



# Writing Slavic in the Arabic Script: Literacy and Multilingualism in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire

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Literacy and Multilingualism in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire**

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Writing Slavic in the Arabic Script: Literacy and Multilingualism in the Early Modern Ottoman  
Empire

A dissertation presented

by

Marijana Mišević

to

The Committee on Middle Eastern Studies

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

History and Middle Eastern Studies

Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

May 2022

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**Writing Slavic in the Arabic Script: Literacy and Multilingualism in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire**

Abstract

Envisaged as a contribution to the early modern Ottoman social and intellectual history, this dissertation focuses on the region of the Ottoman-ruled South-Slavic Europe in the period between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries and investigates how imperial language ideologies and communicative practices embedded in the written word radiated back and forth among Ottoman provinces and regions. The discussion in this dissertation is centered on the texts written in South-Slavic language/s by the use of the Arabic script and the ideas that informed their production and reproduction. Some of these texts have been studied by the primarily ex-Yugoslav philologists and linguists as belonging to the so-called *Slavic/Bosnian aljamiado literature* which emerged in the early seventeenth century and stopped being productive in the early twentieth century. This study seeks to show that this textual corpus was larger than the received wisdom leads us think and that it was not just a product of non-elite Muslim literati of Slavic/Bosnian origin as previous interpreters have argued. The *Slavic aljamiado*—here reconceptualized as *Slavophone Arabographia*—was reflective of the various trajectories of the incorporation of South-Slavic Europe into the Ottoman imperial structure, on the one hand, and historical change of the position of Slavic language and its speakers within the Ottoman multilingual regime, on the other hand. Arguing that a relative marginality of *Slavophone*

*Arabographia* within the Ottoman media ecosystem did not imply its ideological insignificance, this dissertation investigates the instances of Slavic written in the Arabic script as windows into how various individuals and groups navigated a hierarchical, and changing social order in one of the densest linguistic and cultural contact zones of the early modern world. The Ottoman *Slavophone Arabographia*, this dissertation suggests, is an excellent case for investigation of the relationship between language and power in the context of the early modern Ottoman empire, as well as other, comparable contexts. Last but not least, it forces us to rethink contemporary—and ahistorical—conceptions of language, culture and script that are often uncritically used by modern historians.

## Table of Contents

<b>Title Page</b> .....	<b>i</b>
<b>Copyright Page</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>Note on Transliteration and Translation</b> .....	<b>x</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b> .....	<b>xi</b>
<b>List of Figures</b> .....	<b>xii</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
I. Empire in Language.....	2
II. Labels and Power .....	8
III. Language in Historiography.....	21
IV. Methodology and Plan of the Thesis .....	26
<b>Chapter I: The Period of Inauguration of Ottoman Multilingualism and the New Contexts for Slavic Words</b> .....	<b>37</b>
I.1. The Building Blocks of Ottoman Multilingualism .....	39
I.2. Was Slavic Learned at the Ottoman Court? .....	54
I.3. The Cyrillic Records of a Translation of Empire .....	93
I.3.1. Locating the Cyrillic Stories About the “Falls” .....	99
I.3.2. A Foreign Observer of the Realm of <i>L’Esclavonie</i> and the Various Realms of the <i>Esclavons</i> .....	110
I.3.3. The “Surviving” Form of Slavic Pragmatic literacy.....	115
I.4. Translating “a Law” From a Late-Medieval form to an Early Modern one .....	144
I.5. Sailing the Seas of Names .....	171
<b>Chapter II: Ottoman Interpretive Communities and Language Anxieties of the Long Sixteenth Century</b> .....	<b>181</b>
II.1. Searching for Slavic in the Intra-Imperial Literary Matrix .....	186
II.2. Molla Luṭfī (d.1494) and “Serbian” for Donkey .....	194
II.2.1. Arabic and the Rest? .....	195
II.2.2. On a Turkish Vocabule with a Serbian Meaning .....	208
II.3. In And Out of the Realm of Eloquence .....	220
II.3.1. Serbian and a Poetic Slang of the Early Sixteenth-Century Istanbul .....	221
II.3.2. (Un)Naming the Language of the Slavs of One’s Own .....	244
II.4. The Context of a Curious Episode from 1566 and Slavic Words from its Margins.....	277
II.4.1. The Accused and the Accuser .....	283
II.4.2. The Mediator .....	290
II.4.3. The Interpreter.....	297

II.5. Some Ideological Faultlines of the Ottoman Arabographia on the Eve of the Seventeenth-Century	311
II.5.1. Modes of “Recognition” of Slavic as an Ottoman Language.....	312
II.5.2. Transcripts of a Sociolect? .....	332
<b>Chapter III: Introducing the Geography, Politics, and Poetics of the Seventeenth-Century Slavophone Arabographia.....</b>	<b>345</b>
III.1. Why (not) Aljamiado? .....	347
III.1.1. Otto Blau and His Theory of Linguistic Contact .....	353
III.1.2. A Digression from a Review of Modern Scholarly Literature.....	362
III.1.3. The Review of the Modern Literature Continued.....	372
III. 2. Yūsuf (d. after 1647).....	386
III.2.1. A Muezzin, a Merchant, and a <i>Hācī</i> .....	390
III.2.2. The Language of Yūsuf ’s <i>Arzuhals</i> .....	400
III.3 Meḥmed (d. after 1651) .....	407
III.3.1. Üskūfī-i Bosnevī and Hevāyī, a Biography .....	416
III.3.2. Old Genres and New Ideas About Language/s .....	425
III.3.3. Meḥmed’s Slavic in Action .....	447
III.4. Hasan (d.1691).....	452
III.4.1. Kā’imī ’s Biographies .....	457
III.4.2. Kā’imī ’s Main Themes and Ways of Expression .....	466
<b>Chapter IV: Interpreting the Slavic Inflection of the Early Modern Ottoman Arabographia .....</b>	<b>472</b>
IV.1. Literacies, Languages, Ideologies.....	474
IV.2. Looking for “Our Language(s)” in South-Slavia.....	489
IV.2.1. Written Slavic as a “Diplomatic” Language in South-Slavia .....	494
IV.2.2. Personalizing the Creative Intersections between the Imperial and the Local .....	501
IV.2.3. “Written Poetic” as a Universal Idiom of the Frontiers .....	514
IV.3. Slavic in Metagenres and Translations .....	527
IV.4. Text as a Miscellany, Miscelany as a Text .....	544
IV.5 Hasan Kā’imī’s Slavic Poems: A Story About (A) Pre-Modern Lingualism(s).....	550
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>561</b>
<b>Appendix A.....</b>	<b>567</b>
<b>Appendix B.....</b>	<b>570</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>584</b>



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## Note on Transliteration and Translation

I have transliterated Ottoman Turkish according to İslām Ansiklopedisi Transliteration system.

In cases when I transliterated Arabic and Persian, I did it according to DMG (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft) Transliteration system.

Modern variants of Western South-Slavic which are in focus here (BCS) are read as written. Specific are the following letters: đ/dj (**j**uice); ž (**l**eisure); lj (**m**illion); nj (**o**nion); ć (**ch**urch, but softer); c (**c**ats); č (**ch**ocolate); dž (**j**oy). The transliteration of Slavic texts written in the Arabic script was done by combining the İslām Ansiklopedisi Transliteration system for Ottoman Turkish with the letters from modern, Latin BCS alphabet.

When I quoted portions of texts that have already been published in transliteration I kept the style of the publication, with the exception of the cases in which I checked the manuscript and provided my own transliteration.

Translations are as literate as possible.

Where there is already a translation of an Ottoman Turkish, Arabic and/or Persian text to Modern Turkish, Slavic or other modern languages, which I was able to consult, I make note of that while translating to English.

Unless otherwise noted, translations and transliterations are mine.

I selectively translated the titles of the modern scholarly works in Slavic and Turkish when I found them informative.

## Abbreviations

### a) Libraries and Archives

BUB—Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, Bologna

BNF—Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

GHB—Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo

İÜ NEKTY—İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserleri Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar, Istanbul

ÖNB—Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

SBB—Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin

NL Sofia—St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, Sofia

Süleymaniye—Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul

UB Leiden—Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, Leiden

ULIB—University library in Bratislava, Bratislava

HASa—Historijski Arhiv Sarajevo, Sarajevo

HAZU—Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Zagreb

BOA-Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul

### b) Other Abbreviations

tr.-Turkish

ar.-Arabic

sl.-Slavic

per.-Persian

ger.-German

fr.-French

lat.-Latin

lit.-literally

MS-manuscript

## List of Figures

- Figure 1. HASa-MS R 262 (ff.1b-2a): The Beginning of *Maḵbūl-i ‘Ārif* (dated to 1859/60)
- Figure 2. HAZU-MS R 640 (ff.1b-2a): Turkish-Slavic Dictionary (1836).
- Figure 3. BUB-MS Marsigli 3488: Folio 1b, and samples of various hands participating in the production of the manuscript.
- Figure 4. Opening pages of the copy of *Şerh-i Vasiyyetnāme-i Birgivi* by ‘Aliyyü’s-Sadrī el-Konevī with interlinear translation to Slavic, published in Salih Trako, “Şerhi Wasiyyetname-i Bergiwi sa prevodom na srpskohrvatskom jeziku,” *Anali GHB* 5-6 (1978), 117-126.
- Figure 5. GHB-MS R 4563 (*Ḳaṣīde-i Burde-i Bosnevī*): An owner’s note on f.1a
- Figure 6. GHB-MS R 4563 (*Ḳaṣīde-i Burde-i Bosnevī*): Folios 1b and 2a.
- Figure 7. GHB-MS R 1154 (*Risāle-i Şeyṭān-Nāme*): Folios 1b-2a.
- Figure 8. GHB-MS R 3202 (f.44a): Anonym, Quadrilingual Poem.
- Figure 9. GHB-MS 5712 (f.5a): The Beginning of *Duvanjski Arzuhal*
- Figure 10. GHB-MS R 6861: Slavic-*Tobacco* and samples of hands from the manuscript
- Figure 11. GHB-MS R 906 (ff.5b-6a): Slavic-*Tobacco*.
- Figure 12. HAZU-MS 922 (f.2b and f.42b): Opening page of Hasan Ḳā’imī’s *Divan II/Vāridāt* and the beginning of Slavic-*Candia*.
- Figure 13. The Beginning of Slavic-*Candia*. Comparison. HAZU-MS 2020, f.30a; ULIB-MS TG 34, f.32b; GHB-MS 6864, f.21a.
- Figure 14. A Surviving part of *Call to Faith in Turkish*.

## Introduction

Some broad questions which inspired this thesis are: what do we mean when we talk about Ottoman language and/or Ottoman languages; what ideas and/or theories about language and languages guided the text production in the Ottoman empire before the nineteenth century when we start talking about language politics and standardization; and, what can clusters of ideas about languages and language diversity, as well as patterns in linguistic choices tell us about the changing socio-political circumstances of the people who promoted the ideas and made the choices. In brief, this thesis is interested in the question of historical language ideology in the early modern Ottoman Empire and the method in which it can be reconstructed based on the extant written sources.<sup>1</sup>

With these questions in mind, I focus on the region of the Ottoman-ruled South Slavic Europe, one of the densest linguistic and cultural contact zones of the early modern world.<sup>2</sup> My thesis offers an analysis of instances of Slavic language written by the use of the Arabic script attested in the texts of different kinds in the period between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> This particular mode of writing, previously studied under the rubric of *Bosnian*

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<sup>1</sup> Language ideology is relatively recent field of research which emerged from language anthropology. The term language ideology, as well as the way I use other technical terms will be explained below. For introduction, see Kathryn Woolard and Bambi Schieffelin, "Language Ideology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 (1994): 55-82; Kathryn Woolard, Bambi Schieffelin, and Paul Kroskrity, eds., *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Alessandro Duranti, ed., *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2004). Alessandro, Duranti, ed., *Key Terms in Language and Culture* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> According to Mary Louise Pratt, contact zones are "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power (such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today)." I adopt Pratt's formulation as working definition of contact zone, though not necessarily her understanding of the relationship between culture and language. Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* (1991): 33-40, 34.

<sup>3</sup> What is intended by the term "Slavic" in this thesis is an abstraction used to designate language/s which is/are not Turkish, Arabic, Persian, etc. Considering the scope of the thesis, Slavic is here used to cover the languages belonging to the South-Slavic branch of the broader language family. When I use specific glottonyms (like Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian), this means that the label as such appears in the secondary literature which is cited/discussed, or in the primary source used. In cases when the term "Slavic" appears in primary sources, which is almost never the case, I mark this usage by quotation marks.

*aljamiado literature*, is here treated as one of the most straightforward formal manifestations of the linguistic and social encounter which was prompted, or rather amplified by the fourteenth-century Ottoman territorial conquests in the South-Slavic speaking Europe. Observing that the socio-political and linguistic context of the practice of writing Slavic in Arabic script was much broader than suggested by the term *Bosnian aljamiado literature*, I propose to tentatively conceptualize it as Slavophone Arabographia. Throughout the thesis, I argue that the products of this comparably marginal mode of writing were significant from the perspective of historical language ideologies. Reflective of the various trajectories of region's incorporation into the imperial structure and the ways in which people adopted imperial cultural practices while remaining aware of the local, Slavophone-Arabographic corpus makes an excellent case for investigation of the relationship between language and power in the context of the early modern Ottoman empire, as well as other, comparable contexts. Furthermore, I argue that a focused investigation of this corpus from the perspective of historical language ideology can contribute to the process of reconsideration of the ways in which modern scholars of Ottoman history approach the themes of language, literacy, and manuscript culture, a reconsideration which can fruitfully influence our very understanding of early modernity as analytical category.

## **I. Empire in Language**

“A great deal of the world’s history is the history of empires.” This is the sentence opening Stephen Howe’s *Empires: A Very Short Introduction*, first published in 2002.<sup>4</sup> One of the main takeaways from the book, is that the appeal of “empire” as a historical phenomenon—an alternative to modern-day nation states and a source of political imagination informing the present and the

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<sup>4</sup> Stephen Howe, *Empires: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).



future—is there to stay. The Ottoman polity features in this small volume as one of the empires whose history and legacy loom large in *world history*, or in Howe’s words describing the scope of his short discussion, “the entire history of humanity.” For Howe’s purposes, however, the long history of the Ottoman empire, rather typically for summaries, boils down to its fifteenth century inception and its nineteenth century “anomalous” existence following a long period of decline.<sup>5</sup> Be this as it may, Howe’s text was most interesting for the subject of this thesis for the ways in which it incorporates the theme of language—a theme that might be considered almost as great as the theme of “empires,” or even the “entire history of humanity.” It so happens that Howe does not mention the word *language* very often. When he does he uses it to refer to: i) modern intellectual frameworks elaborating concepts such as *empire, imperialism, colonialism, culture* and the like; ii) various historical and modern discourses pertaining to broadly understood political relations; iii) one of the crucial markers of difference among groups of people, variously emphasized depending on historical circumstances (some others being religion, physical appearance, types and levels of technology, sexual behavior); iv) at one time, a marker of “civilized” people, together with their learning and literature; v) a medium through which a group of people speaking a language, if enabled, acquires education; vi) and finally, a means and an index of cultural impact (of politically dominating over politically dominated). Some of the attributes Howe uses with the word “language” are: *our, a slightly later, different, modern, academic, political, that, their, highly contested, the main, of government, of literary production, of ‘racial’ character and essence, the only common, of the former colonial power, and finally command of which was restricted to (...) elites*. One time when the word language appears with the word empire in Howe’s discussion is in the phrase: *all the empire’s languages*. Clearly, Howe does not speak

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 48-50.

about either Ottoman language, or Ottoman languages. For my own purpose, however, the above summary is useful as an illustration of the complexity of vocabulary used upon evoking language in a rather short historically minded text which is not required to make an explicit differentiation between language as a tool of academic, or any other discourses, and language as a subject of focused (scholarly) scrutiny.

A much longer book dealing with the theme of empire as a type of state in a *longue durée*, comparative perspective is that by Burbank and Cooper, titled *Empires in World History: Power and Politics of Difference*.<sup>6</sup> In this account, the word “language” appears around ninety times, in various collocations and meanings, including all of the above as quoted from Howe. Those related specifically to the Ottoman empire are around eleven in number. In the first instance, Burbank and Cooper collocate the word *language* with the attribute “Ottoman” to refer to the language learned by the Christian boys recruited for the imperial palace service.<sup>7</sup> In the next instance, generic term *language* is used as a marker of difference among “unlike communities of the empire.”<sup>8</sup> Both of the paragraphs belong to the part of the book dealing with the sixteenth century. The rest of the instances are from the context of the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The way in which Burbank and Cooper write about Ottoman language was worth summarizing here since it exemplifies an idea which

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<sup>6</sup> Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in world history: power and the politics of difference* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010).

<sup>7</sup> Burbank and Cooper, *Empires*, 138.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>9</sup> From these we learn that in the early twentieth century, “Ottoman officials acquired the European languages,” and that, “French was the preferred language of many higher institutions and of several of the newspapers that began publication in the 1830s.” *Ibid.*, 343. In the beginning of the twentieth century also, CUP members enforced “a state language—Ottoman Turkish—in public matters.” About the same time, “Turkish language policy was a particular irritant to Arabs.” Further on we read that the liberal reform of Young Turks was seriously undermined by their insistence on “Ottoman Turkish as the language of government, primary education and the courts.” *Ibid.*, 359-360. Finally there is a comparison with the Habsburg Monarchy: “As in the Ottoman empire, the language policy became a disruptive element on the more open field of politics. On this issue, the Habsburg monarchy maintained its pluralism and flexibility.” *Ibid.*, 362.

often informs the ways in which historians of empire approach the temporality of the linguistic universes of the polities they study. The structure of this temporality can briefly be summarized as before and after the nineteenth century when language—understood as a relatively closed and controllable system—became a key defining feature of nation.<sup>10</sup> Even if this is the case, all historians of empire take as an axiom the statement that empires of the past and present have been typically multilingual polities. Even those historians of empire who manage to avoid the conundrum of teleology, deduce various broader conclusions from the latter fact by, rarely if ever, presenting multilingualism as a category analytically independent of monolingualism as its counterpart. The Ottoman empire, too, historically emerged from multilingual societies and continued to be such throughout its history. The question of concern in this thesis is whether its inhabitants *perceived* the Ottoman empire as a multilingual society in any ideologically significant way, and if so whether the reality of multilingualism was considered an ideal, a realm of power struggles, or something in between.

In Burbank and Cooper's definition of empire multilingualism is not explicitly mentioned:

What, then, is an empire, and how do we distinguish empire from other political entities? Empires are large political units, expansionist or with a memory of power extended over space, polities that maintain *distinction and hierarchy* as they incorporate *new people*. The nation-state, in contrast, is based on the idea of a single people in a single territory constituting itself as a unique political community. The nation-state proclaims the commonality of its people—even if the reality is more complicated—while the empire-state *declares the non-equivalence of multiple populations*. Both kinds of states are incorporative—they insist that people be ruled by their institutions—but the nation-state tends to homogenize those inside its borders and exclude those who do not belong, while *the empire reaches outward and draws, usually coercively, peoples whose difference is made*

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<sup>10</sup> And nation is commonly perceived as “a community.” The concept of “contact zone” mentioned above, was introduced by Pratt to contrast it “with ideas of community that underlie much of the thinking about language, communication, and culture that gets done in the academy,” whereby “languages were seen as living in ‘speech communities,’ and these tended to be theorized as discrete, self-defined, coherent entities, held together by a homogeneous competence or grammar shared identically and equally among all the members.” Referencing Benedict Anderson, she notes that a similar logic informed “the utopian way modern nations conceive of themselves as... ‘imagined communities.’” Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” 37.

*explicit under its rule. The concept of empire presumes that different peoples within the polity will be governed differently.*<sup>11</sup>

Nevertheless, a few general questions related to the theme of language and empire can be asked against the background of this definition and readily applied in the Ottoman context. One concerns the extent to which language served as a defining criterion and delimiting feature of (*new*) *people* or (*multiple*) *populations* gradually incorporated into the imperial social fabric. The second question that can be asked concerns the role language played in maintaining distinction and hierarchy among people (individuals, groups, larger communities). One can also ask *who the empire grew to become and continued to be* and what language they spoke and/or wrote. Readily accepting that language was important in all of the processes implied in the above questions, one can further ask whether the ideas about language informing these processes were explicitly stated by the parties involved, i.e. nurtured by means of structured discourses, or if they were simply embedded in practice.

The above definition does not explicitly mention the word *power*, which probably means that power is an obvious element structuring the outlined relationships. In historiographical narratives, the relationship between *language* and *power* is also very often left implied. Linguists, however, are scholars who seem to feel more compelled to explicate the relationship. In a recently published piece, Kees Versteegh, for example, deals with the late Habsburg empire, making an interesting excursion to other analogous contexts. From there we understand that all empires agreed that language was one of the most important tools for consolidation of their power, but that they “differ in concrete policy to realize this goal, as well as the force they are willing to apply in the implementation of this policy.” And moreover, “*imposing* one’s own language on the conquered peoples is one solution, but there are alternative ways for those in power to address

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<sup>11</sup> The italics are mine. Burbank and Cooper, *Empires*, 8.

those under their control.” In continuation, Versteegh enumerates some of the possible alternatives,<sup>12</sup> concluding, rather categorically that “the underlying principle is always for those in power to determine which alternative is chosen” whereby “this power does not need to be based on political or economic dominance, it may also be an effect of ideological or cultural prestige.”<sup>13</sup> To illustrate the last point, Versteegh, a specialist in Arabic language in linguistics, quotes “the Islamic empire” as “such an ideological empire” in which Arabic possessed the “spiritual authority” which is why it needed not be imposed by any coercive measures. Once learned as a “foreign language,” Arabic would increase, in Bourdieu’s terms, the “cultural capital” of the willing learner.<sup>14</sup>

Instead of critiquing Versteegh’s inspiring conclusions informed by commendable secondary literature, I will use them to formulate a few difficult, but compelling historical questions which can be applied to the society I focus on: how are we to know that historical actor/s from the past imagined a language as “foreign;” how are we to choose the source base and then analyze *the change* in the imperial language policies, be they imposed or not; shall we do it based on language, based on script, or by analyzing behavior and language policies promoted by the usual—powerful, and—literate suspects; and finally, how are we to prove that language and literacy played a constituting role in community building in pre-modern times?<sup>15</sup> As a scholar who

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<sup>12</sup> “Representatives of the imperial power can modify their own speech in order to make themselves understood by the subdued people. Alternatively, they can employ a lingua franca that is commonly used in the region under their sway. They can even adopt a simple form of the language of people they control. And this does not exhaust the possibilities for a language policy in an imperial setting, as shown by the historical example of the Habsburg Empire, Kees Versteegh, “Language of Empire, Language of Power,” *Language Ecology* 2/1-2 (2018): 1-17, 9.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 9-10.

<sup>15</sup> Pratt, again, reminds us that writing and literacy played a central role in Anderson’s argument according to which “the main instrument that made bourgeois nation-building projects possible was print capitalism.” She amends this argument in the following way: “The prototype of the modern nation as imagined community was, it seemed to me, mirrored in ways people thought about language and the speech community. Many commentators have pointed out

needs to deal with the question of temporality even more laboriously than linguists, an early modern historian cannot help but recall that “quickening tempo,” in Joseph Fletcher’s words, together with population pressure, urbanization, qualitative and quantitative rise of literacy were some of the main, globally shared features of the period they study.<sup>16</sup> That these had to do with *language* and *power* may be taken as an axiom. What is less obvious based on the current state of the Ottoman historiography, for example, is *how*.

## II. Labels and Power

If asked the question of what is to be understood by the term *Ottoman language*, the historians of the Ottoman state in its various incarnations, the Ottomanists, will most likely say that Ottoman is a dead language of their key textual sources produced within the historical Ottoman empire. If asked further, they would probably describe it as an agglomeration of linguistic units from Turkish, Arabic, and Persian organized by the rules of Turkish syntax on the level of the sentence. Nevertheless, Ottomanists also like to emphasize that, after the Ottoman state grew into an empire, it also grew into a polity in which, according to a recent rough estimate, over one hundred languages and dialects were spoken.<sup>17</sup> And yet, no other language but Turkish—as the language in which the political and literary elites wrote, and to some extent also spoke—tends to be labeled as *Ottoman*. The Early modern Ottomans invariably used the appellation *Turkī* to designate the

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how modern views of language as code and competence assume a unified and homogenous social world in which language exists as a shared patrimony—as a device, precisely, for imagining community. An image of universally shared literacy is also part of the picture.” Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” 37-38.

<sup>16</sup> Joseph Fletcher, “Integrative History: Parallels and Interconnections in the Early modern Period, 1500-1800,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9/1 (1985): 37-58.

<sup>17</sup> Christine Woodhead, “Ottoman Languages,” in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 143-158: 143.

language of any discourse founded on the syntax of Turkic languages, and most specifically Western Oğuz Turkish.

In Ottomanist meta-discourse on language inspired by historical actors' categories, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish written within the Ottoman empire are often called "the three languages" (tr. *elsine-i selāse*). The linguistic structure of the very term can serve as a small reminder of the complexity of historical intersections of the three grammatically distinct linguistic systems.<sup>18</sup> To the best of my knowledge, the concept of *elsine-i selāse* was coined within the Ottoman society and with a view of its historical linguistic situation. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the discourse which led to its becoming and functioning as a term had its own history. Of the development of this discourse no systematic modern narrative exists. In other words, when modern scholars select this term as an explanatory or descriptive category, we learn the basic fact that the three languages were written and used in the Ottoman empire throughout the period of its existence. The references to this term also imply that the three languages were in some sort of mutual relationship along the lines of prestige, differentiation and/or overlap in their functions. Nevertheless, a problem occurs with a realization that, as used by the early modern Ottoman writers, the term *elsine-i selāse* does not come in a package with any easy-to-date, articulate meta-discourse or a theory about the hierarchies it potentially embodied. So, when modern scholars directly or indirectly engage with historical language ideology behind the idea of "the three Ottoman languages" they tend to seek for explanations beyond Ottoman historiography. Below I will mention the few large frameworks which positively inform the Ottomanist discourse on language(s).

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<sup>18</sup> *Elsine* is the plural of ar. *lisān* (language) adopted orthographically and phonologically to Turkish (in Arabic nominative: *alsina(t-un)*). Same kind of adjustments were made to ar. *salāsa(t-un)*, meaning "three." The two words are connected by syntactic link known as Persian *eżāfe* (*modified-i modifier*).

Arabic, Persian, and Turkic languages have been spoken and written in numerous historical societies.<sup>19</sup> But, Arabic, Persian, and Turkic have been accepted as the vehicles behind the major textual traditions primarily due to their usage in the societies ruled by Muslims. Ottoman society, of course, was ruled by Muslims, and it was Muslims who used the three languages to produce written texts. It is for this reason that no serious question mark can be placed on a scholarly habit of describing “the three Ottoman languages” as the *Islamic* languages. This attribution correctly emphasizes the great contribution of the Ottoman textual tradition to the Islamic civilization. It also reminds of the fact that the early modern political boundaries did not preclude the circulation of knowledge and texts among various societies ruled by Muslims.

The key defining element of Islamic civilization and/or Islamic culture is taken to have been the religion—Islam. Islam itself has been recognized as “something more than religion,” i.e. the term “Islam” can also be read as a synonym for Islamic civilization and/or culture. This culture was and has been shared by speakers of languages of various linguistic typologies and genealogies. This line of thought, among others, brought forth a question whether a language can be “typologically” classified as *Muslim* (as a synonym to *Islamic*). In this way, the question was formulated by Alessandro Bausani. His answer is worth mentioning for it represents a rather typical case of a linear and arguably, ahistorical argumentation, rather than a positive model to apply indiscriminately. The argumentation is based on the flexibly understood notion of “linguistic typology” which is based on the (here undefined) concept of “culture.” Besides, this line of thought presents an example of scholarly orientations which emphasize “a static, uniformly shared

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<sup>19</sup> Peoples belonging to the cognate speech communities have often been studied separately as Arabs, Persians and Turks. For Turks, see: Carter V. Findley, *Turks in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Ismail K. Poonawala, *Turks in the Indian Subcontinent, Central and West Asia: the Turkish presence in the Islamic world* (New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 2017). Richard P. McClary and Andrew Peacock, *Turkish History and Culture in India: Identity, Art and Transregional Connections* (Brill: Leiden, 2020).



culture,” rather than diversity.<sup>20</sup> Anyway, Bausani argued that any language of any grammatical structure can be called *Muslim* provided it was influenced by relevant “socio-linguistic *superstrata*.” Within contact linguistics, *superstrata* can be defined as languages of colonists, but more broadly as languages of high power and prestige. Within Islamic civilization, these languages are Arabic, in the first place, and Persian, in the second. When *superstrata* as prestige idioms get into contact with and thus influence the *substrata*, (i.e. any “non-prestigious” language used by Muslims), what gets to be formed within the latter is a “cultural *superstrata*.” This particular layer of the *substratum* yields among its speakers a sense of belonging to a trans-linguistic and trans-ethnic Muslim culture. Due to the nature of the historical contact between Arabic and Persian, it is possible to describe the “cultural *superstrata*” as Arabo-Persian. That the “cultural *superstrata*” produces a sense of belonging to a global Muslim community, Bausani knows based on modern realities<sup>21</sup> Whether, for example, early modern Muslims expressed their sense of belonging to a global Muslim community by making particular linguistic choices, and whether they had a concept of language contact and its consequences, are questions for a historian.

Marshall Hodgson, one of the most influential students of Islamic civilization and culture in the Anglo-Saxon world also provides some food for thought about the usage of the adjective “Islamic” with “the three Ottoman languages” in particular, and the “Ottoman” languages in general. Hodgson famously suggested that “Islam” and “Islamic” had been used “too casually both

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<sup>20</sup> Language ideology, as a field of inquiry and an analytical device has been designed to “capture diversity.” It holds that the *informal* cultural models of language do exist but that they are never homogenous even within one “cultural group.” In other words, language ideology, stands in opposition to “culture” in it that it explores “variation in ideas, ideals, and communicative practices.” Paul V. Kroskrity, “Language ideologies,” in Duranti, *A Companion to linguistic Anthropology*, 496-518: 496.

<sup>21</sup> See Alessandro Bausani, “Is classical Malay a ‘Muslim Language’?,” *Boletín de la Asociación española de orientistas* 11 (1975): 111-121, 112. The scholars are in general cautious with this attribute, but the idea persists in different garbs and with different qualifications. A recent reevaluation of Bausani’s ideas is in Adriano V. Rossi, “Alessandro Bausani and ‘Muslim Languages,’ Forty Years After,” *Eurasian studies* 18/1 (2020): 194-210.

for what we may call religion and for the overall society and culture associated historically with the religion.” The goal of his distinction was not “to draw a sharp line between the two senses of the terms, but to warn that “the society and culture called ‘Islamic’ in the second sense are not necessarily ‘Islamic’ in the first.” To remedy the confusion, Hodgson enriched the existing analytical apparatus used within the field with the terms “Islamdom” and “Islamicate.” *Islamdom* is to be understood as:

(...) the society in which the Muslims and their faith are recognized as prevalent and socially dominant, in one sense or another—a society in which, of course, non-Muslims have always formed an integral, if subordinate, element, as have Jews in Christendom. It does not refer to an area as such, but to *a complex of social relations*, which, to be sure, is territorially more or less well-defined.

Noting that *Islamdom* is not a “civilization,” or a specific culture, but only the society that carries that culture, Hodgson continues:

There has been, however, a culture, centered on a lettered tradition, which has been historically distinctive of Islamdom the *society*, and which has been naturally shared in by both Muslims and non Muslims who participate at all fully in the society of Islamdom. For this, I have used the adjective ‘Islamicate.’ I thus restrict the term ‘Islam’ to the *religion* of the Muslims, not using that term for the far more general phenomena, the society of Islamdom and its Islamicate cultural traditions.<sup>22</sup>

Critiqued only occasionally, the terms *Islamdom* and *Islamicate* still preserve the hermeneutical value in cultural history, whether explicitly used or not.<sup>23</sup> What is of interest here, is how Hodgson used the term *Islamicate* in collocation with “languages,” despite the fact that one can rarely encounter the collocation in recent scholarship. The “Islamic languages,” it seems, has been considered quite a good solution. Recently, for example, the adjective *Islamicate* has been

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<sup>22</sup> Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The venture of Islam: Conscience and history in a world civilization. Volume one: The classical age of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 57-60.

<sup>23</sup> Shahab Ahmed, *What is Islam?: The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 157-175.

used, though “for the sake of simplicity,” to describe “vernacular languages used by Muslim communities” in a work on historical translations of the Quran to various languages.<sup>24</sup> In its essence, the logic behind the “Islamicate languages” is similar to that behind the “Islamic languages.” And yet, the former offers a small, though rather specific, point of entry for thinking about the relationship among the Islamic and non-Islamic languages.

Hodgson used the term *Islamicate* to describe the various *written* languages of the one *Islamdom*, whereby he sees the one *Islamicate* culture as centered on “a lettered tradition.” The range of variety he had in mind is briefly summarized in the following sentence:

Transliteration is required in this book chiefly from four languages, Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, and Urdu, each of which has used a form of what was originally Arabic alphabet.<sup>25</sup>

In this way Hodgson implies that the Arabic script, even if modified, was the defining feature of “the lettered tradition” perpetuated within *Islamdom*. *Islamicate* would therefore be the various languages written in Arabic script. Hence, perhaps, the dilemma in relation to Urdu. In one place, Hodgson without any doubt describes Urdu as “an *Islamicate* language of India.”<sup>26</sup> Elsewhere we read that calling Urdu an *Islamic* language would be incorrect, but it remains unclear whether *Islamicate* would be a better solution than the, essentially synonymous, paraphrase “a language ‘of the culture of Islamdom.’”<sup>27</sup> For, Hodgson’s is not a text easy to read. In any case, in a typical fashion of civilization and culture oriented studies, Hodgson is theoretically more interested in unity than in diversity. Some sense of “historicity” of the “unity” transpires from the remark that,

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<sup>24</sup> M. Brett Wilson, “Translations of the Qur’an: Islamicate Languages,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Qur’anic Studies*, ed. Mustafa Shah and Muhammad Abdel Haleem (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2020), 552-564:552.

<sup>25</sup> Hodgson, *The venture of Islam, Volume one*, 7. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 15.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

“all the lettered *traditions* of Islamdom have been grounded in the Arabic or the Persian or both.”<sup>28</sup>

From this, and from the formulation “Ottoman Turkish” in the above citation it can be concluded that Hodgson viewed any language mentioned from the perspective of textual tradition visible from the vantage point of modernity, i.e. as a mature product of the historical process of “vernacularization.” The details of the historical processes of the *literization* and *literarization* of respective *Islamicate* languages are beyond the purview of Hodgson’s framework.<sup>29</sup> Same is the case with the non-elite idioms.<sup>30</sup> At first glance, Hodgson’s application of *Islamicate* to any language written in the Arabic script offers nothing of significance for further understanding of the mutual relationship among “the three Ottoman languages” of interest here. Nevertheless, designating “the three Ottoman languages” as *Islamicate* could serve as a potentially productive warning that these languages and their textual traditions had some influence on non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman society which, without doubt was a part of the Islamdom. From there

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> *Literization* and *literarization* are not the terms used by Hodgson, for he does not theorize neither literacy nor language as historical phenomena. These terms are borrowed from the influential work by Sheldon Pollock dedicated to the large scale changes in power relations among languages of the pre-modern South Asia. Pollock uses the term *literization* to account for “breakthrough to writing” of a vernacular/spoken language, arguing that: “(...) writing claims an authority the oral cannot. The authorization to write, above all to write literature, is no natural entitlement, like the ability to speak, but is typically related to social and political and even epistemological privileges.” *Literization*, i.e. “attainment of literacy” is close to, but different from *literarization* which is to mean “attainment of literature.” These are taken to be the initial, more or less overlapping phases of the historical process of “vernacularization.” Pollock understands this very process (as he emphasizes “not apriori or stipulatively but from tendencies visible in the empirical record”) as: “the historical process of choosing to create written literature, along with its complement, a political discourse, in local languages according to models supplied by a superordinate, usually cosmopolitan, literary culture.” Thus the third phase of vernacularization would be “superposition,” i.e. “the presence of a dominant language and literary formation.” Pollock’s work also operates with the concept of “language ideology,” noting that ideology “in a strong sense” is specific to modernity, and discussing its applicability to the societies he studied. Sheldon I. Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), esp. 4, 23, and 287.

<sup>30</sup> Hodgson’s comments on Ottoman linguistic situation are related to his interest in the “Ottoman high culture” centered on the court. He finds that an Ottoman state was peculiar among the states ruled by Turkic dynasties for making a point of “substituting Turkic for Persian as its primary language of high culture” in a process which began in 1455 and lasted until the end of the seventeenth century. Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The venture of Islam: Conscience and history in a world civilization. Volume three: The Gunpowder Empires and Modern Times* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 120-121.

on, one can ask a few, if theoretical, questions: did the internal relationship among “the three Ottoman languages” change, and if so, how; did these changes influence the dynamics of their influence on non-Muslims; how did non-Muslims who shared in the *Islamicate* culture participate in its “lettered tradition;” and, in what linguistic and socio-political conditions did a *non-Islamicate* language become *Islamicate*.

More often than not, Ottoman historians interested in the ideas informing the concept of the Ottoman *elsine-i selāse*, tend to directly import, from the civilization and culture oriented studies, the idea about the almost timeless prestige of Arabic and Persian in the Ottoman society. The focus of attention then moves to placing *Ottoman* Turkish vis-à-vis the two. In these procedures, the point of emphasis depends on the scope of temporal frameworks on one’s mind. Turkic languages in general, and Western Oğuz in particular can be viewed as the latecomers to the realm the Arabographic and Arabo-Persian tradition. The “division of labor” within the collections of Islamic manuscripts deemed to have circulated in the early modern Ottoman empire can be quoted as a quantitative evidence to this end—the established cataloguing practices yield results from which it can be seen that by far the largest number of these texts was produced in Arabic. Second comes Persian, and third Ottoman Turkish. On a more concrete level, it is known that the empowerment of various variants of Turkic (as written languages of the Islamic civilization) was in the hands of the Turcophone Muslim elites. As patrons or authors, these men are held to have invested more or less effort in production of texts in Turkic languages. The interpretations of each particular case, often imply that a Turkic idiom entering the historical process of becoming a multi-functional written language had to grapple with the established prestige of the Arabic and Persian. The sources explicitly addressing “*questione della lingua*” being rare, the meta-comments on the relationship between Turkic and other languages made

within one historical state, are often taken as being analogous to ideas nurtured in another one ruled by Turcophone Muslims. What stands for Chagatay Turkic, for example, is often taken as directly applicable to Western Oğuz, and this due to the evident influence of the literary culture of the former on the literary culture of the latter. ‘Alī Šīr Navā’ī (1441-1501), for example, is considered to have been the founding father of Chagatay literature. Conveniently, he was also an author of a treatise titled *Muḥākamātu’l-Luġatayn* (opinions, thoughts, judgements on the two languages) in which he, in some interpretations, “defended” Turkic as a literary language “against” the dominance of Persian.<sup>31</sup> Whatever its ideological program and ambition in terms of pan-Islamic or pan-Turkic influence, it is probably of some importance to emphasize that this treatise was a late fifteenth century work, i.e. it was written almost two centuries after the foundation of the Ottoman state (in 1499). Finally, a focus on Ottoman empire only led to a consensus among Ottoman historians that the “vernacularization” of Western Oğuz Turkish, most notably sponsored and promoted by the Ottoman state and its literate elites, was a “success story.” Of this and related assumptions, I will talk more throughout the thesis.

Even if we allow there was some truth in some of the grand schemes summarized above, our remarks regarding the social base which perceived and accepted the logic behind the evident ideological clustering of “the three Ottoman languages” can not go much further than saying these

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<sup>31</sup> ‘Alī Šīr Navā’ī lived in the Timurid Empire, and then in the Sultanate of Khorasan. An interpreter and translator of the treatise to English, among other, describes Navā’ī as “a strong Turkish patriot and nationalist, which sentiments expressed themselves as linguistic chauvinism” who, as he grew older “came to feel that real Turkish sovereignty would arrive only when Turkish (Chagatai) was used as the state language and when its literature was written in that idiom.” The text itself is not quoted as an authority behind these statements. Some of Navā’ī’s themes are world languages, language diversity, the general purpose of languages, etc. Of the concrete linguistic material, he provides some hundred Turkic verbs which, as he notes, express nuances and meanings which cannot be found in Persian, and are hardly understandable to Persian speakers. See Robert Devereux, “Judgement of two languages I,” *The Muslim world* 54/4 (1964): 270-287, esp. 271; and *Idem.*, “Judgement of two languages II,” *The Muslim world* 55/1 (1965): 28-45. Of the editions in the original language, the one I had at my disposal is in Ağah Sırrı Levend, *Ali Şir Nevaî, IV. Cilt: Divanlar ile Hamse Dışındaki Eserler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1968), 189-217.

Ottomans were, in words of Shahab Ahmed “the producers of high culture.”<sup>32</sup> Whether, and if so how, the elite discourse-makers perceived the roles of each of the three languages across social domains on the one hand, and how they perceived the language diversity beyond the *elsine-i selāse* cluster, on the other, remains a question worth asking.<sup>33</sup> The discussion of the *elsine-i selāse* cluster in this thesis and its relationship to other languages spoken and written in the Ottoman empire, is informed by a hypothesis that the discourses on language and language diversity were gradually formulated across the social spectrum—not exclusively within the domain of meta-linguistic genres (dictionaries, grammars, translations, treatises on language, rhetoric, style, and alike), and not exclusively by people who were fully competent in respective languages, either as native speakers or learned individuals.

The speakers of South-Slavic languages were exposed to Islamic culture most intensively via their interaction with the Ottoman socio-political and cultural institutions. According to the wisdom of the above sketched schemes, any South-Slavic is to be described as, first and foremost, a *non-Muslim* or *non-Islamic* language. This can be justified by the fact that the major part of the historical textual corpus based in a South-Slavic was not recorded in Arabic script. The Bosnian *aljamiado* literature, as a product of the practice of writing South-Slavic by the use of the Arabic script, could candidate Slavic for an *Islamicate/Islamic* language—but this only as of the turn of the seventeenth century, if we follow the logic of the existing scholarship. Bosnian of the *aljamiado* literature, however, has not been described as either *Islamicate* or *Islamic* language, but as “the language of Bosnian Muslims.” Along the line of Bausani, it can also be said that “a cultural

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<sup>32</sup> Ahmed, *What is Islam?*, 84-85.

<sup>33</sup> Ahmed duly notes that in the region he designates as Balkans-to-Bengal and in which all three languages (“Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman”) functioned as languages of Islam is “a *locally polyglot* region (that is with more than one language spoken in local settings—often by the same people),” *Ibid.*

(–) *stratum*” has formed within the South-Slavic under the historical influence of “the three Ottoman languages.” For some speakers, this layer may (have) prompt(ed) a sense of belonging to the global Muslim community and Islamic culture. Some modern South-Slavs could describe it as a *superstratum*, some as a *substratum*, while some would remain silent or neutral. Some students of civilization and culture would probably consider it a legacy of the Balkan culture. Finally, a South-Slavic has never been labeled an *Ottoman* language in any analytically significant manner. As I will try to explain, my goal in this thesis is not to argue for or against the current nomenclature applied in discussions of both “the three Ottoman languages” and the South-Slavic languages. Rather, I am interested in the ways in which the historical ideas about these languages which informed the production of the early modern Arabographic texts can be reconstructed.

The geo-political and linguistic space in focus of this thesis—the Ottoman ruled South-Slavic Europe—has been, throughout the early modern period, predominantly populated by Slavic-speakers of various faiths. One of the assumptions which informs my discussion is that South-Slavic, seen as a cluster of historical dialects whose speakers could understand each other without training or investing too much of an effort can, without questioning, be considered as *a* model Ottoman language. This assumption is based on an impressionistic estimate of the extent to which spoken South-Slavic dialects contributed to communication within the realms politically ruled by the Ottoman dynasty in the period between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries. The implication of this postulate is that its sheer demographics invested Slavic with some sort of power, the quality and impact of which can be posed as a historical question.

To record their language, the South-Slavs observed in total, used Glagolitic, Cyrillic, Latin, and Arabic scripts in the early modern period. Recording South-Slavic in different scripts can, and has so far been seen as a reflection of division of the speech community along both dialectal and



extra-linguistic lines.<sup>34</sup> Among the extra-linguistic factors of division, confession and ethnicity have been emphasized in scholarship as being of crucial ideological importance. Moreover a one-on-one relationship between confession and ethnicity has been taken for granted, whereby dialect, rather than a language tends to be taken as marker of identity.<sup>35</sup> The built-in priorities then tend to dictate the selection of sources in historically minded narratives of different disciplines (history of language, dialectology, history of literature, philology). Modern language ideologies often lead researchers to neglect or ignore the fact that multilingualism was inherent in the societies in which the textual historical sources they use were produced, i.e. the fact that the linguistic choices made upon production of these sources were made within multilingual regimes. In other words, the researchers working within national academies tend to ideologically profile the historical textual and interpretive communities based on their monolingual cores. Therefore, another, somewhat trivial, but still important postulate informing my discussion is that any *a priori* effort towards imposing confessional or even ethnic labels on the language of texts produced in South-Slavic dialects (or any other idiom for that matter) during the centuries-long Ottoman rule would be futile and anachronistic. Of course, this does not mean that the question about the ways in which various Ottoman languages were perceived or actually functioned as media for promoting various religious or communal values is not to be asked. Nor does it mean that ethnicity, to paraphrase John Fine, did not *entirely* matter.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> As I will be clear from my later discussion, the dialectical variety is here observed as important only to the extent it could disturb communication.

<sup>35</sup> In line with present-day totalizing, post-socialist, national ideologies, the “proper” Serbs, Macedonians, and Bulgarians are Orthodox, Croats are Catholic; and Slovenes, most remote from the conflicts in the religion, predominantly Catholic. The ethnic origin of Bosnians, who can be Catholic, Orthodox, and Muslim, is determined based on a dialect they speak or write.

<sup>36</sup> John V. A. Fine, *When ethnicity did not matter in the Balkans: a study of identity in pre-nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the medieval and early-modern periods* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).

Slavophone Arabographic corpus discussed in this thesis was produced by people of various social profiles whose literacy involved competence in the usage of Arabic script. Their confessional, ethnic and linguistic profiles can only be reconstructed on a case-by-case basis and through the clues left in written texts. In anticipation, it can be said that these people were almost always Muslims. It is also of note that they cannot always be readily identified as Slavic-speakers. The instances of Slavophone Arabographia started appearing with the very inception of the Ottoman intervention in South-Slavia. *Bosnian aljamiado literature*, however, has been studied as a phenomenon which appeared around the turn of the seventeenth century. I establish in this thesis that Slavophone Arabographia—some hundred and fifty years after the Ottomans crossed the Dardanelles in the 1350s—entered a phase of expansion around the turn of the sixteenth century. This expansion gradually led to the development of what has so far been considered a distinct type of literature. This literature, I argue here, cannot be explained without having in mind the socio-political and historical dynamics reflected in this and neighboring corpuses produced before and after the turn of the sixteenth century.<sup>37</sup> Nor can this dynamic, I hold, be easily reduced to *gradual Islamization*, as the existing scholarship suggests. In light of all this, Slavophone Arabographia seemed like a solid term to designate a mode of writing which resulted in production of texts written in Slavic by the use of the Arabic script since the very beginning of the Ottoman conquest in South-Slavia *as well as* Bosnian *aljamiado* literature. Besides, the term *aljamiado*—borrowed from the late-medieval and early-modern Iberian context—adequately connotes the general notions of encounter and power struggles reflected in the realm of language use and literacy. But, when applied to the Slavic case, the term obscures the crucial differences between the Iberian and

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<sup>37</sup> The systematic adaptation of Arabic script for recording Slavic/Bosnian language is taken, in the scholarship shaped by the telos of nationalism, to have been conducted in the nineteenth century, which is also the period when books were printed and newspapers published.

Slavic contexts in terms of historical development and underlying socio-political forces. Although I do not directly deal with oral communication and the power relations underpinning it, Slavophone Arabographia is also coined to keep in mind, even if vaguely, the relative unity of a speech community whose members were predominantly illiterate but should not be excluded as potential target group of the Slavic texts produced by the use of Arabic script—among other available options.

### **III. Language in Historiography**

Fernand Braudel was one of the first modern historians to have pointed out, in 1949, that Ottoman history constituted a part of larger, in this case, Mediterranean-based structures. Reflecting back on the ways in which he constructed his famous narrative centered on some seventy years in Mediterranean history, Braudel underscored a difference between what he termed “the insider and outsider perspectives” in historiography, making a note of the “limitations” of the latter which stems primarily from the lack of linguistic competence. In the same place, Braudel openly talks about the intricate, ideological link between what may be termed historian’s language and the currently available source base/s in the production of historical narratives.<sup>38</sup> One may go even further in the past and recall that one of the founding fathers of Ottoman historiography in its modern garb was Joseph von Hammer who, having read an impressive number of historiographical narratives produced by Ottomans themselves, abridging and translating them to German, created a version of Ottoman history which has not lost its relevance to this day. Ever since then, Ottoman history has been written in a wide variety of languages more or less interested in each other. For example, the first translation into English of a work written by Fuat Köprülü (1890-1966), one of

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<sup>38</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1995), vol. 2, 1245 and *passim*.

the towering figures in the history of Ottoman language, literature and culture, appeared in 1992.<sup>39</sup> Halil İnalçık (1916-2016) can be cited as a positive example and one of the pioneers who established the firm bridge between Turcophone and Anglophone academics thus opening the space for interdisciplinary dialogues which led to a huge surge in development of Ottoman studies. The above examples can serve as a minor reminder that language related practices can be posed as topics of inquiry related to both history writing and to history as past events.

As it will become clear from the chapters to follow, this thesis would not be possible had there not been the immense work of Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav philologists who traced, published, translated, transliterated and wrote about the large bulk of Slavophone Arabographic corpus. As briefly mentioned above, these scholars studied poetic and prose texts written in Slavic by the use of the Arabic script since the turn of the seventeenth century as belonging to an idiosyncratic type of literature testifying to an exclusively Bosnian Muslim cultural identity. In that they followed the lead of Aleksandr F. Gil'ferding who made the first scholarly note of these texts, and Fehim Barjaktarević who suggested the analogy with the Iberian context by introducing the term *aljamiado* into scholarly discourse.<sup>40</sup> The majority of later accounts of Slavic/Bosnian *aljamiado*, written in languages other than Slavic heavily relied on the work of Yugoslav philologists and this is still the case today. Based on the schematic summaries of their work, Slavophone *aljamiado* has so far been juxtaposed to other similar instances of usage of “Arabic script for non-Arabic languages” such as Greek and Albanian, if we stick with the Balkans and its literatures. Slavophone *aljamiado* has also been treated as a case of a wider phenomenon of

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<sup>39</sup> Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*, trans. Gary Leiser (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992)

<sup>40</sup> The references to works of these two scholars are in *Chapter III* where I discuss their contribution to the study of Slavophone Arabographia in details.

*allography* which has recently been described as “a very specific phenomenon, often encountered in Oriental traditions: the habit of writing a language in the script of another.”<sup>41</sup>

What Yugoslav philologists did, however, besides narrowing the context of Slavophone Arabographia to an exclusively local type of literature is that they stripped the texts they studied from their original context, namely from the context of the multilingual manuscripts produced in the early modern Ottoman empire. This move has been readily accepted in summary accounts of this practice mentioned above. The research for this thesis was designed as a corrective to this attitude, with the assumption that the full significance of neither Slavophone Arabographia as a mode of writing, nor Bosnian *aljmiado* as a type of literature can be fully understood unless the multilingualism of the full manuscript context is acknowledged, and unless its implications are considered.

Besides the work of Yugoslav philologists, this thesis is fundamentally informed by the recent developments in Ottoman social, cultural and intellectual history, and more specifically by the ways in which the theme of language features in these works. One of the most important recent “turns” in Ottoman historiography prompted a currently ongoing conversation on source criticism and the critique of the ways in which deeply entrenched dichotomies dictate the selection of sources, as well as, by implication, the structure and the scope of historiographical narratives. These interests were paralleled by acknowledgement of the epistemological value of a wider variety of literary and narrative sources, in addition to archival material, chronicles and biographical dictionaries heavily used previously for culling hard-data and positive facts.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Johannes Den Heijer, Andrea Schmidt, and Tamara Pataridze, eds., *Scripts beyond borders: a survey of allographic traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean world* (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), VII.

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, Cemal Kafadar, “Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature,” *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 121–50.

Another important and related development was inclusion of early modernity as an analytical framework into Ottoman studies. This term borrowed from European historiography not only destabilized the so-called “rise and decline” paradigm that long informed the historiography on the Ottoman Empire, but it also opened new possibilities for addressing various themes from comparative perspective.<sup>43</sup>

As important sub-themes, multilingualism and language diversity loom large in studies of the relationship between the Ottoman empire and foreign polities and cultures.<sup>44</sup> Of special importance, from the perspective of my subject, is the contribution of works dealing with questions of identity and cultural geography,<sup>45</sup> translation,<sup>46</sup> and as of late, vernacularization and language

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<sup>43</sup> See, for example, Cemal Kafadar, “The Question of Ottoman Decline,” *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4/1-2 (1997-1998): 30-75; Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: the historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

<sup>44</sup> The critical interest in this theme was apparently slow in development—as late as 2012, Eric Dursteler, for example, announces that the historiographical myth that the “Turk” was mainly ignorant of European languages has been deconstructed, just as the “anachronistic impositions of monolingualism onto the past.” Eric R. Dursteler, “Speaking in Tongues: Language and Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean,” *Past & Present* 217/1 (2012): 47-77. There is now, however, a growing body of literature which situates the Ottoman Empire within the broader, European and Mediterranean contexts while dealing with inter-imperial diplomatic and mercantile communications, long-distance travel or studying individuals and networks that played significant roles in cultural mediation and translation. The historical actors subject to these inquiries were minimum bilingual—a necessary precondition for mediation and translation. The narratives of their lives, careers and social networks serve as the building blocks of the narratives related to the Ottoman empire in general. Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), and Idem, “Dragomans and “Turkish Literature”: The Making of a Field of Inquiry,” *Oriente Moderno* 93 (2013): 390-421; Tijana Krstić, “Of Translation and Empire-Ottoman Imperial Interpreters as Renaissance Go-Betweens,” in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 130-142; Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

<sup>45</sup> Cemal Kafadar, “A Rome of One’s Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum,” *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 7-25; Selim Kuru, “The literature of Rum: The making of a literary tradition (1450–1600),” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: Volume 2*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Kate Fleet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 212), 548-592; Hüseyin Yılmaz, *Caliphate redefined: the mystical turn in Ottoman political thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

<sup>46</sup> Gottfried, Hagen, “Translations and Translators in a Multilingual Society: A Case Study of Persian-Ottoman Translations, Late 15th to Early 17th Century,” *Eurasian Studies* 2/1 (2003): 95-134; Saliha Paker, “Translation, the Pursuit of Inventiveness and Ottoman Poetics: A Systematic Approach,” in *Culture Contacts and the Making of Cultures: Papers in Hommage to Itamar Even-Zohar*, ed. Sela-Sheffy Rakefet and Gideon Toury (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, Unit of Culture Research, 2011), 459-474.

ideology.<sup>47</sup> Last, but not least, I will mention the recent revisions of received wisdom and historiographical myths pertaining to the process of Islamization in the society and the region I focus on.<sup>48</sup>

Unless one is exclusively relying on documentary and archival sources, the recent works in Ottoman historiography which inform this thesis share a heavy reliance on earlier works and critical editions from the fields of (Oriental) philology/Turcology, literary history, and historical linguistics. What they also share is the use of arguments of multilingualism, language and literacy without necessarily explaining the nature of the relationship between these and other socio-political phenomena. Frequent is also the uncritical borrowing of concepts and arguments from neighboring disciplines—ranging from sociolinguistics to Early Modern European History.<sup>49</sup> Very often, Ottoman scholars addressing language-related themes simply count on the common sense of the reader. These remarks are, of course, gross generalizations which do not do justice either to exceptions or to indirect contributions made by historical works addressing the themes of literature, and albeit tangentially, language and literacy. Languages like Slavic and those which can be seen as having a similar position in Ottoman society (like Greek, Albanian etc.) are studied within the frameworks of national historiographies prone to ignoring the broader socio-political

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<sup>47</sup> Sara Nur Yıldız, and A.C.S. Peacock, eds., *Islamic literature and intellectual life in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Anatolia* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2016); Ferenc Csirkés, ““Chaghatay oration, Ottoman eloquence, Qizilbash rhetoric:” Turkic literature in Safavid Persia” (PhD Thesis, University of Chicago, 2016).

<sup>48</sup> Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kııve Bahası Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670–1730* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Derin Terziođlu, “How to conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A historiographical discussion,” *Turcica* 44 (2012–2013): 301–338.

<sup>49</sup> Also, when scholars speak about Ottoman language/s and their sociolinguistic features they rarely if ever problematize literacy as a historical phenomenon, though they often use a (limited) set of socio-linguistic categories to describe individual texts. Naturally, the linguists most interested in Ottoman context have been Turcologists—scholars interested in the development of modern Turkish language. Together with the historians of Turkish literature, Turcologists remain the best teachers when it comes to Ottoman literacy and language. The relevant works will be cited in due course.

context in which the national languages and literatures developed. When discussed as languages of the Ottoman empire, they are described as languages of the minorities, or even more often, Christian languages.<sup>50</sup>

#### **IV. Methodology and Plan of the Thesis**

This thesis deals with written manifestations of individual/group linguistic awareness and linguistic choices operative in the domain of intra-imperial communication from the perspective of historical language ideology by offering early modern Ottoman Slavophone Arabographia as a case study. My aim is to reconstruct the particular literacy and language ideologies while also using them to illuminate historical actors and communities in new ways. The instances of Slavic written in Arabic script start appearing as free-standing texts only as of the late sixteenth century. Both before and after this period they are often found embedded in larger textual wholes. Some of the main themes that will be addressed in my analyses of the relevant texts throughout the thesis concern: the socio-political setting in which they were produced; the techniques applied upon their production (translation, transliteration: intertextuality, transcription: speech-recording, copying and alike); and finally, the ideological implications of inclusion of Slavophone texts within the various forms of Arabographic literacy. The analysis of sources throughout the thesis is expected to add insights to our understanding of multilingualism/heteroglossia, literacy, and language ideology in early modern Ottoman society. In what follows, I will explain the way in which I understand these terms, their interrelationship, and the applicability of some related assumptions and concepts to the historical context I investigate.

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<sup>50</sup> Johann Strauss, “A Constitution for a Multilingual Empire. Translations of the *Kanun-i Esasi* and Other Official Texts into Minority Languages,” in *The First Ottoman Experiment in Democracy*, ed. Christoph Herzog and Malek Sharif (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2016), 21-51; Benjamin Braude, and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman empire: the functioning of a plural society* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982).



The way I use the words *multilingual* and *multilingualism* in my discussion and analyses of textual sources can be explained by referring to their dictionary meanings since I do not adopt any *a priori* postulates about the relationships among multilingualism, identity and power.<sup>51</sup> The definition of the adjective *multilingual* which reads “involving several or many languages” is, for instance, applicable to my source base. “Written, spoken, etc., in several languages” needs to be broken down—“written in several languages” are many of the texts I studied. “Spoken in several languages” can here be used to describe oral communication acts involving code-switching which ended up being recorded as texts and thus mediated by the act of writing. The question of whether these acts happened in real time situations or were the product of authorial imagination can also be asked as part of the analysis of the texts. “Having or speaking more than two languages,” and “a person who is able to speak more than two languages” invoke the basic facts that the society I study was multilingual in the sense that it was constituted by a large number of speech communities, i.e. groups of people sharing the same language or dialect. Only some of these languages were written, and this in a variety of scripts. Some individuals or groups belonging to respective speech-communities were multilingual, i.e. able speak more than one language. Some members of Ottoman society were able to write by using one script, some could write in more than one. Who these people were and how they employed their linguistic competences can only be reconstructed on the basis of the texts they wrote or those that were written about them.

Derived from the adjective, *multilingualism* means: “the state or condition of being multilingual or the policy promoting this,” “the ability to speak many languages,” and “the use of many languages.” In the sense explained above, multilingualism was the inherent feature of the society I study and the condition of some of its members. Whether people and/or groups within

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<sup>51</sup> I here used the online edition of Oxford English Dictionary, available at <https://www.oed.com/> accessed on March 2, 2021.

Ottoman society promoted multilingualism and if so, for what reasons and purposes, is proposed as a research question in my investigation of the early modern period of Ottoman history. Similar considerations can be applied by analogy to my understanding of possibilities cognate with multilingualism (mono-, bi-, tri-lingualism and alike).

*Heteroglossia* is a term coined by Mikhail Bakhtin in his work on modern Russian novel. It became very popular in various fields of humanities and is sometimes used interchangeably with multilingualism. In choosing among possible definitions of both multilingualism and heteroglossia, I had in mind not the overlaps, but differences in meaning. Heteroglossia is here understood as “the simultaneous use of different kinds of speech or other signs, the tension between them, and their conflicting relationship within one text.”<sup>52</sup> The phrase “different kinds of speech” can refer to differences in language, style, and/or sociolect, as well as the differences in their material representation. Orthographic variations and the degree of orthographic standardization can, for example, be discussed under the rubric of heteroglossia. The terms *tension* and *conflict* employed in the definition are here understood in terms of gradation. In other words, the relationship among different kinds of speech does not have to be understood as one of conflict or tension. Theorizing written multilingual texts, Mark Sebba, for instance, suggested that we need to recognize at minimum “two different ways in which languages can alternate within the same textual composition,” these being *parallelism* and *complementarity*. Sebba also instructively noted the importance of viewing text as an image for understanding the relationship among the different kinds of speech contained in one text.<sup>53</sup> Concretely, when I talk about Slavophone Arabographia I

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<sup>52</sup> Vyacheslav Ivanov, “Heteroglossia,” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9/1-2 (1999): 100-102.

<sup>53</sup> Parallelism is “where there are ‘twin texts’ each with the same content, but in different codes/languages.” Complementarity is “where two or more textual units with different content are juxtaposed within the framework of a textual composition.” Mark Sebba, “Researching and Theorising Multilingual Texts,” in *Language Mixing and Code-Switching in Writing: Approaches to Mixed-Language Written Discourse*, ed. Mark Sebba, Shahrzad Mahootian, and Carla Jonsson (Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), 1-26, esp.14-15.

do not mean that it, in itself, implies bilingualism. When found in larger textual wholes, the relationship among the instances of this mode of writing and those employed in the rest of the text needs to be interpreted on a case by case basis. When Slavophone Arabographia serves as a base for a free-standing text, whether the text represents a distinct image, or an image which does not stand out from its immediate context is considered a question to pose in individual cases.

The next important thing to clarify is the way I understand the term *literacy* used in the title of this thesis. *Literacy* “can be roughly defined as communication through visually decoded inscriptions, rather than through auditory and gestural channels.”<sup>54</sup> The people who produced and used the texts I study were obviously *literate*. As such they may also be described as being “able to read and write,” and seen in contrast to the *illiterate*. Although the inadequacy of this common-sense usage has been recognized to an extent, it still permeates Ottoman history writing.<sup>55</sup> One is thus tempted to accuse early modern Ottomanists of, for example, not publishing a work which would deal with the words the historical actors they study used for *literacy/illiteracy* or to designate “the (dis)ability to read and write.” But before rushing, one may recall a book written in 2010 in which Hillary Janks notes that many languages, including German and French, do not even have a word which is directly synonymous with English *literacy*. More importantly, she finds it necessary to emphasize that “different communities do literacy differently.”<sup>56</sup> Just as in the case of this statement, my own understanding of literacy is informed by theories and concepts which address this historical phenomenon as a social practice. The frameworks developed around this

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<sup>54</sup> Nico Besnier, “Literacy,” in Duranti, *Key Terms*, 136-137:136.

<sup>55</sup> Ottoman society has often been treated as Islamic society. The state of the art in terms of history of literacy in the Ottoman empire is subsumed under discussions of literacy throughout the “Islamic world.” See for example Nelly Hanna, “Literacy and the ‘great divide’ in the Islamic world, 1300–1800,” *Journal of Global History* 2 (2007): 175–194.

<sup>56</sup> Hilary Janks, *Literacy and Power* (New York; London: Routledge, 2010), 2.

assumption, most notably, the New Literacy Studies, aim to subsume the so called “autonomous model of literacy” which, roughly speaking, heavily focuses on literacy rates, levels, ages and discrete sets of skills.<sup>57</sup> If not imported wholesale, some of the concepts and models developed within New Literacy Studies can inspire a more nuanced visions of historical contexts, first of all because they help differentiate among various levels of analysis of texts and the practices related to their (re)production.<sup>58</sup> Of these concepts, I will single out *literacy event* and *literacy practice*. According to a most broadly accepted definition, *literacy event* is “any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants’ interactions and their interpretative processes.”<sup>59</sup> Unlike *literacy event* which is understood as a concrete occasion fairly easy to describe, *literacy practice* is an abstraction which requires more caution. In Janks’s words, *literacy practice* “implies patterned and conventional ways of using written language that are defined by culture and regulated by social institutions.”<sup>60</sup> The history of the concept of *literacy practice* is tightly related to “ideological model” of literacy suggested by Brian Street.<sup>61</sup> Within this model

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<sup>57</sup> Janks, *Literacy and Power*, 118; Brian V. Street, “Literacy events and literacy practices: theory and practice in the New Literacy Studies,” in *Multilingual literacies: reading and writing different worlds*, ed. Marilyn Martin-Jones and Kathryn Jones (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 2000), 17-29: 24.

<sup>58</sup> Hanna suggests this as well, but, as noted above, the scope of her considerations is defined by the broad notion of Islamic society.

<sup>59</sup> “Literacy event” is the concept coined in analogy to sociolinguistic “speech event.” In its earliest usage (according to Street, in 1980 by A.B. Anderson and Stokes) it was defined as “an occasion during which a person ‘attempts to comprehend graphic signs.’” The above quoted definition was proposed by Shirley Brice Heath in 1982, and has since then often served as a starting point for further elaborations. When used on its own, the concept “literacy event” turned out to be too descriptive, i.e. not useful for understanding of “how meanings are constructed.” Parallel to this, there appeared the concept of “literacy practice” used by Street to designate “social practices and conceptions of reading and writing.” From this point on, the debates have revolved around the mutual relationship between “literacy event” and “literacy practice” as theoretical concepts. Street, “Literacy events and literacy practices,” 21.

<sup>60</sup> Janks, *Literacy and Power*, 2.

<sup>61</sup> The “ideological model” of literacy has been conceived and still debated and developed as a contrast to “autonomous” model of literacy. “Ideological” is here used, according to Street, “not in its old-fashioned Marxist (and current anti-Marxist) sense of ‘false consciousness’ and simple-minded dogma, but rather in the sense employed by ‘radical’ groups within contemporary anthropology, sociolinguistics and cultural studies, where ideology is the site of tension between authority and power on the one hand and individual resistance and creativity on the other (...). This

Street develops the notion of *literacy practices* which “incorporate not only literacy events, as empirical occasions to which literacy is integral, but also ‘folk models’ of those events and the ideological preconceptions that underpin them.”<sup>62</sup> In Street’s words, the notion was developed to emphasize that *literacy practices* are aspects “not only of ‘culture’ but also of power structures.”<sup>63</sup> In his account of the career of the concept, Street warns against its naturalization and instructively notes that in practice, the researcher first needs to make a shift from observation of *literacy events* to conceptualization of *literary practice*. It is only after this that they can “talk about whether certain *identities* were associated with particular practices.”<sup>64</sup> The instances of Slavophone Arabographia embedded in larger textual wholes which I analyze in first two chapters of the thesis may be seen as resulting from *literacy events* which need to be described and interpreted from the perspective of literacy ideology and language ideology. In cases of free-standing Slavophone Arabographic texts, I tend to observe them as the sole focus of a *literacy event*. Whether, when and around which domains of social activity the different events involving Slavophone Arabographia started constituting a *literacy practice*, and by extension, which ideologies and identities can be associated with this practice, are some of the questions informing my discussion.

Although historical and modern ideas and beliefs about language have long been the subject of popular and academic interest, as a particular field of inquiry, language ideology has

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tension operates through the medium of variety of cultural practices, including particularly language and, of course, literacy.” Brian V. Street, “Literacy Practices and Literacy Myths,” in *The Written world: studies in literate thought and action*, ed. Roger Säljö (Berlin; New York: Springer-Verlag, 1988), 59-72: 60.

<sup>62</sup> Street, “Literacy Practices and Literacy Myths,” 61.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>64</sup> To illustrate, Street provides an example from his own fieldwork in Iranian villages during 1970s. Street, “Literacy events and literacy practices,” 22.

been defined and theorized within language anthropology.<sup>65</sup> The term *language ideology* has two basic applications. In some instances it designates an object of study most simply defined as “ideas and beliefs about language.” It can also be applied as a concept “designed to assist in the study of those beliefs.”<sup>66</sup> Bringing the two applications together, Paul V. Kroskrity suggests that language ideology should be viewed “as a cluster concept, consisting of a number of converging dimensions.” He further considers “five of these partially overlapping but analytically distinguishable layers of significance” and the underlying assumptions. The five levels are described as: group or individual interests, multiplicity of ideologies, awareness of speakers, mediating functions of ideologies, and role of language ideology in identity construction.<sup>67</sup> An examination of texts or corpuses which are produced in multilingual settings or texts which are

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<sup>65</sup> Language anthropology operates at the intersection between understandings of language as a phenomenon embedded in socio-cultural realities and institutions, and the assumption that language itself has the power to create and perpetuate those formations. Starting with the assumption that language has the capacity to create reality, anthropologists went on to conceptualize the sites of this reality-creating. So far, three different conceptualizations emerged. According to the first view, “the reality-constituting capacity of language is located in the structure of the language itself.” Michael Silverstein’s early work can be quoted as representing this view. Another view “located this creation in the process of discourse in face-to-face interaction, in the speech of human actors.” Different articulations of this second view came with different conceptualizations of discourse and power. According to the third view, “the reality-creating power of language rests in very large-scale, power-laden *social historical processes* that both shape and are shaped by the power of language.” In this framework, language, and especially “talk about talk” or “language ideology,” serves “the production of relatively abstract relations of domination and subordination” such as “a global political economy, the historical process of European colonialism, and the emergence of nation-states.” Susan U. Philips, “Power,” in Duranti, *Key Terms*, 190-192. See also Michael Silverstein, “Language structure and linguistic ideology,” in *The elements: A parasession on linguistic units and levels*, ed. Paul Clyne, William F. Hanks, and Carol L. Hofbauer (Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 1979), 193-247.

<sup>66</sup> Paul V. Kroskrity, “Language ideologies,” 497-501.

<sup>67</sup> The assumption behind the definition of the first level is that “language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group.” An analysis of concrete data would also take into account the gradient distinction between *neutral ideological analysis* focusing on shared beliefs and practices, and *critical ideological analysis* emphasizing the political use of language as particular group’s instrument of symbolic domination. The assumption behind the second level is that language ideologies should be “conceived as multiple because of the plurality of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations and so on) within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership.” Third level implies that “members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies.” In other words, language ideologies can be explicitly articulated, and as such easier to access by a researcher, while there are also “ideologies of practice that must be read from actual usage.” Fourth level is formulate to warn that “member’s language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk.” Finally, “language ideologies are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities (e.g. nationality, ethnicity). Kroskrity, “Language ideologies,” 501-511.

characteristic for multilingualism/heteroglossia would involve—from the perspective of language ideology—an investigation of explicit or implicit ideas and beliefs about particular languages and their mutual relationship which can be associated with individuals or groups.<sup>68</sup>

As noted above, the theme of language ideology has attracted certain amount of attention in the fields directly neighboring Ottoman history.<sup>69</sup> A number of instructive examples can also be found in works dealing with other historical contact zones of the late medieval and early modern period.<sup>70</sup> Both the theory and scholarship which is aware of the importance of language as a tool for constructing historical realities, on the one hand, and a mirror of those realities on the other hand, teach us that changes in language ideologies are concomitant with the socio-political and cultural changes. And yet, neither theory nor scholarship provide a universal guidance as to how a historian of a particular society is supposed to relate the two, i.e. to establish which historical language ideologies can be brought into connection with which historical trends and conditions. Having in mind that very methodology is a matter of ideology (as understood by language anthropology), this thesis starts from an extra-linguistically defined and historically confirmed notion of contact and/or encounter, and then moves on to investigate how this encounter reflected itself in the written texts selected for analysis. Taking the historical encounter as a point of

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<sup>68</sup> Bringing together the themes of language ideology, literacy and orthography Kathryn A. Woolard warns that “Ideologies of literacy are not identical to ideologies of language as they focus on speech,” and notes that “The relationship of social groups as well as individual readers—lay and professional—to specific texts depends fundamentally on ideologies of language.” Kathryn A. Woolard, “Introduction: Language Ideology as a Field of Inquiry,” in Woolard et al., *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, 3-46: 22.

<sup>69</sup> See fn.44.

<sup>70</sup> Consuelo López-Morillas, “Language and Identity in Late Spanish Islam,” *Hispanic Review* 63/2 (1995): 193-210; Kathryn Woolard, “Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco Problem: A Study in Early Modern Spanish Language Ideology,” *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History* 44 (2002): 446-480; Mercedes Garcia-Arenal and Fernando Rodriguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: converted Muslims, the forged lead books of Granada, and the rise of orientalism*, trans. Consuelo Lopez-Morillas (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013); Consuelo López-Morillas, “Aljamiado and the Moriscos’ Islamicization of Spanish,” in *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics: Papers from the Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Volume VI: Columbus, Ohio 1992*, ed. Mushira Eid, Vicente Cantarino and Keith Walters (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1994), 17-23.

departure this thesis offers a somewhat different treatment of a textual corpus which has already been subjected to an interpretation heavily loaded by what is now also a historical language ideology.

Concretely, the questions related to multilingualism/heteroglossia, literacy and language ideology understood in the above outlined manner are here treated as they converge around the texts selected for analysis based on the formal criterion that they contain instances of Slavophone Arabographia. The goal, however, is not to examine these texts in isolation, but to problematize their status and meaning within the larger, Ottoman Arabographic corpus with the awareness that Ottoman society was not only multilingual, but also multiscriptural. Shedding more light on the interpretive communities these texts can be associated with is set as the second goal of text analysis.<sup>71</sup> This will be done by pointing out the features which render these texts exceptional and/or comparable with other Arabographic texts from their immediate (scriptural, linguistic, material, social) surrounding; by making note of the discourses in which presence of Slavic speakers in the Ottoman Empire is, explicitly or implicitly acknowledged, and by discussing or, more honestly put, acknowledging the presence of the neighboring non-Arabographic corpuses which were simultaneously produced with more or less shared ideas about literacy and language/s.

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<sup>71</sup> As theorized by Stanley Fish, the concept of interpretive community is based on a particular understanding of text. According to Fish, text is not “an entity which remains the same from one moment to the next,” but “the structure of meanings that is obvious and inescapable from the perspective of whatever interpretive assumptions happen to be in force.” An interpretive community “is made up of those who share interpretive strategies not for reading (in the conventional sense) but for writing texts, for constituting their properties and assigning their intentions.” Furthermore, the interpretive strategies “exist prior to the act of reading and therefore determine the shape of what is read rather than, as is usually assumed, the other way around. If it is an article of faith in a particular community that there are a variety of texts, its members will boast a repertoire of strategies for making them.” The way I understand the applicability of this concept to historical studies is that “the structure of meanings” constituting a text is directly dependent on a socio-political and historical context in which a text (as a mere experience, memory, as well as an utterance/discourse materialized by writing) functions as a discernible entity. A key historian’s task is therefore, to identify historical “texts” which are relatable to historical “interpretive communities,” i.e. to determine the defining parameters of both respective corpora of texts and the respective interpretive communities. Stanley Fish, *Is there a text in this class?: the authority of interpretive communities* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), esp. vii, and 167-173.



A few words are also due about the scope. This thesis is informed by on-site and online examination of manuscript collections which are commonly considered representative for the Ottoman-ruled South Slavia, from Vienna, Sarajevo, Skopje, Sofia, Belgrade, Zagreb, Bratislava, and Istanbul. The research done to the best of my abilities has confirmed what has been known to scholars for decades, namely, that today, Sarajevo and Zagreb are the only significant destinations for one searching for free-standing Slavophone Arabographic texts from the early modern period. This is the main reason why this thesis is heavily biased towards Ottoman-West in its selection of sources (both of Slavophone Arabographic texts and of texts adduced to discuss their context). Nevertheless, an attempt has been made here to both observe this region as part of the larger context of the Ottoman empire and to discuss the material in a way which implies that comparisons and further research (both within and beyond the Ottoman context) are possible, and, moreover, desired.

*Chapter I* of this thesis (*The Period of Inauguration of Ottoman Multilingualism and the New Ways of Using Slavic Words*) revolves around the analysis of the form, contents, and context of instances of Slavic written in Arabic script datable to the period which is tentatively described here as inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism. The sources analyzed in this chapter are those produced primarily with utilitarian purposes in mind, from the late fourteenth century onward. The discussion complements *Chapter II* (*Ottoman Interpretive Communities and Language Anxieties of the Long Sixteenth Century*) which focuses on the texts that reflect aesthetic and literary ambitions more pronouncedly. *Chapter III* (*Introducing Geography, Politics, and Poetics of the Seventeenth-Century Expansion of Slavophone Arabographia*) broaches the seventeenth century expansion of Slavophone Arabographia manifested in the production of more and more free-standing texts and, though not unlimited, significant diversification in terms of genres. This is done

through the analysis of the output and biographies of three authors known by name: Ḥācī Yusuf of Livno, Mehmed Hevāyī Üskūfī Bosnevī, and Hasan Ḳā'imī. The goal of this chapter is to interpret the linguistic choices and literary engagement of concrete authors in light of what is known about their lives and work. *Chapter IV (Interpreting the Slavic Inflection of the Early modern Ottoman Arabographia)* looks into the original, multilingual context of a select number of texts previously studied within the framework of “Bosnian *aljamiado* literature.” The goal of this chapter is to understand the seventeenth century context in which the relative expansion of Slavophone Arabographia occurred and the future of the ideas which informed it. The three cases of known authors of free-standing Slavophone Arabographic texts are used as hermeneutical tools for discussing other relevant texts which date to the long seventeenth century as well as the reception, development and diversification of the techniques of meaning-making and language-related ideas identified on the individual level in *Chapter III*. The main goal of this chapter is to understand to what extent the seventeenth-century expansion of Slavophone Arabographia can be viewed as informed by previous experiences and ideas, and to what extent it can be considered a novelty from the perspective of historical literacy and language ideology. This chapter redresses the existing theories on the relationship of these texts with other, geographically, materially and temporally neighboring corpuses.

## **Chapter I: The Period of Inauguration of Ottoman Multilingualism and the New Contexts for Slavic Words**

This chapter outlines the first series of arguments in support of an argument that the relative marginality of Slavophone Arabographia and its textual corpus within the Ottoman media ecosystem did not imply its ideological insignificance.<sup>1</sup> As noted in the *Introduction*, the instances of Slavic written in the Arabic script started appearing as free-standing texts only as of the late sixteenth century. Before this period, they were exclusively found embedded in larger textual wholes. The socio-political settings in which these larger textual units were produced and used, their multilingualism and/or heteroglossia, and the ideas surrounding the inclusion of Slavophone texts within the various forms of Arabographic literacy before the end of the sixteenth century are the main themes that will be addressed in this and the next chapter of this thesis. A distinct task of this chapter is to point to the various extra-linguistic factors which potentially informed ideological aspects of the early history of writing Slavic in Arabic script. Since this thesis observes the history of Slavophone Arabographia as an integral part of history of Ottoman multilingualism, I will first provide a short introduction into the broad trends from the history of Ottoman multilingualism, and explain what exactly I mean by “inauguration.” I will then proceed to the task of situating Slavic, its speakers, and the practice of writing Slavic in the Arabic script within the context of transition of South-Slavia to the new multilingual regime, which started around the end of the fourteenth century.

Selected for analysis based on the formal criterion, the texts produced in South-Slavic by the use of Arabic script in the period of inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism are here observed

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<sup>1</sup> The terms “media ecology,” and “media ecosystem” have been crafted by scholars inspired by Marshal McLuhan’s ideas. The latter term is used here with the goal of invoking, on the one hand, the complexity of interrelationships among various means and modes of communication in the early modern period of history, and, on the other hand, the problematics of the role of form/media and/or contents in the process of interpretation of messages.

as one of the key indices of innovations resulting from the socio-political and cultural encounter resulting from the gradual Ottoman conquest of South-Slavia. Slavophone Arabographia is thus viewed as part and parcel of broader process of early modern transformation of media ecosystem in South-Slavia as a cultural contact zone, as well as media ecosystem of the expanding Ottoman state. This transformation is observed as being punctuated by, among other, a series of literacy events some of which represented a continuation of previously established literacy practices while some reflected changes in socio-political and power relations.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the analytical part of this chapter focuses on early instances of Slavophone Arabographia with the aim of understanding the novelty/continuity in the ways in which they engaged the producers and users of the texts in which they appeared. With all this in mind, I first analyze a set of the fifteenth-century textbooks produced in/around the Ottoman court with the goal of teaching multiple languages, one of them being Slavic/Serbian. The chapter then turns to the question of the broader, immediate context of Slavophone Arabographia. This context is defined by the new ways in which Slavic written in different scripts participated in production of texts which can be related to the evolving modes of Ottoman interference with the locales which belonged to the South-Slavic dialect continuum. Narrative sources produced in this period, in Slavic and other, non-Arabic scripts, certainly reflected the new realities and reconfigurations of standing multilingual regimes. A theoretical question interesting from the perspective of language ideology which cannot be fully addressed here is what non-Arabographic narrative texts tell us about the ways in which pre-Ottoman South-Slavia was mapped and then re-mapped by linguistic choices made by their producers. Although I cannot give justice to this corpus here, I find it important to provide a few illustrations and to note that some of these texts were enriched by including texts in the language/s of the new political

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<sup>2</sup> For explanation of the terms “literacy event” and “literacy practice” see the *Introduction*.

power. How spontaneous these acts were is considered a matter for further investigation. Anyway, from all we know, the circulation of Slavophone narrative texts apparently remained limited to Slavophone interpretive communities. The most prominent textual corpuses, both Cyrillic and Arabographic, which can serve as a measure of the gradual buildout of Ottoman multilingualism in South-Slavia belong to the domains of pragmatic literacy (diplomatic, official, private, and semi-private correspondence; legal and administrative texts).<sup>3</sup> It is for this reason that special attention is given in this chapter to Slavic/Cyrillic pragmatic literacy which “survived” the Ottoman conquest of South-Slavia.

### **I.1. The Building Blocks of Ottoman Multilingualism**

Sometime around 1300, a Turcophone leader called ‘Osmān started gaining more and more political support in a region bordering the great Byzantine Empire (600-1453) which was led by

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<sup>3</sup> Following Britnell, I take pragmatic literacy (*ger. pragmatische Schriftlichkeit*) to (simply) mean the “use of writing for “practical purposes.” Importantly, in Britnell and elsewhere, the usage of the term “pragmatic literacy” implies distinction between “two different modes of written texts.” This is the distinction I also adopt, but I leave the description of the two modes of written texts and their mutual relationship a question open for discussion. One reason for this is that the term “pragmatic literacy” is not very current in scholarship dealing with Arabographic texts, and the other is that scholars who theorized the difference worked on rather specific corpuses and historical contexts. These scholars are predominantly Europeanists/medievalists and the major theme related to historical language ideology informing their work is the relationship between Latin and European vernaculars. In Britnell, who studies pragmatic literacy in Latin Christendom, one mode of written texts is defined as “the literary manuscript the work of philosophy, theology, history, law, poetry or romance which had the capacity to instruct, edify or entertain an indefinite number of readers,” and the other is a product of pragmatic literacy, namely “the sort of written text...(which) contributed to some legal or administrative operation and was produced for the use of a particular administrator or property owner.” Britnell further maintains that records of the second sort “had no marketable value, and if they were copied, it was for administrative convenience, not to satisfy a wider range of readers...” and most importantly, from the possible comparative perspective, that “pragmatic literacy could not create political, economic or religious authority, which rested upon a wider range of traditional beliefs and practices, but it was a means by which almost any type of authority could be better safeguarded or stretched to new limits.” Similarly, Clanchy studies “the growth of literacy for practical purposes,” in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Europe, framing the growth of literacy in general as an increasing reliance on written word as opposed to reliance on memory. Following Parkes, he distinguishes between pragmatic literacy as “the literacy of one who has to read or write in the course of transacting any kind of business” and “literacy for purposes of recreation or self-improvement, the literacy of the ‘cultivated reader.’” The latter is taken to become more widespread “as more was being written down in vernacular languages.” Richard Britnell, ed., *Pragmatic literacy, East and West, 1200-1330* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK; Rochester, NY, USA: Boydell Press, 1997), esp. vii, 3. Malcolm B. Parkes, *Scribes, scripts, and readers: studies in the communication, presentation, and dissemination of medieval texts* (London, U.K.; Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press, 1991). Michael T. Clanchy, *From memory to written record: England, 1066-1307* (Chichester, West Sussex; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), esp. 249.

Grecophone elite. The initial stage of the development of the polity built around the idea of loyalty to the House of ‘Osmān overlapped not only with the closing chapters of Byzantine history, but also with final days of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum (1077-1308) ruled by Turco-Persophone elite. The Sultanate, with which shrinking Byzantium had shared its eastern border in Asia Minor for more than two centuries, was now giving way to a number of smaller polities led by Turcophone *Beys* (governors), of whom ‘Osmān was only one. In 1354, the third generation of leaders from the House of ‘Osmān crossed the Dardanelles for the first time. The crossing marked the beginning of their march in the European remnants of the Byzantine Empire. It was also a harbinger of the future Ottoman conquest of the territories located west of Byzantium which were politically controlled by speakers of South-Slavic. In the dominantly South-Slavic speaking region, the Ottomans will face the long-standing Second Bulgarian Empire (1185-1396) and Serbian state (1166-1371). For several decades, the latter functioned as an empire “of Serbs and Greeks” (1355-1371). To the north-west, Serbia neighbored the Bosnian state (*banate* from 1154 to 1377), which transformed into an independent kingdom (1377-1463) exactly around the period of Ottoman expansion in Europe. North of both of these states lay the realms of Hungarian-speaking kings whose crown was first granted by Latin-speaking Pope of Rome (ca.1000), with the blessing of Otto III, German speaking Emperor, the son of a Byzantine Princess, Teophanu. The dialogue between South-Slavic political leaders of all stripes and the Hungarian kings had lasted since the very inception of their respective polities. The necessity of conversation of all mentioned parties with representatives of Byzantine empire needs no particular emphasis. Also, by 1367, Albanian speakers created several principalities. Though constantly challenged by Venetian and Ottoman incursions these principalities preserved their independence until the first half of the fifteenth century.

The territories of all of the above mentioned polities were subject to gradual Ottoman conquest. The Ottoman take-over of the small Mediterranean, insular principalities controlled by Italianate dukes, counts and knights was less systematic in terms of geographic expansion, but equally continuous. Though a serious, about a decade long crisis came with their military and symbolic defeat in the Battle of Ankara (1402), Ottomans managed to recover, go on to conquer Constantinople (1453), and as of then, confidently view themselves as emperors, among the other titles. By 1541, the Ottoman political domination was more or less firmly imposed on most of the Asia Minor and all territories of the fourteenth-century Byzantium in Europe. What used to be the Byzantine west (Bulgaria, Serbia, Albania, Bosnia, parts of Hungary) was then the western part of Ottoman dominion. Also by 1541, the Ottoman state grew to include the multilingual areas around Euphrates and Tigris, the easternmost point of which was exit to the Persian Gulf. Under Ottoman leadership, Asia Minor was politically connected to the medieval Bilad-i Sham, and then to Egypt which was in communication with a comparatively narrow coastal strip of Northern Africa stretching towards the west. Of the formidable eastern adversaries of the Ottomans, mention is due of Mamluk Sultanate based in Cairo (1250-1517) and Safavid Empire (1501-1736). Mamluk Sultans initially spoke Turkic, and sometimes after the fourteenth century, Circassian. They also spoke Arabic by means of which they administered the state. Safavids mainly spoke Persian and Turkic.

Thus, by 1541, the members of the Turcophone Ottoman dynasty replaced or subdued political leaders who spoke variants of Greek, Albanian, South-Slavic, Hungarian, Turkic, Circassian, Arabic and Persian. They also took over the governance of their former subjects, who spoke dozens and dozens of languages in the continental area only, not to mention the languages of the Mediterranean islands. Although the borders and boundaries of Ottoman Empire were never

stable, it can safely be said that at least until the end of the seventeenth century, ‘Osmān’s descendants were the focal points of the series of governments which mustered the largest amount of economic, political and symbolic capital to maintain control of this vast, multilingual territory. This thesis is focused on Ottoman empire only, and even more narrowly to the Ottoman-ruled South-Slavic Europe, but with the awareness that the multiplicity of spoken idioms was inherent feature of the Ottoman state as well as of all societies Ottomans came into contact during the expansion of their rule and the process of Ottoman empire building.

What I termed “the period of inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism” is held to have started around the beginning of the fourteenth century with the very inception of the process of the Ottoman state-building in the multilingual environment of the North-Western Asia Minor. The mid-sixteenth century is taken to be the end-point of the period from the perspective of the geographical scope of this thesis. It is around the mid-sixteenth century that political and geographical base of the linguistic variety in the European part of the Ottoman empire reached the extent which will not significantly change until the late seventeenth century. South-Slavic dialects and their speakers started becoming the demographic constituent of Ottoman multilingualism in between these two points. This tentative time-frame is meant to serve as a tool of emphasis rather than an analytical scheme to be imposed on the source material. Based on imperial political geography, it has been postulated in order to emphasize the historicity of Ottoman multilingualism and, more narrowly, the historicity of Ottoman language ideologies as manifested in written sources, on the one hand. On the other hand, the loose periodization leaves room for a more open-minded investigation of the dynamics of the relationship among various languages, spoken and written, without naturalizing the symbolic power of the written word or enclosing the investigated textual/interpretive communities within pre-imposed temporal, ethnic, confessional or social



boundaries. Slavophone Arabographia as a mode of writing is here viewed as one manifestation of this complex dynamic.

Since the above historical sketch emphasized the historical encounters among speakers of various languages endowed with great amount of political and military power, a few notes are due about large-scale textual communities which I consider relevant for my discussion, their mutual influences and points of overlaps. The formation and development of these communities started well before the Ottomans crossed to European continent. In other words, both Ottomans and their (future) South-Slavic subjects were belonging to, communicating with, or being influenced by the long standing traditions of usage of the written word and probably had some sense of the standing power relationships among various spoken and written idioms. How these power relationships changed with the changes of socio-political circumstances is, of course, a historical question. By “relevant textual communities” I mean those which were already formed by the end of the fourteenth century and which had left an immediately visible imprint on what would become the Ottoman-ruled South-Slavia (Greek, Latin and South-Slavic), as well as those which would start functioning in the region with the help of Ottoman mediation (Turkic, Arabic and Persian). Thus, I do not consider, for example, Armenian textual communities, although I am aware they functioned in other parts of the empire, and maybe even, to an extent, in South-Slavia. Of the influence of Hebrew texts in South-Slavia, I can only say it probably was in effect in the early modern period.

The history of the immediate encounter between Turkic and Greek speakers in Asia Minor started being textualized long before the emergence of the Ottoman state. The written record of this encounter was produced against the background of political relations between the empire of Byzantium (divided after the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204); Seljuk

Sultanate of Rum based in Konya (1077-1308, the independent Anatolian offshoot of the Great Seljuk Empire itself lasting from 1037 until 1194); and relatively small Anatolian principalities (*beyliks*) which were more or less controlled by the Seljuks of Rum.<sup>4</sup> The scope and variety of written records of Byzantine Greeks needs no particular emphasis, but it should be noted that Western Oğuz Turkic spoken by Great Seljuks, Seljuks of Rum and/or some of their (semi-)dependents was yet to become a multifunctional written language. Seljuks mainly used Persian as language of bureaucracy and administration, while perpetuating various genres of Arabic and Persian letters. Aside from Turkic, many of the Seljuk subjects from Anatolia also spoke Greek and Armenian.<sup>5</sup> When the Seljuk sultanate of Rum was established (1077), the text of the Quran had been circulating for more than four hundred years, Firdevsī's *Šāh-nāme*, written in Early New Persian was not more than one hundred years old (written between 977 and 1010), while *Diwānu 'l-Luġati 't-Turk*—the first known compendium of Turkic words and customs submitted to Abbasid caliph in Baghdad by an author originating from Kara-Khanid Khanate of Central Asia —was composed just around this time (between 1072 and 1077). The unsystematic and multifocal process of textualization of Turkic dialects of Anatolia began much later, in the thirteenth century. It evolved in the context of Seljukid and post-Seljukid history. The most famous early textual monuments of this process are instances of Turcophone Arabographia found in Celāluddīn Rūmī's *Meşnevī*, an extensive poem predominantly written in Persian, but also containing parts composed

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<sup>4</sup> Of Byzantine Asia Minor on the eve of the Turkic conquest in the eleventh century and later, see Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); Andrew C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, and Sara Nur Yıldız, eds., *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015). Of post-1204 Byzantine history, see, for example, Dimiter Angelov, *Imperial ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Recent introductions to histories of the Great Seljuks and Seljuks of Rum are Andrew C. S. Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015); and, Andrew C.S. Peacock, and Sara Nur Yıldız, eds., *The Seljuks of Anatolia: court and society in the medieval Middle East* (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2013).

<sup>5</sup> Peacock *et al.*, *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, 2.

in Greek by the use of Arabic script.<sup>6</sup> Rūmī's son, Sulṭān Veled, took a step further by including comparatively larger number of Turkic (and Greek) verses into his predominantly Persian works. The politics of the texts produced by the two poets in the environment in which Arabic and Persian functioned as "already available" literary languages were analyzed in detail in an article by Lars Johanson.<sup>7</sup> One of his remarks important from the perspective of language ideology is that textualization of a spoken language (in this case Turkic and Greek) does not occur unless there is a sense that a text thus produced will, next to others (in this case poetic and aesthetic), have an informative value, i.e. that it will communicate the existing knowledge to new kinds of target audiences.<sup>8</sup>

By 1308, when Seljuks of Rum gave way to a number of independent Anatolian *Beyliks*, Byzantines were back in their capital (as of 1261), but they lost most of their territories in Asia Minor. A small patch they preserved existed in the form of culturally flourishing Empire of Trebizond included in the Ottoman state in 1461. After the Seljuk demise, Anatolian Turkic continued developing as a written language under the patronage of various *Beys* who also continued acting as patrons of Arabic and Persian letters.<sup>9</sup> The territories of all of their principalities became integral parts of the Ottoman empire by the first half of the sixteenth century. The scholar who provided valuable insights into the interplay between language and power in the thirteenth century Anatolia i.e. in the period of transition of the so-called Old Anatolian Turkic to Ottoman Turkish, was Şinasi Tekin. Among other extant examples, Tekin also refers to Turkic verses produced by Rūmī and his son while drawing attention to inner dynamics of the process in

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<sup>6</sup> To my best knowledge, Armenian Arabographia is not attested in this period.

<sup>7</sup> Note that literary Greek was "not available."

<sup>8</sup> Lars Johanson, "Rumi and the Birth of Turkish Poetry," *Journal of Turkology* 1/1 (Summer 1993): 23–37

<sup>9</sup> Peacock and Yıldız, *Islamic literature and intellectual life*.

the end of which Western Oğuz of the Ottomans became the most powerful Turkic dialect in Asia Minor. A migrant from Khwarezmian Empire (1077-1231) to Seljuk Empire of Rum, Rūmī apparently transmitted the dialectical features of written Central Asian Turkic to Anatolia in which Western Oğuz dominated as spoken language, but its textualization was yet to begin. Born and raised in Konya, Sulṭān Veled is quoted as producer of the text which was, due to the influence of the environment, devoid of Eastern Turkic dialectical features. Tekin further writes that the dialectical inconsistencies would remain a characteristic of texts subsequently produced by a limited number of literate individuals migrating from Central Asia to Anatolia and its vicinity. The inconsistencies, however, would be suppressed from Anatolia by the mid-fifteenth century when Western Oğuz became a “strong literary language” explicitly promoted as the normative choice. Around this time, the followers of this ideology made an effort to correct thematically interesting texts containing features of other Turkic dialects so they would meet the standards of—the “pure Ottoman” (tr. *katıksız Osmanlıca*).<sup>10</sup> Modern historical linguistics uses the terms Old Anatolian Turkish and Ottoman Turkish to designate the two phases of development of Western Oğuz dialect as language written in the Ottoman realms, the phases divided by the year 1300.<sup>11</sup>

Continuing this account in broad brushstrokes, it can be mentioned that, since at least the thirteenth century, ethnic Turks started becoming “an influential *internal* social and cultural factor transforming the Byzantine world,” as opposed to previous situation in which they acted primarily

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<sup>10</sup> Şinasi Tekin, “1343 Tarihli Bir Eski Anadolu Türkçesi Metni ve Türk Dili Tarihinde ‘Olğa-bolğa’ Sorunu” [An Old Anatolian Turkish Text Dating to 1343 and ‘*Olğa-bolğa*’ Question in the History of Turkish Language], *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten* 21-22 (1973-1974): 59-157, esp.70.

<sup>11</sup> See for example, Celia Kerslake, “Ottoman Turkish,” in *The Turkic Languages*, ed. Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 179-202. The question of whether and how modern language ideologies have been projected on the interpretations of Turkish and all other Arabographic texts analyzed hereafter will be considered in each particular case, but directly addressed only when explicitly expressed in previous interpretations.

as external factor and participants in territorial conflicts.<sup>12</sup> These Turks integrated into Byzantine society by adopting Christianity and, most probably, Greek as the second language and Greek script as system for writing.<sup>13</sup> It is thus within the Byzantine empire of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that the groups of Greek, Turkish, and Slavic speakers started living side by side, most notably in Macedonia.<sup>14</sup> The oldest record of their coexistence is preserved in texts written in Greek.

In the eve of the fourteenth-century Ottoman conquests, South-Slavia was one of the spheres of Byzantine influence. A schematic answer to the question of general Byzantine influence among the Slavic-speaking polities on the eve of Ottoman conquest is provided by Speros Vryonis. Differentiating among “the core” territories, the semi-Byzantinized sphere, and the periphery in which Byzantine influence subsided with time, he places Serbia and Bulgaria within the second, and Bosnia and Croatia within the third sphere.<sup>15</sup> The Byzantine political and cultural impact on Slavophone societies and polities had its roots in early medieval times. The first script for recording Slavic was devised around the mid-ninth century. The project was sponsored by Byzantine elite upon the call of a local, Slavic-Speaking ruler of Moravia and realized by Byzantine intellectuals, Cyril and Methodius. Their solution is now designated as Glagolitic script. In the late ninth century, Cyrillic script was developed by disciples of Cyril and Methodius with the support of Bulgarian

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<sup>12</sup> Rustam Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks, 1204-1461* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), 7.

<sup>13</sup> Discussing social and intellectual profiles of these people, Shukurov notes that rather small number of them entered the Byzantine system of education and became intellectuals. Byzantinized Turks mainly participated in administration, warfare and rural economy. *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>14</sup> Byzantine Macedonia encompassed “the lower Strymon, Serres, Kalamaria in western Chalkidike, Hierissos and Lake Bolbe, Berroia and Lake Giannitsa (swamps), the valleys of the Vardar and Strumica, and Thessalonike,” *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>15</sup> Speros Vryonis, “The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23/24 (1969/1970): 251-308, 255-256.

emperor.<sup>16</sup> It was heavily influenced by the shape of Byzantine Greek letters which was not the case with the Glagolitic script. The idiom initially recorded by the use of Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts is now called Old Church Slavic.<sup>17</sup> Before the mid-ninth century, western South-Slavs had adopted the Latin script, together with Catholicism and Latin as liturgical language. After development of Slavic scripts, western South-Slavia became particularly notable for diversity of scripts and languages used.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, on the eve of the fourteenth-century Ottoman conquests, a large portion of the present-day Balkans was connected by a well-established, distinct geo-lingual space defined in socio-linguistics terms as South-Slavic dialect continuum.<sup>19</sup> Speech-communities in this space, among other things, shared a long-standing written culture initially based on Old Church Slavic. The active career of Old Church Slavic was relatively short, but ideologically laden from its very beginning.<sup>20</sup> The written discourse produced in the Old Church Slavic served as a base for the gradual development of the written idiom termed Church Slavic. The Church Slavic was a result of influx of vernacular into the written texts paralleled with the diversification of its communicative functions. The transformation of Church Slavic did not force-stop the circulation

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<sup>16</sup> Namely, Tsar Boris I (r.852-889) of the First Bulgarian Empire (681-1018).

<sup>17</sup> Intentionally designed to serve the purpose of Christianization of the Slavs patronized by Byzantine authorities, the Old Church Slavic literary language was a medium for recording primarily liturgical texts of derivative nature (i.e. translated from Greek) by the use of the Glagolitic, and soon after the Cyrillic script. It was based on a local dialect near Thessaloniki, the place of origin of Byzantine missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, who started their work in Moravia/Pannonia. The idiom is also called “Old Church Slavonic.” *Slavic* and *Slavonic* are here understood as synonyms.

<sup>18</sup> According to Eduard Hercigonja who surveyed the relevant extant corpuses dating from the ninth until the mid-sixteenth century, the languages were Latin, (Old) Church Slavic and Croatian vernacular, and the scripts Latin, Glagolitic, and Cyrillic. Eduard Hercigonja, *Tropismena i trojezična kultura hrvatskoga srednjevekovlja* [The Three Scripts and the Three Languages of Croatian Culture in the Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2006).

<sup>19</sup> The term “dialect continuum” designates a series of mutually neighboring and mutually intelligible language varieties.

<sup>20</sup> The main debate was initiated in Rome, and it revolved around the question of whether Slavic can serve as liturgical language, i.e. take this function over from Latin, the liturgical language of Catholic rite.

of texts in Old Church Slavic. The textualization of the interplay between Old Church Slavic, Church Slavic and vernacular was accompanied by the scriptural and orthographic diversification, whereby both Glagolitic and Cyrillic remained in continuous use. The multi-focal (geographic and functional) spread of literacy and the continuous interference of the vernacular resulted in the mutation of the written Church Slavic into several distinct, local variants now called *recensions* (Serbian-Bosnian-Croatian towards the West, and Bulgarian-Macedonian towards the South-East).<sup>21</sup> However, localization of orthography and vernacular interferences with written Church Slavic did not reach the extent to which they could disrupt the readability of Church Slavic texts within the whole of South-Slavic dialect continuum.<sup>22</sup> Scholars generally agree about the role of Church Slavic as a base for a long-standing literary culture shared not only by the Southern, but by the Eastern, and Western Slavdom as well. What they do not agree about is when, and along which lines the fragmentation of the textual community began.<sup>23</sup> The general consensus is also

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<sup>21</sup> The study of orthography has been attributed a great importance for differentiation of these recensions. The orthography is understood by Slavicists operating within local historiographies as reflecting the phonological differences among the local dialects which are then attributed to respective ethnic, and by implication, national communities. See, for example, Petar Đorđić, *Istorija srpske ćirilice. Paleografsko-filološki prilozi* [History of Serbian Cyrillic Script: Contributions to Paleography and Philology] (Beograd: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika Socijalističke Republike Srbije, 1971). To my knowledge, there exists no study of how actual historical actors perceived these differences, i.e. whether, for example, the facts of phonology played any role in the ways they described or labeled the respective idioms.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Henrik Birnbaum, "Toward a Comparative Study of Church Slavic Literature," in *On medieval and Renaissance Slavic writing*, selected essays by Henrik Birnbaum (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 13-40.

<sup>23</sup> This short outline of history of (South)-Slavic as a written language is heavily based on Alexander Schenker who, in 1995, published a student handbook relying on the contemporary state of the arts in Slavic philology. It is there that he, quoting Riccardo Picchio, provides a view of the (Old) Church Slavic literary community which is somewhat different from the approach expounded by Henrik Birnbaum (see Birnbaum, "Toward a Comparative Study," esp. 15-18). Note, for now, the vague dating of the birth of "Slavic national languages": "The religious nature of early Slavic literature entailed doctrinal concerns which in turn determined its *derivative character*. In order not to be branded heretical, the books used by the Greek missionaries and their Slavic disciples had to be faithful translations of authoritative Christian sources. Gradually, however, Slavic medieval literature began a life of its own, venturing into original and, eventually, *secular compositions*. The vehicle for this literary production was Church Slavonic, which in the guise of various local recensions became *the supraethnic literary medium serving all of Orthodox Slavdom* and functioning in a symbiotic relationship with the nascent Slavic national languages." The emphasis is mine. Further on, Schenker quotes Dmitrij S. Lixačev's summary of the *longue durée* history of the written word among the Slavs. "*The Eastern Slavs* (...) possessed a single literature, a single written tradition, and a single literary (Church Slavonic) language. The main treasure-house of Church Slavonic monuments was held in common. Liturgical,

that Ottoman conquests interrupted the development of local vernaculars/*recensions* into full-blown, national, literary languages.<sup>24</sup>

Aside from the perspective of histories of national languages, South-Slavia has also been studied and/or perceived as a linguistic space divided along the confessional lines. In apparently influential works in the field of Slavic philology and linguistics, a differentiation has been made between *Slavia Orthodoxa* and *Slavia Romana/Latina*.<sup>25</sup> This, often tacitly recognized dichotomy was theorized by a Slavicist/linguist, Ricardo Picchio, who, though not explicitly nor programmatically, thus entered the field of historical language ideology. Within the 1984 “guidelines for a comparative study of the language question among the Slavs,” for example, Picchio writes:

No comparative study has yet been devoted to the history of *medieval and modern controversies* regarding the use of Slavic languages as *official cultural media*. This badly needed research might help us understand better the impact of *ethno-linguistic factors* on the formation of Slavic cultural systems in Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>26</sup>

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homiletic, ecclesiastic and didactic, hagiographic, and to an extent historical (chronographic) and narrative writings were common to all of the Orthodox of Southern and Eastern Europe (...). Moreover, a literary community existed not only for eastern and southern Slavs but *in the oldest period it included also the western Slavs* (...). In the literatures of Orthodox Slavdom one may observe common changes in style, common intellectual trends, a constant exchange of literary works and manuscripts. Literary monuments were understandable without translations and there is no reason to doubt that Church Slavonic was the common language of all the Orthodox Slavs.” The emphasis is mine. Alexander M. Schenker, *The dawn of Slavic: an introduction to Slavic philology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), esp.193.

<sup>24</sup> This is an ubiquitous position, which can be illustrated in many ways. Language is, for instance, important theme in some works dealing with the question of whether there was such a thing as Slavic Renaissance. For a broad, pan-Slavic perspective on the issue see, Henrik Birnbaum, “Some aspects of the Slavonic Renaissance,” *Slavonic and East European Review* 47 (1969): 37-56; and, idem, “Ragusa Revisited: The Playwrights of the Renaissance” in Henrik Birnbaum, *On medieval and Renaissance Slavic writing*, 341-362. On Latin and Slavic languages of the “Croatian Renaissance,” see Ante Kadić, “Croatian Renaissance,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 6 (1959): 28-35; Idem, “The Croatian Renaissance,” *Slavic Review* 21/1 (March 1962): 65-88. For life and works of several individuals, “petty Humanists” of Croatian and Hungarian origin who wrote in Latin, as well as the ways in which they were affected by the ongoing historical events, see, Marianna D. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a shattered world: Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the sixteenth century/ UCLA Slavic studies 15*. (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1986).

<sup>25</sup> See how the division operates in quotations from fn.23.

<sup>26</sup> The emphasis is mine. Riccardo Picchio, “Guidelines for a Comparative Study of the Language Question among Slavs,” in *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, ed. Riccardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt (New Haven: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies; Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1984), 1-42:1.



The whole framework set up by Picchio is, in proclamation, historically minded, and warns against “historiographical misunderstanding.”<sup>27</sup> Picchio is an important reference also because he formulates the historical theme of Slavic “language question” (most suggestive synonym being ital. *questione della lingua*) in a comparative European perspective.<sup>28</sup> In his preliminary survey of the history of the language question among Slavs, his main sources are the explicit discussions about language among the Slavic intellectuals.<sup>29</sup> These discussions revolved around the position of Slavic in relation to Latin, Greek and Turkish in different periods of history, as well as around the intellectual understanding of the Slavic diglossia—the socio-linguistic situation characteristic for the gap between the Church Slavic as the “language of the texts” and the local, spoken vernaculars. According to Picchio, the most consequential intellectual discussions along these lines within the Southern branch of the *Slavia-Orthodoxa* are those that appeared in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, and then those from the eighteenth.<sup>30</sup> The semblance of acknowledgement that

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<sup>27</sup> “The emergence of Slavic ethno-linguistic units provided with a cultural individuality sufficiently marked as to produce autonomous languages is directly connected with the formation of religious spheres of influence. We may take as a point of departure for our considerations the division of historical Slavdom into two main areas, belonging to the jurisdiction of the Eastern Orthodox Churches (*Slavia orthodoxa*) and to that of the Roman Church (*Slavia romana*) respectively. This historiographic scheme is widely accepted. To avoid misunderstandings, we should only add a general remark: the boundary lines between the two cultural areas of Orthodox Slavdom and Roman Slavdom were never fixed in a definite way. Thus, we can speak of zones of mixed or overlapping influence (for example, Great Moravia, the Glagolitic area in Croatia, Bosnia, the Ukraine and Belorussia). This means that that concepts of *Slavia orthodoxa* and of *Slavia romana* apply to cultural traditions rather than to territorial or administrative units.” Ibid., 3.

<sup>28</sup> “The term “language question” implies a conceptual relationship with the humanistic *Questione della lingua* that took place in Italy and the West from the fourteenth through the sixteenth century. However, when applying the same terminological formula to the discussions on Slavic languages, we should not necessarily think of direct influences but rather of formal coincidences. In fact, the humanistic *Questione della lingua* did not deal with new problems. The basic aspects of the same question had already been discussed in Classical and Biblical antiquity, as well as by Christian authors. The humanistic *Questione della lingua* can be taken as a point of departure for our study only because it produced the first systematic presentation of the traditional terms of this problem with reference to the national languages of Europe. It provided a great many European national cultures with a conceptual model in a period when the vernaculars were beginning to challenge the supremacy of international media such as Latin and Greek.” Ibid., 1.

<sup>29</sup> As explained in the Introduction, I adopt an approach in which explicitly stated ideas about language theory and practice, should be juxtaposed to the unspoken, implicit ones which can be understood from investigation of the common practices in writing and choosing the linguistic media upon writing.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 6-14.

language mattered at all in the early-modern period can be found in following quotation which speaks for itself:

Besides their common Church Slavonic heritage, the Serbians, the Bulgarians and the Macedonians *share* a centuries-old experience as subjects of *the Ottoman empire*. While under *Turkish domination* their cultural and linguistic identity was *also* threatened by the religious imperialism of the Greek Church. Their modern language questions, from the time of the “Eastern Question” up to the twentieth century, reflect to a great extent the internal ethno-linguistic conflicts produced by *the Ottoman regime in the Balkans*. For many years the dignity of each of these literary languages was the object of controversies connected with the relevance of each of these South Slavic linguistic communities as compared to the “linguistic power” of the Greeks and the Turks. (...) The Turkish “yoke” was more severe on the Bulgarians than on the Serbs. For about five hundred years the Bulgarian Christians had no religious autonomy. Serbia’s religious autonomy, on the contrary, was recognized by Suleiman the Magnificent in 1557. A Serbian Patriarchy was then established in Peć whose authority extended to a considerable part of the Bulgarian territory. (...) The origins of the Serbian language question go back to the “Great Migration” of Orthodox Serbs from the Turkish territory into the Habsburg possession of Vojvodina in 1690.<sup>31</sup>

This framework is significant for my topic in it that it touches upon the theme of historical language ideology and the evident importance of religion in pre-modern discourses on language.<sup>32</sup> Its two-tiered approach to periodization (medieval-modern) is typical for majority of local scholarship dealing with the *longue durée* histories of South-Slavic national languages and literatures. This dichotomy, however, can serve as yet another illustration of a typical way in which the early modern language diversity, multilingualism, and individuality have been bypassed in Slavic historical linguistics and philology. These fields aside, early modernity, as a historiographical tool,

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<sup>31</sup> The emphasis is mine. Ibid. 22.

<sup>32</sup> The appeal of the two terms recently yielded a third one, which is some interest for my topic. To address the interplay among language, religion and identity among Slavic-speaking Muslims, the scholars have coined the term *Slavia-Islamica*, but they applied it to modern realities only. Whether the term *Slavia Islamica* could be projected to the past realities is thus another question that emerges from the scholarly conundrum. See, Robert D. Greenberg, and Motoki Nomachi, eds., *Slavia Islamica: Language, Religion and Identity* (Sapporo, Japan: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 2012). For my own purpose, the terms like *Slavia Orthodoxa*, *Slavia Romana/Latina* and *Slavia Islamica*, are important as *etic* categories, i.e. from the perspective of modern language ideologies. How the religion, as ideological construct, played out in literacy events I study is considered a matter of investigation. See *Chapter III* for the ways in which Slavophone Arabographia in general, and “Bosnian *aljamiado*” in particular have been used (and abused) in studies of the relationship between language and identity in the modern Balkan history.

and the status of the vernacular(s) as an early-modern European theme, have not been prominent in the historical research of the Ottoman-ruled *Slavia Orthodoxa*, both in Slavophone and in international academia.<sup>33</sup> The general scholarly attitude has been somewhat different when it comes to *Slavia-Romana*, most notably to its parts beyond the Ottoman realms which are considered to have experienced Humanism/Renaissance and Reformation, and, therefore deemed constituent parts of Europe proper.<sup>34</sup> Of course, occasional exceptions to this general attitude to periodization do exist. Zrinka Blažević, for example, in a masterful study, recently addressed the question of how a discursive phenomenon which she termed “the early modern Illyrian ideologeme” effected the linguistic (as well as cultural, political and ideological) practices in South-Slavia as a whole.<sup>35</sup> Tijana Krstić’s interpretation of the Muslim and Orthodox Christian

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<sup>33</sup> The matters belonging to the interest of historical language ideology, though coached in different terms, have been a long-standing interest of Europeanists. In a recent edited volume dealing with *language politics* in early modern European history (taken to have started with Humanism and Renaissance when hierarchies among parlances “were still relatively ill-determined” and when, in paraphrase, men and women turned their attention to the question of language with enthusiasm) one can find a good summary of the main directions of previous research. Working on *a language*, the Europeanists “generally seek to describe its development and compare it to that of other languages, analyzing their initial dependence on Latin and their gradual emancipation from it, describing their growth as literary languages and studying their syntactical, lexical, morphological and phonological features.” Thus described approach is characterized by the editors as “intralinguistic,” whereby they themselves chose “to look *from the outside* at places where work was done on languages and at the people who met at those places.” They also explain that they excluded some parts of Europe (English, Scandinavian and Slavic) due to composition of the team engaged in the project. Elsa Kammerer, and Jan-Dirk Müller, eds., *Imprimeurs et libraires de la Renaissance: le travail de la langue* (Genève: Droz, 2015), 541-544. Modern Europeanists have also developed a strong tradition of studying history of ideas and theories about language, language as a factor constituting a community, cultures of translation and so on. Of many examples, note, for instance George J. Metcalf, *On language diversity and relationship from Bibliander to Adelung* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2013); Peter Burke, *Languages and communities in early modern Europe* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Peter Burke, and R. Po-chia Hsia, eds., *Cultural translation in early modern Europe* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

<sup>34</sup> Aside from works cited in fn.24 of this chapter, note for example Aleksandar Stipčević, “Le livre imprimé et le livre manuscrit dans la Croatie de la Renaissance,” in *Le livre dans l’Europe de la Renaissance: actes du XXVIIIe Colloque international d’études humanistes de Tours*, ed. Pierre Aquilon and Henri-Jean Martin (Paris: Promodis, Editions du Cercle de la librairie, 1988), 106-111. Roland Marti, “On the creation of Croatian: The development of Croatian Latin orthography in the 16th century,” in *Orthographies in early modern Europe*, ed. Susan Baddeley and Anja Voeste (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2012), 269-320.

<sup>35</sup> Blažević’s approach to the historical phenomenon known as Illyrism, which before her attracted a great amount of scholarly attention, is rather fresh, comprehensive and insightful. My own understanding of Illyrism is very much informed by her book in which she studies “the genesis, structural modifications and instrumentalist usages of the early modern Illyrian ideologeme,” as well as the ways in which this phenomenon “both thematizes and discursively produces common origin, linguistic unity, territorial magnitude and exceptional qualities of “Illyrians,” variously

narratives of conversion engages with the concept of “early modernity” on the one hand, and is rather language aware, on the other.<sup>36</sup> The relative unity of early-modern South-Slavia as a market for Slavic books printed both within and outside the region has also been recognized.<sup>37</sup>

What matters most for my own purpose is to emphasize that, aside from being connected by a dialect continuum, South-Slavia was also a multilingual environment in the fourteenth century. The dominant written languages before the Ottoman conquests were Greek, Latin/Italian, and Slavic. Two of these, Greek and Slavic, were broadly spoken and written in the Ottoman empire throughout the early modern period, but as I already noted, the idea of Greek and Slavic as Ottoman languages has so far been unimaginable. Italian spoken in the Ottoman empire was the language of small groups concentrated in specific areas (most famously in distinct quarters of Istanbul) and it is perhaps right to consider it a different case from the outset.

## **I.2. Was Slavic Learned at the Ottoman Court?**

The core of this section is an analysis of the form and contents of three multilingual codices from the second half of the fifteenth century prepared for the purpose of linguistic instruction by anonymous intellectuals affiliated with the Ottoman court. I single them out as sources for my discussion because they contain texts in a South-Slavic language designated by their composers as Serbian. In addition to Serbian, the three codices, observed together, contain texts in Arabic, Persian, Greek, and Latin. Two of these manuscripts *Süleymaniye-MS Ayasofya 4749* and *Süleymaniye-MS Ayasofya 4750* (hereafter: *Ayasofya 4749* and *Ayasofya 4750*) have so far been

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identified within the ethnic complex of Slavdom.” Zrinka Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma* [Illyrism before Illyrism] (Zagreb: Golden marketing-Tehnička knjiga, 2008), esp. 346.

<sup>36</sup> Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, esp. 26-50.

<sup>37</sup> Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik, “European Books for the Ottoman Market,” in *Specialist markets in the early modern book world*, ed. Richard Kirwan and Sophie Mullins (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 389-405.

studied, but detailed analyses have been conducted only from the perspective of history of Serbian language. To my best knowledge, there has been no serious attempt at questioning their exceptionality and/or contextualizing them as indexes of Ottoman historical language awareness. The third manuscript which escaped the attention of the existing studies *SBB-MS Or.oct.33* (hereafter: *Ms.Or.oct.33*) sheds an interesting new light on the meaning of the project aimed at providing tools for language learning in/around the Ottoman court. Though my discussion will be centered on the Slavophone Arabographic parts, I will not neglect the ideological complexity of these textbooks to the best of my abilities.<sup>38</sup>

All three manuscripts are vocalized and written in a neat, scholarly hand.<sup>39</sup> None contains users' notes, which could be an indication that these were clean copies serving as templates for individual and/or instructed learning.<sup>40</sup> While *Ayasofya 4749* and *Ayasofya 4750*, have been interpreted by scholars on several occasions, *Ms.Or.oct.33* has been known only from its description in an Ottoman Palace library catalogue. This is a text written in 1502-03 by Ḥayreddīn Hızır b. Maḥmūd b. Ömer el-‘Aṭūfī. (d. 1541), which describes the *Ayasofia* codices as well.<sup>41</sup> So, though there is no clear proof that the textbooks were compiled at the Ottoman imperial palace, it

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<sup>38</sup> I have no competence in Greek, one of the languages involved.

<sup>39</sup> Vocalization of Arabic consonants upon text production can be taken as signaling efforts made towards increase of clarity of the text.

<sup>40</sup> The difference in style of writing of the extant copies of language learning handbooks and textbooks indicates that copying and/or glossing of the templates (guide and control texts) was one of the main part of the process of language learning. A detailed study of the users' versus authorial/scrabal copies would probably provide us with more information about the ways in which users/students interacted with the "original" textbooks.

<sup>41</sup>The catalogue has been preserved in MS Török F.59. The critical edition of the catalogue accompanied by a series of essays analyzing its context and various aspects has been published in Gülrü Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar, and Cornell H. Fleischer, eds., *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3-1503/4)* (Leiden: Brill, 2019). For an outline of the contents of the three codices, and quotations of their descriptions in MS Török F. 59 see *Appendix A*.

is there that they seem to have been used. The available internal and external evidence support dating to the period of the rule of Mehmed II (1444-1446; 1451-1481).<sup>42</sup>

The first scholar to write about the *Ayasofya* codices, as early as 1936, was Ahmed Caferoğlu in a short academic article aimed at drawing attention to the existence of these manuscripts. On that occasion, Caferoğlu put a lot of emphasis on the presence of Serbian language in an Ottoman manual produced at the court which he and others at the time considered surprising. He also drew several relatively speculative conclusions related to the theme of historical language ideology which are frequently cited until today.<sup>43</sup> In this short article, Caferoğlu deals with the quadrilingual text (Arabic-Persian-Greek-Serbian), which is the only text in *Ayasofya 4750*, and the first of the several parts of *Ayasofya 4749*. Although he notes that the label “dictionary” (*luğat*) was added to this text by a later cataloguer/user,<sup>44</sup> he does not consider this to be an important detail, and starts contextualizing the “dictionary” by noting the absence of Turkish.<sup>45</sup> He then suggests that the work was composed for sultan Mehmed II himself or his sons, the princes.<sup>46</sup> He corroborates both assumptions by a claim that in “that time” all educated persons knew Arabic and Persian “to the same extent as Turkish,” adding that Turkish was considered vulgar and as such

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<sup>42</sup> The cataloguer of an extant copy of *Ms.Or.oct.33* notes that author/writer (*der Verfasser*) was alive/flourished in 870/1465, and that the copy was made in 1100/1688. Despite all effort, I could not determine how he came to the date of 1465, nor how the manuscript reached Berlin and when. Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der Arabischen Handschriften: Sechster Band* (Berlin: A. Asher and Co., 1894), 197-198.

<sup>43</sup> Ahmed Caferoğlu, “Note sur un manuscrit en langue serbe de la bibliothèque d’Ayasofya,” *Revue internationale des études balkaniques* 1/3 (1936): 185–90. One of the missions of the *Revue internationale des études balkaniques*, a relatively short-lived journal based in the interwar Belgrade was to emphasize the studies of the cross-national historical connections in the Balkan Peninsula. Caferoğlu, for example, notes that the study of this and similar manuscripts could help understand the historical “Turco-Serbian linguistic relations.”

<sup>44</sup> We can now conclude that this was most probably the above mentioned ‘Aṭūfī.

<sup>45</sup> Caferoğlu mentions both codices but does not compare them. The codicological data he provides are related to 4749. He does not discuss the differences between the two texts.

<sup>46</sup> Neither of the two *Ayasofya* manuscripts contain dedicatory note. The princes would be Bāyezīd, Cem, and Korkut.

unsuitable for a didactic work aimed for educating a prince. The goal of the manual, according to Caferoğlu, was thus to learn Greek and Serbian via Arabic and/or Persian. Insisting on Mehmed II as the model student, Caferoğlu suggests that the sultan “who had an exceptional talent for the study of foreign languages, could not do without learning the language of people whose territory had just been annexed to his great Empire.”<sup>47</sup> Though this is quite an unfair critique, it is still useful to note that Caferoğlu routinely uses the linguistic labels as self-explanatory terms without discussing any language as a sum-total of various registers, nor does he deal with the question of linguistic competence: in and around the time of Mehmed II’s reign, Serbian (alike Greek) encompassed many registers as the language of a conquered people, but also a court language, and a diplomatic language.<sup>48</sup> Turkish is presented as an uncultivated vernacular, while unqualified Arabic and Persian served as indexes of belonging to the cultivated elite. In short, Caferoğlu’s conclusions are supported by three lines of arguments, based almost entirely on extra-textual evidence. One line revolves around Mehmed II’s extraordinary linguistic competences and the image of him as a ruler interested in all of his subjects, the other around the idea of the timeless prestige of Arabic and Persian in the Islamic world, and the last around the vaguely determined “importance” of Serbian language in the Ottoman state. These three themes have been frequently dealt with by the later scholarship, though separately, and I will be coming back to them.

Following Caferoğlu’s lead, the philologist Werner Lehfeldt studied the *Ayasofya* “dictionaries” on three occasions, but he approached them primarily as rare contemporary sources

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<sup>47</sup> Caferoğlu, “Note sur un manuscrit en langue serbe,” 187.

<sup>48</sup> He notes, for example, that Serbian started taking the character of a court and diplomatic language in the Ottoman state already during the reign of Bāyezīd I (1389-1402) to become a high-profile diplomatic language, together with Greek, during the reign of Mehmed II. To support this claim, he quotes a *fermān* (order) from 1456 sent from the Ottoman court to Voyvoda of Moldavia. Finally, he refers to several accounts of the captives or foreign travelers to the Ottoman empire which testify to the spoken Slavic (and Greek) in the various strata of Ottoman polity. Besides being important as diplomatic language, Caferoğlu adds, Serbian was also important as the language spoken by the Janissaries. *Ibid.*, 188.

for the history of Serbian vernacular and without attempting to situate them within the broader historical and textual context.<sup>49</sup> Based on the grammatical features of the text, he persuasively argues that an Arabic text served as a template, while Persian, Serbian and Greek texts were its translations. Other formal features of the text support this conclusion—Arabic lines of the quadrilingual text are, for example, vividly emphasized by the layout, the size of letters and the type of font.<sup>50</sup> Based on all this, Lehfeltdt suggests that the two quadrilingual compositions, though somewhat different, were intended for the “circle of high ranking Serbian and/or Greek “renegades,” for the goal of learning Arabic.<sup>51</sup> The Persian component of the textbook is not brought into connection with Serbian/Greek learners. Lehfeltdt’s linguistic analysis, aptly shows how great was the amount of creativity and scrutiny invested into adjusting Arabic script for recording Serbian (and Greek) languages.<sup>52</sup> He also emphasizes that the Serbian translation, for example, breaks the rules of Slavic syntax and perfectly follows the graphically illustrated way in which Arabic sentences were parsed. In other words, the Serbian translation was motivated by

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<sup>49</sup> Werner Lehfeltdt, *Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbokroatisches Sprachlehrbuch in arabischer Schrift aus dem 15./16. Jahrhundert* (Bochum: Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 1970); Idem., *Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte: Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbisches Gesprächslehrbuch vom Hofe des Sultans aus dem 15. Jahrhundert als Quelle für die Geschichte der serbischen Sprache* (Cologne; Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1989).

<sup>50</sup> The text in both manuscripts is structured as an uninterrupted string of four-line, color-coded blocks. The size and the font of letters in Arabic lines is larger than that used for other three languages. The length of the lines in the two manuscripts differs, but this is of lesser significance since a line was not intended to correspond to a rounded sentence or even a phrase.

<sup>51</sup> Lehfeltdt, *Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte*, 3.

<sup>52</sup> This is my own evaluation, informed by Lehfeltdt’s analysis of orthography. Lehfeltdt and other scholars dealing with Slavophone Arabographic texts prefer to emphasize the differences between phonetic systems of Arabic and Slavic, the inadequacy of Arabic script for recording Slavic languages, and/or the difficulties in adjusting Arabic script to Slavic phonetic system. As will be clear from the way I discuss other texts throughout the thesis, I am of opinion that text producers’ own stance on this matter should not be interpreted along these lines which are often informed by the fact that, historically, Slavophone Arabographia did not yield a formidable literary corpus. Lehfeltdt’s suggestion, after all, is but an opinion, and it can be claimed with equal confidence that Serbian texts in *Ayasofia* codices were rather easy to read by a native speaker familiar with Arabic script and Arabic phonetic system, and that the solutions were adequate. What matters, however, from my own perspective, is that the said differences between phonetic systems did not stop these, and other people from recording Slavic in Arabic script for varying purposes and with various goals. A more detailed linguistic analysis of *Ms.Or.oct.33* is a desideratum.



mechanistic calquing rather than by the concern for semantics of the syntactic structures. By adding that the Serbian (and Greek and Persian) texts would be hard to understand without looking at the Arabic template, Lehfeldt further undermines the efficacy of the handbook when it comes to learning any other language but Arabic. Thus, if royal and other affiliates to the Ottoman court used this manual *only* to learn Serbian, as, now, Caferoğlu tentatively suggested, their Serbian would be slightly broken. However, it will be seen from below that *Ayasofya 4749* and *4750* were not the only tools for learning Serbian at the Ottoman court.

A small pause is due on Lehfeldt's suggestion that the primary purpose of the quadrilingual conversational manuals he studied was to teach Arabic to Greek and Serbian "renegades." It is of some importance to note that this statement does not imply that the details related to evident variety of social backgrounds of thus described individuals are of any relevance for understanding the intentions behind production of these manuals and/or the ways in which they were used. In Lehfeldt, and in Ottoman historiography in general, "renegade" commonly designates an individual who changed allegiance from, first of all, their original faith, and then from the political entity they previously belonged to. Also, already in a dictionary sense of the word, being "a renegade" implies certain amount of willingness and agency (often implying betrayal, rebellion or some sort of personal crisis). As such it cannot be applied, in my understanding, to the palace pages of varying age recruited through slavery, nor can it address the adults' motives for changing allegiance without danger of oversimplification.<sup>53</sup> Besides that, during the reign of Mehmed II at

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<sup>53</sup> The "proper" Ottoman "Renegado" of the early modern period was constructed chiefly beyond the Ottoman interpretive communities. It is known, however, that various Ottoman communities had their own discourses for addressing the various switches of allegiance. The larger frameworks for dealing with "renegades" in more up-to-date Ottoman scholarship are conversion, gender, cross-cultural and trans-imperial communication and mediation. See, Nabil I. Matar, "The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 33/3 (Summer, 1993): 489-505; Eric Dursteler, *Renegade women: gender, identity, and boundaries in the early modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

As of recently, significant amount of effort has been invested in reconstructing renegades'/converts' own voices. Exemplary is, by now a few times mentioned work of Tijana Krstić who analyzes narratives produced by converts'

least, the sultan's court was a meeting place of adults and children who were not necessarily converts to Islam or willing supporters of the Ottoman cause, but who could have been involved in activities related to language learning, learning themselves, or simply talking about language/s.

The scholarly interest in cultural eclecticism and polyglottism of Mehmed II's court resulted in several more works which are important for my discussion. In 1971, Christos G. Patrinelis shows how "oft-repeated assertions about his (Mehmed II's) extraordinary linguistic competence" constituted a crucial component in the construction of "the romantic portrait of Mehmed II" by his "Italian panegyrists" who paid significant attention to this aspect of the sultan's persona, but provided contradictory accounts.<sup>54</sup> He also notes that all too often, these accounts had been taken for granted, noting that that was not the case with Franz Babinger, the chief biographer of Mehmed II, who was sure of Arabic and Persian only.<sup>55</sup> Relying on writing of fifteenth-century Greek authors, some of whom were acquaintances of the sultan, Patrinelis concludes that "the

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themselves and calls for a more thorough research of texts which can help reconstruct the state of being a convert in Ottoman society. Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, esp. 98-120, and idem, "New directions in the study of conversion to Islam in Ottoman Rūmeli between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries: reconsidering methods, theories and terminology," in *The Ottoman conquest of the Balkans: interpretations and research debates*, ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), 167-187.

The question of "authenticity" of the "renegade"s voices is one of the issues haunting scholars. Summarizing results in this field of research, in 2017, Tobias Graf, for example, writes: "Generally written for specific audiences and with specific agendas, *even* autobiographical accounts far from afford a *genuine window into the authors' souls*." The emphasis is mine and aimed at suggesting that, so to say, "closing the window into one's soul" in fact may have been understood as a "genuine" move in given historical circumstances, and that reconstructing the "specific audiences" and "specific agendas" can also be a challenging task which has often been solved simply by equating notions about monolingual speech/literary communities with those about monolingual "audiences." Tobias P. Graf, *The Sultan's renegades: Christian-European converts to Islam and the making of the Ottoman elite, 1575-1610* (Oxford; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), 18.

<sup>54</sup> Of these Patrinelis quotes Giacomo de Langusco (fl.15c), Theodoros Spandonos/Spandugino (died after 1538), Martino Barletio (fl.1504), Francesco Sansovino (1521-1583), and Pseudo-Sphrantzes. See, Christos Patrinelis, "Mehmed II the Conqueror and His Presumed Knowledge of Greek and Latin," *Viator* 2 (January 1, 1971): 349-354, 350. Patrinelis is not commenting on the generational differences between the authors who provided these "romantic" estimations of Mehmed II's linguistic competence, but it seems from his writing that the idea was perpetuated through the influence of the older authors on the later ones.

<sup>55</sup> And guessed that Mehmed knew the language of his mother, a wife of Murād II of unknown slave origin, perhaps Greek, perhaps Slavic.

young sultan did not know Greek and Latin.”<sup>56</sup> Elsewhere in the text, Patrinelis labels both Greek and Latin as “Western” languages, somewhat inadvertently drawing attention to the anachronistic East-West dichotomy which in this way or others has informed interpretations of Mehmed II’s reign.<sup>57</sup> A less categorical, but still careful estimation of Mehmed II’s polyglottism, now with focus on Greek only, comes from Julian Raby in his seminal article on the Greek manuscripts in the sultan’s library. Unlike Patrinelis, Raby allows the possibility that the sultan had some competence in Greek which accompanied his general interest in Greek erudition.<sup>58</sup>

For the reasons that became clear in the meantime and will be mentioned bellow, Julian Raby was not aware of the quadrilingual codices under discussion here. Yet, his depiction of the ways of Greek letters in the Mehmed II’s court provides a solid background for situating them. For one, Raby provides a basic account of the profiles of minimum two generations of men from the sultan’s immediate surrounding who were in some way involved with Greek letters after 1453. The first generation is represented by people educated within the pre-Ottoman Byzantine system, and the second by people educated after the conquest of Constantinople. The members of the first generation are people who decided to stay in Constantinople after the Ottoman conquest, and who were personally engaged in various services to the sultan. On the one hand, these people acted as representatives of traditional Byzantine erudition and as the sultan’s immediate companions. On

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<sup>56</sup> Patrinelis cites Kritovoulos (fl.15c), Theodosios Zygomas (fl.1578), and George of Trebizond (fl.15c). Patrinelis, “Mehmed II the Conqueror,” 351-354.

<sup>57</sup> Quoting Adolf Deissman and Emil Jacobs, he writes: “It is true that Mehmed’s personal library numbered several manuscripts or maps in many different languages including Greek and Latin. (...). The mere possession by Mehmed, however, of such works in Western languages as well cannot be used as evidence that he knew any Western tongue.” Patrinelis, “Mehmed II the Conqueror,” 354 (fn.21). See also: Gustav Adolf Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai: mit einem Verzeichnis der nichtislamischen Handschriften im Topkapu Serai zu Istanbul* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1933), and Emil Jacobs, “Mehemmed II., der Eroberer, seine Beziehungen zur Renaissance und seine Büchersammlung,” *Oriens* 2 (1949): 6-29.

<sup>58</sup> Julian Raby, “Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983): 15-34, 23.

the other, they mediated the communication between the court and the metropolitan Greek community by lending advice, interpreting and/or providing secretarial and scribal services. Since the schooling of these people, whose names and biographies are relatively well known had mainly been finished by 1453, Raby speculates that various Greek manuscripts in Meḥmed II's library, many of which were related to Byzantine-style language instruction, could have served for the training of the new generation of Ottoman chancellery staff. Many of these new students of Greek, Raby notes, were slave recruits raised in the Imperial Palace and not necessarily Greek in origin. These primarily anonymous individuals and the products of the self-reliance of the Palace with regards to training of the secretaries and scribes, started to dominate Meḥmed II's secretariat as his reign proceeded.<sup>59</sup> Raby also notes, based on the earlier studies, that the majority of Ottoman documents in Greek issued during the reigns of Meḥmed II and Bāyezīd II were not characteristic for linguistic accuracy which could only be provided by native speakers: a Latin [i.e. an Italian] or a Turk, the two models Raby cares to mention, could not go further than learning "a vulgar Greek."<sup>60</sup> As a side comment to this, one may add that, in theory, a Slav could also produce a diplomatic letter in "a vulgar Greek," whether they were educated before or after coming to the Ottoman court.

Raby's writing, for one, implies that the new, Ottoman-bred generation of students of Greek, learned the language from the people educated within the Byzantine educational system by using the Byzantine manuscripts, i.e. the language learning tools based on the Byzantine grammatical tradition. In light of the existence of a series of Ottoman-made manuals unknown to

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 26-27.

<sup>60</sup> Quoting previous scholarship, Raby writes: "...the majority of Greek documents issued under Mehmed II and Bāyezīd II are in a vulgar Greek, full of linguistic and diplomatic inaccuracies. Errors in grammar, syntax, and orthography have led both Laurent and Ahrweiler to suggest that the documents could not have been drafted by a native Greek speaker and must instead have been the work of a Latin or a Turk." Ibid., 27, and 27 (fn.63).

Raby, this conclusion needs to be revised. Differently put, how various forms of Byzantine knowledge preserved in the manuscripts available in the palace milieu played out in the linguistic training organized by the people from the Ottoman court is a question which needs to remain open. Another idea to work with, starting from the Raby's narrative, is that all non-ethnic Greeks trained in the Ottoman palace to be employed in the Ottoman chancellery could only accomplish mediocre competence in vernacular Greek. This may mean that the quality of the linguistic training of non-native speakers was also, at best, of a mediocre level, and that, since Mehmed was initially surrounded by qualified native speakers, the less skilled cadre were active during the latter part of his reign and during the rule of Bāyezīd II. Similar is the outcome of conclusions made by Speros Vryonis who was aware of *Ayasofya 4749*. In a discussion of Mehmed II's relationship to the Grecophone/Byzantine legacy of his newly conquered imperial seat, Constantinople, and the role of his Greek secretaries in perpetuating "non-Muslim," Byzantine literacy after the conquest, Vryonis mentions *Ayasofya 4749* as a piece of evidence which in his opinion complements Raby's findings.<sup>61</sup> According to Vryonis, with the demise of Mehmed II, the symbolic and instrumental importance of getting familiar with Greek, the "non-Muslim" and the "western" language, diminishes.<sup>62</sup> Vryonis does not problematize the question of diplomatic, Ottoman Greek as used by Bāyezīd II's chancellery.

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<sup>61</sup> In the part dealing with "bureaucratization and literatization" (in the post-Conquest Constantinople) Vryonis fashions the sultan as leading "a double-life" with this regards—Mehmed II followed the "traditional Islamic patterns that the Ottomans had adopted earlier in their rise to empire," being at the same time "fascinated by the Greek literary remains and traditions." As the proof of this fascination, Vryonis quotes the fact that Mehmed II's collection of "non-Muslim books," was dominated by the texts in Greek. Vryonis cites *Ayasofya 4749*, as presented by Caferoğlu and A. Papazoğlu, and suggests vaguely that "it must have been intended for the instruction of those inside the palace." Speros Vryonis, "Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul: Evolution in a Millennial Iconography," in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*, ed. Irene A. Bierman *et al.* (New Rochelle, NY, 1991), 13-52, esp. 36 and *passim*.

<sup>62</sup> "After the death of Mehmed II, the afterlife of this Byzantine literatization weakened greatly. His son Bāyezīd II shared little of his father's interests in this domain," *Ibid.*, 40.

In both Raby's and Vryonis's accounts, Mehmed II, whether he knew Greek or not, features as the key agent in the short-term perseverance of "non-Muslim"/ Byzantine literacy in the elite Ottoman circles. Both authors leave us to conclude that the supposed efforts of the Ottoman educators affiliated with the court towards training the self-made polyglot cadre did not lead to proficiency of Ottoman scribes involved in diplomatic correspondence. Despite this, however, there is no indication that the documents produced by these anonymous scribes in occasionally corrupt, vernacular Greek failed to transmit the messages they contained. What may be inferred from this, and importantly from the perspective of language ideology, is that achieving proficiency in originally Greek diplomatic language and style was not something that was even of interest to the Ottomans involved in diplomatic chancellery business. Understandable vernacular written down in a script familiar to the receiver of the message was perhaps precisely what they aimed for and what entirely served their purpose. This is not to say that correctness and style are/were not important aspects of diplomatic texts circulating the Mediterranean, Southern and Eastern Europe of the fifteenth century, but that these questions have not been asked in the literature I have encountered so far. And yet, they may be very interesting in light of the fact that the fifteenth century can safely be characterized as a period of huge increase in cross-linguistic communication and amplified language anxieties, i.e. a period when the exchange of information was a matter of urgency, while the ideological import of style of presentation was placed aside.<sup>63</sup> Important is also

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<sup>63</sup> Interesting from this perspective are two anecdotes presented by Babinger in his biography of Mehmed II. In one, Mehmed II seals (in 1480) a letter in German to Leonhard of Gorizia, the nephew of Catherine of Cilli (Katarina Branković, a daughter of Serbian despot George Branković and Irene Kantakouzena from a Byzantine aristocrat family, as well as a sister of widow sultana and Mehmed's stepmother, Mara Branković), and sends it via a Jewish diplomat to Venice, the place where the relevant negotiations were supposed to take place. Leonhard previously (in 1480) contacted the sultan via Stjepan Kosača of Herzegovina, also known by the Muslim name Hersekzade Ahmed—probably using Italian. Catherine herself, writes a letter to the same Leonhard, complaining about the way the sultan treated her, but now in Serbian. This letter had to be sent to Venice for deciphering, since, allegedly, no one in the German-speaking count's surroundings could read it. In another place, Babinger writes that the infamous "Vlad the Impaler" of Wallachia burned all together "four hundred young men from Transylvania and Hungary, who had been sent to Walachia to learn the language." The English edition does not contain information about Babinger's sources.

Raby's suggestion that Ottoman attempt at "self-reliance" in educating diplomatic cadre was paralleled with bureaucratization and "anonymization" of their functions during the reign of Mehmed II. By anonymous Greek diplomats and scribes, Raby means those unattested in contemporaneously produced Byzantine chronicles, i.e. uninvolved in mediation between the Ottoman court and Greek community.<sup>64</sup> From elsewhere we know that the process of bureaucratization of Ottoman administration as a whole peaked in the beginning of the reign of Süleymân I (1520-1566). Around the same time, i.e. in the mid-sixteenth century, Turkish became the chief language of the Ottoman chancellery.<sup>65</sup> This outcome implies that, between the reigns of Mehmed II and Süleymân I, Turkish took over some of the diplomatic functions that were previously performed by several other languages. While the outcome is known, the underlying rationale and the possible ways in which this outcome reconfigured or maintained the ideologies underpinning the Ottoman multilingual regime in the early period of its history are much less clear. These lines of thought are rather hard to pursue since we have no synthetic work on the workings of the Ottoman multilingual court-chancellery and its human resources. Also, the historical relationship between Turkish as language of bureaucracy/administration and Turkish as language of diplomacy, to my best knowledge, has not been considered a theme worth pondering.

Gülrü Necipoğlu is another scholar who refers to the two *Ayasofya* manuscripts on two occasions. In the first article, she deals with the literary cosmopolitanism and polyglottism of Mehmed II's court and his intimate circle as corresponding to the mentality guiding the creation of various genres of visual arts and architecture. Emphasizing the central role of the sultan "in the

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The first story seems rather probable, while the second would be interesting even as a legend. Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 388-391 and 203.

<sup>64</sup> Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium," 27.

<sup>65</sup> Gülrü Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 1-81, 11.

transmission of classical texts through new translations,” she brings the translation activities at the court in connection with a large collection of grammars and dictionaries that had been gathered at Mehmed II’s palace library. In line with the conclusions of the previous scholars, she also describes the users of these language manuals as “his pages and his multilingual chancellery scribes, who were trained to conduct the sultan’s diplomatic correspondence in Greek, Latin, Serbian, Arabic, Persian, Ottoman, and Uighur Turkish.”<sup>66</sup> One of the sources Necipoğlu uses in this article is the already mentioned inventory of books from the Palace library, on which she focuses entirely in her second essay relevant for this discussion.<sup>67</sup> There, Necipoğlu, among other, details the phases in formation of the Palace library during the reigns of the two sultans (Mehmed II and Bāyezīd II), its spatial organization and the ways in which it was understood and handled. Her findings provide a probable explanation of why the multilingual language-learning manuals from Mehmed II’s library escaped the attention of Julian Raby, although they contained the Greek texts. ‘Aṭūfī and later cataloguers of the Palace library had classified them as “books in Islamic languages,” and had not placed them among the category of “books in non-Islamic languages,” where the manuscripts discussed by Raby had been sorted and physically kept separate.<sup>68</sup> We also learn from Necipoğlu that the Ottoman terms for the later description (books in non-Islamic languages) were *kitābhā-i ‘imrānī* (ca. 1496) and *kütüb-i gebrī* (ca. 1518).<sup>69</sup>

The publication of ‘Aṭūfī’s inventory undermines the argument by Caferoğlu according to which Mehmed II was unusually interested in polyglossy on the account of Turkish. The inventory

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Gülrü Necipoğlu, “The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library: An Encyclopedic Collection and Its Inventory,” in Necipoğlu et al., *Treasures of Knowledge*, 1-79.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 12-13.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. “Imrani” is a relative adjective from “Imran” who was, according to Quran: the father of Mary. “Gebri” is a relative adjective from Persian “geb(i)r” initially denoting one of the Zoroastrian Magi, and by extension the pagans.



shows that the period of the reigns of Meḥmed II and Bāyezīd II can be seen as a phase in the evolution of written Turkish as both a symbolic resource and an instrument in communication. This phase was part of a long-term shift to Turkish which would reach its mature stage during the reign of Süleymān I, as already noted above. Cemal Kafadar’s account of the period is particularly instructive in terms of understanding how Turkish was one of the subjects and arguably the main beneficiary of the empire-wide “textual turn of the late fifteenth century.”<sup>70</sup> The contested academic issue of prestige and symbolic capital of Turkish and other languages associated with Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the period of Ottoman empire-building is addressed in the same volume by Ferenc Csirkés, who, simultaneously, discusses poetry and a number of multilingual language learning textbooks tools recorded in the inventory. Csirkés concludes, for example, that in the later half of the fifteenth century, Turkish was amply used as an intermediary in the situations of learning other languages. As for the court ethos underlying the selection of the language-learning tools for the palace library, Csirkés suggestively describes it as “linguistically inquisitive.” With regards to the quadrilingual manuals (the *Ayasofya* ones) he adds to the previous interpretations by factoring in the religious connotations of the languages involved into the interpretation of the hierarchy among them.<sup>71</sup>

The above quoted works touch upon early Ottoman attitudes towards languages of the lands they were conquering or neighboring, as well as towards polyglottism in general. Of particular

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<sup>70</sup> Cemal Kafadar, “Between Amasya and Istanbul: Bayezid II, His Librarian, and the Textual Turn of the Late Fifteenth Century,” in Necipoğlu et al., *Treasures of Knowledge*, 79-155.

<sup>71</sup> “Scholars suggest that these were used as teaching aids for either Mehmed II or palace scribes, and that the order of the languages in these compositions correspond to their relative prestige at the time, with Arabic in the lead, followed by Persian; arguably the real target was the instruction of these languages. If such multilingual volumes were indeed intended for the instruction of recent converts, the linguistic hierarchy enshrined in these books could also serve to remind students of the cultural values accompanying their new religion.” Ferenc Csirkés, “Turkish/Turkic Books of Poetry, Turkish and Persian Lexicography: The Politics of Language under Bayezid II,” in Necipoğlu et al., *Treasures of Knowledge*, 673-733: 698.

languages, Greek dominates as an object of focus. In what follows, I will recapitulate the points I consider important, asking at the same time which of these points are applicable to Slavic.

Thus, with the conquest of Constantinople, a corpus of Byzantine-Greek manuscripts came into the possession of Ottoman sultans who spoke Turkish as their first language. Some of these were intended for language instruction. Ottoman sultans' interaction with this corpus was mediated by native-Greek speakers: intellectuals educated within the Byzantine system who remained in the service of the Ottoman court as advisers, interpreters, princely tutors, translators of Greek texts (to Arabic), and diplomatic envoys.<sup>72</sup> Scholarship offers no concrete evidence of Ottoman engagement with Slavic letters that could resemble the case with Greek, in this period or later, although the presence of a few Slavic texts at the Ottoman court has been attested.<sup>73</sup> There are also a few known cases of Slavic-speakers who were educated in their places of origin before coming to the Ottoman court. These were, as a rule, individuals of noble origin depicted in the available literature as more or less willing mediators in the process of establishing of the Ottoman authority in their former countries in exchange for privileges and land grants, as converts to the Ottoman political cause and/or simply as converts to Islam. In other words, the literature does not give an

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<sup>72</sup> In addition to the above quoted studies, of Mehmed II's tutors schooled in Latin and Greek, see Julian Raby, "A Sultan of Paradox: Mehmed the Conqueror as a Patron of the Arts," *Oxford Art Journal* 5/1 (1982): 3-8, 4. Of translations from Greek into Arabic, see, Maria Mavroudi, "Translators from Greek into Arabic at the Court of Mehmet the Conqueror," in *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture. Papers from the Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul, Turkey, June 2010*, ed. A. Ödekan, N. Necipoğlu, E. Akyürek (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2013), 195–207.

<sup>73</sup> Several Slavic texts and manuscripts were and still are preserved in the Palace Library. Deissmann knew about: a Cyrillic copy (in form of a book) of a monastery endowment charter issued by Serbian king Stefan Uroš II (1282-1321); an illustrated, luxurious Glagolitic liturgical book produced between 1403-1404 for the duke of Bosnia/Herzeg of Split, Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić, which supposedly came to Istanbul from the Bibliotheca Corviniana after the Battle of Mohac in 1526; an undated Gospel Book; undated religious verses (prayer to Saint Mary); and two letters written by Serbian despot Vuk Branković/Grgurević (d.1485) to Bayezid II. Deissman, *Deissmann, Forschungen und Funde im Serai*, 97-101. Some of these sources have been published and investigated. See, Đorđe Trifunović, ed., *Povelja kralja Milutina manastiru Banjska: Svetostefanska hrisovulja* [The Charter of King Milutin to the Banjska Monastery: the Saint Stephen Chrysobull] (Beograd: Službeni glasnik; Priština: Muzej, 2011); Vatroslav Jagić, *Missale Glagoliticum Hervoiæ ducis Spalatensis* (Vindobonæ: Typis A. Holzhausen, 1896) and digitized copy at <https://glagoljica.hr/?rukopisi=i&id=19404>; Nikola Radojčić, "Pet pisama s kraja XV veka" [Five Letters from the end of the fifteenth century], *Južnoslovenski Filolog* 20 (1953-1954): 343-367.

impression that their presence at the Ottoman court may have had any influence on the contemporary intellectual currents. That Slavic was spoken in and around the Ottoman court is beyond any doubt.

For illustration, one can quote the case of Mara Branković (b.ca.1418-d.1487) whose biography is comparably very well known. Born in Serbia, and married to Murād II in 1436, Mara never converted to Islam.<sup>74</sup> Though she undoubtedly qualifies as a Serbian at the Ottoman court, it is still hard to say without a pause what was her “first language” because her father was a Serbian despot and her mother was of noble Greek origin. We do know that most of the extant letters she dictated to her scribe/secretary were written in Serbian/Cyrillic.<sup>75</sup> She also issued a few legally-binding documents in Serbian and in Greek.<sup>76</sup> These were the endowment charters regulating the bequest of her immovable property and the tax-income it yielded to two Orthodox monasteries in Mt. Athos. The legal authority of these documents was founded on the authority of the documents in Turkish issued by the sultanic chancellery (of Mehmed II) and regulating the very act of property grant (by the sultan to Mara), and/or documents confirming the purchases of property and issued by Ottoman *kadis* (judges). It is also known that, in her business related to Ottoman court (the one in Serres), Mara cooperated with interpreters, but whether these were permanent members of her entourage cannot be confirmed. Two of these are known by name, ‘Īsā (service attested in 1471) and Ya‘kūb (service attested in 1487). They appear as witnesses in two documents issued (in Arabic) by *kadis* of Serres who were asked to legally confirm additional bequests of Mara’s

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<sup>74</sup> The latest monograph on Mara Branković which lists all the known sources about her is Mihajlo St. Popović, *Mara Branković-Eine Frau zwischen dem christlichen und dem islamischen Kulturkreis im 15. Jahrhundert* (Weisbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2010). The book was translated to Serbian, as Mihajlo St. Popović, *Mara Branković* (Beograd: Akademska Knjiga, 2014).

<sup>75</sup> See fn. 63 of this chapter for a note about her sister.

<sup>76</sup> Ruža Ćuk, “Povelja carice Mare manastirima Hilandar u Sv. Pavlu” [The Charter Issued by Empress Mara for the Monasteries of Hilandar and St. Paul], *Istorijski časopis* 24 (1977): 103-116, and, Popović, *Mara Branković*, 220.

property to two same Athonite monasteries. The 1487 document contains elements of a will. Scholars speculate that ʿĪsā and Yaʿqūb were translating into Turkish Mara’s personal testimony at the court, but a further complication is that the language of the documents was Arabic.<sup>77</sup> Mara’s activities were particularly varied during the reign of Mehmed II, when historiography describes her as the sultan’s beloved stepmother and advisor, a politician and a business-woman interested in church affairs. Another scholarly speculation concerns the way in which the two communicated, the options being Greek and Serbian. Her current biographers quote no literary text of Ottoman provenance in which she herself was mentioned, thus suggesting that she was completely forgotten by, for example, Ottoman chronicles, early instances of which started flourishing around the time of her death.<sup>78</sup> Overall, Mara does not transpire from the literature as an intellectual figure proper—of what we know she knew we can say it was of exclusively pragmatic nature.

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<sup>77</sup> Some of Mara’s endowment deeds are quoted as “the first recorded *vakıfs* of any Christian woman in the Ottoman Balkans.” See Zachary Chitwood, “Dying, Death and Burial in the Christian Orthodox Tradition: Byzantium and the Greek Churches, ca. 1300– 1700” in *A Companion to Death, Burial, and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, c.1300– 1700*, ed. Philip Booth and Elizabeth Tingle (Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2021),199-224: 221. It has also been noted that actual details of stipulations of her endowments were outlined in Serbian and Greek documents, while Turkish papers were unusually succinct. With regards to one of the two documents issued by *kadı* in Arabic, Kotzageorgis writes that it “functioned simply as a confirmation of the legal transaction and it provided the weight of official authority.” Phokion P. Kotzageorgis. “Two Vakfiyyes of Mara Branković,” *Hilandarski Zbornik* 11 (2004): 307-323, 311.

<sup>78</sup> Scholars often mention that “Turks” respected Mara calling her, among other, Despina Hātūn. The sources in which this title can be found are decisions issued by central Ottoman government related to her property and church/monastery affairs in which she was involved apparently with the support of her stepson. For illustration, see Popović, *Mara Branković*, 186. It seems, however, that some memory of Mara, more precisely of the fact that she did not change faith and that she had influence on an Ottoman sultan, but now Murād II, did leave some impression on contemporary chroniclers as well. Scholars have so far noted that early Ottoman chronicles from the late fifteenth century evoked memory of a Serbian women of noble origin. This was, from what we know, not Mara, but Olivera Lazarević (died after 1444) who was married to Bāyezīd I (d.1402). There is, however, a slight indication that Ottoman chroniclers conflated the memories of Olivera and Mara. For example, in ʿĀşıkpaşazāde (fl.1480s and on), Olivera is remembered: (incorrectly) as the sister of “Vuk’s son” (Djuradj Branković); (correctly) as “the daughter of Laz” (Lazar of Serbia, died at the battle of Kosovo, in 1389); a practicing Christian; someone who prompted Bāyezīd I to drink alcohol at the gatherings; and someone whose brother (i.e. Stefan Lazarević), on account of his sister’s intimacy with Bāyezīd I asked that she was given the town of Smederevo as charity (tr. *sadaka*). Upon hearing the request, the sultan not only granted Smederevo, but also the important fortress of Golubac (tr. Güğercinlik). The brother also seems to have asked for a place transliterated by the editor of the chronicle as *Nigeoburni*, obviously a corruption, but very possibly Novo Brdo. The *Nigeoburni*, the chronicler notes, was not granted as “charity.” Now, Smederevo fortress was built only by Mara’s father, Djuradj Branković, the son of Vuk Branković. Both Golubac and Smederevo were unwillingly ceded to Djuradj after a peace treaty signed in 1444. Serbian sources claim that Djuradj also kept Novo

In general, a model Christian intellectual affiliated with the Ottoman court could be imagined, based on historiography, as a Greek, but not as a Slavic speaker. This seems like a valid point even when it comes to intellectual side of matters of religion and faith—when they wanted to learn some more about Judeo-Christianity, aside from Arabic and Persian translations of segments of the Bible, the Turkish-speaking Ottomans could also rely (though through translations) on Greek, but not on Slavic texts. And, where a contemporaneous, cross-religious dialogue or religious polemics occurred, it could involve a high-profile Greek-speaking Christian, but not a Slavic speaker.<sup>79</sup> So, unlike their Greek speaking counterparts, high-profile Slavs involved in early Ottoman affairs, from what we know, were not engaged in textual production founded on translation nor in the process of intellectual knowledge transmission. Of the intellectual influence of even originally bilingual (Slavo-Greek) individuals like Mara Branković, we can either speculate or consider it null. Now, if, putting aside the exceptional details, we take Mara as a model of an actual Slavic speaker affiliated with the Ottoman court we can use this case to ask the following questions for considering other individuals who might have a similar linguistic profile. These questions are: Was Slavic the only language the person investigated knew? Was the person literate? If so, when and in which educational environment did they acquire their literacy? What is the extant material evidence of their literacy and who were the users of the texts they helped to produce? Which other language, aside from the one in which they were recorded, was also *needed* for the production of these texts and their proper functioning? And finally, what clues

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Brdo in 1444. The cultural and mining center was permanently taken by the Ottomans in 1455. Necdet Öztürk, ed., *Āşıkpaşazāde tarihi: Osmanlı tarih (1285-1502)* (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Bilgi Kültür Sanat, 2013), 94-95; SBB-MS Or. oct. 2448, f.110a; Colin Imber, *The Crusade of Varna, 1443-45* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 6 and 202.

<sup>79</sup> In addition to cited studies dealing with translations from Greek at the Ottoman court, see also G. Georgiades Arnakis, “Gregory Palamas among the Turks and Documents of His Captivity as Historical Sources,” *Speculum* 26/1 (Jan., 1951): 104-118.

about a Slavic person's linguistic profile can be found in related Arabographic sources?<sup>80</sup> All of these questions, I suggest, are also important to keep in mind when we think of anonymous participants and users of the multilingual textbooks which constitute the main object of discussion in this section, as well as those involved in all literacy events marked by the presence of Slavophone Arabographia.

The above quoted modern literature on the multilingual codices also suggests that the Palace school, an inseparable part of the Ottoman court milieu, was an environment in which young men of various ethnic origins were prepared for various careers by learning Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Greek, Slavic, and Latin. The existing literature has based its understanding of the relations and distinctions between these languages on differences of confession (Muslim-Christian) and culture (East-West). Greek and Slavic are therefore Christian languages, but Greek is Western (on the grounds of its fifteenth century assimilation to Western culture), and Slavic unqualified, therefore, Eastern. The dichotomy between written and spoken language, for example, is not considered. Be this as it may, I will stay focused on how the literature helps us understand the process and purposes of learning these languages in the Ottoman context. Greek, again, may have been learned by the use of Byzantine style textbooks and methods and/or with the help of newly produced textbooks of the kind discussed in this chapter. Whether the two corpuses complemented each other, and whether they targeted the same profile of users, are open questions. The Slavophone Arabographic parts of the three handbooks are the only known source of instruction material for Serbian. What we know of the end result of learning Greek in the Palace

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<sup>80</sup> A contemporary of Mara, and her political collaborator was Maḥmūd Pasha Angelović of aristocratic, Greek-Serbian origin. Although Maḥmūd has been, as a grand vizier of Meḥmed II, rather well researched figure, the literature does not provide straightforward answers to any of these questions, and his case would require another long essay. On the level of model, Maḥmūd can also be compared with Aḥmed Pasha Hecegović, of whom I will tell more below. The best monograph on Maḥmūd Pasha is Theoharis Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1453-1474)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

school (based on the texts produced in the Ottoman chancellery) is that it was occasionally mediocre i.e. tainted by grammatical and other mistakes. What, if anything, was translated by the usage of Greek as a second/learned language beyond correspondence—we do not know. Unlike the case with Greek, the exact methods and tools applied in learning written Slavic *anywhere* are unknown for this period. It is no wonder then that the two *Ayasofia* codices can be offered by the literature as rare, if not the only, textual evidence that Slavic may have been studied and learned at the Ottoman court. The question not asked is how exactly this was done, while the question of purpose has been solved by repeating that Slavic was one of the Ottoman diplomatic languages and/or spoken at the court. In itself, however, the fact that Slavic was used in this way does not automatically imply that Slavic was studied and learned in or around the Ottoman court. And yet, there is also no obvious reason to exclude the analogy to Greek. Unlike the language (as a glottonym) and Slavic speakers (as monoglots), the very diplomatic texts in Slavic are not as frequently evoked or cited by literature, probably because they have most often been and remain the subject of modern Slavophone scholarship. The concrete links between the producers and the texts, even when traceable, are also lost in generalities.<sup>81</sup> What can be said for certain based on the existing literature is that the structure of *Ayasofia* codices clearly indicates that *some* Slavic-speakers could achieve *some* competence in Arabic (and maybe Persian) by learning the provided dialogues by heart, while non-Slavic speakers could use them to pick up *some* spoken Slavic. What was meant to be done with this knowledge and by whom is another “still open” question. In other words, after all this discussion, the ideas which informed the production of multilingual codices in

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<sup>81</sup> Finally, we can hardly make generalizations about “accuracy” and style of the Slavic diplomatic correspondence even with insight into Slavicist literature, simply because this question has not been addressed by scholars in any systematic manner.

general, and Slavophone Arabographic parts in particular, can be considered a subject worth further consideration.

To begin with, a self-referential part of the text found in *Ayasofya* manuscripts states that it was the beginners who were targeted as users of the manual. The paragraph also gives a clue about the method of learning:

The composer of this book of useful speech which renders the tongues of the beginners free from impediment said: understand it, work on it, and remember it so you, with God's permission become eloquent.<sup>82</sup>

The origin and authorship of the Arabic text used in this manual is not known. Another excerpt, however, provides a clue about the linguistic universe within which the template was originally composed, bringing at the same time the polyglottism involving Arabic and Persian in a direct connection with concept of *adab*:<sup>83</sup>

Come, let's speak Arabic, for the tutor (*mu'addib*) forbade us to speak Khwaresmian, and indeed we had forgotten Arabic and Persian and we limited ourselves to Kurdish and Turkic. We will do that by the help of God the Almighty.<sup>84</sup>

This note leads to a conclusion that Serbian and Greek translations from Arabic were added by the Ottomans in the fifteenth century to an existing, older textbook which was perhaps bilingual

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<sup>82</sup> “Qāla muṣannifu hādā’l-kitābi’l-mantiqi’l-musta’mali alladī yanṭaliqu bihi alsinatu’l-mubtadi’ina fa-(a)fhamhu fa-(a)mal bihi wa (a)hfazhu tanfaṣiḥu bihi inṣā’a-llāhu ta’ālā,” *Ayasofya* 4750, f2a; Lehfeldt, *Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte*:..., 76. The method of learning can maybe be summed up as “analysis-repetition-learning by heart.” If reading by student was implicated it was certainly facilitated by graphic solutions and the very organization of the text.

