of Iran and Turan. When they came close to the regions of Tabriz and Kazvin, the Iranian Shah fled out of fear of the crushing might of the Ottomans and of the superior force of the Ottoman Sultan of fortunate conjunction, and with him the army of damnation took hiding behind the high mountains of Khorasan. At this time, it being the season of abundant lightning and rain and a place where flowing water becomes frozen, because of the severity of the winter and the violence of the cold the roads were closed off and the passes blocked up causing the death of the army's horses and other animals, and consequent famine in the imperial camp. While, on account of the inability and incapacity of the army of Islam to move forward at all, and blocked in their retreat by the abundance of snow and sleet, the late Sultan Süleyman was dazed and concerned over the fate of the army of Islam, the Kurdish commanders opened up paths leading from the pastures of Sultanlyye in the direction of Baghdad, and guiding the troops of victory they arrived at the districts of Erdilan, Sûran, Derne, and Derteng where they were also received by the Kurdish chiefs who came forth to the stirrup of his imperial majesty each bringing goods and provisions, sheep and cattle, horses and pack animals in aid and protection to the army of Islam, and seeing to the needs and meeting the shortages of all, they rode as scouts in the vanguard of the army leading it to Baghdad. When they arrived at Baghdad, after giving rise to the flight of the forces of the enemy within the fortress and to its easy capture for the Ottomans, the aforementioned monarch (i.e. Süleyman) bestowed his favors on them in return for their services, as had his distinguished father, and granted to the aforementioned band all sorts of kindnesses and favors and expended great efforts in showering them with his perfect grace. Sultan Süleyman too on his part satisfied and delighted the hearts of the Kurdish commanders by issuing grants of proprietorship (müllkâne) containing clear terms of conferral and extended to them the shade of his imperial protection. Such was his gratefulness that at the time of their friendly interchange the Sultan made the following statement:

Just as God, be He praised and exalted, vouchsafed to Alexander “the two horned" to build the wall of Gog (132b/2), so God made Kurdistan act in the protection of my imperial kingdom like a strong barrier and an iron fortress against the sedition of the demon Gog of Persia. A thousand thanks and praises to the presence of the Almighty, creator of the races of mankind. It is hoped that, through neglect and carelessness, our descendants will never let slip the rope of obedience [binding] the Kurdish commanders [to the Ottoman state] and never be lacking in their attentions to this group.

As the fruit of the imperial favors of these two Sultans now residing in paradise and these sovereigns abiding in the eighth circle of heaven, the Kurdish commanders were all as raving lions and wild tigers. In fact what rebuffs they administered to the Iranian “redheads,” particularly in the reign of your late and noble forefather Sultan Murad (May God show him mercy and forgiveness) at which felicitous time several Persian campaigns took place so that on account of the strength and might of the commanders of Kurdistan there was not even any need for either the Grand Vezir, the governor general of Rumelia, or for the Janissary commander to participate in the battle but simply a force under the command of one of the state ministers comprised of four or five county commanders (sandjak beyleri) of Rumelia, and three or four thousand Janissaries under the command of the lieutenant-commander (yeniçeri kethudasi) were present, yet in a short time what praiseworthy victories were accomplished, all these things are written on the pages of the days and well known on the tongues of people of high and low station alike. Whereas they constituted a force of 50,000 to 60,000 soldiers in the time when the sultans regarded good treatment of them as being essential and obligatory, subsequently when campaigns were undertaken in the direction of Hungary [instead of Iran] all of the Kurdish governors became subject to oppression under the tyrannical hand of the provincial governors and all of them were abject and compelled through the provincial governors' tyranny and injustice so that while under the terms of the treaty agreements (ahişnâme) granted by the two noble Sultans (i.e. Selim I and Süleymen I) they had been given autonomy in selection and dismissal of their chiefs and assignment of their offices to outsiders was a matter beyond the realm of possibility, the provincial governors through their avarice dismissed a part of them from office while executing
others without reason. Still others were forced to abandon their homelands and to flee their places of residence out of fear of being dismissed or executed (133a/1) and their places were given either to the relatives of the provincial governors or to other outsiders in contradiction to the terms of the treaty agreements. Because the provincial governors by one means or another had extorted from each of them forty, fifty or even sixty thousand gurush leaving them without any cash reserves, they were each forced to incur debts by borrowing as many thousands of gurush again at a high rate of interest becoming indigent in condition and swallowed up in debt, and consequently those governors and commanders of Kurdistan who once set out on campaign with 60,000 brave Kurdish warriors and human dragons commanded a force of a mere 600 or 700 men when they set out a few years ago to join the campaign being launched against Hamadan and Dergezin.44 These unfortunate ones, while in expectation of the favor formerly shown them, were treated by Husrev Pasha on his return from the expedition by the lopping off of a few of their heads so that that dedicated and zealous tribe was reduced almost to the point of extinction and suffered contempt which was as death upon death.45

My most auspicious and just sovereign, is it not a pity and injustice that a group of great usefulness who are themselves also of the Sunni-Muslim sect and devoted in pureness of heart to the well-being of the House of Osman and who loyally serve in complete faithfulness and integrity the threshold where prosperity resides and the exalted throne whose insignia is justice, who have given rise to such magnificent victories and are warriors who have repeatedly proven their claim to submissiveness and sincerity through their actions on behalf of the imperial cause, and who furthermore have been guaranteed [freedom from abuse] by the imperial treaty agreements granted by the aforementioned two empire-possessing sultans and afterwards confirmed up until the time of the noble reign of your most munificent majesty by all the ancestors and heaven-abiding forefathers on the throne of the Ottoman Sultanate through repeated imperial compacts replete with Koranic exhortations and clear instructions, as well as traditions of the Prophet Muhammad to the effect that: “They should not be molested,” is it not a pity that such a group of sword-wielding commanders and enemy-defeating gazis should in the aforementioned manner lose their property and possessions and themselves, suffering under oppression and emnity and made subject to the misfortunes of destitution and drought, be unable to make a single akča’s contribution to the imperial treasury and lack the power and strength to give service in the event of a military campaign (133a/2) and that while formerly such a formidable military force they should have been reduced through lack of attention and through the avarice and rapacity of the provincial governors to the state where now they are so completely poor and destitute and one and all in such broken condition that they are no longer in possession of adequate food and clothing and incapable of even mustering a single horse with which to go to battle, indeed is not this situation a great pity and shame? Under the circumstances therefore if it should be the will of his imperial majesty in whom felicity abides that the country of Kurdistan be restored to its former level of prosperity and abundance and that the Kurdish chiefs acquire strength and power and the capability for the services which up until this date they have performed, the manner in which if God the exalted wills this may be accomplished will be explained and written down with the quill of composition and exposition at the conclusion of the present section. It is hoped that in accordance with God’s predestination and decree in this matter too our prosperous and felicitous sovereign will be allotted success and accomplishment, and that the conquest and capture of those territories which fell into the hands of the Iranian “redheads” through chance will be regained within the grasp of imperial possession. Amen, by the grace of the Lord of the messengers, the Prophet Muhammad.

On the Reform and Improvement [of the Condition] of the Kurdish Commanders:

May the Lord, creator of earth and the heavens, and master of mankind and protector of being and existence, grant prosperity and bounty to the imperial territories of the sovereign of Gem-like stature and Alexander-like reputation and make unlimited and unrestricted the days of his reign up until the end of time, filling it with the fruits of his justice and benevolence, and may God guard the sapling of his
majesty and good fortune from the calamity of disorder and affliction and preserve and protect the candle of the lantern of his position and glory from the vicissitudes of the winds of time. The appropriate measure which with the help and grace of God, the Lord of the believers, should be taken for the repair and restitution of the province of Kurdistan, which acts as the most secure lock for the closing of the door of the Iranian heretics' sedition and as a firm barrier for the containment of the rebellion of Gog among the Iranians, which will again make them capable as they were in the days of our great ancestors of providing when military campaigns are undertaken a force of valiant and famous Kurdish troops amounting to some 50,000 or 60,000 capable men as the scouting vanguard of the army of Islam (i.e. the Ottoman imperial forces) is the following (133b/1):

Imperial Order:

In the first place strongly worded and confirmed imperial orders should be sent to the governor-general of Diyarbekir saying by way of decisive warning and injunction:

The Kurdish commanders are loyal and faithful well-wishers of the Ottoman state and have from the noble time of our great ancestors until the present time performed a variety of praiseworthy services on behalf of the crown and expended incalculable laudable efforts thus making it incumbent on the imperial zeal that they be treated with respect and care. It is therefore my strongest imperial wish that from today onwards they be cared for and protected [in every way possible]. Henceforth, whenever one of the Kurdish governors dies and it becomes necessary to assign his place to one of his sons or one of his brothers, it is my order that the candidates shall come in person to the Threshold of Felicity (i.e. Istanbul) and prostrate themselves at the foot of the imperial stirrup, and that all appointment to these governorships be made in the capital. Thus, from now on you are not under any condition to take any action or movement to change or replace any of the Kurdish chiefs, but should always treat them carefully giving them hope and endeavoring to gain their favor and support (istimalet), and in addition you should not allow them to be trodden underfoot by any of the Janissaries, the members of the Six Cavalry regiments or by any of the moneylenders, be they either local or from the outside. Furthermore by requiring the moneylenders in accordance with the provisions of the noble religious canon to return the interest gained to them you are to release all of them from the burden and distress of indebtedness.

Imperial Order:

In addition, on the part of his imperial majesty, documents of inducement (istimaletnamé) should be sent to all the Kurdish chiefs accompanied by ceremonial robes of honor, and to their relatives land grants and benefits (tiyul). The istimaletnamé should be drafted in the following form:

You from grandfather to father for generations have been people of pure character and members of the Sunni sect falling in at the fore of my victorious armies in all the battles against the Iranian “redheads” with many thousand armed and capable and famous Kurdish soldiers whose business is victory, have fought with body and soul on behalf of the true religion and in order to carry out zealous efforts for the sake of the four favorite Caliphs and have given rise to many admirable victories. However, while you are thereby deserving of favorable treatment and requiring protection, it has become truly impressed on my imperial knowledge that through the neglect and negligence of the advisors of the Sultanate, those ministers assigned to Diyarbekir as well as other provincial governors (133b/2) have, some of them through greed for seizure and procurement and others through [fear of] dismissal and appointment or for other reasons, extended the hand
of aggression over you and opened the doors of oppression and tyranny thereby reducing your strength and power and your endurance and capacity to a state of complete feebleness and decline. Now, since concerning myself with and taking care of your affairs and reviving and restoring you is a personal duty incumbent on my imperial self, I have decreed that first of all in accordance with the treaty agreements granted to each of you by my great forebears you should inherit the jurisdiction of your governorships (hükûmet) generation after generation as is right, and each be confirmed and maintained in your posts, and whenever one of you should, by the decree of God the exalted, die the provincial governors shall not interfere in dismissal or assignment, rather it is my order that the candidates should come in person to the Threshold of Felicity with sworn statements (temessükât) establishing their relationship to the deceased, whether son or brother, and prostrate themselves at the foot of the Imperial Stirrup so that the vacant governorship may be assigned at my court, whereupon after being distinguished by my noble favor the chosen successors should proceed to their assigned posts and render service. Also, a strong injunction has been sent to the governor-general of Diyarbekir instructing him that henceforth he shall refrain from interfering in your reassignment and replacement and free you from the hand of oppression and transgression of the moneylenders. He (the governor-general of Diyarbekir) should exercise constant care and provide protection so that you in turn being henceforth saved from the moneylenders and other oppressors may day by day gain in strength and power and as in the time of my noble forefathers your tribes and your clans may once again put to use the sharpest swords, the swiftest and most active Arabian horses, and the most valiant and blood-shedding Kurdish warriors accomplishing even greater services than in the past and bringing about many conspicuous victories on behalf of the imperial throne.

Imperial Order:

In addition to this, together with one of the trustworthy messengers (Kapudju-bashi) of the imperial court acting as agent in charge (mübashir) an effective and wise, orthodox and pious member of the senior religious hierarchy (134a/1) accompanied by representatives from among the most upright of the officers of the Janissary and Six Cavalry regiments should devote their attention to resolving the dispute which has arisen in the transactions between the Kurdish commanders and the usurers. Legal certificates (hâlidjjet -i shariyya) should be issued stipulating that since it is against the tenets of religious law to lend money for interest, the interest which the moneylenders have already collected should be considered part payment of the original sum lent, and if by submitting installment payments any sum in excess of the original amount lent has been collected, these excess payments should be ordered returned to the borrower. Accordingly the members of the commission mentioned above should issue a hâlidjjet which will become the cause of salvation of those unfortunate ones by freeing them all from indebtedness to those oppressors, and absolving them from their obligation to pay thus saving them from the torments of poverty and want. In accordance with the provisions of this legal certificate a noble command (Hukm -i sharif) should be sent saying:

Henceforth no one shall, in contradiction to that judicial decree, request a single akça or a single kernel [of grain] from the Kurdish commanders using the pretext that he is collecting payment of a 'debt.'

God the exalted willing, the Kurdish commanders will attain freedom from care and enjoy comfortable condition under the shade of their protection so that day by day gaining in power and strength the [chiefs] of Kurdistan who had been reduced formerly to poor kittens through lack of care and imposition of intolerable burdens, are now like raging lions and wild tigers making it certain that they will compose an elite force comparable to those of the provinces of Rumelia, Bosnia, and Budin and a strong army capable of
performing service on behalf of the noble Ottoman state. May God (be He exalted and praised) bring this to fruition and success through his benediction and predestination. Amen.

