

A VIRTUOUS GRAND VIZIER:
POLITICS AND PATRONAGE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE DURING THE GRAND
VIZIERATE OF FAZIL AHMED PASHA (1661-1676)

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By

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation offers a contextual examination of the political and intellectual history of the Ottoman Empire in the 1660s and 1670s through the lens of the biography of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (d. 1676, 1661-1676 in office), the second grand vizier from the famous Köprülü family. It stresses that the Ottoman Empire saw a period of revival and reform in the 1660s and 1670s when the ruling elite found ways and means to respond to new political, social, economic, and intellectual challenges. Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, an *ex-müderris* (professor), a calligrapher, a bibliophile, and a leading patron of arts and sciences, had a dynamic vision, not just in his political and military designs but also in his patronage of various scientific and cultural projects. His administration, military leadership, and patronage of intellectual activities helped him to earn the epithet of “Fazıl” (*fāḍil* in Arabic) or virtuous during his lifetime. Based on extensive primary sources, this dissertation provides a new perspective to challenge and revise traditional views of the period, which tend to characterize it as a time of stagnation, decline, and inward-looking conservatism in Ottoman history.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AE.	Ali Emîri
AKMB	Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı
AKMY	Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul
D.	Defter
DH.	Dahiliye
<i>DİA</i>	Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi
E.	Evrak
<i>Eİ²</i>	Encyclopedia of Islam, 2 nd ed.
EV.	Evkaf
<i>IJMES</i>	International Journal of Middle East Studies
<i>İA</i>	Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı İslam Ansiklopedisi
İE.	İbnü'l-Emin
İÜNEK	İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi
KK.	Kamil Kepeci
MD.	Mühimme Defteri
MAD.	Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler
SLUB	Sächsische Landesbibliothek/Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden
SYEK	Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, İstanbul
TKGM	Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Kuyud-ı Kadim Arşivi, Ankara
TSMA	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi
TSMK	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi
TTD.	Tapu Tahrir Defterleri
TTK	Türk Tarih Kurumu
VGMA	Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara

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NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION AND USAGE

The transliteration system used in this dissertation follows the *IJMES* guidelines with a few modifications: For the Ottoman Turkish names, titles, and institutions, the commonly used orthography in modern Turkish is adopted without diacritical marks. Some words such as sultan, pasha, and agha remain in their Anglicized forms. For the place names, their modern Turkish form was adopted if these locations are situated in modern-day Turkey.

Here is a list of orthographic features of the Turkish language which differ from the English usage:

C, c: “j” as in joke

Ç, ç: “ch” as in chicken

Ğ, ğ: soft g, used for lengthening the preceding vowel

I, ı: “e” as in open

İ, i: “i” as in machine

Ö, ö: “u” as in turn

Ş, ş: “sh” as in shine

Ü, ü: “u” as in cube

Hijri Months and their Abbreviations:

M	Muharrem
S	Safer
Ra	Rabiülevvel
R	Rabiülahir
Ca	Cemaziyelevvel
C	Cemaziyelahir
B	Receb
Ş	Şaban
N	Ramazan
L	Şevval
Za	Zilkade
Z	Zilhicce

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation takes a fresh look at Ottoman political and intellectual life in the 1660s and 1670s. It was a period in which the Ottomans, after many upheavals during the previous decades, experienced stability and continuous leadership in government, military achievements in battlefields, and flourishing of cultural and intellectual life. Although more recent historiography has commented on these decades as a period of change, revival, and reform in Ottoman history (as opposed to the older literature suggesting decline), no one, except Marc David Baer, has yet written a contextual study on the life and careers of the leading political actors of the era.

This dissertation provides the first comprehensive study of the life and career of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (c. 1635-76, grand vizier 1661-76), the second grand vizier of the famous Köprülü family. Several members of the Köprülü family had high administrative positions during the reign of Mehmed IV (1642-93, reigned 1648-87). Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was born in Köprü in Anatolia circa 1635 as the eldest son of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (c. 1575-1661, grand vizier 1656-61). Although his name was Ahmed, his administration, military leadership, and patronage of cultural and intellectual activities helped him to earn the epithet of “Fazıl” (*fāḍil* in Arabic) or virtuous during his lifetime. Before his grand vizierate, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, then Ahmed Efendi, held the title of *müderris* (professor) and taught at several Istanbul-based madrasas. In addition to his formal studies, he took private courses in calligraphy and perfected himself in Arabic philology and poetry. He copied two *risâles* (treatises) of Birgivî Mehmed Efendi (d. 1573) on Arabic grammar and syntax. In the summer of 1659, almost two years after he abandoned his scholarly career, Ahmed Efendi was appointed *beyler-beyi* (governor-

general) of Erzurum, an important province on the Ottoman-Safavid border, with a vizierate. In the following year, he was transferred to Damascus Province, where he implemented administrative, military, and fiscal reforms ordered by his grand vizier father. During his governorship in Damascus, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha engineered the removal of two taxes called *karība* and *dashīsha* (in local parlance *dashīsh*) and won great popularity among the Damascenes and the ruling elite in Istanbul. He also informed the capital on the necessity to adopt a new administrative strategy to bring the Druze-controlled mountainous areas under direct imperial control.

In 1661, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was summoned to Istanbul where he held the office of *kaim-makam* or deputy grand vizier. He subsequently succeeded his father as grand vizier. In his fifteen-year-long tenure in the grand vizierate (1661-76), Fazıl Ahmed Pasha extended the borders of the empire, pursued a policy of internal consolidation, balanced the budget, regulated the legal organization, renewed the trade agreements with several European states, and contributed to Izmir's flourishing as a new eastern Mediterranean port. In addition to his administrative and military achievements, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha patronized several artisans, scholars, and poets who demonstrated their skills in classical Islamic arts, sciences, and literature. He extended this patronage to Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman scholars, including Köse İbrahim Efendi (d. after 1664), Panayiotis (Panagiotakis) Nikousios (d. 1673), Ebubekir bin Behrām Dimeşkî (d. 1691), Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi (d. 1691?), and Alexander Mavrocordatos (d. 1709). These scholarly figures shared the interest and efforts of the grand vizier in translating and transferring contemporary European scientific achievements into the Ottoman world. Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, moreover, accepted some of the European residents of the empire, such as the Italian physician Giovanni Mascellini (d. 1675), into his socio-cultural milieu and patronized his Latin medical work that he published in Vienna in 1673. He collected manuscripts, several of them unique texts and precious copies, throughout his scholarly and

political careers. Like his father who established religious foundations in Anatolia, the Balkans, and Ottoman Syria, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha built several public works including *mektebs* (primary schools), *madrasas*, and mosques throughout the empire and donated his manuscripts to a public library he founded in Istanbul.

This dissertation places the life and career of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha to the center of its narrative. Opposing the arguments of Marc David Baer, who depicted the Ottoman rulers of the period as unrelenting proponents of religiosity and religious conversion,¹ it portrays the grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha as one of the most moderate, talented, and enlightened political figures of his age. Presenting the ruling elite as proponents of religiosity and religious conversion serves to characterize the second half of the seventeenth century as a time of stagnation, decline, and inward-looking conservatism in Ottoman history.² However, the 1660s

¹ See Marc D. Baer, "The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul," *IJMES* 36/2 (2004): 159-181; Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

² Beginning from the second half of the twentieth century historians from various schools have recast the stagnation and decline paradigm in Ottoman studies. For an incomplete list of works that criticize the declensionist perspective see Norman Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities," *Studia Islamica* 16 (1962): 73-94; Huri İslamoğlu and Çağlar Keyder, "Agenda for Ottoman History," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 1/1 (1977): 31-55; Halil İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980): 283-337; Douglas A. Howard, "Ottoman Historiography and the Literature of 'Decline' of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Asian History* 22 (1988): 52-77; Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1660* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1-21; Cemal Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4 (1997-8): 30-75; Şevket Pamuk, "The Price Revolution in the Ottoman Empire Reconsidered," *IJMES* 33 (2001): 69-89; Jane Hathaway, "Rewriting Eighteenth-Century Ottoman History," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 19/1 (2004): 29-53; Gábor Ágoston, *The Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Caroline Finkel, "'The Treacherous Cleverness of Hindsight': Myths of Ottoman Decay," in *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East*, ed. Gerald M. Maclean (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 148-174; Baki Tezcan, "Lost in Historiography: An Essay on the Reasons for the Absence of a History of Limited Government in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire," *Middle Eastern Studies* 45/3 (2009): 477-505; M. Fatih Çalışır, "Decline of a 'Myth': Perspectives on the Ottoman 'Decline'," *Tarih Okulu* 9 (2011): 37-60. For recent studies that refutes the declinist views on the mid-seventeenth century Ottoman cultural and intellectual life see Cemal Kafadar, "The City That Râlab Visited: The Political and Cultural Climate of Istanbul in the 1650s," in *The Sultan's Procession: The Swedish Embassy to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657-1658 and the Râlab Paintings*, ed. Karin Ådahl (İstanbul: Swedish Research Institute Publications, 2006), 59-73; Dana Sajdi, "Decline, its Discontents and Ottoman Cultural History," in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Dana Sajdi (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 1-40; See Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, "A Tale of Two Discourses: The Historiography of Ottoman-Muslim Medicine," *Social History of Medicine* 21/1 (2008): 1-12 and her recent book *Science among the Ottomans. The Cultural Creation and Exchange of Knowledge* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2015), 7-13; Khaled El-Rouayheb, "The Myth of 'The Triumph of Fanaticism' in the Seventeenth-

and 1670s, as this dissertation demonstrates, was a period of revival and reform in the Ottoman Empire, in which the ruling elite found ways and means to respond to new political, social, economic, and intellectual challenges.³ Suraiya Faroqhi shared this approach in one of her studies when she mentioned that the Ottoman leadership in the period reinforced its strength with new administrative, military, economic, social, religious, and cultural policies.⁴ This dissertation argues that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, along with the Sultan Mehmed IV, encouraged the production and dissemination of new and updated knowledge in the Ottoman realms and thus played a crucial role in the revitalization of the Ottoman imperial capabilities in the 1660s and 1670s.

This dissertation analyzes Ottoman scholarly activities and the intellectual patronage of the ruling elite in the period from a perspective offered by political scientists and sociologists of science. In the last three decades, several scholars from these fields have made significant contributions to the growing literature which emphasizes the reciprocal character of culture and science in the formation and governance of states.⁵ These authors did not regard intellectual activities independent from their socio-political contexts and defined culture and science as living processes receptive to changes in official ideology and as agents through which values associated with the state were internalized in societies. Shelia Jasanoff once succinctly wrote

Century Ottoman Empire,” *Die Welt des Islams* 48 (2008): 196–221 and his recent book *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century. Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

³ For a discussion on the periodization in Ottoman history see Jane Hathaway, “Problems of Periodization in Ottoman History: The Fifteenth through the Eighteenth Centuries,” *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 20/2 (1996): 25-31.

⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Empires before and after the Post-Colonial Turn: The Ottomans,” in *Beyond Dominant Paradigms in Ottoman and Middle Eastern/North African Studies. A Tribute to Rifa‘at Abou-El-Haj*, ed. Donald Quataert and Baki Tezcan (İstanbul: İSAM, 2010), 67-68 [57-76].

⁵ Stuart S. Blume, *Toward a Political Sociology of Science* (New York: The Free Press, 1974); Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer, *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985); George Steinmetz, ed., *State/Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); Scott Friecket and Kelly Moore, eds., *The New Political Sociology of Science: Institutions, Networks, and Power* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006); Patrick Carroll, *Science, Culture, and State Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

that “states are made of knowledge, just as knowledge is constituted by states.”⁶ This “co-production” perspective presents many opportunities for a better contextualization of Ottoman cultural and intellectual activities in the early modern period.

This dissertation draws on a broad range of primary and secondary sources and analyzes them using a micro-historical format. The primary sources utilized in this work include Istanbul court registers delineating the origins of the Köprülü family, a less-known *mühimme* register that was kept in Sächsische Landesbibliothek/Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Dresden, Ottoman archival records, contemporary and near-contemporary chroniclers, *gazavatnâmes* (war-accounts), a near-contemporary biography written by Behçetî Seyyid İbrahim Efendi (d. after 1738), Western travelogues and diplomatic reports, letters that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha exchanged with his family members, his manuscript collection, and Köprülü family endowment deeds.

The first chapter of the dissertation examines the emergence and the rise of Köprülü family and investigates how the contemporary accounts and new studies commented on the tenures of its members, particularly on the grand vizierates of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. The second chapter is the first detailed biographical account of the life and career of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha before his grand vizierate. It provides some minute details on his scholarly career and governorship in Ottoman provincial administration. The third chapter scrutinizes the office of the grand vizier in the mid-seventeenth century and demonstrates how the Köprülü grand viziers strengthened it during their tenures. The final chapter focuses on the intellectual and cultural life in the mid-seventeenth century Ottoman Empire and portrays Istanbul as a vibrant city for intellectual exchange and transfer of knowledge. It also explores

⁶ Sheila Jasanoff, “The Idiom of Co-Production,” in *States of Knowledge: The Co-production of Science and Social Order*, ed. Sheila Jasanoff (New York: Routledge, 2004), 3.

the leading poets, artisans, and scholars in the cultural and social milieu of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha and offers an analysis of the politics of patronage in the early modern Ottoman society.

CHAPTER 1 - THE KÖPRÜLÜ FAMILY

1.1 A Historiographical Survey

An established practice in scholarship is to evaluate Ottoman history from a sultan-oriented perspective. Accordingly, several Ottoman sultans, including Mehmed II (r. 1444-46, 1446-81), Selim I (r. 1512-20), Süleyman I (r. 1520-66), Murad IV (r. 1623-40), Selim III (r. 1789-1807), and Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) appear as the most potent rulers of the empire in the mainstream of the historiography. The existing scholarship on the second half of the seventeenth century, however, frequently pushes the reigning Sultan Mehmed IV (d. 1693, r. 1648-87) into a secondary position and instead emphasizes his grand viziers from the Köprülü family, particularly on Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (1651-61) and Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (1661-76), as the real rulers of the empire.⁷

Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, a nineteenth century Ottoman historian and statesman, argued that unrelenting efforts and proper administration of the Köprülü grand viziers strengthened the central authority and helped the empire to return to its former glory.⁸ H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen commented on the Köprülüs as a grand vizier family who saved the empire from

⁷ Rifa‘at ‘Ali Abou-El-Haj, for instance, stated that “seventeenth century Ottoman rulers ruled in only limited sense; their presence was necessary so that bureaucratic commands could be appropriately legitimized. Mehmed IV (1648-1687) for example, was a child during a considerable part of his reign, yet the state apparatus functioned adequately without him.” *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, 2nd ed. (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 5. Many of the contemporary European chronicles support this claim. To give but one example see Tavernier, *17. Yüzyılda Topkapı Sarayı*, ed. Necdet Sakaoğlu and trans. Teoman Tunçdoğan (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2007), 146-8.

⁸ “... [M]izâc-ı devlet kesb-i kemâl-i sıhhat etti... [D]evr-i Süleymânîde olan vus‘at dâire-i satvet-i seniyye i‘âde kılınmış.” See Cevdet Paşa, *Târih-i Cevdet* (İstanbul: Dâru’t-tibâ‘atü’l-‘Âmire, 1270-73 [1854-57], 1-3: 25. In the second edition of the work, Cevdet Pasha toned down his appraisal of the Köprülüs and their reforms. See *Târih-i Cevdet*, Tertîb-i Cedîd (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Osmaniyye, 1309 [1891]), 1: 51.

collapse.⁹ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı named the period between 1656 and 1676 as the reign of the Köprülüs, not of Mehmed IV.¹⁰ In his piece on the Ottoman defeat at the Battle of St. Gotthard/Mogersdorf on August 1, 1664, Hans-Joachim Kissling articulated the idea that the Ottoman imperial polity and society were in a position to overcome the defeat inflicted by the Habsburgs as a result of the Köprülü reforms. Although the Ottomans suffered the defeat in the summer of 1664, the Köprülü reforms and subsequent military successes of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha provided the Ottoman soldiers and political leaders with a self-confidence which led them to lay a second siege to the Habsburg capital in 1683.¹¹ Similarly, Suraiya Faroqhi hailed the tenures of the Köprülüs with the terms reform and restoration. She mentioned that the father and son Köprülüs founded a political household which held its political power up until the eighteenth century.¹² In her general history of the Ottoman Empire, Caroline Finkel, fifty years after Uzunçarşılı's work, used the title of "Rule of Grandees" for a chapter in which she described the political, military, and social developments of the second half of the seventeenth century. Finally, in *The Second Ottoman Empire*, Baki Tezcan described the period from the mid-1650s to the mid-1680s as the years of the autocratic rule of the Köprülüs. According to him, the reigning Sultan Mehmed IV played only a subordinate role in the absolutism of the Köprülü grand viziers.¹³

Modern scholarship on the Köprülü grand viziers has not only highlighted their importance for the restoration of the Ottoman power and authority in the mid-seventeenth

⁹ H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), 1: 110.

¹⁰ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Köprülüler Devri," in his *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1988 [1954]), 3: 367-433.

¹¹ Hans Joachim Kissling, "Die Köprülü-Restauration," in *Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposium Mogersdorf I: Österreich und die Türken* (Eisenstadt: Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, 1972), 75-83.

¹² Suraiya Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590-1699," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2: 419-20 [411-637].

¹³ Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire. Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 215-216.

century but also their leadership characteristics, traits, and methods of government. Leopold von Ranke, for instance, drew some parallels between the administration of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and of Cardinal Richelieu (d. 1642), a leading seventeenth-century French statesman. Ranke maintained that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was one of the few Ottoman grand viziers who established a system of the imperial government. His son Fazıl Ahmed Pasha acted within this system but he, unlike his father, distinguished himself with his justice, generosity, and goodwill.¹⁴ Norman Itzkowitz wrote that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha used the model of Süleyman I to cure the ills that plagued the empire. The grand vizier appointment of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha upon the death of his father was not a case of nepotism but a conscious policy on the part of the imperial dynasty to maintain the Köprülü reform program.¹⁵ Like Ranke and Itzkowitz, Stanford J. Shaw stated that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha built his administration based on the foundations of his father. While Köprülü Mehmed Pasha resumed the traditional style of reform developed by the Sultan Murat IV and made the Ottoman system work once again, it was Fazıl Ahmed Pasha who raised the status of the grand vizier to a more absolute and prestigious position than it was in the sixteenth century.¹⁶

In his entry in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, M. Tayyip Gökbilgin praised the administration of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in crushing the prevailing spirit of rebellion and disorder in the 1650s. Gökbilgin also found the old grand vizier guilty of certain injustices, such as bringing about the execution of Deli Hüseyin Pasha (d. 1658) and Seydî Ahmed Pasha (d. circa 1660) without any concrete evidence.¹⁷ Likewise, in his widely used and detailed

¹⁴ Leopold von Ranke, “Onaltıncı ve Onyedinci Asırda Osmanlılar ve İspanya Krallığı,” trans. Halid İlteber in *Batı Dillerinde Osmanlı Tarihleri* (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1971), 180-1 [115-211].

¹⁵ Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 77-80.

¹⁶ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, vol. I: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 209 and 211.

¹⁷ M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, “Köprülüler – I. Köprülü Mehmed Paşa,” *İA* 6 (1955), 897 [892-908]. For a poem that harshly criticized those who were responsible for the execution of Deli Hüseyin Pasha see Hande Nalan Özkasap, “Tarih-i Nihâdî (152b-233a)” (master’s thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2004), 45 (hereafter *Tarih-i Nihâdî*). This poem was recorded on the margins of the original manuscript at the Topkapı Palace Manuscript Library with a

chronology of the Ottoman Empire, published in 1972, the Turkish nationalist historian İsmail Hâmî Dânişmend expressed extremely negative views on the father Köprülü. Dânişmend held the idea that like the grand vizier Murad Pasha (d. 1611, 1606-1611 in office), who was known as “Kuyucu” (Well-digger) due to his oppressive governmental countermeasures to end widespread Celâlî revolts, the Albanian Köprülü Mehmed Pasha committed a great crime against the Turks living in Anatolia. The author mentioned that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha appointed the Bosnian İsmail Pasha inspector-general and ordered him to execute thousands under suspicion of supporting the rebel governor Abaza Hasan Pasha. The old grand vizier also engineered the execution of all talented statesmen in the empire whom he regarded as the potential contenders for his grand vizierate and even to the future grand vizierate of his son. The successes of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in the battlefields, Dânişmend claimed, occurred due to mere luck and because of the weakness of the rival forces.¹⁸ While portraying Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in the worst possible light, Dânişmend had a positive view on Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. He argued that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was one of the greatest statesmen of the empire who captured Érsekújvár (Ottoman Turkish: Uyvar; German: Neuhäusel; Slovak: Nové Zámky) and Candia (Ottoman Turkish: Kandiye; Greek: Heraklion). The second Köprülü, nevertheless, was notorious for his poor administration of the internal affairs and holding the matters in abeyance.¹⁹

different handwriting. See *Târih-i Nihâdî*, TSYK, Bağdat, 219, fol. 187a. In a similar vein, Evliya Çelebi and Ösekli Şeyhî İbrahim Efendi argued that Seydî Ahmed Pasha was unjustly executed. See Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zilli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu - Dizini*, ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman et al (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999-2006), 5: 319-25 and 6: 274-5 (hereafter *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*); Ösekli Şeyhî İbrahim Efendi, *Zeyl-i Vâkı‘a-nâme*, Milli Kütüphane, Ankara Adnan Ötüken İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 608, 19a-20a (hereafter *Zeyl-i Vâkı‘a-nâme*).

¹⁸ İsmail Hâmî Dânişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1972), 3: 429.

¹⁹ Dânişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, 3: 445. In contrast to the claim of Dânişmend, Uzunçarşılı portrayed Fazıl Ahmed Pasha as a disciplinarian. See İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1988 [1948]), 129.

It is not only modern researchers who consider the Köprülü grand viziers as holding the reins of the imperial government and exercising power. Contemporary writers did so well. The authors of the *gazavatnâmes*, or campaign narratives, written in the period compared the conquests and military successes of the father and son Köprülü with those that the Sultan Süleyman I had achieved during his long reign.²⁰ Others regarded the military successes of the Köprülü grand viziers as the outcome of their competent administration. In *Tarih-i Gilmânî*, completed in 1665, Mehmed Halife, an Ottoman courtier and historian, stated that the Janissaries and *sipâhis* or cavalry corps became disobedient and undisciplined in the mid-seventeenth century, particularly during and after the execution of the Sultan Ibrahim (1615-48, r. 1640-48) in 1648. The lack of discipline in the army caused turmoil and instability in both the state and society. As soon as Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, an experienced and intelligent statesman, came to power, he executed hundreds of disobedient soldiers to the degree that the Tunca River in Edirne filled with their corpses. Hence the old grand vizier ended the cruelties of the men-at-arms and established imperial authority and control first in the army.²¹ Vecîhî, who wrote another contemporary historical account, eulogized “the sword of the world-conqueror” Köprülü Mehmed Pasha for defeating Abaza Hasan Pasha, the rebellious governor of Aleppo, in 1659, thus restoring order in the Ottoman realms.²² Nihâdî, another historian and poet, acclaimed Köprülü Mehmed Pasha as *musahhih-i devlet* or, literary, “the corrector of the

²⁰ “... [H]ûn-ı a‘da-yı dîn ü devlet ile tezyîn-i esyâf-ı guzât-ı İslâm-ı dilâverân ve nakş-ı nigîn-i Hazret-i Süleymân-ı zemân buyrulduğı erbâb-ı hîred-mende kat‘ı vâzıh ve ıyândır.” See Merve Yılmaz, “Mustafa Zühdi Ravzatü'l-Gazâ (Tarih-i Uyvar) (1663-1665) Tahlil ve Metin” (master’s thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2012), 14 (hereafter Mustafa Zühdi, *Ravzatü'l-Gazâ*). The reign of Süleyman I was frequently idealized as the “Golden Age” of Ottoman history in the writings of Ottoman literati in the seventeenth century. See Cemal Kafadar, “The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post-Süleymanic Era,” in *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar (İstanbul: Isis Press, 1993), 37-48.

²¹ Ertuğrul Oral, “Târih-i Gilmânî” (PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2000), 58-60 (hereafter *Târih-i Gilmânî*). Uzunçarşılı wrote that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and Fazıl Ahmed Pasha maintained a strict and successful control over the Ottoman soldiers. See İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları I: Acemi Ocağı ve Yeniçeri Ocağı* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1988 [1943]), 511 and 513.

²² “Hak budur eyledi ıslâh-ı mizâc-ı âlem, cevher-i tiğ-i cihângir vezir-i a‘zam.” Ziya Akkaya, “Vecihî, Devri ve Eseri” (PhD diss., Ankara Üniversitesi, 1957), 189 (hereafter *Târih-i Vecihî*).

state.”²³ Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, the author of a near-contemporary Ottoman biographical dictionary, extolled the grand vizier as a political leader who protected the empire from malicious people.²⁴ In his short account, Mustafa Efendi, known as Kürd Hatib, wrote that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha provided great services to the Ottoman dynasty.²⁵ The anonymous author of a contemporary chronicle concurred with this and referred to Köprülü Mehmed Pasha as the loyal servant of the Ottoman dynasty. According to this author, the old Köprülü killed forty court pages who were present at the Has Oda (The Private Chamber) during the execution of the Sultan Ibrahim in 1648 but did not do anything to prevent it.²⁶

Like Gökbilgin and Dânişmend, some of the contemporary authors shed critical lights on personality traits and administrations of the Köprülü grand viziers. Evliya Çelebi, the inexhaustible Ottoman traveler and observer of the seventeenth-century Ottoman world, referred to Köprülü Mehmed Pasha as a *müstakil sadrazam* (independent grand vizier) who awakened the empire from its deep sleep. He recounted that the old grand vizier, who gained the appellation of *sâhib-hurûc* or, literally, “the master of going forth” among the astrologers (*müneccimîn*) and onomantic (*ceffâr*),²⁷ ended the revolts in Anatolia, made several conquests,

²³ *Târih-i Nihâdî*, 29.

²⁴ Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, *Vekâyi ‘ü'l-fudalâ* in *Şakaik-ı Nu'maniye ve Zeyilleri*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 1: 603 (hereafter Şeyhî, *Vekâyi ‘ü'l-fudalâ*).

²⁵ “Mezbûr Köprülü Mehmed Paşa saltanata bir hizmet itdi ve âb-ı memleket üze bir muhkem köprü yaptı ki inkırâz-ı devrâna dek dillerde mezkûr ve ekâlimde meşhur olur.” *Risâle-i Kürd Hatib. Dördüncü Mehmed Saltanatında İstanbul*, ed. H. Ahmet Arslantürk and Murat Kocaaslan (İstanbul: Okur Akademi, 2014), 34 (hereafter *Risâle-i Kürd Hatib*).

²⁶ “Ve bu vak‘ada hâs odada olan kırk âdemi Köprülü vezâreti tamâm olmadın her birini bir bahâne ile katl eylediler.” TSMK, Hazine 1468, 7b (hereafter *Topkapı Anonymous*). It appears that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha benefited from the patronage of the Sultan Ibrahim. In 1647, one of the favorite consorts of the sultan appointed Köprülü Mehmed Pasha *mütesellim* or interim governor of Damascus province. In the following year, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was appointed governor-general of Karaman and received imperial orders to march against the rebel governor Varvar Ali Pasha in Anatolia. See Nâimâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Nâimâ*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2007), 3: 1110-11 and 1132 (hereafter *Târih-i Nâimâ*); Nazire Karaçay Türkal, “Silahdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa Zeyl-i Fezleke (1065 – 22 Ca. 1106 / 1654 – 7 Şubat 1695) (Tahlil ve Metin)” (PhD diss. Marmara Üniversitesi, 2012), 256 (hereafter Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*).

²⁷ “[S]ene 1067 târihinde Köprülü Mehmed Paşa müstakil sadrî‘zam oldu. Ve de[v]let-i Âl-i Osmân’a velvele-ârâ olup Anadolu’da celâlî ve cemâlî nâmıyla dörd kerre yüz bin âdem ve on yedi vezîr ve kırk bir mîrimîrân ve yetmiş mîrlivâ ve üç mollâ ve ceffâr Şeyh Sâlim Mağribî’yi katl edüp Âl-i Osmân devletinde îrâd [u] masrûfu berâber edüp üç yıllık tedâhulü ref‘ eyleyüp niçe feth [u] fütûhâtlar eyledi. Beyne’l-müneccimîn ve’l-ceffâr bu Köprülü’ye sâhib-hurûcdur derlerdi. Rumûz-ı kelâm ‘Alî ka’b ismuhu Cisrî ve beyne halk ismuhu Küfrî ve min

and balanced the imperial budget during his five-year tenure. Evliya Çelebi described Fazıl Ahmed Pasha as “a ghazi, virtuous, and farsighted statesman endowed with an intelligence at the level of Aristotle.” Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, he claimed, accomplished to become a respected grand vizier without using the harsh administrative methods of his father.²⁸ While Evliya Çelebi thus indirectly voiced his critique on the administration of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, Silahdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Agha, a leading chronicler and courtier of the late seventeenth-century, did not hesitate to use an overtly critical language to express his unfavorable opinion on the old grand vizier. He stated that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was an “unjust, tyrannical, selfish, opinionated, merciless, and bloodthirsty old man.” Silahdâr wrote that when he became grand vizier, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha unfairly killed several governors in Anatolia and the Balkans, left no one with prestige and power, and thus indirectly weakened the administrative and military capabilities of the empire.²⁹ While he had such a dismissive approach to the administration of the father Köprülü, the chronicler praised the personal qualities and administrative skills of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha -except his addiction to alcohol.³⁰ Safâyî Mustafa

indillâh kutb-ı aktâb velî-i sahîh kâmetî” Köprülü Mehmed Paşa hakkında bulmuşlardır kim lafz-ı ‘ka’b’ ve ‘Mehmed’ toksan ikişerdir, Cîsrîden murâd Köprülü Mehmed’dir. Ve’l-hâsıl devlet-i Âl-i Osmân nush edüp (---) sene vezîr-i a’zam olup sene (---) târîhinde (---) merhûm olup na’sını İslâmbol’a getirüp Tavukbâzârı kurbünde türbe (---) lahd etdiler. Ammâ Köprülü Mehmed Paşa Arnavudü’l-asl dîn-i mübîn için lecûc ve muhassıl ve hâkim idi.” See *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 1: 117.

²⁸ “Andan Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa ibn Köprülü Mehmed Paşa vezîr-i a’zam olup babası gibi hûnhâr olmayup âdil ve gâzî ve fâzıl ve mücâhidün fî-sebîlillâh bir müdebbir ve akl-ı Aristo vezîr-i sâhib-vakâr, âlî-tabâr vezîr idi.” *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 1: 117.

²⁹ “... ve hükkâm-ı memleket ve tâ’ife-i askerîde sâhib-i hâne ve nâm u nişân komayup kolın kanadın kırdı ve kalanlarının dahi kuvvet ü kudreti kalmayup ilâ-el’ân Devlet-i Aliyye’nin yıkılıp, bir bâd-ı zebûn olmasına ve düşmene cevâb virir müdebbir komayup inkırâzına ve her-bâr kâfire mağlup olunmasına sebep oldu.” See Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 256-7. For a similar sentiment about the administration of the Köprülü Mehmed Pasha see *Topkapı Anonymous*, 37a: “Devlet nefsinde kutb-ı zâhirîde tasarruf olmaduğundan ‘alî olmuş idi. Lâkin Köprülü bunun ‘ilacını mutlak kân almak ile idüb devleti mevt mertebesine getürdi ve zararı doksan beşden sonra zuhur eyledi.”

³⁰ “Paşa-yı mezbûr, âlim ve halîm ü selîm ve fâzıl u kamil ve âdil uğuru açık, akl-i ferâsetde ve fikr-i kiyâsetde ve sühâ vü keremde ve rahm u şefkatde bî-nazîr, hüsn-i hulk, sâhib-i âlî-cenâb ve çelebi-meşreb ve zamâne vezîrlerinin ser-efrâzı ve misli bulunmaz bir gâzî âdem idi... Lâkin vezâreti hâlinde ba’zı mukarrebân igvâsıyla şürb-i hamra mübtelâ ve âkıbet emrâz-ı istiskâya uğrayub, sebep-i mevtine bâ’is olup, fakat bu ‘ayb ile ma’yûb olup...” Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 684. Abdülkadir Özcan noted that Silahdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Agha had sometimes an impartial stand and a harsh language when it comes to portraying the ruling elite. Among the leading political figures that Silahdâr portrayed critically was his patron the Sultan Mustafa II (d. 1703, r. 1695-1703). See Abdülkadir Özcan, “Silâhdar Mehmed Ağa,” *DİA* 37 (2009): 194-7. Covel commented on the alcoholism of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha in his last years with these words: “He spoke cheerfully, and proved in very good humour; yet his

Efendi and Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib Efendi, two near-contemporaries, also cast Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in a negative light. Safâî Mustafa Efendi maintained that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was “very bloodthirsty and merciless.” The grand vizier, he argued, was famous for his executions of innocent people, including poets such as Sadreddîn Rûhullah and Vecdî Abdülbâkî.³¹ Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib Efendi, moreover, mentioned that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha’s acts of injustice and cruelty would be heavier than his good deeds when one carefully weighed them out. His son Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, on the other hand, was “an intelligent, virtuous, and faithful grand vizier who had similar characteristics to the Barmakîd viziers.” He was, however, negligent in state affairs.³² In his lesser-known contemporary historical account, Ösekli Şeyhî İbrahim Efendi wrote that although Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was known as a bloodthirsty grand vizier, those who had the grasp of his government were aware that he ruled according to the law and saved the empire from collapse at the hands of dishonorable people.³³

face, especially about the eyes, look’d very swel’d and reddish. We understood he had been soundly *keiph’t* the night before.” See “Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covel, 1670-1679,” in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, ed. J. Theodore Bent (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1893), 273 [99-287]. George Frederick Abbott maintained that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha began to drink liquors at the end of the siege of Candia and kept drinking them in the later years because of his health problems: “Ahmed Kuprili, up to the end of the siege of Candia (1669), had never tasted a drop of anything stronger than sherbet. But on his return from that campaign he stopped at the fair isle of Chios to refresh himself from his toils. This holiday, the first he had ever had, proved his undoing. For a whole fortnight he refreshed himself among the mastic groves of Chios, allowing no public affairs, however urgent, to interrupt his potations. Ahmed was nothing if not thorough. From that date he seemed anxious to atone for his past temperance, and at such a rate that, by 1675, his stomach could no longer keep warm without the most fiery of liquors.” See George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople: A Record of Sir John Finch’s Embassy 1674-1681* (London: Macmillan, 1920), 132.

³¹ Mustafa Safâî Efendi, *Tezkire-i Safâî*, 202. Mustafa Safâî Efendi stated that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha ordered the execution of Rûhî Efendi because of an old dispute and enmity between them. For a different narrative on the execution of the Rûhî see Şeyhî, *Vekâyi’ü’l-fudalâ*, 1: 711. İsmail Belîğ and Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi also claimed that Vecdî was executed because of the enmity of Şâmî-zâde Mehmed Efendi. See İsmail Belîğ, *Nuḥbetü’l-Âşâr li-zeyli zübde’i’l-Eş’âr*, ed. Abdülkerim Abdulkadiroğlu (Ankara: AKMB Yayınları, 1999), 508; Şeyhî, *Vekâyi’ü’l-fudalâ*, 1: 711.

³² Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib, *Hadîkatü’l-Vüzerâ* (İstanbul: Ceride-i Havâdis Matbaası, 1271 [1855]), 106 and 109. The author of the *Topkapı Anonymous* claimed that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was an arrogant, conceited, and brainless gentleman: “Gâyet mağrûr ve mütekebbir ve bî-dimâğ çelebi idi.” *Topkapı Anonymous*, 58a-58b.

³³ “Gerçi bu vezîr-i ‘âlîşân hakkında ‘hûnîdir’ deyu itâle-i lisân olunurdu ve lakin hakka’l-insâf bâ‘is-i istihkâm-ı şer‘-i mübîn olduğu mefhûm-ı erbâb yakînidir.” *Zeyl-i Vâkı‘a-nâme*, 20a.

Like many of his contemporaries, Ösekli Şeyhî İbrahim Efendi portrayed Fazıl Ahmed Pasha as a farsighted and skillful statesman who brought peace and safety to the world.³⁴

In addition to these Ottoman authors, several contemporary European observers commented on personal traits and governmental methods of the Köprülü grand viziers. Claes Rålamb, the Swedish envoy to Istanbul in 1657, for instance, described Köprülü Mehmed Pasha as a rough, tyrannical, and rigorous man. Rålamb claimed that the grand vizier had great experience in the imperial affairs by the virtue of his age and he used cruelty to deter those who might otherwise plot against his life.³⁵ George Wheler, an English author who visited the Ottoman capital in 1675, recorded a story indicating how the harsh governmental measures of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha were still remembered negatively among the Istanbulites even fifteen years after his death.³⁶ Jakab Harsányi, an official interpreter of the Transylvanian Prince György Rákóczi II in Istanbul in the 1650s, on the other hand, commended the prudence of the old grand vizier and stated that the territory and wealth of the Ottoman Empire had increased,

³⁴ “Ol vezîr-i ferh-likâ Köprili Mehmed Paşazâde Hâfız Ahmed Paşa hazretleri ki ânın encâm-ı baht-ı firûzları ‘âmme-i cihânın bâ‘is-i merfû-‘ı nahvesti? olub ve mehr-i vücûd-ı şerîfleriyle ‘âlem muvakkaf-ı derece-i râhatde ârâm olduğundan gayri ânın zamân-ı devletinde müyesser olan feth ve zaferler bi’l-küllîye merbûd-ı hüsn-i tedbiri olmağla ‘âmme-i milel-i nasârâ dahî ânın sâye-i zîr-i istîmânına rikâb-ı ‘ubûdiyetlerin teslîm idüb ve hiçbir ferd zamân-ı sa‘âdetlerinde âzerde olmayub...” *Zeyl-i Vâkı‘a-nâme*, 31a.

³⁵ Claes Rålamb, *İstanbul’a Bir Yolculuk 1657-1658*, trans. Ayda Arel (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008), 76; Cemal Kafadar, “The City That Rålamb Visited,” 64.

³⁶ “This Street is adorned with several of the Monuments of the Viziers and Basha’s, who have highly merited of the Emperour either in the Wars or Government. Among which, we observed one with the Cuppalo, covered only with a Grate of Wyer; of which we had this Account: That it was Mahomet Cupriuli, Father to the present Vizier, who settled the Government, during the Minority of the present Emperour, very near Destruction, through the Discontents and Factions of the Principal Hagaes, and the Mutinies of the Janizaries. Concerning whom, after his Decease, being buried here, and having this stately Monument of white Marble, covered with Lead, Erected over his Body; the Grand Signior, and Grand Vizer, had this Dream both in the same night; to wit, That Cupriuli came to them, and earnestly beg’d of them a little Water to refresh him, being in a burning heat: Of this the Grand Signior and Vizier told each other, in the Morning, and thereupon thought fit to consult the Mufti, what to do concerning it, who according to their gross Superstition, advised that he should have the Roof of his Sepulcher uncovered, that the Rain might descend on his Body, thereby to quench the Flames tormenting his Soul. And this Remedy the People who smarted under his Oppression, think he had great need of, supposing him to be tormented in the other World, for his Tyrannies and Cruelties committed by him in This.” *A Journey into Greece, by George Wheler Esq; in Company of Dr Spon of Lyons...* (London: Printed for William Cademan, Robert Kettlewell, and Awnsham Churchill, 1682), 182-3.

if at the expense of Transylvania, during his grand vizierate.³⁷ Paul Rycaut, the British diplomat and historian, considered Köprülü Mehmed Pasha an able deputy of the sultan. He claimed that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha “had so well deserved of the *Sultan*, and his whole Dominions, for having by his own wisdom and resolution saved the Empire from being rent in pieces by the faction and ambition of some aspiring persons, had cemented and made firm the throne of his Master.”³⁸ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha emerged as a gentle and moderate ruler and a successful commander in the account of Rycaut: “He was generous, and free from Avarice... In his Wars abroad he was successful, having upon every expedition enlarged the Bounds of the Empire.”³⁹ Thomas Smith, who was the chaplain to Sir Daniel Harvey, the English ambassador in Istanbul between 1668 and 1671, remarked on Fazıl Ahmed Pasha as a “great and wise Vizir” who “truly gained the reputation of a solid and judicious Statesman, as well as Souldier among the Christian Ministers, who in the ordinary course of their negotiations apply’d themselves to him.”⁴⁰ Besides these accounts, some of the contemporary and near-contemporary Romanian chronicles depicted the Köprülü grand viziers in a comparative way.⁴¹ Miron Costin, for

³⁷ Gábor Kármán, “Turks Reconsidered: Jakab Harsányi Nagy’s Changing Image of the Ottoman,” in *Well-Connected Domains: Toward an Entangled Ottoman History*, ed. Pascal Firges, Tobias P. Graf, Christian Roth, and Gülay Tulasoglu (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 120 [110-130].

³⁸ Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 6th ed. (London: Printed for Charles Brome, 1686), 135.

³⁹ Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire from the Year 1623, to the Year 1677* (London: Printed by J. D. for Tho. Basset, R. Clavell, J. Robinson, and A. Churchill, 1687), 262-3. Contemporary English opinion on merits and administration of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha is unanimously positive. See Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 385-6. His favours to the English nation and diplomats had certainly played an important role in the positive perception of the grand vizier.

⁴⁰ Thomas Smith, “An Account of the City of Prusa in Bithynia,” in *Philosophical Transactions* 14 (1684): 436 and 440. Smith was an enthusiastic collector of ancient Greek texts in Istanbul. When he returned to England, he donated most of these manuscripts to Bodleian Library. He also published several books and articles on the Ottoman Empire and its subjects. See, for instance, *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks; together with a Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia, as they now lye in their ruines: and a brief Description of Constantinople* (London: Printed for Moses Pitt, 1678). On the life and intellectual circle of Smith see Andrei M. Pippidi, “Knowledge of the Ottoman Empire in the Late Seventeenth-Century England: Thomas Smith and Some of His Friends” (PhD diss., Oxford University, 1983).

⁴¹ Greek sources also emphasized the contrast between the father and son grand viziers. See Marinos Sariyannis, “The Kadızadeli Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon: The Rise of a ‘Merchantile Ethic’?” in *Political Initiatives from the Bottom-Up in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. A. Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2012), 270, fn. 42 [263-89].

instance, described Köprülü Mehmed Pasha as a harsh and revengeful person, while Iancu Vacarescu maintained that the old grand vizier ruled the empire with wisdom. These and other historians, including Chesarie Daponte, described Fazıl Ahmed Pasha as an intelligent, mild-mannered, calm, and good-humored ruler.⁴²

This broad historiographical survey testifies that, although they were portrayed in the secondary literature under the same rubric as reformist and absolutist grand viziers who restored the authority and power of the Ottoman Empire in the mid-seventeenth century, contemporary and near-contemporary accounts, both Ottoman and European, had rather nuanced descriptions of leadership characteristics and styles of government of the father and son Köprülüs. In this critical historiography, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was emerged as an iron-fisted ruler, who punished, exiled, and executed thousands in the name of law and order. Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, on the other hand, was generally depicted as a grand vizier who was famous with his justice, moderation, and virtue.

1.2 The Rise of the Köprülüs

Only a few families left their stamps on the history of the early modern Ottoman Empire. Before the Köprülüs, the Çandarlıs and the Sokullus emerged as the leading vizierial households in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries respectively.⁴³ Neither the Çandarlıs nor the Sokullus, however, gained the durable power and prestige that members of the Köprülü family

⁴² Mustafa Ali Mehmet, “Romen Vekayinâmelerine Göre Köprülü Sadrazamlar ve Bazı Olaylar,” *Beşinci Milletler Arası Türkoloji Kongresi İstanbul, 23-28 Eylül 1985, Tebliğler III. Türk Tarihi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türkiyat Araştırma Merkezi, 1989), 2: 450 [449-458]. For a detailed study on the Romanian chronicles related to the Turkish history see *Romen Kaynak ve Eserlerinde Türk Tarihi I: Kronikler*, ed. Mehmet Ali Ekrem (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1993).

⁴³ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Çandarlı Vezir Ailesi* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1974); Radovan Samardžić, *Dünyayı Avuçlarında Tutan Adam: Sokullu Mehmed Paşa*, trans. Meral Gaspıralı (İstanbul: Sabah Kitapları, 1995).

experienced in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁴⁴ “The reign of the Köprülü,” as a modern historian put it, had begun with the grand vizier appointment of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in September 1656 with full powers over imperial policy and high appointments.⁴⁵ From 1656 to 1710, many members of the family and their protégés held the highest positions in the state administration. Six members of the family - Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (d. 1651, 1656-61); Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (d. 1676, 1661-76); Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha (d. 1683, 1676-83); Fazıl Mustafa Pasha (d. 1691, 1689-91); Amcazâde Hüseyin Pasha (d. 1702, 1697-1702); Dâmâd Nûman Pasha (d. 1719, 1710)- became grand viziers in the following decades.

Although the modern historiography has depicted their political and military activities in some detail, cultural, intellectual, and architectural patronage of the Köprülü family members has not yet been systematically studied.⁴⁶ There is abundant documentation in Ottoman archives and manuscript libraries to depict and discuss how the Köprülü patronized arts, poetry, and sciences. Some of the members of the family such as Damad Numan Pasha, Esad Pasha, and Ebu Nâile Abdullah Pasha emerged as the authors of literary and religious texts.⁴⁷ The Köprülü

⁴⁴ Although he did not put an emphasis on their families, Hammer compared the administration of Sokullu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579, grand vizier 1565-79) and of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. See Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi*, trans. Mehmed Atâ (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947), 6: 301-3.

⁴⁵ Uzunçarşılı, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, 3: 367-433. On the reforms of the family see Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, 5: 183-227.

⁴⁶ Except the preliminary works of Metin Kunt and Sultan Murat Topçu. See Kunt, “The Waqf as an Instrument of Public Policy: Notes on the Köprülü Family Endowments,” in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Prof. V. L. Ménage*, ed. Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1994), 189-198; Sultan Murat Topçu, *Gücün Mimariye Yansıması: Köprülüler* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2015).

⁴⁷ Köprülüzâde Damad Numan Pasha, *Risâletü'l-‘Adl fî beyân-i Hâli'l-Hızır*, SYEK, Hacı Ahmed Paşa, 344/1, fols. 1b-33b; 122/1, fols. 1b-40a; Mehmed Asım Bey, 148. Veliyyüddin Carullah Efendi (d. 1738) wrote a long commentary on this *risale*: SYEK, Carullah Efendi, 1700/1, fols. 1b-14b and SYEK, Hacı Ahmed Paşa, 122/2, 41b-190b). *Risâle-i Köprülüzâde*, SYEK, Erzincan, 8/7, fols. 96a-104b. He also compiled the sayings of Sahl b. Abdullah al-Tustarî (d. 896), a leading Sufi and the Qur’an commentator: *Kelimâtü İmam Rabbanî Sehl b. Abdullah et-Tüsteri*, SYEK, Hacı Ahmed Paşa, 121 and Esad Efendi, 3527/17, 228b-265b. Köprülüzâde Esad Pasha (d. 1726, appointed governor of Eğriboz (1717) and Hanya (1719) with a rank of vizier), *el-Ferâidü'l-ḥaseniyye li-ḥallî'l-müşkilâti'l-ḥafiyye*, SYEK, Hacı Ahmed Paşa, 344/6, fol. 89b-95a. *Terceme-i Yusuf u Züleyha*, SYEK, Laleli, 1697/1, fols. 1a-33b. On this work see Öznur Tuba Aktaş, “Köprülüzade Esad Paşa’nın Terceme-i Yusuf u Züleyha Adlı Eserinin Bilimsel Yayını ile Eserin Şekil ve Muhteva Bakımından İncelenmesi,” (master’s thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2003); *el-mu‘în fî şerḥ-i ḥadîsi'l-erba‘în*, SYEK, Hacı Ahmed Paşa, 352/9, fol. 46b-58b. Köprülüzâde Ebû Nâile Abdullah Pasha (d. 1735, appointed vizier in 1702, and held a number of important administrative and military positions until his death), *el-ifâdetü'l-Muḥnî‘a fî kırâ‘ati'l-eimmeti'l-erba‘a*, SYEK, Hacı Ahmed Paşa, 2/1, fols. 1b-78a; SYEK, Laleli, 21 and SYEK, Yozgat, 854. *Nuḥbetü'l-*

family members built and maintained several primary schools, madrasas, mosques, libraries, fountains, bridges, bathrooms, and inns throughout the empire. Before attempting to show the crucial role that they, especially Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, played in the Ottoman political and intellectual life, we need to know how this family reached the highest ranks of the imperial hierarchy and succeeded in staying in power for many decades. The following part of this study will, therefore, shed new light on the origins of the Köprülü family, their rise in the imperial administration, and contributions to the social and cultural life of the empire.

1.2.1 The Origins of the Family

Köprü or Gedegre/Kedağra, as some of the archival documents mention, is the modern-day Vezirköprü district of Samsun in the northern Anatolia. In the seventeenth century, it was an important administrative and judicial center (*kaza*) within the borders of the sub-province (*sanjak*) of Amasya in the Rum/Sivas Province.⁴⁸ Evliya Çelebi, who visited Köprü in 1647, described it as a large town with six thousand two-story tiled houses. He listed several “palaces” in the town. Two of these palaces, the palace of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and the palace of el-Hac Yusuf Agha, the father-in-law of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, were among the most populous and prosperous residences in Köprü.⁴⁹

Eş'âr/Dürriyyât, SYEK, Hacı Ahmed Paşa, 2/2, fols. 79b-109b and 355/1, fols. 1b-18b; SYEK, Lala İsmail, 611 and SYEK, Laleli, 1752. *Şerh-i kaşîde-i rûhânîyye* [*'ayniyye*], SYEK, Hamidiye, 389/7, fols. 65a-66b. For a *kaşîde* of Abdullah Pasha see Murat Sula, “Köprülüzâde Abû Nâile Abdullah Paşa ve Kasîde-i Vâviyyesi,” *Turkish Studies* 10/8 (2015): 1865-90.

⁴⁸ BOA, İE. AS. 7/592. For the administrative division and demography of Köprü in the seventeenth century see Mehmet Öz, “XV. Yüzyıldan XVII. Yüzyıla Samsun Yöresi,” in *Geçmişten Geleceğe Samsun Sempozyumu (4-6 Mayıs 2006, Samsun) Bildirileri*, ed. Cevdet Yılmaz (Samsun: Samsun Belediyesi Yayınları, 2006), 1: 15-17 and 26.

⁴⁹ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 2: 209. For drawings and pictures of the residence of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in Köprü see the unpublished work of Süheyl Ünver, *Vezirköprüde Köprülü Konağı*, SYEK, Süheyl Ünver Defterleri 468.

While he bears the epithet of “Köprülü” (native of Köprü), Köprü was not the original homeland of Mehmed Pasha. He indicated in his endowment deed, which bears the date of Receb 18, 1070 [March 30, 1660] that he had origins in a village called Rudnik (Roshnik/Rojnik/Roşinik) in the *sanjak* of Berat in Ottoman Albania.⁵⁰ How and when he came to and settled in Köprü is a question that historians still debate. The traditional historiography maintained that he came to Köprü after serving some years in the Topkapı Palace, first as a cook in the imperial kitchens and then as *iç oğlanı* or court page in the Privy Chamber. His service in the Privy Chamber did not last long however since he shortly afterward matriculated from the palace service to join the cavalry corps. Thus, he arrived in Köprü, settled there, married Ayşe Hanım, and came to be known as Köprülü Mehmed.

Although he made it clear in his endowment deed, his contemporaries, near-contemporaries, and several modern authors discussed the ethnic origins of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. Interestingly, some of the western accounts described him as a member of a French-origin family.⁵¹ Evliya Çelebi,⁵² Paul Rycaut,⁵³ Thomas Smith,⁵⁴ Silahdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed

⁵⁰ “Benim vatan-ı aslîm olan Rudnik nâm karyede...” SYEK, Köprülü Ekler, 2/2445, 20a; “Vatan-ı aslîleri olan Ruznik nâm karyede mebnî câmi‘-i şerîf” SYEK, Köprülü İlave 3, 29a. Evliya Çelebi mentioned Roshnik or “Roşinik” in his words as a “kasaba-misâl” or town-like prosperous village of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha: “Karye-i Roşinik: Köprülü Vezîr Mehmed Paşa’nın kasaba-misâl serâpâ kiremit örtülü tahtânî ve fevkânî kârgîr binâlı ve bâğlı ve bâğçeli cümle (---) aded hânedânlı rabta-i müzeyyendir. Bir ma‘mûr câmi‘i ve bir mescidi ve bir medrese-i sûhtegânî ve bir mekteb-i irfânî ve bir tekve-i dervîşânî ve bir nev binâ hammâm-ı cân-sitânî ve kifâyet mikdârı dükkânları var. Âb [u] hevâsı gâyet latîfdır.” See *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 8: 305.

⁵¹ “It was said that his family was of French origin; there is nothing to confirm or to contradict it. The family, till then obscure, may have floated, like so many others expatriated by the movement of religious and of races, from the coast of France to that of Italy, from that of Italy across the Adriatic, and have nationalized itself in Albania.” See A. de Lamartine, *History of Turkey*, translated from the French (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1857), 3: 339. Laurent d’Arvieux, however, refuted this claim. See Chevalier Laurent d’Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d’Arvieux... contenant ses voyages à Constantinople, dans l’Asie, la Syrie...*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Labat (Paris: C. J. B. Delespine, 1735), 4: 572. Zinkeisen also finds this claim untenable. See Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, trans. Nilüfer Epçeli (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2011), 5: 185, fn 23.

⁵² *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 1: 117.

⁵³ Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 379.

⁵⁴ Smith, “An Account of the City of Prusa in Bithynia,” 436.

Agha,⁵⁵ Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib Efendi,⁵⁶ Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi,⁵⁷ Tayyazâde Ahmed Ata,⁵⁸ Ayvansârâyî Hüseyin Efendi,⁵⁹ Hammer-Purgstall,⁶⁰ Johnn Wilhelm Zinkeisen,⁶¹ Şemseddin Sâmî,⁶² Ahmet Refik,⁶³ Abdizâde Hüseyin Hüsâmeddin,⁶⁴ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı,⁶⁵ M. Tayyip Gökbilgin,⁶⁶ and Sultan Murat Topçu⁶⁷ confirmed his Albanian origins. Some of these authors, however, differed in opinion on the place where the pasha was born. Şemseddin Sâmî noted that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was born in one of the villages of the Timuriçe district of the *sanjak* of Berat,⁶⁸ while Mehmed Râşid,⁶⁹ Hammer-Purgstall,⁷⁰ Ahmet Refik,⁷¹ and Sultan Murat Topçu⁷² claimed that he was born in Köprü in Anatolia. Behçetî Seyyid İbrahim, who wrote a family history of the Köprülüs in the first half of the eighteenth century, however, denied the Albanian origins of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and criticized historians, including Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib Efendi, who upheld this claim in their works.⁷³

In addition to his ethnicity and birthplace, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's father's name has emerged as yet another point of discussion and disagreement among historians. Behçetî Seyyid

⁵⁵ Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 256.

⁵⁶ Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib, *Hadîkatü'l-Vüzerâ*, 104.

⁵⁷ Şeyhî, *Vekâyî'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 603.

⁵⁸ Tayyazâde Ahmed Ata, *Tarih-i Ata* (İstanbul: Yahya Efendi Matbaası, 1291-93 [1874-76]) 2: 68.

⁵⁹ Ayvansârâyî Hüseyin Efendi, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmî'* (İstanbul Câmileri ve Diğer Dînî-Sivil Mi'mârî Yapılar), ed. Ahmed Nezih Galitekin (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2001), 241.

⁶⁰ Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi*, trans. Mehmed Atâ (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947), 6: 6.

⁶¹ Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, 5: 184.

⁶² Şemseddin Sâmî, *Kamûsu'l-'Alâm* (İstanbul: Mehran Matbaası, 1314 [1896]), 5: 3907.

⁶³ Ahmet Refik [Altınay], *Köprülüler* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011 [1913]), 85.

⁶⁴ Abdizâde Hüseyin Hüsâmeddin, *Amasya Tarihi* (İstanbul: Necmi İstikbal Matbaası, 1928), 1: 380; 4: 196.

⁶⁵ Uzunçarşılı, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, 4: 414.

⁶⁶ Gökbilgin, "Köprülüler – I. Köprülü Mehmed Paşa," 892.

⁶⁷ Topçu, *Gücün Mimariye Yansıması*, 16.

⁶⁸ Şemseddin Sâmî, *Kamûsu'l-'Alâm*, 5: 3907.

⁶⁹ Râşid Mehmed Efendi, Çelebizâde İsmail Âsım Efendi, *Târîh-i Râşid ve Zeyli (1071-1114/1660-1703)*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan et al (İstanbul: Klasik, 2013), 1: 16 (hereafter *Târîh-i Râşid*)

⁷⁰ Hammer-Purgstall, *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi*, 6: 6.

⁷¹ Ahmet Refik, *Köprülüler*, 14.

⁷² Topçu, *Gücün Mimariye Yansıması*, 16.

⁷³ "Osmanzâde, Hadîkatü'l-Vüzerâsında 'taşra çıkup Hüsrev Paşa'ya intisâb ve giderek hazînedârlığı şerefiyle mümtâz olundu' didiği Na'imâ Tarihinde yoktur. Gâlibâ gaflete mu'ayyendir. Ve 'Arnavudu'l asl' didiği hatadır. Zîrâ Rûmili köprisi hudûd-ı Arnavud'dan değildir." Behçetî, *Târîh-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 3-4.

İbrahim claimed that his father's name was Hasan Hüseyin bin Mustafa Ali Alaybeği.⁷⁴ Müstakîmzâde Süleyman Sadeddin mentioned him as Abdullah.⁷⁵ According to Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansârâyî, he was Abdullah el-Mostârî.⁷⁶ In *Amasya Tarihi*, Abdizâde Hüseyin Hüsâmeddin wrote two alternative names. In the first volume of his work, Hüseyin Hüsâmeddin stated that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's father was Sinan,⁷⁷ but in the fourth volume of the same account, he claimed that Köprülü Mehmed was the son of the Albanian Hüseyin Agha who chose Köprü as his homeland.⁷⁸ In another part of the work, Abdizâde Hüseyin Hüsâmeddin argued that the father of Köprülü Mehmed was a devshirme.⁷⁹ It appears that some modern historians began to refer to Köprülü Mehmed Pasha as a devshirme-origin statesman, particularly after this claim. Stanford J. Shaw and Mücteba İlgürel, on the other hand, argued that it was not his father but Köprülü Mehmed who was a devshirme.⁸⁰ To complicate the issue further, Norman Itzkowitz stated, without giving any details, that Köprülü Mehmed was born in an obscure and utterly undistinguished family.⁸¹ In his article, where he discussed the importance of ethnic-regional solidarity in the Ottoman imperial establishment, Metin Kunt maintained that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha entered the palace service through the support of a *hemşeri* or fellow-countryman.⁸²

Three newly published records from the seventeenth-century Istanbul court registers, all dated Ramazan 1077 / February-March 1667, shed new lights on the origins of the Köprülü family and provide new clues to explain how Köprülü Mehmed Pasha entered the imperial

⁷⁴ Behçetî, *Târîh-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 3.