<sup>83</sup> *Adab* is a concept which has roots in pre-Islamic, Arabophone culture when it designated “a habit, a practical norm of conduct, with the double connotation of being praiseworthy and being inherited from one’s ancestors.” With time and with spread of Islam and development of its intellectual tradition it evolved to mean “the civility, courtesy, refinement” attributable to, for example, urbanity, or to designate “etiquette” which goes with a behavior/practice or a profession. It developed parallel with two other broad concepts and ideals of *ilm* (knowledge) and *dīn* (religion). See, Francesco Gabrieli, “Adab,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, consulted online on 19 July 2021.

<sup>84</sup> “Ta’āli fa-natakallamu bi’l-‘arabiyyati fainnā’l-mu’addiba ḡad nahānā ‘ani’t-takallumi bi’l-ḡurazmiyyati faḡad naṣītu’l-‘arabiyyata wa’l-fārsiyyata wa’-ḡtaṣaranā bi’l-kurdiyyati wa’t-turkiyyati sanaf’alu ḡalika bitawfiqi’llāhi ta’ālā,” *Ayasofya* 4750, f.10b-f.11a, Lehfeldt, *Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte*:..., 93-94.



(Arabic/Persian) and which was produced in a situation of differently structured multilingualism.<sup>85</sup> We can further guess that this older manual probably originated in an environment wherein Arabic and Persian had the status of literary languages,<sup>86</sup> and that it was originally composed as a tool for learning Arabic (and Persian) by the community of speakers of Khwarezmian (the original, middle Iranian language of Khwarezm ruled by ethnic Turks as of the eleventh century on) who were also exposed to Kurdish, and/or a Turkic language. The model tutor apparently had a negative attitude towards Khwarezmian as a (spoken) language, and a neutral attitude towards spoken Kurdish and Turkic. Khwarezmian fell into disuse by the end of the fourteenth century, having been superseded by (Eastern) Turkic, a fact that very tentatively locates and dates the model *mu'addib*'s attitude (to Khwarezm between 1000s and 1300s).<sup>87</sup> The expression “useful speech” from the first excerpt nicely summarizes the informal nature of the language material apparently based on everyday speech-acts and organized in the form of questions and answers along a loose narrative line.<sup>88</sup> The

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<sup>85</sup> The differences between the Arabic texts in the two *Ayasofia* codices are minor and rare. Some stem from copyist(s) omissions or unnecessary additions, but sometimes there occur small differences in grammatical form which however do not impact the meaning. Overall impression is that both texts were copied from a third one but not without thinking. It is also obvious that a person was checking and correcting the Arabic of *Ayasofiya 4750* after it was copied. The differences between Persian parts are of similar kind, can be explained by mistakes or small interventions like changing pronouns from *you* to *yourself*, missing or adding the particles (*ke*, *be*), etc.

<sup>86</sup> As Lehfeldt also notes, on f.39b of *Ayasofya 4750* there appears a Persian verse as an integral part of the Arabic template text. In *4750* this verse is only translated to Greek, and not to Serbian. The same verse is on f.32a of *4749* and it is translated to Greek in somewhat different way and to Serbian. This perhaps indicates that *4749* was produced later than *4750*.

<sup>87</sup> D. N. MacKenzie, “Chorasmia III. The Chorasman Language,” in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, consulted online on 18 March 2020. Modern Turcology also operates with the concept of Khwarezmian Turkic, which is classified among Turkic languages as East Middle Turkic, used in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Golden Horde, and a preliminary stage of Chagatay (15th to 16th centuries Timurid realm).

<sup>88</sup> The manual is in the form of a dialogue which moves from setting to setting. Market is the setting in which the chain of dialogues begins. Market and related activities feature prominently throughout the text. The next cluster, involves the actions of coming and going centered around venues of learning and writing, using and buying the writing tools within an urban setting. Besides that, vocabulary employed in the dialogue refers to feelings, weather, and religious piety, in no particular order. Based on the existing literature related to the language learning in the Islamicate world in the fifteenth century and before, it is not easy to conclude how exceptional was the employment of conversational type of language learning manuals.

knowledge of Arabic acquired by the use of this particular manual was theoretically applicable in basic everyday communication. The interesting question to think of is in which real-time situations a speaker of Kurdish/Turkic would be able to display their knowledge of Arabic sentences and phrases learned by the use of the manual. The theoretical conversation could be one with native Arabic speakers, or also one with people who shared the idea that speaking Arabic indexed possession of eloquence that goes with *adab* as an Islamic ideal. Such an interaction need not have required the presence of native Arabic speakers, nor competence in educated Arabic of religio-legal discourse.

More indirect evidence can be provided in support of the claim that the Arabic text was of earlier date and produced in a different historical context. For example, the negative attitude towards Khwarezmian can hardly make sense in the fifteenth century Ottoman context since, as already noted, Khwarezmian as modern scholarship defines it, was already in disuse. One can always, however, put a remark that the author of the text had his own idea of what Khwarezmian was, but whatever the case, the author of Arabic template fashions himself as part of community which was familiar with the language, a community which can hardly be imagined to have existed in the fifteenth century Ottoman state. The phrase “we have forgotten Arabic and Persian,” in all possible interpretations, also makes no sense in the fifteenth century Ottoman court. Also, no particular awareness of “Khwarezmian” as language transpires from the catalogue of Bāyezīd II’s library.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> There is no mention of this language by ‘Aṭūfī. Himmet Taşkömür quotes a modern work in which D. N. MacKenzie traces elements of Khwarezmian in Muhtār b. Maḥmūd al-Nağm ad-Dīn al-Zāhidī’s (d. 1259) work on jurisprudence, entitled *Kitābu qinyati al-munyati fī al-fiqhi*, and inventoried in the library. Himmet Taşkömür, “Books on Islamic Jurisprudence, Schools of Law, and Biographies of Imams from the Hanafi School,” in Necipoğlu et al., *Treasures of Knowledge*, 389-422, 409 (fn.109).

What does transpire from the catalogue is the huge popularity of the works of one of the most famous Khwarezmians—al-Zamaḥṣarī (d. 1144). Al-Zamaḥṣarī is, among other, the author of *Muqaddimat 'ul-adab* described in the literature as Arabic/Persian dictionary.<sup>90</sup> This designation is somewhat misleading by a modern definition of “dictionary.” *Muqaddimat 'ul-adab* was first of all composed by selecting Arabic texts, for the study of Arabic by speakers of “other languages.” Other languages which could have been included by al-Zamaḥṣarī alone, according to Zeki Velidi Togan, were Persian, Khwarezmian (Middle Iranian), and Eastern Turkic (spoken in Khwarezm).<sup>91</sup> Kurdish (a Western Iranian language), mentioned in our quadrilingual manual, but not by Togan, perhaps, could also be part of this group. By the time this dictionary reached the Ottoman court, it was glossed with three languages mentioned (Persian, Khwarezmian, Eastern Turkic) as well as Mongol. Whether the author himself added these glosses cannot be determined.<sup>92</sup> This glossing of *Muqaddimat 'ul-adab* with new languages was continued in the educational environment of the Ottoman court, this time by providing translation to “Turkish” and Latin, but not to Serbian and Greek.<sup>93</sup> *Muqaddimat 'ul-adab* can thus be quoted as an example of a well-established habit of

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<sup>90</sup> C.H.M. Versteegh, “al-Zamaḥṣarī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, consulted online on 20 March 2020. Slavicist, Nicolina Trunte expands on the above quoted paragraph to conclude that the production of the quadrilingual textbooks was somehow informed by al-Zamaḥṣarī’s *Muqaddimat 'ul-adab* without providing any internal textual evidence. Useful from perspective of references it uses, the article is rather confusing in argumentation. The author, for example, claims that one Slavic informant originated from “south-Macedonia” contrary to the way Lehfeldt profiled him, and that he was affiliated with the Bogomil sect. Nicolina Trunte, “Maḥmūd Zamaḥṣarī bei den Südslaven? Eine Spurensuche in der Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 167/2 (2017): 363-380.

<sup>91</sup> Zeki Velidi Togan, “Zamaḥṣarī’nin Doğu Türkçesiyle Muqaddimetü’l Edeb’i” [*Zamaḥṣarī’s Muqaddimetü’l Edeb* in Eastern Turkic ], *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 14 (1965): 81–92.

<sup>92</sup> One of few written sources for Khwarezmian are the very interlinear glosses added to *Muqaddimat 'ul-adab*, which survived in a single extant manuscript. Zeki Velidi Togan claims that Eastern Turkic glosses were added by al-Zamaḥṣarī himself. Quoting Togan, Czirkés notes that this was “a staple glossary for the study of Arabic already in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Khwarazmian territories of the Golden Horde.” Csirkés, “Turkish/Turkic Books of Poetry, Turkish and Persian Lexicography,” 687.

<sup>93</sup> Necipoğlu, “The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library,” 54.

Arabographers who were dealing with language instruction, the habit which was readily taken over by the Ottomans.

The linguistic information contained in *Muqaddimat'ul-adab* and its derivatives is primarily lexicographical in nature with minor excursions into the realm of morphology. As such, it was of no help with syntax, as the creators of the Arabic-Persian lines in handbooks seem to have been well aware.<sup>94</sup> Artificially created dialogues as language instruction tools, were, to my best knowledge, very rare, at least before the late fifteenth century. The producers of the quadrilingual manual had to invest some amount of effort in finding an Arabic template which can introduce the syntax of Arabic, and when translated, of Serbian and Greek. Therefore, if the project received special treatment, it is reasonable to assume that it was guided by special ideas about languages involved, their relationship and their place in the Ottoman plurilingual configurations. On this note, it is of benefit to stay a bit more with al-Zamahšarī. Suspected native speaker of Khwaresmian in retreat, al-Zamahšarī was a towering figure in the field of *tafsīr* (Quranic exegesis) and Arabic linguistics. In terms of language ideology, he is famous as a champion of Arabic and one of the last loud opponents of linguistic *šū'ūbiyya*—an intellectual tradition advocating for the (absolute) equality between Persian (and less notably other languages) and

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<sup>94</sup> The intellectual history embodied in texts dedicated to language learning, or, in the words of Murray Cohen, to “changing representations of language, the shifts in how and what society thinks it can learn” about language has been a topic specifically addressed by Europeanists. Cohen also writes that in the context he studied there occurred a major epistemological shift in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whereby “the idea of language study had shifted from the taxonomic representation of words and things to the establishment of the relationship between speech and thought.” From these works it can be understood that the epistemological shift implied a different understanding of syntax. Murray Cohen, *Sensible Words: Linguistic Practice in England 1640-1785* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), esp. xx and xxiv for quotations. See also Vivian Salmon, *The study of language in 17th-century England* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1979). These two works are obviously oriented towards research of history of the study of one language. In the context of Arabographic sources, i.e. Islamic Studies, thus defined topic has not been directly addressed to my best knowledge, though there exists a large body of literature in history of Arabic linguistics which has always been rich in discussions of all levels of the Arabic language structure and in which the link between logic, grammar and rhetoric was a constant. There is no such notion as “Ottoman linguistics,” although it is possible to find publications in which some Ottoman literati are described as “linguists.” I will quote these works in due places.

Arabic within the category of “language of Islam.”<sup>95</sup> By the fifteenth century, the debate was long over and Islam as adopted by ethnic Turks was undoubtedly relying on both Arabic and Persian, the latter coming in both highly stylized and in simpler registers.<sup>96</sup> As already noted, modern scholarship tends to impute to early Ottomans the anxiety that Turkish was not worthy of being considered a language of Islam, nor a language of literature backed up by a long tradition. Later, I will come back to this issue, but for now, I want to note that the early Ottomans did not or could not import al-Zamahšarī’s language ideology verbatim, although they obviously embraced as useful his concept of Arabic learning dictionary.

Those involved in the preparation of the translation of Arabic text to Greek and Serbian, of course, definitely knew Arabic already, and were rather competent users of Arabic script. The Greek words in the Serbian text cannot tell us much about the linguistic profile of the translators, other than to remind us of the interconnectedness of the two languages predating the Ottoman conquest, and of the historical prestige that Greek enjoyed *vis-à-vis* written (Old) Church Slavic and its late-medieval regional recensions.<sup>97</sup> The Serbian of the translation was obviously recorded as heard/pronounced. Even the name *Muḥammad* (for Prophet) is recorded “by ear” rather than transliterated/copied.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Lutz Richter-Bernburg, “Linguistic Shu‘ūbīya and Early Neo-Persian Prose,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94/1 (1974): 55-64. Roy P. Mottahedeh, “The Shu‘ūbiyah Controversy and the Social History of Early Islamic Iran,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 7/2 (Apr., 1976): 161-182, esp. 179.

<sup>96</sup> How various registers of written Arabic were approached and received by non-native users of Arabic texts is another blind spot to my knowledge. Useful remarks on different registers of Persian sufiesque literature, as received by the Ottomans can be found in Cemal Kafadar and Ahmet Karamustafa, “Books on Sufism, Lives of Saints, Ethics and Sermons,” in Necipoğlu et al., *Treasures of Knowledge*, 439-453, esp. 444-445.

<sup>97</sup> When the translator to Serbian reaches out for Greek words (e.g. *ḳalamār*-pen case, ar. *dawāt*) the Arabographic solutions are the same in Greek and Serbian text.

<sup>98</sup> When read “in Serbian,” “Muḥammad” becomes Muhamed. See f.1b, line 12 in 4749, and line 16 in 4750.

By the time the manuals were composed (not earlier than 1444 and not later than 1481), educating ethnic Slavs (slaves and/or voluntary converts) in an Ottoman way which commonly implies instruction in Arabic was certainly not a new practice. Whether this practice was limited to young Slavic men recruited through the *kul/devshirme* system by Ottoman administrators,<sup>99</sup> and what is it that can be described as “Ottoman way of education” are entirely different questions.<sup>100</sup> In any case, of the producers of the manual familiar with both Arabic and Slavic, at least two different, anonymous persons can be postulated, one of whom maybe also knew Persian.<sup>101</sup> This is based on the dialectical differences between the two translations clearly reflected in orthography. A certain amount of consistency in dialectical features of both Serbian versions dismisses the realistic possibility that the two informants involved were non-native speakers of

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<sup>99</sup> During the first two centuries of the state-building, Ottoman administrators developed a system of government that was heavily reliant on recruitment through enslavement of non-Muslims and *devshirme* (“collection”) of Christian and, occasionally, Muslim boys complemented by different methods of directed socialization. See, for example, Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: the structure of power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002). In due places, I will be providing more details about the role of slavery and other ways in which palace and military staff were recruited.

<sup>100</sup> Normally by “Ottoman educational system” the introductions to Ottoman history mean the system of *medreses* (colleges of various ranks and programs whose students could be young men who already possessed the literacy skills acquired in *mektebs*, the elementary schools). Alternative options for education also existed, most notably in Sufi lodges (*tekkes*) or within the elite households organized by analogy to the most prominent of all, the sultanic Palace. Strangely or not, “what was the oldest Ottoman *medrese* founded in South-Slavia” is not a question a student of Ottoman history can answer automatically. Even when South-Slavia gets replaced by say, Europe, or the Balkans, the feeling is the same. Speaking of South-Slavia, good candidates are *medreses* founded during the reign of Murād II, according to the most cited survey of Ottoman *medreses* in general. Şehābeddin Pasha, who for a while held the position of a minister in the Ottoman government i.e. a *vezirate*, founded one in the first half of the fifteenth century, in Plovdiv/Filibe in present day Bulgaria, and this while holding a position of governor-general of Ottoman-ruled Europe (*Rūmeli Beylerbeyi*). Ishāk Pasha (d. ca.1444), a frontier lord (*uç-beyi*) and a raider (*akıncı*) founded a *medrese* in Skopje/Üsküp in present day Macedonia before the end of Murād II’s reign and provided it with the a small library consisting of 23 books from the fields of *tafsīr* and *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), all written in Arabic. One same person acted as a teacher in this *medrese* for forty years. See Cahid Baltacı, *XV-XVI asırlar Osmanlı medreseleri: teşkilât, tarih* [Ottoman *Medreses* from the XV and XVI centuries: Organization: History] (İstanbul: İrfan Matbaası, 1976), 141-142 and 259-260; For a document in Arabic by which Ishāk Pasha bequeathed his property for the upkeep of the *medrese* and the list of books, see Gliša Elezović, *Turski Spomenici u Skoplju* [Turkish Monuments in Skopje] (Beograd: Rodoljub, undated, ca.1925), 20-26.

<sup>101</sup> See fn.86 of this chapter.

Slavic/Serbian.<sup>102</sup> Obviously, the translation of the Arabic lines of the old template to Serbian was a collective endeavor. As already noted, the orthography was very carefully crafted to accommodate Slavic phonology, and a fairly consistent system was developed. With the help of a teacher, this textbook could probably provide one with enough knowledge to communicate in a limited number of day-to-day situations by the use of short, simple utterances.

As noted before, Lehfeltdt was primarily interested in Serbian vernacular and orthographic solutions applied in adjusting Arabic script to Greek and Serbian phonological systems. The text he published in his critical edition is from *Ayasofya 4750*, the manuscript which contains no other additions. *Ayasofya 4749*, however, contains the material which indicates that a person or persons engaged in the project indeed intended to teach some basic Greek to those who knew Arabic, whereby the knowledge would include writing in Greek script. A part of the Greek related material—entirely recorded in Arabic script and appended to the conversational text studied by Lehfeltdt—is dedicated to the verbs only. It is reliant on both Arabic and Persian for its lexicon, on Arabic grammar for terminology, and does not provide any instruction related to syntax.<sup>103</sup> Thus, if a person wanted to actually use some of the Greek verbs they learned via Arabic/Persian, the conversational part of the codex would be a place to search for models of sentences. The exercises in writing and pronunciation (pages and pages of syllables written in Greek cursive miniscule script and a table of Greek/ “Yunān” (?) alphabet) would enable them to record in Greek script what they learned via Arabographic material.

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<sup>102</sup> One can only guess how much weight the compilers or the informers attributed to the dialectical differences and if so for what reason. What can be safely concluded is that two texts clearly reflect efforts to fix and improve the orthography and clarity in the first place. If one is to judge by Serbian parts only, it is very hard to say which of the texts was “better.” The lexical and syntactic solutions are identical and it is beyond doubt that one of the texts was produced with insight into and knowledge of the other.

<sup>103</sup> See *Appendix A* for an outline of this codex.

If we look at the two *Ayasofya* codices only, the conclusion would be that Greek was somewhat better supported in terms of grammatical material for instruction than Serbian. The insight into the contents of three hundred plus folios of *Ms.Or.oct.33*, however, shows not only that this was not the case, but that these three codices were complementing each other, and that they were the results of the same-minded efforts. The compilers of this manuscript engaged with Greek and Serbian grammar, writing, and pronunciation in the same manner and to the same extent, whereby the method of teaching both Greek and Serbian was obviously based on the methods developed within the tradition of teaching Arabic as a second language. Whether all three handbooks had *anything* to do with the Byzantine style instruction material I cannot say at this point.

A closer look at the grammatically most comprehensive part of the project—the part of *Ms. Or. oct. 33* titled *Al-Mulḥaqāt Bi-Dānistan* (Appendices to *Dānistan*)—sheds light on the ways in which Arabic and Persian mediated the instruction of Serbian (and Greek). This logic was first and foremost linguistic, rather than based on any cultural or religious connotations of respective languages: Arabic provided the grammatical terminology for explaining Serbian grammatical forms, but it was Persian that could provide the cognate verbal meanings. Orthographic solutions are fairly correspondent to those in *Ayasofia* codices.

According to historians of Ottoman lexicography, *Dānistan* is an alternative title for a Persian-Turkish dictionary/grammar book composed by a specific author before the end of the fourteenth century—*Tuḥfat al-Hādīya* by certain Muḥammad b. Ḥaḡḡī Ilyās. The *Tuḥfat* was originally equipped by an introduction which informs the reader that children who acquired some knowledge in Arabic, normally got interested in speaking Persian. To meet the demand, the author composed a book in the field of morphology (per. *in ketāb ber nasq-i 'ilm-i taṣrīf saḥte šod*),



dividing it in two parts. One part consists of a list of Persian infinitives (the first being *dānistan*, “to know,” hence the alternative title) translated into Turkish, as well as examples of conjugation of the verbs, while the second presents a list of nouns organized in four groups according to themes (the nouns related to sky and earth, human organs, occupations, and animals). The ways in which *Tuḥfat* was received, shows that subsequent users were not always concerned with preserving Ḥaḡḡī Ilyās’s authorial work—besides ignoring its original title, they often omitted the introduction, and appended new (groups of) words.<sup>104</sup> The concept, however, was wholeheartedly embraced, and by the time *Ms. Or. oct. 33* was composed, apparently understood as applicable to any language. From all we know, *Muqaddimat*, *Tuḥfat* and similar works were meant to be memorized by heart, by a beginner. What a beginner would do further with these words is less clear. Seen together with *Ayasofia* texts, *Al-Mulḥaqāt*, as a tool for learning Serbian, can be viewed as a source of meanings to be incorporated into Slavic syntactic structures found there. If this was the case, the range of day-to-day situations which could be addressed in Serbian would significantly expand, the level of sentence structure remaining the same. Besides multiple verbal forms, an unusual addition to the common form of “*Dānistan*” is a section on pronouns found in *Al-Mulḥaqāt*. From the perspective of Greek, the title can also be seen as communicating with the above mentioned Greek verbs’ section from *Ayasofia 4749* since the ten infinitives used there (the first being *dānistan*) are also the first ten infinitives in the two hundred plus long list of infinitives (Greek and Serbian) provided in *Ms. Or. oct. 33*. Significant is also a series of Arabic grammatical

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<sup>104</sup> For introduction to the original *Tuḥfat* and other information about extant manuscripts, see Yusuf Öz, “Tarih boyunca Farsça-Türkçe sözlükler” [Persian-Turkish Dictionaries During History] (PhD Thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi, 1996), 142-146; For a text which is in many ways similar (but not identical) to *Al-Mulḥaqāt* in terms of selection of words (both verbs and nouns) and possibly of close date of copy, see Şirvan Kalsın and Mahmut Kaplan, “Müellifi Meçhul Bir Lugat: *Haza Kitab-i Lugat-i Dānisten*” [A Dictionary by an Anonymous Author titled *Haza Kitab-i Lugat-i Dānisten*], *Turkish studies* 4/4 (Summer 2009): 555-598; For other recensions of *Tuḥfat al-Hādīya* see: UB Leiden-MS Cod.Or.1028; UB Leiden-MS Cod.Or.167; BNF-MS Supplement Turc 296 (ff. 1b-17b), and BNF-MS Supplement Turc 453.

descriptions of verbal forms non-existent in Arabic. Whether this terminology was developed in earlier descriptions of Persian or devised for this particular occasion I cannot say at the moment.

Observed together, various recensions of *Muqaddimat 'ul-adab*, *Tuhfat*, and (*Al-Mulḥaqāt Bi-)* *Dānistan* can be studied, on the one hand, for an indication of what was expected of a beginner, how they should be taught, based on a long tradition. On the other hand, they also tell us something about the grammatical (and ideological) levels in which multilingualism was inclusive, flexible, and fluid: in the Ottoman multilingual context, syntax remained, first and foremost, the “Arabic” science.<sup>105</sup> Yet, while copies and recensions of *Muqaddimat* and *Tuhfat* were made for centuries after, *Al-Mulḥaqāt* was a product of the fifteenth century which remained confined within the walls of the Palace.

If the Greek and Serbian received, in *Ms.Or.oct.33*, similar treatment in terms of grammar, the non-grammatical material and coherent texts provided for exercise/illustrations are exclusively dedicated to Greek, in combination with Arabic. The stronger interest in Greek could then be

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<sup>105</sup> For about ten works written in Arabic which qualify as “grammatical descriptions of Turkic” (including Western Oğuz), see Robert Ermers, *Arabic Grammars of Turkic: The Arabic Linguistic Model Applied to Foreign Languages and Translation of 'Abū Ḥayyān Al-'Andalusī's Kitāb Al-'Idrāk Li-Lisān Al-'Atrāk* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 16-43. Only some of these works are grammars proper, namely descriptions of all grammatical levels based on the logic developed within the tradition of Arabic linguistics. Most were produced in pre-Ottoman times, and even more specifically in Mamluk-ruled Cairo. One notable exception written during the Ottoman times is *aš-Šuḍūr ad-'Dahabiyya wa'l-Kitāb 'al-'Aḥmadiyya fi'l-luġa 't-Turkiyya* composed in 1619 by Ibn Muḥammad Šālih, a professor in a medrese in Cairo. *aš-Šuḍūr* is not equipped with complex terminological apparatus, most of it shares the accent on lexicon like the works described here, and it teaches sentence-level syntax by translating Arabic sentences to Turkish. The group of sources the author quotes provide an excellent sample of handbooks widely popular in the seventeenth century. These texts, one of which was *Dānistan*, are commonly described as Persian or Arabic/Turkish dictionaries, but the circumstances around *aš-Šuḍūr* show that these same books were also perceived as useful tools for learning Turkish. In fact the list of Arabic verbs start with the verb “to know” and continues in the same manner like *Dānistan*. For a mid-seventeenth century copy see BNF-MS Supplement Arabe 4329, also examined by Ermers, as well as Besim Atalay, ed., Molla Salih: *Eş-şüzür-üz-zehbiyye vel-Kitai'l-Aḥmediyye fil-luġat-it-Türkiyye* (Istanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1949). One undated copy not mentioned in Ermers is today located in Sarajevo as GHB-MS R-7741. See Mustafa Jahić, *Catalogue of Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian Manuscripts. Tome VI* (London; Sarajevo: Al-Furqan-Rijaset IZ in BiH, 1999), 481-482. Although the locations of the extant copies show that Ottomans did know about these “Arabic grammars of Turkic,” it seems that they were not widely used in the areas where Turkish was spoken by substantial parts of population. It is also of importance to note that there are grammatical works designated as Turkish translations of Arabic grammatical works but this part of Ottoman translation activities is known from catalogues of manuscripts only. If there were grammars of Turkish produced in Turkish in the early modern period, they did not circulate widely.

brought into connection with the interest in Greek knowledge; that interest seems to have been lacking, maybe understandably, concerning Slavic written culture. The Greek material within these codices testifies that these texts were adaptations made primarily by having in mind the linguistic instruction and the *adab* in general. Whether their preparation was informed by past translation achievements or future ambitions aimed at translating Greek knowledge, cannot be concluded based on these texts alone. They are however illustrative of the educational environment in which the multilingual codices were probably used. The two parts of *Ayasofya 4749* are dedicated to Arabic-Greek translation of the terms related to logic—the first is a listing of the ten categories and nine accidents, the second is the listing of some fifty plus logical terms from (Porphyry’s) *Eisagogue*, including some examples of sentences. Within Arabographia, *Īsāghūjī* was the standard introduction to logic, authored by Aṭīr ad-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 1265) and studied in the early phases of the Ottoman *medrese*-based education. As Khaled El-Rouayheb notes, the Ottoman palace slaves (the *kapıkulu*) were also taught logic, probably in the early phases of their education. He also reminds us that a Turkish work on logic targeting this group in particular was dedicated to sultan Bāyezīd II.<sup>106</sup> This work uses colloquial Turkish to explain and organize the Arabic logical terminology, and illustrates a possible way in which Turkish as a language actively spoken at the court was used in all kinds of instructional situations, whether recorded in a textbook or not.

*Ms.Or.oct.33* contains a story in Greek, first written in Greek script, transliterated in Arabic script, and then translated to Arabic language, as well as a series of adages technically treated in the same way. The *Story of Croesus* from *Ms.Or.oct.33*, the Greek version of which was adapted, rather than taken over from an original Greek source, contains a line which serves as another

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<sup>106</sup> Khaled El-Rouayheb, “Books on Logic (*manṭiq*) and Dialectics (*jadal*),” in Necipoğlu et al., *Treasures of Knowledge*, 891-906: 891; 895. El-Rouayheb also quotes a critical edition of this work, titled *Zūbdet ūl-beyān* (The Cream of Exposition), see Havva Kızılcıardak, “Lādikli Mehmet Çelebi’nin Türkçe “Zūbdetü’l-Beyān” Adlı Mantık Eseri Üzerine Bir İnceleme” (MA Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2010).

illustration of the overlapping temporalities reflected in the language instruction codices produced in this milieu. It reads:

In Asia there was a king whose name is Croesus and who was a Lydian. He was the king of all the people who live around the (Halys) River which is known in this era, in Turkish language, as *Kızılca Irmak*.<sup>107</sup>

All of the above considerations have been made based on the instrumental part of the codices, namely those that were actually used for the instruction in the classroom-like environments. It is in *Ms.Or.oct.33*, however, that the voice of an anonymous author, or rather one of the producers, can be heard. The first part of the textbook entitled *Kitābu'l-Mulḥakāt Bi-Dānistan* contains an introduction written in Arabic in which the author explains what motivated the composition of the book.<sup>108</sup> The introduction starts with *bismillāh*, praise of God, somewhat extended expression of *ṣahāda*, and praise of Prophet Muḥammad and his family. The God-praising parts of the introductions to various genres of Ottoman literary works tend to be adjusted to the theme—if the work is related to language study, for example, it is common for the writers to emphasize God as the agent who endowed humans with the faculty of speech. When Arabic is involved, these introductions note that Arabic, of all the languages, was chosen by God as a language of revelation, i.e. *the Book*—Quran.<sup>109</sup> In this case, God is depicted as the agent who made the tongues of all created things (ar. *elsinatu'l-anām*) speak in his praise and glorification

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<sup>107</sup> “Kāna (...) fi arḍi'l-Āsiyyā malikun ismuhu Kṛisus wa cinsuhu Liḍiyyun. Hādā malika camī'a'l-umami allatī min nahri Āliūs alladī huwa mašhūrun fi hādhi'l-ʿaṣri bi'l-lisāni't-Turkī Kızılça Iрмаk,” *Ms.Or.oct.33*, ff.141b-142b.

<sup>108</sup> *Ms.Or.oct.33*, ff2b-14a.

<sup>109</sup> Introduction to *Muqaddimat'ul Adab* reads: “Al-ḥamdu li-llāh alladī faḍḍala ʿalā camī'i'l-alsinati lisāna'l-ʿArab kamā faḍḍala'l-kitāba'l-manzūla bihi ʿalā sā'iri'l-kutubi...,” see National Library Ankara-MS B-46 (a copy from 1389 with interlinear glosses in Persian). Introductions to Persian/Turkish dictionaries only rarely make notes related to Arabic (as language of revelation, or any other possibility). For a number of examples see, Öz, “Tarih boyunca.” In this case, there is no emphasis on Arabic. Though one would need more examples, it is tempting to suggest here that, in general, the “prestige” of Arabic was not looming so large over instances of linguistic meta-genres involving other languages.

and who enlightened the hearts of Muslims (ar. *ahlu 'l-Islām*) testifying to his sanctity and applying themselves to the (solitary) study and observance of the commands and prohibitions of religion. God is also the one who endows a Muslim with the very wish to pursue the means for examination/study of the signs (ar. *āyāt*) of his Oneness (ar. *tawhīd*).<sup>110</sup> Overall, the praise part of the introduction, sets the tone for the main part of the work (signalled by *amma ba 'd*—“now to the main subject”) which starts with an exposition in which the author emphasizes that the study of the various linguistic forms (ar. *ibārāt, alfāz, iṣṭilāhāt*—expressions, words, terms) is what a human needs in order to attain knowledge of the things existent, the very existence of which in turn testifies to the existence of God. Supporting his claims by a Quranic verse,<sup>111</sup> the author notes that all useful knowledge (ar. *favā'id*) cannot be attained by being acquainted with one language only, i.e. that there is no harm in discovering the meanings of words in numerous, different languages. Then he moves to inform the reader that sultan Mehmed II was the one who ordered the collection and translation of the non-Arabic words and to explain the way in which the task was handled. Here he claims that one of the steps was to supply books of various “groups” (ar. *firaḳ*) in their own languages.<sup>112</sup> As seen from above, the producers of the manuals had books in Greek and Slavic at their disposal, and this note can be viewed as more than a mere tribute to the established tradition in producing Arabographic language-learning tools.<sup>113</sup> Why informants, who

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<sup>110</sup> “Bi-smi-l’lahi Rahmāni Raḥīm. Al-ḥamdu li’lāh alladī antaqa elsinata’l-anāmi bi-tasbīhihi wa taḥmīdihi wa aṭbaqa af’idata ehli’l-islām bi-nūri taqḍisihi wa tafriḍihi wa raffaqahum bi-ni’matihi li-raḡbatin fī asbābi-(i)ṭṭilā’i ‘alā āyāti tawhīdihi li-yandurū fī iḥtilāfi’l-aṣāri wa yastadillū bihā ‘alā aḥadiyyati’l-mu’attiri wa yaṣtaḡilū fī taḥmīdihi.” *Ms.Or.oct.33*, f2b.

<sup>111</sup> “And of his signs is the creation of heavens and the earth and the diversity of your languages and your colors. Indeed in that are the signs for those of knowledge,” Quran 30: 22.

<sup>112</sup> “Uḥḍira bi-himamihi kutubu’l-firaqi’l-muḥtalifati fī lisānihā,” *Ms.Or.oct.33*, f5b.

<sup>113</sup> The introductions to various forms of Arabographic dictionaries are often accompanied with notes about the sources of the corpus. When Arabic is a source language, these are by the rule respectable texts, Quran being in the first place. Of many examples one can quote Arabic/Persian dictionary dedicated to infinitives titled *Tāj al-Maṣādir* (The Primary Source) in which its author, Aḥmad b. ‘Ali al-Bayhaḳī (d.1150) writes that he isolated the infinitives he defines in

were definitely helping, were not mentioned is an issue we can speculate about. The introduction quotes the full title of the book: *Mulḥaqāt-i Dānistan min al-luġati'r-Rūmiyyati wa'ş-Şarfiyyati* (Appendices to *Dānistan* from Greek and Serbian). What follows is a “Prelude” (ar. *Al-Muqaddimat*) divided into two parts (ar. *işāratayn*) in which the author expounds on the knowledge on which his book was based on, whereby the knowledge pertains, to “the letters of Byzantines” (ar. *beyānu ḥurūfi'r-Rūm*) and what is related to “pronunciation of its expressions” (ar. *māyata'allaqu bi-talaffuḍi'ibārātihā*), as well as to the same theme but with focus on “the letters of Serbs” (ar. *ḥurūfu'ş-Şırf*). We learn from this part that it was a well known fact that most of the letters then used for writing the language of the Rūm (Byzantium) were the same as the letters used for writing the old language of Yunān (Ancient Greece).<sup>114</sup> The author relates that, at some point, the Rūm left their ancient land, which was then (i.e. in the fifteenth century) ruled by Franks (*Faranġ*), to settle in the lands of Yunān. This they did with their famous emperor Constantine. Coming to the land of Yunān they mixed with the local population to the point that one could not know which of them was *Rūmīyy* and which was *Faranġīyy*. The Rūm (i.e. Romans) opted to speak the language of Yunān (i.e. Greeks) but kept adding to it the words which did not originally belong to this language. So, for the sake of recording the language of the commoners of Rūm (ar. *luġatu'awāmi'r-Rūm*) a number of letters had to be added to the alphabet used for recording the language of the elite of Rūm (ar. *ḥawāşşihim*), which was the similar to the language of the Ancient Yunān (ar. *luġatu'l-Yunāni'l-Qadīmati*). The core of the alphabet used for this (elite) language consisted of twenty letters, according to the author, which are “simple” and the pronunciation of which

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Persian, first and foremost from the text of the Quran (since there can be no rhetoric without it: *lā balāġāta illā wa minhu*), then from *hadīṭ* collections, collections of Arabic poetry etc., paying special attention to those that may present some difficulties in understanding. Hādī 'Ālim'zādah, ed., *Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī: Tāj al-Masādir* (Tih-rān : Mu'assasah-'i Muṭāla'āt va Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1987), 2 (130).

<sup>114</sup> Rūm and Yunān are Arabic collective nouns designating Greek speakers living in different places in different periods of time, i.e. the denotations of these words are not stable.

corresponds to the pronunciation of the certain letters of Arabic (listed under their Arabic names). The rest of part one is dedicated to technicalities of pronunciation of Greek letters (especially the “compound” ones from the commoners’ idiom) as recorded by the use of Arabic script, often introduced by the phrase “if you see (in this book)... then (do/do not)...” Of the history of Serbian we learn that this language was a relative (ar. *qarībatun*) of the old language of the Yunān. To the extent that the language preserved the link with its older predecessor, Serbian can be recorded by the letters used for this language. As it happened, additions occurred and, at the time of writing, the total number of letters of the Serbs was twenty seven. The rest of the section is dedicated to the pronunciation of the orthographic solutions for Serbian, which the author devised and applied in his book.

Thus, if we were to judge by the introduction, the informed author, and by extension, sultan Mehmed II, seem to have thought, relying on the authority of Quran, that every language of the world was a legitimate medium through which a Muslim can testify to the oneness of God, and manifest the knowledge of God, his creation and his commands. Nevertheless, the vocabulary employed throughout the manuals can hardly be described as being dominated by terms and ideas related to religion, and as I said before, I am of the opinion that primary goal of the textbooks was to prepare a learner for everyday communication in languages “non-Arabic”.<sup>115</sup> In light of this fact, the attitudes expressed in the introduction can also be seen as an act of duty, a due obligation towards tradition, and as a justification of attention paid to “non-Arabic” languages. Thus, the whole compendium, rhetorically and practically, was oriented towards learning “non-Arabic”

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<sup>115</sup> Lehfeltd detects in *Ayasofia 4750* some forty plus words related to religion and rituals translated to Serbian from Arabic. *Mesc(ğ)id* (place of worship) is, for example, translated as “crkva” (church). *Furkân* (ar.lit. which distinguishes truth from error, also a name for Quran) is the only word that was left untranslated. Werner Lehfeltd, “Zur serbokroatischen Übersetzung arabisch-islamischer Termini in einem Text des 15./16. Jahrhunderts,” *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 7/1-2 (1969-70): 28-43; Several words and phrases from the list of nouns in *Ms.Or.oct.33* can also be considered as belonging to religious discourse, most notably the names of the five daily prayers.

languages—after Arabic, the language of Islam *par excellence*. This does not diminish the importance of the fact that the author, informed of the history of the two languages, allowed the possibility that Greek and Serbian can be “languages of Muslims,” which, in reality, they had an ever growing chance to become. The silence of the author of *Kitābu’l-Mulḥaqāt* about Persian (and Turkish), indicates that he was not concerned with any sort of comprehensive outline of hierarchical relations among languages he engaged with, whether these relations would have religious connotations or not. The implied hierarchies are not only to be searched in what is said in his Introduction, but also in the way in which the instrumental parts of the handbooks were composed. Here, the logic is occasionally historical, but predominantly linguistic/grammatical. A comparison of this manuscript with manuals for learning *al-afranġiyya* taken by scholars to mean Latin, would certainly help understand the supposed hierarchies better, but I will have to leave this line open since I did not have a chance to consult these manuscripts. Remembering Caferoğlu and Raby, however, one can go beyond the texts discussed here and ask which of these languages, if any, were indeed considered “foreign,” the “languages of the sultans’ subjects,” or the foreign languages of sultans’ subject, and which were considered to be Ottoman and/or “imperial.” In these textbooks, Greek and Serbian appear as solid candidates for the last category, and it remains to be seen whether this idea survived or can be traced in other texts in implicit or explicit form.

As for the profile of the target-learners, based on what we know, the pages and (young) women of various ethnic origins freshly entering the Palace as *kapūkulları* could have been both literate and illiterate. Literate could be those individuals who learned to read and/or write in their mother-tongue prior to being recruited to the palace, as well as the persons illiterate in their mother tongues, but who, after being enslaved, learned to write while learning second language/s (Arabic, Persian, and/or Turkish) in some other household before being transferred to the Palace. Illiterate



were the persons who did not learn to read and/or write in their mother-tongue, nor in a second language before being recruited directly to the Palace. The variety of these models further complicates the ways in which the manuals could have been used, but it can be safely said that they could equip any learner with knowledge sufficient for basic and simple everyday communication, no more and no less than that. Unfortunately the textbooks provide no clues about the texts the users were supposed to produce after learning the languages in question nor about the links between a model learners' linguistic and professional profiles.

The contents of *Ms.Or.oct.33* shows that all three manuscripts were part of the same-minded, multifunctional and multidirectional project in which Turkish, the first language of the sultans, was evoked even when it was not direct subject of linguistic analysis. If the *Ayasofya* manuscripts suggest that the main targets for learning were Arabic and Persian, *Ms. Or.oct 33* clearly shows that Greek and Serbian were also taught and learned in the same milieu, in or around the Ottoman court. Whether and how Turkish was taught in the palace school, to non-native speakers, cannot be ascertained based on this material, but the chances are high that basic familiarity with Arabic was acquired simultaneously with Turkish. Nonetheless, the presence of Italian in this codex (again on a number of pages filled with groups of syllables formed around a letter, each group supplied with a title in Latin/Italian), and the insight into the 1502 court library inventory remind us of the extent of the ambition of the anonymous linguistic entrepreneurs. The extensive project of providing *any* language with the tools of instruction was embedded in the methodology and concepts developed first and foremost upon the study of Arabic as a second language to native speakers of Persian and/or Turkish. This may imply that the same kind of

methods and concepts were applied in teaching/learning Turkish to non-native speakers, although Serbian in particular was not paired with Turkish.<sup>116</sup>

In conclusion, the multilingual textbooks discussed here were first and foremost the result of a self-sustained scholarly project aimed at equipping all languages perceived as useful for, first of all, oral communication, with the tools for formal instruction. Created within a relatively short period of time, the extant multilingual textbooks seem to have addressed a newly perceived, immediate need which could not be satisfied by the resources available in the second half of the fifteenth century. Hence, the Anonymous composers embarked on a project of providing the language learning tools based on the models and methods tried within the bilingual, Arabo-Persian tradition. Once brought into the fold of Arabographia, and Arabographic grammatical thinking, Serbian and Greek could be furthered to the point of being used in their own scripts. The link between the translation activities encouraged by Mehmed II and the project of teaching Greek cannot be established based on these codices only, which does not mean that the link should be entirely denied. This view of the project is entirely compatible with the existing scholarship on the reasons behind including Serbian/Greek into the language learning program in the court. The clear boundedness of these manuscripts in time and space, namely the fact that they did not seem to instigate any endeavors that would enhance the initially set base, suggest to me that the whole project was part of an intense discussion of how the multilingualism of the late-fifteenth century should or could be managed. Although the project was carried only so far, some ideas and habits that informed it certainly persisted, and the question is how and whether they can be recognized in the post-fifteenth century Ottoman court milieu or beyond it. Finally, a focus on one language only

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<sup>116</sup> See Csirkés, “Turkish/Turkic Books of Poetry, Turkish and Persian Lexicography,” and MS Török F.59/f.145a and *passim* for lexicographical and grammatical works involving Arabic, Persian and Turkish and combinations with other languages.

or on the differentiation between Islamicate and non-Islamicate, or Western and non-Western languages, are a poor starting point for a thorough understanding of the ideas that informed this project. Although Slavic did not gain the status of a language the learning of which was accompanied by developing academic interest, the story of Slavophone Arabographia in the fifteenth century Ottoman state, of course, does not end here.

### **I.3. The Cyrillic Records of a Translation of Empire**

An imaginary, early modern history of South-Slavia written from the perspective of habits of and ideas about literacy would certainly have to be sensitive to both its unity as geo-linguistic space and its regional and temporal varieties, but also to the new multilingual regime brought forth by the establishment of the Ottoman administration. Since there is no such history, and the chances are high it will not be written any time soon, what one has to rely on while discussing the linguistic encounters in this contact zone are the works dealing with either one or the other of the several mentioned aspects of this space. As for the part of South-Slavia which was destined to come under the Ottoman rule, the mainstream historiography teaches that, with regards to literacy and related ideologies, this region preserved continuity with medieval times (which we should not consider “dark”), at least until the eighteenth, if not even the nineteenth century. In the parts of South-Slavia conquered by the Ottomans, the *nascent* development of various forms of Cyrillic literacy was suddenly and sadly interrupted, while the little that was produced anew (i.e. not copied) was produced with the medieval mindset. This grand scheme is, for one, firmly embedded in what can be termed “the monolingual mentality,” namely the ideology that, in this case Slavs, could be literate or involved in literacy events based on Slavic, and if Orthodox Christians, Cyrillic only. No matter how hard it is to argue against it, this scheme, however, does not hold, if one acknowledges the importance of distinguishing between the ideologies of literacy and ideologies

of language. Noting this, my purpose is to suggest that the period after the beginning of the Ottoman interventions in South-Slavia is a period of greater impact of literacy on Slavophone societies.

For a start, therefore, I want to suggest this period can be viewed as witnessing the beginning of a gradual transition of all societies involved in new historical encounters into a different literacy regime. As this transition was evolving in a situation in which at least two relatively stable regimes of multilingualism intertwined, it can also be suggested that language awareness of all parties involved in textual production was, at the very least, somewhat heightened. With this in mind, one can postulate the continuities and changes in language ideologies characteristic of this period as historical questions. Going even further, and having in mind the longevity of the Ottoman state, one can suppose that this transition eventually led to establishment of (again relatively) stable systems of literacy and language ideologies which could be described as “Ottoman.” Coming up with these assumptions is rather easy—in theory, and/or based on sheer logic. Substantiating them in a coherent manner and understanding the role literacy (based on various languages) played in establishing of and learning about the ongoing socio-political changes is hard, for a number of reasons, the key being the above mentioned “monolingual mentality” of the existing scholarship. This being the case, the goal of this section is to show that we can indeed speak of the postulated transition, qualify it as a multilingual affair, and go on to investigate its various facets, as well as the various profiles of individuals and groups whose linguistic choices were conscious and ideological. The discussion is expected to make visible some spatial, temporal and social contours of this transition and its outcome.

Observed in total, the producers and/or patrons of the extant Slavic texts dating to the period right before and after the Ottoman intervention in South-Slavia began (ca.1370s) were

aristocrats, professional scribes in their service, clergymen, law administrators and merchants. The main sites of textual production were scriptoria (court and monastic), royal and nobility chancelleries, as well as different legal offices—i.e. those which followed up on transactions regulated by canon and secular laws. Of the mentioned corpuses, rather rich in quantity are liturgical books written in Church Slavic held to have been used upon communal rituals or by those who have preached Christianity and educated the various generations of the flock. Translated or retranslated to Slavic in “medieval times,” the canonical texts are held to have retained a fixed form which, in early modern times, could be altered by orthographic inconsistencies, mistakes of the scribes or corruptions, rather than under the influence of any extra-textual realities. The various forms of popular literature, more or less in tune with the canon and canonical prescriptions (various apocrypha, stories, prayers and popular medical works) attested in manuscripts with miscellaneous contents until the nineteenth century, are also treated as essentially a “medieval” phenomenon embedded in the social-settings isolated by boundaries of language.<sup>117</sup> In other words, scholarship leads us to a conclusion that neither the religious books produced in Church Slavic in medieval times, nor the popular forms which appeared anew in the early modern period were significantly affected by either further “vernacularization” or increase in rates of literacy. In the early modern times, just like before, vernacular is held to have been reserved for “folk literature” and “oral tradition” which organically and uninterruptedly developed within proto-national communities—but was rarely recorded.<sup>118</sup> Despite nominal recognition that “vernacular reality” impacted the

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<sup>117</sup> For an excellent review of research of medieval Slavic texts and the various takes on the relationship between the canonical and peripheral, canonical and popular/vulgar, see Anisava Miltenova, “Marginality, Intertextuality, Paratextuality in Medieval Bulgarian Literature,” in *Marginalnote v/na literatura*, ed. Raya Kuncheva [Marginality in/of literature] (Sofia: Izdatelski centar “Boyan Penev,” 2012), 208-232.

<sup>118</sup> Descriptions of manuscripts produced in South-Slavia during the early modern period are rather detailed when it comes to orthography. Understandably, they do not help understand the large-scale diachronic changes, nor the impact of extra-textual reality on the ways in which texts were used and engaged with, since the main concerns revolve around the establishment of a recension/redaction to which a text belonged to (Serbian, Bulgarian, etc.). National redactions

ways in which early modern Slavs read and modified medieval texts, the antagonistic “Turkish rule” remains the all-encompassing phrase to describe its impact.<sup>119</sup>

What recently occurred, however, is a reevaluation of long reigning assumption that pragmatic literacy of the (late) medieval South-Slavia did not engage the social strata beyond the elite. Revisionary readings of the scarce documentary sources, though considered within national histories, have shown that literacy in the late medieval period (ca.1250-ca.1450) was much more widespread than previously thought. “Widespread” is here to mean engaging private persons and commoners, and extending to everyday transactions (purchases/sales, agreements, marriage contracts, various confirmations etc.). The idea of interruption of development, however, dominates the scholarship dealing specifically with forms of pragmatic literacy engaging the

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are held to have crystalized before the Ottoman conquests in the region. Examples are many, one being Ljubica Štavljanin-Đorđević, Miroslava Grozdanović-Pajić, and Lucija Cernić, *Opis ćirilskih rukopisa Narodne biblioteke Srbije* [The Description of the Cyrillic Manuscripts in the National Library of Serbia] (Beograd: Narodna biblioteka Srbije, 1986). Indicative is also that a recent, and only, edited volume dedicated to private life in “Serbian lands” during the early modern period does not contain a chapter on literacy/written word, while a similarly conceptualized book dedicated to medieval period does. See Aleksandar Fotić, ed., *Privatni život u Srpskim zemljama u osvit modernog doba* [Private Life in the Serbian Lands on the Eve of the Modern Period] (Beograd: Clio, 2005), and Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, and Danica Popović, eds., *Privatni život u srpskim zemljama srednjeg veka* [Private Life in the Serbian Lands during the Middle Ages] (Beograd: Clio, 2004), esp. 447-493, i.e. the contributions by Irena Špadijer and Đorđe Bubalo.

<sup>119</sup> It should be noted here that expecting synthetic conclusions about early modern Slavic literacy and manuscript culture and the way it was impacted by the new multilingual regime is rather illusory in a situation in which a critical edition of one of the most iconic late medieval Serbian texts (*Dušanov Zakonik*, i.e. Law Code of (Emperor) Stefan Dušan) got to be published in 2010. However, although the goal of the publication was to provide a text as close to the original, rather than give sense of the variants, the editor rightly points out that each copy of this (and any other) text “reflects a different relationship towards the reality in which it was originally composed.” This reality is by the rule understood as being monolingual and mono-communal, and as staying as such throughout the early modern period. Of whether and how this relationships were affected by, for instance, the fact that legal transactions of early modern Slavic community were regulated by texts produced in multiple languages we can only make wild guesses. Also, to what extent the old medieval texts were manipulated to serve the real-time, early modern purposes remains unclear, though here and there one can find an example which suggests that the very question is meaningful. For instance, the mention of Turks in New Testament apocrypha copied in sixteenth century and relating the second coming of Christ can safely be taken as a conscious attempt at amplifying the effect of the text on the listeners/readers of the time—these were to expect the end of the times when, among other, “the priests become like Turks, and Turks become like wolves.” See, Đorđe Bubalo, ed., *Dušanov Zakonik* [Dušan’s Law Code] (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, Službeni Glasnik, 2010), 8-9; Idem, “Ogled iz istorije teksta Dušanovog zakonika-Rukopisno okruženje” [An Essay in Textual History of Dušan’s Law Code-Manuscript environment], *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 50/2 (2013): 725-740; Tomislav Jovanović, *Apokrifi novozavetni* [New Testament Apocrypha] (Beograd: Prosveta, Srpska Književna Zadruga, 2005), 520-524, 546.

South-Slavs during the Ottoman rule, and there have been no attempts to solve the apparent contradictions. For example, according to Đorđe Bubalo, who discussed the theme of late-medieval pragmatic literacy of Serbian provenance, one of the phenomena which occurred with the introduction of the Ottoman rule was migration of notes of sales to the margins of manuscripts containing, for example, liturgical texts written in Church Slavic. It is to be understood from Bubalo's writing that these notes had the legal force, and that they replaced the written contracts and notes of transactions that were circulating as independent documents in pre-Ottoman times. Yet, as Bubalo also writes, the Ottoman rule did "bring" the increase of this type of notes, though they are "primitive" since they migrated to marginalia of manuscripts.<sup>120</sup> From the section of the book dedicated to Serbian, Cyrillic-based diplomatic correspondence, however, one gets the impression that the Ottoman presence brought continuity, even flourishing of this particular mode of pragmatic literacy. The Serbian, Cyrillic branch of Ottoman chancellery is held to have made a significant contribution by treating Serbian as one of its diplomatic languages.<sup>121</sup> This fact was noted by other scholars as well, though by referring to somewhat different material and applying different periodization.<sup>122</sup> None of these remarks about Slavic/Serbian used as diplomatic language

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<sup>120</sup> Đorđe Bubalo, *Pragmatic literacy in medieval Serbia* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2014), 235-236.

<sup>121</sup> This section deserves a full quotation since it presents a genuine reflection of a widespread scholarly confusion due to lack of communication between narrow fields of study: "A very developed correspondence *must have existed* with the Ottoman sultans, provincial viceroys and military leaders, *especially in the fifteenth century*. It is sufficient to peek into the collections of the Dubrovnik archives, which contain a huge *quantity of Turkish materials*, to get an idea of the intensity of the correspondence with *the Balkan states and dynasts*. This is shown in an equally convincing manner by the fact that *there existed a Serbian chancellery in Istanbul until the middle of the sixteenth century*, and that *the local viceroys and military leaders also continued to use Cyrillic into the following centuries*. It is known that correspondence with Serbian leaders and regional lords took place in the Serbian language, but the oldest preserved letters, and almost the only examples of it originated from the Serbian despot Vuk Grgurević from 1480s: four letters sent to Sultan Bāyezīd II (of which one was a letter of accreditation for an envoy), and one to the Smederevo *sancak-beyi*, Ali Bey Mihaloğlu," Bubalo, *Pragmatic literacy*, 249. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>122</sup> Isailović and Krstić, for example, write: "To conclude, although the Slavic language indisputably dominated the literacy of Wallachia, Moldavia and Albania for a long time, and was also present in Transylvania and Hungary, it was the Ottoman Empire that was the main factor or, at least, the catalyst of the introduction of Serbian-Slavic redaction and its chancellery minuscule as a diplomatic language and script of Southeast Europe, particularly in the period of transition from 15<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century. A rather quick collapse of the Hungarian state prevented us from knowing

takes into account the contemporary and complementary sources produced in Turkish. Besides that, they are too general and sometimes misleading in attributing, for example, the “Slavic/Serbian language” or “Ottoman empire” the roles of agents. This approach does not leave much space for discussing neither the background of the actual agents of this type of literacy, nor the ways in which relevant patterns in linguistic choices can be related to extra-linguistic circumstances and current power relations. For, in the Ottoman state, Slavic did not function *only* as a diplomatic language.

Grasping the nature and ideological implications of literacy events from the period of transition is not an easy task also because the scholarship, besides keeping the one-language-based corpora apart, has mainly used the extant texts for mining information about dates and events. The existence of cross-linguistic analogies and mutual correspondences in literacy and language related ideas and behaviors can be supposed only intuitively in front of the thick glass of political history founded on the dichotomy of the conquerors and the conquered. Despite this, enough material has been gathered and published to provide an initial base for the questions related to historical language ideology. Thus we know that the earliest written evidence of the translingual communication among the Southern-Slavs and the Turcophone representatives of the Ottoman political authority date from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. These texts mainly belong to the domain of pragmatic literacy, i.e. to the genres of diplomatic and more or less official correspondence, but also to various genres of documents accompanying politically and legally-binding exchanges. A significant part of this corpus was produced in Slavic by the use of Cyrillic

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how wide area would have been affected by this regional *lingua franca*. It seems that in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century other languages started to be used in diplomatic correspondence, along with Serbian – namely Turkish and Hungarian, and sometimes in Latin,” Neven Isailović and Aleksandar Krstić, “Serbian Language and Cyrillic Script as a Means of Diplomatic Literacy in South Eastern Europe in 15th and 16th Centuries,” in *Literacy Experiences concerning Medieval and Early Modern Transylvania: Yearbook of “George Barițiu” Institute of History of Cluj-Napoca, Supplement 1*, ed. Susana Andea and Adinel Ciprian Dincă (2015): 185-195, 195.



script, and not only by the sultanic Slavic chancellery. The largest part of this section examines some typical examples of the correspondence exchanged between the Ottoman officials and the individuals/corporations who, in one way or another, were related to Slavic speech-communities. One goal is to illustrate both linguistic and extra-linguistic logic behind the choices made upon the production of the relevant textual genres by paying attention to the role of translation and transcription, the social profiles of the key agents involved, and wherever possible, the instances of meta-discourse. The second question I will address in relation to these texts concerns the ways in which the Slavic/Cyrillic based diplomatic and (semi-) official correspondence functioned independently, as well as the ways in which it was intertwined with or complemented the cognate genres executed in Turkish and/or other languages.<sup>123</sup> Before that, however, I will try to add some historical context to the corpus of letters and documents by providing a brief introduction into the types of narrative texts produced with the awareness of transition, and by noting that the switch of multilingual regimes in the domain of the written word was also accompanied by new types of encounters and movements in the realm of oral communication.

### **I.3.1. Locating the Cyrillic Stories About the “Falls”**

Even a small step away from the ideology of the strict dichotomy between the conquerors and the conquered offers novel and interesting vistas for thinking about South-Slavia as a linguistic contact zone in the early modern period. Concluding his seminal article on Ottoman state ideology behind its fifteenth century interventions in Europe, Halil İnalçık wrote that Ottoman state had the character of a dynastic empire which had no other goal but to expand its rule.<sup>124</sup> Without rejecting

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<sup>123</sup> Unlike is the case with its eastern friends and enemies, Ottomans did not use Arabic or Persian for corresponding with actors attached to South-Slavia.

<sup>124</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Stefan Dušan’dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna” [From Stefan Dušan to the Ottoman Empire], in Idem, *Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar* [The Studies and Documents on the Age of Fatih] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954), 137-184.

the previous scholarship dealing with the same topic, İnalçık presented evidence which added entirely new connotations to the existing theories on “the rise of the Ottoman state,” the most prominent being those put forward by Paul Wittek and Fuad Köprülü. Addressing the position expounded by Wittek, İnalçık suggested that Ottomans followed the long-standing tradition within which Islamic rulers—instead of imposing Islam by sword as Wittek would have it—tended to act as guarantors of the religious rights of their non-Muslim subjects. Adding important nuance to, now, Köprülü’s arguments which emphasized the ethnic-Turkish origin of the founders and their key supporters, İnalçık showed that a significant number of Ottoman soldiers who enjoyed various economic privileges were in fact Christians of various ethnic origins (Greek, Albanian, Slavic, etc.) and argued that their contribution to the consolidation of the Ottoman rule in both Europe and Asia Minor was significant. Although İnalçık does not explicitly discuss the medieval idea of *translatio imperii* as being applicable in this context, he does make an allusion to it in the title of his article: albeit relatively short-lived, the Serbian state run by Stefan Dušan was founded on the historically Byzantine idea of an emperor as centerpoint of administrative and ecclesiastical authority. It is therefore reasonable to assume that historical actors on all sides were also aware of this fact while making sense of the transition which took place between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

By the time Ottomans met with the armies of both (long-standing) Bulgarian and (short-living) Serbian empires, the imperial ideologies were already translated from (Byzantine) Greek to Slavic. More specifically, already before the Ottoman advance in Europe, South-Slavia was home to idioms which functioned as “languages of empire/s,” i.e. as the communication tools used by the literate elite practicing and supporting an imperial kind of rule. The question that emerges in light of this fact is whether and, if so, for how long into the period of inauguration of Ottoman

multilingualism the memory of Slavic as imperial language survived and within which interpretive community. One other question that can be formulated with İnalcık's argument in mind is how *translatio imperii*—as both an ideology informing the historical imagination, and as a process embedded in cross linguistic contacts—reflected itself in the contents, stylistic and linguistic choices made upon the production of texts (in all relevant languages) dating to the period of transition. The Ottoman project of equipping Serbian with the self-made tools for its learning can be seen as affirmative of a possibility that Serbian was indeed viewed by Ottomans as a language whose imperial ambience could be appropriated. Conspicuous is also the timing of the project in its overlap with a surge in writing of Ottoman chronicles which, among other, sought to give shape and channel the evident socio-political and cultural variety of the empire then centered in Constantinople/Istanbul.<sup>125</sup> These two projects of different scopes and nature were, however, preceded by almost a century of Ottoman presence in the broader geo-political context of the South-Slavia. This section, argues that much before the conquest of Constantinople, the producers of Cyrillic texts circulating South-Slavia perceived the political transition as a *translatio imperii* and suggests that they reflected on communication and made their linguistic choices with this idea in mind.

South-Slavic accounts of the early phase of Ottoman conquests in South-Slavia, which could be described as historiographic are not many in number. One such text is Slavic/Serbian biography of Despot Stefan Lazarević (b.1377-d.1427, *knez* 1389-1402, *despot* 1402-1427), written after his death by Constantin of Kostenets, also known as *Philosopher* (1380-after 1431).<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Two seminal articles on the early development of Ottoman historiography are Halil İnalcık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and Peter M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 152-167; and Victor L. Menage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography," in *Ibid.*, 168-179.

<sup>126</sup> Gordana Jovanović, ed., *Život Stefana Lazarevića, despota srpskoga* [The Life of Stefan Lazarević, Depot of Serbia] (Beograd: Izdavački fond Srpske pravoslavne crkve Arhiepiskopije beogradsko-karlovačke, 2009). Constantine the Philosopher was also the name of "the first teacher of the Slavs," Cyril, born Constantine.

Constantin came from Bulgaria, after Ottomans finished the conquests in the former Bulgarian Empire (1396). He was one of the key intellectuals who gathered around Despot Stefan, a very active patron of various cultural activities. Among other, Stefan was involved in the organization of the so-called *Resava School*—the center for translation (from Greek) and transliteration of manuscripts, located within the complex of Manasija Monastery.<sup>127</sup> The building of the monastery complex which started in 1406 was entirely sponsored by Despot Stefan whose main source of wealth were silver mines, most notably Novo Brdo. The complex also included a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, consecrated in 1418 and decorated by a particularly rich fresco program. The number of manuscripts produced with encouragement of Despot Stefan between ca. 1407 and 1427 cannot be determined, but the scale of activity of the scriptorium had no precedent in both Serbian, and South-Slavic lands in general. Stefan was an author himself.<sup>128</sup>

Besides the biography of Despot Stefan, Constantin of Kostenets also wrote a didactic philological treatise on Church Slavic orthography, transcription and translation, addressed, among other, to teachers and having a reformist ambitions.<sup>129</sup> Constantine's advice and interventions were analogous to efforts invested by intellectuals gathered in the monastery of Veliko Tarnovo (Bulgaria) in which Constantine's education began.<sup>130</sup> The goal of the reforms he suggested was to prevent the corruption of Church Slavic as the language of the holy books, which,

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<sup>127</sup> Resava orthography is today considered to have constituted a distinct type of orthography applied in a number of other monastery scriptoria.

<sup>128</sup> Đorđe Trifunović, ed., *Despot Stefan Lazarević: Književni Radovi* [Despot Stefan Lazarević: Literary Works] (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1979). This book also contains notes written by translators and copyists who worked under Stefan's patronage.

<sup>129</sup> Gordana Jovanović, ed., *Konstantin Filozof: Povest o slovima, Žitije despota Stefana Lazarevića* [Constantine the Philosopher: The Treatise on the Letters, Vita of Despot Stefan Lazarević] (Beograd: Prosveta, Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1989), 41-70.

<sup>130</sup> He also stayed in Mt. Athos and Constantinople, and travelled to Jerusalem.

according to Constantine, occurred due to interference of the vernaculars and due to incorrect translations from Greek. Aside from being a vivid illustration of how Constantine viewed the history of Church Slavic, the paragraph cited below, for one, suggests that not everyone shared or rather cared for his conservative opinion. Second, it contains a tacit suggestion as to how a translator should proceed in finding solutions for new translations or corrections of the old ones which got corrupted. Third, it shows which geo-linguistic space Constantine had in mind when he thought about Church Slavic texts. The paragraph reads:

When some people say—some of them say this should be said in Serbian in the following way, while some others say, it should be said in Bulgarian, or in some other language—they are mistaken, it is not how things are. In the beginning, namely, (in times of ) those who wanted to make books in Slavic language, it was clear that they could not do it in Bulgarian language, although some claim the books were made in this language. For how could the Hellenic or Syriac or Hebrew subtleties be expressed in such a fat language? Or, for that matter, in the high (pitched?) and tight Serbian voice?

Judging about these matters, those good and wonderful people chose the most subtle and the most beautiful Russian language to which help came from Bulgarian, and Serbian, and Bosnian, and Slovene, and Czech in part, and Croatian, in order to shape the holy books, and it is in this way that these were made.<sup>131</sup>

Constantine's biography of Despot Stefan abounds in constructed dialogues between people having different languages as their mother-tongues. Stefan's sister Olivera (1372-after 1444), was married to Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I right after the Battle of Kosovo (1389) when Serbs—led by Knez Lazar, Stefan and Olivera's father—suffered a defeat. The negotiations and marriage saved Lazar's land from conquest, but placed then Knez Stefan into the position of an Ottoman vassal. According to Constantine, Stefan and Bāyezīd were friends despite the fact that some Serbian aristocrats tried to spoil their relationship while offering their own service to the latter. Throughout the narrative, Bāyezīd I is referred to as an *emperor* (sl. *car*) or (*the great*) *amir* (*veliki amir*, sl. *veliki*-the great, ar.tr. *emīr*-the commander), and there is no mention of *sultan* as a

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<sup>131</sup> Jovanović, *Konstantin Filozof: Povest o slovima*, 53. The Base for old Church Slavic was not Russian, but a Slavic dialect spoken around Thessaloniki, familiar to Constantine/Cyril and Methodius.

title. Describing the events immediately after the Battle of Kosovo, Constantine refers to Bāyezīd as “the lion, the one who is called in his language the thunderbolt (here sl. *grom*)” who quickly went back “to the East in order to sit on the throne of his father and to fortify his empire on all sides.” Stefan himself is described at one point as “seal of the Christians,” a phrase unusual for the contemporary Slavic discourse, but which brings to mind a description of Muḥammad as “the seal of the prophets.” The latter was probably a catch-phrase unavoidable in the ongoing discussions of the historical relationship between Christianity and Islam conducted in various languages. None of the dialogues constructed in Constantine’s narrative contain information on the presence of a professional interpreter or a bilingual mediator. Despot Stefan is held to have known Greek and Latin/Italian, but there is no firm proof that he knew Turkish. Another episode from Constantine’s biography, however, indicates that Stefan cooperated with Turkish speakers—the name of the person he sent to negotiate with Timur, who held his sister in captivity after Bāyezīd I died, was *Ajdin* (tr. *Aydın*). After the aforementioned, wise Aydın successfully completed his mission, Olivera went back to live with her brother in Belgrade, newly fashioned as the seat of the Serbian Despotate. Constantine, among other, described Belgrade as an imperial city (sl. *carski grad*).

Obviously, Stefan could not claim and was not claiming the official title of the emperor (sl. *car*). His title of despot was approved by the Byzantine emperor, after the Battle of Ankara. Nevertheless, he and his contemporaries saw him as an heir of Serbian emperors, especially after Bāyezīd I, perceived as “the Turkish emperor”<sup>132</sup> was no longer there to claim the imperial authority. Furthermore in Constantine’s *Life*, further evidence to this end can be found in other

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<sup>132</sup> For example, Jevsevije, a monk of Serbian origin, left a biographical note dating to the end of the fourteenth century, in which he informs that, in his youth, and before escaping to Mt. Athos and becoming a monk, he was a servant of the Turkish emperor, Bāyezīd the “ildirim”: “V junosti že bih sluga cara turskoga ildirim Bajazita, bežavi že ot cara togo v Svetoju Goru postrigoh se.” Đorđe Sp. Radojičić, ed., *Antologija Stare Srpske Književnosti (XI-XVIII veka)* [Anthology of the Old Serbian Literature, XI to XVIII centuries] (Beograd: Beogradski Grafički Zavod, 1960), 150.

texts: from the letters Stefan addressed to Dubrovnik municipality<sup>133</sup> to the notes left by intellectuals he gathered around himself.<sup>134</sup> In other words, when thinking about political authority, Serbian intellectuals of the fifteenth century had in mind three imperial polities, Byzantine, Serbian and Ottoman.

Constantine's *Life of Despot Stefan* can be seen as both a continuation of the medieval genre of biographies of rulers, saints, and saintly kings, and a chronicle of contemporary events. In Slavic/Serbian lands this *vita* represents one of the earliest preserved written heralds of the historiographical consciousness awakened by the failure of Serbian Empire and the Ottoman threat. In the particular case of Serbia, this consciousness found its expression in (re)production of genealogies (starting, for example, with a Roman emperor who was believed to have been a Serb) and chronicles representing continuations of universal histories translated from Greek or Italian, history of medieval Serbian state and, to a very limited measure contemporary events. All surviving genealogies and chronicles dealing with Serbian history, have been produced in the period between ca.1350-1450, and were copied from then on.<sup>135</sup> One of the common features these texts share is the centrality of the theme of the relationship between ruler/emperor and the (Christian) faith. At some point, the genre of genealogy was enriched by the lists of Ottoman sultans. In sum, early Serbian historiography was "rising" at the same time as its "Ottoman"

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<sup>133</sup> The sense of continuity with distant and imperial past is betrayed in a charter given to Dubrovnik municipality by Despot Stefan in which he confirms the privileges they were granted by the first Serbian lords, by the emperor Stefan (Dušan), by his father (St.) Knez Lazar, his mother and himself. Both his father and his mother claimed the imperial title as Serbian rulers. Aleksandar Mladenović, ed., *Povelje i pisma despota Stefana: tekst, komentari, snimci* [The Charters and letters of Despot Stefan: text, commentaries, reproductions] (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2007), 43-51.

<sup>134</sup> Another monk from Mt. Athos, who came to Serbian despotate upon Stefan's invitation and was tasked with translation from Greek to Slavic and copying, describes Stefan, ca. 1428, as "Despot Stefan, the god-fearing *one among* the emperors" ("U vreme i u dane pravovernog i sveizvanrednog, samodržavnog i hristoljubivog, uvek spominjanog, koji je u blaženom skončanju, *pobožnog među carevima Stefana despota, gospodara Srbalja.....*") Trifunović, *Književni Radovi*, 184.

<sup>135</sup> Ljubomir Stojanović, ed., *Stari Srpski Rodoslovi i Letopisi* [Old Serbian Genealogies and Chronicles] (Sremski Karlovci: Srpska Manastirska Štamparija, 1927).

counterpart. Since no comparison of these texts and themes has been conducted so far, all that can be said at this point is that the contemporary producers of this sort of texts in Slavic and Turkish perhaps shared some similar notions and anxieties pertaining to the history of the world and their place in it. On a different note it can be remarked that, while “Turkisms” (words “borrowed” from Turkish) found in modern Slavic languages attracted a fair amount of attention of linguists and philologists, the influx of words which entered Slavic written discourse in the period of the rise of Serbian/Slavic historiography and early modern period in general has not been a topic of particular interest. These “Turkisms,” however, were not just words, but concepts, and their study would probably contribute to our understanding of the thirteenth and fourteenth century socio-political and cultural encounter.

Aside from narratives, a particular corpus of Slavic texts that have been used in reconstruction of late-medieval South-Slavic history marked by the Ottoman expansion are notes written on the margins of the manuscripts, as well as various inscriptions. Marginal notes varying in length and written in vernacular Slavic have occupied a lot of attention of the students of Slavic manuscript culture. These have been singled out as a special genre of writing, which contain a wide variety of information, not only of production and usage of the main body of the text, but also notes of events.<sup>136</sup> It is in the marginalia of the above mentioned chronicles, but also liturgical and other texts, that the history of Slavic people was written and appended.<sup>137</sup> In this history, Ottoman rulers (as of Murād I, at least) were persistently designated as “emperors,” whereby the fall of Constantinople, held to be a seminal event in the development of Ottoman imperial

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<sup>136</sup> In Serbian scholarship, these marginal notes are known as “zapisi i natpisi,” and as “pripiski” in Bulgarian.

<sup>137</sup> For an evaluation of modern literature and an argument that “the practice of writing marginal notes” in South-Slavic manuscript culture needs a new periodization which should account for changes in the early modern period, see Konrad Petrovsky, “Marginal notes in South Slavic written culture: Between practicing memory and accounting for the self,” *Cahiers du Monde russe* 58/3 (2017): 483–502.



consciousness, got to be reported in the same, succinct manner as the fall of any other town in Southern Europe.<sup>138</sup>

The Lazarevićs are one of the families who could be used as a paragon of the way in which late medieval aristocrats of central South-Slavia were interconnected by family, economic and political interests and conflicts on the one hand, and the way in which the old aristocracy was gradually integrated into new political and multilingual regime, on the other. Lazarevićs and their kin are exceptional, however, in it that they could claim, through the female line, a link to powerful medieval dynasties, most notably the Nemanjićs whose members acted as emperors for a couple of decades in the fourteenth century. As noted before, Stefan Dušan was the first Serbian emperor, and it is during his life and after his death that Serbian historiography was creatively developed most actively and most significantly via narratives related to or sponsored by Lazarevićs. The most central among these narratives, Constantine's *Life of Despot Stefan*, did not openly advertise the Lazarević family relationships with the Ottoman imperial dynasty. These relationships, however, were not hidden nor did they preclude the reverence of the Serbian aristocrats as the heirs of Serbian medieval Christian emperors or god-fearing supporters of the Church, in this, as well as in other contemporary texts. What happened in Serbian historiography during the fifteenth century, tellingly, did not happen in the lands of Bulgaria, despite the fact that Bulgaria could claim the longer imperial past. Also, members of Bulgarian aristocracy played no significant role in high Ottoman politics, at least based on what we know. It is therefore rather tempting to conclude that on the one hand contemporary Serbian understanding of "the imperial" was firmly informed by

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<sup>138</sup> Stojanović, *Stari Srpski Rodoslovi i Letopisi*, esp. 205 and *passim*. See also Ljubomir Stojanović, ed., *Stari Srpski zapisi i natpisi* [Old Serbian marginal notes and inscriptions], 6 vols. (Belgrade: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1902-1926). Boryana Hristova, Darinka Karadžova, and Elena Uzunova, eds., *Beležki na bŭlgarskite knižovnici X-XVIII vek* [Marginal notes by Bulgarian Writers X-XVIII centuries], 2 vols. ( Sofia: Narodna biblioteka "Sv.Sv. Kiril i Metodii," 2004).

the rise of the Ottoman state in the form of an empire, and on the other, that the Ottomans were also aware of Slavic empires just as they were aware of the Byzantine one.

The members of intricately networked South-Slavic aristocracy were in constant movement, and as I already noted, involved in conversation and correspondence with their peers in Hungary, Austria/Germany, Venice, Rome and other Italian towns and states. And though the realm of their political power and influence was constantly shrinking, it can hardly ever be understood as limited to one pre-Ottoman polity. For example, after coming back from Timur's captivity, Olivera Lazarević, Bāyezīd I's widow, came to Belgrade, to stay with her brother whose life trajectory has been briefly described. She also spent a part of her life with her sister Jelena (1368-1443) in Herceg Novi (present-day Montenegro). Just like her brother, Jelena was not only a patron of written word and arts, but also an author and active political figure very well known to the Venetians, although her attitude towards their politics was not always friendly.<sup>139</sup> Jelena was the third wife of Sandalj Hranić Kosača (1370-1435). Sandalj Hranić was one of the most powerful aristocrats attached to the court of Bosnian kingdom, holding the title of the Grand Duke (sl. *voyvoda*) of Bosnia and controlling the lands exiting the Adriatic and areas around the rivers Neretva and Drina in Bosnia. Sandalj had no children, and his land was inherited by his nephew, Stjepan Vukčić Kosača (1404-1466). Having expanded his possessions, Stjepan took the title of *herzeg* (ger. *herzog*) and then added "of Saint Sava" to it. In doing this he emphasized the fact that his possessions then included the area around Mileševa Monastery (near Prijepolje in present-day Serbia) in which the relics of Sava Nemanjić—a Serbian medieval aristocrat, monk, saint and central figure of one of the most significant Orthodox cults in central South-Slavia—were preserved. Stjepan Vukčić lived to witness the territorial and political transformation of the

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<sup>139</sup> Radojčić, *Antologija*, 188 and 343. See also Momčilo Spremić, *Srbija i Venecija VI-XVI vek* [Serbia and Venice in VI-XVI centuries] (Beograd: Službeni Glasnik, 2014).

neighboring Serbian Despotate after the death of Despot Stefan Lazarević; the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the final fall of the Serbian despotate in 1459, and the fall of Bosnian Kingdom in 1463. Stjepan Vukčić had four children, Katarina, Vlatko, Vladislav and Stjepan. Aside from the above mentioned Jelena, no other members of the house of Kosača are mentioned as prominent patrons of arts. Stjepan Vukčić is assumed to have held a busy-working chancellery. Of documents produced on his behalf, however, only ten survived as they were preserved in the archives of the City Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik).<sup>140</sup> Before he died, he dictated a testament according to which all of his three sons were designated as heirs, whereby Ragusans were charged with the task of safeguarding his movable property and making sure his will was fulfilled. Stjepan, the youngest son of Stjepan Vukčić, was specially designated as the receiver of the expensively decorated icons which his father carried upon himself.<sup>141</sup> A significant amount of money the receiver of which was not specified with precision ended up being, with Ragusan intervention, at the disposal of Pope, who thought it would be best used if given to Matthias Corvinus and invested in fighting the Turks. Vlatko, one Stjepan Vukčić's heirs, did not like the idea nor the related politics, so, around 1470, he agreed to pay tribute to Ottomans who were supporting the heirs in their inheritance dispute with Dubrovnik, involving not only the money, but the landed properties as well.<sup>142</sup> Three years later, Stjepan the younger (b.1456) who spent his early life in Castel Nuovo with his mother Barbara, of German noble origin, went to the court of Mehmed II, converted to

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<sup>140</sup> Sima M. Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić Kosača i Njegovo Doba* [Herzog Stefan Vukčić Kosača and his Times] (Beograd: Naučno delo, 1964), 1.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 216.

<sup>142</sup> John V. A. Fine, *The late medieval Balkans: a critical survey from the late twelfth century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 588-590.

Islam, and became Hersekzāde Aḥmed Pasha, or in Slavic variant, Ahmet Paša Hercegović.<sup>143</sup> Several times grand vizier, Aḥmed was at least bilingual. He wrote poetry in Turkish, while his deeds as an Ottoman grand vizier were the subject of contemporary historiographical works. He was also the founder of two mosques, one in a village near Istanbul, and one in a village near Edirne.<sup>144</sup>

With all these, and other similar life trajectories of the fifteenth century South-Slavic aristocrats in mind, it is reasonable to conclude that for these people “the multilingualism of empires” was and remained the framework within which they made their linguistic choices and assessed hierarchies among various languages. And although there obviously existed a sense of unity of the South-Slavic dialectical continuum, the core locality of the Cyrillic narrative texts produced by and around the Lazarević family, their kin, peers and heirs, can be further designated as central South-Slavia, which corresponds geographically to the lands of late medieval Serbia and Bosnia. As is clear by now, some fifteenth century Ottomans, a number of whom were of Slavic origin, perceived the language of these texts as Serbian.

### **I.3.2. A Foreign Observer of the Realm of *L’Esclavonie* and the Various Realms of the *Esclavons***

Bertrand De la Broquière’s French report of his journey from Ghent to Palestine and back (1432-1433) is one of the sources which has been extensively used in historiography, most notably in works reconstructing western European plans for a crusade which would deliver the Christians of

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<sup>143</sup> Heath Lowry, *Hersekzāde Ahmed Paşa: Career and Pious Endowments* (Istanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2011), 3 and *passim*.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., and Adnan Kadrić, “Veliki vezir i pjesnik Ahmed-paša Hercegović u poetiziranim hronikama na osmanskome jeziku” [The Grand Vizier and a Poet Ahmed-pasha Hercegović in poeticized chronicles in Ottoman language], *Anali GHB* 29-30 (2009): 187-204.

the east from the Muslim Turkish rule.<sup>145</sup> The narrative was given shape after the journey was finished. The might and the weakness of the “Grand Turk” (at the time Murād II) can be designated as a motif giving it both unity and purpose. This report is also one of the earliest western sources used to fill in the many gaps in regional South-Slavic history left by the lack of narrative sources in local languages. For my own purposes, this narrative is interesting in it that it contains information and details about the various daily encounters among people who spoke different languages, the ways in which the linguistic barriers were overcome in Mediterranean and its hinterland, and last but not least, gives some insight into the role of literacy in these encounters. The attention Bertrandon paid to mundane events fraught with communication challenges can be explained by his being not only a pilgrim, but also a spy. Accidentally, or not, Bertrandon also left few notes which indicate that “Slavic” was a language which had the power of constituting a distinct space recognizable to an outsider, despite being divided along intersecting political, confessional and social lines. Finally, Bertrandon’s narrative is a good reminder of the fact that multilingualism in the Mediterranean and its hinterland was the reality and the challenge faced not only by powerful and mobile social figures, but also by people of all walks of life whose geographical mobility also started increasing as of, approximately, early fifteenth century. Most importantly for my purpose, this narrative is one of the earliest texts in which we can find some further clues about how the range of patterns of mobility of various social profiles of Slavic-speakers expanded with the onset of the Ottoman rule.

The outbound, continental leg of Bertrandon de la Broquière’s journey to Jerusalem (1432-1433) completed in Venice on March 25, 1432. It is then that he got on a galley which sailed along

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<sup>145</sup> For retelling and quoting I used a Serbian translation and the French edition from 1892 on which the translation was based. Miodrag Rajičić, ed. and trans., *Bertrandon De La Brokijer: Putovanje preko mora* (Beograd: Naučna Knjiga, 1950); M.M.Ch.Shefer, ed., *Le Voyage D’Outremer de Bertrandon De La Broquière* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892).

the Adriatic coast giving him a chance to see few coastal towns of *Esclavonie* which were, as he reports, under the control of Venice. Of these he mentions Parenzo, Pula, Zadar and Šibenik. The port of Jaffa was the point of his entry into the region of Christian sacred geography, and for a while, the author sounds like a pilgrim and a tourist rather than a spy. The foreigners who wanted to visit the holy places in Palestine could not move on their own but required the help of local interpreters/guides. For the service, they had to pay some dues not only to the interpreters, but also to the Mamluk sultan based in Cairo and who ruled Palestine at the time. In order to ensure that everyone paid their dues and that no one got lost, the chief interpreter circulated a list with the name, age and physical description of pilgrims participating in the tour. Posing as (and actually being) a Catholic pilgrim, Bertrandon was very much interested in the faith of the enemies of Christianity. About these matters, however, he did not inquire among his Arab interpreters, who were, of course, Muslims.

At some point, Bertrandon made a dangerous decision not to return home by sea, but to take the continental route, which would take him through the realms of the Grand Turk. It is probably for this reason that he noticed the festive entrance to Damascus of the Ottoman caravan returning from Mecca. It is therefore in Damascus that Bertrandon met the subjects of the Grand Turk for the first time. One of these subjects was the leader of the caravan Koca Barak, a citizen of Bursa. Another was a certain ‘Abdullāh, a member of the retinue of a Turkish lady, herself a cousin of Murād II who travelled with Koca Barak to Mecca. ‘Abdullāh was a convert to Islam, and was the person who informed Bertrandon, in an unspecified language, and therefore most probably Italian, about what the pilgrimage to Mecca meant for a Muslim. Among other things, ‘Abdullāh told him that people who went on pilgrimage (Moors, Turks, Barbaresques, Tartars, Persians, and “other sectaries of the false prophet Muḥammad”) believed “they cannot be

damned.” ‘Abdullāh himself boasted that he had visited Mecca three times. When Koca Barak, the leader of the caravan, heard that Bertrandon would like to join and travel to Bursa, he asked whether he understood “Arabic, Turkish, vulgar (i.e. spoken) Hebrew, or Greek.” That he did not, Koca Barak thought was a problem, but still allowed him (“in his Turkish”) to join the caravan and travel safely with his slaves provided Bertrandon was dressed like them. Bertrandon, however, chose to relieve the problem of linguistic incompetence by starting to learn some Turkish. The person who helped him initially was a Jew from Caffa, who was competent in both “Tatar” and “Italian” and who provided Bertrandon with a bilingual list of the words necessary for travel, written in Latin script. The first time he drew his list to ask for barley and straw to feed his horse, some twelve Turks gathered around him and started laughing at his letters, showing the same kind of wonder that a Frank (as Bertrandon was) would show when seeing “their” letters. From that moment on, Bertrandon writes, they worked so hard to teach him how to speak by persistently repeating the same word that Bertrandon “had to” remember it. When he parted his way with these Turks, he was able to ask himself for most of the things that he or his horse needed. Later on, Bertrandon noted that the entry into the area in which Turkish was spoken was Antioch, which belonged to the realm of Turkoman dynasty of Ramazanids who were wresting their independence from the Mamluk sultan. Further on, in Adana, he noted that Turkish was “a very fine language, laconic, and easily learnt.”

The place where Bertrandon encountered the first Slav on his journey was a village near Bursa. This was a Bulgarian renegade slave (fr. *ung esclave Vulgaire renié*) who, pretending he was a good Saracen (i.e. Muslim) suggested that it would be a shame if the caravan from Mecca entered Bursa together with an infidel. Due to this intervention, Bertrandon, with the help of God, had to find the way to Bursa on his own. The deeper he entered the realm of the Grand Turk, the

more Slavs Bertrandon was meeting on his way. In March 1433, Bertrandon ended up in Edirne, at the court of Murād II where he witnessed a visit to the court by a Bosnian delegation, led by Radivoj Ostojić. It is known from other sources that this was an illegitimate son of the deceased Bosnian king, who claimed he had the legitimate right to the title currently carried by Tvrtko II Tvrtković. Radivoj's ambition was supported by the sultan, and he acted as a sole king of Bosnia for the next two years. Having left Edirne, and upon entering Macedonia, "between two mountains opening to an extensive plain watered by Maritza," Bertrandon saw "fifteen men and ten women chained by the neck, inhabitants of Bosnia ...". Moving on, he passed through Kruševac, a town on the right bank of the Morava River, possessed by Turks. This was a seat of the commander of the "border" between Bulgaria and Serbia (marked by Morava). The commander was Sinān Beg, a Greek by origin. Sinān Beg was (also) "holding" the land from Wallachia to *Esklavoniya* which was a huge country. Sinān was wise, did not drink wine like others did, and would not let anyone cross the mentioned river unless he would recognize them, or unless they had a letter from the Turk (i.e. the Ottoman sultan) or the governor-general of Rumelia. Having crossed over to the territories belonging to the Despot of Serbia, Djuradj Branković, he had a chance to meet the despot in person, but he does not specify which language they used to communicate. Near Belgrade, then belonging to the king of Hungary, he came upon a village inhabited by people from Rascia (Serbia), who were Catholics obedient to Rome and whose church rituals were the same as those of his home community. The service, however, was conducted in Slavic language (fr. *en langaige esclavonien*). The commander of this well-fortified and well-armed place was a nobleman from Ragusa (*Messire Mathico*, who was helped by his brother who was simply called "Mister Brother"). The Rascians (i.e. Serbs) were not allowed to enter this place since the Despot of Serbia had ceded it (the village and Belgrade), four years before, to the king of Hungary fearing he would



lose it to the Turks, just as he had lost the fortress of Golubac, which was a great loss for Christianity.

Both Bertrandon De la Broquière's report and Constantin of Kostenets's *Life of Despot Stefan* suggest that, in the late-medieval times, there existed a broad awareness of the unity of *Esclavonia* (South-Slavia) which was, and could only be based on the language. Whether this idea was transferred to the realm of the Ottoman Arabographia in the period of inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism, is one of the questions that will be addressed in this and the following chapter.

### **I.3.3. The “Surviving” Form of Slavic Pragmatic literacy**

When Ottomanists talk about the usage of Slavic as a diplomatic language in the Ottoman empire, the first institution that is mentioned in relation to this practice is the Slavic branch of Ottoman sultanic, multilingual chancellery which is taken to have existed since 1430s until around mid-sixteenth century. This implies that the Slavic/Cyrillic documents produced by the scribes employed in the chancellery should be taken as the main indexes of such status of Slavic in the Ottoman empire. I have addressed above the vague scholarly ideas of why Ottomans would use Slavic as a diplomatic language in the first place. I also mentioned that the existing explanation of why Slavic stopped being the diplomatic language in the Ottoman empire is that Turkish took over the role of the main diplomatic language of the Ottomans after mid-sixteenth century. An almost identical periodization, with a somewhat different image of the status of Slavic as a diplomatic language, can be found in works looking at its usage from the outskirts of the broader, geographical areas, one of these being Southeastern Europe. From this perspective, scholars note that Slavic was the language of several Slavic-speaking late medieval states, some of which were conquered or subdued by the Ottomans, and it was already in the late medieval times that some non-Slavic speaking governments either knew the institution of the interpreter for Slavic or used

Slavic/Cyrillic forms of literacy.<sup>146</sup> As to what changed with the Ottoman advance, we learn, for example, that Slavic chancelleries continued to exist, while Hungarian and Venetian ones were actually most active during the early period of the Ottoman rule in South Slavia. Thus we read:

Although the initial steps were directed towards achieving communication in Serbo-Croatian language with Serbia, the Croats, Albania and the Romanian countries, it was *the correspondence with the Turks* that gave full impetus for the development of the Hungarian and Venetian Slavic chanceries. Those chanceries were, most certainly, originally led by the Slavic scribes, but the staff later expanded out of the circle of the ethnic Slavs. Therefore, in the sixteenth century we can encounter letters in which a Venetian proveditor wrote *to the Turkish officials* in Cyrillic script lacking diacritical signs.<sup>147</sup>

Some important nuances can certainly be added to these generalizations.<sup>148</sup> For one, diplomatic language means “the language of diplomacy” and diplomacy can be defined as management of relations among minimum two different governments and/or the government appointed officials. Scholars dealing with the corpus of Slavic/Cyrillic letters involving the representatives of Ottoman political authority are of course aware of this, but it is not always clear from their conclusions who exactly were the agents behind perpetuation of Slavic based pragmatic literacy in the Ottoman empire, i.e. who are the people behind the labels like “Turks” and “Turkish.” It is the habit of using labels like this, essentially stemming from a dilemma about the linguistic profile of a proper Ottoman or a “Turk” and, one may add, their language ideology, that seems to have caused some sort of confusion about the periodization of the practice of writing

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<sup>146</sup> For examples see Isailović and Krstić, “Serbian Language and Cyrillic Script.” See also above fn.121 and fn.122.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 190. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>148</sup> The Slavic/Cyrillic letters involving the Ottoman officials have been subject of research as of the late nineteenth century, and there is a number of editions based on which one can get the sense of the full scope of the extant corpus. The most reliable and significant guides remain the pioneering collections: Franz Ritter von Miklosich, ed., *Monumenta serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii* (Viennae: apud Guilelmum Braumüller, 1858); Ćiro Truhelka, ed., “Tursko-slovenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive [Turco-Slavic documents from the Dubrovnik Archive],” *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Sarajevu* 23 (1911): 1-162; 303-349; 437-484; Ljubomir Stojanović, ed., *Stare srpske povelje i pisma, Knjiga 1: Dubrovnik i susedi njegovi/1.deo-1929; 2.deo-1934* [Old Serbian Charters and Letters, Book I: Dubrovnik and Its Neighbours], 2 vols. (Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1929-1934).

Slavic/Cyrillic documents in the Ottoman realms, the profiles of Ottoman officials involved in their production, as well as the core locales of this practice. It is thus no wonder that our knowledge about how the Slavic branch of Ottoman chancellery functioned and what it shared with its provincial analogues is rather unsystematic. Blurred is also the image of the kinds of linguistic expertise and practices it perpetuated or invented, and, most importantly from my perspective, how its activities and products were related to their counterparts in other languages.

For a start, it is of benefit to emphasize three facts. First, the number of extant Slavic/Cyrillic documents explicitly addressed to an Ottoman sultan is negligible,<sup>149</sup> i.e. the mediation of interpreters was implied and inherent to the communication between senders of Cyrillic letters and the Ottoman court. Also, the extant corpus contains no example of a sultan addressing a Slavic/Cyrillic letter to an Ottoman government-appointed official. Second, what happened in the mid-sixteenth century is that Slavic chancellery *attached to the Ottoman court* stopped producing Slavic/Cyrillic *letters and documents* issued in the name of the sultan, whereby, in the South-Slavic province, the Slavic/Cyrillic *letters* functioned as tools of cross-border communication uninterruptedly as of the late thirteenth until the eighteenth century. Third, the initial geographical locus of the latter practice was central South-Slavia in which the two most active local chancelleries (differentiated based on the variants in the Cyrillic orthography) functioned—*Resavsko-Raška*, and *Bosansko-Humska*. The orthography of all extant sultanic letters stamped with original seal has been described as either typical of one of these styles, or mixing the two.<sup>150</sup> This suggests that until mid-sixteenth century, sultanic chancellery and

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<sup>149</sup> These were in the form of letters sent by Serbian nobles. Known are two letters written by Serbian despot Vuk Branković/Grgurević (d.1485) to Bāyezīd II. See fn.73 of this chapter.

<sup>150</sup> Tamara Lutovac-Kaznovac, “Jezik pisama Turskih Sultana Dubrovnika” [The Language of the Letters of Turkish Sultans to Dubrovnik] (PhD Thesis, Univerzitet u Kragujevcu, 2019).

provincial chancelleries of central South-Slavia were sharing the know-how, the human capital, or both. When they moved, and they did in a rather regular manner, the loci of this practice moved with the movement of the Ottoman borders—towards the west, and to a lesser extent north. This is a trend which was not interrupted by the “abolishment” of Slavic sultanic chancellery. One border, however, was stable for centuries, and this was the one between the expanding Ottoman realms and relatively fixed territory of Dubrovnik Republic.

Ottomanists do not use the term “pragmatic literacy.” “Ottoman diplomatics” is the name of the ancillary discipline dealing with paleography, critical editions, analysis, classification and description of Ottoman documents. One of the most comprehensive overviews of numerous types of documents produced during the five centuries long Ottoman history is Mübahat Kütükoğlu’s book entitled *Osmanlı belgelerinin dili: diplomatik* (The Language of Ottoman Documents-Diplomatics). As is typical for all other comparable handbooks, the *language* here designates *structure* and *technical phraseology*, and not the *langue* in Saussurean terms. Also typically, the particular types of documents are here primarily associated with the participants in the literacy events in whose name the documents were issued, namely the persons whose seals/signatures are found on the documents. The documents are classified based on the social status of these people and/or their assumed distance from the center of the government. All examples provided are in Turkish enriched by Arabic and Persian words and phrases, and the development of Ottoman chancellery and bureaucratic apparatus is traced back to its earlier Islamic counterparts (most notably Persian). No particular note is made on differentiation of Turkish as diplomatic language (i.e. language fashioned for foreign interlocutors) and Turkish as a language of bureaucracy

functioning within the empire.<sup>151</sup> In this particular handbook, the letter (tr. *mektûb*) is quoted as the only type of document which could be both official and private.<sup>152</sup>

Documents involving Ottomans, but produced in diplomatic languages other than Turkish have been a subject of international scholarly interest, and one of the questions asked concerned the mutual influence among chancelleries in different languages perceived as independent entities. The earliest extant documents of this kind are dating to the fourteenth century. A treaty made between Ottomans (Murād I) and the Commune of Genoa in 1387 has been “the only known extant fourteenth-century treaty between the Ottomans and a western city state,” according to Kate Fleet. This treaty, preserved in Italian translation, was drafted in Greek. This was a common practice at the time, but according to Fleet the document followed “the pattern of Genoese notary deeds rather than that of a document of an Islamic chancery.”<sup>153</sup> Another early example is a 1403 treaty between several parties including Byzantine emperor, and Süleymān Çelebi, a pretender to the sultanate

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<sup>151</sup> It is, I believe, reasonable to assume that letters and other documents sent by the Ottomans to their interlocutors living in or near the core areas of Turcophonia, Persophonia and Arabophonia would be differently styled than those sent to foreign officials in Europe, i.e. with different horizon of expectation with regards to competence than was the case with European powers. At this point, I myself cannot say much about how (Ottoman) Turkish functioned as diplomatic language with this kind of receivers. In his seminal article on the historical development of Ottoman chancellery and bureaucracy (which was heavily based on literacy), Halil İnalçık, for example, notes that already during the reign of Bāyezīd I, Ottomans produced various documents and epistles written to foreign rulers in Arabic and Persian—comparable in quality to those produced at Iranian and Egyptian courts. In the same place, İnalçık writes that Ottoman chancellery was in a well-advanced phase of development when the first extant text systematizing the administrative offices and various ranks of scribal services was composed. This text was a law code (tr. *kānūn-nāme*) promulgated by Mehmed II. This *kānūn-nāme* was composed in Turkish, with the goal of making it useful to “everyone.” This was done, also self-professedly, at the order of the sultan and by transcribing *the sultan’s speech*. The composer fulfilled the task by giving up on “the terminology and (complex) formulations” (tr. *ışılāḥ u ‘ibāreden ferāğāt olunub*). On a different note, this *kānūn-nāme* makes no special mention of scribes who would take place in Ottoman bureaucracy as interpreters/translators. Halil İnalçık, “Reīsülküttāb” [The Chief Secretary], in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9 (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1964), 671-683. The text of the *kānūn-nāme* was published in Ahmed Akgündüz ed., *Osmanlı hukukuna giriş ve Fātih devri kanunnāmeleri* [An Introduction into Ottoman Law and the Law Codes from the Reign of *the Conqueror*] (İstanbul: FEY Vakfı, 1990), 317-345, 317.

<sup>152</sup> Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı belgelerinin dili: diplomatik* [The Language of Ottoman Documents-Diplomatics] (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve San’at Vakfı, 1994).

<sup>153</sup> Kate Fleet, “The treaty of 1387 between Murad I and the Genoese,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 56/1 (1993): 13-33, 31-32.

during the Interregnum. Drafted in Greek and then translated to Turkish, this text survived in a poor Italian translation by a Venetian. The Italian translation displays a pattern that was also not typical of Arabographic chancelleries.<sup>154</sup> In these two early cases Turkish originals have not survived, but it seems from some later examples having similar functions that versions of the same treaties in various languages were not always products of verbatim translations of one text considered “an original.” Besides that, what the language of the first draft would be, initially depended on both the available know-how and the power relations among the parties involved.<sup>155</sup> Studying the Venetian-Ottoman diplomatics, Hans A. Theunissen, for example, argued that Arabographic international agreements (tr. *ahd-nāmes*) were well-structured and known as such to the Ottomans before 1387, and that the influence of the Greek or Italian chancelleries were not as strong as other scholars before him tended to suppose.<sup>156</sup>

Slavic chancelleries, to my best knowledge, have not been discussed as exerting any direct influence on the Ottoman one, probably due to a (correct) assumption that Slavic chancelleries followed similar patterns like the Greek ones. Although Slavophone scholars were among the pioneers in Ottoman diplomatics, they tended to observe Slavic/Cyrillic letters in isolation from

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<sup>154</sup> George T. Dennis, “The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403,” *Orientalia christiana periodica* 33 (1967): 72-88; Victor L. Ménage; edited with additions by Colin Imber, *Ottoman historical documents: the institutions of an empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021), 162 (fn10).

<sup>155</sup> See Claudia Römer, “Contemporary European Translations of Ottoman Documents and Vice Versa (15th-17th centuries),” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61/1-2 (2008): 215-226. Introducing the article Römer writes “Ottoman documents that were to be sent to rulers or officials of other states often were accompanied by translations made by the Ottoman *dragomans* at the Porte. Some others were translated at the addressee’s court by interpreters engaged there. There also are some examples of translations of European documents into Ottoman Turkish. The authorship of many translations thus being known, individual habits and abilities can be associated to specific *dragomans*, whose names and biographies, education and careers have been established long ago.”

<sup>156</sup> For illustrations and an example of excellent analysis see Hans A. Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats: the Ahd-names (The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents),” *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 1/2 (1998), 1-698.

their analogues in other languages.<sup>157</sup> We also do not have a clear image of a model *dragoman* in charge for Slavic as diplomatic language of the court. As of the sixteenth century, slightly after the Venetians, Ragusans started educating their own professional interpreters for Turkish. Before that they were counting on the help of *dragomans* employed by the Porte, whose linguistic profiles varied, but most are suspected of having known Slavic. From mid-sixteenth century on, Ragusans almost exclusively rely on their own know-how when it comes to translation from/to Turkish.<sup>158</sup> Equipped with this knowledge, Ragusans seem to have become one of the main, if not the main interpreters of Slavophone provincial affairs concerning the Ottoman court and/or its Slavophone subjects, but the extant written record of this aspect of their mediation is limited to documents involving themselves, and this mainly as the receivers of the Slavic/Cyrillic letters/documents. The other possible candidates could be more or less highly positioned officials of Slavic origin, but no substantial record exists of their role in interpreting/translating Slavic in writing.

Pursuing my own theme, in what follows, I will discuss a select number of the Slavic/Cyrillic letters with the goal of pointing to the possible ways in which they were produced (by translation, transcription, transliteration etc.); the extent to which their Slavic contents could function independently of other languages; the main profiles of the producers, senders and the receivers of these letters until the mid-sixteenth century, as well as some characteristics of the main sites of these particular literacy events. The outline is expected to give some initial insights into the question of whose language was the Slavic of the Cyrillic letters, and how can we describe it from the perspective of their senders and/or receivers (as Ottoman, Christian, Muslim, foreign,

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<sup>157</sup> For the first significant collection of Turkish documents published in South-Slavia, and, truly, the last impressive one in terms of volume, see Gliša Elezović, ed., *Turski Spomenici* [Turkish Documents], 2 vols. (Beograd: Zadužbina Sofije i Ivana Stojšića, 1940, 1952).

<sup>158</sup> Vesna Miović-Perić, “Dragomans of the Dubrovnik Republic: their Training and Career,” *Dubrovnik Annals* 5 (2001): 81-94; Idem., “Dragomano Nostro della Porta: Dragomans of the Porte in the Service of Dubrovnik in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,” *Dubrovnik Annals* 24 (2020): 65-95.

mother-tongue, one's own language and alike) and its functions (as diplomatic, local etc.). To this question I will also return in *Chapter IV*.

The earliest, and numerous later examples of Slavic/Cyrillic texts of pragmatic nature exchanged between Ottoman officials and other parties who used Slavic as a tool for communication are those now preserved in Dubrovnik Archives. For the sake of illustration, it can be noted that one of the most voluminous publications of Cyrillic texts dating to the period 1396-1542 contains some 220 documents exchanged between Ottoman officials and the municipality. Of these, 119 were sent in the name of the five sultans (Murād II: 4; Mehmed II: 42; Bāyezīd II: 55; Selīm I: 9; and Süleymān I: 9). The rest of this number goes on Cyrillic letters exchanged between Ragusans and ca. 50 other Ottoman provincial officials.<sup>159</sup> Not more than thirteen plus letters are written in the name of Ragusans. This and similar collections do not exclude copies, and when the criterion of originality indicated by, for example, sultanic seals (tr. *tuğrās*) is applied, the number of sultanic letters sent to Dubrovnik, drops to 95.<sup>160</sup> The variant of Slavic used in all of the documents by applying the above mentioned orthography styles can be described as vernacular with some elements of the higher (Church Slavic based) register recognizable in stylistic/formulaic parts and phrases. The writers of these texts can be described as fully competent in spoken Slavic.

The Cyrillic chancellery of the Dubrovnik Republic was established in the thirteenth century.<sup>161</sup> Since then, the intensity of its activities was closely connected with the Ragusan politics and trade activities with its Slavic-speaking hinterland in which the document archiving, if institutionally practiced at all, was mainly the business of the Church. The City Republic of Ragusa

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<sup>159</sup> Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, 218-408.

<sup>160</sup> Of these 53 were composed in Istanbul, 18 in Edirne, and 13 in various other places. Lutovac-Kaznovac, "Jezik pisama," 17-29.

<sup>161</sup> Gregor Čremošnik, "Dubrovačka kancelarija do god. 1300" [Dubrovnik Chancellery until the year 1300], *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Sarajevu* 39 (1927): 231-253.



conducted its governmental sessions and a lot of its business in an Italianate variant of Latin. However, its representatives took up the communication with the Ottomans, both sultans and their officials, in Slavic language written in Cyrillic script.

Which of the two parties initiated the correspondence and when exactly is not known for certain, but the chances are high that these were the Ottoman officials based in the immediate neighborhood of (what was left of) late medieval Serbia whose trade relationships with Dubrovnik were particularly important during the Despotate (1389-1459).<sup>162</sup> This can be inferred from the copies of the oldest surviving letters, all made by one Ragusan secretary, Rusko Hristiforović. The letters were drafted in the period between 1396 and 1417, i.e. at the time when the representatives of the Ottoman authority—centered in Skopje (as of 1392) and already sponsoring the process of “Ottomanization” of the town and the surrounding province (*sancak*) as a whole—were gradually taking over some of the strategic roads and urban centers in the areas surrounding the *sancak* of Skopje. These letters are also interesting in that they represent rare examples of extant Cyrillic letters addressed to the Ottoman provincial officials by Ragusans, for, as I already noted, most of the extant corpus dating before mid-sixteenth century consists of the letters/documents sent to Ragusans. In other words, provided Cyrillic letters sent to the Ottoman officials (of any rank) existed at all, they were not systematically archived. The addressees of the thirteen preserved letters were as follows: the *kadi* of Gluhavica (1396); *Voyvoda* “Pašajit” (one from 1398; three from 1399; one from 1402); *voyvoda* “Sarhan” (two letters from 1399); *voyvoda* “Sarža” (1399); *kefalija* Feriz (1399); friend Balaban (1402), *subasha* Balaban (1415), and Hamza Beg (1417).<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Before the end of the fourteenth century Serbia was trading directly with Venice whose merchants were taking over the goods from the hinterland from the coastal towns held by Serbian rulers, whereby the mediators were citizens of Venetian held Kotor (Cattaro). During the period of Serbian Despotate, most of the trade with Venice was mediated by Ragusans. Spremić, *Srbija i Venecija*, 7.

<sup>163</sup> Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, 218-227.

Most of the letters were written as responses to the Slavic/Cyrillic letters previously sent by the Ottoman officials. None of the letters displays the diplomatic patterns applied in Ottoman Arabographic chancelleries.

A look into phraseology and language of these letters shows that the political imagination of all parties involved in the exchange was essentially informed by the notion of empire understood in a generic sense, and this in the period when the spaces in which the literacy events and the corresponding extra-linguistic actions were taking place, were still in the process of being defined. Some of the letters written in Cyrillic/Slavic specifying the results of an oral agreement were used as legal instruments. In these cases it was particularly important that the letters were sealed by the party granting a privilege, in this case Ottoman provincial officials. All Ottoman seals and signatures were executed in the Arabic alphabet. The letters functioning in this way were soon replaced by other types of more official, and more structured documents. Treaties (tr. *'ahd-nāmes*), receipts (tr. *hüccets*), and imperial orders (tr. *fermāns*), start appearing as indexes of a sense (realistic or imaginary) that the power relations were settled. I conclude from there and from other contemporary texts discussed above, that the *translatio imperii* was not imagined as a linear process in the sense of replacement of one clearly defined polity with another, and therefore, one clearly defined literacy regime with another. Nevertheless, the awareness of *translatio imperii* as a pending process existed and reflected itself already in the earliest examples of correspondence between the Ottoman officials and their Slavophone interlocutors. One of the suggestions I want to make in the discussion below is that Slavic/Cyrillic chancellery was deactivated at the moment when the process of *translatio imperii* was perceived as finished, and this moment occurred at about the same time that the Ottoman court stopped relying on descendants of late medieval Slavic aristocracy in terms of human resources.

In 1396, the anonymous *kadi* of Gluhavica wrote to Ragusans and granted them “v(je/i/e/ra) (sl./guarantee, promise) from the “emperor” and himself that they could trade in the “emperor’s land” demanding at the same time that their merchants stop by his seat and pay the customs there.<sup>164</sup> This we learn from the extant Ragusan response in which they first retell the contents of the *kadi*’s letter, then note that the “emperor’s land is large, in length and in width, and has a lot of roads.” In the end they ask for *kadi*’s permission for them to travel as they wish, rather than being forced to pay their dues in one place only.<sup>165</sup>

“To grant *vjera*” was the expression very commonly used in the temporally close, earlier contracts made between Dubrovnik and the Slavic aristocrats. Illustrative example can be found in the charter issued in the name of the Serbian emperor Uroš from 1360:

(...) the *empire of mine* (sl. *carstvo mi*) has granted them *this charter* and *my imperial guarantee* (sl. *carsku vjeru*) that both nobles and merchants of Dubrovnik [can] travel freely with [their] goods and with whatever they buy, in the land of *the empire of mine*...without being disturbed by any local governor (gr./sl. *kefalija*) nor a nobleman (sl.*vlastelin*) of the empire of mine, nor by any *knez*,<sup>166</sup> nor anyone else be they of minor or high stature (...)<sup>167</sup>

The expression *carstvo mi* (the empire of mine) was a calque from Greek, taken over by Serbian emperors from Byzantine diplomatics, and used to designate the imperial “I.”

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<sup>164</sup> Gluhavica was the first iron mine in medieval Serbia. It was protected by a nearby Jeleč Fortress.

<sup>165</sup> Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, 217-218.

<sup>166</sup> *Knez* is a medieval Slavic title which could mean a prince, or a noble. Since the earliest phase of introduction of Ottoman governing system into South-Slavia, *knezes* were officially recognized leaders of the local, Christian communities most often consisting of several cattle-breeding clans or neighboring villages. Though the base of their economic and military power changed with historical circumstances and varied from region to region, *knezes* have, for centuries, played an important mediating role in the relationships between tax-paying Christian population (tr. *re’aya*) and various representatives of the Ottoman government.

<sup>167</sup> Nebojša Porčić, ed., *Dokumenti srpskih srednjovekovnih vladara u dubrovačkim zbirkama: doba Nemanjića* [The Documents of Serbian Medieval rulers from Dubrovnik Collections: The Time of *Nemanjićs*] (Beograd: Balkanološki Institut SANU, 2017), 278.

In spring 1398, Ragusans wrote a thank-you letter to Voyvoda “Pašajit” (tr. Pašayiğit), who, in the name of the “great emperor” (Bāyezīd I) and his own name had given them *vjera* that they could move and trade freely, and had forgiven them payment of one-third of customs fees.<sup>168</sup> We also learn that, around the same time (spring 1399), he gave them, in written form, the emperor’s and his *vjera* that they could go to Serbs (i.e. to Serbian lands), and offered to send them (from his side) some trustworthy Serbs who could secure the business for the benefit of both sides. At the same time, he promises to severely punish anyone who would interfere—“if he was a Turk-his head should be cut off; if he was a Serb-his head should be cut off,” the letter reads.<sup>169</sup>

In the fall of the same year, the customs fees were still on the agenda—this time Ragusans sent a letter to Pašayiğit, writing that they had received a letter from Bāyezīd I carrying his personal seal, and a letter from Pašayiğit himself in which he authorized the carrier of the letters, *kefalija* Feriz, the warden of Zvečan Fortress, as a legitimate envoy and negotiator. Yet, Feriz, the negotiator, did not bring his *dijak* (gr./sl. student, deacon; scribe) with him on his visit to Dubrovnik, and had asked Ragusans to write down the results of the negotiations. Ragusans finally asked Pašayiğit to send them a confirmation of the agreement written up by Pašayiğit’s *dijak* and sealed by himself.<sup>170</sup> Despite the promises made, *voyvoda* (sl./governor and military commander) Pašayiğit seems to have occasionally turned a blind eye to the damages caused to Ragusan merchants, in one known case, by “the Turks and, with them, the Vlachs, Paskac, Ninac, Dobric, Drman, Dragovrat and Bogavac.” About this they complain to *voyvoda* “Sarhan,” probably a high-

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<sup>168</sup> Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, 218.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 219-220.

positioned novice in the region by the name Šāruhān, who had previously granted them *vjera* of “the great ruler” (i.e. the sultan), “the master Koca Feriz’s,” and his own.<sup>171</sup>

From the letter addressed to “the honest *soubashi* (tr. *şübāşı*) of Kruje and Raban, Balaban Beg,” dated to 1415 (two years after the Ottoman succession crisis), we see that the domain of Ragusan movement regulated by these exchanges, aside from Slavic and Turkish, encompassed the Albanian ethno-linguistic space as well. The geography changes, but the means of communication, the subject issues and terminology remain similar. Like other above mentioned examples, the letter was written in response to Balaban who had previously informed the Ragusans that “the noble great sultan” (Mehmed I) sent him *to rule* Kruje and “Albanian land” and that he himself was granting them *vjera* to trade thereabouts. To return the favor, the Ragusans allowed each one of “his men, whether he was a Turk, or Albanian” to come to Dubrovnik for whatever reason, be it trade, or else.”<sup>172</sup> Finally, in 1417, the Dubrovnik officials wrote to Ḥamza Beg, who had also addressed them first, to inform them what lands and towns had been granted to him as *baština* (sl./ a legal term for a free estate inherited from father, or land to be held as heritable, permanent property), and that they can trade there.<sup>173</sup> The location of the estates mentioned in this letter is not known, but it was obviously somewhere where the Slavic word *baština* had and kept the legal meaning.<sup>174</sup> Ragusans replied positively, again allowing Ḥamza Beg’s men to come to

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<sup>171</sup> All of these names sound Slavic, though they might also be of different origin. The Vlachs were nomads and cattle-breeders. Ibid., 223.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 225-226.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 227.

<sup>174</sup> Ḥamza Beg known to historiography died after 1489. He is known as the first *sancak-beyi* of Herzegovina, governing this province from Foča from 1469 to 1474. If this Ḥamza was the same like the above mentioned one, it would mean that he was more than ninety years old when he died. Foča was a town close by the source of the Drina River, taken over by the Ottomans from Stjepan Vukčić Kosača. The most prominent and authoritative military leader in this area was ‘Īsā Beg Īshākbeyoğlu (Isaković), who was adoptive son of Īshāk Beg, the second *sancak-beyi* of Skopje (the first was Paşayiğit). ‘Īsā Beg was the third *sancak-beyi* of Skopje, and the first *sancak-beyi* of Bosnia.

Dubrovnik, and reiterating that they were glad to have been free to trade all over the lands held by Turks (sl. *turska država*). Turcophone Ottomans did not call themselves Turks at around this time nor later. Doing so was a European custom dating to beginning of the fourteenth century, and this despite the Europeans' familiarity with the fact that Turks as ethno-linguistic group were politically divided at this time.<sup>175</sup>

*Dijak* is a late medieval Slavic term for scribe and/or secretary. Of how and where the *dijaks* were educated not much is known. As it is clear from above, the Ottoman representatives used the services of Slavic *dijaks* who were skilled in both Slavic orthography and chancellery style. Initially, it seems, the official Turkish versions of the correspondence were not made, since they would probably be mentioned. Whether *dijaks* were employed by long-standing chancelleries of the Ottoman magnates, or their services were provided upon request, can only be guessed. In this time, the Ottomans could also borrow the services of the secretaries of the indigenous Slavic officials who were more or less supporting the Ottoman politics. For the period up to 1542, a handful of provincial *dijaks* who provided service for Ottoman officials are known by name.<sup>176</sup> One of them, by the name Radonja was a secretary of Ḥamza, the *sancak-beyi* of Herzegovina, who, around 1470, arbitrated disputes which arose during the execution of the testament of Stjepan Vukčić Kosača and the distribution of property among his three sons. For this occasion, Radonja wrote a copy of the confirmation signed by Herzeg Vlatko and Knez Stefan (the one who would

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Although the details of early life of ʿĪsā Beg are unknown, it is known for certain that he originated from the extended noble family of Hranić-Kosača.

<sup>175</sup> Fleet, "The treaty of 1387," 20.

<sup>176</sup> Đorđić mentions three: one from Bosnia having a Slavic/Christian name (Šišman Botić), and two from Herzegovina (Radonja and Čupelija Ajvazović, one Christian and one Muslim). Truhelka provides several more examples "from the first forty years after the conquest of Bosnia," emphasizing that all of these secretaries were Christians and noting that local officials also employed Christians as representatives in their business with Dubrovnik. Đorđić, *Istorija srpske ćirilice*, 163; Truhelka, "Tursko-slovenski spomenici," 317.

later become Ahmed), in which they state they received everything Ragusans owed them. Radonja makes a note at the end of the copy stating that he wrote, upon the order of his master Hamza Beg, everything from “the *hužet*” (tr. *hüccet*, confirmation, receipt) issued by the two brothers. The style and structure of the text bears no similarity with *hüccet* known to Ottoman diplomatics, so Radonja’s analogy was obviously drawn from function.<sup>177</sup> One year later, when Hamza himself entered a territorial dispute with Ragusans, Radonja made two Cyrillic copies of a charter issued by king Stefan, in 1333, from the Slavic original or a copy, held by Ragusans. The charter originally composed in Latin and Slavic granted the land in question to Ragusans as *baština* in exchange for annual tribute. Radonja makes a note at the end of the copy that he wrote, upon order of his master Hamza Beg, everything from “the *knjiga* (sl./ document, letter, book) of the king Stepan.” Each of the two copies made by Radonja contain two Arabographic notes, one in Turkish by Hamza and one in Arabic by a *kadı* from Foča by the name Emīnuddīn. *Kadı* was there to confirm that the two copies were the same like the original.<sup>178</sup> Hamza wrote a note on each copy describing what the document was about. One note reads:

This is a copy of the confirmation (tr. *hüccet*) given to the people of Dubrovnik by the emperor (sl. *car*) Stefan for Ston and Posrednica. It is in no way to be used for anything else. Written by the poor and humble Hamza.<sup>179</sup>

The other reads:

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<sup>177</sup> Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, 191.

<sup>178</sup> The text of the charter and these two versions which are not the only copies, have been known to scholars for the most of the twentieth century. The total of four Arabographic notes (two in Turkish and two in Arabic) have only recently been read correctly and published in transliteration and Serbian translation. The *kadı*’s notes in the two versions written by the same *dijak* are slightly different, but they contain the same amount of information. The first reads (in transliteration slightly changed by myself): “Naqlu hāđihi’ş-şüreti min ašli’l-ħuğđeti ‘indī wa anā đa‘fu’l-‘ubbād Emīnu’ddīn al-fađır al-kāđī fī wilāyati Hersek bi-Drin.” [This is a copy made based on the original confirmation which I have with me, and I am the weakness among the slaves, the poor Emīnu’ddīn, the judge in the province of Hersek, in Drin (probably synonym for Foča)], Porčić, *Dokumenti*, 212.

<sup>179</sup> “Çār İstepān Dubrovniklulere İston için ve Posirednisa için virdüđi hüccetiñ şüretidur. Bir dürlü dāđi deđıldür. Ğurrirehu el-fađırü’l ħađır Hamza.” *Ibid.*, 213.

This is the copy of the confirmation (tr. *hüccet*) for Ston and Posrednica, given by the pride of the infidels, the emperor (sl. *car*) Stefan to people of Dubrovnik. It is authentic. It is in no way to be used for anything else. It is correct. Written by the poor and humble Ḥamza.<sup>180</sup>

Many late medieval imperial decrees preserved their legal force for long periods of time and the incoming Ottomans recognized them as valid and/or took them into consideration in regulating the relations pertaining to the property mentioned in these decrees. The event involving the usage of Radonja's copies can be seen as common example from this perspective, but quoting a comparable example would require more research, since the ways in which these documents were handled has not been considered a theme in itself. The differences between the two Arabographic notes made by Ḥamza are interesting in it that they look as if made by two persons who heard and transcribed differently one of the two Slavic place names. The two had basically the same idea of who the signatory of the original was, but with subtle differences nonetheless. Both use the word *çār*, but they display different concerns with intitulation. The phrase “pride of the infidels” from the notes written in Ḥamza's name is reminiscent of the ones used in the fifteenth century as part of the formula of *intitulatio* of sultanic orders (*fermāns*), like was, for example, “the pride of the commanders” (tr. *iftihārū'l-ümerā'*) applied to *sancak-beyis*. The Turkish word for “infidels” is *küffār* (sg. *kāfir*), applied in orders and letters concerning Christians who were not subjects of the Ottoman state.<sup>181</sup> Thus, instead of two, we can speak of three persons as authors of the notes (Ḥamza, *kadı*, and one more), while a doubt can be raised whether Ḥamza wrote himself at all. Finally, designating the “*knjiga*” (issued by a king perceived as an emperor) as *hüccet* can be

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<sup>180</sup> “İfithārū'l-küffār çār İstepan Dubrovniklülere İston için ve Bosreknica için virdüği hüccetiñ şüretidur. Şarîh. Bir dürlü dāhi degıldür. Sahh. Ḥurrirehu el-faķirü'l haķir Hamza.”Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> One such example is from 1464. This a Turkish letter of recommendation issued by Isa Beg “on behalf of the infidel Latin merchant by the name Franko” (tr. *Frānko adlu Lātin bāzergān kāfirine*). Elezović, *Turski Spomenici*, Vol. 2, 7.



considered an act of translation which implied the reduction of the kingly/imperial authority to the level of the authority of a judge (normally appointed by the emperor).<sup>182</sup>

Nevertheless, *hüccet* was also the Ottoman designation of the document issued in the name of the sultan by which the receipt of the annual Ragusan tribute was being confirmed. The oldest extant document of this kind dates to November 19, 1458.<sup>183</sup> The Slavic/Cyrilic confirmation of the very same transaction was prepared almost a year later (November 7, 1459), and also issued in the name of the sultan.<sup>184</sup> The latter was in no way a translation. It is a document of a different structure and tone. While the Ottoman document comprises a succinct and formal text starting with sultan's *tuğrā* and the phrase "the purpose of the most noble *hüccet*...is," the Slavic one, also sealed, starts with formula "from ... to" and continues with cordial salutations, the explanation of the substance, and reassurance that the emperor "had heard and believed everything" and that the words written in the document were his own. According to Truhelka, the first "only Turkish" document that was sent to Ragusans was received in 1477—without warning and causing disbelief.<sup>185</sup> The practice of issuing parallel documents continued for a while, but, as already mentioned, Ragusans had to educate their own interpreters for Turkish, since the Porte gradually abolished the practice. Outsourcing from the neighborhood in which Turkish speakers had settled (as military officials, judges etc.) was apparently not very convenient.

Whether provincial scribes called *dijaks* acted as interpreters in the fourteenth century is unclear, but it seems that in most cases when their services involving writing were attested, all the

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<sup>182</sup> In Ottoman diplomatics, *hüccets* are described as documents issued by *kadıts*. Vančo Boškov, "Die hüccet-Urkunde - Diplomatische Analyse," in *Studia Turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, ed. Aldo Gallotta and Ugo Marazzi (Napoli; Roma: Herder, 1982), 81-87.

<sup>183</sup> Elezović, *Turski Spomenici*, Vol.1, 24-25, and Vol.2, 3.

<sup>184</sup> Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, 238.

<sup>185</sup> Truhelka, "Tursko-slovenski spomenici," 315.

relevant parties were either certainly or potentially Slavic speakers. Also when there are no parallel documents, as in the above detailed examples, we cannot know whether the potential *kadi*'s *dijak* and Ragusan scribe used the uniform style and language, but the chances are high that they did. Already in the above summarized letters of Balaban and Ғamza we see how Ragusans could gradually learn about the nuances related to Ottoman political realities: Balaban was sent to rule, while Ғamza got the land as *baština*, and both of them were centrally appointed local officials. Whether Ragusans themselves formulated new expressions based on what they learned about the new socio-political reality or they tended to accept the ready-made solutions from the Ottoman side is also a question that can be asked from this corpus. Whatever was the case, the exchange of knowledge in these earliest provincial letters was certainly not based on translation of written documents, and the written indexes of cross-linguistic contact were limited to the titles and then the terms denoting some crucial institutions, tax, tribute and fisc/treasury being the most notable examples. The ratio between technical terms of “foreign” phonetics recorded by transcription upon hearing and those cases which involved translation (i.e. search for semantic/functional cognates) would be an interesting subject to investigate systematically, but the overall impression upon reading the Cyrillic letters is that there was no particular tension when it came to “borrowing.” It is also worth noting that already in the 1390s, the ethno-linguistic space encompassed by the letters gets legally divided into that of Ragusans (Dubrovčani) on the one hand, and the allied Turks, Serbs and/or Albanians (of all social positions) on the other. In the long run, and as one might expect, the integration of Turkish terms into the Slavic text of the letters would continue to encompass more and more titles and names of institutions gradually established in the region.

The oldest extant Slavic/Cyrillic letter sent directly in the name of an Ottoman Sultan dates from summer 1430. It was sent from Edirne to municipality of Dubrovnik, sealed with the *tuğrā*

of Murād II. The total of three extant Slavic/Cyrillic letters sealed with the *tuğrā* of Murād II is taken by Slavic scholars as firm evidence that the sultanic Slavic/Cyrillic chancellery was founded during the reign of this sultan.<sup>186</sup> The style of Murād II's letter from 1430 is Slavic. The letter deals with two problems. The sultan first reprimands Dubrovnik for not sending their men to him, despite the fact that they conducted trade “all over his lands” and then, acting upon the complaint of “his man” and tribute- (sl. *danak*)-payer, Radoslav Pavlović, orders them to return the land they took away from him. The sultan sends the letter with his loyal nobleman (sl. *vlastelin*) Karač, authorizing him to speak in his name. The phrase “the lordship of mine” (sl. *gospodstvo mi*) is used to replace the sultanic “I.”<sup>187</sup> Whether Murād II's chancellery employed a Slavic scribe or used the services of Karač and/or his scribe upon this occasion is not clear. This is also the only Slavic letter in which a Slavic word (*danak*) is used to designate tribute. Later scribes opt for *harač*, an Arabic word imported to Slavic via Turkish.

The next Slavic/Cyrillic document (December 1430) written in the name of Murād II is of the treaty type. Issued upon the pleading of two Ragusan envoys, it guarantees to Ragusans the freedom of trade. This document is more formal and more reflective of the subtle intersections among different chancellery styles than the rather informal, though historically very important letter mentioned above. The charter opens as follows:

I the great master and the great commander (*amiru*) Amurat Beg the son of the great master and the great commander (*amire*) Sultan *Mehemet* Beg; wills and commands the lordship of mine the following (...)

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<sup>186</sup> On the authority of Nicolae Yorga, Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, even mentions a certain Djuradj, of Serbian origin, who ran the correspondence for Murād II in Turkish, Greek, and Slavic, around 1430. This could have been the case, but Uzunçarşılı is reserved, noting that this might be just another scribe who knew Slavic. I could not check Yorga's source for the name. Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı* [The Central and Maritime Administration of the Ottoman State] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 226.

<sup>187</sup> Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, 227-228.

The style of intitulation here is that from Arabographic documents of the same function. This document, just like all of the above mentioned letters, was meant to be shown to anyone who would dispute the Ragusan privileges in the space described as follows.

(...) wherever they choose to go, in the western and the eastern sides, across the land and over the sea, in Serbia, Albania, Bosnia and all lands and towns and counties (sl. *župas*) of the lordship of mine, (and all) those (lands) which are under my protection (...) <sup>188</sup>

In addition to Slavic, this treaty was also written in Greek. Based on the Slavic version only, I cannot conclude how the two texts, Slavic and Greek, are connected, but some extent of the Greek influence on terminology in the Slavic version is obvious without comparison—conspicuous is the usage of the word *porta* (gr./gate, door) to designate the seat of the Ottoman court, and absence of the Slavic *vjera*. These few clues might indicate the authority of the Greek version. One possible reason behind the issuance of two sealed versions in two languages may have not concerned the available know-how only. It could also be related to the function of the document: the land of the sultan was vast, and people Ragusans could meet there would understand either Slavic or Greek. This treaty was also composed in Turkish. <sup>189</sup>

The following few examples are quoted to show how the Ottoman-Slavic chancellery was related to those in other languages in terms of styling of the documents with the same functions. One of the clear examples of translation surpassing the level of words and phrases is that of “the extended oath” in documents functioning as treaties. The below quoted documents are also illustrative of the change in the Ottoman perception of the space in which the Slavic documents were in force.

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<sup>188</sup> Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, 229-231.

<sup>189</sup> Alexander De Groot, “The Historical Development of the Capitulatory Regime in the Ottoman Middle East from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries,” *Oriente Moderno* 83/3 (2003): 575-604, 580.

Hans A. Theunissen writes that it is unknown exactly when “the extended oath” found in Ottoman documents was formulated and in which language. Its earliest known appearance is in the peace treaty from 1403. Theunissen notes that for a Muslim to guarantee his word a rather short formula was needed, but he also criticizes an earlier strong opinion that extensive Islamic, and therefore, Ottoman oaths were developed “under pressure from Christian, probably Venetian negotiators.”<sup>190</sup> Be this as it may, it is understood from Theunissen’s analysis that over time the oath formulations grew more and more elaborate, and were continuously translated to all languages used in the sultanic chancellery of the fifteenth century—Italian, Greek, Turkish. One may surmise that Slavic entered this group of languages rather early. The oldest extant example of such an oath formulated in Slavic, however, is not found in a document issued by a sultan.

In 1441 (on July 13, in Vučitrn), independently of Murād II, Şehābeddīn Pasha, “the master of all western sides” (i.e. governor-general/*beylerbeyi* of Rūmeli) entrusts his message to Ragusans to *sklav Jakub* (Ya‘kūb). The letter grants Ragusans *vjera* that they will be protected in the region under his command, and notes:

(...) if there appears some business to be done with the great emperor, we will send them (the merchants) to the great emperor with our man, and return them to you safe and sound.

The oath formula, placed in the end, reads as follows:

And for this, we give our solemn oath unto God, creator of the earth and the heavens, and upon the great prophet of ours Muhamed and upon the Seven *Mushaf* which we believe in and (which we) respect and upon my soul and the head of mine, so it never happens the other way.<sup>191</sup>

In 1442, two Cyrillic documents were drafted. Both of these are contracts, one issued by Ragusans, one by Murād II, in which each party promises to respect the achieved agreement. Both

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<sup>190</sup> Theunissen, *Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats*, 288-295, esp. 295.

<sup>191</sup> Truhelka, “Tursko-slovenski spomenici,” 7-8. “Seven *mushaf*” is written as “seven *musafeh*.”

oaths refer to the religiosity of the two parties. An oath formula echoing the above quoted one in the letter of the *beylerbeyi*, but much more elaborate, appears in the letter issued in the name of Murād II:

I the great master and the great commander (*amira*) Sultan Murat Beg, the son of the exceptional and great lord commander (*amir*) Sultan Mehemet Beg, give my solemn oath, upon God I swear, who created the heavens and the earth, and upon the great prophet *Mahomet*, and upon the seven *Mushaf* in which we *Musromans* believe, and upon 124000 prophets of God, and upon the soul of my father, and my grandfather, and upon my soul, and upon the sabre I am girding myself with, and upon my head, that since this day and in the time after, I gave my solemn oath to the honorable *knez* and *vlastela dubrovčanom*, since the *knez* and ... had sent to the *porte* of the lordship of mine the honest gifts and their emissaries (...) <sup>192</sup>

The definition of the third party, i.e., naming of the actors possibly interfering with the contract between Ragusans and the sultans is now given not in ethnic or geographic terms, but in terms of socio-political relations. No damage of any kind is to be caused to Ragusans by:

(...) the lordship of mine, or the *viziers* of mine, or my *subašas* or my lowest in rank, or by any of my men whatsoever, by anyone who is under my lordship, or those who give me *harač* (tribute), but: their city and their government is within (the realm) of its own laws and freedoms, and people of all languages, from the sea and from the land can come to them and stay and visit it like any other free city governed independently, and because of this they should not be disturbed by the lordship of mine, nor by any of my men, nor by those who give me *harač*. <sup>193</sup>

When in 1453, Meḥmed II conquered Istanbul, he issued an *'ahd-nāme* to the inhabitants of Galata, which had a very similar opening—intitulation and the oath are structurally identical, though with minor differences in wording. İnalçık writes that Meḥmed II's *'ahd-name* was first drafted in Greek and that the whole document was translated from Greek to Turkish, since Greek

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<sup>192</sup> Truhelka, "Tursko-slovenski spomenici," 9-10. The Only earlier example Theunissen provides for an oath of almost identical wording is an Ottoman Venetian Treaty issued by Murād II, in 1430, and extant in Italian (Greek) version. Theunissen, *Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats*, 271.

<sup>193</sup> Truhelka, "Tursko-slovenski spomenici," 9-10.

was the language Ottomans used to correspond with “Latin states.”<sup>194</sup> The same oath formula is found in a treaty dated to March 7, 1459 (Meḥmed II’s reign) and addressed to Ragusans (preserved in official Italianate/Latin translation from Turkish).<sup>195</sup> In this document the oath formula comes at the very beginning of the document just like in the Galata *’ahd-nāme*. In 1478, Meḥmed II sends a letter to Venice in which he explicitly mentions his Latin scribes. This document is third in the line of known documents issued by Meḥmed II in Italian, the first (a copy) is from 1466, the second (original) from 1471.<sup>196</sup> The oath from the 1478 document is placed towards the end, but its wording is similar to those mentioned in previous examples.

All of the above suggests that, from the very foundation of Ottoman Slavic chancellery, its interpreters were very well acquainted with corresponding activities in *at least* the Greek chancellery. Translation (in any direction), however, remained limited to particular phrases or formulaic elements (like oaths and salutations) used in documents intended for communication with individuals and corporations beyond the confines of the Ottoman polity. If we are to judge by the Dubrovnik archives, the structure of documents composed upon, conditionally speaking, Greco-Slavic diplomatic principles and written in Slavic/Cyrillic script remained relatively stable for a very long period of time, all the way until the reign Süleymān I. In other words, Turkish chancellery rules based on Persian model never interfered with the structure of Slavic/Cyrillic documents to the point of disturbing the continuity with pre-Ottoman practices. This implies that several generations of scribes employed at the Ottoman court were acquainted with the diplomatic

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<sup>194</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Ottoman Galata, 1453-1553,” in *Essays in Ottoman History*, Halil İnalçık (Istanbul: Eren, 1998), 271-376: 278.

<sup>195</sup> Truhelka, “Tursko-slovenski spomenici,” 16-17.

<sup>196</sup> Victor L. Ménage, “Seven Ottoman Documents from the Reign of Mehmed II,” in *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, ed. Samuel M. Stern (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 81-118: 92.

principles of Slavic and Greek chancelleries established in pre-Ottoman times and perpetuated during the process of gradual imposition of the direct Ottoman rule in the Balkans.

Whether, and if so, when exactly the Ottoman court started educating their own scribal staff in charge of correspondence in Slavic instead of outsourcing from the pool of their Slavic/Greek allies and officials cannot be known for certain. The same stands with the question of when, and if at all, this specialization became unrelated to the ethnic origin of students. What is certain is that the training guided by the Ottoman educational cadre attached to the court, from its initial phases, was conducted by employing all available resources, whereby the known methods, as the above analysis of the three linguistic textbooks showed, were based on the Islamicate linguistic experience and tradition. The Slavic/Cyrillic letters offer some information about Slavic *dragomans*, most of whom were likely trained in Slavic literacy before coming to the court.

In 1431, the sultan Murād II's slave (sl. *sklav*) 'Alī Beg the *defterdār* (head of the finance administration) travelled from Istanbul with a *tuğrā*-sealed letter in which Murād II authorizes him as the negotiator with Dubrovnik.<sup>197</sup> The extant documents do not recognize 'Alī Beg as interpreter/*dragoman*. Ali Beg, however, travelled with the Cyrillic letter which also contains some Greek phrases, and it is expected that he was able to communicate with Ragusans in Slavic.<sup>198</sup> The ethnic origin of Ali Beg is unknown, but his potential knowledge of Slavic/Greek is interesting in light of the position he held—based on the common knowledge, the interpreters and scribes involved in diplomatic business rarely held financial offices in the central Ottoman chancellery. One person holding various offices was far from being exceptional throughout the Ottoman history, but the particular combination of two scribal offices in one person as was the case with

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<sup>197</sup> Truhelka, "Tursko-slovenski spomenici," 6-7.

<sup>198</sup> Like "heretisanije" instead of sl. *pozdrav*.



Ali is still worth noting. Discussing the sixteenth century period, Josef Matuz notes that the office of the *dragoman* was normally combined with non-scribal, middle-rank offices.<sup>199</sup> Writing on the period of the reign of Süleymān I, Matuz notes that the first person to hold the office of the *dragoman* as a full-time job at the Ottoman court was ‘Atīk ‘Alī, first mentioned in 1502. He also writes that all *dragomans* employed by the Ottoman court came literate in a “foreign” language.<sup>200</sup>

Some more depth to these issues can be added by looking at the few known court scribes who wrote Cyrillic letters to Dubrovnik on behalf of the Ottoman sultans towards the end of the fifteenth century. One İbrāhīm is known to be active around 1474. İbrāhīm was a native speaker of Slavic.<sup>201</sup> A letter dated to July 8, 1474, written in Istanbul and sealed with Meḥmed II’s *tuğrā*, was sent with him to Ragusans with the task of collecting from them some money that belonged to the sultan.<sup>202</sup> That letter identifies him as “*sklav Ibrahim*” and “the servant and the slave of the empire of mine” (sl. *sluga i sklav carstva mi Ibrahim*). A letter dated to September 24 of the same year, also issued in the name of Meḥmed II, identifies him as “*logofet* (gr. secretary) Ibrahim,” besides the servant and the slave. Ragusan recipients of the letter call him *dragoman*, which is the firm evidence he acted as interpreter, and probably writer of the letter he carried. This time he is tasked with helping to solve the problem related to the division of the inheritance between Aḥmed and Vlatko, by looking at the letters and documents preserved by Ragusans and related to the long-

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<sup>199</sup> Like *şubāşı*, *müteferrika*, and *silāhdār*. Matuz also writes that Turks working in central chancellery never learned language other than Turkish. Josef Matuz, “Die Pfortendolmetscher zur Herrschaftszeit Suleymāns des Prächtigen,” *Sudostforschungen* 24 (1975): 26-60, 34.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>201</sup> One anonymous scribe, perhaps İbrāhīm, wrote a Cyrillic letter (dated to 1472, and written in Tirhala/Greece) in which Meḥmed II informs Ragusans that he ordered Hamza Beg of Herzegovina to collect “Vlahe i Vlašiće” (Vlachs/ and plural of diminutive of Vlach, maybe a child Vlach, but could also be something else) for ‘*acemī-oğlans* (i.e. *devshirme*). This letter contains a proverb (meant as a threat) which perhaps betrays a native speaker : every man will reap what he saw (sl. *što poseje vsaki človek, toi ke požeti*). Truhelka, “Tursko-slovenski spomenici,” 37-38.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 38-39.

standing inheritance dispute.<sup>203</sup> In early 1486, Ībrāhīm travels to Ragusa again, now identified in the letter he carries as “spahioġlan Ibreim” (tr. *sipāhioġlan*, the son of a *sipāhi*).<sup>204</sup>

Ībrāhīm the *dragoman* was of Herzegovinian origin—his father, Herak Vraneš, enjoyed a land estate in Herzegovina. The estate was granted to him by the Ottoman government for the period until 1477, and it is based on this that Ībrāhīm was called a son of a *sipāhi*. Herak Vraneš was also the leader (sl. *knez*) of a local Vlach (cattle-breeder) community.<sup>205</sup> He is also known as the *dijak* of ‘Isā Beg Isaković (of Skopje, and then Bosnia). Scholars hold that Ībrāhīm was sent to the Ottoman court due to a political alliance between his father and the Ottomans rather than being conscripted through the *kul/devshirme* system. His Slavic origin probably recommended him for the *dragoman* service, but it cannot be known for sure whether he received his first education in the palace. His father, after all, was a literate man. As a Muslim, Ībrāhīm probably undertook learning some Arabic, aside from Turkish. Several Turkish words in their corrupt Slavicized forms appear untranslated in the letters he carried to Ragusa, and probably wrote himself *–hazna*, for instance, is obviously a Slavic corruption of Turkish *hazīne* (treasury). This may have been Ībrāhīm’s interpretation, or a reflection of the fact that by then the word had become a permanent part of Slavic vocabulary.

In April 1479, the sultan sends over to Dubrovnik his *sklav* Kasum, again with a Cyrillic letter, to take over some money. On March 7, 1481, Kasum sends a letter to the Ragusan municipality on his own behalf, self-identifying as *dragoman* Kasum. He emphasizes the amount of help he provides to the Ragusan envoys to the court, informs them that he received a present (a

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<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 38-40.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 85.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 317. A recent summary of available data on Ībrāhīm’s father is in Veselin Konjević, “Herak Vraneš, rodonačelnik plemena Vraneši” [Herak Vraneš, the first chief of the Vraneši tribe], *Matica 64* (2015): 313-348.

small goblet) from their representatives upon their visit and five ducats for each *hüccet* he issued for them. He also notes that the previous gifts he received were more lavish. Kasum apparently remained in service of Bāyezīd II—in 1485 he is known to have held the post of the chief gate keeper (tr. *kapıcıbāşı*), and is known to be active in 1486.<sup>206</sup> Kasum’s and İbrāhīm’s tenures as *dragomans* overlapped, but of Kasum’s background we do not know as much.

Skender is the next scribe/interpreter known by name. He appears in 1486 as Ottoman ambassador to Venice—on his way there he was supposed to come by Dubrovnik where he would be provided with a ship and the safe passage. This order was issued in the Cyrillic/Slavic letter he carried, but it is not sure whether he himself wrote it, since there are indications that Kasum was still active as Slavic scribe, and Skender’s main business (in Venice) was to be run in Italian. It is of note that, irrespective of the fact that Skender knew Italian, the instruction for Ragusans was written in Slavic. As a writer of a Slavic letter, Skender appears in 1506. This letter he wrote on his own behalf. Its tone is very personal and its narration very detailed and lively. Skender is described in the secondary literature as a non-native speaker of Slavic, or someone for whom Slavic was a second language.<sup>207</sup> This may explain why he explicitly mentions the act of translation in this letter to Ragusans, saying in one place:

(...) the news from the seas, which you wrote and sent by your servants, they came and brought the letters, one for the honorable emperor, and one for *Mustafa* Pasha. And I turned (them into) Turkish, and all of it was retold and explained to the emperor in detail. And having formulated his response, that (response) was sent to the nobility of yours.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Truhelka, “Tursko-slovenski spomenici,” 81-82, and 88-89.

<sup>207</sup> This is noted by Lejla Nakaš who adds that Skender does not seem like a Greek who learned Slavic, illustrating the conclusion with linguistic evidence. After this, we can guess he was an Italian or Turkish speaker originally. Lejla Nakaš, “Portina slavenska kancelarija i njen utjecaj na pisare u prvom stoljeću osmanske uprave u Bosni” [The Slavic Chancellery of the Porte and its Influence on the Scribes in the First Century of the Ottoman Rule in Bosnia], *Forum Bosnae* 74-75 (2016): 267-297, 276-277.

<sup>208</sup> Truhelka, “Tursko-slovenski spomenici,” 131-133. Muṣṭafā Pasha could be Çoban (tr./shepherd) Muṣṭafā Pasha (d.1529), conscripted through *devshirme*.

In the rest of the letter, we read the news from the court that Skender sends to Ragusans: the appointment of the new grand vizier ‘Alī Pasha who then rearranged the appointments to the various posts of *sancak-beyi*.<sup>209</sup> When he refers to Ottoman pashas who were of Slavic origin and/or appointed to Ragusan Slavic hinterland, Skender adopts the Slavic form of surnames/patronymics (not ending in *-oğlu* or *-zāde*, but in *-ić*). From this letter, we also learn two more things about the biography of the previously mentioned *dragoman* Kasum—sometime before 1506, he travelled as an envoy to Hungary, and in 1506 he was given the post of *sancak-beyi* of Kruševac (tr. *Akhišār*, in present day Serbia).

After Skender, no other Slavic *dragoman* employed at the court and known by name can be safely identified as the author of an extant Slavic/Cyrillic document, though a number of Ottoman official dragomans presumably knew the Slavic language.<sup>210</sup> The Slavic/Cyrillic documents were issued in the name of the sultan on a relatively regular basis until mid-sixteenth century. It is, however, in the later part of Bāyezīd II’s reign that a new trend starts to develop. Both the number of documents and variety of topics addressed by Slavic/Cyrillic documents decreased, whereby the number of Turkish documents sent out to Ragusans grew. Very often the identical documents in Turkish start being sent to Ragusans and other provincial officials with whom they communicated about various matters. The latter were often *kadīs* who were solving the legal disputes. It was also Bāyezīd II who, in 1485 issued an order according to which Ragusan receipts of commercial transactions were to be recognized at the court, instructing at the same time the local *kadīs* that they should consult the local priests for interpretation and verification in cases

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<sup>209</sup> This is Ḥādīm (tr./eunuch) ‘Alī Pasha (d.1511) of Slavic (Serbian/Bosnian) origin. This was his second tenure as a grand vizier. He is known to have led the Ottoman army in the Ottoman Mamluk war which started in 1485, and to have been the first Ottoman grand vizier who died in the battlefield.

<sup>210</sup> Most of these were were of non-Slavic origin, or more precisely, non-South-Slavic origin, for some were from Poland. See, for example, Miović, “Dragomano Nostro della Porta,” 74 and *passim*.

when they could not read the documents. These priests could be Orthodox or Catholic, and Ragusan receipts could have been in Slavic or Italian. Sometime later, Bāyezīd II issued an order according to which the entries from *kadı* court records (sl. ital./ *kadino libro*) in combination with *hüccets* also issued by *kadıs* (sl. *kadin hožat*) were the only valid proofs at the court.<sup>211</sup> At one point, during the reign of Selīm I, confirmations of tribute receipt and renewals of treaties became the sole subjects of sultanic Cyrillic documents which were in any case issued in two versions starting, at the latest, in 1458. Aḥmed Pasha Hercegović, the last, centrally-based high-ranked Ottoman official on whose behalf Cyrillic letters were written, died in 1517. Finally, during the reign of Süleymān I, the specialized sultanic Slavic chancellery ceased to exist. In the province, however, Slavic/Cyrillic literacy continued to flourish, but exclusively in the form of more or less formal letters.

From the documents and letters which exist in two copies complementing one another, a conclusion can be made that written Slavic received more Turkish words than was the case in the opposite direction. Interesting may be the itineraries of some of the words attested in the earliest texts discussed here. *Voyvoda* can be quoted as one of the rare Slavic words which crossed the linguistic and geographic barrier, not only remaining in Ottoman usage as long as the empire existed, but also gaining new meanings during its Ottoman history.<sup>212</sup> As such it is a likely candidate for a word which, at a rather early point in time, inhabited the broad Turcophone territory of the empire. Of the other, above mentioned titles, the realm of circulation of the word *knez* remained limited to the Ottoman South-Slavia. *Baština* became a common term in administrative

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<sup>211</sup> Truhelka, “Tursko-slovenski spomenici,” 81-84.

<sup>212</sup> For an illustration of how the word travelled through Ottoman geographic and semantic spaces, see Tsameret Levy-Daphny, “To be a *Voyvoda* in Diyarbakır: Socio-Political Change in an 18th-Century Ottoman Province,” in *Society, Law, and Culture in the Middle East: Modernities in the Making*, ed. Dror Ze’evi and Ehud R. Toledano (Warschau/Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 44-58.

Turkish, but whether it was operative beyond the boundaries of South-Slavia and its zone of influence, I cannot tell with certainty. *Vjera* also crossed the boundaries of Cyrillic documentary literacy, but not in the direction of Turkish-based pragmatic literacy. In the form of “vire,” *vjera* found its place in the Turkish narrative discourse, most notably, as of the seventeenth century on.<sup>213</sup>

#### **I.4. Translating “a Law” From a Late-Medieval form to an Early Modern one**

Bits of evidence which indicate the possible engagement of non-Slavic speaking Ottoman Muslims with Slavic texts as we find them in literature are small in number, and even when detected they have remained in the footnotes or simply unaccounted for. As an example to illustrate the last point, one can quote the circumstances in which a note was added to a copy of the oldest surviving Serbian medieval chrysobull dating to ca.1317. The chrysobull in form of a book contains: the foundation document of Banjska Monastery issued by king Milutin (1282—1321); confirmation of its stipulations by his brother and co-ruler; and an addendum composed by an *iguman* (superior) of the monastery, Nikodim, who took the function in 1317. The book was most probably kept in the monastery until it fell into the hands of the Ottomans some time after the battle of Kosovo (1389).<sup>214</sup> Ever since, it has been preserved at the Ottoman court. The author of the note written in cursive Cyrillic was Stefan Crnojević (d.1514) who took over the lordship of principality of Zeta (1496-1499) from his older brother Djuradj, and this with the help of the Ottoman government, and after his stay at the Ottoman court right before 1496.<sup>215</sup> The purpose of the note was to inform future users that he himself, Stefan Crnojević, found the book in the treasury (*hazna*) of Murād II

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<sup>213</sup> For the seventeenth-century examples of usage of this word, see *Chapter II*.

<sup>214</sup> See also fn.73 of this chapter.

<sup>215</sup> Djuradj Crnojević is the famous founder of the first South-Slavic printing press operating from 1493 until 1496 in Cetinje.

and that he fixed the letters from Nikodim's text which had grown pale or deleted with time. Viktor Savić, a linguist who paid attention to this note more than one hundred years after it was first presented to academic audience in an edition of the chrysobull, analyzed it from the perspective of its dialectical features. Savić does not find it confusing that the said Stefan came to court long after Murād II was dead. He offers a logical explanation that the manuscript entered the court library before or during the rule of Murād II and was carefully preserved there ever since. And yet, Savić wonders how Stefan could get hold of the manuscript in the first place considering how hard it was for the nineteenth century historians to get access to Palace library collection.<sup>216</sup> Formulated in this way, the dilemma is out of place, but it certainly reminds us of the importance of the question of access. Considering that he was allowed to interfere with the text, it seems that Stefan had no problem accessing the manuscript at all. Stefan appears in literature as the only known person to have engaged with the chrysobull at the Ottoman court. Nevertheless, if we dare to imagine the conversations during which he learned of its existence, placement and origin, we can also imagine that ca. 1496 the manuscript was not simply laying in the Palace library waiting to be "discovered" by Stefan or the nineteenth century historians of medieval Serbian statehood. Furthermore, having in mind the established fact that Ottoman law-makers were very much interested in the socio-political orders that preceded them, we can safely claim that they were interested in the contents of the chrysobull.<sup>217</sup> Most importantly for my purpose, we can also hypothesize based on this example that oral transmission and *ad hoc* practice were not the only means by which the

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<sup>216</sup> Viktor Savić, "Zapis Stefana Crnojevića na Svetostefanskoj Hrisovulji kralja Milutina" [A Note by Stefan Crnojević on the St. Stephen Chrysobull of King Milutin], *Oktoih* 1/1–2 (2011): 31–44.

<sup>217</sup> The chrysobull regulates the sources of income of the monastery complex including the church dedicated to Saint Stephen which was at the same time Milutin's mausoleum. The document details the duties and obligations of the managing officials and subjects providing the labor and taxes. Among the latter, two main groups are distinguished: settled peasants dealing with agriculture (Serbs) and cattle-breeders (Vlachs). The facsimile of the chrysobull, the critical edition of the text and its rendering to modern Serbian are published in Trifunović, *Povelja kralja Milutina manastiru Banjska*.

knowledge of how to govern Ottoman subjects was transmitted, and we can ask questions about the ways and the extent of usage of Slavophone texts in this process.

Returning to Slavophone Arabographia, this section discusses a rare, if not the only known, example of the early modern Turkish-speakers' engagement with a free-standing text written in late-medieval Slavic, which resulted in a form of written translation.<sup>218</sup> The case in point has so far been discussed as "a translation" of a mining law from Serbian to Turkish, conducted sometime in the fifteenth century. This project, however, was complex not only from the linguistic point of view, but also in terms of its social infrastructure. The "translation," unless considered very abstractly, is not the term which best reflects the complexity of the initial acts of interpretation of Slavic text/s, or the long-lasting engagement of Turkish speakers with the corpus the creation of which was enabled by this initial acts. In seeking to avoid essentializing the translation as a one-time event, this section starts by outlining the broader socio-political context which informed the initial project of modifying a Slavic discourse and making its contents available to literate Turkish speakers. Next is my discussion which has two goals. The first is to emphasize the nature and continuity of engagement with the texts produced in the initial phase of the project, as well as the existence of a specific interpretive community which formed around the corpus. The second goal

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<sup>218</sup> The Turkish-speaker is here to mean any person competent in Turkish. I am not aware of the existence of any other similar example of a clear indication that a Slavic (in its Bosnian, Serbian, and/or Croatian variants) rounded discourse (be it pragmatic or aestheticized) was used for production of a free-standing text in Turkish. For Bulgarian, I cannot make any strong claim, but can quote a case which did seem to have involved the translation from Slavic to Turkish. Analyzing a part of an Ottoman chronicle written by Kemālpaşazāde (d.1534) in which the author "relates how Fortune helped the sultans of the Bulgarian tribe appear and reign over the famous prosperous land known by the name of Rūmeli," Delyan Rusev shows that Kemālpaşazāde's passage was based on the so-called Bulgarian *Apocryphal Chronicle (Tale of the Prophet Isaiah)*, a legendary medieval narrative. Kemālpaşazāde quotes as his sources "those who translate the history of the mentioned *beys* to Greek language in the above ways." The Greek version of the text is not extant, and it can only be guessed whether it existed. Rusev, however, persuasively argues that the version used by the Ottoman chronicler was a Turkish translation from a Slavic text. It was, therefore, Kemālpaşazāde or some of his informants who translated a Slavic version of the *Apocryphal Chronicle* to Turkish. Delyan Rusev, "Kemālpaşazāde's History of Medieval Bulgaria: A Sixteenth-century Ottoman recension of the Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle (Tale of the Prophet Isaiah)," in *Laudator temporis acti: studia in memoriam Ioannis A. Božilov, Vol.I Religio, Historia*, ed. Ivan A. Biliarsky (Sofia: IK Gutenberg, 2018), 435-510: 453.



is to show how the ways in which Slavophone Arabographic elements functioned within different texts reflected the users' changing attitudes towards the evident linguistic hybridity and heteroglossia of the texts. The discussion is based on previous scholarship and, whenever possible, insight into the original, fairly well-known texts which have so far been studied in order to understand the history of mining and mining law in the Slavic and Ottoman polities.

The wealth of the late-medieval South-Slavic states heavily depended on the riches and exploitation of their mines. This was particularly the case with Bosnia and Serbia whose silver, and to some extent gold became legendary much beyond their territories.<sup>219</sup> For a long time, scholarly insight into history of mining in these polities and the economy surrounding it rested on the short excerpts from the narrative sources. These remarks hardly ever provided reliable hard data, but did testify to the immense economic and political importance of mining in the societies in question.<sup>220</sup> Another fact established rather early was that the expertise needed for extraction of ore in late-medieval Slavic polities was imported. The (late) medieval business was conducted via settlement of small communities of German/Saxon professionals, called *Sasi* in Slavic. With expertise, the Saxons brought their code of conduct which served as a base for mining laws applied in South-Slavia. The trade was primarily mediated by Ragusans, who also had the habit of

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<sup>219</sup> Three most significant geographic areas and some of the key mines were in central Bosnia (Fojnica, Dusina, Kreševo, Deževica), North East Bosnia (Zvornik, Sase, Srebrenica), the area east of the rivers Sitnica and Western Morava in late medieval Serbia (Janjevo, Vučitrn, Trepča, Belasica, Zaplanina, Plana, Novo Brdo), more to the south, in present-day Macedonia, rich was the mine of Kratovo. A map made based on Ottoman sources is in Nicoara Beldiceanu, ed., *Les actes des premiers Sultans conservés dans les manuscrits Turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris 2: Règlements miniers, 1390-1512* (Paris: Mouton, 1964), 310.

<sup>220</sup> After the Ottoman conquest, the stories and legends had an additional function of being used as a motivation for a crusade which would, among other, save the "Christian" wealth. Nikola Radojčić, ed., *Zakon o Rudnicima Despota Stefana Lazarevića* (Beograd: Naučno Delo, 1962), 1-3. For a recent study of the place of South-Slavic mines in the European economic system, see Ian Blanchard, *Mining, metallurgy, and minting in the Middle Ages/ v. 3. Continuing Afro-European Supremacy, 1250-1450: (African gold production and the second and third European silver production long-cycle)* (Stuttgart : Franz Steiner, 2005), 923-1089.

establishing permanent small communities within the budding urban centers in the continental hinterland of their city-state.

A scholarly work which contained the first vague hint at the existence of written laws regulating mining in late medieval South-Slavic polities appeared in 1913 when Fehim Spaho published four mutually interrelated legal texts—in Turkish.<sup>221</sup> The copy of the texts was made around the beginning of the eighteenth century in Bosnia, whereby two of the texts contained date of original composition, the year 1536.<sup>222</sup> By 1913, no Ottoman written laws regulating mining were known to the scholars. Evaluating the material, Spaho, among other, noted that the texts reflect an intersection among several different legal systems—in his words, the sharia (Islamic) law, the “Turkish law,” the local/Ragusan, and the Saxon/German law. On top of that, he emphasized that all technical terms in the texts are in either “Serbo-Croatian or German languages.”<sup>223</sup> Some twenty years later, Vladislav Skarić published another set of Turkish texts related to mining copied around 1752.<sup>224</sup> Soon after, the same author published a monograph on mining in Serbia and Bosnia. In a footnote of the latter work, Skarić suggested, based on syntactic features of the texts published by Spaho, that Ottoman mining laws in Turkish were in fact translations from a “foreign language.”<sup>225</sup> The next important moment for understanding the

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<sup>221</sup> Fehim Spaho, “Turski rudarski zakoni” [Turkish Mining Laws], *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Sarajevu* 25 (1913): 132-149; 151-194.

<sup>222</sup> Spaho thought that the copy was made in the seventeenth century based on the earliest date mentioned in the codex in which the texts were found (ca.1688). Djurdjev reviewed the contents of the complete codex and proposed that mining laws were copied after 1716 by a person who made the codex by binding several older manuscripts with the copies they made themselves. Branislav Đurđev, “Sarajevski Kodeks Kanun-Nama” [A Codex from Sarajevo Containing *Kānūn-Nāmes* ], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 6-7 (1956-57):147-158.

<sup>223</sup> Spaho, “Turski rudarski zakoni,” 133-134.

<sup>224</sup> Vladislav Skarić, “Stari Turski rukopis o Rudarskim poslovima i terminologiji” [An Old Turkish Manuscript on Mining Business and Terminology], *Spomenik SKA* 79 (1935): 1-24.

<sup>225</sup> Vladislav Skarić, *Staro Rudarsko Pravo i tehnika u Srbiji i Bosni* [Old Mining Law and Mining Technology in Serbia and Bosnia] (Beograd: SKA, 1939), 4 (fn.6).

interconnection between the late-medieval Slavic and early modern Ottoman texts related to mining was the discovery of the only surviving Cyrillic/Serbian text of a late-medieval law-code known in literature as *Zakon o Rudnicima Despota Stefana* (Despot Stefan’s Law on Mines,” hereafter *Zakon*). It is of some importance to note that not all articles from *Zakon* were related to mining, and only the part which dealt with it (hereafter *Zakon/Mining*) overlaps in content with those produced by textualizers of the mining laws in Turkish.<sup>226</sup> Finally, in 1964, Nicoara Beldiceanu discussed texts of the thirty-three Ottoman documents related to mining almost all of which are datable to the period of Bāyezīd II. All of these texts were copied in two codices containing legal documents related to various other subjects and produced in the late sixteenth-century: *BNF-MS Turc 35* (ca.1546) and *BNF-MS Turc 85* (ca.1583).<sup>227</sup> Familiar with *Zakon*, Beldiceanu wrote that seven of these texts represent the translations of “Serbian-Bosnian” laws or *at least* their “modifications.”<sup>228</sup> This publication should be read with three different publications

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<sup>226</sup> The text of the *Zakon* was first published in Radojčić, *Zakon o Rudnicima*, 35-57. Mining was just one of the domains regulated by this code, though in the most detailed matter. Aside from different phases of mine exploitation and the related legal regulations, the code addressed rules regulating inheritance, some religious issues, life in the town (of Novo Brdo), etc.

<sup>227</sup> These thirty-three texts were documents of various types and functions, ranging from general and locale-specific law-codes (i.e. those mentioning a particular mine/mining settlement in the title) to sultanic orders (tr. *fermāns*), title-deeds (tr. *berāts*), and bills (tr. *temessüks*). Only four of the thirty-three texts related to mining contain dates of original production (two from 1488 (a note and a report), one from 1494 (law-code of Novo Brdo), and one from 1499 (law-code of Zaplanina and Plana). Beldiceanu attributes the lack of dates in these texts to “the negligence of the copyist.” Four of the thirty-three texts are found in both codices, two of these being law-codes (law-code of Zaplanina and Plana (1499), and law-code of “Yarkofçe”), Beldiceanu, *Règlements miniers*, 42; 177-178 and *passim*. *BNF-MS Turc 35* also contains the work titled *Āṣaf-nāme*, a treatise belonging to advice literature, in this case addressed to the Ottoman viziers. It was written by Luṭfī Pasha (d.1562) who was the grand vizier of Süleymān I from 1539 until 1541 when he retired and started writing.

<sup>228</sup> These seven texts (some general, and some locale specific) are not the only law-codes regulating mining in the two compilations, and Beldiceanu does not provide a detailed explanation of why he thought these seven texts in particular were translations/modifications. One of the seven codes is dated (law-code of Novo Brdo promulgated on April 15, 1494), and Beldiceanu singles it out as being, without doubt, a translation from Serbian, and this probably based on his familiarity with *Zakon/Mining*. He suggests the translation was done after 1455, the year of the “final” conquest of Novo Brdo. The rest are dated by Beldiceanu based on extra-textual evidence: the year when Ottomans conquered a mining town, or based on the ways these were ordered in the compilations. Two of the six undated translations/modifications are dated to the beginning of 1390s (law-codes of Kratovo, based on the date of conquest), three to the year 1488 (Srebrenica, Crnče, Sase) and one to the end of the Bāyezīd II’s reign (general Saxon, law-

of one same collection of sultanic orders issued mainly during the reign of Mehmed II and catalogued as *BNF-MS Turc 39*. Some of these imperial edicts were regulating organization of mine exploitation, they apparently functioned as laws, and are the oldest safely dated texts of this kind.<sup>229</sup> After these publications, there could be no doubt of the direct link between the two corpuses of legal texts, but the question remained as to when and how the link was textualized.