[PART IV]: ON THE EXCESSIVE NUMBERS OF THE FALSE CLAIMANTS TO DESCENT FROM THE PROPHET AND ON OTHER MATTERS

My auspicious Sultan, that another of the reasons for the shortcoming in treasury revenues and for the excessiveness of expenditure and wages is this matter (i.e. the false claimants to descent from the Prophet) should be clear and obvious to the khedivial light-diffusing and luminous intellect in which the world is reflected, and to the sunlike mind of the king. It has been witnessed that when military campaigns occur the Sultan’s subjects are forced by the toing-and-froing of the troops to abandon their fields and consequently not only do they fail to pay their taxes and agricultural dues (ra‘iyet rūmah), but they also receive wages [as soldiers]. Some of them pose as the Sultan’s servants (kul) and even though they are not officially registered in the rollbooks cease all payments of their agricultural dues. Apart from these, the greater part of the evil characters among the tax-paying populace (re‘ayā) have fallen prey to the desire for false claim to descent from the Prophet so that by paying a few akṭa as bribe (134a/2) they, undeterred by the strong warning of the noble religious tradition (hadis) which says: “May God condemn those who intrude themselves [among the descendants of the Prophet] from without,” by accepting a certificate (hājdjiyet) of descent from the Prophet knowingly put on the collar of eternal damnation. Thereby not only do they escape the necessity of paying their agricultural dues, but since they have now assumed a position as noble persons demanding respect and special treatment it also becomes impossible to request payment of the exceptional tax levies (tekāli). This condition has spread throughout the imperial kingdom like a contagious disease such that, for example, in the counties of Nikopolis (Nigbolu) and Silistra (Silistre) on the Danube together with the districts of Didymoteichon (Dimotoka) and Komotini (Gümüşcine) in Thrace there are a total of 10,000 common subjects who lay claim to noble descent and possess certificates to prove it, so that together with their family and relations in these two counties and these two judicial districts they make up a group of some thirty to forty thousand. If the populace of this limited area can produce this many thousands with claim to special status as descendants of the Prophet, then it is certain that in the rest of the imperial kingdoms there must be at least one hundred thousand individuals with such claims, so that together with all their family and relations they total some three hundred thousand. If it is possible in a state that 300,000 subjects should claim exemption from taxes by virtue of their supposed descent from the Prophet, the level of neglect and carelessness of its statesmen is patent. For in asking of himself:

Is it possible that such a number of purported descendants of the Prophet can exist?

no cloud of doubt should present itself either to the noble intellect of the sovereign or to the gracious intelligence of the ruler of the world in view of the fact that when in the past the cadastral surveyors went out to the county of Nikopolis they registered separately members of the three groups, distinguishing members of the military-administrative class (askeri, descendants of the Prophet as seyyid, and the ordinary tax-paying populace as re‘ayā allowing no exceptions to be made, and when by refraining from registering a single re‘ayā as seyyid or a single seyyid as re‘ayā the survey had been carried out in an equitable and just fashion, in the village of Topuzlar in the township of Shumen (Shumnu) one hundred and seventy-two re‘ayā were registered and in the aforementioned village there was not a single seyyid. However, as an indication of the degree of neglect and heedlessness of those ministers of state known as experienced hands knowledgeable and aware of the affairs of the Sultanate, at present the descendants of those one hundred and seventy-two former re‘ayā taxpayers have all managed to obtain certificates of descent from the Prophet, thus earning eternal condemnation. The reform of this group too is an obligatory duty
to state and religion and to your majesty’s exalted Sultanate (134b/1) so if it be the imperial will of the Sultan, one of the special envoys (Kapudju-bashhi) of the Sublime Porte known for his uprightness and piety and for his abstemiousness and circumspection should be sent with imperial orders to the aforementioned district of Shunnu where after summoning the district judge (kadi) to accompany him, he will go to the aforementioned village of Topuzlar and list all the inhabitants with their lineage back to their ancestors. Bringing this new register to the Gate of Felicity (i.e. the Sultan’s palace in Istanbul) he will then be ordered to compare its contents with the original survey stored in safekeeping at the Imperial Treasury, whereupon it will be discovered that although in the original survey all the inhabitants of that village were re’ayā there being not a single seyyid among them, in the later register to the contrary all claimed to be seyyids and there was not a single re’ayā to be found. After the Sultan has thus gained knowledge as to how many of the claimants to descent from the Prophet are recent additions since the time of the first survey, he should be able to summon his eminence the chief registrar of the Prophet’s descendants (nakib‘ul-eshrāf), and showing him the two contradictory registers say to him:

It is not feasible that such claimants to pure blood and noble descent can have come to this point in time without an established genealogy. Therefore, I hereby declare my strong opposition to your giving certificates of descent to this gang of persons of unknown origin and pedigree.

After giving this strong warning, the Sultan should devote his imperial attentions to the selection of an upright and religious member of the Prophet’s family (sharif) to be sent as inspector to investigate them. For this class is not to be compared with others. The reason for people’s making efforts to become certified seyyids when they are really simple re’ayā stems from the fact that the mentality of that former class is such that if one of their number is due punishment through the commission, as confirmed by a kadi’s judgment, of a serious crime then the others generally make bold to obstruct justice and to dare to engage in rebellious opposition.48 This being the case, if for the upholding of the honor of the Sultanate the Sultan should issue an imperial order which requires compliance to make a certain of their number prey to the brave sword of execution, it gives rise to accumulation of idle chatter among the inhabitants of land and sea who exclaim in unison:

How many of the genuinely-established sons of our Prophet has his majesty, the lord of the seven climes, crushed!

The solution to this quandary is that in these circumstances an eminent person among the esteemed members of the Prophet’s descendants and among the great religious leaders (134b/2) should be sent on behalf of the Sultan and expend great efforts in the inspection of this group. However, care should be taken to give to this revered individual a copy of the original survey which is stored in safekeeping in the Imperial Treasury so that whenever he goes on his inspection tour, when he begins the investigation he will be able to confirm in this survey book the names of the father and grandfather of each person who presents a certificate of descent from the Prophet. If in truth the register shows that he is a legitimate descendant of the Prophet then there is nothing more to be said, but as evidence the entry of his name in the register alone is not sufficient; it must be confirmed that he is the son or grandson of a recognized seyyid by the testimony of several impartial witnesses and testifiers (‘udūl)49 from among the learned and virtuous; otherwise, warnings and reminders should be issued to the effect that:

They are all of them to be registered in the surveys together with the rest of the tax-paying re’ayā.

If, God the exalted willing, inspections and investigations are carried out in this fashion, in the whole expanse of Rumelia the genuinely certified descendants of the Prophet will turn out to be only some two hundred individuals, if even that many.50 The remainder will be reunited with the tax-paying subjects giving rise to a great strengthening in their numbers and capacity. However, care should be taken
to provide the revered individual who is assigned to carry out the inspection with a sufficient amount of money for his upkeep from the funds of the Imperial Treasury so that he may be spared any hardship and avoid the necessity of becoming beholden to anyone. Since for these reasons the inspection of this group is an obligatory duty comparable in its importance to the performance of a religious duty, it has been brought to the attention of imperial hearing. All the same, as always, order and command are the prerogative of his most auspicious majesty. May God the just, the great creator himself ordain and grant the Sultan success in this matter. Amen, by virtue of the light emanating from the forehead of the Prophet.

An Imperial Rescript to be Sent to His Excellency the Shaykh al-Islam and to Their Eminences the Chief Judges (Kadi-‘asker):

My propitious majesty, who shows his compassion to all learned and holy men, the ranks of the learned men (‘ulema) of confused condition and the pious ones (fudela) of piteous state too are in need of reform. But since the Sultan has issued his imperial decision of high regard that action in these matters has its proper time, on this occasion their conditions have been not described and revealed in detail (135a/1). God willing, after the salaried servants (kul) of the Porte have been reformed, the reform of this group too will be an easy matter. However, it should be ordered that Imperial Rescripts be sent to his excellency the Shaykh al-Islam and to their eminences the Kadi-‘askers saying:

You are to have summoned the chief justices (mevâlî) and the district judges (kadi). [Tell them with respect to the positions in their purview that] without regard for the seniority or newness of the candidate they are to recommend (telhîs) for appointment the man best qualified for the office. Never on any account should an office be given to an ignorant man so long as a learned man applies, nor should a post be offered to anyone else before the term of appointment has duly expired. Furthermore, you are to refrain from giving rise to the profusion of judges by, in contradiction to the law, promoting so many of the aforementioned ignorant candidates. Yet, in this matter order and command are as always the prerogative of the propitious and felicitous sovereign of the world, conqueror of all lands.

It is to be understood that the composing of a noble rescript addressed to the commander and minister who holds the position of Governor general of Rumelia is also called for:51

It is most probable that the minister Hüseyin Pasha,52 who was previously assigned to carry out a general timar inspection, by trusting in the reports and communications of the district commanders (aley-beylari) assigned a number of ziamets and timars to ineligible and undeserving people. If it is clearly established that indeed he did assign ziamets and timars to such people on the basis of false statements by the district commanders, then that sort of district commander should be appropriately punished and an exalted order should be issued saying:

The aforementioned ziamets and timars should be reassigned to those applicants from among the sons of locally-resident timar-holders (odjak-eri) who are both capable of fighting and doing battle, and worthy of appointment.

To all the governors general of the Empire imperial rescripts of felicitous proximity to this effect should be sent. And when at the time of inspection applicants submit themselves for assignment to formerly misappropriated ziamets and timars, the appointment should be made only to those whose names are submitted by the district commanders based on the witness of twelve current timar-holders two zaîns and ten timariots, to the effect that the applicant indeed comes from an old established military family in the area. Furthermore, an imperial order should be issued warning that if it is determined that they have made false witness, “all of the ziamets and timars of such shall be seized and reassigned to others.” (135a/2)
To this effect an imperial rescript of felicitous proximity should be sent to all of the provincial governors of the Empire. The vacant ziamets and timars which are turned up at the time of inspection, and the misappropriated ones found to be in the hands of servants (hizmetkar) of the grandees, and other unassigned fiefs should be given to members of the salaried servants of the Porte (kul taifesi) who are of pure origin and background and who have served the full course of training prescribed for members of the military profession. In addition, an imperial rescript of felicitous proximity should be given to all the governors general of the Empire instructing them not to assign fiefs to the decrepit or ignoble who are unfit for service solely with the intent that: "[sending these] high-salaried individuals [to retirement] is beneficial to the treasury." A Sultanic order of fatelike compulsion should be issued saying:

At the time of the inspection, so long as the scions of local timar HOLDERS who are those possessors of overpowering might and capable of fighting and doing battle, and waging war and combat apply for themselves, no appointment to a timar formerly misappropriated by assignment to the hands of one of the servants of the grandees shall be granted to anyone else.

A noble rescript should also be sent to the governors general of Rumelia and Anatolia to the effect that:

The assignment of ziamets and timars to anyone other than those possessing either orders for initial appointment (ibtidåh hâkîmu) or orders for promotion issued by the Sultan is against the law. However, when appointment is sought by scions of old military families of the area who are capable of war and combat and fighting and conflict to those timars which at the time of inspection are either unassigned or wrongfully assigned to servants of the grandees, in the event they should lack letters of initial appointment to a timar from the Sultan, the proper procedure to follow is that the district commander should present his recommendations for timar assignment on the basis of the solemn oath of twelve witnesses, two zaims and ten timariots, to the effect that the prospective appointee is first of all not a household servant of one of the grandees, and secondly that he really is a scion of a local military family in the district. After the district commanders have submitted their recommendations, the designated candidates shall be put in possession of their timars, and a list of these newly-assigned timariots shall be made and submitted by the district commander to the Porte for final approval [der-dest defteri—see glossary]. When on the basis of these recommendations the appropriate orders (hâkîm) of first assignment and promotion have been duly drawn up in the capital they are forwarded back to the provinces, and it is only after these confirming orders have been received that the official diploma of appointment (berât) should be formally issued.

In the manner described above a noble rescript should be addressed to the governors general of Rumelia and Anatolia saying by way of warning and royal reminder:

When those formerly misappropriated timars and ziamets found at the time of inspection to be in the hands of slaves and household servants of the grandees are duly reassigned to their rightful possessors (135b/1) and when they come with their new patents of appointment to take possession of their fief, if any of the presently active or formerly dismissed governors, county commanders, zaims, timariots, members of the Six Cavalry regiments, or in general any of those who enjoy a permanent salaried position should attempt to make obstacle to or prevent them in the possession of their fiefs you [the governors general] should immediately punish such interferers so that their fate may serve as an example and a warning to all others that they too should refrain from actions which are contrary to this imperial order.
[CONCLUSION]: ON THE BENEFICIAL CONSEQUENCES OF INTRODUCING THE AFOREMENTIONED REFORMS

May God the exalted, whose praises I recite, not withhold from all the world the protection which adorns prosperity, nor from all mankind the shadow which is the fortune of felicity of the most just and valorous pâdishâh (sovereign) of celestial stature and of the shehiyâr (sovereign) of heavenly power, and may He make the days of his reign to be extended beyond all limit, and the doors of his imperial wishes be always open! In order that the advantages and benefits to your majesty's exalted state of the articles and matters submitted to your royal presence, whose proper condition is good fortune, and that the nature of the profits which will accrue to your exalted reign may be known, the author makes bold to repeat once more his communication to the foot of your most exalted throne in abbreviated form on the consequences of the four matters detailed above, and dares the audacity of reporting them here item by item.

I. On the Beneficial Consequences of Reforming the Office of the Grand Vezir

In the first place, as was described above, if the seven vezirs who now hold office in excess of the number established in ancient law were dismissed, and if all their has lands with registered revenues of 8,400,000 akça realizing in fact 20,000,000 or 30,000,000 akça each year were to be confiscated by the treasury in this time of need, or alternatively were they to be reassigned to worthy warriors as timar, and if in addition those villages previously wrongly assigned by your illustrious forefathers from their conquests to ineligible persons as private freehold and subsequently transformed into pious endowments, both of which statuses were without any validity in religious law (sher'â - û şerîf), were also to be redistributed in accordance with the stipulations of the noble sher'i law to capable warriors as timar (135b/2), thereby creating a new force of many thousands of lance-bearing soldiers and causing great deeds of valor to be achieved by their united efforts in time of battle, and by God's grace retrieving castles now held by our enemies, if all these benefits could be realized by these proper actions and praiseworthy measures, would not this matter be most profitable and advantageous for the state, and would not this be a service to your exalted reign equivalent to the renewal of the great conquests of the past, a service approved by people of high and low station alike?

II. On the Beneficial Consequences of Reforming the Ranks of the Salaried Officials

In the second place, in the manner mentioned above, the group of salaried servants of the Sultan ('ulusêli kul), from the safe and secure times of your illustrious forefathers until the present day in the era of your majesty's reign, have many times rebelled against the Sultan and laid his well-protected realm to rack and ruin. By their failure to obey their commanders' orders during campaigns they have furthermore been cause for the loss to the enemy of the choice lands and prosperous districts which were brought into Sultanic realm through great pains and difficulties by your venerable ancestors of illustrious descent. Therefore, by carrying out a thorough inspection and investigation of this group and by ousting the illegitimate intruders to rout these brigands and rebels who are more reprehensible than the enemy himself, dispersing a part of them and reducing the remainder to contrition and to reciting constant prayers and praises of God, and by thus doing bringing into being a great victory equal with the conquests of our glorious ancestors, would not this be a miraculous accomplishment vouchsafed by the sanctity of the Caliph 'Ali Mürtezâ, himself?

III. On the Beneficial Consequences of Reforming and Improving the Condition of the Kurdish Beys

In the third place, as soon as the Sultan recovers all the misplaced timar fiefs which have been held in abeyance for so many years and reassigned them to brave, battle-ready warriors, and through their
overwhelming authority releases the peasantry suffering under the yoke of oppression at the hands of the perpetrators of rebellion and sedition, in like fashion, he were to expend his exalted and limitless benefactions on the Kurdish boys who are reduced to a state of weakness and longing and thirst under the oppression and tyranny of the provincial governors and who are trapped under the claw of the usurers and grant to them refreshment and restore them to new life through a single drop of his imperial favor which is as boundless as the seas of vast extent (136a/1) providing them freedom from their soul-rending debts, and take measures in the matter of providing favors bringing them into the comfort of the shade of his imperial protection, whereas previously they had all been reduced to weak kittens, not only would they be transformed into fierce lions and comparable to raging elephants in seeking out the Iranian heretics who wear the red headdress, but they would also act as a firm barrier and a coterminous boundary and obstacle between the territory of the Iranian “redheads” and your majesty’s well-protected realm, thereby, by God the exalted’s command, bestowing the governor-generals of Diyarbekir, Erzerum, and Van with the fortune and strength to be able to challenge the Shah of Iran and his redheaded soldiers, [and if this were all to come to pass] would not this be a most great and momentous blessing?