⁷⁵ Müstakîmzâde Süleyman Sa'deddin, *Mecelletü'n-Nisâb – Tıpkıbasım* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000), 373 and 467. The waqf seal of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha also mentioned his name as Abdullah: "Hâzâ mimmâ vaqafahû al-wazîr abû'l-'Abbâs Aḥmad bin al-wazîr abû 'Abdullah Meḥmed 'urife bi-Köbrilî eḡâlallâhu 'işâruhumâ."

⁷⁶ Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayî, *Mecmuâ-i Tevarih*, ed. Fahri Ç. Derin and Vahid Çabuk (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1985), 347 (hereafter Ayvansarayî, *Mecmuâ-i Tevarih*).

⁷⁷ Hüseyin Hüsâmeddin, *Amasya Tarihi*, 1: 380.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 4: 69.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 4: 196.

⁸⁰ Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 1: 207; Mücteba İlgürel, "Köprülü Mehmed Paşa," *DİA* 26 (2002): 258.

⁸¹ Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*, 77.

⁸² Metin Kunt, "Ethnic-Regional (Cins) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment," *IJMES* 5 (1974): 236 [233–239]

service. These records demonstrate that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was the grandson of Mehmed Agha bin Abdullah (or “bin Abdülmennân,” as the second record mentions), who served long years in the imperial palace kitchens. The suffixes of “bin Abdullah” and “bin Abdülmennân,” two generic names that the converts to Islam receive as their father’s name, thus detaching themselves from their non-Islamic past, suggest that Mehmed Agha was born into a non-Muslim family. He was, most probably, converted to Islam during his youth after the Ottoman officials recruited him through the devshirme system. These records also reveal that Mehmed Agha reached to the rank of *aşçıbaşı kaim-makâmı* or deputy chief cook at the end of his professional career and restored the infirmary in the palace kitchens.⁸³ Based on these records, it is possible to claim that neither Köprülü Mehmed nor his father was a devshirme, but they were ensuing generations of a devshirme-origin family. Fazıl Ahmed Pasha represents the fourth generation of this family and most probably it was due to this distant past that he alienated himself from his roots in Ottoman Albania when he mentioned Köprü, instead of Roshnik, as his original homeland.⁸⁴ This new piece of information also helps to explicate how Köprülü Mehmed Pasha entered the Ottoman imperial service. It appears that the prestige and influence of Mehmed Agha at the Topkapı Palace helped his namesake grandson to find a place for himself in the palace kitchens. Mehmed Agha’s high-ranking position in the palace hierarchy also seems to provide Köprülü Mehmed Pasha with a good network that he can rely on and build his power during his long career in the imperial administration.

⁸³ “...[A]şçıbaşı kâimmakâmı iken bundan akdem vefât eden Mehmed Ağa b. Abdullah’ın sulbiye sagireleri olup mukaddemâ vefât eden Ümmühâni’nin verâseti li-üm kız karındaşı Âişe nâm hâtun ile li-ebeveyn müteveffâ er karındaşı oğlu merhûm Köprülü Mehmed Paşa’nın sulbî oğlu olup... bundan akdem Saray-ı Cedîd-i Sultânî’de hâssa tabbâhlara mahsûs *hastalar odası* demekle ma’rûf odaları müteveffâ-yı mezbûr Mehmed Ağa’nın hayâtında emri ile tecdîd ve ta’mîr edib...” *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1077 / M. 1666-1667)*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, trans. Rıfat Günelan (İstanbul: İSAM, 2011), 678. See also 741-742 and 742-743.

⁸⁴ See *Köprülüade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa Vakfiyesi*, SYEK, Köprülü Ekler, 4/2447, folio 5b: “Vilâyet-i Anadolu’da vatan-ı aslîleri olan Köprü demekle ma’rûf kasaba-ı Gedegre’de...”

1.2.2 The Köprülüs as a Household

In an article in which he pointed out the importance of vizier and pasha households (*kapis*) to provide staff for the high Ottoman administrative positions in the second half of the seventeenth century, Rifa‘at ‘Ali Abou-El-Haj mentioned Köprülü Mehmed Pasha as a “Muslim-born graduate of the palace” who “was able to found the vezir-paşa *kapi* par excellence.”⁸⁵ Abou-El-Haj was interested in the career line of Köprülü Mehmed, not as an individual but as the founder of the most famous household which dominated the Ottoman political life in the period. The Köprülü household, Abou-El-Haj claimed, won intra-elite power struggle at the center by surpassing at least forty other documented households and accumulated wealth and prestige to the degree that it could even oust the sultans who challenged its growing authority.⁸⁶

The term household in Ottoman historiography refers to a group of people who connected to each other by mutual ties of kinship and clientage under the leadership of a founding figure.⁸⁷ While the sultan’s household was the most prestigious and influential one, many other households emerged on the political scene, particularly in the years after the reign of Süleyman I, when the Ottoman dynasty increasingly began to lose its edge in controlling and managing imperial affairs.⁸⁸ It was within this lacuna of authority and the result of changing

⁸⁵ Rifa‘at Ali Abou-El-Haj, “The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households 1683-1703: A Preliminary Report,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94/4 (1974): 443 [438-447].

⁸⁶ Abou-El-Haj, “The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households,” 444. Some of the contemporary accounts argued that the Köprülüs aimed to establish a new system for the imperial administration. The role of the Ottoman dynasty in this system would be very minor. See Feridun M. Emecen, “Osmanlı Hanedanına Alternatif Arayışlar Üzerine Bazı Örnekler ve Mülahazalar,” *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6 (2001): 70-1 [63-76]. For a list of these households active in the period see Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics* (Leiden and Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1984), 90, fn. 329.

⁸⁷ For a discussion on the term see Jane Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdağlıs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 17-27; Hathaway, “The Household: An Alternative Framework for the Military Society of Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Egypt,” *Oriente Moderno*, Nuova serie, Anno 18 (79)/1 (1999): 57-66.

⁸⁸ For the growing literature on Ottoman households –in addition the works of Abou-El-Haj and Hathaway cited above- see Metin Kunt, “Kulların Kulları,” *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi/Hümaniter Bilimler* 3 (1975): 27-42; Kunt, *The Sultan’s Servants*; Carter V. Findley, “Political Culture and the Great Households,” in *The Cambridge*

military, administrative, and fiscal needs of the empire that one can better comprehend the emergence of the households as the new power bases in Ottoman politics.⁸⁹ To be more specific, the rise of the households in Ottoman politics was a development that was closely related to the changing nature of imperial recruitment and staffing practices. During the early Ottoman centuries, the sultan and his household constituted the main center of power and prestige since it was the sultan who recruited his *kuls* or servants through the devshirme slave system. After completing their training in the palace school and at other designated locations, the sultan employed the devshirmes in the high administrative and military ranks of the empire as his royal servants.⁹⁰ When the practice of devshirme became sporadic and scattered by the end of the sixteenth century, though it continued until the beginning of the eighteenth century,⁹¹ the households emerged as the new bases to recruit imperial staff. Mustafa Akdağ referred to this development as a process in which the inner palace servants lost their monopoly in the state administration.⁹² Abou-El-Haj maintained that this new development led to the rise of vizier and pasha households in imperial politics. The most lucrative positions in the government were shared by the graduates of the palace school and the members of other political households in almost equal proportions in the mid-seventeenth century.⁹³

Abou-El-Haj's proposal echoed what Tayyarzâde Ahmed Atâ Bey (d. after 1880) wrote earlier on the Köprülü household. The Ottoman historian maintained that the Köprülü

History of Turkey, vol. 3. The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 63-80; Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Ottoman Empire: The Age of 'Political Households' (Eleventh-Twelfth/Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries)," in *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. Maribel Ferro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 2: 366-410; Michael Nizri, *Ottoman High Politics and the Ulema Household* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

⁸⁹ Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, 6-9.

⁹⁰ For a recent study on devshirme system see Gülay Yılmaz, "The Devshirme System and the Levied Children of Bursa in 1603-4 A. D.," *Belleten* 286 (2015): 901-931.

⁹¹ Gábor Ágoston, "Devşirme," *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (New Yorks: Facts on File, 2009), 184 [183-5].

⁹² Mustafa Akdağ, "Genel Çizgileriyle XVII. Yüzyıl Türkiye Tarihi," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4/6-7 (1966): 212 [201-47].

⁹³ Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households 1683-1703," 443.

household consisted of men who had the capacity and merit to be employed in the highest imperial ranks. The Köprülü household, or to follow the words of the author, *Köprülüzâde dâiresi*, became a school and a training ground during the grand vizierate of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha.⁹⁴ Several graduates of this school held important positions in the imperial hierarchy. Ibrahim Pasha from Poçitel in Bosnia, the *kethüda* or steward of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, for instance, was appointed governor-general of Aleppo and governor-general of Egypt.⁹⁵ Sarı Süleyman Pasha, another Bosnian who was in the service of the grand vizier as his steward between 1673 and 1676, became *büyük mîrahur* or the head of the imperial stables in 1676.⁹⁶ Kara Mustafa Pasha from Merzifon, the most famous “graduate” of the Köprülü household, was appointed grand vizier upon the death of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha in 1676.

Studies on Ottoman political households offer new perspectives to better understand early modern Ottoman history. In his piece, Carter V. Findley interpreted the grand vizier appointment of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in 1656 by the queen mother Hadice Turhan Sultan (d. 1682) as a calculated policy on the part of the Ottoman dynasty to consolidate its power. Amid a political crisis, Hadice Turhan Sultan sought to curb the growing strength of the vizier and pasha households. Through the appointment of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, with full authority, she aimed to reassert dynastic control over the imperial politics by empowering one loyal household to dominate others. However, with the failed siege of Vienna in 1683 and territorial losses

⁹⁴ “Köprülüzâde dâiresi dahî ol vakitler hükmünce pek güzel bir mekteb-i tecârüb meksib [sic] olduğundan ol dâire-i ma‘ârif-i bâhirede istihdâm olunan ashâb-ı liyâkat ve kâbiliyyet-i hakikat-i şâyân istihdâm ve ri‘âyet olduğu zamanı tevârihini mutâla‘a idenlere âzâde-i kayd-ı îzâh ve işâretidir.” Tayyârzâde Ahmed Ata, *Tarih-i Ata*, 2: 143.

⁹⁵ *Îsâ-zâde Tarihi (Metin ve Tahlil)*, ed. Ziya Yılmaz (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1996), 106 (hereafter *Îsâ-zâde Tarihi*); *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 6: 281.

⁹⁶ On the career line of Sarı Süleyman Agha see Ömer Faruk Akün, “Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa ve Mîrahur Sarı Süleyman Ağa Mücadelesi ile İlgili Bir Konuşma Zabtı,” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 19 (1980): 7-64. In addition to shedding some light on the career of Süleyman Agha, this important study provides one of the rare recorded dialogues between two leading political figures in the early modern period.

ratified at Karlowitz (Turkish: Karlofça) in 1699, both the Köprülü domination and the imperial designs to reassert the dynastic control over politics faltered.⁹⁷

1.2.3 Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in the Service of the Ottoman Empire

Beginning from the years that he spent in the inner service (enderûn) of the Topkapı Palace, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha secured the backing of several influential statesmen including the Bosnian Hüsrev Pasha (d. 1632), the Albanian Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha (d. 1644), the Abkhazian İbşir Mustafa Pasha (d. 1655), and Boynuyaralı/Boynueğri Mehmed Pasha (d. 1666). It was due to this *intisâb* or patronage ties that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was able to occupy a variety of high posts in the retinues of these pashas.⁹⁸ Among these were *İhtisâb Ağası* (the Superintendent of Guilds), *Tophâne Nâzırı* (the Inspector of the Arsenals), *Sipâhiler Ağası* (the Commander of the Cavalry Officers), and *Cebecibaşı* (the Commander of the Armorers).⁹⁹

Abdizâde Hüseyin Hüsâmeddin informs us that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was *sanjak beyi* or district governor of Amasya for eight months in 1634. He governed the sanjak via Kuloğlu Mehmed Agha, his *mütesellim* or lieutenant governor when the central administration posted him to Erzurum encampment. Köprülü Mehmed Pasha returned to Köprü in 1635, the year when his eldest son Ahmed was born.¹⁰⁰ In the 1640s and early 1650s, he was appointed to several provinces as governor-general. It was during these years that he was ordered to put rebel

⁹⁷ Carter V. Findley, "Political Culture and the Great Households," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, vol. 3. The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 78.

⁹⁸ The life and imperial administration of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha became subject of several studies. See, for instance, Ahmed Refik, *Köprülüler*, 3-92; M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, "Köprülüler – I. Köprülü Mehmed Paşa," *İA* 6 (1955): 892-897; Uzunçarşılı, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, 4: 414-418; Metin İ. Kunt, "The Köprülü Years, 1656-1661" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1971); Ahmet Yılmaz Kavaklı, "Sadrazam Köprülü Mehmed Paşa'nın Devlet Otoritesini Yeniden Kurma Mücadelesi" (PhD diss., Ankara Üniversitesi, 1983); Vâhid Çabuk, *Köprülüler* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1988), 2-70; Mücteba İlgürel, "Köprülü Mehmed Paşa," *DİA* 26 (2002): 258-260; Halil İnalcık, *Devlet-i Aliyye. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Araştırmalar: Köprülüler Devri* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015), 27-62.

⁹⁹ Gökbilgin, "Köprülüler – I. Köprülü Mehmed Paşa," 893; Metin Kunt, "The Köprülü Years, 1656-1661," 40-41; İnalcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Araştırmalar*, 60.

¹⁰⁰ Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tarihi*, 4: 69-70.

governors in Anatolia under imperial control.¹⁰¹ When he had no position in the administration, Mehmed Pasha chose to stay in Köprü.¹⁰² Although he was not always present in the capital, he remained a respected figure within the political elite. From time to time, members of the upper echelons of the Ottoman government sought his advice in state affairs.¹⁰³ In 1651, he became a member of the imperial advisory council when Mehmed IV appointed him as one of the *kubbe* viziers, upon the recommendation of the Albanian chief-architect Koca Kasım Agha (d. 1659-1660).¹⁰⁴ Köprülü Mehmed Pasha did not, however, serve in this post for long. During the grand vizierate of Gürcü Mehmed Pasha (d. 1665, 1651-52 in office), who considered him as his rival, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha lost his position.¹⁰⁵ The author of the *Topkapı Anonymous* mentions that the pasha was imprisoned at Baba Cafer for his debts.¹⁰⁶ When İbşir Mustafa Pasha became the grand vizier, he appointed Köprülü Mehmed Pasha governor-general of Trablusşam (Tripoli) Province. In the meantime, Koca Kasım Agha, Şâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi (d. 1663), and Solakzâde Hemdemî Mehmed Efendi (d. 1657-8) convinced Hadice Turhan Sultan of the good faith and administrative capabilities of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha.¹⁰⁷ On September 14, 1656, after an audience with the queen mother where she took an oath to give him absolute independence in the state administration,¹⁰⁸ the fourteen-year-old Sultan Mehmed IV appointed the septuagenarian Köprülü Mehmed Pasha the new grand vizier.

Contemporary records mention that the grand vizier appointment of Köprülü Mehmed

¹⁰¹ Metin Kunt, "The Köprülü Years, 1656-1661," 42-43.

¹⁰² Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 256; *Târih-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1568; Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 603.

¹⁰³ Naima wrote that both İbşir Mustafa Pasha and Boynuyaralı/Boynueğri Mehmed Pasha met with Köprülü Mehmed Pasha on their ways to Istanbul when they were appointed grand viziers. They consulted him some issues regarding the state affairs. See *Târih-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1568 and 1697.

¹⁰⁴ Uzunçarşılı, 4: 416. Kunt, "The Köprülü Years," 44.

¹⁰⁵ Ayvansârâyî Hüseyin Efendi, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi'*, 241.

¹⁰⁶ *Topkapı Anonim*, 27b. See also Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 256.

¹⁰⁷ "... [M]âh-ı mezbûrun yigirmi beşinci Cum'a güninde Vezîr-i a'zâm Boynı-yâreli Mehmed Paşa'yı 'azl ve habs idüb ol esnâda henüz Şâm-ı Trablus Beğlerbeğisi olan Köprülü Mehmed Paşa'yı ba'zı mukarreb bendelerinün ta'rîf ü terbiyesiyle huzûr-ı şerîflerine getürüp ve mühr-i hümayûn kendüye teslim ve kânûn-ı kadîm üzre bir sevb kürkli ser-â-ser..." *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, ed. Fahri Çetin Derin (İstanbul: Çamlıca Basın Yayın, 2009), 98 (hereafter *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*).

¹⁰⁸ *Târih-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1700-1.

Pasha became a surprise for many.¹⁰⁹ In a short time, however, the old pasha proved himself as the long sought-after statesman who, in the words of Katip Çelebi, would submit people to “truth” (*haqq*) or discipline.¹¹⁰ Upon receiving the news of this appointment, Melek Ahmed Pasha (d. 1662), a leading political figure who held the post of the grand vizierate for a year in 1650-1, stated that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha saw much of the hot and cold of fate, suffered much of poverty and penury, gained much experience from campaigns, and knew the ways of the world.¹¹¹ Having accepted the post of the grand vizier amid a major political and financial crisis, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha first aimed to drive the Venetians out of the entrance of the Marmara Sea. For the last few years, the Venetian fleet blockaded the Straits of Çanakkale (Dardanelles) and thus disrupted the Ottoman lines of trade, travel, communication, and food supply in the Mediterranean.¹¹² In June 1656, the Venetians also won a decisive naval victory over the Ottomans. Before focusing his attention on the Venetian embargo, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha thought that it was necessary to bring order and discipline to the Ottoman capital. He banished the ringleaders of the troublesome sectarian Kadızâdeli group to Cyprus¹¹³ and ordered the execution of several cavalymen and their officials who protested the exile of the commander-in-chief Seydî Ahmed Pasha to Bosnia.¹¹⁴ In 1657, mainly to raise funds for a new fleet,

¹⁰⁹ See *Târîh-i Gılmânî*, 52. Abdi Paşa and Nâimâ also made similar comments: “Egerçi Sadâret-i uzumâ için Vezîr Hasekî Mehmed Paşa tasvîm olunmuşidi. Lâkin âna mukadder olmamağın Şâm’dan gelmesine tevakkuf olunmayub iktizâ-yı maslahat hasebiyle böyle vâkı’ [oldu].” *Abdi Paşa Vekayi’nâmesi*, 98-99. “Saray-ı Âmire’de ve taşrada hakikat-i hâle muttalı’ olmayanlar vezîr-i müşârun-ileyhin sadra geldiğini istiğrab edip zu’m-ı fâsid ashâbı nazar-ı i’tibâra salındırmadılar ve diledikleri gibi yine umûr u mesâliha karışmak sevdâsında oldular.” *Târîh-i Nâimâ*, 4: 1718. See also *Topkapı Anonymous*, 27b; *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 5: 53; Kunt, “The Köprülü Years,” 130.

¹¹⁰ Katib Çelebi, *Düstûrî’l-‘amel li-islâhi’l-halel* (İstanbul: Tasvîr-i Efkâr Gazetesi Matbaası, 1280 [1863]), 124. See also Metin Kunt, “Nâimâ, Köprülü, and the Grand Vezirate,” *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi Hümaniter Bilimler – Humanities* 1 (1973): 61 [57-63].

¹¹¹ Robert Dankoff, *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman, Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588-1662) as Portrayed in Evliya Çelebi’s Book of Travels* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1991), 205.

¹¹² “Venedik küffârının bu gûne ‘isyanı sebebiyle Akdeniz’de olan cemî cezîreleri küffâr haraca kesüp niçe bin hüccâc tüccâr gemilerin alır oldu. Ve her sene Akdeniz’e çıkan donanma-yı hümâyunı münhedim idüp gemileri Venedik’e götürür oldu. Bu hâl üzre ahvâl-i Âl-i Osmân perîşân-hâl oldu.” *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 1: 112.

¹¹³ *Abdi Paşa Vekayi’nâmesi*, 99.

¹¹⁴ *Abdi Paşa Vekayi’nâmesi*, 100-103; *Târîh-i Nâimâ*, 4: 1720-5. *Târîh-i Nihâdî*, 29. Kunt, “The Köprülü Years,” 95-98.

Köprülü Mehmed Pasha ordered cutbacks in government spending. He, for instance, decreased the salaries of *duâgûs* (those who recite the prayers).¹¹⁵ When the *sheikh* Sâlim, a Moroccan kabbalist and necromancer, opposed the fiscal policy of the grand vizier and challenged his authority, he did not hesitate to execute him.¹¹⁶

The historian Nâimâ recorded that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha established an intelligence gathering network under his command.¹¹⁷ Probably after gathering intelligence through this network, the grand vizier questioned the Orthodox Patriarch Parthenius III and hanged him in Istanbul on the grounds that he encouraged Constantin Şerban, the voivode of Wallachia, to rebel against Ottoman rule.¹¹⁸ In order to have a freer hand in his administration, the grand vizier made several significant changes to the high imperial hierarchy and placed his supporters and protégés in the principal offices.¹¹⁹ He recommended the sultan, for instance, to appoint his protégé Bolevî Mustafa Efendi (d. 1662) sheikh-ul-Islam instead of Bâlîzâde Mustafa Efendi (d. 1662) who refused to issue a juridical opinion which the grand vizier had asked for in order to execute Deli Hüseyin Pasha.¹²⁰ After establishing his power base in Istanbul, Köprülü

¹¹⁵ Kunt, "The Köprülü Years," 131.

¹¹⁶ *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 99 and 103; *Târîh-i Nâimâ*, 4: 1728-9. On the fiscal policy of the grand vizier see *Târîh-i Nâimâ*, 4: 1734-5; Robert Mantran, *17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul: Kurumsal, İktisadi, Toplumsal Tarih Denemesi*, trans. Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay and Enver Özcan (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1990), 1: 235-6.

¹¹⁷ *Târîh-i Nâimâ*, 4: 1722.

¹¹⁸ "İstanbul'da Rum Patriki Eflâk Voyvodası olan Kostantin nâm pelide ilkâ-yı fesâdı mutazammın ekâzible memlû gönderdüğü varaka-i bâtila tutulup hiyâneti zâhir olıcak, kendüye su'âl olundukda cevâbında 'beher sene sadaka tahsili için bu makûle kağıd göndere gelmişüzdür' deyü ikrâr itmeğin Parmakkapı'da salb olundu." *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 103-4; *Târîh-i Nâimâ*, 4: 1730. Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and the Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 99.

¹¹⁹ Kunt, "The Köprülü Years," 61-2.

¹²⁰ "Mansıb-ı meşihat-ı İslâmiyye vezir-i 'azam'un ta'rîf ve terbiyesiyle mezîd-i avâtîf-ı hüsvânîden Rum-ili kâdî-askeri Bolevî Mustafa Efendi'ye 'inâyet buyrulub..." *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 107. Although a protégé of the grand vizier, Bolevî Mustafa Efendi sent a secret letter to the sultan to make a complaint about the harsh governmental methods of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. He lost his position when the sultan informed the grand vizier about this letter. Köprülü Mehmed Pasha exiled Bolevî Mustafa Efendi to Egypt. See *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 133; Abdülkadir Altunsu, *Osmanlı Şeyhülislâmları* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1972), 88-89; Michael Winter, "Cultural Ties between Istanbul and Ottoman Egypt," in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, ed. Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki, and Rhoads Murphey (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 1: 193. [187-202]. Biographical dictionaries mentioned Bolevî Mustafa Efendi as a wise, learned man who was famous with his vast knowledge in rational sciences. See Şeyhî, *Vekâyi'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 423. In the early years of his grand vizierate, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha had good and intimate relations with Bâlîzâde Mustafa Efendi. *Târîh-i Nâimâ*, 4: 1722.

Mehmed Pasha sailed to the Mediterranean Sea and succeeded in ending the Venetian blockade when he regained Bozcaada, Limni (Greek: Limnos), and Semadirek (Greek: Samothrace) islands.¹²¹ After this remarkable military success, he consolidated his power and gained the full trust and protection of the dynasty.¹²² As another remarkable military success, he conducted a military expedition against George Rákóczi II (d. 1660), the prince of Erdel (Transylvania) who declared his independence from the Ottomans and made a plan to take the Polish crown.¹²³ At the end of the Transylvanian campaign, the grand vizier defeated Rákóczi II and put stricter controls in the region by regaining Yanova (Hungarian: Borosjenő; Romanian: Ineu) and annexing Oradea (Ottoman: Varad; Hungarian: Nagyvárad; German: Grosswardein).¹²⁴ As soon as he returned from Transylvania, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha made preparations to end a large-scale revolt led by Abaza Hasan Pasha, the ex-governor of Aleppo, in Anatolia in 1658. When the revolt ended the next year, he appointed the Bosnian İsmail Pasha to carry out investigations throughout the Ottoman lands stretching from Üsküdar to Arabia. He ordered him to find out and execute anyone, including soldiers, governors, *müderries*, judges, and even descendants of the Prophet Muhammed, who took part, one way or another, in the rebellion.¹²⁵ Metin Kunt stated that İsmail Pasha's more important task was to restore the basic order of

¹²¹ *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1755, 1767-9. Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century*, 186-188. Before his campaign to the island, the grand vizier ordered the execution of Abaza Ahmed Pasha who was responsible for the defense of Bozcaada against the Venetians. See M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, "Köprülüler," *İA* 6 (1955): 894. For a list of items that were brought from the inheritance of Abaza Ahmed Pasha to the imperial treasury see TSMA, D. 2315, fol. 21a.

¹²² "Şevketlü pâdişâhımız hazretleri, vezîr-i 'azam kullarını himâyet ü sıyânet husûsında şol mertebe ızhâr-ı salâbet ü metânet buyurdular ki, huzûr-ı hümayunlarında anun hilâfına bir söz söylemeğe kimsenün zehresi kalmamışdı." *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 123 and 133. "Lisân-ı hümayundan sudûr iden kelâm bu imiş ki, 'senin işine karışanların cezalarını sana tefvîz eyledim. Nice bilirsen öyle eyle ve ba'de'l-yevm işine kimse karışmasın müdahale edenlerin haklarından gel.'" *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1727.

¹²³ Evliya Çelebi noted that there was an enmity between Rákóczi and Köprülü Mehmed Pasha which went back to the days when the latter was the pasha of Eger. See *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 5: 74.

¹²⁴ While Köprülü Mehmed Pasha captured Yanova, it was Köse Ali Pasha who annexed Oradea to the Ottoman lands. For the details of the campaign and negotiations between the Ottoman and the Transylvanian representatives see *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 124-8. With the outbreak of the revolt of Abaza Hasan Pasha in Anatolia, the grand vizier had to return to Edirne. He assigned Ali Pasha the commander-in-chief of the army for the siege of Varad. See *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 143-5. For an imperial order that was sent to Ali Pasha after the conquest of Varad see Sächsische Landesbibliothek/Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden ms. Eb. 387, 1b-2a.

¹²⁵ Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 190-1; *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1837.

Ottoman society, that is, to remove all persons from among groups where they did not belong and to return them to their original positions. During his general inspection, İsmail Pasha also revised the provincial registers with an aim to re-establish a sound basis for taxation in Anatolia.¹²⁶

While İsmail Pasha was carrying out his investigations, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha sent a naval military unit and some troops from Manisa and Kütahya against Kör Mustafa Pasha, the governor-general of Antalya, who also rebelled against the Ottoman government. As in the case of the Abaza Hasan Pasha rebellion, the government forces were successful in suppressing this revolt without a major military confrontation.¹²⁷ Linda T. Darling stated that the re-establishment of peace and order in Anatolia during the grand vizierate of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha improved the safety of tax collection and revenue transfer to the capital and thus enabled the central treasury to recover from budget deficits. The central treasury managed to pay the salaries of the Ottoman soldiers on time and in undebased coin.¹²⁸ Köprülü Mehmed Pasha remained in the post of grand vizier until his death on October 31, 1661. Metin Kunt stated that when he died, the pasha left behind an empire internally secure enough to pursue an expansionist policy over the coming decades.¹²⁹ Before his death, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha recommended the sultan to appoint Fazıl Ahmed Pasha to succeed him in the office.¹³⁰ He thus left his eldest son the highest administrative position in the imperial hierarchy, in the words of

¹²⁶ Kunt, "The Köprülü Years," 118-20.

¹²⁷ Kunt, "The Köprülü Years," 117.

¹²⁸ Linda T. Darling, "Public Finances: The Role of the Ottoman Centre," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 3, *The Later Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 123 [118-132]. As an example of his strict financial policy, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha confiscated 47,000 sheep, 300 mares, 370 camels, and 17 mules of the ex-grand vizier Melek Ahmed Pasha. He claimed that they were belonged to the rebel Abaza Hasan Agha but were illegally taken by Melek Ahmed Pasha as office dues. See Dankoff, *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman, Melek Ahmed Pasha*, 224. Abou-El-Haj argued that the struggle within the ruling elite affected the imperial capacity to collect taxes from the Ottoman provinces. It appears that, in addition to bring order to the provinces, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha aimed to intra-elite power struggle to increase the imperial revenues. See, *Formation of the Modern State*, 14.

¹²⁹ Kunt, "The Köprülü Years," 135.

¹³⁰ Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 249; Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 135.

a contemporary western observer, as a “political inheritance.”¹³¹

In addition to his political and military activities, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha established several charitable foundations in a vast geographical area extending from Ottoman Syria to northern Hungary.¹³² In his research on the Köprülü family endowments, Metin Kunt discussed the charitable foundations of the grand vizier as an illustration of his use of the waqf institution in the service of the empire. Kunt noted that through these charitable foundations, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha provided security and protection to long-distance travelers and brought prosperity and Ottoman culture to the lands that the Ottoman armies had conquered.¹³³ Rifa‘at ‘Ali Abou-El-Haj also described the charitable foundations of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha as *noblesse oblige*. He defined the waqf system as one of the most significant sources of income for the heads of the grandee households in the seventeenth century and mentioned that it was a custom for individual grantees to commit their wealth to public service to meet their civic responsibilities. Abou-El-Haj further claimed that the charitable foundations should not, however, mask the ideological uses of their commitment. By sacrificing a small portion of their wealth, the ruling elite aimed to preserve their prestige and prevented the confiscation of their possessions. When they appointed leading members of the ulema as *nāzır* or the guardians of their religious foundations, they also created legitimacy for themselves among the learned

¹³¹ According Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, a French traveler and enterprising merchant who was in the Ottoman capital during the early years of the grand vizierate of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, Köprülü Mehmed left a political inheritance to his son by training him with skills that would help him to conduct the imperial affairs successfully. See Tavernier, *17. Yüzyılda Topkapı Sarayı*, ed. Necdet Sakaoğlu and trans. Teoman Tunçdoğan (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2007), 146-147. For a list of items that were brought from the inheritance of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha to the imperial treasury see TSMA, D. 2315, fol. 35a.

¹³² For imperial orders that were sent to the Ottoman authorities in Anatolia and central Europe regarding the pious foundations of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha see Dresden ms. Eb. 387, 32b and 33a.

¹³³ Metin Kunt, “The Waqf as an Instrument of Public Policy,” 198. Several contemporary Ottoman and European authors, including Katib Çelebi and Chevalier d’Arvieux, expressed their griefs on abandoned and ruined villages in Anatolia. Katib Çelebi suggested the ruling elite to find remedies that would heal the problems prevailed in the provinces. See Katib Çelebi, *Düstûrî’l-‘amel li-islâhi’l-halel*, 126-7. Warren H. Lewis, *Levantine Adventurer: The Travels and Mission of the Chevalier d’Arvieux, 1653-1697* (London: A. Deutsch, 1962), 62. It is therefore possible to understand the large-scale construction campaign of the Köprülü grand viziers in various parts of the empire as an attempt to support the socio-economic and cultural life in the provinces.

hierarchy.¹³⁴

The charitable foundations of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha include two inns and a water conduit in Turhal in the sanjak of Amasya -which he had made waqf before his grand vizierate,- and six mosques, a *masjid* (small mosque), a bathroom, seven primary schools, four inns, one hundred and fourteen shops, a *namazgāh* (prayer room), a public fountain, a coffeehouse, a stable, a bakery, a waterwheel, and a large complex in Idlib/Syria. This large complex in Idlib had a fort, an inn, a mosque, a primary school, and a *masjid* in it.¹³⁵ Mücteba İlgürel informs us that, in addition to these buildings, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha built a waterway in Vezirköprü, a bridge between Hendek and Sapanca, and some other public works in Antalya, Lefke, and Ottoman Hungary.¹³⁶ Among these buildings, only the shops, bathhouse, coffeehouse, inns, and mills generated revenues for the expenditures of his charities. Since the revenues that these commercial buildings generated were not enough to meet the expenses of the public charities, the sultan granted some rural sources in the form of *temlik* or full ownership to the grand vizier.¹³⁷ These rural sources included thirty-seven villages, eighteen *mazraas* (arable lands), four summer pastures, two markets, and four estates.

Metin Kunt provided the following table to demonstrate the public and commercial buildings that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha endowed:¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State*, 46 and 57-8.

¹³⁵ Sultan Murat Topçu, “Suriye’nin İdlip İline Bağlı Cısr-i Şuğur Kasabası’ndaki Köprülü Mehmed Paşa’nın Vakıf Eserleri,” *Bilgi* 60 (2012): 237-56.

¹³⁶ Mücteba İlgürel, “Köprülü Mehmed Paşa,” *DİA* 26 (2002): 260. For an archival document on the bridge between Hendek and Sapanca see BOA, İE. EV. 11/1263.

¹³⁷ In the *temlik* or *mülk* grants, large tracts of public lands were conferred upon certain people as private properties. It was a practice that went back to the early centuries of the Ottoman history but reached its peak in the late seventeenth- and eighteenth centuries. See Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler. I. İstilâ Devrinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942): 279-386 and Aboul-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State*, 16 and 47.

¹³⁸ *a* for bathhouse, coffeehouse, stable, waterwheel (*dolab*), and bakery; *b* for fountain and *namazgāh*, and *c* for fort.

	Mosque	<i>Masjid</i>	Primary schools	Inn	Shop	Mill	Miscellaneous
Bozcaada	1	1	1	1	84	9	5 ^a
Yanova	1	-	2	-	30	9	-
Rujnik [Roshnik]	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Amasya	1	-	1	2	-	-	2 ^b
Karaoğlan Beli	1	-	1	1	-	-	-
Taraklıborlu	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Cisr-i Sugur [Jisr al-Shughur]	1	1	1	1	-	-	1 ^c
TOTAL	7	2	8	5	114	18	8

Table 1. Metin Kunt's List for the Endowments of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha

Kunt carried out a pioneering study of the charitable works of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and put a novel interpretation on them. His list, however, needs revision. Here is a more detailed list that Sultan Murat Topçu recently offered:¹³⁹

	Mosque	<i>Masjid</i>	Madrasa	Inn	Bathhouse	Fountain	Prayer Area	<i>Mekteb</i>
Vezirköprü	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-
Gümüşhacıköy	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	1
Turhal	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	
Hekimhan	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Safranbolu	1	-	-		-	-	-	1
Bilecik	1	-	-	1	1	2	-	1
Bozcaada	1	1	-	1	2	-	-	1
İstanbul		1	2	1	-	2	-	-
Yanova	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Cisr-i Arad	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Varad	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Ruznik [Roshnik]	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Cisr-i Şuğur [Jisr al-Shughur]	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1
TOTAL	10	2	3	10	5	5	1	8

Table 2. Sultan Murat Topçu's List for the Endowments of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha

¹³⁹ Topçu, *Güçün Mimariye Yansıması*, 36-37. Although quite detailed in covering the family endowments of the Köprülüs, Topçu's study suffers from serious misreading and misunderstanding of the original texts. See, for instance, "karyeler hasılının hamisi" (protector of the village revenues), instead of "karyeler hasılının hımsu" (one fifth of the village revenues) (p. 153) or "silahhanemi" (my arsenal), instead of "selh hânemi" (my slaughterhouse) (p. 185, fn. 523).

Topçu's list demonstrated that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, in addition to his other public works, built three madrasas and eight primary schools. While the Ottoman ruling elite showed a tendency to establish their religious foundations in their homelands, the geographical distribution of the primary schools and madrasas that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha endowed proved his support for public education in almost all the corners of the empire. Two madrasas (one *Dârulkurrâ* and one *Dârulhadis*) in Istanbul; another madrasa in Varad;¹⁴⁰ primary schools in Yanova, Roshnik, Bilecik, Gümüşhacıköy (Amasya), Hekimhan (Malatya), Safranbolu, Jisr al-Shughur (Idlib), and Bozcaada.¹⁴¹ In addition to building these centers of learning and staffing them, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha also donated some texts, most of them religious in nature, to his public works.¹⁴² On his deathbed, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha requested from Fazıl Ahmed Pasha to look after his charities in Anatolia and to complete those that remained unfinished in Istanbul and the Balkans.¹⁴³

Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's contributions to education and cultural activities in the empire were not limited to his public charities. He patronized calligraphers such as Esrar Katibi Hüseyin to produce one of his finest and most beautiful copies of the Qur'ân.¹⁴⁴ While some of the authors described him as an undereducated politico-military leader who was not interested

¹⁴⁰ For a list of villages and other revenue-generating sources that were allocated for Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's pious foundations in Varad see BOA, TTD, 792, 43 ff. For a mosque that he built in Varad see BOA, İE. EV. 23/2692.

¹⁴¹ Yasemin Demircan - Hamza Keleş, "Köprülü Mehmed Paşa'nın 1068 (1658) Tarihli Bozcaada Vakfiyesi," *Gazi Üniversitesi Kastamonu Eğitim Dergisi* 7/2 (1999): 127-142.

¹⁴² Nine precious copies of the Qur'ân, one with interlinear Persian translation (no. 7), that were kept in the Köprülü Manuscript Library in Istanbul had the seal of waqf of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha ("Köprülü Mehmed Paşa sene 1072"). They were most probably relocated from the tomb of the grand vizier in the complex near Dikilitaş to the library in a later period. See *Köprülü Kütüphanesi Yazmalar Kataloğu*, ed. Ramazan Şeşen, Cevat İzgi and Cemil Akpınar (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1406/1986), 1: 7.

¹⁴³ "Oğlum Ahmed, işte ben âhirete gideyorum Allah te'âlâ imandan ayırmaya. Sana üç vaşiiyetim vardır: Biri Anadolu'da olan vakıflarımı unutmayasın ve biri Rûm-ilin'de nâ-tamâm olan gerek hân ve gerek câmi' ve gayri olan hâyratımı gözden birağub unutma. Emmâ ki Dikilidâş yanında kalan nâ-tamâm hâyratım cân ile ana pek muqayyed olasın..." See Abubekir Sıddık Yücel, "Mühürdar Hasan Ağa'nın Cevâhirü't-Tevârih'i" (PhD diss., Erciyes Üniversitesi, 1996), 142 (Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevârih*).

¹⁴⁴ The copy of the Qur'ân, no. 9, kept in the Köprülü Manuscript Library. In the colophon, "Kâtib-i esrâr-ı sultân" Hüseyin stated that he completed his work in December 1660 as the ninth Qur'ân copy that he completed in his calligraphy career.

in extending his favors to the men of letters,¹⁴⁵ records are referring to the cultural patronage of the grand vizier. Ahmed Nâmî (d. 1673), a *müderri*s and judge from central Anatolia, for instance, presented two *kasîdes* or odes to Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. Ahmed Nâmî expressed in his *divan* (collection of poems) that he received favors from the grand vizier in return to his *kasîdes*.¹⁴⁶ Mezâkî Süleyman Efendi (d. 1676) also presented a *kasîde* to Köprülü Mehmed Pasha upon his grand vizier appointment. During his tenure in the post, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha employed Mezâkî Süleyman Efendi as his *tezkiireci* or secretary.¹⁴⁷ Among other poets who wrote *kasîdes* and *medhiyes* (eulogies) to Köprülü Mehmed Pasha were Vecîhî Hasan Efendi (d. 1661)¹⁴⁸ and Nâ'îlî Mustafa Efendi (d. 1666).¹⁴⁹ Two other poets, Nisârî Hüseyin (d. after 1662) and Zekî Halil Efendi (d. 1703?), composed chronograms using *ebced* (the method of dating through enumeration by letters of the alphabet) on the conquests of the grand vizier.¹⁵⁰ Râcî and 'Ahdî also composed chronograms on his death.¹⁵¹

In addition to the poets, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha extended his patronage to several religious scholars. Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi used the word *intisâb*, derived from the Arabic root word *nasaba*, to express the mutually contested relationship that was established between these people and the grand vizier. Although some of the Ottoman authors including Gelibolulu Mustafa 'Ali (d. 1600) and Koçi Bey (d. circa 1650) condemned it, and some others such as

¹⁴⁵ See, for instance, Özlem Ercan, "Baba-Oğul Sadrazamların Şairlere Farklı Yaklaşımları ve Fazıl Ahmed Paşa'ya Yazılan Manzumeler," *Turkish Studies* 7/2 (2012), 463-4 [461-80]. See also Elias John Wilkinson Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, ed. Edward G. Browne (London: Luzac & Co., 1900-9), 3: 302-3.

¹⁴⁶ "Sadr-ı a'zam Köprülü Mehmed Paşa[ya] virilüp in'âmları görülmüştür." For the *kasîdes* see Ahmet Yenikale, "Ahmet Nâmî Divânı ve İncelemesi" (PhD Diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2002), 41-47.

¹⁴⁷ Mustafa Safâî Efendi, *Tezkire-i Şafâî*, 540. For the *kasîde* that he presented to Köprülü Mehmed Pasha see Ahmet Mermer, *Mezâkî: Hayatı, Edebî Kişiliği ve Divanı'nın Tenkidli Metni* (Ankara: AKMY, 1991), 203-205.

¹⁴⁸ See Gazanfer Aslantaş, "Vecîhî, Hayatı, Eserleri ve Divanı'nın Tenkidli Metni" (master's thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi, 1994).

¹⁴⁹ *Nâ'îlî Divânı*, ed. Haluk İpekten (Ankara: Akçağ, 1990), 81-84.

¹⁵⁰ Nisârî on Bozcaada (1656) and Zekî on Varad (1660). See Ayvansarâyî, *Mecmuâ-i Tevârih*, 23.

¹⁵¹ Râcî: "Dâr-ı 'adnî Köprülü Pâşâ ide cây ve mekân" (1072=1661) in Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 603. For the chronogram of 'Ahdî see Leiden University Library, Turkish Manuscripts, Cod. Or. 1159a, fol. 3a cf. *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections in the Netherlands*, compiled by Jan Schmidt (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2000), 1: 480.

Nâimâ Mustafa Efendi (d. 1716) and Defterdâr Mehmed Pasha (d. 1717) considered it legitimate, *intisâb* or patron-client relationships was a well-accepted practice in early modern Ottoman society. It played a crucial role in almost every appointment in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mainly after the rise of the households in Ottoman politics.¹⁵² Among the people who benefitted from the patronage of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in the mid-seventeenth century were Vecdî Abdülbâkî Bey (d. 1661), Üsküdârî Ahmed Ramazan Efendi (d. 1667), Neffâtî Şeyh Mehmed Efendi (d. 1668), Dahkî Mustafa Efendi (d. 1680), Kara Himmet Efendi (d. 1685), Çalık Damadı Hafız Mehmed Efendi (d. 1691), and Veliyyüddin Efendi (d. 1693). In opposition to the argument of Metin Kunt, who referred to ethnic-regional solidarity as one of the main operative factors in Ottoman politics to gain ascendancy in imperial and social hierarchies,¹⁵³ biographies of these poets and scholarly-judicial figures demonstrated that the ethnic-regional solidarity was not a determinant factor to be a protégé of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and to rise in the imperial hierarchy with his support. There was not anyone from Ottoman Albania in this list, and the only figure from the Balkans was the Bosnian Mezâkî Süleyman Efendi. The others were from Niğde (Ahmed Nâmî), Crimea (Vecîhî Hasan Efendi), Istanbul (Nâ'ilî Mustafa and Vecdî Abdülbâkî Bey), Tunis (Neffâtî Şeyh Mehmed Efendi), Kazdağı (Veliyyüddin Efendi), Maraş (Üsküdârî Ahmed Ramazan Efendi), Bursa (Çalık Damadı Hafız Mehmed Efendi), Siroz (Dahkî Mustafa Efendi), and Anatolia (Kara Himmet Efendi). Their biographies also testify that there was not one but various ways and reasons to enter the patronage of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha.

Vecdî Abdülbâkî Bey, a secretary in the Ottoman Imperial Council, received favors and official appointment from the *Reîsü'l-küttâb* (the Chief Scribe) Şâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi before he attracted the attention of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. Şâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi

¹⁵² Aboul-El-Hajj, *Formation of the Modern State*, 27 and 56.

¹⁵³ Metin Kunt, "Ethnic-Regional (Cins) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment."

employed Vecdî Abdülbâkî as his *beylikci* and entrusted him to compose important and secret matters in official form.¹⁵⁴ Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was also satisfied with the service of Vecdî Abdülbâkî and extended him his favors. Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi recorded that the grand vizier's intimacy with Vecdî Abdülbâkî caused envy and enmity on the part of Şâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi and led him to make false accusations against his *beylikci*.¹⁵⁵ On May 3, 1661, Vecdî Abdülbâkî Bey, together with Sadreddinzâde Ruhullah Efendi, the former judge of Bursa and Istanbul, and Mehmed Agha from the ranks of the imperial gatekeepers were executed in the Alay Köşkü in front of the sultan. They were blamed for engaging in occult sciences to make changes in the high imperial ranks.¹⁵⁶

Like Vecdî Abdülbâkî Bey, Neffâtî Şeyh Mehmed Efendi and Veliyyüddin Efendi entered the patronage of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha due to their expertise and professional services. Neffâtî Şeyh Mehmed Efendi, originally from Tunis, was, in the words of Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, “an expert in Arabic sciences.” He became a member of the Köprülü household and, after receiving his *mülâzemet* (the candidacy for teaching), was appointed to the

¹⁵⁴ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 711. See also İsmail Belîğ, *Nuḥbetü'l-Âşâr li-zeyli zübdeti'l-Eş'âr*, 508; XVII. *Yüzyıl Divan Şairi Vecdî ve Dîvânçesi*, ed. Ahmet Mermer (Ankara: MEB, 2002) and 17. *Yüzyıl Divan Şairlerinden Vecdî (Abdülbaki) Divanı*, ed. Mehmet Aydın (Prizren: Balkan Türkoloji Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2003).

¹⁵⁵ “Vecdî, Boğuk Mustafa Ağazâde İstanbulî ‘Abdülbâkî Bey’dir. Küttâb-ı dîvân-ı sultânî zümresinden iken erkân-ı devlet-i ‘aliyyeden Reîsü'l-küttâb Şâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi’nin manzûru olmağın beylikcilik hıdmetiyle şerefîyâb olmuşdu. Ol takarrubıyla hıdemâtından Sadr-ı ‘azam Köprülü Mehmed Paşa dahî hoşnûd olub ziyâde iltifât itmekle müşârun ileyh Şâmîzâde Efendi hased eyleyüb âkıbet-i mezbûrun letâyifü'l-hıyeli ile bin yetmiş bir Ramazân-ı şerîfinin dördüncü sülâsâ günü mazhar-ı gazab-ı hüsrevânî olub tafsîli Sadreddinzâde Rûhullah Efendi’nin tercümesinde zikr olunduğı üzere Alay Köşki mukâbilinde ser-bürîde kılındı.” Şeyhî, *Vekâyi'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 711.

¹⁵⁶ “Sahib-i tercümenin [Sadreddinzâde Rûhullah Efendi] ‘ilm-i nücûma intisâbı olub Beylikci Vecdî Çelebi ve Dergâh-ı ‘âlî kapucubaşlarından Konya Abazası Mehmed Ağa ile sohbet ve beynlerinde vakı’a mürâselât ve mekâtîbât ile fenleri ba’zı hüssâd-ı bed-nihâd gammazıyla devlet-i ‘aliyyeye hıyânet kaskına haml olunub ‘ilm-i nücûmla ba’zı muğayyebâtıtan haber ve erkân-ı devlet ve vükelây-ı saltanatın ‘azl ve nasblarına müte‘allik ekâzîb şuyû‘u nizâm-ı ‘âleme zarar verdüğünden mâ‘ada neticesinde fesâd-ı ‘azîme sâyi’ olmak sebebiyle mücib-i şer‘îsî istiftâ ve şeyhülislam Esîrî Mehmed Efendi dahî katl ile iftâ etmeğın padişah-ı ‘âlem-penâh hazretlerine bu cümle ‘arz olundukda bin yetmiş bir ramazanının dördüncü sülâsâ günü saâdetle alay köşkünü teşrîf buyurub mezbûrun vucûdları ... nâbud kılındı.” See Şeyhî, *Vekâyi'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 284 Abdi Pasha also referred to the event in his chronicle. See *Abdi Paşa Vekâyi’nâmesi*, 149. Altunsu and İpşirli maintained that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha killed Sadreddinzâde Ruhullah Efendi since the latter engineered the execution the sheikh-ul-Islam Hocaâde Mesud Efendi in 1656 in Bursa under false pretences. See Abdülkadir Altunsu, *Osmanlı Şeyhülislamı*, 83-4; Mehmet İpşirli, “Mesud Efendi, Hocaâde,” *DİA* 29 (2004): 345-6. See also Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 225.

Molla Kestel Madrasa in June 1650. In a short time, in June 1654, he reached to Mûsıla-i Sahn and then, in April 1661, to the Süleymaniye *Darü'l-Hadîs*, one of the highest positions in the scholarly hierarchy. He continued his career in the judicial organization until his death in March 1668.¹⁵⁷

Veliyyüddin Efendi served Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and his household in his capacity as *hâce* or private teacher. Born in a village of Kösedere in Kazdağı, he came to Istanbul and studied at different madrasas for about twenty years. With the support of the grand vizier, he moved up the scholarly hierarchy rather quickly. In April 1657, he was appointed to Molla Şeref Madrasa and, in July 1664, during the grand vizierate of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, he held a teaching post in the Sahn-ı Semân. Veliyyüddin Efendi did not have any judicial position and died in October 1693 during his retirement.¹⁵⁸

Üsküdârî Ahmed Ramazan Efendi and Hâfız Mehmed Efendi became protégés of the Köprülü household not due to their professional services but chiefly because of their personal relations with Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. In April 1651, Ahmed Ramazan Efendi, who was then the judge of Üsküdar, helped the pasha when he had serious financial problems. Ahmed Ramazan Efendi was the judge of the court where Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was tried due to his debts which amounted to five hundred *guruş*. When the pasha declared that he had no means to pay the debts, Ahmed Ramazan Efendi paid the total sum to the claimant and freed him. Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi mentions that Köprülü Mehmed did not forget this favor and to show his gratitude he employed Ahmed Ramazan Efendi as *ordu kadısı* or the high judge in the army during the Transylvanian campaign. When the campaign was over, the grand vizier engineered the appointment of Ahmed Ramazan Efendi the judge of Üsküdar, one of the highest ranks in

¹⁵⁷ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 347.

¹⁵⁸ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi'ü'l-fudalâ*, 2-3: 80.

the judicial hierarchy, for the fourth time in his judicial career.¹⁵⁹

Known as Çalık Damadı, Hâfız Mehmed Efendi received his *mülâzemet* and completed his preliminary teaching appointments in the low-ranking madrasas in Bursa. In 1659, when he was waiting for an appointment in a higher madrasa, Hâfız Mehmed Efendi entered the patronage of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. The grand vizier facilitated his appointment to the Lala Şahin Pasha Madrasa in Bursa in September of the same year. Just a few months before this designation, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha came to Bursa with Mehmed IV and stayed at the house of Çalık Mustafa Agha, the father-in-law of Hâfız Mehmed Efendi and one of the leading Persian merchants in Bursa. The main reason behind the visit of the ruling elite to the first capital of the Ottomans in that year was to restore the central authority that was weakened during the recent Abaza Hasan Pasha rebellion.¹⁶⁰ The ruling elite punished everyone in the city, including scholars and religious figures, whom they accused of being supporters of Abaza Hasan Pasha.¹⁶¹ It appears that Hâfız Mehmed Efendi, who rose in his career following the visit of the imperial retinue, was not an Abaza Hasan Pasha supporter. After Lala Şahin Madrasa, Hâfız Mehmed Efendi was transferred to Molla Hüsrev Madrasa in August 1663. He continued to hold teaching positions in the highest-ranking madrasas of the city until his death in 1690.¹⁶²

Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's patronage of Hâfız Mehmed Efendi in Bursa illustrates that he extended his support to scholars not only in the imperial capital but also in the provinces. Another name to mention in this regard was Kara Himmet Efendi, who came to Istanbul from

¹⁵⁹ "Altmış sekiz Ramazânında Sadr-ı 'azam Köprili Mehmed Paşa Yanova kal'ası üzerine ser'asker olduklarında ordu-yu humâyûn kazâsıyla memnûn kılınmışlar idi. Ba'de'l-feth ve'z-zafer altmış dokuz Muharreminde Müderriszâde Mehmed Efendi yerine râbi'an kazâ-i sâbıkda murabba'-nişîn mesned-i hükm ve imzâ oldılar." See Şeyhî, *Vekâyi'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 338-9.

¹⁶⁰ "Anadolu yakasında bakıyyetü's-süyûf olan eşkiyâdan bi'l-küllîyye nâm ü nişân komamak niyetiyle evvel-bahârda Bursa'ya hareket-i hümayûn mukarrer olmağın, mühimmât-ı sefer tedârüki görülmüşüdi... Ve yevm-i mezbûrda alay mürûr iderken, sâ'î bi'l-fesâd makûlesinden bir nice eşkiyâ tarîk-ı 'âmmda salb [ü] siyâset ve mûcib-i ibret kılınmışlar idi." *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 137-8.

¹⁶¹ *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 139-140; Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 190-1; *Târih-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1837.

¹⁶² Şeyhî, *Vekâyi'ü'l-fudalâ*, 2-3: 61.

Anatolia and became a member of the Köprülü household. After receiving his *mülâzemet* in Istanbul, Kara Himmet Efendi went back to Anatolia to teach at the Anatolian madrasas including Hatun Madrasa in Merzifon. In May 1662, he became the judge of Sinop. Kara Himmet Efendi continued to hold judgeships in different parts of Anatolia until his death in 1685.¹⁶³

After Üsküdârî Ahmed Ramazan Efendi, the second name that Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi recorded in his bibliographical dictionary as *ordu kadısı* appointed by Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was Dahkî Mustafa Efendi.¹⁶⁴ Dahkî Mustafa Efendi had teaching positions in Kürkçübaşı (1646), Rüstem Pasha (1651), Sahn-ı Semân (1654), and Zal Mahmud Pasha (1655) madrasas. In July 1656, he became the superintendent of the Haremeyn (Mecca and Medina) foundations. It was mainly because of his patronage ties with the grand vizier that he attended the 1657 campaign against the Venetian forces as the high judge in the army. When the Ottoman army succeeded in regaining Bozcaada, Dahkî Mustafa Efendi also supervised the land survey on the island.¹⁶⁵ To remunerate his services, the grand vizier allocated the income of the district of Siroz as *arpalık* (allowance) of Dahkî Mustafa Efendi during the campaign and helped him to become the judge of Edirne in November 1657. In July 1660, Dahkî Mustafa Efendi was appointed the judge of Istanbul. He continued to hold high judicial positions during the grand vizierate of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha and was appointed the chief judge of Rumelia in 1670.¹⁶⁶

In addition to the account of Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, a list of attestors (*şuhûd-i hâl*) who were present during the registration of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's endowments in the summer of 1661 offers valuable data to understand who from among the religious figures, and the

¹⁶³ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 518-9.

¹⁶⁴ On the role and the function of the *ordu kadısı* see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 131-2; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, 2: 729.

¹⁶⁵ Cengiz Orhunlu, "1657 Tarihli Bozcaada Tahriri ve Adadaki Türk Eserlerine Ait Bazı Notlar," *Tarih Dergisi* 26 (1972): 68 [67-74]

¹⁶⁶ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 463-4; Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 209. See also Celal Erbay, "Dahkî Mustafa Efendi," *DİA* 8 (1993): 416.

bureaucrats were in the close circle of the grand vizier. Among the thirty-four people listed, Halil Efendi (the imam of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha), Amcazâde Hüseyin Efendi (*tezkiireci-i evvel* or the first secretary), Mezâkî Süleyman Efendi (*tezkiireci-i sâni* or the second secretary), Hacızâde Mustafa Efendi (*müderres*), Sıdkızâde Ahmed Efendi (*mektûbî* or the scribe), Ramazan Agha (the seal-keeper of the grand vizier), and Mehmed Efendi (the secretary of the treasury of the grand vizier), and Mecdî Efendizâde Sâlih Efendi had leading positions in the household of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, mainly due to their abilities in literary compositions, record-keeping, or expertise in religious affairs. Other figures on the list were mostly from among the higher ranks of the imperial administration and from the members of the Köprülü family.¹⁶⁷

During his tenure at the grand vizierate, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha did not always have good relations with religious and scholarly circles. He banished the leading Kadızâdeli preachers to Cyprus, decreased the salaries of *duâgûs*, and executed many members of the ulema and other religious figures in Anatolia in the aftermath of the revolt of Abaza Hasan Pasha. Zinkeisen wrote that one of the reasons Köprülü Mehmed Pasha cut the salaries of the ulema and confiscated the rich incomes of the mosques on behalf of the state was to discipline the learned class.¹⁶⁸ While this was the case, the grand vizier, as discussed above, had several protégés from among the learned class and supported them to advance in their careers. To recap

¹⁶⁷ Kibleli Mustafa Pasha, Küçük Mehmed Pasha, el-Hâc Hüseyin Pasha (*defterdâr* or the Head of the Imperial Finances), Mustafa Agha (the Commander-in-Chief of the Janissaries), Şâmî-zâde Mehmed Efendi (the Chief Secretary), İbrahim Agha (the Head of the Imperial Messengers), Sun‘ullah Agha (the Head of the Cavalry Units), Mustafa Agha (the Head of the Sultan’s Sword-Bearers), Süleyman Agha (the Steward of the Janissaries), Hasan Agha (the brother of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha), Hüseyin Agha, Mehmed Agha (the Steward of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha), Dürzî Mustafa Agha (*müteferrika* or one of the court-steward), Ya‘kub Agha (the Steward of the Cavalry Units), Oruç Agha (the Steward of the Sultan’s Sword-Bearers), Hüseyin Agha (*muhzır* or the Summoner of the Janissary Corps), ‘Ali Agha (the Steward of the Doorkeepers of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha), Mustafa Agha (the Head of the Imperial Military Band), Bıyıklı Hasan Agha (one of the trustees of Sultan Mehmed Mosque), Bayburdî Ahmed Agha (*müteferrika* or one of the court-stewards), el-Hâc İsmâil Efendi (the Head of the Imperial Gardeners), İbrahim Efendi (*emîn* or the Supervisor of the Imperial Shipyard), Habib Agha (the Treasurer of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha), Yusuf Agha (the Sword-Bearer of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha), Hasan Agha (*çukadâr* or the footman of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha), Emir ‘Ömer b. Nasuh Pasha. See SYEK, Köprülü İlave 3, fols. 53a-54a.