The only extant Slavic/Cyrillic version of *Zakon* was found in a manuscript with typical Ottoman binding and format, as well as a degree of Islamic influence in letter shaping and ornamentation.<sup>230</sup> Radojčić dated it, based on the paper, to the late sixteenth century, and implicitly suggested that the law was originally composed for Novo Brdo. This town was mentioned in the final passage by which Despot Stefan ratified the code, as per this version, in 1412. The substantial part of the code clearly shows that the law was to regulate relations in a developed urban settlement, but there is no indication that the law was applicable to one town only. For a while, the scholarly comments on copyist and commissioner remained rather vague. Radojčić proposed that the manuscript was ordered by “the Turks wishing to renew mining in Serbia,” while the Serbs

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code). The last mentioned, general Saxon law-code, is also described by Beldiceanu as a translation from Serbian. Most of these speculations, as will be seen, can be disputed.

<sup>229</sup> The part of Ottoman legal system based on sultanic will was based on *kanūns* (rules) of different contents and scopes. A group of *kanūns* constitutes a law-code commonly designated as *kanūn-nāme*. *BNF-MS Turc 39* is a good illustration of the fact that individual sultanic orders related to one specific situation could gain the force of a permanent rule used as precedent. Of fifty-nine documents in *BNF-MS Turc 39* only three are issued by Bāyezīd II, and the assumption is that the collection was made during his reign. *BNF-MS Turc 39* was first published as facsimile, then in transliteration, and then in translation to French. Some orders related to mining have also been translated to Serbian. Franz Babinger, ed., *Sultanische Urkunden zur Geschichte des osmanischen Wirtschaft und Staatsverwaltung am Ausgang der Herrschaft Mehmeds II, des Eroberers. I. Teil. Das Qānūn-nāme-i sultānī ber mūdšcheb-i örf-i ‘osmānī* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1956); Robert Anhegger, and Halil İnalçık, eds., *Kānūnnāme-i sultānī ber mūceb-i örf-i ‘osmānī. II. Mehmed ve II. Bayezid devirlerine ait yasaknāme ve kānūnnāmeler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1956); Nicoara Beldiceanu, ed., *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque nationale à Paris* (Paris: Mouton, 1960); Skënder Rizaj, *Rudarstvo Kosova i susednih krajeva od XV do XVII veka* (Priština: Zajednica naučnih ustanova Kosova i Metohije, 1968).

<sup>230</sup> One other, slightly modified copy of the part of the *Zakon* related to mining only was made in 1638, in Latin script, in Čiprovac/Bulgaria. Biljana Marković, *Zakon o Rudnicima Despota Stefana Lazarevića, Prevod i Pravno Istorijska Studija* [Despot Stefan Lazarević’s Law on Mines, Translation and Legal-Historical Study] (Beograd: SANU, 1985), 7.

who produced it did it for essentially sentimental reasons.<sup>231</sup> The later research showed that the copyist was Jovan Srbin (Jovan the Serb), active in Kratovo in the period between 1558 and 1579. Based on Jovan's relationship with Kratovo dignitaries transpiring from other Cyrillic manuscripts, Biljana Jovanović-Stipčević, a philologist, suggested that, rather than "the Turks," the commissioner may have been the local Knez Dimitrije who, together with other local dignitaries took part in "partial" management of the local mines.<sup>232</sup> Therefore, the existing literature does not explicitly state that the manuscript may have been produced in cooperation between local Slavic- and interested Turkish-speaking Ottomans, and this with the knowledge of the previous history of Slavo-Turkish mining discourse.

While *Zakon/Mining* remains the only extant version of the Serbian mining laws put into writing, the Turkish texts regulating mining in the Ottoman context are many and of different orders (i.e. including documents other than law-codes). Not one text among the Turkish corpus can be considered a full semantic equivalent of *Zakon/Mining*. The Slavic scholars attempted to solve this problem by postulating the existence of a non-extant written version of Serbian mining law which may have been at the disposal of Turkish interpreters and which would be better reflected in the extant Turkish translations. No German written text features in the literature as being at the disposal of either Slavs, or Ottomans. A speculation that Serbian mining law was simply taken over by the Ottomans as customary law, and that they did not engage with any written Slavic text is easy to refute by textual evidence, so the consensus has been that there must have

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<sup>231</sup>And this in the period after the renewal of the Patriarchate of Peć, i.e. in the period of Serbian "spiritual renaissance." These notes are left without elaboration.

<sup>232</sup> The identity of the copyist and the period in which he flourished has been determined based on ten extant Cyrillic manuscripts copied by his hand. See Biljana Jovanović Stipčević, "Ko je pisar prepisa "Zakona o rudnicima despota Stefana Lazarevića?" [Who was the scribe who copied *Despot Stefan Lazarević's Law on Mines?*], *Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku* 33 (1990): 197-202.

existed one or more Serbian written texts that were subjected to written translation.<sup>233</sup> The emphasis on translation understood in a rather modern fashion and rarely theorized by historians, obscures a realistic possibility that some written Serbian code, maybe *Zakon/Mining* indeed, was subjected to *a form* of interpretation/translation to Turkish whereby the equivalence, or rather recording of the equivalent version was not the goal in itself. Based on what we know about Ottoman habits related to the practice of *tercüme* (translation *cum* adaptation) within the realm of the *elsine-i selāse* cluster, this would be far from a unique case. Another theoretical possibility has not (to my knowledge) been seriously considered—that a number of Saxon/Serbian rules and customs transmitted orally and not included in any written Serbian law-code were put into writing for the first time during the Ottoman times. Nor was there a thought that Ottoman law-makers could have relied, for a good amount of time, on the people loyal to their causes, able to read and interpret the relevant parts of Serbian written laws, and able to adjust them to emerging realities in the business and regulation of mining. What one can add to conclude this discussion about the “question of translation” is that, whatever it was called and whichever text it was based on, the initial phase of making the contents of the Slavic mining laws available to Turkish speakers required some basic skills: a relatively high competence in Slavic and Turkish languages, as well as acquaintance with at least Arabic, and possibly Cyrillic script as well. Finally, these skills could have been held by one person or distributed among a few individuals. As for the sites in which mining was conducted and managed, these were, as a rule, multiethnic and multilingual environments.<sup>234</sup> Aside from officially appointed secretaries (tr. *kātibs*), it is hard to estimate which positions in the mining industry demanded literacy skills. The disputes concerning the profit were

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<sup>233</sup> See, Branislav Đurđev, “Turski prevod rudarskog zakona za Novo Brdo despota Stefana Lazarevića” [Turkish Translation of Despot Stefan’s Mining Law for Novo Brdo], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 25 (1975): 113-131.

<sup>234</sup> Rizaj, *Rudarstvo Kosova*, 138-140.

definitively solved at the Ottoman *kadı*-court. And yet, it is easy to imagine that profiles of the consumers of the Slavo-Turkish mining discourse ranged from humble workmen through tax-farmers and administrators to the sultan. The following discussion revolves around the question of what formal characteristics of the extant texts of Turkish mining law-codes can tell about the attitudes of Ottoman law-makers towards linguistic material from a “foreign” language which is in this case Slavic. The discussion is based on a group of law-codes selected as being representative of different layers of the evolving legal discourse.<sup>235</sup> The texts marked by asterisk are those which have been suspected of being “translations” by Beldiceanu and other scholars who followed him.

**1a.\*** *Ḳānūnname-i Sābıḳ* [The Previous Code]

**1b.\*** *Ḳāziyye-i Ma‘den-i Nevā Brda* [Decisions for the Novo Brdo Mine]<sup>236</sup>

**2a.\*** *Şūret-i Ḳānūn-i Sābıḳ Der Ma‘den-i Ḳraṭova ki Ezel Evvelde Neyse* [The copy of a previous law-code for Kratovo as it stood from the time immemorial].<sup>237</sup>

**2b.\*** *Ḳānūn-ı Sābıḳ-ı ‘Ālī Üzre Bu Veçhiledir* [This is how it was according to a previous imperial law].<sup>238</sup>

**3a.** *Tecdīd-i defter-i beyān-ı ḳānūn-ı ma‘den-i Ḳraṭova ber müceb-i hükm-i cihān-muṭā‘ bi-mā‘rifeti livā‘i Köstendil Kemāl ve ebnā-i sipāhiyān-ı dergāh-ı devlet-penāh* [The revision of the text of the law-code for Kratovo Mines, conducted upon the order obeyed in the whole world,

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<sup>235</sup> The rich textual body from the domain of the Ottoman law contains a comparably small number of codes which can be considered general, i.e. applicable in the whole empire. Almost each known mine had its specific law-code and sultanic orders often refer to circumstances in a particular locale. Many of these were, of course, based on a few generally adopted structural principles. To my best knowledge, however, there is no scholarly study dealing with the question of whether and how thematically organized local legal codes differed among each other, nor a discussion of the relationship between general and specific rules. In Ottoman legal parlance “mine” (tr. *ma‘den*) was used to designate the concrete site at which the ore was extracted. Mine in this sense was considered a sultanic *hās*, namely a source of income for the central fisc. The concrete sites of extraction, however, were seen as attached to broader administrative locales in which other taxes were collected, and which were also called *ma‘den*. The modern Slavic word for mine (*rudnik*) is not used in *Zakon*. Its composers thought of the extraction sites as one or a group of “holes”/mine shafts (sl. *rupa*). *Ḳuyu* is the direct Turkish equivalent for *rupa*.

<sup>236</sup> Texts 1a and 1b are in: Beldiceanu, *Règlements miniers*, 243-254; Rizaj, *Rudarstvo Kosova*, 207-214; Ahmed Akgündüz, *Fātih devri*, 545-560; BNF-MS Turc 85, ff. 269a-273b.

<sup>237</sup> Akgündüz thinks this and the next law-code were promulgated during Meḫmed II, unlike Beldiceanu and Rizaj who date the texts to 1390’s. Beldiceanu, *Règlements miniers*, 179-180; Rizaj, *Rudarstvo Kosova*, 239-241; Akgündüz, *Fātih devri*, 541-543; BNF-MS Turc 85, ff. 296b-297a.

<sup>238</sup> This text is considered by scholars a law code on Kratovo, because it is placed after the Text 2a, although there is no specific reference to this place in the text. Beldiceanu, *Règlements miniers*, 182-183; Rizaj, *Rudarstvo Kosova*, 241-242; Akgündüz, *Fātih devri*, 546-547; BNF-MS Turc 85, ff. 297a-b.

by Kemāl, *sancak-beyi* of Köstendil and members of the cavalry corps of the prosperity-protecting Court ](January 2, 1488).<sup>239</sup>

**3b.** *Şüret-i defter-i kânûn-ı Nevâberî ber müceb-i hükm-i hümâyûn bi-ma 'rifet-i mîr-livâ-i Vlçitrn ve każı-ı Nevâberî ve Kemâl 'an ebnâ-i sipâhiyân* [The copy of the text of the law-code for Novo Brdo issued upon the imperial order and prepared by *sancak-beyi* of Vuçitrn, the *kadı* of Novo Brdo and Kemāl from the cavalry corps] (January 4-14, 1488)<sup>240</sup>

**3c.** *Şüret-i defter-i beyân-ı kânûn-ı ma 'den-i Trepç ber müceb-i hükm-i cihân-muṭâ ' bi-ma 'rifet-i mîr-livâ-i Vlçitrin ve Kemâl 'an ebnâ-i sipâhiyân-ı dergâh-ı devlet-penâh* [The copy of the text of the law-code for the Mines of Trepča issued upon the order obeyed in the whole world and prepared by *sancak-beyi* of Vuçitrn and Kemāl from the cavalry corps of the prosperity-protecting Court] (ca. October 25, 1488)<sup>241</sup>

**3d.** *Şüret-i defter-i beyân-ı kânûn-ı ma 'den-i Yanova ber müceb-i hükm-i cihân-muṭâ ' bi-ma 'rifet-i mîr-livâ-i Vlçitrin ve Kemâl 'an ebnâ-i sipâhiyân* [The copy of the text of the law-code for the Mines of Janjevo issued upon the order obeyed in the whole world and prepared by *sancak-beyi* of Vuçitrn and Kemāl from the cavalry corps of the prosperity-protecting Court](ca. October 25, 1488)]<sup>242</sup>

**4a.\*** *Şüret-i Kânûn-nâme-i resm der nefş-i ma 'den-i Serâ(br)niç* [Copy of the law-code on taxes in the mining town of Srebrenica] **b.\*** *Beyân-ı kânûn-ı ma 'den-i Çerniç* [The law for the mine of Crnica] **c.\*** *Der beyân-ı kânûn-ı ma 'den-i Sas* [The law of the mine of Sase]<sup>243</sup>

**5a.** *Kânûn-ı Sâs-i Ma 'âdin-i 'Osmânî* [The Law of the Sas for the Ottoman Mines] (Copied, 1525)<sup>244</sup>

**5b.** *Kânûn-ı Sâs-i Ma 'âdin-i 'Osmânî* [The Law of the Sas for the Ottoman Mines] (Copied, 1530-31)<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Beldiceanu, *Règlements miniers*, 191-197; Rizaj, *Rudarstvo Kosova*, 243-246; Ahmed Akgündüz, ed., *II. Bâyezid devri kanunnâmeleri* [The Law-codes from the Reign of Bayezid II] (İstanbul: FEY Vakfı, 1990), 443-454; BNF-MS Turc 85, ff. 282b-286a.

<sup>240</sup> Beldiceanu, *Règlements miniers*, 232-239; Rizaj, *Rudarstvo Kosova*, 202-207; Akgündüz, *II. Bâyezid*, 533-544; BNF-MS Turc 85, ff. 266a-269a.

<sup>241</sup> Beldiceanu, *Règlements miniers*, 224-232; Rizaj, *Rudarstvo Kosova*, 220-226; Akgündüz, *II. Bâyezid*, 564-575; BNF-MS Turc 85, ff. 263a-266a.

<sup>242</sup> Beldiceanu, *Règlements miniers*, 239-242; Rizaj, *Rudarstvo Kosova*, 216-218; Akgündüz, *II. Bâyezid*, 576-583; BNF-MS Turc 85, ff. 273b-275b.

<sup>243</sup> Beldiceanu, *Règlements miniers*, 210-213; Akgündüz, *II. Bâyezid 416-418*, BNF-MS Turc 85, ff. 289a- 290a.

<sup>244</sup> Robert Anhegger, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im Osmanischen Reich: I Europäische Türkei, Nachtrag," in *Istanbul Schriften* 14a (Zurich-New York: Europaverlag, 1945), 469-487. Anhegger published the transcribed version of this text and its translation to German. The text is found in a register (tr. *hükümdefteri*) dated to the year 932 (1525-1526).

<sup>245</sup> Beldiceanu found this text in a land survey register (tr. *tapu defteri*) no. 167, dating to 937 (1530-1531). Beldiceanu, *Règlements miniers*, 47. The facsimile of this text and a French translation has been published in Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr and Nicoara Beldiceanu, "Un règlement minier ottoman du règne de Süleyman le législateur," *Südoest-Forschungen* 21 (1962): 144-167.



**5c.**\**Ḳānūn-nāme-i Sāsī ki Ma'ādinde Icrā olunur* [The Sas Law which is in force in the mines] (Copied by Musa bin Hasan, in 1546)<sup>246</sup>

**6a.** *Ḳānūn ve Tertībāt-i Ma'ādin* [The Law and the (Re)Organization of Mines] (1536) **b.** *Ḳanūn ve 'İbārāt-i Ma'ādin* [The Law on Mines and the Definitions (of its Terms)] **c.** *Ḳanūn ve Tertībāt-i Şāhī fi'l-Ma'ādin* [The Law and the Sultan's (Re)Organization of Mines] (1536) **d.** *Ḳanūn-i ḳadīm-i Sās ve 'ādeti-i nās-i ma'ādin* [The Old Law of the Sas and the Customs of the People of the Mines](All copied in the beginning of the eighteenth century).<sup>247</sup>

**7a.** *Aḥvāl-ı ma'ādin* [Organization in the Mines] **b.** *Der beyān-ı nefş-i ma'den ve aḥvāle-ū* [About the Mining Site and its Parts] **c.** *Der beyān-ı esāmi-i cevher* [The Names of Ore] **d.** *Der beyān-ı esām-i mübāşirān-ı ma'dan ve ırġādān-ı ber müceb-i Ḳānūn-i Sās* [About the titles of officials and workers employed in the mines according to the Law of the Sas] **e.** *Der beyān-ı ālātı çāh ve istīlāhat-ı ū* [The terms used for designating tools used in the mine-shafts] **f.** *Der beyān-ı aḥvāl-ı çarḥ* [About the wheel and around it] **g.** *Der Beyān-ı Ḳālḥāne* [About the smelting-house] **h.** *Der beyan-ı ba'zı aḥvāl-ı ki miyāne ehl-i ma'ādin cārī ast* [About some actions performed by people of the mines] **i.** *Der beyan-ı ba'zı ḳavā'idi ma'ādin* [About some rules applied in the mines](Copied ca. 1751)<sup>248</sup>

The Ottoman laws and law-codes of various thematic orientations contain a significant number of non-Turkish, and therefore Slavic words. The historians of Ottoman law would probably say that this was something implied in the very nature of Ottoman legal system which is known to have combined the authorities of the sharia; the sultanic will; and the local legal systems and customs—as found after the conquest of a territory. From a linguistic perspective, however, it is hard to imagine that the process of borrowing foreign words (in general) was straightforward and uniform, especially when observed as a continuous, i.e. historical process. In other words, the linguistically minded researcher would start with the assumption that the process of including non-

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<sup>246</sup> Beldiceanu, *Règlements miniers*, 257-268; Rizaĵ, *Rudarstvo Kosova*, 248-256; Akgündüz, *II. Bāyezid*, 479-485; BNF-MS Turc 35, ff. 106a-112b. Based on the dates of the surrounding documents, Beldiceanu dated this law-code to the late Bāyezid II, and all other researchers accepted this. Akgündüz further describes this text as a law-code initially prepared for a mine in the *sancak* of Smederevo called Sas, noting that this text “partially or completely influenced” all the later texts. Where exactly was this mine located in Serbia, is not clear. The mine called Sase existed in Bosnia, for sure, and was located in the vicinity of Srebrenica. The date when the production of the whole collection was finished, as well as the name of the copyist, are found in the colophone (BNF-MS Turc 35. f.158a). None of the mentioned scholars found this date to be important.

<sup>247</sup> Spaho, “Turski rudarski zakoni,” 139-162.

<sup>248</sup> The transliterated version of these texts is in Skarić, “Stari Turski rukopis,” 6-12. Skarić also translated these texts to Serbo-Croatian.

Turkish words into Ottoman legal discourse involved a degree of decision-making on the part of its textualizers. The oldest reliably dated laws and law-codes are from Meḥmed II's time, and it is commendable to start looking for examples from this period. A law detailing the obligations of the Christian Vlach population from the *sancak* of Smederevo dated to 1481, stipulates that some taxes were to be gathered on “the infidels’ Christmas” (tr. *kāfirlerin bojik-lerinde*), while some were due on “the days they call the day of Hızır-İlyas” (tr. *Hızır-İlyas günü dedikleri eyyāmda*). In the same text we find the Slavic word *komornik* elucidated in the text by its Turkish synonym *hizmetkār* (tr./servant, in this case to a *sancak-beyi*, who was provided by Vlach community to serve him for six months) and connected to it by the expression *ya ‘ni* (tr./id est, meaning). The word *voynuk* (sl. soldier) is not explained, which implies that in 1481 its meaning was clear without explanation. The same stands for *primikürs* (sl./ a title in a hierarchy on top of which were *knezes*) who were to be relieved from *zaruk*, a Slavic word connected to its approximate equivalent, *şart* (tr./condition), also by *ya ‘ni*.<sup>249</sup> A much longer law-code dated to the reign of Bāyezīd II also contains a section dedicated to Vlachs. This section is a light revision of the previously mentioned text from the time of Meḥmed II, except that the rules are now part of a general-law code. In this text, Christmas (sl. *Božić*) is not defined as the holiday of infidels but as “the birth of Jesus, peace be upon him, which they call *bojik*” (tr. *mīlād-ı ‘İsā ‘aleyhi selām ki ana bojik derler*), implying either an increase in respect for Christian subjects, or a possibility that some of them had access to the formulations in Turkish in their written form. The description of the second deadline for gathering the taxes is enriched by a new information—that it falls in the spring (tr. *ilk yaz Hızır-İlyas günü dediklerinde*). *Komornik* is now connected with *hizmetkār* by the use of Persian conjunction *ki* combined with Turkish copula *–dir*. *Zaruk* referring to a pre-Ottoman custom is now

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<sup>249</sup> Akgündüz, *Fātih devri*, 527-528.

taken out and replaced by the previously applied Turkish translation.<sup>250</sup> Similar strategies can be found in rules particularly dealing with mining. For example, in a prohibition (tr. *yasaknāme*) issued for the mining site of Novo Brdo by Mehmed II, we find the Slavic *zbor* (assembly).<sup>251</sup> In this case *zbor* is designating weekly meetings of non-Muslim employees at the mining site, which, however, have been perceived by the law-maker as a waste of time and a way to escape work if done excessively.<sup>252</sup> Another document with the similar function issued in the name of the same sultan for Srebrenica, contains almost identical rule, but designates the same kind of activity, namely *zbor itmek* (sl.tr./ “to do *zbor*,” to gather), with *cem iyyet etmek* (ar.tr./to gather).<sup>253</sup>

These and several other relevant imperial edicts dated to the reign of Mehmed II are evidence that some terms found in *Zakon/Mining* became current already during the reign of this sultan. In the examples I was able to detect, the Slavic words are, as a rule, glossed, on the one hand. On the other hand, the terms are not concerning the mining technology, but administrative/business offices.<sup>254</sup> From all we know, some sort of insight into Serbian mining codes was already available during Mehmed II’s time, but no concrete written text can be quoted in support of this claim. *Zakon/Mining*, as the only available Slavic sample, takes all the layers of

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<sup>250</sup> Akgündüz, *II. Bāyezid devri*,73.

<sup>251</sup> In general, *zbor* (sl./gathering, assembly) is a Slavic medieval institution, recognized by the Ottoman government as a local custom and a matter of protected non-Muslim subjects’ (tr. *zimmīs*’) internal organization.

<sup>252</sup> “Ve ma’ denleri(!) ve yamaqlarınun papasları ve kuyucuları ve *knezleri* ve (sl.*urbarar*) *urubār*ları, ulusu ve kiçisi, mezkūr kulumu yasaqçı bilüb, işleyüb, işlerinde ve maşlıhatlarında olup, haftada iki gün āvāre olub *izbor* itmeyeler,” BNF-MS Turc 39, ff.8a-b. (NOTE: the transcription here and elsewhere in this section is made by looking at the manuscript copies whenever possible, but always by consulting all available publications, transcriptions, transliterations etc.).

<sup>253</sup> “Ve ma’ denlerūn ve yamaqlarınunūn babasları ve kuyucuları ve *knezleri* ve (sl. *urbarar*) *urubār*ları, ulusu ve kiçisi, mezkūr kulumu oñāt esleyup işlerinde olalar, āvāre olup haftada iki gün cem’iyyet eylemeyeler,” BNF-MS Turc 39, f.16a.

<sup>254</sup> BNF-MS Turc 39: f.6a: “Nevayerde ‘āmilleri fulān fulān kabuma gelub (sl. *gvark*) *vāruk*lardan ki (owner of a shaft/tr.) *kuyu ıssı*larıdır ve ırğādlar ki işleyügelmişlerdur....;” 6b: “..ve işitdum ki (sl.?) *utura*qlar ki (buyer of the ore/tr.) *cevher alıcı*lardır taqsīrlük ederler imiş...”

the technical terminology for granted; it provides no definitions nor meta-comments—it was compiled by experts in both technology and the business. The main candidate for the first written translation of a Serbian mining law, is an undated law-code the preamble of which explicitly designates Despot Stefan’s *Zakon* as a source of its substance. This is the *Text 1a* from the above list, and dated, following Beldiceanu, to after 1455, maybe 1488, but not later than 1494.<sup>255</sup> Besides the date, the difficulty posed by this text is that it is far from a full semantic equivalent of *Zakon/Mining*. In what follows, however, I will discuss to what extent we can draw conclusions about various Turkish speakers’ attitudes towards foreign/Slavophone material, having in mind the many difficulties pertaining to dating.

As already noted, the *Text 1a* was found in the late-sixteenth century (ca.1583) manuscript collection of various material pertaining to the legal discourse. This is the only known copy. The producer of the collection can only be described as an anonymous person who had access to legal texts/documents composed in various times and who was either ordered to collect and/or copy them, or did this due to his personal interest or requirements of his profession. The title of the text is highlighted with a line drawn above it. The text contains no date whatsoever. However, it starts with a paragraph detailing historical circumstances in which the “previous code” was first textualized:

Previously, Sultan Bāyezīd the son of Sultan Murād Han, who conquered the fortress of Novaberi and its surroundings, and, when he killed Knez Lazar, after that, the mentioned Lazar’s son, Despot İstefan, showed obedience to the late and [by God] pardoned Sultan Bāyezīd. He [Bāyezīd] then gave Novaberi and its surroundings back to Despot İstefan. When he [i.e. İstefan] came to Novaberi, whatever was the kind of custom followed by the owners of the mines in Novaberi he said I will also confirm it as a law. Then the mentioned Despot İstefan ordered that 24 individuals from the mines of Novaberi and other mines who know the law should come, that they should write down the law from the old times

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<sup>255</sup> Đurđev, “Turski prevod,” 119.

and bring it [to me], and I myself will ratify it. The persons who, upon order, wrote the law-code and brought it [to Despot] are these who are mentioned bellow: (...) <sup>256</sup>

This paragraph to a great extent corresponds to the contents of the preamble of *Zakon*, and the correspondence can be described as selective paraphrase accompanied by avoidance of the political connotations. The intentional modifications of the contents of the preamble are expected and reflect the different political contexts in which the source (Serbian) and target (Turkish) texts were produced, and also the differences in the profiles of intended users. <sup>257</sup> *Text 1a* continues with the quotation of occasionally corrupt versions of the Slavic names of twenty four men—the members of the committee in charge of codifying *Zakon*, originally also quoted after its preamble. For a few of the names a specific sort of interpretation/translation of their Slavic versions was attempted. <sup>258</sup> After that, the title is repeated and followed by unvocalized, uniform text running without interruption until its end. Particular articles of the code are introduced by unhighlighted phrase “and also” (tr. *ve daḥī*), and few times with the word “custom” (tr. *ādet*). In Serbian *Zakon*,

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<sup>256</sup>“Sābıkan Sultān Bāyezid bin Sultān Murād Ḥān ki Nevāberī kal’asını ve tevābi’ini fetḥ idüb ve Knez Lazāri katl itdükde bi’l-āhare mezkūr Lazar’ın oğlu Desbüt İstefān merhūm-ı maḡfūr Sultān Bāyezid’e itā’at idüb ol daḥī Nevāberī ve tevābi’ini gerü Desbüt İstefān’a virmiş ol daḥī Nevāberī’ye geldikde Nevāberī’de olan ma’den şāhibleri nenūñ gibi ‘ādet üzere oldularsa ben daḥī ol kånūnı buyurduklerinde mezkūr Desbüt İstefān daḥī emr eylemiş ki Nevāberī ma’deninden ve sāyir ma’denlerden kånūn bilür yiğirmi dört nefer kimesneler gelsünler evvelden gelen kånūnı yazub getürsünler ben daḥī nişān edeyin deyü buyurklar (!) emr üzere Kånūn-nāme yazub getüren kimesneler bunlardır ki zıkr olunur,” BNF-MS Turc 85, 270a-270b.

<sup>257</sup> The preamble of the *Zakonik* describes essentially the same events which occurred immediately after 1389, but, of course, by having in mind the domestic audience. According to scholarly concensus, *Zakonik* in a non-extant version was promulgated ca.1402, while the extant version was confirmed in 1412, both dates falling in the period of the Ottoman Interregnum when Despot Stefan’s political authority at home was relatively safe. The extant Serbian preamble, however, states that after negotiations with the great *amir* Bāyezid in Sebasteia/Sivas (which he conducted, according to the explanation, with support of his mother, and the high positioned Church officials), Stefan “freed” his father’s lands already after 1389. Novo Brdo was taken over by the Ottomans in 1455.

<sup>258</sup> The Slavic name-surname formula in which the later very often but not exclusively represents combination of father’s name and suffix –ić, is translated in a way which reveals this etymology: Vukasin Pipinović is given as Vuk-son of-Pip (Vuḡ veled-i PiP); Martin Smrdekyevik as Martin-son of-Smrdek. BNF-MS Turc 85, f.270b.

which was clearly available to the composer of the preamble, the articles are introduced either by the word “law/rule about...” (sl. *zakon o...*) or by preposition “about...” (sl. *o...*).

Neither the quoted introduction nor the rest of *Text Ia* make any explicit mention of the original language in which Despot Stefan’s “*ḱānūn-nāme*” was composed. The introduction “only” establishes an explicit connection between *Text Ia* and the old written law ratified by Stefan, but composed by a group of people who knew “the old law.” Stefan is discursively marked by a name and a title which, theoretically, may have sounded foreign to a Turkophone person; a note that his inherited land was conquered, and then returned by an Ottoman Sultan; information that Novo Brdo, a mining center, was part of his possessions at the time of the ratification of the “old law.” The Slavic names of the committee members were also deemed worth preserving. The substantive part of the code does not contain any particular reference to Novo Brdo, nor does the (twice repeated) title establish the link between the law code and the place where it was supposed to be applied. In other words, had there been no introduction, there would be no explicit indication of the foreignness of the source in the operative part of the text. Moreover, had there been no historical introduction, *Text Ia* could be understood as an old Ottoman law code having a general application, and describing, in a rather unpedagogical manner, what is allowed and forbidden in mining business. Nevertheless, even without explicit information, a monolingual Turkophone person would not fail to notice that the Turkish text was “strange” and that it contained many non-Turkish words. For a person to know which language exactly this was, they would have to be bilingual. A monolingual Turkophone user of the text wondering where the words came from could not know their origin unless he was told. But with the introduction, an inquisitive, monolingual Turkish speaker reading the text and not having any Slavic-speaking friend, could conclude which language this was by knowing or researching where Novo Brdo was, and/or who exactly Despot

Stefan was. From here, it would be hard, but interesting to speculate when and where a person like this lived, and what answers they would obtain from their inquiry.

*Text Ia* contains no clues as to when, where and by whom the interpretation of the Serbian text with the goal of making its Turkish version was conducted, nor when the Turkish version started functioning as a legal code. The word *sābik* (tr./former, previous) from the title offers a vague lead for placing the composition of the text in time. *Sābik* can simply mean that the law which was valid in the past, but it can also mean that it was promulgated or valid before some other document of the similar function.<sup>259</sup> In dating *Text Ia* the challenge scholars faced was to figure out which point of reference the writer of the title had in mind.

Right before *Text Ia* there are some eleven lines which represent a note on a lease (tr. *muḳāṭa* 'a) of the tax-revenue from the mining site called Markofça/Markovac. The lease was granted to a Slavic person from Novo Brdo, and the guarantors were also Slavs/Christians. The note is dated April 21, 1494. This note is almost seamlessly blended in one textual block with *Text Ib*, the “Decisions on the Novo Brdo Mine.” The scholars promoted the date of the note as the exact date of composition of *Text Ib*, which contains no date whatsoever. *Text Ib* starts with a list of names of the nine men who made the “decisions.” Of these, seven were non-Muslims. The first paragraph explains that these people were the *urbarars*, namely the state-appointed officials who participated in the collection of the profit from the mine exploitation and in delineating/measuring of the sections of the mine centered around a shaft. One of the two Muslims was ‘Abdī Faḳīh, who, one would think, had some knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence (ar./tr. *fiḳh*). The decisions however, contain nothing that would indicate the impact of Islamic law, and ‘Abdī’s authority as an expert in legal matters could have also stemmed from his knowledge of the Slavo-Turkish

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<sup>259</sup> Another such word is *ḳadīm* (old, ancient). When the old laws and rules are quoted, usually, no concrete dates are mentioned.

mining-law, in addition to, perhaps the sharia. This is also suggested by indirect evidence. One ‘Abdī Faḳīh known to historiography was a person from Janjevo, another mining site, who in 1484 leased the tax-revenue from minting houses in Istanbul, Edirne and Gallipoli, the same year when two Slavs from Kratovo, Jovan and Stefan rented the revenues of minting houses in Novo Brdo, Skopje and Ser(res). His career in mining could have lasted until 1494, if this was indeed the date when the Decisions were formulated and if this was the same person.<sup>260</sup> Be this as it may, the presence of a Turkish speaker does not prove that *Text 1b* was composed after *Text 1a*. That the phrase “previous” from the title of the latter was probably referring to the former can be concluded based on other evidence. For one, both texts were produced in a similar way: by authority of a committee consisting of mainly Slavic speakers. The semantic correspondences between the older, *Text 1a* and *Zakon/Mining*, are much easier to follow, than in the case of *Text 1b*. The latter contains a lot of Slavic terms found in *Zakon/Mining*, but is much shorter, and what it offers is clarification of some processes mentioned in *Text 1a*. As the title indicates, the group mentioned in *Text 1b* probably gathered in Novo Brdo, perhaps, during the reign of Bāyezīd II, and put the decisions into writing. And yet, the substantial part of the text makes no explicit reference to Novo Brdo nor any other locale. Considering the fact that *Text 1b* complements *Text 1a* in terms of contents, it is possible that the same people who made the “Decisions” were also the translators of a Serbian law-code containing the above quoted preamble.

It would be very hard to imagine that any Turkish-speaking user of these two texts (besides maybe those who initially participated in adaptation of Serbian law codes), would be interested in close textual analysis and comparison of Serbian and Turkish versions like modern historians of

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<sup>260</sup> Srdjan Katić, “Kovačnicata na moneti vo Kratovo za vremevladeenjetto na sultanot Sulejman I Veličanstveniot” [The Kratovo Mint during the reign of sultan Süleyman I], *Glasnik* 54 (2010): 67-80, 68.



mining were.<sup>261</sup> Still, by having only two mentioned Turkish versions of the text, the Turkish-speaking users would be able to compare them and conclude they were both written manifestations of a professional jargon inaccessible to an outsider. The Turkish used in the texts was probably very close to colloquial, in itself not an uncommon feature of Ottoman legal discourse. Many terms of this specialized language were, in their transliterated or transcribed versions, imported directly into colloquial Turkish from a Slavic text (written or spoken).<sup>262</sup> A bilingual person would also notice that the translations of Serbian technical terms were conducted only when it was “easy” to do it, as in the case of sl. *rupa*/tr. *kuyu* (hole, shaft), or sl. *vetar*/tr. *yel* (stream of air). Slavic terms deemed untranslatable function on the level of the phrase just like any other word borrowed from any other non-Turkish language would. In *Text Ib*, however one finds an example of in-text glossing, whereas there is none such strategy in *Text Ia*. The glossed word is also found in *Text Ia*, as well as the one Slavic word used for definition, but it is left unexplained.<sup>263</sup> It is also of some significance to note that, observed together, these two texts contain only one example of Persian *eżāfe*—the most common tool applied by Turkish speakers in the process of new meaning-making involving non-Turkish words.<sup>264</sup> Some apparent syntactic disturbances can be attributed

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<sup>261</sup> The arrangements of stipulations and various additions make the detailed linguistic study of the obvious overlap in contents and meaning a daunting task which has not been conducted so far. The historians of mining use the non-Turkish technical words as orientation points for their summaries and comparison of the rules promulgated in Serbian and Turkish codes.

<sup>262</sup> All of the Slavic and Slavicized German technical terms are attested in *Zakonik/Mining*.

<sup>263</sup> The definition is: “farna (sl. *farnanje*, moving around the mine-pits/corridors) *oldur ki işlağ-la* (sl. *şlag*, a way/corridor opened by digging) *ve her kuyu demüriyle işleye muhkem üzerine duta.*”

<sup>264</sup> This is the transliteration of several articles opening *Text Ia*. The Slavic material is in italic, bolded are Turkish expressions of some technical terms. One example of Persian construction is underlined: “Kānūn-nāme’i sâbık: bir **kuyu** (sl. *rupa*) bir kuyuya **yel** (sl. *vetar*) vermeğe māni’ olmaya ol yel olduğu yerden kazu etmeye ve ölçı dahi çekmeye/ ve dahi bir kuyu ki *şurf* olsa içinden toprağı tekne ile taşıra bıraksa üç gün baṭṭāl olsa her kim *uzboy* ederse anun ola/ ve şol kuyu ki *horn*-la toprağın çıkara yeni kuyu altı hafta baṭṭāl olsa her kim *uzboy* ederse anun ola ve her kime dilerse pay vere/ ve eski şāhiblerinden kangısın *izboy*-da hem kim hāzır olursa anun payı zāyi’ olmaya / ve dahi şol kuyu ki ölçülmüş ve cevher ola eğer yeni kuyu bir yıl ve altı hafta baṭṭāl olsa her kim ihyā ederse anun ola/ve eski şāhiblerinden hīn-i izboy-da her kim hāzır olursa anun payı zāyi’ olmaya/ ve eğer eski şāhiblerinden kimse hāzır olmazsa üç haftaya değın nidā olur akreb-i bazarda eğer ol üç haftada gelüb harcın *hempālta* üzerinde korsa paylarının

to the original interference of the Serbian template, but as Djurdjev noted, the “translator” to Turkish did a very good job. The fact that the texts survived in almost intact version for almost a hundred years, suggests that its grammatical imperfections did not seriously impede their intended functions. In sum, the available information on *Text 1a* and *Text 1b* supports the assumption that these were the products of a phase of adaptation of Slavic discourse for Ottoman purposes which was not burdened by glossing or meta-comments which would indicate that the terms come from a foreign language. The creators and users of these two texts considered that the incorporation of Slavic words into Turkish texts by mere transliteration/transcription was sufficient for their proper functioning. From the perspective of language ideology, this solution can be considered rather neutral, at first sight. The conclusion can be complicated by asking whether their users were expected to be bilingual, or monolingual experts in mining.

A big overhaul of Ottoman mining discourse was conducted ca.1488, during the reign of Bāyezīd II. The titles of the four dated texts from this year (*3a*, *3b*, *3c*, and *3d*) show, among other things, that those who participated in this “hectic textualization” were not so obviously Slavic-speakers, though each of them could have been that, including Kemāl, the *sancak-beyi* of Kōstendil and a representative of *sipāhis* (the members of cavalry corps who enjoyed income from immovable property in exchange for military service). Some of the *sipāhis* who owed shares in the mines could also be non-Muslims.<sup>265</sup> Whatever the case, the members of the 1488 committee, unlike those who produced *Texts 1a* and *1b*, were very much concerned with neutralizing the

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nıfı kendüye verile ve eğer üç haftaya deđin gelmeyecek olursa payları zāyi’ ola/ ve dađı bir kuyu **sekizleme**-sinde (tr. for sl. *osmica*, an area of a mine-shaft of a certain, legally important size) durulmaya/ ve dađı bir kuyu yere (eđer!) ovasında cevher bulsa ol kuyu ol cevher ile ölçü çekilmek dürüst deđildir bir ğayrı kuyu *probov* edince çekilen cevher anun ola,” BNF-MS Turc 85, ff. 270b-271a.

<sup>265</sup> “Sipāhi kāfirler” are mentioned in a document from Međmed II’s time which outlines how the money from the sultans treasury was invested in reparation of Novo Brdo mine shafts was used by these people. Anhegger and İnalıcık, *Kānūnnāme-i sultāni*, 9-11.

“foreignness” of the technical terms by applying various glossing strategies, definitions and meta comments. Aside from typical conjunctions already mentioned before (like “id. est”), frequently used is the expression “they say” (tr. *derler*). The first text in this series (*Text 3a*) offers typical examples of the strategies also applied in other texts from the same group.<sup>266</sup> To the extent *Texts 3b, 3c* and *3d* deal with mining (for they also address other activities in the respective places) they apply similar glossing and defining strategies like *Text 3a*, though they differ in contents. Despite the fact that its title indicates that it was specially applied in one particular place, *Text 3a* reads like a part of a manual explaining some aspects of mine exploitation, i.e. it is very much different in structure and tone from *Text 1a* which reads like series of orders formulated by the use of imperative mode. Interesting is also what this text shares with *Text 2a* and *Text 2b* which are identified by copyists as being “ancient,” but are dated by the scholars to the reign of Meḫmed II. *Text 2a* is nominally a law-code for Kratovo, but also reads like universally applicable instruction. Same is the case with *Text 2b*, and this is as far as similarities go. *Texts 2a* and *2b* differ in both coverage and approach to “translation.” *Text 2a* has only six articles in which the only non-Turkish word designates currency, and it can be described not as translated, but retold version of the corresponding contents of *Zakon/Mining*. In *Text 2b* the main actors are “the infidels who dig” (ar.tr./ *naḳḳāb kāfirler*) a rare solution which will not be used in any other later texts from this group and, perhaps a phrase which firmly dates this law-code to the reign of Meḫmed II whose edicts were mainly concerned with end results of mining business, the organization of work and

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<sup>266</sup> “Kānūn-ı *paun* ya’ nī cevher kuyusu kazmak,” is in fact a subtitle of the whole law-code. What sounds like a Slavic noun “*paun*” is obviously glossed by a verbal phrase introduced by “id est”: *paun ya’ nī cevher kuyusu kazmak*. This word is not attested in *Zakon/Mining*, but the verb “*paunati*,” meaning “to conduct exploitation,” is. Marković, *Zakon o Rudnicima*, 15. Further on we find examples like: “ve *blakaniç* her [i.e. *cevher*] yunulan yere derler; ve furundan çıktuğundan sonra külden ocak ederler ana *çistila* derler; bir t̄ayife var ana *urbārār*lar derler anlar *ḳuyu* ‘amelini bilub *ḳuyuya* girüb her bir *ḳuyunun* ḥaremini bilub *ṣāhiblu ṣāhibine* ḥiṣṣesin ta’yīn edüb ölçerler.”

the discipline of those who worked at the mining sites. Two foreign words used designate currency and measurement, and there is one glossed foreign term.<sup>267</sup>

Bāyezīd II was obviously more hands-on in controlling the mining discourse, and this is reflected in strategies of adaptation of Serbian mining discourse applied in the law-codes he promulgated ca. 1488. Unlike the previous scholars who did not openly express a doubt that Mehmed II had at his disposal a textualized translation of a Serbian mining law-code, I am of the opinion that there is no firm evidence to claim that he did, although he and his administrators were obviously familiar with details attested in *Zakon/Mining*. Therefore, there is no reason to claim that *Text 1a* was not produced during the reign of Bāyezīd II, right before or at the same time like *Text 1b*, and perhaps even after the law codes promulgated ca.1488. In other words, the written translation of a Slavic text which was obviously known and used, may have been taken up when the tactics of glossing, explaining, and marking of technical terms proved insufficient for systematic understanding of the mining business, or simply when there occurred a need for systematizing both its general principles and details. The lack of the need to teach, explain, and warn while translating (manifested in *Texts 1a* and *1b*) can be explained by the fact that, non-Muslim Slavic-speakers played important roles in mine-exploitation, and that it was they who were first charged with the task of directly interacting with a Serbian text and facilitating its translation. At the same time, and for obvious reasons, the sultans, most notably Bāyezīd II, were also interested in mastering and controlling this specialized language.

The examples discussed so far suggest that glossing and translation efforts were mostly concentrated around the generally applicable rules and procedures, whereby the formulations of these principles were distributed through locale-specific law-codes according to need. The *Texts*

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<sup>267</sup> “...ki ana *ṣāhāt* (diyuler!) ya‘nī dipsiz kuyu dimek olur...,” BNF-MS Turc 85, f. 297b.

4-a,b,c (Bāyezīd II) characterized by Beldiceanu as translations or modifications can thus better be described as examples of usage of the readily available formulations, than as products of concentrated interpretive effort. In other words, it seems plausible to assume that during the reigns of both Meḥmed II and Bāyezīd II, there existed specialized groups of people in charge with interpretation and elucidation of the Slavophone mining discourse from which the foundations of its Turcophone counterpart were derived. Nevertheless, most of the work on textualizing these foundations was conducted during the reign of Bāyezīd II, and translation appears as but one strategy applied.

A distinct phase of Ottoman engagement with Slavo-Turkish mining discourse is represented by several law codes of universal application, but stripped of the references to their local origin, and designated as *The Laws of the Sas*. It goes without saying that all of these to an extent correspond in content with *Zakon/Mining*, but as with previously discussed texts, vary in substance and wording. When this explicit “singling out” of the fundamental core of the Ottoman mining discourse occurred is not clear, for the original date of composition of any of these texts cannot be determined with safety. Literature suggests the oldest (late Bāyezīd II) was *Text 5d*, copied in 1546, while the rest belong to Süleymān I. Selīm I does not feature as a sultan interested in mining. This move, however, certainly confirms the above assumption about the historical actors’ awareness of the history of the mining discourse and the fact that its core was founded on the act of translation *cum* adaptation. When the core was to be clearly distinguished, the word chosen to designate that core “Sas”—a collective noun which, by all indications, was synonymous with Turkish phrase *ehl-i ma’den* (tr./people of the mines). The recognition of this core was obviously based on the existing material, but also followed by some new concentrated efforts in neutralizing the difficulties posed by the foreign words.

*Text 5a* has been copied in 1525. It contains some 37 articles now termed ‘*ādet* (tr./custom). It corresponds in terms of treatment of the terminology with *Text 1a*, and it starts by addressing the same three themes.<sup>268</sup> As far as I could read from its published facsimile, *Text 5b* is similar to *Text 5a*—the first three articles are identical. *Text 6d* starts with a note that Süleymān I decreed that the Saxon law-code which had been applied in the mines since the old times would continue to be in force. The note also explains that the following text represented interpretation (tr. *şerh*) and clear exposition (tr. *beyān*) of the law.<sup>269</sup> This remark, it seems, points more to the length and scope of the text, then to interpretive strategies. The text continues with 132 articles marked by the term *kanūn* which makes it the longest extant Ottoman law code related to mining. In terms of substance, its correspondence with at least the first three articles from *Texts 1a*, *5a*, and *5b* is obvious, but the wording is somewhat different. The treatment of the technical terms is identical, however, namely they are simply imported via transliteration or transcription.<sup>270</sup> *Text 5d*—consisting of some 34 articles introduced by the term ‘*ādet*—diverges significantly from all mentioned “Saxon laws.” It combines all the strategies mentioned so far with the goal of increasing the communicative power of the text, most notably glossing and meta-comments. It starts in the

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<sup>268</sup> The first three ‘*ādets*, as transliterated by Anhegger, read: “adet: yel kuyu arasında olsa yel almağ için birbirine delüb her kanğı kuyudan alıbilirse alur red eyleyemez amma yel için olan delükden ölçi çeküb *farna* eylemek yoktur/ adet: *şurf* ki içinde durub toprağın tekne ile taşra atabile anun gibi *şurf* üç gün battal kalsa her kim ihya ederse anun milki olur/ adet: *şurf* ki derin olub horna ile toprağın taşra çıkarur altı hafta battal kalsa her kim ihya ederse anun milki olur ve kime dilerse pay verür amma eski sahiblerinden ihya ederken yetişüb gelse payların alur zayı‘ olmaz,” Anhegger, “Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus,” 479.

<sup>269</sup> “Ber müceb-i emr-i ‘ālīşān ve fermān-ı şerīf-i sultan Süleymān Ibn Selīm Hān (..) emr-i şerifiyle kadīmden olgelen kānūn-ı Sās girü kemākān ma‘adinlerde icrā olunması muqarrer kılınup zikr olunur ve şerh ve beyān olunur,” Spaho, “Turski rudarski zakoni,” 147.

<sup>270</sup> The first three kānūns read: “kānūn: iki kuyu olub birbirinden yelluğa ihtiyacı yelluk taleb eylese ālī-bilür ve virele amma yelluğa ölçü olmaya ve içinden ölçü çekilmeye ve ol iki kuyuyu zarar eylemeye/ kānūn: ve bir *şuruf* ki tekne ile toprağı çıka üç hafta hālī olduktan sonra kīm yapışub işletmesine mubāşeret ederse anun ola kimesne mānī‘ olımaz/ kānūn: ve bir kuyu ki cevher veya toprağı hōr kıla ya ‘nī tolabile çıka altı hafta hālī olduktan sonra gelüb kim urursa anun ola amma mezkūr kuyuya mubāşeret eyledükde eski şāhibi anda bulunursa nışf-ı kuyuyu eski şāhibininun ola ve eğer üzerinde bulunmaz ise nesne verilmeye,” Ibid.

same way as *Text 1a*, and the rest of the Saxon laws (i.e. is obviously different than the manual-style *Text 3a*, dated to 1488), but its wording is much more elaborate. Initially the text gives impression that we can expect a move towards what can be termed “the high Ottoman Turkish,” but the impression subsides as the text continues. This is however the only text of a Sas law-code in which the composers explicitly recognize the foreign words as “technical terms” (tr. *ışılāhlar*) which are used by “them.”<sup>271</sup> The expression, *ışılāhlarınca* (tr./according to their terminology) is also attested in a text related to *Text 3c* (1488), i.e. not in the main body of the law-code (for Trepča), but in a report attached to it. Here the complete phrase does not refer to terminology used by a group of people, but reads as impersonal “mining terminology.”<sup>272</sup> Finally, a word is due on the group of texts copied with *the Law of the Sas* as confirmed by Süleymān I—the previously discussed *Text 6d*. Of these, *Text 6a* is a sultanic order which incorporated a report of a judge. In order to improve the conditions in neglected mines, Süleymān I sent a judge to inspect them, and what is called “sultanic law” contains his report, i.e. a 1536 version of the ways in which mining was conducted including and explaining a lot of foreign words. Though *Text 6b* is not dated, it is reasonable to assume it was also composed in 1536. This text starts by outlining the process of mine-exploitation from the very start when an expert non-Muslim, or any other miner, having

<sup>271</sup> The first three articles read: “‘ādet-i tenef: tenef deyü kuyuların ziyāde ‘umkundan müte‘affin havā olur ki adamı helāk eyler anı def’ idüb havāya menfez kılmāk için her kağı kuyudan mümkün ise delub yel alur kimesne redd eyleyemez amma yel için olān delukden ölçü çekmek ve *fārna* eylemek yoқdur ıřılāhlarında *fārna* bir āhır kuyuya delub cevher almaқdır ki henüz kimin sınuru idüğü ma‘um olmamış ola/‘ādet-i şurf: budur ki kuyu ziyāde derin olub hornā ile ya‘nī kuyu üzerinde olān el dolabiyle toprāğın taşra çıkārurlar anun gibi kuyu altı hafta bařtāl kalsa her kim ihyā iderse anun olur ve kime dilerse pay verir ammā eski řāhiblerinden bir kimesne ihyā iderken yetiřub gelse, payların alur zāyi‘ olmaz/ ‘ādet-i çāh: ki (ölçü) kuyudur bir yıl ve altı hafta bařtāl kalsa her kim dilerse ihyā eyleye ammā üç bāzār dūřenbe günü nidā eyleye eđer eski řāhiblerinden evvelki ve ikinci nidāda dūřenbe günü nidā olunurken yetiřurse *jāmķūřın* ya‘nī kuyu harcın *hempālık* üzerine ya‘nī kuyunun ağızında olān yāpū ağacı üzerine řosa pāylarının yarusı dutar ancak eđer eski řāhiblerinden olduğı şehirde bulunur ise ki bir günlük yolda ola varub haber ideler eđer gelmeyub akçeyi *hempālık* üzerine řomāz ise, payları elinden çıķmış olur da‘vā eylese mesmū‘ olınmaya” BNF-MS Turc 35, ff.106a-b.

<sup>272</sup> “ve ol ocāk üstünde ol kırşunu řomāğa için ma‘den ıřılāhınca *ispusç* derler: kıymet 6,” BNF-MS Turc 85, f.264b.

noticed the signs of the ore, comes to the place and marks it by a cross.<sup>273</sup> Therefore, these two texts are reminiscent of the manual-style of *Text 3a* (1488) except that they outline different circumstances and mention the “infidels” as people in charge of discovering the ore. The rest of *Text 6b* explains what “they” and those who want to partake in the exploitation do after that. So it seems that some time in the first half of the sixteenth century mining (law) jargon taken over by the Turkish speakers via their Slavic subjects was explicitly recognized as such. When exactly this recognition resulted in the creation of specialized vocabularies exemplified by the texts here grouped under number 7, we can only guess, but in any case this happened before 1751. It is with these texts that the process of neutralizing the heteroglossia and hybridity of Turkish mining discourse was finished.

The meta-comments and glossing strategies discussed above were nothing unusual for Ottoman Arabographia. The same kind of tactics is applied in various types of texts in which Arabic and Persian function as “foreign languages” (general and specialized dictionaries, commentaries, translations etc.). Nevertheless, the treatment of Slavic and Arabic/Persian words was obviously different, and possibly in ideological ways. In attempts to neutralize the heteroglossia of Turkish texts, Ottoman law-makers most active before the second half of the sixteenth century obscured the fact that the “foreign” words were from Slavic/Serbian, which was a language actively spoken in the Ottoman state. In case of interactions with Arabic and Persian, the attitude towards “borrowing” and heteroglossia is affirmative of, so to say, *the origin* of the word. In other words, in discourses in which Arabic and Persian do feature as specific languages, the reader, by the rule, can easily figure out which word was from which language exactly. By contrast, the origins of the Slavic words were more obscure and not explained.

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<sup>273</sup> “Ehl-i vukūfdan bir kāfir veyāḥud bir ehl-i ma‘adin bir yerde (‘arūḳ?) cevherun ‘alāmetin kendüye ma‘lūm olduḡda üzerine getürüb bir şālib ya‘ni ḥāc vaḡ ider,” Spaho, “Turski rudarski zakoni,” 141.



## I.5. Sailing the Seas of Names

The first attempts by the Ottomans to tackle the issue of adjusting Arabic script to the phonological system of Slavic and other languages of South-Eastern Europe predated all of the above analyzed examples. These Ottomans were the scribes who participated in the production of the various kinds of registers (tr. *defters*), the main tools of local administration handling the processes of taxation and military recruitment of the local, Muslim and Christian population.<sup>274</sup>

The process of production of the most complex kind of these *defters*, known as detailed (tr. *mufaṣṣal*) “land/tax surveys” (tr. *tapu tahrīr defters*), ordered by sultanic authority and regulated by imperial decrees, is fairly well known.<sup>275</sup> The textualization of the registers was the final phase of the process which would start with a comprehensive survey of a geographical area. The goal of the survey was to collect administratively and legally important data about the land and other economic resources, as well as of the subjects living in the area. The survey was a collective endeavor and a public event involving the officials specially appointed by sultanic order (supervisor—*defter emini*, and scribe—*kātib*), the current local partners (state appointed provincial governors—*sancak-beyis*, and judges—*kadis*), as well as the local inhabitants.<sup>276</sup> For some people the main obligation towards the state was paying taxes (*re`aya*) and these had to appear in person

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<sup>274</sup> *Defter* is a generic term denoting any kind of register, inventory, or a note-book.

<sup>275</sup> *Tahrir* is a technical term denoting “the Ottoman tax registers for the most part compiled during the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries.” *Tapu* means a “title deed.” Further, “the *tahrīrs* were mainly designed to keep track of that part of Ottoman state revenue which did not reach the central treasury, but was assigned locally, to *timār* holders, garrison soldiers, *wakf* administrators, or even owners of private property (*mülk*); the latter might be required to furnish soldiers (*eshkindji*) in return for the privilege of official recognition. The *tahrīrs* also recorded the revenues accruing to the central treasury ( *khāṣṣ*) and assigned to the sultan himself, members of his family or provincial governors.” Aside from detailed tax registers, there were also the summary (*icmāl*) versions which were not listing the individual tax-payers. Suraiya Faroqhi, “*Tahrīr*,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs, consulted online on 10 November 2021.

<sup>276</sup> See, for example, Rhoads Murphey, “Ottoman Census Methods in the Mid-Sixteenth Century: Three Case Histories,” *Studia Islamica* 71 (1990): 115-126.

during the survey—the known instructions required the presence upon inspection of the adults whose names were registered. Others paid some or no taxes due to the privileges granted in exchange of military or other services to the state. By rule they belonged to various communities whose status was recognized as administratively/legally important, whereby these communities often had their local representative in charge. The collected data would then be organized in accordance with the purpose of the *defter*. The basic units of Ottoman administration were *sancaks* (provinces) and these were the main frameworks within which allocation of obligations and privileges combined with distribution of resources were conducted. One complete *defter* most often included several *sancaks*. Provinces were further divided based on smaller geographical units (e.g. *nāhiyes*) or settlements (towns, villages). The smallest data organizing unit was, as noted, an individual. An entry on an individual contained the “name” and the title/status. The “name” would contain the individual’s personal name and information on “generational status” evoked by linking the names of fathers or other important relatives with the personal name. From this brief sketch it is clear that the domain of Slavophone Arabographia in this kind of texts would include a lot of anthroponyms, and toponyms, next to the words designating local dues and taxes, which, as I already said, were incorporated into the Ottoman fiscal system.

The Ottomanist literature on various types of *defters* is particularly voluminous and ranges from critical editions to analytical and synthetic monographs. The extant examples of *defters* have served as the most important guides through the process of the expansion and consolidation of the Ottoman state, the dynamics of imposition and maintenance of a direct rule, and various mechanisms of control imposing social and economic hierarchies. The transformation, and finally, the abolishment of some sub-genres of Ottoman *defters* have been interpreted as signaling the main transformations in the history of Ottoman administrative and fiscal system, and by implication, the

socio-political history as a whole.<sup>277</sup> As mines of information, the *defters* have also been used by scholars concerned with cultural history, both imperial/Ottoman and local/national. In sum, the *defters*, especially the detailed land/tax surveys mentioned above seem like excellent mirrors of the (ethnic, linguistic, confessional) variety of the Ottoman society, and it would be expected that they can provide some clues about historical literacy and language ideologies.

Discussing the early modern Ottoman identificatory practices, Cemal Kafadar noted that, as the time went by, early modern Ottoman administrators tended to refine the descriptive apparatus they applied while, to paraphrase, identifying the subjects and distinguishing the “functional categories” in situations in which those subjects “appeared or were counted in front of authorities.” The examples he provides come not only from tax registers (the textualization of which involved field interviews, counting and statistics), but also from the *kadı siccils*/court records (the textualization of which was conditioned by appearance in front of the court of a person, or their representative). The examples show that in these two cases, confession (Muslim, Non-Muslim) was the main base for nuanced distinctions constructed by Ottoman administrators. Nevertheless, Kafadar warns, that “one should not confuse this administrative predilection with social convention.” He maintains that social conventions had a different logic which yielded a much broader repertoire of labels appearing and disappearing as of the fourteenth century, and designating “the minute differences of faith, ethnicity, language, locality and the like.”<sup>278</sup> As is obvious from the article, the social conventions are to be reconstructed based on both administrative and narrative texts. Moreover, social conventions are deemed as better reflecting the variety than the administrative predilection towards confession as basic categorizing principle.

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<sup>277</sup> See, for example, Pál Fodor, *The Business of State: Ottoman Finance Administration and Ruling Elites in Transition (1580s–1615)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2018).

<sup>278</sup> Kafadar, “Rome of ones own,” 12-13.

Having all this in mind, the expectations from *defters* in terms of reconstruction of historical literacy and language ideology should be tempered. Using the very notion of Slavophone Arabographia as a guide, the following brief discussion aims to pose (rather than answer) the question of what, if anything, the practice of production of registers and incorporation of Slavophone material in these Arabographic texts can tell us about historical literacy and language ideologies.

Although a lot of people participated in the Ottoman land/tax surveys, and in the reproduction and usage of the *defters* they yielded, the scribes (*kātibs*) were the ones who were actually writing them down. The earliest extant defter of the *taḥrīr* type, though not detailed but summary, was published by Halil İnalçık. The defter dates to 1431 and registers the Albanian province of Arvanid.<sup>279</sup> It is here that İnalçık writes that, aside from being familiar with the desired structure and purpose of a *defter* (in his words, “*defter usullerine vakıf olmakla beraber*”), the *kātib* in charge of writing a *defter* would have to know local languages and customs. The *kātib* who composed the *defter* in question was one Yūsuf. Several other persons providing scribal services were also mentioned in the text of the *defter*. Those who had names that might be Christian are designated as *yazıcı* (Dimo, Yorgi), while those who had Muslim names were called *kātibs* (e.g. *kātib* Zaganos the son of *Arnavud*/Albanian by the name Mankole). Some of these scribes were in the service of the officers of in charge of the area (*sancak-beyis*, or *beylerbeyis*) and are assumed by İnalçık to have kept the record of military fiefs for the local needs.<sup>280</sup> Finally, İnalçık suggests that Yūsuf was Albanian (by origin) considering how well he handled the recording of

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<sup>279</sup> Halil İnalçık, ed., *Hicrî 835 [i.e. sekiz yüz otuz beş] tarihli Süret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid* [A Copy of the Defter for the Province of Arvanid dating to A.H. 835] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954).

<sup>280</sup> *Yazıcı* sounds like a possible cognate of Slavic *dijak*, discussed before.

Albanian names and toponyms by the use of the Arabic script.<sup>281</sup> Obviously, Yūsuf also knew Turkish, and if we accept İnalçık's suggestion, was at a minimum bilingual. It is maybe of importance to note, that Arvanid was multilingual territory, and that Yūsuf properly heard and wrote the names and toponyms from other languages as well. İnalçık's assumption may be said to have been generally accepted by other scholars dealing with editions of *defters*. The oldest survey of central South-Slavic lands was textualized in 1452/53. That was a detailed register of the lands held by 'Īsā Beg Isaković. The scribe in charge of writing this *defter* is not known with certainty, but there is a reasonable assumption that this was 'Alī the son of Ḥācī Ya'kūb, who is signed as the *kātib* of three other *defters* dealing with the region, all dating to 1455: the summary version of the previously mentioned defter, a special *defter* listing the Christian *voynuks* in the service of the Ottoman state and living in the same lands (held by 'Īsā Beg Isaković), and a detailed survey of the lands formerly controlled by members of Branković aristocratic family called by the Ottomans *Vlk ili* (the Vuk's Land).<sup>282</sup> Who this 'Alī was, is not known. Some scholars, following İnalçık's logic, assume he was of local origin and a *kadı*. At this point, one cannot help but recall 'Alī the Defterdār who travelled to Ragusa with a Cyrillic letter in hand. The same scholars then go on to detail the characteristics of orthography used by the "Turks" (most characteristic for breaking Slavic consonantal clusters) and the ways in which the same scribes adapted the Arabic script to Slavic names by modifying letters.<sup>283</sup> In modern linguistics, breaking of consonantal clusters (as found in foreign borrowings) is commonly seen as a habit of a person who is a native speaker of

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<sup>281</sup> İnalçık, *Hicrī* 835, XVII-XVIII.

<sup>282</sup> Tatjana Katić, ed., *Vojnučki Defter iz 1455 godine za sandžake Kruševac, Vučitrn, Prizren, i vilajete Zvečan, Jeleč, Ras, Senice i Hodided* (Beograd: Istorijski Institut, 2020), 26.

<sup>283</sup> Hazim Šabanović, ed., *Krajište Isa-Bega Ishakovića: zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni Intitut u Sarajevu, 1964), xlvi and li-liii; Hamid Hadžibegić, Adem Handžić, and Ešref Kovačević, eds., *Oblast Brankovića: opširni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni Intitut u Sarajevu, 1972), xiv-xv.

Turkish, the language which does not stand this phonological feature. Following this logic, some other scholars editing the surveys of Slavic-speaking areas, used this feature to describe the scribe as “a Turk, not a Muslim Slav,” like was the case of certain *zā‘im* Behram from Srem who was, altogether, very precise in recording the names.<sup>284</sup> Orthographic solutions, however, are not the most reliable guides in guessing any scribe’s mother tongue. The above mentioned Yūsuf, for example, was doing the exact same thing as ‘Alī,<sup>285</sup> and Behram. In sum, all we can conclude from the scattered information of this type is that scribes (whatever their linguistic profile was) had to be talented listeners in order to be able to transcribe the “foreign” words upon hearing. Certainly, we can also assume that the more competent and the more skillful in learning different languages a scribe was, the broader would be his field of action, and therefore access to power and material wealth. This adds nothing new to the above discussion in the section on Cyrillic letters. It is interesting to ponder the possibility that scribes whose mother-tongue was not Turkish adopted a habit of breaking consonantal clusters, at least while writing.

One other occasional habit of editors of Ottoman *defters*, somewhat contradicting the above mentioned ones, is to complain about orthographic inconsistencies which make the reading of non-Islamic names difficult. And indeed, by looking at Slavic anthroponyms and toponyms entered in the *defters*, the impression, and no more than that, is that there was no uniform system of recording Slavic by the use of Arabic script. If we remember how carefully Arabic script was adapted to Slavic in the above discussed handbook, we can also assume that this was not always the case. Before examining the question, it is reasonable to ask whether the supposed lack of orthographic uniformity impeded the efficiency and intended functionality of the texts. The names and

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<sup>284</sup> Bruce W. McGowan, ed., *Sirem sancağı mufassal tahrir defteri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1983), lv.

<sup>285</sup> Like in: Karye-i *İs-tepani* or Karye-i *İs-tebanoz*, İnalçık, *Hicrī* 835, 19 and 113.

toponyms constituted the largest bulk of material phonetically foreign to Turkish. Nevertheless, the syntax in these texts is exclusively Turkish. Also, the layout of the registers can be considered equally important for the users—any person with basic familiarity with the genre would be able to extract the important statistical and numerical data, irrespective of the potential mistakes in spelling names or places.<sup>286</sup> This would imply that the correct spelling of “foreign” names was not of crucial importance in case of *defters* and that usage of these texts did not require *learning* the language of the areas covered by the surveys. Therefore the answer to the above posed question is—probably no.

A copy of a detailed *tahrīr* defter, the most extensive text of this type, was kept in the central imperial treasury in Istanbul, and its contents were available to and controlled—against tampering with the original text—by a limited number of officials (sultan, viziers, *defterdārs*, *beylerbeyis*). A copy (*şūret-i defter*) of a whole defter or a part of it was, according to some scholars, sealed by a sultanic *tuğrā* and sent to the respective provinces, to the regional governors (*beylerbeyis* or *sancak-beyis*). As the state bureaucratic system grew, the institution of provincial *defterdār* was introduced.<sup>287</sup> *Tahrīr-defters* had probative value in all kinds of legal transactions normally handled by the sharia court presided by a *kadı* (in provinces), or alternatively, in the imperial *dīvān* (court), or in the *dīvāns* of provincial governors. *Kadis* were in charge of solving local disputes and transfers of land grants or privileges. It is with this scheme in mind that we can guess how people who knew Slavic may have read these *defters* differently from those who did not. The only imaginable advantage the former may have had over the latter, is that they could

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<sup>286</sup> A scheme of a typical entry is: Village *Name*/ Few columns with names only/ The total number of households and the total number of people belonging to other relevant categories (unmarried, widows, etc.)/ The total (expressed in *akche*) of the monetary tax/ List of the produce subject to taxing in kind and the number of units collected)/The sum total of taxes: the total of the monetary tax plus the total monetary value of the taxes in kind.

<sup>287</sup> Akgündüz, *Fātih devri*, 11.

recognize in these *defters* a person, community or a place, and perhaps feel a personal attachment to some of these. And feelings, it is known, can move people to action.

Different is the problem posed by Slavic words for taxes, occupations and local commercial goods which appeared in *defters*, but did not have the status of small number of evident borrowings from Slavic to Turkish (i.e. those like *voyvoda*, *knez*, *voynuk*). Grammatically, these words were used in *defters* in a way which did not demand knowledge of Slavic beyond the level of lexeme. The question of incorporation of this kind of vocabulary into Arabographia has already been addressed by looking at a sultanic *fermāns* and *ḵānūn-nāmes*, and the conclusion was reached that these words did cause a great deal of language awareness, resulting in attempts at neutralizing their “foreignness,” by providing definitions or translations. This would mean that the entry of most “Slavisms” into the realm of administrative Arabographia did not trigger their relatively simultaneous or later incorporation into Turcophonia. Their usage may have remained limited to the realm of this particular, administrative genre and those pragmatic documents which fed into the same branch of Ottoman bureaucratic system. In other words, for non-Slavic speakers, these words may have had the status of *iştlāhāt* and *‘ibārāt*, the terms I discussed before. What matters, however, is that Turkish bureaucratic language can be postulated as an idiom within which Slavophone Arabographia can undoubtedly be considered an index of a historical linguistic contact which occurred in the period of inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism.

Looking back from the end of the Ottoman state and its regulatory systems, the heavy reliance on the written word and written contracts is beyond doubt. *Tahrīr-defters* and the types of documents without which they could not function show that from the very inception, the Ottoman legal and governing system functioned as a powerful agent of literacy which engaged not only Muslims, but Christians as well. Christians who received tax exemptions for providing services to



the state were recorded in the *defters*, but were also receiving separate documents (most often called *berāts*) in Turkish which would confirm the privileges and which were shown at the Ottoman courts in case of dispute. *Voynuks* were one of these groups, Vlach *knezes*, and so called *martolos*, as well.<sup>288</sup> That these documents were not preserved in large numbers and that Slavic was not the language in which they were written should not overshadow the fact that, with the onset of Ottoman rule, more and more Slavic speakers were engaged by literacy in their everyday transactions. How they handled this new situation, by learning Turkish or asking for help of literate bilingual persons is, of course, a different question. This issue can be tackled by posing a model of the minimal conditions for the functioning of the system encompassing a huge number of linguistically varied groups promoted into legal entities by the Ottoman governing apparatus. Two theoretical options come to mind here. The first is that the system was based on mediation of literate actors who could read Turkish and translate it to, e.g. Slavic. The second is that all actors on the receiving end had to acquire the basic understanding of the instruments of the *tahrīr* system in its original language, thus acquiring knowledge which could be transmitted orally by reaching out to a syntactic system of, for instance, one's mother tongue. Of these, and other possibilities, we have no easily traceable written evidence. A document in Slavic language written in Cyrillic alphabet detailing the division of lands granted by the sultan to the already mentioned *Ḥamza (sancak-beyi* of Herzegovina ca.1470) among local, Christian land-holders is, based on what we know, a rare exception which provides a small insight into how administrative Turkish was interpreted by means of Slavic.<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> See, for example, Milan Vasić, *Martolosi u jugoslovenskim zemljama pod turskom vladavinom* [The Martolos in Yugoslav Lands under Turkish Rule] (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1967), esp. 200-201.

<sup>289</sup> Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-Bega*, XXIII; Ćiro Truhelka, "Historička podloga agrarnog pitanja u Bosni" [The Historical Background of the Agrarian Question in Bosnia], *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Sarajevu* 27 (1915): 109-218, 209-211.

With all the above in mind, the Ottoman administrative language, rather close to vernacular Turkish, can be posed as probably the most influential literized idiom among the Slavic subjects of the empire, be they Muslims or Christians, at least in the period of inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism. It is therefore, reasonable to assume that some sort of change in power relations among the literate and the illiterate in South-Slavia ensued after the all-encompassing *tahrīr* system managed from the center of the government ceased to exist in the first half of the seventeenth century. Whether the forms of Arabographic literacy which emerged in South-Slavia after this transformation, including the extended form of Slavophone Arabographia, can shed some light on this transformation, is a question to keep in mind.

## Chapter II: Ottoman Interpretive Communities and Language Anxieties of the Long Sixteenth Century

In the period of the long sixteenth century, literate actors across the broadening social and political spectrum produced literary texts of various scopes and genres. Their sheer volume and diversity points to a basic fact that Ottoman Arabographic literacy went through constant expansion. However, the late-fifteenth century attempt to develop systematically the communicative potential of Slavophone Arabographia was aborted soon after it was taken up. In other words, the ideas of the designers of the project analyzed in *Chapter I* did not prompt a systematic application of this mode of writing in the production of literary texts during the sixteenth century. Also, the interest in or a need for translation from Slavic to Turkish beyond its limited application within the realm of pragmatic literacy was meagre i.e. limited to terms without strong connotations. Although the specific project of translation from Slavic to Turkish described in *Chapter I* did not lose its relevance and applicability throughout the sixteenth century and later, based on the current state of research it can be said that no other even remotely comparable attempt was ever made in the early modern period.

Thus, in acknowledgement of the current nomenclature one can say that, during the sixteenth century, there was no such thing as Slavophone Arabographic literature. In general, the existing scholarly literature leaves us to think that early modern Ottoman interest in Slavic language was limited both from the perspective of its time-span and from the perspective of the loci of permeability of Arabographia to Slavic. The question of translation from Turkish, Arabic, and/or Persian to Slavic, and of its absence, presence or material manifestation, has not been considered worth a systematic investigation. In addition, the question of how early modern “Slavographia” reacted to the new multilingual regime has not been addressed as a serious

historical question. This whole situation suggests that further investigation of literate manifestations of the cross-linguistic encounters in Ottoman ruled South-Slavia and the ideas they informed or were informed by, is a meaningless task. The main goal of this chapter is to show this was not exactly the case.

This chapter complements *Chapter I* in outlining the historical background for discussion of the seventeenth-century expansion of Slavophone Arabographia by bringing in the question of ideological implications of its occurrences within the literary texts produced during the long sixteenth century. Whether didactic, narrative and/or poetic, most of the texts to be discussed were composed with a more pronounced attention to the form, style and rhetoric than the documents discussed in *Chapter I*. They suggest an intended audience that was different from that of texts produced with immediate utilitarian purposes in mind. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Slavophone Arabographic material embedded in these texts also had a somewhat different effect on the users than was the case with instances of Slavophone Arabographia found in texts belonging to the domain of pragmatic literacy.

The instances of Slavophone Arabographia scattered in the texts produced with literary ambitions in mind were not sheer accidents. Rather, they were included in the larger texts with the awareness of the ideas, customs and limitations pertaining to linguistic choices. These ideas, of course, were time-sensitive and in a constant dialectical relationship with the current socio-political realities. Uncovering these ideas is a number one task, but the main challenge lies in understanding their cumulative effect, i.e. in describing the interpretive communities which shared them and locating these communities in time and space.

The first criterion for selection of sources in this chapter has been the fact that they contain instances of Slavophone Arabographia, here considered a form of acknowledgement of Slavic as

one of the languages spoken in the Ottoman society. Another group of texts considered are those which contain explicit mentions of the linguistic labels or characterize people as speakers of a language, Slavic and its variants being in focus here. The third kind of textual reflections of Slavic presence in the Ottoman society are mentions of ethnonym-like adjectives not necessarily accompanied by comments on language. As will be seen, some texts and their contexts involve combinations of the three mentioned possibilities. The analysis of the texts selected and tentatively categorized in this way is expected to provide a base for a discussion of the kinds and scope of language awareness of individuals and groups which can be identified as having participated in the literacy events constituted by these texts—producers and users. Wherever possible, the analysis takes into consideration the link among ideas informing the linguistic choices made upon original composition of the texts, extra textual realities and power relations underpinning the respective literacy events.

The characteristics of the sources available for discussing the position of Slavic and Slavic speakers in the Ottoman society as reflected in Ottoman Arabographia, impose the need for recognizing the analytical import of the lacunae between the possibilities which may have arisen from empirical realities on the one hand, and textually constructed realities, on the other. For example, the Slavophone Arabographic words, phrases, and sentences analyzed in this chapter are embedded in literary texts primarily written in Turkish, and not in Arabic and/or Persian. Whether this was the case in all times, and if so why, is postulated here as an open question. Besides that, neither the authorship nor production of any of these texts can, without grave dilemmas, be attributed to a person who was originally born into a Slavic-speaking community. Even when there are extra textual indications that this was not the case, the clear confirmation never comes from the voice of the author/producer of the text. Therefore, Slavophone Arabographia in itself cannot

be taken as signaling the competence in Slavic. An entirely different problem is posed by an entrenched notion that Ottoman communal policies of fundamental importance consistently and intentionally sidelined the categorizations based on ethnicity and/or language, prioritizing divisions along the confessional lines, the main being Muslim/Non-Muslim. This undeniable aspect of Ottoman communal politics, however, is based on legal discourse. As such, it cannot be taken as a sole principle informing the language ideology which propped up the Ottoman multilingual regime. After all, Ottoman Arabographia was clearly a field of practice almost exclusively populated by Muslims. In contrast to the current wisdom, I suggest that the influence of this dichotomy on their historical ideas about language/s should not be taken as a given.

Slavic was a trans-local and trans-imperial language throughout the early modern period. As such, it was recognized and mobilized within the discursive phenomenon of Illyrism which originated in South-Slavia. As a multilingual affair, the Illyrian ideologeme started taking shape as of the fifteenth century, and initially, exclusively beyond the boundaries of the Ottoman empire. Though it went through various transformations, Illyrism had always been fundamentally informed by the reality of an Ottoman threat to Slavdom in particular, and Europe in general. The fiction of “Illyrian Empire” was one of the products of this discourse, dating to ca. 1595.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the various practices feeding into Illyrian ideologeme are not known to have crossed the boundary between Christendom and Islamdom in South-Slavic Europe. Although a number of contributors to the discourse of Illyrism originated from or lived in Ottoman South-Slavia, and wrote in Slavic, no text produced by an Ottoman Muslim has ever been quoted as a part of its history.

In the period in focus of this chapter, the Ottoman ruled South-Slavic Europe was not perceived by the Ottoman Arabographers as one whole based on any possible criteria (political,

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<sup>1</sup> Blažević, *Ilirizam prije Ilirizma*, esp.175.

linguistic, and territorial). Also, the awareness of the Ottoman literate men about Slavic and its speakers was rarely if ever informed by consciously sought and systematic knowledge about pre-Ottoman historical realities. Rather, the knowledge of the Ottoman literate men about Slavic and its speakers, the resulting representations and attitudes were informed by relatively recent (historical) memory, by (social, political, administrative) practices, and day-to-day encounters. The below discussion takes into account the ways in which knowledge gained in the three ways mentioned transpires in literary works which in this or the other way index the presence of Slavs in the Ottoman society. Therefore, the question of what the Ottoman attitudes about Slavic and its speakers can tell us about the ways they charted South-Slavia in their mental maps can be formulated as one of the *leitmotifs* of this chapter. In cases when these attitudes were or can be brought into connection with those referring to languages and speakers other than Slavic, they can be further interpreted as being reflective of the ways in which multilingualism in general was perceived, and, by extension, as reflecting some historical tendencies in Ottoman communal politics.

In sum, the incorporation of Slavophone texts into literary Arabographia is here understood as a series of acts of inclusion of a sphere of real-time, oral communication (involving Slavic) into the sphere of the intended meanings of a given written discourse formulated with the goal of producing an effect which is not merely descriptive or aesthetic, but ideological as well. The nature of these acts, of course, was in close connection with the socio-political standing of the mediators, the sources of knowledge within their reach (some of it being embodied in products of pragmatic literacy), and presumably, the literacy and language ideologies of the interpretive communities they possibly represented and affected. In anticipation, it can be said that the vast majority of these

mediators were literate men who were personally or professionally, physically or metaphorically in touch with the different parts of the Ottoman-ruled South-Slavia.

### **II.1. Searching for Slavic in the Intra-Imperial Literary Matrix**

The empowerment of Turkish spoken in Anatolia through textualization, which started sometime in the thirteenth century, was and continued to be a polycentric process in terms of socio-political authority backing-up or inspiring the respective literacy events. The process of textualization of Anatolian Turkish has mainly been studied under the rubric of emergence and development of Ottoman Turkish literature. Different emphases have also been made. Some scholars studied emergence and development of Turkophone literature without employing the label Ottoman, thus making a point that Ottomans were not the only ethnic Turks who produced texts in the seedbed for new initiatives—the fourteenth and fifteenth-century Asia Minor. That, especially after the fifteenth century, a great number of literate Ottomans were not ethnic Turks, and therefore native speakers of Turkish, is a fact that has rarely, if ever, been discussed as consequential in histories of Ottoman/Turkish literature and written word in general.

Variation was also a main characteristic of techniques and genres simultaneously employed in the production of texts in Asia Minor and Anatolia. Of the methods applied in textualization of Turkish, two can be singled out as best known. One is putting into writing of the structured administrative, narrative and poetic discourses previously circulating through oral communication. The other is translation, mostly from Arabic and Persian. The first method mentioned can be related to the notion of power in the sense that recording of an oral discourse, no matter how tightly structured or well circulated, normally implies a greater degree of control over its contents and thereby the meanings it can generate. The transmission of textually fixed meanings would then be left to the agency of the literate. So, although it is a very well known fact that illiteracy did not



preclude reception of the textually fixed messages, it was still the literate who played the roles of key mediators, and/or agents fixing the meanings. As briefly noted in *Chapter I*, the pioneer scholarly works on translation as practiced by the Ottomans in the period of inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism and later have shown that the Turkish word *tercüme*, in words of Gotfried Hagen, “covers a much wider idea of transferring a text or elements of it into another language than the modern term translation suggests.” In addition, Hagen notes that the Ottoman translators, mostly understood as people translating to Turkish, did not act “merely as agents of recipient culture.”<sup>2</sup> Although he does not state it in this way, Hagen’s article can be read as suggesting that Ottoman translators (engaged with the long-standing Arabic and Persian literary traditions) performed the acts of translation from the position of people in power to recognize and fill in the open functional slots within the media ecosystem of the multilingual Ottoman society. How exactly these slots were opened is, of course a different question. The complete creative production of texts in Turkish, of course, mobilized much broader range of options involving intertextuality, as well as the various forms of interplay between oral/written literary traditions and the everyday life communication.

Ottoman historians in particular have been well aware that textualization of Turkish within the Ottoman society can be brought into connection with several large-scale, mutually intertwined historical processes. Of these, the greatest amount of attention has been paid to Ottoman state-building, centralization of administrative apparatus, and transformation of a frontier principality into an empire. Besides that, scholars hold that, in the long run, one of the most important aspects of imperial politics was building of the image of Ottoman elite as champions of Islamic culture and Sunni Islam. A large body of literature has been dedicated to the question of how various

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<sup>2</sup> Hagen, “Translations and Translators,” 95-99.

degrees of Sunni orthodoxy, or alternatively, various forms of *-doxies* informing the practice of Sunni Islam and its alternatives, spurred the production of texts and competition among various interpretive communities. In opposition to vaguely defined common people (normally held to be illiterate or semi-literate, and relatively passive recipients of knowledge and information coached in simple Turkish), the Ottoman elite is often described as being competent in high-register of Turkish, as well as Arabic and Persian observed as homogenous systems. Further on, the participation of Ottoman intellectual elite in Arabophonia and Persophonia is frequently essentialized as a result of the fact that being a member of Ottoman elite meant being a Muslim whose engagement with the great Islamic textual traditions is—natural.

Since recently, the history of Turkish used in the Ottoman society has been addressed by the use of the concept of “vernacularization” (of Anatolian Turkish) understood as the process of empowerment of the spoken language by making it function as language of bureaucracy, academia, didactic genres and *belles lettres*. A frequent claim made by Ottomanists that fashioning Turkish as “the language of empire” was a success story cannot be disputed. The result of this success is labeled by scholars as *Ottoman Turkish*—language based on the syntax of Turkish and a hybrid in terms of morphology and lexicon. Sometimes it can be read that “Ottoman Turkish” was a main tool of imperial ideology, but how far and wide this ideology was accepted is the question which is commonly addressed without relying on the argument of language. Next to this, the invariant of the structure of Ottoman multilingual regime has been described by Ottoman historians in the following way: Turkish was hegemonic in the realm of administration and bureaucracy, Arabic in the realm of science and religious discourses, Persian in the realm of *belles-lettres*, while non-Muslim communities were allowed to freely use their own languages and scripts.

A literate Ottoman, however, could have received education in *medreses* of various ranks; in a famous or an obscure sufi-lodge; in the household of a sultan, a high-rank official, anyone who had access to knowledge, or in his own home. It goes without saying that forms of education and transmission in all of these sites of learning were changing with time. Also, we know for sure that the languages taught in all these settings could be Arabic and/or Persian which were equipped with the growing corpus of meta-genres, grammars, dictionaries and specialist treatises. Whether, and if so, how Turkish was taught as a second or as a literary language cannot be summarized even in general terms. With all this in mind, it is reasonable to suppose that the functional relationship among Ottoman languages was changing with time in a more profound way than the above description suggests. Also, the Turkish found in early modern Ottoman sources manifests itself as a panoply of dialects and sociolects the recording of which was informed by various ideas about the relationship among form and function, rhetoric and style. This obvious fact does not still figure in scholarly works as disruptive of a modern, reductionist framework within which socio-linguistic variety of Turkish is described along the lines proposed, long ago, by Fahir İz. According to İz, Turkish written in Ottoman society should be characterized as simple, medium, or ornate, and this depending on the amount of the Arabic and Persian elements imported.<sup>3</sup> Simpler the Turkish-wider the audience i.e. more popular the work, is a formula which still informs discussions of Ottoman interpretive communities.

Summarily speaking, the studies explicitly focusing on Ottoman multilingualism, vernacularization, textualization, translation and the functional interplay between different

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<sup>3</sup> Fahir İz, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Nesir. XIV Yüzyıldan XIX Yüzyıl Ortasına Kadar Yazmalarından Seçilmiş Metinler I* [The prose of the old Turkish literature. The texts selected from the manuscripts dating from the fourteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries. Volume I] (İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1964), v-xxii. For a recent review of the academic origins of İz's tripartite division and a critique, see Atabey Kılıç, "Klâsik Türk Edebiyatında Tarz-ı nesir üç müdür?" [Are there three styles of prose in classical Turkish literature], *Hikmet-Akademik Edebiyat Dergisi* 3 (2016): 51-79.

languages and sociolects rarely venture beyond the *elsine-i selāse* cluster, paying lip service to the reality in which Turkish, Arabic, and Persian functioned simultaneously with many other written and spoken languages. How, for example, the evident and continuous, downward spread of Arabographic literacy is to be placed against some of the timeless, but deeply entrenched schemes, is still not clear. Consequently, whether and how ideologies of literacy and language/s were changing during the period of inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism and later remains a blind spot in Ottoman studies which needs to be approached with great deal of caution.

As is clear from *Chapter I*, as of very early on, the Slavic speakers took part in all of the above mentioned historical processes underlying the textual production and formation of interpretive communities in Ottoman society. Rightly perhaps, literary Slavic, is normally not considered a language which played any significant role in integration of Slavic-speakers into the Ottoman society. Even more, scholarly literature does not view Slavic texts, now both spoken and written, as playing any affirmative, instrumental role in frequently evoked, broad process of “Ottomanization” of South-Slavia. A slightly different point is made by the studies of the continuous process of conversion of Slavic-speaking Christians to Islam.

Conversion has so far received the greatest amount of scholarly attention being considered the chief means of upward mobility of Slavs within Ottoman society. Scholarly works dealing with this theme provide invaluable analysis of the texts and corpuses which functioned as vehicles of socialization of converts to Islam into new religious community and the various interpretive communities it consisted of. As it turns out, the texts studied were mostly written in Turkish most often described as simple or vernacular. Whether texts produced in Arabic, and/or Persian played any role in socialization of “illiterate or semi-literate” Slavs (among many other possibilities), is

not a question that has been asked.<sup>4</sup> In short, in discussing the linguistic features of relevant texts and profiles of the target audience, the historiographic narratives on conversion in principle follow the grand schemes mentioned above. What they do emphasize clearly, however, is the role of bilingual individuals who mediated between *a* Turkish (in which the basic principles of religion and dogma were expounded) and mother-tongues of converts, thus facilitating the promotion of the new political and religious values among the family or group members, as well as the integration of recent converts into interpretive communities founded on texts written in—“Islamicate” *languages*. The exact social profile of these bilingual mediators remains elusive. Same is the case with the exact nature (or source) of the Turkish idiom which served as a tool for communicating principles of the new religion—we know this was Turkish close to “vernacular,” but the role of literacy in this process is far from clear. Ottoman intellectuals suspected of Slavic origin based on their place of birth or the penname are held to be well-integrated into Islamicate written culture via Ottoman-style education, while the Slavic component of their linguistic profile is assumed to have (somehow) functioned in the realm of speech. This assumption is of course valuable, as long as it can be confirmed by evidence, but in itself, does not reveal much about these peoples’ ideas about various languages they knew and the way they used or did not use them to produce texts.

The way things stand now, the instances of Slavophone Arabographia are but minor and negligible details in these grand historical schemes. Nevertheless, the method I proposed in the *Introduction* implies that the grand orientation schemes should not inhibit the historical analyses

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<sup>4</sup> This is rather understandable in light of the fact that themes like “Arabic in the Ottoman Empire” or “Ottoman Arabic” are only slowly gaining scholarly interest. Gottfried Hagen, “Ottoman Empire,” in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, ed. Lutz Edzard and Rudolf de Jong (Brill Online), consulted on 11 December 2021; Esther-Miriam Wagner ed., *A Handbook and Reader of Ottoman Arabic. Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 9* (Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0208>).

of concrete literacy events in which concrete historical actors participated. In anticipation, it can be said that it is only with this change of perspective that the instances of Slavophone Arabographia within Ottoman literary texts stop being unimportant details and aberrations. Rather, they can be viewed as entry points for discussion of the wide variety of principles, tensions and anxieties associable to text production in multilingual Ottoman society and related to changing socio-political trends and circumstances. This being said, a few more notes on methodology are due.

The end of the sixteenth century is commonly taken by the Ottoman historians as a high point in development of “Ottoman Turkish”—a hybrid language consciously devised as an elite imperial idiom. Most of the time, this statement is contextualized (in history, history of Turkish language and literature, etc.) in a way which suggests that, around this time, a linear process which started with vernacularization of Anatolian Turkish reached some sort of a closure, or apogee.<sup>5</sup> For my purpose, this linearity is important as long as it is acknowledged in the texts I analyze. Otherwise, I treat “Ottoman Turkish” as but a part of a spectrum of idioms within the reach of producers and users of Ottoman Arabographic texts containing the instances of Slavophone Arabographia. This spectrum of options is understood here as constituting the structure of the Ottoman multilingual regime, but my goal in this thesis is not to discuss this structure as a whole. The goal has been to investigate some literacy events in which some options are implicitly or explicitly recognized, and to discuss potentially ideological aspects of the ways in which this was done. Some of the literacy events analyzed below are: the production of a satirical text in the late fifteenth century by a member of the *‘ulemā’*; complaints of an aggrieved poet in the first half of the sixteenth century addressed to friends; humorous poetic exchanges within a closed circle of Istanbulite friends; providing advice to household managers about various profiles of servants;

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<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Csirkés, “Turkish/Turkic Books of Poetry, Turkish and Persian Lexicography,” 673-674.

textualization of the encounters in the *kadı*-courts; writing a biography of a high official of *devshirme* origin; writing a chronicle as an eye witness; writing a chronicle by using earlier sources, etc. All of these events involve instances of Slavophone Arabographia detected by other scholars or by myself.

As I hoped to explain above, most of the ideologically significant judgements made by modern Ottomanists about Ottoman languages are made based on work of historians of literature or those dealing with diachronic development of individual languages. Ottoman historians tend to distribute their findings along the spectrum which ranges from elite, on one end, to non-elite individuals/groups on the other, or by using the Muslim/Christian dichotomy. At the head of the educated elite stands an “Ottoman learned man” (commonly taken to mean, a member of the Ottoman religious establishment) or “Ottoman educated man,” as somewhat broader category. “Ottoman linguist” however remains a rather obscure historical figure, and if pondered would be imagined as “learned” in a narrow sense of a religious scholar, rather than a specialist or an erudite not belonging to this category. Nevertheless, I want to suggest that making a theoretical distinction between a “learned men” and a “linguist” is necessary in thinking of which historical ideas about literacy and language are “reconstructable” at all from the textual sources, and by implication, those textual sources containing instances of Slavophone Arabographia. The fact that an “Ottoman learned man” and, even if theoretical, an “Ottoman linguist” were, more often than not, embodied in the same person, should not stop us taking these two as two separate models. For, the moment an “Ottoman linguist” is postulated as a legitimate theoretical construct, a realization occurs that historical Ottoman literacy and language ideologies, as reflected in the written texts, should be searched for at the intersection of: the actual state of the “linguistic” tradition (i.e. the available theories and methods applied in focused or academic thinking about language), the

individual/group interaction with evolving tradition, and, last but not least, the time and space-sensitive *practices* and *encounters* reflective of the challenges posed by multilingualism. The lack of intersection between one and other of the three variables, of course, is also possible to imagine.

## II.2. Molla Luṭfî (d.1494) and “Serbian” for Donkey

One of the most striking nuances that distinguishes the historical portrait of Molla Luṭfî, as painted by his near contemporaries, is his sense of humor. Many an Ottoman scholar possessed it, for sure, but the memory of Molla Luṭfî’s has been recorded. Wit was probably one of the traits that helped him earn the nickname Crazy Luṭfî (tr. *Deli Luṭfî*)—a feat rather unique among Ottoman learned men influential in their times and respected by later generations. As remembered, Molla Luṭfî’s jokes were subtle, bitter and sarcastic, and chances are that some of those contributed to the tragic end of his life. He died by execution after being tried by a jury composed of fellow Ottoman intellectuals, after some two hundred witnesses testified against him. The official reason for his execution was heresy (tr. *ilhād*). The unofficial cause of his death, as recognized by the posterity, was—envy (tr. *ḥased*).<sup>6</sup> Despite the huge interest in his persona, however, Molla Luṭfî’s life can be reconstructed only partially. As for his literary and academic work, some seventeenth texts have currently been known to the scholarship. Some modern scholars read these works to conclude that they contain no proof of Molla Luṭfî’s heresy, i.e. that his attitudes were in line with what is normally considered Islamic orthodoxy. The facts of Molla Luṭfî’s life and work which overlapped with those from the reigns of Meḥmed II and Bāyezîd II, are most interesting for my purpose in it that they provide a window into contemporary Ottoman anxieties relatable to language and

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<sup>6</sup> Ibrahim Maraş, “Tokatlı Molla Lütî: Hayatı, eserleri ve felsefesi” [Molla Luṭfî of Tokat: His Life, Works, and Philosophy], *Divan/İlmi Araştırmalar* 14 (2003/1):119-136, 123.



multilingualism, as well as the ways in which they were addressed. Having outlined this issue in broad strokes, I will continue with contextualization of Molla Luṭfī’s single mention of Serbian language. This rather rare example of its kind appears in a relatively short, but multilayered satirical text best known in literature as *Harnāme*. The title can most safely be translated as “the epistle about donkeys,” or with less confidence, “the book of donkeys.”<sup>7</sup>

### II.2.1. Arabic and the Rest?

Molla Luṭfī received the first substantial portion of his education from Sinān Pasha (d.1486), a member of a prominent family of Ottoman scholars. It was also Sinān Pasha who prompted him to specialize in mathematics by introducing him to then famous ‘Alī Kuşçu. Sinān Pasha was the son of Hızır Beg (d.1459), best known as the first *kadı* of Istanbul. Hızır himself was a student and the son-in-law of Molla Yegān (d.1461). Molla Yegān came to the Ottoman realms from one of a number of Asia Minor principalities controlled by Aydinids to study in Bursa. His teacher in Bursa was Şemseddīn Fenārī (Molla Fenārī), a scion of another Ottoman scholarly family—the *Fenārīzādes*. Molla Yegān started his career as a *müderriş* (professor) and continued as a *kadı*. Around 1431, Molla Yegān took over the judgeship of Bursa, previously held by Molla Fenārī, who died that year. In 1441, Molla Yegān went to *hajj* and brought with himself a young scholar latter known by the name Molla Gürānī (d.1488). Born in upper Irak, Gürānī acquired his education and acted as a *müderriş* in Mamluk Sultanate. In the Ottoman phase of his career, he acted as a *müderriş*, tutor of prince Meḥmed in Manisa, *kadı asker* (tr./military judge), *kadı*, and finally, as of 1480 till his death, as *şeyḫülislām* (tr./chief jurisconsult).

One of the fields of activity in “post-conquest” (i.e. post 1453) Ottoman society in which all of the above mentioned men participated was marked by consistent, government-supported

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<sup>7</sup> The latter translation evokes *Šahnāme*, a voluminous and legendary Persian epic, translated as “Book of Kings.”

efforts towards creating, in words of Abdurrahman Atçıl “the indigenous Ottoman educational system” capable of producing the cadre needed for the growing number of domestic educational and administrative posts.<sup>8</sup> The “indigenous” is here to mean the self-reliant, rather than dependent on immigrant scholars educated beyond the Ottoman realms. In building his argument, Atçıl pays a lot of attention to patterns of scholarly mobility. Molla Fenārī, for instance, is quoted as an example of a learned man who left his native Anatolia for education and then returned home. Two examples before him were Aḥmedī (d.1412) and Şeyḫ Bedreddīn (d.1418). As Atçıl reminds, all three men attended classes of the same professor—Ekmeleddīn Bābertī (d. 1397), though he does not discuss whether they had anything else in common.<sup>9</sup> As for the differences among the three men, it can be said that Molla Fenārī reached the highest posts available to an intellectual in the Ottoman society of his time. In this he is similar to Molla Gürānī, who, from the aspect of mobility, obviously represented a different case, that of an “arrival” from afar. Molla Luṭfī and the rest of scholars from the group mentioned, acquired their education and pursued their careers in the Ottoman state. The building of a self-reliant, in its core, *medrese*-based system of education was paralleled by fervent intellectual engagement with the well established Islamic scholarly traditions expounded in Arabic and/or Persian, the engagement matched by a prolific production of academic and literary works. The most consequential result of the local intellectual endeavors has been labeled in the recent literature as Ottoman Sunnism, broadly characteristic, according to Nabil Al-Tikriti, for Hanafī legal affiliation, Maturidi orientation in theology, and “the elite support for

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<sup>8</sup> Abdurrahman Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 36.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

particular aspects of mystical thought and practice.”<sup>10</sup> What can be added to Al-Tikriti’s synthetic conclusion is that the “mystical thought and practice” was, aside from the elite, most actively propounded by learned men gathered around *sufi*-lodges, rather than *medreses*. The line between *medrese* and *sufi*-lodge as educational institutions and fountainheads of intellectual currents was never strict when it comes to human capital.<sup>11</sup>

The biographies of Ottoman scholars from the fifteenth century are reconstructed from their own works and based on latter accounts found in chronicles and biographical dictionaries, most important being those from the sixteenth century. Both kind of sources contain evidence that language as practice and subject of academic scrutiny was high on the agenda of the people who participated in the development of self-sustaining educational system and intellectual activities that paralleled it. Competence in Arabic was certainly one of the themes that occupied linguistic consciousness (in non-technical sense of the word) of Ottoman intellectuals, pedagogues and their patrons in the fifteenth century. Hızır Beg, for example, was a native speaker of Turkish, but his work testifies that he was competent in both Arabic and Persian. His most famous text, copied and commented for centuries, is *al-Qaṣīdatu’-n-nūniyye* (A Poem of *Nūn*), a versified composition written in Arabic, also known as *Ğavāhiru’l-‘Aqā’id* (The Fundamental Articles of Faith). The composition summarizes main questions dealt with within the discipline of *kalām* (theological disputation), a subfield of a discipline called *uṣūlu’-d-dīn* (ar./principles of religion, religious dogma). Display or pretense of having linguistic prowess in Arabic, can be speculated as being of the equal importance to the author as elucidation of basic principles of faith, and this considering

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<sup>10</sup> Nabil Al-Takriti, “A Contrarian Voice: Şehzāde Korkud’s (d. 919/1513) Writings on Kalām and the Early Articulation of Ottoman Sunnism,” in *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450–c. 1750*, ed. Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2021), 62-100, 62.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example Aslı Niyazioğlu, “In the dream realm of a sixteenth-century Ottoman biographer: Taşköprizade and the Sufi shaykhs,” in *Sufism and Society: Arrangements of the mystical in the Muslim world, 1200-1800*, ed. John J. Curry and Erik S. Ohlander, (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2012), 243-257.

the fame of the model author.<sup>12</sup> Hızır Beg is also known as author of two other original works, one in Turkish and one in Persian, as well as two translations, one from Persian to Turkish, and one from Arabic to Persian.<sup>13</sup> Based on an anecdote from a sixteenth century biographical dictionary, however, Atçıl quotes Hızır as a person who “attained such high levels of learning that he could best those scholars from the Arabic-speaking lands who challenged the Ottoman scholars during Mehmed II’s reign,” and as someone who “defeated Molla Gürānī (d. 1488), who was born and received education in the Arabic-speaking lands, on a question about Arabic grammar.”<sup>14</sup> Molla Gürānī was from “Arabic-speaking lands,” but Kurdish may have been his mother tongue, not Arabic. In any case, these two sentences imply that Ottoman court attracted native speakers of Arabic, and that the kind of competence in Arabic they possessed distinguished them from non-native speakers. Even the well integrated Molla Gürānī seems to have boasted about it. Most importantly, high competence in Arabic is here marked as indexing the high level of learnedness, but an interesting question that can be posed is which level of learnedness in Arabic linguistic disciplines was sufficient for a person to meet the minimum requirements for being considered knowledgeable, and which was necessary for gaining academic prominence. What can be inferred from a few quoted insights into the actual atmosphere is that competence in Arabic was an important issue in power struggles characteristic of early Ottoman academia. Finally it is important

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<sup>12</sup> “Nuniyye” is a relative adjective made from the name of Arabic letter n-*nūn*. The title refers to the formal feature of the poem, namely that each verse ends in the letter n. One of the famous poems carrying the same title was that composed by Ibn Qayyim aġ-Ġawziyya (d.1350), Mamluk jurisconsult and theologian. Hızır Beg’s work preserved its value until the late eighteenth century when it was first commented. See, Mustafa Said Yazıcıoġlu, “Hızır Bey,” in *TDVİA Online*, consulted on 12. 11. 2021; J. R. Walsh, “K̲hiḍr Beg” and Ed., “Lālezārī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, consulted online on 12 November 2021. For definitions of *kalām* and *uṣūlu’-d-dīn*, see At-Takriti, “A Contrarian Voice,” 63.

<sup>13</sup> Yazıcıoġlu, “Hızır Bey,” in *TDVİA Online*.

<sup>14</sup> Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans*, 35/fn.37. The anecdotes are related by Taşköprüzade (d.1561) and Mecdī (d.1591).

to note that this kind of biographical miscellanea were formulated in the mid-sixteenth century and may have had different connotations in the fifteenth century.<sup>15</sup>

The Ottoman engagement with language-related disciplines has been subject of scholarly works which deal with particular genres (dictionaries, grammars, treatises on rhetoric etc.), and, maybe understandably, no synthesis along those lines has been attempted. It is thus hard to make any generalizations, or even to clearly understand the line between the theoretical and purely practical texts addressing the themes linguistic. Based on the existing overviews of meta-genres, for example, one may conclude that lexicography flourished through generations and generations. Numerous dictionaries involving Arabic, Persian and Turkish were both copied and newly composed. As for audience, we know that the target users were Turkish speakers of various ages and not more that.<sup>16</sup> When it comes to other areas of linguistic knowledge, the situation is somewhat different. Ottoman engagement with Persian grammar is rather poorly researched although it was as long ago as 1979 that Gernot L. Windfuhr, for example, noted that Ottoman empire was the place where both Persian grammar and lexicography went through the most important advance. Windfuhr also notes that native Persian speakers took important part in this development, though without providing concrete examples.<sup>17</sup> The Ottoman reception of Persian

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<sup>15</sup> For a critique of scholarly practice of using Ottoman biographical dictionaries as sources of positive information, which suggests that Taşköprüzade's biographical dictionary could be read as a display of presentist concerns as much as work aimed at preserving the memory of the past, see Ali Anooshahr, "Writing, Speech, and History for an Ottoman Biographer," *Journal of Near Eastern studies* 69/1 (2010): 43-62.

<sup>16</sup> The editions of individual dictionaries and surveys of extant examples are too numerous to be quoted here. For example, see the already quoted, Yusuf Öz, "Tarih boyunca Farsça-Türkçe sözlükler," and, Ahmet İhsan Dündar, "Osmanlı Dönemi Arapça-Türkçe Sözlükleri, Mehmed b. Mustafa el-Vânî ve *Terceme-i Sihâh-ı Cevherî* Adlı Eseri" [Arabic-Turkish Dictionaries from the Ottoman Period: Mehmed b. Mustafa el-Vânî and his Work Titled The Translation of Jawharî's *Sihâh*] (PhD Thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2017).

<sup>17</sup> "The most important advance in Persian grammar and lexicography was due to the 'literary Persianization' outside Iran proper, i.e., of the Ottoman empire in the West and of India in the East, where Turkish and Indian scholars compiled the first extensive dictionaries, provided grammatical prefaces, and wrote other treatises; an endeavour for which not a few native Persian scholars were employed." Gernot L. Windfuhr, *Persian Grammar: History and State of Its Study* (The Hague, New York: Mouton, 1979), 24-25.

literature, especially of the works known as “classics” is much better studied, and some of these works provide general information about the purpose of teaching and learning Persian grammar, but only a few insights into the methods of doing so.<sup>18</sup> In 2003, Éva M. Jeremiás wrote an article in which she analyzed the work entitled *Ḳavā'id-i Furs* (The Rules of Persian) written by the famous Ottoman polihistor, Kemālpaşazāde (1468-1534). According to Jeremiás, this work was arguably one of the earliest “grammars” of Persian ever, and certainly the first such work written in Arabic, as well as the first attempt of this kind taken up by an Ottoman scholar. Kemālpaşazāde's detailed analysis does not go far beyond the level of morpho-syntax, and where he touches on syntax his terminology comes from the intersection of the fields of logic and Arabic grammatical tradition. Jeremiás describes Kemālpaşazāde's undertaking as “risky,” but rather successful considering the almost complete absence of a prior tradition. Despite occasional mistakes, she concludes, Kemālpaşazāde's knowledge of Classical Persian was admirable, and notes that many of the acute, though more *practical* than theoretical, observations were informed by his experience as a native speaker of agglutinative Turkish.<sup>19</sup> To the best of my knowledge, Jeremiás's line of inquiry was pushed only this far, and the reception of Kemālpaşazāde's works related to language (and these were neither few nor forgotten) has not been a subject of systematic research.

The case of Arabic grammar as a subject of academic inquiry is much better addressed. For example, in an introductory study to the critical edition of one of Molla Luṭfi's works, Şükran Fazlıoğlu, among others, provides an overview of the Ottoman academic texts dealing with Arabic

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<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Murat Umut İnan, “Ottomans Reading Persian Classics: Readers and Reading in the Ottoman Empire, 1500–1700,” in *The Edinburgh History of Reading: Early Readers*, ed. Mary Hammond (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 160-181; Idem, “Imperial Ambitions, Mystical Aspirations: Persian Learning in the Ottoman World,” in *The Persianate world: the frontiers of a Eurasian lingua franca*, ed. Nile Green (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2019), 75-92; Idem, “Crossing Interpretive Boundaries in Sixteenth-Century Istanbul: Ahmed Sudi on the Divan of Hafiz of Shiraz,” *Philological Encounters* 3/3 (2018): 275-309.

<sup>19</sup> Éva M. Jeremiás, “Kamālpaşazāda as a Linguist,” in *Irano-Turkic cultural contacts in the 11th-17th centuries*, ed. Idem (Piliscsaba: The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, 2003), 79-111.

language from the foundation of the state until Molla Luṭfī.<sup>20</sup> She splits this period in two, taking Molla Fenārī's career as orientation point. Leaving lexicography out, Fazlıođlu focuses on works in the field of Arabic *şarf* (ar./ morphology), *naḥw* (ar./ syntax), *balagāt* (ar./ eloquence) and related disciplines which depend on linguistic knowledge but combined it with other issues as well (logic, *uşūlu'l-fiqh*, *uşūlu't-tafsīr* etc.). She explicitly credits Molla Fenārī as the nodal point of a network of teachers and students who broadened and deepened the scope of language studies within Ottoman academic circles.<sup>21</sup> Most of the works she quotes are in fact commentaries written *in* Arabic on already produced works *in* and *on* Arabic. Whether Ottoman scholars added something new to existing methodologies cannot be easily said from Fazlıođlu's overview, or from the existing literature. What can be said, based on Fazlıođlu, is that writing texts dealing with Arabic grammar and related disciplines was an academic activity, maybe even a form of habilitation, and compared to previous periods particularly hectic during the fifteenth century. Fazlıođlu also notes that the high volume of production of works on language testifies to high level of Ottoman linguistic awareness in this period. She adds, in passing, that investigations of this subject should not be limited to Ottoman engagement with Arabic language, but also with Turkish and Persian, since, in addition to composing works *in* these two languages, Ottomans started to make explicit comments *on* these languages.<sup>22</sup>

Making explicit comments upon producing texts in one of *the three languages*, however, was not specific to Ottoman fifteenth century. Incidentally or not, these comments found in texts

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<sup>20</sup> Şükran Fazlıođlu, *Dil Bilimlerinin Sınıflandırılması: el-Metalib el-ilahiyye fi mevzuat el-ulum el-lugaviyye* [Branches of the Linguistic Science: Divine Inquiries Into the Principles of the Language Related Sciences] (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2012).

<sup>21</sup> Fazlıođlu, *Dil Bilimlerinin Sınıflandırılması*," 21.

<sup>22</sup> These are in fact frequently cited in literature dealing with development of Anatolian Turkish as literary language but not only in the Ottoman realms.

written in Turkish attracted the greatest attention by Ottomanists. For example, we know for sure that original and translation works written in Turkish from the fourteenth until the twentieth century, often contained explanations of why an author chose Turkish, and not Arabic or Persian, as medium for his message. If the modern scholarly reviews and interpretations of these introductory comments were to be summarized, one could say that they emphasize two different aspects of this choice. On the one hand, the comments are interpreted as indexing authors' position that Turkish is adequate for scholarly and literary discourse. On the other hand, they are quoted as signs of author's awareness that using Turkish can provide a wider reach of the text in terms of audience.<sup>23</sup> In all possible variations that feed into these two generalizations, the communicative power of Turkish is measured against that of Arabic and Persian. These general reviews, however, do not tend to explain why these comments persisted well after Arabographic Turkish corpus grew immensely, i.e. much after the relationship of mutual interference between the written and the spoken Turkish texts was well established. More importantly, in their generality, the modern interpretations draw attention away from the very realistic possibility that texts produced in Arabic and Persian within the Ottoman empire—being also audience aware—were not necessarily written having in mind only the elite understood as systematically educated and literate. In other words, if we suppose that any explicit comments on languages were in fact indexes of author's awareness that the very act of producing a text in a certain language places him within an existing interpretive community, or, more ambitiously, has the potential of creating a new one, we should not suppose that these communities were *just* monolingual (i.e. *just* Turkish speaking). A different aspect of the problem occurs when we remember that there were certainly areas in the Ottoman empire in

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<sup>23</sup> İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlı döneminde 'bilim' alanındaki Türkçe telif ve tercüme eserlerin Türkçe oluş nedenleri ve bu eserlerin dil bilincinin oluşmasındaki yeri ve önemi" [The Reasons Why Original and Translated Academic Works during the Ottoman Period were in Turkish, and the Place and the Importance of these Works for the Formation of Language Consciousness], *Kutadgubilig* 3 (2003): 151-184.



which spoken monolingualism (based in Turkish, or Slavic, for example), even if exceptional, may have been the case, and assume that people living in these areas could have been perceived or recognized as target audiences in different periods of time, some sooner and some later.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, social, generational, and regional factors need to be taken into consideration in analyzing individual contexts of these comments. In other words, no matter how explicit comments on Turkish usage may be similar in the centuries-long Ottoman history, they should be interpreted with an eye on specificity of historical circumstances and—within the general framework of gradual expansion of the geo-linguistic base of Ottoman multilingual regime and Arabographia.<sup>25</sup>

Although the details may remain obscure, it is rather clear, that from very early on Ottoman anxieties about language heavily concentrated not only on “Arabic, Turkish, and Persian,” but also on, for lack of the better term, “ideological *variantization*” of Turkish. To illustrate her point that Turkish held an important place in explicitly articulated representations of Ottoman linguistic consciousness, Fazlıoğlu briefly mentions Sinān Pasha—the above mentioned son of Hızır Beg, and teacher of Molla Luṭfī—as someone who worked on the development of Turkish stylistics (*Türkçe üslubu*).<sup>26</sup> From elsewhere we know that Sinān Pasha wrote eleven short and undated treatises in Arabic, in which he addresses various specific questions currently on the agenda of

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<sup>24</sup> The large area around Urfa, Mardin, and Antep is a good candidate for a region characteristic for Turkish monolingualism.

<sup>25</sup> Previously mentioned Lādikli Meḥmed, for example, wrote a handbook in logic specifically for the “slaves of the sultan of sultans” in Turkish, without giving any further information about them, or their linguistic profiles, and we can guess this was because it was understood that their education was conducted in/via Turkish. Kızılcıardak, “Lādikli Meḥmet Çelebi’nin Türkçe “Zübdetü’l-Beyān,” 39. An anonymous author also flourishing during the reign of Meḥmed II (ca. 1468), wrote a manual in arithmetic (*Miftāh el-hussāb*), which was teaching one to count in Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages, whereby the goal was to instruct “The Arab and *Acem* (Persian) brothers coming to Rūm and the Begs who have just become Muslims” (tr. *Arab dilince saymak ve Acem dilince saymak ve Türkî dilince saymak bildirür ki Rūma gelen Arab ve Acem karındaşlara ve yenile müslüman olan Beglere Türkçe saymak öğretre*), Fazlıoğlu, “Osmanlı döneminde ‘bilim’ alanındaki Türkçe,” 176.

<sup>26</sup> Fazlıoğlu, *Dil Bilimlerinin Sınıflandırılması...*, 46.

Ottoman intellectuals, mostly on jurisprudence and mathematics.<sup>27</sup> He left no work specifically dealing with linguistic themes, and if he worked on Turkish stylistics he did it through practice, namely while composing, during the reign of Bāyezīd II, his three most famous works. The complexity of the historical context in which Sinān Pasha and all the above mentioned men worked, has also been addressed in the already quoted article by Cemal Kafadar. Although he himself does not use the term language ideology, Kafadar does make several points important to keep in mind while discussing individual cases. Talking about the Ottoman “textual turn” of the late fifteenth century he most explicitly focuses on the textualization of Turkish. At the same time, however, he acknowledges the multilingualism of the Ottoman written culture by noting that this turn “was not an orchestrated event, nor was its main focus on the Turkish language as such, though it may have been the main beneficiary in the long run.” Apt is also his comment on Ottoman textualizers who opted for Turkish:

Whether as authors, editors, ethnographers, or translators, some textualizers were at least aware that theirs was a task of not only rendering *into* Turkish but also rendering *unto* Turkish, namely making sure that Turkish would be given its due as a language, that it would be recognized as a vehicle capable of carrying profound meaning *in various registers*, from the very basic to the more sophisticated. Hence the hypersensitivity of writers concerning their choice of subject, register, depth of discussion, or prose versus verse.<sup>28</sup>

Quoting Sinān Pasha’s last work, a translation from Persian of Ferīduddīn ‘Aṭṭār’s *Taḍkiratu’l-Awliyā’*, Kafadar notes that Pasha was explicitly aware of the “heterogeneity” of potential audiences of texts written in vernacular, vernacular here being synonym with Turkish. This “heterogeneity,” according to Kafadar’s paraphrase of Sinān Pasha’s introductory note is to be understood as demonstrating awareness that socio-linguistic profiles of the potential users of the

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<sup>27</sup> Aylin Koç, “Sinan Paşa,” in *TDVİA Online*, consulted on December 11, 2021.

<sup>28</sup> Kafadar, “Between Amasya and Istanbul,” 84. The third emphasis is mine.

text varied and that variations corresponded to the depth of their knowledge of a particular subject. In this case, the group nominated as target audience were dervishes, and the subject the text addressed is the sharia (law), the knowledge of which constitutes the first, exoteric, but necessary phase of the four-stage epistemological path of sufis.<sup>29</sup> According to Kafadar, Sinān Pasha also worries that writing in Turkish makes the work accessible to a larger audience (in his part of the world), and that not all of them might be ready to appreciate the fine points of *the critique of exotericism*.<sup>30</sup> Finally, the facts of Sinān Pasha's life are used in Kafadar's article as one example illustrative of the phenomenon of the "rise of families of scholars with roots in the lands of Rūm among Turkish-speaking communities in the fifteenth century." This rise implied some sort of local pride, but did not stop the immigration of educated men to the Ottoman realms.<sup>31</sup> In geographic terms, Rum is a vague designation of the lands formerly ruled by the Byzantine emperor, both in Asia Minor and in Europe. These lands were gradually incorporated into the various states and principalities ruled by Turcophone Muslims, and ultimately integrated into the Ottoman empire. It has also been treated as a heart of the Ottoman empire, and as such, the space of a particular cultural geography.<sup>32</sup> The status or impact of South-Slavic dialect continuum within

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>30</sup> Personal communication with Cemal Kafadar.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 85

<sup>32</sup> Kafadar, "Rome of one's own," 9 and *passim*; Idem, *Kendine ait bir Roma: Diyar-ı Rum'da kültürel coğrafya ve kimlik üzerine* [A Rome on one's own: On Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum] (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2017); Salih Özbaran, *Bir Osmanlı kimliği: 14.-17. yüzyıllarda Rūm/Rūmi aidiyet ve imgeleri* [An Ottoman identity: The Symbolic Representation of the Sense of belonging to Rūm and Being a Rūmi in the 14<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries] (İstanbul: Kitap, 2004). Focusing on poetry, Selim Kuru writes: "Although Rūm poets who composed their poetry in Turkish are today generally called "Osmanlı" or "divan" poets, this had not been the case until the nineteenth century. Before that time, they were distinguished among other local and foreign cultures by the title "şuara-yı Rūm" (poets of Rūm). An understanding of what this focus on the term Rūm was about, and how this identity was intrinsically related to literary production in Turkish, is essential to understanding the birth of the specific literary tradition in sixteenth-century Anatolia and Rūmeli," Kuru, "The literature of Rum," 549.

the cultural geography of Rūm has not been considered a specific topic, though it has been touched upon within historical linguistics.<sup>33</sup>

Of all the men mentioned above, Şeyh Bedreddin (the son of Greek-speaking mother and Turkish-speaking father) was the only intellectual born in European part of the Ottoman state. He was executed some two decades before Molla Luṭfī was born.<sup>34</sup> Molla ‘Abdülkerim and Molla İyās, however, can be added to the above group as two examples of highly positioned learned men born in Europe whose careers overlapped with that of Molla Luṭfī. Both of the men were born into non-Turkish, and moreover, Slavic-speaking families, and the question that can be asked with all of the above in mind is whether they had a reason to be anxious about their linguistic competences. From what we know about them, no explicit sign of any sort of language related anxiety can be quoted. In his entry on Molla ‘Abdülkerim Taşköprüzāde writes:

Himself (i.e. Molla ‘Abdülkerim), vizier Maḥmūd Pasha and Molla İyās were the slaves of Meḥmed Aga, one of the high officers of sultan Murād Han. And he (Meḥmed Aga) brought them *from their land* while they were small children. Molla ‘Abdülkerim and Vizier Maḥmūd Pasha were of the same weight, and Molla İyās, being older, was of the same weight as the two of them. This is why he (i.e. Molla İyās) was telling them jokingly: Just as I was as heavy as the two of you on that saddle, now I am as virtuous as the two of you together.<sup>35</sup>

The rest of the story relates that Meḥmed Aga found a teacher (ar. *mu‘allim*) for the three boys, and then sent Maḥmūd to the court of Murād II where he grew up with Meḥmed II. After receiving the first portion of education in Meḥmed Aga’s household, the other two advanced as students of famous teachers of the time. Although Molla ‘Abdülkerim acted as a *müderriis*, *kazı‘asker* and

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<sup>33</sup> See *Chapter III*, for some discussions on “Bosnian Turkish.”

<sup>34</sup> Hasan Karataş, “Bedreddin Simavnalı,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, ed. Fleet, Kate, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Everett Rowson (Brill Online), consulted on 12 November 2021.

<sup>35</sup> The passage obviously relates that the three boys were the *ḡul/devshirme* recruits. Taşköprülüzāde Ahmed Efendi, *Eş-şakā’iku’n-nu‘māniyye fī ulemā’i’d-devleti’l-osmāniyye*, ed. and trans. Muhammet Hekimoğlu (İstanbul: T.C. Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2019), 285.

*müfti* (tr./chief jurisperudnt), all during the reign of Meḥmed II, he is not remembered as a particularly prolific writer. From a small bit of information provided by Taşköprüzāde, he seems to be interested in jurisprudence. A large portion of Taşköprüzāde’s specific entry on Molla ‘Abdülkerīm is dedicated to an anecdote which relates the affection between himself and Maḥmūd Pasha. In this story Molla appears as one to advise Maḥmūd not to drink wine. From Taşköprüzāde’s special entry on Molla İyās, we learn that he took classes from Molla Hızır while the latter taught in Bursa. At a certain point, he entered the service of Tāceddīn, the shaykh of the Zeyniyye sufi order. Having received his diploma (ar. *iğāza*) he lived a life of retreat in Bursa. Molla İyās is remembered as someone who had special penchant for correcting the manuscripts of the famous works and writing useful notes on the margins of their commentaries, without asking whether these (i.e. the famous books) were the abridgements (ar. *muhtaşarāt*) or full (long) versions (ar. *muṭāvālat*). While doing this, he made a special effort to find more than one manuscript of the same book, and would go on to correct them all—a rather rare inclination among those preserved in Ottoman historical memory.<sup>36</sup> Most of the books Molla İyās engaged with were most certainly in Arabic, or Persian.

One of the most prominent students of Molla İyās’s shaykh Tāceddīn, was Muşliḥuddīn Muştafā, also known as Şeyḥ Vefā. Both Sinān Pasha and Molla Luṭfī were Şeyḥ Vefā’s disciples. Chances are thus high that Molla Luṭfī knew all three men who came from Europe on a saddle, whether through the sultans, Hızır’s son Sinān, or someone else, and that he knew who exactly they were. Maḥmūd Pasha died in 1474 by execution, while the two scholars lived into the Bāyezīd II’s reign. The execution ended Maḥmūd’s second tenure as grand vizier (I. 1456-1466 II. 1472-

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 285.

1474). Before 1472, the grand vizier was Albanian İshāk Pasha, and after 1474, Gedik Aḥmed of Serbian origin (in office 1474-1477). Maḥmūd Pasha was a patron of literary works and a poet remembered in all sixteenth century biographical dictionaries of poets (tr.techn. *tezkires*). He was also a central figure of a bio-/hagio-grapical text composed in Turkish after his life and preserved for few centuries after.<sup>37</sup>

### II.2.2. On a Turkish Vocab with a Serbian Meaning

It was in front of the complex (a mosque, a sufi convent/*zāviye*, and a library), generously sponsored by two sultans (Meḥmed II, Bāyezīd II) and headed by Şeyh Vefā, that Molla Luṭfī was interpreting Al-Buḥārī's *Şaḥīḥ* to the groups of people, gathered more or less spontaneously, and this, most probably in Turkish.<sup>38</sup> This he did on a voluntary basis, after finishing his classes in a *medrese*, from what we know, one within *Semāniyye* complex, during the reign of Bāyezīd II. The fact that he did not stay for too long teaching in Istanbul rises the suspicion that this kind of public engagement, especially with his freewheeling approach to matters of religion, was not encouraged as a particularly good idea. Be this as it may, it seems that Molla Luṭfī, just like his teacher Sinān Pasha, was quite aware of not only the heterogeneity of the audiences for Ottoman intellectuals of his time, but also of the need of “translating” of what he himself knew and thought. That he was aware that heterogeneity involved multiple languages as well, can be understood both from the anecdotes from his life and from his own works.

Of the seventeen extant works safely attributed to Molla Luṭfī, two were written in Turkish, and the rest in Arabic. Occasional usage of Persian verses in his works, qualified him for being

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<sup>37</sup> Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs*, 294-326 and 369-392.

<sup>38</sup> *Şaḥīḥ Al-Buḥārī* is the title of one of the most authoritative *hadīṭ* collections. It was written in Arabic (like all other collections of traditions from Prophet Muḥammad's lifetime) by Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Buḥārī, a famous Islamic scholar from Bukhara (then Khorasan/Iran, today Uzbekistan).

described in modern literature as knowing Persian as well. Şerefeddin Yaltkaya pointed to the possibility that he also knew Greek. This he assumed based on the fact that, in one of his works written in Arabic in which Molla Luţfî addresses a mathematical problem known as “doubling the cube” (doubling the altar, Delian problem) formulated in Plato’s times and, according to Yaltkaya unknown to Arabic mathematics. This implies that he was interested in knowledge originally expounded in Greek, but it remains unclear whether he accessed it via a written text or in conversation with Byzantine intellectuals of his time.<sup>39</sup> Molla Luţfî spent his early youth in Tokat, a locale in which Greek was one of the languages of everyday transactions.

Observed as a whole, Molla Luţfî’s oeuvre manifests the high level of interest in language related themes. Besides that, the works I had a chance to check feature a strong pedagogical voice, which suggests the conclusion that Molla Luţfî taught some of the language-related subjects while acting as a *müderris* during the reign of Bāyezīd II. Some of Molla Luţfî’s main works addressing the linguistic themes exactly in this time, were dedicated to the sultan, and occasionally to Hādım ‘Alī Pasha. His general view of the academic disciplines is expounded in his treatise on the division of sciences and the commentary he himself wrote on this work. Of the seventy-three fields of knowledge Molla Luţfî lists in his treatise, he designates twenty-nine as “Arabic language related disciplines” (ar. *‘ulūmu’l-‘arabiyya*) and forty-three as “sharia related disciplines” (ar. *‘ulūmu’š-šar’iyya*). Of the first group, twenty-three are brought into connection with speech, and six with writing.<sup>40</sup> According to Molla Luţfî, speech precedes writing, and is more convenient for

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<sup>39</sup> Şerefeddin Yaltkaya, “Molla Luţfî,” *Tarih Semineri Dergisi* 2 (1938): 35-59, 58. Luţf Allāh al-Tūqātī, *La duplication de l’autel (Platon et le problème de Délos)*, ed. Şerefeddin Yaltkaya, trans. Abdülhak Adnan and Henry Corbin (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1940).

<sup>40</sup> Sami Arslan, “Molla Luţfî’nin ilimlerin tertibine dāir *Er-risāle fi’l-ulūmi’š-šer’iyye ve’l-arabiyye* adlı eseri ve haşiyesi: metin-tercüme-değerlendirme” (MA Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2012), 40 and *passim*. This work contains text of Molla Luţfî’s treatise in Arabic accompanied by his own commentary in the same language, and a translation of both texts to modern Turkish.

communicating the message since it does not demand any tool beyond “the human being.”<sup>41</sup> Judging by his complete oeuvre, of all of the ‘*ulūmu*’- ‘*arabiyya*’ Molla Luṭfī was apparently most interested in “the study of eloquence” (ar. ‘*ilmu*’-*balāġa*).<sup>42</sup>

The study of eloquence based on the material of Arabic profiled itself as a special discipline in the period between the eleventh and the fourteenth century. One of the key texts from this period was Sakkākī’s *Miftāḥu*’- ‘*Ulūm*’, taught in Ottoman *medreses* in its original form, and by the use of numerous commentaries (tr. *şerḥs*), glosses (tr. *ḥāşiyes*) and super-glosses (tr. *ḥāşiyе- ‘alā-ḥāşiyе*). When Molla Luṭfī wrote his works, ‘*ilmu*’-*balāġa* was a standardized field of study encompassing, according to William Smyth, the three main subdisciplines—the study of meanings (ar. ‘*ilmu*’-*ma ‘ānī*), the study of elucidation (ar. ‘*ilmu*’-*bayān*), and the study of the wondrous (ar. ‘*ilmu*’-*badī*’)—and a well developed conceptual apparatus.<sup>43</sup> Another important discipline that Molla Luṭfī taught and thought about was a discipline related to philosophy of language (ar. ‘*ilmu*’-*waḍ*’). Focusing on language as a conventional system of relationships between forms and meanings and tightly connected with logic, ‘*ilmu*’-*waḍ*’ became, according to Bernard Weiss, a well-rounded field of study in the late fourteenth century. The research in the field set out from a particular understanding of the nature of language as a phenomenon. The basic postulate of this philosophy is that language was “the *product* of mind, not its precondition.” The central historical event in formation of human language was *waḍ’i*’-*luġa*, translated by Weiss as “the establishment of language.” The act of the establishment (ar. *waḍ*’) performed by variously imagined agents (from God to primordial human society) involved “a primordial assignment of vocables to

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>42</sup> An overview of all known works written by Molla Luṭfī is in *ibid.*, 18-30.

<sup>43</sup> William Smyth, “The Canonical Formulation of ‘Ilm al-balaghah and al-Sakkaki’s *Miftah al-‘ulum*,” *Der Islam* 72/1 (1995): 7-24, esp.7.



meanings,” whereby disputes about the exact identity of the agent were not considered crucial. What mattered was that a system was created which went through historical change, while its assumed primordial version was not seen as losing its importance with time. Weiss also writes that seminal work of ‘*ilmu’l-waḍ’*’ was a short treatise titled *Risāla al-waḍ’iyya* written by ‘Aḍud ad-Dīn al-Īḡī (d.1356).<sup>44</sup> The concrete analysis of the relationship between form and meaning as framed by this theory could be performed on various levels—lexicographic, morphological, syntactic etc., all the way to rhetoric, i.e. pragmatics.

Outlining the historical relationship between form and meaning, Molla Luṭfī starts with phonemes and letters noting that the relationship between these two is that of *assigning* (i.e. letters to phonemes) which further on enabled the act of writing. The next phase involved the creation of vocables (ar. *lafẓ*, pl. *alfāẓ*) by combining the phonemes/letters. Vocabule is just a form until the act of *waḍ’* is performed, namely until a meaning is assigned to a combination of phonemes/letters. Though this is not entirely impossible, the meaning (ar. *ma’nan*) can hardly be thought of without vocables, Molla Luṭfī notes.<sup>45</sup>

With Arabic tradition in mind, Molla Luṭfī wrote the first known treatise on rhetoric in Turkish.<sup>46</sup> In this treatise he does not address the question of history of the language, which he otherwise is interested in, but in case of Arabic. The self-proclaimed goal of the treatise is to enable those who do not know Arabic to understand the science of eloquence. Slightly differently from the above quoted division of “‘*ilm-i belāḡat*,”<sup>47</sup> Molla Luṭfī notes in this treatise that the base of

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<sup>44</sup> Bernard G. Weiss, “‘Ilm Al-Waḍ’: an Introductory Account of a Later Muslim Philological Science,” *Arabica* 34/3 (1987): 339-356.

<sup>45</sup> Arslan, “Molla Luṭfī’nin ilimlerin tertibine dāir,” 58-60.

<sup>46</sup> The transcribed version of this text is published in Mustafa Aksoy, “Molla Luṭfī’nin *Risāle-i Mevlānā Luṭfī’si*” (MA Thesis, Ege Üniversitesi, 1991).

this discipline which has various branches (like *beyān* or *bedī*'), is '*ilm-i me'ānī*'. Seen in this way, the key effect and purpose of *belāġat*/eloquence as a form of practice is to provide understanding in communication by adjusting one's speech not only to the interlocutor but to the context of the speech act as well. All the examples Molla Luṭfī quotes in this treatise are in Turkish language, taken mainly from everyday speech. Molla Luṭfī sees Turkish as a cluster of sociolects, making explicit differentiation between the speech of various groups (tr. *tā'ifes*) of which he mentions '*ulemā*', *sipāhīs* (tr./land-owners, often with obligation of serving in cavalry), merchants, dervishes, *etrāk* (tr./peasants, rustics) and *şehirli* (tr./town-dwellers). Seen together with Molla Luṭfī's writings in Arabic, this treatise implies that the person who wanted to master eloquence in Turkish approached in this way is either not explicitly required to engage with studying and parsing the language along the phonological, morphological, derivative and syntactic lines, or that they are expected to do it themselves. The same stands for understanding of the relationship between vocables (tr. *elfāz*) and meanings (tr. *me'ānī*), another task left to the person interested in effective communication. This observation has weight in light of the fact that, based on what we know, in this time, there were no grammars of Turkish which could facilitate one's training for these tasks.<sup>48</sup> As noted before, however, the best represented meta-genre involving Turkish, at this time and later, was the bi- or multi-lingual dictionary, which means that the "self-parsed" spoken Turkish was the precondition for becoming "eloquent" in this language.

When Orhan Şaik Gökyay published, in 1986, a version of Molla Luṭfī's *Harnāme*, the second known at that time, he found it necessary to emphasize that that which was written in this

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<sup>47</sup> Tr. '*ilm-i belāġa* is of the same meaning like ar. '*ilmu'l-balāġa*, except that the phrase is coined based on rules of Persian grammar (i.e. it has the form of Persian *ezāfe*).

<sup>48</sup> Aside from special cases mentioned in *Chapter I*, the situation will remain the same until the twentieth century. The grammars of Turkish in the early modern period were, however, written by European *dragomans* for the purpose of professional training. See, E. Natalie Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance: Diplomatic Interpreters and the Routes of Orientalism* (Ithaca [New York]: Cornell University Press, 2021), 140-182.

text had nothing to do with truth. In support he quoted the ending sentence reading “finished is the empty talk” (tr. *temmet el-mühmelāt*).<sup>49</sup> This emphasis, if taken literally, is in contrast with Gökyay’s, apparently successful attempts at connecting the names mentioned in the text with historical persons known from other sources. One individual he says he could not identify is designated as “the crazy commentator” (tr. *deli şāriḥ*). As will be seen from below, this phrase may very well be used by Molla Luṭfī with the goal of inserting himself into the story.

*Harnāme* is a title previously used by Şeyḫī, one of the founding figures of Ottoman literature, who was born during the reign of Murād I, and died in the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>50</sup> Molla Luṭfī, as Gökyay notes, pays homage to this poem by quoting a verse from it. Although Şeyḫī’s text is also satirical, Molla Luṭfī’s text differs a lot in terms of intertextuality, in that it does not make any easily detectable reference to Biblical, Ancient Greek or Arabic tradition (Quran aside) as was the case with Şeyḫī.<sup>51</sup> Molla Luṭfī’s story reads as completely immersed in the actual moment in time.

The version published by Gökyay is one of the three I had at my disposal.<sup>52</sup> The three versions (all undated) differ in details based on which we can speculate about the reasons for

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<sup>49</sup> Orhan Şaik Gökyay, “Tokatlı Molla Lūtfī’nin ‘Harnāme’si,” *Türk Folkloru Belleten* 1 (1986): 82-182, esp.156 and *passim*.

<sup>50</sup> This can be inferred from one of the first historical reviews of the history of Ottoman poetry and literature as found in the biographical dictionary of poets (*tezkiye*) written by ‘Āşık Çelebi (1519-1572). Āşık Çelebi, *Meşā’irü’ş-şu’arā*, ed. Filiz Kılıç (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2018), 67-110, esp. 69.

<sup>51</sup> Faruk K. Timurtaş, *Şeyḫī’nin Harnāme’si* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1971), esp.11-12.

<sup>52</sup> Gökyay’s text was preserved in a miscellany then kept in the Egyptian National Library (Talat Pasha 204). Before Gökyay, Oscar Rescher published an incomplete version of the text. The third version is a part of UB Leiden-MS Or. 644 (ff. 165b–166b), a codex which was produced before 1665. See Gökyay, “Tokatlı Molla Lūtfī’nin,” 82. Oscar Rescher, *Orientalische Miszellen II: Hādīhi Munāzara* (Istanbul, 1926), 40-43. The mentioned dating, a commentary and the outline of the complete contents of Leiden MS 644 are provided in Jan Schmidt, “From ‘One-Volume-Libraries’ to Scrapbooks. Ottoman Multiple-Text and Composite Manuscripts in the Early Modern Age (1400–1800),” in *One-volume libraries: composite and multiple-text manuscripts*, ed. Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 207-232.

instability of the text. Whatever these were, the beginnings of each three versions can be interpreted as pointing to the fact that Molla Luṭfî's composition of this text was not only informed by his more general thinking about speech, communicative power of languages, and eloquence, as would be the case with any other literatus, but that the author took special care of prompting the user to think about these same issues. The text published by Gökyay (in transliteration, with translations of Arabic parts, and facsimile) starts with a quotation of two verses from “The Bees,” i.e. the sixteenth chapter of the Quran. After this comes praise to prophet Muḥammad, his family and companions, all formulated to evoke mounts/riding animals.<sup>53</sup> Next comes an opening phrase announcing the actual topic of the discourse (ar. *wa ba'dahu*) and typical of both academic texts and serious narrative discourse. In continuation we read in Arabic and then Turkish:

**(ar.)** This is the conversation among a Professor famous by the name Uşlū—which means “a large donkey” in Serbian language—and the Viziers of the Time. And since the conversation was led in Turkish language we are transmitting it here in the words of that language in line with what befits the story-telling of this kind. And by using those expressions (in Turkish) we stated our intentions in a befitting manner. **(tr.)** Thus related one of those inclined to His Servantness Mevlāna Ūşlī, who had the nickname Donkey Spawn: When they gave half of the professorship in the Medrese of Murād Han in Edirne to Fenārī 'Ālī, His Servantness Ūşlī mounted the horse of vanity and took the whip of rage in his hand, and in a manner of *the suffering donkey who overpaces the horse*, his body contorting (along the way), came to the Court Council. When the Viziers saw this, they said: what on earth made you move at a jog trot like *a donkey approaching his stable*? And when Ūşlī squeaked wearily (and *indeed the harshest of all sounds is surely the voice of the donkeys*),<sup>54</sup> they said to the donkey (...)<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Quran: Sūrat al-Naḥl, 7-8. Here, Molla Luṭfî or a copyist placed verse no. 8 before verse no.7: “*bismillāhi'r-rahmānirrahīm alḥamdu li-lāh al-laḏī ḥalaqa al-ḥ<sup>b</sup>ayla wa'l-biḡāla wa'l-ḥamīra li-tarkabūhā wa li-tahmalnna* (in Quran: taḥmilu) *aşqānakum ilā baladin lam takūnū bāliḡihi illā bişiqqi'l-anfusi inna rabbakum la-ra'ūfun rahīmun wa şalawāt wa s selām 'alā nabīhi Muḥammad al-laḏī rakaba al-Burāqa fī laylati'l-isrā' wa li ālihi wa aşḫābihi al-laḏīna min fārisān mayādīn al-şarī'ati /...../.”*

<sup>54</sup> Quran: Sūrat Luq'mān,19.

<sup>55</sup> “**(ar.)** *wa ba'dehu* ḥaḏīhi munāzarāt bayna al-Mulā al-meşhūr bi-Uşlū ma'nāhu fi luḡati's-Şirfī huwa'l-ḥimār al-ḍahm wa bayna wuzerā'i' l-'ahd fa-lamma waqa'a al-munā'zarāt bi'l-luḡāti at-Turkiyyati naqalnāhā bi-elfāzihā kamā huwa-l-lāyiq bi'l-muḥākāt wa'l-mulāyyiqūn (?) al-maqāşid al-muta'allaqa bi-tilka'l-'ibārāt **(tr.)** Mevlāna Ūşlī hizmetlerinin eşek yumurtası lakablı musta'idinden şöyle rivāyet olunur ki Edrenedeki Murād Ḥan medresesinin nişfi Fenārī 'Ālīsine virecek Ūşlī hizmetleri nefes atına binüb ḡazab kamçısını eline aldı şöyle ki acıyan eşek attan geçer burtarak divana vardı. Vüzera bunu görüb eyitdiler bu ne ḥāldır ki aḡuruna yakīn gelmiş eşek gibi yorgalarsın. Ūşlī bir ḡarīb na'ra urub ki (ar.) *inna ankara l-aşwāti laşawtu l-ḥamīri* eşeḡe eyitmişler (...)”

A version published by Rescher in 1926, does not contain the quotations of Quranic verses or the praise, but is still introduced by few sentences in Arabic:

**(ar.)** This conversation took place between a Professor among other Professors and between the Viziers of our time. And he was a Professor famous as Ūşlī and this in Serbian language, this is “a weak donkey.” And since the conversation was led in Turkish words, we are transmitting it in Turkish language, in those words. **(tr.)** Thus related (...)

In what follows we find the same beginning of the story and the same kind of information like in the above translated passage, though there are differences in formulation.<sup>56</sup> The beginning of the version from UB Leiden-MS Or. 644, though not always clear, does bring some more historical details, and dates the time of the fictional conversation to 1470s:

**(ar.)** The pleasant anecdotes by Mevlana Luţfī, may God have Mercy on Him. [*Quranic quotations, same like in texts first quoted*] In the time of the late sultan Mehmed, Gedik Ahmed and İshāk Pasha, this pleasantries happened. Thus related [...] In the Sultan Murād Medrese which was in Edirne i.e. in the old medrese, the compensation for teaching was 100 akche per day. When the Istanbul medreses, which are *Semāniyye* medreses, were built, and since their rank was designated as being the rank of 60 akche, the mentioned one (i.e. Mehmed II) conducted a new categorization. And they built another medrese and assigned 60 akche (to it). This being the case, one half of the new medrese (professorship salary) was first given to Mevlānā (to appease him) upon hearing he had got angry, and a half of the professorship salary in the old medrese was given to Mevlānā Tusi. And now, it was about to be given to Mevlānā Fenārī ‘Alī. When Uşl heard this he mounted [...] <sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> **(ar.)** ḥadīhi munāzarāt waqa‘at bayna Mawlā min al-Mawālī wa bayna wuzerā‘i ‘aşrinā wa huwa’l-Mawlā aş-şahīr bi- Ūşlī wa huwa fī luġati’ş-Şırf huwa’l-ḥīmār al-muqaḥḥam wa lammā waqa‘at al-munā‘zarāt bi-elfāzin turkiyyatin naqalnāhā bi’t-turkiyyati bi-tilka alfāzi. **(tr.)** Ūşlī efendi eşek yumurtası dimekle mulaḳḳab bir musta‘idinden şöyle rivāyet olındıki şehir-i Edirnedeki Murād Ḥān ṭaba serāhu medresesini Fenārī ‘Ālīsine virilecek Ūşlī efendi nefes atına binüb ğazab kamçısın eline alub şöyle ki acıyan eşek attan geçer hikāyetdir burtarāk divana gelub vuzerā anun böyle yorġa oldıġın görüb hey Mevlānā ḳatı yorġalarsın ne hikāyetdir didiler Ūşlī daḫi anlara bir na‘ra urub ki *inna ankara l-aşwāti la-şawtu l-ḥamīri* eder ki eşeġe ne ḳatı yürürsün dimişler (...)

<sup>57</sup> **(ar.)** Letāyif-i Mevlānā Luţfī raḥamahu’llāh [*Alḥamdu li-lāh al-laḳi ḫalaqa al-ḥāyāla wa’l-biġāla wa’l-ḥamīra li-tarkabūhā wa li-tahmalna asqālakum ilā baladın lam takūnū bālīġihi illā bişiqqi’l-anfusi inna rabbakum la-ra’ūfun raḥīmun wa şalawāt’u s selām ‘alā nābīhi Muḫammad al-laḳī rakaba al-Burāqa fī laylati’l-isrā’wa li ālihi wa aşḫābihi al-laḳīna min fārisāy mayādān (!) wa ḥāq bilā nifāq.] **(tr.)** Sultān Mehmed-i merḫūm zamanında Gedik Ahmed ve İshāk pāşā işbu letāyif vāki‘olub [mevlānā Ūşlī ḫazretuñ eşek yumurtası dimekle ma‘rūf (-) laḳab musta‘idden şöyle rivāyet olundu ki] Edirnedeki sultān Murād medresesi ya’nī eski medresenuñ hibe-i tadrīsi yevmī yüz akçe idi çün İslambol madārisi ki Semāniyedir binā olucaḳ bunların hibe-i tadrīsi ‘alā’s-seviye altmışer akçe olmaġın mezkūr daḫi taşnīf olunub bir medrese daḫi binā etdiler altmışer akçe tevzī‘ oldı öyle olsa bir nişfi ki yeni medresedir evvelā Mevlānā taşġun dirlerdi aña virildi ve nişfi ki eski medresedir Mevlānā Tūsīye virilmişdi ḫāliyan Mevlānā Fenārī ‘Alī-sine virilecek Uşl bunı işidub nefis atına binup [ġazab kamçısın eline aldı şöyle ki *acıyan eşek attan geçer* hikāyeti burtarāk dīvāna geldi vuzerā bunun burġuladıġın görüb 11/iy Mevlānā ḳatı yorġalarsın ne hikāyet didiler ve Uşlū daḫi anlara bir na‘ra urub şöyle ki *inna ankara’l- l-aşwāti laşawtu’ l-ḥamīri* eşeġe itmişler ḳatı yürürsün (...)],” UB Leiden-MS Or. 644, f.165b.*

*Harnāme* continues by combining the dialogue between the viziers and Mevlānā Uslu, few of Uslu’s monologues and the third-person narrative, all peppered with the dozens of idioms and proverbs based on the characteristics of donkeys and their behaviour. In short, Mevlānā Uslu appears in *Harnāme* as someone who is ambitious, despite his obvious incompetence. The viziers, identified in third version only, can obviously help him with getting the teaching position he wants. This they can do by either “giving” him the post, or by mediating with the sultan on his behalf. They do listen to Mevlānā Uslu, now taking him seriously, now making fun of him. Harsh and obscene is the metaphor in the idioms and proverbs used. Clear is also the impression that this was not the first time Mevlānā Uslu came to ask for something, and that viziers were soon to lose their patience. One of them expresses his surprise at Mevlānā’s persistence, absolutely incompatible with his (nick)name—*uslu* (tr. “well-behaved, sensible, calm” if attributed to a man, and “obedient” if attributed to an animal). The same vizier reprimands him for not wagging his tail, i.e. for not doing anything to present his work to the sultan when he had a chance—at a wedding of a dignitary (tr. *bey*). Mevlānā Uslu replies by saying that he did his best, and, as if excusing himself, complains about his bad fortune which stopped him not only from getting the post he wanted, but from getting married as well. In between two complaints he inserts that, on top of it all, he was constantly disturbed by a “crazy commentator” (tr. *deli şāriḥ*). From the rest of the story we learn that, despite competition, Mevlānā Uslu managed to get the position in one of the *Semāniyye medreses*. Not being able to find his way in the competitive environment, he gets kicked out to the province metaphorically turning into a *Tat*, namely, ending up being in a wretched state.<sup>58</sup> Indisposed, Mevlānā Uslu goes to the Arab lands to try his luck. From the description of

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<sup>58</sup> Gökyay glosses the word *Tat* as “people not living in the city” and “the indigenous people of the provinces which came under Turkish rule” (tr. *şehirde oturmayanlar; Türk idaresine girmiş olan vilayetlerin eski halkı*). Redhouse gives: scornful name given by the Turks to subject Persians and Kurds, and *archaic*. poor, wretch, stranger.

his stay there, we learn that Mevlānā's Arabic was more than poor. Coming back home he becomes a *kadi* of Ankara.

Important for contextualizing *Harnāme* is one of Taşköprüzāde's "strange anecdotes" (ar. *min al-nawadiri'l- 'ağībe*) from Molla Luṭfī's biography, originally happening in the reign of Meḥmed II. The event related probably happened while Molla Luṭfī acted as a chief librarian of the Topkapı Palace Library. If taken as authentic, it can be read as evidence that Molla Luṭfī considered himself knowledgeable in themes linguistic even before he started working as a teacher and wrote his main works on the subject. It also testifies that Mevlānā Uslu as a model could have been understood beyond Molla Luṭfī's generation. The anecdote reads:

This is one of the many anecdotes that can be related about him. Sultan Meḥmed Han ordered the Professors of the *Semāniyye* Medreses to make a compilation from nine books dealing with language studies like were *Şihāh*, *Takmila*, *Qāmūs* and their likes. And in those times there was a Professor by the name Şuğā' whose nickname was Uslī (...). And this is a Greek word meaning "a large donkey." And once he came together with Molla Luṭfī to a bath-house. And he (Molla Luṭfī) asked: How are you dealing with the language (work)? He (Uslī) said: I put a question mark (lit. ar. mark of suspicion) at every line. Molla Luṭfī said: And you are more suspicious than myself (ar. *aşşaku minni*, evoking tr. *eşek*). And the word for "more suspicious" (ar. *aşşaku*) means donkey in Turkish.<sup>59</sup>

In his *Eş-şakā'ik*, Taşköprüzāde dedicates two separate entries to two persons with the name Şuğā' (tr. Şüca'). None of the two are described as prolific writers. Gökyay concludes that one of them—Şüca'eddīn İlyās Rūmī, from Dimetoka—may have been the one who was an object of Molla Luṭfī's satire. As presented by Taşköprüzāde, Şüca'eddīn İlyās Rūmī's career can indeed be brought into some connection with what is said in the third version of *Harnāme* especially. This

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<sup>59</sup>“Wa min ğumlati nawādirihī anna'l-sultān Meḥmed Ḥan amara'l-mudarrisīna bi'l-madārisi'l-tamān an yağma'ū bayna'l-kutubi's-sittatin min 'ilmi'l-luğati ka'ş-Şihāh wa't-Takmila wa'l-Qāmūs wa amṭāli dālīka. Wa kāna fī dālīki'l- 'aşr Mawlā musammā bi-Şuğā'in wa mulaqqaban bi-Uslī (almār dīkruhu) wa hiya kalimatun Rūmiyyatun wa ma'nāhā al-ḥimār al-ḍaḥm. Wa ağma'a ma'a Mawlā Luṭfī fī'h-ḥamām. Qalā lahu kayfa ḥāluka ma'a'l-luğati. Qāla aḍa'u 'alāmati-şakk fī qulli satrīn. Faqāla al Mawlā Luṭfī wa anta aşşaku minni. Wa lafzatu aşşaku bi't-Turkiyyati bi-ma'na'l-ḥimār,” Taşköprüzāde, *Eş-şakā'iku'n-nu'māniyye*, 453-455.

entry is particularly characteristic for enumerating Şücā' 's salaries in various high ranking *medreses* (hundred and sixty akches). Whoever was the real person to inspire Molla Luţfî, this anecdote preserved until mid-sixteenth century can be presented as a safe proof that, when composing his *Harnāme*, Molla Luţfî counted that his readers would have enough concrete and local knowledge in order to fully appreciate the edge of his satire. The anecdote can also be connected with Mevlānā Uslu's complaints, in *Harnāme*, of being disturbed by crazy commentator. It is maybe of some importance here to note that Turkish word *uşlu* is used by Yunus Emre as a direct opposite of *deli*.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, both Molla Luţfî and Taşköprüzāde remark that this was a word of non-Turkish origin. In the move analogous to Molla Luţfî's, Taşköprüzāde, however, remarks that this word meant *al-ḥimār al-ḍaḥm* (ar./a large donkey) —in Greek i.e. Rūmiyye. Speculating about the intentions behind describing the donkey as *ḍaḥm* (large) in one version, and *muqaḥḥam* (weak) in the other, one may wonder about the logic behind using two seemingly opposite words in two different versions of the text. Weak evidence that these were not necessarily the opposites can be found by looking at the derivatives from the Arabic root *ḵḥm* which had carried the meaning of weakness despite the size, and redundancy of letters in a word, or words in a discourse.<sup>61</sup> Lastly, it can only be speculated whether Taşköprüzāde was familiar with Molla Luţfî's introductory remark mentioning Serbian, as found in the three versions of *Harnāme* and whether he intentionally replaced it with Greek. The chances are high that he followed the logic of his own work, namely, it probably did not escape his attention that Şujā'

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<sup>60</sup> Yunus Emre was an Anatolian folk poet and a sufi who lived in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Aşık Çelebi, the fourth in line of Ottoman biographers of poets, was the first who provides a special entry on Yunus Emre, though he does not include him into his overview of the history of Ottoman literature. The mention of Yunus Emre in relation to Molla Luţfî's work is considered to be in place, since Molla Luţfî obviously derived a lot from the Anatolian folklore indexed in *Harnāme* by the donkey-proverbs. The mentioned entry on Yunus Emre is in Aşık Çelebi, *Meşā'irü 'ş-su'arā*, 293-294.

<sup>61</sup> *Lisān al-'Arab*, 3539.



from this anecdote could have been this İlyās Rūmī from Dimetoka/Greece, which is something Gökyay concludes, though without too much explaining.

Going back to Molla Luṭfi's introductory joke, it can be added that the Serbian word for donkey as listed in *Ms.Or.oct.33* (discussed in *Chapter I*) is *magarac*, obviously having absolutely no connection with *uslu*. Greek for donkey is spelled as *ḡāzaros*, and another possibility, though from modern Greek is *onos*. Nevertheless, a doubt arises that Molla Luṭfi's remark was *just* a product of imagination for the sake of irony when we know that Church Slavic word for donkey, as found for example in translations from Greek of the Four Gospels, is *osel*. In John 12:15, for example, Jesus will come riding “a young donkey” (sl. *na žrebatu osli*).<sup>62</sup>

The chances that Şücā' called Mevlānā Uslu (provided he existed) was of Serbian origin are low—based on what we know. Many viziers and a number of courtiers were. That Molla Luṭfi knew Serbian is also a weak possibility. Considering his fascination with donkey-idioms and proverbs, what Molla Luṭfi could have done easily is inquire, with some Serbian speakers, about the name for a donkey in Serbian. Whether *osel* and *magarac* had different connotations, or belonged to two idioms of Serbian—as the modern considerations of Slavic diglossia suggest, socially separate from one another—is not so important in this case. For Molla Luṭfi could find, in the Ottoman court, Serbian speakers who listened to Slavic church services before coming to live in the Ottoman realm or who even read the Gospel in Church Slavic. And after all, he could have learned this Church Slavic word while working as *müderris* in Filibe/Plovdiv.<sup>63</sup> What matters most, however, is the fact that he felt free to make a pun like this expecting that people reading or

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<sup>62</sup> Sava Petković, *Rečnik crkvenoslovenskoga jezika* (Sremski Karlovci: Srpska Manastirska Štamparija, 1935), 145. See also, for example Matica Srpska-MS 113415, last line, digital page. 476 <http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/pageFlip/reader/index.php?type=publications&id=763&m=2#page/476/mode/2up>.

<sup>63</sup> That Molla Luṭfi was a *müderris* in Filibe/Plovdiv, present day Bulgaria, is reported in Taşköprülüzāde, *Eş-şakā'iku 'n-nu 'māniyye*, 448.

listening to his text would find nothing strange about this. Whether this can be said of Taşköprüzâde, is a different question, especially if we know that his *Eş-şakâ'ik* was not only intended for the local audience, but also for the scholars in “faraway” Egypt and other Arabic-speaking lands ruled by the Ottomans during his, and not Molla Luţfî’s lifetime. In the circles of Arabic-speaking intellectuals who lived beyond Rum, Greek was a category which could be understood and appreciated, while this was hardly the case with Serbian. Finally, if we take that Molla Luţfî was a shrewd satirist, careful about his words, we can go so far as to assume that the clause “and since the conversation was led in Turkish language,” was also ironic, i.e. that the conversation was in fact led in another language of the metaphorical donkeys.

When Molla Luţfî was executed in 1494, some of the men I will discuss below because they also, though in a different way, invoked Slavic in their texts, were either in their twenties or in their thirties.

### **II.3. In And Out of the Realm of Eloquence**

In a footnote of an article dealing with *Gül-i şad-berg* (The Rose with a Hundred Petals), a collection of stylized letters written in Turkish by the famous Ottoman poet Meşîhî (ca.1470- ca. 1518/1520), Victor L. Menage writes that “Serbian words and catch-phrases seem to have been current among the literati of Istanbul.”<sup>64</sup> To corroborate this note he quotes an earlier article in which Günay Kut presents the letters which another Ottoman poet, Gazâlî Mehmed (1466-1535), writing from Mecca, exchanged with his friends in Istanbul.<sup>65</sup> Below is the analysis of the contents and meanings of examples provided by Menage and Kut as well as few others relatable to the same

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<sup>64</sup> Victor L. Ménage, “The *Gül-i şad-berg* of Meşîhî,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 7-8 (1988): 11-32, 30 (fn.37).

<sup>65</sup> Günay Kut, “Gazâlî’nin Mekke’den İstanbul’a Yolladığı Mektup ve Ona Yazılan Cevaplar” [A Letter Gazâlî sent from Mecca and the Letters Written in Response], *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten* 21-22 (1973-1974): 223-252. It was Evren Sunnetçioğlu, and Oscar Aguire who first suggested I could use some of these texts for the purpose of my thesis, and I want to thank them for that.

social milieu. A general overview of this particular set of the acts of evoking Slavic shows that the group of people who used Serbian (language) as *the* label through which South-Slavic dialect continuum was perceived, can be extended from the previously analyzed cases to some members of Ottoman poetic guild. The careers and lives of all the men who can be identified as participating in these events gravitated towards Istanbul. Among them, Mesīhī was the only one who both originated from and spent parts of his life in South-Slavia. Setting out from these examples, this section expands to include several other texts and textual genres with the goal of discussing the historical, discursive, and personal realities which informed the socio-political vantage points from which Ottoman poets, and Arabographers in general viewed Slavic, its people and its geography.

### II.3.1. Serbian and a Poetic Slang of the Early Sixteenth-Century Istanbul

The reconstruction of poet Mesīhī's biography by modern scholars usually starts by reference to three early Ottoman *tezkires*, Sehī's (1538), Laṭīfī's ( first version, 1546), and 'Āşık Çelebi's (1568).<sup>66</sup> The three biographers provide some key information, but are not entirely reliable. Besides correcting the year of Mesīhī's death provided by 'Āşık Çelebi (1512), Ménage showed that his *insha* collection (tr. *inşā*),<sup>67</sup> titled *Gül-i şad-berg* (mentioned only by Laṭīfī), also contains many biographical details not mentioned by the three encyclopedists. The collection of letters includes samples written by Mesīhī on behalf of his employees as well as the samples from his

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<sup>66</sup> The biographer 'Ahdī (d.1593) is held to have written the first draft of his *tezkiye* after Laṭīfī and before 'Āşık Çelebi, ca.1564. There are, however, indications that 'Ahdī continued working after 1564. The poets included in his *tezkiye* are those hailing from the Asian part of the Ottoman empire with very rare exceptions. This scope is analogous to 'Ahdī's mobility and travelling patterns. All of the mentioned *tezkires* have been published in transliteration. Besides already quoted 'Āşık Çelebi, see Sehī Beg, *Heşt-Bihişt*, ed. Halük İpekten, Günay Kut, and Mustafa İsen (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2017); Laṭīfī, *Tezkiretü 'ş-Şu 'arā ve Tabsiratü 'n-Nuzamā*, ed. Rıdvan Canım (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2018); Bağdatlı Ahdī, *Gülşen-i Şu 'arā*, ed. Süleyman Solmaz (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2018)

<sup>67</sup> *Insha* means the art of stylized prose-writing which implies proper usage of orthography (tr. *imlā'*), and in case when the prose is used in writing letters, the proper usage of the styles of address. *Insha* collections are most often collections of letters actually used in communication, but written with attention to the art of *insha*. Ménage, "The *Gül-i şad-berg*," 11.

private correspondence. The former present a vivid image of the environment he worked in and his whereabouts, while from his private letters, like the one I will quote below, we learn about his life circumstances as he saw them.<sup>68</sup> Finally, it is also Mesīhī’s poetry—only the bits of which are quoted in the biographies—that offers some clues about his self-image as a poet. Thus, what is known with certainty is that Mesīhī, whose proper name was ‘Īsā, was born in Priština. This was a town whose development during the Ottoman times was closely related to its proximity to Novo Brdo. It was also very close to Skopje, one of the earliest strongholds of Ottoman education system in South-Slavia. His ethnic origin and life before he came to Istanbul to attend a *medrese* are not known, but chances are high he was from a Muslim family, i.e. not born as a Christian.<sup>69</sup> At some point, Mesīhī gave up the *medrese* education, wishing to become a calligrapher, which eventually led him to a career of a scribe/secretary. His first employer and a long time patron was Hādım ‘Alī Pasha of Slavic (Serbian/Bosnian) origin, who famously tolerated his laziness, mischiefs and city adventures.<sup>70</sup> Mesīhī lost his patron just entering his forties (1511) thus finding himself in need for a new job.

Mesīhī lived in a society in which composing a literary work which satisfies the current demand and fluctuating fashions—set, among other, by politically powerful patrons—could lead to economic and professional gains, not only of ‘*ulemā*’, discussed above, but of all stripes of

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<sup>68</sup> Besides in *Ibid.*, Ménage dealt with Mesīhī’s letters and his biography in Victor L. Ménage, “An Ottoman Manual of Provincial Correspondence,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 68 (1976): 31-45. A transliterated version of the complete collection is in Çetin Derdiyok, “XV. yüzyıl şâirlerinden Mesīhī’nin *Gül-i Sad-Berg*’i” [*Gül-i şad-berg* of the fifteenth-century poet Mesīhī ] (PhD Thesis, Çukurova Üniversitesi, 1994).

<sup>69</sup> Robert Elsie claims he was Albanian, but without providing concrete evidence. Unlike another poet from a nearby town of Pljevlja (tr. *Taşlıca*), Taşlıcalı Yahyā (d. 1598), who explicitly stated in his poetry that he was of Albanian origin, Mesīhī did not do it. Robert Elsie, *History of Albanian Literature: Volume I* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 91-92.

<sup>70</sup> Theodore Menzel and Edith G. Ambros, “Mesīhī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, consulted online on 11 November 2020. For Hādım Ali Pasha, see *Chapter I*, fn. 209.

literate men. Mesîhî's career run relatively smoothly while his patron Hādîm 'Alî wielded a great amount of political power, especially during the late period of Bāyezîd II's reign.<sup>71</sup> After succession of Selîm I, Mesîhî's position deteriorated to the point of being forced to teach alphabet to children, apparently for a living.<sup>72</sup> It is from his letters that we know that Mesîhî was active in searching for patrons after Hādîm 'Alî's death, and that he was writing poetry upon order.<sup>73</sup> His appeals for employment led him to Bosnia, where he initially acted as a secretary of Fîrûz, the *sancak-beyi* of Bosnia. Fîrûz died in 1512, holding the position. For a few more years Mesîhî was the secretary of Yûnus, also the *sancak-beyi* of Bosnia, upon whose intervention he seems to have received a small *tmâr* in the *nâhiye* of Saray on the ground of his service as both a scribe and a participant in military raids.<sup>74</sup> It is not known when exactly and where he died. Menage thinks this was certainly after 1512, but no later than 1520, suggesting that Mesîhî was active ca.1518.<sup>75</sup>

Menage's above mentioned comment on the currency of Serbian words and catch phrases among the literati of Istanbul, was inspired by a passage from Mesîhî's letter sent from Bosnia to his friend Sûzenî in Istanbul. The passage reads:

**(tr.)** Though by command of necessity I had to stay in Bosnia this year as well, (I must say that) although the place itself is a heaven, a men can find no entertainment here. Because the only language of all of the sultan's flock and all of the God's creatures who live around here is Serbian, no one cares about Turkish. Whomever you address politely by saying "hey, man" (tr. *adam*, similar to sl. *ja dam*: I give) he replies by saying " (it is) god (who)

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<sup>71</sup> The succession struggle started well before Bāyezîd II died. Hādîm 'Alî belonged to the party which supported prince Aḥmed, and not prince Selîm who won the struggle for the throne. Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans*, 86.

<sup>72</sup> Derdiyok, "XV. yüzyıl şâirlerinden," 407-408.

<sup>73</sup> Ménage, "The *Gül-i şad-berg*," 26-27.

<sup>74</sup> This is the geographically defined area in which the town of Saraybosna/Sarajevo will latter develop to become one of the largest and administratively most important towns in Western Rumelia. For the evidence of Yûnus's intervention see, Ménage, "An Ottoman Manual," 45. This might not be his first *tmâr* to have held. Mine Mengi thinks his poem dedicated to Nişancı Bey (i.e. Tâcîzâde Ca'fer Çelebi) in which he complains for being assigned a shared *tmâr* (tr. *cuz'i tmâr*) was written ca. 1512. Mesîhî, *Mesîhî Dîvânı*, ed. Mine Mengi (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2020), 5.