IV. The Beneficial Consequences of Reforming the State, and Inspecting the Claimants to Descent from the Prophet, and of keeping distinguished the tax-paying populace whose protection is one of the fundamental necessities of the state

In the fourth place, it is sure that after, by God the exalted’s willing, the group of salaried servants of the Sultan (‘ulufeli kul) are inspected and investigated and diplomas of appointment with descriptions of the grantee’s features are issued to them, the number of those remaining with the claim of being servants of the Sultan (kul) but without valid diplomas, and those sons of former servants of the Sultan (kul-oglu), and their sons in turn too, as well as the false claimants to descent from the Prophet (müteseyyid), but by right all tax-paying re’ayâ, will certainly turn out to be 700,000 or 800,000 people. When the order is given for the collection of the extraordinary state levies (‘avariz -i divâniyye) and of the Sultanic and customary impositions (tekalîf -i ‘örfiyye) from these numerous taxpayers, the provincial judges (kadi) shall distribute the burden among them in a just manner, and they shall not make distinctions saying: “This one deserves exemption as a servant in the service of the Sultan (kul), this one is the son of a kul, while this one is a purported descendant of the Prophet (müteseyyid),” but rather collect the same taxes from everyone alike without fear or dread. When this is done, the wounds of the poor tax-payers will be relieved, and not only will the villages previously abandoned again produce their full share of revenues for the treasury, but in this era of justice, the ruler Nushirevân7 will rest in the retreat of oblivion and forgetfulness in comparison, and the tax-paying populace, because they have found comfort and ease, will engage themselves day and night in singing the praises of the sovereign. Moreover, since the treasury will be filled on time, and since the fruit of the trees of his heart which is justice and equity increases day by day, has not then the lord God, by making my auspicious sovereign such a greatly esteemed ruler on earth (136a/2) and giving him possession of both throne and crown in the afterlife, endowing him as ruler of the Garden of Paradise, given him thereby power over the kingdom of this world and eternity alike?

On the Benefits to be Derived from Concealment and Hiding of (State) Secrets:

My auspicious and felicitous majesty, may God (be He exalted and praised) increase the length of your reign, and, by always protecting and making triumphant the victorious-visaged troops, may He never release until the end of time the rulers of your felicitous majesty’s enemies from the necessity of pleading for quarter from your sharp sword! Just as in days of old my ancestors of august descent were martyrs for the faith (shüheďa) who accomplished incontestable victories and died sacrificing body and soul in battle and conflict, so this slave (i.e. the author) having from the days of his infancy performed
many services for the sake of the state and true religion is an insignificant slave and loyal-hearted servant of your majesty who is the originator of many admirable victories. In consequence of my position therefore although it in actuality exceeds the prerogatives of my station, yet because I am an aged, distinguished, and loyal veteran in the Sultan's service, in accordance with the requirements of the claims governing those who have received noble benefactions from the sovereign, \(^5\) \(^8\) I have made bold in the extent to which my limited faculties are capable of understanding, to submit to the feet of the sovereign the indications and claims contained in the present reality-encapsulating report which consists of a weighing of my thoughts and opinions on the questions of the affairs of religion and the state and on the reform of dominion and sultanate, after accurately gauging the good and the bad which occur and after careful consideration and long reflection on some secrets concerning the origin of our distress. However, after having read and considered them, the Sultan should make imperial efforts to conceal and keep hidden these secrets. For, the hiding and concealment of secrets is one of the tasks devolving on the sovereign who surpasses all others in the art of kingship, and one of the requirements of the character of world-conquering rulers. The benefits derived from concealment of secrets are numerous, while the evil consequences of disclosure of mystery are incalculable. Whenever care is taken to conceal [the reasons for] an important measure, it is brought into being and quickly realized [without any interference]. God the wise and knowledgeable knows that I would not ask for hiding and concealment of a secret because it affected my own advantage or detriment, and I would not be distressed at the upsetting of my own personal comfort (136b/1). [On the contrary,] I would rather sacrifice my own life than compromise the ideas in my head. I am an old and loyally devoted veteran the stock of whose life has now reached its limit and who is no longer capable of useful service. My only hope is that through my strivings I may deserve the benefactions which the Sultan has bestowed upon me. In sum, I am an aged servant who has shown his readiness to give not only a dram of his blood, but his whole body and soul for the protection of the reputation and good name of the Sultanate, and for the safeguarding of religion and the state. It is hoped that God the almighty and all-powerful and almighty our Provider will be our aid and support and our loyal friend and protector so that the state may be so reformed, and the honor of the Sultanate so restored that not only the emperors of India or Iran, but also Darius (Dara) and all the celebrated emperors of the past will want to act as attendants and grooms, and Rüstem, Shem (Sam), Neriman, \(^5\) \(^9\) the hero Kahraman\(^6\) and the “Marvel of the Age” (Badi'uz-Zamân), \(^6\) \(^1\) too will covet inclusion with the brave warriors of the emperor of the age (i.e. the Ottoman Sultan). Furthermore, it will be certain that until the end of time they will be the stock of the eulogists and until the day of judgement constantly cited by way of example on the tongues of the reciters of brave deeds. Amen.
TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TEXT

Kaunun-nâme-i Sulțâni li 'Azîz Efendi


MUŞADDEMÂ VUZERÂ-I ‘IZÂMA MUSTE’ALLİÇ OLÂN KÂNÜN’I KÂDIM BEYÂNINDADIR

Devletli ve ‘azametlü Padişâh zillü’l-lâh hazretlerinin ‘ilm-i ‘âlem-arâlahına hafî ve seerî olmuﬂa ki: Abâ-i kirâm ve ecddâ-i ‘izâm-i cennet-muçrûsîmîn (129b/1) olan selâmîn-i ‘adî-aydın ve hâvûkîn-i şahîb-i

1 Text reads "etmemege."
2 Text reads "duvüsęp."
3 Text contains superfluous "ve."

4 Text reads "verip."
5 Text reads "ra."
6 Text reads "öder."
7 The copyist wrote "almazlar," then struck out the superfluous "lar."
8 Text contains superfluous "ve."
9 Text contains superfluous "ve."
10 Text reads mutekayyû."


MEVÂCÎB-HARAN KULLARINÎN HASB-I HALLERİ BEYÂNINDADIR:


Zırâ gerek <ağa-çrağı> ve gerek <ferzend-i sipâhî> daârîyle kapuya çîçkânlar nice yillar ‘acemi-oğlanı kimi bostânıâlarda ve kimi gemîlerde ve sâ’îr ocaklarda hizmet edip, hizmetleri mekâbeleâdinde kapuya çîçkârâldi.


YEÞICİ LE KULLARINÎN TAÞIHLERI BEYÂNINDADIR:


15 “Şöyle ki” is used here in its conjunctional sense. On this see V. L. Ménage, “An Ottoman Manual of Provincial Correspondence” in WZKM 65 (1976) 44.

16 The dative “e” in the text is superfluous.
nuşret-şer ile der-i devlete da‘vet olunup, Rumeli ve Bosna Beylerbeyleri cemi‘ askerliyile müsellâh ve müretteb Edirne şahsâsına dâhil ve Ânadolu Beylerbeyleri Kütâhyanın çiçik bu tarafa müteveccih 17’ olduğu haber geldiğinde Yeniçeri-ağası kullarını ve sâ’ir ocaq zabitlerini huşûr-i hümâyününla getirdi.

Her birinden ’ala ‘âlad-i miyâdar bu devlet-i ‘âlîyyeden ’îhsedârsız bu zamâna deînî âhâîl ve âflet sebebiyle re’dâyâmî ziyyâde fa‘îr ü bî-miyâdar olup tekâllîf vermege (131a/2) ihtidârîları halmayın ekeri hâne sâhibleri iken nâ-câr terki-i midîr olup diîr ve bir ba‘âtî yerde kuvvet-i ‘âhirî evehbûndan birine ece ołmak i’lîyiyyar meymû ‘âhûr-i huşûr-i ’âlamîâyûnum olup, re’âyâ ise vedâyî-i Râbbî-i berâyârûn.


17 Text reads "teveccih."
18 ‘dime’; speech, words (Torama Sözülü, 2,1159) arcaic form of modern ‘demek.’
19 Usually written ‘-si, -î.
20 ‘becełî’ studded with rubies (Redhouse Dict., p. 342).
21 ‘kubad,’ a kind of thorny shrub (Steingass Dict., p. 951). Possibly refers to the shape or design of their aigrettes. Alternatively, we might read "فَنَادِر" or feathered.
22 I.e., bestdîstân.
hiyâm-i rengâ-reng-i gerdân-kiyâm-i 'asâkir-i Rüstem-iştidârî ile lâlezâra ve alây alây râyât-i muhtelifiûl-eliân ilâ sehâ-i bî-pâyân dirâsiyât-i faşî-bâhâra dönüp dahsi Anâdölû 'asâkirînîn kârî muraqâh serverleri ve Karamân leşkerlerînîn kahramânî (131b/2) cebelî dilaverli 'azm-i seyr ü bâzâra şitâbân ve sehir-i İstanbûlû beyî uz sûraya sû-be-sû revân olduklarda kendi ser-keşâmînûz çünkü, însâlîlahû 'r-rahmân cemî-i dişmenân-i bed-gûmân hüşûsî Şâh-i Horasân tersân u lerzan olup pinhan olacaq câ-i nînân tedârikinde iken, tekrâr âğa kullan ve sâ'ir zabetleriî hîzâr olunup, huzur-i âillerînîn geldiklerinde ibtidîa eşkâyî ve serkeş olanlarînîn taleb büyük speedârînîn mertohe lehanelerinde ellerden sofra kûrç âli gibi defterleri ve kâtibi ve Xaqa Mâkuâlecişî ve îç-öglânî tâ'îfesinden olup mukarrabân-i dergâhî Padişâhî ma'dîlet-penâhinde bir kaç resîd ve âkîl ve ehlî ilmî 24 kâmil kullanîn paye-i serî-i a'ladâ haçir ve âmâde olup, her biri ellerinde kalem ve kağid alp Birinci oda cemî'atî hîzâr olunup, evvela Şorbasîna, ba'de'ü oda-başına, andan sâ'îrine kânî kavabandandir ve ne müllendetendir ve ne 'âlîfedendir, oda-be-oda teftîş u tefehûs büyükülup her biri yeri ve yurdu ve vilâyetîyle ve şeki u evsâfiyle bir hûs defter olunup, ba'de'ü nerede Yeniçeri olduğunu ve devşirme mi ve kuş-olgu mudur, ne târîk ile Yeniçeri olumustur, su'al büyükülup eger yolîyle olunmuş ise cebâwin verip o maşûnînîn eline eşkâîyle berât ve ağasından mahûm temessûz verile. Ve oturak ve körnece tâ'îfesini daha yoklayıp tamâm yolîyle Yeniçeri olmayıp cebûni olanlar bîl-küllîyle iîârî edip sahîh Yeniçeri olup tuvan, güçlü, kuveytî, taze, ve sefre eşmeghe çukretleri olanlar nefer kayd olunup, ve pîr u 'amel-mânde olanlar tekan 'udîl buyuşup, laikin 'ullefeleri kânîn-i kadîm üzere ola ve körneçüllü bîl-küllîyle ref oluna. Zirâ körneçülük hâdişdir, ve çiftin bozup ve dâretin terk edil ep il esâmîstîle.25 Yeniçeri olan cebûber cebâva çukretleri olmamak ile yoklamaya gelmezler, ve mevcûd-ü-lâm ve ma'dûmî-ü-cismî26 (127a/1) olan esâmîlî, ve tîmara çanlarî iîçrî olunduktan sofra sahîh Yeniçeri (însâlîlahû-keker) on-beş bin nefer anacak kalır. Eger sa'adetli Padişâhîn mezburülân ziyâde olmadıklar murâd-i humûyanîn olur ise, oda'nın âzûm-ilkı odadır, tazvî' olunup her odaça ne kadar nefer düşer ise bunlar daхи solaklar gibi mîn bîn 'âyàde olmamak üzere bîr hand ta'în buyuşup kûnîn olmak gerekir, ve bi-emîrî'lah bîr fevt oldukta muteveffennî nîzqeşresi Oda-başısı Yeniçeri-agası kullanına iletip, verdikten sonra Âga kullan daхи, devşirme yeyâ devşirmeden kâpûya çukr Yeniçerînîn oğlu olup 'Acmâl-oglanî yazilip bağçeye konulan olgânâdan eskyîp yolu gelmişlerinin birini sa'adetli Padişâh-i 'âlem-penâh haçretlerinin rikâb-i humûyanînla tehlîdên sofra be-dergâh edil ep eline eşkî berâtî verip odaçina gondere. Ve Yeniçeri tâ'îfesî kânîn-i kadîm üzere İstanbûl oda lânda osâmî sâhîh ve mevcûd olup, aâlîa bîr nefer İstanbûlân taraf olmaya, ve mücûred bulunanlar ve ba'de't-taşhîh be-dergâh olanlar te'ehhîl etmeyler. Zirâ bu odalarîn bînî nûye bâdhalâr Yeniçeri kullani te'ebhîl etmeyip ve taşa gitmeyip, bîr yerde sâhîh olup mevcûd bulunmalan için bunîn etmelerdir. Yine minvâl-i meşrû üzere tenbîh u te'kid oluna ve min ba'd <âga-qırâqî> ve <ferzendi-sipâhî> ve <becâyî> bîl-küllîyle ref oluna. Însâlîlahû te'âlâ bu vechele taşhîh müyesser olur. Âmin.

ALTİ-BÖLÜK HALKİNİN VE SÂ'ÎRE[NIÎ] TASÂHİİLERİ BEYÂNINDADIR:

Sa'adetli ve 'adâdetli Padişâh-i heft-kişyer ve Şehrîyârî-î gazanfer haçretlerinin 'atabe-i âlîyelerine inha-i 'abdi-i çâker ve bende-kemterleri budur ki, eger meşkezî-l 'uluvi-sânî ürşevânî birle Âltî-bölük halkî teftiş ve tefehûs edip, cebûbînîn iîârî ve eşkûyînîn haçretinden gelip, zümre-i mezêbreyi (127a/2) taşhîh murâdî humûyanînîn ise însâlahî bu vechele müyesser olur ki, Yeniçeri ocaqı taşhîh olunduktan sofra bîr rûzî-firûzda Âltî-bölük ağalanını ve kâtibelerini ve sâ'îr zabetleriînîn paye-i serî-i a'läya getirip, şöyle ferânan-i haçanî sudur bula ki:

24 In the text written as "'ahl-keleem.'"
25 In the text written as esâmî. For the use of "il" to mean people or folk, in particular "other people" or "strangers," see the article "il" in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, Vol. 3, p. 1092, and cf. the English translation, p. 10, note 33.
26 Note that at this point in the text a folio has been bound out of its proper sequence.
Vükela-i devletim ithalâtı ve şafakleri sebebiyle Sipahi-kuullarını aralarında ecnâs-i muhteşefeden endebî duhûl edip, ocağları muhtelif ve mücevhe olmagan taşhiî olunmak murâd-i humâyûnum olmastr. Gerekir ki cevâbî-i erba'ada olan kullarınma, Çavuşlar ve mekâbi'îfel zâbitler gön-derilip, yoklana-i humâyûnum olduğuunu âğâh ve da'vet edip, ta'cell üzere gelip uç aya deyn yetişip yoklananlar hâsî hâsil kullarınmdar, gelip yetişmeyenlere nedâmât fâ'ide vermez.

deyûm fermân-ı sultâniden sonra kurk elli yıldız defterlerini getirdip, ve kâtibleri ve mukâbelce yalanlarına muкарârân-ı dergah-i ma'dilet-penâhdan zeki ve akıl ve ehl-i îlmî kümlûnu ta'ûn buyru芦, evvelâ Sipahi başlanıp, birer birer, böyük bûlûk, ânîli vilâyetendere ve kimîn oğludur, ve ne cinâder ve Sipahi olâni ne kadar yûdûr ve ol zamânâda ağalan ve kethûdâlan ve kâtibleri ve mukâbelcelerleri kim idi ve terak-kleri ne hismet mu'âmidelerinde ‘nâyet olunmuştur, bir hoş teftsîs olduğu etkiyâ ve ecnebi oianlar hân-i yoklamada gelmez. Ve lâhûs sa'dî u hâlis kul olup, kemâ-yenbaşi cevâb verenleri ellerine eşkal berâti ve ağârûndan mahûm temessük ve mukâbele tezkiresi verile. (Însa-lâhû'l-melikî-l-mute'âlî) taşhiî-i ahvâl bu minvâl üzerinde dîkât u ihtimâm ve bu sa'y u qûsûş ile encâm bulur ise, el'-'ilmu 'inda-lâhûl-melikî-l-âlâm,' Alt-bûlûkste alti yedi nefer aneâq kalâr. Ba'de-te-taşhiî <îbûtitdan börûk> ve <veledes> näm-i' bî-küllefe ref ôlûnp sa'di u hâlis Sipahi olanlar İstanbul ve Edirne (127b/1) ve Bursa etrafında sâkin olup bâ'dî yerde métıme kkn olmayalar. Ve ba'de'ehû sâ'ir 'ulfêlîl kul tâ'ifesini dahi bâlûa mâhûrler olduğu üzere cemî-i eşnal sa'di birer birer getirdip teftis u tefa'ihus edip, yolyile gelip şanânta mûhâr ve hismetinde kâdir hâlis kul olanlarin elleîne eşkal berâti verilip [...].