¹⁶⁸ Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, 5: 189.

the most notable examples, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha engineered the appointment of Bolevî Mustafa Efendi (d. 1662) to the post of the sheikh-ul-Islam and helped Bursevî/Esîrî Mehmed Efendi to be appointed the chief judge of Anatolia. He also took Üsküdârî Ahmed Efendi and Dahkî Mustafa Efendi with him as the high judges in the army during his campaigns against Rákóczi in Transylvania and the Venetian forces in the entrance of the Marmara Sea. Evliya Çelebi recorded in his travel account that he also benefitted from the patronage of the grand vizier. The famous traveler participated in the 1659 campaign of Mehmed IV to Anatolia in the retinue of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, Naimâ records that a certain sheikh named Mehmed Sadık from Kastamonu succeeded in gaining the respect of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and the sultan. Before he embarked on the naval campaign, the grand vizier and the sultan, on the sheikh's suggestion, appointed ninety-two palace pages who bear the name of "Mehmed" to read the chapter *Al-Fath* (The Victory) from the Qur'ân for the success of the Ottoman army until the end of the campaign.¹⁷⁰

In addition to these recorded patronage cases, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha built various public foundations where he employed several scholars and provided financial means to students. He showed his support for the people of Mecca and Medina in the form of annual *surre* donations. The grand vizier's contribution to the educational, social, and cultural life of the empire helped him to gain legitimacy and support among the learned hierarchy and the public.

¹⁶⁹ Şenol Çelik, "Evliya Çelebi'nin, Sultan IV. Mehmed İle Birlikte Katıldığı Bursa ve Çanakkale Boğazı Gezisi," *Balıkesir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 15/28 (2012), 140 [139-197].

¹⁷⁰ "Kastamonu diyarından Mehmed Sadık nâmında bir âbid-i zâhid kimesne sadrıa'zamın mu'tekidi idi. Padişah-ı âlem-penah hazretlerine dahi buluşup du'â-i hayr etmiş idi. Sadrıa'zam sefere varıp gelince Enderun ağalarının sulhâsından Mehmed nâmında doksan iki adam her biri bir haftada doksan iki kere sûre-i Fetih kırâ'at edip Cuma günü salâ vaktinde itmâm edip cümlesi birden feth u nusret için hayr du'â ve tazarru' u niyâz dergâh-ı kibriyâ edeler deyü şeyh-i mezbur ta'lîm etmiş idi. Ağalardan ve halîfelerden doksan iki Mehmed defter olunub herbirine in'âm u ihsân olunup hizmet-i du'â-i hayriyeye ta'yin olunmuşlar idi... Ve yine şeyh-i mezburun ta'lîmi ile bundan mâ-adâ Enderun ricâlinden yüz bir adam günde bin bir Feth-i şerîf okumak tenbih olundu. Sefer avdetine dek müdâvemet eylediler." *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1739

1.2.4 Other Members of the Köprülü Family

While there are several contemporary accounts which help us to reconstruct the life and activities of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, particularly his term in office, there is only limited information available about his wife, Ayşe Hanım. We know that she was born in the Kayacık farm in the district (*nâhiye*) of Havza (also known as Simre-i Ladik) in the sanjak of Amasya¹⁷¹ as the daughter of a local notable (*ayan*) el-Hac Yusuf Agha¹⁷² whom Evliya Çelebi met and described as a benefactor of several sociocultural establishments in the town of Köprü.¹⁷³ Although her name has not yet appeared in the growing literature on the seventeenth-century influential Ottoman women,¹⁷⁴ contemporary sources indicate that Ayşe Hanım was deeply involved with Ottoman politics and contributed to the Ottoman social and cultural life in the period.¹⁷⁵ In contrast to Ottoman sources which depicted her as a pious and virtuous woman who wore humble clothes and fasted every day for ten years,¹⁷⁶ a number of western accounts including the works of Paul Rychaut and Georges Guillet de Saint-Georges portrayed Ayşe Hanım as a power-seeking woman who did not even hesitate to use sorcery to advance the members of her family. In *The History of the Ottoman Empire*, Paul Rychaut wrote that the common Ottoman soldiers believed that Ayşe Hanım used sorcery to influence the decisions of

¹⁷¹ BOA, İE. DH. 19/1781 (dated 4 N 1110). For the administrative division and demography of Havza in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see Mehmet Öz, “XV. Yüzyıldan XVII. Yüzyıla Samsun Yöresi,” 16-17, 27.

¹⁷² Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tarihi*, 4: 70. Ayşe Hanım had two brothers (Ahmed and Mehmed) and two sisters. See *Defter-i Evkâf-ı Ahmed Paşa Vâlidese Merhûme Ayşe Hanım der Gedegra*. TKGM. KK. Vakf-ı Cedid 12 (in the catalogue KK. VKF. Cd. 73), dated 1 Muharrem 1082/10 May 1671, 4a and 5b. See also Topçu, *Güçün Mimariye Yansıması*, 21-22.

¹⁷³ “Hacı Yusuf Ağa bu şehrin ihyasına sebep olup yetmiş added hayrât u hasenât edüp bu bezzâzistan dahi anın hayrâtındandır.” *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 2: 210.

¹⁷⁴ None of monographs written on the life and activities of the influential Ottoman women in the period referred to Ayşe Hanım. See Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Betül İpşirli Arıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan 1640-1715* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014). Topçu’s article is the only academic study on her. See Sultan Murat Topçu, “Osmanlılar Döneminde Güçlü Bir Kadın Bânî: Köprülü Ayşe Hanım,” *Kadın/Woman* 2000 10/2 (2009): 43-80.

¹⁷⁵ On the endowments of Ayşe Hanım see Topçu, *Güçün Mimariye Yansıması*, 151-83.

¹⁷⁶ Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü’l-Tevârîh*, 461.

Mehmed IV and Hadice Turhan Sultan regarding the career advancements of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and Fazıl Ahmed Pasha.¹⁷⁷ Georges Guillet de Saint-Georges further claimed that it was not the grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha but his wife Ayşe Hanım who convinced Hadice Turhan Sultan to appoint Fazıl Ahmed Pasha grand vizier in 1661.¹⁷⁸ Hammer also referred to the skills and role of Ayşe Hanım in the appointment of her eldest son grand vizier at an early age.¹⁷⁹

It appears that these comments of western authors reflect the perplexing situation that emerged with the grand vizier appointment of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha at a young age upon the death of his father. It was only the second time that a son succeeded his father in this post in the long history of the Ottomans.¹⁸⁰ One would hardly believe that it was Ayşe Hanım's sorcery that was influential in the decision of Mehmed IV and Turhan Sultan to choose who would be the next grand vizier. It is, however, logical to argue that as the daughter of a leading local notable and the wife of a powerful and prestigious grand vizier, Ayşe Hanım had good relations with the members of the imperial dynasty. It is, therefore, possible to claim that she played a role in influencing them towards this decision.

In February 1665, when Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was returning from the 1663-64 Austrian campaign which ended with an Ottoman defeat at St. Gotthard, Ayşe Hanım came to Belgrade, most probably, to comfort the grand vizier. Another reason for this visit, it seems, was to relieve the suffering of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha who lost Ali Bey, his youngest brother, in the second year

¹⁷⁷ Rychaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 116 and 162.

¹⁷⁸ Monsieur de la Guillatiere, *An Account of a Late Voyage to Athens...* (London: J. M., 1676), 360. Guillet gave the name of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's wife as Fatıma, not Ayşe. It appears that Guillet never set a foot in the Ottoman Empire. He wrote his travel account based on the narratives of the Jesuit priests and others who travelled to Istanbul. For a study that demonstrates the fictitious character of Guillet's account see Jacob Spon, *Réponse à la critique publiée par M. Guillet sur le "Voyage à de Grèce" de Jacob Spon* (A Lyon: Chez Thomas Amaulri, 1679).

¹⁷⁹ Hammer-Purgstall, *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi*, 6: 301.

¹⁸⁰ Çandarlı Ali Pasha (grand vizier 1387-1406) was appointed grand vizier upon the death of his father Çandarlı Kara Halil Hayreddin Pasha (grand vizier 1364-87). For the comments of the contemporary European authors on this appointment see Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, 5: 191, fn 31.

of the campaign.¹⁸¹ A few years later, this time during the siege of Candia, Ayşe Hanım sailed to Crete Island to support Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, the commander-in-chief of the prolonged siege. She stayed in the Inadiye Castle on the island until the end of the campaign and, reportedly, influenced some of the decisions of the grand vizier. To give but one example, in March 1667, after an Ottoman naval defeat against the Venetian fleet, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha ordered the execution of Abdülkadir Pasha, Manca Çarıkçoğlu Mehmed Pasha, and Eğribozlu Keskin Ali Paşazade, three captains that the grand vizier found responsible for the defeat. Abdülkadir Pasha was the captain of the ship which brought Ayşe Hanım from Istanbul to the island. While Fazıl Ahmed Pasha ordered the servants of Manca Çarıkçoğlu Mehmed Pasha and Eğribozlu Keskin Ali Paşazade to execute their masters, he pardoned Abdülkadir Pasha upon the request of Ayşe Hanım.¹⁸² In another occasion, this time through a letter she wrote, Ayşe Hanım directed the attention of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha on the career advancement of his younger brother Mustafa Bey. In reply, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha promised his mother to give his support to his brother.¹⁸³ To indicate her prestige and high status as the mother of the grand vizier, an Italian physician served Ayşe Hanım as her private doctor.¹⁸⁴ When she died, Ayşe Hanım was buried in the same tomb

¹⁸¹ In the account of Mustafa Zühdi on the 1663-64 Austrian campaign, there is a long and touching section on how Ayşe Hanım met with Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. See Mustafa Zühdi, *Ravzatü'l-Gazâ*, 38-40.

¹⁸² “[Ü]merâ-ı nâmdârdan ‘Abdülkâdir Paşa’nın ve Manca Çarık-oğlu’nun ve Sekseken-oğlu’nun katillerini murâd etmişken Sadr-ı a’zam’[ın] vâlidisini ‘Abdülkâdir Paşa Girid’e geçürmekle, şefâ’atiyle halâs olup, Anabolulu Manca Çarık-oğlu Mehmed Paşa’yı ve Eğribozlu Sekseken Paşa-oğlu’nu seyf ile pâ-y-zenlerine katl ettirdi.” *İsâ-zâde Tarihi*, 95. See also Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 440.

¹⁸³ “Âişe Sultân Hazretlerine yazılmışdır: Devletlü ve sa’âdetlü sultânım hazretlerinin hâk-ı pâ-yı şeriflerine kemâl-i ta’zîm ü ikrâm ile rûy-mâl ve devâm-ı ‘ömr ü devletleri du’âsı tekrâr u tezkâr kılındıktan sonra ma’rûz u bende-i sadâkat-kârları budur ki, eymen-i evkâtda mektûb-u şerîfleri gelüb mefhûmunda her ne ki işâret buyurulmuş ise ma’lûm-u bendeleri oldu. Nevâziş ü ihsânlarıyla bendelerin teşrif ü tekrîm buyurub ögmüşler mekârim ü eltâf-ı vâfirelerinden mahzûz u memnun olmuşuzdur. Hakk sübhânehû te’âlâ hazretleri tûl-u ‘ömr ile mu’ammer idüb hemîşe safâ vü sıhhât ve selâmet ü ‘âfiyet ile eyyâm-ı ‘ömr ü devletlerin ber-devâm eyleye. ‘İzzetlü paşa birâderim hazretleri için işâret buyurulmuş, inşâllâh u te’âlâ vaktiyle mesrur u ber-murâd olmalarına sa’y ü takayyüd ideriz. Rızâ-yı şerîfeleri üzere harekete sa’y ider kullarıyız. Hemân sa’âdetlü sultânımın du’â-yı hayırları recâ vü niyâz olunur. Bâkî lutf ü ihsân sa’âdetlü sultânım hazretlerininindir.” Hamza Konuk, “Vâni Mehmet Efendi’nin Münşe’âtı (Transkripsiyon Tahlil ve Değerlendirme)” (master’s thesis, Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2001), 199 (hereafter *Münşe’ât*). Fazıl Mustafa Pasha remained in his *müteferrika* post for about twenty years between 1660 and 1680.

¹⁸⁴ Antoine Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar (1672-1673)*, ed. Charles Schefer and trans. Nahid Sırrı Örik (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1987), 1: 188; 2: 69. Cf. Topçu, “Osmanlılar Döneminde Güçlü Bir Kadın Bani: Köprülü Ayşe Hanım,” 45.

in Istanbul with his husband and eldest son.¹⁸⁵

Records in her endowment deed show that Ayşe Hanım inherited from her father a bathhouse (*hamam*) and a covered market (*bedestân*) in the town of Köprü. She built another bathhouse in the marketplace in the center of the city and bought a country estate (*mâlikâne*) from Kılcanzâde Mehmed Efendi in the village of Mihâilili.¹⁸⁶ In addition to the income she received from these properties, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha allocated 200 *akçes* daily to Ayşe Hanım from his foundation.¹⁸⁷ In 1673, two years after she returned from the *hajj*, Ayşe Hanım donated some of the incomes of her properties to financially support two mosques (Kale Camii and Toprakkale Camii) and public fountains that she constructed in her hometown. She turned them into a family endowment and named her nephew *müderri*s Hüseyin Efendi *mütevelli* or the overseer of the waqf for a daily salary of 25 *akçes*. In addition to this daily salary, Hüseyin Efendi received one-fifth of the revenues of the villages that Ayşe Hanım owned near Köprü.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ The epitaph on the tomb of Ayşe Hanım indicates that she died in 1085/1674-75. The endowment deed that was prepared on 25 S 1089 / 18 April 1678 by Fazıl Mustafa Pasha for the pious foundations of his deceased brother Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, however, enlisted Ayşe Hanım as one of the heirs of the vast fortune of the grand vizier and thus illustrates that she was still alive in 1678: “Ve yine müşârun ileyh hazretlerinin ‘azîmet-i şerîfleri zeyl-i sahîfede mezkûr olan ‘akarât ve menkûlâtın tertîb-i vakfî ve ta’yîn-i harç ve sarfı üzere iken takdîr-i rabbânî ‘ömri vefâ itmeyüb civâr-ı rahmet-i rahmâna intikâl buyurduklarından verâseti ‘alâ tarîkî’l-irs ve’l-inhîsâr dört zevce-i metrûkelerine ve vâlide-i mûkerremelerine ve bana ve li-ebeveyn iki kız karındâşlarına munhasır olmağla...” SYEK, Köprülü 4/2447, 6b-7a. It should also be mentioned here that the Köprülü family tomb was relocated to its current place in late 1860s during the re-planning of the city by the *Islahât-ı Turuk Komisyonu* or The Commission for Road Improvement after the Hoca Paşa Fire in 1865. See Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 55-63.

¹⁸⁶ *Defter-i Evkâf-ı Ahmed Paşa Vâlide*sî Merhûme Ayşe Hanım der Gedegra, fols. 3a-3b.

¹⁸⁷ “[F]ahrü’l-muhadderât zevce-i mûkerremem ‘Âişe hâtun cümle evkâfımdan yevmî iki yüz akçe vazîfeye mutasarrıf ola.” SYEK, Köprülü İlavesi 3, fol. 46a. Another copy of this endowment deed reveals that she received 120 *akçes* daily. “[F]ahrü’l-muhadderât zevce-i mûkerremem ‘Âişe hâtun hayatta oldukça cümle evkafımdan yevmî yüz yirmi akçeye mutasarrıf ola.” Köprülü 2/2445, fol. 33b.

¹⁸⁸ “[T]evliyet-i evkâf-ı mezbûre vâkıfe-i müşârun ileyhânın li-ebeveyn karındaşı oğlu ‘umdetü’l-müderrişinü’l-fihâm mumâ ileyh Hüseyin Efendi’ye meşrûda ola. Hidmet-i tevliyet-i mezbûreyi kemâ yenbağî yerine getürdükten sonra hidmeti mukâbelesinde ol üç kıt’a hammâm ve bezzâzistândan hâsıla olan galleden yevmî yirmi beş akçe vazîfeye mutasarrıf ola ve zikr olunan karyeler hâsılının humsu dahî âna meşrûda ola. Ba’de vefâtihî diğér li-ebeveyn karındaşı Mehmed Ağa’nın sulb-i kebîr oğlu ‘umdetü’l-‘ayân makbûlü’s-sudûru ve’l-erkân ‘Ali Ağa’ya ba’de vefâtihî vâkıfe-i müşârun ileyhânın evlâd-ı zukûruna ve evlâd-ı evlâd-ı zukûruna ba’de’l-inkirâz evlâd-ı benâtına ve evlâd-ı evlâd-ı benâtına ba’de’l-inkirâz veled-i necîbleri sadr-ı ‘azam ve ekrem müşârun ileyh hazretlerinin evkâfına mütevelli olana vech-i meşrûh üzere meşrûda ola.” *Defter-i Evkâf-ı Ahmed Paşa Vâlide*sî Merhûme Ayşe Hanım der Gedegra, 4a-4b. To be an additional income to meet the expenses of the foundation, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (or his brother Fazıl Mustafa Pasha who prepared the endowment deed) allocated 120 *esedi*

The second son of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and Ayşe Hanım was Mustafa, who, like his elder brother, was known with the epithet of “Fazıl” due to his proper administration and interest in learning and culture. Mustafa held the title of “Bey” for long years until June 1680 when he was finally appointed one of the *kubbe* viziers with a rank of pasha.¹⁸⁹ After holding several posts in the Ottoman provincial administration, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha became grand vizier in October 1689 and remained in this position until his death on August 19, 1691, at the Battle of Slankamen against the Habsburg forces.

When Mustafa was four years old, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha brought him to Istanbul with his elder brother for their education. During their youths, the Ahmed and Mustafa brothers saw their father’s rise and fall. To give but one example, when Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was appointed governor-general of Trablusşam Province by his patron the grand vizier İbşir Mustafa Pasha, Ahmed and Mustafa left Köprü to join him. In May 1655, on their way to Trablus, they received the news that İbşir Mustafa Pasha had been toppled and executed in a revolt in Istanbul and the governor-generalship of Trablus Province had been transferred. Frustrated at this news, they had to return home.¹⁹⁰

Behçetî recorded that both Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and Fazıl Ahmed Pasha paid close attention to the education of Mustafa. They invited prominent scholars, including Hanlızâde Mehmed Efendi (d. 1685), from different parts of the empire to tutor him.¹⁹¹ In one of his letters

guruş and 3320 *akçes* annually from the income of his properties to the waqf of his mother. See Topçu, *Güçün Mimarîye Yansıması*, 155.

¹⁸⁹ For a detailed record of the life, administrative positions, and reforms of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha see Fehmi Yılmaz, “The Life of Köprülüzade Fazıl Mustafa Pasha and his Reforms (1637-1691),” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 20 (2000): 165-221; Zeynep Aycibin, “XVII. Yüzyıl Sadrazamlarından Köprülüzâde Mustafa Paşa Döneminde Devletin Siyasi ve Sosyal Durumu” (master’s thesis, Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, 2001); Abdülkadir Özcan, “Köprülüzâde Fâzıl Mustafa Paşa,” *DİA* 26 (2002): 263-265.

¹⁹⁰ “Köprülü’nün oğulları Ahmed Bey Efendi ve Mustafa Bey Köprü’den ağırlık ile kalkıp pederlerinin akabinde Trablus’a gittiler. Lâkin mansıb ber-karar olmayıp İbşir’in devleti bergeşte oldukda Âsitane’den yine Muharrem’den olmak üzere âhara verilip Köprülü tehlî kaldı ve ‘Ayn-ı Arslan nâm mahalden geri Köprü’ye mu’âvedet etmişlerdir.” *Târih-i Nâîmâ*, 4: 1568.

¹⁹¹ Behçetî, *Târih-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 276. Uşşâkîzâde İbrahim Efendi, *Zeyl-i Şekâik*, ed. Hans Joachim Kissling (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965), 532 (hereafter, Uşşâkîzâde, *Zeyl-i Şekâik*). Şeyhî, *Vekâyî’ü’l-fudalâ*, 1: 520-1.

to his brother, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha encouraged him to pursue his studies. Learning, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha stated in his letter, was the way to be a perfect and virtuous man.¹⁹² Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi reports that Mustafa emerged as a well-known *hadith* scholar and an expert on *fenn-i lugat* or lexicology.¹⁹³ Unlike his elder brother who became a *müderriş*, Mustafa, although he proved himself as a talented man of learning, did not have a position in the Ottoman learned hierarchy.¹⁹⁴

In 1660, the year when Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was appointed the governor-general of Damascus Province, Mustafa Bey was holding one of the *müteferrika* positions. He received the income of a *zeamet* or medium-sized estate in the sanjak of Kocaili.¹⁹⁵ *Müteferrika* was the title of corps at the Ottoman court whose members attached to the sultan or a high-ranking official. The holders of this post were employed for critical administrative and diplomatic missions. The appointment of Mustafa Bey to this post was not unusual in Ottoman practice. Beginning from the time of Mehmed II (r. 1451-81), it was custom for the sons of the grand viziers to have the title of *müteferrika*.¹⁹⁶ Erhan Afyoncu informs us that there were 745 holders of this post in 1658. In 1663-4, the number of *müteferrika* post holders raised to 789. Twenty-one of them were the sons of the high imperial officials.¹⁹⁷ Their numbers decreased over the following years. The contemporary report of Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi reveals that 631 men

¹⁹² “İzzetlü birâderim Mustafa bey hazretlerinin huzurlarına tahıyyât-ı muhabbet-âyât ve teslimât-ı meveddet-gâyât ithâfiyla keyfiyyet-i hâl ü şânınız suâl olunur. Müşeyyid-i erkân-ı fazl ü kemâl olan ifâde vü istifâdeye iştigâliniz nicedir ve tasavvur-u hakâyik-ı ma’ârif meşgûf ü me’lûf olan fuâd-ı hakikat-i ‘tibârınız mizâcî ibdâl üzere midir. Hemîşe mevâdd-ı sıhhat ü ‘âfiyet ile safvet-i mir’at-ı bâl ve dâima te’yîd ü ‘inâyet-i melik-i mute’âl karîn-i hâl ola. Şumûl-u evkât-ı makbûle ile meşmûl du’â-yı hayrınız me’mûldür.” *Münşe’ât*, 180.

¹⁹³ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi’ü’l-fudalâ*, 2-3: 101. See also Heidrun Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyin b. Ğa’fer, genannt Hezârfenn, und die Istanbuler Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1971), 60.

¹⁹⁴ Mustafa Zühdi, *Ravzatü’l-Gazâ*, 70b; Behçetî, *Târîh-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 276.

¹⁹⁵ Azize Gelir Çelebi, “93 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (1069-1071/1658-1660) (Tahlil-Transkripsiyon ve Özet)” (master’s thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2008), 155-156 (hereafter *93 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*); Uzunçarşılı, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, 4: 431.

¹⁹⁶ “Vezîria’zam oğulları altmış akçe ile müteferrika olalar.” *Kanunnâme-i Al-i Osman (Tahlil ve Karşılaştırmalı Metin)*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2003), 12. See also Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhîsü’l-Beyân*, 86.

¹⁹⁷ Erhan Afyoncu, “Müteferrika,” *DİA* 32 (2006): 183-185.

were holding the post of *müteferrika* in the 1670s.¹⁹⁸

Müteferrika Mustafa Bey served his elder brother during the military campaigns. In the 1663-64 Austrian campaign, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha employed him as his messenger.¹⁹⁹ During the siege of Candia, Mustafa Bey and some other members of the Köprülü family came to Crete to provide moral support to Fazıl Ahmed Pasha.²⁰⁰ In a letter dated 1081/1670-1, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was expressing his happiness at the news that Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, along with his uncle Hasan Agha and the son of his uncle, Hüseyin Çelebi, safely returned to Egypt from their pilgrimage to Mecca.²⁰¹

When the grand vizier died of gout or dropsy in the Karabiber farm near the Ergene Bridge at Çorlu (modern-day Kırkgöz village in Ergene/Tekirdağ) in 1676,²⁰² Mustafa Bey was

¹⁹⁸ Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhisü'l-Beyân*, 86 and 93.

¹⁹⁹ Mustafa Zühdi, *Ravzatü'l-Gazâ*, 52-53. Hammer-Purgstall wrote that it was Mustafa Bey who brought the news of the conquest of the Uyvar to Budin. See *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi*, 6: 106.

²⁰⁰ Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevârih*, 461-462.

²⁰¹ “İzzetlü birâderimiz Mustafa bey huzurlarına levâzım-ı mihr ı şefkat-ı vâfiye tahiyyât-ı hâlisât-ı sâfiye ve teslîmât-ı sâdikât-ı zâkiye ithâfindan sonra hâl ü hatırınız suâl olunur. Hemîşe hıfz u emân-ı ilâhîde masûn u me'mûn olasız. Es'ad-ı ahyânda mektubunuz gelüb hamden li'llâhi te'âlâ edâ-yı farîza-i hacc-ı şerîfden sonra sâlimen Mısır'a vusûlünüzi i'lâm eylemişsiz. Kemâl-i sürûr u sülvet ile cenâb-ı rabb'il-'izzete merâsim-i şükr u mahmûdet takdîm ü temhîd olunmuşdur. 'İnda'llah'il-meliki'l-gafûr hacc-ı mebrûrunuz makbûl ü meşkûr olub bâlig-ı nisâb-ı sevâb-ı bî-hisâb olasız. Bu taraf ahvâlinden suâl olunur ise Edirne'de Timurtaş sahrâsında rikâb-ı hümâyûn-ı şehriyârîye yüz sürülüb ve der-'akab 'umûm üze şehre girilmişdir. Hakk sübhânehû te'âlâ 'an kar+ib sıhhat ü selâmet ile cümlelizin mülâkatın müyesser u nasîb eyleye. Bâki selam, bi'l-ikrâm.” *Münşe'ât*, 172. He sent another letter to his brother when he reached to Damascus. *Münşe'ât*, 173.

²⁰² Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 677; Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib, *Hadikatü'l-Vüzerâ*, 106; Defterdâr Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât Tahlil ve Metin (1066-1116/1656-1704)*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1995), 76 (hereafter *Zübde-i Vekayiât*). Poet Zekî wrote the following lines upon hearing the death of the grand vizier at Çorlu: *Cânib-i Edirne'ye itmiş iken 'azm-i dürüst/Çorlu'da oldu mekr-i reh-zen Ahmed Paşa/Haber-i fevtin işitdi didi târih Zekî/ Vatan-ı cennet ola mesken-i Ahmed Paşa* (1087=1676). See Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmî*, 284. The members of the Köprülü household paid visits to the place where Fazıl Ahmed Pasha died. In 1737, Behçetî and Köprülüâde Hâfız Ahmed Paşa (d. 1769) visited the room where he died and prayed for the soul of the deceased grand vizier. Behçetî argued that because of these prayers that Hâfız Ahmed Paşa succeeded in retaking the fortress of Niş (modern-day Niş, Serbia) without shedding a blood. See *Târih-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 275. Based on the contemporary English sources, George Frederick Abbott gives some detail on the death of the grand vizier and how his body was brought back to Istanbul: “Ahmed lingered on till the 24th of October, when he succumbed to a dropsy inherited from his father but intensified by worries of government, hardships of war, and excessive indulgence in strong waters. He had ruled the Ottoman Empire for fifteenth years, and at the time of his death he was not above forty-five. His body was brought back to Constantinople in a plain coach drawn by six horses and attended by only half-a-dozen footmen. It was taken to a mosque where the Kaimakam and other dignitaries awaited it with the religious ministers, and was laid in the same sepulcher as his father's. No pomp distinguished Ahmed's funeral from that of an ordinary pasha.” See G. F. Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 192. See also Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, 5: 196.

with him. It was he who brought the seal of the grand vizierate back to Mehmed IV.²⁰³ An Ottoman *berât* (a sultanic diploma indicating imperial appointments) dated December 21, 1676, demonstrates that Mustafa Bey continued to hold the title of the *müteferrika* after the death of his elder brother. This time, however, he also received the honorary rank of *mîr-i âlem* or the sultan's chief standard-bearer.²⁰⁴

Like other members of the Köprülü family, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha patronized several scholars, poet, and artisans. He supported Hâfız Osman (d. 1698), one of the leading calligraphers of the Ottomans, and Sâkîb Mustafa Dede (d. 1735), a famous dervish of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, at the beginning of their careers.²⁰⁵ Other religious and scholarly figures and artisans who benefitted from the patronage of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha were Serhaddî Mustafa Efendi (d. 1675),²⁰⁶ İzmîrî Süleyman Efendi (d. 1691),²⁰⁷ Kapucuzâde İsmail Efendi (d. 1698),²⁰⁸ Güzelhisârî Ahmed Efendi (d. 1698),²⁰⁹ Yekçeşm Hüseyin Efendi (d. 1704),²¹⁰ and İshak Hocasî Ahmed Efendi (d. 1708).²¹¹ Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had close relations with the leading sheikhs of the period including Karabaş Mahmud Efendi (d. 1686) and Niyâzî-i Mısırî (d. 1694).²¹² According to Hâfız Hüseyin Ayvansârâyî, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha

²⁰³ *Abdi Paşa Vekâyi'nâmesi*, 450.

²⁰⁴ This position provided him 122,049 *akçes* income annually. See BOA, AE. IV. Mehmed 3/229. In 1678, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha prepared the endowment deed of the pious foundations of his brother. See *Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa Vakfiyesi*, SYEK, Köprülü Ekler, 4/2447, 2a.

²⁰⁵ Habib Efendi, *Hat ve Hattatlar* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebu'z-Ziya, 1305 [1887/1888]), 121-122; Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyin b. Ğa'fer*, 61; Muhittin Serin, *Hat Sanatı ve Meşhur Hattatlar*, 3rd ed. (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyat, 2008), 124; Ahmet Arı, "Sâkîb Dede," *DİA* 36 (2009): 4; Cihan Özsayiner, "Türk Vakıf Hat Sanatları Müzesi'ndeki Bir Hafız Osman Hilyesi," in *17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kültür ve Sanatı Sempozyum Bildirileri 19-20 Mart 1998* (İstanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği Yayınları, 1998), 141-151.

²⁰⁶ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 421.

²⁰⁷ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi'ü'l-fudalâ*, 2-3: 61.

²⁰⁸ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi'ü'l-fudalâ*, 2-3: 143.

²⁰⁹ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi'ü'l-fudalâ*, 2-3: 146.

²¹⁰ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi'ü'l-fudalâ*, 2-3: 256.

²¹¹ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi'ü'l-fudalâ*, 2-3: 301.

²¹² Necdet Yılmaz, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf: Sûfîler, Devlet ve Ulemâ* (İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2001), 234 and 436; Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufî and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyâzî-i Mısırî (1618-1694)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1999), 134. For a *risâle*-length long letter that Niyâzî-i Mısırî sent to Fazıl Mustafa Pasha when the latter was leading an Ottoman campaign against the Habsburgs in Belgrade see "Mısırî Efendi hazretlerinin Mustafa Paşa'ya Belgrad seferinde iken irsâl buyurdıkları risâledir." in *Mecmua*, SYEK, Hacı Mahmud Efendi, 3346, fols. 31b-37b. Like Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, two other important members of the Köprülü

was a follower of the Halveti Sufi path. He built two *zâviyes* (dervish lodges) for the activities of this religious order. The first *zâviye* was near Akbıyık Mosque in the Sultan Ahmed quarter of Istanbul. He engineered the appointment of Çarhacı Ahmed Efendi its first sheikh. The second *zâviye* was in Sakız (Chios) Island. He appointed İlyas Efendi (d. 1706-7), a famous Sufi poet who was later known as Sakızlı İlyas Efendi.²¹³ Fazıl Mustafa Pasha also established a library next to his palace, located somewhere between the Süleymaniye Mosque and Vefa.²¹⁴ Behçetî reports that this library became a meeting and study place for scholars.²¹⁵

Unlike Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, we have limited information about Ali Bey, the youngest son of Köprülü Mehmed and Ayşe Hanım. The sources indicate that Ali Bey participated in the 1663-64 Austrian campaign and positioned himself in front of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha when the Ottoman army made its formal entry into Belgrade.²¹⁶ In his *gazavatnâme*, Mustafa Zühdi wrote that Ali Bey not only fought well on the battlefield but also, like Mustafa Bey, continued his studies during the campaign. His health, however, deteriorated after the Ottoman-Habsburg confrontation at St. Gotthard/Mogersdorf on August 1, 1664. Fazıl Ahmed Pasha sent him to Budin to recover, but he exhaled his last breath there.²¹⁷ Evliya Çelebi informs us that Ali Bey was buried at the tomb of Ahmed Bey, located in the yard of the Paşa Sarayı Mosque in Budin.²¹⁸ The Ottoman court records reveal that Ali Bey, who died at a young age, did not have

family, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's brother Amca Hasan Agha and Amcazâde Hüseyin Pasha had an interest in Sufism. See Yılmaz, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf*, 281.

²¹³ Ayvansarayî Hüseyin Efendi, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi'*, 85. See also Yılmaz, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf*, 242; M. Baha Tanman, "Akbıyık Mescidi ve Tekkesi," *DİA* 2 (1989): 223.

²¹⁴ Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyin b. Ğa'fer*, 60; Abdülkadir Özcan, "Köprülüzâde Fâzıl Mustafa Paşa," *DİA* 26 (2002): 265.

²¹⁵ Behçetî, *Târîh-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 276.

²¹⁶ "Mahrûse-i Belgrad'a geldüğümüzde 'azîm alay olub beglerbegiler sağında (ve) solunda ve sancak begleri anların altı yanında ve sipah kulları dahî kanat olub sağla solunda ve yeniçeri dahî otağa yakın selâmda durub dergâh-ı 'âlî müteferrikaları ve dergâh-ı 'âlî çavuşları efendimiz 'askeri önünde yürüyüb efendimizin iç ağaları tuğlar önünde yürüyüb efendimizin karındaşları Mustafa beg ve 'Ali Beg çifte yalabuklar gibi önlerinde yürüyüb cümle beglerbegileri ve selâmda duran 'asâkir-i İslâm bunların selâmın alub..." *Cevâhirü't-Tevârih*, 133.

²¹⁷ Mustafa Zühdi, *Ravzatü'l-Gazâ*, 71a.

²¹⁸ "Sadria'zâmin bürâderi Âli Beğ müşevvişü'l-hâl olduğundan kesb-i hevâ için Âli Beğ'i Budin'e gönderüp anda âhret kesb-i hevâsın edüp Paşa sarâyı câmi'i hareminde Ahmed Beğ Türbesi'de defn olundu." *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 7: 47.

any offspring.²¹⁹

Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and Ayşe Hanım had three daughters: Sâliha, Hadîce, and Fâdîma.²²⁰ All were married to protégés of the Köprülü family: Abaza Siyâvuş Pasha (d. 1688, grand vizier September 1687-February 1688), Kaplan Mustafa Pasha (d. 1680, vizier and grand admiral 1666-72, 1678-80), and Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha (d. 1683, grand vizier October 1676-December 1683).²²¹ Köprülü Mehmed Pasha allocated a good income from his foundations to each of his daughters.²²² In one of his letters, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha addressed his sister Sâliha Hanım, who was married to Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha, to receive her share from the inheritance of the late Hüseyin Pasha.²²³ The name of Hadîce Hanım appeared in a court register dated January 9, 1667. It reveals that Hadîce Hanım bought the house of the deceased *mehterbaşı* (the head of the Ottoman military band) Mustafa Agha from his heirs.²²⁴ One of the daughters of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and Ayşe Hanım built a fountain in

²¹⁹ *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil*, 678 and 741-743.

²²⁰ Hasan Yüksel mistakenly identified the daughters of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha as his wives. See Hasan Yüksel, “Vakfiyelere Göre Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile,” in *Sosyo-Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi*, ed. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız (Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 1992), 2: 482 [468-503]. Mehmed Süreyya and Fikret Sarıcaoglu mentioned Ayşe Hanım as one of the daughters of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. See Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, ed. Nuri Akbayan (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 5: 1518; Fikret Sarıcaoglu, “Siyavuş Paşa, Köprülü Damadı,” *DİA* 37 (2009), 313 [313-315].

²²¹ On various marriage strategies that the Ottoman political households employed in forging new alliances and increasing their members see Jane Hathaway, “Marriage Alliances among the Military Households of Ottoman Egypt,” *Annales Islamologiques* 29 (1995): 133-49 and her *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdaglis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 109-124.

²²² “Sâliha hânım ve Hadîce hânım ve Fâdîma hânım kezâlik cümle evkâfımdan her biri yevmî yüz elli akçe vazîfeye mutasarrıf ola.” See SYEK, Köprülü İlavesi 3, fol. 46a.

²²³ “‘İzzetlü hemşîremiz Sâliha hânım huzûrlarına müşfikâne selâm u du‘â ithâfından sonra hâl ü hâtırınız suâl olunur. Hemîşe sıhhat ü ‘âfiyet üzere olasız. Ba‘de-zâ merhûm Hüseyin Paşa’nın evlâdına bizim Ahmed Ağa mukaddemâ vâsî ta‘yîn olunub hâlâ ba‘zı hizmete ile ol tarafa gönderilmekle merhûmun metrukâtından çiftlik vesâir eşyâdan her ne var ise şer‘-i şerîf iktizâsı üzere ayurub size düşeni siz alub ve evlâdına düşeni Ahmed Ağa kabz idüb şer‘ ile taksîm olunmak üzere mezbûre ısmarlanmışdır. Muhallefâtından her ne kalmış ise şer‘ ile ayurub muktezâ-yı şer‘ ile düşen hisseniz kabz eyleyesiz.” *Münşe‘ât*, 173.

²²⁴ *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil*, 417-418. Mustafa Agha was one of the attestors who were present during the registration of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha’s endowment in July-August 1661. See SYEK, Köprülü İlave 3, fol. 54a. He died in March 1666. For a list of items that were brought from his inheritance to the imperial treasury see TSMA, D. 2315, fol. 50a and 66a.

Kuruçeşme/Boğaziçi in 1093/1682-3, where Behçetî Hüseyin Efendi (d. 1685) wrote a chronogram to commemorate its construction.²²⁵

²²⁵ “Köprülü Hemşire Çeşmesi,” in *İstanbul Çeşmeleri II: Beyoğlu ve Üsküdar Cihetleri*, ed. İbrahim Hilmi Tanışık (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1945), 34-35. Two other members of the family, Amca Hasan Agha and Amcazâde Hüseyin Pasha were politically active during the grand vizierate of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. On their life and activities see Murat Yıldız, *Osmanlı Vakıf Medeniyetinde Bir Veziriazam Hayratı. Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Vakfı* (İstanbul: Bayrak Yayınları, 2011) and Murat Yıldız, *Balkanlardaki Osmanlı Vakıf Mirasından Amca Hasan Ağa Vakfı* (İstanbul: Rağbet Yayınları, 2012).

CHAPTER 2 - FAZIL AHMED PASHA: HIS LIFE AND CAREER BEFORE HIS GRAND VIZIERATE

“He was a Person (for I have seen him often, and knew him well) of a middle stature, of a black beard, and brown complexion, something short-sighted, which caused him to knit his brows and pore very intently when any strange person entered to his presence: he was inclining to be fat, and grew corpulent towards his latter days. If we consider his age when he first took upon him this important Charge, the Enemies his Father had created him, the contentions he had with the *Valede Sultana* or the Queen-Mother, and the Arts he had used to reconcile the affections of these great Personages, and conserve himself in the unalterable esteem of his Sovereign to the last hour of his death, there is none but must judge him to have deserved the Character of a prudent and political Person. If we consider how few were put to death, and what inconsiderable Mutinies or Rebellions happened in any part of the Empire during his Government, it will afford us a clear evidence and proof of his gentleness and moderation beyond the example of former times; for certainly he was not a Person who delighted in blood, and in that respect of an humor far different from the temper of his Father; He was generous, and free from Avarice, a rare Vertue in a Turk! He was educated in the Law, and therefore greatly addicted to all the Formalities of it, and in the Administration of that sort of Justice very punctual and severe; He was very observant of the Capitulations between our King and the Grand Signior, being ready to do Justice upon any corrupt Minister, who pertinaciously violated and transgressed them, of which I could give several instances, but these being improper for this place, are only in general to be mentioned with due gratitude in honour to his Memory. As to his behaviour towards the neighbouring Princes, there may, I believe, be fewer examples of his breach of Faith, than what his Predecessors have given in a shorter time of Rule. In his Wars abroad he was successful, having upon every expedition enlarged the Bounds of the Empire; He overcame *Newhawzel* or *Oywar*, and laid thereunto a considerable part of *Hungary*, which to this day continues subject, and pays contribution to the Turk. He concluded the War with *Venice* after twenty seven years continuance, by an entire and total subjection of the Island of *Candia*, having subdued that impregnable Fortress, which by the rest of the World was esteemed invincible. He won *Kemenitz*, the Key of *Poland*, where the Turks had been frequently battled, and laid *Ukraina* to the Empire; reducing the Cosacks, those mortal Enemies, to subjection, and to a desire of taking on them the Ottoman Yoke: and finally, he imposed a new Tribute on all Poland. After all which Glories, he died in the 47th year of his Age, and 15th year and 8th day of his Government; a short time, if we consider it, for such great actions; howsoever, if we measure his triumphs, rather than count his years though he might seem to have lived but little to his Prince and People, yet certainly to himself he could not die more seasonable, nor in a greater height and eminency of Glory.”¹

¹ Rychaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 262-3.

This is one of the rare detailed descriptions of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha and his administration by a contemporary European observer.² Paul Rycaut (d. 1700), a British diplomat and historian, recorded it in the part of his historical account where he narrated the death of the grand vizier on November 3, 1676. Although he made a mistake in calculating the age of the grand vizier (Fazıl Ahmed Pasha died at around the age of 42, not of 47), Rycaut proved himself as a keen observer and commentator with this description.³ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha studied law, consolidated his power at the beginning of his grand vizierate, handled the imperial affairs with moderation, and enlarged the boundaries of the empire. He was widely recognized as a respected and virtuous leader. Contemporary archival documents and chronicles demonstrate that he earned the epithet of “Fazıl” (Ar. *fāḍil*) or virtuous during his lifetime.⁴

In 1958, Leften Stavros Stavrianos wrote that “no adequate history of this [i.e. the Köprülü] important family appears to be available in any language.”⁵ Stavrianos’ observation

² In his diaries, John Covell also provided a short description of the grand vizier in the part where he narrated the audience of the English ambassador with Fazıl Ahmed Pasha on May 19, 1676: “[T]he Vizier was alwayes very brief and sparing in his words, whether out of a formall gravity, or the reall Turkish humour of taciturnity, I know not. He look’t very pleasantly, and, as were inform’d, with an unusuall sweetness; though, at best, I assure you, I thought he had Majesty and state enough in his face all the time, being all the time a very, very, composed countenance, excepting one we fancy’d some shadow of a smile. He is but a little man, and goes a little lamely; and something stooping thereupon, which they say is from many issues which he hath about him fort he Sciatica. He hath a small round face, a little short thin black beard, little eyes, little mount, without any wrinkles in his lips; a smooth round forehead and an erected brow, with thick, but very short, hair on it. He is pockbroaken much. In summe, he hath an acute but morale and serious look; and if I judge anything, I should think him a subtle cunning man, though I had never heard so much from the world. He is, they say, 44 years old, though, from y own part, I guesse him not above 40, if so much.” See “Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covell, 1670-1679,” 195 [99-287]. For another contemporary European description of the grand vizier see Jean Chardin, *Chardin Seyahatnamesi, 1671-1673 İstanbul, Osmanlı Toprakları, Gürcistan, Ermenistan, İran*, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos, trans. Ayşe Meral (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), 85-6.

³ For a discussion on the age of the grand vizier see See G. F. Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 385.

⁴ Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü’l-Tevârih*, 121; “Der zamân-ı hazret-i sadr-ı ‘azam Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa - yesserallâhü mâ yeşâ- fî evâil-i Cemâziye’l-âhir sene 1072. Françaluya virilen ahkâm-ı şerifin kaydıdır.” BOA, MAD, 2747, 4. Behçetî İbrahim Efendi mentioned that Ahmed Pasha was given the epithet of *fâzıl* because of his personal qualifications: “Mecma‘-i kemâlât ve ehl-i fitnat ve kıyâset olmağla Fâzıl telkîb olındı.” See Behçetî, *Târîh-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 133. Silahdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Agha also mentioned him as “Fâzıl Ahmed Beğ” in the part where he narrated the events of 1659, two years before Fazıl Ahmed Pasha took the seal of grand vizierate. See Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 191.

⁵ See L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453. With a new Introduction by Traian Stoianovich* (London: C. Hurst, 2000 [1958]), 892.

is still valid today almost sixty years after the publication of his work. Although there are some master's theses and doctoral dissertations on the other members of the family, a detailed biography of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha has not yet been a subject of a contextual inquiry in Ottoman scholarship.⁶ Likewise, no one has yet written a detailed biographical account on Mehmed IV, the second longest-reigning sultan in Ottoman history, who was on the throne during the grand vizierate of the father and son Köprülü.⁷ The lack of interest in biography writing in Ottoman scholarship, particularly for the early modern period, stems from a methodological concern which was not peculiar to Ottoman studies.⁸ Considered old-fashioned and methodologically conservative, especially after the convincing arguments of the *Annales* school, modern historiography often had a dismissive and devaluing approach towards biography writing.⁹ Recent contributions to the field, however, demonstrated that to make sense of history it is crucial to put people within a historical context.¹⁰ Inspired by this recent turn, this chapter will

⁶ Two semi-academic works are available on the life and activities of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. See Ahmed Refik [Altınay], *Köprülüler*, 93-192; Vâhid Çabuk, *Köprülüler*, 70-159. For a near-contemporary account on the life of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha which rather had a chronicle form see Behçetî, *Tarîh-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 133-276. For the master's theses and dissertations on Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and some other members of the family see the bibliography.

⁷ Back in 1950s, Rifat Osman, the author of *Edirne Sarayı*, indicated that instead of hailing Mehmed IV as *Avcı* or the Hunter with its pejorative connotation, Ottoman historians should explore his biography in detail. See Rifat Osman [Tosyalı], *Edirne Sarayı*, ed. Süheyl Ünver (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1989 [1957]), 31. Although not a biographical account, Marc D. Baer's book on the reign of Mehmed IV is the only detailed study on the life of the sultan. See Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*.

⁸ Earlier studies in 1950s and 60s tended to be focused on "great rulers" of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See, for instance, Franz Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit: Weltensürmer einer Zeitenwende* (München: F. Bruckmann, 1953); Selâhattin Tansel, *Yavuz Sultan Selim* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1969). For a few methodological discussions on the problem see Virginia Aksan, "The Question of Writing Premodern Biographies of the Middle East," in *Auto/Biography and the Construction of Identity and Community in the Middle East*, ed. Mary Ann Fay (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 191-200; Yüksel Çelik, *Şeyhü'l-Vüzerâ Koca Hüseyin Paşa: II. Mahmud Devrinin Perde Arkası* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2013), 1-4.

⁹ Derek Beales "History and Biography: An Inaugural Lecture," in *History and Biography. Essays in Honour of Derek Beales*, ed. by T. C. W. Blanning and David Cannadine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 266-287.

¹⁰ On the recent "biographical turn" in historical studies see Prue Chamberlayne, Joanna Bornat, and Tom Wengraf, eds. *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Sciences* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000); Volker R. Berghahn and Simone Lässig, eds. *Biography between Structure and Agency. Central European Lives in International Historiography* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008); Hans Renders, Binne de Haan, and Jonne Harmsma, eds. *The Biographical Turn: Lives in History* (London: Routledge, 2016). For detailed biographies on leading political and intellectual figures active in the mid-seventeenth century Ottoman world see Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyin b. Gâ'fer*; Robert Dankoff, *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman. Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588-1662)*; Gottfried Hagen, *Ein osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit: Entstehung und*

offer an account of the life and career of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha before his grand vizierate. It will depict and discuss his education, scholarly background, and employment in Ottoman provincial administration in some detail.

2.1. Early Years and Scholarly Career

Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was born in Anno Hegirae 1045/1635-6 in the town of Köprü as the first child of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and Ayşe Hanım. As the son of a high-ranking imperial official and the grandson of a local notable, young Ahmed spent his early years in Köprü in an environment of relative affluence. Although his father referred to Roshnik in Ottoman Albania as the place where he had his origins, Ahmed recognized Köprü as his *vatan-ı aslî* or homeland.¹¹

The Ottoman historian Râşid Mehmed Efendi recorded that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha took young Ahmed with him at the time of his appointments to provincial posts. In his early years, Ahmed thus saw different parts of the empire and studied with various teachers.¹² When his father finally brought him to Istanbul, Ahmed became a pupil of Sarı Osman Efendi (d. 1678) who was the son of the *muftî* Mehmed Efendi, the chief legal expert of Amasya. Biographical dictionaries mention that Sarı Osman Efendi was famous for his travels in search of knowledge (*rihla fî talab al-‘ilm*). He participated in classes of Molla Gürânî (not to be confused with the fifteenth-century scholar), Ali Efendi (the *muftî* of Mardin), Ahmed Hayderânî, Mahmud Musûlî, Kara Kâsım, and Molla Nûrullah in eastern Anatolia. After receiving his *mülâzemet* (the certificate of candidacy to teach in a madrasa) from

Gedankenwelt von Kâtib Çelebis Ğihânnümâ (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2003). Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders*; Betül İpşirli Argıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan*.

¹¹ See *Köprülüade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa Vakfıyesi*, SYEK, Köprülü Ekler, 4/2447, folio 5b.

¹² “Vezîr-i a‘zam-ı müşârun-ileyh Ahmed Paşa hazretleri kadem-nihâde-i âlem-i vücud olup pederi merhum, mezbûr ile ma‘an devr-i bilâd ve vardığı büldân fuzalâsından kesb-i mâye-i isti‘dâd ederek Âstâne-i sa‘âdete vusûl ve tarîk-ı tedrise fursat-ı duhûl bulduktan sonra...” *Târîh-i Râşid*, 1: 194.

Karaçelebizâde Mahmud Efendi, Sarı Osman Efendi taught at several high-ranking madrasas until he became the judge of Damascus in the fall of 1672. In addition to his career in the learned hierarchy, biographical accounts refer to Sarı Osman Efendi's expertise in calligraphy and fondness of manuscripts. He established a primary school and donated his book collection to a public library in the Sultan Selim Mosque in Istanbul. His thirst for knowledge, enthusiasm for collecting manuscripts, expertise in calligraphy, and concern for public education, all characteristics that one can see later in the life and career of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, were strong indications of Sarı Osman Efendi's profound and lasting influence on his pupil.¹³

Silahdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Agha recorded that after attending the lectures of several leading scholars, Ahmed acquired mastery in Islamic jurisprudence, philosophy, and Persian language at an early age.¹⁴ Behçetî also stated that the young Ahmed impressed Karaçelebizâde Abdülaziz Efendi (d. 1658), the chief judge of Rumelia in 1648-9 and the sheikh-ul-Islam for a few months in 1651,¹⁵ with his scholarly qualifications. Karaçelebizâde Abdülaziz Efendi offered him the status of *mülâzım* (the teaching candidate).¹⁶ The support of a leading religious and scholarly figure shortened the process for Ahmed to find a secure place for himself in the scholarly hierarchy, but it seems it was the position of his father in the imperial administration that helped him the most.¹⁷

Şeyhî Mehmed provided a list of posts that *müderriş* Ahmed Efendi held during his teaching career. In line with the tradition, Ahmed Efendi started to teach in a madrasa of a level of *Kırklı*, i.e., with a daily wage of forty *akçes*. In May 1651, at the age of sixteen, he was

¹³ For biographical entries on Sarı Osman Efendi see Uşşâkizâde, *Zeyl-i Şekâik*, 1: 451-3 and Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 453-4.

¹⁴ "Nice âlim ü fâzıl müderrişinin dersine hâzır olup, ilm-i fıkhiyye ve felsefe ve Parsî'de yegâne-i rüzgâr bir kâmil vücûd olup..." Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 683.

¹⁵ On his life, career, and works see Nevzat Kaya, "Karaçelebizâde Abdülaziz Efendi," *DİA* 24 (2001): 381-3.

¹⁶ Behçetî, *Târîh-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 133.

¹⁷ "... babası şefâ'atıyla ilmîne ri'âyeten hâriciye ve dâhiliye medreseler virilüp..." Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 683. "... teberrüken mülâzım idüp der-akab vezîr-i a'zam oğlu olmağla ibtidâ dâhil medresesiyle i'zâz olındı." Behçetî, *Târîh-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 133.

appointed the first *müderriş* of a newly established madrasa called Ahmed Pasha Madrasa. He stayed in this post for more than five years. However, it appears that as soon as his father became grand vizier on September 14, 1656, *müderriş* Ahmed Efendi began to climb the scholarly career ladder quickly. In November 1656, he was appointed to Kasım Pasha Madrasa replacing Müderriszâde Abdullatif Efendi in his post. In January 1657, just a few months later, he succeeded Nâkibzâde Seyyid Abdullah Efendi at one of the Sahn-ı Semân madrasas.¹⁸ In March 1657, he was transferred to Sultan Selîm-i Kadîm Madrasa. In May 1657, about two months later, he left this position and abandoned his promising career in the learned profession.¹⁹

The following table shows the chronology of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's scholarly career at Istanbul madrasas based on the information gleaned from the account of Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi:

Appointments	Start date	End date
One of the <i>Kırklı</i> madrasas	?	May 1651
Ahmed Pasha Madrasa	May 1651	November 1656
Kasım Pasha Madrasa	November 1656	January 1657
Sahn-ı Semân	January 1657	March 1657
Sultan Selîm-i Kadîm Madrasa	March 1657	May 1657

Table 3. Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's Appointments to the Ottoman Madrasas

During his education and scholarly career, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha had a keen interest in the art of Islamic calligraphy. He completed his training in this art under the supervision of Büyük

¹⁸ M. Tayyip Gökbilgin maintained that the reason Ahmed Efendi was appointed to one of the Sahn-ı Semân madrasas, the most prestigious institutions for the higher education at the time in Istanbul, was the popularity of his lessons: “‘Paşa-zâde’ demekle şöhret aldığı bu devirde dersleri rağbet gördü ve 1657’de Sahn-ı seman müderrisliğine yükseldi.” See M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, “Köprülüler – II. Fazıl Ahmed Paşa,” 898.

¹⁹ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi’ü’l-fudalâ*, 1: 603. Evliya Çelebi mentions that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, in addition to his teaching post, received a *mevlevîyet pâye* or an honorary grade of a senior judge, before he abandoned his scholarly career. See *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 5: 146.

Derviş Ali (d. 1673) who was a student of Hâlid b. İsmail el-Erzurûmî (d. 1631).²⁰ Both Hâlid b. İsmail el-Erzurûmî and Büyük Derviş Ali followed the stylistic example set by the sheikh Hamdullah el-Amâsî (d. 1520), the renowned calligrapher in the courts of Mehmed II and Bayezid II.²¹ Ahmed Efendi perfected himself in this art to the degree that it is possible to find his name in biographical dictionaries written exclusively for Ottoman calligraphers.²² Among other students of Büyük Derviş Ali with whom Ahmed Efendi possibly practiced calligraphy were Mehmed Kâtû (d. 1685-86), Zekeriya Sükkerî (d. 1686), Ali b. Mustafa (d. 1691), Mustafa Nigâhî (d. 1693), Fasîh Ahmed Dede (d. 1699), and Mehmed Bahrî Pasha (d. 1700-01).²³

Several contemporary accounts acclaimed Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's mastery in Islamic calligraphy. Vâni Mehmed Efendi, for instance, underlined the beauty of his writing in one of the letters that he exchanged with the grand vizier.²⁴ Mühürdâr Hasan Agha also stated that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha had a discerning eye when it came to calligraphy and literary compositions. He wrote that the grand vizier criticized those scribes who did not sharpen their skills.²⁵ In his travel account, Evliya Çelebi recorded that in September 1663, after the capture of the Érsekújvár (Uyvar) castle, the commander-in-chief Fazıl Ahmed Pasha asked literary figures and secretaries in the camp to compose a *fetihnâme* or a literary account for the declaration of the Ottoman military success. When they finished their compositions, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha chose the work of Kitabcı Ahmed Çelebi to be copied and distributed in various parts of the empire.

²⁰ On Büyük Derviş Ali see Habib Efendi, *Hat ve Hattatan*, 126-127.

²¹ Uğur Derman, "Osmanlılar'da Hat Sanatı," in *Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti Tarihi*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1998), 2: 482; Muhittin Serin, *Hat Sanatı ve Meşhur Hattatlar*, 90-98.

²² Müstakimzâde Süleyman Sadeddin Efendi, *Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928), 82; Süleyman b. Ahmed Müezzinzade, *Mir'ât-i-Hattâtîn*, TSMK, Yeni Yazmalar, 591, 8b.

²³ Serin, *Hat Sanatı ve Meşhur Hattatlar*, 118. Mustafa Çıpan, "Fasîh Ahmed Dede: Hayatı, Edebî Kişiliği, Eserleri ve Dîvânı'nın Tenkidli Metni" (PhD. diss., Selçuk Üniversitesi, 1991), 1: XVII; *Sükkerî: Hayatı, Edebî Kişiliği ve Divanı*, ed. Erdoğan Erol (Ankara: AKMY, 1994), 8.

²⁴ "... Bundan akdem 'el-mürâseletü nısfü' muvâsale' mukaddimesiyle mahrem-i raşhâ-i kalem-i tâvûs-rakamları berîd-i hoceste-kadem yediyle bir dem-i ferruh-fezâda vâsıl-ı semt-i dâ'i-yi bî-riyâ olub..." *Münşe'ât*, 77.

²⁵ "Efendimüz şol mertebe ehl-i 'ilm idi ki ta'birin edâ etmeğe kâdir değiliz. El-hak cümle küttâb ve re'is ve tezkireci kendüsi yanında kalem çalmağa havf u hayâ iderlerdi. Ol dahî elbette iki yazduğı kelimelerinde bir yanlış bulurdu. Kimsenün mektûbın beğenmezdi. Ol hadden ziyâde ehl-i 'ilm ve ehl-i hâneş idi." Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevârih*, 195.