<sup>75</sup> Ménage, "An Ottoman Manual," 34 and *passim*. Ménage, "The *Gül-i şad-berg*," 17.

gives” (sl. *bog daje*).<sup>76</sup> It is because of this, that since a long while—the nightingale of (my) language has remained silent and quiet in the cage of (my) mouth—the countenance of the bride of (my) refinement started being scratched by the claws of predicament and suffering, while the pages of (my) knowledge and learning are being hewn by the sword of deficit and oblivion.

Verse: (**per.**) I have fallen among the flock whose *müderris* coming to the drinking party knows no difference between the book (*ke-t-āb*) and the roasted meat (*ke-b-āb*).<sup>77</sup>

Coming to the province removed Mesīhī from the comfortable urban environments in which he acquired many friends, who, however, were not powerful enough to help him stay there. What identifiable men greeted by Mesīhī in his letter to Sūzenī shared was that they were all poets (Maḥremī, ‘Alī Çelebi, Kātib Memi Çelebi, and Zātī).<sup>78</sup> Despite his complaints, Mesīhī’s seems to have been rather active as a creative writer while living in Bosnia. He wrote for a living and was obviously a good scribe and stylist before, but he compiled *Gül-i şad-berg* and his *Dīvān* (tr./collection of poems) exactly there. Yet, he did all this for the audience in Istanbul, with the hope of getting a promotion and going back to the center of “entertainment” and power.<sup>79</sup> To what extent Mesīhī strived to address the audience in his immediate, provincial environment, and what kind of response he may have received there is not easy to say. Another vivid proof that Mesīhī’s tongue did not remain entirely locked during his stay in the province can be found in one of the

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<sup>76</sup> Ménage explained the pun leaving some room for unnecessary doubt. *Ibid.*, 30 (fn.37).

<sup>77</sup> “(tr.) Egerçe ki be-ḥükm-i zārüret bu sene daḥı Bosna’da tırmak vardı ammā cennet olduḡı taḳdirce adam bunda eglenemez, zırā bu kenārda olan kāffe-i re’āyā ve ‘amme-i berāyānuñ dili şırf Sırf olub ve kimesne Türkī’yī terkiye asmayub her kankısına ki ‘adam’ dēyü selām véresin ol saña ‘boḡdāy’ dēyü cevāb vérür. Bu ecelden nice zamāndur ki bülbül-i zebān ḳafes-i dehānda sākıt ü şāmit olup ruḥsāre-i ‘arūs-ı ṭabī’at nāḥun-ı belā u miḥnet ile ḥarāşide ve şaḥīfe-i ‘ulüm u ‘irfān tıḡ-ı noḳşān u nisyān ile terāşide olmaḡa yüz tutmuştur. Beyt: (per.) Fütāde-em be gürühī ki gāh-ı bezm-i şarāb/Müderris-eş ne-şināsed kitāb-rā zi kebāb.” Turkish text quoted from *Ibid.*, 30. See also Derdiyok, “XV. yüzyıl şairlerinden,” 422-423.

<sup>78</sup> Ménage, “The Gül-i şad-berg,” 31 (fn.41).

<sup>79</sup> Mesīhī and his collection of letters have recently been discussed in Oscar Aguirre Mandujano, “Poetics of Empire: Literature and Political Culture at the Early Modern Ottoman Court” (PhD Thesis, University of Washington, 2018). 153-165.

lyric poems (ghazals) from his *Dīvān*. This is the only example from the collection containing few hundreds of poems, in which there is a direct reference to a provincial locale and its people:<sup>80</sup>

1. What is this indifference, what is this pride and coquetry/That your affection becomes less (and less) the more (and more) I love you 2. Come today, let's live a life of a respected gentleman in the city of Saray (*variant*: within Smederevo)/For who knows whom destiny will favour tomorrow 3. When I asked "why do you say your heart was a bird," he said/This is Bosnia (*variant*: the bank of Danube), whoever was born in this place, was born to become a falcon 4. Your mole set up a trap at the tip of the side lock of your hair in order to take a heart/ Oh, what a trickster it is, what a lasso-thrower 5. While Mesîhî was moaning yesterday evening at the banquet of sorrow/ He was heard by the Venus who thought it was nine men playing saz.<sup>81</sup>

Some of the questions the below discussion aims to tackle are: how can we categorize or classify the Serbian words and catch phrases used by first Mesîhî's and then his contemporaries, and can we say that these were really "current" among the literati of Istanbul; what these particular instances of Slavophone Arabographia and their context might imply more specifically: should the occasional usage of Slavic words by a person be taken as indication of that person's competence in Slavic or that their knowledge did not go beyond few words useful for puns; what can the potential answers to these questions tell us about the person's impressions of Slavic and its people; and how can these impressions be situated against the background of the Ottoman multilingual regime, i.e. can anything new be added to what has been said before based on the previously discussed, fifteenth-century cases.

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<sup>80</sup> In her introduction to critical edition to 'Âşık Çelebi's *tezkiye*, Filiz Kılıç makes a general remark that poets of Rûmeli (the European part of Ottoman Empire, i.e. the European part of Rûm) one of whom was Mesîhî, were particularly characteristic for including the "local elements" into their poetry. 'Âşık Çelebi himself posits that there existed a Rûmeli style in poetry (tr. *Rûmîli üslûbî*) while describing a poet from Skopje. 'Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü 'ş-şu'arâ*, 6 and 401.

<sup>81</sup> "1. Bu ne istîgnâ olur bu nice 'izz ü nâz olur/Kim seni çok sevdüğümce baña meylün az olur 2. Gel bugün şehr-i Sarây içinde beglik sürelüm/Kim bilür yarın felek kimlerle 'işret-bâz olur 3. Cân u dil niçün mürğîn eyledün didüm didi/Bosnadur bunda kim anadan toğan şebbâz olur 4. Zülfün ucında beñün pusudadur dil almağa /Vay nice 'ayyârdur nice kemend-endâz olur 5. Bezm-i ğamda nâle eylerken Mesîhî dün gice/Zühre gökden işidüp didi nüh erkek sâz olur." Quoted from Mesîhî, *Mesîhî Dīvānı*, 162. See *Ibid.*, fn.71 for the variant quoted in brackets.

Mesīhī's image of the province and its people was the image of an aggrieved outsider, though an informed one. While based in Sarajevo, Mesīhī was participating in the movements of the army all around the westernmost, Slavic-speaking provinces in which preservation of the loosely established frontier was one of the main tasks of the local Ottoman officials. Raiding beyond the borders served the purpose of intimidating the enemy and conquest of the land on the one hand, and represented a significant source of income, on the other.<sup>82</sup> Whether from raids or from taxes, the income gathered in and around the western Rumelian frontier was, among other things, used for developing the local towns in line with principles of urbanization which implied centrality of a mosque (and a mosque complex) in organizing the urban space. By the time Mesīhī came to *sancak* of Bosnia and *sancak* of Smederevo, mosques were built that were sometimes accompanied by *mektebs* and *mu'allim-hānes* (tr./schools providing what was considered elementary education). When he arrived, there was only one *medrese* in the *sancak* of Bosnia, the one in Sarajevo, sponsored by Fīrūz Beg, Mesīhī's first provincial employer.<sup>83</sup> Thus the *müderris* mentioned in Mesīhī's letter to Sūzenī could have been one of the employees in this *medrese*. Smederevo fortress mentioned in Mesīhī's ghazal quoted above had probably had a fortress-

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<sup>82</sup> Writing about the career of Yūnus Beg, Ménage notes that his appointment to Bosnia after accession of Selīm I (1512) was a form of "rustication," i.e. temporary expulsion from the center, imposed on the governor by the new sultan due to suspicions of loyalty. He also notes, that, at this time, Bosnian army was not participating in the eastern campaigns, for their main task was to defend the border facing Hungary. Ménage, "An Ottoman Manual," 38. Discussing letters from *Gül-i şad-berg*, Ménage notes that some of these had "the general 'Rumelian' and more specifically 'Bosnian' accent." From the examples he quotes, it can be inferred that what he meant by this remark is that Western Rumelia was characteristic for *gāzī*-lore (tr. *gāzī*, warrior for faith), the exposure of the warriors to sufi shaykhs who were building sufi lodges in the area from the income gained through raids, and the phenomenon of conversion. A warrior/convert to Islam was described in one of the letters as formerly being "one from the other bank/side" (tr. *öte yakalu*). Ménage, "The *Gül-i şad-berg*," 18 (fn.25).

<sup>83</sup> Ismet Kasumović, *Školstvo i Obrazovanje u Bosanskom Ejaletu Za Vrijeme Osmanske Uprave* [Schools and Education in the Province of Bosnia during the Ottoman Rule] (Mostar: Islamski kulturni centar Mostar, 1999), 159. Quoting a *vakfiye* (endowment deed) from 1491 issued in the name of Firuz-Beg (who, before Bosnia acted as patron in Amasya, Havza, Tokat, and Istanbul), Kasumović notes that he was "a son of 'Abdulhayy,'" commonly taken as a synonym of 'Abdullāh (the servant of God) and interpreted as signalling that the father of the person qualified in this way was not a Muslim.



mosque. *Medreses* in the *sancak* of Smederevo, will only appear after Mesīhī died.<sup>84</sup> It is hard, of course, to imagine that the Arabic of a real *müderriş* from Bosnia was bad to the point of not being able to distinguish between “the book” and “the roasted meat.” After all, the *müderriş* was probably a graduate of a *medrese*, which was not the case with Mesīhī. His pun, however, was perhaps aimed at conveying the overall impression that Ottoman education system in Bosnia was in its infancy whereby Arabic stands as its symbol. What *müderriş* may indeed have not picked up from his *medrese* education, was perhaps the distinction between the book and the meat in Persian accent, as Mesīhī’s apparently derogatory couplet also suggests. In other words, Bosnia from the above quoted passage should not exactly be interpreted as the land in which there were none but Slavic-speakers, but rather as an environment which was still unable to produce the literary forms serving the purpose of socialization and entertainment—in Turkish.

When read against Mesīhī’s complaints about his circumstances and having in mind that his intended audience was educated and urbanite, the above quoted ghazal can be understood as containing a touch of irony. Situating the lover-beloved axis into the environment which was (only) in the process of urbanization and which was yet to become a part of the poetic geography of Rūm—at least as outlined by those who pondered it and recorded for contemporaries and the posterity the main information of its literary and aesthetic foundations—can be seen as an unusual move.<sup>85</sup> And yet, the poem can also be read as Mesīhī’s attempt to transfer to the province the

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<sup>84</sup> And this in Belgrade around mid-sixteenth century. See, Baltacı, *XV-XVI asırlar Osmanlı medreseleri*; Aleksandar Fotić, “Belgrade: A Muslim and Non-Muslim Cultural Centre (16th–17th C.),” in *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete V; A Symposium Held in Rethymno 10-12 January 2003*, ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2005), 51-75: 57-58.

<sup>85</sup> And this if we are to judge by *tezkires*, still the key source for poetic geography of Rūm, and Rūmeli. By 1568, no poet was specifically designated by the first three biographers of poets of Rūm as having been born, having lived or settled in Bosnia. ‘Aşık Çelebi mentions Bosnia only in entry on Mesīhī. Almost the same situation is with the town of Smederevo where ‘Aşık Çelebi again, places the poet Cinānī who was born in Bursa, and died some time towards the end of the sixteenth century. The two westernmost towns of South-Slavia mentioned in poets’ biographies were Alacaşişār (Kruševac, as birthplace of Mahmūd Pasha Angelović with poetic name *Adnī*) and Yeni Bazar (Novi Pazar,

spirit of Istanbul gatherings where poetry was recited, presented and evaluated, and for this he needed company. This poem was apparently copied in two variants. Since there is no autograph, it cannot be known which is the original—the version copied earlier contains two couplets which locate the lover (Mesīhī) in Smederevo, while in the later one Smederevo gets replaced with *şehir-i Saray* (tr./the city of Saray, Sarajevo). Whatever the case, the chances are high that Mesīhī wrote this poem for and while working for Fīrūz Beg who made investments in both Sarajevo and Smederevo.<sup>86</sup> The replacement makes sense if we allow the realistic possibility that the same poem was read during the social gatherings in two different places, in front of the audience which could appreciate its connotations.

Although Mesīhī's employees may have spoken Slavic, and although he himself, having grown-up in a multilingual town in Serbia, may have known it, there is no direct evidence to confirm this. The little he quoted in his letter to Sūzenī can hardly be understood as advertizing that knowledge, even if it existed. What transpires from Mesīhī's short invocation of Slavic/Serbian is that he, through a joke and a word-play, styles this language as socially and intimately foreign—a language spoken by *re'āya* and *berāyā* who go about their daily business in a language which was not Turkish, and this in the province which he was eager to leave.<sup>87</sup> This

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as the birthplace of poet 'Arṣī). Dobruca, Filibe (Plovdiv), Sofia, Vidin and Ruṣṣuk (Ruse) in the east could boast with poets, while by far the greatest number of poets originating from or living in South-Slavia came from its own south: Kalkandelen (Tetovo), Kratovo, Manastir (Bitolj), Priština, Prizren, Vardar (an area, probably around the Vardar River, rather than town and its surrounding), and Üsküp (Skopje). The biographers also used the broad categories of Rūm and/or Rūmeli to place poets in space. See, Harun Tolasa, *Sehī, Latīfī, Aşık Çelebi tezkirelerine göre 16. y.y. 'da edebiyat araştırma ve eleştirisi* [The Literary Research and Critique in the Sixteenth-Century according to the *Tezkires* of Sehī, Latīfī, Aşık Çelebi] (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1983), 8-34. About the motif of the relationship between “lover” and “beloved” in the history of Ottoman literature, as well as its social context in comparative perspective, see, Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

<sup>86</sup> Klaus Schwarz and Hars Kurio, “Fīrūz Beg. Sangaqbeg von Bosnien im Lichte seiner Stiftungskunde,” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 32-33 (1982):115-127.

<sup>87</sup> *Re'āya* was a term used to designate the tax-payers in the Ottoman state (peasants, artisans and merchants) which could be both Muslim and Christian of various ethnic origin. *Berāyā* were the subjects who did not pay taxes and had

implies that the predominant language in which Bosnians entertained themselves was still—Serbian, i.e. Slavic as Mesīhī knew it from Priština.

Mesīhī's life in the province and his own general outlook can, to an extent, be observed at the individual level. We have no insight into the inner world of other people from his surrounding who were also “rusticated,” i.e. expelled from the familiar realm of eloquence. More specifically, no other Ottoman poet or literatus living in the province can be brought into direct connection with Mesīhī's trajectory. So, Mesīhī's impression on the lands of South-Slavia and some of its people should not be taken literally and as universally applicable, but as a function of his own personal development on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a function of spatial distribution of few relevant indexes of the general historical process of Ottomanization of South-Slavia as a whole (like were the gradual build-out of educational system, or real/imagined poetic geography). As for the spaces Mesīhī moved through, the trajectory which emerged so far is: Priština-Istanbul-Bosnian/Serbian frontier. The languages explicitly indexed in Mesīhī's “province-related” writing are Turkish and Serbian. With all this in mind, the interpretation of Mesīhī's “provincial mood” can be left at what has already been said—Mesīhī styles Turkish as his own, and Serbian as a socially foreign language.

Nevertheless, even the small excerpt from Mesīhī's letter to Sūzenī shows that the number of languages Mesīhī used as a socio-spatial metaphor was not limited to the two he explicitly mentioned: Persian is evoked as the language in which the couplet was written, and Arabic, as the language the mentioned *mūderris* should know by requirement of his profession. So if Mesīhī used *any* language as a metaphor, he would probably not derive its symbolism from its relations with

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the right to hold and use weapons (soldiers and other members of *‘askerī* class—judges and petty *‘ulemā* of various ranks). These could also be of various ethnic origins. Where Christian Ottoman subjects with military obligation who were exempted from some taxes would belong is not clear.

one language only. Though his letters display mastery of words and phrases from all three languages, Mesīhī did not write anything in Arabic. In a ghazal featuring “the beauties of the city of Edirne,” he mentions writing poetry in Arabic as an act performed by himself.<sup>88</sup> Here, however, the mention serves the purpose of a double entendre, rather than an image inspired by reality.<sup>89</sup> Also in the letter written to Sūzenī, there is a couplet into which Mesīhī incorporated few words from Chagatay Turkish, the language of ‘Alī Šīr Navā’i’s poetry which had the status of prestigious model among Ottoman poets.<sup>90</sup> Mesīhī wrote several poems in Persian and praised as masters two Iranian poets from the fourteenth century.<sup>91</sup> When compared to the number of his poems in Turkish (mounting to hundreds), these acts look like a modest tribute to an esteemed tradition, more than an expression of a continuous engagement. Mesīhī was certainly not unique in doing this, but it is perhaps legitimate to ask whether the way he positioned himself vis-à-vis the distant homeland of the tradition was. Whatever the case, Mesīhī seems to have thought that an imaginary travel through “the realm of *Persophonie*” or Persia in the broad sense of the word (*‘Acem*) was as legitimate as going there physically.<sup>92</sup> Thus, in a poem in Persian, dedicated to a

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<sup>88</sup> Mesīhī was famous in his time for a *poème* titled *Şehr-engīz der medh-i cūvānān-ı Edirne* (*Şehr-engīz* Praising the Handsome Young Men of Edirne). *Şehr-engīz* is a poetic genre which arguably originated in Persian-based tradition, but which flourished in the Ottoman context in a way that made some scholars suggest it originated there. *Şehr-engīz* literally means “city-thriller” and each *şehr-engīz* is dedicated to a town. In terms of contents its core consists of the series of portraits of male-beloveds which, by the rule, contain information about their occupation. Mesīhī is considered the founder of the genre in the Ottoman context (arguably, together with poet Zāti).

<sup>89</sup> “Mesīhī ū’r didūgi gehī Türkī gehī Tāzī /Murādı ol gāzālı avlamağ imiş gāzellerle” [While composing poetry now in Turkish now in Arabic, Mesīhī’s one wish is to hunt down that gazelle (metaphor for young male-beloved) with all those *ghazals*]. Ghazals were recited during social gatherings. *Tāzī* is an adjective from Persian, meaning Arabic. As a substantive, it can mean “Arabic language” and “(Arabic) greyhound.” See Mesīhī, *Mesīhī Dīvānı*, 10.

<sup>90</sup> Ménage, “The *Gül-i şad-berg*,” 32.

<sup>91</sup> Mesīhī, *Mesīhī Dīvānı*, 10.

<sup>92</sup> The term *Persophonie* as designating a cultural space the core of which was in Persian-speaking lands is discussed by Bert G. Fagner, *Die Persophonie. Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens* (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1999).

person which remained unnamed, but is obviously highly positioned in the Ottoman society, perhaps even sultan Selīm I, Mesīhī writes:

Do not count me among the sons of Rūmī's (only)  
For although I am a Rūmī, I have passed through 'Acem.<sup>93</sup>

In a couplet from another self-referential, melancholic ghazal, Mesīhī positions himself vis-à-vis three realms:

If you descend from heavens there would be no place for you  
What you need is go come from 'Arab or 'Acem (approx. Arabia or Persia).<sup>94</sup>

Should these couplets be read as conveying a sense of inferiority of a Rūmī vis-à-vis *an* 'Arab or *an* 'Acem, and, if so, can this inferiority in anyway be related to the power relations among "Mesīhī's languages" as symbols? The answer to the question is probably yes, especially if we accept that "Mesīhī's languages" were five in number. Now, if there was a trend in Istanbul-centered engagement with Slavic/Serbian and its written texts that becomes recognizable from what I wrote in *Chapter I*, it can be summarized in the following way: what little there was that was actively happening during the fifteenth century was slowly diminishing. Thus, Mesīhī's individual sense of inferiority may have stemmed from the fact that he spent the last part of his life in the linguistic space (*Slavophonia*) the position of which had already been fixed within the Ottoman multilingual regime, and, by implication within the imagination of Ottoman literati.

With this in mind, I want to suggest below that the Slavic/Serbian words and catch phrases "current among Ottoman literati," when considered from the perspective of their "social locus" and the (lack of ) potential to produce "more currency," are in fact evidence that the trend just

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<sup>93</sup> "(per.) Merā zi zümre-i ebnā-yı Rūmīyān me-şūmur/ Egerçi Rūmīyem ammā güzeşteem zi 'Acem." Quoted from Mesīhī, *Mesīhī Dīvānı*, 84. On Ibid., 319, Mengi provides a translation to modern Turkish where Rūm is translated as "Anadolu"/Anatolia.

<sup>94</sup> "Mesīhī gökden inseñ saña yer yok/ Yüri var gel 'Arabdan yā 'Acemden" Ibid., 230.

mentioned was irreversible from the perspective of language awareness of Ottoman Arabographers. The foci of active attention were elsewhere. In anticipation, it can be said that this does not mean that this sort of awareness was either absolute, or even too long-standing. Nor does it mean that there were no literacy events important from the perspective of the history of writing Slavic in Arabic script, and more broadly, the history of recognition of Slavic dialect continuum within Ottoman Arabographia. To unpack these points I take several steps until the end of this chapter. For a start, however, I will briefly describe some political developments which were visibly brought into connection with the dynamics among *the three* languages of Ottoman Arabographia by ‘Āşık Çelebi, a representative observer of Ottoman multilingual regime who was born soon after Mesīhī died. These developments were probably witnessed by Mesīhī, and certainly by other Ottoman literati who played with Serbian words. I will then go on discussing the instances of Slavophone Arabographia in the texts produced by poets from the network Mesīhī belonged to.

As noted before, the period of the reign of Bāyezīd II was characterized by the fast-pace enrichment of various literary genres by the use of Turkish, most notably historiography and poetry. Ottoman historians hold that the early reign of Bāyezīd II was the period of flourishing of both authorial and anonymous chronicles written in vernacular Turkish.<sup>95</sup> Two of his famous late-life commissions of historiographical works are considered crucial for understanding of Ottoman imperial consciousness and political ideology. One is the chronicle written by İdrīs-i Bidlīsī (1457-1520) in Persian, commissioned around 1501 and finished ca. 1506. İdrīs-i Bidlīsī’s dynastic history,

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<sup>95</sup> See *Chapter I*, fn.125 for review articles. Chronicles composed by anonymous authors are known under generic name *Tevārīh-i ‘Alī ‘Osmān*. Though they combine hard data (dates and enumerations of sultanic campaigns) with legends and orally transmitted stories, they are still considered the key narrative sources for the early history of the Ottoman state. The number of extant versions and variants survived in dozens of copies. These narratives attracted a great amount of scholarly attention, but no systematic work on their reception exists. For a review, an evaluation, and a list of manuscripts preserved in libraries located in modern Turkey, see Necdet Öztürk, ed., *Anonim Osmanlı Kroniği (1299-1512)* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2000), ix-xlix.

divided in eight parts (one for each sultan), “represents a watershed in Ottoman historiographical production, with no match in comprehensiveness or epistolary style.”<sup>96</sup> İdrīs-i Bidlīsī’s influence at the Ottoman court was not limited to literature and chancellery style.<sup>97</sup> The other significant work commissioned by Bāyezīd II is the multivolume chronicle written by the already mentioned Kemālpaşazāde (d.1534). The language of this chronicle was Turkish upgraded by demands of *insha* in a way which had no true precedent.<sup>98</sup> Kemālpaşazāde’s chronicle, however, was not circulated widely—the greatness of this scholar’s influence on both contemporaries and generations to come is embodied in the popularity of his works on jurisprudence, and other “academic” disciplines proper, written in all three languages.<sup>99</sup>

Perhaps due to the relative shortness of his reign, when compared with his predecessor and successor, Selīm I (1512-1520) does not loom large in modern Ottoman historiography as a patron of great literary works important for understanding the ways in which Ottomans fashioned

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<sup>96</sup> The “commissioning of Persian as a historical literary medium” started during the reign of Mehmed II and came to an abrupt halt during the reign of Mehmed III (1595-1603). Sara Nur Yıldız, “Ottoman historical writing in Persian, 1400-1600,” in *Persian historiography*, ed. Charles Melville (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 436-502: 437; 483.

<sup>97</sup> İdrīs-i Bidlīsī was an emigre to the Ottoman empire from the Northern Iran. He came to the Ottoman court in his forties (ca.1501). He started writing his history of the Ottoman dynasty while living in Sofia (as of 1502) which he described as “the extremity of the lands of Rūm.” Bidlīsī has recently been described as a representative of a distinct bureaucratic and ideological subculture within the Ottoman court in the first half of the sixteenth century. His own influence and the influence of other emigres from Persian lands who acted as secretaries at the Ottoman court has been recently summarized by C. Markiewicz in the following way: “Their experiences as valued contributors to Ottoman chancery, administrative, and literary products were central to the trajectory of Ottoman imperial ideology at a critical juncture in the history of the sultanate. More generally, perhaps as a consequence of their insistence on Persian for the articulation of such ideology, these secretaries had a role in the emergence of a confident Ottoman imperial idiom that accepted the literary sensibilities of the Persian chancery style, even if ultimately it settled upon Ottoman Turkish as the principal language of refined communication and belles lettres.” Christopher Markiewicz, *The Crisis of Kingship in Late Medieval Islam: Persian Emigres and the Making of Ottoman Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 75; 96; 285.

<sup>98</sup> Narratives dealing with history of Ottoman dynasty composed in Persian before the end of the fifteenth century were mainly in versified form. Tursun Beg’s (d.1499) *Tarih-i Ebu'l-Feth* dedicated to the reign of Mehmed II only is considered the first step towards the development of Turkish-based, but Persian-influenced epistolary prose in Ottoman history writing.

<sup>99</sup> See also, *Chapter I*, fn.218.

themselves, and therefore, the ways in which they chose the idioms in which this was done. The following literacy event may sound interesting considering what has just been said. Presiding a *dīvān-ı hümayun* (tr./imperial council) session in 1515, Selīm I had a letter received from the ruler of Egypt translated by *nişancı* (tr./chief secretary), at that time Tācīzāde Ca‘fer Çelebi. The letter was most certainly in Arabic.<sup>100</sup> This act may imply that the sultan either did not trust his own competence in Arabic, or the competence of all the members of his council. Be this as it may, these randomly chosen literacy events from the trilingual realm of Ottoman Arabographia do suggest that they were not free of language awareness on part of the participants (since obviously diverse and/or preserved in memory), but they do not tell anything significant about whether power dynamics among various Ottoman languages was changing. That something was indeed happening in this front, and most notably during the reign of Selīm I, can be inferred from ‘Āşık Çelebi’s bird-view account formulated at hindsight, in ca. 1568.

According to ‘Āşık Çelebi, the history of Ottoman literature was deeply entangled with the history of Ottoman dynasty. His account of this entanglement starts in broad strokes to move on to accounts of the reigns of each individual sultan. The broad introduction starts by noting that the members of illustrious Ottoman dynasty first conquered the whole of Anatolia, and then they crossed to Rumelia. There they demolished the temples of the infidels, burned their church-bells and smashed their idols. They stood unmoved by the forces of the “Europeans” (tr. *Frenk*). The Wallachians (tr. *Eflāh*) could not find deliverance (tr. *felāh*) from the Ottoman swords. All Moldovans (tr. *Boğdan-lar*) could say was “boğ dan” (sl. approx. this is what God has given).<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Feridun Bey, *Mecmua-yı münşeât-i Feridun Bey* (Istanbul: Darüttibattil’âmire, 1265-1274 [1848-1857]), 471 (line 20).

<sup>101</sup> ‘Āşık Çelebi, *Meşâ’irü’ş-şu‘arâ*, 67. See also, IÜ NEKTY-MS 4201, f.20b.



The history of Ottoman literature truly started when the “the fresh rose of Turkish poetry started smiling.”<sup>102</sup> When exactly this happened is not entirely clear, but the reign of Meḥmed II was, without doubt, the time of great optimism. By the time of Bāyezīd II, no doubt is left, for “the majority of ‘ulemā’ and the cream of notables and dignitaries were composing poems and spending their time on poetry and prose.” The reader concludes that these people were writing in Turkish, since this is as an unmarked linguistic label in ‘Āşık Çelebi.<sup>103</sup> And here is what happened during Selīm I’s reign according to this historian/biographer:<sup>104</sup>

His glorious army conquered the lands of the Arabs. The swords of his justice-bringing soldiers sentenced the lands of the Persians. The most eloquent among the Arabs presented *kaşīdes* to his majesty while the Persian stylists brought epistles to his royal presence. All of this kindled a sense of enthusiasm among the peoples of Rūm. Having insight into the spirit of the Arabic letters and having seen how Persian poets practice their skill, they themselves advanced to the point when their own prowess reached the level of excellence. The poetic arena was enriched by another generation of poets. The ruler himself was a man of knowledge who provided help to the refined minds. He showed his regard by distributing various presents and gifts—to those who had reached perfection according to their wishes, and to those with potential in accordance with their talent, and by bestowing his benevolence and kindness upon them. Also, he occupied himself with poetry more than any of his ancestors. His interest in poetry grew as the candles from the poetic scrolls lit by his talent were quoted [among people]. Although, as a Rūmī, he did compose poetry in Turkish, that Pegasus-rider in the battlefield of sagacity and intelligence, was very much inclined towards Persian and, for that reason, composed verses in Persian style [as well]. It is for this reason that his Persian poems were more numerous than the Turkish ones, and therefore, the most famous among people.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 68. See also IÜ NEKTY-MS 4201, f.21a.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 72. See also IÜ NEKTY-MS 4201, f.23a.

<sup>104</sup> Selīm I famously led his army against, first Safavids, and the Mamluks. The campaign against Safavids culminated in 1514, while the Mamluk sultanate was conquered in 1517. From Safavids, the Ottomans wrestled eastern Anatolia, and Northern Iraq, from Mamluks they took the territories comprising what is today called the Middle East.

<sup>105</sup> “Cünd-i ‘izzeti iklīm-i ‘Arabı teşhīr eyledi, kişver-i ‘Acemī ceysi ‘adālet-kīşi maḥkūm-ı şemşīr eyledi. Fuşahā-yı ‘Arab cenābına kaşīdeler virdiler ve bulegā-yı ‘Acem rikābına cerīdeler virdiler. Kavābil-i Rūm’a daḥı gayret gelüp ‘Arab şātırlarınun revişin gördiler, ‘Acem şā’irlerinun verzişin gördiler, kendüler daḥı kâbiliyetleri ḥasebi ile mezâyâ arturdılar. Şi’r bir tabaka daḥı terakki itdi. Pādşāh daḥı ehl-i ‘irfān ve mürebbī-i zarīfān idi, kāmiller murādlarınca ve kâbillere isti’dādlarınca envā’-ı baḥşış u baḥşāyiş ile ve bāb-ı luḫf u iḥsānından küşāyiş ile telaḫkī itdi. Ve kendüler daḥı sâ’ir ecdādından ziyāde şi’re müştāğil oldı. Şem’-i tūmār-ı şi’r ḫab’-ı vaḫkādlarından muktebes olup ziyāde ziyāda müşte’il oldı. Egerçi Rūmī oldukları cihetden Türkī şi’re teḫebbu’ itdiler ammā ol fāris-i feres-i ma’reke-i ferāset ü kiyāsetün Fārsīye meylleri ziyāde olduğu sebebden üslūb-ı ‘Acem daḥı teḫebbu’ itdiler. Bu sebebden Türkīden Fārsī şi’rleri ekşer ve ḫalk içinde eşherdür,” ‘Āşık Çelebi, *Meşā’irü’ş-şu’arā*, 73, and IÜ NEKT- MS 4201, ff. 24a-b.

‘Āşık Çelebi was primarily interested in poetic trends. According to recent scholarship, a novel kind of impact of Arabic and Persian letters in the fields other than poetry can also be dated to the period after conquests of Selīm I. In the long run, however, this influence seems to have served the purpose of boosting the sense of being a Rūmī whose “first” language was—Turkish. Helen Pfeiffer deals with the period in question in a manner similar to Atçıl’s account of the fifteenth century, basing some of her concluding arguments on the concept of self-sufficiency. Pfeiffer, however, focuses heavily on academic/literary social gatherings (ar. *mağlis*) rather than *medreses* and, more pronouncedly than Atçıl, suggests that Turkish language was a distinct feature of Rūmīs i.e. “Ottomans.” Pfeiffer, for example, concludes that “by the second half of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman *‘ilmiyye* was as self-sufficient, confident and competitive as the Mamluk learned hierarchy had been on the eve of the conquest,” thus implying that the memory of pre-Ottoman era in the former-Mamlūk territories was preserved among both Rūmis and Arabs. The homogenization and self-sufficiency of Rūmīs, according to Pfeiffer, led to “provincialization” of Arab intellectuals, most notably in terms of their scholarly prestige (for a while enabled by long-standing Mamlūk scholarly tradition and Arabic as a mother-tongue), and therefore in terms of their competitiveness for the high-ranked positions in Ottoman professional hierarchies.<sup>106</sup> Analyzing political discourse in the long sixteenth century, more precisely “the Caliphate as a moral paradigm,” Hüseyin Yılmaz, notes that although “most [Ottoman] works on rulership and ethics are imbued with teachings, imageries, and vocabulary of mostly Turko-Persianate Sufism, it was Turkish texts that reached “a wide circulation.”<sup>107</sup> The question related to historical language ideology that can be asked at this point is whether a relative consolidation of Ottoman territories

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<sup>106</sup> Helen Pfeiffer, “To Gather Together: Cultural Encounters in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Literary Salons” (PhD Thesis, Princeton University, 2014), esp. 221-222.

<sup>107</sup> Yılmaz, *Caliphate redefined*, 8.

which happened around mid-sixteenth century can be seen as directly proportional to relative consolidation of power relations within the Ottoman multilingual regime, at least at the level of *the three languages*.<sup>108</sup> And if this was the case—was the destiny of Slavic in a broader constellation indeed permanently sealed. Mesīhī, of course, as an individual, cannot be used as an example to generalize along these lines. What matters most at this point is that it can be reasonably concluded that his “individual” early sixteenth-century anxieties expressed through the usage of languages as socio-spatial metaphors were deeply informed by broader, tectonic movements. A speculation can thus be made that Mesīhī’ as a poet attached to Rūm, and even more specifically to Rūmeli, suffered from a “fear of missing out.”

The contexts of Slavic words and catch phrases that can be found in the letters published by Günay Kut and several other texts from about the same time, bring forth a somewhat different relationship of the producers of the texts with South-Slavic speaking provinces than that of Mesīhī. This relationship can be described as indirect or mediated by “dislocated” Slavic-speakers. Gazālī’s letter from Mecca written in 1532, is addressed to several friends living at the time in Istanbul. Three of these replied: Zāī (1471–1546), Rūmī and Kātib Ca’fer Çelebi. Unlike Zāī, who represents a direct link between Mesīhī’s and Gazālī’s circles, the latter two seem to have

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<sup>108</sup> Chagatay Turkish, evoked in Mesīhī’s poetry, can be added to this group as a version of Turkic. As such, it figured both as a symbol and an actively used idiom. Describing Selīm I as a poet, Laṭīfī notes that the sultan was the only among the poets of Rūm who had a whole *dīvān* composed in Persian and first to “abandon” poetry in Turkish and “go to that style only.” Most of the time, Laṭīfī maintains in continuation, he followed/studied the style of ‘Alī Šīr Nāvā’ī. His admiration for Nāvā’ī’s poetry, made the poetry famous and popular. (“Şu’arā-yı vilāyet-i Rūmdan andan ğayrı kimesne Fārisī dīvān tedvīn itmedi ve şī’r-i Tūrkīyi terk idüp ol tarzā gitmedi. Ekşer-i evkātāda Dīvān-ı Nevāyī tetebbu’ iderdī. Eş’ār-ı Nevāyīye anlaruñ iltifātı raġbet ü şöhret virürdi.”) As noted before, Nāvā’ī has been most famous for promoting Chagatay Turkish as literary language, but was very prolific, and wrote a lot in Persian, too. Laṭīfī’s passage is not explicit in stating whether Selīm I was emanating Nāvā’ī’s poetry in Turkish, or in Persian, but he notes in the same place that his extant verses in Turkish were small in number. Laṭīfī, *Tezkiretü’ş-Şu’arā*, 107. For Ottoman poets who did write in Chagatay Turkish, see Osman F. Sertkaya, “Osmanlı şairlerinin Çaġatayca şiirleri” [Ottoman Poets’ Chagatay Poems], *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 18 (2012 ): 133-138.

been the poets/literati of lesser renown.<sup>109</sup> The versified part of Gazālī’s letter marked as *Kaşīde-i Birāder Efendi* (An Ode by *Birāder Efendi*) is an inquiry from *diyār-i ‘Arab* (tr./ the Arab lands) about the news from *diyār-i Rūm* and the whereabouts of various people Gazālī knew while living in Istanbul. Some of these were obviously close friends, and some were just the prominent citizens of the capital. A mention is made of sultan Süleymān I, and his grand vizier, İbrāhīm (d.1536), both of whom were generous patrons of poetry, especially until the latter’s execution.<sup>110</sup> The tone of the poem is at the same time nostalgic, humorous, overtly and covertly indecent. The audience of the poem did not remain limited to Gazālī’s private circle of friends—rather, the poem was known and popular until, at least, the 1580s.<sup>111</sup> Gazālī’s *kaşīde* contains two Slavic words, one is *gospodar* (sl./ lord, master), and the other is *kurva* (sl./ whore; commonly female, but when applied to a man, a sleezy, treacherous character). The words appear in the couplets in which Gazālī inquires about two of his very good friends, Efşāncı and Qara Bālī Ođlı:<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Zātī and Mesīhī also exchanged poems addressing Zātī’s accusation of Mesīhī as plagiarizer. This exchange was remembered as *muṭāyebe* (tr./joke, pleasantry). Latīfī, *Tezkiretü ‘ş-Şu ‘arā*, 485.

<sup>110</sup> İbrāhīm Pasha from Parga/Greece called, in Ottoman tradition, Maqbūl (tr./favorite) and Maqtūl (tr./ executed), was of *kul* origin. The year of his death is taken, among other, as a milestone in transformation of customs pertaining to patronage of poetry and literature by the court and related dignitary households. A recent account of his early life maintains that he was originally a Slavic-speaker. Ebru Turan, “The Marriage of Ibrahim Pasha (ca. 1495-1536): The rise of Sultan Süleyman’s favorite to the grand vizierate and the politics of the elites in the early sixteenth-century Ottoman empire,” *Turcica* 41 (2009): 3-36, 6.

<sup>111</sup> Gazālī’s career and specificities of his literary manner have been described in Selim Kuru, “A Sixteenth Century Scholar Deli Birader and his *Dāfi ‘ü’l-ğumūm ve rāfi ‘ü’l-humūm*” (PhD Thesis, Harvard University, 2000). The note about the letter is on p.9.

<sup>112</sup> Kut notes that Efşāncı and Qara Bālī Ođlı were good friends of Gazālī, whereby the latter goes under Qara Bālīzāde in ‘Āşık Çelebi’s *tezkire*. None of the two have special entries in the *tezkire*, but were obviously socializing with many poets, organized gatherings in their houses in Istanbul, and even acted as patrons. Efşāncı “appeared” in later part of Meḥmed II’s reign, was a good calligrapher who could write 7000 couplets in one night, as well as a great gardener. At some point İbrāhīm Pasha appointed him as administrator (tr. *mutevellī*) of Meḥmed II’s endowments. Qara Bālīzāde (d.1534) was a tax-farmer with good connections at the court. These two men appear in seven entries on different poets, sometimes together and sometimes separately. For information provided here see ‘Āşık Çelebi, *Meşā ‘irü ‘ş-Şu ‘arā*, 522-523.

Efşāncı was really restless/ Has his situation settled now, is it alright?/His son Husrev, his girl ‘Alī Bālī/<sup>113</sup> His servant, Pervīz *kospodar*, are they all good?<sup>114</sup>

And:

Is the sweetheart Raḥmī, the impeccable girl of the old whore ( sl. tr. *kurva karı*) Kara Bālī Ođli, alright?<sup>115</sup>

Zātī, who was also a subject of inquiry in Gazālī’s letter,<sup>116</sup> replies in prose and by a *kaşīde*, in which he responds to both of these couplets, with no apparent reference to any of the Slavic words Gazālī used.<sup>117</sup> Same is the case with Rūmī’s response to these two couplets. Rūmī, however, employs Slavic words in four other couplets, the meaning of which is not easy to understand, but a speculation can be made that he is making reference to Efşāncı’s household. The words used are: Slavic for “girl” with Turkish plural suffix (*devoyka-lar*) to refer to young males; Slavic for justice (*pravda*, but also the word which is possible to use to express agreement with what is said, having thus the similar meaning with “yes”); the expression meaning “I swear to God” ( sl. *tako mi boga*); the word for “master” (sl. *gospodar*); and a mention of Serbian land ( tr. *Sırf İli*).<sup>118</sup> That these Slavic words were used by and understood by Gazālī, Rūmī and their circle is obvious. It can also be assumed that these people were sharing some sort of jargon during their

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<sup>113</sup> ‘Alī Bālī is referenced as a beloved in a ghazal from Zātī’s dīvān. See, Ali Nihat Tarlan, Mehmed Çavuşođlu and Ali M. Tanyeri, eds., *Zati dīvānı: edisyon kritik ve transkripsiyon* [Zati’s Divān: Critical Edition and Transcription] (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1967), 988.

<sup>114</sup> “Bī-*karār* idi ḥayli Efşāncı/Şimdi aḥvāli ber-*karār* eyü mi/ Ođlı Husrev kıızı ‘Alī Bālī/ Kulu Pervīz *kospodar* eyü mi,” Kut, “Gazālī’nin Mekke’den İstanbul’a Yolladıđı Mektup,” 228-229.

<sup>115</sup> “Kara Bālī ođli *kurva karınuñ/Ak kıızı Raḥmi-i nigār* eyü mi.” Ibid., 230.

<sup>116</sup> Zātī is described as deaf. Ibid., 232.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 236.

<sup>118</sup> “Geh sema ‘ī gehi ḥrzmile/horuz oynar *dovoykalar* iyüdüür/ Sırf ilinüñ güzel *ıpravdaları/ Takumi buğa kospodar* iyidir.” [Approximate: Sometimes whirling like dervishes, and sometimes in (...) manner, the girls playing hora (gr./horos, a kind of dancing in circle; sl. oro) are alright/ The beautiful “yes-sayers” from Serbia/ and the master, I swear to God, are alright], Ibid., 243.

merry gatherings in Istanbul and that these gatherings were attended by a number of Slavic-speakers. The usage of Slavic for “whore” is probably a good example to further support the claim—as a non-Turkish word it probably had different connotation than the Turkish *orospu* used, for example, when Gazālī inquires about the “sons of slaves” (tr. *kuġulları*) as a group.<sup>119</sup> The usage of *gospodar* in apposition to Pervīz the *kuġ* (who was apparently some sort of high-positioned servant in Efṣāncı’s household) can rather be read as a friendly joke than irony meant to denigrate the concrete person it was attributed to.

Thus, with notable exception of Rūmī who vaguely pointed to the connection between Serbian language and a Serbian land, the rest of the poets from Gazālī’s circle used Serbian words without attaching them to a distant land or a community, but as constituents of a distinct slang which occurred through rather intimate, everyday contacts among Turkish and Slavic speakers living in Istanbul. The Istanbul-based Slavic speakers were therefore not only the high and low officials of the Ottoman government (some of whom were members of the sultan’s household), but also people who were tenants of the households of other state-appointed officials. Of the everyday currency of Slavic in Istanbul we cannot say much based on these few examples. The Serbian words recorded in the texts analyzed so far were neither common nor neutral, but fraught with very specific connotations understandable within the framework of a particular type of socializing.

One other exchange among Ottoman poets involving Slavic which was remembered for at least several decades after, ran between the above mentioned Zāī and his friend Ferīdī. Ferīdī was not a towering figure among the poets of Rūm and he did not seem to have had a complete *dīvān*. Bits of his poetry have been preserved in the first three *tezkires* only, while the later ones omit him.

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<sup>119</sup> “Kul oġullarınuñ nedür ħāli/ Cümleten ol orospular eyü mi” [How are the sons of *kuġ*/Are those whores, alltogether, alright?], Ibid. 231.

Laṭīfī informs that he died during the reign of Selīm I. Ferīdī was born in Skopje. His background before the beginning of his career during the reign of Bāyezīd II is not described in available biographies. Ferīdī had another famous nickname, Hüsām the Tax-Collector (tr. *Ḥaraççı Hüsām*). All three biographers note that he lived and died in Edirne, working as *mütevelli* (tr./supervisor) of the Edirne *Dar ’ul-Hadīs* (the school specialized in studying prophetic traditions). ‘Āşık Çelebi is the only who notes that Ferīdī took various posts before settling in Edirne, being, among other a secretary at the imperial council (tr. *dīvān kātibi*). Laṭīfī specifically describes him as a delicate sample of Satan’s breed, being at the same time most vocal in praising Ferīdī’s great eloquence and comprehension—a rare feature among *kuls*.<sup>120</sup> Judging by Laṭīfī’s and ‘Āşık Çelebi’s entries, his later fame as a poet rested on his amicable exchanges with Zātī as much as on his verses. Laṭīfī described the exchange between Ferīdī and Zātī as a debate (tr. *munāzara*), quarrel (tr. *mu’āraza*), and dispute (tr. *muḥāsama*) which was essentially a pleasant joking with elements of satire.<sup>121</sup> The exchange contains only one Slavic word, which, however, triggered the poetic row. This is the Slavic infinitive *jebati* (sl./to fuck) which, according to Laṭīfī’s and ‘Āşık Çelebi’s reports, Ferīdī once used in a couplet addressed to Zātī, whose name obviously rhymes with the Slavic verb.<sup>122</sup> Zātī’s reaction to this couplet is preserved in more than one place: in an entry dedicated to Ferīdī (not to Zātī) Laṭīfī quotes Zātī’s nine-couplets-long reply; also in his entry on Ferīdī, ‘Āşık Çelebi quotes a different, seven couplets long version of the reply; and, the version almost identical as the

<sup>120</sup> “Üsküp kurbinden Bāyezīd Ḥān bendelerinden Ehrimen cinsinüñ nāzüklerinden Ḥaraççı Hüsām dimekle ma’rūfdur,” Laṭīfī, *Tezkiiretü’ş-Şu’arā*, 410. Ehrimen is the term designating the Evil in Zoroastrian dualistic cosmology. See also, Sehī Beg, *Heşt-Bihişt*, 127; ‘Āşık Çelebi, *Meşā’irü’ş-Şu’arā*, 513.

<sup>121</sup> That Zātī and Ferīdī were moving in the same circles while living in Istanbul can be inferred from Zātī’s prose collection of “pleasant anecdotes,” a few of which feature Ferīdī. Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, “Zātī’nin Letāyifi,” *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 18 (1970): 25-51.

<sup>122</sup> “Ne okur, ne yazar ne ḥod işidür/Vay anuñ şāğır ağızını *yabātī*” [He does not read, he does not write, nor he hears well/ He should really be f/ed in his deaf mouth], Laṭīfī, *Tezkiiretü’ş-Şu’arā*, 410-411.

one quoted in ‘Āşık Çelebi was included in Zātī’s *Dīvān*. Zātī’s response is rather subtle. He repeats the Slavic word to qualify it as a curse, and notes that Muslims do not understand Ferīdī’s language.<sup>123</sup> He further fashions Ferīdī as someone who has not abandoned *his language* despite the fact that it had been a long while since he came to the right faith.<sup>124</sup> The fact that Ferīdī chose to curse him by speaking *his language* casts shadow on his *dīn* (tr./ religion)—abandoning one’s faith should go with choosing which language will dominate a believer’s speech, and which language was chosen was judged by what is being uttered by a person.<sup>125</sup> To this image of Ferīdī, Zātī juxtaposes another one: when Ferīdī “puts on a cuirass of eloquence” (obviously in a proper language) there is no poet that can compete with him. Being the conqueror in the world of eloquence, Ferīdī managed to build a palace and was also very rich—to do this he seems to have used “the sword of his language” rather than the real sword.<sup>126</sup> A concluding couplet notes that “this infidel language” (i.e. the very curse) suits Ferīdī’s mouth perfectly.<sup>127</sup>

Laṭīfī, the biographer quoted above, as well as a poet, was born in Kastamonu in 1491, and died in 1582 on his way to Yemen. ‘Āşık Çelebi was born in Prizren (in 1519). After serving mainly as a *kadı* all over south and east of South-Slavia, he died in Skopje (in 1572). Both of these literati spent parts of their lives in the provinces in which Slavic was the language spoken by majority. The fact that they felt comfortable to quote Slavic words and even pay attention to these can be explained by this fact from their biographies. These two biographers knew one another and

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<sup>123</sup>“*Yabātī* diyü sögmişdür dilince/Müselmanlar ne bilsün ol zebānı,” Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> “Geleli gerçi kāfirden çoğ oldu/Daḥī terk itmez ammā ol lisānı,” Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> “Dilin terk itmemiş dīnini bilmen/Diyene göredür gālīb lisānı,” Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> “Tutup tīg-i zebān ile cihānı/ Ferīdī oldu Zū’l-ḳarneyn-i s̄anī; Depesi üstine bir çārṭākı/Be-gāyet mālī çoḳdur yapıdı anı” and “Feşāḥat cevşenini ol giyecek/Olur nazm ehlinüñ şāḥib-ḳırānı.” ‘Āşık Çelebi, *Meşā’irü’ş-şu’arā*, 513.

<sup>127</sup> “Nice hoş yaraşur bi’llāhi Zātī/Anuñ ağızında ol kāfir lisānı,” Ibid.



were rivals in *tezkiye* writing. ‘Āşık Çelebi showed his *tezkiye* to the world fifteen years after Laṭīfī. The work contained a special entry on Laṭīfī in which ‘Āşık Çelebi accused him for stealing his own idea of writing *tezkiye* in a novel way (as compared to Sehī’s) and blamed him for having to postpone production of his work. Although he recognized Laṭīfī’s literary talent, ‘Āşık Çelebi remarked that most of the poets Laṭīfī included were from Kastamonu, as if that was something to be proud of. In the same place, ‘Āşık Çelebi notes that the days Laṭīfī spent while serving in Belgrade as a secretary were “miserable.”<sup>128</sup> ‘Āşık Çelebi will become frustrated by his provincial service only after he finished his *tezkiye*. When he was writing it, he was rather proud to include in it his own *kaşīde* dedicated to the Danube River, just as he included the numerous poets from the South-Slavic part of Rūmeli.

As it appears in the texts produced by Ottoman literati discussed above, Slavic is not even near a status of language that can be used as a tool for poetic expression. It entered the poetic and literary language to the extent the language was permeable to a slang used in limited circles. When recorded, the instances of Slavophone Arabographia served the purpose of indexing the presence of first of all, socially, and then confessionally, diverse, but linguistically homogenous population vaguely located in the space between Istanbul and the space where the early phase of inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism occurred. The people who recorded “Serbian words” had some sort of attachment to South-Slavia: as a place of origin (their own or their friends’) or the place of service. As a place of service the space is styled first and foremost as a place of exile from the center of power and from the abode of eloquence by people whose worldview was centered on Istanbul. Those who were born as Slavic speakers and Christians, could choose which of their languages will dominate their utterances after conversion, whereby the desired choice was obviously Turkish.

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 312-314.

To my best knowledge, no similar poetic exchanges have been attested in the texts originally written after the second half of the sixteenth century, which is, as already explained in *Chapter I*, the time when the practice of writing Cyrillic letters became exclusively provincial phenomenon and when the engagement of Turkish-speakers with texts originally written in Slavic ceased. The memory of these exchanges, however, lingered for a while, through copying.

### **II.3.2. (Un)Naming the Language of the Slavs of One's Own**

So far, I have argued that “Serbian” as a name for a language featured, if sporadically, as a label mediating Turkish-speakers’ relationship with South-Slavia as a geo-linguistic space during the period of inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism. Also, of the few Ottoman literati who used Slavic words and phrases in a rather specific way, Mesīhī was the only one who used a particular label—Serbian—to designate a Slavic dialect, at the same time locating its speakers to the concrete Ottoman province of Bosnia. Mesīhī’s invocation of Slavic does not suggest the existence of any straightforward link among the name for a language (eg. Serbian), the name of an ethnic community (eg. Serbs), and name of a geo-politically defined place or a region (eg. Serbia/Sırf İli). The same stands for the rest of the examples quoted above. At first sight, this may seem a superficial observation, but on second thought it can serve the purpose of introducing two questions of relative importance for historical language ideology. The larger question is whether Ottoman Arabographers ever tended to use, within limits of one text or discourse, the cognate, but different labels designating languages, larger/ethnic communities, and particular regions. The second, more specific question that can be asked is: would Serbian remain a linguistic label representative of South-Slavic dialect continuum within Ottoman Arabographia?

Further following the insecure lead of the sixteenth century Slavophone Arabographia, one stumbles upon *Ahlāk-ı ‘Alā’ī* (Sublime Ethics), written in 1565 by Kınalızāde ‘Alī Çelebi (1510-

1571). *Ahlāk-ı ‘Alā’ī* is a work on ethics viewed as a cluster of principles and norms of governance operating on three levels: the level of an individual (individual ethics), the level of the family and the house (household economics), and the level of the society (political theory). ‘Alī Çelebi’s work represents a translation/adaptation to Turkish language (and to actual Ottoman realities) of several works from a well-established Persian tradition best represented by figures like Naşır ad-Dīn Tūsī (d.1274) and Ğalāl ad-Dīn Dawānī (d.1502).<sup>129</sup> Examining the ethical principles pertaining to household economics, ‘Alī Çelebi provides a section explicitly dealing with values, qualities and negative traits of household servants. Just like Tūsī before him, whom he explicitly mentions while introducing this section, ‘Alī Çelebi maintains that, when taking servants, each master should know about traits of people of different “origins and classes.”<sup>130</sup> ‘Alī Çelebi’s section on this topic is much lengthier than that provided by Tūsī.<sup>131</sup> ‘Alī Çelebi repeats what Tūsī wrote, but adds whatever else he found in other books written on the topic, what was known from experience, what could be heard about various classes of people, and what he knew himself.<sup>132</sup> The classes (tr. *ecnās*/sg. *cins*) differ among each other: because each class inherits specific traits from their ancestors; because their homelands have different water, air etc., which in turn require different

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<sup>129</sup> Marinos Sariyannis, *A history of Ottoman political thought up to the early nineteenth century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019), 29-42

<sup>130</sup> The title of the section is “Beyān-ı ahlāk-ı ecnās ve emzice-i tavāyif-i nās” (On the ethics of various classes and physical dispositions of various kinds of people). Fahri Unan, ed., *Ahlāk-ı Alā’ī: çeviriyazı metin* [Sublime Ethics: Transliterated Text] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 458.

<sup>131</sup> “Among the classes of nations, the Arabs are distinguished for their speech, their eloquence and their ingenuity, but they are also noted for harsh nature and powerful appetite. The Persians, on the other hand, are distinguished by intelligence, quickness, cleanliness and sagacity, albeit noted for cunning and greed. The Byzantines are distinguished for loyalty, trustworthiness, affection and competence, but noted for stinginess and meanness. Indians are distinguished for strength of feeling, and of intuition and understanding, but noted for conceit, malevolence, guile and a tendency to fabrication. The Turks are distinguished by courage, worthy service and fine appearance, but noted for treachery, hardness of heart and indelicacy,” Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean ethics*, trans. G. M. Wickens (London, Allen & Unwin, 1964), 184.

<sup>132</sup> “Ve biz aña bu fennde mevzū’ olan kitaplardan ve tecārib-i havādis ve istimā’-ı ahvāl u ahhār-ı ecnās-ı nās ile ma’lūmumuz olan kavāyidi zamm eyledük. Unan, *Ahlāk-ı Alā’ī*, 458.

traits; and because it is possible to change inherited traits by means of education.<sup>133</sup> As a synonym to *cins* (tr./ kind, stock, pedigree, ancestry), ‘Alī Çelebi uses the word *tā’ife* which can have multiple other meanings (tr./class, community, tribe).<sup>134</sup> ‘Alī Çelebi does not talk about languages, but arguably no other common identificatory marker but language can be thought of as being crucial for his discrimination between various *tā’ifes* he lists. His listing starts with the ‘Arab, ‘Acem, Rūm, and Türk (all mentioned by Ṭūsī). It continues with Kürd (Kurdish), Bosna (Bosnian), Macar (Hungarian), Arnavud (Albanian), Rūs (Russian), Efrenc (“Frankish”), Gürci (Georgian), Çerkes (Circassian), Mekril (Megrelian) ve Abaza (Abkhasian). Hindīler (Indian), Zengīler (Ethiopian), and Habeş (Abyssinian) are marked as being of “black color”(tr./*siyah reng*).<sup>135</sup> The amount of information provided obviously depended on the amount of literature available (understandably, Arabs, for example, are very well-covered). Circa half a century before, Molla Luṭfī makes mention of the ‘Arab, Rum, and ‘Acem in his previously cited work dedicated to language, and in this text the link between language and the imagined collective figures as more clearly implied by the very nature of the topic. When Molla Luṭfī distinguished among *tā’ifes* he did it based on occupation and proximity to urban environments which makes the category a close approximate to a socio-linguistic group within monolingual (Turkish) speech community.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Discussing the period of the first half of the seventeenth century, Goffman writes that in this time *tā’ife* was “the most common Ottoman word for a “group” or a “community,” whether religious, social, military, or political.” Also, “Ottoman administrators utilized this term, which seemed to refer to any group that was in position dependent upon the state, with seemingly wild abandon.” Daniel Goffman, “Ottoman Millets in the Early Seventeenth Century,” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 11 (Fall 1994): 135-158, 139.

<sup>135</sup> Unan, *Ahlāk-ı Alā’ī*, 459-471.

<sup>136</sup> Aksoy, “Molla Lütḫī’nin *Risāle-i Mevlānā Lütḫī*’si,” 56 and *passim*.

‘Alī Çelebi’s entry on *Bosna* is rather succinct and very similar in style to that of *Macar* (Hungarians). Unlike Hungarians, however, Bosnians are not assigned any negative traits. The couplet ‘Alī Çelebi himself composed in Arabic to include it in this entry reads:

We asked a stranger from the *Grad* (sl. town, fortress) of Bosna about his *cins*/ He turned his face away from us, angrily saying: “Bosna”<sup>137</sup>

Attending the various teaching posts in his early career and later on, ‘Alī Çelebi did not have to go to European part of the Ottoman state further than Edirne.<sup>138</sup> ‘Alī Çelebi’s vision of *tā’ifes* from Ottoman Europe who supplied Ottoman households with occupants/servants and their characteristics was probably not entirely informed by his personal investigation on the ground. And yet, he could have met many Slavic-speakers who were the household slaves in any of the places where he worked, among other options including the high and low officials. In 1565, of all South-Slavic options (Serbian, Bosnian, Bulgarian, and Croat) he singled out one, making a clear connection between a place and a collective.

Slavery was a practice which took various forms in the early modern Ottoman state, and it goes without saying that South-Slavs were not the only people exposed to it. Nevertheless, I will provide a brief summary of what we know of the ways in which South-Slavs in particular may have been included into Ottoman body-politic through the various forms of enslavement. From the perspective of Ottoman administration, as of the late fourteenth century until the end of the sixteenth, South-Slavic speaking Europe as a geolinguistic space was charted by moving dividing lines between the areas under direct administrative control of the Ottoman state (the expanding core) and the unstable frontiers where a period of intense incursions into enemy territory would

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<sup>137</sup> The whole entry reads: “(tr.) Hilm ü vekār u rezānet ve ‘akl-ı saḥīḥ ve vefā vü emanetile mevsūf ve gulām u cāriyesi hüsn-i şekl ü hidmetile ma ‘rūfdur. Faḳīr nazm itmişdüm, nazm: (ar.) Sa ‘alnā ğinsa dālika’l-a ‘ġemiyyi’l-ġirādi Busnā/fa-ağraḍa wağhahu ‘annā wa qāla muğāḍiban Busnā,” Ibid., 466.

<sup>138</sup> For biographical details see Ibid., xiii-xvii.

often precede large-scale campaigns aimed at permanent conquest (the moving borderlands). Slavs living under the Ottoman administrative rule around this time could have been more or less recent converts to Islam or Christians. The latter were protected as *zimmīs* (non-Muslim followers of the revealed religions living under a Muslim government; together with Jews and Zoroastrians, “the people of the book”), and according to sharia theory could not be enslaved. Therefore, it was the enemy territories neighboring the areas under direct Ottoman control that were the main points of dislocation of Slavic-speaking slaves, many of whom were distributed in households all over Ottoman state.<sup>139</sup>

Many issues regarding the status of the household slaves were legally regulated by the sharia and taken to *kadı* courts. Both sharia and Islamic sense of piety encouraged manumission of a slave which was conducted for various reasons and out of various motives. Conversion to Islam, change of name, and, finally manumission conducted in front of the sharia court transformed an enslaved person into a freeman enjoying the same legal rights like freeborn Muslims and having access to types of education open to this social group. Conversion to Islam was not a precondition for manumission, but the post-slavery trajectories of freed non-Muslims is even harder to imagine than that of the converts, based on what is known. The entries in the court records detailing slavery-related cases are of limited number of types. Most numerous are those recording the acts of manumission of the slave by their master, then come the entries on fugitive slaves, transfers of ownership of slaves, inventories of property of deceased which list slaves as part of the property, as well as the cases in which slaves appeal to court to resolve various issues related to their

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<sup>139</sup> In the words of Yvonne Seng, the institution of slavery in the Ottoman empire was “used not only by palace but by a wide variety of residents, across a range of socio-economic levels.” Yvonne J. Seng, “Fugitives and Factotums: Slaves in Early Sixteenth-Century Istanbul,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 39/2 (1996): 139-169, 139.

status.<sup>140</sup> To what extent and in what way the household slaves contributed to the language diversity in the Ottoman capital or any other place can only be speculated about. Whether they had access to any kind of literacy probably depended on their “pre-Ottoman” backgrounds and age on the one hand, and the type of household they ended up in, i.e. upon the social status, stature and/or will of their master, on the other.

Household labor as a sole purpose of enslavement could be avoided by Slavic-speaking boys and men captured during the war or raids provided that they were considered capable, in the first place, for military service. In case of boys and young men, the path of integration into Ottoman society would start with the status of *‘acemī oğlan*. *‘Ağemī* is an Arabic adjective which, in its long career acquired meanings like *non-Arab, barbarian, Persian, untrained, and inexperienced*. The Arabic root *‘ğm* also produced forms bearing meanings related to speech, specifically those based on the notions like incomprehensiveness or speechlessness.<sup>141</sup> In Ottoman usage, *‘acemī oğlan* literally means an inexperienced, uneducated boy (perhaps even, unable to speak in a proper idiom) whose future was projected as that of a member of the *‘askerī* (tr./administrative) class of Ottoman body politic and whose training and education was conducted with this idea in mind. The social integration of an enslaved Slavic-speaking *‘acemī oğlan* involved conversion to Islam, learning (minimum) Turkish language, training, and possibly, at some point in their careers, manumission. With immediate conversion came the change of names, which were however not left unrecorded by the Ottoman bureaucrats. Besides through clearly forced enslavement, an *‘acemī oğlan* of Slavic/Christian origin could also be levied through the practice of *devshirme* (tr.lit. collection).

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<sup>140</sup> Alan Fisher, “Studies in Ottoman Slavery and Slave Trade, II: Manumission,” in *A precarious balance: conflict, trade, and diplomacy on the Russian-Ottoman frontier*, collected articles by Alan Fischer (İstanbul: Isis Press, 1999), 129-138; Idem, “Chattel Slavery in the Ottoman Empire,” in Fischer, *A precarious balance*, 105-127.

<sup>141</sup> *Lisanu’l ‘Arab*, 2825.

This practice has been discussed in the modern literature as a form of an exceptional tax on *zimmīs*, and as an Ottoman specific exception to a sharia rule forbidding their enslavement. The practice of *devshirme* implied separation of the Christian boys and young men from their families and educating them in the same way and with the same purpose like the young slaves captured in the fighting fields. When and why Ottoman sultans started issuing orders for the collection and recruitment of the children of protected Christian *re'aya* is not entirely clear. The suggested dates have been 1395 and 1428, and suggested reason for this practice has been that the number of young slaves gathered through raids was not enough to meet the needs of the government. The legality of *devshirme* started being commented by Ottoman intellectuals only as of the sixteenth century.<sup>142</sup> At an unknown point in time, apparently in the early sixteenth century, Slavic-speaking, Muslim born children also started being drafted and included into the educational and military training system predominantly staffed by *kul-devshirme* recruits of Christian origin. This specific practice is attested in texts dating to the sixteenth century, and I will discuss it more later. For now, it is enough to say that their inclusion into Ottoman *'askerī* class also started with the status of an *'acemī ođlan*.

To differentiate between the *'acemī ođlans* of two different backgrounds, Ottoman historians refer to the members of the first group as *kuls*, and to the second as *devshirme*. As hinted above, war slaves could be of various ages and of various biographies, not only children and young boys. Although it is not clear what sort of treatment and training was granted to some of the older recruits whose inclusion into *'askerī* class is evident from the sources, it can be safely said that

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<sup>142</sup> For these dates, the problems of origins and legality, and the sources used for scholarly discussions, see: J.A.B. Palmer, "The Origin of the Janissaries," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 35/2 (1952-1953): 448-481; Paul Wittek, "Devshirme and *sharī'a*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 17/2 (1955): 271-278; Victor L. Ménage, "Sidelights on the *devshirme* from Idris and Sa'duddin," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 18 (1956): 181-3; Idem., "Some notes on the *devshirme*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29 (1966): 64-78; Richard C. Repp, "A further note on the *devshirme*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 31 (1968), 137-9.



already possessing a skill considered useful would be of benefit for their Ottoman future.<sup>143</sup> The *kul-devshirme* system was one of the main Ottoman institutions organized around the goal of filling the various ranks and regiments of the Ottoman standing army—in Ottoman parlance the *kapukulları* (tr./the slaves of the Porte).<sup>144</sup> As already mentioned in *Chapter I*, a number of *kul-devshirme* boys selected based on their looks, skills and talents were educated within the imperial palace, the most important and most complex household in Ottoman society and trained for military service and/or various other professions. These had the highest prospects in terms of their careers.<sup>145</sup> The households of the powerful magnates mirrored that of the sultan's, in structure, if not in numbers or the resources used for education, and offered a certain amount of opportunities in their own right.

The *kul-devshirme* boys and young men of various backgrounds recruited in an early stage of life are now commonly viewed as not having experienced a complete “social death” after conversion to Islam and their integration into Ottoman professional army. This implies that many of them have retained at least oral competence in the language of the speech community they were born into, and therefore some sort of link to their place of origin. The sources of Ottoman provenance, however, only occasionally and even then, indirectly, acknowledge the possibility that some of them entered the system having had a chance to receive some education and literacy

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<sup>143</sup> When captured during the siege of Novo Brdo in 1455, Konstantin Mihajlović who left a first-person account of the time he spent in the Ottoman service, was obviously a relatively skilled soldier already, and perhaps even literate. His memoirs were published as Konstantin Mihailović, *Memoirs of a janissary*, trans. Benjamin Stolz, historical commentary and notes by Svat Soucek (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1975). For a specific case of the *dragoman* (interpreter) see *Chapter I*.

<sup>144</sup> For generalia on “slaves of the Porte,” see Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650*, 128-142. For standard reference on the Ottoman military, see the third edition of İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*. 2.vols. (Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu, 1988).

<sup>145</sup> Metin Kunt, *The sultan's servants: the transformation of Ottoman provincial government, 1550-1650* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 6-8.

within the speech- and religious communities they were born into.<sup>146</sup> Many of the high-positioned Ottoman officers who entered the Ottoman *‘askerī* system and played important roles in Ottoman government and administration became subjects of historiographical and other kinds of narratives. These narratives occasionally provide information based on which it can be concluded that the person was of Slavic origin. For example, it is a common place knowledge that Ottoman Arabographers did tend to use ethnonym-like attributes with names of highly positioned officers/sultan’s servants. What is not clear is when exactly this practice started, and whether establishing this fact would be of any importance. Generally speaking, however, the high-positioned Ottoman officers were rarely, if ever, described by Ottoman literati as being of Serbian or Bulgarian origin, while we can often read that this or that person was of Bosnian or Croatian origin. As for the household slaves beyond the direct control of the sultan, the best sources for their trajectories remain various types of entries from the court records.

Writing about the fugitive slaves in the 1520’s Ottoman Istanbul based on the extant court records from Üsküdar (a town overlooking Istanbul, across Bosphorus), Yvonne Seng makes a note that these records “allow us to address the questions of the origins of these slaves, both their *ethnic origins or provenance* and the region from which they fled, and who owned them,” whereby “Crimean raids into Russia and Poland, and the European campaigns in the Balkans were the main sources of supply” in the decade she focused on.<sup>147</sup> The later conclusion was made based on a hundred plus cases in which *kadı* court secretaries cared to record the “ethnic origins/provenance” of the fugitive Slaves. Of all the “Slavic possibilities” Seng quoted in the statistics she provides

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<sup>146</sup> A popular narrative of conversion to Islam and subsequent career of an Ottoman high official the image of which conflates few “Mahmud Pashas,” one of them being Mahmud Pasha Angelović, portrays the young hero as a person well-educated in his religion. Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs*, 369-370; Hedda Reindl-Kiel, “The Tragedy of Power; The Faith of Grand Vezirs According to *Menakıbnâme-i Mahmud Paşa-i Veli*,” *Turcica* 35 (2003): 247-56.

<sup>147</sup> Seng, “Fugitives and Factotums,” 157. The emphasis is mine.

for 1520's, noticeable is the absence of "Serbian."<sup>148</sup> Quoting the same statistics elsewhere, Seng writes that "the regional mix of the palace," though unaddressed in the article, was also "representative of the society in general."<sup>149</sup> As a much larger, searchable collection of Istanbul *kadı* courts from the first half of the sixteenth century and on has become available, it is now possible to establish with even more safety that Seng's conclusions were valid—in principle, and to extend the search beyond the fugitive slaves only and beyond the time frame addressed by Seng.<sup>150</sup> For my purpose, these records are valuable to work with while thinking about the ways in which Istanbul-based *kadıs* and literate men imagined or charted out South-Slavia in different periods of time and whether the labels they used are best described as marking "ethnic origin/provenance." Furthermore, even if we speak of "regional" rather than "ethnic origin/provenance," one can ask what kind of knowledge informed the distinction of particular regions within South-Slavia.

Istanbul *kadı* court records from the sixteenth century show that the officials who participated in their production may have faced a dilemma about whether to write the entries in Arabic or Turkish, but that the latter was the preferred choice. At first sight, their concern with language stopped there, for the entries on freemen are consistent in never specifying the linguistic profile of a client, be they Muslim or non-Muslim. This was either deemed unimportant or self-

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<sup>148</sup> "Thirty-nine percent were of Russian origin (*Rusī*; two were described more specifically as *Moscovī*). Thirty-one percent were from Croatia (*Hirvadī*), and eleven percent were Bosnian (*Bosnevī*). From the same direction were two Wallachians (*Eflak*), one Hungarian (*Macarī*), and one Bulgarian (*Bulgarī*). The sample at the end of the decade is similar in composition: of the thirty-six slaves for whom descriptions were recorded, seventeen were described as Russian, six Hungarian, five Bosnian and five Croatian." Ibid. The labels quoted in parenthesis do not correspond to the original, see below.

<sup>149</sup> Yvonne J. Seng, "A Liminal State: Slavery in the Sixteenth Century Istanbul," in *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East*, ed. Shaun E. Marmon (Princeton, N.J.: M. Wiener, 1999), 25-42: 28.

<sup>150</sup> The series is at <http://www.kadiscilleri.org/yayin.php>. The oldest register is Üsküdar (no.1. 1513-1521). Üsküdar court records, ten in number, can be followed until 1591. From the sixteenth century, published are also Balat (no. 1. 1557-1558; no. 2. 1563); Beşiktaş (no. 2. 1558-1561); Tophane (no. 2. 1558-1559); and Eyüb (no. 3. 1585-1587). The registers are available in both transliteration to Latin script and in facsimile of the original.

explanatory. At court, the non-native speakers of Turkish or Arabic could either be those who have already learned these languages, or they could communicate with the help of interpreter. Non-Muslims attending the sharia court are sometimes, but not consistently, designated as *zimmīs*. Of their ethnic origins, and potential bilingualism we can only make wild guesses based on their names. However, empirically proving that a person having a non-Muslim name or having a status of a *zimmī* was not a native speaker of Turkish, for example, would probably be a scholarly feat. Reconstructing the stories behind bilingualism of people with Muslim names is equally hard if one strives for empirical precision. Even the records of specific cases related to a punishable speech act (cursing) tend to stylize the contents and oblivate the details which could indicate that the offence was committed in a language other than Turkish.<sup>151</sup> Therefore, these records are of no help in detecting, for example, converts to Islam who did not know either Turkish or Arabic, or *zimmīs* who did know Turkish.

And yet, for reasons which would be hard to locate discursively here, i.e. without departing too far from the subject of this thesis, Ottoman authorities did care about the origin of their slaves—fugitive, manumitted, employed or enlisted as soldiers.<sup>152</sup> The slaves are regularly described in court records as being of particular *aşl* (origin) whereby the word was regularly attributed with what today would be understood as an ethnonym. Another kind of information that court-scribes recorded concerned the looks of the slaves—for the reasons of identification, a fact rather easy to understand. The vocabulary of these descriptions, of course, presents a separate subject, but what matters now is they do not contain explicit mentions of the languages the slaves possibly spoke,

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<sup>151</sup> Like in cases when *zimmī* by the name Zevī curses Marola; when Marya and Panayot are cursed by Sosora; or when Mihāl b. Yani cursed Andriniko b. Matyoz. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Üsküdar Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 919 - 927 / 1513 - 1521)*, ed. Bilgin Aydın and Ekrem Tak (Istanbul: ISAM Yayınları, 2008), 139; 140; 348.

<sup>152</sup> Fugitive slaves would probably try to escape back to their homelands. This is just one logical assumption. The Islamic literature of household management in which slavery played important role, had a long pre-Ottoman tradition.

be it the languages of the place they were dislocated from or the languages of the new environment. From a search of the mentioned online database based on the ethno-regionalisms attached to the word *aşl* and which could be described as South-Slavic, there emerges a diachronically sensitive pattern, the implications of which are not insignificant when it comes to understanding on what bases the Ottoman *kadıs* identified the slaves of Slavic origin, and even more broadly, the Slavic-speakers.

Thus we see that in the first half of the sixteenth-century the enslaved South-Slavic speakers could have been of Serbian origin (ar.tr. *Sirfiyyu'l-Aşl*/three occurrences,<sup>153</sup> *Şıbrliyyu'l-Aşl*,<sup>154</sup> *Sirfu'l-Aşl*<sup>155</sup>), next to Bulgarian (*Bulğariyyu'l-Aşl*<sup>156</sup>), Croatian (*Ĥırvādiyyu'l-Aşl*, *Ĥırvatiyyu'l-Aşl*, *Hırvadiyyu'l-Aşl*<sup>157</sup>), and Bosnian (*Bosnaviyyu'l Aşl*,<sup>158</sup> *Bosnāvī kimesne*,<sup>159</sup> (...) *i Bosnavī*<sup>160</sup>). After mid-sixteenth century until its end, the South-Slavic speakers who could have been enslaved in different ways, are almost exclusively being described as being of Croatian and Bosnian origin, clearly seen as different groups. In Istanbul court records from the whole of the sixteenth century Croatia transpires only as an enemy territory, as the Croatians figure almost

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<sup>153</sup> *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 919 - 927 / 1513 - 1521)*, 181 (facsimile on p. 479); 191 (484), and 293 (518).

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 191 (483). This looks like a mistake.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 248 (507).

<sup>156</sup> *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil (H. 940 - 942 / M. 1534 - 1536)*, ed. Kenan Yıldız (Istanbul: ISAM Yayınları, 2010), 411 (448).

<sup>157</sup> These three spelling variants occur among the total of thirteen cases related to fugitive slaves in *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 919 - 927 / 1513 - 1521)*. The first variant is on 111 (442), 148 (463), 190 (483), 300 (520), 403 (550). The second is on 159 (468), 168 (473), 202 (489), 203 (489), 203 (489), 227 (499), 299 (520), and the third on 242 (505).

<sup>158</sup> As in *Ibid.*, 111 (442), and many more cases in this (28) and other court records.

<sup>159</sup> Among rare examples, as in *Ibid.*, 242 (505).

<sup>160</sup> As in “Mihribān-ı Bosnevī [nām] cāriyesi,” *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil (H. 940 - 942 / M. 1534 - 1536)*, 228 (519). Also a rare example.

exclusively as slaves, while “Serbian” as a label completely disappears from the court records. Unlike in the case of Serbs and Croats, we can infer from the Istanbul court records that some freemen were also identified or identified themselves as being of Bosnian origin. This can be concluded from their names containing the adjectives like *Bosnāli/Bosnalı*, *Bosnāvī*, or *Bosna*.<sup>161</sup> The number of such examples is relatively small in the sixteenth, but significantly grows in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The sixteenth-century pattern therefore indicates that the logic the *kadı*s of the Istanbul courts applied while describing the origin of slaves from South-Slavia was, first and foremost, based on the essentially political core-frontier dichotomy. The dividing line between the core and the frontier was constantly moving throughout the sixteenth century South-Slavia in an outward direction gradually obliterating the pre-Ottoman political divisions. The labels used in descriptions of the origins of people dislocated by the enslavement thus preserve the memory of late-medieval political divisions of South-Slavia, rather than pointing to ethnic or regional categorizations based on other criteria. The Ottoman conquest of late-medieval South-Slavia was long and protracted. It started a century before Ottoman chroniclers started formulating the rounded narratives describing it. From these narratives, organized around the stories of individual campaigns of individual sultans directed against local lords and particular fortresses, one gets the correct sense that South-Slavia was deeply fragmented.

Ottoman historiographical texts dating from the fifteenth century do not operate with the concept of Bulgarian land or state. The earliest extant text dealing with the history of Ottoman

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<sup>161</sup> As in: Bosnalı Muştafâ b. Aḥmed, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 919 - 927 / 1513 - 1521)*, 175 (474); Bosnālī İlyās b. ‘Abdullāh, *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Üsküdar Mahkemesi 5 Numaralı Sicil (H. 930 - 936 / M. 1524 - 1530)*, ed. Yasemin Dağdaş and Zeynep Berktaş (Istanbul: ISAM Yayınları, 2010), 342 (378); Süleymān b. ‘Abdullāh Bosnāvī, *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Balat Mahkemesi 2 Numaralı Sicil (H. 970 - 971 / M. 1563)*, ed. Mehmet Akman (Istanbul: ISAM Yayınları, 2011), 164 (406); Hamza Bosna, *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Balat Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 964-965/ M. 1557-1558)*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz et.al (Istanbul: ISAM Yayınları, 2019), 292 (320).

dynasty, Aḥmedī's (d.1412) *İskendernāme*, for example, gives no idea of existence of that late medieval polity held in historiography to have been finally conquered in 1393 with the fall of Tarnovo.<sup>162</sup> Even in later texts which do mention the conquests which led to the fall of Bulgarian empire or its fragments, no concept of "Bulgaria" as whole is used.<sup>163</sup> The situation is different when it comes to Serbia and Hungary. As early as in Aḥmedī we read that sultan Orhan's (d.1362) conquests in Europe caused turmoil in *Lāz* (Serbia) and *Üngürüs* (Hungary).<sup>164</sup> Covering the gradual appropriation of late-medieval Serbian territories (ca.1389-1459) early Ottoman chronicles are consistent in using the word *Lāz*.<sup>165</sup> Having no particular meaning in Serbian, *Lāz* was an adjective/substantive invented by the Ottomans to mean "(the land) of Laz(ar)" (Lazar Hrebeljanović, r. 1373-1389). The word was also used to designate Serbs as a collective, Serb as an individual, and as an adjective collocated with a relatively limited number of nouns.<sup>166</sup> Though less frequently, Ottoman chroniclers also used the adjective *Serf/Sirf* (Serbian) to describe the enemy soldiers, infidels, captured slaves, or the land about to be conquered. The concepts of Serbia and Serbian lands, can therefore be identified in Ottoman historiographical narratives, though

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<sup>162</sup> Tāce'd-Dīn İbrāhīm bin Hızır Aḥmedī, *Tevārīh-i Mülük-i āl-i 'Osmān gāzv-i īṣān bā-küffār* [History of the kings of the Ottoman lineage and their holy raids against the infidels], ed. and transl. Kemal Silay (Harvard University: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, 2004), 1-24.

<sup>163</sup> This stands for the texts dealing with the history of Ottoman dynasty and published in Öztürk, *Anonim Osmanlı Kroniği (1299-1512)*; Dimitri J. Kastritsis, ed., *An early Ottoman history: the Oxford Anonymous chronicle (Bodleian Library, Ms Marsh 313)* (Liverpool [England]: Liverpool University Press, 2017); Necdet Öztürk, ed., *Āşıkpaşazāde tarihi: [Osmanlı tarihi (1285-1502)]* (İstanbul: Bilgi Kültür Sanat, 2013); Necdet Öztürk, ed., *Oruç Beğ tarihi: giriş, metin, kronoloji, dizin, tıpkıbasım* (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2007); Faik Reşit Unat, and Mehmed A. Köymen, eds., *Kitāb-i Cihan-nümā. Neşrī tarihi*, 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1949-1957). All of these chronicles served as a main source of information for later historians engaging with the period.

<sup>164</sup> "Because of him, pandemonium had befallen the Lāz, and earthquakes the realms of Ungürüs" (tr. "Lāza düşmiş idi andan velvele/Ungürüsün illerine zelzele), Aḥmedī, *Tevārīh-i Mülük-i āl-i 'Osmān*, 7 and 32.

<sup>165</sup> To the list quoted in fn.163 of this chapter, one can also add a text solely dedicated to the reign of Meḥmed II: Tursun Bey (fl. 1453-1499), *Tārīh-i Ebü'l-Feth*, ed. Mertol Tulum (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1977).

<sup>166</sup> Most commonly words like *il* (tr. land), *vilāyet* (tr./province), *oğlı* (tr./son, as in Lāz-oğlı/sl. Lazarević). In *Āşıkpaşazāde*, for example, there is a rare usage with *kıral* (tr./king) and *maḥbūb* (tr./beloved, enslaved boy).

mediated by the term *Lāz*. This stops being the case in the narratives dealing with the events after 1459. After the conquest of Belgrade in 1520 and the Battle of Mohacs in 1526, the frontier permanently moves towards north, to Hungary. Once the conquest of all lands ruled by Serbs was finished, this designation disappears as these lands become divided into *sancaks* constituting the Rūmeli *beylerbeyliği*. This explains why after 1530's, for example, when the above described poetic exchanges were happening, there is no mention of Serbian slaves in Istanbul *kadı* courts. The act of restoration of Orthodox Serbian Patriarchate of Peć, in 1557, with the blessing and under the protection of the Ottoman State, probably had to do with how Ottoman administrators understood the enslavement of Orthodox Christians in the wide area of its jurisdiction.<sup>167</sup> Namely, if Orthodox Community headed by a Serbian Patriarch was a partner of the state, its members were theoretically protected from forced enslavement. A rather unique document from 1557 listing a group of *ķuls* attached to a sultanic court official mentions only Bosnians and Croats as recruits, for example.<sup>168</sup> This brings to mind a question of whether even the *ķul-devshirme* recruits staffing the inner and outer court of the Ottoman household were ever designated in Ottoman sources as “Serbs,” in accordance with historical realities and in analogy to “Bosnians” or “Croats.” The immediate, but insecure answer is no, but the regional dynamics of *devshirme* remains a blind-spot in Ottoman history despite the huge scholarly attention dedicated to this uniquely Ottoman institution. In any case, if the Christian children from former Serbian territories were recruited

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<sup>167</sup> The jurisdiction of the renewed Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate encompassed the parts of Bosnia under the Ottoman rule, the territories of late-medieval Serbia, and parts of present-day Bulgaria. Vladislav B. Sotirović, “The Serbian Patriarchate of Peć in the Ottoman Empire: The First Phase (1557–94),” *Serbian studies* 25/2 (2011): 143-169.

<sup>168</sup> When Ca'fer Aga, supervisor of the palace (tr. *bābu's-saāde ağası/kapu ağası*) died in 1557, behind him remained a list with names, places of origin, and current occupations of some 156 *ķuls* (palace slaves) he obviously oversaw. The list also included brief comments on the potential/talent of each slave and recommendations for further continuation of their careers. Metin Kunt, “Kulların Kulları” [The Slaves of the Slaves], *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi: Hümaniter Bilimler* 3 (1975): 27-42.



through *devshirme* after 1459, the sultanic order would broadly refer to these lands as Rūmeli or refer to a particular place or a *sancak*.<sup>169</sup>

The late-medieval Bosnian state reached the maximum of its territorial extent under its first king Tvrtko I Kotromanić (d.1391; crowned 1377 as king of Serbia and Bosnia). Parts and fragments of this realm and its immediate neighborhood will remain Ottoman enemy territory from the late fourteenth until the end of the sixteenth century. As late as 2001, Ivan Lovrenović found it necessary to emphasize “a century and a half of Turkish conquest,” namely a fact that Bosnia did not fall “in the course of a few days.”<sup>170</sup> The Ottoman incursions into late-medieval Bosnia started in the late fourteenth century (ca. 1388), but the first news of placing a part of it under direct Ottoman administrative rule come from 1455. It is then that some parts of late-medieval Bosnian kingdom were included into the frontier *sancak* centered in Skopje and governed by İshākbeyoğlu ‘İsā Bey. The Ottoman westward expansion was relatively slow and the only major sultanic campaign organized to this end was that led by Mehmed II, in 1463. This year is commonly and mistakenly described in historiography as “the fall of Bosnia.” What did fall in this year was the principality ruled by the last Bosnian king, designated as *Bosna kralı* in Ottoman chronicles, and not mentioned by name. At the same time, the Ottomans subdued some other local lords and their domains neighboring the king’s land. From these acquisitions the Ottoman *sancak* of Bosnia was formed, in 1463. Several years after, in 1470, Ottoman administration formed the *sancak* of Herzegovina (tr. *Hersek*). As of 1463 and on, the further territorial gains were achieved mainly through the activities of Bosnian and Herzegovinian *sancak-beyis*, raiders (tr. *akıncıs*), and

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<sup>169</sup> For several examples of sultanic orders from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, see Aleksandar Matkovski, “Prilog pitanju devširme” [A contribution to the question of *devshirme*], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 14-15 (1969): 273-309.

<sup>170</sup> Ivan Lovrenović, *Bosnia: a cultural history* (London: Saqi, 2001), 81.

locally stationed forces moving in all directions—towards Venetian Dalmatia, and Croatia, officially the realm of Habsburg Empire. Once the acquisitions would pile-up, new *sancaks* would be established like was the case after the 1534 conquest of the Dalmatian fortress of Klis, or the 1538 conquest of Croatian region of Slavonia. In 1541, Ottoman administration founded the *beylerbeylik* of Budin, in Hungary. This act was part of the initial phase of decentralization of highest governing structures in Ottoman Europe. Before 1541, all *sancaks* of Ottoman continental Europe were under the *beylerbeyi* of Rümeli.<sup>171</sup> In ca.1580, *beylerbeylik* of Bosnia was initially founded to include *sancaks* of Bosnia, Hersek, Klis, Krka and Pakrac (previously under Rümeli *beylerbeyi*) as well as *sancaks* of Zvornik and Požega (previously under Budim *beylerbeyi*). The *beylerbeylik* of Bosnia encompassed all of the territories of late medieval Bosnian kingdom plus parts of former Serbian territories, as well as what was wrestled from Croatia and Venice. The Ottoman expansion towards the north-west was finished in 1592 with the fall of the fortress of Bihać. In sum, the late medieval Bosnia took longer to conquer than any other late medieval South-Slavic state, arguably even longer than a century and a half.<sup>172</sup> As such, it remained the abode of war (ar. judicial. *dāru'l-ḥarb*) and the site of forced enslavement also for the longest period of time. Judging by the Istanbul court records, the 1590s can be taken as a decade in which the inflow of Bosnian slaves into Istanbul stopped. So, when Ottoman *kadis* designated the origins of the

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<sup>171</sup> From the time Ottomans crossed the Dardanelles, they used the term Rümeli to designate the territories in Europe under their control. Although its boundaries were constantly expanded, Rümeli was the only European administrative unit under the *beylerbeyi* until 1533. In 1533, the *beylerbeylik* of Archipelago becomes a separate unit of the same rank. Looking at the whole of the empire, İnalçık writes that “in 1520 there were only six *beylerbeyliks* in the empire; by the end of Süleymân’s reign there were sixteen.” See, Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire: the classical age, 1300-1600* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973), 105-106.

<sup>172</sup> The administrative structure of Bosnian *beylerbeylik*, its historical development and transformations were most extensively studied in Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk: postanak i upravna podjela* [The Bosnian *Pashalik*: its development and administrative division] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1982). For the earliest period of *sancak* of Bosnia, see Hatice Oruç, “15. Yüzyılda Bosna Sancağı ve İdari Dağılımı” [The Bosnian Sanjak and Its Administrative Units in the 15th Century], *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 18 (2006): 249-255.

slaves in the long sixteenth century, their frame of reference initially corresponded to the late-medieval Bosnian kingdom, the Ottoman conquest of which was finished in the late sixteenth century only. As the process was ongoing, so was the meaning of “Bosnia” changing simultaneously with its distancing from its late-medieval semantics. It is therefore in different stages and phases of this process that “Bosnia” was entering the Ottoman Arabographia.<sup>173</sup>

Probably due to its rather protracted “falling,” of all late-medieval South-Slavic options, “Bosnia” was the only term which entered Ottoman historiographical narratives carrying the connotations of a bygone statehood. While “falling,” the late medieval Bosnia, first gave name to an Ottoman *sancak* (1463) and than to a *beylerbeylik* (ca.1580). Once late-medieval Bosnia was completely included into Ottoman empire, the early connotations and memory of its statehood will be neutralized, i.e. absorbed by a translation of the concept of “Bosnia” into, among other, the “Ottoman administrative” language. So, as the time went by, “Bosnia” got to be included into various Ottoman *-lects* and discourses. Whatever semantics it gained in this ongoing process, unlike Bulgaria and Serbia, “Bosnia” persevered as a distinct place throughout the early modern period. Thus, as ‘Alī Çelebi’s work from 1565 suggests, Bosnia, of all South-Slavic options gave name to an Ottoman *tā’ife*, i.e. a collective from which the household servants of particular virtues

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<sup>173</sup> The *sancak* of Herzegovina (tr. *Hersek*) was formed soon after the *sancak* of Bosnia. The number of people designated as originating from Hersek and recorded in the sixteenth-century Istanbul *kadı* court-records is nowhere near the number of those originating from “Bosnia,” and, when found, they refer to freemen. There is, for example, a case of the deceased Hersekli Evrenos, a resident of Istanbul and formerly a member of the regiment of “the sons of *sipāhīs*” (tr./sg. *sipāhīoğlu*-cavalryman),” whose salary (tr. *ulūfe*) was supposed to be transferred to his son, Yusuf. *Balat Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 964-965/ M. 1557-1558), 104 (377). From another case we learn of Hersekli Mehmed b. ‘Abdullāh who was also part of the regiment of the sons of *sipāhīs*, but now stationed in Vukovar fortress (present-day Croatia). When Mehmed died in the mentioned fortress, his friends from the regiment of, now, volunteers, stationed in the same fortress wrote to the central treasury, demanding that his unpaid salaries were sent to his two sons and their mother. *Ibid.*, 112 (374). On a list of captains of (small) ships residing in Galata, dating to 1563, there is a Yahyā b. ‘Abdullāh described as being *Hersekiyyu’l-Aşl*. This list also contains two instances of persons being of Slovenian origin (ar. *İsloveniyyu’l-Aşl*), a rather rare occurrence, but further indicating the awareness of the variety of regional divisions of early-modern South Slavia. These were Hasan b. ‘Abdullāh and İdrīs b. ‘Abdullāh, obviously the first generation of converts to Islam, just like was the case with Yahyā from Herzegovina. *Balat Mahkemesi 2 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 970 - 971 / M. 1563), 337 (347).

and qualities were outsourced. Whether the qualities perceived as attributable to Bosnian slaves were perceived as applicable to Bosnians who gained/had the status of freemen is a question that can also be asked from Arabographic sources. For now, ‘Alī Çelebi’s Arabic couplet, and Mesīhī’s ghazal suggest that pride was perceived as a characteristic of both slaves and freemen from Bosnia.

Whether for ‘Alī Çelebi “Bosnian” meant anything more than a household servant, we can only guess. For his son, however, Kınalızāde Hasan (1546-1604), Bosnia was certainly more than a land of origin of Istanbul household slaves. Kınalızāde Hasan’s *tezkiye*, written in 1585, is the first Ottoman encyclopedic work in which Bosnia is given its due place as a part of Ottoman poetic geography. The poets described as hailing from Bosnia were Hürremī,<sup>174</sup> Dervīş,<sup>175</sup> Şānī,<sup>176</sup> and Kūṭbī.<sup>177</sup> That Kınalızāde Hasan was the first *tezkiyecisi* to, at the same time, mention Bosnia as a

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<sup>174</sup> Briefly described by Kınalızāde as being a “Bosnavī” who earned fame under pseudonym *Defterdār-zāde* (tr./the son of a *defterdār*). Hürremī’s poetry is here represented by one couplet only. Kınalızāde Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü’ş-şu’arā*, ed. Aysun Sungurhan (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2017), 305-306.

<sup>175</sup> Kınalızāde writes that this poet was from “Bosna diyāri,” from the town of Mostar. From here he arrived to Istanbul, first to Atmeydan Palace (İbrāhīm Pasha Palace). He was later transferred to the inner court of the Topkapı Palace, where the sultan, having noticed his literary talent, had him translate a poetic work in Persian titled *Şehā-nāme* (An Epistle on Generosity) by Mevlānā Bennā’ī. Ibid., 358-364. Although Kınalızāde quotes a lot of verses by this poet, he in fact does not tell much about his biography, which is, however known from a number of other sources, including his *vakıfnāme* establishing his endowment in Mostar and autobiographical parts of the introduction to the mentioned work of translation which was titled by Dervīş as *Murād-nāme*. Dervīş was a son of certain Bāyezīd from Mostar. He was sent to Istanbul as ‘*acemī oğlan* during the reign of Selīm II (1566-1574) and spent a lot of time at the court where he received his education. He died in battle, in 1603. For fuller information on this poet and militaryman and his connections in Istanbul, see Hazim Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH na Orijentalnim Jezicima* [The Literature of Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Oriental languages] (Svjetlost: Sarajevo, 1973), 106-129.

<sup>176</sup> Kınalızāde relates that Şānī’s real name was Šāliḥ, and that he was born in the town known as Bosna-Sarāyī. In his hometown he was known under a different name which he decided to change (to Şānī). Upon coming to Istanbul, Šāliḥ studied with ‘Ataullāh Efendi, famous as a teacher of Selīm II. Ibid., 461-463. Şānī was remembered in other Ottoman encyclopedic sources from which we know that he was also known as *Potur Salih*, that he spent most of his career as a *müderriş* and a *kadı* away from Bosnia. He died in Medina, in 1601, holding a post of a *kadı*. Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana*, 112-113.

<sup>177</sup> Kınalızāde notes that Kūṭbī was from Memlahat (Tuzla) in Rūmeli, that his proper name was İsmā’īl, and his pseudonym Kılıczade (the son of swordsman/sword-seller). He earned his higher education and diploma studying with certain Hasan Efendi who used to be the military judge of Rūmeli, deceased before 1585. In his entry on Kūṭbī, Kınalızāde quotes two autobiographical couplets composed by this poet, reading “I am a Bosnian from Lower Tuzla/A person favoured by wise dervishes and sufi masters; Friends, tell the news to my malicious enemies/I have the power to extract my morsel from the stone, from the tree, from the ground” [Bosnavīyüm Memlaha-i zīrden/ Himmet almış

region, quote some of its towns as poets' places of origin and leave an explicit record that one of them self-identified as "Bosnian" does not mean that Bosnia as a place was not thought of by researchers of Ottoman poetic geography before.<sup>178</sup> Nor it means that no one before was composing poetry in/about Bosnia,<sup>179</sup> or that Kınalızāde's overview was exhaustive.<sup>180</sup> It just

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bir kişiyüm hey erenler pîrden; Düşmen-i bed-hâhuma dostlar virin haber/Çıkarurum lokmamı taşdan agacdan yirden], *Ibid.*, 695.

<sup>178</sup> Writing about poet Hālī Beg, 'Ahdī notes that he was "a son of a *kuḷ*" (tr. *kuḷoĝlı*), born in a small town attached to Baghdad—"although his father was from Bosnia." Hālī Beg spent his life as a *sipāhī* in Baghdad. Ahdī, *Gülşen-i Şu'arā*, 137. From 'Ahdī's entry on 'Adnī Beg (a poet from sancak of Hamid who moved to Istanbul in his youth), we learn that, by the time 'Ahdī wrote, some Ottoman poets developed a concept of a specifically "Bosnian beloved/heart-captivator" (tr. *Bosnevī dil-ber*). *Ibid.*, 228. In one place, 'Ahdī notes that a certain poet from Istanbul wrote a poem in Persian dedicated to sultan Osman in the town (tr. *kaşaba*) of Sarāy in *Bosna vilāyeti*. *Ibid.*, 84. The only poet 'Ahdī mentions as directly having to do with Bosnia is Vaḥdetī (d.after 1603), noting he was, by origin, from Yenibazar (Novi Pazar, today south-western Serbia), in the *sancak* of Bosnia (tr. "*Bi'l-aşl Bosna sancağında Yeñibāzār'dandur*"). 'Ahdī's is at the same time the most extensive extant entry on this poet, who was actually born in a small settlement called Dobrun (today eastern Bosnia). 'Ahdī met Vaḥdetī in Baghdad (ca. 1579) and learned that the latter was a student of Fevrī Efendi (d.1571) and a *Farisidān* (tr./ an expert in subtleties in Persian language). In 1579, Vaḥdetī came to Bagdad as the secretary of a pasha, with whom he moved back to Rūm. Later Ottoman encyclopedists will remember Vaḥdetī as a "heretic" (tr. *mulhid*) (and this due to his non-orthodox sufi leanings and sympathies for Fażlullāh Astarabadī, a famous mystic and a founding figure of Hurufism). See Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana*, 102-109; for samples of Vaḥdetī's poetry in Turkish, Slobodan Ilić, "Hurufijski pjesnik Vaḥdeti Bosnevi i njegov divan" [A Hurufī Poet Vaḥdetī Bosnevī and His Dīvān], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 38 (1989): 63-95.

<sup>179</sup> When Hādīm Ya'kūb Pasha (d.after 1512), holding a position of *sancak-beyi* of Bosnia came out victorious from the famous battle of Krbava led against Hungarian Ban Derencsényi (tr. *Derencil Ban*) in 1493, he wrote an ode in honour of his great victory and sent it to Bāyezīd II. This ode was preserved in some chronicles commonly considered to have been authored by Oruç Beg of Edirne (fl.1502). In this poem, Hādīm Ya'kūb compares his victory to that of Murād I at Kosovo, in 1389, and styles himself in the last verse as "Dervish Ya'kūb, a Bosnian Beg" (tr. *Benim Bosna Beği Derviş Ya'kūb/ Hodā 'avniyle irişdüm bu ada*). 'Aşıkpaşazāde who wrote before Oruç also relates about this event, but does not quote Hādīm Ya'kūb's poem. Instead, he composes his own poetic illustration. 'Aşıkpaşazāde describes Derencil Ban as "one of the great bans of Bosnia and one of the great heroes loyal to Hungarian king" (tr. "*Bosna vilāyetinin ulu banlarından ve Ungurus kiralının ziyāde bahadırlarından*"). The manuscripts in which this poem was preserved were all produced in the second half of the sixteenth century and later (the oldest dated being BNF-MS Turc 99 copied in December 1566). Oruç's version of the story of the Krbava battle (the one copied in 1566, and one copied in 1584 (BNF-MS Turc 1047)) is much different from that provided by 'Aşıkpaşazāde. Oruç introduces the story of the battle by providing a short biography of Hādīm Ya'kūb from which we read that he was of Bosnian origin, brought to the court during the reign of Meḥmed II, and later sent to Amasya to accompany prince Bāyezīd, the future sultan. Also unlike 'Aşıkpaşazāde, Oruç describes Derencil Ban as "one of the kings of Bosnia" (tr. "*Bosna kiralılarından bir be-nām kiral...*"). See, Aleksije A. Olesnicki, "Bošnjak Hadum Jakub, Pobjednik na Krbavskom Polju g.1493" [Bosniak Hadum Jakub, the Victor of the Battle of Krbava in 1493], *Rad JAZU* 118 [264] (1938): 123-160; Hedda Reindl, *Männer um Bāyezīd: eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Sultan Bāyezīds II. (1481-1512)* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1983), 346-358; Öztürk, *Oruç Beğ tarihi*, 154-162 (based on BNF-MS Turc 1047); BNF-MS Turc 99, ff.144a-149a; BNF-MS Turc 117, ff. 127b-131b; Öztürk, *Aşıkpaşazāde tarihi*, 319-320.

<sup>180</sup> Aside from "omitting" Vaḥdetī, Kınalızāde, like many subsequent encyclopedists, failed to notice another contemporary poet who was born in Mostar/Herzegovina—Hasan Žiyā'ī Mostarī (d.1584). Žiyā'ī is among the earliest poets from Bosnia who composed enough *ghazals* and other kinds of poems to collect them in a *Dīvān*. The reason for the omission can be guessed based on Žiyā'ī's own verses in which he complains about the backwardness of the

means, as I already noted, that it was only in the second half of the sixteenth century that Bosnia as a specific locale started being officially recognizable as an integral part of Ottoman trilingual poetic geography. Kınalızāde places Bosnia on Ottoman poetic map as a distinct region (tr. *diyār*), rather than as an administrative area (*beylerbeylik*) which it was, as of little before he finished his work. Its “*diyār* counterparts” in Kınalızāde were vaguely defined and vast areas of Rūm, ‘Arab, ‘Acem and Frengistān, but also some more specific places like Karaman, Kefe, Magnisa, Mısr/Egypt, Germiyān, Horāsān, Engürüs, Hamīd, Canik, Bursa and İstanbul. Rūmelī, to which the rest of the South-Slavia belonged in the end of the sixteenth century is left unattributed in Kınalızāde, but from the ways it was used (as a place of various appointments Ottomans poets took) it is understood that this Ottoman biographer conceived Rūmeli through the Ottoman administrative eye, whereby Bosnia was yet to become clearly visible as a vast administrative unit of the state.

Although it would be a hard task to find an Ottoman intellectual or a figure of stature who did not compose poetry in the sixteenth century, being an Ottoman poet did not imply simultaneously being an Ottoman intellectual who appears in sources in two basic garbs. A model *molla/mevla* was defined by *medrese* education and knowledge of the sharia, while defining feature of a model shaykh was a high rank in a sufi order he was affiliated with. The geography of Taşköprüzāde’s *Eş-şakā’ik* which covers the biographies of Ottoman intellectuals who died before 1558, does not include Bosnia in any way. The first encyclopedia from which the process of

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town in which he initially lived and lack of understanding of his poetry by the local people. His works also failed to reach İstanbul during his lifetime. The only patron of Žiyā’ī’s poetry whom he praises in autobiographic verses was Meḥmed Beg from the Yahyalı/Jahjapašić family, known as the *ghazi* in the frontier towards Hungary and a poet with the penname Vuşulī. Vuşulī is known to ‘Aşık Çelebi and Kınalızāde. The first to have noticed Hasan Žiyā’ī was Kafzāde Fā’izī (d. 1622) who included two of his couplets into, not *tezkire*, but an anthology of Ottoman poetry. For editions of Žiyā’ī’s *Dīvān* and one of his *meşnevīs*, see Müberra Gürgendereli, *Hasan Ziyā’ī: Hayatı-Eserleri-Sanatı ve Divanı (İnceleme, Metin)* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2002), and Idem, ed., *Mostarlı Ziyā’ī: Şeyh-i San’ān Mesnevisi* (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007). For a sketch of Žiyā’ī’s biography, see Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana*, 72-76.

integration of Bosnia into Ottoman intellectual geography can be followed was written in the first half of the seventeenth century by Taşköprüzâde's famous continuator, Nev'izâde 'Atâyî (d.1636).<sup>181</sup> It is only from 'Atâyî's *Hadâ'îku'l-Hakâ'ik* (written ca.1632) that we understand that an institution which played the most important role in integration of Bosnia into Ottoman intellectual geography was a *medrese* founded in Saray-Bosna/Sarajevo by Gazi Hüsrev Beg, in 1537.<sup>182</sup> From 'Atâyî we learn that the first *müderriis* of this mosque was el-Mevlâ Hüsameddîn with the penname (tr. *maħlaş*) Şeydâ. Born in Skopje, Şeydâ was educated in Istanbul, and spent most of his life teaching in *medreses* in Skopje, aside from almost a decade he spent in Sarajevo (1537-1548). From 1548 until 1583, five professors coming from various parts of the empire, are known to have held the teaching post in Saray-Bosna *medrese*.<sup>183</sup> It is also from 'Atâyî that we learn that, as of the reign of Süleymân I, some Ottoman learned men started adopting, or were

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<sup>181</sup> Taşköprüzâde's *Eş-şakâ'ik* marked a beginning of the long Ottoman tradition of composing encyclopedic works containing biographies of Ottoman intellectuals. The tradition was continued first by translations of and additions to *Eş-şakâ'ik*, and then through continuations. The conclusion made here is based on published, sixteenth-century works I had at my disposal, namely Mecdî Mehmed Efendi's (d.1590) translation/extension of *Eş-şakâ'ik*, written in Turkish and titled *Hadâ'îku's-şakâ'ik* (finished 1587), and *el-İkdu'l-manzûm fî Zikri Efâzili'r-Rûm* by 'Alî bin Bâlî, a continuation of *Eş-şakâ'ik* written in Arabic and covering the biographies of intellectuals who died before 1584. See, Mecdî Mehmed Efendi, *Hadaiku's-Şakaik*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989); Ali b. Bâlî, *El-ikdu'l-manzûm fî zikri efâzili'r-Rûm: Ali b. Bâlî'nin Şakâ'ik Zeyli*, ed. and trans. Suat Donuk (İstanbul: T.C.Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2018); Nev'izâde Atâyî, *Hadâ'îku'l-Hakâ'ik fî Tekmileti's-Şakâ'ik*, ed. Suat Donuk (İstanbul: T.C.Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2017).

<sup>182</sup> The *medrese* was part of gradually extended complex sponsored by Gazi Hüsrev Beg. He first founded a mosque and a dervish lodge (tr. *hâneğâh*) for Khalwati sufi order (in 1531). This is the second *medrese* known to have been built in Sarajevo. Several dervish lodges were founded in Sarajevo before the foundation of the first, already mentioned, Fîrûz-Beg *medrese*. These were, among other, a Mevlevi lodge founded by 'İsâ Beg Isaković, and two Naqshbandî lodges (one known as "Gaziler," and the other founded by Mihâloğlu İskender Pasha (sl. Mihajlović, d.1504)). Kasumović, *Školstvo i Obrazovanje*, 159-175. Other than founders, no prominent figures attached to these institutions before mid-sixteenth century are known to modern scholarship.

<sup>183</sup> After Hüsameddîn Şeydâ, there came Çalık Ya'kûb Efendi from Ankara (until 1557); Muşlihuddîn Muştafâ Çerçîn-zâde from the village of Çerçîn (Balat/Menteşe) (1557-1563); el-Mevlâ Haneftî/Haneftî Efendi from Yenice-i Vardar (1563-1565); Kara Süleyman from Gelibolu (until 1576); and 'Alî el-'Arabî/'Arab Efendi from Antakya (1576-1583). The post of *müderriis* in Gazi-Hüsrev Beg's *medrese* implied that the same person will take a function of *müftî* of Bosnia (interpreter of the sharia law for the purpose of solving previously unsolved legal issues). See, Nev'izâde Atâyî, *Hadâ'îku'l-Hakâ'ik*, 271-272; 485-486; 482-483; 363-364; 766-767; 1190-1192; Kasumović, *Školstvo i Obrazovanje*, 173. Kasumović writes, in the same place, that Hâcî Hüseyin Efendi (Muzaferija) was the first *müderriis* of this *medrese* who was born in Sarajevo (in 1646).

attributed by their biographers, the sobriquet *Bosnevī* (tr.ar./of Bosnia). Whether this was a way to honor one's own place of birth or a biographers' way to situate a person within the Ottoman intellectual geography is not always clear. Whatever the case, a good number of these men, just like the poets mentioned before, received higher education and spent most of their active lives away from Bosnia. The two earliest examples of individuals who were initially schooled in Bosnia to continue and advance further in Istanbul, obviously due to personal connections, appear during the reign of Süleymān I. Mu'allim Maḥmūd Efendi/Maḥmūd Efendi *Bosnevī* (d. 1568) and *Bosnevī Aḥmed Çelebi* (d.1575) were famous, among other, for having been teachers (tr. *mu'allim*) of *devshirme* recruits of Bosnian origin educated in Topkapı Palace, who will later become viziers and helpers of their educators (Meḥmed Pasha (d. October 1579), a *devshirme* recruit from Orthodox Serbian community of Ottoman Bosnia quoted in modern historiography as *Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha*; and Zāl Maḥmūd Pasha (d.1577), also a Bosnian).<sup>184</sup>

Few wisemen of Bosnian origin, however, were remembered by 'Aṭāyī primarily for what they did in Bosnia.<sup>185</sup> One such figure is eṣ-Şeyḫ Ḥamza/Maḳtūl (tr./slain) Ḥamza. According to 'Aṭāyī, Ḥamza was a *ḥalīfe* of Ḥüsām-i Ankaravī,<sup>186</sup> and a person of Bosnian origin (*Bosneviyyu 'l-*

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<sup>184</sup> Nev'izāde Atāyī, *Hadā'iku 'l-Hakā'ik*, 514-515 and 743-747. Similar was also the trajectory of Aḥmed Sudī *Bosnevī* (d. in 1590s), the teacher of Persian in the imperial palace and the famous comentator of Persian classics.

<sup>185</sup> Ayelet Zoran-Rosen has recently made a distinction between the “inbound” and “outbound” scholars of Bosnia in an article dealing with the dynamics of integration of Bosnia into Ottoman imperial system and the empire-wide process of “Sunnitization,” and this in an attempt to avoid the “isolationist approach to Bosnian history.” The statistical data she used in her analysis has been derived from 'Aṭāyī and his continuators. The mentioned distinction is made based on three samples described as: scholars of Bosnian origin (11); scholars appointed to Bosnia (25), and scholars who refused the appointment to Bosnia (3). The period covered by the article is sixteenth to early seventeenth century. Ayelet Zoran-Rosen, “The Emergence of a Bosnian Learned Elite. A Case of Ottoman Imperial Integration,” *Journal of Islamic studies (Oxford, England)* 30/2 (2019): 176-204.

<sup>186</sup> *Ḥalīfe* is a technical term designating a former student of a *sufi* shaykh who received enough knowledge and therefore permission to act on behalf of the shaykh and the order in a place they were sent out to. Ḥüsām-i Ankaravī (d. 1557) was a prominent figure in Bayrami-Melami *sufi* order, most active in and around his place of birth. He was a successor of Aḥmed Sārbān (d.1545), the first shaykh of the order permanently settled in Europe/Thrace. Bayrami-Melami *sufi* order was characteristic for openly stated devotion to Twelve (Shia) Imams and an extreme understanding of the doctrine of *Vaḥdet-i Vucūd* (approx. the unity of unqualified being) most famously expounded by Ibn 'Arabī. It is sometimes considered as being one of those *sufi* orders promoting syncretic or antinomian form of Islam, i.e. a



*aşl*). In the rest of the entry ‘Atāyī briefly notes that Ḥamza acted as a *ḥalīfe* of Ankaravī for a period of five years after which he was slain in Istanbul, in 1561/62. The execution was a spectacular event, also because one of Ḥamza’s followers (later called *Hamzevīs*), a halberdier from Topkapı Palace, sacrificed himself by slitting his own throat in public.<sup>187</sup> In this same entry, ‘Atāyī briefly introduces Bosnevī Bālī Efendī, the *kadı* of Bosnia, as a person who, having investigated the “obstinate ones” who called themselves “his (i.e. Ḥamza’s) disciples,” had many of them captured and killed.<sup>188</sup> In a special entry dedicated to Bosnevī Bālī Efendī, ‘Atāyī notes

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form permeable for non-Muslim/Christian ideologems. The eponymous founder of the order was Hācī Bayrām Velī (d.1429), while the second part of the appellation was derived from the word *melāmet*, referring to a person’s inclination to hide affiliation to the order and “seek blame” i.e. publicly disregard the outward rites of Islam for the sake of concealment. After gathering a great following in his native region, Ḥūsām-i Ankaravī proclaimed himself a *Mahdī* (a spiritual leader to (politically and justly) rule the world before the end of times) which is why he was put to death.

<sup>187</sup> Almost nothing is known of how Ḥamza left Bosnia and reached his shaykh in the first place. If the term *aşl* is taken to have been understood by Ottoman Arabographers as hinting at slave background, it can be guessed that Ḥamza perhaps left his native land to become an ‘*acemī oğlan*. Modern scholars who studied few extant sources on Ḥamza’s life and activities hold that ‘Atāyī mistook the date of execution which was in fact 1573. It is also known from these sources that Ḥamza was considered dangerous by Ottoman authorities not only for his unorthodox teachings, but for his political ambitions and significant following he gathered while proselytizing in Bosnia and Hungary. When a sultanic order summoning him to Istanbul was issued, Ḥamza was living in Gornja Tuzla. See, Hamid Algar, “The Hamzeviye: a Deviant Movement in Bosnian Sufism,” *Islamic Studies* 36/2-3 (Summer/Autumn 1997): 243-261. In the very beginning of the quoted article, Algar writes, “Despite being permanently intermingled with Christian populations, the *Muslims of Bosnia* showed little inclination to syncretic or antinomian forms of religion during their centuries of *association with the Ottomans*. The Sufī orders that established themselves soon after the Ottoman conquest in the second half of the fifteenth century—the Mevlevīs, the Nakşibendīs, the Kadirīs, and the Halvetīs—were the same as those deemed legitimate and acceptable in the Ottoman capital, and the symbiosis of ‘*alim* and ‘*şeyh*, of *medrese* and *tekke*, that characterized *the religious culture of the Ottoman Turks* also prevailed among the *Bosnians*. As a result, the Bektaşī order, which may be described, in its tenets and rites, as an amalgam of antinomian, pseudo-Shī’ī and Christian elements, was never accorded in Bosnia the welcome it enjoyed from Muslims elsewhere in the Balkans, especially Albania and Macedonia.” The italics in phrases are mine, and aimed to point to the common scholarly habit of differentiating among *Muslims of Bosnia*, *Bosnians* (a synonym with *Muslims of Bosnia*) and *Ottomans*, and/or *Ottoman Turks*, without explicating the base for differentiation, or allowing that Bosnian Muslims were in fact *the Ottomans*. In this particular example, the *Muslims of Bosnia/Bosnians* are obviously claimed to have been generally inclined towards Sunni Islam, considered to have been the “state religion” in the Ottoman empire, but still somehow different (ethnically it seems), and as such, merely *associated* with the *Ottomans/Ottoman Turks*.

<sup>188</sup> Nev’izāde Atāyī, *Hadā’iku’l-Hakā’ik*, 396-397. Based on other sources, scholars concluded that this investigation was conducted in 1582, and that the area most affected was that around the “two Tuzlas” (Gornja and Donja Tuzla), as well as Zvornik and Gračanica, all in North-Eastern Bosnia. ‘Atāyī, however writes that Bālī Efendī died in February/March 1582, and that he conducted the investigation as soon as he was appointed *kadı* of Bosnia, in 1579. See below, fn.189, for reference to ‘Atāyī’s special entry on Bālī Efendī. In addition to Algar, on the subject of Hamzevīs see also, Ines Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia: Sufi Dimensions to the Formation of Bosnian Muslim Society* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 161-179.

that he received some education from the learned men of his hometown, Bosna-Sarāy. Just as he was searching for a job as a teacher in a *mekteb* or a tutor of the children of the rich, he was endowed with the attention of Meḥmed Pasha (Sokollu), then the grand vizier. Thanks to this connection, he was able to pursue higher education, and rather quickly find employment as a *müderriis*. He was appointed the *kadı* of Bosnia in early spring of 1579. A derogatory couplet by which the notable intellectuals of the time “congratulated” Bālī Efendī on this appointment was circulating until the time ‘Aṭāyī wrote. The couplet describes Bālī Efendī as “disgrace to the profession of a judge.”<sup>189</sup> The rest of the entry continues in a poorly concealed ironic and bitter tone which was partially based on the fact that Bālī Efendī was from among “Beṣānika.” This was a rather uncommon term ‘Aṭāyī coined based on the rules of Arabic grammar to designate the plural of “Boṣnak.”<sup>190</sup> The way in which ‘Aṭāyī stereotyped Bosnians would best reverberate in the early seventeenth century for sure, but it is interesting to note that Bālī Efendī and Bosnians in general are described here as vain and hypocritical in addition to being people “profiting” from their pretended dignity, gravity, and repose.<sup>191</sup> Not mentioning anything Bālī Efendī wrote or achieved as an intellectual, ‘Aṭāyī continues by giving some more details on persecution of the followers of Ḥamza (here described as one of the shaykhs of the order of Bayramiyye), which was conducted in the region of Tuzla by the “owner of the biography.” As if wanting to undermine what, in his

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<sup>189</sup> “Dirīḡā kim Serāya oldi vālī/Mevālī nikbetīsi Ḥvāce Balī.” Nev‘izāde Atāyī, *Hadā’iku’l-Hakā’ik*, 849-850.

<sup>190</sup> Describing Maḥmūd-i Bosnevī/el-Mevlā Maḥmūd (d.1627), ‘Aṭāyī writes that Maḥmūd was born in Bosna Serāy. He spent most of his life away from Bosnia. Having received education from the learned men of Rūm, he acted most of his life as a *müderriis*. ‘Aṭāyī notes that he was a member of a *tā’ife* endowed with a good fortune and “known” (in the sense of well known for disrepute, or just: “already mentioned”), a beloved of people’s hearts, of Bosnian countenance (tr. *Beṣānika-şuver*), inclined towards drinking and eating cabbage (sl. *kopuska*), a lover of belles-lettres and, overall, leading the life of luxury: “Mevlāna-i mezbūr ‘Köhne Maḥmūd’ dimekle meşhūr, baht-ı mes’ūd-ı tā’ife-i ma’hüdeden hişşedar, maḥbūbu’l-kulūb, Beṣānikā-şuver, toḡa-perdāz ve *kopuska*-şi’ār idi (...)” Ibid., 1742-1743.

<sup>191</sup> In addition, Bālī Efendī is described as being known for his “learnedness and righteousness” just to be compared, in the same sentence, to a stork raising aloft its neck (in pretence). “Mevlāna-i mezbūr ‘ilm ü salāhla meşhūr, muḡteżā-yi hilḡāt-i ‘amālīka-kirdār-ı Beṣānika olan sükūn u vaḡārdan hişşemend ve ‘ucb u riyā ile pirāye-bend, laḡlāḡ gibi gerden-efrāz ve surāhī-sıfat laḡlāḡa-perdāz idi.” Ibid., 849.

entry, appears as the life achievement of Bālī Efendī, ‘Aṭāyī remarks that even “now” one can find in the mentioned area many heretics of perverse religious beliefs and practice who were of “long” (i.e. tall) stature, but of “short” (i.e. weak) mind.<sup>192</sup> ‘Aṭāyī’s later remark related to his own time can be read as not really referring to Ḥamzavīs, once accused for heresy by Bālī Efendī and his likes.<sup>193</sup>

The third Bosnian who was remembered by ‘Aṭāyī primarily based on what he did in Bosnia, was Hasan Kāfī Akḥiṣārī (d. 1616). Hailing, in his search for knowledge, from a town named Akḥiṣār in *vilāyet-i Bosna* (Prusac, at the time of Akḥiṣārī’s birth, one of the most developed towns in the *sancak* of Klis), Hasan somehow managed to reach the circles of the men of influence and enter the service of the above discussed Bālī Efendī. After helping his tutor in his investigation of Ḥamzavīs, Akḥiṣārī earned the position of Bālī Efendī’s assistant, thus stepping on the path of becoming a *kadı* himself. ‘Aṭāyī describes Akḥiṣārī as a firm proponent of the sharia who tended to reprimand the shaykhs of his time using the sharia as if it were a mace while at the same time “curbing his own vanity” by saying: “If it was possible to attain power of sanctity and work miracles through acts of worship and asceticism, than I would be the one to have done it.”<sup>194</sup> He finishes by pointing to several works Akḥiṣārī wrote and by the fact that he was a founder of a *kaṣaba* named *Nev-ābad* and the patron of a mosque, a *medrese*, a *mekteb* and other buildings located in this place. Overall, ‘Aṭāyī does not appear as being very fond of what Bālī Efendī and his assistant stood for, and it is therefore quite understandable that his biography of Akḥiṣārī misses

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<sup>192</sup> “El-ān ol semtlerde ‘aḳidesi fāsīd boyı uzun ‘aḳlı kısa mülhīd eksik degüldür. Kātelehumu’llāhu te’ālā,” Ibid., 850.

<sup>193</sup> ‘Aṭāyī himself was a sympathizer of the sufi worldview, perhaps even a disciple of Bayrami-Melami order. See Aslı Niyāzioğlu, *Dreams and Lives in Ottoman Istanbul: A Seventeenth-Century Biographer’s Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2017), 34.

<sup>194</sup> “Ġayetde müteşerri’ u müteverri’ olup zemāne şeyhlerine daḥl ü tešnī’den ve dūr-bāş-ı şerī’atle ser-zenīş ü taḳrī’den ḥālī olmayup ‘‘ibādet ü riyāzetle kerāmet taḥşīl olunmaḳ mümkin olsa biz iderdük’ diyu ḥazm-ı nefis iderlermiş,” Nev’izāde Atāyī, *Hadā’iku’l-Hakā’ik*, 1490-1491.

to convey that this was the first Ottoman intellectual from Bosnia whose written work transgressed the boundaries of the place in which he spent most of his lifetime while at the same time bearing a personal and a local stamp. It also misses to convey that Akḥiṣārī's influence in the locale was such that it prompted a series of literacy events which show the ways in and the extent to which a truly local literary and intellectual production was embedded in the imperial currents. The working languages of Hasan Kāfī Akḥiṣārī and his circle of disciples were Arabic and Turkish.<sup>195</sup> The difference among him and the rest of the contemporary Ottoman intellectuals with the sobriquet Bosnevī (or any other pointing to the local belonging) who worked in or away from the homeland can, among other, be discussed at the level of whether, next to Arabic and Turkish, they also knew and wrote in/about Persian.

In sum, what seems to have arisen during the sixteenth century within the Ottoman Arabographia is an idea that there existed a model Bosnian who, in social terms, could have come in different garbs (as non-Muslim and Muslim *re'āya*, as a non-Muslim inhabitant of the abode of war, a slave/servant, government official of any possible type, poet, literatus and intellectual) by not losing the connection with whatever was considered the base of their "Bosnian-ness." Among the categories of South-Slavs distinguishable based on the pre-Ottoman political, social and confessional realities, Bosnians thus present an exception, and the question is to what extent the category of "Bosnian" may have functioned as mediating the Ottoman Arabographers' relationship with the South-Slavia as a whole. The patterns of movement of "Bosnians" through both Ottoman hierarchies and the South-Slavic space (rarely limited to geo-politically defined Bosnia), as well as the ways in which sporadic instances of Slavophone Arabographia collide with the descriptions of their characters and life trajectories, suggest that there existed some sort of recognized affinity

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<sup>195</sup> Of Hasan Kāfī I will talk more in *Chapter IV* where bibliographical references can be found.

among these people which could best be explained by their being speakers of the language which they did not use in writing. This language, however, remained unnamed by the Arabographers after, roughly speaking, the first quarter of the sixteenth century, before which it was named Serbian.

Aside from Hasan, the *tezkiireci*, Kınalızāde ‘Alī Çelebi had another son, Hüseyin (d. ca. 1604) who was not remembered as an author, but more as a son and a brother. Hüseyin acted as a *kadı* in places like Tırhala (tr./ Trikala in Greece) and Kratovo (present day N. Macedonia). While living in Kratovo, ca. 1580-1590, he was a friend, the employer and local guide of ‘Āşık Meḥmed (d. after 1598), an Ottoman traveler and a learned man. ‘Āşık Meḥmed was from Trebizond. He knew Greek, Arabic and Persian, and authored a voluminous cosmography/geography titled *Menāzirü’l-‘avālim* (*Images of the World*, 1598).<sup>196</sup> ‘Āşık Meḥmed stayed in Kratovo on more than one occasion, but never for longer than a year mentioned above. Also, Kratovo was not the only place in Southern Europe in which he spent time serving the local judges. In *Menāzirü’l-‘avālim* which was recently described as “an attempt at modernizing the genre” of the long standing, and predominantly Arabic-based “synthetic descriptions of the world” by investing more focus on the familiar,<sup>197</sup> ‘Āşık Meḥmed enriched the traditional knowledge by adding the information on a good number of places in Ottoman Europe, including parts of South-Slavia. In this, he was predominantly interested in physical geography, as well as urban infrastructure. Of ethnographic categories to which he paid an amount of attention while describing places he lived in or visited, one can single out generalia about religion, and some more detailed information about

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<sup>196</sup> For an edition, introductory study, biography and detailed list of places ‘Āşık Meḥmed personally visited during his travels, see ‘Āşık Meḥmed, *Menāzirü’l-‘avālim: I, II, III*, ed. Mahmut Ak (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2007).

<sup>197</sup> Michael Bonner and Gottfried Hagen, “Muslim accounts of the *dār al-ḥarb*,” in *The New Cambridge History of Islam, Vol. 4*, ed. Robert Irwin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 474-494: 491.

food and forms of entertainment.<sup>198</sup> Curious, learned and obviously interested in matters linguistic, ‘Āşık Meḥmed left us almost no direct information about languages spoken in Ottoman Europe. And yet, his text is still useful for understanding an Ottoman’s view on the multilingualism of the polity they lived in.

Having read *Menāzırı’l-‘avālim* with focus on the “foreign” and “own” as categories of perception, Gottfried Hagen concluded that the boundary between the two was not clearly defined in ‘Āşık Meḥmed’s text, and that they do not appear in this work as rigid opposites. Rather, the boundary varies depending on both the situation and the theme. Commenting on the author’s relationship to the Christian *re’aya*, for example, Hagen notes that these people—from whom ‘Āşık Meḥmed was not only linguistically and religiously, but also socially detached—most certainly appeared to him as a kind of “others,” but “probably as also belonging to the ‘own.’” For ‘Āşık Meḥmed rhetorically denigrates only the Christians who appear as military opponents of the state and this he does in a manner customary in his time. Further on, Hagen notes that, like many other Islamic geographers before him, ‘Āşık Meḥmed would first and foremost identify as a Muslim, and this without having a clear idea about defining features of *a region*, and therefore, *the regional identity*. The main concept ‘Āşık Meḥmed uses in organizing space is the traditional one of *the clime* (tr. *iklim*) which is astronomical on the one hand, and historico-political on the other. *Landscape* as a region defined by its natural or cultural features is not a concept ‘Āşık Meḥmed was familiar with. Further on, and still according to Hagen, the space in ‘Āşık Meḥmed is something to be traversed by moving along the established routes—from town to town, city to

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<sup>198</sup> Of these, the ways in which ‘Āşık Meḥmed addressed the Christian-Muslim relations while describing Christian holy places have been discussed in Marinos Sariyannis, “Āşık Mehmed,” in *Christian-Muslim Relations, A Bibliographical History: Volume 7. Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America (1500-1600)*, ed. David Thomas and John Chesworth (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 735-739. The author of the brief scholarly account notes, among other, that ‘Āşık Meḥmed’s observations, though couched in formulaic phrases, are still significant in light of the fact that “Ottoman literature of the ‘classical’ era is surprisingly silent about the Christian subjects of the empire, their religion, rites, and customs.”

city. Finally, ‘Āşık Meḥmed is depicted in the article as a relatively representative example of *an Ottoman*.<sup>199</sup> Nevertheless, if focused only on the non-bookish information in ‘Āşık Meḥmed’s text, and the information on Southern Europe was for the most part exactly like that, one can add a qualification to Hagen’s remarks about the author’s understanding of space. The qualification that may be added is that although ‘Āşık Meḥmed did not have “a *clear* idea about defining features of *a region*,” the way he parcelled Southern Europe shows that he did have *some* idea of regionality, the idea which was very much in line with, from the vantage point of 1598, the recent history and recent political developments. Namely, it was in line with the dynamics of Ottoman conquests in South-Slavia and the kinds of knowledge produced parallel to it.

While traversing South-Slavia, ‘Āşık Meḥmed did not go west as far as to cross the boundaries of not only the present-day, but also Ottoman Bosnia. And yet, when organizing the information he gathered personally (by seeing and hearing) he recognizes Bosnia as a specific area—though in one instance only. So, when he organizes what he knew about lakes, ‘Āşık Meḥmed talks about those from: the Arab lands, Iraq, Fars/Persia and other provinces (tr.*vilāyāt*), Rūm (Anatolia), Rūmili (Europe), and Macaristān (Hungary). The section on the rivers, however, is divided into fourteen regions, the last being titled “the rivers of Rūmili, and Macaristān, and Bosna.”<sup>200</sup> Bosnia is added here for one river only, which was Neretva. ‘Āşık Meḥmed heard about Neretva from Mevlānā Dervīş Hüsām Mostarī who told him about the river flow, its nature and characteristics. Hüsām Mostarī also talked about the bridge of Mostar (Herzegovina) the construction of which started during the reign of Süleymān I (1557) upon the request of local

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<sup>199</sup> Gottfried Hagen, “Das Fremde im Eigenen. Mehmed ‘Āşıqs Reisen über den osmanischen Balkan,” in *Bilder vom Eigenen und Fremden aus dem Donau-Balkan-Raum: Analysen literarischer und anderer Texte, Südosteuropa-Studien 71*, ed. Gabriella Schubert and Wolfgang Dahmen (München: Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, 2003), 121-141, esp. 128.

<sup>200</sup> For the detailed table of contents of *Menāzirü’l-‘avālim*, see Āşık Mehmed, *Menāzirü’l-‘avālim II*, vii-lxviii.

people. And not more than that. Hüsām Mostarī who talked to ‘Āşık Meḥmed, is a relatively obscure figure, but the good chances are that this was the author of a poem about Mostar who flourished ca. 1592.<sup>201</sup> It goes without saying that Hüsām Mostarī had to leave his hometown to meet the author. The chances are that he did it in order to somehow participate in the Hungarian campaign which started ca. 1594 under the leadership of Sinān Pasha, and in which ‘Āşık Meḥmed also took part.

While occasionally describing people of the places he visited, ‘Āşık Meḥmed distinguished between *ehl-i Islām* (Muslims), *Nāşarā* (Christians), and *Yehūd* (Jews). Jews appear as a monolithic group (most vividly described in Thesalloniki), just as is the case with Muslims. However, he distinguishes among *Nāşarā-i Rūm* (Greek), *Surf*, *Bulgar*, *Bogdan* (Moldovan), and *Macar* (Hungarian) while observing those Christians who were settled in the Ottoman villages and small settlements in present day Greece and N. Macedonia. In his description of Mt. Athos, classified as an island, ‘Āşık Meḥmed adds more of these “kinds” (ar.tr. *nev* ‘-sort, kind, variety) of Christians, to include people who come to visit or revere the place. In addition to those just mentioned he adds: *Freng* (European or Italian), *Hirvat*, *Bosna*, *Nimse* (German), *Eflak* (Wallachian), *Megril* (Mingrelian), *Gürç* (Georgian), and *Ermen* (Armenian). To this enumeration, he adds a note that, in short, the majority of the seventy-two “groups” (ar.tr. *fırka*) of followers of

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<sup>201</sup> The only known extant source of this text contains an introductory comment in which we read that the author was from among the poets of Mostar in the year 1592, i.e. during the time of Mostarlı Derviş Pasha (see fn.175 of this chapter), and that he was Hüsām Çelebi known under the penname Şāhinzāde ‘Adlī. In Hüsām Çelebi’s poem, one can find a lot of evidence to justify his being called *Derviş* by ‘Āşık Meḥmed. The scholars who published this poem call it *şehrengiz*, but this poem does not have the typical characteristics of this genre. It rather reminds of the poetic inquiry about friends sent from away from home, of the kind written by Gazālī Meḥmed. ‘Adlī also wrote ghazals, but did not seem to have a complete *dīvān*. See, Lamija Hadžiosmanović and Salih Trako, “Şehrengiz Adli Çelebija o Mostaru” [*Şehrengiz* on Mostar by Adli Çelebi], *Prilozi za Orijentalnu filologiju* 35 (1986): 91-105; Salih Trako and Lejla Gazić, “Dvije mostarske medžmue” [Two *mecmū*’as from Mostar], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 38 (1989): 97-124, 100 and 107.



Jesus (tr. *kavm-i 'Īsā*) gather here to, among other, increase their blasphemy.<sup>202</sup> Therefore, the phrase *Nāṣarā-i "Ethnonym"* can be said to have reflected an overlap between two temporal regimes, the universal, theological one mediated by textual corpus of the Quran, *hadīṭ* and jurisprudence, and the particular, "secular" one informed by what is seen "here and now." In 'Āşık Meḥmed's text, "Bosnians" stand for Christians, for that is what they were before the Ottoman conquest, i.e. during the history which remained dark from the perspective of Arabographia. When he mentions it as a region, 'Āşık Meḥmed describes Bosnia solely based on the narration of a learned Muslim from Mostar with sufi leanings. And though the chances are high that 'Āşık Meḥmed met many men from Bosnia in both Rumelia and Hungary, he still decided not to go further with investigation of the place he did not see in person.

Whether 'Āşık Meḥmed thought that all of the mentioned groups of Christians spoke different languages is impossible to show. Though on a different note, it can also be said that any explicit reference to the language of 'Āşık Meḥmed's "other" is hard to find, unless the speakers of Arabic language and different Turkish dialects are counted as such.<sup>203</sup> Of few rare descriptions one can quote *Yehūd luḡatı/luḡat-ı Yehūd* (tr./language of the Jews) recorded in the entry on Thessaloniki, where we also find information that Jews of Thessaloniki thought that all the people of this town (tr. *ḫalk-ı Selānik*) knew their language and that they viewed Muslims as fellow

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<sup>202</sup> 'Āşık Meḥmed, *Menāzirü'l-avālim II*, 249. Sariyannis notes that 'Āşık Meḥmed did not distinguish between, say Orthodox Christians and Catholics and explains that the number of 72 comes from a *hadīṭ*, Sariyannis, "Āşık Meḥmed," 737. The *hadīṭ* was recorded in the ninth century collection titled *Sunan Ibn Māḡa* (one of the sixs *hadīṭ* collections accepted as authoritative), and it says that the Jews divided (before Muḥammad) into 71 groups (not specifying on what basis) of which one will enter the Heaven, and the rest will enter the Hell. Christians divided into 72 groups, of which only one will enter the Heaven as well. The *hadīṭ* prophesized that Muslims will divide into 73 groups, of which one will enter the Heaven.

<sup>203</sup> 'Āşık Meḥmed often explains the meanings of words from Arabic quoting dictionaries, but also of some Turkish words, probably considered less frequent.

citizens who were not allowed the presence in their community-building events.<sup>204</sup> Intentionally or not, ‘Āşık Meḥmed avoided using the term for Hebrew some Ottomans were certainly familiar with. As attested in the context of translation activities of the early sixteenth century, this term was ‘*Ibriyya*.<sup>205</sup> As he travelled, ‘Āşık Meḥmed clearly faced the reality of Ottoman multilingualism. And yet, he does not appear as interested in acknowledging it. His being at a loss in the face of this reality, however, can be sensed when he reaches out for generalizations in an attempt to be consistent, on the one hand, but still avoid details, on the other. In an entry on a spa located in the area of *Usturumca* (tr./Strumica, Southern N. Macedonia), he uses the term *elsine-i nās*—“the languages of the people,” to locate the linguistic affiliation of the word *panayır* (gr.sl. *fair*). “People” here stands for both local settlers as well as the numerous merchants and visitors to the seasonal fair held in a place nearby the spa. The visitors were coming from all over, from faraway lands, traveling for even a month, obviously speaking numerous languages.<sup>206</sup> The other generalization reads *bu etrāfta bilād-i sugūr ḥalkınun ıştılāhı*, meaning “the jargon of the people of the frontier on these sides.” This formulation is found in the section on Yagodine (Jagodina, central Serbia) in a part where ‘Āşık Meḥmed explains the affiliation and meaning of the word *palanka* (hung. a small wooden fort).<sup>207</sup> Differently put, ‘Āşık Meḥmed was not interested in etymology of local words. Nor he was very much interested in explaining the meanings of words/terms when this required investigation beyond his existing linguistic capacities. In passing, one may ask whether Greek-speakers of Trebizond ever held the trading fairs similar to those in South-Slavia and which they called *panigýri* (gr./sl. *panadjur*), and go on with further speculations.

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<sup>204</sup> ‘Āşık Meḥmed, *Menāzirü’l-avālim II*, 990-991.

<sup>205</sup> Necipoğlu, “The Spatial Organization of Knowledge,” 54-56.

<sup>206</sup> ‘Āşık Meḥmed, *Menāzirü’l-avālim II*, 349.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 1100. The origin of the word is designated here according to Meninski, *Thesaurus*, 883.

That the place for *panigyri* (tr. *panayır yeri*) existed at the entrance of Istanbul ca. 1600, we know from at least one other source.<sup>208</sup>

Of South-Slavic towns ‘Āşık Meḥmed writes in the part of the text in which he provides entries about “the towns, lands and beautiful urbanized places of the world.” The entries are divided according to climes, and South-Slavic towns go under appendices (tr.sg. *tezyīl*) to the chapters on the fifth and the sixth climes. These descriptions contain no references to local inhabitants.

#### **II.4. The Context of a Curious Episode from 1566 and Slavic Words from its Margins**

The context of instances of Slavophone Arabographia discussed so far provided some insights into various ways in which the presence of Slavic speakers in the Ottoman society could be indexed in Arabographic texts. Maintaining the interest in these indices, this section introduces a new general theme, namely a problem of the “dialogue” as an arena in which the various participants’ ideas about language and communication can coalesce. Having in mind that textual renditions of historical dialogues are but surrogates of original spoken exchanges or pure constructs, I ask the specific question of where can the instances of Slavophone Arabographia which featured in textual renditions of conversations take the discussion of historical ideas about literacy and language.

That communication style and choice of language of participants in politically consequential dialogues have an ideological weight (i.e. they can serve in revealing power relations among parties involved) is a claim that can be taken as an axiom valid in all times. The claim stands for inter-state encounters as it stands for diplomacy. Ottoman historians remain much more interested in the latter than in the former, i.e. we have comparably more knowledge about

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<sup>208</sup> Selānikī Muşafā Efendi, *Tarih-i Selānikī I*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1989), 54.

languages and registers used in communication between the Ottomans and their allies or enemies, than between the Ottomans themselves. And yet, early modern Ottoman literary texts aimed for inter-imperial usage, abound in descriptions of speech acts and supposedly quoted, but more probably constructed dialogues, be they led among Ottomans themselves, Ottomans and “foreigners,” or foreigners themselves. Dialogue construction and (pretense of) quoting the direct speech was among the favorite narrative-building strategies of many early modern Ottoman literati. A fine explanation of this tactic would be that the narratives of various forms and genres, were aimed to be read aloud, performed, and, therefore able to stir the imagination of the listener and make the experience more immediate. Another informed impression, interesting from the aspect of historical language ideology, is that Ottoman literati who opted for this tactic, often tended to switch registers when introducing the direct speech. The political side of these switches would certainly constitute a fine research topic. The less obvious question is whether Ottoman Arabographia hides cases of switching languages, and if so, what was the symbolic function of these switches and how can they be put to use in reconstructing the historical ideas about languages and their speakers.

As an interesting non-Ottoman case in point one can, for instance, quote the *Epistola de Perditione Regni Hungarorum* (Epistle on the Fall of Hungary, ca. 1546) written by George of Sirmium (ca.1490-after 1548 or 1558). Covering the period between 1484 and 1543, this text was conceived as a chronicle, and was apparently written with the encouragement of Antonius Verantius (lat./sl. Antun Vrančić, 1504-1573), a famous prelate, humanist and diplomat.<sup>209</sup> One of the crucial values of the epistle is that it oftentimes turns into personal memoirs, abounding in

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<sup>209</sup> For a short review of the author’s biography and his epistle, see, Zsolt Szebelédi, “György Szerémi,” in *Christian-Muslim Relations, Volume 7*, 260-269. For more details, see the introductory study by Sima Ćirković, in Djuradj Sremac, *Poslanica o Propasti Ugarskog Kraljevstva*, trans. Mirko Polgar (Belgrade: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1987), vii-xxxii.

rumours and legends circulating orally in the area of the author's movement. George of Sirmium presents himself in this text as a wise person who could predict the demise of Hungarian Kingdom even before it actually happened, blaming it all on betrayal and conspiracy. Hungary was betrayed, according to George, "from five sides." On one of these sides there stood a merchant from Dubrovnik "who knew Turkish, a little bit of Hungarian, Italian, German and Slavic which is the same as Thracian," and who acted as a treacherous envoy of the Hungarian king at the Ottoman court.<sup>210</sup> For treason and betrayal, one is tempted to conclude, bilingualism was a minimal precondition. Also, the more languages one knew the stronger was their power to predict and pose as a wiseman. Born in Kamonc in Southern Hungary (today Sremska Kamenica/Serbia), George became a relatively modestly educated cleric. He wrote his chronicle in poor Latin peppered with words, phrases and sentences from his native Hungarian, but also German, and Slavic. In more than one place, we find him explicitly boasting about his knowledge of Slavic (often, in the manner of humanists of his time, called Thracian). Slavic is here fashioned as a tool for gaining various insights serving to boost George's authority as a story-teller and a direct participant in the events. In the Epistle, we can also read that Süleymān I said "Grates deo *falabogu*" (lat. and sl. colloq./sl. *hvala bogu*, thanks God) when he learned that Belgrade, which he was planning to attack ca. 1521, was poorly defended.<sup>211</sup> Some twenty years later, when after the fall of Budim, Hungarian nobility promised to pay tribute to the Turkish ceasar (i.e. Süleymān I), said "*Dobro id.est bene.*"<sup>212</sup> The strong impression one gets from these quotations of Süleymān's Slavic is that they served the purpose of watering down the image of the sultan as a person essentially bringing a

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<sup>210</sup> György Szerémi, *Emlékirata Magyarország romlásáról, 1484-1543*, ed. Gusztáv Wenzel (Pest: F. Eggenberger, 1857), 47; Djuradj Sremac, *Poslanica*, 30.

<sup>211</sup> György Szerémi, *Emlékirata*, 89; Djuradj Sremac, *Poslanica*, 53.

<sup>212</sup> György Szerémi, *Emlékirata*, 363; Djuradj Sremac, *Poslanica*, 217.

disaster to Hungary as it were. The disaster was something George was predicting, but, noone listened, apparently. In the end of the chronicle, George recounts a memory from his early youth in Futog, a place nearby his hometown: there he saw some enslaved “Turks” who were whipped into helping the stonemasons building a priory. Since he, as a student passing by, very often and secretly from supervisors, talked to the Turks in “lingua Traciana,” he heard them saying that they were the ones who were building (the priory) then, but that (other) Turks would come and destroy it (later).<sup>213</sup> George notes, that he was saying the same, and that that was exactly how it turned out to be (in ca.1546).

That Süleymān I spoke some Slavic, and that some of his most prominent viziers were Slavic-speakers, we know from numerous other, even better informed diplomats and visitors to the Ottoman court. One of these was the already mentioned Antonius Verantius who had a chance to negotiate, in 1553, with Rüstem Pasha in Croatian, the native language of the two men.<sup>214</sup> However, the contemporary Ottoman chroniclers and Arabographers in general, are hardly ever explicit about what foreign observers and visitors were oftentimes delighted about. The conclusion one can derive from the examples popularized by scholarship is that Arabographers’ interest in the phenomenon of multivocality and multilingualism of consequential dialogues was not so strong as was the case with foreign observers. On a second look, however, this interest appears to have been more subtly and less explicitly articulated, i.e. informed by a different ideological scheme. Within this scheme, Slavic in particular could not be fashioned as a language of an Ottoman master or a

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<sup>213</sup> György Szerémi, *Emlékirata*, 402; Djuradj Sremac, *Poslanica*, 240.

<sup>214</sup> For a number of non-Arabographic, anecdotal testimonies about the currency of Slavic upon oral communication in and around the Ottoman court in the sixteenth century, i.e. during the tenures of three grand viziers of Slavic origin (Rüstem Pasha, grand vizier 1544-1553 and 1555-1561; Semiz ‘Alī Pasha, grand vizier 1561-1565; and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, grand vizier, 1565-1579), see Gülru Necipoğlu, “Connectivity, Mobility, and Mediterranean “Portable Archaeology:” Pashas from the Dalmatian Hinterlands as Cultural Mediators,” in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean : Portable Archeology and the Poetics of Influence*, ed. Ioli Kalavrezou and Alina Alexandra Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 313-381: 317-329.

an ideal Ottoman subject, but it also could not be explicitly fashioned as a “foreign” language. Hence the silence and hence the tension.

What follows, is an analysis of an episode which took place in 1566 and which involves Süleymān I’s son, Selīm II. The episode was recorded in an Ottoman chronicle completed around the year 1600. It is, for one, characteristic for depicting a politically significant dialogue by explicitly referring to linguistic incompetence of one of the parties involved—the Janissaries. Second, it is complex in involving the members of several, partially overlapping, but distinguishable interpretive communities, one of them being the one the chronicler himself belonged to. The Janissaries are interesting for my topic since they are very often evoked in Ottoman historiography as the arch-candidates for active Slavic-speakers in the Ottoman society. Immediately below is a summary of the episode and a translation of the relevant dialogue.<sup>215</sup>

Sometime between December 14 and December 23 of 1566, Janissaries moving in small groups advanced towards the Imperial Palace thus alarming the state functionaries sitting in their usual places. Having entered the outermost court of the Palace in thousands, they took control of it and closed the Imperial Gate. It so happened that all of the viziers ended up staying outside the Gate, surrounded by even a larger mass of Janissaries who were all waiting for the newly enthroned sultan Selīm II (r. 1566-1574) to appear. When the sultan came in front of a nearby Hürrem Sultan Bath House, the Janissaries took the glorious viziers off of their horses, and made them walk ahead towards the sultan. The viziers thus remained between the sultan and the Janissaries who shouted from the back demanding that the sultan pays them in accordance with “the old law.”<sup>216</sup> Stepping

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<sup>215</sup> Based on Selānikī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tarih-i Selānikī I*, 54-56; Selānikī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tarih-i Selānikī* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Āmire, 1864), 71-74; BNF-MS Supplement Turc 1060, ff.33b-35a.

<sup>216</sup> “Ve girüden ‘eski kânunı *vere vere*’ diyüp çağrışurlar” [lit.they were shouting from the back saying “(he should) *give give* the old law”], Selānikī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tarih-i Selānikī I*, 56. The copyist of Selaniki’s chronicle from early eighteenth century makes a point of adding vowel signs to the phrase “give give,” in otherwise unvocalized text. In

ahead as a representative of the vezirial corps of the Ottoman government, the then grand vizier, Meḥmed Pasha (Sokollu), addressed the sultan by saying:

My Felicitous Sultan, these will not find comfort until they hear you personally uttering the promise of the bonuses they demand. Do it as an act of grace and thus put and end to their rebellion.<sup>217</sup>

The Sultan replied with the following remark:

If there is among them a person who knows (how to speak) Turkish, let him come forward, and I will make the announcement.<sup>218</sup>

Despite this call, none of the rebelling Janissaries dared to come face to face with the sultan. And yet, without further comment reported, the sultan uttered the sentence approving all the bonuses and increases, upon which the viziers were allowed to mount their horses. Nevertheless, they still had difficulties getting those inside the Imperial Courtyard open the Gate, since they did not hear the sultan's words. It took a while, and a lot of earnest and humble asking and begging before the Gate was open, and before everyone dispersed to their places of repose. Selānikī Muṣṭafā Efendi (d.ca.1600), who narrated this event in his History, was grateful that this incident went without plundering of the City.

Why Selānikī found this episode worth recording is, without doubt, a counterintuitive question. Ottoman chronicles are the main sources of information about periodical Janissary mutinies, and their importance as events should not be questioned. This particular episode from Selānikī has been quoted by historians as indicative of the power struggles which occurred during

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his version, "give give" was pronounced as "vure vure," obviously a corruption of the proper pronunciation. See, BNF-MS Supplement Turc 1060, 34b.

<sup>217</sup> "Sa' ādetlu pādiṣāhım bunlar mübārek kelām-ı şerīfinüzden virgülerin işitmeyince mütesellī olmazlar 'ināyet eylen fitneleri def' olsun buyurun dirler," Selānikī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tarih-i Selānikī I*, 56; BNF Supplement Turc 1060, 34b. The print edition is slightly different, instead of "speech, utterance" (*kelām-ı şerīfinüzden*), it gives "language, tongue" (*lisān-i şerīfinüzden*), *Tarih-i Selānikī (1864)*, 74.

<sup>218</sup> "İçlerinde Türkice bilür var ise gelsün söyleyelüm," BNF-MS Supplement Turc 1060, 34b.



the accession, whereby Meḥmed Pasha (Sokollu)—Selīm II’s son-in-law since 1562 and grand vizier since 1565—was the one who smoothed out the tensions between the displeased army and the newly enthroned sultan. Although different factions continued to exercise considerable influence at the Ottoman court, and this more and more with the passage of time, Meḥmed Pasha (Sokollu) remained the only grand vizier throughout Selīm II’s rule.<sup>219</sup> For my purpose, however, this anecdote is interesting for depicting a communicative act which betrays a different sort of tension whose implications and consequentiality are not easy to pinpoint, namely a tension caused by alleged linguistic incompetence of Janissaries as a party negotiating a complex matter having political, military, administrative and economic repercussions. Selīm certainly knew Janissaries were the negotiating party whose demands he could not afford to easily dismiss, but he still felt need to express his annoyance in a somewhat unexpected way—in a moment of crises in which his personal authority was challenged, Selīm II makes a bitter remark which denies Janissaries knowledge of Turkish in absolute terms. The fact that Selānikī noticed and recorded the remark constitutes him as a person that needs to be factored into the discussion of the act and its participants.

#### **II.4.1. The Accused and the Accuser**

Janissaries were the infantry corps of the Ottoman standing army (*kapukulu*) which was directly attached to the court and contained regiments of different functions and economic standing. Janissaries were remunerated by the central treasury and exclusively through salaries, unlike, for

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<sup>219</sup> For a short biography of Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha, see Gilles Veinstein, “Soḳollu Meḥmed Pasha,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, consulted online on 30 September 2020; For the dynamics of the Ottoman court during 1570s, 1580s, and on, see Emine Fetvacı, “The production of the Şehnāme-i Selīm Hān,” *Muqarnas* 26/1 (2009): 263-315; Günhan Börekçi, “Factions and Favorites at the Courts of Ahmed I (r. 1603–1617) and His Immediate Predecessors” (PhD Thesis, Ohio State University, 2010).

instance, the members of the sultanic cavalry.<sup>220</sup> Around 1566, the time of the anecdote, Janissaries were considered one of the elite corps of the Ottoman military. By this time, the main human resource of Janissary corps were the ‘*acemī oğlans*’ of non-Muslim origin recruited through the *kul-devshirme* system. As long as this was the case, Janissaries are expected to have been minimally bilingual. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the number of Janissaries was on a significant rise, and this due to the penetration of non-*devshirme* and non-*kul* groups. The blanket term for these was *ecnebīs* (tr./outsiders, aliens, foreigners), used by those who considered themselves the genuine core of the elite corps. Turks, i.e. Turkish speakers were among those who initially counted as such. With the swell of the numbers there came a change in the corporate identity of Janissaries—from primarily active foot soldiers whose position was defined by a relatively precise social contract with the Ottoman sultan, Janissaries gradually turned into a group involved in multiple occupations and, therefore, interested in and affected by a wider range of socio-political issues. As a recruitment system, *devshirme* phased out in the seventeenth century, whereby the transformed Janissary corps and *kul*-system remained in place until the nineteenth century.<sup>221</sup>

Janissaries are held to have had a strong communal spirit recognizable to the rest of the society. What events or texts constituted this spirit in its mature form (expected to be in effect around 1566) has not been a topic of focused inquiry so far. A bit of evidence of the existence of the Janissary-specific historical memory can be found ready at hand in the above quoted episode from Selānikī. The night before the above dialogue happened, Janissaries were gathering and consulting what to do the next day. During these conversations they were mentioning (Karamanī)

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<sup>220</sup> Rhoads Murphey, “Yeñi Čeri,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, consulted online 30 September 2020.

<sup>221</sup> Cemal Kafadar, “Janissaries and Other Riffraff of Ottoman Istanbul: Rebels Without a Cause?,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13/1-2 (2007): 113-134.

Mehmed Pasha (d.1481) and Muṣṭafā Pasha (d.1512),<sup>222</sup> and remembering that in the olden times Janissaries acted in unison, not allowing anyone to divide them.<sup>223</sup> Whether Janissaries just listened or read about the events formative of their corporate spirit, we cannot say, for literacy among Janissaries is another poorly researched topic.

Lives of ordinary Janissaries before the mid-sixteenth century can be reconstructed in broad strokes only. Once the training conducted by the elder members of the corps would finish, a large number of recruits would be enlisted into the regiments as active soldiers. The main rite of passage for a Janissary would be going to the battlefield for the first time. In this way a Janissary would become a campaigner or *yoldaş* (tr.lit. companion), an appellation they used to address one another. In general, after a campaign, the Janissaries would come back to their barracks, the main being located in Istanbul, Gelibollu, and Edirne. We know, however, that by 1547 some 4500 plus Janissaries were on garrison duty, i.e. stationed in the frontier fortresses all over the empire.<sup>224</sup> Once their military career was finished, the Janissaries would receive compensation in lieu of retirement. How a typical retired Janissary chose a place to spend the rest of his life after retirement cannot be said with certainty with knowledge we possess. Janissaries were, ideally and initially, not supposed to marry. The first news of exceptions, however, originate as early as from the time

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<sup>222</sup> The former was a vizier of Mehmed II, the later the vizier of Bāyezīd II. Both were executed during the succession struggles for favouring the princes who were not supported by Janissaries.

<sup>223</sup> Selānikī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tarih-i Selānikī I*, 54.

<sup>224</sup> The Janissaries's presence in the provinces is a contested matter, i.e. it is not clear as of when exactly Janissaries start being present in the local fortresses and towns. This information is taken over from Gábor Ágoston, who gives the exact number of 4,648, noting that this comprised 38 percent of the 12,131 Janissaries who were paid from the central treasury in 1547. Gábor Ágoston, "Ottoman and Habsburg Military Affairs in the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent," in *The battle for Central Europe: the siege of Szigetvár and the death of Süleyman The Magnificent and Nicholas Zrínyi (1566)*, ed. Pál Fodor (Budapest: HAS Research Centre for the Humanities, 2019), 287-307: 298. See also, Evgeni Radushev, "'Peasant' Janissaries?," *Journal of social history* 42/2 (2008): 447-467, 451.

of Selīm I (1512-1520).<sup>225</sup> As the exceptions were becoming a habit, the sons of Janissaries (deceased, retired or still active) came to be known as *ķulođulları*, the sons of *ķuls*. All of this is known from one of the rare, and overused Arabographic sources which systematically addresses the customary laws regulating the Janissary organization. Written as late as 1603, and titled “The Laws of the Janissaries,” this work does not quote from a text of any *ķānūn (-nāme)* originally issued by any sultan. In other words, this work should be understood primarily as a piece of advice literature addressed to sultan Aħmed I (r. 1603-1617) by an informed member of the corps and observer of the order of the day.<sup>226</sup>

Janissaries active ca.1566, were not among corporate groups which would normally yield a high-regarded Ottoman intellectual and/or literatus. The production of texts in this period (ca. 1566) is normally deemed a prerogative of the elite educated in *medrese*, *tekke*, or the imperial palace. However, being, for instance, a respected poet in this time did not imply systematic education, though it did imply some level of literacy.<sup>227</sup> As for Janissaries, one can, based on the scholarship, rather easily imagine them as consumers of texts circulating orally (such as prose and versified *ķazavātnāmes*-narratives of military campaigns against infidels, *ķethnāmes*-narratives of conquests, *menāķıbnāmes*-more or less legendary biographies of significant individuals, and folk songs). Sitting around in the barracks in the time of peace, or sitting around a campfire during a

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<sup>225</sup> Abdŭlkadir Ŗzcan, “ķulođlu,” in *TDVİA Online*, consulted on 12 November 2021. Another novelty from the time of Selīm I was that the practice of *devshirme*, previously limited to Rumelia and Bythinia, was extended to some parts of Anatolia. According to a source from 1569, when Selīm I became sultan, he found at the court 7000 men enlisted as Janissaries, 3000 salaried *‘acemī ođlans*, 4000 salaried cavalrymen, and another 3000 of various salaried positions making the total of 17 000 men. The same author notes that not much changed when Sŭleymān I sat on the throne. Feridun Bey, *Nŭzhet-i esrārŭ’l-ahyār der-ahbār-ı sefer-i Sigetvar: Sultan Sŭleyman’ın son seferi*, ed. Ahmet H. Arslantŭrk, Gŭnhan BŖrekķi, and Abdŭlkadir Ŗzcan (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, 2012), 223-224.

<sup>226</sup> Anonym, *Kavanin-i yeniķeriyān: Yeniķeri kanunları*, ed. Tayfun Toroser (İstanbul: Tŭrkiye İř Bankası Kŭltŭr Yayınları, 2011).

<sup>227</sup> As Kim writes, Zāti was but one poet from the first half of the sixteenth century who came from the ranks of merchants and craftsmen, and that the lack of “the kinds of higher education that his patrons had does not appear to have been a hindrance.” Kim, *The Last of and Age*, 16, 33.

campaign were forms of sociability which certainly involved singing, reciting and narrating. And yet, Janissaries were taught literacy, as far as we know, and this after they would learn Turkish by oral acquisition.<sup>228</sup> Therefore, depending on their interest and matters of access, they could even read the early Ottoman chronicles in which the myth of the foundation of their corps was outlined, along with famous Janissary mutinies of the past. Neşrî, for example, narrates that the corps was initially founded during the reign of Murād I (d.1389) when his grand vizier Çandarlı Hayruddin Pasha suggested that the slaves—gathered through raids and assigned as being in possession of the sultan—be “given to the Turks” so they would both become Muslims and learn Turkish. After several years of serving in the households of Turks, they would be gathered again, brought to the sultan, dressed and equipped in a characteristic fashion.<sup>229</sup>

As in other branches of Ottoman administration, the number of Janissary scribes and bureaucrats was constantly growing.<sup>230</sup> Besides that, as of very early on, the Janissaries were an inseparable part of the urban fabric of the capital as much as any other social group considered literate by nature of their profession. This without doubt, exposed them to poetics and aesthetics of the texts produced by those normally considered highly educated, and thereby the cosmopolitan elite. That they were among the *beloveds* attending the elite social and poetic gatherings in Istanbul in the first half of the sixteenth century, we know for sure.<sup>231</sup> One Janissary of self-professedly Albanian origin, Taşlıcalı Yaḥyā (d.1582) became one of the most respected *dīvān* poets of all

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<sup>228</sup> Gülay Yılmaz, “Becoming a *devşirme*: The Training of Conscripted Children in the Ottoman Empire,” in *Children in Slavery through the Ages*, ed. Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers and Joseph C. Miller (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 120-134:124. This work is, self-admittedly, very much based on Anonym, *Kavanin-i yeniçeriyān*.

<sup>229</sup> Unat and Köymen, *Neşrî tarihi I*, 199.

<sup>230</sup> The process in which scribal career became an end in itself and not necessarily preconditioned by medrese education has been addressed in Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, esp. 214-131. For “Janissary infiltration of the bureaucratic ranks,” see pp. 222-223.

<sup>231</sup> See, for example, Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*, 307.

times. Although he went to his first battle as early as 1514, Yaḥyā’s career in military administration was far from bright—it essentially ended with exile to Zvornik (today in Bosnia), and this about 1566.<sup>232</sup> And yet, his works were copied as long as the Ottoman empire existed. Aside from Yaḥyā, early biographers of poets of Rūm, most notably ‘Āşık Çelebi, enlist a number of Janissaries who were able to compose good quality verses in Turkish, which certainly implies in Cornell Fleischer’s words a “relatively high degree of literacy” even among the less prolific ones.<sup>233</sup> These are described by ‘Āşık Çelebi simply as—*ḳuloğulları*, the sons of *ḳuls*. Their biographies contain no clues about their ethnic origin, for they were obviously Muslims by birth, and also by the rule—Istanbulites.<sup>234</sup> Some of them were perhaps the sons of bilingual Janissaries, but they had no obligation of knowing any other language but Turkish, and obviously could not entirely empathize with those members of the corps who had to be “given to Turks” before stepping into the barracks.

What role was played by original linguistic background and ethnic origin in self-awareness of bilingual Janissaries before the mid-sixteenth century cannot be said with precision. An existing model to address this question has been devised by Metin Kunt who suggested that we can speak of the ethnic-regional, i.e. *cins-* solidarity as one among factors dictating the networking dynamics in the Ottoman society. As it appears from Kunt’s article, the solidarity was at play primarily among the Ottoman officials of *ḳul-devshirme* origin. While devising the concept, Kunt redressed

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<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 324-328.

<sup>233</sup> Besides the sons of Janissaries, Fleischer spotted in the *tezkires* the garrison soldiers (tr. *hisār eri*) and members of cavalry corps (tr. *sipāhis*), Fleischer, 223.

<sup>234</sup> Of many examples in ‘Āşık Çelebi, one can mention, for instance, the poet Ferdī, the author of a verse reading: “Ey ḥāce şakın Mışra kıyās eyleme Rūmı/Ḳuloğlı olur Rūmda şultāna ber-ā-ber” (Hey, my lord, don’t you dare compare Rūm with Egypt/In Rūm, the son of a slave is side by side with a sultan). ‘Āşık Çelebi, *Meşā’irü’ş-şu’arā*, 501. Laṭīfī does not use the same terminology (instead of “son of a slave,” he prefers, “one of the sultans’s slaves and from among the Janissaries” (tr. sultān bendelerinden ve yeñiçeri zümresindendür). Laṭīfī, *Tezkiiretü’ş-Şu’arā*, 210.

the previously widespread scholarly idea that the integration of *kul-devshirme* recruits into Ottoman military system implied severing all ties with their families, languages and places of origin. He duly notes, however, that the examples he used are limited to a rather small group of Ottomans (high-ranked officers, pashas and their clients) and to the period of the seventeenth century. Referring to Kunt's idea, Cornell Fleischer notes that examples from the late sixteenth century can also be found.<sup>235</sup>

In sum, there seems to be enough evidence to claim that ca. 1566, the relatively ordinary Janissary would certainly speak Turkish, that the Janissaries as a group could not easily be dismissed as either an ineloquent lot or a social group illiterate by default, and that their solidarity went much beyond *a particular* (ethnic) origin and being a speaker of—*a particular* language. What language then, if not “Turkish” as he imagined it, did Selīm II think the Janissaries did speak? One possibility is that he thought this was a bad, broken, vernacular, vulgar, obsolete, and therefore Turkish which does not even live up to the label as he perceived it. Selīm II, beyond doubt, fits the profile of a person speaking educated Turkish. Besides that, before he came to first Belgrade where he was officially enthroned, and then to Istanbul where his succession was secured, Selīm lived in Kütahya from which he oversaw a princely governorate with the help of his entourage. His household was a place of gathering of many literate and learned men who harboured hopes for the bright future of the prince, but for themselves as well.<sup>236</sup> Selīm was a lavish patron of poetry of Rūm. As such he could be considered a language connoisseur, and a person ready to dismiss his interlocutors on the basis of their inelaborate and rude speech. Another possibility adding a different dimension to Selīm II's comment is that he may have had in mind that Janissary Turkish

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<sup>235</sup> Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 164 (fn.72).