Cebeciyan ve Topcuyan ve Mehterân tâ'ifesini dahi İstanbuldâs mu'ayyen odalan vardur, her bîr odasinda sâkin ve mevcud olmak kânûn-i kâdimdir. Sa'âdettîlî Pa'dîshâh zûlûhâh Nazaretleri dahi kânûn-i mezburu mûcedded ve mû'âkced edip, âhûfina cevâb gösterilmeye. (Însa-lâhû te'âlû) egér yümûl himmet-i sehriyârî birle hûn-i tedbirleri mûvâfîk-i ta'dîrî-Rabbî-kadîr olup bu nağhatları bi-'avrinîlîlâh vukû'a gelirse her zümrenin ecelenileri ihrah olunup ve sa'ir eşkiyâsını kemâ-yenbaşi haçârından gelinip hâlis kul olanlar otuz kurk bir nefer aneâq kalâr. İmdî bu denâî eşkiyânın haçârından gelinip ve haçine[ye] bu merteb te sa'y-i cemî vuçuda gelip ve hem re'âyâ fûkurâsî zîr-i pence-i kâhî zalemeden haşas olmak bir feth-i 'azm ve bir gazâ-i ekberî ki ecâdî-i 'izâmîrden bir Pa'dîshâha mügesser olmamistur. Hemen Haç subhânêhu ve te'âlû tevfikin refîk edip, murad u mãşûdiyin müyesser ve mu'âdder eyleye. Amîn, bil-ûrûmetti seyyidî'l-mûrésîn.

UMERÂ-î EKRÂDÎ KUVÜT U KUDRETLERİ
[VE] ZAMÂNINDA VÜKÜ'Â A GELEN
HİZMETLERİ BAYÂNINDADIR

Sa'âdettîlî ve devletli ve 'azametli ve şevketli Pa'dîshâh-i heft-kişver ve Şehçinshâh-i ra'îyyet-perver haçaretlerini, Haç celle ve 'alâ, 'adîl u dâdîlär mefârikî 'ammâ-i 'âlemeyîne sâye-gûster ve 'ümür [u] devletleri taht-i cîhân-bânîde ûhad u hîsabdan ziyâde ve berter eyleye. Câmî-i cîhân-nûmâ îşkenderden enver, ve suver-i haçâ'îkî-î esâyâ ma'âhîlî ve maghar olan zihîn-i pâk ve hûrîl-i ihimam-peğiür u tabâ-nâkîlerine yazılıh u 'ayân olak ti taşhihleri ehemm-i mühîmmât-i din u (127b/2) devlet, ve ezem-i lâzîmî-i mâl u milletlerinden olan mevâdd-i cazam-i nâfîsân birisi dahi Diyarbekir ve Van ve Mosul eyâletlerine tabî-î olup uğur-i humâyûnlar da sadakat u istikmâtî cân u bah oynadan ve rûz-i ma'reke veâyâda âteşi kâhî u te'dîr ile dişmen-i dinin hânîli kaynayat u mêmârî-ib hûkkâm i Kürtîstân-î seçâ'at-ûnvândî rî, her bîrî Kûzu'lu câmîbîne olan serhadd-i manşûrelerini hân-i hêzîni ve ol 'araflarda vâkî olan ma'âhîlî-

27 Once again the copyist has written "'Filî" for "'ulum." See above, p. 32.
28 Break in text.
29 Text reads "mahalle."
İslamiyyelerinin kiş-eri metini oluphausça müşaddem-Diyarbakır kal-lesi tevâ'if-i mülükden Aş-koyunlu'nun taht-i taşarruflarından ıken Şah İsmâ'îl'in hüruru zamânında 'âdet-i me'lâfeleri üzere Aş-koyunlu Karaca Dağ näm yaylağa çıkmalarıyle kal'eri mezbur- hâlî kaldığı üça Şah İsmâ'lî, Kara Han demekle ma'rûf olan hânîna bir mûlâdar 'âker koşup ilgâr ile gönderdiğiinde kal'eri mezburayı dâhil-i kalb-i teşhir ve içinde olan Müslümanları tutorsı şir-i şemşir etdiği mahallerde uphevar-i Kürdistân Câzir ve Hazo ve Palu ve Eğl ve sâ'îr etrafında olan Ekrâd hâkîmâr ve beyleri Sünî Müslüman ve muhiphi hânedân-i ebed- peyman-i hâzarâ-i Âl-i Oğmân (hâladda'îl-îhâ devletehum ilâ inkirâât-zamân) olmaları ile diyarbakir kal'esi içinde olan ekrâd tâ iflessine ve sâ'îr Sünî Müslümanlar hafiyetinden âdem göreder:


EKRAD BEYLERİNİN TAŞHİHİ[1] BEYÂNINDADIR:


Hükm-i Humâyûn

Evelâ Diyarbekir Beylerbeyi kullalarına mü'ekked ve müsedded evâmîrî şerîfleri ırsâl buryulurup muhakm tenbîh ve te'kîl olî kâr:

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40 Text reads "'olanun."
41 Clearly written "'îçân" in the text, but "jaham" (Redhouse Dict., p. 693—a cloud that gives no rain) implying barrenness and drought fits in better with the repeated image of the re'yûs's thirst, and its slaking through the Sultan's mercy. See below, p. 41, "teşne-dîl ve atsân," etc.
42. The copyist mistakenly rendered this phrase in two separate words "'xîrîn" and "'xîrîn" replacing the more graceful and expected "kabza-i tasarruf-i " and "şîrâtân."".
43 Text contains a superfluous "ve."
44 Text reads "tedmir."
Ve ümerâ-i Ekrâda dahi ḥilî'atlar ve akrabâlarna birer tiyûl ile cânihi-i hümâyûnlarndan istimâletnâmeler irsâl buyurulup, fermân oluna ki:

Sîz âbâ'an ceddin sünûni 'ulâ-mezheb ve pâk-meşreb olup âbâ u ecdad-i 'âli-nâjîâm zamânâlarda vákî' olanâ. Kesilbaş seferlerinde nicem bin musella' yarar ve nâmâd Ekrâd-i safer-kîrdâr ile aşkîr-i manşûrîni ömûne dûşüp, irâd-i gayreti-çahâryâr-i güzîn için uğrum. -di-i din-i müblînde cûn u boşa doğûşüp nicem fi'lîhî-i cemîleye bâ'îs oûmûs vácihî-ri'âye ve lázmûl-îhâmîyeriîken vékelâ-i sultanatîn îhmâl u ûfgalleri ile Dyârbecki ireal olûnan vûzîrâ ve să'îr beylerbeyleri (133b/2) kimi âhz u cêlî için ve kimi dahe 'azl u naşb ve âhar sebeb ile sîz dest-i tasallûtu dirâz ve üzerrîzâ esvâb-i te'addî ve tecâvûzü güzâde baz etdikleri ecelden kwvvet u kwred ve tâkat u vûsâ'înîza kemâl-i za'îf u inbî'yî geldügi haşûkatî ile mu'ââm-i hümâyûnun olmuştur. İmdî ahlâhîzî ile te'kûyyûz ve ihtimâm edîp sîzî iîyâ ve âbâdan eylemek bi'z-zât 'uhde-i hümâyûna cume-i váciherden olduğuna binden, evvelâ her birînîzî êcâdî 'izâmîm faresâlurden verilen ohiînâmeler mücebine hümâyûleri gereği gibi neslen ba'de neslin müsaîrî olmak üzere kemâhîzî ibkâ ve mu'ahhur esdî ve araştıdan biri bi-emrî lâhî te'âl'da fevt okûta 'azl u naşbînâsa beylerbeyleri cânîşmayî ol mahîl olan hûkûmete tâlib oğul mudur yöhasa karânasî madir, temes-sükâât ile âstâne-i sa'âdetime gelip rikâb-i hümâyûnuna yüz sûre ki, hûkûmeti der-i devletimden teveîn olunup, lîtîfât'î âliyeyem ile mumtâz oluktan sonra varî hipmetde olmaları emrî olmuştur. Ve Dyârbecki Beylerbeyisine dahe muhêm tenbîh olmustück ki min ba'd te'addî û taç-yûnîhî cânîshmayî, sizî mu'âmelecilerînî dest-i te'addî ve tecâvûzlerinden hâlûs eleyeip dê dûmah hûmâyêt ve sîyâyêt üzere ola ki, sîz dahe ba'd-l-yevel mu'âmelecilerden ve să'îr zalemenden hâlûs olmuça yeven-fe-yeyen kwvvet u kwred tâbîlî eleyeip ecdad-i 'izâmîm zamânâlarda olduğû gibi asîr u û bâbîlînî ile şemîrînî fîzân ve esbî tâzînînî çâbuk u sebî-hûzîn u Ekrâdîn dîlâyê u hûn-rîznî kullânup evvelî hipmetleriînîdên ziyâde hipmetler ve ûgur-i hümâyûnuma numâyân olaçak nice maşla'hatlar vucûda getîresiz.

Hükm-i Hûmâyûn

Ve bundan ma'da Dergâh-i 'Âli Kapucu-başılarndan bir müsâkkîm mûbâşîr kullûr ile 'ulemâ-i ıpâmîdan bir 'âmîl u 'âkîl (134/1) ve müteserîrî ve fazîlî du 'açalanî ve Yeînîcîrî ve Sipâhî ocaklanndon

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45 Text reads ""tiyûl"" For the meaning of ""tiyûl"" see notes to the English translation #39.  
46 Text reads ""oluân.""  
47 Text contains superfluous ""ve.""

MUTESÂYYİRLERİN KEŞERLERİ
VE SĂR İAHİR BEYÂNINDÂDIR


48 Miswritten in the text as ""ر.ب.أ"" instead of ""ر.ب.أ"".
49 First letter 'F' partly concealed by binding.
50 The phrase as it stands is contradictory. It should be read either "'olmâdîşi halde" or "'olmalaran takdirce.
51 Text reads "'sawari."
52 Text reads "'ve'l-haric" instead of "min al-haric."

ŞEYH’U’L-İSLAM DU’ÂÇILARINA VE KÂDI-’ASKER DU’ÂÇILARINA HÂTT-Î HUMAYÜN:


RÜMELI BEYLERBEYİSİ OLAN VEZİR PAŞA KULLARINA HÎTABEN BİR HÂTT-Î ŞEHİF TAHİRÎ BÜYURULMAK MUNÂSÎB FEHM OLUNUR:


53Text reads "olunmağın."
54Text contains superfluous "lar."
veç her üzerine haşt-i humâyûn-i sa'âdet-maqrûn lázım dîr. Hîn-i yoklamada seped zâ'met ve tîmârlarına tâlib olanlarla kâdîmî ocaq-oğlunun olup kimsenîni [hiçmetkârî olmayıp kâdîmîn ocaq-oğlu olduğuna iki zî'mîn ve on] nefer ebi tîmâr şehadetîyle Aday-beyleri 'arz eyledikte tevcîh eyleyesîn. Eger etdikleri şehadet-de kizlarla zâhîr olur ise, 'cümlesiniz zâ'met u tîmârlarını (135a/2) âhara tevcîh eyleyeler'' deyî felman-î humâyûn buyurula. 'Umüm üzeri beylerbeylilerle bu vec her üzerine haşt-i humâyûn-i sa'âdet-maqrûn lázım dîr. Hîn-i yoklamada diyen mahfiulenti ve hiçmetkâr üzerinde bulunan seped zî'met ve tîmârlarını 'ulu'felul kul tâ'îfesinîni asî u cinsî pâk olup, yollîyle izîyle gelenlere tevcîh eyleyeler. İnceredd 'aâvir 'ulu'feludur, hátzîneye nâfîddîr'' deyî fel'mân-mândelere ve furûmâyelerle tevcîh olumay a deyî felman buyurula, 'umüm üzeri beylerbeylilerle bu vec her üzerine haşt-i humâyûn-i sa'âdet-maqrûn lázım dîr.

Hîn-i yoklamada darb u harb ve ceng u cidalâ kâtir kuwert-i hâtire eshâbîndan ocaq-oğlu ocaklar, hismetkârlarla üzerinde bulunan seped zî'met ve tîmârlarına kendiîer tâlib iken âhara tevcîh olumay a deyî felman-î kader-tuvân-î Sultan[1] sudur buia.

Rûmeli ve Anadolu Beylerbeylilerine bu minvâl üzeri bir haşt-i şerif daha lázım dîr ki:
Ellerinde ibtidâ ve teraâkî hükümleri olmayanlara zî'met ve tîmâr tevcîh olunmaç hîlâf-i hânûnî. Ammâ hîn-i yoklamada kul ve hismetkâr üzerinde bulunan tîmârlarâc 55 ceng u cidalâ ve darb u kûtîl etmege kâtir, kâdîmî ocaq-oğlunlarça tâlib oluklara ibtidâ hükümleri olmayi(256,371),(986,407) takdirce kimesenîni hismetkârî olmayıp kâdîmîn ocaq-oğlu olduğuna ist zî'mîn ve on nefer ehi tîmâr şehadetîyle Aday-beyleri 'arz eyledikte tevcîh ve derdest edip ve esâmîlere defter, ve der-i devlete 'arz eyleyeleri ki bu tarafdan ibtidâ ve teraâkî hükümler yazîlisp gönderilip, vardîkta mucebine beraâtleri verile deyî felman-î şerif sâdir ola.