Soon, he changed his mind and decided to compose a new one himself. Once he finished, the grand vizier gave his *fetihnâme* to the secretaries in the camp to make several copies. He sent the original copy to the sultan along with the keys to the castle.²⁶

A recent study demonstrates that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, most probably during his scholarly career, copied two treatises (*Izhār al-Esrār fī'n-Nahv* and *al-'Avāmil al-Miet al-Jadīda*) on Arabic grammar. He copied these works in a beautiful *ta'lik*, a script customarily identified with the Ottoman ulema. Both treatises were the works of Muhyiddin Muhammed b. Pir Ali Birgivi (d. 1573), a prominent Turkish jurist and grammarian from the Anatolian town of Birgi.²⁷ The content and the calligraphy of these treatises illustrate Ahmed Efendi's keen interest in Arabic grammar and his ability to produce skillfully written scholarly texts.

In her recent study, Shefer-Mossenshon established an interesting link between calligraphy and bureaucracy. She argued that “throughout the history of the empire, some calligraphers were absorbed into the bureaucratic and religious establishment, so they were well experienced in the practical aspects of writing.”²⁸ Although there is not any substantial evidence to claim for the role of Ahmed Efendi/Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's calligraphy training in his career

²⁶ “Bu tahrîrât cebehâneler ve niçe bin added mâdde-i kübrâlar der-defter olup ve cemî'i kollardan küttâb-ı münşileri hüsn-i hatt inşâları üzre fetihnâmeleri cümle erbâb-ı ma'ârifân erbâb-ı dîvân Sad[rı]a'zama arz etdiklerinde kâmil bir hafta Sadrı-a'zam herkesin fetihnâmelerin mütâla'a edüp cümleden Kitâbcı Ahmed Çelebi inşâsın beğenüp o küttâbın fetihnâmesi dahi pür-melâl olup mahalle münâsib âyet-i şerîfeler ile âb-ı nâb vermiş ammâ ‘Bizimle inşâallahu te'âlâ pâdişâhımızın murâd [u] merâm-ı şerîfleri üzre olmuştur’ deyu bizzât Sadrıaz'am kendü inşâsı ve kendi dest-i hüsn-i hattıyla tahrîr olunan fetihnâmeyi re'isü'l-küttâb olan (---) Efendi'ye verüp cemî'i erbâb-ı dîvânın hattât halîfelerine fetihnâme-i sadrıa'zam verilüp cemî'i memâlik-i mahrûse-i Âl-i Osmân'a fetihnâmeler tahrîr olunup Sadrıa'zam hattıyla olan fetihnâmeyi Çavuşbaşı Köse İbrahim Ağa sa'adettü pâdişâha kal'a ve hazine miftâhları ve telhîs ile gitmeğe âmâde oldu.” *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 8: 212. In his account, Mühürdar Hasan Ağa recorded a letter that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha composed and sent to the sheikh-ul-Islam Minkârizâde Yahya Efendi after the capture of the Érsekújvár castle. See Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevârih*, 178-179.

²⁷ See SYEK, Mehmed Asım Bey, *Mecmua*, 556, fols. 1b-31a and 31b-37a. See also Ahmet Kaylı, “A Critical Study of Birgivi Mehmed Efendi's (d. 981/1573) Works and Their Dissemination in Manuscript Form,” (masters' thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2010), 212-3. This *mecmua* was among the manuscripts that Mehmed Asım Bey (d. 1816) donated in 1805 to the Köprülü Manuscript Library.

²⁸ Miri Shefer-Mossenshon, *Science among the Ottomans. The Cultural Creation and Exchange of Knowledge* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2015), 95.

advancement, records indicate that he employed several skilled calligraphers in the bureaucracy during his grand vizierate.²⁹

In addition to developing his skills in calligraphy, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha engaged with poetry. According to Behçetî, he composed poems in Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish.³⁰ Bursalı Mehmed Tahir also claimed that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha had a *dîvân* in which he collected his Arabic poems.³¹ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha reportedly authored some scholarly texts including two studies, one on Islamic jurisprudence and the other on mathematics.³² Although some of his poems were recorded by his contemporaries,³³ neither the collection of his Arabic poems nor his studies on Islamic jurisprudence and mathematics, have yet appeared in manuscript library catalogs.

Based on testimonies of Şîrvânî Ebubekir Efendi and Demirkapılı (Timurkapılı) Fazıl Süleyman Efendi, Behçetî stated that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha memorized the Qur'ân by heart in a short time during the siege of Candia.³⁴ To emphasize his skills in reciting the Qur'ân with *tajweed* or correct pronunciation, the contemporary historian İsmâ-zâde reported that on May 28, 1675, upon the request of the leading sheikhs and some other religious figures who gathered for the royal circumcision festival in Edirne, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha recited a part from the Qur'ân.

²⁹ Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa. *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 77.

³⁰ “Eş’âr ve ebyatları Arabî ve Fârisî ve Türkî elsinde-i enâmıla mümtedd oldu.” Behçetî, *Târih-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 134.

³¹ Bursalı Mehmed Tahir Bey, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, ed. İsmail Özen (İstanbul: Meral Yayınevi, 1975), 3: 56.

³² “Ve ta’lîk-i hüsn-i hattı olup Kandiye’de olan vakfında müdevven sadrû’ş-şer’e ve ilm-i hendesede bir kitâb vesâir fenne müte’allık dahî hatları ile kitâbları vardır.” Behçetî, *Târih-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 134. Although he did not mention any work of the grand vizier on the Islamic jurisprudence, Mühürdâr Hasan Agha reported that during the siege of Candia some of the Ottoman soldiers came to tent of the grand vizier to ask legal opinions. See *Cevâhirü’l-Tevârih*, 334.

³³ See, for instance, Behçetî, *Târih-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 134 and “Köprülü Kütüphanesi,” SYEK, Süheyl Ünver Dosya, no. 267/1-466.

³⁴ “Ba’zı kimesneler ‘Hâfız Ahmed Paşa’ dimeleriyle sem’-i sa’âdetlerine bu kelâm vâsıl oldukda ‘halkı tasdik idelim’ deyü Girid cezîresinde Kandiye kal’ası muhâsarında İnâdiye ta’bîr olunur metrisde hîn-i mukâteledde yigirmi sekiz günde hıfza mâlik olup câri hâfız olduğına ‘ulemâ-yı fehvâdan Şîrvânî Ebubekir Efendi ve Timur Kapulı Fâzıl Süleyman Efendi bi’d-defâ’ât nakl itmişlerdir.” Behçetî, *Târih-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 133. Other contemporary records also mention Fazıl Ahmed Pasha as *hâfız* or someone who memorized the Qur'ân by heart. See *Zeyl-i Vâkı’a-nâme*, 20b; Ömer Faruk Akün, “Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa ve Mirahur Sarı Süleyman Ağa Mücadelesi ile İlgili Bir Konuşma Zabtı,” 17.

The historian noted that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha impressed those who listened to him with his Qur'ân recitation.³⁵

Not only the Ottoman authors but also some of the European visitors of the empire extolled Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's good education and his broad scholarly interests. To give but one example, Laurent d'Arvieux (d. 1702), a French merchant and diplomat who met with the pasha on several occasions particularly when the latter was the governor-general of Damascus, mentioned that he was impressed by the scholarly qualifications and vast knowledge of the pasha. He recorded that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha had expertise in theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, judicial astrology, history, and poetry. The pasha, he claimed, was one of the greatest Muslim scholars of the time.³⁶

All these accounts and testimonies provide substantial evidence for Ahmed Efendi/Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's enthusiasm, skills, and abilities in intellectual, cultural, and artistic activities. Even at the time he left his scholarly career, he continued to acquire manuscripts related to his intellectual pursuits. In November 1657, approximately seven months after he abandoned his teaching post at the Sultan Selîm-i Kadîm Madrasa, Ahmed Efendi became the owner of *et-Tuhfetü's seniyye ilâ Hazreti'l-Haseniyye*, a Persian-Turkish dictionary prepared by Deşîşî Mehmed Efendi in 1580.³⁷ Why did Ahmed Efendi then leave his promising career in the learned profession? Historians differ on its reason(s). Defterdâr Sarı Mehmed Pasha maintained that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha abhorred gossip prevalent among scholars and did not want his son to be in this group. He, thus, appointed his son to a post in the imperial administration.³⁸

³⁵ *İsâ-zâde Tarihi*, 139.

³⁶ Chevalier Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux... contenant ses voyages à Constantinople, dans l'Asie, la Syrie...*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Labat (Paris: C. J. B. Delespine, 1735), 4: 571-572. See also Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, 5: 193. On the life and travels of d'Arvieux see Lewis, *Levantine Adventurer* and Michèle Longino, *French Travel Writing in the Ottoman Empire. Marseille to Constantinople, 1650-1700* (New York and London: Routledge, 2015), 57-107.

³⁷ See SYEK, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 1520, fol. 1a.

³⁸ "... [A]shâb-ı tarik süfehâsından ba'z-ı sözler Köprülü Mehmed Paşa merhûmun sem'ine irişmekle, tarîkden nefret ve oğlunu anlar beynine islâkden sıyânet idüp, ibtidâ' Erzurum eyâleti mansıbı ile ikrâm..." Defterdâr Sarı

Nâimâ mentioned that it was not Köprülü Mehmed Pasha but Ahmed Efendi who wanted to protect himself from gossip and mischief of the learned class and thus opted for a position in the administrative hierarchy.³⁹ Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib contended that Ahmed Efendi left the scholarly career because of the hostile attitudes of his jealous colleagues.⁴⁰ Behçetî, who provided significant details otherwise hard to find in other accounts, also wrote that *müderris* Ahmed Efendi abhorred gossip prevalent among the learned class. Behçetî stated that Ahmed Efendi left this career path since the leading members of the learned hierarchy and the ruling elite saw his wit and ability in statecraft and thus arrived at a conclusion that his employment in the administrative ranks would be beneficial to the empire.⁴¹ In her study on the Ottoman ulema, Madeline C. Zilfi commented on the career shift of Ahmed Efendi as an unusual case and one of the rare examples of abandoning the scholarly hierarchy (*terk-i tarik*) at an advanced stage. She wrote that “Fazıl Ahmed’s decision had been made under special circumstances. He had been influenced by unpleasant experiences in the ulemâ hierarchy and by his father’s express wishes.” Emphasizing the importance of the family tradition, Zilfi asserted that “with his father a vezir and no strong ilmiye family tradition to draw on, Fazıl Ahmed’s abandonment of the ilmiye was arguably more predictable than his having entered in the first place.”⁴² In the light of these arguments and explanations, it is possible to claim that *müderris* Ahmed Efendi

Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 7. Jealousy among the members of the learned class was a problem that several Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals had lamented on beginning from the sixteenth century: “Müderrisler ve ulemâ topluluğu birbirini çekemezler. Onların birbiri aleyhine söyledikleri şeylere inanmayıp reisleri ile görüşüp bilginlerin rütbe ve derecelerini araştırma ve yoklama yapmak gerektir.” Lütî Paşa, *Asafnâme*, ed. Ahmet Uğur (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982), 18.

³⁹ “Evâ’il-i hâlinde mülâzim ve müderris olup tarik-i ilme sülûk itmişlerdi. Dâhil-i tarik olan ba’zı gammaz ve hezzâllerin agrâz-ı nâsa ta’arruzların ve biri birilerin zemm ü kadîh ve gıybetle mesâvîye iştigâllerin görüp tamma nefret etmişler idi. Pederleri sadr-ı a’zam oldukda tarikden ihrac edip silk-i vüzerâyâ idrâc etmişlerdi.” *Târih-i Nâimâ*, 4: 1839. See also Behçetî, *Târih-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 115.

⁴⁰ Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib, *Hadikatü’l-Vüzerâ*, 106.

⁴¹ “Cümle kemâlâtdan fâ’ida-i umûr-ı devlet-i ‘aliyyenin mû-be-mû esrârına vâkıf ve umûr-ı hâriciyede emsâlini sâlif olmağla ulemâ-i dîn ü devlet erkân-ı saltanat ale’l-ittifâk böyle zât-ı şerîf devlet-i ‘aliyyenin nizâm ü intizâmına düşman-ı dînden ahz-ı intikâmına sezâvâr ve elzem ve ebü’l-fütûh ve’l-meğâzî olacağı cezm-i gerde zevi’l-‘ukûl olmağla tarik-i ‘ulemâdan ihrâc ve silk-i vüzerâ-yı ‘izâm zevi’l-ihtirâma ilhak olunup...” Behçetî, *Târih-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 133.

⁴² Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 84-5.

was distressed by gossip and sharp critiques of the members of the learned hierarchy -most probably- due to the harsh ruling style of his father. When he received support and encouragement from Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and other leading members of the ruling elite and ulema, he left the scholarly career for an administrative post.

2.2 Fazıl Ahmed Pasha in the Ottoman Provincial Administration

Behçetî narrated in some detail that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha submitted a formal memorandum (*telhîs*) to Mehmed IV to request the employment of his eldest son in the imperial administration. Once the sultan granted his request, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha invited Ahmed Efendi, who was busy with teaching at that time, into his presence. He wanted to convey the good news in person. Disregarding the procedures, the old grand vizier stood up from his seat and warmly welcomed his son. After informing him that the sultan allowed him to enter the path of vizierate, he congratulated him and gave him a vizier's turban as a gift.⁴³

Towards the summer of 1659, Ahmed Efendi, who turned to Ahmed Bey after this appointment, traveled to Bursa in the imperial retinue.⁴⁴ Evliya Çelebi reported that Ahmed Bey suffered from malaria during the journey and thus had to spend a few weeks in Kadiyaylağı near Bursa to recover.⁴⁵ On Thursday, August 21, 1659, this time Mehmed IV invited him into his presence. He bestowed upon Ahmed Bey the rank of vizier first with two and then with three horsetails (*tuğs*) and appointed him as the new governor-general of Erzurum, an important province in the Ottoman-Safavid frontier.

⁴³ “Nakl iderler ki Koca Köprülü sadr-a‘zam olduğu gibi fâzıl-ı merhumun vezâretini telhis idüp me‘zûn oldıktan sonra vezîrâne bir destâr müheyyâ idüb talebeye tadrîs iderken da‘vet olunup hey’et-i ulemâ üze huzûrına geldikde mu‘tâd-ı kadîmini terk idüp kıyâm eyleyüp ‘hoş geldin vezîr oğlım’ deyü kendülere hayret istî‘âb eyledikde ‘pâdişâh-ı İslâm hazretleri senin tarîk-i vezârete girmeni sezâvâr gördi.’ Düşine semmûr destâr pür sürûrî başına ilbâs idüp i‘zâz ü ikrâm olındı.” Behçetî, *Târîh-i Sülâle-i Köprülü*, 115.

⁴⁴ Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 191.

⁴⁵ Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnâmesi*, 5: 146. See also *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1839.

At the time of this appointment, Ahmed Bey was about the age of twenty-five and had no previous experience in state administration. It was, therefore, surprising news for many.⁴⁶ Several contemporary authors found the appointment worthy of mentioning in their accounts.⁴⁷ When the Ottoman Armenian community in Istanbul heard about this designation, they, under the leadership of Eñiazar Aynt‘aptsi (d. 1691), considered it a good occasion to demand from the grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha to give them the right to use the St. James Monastery in Jerusalem. Their efforts brought fruitful results, and they succeeded in obtaining an imperial order in the same year through the mediation of the grand vizier.⁴⁸

It appears that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was the figure behind the appointment of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, the governor-general of Erzurum. He had already appointed his brother-in-law Kibleli Mustafa Pasha the governor-general of Sivas in central Anatolia in November 1658.⁴⁹ It is plausible to argue that far-reaching unrest and chaos that threatened the very foundation of Ottoman rule in Anatolia in the mid-seventeenth century made it imperative for the ruling elite to appoint loyal and reliable administrators to provinces.⁵⁰ Famous for its strong citadel and

⁴⁶ *Risâle-i Kürd Hatib*, 37.

⁴⁷ Ziya Akkaya, “Vecihî, Devri ve Eseri,” 200; *Abdi Paşa Vekayi’nâmesi*, 140; *Evlîya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 5: 146; *Cevâhirü’l-Tevârih*, 122; *Îsâ-zâde Tarihi*, 57; *Risâle-i Kürd Hatib*, 37; *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1839.

⁴⁸ “In this year, with the consent of Sultan Mahomed the Fourth, the Vizier Kiopreulew Mahomed Pacha appointed his son Ahmet governor of Carin [Erzurum]. Shortly before the departure of Ahmet from Prusa, where he was with his father, the Sultan arrived at that place, and a great entertainment was given in his honour. Immediately after this, Ahmet receiving great honours from the Sultan and Vizier, set out to take possession of his government. The monk Eleazar considering this would be a favourable time to try to obtain the restoration of St. Jacob’s, went to the Vizier Kiahiasih, whom, after presenting a large sum, he begged to intercede with the Grand Vizier, that for the sake of the honour conferred on his son, he would make the Armenians happy by restoring them the convent which had been the cause of so much contention between them and the Greeks. The Grand Vizier was at length prevailed upon to lend a favourable ear to their entreaties, and acquainting the Sultan with the nature of their suit, he obtained a royal order for the restoration of the convent of St. Jacob to the Armenians.” *History of Armenia by Father Michael Chamich*, trans. Johannes Avdall (Calcutta: Printed at Bishop’s College Press, by H. Townsend, 1827), 2: 397-8.

⁴⁹ *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1808; *Topkapı Anonymous*, 40b.

⁵⁰ Rhoads Murphey, “Continuity and Discontinuity in Ottoman Administrative Theory and Practice during the Late Seventeenth Century,” *Poetics Today* 14/2 (1993), 424 [419-443]. Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 153. For recent contribution to the growing literature on the “Celali Rebellions” in the late sixteenth- and the in the first half of the seventeenth centuries see Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Oktay Özel, *The Collapse of Rural Order in Ottoman Anatolia. Amasya 1576-1643* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

cold weather, the city of Erzurum was the administrative seat of the provincial governors. It was also, in the words of Evliya Çelebi, a “shelter for the Celâlî rebels.” Especially after the revolt of Abaza (the Abkhazian) Mehmed Pasha (d. 1634), who kept the control of the city for several years,⁵¹ the Ottoman government made efforts to strengthen its defenses.⁵² A few decades later, this time in the aftermath of the revolt of another Abkhazian, the grand vizier aimed to re-strengthen the imperial authority in the province by appointing his son the governor-general.

A few words on the revolt of Abaza Hasan Pasha in 1658 are necessary. Mücteba İlgürel stated that it was the biggest Celâlî uprising in Ottoman history.⁵³ In the summer of 1658, some 30,000 men who did not accept the legitimacy of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha’s grand vizierate disobeyed the imperial order to muster for the Transylvanian campaign.⁵⁴ They, under the leadership of Abaza Hasan Pasha, gathered at Konya and moved west towards Bursa, the first capital of the Ottomans, to lend their rebellion, it seems, an aura of legitimacy.⁵⁵ During their stay in the city between September 7 and October 12,⁵⁶ Abaza Hasan Pasha sent Haşimîzâde, the judge of Bursa, to Mehmed IV with some petitions and demanded the dismissal of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. The sultan, however, dismissed the judge, not the grand vizier. To declare their action illegitimate, the sultan also stated that those who took part in the rebellion were not his

⁵¹ Abaza Mehmed Pasha raised troops on the pretext of avenging the execution of Osman II in 1622. Several Ottoman chronicles including *Tarih-i Peçevi*, *Fezleke*, and *Tarih-i Nâimâ* narrate this episode in some detail. For an account of his rebellion based on a contemporary Armenian account see H. D. Andreasyan, “Abaza Mehmed Paşa,” *Tarih Dergisi* 22 (1968): 131-42. See also Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats*, 222-5.

⁵² *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 2: 104. Mehmet İnbaşı, “Erzincan Kazâsı (1642 Tarihli Avârız Defterine Göre),” *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi* 41 (2009), 200 [189-214].

⁵³ Mücteba İlgürel, “Abaza Hasan,” *DİA* 1 (1988): 10 [10-11]. See also Mücteba İlgürel, “Abaza Hasan Paşa İsyanı,” (associate professorship thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1976).

⁵⁴ Kürd Hatib Mustafa Efendi stated that it was the delusion of Hâdımkarındaşı Hasan Agha that led Abaza Hasan Pasha and Tayyazâde Ahmed Pasha to start their rebels against the grand vizier. See *Risale-i Kürd Hatib*, 35-6. Abdi Paşa provides a more detail account on this episode. See *Abdi Paşa Vekayi’nâmesi*, 122. Mehmed Halife stated that those pashas who felt themselves threatened under the rule of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha sought refuge in Abaza Hasan Pasha and participated in his forces. See *Târîh-i Gilmânî*, 60.

⁵⁵ Caroline Finkel, *Osman’s Dream*, 258.

⁵⁶ *Risale-i Kürd Hatib*, 36.

servants but the servants of the devil.⁵⁷ When Abaza Hasan received the news that the sultan denied his request, he avowed: “Since the sultan did not listen to our words, they [the Ottoman ruling elite] should consider us from now on as implacable a foe as the Shah of ‘Acem [Safavid Iran]. Henceforth, Rumelia shall be theirs, and Anatolia shall be ours.”⁵⁸ Abaza Hasan invited other leading Ottoman pashas to join his army and threatened some others to burn Bursa if they did not support him.⁵⁹ He appointed his men to sanjaks and provinces in Anatolia and sent orders to collect taxes.⁶⁰ Harsh winter conditions and lack of provisions, however, forced the forces of the rebel pasha to withdraw. The political unrest in Anatolia, which posed a serious challenge to the Ottoman territorial integrity, continued in the following year until the execution of Abaza Hasan and other leaders of the rebellion in Aleppo in a plot which Murtaza Pasha organized.⁶¹

What is interesting in this episode is that, along with soldiers and governors who showed their opposition to the administration of the grand vizier, an increasing number of people, including some preachers and members of the ulema, sided with Abaza Hasan Pasha against the grand vizier. These preachers were those who, most probably, felt uneasy with the exile of Üstüvânî Mehmed Efendi and other Kadızâdeli leaders to Cyprus. It appears that they were also dissatisfied with the strict fiscal policy of the grand vizier, who cut the salaries of sheikhs and *duâgûs* to increase the incomes of the central treasury.⁶² Preachers and other religious figures supported Abaza Hasan with a claim which gave the revolt a religious legitimacy in the public

⁵⁷ *Abdi Paşa Vekayi’nâmesi*, 123.

⁵⁸ “Çünkü sözüümüz geçmedi, bundan sonra bizi dahî Şâh-ı ‘Acem gibi bir kavî düşman bilsinler. Fîmâ-ba’d Rumili anların, Anadolu bizim olsun, bildiklerinden kalmassınlar.” *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1789.

⁵⁹ “Bursa muhâfazasına giden vezîr Sarı Ken‘ân Paşa’yı dahi Celâlî Abaza Hasan Paşa da‘vet idüp: ‘Eger gelmezse Bursa şehri tahrîb ü ihrâk olunmak mukarrerdür’ deyü tahvîf itmeleriyle hâh u nâ-hâh kendü ordularına ilhâk itmişler idi.” *Abdi Paşa Vekayi’nâmesi*, 123-4.

⁶⁰ Mehmed IV ordered the execution of Ali Pasha whom Abaza Hasan Pasha appointed the governor of Eskişehir. Ali Pasha’s head was hung on the wall of the Topkapı Palace. See Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 184.

⁶¹ *Abdi Paşa Vekayi’nâmesi*, 130-1. *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1813-22. Kunt, “The Köprülü Years,” 113-4.

⁶² *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1761.

eyes. Abaza Hasan, they claimed, was *müceddid-i dîn* (the renewer of the religion) in the eleventh century of the Hijri calendar. He was a *müeyyed* (the fortifier) and *sâhib-i zuhûr* (the apparent one).⁶³ Perhaps it was the growing discomfort on the part of the scholarly and religious elite that constituted the most salient threat to the imperial establishment at that time. The sultan sent a confidential letter to Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, who was then commanding the army at the Transylvanian campaign and ordered him to return to the capital immediately. In the meantime, he declared *nefir-i 'âm* or general mobilization against Abaza Hasan Pasha after receiving a *fatwa*. In the summer of 1659, a few months after the rebellion, the sultan and the grand vizier paid a visit to Bursa with an aim to re-establish the imperial prestige and authority in the region.⁶⁴ They brought the *Hırka-i Şerîf* (the Holy Mantle of the Prophet Muhammad) with them. When the royal retinue reached to Bursa, they first visited the tombs of the founders of the Ottoman dynasty and other sultans.⁶⁵

During their stay in the city, the Ottoman ruling elite executed some of the leading religious figures, including Arab Nu'man Efendi, the judge of Bursa, since he, in the words of

⁶³ “Ba‘zı vâ‘iz efendiler ve meşâyihden nice zarîfler ‘Hasan Paşa mü‘eyyed ve sâhib-i zuhûrdur. Karn-ı hâdî aşerde müceddid-i dîn olan budur. Bunun yüzünden şöyle hizmet ve böyle maslahat zuhûr edecektir’ deyü halk ağzına söz verip şehir-i İstanbul’u güft-ü-gû ile mâl-â-mâl ettiler.” *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1790-1. Mehmed IV’s growing worry about the increasing popularity of Abaza Hasan Pasha reflected in his letter that he sent to the grand vizier with one of his private servants: “Benim lâlam! Abaza Hasan dedikleri şakînin hakkında nefir-i ‘âmm ferman ettim. Lâkin cem‘iyyetleri gittikçe ziyâde olmaktadır. Zabt u rabt-ı umûra müte‘allik olan hizmetine hased edip senden hoşnut olmadıkları için halkın çoğu eşkiyâ tarafına meyl üzredir. Sühûletle def’ olmaz ve ihmâl götürmez iştir.” *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1791; On the idea of *tajdid* or the renewal of faith in Islamic history in the pre-modern period see John O. Voll, “Renewal and Reform in Islamic History: *Tajdid* and *Islah*,” in *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, ed. John L. Esposito (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 32-47.

⁶⁴ “[H]er dîvân oldukda birkaç âdem celâlî ve cemâlî ve zalemelerden katl olması mukarrer idi. Bu uslûb üzre Anadolu memleketi ve gayri eyâletler seg-i sekbânlar ve sarıca bî-ârice kelpelerinin şûr-ı şerrinden re‘âyâ vü berâyâlar âsûde hâl olup bu menzilde Hasan Paşalı katliyçün ve gayrı zorba ve zâlimlerin zulmü def’ [u] ref’ için İsmâ‘îl Paşa teftîşçi olup on bir asker ile celâlî katline revâne oldu. Şehr-i İzmit’de üç gün tekâ‘üd olup kapudan paşa ve bostâncıbaşı bir yaylım top u tüfeng şâdumânları edüp Mudanya şehri limanına gitmek fermân olundu. Andan bu şehir-i İzmit’de cümle ocak halkı ile müşâvere olup celâlî kırmağa Haleb ve Mar‘ayş ve Sivas üzre sa‘âdetlü pâdişâhın gitmesi münâsib görülmeyüp, ‘İsmâ‘îl Paşa gitmesi kifâyet eder’ deyüp İzmit’den that-ı evvel Bursa’ya revâne olmağı ma‘kul görüp tuğlar gidüp ertesi sa‘âdetlü pâdişâh İzmit halicin dolaşarak 5 sâ‘at gidüp...” *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 5: 140. On the visit of Mehmed IV to Bursa in 1659 see Şenol Çelik, “Evliya Çelebi’nin, Sultan IV. Mehmed İle Birlikte Katıldığı Bursa ve Çanakkale Boğazı Gezisi.”

⁶⁵ *Abdi Paşa Vekayi’nâmesi*, 138.

the royal chronicler Abdi Pasha, “dared to unnecessarily meddle in the affairs that legally belonged to the high imperial officials.”⁶⁶ Nihâdî stated that the sultan and the grand vizier executed twenty other people in Bursa on the grounds that they welcomed the rebel governor Abaza Hasan Pasha in the city in the previous year.⁶⁷ Köprülü Mehmed Pasha also charged the vizier the Bosnian İsmail Pasha to carry out investigations and execute anyone, including soldiers, governors, *müderises*, judges, and even descendants of the Prophet Muhammed, who took part, one way or another, in the Abaza Hasan Pasha rebellion.⁶⁸

2.2.1 Pasha of Erzurum Province

Fazıl Ahmed Pasha set off from Bursa on September 19, 1659, to take his post from Aşhâneli Mustafa Pasha in Erzurum. He did not stop *en route* except for a few days in his hometown Köprü. Mühürdâr Hasan Agha reported in his chronicle that when Fazıl Ahmed Pasha arrived in Erzurum, he made it clear to his *kethüda* (steward) Hasan that he did not receive this post with the power of money and he was not interested in accumulating wealth during this tenure.⁶⁹ He further stated that he did not even have the purpose of being employed in the Ottoman administration, but since it happened with the will of God, he would serve the people

⁶⁶ “Bursa kadısı Nu‘mân Efendi kadîmden tama‘ u zulmile müttehem iken bu def‘a dahi kendi hâlinde olmayup vükela-yı devlete ve vilâyet-i memlekete mufevvaz ve mahsûs olan umûra fuzûlen müdâhaleye cesâret itdüğü mesmû‘-ı hümayûn oldukda, hakkında istiftâ buyurulup, cevâb-ı mes‘elede emr-i veliyyü’l-emre ile katline virilen fetvâ mücebince fermân-ı pâdişâhî ile katl olundu.” *Abdi Paşa Vekayi’nâmesi*, 140. See also Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 191.

⁶⁷ *Târîh-i Nihâdî*, 46. The Chief Gardener Hasan Ağa was also executed in Bursa. For a list of items that were brought to the imperial treasury from his inheritance see TSMA, D. 2315, fol. 33b.

⁶⁸ Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 190-1; *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1837. For an imperial order that was sent to several provincial governors in Anatolia to capture the supporters of Abaza Hasan Pasha see Dresden ms. Eb. 387, fols. 6b, 21b, 22b, and 23b. For other records that shows the list of confiscated properties of the rebel leaders and others see BOA, MAD, 7326, 8, 9, 20 and 51. It appears that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha seized the post-rebellion regulations as a good opportunity to get rid of opposition groups in Anatolia: “Anadolu’da muhâlif ve eşkiyâ teftîşine me’mur olan vezir İsmail Paşa...” See BOA, MAD, 7326, 5. Vezir İsmail Pasha was holding the *hass* of İzmid as his revenue-income at the time when he was appointed inspector-general. See BOA, MAD, 7326, 27. On İsmail Pasha see *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1839.

⁶⁹ The authors of contemporary Ottoman reform treatises commented on the practice of selling imperial offices to the highest bidder as a serious problem which led to the decline of financial, political, and social order in the provinces in the mid-seventeenth century. See Katib Çelebi, *Düstûrî’l-‘amel li-islâhi’l-halel*, 128.

and the state in the same way his father did.⁷⁰ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha then ordered the steward Hasan to lower taxes to meet the income of the governor-generals of the province to the half rate. He also warned him not to misuse the imperial authority to extract extra levies from the people.⁷¹ To confirm this administrative and fiscal policy of the new governor-general of the province, Hasan Agha, who then served as *hazine kâtibi* or the record keeper of the provincial treasury, noted that while the previous governors collected 150 *yük akçes* annually, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha collected only 40-50 *yük akçes* in that year.⁷² If one accepts the remarks of Hasan Agha not as lip-service to his patron but as an actual narrative of events, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's straightforward declaration of his aim and administrative method was similar to what his father stated to those around him on the first day when he was appointed grand vizier. Köprülü Mehmed Pasha avowed that the state expected service, not grandeur, from him.⁷³

In *Telhîsü'l-Beyân*, Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi provided some information on the administrative units and income of Erzurum Province in the second half of the seventeenth century. He reported that Erzurum Province had ten sanjaks and 5279 *kılıçs* or registered timar units that were not allowed to be divided and assigned in parts. 122 of these *kılıçs* were *zeamets*

⁷⁰ "Medine-i Arz-ı Rûm'a dâhil oldukda, Hasan Kethüdâyı çağırub hitab-ı müstetâbları bu oldu ki: 'İşte bu metâ'-ı devleti biz akçe ile almadık ve bu devleti istemez iken (dahî) Hak cânibinden i'tâ olındı. Çünkü takdîr böyle imiş. Emr hazret-i Allâh'undur. Lâkin bu Devlet-i Osmâniyyeye pederimüz böyle hizmete idüb, biz dahî ana göre hareket iderüz. Hemân göreyim seni fukarâdan bir şey almak hevesinde olmayasun sonra sen bilürsin. Ben akçe pul istemem. Ancak ümmet-i Muhammed'e nâfi' ve Devlet-i Osmâniyyeye lâyük hizmete ideyim.'" Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevarîh*, 123.

⁷¹ "Gelen paşalar toğru yoldan neki aldılar ise biz ânun nısfın alırız deyü kethüdâsı Hasan Kethüdâyâ 'azîm tenbih idüb..." Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevarîh*, 123.

⁷² Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevarîh*, 123. One *yük* being the equivalent of 100.000 *akçes*. An imperial decree that was sent to Erzurum in 1671 during the grand vizierate of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha ordered the removal of some taxes. The decree maintained that these taxes were "extra burden" on the shoulders of people living in Erzurum. The decree was inscripted on a marble stone that is still available on the wall of Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque in the center of the city. For a full transcription of the decree see İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi* (İstanbul: Erzurum Tarihini Araştırma ve Tanıtma Derneği Yayınları, 1960), 233.

⁷³ "Devlet-i Aliyye bizden hizmet ister, kerr ü ferr u haşmet istemez." *Târîh-i Râşid*, 1: 18. Gökbilgin stated that Köprülü Mehmed remained true to this principle to the end of his life. See Gökbilgin, "Köprülüler – I. Köprülü Mehmed Paşa," 897.

and the remaining 5157 were *tezkiireli* and *tezkiresiz* timars.⁷⁴ The sanjaks of Erzurum Province were Tortum, Mamrevân, Kiğı, Pasin, Hınıs, Malazgird, Tekman, Karahisâr-ı Şarkî, and Mecinkerd.⁷⁵ Livâ-i Erzurum, the administrative center of the province, was allocated as the *hass* assignment of the general-governor with its annual 1,214,600 *akçes* income.⁷⁶ It was one of the highest incomes in the imperial provincial administration.⁷⁷ It seems that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha put his income to good use and bought fourteen *bağs* or gardens (vineyards?) in Bozcaada in the region called Birgosi.⁷⁸ These gardens belonged to Seyyid Mustafa b. Mahmud before the short-lived Venetian control of the island. When Seyyid Mustafa did not come to claim his lands after the Ottoman recapture of the island in 1657, they were transferred to the state property. Fazıl Ahmed Pasha bought these gardens from the imperial treasury.⁷⁹

In 1070/1659-60, during the governorship of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha in the province, the city of Erzurum was struck by a damaging earthquake. It destroyed several buildings, including a tower and a large part of the citadel's walls.⁸⁰ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha reported the natural disaster

⁷⁴ All these divisions -*timar*, *zeamet*, and *hass*- reflect the annual income of the assigned lands: The annual revenue of a *timar* was between 3,000 and 20,000 *akçes*, a *zeamet* between 20,000 and 100,000 *akçes*, and the *hass* was more than 100,000 *akçes*. See İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire*, 108. *Tezkireli timar* was a type of timar that its owner had to go to the capital to renew his *berat* (certificate). *Tezkiresiz timar* was a type of timar that the governor of the province had the authority to renew the *berat* of its owner.

⁷⁵ The province of Erzurum had thirty-one sanjaks in the mid-sixteenth century. See Dündar Aydın, *Erzurum Beylerbeyliği ve Teşkilatı: Kuruluş ve Genişleme Devri (1535-1566)*, (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1998), 74.

⁷⁶ Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhîsü'l-Beyân*, 129-130. While Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi recorded ten sanjaks of the province, 'Ayn Ali Efendi wrote in 1607 that the province of Erzurum had 12 sanjaks and 120 *zeamets*. See 'Ayn Ali Efendi, *Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân der Hulâsa-i Mezâmîm-i Defter-i Dîvân* (İstanbul: Tasvir-i Efkâr Gazetehânesi, 1280 [1863]), 52-53. Similarly, Evliya Çelebi who visited Erzurum in 1640 pointed out that the province had 12 sanjaks. See *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 2: 104. A previously unknown record on the administrative units of the Ottoman provinces in the seventeenth century also mentions of 12 sanjaks for Erzurum Province. See *Mecmua*, SYEK, Esad Efendi, 3384, 91b. It seems that two of these sanjaks, livâ-i Kozancan/Kızıuçan and livâ-i İspir, were lost their administrative status and turned into *zeamets* at the time when Hezârfen wrote his work. Paul Rycaut recorded that the annual income of the pasha of Erzurum in 1660s was 1,200,660 *akçes*. See Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 96-97.

⁷⁷ Halil İnalçık, "Erzurum – Osmanlı Devleti'nin Erzurum Beylerbeyliği," *İA* 4 (1997), 353 [353-57].

⁷⁸ Other records also indicate the enterprenural personality of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. He, for instance, bought twelve mills in Kamanice for 65.000 *akçes*. See Mehmet İnbaşı, *Ukrayna'da Osmanlılar. Kamanice Seferi ve Organizasyonu (1672)* (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2004), 206.

⁷⁹ Cengiz Orhunlu, "1657 Tarihli Bozcaada Tahriri ve Adadaki Türk Eserlerine Ait Bazı Notlar," 69.

⁸⁰ See Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevârih*, 123; Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 207; Nicholas N. Ambrayes and Caroline Finkel, *The Seismicity of Turkey and Adjacent Areas. A Historical Review, 1500-1800* (İstanbul: Eren, 1995), 72.

and its devastating effects to Istanbul. The imperial center, considering the strategic importance of the city, ordered him to repair the citadel immediately and to levy the subjects to meet the expenses of the reconstruction. The young governor-general supervised the restoration and succeeded in rebuilding the tower and the wall of the citadel in a short time. Both Mühürdâr Hasan Agha and Silahdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Agha mentioned that instead of levying the subjects, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha covered the expenses from his purse.⁸¹

One of the principal iron ore deposits exploited by the Ottomans was stationed in Kiğı in the southwest of Erzurum.⁸² During his tenure in the province, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha received an imperial edict to meet the military needs of the vizier Murtaza Pasha, the governor-general of Baghdad, from this iron mine.⁸³ The mine remained active in the following decades. In 1673, when Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was leading the Ottoman army against the Poles, he sent an order from the military camp in İsakçı to Mustafa Pasha, then the governor-general of Erzurum Province, to immediately ship all the cannon balls that were cast in the last few years to the army.⁸⁴

Being a frontier city on the Safavid border, Erzurum was also an important cultural center. Evliya Çelebi reports that there were 110 primary schools at the time when he visited the city in 1640.⁸⁵ In addition to the primary schools, there were at least nine active madrasas

⁸¹ Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevârih*, 123. "Vâli-i mezbûr fukarâyâ cevır olmasun içün ne kadar akça ile vücûd buldı ise cümlesin kendü mâlından virüp bir ferdi teklîf ile ta'ciz eylemedi." Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 207.

⁸² On the Kiğı iron mine and the production of cannon balls in the province see Rhoads Murphey, "Construction of a Fortress at Mosul," in *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920) / Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071-1920)*, ed. Osman Okyar and Halil İnalcık (Ankara: Meteksan, 1980), 163-78; Yaşar Baş, "Kiğı Demir Madeni ve Humbarahanesi," *Turkish Studies* 6/4 (2011): 409-30.

⁸³ "Erzurum muhâfazasında olan Vezir Ahmed Paşa'ya hüküm ki, Bağdad muhâfızı vezir Murtaza Paşa tarafından gelüb top yuvalığı taleb olunub hâliyâ getirülmekle eyâletinde vâkı Kiğı ma'deninden gönderilen çapda küre üstübi yuvalık yapıdurub ber-vech-i ta'cıl Diyarbakır beylerbeyisine îsâl ve teslîm eyleyüb teslimine temessük alub hıfz eyleyesin deyü fermanım olmuştur. Buyurdum ki hüküm-i şerifimle vardıkda bu bâbda sâdır olan emr üzere 'amel idüb dahî vezir-i müşarun ileyh tarafından üstübi yuvalık taleb olub çabın görülmekle imdî irsâl olunan çabda küre ber-vech-i ta'cıl yuvalık yapıdurub bi-eyy-i vechin kân Diyarbakır beylerbeyisine irsâl ve teslîm itdirüb ve teslimine temessük alub hıfz eyleyesin. Fî 29 Za Sene 1070." BOA, MAD. 7326, 34.

⁸⁴ Abdurrahman Şerif Beygü, "Köprülüler Devrinde Kiğı Demir Madenlerinden Yapılan Top Güllelerinin Avrupa Seferleri İçin Erzurum'dan Gönderilmesine Ait Üç Vesika," *Tarih Vesikaları Dergisi* 11 (1943), 335-6 [335-7].

⁸⁵ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 2: 107.

in Erzurum in the seventeenth century.⁸⁶ As an ex-*müderres*, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha attended the scholarly meetings in the province. It was one of these meetings that he met with Vâni Mehmed Efendi b. Bistâm (d. 1685), the famous preacher and the *mufti* of Erzurum, and developed a close relationship with him. When Fazıl Ahmed Pasha became grand vizier, he invited Vâni Mehmed Efendi to Edirne and introduced him to Mehmed IV.⁸⁷ In Erzurum, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha also pursued his scholarly interest in Arabic philology. He received two treatises on metaphor (*isti'āra*) that Veli b. Mehmed copied.⁸⁸

Although it might influence entering the profession, familial ties were not enough for the sons of the high military and administrative office holders to get promoted in the Ottoman imperial hierarchy. They needed to prove themselves as able soldiers and governors.⁸⁹ During his tenure in Erzurum Province, it appears that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha proved himself as a talented and reliable governor.⁹⁰ After around a nine-month-long stay in Erzurum, he was transferred to Damascus, a more prestigious and demanding post, with an imperial decree that Şâtır Süleyman Agha brought him from Istanbul.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Bilgehan Pamuk, *XVII. Yüzyılda Bir Serhad Şehri* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür ve Sanat Yayıncılık, 2006), 91-2.

⁸⁷ *Risale-i Kürd Hatib*, 37; Şeyhî, *Vekâyiü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 580. The most detailed near-contemporary account on the life and activities of Vâni Mehmed Efendi was recorded by Uşşâkizâde İbrahim Efendi in his *Zeyl-i Şekâik*, 563-569. For a biography of Vâni Mehmed Efendi see Erdoğan Pazarbaşı, *Vâni Mehmed Efendi ve Arâisü'l-Kur'an* (Van: Van Belediye Başkanlığı, 1997) and relevant proceedings in *Ulusal Vani Mehmed Efendi Sempozyumu - Bildiriler*-, ed. Mehmed Yalar and Celil Kiraz (Bursa: Emin Yayınları, 2011). For a recent study on the *fatwas* that Vâni Mehmed Efendi issued when he was in Erzurum see Ömer Faruk Köse, “The Fatwa Collection of an Ottoman Provincial Mufti, Vani Mehmed Efendi (d. 1685)” (master’s thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2015). It appears that during his stay in Erzurum Evliya Çelebi attended the sermons of Vâni Mehmed Efendi, whom he likened to Abu Hanifa (d. 772), the founder of the Sunni Hanafi school of fiqh: “Ulemâ-yı mütebahhirinden deryâ-yı ma‘ânî, gûyâ Nu‘mân-ı sâni, ya‘nî müfessir ve muhaddis Vani Efendi nâmında...” See *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 2: 107.

⁸⁸ “Sharh Risâlat al-Isti‘āra” by ‘İşâm al-Dîn al-Isfarâyinî (d. 1537) and “Hâshiya ‘alâ Sharh ‘İşâm al-Dîn” by Molla Hasan al-Kurdî az-Zibârî (d. 1640). See *Mecmua*, SYEK, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 1452. See also Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Berlin: Verlag von Emil Felber, 1902), 2: 194.

⁸⁹ Metin Kunt, *The Sultan’s Servants*, 55.

⁹⁰ Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, 5: 193. As the governor-general, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha renewed the *berats* and collected taxes. See BOA, İE. AS. 17/1627.

⁹¹ Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevârîh*, 123; Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 208.

2.2.2 Pasha of Damascus Province

Mühürdâr Hasan Agha reported that when Fazıl Ahmed Pasha arrived in Damascus, there was a severe subsistence crisis in the city. To help those who suffered from hunger, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha immediately asked all millers, bakers, and notables of the city to gather in his residence. It is not clear whether he employed a translator in his service, but it seems that his language proficiency helped him to have direct communication with Arabic-speaking Damascenes. He asked them to supply food that would feed the city population for a couple of days. In the meantime, he reported the food crisis to Istanbul and sent a letter to Gürcü Mustafa Pasha, the former governor-general of Damascus and the new governor-general of Egypt, with a bill of exchange (*poliçe*) of 10.000 *guruş* and asked him to ship provisions from Egypt.⁹² It appears that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was aware of the storage facilities in Egypt which the Ottomans established to distribute grain in case of need.⁹³ Within ten days, Gürcü Mustafa Pasha sent around fifty flat-bottomed boats (*şaykas*) full of provisions. Fazıl Ahmed Pasha and notables of Damascus lent their mules, horses, and camels to transport the provisions from the port. He appointed Küçük Yusuf Agha, one of his aghas, to supervise the transfer and distribution of the provisions to the people with a low price.⁹⁴ The historian Silahdâr stated that it was from this

⁹² It seems that after receiving the report of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, the Ottoman court also sent an order to Gürcü Mustafa Pasha to immediately ship provisions to Damascus. A copy of this decree was also recorded in a hitherto little-known *mühimme* register kept in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden. See Dresden ms. Eb. 387, 6b. This *mühimme* register was most probably transferred to possession of the archduke of Saxony after the Ottoman defeat at the gates of Vienna on September 12, 1683. See Akdes Nimet Kurat, “Avrupa Arşivleri ve Kütüphanelerinde Tarihimizi İlgilendiren Bazı Vesikalar ve Kaynaklar,” in *III. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 15 – 20 Kasım 1943, Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler* (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1948), 670-71; Hans Georg Majer, “Alman Arşivleri ve Kütüphanelerindeki Osmanlı Belgeleri,” in *Avrupa Arşivlerinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, ed. Yonca Köksal and Mehmet Polatel (Ankara: VEKAM, 2014), 21-22 [15-30].

⁹³ On the storage facility in Egypt see Rhoads Murphey, “Provisioning Istanbul: The State and Subsistence in the Early Modern Middle East,” *Food and Foodways* 2 (1988): 232-4 [217-263].

⁹⁴ Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevârîh*, 124.

day on that the people of Damascus called the young governor-general of the province *abū al-fuqarā* or the father of the poor.⁹⁵

Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's efforts to help Damascenes to recover from the famine and widespread poverty did not end with the transfer of provisions from Egypt. Mühürdâr Hasan Agha reported that the pasha requested from Istanbul to remove extra tax levies called *karība* and *dashīsha* (in local parlance *dashīsh*) that the former governors collected in Damascus and its vicinity.⁹⁶ Istanbul's response was affirmative. With an imperial order dated December 4, 1660, the sultan removed the extra tax levies.⁹⁷ The measures that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha took to provide disaster relief in the province was in conformity with the classical Ottoman way of dealing with shortages.⁹⁸ In his article on how the Ottoman government organized food distribution and responded to scarcity and dearth in the early modern period, Rhoads Murphey stated that "the Ottoman tax system was designed to provide disaster relief through a variety of adjustments, including reductions in the rate of collection for hard-pressed areas, partial exemptions, and sometimes even full waivers."⁹⁹ The success of the Ottomans in feeding and providing for the

⁹⁵ "Vâli-i Mısır dahi hâzır bulunan sefâyine vâfir zahîre tahmîl itdirüp, lutf-i Hakk ile az müddetde sefâyin-i mesfûre Şâm iskelesine geldükleri gibi â'yân-ı Şâm ve kendünün devvâblarıyla Şâm'a nakl ve çarsu ve bâzârlarda yığdırup, mu'temed âdemlerinden Küçük Yusuf Ağa'sın üzerlerine ta'yîn buyurup rahîs bahâ ile fûruht itdirmeleriyle ahâlî-i vilâyet kendüler hakkında bu gûne şefkat-pederânelerin müşâhede itdükleri ecilden künyetin 'ebu'l-fukarâ' ıtlâk eylemişler idi." Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 244. See also Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, 5: 193-4.

⁹⁶ Katib Çelebi recommended the removal of extra taxes as a remedy to help subjects to recover from poverty. See Katib Çelebi, *Düstûrû'l-'amel li-islâhi'l-halel*, 138. During the governor-generalship of Mustafa Pasha in 1659, the center removed a tax called *kalemiyye* in Damascus Province. See BOA, MAD. 7326, 49.

⁹⁷ Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevarîh*, 124. The imperial edict was also copied in the *mühimme* register: "Şâm muhâfız Ahmed Paşa'ya ve kadısına hüküm ki: Sen ki vezîr-i müşârun ileyhsin, Der-i devlet-medârıma kâime gönderüb eyâlet-i Şâm'da vâli olanlar cümle kurâ, şehir ve kasabâttan garîbe ve deşîşe nâmında ziyâde akçe alub gitdikçe izdiyâd bulub fukarâ ve ra'ıyyet-i Şâm-ı cennet-meşâm bu zulûmlerden perâkende ve perişân olub ahvâlleri diğer-gûn ve zulmü sarîh olduğu zâhir-i mübeyyendir. Harameyn kapusu olub hüccâc-ı hidâyet-i minhâcın mecd-i lâzım-ı hâc idecekleri mahal olub bu bid'at-ı kabîha eyyâm-ı devlet-i 'aliyyemde men' ve ref' olunması mühimm-i umûrdan olduğun i'lâm eylediğün ecilden bu bid'at ve muhdes bi'l-küllîye vilâyet-i Şâm'dan hıfz u hirâset-i hatt-ı hümayun-ı sa'âdet-makrûnumla ref' idüb almayasız ve aldırmayasız. Ve işbu hatt-ı hümayun-ı 'adâlet-makrûnum ile sudûr bulan emr-i şerîfi sicillâta kayd ve ahâlî-yi memleket yedlerine ibkâ idesin ki mezbûr vâli-yi vilâyet olanlar bu mezâlîme cür'et eylemeyeler deyü yazılmıştır. Fî gurre-i Rabî'ü'l-âhîr 1071." See Dresden, Eb. 378, fol. 14a.

⁹⁸ For a firman (dated 1660-1) which exempted the Ottoman subjects in Behişte near Bitola from paying taxes because of the famine see BOA, AE. IV. Mehmed, 9840.

⁹⁹ Murphey, "Provisioning Istanbul," 218.

basic needs of their population, Murphey claimed, was a factor that significantly contributed to the political durability and continued acceptance of Ottoman rule in a vast territory.

In line with the policy of his grand vizier father who aimed at stopping the erosion of the central authority in the Ottoman Arab provinces,¹⁰⁰ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha tried to put the local Janissaries of Damascus under imperial control. By the mid-seventeenth century, the local Janissaries of Damascus, known as *yerli kulu* (Ar. *yerliyyas*), came to dominate the provincial politics and emerged as important holders of power. The Ottoman sources indicate that while it was a custom to send several hundred Janissaries from Istanbul to Damascus in every ten years, this practice was abandoned due to laxity of the ruling elite and political turmoil in the preceding decades. To meet the need for the armed forces, the governor-generals of Damascus recruited soldiers from among the local population and paid their salaries from the provincial treasury. As soon as they gained strength through numbers, these local regiments, however, did not allow the governor-generals to take control of the financial resources of the province.¹⁰¹ Confirming these points made by the near-contemporary Ottoman historians Silahdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Agha and Nâimâ Mustafa Efendi, Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual demonstrated in their recent collective research that the local Janissaries of Damascus lived outside the barracks and took up a variety of non-military occupations to supplement their regular salaries. The Janissaries owned orchards, vineyards, flocks, houses, and agricultural equipment in different parts of the province, came to identify themselves with the locals, and often sided with the local population against the centrally appointed governors.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ For a series of measures that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha took to stave off rebellions that led by the janissary aghas in Algiers see Tal Shuval, "The Peripheralization of the Ottoman Algerian Elite," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London: Routledge, 2012), 270-1 [264-75].

¹⁰¹ Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 184. *Târih-i Nâimâ*, 4: 1723-4.

¹⁰² Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual, "La société militaire damascène et la campagne analysées à travers les registres de cadis," in *Syria and Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule. Essays in Honour of Abdul-Karim Rafeq*, ed. Peter Sluglett with Stefan Weber (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 371-98. See also Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus, 1723-1783* (Beirut: Khayats, 1966), 26.

The Ottoman sources narrate in detail how the local Janissaries of Damascus showed insubordination to the orders of the center in the mid-seventeenth century. Abdi Pasha and Nâimâ Mustafa Efendi stated that at the end of 1656 Köprülü Mehmed Pasha ordered Siyâvuş Mustafa Pasha, the governor-general of Damascus, to attend the siege of Candia with the local Janissaries under his command. When Siyâvuş Mustafa Pasha annunciated the order of the grand vizier, the local Janissaries protested it with a claim that they were responsible for keeping the security of Damascus and providing safe passage to pilgrims. They further argued that it was not their custom and duty to attend the naval campaigns.¹⁰³ Siyâvuş Mustafa Pasha sent several petitions and letters to the capital requesting the exemption of the local Janissaries from serving in the Crete campaign. After witnessing this insubordination, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha dismissed Siyâvuş Mustafa Pasha and appointed Murtaza Pasha instead.¹⁰⁴ The local Janissaries, however, did not accept the appointment of Murtaza Pasha and made preparations to expel him from the city. Since Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was about to leave for the naval campaign against the Venetian forces and had no time to engage in the conflict, he dismissed Murtaza Pasha and appointed Tayyazâde Ahmed Pasha as the new governor-general. Although he succeeded in sending five hundred Janissaries to Crete, Tayyazâde Ahmed Pasha later joined the rebellion of Abaza Hasan Pasha.¹⁰⁵ It appears that after all this tumult, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha decided to dispatch five new Janissary regiments to Damascus to balance the influence of the local forces.¹⁰⁶

It was within this context that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha received orders from the center to inspect the local Janissaries of Damascus. The imperial decree dated September 1660 stated that these

¹⁰³ Archival records also testify that the local Janissaries of Damascus did not attend the Transylvanian campaign in 1068/1657-8. See BOA, MAD. 7326, 42.

¹⁰⁴ Naimâ claims that there was a rivalry and enmity between Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and Siyavuş Mustafa Pasha see *Târîh-i Nâimâ*, 4: 1726-7.

¹⁰⁵ *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 121; *Târîh-i Nâimâ*, 4: 1780-1 and 1823-24.

¹⁰⁶ Kunt, "The Köprülü Years," 116.

Janissaries exploited financial resources of the province for their own benefit and failed to exercise their main responsibilities.¹⁰⁷ The decree maintained that while it was customary to appoint the Janissaries of Damascus from among the soldiers of the Balkans and Anatolia, several Arabs, Kurds, and Druzes as well as some incompetent children were enlisted in the provincial military payrolls due to tolerant attitude of preceding governors. These soldiers, who lacked discipline and common spirit, did not obey the military commands. They also failed to protect the *hajj* caravans from the attacks of the neighboring Druze and Bedouin tribes. To end their atrocities and to provide safety to the pilgrim caravans, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was ordered to inspect the Janissaries in person and to replace the Arabs, Kurds, Druzes, and those who were not old enough to be soldiers with the newly dispatched detachments from the Balkans and Anatolia. This strict policy, it seems, worked and strengthened the imperial authority in the province. However, as Abdul-Karim Rafeq commented on it, it also caused new problems between the old and new military units since the local Janissaries did not easily relinquish their

¹⁰⁷ “Şâm eyâletine mutasarrıf olan vezîr Ahmed Paşa’ya hüküm ki: Şâm dâru’s-selâm harameyn-i muhteremeyn kapısında vaki’ olan yerli kulu hüccâc-ı müslimîn hizmetine ve etrâfında olan ‘urban ve dürüzi eşkiyâsının def’ ve mazarratlarına mâni’ olmağla kul tâifesi harb u darba kâdir yarar ve tuvân sahibi rûm yiğitleri olmak gerek iken birkaç zamandan beri müsâmaha-i hükkâm sebebi ile aralarına ‘arab ve ekrâd ve dürüzi makûlesi girüb gedik sahipleri olup ve nev gedikler dahî birer tarîk ile hizmete nâkâdir sıbyan nâmına ittirilüb bir hizmet iktiza eyledikde mevcûd beş yüz mikdârı adem bulunmadığından gayri aralarında olan milel ü muhtelif ve âna muktezây-ı celîleleri olduğı üzere fesâd u şekâvete sa’y vesâirlerini iğvâ idüb kâh bîkâr cemiyetle ve rızâ-yı hümayunuma muhalif hareket sudûru ile cümlesi müttehem olmak lazım gelüb ve tarîk-ı hacc-ı şerîfde dahî hüccâc-ı müslimîn ve züvvâr-ı muvahhidîni ‘adem-i diyânetleri sebebiyle cevri eziyet eyledikleri mukarrer olup imdi sen devlet-i ‘aliyyenin ‘abd-i hüddâmları ve vüzer-yı i’zâmın ‘izzet-i kârgüzârı olup sadâkat ve himmetle ve diyânet ve istikâmetle ‘itimâd-ı hümayun ve ‘itimâd-ı tab’ı sedâd-makrûnum olmağla bu câniblerin nizâm ve intizâmı sana havâle ve fermân olmuştur. Cümle Şâm’da olan yerli kulun bizzat kendin hemm ü ehem ile yoklayub ol makûle ‘arab ve ekrâd ve dürüzi tâifesinden bir tarîkla gedik alub kul arasına girenleri tard idüb yerleri rûm yiğitlerinden harb u darba kâdir yarar ve tuvân yiğitlere virilüb ve sıbyân nâmına olan gedikleri dahî müstahak ve hizmete kâdir yiğitlere tevcih idüb mezbur kul tâifesi aralarında cem’iyet ve fesâda bâ’is ve bâdî olacak ‘arab ve ekrâd tâifesinden bir ferd komayub fesâd ve şekâvetleri mübeyyen olanlar ile sâirleri müttehem olmaması için tadhîr eyleyüb ve fimâ ba’d vâkî olan gedikleri rûm yiğitlerinden yarar ve tuvâna diyânet sahibi yiğitlere virilüb min ba’d ‘arab ve ekrâd ve dürüzi makûlesine ve sıbyâna virilmemek üzere düstûr’l-‘amel vaz’ idüb vech-i meşrûh üzere harameyn-i muhteremeyn kapısı hidmetinde olan kulların ahvâline nizâm ve intizâm virmekle küllî takayyüd ve ihtimâm-ı tâm eylesin ve dikkat-i dakîka-i himmet eylemek üzere yazılmıştır. Fî evâil-i şehri muharremü’l-haram sene 1071.” Dresden, Eb. 378, fol. 4b. On the lack of safety for the pilgrim caravans in 1659 see *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1834.

interests.¹⁰⁸ The newly arrived units also tried to misuse the imperial authority for their benefits.¹⁰⁹

Like the children who were recorded among the local Janissaries of Damascus, those who had no right to be enlisted on the imperial payrolls drained the central treasury and increased the fiscal problems of the empire. Pruning bloated government payrolls to maximize the tax revenues and ensuring the timely collection of taxes from the Ottoman provinces was a strict policy that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha pursued aggressively during his grand vizierate.¹¹⁰ It was in line with this policy that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha made efforts to provide security and safety for the annual pilgrim caravans. As Suraiya Faroqhi mentioned earlier, protecting the pilgrims on their way to Hejaz had serious political and economic implications for the Ottoman government.¹¹¹ First and foremost, it was one of the Ottomans' annual affirmations of their Islamic legitimacy and a way to keep their prestige high among the Muslim societies around the world. Second, a successful pilgrimage meant fiscal stability and prosperity in the region. It was most probably due to these considerations that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, with the permission granted him by the sultan, established a fort, an inn, a primary school, and a mosque

¹⁰⁸ Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "The Local Forces in Syria in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 278-280 and 304 [277-307].