<sup>236</sup> An example being Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, of whom I will talk below.

could be corrupt due to interference of their mother tongues, but no evidence for this can be found in Selānikī's quotations of Janissaries' speech. Going on with speculations, it would also be possible to read Selīm II's remark as a commentary on the fact that some Janissaries could, had they wanted, communicate among each other in non-Turkish language/s, most probably unintelligible to himself. Meḥmed Pasha could have talked to many of them in Slavic, and to all of them in vernacular, day-to-to day, unembellished, or even street Turkish.<sup>237</sup> A sense of being excluded, may have caused a frustration leading the sultan to deny the Janissaries the knowledge of Turkish in absolute terms. Knowing whether the sultan even bothered thinking about the multitude of speech-communities from which the Janissaries originated from, or he simply collapsed the diversity by noting they speak non -(proper)-Turkish would be part of an answer of how Selīm II, and by extension, Ottoman sultans viewed the language diversity as a social reality in their realms. But, as already noted, all of these are just speculations hard to support by concrete evidence which directly points to the sultan.

#### **II.4.2. The Mediator**

Meḥmed Pasha (Sokollu) was one of the most powerful figures in the Ottoman politics of the sixteenth century. As such he attracted a lot of attention by both his contemporaries and modern Ottomanists. Although he was neither the first nor the last member of his family recruited through the *devshirme* system, it is due to his actions and influence that modern historians can now speak of Sokollu family, Sokollu clan, and an empire-wide Sokollu network in a way comparable only to the seventeenth century Köprülüzades founded by a *devshirme* of Albanian origin.<sup>238</sup> Another

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<sup>237</sup> Unlike is the case with his predecessors, Selīm is not known nor described as a polyglott.

<sup>238</sup> Şefik Peksevgen, "Sokollu family," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts On File, Incorporated, 2008), 534-536; Günhan Börekçi, "Köprülü family," in *Ibid.*, 313-317.



rare characteristic of “the Sokollu case,” is that the family and place of origin of this *devshirme* recruit was addressed in a comparable length in a contemporary Arabographic text. This source provides a lot of information considered crucial for Meḥmed’s early life, his relations to his “roots,” and supposed religious views, but it was neither commissioned by himself, nor centered on his persona. This work provides another set of details relevant for the discussion of how Ottoman Arabographers of the sixteenth century (and their patrons) went about the relationship of an Ottoman’s place of origin and their language.

The text in question is *Cevāhiru’l-Menākīb* (ca.1575) written by little known Nahīfī Meḥmed Efendi (d.1609-10), presumably from Hamid (South-Western Anatolia).<sup>239</sup> Nahīfī somehow reached the circle of the *kadı* of Budim, Aḥmed Çelebi, who told him about a wish of the current *beylerbey* of Budim, Muştafā Pasha (d.1578, by execution), that his life and deeds be described in a work worthy of a person of that great a stature. Muştafā Pasha was a son of Meḥmed Pasha’s paternal uncle. Much younger than Meḥmed, Muştafā was conscripted at his cousin’s intervention. While taking the post of *silāḥdār* (tr./sword-bearer) ca.1534, Meḥmed decided to reconnect with his family in Bosnia by sending for his two own brothers to be brought to him to Istanbul (to become Muslims and sultan’s servants). Nevertheless, the broader family and Sokollu’s agent agreed it would be too much for Meḥmed’s mother to give up on all three of her sons (despite the bright future expecting the young ones who stayed behind Meḥmed). So, they replaced one of the two Meḥmed’s brothers with Muştafā, who was of similar age (6-7) and of similar looks, expecting that the *silāḥdār*, who was waiting in Istanbul, will not learn about the

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<sup>239</sup> Introduction used for data mentioned here and critical edition published in transliteration is in Nahīfī Mehmed Efendi, *Cevāhiru’l-menākīb: Sokollu Mustafa Paşa’nın Hayatı*, ed. İbrahim Pazan (İstanbul: T.C.Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2019).

switch. Most certainly couching in writing what he was told by Muṣṭafā himself, Nahīfī writes about the *beylerbeyi*'s place of origin in a following way:

The abode, residence and place of origin of that (...) vizier endowed with an auspicious foresight, is a village by the name Şoḳol which belongs to Bosna, one of the provinces of the well-protected imperial domains. This village was named in that way because it was a residence of the distinguished falcons and a den of the combating lions (...). And in the language of that group it [Şoḳol] means “the falcon’s nest.” By the way in which it is organized and arranged, this place is as spirit-lifting as the gardens of Mīnā [a small town near Mecca], and it emanates fragrances and scents brought by the gentle winds similar the odours emanated by the hairlocks of the Houris [in Paradise]. All around this wonderful village one can find a number of similar places located around the Lim river which flows due to the power of the Almighty God.<sup>240</sup>

Further styling the narration of Muṣṭafā—and perhaps even, via Muṣṭafā, Meḫmed who was still alive and still in power—Nahīfī goes back further in the past to describe how Meḫmed was conscripted by certain Yeşilce Meḫmed Beg who had been sent out from Istanbul to the province having been given a delicate task. When he was passing through the village of “Soḳol,” Yeşilce Meḫmed spotted “a son of a certain person called *Şoḳolovīk*” and thought he would be perfect for the sultan’s service.<sup>241</sup> Next comes a description of the tough negotiations with mother, father, and the rest of the family. We can also read that Meḫmed’s maternal uncle was a learned and a rich priest (in a nearby monastery of Mileševa, as we know from other sources). The priest

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<sup>240</sup> The original reads: “Ol (...) vezīr-i ḥuceste-tedbīrūñ mekān u maḥalli ve vaṭan-ı aşlıleri vilāyet-i maḥmiyye-i ḥusrevānīden livā-i Bosna’ya tābi’ Şoḳol nām karyedür ki maḳām-ı şāh-bāzān-ı gūzīn ve kūnām-ı şīrān-ı ceng-āyīn olup her şāh-bāz-ı bülend-pervāzīnuñ çeng-i cenginde ‘ıḳāb-ı felek ser-gerdān ve sīmurḡ-ı kāf bāşe-i bī-nişān olduḡıyçün ism-i mezbūrla mevsūm olmuşdur ki ol tā’ifenūñ lisānında āşiyāne-i şāhīn dimekdür. Fezā-yı rūḥ-baḡş ve me’vā-yı dil-keşi sevād-ı ravza-i Mīnā gibi rūḥ-efzā ve fevāyılıḡ-ı revāyılıḡ-ı nesīm-i dil-gūşası ṭurra-i Ḥavrā gibi ‘anber-būy ve ‘ıtr-sādır. Ol ḳarye-i letāfet-māyenūñ mışdāḳınca altı yanında bi-ḳudret-i ḥazret-i Bārī, Līm nām bir nehr-i benām cārī olup ol āb-ı revān hevāsına eṭrāf-ı āb nice kūy u kendle ṭolmuşdur ve reşehāt-ı bī-ḡāyetinden behre-dār ve fā’ide-mend olmuşdur,” Nahīfī Mehmed Efendi, *Cevāhiru’l-menākıb*, 142-143, and Süleymaniye-MS Esad Efendi 2538, ff.14b-15a.

<sup>241</sup> Nahīfī Mehmed Efendi, *Cevāhiru’l-menākıb*, 145; Süleymaniye: Esad Efendi 2538, f. 16a.

offered to pay Yeşilce Mehemmed so he gives up conscripting the boy.<sup>242</sup> Yeşilce Mehemmed refuses, continues to talk to parents, politely, and as it turns out, persuasively.

The above quoted paragraphs can also be viewed as an illustration of a way in which a local system of symbolic connotations, well-known to Nahīfī's informer, could be refashioned to serve the purpose of a different discursive environment—provided there was a semantic overlap. The mention of the original Slavic version of Mehemmed's father's (sur)name shows the extent to which Muştafā and his biographer, intentionally or unintentionally allowed themselves to slip into Slavic beyond the common and therefore legitimate transcription of local toponyms and nouns having the neutral connotative meaning.<sup>243</sup> The purpose of engagement in translation of the meaning of “soko(l)” from the language of “those people” can be considered self-explanatory. And yet, neither Mehemmed nor Muştafā's names are accompanied in the text with the “surname” *Sokollu* so commonly attached to “Sokollu family” members' names in modern historiography.<sup>244</sup> The

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<sup>242</sup> “Ve ferzend-i mezbūruñ tayısı ki ol gürüh-ı bed-kışe keşış olup tayıfe-i Naşārā'nuñ dīn-i dālālet-rehīnlerinde vāki' olan ma'lūmātda yed-i tūlāsı ve māl u menāldē nihāyet mertēbe ğınāsı olmağın mezbūr Yeşilce Beg'e bu huşuşı def' için māl-i bī-nihāye 'arz itdüklerinde (...) ferzend-i mezbūrdan ferāgat itmediler,” Nahīfī Mehmed Efendi, *Cevāhiru'l-menākīb*, 146.

<sup>243</sup> Of some nineteen words used in *Cevāhiru'l-menākīb* and identified by the editor of critical edition as not coming from the *elsine-i şelāse*, only the noun “king” (sl.tr. *kıral*) is marked in the text by being consistently attributed with the adjective “evil-doing” (tr./ *bed-fi'āl*). By this time, this was a very well-established stock phrase, attested in earliest surviving historical narratives from the fifteenth century. See, Nahīfī Mehmed Efendi, *Cevāhiru'l-menākīb*, esp. 105.

<sup>244</sup> The same stands for 'Ataī and Selānikī, whom I quoted so far while mentioning Mehemmed Pasha (Sokollu). Based on these examples and few other I checked (i.e. those I quote in this section) it can be concluded that using *Sokollu* with *Mehmed Pasha* was far from habitual when it comes to the Ottoman Arabographers of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The earliest and only source I was able to find, and in which *Sokollu* was used as a surname of Mehemmed Pasha and some of his relatives, is the chronicle of İbrāhīm Peçevī (1574-1649) which covers the period between 1520 and 1640. Peçevī was related to Sokollu family, from mother's side, and his biases in portraiture of Mehemmed Pasha are obvious. Peçevī, however, uses “Sokollu” as surname attached to Mehemmed Pasha's name only on few occasions when he provides information of pasha's kin (sons or relatives). Besides that, “Sokolović” and “Sokollu” were not interchangeable in Arabographia—the former was exclusively applied to Mehemmed Pasha's family from Bosnia. Peçevī's introduction into his portrait of Mehemmed Pasha, for example, reads as follows: “Vezīr-i a'zam Mehemmed Pāşa Tavīl Bosna diyārından *Şukulović* neslinden ya'nī Şāhin-Oğullarından (...) idi.” [The Grand Vizier Mehemmed Pasha *the Tall* was from the land of Bosnia, from the Sokolović family, i.e. of the sons/descendants of Şāhin (Falcon)]. See, İbrahim Peçevī, *Tarih-i Peçevī* I-II, introduced and adapted to modern Turkish Bekir Sıtkı Baykal (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992), 19 and *passim*; and, BNF-MS Turc 72, f.14b. How “Sokolović” features in Selānikī, and Muştafā 'Ālī, see below.

memory of the grieving mother and the Lim river can be quoted as warm childhood memories of a *devshirme* boy. But mother ultimately understands the benefits of conscription, and the river is drily described as yet another life-giving water of Arabographia. The description of maternal uncle—who was, perhaps, the person who taught Meḥmed how to read and write (in Cyrillic)—could only be reserved and distancing. As far as I could see, Nahīfī will nowhere else in the text engage in translating Slavic words, although Muṣṭafā Pasha spent most of his military career in South-Slavia, including twelve years as *beylerbeyi* of Budin which was, at the time, teeming with Slavic speakers.

Meḥmed Pasha (Sokollu) was not an Ottoman vizier who, next to their administrative and military duties managed to produce literary works based on which one could estimate their skills in Turkish, Arabic and/or Persian. Unlike is the case with, for example, Luṭfī Pasha (d.1563)—the grand vizier of *devshirme* background, prolific writer and commentator on Ottoman governance and confessional politics,<sup>245</sup> Meḥmed Pasha’s views, including those on language/s, can only be speculated about based on his actions. When it comes to literary and aesthetic arena, he acted

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<sup>245</sup> Luṭfī Pasha (1488-1564) is one of the examples of *devshirme* grand viziers (1539-1541) who was also a men of letters. Mainly after his dismissal in 1541, and while living in Dimetoka, he wrote some 13 works in Arabic, and 8 in Turkish, being interested in “morals, *fiqh* and theology.” See, Colin H. Imber, “Luṭfī Pasha,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, consulted online on 13 February 2021. In a *fiqh* compendium analyzed by Tijana Krstić from the perspective of sixteenth century confessional policies, Luṭfī Pasha explicitly addressed the question of the most efficient medium in which the Sunni Hanafī Orthodoxy and orthopraxy could be communicated to “the widest possible Muslim audience.” Since Luṭfī Pasha’s argumentation and conclusion were not unique, I here quote the relevant paragraph from Krstić: “Supporting his argument with the Prophet’s saying that ‘seeking knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim man and woman’ and that ‘people should be addressed in the language they can understand,’ Lūtfī Pasha states that jurists should issue their opinions, teachers explain their lectures, interpreters of the Quran explain the Quran and preachers deliver their sermons in Turkish, so that people can understand them and be edified.” The compendium was, written in “simple Turkish.” Tijana Krstić, “From Shahāda to ‘Aqīda: Conversion to Islam, Catechisation and Sunnitisiation in Sixteen-Century Ottoman Rumeli,” in *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 296-314:301. Ca.1640, İbrāhīm Peçevī left the following lines about Luṭfī Pasha: “Bir miḳdār şarf ve naḥv görmekle kendüyi ‘ulemā-i ‘aşr şanub (kibār ‘ulemādan meclisine gelenlere kelime şorar tururdı ve bu vechle ḥās ve ‘āma) sefāhetin izḥār iderdi/(idub)” [Having learned a bit about morphology and syntax, he started counting himself among the learned of his time. He had a habit of quizzing those who were coming to the gatherings organized by the noble ‘ulemā about the (meanings of) words, thus showing his foolishness to both the elite and the commoners.]. The sentence is reconstructed by combining variants in BNF Turc 72, f.13b, and İbrāhīm Peçevī, *Tarih-i Peçevī* I-II (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmiri, 1283 [1866]), 21.

primarily as a patron and sponsor of Arabographic literature, arts and architecture. Considering the length of time he spent in the imperial palace, we can guess that his Turkish, in its best, was probably very close to that of the Sultan's.<sup>246</sup> Of the written monuments of Mehmed Pasha's Turkish we have an informal letter he wrote when Süleymān I died in the battlefield of Szigetvar, and provided he dictated them, his orders preserved in the court registers of important affairs (tr.sg. *mühimme defteri*).<sup>247</sup> We also know that he supplied *medreses* of his endowments with hundreds of instruction books in Arabic (copies of Quran, books in exegesis, *hadīṭ* collections, *fiqh* manuals, and Arabic philology).<sup>248</sup> His Slavic connections in the realm of textual production in *elsine-i selase* are much less emphasized in historiography, but it is probably no coincidence that a number of Ottoman literati who wrote in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, hailed from South-Slavia to other centers of education exactly during the long vizierial tenure of Mehmed Pasha.<sup>249</sup> Written trace of Mehmed Pasha's Slavic is preserved in a letter he wrote to András Báthory,<sup>250</sup> in 1551, when he was proving himself battling and fighting for the Ottoman interests in Banat. Whether he wrote the Slavic letters himself, or used the services of an existing Slavic chancellery (be it local or sultanic) is hard to tell, but he did demand from his interlocutor that, in the future, he writes to him

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<sup>246</sup> A recent systematic survey of the known facts of Mehmed Pasha's biography is in Uroš Dakić, "The Sokollu Family Clan and the Politics of Vizierial Households in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century" (MA Thesis, Central European University, 2012), 36-42.

<sup>247</sup> M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Sokollu Mehmed Paşa'nın bir talimatı ve 1572 tarihinde Bosna ile alakadar birkaç vesika" [An Instruction by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Several Documents Related to Bosnia from 1572], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 6-7 (1956-57): 159-174.

<sup>248</sup> Adnan Kadrić and Hatice Oruç, "Prilog proučavanju vjerskog, kulturnog i intelektualnog identiteta velikog vezira Mehmed-paše Sokolovića: kulturnološki aspekt jedne Sokolovićeve vakufname o knjigama" [Contribution to the Study of the Religious, Cultural and Intellectual identity of the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha: a Cultural Aspect of Sokollu's Waqfiye on the Books], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 69 (2020): 327-371.

<sup>249</sup> Most famous being Ahmed Sudī, who was a teacher of poet Dervīş (Mostarī). See, fn.175 and fn.184 of this chapter.

<sup>250</sup> The Lord Chief Justice at the court of Isabella Jagiellon, the queen consort who ruled the parts of Hungarian kingdom as a vassal to the Ottoman empire.

in Serbian, and not in what he calls “Fruški.”<sup>251</sup> The Slavic component of Mehmed Pasha’s historical portrait is often discussed in scholarship by referring to his role in the restoration of Serbian Patriarchate of Peć, in 1557 and the fact that his close relatives were patriarchs until 1587. Of the renewal we know next to nothing from documentary sources. The first head of the renewed patriarchate was Makarije Sokolović, a relatively obscure figure. There is, however, a speculation that before becoming a patriarch, Makarije was an iguman in Hilandar Monastery at Mt. Athos. A legend circulated around 1901 says that he was known there as *Topuzlu* Makarije, for he held a sultanic *fermān* which gave him the right to carry a mace (tr. *topuz*) and hit with it whomever would oppose him.<sup>252</sup>

Judging by the modern Ottoman historiography, the languages of Mehmed Pasha, Muṣṭafā Pasha and their likes are important (in the sense of “distinct”) to the extent these men can be quoted among those high-ranked Ottoman officials of the sixteenth century who were “Slavic speakers” and who used their knowledge of Slavic in diplomatic exchanges. As such, they serve as the paradigmatic example for claiming, in passing, that Ottoman empire was: multilingual and multiethnic. And that—in words of Gábor Ágoston who recently discussed “language and diplomacy” under the rubric of “sinews of empire”—“both the Ottoman authorities and the

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<sup>251</sup> The editor of the letter translates this label as “French” without explanation, but “Frankish” might be a better solution. Vladimir R. Polomac, “Srpski kao diplomatski jezik jugoistočne Evrope XVI veka (na primeru pisma Mehmed Paše Sokolovića Andrašu Batoriju)” [Serbian as a diplomatic language in South-Eastern Europe (based on the letter from Mehmed Paša Sokolović to Andraš Batori)], in *Srpski jezik: Status, sistem, upotreba: Zbornik radova u čast prof. Milošu Kovačeviću*, ed. Jelena Petković and Vladimir Polomac (Kragujevac: Filum, 2018), 639–652. Scholars dealing with Mehmed Pasha’s actions in Banat ca.1551, hold that these were successful, among other, due to the fact that he could communicate with the local Slavs (militarily active) in their own language (Serbian) and by writing them letters in “their own” Cyrillic script. This allegedly helped him win over the local population simultaneously exposed to propaganda of agents of Ferdinand I, the Habsburg Emperor (1526-1564). The extant letters, however, prove only that Mehmed Pasha communicated in Slavic with Hungarian officials. Branislav Đurđev, “Prva godina ratovanja Mehmeda Sokolovića u Banatu i prva opsada Temišvara” [The First Year of Mehmed Sokolović’s Warfare in Banat and the First Siege of Temišvar], *Glasnik istoriskog društva u Novom Sadu* 7 (1934): 64-79, 71.

<sup>252</sup> Milenko Vukićević, *Znameniti Srbi muhamedanci* [The Famous Serbs of Muhameddan Rite] (Beograd: Štamparija D. Dimitrijevića, 1901), 46-47.

European diplomats relied on a wide array of cross-cultural and cross-confessional intermediaries.”<sup>253</sup> Against this and similar claims, no argument can be presented, but a question can be asked which language, if any, was, for example, Meḥmed Pasha (Sokollu)’s *own language*. By now it is clear that my answer will be that this cannot be Slavic only, and moreover, on the level of literacy and language ideology, that this language was *not* Slavic. In other words, it seems so far that the sixteenth-century Ottoman Arabographia left no room in which one’s knowledge of Slavic could be self-advertised or explicitly acknowledged, though it was obviously allowed to be put to use for pragmatic purposes, implied and signalled by referring to the sultans’ servants’ origins.

#### **II.4.3. The Interpreter**

Selānikī Muṣṭafā (d.1600) recorded the above episode in his chronicle of events which took place between 1563 and 1600. Recognized as a first-rate source by modern historians, Selānikī ’s text was not used by a number of later Ottoman chroniclers who dealt with the period he covered.<sup>254</sup> This may serve as a rather strong indication of initially limited readership of his narrative. Selānikī was acquainted with and provided various services to Ottoman officials who were occupying some of the highest posts in the Ottoman government, Meḥmed Pasha (Sokollu) being one of them. He seems to have composed the final version of his text based on some sort of a diary in which he recorded events as he himself witnessed them (including the 1566 campaign of Szigetvar and the

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<sup>253</sup> Gábor Ágoston, *The Last Muslim Conquest: Ottoman Empire and its Wars in Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 361.

<sup>254</sup> The oldest extant dated copy was produced in 1673. The notable seventeenth-century chroniclers who did not know about Selānikī are Hasan Beyzāde (d.ca.1636), İbrāhīm Peçevī (d.1650), Kātib Çelebi (d. 1657), and Muṣṭafā Nā’imā (d.1716). For this and other concrete information about Selānikī and his chronicle mentioned here, see the introduction to transliterated edition, in Selānikī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tarih-i Selānikī I*, xiii-xxxi.

subsequent episode in focus in this section) or as he learned about them from personal contacts.<sup>255</sup> As a secretary-scribe (tr. *kātib*) who seems to have specialised in finance and held miscellaneous unsteady salaried posts within Ottoman bureaucratic apparatus, Selānikī also had access to various documents and correspondence circulating between the central government and provinces, as well as the news from various Ottoman provinces as they reached Istanbul. Just like was the case with other Ottoman chronicles composed by his near contemporaries, Selānikī’s text contains a mixture of a few registers.<sup>256</sup> He does not employ rhyming prose, the main tool of the most elaborate style developed by the Ottoman chroniclers and stylists in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>257</sup> The unavoidable intertextuality, correspondent to the Ottoman customs related to the relationship between prose and poetry, is manifested in it that Selānikī embellishes his narrative with numerous quotations of poetry in Turkish and occasionally in Persian.<sup>258</sup> Also, customarily, aside from quotations from the Quran and *hadīth*, Arabic is a source of words of wisdom used to emphasise a point made, as well as the praises of notable personalities mentioned in the narrative.<sup>259</sup> As for the

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<sup>255</sup> Selānikī’s biography has been reconstructed based on what he said about himself in this chronicle, which is at the same time his only known work.

<sup>256</sup> His Turkish vocabulary contains some lexemes that can be said to belong to the Old Anatolian Turkish, but he rarely if ever reaches out to idiomatic or proverbial expressions. Even when he uses the omnipresent Persian *eżāfe* constructions, they are not used as metaphors. Another common index of erudition Selānikī employs is usage of coordinate pairs of synonyms in description and nominalization. Selānikī’s chronicle also presents itself as an example of a text which contains numerous examples of direct speech, probably in a form mediated by the author, but in tone and style which could have been close to real-time utterances.

<sup>257</sup> The technical term for rhymed prose is *sağ’*. In Ottoman application it was of course based on Turkish syntax, but heavily reliant on Persian *eżāfe*. In the late sixteenth century (at least) it was also used in diplomatic correspondence, at least to an extent. See, for an example, Rayne Allinson, “Letters Full of Marvels: Sultan Murād III of the Ottoman Empire, 1579-1595,” in *A Monarchy of Letters: Royal Correspondence and English Diplomacy in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 131-150, esp. 131.

<sup>258</sup> When quoting poetry in Turkish, in very many cases, he mentions the poet’s names.

<sup>259</sup> The phrases in Arabic which convey praise or good-wishes for a person were not missed to have been added (when deemed appropriate to the social status) even in sources which can be considered documentary. For illustration, one can quote the registers of state-appointed officials who were not *tumār*-holders, their transfers and salaries (tr.sg. *ruūs defteri*). For description of the registers and few typical examples see Nejat Göyünç, “XVI. Yüzyılda ruūs ve önemi”



sources of the same genre, scholars noted that Selānikī quotes no one in his history, but this is understandable since he wrote only about the history as it unfolded during his lifetime. Selānikī left no meta-comment about the very act of writing, the intended audience, or ambition pertaining to future reception of his work. His narrative contains no indication that he ever submitted his work to a patron in order to get a reward or compensation.<sup>260</sup> We also know that Selānikī was acquainted with his contemporaries who engaged in writing chronicles of various temporal scopes and methods, but we cannot know whether he knew anything about their work in the same genre.<sup>261</sup>

The above description of Selānikī's chronicle gives the impression that his awareness of the language diversity in the Ottoman society remained limited to thinking about the *elsine-i selāse*, but further inquiry shows that this was not entirely the case. Indeed, in Selānikī's narrative everyone speaks Turkish, so even if the Janissaries from the above anecdote shouted their demands in some other language, though this is hard to imagine, he would simply translate. The bilingualism of either Meḥmed Pasha or Janissaries does not appear as having any explanatory value in Istanbul. But, out in the frontier, north of Danube, Selānikī could not but leave a record about the multilingualism of the Ottoman administrators. Thus we read that, at some point during the Szigetvar campaign, spies came from different sides bringing news about the disagreements among the allies fighting the Ottoman army. Ottoman officials react to the news by sending out a number of letters in German, Hungarian, Croatian and Latin languages (tr. *Nemçe ve Macar ve Hirvat ve Lātin dillerince*) with the goal of stirring up the internal conflicts of their enemies. The persons in

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[*Ruūs* and its Importance in the Sixteenth Century], *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 27/22 (1968): 17-34, esp. 22-23.

<sup>260</sup> Ottoman historiography flourished during the reign of Süleyman I which precedes Selānikī's lifetime. The common denominator of all of these chronicles is that their authors were conscious of style and language of presentation as much as they were of the contents.

<sup>261</sup> In the text, he mentions figures like: Celālzāde Muṣṭafā (ca. 1490-1567), Ta'likizāde Meḥmed Subhī (1540-1600), Seyyid Loḳman (fl.1569-1596), Hoca Sa'deddīn (ca.1536-1599), and Muṣṭafā 'Ālī (1541-1600).

charge of the task were: the Interpreter/*Terceman* İbrāhīm Beg (d.1571);<sup>262</sup> Muştafā Kethudā, the *kapu-kethudā* of Lala Kara Muştafā Pasha (d.1580);<sup>263</sup> and Ferīdūn Beg (d.1583), the personal secretary of Mehmed Pasha (Sokollu).<sup>264</sup> When a son of Nikola IV Zrinski (d.1566), the chief commander of the forces defending the fortress of Szigetvar was captured, he was instigated to send a letter to his father in Croatian language and try to win him over for the Ottoman cause. Part of the argument was that the son was very well treated in the Ottoman camp, especially by “a clean-faced and sweet-talking favourite of the great *Padishah*, influential and wise, Mehmed Pasha, known among the Croats as the son of Sokolović.” Nikola IV Zrinski was promised to be given a high ranking position by the Ottoman sultan, and, god-willing, the Hungarian crown.<sup>265</sup> Slavic language of the letter and the mention of the Slavic version of Mehmed Pasha’s surname arguably served the purpose of reminding Zrinski that he shared something important with his current enemy, i.e. that his potential future allies are not complete foreigners. Once the victory was secured, a great *dīvān* was held in the tent of the grand vizier. It was attended by all scribes of the Imperial Council who wrote “letters of victory” (tr. *fethnāme*) to a dozen of Muslim and Christian rulers deemed interested in the outcome of the siege.

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<sup>262</sup> İbrāhīm Beg was a *kul* of Polish origin. He took over the position of chief interpreter in the service of Süleymān I in 1551, replacing Yūnus Beg of Hungarian origin who held the position since at least 1533. See Thomas Conley, “The Speech of Ibrahim at the Coronation of Maximilian II,” *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 20/3 (2002): 263-273.

<sup>263</sup> *Ķapu-kethudā* was the title of the official warden and chief representative of a household of a dignitary. Lala Kara Muştafā Pasha was a high positioned cousin of Mehmed Pasha (Sokollu). Among other, he acted as a tutor of prince Selīm and is known as a chief instigator of the conflict between prince Selīm and his brother Bāyezīd, which ended with the latter’s execution. See J.H. Krammers, “Muştafā Paşa, Lala,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, consulted online on 30 September 2020.

<sup>264</sup> Selānikī Muştafā Efendi, *Tarih-i Selānikī I*, 32.

<sup>265</sup> “...Hırvat içinde nām-dār Sokolovik-oğlu, kutlu yüzlü ve tatlu sözlü ulu Pādişāh’un makbūli, sözi geçer tedbīrlü Mehmed Paşa hazretleri, ömri ve devleti ziyade olsun...,” *Ibid.*, 33.

No matter how small, Selānikī's contribution to the corpus of Slavophone Arabographia gains some weight in light of the fact that he mentions Slavic/Croatian as a language of the Ottoman enemies—if used, to be used against them. This contribution, for one, consists of the four instances of spontaneous usage of the word *yunāk* (sl. *junak*-young man, hero, soldier) in his narrative. In all four cases the word is used to designate the soldiers of the Ottoman enemies, fighting or captured, and described as *yarār* (tr./capable, brave).<sup>266</sup> The other Slavic word Selānikī used in his narrative much more frequently, is *v(i/e/je)ra*, which featured in *Chapter I*. Selānikī obviously thought these words would convey the adequate meaning to his intended readership, but whether they were regular “Slavizms” which penetrated the Turkish language and the usage of which was customary by the second half of the sixteenth century is an open question. For a start, it can be said that *yunāk* can hardly be imagined as a part of bureaucratic vocabulary, and its usage by Selānikī can be understood as a matter of style. Perhaps expectedly, the career of *v(i/e/je)ra* in Selānikī and some other narratives differs, and this in a way I will try to explain below.

How Selānikī's intended and unintended readership is to be described is not easy to decide—Selānikī's work had no immediate impact on audience, as noted above. Besides that, Ottomanists in general discuss the reception of literary works across the social-ladder only in passing. Some relevant guidelines can be found in Kaya Şahin's discussion of the chronicle of Celālzāde Muştafā (d.1567) of which he writes:

Produced independently, without any direct patronage, it addresses an elite audience of fellow literati, madrasa graduates, poets, historians, scribes, and religious scholars who not only could recognize the message of the work but also appreciated its linguistic and stylistic aspects.<sup>267</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> Ibid., 32, 52, 290, 603. For the spelling see BNF-MS Supplement Turc 1060, f.20a. On f.21b, there is a form *yunāc*, apparently a variant of *yunāk*. This would then be the fifth occurrence of the word in Selānikī's text.

<sup>267</sup> Kaya Şahin, “Imperialism, Bureaucratic Consciousness, and the Historian's Craft: *A Reading of Celālzāde Muştafā's Tabakātü'l-Memālik ve Derecātü'l-Mesālik*,” in *Writing History at the Ottoman Court: Editing the Past*,

Obviously, Şahin focuses on Celālzāde alone, but he discusses him as both a man of his time and an individual. What Celālzāde and Selānikī have in common is that their work was not commissioned by a patron, although they both had access to the highest echelons of men in power. One of their shared experiences is the Hungarian campaign in 1566. But, having started with the reign of Selīm I, Celālzāde finished his chronicle with the events that took place in 1557, and died soon after. Selānikī finished ca.1600. Their styles in writing are very different though they both operate within the *elsine-i selāşe* complex—Celālzāde’s narrative contained parts which were presumably not easy to read even by the elite of the elite as described above by Şahin. Some parts were, however, much more accessible.<sup>268</sup> Celālzāde’s work can be seen as a prime example of how almost painfully transparent language- and style-awareness could serve the goal of promoting the pro-government and corporate agendas.

Going back to Şahin’s description of potential readership with Slavic in mind, the first conclusion is that none of the groups mentioned operated with this language for any professional purpose, unless we count Ottoman *dragomans* who belonged to “elite audience.” In other words, Şahin’s definition does not point to any form of bilingualism of the model users: Janissaries and *kul-devshirme* recruits who could or could not become members of any of the mentioned groups—are clearly excluded. So when literally applied to Selānikī’s text, this definition may lead to a conclusion that Selānikī’s readers would have to infer the meaning of a word “foreign” to Turkish from the context, which was, by the way, a fairly easy task. By concluding that the Slavic *junak*

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*Fashioning the Future*, ed. H.Erdem Çıpa and Emine Fetvacı (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 39-57: 39.

<sup>268</sup> Relying on Petra Kappert, Şahin writes “Although it is possible to identify three distinct linguistic registers throughout the work—aptly classified by Petra Kappert as elaborate, middlebrow and simple—Muştafa’s vivid descriptions often project themselves to the fore at the expense of other passages,” *Ibid.*, 40.

and *v(i/e/je)ra* somewhat accidentally crept into an eyewitness's account as technical terms, the discussion of Selānikī's linguistic choices and language awareness could end here.

Nevertheless, Selānikī was not the only chronicler of the Ottoman campaigns who let a (limited) number of Slavic words with strong connotations into their text. In fact, a number of his fellow historians who flourished both before and after him did the same. What most of them share is a relative consistency in using the words in controlled semantic environment thus making sure that an interested reader perceives them as “idiomatic” and this in the sense of both “time- and group-specific.” *V(i/e/je)ra*, again, will appear as an exception in this pattern, but only as of the seventeenth century. Besides that, no other Ottoman chronicler who wrote about the same Janissary mutiny that took place in late 1566 ever mentions that Selīm II denied Janissaries the knowledge of Turkish, like Selānikī did. Thus, a doubt arises that Selīm II's words may in fact be Selānikī's own. Below is what can be considered evidence in support of these conclusions.

A look into Ottoman chronicles written by around mid-sixteenth century reveals different kinds of, for the lack of the better term—sentiments towards Slavic words which cannot be considered technical terms (like *voyvoda*),<sup>269</sup> but what is common to all of the examples is that the words can be found exclusively in i) dialogues/direct speech ii) episodes in which Serbs and Bosnians (sometimes with Hungarians) appear as Ottoman enemies, and this before the conquest of their late medieval states. Ca. 1600, Selānikī, obviously, added Croats (with Hungarians and other allies).

In modern times, etymology is a field of inquiry which instantly comes to mind when it comes to history of words. Etymology, however, can not always provide answers as to whether, why and how origin of words mattered to producers and users of historical texts, and moreover

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<sup>269</sup> See *Chapter I*.

what kind of effects the “foreign” words or borrowings produced. The obvious starting point might be meta-genres. We know for sure that some Ottoman lexicographers paid significant amount of attention to the origin of words they included in their works. Ni‘metullāh from Sofia, the author of one of the most comprehensive Persian-Turkish dictionaries written by 1541, regularly informs whether a “Persian word” he glossed in Turkish originated from Arabic, Khwarezmian, Greek, “a language from the Sarmatian Steppe (tr. *Deşt-i Kıpçak*),” etc. The “Persian word” is here to mean: a word found in an earlier Persian dictionary or a text, which may or may not have provided the information about origin.<sup>270</sup> However, if not intended for instruction of the beginners, Ottoman bilingual dictionaries were, by the rule, specialist dictionaries, i.e. containing words necessary for understanding of particular written discourses. In case of Persian, this was most notably, though not exclusively, poetry. Therefore, these dictionaries represent helpful, but far from comprehensive guides through discourses other than the one addressed by a lexicographer, not to mention the everyday speech. Ni‘metullāh, for example, glosses the Persian word “Tersā” in the following way: “Naşrānīler. Ba‘zılar oda tapan kāfirlerdür dediler” (Nazarenes/Christians. They said that some of them are infidels who worship fire). Indeed, the Persian *Tersā* was a common word for a Christian in the Ottoman poetry, while the plural of the word *Naşrānī*, *Naşārā*, appears as the most widespread Ottoman word for Christians in non-poetic discourses. *Naşārā* is of Arabic origin and a term from the Quran. As such it could evoke an entire legal discourse pertaining to Muslim rulers’ treatment of their Christian subjects. Finally, it is hard to imagine that any literate (or illiterate) men in the Ottoman empire would qualify any Ottoman Christian as a fire-worshipper/Zoroastrian.

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<sup>270</sup> For texts Ni‘metullāh used as sources of his compilation and concrete examples, see Nimetullah bin Ahmet bin Mübarek er-Rumī, *Lügat-i Ni‘metu’llāh*, ed. Adnan İnce (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2015).

Other words for Christians, of course, had other connotations the recovery of which cannot be achieved with the help of the dictionaries and etymology only. An anonymous chronicler from the late fifteenth century, for example, uses a rather rare form: *Kirisgān*. This he does in his description of the battles of the Zlatica Pass and Varna (1443-1444).<sup>271</sup> The battle of Varna is known in historiography as the central event of the “Crusade of Varna.” With modern tools at our disposal, we can say that *Kirisgān* was a corruption of a word composed of a Greek stem and a Latin suffix which could enter Turkish via Greek, Hungarian, Slavic, Italian, or all at the same time. But what probably mattered more from the perspective of the user of the text was that the Anonym employed the word exclusively to describe the enemy soldiers, as in *–Kirisgān yunākları*.<sup>272</sup> The affinity between the two words is confirmed by one more instance, while *yunāk* appears without *Kirisgān* in two more situations.<sup>273</sup> This Anonym who, among other, invented the term *Nār-Nūr* (tr./fire-light) to designate the Christian god/Jesus, can be considered an idiosyncratic and unique figure. As such, he can be dismissed as a practitioner beyond any long standing pattern to which Selānikī, perhaps contributed, though much later. And yet, a vague evidence that *yūnāk* had some currency in Arabographic narrative world, after the Anonym and

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<sup>271</sup> See *Gazavāt-ı Sultān Murād b. Mehmed Hān: İzladi ve Varna savařları (1443-1444) üzerinde anonim Gazavātnāme*, transcription, notes and facsimile prepared by Halil İnalçık and Mevlūd Oğuz (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989), 22. This narrative which survived in a single copy was written by an eye witness, a person close to the court of Murād II. The chronicle also contains a lot of quotations of the direct speech and quotations of letters written by various parties during the course of the conflict. Expectedly, everyone “speaks” and “writes” in Turkish, in this case unembellished by non-Turkish phraseology. The Anonym is rather precise when he refers to Slavic names of locales he mentions. He improvizes a lot in his references to some terms related to Christian religion. One time Anonym refers directly to language competence of a person is when he describes the capture by the Christians of Uzun-karı-ođlu (Hızır Beg) the commander of the assault on Sofia who was born in Bulgaria (near Plovdiv). Brought in chains to Hungarian king’s camp, Uzun-karı-ođlu overhears a conversation about himself and a situation as viewed by a person from king’s entourage. Knowing an unspecified “their language,” which was most probably Hungarian or Slavic, Uzun-karı-ođlu becomes aware of his circumstances and acts upon them accordingly. *Ibid.*, 18-19, 98.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 (for the original spelling see, facsimile 19b).

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, 18, 29,43.

before Selānikī, can be found in a poem which served to illustrate ‘Āşıkpaşazāde’s prose account (after 1480) of the Ottoman takeover of Smederevo (1459) and to celebrate the completion of the conquest of *Vilāyet-i Lāz*. The word will appear as part of a phrase which can be understood as pseudonym of a concrete or a symbolic person—*Devayko Yunac*. The couplet which contains another Slavic word—“lubim” (sl./v.1st.p.sg. *ljubiti*, to love) is omitted in some versions of this unstable text,<sup>274</sup> presumably by the copyists who did not understand it.

Several Slavic words from Neşrī’s chronicle were framed in a similar way like *yunāķ* in Anonym and Selānikī. Describing the initial phase of the Ottoman conquest of Serbia, Neşrī relates how Murād I and his advisors understood that taking the fortress of Niš would be the best way to start. After Ottoman success, *Lāz(ar)* agrees to vassalage and accepts the obligation to send troops upon Ottoman demand. The first campaign in which Serbian troops participated was the one against Karaman principality ruled by Muslims. After the battle, the Serbs were reprimanded by the Ottoman sultan for being too aggressive towards Muslims, which was forbidden by Murād I before the fighting started. Displeased by the treatment, a Serbian *voyvoda* approached Lazar asking: “*Ne revādur ki Türk’e zaboğa diyüb bizi mu‘avin gönderirsin.*”<sup>275</sup> *Zaboğa* (sl. lit. for God’s sake) appears again in the episode relating how Serbs were, right before the battle of Kosovo, deliberating whether to go to war with allies who were already gathering forces or make peace

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<sup>274</sup> The first four couplets of the eight-couplet poem read: “Tamāmet İslām hukm itdi Lāza/Temerrüd kāfiri hep kaçdı sāza/Yüridi şevket-i İslām o ilde/Lāzuñ maħbūn<sup>b</sup>ları başladı nāza/Devayko Yunac(u) Muya lubim dir/Ki lubim bağladı gönülde rāza/Semendire’de kondı yiniçeri/‘Azablar akça sayar oldu kaza [İslam overwhelmed Serbia, its obstinate infidels ran away in panic; İslam marched the land in all its majesty, the Serbian beloveds started with coquetry; *Devayko Yunac* says “*Muya lubim*” (sl. I love Muyo), and “*lubim*” means he (Muyo) became the secret of his heart; Janissaries and other soldiers entered Smederevo, it became an akche-counting province]. I translated the verses holding that *Devayko Yunac* was of male gender, though it could also be a female, i.e. a corruption of Slavic *Devojka Junak/Junak Devojka*, a brave girl. In that case one would also expect that the “beloved” was designated by ar./tr.fem. *maħbūbe*. Öztürk, *Āşıkpaşazāde tarihi*, 211; SBB-MS Or.oct. 2448, ff.247a-247b.

<sup>275</sup> “What is the purpose of giving an oath to the Turk and sending us to assist them,” Unat and Köymen, *Neşrī tarihi I*, 234-235.



with the Sultan. Quieting the ones who argued for a truce, many agreed to fight, saying “*Bu kadar leşker cem ‘ olduktan sonra Türk’e zaboğa dimek gayet herze sözdür.*”<sup>276</sup> In between the two episodes, we read how Lala Şāhīn (*beylerbeyi* of Rūmeli), having finished a raid in Bosnia (1388), lingered behind the rest of the troops with a thousand soldiers. Suddenly, in front of the thousand, thirty thousand infidel soldiers appeared. Some confident *gāzīs* thought the Ottomans should engage in fighting, but Lala Şāhīn prevented it by saying: “*Bunda vitozluḡ* (sl.n.vitez-tr.suffix *-luḡ*, chivalry) *hemān dīvānelikdur*”<sup>277</sup> Fast forward to Battle of Varna (1444) and the reign of Murād II. In what appears as a decisive moment, the young and drunk Hungarian king spots the sultan and attacks head on. The Janissaries split apart, let the king pass, but manage to throw him off of his horse. Approaching the young king (to cut his head off), one Karaca Hızır shouts “Gospodār *Murād*, Gospodār *Murād*” (to warn the sultan). None of these words appear in ‘Āşıkpaşazāde’s account of the same events. It is known that Neşrī used ‘Āşıkpaşazāde’s text and, except in some details, these two agree on the sequence of events and apply similar narrative building strategies heavily relying on direct speech. Both chroniclers, quote the words of the young king,<sup>278</sup> but Neşrī’s version is slightly more colorful.<sup>279</sup> Peppering a narrative with these particular Slavic words can be considered, until further discoveries, Neşrī’s original idea.

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<sup>276</sup> “After gathering this many troops, it is an utter nonsense to swear to God in front of the Turk,” *Ibid.*, 264-265.

<sup>277</sup> “In a situation like this, chivalry equals to madness,” *Ibid.*, 238-239.

<sup>278</sup> ‘Āşıkpaşazāde: Kırāl eyitti “Varayum, Türk beḡini tutayum” dedi. Heman *höl höl* deyü yürüdü. Yeniçeri iki yarıldılar. Yol verdiler. Kırāl geldi aralıḡa girdi. [The king said “let’s go, let’s take the Turkish commander.” He immediately advanced forward shouting “*Ho(l) Ho(l).*” The Janissaries split into two. They let him pass. The king came and fell among them.] Öztürk, *Āşıkpaşazāde tarihi*, 176-177.

<sup>279</sup> Neşrī: Hunkārın yanında olan adamlar kırālın gözüne az görünüp, “Hay Türk’ün Beyine eyi fırsat buldum. Varayım tutayım” deyip. “*Kamu Murād, kamu Murād,*” deyip “*Hevl! hevl!*” diyerek yürüdü. Yeniçeri yarılıp, kırāl geldi, aralıḡa girdi. [It appeared to the king that there were not too many men around the sultan. He thought “This is the right time to attack the Turkish commander. Let’s go, let’s take him. He advanced forward saying “Where is Murād, Where is Murād” and shouting “*Ho(l) Ho(l).*” The Janissaries split, the king came and fell among them.], Unat and Köymen, *Neşrī tarihi II*, 652-653. To two different transliteration solutions of the exclamation spelled in the same way in both

Neşrî's solutions did not appear unintelligible to the author of a mid-sixteenth century chronicle, who copiously used Neşrî's text to write his own chronicle. This chronicle was previously known to scholarship as *The History of Rüstem Pasha*, and the idea was that the grand vizier was its author. Recently, the text has been attributed to Maṭrakçı Naşūh (d.after 1560) with a great deal of certainty.<sup>280</sup> Be this as it may, the author takes over almost all of Neşrî's formulations of direct speech mentioned above. Naşūh (or Rüstem) quotes verbatim<sup>281</sup> or paraphrases without affecting the meaning in any significant way.<sup>282</sup> He only omits Lala Şāhīn's words uttered after the raid in Bosnia, i.e. he does not quote him as saying the same thing as Neşrî. Naşūh adds one sentence composed by himself.<sup>283</sup> This text is also peculiar for a "slip of the pen" which resulted in recording the Serbian ruler's name as *Lazar*—two times, instead of a common, Turkish *Lāz* used everywhere else.<sup>284</sup> None of the Slavic words mentioned above were used anywhere else in the text, just like was the case with Neşrî.

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texts (*hvl hvl*) one can add *hul hul* and *hol hol*. *Ḳamu* can also be transliterated as *ḳamo* (sl. where), in which case the Hungarian king shouted "where is Murād" in Slavic, which is how I translated it.

<sup>280</sup> Maṭrakçı Naşūh was an Ottoman military-man and a polymath of many remarkable talents. He belonged to the second generation of Muslims. His grandfather is held to have been of Bosnian Christian origin. At a young age, he was brought to the court of Bāyezīd II where he received education. Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, "Maṭrakçı," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, consulted online on 18 February 2022. For a discussion of the chronicle and problems related to authorship, see the introduction to the text published in transliteration in Maṭrakçı Nasuh, *Rüstem Paşa tarihi olarak bilinen Tārīh-i Āl-i Osmān: (Osmanlı tarihi 699-968/1299-1561): (inceleme - tenkitli metin)*, ed. Göker İnan and Erhan Afyoncu (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2019), 19-71.

<sup>281</sup> Neşrî's sentence translated in fn. 275 of this chapter is quoted verbatim. Maṭrakçı Nasuh, *Tārīh-i Āl-i Osmān*, 154.

<sup>282</sup> The sentence translated in fn. 276 reads: "Çünkü bu kadar leşker cem' oldı, Türk'e *zaboga* demek ne lāzım," Ibid., 159. The quotation of the speech of the Hungarian king and the Janissary who killed him is in the following passage: "Ey fırsat buldum, Türk'ün beğini tutayım" diyüp "*Kamu kamu* Murād!" diyüp yürüdü. Yeniçeri dahi yarılıp kiral gelüp aralığa girdi. Fi'l-hāl atını sinirleyüp atından yıkdılar. Koca Hızır inüp başını kesmek isteyicek "*Kospodar* Murād, *kospodar* Murād!" diyü çağırdı," Ibid., 233.

<sup>283</sup> In this version of the events that took place on the eve of the Battle of Kosovo, Lazar sends an envoy to Murād II. Coming back to the Serbian camp, the envoy says: "Ey *kospodar*! Türk'ün leşkeri didükleri gibi değül. Bizim leşkerimiz üç ol kadar vardır" [Hey, Lord! The Turkish troops are not the way they say. Our troops are three times stronger than theirs], Ibid., 161.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid., 148.

Also, none of these Slavic words made it to Meninski's *Thesaurus*, i.e. the most comprehensive reference work for the early modern Turkish, published in Vienna, in 1680. The Ottoman Arabographers' treatment of the one that did, and this is of course *v(i/e/je)ra*, bears some similarity to the above quoted examples, but only in Naşūḥ's history—and in Selānikī. Meninski gives two variants of this word, *vire*, and *vere*, the second being labelled as vulgar, and glosses it with Latin "fides, deditio, induciae." The examples of usage he provides are "ol şeher *vire* ile alındı" (that town surrendered peacefully, i.e. was taken by agreement) and "*vire* kağıdı" (passport).<sup>285</sup> In the story of the seige of Corfu, taken up by Süleymān I, Naşūḥ notes that the sultan got angry and decided to besiege the town because Venetians broke the previously made agreements (tr. *ahdler ve vereler bozmak*).<sup>286</sup> In Selānikī there are some ten occurrences of the form *vere* appearing as a part of three compounds.<sup>287</sup> The word appears exclusively in episodes describing the post-1592 activities of Ottoman commanders in the Hungarian frontier (tr. *serḥadd*)—sometimes managed from Belgrade and/or Buda, but taking place in towns like Esztergom, Eger and Győr (all north of Buda). It is only in the chronicle of Nā'imā (d.1716) which covers the period from the reign of Murād III (1574-1595) until 1660, that *vire* features as a proper Slavizim in Turkish language.<sup>288</sup> It was used in descriptions of events happening all over the Ottoman empire and its frontiers, and in many more collocations than those attested in Selānikī and provided by Meninski. A detailed look into Nā'imā's fellow-chroniclers and predecessors

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<sup>285</sup> Meninski, *Thesaurus*, 5364 and 5424.

<sup>286</sup> Matrakçı Nasuh, *Tārīh-i Āl-i Osmān*, 376.

<sup>287</sup> And these are: *vere bozmak* (break the thruce); *vere tārikiyle/vere ile teslīm eylemek* (to surrender (a fortress) by agreement); *vere ile almak/alınmak* (to take/be taken over by agreement). For an example of each combination, see Selānikī Muştafā Efendi, *Tārīh-i Selānikī I*, 330, 365, 383, 511.

<sup>288</sup> For introduction and the edition (in transliteration), see Nā'imā Mustafā Efendi, *Tārīh-i Na'imā: Ravzatü'l-Hüseyn fi hulāsati aḥbāri'l-hāfikayn*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, 4.vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2007).

from the seventeenth-century whose texts he knew and used, would probably show the pace at which *vere/vire* transformed from a word used by Ottoman Arabographers with a great deal of consciousness into a full blown Slavism in written Ottoman Turkish of the seventeenth century.<sup>289</sup>

And if Selānikī shared some attitudes towards Slavic words with his near contemporaries, he seems to be the only one who related the Janissary mutiny in 1566 by fashioning the sultan as a denier of Janissaries' knowledge of Turkish. Another eyewitness to the event who provided a comparably detailed and dramatic account in his chronicle written in 1569, was Meḥmed Pasha's personal secretary, Ferīdūn Beg (d.1583). From Ferīdūn's description it is clear that Janissaries were stubborn and rude, and that Selīm II was very irritated. When quoting the words of the Janissaries, Ferīdūn simplifies the syntax and slides towards spoken idiom, but much less than Selānikī. Selīm II's reaction is fashioned as a short monologue, which comes after Meḥmed Pasha informed him what the Janissaries wanted, and this by briefly saying "*murādları bahşīşdur*" (they want an extra-reward/tip).<sup>290</sup> One of Selānikī's nearest contemporaries, but not an eye-witness, was Muṣṭafā 'Ālī (1541-1600). His comprehensive narrative on Ottoman history which starts with the reign of 'Osmān I, gives the impression that the enthronement of Selīm II went without any turmoil.<sup>291</sup> The chronicler who used Selānikī's text, but without acknowledging it, was Şolāḳzāde (d. 1658; fl. ca. 1627) who also started his narration of Ottoman history with the period of 'Osmān I. For the reign of Süleymān I, Şolāḳzāde used the history of Hasan Beyzāde (fl.1623-1640). None

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<sup>289</sup> That this exercise would certainly be tedious, but not futile, I concluded by checking three important histories that have been published in transliteration, those of Hasan Beyzāde (d.ca.1636), 'Abdülkādir Efendi (known as Topçular Kātibi, d.ca. 1644), and Kātib Çelebi (d. 1657).

<sup>290</sup> Feridun Bey, *Nüzhēt-i esrārü'l-ahyār der-ahbār-ı sefer-i Sigetvar*, 221-222.

<sup>291</sup> Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Künhü'l-ahbār: dördüncü rükn, Osmanlı tarihi I-II* [The Essence of History: The Fourth Pillar. Ottoman History, I-II] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009-2014), 438 and *passim*.

of the two mentions the Janissaries' Turkish. Hasan Beyzāde only quoted the Sultan's words.<sup>292</sup> Therefore, some of the speculations pertaining to Selīm II's motifs for uttering the accusation, can perhaps be associated with Selānikī.

## II.5. Some Ideological Faultlines of the Ottoman Arabographia on the Eve of the Seventeenth-Century

The last quarter of the sixteenth century is a period in which we find instances of Slavophone Arabographia which are more than just words and short phrases. More precisely, these are the whole sentences recorded in Arabic script and framed as direct speech within the larger textual wholes based on Turkish. Besides that, the texts leave no doubt that the people who uttered these sentences were Ottoman subjects profiled as singularly Slavic-speakers. The following discussion is inspired by examples of such quotations in few texts produced by Ottoman literati whose biographies and works are more or less known. None of these people can be safely confirmed as being of Slavic origin or Slavic-speakers. In this section, I want to suggest that the light novelty in the history of Slavophone Arabographia can be seen as signaling a new kind of awareness, namely a tacit recognition that Slavic *had been* an idiom with relatively strong demographic base within the Ottoman empire. I can not say whether this recognition was a result of a novel kind of thinking about "all the languages of the empire." What I do aim to show is that, on the eve of the seventeenth century, there existed an interpretive community within the Ottoman literate base whose members gauged the power of Slavic *vis-à-vis* the languages constituting the *elsine-i selāse* cluster, rather than *vis à vis* other, non-Islamic languages.

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<sup>292</sup> For the period before Süleymān I, Şolākzāde used Hoca Sa'deddīn's *Tācū't-Tevārih* which originally ends in 1520. Hasan Beyzāde covers the period from 1520 until the reign of Murād IV (1623-1640), but wrote an original account of the years between 1595-1603. Süleyman Lokmacı, "Solak-zāde tarihi'nin tahlili ve metin tenkidi" [An analysis of Solakzāde's History and its Critical Edition] (PhD Thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi, 2015), 33-34 and 686-687; Hasan Bey-zāde Ahmed Paşa, *Hasan Bey-zāde tārīhi*, ed. Şevki Nezih Aykut, 3 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2004), 197-199.

### II.5.1. Modes of “Recognition” of Slavic as an Ottoman Language

For a brief moment in the fifteenth century, Slavophone Arabographia seemed like it could have been given a chance to become a productive mode of literacy. Slavic language appeared as a potentially Ottoman idiom equipped by meta-genres and a future subject of theoretical debates. But, the idea quickly lost its ideological currency. From here on, Ottoman ideas about Slavic language and its speakers had to be read from practice. Following the meager lead of Slavophone Arabographia as it occurs in literary texts, it has been seen that Ottoman Arabographers gradually stripped Slavic of the label (Serbian) occasionally attested in the period of the inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism. As the fifteenth and the sixteenth century creators of Ottoman historical consciousness were producing their versions of the Ottoman encounter with the late medieval South-Slavic polities, they inserted the Slavic words into discourses by which they were fashioned as words from a language of foreigners, the old and the new enemies, and non-Muslims soldiers. A potentially ideological tension arises when we learn—from the very same and different other texts including those from the realm of pragmatic literacy—that, throughout the sixteenth century, the various collectives constituting South-Slavdom, were explicitly recognized as collectives to supply the manpower for the most valuable ranks of the Ottoman military establishment. As I tried to show, the labelling of the collectives was semantically informed by late-medieval political divisions and was in direct correlation with the dynamics of the Ottoman conquest in South-Slavia, on the one hand, and the practices related to enslavement on the other. This is at the same time offered as an explanation of why, on paper, “Serbs” (whose states were integrated into the Ottoman polity rather early) became a part of the Ottoman historical memory, while Bosnian and Croatian origin of Ottoman servants was duly and continuously acknowledged in the texts of various genres.

From the examples analyzed so far, it can be concluded that the late medieval concepts of “Slavic Language” or its particular variants (like Serbian which was used for a while) was not present within Ottoman Arabographia of the second half of the sixteenth century. A question that imposes itself is why this was the case and how Ottoman literati conceptualized the place of Slavic within the Ottoman multilingual regime in positive terms. Earlier on, I referred to Kafadar’s suggestion that “administrative predilection” to divide Ottoman subjects into Muslims and non-Muslims (as subjects of the Ottoman empire, *zimmis*) was but one way in which Ottoman Arabographers framed diversity and inter-communal relations. This predilection was rooted in the part of the Ottoman legal discourse based on the sharia principles which were expounded mainly in classical texts written in Arabic and Persian, commented and translated to Turkish within academic circles. The legal texts that circulated well beyond Ottoman academia were fatwas, i.e. the opinions issued by legal scholars deemed qualified to solve problems formulated by individuals or groups based on their everyday life experience. Fatwas, however, can be considered to have belonged to the domain of pragmatic literacy. Expounded in Turkish close to spoken, fatwas have been treated in historiography as solid mirrors of the change of Ottoman communal politics which drew from traditional Islamic legal discourse. Nikolay Antov has recently noted that “classical Islamic legal theory” did not yield rulings specifically dealing with language, whereby such rulings can be found in collections of legal opinions issued by influential Ottoman *müftis* of Istanbul, i.e. the *şeyhülislāms* who stood at the top of Ottoman religious hierarchy. Antov approaches the select number of these rulings (together with other relevant examples) from the perspective of “conversion, apostasy, and relations between Muslims and Non-Muslims.”<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> Thus he notes, “these rulings speak of ‘the language of the infidels’ and prescribe *the avoidance* of speaking of such language(s)—the implication being that these are spoken *mostly* by non-Muslims (and thus identified as ‘infidel languages’). This may be explained in two ways: first, along the lines of the prescribed separation between Muslims and non-Muslims, *to the extent possible, in everyday life interactions* (...); and second, in tune with the already

Of the total of three *şeyhülislāms* Antov quotes, one lived in the sixteenth century, and only two addressed the questions related to language use. Ebussu‘ūd Efendi (1490–1574) occupied the position between 1545 and 1574, and issued two fatwas about languages.<sup>294</sup> One of these fatwas uses the term “the infidel language.” The fatwas read:

*Question:* When Padishah—the Refuge of the World, conquers a land, and some Muslims settle there, and if they speak the language of that land (tr. *ol diyārın dilince tekellüm eyleseler*), is there anything that should be done about it according to sharia? *Answer:* If they are really compelled (tr. *gayet muztar olup*), i.e. unable to explain the principles of religion to Muslims (tr. *ehl-i islāma dīni tefhīme kādir olmayıp*) they are allowed to speak it while informing them about the important matters (tr. *mühim olan maslahatı i‘lam edince söyleye ruhsat vardır.*)

*Question:* If the Muslim Zeyd speaks in an infidel language (tr. *kāfir dilince*) without necessity (tr. *zarūretsiz*), does this harm his marriage according to sharia? *Answer:* This is certainly harmful (tr. *zarar-ı mahzdir*). The ruling cannot be that this constitutes an act of his unbelief and he cannot be separated from his wife (tr. *küfrüne hükm olunup avreti tefrik olunmaz*). This is prevented and restrained by means of a discretionary punishment (tr. *ta‘zir-i şedid ile men‘ ü zecr olunur*).<sup>295</sup>

When read as literacy events, these two fatwas reveal some important points related to the question of the historical linguistic encounters within the Ottoman society. For the first question to be possible, conquest is a precondition. In an immediately post-conquest situation, some Muslims, speaking unspecified, but favored language, settle in the conquered land. Some local people become Muslims, but they do not learn the desired language. The Muslims who came would have to learn the local language in order to translate and explain the basic precepts of Islam. When

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discussed concerns about adherence to preconversion customs and practices conceptualized as behavior that *may compromise* the integrity and validity of Muslims’ (and especially recent converts’) faith (...).” The emphasis is mine. Nikolay Antov, “Conversion, Apostasy, and Relations Between Muslims and Non-Muslims: Fatwas of the Ottoman shaykh al-islams,” in *The Empires of the Near East and India: Source Studies of the Safavid, Ottoman, and Mughal Literate Communities*, ed. Hani Khafipour (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 32-54: 38.

<sup>294</sup> The other is ‘Abdürrahīm Efendi (d. 1717; in service, 1715–1716).

<sup>295</sup> The Turkish text is in, M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyülislām Ebussuūd Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı* [The Turkish Life in the Sixteenth Century in Light of the Fatwas of *Şeyülislām Ebussuūd Efendi*] (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1972), 118. I consulted and used Antov’s translation, but these are my own attempts at making the translation more literate. See, Antov, “Conversion, Apostasy, and Relations Between Muslims and Non-Muslims,” 47.



Ebu's-Su'ūd Efendi wrote this fatwa, Ottoman territorial expansion was the order of the day. Although his fatwas were copied for centuries after, this fatwa certainly lost its edge once the conquest was not perceived as an open-ended process. It would also lose its edge in the environments and times in which the “new” Muslims would learn the desired language. Or, perhaps, the moment they started thinking there was no harm in speaking the language of their ancestors.<sup>296</sup> Muslim Zeyd from the second fatwa is married and speaks two languages, he can choose between the two, but, as the *müfti* warns, he should think well, before opting for one or the other. Taken together, the two fatwas suggest that the permissibility of using “a non-proper” language was of a limited temporal and social scope.

Another kind of pragmatic texts where some scenarios in which language was an issue can be found are entries in the registers of important affairs produced by the scribal offices attached to the Imperial Council (tr. *mühimme defterleri*). The entries detail decisions/orders made at the sessions of the Imperial Council, in reaction to a problem or a situation. Below are some examples in which the importance of language, bilingualism, and/or multilingualism are explicitly acknowledged. These entries provide some insight into the variety of sites (other than those constructed upon diplomatic exchanges) in which bi- or multilingualism were operative in the Ottoman society.

From an order sent to the *kadı* of Damascus in 1569/70, we learn that locally appointed Ottoman keepers of the public order (tr. *subāşılar*), superintendents of profit-making establishments (tr. *ümenā'*, sg. *emin*), and other businessmen (tr. *iş erleri*) used (the services of) local Jews known as Sāmīrīs because they knew how to read and write in Arabic language (tr.

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<sup>296</sup> Abdürrahīm Efendi addresses this scenario in the eighteenth century. When some Muslims spoke “the infidel language” saying, “This is the language of our forefathers. It is canonically lawful (*helal*),” he ruled that “They should be subjected to a discretionary punishment, they should ask for God’s forgiveness, and their language should be cleansed,” Ibid.

*lisān-i ‘Arab üzere kırā’ate ve kitābete kâdir oldukları ecilden*). Samirî’s, however, abused this mediating position to harm local Muslims, which is why Imperial Council ordered that their service should no longer be used, and on top of that—they should be forbidden to wear Muslim-style clothes. Whether, having received this order, Ottoman officials stationed in Damascus were supposed to learn how to read and write in Arabic or replace Samirîs with some other clients, we can only guess, for the Council does not provide any advice to this end. On a positive note, this case suggests that lower appointments to Arab-speaking lands were not pre-conditioned by the knowledge of Arabic.<sup>297</sup>

A certain Mahmud from İnönü (a town in north-western Asia Minor) got in touch with Ottoman government officials in 1579 complaining that a local *nā’ib* (tr./deputy judge) by the name Receb was being unjust to Muslims and—not capable of understanding the books in Arabic (tr. *kutub-i ‘arabiyye istihrācina kâdir değildir*). The government issued an order that Receb should be dismissed from the post. A question that can be asked related to this situation is whether Receb could have got away with incompetence in Arabic had he not made local enemies, one of which was Mahmud.<sup>298</sup> This case, however, suggests that the authority of not only *kadis* but their deputies as well was widely perceived as resting on competence in Arabic, among other things. On a different note, one may speculate whether there existed a widespread idea that legal precepts originally expounded in Arabic were not “fully translatable” to Turkish.

In 1574/75, the Imperial Threshold was in need for the services of eunuchs. To this end, the *beylerbeyi* of Egypt was sent an order to collect twelve Abyssinian or Nubian eunuchs and send them over to Istanbul. One condition was that they were *‘acemî*, i.e. that they did not know

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<sup>297</sup> BOA MD 9.127.

<sup>298</sup> BOA MD 40.583; BOA MD 40. 595. These two entries are almost identical in contents, written in the same year.

Turkish (tr. *‘acemī olub Türkīce bilür olmaya*).<sup>299</sup> In my discussion of *kul-devshirme* in general, and Janissaries in particular, I noted that bilingualism of men recruited through this institution was a default, but only provided the recruitment started with the status of *‘acemī*, defined, based on cases discussed so far, by—enslavement, youth, and the lack of competence in Turkish. In combination with this, the above summarized entry shows that *‘acemī* as a category preserved its broad relevance for a rather long time, i.e. despite inclusion into the lower *‘askerī* corps of numerous sons and relatives of *kul-devshirme* (whose bilingualism, more often than not, can not be proved). Based on this, and some other examples I will quote below, I want to suggest that *‘acemī* and its social meaning can be viewed as an indicator of the extent to which Ottoman court/government *explicitly* delved into “language politics” with the view of the full scope of multilingualism in the state it managed. *‘Acemīs* were educated and projected to become privileged slaves of the Porte—their Turkish was to be taught by the state-appointed officials. Whether they would master Arabic or Persian on top of that, seems to have been a matter of their talent and interest, among other options. Their mother-tongues were of secondary or no importance. An unformulated rule that the ways in which one can serve the state, get involved in state controlled businesses, or even travel via state-controlled routes, were in tight connection with their competence in Turkish, can be viewed as an extension of this politics. Some of the below described situations show that this “implication” was a broadly accepted idea, and even more importantly, they show how this idea could have been acted upon.

In the late sixteenth century, knowing Turkish was not a precondition for entering the lower-rank state-service provided one possessed some skill and provided they were Muslims. Thus, in 1572/3, we find a certain *‘Alī* from Nova (Herceg Novi) who left his hometown, became

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<sup>299</sup> BOA MD 26.645.

a Muslim, and, thanks to his skills in artillery, entered the corps of navy artillerymen. Right after he was enlisted, it seems, he went out to the sea to serve at a ship. On his way back, his ship anchored at a small port, where ‘Alī was seized and sold as a slave because he did not know Turkish (tr. *Türkī dilin bilmedikle*). ‘Alī managed to escape and find refuge with an *emin* who obviously helped him communicate his problem to the Imperial Council and thus find a remedy.<sup>300</sup> Considering his place of origin, ‘Alī’s mother tongue could have been any number of languages, the most likely candidates being Slavic and Italian. That, however, was not a relevant piece of information in his contact with the government. A similar attitude transpires from a case dating to 1574/75: having informed the court, that he knew five languages and that he was skilled in goldsmithery (tr. *beş dil bilub ve kıyumcılık şan’atında māhir olduğın bildurub*), certain Muḥarem from Poland who had converted to Islam, asked whether he can be assigned some regular source of revenue (tr. *dirlik*). The court ordered he can be included into the salaried corps marching on the left side of the sultan’s banner (tr. *sol ‘ulūfeciler*), with the the salary of 10 akche per day.<sup>301</sup> Muḥarem, obviously, was far from an *‘acemī*, but the Council did not deem important to note which languages exactly Muḥarem knew, other than the implied Polish.

‘Alī of Herceg Novi’s case also suggests that incompetence in Turkish was considered a sign of one’s being without a guardian (person or institution). Being without a guardian was something which could lead to enslavement. In the same year when ‘Alī was almost sold (1572/3), a ship from Karamürsel (north-western Turkey today) approached the island of Rhodes. Four men from the crew entered a boat and landed to fetch some water in a village along the shore. The locally stationed soldiers seized two of them. One of the two who knew Turkish “because he was

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<sup>300</sup> BOA MD 21.446.

<sup>301</sup> BOA MD 25.1569.

a servant of an Ottoman *kapūdan*” (tr. *kapūdanın esīrlerinden olub Türkī dilin bilduđı ecilden*) was sent back to his master.<sup>302</sup>

How state-service, guardianship, and language could have been closely intertwined aspects of one’s life, also transpires from a series of events which took place in 1571/2. When a *kātib* in the service of the state went away, i.e. fled, the officials of the Imperial Council were, quite expectedly—alarmed. Apparently unsure whether the *kātib* would go in the direction of south-west or north-west, they dispatched orders to *sancak-beyis* of Delvinë (Albania) and Herzegovina, as well as to all *kadis* along the way. *Sancak-beyis* in particular were asked to organize a tight control of all the bridges and passages in their respective provinces, to record the names and descriptions of all suspicious travellers and send the reports back to Istanbul. In the order issued at this stage of search, the fugitive *kātib* was described as a “state-owned non-Muslim secretary who spoke Turkish” (tr. *mirī esīrlerden Türkī ile tekellüm ider bir kātib-i kāfir*).<sup>303</sup> No more and no less than that. From an order addressed to *sancak-beyi* of Delvinë in the later phase of the search, we learn how he reacted. In order to investigate the case of the state-owned slave who fled, now, “by speaking Turkish,” he sent his men to all the bridges and passages and arrested everyone who travelled without bail or without being associated to a (reliable) companion. The *sancak-beyi* then recorded the names and descriptions of all the persons who were suspicious, or rather, not easy to categorize, and sent these in a letter to Istanbul.<sup>304</sup> It seems that the descriptions he provided did not match the description of the fugitive slave as known to the court officials. Therefore, the

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<sup>302</sup> BOA MD 19.478.

<sup>303</sup> Of the four orders drafted in reaction to this event and preserved in the registers of important affairs, BOA MD 10.46 and BOA MD 14/1.11 are almost identical in contents. BOA MD 14 (2)1598 and BOA MD 17.32 which address the later stage of the search are also two different drafts of the same order.

<sup>304</sup> “Südde-i sa‘ādetime mektüb gönderüb sâbıkan gönderilen emr-i şerīfim mücebince mūrī esīrlerden lisān-i Türkī tekellüm idub ğaybet eyleyen esīrin tecessüs için güzergāhlarda adamlar koşub kefilı ve refiķi olmayanları tutub na-maķūle kimseler oldukları isim ve resimleri ile i‘lām olunur deyü bildirmişsin,” BOA MD 17.32.

*sancak-beyi* of Delvinë was instructed to tighten the control even more and, among all the suspects, pay special attention to anyone else who was “a state-owned slave who knew Turkish language like he (i.e. the fugitive) did” (tr. *anun gibi diğ̃er Tũrkũ dil bilũr mĩrĩ esĩrdũr*).

A while after establishing its government in a certain territory or vassalage relationship with formerly independent states, Ottoman government could certainly count that some of their local allies would learn Turkish on their own. This Turkish was probably not “literary,” “ornate,” or “Ottoman,” maybe not even “written.” On an individual level, it was beyond doubt coupled with minimum one more language. For instance, in 1568/9, some thirty years after the province of Bogdan (comprising parts of the present day Romania and Moldova) became an Ottoman vassal, its *voyvoda* received an order to gather the sufficient number of (local) men who knew Turkish and Polish (tr. *Tũrkũ ve Lih dillerin bilũr*). They were supposed to be placed at the service of Hasan Çavuş who was sent by the Porte to Poland, together with the Polish ambassador.<sup>305</sup>

In conclusion to this review of scenarios stored in the registers of the important affairs, it can be noted that terminology in describing (in)competence in Arabic (spoken or written) and the (in)competence in Turkish (spoken, and in case of the fugitive *kũtib*, written by implication) is somewhat different. Those competent in Turkish *spoke* (tr.v.inf. *tekellũm etmek*) or *knew* (tr.v.inf. *bilmek*) the language. Those competent in Arabic were—*capable* or *able* to speak and write (tr.adj. *kũdir*). Besides that, the unspecified kind of Turkish does not transpire from these examples as a language expected to be widely spoken and/or known. Rather, it transpires as a language of the empire and those who served it on different levels.

Whatever ideological principles can be detected based on the above quoted texts produced in the realm of pragmatic literacy should be viewed as “being given a tone” by the managers of

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<sup>305</sup> BOA MD 7.1775.

the state, and by implication, only one of the parties interested in the hierarchies within the Ottoman multilingual regime. To a great extent however, most of the recognizable attitudes square well with the thesis I formulated before, namely, that Ottoman litterateurs of various stripes forgot or did not care to label languages constituting the South-Slavic dialect continuum, and that, as far as Arabographers were concerned, the explicit link between a (Slavic) collective and a (Slavic) language was permanently broken. Despite this “development” the gentle thread of Slavophone Arabographia was not torn in the late sixteenth century. What happened in this period, however, was that its ideological underpinnings changed, and this, it seems, within the larger process of (re)thinking of the actual structure of the Ottoman multilingual regime.

As I showed before, Selānikī’s text provides a number of insights pertaining to language diversity within the Ottoman society. This chronicler, however, did not deal with diversity in general or linguistic diversity in particular on any meta-level. Two of his contemporaries who also came from the scribal/bureaucratic class of the Ottoman society, did. One of them was Ta‘līkīzāde Meḥmed ibn Meḥmed el-Fenārī (d.ca.1600), the other was Muṣṭafā‘ Ālī (d.ca.1600).

Unlike Selānikī and Muṣṭafā‘ Ālī who were historians by their own choice and under their own terms, Ta‘līkīzāde took part in what Christine Woodhead described “an experiment in official court historiography.” This particular experiment started when Süleymān I established the post of *ṣehnāme*ci (writer of *ṣehnāmes*)—“a permanent, salaried official whose chief function was to compose literary accounts of contemporary or near contemporary Ottoman history.” Inspired by the prestige of Persian language and the Persianate genre of *ṣehnāme* (most famously represented by the text composed by Firdevsī, d.1020), the experiment lasted for some fifty years (ca. 1555-1605). The period is marked by the activity of five *ṣehnāme*cis who produced fifteen known historical works which were not disseminated widely, i.e. beyond the libraries in the Ottoman

Palace.<sup>306</sup> The third and the most prolific *şehnāmeçi* was Loğman, during whose tenure Turkish (rather than Persian) became “the principal language of composition.” At the same time, the preference for prose as a mode of expression grew at the account of verse. At first, Ta‘līkizāde was appointed as Loğman’s assistant, and in 1590, he became his sole successor. He wrote exclusively in Turkish. The first work Ta‘līkizāde produced as *şehnāmeçi* in 1593, was not a typical history (i.e. narrative based on chronology of events). It was an attempt to discuss and analyze the distinguishing qualities and strengths of the Ottoman dynasty in twenty points, of which seventeenth have been preserved in two extant manuscripts. Solely dedicated to this theme, Ta‘līkizāde’s pioneer work bearing the title *Şemā’ilnāme*, did not meet the favor of the sultan.<sup>307</sup> An adapted and abridged version of this analysis found its place in Ta‘līkizāde’s second work dealing with the campaign into Hungary (1593-94), written in 1596 and titled *Şehnāme-i Hümayūn*.<sup>308</sup> The superior quality of Ottoman dynasty of most interest for my purpose, was explained in the twelfth point in the first and the ninth point in the second work. In Woodhead’s paraphrase found in the critical edition of *Şehnāme-i Hümayūn*, this point dealt with “the variety of nations living peaceably under Ottoman rule”<sup>309</sup> Elsewhere she refers to this work while interpreting the historiographical trends during the sedentary reign of Murād III (1574-1595). In Woodhead’s paraphrase, the key point of this passage is that “the sultan rules over a great variety

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<sup>306</sup> Christine Woodhead, “An Experiment in Official Historiography: the Post of *Şehnāmeçi* in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1555-1605,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 75 (1983): 157-182.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid., 167. And, Christine Woodhead, “Murad III and the historians: representations of Ottoman imperial authority in late 16th-century historiography,” in *Legitimizing the order: the Ottoman rhetoric of state power*, ed. Hakan T. Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005.), 85-98: 93. *Şemā’ilnāme* can be translated as “treatise on appearance and virtues.”

<sup>308</sup> Christine Woodhead, ed., *Ta‘liki-zade’s Şehname-i Hümayun: A History of the Ottoman Campaign into Hungary 1593-94* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983), 17-19. For the transliteration of the relevant passages, see pp. 114-133.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid., 18.



of subject peoples and faiths.” This and five previous points are seen as revolving around one motif, namely “the cosmopolitan nature of the state [which] emphasizes its greatness.”<sup>310</sup>

What little I could uncover from the twelfth passage of *Şemā'īlnāme* by using the secondary literature reads:

The twelfth superior quality matching the abode of heavens is collection of *religions* (tr. *mīlel*) and mixing of *races* (tr. *ecnās*).<sup>311</sup>

And, to illustrate this point by concrete examples, Ta'likizāde mentioned that “the king of *Beç*” made the townfolk of Vienna live in separate neighborhoods, and that the king of Spain exiled and killed Jews.<sup>312</sup>

In *Şehnāme-i Hümāyūn*, this same quality is addressed in the following way:

The ninth quality is that it brings together *peoples of different religions* (tr. *mīlel*) and followers of different creeds (tr. *niḥal*) There has been no sultanate which, having assembled around its eternally felicitous throne both non-Muslims and people of Mosaic laws, gathered together (so many) various races. Something like this has happened only in this most noble and powerful dominion.<sup>313</sup>

Of the three basic terms for describing the diversity of peoples in the Ottoman empire, *niḥlet* and *millet* in this context point to religion as a base of distinction. *Cins* is vague enough to encompass any sort of distinction including language. But, Ta'likizāde obviously was not interested in *languages* within his discourse on diversity. His explicit comments are on the literary

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<sup>310</sup> The others in this group being “the sultan is supreme both on land and the sea; the military strength of the state is unequalled; Istanbul is a unique and prestigious capital city, rich and well-located on trade routes; the sultan's territories extent over the ‘seven climes’ of the world from Budapest to Yemen and similarly east to west; the realm is rich and flourishing.” Woodhead, “Murad III and the historians,” 93-94.

<sup>311</sup> “Ok ikinci ḥaṣṣa-ı refi' a-ı felek-mümās terāküm-i mīlel ve teşābük-i ecnāsdu,” Woodhead ed., *Ta'liki-zade's Şehname-i Hümāyūn*, 122 (fn.3).

<sup>312</sup> Yudum Eşki, “Talikizāde'nin *Şemā'īlnāme-i Āli Osman*'i (İstanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi a. 3592) ve Tasvirleri)” (MA Thesis, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi, 2018),122.

<sup>313</sup> “Toğuzuncı ḥaṣṣa terāküm-i mīlel ve telāṭum-ı niḥaldür. Hiç bir salṭanat yokdur ki pāy-ı taḥt-ı pāyende-baḥtda millet-i Tersā ve niḥlet-i Mūsā terāküm eyleyüb ecnās-ı şettā ictimā' kılmaḳ olmamışdur. İllā bu devlet-i 'ālī-şān-ı raşīnū'l-bünyānda vāki' olmuşdur,” Woodhead ed., *Ta'liki-zade's Şehname-i Hümāyūn*, 122.

language of his own work, which he names the language of Rūm (tr. *lisān-i Rūm*). According to Ta'likizāde, this language was used by *Rūmiyān*, namely the eloquent literati who were of the same religion like Arabs and as wise as Persians. He was particularly asked to write his work in this idiom, and not in Persian, by sultan Murād III.<sup>314</sup>

In the third of the eighteenth chapters of *Şehnāme-i Hümāyūn*, Ta'likizāde displays a remarkably detailed knowledge of Serbian-Orthodox, Mileševa Monastery in which a rebellion against the Ottoman government was plotted. Among other things, he illustrates the fame of the monastery by noting that as many Christians as there were in the world come to visit it and pay tribute to the relics of Sveti Sava it preserved.<sup>315</sup> Though obviously an exaggeration, this list illustrates in what terms Ta'likizāde imagined the variety among the *Naşārā*. “Christians” are here a community consisting of (what seems like an ever expanding) variety of “canonically unclean groups” (tr. *ecnās-ı encās*). Of locally-based Christians, Ta'likizāde mentions the treacherous patriarch, priests and monks living in the monastery complex. A local whose direct speech is quoted is the patriarch, and this through a letter to the unnamed king who was supposed to help the rebels. This speech is in fact Ta'likizāde's parody of the letter which was, as he informs, sent before the central event of his narrative took place. This was the abduction of the relics and their burning in Belgrade upon the order of Koca Sinān Pasha, the commander of Hungarian operation. Within the parodied letter, “İsveti Sava” is quoted as saying, prophetically: “*Fırşat seniñdür. Türk zebūn olmuşdur. Geldugin gibi 'umūm Rūmilini alursın.*”<sup>316</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> Woodhead, *Ta'liki-zade's Şehname-i Hümayun*, 134. See also, İnan, “Imperial Ambitions, Mystical Aspirations,” 78.

<sup>315</sup> These were: “Eflak ve Urus, Boğdan ve Engürus, Ermenī ve Bulğar, Çin ve Ferhār, Erdel ve Alaman, Leh ve Lüteran, Macar ve Nemse, İşbunya ve Efreñse, Hind ve Fortuğal, Moğul ve Heytal, ve sâ'ir ecnās-ı encāsdan ne deñlü gürüh-ı mekrüh varsa...,” Ibid., 188.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., 191. [You have an opportunity. The Turk is exhausted. You will take the whole Rūmeli the moment you come.]

For one, this quotation which is reminding of the terseness characteristic of the early Ottoman chronicles, clearly sticks out from its environment coached in the elaborate *insha* prose. Second, it is remarkable for designating Ottoman officials and army as “Turks.”<sup>317</sup> That the “Turk” was not a self-appellation used by Ottoman literati is a well-known fact. For my purpose it is of some importance to note that the license for its usage (to denote Ottoman army or individual persons) was granted in quotations of the direct speech of the Ottoman enemies. In case of Ta‘līkīzāde, these were the Ottoman subjects who rebelled.

Final note on diversity as addressed by Ta‘līkīzāde can also be made based on the same story centered on Sveti Sava in which Ta‘līkīzāde directs his criticism to the local Muslims who not only regularly came to worship the relics, but also received bribe from the monks. A couplet which was inserted as an illustration is a product of the authors own creativity. It reads:

He does not pay the poll-tax saying “I am a Muslim”/ There is a great number of such grey-haired infidels who are nothing but the tricksters!<sup>318</sup>

Ta‘līkīzāde apparently knew a lot about what was going on in Ottoman Herzegovina, and perhaps even travelled with Ottoman troops on their campaigns in Rūmeli. As far as we know, he never lived in South-Slavia. Muştafā ‘Ālī (d.1600)—an erudite representative of the late sixteenth-century Ottoman bureaucratic class, an exceptionally prolific Arabographer and a unique commentator of socio-political trends in the Ottoman empire—did.

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<sup>317</sup> Upon the order he received from chief commander sitting in Belgrade, Aḥmed Pasha, the *sancak-beyi* of Herzegovina sets out to take away the relics and dispatch them to Belgrade. It is after this that Sveti Sava spoke again saying: “Büyük Türk beni almağa hüküm göndermişdür. Beni alub gitdün şanurlar, alub gidemezler. Emmā ben eyle görünürüm.”[The Grand Turk sent an order I should be taken. They think this was an easy task, they cannot take me away. That is what I foresee.], Ibid. *Büyük Türk* (the Grand Turk) is a phrase completely foreign to Ottoman Arabographia, as far as I can tell. It is a phrase which was used by Europeans, mostly to designate the Ottoman sultan (like ital. *el Gran Turco*).

<sup>318</sup> “Müsülmānem diyü virmez ḥaracı/Nice ak başlu (lit. white headed) kāfır var qaracı,” Ibid. 188. *Qaracı* is Turkish for “brigand, trickster.” The wordplay is based on the meaning of the word *kara* (tr./black) at the basis of the noun.

Somewhat atypically for his contemporaries and peers, Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī left in his works a lot of information about himself and his own worldview.<sup>319</sup> Muṣṭafā’s father was as son of a non-Muslim, apparently a manumitted household slave, who became a rich merchant in Gallipoli.<sup>320</sup> His maternal grandmother was a daughter of a sufi shaykh of the Naqshbandi order. Muṣṭafā started his formal education in a *mekteb*, at the age of six. When he was twelve (in 1553) he was “sufficiently well grounded in Arabic and in the rudiments of religious science to read specialized subjects with well-qualified teachers.”<sup>321</sup> ‘Ālī does not give any information based on which it can be concluded how he learned Persian. Fleischer supposes he worked with a private tutor as of very young age. At the age of fifteen (1556), ‘Ālī went to Istanbul “to seek admission to one of the higher *medreses*,” most probably with the help of his maternal grand-uncle who was a preacher (tr. *ḥaṭīb*) in one of the great mosques in Istanbul.<sup>322</sup> He finished his education in 1560, six years before the death of Süleymān I. Some three years after, he was given a place, as a promising young poet, in ‘Ahdī’s *tezkiye*.

‘Ālī’s work has been observed, among other, as a great contribution to “Ottoman Turkish literature,” the corpus of which, according to Fleischer, grew rapidly during the sixteenth century. Parallel to this “*the new form of Turkish* increasingly replaced Arabic and Persian as the language

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<sup>319</sup> Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī’s biography has been meticulously reconstructed in Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 13-187. Fleischer’s book also contains a most exhaustive analysis of ‘Ālī’s complete works.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid., 15. ‘Ālī nowhere talks about the ethnic origin of his father, according to Fleischer. Fleischer, however, suggests his paternal forbears could have been Bosnians, since “in discussions of the major ethnic groups represented within the Empire, particularly within the ruling establishment, ‘Ālī invariably singles out Bosnians and Croatians for exceptional praise.” Ibid.16.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>322</sup> Fleischer writes: “By the time he was fifteen years old, the young Mustafa was proficient in Arabic, Persian, and the new Ottoman Turkish, and deemed himself prepared to enter literary society in his own right.” Ibid., 24-25.

of a cultured discourse.”<sup>323</sup> As translated by Fleischer, ‘Ālī’s summary of this *development* from 1592, has been quoted many times after by modern historians. Next to being interpreted as an index of “a triumph” of the “Ottoman Turkish,” the summary has gained a status of a sort of a modular manifesto of the monolith cosmopolitanism of the Ottoman culture and Ottoman society in general.<sup>324</sup> Besides being viewed as a window into the relationship among Arabic, Persian and “Ottoman Turkish” as “the languages of cultured discourse,” this summary and its immediate context offer a glimpse into the relationship among different varieties of “written Turkish” as ‘Ālī (and the literati he look up to as models) saw them. Some highlights are, therefore, in order.

‘Ālī’s view of Ottoman diversity in general is similar to that of Ta’līkizāde in it that ‘Ālī uses few same concepts and does not explicitly mention language as an index of diversity. ‘Ālī’s exposé is arguably more elaborate.<sup>325</sup> ‘Ālī’s view of “Ottoman Turkish is also similar to that of Ta’līkizāde, and was expressed in a text belonging to the same genre like the latter’s *Şehnāme-i Hümayūn*. Unlike *Şehnāme-i Hümayūn*, ‘Ālī’s *Künh’ul-Aḥbār* (Essence of History, written

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<sup>323</sup> Ibid., 22. The italics are mine. According to Fleischer, this new form of Turkish started taking shape during the fifteenth century.

<sup>324</sup>The whole passage, in Fleischer’s translation, reads “The astonishing language current in the state of Rum, composed of four languages [West Turkish, Chaghatay Turkic, Arabic, and Persian], is a pure gilded tongue, which, in the speech of the literati, seems more difficult than any of these. If one were to equate speaking Arabic with a religious obligation (*farz*), and the use of Persian with a sanctioned tradition (*sünnet*), then the speaking of a Turkish made up of these sweetnesses becomes a meritorious act (*müstaḥabb*), and, in the view of those eloquent in Turkish, the use of simple Turkish should be forbidden,” Ibid. 254. For Turkish original see, Gelibolulu Mustafa Ālī, *Künhü’l-ahbār. I. Rükün*, ed. Suat Donuk (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2020), 62-63. This is a critical edition, published in transliteration.

<sup>325</sup> To conceptualize diversity the Ottoman state, ‘Ālī used the terms *aḳvām-ı mücennese* (“the varied peoples,” the second word being derived from the same root like *cins*) and *evrām-ı mütenevi’a* (“different types of Rümīs”). Unity is expressed in phrases *millet-i güzide* (“a select community”) and *ümmeṭ-i laṭife-i pesendide* (a pleasing and agreeable community). He did not use *niḥlet*. In addition, he employed the term *neseb* (genealogy) as a synonym to *cins* to note that “Among its [i.e. of the inhabitants of Rüm] *notables* there are few whose *lineage* does not go back to a *convert to Islam*...either on their father or their mother’s side, *the genealogy* is traced to a filthy *infidel*.” The Turkish version is: “a ‘yāmında az kimse bulunur ki *nesebi* bir *Müslim-i cedide* müntehā olmaya (...) ya māder yāḥūd peder cihetinden *cinsleri* bir *müşrik-i pelide* nihāyet bulmaya.” *Müşrik* has a more literal meaning of a polytheist, i.e. the one who, instead of believing in God’s oneness, attributes partner(s) to God. See, Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 264, and Gelibolulu Mustafa Ālī; *Künhü’l-ahbār. I. Rükün*, 71-72.

during the period from 1592 to 1596), was a universal history which ends with the part dedicated to the history of the Ottoman state. It is in the very beginning of this work that ‘Ālī expounds on the nature and the qualities of the idiom he used to write his history, and this in the passage mentioned above. Immediately before this paragraph, ‘Ālī notes, by means of four couplets he composed himself: that the number of books on history was immense; that many of these books were written in Turkish, Arabic and Persian; that some of these books were either complicated (tr. *kimi muğlak*) or poor in contents (tr. *kiminde halet yok*), while some were written in Turkish by applying a style (tr. *edā*) which is ugly and devoid of fluency (tr. *kuḫḫı var selāset yok*). The term *selāset* came to mean “fluency” in the Ottoman parlance. It is a word, however, which does not have the same meaning in Arabic, so as a concept, it can be considered an Ottoman invention (literally translatable as a “quality of being based on the three”). Be this as it may, in a concluding couplet, ‘Ālī writes that “the complicated” books in history cannot help the people of Rūm “open the doors” (of wisdom, knowledge), nor can they take pleasure in thorough understanding by reading those written in Turkish.<sup>326</sup> One may notice, that this Turkish in which (some of) the histories were written in the past, could only be, albeit “simple”—the literary Turkish. ‘Ālī’s remarks on the early version of the literary Turkish can also be found in the part of his *Kūnh’ul-Aḥbār* dedicated to poets and written in the form of *tezkiye*.<sup>327</sup> Overall, ‘Ālī’s explicit comments on Turkish are clearly related to the history of Turkish as a language of poetry and literature. It is, however, not really clear from these comments where exactly are we too look for the “simple

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<sup>326</sup> Gelibolulu Mustafa Ālī; *Kūnhü’l-ahbār. I. Rükün*, 62.

<sup>327</sup> Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī evaluates the style of Şeyḫī (d. after 1429, previously mentioned as the author of *Ḥarnāme* referenced by Molla Luṭfī) in a way emulating that of Laṭīfī, whom he met in his hometown when he was fifteen years old. Both authors find some words and expressions used by Şeyḫī—strange in the first place, and therefore inelegant. For a summary of Laṭīfī’s evaluation see, Inan, “Imperial Ambitions, Mystical Aspirations,” 78-79. For Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī’s own description of the Turkish “current” in the period of the rise of Ottoman poetry, see his entry on Şeyḫī in, Gelibolulu Mustafa Ālī, *Kūnhü’l-Aḥbār’ın Tezkiye Kısmı*, ed. Mustafa İsen (Istanbul: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2017), 34.

Turkish” of the 1592, the usage of which, according to ‘Ālī’s role models, should be put out of use (while writing)—in the still circulating “books” of the past; in other “books” produced around that time, i.e. in other forms of literary expression; or in the realm of oral communication.<sup>328</sup>

Less prominently, but no less importantly for my own purpose, ‘Ālī put into writing some other clues for understanding of the Ottoman multilingual regime in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. These clues, among other, corroborate a conclusion that Slavic was a language the “awareness” of which was a constant when it comes to literate Arabographers. This awareness, however, was, still, never expressed by linking a group to a named language.

Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī lived in Bosnia for about seven years between 1570 and 1577, i.e. during the early phase of his career. He went there to join the retinue of Ferhād, the *sancak-beyi* of Klis (1566-1574, then the *sancak-beyi* of Bosnia until 1580, after which he becomes the *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia). During the seven years, ‘Ālī followed Ferhād Beg, a relative of (Sokollu) Meḥmed Pasha, as his personal secretary, *tīmār*-holder and a *gāzī* warrior. Of Ferhad Beg’s career before 1566, not much is known. Some scholars claimed, that he was the *sancak-beyi* of Klis even before this tenure, i.e. in 1558. This claim is based solely on a few Cyrillic letters sent to a Venetian captain residing in Split, dated to this year, and signed by “Ferhād Beg, *sancak-beyi* of Klis.”<sup>329</sup> Therefore, we can only guess whether ‘Ālī saw Cyrillic letters being written on behalf of his patron. Whatever the case, he did include a Slavic script as the eighteenth and the last in his list of scripts he compiled

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<sup>328</sup> As an evidence that the second option might very well be the case, one can quote a seven-language collection of various texts written by an anonymous person, i.e. a person who was a consumer of literary forms, rather than a distinguished author. This miscellany (tr. *mecmū’a*) was produced during the reign of Murād III (1574-1595) somewhere in the Ottoman frontier towards Habsburg Empire. Since this manuscript (ÖNB-MS A.F. 437) contains a poem that has been, for a long time, analyzed as “the first” Slavic *aljamiado* poem, I will talk about it more in *Chapter IV*. For now, it is sufficient to say, that in this collection, “the simple Turkish” of the verses composed by anonymous poets can be find right next to the elaborate Ottoman language of the ghazals.

<sup>329</sup> The letters are published in Šime Ljubić, “Rukoviet jugoslavenskih listina,” *Starine JAZU* 10 (1877):1-43.

and commented on in his *Menākīb-ı Hünerverān* (1587, *Epic Deeds of Artists*), calling it “the Slavic script” (tr. *kalem-i Saḳālibī*).<sup>330</sup>

In 1581, ‘Ālī would complain that his post in Bosnia, in words of Fleischer, “represented a form of exile for a talented man of letters whose rightful place was in the vibrant literary milieu of Istanbul.” For the exile, ‘Ālī blamed (Sokollu) Meḥmed Pasha upon whose intervention he got the post in the first place. Fleischer comments “that the anecdote reflects the bitterness and chagrin Āli had accumulated by 1581” (among other because his career did not evolve as he hoped).<sup>331</sup> In the very same work, ‘Ālī, also bitterly, criticized Ferhād Beg, for being crude, ignorant, and unable to appreciate educated and refined men, such as was a certain Sebzī, who apparently came to Bosnia from some other place as a *za‘īm*.<sup>332</sup> ‘Ālī also criticized Ferhād Beg’s religiosity accusing him of blasphemy. Overall, he sees Ferhād Beg as being a fitting companion of, in Tietze’s translation “a bunch of scoundrels, most of them Unbelievers” (tr. *ekseri kefere [olan] bir bölük fecere*) and “the Unbelievers of the frontier area or one of those Islamized rogues [!] that are found in those parts” (tr. *ser-had keferesi(nden) ve yā ḥod ol vilāyetlere maḥşūş olan potur feceresi(nden)*).<sup>333</sup> From the context, it is understood that most of the scoundrels, rogues, and straightforward unbelievers were the soldiers marching with Ferhad Beg. Of poets he met in

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<sup>330</sup> These scripts were both “old and contemporary scripts,” used (in words of the editor of the critical edition which do not exactly match the original text) “in the lands of the Arabs, Persians, Turks and Daylamis.” The list goes as follows: “Arabic, Kufic, *tabi‘ī*, the script of Hermes the philosopher, the *qalḳaḳīnī* (*qalaḳīnī*, *qalaḳīnī?*), the script the philosophers, the enigmatic script, the hidden script, the sign script, Syriac, clay writing, the script of Joseph the soothsayer, Persian, *rayhani*, Greek, Coptic, cuneiform and Slavic.” This work is significant for it remains the earliest known treatise on art (of the book production) “penned by a Rūmī.” Esra Akin-Kıvanç, ed. and transl., *Mustafa ‘Āli’s Epic Deeds of Artists: A Critical Edition of the Earliest Ottoman Text about the Calligraphers and Painters of the Islamic World* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 5 and 171.

<sup>331</sup> Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 59.

<sup>332</sup> Anderas Tietze, ed., *Mustafā Ali’s Counsel for sultans of 1581: edition, translation, notes I-II* (Wien: Verl. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., 1979-1982), 72-73.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 73-74; 171,173



Bosnia, ‘Ālī mentions one—Şānī. ‘Ālī met Şānī before the latter left his homeland to study in Istanbul. This is the Şānī who will later become famous as a *müderris* (remembered as *Potur Şālih*).<sup>334</sup> Şānī is at the same time the only poet from Bosnia whom ‘Ālī includes in his *tezkiye*-style overview of poets included in the *Künh’ul-Aḥbār*. In Zvornik, ‘Ālī had a chance to meet (in 1574/75) and become friends with Taşlıcalı Yaḥyā.<sup>335</sup>

One of the low points of ‘Ālī’s career was his appointment as a *defterdār* (tr./finance director) in Erzurum, ca.1588. It was about this time that he composed a long poem (of 170 couplets in the longest extant version) in which he addresses the sultan.<sup>336</sup> In this poem, which has all elements of a monodrama, ‘Ālī, among other, complained that he ended up being in a situation to choose whom among the locally-stationed troops he should pay first. He describes the soldiers as an impatient and angry lot “cursing” at the poor *defterdār* “each in their own language.”<sup>337</sup> ‘Ālī dedicates a couplet to each group, the second-hemistich being a quotation of the original speech. He quotes ten groups: ‘Arab, ‘Acem, Kürd, Arnavudlar, Fireng, Şırf, Urum/Greek, Manav, Bosnavī, and Çagatay (with a note they were few). Two among these are uttering (or even better, muttering): a few Slavic words (Albanians), and a Slavic sentence (Serbs). Bosnians are quoted as “speaking Turkish.”<sup>338</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> See, fn.176.

<sup>335</sup> Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 64.

<sup>336</sup> Gelibolulu Mustafa Ālī, *Divan. Volume I*, ed. İ. Hakkı Aksoyak (Cambridge: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, Harvard University, 2006), 304-309.

<sup>337</sup> “(couplet no.) 124. Sabr idüñ bir niçe gün diyü temenna kılsam/Her biri kendü dilince sögüp eyler beni zar” [If I ask them politely to wait for several days more/Each one of them makes me feel miserable cursing in their own languages], *Ibid.*, 308.

<sup>338</sup> “128. Arnavudlar ğazab ile atilup üstüme dir/ *Taḳotiboga* (sl./for God’s sake) ya merkezī ‘ulūfe (to<sup>u</sup>to<sup>u</sup>)-bār” [The Albanians throw themselves at me, saying/For God’s sake, Principal, (...) the salary]; “130. Şırf cāhil olanın Şırfı cevābı (daḥi bu)/*Ġospodari ‘ulūfe day, nisam niya ğovedār*” [The answer in Serbian of that Serbian ignoramus is/Masters, give me my salary, I am not some cattleman]; “133. Bosnavī dir be belki bilmezdüm men hemverti (?) /De

This poem has been preserved in an undated manuscript which contains poetry from one among three of ‘Alī’s *Dīvāns*.<sup>339</sup> The earliest extant copy of this particular *Dīvān* was made by his brother, in 1567. Obviously, this poem, as preserved in the undated manuscript, was not a part of this version, but was added later. The excerpt from this poem which deals with the above described scenes of salary distribution, has been recorded in another manuscript which contains a collection of ‘Alī’s poetry different from that made in 1567. This part, however is added after the colophon which dates the manuscript to 1644.<sup>340</sup> This may suggest that the poem was not even intended to be included in an organized *Dīvān*. And still, the copyists obviously knew it and found it interesting although one can doubt they understood all of the “curses” it contains.

### **II.5.2. Transcripts of a Sociolect?**

The meaning of the word *Potur*, used by Muṣṭafā‘ Ālī to describe some members of Ferhād Beg’s retinue, has been a hotly debated theme in the modern literature. A single factual statement that can be made after a rather long interpretive saga, is that *Poturs* were Muslims who were somehow attached to South-Slavia. By its form, *potur* is the short of the Slavic noun of male gender—“poturčenjak,” derived from the verb “poturčiti se” which literally means “to become a Turk.” As such, it (has) had the currency in the languages spoken all over (South)-Slavia. In interpretations of the historical meaning of this word no written sources of Slavic provenance have been used. A cursory look into the overused Arabographic sources, reveals that *Potur* was a word used, as of the first half of the sixteenth century, by both Ottoman administrators and literati of various stripes. The former used it to designate a “functional category,” while the latter applied it to both groups

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vire ḥaḳḳumuzi ḥazretümüz defterdar” [The Bosnian says: hey, maybe I don’t know (...)/But, come on, your excellency, financial director, give us what belongs to us], Ibid.

<sup>339</sup> The manuscript is from Mevlanā Museum in Konya (no. 2420). Ibid, 161, and 171.

<sup>340</sup> Ibid.164. And, IÜ NEKTY-MS 695, ff. 232b-233a.

and individuals.<sup>341</sup> Thus, within Arabographia, *Potur* can be viewed as one of those rare Slavic words which were eventually integrated into the lexicon of the written Turkish.<sup>342</sup> Unlike, a “neutral” borrowing (of *voyvoda* type, for example), *potur* can also be observed as an instance of Slavophone Arabographia which gradually gained a discourse-reproducing potential. This potential was eventually realized in a manner similar to *v(i/e/je)ra*). The earliest available sources mentioning *Poturs* belong exclusively to administrative genres. Even when put out of use in pragmatic texts, the history of the word continues in the literary ones. Of course, no type of Ottoman discourses offers a universal definition of the word *Potur*, and scholars have attempted to derive its meaning from its various contexts. This they did chiefly from the perspective of the textualizers styled as “Ottomans.” However, it is of some significance to note that no historical person, or a group is known to have self-identified as *Potur* or *Poturs*. So, the first suggestion I want to make is that various Arabographic discourses on *Poturs* tell more about the observers than of the observed. For my own purposes, *Poturs* are interesting from the perspective of the history of their linguistic profiling in the early modern texts, and the ways in which these literacy events help understand the profilers’ changing attitudes to multilingualism and language diversity within the Ottoman society.

A characteristic of the available modern literature on *Poturs* is that the term and its historical usage have mostly been discussed as an inseparable part of the theme of “Islamization”

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<sup>341</sup> See *Chapter I*, for what is meant by a “functional category” and for a discussion of heteroglossia as attested in some genres of administrative texts.

<sup>342</sup> In *Meninski* (and not in any other historical Ottoman dictionary dating to before 1700 I had a chance to consult), *Potur* is given in two spellings (as *potur* and *pojur*). Within the definition, Meninski gives Polish synonym (*Poturczony*), and a Latin explanation that this word designates Turks settled in the borders of Hungary. He then adds a Latin synonym-Neomahometanus, defined as : the new Turks, i.e. people who follow the Muhameddan faith, but who were born as Christians. Meninski, 930. In Ottoman *tahrir-defters* one can indeed find a designation “new Muslim,” but the history of the term has not been addressed systematically, so we do not know whether it was used all over the empire or just in certain parts.

of, not South-Slavia, but Bosnia. In the parlance of former-Yugoslav scholars, the long-term process of conversion of local population to Islam is termed as “the spread/expansion of Islam in Bosnia.”<sup>343</sup> Having acknowledged that the Islamization of Bosnia was a multifaceted and complicated process, the scholars generally agree that, compared to other regions in South-Slavia and the rest of the Balkans, Islamization of Bosnia had its specificities.<sup>344</sup> Sanja Kadrić, who recently addressed the historical and scholarly myths about this process, and more specifically the ways in which *Poturs* figure in the historical and modern narratives, starts her article by noting that Islamization in Bosnia was “remarkable” and this in the sense that it relatively quickly pervaded all strata of the social hierarchy established in pre-Ottoman times.<sup>345</sup> Typically for recent developments in Ottomanist studies Kadrić differentiates between the processes of Islamization and Ottomanization.<sup>346</sup> In another article, Kadrić approaches the question of the “identity” of *Poturnak oğlanları* (tr./the sons of *Poturnak*, *Poturnak* being a variant of *Potur*) holding that *Poturs* were a concrete, discrete and a “shadowy group.”<sup>347</sup> This she does by means of (an excellent) analysis of the Bosnian endowments of Hüseyin Pasha Boljanić (d. 1595) and Kara Sinān Beg Boljanić (d. 1582). The two brothers were the Ottoman state officials who were of local,

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<sup>343</sup> For various articles, see the special-theme issue of *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* (no. 41, 1991).

<sup>344</sup> See, for example, Aleksandar Lopašić, “Islamization of the Balkans with special reference to Bosnia,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 5/2 (1994): 163-186.

<sup>345</sup> Sanja Kadrić, “The Islamization of Ottoman Bosnia: Myths and Matters,” in *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 277-295: 277.

<sup>346</sup> The problem with these two terms is that only the first one has attracted far more attention than the second, and it is still not easy to understand in which fields of practice (beyond the elite (re)production of the “Ottoman culture”) the two processes intersected or diverged. It seems, however, that Ottomanization is to be understood as a broader term covering not only religious, but also the undated political and cultural integration which yielded a particular “Ottoman-Muslim identity.” Along a different line of thought, less frequently followed, Ottomanization is to be seen as involving both Muslims and non-Muslims living in the Ottoman empire.

<sup>347</sup> Sanja Kadrić, “Sixteenth-Century Poturnak Endowments in the Ottoman Western Balkans: The Boljanić Family,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 6/2 (2019):155-173, 155.

Bosnian origin. Since they were “Muslim recruits ‘for the *devşirme*,” Kadrić first establishes that they belonged to the group of *Poturnaks*. The main evidence for the first claim is that the father of Boljanić brothers was a Muslim. The second claim is based on the fact that a seventeenth century chronicler calls Hüseyin: *Potur* Hüseyin Pasha. Kadrić then provides a summary of what she holds *Poturnaks/Poturs* to have been. From this, somewhat contradictory explanation, one can conclude that the main characteristic of (fore)fathers of *Poturnaks* was that, at some point, they sided with the Ottoman project of territorial expansion in Bosnia and that they were rewarded for the service by being incorporated “into the Ottoman military and administration.”<sup>348</sup> Kadrić’s view of *Poturs* is an attempt at building upon the extant literature on this “group.” This literature, however, essentializes “the specificity of Islamization of Bosnia,” and thus in fact prevents a more nuanced understanding of the various meanings of “Bosnia” and “Bosnians” within Ottoman Arabographia.

Since the number of Arabographic texts used by scholars who tried to understand what *Potur* actually meant is limited, I will here provide a short review of these texts and interpret them from my own perspective. A most exhaustive recent overview of these sources has been written by Aşkın Koyuncu. Here as well, the history of the word *Potur* is framed as part of the history of

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<sup>348</sup> “The *Potur* epithet connects Hüseyin Pasha, his male siblings, and his father to a group called the *Poturnaks*. Who were the *Poturnaks*? The term *Potur* is contested, and thus far, very little work has been done on unearthing this group. For that reason, their identity remains somewhat of a mystery. I suggest that they were a diverse group of individuals from the provinces of Bosna and Hersek, and likely a number of other Balkan provinces, who served the Ottoman state in some way. They may have aided the Ottoman conquest of the medieval Kingdom of Bosnia. In return for their service and, in some cases, as a way of honoring their former stations, they were incorporated into the Ottoman military and administration. They gradually converted to Islam and became culturally and socially Ottoman. In the case of the Boljanić family, the *Poturnak* was likely Bayram Ağa, Hüseyin Pasha and Kara Sinān Bey’s father, making the brothers *Poturnak oğlanları* and explaining Hüseyin Pasha’s epithet. Bayram Ağa had a land revenue grant (*timar*) in their home village of Boljanići. This is all that we currently know about him. Sources disagree over whether the Boljanićes were a relatively anonymous, converted peasant family or converted gentry from the medieval Kingdom of Bosnia. Given that Bayram Ağa did possess land and a title, the latter is certainly possible,” *Ibid.*, 159.

the institution of *devshirme* as applied in case of “Bosnian Muslims.”<sup>349</sup> Koyuncu begins by noting that *Potur* first appears in the Ottoman sources in the early sixteenth century in the form of *Poturnak*. The reference for this claim is Ferīdūn Beg’s *Münşeāt-ı Salāḫīn* compiled in 1583. From there we learn that, in 1515 (i.e. during the heat of Selīm I’s campaigns), the *sancak-beyis* of Bosnia and Herzegovina were ordered to gather one thousand “Janissary boys” from among the sons of “*Poturnaks* who were Muslims.”<sup>350</sup> The fathers of these “boys” could be understood as Muslims who converted to Islam in the late fifteenth century. Incompetence in Turkish being a precondition for the status of an *‘acemī ođlan*, it is plausible to assume that neither the fathers nor the sons knew Turkish. This term (*‘acemī ođlan*) however is not used in the text. Also, considering the circumstances of 1515, it cannot be claimed that “Janissary boys” were children, as Koyuncu rightly suggests. In addition, Ferīdūn’s entry may have contained anachronisms. Finally, the formulation “*Poturnaks* who were Muslims” implies that there existed “*Poturnaks* who were not Muslims,” but this does not make sense. The emphasis, however, hides the fact that there were non-Muslims who had something in common with *Poturnaks* (perhaps language, perhaps social status, or both). In a *ḳānūn-nāme* for the *sancaks* of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Zvornik (1539), *Poturs* feature as Muslim *re’aya* who pay the same kind of monetary tax like local Christians, though the sum is somewhat lower. In 1556, an imperial order was issued and sent to the *kadı*s of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Klis. The order instructs that the *kadı*s should not prevent “the recruitment of *circumcized boys*” (tr. *sünnetli ođlan devşirilmesi*), now for *‘acemī ođlans*, since this was an old custom. In this way, and in this time, the status of *‘acemī ođlan* comes forth as a

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<sup>349</sup> Aşkın Koyuncu, “Devşirme tarihine bir derkenar: Bosna’nın İslamlaşması ve Osmanlı Terminolojisinde Potur ve Potur ođulları terimlerinin anlamı [A Footnote on the History of *Devshirme*: The Islamization of Bosnia and the meaning of the terms *Potur* and *Potur ođulları* in the Ottoman Terminology],” in *Türk Sosyal Tarihçiliğinde Bir “Yalnız” İsim Bahaeddin Yediyıldız’a Armađan*, ed. Yunus Koç and Serhat Küçük (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 2015), 213-259.

<sup>350</sup> “(...) bin yeniçeri ođlanı cem’ etmek emr olundu, Müslüman olan *Poturnak* ođullarından,” Ibid.214.

fundamental base of recruitment for the military service, the other option (enslavement of non-Muslim children) being just a variant. This order also betrays a tension between the sultanic and the sharia-based laws, since the *kadis* obviously did not agree with this practice. Muslim boys mentioned in this order, most probably, did not know Turkish since their future path was to be the one typical of *‘acemī oğlan*. Similar is the contents of orders from 1573 and 1578, both sent to officials residing in *sancaks* of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Klis. An order from 1589, sent to the *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia, shows that now some sons of *Poturs* knew Turkish, since the order explicitly forbids their recruitment noting that only those *Poturs* who did not know Turkish can be recruited. The last known order of the similar contents, but not mentioning language, was issued in 1595.<sup>351</sup> All of this suggests that being a Muslim and not knowing Turkish was not an unusual condition throughout the sixteenth century and, moreover, that this was licensed by the Ottoman administration regulating access to the *‘askerī* class.

Now, on to the literary texts. Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī’s bitter remarks about some members of the retinue of Ferhād Beg encompassed *Poturs*. ‘Ālī, however, does not scold *Muslims from Bosnia*, or from Ferhād’s retinue in any way, unless one counts Ferhād Beg himself who was educated in Istanbul. This text, however, can be considered as an indirect evidence that there existed features which distinguished *Poturs* from both Muslims and Christians of the region in which Ferhād Beg was active. Since nothing in ‘Ālī’s account implies that *Poturs* he scolded were “new Muslims” or converts (as the above quoted translation by Tietze perhaps suggests), there is no reason not to conclude that these were Slavic-speakers who were *just* Muslims. From the entries in the registers of important affairs kept in Istanbul we know that, there existed, in early 1570s, a formulation “Ferhād Beg’s men.” An entry dating to 1574, i.e. the middle of the period in which ‘Ālī was based

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<sup>351</sup> Ibid., 215-216.

in Bosnia, contains a list of these men. From the list one can infer that ‘Ālī was not so wrong characterizing Ferhād’s retinue, for, although most of the men were Muslims (*za ĩms*, *tmār*-holders, fortress soldiers), some were indeed Christians (recruited as *martolos*), while but a few (4 out of 265) were possibly recent converts. Significantly, the land holdings of “Ferhād Beg’s men” were located throughout South-Slavia north of Skopje (in *sancaks* of Kruševac, Sofia, Smederevo, Prizren, Skopje, etc).<sup>352</sup>

In between 1578 and 1589, i.e. ca. 1585, an anonymous Ottoman compiled various anecdotes, entertaining stories, and pleasant jokes, and put them in writing. What was perhaps an original version of the compilation survived in a manuscript dated to 1640.<sup>353</sup> An incomplete version executed by a shaky hand, but well organized and readable, survived in another, undated copy made no later than 1686.<sup>354</sup> Based on the subtle differences between the extensive and the abridged version, it can be assumed that there existed a third, now unknown version of this collection. One of the entertaining stories found in both versions of the compilation features *Poturs*, and has been (since 1937) used as a source of information about the dynamics of the historical process of Islamization of Bosnia which started in the fifteenth century.<sup>355</sup> I will read

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<sup>352</sup> Elma Korić, “Pratnja bosanskog sandžakbega Ferhad-bega Sokolovića” [The Entourage of Bosnian *sancak-beyi* Ferhad-Beg Sokolović], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 61 (2011): 351-368, esp.357-367.

<sup>353</sup> This manuscript has been quoted as: Anonymous, *Mecmū‘a*, Oriental Institute in Sarajevo (Bosnian Manuscript Ingathering Project), MS 4811/II (hereafter OIS-MS 4811/II). The project from the quotation was initiated after the library of Oriental Institute was shelled by Serbian forces in 1992, during the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s. See, Tijana Krstić, “Conversion and Converts to Islam,” in *Writing History at the Ottoman Court: Editing the Past, Fashioning the Future*, ed. H.Erdem Çıpa and Emine Fetvacı (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 58-79:79. For more details about this manuscript see, Koyuncu, “Devşirme tarihine bir derkenar,” 234 (fn.107). I want to thank Tijana Krstic for sharing her copy of this manuscript with me.

<sup>354</sup> This manuscript is preserved in the Marsigli Collection from University library of Bologna (BUB-MS Marsigli 3486). I want to thank Cemal Kafadar for sharing his copy of this manuscript with me.

<sup>355</sup> The first interpretation of this story and its translation to Slavic appeared in Mehmed Handžić, “Jedan prilog povijesti prvih dana širenja Islama u Bosni i Hercegovini” [A Contribution to the History of the Early Days of the Expansion of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina], *Narodna Uzdanica* 6 (1937): 29-45. The transliterated version of the story is in Koyuncu, “Devşirme tarihine bir derkenar,” 235-236. An English summary and an interpretation of the story from the perspective of the early modern Ottoman confessional politics is in Krstić, “Conversion and Converts



this story from the perspective of the year 1585 in which it was put to writing, from all we know, for the first time.

The narrator of the story notes that, before it was conquered, the province of Bosnia was the land of the Christians and followers of Jesus.<sup>356</sup> Right after the Ottoman conquest a land survey was taken up and entrusted to Mesîh Pasha.<sup>357</sup> When he came to conduct the survey the Pasha found the village folk of the province in a great distress.<sup>358</sup> Astonished, the Pasha gathered the noble elders from among those people, and asked them about the reason for the peoples' poor condition. The elders stated that people were afraid that the heavier poll-tax (tr. *cizye*, imposed on Christian households) and other kinds of taxes would be imposed on them.<sup>359</sup> Having consulted the Porte, the Pasha realized the poll-tax cannot be lifted, but devised a solution to calm the people down and satisfy the demands of the treasury: what he lifted was "the name of the poll-tax" while the extracted value remained the same. This he did by gathering few people from each village, and together with them, made a plot according to which one person from each village was to take a Muslim name and thus be recorded in the register. This would save the villagers from the status of poll-tax payers. The village representatives agreed, and made a call to the villagers all over the province.<sup>360</sup> Another part of the agreement was that, from thereafter, instead of paying the poll-

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to Islam,"71-73. I consulted all of the published versions and summaries of the story. The below citations are from my own transliteration, so there might appear some differences between mine and the published versions.

<sup>356</sup> "Vilâyet-i Bosna sâbıkan mezheb-i Naşârâ ve millet-i hazret-i Mesîha üzere idi," OIS-MS 4811/II, f.16a.

<sup>357</sup> Mesîh Pasha (d.1501) was from the Byzantine family of Paleologi. He held the office of the grand vizier during the reign of Bâyezîd II. The person in charge of the first two textualized land surveys of Bosnia was Ayas Beg, Koyuncu, "Devşirme tarihine bir derkenar," 237.

<sup>358</sup> "(...) ol vilâyet kûrâsınıñ halkı ekseriyâ perâkende vü perişân buldı (...)," OIS MS 4811/II, f.16a.

<sup>359</sup> "bu hârâb u perişanlığa bâ'îş havf-ı vaż'-ı keşret-i cizye ve bîm-i izdiyâd-ı tekâlîf-i 'örfiyedir," OIS MS 4811/II, f.16a.

<sup>360</sup> "Pes muharrir-i merķûm aĥvâli sÛdde'-i sa'âdete ĥişâra ve vÛzerâ'-i zevî'l-iĥtidâra 'arz ve i'lâm itdi ref'-i cizye ve tekâlîf-i 'örfiyeye ruĥşat virilmedi. Pes muharrir-i mezbÛr 'aĥl u kiyâsetle meşhÛr idi. Bu veĥile tedbîr ve tedârike

tax, the villagers would pay one “flöri” per household (a *flöri* being a (Venetian) ducat whose value in Ottoman silver akche was changing). The villagers who took Muslim names, did not opt for just any names, but they translated their Christian names to Turkish. They also kept the old name for the inheritable land plots they held.<sup>361</sup> If one was to look at the factual value of this story, it can be noted that in this part, the narrator remembered the fifteenth-century way of regulation of the status of cattle-breeders (Vlachs) who lived in communes, commonly led by *knezes*. Some of them were also engaged in agriculture. The large-scale sedentarization of Vlach nomads was a sixteenth century development, but was most characteristic for the inner, i.e. not the frontier parts of Rümeli. Anyway, after this, the narrator leaves the fifteenth century to note that, as the time went by, some of the villagers who took the Muslim names became true Muslims, some remained Christians and met their ruin, while some stayed somewhere in between, being neither proper Christians, nor proper-Muslims—but *Poturs*. The narrator then explains how “in the language of the Christians” (tr. *Naşārā dilince*) Potur means “half-Muslim,” i.e. “half-Turk,” since “*Turçin*” is a synonym for *Muslim* in the Christian language.”<sup>362</sup> Further on we read that *Poturs* (in unspecified time) can indeed achieve solid results in terms of education, especially if taught by skilled teachers, because they possess a natural intelligence. But, their ways (in terms of religion)

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havz u şürü' itdi ki cizye namın ref' idüb bir hile ile onlara bedel-i cizye vaz' ide felâcerem ol ihtiyârın kibârleriyle bu veçhile ittifâk ve bu semt üzere vifâk eylediler ki her çaryeden birkaç kimesneler geleler ve berây-ı maşlahat bu üslûb üzere hile kılalalar ki zükürdan her bir çarye ahâlisine birer Müselman adı ıtlâk oluna, tâ ol isim sebebi ile kayd u bend-i cizyeden i' tifâf oluna. Dağı bu şadâ üzre her nevâhi ve çurâyâ şalâ vü nidâ itdiler,” OIS-MS 4811/II, f.16b.

<sup>361</sup> “Fi'l-cümle mabeyinde muvafaqat müyesser olub maşlahat anı gördüler ki her biri kendü ismin Türkî'ye terceme idüb *Jivko* olanın adını Yahyâ *Vuk* olanın ismini Çurd ve *Ğvozden* olanın adını Demür koyub Müselman ismi ile müsemma olicak cizye ismi ref' olub zimetlerine *başına* deyü taşarruf etdikleri emlakden bedel-i cizye birer flöri kayd itdiler.” OIS-MS 4811/II, f.16b.

<sup>362</sup>“Kelime' -i *Potur* lafz-ı terkibîdir. *Po* ile *Turçin* lafzından muhaffefdür. *Po* demek Naşārā dilince yarım dimekdir. Ya' nî nişf *Turçin* lafzından muraḥḥamdır ki *Turçin* demek Naşārā dilince Musliman dimekdir. Lafz-ı terkibisi *Potur* olur ya' nî yarım Musliman demek olur,” OIS-MS 4811/II, f.17a.

cannot be suppressed and they cannot be brought to a fold.<sup>363</sup> It is for this reason that they are forbidden to enter “the inner court of the Sultans household” (as sultan’s *kuls* in *enderün*), just like was the case with *Turks*.<sup>364</sup> In passing, it can be noted that the collection contains a number of stories about the *Turks*, as well as Arabs (tr. *evlād-ı ‘Arab*) which are equally crude. The section following the last summarized sentence, combines prose and poetry about *Poturs*. From the verses we learn that, after *Poturs* appeared in Bosnia, their ill fame “surpassed” even that of the Karaman Turks;<sup>365</sup> that *Poturs* were travelling (all the way to Egypt), that they had specific sexual habits, that they were gluttonous; that they were good and useful servants, but ungenerous people. A number of verses thematize the “half-Muslimness” of *Poturs*. One verse from the poem, evokes a speech act: saying to one another “there comes the Turk” in Slavic (*Eto Turçin*), *Poturs* “run away” from Muslims (perhaps literally, perhaps in the sense of avoiding them).<sup>366</sup> In continuation, there is a story which relates that, when a local *Hācī* (a person who went to Mecca and performed pilgrimage rites) died, the people who were equipping him for the burial found two amulets around his neck, one Muslim and one Christian.

*Potur* speaks in a separate anecdote in which he is designated as “*Potur* from among Bosnians.” The hero goes to *haji*. On the way back he comes to a village close to his province where he suddenly sees a place full of pigs and exclaims happily, as if he saw someone from his

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<sup>363</sup> “Eğerçe isti’ dād-ı nefş-i nāṭıka ve ta’līm-i hūkemā-i hāzıka sebebi ile bu ṭāife ‘ālem-i şabāvetde evzā’-ı güzide ve etvār-ı pesendide taḥşil kıllurlar lakin fūrū’ı uşūlüne muḥalefet itmez ve üzerlerinde tertib qarār tutmaz,” OIS-MS 4811/II, f.17a.

<sup>364</sup> In OIS-MS 4811/II, f.17a. this part of the text contains an omission. It reads: “Ol sebebdendür ki hākān-ı zevī’l-ıktidār ve selāṭin-i nāmdar-uñ (?) Türkün ve Poturun girmesi memnū’dur kânün değıldir.” The version in BUB-MS Marsigli 3486, f.2b, reads: “Esās ol sebebdendür ki hākān zevī’l-ıktidār ve şalāṭin nāmdār-un ḥarem-i şerīflerinde Türkün ve Poturun girmesi memnū’dur kânün değıldir.”

<sup>365</sup> Some Turkish-speaking people living in the regions of Karaman and Cappadocia in Anatolia were Greek Orthodox. Today they are studied as Karamanlides (gr.), Karamanlılar (tr.), or Karamanlis.

<sup>366</sup> “*Eto Turçin* deyup birbirisine Muselmandan kaçır ancaç Poturlar,” OIS-MS 4811/II, f.17b.

village: “May (God) bless Muḥammad, there is the pig! (*Eto Īsvinye*).” A versified punchline notes that, let alone to Ka‘aba, a *Potur* can go straight to heaven, but will still remain “piggish” and wild like an animal, for that was his natural disposition.<sup>367</sup>

From all of the above, it can be concluded that *Poturs* were Slavic-speaking Muslims whose religious beliefs were suspicious. To persuade the listener, the narrator of the stories reaches out for short Slavic sentences. The language of the *Poturs* is named the language of the Christians. In the stories summarized above, *Poturs* are obviously linked to rural areas (originally, in history, and perhaps later).

In one other story, that does not mention *Poturs*, the person who speaks Slavic is a *ḥaṭīb* (preacher) from Bosnia. Those who judge him are styled as his fellow Bosnians:

Several Bosnian teachers were having a pleasant conversation at a place when they said: This and that preacher apparently knows nothing about morphology and syntax [of Arabic], so how can he act as a preacher and why are they giving him a salary which is contrary to his station and merit. It so happened that the ignorant preacher they had just mentioned was right there, listening to their conversation. After a while he rose his head and said: By God, I know nothing about those things you call morphology and syntax, but it has been fourty years that I am “a teacher of preaching,” Sir (Vallaha *ya toḡā naḥva* ve *ṣarpā neznām ‘alī çetrī deset godina imā kaḳo ḥaṭībliḡā mevlām ependü*). [What] he[in fact] said [is]: I have no idea what was it that you call morphology and syntax, everyone knows what they learned, but, despite this, it has been fourty years, that I have been acting as a preacher, Sir.<sup>368</sup>

A variant of this story reads as follows:

In a village in Bosnia a few people gathered and had a pleasant conversation when they said: This and that preacher does not know morphology and syntax[of Arabic], how did it

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<sup>367</sup> “Bosnaludan bir *Potur* ka‘be-i şerīfe ve ol arz-ı munīfe ziyaretine giderken çünkim ḥac ider yine tonup gelirken ve Ungurus vilāyetine haber verirler bir ‘alāmet gözederken meḡer vilāyetine qarīb bir kāfir köyüne gelur añsuzın anda bir hınzırbar görüb salla ‘alā Muhammed *eto isvinye* diyü şād olur guyā ki qaryesi ḥalkından birin görür. Kıt‘a: ḳomāz toñuzlġısına *Potur*lar deḡil ka‘be gerek cenāne girsun gelur mı ādemilik canavardan dönür mu (...)ile ḥilqat ne dersun,” OIS MS 4811/II, f.25b.

<sup>368</sup> OIS-MS 4811/II, 42a: “Bosna h“ācelerinden bir kaç kimesneler bir yerde muşāhebet idub felān ḥaṭīb naḥv u şarf bilmezmiş nice ḥaṭīblik ider ve ana nice ‘ulūfe virirler ki maḥal ve müstaḥaḳ deḡildir dirler imiş meḡer zıkr etdikleri ḥaṭīb-i cāhil anda imiş anların muşāhebetin dinlermiş ba‘de zamān başın ḳaldırub vallaha *ya toḡā naḥva* ve *ṣarpā neznām ‘alī çetrī deset godina imā kaḳo ḥaṭībliḡā mevlām ependü* (corrupt. efendi) dimiş. Daḥı (?) itmiş, didi: Bilmem nedirsın naḥıvla şarf, bilur oḳuduḡın her kişi kendi/ veli kırık yıldur bu devr içinde ḥaṭıblġı sururum ben efendi.”

happen that they gave him the post of a preacher. It so happened that an ignorant preacher was present there. He did not even know Turkish, let alone morphology and syntax [of Arabic]. He was listening to their conversation. Rising his head, he said: “vallaha *toğā nahv şarpā neznam* ‘*ali çetredeset godişta ima kako* *haṭıbliğā mevlām.*” Verse: I have no idea what was it that you call morphology and syntax, everyone knows what they learned, but, despite this, it has been forty years, that I have been acting as a preacher, Sir.<sup>369</sup>

What was the language in which the pleasant conversation was conducted is not stated here, but it was probably a language the ignorant preacher, more or less, understood. The fact that narrator of the story translates the Slavo-Turkish sentence suggests that the competence in *Naşārā dili* was not expected from the listener/reader of the story. The Slavophone Arabographic elements in the first story I talked about in this section are also presented in a way which does not demand understanding of Slavic—the “etymology” of the word *Potur* is explained in details and the minimalistic Slavic sentences were rather easy to understand even without translation. The main effect of the Slavic quotations in all stories discussed was, I suggest, to show that the language spoken by the religiously suspicious and uneducated people was “not Turkish,” i.e. not the language of the proper Ottoman subjects. Those judging them were the educated and the righteous who, among other, considered that literacy was a precondition for even the lowest-ranked position in the religious hierarchy such as was the post of a village preacher. The village preacher, on the other hand, aware of his ability to act as a religious functionary even without being *literate*, found it necessary to signal his sense of belonging to a Turcophone community by identifying himself as “a teacher of preaching.”—in Turkish.

Therefore, from the examples analyzed in this section it can be concluded, that in the late sixteenth century Slavic was recognized a language of, not “new” or Bosnian Muslims, but as *a*

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<sup>369</sup> BUB-MS Marsigli 3486, f.10a: “Bosnada bir çaryede bir kaç kimesneler muşāhebet iderlermiş ve dirlermişki felān *haṭıb nahv* u şarf bilmezmiş, aña *haṭıbluği nice* virdiler ola meğer anda bir cāhil *haṭıb hāzır* imiş ki nahv u şarf değil Türkçe bilmezmiş ve añların muşāhabetlerin dinlermiş. Başın kaldırub eyitmiş vallaha ya toğā nahv şarpā neznam ‘*ali çetr deset godişta ima kaço haṭıbliğā mevlām* dimiş. Kıt ‘a: Didi bilmem ne dirsın nahıvıla şarf, bilir okuduğın her kişi kendi/ Velī kırk yıldır bu devr içinde *haṭıblığı* sururum ben efendi.”

*language* of all Slavic-speaking Muslims whose “predominant” language was supposed to be Turkish. It can thus be concluded that Slavic was viewed by some Ottoman literati—who, in Istanbul or elsewhere, in the provinces, had a contact with individuals of various social stature whose linguistic profile included the Slavic component—as “threatening” to the ideology behind the *elsine-i selāse* cluster. For people who knew Slavic, as is clear by now, were present in all classes of the Ottoman society. The problem with that occurred only in situations in which they could afford to communicate by not speaking Turkish—among one another, in a village, in an army camp. Differently put, Slavic was not recognized by Ottoman Arabographers as a *sociolect*, i.e. an idiom characteristic of a distinct social group, but as a *language* which interfered with the etiquette and the hierarchy established within the *elsine-i selāse* cluster. How Slavic speakers whose linguistic profiles were diverse, saw the place of this language within the Ottoman multilingual regime has been a question that has only be touched upon in this chapter, but the suggestion I made while analyzing the relevant examples, was that the competence in Slavic language was not self-advertised within the realm of Arabographia.

### **Chapter III: Introducing the Geography, Politics, and Poetics of the Seventeenth-Century Slavophone Arabographia**

In the previous two chapters, I presented a number of scattered occurrences of Slavophone Arabographia from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as small, but ideologically important windows into how some literate members of the Ottoman society indexed and framed the presence of Slavic and its speakers within the multilingual Ottoman society through the texts they produced. The Ottoman Arabographers' engagement with Slavic vernacular was a context-sensitive process which started with an acknowledgement of Slavic/Serbian as the language of a conquered empire, continued with the phase of its "unnaming" and ended with a tacit recognition of Slavic as a language of Ottoman subjects. A similar kind of search for and contextualization of Slavic words, phrases and sentences within Ottoman Arabographic texts produced in and after the long seventeenth century, could certainly be continued. The analysis of these instances would probably bring to light some further nuances and possibly enrich the repertoire of the manners, ideas and categorizations detected so far. This is something I will keep in mind, but not in my focus, since the turn of the seventeenth century marks a tentative beginning of a period characteristic for a series of innovations within the realm of Slavophone Arabographia as a mode of writing. Namely, as of the first half of the seventeenth century, we can follow a continuous appearance of elaborate and free-standing Arabographic texts in which Slavic fragments loom large or even entirely dominate the message. Most of these texts belong to the genres used for poetic expression and they manifest competence in Slavic which involves knowledge of syntax beyond the level of a phrase or a sentence. Based on this formal characteristic of the texts, one can often safely conclude that their authors were speakers of Slavic, which was not the case with most of instances of Slavophone Arabographia I analyzed earlier.

A few questions can be formulated with the seventeenth-century developments in mind: what kind of ideas about Ottoman Slavic and its speakers informed the relative expansion of Slavophone Arabographia as a mode of writing; how can these ideas be related to established hierarchies and categorizations, one the one hand, and to non-discursive realities on the other; and, how are we to situate the expansion of Slavophone Arabographia within the history of the Ottoman multilingual regime? In search for some answers to these questions I will heavily rely on the modern literature produced mainly by philologists and linguists, for Slavophone Arabographia has remained beyond the purview of Ottoman historians, irrespective of their field of specialization.

The free-standing texts I will focus on in this and the next chapter have so far been studied as belonging to the *Bosnian aljamiado literature* or, more precisely, as the texts which marked the period of emergence of this literature. Although my goal in this thesis is not to argue against the current philological and linguistic nomenclatures, and especially not the glottonym politics, some postulates which inform them have been very influential, and therefore impossible to go over without explaining my disengagement. This chapter thus begins with an overview of the genealogy of the modern scholarly literature dealing with Slavophone Arabographic texts. The goal of this overview is to explain why I find the deeply entrenched concept of *Bosnian aljamiado* inadequate for my purposes, and this especially due to the second part of the phrase. This overview can also be read as a brief guide into the career of Slavophone Arabographia in the nineteenth century, i.e. the period which is not the focus of this thesis. In anticipation, I can state my opinion that modern scholarship on *Bosnian aljamiado literature* has been primarily informed by modern language ideologies and political concerns. As such it is of little help of understanding the history of Slavophone Arabographia, not to mention the history of Ottoman multilingualism. Perhaps more importantly, the modern literature interprets the development of *Bosnian aljamiado literature* in



line with a periodization of Ottoman history which postulates the end of the sixteenth century as the beginning of an unstoppable, two-centuries-long decline of the empire ruled by Turcophone Muslims. Despite the fact that it has been a while since the decline paradigm has been revised and that Ottoman studies came to the point in which it is no longer approached as generator of research questions, no update has been attempted by the scholars who are still interested in Slavophone Arabographic material. After this digression, I will return to the early modern Ottoman period, and discuss Slavophone-Arabographic texts produced by the three seventeenth century authors known by name: Hācī Yūsuf of Livno, Meḥmed Hevāyī Üskūfī-i Bosnevī, and Hasan Kā'imī.

### III.1. Why (not) *Aljamiado*?

The history of modern scholarly engagement with texts written in Slavic by the use of the Arabic script can roughly be divided into two phases, only the second of which is marked by the usage of the concept of “the (Bosnian) *aljamiado*.” The first phase commenced in 1859, with the publication of Aleksandr Fedorovich Gil'ferding's *Poezdka po Gertsegovine, Bosnii i Staroi Serbii* (Travels in Herzegovina, Bosnia and Old Serbia).<sup>1</sup> Gil'ferding (1831-1872), today described as a linguist and folklorist, was also the first Russian consul to Ottoman *Eyālet-i Bosna* (1856-1859). When Gil'ferding was in office, this administrative unit included geographies of Bosnia, Herzegovina, south-western Serbia and parts of present-day Montenegro. The paragraph which brought the Slavophone Arabographic texts within the purview of modern scholarship contains no information of any intrinsic value for their historical study. Nevertheless, Gil'ferding's book has still been referred to by philologists and literary historians as scholarly publication in which this mode of

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<sup>1</sup> Gil'ferding travelled in 1858, and published his book the next year in Saint Petersburg. In 1862, parts of the book were translated to Italian and published in Zadar (Zara) as “Bosnia, Hercegovina e Croazia-Turca: notizie riunite e tradotte da G. Augusto Kaznačić.” I here used a modern translation to, then, Serbo-Croatian: Aleksandar Giljferding, *Putovanje po Hercegovini, Bosni i Staroj Srbiji*, ed. and trans. Branko Čulić (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1972).

writing was mentioned for the first time. Besides that, his value judgements about the literary heritage of Bosnian Muslims whom he explicitly mentions are still being engaged with. This is done by referring to one particular paragraph, and most of the time without critical engagement with the ideology displayed in the book as a whole. The paragraph reads:

As far as I could conclude, having inquired around, there has not been a single Muslim Bosnian to whom it occurred to use his mother tongue as *a literary language*. The only literary language among them is Turkish. I am familiar with only two *written* (and one can not call them *literary*) works authored by Bosnian Muslims in [their] mother-tongue by the use of Turkish orthography. The insignificance of both of these works testifies *to the intellectual level of the environment in which these were created*. Besides, it should be mentioned that these two works were written *50 years ago*, and that *there have been no similar attempts after that*. I hereby quote, as a “curiosity,” passages from both of these works. The first work which is titled “Potur-Šahidija” is a small versified dictionary in which the Slavic words are explained with Turkish expressions. This is how it begins (...). The other work of Bosnian Muslim literature is slightly better than the first one. It is in fact a sad poem of some Bosnians settled in Duvno (in the northern part of Herzegovina). The poem is made of a great number of four-verse stanzas, almost without any internal coherence, or it can rather be described as a set of rhymed Serbian and Turkish words without any meaning. I hereby quote the beginning of the poem and several successful, i.e. less absurd stanzas from the middle of the poem: (...). That is about the whole literature of Bosnian Muslims in their mother tongue. (Here, of course, I do not speak about folk poems, which are *sung by Muslims in the same manner as Christians* and which have been incessantly, to this day, composed. The word here is only about the written literary works).<sup>2</sup>

The Bosnian Muslims Gil'ferding refers to could have been people from the Ottoman *Eyālet-i Bosna* and/or Muslims of Bosnia understood in more narrow terms. He himself does not explain which Bosnia he referred to. Whatever the case was, immediately before this section we find a description of Bosnian Muslims as the most educated people in Bosnia, which at the same time, speaks volumes about both Gil'ferding's language ideology and the depth of his view of Bosnian history.<sup>3</sup> From the perspective of methodology, it is of some importance to note that, no

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<sup>2</sup> Giljferding, *Putovanja*, 345-346. The italics are mine.

<sup>3</sup> “It cannot be said that the Bosnian Muslims are completely uneducated people. On the contrary. There are, among them, much more educated people than among Christians. They have a school in each small town. At the same time, the Orthodox population did not have, all the way until 1850, a single school in the whole of Bosnia, while Roman-Catholic schools were in a miserable condition to remain like that to this day. The culture nurtured by a Muslim Bosnian is exclusively oriental. He learns Turkish language, learns the Quran by heart, while the one who wants to

matter how vaguely or wrongly, Gil'ferding does hint at a difference between the mere recording of a text and the recording of a text with the sense that it contributed/contributes to a literature, a differentiation often taken for granted or rather unacknowledged in the studies of Slavophone Arabographia.<sup>4</sup>

The importance attributed to this rushed comment can be understood in light of the fact that modern scholars approach this “first mention” knowing that the year 1859 falls amidst the period in which the relationship between empire, language and power in the whole of Ottoman-ruled South-Slavia was changing dramatically.<sup>5</sup> Based on what we know today, one of the

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advance is able to get to know himself with the Arabic and Persian literature. But, his entire education does not contain a single element which would indicate his (belonging to) his nation (*narodnost*). This is why the educated Bosnian Muslim transfers himself into the spheres of the mind which are completely foreign to the land in which he grew up and the inborn spirit which dominates it. It is thus understandable why all of his education remains a dead letter. In my travelogue, I have talked about the two young begs from Travnik, about the two brothers who had expressed an urge towards the enlightenment [sl. *prosveta*], previously unheard among Bosnian Muslims. The brothers belong to an old stratum of Bosnian aristocracy which had always wanted the internal self-sustainability and the independence of Bosnia vis-à-vis the central government. They have understood that the time has passed when that independence could have been defended in the name of the crude licentiousness and fanaticism, and that the right to it can only be acquired by means of the enlightenment. Derviš Beg Teskeredžić is the first among Bosnian Muslims who went to Europe to travel and learn something. And what has this smart and well-intentioned man, this Slav, educated on Quran, Hafiz and *One Thousand and One Night*, brought from there? An admiration for railways and factories—yes, but not a single energetic or pragmatic thought,” Giljferding, *Putovanja*, 345.

<sup>4</sup> See *Introduction* (fn.29) for differentiation between “literization” and “literatization.”

<sup>5</sup> The late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries in the Ottoman-ruled South-Slavic Europe was a period characteristic for a series of resurrections and rebellions against the Ottoman government and the reforms it tried to implement. It is in the midst of these political and social upheavals that the hectic activities aimed at reforms of existing orthographies and the active promotion of spoken codes into literary languages started. One of the most influential figures in South-Slavia was a Serbian, namely Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864). Karadžić, among other things, participated in the first Serbian uprising (1804) and acted as a scribe in chancelleries of various Serbian officials. After the uprising was quelled, in 1813, Vuk left for Vienna where he met Jernej Kopitar, the Slavicist who encouraged his research of Slavic folklore and language. With Kopitar's support, Vuk undertook a reform of the existing Slavic/Serbian Cyrillic orthography by applying the principle of *one phoneme-one grapheme* already applied in some other European contexts. In spite of the protests by the church-related intellectual elite—who were, under the influence of Russian, writing in a Slavic rather remote from spoken—Vuk actively promoted his own dialect of Serbian (Eastern Herzegovinian) as standard literary language by publishing treatises, dictionaries, grammars, as well as collections of various forms of oral literature he was collecting on the ground (epic and lyric poems, proverbs, riddles etc.). His reform is taken to have won the day around 1847. Vuk was both an advocate of the Serbian national cause and a pan-South-Slavist, occasionally writing about “Serbs of all three confessions:” Greek-Orthodox, Roman-Catholic and Muslim. Similar ideas about language had their followers in the neighbouring Croatia and in Slovenia, where reforms of Latin script were conducted in accordance with the same, phonemic principle, and by taking the spoken code as a base. Some Serbs, Croats and Slovenes also shared the ideology of Illyrism, which shared some common features with pan-South-Slavism. Bosnian Muslims first rebelled against the Ottoman government in the 1830's. The rebels were

consequences of these changes can be described as follows: during the nineteenth century, the texts that had been produced by South Slavic-speaking Muslims during the previous four centuries—observed in total, in four languages (Turkish, Persian, Arabic and Slavic) and three scripts (Arabic, Cyrillic and Latin)—were gradually becoming components of a cultural heritage bounded by religion and objects of politically motivated scholarly inquiries. In other words, Arabographia as a mode of writing gradually stopped being, in practice and on a discursive level, a formal base of a living literacy and a multilingual literary tradition of South-Slavia. The ultimate political demise of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires in the region (1918) can be, in fact has been taken as a tentative end of this process.<sup>6</sup> Second, by the end of the imperial rule in South-Slavia many Muslims left the region either voluntarily or by force.<sup>7</sup> Despite several waves of emigration, a substantial number of Muslims stayed after 1918 in what was the Ottoman *Eyālet-i Bosna* until 1867. In 1867, the Ottoman government launched a new administrative reform initiative when *Bosna Vilāyeti* was formed to encompass Bosnia and Herzegovina only.<sup>8</sup> It is this Bosnia that will

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defeated, but imposing the political authority of the Ottoman government in its province of Bosnia was more and more difficult as of this point. Of all western Slavic regions, the relationship among political, religious and ethno-linguistic loyalties was most complicated in Bosnia—to the outsiders, adherence to Islam connoted loyalty to the Ottoman state, while Bosnian Muslims themselves were divided between the supporters and the opponents of a series of centrally dictated reforms the first round of which took place during the reign of sultan Maḥmūd II (1808-1839). For historical context of the emergence of the modern “national idea” in central and south-east Europe and the variety of relevant discourses, see Balázs Trencsényi, and Michal Kopeček, eds., *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770–1945): Texts and Commentaries*, 4 vols. (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2006-2014).

<sup>6</sup> In 1918 the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was founded to include all western parts and some southern parts of South-Slavia. The eastern part of South-Slavia belonged to Bulgaria, which gained independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878.

<sup>7</sup> Ahmet İcduygu and Deniz Sert, “The Changing Waves of Migration from the Balkans to Turkey: A Historical Account,” in *Migration in the Southern Balkans: From Ottoman Territory to Globalized Nation States*, ed. Hans Vermeulen, Martin Baldwin-Edwards, and Riki van Boeschoten (Cham: Springer International Publishing: Imprint: Springer, 2015), 85-104.

<sup>8</sup> Ahmed S. Aličić, “Uredba o organizaciji vilajeta iz 1867” [The 1867 Regulation on the Organization of Vilayets], *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* 12-13 (1962): 2019-235. For an Ottoman statesman-intellectual’s perspective on the Bosnian response to the reforms, see Ahmet Cevdet Pasha’s *Ma’ruzât*.

be occupied by Austria-Hungary in 1878, together with the rest of former *Eyālet-i Bosna* as it stood before 1867. The Muslims who stayed in South-Slavia after 1918 were no longer adherents of a state-supported religion. The way they wrote and called their language or marked their ethnic belonging became some of the key indicators of their political loyalties.

After Gil'ferding's *Travels*, there appeared a series of publications dealing with Slavic literature of—Bosnian Muslims. The idea guiding the selection and interpretation of the textual material used in these publications was that Bosnian Muslims were Slavs/Slavic-speakers of Muslim confession. Therefore, their national literature, be it oral or written, could only be in Slavic. This Slavic was the people's language (sl. *narodni*), i.e. the vernacular which was already well into the process of induced literarization and promotion into a standard literary language. Two publications crucial for the early development of studies of Slavophone Arabographia in particular appeared within the time span of some sixty years. The first was *Bosnisch-türkische Sprachdenkmäler* from 1868,<sup>9</sup> and the second was *Serbokroatische Dichtungen bosnischer Moslims aus dem XVII., XVIII. und XIX.* from 1912.<sup>10</sup>

During the sixty years between the two books, academic publishing industry in South-Slavia was booming. This was also the time in which the region became an arena in which various language policies competed fiercely, and this with special force in what were the westernmost

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<sup>9</sup> Otto Blau, *Bosnisch-türkische Sprachdenkmäler (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 5/2)* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1868).

<sup>10</sup> Sejfudin Kemura, and Vladimir Čorović, eds., *Serbokroatische Dichtungen bosnischer Moslims aus dem XVII., XVIII. und XIX. Jahrhundert* (Sarajevo: Im Selbstverlage des B.-H. Instituts für Balkanforschung, Bosn.-Herz. Landesdruckerei, 1912). For a recent account of the academic impact of this publication see, Alen Kalajdžija, "Stoljeće od pojave prve pjesničke zbirke *alhamijado* književnosti: *Das Serbokroatische Dichtungen bosnischer Moslims aus dem XVII., XVIII. und XIX. Jahrhundert* Sejfudina Kemure i Vladimira Čorovića" [A century since the first publication of a collection of *Aljamiado* poetry: *Das Serbokroatische Dichtungen bosnischer Moslims aus dem XVII., XVIII. und XIX. Jahrhundert* by Sejfudin Kemura and Vladimir Čorović], *Znakovi vremena-Časopis za filozofiju, religiju, znanost i društvenu praksu* 57-58 (2012): 321-332.

provinces of Ottoman Empire before 1878.<sup>11</sup> Some proponents of these policies were scholars working within branches of the humanities newly founded in the region as academic disciplines. Histories of local languages, literatures, and ethnicities, however, developed under the shadow of an obsession with synchrony and search for the spirit of “people” (sl. *narod*). People, by the rule, were *the illiterate* whose culture was first and foremost oral, an attitude which was more conducive to folklore and ethnographic studies than to history proper. Being illiterate, the “people” were exclusively observed as an object of academic study and discourse. As agents, they could only have a vaguely defined “spirit.” At the core of language ideologies of the time there laid a promotion of various South-Slavic dialects in their current vernacular form into purified and standardized national languages—i.e. a field of intellectual and political activities inspired by imagined futures of imagined nations. The research on the textual heritage produced by the historical literate “elite” of the respective imagined nations, which were just emerging from under the “yoke” of the Ottoman imperial rule, was lagging behind when compared with ethnographic and folklore studies. The historical elite, of whichever confession and ethnicity, was anyhow held to have constituted a minority in the respective historical speech- and confessional communities, as well as in Ottoman society as a whole. What mattered at that particular historical conjuncture was to win over the vernacular-speaking masses and their “oral literature” for the respective national causes. Though in a different garb, this attitude still permeates the histories of local languages and literatures held to have historically developed in the sociolinguistic situation of *diglossia*, the term coined in the twentieth century to mark the sharp distinction between written/literary and spoken/oral technologies of meaning-making. Speaking of nomenclature, in

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<sup>11</sup> For the place of language in various “patriotic” discourses developed in the Western Balkans of the second half of the nineteenth century, see Edin Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia?: Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), esp. 166–167.

the nineteenth century the very naming of local dialects became a matter of hot disputes which did not privilege historical facts as key arguments. It is against this background that the difference in glottonyms used in the titles of two mentioned books (which present and interpret formally one and the same corpus), can be understood. The late nineteenth century publications dealing with Slavophone-Arabographic texts can be offered as but one illustration of the sort of teetering which lasts to this day.

### III.1.1. Otto Blau and His Theory of Linguistic Contact

In his *Bosnisch-türkische Sprachdenkmäler* from 1868, Otto Blau published all the “Bosnian-Turkish” texts that were available to him and analyzed them from a philological point of view.<sup>12</sup> *Bosnian* is used here as label for the language, while *Turkish* labels both language and script, with a nod toward religion. The oldest among the texts Blau published was a Bosnian/Turkish dictionary composed in 1631, and titled *Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif*, namely the text mentioned by Gil’ferding as *Potur-Šahidija*.<sup>13</sup> Blau’s scholarly edition of “Bosnian-Turkish” texts appeared earlier than the collections of theretofore orally circulating forms (epic poetry sung in Slavic for centuries, lyric poems, short-form genres like proverbs, adages, riddles, jokes, lyric poems and alike) estimated as being composed by Muslims. It also appeared later than the publications of Slavic folk literature collected mainly through fieldwork and ascribed to Serbs and/or Croats.<sup>14</sup> In contrast to the corpus

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<sup>12</sup> Blau was a German consul in Sarajevo from 1861 to 1872. He dedicated this work to his friend Arminius Vambéry, a famous Hungarian orientalist.

<sup>13</sup> Aside from this, Blau published other dictionaries, poems, proverbs and excerpts from language learning handbooks.

<sup>14</sup> When it comes to the printed, nineteenth-century collections of South-Slavic folk poetry, those produced by Vuk Karadžić of Serbia had the most immediate ideological effect. Vuk was collecting poetry through fieldwork, i.e. by listening to the performers *in situ*. The South-Slavic “folk” poetry, however, had been recorded as of at least the late sixteenth century. The oldest extant sources originate from Dalmatia, as well as the areas around Dubrovnik and Kotor. See, Valtazar Bogišić, *Narodne pjesme iz starijih, najviše primorskih zapisa. Knjiga prva* [Folk poems from the older

gathered through fieldwork, Slavophone Arabographic texts of various genres and contents were readily available in the manuscripts and waiting to be discovered by intellectuals. But, despite their formal and semantic variety and irrespective of when they were composed and for how long they were copied, the Slavic of these texts could not be understood as anything but Bosnian *narodni*.

Blau's introductory remarks, however, are not limited to considerations of Bosnia of his time in which the dictionaries and other texts he published were still circulating. His perspective is broad, more abstract, and informed by a particular vision of the history of language contact between Turks as conquerors and Slavs as subjugated people. Although Blau was well aware that, aside from Turkish and Slavic, Arabic and Persian as well played some role in Ottoman society, this fact is mentioned only in passing. Blau's theory of language contact between Slavic and Turkish, dubious in details, is still interesting for emphasizing a two-directional influence. Blau starts the introduction by saying that the history of Turkish language is in a tight relationship with the history of the Turkish state. He continues by noting that the language of the (Turkish) conquerors borrowed a lot from the languages of whichever people they conquered. This was especially the case in those areas where they were not powerful enough to replace the culture of the conquered with that of their own. Nevertheless, Turkish was the language of "the ruling nation" and of the "privileged religion." As such, it exerted a pressure on the idioms of subjugated peoples which resulted in naturalization of various Turkish expressions in these languages.<sup>15</sup> Further on,

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recordings, mainly those from the coastal areas. Book One] (Beograd: Državna Štamparija, 1878), esp.122-123. See below for concrete examples of publications in which the products of "Muslim" folk literature were published.

<sup>15</sup> "Die Geschichte der türkischen Sprache steht in engstem Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte der türkischen Herrschaft. Die Sprache der Eroberer hat überall ein gut Theil des Sprachgutes der Besiegten in sich aufgenommen, am meisten, wo die ersteren nicht mächtig genug waren, um eine neue Cultur an die Stelle derjenigen zu setzen, welche sie vorfanden. Andreerseits hat die Amtssprache der herrschenden Nation und der bevorzugten Religion auf die Idiome der unterjochten Völker einen Druck geübt, der sich in der Aufnahme zahlreicher Ausdrücke kund giebt, die zum Theil über die Grenzen des heutigen türkischen Gebietes hinaus sich eingebürgert haben," Blau, *Bosnisch-türkische Sprachdenkmäler*, 3.



we learn that Blau thought that South-Slavia was in fact the region in which Turkish culture could not prevail. He supports this hypothesis by noting, based on the nineteenth-century demographic data, that South-Slavs, divided into two branches based on the dialects they spoke, constituted the majority speakers of European Turkey.<sup>16</sup> According to Blau, the linguistic conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina were peculiar in comparison to other Slavic regions due to two factors, one is the conversion to Islam which started immediately after the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia, and the other is that the largest numbers of Janissaries were levied from Bosnia.<sup>17</sup> Having left their region of origin, the Janissaries—as implied, the Slavic-speakers—would bring “their language” to Constantinople and other places in the empire. Those who would come back home would bring “Turkish” with themselves. Blau then provides a section with examples of various Slavic borrowings in Turkish (from Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian and Polish) followed by a much longer section quoting Turkish loan-words in Slavic. In support of his thesis that Janissaries served as agents of linguistic transmission, he lists a number of Turkish borrowings from Slavic denoting military equipment. In other words, the contact, as depicted by Blau happened at the level of lexicon only. The examples for the first section related to loan words are collected and translated to German, not from original texts, but by browsing Bianchi’s Turkish-French dictionary (1850), Zenker’s Turkish-Arabic-Persian dictionary (1862), Fröhlich’s Illyrian-German dictionary (1853),

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<sup>16</sup> Blau writes: “Weniger widerstrebend als das hellenische und weniger unterwürfig als das albanesische Element hat sich dem osmanischen Eroberer gegenüber das slavische Volksthum in der europäischen Türkei geberdet. Zwei Zweige der südslavischen Familien vorzüglich bilden die überwiegende Bevölkerung der europäischen Türkei, der bulgarische in der östlichen, der serbische in der westlichen Hälfte. Zu dem letztern gehören nächst den eigentlichen Serben, die Bosniaken und die Herzegovzen, welche alle denselben Dialekt reden, denselben, welcher mit ganz unmerklichen provinziellen Unterschieden auch in Croatien, Slavonien, Dalmatien, der Millitärgrenze und Montenegro gesprochen wird. Der bulgarische Dialect wird von etwa 1,800, 000 Seelen, der serbische auf dem Gebiet der hohen Pforte von 2,500,000 Seelen geredet.“ *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>17</sup> As already noted, the idea of immediate and mass conversion of Bosnians has proved to be a historiographical myth.

and Šulek's German-Croatian dictionary (1860).<sup>18</sup> Numerous examples of Turkish borrowings in Slavic are culled from Parčić's Illyrian-Italian dictionary and also translated into German (1858).<sup>19</sup> Blau does not fail to note the "unfortunate fact" that the Slavs under consideration had still not agreed on how to call their nation(s) and/or their language(s).<sup>20</sup>

Blau's publication received few immediate reactions which brought, not the evaluations of Blau's method or conclusions, but the evaluations of the originality and literary value of the texts he published. In an article written in 1869, Stojan Novaković, for example, put forward a rather negative judgement of the poetry published by Blau. Novaković's partisanship, expressed in a rather colorful language, is too complex to be analyzed here in detail. In sum, he characterizes the poetry Blau published as contributing to neither Slavic nor Islamic literature which he held in high esteem as long as it was produced in Arabic and/or Persian. In other words, he does not say Islamic culture was backward or unworthy, as he may have had and thus participate in the *Geist* of the mainstream local cultural philosophy, but that the Turks who brought Islam to Serbs were the ones who corrupted it. Serbian converts to Islam, for one, got carried away by the state-granted aristocratic privileges to the extent they had no inclination to strive for and reach the heights of the Arabophone and Persophone intellectual sphere, the doors of which were potentially opened to them by their new faith. Second, they missed the opportunity to create literature or deal with intellectual work by putting into use their Serbian, which, despite being corrupted by Turkisms,

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<sup>18</sup> Thomas Xavier Bianchi, *Dictionnaire français-turc à l'usage des agents diplomatiques et consulaires, des commerçants, des navigateurs et autres voyageurs dans le Levant*. 2 vols. (Paris: Typ. de Mme Ve Dondey-Dupré, 1843-1846); Julius Theodor Zenker, *Dictionnaire Turc, Arabe, Persan; Türkisch, Arabisch, Persisches Handwörterbuch*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1866-1876); Rudolf Alois Fröhlich, *Rječnik ilirskoga i němačkoga jezika*, 2 vols. (Wien: A. A. Wenedikt, 1853-1854); Bogoslav Šulek, *Deutsch-kroatisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols. (Zagreb: Agram, 1860).

<sup>19</sup> Dragutin A. Parčić, *Vocabolario Illirico-Italiano/Rječnik Ilirsko-Talianski (polag najnovijih izvora)* (Zara: Petar Abelić Knjigar, 1858).

<sup>20</sup> Blau, *Bosnisch-türkische sprachdenkmäler*, 5 (fn.1).

remained and was still beautiful, pure and harmonious. Instead, they opted to graft Eastern scions—foreign in terms of both “race and education”—to this healthy rootstock just to produce a plant with no juice and no strength. Quran, the access to Arabic and Persian literature, and to their Turkish imitations could thus only be—of no help.<sup>21</sup> Vedad Spahić, writing in 2019, makes a note that Novaković’s article set the tone of all subsequent interpretations of texts written in Slavic by the use of Arabic script offered to the Slavophone audience.<sup>22</sup>

On a different note, it is important to emphasize that lexicon, along the lines of Blau’s and Novaković’s thinking, remained the main element of language structure on which many future interpretations of the historical linguistic contact prompted by the Ottoman conquest of South-Slavia focused. The ubiquitous loan words in various modern Slavic national dialects, originating from Turkish, Arabic and Persian, have all been collected and analyzed in the twentieth century as *Turkisms* (sl. *turcizmi*), namely the foreign words in an imagined pure language.<sup>23</sup> The collectors and publishers of the dictionaries and the etymological analysis of *Turkisms* often take the nineteenth century as the representative period when it comes to history of the linguistic contact. Whether this spoken Slavic enriched with Turkisms, interfered with, for example, early modern written Slavic i.e. various redactions of Church Slavic written in Cyrillic, Latin and Glagolitic scripts, is hard to tell. An excuse and justification for this lacuna can probably be found in two

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<sup>21</sup> Stojan Novaković, “Prilozi k Istoriji Srpske Književnosti IV: Srbi Muhamedovci i turska pismenost. Na osnovu knjige dra O. Blau-a” [Contributions to the History of Serbian Literature IV: Muhammedan Serbs and Turkish Literacy. Based on the book by dr. O. Blau], *Glasnik Srpskog Učenog Društva* 9/16 (1869): 220-255, esp. 230.

<sup>22</sup> Vedad Spahić, “Cultural and Historical Context of Bosnian *Aljamiado* Literature,” in *Muslim East in Slavic Literatures and Cultures*, ed. Grzegorz Czerwiński, Artur Konopacki, Anetta Buras-Marciniak, and Eugenia Maksimowicz (Białystok: Polish Historical Society, 2019), 41-46.

<sup>23</sup> The most famous dictionary of “Turkisms” offered to the readership in Western South-Slavia is Abdulah Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* [Turkisms in Serbo-Croatian language] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966). The first edition of the dictionary was published in 1957 as “Turkisms in Popular Speech and Folk Literature of Bosnia and Herzegovina” (sl. *Turcizmi u narodnom govoru i narodnoj književnosti Bosne i Hercegovine*). The 1966 edition contains “8742 words (expressions) and 6878 various concepts.” Škaljić’s sources are both the nineteenth century print editions and the everyday speech of his time.

firmly rooted assumptions. One is that Slavic vernacular was not *properly* literized nor literarized until the nineteenth century reforms. The second is that the written Slavic of the early modern period was essentially a frozen version of the late medieval elite idiom, and that not much new could have been produced under the Ottoman oppression. Exceptions to this line of thinking are of a relatively recent date. As the latest example one can cite a study of the Slavic-based texts produced by Bosnian Franciscans as of the seventeenth century and later. Typically, however, this study is most interested in these texts as the material for reconstructing the historical Slavic vernacular (spoken by Catholics) and the ways in which it was influenced by Turkish.<sup>24</sup> Relatively well-studied are also texts in Turkish produced by Bosnian Franciscans and used for language instruction. These are dated to the nineteenth century and are not held to have been a product of the contact of Bosnian Franciscans with “educated Muslims.”<sup>25</sup> Be this as it may, in addition to being viewed as “narodni,” as I already noted, the language of free-standing Slavophone Arabographic texts has often been viewed as *narodni* “spoiled” by *Turkisms*. Novaković is one concrete example to cite, and some more will be mentioned below.