Rûmeli ve Anadolu Beylerbeylilerine vec hemarer üzeri bir haşt-i şerif lázım dîr ki:
Hîn-i yoklamada kul ve hismetkâr üzerinde bulunup erbâb-i istihkâsca tevcîh olunan seped tîmârlarâc (135b/1) ve zî'metlerini berât-i cedî ile zabitina varricksa mensib ve ma'zûl beylerbeyler ve umrâ ve zu'êma ve erbâb-i tîmâr ve Bûluk-hafla ve bi't-cümle her ne makûle dirlik şâhi olursa olun taşarrufuna mâni olurlarsa bild te'îr haflardandan gelezik mîcib-i 'ibret ve sebebi-nasihat olup, bir farh daha hîlâf-i felman-i humâyûn vât etmeyeler deyî tenbiî ve te'îkip-i şehrîyârî vucûde gele.

ZIKRÎ MESBÜK TÂSHÎHLERÎN
NETICE-I MENAF'Î
BEYÂNINDADIR

Hâşk subhânêhve ve te'âlâ 'adâletli ve şecâ'atî Pâdîşâh-i gerdûn-vekâr ve Şehriyârî ve felêk-iktîdâr haçretlerinîni sâye-i devlet-pîrayelerin 'âmme-i 'âlem ve zul-î sa'âdet-sermâyelerin käffe-i benî-âdem üzerinde hâfî etmeyîp, 'êmãrî devletlerinîni haddan ziyâde ve ebatı-î murad-i humâyûnlarîni dâ'imâ guûde eleye. Rîkâbî sa'a det-nişâbînana ref' olunan mevâdd u kâzâyînîn devlet-i 'alîyeyelerine menafî' u fêvâ'-i di ve saitanat-i 'âliyeyelerine râcî' olan avâ'îdi ne oldûgu ma'lûm olmak için bâlada taşfîl olunan dört kâzâyînî netçeleri, tekrâr paîye-i serfî-i âlîlarına 'aîe'l-icmâl lî'ama cî'ret ve madde-be-madde 'arz olunmaç küstahîğîna cesaret olunmuştur.

55 The nine words missed out here by the scribe may be restored by comparing the text of the imperial rescript itself which is quoted below.
56 In the text written "tîmârlarına."
NETİCE-I MENİFİ-İ TASHİH-I VÛZERÂ-I 'İZÂM BEYÂNINDADIR:

Evelâ birisi budur ki, bâlâda vaşf u beyân olunduğü üzere, çânûn-i kadîmden ziyâde olan yedi vezir ref olunup taşarruf(fl)an olacak siktir kerrre yüz bih âlca yazar ve senede iki üç yüz âlca düzâr hâşilân bu mülâyaça kahribi için kâfiz oluna, veyahud yarar kâfir diâverlerle tevzi olunup ve ecâad-i 'izâmlar fütuhât-i sâbikadân bir nice kürâyî na-mustehkîka temîlik ve anlar dahi vaçf edip, lâkîn gerek mülkîyyet ve gerek vaículo[ç]leri şer'an ca'iz olmamağın mukežzâ-i şer'i şerif üzere anlar dahi yarar kâfir diâverlerle tevîh oluna (135b/2) nice bih sâmîri³⁷ 'asker hâşil olup hân-i muhârebede bir kêl'dan yüz-aqîqına sebebe olmakt bi-'înâyetî lîlâh düşmen elinde olan 'îlêleri geri alımağ vaç'î hasen ve tebdîr-i mustaşfân olup bu hüsûf Devlet-i 'Aliyelerine nâfi' ve sümdend ve müceddenden fetû-î külli mertebesinde saltanat-i 'Aliyelerine bir hizmet-i di-pesend-i ednâ âvâl'de değil midir?

NETİCE-I MENİFİ-İ TASHİH-I MEVÂCİB-HÂRÂN BEYÂNINDADIR:

İkincisi budur ki, zikr olunduğü minvâl üzere 'ulûfeî kul tâ'lîfesi âbâ u ecâad-i 'izâmlarının zamân-i bâ-êmânîlân'dan ile lân 'aşî-i humâyûnîl lâmina gelince nice deca' 'hurçc âle's-sultân ve memûlîk-i mâhûselerin hârâb u vîràn, ve seferlerde serdar 'ullûrûnun sîzân tutmayıp âl'at etmemeleye ecâad-i emcâdî 'âh-nâjîlânunun nice zañhmet ve meşekîkat ile ka'bara i taşarruf-i mülkûkânîlêri getirdikleri gûzide memleket ve ma'âmûrîlâyeleri düşmen almağa sebebe olmaslardır. İmdî, tâ'lîfe-i mezûrûyê tefîsî ve tefahuş buyurup ecenûlêri îhîcâ ve bu makûte düşmenated beter olan eştâyâ u eşîrîyê kîrîp, kîmînî dahe tàrmûr ve bûksîni tevbeki ve meçgûl-i evrâd u ezkir etmek, mecîm-i ecâadî³⁸-i 'izâmâlânın fütûhâtina beraber böyle bir gûzâ-i kebede vucûda getirmeke izhâr-i kerâmêt-i 'Âli Mürtezê değil midir?

NETİCE-I MENİFİ-İ TASHİH-I UMERÂ-I KÜRDÎSTân BEYÂNINDADIR:


NETİCE-I MENİFİ-İ TASHİH-I DEVLET VE TËFTÎS-I SIYÂDET VE TEFİRÎ-î RE'AYÂ-î LÂZİMÜL-ÎHİMAYE:

Dördüncü budur ki inşâ'llâh te'âlî 'ulûfeî kul tâ'lîfesi teftîş ve tefahuş olunup ellerine eskâl berâtı verildikten sonra kul nämînda olup bi-berât kalan ve kul-oglu ve uğullarından ve müteseyyiderden


ISTİDÂ-I KETM [U] İHFÂ-I ESRÂR


⁶² "Dehlî" used here in its archaic sense to mean number or amount. For examples from pre-fifteenth century Turkish texts see Tarama Sözüügü, Vol. 2, pp. 1084-86.
⁶³ "Text reads ‘dâde.”
⁶⁴ "Text reads ‘merd-i meydân.”
⁶⁵ "Text reads ‘testîr.”
NOTES

1 The problem of *sepet timars*, or the diversion of military fiefs to non-military purposes, was an enduring one. This problem was a constant point of reference for other reform writers in particular ‘Ayn-i ‘Ali in his treatise of 1609. In response to these writers’ suggestions, Sultan Murad IV actually took a number of practical measures to better control *timar* assignment. For a description of these measures see R. Murphey, “The Veliyuddin Telhis: Notes on the Sources and Interrelations between Köçi Bey and Contemporary Writers of Advice to Kings,” *Belleten* 43 (1979) 553-555. For a detailed definition of this term see the glossary.

2 Minister to king Solomon, renowned for his foresight with regard to government affairs.

3 Sultan Murad III, reigned 1574-1595/982-1003.

4 Imperial orders specifying what categories of revenues were proper (*layık*) to be considered as part of the *hevass-i humayun* and what categories were not are cited in Röhrborn’s study (*Untersuchungen*, p. 97, n.1 and p. 101, n.32). Of particular relevance are some documents from the early volumes of the *Mühimme* from Volume 2, Topkapı Sarayi, Koğuşlar 888, folio 31a dated 959/1552 and Volume 52, orders no. 263 & 264 dated 991/1583.

5 Reference is made here to the state of affairs during the so-called Djalafi rebellion 1595-1609/1002-1018. The allusion to the withdrawal of the sultan into the palace reflects the situation under the sultans Murad III (1574-1595/982-1003) and Mehmed III (1595-1603/1003-1012) during which time the Sultan Mothers (*Valide Sultanlar*) exerted a strong influence over governmental decisions. This period of Ottoman history is sometimes referred to as the period of the “Dominion of the Consorts” (kadinlar saltanatı).

6 The author at this point in the text switches his frame of reference to the currently reigning sultan, Murad IV (1623-1639/1032-1049).

7 Djem (Djemshid) was a ruler of Iran and descendant of Hushang, founder and first king of the legendary Pishdadian dynasty. Djemshid was also renowned for his wisdom in the art of governing. In the *Shah-nāma* Djem is said to have ruled over Iran for 700 years, hence his reputation for peaceful settling of disputes (see M. Jules Mohl, *Le Livre des Roi*, Vol. 1, 49-67.

8 Since the legal limit for holding ministerial rank was four, our author’s statement that at the time of writing between Rebi’al-evinl 1042 and Zil’hicce 1042/Sept. 1632-June 1633 (see above, introduction p. viii) there were seven extra ministers in service, this means that there were in all eleven holding the rank. Although not without precedent [see I. H. Uşunçağlı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*, p. 190, for the appointing of eleven to that rank during the vezirate of Öküz Mehmed Pasha who held the post of Grand Vezir from 1 Safer 1028 to 16 Muharram 1029/18 Feb. 1619 to 23 Dec. 1619 (*Sicil-i Osman*, Vol. 4, p. 147)] this was certainly well above the norm. Information provided by the historian Topdjalur Katihi ‘Abd’al-Kadir Efendi (*Vekayi-i Tarihiiye*, Esad Efendi MS 2151, fol. 214b) indicates that subsequently sometime during the year 1030/1621 the number of *vezirs* was reduced to eight, but several years later it is apparent that three additional *vezirs* had once again been named since Naima in reporting the convening of the imperial council in November of 1628/Rebi’al-evvel 1038 (*Naima Tarihi*, Vol. 2, 440) names nine *vezirs* in attendance which together with the *nishamâji* and the *deferdâr* makes eleven in all (see “The Veleiyuddin Telhis,” *Belleten* 43 [1979] 559, n.13). We may depend on Aziz Efendi’s statement to verify the fact that there had been no change in this state of affairs by the year 1042/1632-33 when his treatise was written.

9 The significance of the phrase “mutemudül-hilafetîl-kubra makulesî” (transcription of text page 29) is difficult to convey in English since it rests on a concept *khalîfa* whose full and real meaning has been the subject of debate and controversy for centuries by Islamic jurists and political theorists, as well as by modern orientalists. In its mystical sense (see the article by F. de Jong “khalîfa,” part iii in *EI2*, Vol. 4, 950-952) the status of *khalîfa* gave recognition to the most learned and pious man of a religious order (*tarîka*) bestowing on him the rank and privileges, but at the same time imposing certain sacred
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1574</th>
<th>1597</th>
<th>1609</th>
<th>% increase 1574-1609 (35 years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. Janissary Corps</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Janissaries</td>
<td>13,599</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>37,627</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadets</td>
<td>7,495</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>9,406</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>21,094</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td>47,033</td>
<td>+ 123%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. Six Cavalry Regiments</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sipahiyan</td>
<td>2,210</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>7,805</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Silahdaran</td>
<td>2,127</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>7,683</td>
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<td>Ulufeciyan-i Yemin</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>2,055</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ulufeciyan-i Yesar</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,423</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gureba-i Yemin</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>928</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gureba-i Yesar</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>975</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>5,957</td>
<td>17,100</td>
<td>20,869</td>
<td>+ 250%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III. Auxiliary Troops</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cebeciyan</td>
<td>625</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,730</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topcuyan</td>
<td>1,099</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,552</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabaciyan-i Top</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
<td>684</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>2,124</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,966</td>
<td>+ 275%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IV. Palace Staff</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>10,964</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAND TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>36,153</td>
<td>86,832</td>
<td></td>
<td>+ 140%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 For detailed definitions of these terms see the glossary.
16 A similar passage in the Kitab-i Müstetab enlightens us with regard to the true significance of being relegated to the status of merd-i timar for a Janissary. In discussing the various ways that openings (mah lul) were created for entry into the Janissary corps, the author of this treatise refers to the disciplinary measure of sending recalcitrant or disobedient members of the corps to the provinces after which their names were removed from the active list. That to be banished to the provinces in advance of the normal age of retirement was considered by professional soldiers as a blow to their prestige and was meant by their superiors as a clear demotion comes out starkly from the wording of the author’s reference—“filan kabahat idüp, merd-i timar olmuș idi” (so and so committed an excess and was sent off to the provinces to join the timariots [and other pensioners who had reached the end of their careers]).

NB — The significance of the phrase “merd-i timar olmak” is clearly missed by the editor of the Kitab-i Müstetab who repeatedly (Yücel edition, p. 11, lines 3, 6, & 8; cf. text in Arabic script p. 19, line 21 and p. 20, lines 1 & 3) renders this idiom as “mürd timar” which is devoid of any meaning.

By staying the full course of service, a Janissary’s prospects for an honorable and comfortable retirement in the capital were good. Here a retired Janissary could cultivate his contacts at the Sultan’s court and start a new career in another branch of government service or in business. On the other hand premature banishment to the provinces meant the effective end of a Janissary’s hope for promotion. In his treatise on the reform of the timar system ‘Ayn-i ‘Ali also refers in passing to those Janissaries and cavalrymen who left their regiments to take up timars—
From ‘Ayn-i ‘Ali’s information it is clear that far from being given choice timars or enjoying the right to pass them on to their sons, such timars were assigned from among the remnants (ziyâde) of the has belonging to dismissed and transferred sandjak beyês. These timars could be and often were revoked when a replacement enjoying sufficient rank to merit their inclusion in his own has was appointed to the command of that sandjak. On the negative implications of a Janissary being sent out to a timar compare the following passages:

1) Köçi Bey Rısalesi, Telhis IV, Aksüt edition p. 39, lines 19-22:
Ve birinden mucib-i azî bir töhmet sadr olsa, ağaları divan edip, … ol kimseyi azî edip tekrar oçağına idârâ etmezlerdi. Ancak düşenden istihkâmına göre timar ve ziamet ihsan olunurdı.

2) Kavanîn-i Yeniçeriyan (Topkapı Palace MS, Revan 1319, folio 146b):
Ve suçu olanı mezd-i timar eylemek gerekir.

17Suhte Niğdeli Mustafa Pasha was commander of the Janissaries for seven months during Osman II’s ill-fated campaign against Khotîn. He was appointed shortly after the elevation of Ohrûl Hüseyîn Pasha to the Grand Vizierate on 15 Rebiul-‘ahir 1030 (9 March 1621) [Topджalar Katibi, Vekayi-i Tarihîye, Vienna Ms, Mxt. 130, folio 333a] and was promoted to admiral of the fleet in Shevval (September) of that year [Istanbul, Bashbakânlik Arşivi, Kamil Kepedji No. 257]. According to Katib Celebi the date of his elevation to the admiralty was 25 Shevval 1030 (13 September 1621) [Fezleke-i Tevârih, Istanbul 1286 (1869), Volume 1, p. 472]. On the high rate of absentee Janissaries and consequent need for emergency replacements during this particular campaign Topdjar Katibi is most explicit. He (op. cit., Vienna Ms, folio 343b) describes an inspection at the imperial camp in the field on 5 Shaban 1030 (26 June 1621) at which only one-half of the troops registered for service were present and accounted for. Mustafa Pasha’s two terms of office as Chief Finance Minister in 1641/1040 and in 1632/1633/1042 are documented by Klaus Röhrborn in his study Untersuchungen zur Osmanischen Verwaltungsgebichte, Berlin 1973, p. 11, n.55.

18In this passage the author is punning on the double meaning of the word odjak which signifies in a general sense hearth, but refers also to the regimental messes of the Janissary corps. The expression su koymak may also be translated either literally as “application of water” or in a more colloquial sense as “ruining” or “spoiling” something. There is a striking similarity between this passage and one in Köçi Bey’s treatise submitted to Murad IV the previous year in 1041/1631-32; see Aksüt edition, p. 45, lines 3-5.