¹⁰⁹ A decree that was recorded in the *mühimme* register demonstrates that the newly dispatched Janissaries collected extra money from the pilgrim caravans: "Şâm paşasına ve kapucu zabıtı Deveci Mehmed'e hüküm ki: Şâm dârü's-selâmda edâ-yı hâc hizmetine müteveccih olan hüccâc-ı müslimîn ve züvvâr-ı muvahhidinden Turhân Hanı dimekle ma'ruf mahalde bir nesne alına gelmiş değil iken sene-yi sâbıkada muhâfazaya me'mur olan dergâh-ı mu'allam yeniçerileri mahall-i mezburda yasakçı peydâ idüb her deveden bir rub' aldıkları mesmû'u hümayunum olub hüccâc-ı müslimîne bir tarıkla cevri te'addî olunduğuna rızâ-yı hümayunum olmamağla hâliya men'i için bi'l-fi'il yeniçeri ağası olan iftihâr-ı ümerâ ve'l-erkân Mustafa Ağa -dâme 'ulüvvühû- tarafından mühürlü mektub verilmekle bu hususta her biriniz takayyüd idüb müşârun ileyhin mektubu mucibince men' ve ref' ve mahall-i mezburda mu'tâda muhâlif akçe talebiyle hüccâc-ı müslimîni rencide ettirmemeniz üzere yazılmıştır. Fî evâil-i şehri Zilkade sene 1071." Dresden, Eb. 378, fol. 5b.

¹¹⁰ Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*, 78.

¹¹¹ See Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1994). On the indispensable role of the *hajj* caravans for the socio-economic life of Damascus see Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "Damascus and the Pilgrim Caravan," in *Modernity and Culture from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, ed. Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C. A. Bayly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 130-143.

in Jisr al-Shughur in Idlib in northeast Syria to keep the caravan route secure and to offer a social complex for the residents of the Ottoman Levant.¹¹²

The Ottomans organized the pilgrimage to Mecca through two major caravan stops, one in Cairo and the other in Damascus. Attacks of the Druze and Bedouin tribes, however, made it risky for the pilgrims to use the route in Ottoman Syria. To provide security and safety to the pilgrims, the center sent orders to Fazıl Ahmed Pasha to decrease the number of local Janissaries whom he suspected to be reliable. Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was also ordered to station the newly arrived Janissaries in the most strategic locations, including the citadel and the gates of Damascus.¹¹³ The efforts of the Köprülü government to secure the safe and comfortable transit of pilgrims, however, increased the total of the *haji*-related costs of the provincial treasury. Suraiya Faruqi stated that these expenses increased from 52% of the total provincial expenditures in 1661-2 to 70% in 1664-65 and remained somewhere between 55% and 66% in the following decade.¹¹⁴

After putting the local Janissaries under imperial control and providing security to the pilgrim and trade caravans, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's new task was to check the records of the pious endowments in the province. An imperial decree sent to him in September 1660 reveals that several Damascenes had registered themselves as *zıvvâr* (visitors) and *duâgûs* (those who recite

¹¹² Sultan Murat Topçu, "Suriye'nin İdlip İlne Bağlı Cısr-i Şuğur Kasabası'ndaki Köprülü Mehmed Paşa'nın Vakıf Eserleri," *Bilig* 60 (2012), 237-56. Like Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, the Chief Black Eunuch Solak Mehmed Agha built an inn and a castle in Ottoman Aleppo. See Dresden ms. Eb. 378, 13b. On the influence and power of the Chief Black Eunuchs in the mid-seventeenth century see Jane Hathaway, "The Wealth and Influence of an Exiled Ottoman Eunuch in Egypt: The Waqf Inventory of 'Abbas Agha," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 37/4 (1994): 293-317. It appears that with these new construction projects, the Ottoman ruling elite aimed to reinvigorate the declining overland trade in the Levant. See Niels Steensgaard, *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century: The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974); Morris Rossabi, "The 'Decline' of the Central Asian Caravan Trade," in *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750*, ed. James D. Tracy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 351-370.

¹¹³ Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "The Local Forces in Syria in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 278.

¹¹⁴ Suraiya Faruqi, "Ottoman Documents Concerning the Hajj during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *La vie sociale dans les provinces arabes à l'époque ottoman*, ed. Abdeljelil Temini (Zaghouan: Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches, 1988), 3: 155 [151-163].

the prayers) on the payroll list of the pious foundation of Süleyman I in Damascus due to laxity and negligence of the waqf trustees (*mütevellilerin 'adem-i takayyüdü*).¹¹⁵ These new positions led to the decrease of allocations of the pious foundation for the *surre* processions that were annually sent to Mecca and Medina.¹¹⁶ In line with the strict financial and administrative policy of his father who reduced the salaries of the *duâgûs*,¹¹⁷ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was ordered to check the account registers of the pious foundation, to compare them with the original sealed waqf register that was sent from Istanbul, and to nullify these new positions.¹¹⁸ While it increased the allocations for the *surre* procession, the nullification of *züvvâr* and *duâgû* posts had negative impacts on the local ulema.¹¹⁹

Perhaps the most demanding task that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha accomplished during his tenure in Damascus province was to put the Sunni Shihabs and Druze Ma'ns, two rebellious groups located in the mountain hinterland of Sidon (Ar. Sayda) and Beirut, under the imperial control. From the beginning of their rule in the region, the Ottomans were challenged by various ethnic, religious, and tribal groups in this mountainous region.¹²⁰ The Ottomans prepared several

¹¹⁵ Another imperial decree dated July 1661 shows that not only the account registers of the pious foundation of Süleyman I but also of Selim I in Damascus were not kept and checked properly during the previous four years. See Dresden ms. Eb. 387, 5b.

¹¹⁶ For details on the *surre* processions see Ş. Tufan Buzpınar, "Surre," *DİA* 37 (2009): 567-569.

¹¹⁷ On sheikh Salim who protested the reduction of his income see *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1728-9. Several archival documents reflect this financial policy of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. See, for instance, BOA, AE. IV. Mehmed, 211 and 2433. During his grand vizierate, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha continued the policy of his father. See BOA, C. ML. 329/13502. For the post of *duâgû* and its abuses see Mehmet İpşirli, "Duâgû," *DİA* 9 (1994): 541-2. For a list of *duâgûs*, *sayyids* (the male descendants of the Prophet Muhammad), and scholars living in Rumelia and received salaries from the imperial treasury in 1651 see TSMA, D. 1991: "Defter-i mütekâ'idîn ve duâguyân ve sâdât-ı kirâm ve 'ulemâ-yı 'izâm der vilâyet-i Rumili." This register reveals that there were 2272 souls receiving salaries from the imperial treasury. The annual total of their salaries was 106 *yük* and 66,800 *akçes*.

¹¹⁸ Dresden ms. Eb. 387, 5b. It appears that, along with the account registers of the pious foundations of Süleyman I and Selim I, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha checked and controlled the incomes of other foundations in Damascus. See BOA, İE. EV. 2782.

¹¹⁹ Abdul-Karim Rafeq mentioned that the economic status and prestige of the Damascene ulema was weakened in this period because of the suspension of certain stipends which they received from the sultan. See Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus*, 34.

¹²⁰ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. trans. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 1: 40. For the problems that the Ottomans faced in governing the Druze region see Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn, "Problems in the Ottoman Administration in Syria during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The Case of the Sanjak of Sidon-Beirut," *IJMES* 24/4 (1992): 665-675.

punitive expeditions and, based on their traditional policy of accommodation known as *istimalet*, sometimes employed the leaders of the influential local families as governmental officials, particularly as *mukataacıs*, to tax and police the area. They, for instance, appointed the famous Druze leader Fakhr al-Din Ma'n (d. 1635) and his son as sanjak governors. The imperial decrees that were sent to the local governors in the 1640s demonstrated that the Ottoman administration had problems in collecting taxes in the region, particularly from the *mukataa* of Safed.¹²¹ In January 1649, Evliya Çelebi participated in an Ottoman expedition under the command of Murtaza Pasha, then the governor-general of Damascus, against several Druze chiefs who refused to pay taxes.¹²² In 1660, after receiving an order from Istanbul, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha prepared a punitive campaign against the Shihabs and Ma'ns. Mühürdâr Hasan Agha, who legitimized the 1660 campaign in religious terms with a claim that the Druzes was a group who denies God and the Prophet,¹²³ wrote that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's expedition turned into a regional campaign when, in addition to the armed men in his household, soldiers from Quds, Gaza, and Damascus attended the expedition.¹²⁴ The governors of Sayda, Safed, and Beirut also took part in the campaign with their armies. Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's cooperation with some of the Druze groups, moreover, helped him to receive 3,000 additional soldiers.¹²⁵

¹²¹ TSMA, E. 5207/25, dated January 3, 1644 and TSMA, E. 5207/60, dated November 10, 1646 as they were cited in *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Osmanlı Saray Arşiv Kataloğu. Fermânlar*, ed. Ülkü Altındağ (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1985), 29 and 31. Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn maintained that the imperial officials faced the most serious and longest-running challenge to their authorities in Safed more than any other part of Ottoman Syria. See Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn, *The View from Istanbul. Ottoman Lebanon and the Druze Emirate* (London: Centre for Lebanese Studies in association with I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2004), 12-13.

¹²² *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 3: 54 and 63. Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj mentions that collecting taxes "without exceptions" was a significant manifestation of the early modern Ottoman centralization efforts. One can think of strict monetary and administrative policy efforts of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in the mid-seventeenth century within the framework that Abou-El-Haj drew. See *Formation of the Modern State*, 13.

¹²³ "Bunlar bir tâ'ifedür ki aslâ Tanrı'ı bilmezler ve Peygamberi hak bilmezler. Kimi kelbe taparlar, kimi hınzıra ve kimi kiçiye. Asla gice uyumazlar, gündüz uyurlar." Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevarîh*, 125. Silahdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Agha, who described the events in 1660 in Damascus based mainly on Mühürdar Hasan Ağa's work, repeats the same claims in his account. Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 244-6.

¹²⁴ For interesting details of the campaign by a European observer see *The Chevalier d'Arvieux's Travels in Arabia the Desart; written by Himself and Publish'd by Mr. De la Roque... done into English by an Eminem Hand* (London: Printed for D. Browne, M. 1723), 79-84.

¹²⁵ Mühürdar named them as *Aklılar* or those who carry white flags. See *Cevâhirü't-Tevarîh*, 125-126. Stefan Winter maintained that the *Aklılar* were the Yemeni faction among the local Bedouins. The other group that

According to Estefan al-Duwayhi (d. 1704), a Patriarch of the Maronite Church and the author of a contemporary chronicle, the total number of soldiers that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha brought to the campaign was 15,000.¹²⁶

Under the leadership of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha the army did not follow the route that İbşir Mustafa Pasha, the governor-general of Damascus in 1650, took in his unsuccessful campaign against the Druze leader Emir Mulhim Ma'n. Instead, mainly for tactical purposes, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha led his army directly to the Wadi al-Taym, the residential area of the Shihabs. He also sent orders to the imperial officials in the coastal regions to close the sea route to thwart the escape of the Shihabs.¹²⁷ The soldiers in the Ottoman army burned homes and pillaged the villages. While the Sunni Shihabs fled to High Kisrawan, the Druze Ma'ns submitted to Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's authority and offered him 500 *kese akçes* to prevent any possible attack on their villages.¹²⁸ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha accepted this offer, but he also demanded that they should send a few prominent hostages. Soon, when it became apparent that the Ma'ns would not deliver the expected amount, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, after receiving an imperial order, prepared another punitive campaign against them.¹²⁹ During this second campaign, Ahmad and Korkmaz, the leaders of the Ma'ns, fled away.¹³⁰ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha then sent Ali Efendi, the *Defterdâr* or the Chief Treasurer of Damascus province to the villages of the Ma'ns to collect the outstanding amount.¹³¹ In the meantime, he informed the capital on the necessity to adopt a new

Mühürdar called *Kızıllar* or those who carry red flags were the Qaysis. Stefan Winter, *The Shiite of Lebanon, 1516-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 40.

¹²⁶ See *Tarikh al-azmina*, ed. Ferdinand Taoutel (Beirut: Daru Lahdi Hatır, 1950), 359. For the life and works of al-Duwayhi see Abdul-Rahim Abu Husayn, "Duwayhi as a Historian of Ottoman Syria," *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* 1/1 (1999): 1-13.

¹²⁷ See Dresden ms. Eb. 378, 6b.

¹²⁸ One *kese* equals to 40.000 *akçes* in 1071/1660-61. See Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2004), 2: 248. Al-Duwayhi provides a different narrative on who offered what. See *Tarikh al-azmina*, 359-360. See also Dresden ms. Eb. 378, 13b and Winter, *The Shiite of Lebanon under Ottoman Rule*, 75.

¹²⁹ See Dresden ms. Eb. 378, 28b and 42a.

¹³⁰ The pasha of Safed later captured Korkmaz and executed him. See Dresden ms. Eb. 378, 89a.

¹³¹ Winter informs us that Ali Efendi was sent to Damascus from Istanbul to create a new Janissary regiment at the time of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's appointment. See Winter, *The Shiite of Lebanon under Ottoman Rule*, 76. Defterdar

administrative strategy to bring the Druze-controlled mountainous areas under direct imperial control. Towards the end of 1660, most probably after his and the Chief Treasurer's reports, a new province called Sayda was carved out from the lands of Damascus province. The Defterdâr Ali Efendi was appointed its first governor-general.¹³²

The creation of Sayda as the fourth province of Ottoman Syria was not the recognition by the Ottoman authorities of the reality of Druze autonomy in Mt. Lebanon as Steve Tamari claimed,¹³³ but it was mainly for establishing a power base for stricter administrative and fiscal control in the region. The historian al-Duwayhi recorded that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's 1660 campaign had several political, social, and environmental consequences. Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, al-Duwayhi argued, intended to break the power and influence of the Arabs by creating a new province in the region. The historian claimed that thousands of mulberry trees in Beqaa and in the Wadi al-Taym were uprooted during the campaign with the order of the pasha.¹³⁴ Al-Duwayhi also maintained that Defterdâr Ali Pasha, the new governor-general of Sayda province, converted the church of Mar Jirjis into a mosque.¹³⁵ It appears that it was around this

Ali Bey, who became the pasha of the new province, had difficulties to collect 300 kese *akçes*. See Dresden ms. Eb. 378, 54b, 55b, and 69a. For a petition that the defterdâr of the province sent to Istanbul in January 1660 see BOA, C. ML. 430/17424. See also BOA, İE. ENB, 350.

¹³² Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevarîh*, 127; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux*, 1: 396. This is the second time that the Ottomans created the Sayda province (the first, short-lived administrative arrangement was in March 1614, during the exile of the Druze emir Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'an). For a discussion on the Ottoman administrative strategies in the region see Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus*, 2-4. Some of the *mühimme* records mentioned the name of the province as Safed, not Sayda. See, for instance, Müjge Karaca, "94 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri'nin Özetli Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi" (master's thesis, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2008), 47 and 85 (hereafter *94 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*); Ercan Alan, "95 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (Tahlil, Transkripsiyon ve Özet)" (master's thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2008), 18 (hereafter *95 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*).

¹³³ Steve Tamari, "Territorial Consciousness in the 17th Century: Bilad al-Sham among Syrian Christians and Muslims," in *Cohabitation et conflits dans le Bilâd al-Cham à l'époque ottomane: musulmans et chrétiens a travers les écrits des crhiniqueurs et des voyageurs*, ed. Salim Dakdash et al. (Lebanon: University of Balamand, 2014), 65 [63-73].

¹³⁴ In a way to support what al-Duwayhi recorded, an imperial decree indicates that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha prohibited the settlement of the Druze tribes in the region of Beqaa and to engage in agricultural activities there. See, Abdul-Rahim Abu Husayn, *The View from Istanbul*, 64.

¹³⁵ Al-Duwayhî, *Tarikh al-azmina*, 359.

time that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha supervised a new land survey in and around Damascus¹³⁶ and regulated the posting-station network (*menzil*) in the region.¹³⁷ The efforts of the imperial government to establish an effective control in Ottoman Syria, however, did not remain unchallenged in the following years. In 1074/1663-1664, a group of rebels led by the *bey* of Lajjun attacked an imperial cargo which was carrying black gunpowder from Egypt. The rebels took the black gunpowder and harassed the Ottoman officials.¹³⁸ In May-June 1665, the following year, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha sent an imperial order from the military camp in Belgrade to Halil Pasha (the governor-general of Sayda), Salih Agha (the steward of the Janissary units in Damascus), unnamed interim governor of the Damascus to organize a campaign against the fugitive Druze leader Ahmad Ma'n (d. 1697) and others who gathered around him.¹³⁹

While dealing with the administrative and military problems of the province, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha seized the opportunity of being in Damascus, an important learning center in the Islamic world. He continued to acquire new titles for his manuscript collection. He, for instance, obtained a copy of *Fetâvâ el-Timurtâşî*, a well-known Hanafi judicial text by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Tīmūrtāshī (d. 1595). The text was copied in May 1661 by Muḥammad bin İsmâ'îl who was one of the servants of the tomb of Prophet Yahya (John the Baptist) located inside the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ An archival document dated 1104/1693 refers to the land survey of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. See BOA, İE. EV. 2782: "Mukaddemâ Şâm vâlisi vezîr-i 'azam-ı sâbık Köprilizâde merhûm Ahmed Paşa ve merhûm Hamza Paşa hazretleri tahrîrâtında..."

¹³⁷ 94 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, 47-48. See also Cemal Çetin, *Ulak Yol Durak: Anadolu Yollarında Padişah Postaları (Menzilhâneler) (1690-1750)* (İstanbul: Hikmetevi Yayınları, 2013), 98.

¹³⁸ 95 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, 18-19.

¹³⁹ "Ma'anoğullarından bakiyyetü's-suyûf olan Ahmed, Dürzi eşkiyasını yanına alub... def'i için Safed beylerbeyi Halil, Şam yeniçerileriyle ve Şam mütesellimi ile üzerlerine gidüb..." BOA, İE. DH. 4/402. Ahmed Ma'n was the grand-nephew of the celebrated Druze leader Emir Fakhr al-Din (d. 1633) and the last of the Ma'n *multezims* of the Shuf, Kisrawan, and Lebanese mountain district. For his checkered political career see Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn, "The Unknown Career of Ahmad Ma'n," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 17 (1999): 241-7.

¹⁴⁰ See *Fetâvâ el-Timurtâşî*, SYEK, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 673, fol. 211a.

Although Damascus was the most important administrative and military center in Ottoman Syria with its strategic location for the *hajj* caravans, it was Aleppo which had the most crucial role in the regional economy as the main terminal for trade caravans along the Silk Road between Asia and Europe. Abaza Hasan Pasha was the governor-general of Aleppo before he revolted against the imperial government in 1658. Aleppo's economy was not greatly affected by the revolt of its governor-general.¹⁴¹ Hasekî Mehmed Pasha, who followed Abaza Hasan Pasha in office, however, seems to have caused trouble for the political and economic life in the province as he misused imperial authority. At the end of May 1661, Hasekî Mehmed Pasha, with his steward, secretary, and money-changer (*sarraḡ*) was summoned to Istanbul. They were executed in front of the sultan since they, in the words of Abdi Pasha, "did business with debased coins and caused great disorder and turbulence in Aleppo."¹⁴² It was during this political and economic turmoil that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was appointed governor-general of Aleppo. However, before he set off from Damascus to his new post, he was recalled to the capital.¹⁴³

2.3 Fazıl Ahmed Pasha: The Deputy Grand Vizier

Upon receiving the imperial order, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha immediately moved towards Istanbul with his household, which consisted of around two hundred men.¹⁴⁴ Zinkeisen stated that it was Köprülü Mehmed Pasha who recalled his son to Istanbul to teach him the secrets of the imperial administration.¹⁴⁵ As soon as he arrived, Mehmed IV appointed him *kaimmakâm*-

¹⁴¹ Bruce Masters, "Aleppo: The Ottoman Empire's Caravan City," in *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, ed. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 35-6 [17-78].

¹⁴² *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 150. See also Dresden ms. Eb. 387, 35a.

¹⁴³ *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 150. See also *Tarih-i Nihâdî*, 48.

¹⁴⁴ Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevarîh*, 127.

¹⁴⁵ Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, 5: 192.

ı *âsitâne-i saadet* or the deputy grand vizier in the capital, before the imperial retinue left the city for Edirne on July 28, 1661, after a plague epidemic.¹⁴⁶

Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was employed in this important post for forty-eight days.¹⁴⁷ Rycaut recorded that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha accepted the English ambassador Heneage Finch during his tenure in this post.¹⁴⁸ In late September 1661, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha received an imperial decree and was ordered to send a certain Turcoman named Arablı Musa to Edirne. Arablı Musa was a prisoner in the dungeons of the Seven Towers in Istanbul and the grand vizier wanted to have an audience with him at the Imperial Council.¹⁴⁹ Just a few weeks later, the deputy grand vizier received another imperial decree and was ordered to put one of the ships from the Imperial Arsenal into work with its crew to bring the construction materials for the new mosque of the vâlide sultan at Eminönü.¹⁵⁰ Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Pasha recorded that during his post in the capital Fazıl Ahmed Pasha treated Kul Kethudası Küçük Süleyman Agha with contempt. Küçük Mustafa Agha thus went to Edirne to make a complaint against him to the grand vizier.¹⁵¹ At the time when he was suffering from malaria, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was summoned to Edirne and left his post to the Chief Gardener Uzun İbrahim Agha.¹⁵² Köprülü Mehmed Pasha appointed him as his deputy to preside over the meetings of the Imperial Council.¹⁵³ He also recommended the sultan employ his son as the next grand vizier.¹⁵⁴ Köprülü Mehmed Pasha died on October

¹⁴⁶ *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 150. See also *Cevâhirü't-Tevarîh*, 127; *Târîh-i Râşid*, 1: 14; and *Târîh-i Nihâdî*, 48. For the plague epidemic see Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 111-112 and *Târîh-i Gilmânî*, 81.

¹⁴⁷ For a *ruzmançe* or daily register that was kept during the days when Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was holding the office of the deputy the grand vizier see BOA, KK. d. 1859.

¹⁴⁸ Rycaut, *History of the Turkish Empire*, 112.

¹⁴⁹ Dresden ms. Eb. 378, 50b.

¹⁵⁰ Dresden ms. Eb. 378, 51b.

¹⁵¹ Defterdâr Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 7.

¹⁵² *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 152; Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevarîh*, 127.

¹⁵³ Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevarîh*, 128.

¹⁵⁴ Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 249; Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 135. Rycaut wrote that he also advised Mehmed IV to keep the treasury full, to put the soldiers in action, and not to give ear to the counsels of women. Rycaut, *History of the Turkish Empire*, 113. Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, 5: 191. Uzunçarşılı wrote that by appointing his son the grand vizier, Mehmed IV fulfilled his promise to Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. See İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1988 [1945]), 97.

31, 1661, at nine o'clock in the evening.¹⁵⁵ On November 1, Mehmed IV invited Fazıl Ahmed Pasha into his presence and appointed him the new grand vizier. The royal chronicler Abdi Pasha states that the sultan granted the seal of grand vizierate to Fazıl Ahmed Pasha with his hands to show his respect.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ *Tarih-i Gilmânî*, 86; Dresden ms. Eb. 378, 26a. Paul Rycaut maintained that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha had gangrene in his legs. Rycaut, *History of the Turkish Empire*, 113. The author of the *Topkapı Anonymous*, on the other hand, stated that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha suffered from paraplegia. See *Topkapı Anonymous*, 40b. For a list of items that were brought to the imperial treasury from Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's inheritance see TSMA, 2315, fol. 35a.

¹⁵⁶ "... ber vech-i tekrîm mühr-i hümayûnı bizzât mübârek dest-i şerîfleriyle teslîm buyurdular." *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 152. Mühürdar Hasan Agha and Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede wrote that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was appointed grand vizier on October 30. *Cevâhirü't-Tevarîh* 128; Fahri Oluk, "Câmiü'd-Düvel, Sultan IV. Mehmet Dönemi Tercüme, Metin ve Değerlendirme" (PhD diss., Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2011), 81 (hereafter Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede, *Câmi'ü'd-Düvel*).

CHAPTER 3 - FAZIL AHMED PASHA, THE GRAND VIZIER

3.1 The Office of Grand Vizier in the Mid-Seventeenth Century

Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and Fazıl Ahmed Pasha held the post of grand vizier at a time when the Ottoman Empire faced growing internal and external problems. Just to give one example, the residents of Istanbul witnessed at least four major revolts between 1648 and 1656.¹ In addition to political turmoil, the Ottoman capital suffered from a series of financial crises, and it appears that these two developments had a reciprocal impact on each other. Inflation spread, the mob of Istanbul became restless, and the central treasury failed to pay the salaries of the Janissaries who returned from Crete. In March 1656, the Janissaries and the cavalry units, who complained about the payment of their wages with debased coins, joined a major revolt in Istanbul and forced the sultan to turn over around thirty key palace and government officials. Known as the “Çınar Incident” in Ottoman history, since the mutilated corpses of the high officials were hung in a plane tree in the Hippodrome, the 1656 revolt and its atrocities demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the administration and weakened imperial authority.²

In the report of Jakab Harsányi Nagy, the official interpreter of the Transylvanian diplomatic mission in Istanbul, tyranny, incapacity of counselors, lack of money, and mutual discord were tearing the Ottoman Empire apart at that time. “The old strength of the Turks is gone; there are many people, but very few real men,” he wrote to his patron György Rákóczi II on December 21, 1656.³ On being appointed grand vizier, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha made

¹ Cemal Kafadar, “The City That Râlab Visited,” 63.

² On the “Çınar Incident” see *Târîh-i Naîmâ*, 4: 1648-55; *Îsâ-zâde Târîhi*, 22-25; Hrand Andreasyan and Fahri Çetin Derin, “Çınar Vak‘ası (Eremya Çelebi Kömürçiyân’a Göre),” *İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi* 3 (1957): 57-83.

³ Gábor Kármán, “Turks Reconsidered: Jakab Harsányi Nagy’s Changing Image of the Ottoman,” in *Well-Connected Domains: Toward an Entangled Ottoman History*, ed. Pascal Firges, Tobias P. Graf, Christian Roth, and Gülay Tulasoglu (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 126 [110-30].

significant efforts to restore imperial power and prestige. He disciplined the Ottoman army, drove the Venetians out of the Dardanelles, and reestablished Ottoman control in Anatolia and central Europe within a few years. He also ended factionalism and favoritism among the ruling elite in the imperial center.⁴ At the end of the 1650s, the Ottomans regained their power and prestige to the degree that the Ottoman capital received ambassadors from Sweden and India who aimed to explore the possibility of establishing alliances with the Ottoman government.⁵ When Fazıl Ahmed Pasha became grand vizier, he extended the boundaries of the empire, created a budget surplus, and contributed to the flourishing of Ottoman cultural and intellectual life by patronizing scholars, poets, and artisans.⁶ According to Bernard Lewis, one of the results of the strict and successful administration of the father and son Köprülüs was the carefully kept bureaucratic records of the period.⁷ Cemal Kafadar also maintained that the cadastral survey of Kamieniec conducted circa 1681 reflected the same bureaucratic meticulousness and imperial vision that were the characteristics of the similar documents in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. “The defter of Kamaniecz,” remarked Kafadar, “is simply the administrative counterpart to the ambitious eastern European initiative of the Ottomans that was managed by the Köprülü viziers.”⁸ To attribute all the political, administrative, military, fiscal, and intellectual achievements of the period to the Köprülü grand viziers, however, would be only an addendum to the (outdated) idea of “Great Men” in history. If the Köprülü grand viziers were successful in their administration, it was mainly because of the support that they received from the Ottoman dynasty. Based on the culmination of the experiences of the previous decade,

⁴ See Linda T. Darling, “Public Finances: The Role of the Ottoman Centre,” 123.

⁵ Kafadar, “The City That Râlam Visited: The Political and Cultural Climate of Istanbul in the 1650s,” 69.

⁶ On the Ottoman budgets in the period see Erol Özvar, “Osmanlı Devletinde Bütçe Harcamaları,” in *Osmanlı Maliyesi Kurumlar ve Bütçeler*, ed. Mehmet Genç and Erol Özvar (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2006), 1: 219 [197-238].

⁷ Bernard Lewis, “Some Reflections on the Decline of the Ottoman Empire,” *Studia Islamica* 9 (1958): 113, fn. 1 [111-127].

⁸ Kafadar, “The City That Râlam Visited: The Political and Cultural Climate of Istanbul in the 1650s,” 72.

Mehmed IV appointed the father and son Köprülüs grand viziers with a free hand in their administrations.⁹ The sultan and his mother believed that one of the ways to cure the ills that beset the empire was to give freedom and independent authority to the grand viziers.

Although it is possible to see a few powerful grand viziers such as Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha (in office 1638-44) who took the reins of the government into his hands -he, however, eventually paid its price with his life- the office of the grand vizier lost its prestige and power by the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁰ Holders of the office had to often negotiate and compromise with various groups and cliques. They sought means to appease several people, including the members of the imperial harem, Janissary commanders, and high religious officials.¹¹ The enthronement of the seven-year-old Mehmed IV in 1648 increased the power struggle among the ruling elite and worsened the prevailing political, social, and economic crises. Kürd Hatib Mustafa Efendi recorded that many grand viziers left their posts since they did not have the courage and power to carry the heavy burden of the grand vizierate.¹² Sofu Mehmed Pasha (in office 1648-9), for instance, clashed with *büyük vâlîde* or the senior queen mother Kösem Sultan (d. 1651) who wanted to exercise the authority of the child sultan in her capacity as regent. On May 21, 1649, during an imperial audience in which the senior queen mother seated behind a curtain, Mehmed IV dismissed the grand vizier Sofu Mehmed Pasha under the pretense that he did not adequately pay attention to naval affairs. The sultan then appointed Kara Murad Agha, the commander of the Janissary corps which constituted the power

⁹ “Padişâh-ı âlem-penâh şehinşâh-ı gerdûn-vakâr hazretleri vüzerâ-yı izâm ve vükelâ-yı kirâm kullarından gayrı bir kimesnenin umûr-ı devlete ve ahvâl-i memlekete müte‘allik kelâmına aslâ müsâ‘ade-i hümayûnları olmayup, tasarruf-ı saltanat-ı ‘aliyyelerinde kemâl mertebe müstakil eylediler.” Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 183.

¹⁰ On the diminishing power and prestige of the grand vizierate in the period see Metin Kunt, “Naimâ, Köprülü, and the Grand Vezirate,”; Yasir Yılmaz, “Grand Vizieral Authority Revisited: Köprülü’s Legacy and Kara Mustafa Paşa,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 31/1 (2016): 21-42.

¹¹ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1988 [1948]), 120-121.

¹² “[T]ahammül-i bâr-ı girân-ı vezâret ve takat-ı emr-i ‘azîm-i sadârete cür’et idemeyüb...” *Risale-i Kürd Hatib*, 32.

base of the senior queen mother, the new grand vizier.¹³ Kösem Sultan's influence on state affairs, not surprisingly, increased during the grand vizierate of Kara Murad Pasha. As soon as Hadice Turhan Sultan, the young mother of Mehmed IV, emerged as a political player with the backing of the Chief Black Eunuch Süleyman Agha and other inner court officials, the Ottoman court witnessed a new power struggle between the two queen mothers.¹⁴ On August 5, 1650, Kara Murad Pasha, who felt a growing pressure from both sides, requested from the sultan to dismiss him from the post. He stated that there is not one but four grand viziers ruling the empire and it was impossible for him to run the state affairs under these circumstances. Following the resignation of Kara Murad Pasha, Mehmed IV appointed Melek Ahmed Pasha the new grand vizier. Melek Ahmed Pasha accepted the seal of the government with a condition that no one from the Janissary corps would interfere with his administration.¹⁵ Being precarious of his position, Melek Ahmed Pasha, nevertheless, pursued a policy of consolidation and prudence. As his protégé Evliya Çelebi recorded, he was on good terms with the higher echelons of the government including the Janissary commanders and the sheikh-ul-Islam and acted by their advice.¹⁶

When Tarhuncu Ahmed Pasha became grand vizier in 1652, he, following the example of his predecessor, requested from Mehmed IV to authorize him to collect the state revenues without anyone's intervention. Tarhuncu Ahmed Pasha was aware of the influence of the court, military forces, and others on state affairs. By having a firman from the sultan, he sought the protection of the dynasty.¹⁷ During his nine-month-long grand vizierate, Tarhuncu Ahmed

¹³ *Târih-i Naîmâ*, 3: 1214; *Tarih-i Gilmânî*, 29-30.

¹⁴ Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 251-252. It was Kösem Sultan who lost this fierce struggle. In 1651, she was executed in the palace grounds. For a list of items that were brought to the imperial treasury from her inheritance see TSMA, 2315, fols. 3b-4b: "Yevm-i mezbûrda [18 Ramazan 1061 = 4 September 1651] maktûl olan vâlide-i sultan İbrahim Hân odasından harem-i hümayûn hazînedârı musâhib Ali Ağa yedinden hazîne-i 'âmireye teslim olunan eşyâdır ki zikr olunur."

¹⁵ *Târih-i Naîmâ*, 3: 1265-6.

¹⁶ See Dankoff, *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman, Melek Ahmed Pasha*, 61-62.

¹⁷ "[H]er husûsda müstakîl bi'r-re'y ve müstebid olmak üzere bir hatt verildi." See *Târih-i Naîmâ*, 3: 1404.

Pasha made remarkable efforts to regulate imperial affairs and to balance the budget. However, as historian Nâimâ later succinctly put it, he was appointed grand vizier in an inauspicious period (*vakt-i menhûs*). He did not comply with the requests of the inner quarters of the palace, particularly of the Chief Black Eunuch.¹⁸ He was eventually dismissed and executed on March 21, 1653.¹⁹

It was not only the intervention of others in the administration but also the governmental methods and capabilities of grand viziers appointed in the period that were factors in diminishing the authority and prestige of the office. The octogenarian statesman Gürcü Mehmed Pasha (d. 1665, in office between September 1651 and June 1652), for instance, demonstrated a weak performance in the imperial administration beginning from the first day of his grand vizierate.²⁰ It seems that some grand viziers, including Boynueğri/Boynuyaralı Mehmed Pasha (d. 1666, in office between April and September 1656), misused the authority that the sultan granted them. Nâimâ Mustafa Efendi recorded that in his attempt to have unlimited power in his government, the grand vizier Boynueğri/Boynuyaralı Mehmed Pasha engineered the dismissal and execution of the sheikh-ul-Islam Hoca-zâde Mesud Efendi (d. 1656) under false pretenses. After this execution, the grand vizier named the aged Hanefi Mehmed Efendi (d. 1658), who was, in the words of the historian, “a half man, suffering from deafness and disabled by a stroke,” the new sheikh-ul-Islam. When he was reminded of Hanefi Mehmed Efendi’s ailments, the grand vizier responded that “it would be even better if he were blind as well.”²¹

¹⁸ *Târih-i Nâimâ*, 3: 1445.

¹⁹ Erol Özvar, “Tarhuncu Ahmed Paşa,” *DİA* 40 (2011): 22 [20-22].

²⁰ Rhoads Murphey, “Solakzade’s Treatise of 1652: A Glimpse at Operational Principles Guiding the Ottoman State during the Times of Crisis,” in *Essays on Ottoman Historians and Historiography*, ed. Rhoads Murphey (İstanbul: Eren, 2009), 43-48.

²¹ “‘Mâni’-i istiklâl olur’ deyü Hoca-zâde Mes’ud Efendi’yi isnâd u iftirâ ile katl ettirip Hanefi Efendi gibi mübtelâ-i samen veillet-i felc bir nîm adamı pîr-i za’ifü’l-hâl iken mesned-i iftâya is’âd eyledi... ‘Keşke kör dahi olaydı, ziyâde ma’kûl idi’ deyü cevâb-ı nâ-ma’kûl verip...” *Târih-i Nâimâ*, 4: 1703 and 4: 1719. Cf. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 117.

The quick rise and fall of several grand viziers between 1648 and 1656 was illustrative of the extreme political instability in the capital. Ösekli Şeyhî İbrahim Efendi reported that “in every three days, a new grand vizier was appointed.”²² Kürd Hatib Mustafa Efendi maintained that the names and orders of the grand viziers who took the office in the first ten years of the reign of Mehmed IV confused the minds of many. He stated that one of his reasons to write his contemporary treatise was to provide a historically accurate list of the grand viziers appointed in this period. He registered twelve grand viziers, two of whom were appointed twice, for the eight years between 1648 and 1656.²³ It should be noted here that in addition to frequent changes in the post of the grand vizier, eleven sheikh-ul-Islams held the office in the first eight years of the sultanate of Mehmed IV.²⁴

The constant shifts in the office of the grand vizier did not allow the Ottomans to have consistent and long-term policies.²⁵ Several contemporary political treatises thus emphasized the urgency of having powerful grand viziers who would stay in their offices for extended periods.²⁶ The anonymous author of the *Kitab-ı Müstetâb*, which was written circa 1620, for instance, stated that grand viziers were aware of the insecurity and precariousness of their positions. They, therefore, preferred actions with immediate payoffs, even if these actions were clearly detrimental to the interests of the public and the state.²⁷ In his famous *Risâle* that he finished a decade later, Koçi Bey argued that one of the ways to return to the glories of the reign of Süleyman I was to restore the independent authority of grand viziers and to leave them in

²² “Mesned-i serîr-i vezâret bir hâle karîn olmuş idi ki üç günde bir vezir ahkâm-ı erâzîl ile tahvil olurdu.” *Zeyl-i Vâkı‘a-nâme*, 16b.

²³ *Risale-i Kürd Hatib*, 31-33.

²⁴ Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 89.

²⁵ “Erkân-ı devlet ve müdebbirân-ı mülk ü millet nasb ve ref‘-i vüzerâyâ meşgûl olub memâlik-i ba‘ide hayyiz-i ihmâlde kaldı.” *Risale-i Kürd Hatib*, 34.

²⁶ Metin Kunt, “Naimâ, Köprülü, and the Grand Vezirate,” 60-61.

²⁷ “[F]î zamaninâ vezîr-i a‘zam olanlar dahî heman sadra geldiklerinde ‘bugünü hoş görelim, irtesi ıssı vardır’ deyû olur olmazlara müdârâ ve murâdları üzre hareket ider... İmdi sadr-ı a‘zamlık bu şekle varmağla umûr-ı saltanat ahvâlî kemâ hüve hakkîhî görülmekten bertaraf olmuşdur.” See *Osmanlı Devlet Düzenine Ait Metinler I. Kitâb-ı Müstetâb*, 20.

their offices for several years. To Koçi Bey, Sokullu Mehmed Pasha (in office 1565-1579), the grand vizier of Süleyman I, was an exemplary political figure. He stated that Sokullu Mehmed Pasha successfully managed the imperial affairs for more than fourteen years without the intervention of anyone, particularly of the palace household.²⁸ In line with Koçi Bey, Katip Çelebi maintained in his 1653 *Düstûrû'l-'amel li-islâhi'l-halel*, a short memorandum on causes and remedies of the financial and political problems of the empire, that only a *sâhib-i seyf*, i.e., a powerful military dictator, had the chance to tackle the burning problems of the empire.²⁹

In 1654, a year after Katip Çelebi suggested the dictatorial leadership of a powerful political and military figure for the Ottoman government, the capital saw the transfer of the administrative departments that had formerly worked for the Imperial Council to the *Paşa Kapısı* (the Pasha's Gate) or the palace of the grand vizier. Initiated most probably by Hadice Turhan Sultan, who aimed to distance the high echelons of the administration from palace intrigues, Mehmed IV offered newly appointed grand vizier Derviş Mehmed Pasha the palace

²⁸ *Koçi Bey Risalesi*, 16-17. See also M. Çağatay Uluçay, "Koçi Bey'in Sultan İbrahim'e Takdim Ettiği Risale ve Arzları," in *Zeki Velidi Togan Armağanı* (Ankara: TTK, 2010 [İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1950-5]), 177-99.

²⁹ Katib Çelebi proposed a kind of dictatorial and coalitionary leadership of four different power-holders to restore the empire to health. First, he mentioned about dictatorial leadership of a man of the sword (*sâhib-i seyf*) who would submit the people to "truth" (*haqq*). Second, he suggested a coalitionary union of pious and just imperial dignitaries (*a'yân-ı devlet*) who would accept God as the real possessor of sovereignty (*hakiki mâlikû'l-mülk idüğünü bilüb*) and consider the treasury, army, and subject as in His possession, not that of the sultan. Under the leadership of a vigilant sultan who was the metaphoric possessor of the realm (*pâdişâh-ı mecâzi*), these dignitaries should govern the empire with justice and in cooperation. Third, he recommended the employment of experienced military commanders (*askerin belli başlu umûr-dîdesi*) in the imperial service. These military commanders would make an alliance on the "truth" and, like many of their predecessors, work for the interest of the state by removing treacherous and vicious figures. As his final proposal, Katib Çelebi stated that if high imperial officers (*vükelâ-i devlet*) decided to work together and began to curb extravagance with military support, there was a possibility of reestablishing the order. While making these suggestions, Katib Çelebi, however, was pessimistic about their applicability in his lifetime. He declared that his suggestions were hard to apply since it was difficult to find upright people who would protect the interests of the state, not their own. Therefore, returning to his first proposal, he affirmed that at the time he wrote the memorandum only a man of the sword (*sâhib-i seyf*) could solve the problems of the empire. See Katib Çelebi, *Düstûrû'l-'amel li-islâhi'l-halel*, 137. See also Lewis, "Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline," 81 and Kunt, "The Köprülü Years," 128-9. Gottfried Hagen published a detailed monograph on the life and works of Katib Çelebi and claimed that the author saw Köprülü Mehmed Pasha as his idealized *sâhib-i seyf* who would stop the collapse of the empire. See Gottfried Hagen, *Bir Osmanlı Coğrafyacısı İşbaşında: Kâtib Çelebi'nin Cihannümâ'sı ve Düşünce Dünyası*, trans. Hilal Görgün (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2015), 92-3.

of Halil Pasha as his residence and office.³⁰ The grand viziers took the post after Derviş Mehmed Pasha continued to use this residential-office complex as the main administrative center of the Ottoman government. The historian Râşid Mehmed Efendi informs us that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha entered this palace, “which belonged to the grand viziers,” with a ceremony.³¹ Rifa’at Ali Abou-el-Haj argued that the removal of the office of the grand vizier and other administrative departments from the palace grounds to a new residential-office indicated the separation of the private affairs of the dynasty from those of the public.³²

Nâimâ Mustafa Efendi recorded that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha presented to the vâlide sultan four terms under which he would accept the onerous responsibility of being grand vizier.³³ Köprülü Mehmed Pasha devised these terms to protect himself from political intrigues and to enhance his power during his government. He demanded that the sultan grant all his requests; he would give appointments, no matter how high or low, without the intervention of anyone; viziers and other top officials would not be allowed to be rival to, or partners in his administration; and the sultan would not give an ear to calumnies directed against himself.³⁴

³⁰ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı*, 249-250; Tülay Artan, “Royal Weddings and the Grand Vezirate: Institutional and Symbolic Change in the Early Eighteenth Century,” in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, ed. Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan, and Metin Kunt (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 370 [339-400].

³¹ “... [M]ühtâr-i Sadâret-i uzmâ kendüye teslim ve ilbâs-ı hil’at-i vezâret ile tekrîm olundukdan sonra vezîria’zam-ı sâbıkın alay ile sadria’zamlara mahsûs olan sarâyına ric’at ve...” *Târih-i Râşid*, 1: 18.

³² Abou-El-Haj, “The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households 1683-1703,” 439; Abou-El-Haj, *The Formation of the Modern State*, 54. Recent studies demonstrate that the locus of power already shifted from the sultan to the bureaucracy headed by the grand vizier already in the mid-sixteenth century. See Muhammet Zahit Atçıl, “State and Government in the Mid-Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire: The Grand Vizierates of Rüstem Pasha (1544-1561)” (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2015).

³³ “Eğer ol şurûta ri’ayet olunmağı ta’ahhüd buyururlarsa ben dahi bu su’ûbetli hizmetin edâsına müte’ahhid olurum.” See *Târih-i Nâimâ*, 4: 1700-1.

³⁴ Metin Kunt questioned the authenticity of the “contractual agreement” of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha with the vâlide sultan. See Kunt, “Naimâ, Köprülü, and the Grand Vezirate,” 57-59. When above-cited earlier “contracts” between the members of the imperial dynasty and grand viziers in the mid-seventeenth century were taken into consideration, the contractual agreement of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in 1656 seems probable. Suraiya Faroqhi, Cemal Kafadar, and Halil İncelik made references to this contract in their works. See Suraiya Faroqhi, “Crisis and Change, 1590-1699,” 420; Cemal Kafadar, “The City That Râmb Visited,” 63; Halil İncelik, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Araştırmalar*, 3: 28 and 35. Contemporary Romanian chronicles also mentioned that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha set some conditions before he accepted the post of the grand vizierate. See Mustafa Ali Mehmet, “Romen Vekayinâmelerine Göre Köprülü Sadrazamlar ve Bazı Olaylar,” 450-1. It seems that Kunt revised his view in one of his later studies. See Kunt, “The Waqf as an Instrument of Public Policy,” 190.

Köprülü Mehmed Pasha restored not only the imperial power and prestige but also the status and traditional authority of the office of the grand vizier. Building his administration on the foundations of his father, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha made the position of the grand vizier more absolute and powerful than it had been in the previous century.³⁵ When Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha compiled a new law-code upon the request of the new grand vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha in 1676, he depicted the office of the grand vizier as the most powerful and empowered position in the imperial hierarchy. In indication of the increased importance of the office, the responsibilities of the grand vizier were far more numerous and comprehensive in the law-code of Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha than they were enlisted in the law-code of Mehmed II in the second half of the fifteenth century.³⁶

3.2 The Grand Vizierate of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha

Contemporary authors had different claims to explain the reason(s) why Mehmed IV appointed the young and relatively inexperienced Fazıl Ahmed Pasha grand vizier upon the death of his father. Mühürdâr Hasan Agha argued that Mehmed IV handed over the seal of the government to Fazıl Ahmed Pasha since he, like everyone else, was aware of his justice, administrative abilities, caution, and intelligence.³⁷ Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede, the chief astronomer and a close companion (*musâhib*) of the sultan, recorded that while he was young and did not have long years of experience in the imperial administration, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha

³⁵ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 1: 211.

³⁶ See *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Teşrifat ve Törenler (Tevki'i Abdurrahman Paşa Kanunnâmesi)*, ed. Sadık Müfit Bilge (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2011), 3-7; Metin Kunt, "Sadr-ı a'zam," *EF* 8 (1995): 752 [751-752].

³⁷ "Efendimüz Ahmed Paşa'nun 'âdillîği ve hukûmeti ve tedbîri ve 'âkıllılığı mesâmi'-ı 'âleme şâyi' oldı. Dâhil-i vezârete herkesün mecâli mahal (olmağın) bu def'a pâd-şâh (-ı 'âlem-penâh) içeri çağırub vekâlet-i vezâreti sana ihsân eyledüm, Allah Te'âlâ işüni âsân eyleye." Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevarih*, 128. Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayî maintained that Mehmed IV appointed Fazıl Ahmed Pasha grand vizier with *kayd-ı hayat*, that is, until the end of his life. See *Mecmuâ-i Tevarih*, 347.

had a brilliant mind and good fortunes to manage the state affairs in a successful manner.³⁸ The English diplomat and historian Paul Rycaut had a different opinion on this appointment. He wrote that although it was “a strange deviation” from the Ottoman tradition, this appointment was basically to honor Köprülü Mehmed Pasha who saved the empire from collapse. Rycaut further claimed that Köprülü Mehmed Pasha entrusted his son with certain strategies to carry on the imperial affairs and made the sultan believe that only his son could govern the empire with the same methods he employed.³⁹ The grand vizier appointment of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, however, disappointed some senior viziers. Feeling neglected and despised, the senior vizier argued that this appointment was against the canon and ancient precedents of the government.⁴⁰ In line with these observations, Evliya Çelebi recorded in his travel account that Serdar Ali Pasha and Melek Ahmed Pasha, two experienced and renowned statesmen, were delighted when they heard the news of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha’s death. Expecting to receive the seal of the government, they, however, found it difficult to believe that the sultan appointed Fazıl Ahmed Pasha as the new grand vizier. In protest of this decision, they stated to those around them that the seal of the grand vizierate could not be hereditary.⁴¹

During his early days in the office, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha faced criticism over his father’s character and administrative methods. Bursevî/Esîrî Mehmed Efendi (d. 1092/1681), who held the post of the chief judge of Anatolia from May 1658 to March 1659 and of sheikh-ul-Islam from March 1659 to February 1662, for instance, expressed his contentment upon hearing the death of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in a meeting where the sultan and Fazıl Ahmed Pasha were

³⁸ Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede, *Câmi’ü’l-Düvel*, 81. It should be noted here that Müneccimbaşı wrote his historical account under the patronage of the grand vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha. See SYEK, Esad Efendi, 2101, 2a.

³⁹ Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 135. See also Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, 5: 191.

⁴⁰ Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 113.

⁴¹ “Cümle vüzerâlar ve sâ’ir ibâdullâhlar Köprülü fevtinden cümle mahzûz oldular, ammâ mühür Köprülü oğlunda kalacağına aslâ vücûd vermeyüp, ‘Katı a’lâ, mühür mirâs mı olurmuş? İnşâallâh mühür serdâra gelir, yok Melek’e gelir, yok Çavuşzâde’ye gelir...” *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 6: 48.

present. During the meeting, the sheikh-ul-Islam stated that “he [Köprülü Mehmed Pasha] killed many innocent people. It is good news that he died.” Upset to hear such an unreserved comment on the death of his father, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha responded with anger. He told him that “whoever he killed, he killed with your *fatwa*.” “Since I was afraid of his malice aforethought,” replied the sheikh-ul-Islam, “I gave these legal opinions.” When the response of Bursevî/Esîrî Mehmed Efendi did not satisfy Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, he asked: “Is it appropriate for someone in your status not to fear God but of His creature?” The sultan silently listened to these dialogues, and when he was alone in the room with the grand vizier, he asked him to find a pious member of the ulema for the post of sheikh-ul-Islam.⁴² Although this is the official account that Abdi Pasha recorded in his chronicle to explain how Bursevî/Esîrî Mehmed Efendi was dismissed from office, Rycaut argued that the sheikh-ul-Islam lost his office since he did not pass a legal opinion for the execution of his friend Süleyman Agha. Rycaut recorded that during a Friday prayer in the Mosque of Sultan Selim in Edirne, the sultan whispered in the ear of Bursevî/Esîrî Mehmed Efendi that he should retire and give his place to another *mufti*. The sheikh-ul-Islam listened to the “advice” of Mehmed IV and in four hours departed from the city to reach Gallipoli, where he was unofficially exiled.⁴³

Rycaut claimed that Süleyman Agha, the lieutenant-general of the Janissaries (*yeniçeri kethüdası*), was in a power struggle with Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. In support of this assertion of the English author, the contemporary Ottoman sources mention that Süleyman Agha crossed the

⁴² “Fakîr bir gün Vezîr- a‘zam Ahmed Paşa‘ya mezbûr Müftî Mehmed Efendi’nün sebep-i azl ü nefyinden su‘âl eyledüm. Buyurdular ki: ‘Şevketlü Pâdişâhımız hazretleri mansıb-ı sadâret-i bu bendelerine ihsân buyurdıkları zaman huzûr-ı hümayûnlarında Müftî Mehmed Efendi benümle bile idi. Ol meclis-i hâssu‘l-hâsda Koca Paşa’nun müzâkere-i ahvâlî siyâkında, ‘öldüğü eyü oldu. Zirâ nâ-hakk yire çok kan itmişidi’ didi. Biz dahi ‘Ol her kimi katl itdi ise cümle senün fetvânla katl itmişdür’ didüğümde: ‘Şerrinden korkardum; anun için fetva virirdüm’ deyü cevâb idicek: ‘Ya, Allâh Te‘âlâ’dan korkmayup mahlûktan korkmak ilm ü diyânete lâıyk mıdur?’ deyü kendüyi iskât ü ilzâm eylediğümde keyfiyet-i ahvâlî bi‘l-müşâfehe ma‘lûm-ı âlî olmağın taşra çıkdığımızda tekrâr bu bendelerin huzûr-ı hümayûna yalnız da‘vet buyurup mansıb-ı fetvâya ulemâdan bir mütedeyyin âdem tedârük ve telhîs olunmak için ferman-ı hümayûnları sâdır olmuşidi.’ *Abdi Paşa Vekayi’nâmesi*, 153.

⁴³ Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 114.

line on several occasions and it thus became a necessity for the ruling elite to dismiss him from his post.⁴⁴ On January 22, 1662, when the sultan appointed Süleyman Agha the governor-general of Damascus, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, to indicate his unfavorable opinion, asked the ex-lieutenant general of the Janissaries to leave the city immediately. With an imperial edict arrived within a few days, Süleyman Agha was appointed the *Emîrül-hac* or the head of the pilgrimage. In a short while, his post altered again and he became the new governor-general of Trablusşam (Tripoli). The posting of Süleyman Agha/Pasha to remote parts of Arabia and the exile of Bursevî/Esîrî Mehmed Efendi to Gallipoli enabled Fazıl Ahmed Pasha to feel more comfortable to contrive his establishment.⁴⁵ To settle his greatness on the foundation of his father's rule, however, he had to get the support of the imperial harem.

The traditional historiography maintains that the queen mother Hadice Turhan Sultan, who was at the heart of Ottoman politics in the early years of Mehmed IV's reign, withdrew from her active role in the imperial affairs in 1656 when she engineered the appointment of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha with exceptional powers. This appointment was applauded as a watershed moment which indicated the end of the so-called "sultanate of women" in Ottoman history.⁴⁶ Leslie P. Pierce, who found this claim untenable, argued that Hadice Turhan Sultan was not retired from her active role as *vâlide sultan* after this appointment.⁴⁷ She continued to support the old pasha during his grand vizierate in the face of bitter opposition within and outside of the palace. In the meantime, she engaged in large-scale construction projects that strengthened the empire both militarily and economically. She sponsored and supervised the construction of two fortresses, Kilidü'l-Bahr and Kal'a-i Sultâniyye, at the entrance of the Dardanelles and patronized the construction of the Yeni Vâlide Mosque and the Spice Bazaar

⁴⁴ *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 152-153.

⁴⁵ Rycout, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 113-114.

⁴⁶ Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem II* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2001 [1971]), 49 and 65.

⁴⁷ Pierce, *The Imperial Harem*, 256-7.

(Mısır Çarşısı or the Egyptian Market) at Eminönü in Istanbul.⁴⁸ In his contemporary account in which he depicted the queen mother as an enthusiastic member of the ruling elite, Kürd Hatib Mustafa Efendi recorded how Hadice Turhan Sultan checked and controlled the administration of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. On her return from Bursa to Edirne in the fall of 1659, Hadice Turhan Sultan visited Marmaracık village near Uluâbâd in the Mihâliç district (modern-day Karacabey in Bursa) and saw that there was no one left in the village. When she understood that all the residents escaped to the nearest district since they were afraid of the Janissaries (*yeniçeriler havfindan firâr itmişlerdür*), she immediately sent a letter to the grand vizier and questioned whether anyone in the village had faced any suffering and oppression recently. The grand vizier, with the help of Şâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi, who “knew the language of the inner palace very well,” composed a letter back to the vâlide sultan. In this letter, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha stated that Marmaracık was not a village but a farm without a population. Those who lived in the nearest district came and worked there during the day and went back to their residences at night. He claimed that it was the reason why the vâlide sultan did not see anyone in the village during her visit.⁴⁹

Hadice Turhan Sultan continued her active role in Ottoman politics during the grand vizierate of the second Köprülü. Recent studies reveal that at the beginning of his grand vizierate, there was even a power struggle between the vâlide sultan and Fazıl Ahmed Pasha.⁵⁰ Paul Rycha recorded that Hadice Turhan Sultan and her close ally the Chief Eunuch Solak Mehmed Agha were ill-affected to the young grand vizier.⁵¹ To limit his powers, the vâlide

⁴⁸ *Risale-i Kürd Hatib*, 39. For a detailed study on the architectural patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan see Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders*.

⁴⁹ *Risale-i Kürd Hatib*, 38.

⁵⁰ Erhan Afyoncu and Uğur Demir, *Turhan Sultan* (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2015), 23, 26, 152-154, 156-157.

⁵¹ Rycha, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 116-117. See also Hammer-Purgstall, *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi*, 6: 91-93. Being the prime supervisors of the imperial harem, the Chief Eunuchs had the privilege of having direct counsel with the sultan, vâlide sultan, and *haseki* or the sultan’s favorite. They played an intermediary role between the sultan and grand vizier. The power and influence of the Chief Eunuchs in the Ottoman politics raised to the degree that by the mid-seventeenth century they had open power struggles with grand viziers. The Chief Eunuchs were

sultan and Solak Mehmed Agha engineered the appointment of some of their favorites to the high governmental posts. They, for instance, facilitated the appointment of Hüseyin Pasha the Chief Treasurer. When Fazıl Ahmed Pasha realized their plans, he dismissed Hüseyin Pasha and ordered him to leave the capital immediately.⁵² As a counter-attack, Hadice Turhan Sultan and Solak Mehmed Agha convinced Mehmed IV to appoint the steward of the grand vizier the governor-general of Diyarbakır Province.⁵³ His steward, Mehmed, was a faithful servant of the Köprülü family. With this appointment, the vâlide sultan and the Chief Eunuch aimed to prevent Fazıl Ahmed Pasha benefitting from the experiences and services of one of his greatest supporters.⁵⁴

Rycaut reported that Hadice Turhan Sultan, moreover, exhorted Mehmed IV to imitate the examples of his famous ancestors who ruled the empire not just in theory but also in practice. She told the sultan that his forerunners took the reins of the government completely into their hands and only partly relied on their grand viziers. Upon the counsel of his mother, Mehmed IV declined his usual hunting exercises on horseback and decided to spend his days at *Alay Köşkü* or the Procession Kiosk. *Alay Köşkü* was situated across the Pasha's Gate where Fazıl

not only influential in the palace but also outside the capital due to their responsibilities of the administration of the revenue-rich Haremeyn foundations. On the wealth, prestige, and influence of the Chief Eunuchs in the mid-seventeenth century see Jane Hathaway, "The Wealth and Influence of an Exiled Ottoman Eunuch in Egypt: The Waqf Inventory of 'Abbas Agha,'" Hathaway, "Eunuch Households in Istanbul, Medina, and Cairo during the Ottoman Era," *Turcica* 41 (2009): 291-303; Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem II*, 120. Köprülü Mehmed Pasha facilitated the appointment of Solak Mehmed Agha the Chief Eunuch. See *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 117; Ahmed Resmî Efendi, *Hamiletü'l-Küberâ*, ed. Ahmet Nezihi Turan (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2000), 57.