A small digression can be made here to note that, until very recently, it was a custom in locally produced histories dealing with the Ottoman period to designate the “conquerors,” i.e. the

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<sup>24</sup> The most recent contribution to this line of research “focuses on loanwords borrowed from Turkish” into Bosnian (defined as “the variety of Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS) in the geographic area of Bosnia) and Bulgarian in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries “as seen through Catholic—namely Franciscan—texts.” The Bosnian Franciscan order which “was the only Catholic order to remain in Bosnia under Ottoman rule” is known to have had “a rich literary tradition,” by implication, based on Bosnian language. The author continues: “Because this work focuses on the extent to which Turkish penetrated the Bosnian and Bulgarian vernaculars, it is necessary to look at texts that best represent the spoken language. Whilst the texts studied are certainly not equivalent to the spoken language, they are some of the closest documentations of the vernacular of the time.” See Florence Graham, *Turkisms in south Slavonic literature: Turkish loanwords in 17th- and 18th-century Bosnian and Bulgarian Franciscan sources* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2020), 1-2, and *passim*.

<sup>25</sup> Ekrem Čaušević and Marta Andrić, “Novootkriveni rukopisi bosanskih franjevac na turskome jeziku” [Recently discovered Bosnian Franciscans’ manuscripts in Turkish], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 58 (2008): 167-178, 169. The extant texts were recorded in Latin and, sporadically, Arabic script. See also, Ekrem Čaušević, “A Chronology of Bosnian Turcology: The Franciscans and the Turkish Language,” in *The Turkish Language in Ottoman Bosnia*, collected essays by Ekrem Čaušević (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2014), 45-66.

key political and cultural agents in the Ottoman state as *Ottoman Turks* (sl. *Turci Osmanlije*) or just *Turks*. Examples are many and can be found in texts dealing with topics ranging from early conquest and wars to economic and cultural institutions developing throughout the early modern and modern periods.<sup>26</sup> Though suggestive, this appellation, in itself, tells nothing concrete about the language/s spoken by the “Turks,” but does contribute significantly to minimizing the historical importance of the individual and group bilingualism (involving Slavic and Turkish), or other possible options and combinations. As noted before, however, historians of Ottoman rule in South-Slavia rarely engaged with Ottoman multilingualism as a historical phenomenon in its own right, and this digression is not meant as a negative comment, but rather a remark.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that Blau’s *Sprachdenkmäler* does not ignore the fact that Bosnian Muslims spoke not only Slavic but Turkish as well. Blau proposed, inspired by what he heard in the Bosnia he visited, that there existed a particular *Bosnian Turkish language* and went on to describe its specific features. This he did based on his notes and texts from the nineteenth century. In 2014, Ekrem Čaušević, a Turcologist, revisiting Blau’s suggestion, proposed that, despite being neglected by modern scholars in his field (of Turcology), Blau’s idea

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<sup>26</sup> Writing about the institution of waqf in 1954, Avdo Sućeska, one of the greatest South-Slavic Ottomanists, for example writes: “The formation of waqfs [charitable endowments] and the waqf institution in Bosnia and Herzegovina is related to the appearance of the Turks in our region and to the spread of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In order to secure their conquest of a certain area and set the stronger foundations of their rule there, the Turks, among other means, built and endowed certain objects with predominantly religious functions, like mosques, *mektebs*, medreses etc., as well as the objects of public interest like bridges, water-supply systems, roads, certain social and health institutions etc. In a word, the Turks complemented their conquest by enabling penetration of their religion-Islam, and this with the goals of: instilling respect of the conquered people towards the religion and the rule of the conqueror, attracting them (the conquered people) to the new religion, and satisfying their own needs with this regard.” From there on, we can read an excellent study of the waqf cash-crediting in the mid-sixteenth century Sarajevo which was founded by the “Turkish *voyvoda* of the Western Sides” and later, the *sancak-beyi* Isabeg Isaković. Avdo Sućeska, “Vakufski krediti u Sarajevu, u svjetlu sidžila sarajevskog kadije iz godine 973, 974 i 975, 1564/65/66” [Vakf credits in the light of the records of the *kadi* of Sarajevo dating to the years 973, 974 i 975, 1564/65/66], *Godišnjak Pravnog Fakulteta u Sarajevu* 2 ( 1954): 343-379, 343.

was more meaningful than the widely accepted and elaborated ideas of Gyula Németh.<sup>27</sup> Čaušević himself proposes the term *Bosnian Variety of Turkish—BVT*, i.e. argues that *Bosnian Turkish language* was not a *dialect* of Turkish, as Németh would have it. Čaušević also remarks that Evliyā Çelebi was the first Ottoman to explicitly mention “Boşnak lehçesi” (tr./Bosnian dialect) in the mid-seventeenth century. This would be, in Čaušević’s interpretation, one of the many possible, even if textually poorly attested, *variants* of Turkish spoken by Ottoman subjects living in the Balkans (Albanians, Greeks, Serbians, Croats, Bosnians, etc.) who were “ethnically non-Turkish.”<sup>28</sup> Further on, we see that the texts published by Blau (i.e. the dictionaries, esp. *Potur Şahidija* also known to Evliyā Çelebi), are understood by Čaušević as the tools for learning BVT and that “a person’s level of Turkish was measured by the number of Turkish words that the person had learned (the dictionary was memorized by heart!).” Also, in BVT, “these words were more or less combined according to the syntactic patterns of Bosnian language.”<sup>29</sup> To address the complexity of the textual corpus (somehow) relatable to BVT, Čaušević notes: that there existed cases in which BVT blended with Ottoman Turkish; that this blend or “hybrid” can be viewed as

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<sup>27</sup> According to Čaušević, Németh proposed “that the dialects of Turkish are divided into two large branches: (I) Anatolian and (II) Balkan (or Rumelian).” Whereby, “Anatolian dialects are divided into three main groups, (a) Eastern, (b) Northeastern, and (c) Western, each of which has several subgroups.” Also, “Németh, [was the one] who included not only the Turkish dialects of western Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Kosovo in the West Rumelian group, but also those of Albania, Bosnia, and Serbia,” Ekrem Čaušević, “Introduction,” in *The Turkish Language in Ottoman Bosnia*, 9-44:10.

<sup>28</sup> The gist of Čaušević’s argument is in the following passage: “I do not think BVT can be considered a Balkan dialect of Turkish, although it developed on the basis of an *Old Ottoman* substratum brought to Bosnia by the Ottomans. Bosnians did not replace their native (Bosnian) language with a dialect of Turkish and impose non-Turkish characteristics on it, as was the case with autochthonous non-Turks in other parts of the Ottoman Empire who dropped their native languages and adopted Turkish varieties. WRT [Western Rumelian Turkish] is the native language of Turkish immigrants in western Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Kosovo, while the Bosnian variety, which came into being as a result of the contacts between the local South Slavic population and native speakers of Turkish, had to be learned as a foreign language. Aside from that, Bosnians did not use Bosnian Turkish when communicating with one another in public (a fact almost universally noted by foreign travel writers) or within the family. (...) BVT was never spoken by the majority of population, which is why it died out after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina began in 1878,” Ibid., 10-11. The italics are mine.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 27-28.

an “idiolect;” and that there were individuals “who had attained a certain level of competence in Turkish,” while the lower social strata of urban population probably used “Macaronic Turkish,” i.e. a mixture of Bosnian and Turkish. Overall, the conclusion from the perspective of the “sociolinguistic status” of BVT is that “in Bosnia and Herzegovina true bilingualism never existed as the practice of spontaneous switching between two languages,” and this because not many people in this region ever learned “the prestigious language” at the level of native speakers.<sup>30</sup> Čaušević, in short, just like Blau, is not very much interested the concepts of literature, nor does he theorize the written word in general. Furthermore, he uses the pre-nineteenth century history and early modern textual sources just to support a (socio)-linguistic theory based on the nineteenth century material. Čaušević’s conclusions are built on a huge body of the twentieth-century literature, and I will certainly keep them in mind while analyzing particular literacy events. His summary of the historical sociolinguistic situation in Bosnia—found under the subtitle: *The Birth and Development of BVT-An overview of the historical circumstances*, however, is rather illustrative of a way in which Ottoman Bosnia has been segregated from its early modern imperial context by the students of its language/s:

After the fall of Jajce in 1463, the Ottoman conquests continue westward and, with longer or shorter pauses, into the territory of Bosnia until the fall of Bihać in 1592. During that period of about 130 years, Bosnia gradually transformed into an Ottoman province where, due to its sensitive geostrategic position, strong military forces and their logistics were concentrated—including tradesmen who offered various services to the army. Along with the Ottoman army, many *imams*, *muallims*, *kadis*, and sheikhs also arrived in Bosnia. By the mid-sixteenth century, the most intensive period of conversion to Islam among the population had finished, and the ethnic Turks who made up the regular Ottoman troops were gradually leaving the province. Islamization brought about significant changes in the structure of the population, because in the place of foreigners who were leaving Bosnia came local people who had accepted Islam and earned the right to be admitted into the military class.

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 29-30.

Changes in the military, administrative, and feudal system meant that from the mid-sixteenth century on, Bosnia was gradually left to the Bosnians.<sup>31</sup>

Obviously, Čaušević does not address the Janissary related part of Blau's historical musings, in this summary, at least. But, in essence, their theories overlap in all other key aspects.

### **III.1.2. A Digression from a Review of Modern Scholarly Literature**

As the nineteenth-century outsiders to Slavic Muslim community were only starting to discover, analyze, and evaluate Slavophone Arabographic texts surviving in centuries-old manuscripts, some insiders continued using Arabic script to record (by hand) the newly composed texts (in Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Slavic), or for recording the texts which had been circulating orally (these could be in both Turkish and Slavic).<sup>32</sup> Two were the novelties in the realm of Slavophone Arabographia datable to the second half of the nineteenth century. One was its application in the print industry. The other was the idea that the Slavic written in the Arabic script could become an identifying marker of a nation. In the nineteenth century, printing came to the region in a novel way as a tool of “enlightenment” and propaganda. Obviously inspired by print and modernization of education, after ca. 1850, some members of the Slavic Muslim community started entertaining the possibility of standardizing the Arabic script for writing in Slavic. Until then, the Arabic script was used for recording Slavic, for the lack of a better term, spontaneously. With the exception of

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>32</sup> A privately-owned manuscript produced in the 1840s in the Bosnian town of Gradačac, can be cited as an illustration. The compilation contained short, prose and poetic texts in Arabic, Turkish and Bosnian. In some cases, the owner attributes the texts to an author, but many are recorded without a note about the source. The Bosnian compositions are verses and short poems which were obviously functioning within the realm of oral, everyday communication. The contents of this collection have been described in Alija Nametak, “Novi prilog Bosanskoj alhamijado književnosti” [A new contribution to Bosnian Aljamiado literature], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 12-13 (1962): 237-247.



the fifteenth century project described in *Chapter I*, there is no proof that the adjustments were ever done in line with an identifiable program.

The first significant efforts towards standardization of the use of the Arabic script for recording Slavic were made by Omer Humo (1808-1880). Humo's broader interest was the reform of education—he was an advocate for introducing Bosnian vernacular into beginner-level religious education of Muslims, previously conducted in Turkish and Arabic, as well as a pioneer in active promotion of the adjusted Arabic script as a national script of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims living under Ottoman and Habsburg rule.<sup>33</sup> This *mu'allim* (elementary school teacher)-and-*müderriis* (high-school teacher) applied his orthographic solutions in the first book printed in Bosnia by the use of Arabic script.<sup>34</sup> The book was published in Sarajevo, in 1875. It was printed in the printing house which had been moved in 1866 from Ottoman Zemun (in Serbia) to Sarajevo. This was done on the initiative of Topal 'Osmān Pasha, the then governor of Bosnia, in cooperation with *Tanzīmāt* reformers from Istanbul. They sponsored the transfer of equipment and helped the owner supply his new shop with fonts in Arabic, Church Slavic, Hebrew, and reformed Cyrillic.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Muhamed Huković, "Napori za uvodjenje narodnog jezika u pocetne vjerske škole Muslimana" [Efforts towards introducing the people's/national/vernacular language into beginner religious schools of Muslims], *Anali GHB* 17-18 (1996): 241-251, 243.

<sup>34</sup> This is not the first book ever printed in Slavic by the use of Arabic script. The first was a handbook in Islamic religious education titled "Ovo je od virovanja na bosanski jezik *kitab*" [This is the Book about Faith in Bosnian Language]. The text was printed in two litograph editions in Istanbul, whereby the second edition appeared in 1868. Some scholars mention certain Mehmed Zaim Agić from Bosanski Brod as the author of the text, but later, a suggestion was made that Agić was just a contributor/sponsor of the edition, while the author was a certain Muṣṭafā Rakim. Overall, the circumstances around this edition are rather unclear. Muhamed Huković, *Alhamijado književnost i njeni stvaraoci* [Aljamiado literature and its creators] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1986), 243; Srđan Janković, "Ko je autor prvog našeg štampanog alhamijado teksta?" [Who was the author of our first printed *aljamiado* text?], *Književni jezik* 17/4 (1988): 193-198.

<sup>35</sup> Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia?*, 166. Hajdarpašić provides an excellent account of the rationale behind the *Tanzimat* reformers' promotion of multilingualism and the use of local vernaculars in print industry.

A few years after its foundation, the printing shop first used the Arabic font to publish a bilingual newsletter (in Slavic printed in Cyrillic, and in Turkish printed with Arabic font).<sup>36</sup>

Omer Humo's book printed in Sarajevo in 1875 was titled *Sehletu'l Vusūl* (An Easy Way of the "Arrival"(at knowledge)). Previously, the same book was printed in Istanbul, in 1865. It has also been preserved in a manuscript form. Whether the two printed editions were different or identical, it cannot be said based on the existing literature. The 1875 rendition of *Sehletu'l Vusūl* was imagined as a handbook to be used in religious education at the beginners' level. The central text of the book belonged to the traditional genre of *'ilmihāl* (catechism).<sup>37</sup> Aside from the *'ilmihāl*, *Sehletu'l Vusūl* contained three poetic texts also composed by Humo. These were: *Dobar poso ti počimji bismilom* (You should start a good work with a "bismillāh), *Stihovi zahvale na bosanskom jeziku* (The Verses of Gratitude in Bosnian Language), and *Dova na bosanskom jeziku* (A prayer in Bosnian Language). Some often quoted verses from the second poem contain the praise of "the grandmother's language" as being the "easiest" for a Bosnian. It is also from the introduction to this book, that we learn that one of the reasons why Omer Humo attempted regulating the use of the Arabic script for Slavic language is that he thought that Muslims should write "the way Quran was written." In addition to the texts published in *Sehletu'l Vusūl*, Humo also wrote a treatise on *tecvid* (the rules for correct reading of the Quran), a Bosnian dictionary, and two works on Arabic

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<sup>36</sup> This was *Sarajevski Cvjetnik/Gülşen-i Sarāy* published between 1868 and 1872. Todor Kruševac, *Bosansko Hercegovački listovi u 19 veku* [Bosnian and Herzegovinian Newspapers of the Nineteenth century] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1978), 50-62.

<sup>37</sup> On the genre of *'ilmihāl* in the early modern period, see Hatice K. Arpağuş, *Osmanlı ve geleneksel İslam* [Ottomans and the Traditional Islam] (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı yayınları, 2014), 13-113; Derin Terzioğlu, "Where *'İlm-i Hāl* meets Catechism: Islamic Manuals of Religious Instruction in the Ottoman Empire in the Age of Confessionalization," *Past & Present* 220/1 (2013): 79-114; Krstić, "From Shahāda to 'Aqīda," 299 and *passim*.

syntax.<sup>38</sup> His orthographic solutions applied in the printed edition of his *‘ilmihāl* and the accompanying texts, did not find a fertile soil in his time since they were too complicated to enable easy reading.<sup>39</sup>

Several other attempts at printing effective pedagogical handbooks in Slavic by the use of Arabic font ensued. Illustrative examples are language instruction books for learning Turkish, Arabic and Slavic each of which contained different suggestions.<sup>40</sup> The last, the most elaborate and the most successful attempt at adjusting Arabic alphabet to Slavic phonological system was conducted by Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević (1870-1938) who used reformed Cyrillic as a model.<sup>41</sup> This reform significantly prolonged the career of Arabic script in South-Slavia, but now mainly in the printed form. The center of publication activities was Sarajevo, where some 50 titles were put into circulation (mainly in the field of religious education and language learning). The

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<sup>38</sup> A critical edition of *Sehletu'l Vusūl* has been published in Alen Kalajdzija and Munir Drkić eds., *Omer Hazim Humo: Grafija i leksika Sehletul-vusula* (Mostar: Muzej Hercegovine Mostar, 2010). I did not have this publication at my disposal. The information about Omer Humo and his work can be found in many publications. Here I used Alen Kalajdzija, "Tri rukopisna arebička ilmihala na bosanskom jeziku u XIX st." [The Three Manuscript *‘ilmihāls* in Bosnian Language from the Nineteenth Century Written in the Arabic Script], in *Islam i muzulmanie w kulturze, literaturze i językach Słowian Południowych*, ed. Anetta Buras-Marciniak (Łódz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2016), 255-264: 260-262; The transliteration of the mentioned poems can be found in Abdurahman Nametak, *Hrestomatija bosanske alhamijado književnosti* [The Chrestomathy of Bosnian Aljamiado Literature] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1981), 226-247.

<sup>39</sup> Teufik Muftić, "O arebici i njenom pravopisu" [On *Arabica* and its Orthography], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 14-15 (1964-65):110-121, 113; Srđan Janković, "Ortografsko usavršavanje naše arabice u štampanim tekstovima" [Orthographic Improvements of Our *Arabica* in the Printed Texts], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 38 (1988): 9-40.

<sup>40</sup> Ibrahim Edhem Berbić's *Bosanska Elifnica* (Bosnian Primer;1886, lithographed in Constantinople) and *Bosansko-turski učitelj* (Bosnian-Turkish Teacher, printed in Constantinople, 1893) can be quoted as examples. See, Mevlida Karadža-Garić and Hanka Glibanović-Vajzović, "O Gramatičkoj terminologiji u djelu *Bosanski-Turski učitelj* Ibrahima Berbića" [On Grammatical Terminology in the work *Bosnian-Turkish Teacher* by Ibrahim Berbić], *Književni Jezik* 14/1 (1985): 40-50; Fuad A. Bačićanin, "Preplitanje kultura na tlu Srbije u Osmansko doba na primeru *alhamijado* literature" [The Intersection of cultures on the ground of Serbia in the Ottoman period: the example of *aljamiado* literature] (PhD Thesis, Filološki Fakultet Beogradskog Univerziteta, 2016), 59 and *passim*. Jusuf Remzija Stovro wrote a work focused on Arabic grammar which contained translations to Slavic recorded in the Arabic script adjusted by Stovro to the Slavic phonology. The work titled *Šarf u Nahv u Inšā'nin bir küçük Bosnevī Tercemesi* (A Small Bosnian Translation of Morphology, Syntax and Style) was not printed, but has been preserved in manuscript form. Janković, "Ortografsko usavršavanje," 27-28.

<sup>41</sup> Muftić, "O arebici," 114-119.

last books in Slavic printed in Arabic font were published in the early 1940s. One of them was Muhamed Seid Serdarević's *Fikhu'l 'Ībādāt* (1941), mentioned in literature as the first book in Islamic jurisprudence ever written in Slavic.<sup>42</sup> The first Slavophone Arabographic newspaper was *Ṭārīk* (1908-1911) edited by Džemaludin Čaušević.<sup>43</sup> According to İsmail Eren, for example, this and similar newspapers were printed for Bosnians who learned Turkish in schools, and were not familiar with the Cyrillic script. The newspapers published various kinds of texts in Arabic and Turkish, as well as translations to Slavic.<sup>44</sup>

Translation activities involving Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Slavic remain a rather poorly researched topic. Printed Slavophone Arabographia of the nineteenth century would probably offer itself as significant research material. Modern scholarly literature suggests that the *aljamiado* texts produced by translation started appearing in the early nineteenth century, i.e. before the printing industry started to flourish and before any systematic attempts at adjusting Arabic script for Slavic were made.<sup>45</sup> A text dated by a scribe to 1810 has been quoted as the earliest known example of this kind of texts. The title provided in the manuscript (today privately owned) was *Haza Şuhūfu Birgivī bi-lisāni Bosnevī* (lit. These are the Pages of *Birgivi* in Bosnian Language). The scholars who studied this text and similar examples from other manuscripts concluded that this was a translation of *Vaşiyyet-nāme*, a work which deals with the basic postulates of religious doctrine and practice. *Vaşiyyet-nāme* composed by Muḥammad Birgivī (1522-1573) was among the most

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<sup>42</sup> The book was first printed in Arabic font, in 1918, with the help of Džemaludin Čaušević. After 1941, it was published in Latin script. It preserved its utility till today. See, Muhamed Seid Serdarević, *Fikh-ul Ibadat: Propisi of Osnovnim Islamskim Dužnostima* (Sarajevo: Vrhovno islamsko starješinstvo u SFRJ, 1968), 8.

<sup>43</sup> Other newspapers were *Mu'allim* (1910-1913), *Miṣbāḥ* (1912-1913), and *Yeni Şabāḥ* (1914). Nametak, *Hrestomatija*, 40; Huković, *Alhamijado književnost*, 19-20.

<sup>44</sup> İsmail Eren, "Turska Štampa u Jugoslaviji (1866-1966)" [The Turkish Print in Yugoslavia (1866-1966)], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 14-15 (1964-65): 359-395, 362 and *passim*.

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of translation activities within the realm of Slavophone Arabographia, see *Chapter IV*.

popular texts of Ottoman Arabographia within its genre. Scholars also note that this translation of Birgivī's *Vaṣīyyet-nāme* was printed in the early twentieth century. They also suggest that the goal of the anonymous translator was to replace this popular *'ilmihāl* in Turkish with a tool for teaching the basics of faith in "people's/Bosnian language."<sup>46</sup> Whether the idea of "replacement" materialized itself through further translations of numerous other early modern Turkish texts belonging to the genre and preserved in public and private libraries cannot be said based on the literature I was able to consult. What we do know is that around the turn of the nineteenth century an original *'ilmihāl* was composed by 'Abdülvehhāb İlḥāmī (sl. Abdulvehab Žepčevića Ilhamija, 1773–1821).<sup>47</sup> Slavophone Arabographic versions of this text have been preserved in four manuscript copies. The dated ones are from 1831, 1837, and 1845.<sup>48</sup>

Two books published by Mehmed Beg Kapetanović Ljubušak (1839-1902) can be cited to illustrate another way in which Bosnian Muslim intellectuals re-conceptualized their attitude towards the Arabographic textual corpus after the Austrian-Hungarian occupation, on the one

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<sup>46</sup> Kalajdžija, "Tri rukopisna arebička ilmihala," 256-259.

<sup>47</sup> 'Abdülvehhāb İlḥāmī was a Bosnian poet, theologian, and a member of Naqshbandi sufi order. He was born in the small town of Žepče in central Bosnia. Having received his education in a medrese in Fojnica, he acted as *imām* and *ḥaṭīb* in the main mosque of Žepče. His written legacy consists of the texts written in Arabic, Turkish and Slavic. In Arabic he wrote "a few short works on religious topics written in prose and four poems (*qaṣīdas*) found at the beginning of his *dīvān*." Besides the *'ilmihāl*, his Slavic compositions include some twenty four religious and mystical poems, in words of Alexandre Popović: "*qaṣīdas*; *ilāhīs*; didactic poems; mystical meditations; and reflections on the human soul, the supreme being, spiritual life, and life in general; as well as criticism of, among other things, contemporary society, the ruling class and Ottoman authorities in Bosnia, the '*ulāma*' and *pāshās*, and false mystics." His compositions in Turkish are most numerous. In prose he wrote "a *risāla* (treatise) on religion and morality (e.g., goals and usefulness of prayer, piety, good conduct) entitled *Tuhfat al-muṣallīn wa-zubdat al-khāshi'īn* (The gift to those who offer prayer and the meekness of the humble)." In verse he wrote 84 religious and didactic poems in which he elaborated the same themes like in his Slavic poems. He was executed by the governor of Bosnia, for the reasons that remain unclear. Alexandre Popović, "'Abd al-Wahhāb İlḥāmī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, consulted online on 19 March 2021.

<sup>48</sup> For the information on manuscript copies and a transliterated version of the *'ilmihāl*, see Elvir Duranović, "Alhamijado *'ilmihāl* Abdulvehhaba Ilhamija Žepčaka," *Anali GHB* 38 (2017): 263-300.

hand, and the way they viewed and treated the Slavophone Arabographic texts, on the other.<sup>49</sup> In 1887, Ljubušak published *Narodno Blago* (sl./The National Treasure) printed in the Latin script. Next year, the same book was published in the reformed Cyrillic script.<sup>50</sup> In 1896, the first volume of his *Istočno Blago/Cevāhiru Şarķiyyu* (sl.tr/The Eastern Treasure) appeared. It was printed by the use of the Latin and Arabic fonts, the latter being used for the quotations from Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. The second volume of *Istočno Blago* appeared in 1897.<sup>51</sup> Aside from orally circulating forms, both books contain Slavic versions/translations of proverbs, adages, anecdotes, short stories, riddles, and verses originally recorded in Arabographic manuscripts from which Ljubušak apparently culled them. Ljubušak's books do not even pretend to be critical editions. The author describes his endeavor as "collecting" of the "national and eastern treasures" freely juxtaposing the texts preserved in manuscripts for centuries and recently transcribed versions of texts circulating orally. It is probably for this reason that he does not find it necessary to say anything about the manuscripts he claimed to have used except that they were "naši razni turski ćitabi to jest knjige" (sl./our various Turkish *ćitabs*, i.e. books") and that they were "old and recent." As for the authors of the books he used, in *Istočno Blago*, Ljubušak divides them in three groups, based on language:

These and this kind of books were written by our Muslim philosophers, such as Arabic writer: *Gazali, Firuzi Abadi, Farabi, Fahri Razi, Zimahşeri, Ahmedi Mejdani, Ibni Ćemal, Ibni Dževzi, Gjurđžani* and *Ibni Ruzd*; of the Osmanlis: *Merhum Dželenbevi, Ahmedi Midhat, Ŗinasi, Ćatib Ćelebi*, and as of late, *Zija paša, Ćemal beg, Muallimi Nadži i Ebu Zija*; of the Persian writers: *Hazreti Mevlana, Ŗejhi Sadi, Vasif, Ŗejhi Attar* and *Abdurahmani Džami*.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Ljubušak, among other, acted as the second mayor of Sarajevo during the Austria-Hungarian occupation. He was in office between 1893 and 1899.

<sup>50</sup> The Cyrillic edition is Mehmed-Beg Kapetanović Ljubušak, *Narodno Blago* (Sarajevo: Špindler i Lešner, 1888).

<sup>51</sup> Mehmed-Beg Kapetanović Ljubušak, *Istočno blago*, 2 vols. (Sarajevo: Spindler i Löschner, 1896-1897).

<sup>52</sup> Ljubušak, *Istočno blago*, vol.1, iv.

That Bosnian Muslims' textual heritage was multilingual is obvious from Ljubušak's books. Nevertheless, the mentioned authors, living in the period from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries and having a wide variety of specific careers are all described as 'Muslim philosophers.' Ljubušak's bricolage also included the Slavophone Arabographic texts he was familiar with. In *Narodno Blago*, he printed the texts of two poems in Slavic which belong to the corpus of *Bosnian aljamiado literature*. The title of the first poem is *Avdija*. According to Ljubušak, the poem was written in 1866 by "Jusuf-Beg Čengiđ called Pašić from Foča." The poem addresses and advises Jusuf-Beg's nephew by the name Avdi, hence the title. Ljubušak notes that (by the time *Narodno Blago* was published) the poem achieved such popularity in Bosnia and Herzegovina that it was recited by people almost like a prayer. This poem contains verses in which the poet identifies himself.<sup>53</sup> The second poem was *Duvanjski Arzuhal* (A Petition from Duvno) which was, according to Ljubušak sent out (in 1806) by "some *aga*" from Duvno to Bosnian government in Travnik, and in which the *aga* asks to be transferred, together with the troops he commanded, to some other place.<sup>54</sup> The second book of *Istočno Blago* contains an *Appendix* titled *O bogatstvu našeg jezika* (About the richness of our language). The first part of the *Appendix* contains ten lists of "names and expressions" for one and the same thing (like "the eyesight and the look," eyes, writing, sounds, names for horses, cows, oxen etc.). Ljubušak informs that he was inspired to compile these lists while he was translating Arabic texts, i.e. while thinking about synonymy in this language. The second part of the *Appendix* is titled *O našim pjesnicima i književnicima* (On our poets and literati). Ljubušak introduces this part in the following way:

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<sup>53</sup> Ljubušak, *Narodno Blago*, 309-315.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 317-325. Later researchers dated this poem to the early eighteenth century (i.e. to the period between 1723 and 1728), and attributed it to certain Mehmed Aga of Prusac. No extant version of this poem is the same, and the poem does not contain self-identification by the composer. Nametak, *Hrestomatija*, 13-14.

As it is known, almost all heroic folk poems of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which have been sung with *gusle* [a traditional, single-stringed instrument] to this day, originated only from our Muhammedan element. There were also, in our homeland, a few dervishes, who versified their thoughts in our Bosnian language. Our people call those poems of theirs “*ilahije* and *kaside*.” That kind of poems are mainly of religious content, though some of them contain some sort of prophecy, or some advice and counsel for the people. All of this was arranged in various verses in our language, but by (the use of) the Arabic script. It goes without saying that, in those poems, a lot of Turkish words was mixed in.

These poems are worth recording as cultural-historical monuments from the period in which not much was written about the inner life of the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is interesting that those dervishes, despite the fact that they were educated in a foreign language, did not give up their mother-tongue—it was still so dear to them, (so much so) that they enjoyed adorning their thoughts in that language and writing down the advice to their co-religionists. They wrote in Arabic letters, for they did not know any other way.<sup>55</sup>

After this, Ljubušak singles out Ilhāmī as “the most famous among those dervishes,” and notes that, before him there was “a renowned shaykh and dervish *Kaimija*” (Hasan Kā’imī, d. 1691). “The first” among the reknowned Bosnian dervishes and shaykhs, however, was *Gaibija* (Muṣṭafā Ġāibī, second half of the seventeenth century),<sup>56</sup> and “the last” was shaykh *Sjekirica* (‘Abdurrahmān Sīrī, 1785–1847).<sup>57</sup> Ljubušak then mentions Omer Humo and Jusuf-Beg Čengić

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<sup>55</sup> Ljubušak, *Istočno blago*, vol. 2, 216-217.

<sup>56</sup> Muṣṭafā Ġāibī, a rather interesting, colourful and influential figure in his time is not known to have composed texts in Slavic.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 217. Sīrī was a Naqshbandi shaykh who was born in Fojnica and who received his medrese education in that town. Just like Ilhāmī, Sīrī is thought to have been a disciple of Hüseyin Bābā Zukić (d. ca. 1798-1800). Zukić was the founder of a Naqshbandi *tekke* (sufi lodge) in the village of Živčići-Vukelići, near Fojnica. Sīrī founded his own lodge in the village of Oglavak, also close to Fojnica. For a summary of what is known about Sīrī, see Alexandre Popović, “‘Abd al-Rahmān Sīrī”, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, consulted online on 18 March 2021. Of Sīrī’s oeuvre Popović, in the same place, writes “Sīrī (...) left behind a large number of *ilāhī* mystical poems in Turkish and Bosnian (written in Arabic characters, that is, in *alhamijado*, as this practice is known (...)). The *ilāhī* (“divine”) poetic genre in Turkish are mystical poems in popular metres meant to be sung at Şūfī gatherings. Sīrī’s Turkish *ilāhīs* are the fruit of his religious and mystical meditations, indeed of his doubts and most intimate thoughts, notably in his struggle against the impulses (carnal and other) and tendencies of the world in general. By contrast, those written in the Bosnian language bear a greater resemblance to didactic and moralising poems (advice, prayers, and such) intended for the education of his dervishes, through which Sīrī sought to develop their perceptions and their ethical qualities in accordance with the rules and teachings of the Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa*. In these *ilāhī* he also drew attention to the commandments and prohibitions codified in the Qur’ān and the Sharī’a, while insisting on the models and virtues of religious life. The *ilāhī* in Bosnian were meant to be sung in unison during the gatherings of the dervishes. They are also interspersed with words and expressions borrowed from Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, the meaning of which is explained in Bosnian.”



as those who also “sang those devotional songs.” In passing, Ljubušak mentions Bosniaks, the great “teachers” (sl. *hodžas*) who wrote a lot of books in Turkish, as well as the fact that numerous Ottoman grand viziers and militarymen were “the sons of our dear homeland.”<sup>58</sup> In continuation, Ljubušak offers the texts of nine poems composed by “Bosnian dervishes.”<sup>59</sup> There is no indication in any of the two books that Mehmed Beg was acquainted with the previous evaluations of the Slavophone Arabographic part of Bosnian textual heritage. In about the same year when Ljubušak published his *Narodno Blago* (1888), Kosta Hörmann, a Habsburg official in Bosnia, published a collection of epic folk poems gathered through fieldwork. These poems were “characterized as specifically Muslim,” and titled *Narodne pjesme Muhamedovaca u Bosni i Hercegovini* (The Folk Poems of Muhammedans in Bosnia and Herzegovina).<sup>60</sup>

This digression was made here with the goal of showing how the nineteenth-century Slavophone/Bosnian Muslims used Slavic for writing in the Arabic script, as well as the ways in

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<sup>58</sup> Ljubušak, *Istočno blago*, vol.2, 218.

<sup>59</sup> As was a common custom in Ottoman Arabographic tradition, none of the poets mentioned supplied their Slavic poems with titles. A lot of confusion in modern scholarship stems from the non-uniform, short-hand descriptions of the texts treated as if they were “titles” of the poems. It has turned out that the best way to cite individual poems is by providing the first line of the text. Ljubušak, for example, supplied the texts with titles mainly by mentioning the author and the genre. Note that he did not include all the “dervishes” he mentioned. Also, Muṣṭafā Ġāibī is not known to have composed any text in Slavic. These are the nine texts Ljubušak included in his *Appendix* (the first lines, in parentheses, are added by myself): *Ilhamijina kasida* [Ilhami’s *kaṣīde*: *Šta god radiš, pravo radi družē* (Whatever you do, do it right, my friend)]; *Derviški Savjet od Omer Efendije Hume iz Mostara* [The dervish advice from Omer Efendi Humo from Mostar: *Dobar poso ti počimaj bismilom* (You should start a good work with a “bismillāh”)]; *Kasida Kaimijina* [Kaimi’s *kaṣīde*: *Ti besposlen nemoj hodat* (Do not walk around without work)]; *Šejh SIRRINA Ilahija* [Shaykh SIRRī’s *ilāhī*: *Ako hoćeš derviš bit* (If you want to be a dervish)]; *Ilhamijina Ilahija* [Ilhāmī’s *ilāhī*: *Dervišluk je čudan rahat* (Being a dervish means being in a strange (kind of ) peace)]; *Šejh SIRRINA Ilahija* [Shaykh SIRRī’s *ilāhī*: *U pamet se ti obuj, dost, dost* (Come to your senses, oh, friend, oh, friend)]; *Šejh SIRRINA Ilahija* [Shaykh SIRRī’s *ilāhī*: *O, dervišu, otvor oči* (Oh, dervish, open you eyes)]; *Ilahija (nepoznata derviša)* [*Ilaḥī* by an unknown dervish: *Zalim nefsu maha ne daj* (Do not allow your evil (carnal) nature overwhelm you)]; *Ilhamijine čudnovate riječi* [Ilhāmī’s Odd Words: *Ja upitah svog Jasina* (I have asked my *Ya-Sīn*; *Yā-Sīn* is the 36<sup>th</sup> sūrah of the Quran. The name of the sūrah formally consists of the names of the two letters which can be interpreted as having mystical meanings)], Ljubušak, *Istočno blago*, vol. 2. 219-238.

<sup>60</sup> Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia?*, 180. In the same place, Hajdarpašić notes that Hörmann “was eager to situate his—that is, Muslim—collection alongside the work of such South Slavic national luminaries as Vuk Karadžić, noting that they also praised Muslim folklore but never properly collected it.”

which they, if sporadically, interpreted the early modern Slavophone Arabographic texts. On the one hand, the modes of employment of Slavophone Arabographia in the nineteenth century can be considered to have been marks of (dis)continuities from the early modern period. These (dis)continuities represent a separate theme which is only partially addressed in this thesis. On the other hand, the ways in which early modern Slavophone Arabographic texts were interpreted in the Muslim intellectual circles were mirroring the pressures of the contemporaneous realities rather than representing a more profound engagement with the actual context in which the texts were composed. This digression was therefore made to strengthen one of the initial premises of this thesis, namely, that the history of Slavophone Arabographia was complex and that its more detailed periodization is yet to be established with precision.

### **III.1.3. The Review of the Modern Literature Continued**

In 1907, the Austrian-Hungarian administration seated in Sarajevo decided that Bosnian was no longer the name of an official language. The official language was to be Serbo-Croatian, a political construct dating from the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>61</sup> The move was made after almost forty years of Austro-Hungarian support for a distinct Bosnian national identity, and therefore also the Bosnian language. The administrators soon revoked the ban and allowed that Bosnian Muslims could use the glottonym Bosnian for their language, but, as Muhsin Rizvić puts it, “within their own self-managed institutions.”<sup>62</sup> Facing the appellation dilemma, some contemporary philologists who wanted to avoid the nationalist conundrum would, in a manner typical of

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<sup>61</sup> The most significant event for the promotion of the Serbo-Croatian language was the Vienna Literary Agreement of 1850, made in cooperation among Slovene, Serbian and Croatian intellectuals who discussed how diverse historical literary traditions can be unified, i.e. put in service of one standard projected as the language of the future political union of the Western South-Slavia. See, for example, Robert D. Greenberg, *Language and identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and its disintegration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 24-29.

<sup>62</sup> Muhsin Rizvić, *Bosna i Bošnjaci: Jezik i Pismo* [Bosnia and Bosniaks: Language and Script] (Sarajevo: Preporod, 1996), 60.

folkloristic and ethnographic studies, choose “Slavic” to label the languages of the texts they investigated or collected. Vladimir Ćorović and Sejfudin Kemura, who in 1912 published what would remain the largest printed edition of Slavophone Arabographic texts for the next seventy years, opted for Serbo-Croatian. The title of their collection of Slavophone Arabographic texts, in English translation, was: *The Serbo-Croatian Poems of the Bosnian Muslims from the Seventeenth, the Eighteenth, and the Nineteenth Centuries*. In this book Ćorović and Kemura published 32 poems composed by 12 authors, some known by name, some anonymous. The way in which these texts were edited for the publication rendered it useless from the perspective of historical linguistics since Ćorović and Kemura imposed Čaušević’s orthographic rules on all texts they found in the manuscripts.<sup>63</sup> Despite numerous misattributions and factual mistakes, the historical value of this publication lies in the fact that it brought to light some unknown poems and authors. In this way it drew attention to the fact that these texts were much more numerous than previously thought.

In 1912, the same year when Ćorović and Kemura published their anthology, another academic precedent was set by Safvet-Beg Bašagić’s work titled *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u Islamskoj Literaturi* (Bosniaks and Herzegovinians in the Islamic literature).<sup>64</sup> This was the first academic work published in Central South-Slavia which dealt with Slavs who wrote, now, in Arabic, Persian and Turkish during the period of the Ottoman rule. Bašagić’s book, founded on the principle of detecting people of Slavic origin in the Ottoman sources, most notably in the biographical dictionaries, was the first building block of what will later become the academic field of the

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<sup>63</sup> This was noted and emphasized in Werner Lehfeldt, *Das Serbokroatische Aljamiado-Schrifttum Der Bosnisch-Hercegovinischen Muslime* (München: Rudolf Trofenik, 1969), 29.

<sup>64</sup> This was in fact a doctoral dissertation defended at University of Vienna, in 1910. Safvet Beg Bašagić, “Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u Islamskoj Literaturi” [Bosniaks and Herzegovinians in the Islamic Literature], *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja* 24 (1912): 1-88; 295-390.

“Oriental studies” practiced in various incarnations of the states founded by the western South-Slavs.<sup>65</sup> Ever since it was published, Bašagić’s book has been used by the scholars as both a source of information and an object of study.<sup>66</sup> Bašagić’s work is significant to mention here for its holistic approach—he treats Arabic, Persian and Turkish as languages of the Islamic culture, and evaluates contributions by people of Slavic origin from this point of view. Bašagić was not particularly interested in Slavophone Arabographic texts. When he writes about Hasan Ẓā’imī he pauses to comment on his Turkish, noting, in a footnote, that Ẓā’imī’s Turkish contains words which “are not used in Turkish literary language.” As such, he maintains in a footnote, it represents a good candidate for what Evliyā Çelebī called *Boşnāk lehçesi* i.e. “Bosnian jargon.” In passing, Bašagić, writes that “there are poems in Croatian which have been attributed to Ẓā’imī baba.”<sup>67</sup> When Bašagić chose “Croatian” as a label for Ẓā’imī’s Slavic he was apparently hinting that Ẓā’imī was a Bosnian of Croatian origin. Few years later, in 1916, Bašagić published a catalogue-style description of the manuscripts from his private library today preserved in Bratislava. Detailing the contents of the manuscript he titled *Mecmū’atu’l-Ilāhiyyāt* (A Collection of the *Ilāhīs*), Bašagić informs that this collection contains “Several Croatian poems by Ilḥāmī, if one may call them that way (...) for they contain so many Turkish words, that they cannot be understood even by a Bosnian Muslim who does not know some Turkish.” In continuation, we can

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<sup>65</sup> Similar method, though with much broader range of sources, was applied in a voluminous, though unfinished work by Hazim Šabanović. Šabanović’s manuscript was edited for publication after his death by Ahmet Aličić. The book still has the status of the main reference work in the field. See, Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH*.

<sup>66</sup> See, for example, Muhsin Rizvić, “Ćehajićeva studija o Bašagićevoj disertaciji” [Ćehajić’s essay on Bašagić’s dissertation], *Anali GHB* 17-18 (1996): 385-387.

<sup>67</sup> Bašagić, “Bošnjaci i Hercegovci,” 304. Bašagić then quotes five stanzas from a long poem Ẓā’imī wrote about the conquest of Candia. See below for more on Ẓā’imī and this poem.

read that the manuscript contains “a longer poem by Ẓā’imī” and find an eight verses long quotation from this poem.<sup>68</sup>

For the purpose of this review, Bašagić’s pioneering work is also important as the only reference to a Slavophone work on the subject in the article which inaugurated the second phase of the development of the modern studies of Slavophone Arabographic texts. The article was published by Fehim Bajraktarević, in 1928. It is in this article that Bajraktarević connected, by formal analogy, the practice of writing Slavic by the use of the Arabic script with writing Romance languages in the Arabic script. The article starts with two paragraphs worth quoting for two main reasons. For one, these paragraphs can serve a reminder that modern studies of Iberian *aljamiado* advanced immensely since 1928, while Bajraktarević’s laconic comparison has never been seriously engaged with after that year except for a steady interest in identifying a growing number of samples. Second, Bajraktarević’s evaluation of the corpus brought forth a somewhat different nuance when compared with Novaković’s writing, a nuance which contributed to an increase in academic interest for Slavophone Arabographic texts. As will be seen later, this evaluation, “backed up” by a series of ahistorical and incongruent statements and generalizations, remained mostly intact to this day. Thus wrote Bajraktarević:

It is a well-known fact that with the majority of people (sl. *kod većine naroda*), the faith played a very important, and sometimes the main role upon selection of script. Having become followers of one same faith, the completely different peoples unrelated to one another (sl. *posve različni i daleki narodi*), adopted one same script, while some parts of the same people[sic!], although they adhere to different faiths, adopted different alphabets. Particularly strong influence in this sense was exerted by Islam: Arabs, Persians, Turks, Berbers and Malay people, despite their historical, geographic, ethnographic, linguistic and other differences, have all been using the same Arabic letters, since they became the followers of the same religion. Moreover, the Moors of Spain, who stopped speaking Arabic and started composing Spanish treatises and poems, wrote them by the use of the Arabic letters; the extant literary monuments of this kind are many and the Spanish designate them with a special term *aljamia* or *aljamiado* (e.g. *textos aljamiados*) based on

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<sup>68</sup> Safvet Beg Bašagić, “Popis orijentalnih rukopisa moje biblioteke” [The Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts from my Library], *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja* 28 (1916): 207-290, 266.

the Arabic word *al-‘aġamīja* which means “non-Arabic, barbarian,” or in general, “foreign, strange,” especially “Persian.”

Like these Spanish Moors, some Muslims from our regions used our language, but wrote it by the use of the Arabic letters. Of course, the most talented among them and the most learned continued their literary and academic work in Oriental languages (Arabic, Turkish, and Persian), in which they were educated, and gained a fine reputation as poets and academics.<sup>69</sup> It seems however that the number of our fellow countrymen who wrote in Serbian by the use of the Arabic alphabet, were much smaller in number, and, what is important to emphasize, they had much less talent. Because of this and various other reasons, this Muslim-Slavic literacy (sl. *pismenost*) has remained rather poorly known.<sup>70</sup>

Unlike Bašagić, Bajraktarević apparently thought that the language of “some Muslims from our region” was Serbian. An yet, very much in correspondence with both Bašagić and Novaković, Bajraktarević, divides Muslim Slavs into more and less talented—the former wrote in “the three languages” to produce “literature and academic work” thus contributing to Oriental and Islamic culture, while the latter practiced some sort of literacy designated as “Muslim-Slavic.” One is tempted to conclude that Bajraktarević made some analytical point by designating the practice of writing Slavic in the Arabic script as a form of literacy. Right below, however, we see that this was more of an accident than an announcement of a deeper discussion, for Bajraktarević continues by describing the Slavophone Arabographic corpus (i.e. the part of it he was familiar with) as “our literature in Arabic alphabet,” “our Serbian-Arabic products,” “this Muslim literature in our language” and alike.

Before dividing “Muslim Slavic” literati into the more and the less talented, Bajraktarević had introduced the idea that the ways in which “the Moors of Spain” used the Arabic script to produce their texts are comparable to those of “the Muslim Slavs.” The comparison can be argued against in many ways. One could start, for instance by replacing “the Moors of Spain” with

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<sup>69</sup> It is here that Bajraktarević refers to Bašagić.

<sup>70</sup> Fehim Bajraktarević, “Srpska Pisma of Muhamedovu Rodjenju” [Serbian Poem on Muhammad’s Birth], *Glasnik Skopskog Naučnog Društva* 3 (1928): 189-202.

“Muslim Slavs” in Bajraktarević’s writing, and thus get the following sentence, which makes no sense whatsoever: “(the Muslim Slavs) who stopped speaking (language/s?) and started composing (Slavic) treatises and poems, wrote them by the use of the Arabic letters.” Bajraktarević, however, quickly moves to say that: “this Muslim literature” namely the Slavic one, was much smaller in volume, less interesting in terms of contents and of much smaller poetic value than that based on Spanish and Portuguese. In this way he distracts the reader who could possibly remember the following specificities of the Iberian context: Arabic (as the language of religion, science, administration and everyday transactions) was spoken and written in Iberia during the centuries-long existence of polities ruled by Muslims. Many Muslims of Iberia probably knew some Spanish as well, and some Christians knew Arabic.<sup>71</sup> The process in which Muslim rulers of Iberia were gradually replaced by Christian ones peaked around the mid-fourteenth century, but was not completed until 1492 when Granada became the capital of a Catholic kingdom. As the process of the “re-conquest” of Iberia by Christian rulers was entering its final phases, Iberian Muslims (then called Moriscos) were more and more seen by the Christian administrators as a “distinct and problematic minority.” The minority status of Moriscos became most problematic in the sixteenth century when Christian rulers reached out for the politics of forced conversion and forced assimilation which involved bans on speaking Arabic. It is at this historical junction that Arabic language and Islam became synonymous in Iberia. Some Arabic speakers living in some parts of Iberia (Valencia), more or less successfully, fought for their right to speak their language and continued to maintain the tradition of Islamic learning. They were the ones who considered Spanish (Valencian) a foreign language, “*aljamía*,” and the ones who never wrote Spanish in the

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<sup>71</sup> For a review of “language use as a social phenomenon in the period of eight centuries during which there was a Muslim state in the Iberian peninsula—that is, more exactly, the period comprising 711 C.E. to 1492 C.E. (...),” see Maria Angeles Gallego, “The Languages of Medieval Iberia and Their Religious Dimension,” *Medieval Encounters* 9/1 (2003): 108-139.

Arabic script. In some other parts ruled by Christians (Castille and Aragon), Arabic went out of the daily use much before the sixteenth century. This led the local Muslims to adopt the custom of writing in the Hispanic dialects by the use of the Arabic script. In this way Arabic script, and not the language, became the most explicit index of some Moriscos' belonging to the Islamic community. This practice of writing Spanish in Arabic script was well-established in central Spain by the mid-fifteenth century and it led to a phenomenon which has been described by scholars as "Islamization of Spanish" (that is, the Spanish used by Moriscos). The history of Islam as a significant social factor in Iberia ended with the 1609 edict of the expulsion of Moriscos. By 1614, the entire Morisco population "was herded to the Mediterranean ports and embarked for North Africa."<sup>72</sup> It needs no emphasis that, throughout the early modern period, the Muslims of South-Slavia were adherents of the state-supported religion. If they ever had the status of a "distinct and problematic minority" which implied a distinct political action, this could only be possible after the demise of the Ottoman rule in the nineteenth century.

On a positive note, Bajraktarević concludes that, despite its poor value, this (Slavic) literature is of "certain interest for us, and, for various reasons, it should not remain shrouded in silence." Without specifying "the reasons" why this "literature" could be important and for "whom" exactly, Bajraktarević goes on to analyze a nineteenth-century translation/adaptation to Slavic of *Mevlid-i Nebī* originally composed in Turkish by Süleymān Çelebi (1351-1422).<sup>73</sup> The

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<sup>72</sup> This summary is entirely based on Consuelo López-Morillas, "Language and Identity in Late Spanish Islam," *Hispanic Review* 63/2 (1995): 193-210. See also, Ottmar Hegyi, "Minority and Restricted Uses of the Arabic Alphabet: The *Aljamiado* Phenomenon," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99/2 (1979): 262-269.

<sup>73</sup> *Mevlid-i Nebī* or just *Mevlid* (sl. *Mevlud*) is the term which in the Islamic tradition designates the birthday of Prophet Muhammad. During the ceremonies of celebration the texts which are also called *mevlids* have been recited from the Fatimid era in Egypt until modern times. For the ways in which *mevlid* texts and ceremonies functioned in the broader Islamic context, in the Ottoman empire, and after its demise, see Yorgo Dedes, "Süleyman Çelebi's Mevlid: Text, Performance and Muslim-Christian Dialogue," in *Şinasi Tekin'in anısına "Uygurlardan Osmanlıya,"* ed. Günay Kut and Fatma Büyükkaracı Yılmaz (İstanbul: Simurg, 2005), 305-349.



translation is entitled *Ves̄iletü'l Necāt* (The Path to Salvation) and it was taken up by Sulejman Gašević (fl.ca. 1878). Bajraktarević's goal was to provide the critical edition of this text. Bajraktarević's interest in *Mevlid* and its Slavic adaptations will continue, and it is in a short article dedicated to this theme and published in 1930, that he used the term "our *aljamiado*-literature." Here as well he notes that this literature does not represent a singular case, but is just one in a long series of "hybrid literatures" attested in various parts of the world.<sup>74</sup> In 1937, he will talk about the nineteenth century Slavic *Mevlids* as poems of "our *aljamiado* literacy."<sup>75</sup>

It is hard to establish who were the first scholars after Bajraktarević to embrace the terms "*aljamiado*" and "*aljamiado* literature" while discussing the texts written in Slavic by the use of the Arabic script. What is sure, however, is that the interest in collecting the concrete examples remained steady as the writing of histories of national literatures and attempts at tackling the problem of Slavic Muslims' contributions to various literatures ("national," our, Serbian, Bosnian, Croatian, Arabic, Turkish, Persian) continued before and after the World War II. Labels for languages, ethnicities and confessions were and have been constantly combined and recombined to define the boundaries of nations and their respective languages and literatures. Based on the look at the titles of articles and books published in the first half of the twentieth century and dealing with Slavophone Arabographic texts, it seems that *aljamiado* as a term was, for the first time after Bajraktarević, promoted in the first volume of the monumental *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* (Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia), published in 1955. There we find an entry entitled *Arabica* (by then, the modern name adopted to designate Arabic script adjusted to Slavic; the term was not used

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<sup>74</sup> Fehim Bajraktarević, "Jedna nova verzija srpskog Mevluda" [A New Version of Serbian Mevlid], *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 10 (1930): 83-87, esp. 84.

<sup>75</sup> Fehim Bajraktarević, "O našim Mevludima i Mevludu uopšte" [On Our Mevlids and Mevlid in General], *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 17/1 (1937): 1-37, esp.1.

by the Arabographers themselves before the mid-nineteenth century) within which there is a part dedicated to *Književnost na Arabici /Alhamijado* (Literature in Arabica/*Aljamiado*).<sup>76</sup> The fifteenth century language-learning handbook analyzed in *Chapter I* is quoted as the oldest preserved text written in—*Arabica*. The article does not make it clear whether this text is to be understood as belonging to *aljamiado* literature or not. Muhamed Hadžijahić, the author of the article, also notes that “already in the seventeenth century we find among the Muslims of Bosnia (in Erdel somewhat earlier) the free-standing texts (sl. *cele tekstove*) written in *Arabica* (...).” As “the first known work of our *aljamiado* literature,” Hadžijahić mentions “a love-poem” titled *Hrvat Türküsü* (tr./Croatian Lead) composed by “Meḥmed of Erdel” who flourished ca. 1588/89.<sup>77</sup> This article also contains another sweeping, and—as I will try to show in this and the next chapter—wrong generalization which will take a deep root in the modern scholarship on *Slavic/Bosnian aljamiado literature*:

This *aljamiado* literature of ours developed independently, relying on popular literature (sl. *narodnu književnost*), and it advanced most visibly exactly in the period when the literature produced by our writers in oriental languages entered the period of decline.<sup>78</sup>

For a while after 1955, the term *aljamiado* will be used in relevant scholarly literature without an ethno-linguistic prefix. The labels with ethnic connotations can be occasionally found in the works from the 1960's, but in general, the Yugoslav philologists, at least for a while, tended to avoid profiling *aljamiado* as an ethnic phenomenon.<sup>79</sup> In the 1980's, there appeared two

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<sup>76</sup> Muhamed Hadžijahić, “Arabica,” in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije I*, ed. Miroslav Krleža et al. (Zagreb: Jugoslovenski leksikografski zavod, 1955), 144-145.

<sup>77</sup> That this Meḥmed was from Erdel was just a speculation. Of the poem and the manuscript in which it was preserved, I will talk more in *Chapter IV*.

<sup>78</sup> Hadžijahić, “Arabica,” 144.

<sup>79</sup> Note that Bajraktarević used the label Serbian for the language of *aljamiado* texts, but was not so decisive in characterising the corpus as a whole. In 1957, Smail Balić opted for “*aljamiado* literature in Bosnia.” In the article from 1965 (quoted in fn.32 of this chapter), Alija Nametak brings “a contribution to Bosnian *aljamiado* literature.”

anthologies of Slavophone Arabographic texts in which the versions transliterated to Latin script were published. The first one, prepared by Abdurahman Nametak, in 1981, was entitled *Hrestomatija bosanske alhamijado književnosti* [The Chrestomathy of Bosnian Aljamiado Literature]. The title of the second collection, prepared by Muhamed Huković, in 1986, was *Alhamijado književnost i njeni stvaraoci* [*Aljamiado* literature and its creators].<sup>80</sup> Both editors provide introductions in which they review the scholarly literature since the above quoted “first mention” by Gil’ferding. They organize the material by dividing it into poetry and prose. Huković provides a chapter dealing with typology of the genres of *aljamiado* literature, a chapter dealing with modern, printed newspapers, and a short chapter dealing with types of meters applied in *aljamiado* poetry. Although both interpreters note that the *aljamiado* texts can be considered important sources for social and cultural history, the authors of these texts, their biographies and works have been discussed only from the perspective of their contribution to the *aljamiado* literature. For my purpose, it is also important to note that, while known, not all poetic and prose texts containing instances of Slavophone Arabographia qualified to enter the two anthologies. In other words, both selections are curated to present the texts from the corpus of *aljamiado* literature which were considered most important from the aspect of their literary value.

The anthologies edited by Nametak and Huković still have the status of the definitive works on *Slavic/Bosnian aljamiado literature*, since not many new, literary texts have been “discovered” since then. Although both editors quote manuscripts from which the texts were excerpted whenever they knew about them, none of the two books can be considered critical editions of the *aljamiado* texts. The materiality of the media via which the texts circulated is not considered—the

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For the literature on Slavic/Bosnian *aljamiado* produced before 1980’s see, Nametak, *Hrestomatija*, 341-344; Huković, *Alhamijado književnost*, 317-328.

<sup>80</sup> The full references to these two books are in fn.38 and fn.34 of this chapter.

texts found in the manuscripts are treated as belonging to the same-minded literary current as those which were printed. Also, the fact that the manuscripts from which the texts were culled rarely, if ever, contained texts written in one language only, has not been considered important for the interpretation of the *aljamiado* corpus and its history. Whether early and later producers and users of *aljamiado* texts had an (equal) sense that they were contributing to or consuming the products of a distinct literature, and if so, how they expressed it, is a question which has not been asked even on a theoretical level. The history of *Slavic/Bosnian aljamiado* literature has been commonly divided by centuries. Its development has been depicted in modern scholarship as a linear process parallel to the evolution of Bosnian national consciousness expressed in the texts produced in Bosnian language.

In the twenty-first century, the *aljamiado* texts have, almost exclusively, been studied as material for the history of Bosnian language. To illustrate, one can quote a recent proposal by Alen Kalajdzija that we should differentiate between “the pre-standard-language *aljamiado* literature” and “the standard-language *aljamiado* literature,” whereby Čaušević’s reform is to be understood as a dividing line. The essence of this proposal is that the language of the pre-standard *aljamiado* literature was “more universal than the local spoken variants,” i.e. it can be treated as a literary *koine* which did not enter the process of “standardization” before the nineteenth century when it was easily integrated into a “a generally present and generally accepted linguistic *koine*, defined as new-shtokavian folk *koine*.”<sup>81</sup> In his elaboration of the cultural and historical context which “determined the character and the profile of the first attempts of literary expression of Muslim Bosniaks in their mother tongue during the Ottoman period” published in 2019, Vedad Spahić

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<sup>81</sup> Alen Kalajdzija, “Književnojezička *koine* u alhamijado stvaralaštvu” [Literary-linguistic *koine* in Aljamiado literature], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 60 (2011): 65-79. The same author published, in 2019, a book dealing with the pre-standard idiom of Bosnian *aljamiado* literature but, unfortunately, I did not have a chance to read it. The book was published in Sarajevo by the Language Institute of University of Sarajevo.

stays with the periodization of Ottoman history according to which the early seventeenth century was a period of crisis and decline which were particularly grave in the Ottoman provinces (of which only Bosnia is mentioned, in a rather common fashion). Spahić argues that *aljamiado* literature, together with the literature of Bosnian Franciscans, “introduced Bosnian native language as a literary language.”<sup>82</sup> It is in this way that he argues against the thesis which marked the twentieth century interpretations of *aljamiado* literature, the thesis according to which “the achievements of the Bosnian *Aljamiado* literature are incapacitated and inferior, particularly in comparison with the contemporary literary praxes such as oral literature [in Slavic] and poetry in Oriental languages.”<sup>83</sup>

Therefore, in principle, the modern scholarly literature frames and, more importantly, analyzes the *Bosnian aljamiado* texts as texts belonging to a standalone, in its origin, effect and consequence monolingual *literature* produced by and addressed to a standalone monolingual

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<sup>82</sup> “Aljamiado literature after the Medieval Times, and approximately at the same time (beginning of the 17th century) with the folk oriented literature of Bosnian Franciscans, *introduced Bosnian native language as a literary language*. Its emergence and development coincided with the increasing social crisis following the unsuccessful attempts to reform the military system of the Ottoman Empire into a peaceful one. As the crisis intensified, the chances of an individual to educate in elite Istanbul learning facilities proportionally decreased, particularly in the border provinces of the Empire, which essentially resulted in relying on one’s own, rather limited, educational resources,” Spahić, “Cultural and Historical Context of Bosnian Aljamiado Literature,” 44.

<sup>83</sup> Spahić then summarizes the arguments by which this assumption was supported in the scholarly literature. Spahić’s article in English from 2019 is in fact a version of an article published in Bosnian in 2010. I find the summary representative, inspiring, and therefore, worth quoting despite the fact that its English version is not the best translation from Bosnian. I will try to solve the problem by the comments in the square brackets, but with the note that Spahić perhaps wanted to make some important points by rephrasing the summary in its 2010 version. Here is the English version of the summary: “1. Poor education of people who wrote in vernacular language [sl. *na narodnom jeziku*]; their lower creative skills and unfamiliarity with the Classical Oriental literatures. 2. Lack of authentic vernacular literary tradition [sl. *nedostatak vlastite originalne tradicije na narodnom jeziku*]. 3. Lack of familiarity with the literary works of their Slavic neighbours. 4. Receptive skills [sl. *receptijske mogućnosti/receptive capacities*] of the audience [sl. *čitalačke publike/readers*] to which the Aljamiado texts were addressed. 5. A sense of moral-patriotic duty towards one’s neighbour (resulted from the feeling and thought is conveyed [i.e. prompted one to convey feelings and thoughts]) to them in a comprehensible and denotative language [sl. *osjećaj (em) moralno-patriotske dužnosti prema bližnjem da mu se razumljivim jezikom saopći osjećanje i misao koju će on razumjeti*/i.e. the Aljamiado literature is to be seen as inferior because its authors reached out for a language comprehensible to their compatriots]” See *ibid.*, 42, and Vedad Spahić, “Kulturno-povijesni kontekst bosanske alhamijado književnosti,” *Godišnjak Bošnjačke zajednice kulture: Preporod* 1 (2010): 314-317.

audience. Since Arabic script was used only by Muslims who did not study Slavic in any organized or systematic way, the scholars lead us to believe that Slavic/Bosnian was the native and the first language of all producers of *aljamiado* texts. If these Muslims possessed some knowledge of other Ottoman languages, the knowledge was poor. Since most of the known authors are known to have lived in Bosnia, they are treated as belonging to the collective called Bosnian Muslims. Some Bosnian Muslims, however, were educated, i.e. competent in Turkish, Arabic, or Persian, but the scholarship gives no clear idea about the local audience for the texts they produced. The intended audience of the *aljamiado* literature, however, were uneducated or poorly educated Bosnian Muslims who did not know any other language but spoken Slavic, especially when the Slavic of the texts is relatively “pure” of *Turkisms*. The mainstream also teaches that the Ottoman literary culture was in all times characteristic for the deep rift between the elite and the commoners, whereby only some Bosnian Muslims managed to reach the heights of the first group. As mentioned several times already, the *aljamiado* literature is held to have *emerged* around the turn of the seventeenth in response to crisis and decline in the Ottoman empire which would last until its end. The first part of an available answer to the question of why is it that this literature emerged in Bosnia and not elsewhere in South-Slavia is that the historical circumstances in Ottoman Bosnia were different from those in the rest of South-Slavia and the rest of the Ottoman Empire. The second part is that there existed a particular proto-national Bosnian Muslim identity which, among other things, manifested itself via *Bosnian aljamiado literature*. The very term *aljamiado*—proposed and embraced as an analytical category in the period when Bosnian Muslims were seen as a relatively endangered “minority” in the polities they lived in after the demise of the Ottoman empire—has not been discussed from the perspective of its (a)historicity. We also do not have any study which would compare the Bosnian and Iberian historical contexts, for example, i.e. the

historical power relations that stood in the background of the respective *aljamiado* literatures. Today, the term *Bosnian aljamiado literature* has a relatively wide currency in scholarly circles beyond the local, South-Slavic academia. It is without too much concern for the above described academic and ideological baggage that the Bosnian *aljamiado* literature has been juxtaposed to, rather than compared with the other, neighboring cases of *aljamiado* literatures (Greek, Albanian, Polish, etc.).

To avoid the pitfalls of the modern language ideologies, I proposed and tried to show in the previous two chapters, that Slavophone Arabographia was a much broader phenomenon than the concept of *the Bosnian aljamiado literature* suggests. What I had in mind while formulating the questions which will guide my own discussion of the early free-standing Slavophone Arabographic texts, is that modern interpretations of these texts tend to neglect the simple fact that their producers lived in the context of the early modern Ottoman empire, and moreover, in the period when its “classical” institutions (including the elite literature) were going through a process of transformations that can not be subsumed simply under the rubric of decline. Acknowledging this fact is seen here as one, but crucial, step away from the modern conundrum. Acknowledging the integrity and individuality of the producers and users of the Slavophone Arabographic texts is postulated as the second step in that direction.

Therefore, one of the main goals of the rest of this chapter and of the following one is to show the various ways in which Slavophone Arabographia as a mode of writing functioned within the Ottoman, i.e. the imperial multilingual regime primarily in the long seventeenth century. With this goal in mind, I will continue my discussion in a similar vein to the earlier chapters, i.e. by using the literacy event as the concept guiding the analysis. In order to better understand the formal and discursive frames of reference behind the texts selected as representative, I treat them with the

assumption that they may have belonged, in ways which are yet to be determined, to both the imperial-Ottoman and the local-Bosnian contexts. This chapter focuses on the texts produced by authors known by name, rather than those which remained anonymous. In order to establish the link between the social milieus of the known producers of the Slavophone Arabographic texts and the ways in which they employed their literacy skills, I read what is known about their biographies together with all the texts they are known to have produced. The following discussion is relevant also from the perspective of understanding the social and linguistic profiles of other participants in the respective literacy events—copyists, potential readers and listeners. But this question, which can also be formulated as the question of “survival and reception,” will be addressed more explicitly in *Chapter IV*.

### **III. 2. Yūsuf (d. after 1647)**

Everything known about the life and work of Yūsuf son of Meḥmed (d. after 1647) has been derived from the texts he himself composed. As a person who went to *hajj*, he earned the sobriquet, Ḥācī, and is known in the literature as Ḥācī Yūsuf. Yūsuf’s earliest written work was a diary of his travel to *hajj* and back. The journey commenced in 1615 and finished within one year. The diary was mainly written in Turkish. The autograph was preserved until the late nineteenth century when, according to Hazim Šabanović, the manuscript got lost.<sup>84</sup> Known is also that Ḥācī Yūsuf owned a *mecmū’a*—a collection of miscellaneous texts containing documentary notes and some of his own compositions and works. According to Muhamed Hadžijahić, who had a chance to see

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<sup>84</sup> Hazim Šabanović writes, based on the information gathered through personal contacts that the original of this manuscript was once held by a certain judge Bukvica, who gave it as a present to Adalbert von Sheck (1851-1933), lawyer and Austro-Hungarian official in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1878 till 1913. Von Sheck then had Muhamed Mujagić, also a judge, translate it for him. For the note, see Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH*, 258. On Von Sheck’s career in Bosnia and Vienna, see Zoran Grijak, “Analiza identitetskih odrednica bosanskohercegovačkog pučanstva u političkim razmatranjima Adalberta von Sheka i Moritza von Auffenberga,” in *Identitet Bosne i Hercegovine kroz historiju: Zbornik Radova I*, ed. Husnija Kamberović (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2011), 103-131: 103.



and use the manuscript in the 1930s, the *hajj* diary was actually a part of this manuscript.<sup>85</sup> The contents of this *mecmū'a*, which was in the hands of a private person in the 1930s and lost sometime after, were never studied or published in its entirety.<sup>86</sup> However, some parts of it (including Ḥācī Yūsuf's notes and poems, as well as some poetry composed by others) have been preserved in a large compilation of texts related to Bosnian history written by Muhamed Enveri Kadić (1855-1931).<sup>87</sup> Kadić also copied Ḥācī Yūsuf's description of his travel to Mecca. Thus, most of the scholarly works on Ḥācī Yūsuf's compositions have been based on Kadić's copy, and most of what can be said about him is based on the secondary sources. Fehim Spaho and, as already mentioned, Muhamed Hadžijahić had a chance to see the original *mecmū'a*, but both of their published works focus on certain parts, and not the manuscript as a whole. In 1930, Spaho described a calendar "composed for the local needs" presumably by Yūsuf himself. The calendar is dated to some six years after Yūsuf returned from the *hajj* (1032/1621-22).<sup>88</sup> Writing, in 1938,

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<sup>85</sup> Hadžijahić explicitly states that the diary was part of the *mecmū'a*. See: Herta Kuna et al., eds., *Bosanskohercegovačka Književna Hrestomatija, Knjiga I: Starija Književnost* (Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1974), 252.

<sup>86</sup> The owner of the *mecmū'a* in 1930s was Aleksandar Poljanić, a bank director and famous collector of antiquities and valuable objects. After World War II, Poljanić was accused for collaboration with the enemy. His rich collection was confiscated and scattered. Ḥācī Yūsuf's *mecmū'a*, it seems, got lost after the Poljanić affair. In 2012, Andrej Rodinis published a book in which he, through archival research, reconstructed Poljanić's collection and wrote about his life. I did not have access to this particular book. The information in this note is based on articles on Ḥācī Yūsuf's *mecmū'a* whose authors noted that Poljanić showed them the manuscript, as well as on a review of Rodinis's book published by Branko Ostajmer in *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 47/2 (2015): 426-429.

<sup>87</sup> Enveri Kadić is the author of a chronicle divided into 28 volumes in which he compiled the sources related to Bosnian history from 1364 until 1927. Enveri Kadić's method has not been analyzed in detail, but it is known that he organized the material in chronological order, that he used various Ottoman chronicles, biographical dictionaries, original documents and/or copies, collections of poetry and literary texts, as well as *mecmū'as* some of whose private owners were local, more or less renown actors. Excerpts from Ḥācī Yūsuf's *mecmū'a* are in the third volume of this compilation. For a recent overview of the sources Enveri Kadić used, see Alma Omanović-Veladžić, "Nad Izvorima Kadićevog Rukopisnog Djela *Tārīḥ-i Enveri*," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 64 (2015): 345-368. Enveri Kadić's manuscript is preserved in Gazi Husrev Beg Library in Sarajevo, catalogued as R-7303 (I have used the third volume only and will quote it hereafter as: GHB-MS R-7303 III)

<sup>88</sup> Fehim Spaho, "Naši narodni nazivi mjeseci u turskim kalendarima iz sedamnaestog vijeka," *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja* 42/2 (1930): 185-206, esp.186.

about “Croatian-Muslim literature before 1878,” Hadžijahić mentions Ḥācī Yūsuf as “the oldest known “Croatian-Muslim poet from Bosnia,” quoting the *mecmū‘a* in question as containing “two poems in Croatian language” recorded between 1619 and 1621. He does not publish the texts of any of the two poems but provides a short summary of their contents. Thus we learn that the first poem was composed in the form of *arzuhal* (slavicized variant of tr. ‘*arzuḥāl* or ‘*arż-ı hāl*, petition) addressed to a local *kadı* and aimed against his deputy by the name Sporo. The second poem is mentioned by Hadžijahić in 1938 as being directed “against” the deputy Sporo’s *céhaja* (slavicized variant of tr. *kahya*, *kethüda*).<sup>89</sup> Hadžijahić does not publish the texts of these poems. He does, however, quote three verses from the first one, the verses in which the poet addresses Saint Mary asking for help. Hadžijahić finds this address perplexing since, he maintains, Muslims are not allowed to ask anyone but God for help. The explanation he offers is that Islamization in Bosnia “had just been finished” in Ḥācī Yūsuf ’s time, implying that Islamization was not yet “complete.”<sup>90</sup> I quoted this interpretation as a common explanation of all textual traces of what has been termed “unorthodox,” “marginal,” “peripheral” or “frontier” Islam, gauged and measured vis-à-vis the respective scholars’ understanding of Islamic orthodoxy.<sup>91</sup> In 1974, the first five out of twenty seven stanzas of the poem, in which St. Mary was mentioned, were published in an

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<sup>89</sup> Pakalın writes that the word *kethüda* was used by the Ottomans to describe men who took care of the business of high state officials and rich people, and that *kahya* was the version of the word used in spoken language, among people. To illustrate he quotes a couplet by poet Sururi (d.1814): *Kethüda kendisi, naip kendi/Kimseyi kullanmaz umurunda vekil*. Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Vol.2. (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1946-1956), 251.

<sup>90</sup> Muhamed Hadžijahić, *Hrvatska Muslimanska književnost prije 1878* (Sarajevo: Štamparija Omer Šehić, 1938): 3-4.

<sup>91</sup> When interpreters of Bosnian *aljamiado* make comments of this sort, they almost never quote any works from which one could gather what exactly would be the characteristic features of the faith of the “recent Muslims,” aside from their being recent converts and Slavs/Bosnians by origin.

anthology of Bosnian-Herzegovinian literature.<sup>92</sup> A part of the anthology dedicated to “Muslim Literary tradition,” was divided into two parts by the editor, Muhamed Hadžijahić. The first is entitled *Pisci na narodnom jeziku* (Writers in the National Language).<sup>93</sup> Together with all other Bosnians who composed texts in Slavic language, but recorded them in Arabic script, Ḥācī Yūsuf is taken to have belonged to this group of Bosnian literati.<sup>94</sup> The title of the poem given in this edition which was used in most subsequent studies is *Arzuhal Protiv Spore* (A Petition against Sporo, hereafter *Arzuhal I*).<sup>95</sup> Until 2016, when the full text of *Arzuhal I* based on Kadić’s copy was presented for the first time,<sup>96</sup> only these five stanzas have been quoted in works dealing with Bosnian *aljamiado* to illustrate and evaluate Ḥācī Yūsuf’s contribution to this literature. In these accounts, Ḥācī Yūsuf has been regularly quoted as the oldest, the first, or “one of the first” *aljamiado* poets.<sup>97</sup> The second poem mentioned by Hadžijahić in 1938 as being directed against

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<sup>92</sup> The *Anthology* was published in three books. The first of these, in question here, was titled “Book I. Older Literature.” The chapters in this volume are: I. *The literature of the Middle Ages* II. *Serbian Literary Tradition* III. *Croatian Literary Tradition* IV. *Muslim Literary Tradition* V. *Jewish Literary Tradition*. The selection of texts included into respective “literatures” encompasses all types of textual genres, letters, inscriptions, documents, literary texts proper, proverbs, adages, etc.

<sup>93</sup> The second subsection is dedicated to “Writers in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages” and brings translations of select number of poems and abridgements.

<sup>94</sup> In the introduction to the section of the anthology he edited, Hadžijahić notes that Muslim literature comes closest to other national literatures in the “so called *aljamiado* texts,” which are however, of lesser literary value when compared to both those composed by “other people of ours” as well as those composed by the same and other authors in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian. Kuna et.al.eds., *Starija Književnost*, 226.

<sup>95</sup> See *Appendix B/a* for a transliteration of this poem.

<sup>96</sup> The author of the article brings a somewhat different reading of the five stanzas circulating in publications before 2016, while also offering a transcription, a translation into Bosnian, and an analysis of the whole poem. Her understanding of the message is summarized in the title of the article. Velida Mataradžija, “*Arzuhal* Hadži Jusufa Livnjaka-Bunt Protiv Korupcije u Pravosudnom Sistemu Bosanskog Ejaleta” [The Petition of Ḥācī Yūsuf of Livno: Rebellion Against Corruption in the Judicial System of Bosnian Eyalet], *Sarajevski filološki susreti: zbornik radova* 3/2 (2016): 104-114.

<sup>97</sup> Hadžijahić’s reading of the five stanzas was reprinted in Nametak, *Hrestomatija*, 165-166. Huković quotes just a few verses via Hadžijahić, and writes: “As literary works, both *arzuhal* and *the poem* (sic!) are weak, dry, hard to read, and burdened by Turkisms. Some verses from the *arzuhal* confirm that the author was a recent Muslim and that the fresh traces of his Christian origin are still living in his consciousness.” And a bit further on: “Except for

the deputy Sporo's *ćehaja* has not been published. I myself could not find a poem of similar contents in Kadić's manuscript. The author who published the *Arzuhal I*, notes in passing that the second *arzuhal* composed by Ḥācī Yūsuf "contains only few verses in Bosnian language."<sup>98</sup> Ḥācī Yūsuf's prose account of his travel to Mecca has been published in translation into Bosnian based on Kadić's copy.<sup>99</sup>

### III.2.1. A Muezzin, a Merchant, and a Ḥācī

Ḥācī Yūsuf recorded some autobiographical information in what seems like a short appendix to his *hajj* diary rather than an integral part of the text.<sup>100</sup> From there we learn that he was a son of Mehmed, born in the *kaşaba* of Livno.<sup>101</sup> In Livno he grew up and for a while acted as a muezzin

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documenting the times and the attitude of Muslim population towards the Turkish government, the poems have almost no literary value," Huković, *Alhamijado književnost*, 83.

<sup>98</sup> Mataradžija, "Arzuhal," 105.

<sup>99</sup> Mehmed Mujezinović, *Odazivam ti se, Bože...Putopis sa hadža 1615. godine* (Sarajevo: Starješinstvo Islamske zajednice u SR Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji, 1981).

<sup>100</sup> GHB-MS R 7303 III, pp. 213-214; Mujezinović, *Putopis*, 230.

<sup>101</sup> Livno is a town in present-day southwestern Bosnia. When it came under the rule of Ottomans, in 1485, it was a rather small settlement, which would develop and flourish throughout the sixteenth century. Around 1537, Ottomans took the fortress of Klis around which a new *sancak* was carved to include areas from central and western Bosnia, as well as Dalmatia and Lika. Livno became a *de facto* seat of the *sancak* immediately after, to remain so until the end of the seventeenth century. The territories of *sancak* of Klis and other neighbouring sub-provinces were put under the Ottoman rule with the efforts of *sancak-beyis* of Bosnia and/or Herzegovina, i.e. not as an outcome of sultanic campaigns. Both the conquerors, governors and other officials of these areas were members of families of the local, Slavic origin (in Slavic variants: Tardić, Malkočević, Sokolović, Kopčić, Vilić, Ljubinčić). Their family and business networks spread throughout the Western Rumelia. The first *sancak-beyi* of Klis was Murat Beg Tardić who was born in Šibenik, in Venetian Dalmatia, and rose to power as a member of the retinue of Gazi Hüsrev Beg (d.1541), himself the son of a local Bosnian nobleman and a daughter of sultan Bāyezīd II. A number of people of local origin who ended up in court through the *kul/devshirme* system seldom lived in the area, but still held large possessions in this frontier *sancak* or endowed cash or income from real-estate located elsewhere to sponsor various architectural projects and their functioning. The most prominent example is the long-time grand vezier, Rüstem Pasha (d.1561), but these activities were not limited to officials holding the highest posts. With the investment of high Ottoman officials of local origin, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, Livno became one of the most developed Ottoman towns in Western Rumelia. The rich who had the connections with the *sancak* of Klis invested in worshipping and pedagogical institutions (mosques, *mescids*, *mektebs*) and in commercial buildings (shops, mills, and carvanserais). When, in 1659, Evliya Çelebi visited the town, there he saw thirteen mosques, three medreses attached to the previously built mosque-complexes, five *mektebs*, six *tekkes*, one hamam and 300 shops attended by some 5000-6000 inhabitants. Machiel Kiel, "Livno," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, consulted online on 09 June 2021; Fazileta Hafizović,

in the Lala-Pasha mosque.<sup>102</sup> He does not mention his medrese education, and we can guess that the reader was expected to know whether a muezzin was to go to medrese or not. As the former is most probable, we can speculate that Ḥācī Yūsuf went to a *medrese* in a Bosnian town other than Livno. When Cüce Cafer Aga had a mosque built in the nearby *kaşaba* of Župan Potok, in the *nāhiye* of Duvno, he appointed Ḥācī Yūsuf 's brother, 'Ömer, as *imām* and *ḥaṭīb* receiving 25 akches daily.<sup>103</sup> Ḥācī Yūsuf himself was appointed by Cüce Cafer as a muezzin in the same mosque with the daily pay of 12 *akches*.<sup>104</sup> When Ḥācī Yūsuf wrote this note, both his brother 'Ömer and

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“Posjedi zvaničnika i njihovih porodica u Kliškom sandžaku u XVI stoljeću” [Property Owned by Officials and their Families in the *Sancak* of Klis in the Sixteenth Century], *Znakovi Vremena-Časopis za filozofiju, religiju, znanost i društvenu praksu* 48-49 (2010): 228-257.

<sup>102</sup> This mosque was built sometimes between 1574 and 1585. It was previously thought that its patron was Sokollu Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha. Based on the fact that Lala Muṣṭafā was never a *sancak-beyi* of Klis, as it was previously thought, Fazileta Hafizović claims this was some other Muṣṭafā whose first prominent position was that of the *sancak-beyi* of Požega, and whose persona was later conflated with Sokollu Lala Muṣṭafā, since the former also became pasha and *lala* at some point of his career. The one member of Sokollu family who did act as *sancak-beyi* of Klis, was Ferhād, and this before he became the *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia, in 1580. Fazileta Hafizović, “Lala-Mustafa Paša—Kliški Sandžakbeg i Vakif džamije u Livnu?,” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 66 (2017): 99-109.

<sup>103</sup> Župan Potok/Duvno was a settlement, apparently newly founded by the Ottomans, on the trade route between Split (under Venetian rule) and Sarajevo. At the time when Ḥācī Yūsuf wrote, it was part of *sancak* of Herzegovina. Before Cüce Cafer, the Muṣṭafā Beg mentioned in fn.101 built a mosque and a *mekteb* here, by 1585. *Ibid.*,104. Relying on Selānikī, Ezgi Dikici writes that Cüce Cafer was a eunuch-dwarf of Bosnian origin, very close to sultan Murād III (1574-1595). Cüce Cafer's influence at the court was such that he could help his relative, a certain *Potur* Ismā'īl Beg move from the post of *defterdār* to the post of the *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia. When Meḥmed III was enthroned, Cüce Cafer was expelled from the court and sent back to Bosnia. Ismā'īl Beg was also deposed in 1595. Ezgi Dikici, “The Making of Ottoman Court Eunuchs: Origins, Recruitment Paths, Family Ties, and ‘Domestic Production’,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 30 (2013): 105–136, 120.

<sup>104</sup> Based on an unquoted cadastral survey, Aladin Husić writes that Ḥācī Yūsuf and 'Ömer lived in Livno until ca.1604, where they both acted as muezzins of Lala-Pasha moque and lived in a quarter formed around it. He also notes that the mosque in Župan Potok sponsored by Cüce Cafer was finished between ca. 1604 and 1615. Aladin Husić, “Hodočašće od prvih hodočasničkih tragova do kraja osmanske uprave,” *Behar* 127 (2015): 14-20, 18-19. Fehim Spaho also wrote about the town quarters (tr. *maḥalle*) in Livno based on a detailed cadastral survey from 1604. The *defter* apparently lists religious functionaries who worked in each *maḥalle*, including the Lala-Pasha one, as well as their daily pays. Spaho, however did not quote either Yūsuf or 'Ömer as employees in this mosque. What information from Spaho's article indicates, however, is that the salaries of muezzins in the area rose significantly from 1604 (6 akche in Livno) to 1615 (12 akche in Duvno), or alternatively, that the Duvno based vakf of Cüce Cafer was particularly rich. Fehim Spaho, “Livno u ranim turskim izvorima,” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 32-33 (1982): 147-162, 159.

Cüce Cafer Aga are mentioned as deceased.<sup>105</sup> In what follows we learn that, on the side of performing his duty as muezzin, Yūsuf engaged with trade. Thus he managed to save “through legitimate gain” 18 000 *akches* necessary to cover the costs of his travel to *hajj* in 1615. After this information, Ḥācī Yūsuf moves to a very short summary of the key moments of the journey.<sup>106</sup> Below this note, Kadić copied another one, from 1647, which is related to the autobiographical one.<sup>107</sup> Aside from basic details of his biography, these two notes betray Ḥācī Yūsuf’s interest in various calendars as well as the points of overlap between them. The way he formulates the information on the key dates of the journey does not seem as a coincidence either—parallel to synchronizing the solar (it seems both Julian and Gregorian) and the lunar (*hijri*) calendars, Ḥācī

<sup>105</sup> ‘Ömer did not die on the journey which ended in June 1616. If this paragraph was meant to be an integral part of the diary, this would mean that the *mecmū’a* version of Ḥācī Yūsuf’s account was not produced, at least in its entirety, during the very journey, but after he came back.

<sup>106</sup> The part of the autobiographical note related to the journey reads: “*Ṣumma, el-ḥamdu li-llāh ticāret ile ḥelālden on sekiz bin akçeye mālik olub (ar.) arba’a wa ’iṣrīn wa alif tārīhinde mäh-i cemāzī’ül-evvelinun yiğirmi ikinci günü ki mäh-i ḥazīrān ya’nī (sl.) lipān ayının toközünce günü idi cum’a namāzın kılub hacc-ı mübāreke ḥareket idüp Hüseyin sipāhīnun çā’irinde konub ḥāşıl-ı kelām gide gide Mışır’dan Hind deryāsiyle on dōrt günde Hind deryāsın aşub ramazān-ı şerīfun üçüncü günü ki cum’a günü idi Mekke-i Mükerrremeye (ar.) şarrafahā’illāhu ta’ālā vāşil ve şehrine dāḥil olduk. Ve’l-ḥāşıl tārīh-i mezbūrede zī’l-ḥicce ayının sekizinci günü Terviye gündir ve cum’a-irtesi idi ve rüzname mücibiyle Muḥarrem iken sebt günü Bozğun [ortodoks milletinin yortı günü ismidir] vāki’ oldı,” GHB-MS R 7303 III, p. 213. [After that, I acquired, by means of trade, in legitimate gain, eighteenth thousand *akche*. In the year 1024 (1615), on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of (the month of) Jumādā al-Awwal which was the 19<sup>th</sup> of *ḥazīrān* (tr./June) namely the 9<sup>th</sup> day of the month of *lipanj* (sl./June), I conducted the *namāz* and embarked on the blessed *hajj*. Then I spent the night at the estate (lit. field/meadow) of Hüseyin *sipāhī*. Having travelled for a while, via Egypt and then through the Indian Sea [i.e., the Red Sea], we crossed the Indian Sea in twenty four days, we arrived to Mecca, may Allah increase its glory, and entered the city on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of the month of Ramaḍān which was Friday. In short, in the mentioned year, in (the month) of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the 8<sup>th</sup> day was the day of Terviye and it was Saturday, and according to the *Rūznāme*, while Muḥarrem was ongoing, on Saturday the *Bozğun* fell (and this is the name of Christmas with the Orthodox people.” The comment about the meaning of *Bozğun* may have been added by Kadić, because Ḥācī Yūsuf seems to have been referring to Catholic Christmas in this particular note, but see fn.107. So, without establishing the exact dates of the Christmas in relevant years, it cannot be claimed whether he made a difference between the Catholic and Orthodox Christmas in these notes.*

<sup>107</sup> This note reads: “Yine 1057 tārīhinde mäh-i zī’l-ḥiccenin sekizinci günü hem Terviye ve hem Bozğun oldı ve sebt günü idi. Ma’lūm oldıki otuz dōrt yılda bir devr olurmuş. El-ḥamdu’ li-llāh bu devre irdük. Ve böyle vāki’ olmağile ‘aynıyle tārīḥ konuldu şöyle ma’lūm ola sene 1057,” GHB-MS R 7303 III, p. 213 [ It happened again in the year 1057 (1647/48) that the 8<sup>th</sup> day of (the month) of Dhū al-Ḥijjah was both the day of Terviye and the day of Christmas and that it was Saturday (i.e. just like it was the case in 1024). It is a known fact that one cycle is finished within thirty four years. Thanks to Allah we have reached this (i.e. the beginning of the new) cycle, and since it happened in this way the record of it was made so it is known, in the year 1057.”

Yūsuf alludes in these notes to his familiarity with astronomy as represented in the genre of *Rūznāme* (Perpetual Calendar, see below). In this autobiographical sketch Ḥācī Yūsuf obviously fashions the travel to *hajj* as one of the key moments in his biography.<sup>108</sup> In what is preserved from his personal *mecmū‘a*, no major historical events are mentioned. So, we can only guess that Ḥācī Yūsuf had some memory of more than a decade long war which ended in 1606.<sup>109</sup> Also, 1647 was the second year of the so-called Cretan War which will last for more than twenty years (from 1645 until 1669). The war was fought between the Ottomans and the Venetians for the possession of the island of Crete, but the conflict also caused a lot of skirmishes in the Dalmatian frontier, i.e. in the closest vicinity of Livno and Duvno.<sup>110</sup> Ḥācī Yūsuf lived during the reigns of seven, perhaps even eight sultans: Murād III (1574-1595) Meḥmed III (1595-1603), Aḥmed I (1603-1617), Muṣṭafā I (1617-1618), ‘Osmān II (1618-1622), Muṣṭafā I (1622-1623), Murād IV (1623-1640), Ibrāhīm (1640-1648), and perhaps Meḥmed IV (1648-1687).

The integral part of Yūsuf’s diary is introduced with a “personalized” praise to God and Muḥammad written in Arabic.<sup>111</sup> Immediately thereafter, Yūsuf informs the reader that he

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<sup>108</sup> In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the number of *ḥācīs* from Livno grew significantly in comparison to the late sixteenth century. In this way, Livno stood right after Sarajevo and Mostar in terms of the number of people from Bosnia who performed *hajj*, Husić, “Hodočašće,” 18.

<sup>109</sup> This was the war which started after Habsburg forces heavily defeated Hasan Pasha Predojević (Tellī Hasan Pasha), the *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia, in the battle of Sisak. While the battle was fought within the framework of the localized actions of Bosnian troops (contrary to the Ottoman-Habsburg peace agreement from 1568), the defeat at Sisak was used as a pretext for a full-scale campaign against the Habsburg-ruled parts of Hungary. The war ended with the Treaty of Zsitvatorok, in 1606. The treaty provided a relative stability of the Ottoman-Habsburg border for the next several decades. Ta’likizāde, discussed in *Chapter II*, was one of the chroniclers of the early stage of this war.

<sup>110</sup> For the Ottoman justification of the war, and the main events related to the Ottoman conquests in Crete, see Elias Kolovos, “Cretan War,” in Ágoston and Masters eds., *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 157-158.

<sup>111</sup> “Al-ḥamdu li-llāh allaḏī aḡrabanī ilā’l-masḡidi’l-Muḥammādī wa awṣalanī bi-luṭfihi ilā qiblati’l-Aḥmadī wa awṣalanī fī ziyāratī ḡubūri awliyā’i’l-llāh al-kāmilīn al-mukammalīn hum aḡlu’l-llāhi wa ḡalīfatu rasūli’l-llāh wa’ṣ-ṣalwat wa’t-taslīm ḡīla fī ḡaḡḡiḡi “Lawlāka” wa awlādihi allaḏīna hum natīḡatu’l (aḡlāk?) wa ittībā’iḡi allaḏīna hum yafraḡuna bi’sti’ māli’l miswāk,” [Praised be the God who allowed me to come close to the Prophet’s Mosque and helped me come, in his grace, to Kaaba, and had me visit the graves of the saints who are perfect and excellent and they are the People/Friends of God and the successors of the God’s Messenger. Prayers and devotion go to the one for whom it was said “But for You” (i.e. Prophet Muhammad for whom God created the heavens, whereby the Prophet is

travelled together with his two brothers (one being the above mentioned Ömer, and the other, Hasan), as well as with a number of “friends.” He provides the information about the date when the journey commenced in the same manner as in the above quoted note from the end of the narrative. Yūsuf uses the sobriquet Ḥācī with the names of his two brothers, and identifies himself as El-Hāc Yūsuf bin Muḥammad. This is a strong indication that the text as a whole was given final shape after 1616. Throughout the narrative, Ḥācī Yūsuf will mainly use verbs in the first person plural, even when the action is obviously done by himself only. Ḥācī Yūsuf refers to himself as an author and the hero of the narrative by using the standard “this poor one” (tr. *bu ḥaḳīr*, and once, *bu ‘abd-ı za‘īfu naḥīf*). Thus he writes, in the very beginning:

This poor one therefore took the task of/started recording all our stops and all places we saw along the way as well as some of our visits to the graves of the honorable saints whose protection we hope to receive and where we prayed for the longevity and the eternal glory of the ruler of the seven climes (...).<sup>112</sup>

While in the European part of the Ottoman empire, Ḥācī Yūsuf makes general notes of the beauty and “tidiness” of towns, enumerates the famous mosques and other architectural features and their deceased and living patrons. These are all types of information that he could have known from before, observed or heard on the spot. On several visits to mosques, Ḥācī Yūsuf makes notes of the copies of the Quran (tr. *muṣḥaf*) he saw there, marked as significant for being beautiful/exquisite (tr. *ra‘nā*) and valuable (tr. *kıymete gelmez*).<sup>113</sup> Once in Istanbul, Yūsuf makes just a brief note of its indescribable beauty, and the fact that one of the members of the group died

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considered one with the God) and for his children who are the eponyms of virtue and to his followers who were proud to use the *miswak* (teeth cleaning tool, respected as recommended by the Prophet)], GHB-MS R 7303 III, p. 176. Note: for the summary of the diary, I used both the translation and Kadić’s copy, but will use only the latter for direct quotations, for the translation sometimes takes liberties.

<sup>112</sup> “Öyle olsa bu ḥaḳīr daḥı konduğumuz yirleri ve gördüğümüz maḳāmları yazmağa şurū‘ idüp ve daḥı ba‘zı evliyā-i kirām mezār-ı şerīflerin ziyāret ve rûḥ pur-futūhlarından istimdād-i ḥālet idüp ve pâdişāh-i heft iḳlīm ḥāzretlerinin ‘ömr-i şerīflerī ebedī ve ḥaşmet-i munīfleri sermedī olmasın du‘āsına sa‘ī itmek (...),” Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> GHB-MS R 7303 III, p. 177 and p.180.



there. He quickly moves on to Gelibolu/Gallipoli which is the first place along the route where he encounters and visits the graves of the saints, namely the graves of “Muḥammed-Efendi and Aḥmed-Efendi, mentioned as the sons of Yāzıcı.” Muḥammed is duly described as the famous author of *Muḥammediyye* and Aḥmed, with the nickname *Bicān*, as the author of *Envarü'l-Āşıkîn*.<sup>114</sup> As Ḥācī Yūsuf goes deeper into sacred geography, it is harder to decide whether he collected the information by observation, from conversation/hearsay, or based on what he knew and read before. Of Alexandria, in which he stayed for some six days, he provides historical data of which he read “from certain chronicles” (tr. *ba ‘zi tārīhlerde okuduk*).<sup>115</sup> Of Ibn ‘Arabī, of whom Yūsuf mistakenly thinks that he was buried in Cairo, a note is made based on what seems to have been common knowledge.<sup>116</sup> Hearsay and conversation is often explicitly quoted as source of knowledge of the past and the present situation in the region. Thus wrote Yūsuf of Cairo:

The tombs of the great shaykhs and honorable saints are very many in the city (of Cairo) and in its vicinity. To write them all would require too many details. Besides that, one cannot count how many of its honorable saints and the great judges and pursuers of

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<sup>114</sup> These are Muḥammed Yāzıcıoğlu (d.1451) and Aḥmed Yāzıcıoğlu (d. after 1466). They received their education in Edirne during the reign of Murād II, and were disciples of Ḥācī Bayrām Velī of Ankara (the founder of the Bayrami Sufi order). They lived and were buried in Gelibolu. Their importance for “Ottoman Islam” has been recently addressed by Carlos Grenier who writes: “The overall message of the Yazıcıoğlus’ writings is the presentation of a normative Islam for a recently Islamized Turcophone audience, an audience that may not be altogether clear on Islamic dogmatic commitments. The Yazıcıoğlus, with Aḥmed’s prose *Envarü'l-Āşıkîn* (Lights of the Lovers, completed around 1451) and his brother’s verse *Kitab-i Muhammediyye* (The Muhammedan Volume, written in 1449) laid out basic Islamic doctrines for Gelibolu’s audience of soldiers, sailors, and Sufi aspirants. The Yazıcıoğlus brothers’ works were unprecedentedly successful in introducing a normative Islam to the borderlands. The *Envar* and *Muhammediyye*, later translated into Albanian, Bosnian, Greek, and Hungarian, and, according to the seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, read and memorized in schools throughout Anatolia and Rumelia, came to epitomize a certain consensus of Ottoman piety that proved durable.” Carlos Grenier, “The Yazıcıoğlu Brothers and Vernacular Islamic Apologetics on the Fifteenth-Century Mediterranean Frontier,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 6/2 (2019): 131-154, 132.

<sup>115</sup> GHB-MS R 7303 III, p.184.

<sup>116</sup> “Muḥyī’-d-Dīn Ibn Al-‘Arabī ḥāzretleri Qarāfāda medfūndur. Diyār-i ‘Arab’da ekşer tevḥīd eylediklerinde ve cem’iyyetlerinde okunān ḩaşā’id evlād-ı ‘Arabun fuḩālāsımın anı zıkr itmesine ḩulūblarına ḩulūl idüp cānlarına cān olmuşdur. Kendūleri Mışır’da anın mürīdleri eğer anda ve eğer Yemen’de ve Ka’be-i Şerīf’de Medīne-i Münevver’e de cemī’i ‘ālemde irşād iderler. Himmeti ḩāzır olsun.” This paragraph is messy in terms of syntax. The approximate translation is: “Ibn Arabi is buried in Qarafa. In the lands of the Arabs they read his odes a lot, at almost every *tevḥīd* ceremony and other gatherings, and this is because he had entered their hearts and became the soul of their souls. While he is in Egypt, his disciples are both there, and in Yemen, and in Mecca and Medina and in the whole world. May his blessing help us.” See GHB MS-R 7303, p. 187. Ibn ‘Arabī’s tomb is in Damascus.

knowledge and the noble ones and the poor ones are still alive. So, eventually, we recorded those of whom we heard from some of its (i.e. Cairo's) old men and 'ulemā', and those who are well known and famous among people.<sup>117</sup>

In general, Ḥācī Yūsuf makes a strong point that the goal of his writing is set and that he should not digress too much.<sup>118</sup> He makes no reference to any other similar experience by somebody else, or to a text dealing with a similar subject. Alexandre Popović quoted Ḥācī Yūsuf's text as the oldest account of a travel to Mecca written by a Muslim from Yugoslavia.<sup>119</sup> But, Ḥācī Yūsuf seems to be one of the first Ottomans in general to have written a work focusing particularly on *konaklar* and *ziyārāt* (stations/halting places and graves/tombs of the saints).<sup>120</sup> Ḥācī Yūsuf's diary can be read as both a self-narrative and an early example of the genre of *hajj* narratives. As noted before, his own persona comes to the fore first of all as the persona of an author of the text. Ḥācī Yūsuf's account is written in prose, but, possibly inspired by "certain chronicles," he also

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<sup>117</sup> "Ve şehir içinde ve taşrasında meşāyih-i 'uzzām ve evliyā-i kirām ḥāzerātının türbe-i şerifleri gāyetile çokdur. Kağı birisin yazalum tafşile muhtācdır. Ve hayatda olan evliyā-i kirāmına ve ulū ulū kâzilerine ve ehl-i 'ilm dānişmendlerine ve fuzalā ve fuqarāsına nihāyet ve gāyeti yokdur. Nihāyet mertebe ba'zı eski ademilerinden ve 'ulemāsından işitdiğimizi beyne-nās katı ma'rūf ve meşhūr olanları yazduk." GHB-MS R 7303 III, p.188-189.

<sup>118</sup> Finishing a section inspired by the travel in the foothills of Badr Hunayn, in which he provides a short account of events from the life of Prophet Muḥammad who fought in the area, Yūsuf notes that: "this as well needs to be explained in more details, but our intention here is to describe the places of visitation and stations along the route" (tr. *bu daḥi tafşile muhtācdır. Bizim hemān murādımız ziyāretgāhları ve konakları yazmaqdır.*" GHB-MS R 7303 III, p.194.

<sup>119</sup> When he wrote a short account of Ḥācī Yūsuf's diary, Popović did not do it based on the text itself. In this article, he describes the Islam of the Balkans as peripheral, and the "pilgrimage" narratives of Yugoslav Muslims as small in number, noting that the whole genre as under-researched. To the best of my knowledge, Popović's remark on the state of the research is still valid. Alexandre Popović, "Le pèlerinage à La Mecque de musulmans des régions yougoslaves," in *Mélanges d'islamologie: dédiés à la mémoire de Armand Abel*, ed. Pierre Salmon (Bruxelles: Centre pour l'étude des problèmes du monde musulman contemporain, 1973), 335-363: 335-336.

<sup>120</sup> This can be concluded based on the research on Ottoman "pilgrimage narratives" done by Menderes Coşkun who, among other things, writes that travel to Mecca was understood by the Ottoman Muslims as a duty, and not, in a manner of European pilgrimage accounts, an exciting event deserving to be described in a literary manner. Coşkun also notes that Ottoman self-narratives and autobiographical works in general were neither numerous nor popular among Ottoman reading audience, which is why it is hard to talk about consistent and continuous genres. Based on the contents, he divides the texts addressing the theme of *hajj* and *hajj* rituals into versified and prose ones, on the one hand, and into those dealing with rites (*menāsik*) and those dealing with halting stations (*menāzil*) on the other. After the 1990's when Coşkun wrote, the theme of the Ottoman self-narratives continued to attract scholarly attention, and at this point it can be said with certainty that the number of these texts was much larger than previously thought. Menderes Coşkun, "Ottoman pilgrimage narratives and Nabi's *Tuhfetu'l-Haremeyn*" (PhD Thesis, Durham University, 1999), esp. 1-16.

finds it necessary to embellish the narrative with poetry. Introducing the six poems he composed in Turkish to describe the magnificence of Kaaba (its doors, minarets, muezzins, *imāms*, *ḥaṭībs*, towers and medreses), Ḥācī Yūsuf writes:

We described some parts of the honorable Kaaba in verses. Although most of it (i.e. most of his narrative) is not versified, it (i.e. the versified text) should be read together with the rest (of the text). And let the act of reading these be the act of commemoration. Versified: (...)<sup>121</sup>

Besides shedding additional light on how Yūsuf imagined his text would be used (i.e. as both a source of information and a prompt for a pious commemoration), this passage can also be read as suggesting that he found poetry more valuable than prose when it comes to communicating the contents he presented. Aside from starting his diary with a praise to God in Arabic, Ḥācī Yūsuf made an effort of copying the Arabic inscriptions he found above “the gates of the Kaaba.”

In sum, Ḥācī Yūsuf’s diary is a text produced by a person whose religious background and knowledge of the world can hardly be explained by uncritically framing him as a recently converted Muslim from the Ottoman periphery, or as a Bosnian Muslim whose worldview was limited by the locale he lived in. The linguistic choices he made upon composing the diary, and the comments he made all along, show that Ḥācī Yūsuf was also a reader who internalized some basic conventions of composing a prose narrative and applied them in a way his own abilities allowed him. The fact that his written Turkish was not the most elaborate, eloquent or correct, does not tell anything about his own ideas about languages he used. Nor does it explain how exactly Yūsuf is to be differentiated from any other literate Ottoman whose ambitions was not to produce

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<sup>121</sup> “Ka‘abe-i şerīfun ba‘zı yerlerin mevzūn idub yazduḡ. Eḡerçe çoḡluk mevzūn deḡildur ammā her nicesi ise mahzā okunsun. Ve okundukça ḥaṭıra ḥuṭūr olsun. Mevzūn: (...)” GHB-MS R 7303 III, p.195; Mujezinović translates this part in a way which suggests that Yūsuf was modest about his poetic skills, i.e. that he asks the reader to read the poems despite the fact that his style was not the best, Mujezinović, *Putopis*, 202.

highbrow literature as such. In line with this, I argue there is not much reason to observe his usage of Slavic, which is in focus of this discussion, as an act of a person “from a periphery” of any kind.

In theory, as a muezzin, Ḥācī Yūsuf had to know the times of prayer and to “read the chapters on the prayer-call and on performing the prayer (*al-iqama*) in (the books on) the sacred law.”<sup>122</sup> By the early seventeenth century, the relevant literature was circulating in the Ottoman empire in mostly Arabic, but also in Turkish. In order to know the times of prayer, Yūsuf did not need to know astronomy, and yet he did have some knowledge of it. Based on the kind of “calendar” he included in his *mecmū‘a*, the kind of science he was familiar with can be described as “the folk astronomy,” or the practitioner’s rather than the scientist’s astronomy.<sup>123</sup>

Of Ḥācī Yūsuf’s calendar we know from the previously mentioned article by Fehim Spaho who had a chance to see it. Spaho in fact wrote about this calendar and five other similar examples preserved in Bosnian collections of manuscripts. His main goal was to show that Muslims in Bosnia used (or even privileged), the Slavic folk names of the months parallel to those characteristic of the *hijri* calendar. Providing, in various languages, the names of the months in calendars was, however, a habit of “folk” astronomers which had deeper historical roots.<sup>124</sup> Spaho does not discuss the logic behind the making of any of the calendars he mentions. He does, however, bring them into connection with the type represented by a fifteenth century *Rūznāme*,

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<sup>122</sup> This is a quotation from a treatise on the duties of a muezzin dating to ca.1300 and produced in Egypt. The treatise is quoted, translated and discussed in David A. King, “On the role of the Muezzin and the *Muwaqqit* in Medieval Islamic Society,” in *Tradition, transmission, transformation: proceedings of two conferences on pre-modern science held at the University of Oklahoma*, ed. F. Jamil Ragep and Sally P. Ragep with Steven Livesey (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1996): 286-345, 294

<sup>123</sup> Of the difference between “the folk astronomy” and the mathematical astronomy, see King, “On the role of the Muezzin,” 295.

<sup>124</sup> Carra de Vaux, “Sāl-nāme”, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, First Edition (1913-1936)*, consulted online on 24 July 2021.

produced by Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmed es-Sadrī el-Konyavī, known as Shaykh Vefā (d.1491).<sup>125</sup> Writing about seventeenth-century Ottoman astronomy, Harun Küçük notes that *Rūznāme* by Shaykh Vefā served as a base for a number of commentaries and updates, but that it was an almanac heavily focused on prognostication rather than a “pure calendar.”<sup>126</sup> From Spaho’s writing we see that Ḥācī Yūsuf’s almanac also served the purpose of synchronizing the solar and the lunar calendars. Both kinds of the calendars (the “pure” ones and the ones used for prognostication) were used in the wider Ottoman context, and this cannot be judged as a peculiarity of a locale. What is peculiar to Ḥācī Yūsuf, according to Spaho, is that he used “our/people’s/Serbo-Croatian” names for months and that he duly records the dates of the Christian holidays. Spaho, and other scholars dealing with this and similar cases, take Ḥācī Yūsuf’s writing down of the Slavic names of months as expected from a Slavic-speaking Bosnian Muslim, or a recent convert. However, the reasons why an Ottoman Muslim would need to know the dates of Christian holidays could be many—privileged Christian Vlachs, for example, paid their taxes on Christmas, the local fairs involving trading and various forms of entertainment were commonly held on saints’ days, etc. Besides that, as Spaho himself informs us, Ḥācī Yūsuf wrote down the names of the months not only in Turkish and Slavic, but in five other languages as well. Spaho enumerated the seven languages as follows:

Syriac, “Greek” (general Latin), Serbo-Croatian *Şırf dilince* (our popular names), Coptic, Persian, “in Western language” *Mağrib dilince* (general names as approximately pronounced among us), and Turkish.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> He also mentions that “this calendar,” namely the *Rūznāme*, was published in facsimile by Hieronymus Velschius (i.e. Georg Hieronymus Welsch, 1624-1677) in 1676, in Augsburg, with the title *Commentarius in Ruzname Naurus sive Tabulae aequinoctiales novi Persarum & Turcarum anni*. Spaho, “Naši narodni nazivi mjeseći,” 186.

<sup>126</sup> Harun Küçük, *Science without leisure: practical naturalism in Istanbul, 1660-1732* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020), 127-128.

<sup>127</sup> “U gornjem kutu više tabele protumačena su imena mjesećima u sedam jezika, i to sirijski, “grčki” (opća latinska), srpsko-hrvatski *Şırf dilince* (naša narodna), koptski, perzijski, “zapadnim jezikom” *Mağrib dilince* (opća imena približno kako se kod nas izgovaraju) i turski,” Spaho, “Naši narodni nazivi mjeseći,” 189. The phrases in italic are quoted by Spaho in the Arabic script. Apparently he was not sure what was to be understood by “western language,” but the chances are that this was Italian.

Thus, based on this calendar only, we can safely conclude that Ḥācī Yūsuf was interested in correct times of prayer, and perhaps prognostication; that he participated in empire-wide trends in practicing popular astronomy; and, that he was curious about the names of the months in seven different languages.

### III.2.2. The Language of Yūsuf 's *Arzuhals*

Based on his diary and the calendar only, Yūsuf can hardly be characterized as a Slavic-speaking person, not to mention Slavic-*writing* literatus. The population of the area Yūsuf lived in consisted of South-Slavs of various confessions who had migrated and were migrating from various areas and could thus call their language in various ways (Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, Slavic).<sup>128</sup> The small evidence provided by Spaho, suggests that Ḥācī Yūsuf may have used the label Serbian for the Slavic dialect from which he took the names of the months. Therefore, Yūsuf's label may be understood as a result of a selection made from among a few options available. It is, however, less easy to capture what would the intentionality imply—was Serbian the language Ḥācī Yūsuf considered his own, or was that the language of his neighbours? That Ḥācī Yūsuf knew and maybe spoke Slavic can be concluded based on his *azuhals*, but how exactly he would call *this*, i.e. *his*, Slavic is entirely a different matter.

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<sup>128</sup> Livno population grew significantly after the Ottoman conquest. The urban core was populated by Muslims, a great number of whom were freed slaves of Slavic origin. Besides, Ottoman officials initiated and encouraged the movement of mainly Christian Vlach population from central parts of South-Slavia to villages and areas surrounding the town itself. Duvno was founded by the Ottomans, as an urban settlement. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the population of Livno decreased. The explanation scholars have offered is that Ottoman officials initiated re-distribution of urban population in the area to strengthen the potential of budding towns and *kaşabas*. The Slavs living in the area could call themselves Croatians, Bosnians, Serbs, but it is hard to tell how they would decide to call their language, based on memory, or based on perceptions of geography and/or ethnicity. Spaho, "Livno u ranim turskim izvorima," 153-154. See also, Kornelija Jurin Starčević, "Islamsko-Osmanski gradovi dalmatinskog zaleđa: prilog istraživanju urbanog razvoja u 16. i 17. stoljeću," *Radovi-Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 38 (2006):113-154, esp.127-128.

The note introducing the *Arzuhal I* in Enveri Kadić's manuscript was probably added by the copyist, although the scholars have translated it so far as if Yūsuf himself wrote it. The note reads:

This is what he said about İsporī İbrahīm Dede, *nā'ib* from Breşnik in the *nāhiye* of Duvno, and the copy of the '*arzuḥāl* he submitted to the *kadi*. It is expressed in Bosnian.<sup>129</sup>

Ḥācī Yūsuf's *Arzuhal I* is composed of 27 stanzas (quatrains) most often rhymed in the pattern *aaab*. There is no one refrain in the poem, but the fourth verse always ends with the appellation "Gospodine" (sl./sir, master).<sup>130</sup> The Turkish and Slavic parts (words, phrases, sentences) complement one another to complete an image, or describe a situation. The overall first impression is that of a balanced usage of the two languages. On second glance, the refrain-like line is consistently in Slavic, and some stanzas are completely in Slavic. In order to understand the message as a whole, the users of the text would need to be familiar with both Turkish and Slavic. The poem itself contains no meta-comments on language choice while the only voice in the poem is that of the author. There is no evidence in the poem itself that Ḥācī Yūsuf thought he was doing something unusual in *alternating* two different languages. The thirteenth century precedents of this sort of heteroglossia circulated widely within the Ottoman Arabographic corpus, and therefore, in Western Rumelia. The terms in which Lars Johanson described these early examples are applicable to *Arzuhal I*: Yūsuf employed the tactics of a "planned code-switching" addressing the

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<sup>129</sup> "Dumne nāhiyesinde Breşnikli Nā'ib İsporī İbrahīm Did'e ne diduđi (or: dedenun diduđi (?!)) ve kāzīye sunduđi 'arziḥāl şüretidir. Bosnevīyyu'l 'ibāredir," GHB-MS R 7303 III, p. 213. Mataradžija translated this note to Slavic in the first person (this is the '*arzuḥāl* I sent to the judge and this is what I said about . . .," Mataradžija, "*Arzuhal*," 105. With this in mind, the only currently available evidence that Ḥācī Yūsuf was indeed the composer of the *arzuhal* are claims by the copyist and of of scholars who had a chance to see the *mecmū'a*.

<sup>130</sup> See *Appendix B/a*.

audience “which was bilingual enough” to appreciate the poem.<sup>131</sup> The form of this poem and the six poems Yūsuf composed in Turkish, shows that he was either unable or unwilling to do justice to conventions of Turcophone poetry composed in complex ‘*aruż*’ meters, until recently described as exclusively elite, imperial and court-related practice.<sup>132</sup> To describe the local crisis in *Arzuhal I*, he opts for a long series of quatrains and, rather than ‘*arūż*’, the eight-syllabic meter which itself appears as rather imperfect in the surviving version of the poem.

In the history of Turkish literature, common is a position that syllabic verse (tr. *hece vezni*) was more characteristic of the orally circulating “folk” poetry. But if the line between the folk-oral and the elite-written (which was never as clear as modern historians of literature suggest), is easier to trace in the first three centuries of the existence of the Ottoman empire, the period of the late sixteenth century and after can be safely postulated as a period in which the creation of “popular” and vernacular texts ran almost parallel with their literization. To illustrate, one can quote, the

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<sup>131</sup> Discussing “language mixing” in Rūmī’s poetry (which was widely circulated in the Ottoman South-Slavia), Lars Johanson calls for more terminological precision in scholarly descriptions of these texts. Thus he suggests, that in the case of Rūmī, the phenomenon in question can be described as “language-alternation in poetry” which can be of different types. Namely, sometimes it is possible to distinguish which of the languages involved was a “basic language,” i.e. whether the elements of language A were interspersed with the elements of language B, or the other way around, while sometimes this is not the case. Johanson, “Rūmī and the birth of Turkish Poetry,” 31-33. Linguistically mixed texts have attracted a lot of attention by European medievalists and early-modernists. The students of Arabographic texts sometimes borrow the terminology. In late fifteenth-century northern Italy, the term “macaronic” was coined to designate the type of language-mixing which involved attaching Latin endings to vernacular stems, often in burlesque and lampoons. In the twentieth century, the term was used “to designate linguistically mixed texts from that (i.e. medieval) period, regardless of the way in which languages combined.” Šime Demo, “Mining macaronics,” in *Multilingual Practices in Language History: English and Beyond*, ed. P. Pahta, J. Skaffari and L. Wright (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton 2018), 199–122. Slavophone Arabographic texts are beyond doubt the products of “language-mixing” in an inherently multilingual environment. This fact, in itself, does not tell us anything special when it comes to the producers’ ideas about the respective languages. Therefore, I will keep in mind the existing terminology related to descriptions of various forms of “language-mixing” in historical texts, but will analyze the formal characteristics of the Slavophone Arabographic texts without trying to impose classifications which were not used by historical actors.

<sup>132</sup> The long standing modern assumption that social and literary dichotomies (elite/commoner, high-brow/low-brow) coincided throughout the existence of the Ottoman empire has been successfully argued against on the example of poet Zafī by Sooyong Kim. Kim also addressed the question of “the plain Turkish movement” which informed modern discussions of language use in (Ottoman) Turkish literature for almost a century. These discussions originally framed the usage of “simple Turkish” as motivated by “some ‘back-to-roots’ attitude” and the expression of Turkish ethno-national spirit, which is something Kim argues against. See, Kim, *The Last of an Age*, esp. 103-110.



phenomenon of the so-called *‘āşık* and *saz* poets. These poets who flourished in the seventeenth century sang in Turkish and combined forms (meters, genres) from both oral and textualized traditions.<sup>133</sup> The texts produced by *‘āşık* and *saz* poets, especially those who gravitated towards urban environments and those who were, so to say, moving with the Ottoman troops, were recorded, and therefore consumed, together with the texts commonly associated with the elite production.<sup>134</sup> The new forms of sociability which started taking firm roots towards the end of the sixteenth century certainly enhanced the influence of the less controlled discourses expressed in less controlled language/s.<sup>135</sup> This influence materialized itself through the textual production enabled by a general spread of Arabographic literacy, which is, however, hard to quantify or, the way things stand now, even describe in precise socio-linguistic terms. The position I take in line with the methodology I adopted in this thesis, is that the motifs and the ideas of the literate “guardians” of the elite styles and idioms (such was Muştafâ ‘Ālî discussed in *Chapter II*); the

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<sup>133</sup> Fuad Köprülü, “Saz şairleri: dün ve bugün” and “Türk edebiyatında āşık tarzının menşei ve tekāmülü hakkında bir tecrübe,” in *Külliyat 5: Edebiyat Araştırmaları I* (İstanbul: Alfa Basım, 2013), 217-248, and 249-339.

<sup>134</sup> This can be concluded from Köprülü’s writing on the sources for the modern study of the relevant poetic texts.

<sup>135</sup> For the early modern Ottoman social institutions which emerged with the new forms of consumption (such as coffee-houses) and which served as “sites where new modes of sociability and engagement with public culture were shaped,” see Cemal Kafadar, “How Dark is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul,” in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen and Evelyn Birge Vitz (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 243-269, esp. 244. Sultan Murād IV is famous for ordering a sweeping action of closing of the coffee-houses. Rhoads Murphey writes that one of the motives for this move was Murād IV’s attempt at subverting the influence of the ideas coached in “common (*kaba*) language which suited popular tastes.” From what follows one is to understand that these ideas were circulating orally. Murphey also argues that “the lofty but inaccessible ideas [which] circulated in written form to a narrower audience had little influence on the formation of public opinion.” Relying on Köprülü’s one work (see above, fn.132), Murphey writes that Murād IV went as far as to offer royal patronage to some seventeenth-century folk poets.” But, in this particular article, Köprülü enumerates only the poets who were widely known during the reign of Murād IV, and this based on Evliya Çelebi. Rhoads Murphey, “Forms of Differentiation and Expression of Individuality in Ottoman Society,” *Turcica* 34 (2002): 135-170, 152. Recently, Aslıhan Gürbüznel argued that “informal circles of education gained primacy in the seventeenth century, giving rise to the vernacularization of formal sciences,” and this by focusing on the figure of “[religious] preacher-political advisor” and the intersection between orality and literacy. S. Aslıhan Gürbüznel, “Teachers of the Public, Advisors to the Sultan: Preachers and the Rise of a Political Public Sphere in Early Modern Istanbul (1600-1675)” (PhD Thesis, Harvard University, 2016), esp.iii.

motifs and the ideas of the literate who saw no harm in recording texts in the vernacular/s (such as Ḥācī Yūsuf ); and, the extent to which their literacy and language ideologies overlapped or diverged, are the themes which constitute a field open for research. Concretely, the fact that Ḥācī Yūsuf reached out for syllabic verse does not automatically mean that he saw this type of verse as a form to be consumed by the illiterate and the non-elite. Regarding the question of meter in the early modern Slavic poetry, it can be said that the eight-syllable verses were among the most common in both folk and artistic genres. Also, it was exactly in South-Slavic Dalmatia, and the Adriatic coast in general that the textual products of mutual influence between artistic and folk forms of Slavic literary expression started being recorded as of the mid-sixteenth century on.<sup>136</sup> In sum, Ḥācī Yūsuf lived in the period and in a place in which he may have been exposed to an *increasing* variety of literary forms of expression and increasing liberties taken with them.

‘*Arzuḥāl*’ was the term used to denote an Ottoman genre of pragmatic literacy, employed by aggrieved subjects in their address to problem-solving Ottoman authorities, a fact Yūsuf was probably well-aware of. Yūsuf’s poem, *Arzuhal I*, styles *kadı* of Imotski as the main recipient of this poetic petition, but both the form and contents of the poem clearly indicate that he was not the only intended recipient of the message. For one, the politics of the poem is not the politics we find in Ḥācī Yūsuf’s *hajj* diary. “We” is not used as a tool of depersonalization by the author. Rather, the “we” is used to denotate a local community Ḥācī Yūsuf felt he belonged to. Furthermore, the *zimmis* mentioned in the poem are not just “non-Muslims,” but fellow citizens who, together with Yūsuf the muezzin, and most probably Yūsuf the merchant, experienced the injustice of one

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<sup>136</sup> The most famous example to quote here is *Ribanje i Ribarsko Prigovaranje (Fishing and Fishermen’s Talk)* composed by Petar Hektorović (1487-1572), in 1556. Described as an epistle and a poetic travelogue-narrative, this text was printed in 1558 in Venice, and has been studied as a product of Croatian Renaissance. In this long poetic form containing 1684 verses, Hektorović includes a number of vernacular genres (proverbs, riddles, heroic epic poems) exchanged and sung among Dalmatian fishermen. He introduces the heroic poems with the note they were sung “in the Serbian manner” (sl. *sarpskim načinom*). See, Petar Hektorović, *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje: izvornik i prijevod*, ed. Hanibal Lucić, and trans. Marko Grčić (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1988).

particular local-power holder—the deputy of the *kadi* of Imotski who presented himself as a sufiesque figure, but was very much interested in “illegitimate” ways of acquiring material gain. With those *zimmis*, Ḥācī Yūsuf shared the same reality in which injustice could be remedied by the intervention of a centrally appointed Ottoman official. The “we” in the *Arzuhal I*, is a group of people who can be understood as both interlocutors and co-petitioners of Muslim or non-Muslim faith, of non-Slavic and Slavic origin. The things they had in common is their familiarity with the local politics and their bilingualism, or more precisely the ability to transgress the boundaries of their native languages which could be acquired through schooling (in the case of Muslims) or simply on the street (in the case of Christians). The loose connection between particular motives and a tirade of curses evoke an invitation to anyone who would love to add their own experience with and their “wishes” for the deputy Sporo. At one point the poem suddenly switches from Sporo as the main object of critique to a local *imām* criticized for being illiterate (tr./*ummī*) and deaf. This, however, happens in the last stanza, which leaves the reader with the impression that the poem was unfinished. Considering all this, calling St. Mary for help, for example, could be seen as part of a local rhetorical ethos as much as an index of one’s still intimate relationship with their Christian past. The idiom Ḥācī Yūsuf employed to compose his *Arzuhal I* could thus be characterized as a “composite literate vernacular,” and maybe even *narodni* (sl./popular) provided we allow that the literate and/or the bilingual were *narod*. Lastly, this idiom could hardly be affixed to a single ethnic prefix.

The above discussion aimed to show that framing Ḥācī Yūsuf as a rebel against corruption in the declining Ottoman empire in general and a recent Bosnian convert to Islam who preserved his language and memory of his Christian past is, at best, misleading. No concrete evidence from his texts can be quoted in support of the claim that Yūsuf from Livno thought the *Ottoman empire*

was declining. Second, the way in which he used Slavic cannot be brought into direct correlation with his “memory of the Christian past.” For the sake of comparison, it can be noted that the author of another relevant text, a local Bosnian Muslim who did explicitly remember his ancestors’ Christian past, did this in Arabic, rather than in Slavic.<sup>137</sup> Ḥācī Yūsuf was a member of an interpretive community of a much different order than the existing literature suggests. He was first of all a local Ottoman: a religious functionary and a merchant, a literate Muslim who internalized the fact that Turkish was *the* literary language of the multilingual Ottoman society and who saw no obstacle for including Slavic into the poetic realm of Arabographia. The ways in which Ḥācī Yūsuf employed Turkish and Arabic in his pilgrimage diary, testifies that he was well aware of, but not intimidated by, his own limitations and abilities pertaining to the options offered within the Ottoman multilingual regime. His ambition and authority to publicly voice his protest about a local crisis, was probably boosted by the fact that he was one of a few who could perform the duty of *hajj* in person and that his commercial transactions were legitimate. In his diary, Ḥācī Yūsuf does not talk about particular languages at all. The pan-Ottoman community he felt he belonged to were Muslims. His understanding of the non-Muslim communities was informed by both the everyday life and the ideas which shaped the outlook of a locally-rooted functionary in the Ottoman order.

Ḥācī Yūsuf explicitly fashions himself as a speaker of Slavic in his second poem, also thematized as an *‘arżuhāl* (hereafter *Arzuhal II*). Another person who speaks in this poem is a *beg* from the Kopčić family. Members of this family featured as local power holders since the late medieval times, and some of them were Muslims by the early sixteenth century for certain, or

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<sup>137</sup> This is Hasan Kāfī Aḳhişārī, of whom I will talk more in *Chapter IV*.

possibly even earlier.<sup>138</sup> The *beg* was the one who somehow deprived Ḥācī Yūsuf of a small *tumār*. The *tumār* was initially granted by a *defterdār*, and the act was accompanied with all necessary “papers.” The *beg*, apparently, did not recognize the authority of the documents. Ḥācī Yūsuf ’s *Arzuhal II* is addressed again to a *kadı*, though he does not explicate this in this poem.<sup>139</sup>

Kadić copied some verses from Ḥācī Yūsuf ’s *mecmū’a* without considering them to have been written by our seventeenth century muezzin-pilgrim-merchant himself. In these verses, a poet from Bosnia identifies himself as Şevkī. Several couplets copied are dedicated to some beloved. These are followed by a poem of seven couplets in which Şevkī transpires as a person who was given a task by an investigator/inspector sent on a mission to Bosnia upon a sultanic order.<sup>140</sup> It is not clear what the sultanic envoy was investigating in Bosnia and precisely when, nor is this in focus of the poem. The poem, similarly to *Arzuhal I* and *Arzuhal II*, was composed as a plea (*ricā*) addressed to a *müfti*. In this plea, Şevkī, as the official local agent of the imperial investigator, asks for a fatwa about *Poturs* and what was to be done with them according to the sharia. This poem contains no Slavic words. That Şevkī was Ḥācī Yūsuf ’s poetic *maḥlaş*, is an open possibility.

### III.3 Meḥmed (d. after 1651)

The authorship of several, partially or entirely Slavophone Arabographic texts dated to the first half of the seventeenth century has been attributed by modern Yugoslav philologists to a person by the name Meḥmed. In what follows, I summarize some previous approaches to Meḥmed’s work,

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<sup>138</sup> When Ḥācī Yūsuf travels to *haji* he mentions two begs from Rama, identified by modern readers of his diary as being from this family. Srdjan Rudić, “Prilog poznavanju nekih islamizovanih Bosanskih porodica,” in *Spomenica Akademika Sime Ćirkovića*, ed. Srdjan Rudić (Beograd: Istorijski Institut, 2011), 425-439: 430-433.

<sup>139</sup> See *Appendix B/a* for transliteration of this poem.

<sup>140</sup> See *Appendix B/a* for transliteration of this poem.

by using his name and his two known literary pseudonyms, Üsküfî (-i) Bosnevî and Hevâyî as leitmotifs.<sup>141</sup> I then proceed to discuss the (in)coherence of Meḥmed's language ideology as well as possible personal, literary, moral and political influences that shaped it. The below discussion is also relevant for understanding the way in which Meḥmed's texts were used in pre-modern times.

Based on the modern literature the corpus of which was founded and influenced by Blau and Kemura/Ćorović, Meḥmed's full name was *Mehmed Heva(j)i Uskufi Bosnevi*.<sup>142</sup> In this form and combination, however, this name does not appear in any extant pre-modern source. What is attested in the sources is that a person who identified themselves as Üsküfî-i Bosnevî composed, in 1631, a versified Bosnian/Turkish dictionary entitled *Maḳbül-i 'Arif* (Esteemed by the Wise). There are also four poems composed in Slavic language and recorded in Arabic script in which the poet identifies himself as Hevâyî. These poems were first discovered in a bound codex made up of three parts. The third, undated part of the codex contained copies of various texts, many of which were composed by Meḥmed in Arabic, Turkish, Slavic, and Persian.<sup>143</sup> At some point after, the first, printed part was separated from the codex, while the second (dated to 1720) and the third

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<sup>141</sup> Besides Blau, following are the works focusing solely on Meḥmed's work, or its place within Bosnian *aljamiado* literature: Derviš M. Korkut, "Makbul-i Āryf-Potur Šahidija-Üsküfi Bosnevija," *Glasnik hrvatskih zemaljskih muzeja u Sarajevu* (1942): 371-408; Alija Nametak, "Rukopisni tursko-hrvatskosrpski rječnici [Manuscript Turkish-Croatian/Serbian Dictionaries]," in *Građa za povijest književnosti Hrvatske* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1968), 231-380; Leffeldt, *Der Serbokroatische Aljamiado-Schrifttum*; Alija Nametak "Tri rukopisa Makbuli Arifa (Potur-Šahidije)," *Anali GHB* 5-6 (1978), 145-164; Ahmed Kasumović, Muhamed Huković, and Ismet Smailović, *Muhamed Hevai Uskufi* (Tuzla: Univerzal, 1990); Hendrik Boeschoten, "Bosnische Metrik," in *Beläk Bitig-Sprachstudien für Gerhard Doerfer zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Marcel Erdal (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 1995), 33-49; Matthias Kappler, "Ottoman Versified Dictionaries for Balkan Languages: a Comparative Analysis," *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 37 (2001): 10-20; Georgios Dedes, "Was there a Greek *aljamiado* literature," in *The Balance of Truth. Essays in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Lewis*, ed. Çigdem Balim-Harding and Colin Imber (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2000), 83-98.

<sup>142</sup> This is the spelling used in Slavic publications.

<sup>143</sup> The codex in question was made by binding three separate wholes. The first part was a book, titled *Ahsenu'l Hadīs* (The most beautiful prophetic traditions), printed in Istanbul, in 1313. The second part was manuscript copy of Arabic/Turkish dictionary composed by Ferišteoğlu Meḥmed bin Abdüllatif (d. after 1417), produced in 1720. The third part contains no date. Nametak, "Rukopisni tursko-hrvatskosrpski rječnici," 233.

(undated) were catalogued as one manuscript described as a *mecmū* 'a. The two-part *mecmū* 'a was last catalogued in Oriental Institute of Sarajevo as R-2915. Like many other manuscripts, it has not survived the early phase of Yugoslav Wars (1991-2001) and the 1992 shelling of the Institute.<sup>144</sup> An image of a page from this *mecmū* 'a is preserved in Kemura/Ćorović's publication. The image contains a part of a poem in Turkish signed by Hevāyī, and the beginning of a poem written in Slavic.<sup>145</sup> Besides being the only manuscript known to have contained Hevāyī's Slavic poetry, this was at the same time the only manuscript in which Hevāyī's other works, written in Arabic and Turkish, were preserved. The fact that none of Hevāyī's works written in Arabic and Turkish was published or even described in more details serves as a fine illustration of the tendency to separate Slavophone Arabographia from its original context. One, relatively speaking, exception to this tendency is Alija Nametak's translation to Slavic of a poem originally written in Turkish and titled (by Mehmed) *Kaşīde-i Berā-yi Da 'vet-i Īmān* (Kaşīde written as/for the sake of a Call to Faith, hereafter: *Call to Faith in Turkish*). Twelve couplets of this poem have survived preserved in the above cited image.<sup>146</sup> Nametak was interested in translating this poem because the longest Slavic poem composed by Hevāyī also thematized "a call to faith." Nametak held that these two poems promoted the same kind of the religious ideology, whereby the Slavic version was an

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<sup>144</sup> Initially, the *mecmū* 'a belonged to the collection of Zemaljski Muzej u Sarajevu. In this period, it was consulted by Kemura and Ćorović. At some point "Institut za istraživanje Balkana u Sarajevu" was attached to Zemaljski Muzej. Derviš Korkut who used it in 1942, quotes the *mecmū* 'a as "manuscript from the Institute for research of the Balkans in Sarajevo no. 1527." In the same year, Fehim Spaho described it in his *Arapski, perzijski i turski rukopisi Hrvatskih Zemaljskih Muzeja u Sarajevu*. In 1963, Alija Nametak mentions the *mecmū* 'a under the same catalogue number (1527), but now as a part of collection preserved in Oriental Institute in Sarajevo. After the foundation of the Institute, in 1950, the manuscripts from Zemaljski Muzej were transferred there, and for a while, it seems, the same catalogue numbers were retained. The same *mecmū* 'a is described in the 1997 catalogue of (then already destroyed) manuscripts from OIS collection, as OIS MS-R-2915. See, Salih Trako, and Lejla Gazić, eds., *Katalog Rukopisa Orijentalnog Instituta-Lijepa Književnost* (OIS: Sarajevo, 1997), 250-252 and 235-236. Since the catalogue description of OIS MS-R-2915, next to summaries of his works in the secondary literature presents and important source on Hevāyī's complete works, I provided its translation to English in *Appendix B/b*.

<sup>145</sup> Kemura and Ćorović, *Serbokroatische Dichtungen*, x. See also *Appendix B/b*.

<sup>146</sup> See *Appendix B/b* for transliteration of the surviving part of this poem in Turkish.

extended translation/adaptation of *Call to Faith in Turkish*.<sup>147</sup> On a closer look, however, it turns out that these two poems were inspired by rather different ideas, despite being attached similar titles (see below).

Derviš Korkut was the first to note, in 1942, that Kemura-Ćorović talked about “Mehmed Hevājī Üskūfī” without saying how they knew that Hevājī, whose Slavic poems they published with the knowledge of Blau’s book, was called Meḥmed.<sup>148</sup> At the moment, the only, relatively safe proof that Üskūfī-ī Bosnevī’s name was Meḥmed is a copyist’s note introducing *Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif* found in manuscript dated to 1859/60. The note reads: “*hāzā Kitāb-i Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif min te’līfi Üskūfī Muḥammad Ḥalīfe ṣallā’llāh ‘alayhi.*”<sup>149</sup> That Hevājī and Üskūfī were the same person whose first name was Meḥmed has not been doubted. Based on the titles provided by a copyist of R-2915, Meḥmed, albeit rarely, seems to have used the two pen-names at the same time. This evidence indicates that he used both pen-names when he composed a versified treatise on *‘arūz* (meter) in Turkish. The same or a different copyist grouped Meḥmed’s Slavic poems under the title *Eṣ‘ār-i Hevā’ī Üskūfī* (The Verses of Hevā’ī Üskūfī). Nametak, who published the first, relatively veritable transliteration of the texts of Hevājī’s Slavic poems based on R-2915, designated the third part of this composite manuscript as “collected works of Muhammed Hevaji Uskufi in Turkish and Croatian-Serbian language,” thus, among other things, ignoring the existence of Hevājī’s Arabic texts of which he knew to have been recorded in the same *mecmū‘a*. Right thereafter, he will designate the copyist of all of the texts in the *mecmū‘a* as an “anonymous

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<sup>147</sup> Nametak, “Rukopisni,” 235-237.

<sup>148</sup> We know that Korkut also used OIS MS R-2915, and had there been a mention of Meḥmed, he would not pose this as a problem. He himself, however, offered a solution which turned out to be purely speculative. Korkut, “Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif,” 378-379.

<sup>149</sup> HASa-MS R-262, f.1a; Nametak, “Tri Rukopisa,” 146.



copyist and collector of Hevaji's mind-products."<sup>150</sup> Nametak maintains that the copyist, and not Hevāyī, was the one who provided the titles of the poems in which their language is designated as Serbian.<sup>151</sup> He holds that Meḥmed could not call his language Serbian, since in *Maḵbūl-i 'Ārif* he calls it Bosnian.<sup>152</sup> In the same publication, Nametak provides the first solid critical edition of the dictionary, which was in fact his main goal. Yet, he did not base it on the version found in R-2915, but used several other manuscripts, the oldest one dating to 1724.<sup>153</sup> The text of the dictionary from R-2915 was transliterated and translated earlier, by Korkut, in 1942.<sup>154</sup> Korkut equipped this edition with several images. Based on these and the only sample of the hand which copied Hevāyī's poems preserved in Kemura-Ćorović's book, it can be concluded that at least two different persons copied Hevāyī's poems and Üskūfī's dictionary to R-2915, most probably from different template manuscripts. This suggests that the "collection" of Hevāyī Üskūfī's compositions was not produced by one person, but that the *mecmū'a* was either a bound codex or a manuscript filled with contents during a longer period of time. This, in turn, implies that copyists belonged to an interpretive community (family, friends, colleagues, copyists, readers) who shared the same attitudes towards Slavophone Arabographic texts, their communicative potential and/or some sort

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<sup>150</sup> Nametak, "Rukopisni," 233.

<sup>151</sup> See *Appendix B/b* for the titles, as preserved in the catalogue entry.

<sup>152</sup> Nametak, "Rukopisni," 234.

<sup>153</sup> Nametak used: I) a version from a manuscript initially kept in Zemaljski Muzej Sarajeva (MS XVI<sub>2</sub> 186) which was incomplete (i.e. had no introduction), but written in a fine, almost calligraphic hand, as he informs. This manuscript, dated to 1724, contained several other dictionaries; II) OIS-MS R 399, undated, incomplete, without an introduction; III) GHB-MS R 2865, complete; IV) GHB-MS R 2961, incomplete text; and V) GHB-MS R 3376 (1896), *ibid.* 238-246. At the end of this publication, following the footsteps of Blau, Nametak provides a Slavic-Turkish dictionary organized in the alphabetical order. He created it by compiling the words from Üskūfī's dictionary with the words from the various lists of Turkish words translated into Slavic. These lists, scattered in manuscripts dating from the early eighteenth to the late nineteenth centuries, are sometimes thematic (e.g. dedicated to the names of herbs), but many of them contain words selected without an apparent thematic orientation. Copied without any particular title, these lists often overlap in content, *Ibid.*, 238-246, and *passim*.

<sup>154</sup> Korkut, "Maḵbūl-i 'Ārif," 384-408.

of idea of their complementarity with other texts in the *mecmū* 'a. These copyists, obviously, did not think that Bosnian and Serbian as labels for a language were mutually exclusive. Besides, they were also able to engage with the lexicographical material and the short textual forms written in all “three Ottoman languages.”

Another thing to note, related to the existing secondary literature, is how much ink was spilled over the meaning of the relative adjective Üsküfî. The first suggestions were presented by Blau who, generally speaking, did not make any certain conclusion about Meḥmed, other than noting that he was an educated Muslim, whose “confession” (ger. Bekenntnis) was liberal and influenced by Catholicism.<sup>155</sup> What ensued was a series of theories about the meaning of Üsküfî. Many of these theories were based on one of Blau’s assumptions that Üsküfî was a “surname,” derived from the name of the author’s place of birth. The problem these theories faced is that no place in Bosnia called Üsküf/Üsküf could be found in the Ottoman sources. Korkut who paid most attention to the details of Meḥmed’s biography, provides what seems like the most plausible explanation—that the word *üsküf/üsküf* had to do with Janissary equipment. Various versions of the story of the foundation of the Janissary corps, as a rule mention that Janissaries were wearing a specific headgear.<sup>156</sup> At one point this headgear started being named *üsküf*. A mid-seventeenth-century anonymous copy of *Ta’rīḥ-i ‘Alī ‘Osṃān* connects a headgear by the name *üsküf*, not to the Janissaries in particular, but to *ġāzīs* in general. According to this story, the first *üsküfs* were the golden helmets found in a Byzantine fortress taken by Murād II after its walls fell down.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Blau, *Bosnisch-türkische sprachdenkmäler*, 50-51.

<sup>156</sup> Neṣrî mentions this headgear as *ak-börk* (tr./white cap) and associates the foundation of the corps with Ġāzî Evrenos, Lala Şāhîn, and Çandarlı Ḥayreddîn Pasha (d.1387), Unat and Köymen, *Neṣrî tarihi I*, 199.

<sup>157</sup> “Ol tarafda Bulına dirler bir ḥiṣār vardır çeri-i Türk ana *Tanrı Yıgduğı* dirler. Ol vilāyetun kāfirleri kaçup ol ḥiṣāra girmişler idi (...) bir laḥzede ḥāber geldikim sultānım devletunde ḥiṣārın bir yanı yıkıldı didiler Haḳḳ Ta‘ālā ḳudretiyle zîr ü zebūn oldı didiler. Murād Ḥān Lāla Şāhîn’i gönderdi. Varub esîrlerin alup mubālaġā māl getürdi. Ve ol ḥiṣārın içinde altun taşlar buldılar. Ġāzîler başlarına koyub Ġāzî Murād’a karṣu geldiler. Altun *üsküf* giymek ol

That *üsküf* was not just a piece of garment/equipment, but an object with history we also learn from İbrāhīm Peçevî (1572-1650). In the very beginning of his chronicle Peçevî frames the appearance of a particular kind of headgear (tr. *kırmızı mücevveze*) as a historical event and continues to write about various kinds of Ottoman headgears. He notes, among other, that *üsküf* had been in use for long and that it was mainly worn by Janissary officers (tr. *bölükbaşıları*). It was “invented” by Süleymān Pasha (d. 1357, son of the second Ottoman sultan Orhan). Süleymān Pasha chose this piece of garment for Janissaries as an expression of his deep respect for Mevlanā Celāluddīn Rūmī.<sup>158</sup> These few examples can serve as evidence that semantics of the pen-name Üsküfî in the seventeenth century could have been rather multilayered.

Interpreting the meaning of the pen-name Hevāyî did not cause any controversy among scholars. It was taken as a “simple” pen-name, something all Ottoman poets used, rather than a piece of information that could shed any extra light on the persona of the poet. Nametak translates Hevāyî to Slavic as *Zračni*, the relative adjective derived from the noun *zrak* which can mean *air*, or *ray of light*. As written in Turkish, the consonantal cluster “hvy” can be read as both *havā* and *hevā*, whereby *hava* is the pronunciation which goes with the meaning “air, atmosphere,” while *hava* and *heva* are versions of the word meaning “love, affection, desire.” *Havā* with its variant *heva*, was not just a mundane word, but an Arabic word from pre-Islamic corpus which made it to Quran (ar. *al-hawā*). There it was used with a negative connotation of human desire and

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zamāndan kaldı” [In that area there is a fortress called “Bulına,” known among Turkish army as *Tanrı Yığıduğı*. The infidels from that area panicked and entered that fortress (...) suddenly a news arrived: Rejoice, my Sultan, one wall of the fortress fell, by the force of the God Almighty it went upside down. Murād Hān sent Lāla Şāhīn [to the fortress]. He [Lāla Şāhīn] came, took the slaves and brought immense amount of goods. Another thing they found in that fortress were golden helmets. Gazis put the helmets on their heads and thus came to meet Gāzī Murād. The custom of wearing the golden cap (*üsküf*) was established then and there], NL Sofia-MS OR K2, f. 12a. The manuscript was copied in 1653, in Belgrade, in a shop owned by certain Kaşım-zāde. See, Stojanka T. Kenderova, and Anka Stoilova, eds., *Brief catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts preserved in St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library* (Sofia: St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, 2013), 44.

<sup>158</sup> İbrahim Peçevî, *Tarih-i Peçevî* I, 3-4.

inclinations of the soul/ego (ar. *nefs*) which can lead a believer astray. As a concept, *hevā* was discussed in Quranic exegesis and various off-shoots of this discourse, whereby the argument revolved around whether the desire it denotes operated negatively in absolute terms or if it could also result in positive and pious behavior.<sup>159</sup> Though we do not know what Mehmed wrote in his treatise on “partial free-will” (ar. *irāde-i cuziyye*), a topic which was also couched within those types of discourses, we can safely conclude that his interest in matters of human soul, desire, destiny and piety was not superficial. Besides, *hevā* in its negative connotation was part of the everyday language of the seventeenth century literary and public discourse on social crisis. Addressing the vocabulary of this discourse, Marinos Sariyannis writes that *ehl-i hevā* (translated as *the licentious, the libertine*) was used to designate “debauchees” and “people with a strong desire, maniac for something.”<sup>160</sup> In the early seventeenth century *hevā* also had a meaning which could be understood without being acquainted with topics addressed by producers of learned texts. In a document (tr. *temessük*) from 1615 by which a certain Mehmed, sea-captain from Herceg Novi, confirms the appointment of a Christian to the position of a super-intendent in a nearby salt-pit (paid 14 akches per day), we find a stipulation that the said Cristian, Andrija, should be kept in office as long as he, even for a brief moment, does not leave his work in pursuit of his *hevā* (fun and entertainment).<sup>161</sup> All of this implies that Mehmed’s choice of pen-name Hevāyī may have

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<sup>159</sup> Mustafa Çağrı, “Hevā,” *TDVİA Online*, consulted on 24.03.2021; E.E. Calverley, “Nafs,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, First Edition (1913-1936)*, consulted online on 24 March 2021; The term *Ahl al-Ahwā’* (People of *hawās*), as explained by Ignaz Goldziher was “applied by the orthodox theologians to those followers of Islām, whose religious tenets in certain details deviate from the general ordinances of the Sunnite confession (...). As examples there are mentioned: *Djabariyya*, *Qadariyya*, *Rawāfiḍ*, *Ḳhawāridj*, anthropomorphists, *Mu‘aṭṭila*. From the above definition it may be inferred that in the sense of Muslim theology it is not proper to designate these tendencies as sects,” Ignaz Goldziher, “Ahl al-Ahwā’,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, consulted online on 26 March 2021.

<sup>160</sup> Marinos Sariyannis, “‘Mob’, ‘Scamps’ and Rebels in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Some Remarks on Ottoman Social Vocabulary,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 11/1-2 (2005): 1-15, 3.

<sup>161</sup> “Şöyle ki bir ān mahall-i mezbūra hizmetinden hālī ve havāsına tābi‘ olursa def‘ olunup yerine āḫar tā‘yīn olunmak kavliyle işbu ḫurūf ber vech-i temessük ketb olunup yed-i tālibe vāz‘ olundu āḫardan bir ferd māni‘ ve müzāhim

been informed by the positive connotations of the noun and the way they reverberated within the broader contemporary discourses. Or, it could also be that he, like other Ottoman poets who often took artistic liberties, adopted a penname with a “negative” connotation, in a playful or self-blaming gesture.

Nametak also paid some attention to the meaning of the title *ḥalīfe*, first used with the name Mehmed in the above quoted copyist note from the nineteenth century.<sup>162</sup> He explains that *ḥalīfe* is here a synonym of the Greco-Turkish word *efendi* (gentleman, sir). The meaning of this title, however, is also context-dependent. In the parlance of Ottoman imperial household it was the title carried by “twelve most talented recruits” in the Great and the Small Chambers of the Topkapı Palace whose age averaged around fifteen and who were tutored by teachers from outside of the palace. These senior recruits likewise tutored the younger recruits while also training them in physical skills.<sup>163</sup> Around the turn of the seventeenth century the title was commonly attached to the names of provincial religious functionaries like muezzins, *imāms* and *ḥaṭībs*.<sup>164</sup> The title was also used to designate a particular status in the Ottoman bureaucracy, such as was held by the famous Kātip Çelebi, also known as Ḥācī Ḥalīfe. The word was also used in guild frameworks to designate an apprentice.

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olmaya,” Hamid Hadžibegić, “Turski dokumenti Grbaljske Župe iz XVII stoljeća,” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 1 (1950): 23-50, 28 and facsimile.

<sup>162</sup> The most famous Bosnian known as Mehmed Ḥalīfe is the author of *Tārīh-i Gilmānī*, who signed himself as Mehmed b. Hüseyin el-Bosnevī. This is an eyewitness account of the events which took place between 1633 and 1660, published in Buğra Atsız, *Das osmanische Reich um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts: nach den Chroniken des Vecihi (1637-1660) und des Mehmed Halifa (1663-1660)* (München: R. Trofenik, 1977).

<sup>163</sup> Marija Đukanović, *Rimovana Autobiografija Varvari Ali-Paše* [The Rhymed Autobiography of Varvar Ali Pasha] (Beograd: Filološki Fakultet Beogradskog Univerziteta, 1967), 79 (fn.8).

<sup>164</sup> Adem Handžić, *Tuzla i njena okolina u XVI vijeku* [Tuzla and its Surrounding in the Sixteenth Century] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1975), 156 (fn.63).

Finally, since Blau published *Maḳbūl-i ʿĀrif* under the title *Potur-Şahidiyya*, scholars paid a lot of attention to this alternative title attested in some manuscript copies dating to early eighteenth century and thereafter. As I already noted in *Chapter II* in relation to other texts, the meaning of the appellation *Potur* has been a subject of great interest and contested interpretations.

Recently, there appeared more or less detailed philological discussions on the formal relationship between *Maḳbūl-i ʿĀrif* and a versified dictionary titled *Tuḥfe-i Şāhidī* (*Şāhidī's Gift*, hereafter *Tuḥfe*) which, self-avowedly, Meḥmed used as a model. *Tuḥfe* was a Persian-Turkish versified dictionary composed in 1515 by İbrāhīm Şāhidī (d.1550), a Mevlevi shaykh from Muğla (in present-day Turkey). These discussions revolve around the notion of “originality,” i.e. the fact that *Maḳbūl-i ʿĀrif* was not only “the first Bosnian/Turkish dictionary,” but that it was “the first” early modern dictionary of any Slavic dialect. As such, it is discussed from the perspective of the history of Bosnian, Croatian, and/or Slavic lexicology, the choice of label varying from scholar to scholar.<sup>165</sup> Significant is a publication of a version of *Maḳbūl-i ʿĀrif* currently preserved in the manuscript collection of the University Library of Uppsala, in that it offers a facsimile and lists the most important known manuscripts, though it does not bring any new information on the author or the work.<sup>166</sup>

### III.3.1. Üsküfî-i Bosnevî and Hevâyî, a Biography

Again, everything we know about Meḥmed's biography is culled from the texts that have been attributed to him. What little Meḥmed left us, has never been put together in an organized manner.

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<sup>165</sup> Adnan Kadrić, “Originalnost izvan ili/ u unutar leksikografske tradicije: komparacija Uskufijinoga rječnika i rječnika İbrahima Şahidije” [Originality Outside or/and within a Lexicographic Tradition: Comparison between Uskūfî's and İbrahim Şāhidī's dictionaries], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 52-53 (2002-2003): 1-12; Adnan Kadrić, “The Phenomenon of Conceptual Lexicography in Ottoman Bosnia,” in *Ottoman Studies in Transformation-Papers from CIEPO 18, Zagreb* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010), 317-329.

<sup>166</sup> Ahmed Kasumović, and Svein Mønnesland, eds., *Bosansko Turski Rječnik. Muhamed Hevai Uskufi, 1631* (Tuzla, 2011).

Although students of his texts, most notably those who studied *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif* (1041/1631-32) in which Meḥmed presents himself as Üskūfī-i Bosnevī, did pay some attention to biographical details, many conclusions and speculations have been made without clear reference to textual evidence. This task is even harder now that most of these texts are lost.<sup>167</sup> In the introduction to *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif*, Meḥmed presents himself as Üskūfī-i Bosnevī and the servant of the ruler of the world.<sup>168</sup> This he does in the present tense. The scholarship suggests that “the ruler of the world” Meḥmed referred to in this sentence was Murād IV (1623-1640), i.e. the sultan who ruled in 1631 when Meḥmed wrote the dictionary. Scholars also repeat that Meḥmed actually submitted the text to Murād IV and received a reward for it. It seems that Bašagić was the first to suggest something like this.<sup>169</sup> What remained completely unclear is where Meḥmed was when he wrote the dictionary, at the court, or somewhere else.

I here propose that present tense in Meḥmed’s sentence: “Beggard which Üskūfī-i Bosnevī I am/The servant of the ruler of the world I am,” was in fact the narrative present. This sentence can thus be understood as an introduction to Meḥmed’s reminiscence of his past when he was a page in the inner court of a sultan’s palace.<sup>170</sup> Therefore, at the time when Meḥmed wrote this dictionary, he was, if we take his own word on this, a retired *ḳapukulu (oturak)* for ten years already, i.e. since ca. 1031 (1621/22). Reminiscence of his past life at the imperial court could,

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<sup>167</sup> I already wrote about *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif* and Meḥmed’s biography in my MA Thesis. There I did not question the details of the established interpretations of Meḥmed’s biography nor I pursued the implications of possible different readings of biographical details we have at our disposal. Marijana Mišević, “The Social, Political and Linguistic Context of the Emergence of *Aljamiado* Literature in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Bosnia: the Case of a Lexicographer and Poet, Mehmed Hevā’i Üskūfī” (MA Thesis, Central European University, 2013).

<sup>168</sup> “Gedā kim Uskūfī –i Bosnevīyim/ Şehinşāh-ı cihandārun ḳūliyım.”

<sup>169</sup> Nametak, “Rukopisni,” 238-239.

<sup>170</sup> The pages could live in the Edirne Palace, or in Galatasaray or in İbrāhīm Pasha’s Saray in Istanbul, but (*en*)*derūn* and *birūn* are most commonly designating the Inner and the Outer courts of the Topkapı Saray in İstanbul. Liking the “*derun*” to heaven makes a lot of sense if the place was imperial palace, rather than any other possibility. Also, the literati mentioned, apparently presented their works directly to the sultan.

among other, serve the purpose of boosting his authority as an author. Where he lived at the time of writing the dictionary cannot be known based on the verses from the introduction to *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif*. Meḫmed also writes that he came to the inner court of the imperial palace more than twenty years “before” some reference point. The obvious reference point is 1041 (1631/32), the time of writing. This would mean that Meḫmed entered the court in 1611/12, during the reign of Aḫmed I (1603-1617). If my theory of the narrative present is correct, then the year of 1621/22 could also be taken as the less obvious reference point of “before.” In this case, what Meḫmed wanted to say is that he entered the court in 1601/02, i.e. during the reign of Meḫmed III (1595-1603). This year, however, is taken by previous students as the year when Meḫmed was born. This date is established based on a small note Meḫmed left, as Hevāyī, in his poetic work *Tebṣīret 'ul- 'Ārifīn* (Warning of the Wise) written in Turkish. This note, in itself, only tells us that Meḫmed lost his parents as a child, around the year 1010 (1601/02).<sup>171</sup> This does not preclude the possibility that he was old enough, in 1601 to be recruited as a page in Istanbul. Another note from *Tebṣīret 'ul- 'Ārifīn* was used for a conclusion that Meḫmed was born in sancak of Zvornik. In this note, however, Meḫmed simply informs that sancak of Zvornik *is* his “diyār” (i.e. at the time he composed his text) and that, despite the fact that he *is* a son of a *beg*, he considers all honest men his close friends.<sup>172</sup> These lines square nicely with his pen-name Hevāyī betraying pietistic and sufiesque, perhaps Mevlevi, inclinations. What little information about *Tebṣīret 'ul- 'Ārifīn* made it to the secondary literature dates this composition to Meḫmed’s post-Istanbul period. Here, Meḫmed writes about

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<sup>171</sup> The autobiographical verses in which Meḫmed quotes “the year of his birth” are: *İrişmiş idi bin on mäh ve sāle/Muḫaḳḳaḳ hicret-i fahr 'il-risāle/Ṭif(i)l iken atām anām bu dāri/koyup dutdı vaṭan-i dār 'il-ḳarāri* [The year of 1010 had come/For sure this is the 1010<sup>th</sup> year after the *hijra* of the Prophet/When I was a child, my mother and my father this world/They left and settled in the eternal world], Korkut, “Makbūl-i ‘Aryf,” 377. *Tebṣīret* (Ar.) means “a making clearly seen and understood, demonstration; warning,” but it is also used in titles of literary works dealing with various topics like *kelām* (theology), *usūl* (principles of the faith), *taṣavvuf*, astronomy etc. Therefore, the title could be also be rendered as *What Has Been Made Clear by the Learned Ones*.

<sup>172</sup> “Benim sancāğ İzvornīkin diyārim/ Beg oğlyim velī sıdḳ ehli yārim,” Korkut, “Makbūl-i ‘Aryf,” 378.



oppression/persecution, the greed which causes a lot of evil, corruption of Ottoman appointed government officials (judges, governors, *beys*, powerful land holders/*sipāhis*) and—meals.<sup>173</sup>

Therefore, in my interpretation, Meḥmed came to the court ca. 1010 (1601/02) as a child. He did not come to the court as a Bosnian Muslim peasant (*potur*), but as a son of a *beg*, possibly through some family connections. What he may have shared with Bosnian Muslim children of humble origin was the lack of pre-recruitment education. He stayed in or around the court for some twenty years during which he was educated and trained, and did work which had something to do with Janissary equipment, more precisely their remarkable headgears called *üsküfs/üsküfs*. While at the court, Meḥmed could observe not only the literary activities of the pages, himself being one of them, but also learn about the contemporary literary trends as pursued by senior literati who presented their compositions to the sultan. Whether he was “retired” soon before or after 9 Recep 1031 (20 May 1622) when sultan ‘Osmān II was murdered, can only be speculated about. Provided he was healthy, at the age of 22 plus, the chances are high that his exit from the court service had something to do with the turmoil of the period. His first mention of Murād IV in the introduction to *Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif* can be read as a continuation of his memories of the past and an expression of a relief from anxieties characteristic of the period before this sultan took the reigns of the government, in 1623: “We have reached/attained (e.g. the long awaited enthronement of) Murād IV.”<sup>174</sup> Similar sentiment was expressed in an autobiographical *Mesnevī* penned by somewhat older and much more highly positioned Bosnian, Varvar-‘Alī Pasha (d. 1648)—former Christian recruited through *devshirme* system.<sup>175</sup> After his retirement, in 1622 or even 1623, Meḥmed most

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<sup>173</sup> Nametak, “Rukopisni,” 234.

<sup>174</sup> “Bi ḥamdillāh ki bir sulṭāna irdük/Murād Hān ibn Aḥmed Hāna irdük.”

<sup>175</sup> “Murād üzere idüp eflāk-ı devrān/ Tūlū‘ itdi ufukdan şah Murād Hān,” [The universe fulfilled wishes, shah Murād Han appeared on the horizon], Djukanović, *Rimovana autobiografija*, 56 (Verse 77).

probably moved from Istanbul to the province. This did not stop him from observing the literary trends and people who present their works to the sultan. So, in 1631, he decided to compose a work never composed before, namely his *Maḵbūl-i ʿĀrif*, and perhaps submit it to Murād IV. Whether he did this or not, we cannot know. In any case, if someone at the court would still remember him, they would remember him as Üskūfī-i Bosnevī. Finally, according to the existing versions of his biography, Meḥmed was born in the village of Dobrnja, near Dolno Solan (the Slavic version of Donja Tuzla), in the *sancak* of Zvornik.<sup>176</sup> This is concluded based on the fact that he mentions these two locations in a poem written in Slavic, composed in 1651. This is the poem which starts with “*Yā Ḳavūri vami velu ḥodte nami vi na viru*” (Oh, Infidels, I am telling You, Come to Us in Faith; hereafter: *Slavic-Come to Us in Faith*). The relevant verses, however, only indicate that the poem was written in Dobrnja, near Donja Tuzla, in the *sancak* of Zvornik, thus making this place a good candidate for Meḥmed’s residence after he settled in the province, and no more than that.<sup>177</sup>

Despite the lack of clear guidance by the existing literature and reference works, one can still make educated guesses about what it meant for Meḥmed to become “*oturak*” at a young age. Various, commonly used reference works and dictionaries, provide several definitions, one of them being “retired, with a pension,” i.e. the one I accepted as valid for interpretation of Meḥmed’s biography.<sup>178</sup> In Evliyā Çelebi, for example, *oturak* is used in several different meanings. When

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<sup>176</sup> Ubication of the exact place of birth of an *aljamiado* author has been taken up by philologists and historical linguists since this enables one to estimate the dialect of Slavic the person was born into, and therefore their “nationality” based on the modern theories about the geography of various pronunciations of a particular letter from Old Church Slavonic. Korkut claims that Meḥmed explicitly mentions Donja Tuzla (as Dolno Solan) in the dictionary, but I could not find this place, neither in Korkut’s edition of the text, or any other I had a chance to read. Korkut, “*Makbūl-i ʿĀrif*,” 378.

<sup>177</sup> “*Dobrnatan Dolno Solan/Radi Hevaji je viran/Pomoćučin Bože jedan/Hodte nami vi na viru*” See *Appendix B/b* for a transliteration of this poem.

<sup>178</sup> *Redhouse* offers: seat; naut. thwart; chamber-pot; the posterior; place on which a thing stands (bottom, foot, stand; archaic halting place; residence; halting, resting; seated, sedentary; archaic. retired on a pension, pensioner; *prov.* bedridden, paralytic; *prov.* drinking party with dancing women, *Redhouse*, 904.

he uses it to designate a person, Evliyā couples it with *korucu*, suggesting that these two terms had something in common or could have been used interchangeably. Dictionaries suggest that *korucu* was used to designate “an old Janissary still active in service.”<sup>179</sup> With all this in mind, it seems that the retirement of a lower-rank *kapukulu*, i.e. becoming an *oturak* or a *korucu* due to, for example, a minor disability after being wounded or alike, did not imply an end of one’s active service and life, but rather the end of the active membership in the corps attached to the court, or end of an obligation to go on campaign. Mehmed, like some other *oturaks* and *korucus* of which we learn from Evliyā, did not seem to have continued his *oturak*-life in a typical way.<sup>180</sup> What he wrote suggests that he had time to put his linguistic education to use, maybe even as some sort of a religious functionary in Dobrnja or Donja Tuzla, perhaps a muezzin or *imām* of a local mosque or *mesjid*. The title *ḥalīfe*, attached to his name by a nineteenth century copyist of *Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif*, if nothing else, does not counter this possibility. Although we do not know the exact patterns of recruitment of local lower-rank religious functionaries, from some individual examples like that of Aga Dede of Dobor we know that military career and service in a mosque/*mesjid* were not mutually exclusive, nor was any level medrese education a precondition for taking-up these posts. Aga Dede was taught by his father, and by a Khalwati shaykh.<sup>181</sup> As already seen from the example of Ḥācī Yūsuf, *imāms* and muezzins were literate religious functionaries in touch with the

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<sup>179</sup> Redhouse, 675.

<sup>180</sup> Evliyā Çelebi mentions *oturaks* and *korucus* being employed as guardians of a fortress near Black Sea strait, living in the tents, and that this employment was introduced by the law (*kānūn*) issued by Murād IV, “Evliyā Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zillī, *Evliyā Çelebi, Seyahatnāmesi. I. Kitap*, ed. Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006), 218. We find the same coupling in the account of Iznikmid, where Janissary *oturaks* and *korucus* are again found around a fortress and dealing with timber trade and dressing beautifully, Evliyā Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zillī, *Evliyā Çelebi, Seyahatnāmesi. II. Kitap*, ed. Zekeriya Kurşun, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 38.

<sup>181</sup> Osman Sokolović, “Pjesnik Aga-dede iz Dobor-grad a svome zavičaju i pogibiji Osmana II” [The poet Aga-dede from Dobor Grad about his Homeland and the Death of Osman II.], *Anali GHB* 1/1 (1972): 5-34. See also, *Chapter IV*.

government officials, military men and rich land-owners on the one hand, and the rest of the local congregation, on the other. As will be seen from below, Meḥmed also fashioned himself as a mediator between the officials and the common folk, irrespective of confession.