19Sultan Murad III, reigned 1574-1595/982-1003.

20A detailed breakdown of actual increases in the various groups is given in the table in note 14 above. Aziz Efendi’s figure for the salaried personnel of the Porte totalling 36,400 is remarkably close to that of 36,153 given by Köçi Bey (Aksüt edition, p. 28). For other parallels in the works of these two authors see my article in Belleten 43 (1979), pp. 557-558, n.11.

21By granting a longer term of office to the provincial governors it was hoped that their propensity for maximizing immediate revenues because of a fear of displacement could be modified, thus alleviating the condition of the tax-paying re‘eya. This issue was later to become the focal point of Varvar ‘Ali Pasha’s rebellion in 1058/1648 (see my article in Belleten 43 [1979], p. 549, n.3).

22May my blessed favors be justly earned by you” (cf. text at page 31 -ni‘met-i celiîm size helal olsun). Two key words in this phrase, “ni‘me” and “helal,” represent complex ideas which it is difficult to do justice to in succinct translation. Broadly speaking ni‘me is benefaction or largesse and often refers to God-given prosperity or happiness. In this passage, however, the Sultan is addressing his troops who in the Ottoman theory of state are in the position of kul or slaves in the Sultan’s personal household. In this context ni‘me refers to their wages and the favors and good treatment (ev’âm ve eltâf) which they receive under the Sultan’s patronage. By uttering the benediction “helal olsun” to the kulüs the Sultan is formally transferring his claim over the wealth expressed in wages, subsidies, and bonuses which they enjoy from his hand and bestowing full legal and moral rights to them. On the formal renouncement
of a right of possession in favor of someone else see the Zenker Dictionary, Vol. 1,393. Examples from Islamic wills expressed in the form of documents of contract (waḥīqat ḥadāl wa saḥāmat) are given by Dozy, Supplément . . . , Vol. 1,313.

23Way-station in close proximity to Istanbul on the military road linking the capital with Edirne.

24Rakhir was the name of Rustem’s charger, but it is generally used to apply to any steed. The reference to the star Canopus (Süheyl) probably alludes to a marking on the horse’s forehead. دُلُ (Dül-dül) was the name given to the mule mounted by the Caliph Ali, but here in keeping with the equine metaphor the reading “dildil” groaning or neighing is more appropriate.

25The rendezvous point for Ottoman armies marching westwards from Istanbul.

26Zoroastrian God of victory. Also the name of several Sassanid kings in Iran.

27The warriors of the provincial army are likened in this image to lions whose manes are the emblem of their manliness and courage. In like fashion the gazi by the wearing of their plumes give evidence of their past exploits. Yelek (var. čelek, čelenk - Tarama Söz, Vol. 6,4492) refers to the ceremonial use of plumes as a military decoration granted for valor in battle. In military heraldry these decorations played an important role similar in concept to the ceremonial use of the robes of honor (khiṣ‘at) to confer the Sultan’s highest recognition for service to distinguished members of the state bureaucracy (ehl-i kalem). The rank of the conferee as well as the importance of the task accomplished played a role in determining the degree of the decorations’ ornateness. The gradations of these decorations ranged from a single plume usually from one of the heron family to the jewel-encased multi-strand sorguç worn by the sultans themselves. Examples of the various grades may be found in engravings published as part of Marsigli’s military description of the Ottoman Empire (Stato Militare, Vol. 1, pp. 64-65) and in other drawings (see illustrations nos. 16 & 25 published in H. İnalçık, The Ottoman Empire in the Classical Age). The plumed decorations played a particularly important role in the frontier districts (udj) of the empire in the early period of Ottoman history before the introduction of regular dress codes and military uniforms which accompanied the establishment of permanent regiments. Notable in their use of plumed decorations were the irregular akindji raiders who were such an important element in this frontier society. The following sources contain some information on the subject of Ottoman military decoration:


The lesser and greater markets of Karaman formed a complex of shops surrounding the mosque of Mehmed the Conqueror in the Fatih district of Istanbul (J. Hammer, Constantinopolis und der Bosporus [Wien 1822], Vol. 1, p. 185). The troops congregating on the one side in Fatih and those on the other side of the old city in Bayezid near the covered market (bedesten) planned to converge from opposite directions on the Janissary barracks located directly in between in the area around Et Meydani.

29Abu-Muslim, known as teberdar or “the halberdier” in folk tradition, was the leader of an eighth-century (2nd cent. hidjri) political and religious movement based in Khorasan (see article in EI², Vol. 1, p. 141). By dubbing the battle axes borne by the Ottoman troops as “Ebu-Muslim” axes, the author’s underlying allusion is to the belief that the bearers of these arms were imbued with miraculous powers and enabled to accomplish supernatural feats of bravery. On the traditional belief in the supernatural powers imparted on the Muslim warriors by religious figures of the past and the particular association of these figures with certain military symbols such as the battle axe and the sword, see the following references:


In addition see infra n.55.

30 Evrenos was the founder of a family of frontier lords (udj beyleri) who played a fundamental role in the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans during the last decades of the fourteenth century. He died in 820/1417 (EI², Vol. 2,720).

31 Rüstem was a legendary Iranian hero whose acts of bravery are extolled in Firdowsi’s epic the Shah-nāma. In the Shah-nāma he is identified as the son of Zal, who is prince of Zabulistan.

32 Detailed information on the precise nature of the “ancient law” with regard to the retirement or oturak introduced by Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512/886-918) is provided in the anonymous treatise on military reform, the Kavunun-i Yenişeriyân, composed during the reign of Sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617/1012-1026). Originally the numbers of the oturak had been quite limited and their salaries were paid like those of the minor mosque functionaries (duaugûyan) out of funds from the pious foundations. Under Selim II (1566-1574/974-982) an attempt was made to regularize the system by providing a fixed value on retirement pay for oturak at a level of three åçca per day. The author of the Kavunun-i Yenişeriyân (Topkapı Saray Palace Library MS, Revan 1319, folios 61b-62a) emphatically states that, while regularization of these payments was necessary, a ceiling of four åçca per day should be set for all Janissaries, and that the difference between that figure and their pay during active service should revert to the treasury. In another passage (op. cit., folios 146a-146b) the author explains that the reason for fixing this limit was not any wish to deny comfort to those who had valiantly fought in battle, but rather to discourage large numbers of Janissaries from seeking to secure the generous benefits before their ability and strength for active service had in truth diminished.

33 The phrase “il esmesi” occurs twice in Koçı Bey’s risale in similar contexts:

1) Telhis No. VIII—Aksüt edition page 42, line 33: “Beş altı bin adam vardır ki il esmesi ile ulûfe alırlar” (speaking of the members of the Six Cavalry regiments).


34 See above n.16.

35 Shah Ismail was the Safavid ruler of Iran from 1502-1524/907-930. A sense of the derogatory implications of ta‘fe-i mülûk used here to refer to the Ak-Koyunlu may be had from a comparison of some passages from Koçı Bey’s risale—


36 Kara Han was the son of Muhammad Han Ustadîlî. His father was appointed as governor of Diyarbekir and subsequently sent to lead a wing of the army of the Safavid ruler Shah Ismail against the Ottomans at the battle of Çaldıran in 1514/920 where he was killed during the fighting. After the defeat at Çaldıran, the struggle for ultimate control of eastern Anatolia between the Ottomans and the Safavids continued over a two-year period in isolated battles. In this period Kara Han, who had replaced his father as governor of Diyarbekir and had close ties to Shah Ismail through marriage to Ismail’s daughter (Sa’d-ed-Din, Tadj al-Tawarih, Vol. 2, p. 318), played a central role. With his death in the summer of 1516/922 in a battle in the plain outside Koç Hisar known as Kırğın Dede (Tadj al-Tawarih, loc. cit.), the Ottomans established their permanent control over the area.

37 On the two words ‘adl and ihsan rests the entire framework of Islamic justice. ‘Adl refers to an essentially pre-Islamic concept of equality in recompensing which was the basis of Hammurabi’s law code. One step beyond the simple balancing of accounts implicit in ‘adl was the concept of ihsan which meant the renouncing of a right or free giving without obligation. In the Islamic view, without the extra
measure of *ihсан* the exercise of justice was conceived to be an empty pretence. Although considered an ideal virtue beyond the attainment of ordinary people in their day-to-day dealings, the Islamic monarch was as a fundamental condition legitimizing his rule expected to temper his justice with mercy in the Shakespearean sense of that term (see *Merchant of Venice*, Act IV, scene 1, lines 189-202). *Ihsan* is defined by Lane (An Arabic English Lexicon, Book I, pt. 2, p. 570) on the authority of the *Tadj al-Arus* in the following terms:

It (*ihsan*) surpasses *'adl* in as much as it means the giving more than one owes and taking less than is owed to one; whereas the latter means the giving what one owes and taking what is owed to one. See in addition Lane (op. cit., Book I, pt. 5, p. 1974) for a somewhat King Jamesian translation of the Koranic verse quoted here.

Selim I, reigned 1512-1520/918-926. This Sultan’s epithet *Yavuz* is sometimes translated in western sources as “the Grim.”

Biyikli Mehmed Pasha was a trusted confidant of Selim I who served his patron as master of the stable during his minority. Promoted to Governor of Trabzon at Selim’s accession to the throne in 1512/918, he was given command of the imperial army during the campaigns in eastern Anatolia against Kara Han (see above n.36) and was rewarded for his success with the governorship of Diyarbekir with the rank of vezir.

Çaldiran, now a largely uninhabited village in eastern Anatolia northeast of Lake Van, was the site of a famous battle between the Safavid Shah Ismail and the Ottoman Sultan Selim I in 1514/920.

Turan, a geographical term referring to the original homeland of the Turks in northeastern Asia, and by extension applied north of the steppe area north of the Caspian.

This name, “the two-horned” (*dhu’l-karnayn*), applies to Alexander the Great. On the legend concerning the building of the wall against the barbarians which figures in the Koran, see the article “al-Iskandar” in ET², Vol. 4, p. 127.

Sultan Murad III, reigned 1574-1595/982-1003.

Refers to the campaign led by the Grand Vezir Hüšrev Pasha during the summer of 1630/1039-1040.

On Hüšrev Pasha’s uncontrolled temper and general tendency towards overzealousness in punishments we have ample testimony. The historian Katib Çelebi (*Fezleke* II, 119; also Naima, *Tarih* III, 18-19) berates him for fruitlessly wasting time with trivialities such as the subduing of minor rebel chieftains while more important matters such as the recapture of Baghdad from the Safavis remained unaccomplished. His exemplary executions of ringleaders of “rebelliions” were so wide ranging that even members of respected families long-established in government service[e.g. Hüšrev’s execution of three notables from Tokat is singled out for criticism by Mehmed ibn Mehmed al-Rumî in his *Tarih-i Al-i Osman*, Lala Ismail MS 300, fol. 34a] and dignitaries who had sought asylum in Ottoman lands[e.g. Hüšrev’s execution of Mağrav Han singled out for criticism by Katib Çelebi (*Fezleke* II, 115), Mustafa Naimi (*Tarih* III, 6-7) and Muneccebaşı (*Şahâ’îf al-ahbâr* III, 666)] were not spared. Word of Hüšrev Pasha’s excesses eventually reached the Sultan in letters and reports sent from the front, and he was reprimanded in strong language on at least one occasion (Sultan’s letter to Hüšrev Pasha at the front in *Suver-i Huťţ -i Humâyûn*, Istanbul University Library MS 6110, folios 27a-27b). As for Hüšrev Pasha’s treatment of the Kurdish tribes, the incidents which occurred during the course of the maneuvers in northern Iraq during the winter and spring of 1039/1630 and after the retreat of the defeated Ottoman army from Baghdad in the winter of 1040/1631 and the operations of the following campaigning season while the army was camped around Diyarbekir are recorded in some detail in the standard histories of the period—

1) Punishment (*siyaset*) of Mire Beg governor of Surâî for his “desertion” from the Ottoman forces and plundering of his territories by the *kapu kulu* forces (Naima, III, 14).

2) Plundering of Khoy and adjacent territories belonging to the Kurdish chief Bustam Beg in February 1630/Receb 1039 (Naima, II, 15).
3) Execution of the hereditary ruler of Hazo Muhammad Khan with seven of his followers at the instigation of the Beylerbeyi of Diyarbekir Mustafa Halidji-zade in May 1630/Ramazan 1039 (Naima, III, 28-30).

46 "Tiyl," a term in use in Iran under the Ilkhans for land grant. According to Minorsky ("A Soyurghal of Qasim b. Jahangir Aq-Qoyunlu," BSOAS 9 [1939] 960) untrammeled hereditary possession of land was granted by the use of the soyurghal (for the Mongol etymology of this term see B. Y. Vladimirov, Moğollarm Içtimal Teşkilatı [Ankara 1944], p. 172), whereas "tiyl" was used to refer to those lands whose usufruct was temporarily assigned to an individual in return for services without full hereditary rights. The lexicographer Zenker (Dictnnaire Turc-Arabe-Persan, p. 335) ascribes a Persian etymology to the word, while Minorsky (article "tiyl," Islam Ansiklopedesi, Vol. 12, pp. 391-93) basing himself on Radloff (Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte, Vol. 3, columns 1380-81) traces it to the eastern Turkic verb ti-mâk/degmek, meaning the granting of a share. For the use of "tiyl" in Iran see B. Spuler, "Central Asia from the Sixteenth Century to the Russian Conquests" in The Cambridge History of Islam, Vol. 1, p. 482, and R. Savory, History of Shah Abbas the Great (Boulder 1978), Vol. 1, p. 78, n.16.

47 In order of succession the first four Caliphs were Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman, and 'Ali.

48 Reference to a demonstration known as the "Incident of the mosque at Fatih" (Fatih vakası) which took place in Istanbul during August 1623 (Shevval 1032). The incident was provoked by an insult against the person of one of the ulema in the divan of the Grand Vezir Mere Hüseyin Pasha as he was petitioning for a promotion. Although the wide-scale demonstrations by large numbers of the ulema in the capital were eventually put down with the help of the Janissaries, Mere Hüseyin was subsequently forced to step down as Grand Vezir. References to this event in official historiography:

1) Topdjular Katibi, Vekayi-i Tarbiyye, Vienna MS, folios 369a-371a.
2) Hasanbey-zade, Tarîh-i Âl-i Osman, Nuriosmaniye MS 3106, folios 589b-591a.
3) Katib Celebi, Falezke-i Tevarîh (Istanbul 1287/1870), Volume 2, pp. 36-38.

5) Tend to depict the ulema in this incident as hapless martyrs at the hands of an uncontrolled mob, but our author, writing anonymously, expresses his opinion that the effective immunity against punishment enjoyed by members of the religious classes could at times lead to excesses at their own initiation as well.

49 "udâl" refers to witnesses who are legally competent to give evidence (shahid-î 'udâl). On the conditions for this and the use of professional witnesses in Islamic courts see the articles "shahid" (EI², Vol. 4, 261-262) and "'udâl" (EI², Vol. 1, 209-210). Treatment of this subject is also given in the following works:


50 Quite naturally the preponderance of the genuine descendants of the Prophet were settled in the Hidjaz and other parts of the Arab provinces. The author is here merely emphasizing the doubtful legitimacy of large numbers of claims to seyyidship or attachment to the Quraysh tribe presented by long-time residents of the Danubian provinces of the Empire.