⁵² Abdi Pasha records the dismissal of the Chief Treasurer Hüseyin Pasha in the spring of 1662. See *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 155.

⁵³ Vezir Gürcü Mehmed Pasha, who also known as Gürcü Kethüda Mehmed Pasha (*Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 7: 30) was the governor-general of Diyarbakır on in the fall of 1662. See *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 156.

⁵⁴ Kethüda Mehmed was in the service of the Köprülü family beginning from the grand vizierate of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. Rycaut made an interesting observation on the career line of Kethüda Mehmed. He claimed that he was "a Person, who by his own Estate and Friends had raised the House of Kuperlee, having in the time of his Poverty and Meanness lent him that Sum of Money, which gave him the first Rise to his Richness and Authority." To compensate his help and support, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha appointed him as his kethüda. As a further note on Kethüda Mehmed, Rycaut recorded that he set towards his new post in Diyarbakır Province with a numerous retinue which consisted of five hundred young, well-mounted, and well-armed men. However, on their way to Diyarbakır, they encountered with a group of bold robbers. Kethüda Mehmed lost his two hundred men as well as his goods and had to flee to the nearest city. See Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 116.

Ahmed Pasha ran the imperial affairs. It was from this kiosk that Mehmed IV watched the visitors of the grand vizier and sometimes inquired him for the reasons of their visits. The sultan, however, could not endure the burden of being indoors. In a few days, he went back to open fields to re-engage his hunting excursions.⁵⁵

Realizing the ill consequences of having a power struggle with the vâlide sultan, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha resolved to reconcile and to win the goodwill of Hadice Turhan Sultan. When his early attempts to gain her grace yielded no fruitful results, some of his friends recommended he should resign from the office and content himself with a governorship. He, however, decided to continue and, as a tactical move, endeavored to acquire the friendship of Şâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi, an experienced statesman and a favorite of the vâlide sultan.⁵⁶ He knew that Şâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi supported the grand vizier appointment of his father.⁵⁷ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha showed him great respect and helped him to receive the *pâye* or the honorary rank of the governor-general of Rumelia.⁵⁸ It appears that by having this important political figure in his close circle, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha not only weakened the influence of the vâlide sultan but also benefitted from the experiences of this capable statesman in imperial affairs.

On June 17, 1663, while Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was leading the military campaign against the Habsburgs, Mehmed IV dismissed the Chief Eunuch Solak Mehmed Agha from his office and exiled him to Egypt. The reason for this dismissal was an enmity aroused between the Chief

⁵⁵ Rycout, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 116.

⁵⁶ Rycout, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 117.

⁵⁷ In return to his support, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha appointed Şâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi the Chief Secretary. During his tenure, Şâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi made important changes in the administrative structure and imperial record keeping methods. See Feridun M. Emecen, "Osmanlı Divanının Ana Defter Serileri: Ahkâm-ı Mîrî, Ahkâm-ı Kuyûd-ı Mühimme ve Ahkâm-ı Şikâyet," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 5 (2005), 116 and 128 [107-39]. On the elevated position of the office of the Chief Secretary in the period see Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, "The Reisülküttab and Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1963). As an indication of his intimate relation with the old grand vizier, Şâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi accepted to be one of the attestors who were present during the registration of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's pious endowments. See SYEK, Köprülü İlave 3, fol. 53b.

⁵⁸ Rycout, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 117; 94 Numaralı Mühimme, 68.

Eunuch and Hasan Agha, the new *musâhib* or the close companion of the sultan.⁵⁹ This development helped the grand vizier to have the upper hand in his struggle to consolidate his authority and power. On September 12, during the siege of the Érsekújvár castle, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha also executed Şâmizâde Mehmed Efendi and his brother-in-law Kadızâde İbrahim Pasha under the pretense that they engaged in a plot against him.⁶⁰

As soon as he consolidated his power, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha felt himself in a more secure position to fully engage in external affairs. Three important military campaigns marked his tenure in the grand vizierate. He spent 1663 and 1664 in the north-western frontier of the empire in a clash with the Habsburgs. Between 1666 and 1669, he was in Crete in the eastern Mediterranean to end the protracted siege of the Venetian-held Candia. He led the imperial army between 1672 and 1674 in the northern frontier to get the control of the Right-Bank of Ukraine. Historians have written several detailed monographs for each of these campaigns.⁶¹

⁵⁹ *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 158; Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 134.

⁶⁰ See Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 135-136; *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 159-160; Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 307-308; *Îsâ-zâde Tarihi*, 79, and *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 6: 201-203. Evliya Çelebi, who attended in the 1663 Ottoman campaign in Kadızâde İbrahim Pasha's retinue, reported that the real reason behind the execution of Kadızâde İbrahim Pasha was the enmity of the grand vizier. An anonymous author of the side note in *Îsâ-zâde's* historical account claimed that Mehmed IV ordered Şâmizâde Mehmed Efendi to supervise the decisions of the under-experienced Fazıl Ahmed Pasha in the 1663 campaign. The grand vizier, however, felt uneasy with this command of the sultan and decided to rid himself of the control of the Chief Secretary. The exile of the Chief Eunuch Solak Mehmed Agha, a close ally of Şâmizâde Mehmed Efendi and the vâlîde sultan, to Egypt provided him a good chance to feel free in realization of his plans. He finally "invented" a reason (*i 'mâl-i letâyifü'l-hiyele mübâderet ile*) to execute the Chief Secretary and his son-in-law. See *Îsâ-zâde Tarihi*, 79, fn. 1. The goods and estates of Şâmizâde Mehmed Efendi and Kadızâde İbrahim Pasha were immediately seized and confiscated. For imperial orders to transfer of their commodities and animals to Edirne see *94 Numaralı Mühimme*, 96-97. For a list of items that were taken to the imperial treasury from their estates see TSMA, D. 2315, 42b-45a.

⁶¹ On these campaigns see, for instance, Kenneth Meyer Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1991); Faruk Bilici, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İki Savaş Anatomisi: Saint-Gotthard ve Kandiye," in *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi Ankara, 4-8 Ekim 1999 Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, 3/1: 139-51 (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2002); Mehmet İnbaşı, *Ukrayna'da Osmanlılar. Kamaniçe Seferi ve Organizasyonu (1672)* (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2004); Ersin Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi ve Osmanlı İdaresinin Kurulması (1645-1670)* (İstanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı Yayınları, 2004); Evangelia Balta and Mustafa Oğuz, eds. *Livâ-i Resmo Tahrir Defteri* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2009); Ahmet Şimşirgil, *Slovakya'da Osmanlılar (Türk Uyvar) 1663-1685* (İstanbul: KTB Yayınları, 2012); Özgür Kolçak, "17. Yüzyıl Askeri Gelişimi ve Osmanlılar: 1660-64 Osmanlı-Avusturya Savaşları" (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2012); Zayıf Mustafa bin Musa, *Tarih-i Sefer ve Feth-i Kandiye*, ed. Meltem Aydın (İstanbul: Demavend, 2015); Karin Sperl, Martin Scheutz, and Arno Strohmeyer, eds. *Die Schlacht von Mogersdorf/St. Gotthard und der Friede von Eisenburg/Vasvár 1664: Rahmenbedingungen, Akteure, Auswirkungen und Rezeption eines europäischen Ereignisses* (Eisenstadt, 2016).

Without getting into their details, it suffices to say here that by capturing Érsekújvár, Candia, and Kamaniecz castles, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha revitalized the Ottoman military power and extended the borders of the empire. His military leadership and strategies helped the Ottomans to regain their prestige and demonstrated the neighboring political entities that the Ottoman Empire was still one of the most significant political players in the eastern Mediterranean and central Europe. The remaining parts of this chapter will depict, based on two case studies, how the grand vizier handled the internal affairs with care and contributed to the economy of the empire with his public works in Izmir.

3.3 Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's Encounter with Sabbatai Sevi

In the mid-1660s, Sabbatai Sevi (1626-76), one of the three sons of a wealthy Jewish broker working for the English and Dutch companies in Izmir, launched a proselytizing campaign to prepare the Jewish communities all around the world for the beginning of the messianic age. He had thousands of adherents in a short time when his call reached to the remote parts of the Ottoman Empire and Europe. Although the fervor of this messianic movement ended in 1666 when its leader converted to Islam, a group of staunch adherents of Sabbatai Sevi lived on into the modern period as the Judeo-Islamic crypto-communities or *dönmes*. This interesting and curious episode in Jewish and Ottoman history has been subject to several studies.⁶² In his monumental work, Gershom Scholem examined not only the esoteric side but also the sociopolitical context of the movement and made frequent references to encounters of the pseudo-messiah Sabbatai Sevi with the grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. Scholem wrote

⁶² On the rise and impact of the movement see Gershom Scholem, *Sabbatai Şevi: The Mystical Messiah 1626-1676*, trans. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973); John Freely, *The Lost Messiah: In Search of Sabbatai Sevi* (London: Penguin, 2002); Erhan Afyoncu, *Sahte Mesih: Osmanlı Belgeleri Işığında Dönmeliğin Kurucusu Sabatay Sevi ve Yahudiler* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2013); Cengiz Şişman, *The Burden of Silence: Sabbatai Sevi and the Evolution of the Ottoman-Turkish Dönmes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

that the rise of the Sabbatai movement in Izmir created tension and fear among the leaders of the Jewish community in Istanbul. They knew that the Ottoman authorities would hold them responsible for the conduct of the Jewish population. Some of the leaders of the Jewish congregation thus paid a visit to Fazıl Ahmed Pasha before Sabbatai Sevi's arrival in Istanbul from Izmir and informed him that a Jewish man who pretended to be the Messiah was coming to the city via sea. They told the grand vizier that they did not believe in him and therefore were not responsible for his words and deeds. It was after this visit that the grand vizier sent an order to the controller of the customs Mahmud Agha for the arrest of Sabbatai Sevi.⁶³ On February 8, 1666, the pseudo-messiah was brought ashore in chains.⁶⁴ As soon as he returned from Çatalca where he was with the sultan, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha dealt with the case in person.⁶⁵ Based on the report of Giovanni Battista Ballarino, a Venetian resident in Istanbul, Gershom Scholem stated that the grand vizier was compelled to intervene in this case since the Sabbatai Sevi movement "had reached the point where it caused many of the poor to sell their few belongings and neglect their families in order to follow their false prophet." In addition to the social life, the imperial economy was at stake:

The conspicuous preparations of many believers for their voyage to the Holy Land must not only have provoked hostility and suspicion on the part of the government, but may easily have led to serious clashes between the Jews and the Turkish population. Travelers in Turkey in the seventeenth century all noted the fact that trade, and foreign trade in particular, was almost exclusively in the hands of the Jews, who also monopolized the contacts with the European traders in the country. A messianic movement would have immediate repercussions on the non-Jewish environment. The departure of a great number of believers for Palestine, leaving behind many destitute families, created a serious social problem.⁶⁶

⁶³ Erhan Afyoncu, *Sahte Mesih*, 113 and 200.

⁶⁴ Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 434-448; Şişman, *The Burden of Silence*, 50.

⁶⁵ Afyoncu, *Sahte Mesih*, 119-120.

⁶⁶ Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 449. Şişman also wrote that "the messianic chaos" heavily affected the socio-economic life in Izmir: "Reports from cities such as London and Amsterdam show that regular business dealings with the Jews became problematic because of their belief that the End of Days was at hand." See, *The Burden of Silence*, 48.

Within three days of his arrest, Sabbatai Sevi was brought in front of the Imperial Council, where the grand vizier presided over as the sultan's representative. The accounts of what happened during the meeting are rather conflicting. A Venetian ambassadorial report which Scholem used in his monograph demonstrates that it was Sabbatai Sevi's intelligent and sensible posture that saved his life: "Sabbatai spoke such perfect and elegant Arabic that the vizier, a great lover and connoisseur of the language and its literature, took a liking to him."⁶⁷ Another report, which also appeared in the Jewish sources, indicated that Sabbatai described himself as a scholar from Jerusalem who traveled to Istanbul to collect alms for the poor people of the Holy Land. When the judge asked him whether he declared himself as the messianic king, he replied: "I said nothing." Scholem stated that in contrast to the expectations of everyone, except the Jews, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha did not execute the pseudo-messiah but instead sent him to prison.⁶⁸ During his days in the jail, Sabbatai was allowed to receive visitors. When the harsh conditions made him felt uncomfortable, he asked his supporters to intercede with the grand vizier's Jewish banker and financial adviser (most probably Judah ben Mordehai ha-Kohen) to plead for him to obtain permission for his transfer to another place. Based on the account of Sasportas, who was one of the most violent antagonists of the Sabbatai movement, Scholem wrote that after receiving a huge bribe of 100,000 reales (lion's thaler) Fazıl Ahmed Pasha ordered the transfer of Sabbatai Sevi to the castle of Kilidü'l-Bahr in Gallipoli on April 19, 1666.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Although he used this Venetian report in his account, Scholem was not in the opinion that Sabbatai had a perfect command of Arabic: "Since we know that Sabbatai's knowledge of the Turkish language was, at best, very poor, it seems extremely unlikely that he had a perfect command of Arabic." Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 450. Paul Rychaut, however, reported that Sabbatai Sevi "addicting himself to study and learning, became a notable Proficient in the Hebrew and Arabick languages." See Rychaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 174.

⁶⁸ It was a predictable expectation. On February 24, 1665, the Ottoman authorities sentenced Lârî Mehmed, a "heretic" who denied certain Islamic principle such as fasting, daily prayers, and the belief in the Day of Judgment, to death. See *The Burden of Silence*, 53-54, 106-109. See also *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 177.

⁶⁹ Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 451-459.

Whether Fazıl Ahmed Pasha received any bribe or not from the supporters of Sabbatai Sevi remained a mystery.⁷⁰ In the spring of 1666, the grand vizier was busy with the preparations for a military expedition to Crete. It appears that by transferring Sabbatai Sevi to the fortress in Gallipoli, he aimed to prevent further excitement and agitation among the Jews and to avoid any possible social unrest in the Ottoman capital.⁷¹ During his days in the prison in Gallipoli, Sabbatai Sevi continued to have visitors. One of them, a rabbi named Nehemiah Cohen from Poland, argued with him on a theological doctrine known as the “double Messiah.” According to this doctrine, there would be two Messiahs, one from the tribe of Joseph who would suffer and die for humanity and the other from the tribe of Judah who would sit on the throne of David and rule. While accepting Sabbatai Sevi as the second Messiah, Nehemiah Cohen claimed himself to be the first Messiah coming from the tribe of Joseph and urged Sevi to acknowledge him as such. When Sevi did not concur with him, Nehemiah Cohen, probably out of revenge, went to Edirne and informed the Ottoman authorities about the false prophecy of Sevi. He also warned them about the risk and possibility of social upheavals among the adherents of the false messiah and pious Muslims. Although he wanted to be recognized as the first messiah by Sabbatai, he, interestingly, did not find it difficult to convert to Islam in front of the sultan.⁷² In addition to the complaints of Nehemiah, a certain sheikh named Mahmud made strong accusations against Sabbatai Sevi. After the charges of Nehemiah Cohen and the sheikh Mahmud as well as receiving some petitions from the Jewish leaders, the Imperial Council brought Sabbatai Sevi for a second trial on September 16, 1666. The deputy grand

⁷⁰ Several western historical accounts mention that neither Köprülü Mehmed Pasha nor Fazıl Ahmed Pasha accepted bribe during their tenures. See Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 263. Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, 5: 188.

⁷¹ “In this manner Sabatai Sevi remained a Prisoner at Constantinople for the space of two Months; at the end of which the Vizier having designed his expedition for Candia, and considering the rumour and disturbance at the Presence of Sabatai had made already at Constantinople, thought it not secure to suffer him to remain in the Imperial City, whilst both the Grand Signior and himself were absent; and therefore changed his Prison to the Dardanelli.” Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 178.

⁷² Şişman, *The Burden of Silence*, 60.

vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha, the sheikh-ul-Islam Minkârîzâde Yahya Efendi, and the preacher of the sultan Vânî Mehmed Efendi were present during the trial. Mehmed IV also watched the proceedings from a latticed alcove. At the end of the hearing, the members of the council offered Sabbatai a choice between death and conversion to Islam. He chose the latter and, in line with the tradition, adopted a Muslim name (Aziz Mehmed Efendi). The sultan employed him in the Ottoman court and paid him a handsome salary of 150 *akçes* daily from the imperial treasury.⁷³

Between 1666 and 1672, Sabbatai Sevi *alias* Aziz Mehmed Efendi spent most of his time by attending the scholarly meetings, gaining knowledge about his new religion, and inviting others to the path of Islam. He established contacts with certain Muslim groups including Bektashi dervishes. He visited their dervish lodge in Hızırlık in Edirne in February 1672. The traditional *dönme* accounts maintained that Aziz Mehmed Efendi befriended with Niyâzi-i Mısırî, the famous Sufi preacher and poet who established the Mısriyye branch of the Halveti Sufi order.⁷⁴

Galland wrote in his diaries that a corpse of a child was found in the Marmara Sea during the days when the Ottoman Jews were celebrating their New Year Holiday (Rosh Hashanah) in 1672. Implying the “blood libel” and similar accusations that were made against the Jews beginning from the Middle Ages, Galland mentioned that the Jews living in Istanbul became suspicious in the public eye.⁷⁵ The French scholar recorded this event only a few years after Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan, a leading Armenian author of the seventeenth century, expressed his antagonism to the Jews in his famous poem.⁷⁶ It was within this sociocultural climate that

⁷³ Abdi Paşa, *Vekâyi'nâme*, 247. For the position and salary of Aziz Mehmed Efendi in the Ottoman court see Afyoncu, *Sahte Mesih*, 147-151, 200. For a detailed account of the trial see Şişman, *The Burden of Silence*, 69-82.

⁷⁴ Paul B. Fenton, “Shabbatay Sebi and His Muslim Contemporary Muhammad an-Niyazi,” in *Approaches to Judaism in Medieval Times*, ed. David R. Blumenthal (Atlanta, GA: Scholar's Press, 1988), 3: 84. See also Scholem, *Sabbatai Şevi*, 836-7 and Şişman, *The Burden of Silence*, 29. On Niyazi-i Mısırî see Derin Terzioğlu, “Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazî-i Mısırî (1618-1694)” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1999).

⁷⁵ Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 191.

⁷⁶ For a study on the poem see Eremya Çelebi Kömürjian's *Armeno-Turkish Poem “The Jewish Bride,”* ed. Avedis K. Sanjian and Andreas Tietze (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981).

Sabbatai Sevi/Aziz Mehmed Efendi and a group of his followers were arrested in September 1672 with an accusation of conducting Jewish prayers in a synagogue.⁷⁷ The Ottoman authorities in Istanbul informed Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, who was leading the Ottoman campaign against the Poles, about this development. The grand vizier wrote a letter from the military camp and asked the Chief Gardener Osman Agha to investigate the accusations made against Sabbatai Sevi/Aziz Mehmed Efendi carefully.⁷⁸ Although he exhibited moderation during the first trial of Sabbatai Sevi in 1666, the grand vizier had rather an intolerant approach this time. Scholem mentions that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha aimed to bring about the execution of Sabbatai Sevi/Aziz Mehmed Efendi on the grounds of apostasy.⁷⁹ A strong faction at the Ottoman court, however, showed their support to Sabbatai Sevi/Aziz Mehmed Efendi and prevented the grand vizier from executing his plans. The Sabbatian tradition maintains that among his supporters were the vâlîde sultan and Vânî Mehmed Efendi.⁸⁰ Galland also mentions that Mehmed IV intervened in the case and prevented this execution.⁸¹ The grand vizier imprisoned him in Ortakapı in December 1672. In a short time, he banished him to the fortress of Ülgün (Albanian: Ulqin; Serbian: Ulcinj; Italian: Dulcigno) in Morea.⁸² Although he was a prisoner, Sabbatai Sevi continued to receive a salary from the imperial treasury until his death on September 17,

⁷⁷ Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 183. A hitherto unknown letter of Galland that Frédéric Bauden published reveals that it was the Jews of Istanbul who informed the Ottoman authorities about the prayers of Sabbatai Sevi in the synagogue. These Jews had an unfavorable opinion about Sabbatai Sevi and thus carefully watched his every step. See Galland, *İzmir Gezisi*, 78, fn. 272.

⁷⁸ Scholem, *Sabbatai Şevi*, 876. Babinger provided a facsimile of this document in his catalog of the archive of the Bosnian Osman Pasha. See Franz Babinger, *Das Archiv des Bosniaken Osman Pascha* (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1931), facsimile 2/VII. Uriel Heyd utilized this document in his 1956 Hebrew article. Heyd's article, with the transliteration of the document, translated into Turkish by Cengiz Şişman. See Uriel Heyd, "Sabetay Sevi ile İlgili Bir Osmanlı Belgesi," *Tarih ve Toplum* 223 (2002): 7-9. For an English translation of the document see Şişman, *The Burden of Silence*, 106.

⁷⁹ Scholem, *Sabbatai Şevi*, 876.

⁸⁰ Scholem, *Sabbatai Şevi*, 875-7.

⁸¹ Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 2: 22.

⁸² Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 2: 3; Afyoncu, *Sahte Mesih*, 170.

1676, in the fortress. This piece of information indicates that Sevi did not fall entirely out of favor with the Ottoman authorities after 1672.⁸³

While several Ottomanist historians interpreted Sabbatai Sevi's arrest and conversion to Islam within the context of puritanical Kadızâdeli resurgence,⁸⁴ Scholem demonstrated a multi-causal approach and drew the attention on the political and socio-economic conditions of the empire at that time. He mentioned that Vâni Mehmed Efendi continued to have good relations with Sabbatai Sevi even after 1672, the year when his apostasy became evident.⁸⁵ It indicates that the relationships of Vâni Mehmed Efendi, the leading figure of the so-called the third major wave of the Kadızâdeli movement,⁸⁶ with Sabbatai Sevi were not merely based on religious terms and ideology.

Like Scholem, Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj put an emphasis on the socio-economic aspect of the Sabbatai movement. He claimed that the rise of the movement overlapped with the decrease of the economic role and function of the Jewish merchants in the Ottoman Empire vis-à-vis their Greek and Armenian counterparts.⁸⁷ Similarly, Jane Hathaway interpreted the Sabbatai Sevi episode in Ottoman history not just in religious terms but also with its relation to the fiscal reforms of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha in the Ottoman provinces.⁸⁸ Based on these studies and contemporary records it is plausible to argue that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's response to Sabbatai

⁸³ Şişman, *The Burden of Silence*, 114.

⁸⁴ Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988), 153-56; Zilfi, "The Kadızadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45/4 (1986): 251-69; Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 189-90; Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*, 122.

⁸⁵ See Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 727 and 876-877.

⁸⁶ Marinos Sariyannis, "The Kadızadeli Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon: The Rise of a 'Merchantile Ethic'?" in *Political Initiatives from the Bottom-Up in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. A. Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2012), 265 [263-89].

⁸⁷ Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State*, 86.

⁸⁸ Jane Hathaway, "The Grand Vizier and the False Messiah: The Sabbatai Sevi Controversy and the Ottoman Reform in Egypt," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117/4 (1997): 665-671; Hathaway, "The Sabbatai Sevi Movement and the Expulsion of Yemen's Jews in 1679," in *CIÉPO XIV. Sempozyumu Bildirileri, 18-22 Eylül 2000, Çeşme* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2004): 285-303.

Sevi and his exponents were not chiefly out of the religious zeal and fervor as the way several historians including Marc D. Baer claimed but it was rather as a result of a calculated strategy and plan. The contemporary Ottoman records mention that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha sent Sabbatai Sevi to prison in 1666 to prevent any possible social upheaval (*def'-i fitne için*) on the eve of the military campaign against the Venetians in Crete.⁸⁹ When he received the news about his apostasy in 1672, at a time when he was leading the Polish campaign, the grand vizier, relinquishing the Islamic law, did not execute him but instead banished him to Morea where Sabbatai Sevi lived in the Ülgün fortress, until his death on the payroll of the imperial treasury. It should also be noted that, during the exile of Sabbatai Sevi in Morea, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha pursued plans to contribute to the economic growth of Izmir, the city where Sabbatai Sevi was born, claimed himself to be the expected messiah, and still had some faithful adherents in the 1670s.⁹⁰

3.4 Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's Contributions to Izmir

While it was a small town of about 2,000 inhabitants at the end of the sixteenth century, Izmir became a leading port in the eastern Mediterranean by the mid-seventeenth century, especially during the long confrontation between the Ottoman and Venetian naval forces. The rise of the intermediary role of Izmir in the transcontinental trade reflected on the fact that all the key European states moved their consulates to the city in the seventeenth century.⁹¹ The

⁸⁹ "Bundan akdem İzmir'den bir haham-ı çifüt zuhûr idüp, tâ'ife-i Yahûd ziyâde meyl ü rağbet itmeleriyle def'-i fitne için Boğazhisârına nefy olunmuşıdi." Silahdâr, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, 453-4.

⁹⁰ In his visit to Izmir in 1678, Antoine Galland observed that while some of the Jews in the city were still holding the belief that Sevi was a messiah, many others, including Mardohay Ebuhaïf, the broker in the service of the English merchants, "did not believe in such madnesses" and "considered it as a trick to get the upper hand on others." See Galland, *İzmir Gezisi. Antoine Galland'ın Bir Elyazması (1678)*, ed. Frédéric Bauden and trans. Erol Üyepazarcı (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2003), 79.

⁹¹ On the seventeenth-century Izmir see Necmi Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir, 1688-1740," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1974); Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990); Reşat Kasaba, "İzmir," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 16/4 (1993): 387-410.

Ottoman government, particularly the Köprülü grand viziers, were also aware of the growing economic and strategic importance of the town and made long-term plans to capitalize its affluence, “by encouraging its international commerce and working to re-integrate it into the economic and administrative structure of the Empire,” according to Daniel Goffman.⁹²

The French traveler Tavernier wrote that during the Ottoman-Venetian War in 1656, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha ordered to draft European ships that were anchored in the harbor of Izmir into the Ottoman navy. The captains of these ships, however, refused to lend their ships and left the port immediately. The grand vizier, frustrated with the refusal of his order, undertook the construction of a castle at the narrowest part of the harbor. The castle called Sancakburnu was completed around 1659, and it provided the Ottomans with an efficient means to control the sea traffic. While helping the Ottoman government to secure the port of Izmir, it also prevented the trade ships from leaving the harbor without paying the applicable customs fees.⁹³

Following the example of his father, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha initiated a large-scale building program in the city during his grand vizierate. Paul Rycaut informs us that it was Hüseyin Agha, the chief customs official at Izmir, who instigated the grand vizier to cast his eyes over the city in the 1670s.⁹⁴ In 1675, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha established a *bedestân* or a covered market in Izmir. Then, he erected a custom-house on piles out over the water and two *hans* or inns (Büyük Vezir Hanı and Küçük Vezir Hanı) in the Kasap Hızır quarter of the city.⁹⁵ His endowment deed

⁹² Daniel Goffman, “İzmir: From Village to Colonial Port City,” in *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, ed. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 105 [79-134].

⁹³ Necmi Ülker, “Batılı Gözlemcilere Göre XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İzmir Şehri ve Ticari Sorunları,” *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 12 (1981-82): 320-23 [317-54]. In 1660, Hasım Mehmed, one of the imperial chief gatekeepers, was appointed to Izmir to supervise the maintenance and supply of the castle. See BOA, MAD, 7326, 25.

⁹⁴ Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 256. Galland recorded that Hüseyin Agha was the brother of Mahmud Agha, the steward of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. See Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 85.

⁹⁵ For a preliminary study on the inns of Izmir see M. Münir Aktepe, “İzmir Hanları ve Çarşıları Hakkında Ön Bilgi,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 25 (1971): 105-165.

demonstrates that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha owned ninety-three shops and several lands nearby Izmir.⁹⁶ As for the Sancakburnu castle, stones for the public buildings of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha were quarried from the ancient Roman theater on the hill.⁹⁷ Galland, who visited Izmir in 1678, reported that the inn of the grand vizier was the most beautiful and comfortable place to stay for merchants and visitors to the city. In addition to a furnace and fountain in the common area, there was a stove in each room. Many people who rented rooms in the inn were Greeks who found the rent lower than the other places.⁹⁸

Besides the covered market, the custom-house, and the inns, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha built a public bath and fifty-seven fountains in Izmir. He constructed a new aqueduct to bring water to the city from the nearby plains of Buca and Halkapınar. Münir Aktepe wrote that the sultan granted the privilege of having the property rights (*temlik*) of the inns to the grand vizier in return to these services.⁹⁹ When all the construction activities were completed in 1677, a year after the death of the grand vizier, his heirs conferred the revenues of the buildings, shops, and lands in Izmir on Mecca, in the words of Rycaut, “to evidence their Devotion to Religion, and good will to the Publick, and to please the eyes of the envious World.”¹⁰⁰

This chapter demonstrated that the father and son Köprülüs restored the traditional authority of the grand vizier in the mid-seventeenth century in the face of bitter opposition from different groups and individuals. While Köprülü Mehmed Pasha used harsh governmental

⁹⁶ Topçu, *Güçün Mimariye Yansıması*, 194.

⁹⁷ Galland, *İzmir Gezisi*, 39.

⁹⁸ Galland, *İzmir Gezisi*, 50 and 55.

⁹⁹ Aktepe, “İzmir Hanları ve Çarşıları Hakkında Ön Bilgi,” 146.

¹⁰⁰ Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 263. Abou-El-Haj stated that the Köprülüs, like other wealthy members of the ruling elite, tried to shelter their wealth from the *müsadere* or confiscation policy. They “had tried to provide immunity from confiscation for some of their wealth by translating into substantial charitable endowments. The magnitude of these endowments is attested to by the appointment of Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi as *nâzır*.” See *Formation of the Modern State*, 57 and 144. For a detailed account register of these endowments see BOA, D. HMH.d. 21557 [dated 1722]. See also Nahide Şimşir, “Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa’nın İzmir’deki Vakıflarına Ait Hicri 1141 Tarihli Bir Muhasebe Bilançosu,” *Ege Üniversitesi Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 7 (1997): 155-181. For a list of items that were brought to the imperial treasury from Fazıl Ahmed Pasha’s inheritance see TSMA, 2315, fol. 81-86.

methods to establish his authority, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha solved the problems with moderation and careful strategy. He pursued a policy of internal consolidation, sought ways and means to extend the borders of the empire and to increase the income of the treasury. In addition to his administrative, military, and fiscal achievements, he patronized several artisans, scholars, and poets, Muslim and non-Muslim alike. The next chapter claims that, as in his political and military actions, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha had a strategy in his patronage of cultural and intellectual activities. He had a political vision aiming to keep up with the latest scientific findings of the age. He thus supported the translations and transfers of the contemporary European scientific achievements into the Ottoman world and extended his patronage to the Italian physician Giovanni Mascellini (d. 1675) to publish his Latin medical work in Vienna in 1673.

CHAPTER 4 - SCIENCE, POLITICS, AND PATRONAGE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE 1660S AND 1670S

George Sarton, a prominent historian of science, established the twelfth century as the end period of intellectual vigor in Islamic scientific tradition. He thus precluded Ottoman contributions to science and philosophy.¹ Abdulkhak Adnan Adıvar, the author of the first general study of the history of Ottoman science, on the other hand, maintained that there was a vibrant intellectual life in the empire in the fifteenth century, particularly during the reign of Mehmed II (1444-46; 1451-81). Adıvar, however, argued that the Ottoman scholarly dynamism vanished when rational sciences lost their importance vis-à-vis transmitted (religious) sciences in the sixteenth century. New methods and thinking that revolutionized science and philosophy in Europe did not have any influence on Ottoman intellectual works written in the following century. According to Adıvar, Emir Çelebi (d. 1638), Şemseddin 'Itaki (d.?), Katip Çelebi (d. 1657), Salih bin Nasrullah bin Sellum (d. 1670), Evliya Çelebi (d. 1684?), Ebubekir bin Behram Dimeşki (d. 1691), Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi (d. 1691?), and Hayatizade Mustafa Efendi (d. 1692) were exceptional names in the general climate of the seventeenth-century Ottoman conservatism.²

While the periodization Sarton offered was broadly followed in Islamic studies in Western academia and theology departments at Turkish universities,³ it was the arguments of

¹ George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1931), 2: 114-152.

² A. Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, ed. Aykut Kazancıgil and Sevim Tekeli, 5th ed. (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1991), 31 and 126-158. *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim* was an enlarged edition of the author's French work, *Science chez les Turcs Ottomans*, which he published in Paris in 1939. The first Turkish edition of this work appeared in Istanbul in 1943. The several reprints and editions it went through demonstrate its popularity.

³ See, for instance, Gustave E. von Grunebaum, *Islam: Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955), 1; Aydın Sayılı, "The Causes of the Decline of Scientific Work in

Adıvar that had a lasting impact on several generations of Ottomanist historians. Adıvar's arguments, which chiefly stemmed from his progressive ideology,⁴ were repeated in the general histories of İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı and Halil İnalcık.⁵ Despite the later critiques of historians of Ottoman science,⁶ they were considered as established facts and repeated in several recent works.⁷ In one of his widely read semi-academic works, Bernard Lewis followed a similar argument and claimed that there was a lack of interest and curiosity in other cultures among the Turks and Arabs in the medieval and early modern periods. Lewis maintained that "the Renaissance, the Reformation, even the scientific revolution and the Enlightenment passed unnoticed in the Muslim world."⁸

Islam," in his *The Observatory in Islam* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1988), 407-29. Sayılı was one of the doctoral students of Sarton at Harvard University. The Turkish academic circles in the early Republican era showed a tendency to accept the criticism of Muhammad al-Ghazzālī (d. 1111), an influential theologian, jurist, and mystic, to certain strands of Islamic philosophy as the beginning of scientific and philosophical decline in Islamic history. See Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türk Tefekkürü Tarihi* (Istanbul: YKY, 1982 [1933-34]), 157-8.

⁴ Cemil Aydın states that Adıvar frustrated with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the World War I and it was this frustration that made a certain impact on his declinist views on Ottoman science. See Cemil Aydın, "Beyond Culturalism? An Overview of the Historiography on Ottoman Science in Turkey," in *Multicultural Science in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu et al (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 204-5 [201-15]. Miri Shefer-Mossenshon also mentions that "Adıvar's work... is a clear product of a national, Western, and secular political agenda." Miri Shefer-Mossenshon, *Science among the Ottomans. The Cultural Creation and Exchange of Knowledge* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2015), 10.

⁵ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1996 [1959]), 4: 490 and 519; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 67-70, 236; Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (London: Phoenix Press, 2000 [1973]), 179-180.

⁶ Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Some Remarks on Ottoman Science and its Relation with European Science and Technology up to the End of the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the Japan-Netherlands Institute* 3 (1991): 45 [45-73]. Reprinted in *Science, Technology, and Learning in the Ottoman Empire: Western Influence, Local Institutions, and the Transfer of Knowledge*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 2004), 45-73; Yaşar Sarıkaya, "Osmanlı Medreselerinin Gerileme Meselesi: Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme Denemesi," *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3 (1999): 23-39; Miri Shefer Mossensohn, "A Tale of Two Discourses: The Historiography of Ottoman-Muslim Medicine," *Social History of Medicine* 21/1 (2008): 7-8 [1-12]; Khaled El-Rouayheb, "The Myth of 'The Triumph of Fanaticism' in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *Die Welt des Islams* 48 (2008): 196-7 [196-221].

⁷ See, for instance, Francis Robinson, "Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals: Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8/2 (1997): 155-6 and 164 [151-84]; Aykut Kazancıgil, *Osmanlılarda Bilim ve Teknoloji* (İstanbul: Etkileşim, 2007), 179-183; Toby E. Huff, *Intellectual Curiosity and the Scientific Revolution: A Global Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 134-6 and 156-7.

⁸ Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 15 and 183. One of the few people that Lewis dedicated his *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* was Adıvar. See Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (London: Phoenix, 1982).

When he published his work, Adıvar was not alone in his declensionist views on Ottoman cultural and intellectual production in the seventeenth century. In his classical study, Elias John Wilkinson Gibb had earlier made the following observation for Ottoman literary activities in the second half of the century:

Not one of these Sultans [who reigned in the period] seems to have given any special encouragement to poetry or to have made any attempt to cultivate, except the last-named [Mustafa II, r. 1695-1703] ... Individually they were not great men, and during the most part of the half century over which their reigns extend, the destinies of the Empire were in the hands of the illustrious family of Köprülü... The house of Köprülü did much for the state, but it did little for literature; all their energies were too sorely taxed in defending the country from traitors within and from foes...⁹

Gibb stated that severe internal political crises, prolonged military conflicts, and lack of courtly support had negative impacts on Ottoman cultural and intellectual life in the period. The Köprülü grand viziers, he argued, were chiefly interested in solving the pressing political and military problems of the empire, not in promoting culture and science. Except for a few such as Nâ'ilî Pîrîzâde Mustafa (d. 1666), who composed *kasîdes* or odes to honor the Köprülü grand viziers, the Ottoman poets were deprived of the patronage of the ruling elite, a crucial element for their literary production.

One of the aims of this chapter is to revise the declensionist arguments of Adıvar and Gibb. Instead of accepting the works of the above-cited Ottoman intellectual figures in the seventeenth century as “exceptions,” this chapter argues that these scholars and their works reflect the spirit of their age. Opposing the claims of Gibb, this study also maintains that the Ottoman ruling elite, particularly the grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, supported intellectual and cultural activities when they extended their patronage to several scholars, poets, and

⁹ E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, ed. Edward G. Browne, 6 vols. (London: Luzac & Co., 1900-9), 3: 302-3. For the Turkish translation of the work see *Osmanlı Şiir Tarihi*, trans. Ali Çavuşoğlu (Ankara: Akçağ, 1999). For a review of the Gibb's work which indicates its continued influence on Turkish academicians see Cihan Okuyucu, “Osmanlı Şiiri Hakkında Yüzyıllık Bir Batı Kaynağı: Gibb'in A History of Ottoman Poetry'si,” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 5/9 (2007): 601-6 [601-16].

artisans. The patronage of the ruling elite played a great role in the intellectual flourishing in the 1660s and 1670s Ottoman Empire.

4.1 Istanbul: A Vibrant Hub for Inter- and Intra-Communal Intellectual Exchange

Before turning our attention to leading Ottoman scholars and their works in the 1660s and 1670s and the intellectual patronage of the Ottoman ruling elite, it is necessary to say a few words on seventeenth-century Istanbul, which was a vibrant hub for inter- and intra-communal intellectual interactions. In the last forty or so years, chiefly after the publication of Fernand Braudel's masterpiece, the *Mediterranean*, scholars have produced studies that discredit the old practices of privileging confessional identities and cultural differences in comprehending the historical developments in the early modern era. This inclusive approach, which put its emphasis on "interconnectedness" and "interactions" as opposed to "separations" and "clashes," proved itself particularly useful in understanding contacts and cooperation as key elements in intellectual history.¹⁰ For the history of Ottoman science, it is still early to claim that modern scholarship has fully understood, appreciated, and incorporated scholarly activities of the non-Muslim subjects and European residents of the empire into the mainstream

¹⁰ See, for instance, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997): 735-762; Francis Robinson, "Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals: Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems,"; Pascal Firges, Tobias P. Graf, Christian Roth, and Gülay Tulasoglu, eds. *Well-Connected Domains: Toward an Entangled Ottoman History* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). For recent works that emphasized the inter- and intra-communal interactions in the early modern Ottoman intellectual life see Sonja Brentjes, *Travellers from Europe in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires, 16th-17th Centuries: Seeking, Transforming, Discarding Knowledge* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); John-Paul Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). See also Gábor Ágoston, "The Ottoman Empire and the Technological Dialogue between Europe and Asia: The Case of Military Technology and Know-How in the Gunpowder Age," in *Science between Europa and Asia: Historical Studies on the Transmission, Adoption and Adaptation of Knowledge*, ed. Feza Günergün and Dhruv Raina (New York: Springer, 2011), 27-39. For the "clash of civilization" theory see the work of Samuel Huntington who often referred to the Ottoman Empire. Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996). See also Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

narrative.¹¹ It only recently became possible to see the names of the Greek, Armenian, and Jewish authors in catalogs that were prepared to register Ottoman scholars and their works.¹² An adventurous travel account of a Catholic-Arab Ottoman subject to the New World in the 1660s and 1670s has been recently translated into English and Turkish.¹³ It is safe to say that the interaction and cooperation between the non-Muslim and non-Ottoman scholars with the Muslim Ottoman rulers and intellectuals have not yet been adequately depicted, let alone discussed, in the scholarship.

In her recent contribution to growing literature on the early modern Ottoman science, Miri Shefer-Mossensohn demonstrated how Ottoman society and culture were fertile grounds for diverse scientific activity.¹⁴ Several entries that Antoine Galland (d. 1715), a leading French scholar of Oriental languages and cultures, recorded in his diary are illustrative of various aspects of dynamic intellectual exchange among religious groups and people in Istanbul in the second half of the seventeenth century. The records in Galland's diary reveal that ethnic and religious boundaries did not constitute obstacles for inquiring souls to get to know each other

¹¹ In 2002, Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu drew the scholarly attention on limited number of studies written on the non-Muslim contributions to Ottoman scientific life. See İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bilim," in *Osmanlı Uygarlığı*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Günsel Renda (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002), 1: 319 [319-348].

¹² For voluminous catalogs on Ottoman scholarly figures and their works see the list of publication of IRCICA which Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu edited between 1997 and 2011. In his detailed repertory of Ottoman authors, Bursalı Mehmed Tahir did not mention any name from among the non-Muslim Ottoman scholars. Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, ed. A. Fikri Yavuz and İsmail Özen (İstanbul: Meral Yayınevi, 1972). At the end of his biographical dictionary, Mehmed Süreyya made only occasional references to intellectual and literary achievements of the non-Muslim subjects of the empire. See *Sicill-i Osmani*, ed. Nuri Akbayan and trans. Seyit Ali Kahraman (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 6: 1816-1822. For a list of leading Jewish scholars in the Ottoman Empire see Walter F. Weiker, *Ottomans, Turks and the Jewish Polity: A History of the Jews of Turkey* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1992), 353-7.

¹³ İlyas Hanna, *İlyas Hanna Seyahatnamesi: Bir Osmanlı Tebaasının Güney Amerika Yolculuğu, 1668-1683*, trans. Bekir Keskin (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2010). The 1982 English translation of this Arabic account remained largely unnoticed in the scholarship. See *Travels of the Iraqi Cardinal Al-Yas Hanna to the Americas (1668-1688)*, trans. Sami Said Ahmed (Baghdad: Publications of the Historians' and Archaeologists' Society in Iraq, 1982). For a newer edition see *An Arab's Journey to Colonial Spanish America: The Travels of Elias al-Mūsīlī in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. and ed. Caesar E. Farah (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003). See also *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century*, trans., and ed. Nabil Matar (New York: Routledge, 2003), 45-112.

¹⁴ See Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, *Science among the Ottomans. The Cultural Creation and Exchange of Knowledge* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2015).

and to benefit from each other's expertise. These records attest that it was not difficult for curiosity-driven intellectuals, Muslim and non-Muslim, Ottoman and European alike, living in Istanbul to reach the latest publications and scientific tools produced in Europe. These records also provide important facts to understand which of the printed books, manuscripts, maps, and scientific tools were in circulation among the learned elite in the Ottoman capital in the 1670s.

On January 6, 1672, Galland recorded in his diary that he borrowed *Selenographia, sive Lunae descriptio* of Johannes Hevelius (d. 1687), a Protestant astronomer from Danzig (modern-day Gdańsk in Poland), from the Jesuits in Galata.¹⁵ In this remarkable astronomical account that he published in 1647, Hevelius presented a comprehensive atlas of the Moon with large engravings and several diagrams.¹⁶ The second book that Galland borrowed from the Jesuits on the same day was the second volume of *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consani et dissoni*, a compendium and reference work that Athanasius Kircher (d. 1680), a German polymath Jesuit, prepared on music in Rome in 1650.¹⁷ Although it was a comprehensive work on music, Kircher's study included descriptions of water-powered automatic organs and drawings of human and animal ears. On January 9, three days later, Galland visited Ganby de Bagny (?), who showed him his carefully proportioned drawings of the mosques of Istanbul.¹⁸ Galland examined his host's book collection and found the German Jesuit mathematician and physician Kaspar Schott's (d. 1666) *Mathesis Caesarea* worthy of mention in his diary.¹⁹ On January 11, Galland received two Muslim visitors whom he cited as

¹⁵ Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 29.

¹⁶ Johannis Hevelii, *Selenographia: sive, Lunae Descriptio...* (Gedani [Danzig]: Typis Hünefeldianis, 1647). On Hevelius and his works see Richard L. Kremer and Jarosław Włodarczyk, eds. *Johannes Hevelius and His World: Astronomer, Cartographer, Philosopher and Correspondent* (Warsaw: Polish Academy of Sciences, 2013).

¹⁷ Athanasii Kircheri, *Musurgia universalis: sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni...* (Romae: Typographia Haeredum Francisci Corbelletti, MDCL [1650]). On this and other works of Kircher see Paula Findlen, ed. *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything* (London: Routledge, 2004); John Edward Fletcher, *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, 'Germanus Incredibilis'* ed. Elizabeth Fletcher (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Agustín Udías, *Jesuit Contribution to Science: A History* (New York: Springer, 2015), 55-77.

¹⁸ Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 31-32.

¹⁹ P. Gaspare Schotto, *Mathesis Caesarea, sive Amussis Ferdinandea...* (Herbipoli [Würzburg]: Typographus Herbipolensis, MDCLXII [1662]). On the life and works of Schott see Hans-Joachim Vollrath, *Wunderbar*

“Turks” experts in Arabic, mathematics, astronomy, and chemistry. One of these visitors showed Galland his black and red colored drawings for an astrolabe. In return, Galland allowed his visitors to have a look at the work of Hevelius that he had borrowed from the Jesuits. Upon examining the work, the Muslim scholars praised a telescope which enabled Hevelius to do his astronomical observations as a remarkable invention. They told Galland that although there were people who, with all their good intentions, aimed to make progress in science in the Ottoman lands, there were ignorant others who were fiercely opposed to scientific discoveries of the age.²⁰ On January 15, another “Turkish” mathematician and astronomer visited Galland and showed him a 300-hundred-year-old Arabic astrolabe made up from copper. This mathematician and astronomer promised Galland to bring him a Turkish book on chess and a red ink of high quality that he had prepared. When Galland understood that his guest had an interest in painting, he presented him with a tool to draw his works as a gift.²¹

On January 18, most probably during one of his tours of the bookstores in Istanbul, Galland saw some maps prepared in Turkish. He found them, particularly the one that was on the Black Sea, precise and exciting.²² On January 25, he paid another visit to the Jesuits in Galata and borrowed from them Athanasius Kircher’s *Obeliscus Pamphilius*. In this work, Kircher published his interpretations of hieroglyphs on the obelisk that was (and still is) standing in Piazza Navona in Rome.²³ On the same day, two “Turkish” mathematicians visited Galland. One of them, probably the one who came to visit him earlier on January 15, brought him a red ink and a manuscript on astronomy written by a certain Mahmud. Galland, in return,

berechenbar: die Welt des Würzburger Mathematiker Kaspar Schott, 1608-1666 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 2007); Julius Oswald, “Leben und Werk des würzburger mathematikers Kaspar Schott S.J.,” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 156 (2009): 417-41.

²⁰ Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 33.

²¹ Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 37.

²² Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 38.

²³ Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 42. Athanasii Kircheri, *Obeliscus Pamphilius* (Romae: Typis Ludoici Grignani, 1650).

showed them the *Obeliscus Pamphilius* of Kircher. Galland also mentioned them how he used the work of an Arabic author named Abenephi (Abd ul Nebi?) to understand the secrets of hieroglyphy. Showing an interest in the subject, the “Turkish” visitors told Galland that they knew some other Arabic works on hieroglyphy and would bring them to him at their next visit. On March 9, Galland met Laurent d’Arvieux (d. 1702), whom the French king dispatched as envoy extraordinary to Istanbul to renew the capitulations.²⁴ Galland examined some of the books in the collection of his fellow countryman. Among the titles that he was particularly interested in was the bilingual (Latin-Persian) version of the *Mirāt al-Quds*, a Persian work on the life of Jesus prepared by the Spanish Jesuit Jerome Xavier (d. 1617) on the orders of the Mughal Emperor Jalal ud-din Muhammad Akbar (d. 1605, r. 1556-1605).²⁵

Not only did Galland record these intellectual encounters and exchanges in his diary but he also noted the titles of the printed books that he read during his stay in Istanbul. He read *Relation contenant l’histoire de l’Academie Françoise* (published in 1672) by Paul Pellisson-Fontanier (d. 1693), a book that Jean-Baptiste Chardin (or Sir John Chardin, d. 1713) brought to the Ottoman capital from Paris.²⁶ Other books that Galland read and recorded in his diary were *Hexaméron rustique* (Paris, 1670) by François de La Mothe Le Vayer (d. 1672);²⁷ *Le couronnement de Soleïman troisième roi de Perse* (Paris, 1671) by Jean-Baptiste Chardin;²⁸ *La vita è un sogno* (Bologna, 1663) by Giacinto Andrea Cicognini (d. 1651);²⁹ *Abrégé de la vie de*

²⁴ On d’Arvieux see Warren H. Lewis, *Levantine Adventurer*; Elizabeth Sirriyeh, “The Memoires of a French Gentleman in Syria: Chevalier Laurent d’Arvieux (1635-1702),” *Bulletin (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies)* 11/2 (1984): 125-39.

²⁵ Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 71 and 133. P. Hieronymo Xavier, *Dāstān-i Masīh. Historia Christi... Redditi & Animadversionibus notate a Ludovico de Dieu (Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden, Netherlands]: Ex officina Elseviriana, 1639)*. For a recent study on this work and its author see Gulfishan Khan, “Late 16th- and Early 17th-Century Contestations of Catholic Christianity at the Mughal Court,” in *Constructing Indian Christianities: Culture, Conversion and Caste*, ed. Chad M. Bauman and Richard Fox Young (London: Routledge, 2014), 61-85.

²⁶ Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 149.

²⁷ Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 144.

²⁸ Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 149.

²⁹ Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 207.

Monsieur Daillé (Paris, 1670) by Adrien Daillé (d. 1690);³⁰ *Cæsarea Legatio Comititis de Leslie* (Vienna, 1668) by Paul Taffener (d.?) and *Commentarii de Augustissima Bibliotheca Cæsarea Vindobonensi* (Vienna, 1669) by Petrus Lambecius (d. 1680).³¹ These records indicate that although he was in Istanbul, Galland had a chance to read the books that were recently published in the European capitals.

While “Turkish” mathematicians, astronomers, and chemists that Galland mentioned in his diary showed keen interests in the European scientific achievements of the age, many Europeans, including Galland himself, sought ways to benefit from the knowledge produced in the Ottoman lands. Levinus Warner, the Dutch diplomat-scholar who stayed in Istanbul from 1644 until his death in 1665, for instance, diligently collected hundreds of manuscripts, including some of the valuable works from the private library of Katip Çelebi (d. 1657) and sent them to Leiden University where he was once a student of the professor of Arabic Jacobus Golius (d. 1667).³² In addition to acquiring manuscripts, some of the western residents of the empire translated Ottoman texts into major European languages. To give but a few examples only in the field of history, *Fezleke-i Tevârih*, a chronicle of Ottoman history, was translated into English as soon as its author, Katip Çelebi, completed it around 1655.³³ Giacomo Tarsia, a dragoman at the Venetian embassy in Istanbul, translated the contemporary historical account of Vecîhî into Italian in 1675 under the title of *Relatione delli successi nell imperio Ottomanno...*³⁴ In 1680, Giovanni Battista Podestà (d. 1703), a professor of oriental languages

³⁰ Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 199.

³¹ Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 2: 12-3.

³² For a recent study on Warner and his manuscript collection see Arnoud Vrolijk, et al. *Turcksche boucken: de oosterse verzameling van Levinus Warner, Nederlands diplomaat in zeventiende-eeuws Istanbul = the Oriental Collection of Levinus Warner, Dutch Diplomat in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul* (Eindhoven: Lecturis, 2012). When he died, Warner was buried in Istanbul in the Protestant Cemetery in Feriköy. See Alexander H. de Groot, “Old Dutch Graves at Istanbul,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 5 (1973): 7 [5-16].

³³ Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, 63.

³⁴ Ziya Akkaya, “Vecîhî ve Eseri,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 7/3-4 (1959): 544 [533-60].

at the University of Vienna and one of the dragomans of the Habsburg emperor, partly translated Mühürdâr Hasan Agha's *Cevâhirü't-Tevârih* into Latin only five years after its completion.³⁵ It was also in the same year that Franz de Mesgnien Meninski (d. 1698), a Polish diplomat and the chief translator of Oriental languages in the court of the Habsburg emperor, published the first volume of his *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium*.³⁶

The records in the diary of Galland and the above-cited translations offer substantial evidence to perceive the Ottoman capital in the second half of the seventeenth century as a suitable place for intellectual exchange and dialogue between different ethnic and religious groups and people. It should also be noted here that the Ottomans in the seventeenth century did not seek ways to impose religious conformity in their domains. They aimed to find the means to profit from the rich human capital of the empire. Gábor Ágoston demonstrated earlier that benefitting from cultural and commercial ties and contacts with various communities living in the empire with Europe and Asia was a well-calculated Ottoman policy to gather intelligence for their far-reaching political and economical designs.³⁷ Rhoads Murphey also highlighted in one of his studies that the Ottoman sultans kept a group of paid retainers, known as the *tâife-i efrenciyân* or the "Frank/western corps," in their milieus to keep up with the latest advancement in Europe in the military and civil spheres.³⁸

³⁵ *Annalium Gemma auctore Hasan Aga Sigilli Custode Kupurli, seu Cypri Ahmed Bassae, Supremi Vizirii Mehmed Quarti Turcarum Tyranni, ... ex turcico Idiomate in latinum translata et diversis notis ac reminiscentiis illustrata a Joanne Podesta, S. C. R. Majestatis a secretis 1680*. See Franz Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*, trans. Coşkun Üçok (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992), 239.

³⁶ Francisci à Mesgnien Meninski, *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium*... (Viennæ, 1680). The numerous editions and translations of Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1668) also indicate the interest of the Europeans to have reliable information about the Ottoman state and society in the second half of the seventeenth century. Rycaut's work was translated into French in 1670, into Italian in 1672, and into Polish in 1678. See Palmira Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans: Sovereignty, Territory, and Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 66.

³⁷ Gábor Ágoston, "Information, Ideology, and Limits of Imperial Policy: Ottoman Grand Strategy in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry," in *The Early Modern Ottomans. Remapping the Empire*, ed. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 75-103.

³⁸ Rhoads Murphey, "The Ottoman Attitude towards the Adoption of Western Technology: The Role of the *Efrenci* Technicians in Civil and Military Applications," in *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman*, ed. J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont and P. Dumont (Louvain: Peeters, 1983), 287-98.

This part of the dissertation will contribute to the existing literature which demonstrates how the Ottomans pursued policies to follow technological advancements and scientific developments outside of their borders in the early modern period. It will also attempt to revise some of the arguments in the scholarship and open new venues to understand the intellectual patronage of the Ottoman rulers.

The scholarship on Ottoman printing has paid a great deal of attention to the “late” adaptation of the printing press with movable Arabic type by the Ottomans,³⁹ while failing, however, to highlight the permission granted by the Ottoman rulers for circulation of printed texts in their realms. Branton and Orazio Bandini, two European merchants, asked from the Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-1595) to grant them the permission to engage in book trade and to sell Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and Persian printed texts, whose publication they had accomplished in the European printing houses, in the Ottoman lands.⁴⁰ As soon as the sultan

³⁹ İbrahim Müteferrika (d. 1745), a Hungarian convert, founded the first Ottoman Turkish printing press with movable Arabic type in 1729 in Istanbul. For a detailed analysis on İbrahim Müteferrika’s printing house see Maurits H. van den Boogert, “The Sultan’s Answer to the Medici Press: İbrahim Müteferrika’s Printing House in Istanbul,” in *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*, ed. Alastair Hamilton, Maurits H. van den Boogert, and Bart Westerweel (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 265-292; Franz Babinger, “18. Yüzyılda İstanbul’da Kitabiyat,” and İbrahim Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu ve Başlangıcı” in *Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004); Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746)* (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2006). For a discussion on the “late” adaptation of the Ottoman-Turkish printing see Orlin Sabev (Orhan Salih), “In Search of Lost Time: How ‘Late’ was the Introduction of Ottoman-Turkish Printing?” in *Europa und die Türkei im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2011), 447-56. İbrahim Müteferrika was not the first Muslim Ottoman to mention about the benefits of printing. In his historical account İbrahim Peçevi (d. circa 1650) had already emphasized the speed that printing press would bring to produce books. See Shefer-Mossensohn, *Science among the Ottomans*, 98-99.