When Meḥmed wrote (i.e. after 1631), the village of Dobrnja and the town of Donja Tuzla (Lower Tuzla) belonged to the *sancak* of Zvornik, the territory of which encompassed parts of North-Eastern Bosnia located along the Drina river, as well as the area across the river which belongs to present day Serbia. As of 1580, the *sancak* was an administrative part of Bosnian *beylerbeylik*, but its administrative business was run by the offices (*dīvāns*) of governor-generals of both Bosnia and Buda. The urban development of pre-Ottoman Donja Tuzla was accelerated in the Ottoman times, just like was the case with Gornja Tuzla (Upper Tuzla) and the surrounding towns. With time, the Catholics moved from the very center of the town to periphery, and the town was mainly populated by Muslims. Just as elsewhere in South-Slavia, the north-eastern Bosnia was populated by adherents to Islam, Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity.<sup>182</sup> What can be mentioned as a relative specificity of this area, is the number of Serbian Orthodox Churches and monasteries reactivated or founded anew during the Ottoman rule, of course, out of the urban settlements.<sup>183</sup> Gornja Tuzla and the surrounding are also known as once being the hub of Hamzeviš. In addition to this generalia, Nihad Dostović's recent study of Tuzla court records dated to 1644-1646 and dedicated specifically to Janissaries living in the area should be mentioned as rather exceptional in terms of the amount of details it provides to illustrate the vibrancy of the local

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<sup>182</sup> Handžić, *Tuzla*, 59-77.

<sup>183</sup> Based on the study of cadastral surveys, Adem Handžić concludes that Orthodox Christians living in Bosnia were predominantly privileged Vlachs/Eflak headed by *knezes* and *primikurs*. He quotes nine Serbian-Orthodox monasteries which were built or rebuilt in the sixteenth century, noting that the list was not exhaustive: Papraća, Tamna, Lomnica, Ozren, Vožuća, Gostović, Moščanica, Zalužani, Rmanj etc. Of the nine monasteries, Zalužani and Rmanj were in western Bosnia, while all others were located to the north-east. Adem Handžić, "O društvenoj strukturi stanovništva u Bosni početkom XVII stoljeća" [On the Social Structure of the Population in Bosnia at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 32-33 (1982): 129-146, 134.

life. Among other, this study shows, that Janissaries of various economic positions and stature—from very rich to rather poor, more or less mobile in their activities—constituted an important element of the social fabric of the area around both Donja and Gornja Tuzla. Considering the fragmentary nature of the available literature on local Janissary activities in South-Slavia as a whole, it cannot be said whether strong Janissary presence in the area was a norm or an exception. What is clear however, is that many, if not the majority of the Janissaries who arranged their business at the local court were of Slavic origin, old or recent converts to Islam. This is known due to the fact that the court records often clearly state the Christian names of their fathers and forefathers from, according to Dostović, previous two to four generations, i.e. from the previous period of 60 to 120 years. He makes a point that covering up the Christian origin by using “bin ‘Abdullāh” as patronymic was an exception, rather than a rule. The examples he quotes, however, show that these lineages were not important for reasons of pride or some abstract sense of identity only, but that they had a lot to do with regulations of property ownership. The private documents issued upon resolution of disputes or other administrative business were, of course, in Turkish. Though the local population of all confessions suffered from local bandit groups, some of which knew no confessional divide, this study also shows that the period of peace, from at least 1606 to 1645, brought the relative prosperity, not only to Tuzla and its surrounding, but to the whole of the province of Bosnia.<sup>184</sup>

To this, still peaceful Bosnia, in the end of 1644, came the above mentioned Varvar ‘Alī Pasha as a governor general (*beylerbeyi*). In the early 1645, he spoke Slavic with Ragusan envoys who brought him presents and greeted him as both an old friend and new Bosnian pasha, just like they did with all Bosnian pashas before him. And just like most of the Bosnian governor-generals

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<sup>184</sup> Nihad Dostović, “Janičari u svjetlu tuzlanskog sidžila 1644-1646. godine [Janissaries in the Light of Tuzla *Kadı*-Court Records from 1644-1646],” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 64 (2015): 239-254.

who came after the first one (Ferhād Pasha Sokolović, in office 1580-1587, and 1589-1590), he also occupied the position for no more than a year, and then went on to serve with the same rank in Cyprus. Coming “home” made Varvar ‘Alī happy and inspired him to write his versified autobiography featuring all the sultans he served and all the short-term governing posts he was taking all over the empire. Varvar ‘Alī himself framed his life in a *Meşnevī* which was written in what can be called unadorned Turkish imbued with layers upon layers of vernacular imperial ideology.<sup>185</sup> His spoken Turkish however, was labelled by Evliyā Çelebi, and based on him, the modern scholars, as *Boşnak lehçesi*, which is supposed to be viewed as a discrete idiom and has been studied as such.<sup>186</sup>

Last two years of Varvar ‘Alī’s life (1647, 1648) which ended with execution will be remembered in all key Ottoman chronicles of the seventeenth century. Allegedly, his life took a wrong turn when he refused to send a sum of money demanded “as a present” by the court of İbrāhīm I. He was also demanded to send the wife of his friend to the sultan’s harem. He refused the former claiming the province he governed (Sivas) was too poor to collect the sum of 30 000 akches,<sup>187</sup> and the latter by claiming it was against the sharia. Evliyā, who was personally involved in ensuing military conflict between Varvar ‘Alī Pasha and other governors, reports that one of the rare “honest” persons involved in the event—Meḥmed, the governor of Erzurum and Evliyā’s

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<sup>185</sup> Đukanović, *Rimovana Autobiografija*, esp. 3-24.

<sup>186</sup> Robert Dankoff, “Turkic languages and Turkish Dialects According to Evliya Çelebi,” in *From Mahmud Kaşgari to Evliya Çelebi: Studies in Middle Turkic and Ottoman Literatures*, collected essays by Robert Dankoff (The ISIS Press: Istanbul, 2008 ), 259-276. I already discussed Ekrem Čaušević’s position on this matter.

<sup>187</sup> Tuzla *sijil* contains entries on robberies from which we see that one robbed *tumār* holder held 20 000 akches in cash. Dostović also mentions recorded money transactions which involved 4.500, 4.800, 14.000, and 80.000 akches.

temporary employer—commented Varvar ‘Alī Pashas naïve trust in false friends by calling him “*ahmak* potur,” i.e. the foolish peasant.<sup>188</sup>

Hevāyī Üskūfī had quite a different life from that of Varvar ‘Alī, but what they shared was the idea that Turkish was the idiom in which one should write about self and life as it happens, as well as formulate and/or display one’s own achievements and ideas. Not much in common they had beyond that. Varvar ‘Alī had a secretary skilled in *insha* to write the letters he dispatched to his peers and enemies. Meḥmed was interested in poetic meter of which he wrote in Turkish, and in matters of human will, of which he wrote in Arabic. In Turkish he wrote a poem (*Call to Faith in Turkish*) in which he calls Turkish speakers to faith, more precisely to return to the right, we may assume, sufi path. Varvar ‘Alī was self-professedly concerned with proper application of the sharia law. We do not have specimens of Meḥmed’s speech, be it in Turkish or in Slavic, so as to be able to talk about his Turkish as “Boşnak,” or his Slavic dialect as “shtokavian,” “ikavian,” and alike.

### **III.3.2. Old Genres and New Ideas About Language/s**

In the introduction to his *Makbūl-i ‘Ārif* in which he employs his rhetorical skills, Meḥmed presented compiling of various dictionaries as a particularly hectic literary activity he was able to observe. The way he saw his contribution to the trend is that he composed a versified dictionary of Bosnian language which had not been written before. The indirect evidence that versified dictionaries, as lexicographical sub-genre, were particularly popular in Meḥmed’s time can be found elsewhere as well. Certain Nushī al-Nasihī whom Derin Terzioğlu identifies as “a learned Muslim mystic of Balkan extraction,” wrote an *‘ilmiḥāl* in 1633. Terzioğlu contextualizes this text within a broader trend of the “seventeenth century boom” within the genre of catechetical literature

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<sup>188</sup> *Evliyā Çelebi, Seyahatnāmesi. II. Kitap*, 226.

intended for the “lay public” and exemplified by the texts written in accessible Turkish.<sup>189</sup> But, what is of interest here is the way Nushī profiled those who needed to take better care of their piety. The majority of these people, according to him, were people who were able to read, but first and foremost “wanted to be urban.” In Terzioğlu’s paraphrase, “they read the books on prosody and rhyme, the dictionaries of *Dānistan*, Ferišteh and Şāhidi, and the *Pend-i ‘Aṭṭar* and *Gūlistān* before they studied jurisprudence and even before they learned their ‘ilm-i ḥāl.”<sup>190</sup> Terzioğlu links these people who were able to read, wanted to be urban, and read the books in Persian, to the “upwardly mobile moneyed men of Istanbul” and to the “growing importance of moneyed ‘city-folk’ as social and political actors.” Thus defined social groups became recognizable after the beginning of the seventeenth century, and have been investigated from various angles by the Ottoman historians.<sup>191</sup> A bit pedantic, but important nuance can be added to Terzioğlu’s conclusions. “Şāhidi” from the above citation stands for the already mentioned Persian/Turkish *Tuḥfe*. “Ferište,” however, mentioned by Nushī could stand for two different Arabic/Turkish dictionaries written by two members of the same family who both signed themselves as Ferišteoğlu or Ibn Melek. The first one was versified and self-professedly at least, contained words from Quran, while the second addressed the same corpus, but was in the form of prose. Both were rather

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<sup>189</sup> *‘Ilmiḥāls* in the Ottoman empire have mainly been written in Turkish. As Terzioğlu writes, when compared to early examples which explicitly quoted new converts to Islam as target audience, the seventeenth century examples, do not mention converts, but rather address internal divisions among Muslims. In relation to that, it can be added that one of the oldest known, post-fifteenth century examples of text written in Greek by the use of Arabic script is dated to 1660, and was a poetic work aimed to function as *‘ilmiḥāl* for Greek-speaking Muslims. I want to thank William Stroebel for sharing with me his forthcoming article dealing with this text.

<sup>190</sup> Terzioğlu, “Where ‘Ilm-i Hāl meets Catechism,” 96.

<sup>191</sup> Terzioğlu here quotes Sariyannis, “‘Mob,’ ‘Scamps’ and Rebels,” as well as Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 14-23. See also, 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 (Istanbul; London: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul; I.B. Tauris, 2006), 59-73.



popular and copied throughout the Ottoman period.<sup>192</sup> This, if but vaguely, suggests that the wannabe “urbanites” may have not limited themselves to reading Persian and Persian classics mentioned by al-Nasīhī. Whether and if so, what *else* they read in Arabic is currently an open question. Apart from that, Terzioğlu’s valid connection between economic status and the reading habits of people of Istanbul is possible to make, since Istanbul was and remains in focus of Ottoman intellectual and cultural history. Our understanding of the literate and literary dialogues and mutual influences between the cosmopolitan center and its supposed geographical and socio-linguistic peripheries is, however, rather unsystematic and based on often fragmentary knowledge of individual biographies of the so-called provincial intellectuals and literati. Furthermore, provincial literati like Hevāyī Üskūfī are, if granted interest at all, normally fashioned as “Bosnians,” minor-figures, and/or idiosyncratic individuals, rather than as “Ottomans” and the members of broader interpretive communities.

The very fact that Meḥmed decided to contribute to a genre the utility and popularity of which was undisputed in his lifetime, and as will be seen from below, the genre which was going through a revival in front of his eyes, indicates that he probably felt to have belonged to a community which surpasses the physical locale he lived in, no matter how defined—as a village, *nāḥiye*, *kadılık*, *sancak* of Zvornik, Bosnia, or even Rūmeli. The real challenge then lies in describing the interpretive community he felt he belonged to, and more specifically, the ideas about language/s shared within this community. Defining *a* community Meḥmed belonged to as a community of the early seventeenth century producers of the Ottoman dictionaries—one of the crucial meta-genres to look into in search for language ideologies—seems like a good start.

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<sup>192</sup> ‘Abdullaṭīf b. ‘Abdūlazīz İbn Ferište İbn Melek (d. after 1418) composed the versified *Luğat-ı Ferišteoğlu*. ‘Abdūlmecīd İbn Ferište (d. 1459) composed *Luğat-ı kānūn-ı ilāhī*, in prose, in 1450. See, Cemal Muhtar, *İki Kur’an sözlüğü: Luğat-ı Ferišteoğlu, Abdullaṭīf İbn Melek, ve Luğat-ı kānūn-ı ilāhī, Abdūlmecīd İbn Ferište* (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı yayınları, 1993).

By noting that people who simply wanted to be urban rather than interested in a religious dogma or basic principles of pious behavior, read “Ferişte” and “Şāhidī,” Nushī al-Nasihī unintentionally provokes a thought that versified dictionaries were not texts the usage of which was limited to the initial stages of any kind of programmatic education intended to be completed. The common way in which the lexemes in versified dictionaries were organized does not always allow a clear differentiation between the target and the source language, but those examples produced in the territory of the Ottoman empire involved translation of select corpus of Arabic and Persian words into Turkish. What criteria the compilers used for selection of the lexemes is not always stated nor clear, but the great majority of these words belonged to the domain of the everyday communication, i.e. words with the not too strong connotations. The grammatical challenges from the perspective of learners familiar with Turkish syntax were minimal. According to the compilers of these dictionaries the audience of this genre were children and beginners. Interesting thing to ponder is what effect these dictionaries produced on children whose full competence in Turkish was in the state of development. Had their training stopped with these dictionaries, the children could, theoretically, use most of the Persian and Arabic words while speaking Turkish in their adult life.<sup>193</sup> If a child was a non-Turkish speaker, the question is which of the two languages they intended to learn, but we can safely suppose that the utility of Turkish posed no dilemmas. With adult beginners, there is a whole range of possibilities at the root of

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<sup>193</sup> As I mentioned before, modern scholarly evaluations of linguistic competence of Ottoman text producers rarely go beyond stating that a so and so person knew this and that language, irrespective of how the competence manifested itself in the text (be it composed or transcribed). A medrese graduate is often held to have been competent in Arabic, for example. An exemplary exception to this attitude are some scholarly works dedicated to Evliyā Çelebi. Of course, Evliyā is an exceptional case which lends itself perfectly to this kind of investigations, but it does not mean that more critical approach in less transparent cases should not be applied. See, for example, Nurettin Gemici, “Evliya Çelebi’nin Arapça bilgisi ve Arapça kaynaklarla ilişkisi üzerine gözlemler [Observations about Evliya Çelebi’s knowledge of Arabic and his relationship towards sources in Arabic],” in *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi’nin Yazılı Kaynakları* [The Written Sources of Evliya Çelebi’s *Seyahatname*], ed. Hakan Karateke and Hatice Aynur (Türk Tarih Kurumu: Ankara, 2012), 186-199, and Helga Anetshofer, “*Seyahatname*’de dilbilime dair kaynaklar” [The sources of *Seyahatname* related to linguistics], in *Ibid.*, 270-285.

which lies a question of a person's linguistic competence and education prior to their reach out for these dictionaries.

Another crucial aspect of versified dictionaries is that they group lexemes into chapters, each chapter being composed in a particular poetic meter. In this way, by learning these texts by heart, the students would also pick up on the techniques of production, reading and/or listening of poetry composed on the principles of the quantitative 'aruz meter.<sup>194</sup> The various 'aruz meters were a feature of the highbrow, learned, educated, *dīvān* poetry which owed its remarkable development in the Ottoman society primarily to the elite-patronage networks. As I mentioned before, recent revisions show that poetry composed in 'aruz relatively quickly became a domain and propriety of various social groups and interpretive communities. Tentatively speaking, the pace of production and ways of usage of versified dictionaries can be viewed as being in direct connection with changes in the modes of engagement with poetry by people of various generations and levels of literacy. In relation to that, it can be added that, had a student stopped their orderly linguistic training after learning one or several dictionaries of this type only, they could perhaps, if interested and with some additional guided reading, consume poetry in Turkish or even produce it. This would not be possible in case of both poetic and prose texts in Arabic or Persian the understanding of which would demand a deeper study of the grammar. Finally, we can hypothesize that, in some circles, enriching one's Turkish with a couple of hundreds of Persian and/or Arabic words together with learning how to read/recite poetry was considered an achievement in itself.

Modern literature on Ottoman historical dictionaries suggests that versified dictionaries were routinely propping the alleged pan-Ottoman ideal of trilingualism, or, alternatively, learning

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<sup>194</sup> This program is explicitly outlined by Şāhidī in his introduction to *Tuḥfe*. Antoinette C. Verburg, "The Tuḥfe-i Şāhidī: A Sixteenth-Century Persian-Ottoman Dictionary in Rhyme," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 15 (1997): 1-87, 11-17.

Arabic as language of religion, and Persian as language of sufiesque *belles-lettres* by the speakers of Turkish. Besides that, the scholarly conclusions about the intended audience of versified dictionaries have most often been verbatim quotations of what their various Ottoman authors stated in explanation of their “reasons for writing” (*sebeb-i te’lifs*). Many of these introductions inform that the main intended audience for these dictionaries were children and beginner level learners of Arabic and Persian. Nevertheless, the career of *Tuḥfe-i Şāhidī* may serve as a warning against essentializing the *sebeb-i te’lifs* of versified dictionaries (or any other type, for that matter) and against an uncritical equalization of the ideas explicated by producers and the ideas of the users of the texts.<sup>195</sup> For example, Şāhidī writes that children and beginners should use his dictionary with the help of a skilled teacher. He also writes that he gathered his corpus by perusing Celāluddīn Rūmī’s *Meşnevī* and that his dictionary was to serve the specific purpose of learning Persian with the goal of understanding the *Meşnevī*. *Meşnevī* was a foundational religious text of the Mevlevi sufi canon chiefly operating beyond *medrese*, but the domain of the reception of the book can hardly be limited to people with specifically Mevlevi inclinations. Almost everything Şāhidī wrote was inspired by or related to *Meşnevī*, but it was his *Tuḥfe* that was destined to become a text the number of surviving copies of which cannot be determined today. With time, *Tuḥfe* gained the status of a classic of the genre. Arguably, it was even more than that. *Tuḥfe* was a text the reception of which renders hopeless any attempt at strict specification of its users whatever the criteria

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<sup>195</sup> Surveys and analyses of historical dictionaries produced in the Ottoman empire are too many to be quoted here. These general conclusions should be taken as my own impressions informed by reading of several dozens of the scholarly publications dedicated to Ottoman historical dictionaries. The surveys of historical dictionaries are commonly divided into those studying Persian-Turkish and those studying Arabic-Turkish dictionaries. For the purposes of this section, I used: Öz, *Tarih Boyunca*; and, Ahmet İhsan Dünder, “Osmanlı Dönemi Arapça-Türkçe Sözlükleri, Mehmed b. Mustafa el-Vānī ve *Terceme-i Sihāh-ı Cevherī* Adlı Eseri” (PhD Thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2017). Within modern Turkish academia, Atabey Kılıç is a scholar of authority whose many students wrote on versified dictionaries, or published the texts in transliteration, at various post-graduate levels of education. For a long list of articles dealing with versified dictionaries and occasional editions, see a recent article: Hasan Doğan, “Budimli Cihādī ve *Teşrih-i Tībā’* İsimli Türkçe-Arapça Manzum Sözlüğü,” *Littera Turca- Journal of Turkish Language and Literature* 2/4 (2016): 16-32, 17 (fn.2).

employed (education, age, religious affinities, linguistic profile, social stature, place, and even gender). In other words, *Tuhfe* seems to have been used for individual study as well. Who were the users of other dictionaries of this kind which met with more mild responses, is a matter for further investigation.

The versified dictionaries started appearing in Anatolia during the thirteenth century, and the works produced in this time were often copied in the following centuries as well. The list of titles of various types of bi- and tri- lingual versified dictionaries produced in the Ottoman realms for the use of Turkish speakers by 1631 is not easy to compile, but their number is still small when compared to the number of texts produced after this year. The list I compiled for the purpose of this discussion may not be exhaustive nor final, but it is representative enough to show some broad trends within the genre. This list shows that, as of the late fourteenth until the late sixteenth century, the genre of versified dictionaries flourished in the Ottoman empire with a remarkable consistency.<sup>196</sup> These dictionaries were produced side by side with the prose counterparts, both under the patronage of court and political elites and independently of their sponsorship, demands and wishes. *Tuhfe-i Şāhidī*, for instance, was not composed with the goal of being rewarded by a

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<sup>196</sup> Versified dictionaries composed in Anatolia during the pre-Ottoman period and during the transition to the Ottoman period are: (1242) Şükrullāh, *Zühretü'l-Edeb* (A-P); (ca.1250) Hüsāmüddīn Hasan b. 'Abdülmü' min el-Ḥoyī, *Naşibü'l-Fityān ve Nesibü't-Tibyān* (A-P); (1356) 'Abdülhamīd b. 'Abdurrahmān el-Engurī (Ankaravī), *Silkü'l-Cevāhir* (A-P); (1360-1370) Aḥmedī, *Mirkātü'l Edeb* (A-P); (1392) 'Abdüllatif ibn Melek, *Luğat-ı Ferişteoğlu* (A-T); (1399-1400) Hüsām bin Hüseyin-i Konevī, *Tuhfe-i Hüsāmī ez-Mültekāt-ı Sāmī vü Esāmī* (P-T); (before 1421) Aḥmed-i Dā'ī, *'Ukūdū'l'-Cevāhir* (written during the reign of Çelebi Mehmed/1413-1421/, to be read by Ottoman prince Murād II) (A-P); (1424) Behāüddīn İbn 'Abdurrahmān-ı Magalkaravī, *U'cūbetü'l Garāib fī Nazmī'l Cevāhiri'l'-Acāyib* (A-P-T).

Versified dictionaries from the Ottoman period composed in Anatolia and Rumelia: (1446) Luṭfullāh Ḥalīmī bin Ebī Yūsuf, *Bahru'l Garāyib* (P-T); (1484) Mehmed bin Yahyā-yı Konevī, *Şādiyye* (P-T); (1511) *Lehçetü't-Türk* (P-T); (1514/15) Muğlalı İbrāhīm Şāhidī Dede, *Tuhfe-i Şāhidī* (P-T); (before 1527) Lāmi'ī Çelebi, *Tuhfetu'l Lāmi'ī* (*Luğat-ı Manzūme*) (P-T); (ca.1550) Anonym, *Luğat-ı Maḥmūdiyye* (A-T); (before 1560) 'Imādzāde Velī b. Yūsuf-i 'Imādī, *'İlm-i lügāt* (P-T); (between 1550-1600) Anonym, *Nazmu'l Esāmī* (P-T); (before 1580) Şemsi Aḥmed Pasha, *Cevāhiru'l-Kelimāt* (A-T); (1583) 'Osmān bin Hüseyin el-Bosnevī, *Luğat-ı Manzūm* (P-T); (1592) Cihādī, *Teşrih-i Tıbbā* (A-T); (before or ca.1594) Şeyhülharemzāde Şeyh 'Abdulkerīm-zāde, *Lügat-i 'Abdulkerīm* (A-P-T); (1599) Sun'ī Malatyavī, *Fethu'l-fettāḥ* (A-P-T); (1623) Mehmed b. Aḥmed er-Rūmī Bosnevī, *Subha-i Sıbyān* (A-T); (1631) Gencī Pīr Mehmed, *Genc-i Leāl* (T-A/T-P).

patron. Even more, Şāhidī openly complains about the intellectual trends he witnessed in Istanbul of his time.<sup>197</sup> Lāmi‘ī Çelebi, another famous Ottoman Persianist, made his contribution to the genre and to the studies of Persian texts in general, mainly from Bursa. While producing his *Lūgat-i Manzūm*, Lāmi‘ī did it, unlike Şāhidī, without referring to a precedent.<sup>198</sup>

People who were born, lived or were (self-) identified by referring to places in South-Slavia, started contributing to this genre after ca. 1580. Until at least the end of the seventeenth century, the period I paid attention to, no author related to South-Slavia contributed to the production of a prose dictionary. ‘Osmān bin Hüseyin el-Bosnevī (fl.1583) is the name which can only be connected to the creation of a versified dictionary, and no other fact from his biography is known. The same stands for Meḥmed b. Aḥmed er-Rūmī Bosnevī’s (fl.1623). Cihādī (fl.1592) was from *sancak* of Zvornik and is known to have lived in Zvornik and around Buda. The person from Bosnia who contributed to the genre, not by composing a dictionary, but by creating the first known commentary (tr. *şerh*) of *Tuḥfe-i Şāhidī*, was Aḥmed Sūdī Bosnevī (d.ca.1600). The commentary in which Sūdī added Arabic synonyms to Persian and Turkish lexemes he found in the *Tuḥfe*, has been preserved in one copy only, dated to before 1598.<sup>199</sup> Although this commentary was not widely circulated, its production can be taken as an event which marked the beginning of a new era in which, not only a huge number of versified dictionaries was produced, but also an era which

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<sup>197</sup> Verburg “The Tuḥfe-i Şāhidī,” 14-17.

<sup>198</sup> Şāhidī talks about *Tuḥfe-i Hūsāmi* as a model. A recent summary study on “Persianists” in the Ottoman Empire is in Inan, “Imperial Ambitions.” An edition of Lāmi‘ī’s dictionary is Ibrahim İmran Öztahtalı ed., *Lāmi‘ī Çelebi ve Lūgat-ı Manzūmu-Tuḥfe-i Lāmi‘ī* (Bursa: Gaye Kitabevi, 2004)

<sup>199</sup> For a critical edition of this commentary, see, İlham Köse, “Bosnalı Sūdī (ö. 1600)’nin *Tuḥfe-i Şāhidī şerhi* (inceleme-çeviriyazılı metin)” (PhD Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2017). The next commentary after Sūdī, was written between 1640 and 1667, by ‘Abdulkadir b. ‘Ömer b. Bāyezīd el-Bağdādī, with the title *Ta’rību Tuḥfeti’ş-Şāhidī* (“Arabization” of *Tuḥfe-i Şāhidī*) which was a translation to Arabic with commentaries. Sometimes between 1617-1663 there appeared the first alphabetical arrangement of Şāhidī’s corpus, titled *Şerh-i Tuḥfe-i Şāhidī*, by Şeyh Aḥmed el-Mevlevī.

witnessed an unprecedented engagement with a particular lexicographical work—*Tuhfe-i Şāhidī*. From the late sixteenth until the early twentieth century, *Tuhfe-i Şāhidī* was read, learned by heart, commented, imitated, translated, arranged, and analyzed. These activities resulted in the creation of more than fifty (presently known) original works.<sup>200</sup>

Within the Ottoman tradition of versified lexicography, (Meḥmed) Üsküfī-i Bosnevī stands out as the first author who explicitly quoted Şāhidī as his model. Meḥmed’s *Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif*, it seems, was almost exclusively copied in Slavic-speaking regions.<sup>201</sup> But, writing versified dictionaries by directly referring to Şāhidī as a model to look up to will become a sort of a custom among composers of versified dictionaries only after 1631.<sup>202</sup> Establishing whether the general interest in *Tuhfe* had to do with Mevlevi inspired didactics, would need further research. Scholars who have suspected Meḥmed belonged to a sufi order proposed these were Khalwatis, for he includes a definition of a *Khalwati* in his dictionary. The word Meḥmed uses to define a *Khalwati* is *samsidit*—“the one who sits alone.” Unattested in other texts, this word may easily be an invention resulting from a translation of *halvet* (tr./ solitude, self-isolation taken up by a person with the goal of religious devotion and exercise), and a definition of “the other.”

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<sup>200</sup> Yūsuf Öz, *Tuhfe-yi Şāhidī şerhleri* [The commentaries on *Tuhfe-yi Şāhidī*] (Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Yönetim Kurulu, 1999).

<sup>201</sup> This claim, of course, should be taken with a grain of salt, for some four copies of *Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif* are today preserved in the libraries in the Republic of Turkey. One of these copies (from Erzurum İl Halk Kütüphanesi) has been dated to 1635, which would make it the oldest extant copy. One (from Istanbul Millet Kütüphanesi) was copied by Mahmud Bosnevī, in 1690. Two undated copies are kept in Reşid Efendi Eski Eserler Kütüphanesi and Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi). See Kasumović and Monnesland, *Bosansko Turski Rječnik*, 180-182. Of these, I only had a chance to look at Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi-MS 45 Ak Ze 205, which, among other contains a note reading: “Şāhidī merhumun Tuḥfesine nazīre, Üsküfī merhūmun Bosna Luġatidir, Sultān Murād-ı Sālīs (döneminun?) ricālinden, 982 (1574/75)”[This an imitation of the late Şāhidī’s Tuḥfe, it is Bosnian dictionary of the late Üsküfī, he is from among the man of sultan Murād III], Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi-MS 45 Ak Ze 205, f.2a.

<sup>202</sup> Fedāi Meḥmed-i ‘Ayntabī’s, Arabic-Turkish, *Tuhfe-i Fedāi* from 1634, is first explicit “imitation” after Meḥmed. See, Öz, *Tuhfe-yi Şāhidī şerhleri*, 107-111.

Based on the above, the chances are high that, around 1631, Meḥmed knew what the obvious, renewed interest in production of versified dictionaries may have been responding to, but we can only speculate whether this was a general increase in popularity of classics like *Ferişteoğlu* and *Tuhfe*, a re-evaluation of pedagogical practices of Sufi lodges, or both. One explicit remark made by Meḥmed—namely that the fact he used Şāhidī as a model does not mean that he finds it faulty in any way—invites a possibility that some of these texts were indeed composed with the goal of updating the classics or correcting their impact, be the impact of purely lexicological or ideological nature. Providing answers to these questions, however, would require a much deeper investigation of the genre and its reception. The suggestion I tried to make here is that the period around the beginning of the seventeenth century was a period of increased language awareness which permeated Ottoman social hierarchy much beyond the elite. And by the elite I here mean individuals able to create new texts (in any language having audience in the Ottoman empire) which met and set the high-quality standards in terms of grammatical correctness, style and functionality. This language awareness can only partially be explained by evoking the final phase of a linear development of Turkish vernacular into a full blown literary language—a tool of the empire and its *medrese*-educated elite. In other words, thinking about language/s was not the sole prerogative of Ottoman academics, rhetoricians and stylists whose socio-political thinking and interests were centered on the dynasty, its household/government, and the educational institutions it controlled. Another point I tried to make, is that, when Meḥmed decided to place Slavic words into the *‘aruz* meter, his ideological program may have been much more complex than it was previously thought. Just as the number of models he used was not limited to *Tuhfe* only. It is



probably no coincidence that few lines from his introduction bear direct resemblance to few lines from the introduction of Cihādī's Arabic/Turkish *Teşrih-i Tıbbā*.<sup>203</sup>

*Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif* has all formal characteristics typical of the genre of Ottoman versified dictionaries and most of schematic conclusions made above can be applied to this case as well. The form is something Meḫmed himself found necessary to emphasize by making effort to outline his methodology, just like Şāhidī did. Like the composers of Arabic/Persian-Turkish versified dictionaries who could and did rely on the existing texts, Meḫmed could also do the same but only while choosing Turkish lexemes. Although his Turkish corpus could be described as belonging to spoken Turkish, he could consult the texts for the matters of spelling, unless he relied on his own knowledge. In case of Slavic, it can be claimed with high degree of certainty that he relied on his own resources while transcribing Slavic words. Whether he knew about the fifteenth century project described in *Chapter I* cannot be known—the overlap in vocabulary can mean no more than that the lexemes were collected from the everyday, spoken language. Having no autograph at our disposal, we can only guess what solutions Meḫmed applied in adapting Arabic script to Slavic.<sup>204</sup> What Meḫmed himself, however, fashions as a main, though not a discouraging difficulty, is fitting Bosnian words into 'aruz meter. Thinking about what he intended to say when he described Bosnian words as huge (tr. *iri*), one can, for example, recall that only few decades earlier Muştafā 'Ālī described Turkish language as heavy (tr. *sākil*), and conclude that applying attributes of physical objects as metaphorical descriptions of languages was a common Ottoman habit. Though we do not know much about this sort of vocabulary, it is still of benefit to compare

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<sup>203</sup> Cihādī: “‘Arab dilince idem bir luḡat cem’ / Ziyā vire kulūba nitekim şem’, ” University Library of Belgrade-MS R-341, f. 42a (copied 1797/1798). Üsküfī: “‘Idem Bosna dilince bir luḡat cem’ / Ki ola ol daḡi ḡalnce bir şem.’ ”

<sup>204</sup> The differences among various versions of this text have not been classified, but there are mistakes, replacements, corruptions, skipping and adding, unsystematic changes of dialect etc. As scholars already noted, and as I myself checked by looking at the copies I had a chance to see, there is not a single identical pair of copies of *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif*.

how two cognate manners of description actually functioned in two different texts. Expectedly, Muştafā ‘Ālī is much more eloquent and extensive. From one of his descriptions of Turkish found in a discourse on history of development of Turkish vernacular into a literary language, we learn that early on, in the fifteenth century, Turkish vernacular had to mix with Persian, and sometimes/for some purposes “to get used to expressions from Arabic” in order to become a proper tool of eloquent speech and rhetoric (tr. *feşāḥat u belāḡat*).<sup>205</sup> Meḥmed however, stays with the physical when he elaborates that the Bosnian words were huge, just like the stature (*kāmet*) of Bosnians. What unavoidably comes to mind as reality informing this metaphor, is the prominence of Bosnians in all structures of Ottoman government and military institutions. A push further can be made by assuming that Meḥmed was aware of what Muştafā ‘Ālī knew and/or professed related to the question of what constitutes a language a respectable literary tool.

If we follow Blau and many other students of the dictionary, the Bosnian who was supposed to read the dictionary was, in the first place, the notorious *potur/Potur*, i.e. Slavic-speaking Muslim who, at best, spoke broken Turkish—peasant, illiterate, uneducated, and almost an infidel. This argument is chiefly based on the fact that, with time, *Maḡbūl-i ‘Ārif* was endowed with a nickname, *Potur-Şahidija*. In support, scholars quote the village life related vocabulary. They also note that Meḥmed included the word *potur* into his dictionary and defined it as *köylü* (tr./inhabitant of a village, peasant). To strengthen the argument about the religious profile of the users of this text, scholars sometimes quote Catholic missionaries in South-Slavia who claimed that local Muslims did not know Turkish and whose politics was partially inspired by the idea that the uneducated

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<sup>205</sup>“(…) lisān-ı Türki ki ḥadd-i zātında sākil ve feşāḥat ü belāḡati her cihetle nādir ü ḡalīldür dā’imā zebān-ı Fārisīdeki güftār-ı şehd-āsārla ḡarışdurup ve aḡyānen lisān-ı ‘Arabīde olan ‘ibārāt-ı sükker-bārla alışdurup şīr ü sükker-vār imtizāc-ı pūr-revāc-ı ḡikmet-disār virüp edā-yı belīḡle söz nazm idememişdür,” Mustafa ‘Ālī, *Künhü’l-Ahbār’ın Tezkire Kısım*, 47.

Slavic-speaking Muslims can be “re-converted” to Christianity.<sup>206</sup> Going back to Meḥmed himself, it can be assumed with certainty that he knew more than one Slavic solution for translating *köylü*, but he chose this, rather specific one which was a product of Ottoman history of South-Slavia. It is thus not a huge stretch of imagination to assume that he wanted to determine, once for all, of what he thought *potur* was, and thus counter the meanings ascribed to it by say, Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī who used it to describe the Bosnia-specific rogues from Ferhād Sokolović’s entourage; the anonymous author who thought *poturs* were people without religion; the inspectors sent out from Istanbul; the likes of the governor-general of Erzurum/Evliyā Çelebi who added (political and human) naïveté to the range of the expressive power of this word, Catholic missionaries, etc. The verse “*papas poptur/govno boktur*” (*papas* is a priest, shit is *bok*) sounds like another way of distancing oneself from the Orthodox priests who were allegedly important figures in the spiritual life of *poturs*.

So, if we put *Potur* aside, who was it that Meḥmed had in mind as a prototype user of his dictionary? That *Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif* was not intended for children is something all its previous interpreters noted, and the option that has been offered is that these were “the beginners.”<sup>207</sup> Meḥmed himself was explicit in describing the text as a “source of expressions” ( tr. *ifāde*) for two categories of people. One is narrow, represented by “Bosna,” to whom Turkish would be “useful.” The other, much broader category is represented by an “open-minded” one whose knowledge (tr. *ilm*) may increase. *Ṭālibu’l ‘ilm*, the seeker of knowledge, Sufī or otherwise, is a ubiquitous figure which appears in wide range of types of Ottoman didactic texts, and Meḥmed’s allusion to it can be taken as a cliché. But, in few subsequent lines, in addition to “Bosnevīs,” Meḥmed aligns

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<sup>206</sup> Catholic writers’ and visitors’ reports from the end of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century frequently operate with the term *potur* and some variants with similar meaning, to designate Muslims who do not speak Turkish and who could be easily converted back to Christianity if liberated from the Turks. Numerous examples can be quoted, for some, see Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (London: Macmillan London Limited, 1994), 51-69.

<sup>207</sup> This consensus, however, did not preclude the occasional writing that *Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif* was used in elementary schools in the period in which Bosnian Muslims “forgot Turkish.”

himself with the “open-minded” and this while elaborating on a specific language ideology. This ideology, it seems, implied a certain tension in relation to the position of Bosnian among the Ottoman languages. According to Meḥmed, the language of “Bosna” (*Bosnaca*) was, in the first place, the language of the world, but also the language the usage of which is “religiously tolerated/lawful-permissible” (tr. *mübah*). Reference to the legal terminology is complemented by a succinct reference to the authority of canonical scholars ( tr. *fāzils*) according to whom all the languages in which Holy Books were revealed (in this case the Gospel) are permissible to use. Finally, since Bosnian is the same like Latin, and “the Gospel was revealed in Latin,” there is no reason why it should not be known and, even more, spoken “with style” (tr. *edā*). *Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif* was thus recommended as a tool to these ends.

The fact that Uskūfī advertised his dictionary as a tool for learning Turkish to be used by those Bosnians who did not know it in itself contains no derogatory, religiously- or socio-linguistically-minded value judgement. It can simply be viewed as reflecting a historical reality in which various generations of Slavs/Bosnians were constantly grappling with learning Turkish (and Arabic, and Persian), till 1631, without the help of a “Bosnian” dictionary. And this was the situation despite the fact that Bosnian was “one” with Latin (a language of the Gospel revealed to Jesus), and one could maybe dare to add, *just like* Arabic was the language of the Quran, and Persian the language of the *Meṣnevī*. Whether this implied that Meḥmed thought about Bosnian as a written/language is an interesting question. But, had he been asked whether Latin was a written/literary language, he would probably respond positively for he certainly knew that the Gospels were written down and circulating in the form of books.

*Feṣāḩat ü belāgat*, eloquence and rhetorics, had the status of academic disciplines in the Ottoman linguistic studies, on the one hand, while on the other, they designated eloquence and

appropriate speech as achieved personal qualities. This phrase was very common in all language aware Ottoman discourses. It was used to describe the qualities of speech conducted in Turkish, both spoken and written.<sup>208</sup> Meḥmed, as an Ottoman, also thought about Bosnian in terms of *feṣāḥat ü belāgat*, although he does not use these two terms. What we do find in his introduction are some concepts which represent constitutive elements of *feṣāḥat ü belāgat*. Following are the lines I find illustrative in this sense:<sup>209</sup>

27. Saying “in God we trust,” I wrote a dictionary which will be useful when known
28. The sage will understand its *rumūz* (tr./symbols), he will comprehend its *iṣarat u ğumūz* (tr./hints and allusions) (...)
31. Now, bringing these [words] under the rules of the meter [is really something, for these are like] an iron bow impossible to tighten
32. With the help of God, I formulated my discourse by applying the art of *bedī‘* (tr./rhetorics, but with focus on figures of speech which demand effort and knowledge to be understood) so it is shining [with light]
33. To make it *selīṣ* (tr./fluent), I wrote it in a rhyme which is clear, so that the one who hears it feels joy in their heart
34. I uttered some *leṭā‘if* (tr./witticisms) in Bosnian, so the one who sees them can say: man, I swear to God this is beautiful
35. To display some more artistry in each of my chapters, I adorned them by writing *beyt-i mülemma‘* (tr./couplets in two languages). (...)
41. What is the harm in educating oneself, in knowing something from languages of all people?
42. The learned one has said it is permissible to speak in the language in which a holy book was revealed
43. And when the Gospel came to Jesus, it came from God to help his servants
44. Latin was among the languages which came down [from heaven], and Bosnian is one with Latin language
45. One is not mistaken if they know it, and those who know it will be in need of an *edā* (tr./appropriate style).<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> At this point I cannot say with certainty whether eloquence and elegance of style in Arabic and Persian were described differently. Whether Ottomans had a way to describe speech in languages other than “the three” and whether the descriptions were nuanced enough to reflect differences among sociolects in those languages would also require more investigation.

<sup>209</sup> See *Appendix B/b* for transliteration of the introduction to *Makbūl-i ‘Ārif*. The numerals represent the order of lines in the transliteration.

<sup>210</sup> In the introduction to his chronicle İbrahim Peçevi used the term *edā* in the following context: “(per.) Man muta‘arrefam ke kār-e man cumle ḥaṭāst. (tr.) Öyle olsa merḥūm Celāl-zāde Nişānī Muṣṭafā Beg ve karındaşı Celāl-zāde Şālih Efendi ve Tevkī‘ī Ramāzān-zāde ve merḥūm şa‘ir-i māhir ‘Alī Efendi ve Hasan Beg-zade Efendi ve Ḥadidī ve Kātib Meḥammed Efendi tāriḥlerinden Türkīce iṣṭilāḥāt ve ‘ibārātından teḥī‘ ve sec‘ ü kāfiyeden ḥālī meġer kaşda muḳārenetsiz emr-i ittifākī vāki‘ ola ve bi‘l-cümle rüz-i merre *edā* ile bir mecmu‘a-i nāfi‘a taḥrīrine ‘azīmet ve niyyet

Finally, how could Bosnian be the same like Latin of the Gospels? This is another question that has been left open by the existing scholarship. One, least possible option is that Mehmed knew no Latin, and that he simply heard this was the language of the Gospels, counting his Muslim readers thought the same, or would simply trust him on his word. Another solution implied by the loud silence of scholars, but very much in line with modern language ideologies is that *Latin* was the liturgical language of Catholics from Bosnia and its surrounding (who were, by the modern standards Croats, Ragusans, Bosnian Franciscans, or “Westerners” in general). So when Mehmed said Bosnian was the same like Latin, he could mean it was a) the same like Catholic liturgical language, i. e. “the real” Latin b) the same like language spoken by Latins/Catholics irrespective of which this language had actually been (Italian, on the one hand, and, Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian, on the other). The option b implies that Mehmed had no idea of how “Latin” actually sounded; that he concluded Latin was the language of “the Latin/Catholic rite;” that he thought spoken Slavic he could hear every day from Catholics was used as a liturgical language in which Gospels were revealed—and written down. In other words, this theory implies too much ignorance on Mehmed’s part. Below, however, I want to entertain a hypothesis that when Mehmed used the appellation “Latin,” he made a “mistake” of a different sort, namely, what he actually meant by Latin was approximation of what the moderns would call (Old) Church Slavic. The later was a language to which, long time ago, the Gospels were—translated. But whether, in the seventeenth century, the usage of Gospels in Slavic was accompanied with a broad awareness of this fact cannot

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olundu (...). [I confess that my work is full of errors. This being said, what I planned on and intended to do is compose a beneficial compilation from the histories [written by] Celāl-zāde Nişānī Muştafā Beg and his brother Celāl-zāde Şālih Efendi and Tevkī ī Ramazān-zāde and the late skillful poet ‘Alī Efendi and Hasan Beg-zade Efendi and Ḥadidī and Kātib Mehemmed Efendi, [the compilation being made] in Turkish, devoid of terminology and phrases and without inner or external rhyme, in a way which will reflect a consensus rather than subjective points of view, and altogether—in a contemporary style], BNF-MS Turc 72, f.7a. Selim Kuru helped me translate this passage, but the possible mistakes are mine.

be said with certainty. Therefore, this theory of mine is equally (un)supportable as any other, but it is useful in it that it opens some new venues for thinking about the context in which Mehmed wrote his dictionary.

By the seventeenth century, the idea similar to what “South-Slavic dialect continuum” represents today took firm root among Slavic intellectuals who used the term *Illyrian language* to express it. An alternative with overlapping semantic field was *Slovinski*. The term *Illyrian* did not imply differentiation between written/literary language and vernacular/s, nor did *Slovinski*.<sup>211</sup> When Italian Jesuit of Slavic origin, Jacobo Micalia (lat.)/Giacomo Micaglia (ital.)/Jakov Mikalja (sl.) finished, in 1646, a dictionary in which he translated some 25000 Slavic words first to Italian, and then to Latin, he provided his work with Slavic and Latin titles. From these titles we learn that Slavic term for Italian was Latin, while Latin was called “the language of clerics/deacons.”<sup>212</sup> In the prologue to his dictionary he noted that “there are many Illyrian dialects (sl. *govor*, literally (way of) speech) but that everyone said it was Bosnian language that was the most beautiful. It was for this reason that the Illyrian writers should have cherished it in their works, like he tried to

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<sup>211</sup> According to Michaela Iovine “The “Illyrian language” referred to in the historiographic tradition of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries was considered to be “Slavic”—whether the pure, original Slavic of the first translated church books or a local dialectal variant. It is not the same as the language of the antique Illyrians, despite the ingenious linguistic theories propounded to the contrary from the Renaissance on,” Michaela S. Iovine, “The ‘Illyrian Language’ and the Language question among the Southern Slavs in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question. Volume I*, ed. Riccardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt (New Haven: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies, 1984), 101-156, esp. 101-102.

<sup>212</sup> The title in Slavic is: *Blago jezika slovinskoga iliti Slovník u komu izgovaraju se rijeci slovinske latinski i dijački* [The treasure of Slovinski or The Dictionary in which words of Slovinski are pronounced in Latin and in the “language of diaks”]. The title in Latin reads: *Thesaurus Lingvae Illyricae sive Dictionarium Illyricum in quo verba Illyrica Italice & Latine reduntur* [Thesaurus of Illyrian Language or Illyrian Dictionary in which Illyrian words are rendered in Italian and Latin]. So, Slavic labels “slovinski,” “latinski,” and “dijački” here stand as synonyms for Latin “Illyrian,” “Italian” and “Latin,” respectively. In his dictionary, Micalia explains that sl. *di(j)ački* means *latinamente* (ital.) and *Latine* (lat.). “Di(j)ački” is a Slavic relative adjective derived from the noun *di(j)ak* explained by Micalia as follows: “žakan, koji služi misu—*chjerico*-clericus, ci/ od dijaka-di *chjerico*-clericus, le/ di(j)ak, to jest skular-*scolaro*-auditor, is; discipulus, li; studiosus, si; scholaris, is; adiscens, is; scolasticus, ci.” See, Darija Gabrić-Bagarić et al, eds., *Jakov Mikalja: Blago Jezika Slovinskoga (1649/1651): Transkripcija i leksikografska interpretacija* (Zagreb: Institut za Hrvatski Jezik i jezikoslovlje, 2011), 65.

do it in this dictionary.<sup>213</sup> The idea of *Illyrian/Slavonian* language as a pan-Slavic idiom was trans-confessional and trans-imperial, but it has not been discussed as crossing the boundaries of Arabographia.<sup>214</sup>

In Istanbul of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century there existed people who translated or used translations from Latin in their literary works, and when they used the term Latin they meant what we mean today.<sup>215</sup> But some Istanbulites knew of the existence of a language called Latin without being familiar with the sound of it. Evliyā Çelebi belonged to this group. Although being one of the most unique Ottomans ever, Evliyā is still considered to be an Ottoman representative of the period he lived in.<sup>216</sup> He is also studied as a seventeenth century Ottoman “linguist” of “the vernacular,” namely the first Ottoman ethnographer who left us dozens of

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid.,7.

<sup>214</sup> Iovine writes: “The attempt to interpret “Illyrian” within the context of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Balkan-Slavic civilization necessitates the treatment of a literary activity characterizing an area of mixed linguistic and religious practices: from Rome to the Dalmatian coast, from the Habsburg territories to the Bulgarian lands under Turkish domination, the concept of an “Illyrian” language was accepted and discussed by Croatian *glagoljaši*, Bosnian Franciscans, Bulgarian Catholics, Austrian officials, Serbian Orthodox literati, and Uniate propagandists. Moreover it is impossible to assign the activity of any one of these superficially “national” groups to a corresponding “national” geographical territory. In other words, during this period, we find Croatian Glagolites, Bosnian Franciscans, Bulgarian Catholics working in Rome, Croatian Catholics in Russia, Croatian Glagolites in Bulgaria and Wallachia, and Bulgarian Catholics at the royal courts of Austria and Poland. And of course, we should recall in this connection the successive waves of migration which occurred in the wake of major confrontations between the Porte and the forces of Western Christianity. It is precisely against this background of migrating cultural entities and fluctuating geopolitical boundaries that the concept of “Illyrian” language became entrenched in the cultural-linguistic lexicon of Balkan Slavdom,” Iovine, “The ‘Illyrian Language,’” 103-104.

<sup>215</sup> In 1540s Tercüman Mahmud (born in Vienna as Sebold von Pribach, d. 1575) composed his *Tārīh-i Ungurus* (History of [Ancient] Hungary), claiming he based it on an old book in Latin found in a Hungarian fortress. This *dragoman* is also known in the literature as a person who, in 1573, ordered two copies of Abraham Ortelius’s *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* from Vienna. See, György Hazai, *Die Geschichte der Ungarn in einer osmanischen Chronik des 16. Jahrhunderts: Tercümān Mahmūds Tārīh-j Ungurus* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2009); Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik, “Books as a Means of Transcultural Exchange between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans,” in *International exchange in the early modern book world*, ed. Matthew McLean and Sara Barker (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 105-123: 113. Kātib Çelebi (1609-1657) is a famous Ottoman polyhistor known to have used Latin sources for his works in the field of geography and history.

<sup>216</sup> Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman mentality: the world of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), esp. 215-256, i.e. the *Afterword* by Gottfried Hagen titled “Ottoman Understandings of the World in the Seventeenth Century.”



specimens of languages, some of which he knew and some of which were foreign to him.<sup>217</sup> Nevertheless, Evliyā, sometimes directly and sometimes based on memory, relied on written sources as well.<sup>218</sup> When he informs us that he knew Greek and Latin due to his close friendship with the infidel Simyon, an Istanbulite, he notes that he understood these languages in their eloquent and stylized versions (tr. *fesāhat [ü] belāğat üzre*) in which ancient histories were written and read.<sup>219</sup> What Evliyā meant by Latin here, and elsewhere in his *Seyahatnāme* is in fact Slavic the meaning of which is similar to “Illyrian,” though stemming from a different experience and informed by different ideology.<sup>220</sup> Robert Dankoff already wrote that “Latin” in Evliyā’s mind is confused with Slavic *languages*,<sup>221</sup> but he does not mention whether and how Evliyā speaks about “the real Latin.”<sup>222</sup> Though evidently confused about labels, Evliyā may have met some people

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<sup>217</sup> Robert Dankoff, “The Languages of the World According to Evliya Çelebi,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (1989): 23-32.

<sup>218</sup> Aside from, Karateke and Aynur, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nin Yazılı Kaynakları*, see also M. Öcal Oğuz, and Yeliz Özay, eds., *Evliya Çelebi'nin Sözlü Kaynakları* (Ankara: UNESCO, 2012).

<sup>219</sup> “Bu hakîr-i pür-taksîrin dükkânlarında zergerlik eder kefere Simyon, *Yanvan Tārîhi*’n okudukca istimā’ edüp hâtır-nişânımız idi. Zîrâ anlar ile âlem-i sabâvetden beri ülfetimiz sebebiyle ve reşîd ü necîb olmamız cihetiyle fesâhat [ü] belâğat üzre lisân-ı Yûnânî ve lisân-ı Latîni anlardım. Ve hakîr Simyon’a *Şâhidî Lügatı*’n okudurdum. O bize *Aleksandıra* ya’ nî *İskender-i Zülkarneyn Tārîhi*’n okudurdu,” *Evliyā Çelebi, Seyahatnâmesi. I. Kitap*, 36.

<sup>220</sup> This is somewhat contrary to, for instance, the opinion of Slobodan Ilić who writes: “Usually, Evliyā uses names of Balkan languages *ad libitum*, so according to him, residents of Sarajevo beside Turkish speak Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian and Latin. I assume that all these were virtually the same, the word “Latin” being here synonym for Croatian and, in particular, Dalmatian Catholic. Elsewhere Evliyā claims that there are 20 different peoples speaking “Latin,” including Slovaks, Ukrainians and Russians.” See Slobodan Ilić, “Evliyā Çelebi’s Seyāhatnāme as a Source for South Slavic Linguistics,” *Bulgarian Historical Review* 1-2 (2017): 43-53.

<sup>221</sup> Dankoff, “The Languages of the World,” 29.

<sup>222</sup> Describing the guilds of Istanbul, Evliyā makes a note of cartographers, who among other, knew many languages, but first and foremost “the Plato’s Latin.” Thanks to this knowledge, they could use the famous books written by old sages of the discipline: “Esnâf-ı hartacıyân: Nefer 15 ve dekâkân sekiz, bu tâ’ife cemî’i ulûm-ı garîbe ve acîbeye mâliklerdir ve bir kaç lisâna mâliklerdir, cümleden lisân-ı Latîni Eflâtîn’e mâliklerdir kim selef hükemâlarına ilm-i hey’et üzre te’lifâtlarında *Kitâb-ı Atlas* ve *Minor* ve Coğrâfiyye ve *Papamonta* misilli kitâbları okuyup (...),” *Evliyā Çelebi, Seyahatnâmesi. I. Kitap*, 260. The Poles Evliyā visted during his travel used the Latin Bible. But, by the seventeenth century, they also had a complete translation of the Bible to Slavic, Evliyā Çelebi b. Dervîş Mehmed Zillî, *Evliyā Çelebi, Seyahatnâmesi. V. Kitap*, ed. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and İbrahim Sezgin (Istanbul:

already in Istanbul who had some sense of the pre-Ottoman (South)-Slavic dialect continuum. Be this as it may, Evliyā systematically evokes “Latin” when he wants to explain etymology or meaning of a Slavic word, most often names of places the (ancient) history of which he records to the best of his knowledge. It is this ancient “Latin” i.e. Slavic that gave names to majority if not all place names all over South-Slavia which were not changed under the Ottoman rule. As he travels the lands in which (South)-Slavic was spoken, Evliyā hears and attaches labels to various languages which were either similar to this “Latin,” or similar to one another.

When connecting the names of languages with groups of people living all over South-Slavia, Evliyā was mixing various criteria (confession, administrative division, ethnicity, geography), but crucial, explicit criteria for differentiation were “terms and expressions” (tr. *ı̇ş̇ṫlahāt* and *‘ibārāt*). Searching for a coherent logic behind his method has not been attempted, and it might be a futile task. Some regularities, however, seem to have existed. To understand these regularities, to the mentioned common criteria for defining the boundaries of a language, we need to add some more which are not easy to define. One possible factor influencing Evliyā’s categorization was his developed sense of the history and prestige/reputation of various Slavic-speakers and, by implication, their languages within the Ottoman empire. He also had ideas about the kinds of linguistic competences expected from a civilized Ottoman. According to Evliyā, speakers of Bosnian lived everywhere in South-Slavia, and this Bosnian can be seen as standing for the language of the “Ottoman” Muslim South-Slav *who also knew Turkish*. *Poturca* was spoken by Muslims, predominantly in the Ottoman-ruled parts of Hungary and Serbia. In Belgrade we learn that the indigenous population were *Poturs* who in fact spoke crude Turkish (quoted by

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Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), 74. Evliyā could also encounter the “real Latin” in Dubrovnik, but he would probably have to look into their books to understand the difference between Latin and Slavic, or use the informants. See below.

Evliyā) and knew expressions from few variants of Slavic.<sup>223</sup> Just like some Bosniaks and merchants who lived there, the *Poturs* of Belgrade did not care much about the science of *tecvīd* (proper pronunciation of Quran) so there was no *ḥāfiẓ* among them. Serbian is undoubtedly the language of Serbs, the Christian infidels who have translated Gospel to their ancient language (Serbian). The Serbs were an ancient people who possessed respectable and reliable chronicles in “Latin” and Serbian.<sup>224</sup> Nevertheless, the Serbian “numbers” were just the same like those in Bosnian (Bosnakca).<sup>225</sup> Irrespective of confession, Croatian speakers lived more to the west it seems. The *gāzīs* who died in skirmishes around Drniš (a town in southern Dalmatia), according to Evliyā, were mourned by their cousins in Croatian, in the cemeteries and in the mosques. Though these scenes made him lose his mind from laughter, Evliyā also notes that these same people translated *al-Fātiḥa* to Croatian, clearly and eloquently.<sup>226</sup> In Sarajevo, Bosniaks and

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<sup>223</sup> “Der fasl-ı lehçe-i mahsūs-ı ıstılahāt: Bu kavm-i Belgrad’ın yerlileri gerçi *Potur*durlar, ammā lisān-ı Sırf ve lisān-ı Bulgar ve lisān-ı Latin ve lisān-ı Boşnak ıstılahı dahi bilirler, ammā ekseriyyā isti’ māl etdikleri kelām-ı nā-mahalleri bir şey’e ta’ accüb etseler “İlahi dilemişüm şāyed bu işi işlememişsun” derler. Hatunlarına ta’ zīm için “*Sinko* Kadu” derler. Birisi kızarsa “şāyed sobada kızmışsın” derler. “Maho ya kablıcsayı getire,” ya nī “bire Mehemmed ağaçdan bakracı getire” derler,” *Evliyā Çelebi, Seyahatnāmesi. V. Kitap*, 189.

<sup>224</sup> Albeit based on distorted and incorrect information, a hint at a relationship between antiquity and Serbian history can be found in the chronicle of Hasan Beyzāde (fl.1623-1640). As sultan moves in South-Slavia, he comes to Plovdiv, which was “an ancient city of the Serbs” and the hometown of Alexandar the Great’s grandfather Phillip of Greece. Sofia is also marked as one of the towns of the *Lāz* (i.e. Serbs): “Edirne’den göçilüp, kat’-ı menāzil ve tayy-i merāhil iderek, Filibe’ye varıldı ki, Serfin kadīmī şehri ve Filikos (Filibos)-ı Yunanī, Zū’l-karneyn-i sāmī atasının atası dārū’l-mülkidür. Muhassal, her uğraduđı bilādı adi ü dād ile ābād eyledi ve Kapulu-derbend’den dahi geçüp, sahrā-yı Sofya-ki Laz şehirlerindendür- nüzül (...) bulub (...), *Hasan Bey-zāde tārīhi*, Vol.1, 40.

<sup>225</sup> “Der beyān-ı lisān-ı Sırf-ı küfrāt: Cemī’i re’āyā vü berāyaları Sırf kāfirleridir kim Sirem arabacıları cümle anlardandır. Gerçi lisānları Bulgar’a ve Latin’e ve Boşnak’a yakındır, ammā başka galat güftārları va[r]dır, lākin yine millet-i Mesīhiden olup kitābları İncil’dir kim lisānları üzre İncil’i tercüme etmişlerdir. Niçeleri lisān-ı Hırvat’ı ve lisān-ı Galyayı ve lisān-ı Islovin’i ve lisān-ı Talyan’ı bilirler, zīrā bu Sırf keferesi millet-i kadīmdir kim zürriyetleri Ays’a müntehīdir kim Latin ve Sırf’ın mu’teber ve mu’temed tevārīhleri vardır, ammā hisābları yine Boşnakca gibidir,” *Evliyā Çelebi, Seyahatnāmesi. V. Kitap*, 189.

<sup>226</sup> “Ve bu kal’ a-i Dirniş’e kal’ a-i Kinin’den yakın amār kal’ a yokdur. Hattā bu gazā-yı meserret-i Şibenik’e bu Şehirde bir gece yatup Şibenik cenginde cümle şehīd olan gāzīlerimiz bu Dirniş şehri mezārīstānında defn etdikde akrabaları Hırvat lisān üzre ağladıkların gördükde gülmeden aklımız gitdi ve cāmī’lerinde “āh bizim Hırvat kaneleri” deyü ibadet edüp ağladıklarınca bu dahi mesīre idi. Ve Hırvat lisānı üzre Fātiha terceme edüp namāzda tilāvet ederler, ammā faşih u belīğ terceme etmişler. Hakkā ki lisān-ı Hırvat ve lisān-ı Latin lisān-ı kadīmdir,” *Ibid.*, 245.

“Croatian people” speak the same language.<sup>227</sup> Whenever Evliyā was sure the speakers of “Latin” or one of its “dialects” were Christians, he would note that “their books were Gospels” and that “Latin” was an ancient language. Nowhere does Evliyā claim Latin was the language in which the Gospel was revealed. It was from Ragusans that he heard that “the Gospel was revealed by God to the prophet Jesus in their own Latin language,” though he did not trust them on this.<sup>228</sup>

In the seventeenth century, the candidates for Ragusans’ “own language” in conversation with Evliyā, the foreigner, could be Latin of the books, spoken/written Italian and spoken/written Slavic. Ragusan business which involved intensive contact with the Ottoman government and the Ottoman subjects ran in Turkish, which would be translated to either Italian or Slavic by their *dragomans*. The members of the Ottoman chancellery attached to the Ottoman court in charge of correspondence with Ragusans were well acquainted not only with Ragusan business in Istanbul, but also with what was happening in Dubrovnik’s hinterlands.<sup>229</sup> They however, did not need to know Slavic, nor Italian, for Ragusans who were regularly sent to Istanbul spoke Turkish. Some of the Ottoman documents dealing with the provincial affairs refer to Catholics of the Bosnian province as “the infidel Latin priests,” but this appellation in itself tells nothing about what languages the “Latin” priests used.<sup>230</sup> Bosnian Franciscans, some of whom were educated in the Italianate environments, were, however, the early modern champions of using Slavic for didactic

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<sup>227</sup> Speaking of Bosnians, he states that their language is as pure and appreciable as they themselves. See, *Ibid.*, 218-19.

<sup>228</sup> “Gerçi millet-i Nasārā’dan olup kavm-i Mesīh’dirler, ammā kitāb-ı İncīl’i Latin lisānı üzre tercüme edüp kırā’at ederler. Āyīn-i bātılaları yine millet-i Mesīh gibidir ve zu’m-ı bātıllarınca “İncīl kibel-i Hak’dan Hazret-i İsa’ya bizim Latin lisānı üzre nāzil olmuşdur” deyü tefāhür kisb ederler,” *Ibid.*, 250-251; See also, Robert Dankoff, and Sooyong Kim, eds., *An Ottoman Traveler: Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Chelebi* (London: Eland, 2011), 205.

<sup>229</sup> The summaries of various documents from the “Ragusan fund” in the Ottoman archive can be found in Dušanka Bojanić, *Sultanska akta izdata na zahtev dubrovačke Republike od 1627. do 1647. godine. Dubrovački defter br. 3* [The sultanic acts issued upon request of the Dubrovnik Republic between 1627 and 1647. Dubrovnik *Defter* no. 3] (Beograd: Prosveta, 1982).

<sup>230</sup> For example, *Ibid.*, 41.

purposes and religious instruction.<sup>231</sup> On top of that, had Ragusans spoken a non-Turkish language at the Ottoman Porte, from all we know, this would be Slavic, rather than Italian. Therefore, there exists a vague chance that, somewhere in Istanbul or around, Meḥmed may have had picked up the idea that Latin was an adequate label for South-Slavic with which Bosnian was “one.” As for his idea that Gospels were *revealed* to Jesus in “Latin,” i.e. Slavic, it probably did not originate from within the realm of Arabographia.

### III.3.3. Meḥmed’s Slavic in Action

The three (out of five) poems Meḥmed composed in Slavic together with a prose prayer also attributed to him, can be seen as materializations of Meḥmed’s idea only hinted at in his dictionary, namely the idea that Slavic was a medium perfectly fit for a Muslim to address God and pray. The poems are original compositions and no translation is involved. They are labeled by copyists as *ilāḥīs* (tr./devotional songs), as already noted, in Serbian language. Unlike Ḥācī Yūsuf’s *Arzuhals*, these poems completely exclude non-Slavic speakers, i.e. they are entirely composed in Slavic. The most explicit signal that the writer aligned himself with the Ottoman poetic tradition is the quotation of his poetic *maḥlaṣ* in the last stanzas. The penname is also included in the last stanza of the longest, and the only Slavic poem which is dated by Meḥmed, and this to 1651. This poem, without a title, has been known in the literature as *Poziv na Vjeru* (Call to Faith), and I already mentioned it before. The opening line of the poem, addresses the infidels “Yā Kauri vami velu” (sl./lit. Hey, Infidels, I am telling you). It consists of 25 quatrains rhyming according to the pattern *aaab* composed in eight syllabic meter. With the exception of the refrain, “Hodte nami vi na viru”

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<sup>231</sup> Matija Divković (1563-1631) is among earliest and the most famous examples. Divković was educated in Bosnia, and only travelled to Venice. His first work was published in 1611 (*Nauk krstjanski za narod slovinski/ The Christian Creed for Slavic People*). The above mentioned Jesuit, Giacomo Micaglia (1601-1654), belonged to the next generation. Of Slavic origin, Micaglia was born in Italy.

(sl./Come to us in Faith), which is in this case uniform, its structure is the same like that of Ḥācī Yūsuf 's *Arzuhal I*. From here on, I will designate this poem as *Slavic-Come to Us in Faith*.<sup>232</sup> Mehmed's prayer-like, sufiesque Slavic poems are not reflecting any explicit division of the audience along the confessional lines. God is one, his creatures are weak. They are in need for help and seek to recognize the manifestations of God's presence as they try to return to/stay on the right path. Same is the case with *Come to Faith in Turkish*, a call to Muslims to return to the right path. According to Kemura and Ćorović, *Come to Faith in Turkish* was an integral part of *Tebşīret 'ul-Ārifīn*.<sup>233</sup> *Slavic-Come to Us in Faith*, however, makes a clear differentiation between “us,” “the Turks” and the senders of a message, and the *Kaurs* (tr./infidels) to whom the epistle was addressed. This poem triggered a lot of controversy among scholars. The main question posed was whether Mehmed's poem expressed a call for conversion (with connotations of both “tolerance” and “intolerance/force”) or a call for interconfessional “harmony” based on the common—human, local, “national,” and/or Christian past as remembered by the local converts such as Mehmed was. The poem contains verses which can support both interpretations, so “the truth” about this issue can only be a matter personal predilections, rather than a conclusion based on firm evidence. One of the reasons for this insecurity and confusion might be that no written Slavic text, before or after Mehmed, can be clearly marked as a tool of proselytization of Islam in South-Slavia. Besides that,

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<sup>232</sup> The transliterated version of all five Slavic poems and the prose prayer are in Nametak, “Rukopisni tursko-hrvatskosrpski rječnici,” 246-253. In *Appendix B/b*, I quoted all five poems in Slavic, and the prose-prayer, from other publication, namely, from Kasumović, Huković, and Smailović, *Muhamed Hevai Uskufi*, 52-68. There is no particular reason why one preserved version could be described as better than the other, for none of the publications have elements of critical editions. The publication from which I quoted, however, contains two images of *Slavic-Come to Us in Faith*. The poem which starts with *Bosanski da vam bisidim bratani* (Let me speak to you in Bosnian, Brothers), is not very clear in the transliteration in which it survived, but I included it anyway, because it shares some motifs with the devotional poems, and the didactic tone with *Slavic-Come to Us in Faith*. Huković writes that the title of *Slavic-Come to Us in Faith* as found in the *mecmū'a* was *Berāy- ı Da 'vet-ı Īmān bezebān-ı Şırb* (About/by Reason of the Call to Faith in Serbian language), noting that the title was certainly added by the copyist. The catalogue description of the miscellany, however, suggests that the poem right below this title was not exactly this poem, but the one which starts with *Boje yedini, ti nas ne ķini* (The Only God, Do not You Scold Us). See, *Appendix B/b*.

<sup>233</sup> Kemura and Ćorović, *Serbokroatische Dichtungen*, x.

we know for sure that literacy based on the Arabic script and Turkish language was integral to cross-confessional communication in pragmatic matters. But, when it comes to religious dogma, poetics and aesthetics, it has been hard to say whether any ideas expressed within the realm of Arabographia as a whole were aimed to be shared with non-Muslims by the use of written texts. The current scholarly consensus is that no such intentions ever existed. Anyhow, one question that has not been asked in relation to the poem in question, is why Meḥmed would make his call in the first place, there in the *sancak* of Zvornik, around 1651.

Meḥmed composed *Slavic-Come to Us in Faith* three years after the beginning of the reign of Meḥmed IV (r. 1648-87), an active promoter of conversion as a performative act as well as a direct state participation in the processes of refashioning of Sunni orthodoxy.<sup>234</sup> There is no way, however, one can infer whether Meḥmed was aware of these, Istanbul-centered trends, though he was obviously no passive observer of the society he lived in. His social critique, however, seems to be more oriented towards *the local*, not matter how ambiguous the term is. His sense of disorder, shared with some other close contemporaries (Hasan Kā'imī being one of them), is clearly manifested in *Slavic-Come to Us in Faith*, as well as, it seems, in *Tebşīret 'ul- 'Ārifīn* as a whole. Yet, the chances are high that this sense was not triggered by some abstract idea of the “decline” of the Ottoman state, nor it seems likely that local Christians could be encouraged by the poem to convert to Islam. The empire had its share of disorder before the reign of Murād IV, the only sultan Meḥmed explicitly mentions, but we have no evidence of Meḥmed's position on the turmoil of the early seventeenth century. Therefore, one can only speculate about the scope of the historical time-frame Meḥmed had in mind while foregrounding the images of conflicts and disarray, as well as about the profile of the non-Muslims involved. In theory, Meḥmed's call could have been

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<sup>234</sup> Marc Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

addressed to Christians of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Serbia. But, to the best of my knowledge, these were not in any conflict with their Muslim fellow subjects of the Ottoman sultan in the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1651, the sixth year of Ottoman-Venetian war, Dalmatia—parts of which belonged to the province of Bosnia—was the most immediate arena in which Slavs belonging to different confessions could have fought and slaughtered each other. In my opinion, Mehmed’s call to faith expressed in Slavic language makes most sense as a call for a solution of this conflict. In the infidels understood there was One God, One Father, and One Mother, and if *they would come back* to the right path, there would be no more killing among brothers.

With all of the above in mind, it can be concluded that what Mehmed tried to do with his “imitation” of *Tuhfe* is not to educate Bosnian peasants, but to “domesticate” Bosnian language in the realm of Ottoman Arabographia within which it did not have a status of officially i.e. explicitly recognized *Ottoman* language despite its being the language of a quantitatively significant and a rather visible group of Ottoman subjects of various social profiles. The visibility of Slavs/Bosnians in the Ottoman society allowed Mehmed to go as far as say that their ancient/old language was language of a holy book. This did not mean that Bosnians who were expected to be educated and eloquent were supposed to drop learning of the three Ottoman languages, as Mehmed demonstrated by his own example, and as further history of “the South-Slavic inflection of the Ottoman Arabographia” would confirm.<sup>235</sup> It simply meant that Mehmed was thinking about “his own” languages (Slavic, Arabic, Turkish and Persian) as languages of the world, and this in a new, history-aware and context-sensitive way. The main audience of his intervention were the Ottomans, both Slavic and Turkish speakers, who were expected to understand what Mehmed meant by both Bosnian language, and Latin language. Mehmed’s poetic ruminations were

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<sup>235</sup> See *Chapter IV*.



contemporary to Evliyā's *in situ* reflections on connectivity<sup>236</sup> and Kātib Çelebi's obsession with systematizing the knowledge of the world by perusing thousands of books.<sup>237</sup> It seems, however, that, later in his life, Meḥmed's concerns become less humorous, less optimistic and so to say, less cosmopolitan. This turn seems to have happened when the period of peace in Bosnian province started turning into a memory from a more and more distant past. The local conflicts may be one of the reasons why Meḥmed's idea that Muslims could spontaneously worship God by relying on Slavic vocabulary only did not seem to have found a fertile ground. And yet, the three poems embodying this idea were preserved by the eighteenth century together with Slavic-*Come to Us in Faith* expressing rather different concerns. The formal affinity of these poems with other Slavophone Arabographic texts which will continue appearing throughout the seventeenth century and later, certainly contributed to their preservation, although no functionally similar examples will ever appear again.

When Evliyā recorded specimens of Slavic dialects, in the case of Croatian and Serbian he relied on oral sources. In case of the language of "Bosnians and the Croatian people," he copied most of his sample from *Makbūl-i 'Ārif*, upon his visit to Sarajevo in 1659. Evliyā concluded the text was compiled by the knowledgeable and refined literati of this city. His informants, apparently, did not persuade him that Üskūfī-i Bosnevī was a name to remember. In other words, by 1659, Meḥmed's dictionary did not become a symbol of *newly* felt and widely shared Bosnian sense of identity. The sense of what it meant to be a Bosnian in the Ottoman empire had much deeper roots, of course, and it was certainly, to an extent, shared by Meḥmed and those Bosnians,

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<sup>236</sup> Cemal Kafadar, "Evliya Çelebi in Dalmatia: An Ottoman Traveler's Encounters with the Arts of the Franks," in Payne, *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean*, 59-78.

<sup>237</sup> As expressed in his monumental bibliography, *Keşfü'l-Zūnūn 'an asāmi kutub wa'l-funun* [Clarification of the Names of the Books and Sciences, 1652].

who will call his *Maḵbūl-i ʿĀrif*–Potur Šahidija (as of at least, 1724); those who did not find the idea of composing Slavic/Bosnian poetry in *ʿaruḵ* meter particularly appealing and those who did; or those who thought that Slavic is not exactly the language to use while praying to God. In other words, language ideology was where Meḥmed and these “other” Bosnians did not fully agree, a conclusion which can only lead one to further investigate the social base and ways of functioning of the South-Slavic, Arabographic quadrilingualism.

#### III.4. Hasan (d.1691)

Hasan Ḳāʾimī was a sufi shaykh and a poet. Compared to Yūsuf and Meḥmed, Hasan was a much more famous and influential figure both in his time and later. According to Jasna Šamić –who wrote, in 1986, the most extensive and still unsurpassed monograph on Hasan and his literary works—his sobriquet Ḳāʾimī can be explained by a tradition according to which Hasan stood on his feet for forty days during a spiritual retreat (ar. *halwat*, tr. *helvet*).<sup>238</sup> Despite the fame, even the basic details of Hasan’s biography remain obscure. The sources in which some information is found, can be divided in three groups: entries in two biographical dictionaries from the early eighteenth century; his own works and the manuscripts in which they have been preserved; and, the local legends transmitted orally, recorded and reported by modern philologists in the twentieth century. Hasan Ḳāʾimī’s poetry was copied by hand until the beginning of the twentieth century, and has never been printed in the Arabic script. The manuscripts in which the poetry is preserved are today kept in various libraries of the world, most notably in Istanbul (according to Šamić 45), and Sarajevo (around 28).<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> In Arabic, *ḳāʾim* is participle active of the verb the basic meaning of which is “to stand.” Jasna Šamić, *Dīvan de Ḳaimī: Vie et œuvre d’un poète bosniaque du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Institut Français d’Etudes Anatoliennes, 1986), 35.

<sup>239</sup> Šamić quotes some 60 manuscript as sources she used. Ibid., 37-45 and 251-252.

What is known for certain is that Hasan was from Sarajevo, that he belonged to the Qadiri sufi order, that he was an *imām* (prayer-leader) in Ilyās Pasha quarter in Sarajevo and the shaykh of a sufi lodge (tr. *tekke*) known (still today) as Ḥācī Sinān’s Lodge. Hasan died in Zvornik, ca. 1691. He moved there around 1680 (according to a legend, due to a dispute with Sarajevan elite which occurred after a local conflict in which he sided with the poor), and founded another *tekke*. His tomb in Zvornik was a site of visitation until at least the early twentieth century. It has been guessed that Hasan was born in 1630s or a bit before, and claimed as a fact that he spent a part of his youth in Sofia as a disciple of shaykh Muṣliḥuddīn Ujiçevī (d.1642/3) who belonged to the Khalwati sufi order. When he returned home with a diploma issued by Muṣliḥuddīn, Hasan founded a *tekke* in his own house in Sarajevo. This happened, according to Šamić, before 1660, which is the year when Hasan became the shaykh of the Ḥācī Sinān Lodge.<sup>240</sup> That Hasan stayed in Sofia has been repeated by many students of his biography, and this based on some illogical information offered in the biographical entries from the eighteenth century. What is more probable, however, is that Hasan was a disciple of shaykh Muṣliḥuddīn in Užice (present-day south-western Serbia), where the latter founded a Khalwati *tekke* (see below).

Hasan Ḳā’imī is the first known Qadiri shaykh not in Sarajevo, but in Bosnia as a whole. Qadiri sufi order is not known to have been present in the Ottoman province of Bosnia in any significant way until at least 1639.<sup>241</sup> A recently published document from 1659 testifies that the tanners’ guild of Bosnia was attached to the Qadiri order.<sup>242</sup> To the best of my knowledge no

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<sup>240</sup> Ibid., 209-210.

<sup>241</sup> On Qadiris in Bosnia and South-Slavia, see Džemal Čehajić, *Derviški redovi u jugoslovenskim zemljama sa posevnim osvrtom na Bosnu i Hercegovinu* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut, 1986), 122-147.

<sup>242</sup> Ines Aščerić-Todd, “A Note on the Aḥī-Qādiriyya Order,” *Arabica* 64 (2017): 249-252. See also Idem., “The Noble Traders: the Islamic Tradition of “Spiritual Chivalry” (*futuwwa*) in Bosnian Trade-guilds (16th –19th centuries),” *The Muslim World* 97 (2007): 159-173.

significant attempt has been made by scholars to investigate what it meant to be a Qadiri in Bosnia during the time of the revival of this order in both Anatolia and Rumelia.<sup>243</sup> Be this as it may, it is around 1639 that the building which would become the first Qadiri *tekke* in Bosnia was constructed. According to Mehmed Mujezinović, in official documents, this *tekke* was known as the *tekke* of Silāhdār Muştafā Pasha (1609-1642), while people call(ed) it Hācī Sinān’s Tekke.<sup>244</sup> Hācī Sinān (d.1639) was a rich merchant who traded with Venice. His son Muştafā, known in the Ottoman sources as *Bazergān-zade* (i.e. the son of a merchant) was sent to the court at a very young age. After receiving the initial education and training, Muştafā rose to the position of the *silāhdār* (the sword-bearer) of sultan Murād IV (1623-1640). In 1635, Muştafā became the second vizier. He was among the favourites of Murād IV, and died by execution soon after the sultan’s death.<sup>245</sup> A dilemma has remained whether it was Hācī Sinān who built the *tekke* (according to a legend upon the order of the sultan himself, and in celebration of the conquest of Baghdad in 1638), or by the vizier, Muştafā Pasha, who honoured the memory of his deceased father, in 1640.<sup>246</sup> It has also been assumed, now based on documentary sources, that Muştafā Pasha was in touch (in

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<sup>243</sup> A branch of the sufi order recognizing ‘Abdulqādir Gīlānī (d.1166) as the main spiritual authority, appeared in Anatolia when, in the fifteenth century, Hācī Bayrām-ı Velī (d.1430) sent his disciple, Eşrefoğlu Rūmī, to Hama where he became a disciple of Hüseyin el-Hamevī. Upon his return to Anatolia, Eşrefoğlu Rūmī became the first shaykh of the Eşrefiyye branch of the Qadiri order, but the activities of this particular *tarikāt* remained limited to the area around İznik and Bursa. In the seventeenth century, there appeared a Rūmiyye branch of the Qadiri order, whose shaykh /pir was İsmā‘īl Rūmī (d.1631). As he travelled extensively, in Anatolia and the Balkans, İsmā‘īl Rūmī founded a number of lodges, including the one in Istanbul which gained the status of the central lodge. Nihat Azamat, “Kādiriyye,” *TDVİA Online*, consulted on 20.04.2021. İsmā‘īl Rūmī led the Friday prayer at the ceremony opening the mosque of sultan Aḥmed I (1616), upon the call of the sultan himself. Thus a precedent was set for along-lasting tradition in which Qadiri shaykhs led the Friday prayer in the Sultan Aḥmed mosque. Reşat Öngören, “Rūmiyye,” *TDVİA Online*, consulted on 20.04.2021. The Qadiri order is considered an “orthodox” sufi order, namely an order the mystical teachings of which were in line with the sharia.

<sup>244</sup> Mehmed Mujezinović, “Kaligrafski zapisi u Sinanovoj Tekiji u Sarajevu i njihova konzervacija” [Calligraphic inscriptions in Sinan’s Tekke in Sarajevo and their conservation], *Naše Starine* 8 (1958): 95–104.

<sup>245</sup> Nejat Göyünç, “Eski Malatya’da Silāhdar Mustafa Paşa hanı” [Silāhdār Mustafa Paşa’s *han* in Eski Malatya], *IÜEF Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1 (1970): 63-92, 69-79.

<sup>246</sup> Mujezinović, “Kaligrafski zapisi,” 95 (fn.1)

1636) with Muşliḥuddīn Ujīçevī, Hasan's spiritual teacher. Muşliḥuddīn's fame was not limited to south-western Serbia (administratively in the province of Bosnia) where he founded a lodge and spent most of his life.<sup>247</sup> Besides as a shaykh, Muşliḥuddīn served in Uḏice as a *vā'iz* (tr./preacher), as well as a teacher of *hadīṭ* (ar./tradition) and *tafsīr* (ar./exegesis).<sup>248</sup>

In line with the Ottoman tradition, each poet considered accomplished had at least one *dīvān*, namely a collection of poems ideally containing all poetic compositions produced by one person before the time of the compilation. A *dīvān* of a poet, by material criteria, can be considered a unitary book, the physical form in which the poetry produced by an author circulated the more or less public and private libraries in the Ottoman society. The poets who owned *dīvāns* have been considered by modern historians of literature the pillars of the elite, "*dīvān*" literature. We do not have either a holograph or autograph copy of any part of Ḳā'imī's work. Nevertheless, his total output was, at some point, by himself or by somebody else, thematically divided into two core parts, designated by Šamić as *Dīvān I* and *Dīvān II*, the second of which was sometimes copied with the title *Vāridāt/Inspirations* (from here on, I will refer to this *dīvān* as *Dīvān II/Vāridāt*)<sup>249</sup> My own survey of some thirty manuscripts which I had a chance to see showed that the contents of each of the two *dīvāns* could vary in terms of both the number of poems and their order. *Dīvān I* contains Hasan's more pronouncedly sufi poems, the number of which could reach the maximum

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<sup>247</sup> Cemal Kafadar, "Mütereddīt Bir Mutasavvıf: Üsküplü Asiye Hatun'un Rüya Defteri 1641-1643," in *Kim var imiş biz burada yoğ iken Dört Osmanlı: Yeniçeri, Tüccar, Derviş ve Hatun* (Istanbul: Metis, 2009), 123-191:132.

<sup>248</sup> Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, 106.

<sup>249</sup> In her book, Šamić published transliteration, translation to French and philological commentary of 4 *ghazals*, 5 *murabba'as*, and 2 poems written in syllabic verse from *Dīvān I*, as well as the introductory *kaşīde* from *Dīvān II/Vāridāt* (176 couplets, rhyming in *-āri*), treated in the same way. Šamić, *Dīvan de Ḳaimī*, 76-177.

of around 320.<sup>250</sup> *Dīvān II/Vāridāt* contains the poems in which the sufi-motifs are intertwined with the themes related to contemporary events and prognostication of the future. The maximum number of poems in this collection is around 30.<sup>251</sup> *Dīvān I* was more often copied as an independent book, while *Dīvān II/Vāridāt*, or excerpts from it, are most often found in *mecmū* 'as. With the exception of Šamić, Hasan has mostly been studied as one of the most important *aljamiado* authors, since he composed two poems in Slavic. One of the poems is known under title *O osvojenju Kandije* (On the Conquest of Candia; hereafter: Slavic-*Candia*), attached to it by Kemura and Čorović. The other is known as *Kasida protiv pušenja duvana* (A *Ḳaṣīde* Against Smoking of Tobacco; hereafter: Slavic-*Tobacco*).<sup>252</sup> These two poems were copied for centuries, and it seems that they were not meant to be parts of a Hasan's *dīvān*.

As I already noted, Bašagić, in 1912, commented on the Turkish part of *Ḳā'imī*'s output evaluating it as interesting, but of no literary value. Very much in line with this judgement, the modern, mainly Yugoslav scholars attributed him a position of essentially a peripheral figure, a composer of verses in somewhat broken, or alternatively, simple Turkish spoken in Sarajevo and often forced into poetic formulae prescribed by the "elite" poetry. Šamić aptly notes that Hasan's perspective of the world was not limited to a locale and her evaluation of Hasan's Turkish is more

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<sup>250</sup> The transliteration to Latin script of Hasan's poems from this *Dīvān I* based on two copies (Süleymaniye-MS Esad Efendi 2922 (undated) and Süleymaniye MS Yazma Bağışlar 2920 (from 1857)) is in Mehmet Uğur Aydın, "Kāimī Dīvānī: transkripsiyonlu metni ve tahlili" (MA Thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2007).

<sup>251</sup> The transliteration to Latin script of Hasan's poems from this *Dīvān II/Vāridāt* based on Süleymaniye-MS Lāleli 1757 (undated), and with the consultation of Süleymaniye-MS Hacı Mahmut Efendi 3476, Süleymaniye-MS Hacı Mahmut Efendi 3535, and GHB-MS R 5341, is in Lejla Šljivić, "Hasan Kā'imī Efendi'nin Vāridāt'ı: Tanıtım ve Transkripsiyonlu Metni" (MA Thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2007).

<sup>252</sup> These two poems have been published many times since 1889. Their contents is not stable. Kemura and Čorović published Slavic-*Candia* based on two versions already published before (in 1889, and 1893). Their version of Slavic-*Tobacco* was based on a *mecmū* 'a then kept in the Institute for Balkan Studies which was, according to the two, composed in 1688. They included an image of a page from this manuscript which contains the beginning of the poem. The *mecmū* 'a contained texts from the eighteenth century as well, as it turned out later. Kemura and Čorović, *Serbokroatische Dichtungen*, 11-18 and XIII. For translation to French and a commentary, see Šamić, "Dīvan de Ḳaimī," 50-75.

careful and insightful (see below). But, neither Šamić nor other students of Kā'imī's work paid any special attention to the implications of the fact that Hasan turned out to be one of the most popular and most copied poets of Bosnia *ever*. Besides, when we take the technology of the text production into consideration, some extant copies of Kā'imī's *Dīvān I* show that his poetry received the same treatment like that of the other poets respectable by all possible criteria. In *Chapter IV*, I will deal with the reception of Hasan's Slavic poetry in more detail. For, now, I will briefly address the entries from the early eighteenth century biographical dictionaries dealing with Hasan, and provide a brief outline of his main themes, based on Šamić and my own reading of texts he composed.<sup>253</sup>

#### III.4.1 Kā'imī's Biographies

The fact that Hasan's biography was included into two Ottoman biographical dictionaries composed in Istanbul in the first half of the eighteenth century, can be taken as a safe proof that Hasan's poems in Turkish, relatively quickly after composition, found their way at least to Istanbul, the main center of Ottoman cultural and political life. Ottoman *tezkires*, i.e. biographical dictionaries dedicated to poets only, in general, do not provide detailed information about the poets' biographies. Nevertheless, by choosing which poets were to be included into their encyclopedic works, the authors of *tezkires* were establishing *a* canon and setting its spatial and temporal dimensions within the Ottoman poetic geography. This they did in line with the possibilities and limitations of the very context in which they themselves lived on the one hand, and in line with the available ways of information gathering, on the other hand. In *Chapter II*, I

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<sup>253</sup> See *Appendix B/c* for the list of the first lines from the first thirty (out of ca. 300) poems from *Dīvān I*, and the list of first lines from all poems from *Dīvān II/Vāridāt*. Juxtaposed in this way these verses provide a glimpse into the themes Kā'imī addressed and give a good sense of how different the two *Dīvāns* were. The order of the poems are based on Aydın, "Kā'imī Dīvāni," and Šljivić, "Hasan Kā'imī Efendi'nin Vāridāt'ı." I kept the transliteration from the cited works.

discussed *tezkires* in a way which, among other, showed that the inclusion of the frontier regions into Istanbul-centric poetic geography took a long time. My discussion ended with the *tezkires* produced until ca. 1600. The genre, however, continued to flourish throughout the seventeenth century. Thus Riyāzī (1572-1644), who finished his *tezkiire* in 1610, includes only two poets from Bosnia. These are Dervīş Aga and Vaḥdetī, known to some of Riyāzī’s sixteenth-century counterparts.<sup>254</sup> Rızā (d. 1671) who completed his *tezkiire* in 1640 ommits Vaḥdetī, but includes Dervīş as Dervīş Pasha.<sup>255</sup> Other Bosnevīs included are: ‘Āli (a *kadı*), Ḥabībī (Ḥabīb Dede, known as the reader/interpreter of Rūmī’s *Meşnevī* in the fortress of Belgrade), Sipāhī (by the name Muştafā, from among the court-scribes), another Sipāhī (Hüseyn Aga, *za ‘īm* and a poet who died in Istanbul in 1605/06).<sup>256</sup> Rızā does not relate to Bosnia the poets who are known to have been born there: Nergisī (d.1635)<sup>257</sup> and Mezākī (d. 1676).<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> Riyāzī Muhammed Efendi, *Riyāzī’ş-Şuara (Tezkiretü’ş-Şuara)*, ed. Namık Açıkgöz (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2017), 148 and 335. See also, *Chapter II*, fn.175 and fn.178.

<sup>255</sup> Zehr-i Mār-zāde Seyyid Mehmed Rızā, *Rızā Tezkiresi*, ed. Gencay Zavotçu (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2017), 64.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, 40; 81; 144-145.

<sup>257</sup> Nergisī (Muḥammed) was born between 1580 and 1585, while his father acted as *kadı* of Sarajevo. He started his education in his hometown, and then moved to Istanbul. Rızā presents him simply as a poet from among the *kadıs*. Nergisī started his career as a *müderriş*, but then moved to judgeships. In the history of Ottoman literature, he is quoted as one of the best masters of *insha* of all times. He acted as a judge in several places in South-Slavia, including Mostar, Čajniče, Banja Luka etc. Süleyman Çaldak, “Nergisī,” *TDVIA Online*, consulted on 20.04.2021; Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana*, 226-240.

<sup>258</sup> Mezākī (Süleymān) was born in Čajniče (south-eastern Bosnia). He came to Istanbul with the help of his cousin who was a functionary attached to the court, and received his education in the Inner Court of the Palace. Rızā writes that he exited the Saray as a *sipāhī*. From elsewhere we know that Mezākī acted as a secretary of several different veziers, but most notably the grand vezier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (d.1661), as well as his son and successor at the post of the grand vezier, Köprülüzade Fāzil Aḥmed Pasha (in office 1661-1676). Mezākī was also a court-poet of Fāzil Aḥmed Pasha, who is known from his descriptions of the heroic deeds of his patron, one being the conquest of Candia/Crete. Besides that, Mezākī is known as a Mevlevi poet, i.e. a *dīvān* poet who openly promoted the worldview of the Mevlevi order. He died in the Mevlevi *tekke* in Galata/Istanbul, and was buried in the cemetery attached to this *tekke*. Yumnī and Guftī who wrote their *tezkires* later than Rızā will emphasize his Bosnian origin. Ahmet Mermer, “Mezākī Süleyman Efendi,” *TDVIA Online*, consulted on 20.04.2021; Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana*, 343-346.



The impression one gets from the *tezkires* from the sixteenth century is that a poet from Bosnia could attract attention of their authors only under condition his presence left some mark in Istanbul. Hasan Žiyā'ī Mostarī, today considered the first *dīvān* poet from Bosnia, remained unnoticed in Istanbul until 1620s, probably due to the fact that he never lived in the capital. The example of Hasan Žiyā'ī can serve as a warning that the sixteenth, and by extension the seventeenth century *tezkires* and biographical dictionaries, were not the best mirrors of the creative potential of the frontier. Hasan Žiyā'ī, however, can be quoted as a rare concrete example of a “forgotten *dīvān* poet” from the sixteenth-century frontier. So, the sixteenth century biographical dictionaries were relatively close to the reality when it comes to integration of the frontier into the Ottoman poetic geography. In contrast to this, it is much more easier to prove by concrete evidence that the relatively poor impression of the frontier one gets from the seventeenth century *tezkires* is rather misleading. To this issue I will come back in *Chapter IV*. The point I want to make now is that Hasan Kā'imī was not just the only *aljamiado* poet from Bosnia ever included into a *tezkire*, but that he was one of the rare poets from Bosnia who entered a *tezkire* while never leaving his home-region or making it to Istanbul.

The *tezkire* in question was composed by Muṣṭafā Şafāī (b. 1674-79-d.1725) who deals with the poets who appeared after 1640, i.e. the poets who died between 1640 and 1720, the latter being the year when he finished his work. For a while a protégée of a grand vizier, Şafāī took various posts in scribal offices related to the administrative work centered on the court in Istanbul. In the introduction to his *tezkire*—his major, and apparently the only work—Şafāī quotes his models from the past, and briefly notes that he gathered the information by attending poetic gatherings and by researching the *dīvāns* of the poets who “appeared” after 1640.<sup>259</sup> *Dīvāns*,

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<sup>259</sup> Muṣṭafā Şafāī Efendi, *Tezkire-i Şafāyī : (Nuḥbetü'l-āsār min fevā'idi'l-eş'ār): inceleme, metin, indeks*, ed. Pervin Çapan (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 2005), 9-11.

however do not contain biographical information about their authors. Just like in the case of the earlier examples belonging to the genre, it can be concluded that Şafāi gathered the information about poets' lives based on the personal contacts with people belonging to poetic circles of Istanbul. These could have been poets themselves or those who remembered/knew them, since Şafāi himself did not seem to have travelled beyond the capital. Şafāi was born some twelve years before Hasan Kā'imī died. His account of Kā'imī reads:

Kā'imī. His name is Hasan. He was born in Bosna-saray. In his youth he migrated from his home-country and set out for a journey to arrive to the town of Sofya. (There) he attached himself to one of the Khalwati shaykhs, the saintly figure by the name of Muşlihuddīn Efendi. Having acquired the education and having gathered the spiritual gifts under the generous eye of his spiritual teacher, he was authorized for the post of (representative of) the shaykh. He then became shaykh in Silahdar Pasha lodge in Sofiya (!). Then he went to kasaba of Zvornik. While there, he died around the year 1091/1680. The mentioned Kā'imī is famous as *an evident miracle worker and the one who reached the spiritual stations at which he discovered many secrets, as well as someone who was endowed with skills in onomancy. Since he was a person of inspiration, he composed one rounded Dīvān filled with onomantic symbols.* [tr. kerāmet-i bāhire ve maḳamat-ı kāşife ile meşhūr 'ilm-i cifrde mahāret ile ma'mūr sāhib-cezbe olmağla rumūzān-ı cifriyye ile memlū muretteb dīvānı vardır). *Kā'imī's Dīvānis very much accepted/liked in the histories of the Bosnians* [tr. Bosnevīler tārīḫ'nde Kā'imī Dīvānı ḫaylī maḳbūldur]. Some verses from the opening part of that *Dīvān* have been written down here. (...) <sup>260</sup>

In what follows, Şafāi brings fourteen randomly selected couplets from the first *kaşīde* of Hasan's *Dīvān II/Vāridāt*, and several introductory and final couplets from the third *kaşīde* of the same *dīvān*. For now, it can be noted that, Şafāi confused Sofia with Sarajevo in which the "Silāhdār Pasha Lodge" was actually located.

The second biographical dictionary which included Hasan's biography was not of the *tezkiye* type. It was a work dedicated to Ottoman intellectuals in general, written by Meḫmed Şeyḫī (d.1731).<sup>261</sup> Şeyḫī was born in Istanbul, in 1668. His father was a Naqshbandi shaykh, Hasan Feyzī

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<sup>260</sup> Ibid., 502-505.

<sup>261</sup> All information in this paragraph has been compiled from the introduction to the critical edition of Şeyḫī's biographical dictionary published in four books, but by maintaining the continuity of pagination: Şeyḫī Meḫmed

Efendi (with poetic name Sīmkeşzāde) who received his diploma from Bosnevī shaykh ‘Osmān Efendi (active ca.1651). Şeyhī was first educated by his father. In 1685, he finished a *medrese*, at the age of 17. In 1690, he takes up the place of his father as the shaykh of Emīr Buhārī Tekkesi in Istanbul. For the next forty years he worked there as a teacher. Şeyhī started writing his biographical dictionary in 1717/18. Having finished the work in 1721/22, he presented it to the grand vizier, Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha (d.1730). The biographical dictionary was written as a continuation of ‘Aṭāyī’s *Hadā’iḳu’l-Haḳā’iḳ*. The version submitted to the grand vizier mentions some 2058 people, 1486 of whom were professors (*müderriis*) and 208 sufis (*mutaşavvif*).<sup>262</sup> Şeyhī used both oral and written sources. Among the latter, he had at his disposal the *Şeyhülislām defterleri*, i.e. the registers of the appointments of judges. A continuation to ‘Aṭāyī’s *Hadā’iḳu’l-Haḳā’iḳ* had previously been written by ‘Uşşākīzāde (d. 1724), a *müderriis* and a *kadı*, who started in 1699 and finished in 1702.<sup>263</sup> ‘Uşşākīzāde did not mention Hasan in his biographical dictionary.

Whether Şeyhī knew what Şafāī was doing at about the same time when he himself was composing the biographical dictionary cannot be known. But he provided information about Hasan’s biography similar to that found in Şafāī, though without mentioning Sofia. Şeyhī notes that Hasan was born in Sarajevo, that he was a disciple of Muşliḥuddīn Ujiçevi, and that he was a shaykh of Silaḥdār Pasha Zaviye. Just like Şafāī, Şeyhī knew Hasan left Sarajevo for Zvornik, and that he died there. The confusion related to Sofia may have stemmed from the fact that Muşliḥuddīn Ujiçevi has been described in biographical dictionaries as the disciple of Khalwati

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Efendi, *Vekāyi’u’l-fuzalā: Şeyhī’nin Şaka’ik zeyli*, ed. Ramazan Ekinci (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Yayınları, 2018), 29-120.

<sup>262</sup> Şeyhī continued collecting notes on people who died after 1717, and did so until 1724/25. His son used his notes and made additions to create an appendix to his father’s work which covered 236 people who lived before 1733.

<sup>263</sup> ‘Uşşākīzāde covers the biographies of 562 people who died between 1632 and 1694.

shaykh Sofyalī Bālī (d.1552).<sup>264</sup> Accepting this was correct, we would need to accept that Muşliḥuddīn was at least hundred years old when he died in 1642. Overall, assuming that Hasan was a student of Muşliḥuddīn is plausible, but where exactly the training took place remains unclear. Be this as it may, from this entry we see that Hasan rose to fame as a miracle-worker and a poet, now not only, but still primarily thanks to his *Dīvān II/Vāridāt*, namely the one in which he deals with contemporary events and prognostication of the future based on onomancy (*cifr*).<sup>265</sup> Şeyḫī mentions only a few other Ottoman intellectuals as adepts of onomancy.<sup>266</sup> Finally, Şeyḫī is important source for biographies of other poets and learned men who hailed from Bosnia, mainly Sarajevo and Mostar, who lived in the seventeenth century and are much more numerous than was the case in the sixteenth century. Besides that, Şeyḫī lists all the *kadıs* of Bosnia, seated in Sarajevo and appointed by *şeyḫülislām* from Istanbul.

From Şeyḫī's note on one 'Ömer Efendi, we learn that this former *imām* and *müderriş* from Istanbul was killed while holding the post of the *kadı* of Bosnia, in July 1682. The perpetrators were described as “the bandits from among the local people” (tr. *ahālī-i memleket eşkiyāsı*).<sup>267</sup> To this 'Ömer Efendi Şeyḫī did not dedicate a special biographical entry. The event, however, was

<sup>264</sup> Uşşākizāde İbrāhīm Hasīb Efendi, *Zeyl-i şakā'ik: Uşşākizāde'nin Şakā'ik zeyli (inceleme-metin)*, ed. Ramazan Ekinci (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2017), 357-359; Şeyḫī Mehmed Efendi, *Vekāyi 'u'l-fuzalā*, 528-529.

<sup>265</sup> “‘Azīz-i mezbūr keramat-ı ‘aliyye ile meşhūr, ‘ilm-i cifrde mahāreti zāhir ve ilāhiyyāt u eş‘ārda bī-nazır şā'ir, te‘şīr-i enfası nebtiz, cezbese gālib ‘azīz idi. Āsarlarından Kā'imī maḥlaşi ile ‘ilm-i cifrde Dīvān-ı belāgāt-‘unvānları vardur,” Şeyḫī Mehmed Efendi, *Vekāyi 'u'l-fuzalā*, 1402.

<sup>266</sup> These were Aḥmed Efendi (known as the son of the commentator of *Menār*, Şāriḥü'l Menār-zāde, listed among the *ulemā'*/müderrişes of Meḥmed IV, d. 1654/55), *Ibid.*, 758; Niyāzī Mısrī (eş-Şeyh Meḥmed el-Mısrīyyü'n-Niyāzī/Niyāzī, d. 1694/95), *Ibid.*, 1981; and, Dağıstānī Şeyḫ Meḥmed Efendi (d.1603/04), *Ibid.*, 2220-2221. The last two are mentioned as Naqshbandī shaykhs. Aḥmed Efendi is also mentioned as an adept in onomancy by Uşşākizāde, see Uşşākizāde İbrāhīm Hasīb Efendi, *Zeyl-i şakā'ik*, 462. Uşşākizāde mentions one more person only, Raḥmetullāh Efendi (d.1652/53), *Ibid.*, 412-415.

<sup>267</sup> Şeyḫī Mehmed Efendi, *Vekāyi 'u'l-fuzalā*, 1534.

remembered in the chronicles of Silāhdār Meḥmed Aga (d. 1726),<sup>268</sup> Rāšid Efendi (d.1735),<sup>269</sup> and on the margins of a Cyrillic manuscript.<sup>270</sup> These accounts do not agree in all details, but the essence of the event can be understood when they are observed together. Silāhdār Meḥmed narrates that several Bosnian people came to the court in Istanbul and bribed certain ‘Ābidīn who was a servant in the sultan’s Privy Chamber. Having received the bribe, ‘Ābidīn used the moment when the sultan was “cheerful” to have him issue an order according to which no inspection (tr. *devr*) was to be conducted in Bosnia. When the current governor-general of Bosnia, ‘Abdī Pasha, heard about this sultanic order, he remarked that he himself also has a sultanic order according to which he was supposed to take-up the inspection. Silāhdār Meḥmed finishes the account by informing that many people were killed in the conflict between Pasha’s men and the local people who broke into the court-house and killed the judge. He adds that this was reported to the the sultanic court in Istanbul by the mentioned Pasha.<sup>271</sup> What was the inspection about, we learn from Rāšid who writes that before 1682, several murders committed by unknown persons happened around the town of Sarajevo. No investigation could help find the perpetrators, but the local *kadı* and *mütesellim* (the person in charge of collecting taxes belonging to governor-general) came up with

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<sup>268</sup> Silāhdār started writing his chronicle when he retired. The chronicle titled *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, covers the events from 1654 to 1695. The title comes from the fact that Silāhdār imagined this to be a continuation of Kātib Çelebi’s *Fezleke*, the chronicle which covers the events from 1592 till 1653.

<sup>269</sup> Rāšid Efendi was taking the post of official court historian (*vaḳ‘a-nüvīs*) from 1714 to 1723. His chronicle is a continuation of his predecessor Nā‘imā who finished his work with the events which took place in 1660. Rāšid Efendi finishes with 1722.

<sup>270</sup> Stojanović, *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi*, 321-322. This marginal note and Rāšid’s account were known to Osman Sokolović who still remains the most reliable scholar to have discussed this event. In addition to these two sources, he bring an excerpt from a *kadı*-court record which deals with the way in which the related disputes were resolved. See, Osman Sokolović, “Suprotne vijesti o pobuni seljaka i pogibiji sarajevskog mule Omer efendije” [The Contrary News about the Peasants’ Rebellion and the Death of the Sarajevan judge Omer Efendi], *Narodna uzdanica za 1943* (Sarajevo, 1942): 116-122.

<sup>271</sup> Nazire Karaçay Türkal, “Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa: Zeyl-i Fezleke (1065-22 ca.1106 / 1654-7 şubat 1695)” (PhD Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2012), 786.

an idea to charge all the poor people of Bosnia (tr. *reyā fuḳarāsi*) two *kurush* per head so they guarantee for one another. The *kadı* and *mütesellim* were supposed to split the money. They did this not because they were poor, but out of greed and despite the fact that they knew, from the previous experience, that Bosnians did not like being rounded up in the way they planned to do it. Nevertheless, the *kadı* and the *mütesellim* sent out letters and threats to all *nāhiyes*. After this, many people from all over Bosnia gathered in Sarajevo, and, once they understood the truth of the matter, they took their way to the court-house. On the way, they met two local preachers and asked them why would they not protect the people from the injustice. After that, the mob entered the court-house and killed the judge and his deputy.<sup>272</sup> So ‘Abdī Pasha from Silāḥdār could have been the governor-general who ordered the inspection of the earlier murders by which the whole series of events started, and the person who reported about the killings of the judge and his deputy. Rāşid and the Cyrillic marginal note agree that a person sent out from Istanbul to investigate the murder of the judge and his deputy was *silāḥşor* (a Palace guard).<sup>273</sup> Rāşid and Cyrillic marginal note also agree about the name of the investigator (tr. *kapucıbaşlarından silāḥşor Frenk bey/sl. kapidži Frenk (H)Asan-aga*) and the fact that he collected a huge amount of money as “the blood money” (tr. *diyēt*). Rāşid notes that the affluent ones gave money willingly, i.e. as a bribe, while the poor Bosnians contributed by force. The marginal note informs that people who came to Sarajevo were peasants from around the town, that the money was taken “from Sarajevo,” that the inspector gave some money to the *kadı*’s children, and almost equal amount for himself. In the end, all the local ‘*ulemā*’, shaykhs, notables, *imām* s, *ḥaṭībs*, guild-members and citizens in general, had to gather

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<sup>272</sup> Raşit Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşit* (Istanbul, 1865), 384-385.

<sup>273</sup> Same is the case with the entry from a *kadı* court record, though the name of the inspector is different. The contents of this entry survived only in Sokolović’s translation, and he admits that it was not easy to read it. Sokolović, “Suprotne vijesti o pobuni seljaka,” 120.

in front of the court and the imperial inspector, and vow that this kind of sedition will never happen again.<sup>274</sup>

According to a local legend often repeated, or perhaps even created, by the modern scholars, Hasan Ẓā'imī sided with “people” in an insurrection which took place before he left Sarajevo, ca. 1680. A theory has been devised that the rebellion in which Ẓā'imī participated was caused by “hunger.”<sup>275</sup> The problem with this theory is that no other rebellion but the one just described was recorded anywhere. Šamić thinks that there is a probability that Ẓā'imī took part in the 1682 insurrection, although no documentary or textual evidence can be offered to prove this claim. Just like the other scholars before her, however, Šamić describes this event as a rebellion of the poor peasants against the imperial authorities which came in response to scarcity.<sup>276</sup> A fresh reading of all of the available textual sources, however, suggests that it was not only the poor peasants who initiated the stirring in the first place, and that the reasons for the insurrection and the anger were not *just* of the economic nature. Nor there are elements in this particular story which indicate that the anger of the rebels was directed against the “Ottoman authorities” in the abstract. The sources, however, do suggest that there existed a solidarity among Sarajevans of various social profiles in this chain of events investigated by centrally-appointed officials. In sum, Ẓā'imī, who is known to have been affluent, although the sources of his wealth remained obscure, should not be imagined as “a tribune of the plebs” (sl. *tribun narodnih masa* or *narodni tribun*) in a manner this has been done by earlier students of his life and work, at least not without a great amount of

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<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> Osman Sokolović, *Prilike u Bosni podkraj XVII stoljeća* [The situation in Bosnia towards the end of the seventeenth century] (Sarajevo: Bosanska Pošta, 1943), 28-29.

<sup>276</sup> Šamić, “Dīvan de Ẓaimī,” 27-28, and *passim*.

reserve.<sup>277</sup> The 1682 event happened on the eve of the Ottoman-Austrian war (1683-1699). Kā'imī did not live to see the end of it. Sarajevo itself would remain a relatively flourishing town until a real disaster came in 1697 with the army led by Eugene of Savoy who famously pillaged it for days and burned it almost to the ground.

#### III.4.2. Kā'imī's Main Themes and Ways of Expression

Kā'imī's poems from *Dīvān I* were composed to serve the function of the presentation, promotion and practicing of the Qadiri way. These poems have stylistic and thematic features of the poetic discourse based on the universal Sufi mystical idiom which was shared by Sufi poets belonging to various orders. 'Abdulqādir Gīlānī (d.1166), considered the first in the line of Qadiri shaykhs, is a figure respected by many other sufi orders as well. However, Kā'imī clearly emphasized Gīlānī's sanctity, his own belonging to the Qadiri order and the importance of the fact that Qadiri teaching has arrived to a particular locale—Sarajevo in Bosnia. One of the functions of this poetry was to explain and advertise Gīlānī's mystical teachings, as well as help gather following for the Qadiri sufi path in Bosnia. Stepping on a sufi path, among other, implied a position that what was learned in school, in *mektebs* and medreses, was of this world (of say, vanity and greed).<sup>278</sup> Those who stayed at this level (of knowledge) were nothing more than two-legged animals, and this when compared to (Prophet) Muḥammad, the perfect example of a human who reached the Truth.<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> This phrase can be found many modern accounts of Kā'imī's life and work. For example see, Mehmed Mujezinović, *Islamska Epigrafika Bosne i Hercegovine. Knjiga II: Istočna i centralna Bosna* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1977), 128; Jasna Šamić, "Kaimi, Bosanski pjesnik, mistik, iz 17. vijeka-Uvodna kasida Divāna," *Treći program Radio-Sarajeva* 8 (1979): 518-524, 521.

<sup>278</sup> "Tıfl oldı seyrün mektebe vardun/(...); Gördün oqurlar 'ilm-i lügätı/Kimi vazıfe kimi kuzätı; Öğrentülen kim 'ilm ü ma'ārif/Dünyā huşuşı işbu meşārif," Aydın, "Kā'imī Dīvānı," 94.

<sup>279</sup> "Kendüyi dānā ādem şanurmuş/ Kāmil katından şoñ utanurmuş; İki ayaklu ḥayvāna beñzer/Aḥmed katında Bū Cehl'e beñzer," *Ibid.*, 95.



Just like Meḥmed, and perhaps Yūsuf, Hasan Ḳā'imī was a witness of the Cretan war. Unlike is the case with Meḥmed and Yūsuf, Ḳā'imī saw its end. Moreover, he predicted the crucial date which mark it. The two introductory, and at the same time, the longest poems in his *Dīvān II/Vāridāt* most pronouncedly address this particular war and the way it affected the Balkan part of the Adriatic coast. The first poem consists of (maximum) 180, and the second of (maximum) 152 couplets.<sup>280</sup> The poems are replete with direct references to actual dates, places, armies and events Hasan witnessed or predicted. One of the main, self-advertised aspects of Ḳā'imī's poetry dealing with concrete events were his "divinations" or "inspirations" about the present and the future, well-hidden in his verses and not easy to understand by the uninitiated. As the universal mystical teachings intertwine with the immediate history, the reader understands that Hasan's inspiration comes from a profound belief in the timeless unity of being (tr. *vaḥdet-i vucūd*) and the role of the mediators (one being 'Abdulqādir Ğilānī) in the process of understanding, or rather, revealing of the Truth (tr. *ḥaḳḳ*). This process, however, evolves at the level of an individual who, first of all needs to come to their senses, give up their egos and the illusions offered by this world, and thus step on the path to salvation. The events of the Cretan war are fashioned by Ḳā'imī as a part of the history which will end with the coming of Mehdi and Jesus, i.e. the end of the world as imagined in Islamic eschatological tradition. This is the perspective he wants to share with his readers, be they soldiers of the just Islamic army actually participating in the holy war against the infidels, or the mere observers of the events. The spark of optimism informed by this broad perspective comes from a concrete place, Sarajevo, and concrete persons: Molla Muḥtarī who encouraged Ḳā'imī to share his vision (perhaps as a senior), and Ḳā'imī himself as the person initiated in the secrets of onomancy. The enemies are sometimes designated as a collective—*Beni*

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<sup>280</sup> The rest of the *Dīvān II/Vāridāt* contains poetic variations on the themes of the two long poems. It can be speculated that all poems from this collection were composed before the earliest date mentioned, which is 1669.

*Asfer* (“the sons of blondes,” Christians), i.e. in a manner which reminds of the discourses pertaining to medieval and early modern Christian-Muslim polemics. *Beni Asfer* surrounded the region in *Ḳā'imī*'s focus, but will not prevail—the Rome will be Muslim.<sup>281</sup> Concrete representatives of *Beni Asfer* are Venetians (*Freng*), Austrians (*Alaman*) and Hungarians (*Macar*). The Croat Zrinski is mentioned as an individual who played significant role in the actual and the spiritual battles. Once the Candia falls (in 1669), Zadar fortress will also be taken by Muslims, *Ḳā'imī* says. In this way the abandoned Muslim landholdings (*tumārs*) from its hinterland will be returned and safe again. Muslims will take the entire Bay of Kotor, many more smaller or larger fortresses of Dalmatia which were recently lost by the Muslims, as well as those which have never been in the Muslim hands. *Ḳā'imī*'s perspective is broad, but the steps towards ultimate victory and absolute peace under the auspices of Islam are concrete, comparatively small and local.<sup>282</sup>

One of the two poems Hasan composed in Slavic, *Slavic-Candia*, addresses the same theme like the two *kaṣīdes* in his *DīvānII/Vāridāt*, namely, it revolves around the motif of the prediction of the victories of the Islamic army in the Cretan war. In the *kaṣīdes* from *DīvānII/Vāridāt*, the Islamic army involved in the holy war against the infidels comes forth as just, and its victory as an event that will bring peace to the world. The poem is obviously addressed to “holy warriors” and pious Muslims anxious about the future and the path to salvation. *Slavic-Candia* is much different

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<sup>281</sup> On Ottoman polemical narratives produced in the sixteenth century and their political context, see Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 75-97.

<sup>282</sup> Šamić interpreted this poem, translated it to Slavic and provided the translation with philological comments in an article published before her monograph. I consulted her interpretations found in both the article and the book, but the summary is my own. In this summary, I tried to detach my self from Šamić's position that this poem is “of no great poetic value” although it represents “an original way” of depicting “the political situation in Bosnia at the moment when Ottoman power was in decline.” Jasna Šamić, “Kaimijina kasida na -ari iz njegovog djela *Varidat*,” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 35 (1985): 52-90, esp.52-53.

in its politics, form, tone, and purpose.<sup>283</sup> The poem was sometimes copied with a Turkish introduction which evokes an (Ottoman) tradition of victorious conquest which was a miracle of Muḥammad and a gift of God.<sup>284</sup> Aside from an introduction in Turkish which was rarely copied and was perhaps added later, the poem consists of 38 quatrains with the rhyme *aaab*, whereby the last (b) line functions as a refrain reading “Kad vam ode Kandija” (When you lose Candia). In a similar way Ḳā’imī wrote three poems in his *DīvānII/Vāridāt*, i.e. in the form known as “repeating quatrain” (tr. *mūtekerrir murabbā* ).<sup>285</sup> But, those three poems are written in a simple ‘*arūz*’ meter, while here the meter is seven-syllabic. Slavic-*Candia* contains the total of six words originating from Turkish. The poem explicitly addresses the Venetians, now called the Slavic way, *Mlečani*. Once Venetians lose Candia, and the poet is sure they would, Bosnia will return Klis, and *the Turks* will take such towns as Zadar and Split. Ḳā’imī also notes that Venetians are employing Croats (i.e. those fighting on the Venetian side) in vain. For it is God’s will and it is written (in the Quran and other prophetic literature), that the Turks will come out victorious, in Candia, and after that, in Dalmatia. And, Ḳā’imī was able to see/read what was written, as he notes in one and only stanza

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<sup>283</sup> Šamić quickly passes over the question of the meaning and poetic value of this poem evaluating it as a “weak reflection” or a summary of *kašide* on Candia in Turkish, and goes on to ask “why was it written in Serbo-Croatian?” Part of the answer is that the poem was written to be *popular*, i.e. heard among the non-elite which stood in opposition to “connoisseurs of the ‘aristocratic’ language of the Muslim intelligentsia.” Ḳā’imī did not belong to “people,” but he sided with them, and this was one of the reasons why he was misunderstood by the Bosnian authorities of the time, Šamić maintains. Truth be told, Šamić is reserved in her conclusions, admitting that one can only speculate about Ḳā’imī’s motives. Šamić, *Dīvan de Ḳaimī*, 180-181.

<sup>284</sup> This introduction was in fact found in one single manuscript which was known to Husejin Karabegović who was the first to publish Slavic-*Candia*, in 1889. The introduction reads: “Olur birkaç bölük imiş/Hem eskiden mülük imiş/Sefer kılmak sülük imiş/ Çu fethe yol bulur açdı/Kopar kim bunda bir tūfān/Kesilur baş dökilur kân/Sa’ adetlu çıka sultān/Niçün şulhun başın kesdi (Bu mu’ciz Muştafānundur/ Feth u nuşret Hūdānındur/ Denilmez bu fulānındur/Hūdānın kalemi açdı),” Husejin ef. Karabegović, “Pjesna o osvojenju Kandije godine 1080 po hidžretu (1669),” *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja* 1/3 (1889): 92-96.

<sup>285</sup> Šljivić, “Hasan Kā’imī Efendi’nin *Vāridāt*’ı,” 198-209.

which contains a self-reference.<sup>286</sup> God is on the side of the Turks, for theirs is the right faith. In a quatrain which reminds of Mehmed Hevā'ī's Slavic-*Come to Us in Faith*, Ḳā'imī sings:

Slaves of One God  
The sons of One Father  
You will be brought down by the misfortune (of infidelity)  
When you lose Candia.<sup>287</sup>

In the second poem in Slavic, Slavic-*Tobacco*, Ḳā'imī mocks the smelly smokers and presents smoking as contrary to God's commands and the Islamic religious law, mixing the didactic and humorous tone. He also notes that Frenks are selling the tobacco, and that "they" (i.e. himself) have also smoked it once upon a time. Slavic-*Tobacco* is structured in the same way like Slavic-*Candia*: 20 quatrains rhyming *aaab*, refrain (b) "Ostante se tutuna" (Let Go of Tobacco), and seven-syllabic meter. Here and there only, Ḳā'imī includes Turkish phrases. In only one stanza the first three lines are entirely expressed in Turkish. This is the stanza in which Ḳā'imī presents himself as an author and an advisor.<sup>288289</sup>

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<sup>286</sup> "Kaimija o hodi/U Venedik dohodi/U Ćitabu nahodi/ Otiće vam Kandija"

<sup>287</sup> "Jednog boga robovi/Jednog oca sinovi/ Nevolja vas obori/ Kad vam ode Kandija," Karabegović, "Pjesna o osvojenju Kandije," 96.

<sup>288</sup> "Kaimi der söylerüz/Bir nasihat eylerüz/Bir emirdir neylerüz/Ostante se tutuna," A transliteration and translation into French of the poem are in Šamić, "Dīvan de Ḳaimī," 68-74.

<sup>289</sup> Recently, a master's thesis has been published in the Republic of Turkey which brings a transcribed version of a treatise on *taşavvuf* and attributes it to Hasan Ḳā'imī of Bosnia. The attribution has been made based on the title of the treatise which mentions some Ḳā'imī. The title and the treatise are found in an undated manuscript which is rather poorly described by the author of the thesis, and I myself did not have a chance to consult it. The manuscript in question is MS 0061/03 (ff. 53b-63a) kept in the collection of İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı Yazma Eserler. The text itself, however, contains no internal evidence that the author of the treatise was really Hasan Ḳā'imī of Bosnia. The text makes no mention of either Khalwati or Qadiri authorities, and the language employed is much different than what we see Hasan Ḳā'imī's poems. For these reasons, I decided not to discuss this text. See Saide Yapıcı, "Balkanlar'ın Türk ve İslâmlaşmasında taşavvufun önemi ve Bosnavî Hasan Kâimî Efendi'nin "Risâle-i Tasavvuf" adlı eserinin transkripsiyonu" [The importance of *taşavvuf* for Turkification and Islamization of the Balkans and the transcription of the work by Bosnavî Hasan Kâimî Efendi titled "The Treatise on *Tasavvuf*"] (MA Thesis, Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi, 2019).

Finally, Jasna Šamić remains the only scholar and philologist who analyzed the characteristics of Hasan Kā'imī's language. Her analysis, however is self-admittedly descriptive, rather than comparative. Therefore, it is of little help in judging to what extent Hasan was either a common or an exceptional figure in his time, and it does not provide any insight into early modern criteria by which an author's language was judged by his contemporaries. Šamić, however, concludes that, in order to properly situate the Ottoman Turkish language used by Hasan, one would first need to conduct an in-depth analysis of other Bosnian writers who wrote in Turkish in the same time, and then compare all of these to the seventeenth century authors "from Turkey." This sort of analysis would encompass both poetic and prose texts, and it would allow us to see whether Hasan's language was "older" or "more obsolete" (as some morphological features suggest) than that of his contemporaries from Turkey. This sort of analysis would also shed more light on the characteristic features of "the Bosnian Turkish dialect." Anachronism aside, this sounds like an excellent proposal, which, however, fell on deaf ears—no philological study of this type has ever been attempted to this day. To this day, however, the scholarship continues to rely on a "logic" which, as Šamić continues, suggests that the "literary resources" available to people of Bosnia were not developing as quickly as "in Turkey," and this because Bosnia was located on the border of the Empire. The punchline of this conclusion is: while *Tanzīmāt* literature flourished in Turkey (between ca.1839 and ca.1876), Bosnian Muslims were still writing in the vein of *dīvān* poetry.<sup>290</sup> From the perspective of this thesis, the characteristics of Hasan's seventeenth-century Turkish would be important as a factor limiting the reception of his compositions. That this was not the case is rather clear by now.

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<sup>290</sup> Šamić, "Dīvan de Kā'imī," 208.

#### **Chapter IV: Interpreting the Slavic Inflection of the Early Modern Ottoman Arabographia**

Slavic functioned as an Ottoman language since the very beginning of the linguistic encounter prompted by the Ottoman conquests in South Slavia, whereby the ways in which it was acknowledged by the Ottoman Arabographia varied. From the perspective of the place of Slavic within the Ottoman multilingual regime, the relative seventeenth-century expansion of Slavophone Arabographia can be viewed as an innovation. This chapter seeks to understand the historical and ideological context in which this innovation occurred and the ways in which it reverberated in the Arabographic manuscript culture embedded in the realities of the Ottoman-ruled South-Slavia.

In *Chapter III*, I discussed texts attributed to three authors who have been considered the earliest and among the most important figures of Slavic/Bosnian *aljamiado* literature, their biographies, and their literary output. One of the goals of the analysis was to distil ideas which informed their linguistic choices and to do it in a way which would show both the similarities and differences among them. What can be said about the three *aljamiado* authors' known by name, Yūsuf, Meḥmed and Hasan, is that they all shared a more or less grounded confidence in the knowledge of Turkish, while only Meḥmed produced texts in Arabic and Persian as well. All three of them thought that Slavic was a language which could more actively and more creatively participate in the division of labor among languages written in the Arabic script. Another similarity is that all three of them used Slavic as the language of poetry. Moreover, they used a similar idiom (heavily based on spoken language) and similar versifying techniques. Where they differ is in the approach to the kinds of poetic messages which they found expressible in Slavic and the amount of effort invested in their poetization. In terms of targeted audience, the politics of their Slavic poems is not identical, but all three have written at least one poem in the form of an epistle/address. Of the three, Yūsuf gives impression of the least ambitious and most self-centered poet. Meḥmed's

pious poems—arguably among the most sophisticated examples of Slavophone Arabographic literature—suit his universalist sufiesque leanings. His Slavic-*Come to Us in Faith*, however, reminds of Yūsuf’s *Arzuhal I* in terms of form, though it addresses a different theme. Hasan by all means saw himself as an influential figure, and yet, his Slavic poems could have been better worded, if we are to judge by the extant versions. Within Meḥmed’s and Hasan’s output, we can observe that, at first sight, similar themes (Meḥmed’s call to the right path/faith and Hasan’s prophecy of the victory of the Islamic army) are given a completely different tone and contents when addressed in Turkish and when addressed in Slavic. The Slavic poems are not translations of Turkish versions as scholars suggested before. Meḥmed stood out as the only author who found it necessary to provide his intervention with meta-commentary, namely a short exposition in which “speaking” Bosnian was authorized as permissible, thus suggesting that there existed communication settings in which choice of Bosnian was stigmatized. Meḥmed is also the only one who explicitly claims Bosnian as one of his “own” languages and who thought that a Muslim could pray in Bosnian. Yūsuf and Hasan “speak” Slavic in their poems without any meta-comment.

The concrete evidence that Yūsuf, Meḥmed, and Hasan knew about one another does not exist or it did not survive. Besides, their literary works were never copied together. The circulation of Yūsuf’s and Meḥmed’s poems was of limited scope even within the locale, while Hasan’s Turkish poetry gained popularity all over Rūmeli. Meḥmed’s Bosnian/Turkish dictionary was popular as well, but most of its users lived in South-Slavia, based on what is known. Observed together, the three authors can hardly be readily observed as the founders of any kind of systematic movement, and if any of them had a programmatic goal related to the usage of Slavic, that would be Meḥmed only. And yet, the shared formal characteristics of the texts they produced indicate

that they may have belonged to more or less overlapping interpretive, and therefore, ideological communities.

The below discussion uses the cases of Yūsuf, Meḥmed and Hasan as hermeneutical tools for interpreting the ideas reflected in the texts produced by some of their near contemporaries. These are the people who can be described as speakers of Slavic/Bosnian based on the linguistic choices they made and the clues found in the texts they produced. In addition, this chapter treats the producers of the manuscripts containing Slavophone Arabographic texts as the recipients of the ideas which informed the seventeenth-century expansion of Slavophone Arabographia.

#### **IV.1. Literacies, Languages, Ideologies**

The seventeenth-century expansion of the realm of Slavic within Arabographia does not square well with any conception of an ossified hierarchy among individual Ottoman languages. In itself, however, this phenomenon does not tell us much about the levels of rigidity or flexibility of ideas about literacy and/or language/s inherited from the earlier period. Without a more nuanced investigation of circulation and reception of the free-standing Slavophone Arabographic texts and the ideas which informed their production, one can not conclude *when* the increase in writing Slavic in Arabic script became constitutive of *a* distinct literary practice demarcating *a* distinct interpretive community, nor can the increase be automatically associated with a language ideology ascribable to a limited locale. By saying this, I do not argue against the idea that “Bosnian *aljamiado*” should be seen as *a* type of *literature* reflective of the communal, ethno-linguistic and confessional identity of “Bosnian Muslims.” My goal, however, is to argue against the homogeneity modern scholarly literature tends to impose on this community. In other words, I hold that the study of Slavophone Arabographic texts produced by Slavic/Bosnian Muslims from the perspective of historical language ideology can first of all help us understand the variety of



interpretive communities *early modern* Slavic/Bosnian Muslims belonged to. I will therefore treat the free-standing Slavophone Arabographic texts in the same way I treated the instances of Slavophone Arabographia which contributed to heteroglossia of Ottoman Arabographic texts before the seventeenth century, namely as the literacy events which can help us understand: a) the ideas about language/s informing the production of the relevant texts, whereby relevant is to mean involving writing Slavic in Arabic script and/or placing the new products of this mode of writing within the existing ideological and material contexts b) the relative *variety* of social profiles of Slavic/Bosnian-speaking Muslims engaged *in* and *by* the new literacy events; c) the relative significance of these literacy events for the (re)construction of interpretive communities reacting to changing historical circumstances in the Ottoman-ruled South-Slavia.

Taking up this orientation, I find it worth reemphasizing that the dynamics of Islamization of South-Slavia, especially when described as a “linear process of the spread of Islam,” cannot be taken as a ready explanation of “the spread” of Slavophone Arabographia as a mode of literacy, nor can a more frequent appearance of instances of Slavophone Arabographia and its relative empowerment be explained by an increase in number of “the new Muslims” who did not manage to learn Ottoman languages for whatever reasons. As in the previous chapters, however, I am interested in matters of religion, faith, and conversion to Islam to the extent they transpire as phenomena bearing on literacy and language ideologies of the texts I discuss. What I do consider a quantitative starting point for my discussion is that the seventeenth century can safely be postulated as a period in which there occurred a surge in Arabographic textual production in Ottoman-ruled South-Slavia in general, and in Bosnia in particular,<sup>1</sup> and that these texts were being

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<sup>1</sup> Besides my own research intuition and experience, to corroborate the claim I can here quote a two volume work in which Muhamed Ždralović presented the results of his analysis of a sample containing 2337 manuscripts which he used in his search for various data on copyists of the manuscripts who were active not only in the territory of present day Bosnia and Herzegovina (as the title suggests) but also in the places located in present day Serbia and Montenegro.

produced in the total of four languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Slavic. This seventeenth-century surge in Arabographic textual production was, however, a pan-Ottoman phenomenon, while the expansion of Slavophone Arabographia was certainly not that.

As I already noted, literacy has rarely been a theme directly addressed by the historians of the early modern Ottoman empire.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, most Ottomanists would agree that a downward spread of literacy in the Ottoman society as a whole entered the phase of an accelerated tempo in the seventeenth century and that this was due to the ongoing processes of urbanization and extension of the network of educational institutions supervised by more or less formal administrations. Although explicated in passing only, this general agreement has been based on a cumulative effect of knowledge gathered through research of individuals and small corpuses, which has been conducted in the fields of literature, philology, historical linguistics, and the Islamic manuscript studies. Ottoman historians of the early modern period started factoring literacy into their analysis only as of recently. An impression one gets from this recent historiography is that the idiom which benefited most from the general, downward spread of literacy was the vernacular, accessible and/or simple Turkish. On the one hand, this idiom was used by various

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The chronological table Ždralović compiled (listing dates, copyists names, titles of works and places of copying) and his own conclusions clearly show that the seventeenth century was a period of a remarkable increase in production of texts written in Arabic (by far dominating the sample), Persian, Turkish and Slavic languages in the geography of origin of the sample. Muhamed Ždralović, *Prepisivači dela u arabičkim rukopisima*, 2 vols. [Copyists of the Works in the Arabographic Manuscripts] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1988), esp.vol. 2, 32-103.

<sup>2</sup> Nelly Hanna, among other, notes that the studies of literacy in the Islamic world had been neglected. Besides, the existing studies have been characteristic by “a ‘great divide’ between highly educated scholars, on one side, and everyone else, on the other; or an equally ‘great divide’ between the scholarly world of writing and the oral culture of those who could not read or write.” Hanna herself argues for “a graded definition of literacy” and an approach to literacy as a social phenomenon, i.e. an approach which is “more inclusive about the way that literacy is defined and it incorporates much more diversity regarding what can be considered as literacy, both in terms of the type of literacy and its level.” Nelly Hanna, “Literacy and the ‘great divide’ in the Islamic world, 1300–1800,” 176. For works explicitly dealing with “non-elite” literacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see Nelly Hanna, *In praise of books: a cultural history of Cairo’s middle class, sixteenth to the eighteenth century* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2004); Dana Sajdi, *The barber of Damascus: nouveau literacy in the eighteenth-century Ottoman Levant* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2013).

literate ideologues as a tool for addressing “the new” or “partially” literate, i.e. people who could read but not write, and if able to write, not in line with whatever has been perceived as a “standard.” On the other hand, the vaguely defined simple Turkish has been understood as the idiom which both “the new” and the “partially” literate would use for writing.<sup>3</sup> One question to be asked, therefore, is whether the evident spread of literacy brought any significant change in the language ideologies informing the Ottoman multilingual regime.

The empowerment of vernacular Turkish through textualization had always been a context-sensitive process—it was never temporally linear and cross-discursive, i.e. universal. Some aspects of textualization of spoken Turkish have already been discussed in previous chapters. One could further the discussion by, for example, looking at how written vernacular Turkish fared (in different segments of the early modern period) in the field of natural sciences, theoretical and practical, commonly taken to have been dominated by Arabic or Persian. The very recent literature suggests that this idiom, to an extent, always partook in the spread of some forms of knowledge originating from natural sciences.<sup>4</sup> Instead of pausing on this particular issue, I will stay with an example closer to my discussion in the previous chapters, and briefly summarize the direction Turkish took in the seventeenth century within the genre of the Ottoman chronicles.

Ottoman chronicles of the sixteenth century feature in the Ottoman studies as products of the golden age of Ottoman historiography in general. Besides the chronicles have been considered as some of the most important forums for the promotion of stylized Turkish as an imperial idiom

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<sup>3</sup> Aside from works cited in *Chapter III* (fn.131), see, Terzioğlu, “Where *‘İlm-i Hâl* Meets Catechism,” 84-85.

<sup>4</sup> Nükhet Varlık, “Between Local and Universal: Translating Knowledge in Early Modern Ottoman Plague Treatises,” in *Knowledge in Translation: Global Patterns of Scientific Exchange, 1000–1800 CE*, ed. Patrick Manning and Abigail Owen (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018), 177–190; Aslıhan Gürbüz, “From New Spain to Damascus: Ottoman Religious Authorities and the Making of Medical Knowledge on Tobacco,” *Early Science and Medicine* 26 (2021) 561–581; Harun Küçük, “Arabic into Turkish in the Seventeenth Century,” *Isis* 109 (2018): 320–325; Küçük, *Science without leisure*, esp.152-157.

(both vis-à-vis vernacular Turkish, and vis-à-vis Arabic and/or Persian). This genre as a whole is held to have been perpetuated by people whom we commonly consider to have been intellectuals, opinion-makers, promoters or critics of various influential truths and policies. In other words, Ottoman chroniclers are treated in historiography as the elite ideologues irrespective of the nature of their relationship with the sultan and Ottoman government officials. Istanbul court-sponsored chronicles in Persian and Arabic are held to have been written by people able to communicate the fundamental principles of Ottoman imperial project having the broader geo-political spaces in mind. In the seventeenth century, writing and/or sponsoring new Persian and Arabic chronicles virtually stopped, but historiography in Turkish continued to flourish. The vast majority of the Ottoman chroniclers who were writing in the seventeenth century seem to have been addressing the internal audience, being at the same time aware of the limited communicative potential of the excessively ornate Turkish.<sup>5</sup> To this, one may add yet another informed impression, namely that the notorious late fifteenth-century Ottoman chronicles, which had been written in what can be described as pre-ornate, and “pre-imperial” Turkish, were copied and appended throughout the early modern period.<sup>6</sup> Thus, from the perspective of the users, these were probably even more effective than the later, highbrow Ottoman chronicles that we use today to make claims about the power relations within the Ottoman multilingual regime. Since I already noted that heteroglossia was a rather common feature of Turkish historiographical texts in all times, I can here combine the two conclusions and suggest that Turkish close to spoken was always at least as powerful in terms of political influence as ornate Turkish. Therefore, the further seventeenth century textual

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<sup>5</sup> The exceptions to this general trend existed, but were comparably rare. See, Rhoads Murphey, *Essays on Ottoman historians and historiography* (İstanbul: Eren, 2009), esp. 91.

<sup>6</sup> This has been said with the reserve due to the fact that Ottoman chronicles have mainly been used as sources of information, rather than studied as circulating texts.

empowerment of Turkish close to spoken does not necessarily imply an entirely novel valorization of the “vernacular” as ideological concept, but rather a recognition of the power of the ever extending internal audience competent in Turkish and able to read and/or understand the discursive signposts. Various educated Arabographers and readers from South-Slavia constituted an important segment of this audience. In the seventeenth century, the language ideologies transpiring from the texts they produced and/or used can be theoretically divided into the inherited and the newly-acquired ones, just like is the case with all other Ottomans. The challenge thus lies in determining what it meant for them to record texts in Slavic.

The identifiable producers of original Slavophone Arabographic texts in the seventeenth century (Yūsuf, Meḥmed and Hasan) were not highbrow literati. As such they can be viewed as partakers in the pan-Ottoman development—the general spread of literacy and the increased participation in the text production of people of various social standing and education. Contrary to the fifteenth century in which the initiative for adjusting Arabic script to Slavic phonology came from the circles close to the court, it is the Ottoman province of Bosnia that appears as a locus of the renewed, seventeenth-century recognition of the communicative potential of Slavophone Arabographia as a mode of writing. The question which can be asked with this in mind is how are we to measure the ambitions of people like Yūsuf, Meḥmed and Hasan when it comes to audience. This question implies a rejection of any *ad hoc* conclusion that the expansion of Slavophone Arabographia was exclusively “Bosnian” phenomenon in its ambition and effect, even if we take that we know what exactly “Bosnia” meant in the seventeenth century. Some of the examples I will provide below are illustrative in this sense. I can here also remind of the fact that the majority of the surviving Arabographic manuscripts from central South-Slavia (i.e. present day Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, and Montenegro) have been preserved in modern Bosnia and that this was a result

of the nineteenth century developments. It is in the modern period that many of the manuscripts which circulated early modern South-Slavia were destroyed or taken by migrants to the late Ottoman empire/Republic of Turkey.<sup>7</sup>

In theory, it can be assumed that the communicative potential of Slavophone Arabographia could be fully realized within the whole geography defined by the South-Slavic dialect continuum. Besides, the investigation of the sixteenth century instances of Slavophone Arabographia, clearly showed that the Slavic speakers were constantly moving towards Istanbul, as well as in all directions in which the Ottoman army moved or stayed. These general conclusions based on literary texts can often be corroborated by documentary sources which have already been analyzed. It is for example a well known fact that, from the very beginning of the Ottoman conquests in Hungary (ca.1540), a large number of soldiers stationed in fortresses were recruited from Serbia and Bosnia.<sup>8</sup> Discussing the influence of the Ottoman culture in this region, Gábor Ágoston wrote that throughout the Ottoman reign in Hungary which lasted for about a century and a half, the majority of Muslim population in that area was constituted by people from Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia.<sup>9</sup> Whether patterns in movement of Slavic-speakers changed during the seventeenth century is not easy to say. What is a well-known fact is that the practice of *devshirme* gradually phased out in the seventeenth century. Based on the scattered biographical data, however, it can be said that

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<sup>7</sup> European early modern Orientalists collected Arabographic manuscripts primarily through the help of the brokers located in towns beyond South-Slavia and Hungary. The most famous, and perhaps the only significant exception, is the Marsigli Collection, today preserved in Bologne, which was however the war booty.

<sup>8</sup> Based on the payroll registers of soldiers from the mid-sixteenth century, it is known, for example, that some 13000 soldiers were stationed in the fortresses of the newly established Ottoman province of Buda. Various registers from 1550s show that the largest groups were from Bosnia and Herzegovina followed by Serbia “as well as the territory between the rivers Drava and Sava, which by this time was settled mainly by Serbs.” The remaining soldiers (ca 10%) came from the rest of Rümeli. Klára Hegy, “Freed Slaves As Soldiers in The Ottoman Fortresses in Hungary,” in *Ransom slavery along the Ottoman borders: early fifteenth-early eighteenth centuries*, ed. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 85-91:85-86.

<sup>9</sup> Gábor Ágoston, “Muslim Cultural Enclaves in Hungary under Ottoman Rule,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 45/2-3 (1991): 181-204, 181.

the young men from South-Slavia continued to be recruited for the state-service until the end of the Ottoman rule. That many of them were Muslims whose relatives were already integrated into the Ottoman *‘askerī* class can be claimed with safety. As I already briefly mentioned in *Chapter I*, the early seventeenth century is also the period when cadastral surveys, which were actively engaging Muslims and Christians alike, stopped being conducted. The full implications of this development would need much more research. All I can offer is a speculation that the abolishment of the cadastral surveys changed the ways in which the central Ottoman administration perceived the geography of South-Slavia, and that this change probably affected the local state agents. The transformation of the relationship of the central state administration with an individual subject may have also implied an increase in importance of the local literate in communicating the principles guiding the government policies. The local literacy practices, however, have not been studied from this perspective, and I will leave these questions open.

Though not exclusively, most of the free-standing Slavophone Arabographic texts have been preserved in *mecmū‘as* i.e. manuscripts which contain more than one, or rather, more than few, free-standing texts. As of recently, the Ottoman historians started paying more attention to *mecmū‘as*. The result of this interest have been the studies which further demonstrate the steady expansion of re-production and usage of Arabographic texts in the Ottoman society throughout the early modern period.<sup>10</sup> The seventeenth century in particular can undoubtedly be qualified as a period in which the practice of selection, curation and compilation of texts based on the needs and

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<sup>10</sup> Ottoman early modern *mecmū‘as* were certainly not a new phenomenon within the long-standing Arabographic textual tradition. The *mecmū‘as*, irrespective of the time they were produced, have recently been described as “one-book libraries,” the phrase which covers two terms, “composite manuscripts” and/or “multiple-text manuscripts.” All of these terms are rather vague when it comes to the technologies of production. See, Gerhard Endress, “‘One-Volume Libraries’ and the Traditions of Learning in Medieval Arabic Islamic Culture,” in Friedrich and Schwarke, *One-volume libraries*, 171-205; Another way to translate *mecmū‘a* is “a miscellany,” or “a compendium” like in A. A. Sayed-Gohrab and S. McGlinn, *The treasury of Tabriz: the great Il-khanid compendium* (Amsterdam: Rozenberg; West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2007).

tastes of individuals/groups flourished, but the Ottoman *mecmū*'as still pose a lot of methodological challenges. Most notably, each individual *mecmū*'a requires a lot of work before being described based on a set of basic criteria: language/s, genre (poetic, didactic, memorial, entertaining), the site and the way of production (collation, writing), social profile of producer/user, the rationale behind production (private, professional, commercial), etc.<sup>11</sup> Jan Schmidt has proposed that the Ottoman *mecmū*'as produced for private consumption can be designated by the term “scrapbooks” and this in opposition to “frozen library or archive” i.e. the collective volumes organized thematically (collections of poetry, letters, dictionaries, etc.). These scrapbooks, he maintains, have the “potential in shedding light upon individual Ottomans” especially in light of the fact that “these people (i.e. Ottomans) did not often, before the 19th century at least, write about themselves.” Schmidt duly notes that the producers of the scrapbooks were often more than few, but does not elaborate on the implications of this fact in terms of our understanding of the individuality of the Ottomans.<sup>12</sup> Derin Terzioğlu's article on Ottoman *mecmū*'as is based on the same collection like that of Schmidt's. She, however, adds few more dimensions to this “literary practice.” Terzioğlu notes that many such scrapbooks survived in the period after the sixteenth century and on, and adds:

Considering that the same period also witnessed the expansion of book collections and the proliferation of middle brow literature in vernacular Turkish, it is tempting to link the increase in the number of Ottoman scrapbooks from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the expansion of the realm of writing in Ottoman society. If the collection of Ottoman manuscripts in Leiden University Library is any indication, the practice of keeping personal scrapbooks may have been particularly popular with literati of a more modest sort: low-level bureaucrats, soldiers and minor sheikhs are certainly well represented among the owners/compilers of the Leiden manuscripts. All this suggests that

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<sup>11</sup> Hatice Aynur, Müjgân Çakır, Hanife Koncu, Selim S. Kuru, and Ali Emre Özyıldırım, eds., *Mecmūa: Osmanlı edebiyatının kırkambarı* [Mecmūa: The Treasury of the Ottoman Literature] (Istanbul: Turkuaz, 2011).

<sup>12</sup> Schmidt, “From ‘One-Volume-Libraries’ to Scrapbooks,” 210-212.



we are dealing here with a literary practice which may have been fairly widespread among the literate males of Ottoman towns in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>13</sup>

Terzioğlu goes on to discuss “what is personal about Ottoman personal miscellanies,” for her main concern is not literacy *per se*, but Ottoman early modern “autobiography.”

As another important contribution to the studies of the Ottoman *mecmū`as*, one can quote a recent project dealing with the examples preserved in Vienna. This project treats the contents of the “multi-textual manuscripts” as a window into “the Early Modern Ottoman culture of learning, in particular those areas of learning used and cultivated in *private circles* outside official Ottoman institutions of learning.”<sup>14</sup> As the mentioned, ongoing project stands now, of these people we know that they were “educated Ottomans in early modern times” while the concrete “identities of the writers/compiler of the *mecmu`as*” remain elusive.<sup>15</sup> From the perspective of the methodology employed in this thesis, it is important to note that scholars involved in this project use “the level of language and orthography” as an indicator of the “professional and intellectual background of a *mecmū`a*’s writer/complier,” together with “preferred subjects” and “occasional marginal notes.”<sup>16</sup> I already mentioned that this is a rather common approach whenever the producer of the

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<sup>13</sup> Derin Terzioğlu, “Autobiography in Fragments: Reading Ottoman Personal Miscellanies in the Early Modern Era,” in *Autobiographical Themes in Turkish Literature: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Olcay Akyıldız, Halim Kara, and Börte Sagaster (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2016), 83-99: 87.

<sup>14</sup> Gisela Procházka-Eisl and Hülya Çelik, *Texts on popular learning in early modern Ottoman times*, 2 vols. (Cambridge MA: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 2015), vol.1, 3. The italics are mine. See also the digital platform related to the same project at <https://mecmū`a.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/> (Accessed on August 8, 2021).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 267.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

text is anonymous or little known. Speaking of *defters* in *Chapter I*, I provided examples of how scholars sometimes use orthography to establish the ethno-linguistic identity of the scribe.<sup>17</sup>

Again from the perspective of historical language ideology, “the level of language and orthography” manifested in a *mecmū‘a* is a rather confusing concept, for in *mecmū‘as* we most often find languages, rather than a language, and cases in which we can safely conclude that a *mecmū‘a* was produced by one hand only are highly exceptional. Even when we know that the owner/producer of the *mecmū‘a* was one person, the “handwriting” can vary from calligraphic to careless and hasty. In other words, the way orthography is to be used as an argument or a criterion in social profiling of producers/users of *mecmū‘as* is far from clear. The investigations of orthography as practiced by historical linguists normally feed into conclusions on the history of a language in general and historical sociolinguistics, whereby the latter is much less developed than the former. Any comment on individual or group multilingualism, or any attempt at profiling a literate person (in this case a producer or producers of a *mecmū‘a*) in sociolinguistic terms, requires consultation of scholarly works which approach orthography in rather disparate ways. On the one end we find one-language oriented “bird-views” formulated by linguists and philologists. On the other end, we find historians grappling to formulate more context-sensitive observations. Jan Schmidt, for example, writes that “unlike Arabic, literary Turkish was not pressed into a ‘classic’ or ‘standard’ Turkish at an early stage.”<sup>18</sup> He continues by discussing why the understudied historical process of “standardization” of the Ottoman orthography was complicated, noting that qualifying the process of standardization as complicated “is not to say that chaos ruled.”<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Sometimes we can read the comments that it was a characteristic of literate Bosnians/Slavs to mix, say, *ħ* and *h* from the Arabic alphabet, or *s* and *ş*.

<sup>18</sup> Compare this position and its scale with that of Şinasi Tekin, briefly summarized in *Chapter I*.

<sup>19</sup> Schmidt summarizes the historical trends as follows: “By approximately 1500, when old Ottoman Turkish had developed into early modern (‘middle’) Ottoman Turkish, a preferred way of writing the language adhered to by most

Discussing the socio-cultural trends backgrounding the production of the seventeenth-century *mecmū‘as*, Cemal Kafadar points to the fact that sources of compilations were not exclusively the existing manuscripts and books, i.e. that *mecmū‘as* were not made exclusively by copying texts from the existing manuscripts/compilations. Kafadar notes that the fact that the orthography of the texts preserved in *mecmū‘as* does not always comply with “*medrese* standards” does not necessarily mean that the text producers did not *know* the rules, but that at least some of them did not consider *wrong* the phonetic composition of the texts they “heard” in the streets and other venues where news and information considered worth recording was exchanged. The new kind of “*mecmū‘a* culture” was, according to Kafadar, more open to local languages/idioms, local themes, and more relaxed in terms of what contents deserves to be recorded.<sup>20</sup> Pushing this line of thought even further, one may assume that this “relaxed” attitude towards the idea of what constitutes “a book” and we can add, “a proper way of writing,” produced the new kinds of bricolages which transformed the semantics of the written texts thus far circulating independently or in more or less controlled circumstances of production.

In scholarly considerations of *mecmū‘as*, the educated elite is taken to include people who went through all or most stages of supervised and/or formal education, and people who are commonly ascribed the ideas that Arabic was the language of religion and science, Persian the language of *belles lettres* and so on. As already said many times, the idiom associable with non-

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authors and scribes emerged. In the 16th century, the court in Istanbul (established in 1453) became the dominant centre of literary culture (Hazai, 2012 [note: this is a reference to an article dealing with the place of thirteenth century in the “evolution of Turkish language”]). Perusing Ottoman manuscript texts written or copied between, say, the late 15th and early 20th centuries makes it abundantly clear that, with a few exceptions, the spelling of the Turkish lexical elements is quite consistent and variation is only marginal. The exceptions here, again, are mostly the few surviving manuscripts produced by less well-educated authors/scribes,” Jan Schmidt, “How to write Turkish? The Vagaries of the Arabo-Persian Script in Ottoman-Turkish Texts,” in *Creating Standards: Interactions with Arabic script in 12 manuscript cultures*, ed. Dmitry Bondarev, Alessandro Gori, and Lameen Souag (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 131-146: 134.

<sup>20</sup> Cemal Kafadar, “Sohbete Çelebi, Çelebiye Mecmū‘a...,” in Aynur et al., *Mecmū‘a*, 43-53: 46-47.

elite people is commonly held to be Turkish close to spoken, susceptible to orthographic inconsistencies and mistakes when recorded. About how the literate beyond the educated elite interacted with texts in Arabic and Persian, we know next to nothing. The *mecmū'as*, however, are the key type of sources from which we know with certainty that not only Turkish, but also Arabic and Persian texts were inseparable parts of the Ottoman written world, which engaged various social groups constituent of the literate “populus.” It is from the *mecmū'as* that we can learn, for instance, that Arabic, next to being a language of religion and law, could also function as a language of superstition and entertainment.

The *mecmū'as* have been on the research agenda of the Yugoslav scholars as of at least 1970's. These discussions, however, focused mainly on the details of contents and the biographies of owners. They rarely if ever involved broader, conceptual considerations. Also, Bosnian *aljamiado* has not been considered from the perspective of its original material context, be it *mecmū'as* or independent manuscripts. The attempts at integrating “Bosnian *mecmū'as*” into the broader Ottoman context have been made only recently.<sup>21</sup> One summary related to the languages and alphabets of the “Bosnian *mecmū'as*” informs: that these *mecmū'as* are mainly filled with the content written in Ottoman Turkish; that participation of Arabic is smaller, and participation of Persian smallest; that Persian was mainly used for recording poetry; and, that “Bosnian *mecmū'as*” are characteristic for including texts written in the Arabic alphabet but in Bosnian language, the mother-tongue of the compilers. These are, we read further, the *aljamiado* poems. Finally, in

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<sup>21</sup> For bibliographical information on a dozen of articles on individual *mecmū'as* produced by Bosnian Muslims in various centuries, which were written between 1970 and 2006, as well as for an overview of the achieved results, see Tatjana Paić-Vukić, “Mecmūa incelemelerinin sınırları ve olanakları: Bosna mecmūalarına bir yaklaşım [The limits and opportunities of the investigations of the *mecmūas*: an approach to Bosnian *mecmūas*],” in Aynur et al., *Mecmūā*, 55-71, esp. 55 (fn.1). See also, idem, *Svijet Mustafe Muhibbija, sarajevskog kadije* [The World of Mustafa Muhibbi, a *Kadı* from Sarajevo] (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2007); Kerima Filan, “Saraybosnalı Mollā Mustafā'nın mecmūası ışığında bir Osmanlı'nın topluma bakışı [An Ottoman's View on the Society in the light of the mecmūa of Saraybosnalı Mollā Mustafā],” in Aynur et al., *Mecmūā*, 273-290.

addition to these we can find poems written in two (Bosnian and Turkish), and even three languages (Bosnian, Arabic and Turkish).<sup>22</sup> As a side comment to this approach, let me note that, to the best of my knowledge, there has been no such concept as “Greek *mecmū‘as*” and/or “Albanian *mecmū‘as*,” although the concepts of Greek and/or Albanian *aljamiado* are frequently evoked.<sup>23</sup>

In sum, since there has not been, or rather, can not be a unique way to approach *mecmū‘as*, some decisions related to what has been said before, need to be made. For one, *mecmū‘as* can be viewed as products of series of literacy events whose mutual affinity is a given. The nature of this affinity is not a given. Along Kafadar’s proposal, it is of use to distinguish between the texts selected from the existing textual corpuses and the publicly visible and/or privately noticed, but still untextualized content, and then try to establish where in between these two options a text can be situated. This distinction is important to keep in mind while pondering as of when scattered, more or less similar literacy events start constituting a steady literacy practice, or when a linguistic choice becomes a habit. Lastly, irrespective of whether they materialized in the texts found in *mecmū‘as* or independent manuscripts, a locale-specific habits and practices evolved in the changing extra-textual circumstances. The extra-linguistic events and trends which affected the process of (re)constructing of the local interpretive communities can be of various scales. “Bosnian *mecmū‘as*” will here be approached in line with these general assumptions.

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<sup>22</sup> Paić-Vukić, “Mecmūa incelemelerinin sınırları ve olanakları,” 62.

<sup>23</sup> That there were free-standing texts written in Greek by the use of the Arabic script dating to the mid-seventeenth century we know as of very recently. Previously, it was held that the application of this mode of writing was a later phenomenon. See, *Chapter III* (fn.189); Dedes, “Was there a Greek *aljamiado* literature,” 97; Yorgos Dedes, “Luġat-i Rūmiye: A Turkish Greek Dictionary from the Late Ottoman Period,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 31/1 (2007): 238-280; According to the current state of research, texts written in Albanian by the use of the Arabic script started appearing only as of the eighteenth century. Robert Elsie, “Albanian Literature in the Moslem Tradition: Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Albanian Writing in Arabic Script,” *Oriens* 33 (1992): 287-306.

Discussing the instances of Slavophone Arabographia in *Chapter II*, I provided some insights into how South-Slavic dialect continuum was charted from within Ottoman Arabographia mostly by people whose worldview was centered on the metropole. One of the main distinctions I wanted to make in that discussion is that using/speaking/hearing Slavic and acknowledging it in written discourses as a language spoken in the Ottoman empire are two different things. By the end of the sixteenth century some Ottoman Arabographers fashioned *Slavic without a name* as the language of the actual Ottoman subjects. In *Chapter III*, I discussed the texts produced by Yūsuf, Mehmed and Hasan in a way in which I hoped to show that there have been no ready answers to the questions of what it meant for a Slavic-speaking Bosnian to record Slavic texts in the Arabic script, and which historical or current experiences informed the ways in which they named this Slavic.

A question I did not address so far is what criteria should we use to postulate a model-producer of Arabographic texts whose view of South-Slavia was that of an insider so as to be able to compare their ideas about languages with the ideas of the “outsiders,” i.e. people whose sense of belonging to the region does not transpire from the texts they produced. The current wisdom suggests that Yūsuf, Mehmed, and Hasan are excellent representatives of the “provincial” literati sensitive to what can be termed a “pressure from below,” namely the specificities of socio-demographic structure and historical realities of South-Slavia/Bosnia. By analogy, we can suppose that all producers of the free-standing Slavophone Arabographic texts shared the same sensitivity. A more extensive usage of Slavic, however, is only one among defining features of a locale sensitive literatus.

Dating and contextualizing a typical model of “a provincial Ottoman intellectual” or “a provincial Ottoman literatus,” is not an easy task despite the fact that these two phrases loom large

in the Otoman studies. One possible way of approaching this issue, aside from acknowledging the importance of mobility for the way in which a historical actor is to be profiled, is to distinguish between creative writing and copying as two key ways of text production. Arabographic texts were copied, bought and collected in South-Slavia as of the early phase of establishment of the Ottoman rule. Many people originating from South-Slavia took well-trodden paths to Istanbul which could take them far away from their homeland, or reverse back. But the affirmation of an insider's view of the region through the various forms of pragmatic and creative writing was certainly a multilayered process which had its own historical and spatial dynamics. When it comes to central South-Slavia, the contours of the "excellent candidates" for the locale-sensitive Ottoman literati start becoming clear as of the late sixteenth century only. The expansion of Slavophone Arabographia commenced almost parallel to the general expansion of creative writing in the region.

With all these considerations in mind, this chapter continues with a section dedicated, not to the seventeenth-century Slavophone Arabographia *per se*, but to the question of the ideological space in which it started expanding, namely to the question of the politics of the pragmatic and creative choices made by individuals/groups whose life and work were profoundly, exclusively and/or self-professedly embedded in the historical realities of the Ottoman-ruled South-Slavia. The rest of the sections are dedicated to free-standing Slavophone Arabographic texts and the kinds of manuscripts in which they have been preserved.

#### **IV.2. Looking for "Our Language(s)" in South-Slavia**

The textual traces of Slavophone Arabographia as a mode of writing can be followed from the very onset of the Ottoman rule in South-Slavia. For a long time, the mode of writing did not yield a substantive corpus of free-standing texts, i.e. it was not constitutive of a distinct type of literature

or a productive literacy practice. But, as I argued, it did have a cumulative ideological effect. The effect was that Ottoman Arabographia placed Slavic into an ambiguous position of being both one's own and a "foreign" language, i.e. a language the usage of which was not encouraged. The effect was produced by metropole-oriented Ottoman Arabographers who, by writing in Turkish, explicitly recognized the prestige of Arabic and Persian only. This section revolves around the question of what kind of ideas about the relationship among Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Slavic can be detected when we move the focus from the center to South-Slavia as a space in which we can potentially find "the roads" which do not necessarily lead to or cross the city of Istanbul.

As it turns out, the language/s of the Bosnian Muslims have received some attention by recent scholarship dealing with the history of the early modern Ottoman empire. Here are some of the insights. While discussing the modes of articulation of difference in the Ottoman-Venetian borderlands, Natalie Rothman quotes an example of two Bosnian merchants who, in 1582, petitioned the Venetian Board of Trade. Acknowledging the Venetian parlance, the merchants presented themselves as the heads of "the Bosnian Turkish nation" and asked for an appointment of additional commercial brokers who spoke "our language" without specifying which language that was. Rothman does not inform whether the petition was submitted in writing or orally. What her description of the Venetian reaction suggests is that the language of the petition was Slavic. Venetians responded that they already employed twenty Turkish-speaking brokers, four of which spoke Slavic as well. Rothman provides a quotation from the relevant document in which it is said that these brokers "are sufficient and good to serve that nation, for although it is said that these Bosnian Turks use the Slavic language (ital. *lingua schiava*) and that they need brokers who know it, we view this as of no consideration, since all those Turks, who know the Slavic language, likewise use, and speak the Turkish language." In this way, Rothman concludes, the Venetian



authorities displayed a view that all Slavic languages were the same, observing at the same time “the Turkish-Slavic bilingualism of the Balkan Muslims.”<sup>24</sup> Now, there can be no doubt that many Bosnian Muslims were minimum bilingual, but the choice of which of the two languages they would call “their own,” i.e. the language that lies at the foundation of their identity seems to have been of varying and situational nature. Rothman herself paid a lot of attention to speech acts (the memory of which was preserved in Venetian texts) in which code-switching had to do with the alignment with a community, the conversion being one of these situations particularly fraught with meaning and/or tension.<sup>25</sup> Writing a language and speaking it, however, have different ideological implications.

Discussing “language use and the expression of Ottoman individuality,” Rhoads Murphey quotes another joint petition submitted by 34 Bosnian merchants to the Senate of Venice in 1636, but now in Turkish. More precisely, the merchants were from Sarajevo and Mostar. Although this petition was delivered in a written form, Murphey emphasizes its “unusual colloquial character.” He notes that this is “one of the few surviving samples in which merchants are known to us directly through their own self-declared interests rather than through the reflections and characterizations of them by their sometimes highly judgmental contemporaries.” Who exactly were these “judgmental contemporaries” remains unclear, but we can guess from what follows. Murphey notes in continuation that the Venetian Senate “was more accustomed to resolving disputes brought to its attention through official state and diplomatic channels.” This implies that the agency of the merchants was limited by the inter-state agreements which were presumably coached in idioms which were far from colloquial, be the colloquial Italian or Turkish. Murphey also suggests that

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<sup>24</sup> Rothman, *Brokering Empire*, 194-195 (esp. fn.12).

<sup>25</sup> See Ibid, 102 and 107; E. Natalie Rothman, “Conversion and Convergence in the Venetian-Ottoman Borderlands,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 41/3 (2011): 601–633, 615-616.

we can view this document as a monument of the merchants' speech.<sup>26</sup> Are we then to take that, now colloquial written Turkish was *the* language in which Bosnian merchants from Sarajevo and Mostar expressed their individuality? To this one may add the question of the script—Bosnian Muslims are normally held to have been educated by the use of Arabographic texts, but some Yugoslav scholars claimed they could also learn the Cyrillic script at home. I will address the latter claims below. Here I will pause on the concepts of “the colloquial” and “the individual.”

Staying with merchants only, we can remember that, as of the late fourteenth century and on, most of the trade in South-Slavia was brokered by Ragusans who relied heavily on their diplomatic skills employed in Istanbul or in communication with the local Ottoman governors. In 1592, however, Venetian authorities and entrepreneurs decided to compete with Ragusans by establishing a trading center in Split.<sup>27</sup> The municipality of Split was located right near the border with the Ottoman Bosnia. In the late sixteenth century Split had the population of slightly less than four thousand people, including those who lived within the walls and those from the hinterland. Klis, held by the Ottomans, was almost right behind it, towards the south-east. Ottoman authorities supported the Venetian idea by, among other things, investing in the reconstruction of the roads leading to Split. Once the agreement was made, Venetians started building a *lazaretto*, a complex which was to function as a communication and distribution center. The *lazaretto* was also equipped with the quarantine against the plague and other infectious diseases. During the “golden period” of the Split *lazaretto* which ended with the beginning of the Cretan War (1645), the various kinds of goods travelled from Istanbul, mainly through the mainland which was considered safer for

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<sup>26</sup> Murphey, “Forms of Differentiation,” 151-152.

<sup>27</sup> A review of the trends in development of the trade in the sixteenth century Bosnia is in Behija Zlatar, “Sarajevo kao trgovački centar bosanskog sandžaka u XVI vijeku” [Sarajevo as a Trading Centre of the Bosnian Sanjak in the 16th Century], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 38 (1989): 225-240.

travel than the sea. During the same period one could meet, in Split, people from India and Persia. Sarajevo and Banja Luka were among the key centers on the caravan routes to Split. Duvno, in which Yūsuf was dealing with trade was among the key stops on the road from Sarajevo. In 1594, a caravan travelled from Sarajevo to Duvno for four days, and it would take it four more days to reach Split. The caravans from Banja Luka did not stop in Duvno. All of this information has been quoted from an article discussing more than a thousand of letters from the archive of Marko Kavanjin/Marco Cauagnini written between 1605 and 1660. Kavanjin was a Venetian merchant who settled in Split, and married a local woman. Marko Kavanjin was doing business mainly with merchants from Bosnia, but he had clients from all over Serbia, Belgrade, Užice, and even Buda. Many of these men spent a lot of time in Sarajevo, while some spent time in Split as well. A permanent office of the Ottoman *emin* (superintendent, customs officer) existed in Split. *Emin* had a secretary who was also in charge of translation from/to Turkish. Similar offices employing interpreters existed in all the main centers along the caravan routes. The letters written by Kavanjin were all written in Italian close to colloquial, full of loanwords from Turkish and Slavic, and sometimes even including the whole segments in Slavic. The letters were addressed to merchants of various confessional profiles, many of whom were obviously Muslims. Only one of these letters was written in Cyrillic script, and it was addressed to certain Hasan Çelebi Pačo, to Sarajevo, in 1643. Hācī Sinān, involved in the building of the Qadiri *tekke* in Sarajevo, was not among Kavanjin's clients, but Split was probably among the places to which his business led him. Marko Kavanjin's archive preserved the letters he himself sent, so we can only guess what were the languages and scripts of choice of his various business partners. It is, however, safe to conclude that whatever the language, the register would be close to colloquial. Besides, this case suggests that, in the first half of the seventeenth century, literacy was a common place in the daily lives of

the Ottoman merchants from all over South-Slavia.<sup>28</sup> Differently put, *writing in a colloquial* was a rather common habit among the merchants who constituted an ever more important social segment of the provincial society.