51 Compare the text of telhâs no. 6 attributed to Kocî Bey and published by me in Belleten 43 (1979) 566-567. Similar orders are also found in a digest of laws (kanun-name) in the Süleymaniye Library, Reis ül-Küttab MS 1004, folios 154a-159b.

52 Hüseyin Pasha was assigned to the task of inspecting the Rumelian timariots with his appointment as Rumelî Beylerbeyisi in July 1632/Muharrem 1042; Kanûn-name, Reis'ül-Küttab MS 1004, folios 158a-159b. He died soon afterwards in September 1632/Rebi'ul-Evel 1042 while carrying out his duties in Sofya; Mustafa Naima, Tarih, Vol. 3, p. 144.

53 Several other authors expressed parallel sentiments on the inadvisability of assigning timars to meet immediate concerns or as a measure of fiscal expediency. The regulations clearly specified that there existed only two valid criteria to be taken into consideration when assigning timars. First the candidate
was required to be a locally-resident member of a military family (adjak-oglu) and secondly he had to be physically capable of doing military service (sefere yarar). For references to the corruption of the military purpose of timar assignment allowing entry of outsiders through irregular means and bribery (mal kuvveti ile) see my article “The Veliiyuddin Telhis ...” [Belleten 43 (1979)] at pages 566-567, as well as the passages cited there from the Hırz-ı Mulâk.

54 It is interesting to note the difference in interpretation with regard to the proper safeguards to enforce in the assigning of vacant (mahlul) timars between various contemporary writers of advice. Koçî Bey for instance sees a greater danger posed by the bypassing of the recommendations submitted by the local authorities when court politics came to play too great a role in timar assignments. Giving the Grand Vezir authority to decide in the capital unbound by the recommendations forwarded by the local district commanders, Koçî Bey insisted, gave free rein to favoritism and resulted frequently in the disposition of a deserving candidate from a local military family in favor of an upstart with connections at the court. In this regard see the following passages (Koçî Bey Risalesi, Aksît edition):

Telhis No. 3
- p. 25, line 5
- p. 25, lines 14-23

Telhis No. 7
- p. 38, lines 21-23
- p. 39, lines 15-16
- p. 40, lines 9-14

Similar views are put forward by the author of the Amulet of Kings (Hırz-ı Mulâk). For a listing of the relevant passages see R. Murphey, “The Veliiyuddin Telhis,” Belleten 43 (1979) 567, n.25. On the other hand ‘Ayn-i ‘Ali (Kavanin-i Âl-i Osman ... , p. 72, line 19 to p. 73, line 6) agrees with our author in emphasizing the need for control by means of a central registry in the capital in the case of initial timar assignments to avoid or at least reduce the incidence of simultaneous assignment of the same timar to more than one party, whether it be deliberate or unintentional.

55 In Islamic popular belief the Caliph ‘Ali was credited with superhuman powers, particularly in the field of battle where he was aided by his famous sword Dhu-l-Fiqar.

56 The significance of this section, which deals with the steps which should be taken by the government to improve the condition of the Kurdish beys in eastern Anatolia, cannot be fully understood without some conception of contemporary historical developments. That the author, who probably wrote his treatise in about 1632, was so concerned with the topic and indeed devoted the longest section of his treatise to it indicates that it was an issue of crucial public concern at that time. Since the peace treaty with the Habsburgs in 1666 and the settling in of relative calm on the European front, the Ottomans had been concentrating a large measure of their energies in meeting the Safavid challenge in Iran. By the time of the writing of Aziz Efendi’s treatise, the Ottomans were almost at the nadir of their strength relative to the Safavids, had lost most of Azerbaijan to them, and were still struggling to recover Bagdad which had fallen to the Safavids eight years previously. The urgency with which the author promotes the idea of the necessity of the Ottomans’ achieving of cordial relations with the border chieftains should thus be interpreted in the light of certain practical concerns of the Ottoman state at the time of the composition of the treatise. The anti-Shi’i propaganda and references to the heretical “redheads” made in this passage should also be interpreted in the light of these same political realities.

57 Sassanid ruler of Iran. Traditionally praised in the “Mirror for Princes” literature for the justice and equity of his reign.

58 The rights of those who have enjoyed the Sultan’s beneficence refers to the concept that anyone who has eaten the bread and salt (mân ve nemek) of the Sultan and is dependent on him for his sustenance and survival gains an intimacy and right to frank speech comparable to that existing between blood relations and family members. The eating of someone else’s bread also carried with it the notion of obligation to loyalty (cf. the expression rizâ-harân in the text at page 28). The converse qualities of disloyalty and ingratitude came to be expressed in colloquial language as the failure to fulfill the obligations owing to
someone who had nurtured one: "tuz etmek hakkı bilmedi" (Meninski Lexicon, Vol. 4, 955), somewhat akin to the modern English saying, "biting the hand that feeds one."

Neriman and Sam (Shem) were the grandson and great-grandson of Hushang, first king of the legendary Pishadji dynasty in Iran. They were also heroes in Firdevsi's epic, the Book of Kings (Shah-nâme).

Son of Iranian king Tahmasp. Kahraman encounters Hushang's heroes in battle and manages to overcome all challengers; he is also the main protagonist in a Persian prose epic called the Dastan-i Kahraman which exists also in a Turkish version known as the Kahraman-nâme.

To add a touch of reality to his boasting, the author ends his list of epic heroes of the distant and semi-mythical past who will allegedly wish to join the honor guard of the Ottoman forces with a historical figure of the recent past who actually did join Ottoman service. Badiu'z-Zamân ("The Marvel of the Age") was the son of the Timurid ruler of Khorasan Sultan Hüseyn Baykara, known as Abu'l-Ghazi. After his father's death in 1506/911 Badiu'z-Zamân took refuge in Iran to escape capture during Shaybik Khan's invasion of his patrimonial lands. Later with the defeat of Shah Ismail by the Ottoman Sultan at the battle of Çaldiran in 1514/920 and the subsequent occupation of the city of Tabriz by the Ottoman armies, Badiu'z-Zamân was brought as an honored guest of the Sultan to Istanbul. Shortly thereafter he succumbed to the plague and was buried in the royal cemetery at Eyüb (Halil Edhem, Duvel-i Islamiyye [Istanbul 1927], note accompanying genealogical table which follows page 426 and Sicilli-i Osmani, Vol. 2, 13-14).
GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

Ağa-cirâğı — 6, 10
Hand-picked recruits in the personal service of the commander of the Janissaries used for tasks such as water carrier, or attendant of the Janissary pack animals during campaign, as distinct from devshirme recruits who were promoted to regiments only after a long period of training as novices (adjənt).

Ahidnâme — 14
A unilateral grant or concession of the Ottoman Sultan recognizing some right or privilege to a foreign dignitary or head of state. For a definition of its legal basis see H. Inalcik, “Imtiyazat,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Volume 3 (1971), 1179.

Akča — 5, 7, 15, 17, 22
Ottoman silver coin. The standard rate of conversion during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was 120 akča per gold ducat.

Alây-beyi — 8, 20
Senior officer in a sub-unit of the timariot forces of a particular sandjak (q.v.) whose principal responsibility was to muster troops to serve under the county commander.

‘Askərî — 18
The military-administrative class exempted from the payment of dues paid by the ordinary agricultural class (re‘ayā‘).

‘Awâ‘id — 3
In addition to the hâss revenues assigned for his personal upkeep, the governor of a province was authorized to impose certain fees to meet expenses incurred during tours of inspection. Such things as transport costs (na‘l beha), registry costs (resm-i kitâbet) and the like which were considered legitimate and reimbursable expenses connected with the fulfilling of a governor’s office were traditionally collected in kind from the villagers, but through abuse these excations became a burden on the re‘ayā. (See Inalcik, “Adaletnameler,” *Belâgeler* 3-4 [1965]:49-145.) In order to ease the burden on the re‘ayā beginning in the 17th century (or earlier?) regular allowances (awâ‘id sing. = a‘ide) were provided from funds controlled by the provincial treasuries to meet all of the governor’s administrative expenses, and gradually individual exactions such as the na‘l beha were phased out. By such provision, it was hoped that the beys would no longer be forced to choose between depleting their own hâss revenues or turning to the impoverished re‘ayā to meet their expenses. With the passage of time however many unessential expenses such as the bribe money given upon entering office (ca‘ize) and other similar gifts came to be considered as part of the ‘awâ‘id. Subsequently with the proclamation of the Tanzimat all such “administrative allowances” were abolished. (On these later developments see Pakalin, Vol. 1,112.)

‘Awârîz-i Divânîyye — 23
Name given to all kinds of emergency levies for unexpected or unpredicted needs either during peace-time or in wartime and in commutation for certain services whose performance was required by the state on the part of the tax-paying re‘ayā. Though theoretically and legally defined as an extraordinary measure imposed by the Sultan for the public good, in practice such levies, assessed as a fixed contribution from each household, were a measure regularly resorted to as a means of raising revenues for the state.

Becâyîsh — 7, 10
The practice whereby a corrupt official permitted a new recruit to serve in a Janissary company under a false name by the use of a deceased soldier’s pay-ticket.
Bey — 23
Governor of an Ottoman county (sandjak).

Burhan — 4
Proof or demonstration. In this context burhan refers to the grave or tomb of a deceased person. Traditional Muslim belief held that upon a person’s death the angels came down from the heavens and one at each shoulder recorded his or her actions both good and evil to report back to heaven. The Sultans too were subject to the same accounting before God. (On this, see the story of Umar ibn al-Khattab and the bridge in need of repair in chapter two of Nizam al-Mulk’s Siyaset-name.) Thus, a sultan whose grave was luminous showed palpable “proof” or evidence (burhan) both of his own virtuousness and the justice of his rule.

Čorbadji (Şorbadji) — 6, 9
Generic name for the chief officer of either one of the 101 infantry companies or of the 61 other special companies attached to either the Janissary commander or another senior officer.

Devshirme — 10
Periodic Ottoman “levy” of young peasant Christian boys from the Balkan countries for the purpose of training candidates for positions in the palace services and the elite military regiments at the Porte.

Der-Dest Defteri — 21
Name of the official register or ledger in which the values, locations and names of current possessors of all timars were kept. The purpose of these registers was to keep an up-to-date record of vacant timars so that individuals slated for promotion could be notified and assigned to vacant timars without long delays.

Djebedji — 11
Member of the corps of armorers attached to the staff of the imperial arsenal in Istanbul.

Dirlik — 7
Source of income, livelihood. General term used to refer to the status enjoyed by any person who served in the government bureaucracy or in the military.

Edjnebi — 7, 8
Foreigner, outsider. Term used to designate Janissary recruits from non-devshirme origins.

Emir — 8
“Commander,” the arabicized title of provincial military commanders at the county (sandjak) level; in other words, the sandjak beyi.

Eyalet — 8
An Ottoman province. Their number changed from period to period, but the list of ‘Ayn-i ‘Ali compiled in 1609 includes thirty-two, of which twenty-four contained timars.

Fermân — 8
Imperial decree authenticated by the sultan’s personal seal (tughra).

Ferzend-i Sipahi — 6, 10
Sons of members of the Six Cavalry regiments who laid claim to membership in the imperial regiments. The practice of allowing alongside with the legitimately recruited sons of senior cavalrymen (ferzend-i sipahi) the sons of other court dignitaries such as the official couriers (çavuş), special envoys (kapudanbashi) and even the chief taster in the palace kitchens (çâshnecir) served to undermine the long-standing practice of accepting a few of the sons of members of the superior regiments since clearly there were not enough positions available for all. Sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617) briefly abolished the practice of allowing sons of servicemen other than Janissaries to join regiments (on this see the anonymous work on the reform of the Janissary corps, the Kavanin-i Yeniçeriyan, Topkapi Saray Library
MS, Revan 1319, folio 25a), but the issue continued to be debated between the services, and the practice was later restored. On the three approved methods for recruitment into the two lowest cavalry regiments in the classical period, see H. Inalcık, “Ghureba” in EI², Vol. 2, 1097-1098.

Gaza — 6
Islamic holy war against the infidel.

Gazi — 3, 9, 13, 15
Islamic fighter for the faith. Ottoman soldier.

Gurush — 7, 15
An Ottoman silver coin which derived its name from the Italian “grosso” (J. Heers, Gênes au XVe siècle [Paris 1961], pp. 51ff.). There were many different types of gurush in circulation and each had a different standard of purity. Those most commonly used in official accounting and transactions were the riyal gurush (Spanish réal) valued at 80 akçe throughout most of the sixteenth century and the esedë gurush (Dutch coin bearing the image of a lion) valued at 70 akçe.

Hâkim (plural hûkkâm) — 12, 13
Tribal chief or provincial leader with hereditary claim to rule over a semi-autonomous province (hükûmet) but owing allegiance to the Ottoman state.

Hâss — 4, 22
Revenue source allocated for the Sultan. Also salary and subsistence of a high-ranking government official or member of the royal family. A property designated as hâss generally yielded an income in excess of 100,000 akçe annually.

Hizmetkâr — 21
Literally, servant. Also a term which referred to members of a grandee’s household who were appointed to salaried positions or assigned timars through the intercession of their master. Through procurement of official position for members of his household a grandee could wield political as well as financial power. The phenomenon corresponds in many ways to the “patronage job” in the politics of our own time.

Hüdjdjet-i sharîyye — 17
A legal certificate issued by kadi validating a claim, or acknowledging receipt of a sum due.

Hükûmet — 17
Semi-autonomous province paying a fixed annual contribution to the central treasury rather than submitting to other forms of direct taxation.

Ibtidâ’dan Böyük — 7, 11
Immediate promotion to a military regiment at the Porte without previous training as a cadet (ademi). Corresponds to Ağâ-Cîrâgî (q.v.) in the Janissary corps.

Ibtidâ hûkmû — 21
An imperial order (hûkûm) issued for the promotion of a soldier who has distinguished himself in battle to a timar benefice for the first time. Such promotion was in principle only given when one of the fixed number of kulaç timars (q.v.) fell vacant by the death or dismissal of another timariot, and was strictly controlled by the Sultan.

Iç-Oğlan — 9
Page in the inner service of the palace educated for promotion to high position in the government bureaucracy after a fixed period of training in the palace.

Istimalat — 16
Literally, “attempt to attract, draw towards, win over.” Describes an official policy followed by the Ottomans of granting concessions and favorable treatment to groups or leaders whose allegiance they wished to gain, either as new subjects or as potential allies.
Istimâletnâme — 16
A document or letter written up for the purpose of istimâlet (q.v.).

Kadi-'asker — 20
One of two "judges of the army" who accompanied the Sultan when on campaign to settle cases of inheritance and other disputes involving members of the military-administrative class ('askeri). For further details about their specific duties, see El², Vol. 4, 375-376, and Gibb & Bowen, Vol. 1, part 2, pp. 83 and 87-88.

Kapudju-bashı — 17, 19
Official charged with the delivery of important instructions from the Porte to the provinces. The chief of the kapudju-bashı also supervised the presenting of personal petitions to the Sultan at the Palace whence the name "head usher or gatekeeper."

Kâtib — 9, 11
Functionary in one of the Ottoman government bureaus responsible for drafting of official correspondence.