⁴⁰ Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netayic ül-Vukuat: Kurumları ve Örgütleriyle Osmanlı Tarihi*, ed. Neşet Çağatay (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1992), vol. 3-4: 147-8. Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı I: Müteferrika Matbaası* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1939), 22-24; Günay Alpay Kut, “Matba’a,” *EP* 6 (1989): 799. The attempt of Branton and Orazio Bandini was the not first and only European commercial endeavor to print texts with Arabic script. Paganino de Paganinis, a Venetian printer, attempted earlier in the 1540s to sell printed copies of the Qur’ān in the Ottoman domains. His commercial venture, however, ended with bankruptcy. See G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 20-21. Although not commercial in nature, there was also a Turkish Bible project in England in the mid-seventeenth century. See Noel Malcolm, “Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg, and the Translation of the Bible into Turkish,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 87/3 (2007): 327-362. In his memories, Galland mentions that he saw a printed copy of Ibn Sina’s al-Kānūn in the book markets in Istanbul. The French orientalist surprised to see that no one wanted to buy it. He wrote that instead of printed books, people preferred to acquire manuscript copies even for higher prices. İbrahim Müteferrika’s printing press that he established in the first half of the eighteenth century did not also alter this attitude. See Shefer-Mossensohn, *Science among the Ottomans*, 101.

granted them this privilege in late 1588 with an imperial decree, they -most probably in order to have a freer hand in their trade- reproduced the copy of the decree at the end of an Arabic book on Euclidean geometry which they published in Rome in 1594.⁴¹

As discussed earlier, the scholarship also fails to adequately incorporate the activities of the non-Muslim Ottomans into mainstream intellectual history. The large communities of the Armenians, Greeks, and Jews living in the Ottoman Empire had strong familial, commercial, and cultural connections with Europe and it was chiefly due to these connections that they were rather quick to adopt new ideas, methods, and technologies.⁴² Sephardic Jews, for instance, pioneered in bringing many European innovations in the fields of the printing press, medicine, weaponry, and banking to the Ottoman lands.⁴³ To give but one example, David and Samuel ibn Nahmias, two Sephardic Jewish brothers who received their skills in the Iberian Peninsula and fled to the Ottoman Empire after their expulsion from Spain in 1492, established the first Hebrew printing house in Istanbul in 1493. Just a few years later, another press to print Jewish texts was put to work in Ottoman Salonika.⁴⁴ These printing-houses and others that were

⁴¹ "... vilâyet-i Frengistandan ticâret için ba'zı metâ' ve 'arabî ve fârisî ve türkî basma ba'zı mu'teber kitâblar ve risâleler getürüb memâlik-i mahrûsemde kendü hallerinde bey' ve şirâ iderlerken ba'zı kimseler yolda ve izde ve iskele ve mu'abberelerde fuzûlî yüklerin yıkub denklemin bozub içinden beğendükleri akmişe vesâir emti'a kısmını akçesüz ve cüzî bahâ ile cebren alub ve 'sizde 'arabî ve fârisî kitâblar nîyler' deyü ticâret için getürdükleri cemî'i kitâblarını ellerinden alub bahâsın vormeyüb ve kendülerin ve vekilllerinin ve adamlarının bey' ve ticâretlerine mâni' oldukların bildirüb... buyurdum ki hük-m-i şerîfimde her kanginiz taht-ı hükûmetinde dâhil olurlar ise yolda ve izde ve menâzil ve merâhilde ve iskelelerde ve mu'abberede kendü hallerinde emn ü emân üzere bey' ve şirâ ve ticâret iderlerken hâricden bir ferdi metâ'larına dahl ittirmeyüb ve sâhibinin rîası olmadan cebren bir nesnelerin ve ol makûle kitabların gasb ittirmeyüb her ne alurlar ise hüsn-i rızâlarıyla bey' idenlerden bi't-tamâm değer-bahâlarıyla aldurub... " in *Kitâb Tahîr Uşûl li-Uqlîdis min ta'lîf Khwajah Nasîr al-Dîn al-Tûsî = Euclidis elementorum geometricorum libri trdecim* (Romæ: in Typographia Medicea, 1594), 454. It was a common practice to publish the Ottoman imperial decrees at the beginning and the end of printed books with an aim to have public legitimacy. İbrahim Müteferrika, for instance, published the decree of Sultan Ahmed III (d. 1736, r. 1703-30), which allowed him to print books, at the beginning of the *Tercüme-yi Sıhahî'l-Cevherî* (*Lugat-ı Vankulî*), the first text that he published in his press in 1729.

⁴² See Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," *Journal of Economic History* 20/2 (1960): 234-313. On the intermediary role of these communities see Avner Ben-Zaken, "Bridging Networks of Trust: Practicing Astronomy in Late Sixteenth-Century Salonika," *Jewish History* 23 (2009): 343-361 and Robert Morrison, "A Scholarly Intermediary between the Ottoman Empire and Renaissance Europe," *Isis* 105 (2015): 32-57.

⁴³ Şişman, *The Burden of Silence*, 22-23.

⁴⁴ On the Jewish printing houses in the Ottoman lands see Abraham Galante, *Türkler ve Yahudiler: Tarihî, Siyasî Tetkik* (İstanbul: Tan, 1947), 98-102; Yaron Ben-Na'eh, "Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire," in

established later in Izmir and Edirne helped the rapid spread of knowledge in the wide circles of Jewish society and brought new ideas and technologies to the attention of other communities.⁴⁵

Following the example of the Jews, the Armenians opened their first printing house in the Ottoman lands in 1567. Abgar Dpir Tokhatetsi of Sivas (d. c. 1572), an Armenian who perfected himself in this art in Venice and transferred his press to Istanbul, established the first Armenian printing house in the Surp Nigogos Church (modern-day Kefeli Mescid) in Edirnekapi/Istanbul.⁴⁶ Johannes Têrznc'i opened the second printing house of the Armenian community in 1587. Two other Armenians, Johannes Ankiwrac'i in 1644 and Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan in 1677, opened new printing houses in the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century.⁴⁷ In 1627, the Ottoman Greeks had their first printing house when Nikodemos Metaxás (d. 1646), a wealthy monk, brought his press and the Greek fonts from London to Istanbul.⁴⁸

In addition to their permission for the circulation of Arabic-alphabet printed texts and the establishment of printing presses by their non-Muslim subjects in the early modern period,

Jewish Journalism and Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, ed. Gad Nass i (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2001), 73-96.

⁴⁵ Between 1505 and 1520, more than a hundred books on Jewish subjects were printed in these houses. See Weiker, *Ottomans, Turks and the Jewish Polity*, 97-98. For some preliminary studies on the Jewish intellectual activities in the early modern Ottoman Empire see Joseph Hacker, "The Intellectual Activity of the Jews of the Ottoman Empire during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Isadore Twersky and Bernard Septimus (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 102 [95-136]. Shaul Regev, "Secular and Jewish Studies among Jewish Scholars of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth Century," in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, ed. Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki, and Rhoads Murphey (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 1: 241-250; Rhoads Murphey, "Jewish Contributions to Ottoman Medicine (15th-18th Centuries)," in *Jews, Turks, and Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth to Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Avigdor Levy (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 61-74 .

⁴⁶ *The Heritage of Armenian Literature. Vol. 3: From the Eighteenth Century to Modern Times*, ed. Agop J. Hacikyan, et al (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005), 44. Semavi Eyice stated that the first Armenian printing press was not established in this church. See "İstanbul'da XVII. Yüzyılda Mescide Dönüştürülen Son Bizans Kiliseleri," in *17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kültür ve Sanatı Sempozyum Bildirileri 19-20 Mart 1998* (İstanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği Yayınları, 1998), 113 [95-124].

⁴⁷ Nil Pektaş, "The Beginning of Printing in the Ottoman Capital: Book Production and Circulation in Early Modern Istanbul," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 16/2 (2015), 16 [3-32].

⁴⁸ E. Layton, "Nikodemos Metaxas, the First Greek Printer in the Eastern World," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 15/2 (1967): 140-168; See also Nil Pektaş, "The First Greek Printing Press in Constantinople (1625-1628)," (PhD diss. University of London, 2014).

the Ottomans showed flexibility in determining which works would be printed in their domains. Records indicate that the Christian monks in Ottoman Syria published an Arabic religious text in the Antonius Monastery in 1610.⁴⁹ In 1663, Paul Rycaut commissioned Abraham ben Jedidiah Gabai to print recently renewed articles of the British capitulations with the Ottoman government.⁵⁰ Sonia Anderson, who gave some details of this enterprise in her detailed study on Paul Rycaut, mentions that this short treatise was the first English work that was printed in Istanbul.⁵¹ Walter F. Weiker stated that the Jewish printing houses published texts not only in Hebrew but also in Latin, Greek, Italian, and Spanish without any censorship from the Ottoman government at a time when there was a strict ban on the publication of Jewish books in some of the European countries.⁵²

The Ottoman rulers in the early modern period placed no obstacle in the way of their non-Muslim subjects sending their children to Europe to study a variety of sciences including medicine, philosophy, and Latin classics. Many wealthy Orthodox Greek families sent their children to Venice, Padua, Rome, Bologna, and Oxford in the late sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth centuries.⁵³ The University of Padua, the Cottunian College (also in Padua), the Plangineian College in Venice, and the Saint Athanasius College (the “Collegio Greco”) in

⁴⁹ Franz Babinger, “18. Yüzyılda İstanbul’da Kitabiyat,” 51; Ami Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution: Cultural Production and Mass Readership* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 2.

⁵⁰ *The Capitulations and Articles of Peace between the Maiestie of the King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland &c. And the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire... Set forth, and Published by Paul Ricaut Esquire Secretary to his Excellencie the Lord Ambassador. Licensed by his Excellencies Speciall Order. Printed at Constantinople by Abraham Gabai chat nahat in the Yeare of our Lord 1663.*

⁵¹ Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1989), 30.

⁵² Weiker, *Ottomans, Turks and the Jewish Polity*, 98. In 1659, Menasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam’s messianic book, *Esperanca de Israel* (Israel’s Hope) was published in a Jewish printing house in Spanish with Latin fonts. See Jacob Barnai, “The Development of Community Organizational Structure: The Case of Izmir,” in *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth through the Twentieth Century*, ed. Avigdor Levy (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 42 [35-51].

⁵³ Nikolaos A. Chrissidis, “The World of Eastern Orthodoxy,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History 1350-1750*, ed. Hamish Scott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 1: 640. [626-651]. On the Greek students studied at Oxford in the seventeenth century see *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy: 300 Years after the ‘Greek College’ in Oxford*, ed. Peter M. Doll (Oxford: Lang, 2006).

Rome were among the main destinations of these young Greek students. When they returned home, they brought new ideas and materials with them. To give but one example, Theophilus Korydaleus (d. 1646), who studied in Padua, was appointed the director of the Patriarchal School at Phanar (modern-day Fener) in Istanbul in 1624. He reorganized the education in the Greek school along with the lines of the Italian colleges and introduced a new curriculum which heavily built on neo-Aristotelian ideas. In addition to other subjects, mathematics, astronomy, ancient Greek, rhetoric, and philosophy were covered in the new curriculum that he prepared. Accused of being Calvinist by the Orthodox and atheist by the Catholics, Korydalleus' unrelenting efforts to reform Greek education brought a real revolution to science and philosophical teaching that was prevalent among the Orthodox communities of the empire.⁵⁴

It was in this intellectual climate that several Ottoman scholars including Katip Çelebi, Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, Evliya Çelebi, Ebubekir Behram b. Dımaşkî, and Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede emerged and pioneered the sea change attitudes in Ottoman cultural history in the seventeenth century. These scholars benefited from this diverse intellectual climate and the support and patronage of the Ottoman ruling elite, particularly of the grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha.

4.2 Fazıl Ahmed Pasha: Patron of Sciences and Arts

In his bibliographical dictionary on Ottoman grand viziers, Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib Efendi mentioned Fazıl Ahmed Pasha as a wise and virtuous grand vizier and likened him to the viziers from the Barmakîd family.⁵⁵ This entry in Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib Efendi's work

⁵⁴ On Theophilus Korydaleus see Efthymios Nicolaidis, *Science and Eastern Orthodoxy: From the Greek Fathers to the Age of Globalization*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 132-36.

⁵⁵ “‘Akl ve rüşd ve fazileti müsellem vezîr-i Bermekî-nihâd hâtem-i şîm idi.” Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib, *Hadîkatü'l-Vüzerâ*, 109. Several Ottoman biographical dictionaries (*tezkires*) mention Fazıl Ahmed Pasha with high praise: “mahdum-ı mükerrerem Hâtem-şiyem Bermekî-‘alem,” “fâzıl-ı bî-müdanî ‘asrının hâtem-i celilü’ş-şânı,” “zât-ı vâlâ

is significant since it demonstrates not only how Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was perceived in a well-received Ottoman biographical account written a few decades after his death but also the historical consciousness of Ottoman cultural elite at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Barmakīds was an influential family who had significant power and prestige under the Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad in the second half of the eighth century. The members of this family held high governmental positions, including vizierate and governorships, and played major roles in the history of Islamic science as munificent patrons of scholarly translations and literary works.⁵⁶ Yahya b. Khalid al-Barmakīd (d. 805), a member of the family, was particularly famous for his support for translations of Sanskrit medical texts into Arabic and Persian. He patronized literary figures such as Aban al-Lāhiqī (d. c. 815) who reportedly turned many of the early works of pre-Islamic origin including *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Būdhāsaf* and the stories of Sindbad and Mazdak into Arabic verse.⁵⁷ Yahyā b. Khalid al-Barmakī also appeared in contemporary reports as the generous host of *majālis* or learned circles for scholarly discussions.

While Osmanzāde Ahmed Tâib Efendi described Fazıl Ahmed Pasha with these words, Marc D. Baer depicted the grand vizier as one of the leading religious reformers and revivalists who had an apparent anti-Christian and anti-Jewish stance. Baer claimed that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, along with Mehmed IV, Hadice Turhan Sultan, and Vâni Mehmed Efendi, was the figure behind the so-called Islamization of the Ottoman capital after the Great Fire in 1660.⁵⁸ Noting

cenâb,” “vüzerâ sudurunun fahr-i devleti ve eshiyâ-yı cihânın âb-ı ruy-ı midhati.” See Sâlim Efendi, *Tezkiretü’ş-Şu’arâ*, ed. Adnan İnce (Ankara: AKMY, 2005), 198, 549, and 563; “âb-ı ruy-ı vüzerâ,” “âb-ı ruy-ı vüzerâ-yı pîşîn.” See Mustafa Safâî Efendi, *Tezkire-i Safâî*, ed. Pervin Çapan (Ankara: AKMY, 2005), 176, 362, 470, and 540.

⁵⁶ On the Barmakīds see Clifford Edmund Bosworth, “Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar al-Kirmānī and the Rise of the Barmakids,” *Bulletin of the School Oriental and African Studies* 54 (1994): 268-82.

⁵⁷ On the cross-cultural intellectual patronage of the Barmakīds see Kevin van Bladel, “The Bactrian Background of the Barmakids,” in *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes*, ed. Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 43-88, particularly 74-86.

⁵⁸ Marc D. Baer, “The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul,” and Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*. Baer’s claim requires some chronological reconsideration since neither Fazıl Ahmed Pasha nor Vâni Mehmed Efendi were in Istanbul until the fall of 1661. Şişman stated that “the Kadızadeli

an improved and dynamic politico-military life, Baer maintained that it was the intensified religious zeal and fervency of the Ottoman ruling elite, which they experienced under the influence of the Kadızâdeli preacher Vâni Mehmed Efendi, that played a crucial role in their far-reaching imperial designs both at home and abroad.⁵⁹

Instead of portraying him as a religious devotee and contextualizing almost all the political, social, and military developments in the period with a mono-causal explanation, this study argues that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was an intellectual leader who had a keen interest in western scientific products and discoveries. Several contemporary accounts which Baer did not adequately utilize in his works demonstrate that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha had western-educated non-Muslim Ottomans and some Europeans in his service and regularly kept them in his company. The grand vizier inquired of these figures about the latest scientific discoveries and political developments in Europe. Moreover, he patronized Giovanni Mascellini, an Italian physician who was in the service of the Ottoman dynasty and the Köprülü family, to publish his Latin medical treatise in Vienna in 1673. Except for a few references in Sonja Brentjes' works,⁶⁰ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's intellectual patronage has been examined so far only within the established

agenda could not be the driving force behind the sultan's decree requiring the removal of the Jews from the 'downtown' area." See, *The Burden of Silence*, 35.

⁵⁹ Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu reframed the perspective that was put by Baer with terms "Ottoman confessionalization" and "Sunnitization." See Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 13-14 and 173-4. Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the Age of State-Building and Confessionalization," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London: Routledge, 2012), 86-99; Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion," *Turcica* 44 (2012-13): 301-38. It seems that Zilfi's studies provided the first firm base for the emergence of these claims. See Madeline C. Zilfi, "The Kadızadeli: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," Recent studies on the Kadızadeli movement, however, demonstrated that the religious zeal was not the main trigger behind the actions of the Kadızadeli followers. See Marinos Sariyannis, "The Kadızadeli Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon: The Rise of a 'Merchantile Ethic'?" For the critiques of Baer's book see Abdülkadir Özcan, "İstanbul'un Eminönü Semti 17. Yüzyılda mı İslâmlaştırıldı?," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 37 (2011): 206-213; Kenan Yıldız, "Doğruluğu Tartışmalı Bir Tartışma: 1660 Yangını İstanbul'un İslâmlaşmasına Etki Etti mi?," in *Osmanlı İstanbulu I: I. Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu Bildirileri 29 Mayıs – 1 Haziran 2013, İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi*, ed. Feridun M. Emecen and Emrah Safa Gürkan (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2014), 197-242.

⁶⁰ Sonja Brentjes, "Courtly Patronage of the Ancient Sciences in Post-Classical Islamic Societies," *Al-Qantara* 29/2 (2008), 428 [403-36]; Sonja Brentjes with Robert G. Morrison, "The Sciences in Islamic Societies (750-1800)," in *The New Cambridge History of Islam vol.4 Islamic Cultures and Societies to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Robert Irwin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 637 [564-639].

narrative of public duty of an Ottoman statesman without giving a reference to his contributions to Ottoman intellectual life.⁶¹ This part of the dissertation aims to demonstrate how the patronage of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha served as a catalyst for the flourishing of cultural and intellectual activities.

Beginning from the mid-seventeenth century, the Ottomans employed several western-educated Ottoman Greeks in the imperial service. These Orthodox Greeks began to replace the Jewish advisers in offering their skills on behalf of Ottoman diplomacy and commerce. William H. McNeill who discussed this development in one of his early studies suggested that it was the superiority of the education of the Orthodox Greeks that enabled them to replace the Jews in their go-between roles in diplomatic and commercial matters. “Familiarity with the world of the Latin West,” McNeill claimed, “was hard for Ottoman Jews to maintain after the generation that had fled from Spanish persecution disappeared from the scene. But in proportion as dealings with Christian Europe became critical, the Greek’s preferential access to western higher education became an important advantage for them in competition with Jews.” To McNeill, the familiarity of the western-educated Greeks with Latin Christian society and civilization supported the Ottoman power structure at critical junctures and made the Greeks invaluable to their Turkish employers when it came to dealings with the Europeans.⁶²

Panayiotis (Panagiotakis) Nikousios (d. 1673) or “Panayiotis Efendi” as the Ottoman Turks called him was one of these Orthodox Greeks who was employed by the Ottoman government. Panayiotis Nikousios was born in 1613 in Istanbul into a wealthy family. He learned Turkish, Arabic, and Persian under the supervision of Meletios Syrigos (d. 1664). At a young age, he went to study in Italy and received his education in mathematics and astronomy

⁶¹ Metin Kunt, “The Waqf as an Instrument of Public Policy,” 198.

⁶² William H. McNeill, “Hypotheses Concerning Possible Ethnic Role Changes in the Ottoman Empire in the Seventeenth Century,” in *Türkiye’nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920)*, ed. Osman Okyar and Halil İnalcık (Ankara: Meteksan, 1980), 127 [127-29].

at the University of Padua. His skills and interest in learning new languages helped him to acquire proficiency in Latin and Italian during his stay in Italy. When he returned to Istanbul, Panayiotis Nikousios worked as an interpreter in the service of several western diplomatic missions including the Habsburg and the Genoese embassies.⁶³ During his grand vizierate, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha kept him in his company to benefit from his language skills and expertise in European politics.⁶⁴ He became a *tercüman* or interpreter at the Ottoman Imperial Council in 1657.⁶⁵ He also attracted the attention of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha with the languages he knew and with his vast knowledge of astronomy, geography, and theology.⁶⁶ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha employed him as an interpreter at the Imperial Council. Between 1666 and 1669, during the siege of Candia, Panayiotis Nikousios was with the grand vizier in Crete as his diplomatic advisor.⁶⁷ In return for his services, Panayiotis Nikousios received a high income until his death at the imperial camp in İsakçı (modern-day Isaccea in Romania) during the Ottoman campaign

⁶³ Antoine Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 25-26 fn. 11. See also Jean Chardin, *Chardin Seyahatnamesi, 1671-1673*, 56.

⁶⁴ Eugenia Kermeli-Ünal, "17. Yüzyılda Bir Kültürel Rastlaşma: Vani Efendi ile Panagiotakis Nikousios'un Söyleşisi," in *Özer Ergenç Armağanı*, ed. Ümit Ekin (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat Yayınları, 2013), 449. Damien Janos, who studied the life and career of Panayiotis Nikousios, did not mention about his service to the Ottoman Empire prior to 1666. See Damien Janos, "Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos: The Rise of the Phanariots and the Office of Grand Dragoman in the Ottoman Administration in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005): 182 [177-96]. Bernard Lewis claimed that Panayiotis Nikousios studied medicine at Padua and employed by Köprülü Mehmed Pasha as his personal physician. See Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, 230. Damien Janos and Molly Greene, however, stated that it was Fazıl Ahmed Pasha who employed him as his private physician. See Damien Janos, "Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos," 193. Molly Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453 to 1768: The Ottoman Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 133. On the diplomatic career of Panayotis Nikousios in the Habsburg Embassy in Istanbul see Gunnar Hering, "Panagiotis Nikousios als Dragoman der kaiserlichen Gesandtschaft in Konstantinopel," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 44 (1994): 143-178.

⁶⁵ Bilgin Aydın, "Divan-ı Hümayun Tercümanları ve Osmanlı Kültür ve Diplomasisindeki Yerleri," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 29 (2007): 57 [41-86].

⁶⁶ Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 25 fn. 11.

⁶⁷ For a letter that Panayotis Nikoussios wrote to Francesco Morosini, the Captain-General of the Venetian forces in Crete see Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevahirü't-Tevarih*, 468. Panayotis Nikoussios signed the letter as "Devlet-i 'Aliyye Tercümânı Panayot" (The Interpreter of the Ottoman Empire). On the active diplomatic role of Panayiotis Nikousios during the siege of Candia see Demetrius Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire...*, trans. N. Tindal (London: Printed for James, John, and Paul Knapton, 1734), 258-262 and Aydın, "Divan-ı Hümayun Tercümanları ve Osmanlı Kültür ve Diplomasisindeki Yerleri," 77.

against the Poles in 1673.⁶⁸ Dimitris Cantemir wrote that the grand vizier was greatly saddened by the death of his intelligent dragoman and advisor and stated that Panayiotis Nikousios was a faithful servant of the empire and had an excellent character.⁶⁹ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha ordered his men to carry the dead body of Panayiotis Nikousios to Istanbul to execute his last will.⁷⁰

Alexander Mavrocordatos (1641-1709) was another Ottoman Greek employed by the Ottoman government in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁷¹ As a member of a wealthy Orthodox family,⁷² Mavrocordatos went to study at the Greek College in Rome. During his stay in Italy, he learned major European languages and developed an interest in rhetoric and theology. Mavrocordatos continued his higher education in philosophy, literature, and medicine, first in Padua and then in Bologna. In 1664, he received his diploma in medicine from the University of Bologna with a dissertation entitled *Pneumaticum instrumentum circulandi sanguinis, sive de motu et usu pulmonum* (“the Pneumatic Instrument of Blood Circulation, or the Movement and Function of the Lungs”). The mid-seventeenth century was a period of intense controversy regarding the functions of the heart, lungs, and blood vessels, a dispute that stemmed from the discovery of the circulation by the English physician William Harvey (d. 1657) in 1628. Mavrocordatos’ dissertation, where he accepted and extended Harvey’s findings and demonstrated originality in his treatment of the subject, was considered

⁶⁸ He received 63,802 akçes from the revenues of Mykonos Island. See BOA, C. HR. 106/5296. Galland and Chardin mention that his annual income totaled around four thousand *écus*. Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 104, 2: 124; Galland, *İzmir Gezisi*, 24-25; Chardin *Seyahatnamesi*, 56.

⁶⁹ “I grieve for Panagiotes in one respect only, because, having minded the *Othman* affairs more faithfully than could be require’d of a *Christian*, and also excell’d all the Musulmans in fidelity and policy, he could not be brought at his death to a due obedience to God and the Prophet; otherwise he would have deserv’d to have had his Coffin carried a whole mile on my own Shoulders.” Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire...*, 262, fn. 6.

⁷⁰ John Covell stated that Panayotis Nikousios was buried in the monastery in Chalcis that he rebuilt at his own cost. See “Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covell, 1670-1679,” 281.

⁷¹ On his life and activities see Alexandre A. C. Stourdza, *L’Europe Orientale et le Role Historique des Maurocordato (1660-1830)* (Paris: Plon, 1913); Nestor Camariano, *Alexandre Mavrocordato, Le Grand Drogman. Son Activité Diplomatique (1673-1709)* (Thessalonique: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1970).

⁷² His father, Nikolaos Mavrocordatos, whom he lost early in life, was a silk merchant. His mother, Roxandra Skarlatos, was a well-educated daughter of Skarlatos Begliktzis, a wealthy supplier of the Ottoman army.

as the most critical study on the blood circulation after Harvey's work.⁷³ He published his study in Bologna in 1664 and dedicated it to Ferdinand II de' Medici, the Grand Duke of Etruria. This publication went through four other editions, the second at Frankfurt in 1665, and the third at Leipzig in 1682.⁷⁴

Upon his return to Istanbul, Mavrocordatos taught at the Greek Patriarchal School. Although he obtained a good reputation as a physician and became a prominent figure within the upper echelons of the Greek Orthodox community, he abandoned his teaching career for a position in the imperial hierarchy.⁷⁵ First, he became the secretary of Panayiotis Nikousios. His expertise in medicine and proficiency in European languages soon helped him to receive employment in the service of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. Christos S. Bartsocas, who wrote a short biography on Mavrocordatos, stated that the grand vizier, who appreciated the intelligence and wisdom of the Greek physician, was one of the patients of Mavrocordatos. In the fall of 1673, upon the death of Panayiotis Nikousios, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha appointed him the interpreter at the Imperial Council.⁷⁶ Mavrocordatos had the privilege of wearing an ermine bonnet and riding on the horseback after this appointment.⁷⁷ Like Nikousios, he also received a high annual income from the revenues of the Mykonos Island in return for his services.⁷⁸ After this designation, Mavrocordatos began to inform the grand vizier about the latest developments in European politics. He, for instance, mentioned to Fazıl Ahmed Pasha about the recent conflict between France and the Habsburg Monarchy which arose after the kidnapping of the Prince

⁷³ S. Marketos and J. Lascaratos, "The Links between the Medical School of Bologna and the Hellenical Medical World," *Med Secoli* 2/1 (1990): 113-25.

⁷⁴ Christos S. Bartsocas, "Alexander Mavrocordatos (1641-1709): Physician and Statesman," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 28/4 (1973): 392-3. [392-95]

⁷⁵ Among the patients that Mavrocordatos treated was Dr. John Covell, the chaplain to the British ambassador at Istanbul. It appears that Covell was not satisfied with the medical suggestions of Mavrocordatos. See "Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covell, 1670-1679," 149.

⁷⁶ Bartsocas, "Alexander Mavrocordatos (1641-1709)," 394. Galland also mentions about the medical service of Mavrocordatos to the grand vizier. See Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hâtıralar*, 2: 50.

⁷⁷ Philip Mansel, *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire, 1453-1924* (London: John Murray, 1995), 138.

⁷⁸ BOA, C. HR. 106/5296; Galland, *İzmir Gezisi*, 24-26.

Wilhelm Egon von Fürstenberg by the Habsburg imperial forces in February 1674.⁷⁹ While having an official post in the Ottoman government, Mavrocordatos continued to hold offices in the Orthodox Patriarchate. He became Grand Orator, Grand Chartophylax, Grand Skevophylax, and Grand Logothete.⁸⁰ He also made efforts to revive learning among the Ottoman Greeks by writing several works that were not exclusively related to medicine. These works, all published in Greek, included the *History of the Jews to the Seventeenth Century*, *Grammar Book on Syntax*, and *Treatises*.⁸¹ Although he became subject to restrictions and censorship of the Habsburg government several times, Mavrocordatos continued to purchase books that were printed in the European capitals during his employment in the Ottoman government.⁸² It is not surprising to see that Mavrocordatos could buy printed books from Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century. As Galland recorded in his diaries, the resident of Istanbul in the 1670s had a chance to read not only books but also newspapers published in Europe within a relatively short time of their publication.⁸³

The biographies of Panayiotis Nikousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos demonstrate that both the father and son Köprülüs employed the leading Orthodox Ottoman Greeks in the Ottoman diplomatic affairs to profit from their skills and expertise.⁸⁴ Contemporary accounts

⁷⁹ "Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covel, 1670-1679," 263. Although some of the modern authors have claimed the opposite, the Ottomans were aware of the developments in European politics in the seventeenth century. To give but one example, Katip Çelebi's chronicle had various reports on the Thirty Years War (1618-48). See Kafadar, "The City That Râlab Visited: The Political and Cultural Climate of Istanbul in the 1650s," 64.

⁸⁰ Mansel, *Constantinople*, 138.

⁸¹ Bartsocas, "Alexander Mavrocordatos (1641-1709)," 394-5. According to Galland, Mavrocordatos also wrote a treatise on the strength and weakness of the Ottoman Empire. See Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hâtıralar*, 2: 205.

⁸² Arthur Leon Horniker, review of *Alexander Mavrocordatos, Le Grand Drogman*, by Nestor Camariano, *Balkan Studies* 17 (1970): 150 [149-154]. Frédéric Bauden mentioned that Galland sent a dictionary to Mavrocordatos. See Galland, *İzmir Gezisi*, 25, fn. 58.

⁸³ Galland wrote that on February 1672 he read the newspapers that were published in Vienna less than two months ago. See Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 49.

⁸⁴ There were other non-Muslim Ottoman subjects that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha employed in the imperial service. He, for instance, sent Moshe ben Yehuda Beberi, otherwise known as Aslan Ağa (d. 1673) as ambassador to Sweden in 1669 and 1671. See Elzbieta Swiecicka, "The Collection of Ottoman-Turkish Documents in Sweden," in

reveal that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha also had scholarly meetings with them. In his account, Thomas Smith, for instance, referred to how the grand vizier made use of the language proficiency of Panayiotis Nikousios to read him ancient texts and the contemporary Latin geographical work of Blaeu: “[T]he late great and wise Vizier, Achmet, made his interpreter Panagiotti, a learned Greek, at leisure heures, even at the siege of Candia, as well as at other times, read several ancient histories to him and render them extempore into the Turkish language, and particularly Blaeus Atlas, with which he was mightily pleased, and made great use of.”⁸⁵ The following part of this dissertation will focus on how Fazıl Ahmed Pasha benefitted from the expertise of the European-educated men of letters in his intellectual milieu and extended his patronage to them.

A report that was prepared by Panayiotis Nikousios provides more details to reveal the scope and level of the scholarly debates and the close interaction of the grand vizier with the Orthodox Greeks. This hitherto little-known Greek report that was recently utilized in a study by Eugenia Kermeli-Ünal,⁸⁶ demonstrates that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha presided a meeting with the leading statesmen and scholars in the palace of Ebû Sa’îd Mehmed Efendi (d. 1662), an ex-sheikh-ul-islam and patron of sciences, in the Eyüp quarter of Istanbul in the summer of 1662.⁸⁷

Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West, ed. Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki, and Rhoads Murphey (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 2: 51. [49-62].

⁸⁵ Smith, “An Account of the City of Prusa in Bithynia,” 440.

⁸⁶ Eugenia Kermeli-Ünal, “17. Yüzyılda Bir Kültürel Rastlaşma: Vani Efendi ile Panagiotakis Nikousios’un Söyleşisi,” 446-457. Osman Ergin, although inaccurately, referred to this report in his 1977 work. See Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi* (İstanbul: Eser Kültür Yayınları, 1977), vol. 1-2: 741, fn. 2. For a near-contemporary abridged French edition of this report see Édouard de la Croix, “Dialogue de Panayotti Nicussio Interprete de la Porte Ottomane, avec Vanni Efendi Docteur de l’Alcoran, & Predicateur ordinaire de Sultan Mehemet IV. Sur les principaux points de la Religion Crétienne,” in his *La Turquie cre’tienne, sous la puissante protection de Louis le Grand, protecteur unique du christianisme en Orient...* (Paris: Pierre Herissant, 1695), 381-401. The same account was also appeared in the author’s *Etat present des Nations et Eglises Grecque, Armenienne et Maronite en Turquie* (Paris: Pierre Herissant, 1715), 247-260. Dimitri Cantemir (d. 1723) also referred to this debate in his *History* and mentioned that a detailed account of it was also printed in Venice at that time. See *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*, 262, fn. 6.

⁸⁷ Ebûsaid Mehmed Efendi was a member of influential Hoca-zâde family. He held the post of the sheikhulislam three times between 1644 and 1655. Among the leading intellectual figures, he patronized was Katip Çelebi. See Hagen *Bir Osmanlı Coğrafyacısı İşbaşında*, 72. Naima recorded in detail that the palace of Ebûsaid Mehmed Efendi including his library was looted in May 1655 by janissaries, sipahis, and the mob of Istanbul on the eve of the execution of the grand vizier İpşir Mustafa Pasha. See *Tarih-i Nâimâ*, 4: 1612-3. Muhibbi also mentioned of the looting without mentioning about the library. See Muhammad Amin al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat al-athar fi a’yan al-qarn al-hadi ‘ashar* (Cairo: al-Matba’ah al-Wahbiyah, 1284 [1867-8]), 1: 129.

After the meeting, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, Vâni Mehmed Efendi, and a few other high officials entered the great family library of Ebû Sa'îd Mehmed Efendi in which more than 10,000 manuscripts, printed books, and some scientific instruments were preserved.⁸⁸ Two large terrestrial and celestial globes, most probably made by the renowned Flemish cartographer Gerard Mercator (d. 1594), attracted the attention of the grand vizier. He asked Vâni Mehmed Efendi to explain the meanings of the drawings on the globes. Vâni Mehmed Efendi answered his questions, but when Fazıl Ahmed Pasha sought for more sound and detailed explanations, Ebû Sa'îd Mehmed Efendi recommended him to consult with Panayiotis Nikousios. Upon this recommendation, the grand vizier requested Ebû Sa'îd Mehmed Efendi to allow him to bring the globes to his palace to examine them carefully. In the meantime, he invited Panayiotis Nikousios to his palace and asked him questions about geography and astronomy until the sunrise.

Panayiotis Nikousios' report revealed that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha had an interest in learning about antipodes, antiscii, celestial spheres, and the role of meridian and equator in calculating the longitudes and latitudes of cities. Panayiotis Nikousios informed him and other attendees in the meeting on how contemporary geographers improved their skills to measure the earth. He stated that explorers and mapmakers found previously unknown places and archipelagos such "Nova Zembla" (Novaya Zemlya in modern-day northern Russia) in the Arctic Ocean. Panayiotis instructed the attendees in the meeting about kingdoms and islands in the Indian Ocean and told them about the discoveries of Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci. Although they all listened to him carefully and were impressed with his vast knowledge, Vâni Mehmed Efendi opposed Panayiotis when he mentioned that there were settlements in the American continent. Based on the writings of Ptolemy, Vâni Mehmed Efendi claimed that there

⁸⁸ It was the library of the prolific sheikh-ul-Islam Hocazâde Sa'deddin Efendi (d. 1599), one of the figures behind the construction of Takiyüddin's observatory in Galata. See Aydın Sayılı, *The Observatory in Islam*, 289.

was not a populated place beyond the “Blessed Islands” (modern-day Canaries).⁸⁹ To refute the argument of Vâni Mehmed Efendi, Panayiotis replied that when Columbus and Vespucci discovered the “New World,” they realized that people already inhabited it well before they reached its coasts. At the end of the meeting, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha appreciated the knowledge of Panayiotis and rewarded him with gold.⁹⁰

Other records indicate how Panayiotis Nikousios was active in the intellectual life of the period and was willing to cooperate with the Muslim Ottomans in their scholarly pursuits. Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi reports that in 1670 when he embarked upon writing a study on the history of Istanbul, Panayiotis Nikousios provided him with some Greek and Latin historical texts. Since he did not have reading proficiency in these languages, Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi asked his friend Ali Ufkî Bey (Albertus Bobovius/Wojciech Bobowski), a Polish-born renegade who served the Ottomans as the second translator in the Imperial Council in 1670,⁹¹ to translate these texts into Ottoman Turkish. It was after this intellectual exchange and cooperation with Panayiotis Nikousios and Ali Ufkî Bey that Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi could write his history of Istanbul.⁹²

⁸⁹ On Ptolemy and his understanding of geography see Germaine Aujac, “The ‘Revolution’ of Ptolemy,” in *Brill’s Companion to Ancient Geography: The Inhabited World in Greek and Roman Tradition*, ed. Serena Bianchetti, Michele R. Cataudella, and Hans-Joachim Gehrke (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 324. On the popularity of Ptolemy in Ottoman geography tradition see Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 20-21.

⁹⁰ Kermeli-Ünal, “17. Yüzyılda Bir Kültürel Rastlaşma,” 454.

⁹¹ On Ali Ufkî Bey see Şükrü Elçin, ed. *Ali Ufkî: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Mecnûa-i Sâz ü Söz* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1976); Hannah Neudecker, “Wojciech Bobowski and his Turkish Grammar (1666): A Dragoman and Musician at the Court of Sultan Mehmed IV,” *Dutch Studies-NELL* 2 (1996): 169-92.

⁹² “‘El-bâbü’t-tâs’i fî zikr-i devlet-i padişâhân-ı Rûm der İstanbul ve ahvâlihim ‘alâ sebîli’l-icmâl’... Ve şehr-i Kostantiniyye binâ eyledüğü ve Rum kayserleri ne mikdâr zamân-ı hükûmet eylediler ve Ayasofîyye-i kebîri binâ eyleyen kimdir vesâir âsâr-ı kadîmelerin dürrust rivâyetlerini bu hakîr Hüseyin el-mulakkab bi-Hezârfen kütüb-i tevârihde mufasssal, müctemi‘ muhtasar zikirlerin görmekle bâni-i İstanbul zamânında fâtiḥ-i İstanbul olan ebu’l-feth el-mağâzî Sultan Mehemmed Hân al-gâzî fethine gelince zabd eyleyen doksân ‘aded kayserlerin Yunân ve Lâtîn lisânı üzere tahrîr olunmuş tevâriḥ kitâblarına memâlik devlet-i ‘aliyye-i âl-i ‘osmânînin Dîvân-ı hümayunda baş tercümân olan Panâyot nâm zimmiden kütüb-i mezkûr tahsîl ve Türkî lisân üzere tercümesinde... ve şevk ile semend-i himmet-i sevk olundu. *İzâ erâdallâhu şey’en hayyeel esbâbehû* mefhûmunca harem-i hâss-ı hümayunda sipâhîlik ile çıkdıkda tercümân-ı sâni olan ‘Ali Bey şahsıyla mukârenet vâki‘ olıcak fenn-i tevâriḥe vâkıf ve Yunân ve Lâtîn lisanları dekâyikine ‘ârif bir kâbil-i vücûd olduğundan gayri Türkî ta‘bîre dahî kudreti kemâlde olmağın kütüb-i mezbûrı okuyub takrir itdirdükten sonra mu’tâda te’emmül ile müverrihin murâdını edâ ider ‘ibâret tahrîri

Panayiotis Nikousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos were not the only western-educated members in Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's intellectual circle. Giovanni Mascellini (d. 1675), an Italian medical doctor from Urbino, had close relations with the grand vizier and his family. He served Fazıl Ahmed Pasha and his mother Ayşe Hanım in his capacity as a physician.⁹³ Like Panayiotis Nikousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos, Mascellini studied medicine at Padua. As soon as he gained his diploma in 1637 at the age of twenty-five, he went to Istanbul and began to treat patients from the Venetian community of the city. After serving Andrea Soranzo, the Venetian *bailo* in the Ottoman capital, for a few years, he went to Wallachia to take up employments in the courts of Matthew Basarab (d. 1654, r. 1632-54) and Constantine Şerban Basarab (d. 1682, r. 1654-8).⁹⁴ During his employment at the Wallachian court as the royal physician, Mascellini married Gioia Skovgaard, the daughter of Hans Anderson Skovgaard who was the Danish physician of the Moldavian prince Vasile Lupu (d. 1661).⁹⁵ In the 1660s, Mascellini returned to Istanbul and began to offer his medical treatment to Ottoman dignitaries of the first rank. Not surprisingly, he befriended several western diplomats and residents of the city including Paul Rycaut, his next-door neighbor in Pera.⁹⁶ In 1669, Mascellini went to Crete to treat Fazıl Ahmed

üzere..." See Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Tenkîh-i Tevârih-i Mülûk*, İÜNEK, 2396, fol. 220a. Cf. Robert Anhegger, "Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi'nin Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatına Dair Mülâhazaları," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 9 (1951), 368 [365-393]. For a recent study on Hezârfen Hüseyin and his work on the history of Istanbul see Cumhuriyet Bekar, "A New Perception of Rome, Byzantium and Constantinople in Hezarfen Hüseyin's Universal History," (master's thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2011). Panayiotis Nikousios also sent several books, among them a Greek account on the ideas of the ancient philosophers, to the French ambassador Nointel. See Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hâtıralar*, 1: 159.

⁹³ On several occasions, Galland mentions the services of Mascellini to the grand vizier and his mother. See Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hâtıralar*, 1: 102-103; 2: 50, 52, and 69. See also Topçu, "Osmanlılar Döneminde Güçlü Bir Kadın Bani: Köprülü Ayşe Hanım," 45. Archival documents confirm the service of Mascellini to the grand vizier and his family. See BOA, AE. IV. Mehmed 10/1006 and BOA, İE. SH. 1/14.

⁹⁴ Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, 235-36.

⁹⁵ Cristian Luca, "The Professional Elite in Mid-Seventeenth Century Constantinople: The Danish Physician Hans Andersen Skovgaard (1604-1656) in the Last Decade of His Life and Career," in *Social and Political Elites in Eastern and Central Europe (15th -18th Centuries)*, ed. Cristian Luca, Laurențiu Rădvan, and Alexandru Simon (London: UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies, 2015), 154 [147-156].

⁹⁶ Rycaut mentioned him as "a worthy Learned man, a good Christian, and my intimate Friend" and maintained constant correspondence with letters. See Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 240; Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, 235.

Pasha.⁹⁷ At the end of the Crete campaign, he accompanied the grand vizier on his journey back to Istanbul.⁹⁸ Satisfied with his medical treatment, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha recommended the sultan to have Mascellini in his retinue during the imperial campaign against the Poles in 1672-73.⁹⁹ In 1674, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha also sent him to the Crimea to treat the Tatar Khan Selim Giray (d. 1704).¹⁰⁰ Mascellini's employment in the services of the high-ranking Ottoman dignitaries did not stop him from pursuing his intellectual activities. He prepared a brief Italian *relazione* on the political conditions of the Ottoman Empire¹⁰¹ and wrote two medical treatises in Latin, one on the fundamentals of medicine and the other on the plague. As an exceptional case to show the extent of the intellectual patronage of the Ottoman ruling elite in the second half of the seventeenth century, Mascellini stated that he wrote these Latin medical treatises under the patronage of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha.¹⁰² What is more interesting, Mascellini published the first medical treatise in Vienna in 1673 with two dedication pages, one in Latin and the other in Ottoman Turkish, to the grand vizier. The second medical treatise he wrote, however, remained in its manuscript form at the Biblioteca Oliveriana Pesaro.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ Based on the Venetian archival sources, Robert Mantran argued that some drugs were carried from Venice to cure the illnesses of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha in 1670s. It was most probably Mascellini who recommended the grand vizier to use these drugs for his treatment. See Mantran, *17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul*, 2: 99-100.

⁹⁸ Anderson informed us that Mascellini's own narrative of this expedition and account of events in Edirne in the autumn of 1670 are kept by the Gennadius Library in Athens (MS 248 -Phillipps MS 17732-, fols. 202-8). See Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, 236. For the travel expenses of Mascellini see BOA, İE. SH. 1/14. In July 1670, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha ordered the *defterdâr* Yusuf Efendi to meet the travel expenses of another physician named Antuan. See BOA, İE. SH. 1/37.

⁹⁹ John-Paul A. Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, 112. See also Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, 235-236. The Ottoman imperial treasury met the expenditures of Mascellini during the Ottoman campaign. See Halime Doğru, *Lehistan'da Bir Osmanlı Sultanı: IV. Mehmed'in Kamanıçe-Hotin Seferleri ve Bir Masraf Defteri* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), 110. See also BOA, İE. SH. 1/39.

¹⁰⁰ Rychaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 240.

¹⁰¹ Mascellini, "Breve Relazione dell' Imperio Ottomanno nell'anno 1668." Although it remained in its manuscript form, Mascellini's political treatise was circulated among the western diplomats in Istanbul. See Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, 236 and Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, 112. A copy of the manuscript is kept among the Ranuzzi family manuscript collection today in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin, vol. Ph 12909.2.

¹⁰² Joannes Mascellinus, *Artis Medicæ, quæ continet methodum et praecepta universalia ad medicinam faciendam, Summarium* (Viennæ, Austiræ: Typis Michaelis Thurnmayer Universitatis Typographi, 1673).

¹⁰³ It was entitled "Innanis et Vere Preservationis A Peste Apologia." See Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, 236.

In this hitherto neglected 83-page long Latin treatise, Mascellini mentioned about his patron Fazıl Ahmed Pasha with these words: “Illustrissimo et Gloriosissimo domino Achmet Passia Potentissimi Ottomani Imperatoris Supremo Ministro & Consiliario” (“To the Illustrious and Glorious Ahmed Pasha, the Supreme Minister and Counselor of the Powerful Ottoman Emperor”). In the second Ottoman dedication page, the Italian physician praised the grand vizier and thanked him for accepting him to his patronage and intellectual circle.¹⁰⁴

In 1675, two years after the publication of Mascellini’s work, John Covell recorded an important note in his diary which illuminates the interest of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha in European cultural products.¹⁰⁵ Covell wrote that the grand vizier sent one of his messengers to Giacomo Quirini, the Venetian *bailo*, before the beginning of the royal circumcision festival and the royal wedding ceremony in Edirne in 1675.¹⁰⁶ Knowing that the sultan was fond of performances,¹⁰⁷ the grand vizier asked Quirini through his messenger to send opera performers from Venice

¹⁰⁴ *Hâzâ risâle-i ‘ilm-i tıbb*. Devletlû ve merhametlû sultanım hazretlerinin hakpây-ı şerifelerine rûy-ı mâlîde kılındıktan sonra oldum ki dâyire-i efendime lâıyık sâyir bendelerimiz gibi bende oldum. ‘Uhdeme bir deyn-i ‘azîm eyledim ki cümle hayatımı harc eylesen edâsına kâdir olamam. Ve bundan ekrem ve eşref ne şey vardır ki râgıb olam. Şeref-i hidmetinizden gayri öyle bir dâyire-i ‘azîmine cemî’ âlem intisâbına ve ‘ubûdiyyetine teşnedir. Ve hidmetiniz ile müşerref olmak hayâtından ekremdir. Ve bunun içün cid ve cehd iyledim, gayr-i memnûn görmedim. Ve gayr-i müstahakk ez’ân eylemedim ki getürem ve ‘ubûdiyet idem. İllâ sa’âdet isminize ve evvel şey ki hayatımdan ekremdir ve cemî-i ‘ilm-i tıbbın bir muhtasar tasnîfidir. Fi’l-hakîka muhtasardır amma ol şey ki resm ider bî-hemtâ ve bî-misildir. Zirâ ‘ilm-i tıbbın mukaddemâtını ve esâsını resm ider. Onlar ki sıhhati hıfz ider ve sekâmeti def ider. Öyle sıhhat ki cemî-i ‘âlemin fahridir. İmdi gayr-i lâıyık görölmez illâ zât-ı şerîfinize lâıyık görölür ki sebeb-i nizâm-ı ‘âlemdir. Ricâm budur ki hayyız-ı kabulde vâkı’ ola. Hakk subhânehû ve te’âlâ sa’âdetlû ve mekerremetlû sultânım hazretlerinin vücûd-u şerîflerin hatâlardan hıfz eyleyüb sâye-i sa’âdetlerin üzerimizden dûr eylemeye. Âmin. Bende Marcellin Tabîb. See Mascellinus, *Artis Medicae*, 3-4.

¹⁰⁵ “Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covell, 1670-1679,” 202. Marquis de Nointel, the French ambassador, also reported this instance to his superiorities. See Albert Vandal, *L’odyssée d’un ambassadeur: Les voyages du Marquis de Nointel* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1900), 197.

¹⁰⁶ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha presented to the sultan, among other precious things, three manuscripts during the circumcision festival as *pişkeş* or gift. These manuscripts were a Qur’ân copied by the calligrapher Şükrullah, *Kitâbu Mahzanü’l-Esrâr ve Şeyh Nizâmî* copied by the calligrapher Şah Mahmud, and Molla Câmiî’s *Kitâbu Tuhfetü’l-Ebrâr*. See TSMA, D. 154, 2. See also Şaduman Tuncer, “The Ottoman Imperial Festival of 1675: An Attempt at Historical Contextualization” (master’s thesis, Fatih University, 2011), 113. Giacomo Quirini was the Venetian bailo in Istanbul from June 1670 to September 1675. For his official correspondences with the Ottoman authorities see Serap Mumcu, *Venedik Baylosu’nun Defterleri. The Venetian Baylo’s Registers (1589-1684)*, (Venezia: Edizioni Ca’ Foscari – Digital Publishing, 2014), 307-348. For his relazione that he read in the senate see Luigi Firpo, ed. *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al senato* (Turin: Bottega d’Erasmus, 1984), 13: 907-981.

¹⁰⁷ Contemporary Ottoman chronicles made frequent references to Mehmed IV’s strong interest in and support for various entertainments including plays, performances, and music. See, Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmed’in Edirne Şenliği (1675)* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1987), 35-41. At the end of the festival, the sultan bestowed upon great favors to the grand vizier. See Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekaiyât*, 64.

with all their scenes, costumes, and musical instruments to the royal festival. Quirini, however, apologetically replied that it was impossible to bring the Venetian performers and their scenes in time. The messenger, who did not expect to receive a negative answer, stormed and stated that nothing was impossible for the sultan. “If he will,” he said, “he can fetch your whole city hither just as it stands there; streets, houses, churches, and all.” While the messenger thus reflected his anger, he, however, failed to convince the *bailo* to send the opera and its performers for the royal ceremonies.¹⁰⁸ Instead of the Venetian opera, the attendees of the 1675 festival watched the performances of the Armenian and Turkish actors who “came from the borders of Persia” and acted “certain conceits in Persian habit.” In their plays, they “acted two drunken men, two young whores, and an old baud, and a gallant, and a souldjer; a cuckold and his three wives.”¹⁰⁹

It appears that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha saw one of the theatrical performances that were becoming increasingly popular in the Ottoman capital, particularly among the western residents of the city. Özdemir Nutku stated that the grand vizier had already sponsored a stage performance in 1665 in which actors played a battle scene. Similarly, during the 1675 festivals, several actors performed plays to commemorate the recent Ottoman military successes in Érsekújvár, Candia, and Kamieniec.¹¹⁰ Records demonstrate that the first European theatrical performance was held in 1612 in Galata by the Jesuit missionaries. These missionaries carried this performance in the Greek language to attract the attention of the Orthodox Greek population of the city.¹¹¹ Two years later, after a dinner reception at the residence of the Venetian *bailo*, several Jewish actors held another performance in which some of the Ottoman Turks also

¹⁰⁸ See Suna Süner, “Earliest Opera Performances in the Ottoman World,” in *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre I*, ed. Michael Hüttler and Hans Ernst Weidinger, eds. (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2013), 183-186 [155-222].

¹⁰⁹ “Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covell, 1670-1679,” 215-6. For the details of the 1675 festivals see Nutku, *IV. Mehmed’in Edirne Şenliği (1675)*, on the theatrical performances see 130-39.

¹¹⁰ Nutku, *IV. Mehmed’in Edirne Şenliği (1675)*, 137-8.

¹¹¹ Walter Puchner, “European Drama and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul,” in *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre I*, 225 [223-34].

contributed with their dances and spectacles.¹¹² Another recorded performance, this time in the form of a religious drama, was held by the Capuchins at the French embassy in Istanbul in 1665. Several other plays, most of them comedies and tragicomedies of Molière (d. 1673), Pierre Cornille (d. 1684), and Montfleury the Younger (d. 1685), were performed at the new theatrical stage whose construction the French ambassador Marquis de Nointel ordered in the confines of the French embassy in the capital.¹¹³

The above-cited cases offer substantial evidence to demonstrate Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's continued interest in scientific, cultural, and artistic developments in contemporary Europe. In addition to these cases, Galland recorded in his diary that when Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi came to visit Marquis de Nointel on September 16, 1673, the French ambassador showed him the portraits of Mehmed IV and Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. The ambassador told Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi that the sultan and the grand vizier commissioned a certain French painter to draw their portraits.¹¹⁴

Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's patronage and support of culture and science were not limited to western products. He placed great value on Islamic sciences, arts, and Ottoman literary works. He extended his patronage to several scholars, poets, and artisans including Abdülbâkî Ârif Efendi (d. 1713),¹¹⁵ Abdulkadir al-Baghdadî (d. 1682),¹¹⁶ Şâmî Abdülbâkî Efendi (d. 1670),¹¹⁷ Sarı Osman Efendi (d. 1678),¹¹⁸ Resul Efendi (d. 1684),¹¹⁹ Hanlızâde Mehmed Efendi (d.

¹¹² Süner, "Earliest Opera Performances in the Ottoman World," 180-181.

¹¹³ Puchner, "European Drama and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," 231-232. Galland recorded several theatrical performances that were held in the French embassy in January and February 1673. See Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 2: 4-23.

¹¹⁴ Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 2: 106. Charles Schefer informs us that Marquis de Nointel brought a painter named Quarrey with him from France. It is most probably this painter who drew the portraits of the sultan and the grand vizier. See Charles Schefer "Önsöz," in Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 4.

¹¹⁵ Mustafa Uzun, "Abdülbâkî Ârif Efendi," *DİA* 1 (1998): 195-8.

¹¹⁶ Nazif Hoca, "Abdülkadir el-Bağdâdî," *DİA* 1 (1988): 230-1.

¹¹⁷ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 438.

¹¹⁸ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 453-4.

¹¹⁹ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 511.

1685),¹²⁰ Hicâzîzâde Seyyid Abdullah Efendi (d. 1685),¹²¹ Haskefî (d. 1677),¹²² Rûdânî (d. 1094/1683),¹²³ Mezâkî Süleyman Efendi (d. 1676),¹²⁴ Zekerîyya Sükkerî (d. 1686),¹²⁵ Çatalcalı Ali Efendi (d. 1692),¹²⁶ Evliya Çelebi (d. 1684?), Ebu'l-Yusr Ali b. Abdürrahim (d. ?),¹²⁷ Fasîh Ahmed Dede (d. 1699),¹²⁸ Vânî Mehmed Efendi (d. 1685),¹²⁹ Dervîş Ali (d. 1673),¹³⁰ İshak Hocası Ahmed Efendi (d. 1708),¹³¹ Fennî Mehmed Efendi (d. 1716),¹³² Hacıoğlu Mustafa Efendi (d. 1667),¹³³ Fevzî Mehmed (d. 1679),¹³⁴ Serhaddî Mustafa Efendi (d. 1675),¹³⁵ Haylî Ahmed Efendi (d. 1686-7),¹³⁶ Nâilî (d. 1666),¹³⁷ Sâbir Pârsâ (d. 1679-80),¹³⁸ Sırrî (d. 1669),¹³⁹ Tâlib Ahmed Efendi (d. 1670),¹⁴⁰ Ünsî Abdülatif Efendi (d. 1665),¹⁴¹ Eyyübî Müezzîn Şaban Efendi (d. 1688),¹⁴² Güzelhisârî Ahmed Efendi (d. 1698),¹⁴³ Niyâzi-i Mısrî (d. 1694),¹⁴⁴ Ramazan b. Abi Hurayrat al-Cazari (d. after 1669), Nasuhpaşazade Ömer Efendi (d. 1666),¹⁴⁵ and Mirza Mustafa Efendi (d. 1722).¹⁴⁶

¹²⁰ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 520.

¹²¹ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 521.

¹²² Ahmet Özel, "Haskefî," *DİA* 16 (1997): 387-8.

¹²³ Ahmet Yücel, "Rûdânî," *DİA* 35 (2008): 184-5.

¹²⁴ Ahmet Mermer, "Mezâkî Süleyman Efendi," *DİA* 29 (2004): 515.

¹²⁵ *Sükkerî: Hayatı, Edebî Kişiliği ve Divanı*, ed. Erdoğan Erol (Ankara: AKMY, 1994), 85.

¹²⁶ Mehmet İpşirli, "Çatalcalı Ali Efendi," *DİA* 8 (1993): 234-5.

¹²⁷ SYEK, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 787.

¹²⁸ Mustafa Çıpan, "Fâsih Ahmed Dede," *DİA* 12 (1995): 213-4.

¹²⁹ Erdoğan Pazarbaşı, "Mehmed Efendi, Vânî," *DİA* 28 (2003): 458-9.

¹³⁰ M. Uğur Derman, "Dervîş Ali, Büyük," *DİA* 9 (1994): 191-2.

¹³¹ Reşat Öngören, "İshak Hocası," *DİA* 22 (2000): 533-4.

¹³² Esrar Dede. *Tezkire-i Şu'arâ-yı Mevlevîyye*, ed. İlhan Genç (Ankara: AKMB Yayınları, 2000), 416-7; Mustafa Safâî Efendi, *Tezkire-i Safâî*, 470; Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 2-3: 470.

¹³³ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 337.

¹³⁴ Özlem Ercan, "Baba-Oğul Sadrazamların Şairlere Farklı Yaklaşımları ve Fazıl Ahmed Paşa'ya Yazılan Manzumeler," *Turkish Studies* 7/2 (2012), 475.

¹³⁵ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 421.

¹³⁶ Mustafa Safâî Efendi, *Tezkire-i Safâî*, 175-176; Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 666.

¹³⁷ Ayşegül Mine Yeşiloğlu, "Nâilî," *DİA* 32 (2006): 315.

¹³⁸ *Sâbir Pârsâ Divanı*, ed. Kâzım Yoldaş (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2005), 35-7; Mustafa Safâî Efendi, *Tezkire-i Safâî*, 341.

¹³⁹ Şevkiye Kazan, "Sırrî," *DİA* 37 (2009): 129-30.

¹⁴⁰ Mustafa Safâî Efendi, *Tezkire-i Safâî*, 362.

¹⁴¹ Mustafa Safâî Efendi, *Tezkire-i Safâî*, 68-70; Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 1: 306.

¹⁴² Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 2-3: 13.

¹⁴³ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 2-3: 146.

¹⁴⁴ Mustafa Aşkar, "Niyâzi-i Mısrî," *DİA* 33 (2007): 166-9; Şeyhî, *Vekâyi 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 2-3: 93.

¹⁴⁵ Hasan Aksoy, "Ömer Efendi, Nasuhpaşazade," *DİA* 34: 59.

¹⁴⁶ Mehmet İpşirli, "Mirza Mustafa Efendi," *DİA* 30: 167-8.

Several authors also presented Fazıl Ahmed Pasha their works. Here is a list of Ottoman scholars who presented their works to the grand vizier and benefitted from his patronage:

Name of the Scholars	Their works
Abdülbâki Ârif Efendi	<i>Mecelletü 'r-râbia,</i> <i>Makâle-i Kandiye</i>
Abdulkadir al-Baghdadî	<i>Sharhu Shavâhidi Sharhi Tuhfatu 'l-Vardiyya</i>
Ramazan b. Abi Hurayrat al-Cazari	<i>Hall al-Khulasa li-Ahl al-Riyasa</i>
Ebu'l-Yusr 'Ali b. Abdürrahim	<i>Tibru 'l-Mesbûk fî Nasihati 'l-Ahyâri wa 'l-Muluk</i>
Derviş Ali	<i>Mashârik al-Anwâr an-Nabaviya</i>
Mühürdar Hasan Agha	<i>Cevâhîru 't-tevârîh</i>
Zühdi	<i>Ravzatu 'l-Gazâ/Tarih-i Uyvar</i>
Sâbir Pârsâ	<i>Sharh-i Îsâgocî</i>

Table 4. A List of Ottoman Scholars Presented Their Works to Fazıl Ahmed Pasha

In addition to his patronage of Ottoman scholars and poets, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, like his father, established numerous social and cultural buildings including several primary schools and madrasas in different parts of the empire. Here is a list of endowments of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha:¹⁴⁷

	Mosque	Madrasa	<i>Muallimhane</i> (Primary school)	Library	Inn	Bathhouse	Customs House	Water Towers	Fountains
Uyvar	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kamanice	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Candia	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1
Belgrade	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	8	17
Köprü	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Izmir	1	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	57
Istanbul	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	5	2	1	2	4	2	1	8	75

Table 5. A List of Endowments of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha

¹⁴⁷ Topçu, *Gücün Mimariye Yansıması*, 184.

4.3 Fazl Ahmed Pasha's Patronage of Translations

The scholarship on the seventeenth-century Ottoman science pointed out the crucial role of translations and adaptations made from the major European works in enriching Ottoman cultural and intellectual life in the early modern period. It also highlighted the enthusiasm and willingness of several scholars in transferring the European scientific achievements and discoveries into the Ottoman intellectual milieu.¹⁴⁸ The existing studies, however, have not yet adequately paid attention to the role of the ruling elite in encouraging, organizing, and financing of these scholarly activities.¹⁴⁹

Motivated by their natural curiosity and available financial means, several Ottoman scholars translated and transferred the European scientific discoveries in the fields of astronomy, medicine, and geography into Arabic and Ottoman Turkish in the period.¹⁵⁰ As Cemal Kafadar suggested earlier, these works constituted a meaningful corpus on western science that came into existence before the so-called “Tulip Period” (1718-30), an era when the Ottoman ruling elite oriented itself towards Europe.¹⁵¹ These translations and adaptations included, but were not limited to, astronomical study of Durret (d. ca. 1650) by Köse İbrahim Efendi (d. after 1664), medical treatises of Paracelsus (d. 1541) and his followers by Salih bin Nasrallah ibn Sellum (d. 1670), and voluminous geographical work of Johannes Blaeu (d. 1673) by Ebubekir bin Behram Dımeşkî (d. 1691). In addition to being the first translations made

¹⁴⁸ See, for instance, Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyin b. Ğa'fer*; Hagen, *Ein Osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit*; Cem Behar, *Ali Ufki ve Mezmurlar* (İstanbul: Pan, 1990).

¹⁴⁹ For an exception to this statement see the forth chapter in Shefer-Mossenshon's recent study: “State in Science: On Empire, Power, Infrastructures, and Finance,” in *Science among the Ottomans*, 126-158. See also Sonja Brentjes, “Courtly Patronage of the Ancient Sciences in Post-Classical Islamic Societies,” *Al-Qantara* 29/2 (2008): 403-36; Brentjes, “The Language of ‘Patronage’ in Islamic Societies before 1700,” *Cuadernos del Cerny* 20 (2012): 11-22.

¹⁵⁰ On the transfer of the contemporary European science and technology into the Ottoman world see *Transfer of Modern Science and Technology to the Muslim World*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1992); *Science between Europe and Asia: Historical Studies on the Transmission, Adoption and Adaptation of Knowledge*, ed. Feza Günergün and Dhruv Raina (New York: Springer, 2011).

¹⁵¹ Kafadar, “The City That Râmb Visited: The Political and Cultural Climate of Istanbul in the 1650s,” 71.

from the early modern western scientific corpus into the Ottoman world, these works had another common feature: They were all supported by members of the Ottoman ruling elite, chiefly by the grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha.

The first known work that was translated from Latin into Arabic and Ottoman Turkish in the field of astronomy was Noël (Nathalis) Durret's study entitled *Nouvelle théorie des planètes* (Paris, 1635). Durret was a French astronomer and cosmographer in the service of King Louis XIII (d. 1643) and Cardinal Richelieu (d. 1642).¹⁵² Köse İbrahim Efendi, the translator of the work, was originally from Szigetvár and held an office in the Ottoman bureaucracy in his capacity as *tezkireci* (scribe). When he partially translated the Durret's work into Arabic, he showed it to the chief astronomer Müneccimek Şekîbî Mehmed Çelebi (d. 1667) before the Ottoman campaign against the Habsburgs in 1663.¹⁵³ When the chief astronomer, after an initial dislike, realized that the translation was in conformity with Ulugh Beg's astronomical tables, he approved the work and bestowed some favors upon Köse İbrahim Efendi. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu argued that it was through this partial translation that the Ottoman scientific circles were introduced with the Copernican astronomy. Mustafa Kaçar also maintained that this translation helped the Ottomans to be aware of Tycho Brahe's astronomical model and Johannes Kepler's 1627 *Tabulæ Rudolphinæ*.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Durret's study was largely a direct translation from the work of the Belgium astronomer and mathematician Philippe van Lansberge (d. 1632). On Durret and his works see Auguste Joseph Bernard, *Histoire du Forez* (Montrison: Imprimerie de Bernard aîné, 1835), 2: 29. René Taton and Curtis Wilson, ed. *The General History of Astronomy, Volume 2: Planetary Astronomy from the Renaissance to the Rise of Astrophysics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 165-166; Avner Ben-Zaken, "The Heavens of the Sky and the Heavens of the Heart: The Ottoman Cultural Context for the Introduction of Post-Copernican Astronomy," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 37/1 (2004), 6-7 [1-28].

¹⁵³ Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Introduction of Western Science to the Ottoman World: A Case Study of Modern Astronomy (1660-1860)," in *Transfer of Modern Science and Technology to the Muslim World: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Modern Sciences and the Muslim World*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1992), 69 [67-120].

¹⁵⁴ On Tezkireci Köse İbrahim and his work see Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "The Introduction of Western Science to the Ottoman World," 69-76; Salim Ayduz, "İbrahim Efendi (Tezkireci Köse)," in *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 1: 624; Mustafa Kaçar, "Tezkireci Köse İbrâhîm," *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, ed. Thomas Hockey (New York: Springer, 2007), 1: 1129.

Köse İbrahim Efendi's account was not a direct translation of Durret's study, but it was rather a compilation since the Ottoman astronomer made some changes and corrections to the text. He stated in the preface that Durret's ephemerides contained many typographical errors which made the work difficult to use.¹⁵⁵ During the winter camp in Belgrade, he recalculated the mean positions, abbreviated, and rearranged the tables based on the constellations of the zodiac and entitled this new work *Sajanjal al-aflāk fī ghāyat al-idrāk* ("The Mirror of Heavenly Bodies for Apperception").

In addition to its importance for the history of Ottoman science, the work of Köse İbrahim Efendi provides significant clues to understanding the Ottoman campaigns in a new light. Köse İbrahim Efendi recorded his astronomical observations in different latitudes and longitudes all the way from Istanbul, most probably, to the Raba River, a vast area where the distance was roughly eight degrees of latitude (40° - 48°) and twelve degrees of longitude (16° - 28°). It is safe to argue that it would be quite difficult for the enthusiastic Ottoman scholar to make his astronomical observations if he had not attended in the 1663 military campaign. Like his contemporary Evliya Çelebi, who seized the Ottoman campaigns as excellent opportunities to see new places and people, Köse İbrahim Efendi made the best use of the Ottoman military campaign for his scholarly pursuits.

Köse İbrahim Efendi's case demonstrates that the Ottoman campaigns in the early modern period offered opportunities for curiosity-driven scholars and intellectuals to enhance their knowledge.¹⁵⁶ It also illustrates how the patronage relations were entwined and multilayered. During the 1663-64 campaign, Köse İbrahim Efendi continued his astronomical observations under the patronage of Ünsî Abdüllatif Efendi (d. 1664), the *ordu kadısı* or the

¹⁵⁵ "Lâkin tab'idenler gâyet fâhiş galad tab'ittiklerinden istifâde olunmak güç idi." Köse İbrahim al-Sigetvârî, *Sajanjal al-aflāk fī ghāyet al-idrāk*. SYEK, Kandilli Rasathanesi 403, fol. 2b.

¹⁵⁶ In 1633, during the eastern campaign of Tabanıyassı Mehmed Pasha, Katib Çelebi visited bookstores in Aleppo to collect bibliographical information. He used this information in his later studies including in his famous work *Keşfü 'z-Zunûn*. See Orhan Şâik Gökyay, "Kâtib Çelebi," *DİA* 25 (2002), 37 [36-40].

high judge in the army. Ünsî Abdülatif Efendi attended the campaign as one of the protégés of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha.¹⁵⁷ By patronizing his astronomical studies, Ünsî Abdülatif Efendi indirectly extended the patronage and favors of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha to the Ottoman astronomer. The grand vizier, it seems, was also aware of the studies of Köse İbrahim Efendi since he allowed him to use one of the manuscripts from his collection.¹⁵⁸ Although there is no record of Köse İbrahim Efendi's life and career after the 1663-64 campaign, biographical dictionaries mention that in return for his services Fazıl Ahmed Pasha engineered the appointment of Ünsî Abdülatif Efendi to Damascus as the provincial judge.

Another salient case illustrating the interest of the Ottoman rulers and the intellectual elite in European scientific achievements in the period was the translation of Willem Janszoon Blaeu (d. 1638) and his son Joan Blaeu's (d. 1673) *Atlas Maior* into Ottoman Turkish. Already in 1655, Katip Çelebi (d. 1657), an Ottoman polymath and prolific author, translated the *Atlas Minor* of Gerhard Mercator (d. 1594) with the help of a French convert. Katip Çelebi utilized this translation in his magnum opus *Cihannümâ* and introduced the Ottoman readers to one of the most famous European geographical works of the early modern period.¹⁵⁹ These two translations, as Ahmet T. Karamustafa noted earlier, mark the entry of the European terrestrial atlas into the Ottoman cultural sphere.¹⁶⁰ Blaeu's eleven-volume, around three-thousand-page-long Latin *Atlas Maior*, which he completed in 1662, was, the finest and the most

¹⁵⁷ Based on the information that Köse İbrahim Efendi provided in the preface of his work (folio 2b), İhsanoğlu mistakenly identified Ünsî Abdülatif Efendi as *kadiasker* or the chief judge. The chief judges attended in the campaigns only when the sultans led the army. The chief judges of Rumeli and Anatolia who stayed with Mehmed IV during the 1663-64 campaign in Edirne and Istanbul were İsmetî Mehmed Efendi (d. 1665) and Hafız Mehmed Efendi (d. 1672). See Şeyhî, *Vekâyîü'l-fudala*, 1: 325 and 394; *İsâ-zâde Tarihi*, 87-88.

¹⁵⁸ *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu et al. (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1997), 1: 343.

¹⁵⁹ On Katip Çelebi and his geographical work see Gottfried Hagen, *Ein osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit*. For a discussion on the works of Katip Çelebi and Ebubekir bin Behram Dîmeşki's translations with a special focus on the maps that they contain see Sonja Brentjes, "Mapmaking in Ottoman Istanbul between 1650 and 1750: A Domain of Painters, Calligraphers or Cartographers?," in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies*, 2: 125-156.

¹⁶⁰ Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans," in *The History of Cartography, Volume Two, Book One: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 218 [209-27].

comprehensive atlas to date. Covering Europe, Africa, Asia, and America, and supplementing its text with 536 maps, it was the most remarkable achievement in Dutch map making of the seventeenth century. In addition to its extensive coverage, its production value, high typographic standards, the quality of its engravings, and ornamentation made it an object of luxury that was available to only a few privileged buyers.¹⁶¹ On August 14, 1668, Justin Collier, the Dutch ambassador in Istanbul, presented it as a precious diplomatic gift to Mehmed IV.¹⁶² In 1675, Mehmed IV ordered its translation into Ottoman Turkish. He assigned Alexander Mavrocordatos, a protégé of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, to carry out the translation. Although he received the help of a French Jesuit from Chios, the efforts of Mavrocordatos in translating the *Atlas Maior* produced no fruitful results.¹⁶³ The sultan, then, issued another decree and ordered Ebubekir Dîmeşkî, another protégé of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, to complete the work. Ebubekir Dîmeşkî made the translation ready in 1685 and submitted it to the sultan under the title of *Nusretü'l-İslâm ve's-sürûr fî tahrîr-i Atlas Mayor* (The Triumph of Islam and the Joy in Writing of Atlas Maior).¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ On the *Atlas Maior* see Cornelis Koeman, *Joan Blaeu and His Grand Atlas: Introduction to the Facsimile Edition of Le Grand Atlas, 1663* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1970). On its trade value see Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, "The Glory of the Blaeu Atlas and the 'Master Colourist'," *Quaerendo* 11/3 (1981): 197-229.

¹⁶² It seems that the western diplomats presented new and important scientific works and tools to the Ottoman ruling elite to establish good relation with them. The English ambassador John Finch presented the grand vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha "an incomparable perspective glasse," that is, a telescope, of 4 feet. See Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 225.

¹⁶³ George Toliaş, "Maps Printed in Greek during the Age of Enlightenment," in *Challenged Territories: Cartographies of Greece and the Levant during the Ottoman Era*, ed. George Toliaş (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2010), 126 [125-62].

¹⁶⁴ TSMK, Bağdad, 325-333. On this translation see Adivar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, 153-55; Cevat İzgi, G. J. Halasi-Kun, "The Map of Şekl-i Yeni Felemenk Maa İngiliz in Ebubekir Dîmeşki's Tercüme-i Atlas Mayor," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 11 (1988): 51-70; Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, "Cihânnümâ ve Ebûbekir b. Behrâm ed-Dîmeşkî-İbrahim Müteferrika," in *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, 1991), 121-142; Sonja Brentjes, "On two manuscripts by Abû Bakr b. Bahrâm al-Dimashqî (d. 1102/1691) related to W. and J. Blaeu's Atlas Maior," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 40 (2012): 171-192. See also Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1997), 2: 267-8. It seems that Ebûbekir bin Behram Dîmeşki received help from others including an individual named Hükmi? oğlu Bekirzâde to translate the work. See the imperial edict dated September 6, 1675 in BOA, D. MMK, 41/34. See also BOA, İE. ML. 25/2378.

Paul Rychaut, who was known for his dismissive approach to Ottoman science and learning,¹⁶⁵ found himself in a position to praise the translation of the *Atlas Maior* into the Ottoman Turkish as the “first step which the Turks have made unto Learning.”¹⁶⁶ Adnan Adıvar maintained that it was Fazıl Ahmed Pasha who most likely recommended the sultan to employ Ebubekir Dımeşkî for the translation.¹⁶⁷ In order to support the claim of Adıvar, Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi reported that the sultan heard the name of Ebubekir Dımeşkî through the agency of Fazıl Ahmed and Kara Mustafa pashas.¹⁶⁸ It appears that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, after long years of association, found Ebubekir Dımeşkî the most competent person for this important task and therefore recommended him to Mehmed IV.

Ebubekir Dımeşkî (his full name: Ebûbekir b. Behrâm b. ‘Abdullah el-Hanefî ed-Dımaşkî), as his epithet indicates, was a Damascene. He entered the patronage of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha when the pasha was the governor-general of Damascus in 1660. He participated in the 1663-64 Austrian campaign in the retinue of his patron. It seems that like Köse İbrahim Efendi who made astronomical observations during the 1663-64 campaign, Ebubekir Dımeşkî also seized the march of the Ottoman army into central Europe as an excellent opportunity to improve his geographical knowledge of the Ottoman frontiers. A quick glance at his translation of the *Atlas Maior* would reveal that he expanded the original text with his first-hand observations in the region. Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, a well-known Italian naturalist and geographer who became acquainted with Ebubekir Dımeşkî during his stay in Istanbul in 1679, realized the importance of the work and asked him for instructions in the geography of the

¹⁶⁵ See, for instance, Rychaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 55-59.

¹⁶⁶ Rychaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire, From the Year 1623*, 252.

¹⁶⁷ Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, 153, fn. 2.

¹⁶⁸ “Mevlânâ-yı merkûm dâire-i nişîn-i erbâb-ı ‘ulûm bi-tahsîs-i fenn-i riyâziyâdda mâhir olmağla dâhil-i mecâlis-i ekâbir olduğundan mâ‘adâ vezîr-i müşârun ileyh Ahmed Paşa ba‘dehû Merzifonî Kara Mustafa Paşa himmet ve terbiyeleriyle pâdişâh-ı ‘asr-ı vâran sultân Mehmed Hân ‘âlişân hazretlerinin dahî ma‘lûm-u hümayunları olub bâfermân-ı ‘âlî Coğrafya-ı Atlas nâm kitabı Lâtîn lisanından Türkîye terceme itmekle ‘Coğrafyacı Ebubekir Efendi’ ‘unvânıyla şehîr ve bu nâm ile ma‘lûm-ı sağîr ve kebîr olmuşlar idi.” Şeyhî, *Vekâyi ‘ü’l-fudalâ*, 2-3: 33.

Ottoman Empire.¹⁶⁹ In 1669, upon receiving his *mülâzemet* from Şeyh Mehmed İzzetî Efendi (d. 1681), Ebubekir Dîmeşkî became a *müderris* in Istanbul madrasas. After holding various teaching posts, including one in the Süleymaniye Madrasa between 1688 and 1690, he was appointed the judge of Aleppo on February 1690, where he died a year later.¹⁷⁰ In addition to his translation of the *Atlas Maior*, Ebubekir Dîmeşkî wrote a work on the geography of central Europe after receiving an order from the grand vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha on the eve of the Ottoman campaign against the Habsburg capital in 1683.¹⁷¹

Scholarly texts that were translated from Latin into Arabic and Ottoman Turkish in the 1660s and 1670s reflect the dynamic vision of the Ottoman rulers and the learned elite regarding the transfer of practical knowledge from contemporary Europe. It also indicates that the Ottoman rulers thought it indispensable to update the scientific accumulation of the Ottomans and their technologies in various fields. In his important geographical work that he presented to Mehmed IV in 1657, Katip Çelebi had stated that it was imperative for the Ottoman rulers to be cognizant of geographical discoveries to be successful in their political and military designs. He wrote that the Europeans reached the shores of the New World and discovered new trade routes in the Indian Oceans thanks to their sound geographical knowledge.¹⁷² It appears that

¹⁶⁹ John Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe 1680–1730. The Life and Times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, Soldier and Virtuoso* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 25.

¹⁷⁰ Şeyhî, *Vekâyî 'ü'l-fudalâ*, 2-3: 33.

¹⁷¹ “Bu ‘abd-i fakîr el-mütercim-ü kitâbü’l-Atlâs kitâb-ı coğrafya tercümesine icmâlen takayyüd üzere iken nâgâh bir dem-i huçeste mukaddemde emr-i ‘âlîlerinin sudûr-u ile pâye-i i’tibârım ferk-ı ferkadân-ı hem-ser buyurulub ‘ale’l-‘acele Engürüs ve Cermânya memleketinin şekl-i müşahhasla tahrîr ve tasvîri ile me’mûr olduğumuz ecilden...” Ebubekir Dîmeşkî, Sächsische Landesbibliothek/Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden ms. Eb. 370, 1b. Ebubekir Dîmeşkî wrote another work, *Cavalân al-Afkâr fî ‘Avalim al-Aktar*, an astronomical study on the universe. This work, however, is not extant today in the library catalogs. See *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi*, 1: 356.

¹⁷² “Hafî olmaya ki müdebbir-i kârgâh-ı devlet olanlara ilmi lâzım olan umûrdan biri fenn-i coğrafyadır, cümle küre-i arz ahvâline vukûf müyesser olmazsa bâri Memâlik-i Mahrûse sûreti serhadleri ile ve sınırı ve etrâfda sınırdaşı olan memleketler tasvîri bilinmek gerekdir ki bir yere sefer ve irsâl-i asker lâzım geldikde âna göre tedârük oluna, düşmen vilâyetine girmek ve serhadleri hıfz u hırâset tedbîrin etmek ânınla âsân olur ve bu bâbda fenden bî-haber eşhâs ile meşveret kifâyet etmez, yerlû dahi olsa zîrâ çok yerlû vardır ki kendi diyârını tahkîk ve tasvîrden acizdir ve bu ilmin lüzûmuna delîl-i kâfi ve burhân-ı vâfi bu yeter ki küffâr-ı hâksâr ol ilimlere takayyüd ve i’tibâr ile Yeni Dûnyâ’yı bulup benâdir-i Sind’e ve Hind’e müstevlî oldu.” Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü’l-Kibâr fî Esfâri’l-Bihâr* (*Deniz Seferleri Hakkında Büyüklere Armağan*), ed. İdris Bostan (Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Denizcilik

both the sultan and the grand vizier took the advice and suggestions of the leading intellectuals into consideration. On June 6, 1675, the French ambassador Marquis de Nointel send a letter to Louis XIV and informed him that the Ottoman sultan asked from scholars including Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi to prepare works consisting of the most practical and updated knowledge.¹⁷³ Archival records also reveal that Mehmed IV employed Cerrah Mustafa, a Venetian convert, to use the state-of-the-art technologies to mint coins in Istanbul.¹⁷⁴ As another record illustrating the interest of the Ottoman sultan in transferring the updated sources of knowledge and scholarly research, the chief physician Salih bin Nasrallah (d. 1669) mentioned that he began to write his Turkish medical work, *Gâyetü'l-beyân fî tedbîr-i bedenü'l-insân*, upon the request of Mehmed IV.¹⁷⁵ It was in this work that the chief physician discussed several newly identified diseases such as “hubb-ı efrencî” and “maraz-ı şî'r” and their treatments for the first time. In his other medical works, most famously *al-Ṭıbb al-jadīd al-kimyawī aladhī ikhtara'uhū barkākīlsūs* (“The New Chemical Medicine which Paracelsus Invented”), Salih bin Nasrallah

Müsteşarlığı, 2008), 61. For Ebubekir Dimeşki's similar views see Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim*, 2: 234-5.

¹⁷³ Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyin b. Ğa'fer*, 43-44. See also Brentjes, “On two manuscripts by Abū Bakr b. Bahrām al-Dimashqī (d. 1102/1691) related to W. and J. Blaeu's Atlas Maior,” 172.

¹⁷⁴ Halil Sahillioğlu, “The Introduction of Machinery in the Ottoman Mint,” in *Studies on Ottoman Economic and Social History*, ed. Halil Sahillioğlu (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1999), 88-91 [83-104].

¹⁷⁵ “Fenn-i tıbda tedbîr-i hıfz-ı sıhhat-ı mizâcımızı muhtevî bir kitâb-ı câmi'-i tasnîf ve bir mecmû'a-i müntehab-ı tertîb ve tersîf olursa ki usûl-u fenden nice kavâ'id-i celîle ve cüz'ıyyât ve furû'unda nice fevâid-i cezîleyi müştemil ve muntavî ola' deyü fermân-ı kudretvân ve kazâ ceryân şeref-i sudûr buldu. Bu hitâb-ı müstetâbı mâye-i çendîn hezâr feth-i bâb ve fasl-ı hitâb-ı 'adâ idüb fi'l-hâl min gayr-i telâh velâ ihmâl bu fenn-i celil'üş-şân bâhirü'l-burhânın kütüb-i mu'tebere ve zübür-i mutavvale ve muhtasarasından tahrîr-i zevâid vechi üzere iltikâd ve intihâb-ı fevâid olunmağla mübâşeret ve mübâderet idüb 'ulemâ-i sînâ'adan bir ferdin zikr eylemediği mücerrebât-ı 'acîbe ve mu'âlecât-ı garîbeyi ve ba'zı müfredât ki zamânımızda berûz ve zuhûr ve nice emrâz ki evânımızda hudûs ve vucûd bulmuştur. Sebt ve tahrîr olunduğundan gayri nice fevâid-i âhar dahî beyân olunmuştur ki bizden mukaddem gelen esnâf-ı tasnîfin musannefâtı fevâid-i mezkûreden hâlidir. Vechi budur ki bu sanâ'at müddet-i zamân imtidâd buldukça zuhûru ziyâde bulmaktadır. Ve dahî bu te'lîf havâss-ı müfredât ve menâfi'-i-i mürekkebât ve ba'zı emrâzın hudûsundan ki ol marazlar zamân-ı selefde vucûd bulmamağla kitâblarında tedvîn olunmamıştır. Hâlâ 'asrımızda hudûsu ve vukû'u ve husûlu vâsıl-ı rütbe-i şöhrat olmağla ânların dahi bu kitâba derc eylemeğe ihtimâm olundu. Hubb-ı efrencî ve maraz-ı şî'r ve bunların emsâli marazlar ki henüz beyân olunan vech üzere esâmîleri kütüb-i selefde tahrîr olunmamıştır. Anlar dahî teksiran li'l-fevâid ve tevfiran liz'zevâid işbu kitâbda tahrîr ve zikr eyleyüb bu kitab-ı müstetâbın ismini *gâyetü'l-beyân fî tedbir-i bedeni'l-insân* tesmiye eyledüğünden sonra...” SYEK, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 975, fols. 4a-5a.

introduced the Ottoman physicians to early modern Western iatrochemistry.¹⁷⁶ The court historian Abdi Pasha recorded that when the chief physician completed his medical text, the sultan awarded him with a sable fur coat.¹⁷⁷ It appears that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha also supported Salih bin Nasrullah since a richly ornamented copy of the *Gâyetü'l-beyân* is kept in his manuscript collection.¹⁷⁸

The translations made from the major European works into Arabic and Ottoman Turkish in the 1660s and 1670s were similar in nature to other remarkable translation movements in history, including the court-sponsored translations made from Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit into Arabic in the eighth and ninth centuries in Baghdad or from Arabic into Latin and local vernaculars in the Renaissance and Reformation Europe.¹⁷⁹ Unlike seventeenth-century Japan, where the authorities closed the doors of their country to foreigners and prohibited the circulation of books and ideas originating from Europe in their domains,¹⁸⁰ the Ottomans showed a remarkable openness and willingness to transfer the European scholarly knowledge to their intellectual repository and acted rather quickly to adapt what they thought useful and

¹⁷⁶ On Salih bin Nasrullah and his works see Esin Kâhya and Ayşegül D. Erdemir, *Bilimin Işığında Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete Tıp ve Sağlık Kurumları* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2000), 179-184; Kasım Kırbiyık, "Sâlih b. Nasrullah," *DİA* 36 (2009): 41-43; Miri Shefer, "An Ottoman Physician and His Social and Intellectual Milieu: The Case of Salih bin Nasrallah Ibn Sallum," *Studia Islamica, new series* 1 (2011): 133-158. Salih bin Nasrullah's medical work was later translated into Persian. See Shefer-Mossenshon, *Science among the Ottomans*, 109 and 133. On iatrochemistry and Paracelsianism see Lawrence I. Conrad et al, *The Western Medical Tradition 800 BC to AD 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 310-325.

¹⁷⁷ "Hekîm-başı Sâlih Efendi, bundan esbâk fermân-ı padişâhî ile lisân-ı Türkîde te'lîfine muvaffak olduğu tıp kitabını bugün huzûr-ı hümayûna 'arz idüp bir fâhir semmûr-ı fâyîzu's-sürûr ile mesrûr kılındı." *Abdi Paşa Vekayi'nâmesi*, 183.

¹⁷⁸ SYEK, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 975. For a detailed study on this copy see Zekiye Gül Elbir, "XVII. Yüzyılda Yazılmış Önemli Bir Tıp Kitabı," *Bal-Tam Türklük Bilgisi* 2 (2005): 125-37.

¹⁷⁹ There is a vast literature on these translation movements. See, for instance, Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbâsîd Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries)* (London: Routledge, 1998); George Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2007); Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia, eds. *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁸⁰ "In 1685, Mukai Gensei (1653-1727), son of Mukai Gensho (1609-77), was made chief inspector of books and banned all books that made mention of such terms as 'Catholic', 'Jesus', 'Western', 'Europe', 'Ricci', and 'Nestorian Christianity'. Gense also prohibited any work which might have a passage describing the Western hemisphere or a map showing any of the Christian countries." See Grant K. Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch 1600-1853* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000), 35. See also Rebekah Clements, *A Cultural History of Translation in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 142-6.

practical. However, although they did not ban the travel of Europeans in the imperial domains, the Ottoman government during the grand vizierate of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, carefully watched the activities of Western visitors and did not give them a free hand to exploit the Ottoman resources for their benefit.¹⁸¹

4.4 Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's Manuscript Collection

Although he left his scholarly career, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha did not abandon his intellectual pursuits. During his provincial administration and the grand vizierate, he continued to acquire manuscripts, attended scholarly gatherings, and patronized scholars, poets, and artisans.¹⁸² He placed a high value on learning and supported those who were seeking knowledge (*talebe-i 'ulûm*). To this end, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha established a library near Çemberlitaş (modern-day Divanyolu), next to his residence and donated his precious manuscripts (*kütüb-i nefise*) for the scholarly use.¹⁸³ The grand vizier's unexpected death at a young age in 1676 prevented him from preparing endowment deeds for his religious foundations including this library and the manuscripts it preserved. In 1678, two years after his death, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha prepared the endowment deed on behalf of his elder brother.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ See a copy of a firman, dated 1669, which prohibited the transfer of mud from Kağıthane stream. The firman revealed that the mud of Kağıthane provided high-quality clay, an essential raw material to cast cannons. When the British, the Genoese, and the French merchants became aware of it, they began secretly transferring the mud to their merchant vessels to bring it to Europe. See BOA, İE. AS. 12/1160.

¹⁸² For a case that demonstrates Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's desire to have the leading cultural and religious figures in his circle see his correspondence with the Sufi sheikh Atpazarî Osman Efendi. See İsmail Hakkı el-Bursevî, *Tamâmü'l-Feyz*, SYEK, Hüdâî Efendi, 455, 52b. On the close relations of the Sufi sheikh with the grand vizier see Yılmaz, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf*, 366-7.

¹⁸³ Uzunçarşılı states that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha bought the palace near Çemberlitaş from Ayşe Sultan, the daughter of Ibrahim I. See Uzunçarşılı, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, 3: 128. On the library see *İsâzâde Tarihi*, 155; Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekaiyât*, 76-77.

¹⁸⁴ İsmail E. Erünsal studied the Köprülü library management based on these endowment deeds see İsmail E. Erünsal, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi II – Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a Kadar Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını, 1991), 60-64.

The compilers of the Köprülü library's three-volume Arabic catalog maintained that the library is the home of one of the most important manuscript collections in the Islamic world.¹⁸⁵ Its unique titles and precious manuscripts written by the most talented calligraphers made the collection famous and remarkable. There are more than 1,600 manuscripts in the collection of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, classified under twenty-two different subject headings.¹⁸⁶ A preliminary analysis of the collection's inventory proves the broad spectrum of interests and intellectual horizons of its owner.¹⁸⁷

Subjects	Titles
Qira'at (The Methods of Reading of the Qur'ān)	23
Tafsīr (Qur'ānic Exegesis)	183
Hadīth	241
Usūl al-Hadīth (Principles of the Science of Hadith)	12
Usūl al-Fiqh (Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence)	61
Furū' al-Fiqh (Substantive Law)	161
Sufism and Ethics	93
Kalam (Islamic Theology)	71
Hikmah (Islamic Philosophy)	42
Mantıq (Logic)	16
Astronomy	4
Mathematics	31
Medicine	39
History	198
Literature	217
Balagha (Rhetoric)	41
Adāb al-Bahth (Dialectic)	2
Nahw and Sarf (Arabic Grammar and Morphology)	56
Dictionaries	65

¹⁸⁵ *Köprülü Kütüphanesi Yazmalar Kataloğu*, ed. Ramazan Şeşen, Cevat İzgi and Cemil Akpınar (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1406/1986), 1: 1. For an older catalogue of the library that was prepared and published in 1310-1312 [1892-1894] in Ottoman Turkish upon the order of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) see *Köprülüzâde Mehmed [sic.] Paşa Kütübhânesinde Mahfûz Kütüb-i Mevcûdenin Defteridir* ([İstanbul]: Maarif Nezâreti, n.d.).

¹⁸⁶ *Köprülü Kütüphanesi Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 1: 23.

¹⁸⁷ This list is prepared based on the entries in the modern catalog. For an older list see *Köprülü Kütüphanesi Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 1: 11-14.

Table 6. (cont.)	
Majmu'a-i Rasāil (Collection of Treaties)	54

Table 6. A List of Titles in the Manuscript Collection of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha

Since it is not possible to give all the titles in the collection, we will limit our inquiry to the medical texts. There are thirty-nine manuscripts listed in this category and here are the most important of them:

No.	Author	Title
958/1	Emir Chelebi (d. 1638)	<i>Enmüzecu't-tib</i> (Ott.)
958/2	Emir Chelebi (d. 1638)	<i>Neticetu't-tib</i> (Ott.)
959/1	Hunayn b. Ishāq (d. 873)	<i>Kitāb Theomnīstus fī al-bayṭara</i> (Ar.)
959/2	Thābit b. Qurra (d. 901)	<i>Kitāb al-bayṭara</i> (Ar.)
960/1	Ibn Jazla (d. 1100)	<i>Taqwīm al-abdān</i> (Ar.)
960/2	Ibn Buṭlān (d. 1066)	<i>Taqwīm al-siḥḥa</i> (Ar.)
961	Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043)	<i>Thimār</i> (Ar.)
962	Ishāq b. Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī (d. c. 955)	<i>Kitāb al-Ḥummayāt</i> (Ar.)
963	al-Jurjānī (d. 1137)	<i>Zakhīra-i Khārizmshāhī</i> (Per.)
964	Nafīs b. 'Ivaḍ al-Kirmānī (d. 1449)	<i>Sharḥ al-Asbāb wa al-'alāmāt</i> (Ar.)
967	Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288)	<i>Sharḥ al-Fuṣūl Abuqrāṭ</i> (Ar.)
968	Qutb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 1311)	<i>Sharḥ Qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā</i> (Ar.)
969	Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288)	<i>Sharḥ Qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā</i> (Ar.)
971	Cemāleddīn Aksarayī (d. 1388?)	<i>Ḥall al-Mūjaz</i> (Ar.)
972	Sa'deddīn al-Kāzerūnī (d. 1344)	<i>Kitāb al-Mughnī fī sharḥ al-Mūjaz</i> (Ar.)
974	Hacı Pasha (d. 1424?)	<i>Shifā al-esqām wa dewā al-ālām</i> (Ar.)
975	Ibn Sallūm (d. 1669)	<i>Gāyetu'l-beyān fī tedbīr-i bedenu'l-insān</i> (Ott.)
977	Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037)	<i>Kitāb al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb</i> (Ar.)
978	Fakhreddīn Boḡdu b. 'Alī (d. 1286)	<i>Kitāb al-Qānūn al-wāḍiḥ fī mu'ālajāṭ al-jawāriḥ</i>
979	Ishāq b. Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī (d. c. 955)	<i>Kitāb al-Aghdhiya</i> (Ar.)
980	Abu al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarī (d. 972)	<i>Al-Mu'ālajāṭ al-Buqrāṭiyya</i> (Ar.)
981/1	Ibn Hindū (d. 1019)	<i>Miftāḥ al-ṭibb</i> (Ar.)
982	Ibn Saḥnūn (d. 1294)	<i>Kitāb mufarriḥ al-nafs</i>
983	Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 1248)	<i>Al-Jāmi' li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa'l-aghdhiya</i> (Ar.)
988	Ibn Dāwūd (d. 1452)	<i>Nuzhet al-nufūs wa'l-afkār</i> (Ar.)
989	Ibn Sharīf (d. 15 th century)	<i>Yādigār</i> (Ott.)

Table 7. A List of Important Medical Manuscripts in the Collection

The Köprülü library catalog demonstrates that the oldest manuscript (no. 1507-1508) in the collection of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was *Kitāb al-Muqtaḍab*, a lexicographical work of the Arab grammarian and literary scholar Abu al-‘Abbas Muhammad ibn Yazid al-Mubarrad (d. 898). It was beautifully copied by Muhalhil b. Ahmad in 958.¹⁸⁸ The second oldest manuscript in the collection (no. 1541) is *Kitāb al-Jamharah fi’l-lughah*, a three-volume Arabic dictionary prepared by Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Durayd (d. 933).¹⁸⁹ This manuscript was copied in 964 and had the ownership mark of Mu‘ayyad al-Din Muhammad al-‘Alqami (d. 1259), the Shi’ite Imami vizier to the last Abbasid caliph al-Musta‘sim (r. 1242-58). Another ownership mark on the manuscript shows that it was transferred to the possession of the famous hadith scholar Ahmad b. Ibrahim Sibṭ ibn al-‘Ajami al-Halabī (d. 1480). The third oldest manuscript (no. 948) was a *majmu‘a* (collection) of three important treatises of the prolific Arabic scholar Thābit ibn Qurra al-Harranī (d. 901). In 981, Abu Ishaq Ibrahim ibn Hilal al-Harranī al-Ṣābī (d. 994), who was the great-grandson of Thābit ibn Qurra, copied these treatises from the original text. The first treatise in the collection was *Kitāb fī ālāt al-sa‘āt allatī tuthammā rukhāmāt* (fol. 1a-45b), a work on sundials.¹⁹⁰ The second treatise, *Kitāb fī izāḥi’l-wajh allazī zakara Batlamyūs* (fol. 46b-54b), was an explanation and clarification offered by Thābit on the arguments of Ptolemy on the motion of the Moon. The last treatise was *Maqala fī ‘amal shakl mudjassam dhī arba‘a‘ashara qā’ida tuḥīt bihī kurra ma‘lūma* (fol. 55a-578b), a unique copy of one of the geometric constructions of the author.

In addition to these unique titles, there were several autographs in the collection. Here is a chronologically ordered table that includes the name of the author, title, date, and subject of these manuscripts:

¹⁸⁸ For a modern edition of the work based on this unique manuscript see Muhammad b. Yazid al-Mubarrad, *al-Muqtaḍab*, 3 vols. ed. Hasan Hamad (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1999).

¹⁸⁹ On the author and his work see Abit Yaşar Koçak, *Handbook of Arabic Dictionaries* (Berlin: Schiler, 2002), 23-26.

¹⁹⁰ Karl Garbers, *Ein Werk Tābit b. Qurra’s über ebene Sonnenuhren* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1936).

No.	Author	Title	Date	Subject
852	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullah al-Jazari (d. 1262)	<i>al-Mukhtara’ fī r-radd ‘alā ahl-i bid’a</i>	1251	Usul al-Dīn
1101	‘Izz al-Dīn Ahmad al-Ḥusaynī (d. 1295)	<i>Şilat al-Takmila li-wafayāt al-naqala</i>	c. 1286	Biographical Dictionary
898	Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. As‘ad al-Tustarī (d. 1332)	<i>Khulasāt Mubāhathāt al-Razī wa al-Tusī ‘alā Kitāb al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt</i>	1301	Philosophy
831	Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. As‘ad al-Tustarī (d. 1332)	<i>Kāshif al-esrār ‘al- ma‘ānī tawālī al-anwār</i>	1304	Kalam
867	Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 1311)	<i>Durrat al-tādj</i>	1306	General
1484	‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Tūnisī (d. 1274)	<i>Ġāyat al- ‘amal fī sharḥ al-Djūmal li al-Zadjdjādī</i>	mid-13 th century	Arabic Grammar
1205	Yāqūt al-Musta‘şimī (d. 1298)	<i>Kitāb asrār al-ḥukamā</i>	1290	Calligraphy and Philosophy
1148-1151	Muḥammad b. Mukarram ibn Manzūr (d. 1311)	<i>Mukhtaşar Ta’rīkh Dimashk li-Ibn ‘Asākir</i>	1291-96	History
1351	Şalāḥ al-Dīn <u>K</u> halīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī (d. 1363)	<i>Faḍl al-khitām ‘an al-tawriya wa’l-istikḥdām</i>	mid-14 th century	Literature
503	Tādj al-Dīn b. ‘Alī al-Subkī (d. 1370)	<i>Mukhtaşar ibn al-Ḥādīj</i>	?	Usul al-Fiqh
1458	Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī (d. 1392)	<i>al-Tadhkira fī al-naḥwiya</i>	?	Arab grammar
1061	Şāliḥ b. ‘Umar b. Raslān al-Bulkīnī (d. 1464)	<i>Tardjama Sirādj al-Dīn ‘Umar al-Bulkīnī</i>	1416	Biography
606 and 607	Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, Ibn Amīr al-Ḥajj (d. 1474)	<i>Ḥalbat al-Mujallī wa Bugyat al-Muhtadī</i>	1465	Furu‘ al-Fiqh
527	Mehmed b. Ferāmurz b. ‘Alī, Mollā Khosrew (Molla Hüsrev) (d. 1480)	<i>Mirḳāt al-wusūl fī ‘ilm al-uşūl</i>	1446	Usul al-Fiqh
328	Aḥmad b. ‘Ismā‘īl b. ‘Oṭmān, Mollā Gūrānī (Molla Gürānī) (d. 1488)	<i>al-Kawthar al-djārī</i>	1470	Hadith

Table 8. A List of Autographs in the Collection

The manuscripts that Fazıl Mustafa Pasha donated on behalf of his elder brother constituted the first part of the modern collection in the library. Nine Qur’āns that carry the seal of the waqf of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (dated 1072/1661-62) were also recorded in this part. Köprülüẓāde Hacı (Hafız) Ahmed Pasha (d. 1183/1769) and Mehmed Asım Bey (d. 1231/1816), two other members of the Köprülü family, donated their manuscripts to the library

in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively. The most convenient way to understand which manuscripts belong to Fazıl Ahmed Pasha is to look at the long lists in the endowment deed. The second reliable way is to search for ownership marks and the waqf seals of the grand vizier. As for the ownership mark, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha usually used this formulation: “Min kütüb al ‘abd al-fakīr Aḥmed bin Mehmed Pasha al-ma‘rūf bi-Köprili” (One of the books of humble servant Ahmed, the son of Mehmed Pasha, known as Köprülü). There were two waqf seals that one can see almost on every manuscript in the collection. The first of these seals, which does not have a name and date, reads as follows: “Wa innamā li-kulli amrin mā nawā” (“And every person shall have only what he intends”). This inscription belonged to the second part of the famous hadith of the Prophet Muhammad.¹⁹¹ The second seal had a date (1088/1677-8) and the following inscription on it:¹⁹²

Hāzā mim mā vaḥafahū
al-wazīr abū’l-‘Abbās Aḥmad
bin al-wazīr abū ‘Abdullah Mehmed
‘urife bi-Köbrili eḳālallāhu
‘işāruhumā

In English translation, it reads as follows: “It is one of the pious donations of the vizier Ahmed, the father of ‘Abbas and the son the vizier Mehmed who was the son of ‘Abdullah and known as Köprülü -May Allah forgive theirs’ sins-.”

The endowment deed illustrates that the manuscript library functioned with five employees: three librarians (*hāfiz-ı kütüb*), a bookbinder (*mücellid*), and a doorkeeper (*bevvāb*). The high material value of the manuscripts in the collection made it imperative to have reliable

¹⁹¹ ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb: “I heard the Messenger of Allāh (peace be upon him) say: “Actions shall be judged only by the intentions and every person shall have only what he intends...” *English Translation of Sahih al-Bukhari*, trans. Maulana Aftab-ud-din Ahmad (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha‘at-ı Islam, 1976), 1: 1.

¹⁹² It is also possible to find the year of 1259 [1843-44] on some of the seals. See the waqf seal on the work of ‘Abd al-Wahhab ibn Ahmad al-Sha‘rani, *al-Badr al-munīr fī gharib ahādith al-bashīr al-nadhīr*, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, 254, 1b. Cf. *Yazma Eserlerde Vakıf Mühürleri*, 79.

staff. As a precautionary principle, the endowment deed made it clear that those who would be employed as librarians should be chosen among the reliable (*emin*), pious (*dindar*), honest (*müstakim*), and dignified (*sahib-vakar*) people.¹⁹³ Their salaries, like the salaries of all others who were employed in the pious foundations of the grand vizier, would be paid not in *akçes*, the official Ottoman silver coin, but in *esedî/aslanlı guruş*, the Dutch lion thaler, an alternative and more secure form of payment in the Ottoman lands in the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁴ The endowment deed stipulated that the library should be open for the public use three days a week (Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday) from dawn to sunset. It also allowed the qualified individuals, mainly students and copyists, to borrow books for up to three months. In the case of extreme need, there was a possibility to extend the loan to six months.¹⁹⁵ It seems that the administrators of the library felt uneasy with the growing number of unreturned and damaged manuscripts and canceled the practice of lending books in February 1698.¹⁹⁶

How did Fazıl Ahmed Pasha acquire such precious manuscripts and unique titles? His administrative positions in the imperial provincial administration (Erzurum and Damascus provinces) helped him to obtain manuscripts that were in circulation in these regions. Moreover, Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi informs us that some people such as Resul Efendi (d. 1684) assisted the

¹⁹³ *Köprülüzâde Fazıl Ahmed Paşa Vakfiyesi*, SYEK, Köprülü Ekler, 4/2447, 59b-60a. Cf. İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik: Tarihi Gelişim ve Organizasyonu* (İstanbul: Timaş, 2015), 160-163. This work is an updated version of the author's earlier study: *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi II: Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a Kadar Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*.

¹⁹⁴ Seven and a half *esedî guruş* for the chief librarian; three and three-quarter *esedî guruş* for the second librarian; three and three-quarter *esedî guruş* for the third librarian; two and a half *esedî guruş* for the doorkeeper; three quarter *esedî guruş* for the bookbinder. For the circulation of the Dutch lion thaler in the Ottoman Empire see İsmail Şevket Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, 2: at 965-966 [947-980]. It appears that the librarians were later paid in *akçes*, not in *esedî guruş*. "... yevmî on beş akçe vazife ile kütüphanelerinde hâfız-ı kütüb olan Muharrem bin Mustafa nâm kimesne..." BOA, İE. TCT. 1847 [sene 1132/1720]. See also "Cemâat-i hâfız-ı kütübler: Ahmed Hüseyin, hâfız-ı kütüb-i evvel yevm 30, Hüseyin Mehmed, hâfız-ı kütüb-i sâni yevm 20, es-seyyid Monla Hasan yevm 15, el-hâc Ahmed Ağa yevm 10, Ebubekir pedereş yevm 10, Mustafa bin Ali bevvâb-ı kütübhane yevm 10." BOA, D. HMH. 21537, 2 [sene 1142/1730].

¹⁹⁵ See *Köprülüzâde Fazıl Ahmed Paşa Vakfiyesi*, SYEK, Köprülü Ekler, 4/2447, 43a.

¹⁹⁶ Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik*, 163.

grand vizier to find and acquire manuscripts.¹⁹⁷ Resul Efendi was a *müderriş* from Kastamonu and earned fame as *sahhâf* or book dealer.¹⁹⁸ He became a protégé of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha and during the grand vizierate of his patron, he was appointed to the highest-ranking madrasas in Istanbul before he took up the post of judge in Medina in October 1674.¹⁹⁹

Several intellectual figures also helped Fazıl Ahmed Pasha to enrich his manuscript collection with their donations. A certain Hüseyin b. Mustafa, for instance, donated a beautifully written and ornamented *majmua* to the collection. This *majmua* included two treatises (*Sharḥ al-Mukhtaşar* and *Hāshiya ‘alā Mukhtaşar al-Muṭawwal*) of al-Taftāzānī (d. 1390) with extensive marginalia.²⁰⁰ In July 1675, Osman el-Hüsni el-Eyyûbî, who hailed the library as *uss al-fadhāil* or the “station of virtues,” copied *Ta’dîl al-‘ulûm min al-kalām* of ‘Ubayd Allah b. Mas‘ûd al-Maḥbûbî (d. 1346) for the library.²⁰¹ Just a few months later, in October 1675, Mustafa b. el-Hac Mehmed el-Bosnevî copied *Sharḥ al-Kānûn* by Ibn al-Nafîs (d. 1288) to contribute to the collection and to receive favors from the grand vizier.²⁰²

This chapter demonstrated there is a need to revise the established narrative on the Ottoman scientific decline in the second half of the seventeenth century. Opposing the declensionist arguments of Adivar, Gibb, and Lewis, this study proved that the works of several leading figures active in the period are evidence of the intellectual vigor and interest in scientific

¹⁹⁷ There were several merchants who engaged in the manuscript trade in the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire. Some of these merchants were travelling from Istanbul to other centers of learning and education. El-Hajj Selim b. Cum‘a, for instance, went to Cairo to acquire the manuscripts that would be of interest to scholarly circles in the capital. Erünsal informs us that when El-Hajj Selim b. Cum‘a died in 1670, he left sixteen books worthy for 50,000 *akçes*. Among these book were *Tefsir-i Ebu’ssu‘ud*, *Tatarhaniyye*, *Şerh-i Şâfiye*, *Mebcut-ı Serahsi*, *Şerh-i Sahih-i l-Buhari*, *‘Uyûnu’l-Mezâhib*, *Ahi Çelebi*, and *Şerh-i Vikâye*, works that one can be categorized under the title of classics of Islamic learning. See Erünsal, *Osmanlı Kültür Tarihinin Bilinmeyenleri*, 48, fn. 77.

¹⁹⁸ “Mevlanâ-yı merkûm... ibtidâ hâlinde saḥâflık ile şöhret-şi‘âr ve ol vesîle ile müntesib-i kibâr olub husûsan vezîr-i keşver Köprilizâde Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa’ya kitâb takarrubıyla istinâd ve ol sebeble tahsîl-i murâd itmişler idi.” Şeyhî, *Vekâyi‘ü’l-fudalâ*, 1: 511. Antoine Galland also mentioned Resul Efendi as “the book dealer of the grand vizier.” Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar*, 1: 219.

¹⁹⁹ Şeyhî, *Vekâyi‘ü’l-fudalâ*, 1: 510-11.

²⁰⁰ SYEK, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 1427, fol. 1a. See also *Köprülü Kütüphanesi Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 2: 135.

²⁰¹ SYEK, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 797, fol. 210a.

²⁰² SYEK, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 969.

achievements of the contemporary Europe. It also showed that as the capital of a multi-ethnic and multi-religious empire, Istanbul was an important hub for inter- and intra-communal scholarly activities. The patronage of the ruling elite, particularly of the grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, played a great role in the intellectual flourishing in the 1660s and 1670s.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation, which aims to contribute to the growing revisionist historiography on the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire, examined the life and career of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, the second grand vizier from the Köprülü family. It demonstrated how the contemporary and modern historiography shed different lights on the personal traits and tenures of the father and son Köprülüs. It provided new clues to understanding the origins of the Köprülü family and highlighted the support of the Köprülü grand viziers for culture, science, and education. Based on a broad range of primary source material, it examined the tenure of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha in Ottoman provincial administration and demonstrated how he controlled the imperial affairs with care and moderation during grand vizierate from 1661 to until his death in 1676.

Instead of characterizing the second half of the seventeenth century as a time of stagnation, decline, and inward-looking conservatism, this dissertation showed that the 1660s and 1670s was a period of revival and reform in Ottoman history. It proved that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, an *ex-müderres*, a calligrapher, a bibliophile, and a leading patron of arts and sciences had a dynamic vision not just in its political and military designs but also in its patronage of various scientific and cultural projects. Like his father, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha established several social and cultural buildings including primary schools and madrasas in different parts of the empire. He collected a large number of precious manuscripts and donated them to a public library that he built in Istanbul. He supported and patronized several scholars, poets, and artisans, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, and significantly contributed to the flourishing the Ottoman cultural and intellectual life in the period.

This dissertation also contributed to the study of cultural and intellectual life in the second half of the seventeenth century by challenging old views about the Ottoman scientific decline and supposed indifferences of the Ottoman ruling elite and intellectuals to contemporary European scientific achievements. First, it portrayed Istanbul as a vibrant hub for inter- and intra-communal intellectual exchange and showed how the Ottoman capital was an active seat in the contemporary Republic of Letters. It then shed new lights on Muslim and non-Muslim cultural and intellectual life and highlighted the contributions of several non-Muslim Ottomans to early modern Ottoman intellectual history. By examining the intellectual patronage of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha in some detail, this dissertation proved that neither the Ottoman ruling elite nor the curiosity-driven intellectuals ceased their interests in scientific developments and achievements outside the imperial borders. The patronage that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha extended to the Italian physician Giovanni Mascellini to publish his medical text written in Latin in Vienna in 1673 demonstrated that the Ottoman rulers played a role in contemporary European scientific activities as well. This significant patronage case revealed that there is a need to revise the narrative which portrays Fazıl Ahmed Pasha as a religious revivalist who had negative views and approaches to non-Muslims and aimed to Islamize people at home and abroad.

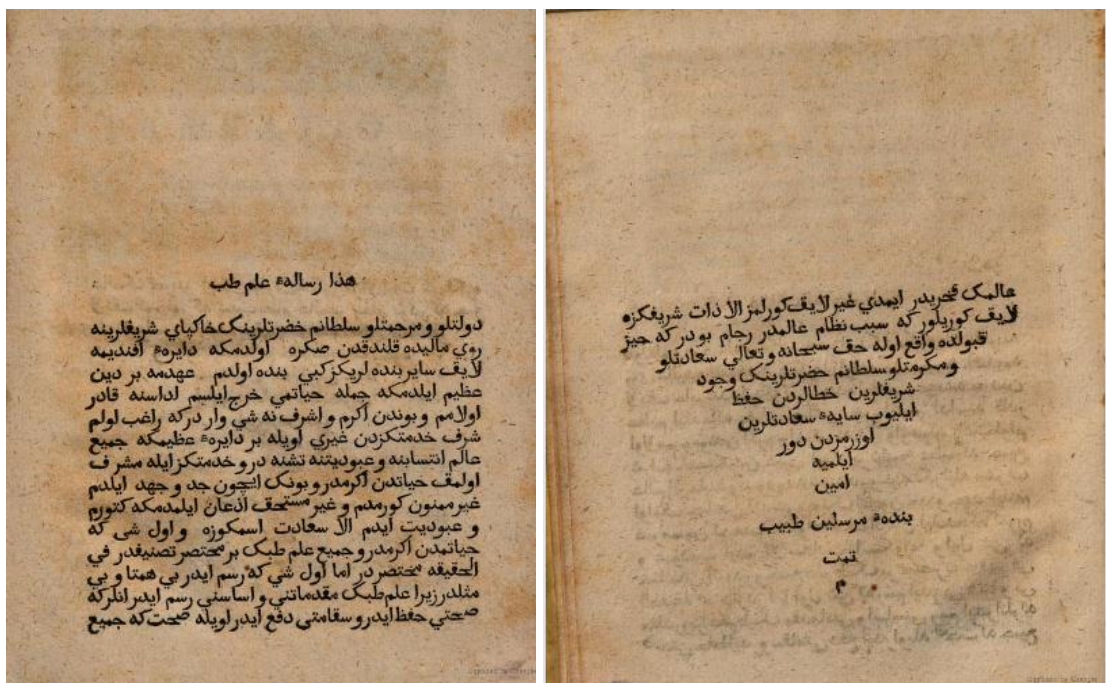
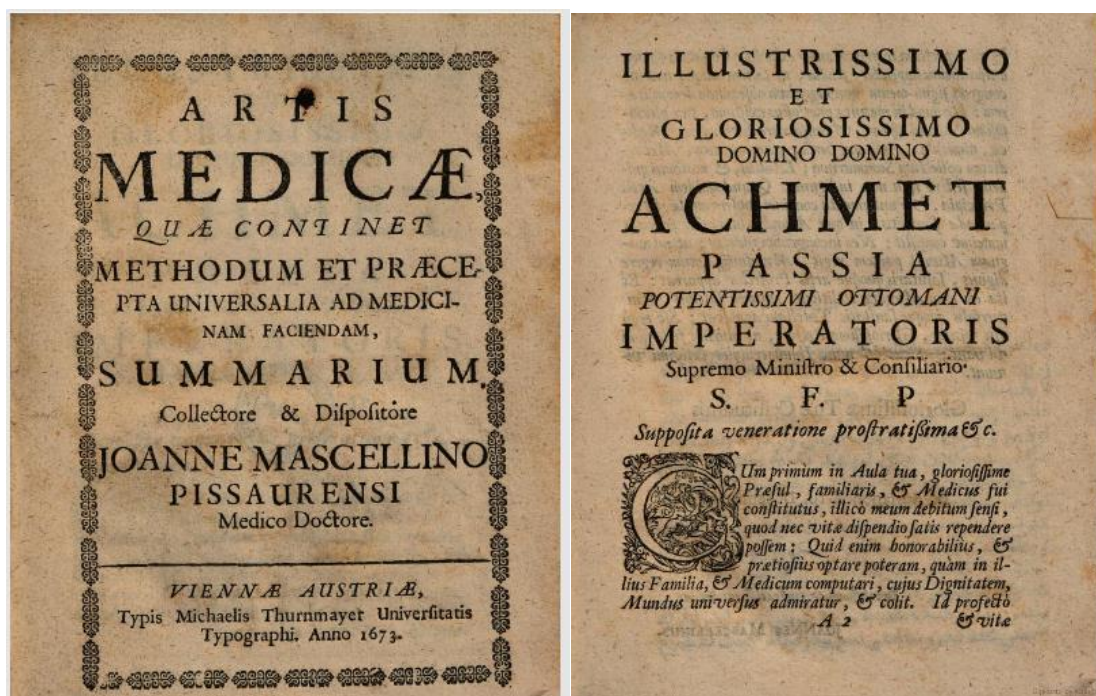
In addition to his patronage of several scholars who had an interest in transferring and translating contemporary European scientific achievements into the Ottoman world, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha placed a high value on Islamic science and culture. This dissertation demonstrated that although he left his scholarly career, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha did not abandon his intellectual pursuits. During his years in the provincial administration and the grand vizierate, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha attended the scholarly meetings and continued to acquire manuscripts. It is feasible to argue that by collecting hundreds of manuscripts from every corner of the empire and keeping them in a safe and secure place in the capital, he aimed to preserve the Islamic cultural and intellectual heritage. In addition to maintaining the Islamic intellectual

accumulation, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha served as a catalyst for the flourishing of cultural and intellectual life when he extended his patronage to several scholars and poets in the capital and the provinces. He invited leading scholarly figures from different parts of the empire to his court and bestowed upon them favors. He also facilitated their appointments to high teaching and bureaucratic posts.

This study demonstrated that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's intellectual patronage was a part of his long-term plans and political visions for the Ottoman revival and reform. It argued that it was the reforms and successes of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha that provided the Ottoman ruling establishment and military forces with a growing self-confidence to the degree that they attempted to lay a second siege to the Habsburg capital in 1683. The Ottoman military defeat during the grand vizierate of his successor, Kara Mustafa Pasha, at the failed siege of Vienna in 1683, however, reversed the fortunes of the empire.

Appendix

Title and dedication pages of *Artis Medicae* by Giovanni Mascellini



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