Kethuda (i.e. kethuda yerı) — 11
Title given to the deputy or lieutenant-commander of a cavalry regiment. From the Persian کاخ، a master of the house, this title was also generally applied to any official responsible for representing a given group before the public authorities (see İnalcık, Classical Age, p. 223).

Kılıç (i.e. kılıç timari) — 8
The basic component of a military fief registered in the permanent idžmal survey book which is never broken up when that timar is reassigned. The value of the parcel of land or revenue derived from the use of the land which made up the kılıç (literally "sword") differed from province to province within the Empire. As a general rule it was 3,000 akça in Rumelia and 2,000 akça in Anatolia, but the system had a rather complex evolution which no generalization can do justice to. Suffice it to say that the preservation of an indivisible unit for assignment of fiefs was the principle at stake which concerned our author. Details on the operation of the kılıç system can be found in the treatise of Ali Çavush published by H. Hadzi-begić in Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Sarajevu, N.S. 2 (1947) 159-163.

Korudju — 9, 10
Originally one of a select group of some 200-300 chosen among the members of standing regiments at the Porte for special service guarding the imperial hunting preserves or performing other assigned tasks either for the Sultan or for the army high command. In later periods selection as korudju was taken as a license to perform a number of unsupervised tasks, and their number was greatly increased. An anonymous treatise on army reform written during the reign of Ahmed I (1603-1617) puts their authorized number at some 1,000 to 1,500 men, but points to the fact that actual numbers were even greater, even as many as 3,000-4,000 men; Kavanım-i Yeniçeriyyân, Topkapı Palace Library MS Revan 1319, folio 146a. Another roughly contemporary source, the Kütâb-i Müstetâb, also expounds eloquently on the widespread abuse of korudjułuk (see Yücel edition, pp. 9-10).

Korudjuluk — 10
Performing the function of korudju (q.v.). The term could also be used to designate an easy job or sinecure, effectively equivalent to retirement but with full pay.

Kul — 7, 11, 12, 17, 20-23
Literally, "slave." Term used to refer to the salaried members of the Sultan's household staff or to his personal troops.
Kul-oğlu — 10
Son of a member of the Janissary corps. As a method of recruitment supplementing the devshirme levies, sons of both current and retired Janissaries were sometimes taken into service, particularly for guard duty in the fortresses along the frontier. Although the regulations provided for a careful examination to prove the validity of a claim of filial relationship to an active or retired Janissary, these regulations were often neglected by corrupt regimental officers. As a factor in the decline of the effectiveness of the Janissaries as a fighting force, these lax methods of recruitment were often cited by other government critics contemporary with Aziz Efendi.

Maktu'al-kadem ve mefruz'al-kalem — 13
Phrase used to recognize autonomous status to a property, or to guarantee freedom from outside interference to the possessor of a treasury stipend or allowance. Freely translated it means “separated from the treasury account” (kalem = an item in a financial register) and “off limits to all trespass” (literally, “cut off from the entry of the foot”).

Mehteran — 11
Member either of the corps of imperial standard bearers or of the imperial tent pitchers.

Mubashir — 17
Executive agent, usually a member of the palace service, charged in an official capacity with the performance of a specified task.

Muharrir — 18
Short for muharrir-i vilayet. Name of the official in charge of surveying and assessing an area for the purpose of drawing up a new or to bring up to date an existing cadastral survey. On the basis of this official's recommendations, valuations for tax purposes were fixed or revised, and the status of a tax-payer was determined. (For further detail on this, see G. Kaldy-Nagy’s comments in Acta Orientalia Hungarica 21 [1968] 187-188.)

Mukabele tezkiresi — 11
Pay receipt of a member of the Sultan’s permanent standing regiments at the Porte. For an explanation of the procedure used for checking the validity of these pay receipts see the entry for yaya mukabelecı in this glossary.

Mülknâme — 14
Official deed issued by an individual Sultan and subject to renewal by his successors recognizing freehold proprietary rights over a piece of land.

Müteseyyid — 7, 23
One who pretends to be a seyyid (q.v.).

Nakib'al-eshrâf — 19
"Registrar of the noblemen." An official resident at the Ottoman Porte who kept the records relating to the birth and decease of the seyyids (q.v.).

Ođjak-eri — 20
"Family member." Term used to refer to local residents of a particular sandjak who were in possession of a timar and thus liable to provide military service when called upon.

Ođjaklik — 13
The family hearth and its estates. The income from these ancestral properties was granted by the Ottomans in perpetuity to descendants of some old established Muslim families in eastern Anatolia in return for their assistance in the wars with Iran during the early sixteenth century.

Oda-bashi — 6, 9, 10
Second in command and assistant to the şorbadji (q.v.) in one of the Janissary companies.

Oturak — 9, 10
Pensioner of one of the Sultan’s standing regiments at the Porte.
Taxes and dues fixed for payment by all members of the agricultural class in the Ottoman Empire. For a discussion of the rates and the importance of these assessments as the basis of the entire tax structure of the Empire in the classical age, see H. İnalci, “Osmanlilarda ra‘iyyet rüşûmu,” Belleten 23 (1959) 575-610.

Ordinary tax-paying subjects of the Ottoman state.

A military fief which upon falling vacant has been diverted to a non-military use. The image of “falling into a coffer or basket” probably derives from a reference to currently unassigned berats or diplomas for possession of a timar which after the decease or dismissal of a timariot were kept by the Beylerbeyi of that province in a secure place such as a basket (sepet) or chest (sanduk) [on the alternative expression “der sanduk etmek” see the passages cited by Röhrborn in Untersuchungen, p. 75, n.109] until such time as a worthy candidate could be found to replace him. Such precautions were taken in order to insure that the diplomas were not altered so as to suit the name and personal description of an alternate candidate. The phrase “basket timar” thus came to mean a timar which, although available for reassignment, was never reported as vacant (mahblul) to the central registry but kept by a beylerbeyi or another high official such as the commander in chief into whose hands they might fall for distribution either to members of their own entourage (kapu halkı) household servants (hizmet-kâr) or others whom they wished to favor.

A class of noblemen claiming exemption from taxation and other forms of preferential treatment by virtue of their direct descent from the Prophet Muhammad.

The premier official of the class of Ottoman religious functionaries or 'ulema. As the Grand Vezir oversaw all matters regarding civil law (kanun) and administration, including appointments and promotions, so the Shaykh al-Islam was the last authority for all matters concerning the religious law (shariyya) and its administration.

A member of the permanent corps of the six standing cavalry regiments (bolük) at the Porte.

A member of one of the four Janissary companies (Nos. 60-63) assigned as personal attendants to the Sultan both during military campaigns and at official receptions.

Imposition of an extraordinary tax generally divided into two categories, those emergency levies whose collection is provided for in the legal powers enjoyed by the Sultan (tekâlif-i örfiyye) and those for which there is no legal justification (tekâlif-i shakka).

A receipt or other sworn statement attesting to the veracity of a claim or right.

1) Pay-ticket of a Janissary bearing a physical description, daily rate of pay, and other information relating to the holder.
2) Memorandum from a provincial governor to the Sultan containing his recommendations for initial assignment to a timar or for the promotion of existing timariots.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>Timar – 3, 5, 8, 20-22</td>
<td>A small military fief, legally defined as realizing less than 20,000 akča a year.</td>
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<td>Topdju – 11</td>
<td>A member of the staff of the imperial gun foundry in Istanbul.</td>
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<td>Ümerâ – 8</td>
<td>Plural of emîr (q.v.).</td>
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<td>Veledesh – 7, 11</td>
<td>A recruit to a military regiment at the Porte accepted because of his claim as the progeny (veled) of an existing member of a regiment.</td>
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<td>Vezir – 4, 22</td>
<td>Title reserved for the highest ranking Ottoman state officials. From the Arabic wazîr, one who take on responsibility on behalf of the ruler.</td>
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<td>Voyvoda – 4</td>
<td>Steward of one of the hâss estates assigned as a stipend to a senior government official.</td>
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<td>Wakf – 6</td>
<td>Islamic pious endowment set aside for a charitable purpose.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yaya mukabeledji – 9</td>
<td>Official in charge of tallying the pay slips of members of the Janissary regiments, and verifying their names in the official payroll register kept in the central treasury.</td>
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<td>Yeniçeri kethudasi – 14</td>
<td>Also known as the kethuda bey or kul kethudasi. This official was the third highest ranking officer in the Janissary corps after the Yeniçeri-ağası and the Sekban-bashi. In a sense though he was the senior Janissary officer since he was always promoted from the ranks, whereas the appointment of the supreme commander was the Sultan's prerogative. The Sultan was free to choose as he saw fit from among the palace staff and other senior government administrators when replacing the Yeniçeri-ağası. For the range of former positions of those elevated to the supreme command of the corps, see Mehmed Sureyya, Sicill-i Osmâni, Volume 4 (İstanbul 1315/1897), pp. 771-778.</td>
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<td>Yurt – 13</td>
<td>Native land, home.</td>
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<td>Zi'amet – 3, 5, 8, 20-21</td>
<td>A large military fief legally defined as one which realized an annual income of between 20,000 and 100,000 akča.</td>
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FACSIMILE OF THE TEXT

Kaňun-nâme-i Sulţânî li ‘Azîz Efendi

(Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ms Or. Quart. 1209. folios 129a-136b)
وداشتهای منبع‌هایی جلوه‌های مناسب ساخت معرفی‌های نوعی

پرورنده کرده‌ایم اینکه این اینکه به‌طور کلی اینکه

ناصیتنا نماینده‌ی ساخت و به‌طور کلی اینکه

می‌تواند جهت مکاتبه داشته باشیم اینکه با همکاری اینکه

تأمین‌کننده اینکه دانه‌ی پیش‌بینی اینکه به‌طور کلی اینکه

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لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة.
در این سیمه، مشترکان جنگ مشخصاً از لحاظ اقتصادی
سکو کرده‌اند. این آنکه که از سوی این کشورها مالیات‌های طبیعی و
پرداخته شود. این موضوع به این ترتیب است که مالیات‌های طبیعی
در این کشورها به صورت مالیات‌های اقتصادی و نیازمندی مالیات‌های
دیگر نیستند. این موضوع در این کشورها به صورت مالیات‌های
اقتصادی و نیازمندی مالیات‌های دیگر نیستند.

این موضوع در این کشورها به صورت مالیات‌های
اقتصادی و نیازمندی مالیات‌های دیگر نیستند.

این موضوع در این کشورها به صورت مالیات‌های
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اقتصادی و نیازمندی مالیات‌های دیگر نیستند.
وربود السمير، ساكن أولاده. - بعد وفاته. مكن
أبله، وعند سمير، خزينة حزينة. عيش في البيت، يعـ.
من الأذكار، تجهز لحفلات الفنون، يعـ.
وعند إخلاء البيت، تجهز لحفلات الفنون، يعـ.
يعـ. وعند إخلاء البيت، تجهز لحفلات الفنون، يعـ.
يعـ. وعند إخلاء البيت، تجهز لحفلات الفن
ونحن سعدان، وأحن، وحن، وحن، وحن.
ونحن سعدان، وأحن، وحن، وحن، وحن.
ونحن سعدان، وأحن، وحن، وحن، وحن.
ونحن سعدان، وأحن، وحن، وحن، وحن.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة المقدمة.
جمله ای از... نوشته، بی‌خیالی از... مربوط به... چنین او می‌خواند: "ما از فکر و... مانند این افکار..."
السماحة السيدة مريم بنت جبريل، فلما استمرت يايات النبوة في أن تكون الامlda وأرضها، كادت تكون في وطأة يد يد يد، فكانت في ملكة ثانى وطأة دومًا. فانتفاضة أمرائها، فالتتنتل، وفيها أثره برغم من الأذي. فاستمرت في زوال المثلث، واقتصرت فوق الأثر، فأما بعد ذلك لم تبق إلا الأثر الذي تقل على الأثر. وأما الأمراء فينفتحون وراءها، فتفتحون ذلك في جرفها، وفلم تبق إلا الأثر الذي تقل على الأثر. وفيها تكاد تكون في وطأة يد يد يد، فكانت في ملكة ثانى وطأة دومًا. فانتفاضة أمرائها، فالتتنتل، وفيها أثره برغم من الأذي. فاستمرت في زوال المثلث، واقتصرت فوق الأثر، فأما بعد ذلك لم تبق إلا الأثر الذي تقل على الأثر. وفيها تكاد تكون في وطأة يد يد يد، فكانت في ملكة ثانى وطأة دومًا. فانتفاضة أمرائها، فالتتنتل، وفيها أثره برغم من الأذي. فاستمرت في زوال المثلث، واقتصرت فوق الأثر، فأما بعد ذلك لم تبق إلا الأثر الذي تقل على الأثر. وفيها تكاد تكون في وطأة يد يد يد، فكانت في ملكة ثانى وطأة دومًا. فانتفاضة أمرائها، فالتتنتل، وفيها أثره برغم من الأذي.
حكم حماية

ولا يمنع أي أحد من توليد أو نشر أو مشاركة الفيديوهات أو المنشورات المعنوية بأي طريقة.

بتاريخ: (تاريخ تغريدة)

نữناء: (اسم الناشط)

المصادر: (مصدر التغريدة)

التغريدة: (내용 التغريدة)

لا يوجد أي تأثير أو رد فعل من التعليقات أو الإشارات على التغريدة.

平日の時間を過ごすには、何か特別な企画があるのでしょうか？
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>نص الجمل</th>
<th>عنوان الجمل</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>مرحباً، كيف يمكنني مساعدتك اليوم؟</td>
<td>الاستفسار الأول</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أريد معرفة المزيد عن الإسلام.</td>
<td>الاستفسار الثاني</td>
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<td>يمكنك أن تشرح لي أفكار الإسلام؟</td>
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<td>هل يمكنني الحصول على بعض المقاصد الأخلاقية من الإسلام؟</td>
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<td>كيف يمكنني تطبيق هذه القيم في حياتي اليومية؟</td>
<td>الاستفسار الخامس</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ملاحظة:** يمكنني مساعدتك لأكثر من سؤال لمساعدتك في فهم الإسلام بشكل أفضل.
 وغيرهم من الآباء الذين كانوا يلمعون في علمهم، وهم:

1. أبو الحسن محمد بن الحسين: وُلد في عهد الفيل، كان من أبرز العلماء في عصرهم.
2. أبو سفيان عبد الرحمان: وُلد في عهد عبد الملك بن مروان، كان من أبرز العلماء في عصرهم.
3. أبو هريرة علي بن عبد الله: وُلد في عهد عبد الملك بن مروان، كان من أبرز العلماء في عصرهم.
4. أبو النصر عبد الله بن علي: وُلد في عهد عبد الملك بن مروان، كان من أبرز العلماء في عصرهم.
5. أبو زناد عبد Rapid-translation

روى مسند الجهمي عنYMAYYAZ, أنبأه ابنه أبو كرتون أن ينذر على أن ينذر. انذكر أن ينذر لينذر. إنذار لينذر. إنذار لينذر. إنذار لينذر. إنذار لينذر. إنذار لينذر. إنذار لينذر. إنذار لينذر. إنذار لينذر. إنذار لينذر. إنذار Lien

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لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة. من فضلك قدم النص العربي بشكل طبيعي أو استخدام برنامج قراءة النصوص للاستفادة من النص العربي.
Satınalmı 10.10.1993
Sinasi Pekin