Considering the way things stand in the mainstream literature which does not tend to elaborate the question of which ideas led the actual historical actors as they navigated the Ottoman multilingual regime, all one can do is delineate the basic assumptions again and again. In line with the approach I promoted throughout this thesis, I will continue with a following hypothesis: Slavic-speakers who were members of the early modern Ottoman interpreting communities which were heavily informed by the Arabographic literacy events, i.e. Slavic-speaking Ottoman Muslims, were continuously and consciously choosing the right kind of idiom for the right kind of message, whereby Slavic written (in whatever script) was, theoretically, always at their disposal. It is by making their linguistic choices that they contributed to imperial literacy/language ideologies and/or participated in the practices which distinguished South-Slavia from the rest of the empire. I hope it will be clear from the concrete examples I will analyze below why I do not find concepts like *borderlands, frontier, province, and periphery* i.e. the options readily available for designating the opposite of “the center,” somewhat inadequate for my discussion. I can nevertheless, note here, that these concepts are useful as long as they can be traced in the texts I investigate.

#### **IV.2.1. Written Slavic as a “Diplomatic” Language in South-Slavia**

Throughout the seventeenth century, Ottoman state-appointed administrators (governor-generals, *sancak-beyis*, fortress wardens, other military and economic power-holders) of South-Slavia had, or rather kept a habit of sending and receiving letters written in Slavic by the use of Cyrillic, and

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<sup>28</sup> See, Ćiro Čičin-Šain, ed., “Pisma Marka Kavanjina splitskog trgovca iz prve polovine XVII stoljeća,” *Starine JAZU* 49 (1959): 105–226.

occasionally Latin script.<sup>29</sup> All of these people were Muslims involved in both petty and serious affairs which required cross-communal communication. Their interlocutors were: their peers across the fluctuating border with Venice and Habsburg empire; the representatives of foreign corporate bodies travelling or doing business in the Ottoman realms; and, occasionally, leaders of the Christian communities which lived on the borders and whose status as Ottoman subjects was ambiguous (most notably *knezes*, and people who could mobilize fighting men, including clerics). Unavoidable were, of course, seated and moving Ragusans of whom I already talked on several occasions. In sum, the recipients of the letters were neither local Muslims, nor Ottoman Christian subjects.

The language of the Cyrillic (Latin) letters written by Ottoman Muslims can be described as a variant of written Slavic which entered the process of vernacularization in the fourteenth century. This idiom was continuously opened for the influence of spoken Slavic, as well as for the loanwords from various other languages spoken in the area of activity of correspondents (most notably Turkish and Italian). Some stylistic features reveal a continuity with the late medieval chancelleries, while some changed to include, for example, the rhetorical elements of oral epic

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<sup>29</sup> Many of these letters have been published as they were being discovered, but hardly any edition can be called critical. Besides, no periodisation which could serve as a guide through this corpus exists. Of contents, however, and some linguistic generalia one can speak based on the existing publications. Aside from collections I quoted in *Chapter I*, see also: Šime Ljubić, “Rukoviet jugoslavenskih listina,” *Starine JAZU* 10 (1878): 1-43; Franjo Rački, “Dopisi između turskih i hrvatskih častnika,” *Starine JAZU* 11 (1879): 76-152; Franjo Rački, “Dopisi između turskih i hrvatskih častnika,” *Starine JAZU* 11 (1880):1-43; Risto Kovačić, “13 pisama srpskih u Arhivu Dubrovačke republike (1593—1705),” *Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva* 63 (1884): 223—236; Božidar Čerović, “Poklon dr. L. pl. Talocija zemaljskomu muzeju u Sarajevu (Nekoliko pisama sa stare Krajine),” *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja* 17 (1905): 217-237; Aleksa Ivić, “Pisma Hasan-paše hercegovačkog iz godine 1573,” *Spomenik Srpske kraljevske akademije: Drugi Razred* 49/42 (1910); Božidar Čerović, “Poklon dr. L. pl. Talocija zemaljskomu muzeju u Sarajevu (Nekoliko pisama sa stare Krajine),” *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja* 23 (1911):163-174; Ćiro Truhelka, “Nekoliko mlađih pisama hercegovačke gospode pisanih bosanicom (iz dubrovačke arhive),” *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja* 26 (1914): 477-494 (with five plates); Muhamed Nezirović, ed., *Krajišnička Pisma* (Sarajevo: Preporod, 2004). I am aware that Lejla Nakaš recently published a critical edition of some letters, but I could not access the publication.

poetry the textualization of which gained impetus in the seventeenth century.<sup>30</sup> As I mentioned already, in most cases, the senders and receivers of these letters were people endowed with some sort of power (military, political or economic) employed during cooperation in various situations—the property ownership disputes or agreements, exchange of captives and prisoners, exchange of gifts and news, etc. What was novel and early modern about these seventeenth-century letters is not “vernacularization.”<sup>31</sup> But, the very fact of their horizontal proliferation and the sense of a habit and immediacy reflected in their content, were.

In line with the way recent historiography treats the region in which the senders and the receivers of the letters lived, they have all been described as “frontiersmen.” In case of Muslims, the term connotes a distance from the center of the Ottoman government, on the one hand, and

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<sup>30</sup> For literary aspects of these letters, see Muhsin Rizvić, “Pisma Muslimanskih krajišnika pisana bosančicom od XVI do sredine XIX stoljeća kao oblik stare epistolarnе književnosti” [The Letters of Muslim Frontiersmen written in *Bosančica* from the XVI until XIX century as a form of the old epistolary literature], *Godišnjak odeljenja za književnost Instituta za jezik u književnost u Sarajevu* 5 (1976), 217-263.

<sup>31</sup> Michiel Leezenberg recently wrote about “a vernacular revolution” in the early modern Ottoman empire. His article “explores the remarkable shift toward *new literate uses of vernacular languages* in the early modern Ottoman empire” and argues that “this vernacularization occurred independently of Western European (and, more specifically, German romantic influences).” The article “explores how vernacular languages like modern Greek, Armenian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Turkish, Kurdish, and Albanian acquired a new status as a medium of high literature and learning.” Leezenberg therefore understands “vernacularization” as a process the beginning of which is marked by “novel literate uses of vernacular languages” which, in time, became “modern” languages equipped with grammars and governmental patronage. No grammars from the seventeenth century are quoted in this article. Michiel Leezenberg, “The Vernacular Revolution: Reclaiming Early Modern Grammatical Traditions in the Ottoman Empire,” *History of Humanities* 1/2 (2016): 251-275. The one point on which I can fully agree with Leezenberg is that vernacularization in the early modern Ottoman Empire should not be studied with the premise that it “occurred” under the European/Western influence. Also, the segments of early modernity he covers do not overlap with those in focus of this thesis. Nevertheless, this article is interesting as an example of the lack of agreement of what we mean when we evoke such terms as “vernacularization” and even “early modern Ottoman empire.” Obviously, I myself am not interested here in the history of “vernacularization” which resulted in modernization of spoken idioms in the Ottoman empire whereby “grammar” is to be taken as one of *the* tools of empowerment of a language. Rather I hold that the interplay between the spoken and the written idioms in the early modern empire was *a constant*, and that the changes in the power relations among vernacular/s and, in Leezenberg’s terms “cosmopolitan”/s were more subtle and multilayered. This interplay should be observed as a characteristic of the Ottoman multilingual regime which reached its mature scale, as I suggested, ca. 1550s when the period of inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism ended. Various forms and textual manifestations of this interplay should be studied as discursive phenomena, i.e. a phenomena deeply influenced by changing extralinguistic circumstances. The corpus of Slavic/Cyrillic letters seems to me like another excellent illustration of a confusion which can be caused when we reach out for terms like “revolution” as a leitmotif for discussion of “vernacularization” as a phase in a linear process which “unavoidably” leads to development of standardized modern languages.

instability of the border as the experience they shared with Christians, on the other. The “frontiersmen” lived in their own unstable universe and their identities were fluid, one could conclude from the recent literature. And indeed, of the dozens of extant Slavic/Cyrillic letters dating to seventeenth century and written by the Ottoman Muslims, more or less involved in Istanbul-based politics or more or less loyal to it, there is not a single one which can be attributed to a person living beyond the Ottoman province of Bosnia.<sup>32</sup> These Muslim “frontiersmen,” however, can be viewed as the continuators of the late-medieval chancellery practices which originated in the central South-Slavia. Besides, they can be viewed as people of their time who were familiar with the ideas emanating from the metropole.

A question which had also been addressed by scholars is whether Bosnian Muslims whose names were signed in the letters written in Slavic/Cyrillic (Latin) were actual producers of the texts. According to one theory, the actual writers of these letters were local, literate Christians who occasionally provided services to Muslim officials. Although this was very often the case, the generality of this theory has been falsified. An intratextual type of evidence to this end have been the designations of the messengers/carriers of the letters as the Muslim scribes/secretaries of the senders. Some letters are thought to have been handwritten by the senders. The evidence for these claims is not always strong, for the senders were normally signing the letters by using the seals with inscriptions executed in the Arabic script.<sup>33</sup> Unlike is the case with some letters written during the period of inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism, the later examples, as a rule, do not contain signatures by the scribes, comments about their production or details from which one can conclude

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<sup>32</sup> In her work dedicated to the orthography of miniscule used for writing of these letters and their linguistic features, Lejla Nakaš worked on a sample numbering some 470 letters sent by ca. 250 individuals in the period between 1454 and 1719. Fourteen letters from her sample were written in the Latin script. Lejla Nakaš, *Jezik i grafija krajišničkih pisama* (Sarajevo: Slavistički komitet, 2010), 431-453.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, 45-48 and 105-106.

how the chancelleries functioned. As a rare exception one can quote the first in a series of eleven letters sent to Dubrovnik by Hasan Pasha Prodović, the *sancak-beyi* of Herzegovina, and addressed to an unnamed recipient, in 1573. The recipient of this letter was, most probably, Pavle Bridović to whom other letters were addressed and who was supposed to be prepared, at the initiative of Mehmed Pasha Sokolović, for a spying business in Austria. Hasan Pasha writes in this letter that the respondent can feel free to write (in any language) for, as he says “with me there are people who can read Latin [i.e. Italian] and Serbian and German [sl. *Nemački*] and Hungarian [sl. *Mađarski*].”<sup>34</sup> Studying the orthography of the miniscule employed for writing “the frontiersmen’s letters,” Lejla Nakaš concluded that some of the scribes who produced the letters were minimum bilingual and using both Cyrillic and Arabic scripts.<sup>35</sup>

Therefore, Cyrillic/Latin letters constituted a rather common instrument in the unceremonial cross-confessional, cross-border, and cross-communal communication in western South-Slavia which did not directly involve the Ottoman administration centered in the Topkapı Palace. However, there exists no surviving evidence that the above sketched social profile of the Ottomans used Slavic/Cyrillic (Latin) combination for writing anything else but these letters travelling across the border and addressing the actual or the potential “other.” In the seventeenth century, just like in the period of inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism, the early modern Muslims in Bosnia, conducted the intra-imperial and intra-communal written communication, both public and private, in Turkish.<sup>36</sup> Even the examples which at first sight seem like borderline cases,

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<sup>34</sup> Ivić, “Pisma Hasan-paše hercegovačkog iz godine 1573,” 22.

<sup>35</sup> Nakaš, *Jezik i grafija*, 48-62.

<sup>36</sup> The products of chancelleries of local Bosnian officials (the highest-ranked of whom, of course, were moving from post to post), have survived to the extent they were preserved by the recipients or copied to the *mecmū‘as*. Cyrillic letters have never been copied in the *mecmū‘as*. An archive of a high-Ottoman official active in the late seventeenth century has been preserved by accident, as war booty. All documents in this case are in Turkish. Franz Babinger, ed., *Das archiv des bosniaken Osman pascha: nach den beständen der Badischen landesbibliothek zu Karlsruhe* (Berlin:



may be read as confirming this rule. Of these one can quote several Cyrillic letters written before 1567 and exchanged between Muslim captives of a Croatian *ban*. These captives communicated by means of Cyrillic letters with other Muslim captives of the same *ban*. They all seem to have ended in the situation due to some uncleared debts. The scribe for these letters, perhaps, was provided by *ban* (who was, by the way, of Hungarian origin), but it is anyhow interesting that one of these letters ends with a salute “yarabalamın” (probably: ar. *ya rabbi’llāh, amīn*) written in Cyrillic script.<sup>37</sup> One of the three captives who wrote or dictated this particular letter was certain Süleymān. This appears to be the same person who about the same time wrote another letter, but now to a free Muslim, in Turkish and in the Arabic script. Obviously asking for help, Süleymān explains that he suffered for being away from his household, family and friends for almost two years. Alone with a copy of Quran, crying like Job (Eyüb) in a small room and in a situation in which there was no one to talk to, he kept writing letters to those he thought could help him. Those who came to visit him while he was in captivity would say nothing but: “Good morning, good day, God will repay, God gives, good day” (Slavic/Arabic script: *dobro jutro, dobar dan, bog plati, bog daj dobar dan*). “Is this a way to greet (and be greeted), my Lord?” Süleymān asks in desperation.<sup>38</sup> Süleymān’s preferred way of communicating with his friends in writing was obviously by the use of Turkish, although he was, also obviously, bilingual. In sum, the fact that Slavic/Cyrillic letters were mainly written by Muslims to Christians, and the other way around, was probably no coincidence. Another rare exception to confirm the rule is a letter signed by a Muslim (Husejin

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Reichsdruckerei, 1931). Some original samples of private letters, i.e. actual letters sent to relatives and friends have also survived because they were found by the Ottoman enemies and preserved in the private archives. Lajos Fekete, ed., *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy 1606-1645* (Budapest: Königliche Ungarische Universitätsdruckerei, 1932). It is probable that some private Arabographic letters survived in *mecmū’as*, but for now no research efforts can be quoted to corroborate the realistic possibility.

<sup>37</sup> Čerović, “Poklon dr. L. pl. Talocija... (1905),” 220-221.

<sup>38</sup> Čerović, “Poklon dr. L. pl. Talocija... (1911),” 164-165.

Spahija) and seven Christians (three of whom were identified as *knezes*, and one as a Catholic friar). The letter was dated to 1604, and it details the results of an agreement reached at a local *zbor* (sl./assembly). According to this agreement “the people of Popovo and Zažablje” (Herzegovina, immediate Dubrovnik hinterland) decided to offer their loyalty to the Austrian emperor. The enterprise apparently failed, for there has been no evidence that the plan materialized. Ćiro Truhelka suggested that this happened because the letter was intercepted by Ragusans in whose archives it was preserved.<sup>39</sup> Whatever the case, Husejin Spahija’s position in this scenario was out of the ordinary.

Thus, based on the ordinary way in which Slavic/Cyrillic letters functioned in the seventeenth century, we can conclude that the local Bosnian officials treated Slavic written in the Cyrillic script in a way analogous to that of the Ottoman administration—as a diplomatic language, i.e. as a language for communicating with the other. Although local literary patronage networks in South-Slavic provinces have been a very poorly researched theme, it can be claimed with safety that, had the local *‘askerī* elite sponsored a literary work or a production of text of any genre, these texts would not be written in Slavic.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, we can only guess whether the local power-holders felt Slavic (as an ideological concept) was “their own” language, i.e. the language which lay at the foundation of their identity and/or individuality. That some of them spoke it is beyond

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<sup>39</sup> Truhelka, “Nekoliko mlađih pisama,” 478-479. Truhelka explained the historical events which perhaps led to the assembly in a newspaper article. There he notes that the Ottoman Habsburg war (1592-1606) did not directly affect Bosnia and the territories south of it (although, of course, the event that served as *casus belli* took place in Bosnia, and although many local soldiers participated in the Hungarian front). A major turmoil in Bosnia occurred when the Ottoman court appointed a rebel-officer from Anatolia as *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia, in 1602. This was Karayazıcı Hasan also known as Celālī Hasan Pasha whose injustice was such that many Bosnian merchants, Muslims, and especially Jews, fled to Split carrying their possessions. Ćiro Truhelka, “Prva hercegovačka izjava lojalnosti Habsburgovcima 1604” [The first Herzegovinian statement of loyalty to Habsburgs], *Sarajevski list* 73 (1912). For a different way in which this letter was contextualized. i.e. attributed different connotations see, Catherine Wendy Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj: piracy, banditry, and holy war in the sixteenth-century Adriatic* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1992), 73.

<sup>40</sup> For some examples, see below, section IV.2.2.

doubt. With this in mind, the local officials and power-holders can be compared to those Slavs whose trajectories stretched way beyond the Bosnian locale. Varvar ‘Alī Pasha, already mentioned in *Chapter III*, presents one example of a person who was proud to emphasize his Slavic origin in a conversation with—Ragusans, Ottomans’ own, but still, foreigners. Had he spoken Slavic away from South-Slavia with other Ottoman officials of Slavic origin, those excluded from the conversation could label him as a *Potur* whose religious beliefs were questionable. This is just an informed guess, but we do know that Varvar ‘Alī called *Potur*, and this not because he spoke Slavic, but bad Turkish. The Turkish of his autobiographical poeme was—correct.

#### **IV.2.2. Personalizing the Creative Intersections between the Imperial and the Local**

One of the goals of this section is to show that the relative expansion of Slavophone Arabographia temporarily overlapped with the period in which Arabographic creative writing in central South-Slavia was flourishing, namely with the period after ca.1600. It is also after ca.1600, and not before, that the image of South-Slavia/Bosnia as constructed by creative Arabographic texts started becoming more rich in details. This image, or rather a puzzle, was constructed by the producers of texts which clearly reveal an insider’s view on the locale, and who can therefore be viewed as “local literati.” All of this is considered important with the assumption that the first step in detecting the patterns in language ideologies of the people affiliated with the locale is to recognize the variety of the ways in which their insider views were expressed. To illustrate what I mean by the “local literatus,” I can, for a start, offer a negative example of the famous commentator of Persian classics known in the literature as Aḥmed Sūdī Bosnevī (d. ca.1600). Sūdī was born in Bosnia and received his education there, but none of the works he composed makes any reference to his place of origin. This of course does not mean that such reference cannot be found in one of

the twenty plus works he composed. It just means I myself could not find such reference in the works I was able to consult.

Hasan Žiyā'ī Mostarī (d. 1584) has been quoted in the literature as the first Bosnian *dīvān* poet. What makes Žiyā'ī a local figure is the fact that his poetry was not known in Istanbul during his lifetime and several decades after, on the one hand, and the fact that his potential and real patrons were local governors and officials, on the other. By all other standards, he was “a poet of Rūm” as canonized by the sixteenth century Ottoman biographers and literary critics. Žiyā'ī was born in Mostar/Herzegovina and he also died there, from plague. His only prose work is a commentary/translation of a didactic Persian *kaşīde* by Sa'dī-i Şīrāzī (1292). The work survived in a copy found in a *mecmū'a* dated to the mid-seventeenth century. Some parts of this *mecmū'a* were produced by certain Ebu Bekr b. Valī b. Muhammed b. Hasan Travnikī. Written in 1579/80, Žiyā'ī's commentary was dedicated to 'Īsā Beg, the son of Sinān, *sancak-beyi* of Herzegovina.<sup>41</sup> The chances are high that 'Īsā's father was Sinān Beg Boljanić (d.1582) who was married to a sister of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha.<sup>42</sup> The commentary ends with a *kaşīde* in Turkish introduced by a paragraph from which we learn that 'Īsā was interested in poetry and stylistics (tr. *inşā*) and that the commentary was to help him with that.<sup>43</sup> In 1583, Žiyā'ī composed a *meşnevī* dedicated to

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<sup>41</sup> An account of this text and its transliteration to Latin script is in Hüseyin Gönel, “Mostarlı Hasan Ziyā'ī'nin ‘Gıdā-yı Şomā’ adlı şerhi” [Mostarlı Hasan Ziyā'ī's Commentary Titled *Gıdā-yı Şomā*], *Turkish Studies* 8/9 (Summer 2013): 1467-1516. Gönel is sure that the commentary was copied in 1651 by Ebu Bekr Travnikī. His source is MS R-444 preserved in Historical Archive in Sarajevo. The page of this manuscript on which the commentary ends does not contain information on the date of copying, nor the name of the copyist, hence my reservation.

<sup>42</sup> Kadrić, “Sixteenth-Century Poturnak Endowments,” esp. 168.

<sup>43</sup> “Ve *kaşīde*-i merkūme otuz sekiz 'aded beyt olup mehmā emken şerḥ ü beyān kılındıkdan şoñra girü otuz sekiz beyt miqdāri bir Türkī *kaşīde* didüm ki Şeyḥ Sa'dī'nün şerḥ olan *kaşīdesi* ne baḥrde ve ne kâfiyede ise bu *kaşīde* ol baḥrde ol kâfiyede nazm eyledüm. Bu *kaşīde*[y]i bir cevān şāhib-i hünerüñ ve rāğıb-ı şī'r ü inşā bir serverüñ nāmına nazm itdüm ki vilāyetimüz Hersek Sancağı'nuñ begi Sinān Beg (...) ferzend-i ercümendidür.” Gönel, “Mostarlı Hasan Ziyā'ī'nin ‘Gıdā-yı Şomā’ adlı şerhi,” 1512. [The above mentioned *kaşīde* consists of 38 couplets. After it was explained as much as possible, I composed a *kaşīde* in Turkish which also has 38 couplets. I composed this *kaşīde* by applying the same meter and the same rhyme which were applied in Şeyḥ Sa'dī's *kaşīde* which was commented upon.

Yaḥyālı Meḥmed Beg who, by that time, had two *dīvāns* which he signed as Vuṣūlī. Of this Meḥmed Beg we know that he was active in Hungary, and that members of his family were attached to Smederevo and Belgrade where they acted as governors and sponsors of various building projects. His namesake, who died in 1550 or a bit before, built the first *medrese* in Belgrade.<sup>44</sup> Žiyā'ī presents Yaḥyālı Meḥmed as a person whose appreciation of his work soothed the deep feeling of being a foreigner in the environment in which he lived in.<sup>45</sup> Žiyā'ī compiled his *Dīvān* in the year of his death. The *Dīvān* has been preserved in one copy only, in the library in Edirne, founded by sultan Selīm II (d.1574). Typically for a poet of Rūm, by far the largest number of his poems are ghazals (510). Fourteen of these were written in Persian and the rest in Turkish. Of twelve *kaṣīdes*, one is in Persian. The *kaṣīdes* in Turkish praised the local governors. Žiyā'ī also wrote chronograms, the earliest of which commemorated the opening of the famous Mostar bridge in 1566/67. Žiyā'ī spent most of his life in “Hersek” and based on one of his chronograms it has been concluded that he was employed as *vā'iz* (tr./preacher) in a mosque. His full name found in the colophon of his *Dīvān* reads: “Hasan Ziyā'ī bin Ali bin Hüseyin bin Mahmud bin Yūsuf el-Hersekī.”<sup>46</sup> Žiyā'ī does not explicitly mention Mostar anywhere in his extant works, and, until further discoveries, calling him “Mostarī” is an anachronism. He does, however, talk about a town (tr. *şehir*) whose people do not understand him, but *şehir* can also be

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I dedicated it to a talented young man and a noble person interested in poetry and style who is the worthy son of Sinān Beg, the governor of our province, the *sancak* of Hersek.]

<sup>44</sup> See *Chapter II*, fn.180 and Aleksandar Fotić, “Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha’s Evkaf in Belgrade,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 54/4 (2001): 437-452.

<sup>45</sup> Gürgendereli, *Mostarlı Ziyā'ī: Şeyh-i San'ān Mesnevisi*, 30-31.

<sup>46</sup> Gürgendereli, *Hasan Ziyā'ī*, 1-3; Gürgendereli, *Mostarlı Ziyā'ī: Şeyh-i San'ān Mesnevisi*, 2; Gönel, “Mostarlı Hasan Ziyā'ī'nin ‘Gıdā-yı Şomā’ adlı şerhi,” 1468-1469;

taken as a metaphor.<sup>47</sup> *Žiyā'ī*'s poetry is full of complaints about “the times,” his own misfortune and the lack of acclaim in the place he lived in. Nevertheless, his verses will become a staple ingredient of the *mecmū'as* produced by the local literate people from Mostar and elsewhere. These same readers also appreciated the poetry of *Žiyāi*'s near contemporary and, for a while, a fellow citizen of Mostar, Dervīš Pasha Bāyezīd-zāde (d. 1603) who wrote in Turkish and Persian and died in the battlefield in Hungary. These two are but the most prominent names of the Mostar pantheon which started to take shape as of ca. 1600.<sup>48</sup>

Dervīš Pasha Bāyezīd-zāde wrote one poem in which he praised the town of Mostar, and one in which he praised the town of Sarajevo. In this way he set a precedent for a trend which yielded a small, but significant corpus of texts which has both documentary and literary value. The corpus consists of poems in Turkish dedicated to the two mentioned towns, written by known and anonymous authors.<sup>49</sup> Among these authors Dervīš Pasha stands out as a high-ranked militaryman educated at the Ottoman court. One poem about Sarajevo was written by the famous poet Nergisī who was born in Sarajevo, left it for education, and then came back to stay for a few years as a *kadı*. Other authors are local figures. Based on the cases in which some biographical information

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<sup>47</sup> “Ey *Ziyā'ī* bu şehir hakkında/Bana hiç şefkat u 'ināyet yok/ Belki bunlar ya ma'rifetsizdür/Bende yā zerre kābiliyyet yok,” Gürgendereli, *Mostarlı Ziyā'ī: Şeyh-i San'ān Mesnevisi*, 30. [Hey, *Ziyā'ī*! The people of this town have no compassion or kindness for me. Could it be that they are without wisdom, or is it that I have no ability whatsoever.]

<sup>48</sup> See, for example, Hivzija Hasandedić, “Djela i kraći sastavi Muslimana BiH koji su napisani na orijentalnim jezicima i koji se nalaze u arhivu Hercegovine u Mostaru” [The Works and Short Compositions by Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina Written in Oriental Languages and Found in the Archive of Herzegovina in Mostar], *Anali GHB* 4 (1976): 117-129; Trako and Gazić, “Dvije mostarske medžmue,” 98-112; For few details on Dervīš Pasha, see *Chapter II*, fn.175.

<sup>49</sup> Mehmed Handžić, “Sarajevo u Turskoj pjesmi” [Sarajevo in Turkish poetry], *Glasnik islamske vjerske zajednice* 7; 8-9; 10; 11-12 (1943): no.7:161-174; no.8-9: 193-206; no.10: 235-250; no.11-12: 269-282; Omer Mušić, “Jedna turska pjesma o Sarajevu iz XVII vijeka” [One Turkish Poem about Sarajevo from the Seventeenth century], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 3-4 (1952-53): 575-588; Idem, “Dvije turske pjesme o Sarajevu” [Two Turkish Poems about Sarajevo], *Glasnik Vrhovnog Islamskog Starješinstva* 10-12 (1962): 363-368; Idem, “Čatrnja Husejin Efendija Vaiz, Husami Hulki, mostarski pjesnik [Čatrnja Husejin Efendija Vaiz, Husami Hulki, a Poet from Mostar],” *Glasnik Vrhovnog Islamskog Starješinstva* 1-2 (1963): 44-53; Idem, “Mostar u turskoj pjesmi iz XVII vijeka” [Mostar in a Turkish Poem from the Seventeenth century], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 14-15 (1969): 73-100.

exists, it can be said that most of them were professors and judges. The texts have been preserved in *mecmū'as* dating from the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The early seventeenth century poems about Mostar and Sarajevo can be quoted as an evidence that the idea of “beloved” travelled far beyond Istanbul and Edirne. Overall, the early examples also convey a sense of optimism, stability, and the joy of life, which will, however, gradually subside as the century went on. Three poems dedicated to Sarajevo, for example, thematize the 1697 destruction.<sup>50</sup> In 1630/31, i.e. about the time when *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif* was composed, a local poet by the name Ḥācī Dervīş wrote a *şehr-engīz* of Mostar in which he sketched the portraits of 37 young men, one of whom was 'Īsā, the son of Sava (Christian), and one other Daniel (Christian), the son of a sea-captain.<sup>51</sup>

Hasan Kāfī Akḫiṣārī (d.1615) is one of the earliest examples of a member of a local '*ulemā*' who stood at the intersection of the metropolitan and local modes of creative writing in Arabic and Turkish. He was the author of seventeen works, the sixteen of which survived in numerous copies preserved in local libraries. Some of these are autographs.<sup>52</sup> Of how Hasan Kāfī was remembered in 'Aṭāyī's *Hadā'iku'l-Haḳā'ik* (1632) I already wrote in *Chapter II*. Here I will focus on his linguistic choices and on his legacy. Hasan Kāfī was born in 1544 in a village near Prusac (tr. *Aḫḫiṣār*; today south-western Bosnia). His education started at the age of twelve. When he was twenty-two he went to Istanbul, and enrolled in a *medrese*. For a while his tutor and teacher was Kara Yılan, an aged disciple of Kemālpaşazāde. When Kara Yılan died, Hasan Kāfī moved to

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<sup>50</sup> Handžić, “Sarajevo u Turskoj pjesmi,” no.8-9: 197-206.

<sup>51</sup> Vančo Boškov, “Şehr-engiz u Turskoj Književnosti i Şehr-engiz o Mostaru” [*Şehr-engīz* in Turkish Literature and a *Şehr-engīz* of Mostar], *Radovi Filozofskog Fakulteta u Sarajevu* 6 (1970-1971): 173-211; Beyhan Kesik, “Yeni bir nüshadan hareketle Hacı Derviş'in Mostar şehrengizi” [Hacı Derviş's *Şehr-engīz* of Mostar in Light of a New Version], *Turkish Studies* 5/3 (Summer 2010): 368-399.

<sup>52</sup> For a list of Hasan Kāfī's works and the list of manuscripts in which they were preserved, see Amir Ljubović, and Fehim Nametak, eds., *Hasan Kaḫfiya Pruščak: Izabrani Spisi* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1983), 159-179. This book contains a detailed biography of Hasan Kāfī, and translations to Slavic of the six works (entire or excerpts).

serve one Aḥmed Ansarī who gave him lessons in *tafsīr* and *uṣūl’ul-fikḥ*. In 1575 he goes back to Prusac and starts teaching. At some point he entered the service of Bosnevī Bālī Efendī whom he helped investigate the Hamzevīs. The service prepared him for the post of *kadı* of Prusac to which he was appointed in 1583. It was in this year, or slightly before, that Prusac became a center of a *kadılık*. After a year, Hasan Kāfī’s tenure expired and it is not clear what he was doing until 1588 when he travelled to Istanbul and managed to get the post of a *kadı* in Srem. In 1591 he goes to *hajj*, again stopping in Istanbul to ask for a job. On this occasion, he managed to get the post of a judge in a village near Prusac. In 1596, Hasan Kāfī joins the Ottoman army which took up the seige of Eger (Hungary).<sup>53</sup> This campaign was commanded by Meḥmed III, the first sultan to go to war after 1566, and it resulted in the Ottoman victory. In the period between 1575 and 1596, Hasan Kāfī wrote ten works in Arabic. Nine of these were dealing with logic and jurisprudence. One titled *Uṣūlu’l-Hikam fī Nizām-i ‘Ālam* (Philosophical Principles of the World Order) was a political treatise which elaborated on the theme of the successful and just governance. Hasan Kāfī took this work with him when he went to the battlefield in Hungary, in the fall of 1596, and used the opportunity to present it to İbrāhīm Pasha, the grand vizier.<sup>54</sup> İbrāhīm Pasha and other respectable officials advised Hasan Kāfī to translate the work into Turkish. Hasan Kāfī goes back to Prusac, writes the translation Turkish appending it here and there with illustrative contemporary examples, and then rushes to Istanbul to present the new bilingual version. The presentation was successful and resulted in a life-long appointment of Hasan Kāfī as the *kadı* of Prusac. This will remain the only work Hasan Kāfī wrote in Turkish. Most probably due to the popularity of the

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 18-19.

<sup>54</sup> İbrāhīm Pasha (d.1601), known as Dāmād (tr. son-in-law, in this case the sultan’s son-in-law). He was of Slavic origin, recruited through *devshirme*. He rose through the military ranks during the grand vezirate of Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha.



theme he addressed, *Uṣūlu'l-Ḥikam* was the only work by Hasan Kāfī which achieved the empire wide fame and circulation.

The key source for reconstructing Hasan Kāfī's biography is the next work he wrote after *Uṣūlu'l-Ḥikam*, in ca.1600. Entitled *Nizāmu'l-'Ulamā' ilā Ḥatami'l-Anbiyā* (A Line of the Learned Men Leading to the Seal of the Prophets), this work outlined the hagiographies/biographies of thirty figures who, in Hasan Kāfī's opinion, made fundamental contributions to the Islamic learning in general, and the sharia in particular.<sup>55</sup> The overview starts with Prophet Muḥammad. Hasan Kāfī himself is the twenty-ninth in the line. The thirtieth in line are his disciples from Prusac, three of whom were mentioned by name. Hasan Kāfī started the autobiographical part of *Nizāmu'l-'Ulamā'* by presenting himself as Hasan ibn Turḥān bin Dāvūd bin Ya'qūb az-Zībī al-Aqḥiṣārī al-Ḳādī. Zīb was the name of a village near Prusac/Aqḥiṣār to which his great-grandfather moved from Skadar (today a town in Northern Albania) while he was still a Christian. This Ya'qūb, as Kāfī assures the reader, lived for 227 years, i.e. until the early years of the reign of Süleymān I (1520 and on). God led him to Islam in the time when sultan Meḥmed II conquered Prusac. Hasan Kāfī's grandfather died in the battle during the seige of the Croatian fortress of Vrana, at the age of 70. His father lived for 96 years in Prusac.<sup>56</sup> In what follows, Hasan Kāfī outlines his life trajectory and literary activities. An interesting side detail is that Hasan Kāfī presents Bosnevī Bālī Efendī as “Al-Mawlā Abū'l-Ma'alī Mevlānā Balī bin Yūsūf known as the teacher of the grand vizier” (ar. *aš-šahīr bi-mu'allim-i'l-wazīri'l-kabīr*).<sup>57</sup> This was not mentioned by 'Aṭāyī, and Hasan Kāfī does not inform who was the vizier in question. After

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<sup>55</sup> ULIB-MS TF 136, ff. 43b-54b.

<sup>56</sup> ULIB-MS TF 136, ff. 53a.

<sup>57</sup> ULIB-MS TF 136, ff. 53b.

*Nizāmu'l-'Ulamā'*, Hasan Kāfī would write six other academic works in Arabic.<sup>58</sup> Relying on the authority of Evliyā Çelebi, scholars sometimes write that, in 1612, Hasan Kāfī built a whole complex in Prusac or alternatively, in Nev-ābād (a small settlement nearby Prusac). The complex allegedly included a mosque, a *tekke*, a medrese, a *mekteb* and a hamam. One of these buildings survived until the twentieth century, but not much is known about how the *medrese* functioned and until when.<sup>59</sup> Hasan Kāfī will remain one of the most prolific and influential scholars in Bosnia. His works circulated both separately and in *mecmū'as*, during his life and after. The network of his disciples and people educated in Prusac is yet to be investigated. Based on what is known for now, most of the members of the local *'ulemā'* who identified themselves as Aḳhisārī or Nev-ābādī were the copyists of Hasan Kāfī's and other works in Arabic, rather than the original authors.<sup>60</sup>

It is not exaggerated to say that *Uṣūlu'l-Ḥikam* has been the only work by Hasan Kāfī that has been discussed by Ottoman historians dealing with the intellectual climate in the Ottoman empire at the turn of the seventeenth century. This work has been contextualized as belonging to the discourse the founding father of which was Muṣṭafā 'Ālī whom I already discussed in *Chapter II*. This is a discourse which revolves around the perceived general crisis in the Ottoman empire and the potential remedies. Having noted that Muṣṭafā 'Ālī's influence on later Ottoman and European historians "has marked him as the most perceptive of the early prophets of Ottoman

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<sup>58</sup> Two of these belong to the field of rational theology (*kelām*) and they deal with the principles of belief and faith/religion (*uṣūlu'l-i'tikādāt* and *uṣūlu'd-dīn*, respectively). One deals with stylistics, and one is a commentary of a classical work on jurisprudence. Hasan Kāfī also wrote two commentaries of his own works (the one on stylistics and the one on *uṣūlu'l-i'tikādāt*).

<sup>59</sup> Madžida Bećirbegović, "Prosvjetni objekti islamske arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini" [Educational Buildings in Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 20-21 (1974): 223-364, 320-321; Kasumović, *Školstvo i Obrazovanje*, 220-221.

<sup>60</sup> Ždralović, *Prepisivači dela u arabičkim rukopisima, Volume I*, 196-198.

doom,” Christine Woodhead, for example, continues by placing Hasan Kāfī’s *Uşūlu’l-Hikam* within “a series of diagnostically critical works” which were produced in the seventeenth century “principally in the *risale* form of a treatise on administrative and political reform, a development of the traditional ‘mirrors for princes’ style of *nasihat* or advice literature.”<sup>61</sup>

Though *Uşūlu’l-Hikam* alone can be viewed as a work of an Ottoman intellectual concerned with the transformation and the perceived decline of the long-standing Ottoman institutions, this work, it can be argued, brought nothing but good to Hasan Kāfī himself and to Prusac in which he spent most of his life. Differently put, from the perspective of the history of literacy and creative writing in the Ottoman province of Bosnia, Hasan Kāfī’s oeuvre observed as a whole can be viewed as but another index of the early seventeenth century florescence. Whether and when this florescence implied originality or, on a different note, pessimism, optimism, self-confidence, sense of crisis and isolation—are entirely different questions. Here are some examples which, I believe, illustrate my point, and the selection of which is based on their affinity with the case of Hasan Kāfī.

In 1608, certain İsmā‘īl al-Akḫisārī, most probably a student of Hasan Kāfī, copied a treatise on ritual cleansing (ar. *ṭahāra*) composed in Arabic by certain Selamī Sarayī, in 1588. Selamī Sarayī’s treatise starts with the explanation of the reasons for writing. Selamī from Sarajevo thus notes that he decided to write this short treatise after someone who attended the gathering (ar. *meğlis*) organized by certain Ḥalīl Pasha rudely noted that the most prominent members of Sarajevan ‘*ulamā*’ do not know what *ṭahāra* was. He starts the treatise by providing a dictionary

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<sup>61</sup>The other works in this series which, according to Woodhead, starts with *Uşūlu’l-Hikam* are: “the anonymous *Kitab-i müstetab* (1620); the *Risale* of Koçu Bey presented to Murād IV in 1630/31, and re-presented to sultan İbrāhīm in 1640; Katib Çelebi’s *Düsturü’l-amel*, compiled in 1653 for Meḥmed IV; and the *Nasa’ihü’l-vüzera* of 1703 by the *defterdar* (director of finance) Sarı Meḥmed Paşa,” see Christine Woodhead, “Perspectives on Süleyman,” in *Süleyman the Magnificent and his age: the Ottoman Empire in the early modern world*, ed. Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead (London; New York: Longman, 1995), 164-190: 183-184.

meaning of the word, its cognate in Turkish, and its sharia definition. Who this rude commentator was, we can only guess. Selamī Sarayī's treatise was the second free standing text Isma'īl al-Akḥisārī copied in the same manuscript. The first was more than hundred folios long *al-Muḥtār li'l-Fatwā fi fiḳḥi'l-Hanafīyya* by 'Abdullāh b. Mahmūd Mevsīlī (d. 1284), which is known as one of the four fundamental texts of Hanafi school of law. In this manuscript, *al-Muḥtār* ends with a book on *ṭahāra*. An interesting question to ponder is whether, and if so how, Selamī Sarayī's treatise copied right below this standard work contributed to the existing knowledge on the subject.<sup>62</sup> The comparisons of this kind have not been made so far, but what I want to suggest is that Isma'īl al-Akḥisārī and Selamī Sarayī belonged to the same *local* interpretive community. Same is the case with Muṣliḥuddīn of Knin who, in 1609 composed the work titled *Tuḥfat al-mu'allimīn wa hadīyyat al-muta'allimīn* (A Gift to the teachers and the present for the students) in Arabic, which he then translated to Turkish and gave it a different title, *Munyetü't-ṭālibīn ve ḡunyetü'r-rāḡibīn* (The desire of the students and the riches of those who seek knowledge). Muṣliḥuddīn was born in Knin, a town located in the Dalmatian hinterland. After he had acquired the knowledge he searched for away from home, he spent his active career in Banja Luka. There he acted as a dervish shaykh, the founder of a medrese and a professor, an *imām*, a preacher and a *müfti*. According to the scholars who analyzed the two texts just mentioned, Tatjana Paić-Vukić and Linda Al-Dujaily, the Arabic work is a compilation of centuries old pedagogical texts, i.e. it does not represent an original contribution to the existing knowledge. The introduction and conclusion were definitely original.<sup>63</sup> In the introduction Muṣliḥuddīn talks about his life trajectory

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<sup>62</sup> See, GHB-MS R-2560; Kasim Dobrača, *Catalogue of Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian Manuscripts. Tome II* (London; Sarajevo: Al-Furqan-Rijaset IZ in BiH, 2002), 284-285; Davut Yaylalı, "Mevsilī, Abdullah b. Mahmūd, *TDVİA* Online, consulted on 02. 04. 2022.

<sup>63</sup> Tatjana Paić-Vukić and Linda Al-Dujaily, "Pedagoški i moralno-didaktički zbornik Muslihuiddina Kninjanina iz 1609. godine: rukopisi arapskog izvornika i osmanskog prijevoda" [Pedagogical and Moral-Didactic Compilation of Muslihuiddin of Knin from 1609: the Manuscripts of the Arabic Original and the Turkish Translation], *Zbornik odsjeka*

and search for knowledge which implied entering the service of various learned men of Rūm. To this he adds complaints about the turmoil which arose when the enemies from all sides attacked the land of Muslims who, however, ended up being victorious. The conclusion is written in the form of sermon. Here, for example, Muṣliḥuddīn writes that taverns/coffee-houses (as the places where people forget about the faith and gossip about their brethren) were the worst innovation which spread in the Muslim land.<sup>64</sup> In the introduction to the work in which he translated his Arabic compilation to Turkish, Muṣliḥuddīn made a remark that the reason for this enterprise was the fact that not many people in Banja Luka knew Arabic. A bit below, he added that, in fact, not many people knew Turkish properly. Commenting on this remark Paić-Vukić and Al-Dujaily note that this might not be a complete exaggeration.<sup>65</sup> The first documented medrese in Banja Luka was founded by Ferhād Pasha Sokolović, the first *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia, in 1587. In Banja Luka, Muṣliḥuddīn was given a similar role Hasan Kāfī had in Prusac, except that he was not the first *müdürris* of Banja Luka. Besides, Hasan Kāfī was a much more original and prolific writer.

Pessimistic tones and elements of advice genre characteristic of *Uṣūlu'l-Hikam* can be detected in another text produced by a local author several years after Hasan Kāfī died. The text in question conveys the same sense of continuity and purpose which was arguably a feature of Hasan Kāfī's oeuvre observed as a whole. Although the author of the text was a figure of much lower stature than Hasan Kāfī was, the way he fashioned his autobiography follows a similar scheme we find in Hasan Kāfī's *Nizāmu'l-'Ulamā.* The case in point is *Tā'rīḥ-nāme* (A Book on History) written around 1622. The author is Aga Dede, a fortress warden, an *imām-ḥaṭīb* and a

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*za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 33 (2015):133-162.

<sup>64</sup> The translation from Arabic to Slavic of the introduction and the conclusion are in *Ibid.*, 150-160.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

dervish from Dobor, a fortress-town in north-eastern Bosnia. Neither *Aga* (title indicating belonging to middle ranks of the ‘*askerī* class) nor *Dede* (title indicating belonging to a sufi order) are personal names. The *Tā`rīḥ-nāme* is written in rather plain Turkish and in the versified form. It consists of two main parts, one is Aga Dede’s autobiography, and the other is the account of the death of sultan ‘Osmān II (murdered in 1622).<sup>66</sup> Aga Dede starts his autobiography with the following words:

I began writing the *Tā`rīḥ-nāme* in a desire to arrange it in the form of a book, and then to put in the book the things about myself, and to expand on a few things I have to say: where are my roots, and who are my ancestors, who is my grandfather, where he came from, and who is my father. I also wanted it to be known who my shaykh is, for that I also find necessary to explain<sup>67</sup>

In what follows Aga-Dede informs that his ancestors were “the Janissary slaves” (tr. *yeniçeri kulları*) since the time of Meḥmed II. They advanced (through generations) as the sons of slaves (tr. *kul oğlu namile gelub illerü*) and were always “the men of the fortress” (tr. *hişār eri*), always in the state service (tr. *iş*, lit. work, job). This fact from Aga Dede’s autobiography has been interpreted as pointing to his Christian origin, but this, I think, is a far-fetched conclusion. Aga Dede’s grandfather, Muḥyīdīn the son of İlyās, was serving in the fortress of Boğurdelen (Šabac, present day Serbia) when he was called by Gazi Husrev beg (d. 1541), together with forty other soldiers, to temporary serve in Dobor on the north-west border. His grandfather, however, was the only one who chose to stay there permanently and engage in beekeeping. Soon, his family moved there as well. Aga-Dede makes a point that it was his grandfather who taught his father

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<sup>66</sup> Sokolović, “Pjesnik Aga-Dede iz Dobor-града o svome zavičaju i pogibiji Osmana II.” This article contains a translation to Slavic. In quotations I used the manuscript, for the translation is too free, and even wrong at times.

<sup>67</sup>“Şüru’ itdum tārīḥ-nāme yazayın/Bir kitāb şeklinde anı düzeyin/Kitāb içre yazayım şerḥ-i ḥālim/Dirāz eyleyeyin kıl ile ḳālım/Ḳandedir mebde’im kimdur nesebim/ceddum ḳanden gelmişdur kimdir ebim/Daḥi şeyhum kim iduḡi bilinsun/Lāzım geldi ol daḥi şerḥ olunsun,” GHB-MS R-9724, f.11a.

how to read and write, and that all of his ancestors were “mystics” (tr. *taşavvuf ehli*) who never drank alcohol.<sup>68</sup> Of himself, Aga-Dede writes:

The fortress of Dobor is the place of my birth. It is there that I was born and there I grew up. I acquired the exoteric knowledge as much as I could, the esoteric knowledge also came later. We have been ordered to first learn, and then to teach people what we know. I learned Quran with those who were experts, and thus became a teacher to the young ones.<sup>69</sup>

All of this is just an introduction to Aga-Dede’s comparably detailed story of the local events and officials. The part dedicated to the events which led to the tragic death of ‘Osmān II reveals how well informed Aga-Dede was of what was going on the capital. From this part it also becomes clear that he did not like ‘Osmān II’s politics and that he was a staunch supporter of Janissaries and their actions. At the same time, he transpires as a firm believer in the authority of the Ottoman sultan as an institution. From Aga-Dede’s account, one gets a strong impression that the crisis which caused the 1622 turmoil was a matter of the past.

While analyzing Meḥmed Hevāī’s and Hasan Ḳā’īmī’s literary works, I suggested that the Cretan War can be viewed as marking the beginning of the period of pessimism reflected in their poems, composed in both Turkish and Slavic. Here, in this section, I did not deal with any text produced in Arabic, Turkish, and or Persian after the war started in 1645. But, Meḥmed Hevāī and Hasan Ḳā’īmī observed the same kind of reality like other Slavic/Bosnian Arabographers, and it is expected that their sensibilities were to an extent similar. Hasan Ḳā’īmī’s obsession with Dalmatia and the borders, which was communicated from Sarajevo, stands in sharp contrast with the confidence with which Hasan Kāfī who lived much closer to the frontier, turned Prusac into the center for educating the local ‘ulemā’. Because they lived in different times, of course. Hasan

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<sup>68</sup> GHB-MS R-9724, f.11b.

<sup>69</sup> “Dobor kal’ asıdır benim mevlüdüm/Anda toğdım ol kal’ ada büyüdüüm/Manşibumce oğudum ‘ilm-i zāhir/Bāṭın ‘ilmi mu’āref geldi aḥir/Emr olmuşdur bize kendümüz bilmek/Bildüğümüz daḥı ḥalka bildürmek/Ehliden oğudum bildum Ḳurānı/Mu’allim olub oğudum cīnāni,” GHB-MS R-9724, f.12a.

Ḳā'imī's sentiments, however, were shared by certain Ḥācī Hüseyin Al-Bosnavī who copied Hasan Kāfī's *Uṣūlu'l-Ḥikam* in 1679/80. Right next to the colophon, Ḥācī Hüseyin added the following, personal note:

And the one who made the copy is close to the province of the late author. This is one huge frontier where we have the accursed Venetian infidels on the one side, and the Croatian infidels on the other.<sup>70</sup>

#### IV.2.3. “Written Poetic” as a Universal Idiom of the Frontiers

Just like in the period of inauguration of the Ottoman multilingualism, the written instruments Ottoman authorities used in administering their relationships with both Muslim and non-Muslim subjects throughout the seventeenth century were exclusively in Turkish. Free-standing Slavophone Arabographic texts are not known to have been used in any legally binding transactions. A possibility, however, that Slavophone Arabographia could have served as some sort of an auxiliary mode of writing, should not be dismissed. Vojislav Bogićević, for example, published an image of a page from a *mecmū'a* dated to the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century. This page contains a rather long Arabographic oath in Slavic language. The text is vocalized, and, based on the contents, it can be concluded that the oath was to be uttered by Christians, most probably coming to the Ottoman court.<sup>71</sup> To be able to control the ceremonial/legal speech act founded on this oath, the centrally appointed *kadı* would have to know Slavic or learn at least this much. Slavic, however, here transpires as the language of the Christians.

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<sup>70</sup> “Şāhib-i musvedde daḥī merḥūm mu'ellifin vilāyetine yaḳīn. Bir ṭarafımız me'lūn Venedik kāfiri ve bir ṭarafımız Hırvāt kāfiri olmaḡla 'aẓīm serḥaddır.” İÜ NEKTY-MS 1808, f.34a.

<sup>71</sup> Bogićević provides this image to illustrate the argument that Ottomans imposed Arabic script unconditionally and that Bosnian Muslims quickly forgot their own alphabeth. This implies that those who recorded the oath could only be the Slavic-speaking Bosnian Muslims. Vojislav Bogićević, *Pismenost u Bosni i Hercegovini: od Pojave slovenske pismenosti u IX v. do kraja austrougarske vladavine u Bosni i Hercegovini 1918. godine* [Literacy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: from the appearance of the Slavic literacy in the ninth century until the end of the Austria-Hungarian rule in Bosnian and Herzegovina in 1918] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1975), 108-109.



Christians living in South-Slavia who were the Ottoman subjects in the early modern times are not known to have produced texts in the Arabic script, be the texts pragmatic or literary.<sup>72</sup> This of course does not mean they did not do this in reality. In general, the textual evidence of the Slavic/Turkish bilingualism of Ottoman Christian subjects has not received any systematic scholarly treatment.<sup>73</sup> Therefore, we can only speculate that the everyday transactions demanded

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<sup>72</sup> I cannot say at this moment what kind of written instruments were used for governing wider population of Christian subjects in the Ottoman semi-independent, vassal principalities, like Transylvania was. But, it is a general knowledge that throughout the seventeenth century the princes of Transylvania sponsored the education of local Christians who went to Istanbul to learn Turkish, thus preparing for the secretarial duty which demanded writing Turkish. One of the three most famous examples was János Házy who translated to Hungarian Yazıcızāde Ahmed Bicān's *Envār'ul 'Āşikīn* with the encouragement of the prince Gábor Bethlen. The book was printed and published in 1626. Ágoston, "Muslim Cultural Enclaves," 203. Other two rather known and well-studied figures are Jakab Harsányi Nagy (who wrote a handbook for learning Turkish which contained texts written in Turkish and translated into Latin) and George Brankovits (the bureaucrat at the Transylvanian court, a Serb born in Transylvania who claimed he was a descendant of the Serbian despotic dynasty, and who wrote two chronicles, one in Romanian and one in Serbian). Gábor Kármán, *A Seventeenth-Century Odyssey in East Central Europe. The Life of Jakab Harsányi Nagy* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), esp. 57-64.

<sup>73</sup> Scholarly literature directly addressing the theme of linguistic contacts taking place in Ottoman empire is of relatively recent date, but the approaches are already very many. In this thesis I limited myself to considering language ideologies of the Ottoman subjects as reflected in Arabographic texts, on the one hand, and the place of Slavic within the Ottoman multilingual regime, on the other. For this reason, I did not find it necessary to discuss, for example, the immense literature dealing with the interest of Christians/Europeans in learning Turkish and other "Oriental" languages which manifested itself through learning the languages *in situ*, teaching the languages in European universities, collecting Arabographic manuscripts, etc. It is, however, of some importance for my own purposes to remind of a particular sub-field, namely the literature which deals with the so-called Turkish "transcription texts." By definition, these are the texts written in Turkish by the use of non-Arabic scripts. Many of the texts described in this way were produced by people who ended up learning Turkish as captives, envoys of foreign governments, scholars, and former *dragomans*. The vast majority of these people used the Latin script to record various texts in Turkish. The Turkish/Latin transcription texts have been approached first and foremost as sources for reconstructing the dialectal variants of spoken Turkish, because it is held that these findings can complement the findings based on Turkish texts written in the Arabic script which, as often repeated, did not do justice to Turkish vowel system. In other words, these texts have mainly attracted the attention of linguists and philologists (i.e. Turcologists) interested in historical dialectology. For the very same purpose, Turcologists use the transcription texts produced by the Ottoman subjects, the most famous examples being Karamanlids (Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians who used Greek alphabeth to write Turkish) and Armenians who wrote Turkish in Armenian alphabeth. For the current state-of-the-art and relevant bibliography see Éva A. Csató, Astrid Menz, and Fikret Turan, *Spoken Ottoman in mediator texts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016). Although it has been known that Cyrillic was also used for recording Turkish by the Ottoman subjects, this corpus is the most poorly researched one, and one cannot speak systematically about either the frequency of this choice or typical social profiles of text producers. For some late examples preserved in the Bulgarian libraries, see György Hazai, "Monuments linguistiques osmanlis-turcs en caractères cyrilliques dans le recueils de Bulgarie," in *Monumenta et Studia Turcologica: Ausgewählte Schriften von György Hazai*, ed. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Simone-Christiane Raschmann, Claus Schönig Gerd Winkelhane, and Peter Zieme (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2020), 308-320; Idem, "Ein kyrillischer Transkriptionstext des Osmanisch-Türkischen," in *Ibid.*, 336-349. As long ago as in 1940, Elezović mentioned a document written in Turkish by the use of Cyrillic script, dated to ca.1569, and issued by the Ottoman court for the Hilandar Monastery. This is certainly not the only texts of this kind preserved in Hilandar Monastery. Elezović, *Turski spomenici I*, XXII-XXIII;

some level of competence in Turkish from some Ottoman Christian subjects whose mother tongue was Slavic.

Yūsuf's *Arzuhals* alternating between Slavic and Turkish were addressed to a local *kadı*. Moreover they complained about the *kadı*'s deputy and a local landlord. Although they do not belong to the realm of pragmatic literacy, these poetic petitions are telling of the horizon of Yūsuf's expectations when it comes to the linguistic profiles of persons presented as involved in the literacy event, namely the *kadı*, his deputy and the local landlord (sl. *beg*). From Yūsuf's point of view, Turkish/Slavic bilingualism was the order of the day when it comes to those who wielded power. And yet, if we assume that Slavic had some symbolic meaning for Yūsuf, from his private *mecmū'a* we can only conclude that Yūsuf viewed Slavic as the language of poetry. In what follows I suggest that this, at first sight, minor point, matters a lot from the perspective of historical language ideology. More precisely, I want to argue that, when Yūsuf recorded his *Arzuhals*, he joined an already existing, trans-confessional and trans-linguistic interpretive community. The existence of this community was enabled by bilingualism involving various combinations with Turkish, on the one hand, and the shared awareness of the political power of poeticized messages, on the other. Based on the textual evidence at hand, the community started taking shape in the late sixteenth century, and continued to exist throughout the seventeenth and after, relying more and more on writing as the time passed by. Following is a discussion of some well known literacy events characteristic for crossing the boundaries set by the scripts and/or languages.

The earliest dated Slavophone Arabographic poem composed by an anonymous author has been preserved in a *mecmū'a* approximately dated to the reign of Murād III (1574-1595). The *mecmū'a* contains more than 300 texts in seven languages—Turkish, Persian, Arabic, German,

Latin, Hungarian, and Croatian.<sup>74</sup> The *mecmū‘a* attracted a significant amount of scholarly attention—different scholars dealt with its different aspects, whereby the compilation as a whole has been treated as an isolated and exceptional incident.<sup>75</sup> What is obvious about this *mecmū‘a* is that the handwriting is uniform from the beginning until the end. It can be safely concluded that the whole *mecmū‘a* was written by one person, who however, left no information about himself. The prose texts are smaller in number than the poetic ones. Turkish dominates among the seven languages, serving at the same time as the language of meta-commentaries and introductions. The various texts of the *mecmū‘a* have been produced by transcribing the speech, copying, and/or translating. The compiler obviously knew some of the seven languages, but he also seems to have

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<sup>74</sup> The *mecmū‘a* is now catalogued as ÖNB-MS A. F. 437. It was first described in Gustav Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, vol. 3 (Wien: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1867), 535-537; The contents of the *mecmū‘a* was described in more details and analyzed from the perspective of Turkish-Hungarian cultural contact in Franz Babinger, ed., *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit-Nach Handschriften in Oxford und Wien* (Berlin; Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1927). The other manuscript analyzed in this book was produced by Murād bin ‘Abdullāh (1509-ca.1586), an Ottoman *dragoman* of Christian/Hungarian origin who wrote down, in three languages, the hymns thematizing the unity of God (i.e. an Islamic dogma viewed as a counterpart of Christian understanding of Trinity in Christian-Muslim polemical discourse). The hymns were apparently composed in Turkish, and then translated to Latin, and Hungarian. See Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, 105. Murād bin ‘Abdullāh is also known as an author of the “Guide for turning [or orienting] oneself towards God [Truth]” (tr. *Kitāb tesviyetü t-teveccüh ila l-Hakk*) which has been described as “a unique bilingual work featuring Ottoman and Latin texts on a single page, written by the same author.” See, Tijana Krstić, “Murad ibn Abdullah,” in Thomas and Chesworth, *Christian-Muslim Relations, Volume 7*, 698-704, esp.703. ÖNB-MS A. F. 437. and manuscripts in which the works by Murād bin Abdullah have been preserved are the only currently known monuments of Hungarian written in the Arabic script. ÖNB-MS A. F. 437 also preserves the one of the two manuscripts containing samples of German written in the Arabic script, the other being Evliya Çelebi’s *Seyahātname*, in which some fragmentary notes can be found.

<sup>75</sup> Balázs Sudár, *A Palatics-kódex török versgyűjteményei: török költészet és zene a XVI. századi hódoltságban* (Budapest: Balassi kiadó, 2005). (Note: I do not read Hungarian and could not benefit fully from this publication, but the book contains transliteration of all poems in Turkish found in the *mecmū‘a*. Ferenc Csirkés told me about this book, and I want to thank him for that); Claudia Römer, “16. yy. Arap harfleriyle yazılmış Almanca dinî ve dünyevî metinler ile Evliya Çelebi’nin Seyahatname’sindeki Almanca örnekler-bir karşılaştırma,” in *Çağının Sıradışı Yazarı Evliyâ Çelebi*, ed. Nuran Tezcan (Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayınları, 2009), 365-372; Idem, “Cultural Assimilation of a 16th-Century New Muslim—the *mecmū‘a* ÖNB A.F. 437,” in *CIÉPO 19: Osmanlı öncesi ve dönemi tarihi araştırmaları*, ed. İlhan Şahin (İstanbul: İstanbul Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Dernekleri Birliği, 2014), 607-619; Idem, “A 16th-century Persian-Turkish phrase book,” in *Turkic Language in Iran-Past and Present*, ed. Heidi Stein (Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden, 2014), 183-201; Branka Ivušić and Harald Bichlmeier, “Zur dialektologischen Einordnung der deutschen Texte einer osmanischen Sammelhandschrift vom Ende des 16. Jh.s,” in *Strömungen in der Entwicklung der Dialekte und ihrer Erforschung: Beiträge zur 11. Bayerisch-Österreichischen Dialektologentagung in Passau, September 2010*, ed. Rüdiger Harnisch (Regensburg: Edition Vulpes, 2013), 365-384; Branka Ivušić, “Developing Consistency in the Absence of Standards – A Manuscript as a Melting-Pot of Languages, Religions and Writing Systems,” in Bondarev et al., *Creating Standards*, 147-175.

engaged a number of informants, especially while recording poetry. All existing attempts at sketching the portrait of the producer of this *mecmū`a* have been based on the assumption that he was a convert to Islam. A question which puzzled the scholars is why would a (new) Muslim copy an *‘ilmiḥāl* in Turkish, and then continue with “the essentials of Christian and Jewish beliefs” written first in Turkish and then in four other, “European” languages.”<sup>76</sup> The five languages are called and ordered by the scribe in this way: *Türkī dili*, *Hrvat dili*, *Macār dili* (Hungarian), *Ālāmān dili* (German), and *Tāliyān dili* (stands for Latin).<sup>77</sup> Tijana Krstić roughly described the producer/owner of the *mecmū`a* as “a Protestant Hungarian, probably from a German- and Croatian-speaking area in western Hungary, who became a Muslim in consequence of Ottoman military activities in the area in the mid-sixteenth century.” She continues by making a note on “the owner’s implicit belief that parts of his Christian past are compatible with his Muslim present and that a total distancing is unnecessary or impossible, at least at the point when the compilation came into existence”<sup>78</sup> Other scholars tried to establish what was the mother tongue of the producer/owner of the miscellany. Claudia Römer thinks he was a person “of German mother tongue who probably lived in a trilingual German, Croat, and Hungarian surrounding, maybe somewhere in what then was Western Hungary.”<sup>79</sup> She also speculates that “the author” was “trying to prove he had become an accepted member of the Islamic community.”<sup>80</sup> Based on the

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<sup>76</sup> The texts translated are the Ten Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Apostles’ Creed. After this, there comes a section with various poems in all four languages. For more details on this section, see, Ivušić, “Developing Consistency in the Absence of Standards,” 148. These “essentials” are termed by the producer of the *mecmū`a* as *erkān* (tr. fundamental principles, pillars).

<sup>77</sup> ÖNB-MS A. F. 437, ff. 29a-29b.

<sup>78</sup> Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, 89.

<sup>79</sup> Römer, “Cultural Assimilation of a 16th-Century New Muslim,” 610.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 615.

linguistic features of German portions, Ivušić and Bichlmeier write that the producer of the *mecmū`a* can not be described as a person who had German for a mother tongue with certainty, though they do not exclude the possibility that the informant was a native speaker of German.<sup>81</sup> For my own purposes, I will here focus on the one poem in Slavic that was recorded in this *mecmū`a*.

The poem was composed by an author of whom nothing is known except that his name was Meḥmed. This Meḥmed identified himself in the penultimate verse of the poem which consists of six quatrains. The first quatrain rhymes according to the pattern *abcb*, and the other five follow the *aaab* scheme. The last line in each quatrain functions as a refrain which comes in two regularly alternating variants. The poem contains no loanwords from Turkish language. First published in 1911, the text has been analyzed many times after as the earliest dated poem of the South-Slavic *aljamiado literature*. After more than a century, it can be said that the numerous attempts at precisely determining Meḥmed's ethnic origin and the dialect he spoke remained futile.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, it remained unclear whether this was a love poem addressing a woman (a man has not been suggested), or a sufiesque devotional poem addressing God.<sup>83</sup> I am prone to conclude that the poem is an address to God. This kind of reading, among other things, allows us to notice the stark similarities with devotional poems composed by Meḥmed Hevā`ī. The title appended to the poem by the compiler of the *mecmū`a* is *Hirvat Türküsü* (Croatian Lead). Rather than reflecting any authorial intentions, the title provides a glimpse into how the poem was understood by the producer of the *mecmū`a*. *Türkü* is a term which, in literary history, denotes poems which are not

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<sup>81</sup> Ivušić and Bichlmeier, "Zur dialektologischen Einordnung der deutschen Texte," 380.

<sup>82</sup> Friedrich von Kraelitz, "Ein kroatisches Lied in türkischer Transkription aus dem Ende des XVI. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* 32 (1911): 613-615; Branka Ivušić, "Die südslavischen Aljamiado-Texte der Wiener Sammelhandschrift Flügel 2006," *Die Welt der Slaven* 57 (2012): 380-398, esp. 396.

<sup>83</sup> See, for example, Ivušić, "Developing Consistency in the Absence of Standards," 148.

composed in *‘aruz* meter and which are commonly associated with folk, rural, and secular poetry sang with music. Whether the producer of the *mecmū ‘a* who recorded this poem had such a clear idea of what *türkü* stood for as we do today is not something I want to discuss here. The poem, it can be claimed, was not “secular.” It could have been sang with music, and one should not exclude the possibility that this was not the first time it was recorded. What, however, matters most for my purpose here is that this *mecmū ‘a* as a whole represents a relatively early example of a compilation which testifies to the existence of an audience which consumed a wide variety of poetic forms today studied as separate, and even conflicting categories. In other words, this *mecmū ‘a*, if not deletes, than it certainly blurs the boundaries between *dīvān* and folk, secular and religious, Islamic and Christian poetry imposed by modern style literary histories.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, recording of these poetic texts in various languages was an act which was spontaneous, i.e. unaccompanied by any comment which may indicate that the producer of the *mecmū ‘a* thought he was doing something unusual like he obviously did while recording “the essentials of Christian and Jewish beliefs.” This aspect of the *mecmū ‘a* has not been considered so far and I present it with a reserve. But, let me remind that, besides poems composed in one language only, this *mecmū ‘a* also contains a poem alternating between Turkish and Hungarian, written right before *Hirvat Türküsü* and entitled *Ġazal-i Türkī ve Macārī*.<sup>85</sup> The title, again, tells more about the producer of the *mecmū ‘a*, than about the composer of the poem. The bilingual poem needed to be defined, according to this reader, and was perhaps viewed by himself as representing a sub-genre of poetic texts. It will probably come to no surprise that *Ġazal-i Türkī ve Macārī* consists of five quatrains, that it rhymes according to the pattern *aaab* whereby the last line functions as a refrain. The composer of this

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<sup>84</sup> Sudár’s book focuses on Turkish poems, and there we can see that these poems were composed by well known *divan* poets, *āşık* poets known by name and anonymous poets.

<sup>85</sup> ÖNB-MS A. F. 437, ff. 67a-68a; See also, Babinger, *Literaturdenkmäler*, 128-129.

poem is anonymous. This *mecmū`a* therefore reveals three model members of the interpretive community I am trying to delineate: the producer himself, Meḥmed who authored the *Hırvat Türküsü* in Slavic but with the knowledge of how a Turcophone poet was to identify himself, and the anonymous composer of *Ġazal-i Türkī ve Macārī*. As already noted, Yūsuf recorded his *Arzuhals* some twenty years after this *mecmū`a* was composed.

Certain Nikola Palinić who lived in mid-seventeenth century (around 1651) left a whole anthology of Turkish poetry which he recorded in Cyrillic script. Whether Nikola Palinić knew how to write in Arabic script is not clear. His anthology contains few lines which suggest he might have. That he knew how to read Arabic script can also be guessed—the only prose text his manuscript contains is the Turkish text of an order issued by the *beylerbeyi* of Buda, in 1651, copied in the Cyrillic script. From this copy we learn that the reason why Palinić appealed to the Pasha of Buda and the *kadı* courts in Bosnia was a dispute with his uncle around property he owned in Bosnia. Although his ancestors were obviously from Bosnia, Palinić left his homeland to live somewhere in Dalmatia. Whether this happened before or after 1651 is not known.<sup>86</sup> Another documentary source about Palinić is a seal in which his name was inscribed in the Arabic script: Niḳola Ibn Mātḳo Balinik.<sup>87</sup> Palinić’s anthology contains around 60 texts, and presents a mixture of poems composed by famous Ottoman *dīvān*, *āşıḳ* and anonymous poets. Some poems were clearly of local provenance. A line from one such poem reads: “Yüri yüri hey Freng oḡlı/Haḳ naḳar kila sana” (tr./Go ahead, hey, son of a Frenk, may God watch over you).<sup>88</sup> If we accept that Frenk was a synonym for a Christian/Italian in Bosnia and Dalmatia, we can conclude based on this line

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<sup>86</sup> What is known about Palinić, facsimile of the manuscript, poems transliterated from Cyrillic script into Latin, „correct“ Turkish versions, and translations of the poems to German can be found in Milan Adamović, *Die türkischen Texte in der Sammlung Palinić* (Göttingen: Pontus Verlag, 1996).

<sup>87</sup> Ćiro Truhelka, “Bosanicom pisani Turski tekstovi,” *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja* 26 (1914): 551-553.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 552.

that the “Turkish of poetry” was not the language of Muslims only. Whether the reciter of this poem was at the same time the author or the person who tempered with a poem composed by a Turkish speaker, is of secondary importance for the point I want to make here.

Juraj Križanić (1618-1683) is a famous Panslavist known for his “ambition to bring the Russian Orthodox Church into the Catholic fold” and his dream that the union will oust Ottomans from South-Slavia.<sup>89</sup> In 1652, his poetic work titled “Illyria” was published in a collective volume printed in Rome. The poem started with six lines in Turkish printed in Latin font. In continuation there is a Latin translation of the same verses. To explain Križanić’s interest in Turkish, György Hazai reminded that the author spent several months in Istanbul before the poem was published. Hazai also writes something that has been rarely mentioned by Križanić’s biographers, namely the fact that he was a son of a merchant from Ottoman town of Bihać, thus allowing the possibility that he learned some Turkish at home.<sup>90</sup> Križanić certainly included Turkish verses into the poem expecting the message would reach Ottoman Muslims of Slavic origin. The book printed in Rome was probably not the only possible tool by which he could disseminate his poem. Križanić was, beyond doubt, well-informed. His bilingual poem can be viewed as a text produced by a person who thought that several lines of poetry could mean a lot if they strike the right chords.<sup>91</sup> Like

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<sup>89</sup> Alexander Maxwell, “Glottonyms, Anachronism and Ambiguity in Scholarly Depictions of Juraj Križanić/Юрий Крижанич,” *Slavonic and East European Review* Volume 98/2 (April 2020): 201-234, 202. This article provides a good summary of Križanić’s biography. I have chosen it among many other scholarly works providing the same biographical information because it is an excellent study of ideological and often empirically unsupported scholarly descriptions of written idiom Križanić used (or created). Maxwell aptly shows how there was still, in 2020, a need to repeat something that, arguably, should have become an axiom, namely that “the meaning of an ethnonym or glottonym evolves with time.” That glottonyms and ethnonyms have their own history is an assumption I took for granted since the very beginning of my research for this thesis.

<sup>90</sup> György Hazai, “J. Križanić’in “Illyria” başlıklı eserindeki Lâtin harfleriyle yazılı bir Türkçe metin hakkında”[On a Turkish text written in Latin script in J. Križanić’s work titled “Illyria”], in Kellner-Heinkele et.al., *Ausgewählte Schriften von György Hazai*, 321-327: 322.

<sup>91</sup> Hazai brings an original image which contains the Turkish lines of Križanić’s poem. Although Hazai notes that the mistakes are expected from a non-native speaker, these mistakes do not impede understanding. This is the literal translation of the verses: In this world there is no *wealth* (maldarluk) but *the truth* (dogurlik i.e. doğruluk)/ It is only



Križanić's father who was once an Ottoman subject, any merchant in South-Slavia would somehow react to the message that the riches of this world are transient, and that one should therefore strive for higher goals. One can go even further and suggest that the fundamental act of translation in Križanić's poem was not that from Turkish to Latin, but the act of translation of the basic "Sufi" to the "Panslavic" in the making.

Miho Martellini from Dubrovnik was a merchant himself. His ambitions were most probably similar to those of other Ragusan patricians involved in trade, but his knowledge of and interest in Turkish went beyond the pragmatics of the business. Martellini's enduring legacy is a collection of poetry in Slavic, Italian and Turkish which he produced in the period between 1657 and 1667.<sup>92</sup> All Turkish poems, but one, deal with the theme of love. The love poems are 17 in number and Martellini recorded them in the Latin script. These were the poems composed by known and anonymous authors, obviously circulating the area of Martellini's movement. One of the authors known by name was an *'āşık* poet, Kuloğlu, popular all over the Ottoman empire. None of the poems was composed by a *dīvān* poet. The one poem that does not deal with love is a humorous/didactic composition calling people who believe in god—not to smoke. This one is written in the Cyrillic script and alternates between Slavic and Turkish. Though much shorter, the poem has the same formal structure like Ka'imī's *Slavic-Tobacco* (four quatrains, *aaab*, refrain in three stanzas). No motif in this poem can be associated with Islam in particular, provided we do

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this that *the Great God* (Allah tala) gives to people/*Hey, You, brave Ottomans* (Bre siz jarer Otmanliler), open your eyes/And look at the wise words in this book/ In it you will find *the wholesome knowledge from the true God* ( hak Tangriden hep tamam bilmeklik)/Whoever reads this, *his is the right path* (onun dur dogurlik).

<sup>92</sup> Derviš Korkut, "Turske ljubavne pjesme u zborniku Miha Martelinija Dubrovčanina iz 1657. g." [Turkish love poems in the collection of Miho Martelini of Dubrovnik from 1657], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 8-9 (1958-1959): 37-62; Azra Abadžić Navaey and Marta Andrić, "Dubrovčanin Miho Martellini i turska narodna poezija" [Miho Martellini of Dubrovnik and the Turkish folk poetry], *Književna smotra* 52/195(1) (2020): 111-128.

not take for granted that only Muslim clerics of the time thought smoking was a sin.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, a personal name mentioned in the poem as a model smoker is obviously Christian (Maruica). While Ẓā'īmī presented Frenks (Venetians) as the sellers of tobacco, this anonymous poet scolds smokers for “walking like Frenks.” Derviš Korkut speculated that this poem was perhaps composed by Martellini himself, and that Ẓā'īmī's poem was of a later date, without explaining why he thought so.<sup>94</sup> Whatever the case, the author of this poem, if not Martellini himself, can be viewed as another active member of the interpretive community I tried to define in this section.

Around the time when Ḥācī Yūsuf came back from *hajj*, more precisely in 1617, one Aḥmed from Livno was a student in Istanbul. This Aḥmed will come back from the capital in 1623, to take his first job as a *kadı* of Slatina (present day north Croatia). From here, Aḥmed will move throughout Bosnian province from one local judgeship to another. In between the posts, or rather, in order to get a post, Aḥmed frequently travelled to Istanbul. One of his high positioned acquaintances at the court was Rūznāmecī İbrāhīm Efendi from Mostar. Around 1657, Aḥmed worked in Belgrade as *'askerī ḳassām* (tr./ an official in charge of recording the estates of members of the *'askerī* class and distributing of the inheritance). At this time, his friend Ebulbenāt Aḥmed Efendi from Tuzla was *kadı* of Pécs. Ebulbenāt Aḥmed Efendi earned this excellent post by writing poems and *ḳaṣīdes* dedicated to millitary judges (tr. *kadıasker*) in Istanbul who were in charge of distributing the posts. Also in 1657, there arose a crisis involving George Rákóczi II, the prince of

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<sup>93</sup> The seventeenth century Istanbul was a center of the so-called Kadızadeli movement. The followers of Kadızade Meḥmed b. Mustafa (d. 1635), most influential of which were preachers in Istanbul mosques, rose against certain sufi-habits and, in general, practices which they considered forbidden innovations, smoking being one of these innovations. See, Madeline C. Zilfi, “The Kadızadeli: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45/4 (1986): 251-269. How the ideas promoted by this movement reverberated in the South-Slavic provinces, I can only ask at the moment, but the polemics prompted by the Kadızadeli zeal were certainly not limited to Istanbul. The composers of the Slavic/Turkish poems on smoking probably knew about some of these developments, but they can hardly be imagined as zealots of any kind based on these poems only.

<sup>94</sup> Korkut, “Turske ljubavne pjesme,” 40.

Transylvania appointed by the Ottoman sultan. In reaction, the sultan ordered three provincial governors (one of whom was *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia, and one other *sancak-beyi* of Klis) to go to Buda and discuss the situation with Hasan Pasha, the *beylerbeyi*. Ebulbenāt Aḥmed Efendi somehow heard that a Hungarian nobleman by the name *Grof* offered a hundred thousand *kurush* to Hasan Pasha so he helps him replace Rákóczi. Ebulbenāt Aḥmed then wrote a *kaşīde* “rhyming on *şīn*” in which he reported what he knew and sent the poem to the pashas in Buda. The *kaşīde* finished with a line “It will be bad, if he takes the money, it will be bad” (sl. *Bī loşe aḳo uze ġurūşe bī loşe*). We know all of this from the narrative Aḥmed from Livno composed sometimes after 1657, a narrative in which he identified himself as Sipāhīzāde.<sup>95</sup> Right after he quoted this line in Slavic, Aḥmed provided for his reader a translation to Turkish.<sup>96</sup> In what follows we learn about his role in the affair: Aḥmed, seated in Belgrade, was apparently in touch with his friend İbrāhīm Efendi Mostarī who, at some point, asked him to gather the news from the border and send a report with the first messenger going to Istanbul. To his other papers, Aḥmed added this *kaşīde* composed by Ebulbenāt Aḥmed Efendi. Next time Aḥmed went to Istanbul, İbrāhīm Efendi greeted him warmly, saying “(tr.) Hoş geldin Aḥmed Çelebi, (sl.) *Aḳo uze ġurūşe bī loşe*” (Welcome, Aḥmed Çelebi (...)).” It turned out, Aḥmed relates, that his intervention was crucial for the preservation of Rákóczi’s position. He was even honored with the reception by the sultan, who took the poem and asked what it means, since the poem “was in Bosnian language” (tr. *Bosna dilince olmağla*). Aḥmed’s translation of what was arguably the refrain of this important poem, was apparently more

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<sup>95</sup> An analysis of this text which survived in one copy only, the transliteration to Latin script, and facsimile of the whole manuscript is in Mürvet Arslan, ‘Sipāhīzāde Ahmed’in *Gazāvat-nāme-i cezīre-i Girit ve Zadre* isimli eseri (değerlendirme-transkripsiyon)’ (MA Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2009).

<sup>96</sup> “Ya ‘nī Gorof dan Hasan Paşa guruşları alursa yaramaz olur,” Ibid. 109.

eloquent than the one he provided at the first occurrence of a Slavic sentence in his text.<sup>97</sup> The scribe who copied the only known version of this text vocalized the Slavic sentence the first time he wrote it. When he wrote it for the second time, on the next page, he counted that there was no need to vocalize it again.<sup>98</sup>

Sipāhizāde Aḥmed's narrative covering the period between 1645-1657 provides an incredible amount of details about the events which took place in the Dalmatian frontier, all over South-Slavia and Hungary. Besides, it represents a rare source which provides insights into how a local-patriot from Livno viewed Ottoman history and the place of his fellow-countrymen in it. Arguably, *tahrīr defters* are the only kind of extant Arabographic sources with which Sipāhizāde cannot compete when it comes to quoting the local toponyms, and these were no longer produced for South-Slavic provinces when he wrote. Be this as it may, Sipāhizāde Aḥmed's explicit remarks on language are not limited to the above outlined story. In one place he claims that the famous Şeyḫ 'Alī Efendi from Mostar (better known as 'Alī Dede Bosnevī), was in fact from Klis, and that he knew Arabic so well that Sharif of Mecca told him "you are from among the Arabs" (tr. *sen evlād-ı 'Arabsın*).<sup>99</sup> Elsewhere, he will remember his childhood and how during an Ottoman siege of the fortress of Klis the infidels were starved to the point that they ate meat of their cats and dogs. These events, he remarks, were poeticized in the *kaşīdes* in Croatian language.<sup>100</sup>

The "written poetic" idiom enabled by bilingualism involving Turkish will maintain its function all the way until the end of the Ottoman rule in South-Slavia/Bosnia. Almost all explicit

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<sup>97</sup> "Sultān Murād Han hazretlerine mezbūr kaşīde i götürüp kırā' at itdigiimde 'ne dimekdir?' buyurdukda Bosna dilince olmağla 'eger Hasan Paşa Rakoci tālib ve ehakk iken Gorof gibi sefeleden guruşları alursa yaramaz olur' tercüme idüp (...), Ibid., 110.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., Facsimile part (unpaginated), ff. 75a-75b.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 73.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 23.

and implicit ideas transpiring from the literary works of Yūsuf, Meḥmed, and/or Hasan will live on, through various Slavophone Arabographic texts scattered in the *mecmūʿas*.<sup>101</sup> This was probably the case because the three were not lonely in thinking how the realm of Slavic as a written language could be expanded—Slavic could be the language of poetry. Besides, those who recognized it as such and disseminated the poems by writing them down recognized Slavic as language spoken in the Ottoman empire and a political tool without necessarily categorizing it as a language of this or that social group. Two of the early ideas, however, were least developed textually, if at all. One is the idea that a Muslim can address God in Slavic which materialized itself in Meḥmed Hevāʿī Ūskūfī’s poems, and, arguably, in the poem composed by Meḥmed, the author of the *Hırvat Türküsü*. The other is, again, Meḥmed Hevāʿī’s suggestion that Slavic could be used for writing poetry in *ʿarūz* meter.

### IV.3. Slavic in Metagenres and Translations

The number of extant texts testifying to the early modern activity of translation to Slavic within the realm of Arabographia is small. This stands for tools for translation and language learning (dictionaries, grammars), as well as for the free-standing texts (poetic or prose). The translations which survived involved Turkish and Slavic (i.e. not Arabic or Persian), and the general scholarly position is that the target users of these texts were Slavic Muslims who did not know Turkish,

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<sup>101</sup> Take, for example, Molla Muṣṭafā Şevkī Başeskī (1731-1809), a teacher, an *imām-ḥaṭīb*, a scribe, a Janissary and a member of the Qadiri sufi order who produced a *mecmūʿa* in which he chronicled the life in Sarajevo of his time. The dominant language of the *mecmūʿa* is Turkish close to spoken peppered with a lot of local words. Başeskī wrote several poems in Turkish, but also three in Bosnian. One is a didactic, sufiesque call to self-examination and piety. Other two are humorous, and even lascive. Başeskī is often quoted in the literature as a person who wrote that Bosnian language is much richer than Arabic and Turkish. To prove his point he notes that Arabic had only three words for the verb “to go,” Turkish only one, and Bosnian had forty five verbs used to denote the same action. He indeed quotes them all. See the translation of the text to Slavic and some images containing the Slavic text in Başeskija, Mula Mustafa Ševki, *Ljetopis*, ed. Mehmed Mujezinović (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987), esp. 361-368 and 442; Transliteration of the Turkish parts, but not of the Slavic poems can be found in an edition of the text intended for modern Turkish speakers Kerima Filan, ed., *XVIII. yüzyıl günlük hayatına dair Saraybosnalı Molla Mustafa'nın mecmūʿası* (Saraybosna: Connectum, 2011).

more precisely people who had no access to education and literacy and who are often called “narod” (sl./people) in modern literature. In other words, these texts are imagined as some sort of tools for the “enlightenment” of the uneducated. In what follows, I will analyse what little has survived not from the perspective of monolingual Slavic Muslims, but from the perspective of the literate producers and users of these texts.

Based on what is known about the extant manuscripts, it can be said that Meḥmed’s *Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif* was copied as an independent work and as a part of *mecmū‘as*. Representative number of texts were written in the *naskh* (a standardized handwriting style) characteristic of didactic works and were also vocalized (see fig.1), but this is not a universal rule.<sup>102</sup> Besides its content, the relatively small number of extant copies suggests that this dictionary was not used in any official educational institution, especially not for children. If we were to look for a versified dictionary learned by heart by children of the early modern Bosnia on a regular basis and through generations, Şāhidī’s Persian/Turkish *Tuḥfe* would be a much better candidate than *Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif*. Although *Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif* circulated and was known until the nineteenth century, no attempt has been made to emulate Meḥmed’s enterprise.

Other texts catalogued as “dictionaries” involving Slavic, however, do exist.<sup>103</sup> These have not been studied systematically, but can be described as lists of words (nouns and infinitives, and only rarely phrases) translated from Turkish to Slavic (not the other way around) and, by the rule,

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<sup>102</sup> For images from the copy which was bound with other prose and poetic texts produced by Meḥmed Hevāyī Üskūfī, see Korkut, “Makbul-i Āryf,” 380-382. The text is executed in *naskh*, and it is not vocalized. The inexhaustive list of 21 known copies of *Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif* and facsimile of University Library of Uppsala MS Nov. 546 is in Kasumović and Mennesland, *Bosansko-Turski Rječnik*, 181-183, and *passim*. The Uppsala copy is executed in *nastaliq* font characteristic for poetry recording. The introduction is not vocalized, but the dictionary part is. Vocalized *naskh* is in Manisa II Halk Kütüphanesi-MS 45 Ak Ze 205, GHB-MS R 2865, and HASa-MS R 262.

<sup>103</sup> The lists are scattered in various manuscripts. For a number of these “dictionaries” involving Bosnian dating to the early nineteenth century and after, see, Haso Popara and Zejnil Fajić, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian Manuscripts. Tome VII* (London, Sarajevo: Al Fuqan, Rijaset IZ Sarajevo, 2000), 477-501.

not arranged in an alphabetical order. Also, no author has ever signed a list like this. One of the rare compilers of such a list known by name is certain Muṣṭafā from Bayburt (eastern modern Turkey), who came to Bosnia in the mid-nineteenth century. Muṣṭafā translated around one thousand Turkish words to Bosnian (tr. *Bošnāqça*) under the title *Luġat-ı Türki-Bosnevī*. This is known from a note he left after he had finished the list, in which he complains about the fact that he did not learn much during the one year he spent in Bosnia and wonders what could be the reason for it. One possibility was that “the language was not *open*,” the other that the language itself did not “have an *atmosphere*.”<sup>104</sup> This example allows the speculation that some of the earlier lists with similar headings may have been compiled by non-native speakers of Slavic wanting to learn the language. At this moment we can only speculate whether Muṣṭafā from Bayburt used lists already compiled or was gathering the material from anew.



Figure 1. HASa-MS R 262 (ff.1b-2a): The Beginning of *Maḵbūl-i ‘Arif* (dated to 1859/60)

<sup>104</sup> “Ey biräder Bošnāqça bir sene çalışıb ....anca aḥz eyledim. Bilmem lisān açığı olmadıġı sebebdenni yoksa hāvāsı olmadıġından mı, sebep nedir bilmem. Ketebehu ḥaḳīr eyālet-i Anaṭolı sancāġ-ı Erzırur ḳazā-i Bāybürt Muṣṭafā Bin Hāci İbrāhīm. Bosnaya imdi 28 Mārt sene (1)281.” Quoted from: Kasim Dobrača, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian Manuscripts. Tome I* (London, Sarajevo: Al Fuqan, Rijaset IZ Sarajevo, 2000), 125.

The known lists of words translated from Turkish to Slavic are similar to *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif* in that the semantic domain from which the words were chosen was daily communication. If we can speak of a sub-genre, those would be lists of nouns naming the plants and geographical terms.<sup>105</sup> In *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif* most of the words were chosen from everyday life in a village, or more precisely the words from everyday life which cannot account for the life in a town. An early example of a list of Turkish words translated to Slavic comparable in this sense, has been published by Derviš Korkut.<sup>106</sup> Korkut found this text (hereafter, *TS List*) in a privately owned codex which also contained an Arabic-Turkish dictionary copied in 1635. Based on this and other indirect evidence he concluded that *TS List* was also compiled in the seventeenth century, but after *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif*. The local colouring of the Slavic words used for translation, and the mistakes made upon writing some Turkish words (deemed typical for a Bosnian), led Korkut to conclude that the author of the list was a native Slavic speaker from western Herzegovina. Korkut's evidence for dating of the *TS List* is not reliable, but the idea that the list was compiled with the knowledge of the existence of *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif* is attractive to speculate about. For one, the list starts with the word for God, and it contains a lot of words related to village life. The first ten words are:

1. *tañrı* (God)-*boğ* (God)
2. *peygamber* (prophet)-*isvetaç* (sl. *svetac*, saint)
3. *iman* (faith)-*vira* (faith)
4. *inanmak* (to believe)-*virovat* (to believe)
5. *Müslüman* (Muslim)-*Turçin* (Turk)
6. *doğri* (straight)-*pravo* (adj. straight or adv.straightforward)
7. *şāğ* (healthy/all genders/)-*izdravo* (sl. *zdravo*, healthy /neuter gender/)
8. *söz* (word, speech)-*besida* (speech as articulation of sounds and as formal address)
9. *yazmak* (write)-*pisat* (write)

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<sup>105</sup> Two examples from the eighteenth century preserved in Gazi Husrev Beg Library fit this description, one copied in 1774 (R-9206, 600 words) and one copied in 1782 (R 9839, 800 words), see Haso Popara, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian Manuscripts. Tome XVI* (London, Sarajevo: Al Fuqan, Rijaset IZ Sarajevo, 2008), 333-334.

<sup>106</sup> Derviš M. Korkut, "Tursko-Srpskohrvatski rječnik nepoznatog autora iz XVII stoljeća" [Turkish/Serbo-Croatian dictionary by an unknown author from the seventeenth century], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 16-17 (1970): 135-182.



10.yürümek (to walk)-hodit (to walk)

Both *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif* and *TS List* list contain a limited number of abstract concepts related to religion and superstition. Aside from God, in *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif* we find *soul* (tr./sl.: can/duša), *angel* (ferište/angel), *heaven* (cennet/raj), *demon* (cin/sotona, lit. Satan), and *fairy* (peri/vila). Aside from the words just quoted, the *TS List* included *vampire* (tr./sl: hortluk/vanpir) and *witch* (cadā/vištīča), without mentioning *demon* and *fairy*. Translating *ferište* (per./ angel), the compiler of the *TS List* opts for *melek* (ar.per.tr), without providing a Slavic word. *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif* indexes some religious personalities, real or imagined, like *sufis*, or Saint Mary.<sup>107</sup> The *infidel* (living nearby perhaps) has a typical name (Kosta), while a different kind of the *infidel* gets to be placed in the context of the combats at the frontier.<sup>108</sup> *TS List* indexes the daily awareness of war and combat by including the words for *army* (tr./sl.: çeri/voyska), *spy* (çasūs/uḫodā), *fortress* (ḳal'a/ḡrād), *sword* (kılıç/sabla), *mace* (suñu/mızrāk, here both Turkish words), and *shield* (ḳalkān/štīt). Of religious objects, *TS List* includes *church* (kelīse/çirḳva) and *monastery* (deyr/māštīr), and gives Turkish and Slavic for St. George's Day (Rūz-ı Hızır/Gurgevdān). For a *slave/servant*, *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif* gives one word (kul/ropçe), while *TS List* distinguishes between the male and female slaves/servants (*ter oḡlanı/hizmekār* and *ḳārāvāş/robinā*).

That this list was compiled by a person whose mother tongue was Slavic can indeed be claimed based on few mistakes made upon writing of Turkish words. Though also indirect, the evidence to the contrary can also be quoted. The compiler of the *TS List* added vowels in front of the consonant clusters and occasionally explained Turkish words by Turkish synonyms. Besides

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<sup>107</sup> For this overview I used MS GHB R-2865 dated to 1750-51, next to other, published editions. See *Appendix B/b* for Chapter I of *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif*.

<sup>108</sup> These examples are from chapter VII of *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif*, and chapter X which contains the following lines: “Hem *izbit* (sl. defeat) *döğüşmek* (tr.fight one another) *yürüş* (tr. go forward) *navalit* (sl.go for, attack)/*Hışār di ḡraddur* (tr.-sl. fortress) *lubarda ne topdur* (sl- tr. canon)/*Doyumluk* (tr. spoil, booty) *dobike se* (sl. it will be gained) ve serḫad *krayina* (tr.-sl. frontier)/*Yunak bil levenddür* (sl.-tr. hero) ve *kāfir kaurdur* (tr.-tr. infidel).

that, according to Korkut, a number of Turkish words included are archaic from the perspective of the seventeenth century Turkish, but he does not explain what this fact implies. This could mean that a Slavic-speaking person collected the words from the local Turkish speakers who learned Turkish much earlier. Or, that the compiler was a Turkish speaker who had access to written sources more conservative in terms of language change when compared to speech. Be they originally Slavic speakers or not, the good candidates for compilers of these lists are people in touch with the rural environments, as either *imāms*, *kadīs* or merchants, for whom the knowledge of Turkish was sufficient while in towns, but not while serving or doing business in villages. The illiterate Slavic speaking peasants providing the Slavic cognates for Turkish words could also be both Christians and Muslims, whereby the later were designated as “Turks” just like in Mehmed Hevāyī Ūskūfī’s poems.

Choosing to start “a dictionary” with the word for God, saintly and celestial beings, was certainly not a matter of coincidence, but a matter of a long-standing custom. Besides *Maḳbūl-i ‘Ārif* and the *TS List*, to prove the point I can quote a list of words which survived in two copies dated to the nineteenth century. One has no title, but starts with a “bismillāh” only (see fig.2).<sup>109</sup> In the other copy “bismillāh” is under the title *Luġat-i Bulġarī*, although it is identical with the first one, and although the Slavic vocables are obviously from the variant spoken in Herzegovina or Bosnia, and not in Bulgaria.<sup>110</sup> The first several words from this dictionary are:

1. *Allah-Boĝ*
2. *peygamber-svetaç* (sl.svetac, saint)
3. *melek* (ar.tr./angel)-ferište (per.tr.angel)
4. *melā’ike* (ar.tr./angels)-ferišteler (tr./angels)
5. *resūl* (ar.tr./messenger, envoy; the God’s Messenger, Muḥammad)-elçi (tr. messenger, envoy, ambassador)
6. *yazı* (writing)-*pismena* (letters of the alphabeth, metaphorically written text)

<sup>109</sup> HAZU-MS R 640, dated to 1252/1836.

<sup>110</sup> NL Sofia-MS OP 900, dated to 1826.

7. *yazılmış* (tr./participle passive: written)-*napisano* (sl./noun,neuter gender: that which is written down)  
 8. *kāğıd* (paper, leaf of paper)-*kniga* (book, letter, leaf) (...)

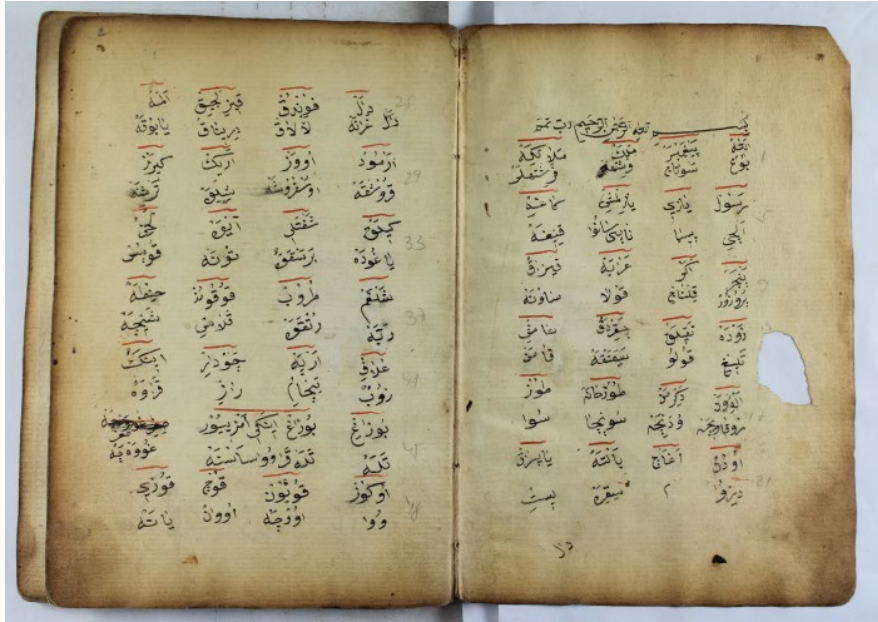


Figure 2. HAZU-MS R 640 (ff.1b-2a): Turkish-Slavic Dictionary (1836).

Besides the slight differences in the opening, the most obvious other difference between the nineteenth century list and the the *TS List* is that the former contains phrases and proverbs, rather than just nouns and infinitives.

Slavophone Arabographia, it seems, played a relatively minor and limited, but not unregulated function in the production of local, lexicographical texts. That Slavic was mediating the language instruction in Bosnia we can only guess, based on the meager amount of textual evidence. ‘Osmān Şuġlī (d.1715), for example, wrote a work on Arabic syntax titled *Tuhfe-i Nādiriyāt-i Şuġlī* (Şuġlī’s Gift in Rarities) in which he included a few Slavic, idiomatic sentences and expression to illustrate the points made.<sup>111</sup> The text is a commentary in Turkish of two widely

<sup>111</sup> The sentences are not many, and are of the following type “As they say in Bosnian language *eat while you are healthy*” (tr.sl. Bosna dilince *işçi hrane za snage* dedikleri gibi) or “As they say in Bosnian *as you go do whatever work you can*” (tr.sl. Bosnaca *usput idući ştogod vala uçinit* dedikleri gibi). Kerima Filan, *O turskom jeziku u Bosni: studija* (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2017), 72.

used Arabic works in syntax. Slavic phrases were not used systematically or copiously, and yet they do situate the work in the space in which it was created. ‘Osmān Şuġlī was from Visoko, a town in central Bosnia close to Sarajevo where he also lived. Just like Hasan Kā’imī, his contemporary, he was a shaykh of the Qadiri sufi order. Besides, ‘Osmān Şuġlī was a teacher in a *medrese* of a lower rank and a *ḥaṭīb/vā’iz*. In the introduction to *Tuḥfe-i Nādiriyāt*, Şuġlī informs the user that he got the inspiration for producing such a work at the time when the fortress of Crete (i.e. Candia) was conquered by the Ottomans, i.e. in 1669. When he finished the work is not clear, but it seems that he did this much later. In the same place Şuġlī wrote some five verses in which he explained that he was writing the work in a very difficult situation. Poverty, high prices, plague, personal difficulties (tr. *derd u belā*), summer heats, learning and teaching at the same time, were some of the things that bothered him. This was to be known by his critics. Those who would not like his work, were invited by Şuġlī to write themselves, for “as a famous Bosnian word says: whoever is able to do it better, open is the field in front of them” (tr.sl. Boşnakça meşhurdur: *tko more bolje, eto mu polje*).<sup>112</sup>

The extant Slavophone Arabographic poems are, by the rule, original compositions, i.e. not products of translations. A very specific exception is a text published, in 1986, by Dušana Bojanić-Lukač as “a poem glorifying Muḥammad in Serbian language.”<sup>113</sup> The text was written in heavily vernacularized recension of Old Church Slavic and accompanied by an interlinear translation to Turkish. Bojanić-Lukač found it in a *mecmū’a* from the Marsigli Collection in the University Library of Bologna, which contains notes from the years 1665 and 1664.<sup>114</sup> The

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 61-62.

<sup>113</sup> Dušana Bojanić-Lukač, “Un Chant a la Gloire de Mahomet en Serbe,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 76 (Festschrift Andreas Tietze zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden und Schülern (1986): 57-63.

<sup>114</sup> BUB-MS Marsigli 3488. I thank Nir Shafir for sharing his photographed copy of this manuscript with me.

*mecmū`a* consists of around 235 folios. It is filled with texts addressing various topics written by different hands. A few texts are in Arabic, but most are in Turkish. A user of these texts could have been a preacher in a mosque with sympathies for the Khalwati sufi order.<sup>115</sup> Based on the notes, Bojanić-Lukač situated the compilation in time, but not in space. Considering the origin of the Marsigli collection, the manuscript could have been in Buda in 1686, or even in Belgrade, in 1688. An excerpt from a *kaşīde* by Ebussu`ūd Efendi on folio 1a is described as being written in a medrese in Sarajevo (tr. *medrese-i Saray*), most probably the Gazi Husrev Beg's Medrese. A short story on folio 172a relates that sultan Murād once asked a difficult question promising a grant to the one who answers. Right below we find a versified reply by certain Cihādī who answered the question and asked for a post of a *çavuş* and a *ze`āmet* (large land estate). It is perhaps not too far fetched to assume that the sultan in question could be Murād III (1574-1595), and the poet who replied Cihādī who flourished ca.1592 and whom I mentioned as the author of Arabic/Turkish versified dictionary in *Chapter III*.

The text published by Bojanić-Lukač was written on *b* side of the first page (see fig.3). It is accompanied by a note which explains that the text is was excerpted (by unspecified *them*) from a Gospel found in a chest. The chest itself was found in a fallen wall of a church in Krka (an area in north Dalmatia). According to the note, the Gospel contained an eulogy (tr. *na`it*) dedicated to

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<sup>115</sup> The first text in the compilation is a commentary (in Arabic) of a work dealing with conditions in which daily prayers are to be conducted. Then comes another text in Arabic dealing with ritual practices. Aside from the Arabic texts of the sermons delivered after the Friday prayer (*huṭbe/mev`ize*), other texts are mainly in Turkish. One of the texts in Turkish, titled *Tarīk-nāme* addresses the relationship among the shaykh and the disciples according to the customs of the Khalwati sufi order. Aside from these, the compilation contains Turkish texts dealing with ritual practices, fatwas, various instructions when and how to pray for what purpose, texts dealing with proper reading of Quran, a famous versified risale about medicine by Kaysūnīzāde (d.1568), a series of Arabic sayings and proverbs translated to Turkish, several stories, various notes and a Persian ghazal by Hāfez. Prayers in Arabic are by the rule vocalized.

Prophet Muḥammad and written in Serbian language.<sup>116</sup> Bojanić-Lukač reminded that the Krka area had a lot of churches, that the famous Orthodox Krka Monastery (founded in the early fifteenth century) was destroyed by the Ottomans in 1647 because local population sided with Venetians, and then rebuilt, in 1650. She considered the possibility that this Gospel was banned and hidden in this monastery or another church from Krka since it certainly could not have been a canonized version. In other words, she suggested that the note perhaps referred to a non-canonized Gospel that really existed.<sup>117</sup> The text of “the excerpt” itself does not mention Muḥammad. It relates that Jesus predicted the coming of *Paraclete*. According to Muslim polemicists who claimed that Christians intentionally changed the Gospels so as to remove the annunciation of Muḥammad’s prophethood, *Paraclete* was “a code word for Muḥammad in Christian [non-canonized] scriptures.”<sup>118</sup> What matters from my perspective is that the note introducing the poem and its translation suggests that the person who recorded the text and translated it to Turkish knew that there existed the Slavic/Serbian texts of Gospels (or, in Meḥmed Hevā’ī Ūskūfi’s parlance, that the Gospel was revealed in Slavic/Bosnian). Moreover, the person(s) who modified/created and transmitted the text to the copyist of this text had a strong sense of the style in which Gospels in Slavic were written. That they copied it from the text that once existed is not impossible, but it is hard to imagine that an actual Slavic manuscript of a Gospel was written in this particular register. This sort of dilemmas, of course, can only be solved by more research Slavic manuscripts circulating the area.

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<sup>116</sup> “Kırkda bir kilisā hedm dīvārından bir şandık çıkub ol şandukun içinde bir İncīl-i Şerīf bulunur içinde Sırfaḥa ḥazret-i Habīb-i Ekremun ‘alayhi’s-salām na’t-ı şerīfin yazılmış bulup ihrāc eylemişler.” Bojanić-Lukač, “Un Chant,” 57.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>118</sup> About this, see, Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, 71.



Figure 3. BUB-MS Marsigli 3488: Folio 1b and samples of various hands participating in the production of the manuscript.

The translation of prose texts from *elsine-i selase* to Slavic has not been textually attested for the period before the turn of the eighteenth century. The earliest known case testifying to translation of prose texts from Turkish to Slavic within the realm of Arabographia is dated to 1708.<sup>119</sup> The case in point is an interlinear, word-for-word translation to Slavic of the commentary of Muḥammad Birgivī’s *Vaṣīyyet-nāme* written by certain Şeyḫ Aliyyü’s-Sadrī el-Konevī in 1702. Both *Vaṣīyyet-nāme* and the commentary were composed in Turkish. The commentator made a note that Birgivī had written *Vaṣīyyet-nāme* in Turkish to make it broadly accessible and useful, and that he himself decided to produce a commentary, again in Turkish, and to elucidate some places which were not very clear. The anonymous copyist of this commentary and the author of the word-for-word translation to Slavic did not make his own voice heard in the text from 1708

<sup>119</sup> Salih Trako, “Šerhi Wasiyyetname-i Bergiwi sa prevodom na srpskohrvatskom jeziku,” *Anali GHB* 5-6 (1978), 117-126.

unless we count the praise to God who allowed him to finish the text on the date specified.<sup>120</sup> This text, however, has not been studied after 1978 when Salih Trako informed the academic audience about its existence in the library of the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, provided a short introduction, and published several images from the manuscript (see fig. 4). From these surviving images we can conclude that Slavophone Arabographic parts were vocalized, while Turkish parts were not. What can be said about the strategy of the translator is that he did not put too much effort into translating to Slavic the Turkish terms or the words with connotation. Rather, he was placing them within the syntactic structure of Slavic and this on the level of the phrase. The prepositional phrases were often written, ungrammatically, as one word. The translator also broke the consonantal clusters by adding vowels which do not exist in Slavic words. Overall, following a common routine, one can argue that Slavic was not his mother-tongue. But, there can be no guarantee that the text was not produced by two different hands. In any case, the producer of the basic text of the commentary knew that the translation was to be added, since he left just enough space between the lines. In other words, this text can be viewed as one “pre-planned bilingual whole,” based on the way it was produced. From the perspective of the reader, Slavic text could not be properly understood without looking at the Turkish template.

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 125.



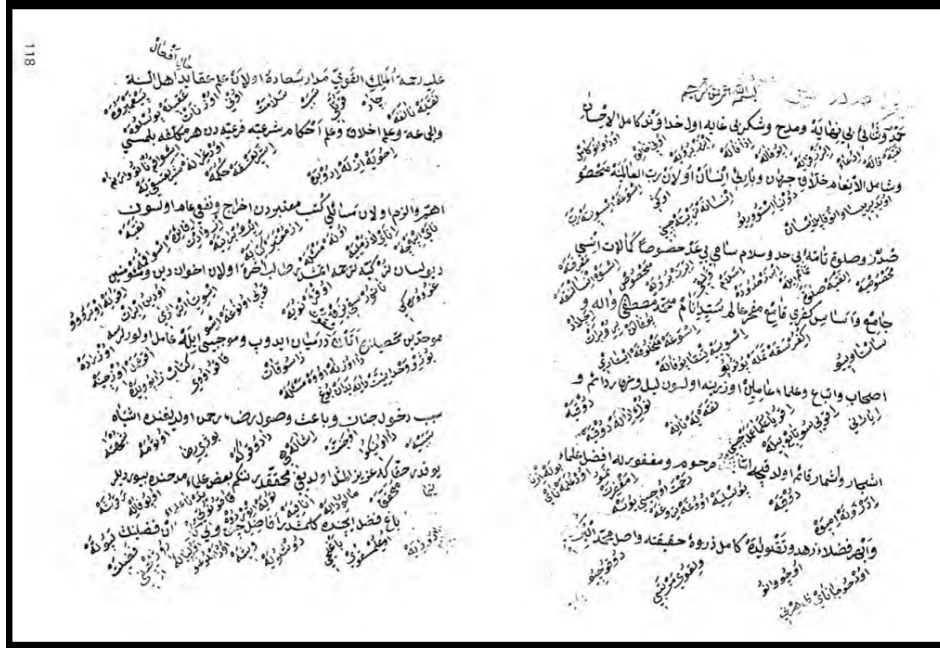


Figure 4. Opening pages of the copy of *Şerh-i Vasiyyetnâme-i Birgivi* by Aliyyü's-Sadrî el-Konevî with interlinear translation to Slavic, published in Salih Trako, “Şerhi Wasiyyetname-i Bergiwi sa prevodom na srpskohrvatskom jeziku,” *Anali GHB* 5-6 (1978), 117-126.

As I already mentioned in *Chapter III*, literature suggests that there existed a Slavic/Bosnian translation of Birgivi’s *Vaşiyyet-nâme* produced in the early nineteenth century or earlier. How this was concluded, I cannot say. Alen Kalajdzija who studied this Slavophone Arabographic text most recently and had access to an early copy from 1810, quoted several opening lines from this “translation” (hereafter: *Anonymous. ‘İlmihāl*). A look into a solid modern edition of *Vaşiyyet-nâme* suggests that the Slavic text was definitely not a translation of any part of this Turkish text, even when we take translation in its most flexible sense.<sup>121</sup> Be this as it may,

<sup>121</sup> According to Kalajdzija, the translation starts in the following way: “Jesi l’ mumin? Jesam hakkan, iman je moj sifet./Što je mumin? Mumin je oni čovik štono srcem viruje i jezikom ikrari čini što je Bog džellešanuhu poslao i Džibril Emin od Boga džellešanuhu donijo – ono je sve hak ve đerček./Što je iman? Ono je iman štono je Džibril Emin od Boga džellešanuhu našemu pejgamberu donijo ono valja svijem srcem virovati i jezikom ikrari činiti da je ono sve hak ve đerček./Kako god je pejgamber kazao, anako je istina. Jesi l’ muslim? Jesam elhamdulillahi, islam je moj sifet. Što je muslim? Muslim je oni čovik štono je Džibril Emin od Boga džellešanuhu našemu pejgamberu donijo i ono kabul učinijo i svijem srcem virovao i inkijad učinijo. Na koliko je rukua načinjén islam? Na pet. Što je? Ovo je savm, salat, hadždž, zečat, kelimej šehadet” [“Are you a *mumin*? I am *hakkan*, *iman* is my *sifet*./What is *mumin*? *Mumin* is the man who believes with his heart and does *ikrar* with his tongue (about) what God *džellešanuhu* sent and what *Džibril Emin* from God *džellešanuhu* brought – that is all *hak ve đerček*./What is *iman*? That is *iman*: what was brought by *Džibril Emin* from God *džellešanuhu* to our *pejgamber*, that should be believed with all heart and *ikrar* should be

it is interesting to note that in the Slavic text, the common Arabic/Turkish phrase “*Allāh cellešānuhu*” features as “*Bog cellešānuhu*.”

An undated Slavophone Arabographic text titled *Ḳaṣīde-i Burde-i Bosnevī* (Ode of the Mantle in Bosnian) has also been analysed as a translation from Turkish.<sup>122</sup> The *Ode of the Mantle* is a classical text originally composed by al-Busīrī (d. 1294) in Arabic. Read in Arabic for centuries upon celebrations of holidays and ceremonies marking various rites of passage, this ode (together with other ‘odes of the mantle’) was translated many times during the Ottoman period to both Persian and Turkish. A search for a Turkish text which served as a template for Bosnian translation would be a daunting task. I will here just note one detail, namely, that another common Arabic cliché “Alḥamdulilāh” (ar. praise be to God) is translated in the Slavophone Arabographic *Ode of the Mantle* as “sl.tr. *Boĝu ŝükür*.” The one known copy of this text was produced as an independent hand-written manuscript, perceived by one of its owners as a *kitāb*, i.e. a book (see fig.5). The text of the Bosnian version of the *Ode of the Mantle* is written in *naskh* style, and it is vocalized throughout (see fig.6).

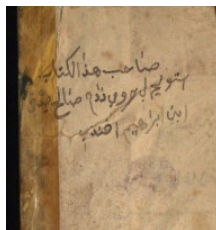


Figure 5. GHB-MS R 4563 (*Ḳaṣīde-i Burde-i Bosnevī*): An owner’s note on f.1a

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done by tongue that that is all *hak ve derček*./Whatever *pejgamber* said, that is true. Are you a *muslim*? I am *elhamdulillahi*, Islam is my *sifet*. What is a *muslim*? A *muslim* is that man who did *kabul* and believed with all his heart and did *inkijad* of/about what was brought by *Džibril Emin* from God *džellešanuhu* to our *pejgamber*. On how many *rukua*s was Islam build? On five. What is it? This is: *savm, salat, hadždž, zečat, kelimei šehadet*], Kalajdžija, “Tri rukopisna ‘ilmihāla,” 258-259. See also, Musa Duman, ed., *Birgili Muhammed Efendi: Vasiyyet-name: Dil İncelemesi, Metin, Sözlük, Ekler İndeksi ve Tıpkıbasım* (Istanbul: Risale Yayınları, 2000). The translation in the square paranthesis is mine. Italic are words which are not of Slavic origin.

<sup>122</sup> Kasim Dobrača, “Kasidei Burdei Bosnevi,” *Anali GHB* 4 (1976): 9-20.



Figure 6. GHB-MS R 4563 (*Ḳaṣīde-i Burde-i Bosnevī*): Folios 1b and 2a.

The free-standing prose Slavophone Arabographic texts produced by the known and anonymous authors, which, according to the dates of the surviving copies, started appearing as of the early nineteenth century mainly belonged to the genre of *‘ilmihāl*. In cases when the authors of these texts are anonymous, we can, of course, always doubt that the texts copied in the nineteenth century were composed much earlier. The language of these texts is based on Slavic syntax. I will not speculate here about how close it was to Slavic/Bosnian spoken in the nineteenth century. I suggest, however, that this written idiom represents a late phase in development of the Slavic vernacular which started being textualized as of the early seventeenth century in a process which involved constant dialogue with texts written in *elsine-i selāṣe*. While the textual interaction of Slavic vernacular and Ottoman Arabographia was continuous as of the early seventeenth century, the resulting written idiom got the license for becoming the written language of religious instruction much later, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Two surviving copies of Slavophone Arabographic *‘ilmihāl* composed by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (Žepčević) Ilhāmī (1773–1821) which I had a chance to look at (GHB-MS R 2929/1837 and GHB-MS R 8676/undated) were both written in a shaky, non-calligraphic, vocalized *naskh*. The latter copy, however is much more readable, i.e. correct.<sup>123</sup> In GHB-MS R 2929 Ilhāmī’s is the only work. GHB-MS R 8676 starts with Ilhāmī’s *‘ilmihāl*, continues with a devotional poem in Turkish, a commentary in Turkish of a devotional poem in Arabic, the text of *Anonymous. ‘İlmihāl*, and a devotional poem dedicated to Prophet Muḥammad in Turkish. HAZU-MS 520 also contains an undated *‘ilmihāl* entitled *‘Ākā’id-i Suniyye ber Lisān-i Bosnevī* (Sunni Doctrines in Bosnian Language) written in calligraphic, vocalized *naskh*, and another *‘ilmihāl* written in the same way in Turkish. The title of the second work is *Hazā Risāle’i Al-Miṣrī Al-Ḥāc ‘Osmān Efendi* (This is a Treatise by Al-Miṣrī Al-Ḥāc ‘Osmān Efendi). When the small portion of *Anonymous. ‘İlmihāl* which was published by Kalajdžija is compared with *‘Ākā’id-i Suniyye*, we see that these might be two different versions of the same basic text. The samples from the two texts differ in wording or, perhaps, the ways in which phrases from other language were translated to Slavic. What is, for example, “prophet, messenger” (per.tr. *peygamber*) in *Anonymous. ‘İlmihāl*, in *‘Ākā’id-i Suniyye* features as “saint” (sl. *svetač*). HAZU-MS 519 is dated to 1878. The only text it contains is titled *Hāza Ṣurūṭu’l-İslām bi-Lisān-i Bosnevī* (These are the Islamic Articles [of faith] in Bosnian Language). This *‘ilmihāl* is quite different from the *Anonymous. ‘İlmihāl* in terms of details of its contents, although it opens in a similar way. But here, instead of “the believer” (tr. *mu’min*) we find “the Turk”: “Neḳoçetireyti yesil Turkin. Yesam ḥaḳḳan” (Someone will tell you: Are you a Turk. I am indeed.)

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<sup>123</sup> The published transliteration of the *‘ilmihāl* to Latin script is based on National and University Library in Sarajevo-MS R 94, Duranović, “Alhamijado ‘ilmihāl Abdulvehhaba Ilhamija Žepčaka.”

GHB-MS R 1154, dated to the late nineteenth-early twentieth century contains a text entitled *Risāle-i Şeyṭān-Nāme*. The text thematizes a conversation between Satan and Prophet Muḥammad which was allegedly transmitted as a *hadīṭ*. On the authority of Mehmed Handžić, Abdurahman Nametak notes that this was an eighteenth-century translation from Turkish to Bosnian of a story which was in wide circulation in Arabic and Turkish. Handžić also suggested, based on the insight into privately owned manuscripts, that the translator was Mehmed Velihodžić Rāzī (1722-1786) from Sarajevo.<sup>124</sup> Since 1912, Rāzī is known as the author of a *kaṣīde* in Slavic (17 quatrains, *aaab*, refrain: “Pravim putem idite” (Walk the right path)).<sup>125</sup> The poem addresses the young people and provides advice for decent behaviour which, among other implies non-smoking of tobacco. Handžić also claimed that Rāzī penned several other treatises in Slavic, in the field of the basic religious education. The main source for profiling Rāzī is a note from *mecmū‘a* compiled by his contemporary, Molla Muṣṭafā Şevkī Bašeskī.<sup>126</sup> From this note we learn that Rāzī was a *müderriis* in Gazi Husrev-Beg’s *ḥānegāh*; that he was well-acquainted with the sharia law, especially the inheritance law; that he was a skilled scribe employed at the *kadı* court in Sarajevo, a poet who composed many chronograms, compiler of calendars, and a copyist of *Vankulu*;<sup>127</sup> that he knew Persian, unlike his professor with whom he studied; that he went to Mecca twice, and that he could read quickly and correctly whatever book was put in his hands. It is also known that Rāzī’s private library consisted of 149 codices, containing 199 different works.<sup>128</sup> In *Şeyṭān-Nāme*,

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<sup>124</sup> Nametak, *Hrestomatija*, 315.

<sup>125</sup> Kemura and Čorović, *Serbokroatische Dichtungen*, 32-34.

<sup>126</sup> See fn. 101 in this chapter.

<sup>127</sup> This was a voluminous Arabic turkish dictionary composed by Vankulu Meḥmed Efendi (d.1592), twice printed during Rāzī’s life, in 1729 and 1755-56.

<sup>128</sup> Mehmed Mujezinović, “Biblioteka Mehmed-Razi Velihodžića, šejha i muderisa Husrevbegova hanikaha u Sarajevu,” *Anali GHB* 5-6 (1978): 65-82, esp.68.

God is mentioned in the same manner like in the previously mentioned works (*Boğ celleşānuhu*), whereby other words and terms with strong connotations remained untranslated. Arabic/Turkish words are sometimes used instead of basic Slavic words like in the phrase “*nije mumkun* Şeytāna ubit” (It is not possible to kill the Satan). This phrase, however, was uttered in the story by Prophet Muḥammad. MS GHB R 1154 was written in a beautiful, calligraphic handwriting. The text is vocalized from the beginning until the end (see fig.7).

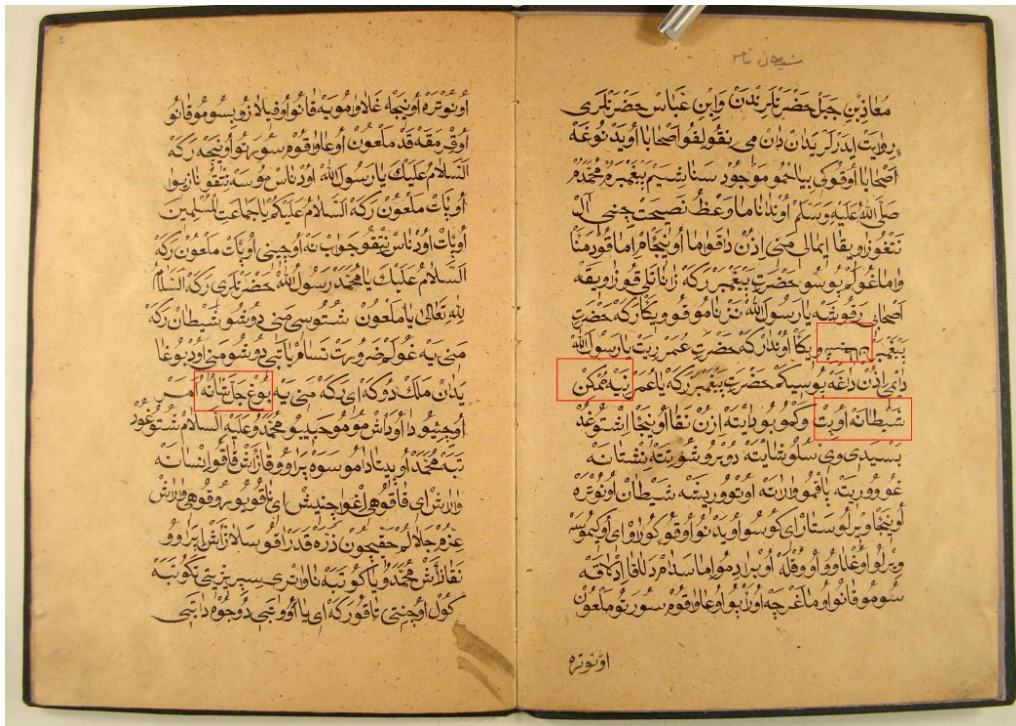


Figure 7. GHB-MS R 1154 (*Risāle-i Şeytān-Nāme*): Folios 1b-2a.

#### IV.4. Text as a Miscellany, Miscelany as a Text

One of the ideas promoted in Meḥmed Hevāi Uskūfī’s *Maḵbūl-i ‘Ārif* was that Slavic could be used for composing poetry in ‘*arūz*’ meter. Meḥmed’s own exercises included in the dictionary, however, will remain rather lonely attempts in this direction. One poem composed in ca. 1647/48 can be quoted as a closest candidate for an exception to this general rule. In this poem, an



anonymous poet from Sarajevo, furthers a critique of society and politics in the Ottoman province of Bosnia in four languages.<sup>129</sup>

The poem consists of ten quatrains in which the first verse is in Arabic, the second in Persian, the third in Turkish, and the fourth in Slavic.<sup>130</sup> It is composed in relatively successfully executed simple meter (*al-ramal*) with a rhyme scheme *aaab*. The fourth line, composed in Slavic, consistently ends with a phrase “teško nam” (it is/will be hard for us). The phrase sets the overall atmosphere of the poem and emphatically points to an unspecified community which endures the hardship. Each line of the poem is either a sentence or a clause adhering to the syntactic rules of respective languages. The boundaries between the four languages are less clear when it comes to lexicon. The word *vira* appears in a Turkish line, but, by this time *vira* was a Slavic borrowing in Turkish. Therefore, this poem is exceptional for its quadrilingualism, but it shares a lot of features with other poems I discussed before, and which are characteristic for being composed as series of quatrains.

The poem has been preserved in two copies of a later date—one is found in a manuscript from the eighteenth century and one in the chronicle composed by Enveri Kadić, the one who saved Ḥācī Yūsuf’s poems from oblivion. The differences between the two versions indicate that

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<sup>129</sup> Omer Mušić, the Yugoslav philologist who published this poem in an article from 1963, provided annotations and a brief interpretation of its contents and linguistic characteristics. He emphasises its documentary value and considers it as a complaint, a reaction of “our people” in Bosnia to a wholesale disaster looming over the Ottoman society of the time. As such, this poem was not unique, he maintains, since we know of many such complaints composed in Turkish, in about the same time by “our people of Bosnia,” though without quoting any examples. Thus, the anonymous poet is presented here as a well-informed, sympathetic voice of the community described as “our people in Bosnia.” who in this, by now notorious way get to be constructed as a homogenous ethno-geographic entity. The quadrilingualism of the poem is explained by a description of the author as “a very educated man who knew all three oriental languages to the extent of being able to think in these different languages.” Mušić also notes that “our people,” rarely wrote in all three oriental languages, thus emphasizing the uniqueness of the Anonym’s enterprise, by, in a way, sidelining its Slavic component. See, Omer Mušić, “Anonimni pjesnik Sarajlija o stanju u Bosni 1057/1647. godine” [Anonymous Poet from Sarajevo on Situation in Bosnia in the year 1057/1647], *Filozofski Fakultet u Sarajevu: Radovi* 1 (1963), 349-355.

<sup>130</sup> See Appendix B/d for transliteration of this poem.

the extant copies were probably made from two different sources, though they both maintain similar orthographic inconsistencies. A weak possibility is that the version from the eighteenth century was recorded by hearing. The evident orthographic mistakes in the two surviving versions of the poem can not be ascribed to the poet, but they do point to a linguistic situation that can produce texts in which, for example, mixing letters *s̄n* and *ṣād* has no ideological importance as long as it does not impact the meaning. Finally, the respective idioms used in this poem cannot be readily described as belonging to either high or low register.

That the poem was composed in 1647/48 (1057) we know based on its content. The poem opens with a reference to the period after the death of Murād IV (1622-1640), “the shadow of God (on Earth)” i.e. the caliph and the head of the army. It then moves on to a later period marked by two local events and a few imperial, socio-political trends. The anonymous poet combines general remarks on the crisis in the empire as a whole and the references to the local difficulties depicted as direct consequence of the failure of the leadership from the top of the Ottoman government. With the demise of Murād IV, he maintains, there came a period of a universal destruction, violence, fatigue and pessimism. Next comes a call addressed to an unnamed grand vizier to come to his senses so his people (*halk*) would not blame him. The direct critique is addressed to those who desire high offices and ranks; the dignitaries who are not grateful for the wealth at their disposal and are oblivious of the poor condition of their people; the disinterested owners of the land; as well as women who are destroying the empire out of envy. The problems at home also come from the infidels (tr. *kaur*s) who are besieging “the protected towns” taking the prisoners and inflicting calamities on people. The problems also come from “Turks,” says our Anonym, and more specifically from the “treacherous Turks.” Another local problem chronicled in the poem is the complete lack of *sikke*, (metal coins stamped with the Ottoman seal), while the reserves of the



“money” in general are coming close to exhaustion. The situation is so grave that even “the evil-doing Jews” do not look so bad in the eye of the poet. God and miracles are called for help throughout. A concrete person that figures in the poem is Tekeli Muştafâ Pasha, mentioned as the governor general of province of Bosnia in office. This mention dates the poem precisely to the year 1647/48 (1057). Tekeli Muştafâ Pasha’s tenure in Bosnia lasted less than a year and was marked by the loss of Klis, one of the key fortresses in the Bosnian province. That the terrible way in which Tekeli Muştafâ Pasha and his men treated local population left a deep imprint in the local memory we also know from Aḥmed Sipāhīzāde. Another event referenced in the poem is summarized as the conquest of the fortress of Novigrad (1647) upon which *vira* was broken by an unspecified subject.<sup>131</sup> The poem does not end on an entirely bitter note: it ends in a hope of the coming of an *eren* ( tr./one who has arrived at divine truth) who will inflict hardship on the Latins, so that they become the ones exclaiming “it’s hard for us.”

According to received scholarly wisdom, the order of languages in the poem could be interpreted as reflecting a perceived hierarchy among the languages involved—two cosmopolitan idioms precede the prestigious vernacular, while the local vernacular comes last. Or—three cosmopolitan idioms precede a local vernacular, and alike. Along the same lines, we can speculate that the poem served the purpose of boosting the image of a local poet as the master of “three Ottoman languages.” That which somewhat subverts this ego-centered argument is that the author decided to stay anonymous. Of course, this does not mean that his identity during his lifetime, or, in later centuries, his social profile, were untransparent for his audience as it is for us. The contents

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<sup>131</sup> Novigrad was a fortress on the Adriatic coast held by Venetians. It was taken by a Bosnian governor in 1646, and retaken by Venetians in 1647. Those who broke *vira* in 1647 were the Venetians, who attacked the Ottoman defenders retreating from the fortress with their possessions and families, after agreement on surrender was made. See, Domagoj Madunić, “Taming Mars: Customs, Rituals and Ceremonies in the Siege Operations in Dalmatia during the War for Crete (1645–69),” *Hungarian Historical Review* 4/2 (2015): 445–470, esp.460-461.

of the poem, I would say, speaks against a possibility that it was composed as a result of a linguistic exercise and indicates at least some ambitions of the anonymous poet towards a social engagement. Another question this poem provokes concerns the audience and its linguistic competence: are we to understand that the audience, just like the composer, was supposed to be able to think in all four languages, to use Omer Mušić's suggestion about the author, and thus very small. Or, should we perhaps assume that the wider understanding of the poem was not possible or not even expected. When we think of the quadrilingualism of the poem together with its content, however, which I suggest, a conclusion can be made that the poet wanted to make a special point by complaining in all four locally available languages. In my opinion, this quadrilingual poem, can be viewed as a *par excellence* representation of the awareness that the local Arabographia *had been* quadrilingual by 1647, and that *the poem* could find a way to the desired audience. No more and no less than that.

The eighteenth-century manuscript/*cönk* (GHB-MS R 3202)<sup>132</sup> in which the poem is preserved is a *mecmū'a* produced by several different people. One of them was Mehmed Meylī Gurānī (d.1781), a locally famous poet and a Qadiri shaykh who wrote his own poetry into the *mecmū'a*. Besides that, the miscellany contains copies of letters composed by a *kadı* of Sarajevo from 1778 until 1806, prayers, recipes, instructions for fortune telling, poems and chronograms. The poetry is mainly in Turkish. Arabic is the language of prose texts dealing with themes ranging from religious rituals to *'ilm-i efsūn* (the science on charms).

From the perspective of multilingualism, one note from the *mecmū'a* is particularly interesting. The note, written in Turkish, says that, in an unspecified time, the sultan of Rūm gathered the respectable members of the *'ulemā'* and asked them to produce a *Ta'bīr-nāme* (a

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<sup>132</sup> *Cönk* is a technical term which designates manuscripts in which the line of writing is predominantly parallel with the line of binding. *Cönks* are deemed typical for private collections of poems.

treatise on dream interpretation), and so they did. The point of the treatise was that the dreamer was to remember what he saw in his dream. The next step was to see how that thing was named in Arabic, for the first letter of the Arabic noun was assigned a prediction. For instance, if the Arabic noun designating what was seen in the dream started with A, the prediction for the future is: “mertebesi yüce olur” (tr./he will gain a high-ranking position).<sup>133</sup> Imagining in which language the local people dreamed, is certainly interesting to ponder. The one who wrote this note, probably possessed knowledge of Turkish and Arabic which he could use in socializing with the local dreamers, many of whom were speakers of Slavic/Bosnian.

The last lines of the quadrilingual poem discussed here are the only instances of Slavophone Arabographia in this particular manuscript. As I already noted, the texts in the *mecmū'a* are written by different people having different handwritings. Some hands are more calligraphic, but they are all legible. The texts in Turkish are never vocalized. Some text in Arabic are vocalized, some are not, and this detail tells nothing of the users competence in Arabic. The quadrilingual poem is recorded on a separate page, but the Slavic parts are not vocalized, or marked as different from the rest of the poem. (see. fig 8).

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<sup>133</sup> GHB MS R 3202, f.85a.



Figure 8. GHB-MS R 3202 (f.44a): Anonym, Quadrilingual Poem.

#### IV.5 Hasan Kā'imī's Slavic Poems: A Story About (A) Pre-Modern Lingualism(s)

The above analyzed quadrilingual poem is an exceptional text—this is for now the only example of a poem composed in four Ottoman languages of South-Slavic/Bosnian Arabographia. Also, Meḥmed Hevāyī Üskūfī-i Bosnevī remains the only known author from South-Slavia who composed texts in all four languages. From this point on, I cannot provide any more examples of free-standing Slavophone Arabographic texts the composition of which can be dated to the seventeenth century. Yūsuf's poems survived until modern times in his private *mecmū'a* only. The manuscript in which Meḥmed's poems were recorded has been destroyed in the late twentieth century. The same manuscript is the only known example in which Meḥmed's dictionary was copied together with his poems and other works. About the influence of Meḥmed's ideas I have already talked. Here I can add a note that poems recorded in Yūsuf's *mecmū'a* did not remain the

only *arzuhal*s of Slavophone Arabographic, or Bosnian *aljamiado* literature. It is probably no coincidence that the next known poetic *arzuhal* (known in the literature as *Duvanjski Arzuhal* (A Petition from Duvno)), dated to the eighteenth century, details the events happening in the area around Duvno and Prusac.<sup>134</sup> The formal features and some semantic elements of this poem suggest two possibilities. One is that the composer heard/read Yūsuf’s poem, the other is that composing poems like this was a local custom. A copyist of this poem from the late eighteenth century, included it into a collection of letters and documents, model and actually sent. Official *arzuhal*s (i.e. model and real petitions addressed to sultans, grand viziers, pashas etc.) were but one type of the documents copied in the collection. The copy of the poem is introduced by a note which reads “Lisān-i Bosnevī ile ‘arziḥāl bu gū(ne) taḥrīr olunur” (An *Arzuhal* in Bosnian language is written in this way). This note gives sense that this was an official document, rather than a poeticized *arzuhal*. The copyist does not provide the name of the author, and includes the poem in between the copies of the real documents. The poem is, however, vocalized, unlike all other texts in the collection which are written in Turkish and unvocalized. It is this feature of the text that makes it stand out clearly from its immediate environment, and the collection as a whole (see fig.9).

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<sup>134</sup> Otto Blau published several quatrains of this poem. Kemura and Ćorović published an extended version and dated it to 1706. Kemura and Ćorović, *Serbokroatische Dichtungen*, 20-28; Nametak published the extended version of this poem found in a manuscript/*cönk* dated to 1851. On the authority of Derviš Korkut, he claims that the author of the poem was certain Mehmed Aga of Prusac, who was sent to Duvno, ca.1728, and that the poem was composed some time after. Nametak, *Hrestomatija*, 183.

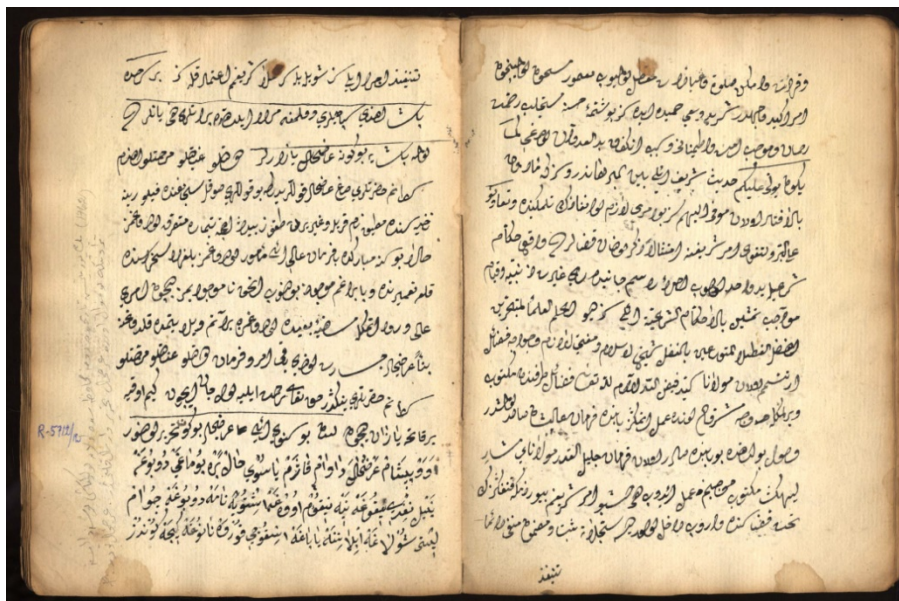


Figure 9. GHB-MS 5712 (f.5a): The Beginning of *Duwanjski Arzuhal*

As I already wrote, the number of copies of Hasan Kā'imī's *dīvāns* testifies to an immense and enduring popularity of his poetry written in Turkish. This is known based on Jasna Šamić's investigation which remains the most exhaustive and representative. And yet, the multiple ways in which the copyists and readers engaged with Hasan Kā'imī's poetry are yet to be investigated. Since no autograph or a manuscript from the seventeenth century survived, Hasan Kā'imī's poetry can serve as a guide for understanding the (re)producers and users of these texts who lived in the eighteenth century and after. Whether *Dīvān I* was copied predominantly by the members of the sufi Qadiri order, or the poems had wider popularity is unknown for now. One thing we can conclude with safety by looking at how his prophetic poems from *Dīvān II/Vāridāt* were treated and interpreted by the copyists is that the interest in poeticized prophecies did not subside. Quite to the contrary, it seems like these poems constituted a distinct community of readers who not only interpreted Hasan's poems, but gradually built a textually well supported cult. His Slavic poems, however, were not included in any of his two *dīvāns*. In what follows, I will look into the copies

of these poems I have at my disposal with the goal of investigating the types of *lingualism(s)* involving Slavic which can be associated with the producers and users of the manuscripts in which the poems are preserved.

A version of *Slavic-Tobacco* is the only Slavic poem in a small poetic miscellany from the eighteenth century (GHB-MS R 6861; 27 folios). It is written in a shaky *naskh* and vocalized. The other poems are in Turkish, unvocalized, written in different, calligraphic hands (see fig. 10)



Figure 10. GHB-MS R 6861: *Slavic-Tobacco* and samples of hands from the manuscript

Seven unvocalized quatrains from *Slavic-Tobacco* are written on the cover of a manuscript containing texts copied in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century (HAZU-MS 55; 91 folios). The handwriting is also a shaky *naskh*, which stands in contrast with other texts in the *mecmū'a* written in Turkish: a versified didactic treatise (*Hayriyye* by Yūsuf Nabī Efendi, d. 1712), another treatise written on the model of *Hayriyye* (*Lutfiyye*, by Sunbulzade Vehbī, 1809), various notes, and proverbs written on the margins. A small, undated booklet containing 9 folios written in calligraphic *nastaliq* also contains a version of *Slavic-Tobacco* (GHB-MS R 906). The first text in this booklet is long poem without title which turns out to be *Nasihāt-i Islambol* (Admonition to



Istanbul)—a poem written in Turkish in the first half of the seventeenth century and widely copied in pre-modern times.<sup>135</sup> Then, there is an entertaining story, also in Turkish, relating about what happened when some Muslims and infidels found themselves on a sinking boat. As of the next page, we find: *Bosnaca Nasīhat* (Advice in Bosnian; Slavic didactic poem attributed to the already mentioned Meḥmed Velihodžić Rāzī, d.1786); *Slavic-Tobacco*; and, two other, love poems alternating between Slavic and Turkish and defined as *türkü*—*Ah moje milo gde si mi bilo* (Oh, My Dear where have you been) and *Cāno Dilden Sevmiş Oldum Tebe Dragi Dilbere* (I fell in love with you, my dear, with all my heart and soul) (see fig.11).<sup>136</sup> In between the didactic and the love poems there is a table (here introduced as *defter*) in which the numbers of various buildings in Istanbul (mosques, *medreses* etc.) are recorded. All four poems are unvocalized. On folio 8b of this booklet, there is another poem in Slavic which is humorous and starts with a verse reading, approximately: the date is 1140 (1727-28), and the dark hero has just got married (sl. *na tarihu yuz bin krk, ojeni se yunak mrk*). Unlike other four poems, this one is vocalized. On the next page there is a note on a strange event which happened in the town of Malatya in 1610/11. The only free standing text in Arabic is a riddle. Another copy of *Slavic-tobacco* from the early nineteenth century (ULIB-MS TF 55, dated to 1818; 89 folios) comes together with two devotional poems in Arabic (*Ḳaṣīde-i Burde* and *Kasīde-i Tanṭarāniyya*), a didactic poem in Turkish (*Lutfiyye*, by Sünbülzāde Vehbī), and a poem about Belgrade allegedly written by a grand vizier by the name Süleymān Pasha. Here, *Slavic-tobacco* is introduced by a note: “Tuṭun ḥaḳḳına Bosna lisān ile

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<sup>135</sup> For an analysis of this poem, and the question of authorship see Baki Tezcan, “From Veysī (d.1628) to Üveysī (fl.ca.1630): Ottoman Advice Literature and its Discontents,” in *Reforming early modern monarchies: the Castilian Arbitristas in comparative European perspectives*, ed. Sina Rauschenbach and Christian Windler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag in Kommission, 2016), 141-155.

<sup>136</sup> One of these poems has been analyzed in Salih Trako, “Dvije dvojezične pjesme nastale na tlu Bosne” [Two bilingual poems from Bosnia], *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* 34 (1985): 85-92.



kašīdesidir” (A *kašīde* in Bosnian language about tobacco). Of all four examples, the version in GHB-MS R 906 is the only one which contains a quatrain in which Kā'imī's name was mentioned.



Figure 11. GHB-MS R 906 (ff.5b-6a): *Slavic-Tobacco*.

Based on these four examples, one could conclude that *Slavic-Tobacco* was used by people able to read two (Slavic, Turkish) or three (Slavic, Turkish, Arabic) languages. It was perceived as a paragon didactic poem, even by those who did not know or did not care to record the name of its original author. *Slavic-Tobacco* was most probably learned by heart and transmitted orally. The producer of GHB-MS R 906 copied *Slavic-Tobacco* with one didactic, one humorous and two love poems marked by the usage of Slavic. In this case, we can assume with certainty that he did not perceive *Slavic-Tobacco* solely as a didactic poem, but as a *Bosnian* poem.

Whether *Slavic-Tobacco* was ever copied with *Slavic-Candia* in pre modern times, I cannot claim, but all the sources I was able to consult testify that this was not the case. The difference in functional domains of the two poems was set by their contents, of course, and we can maybe

assume that this difference kept them apart in manuscripts. In HAZU-MS 922 (43 folios), Slavic-*Candia* was copied with *Dīvān II/Vāridāt*, apparently by the same hand (see fig. 12 ).

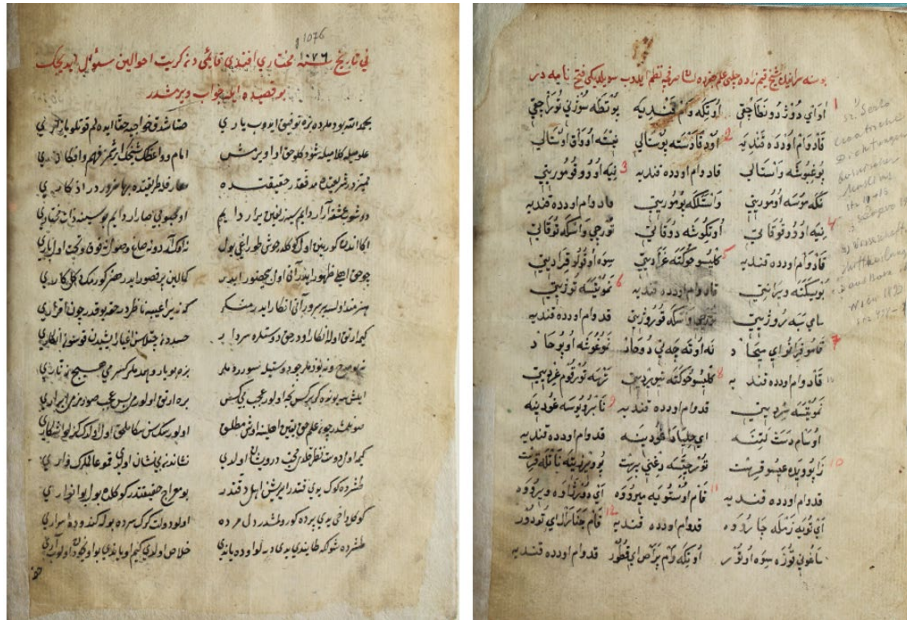


Figure 12. HAZU-MS 922 (f.2b and f.42b): Opening page of Hasan Kā'imī's *Divan II/Vāridāt* and the beginning of Slavic-*Candia*.

Slavic-*Candia* is the only poem in this collection that was vocalized. The copyist who introduced the poem wrote a note which raises suspicion whether he knew that Kā'imī the *dīvān* poet, and the author of Slavic-*Candia* were the same person.<sup>137</sup> The note informs that this was an *Ode to Victory* (tr. *fethnāme*) which was authored (lit. uttered) in Bosna-Saray by Şeyḫ Ḳayyim-zāde Çelebi who versified it in Serbian language based on the science of onomancy.<sup>138</sup> Slavic-*Candia* is found in three manuscripts/*cönks* which are collections of devotional poems (*ilāhīs*) and poems sang with music (*türküis*) (see fig.13). In one (HAZU-MS 2020; 46 folios), the poem is copied together with nine other Slavic poems composed by two authors, the sufi shaykhs, 'Abdülvehhāb (Žepčevi) İlḫāmī (d.1821) and 'Abdurrahmān Sırrī (d. 1847). The other, non-Slavic poems are mainly in

<sup>137</sup> I could not find the quatrain in which Kā'imī identifies himself in this version.

<sup>138</sup> “Bosna Sarayında şeyḫ Ḳayyim-zāde Çelebi ‘ilm-i cifrde lisān-i Şırfça nazm idub söylediği Feth-nāmedir.” See also, Ždralović, *Prepisivači dela u arabičkim rukopisima, Volume I*, 214.

Turkish, while Arabic features as the language of the refrains in poems recited/sang aloud. Other poems in the collection are introduced by their generic names (e.g. *ilāhī*) or by including the poets penname (e.g. *ilāhī* by...). Introduction to Kā'imī's poem contains much more information: that Hasan Kā'imī was dead; that he *wrote* the *treatise* in 1669 in Bosnian language; and that he sent it to Venetian Republic.<sup>139</sup> The copyist of the second poetry notebook containing *Slavic-Candia* (ULIB-MS TG 34; 66 folios; dated 1834-1839), designated the poem as *server-nāme* (tr./prophetic poem) in Bosnian. One other Slavic poem in the notebook is Ilhāmī's, and it is marked as a poem *uttered* in Bosnian language. The other poems are in Arabic and Turkish. Some of these are Ilhāmī's for most of his poetry was composed exactly in these two languages.



Figure 13. The Beginning of *Slavic-Candia*. Comparison. HAZU-MS 2020, f.30a; ULIB-MS TG 34, f.32b; GHB-MS 6864, f.21a.

<sup>139</sup> “Merhūm Kā' mī Hasan Efendinin Bosna lisanı üzere taḥrīr idüb bşn yetmiş toḫuz tāriḥinde Venedik Cumhūrine gönderdüđi risāledir.”



The third, small *cönk* (GHB-MS R 6864; 23 folios) also contains poems in Arabic and Turkish, but Slavic-*Candia* is the only Slavic poem, and, again, the only poem the recording of which demanded a “long” introduction. In this note we learn that Ẓā’imī was from among the successors of shaykh ‘Abdulqādir Ğilānī, and that Slavic-*Candia* was—an *Ode to Joy* (tr. *mesrūr-nāme*).<sup>140</sup>

Based on these examples, it can be concluded that Slavic-*Candia* was on the one hand, a poem commemorating an event formative of a timewise broad interpretive community, and on the other hand, a poem that was appreciated for its deeper, hidden and spiritual aspects, just like was the case with other poems from Ẓā’imī’s *Dīvān II/Vāridāt*. The facts that it was composed by the same person and in the same language did not seem to have been strong enough arguments for bringing it together with the humorous Slavic-*Tobacco* in the same manuscript. In this way, the two poems functioned separately within a regime of lingualisms (Slavic/Turkish, Turkish/Slavic, Arabic/Turkish/Persian/Slavic etc.) which intersected in the manuscripts produced by literate people more or less close to the centers of power. These people, I suggest, we cannot understand by studying dialectical and orthographic features of the texts they recorded with the goal of establishing their ethnic origins, but by, first of all, looking at what these text meant for them.

The manuscripts discussed in this section were produced in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, namely after the series of grand-scale events of which the Cretan war was but the first. The failed siege of Vienna (1683), the fall of Buda (1686), the first fall of Belgrade (1688), the first great migration of Serbs to Hungary (1690), and the destruction of Sarajevo (1697), for example, will deeply shake the Ottoman-ruled South-Slavia. It seems, however, that none of these events could shake the quadrilingual regime of South-Slavic Arabographia which

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<sup>140</sup> “Şeyh ‘Abdu’l-Ķādir Ğilānī ḥāzretlerinin ḥülefāsından merḥūm ve maġfūr Ẓā’imī Hasan Efendi Ķandıye ḳal’ası fetḥ olduğda Bosna lisānī diduĝi mesrūr-nāmedir.”

started taking shape at the turn of the seventeenth century. Within this regime, Slavic was assigned the role of “the written poetic.” This was the role which will dominate its Arabographic domain, arguably, until the twentieth century. The reception of Slavophone Arabographic texts produced in the seventeenth century, however, offers but a glimpse into how Ottoman multilingual regime functioned in South-Slavia after the turn of the eighteenth century, and what kind of ideas about language/s it was prompted by.

Keeping *Ḳā'imī's* poems as a lead into the eighteenth century, we can learn, for example, of *a person* who (somewhat like Meḥmed Hevāyī Üskūfī and Evliyā Çelebi) thought about the languages of the world. The trace of the existence of that kind of person is found in a text recorded by, again, anonymous scribe who participated in the creation of a bilingual *mecmū'a* (Arabic/Turkish; GHB-MS R 3455 (52 folios); dated to 1767-1770). The *mecmu'a* contains *Ḳā'imī's Dīvān II/Vāridāt*, as well as: chronograms commemorating local events, the copies of the letters exchanged between people living on the frontiers in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth century, a letter sent by the sultan to the frontier, a coded interpretation of the future based on onomancy; and a clear instruction about which *ayet* from Quran was to be written and attached to the head of the person possessed by a *cin* (tr. demon). The text that I first mentioned relates that a Byzantine emperor (*ḳayşer-i Rūm*) once sent a letter to Mu'āwiya (the first caliph of the Umayyad Caliphate, d.680). The letter contained a series of questions posed by the Byzantine emperor: if Mu'āwiya knew the answers, the Byzantine emperor would be persuaded that he deserves the title he held. The first question was: What is the honorable name of *Allāh Ta'ālā* (God the Almighty) in every language?<sup>141</sup> Mu'āwiya, of course, knew the answer. The languages from

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<sup>141</sup> “Abū 'Abdullah Ad-Dīnavarī naql ider ki ḳayşer-i Rūm 'aleyhi mā yastaḥik Ḥazret-i Mu'āwiya rażiya'llāh 'anhu Şāmda ḥilāfeti zamanında bir (...) nāme gönderüb yazdığı yā Mu'āwiya Muḥammedin seccādesinde oturur ḥalīfesīsīn sana bir nice su'ālīm vardır anā cevāb virsin yaḳīn bilürem ki peygamberin ḥaḳ ḥalīfesīsīn zīrā bu su'ālilere cevāb

which he provided the names for God the Almighty (Ḥaḫḫ Ta‘alā) were: Arabic (Allāh), Suryānī, ‘Imrānī, Furs/Persian (Ḥodā), Khwaresmian, Serbian (Boĝ), Greek, Frenk/Italian, Hindi, Bulgarian (Tañrı), Turkish (Beyān), and two other, the names of which I could not read.<sup>142</sup>

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peygamber olān virir ancak yā ḳāyim-i maḳām olan ḫalīfesi bilir ğayrī kimesne bilmez evvel banā ḫaber vir ki her luĝatçe Allāh ta‘ālānın ism-i şerīfi nedir (...),” GHB-MS R 3455, f.44b.

<sup>142</sup> GHB-MS R 3455, f.46a.

## Conclusion

The point of departure of this thesis was the notion of the linguistic encounter which took place in the Ottoman-ruled South-Slavia and which, having evolved in both time and space, resulted in a phenomenon here described by the concept of *Slavophone Arabographia*. The concept was used in this thesis to cover both the practice of writing Slavic in the Arabic script and the textual corpus which was created in this way during the early modern period (ca.1400-ca.1700). This thesis narrated the history of Slavophone Arabographia from the perspective of historical language ideology. The narrative follows and contextualizes a series of literacy events selected for analysis based on a formal criterion. The literacy events analyzed in this thesis were based on the texts containing the instances of Slavophone Arabographia (words, sentences, paragraphs), or the free-standing texts revealing competence in Slavic which involves knowledge of syntax beyond the level of a phrase or a sentence.

The producers and reproducers of Slavophone Arabographic texts were all literate Muslims. Their language ideologies cannot be explained by simply pointing to their confessional orientation, and as this thesis demonstrated, by simply evoking their ethnic origin and/or social profile even in cases when these can be determined with safety. Rather, these individuals and groups should be viewed as literate people navigating the Ottoman multilingual regime in various periods of its history during which its cosmopolitan and localized variants overlapped or replaced one another. Their attitudes towards Slavic language/s and/or Slavic speakers changed depending on the kinds of knowledge they had about South-Slavia as a geolinguistic space, as well as on the ways in which they chose or were able to participate in the creation of the Ottoman Arabographic corpus as a whole.

By following a somewhat thin, but unbroken and ideologically laden thread of Ottoman Slavophone Arabographia, this thesis highlighted the language awareness and language anxieties of Ottoman Arabographers who produced and reproduced the texts written in Slavic by the use of the Arabic script. The diverse forms and contexts of Slavophone Arabographic texts provided insights into a variety of ways in which Slavic was recognized in written texts as a language spoken in Ottoman society. The ideas about Slavic and its speakers which informed the production of Slavophone Arabographic texts had a constant dialectical relationship with the contemporaneous socio-political realities. The history of Slavophone Arabographia punctuated by the literacy events of the kind described above cannot be understood without having in mind the broader socio-political processes evolving in the Ottoman-ruled South-Slavia. The history of Slavophone Arabographia contributes to understanding these processes as it reveals, for example, that the ideas of the Ottoman Arabographers about Slavic language/s and Slavic speakers (individuals and groups) were not *always* based on linking a glottonym to an ethnonym, or on a differentiation between Christian and Islamic languages.

The history of the Ottoman Slavophone Arabographia until the end of the seventeenth century can be roughly divided into three periods. The first period, here described as the inauguration of Ottoman multilingualism, ended around the mid-sixteenth century. It is about this time that the Ottoman multilingual regime reached its mature, though not the final, form. Until this time as well, the glottonym which mediated the relationship of the Ottoman Arabographers with South-Slavia as a geolinguistic space was *Serbian*, irrespective of whether they produced pragmatic or literary texts. The end of the fifteenth century was marked by literacy events which reflect two different ideological currents. One current was marked by thinking about how Slavic/Serbian, as a language of an empire subdued by the Ottomans, could be appropriated as a



written language. The recognition of the communicative potential of Slavophone Arabographia manifested itself in the production of multilingual language-learning handbooks involving Serbian, among other languages. This potential was not developed through further production of language-learning tools. At about the same time, Slavic written in the Cyrillic script was actively used in diplomatic correspondence with heavy reliance on the competence of the native speakers. The other, more durable current was represented by the early Ottoman chroniclers who implicitly fashioned Slavic as the language of the former (Serbian) enemies whose lands were conquered by the Ottoman army. The creators of the Ottoman mining discourse heavily based on Serbian terminology, as well as creators of Ottoman legal discourse in general, tacitly fashioned Slavic as a language of technical terms without strong connotations, and as a language without a name. By the mid-sixteenth century, Slavic/Serbian written in Cyrillic gradually lost its function as a diplomatic language of the Ottoman court, while communication with provincial power holders was now conducted exclusively in Turkish. The mid-sixteenth century is also a tentative end of the multifocal process of a linguistic *translatio imperii* which started with the conquest of Byzantine, Bulgarian, and Serbian territories in Europe, and continued by including territories of the independent Slavic polities neighboring the late medieval Serbia. This process was, among other things, characteristic for participation of members of the local Slavic aristocracy in the Ottoman state-building projects.

The second period in the history of Slavophone Arabographia started in the first half of the sixteenth century and was characterized by a process tentatively described in this dissertation as “(un) naming of the language of the Slavs of one’s own.” In this period, the relationship of the metropole-oriented Ottoman literati with South-Slavia as a geolinguistic space was mediated, not by glottonyms, but by the ethnonym-like attributes of Muslim Slavic-speakers dislocated from

their places of origin involuntarily (through various forms of slavery) or voluntarily (in pursuit of military or scholarly career). The language of the non-Muslim Slavic-speakers was labelled as “the language of the Christians.” In this period as well, the metropole-oriented Ottoman literati employed their knowledge of South-Slavia to fashion a model of *a Bosnian* which was capacious enough to include a spectrum of seemingly disparate social characteristics (a slave, a freeman, educated, uneducated, high/low-ranked member of the ‘*askerī*’ class, Christian, Muslim, religiously suspicious, religiously orthodox, Slavic speaker, Turkish speaker, etc.). In reality, a concrete person from Bosnia and/or the Ottoman province of Bosnia could have had all of these social characteristics during their lifetime. As such, *a Bosnian* can be considered synonymous to a model Ottoman Slavic-speaker engaged *in* and *by* the Ottoman bureaucratic system heavily based on the written word. A Muslim from Bosnia could speak three languages (an unnamed Slavic, Turkish, Arabic, perhaps even Persian), and write in some of the “three Ottoman languages”—Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. The end of the sixteenth century is marked by textually attested recognition of an unnamed Slavic as a language of bilingual Muslims whose “dominant” language was supposed to be Turkish. More precisely, the unnamed Slavic was viewed by some Ottoman literati as “threatening” to Turkish speakers who could not understand it.

Thus, in the period between the late fifteenth and the late sixteenth centuries, Slavophone Arabographia was not yet a mode of writing constitutive of a distinct literacy or literary practice which could be directly associated with a distinct interpretive and literary community whose members were fully competent in Slavic. Nevertheless, the ways in which it contributed to the heteroglossia of Ottoman Arabographic texts testifies to the process at the end of which the metropole-oriented Ottoman Arabographers recognized the unnamed Slavic as a language of the Ottoman subjects—the usage of this language was ubiquitous, but not encouraged and observed

with suspicion. Muslims living in South-Slavia imagined their languages in a way which was not in conflict with prominent ideologies emanating from the center. They used Slavic written in the Cyrillic script essentially as a diplomatic language. Written Arabic, Turkish, and Persian had the same functions as in the rest of the empire. The spoken Slavic is still not attested in the locally produced Arabographic texts.

The turn of the seventeenth century marks a beginning of a relative expansion of Slavophone Arabographia testified by the appearance of free-standing Slavophone Arabographic texts produced in and around Ottoman Bosnia. The expansion overlapped with the general expansion of Arabographia which was more directly engaged with the local realities. The most important characteristic of the seventeenth-century expansion of Slavophone Arabographia is a diversification of the explicit and implicit ideas about Slavic/Bosnian, Serbian/ and its position within the Ottoman multilingual regime. Some of these ideas would live on through texts produced until the early twentieth century, some would be met with a poor response. It is in this period that an Ottoman Arabographer from South-Slavia, Mehmed Hevā'ī Üskūfī-i Bosnevī, explicitly marked Bosnian as his own language, one among four he used for writing. The most tangible result of the relative expansion of Slavophone Arabographia in the seventeenth century, however, was the emergence of a quadrilingual variant of the Ottoman Arabographia to which written Slavic could contribute, first and foremost, as a language of poetry. This language was based on a spoken idiom shared by the multiple confessional, ethnic and social groups. As a written language it was used in a way which both reflected the imperial hierarchies and the pressure of the local realities. Following the lead of this “written poetics” through the seventeenth century, we can first discern the cross-confessional interpretive communities which shared the optimism inspired by several decades of peace and the development of trans-border trade. Soon, they will be replaced by

communities deeply traumatized by the consequences of the Cretan war and other large-scale events which befell Ottoman-ruled South-Slavia and its immediate surroundings. Within the realm of the quadrilingual Ottoman Arabographia, these later interpretive communities would use Slavic /Bosnian, Serbian/ in line with the ideological perceptions of metropole-oriented Ottoman Arabographers which took their mature shape in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The above conclusions about the history of the Slavophone Arabographia were made in this thesis by constantly keeping in mind the Popperian principle of falsifiability. Noting something like this in a dissertation may seem superfluous or even banal. This note, however, is inspired by generalizations about language/s so often made by the historians with confidence which is rarely supported by concrete empirical evidence, and which often feels discouraging of any further research about the history of language use in the Ottoman empire and the ideas that informed it. This thesis suggested that historical language ideology can serve as a hermeneutical tool for redressing the impact of modern language ideologies, namely of anachronistically applying modern ethnonyms and glottonyms to the late medieval and early modern past, on our understanding of the past realities. In this way, it made a call for a diversification of the discursive and analytical repertoire used for describing the identities of the early modern literate individuals and interpretive communities. Besides, it demonstrated that approaching historical individuals and groups as, among other things, users of language/s rather than mere embodiments of a linear national linguistic heritage can provide significant insight into the inner world of the people we study. On a different note, it should be added that the literacy events analyzed in this thesis were based on the texts of various genres. The scope of their impact on the communities of users and reproducers is here highlighted as a research question, but in some cases this question is merely broached and should be considered open for future investigation.

## Appendix A

A description of the three multilingual language-learning handbooks involving Serbian

### a) Süleymaniye-MS Ayasofya 4750

Title added I: *Kitāb 'ul' Luġati min Lisān 'al-Muḥtalifa* (The Book of Words from Different Languages)

Title added II: *Luġat-i Arabī ve Luġat-i Fārisī ve Luġat-i Rumī ve Luġat-i Sarfī* (Arabic language and Persian language and Greek language and Serbian language)

Attested in MS Török F.59 (p.296/f.145a) as: *Risālatu kalimātin 'arabiyyatin mutarjamatin bi'l-fārisiyyati wa'l-rūmiyyati (iy al-yūnāniyyati) wa's-sarfiyyati* (A Treatise on Arabic words translated into Persian, and Rumi, i.e., Greek, and Serbian)

Contents:

**1a-63a:** Text without a title; ordered, interlinear translation of an Arabic template into Persian, Greek and Serbian.

### b) Süleymaniye-MS Ayasofya 4749

Title added: *Luġat-i Fārisī Arabī Rumī ve Sarfī, Luġa Alsinati Arba 'a* (Persian Language, and Arabic, and Greek and Serbian; the Dictionary of Four Languages)

Attested in MS Török F.59 (p.296=f.145a) as: *Risālatu kalimātin 'arabiyyatin mutarġamatin bi'l-fārisiyyati wa'l-rūmiyyati wa's-sarfiyyati wa kitābu Īsāġūjī 'alā'-luġati-'l-'arabiyyati mutarġamun bi'l-yunāniyyati fī'l-manṭiqi wa risālatu 'l-amṭilati-'l-muṭṭaridati 'l-mutarġamati bi-luġatin 'arabiyyatin fī muġalladin wāḥidin.* (The treatise with the Arabic words translated to Persian and Greek and Serbian; the Eisagoge in Arabic translated in Greek on the theme of logic; treatise on regular examples of verbs translated into Arabic all in one volume)

Contents:

**1b-52b:** Text without a title: ordered, interlinear translation of an Arabic template into Persian, Greek and Serbian.

**53b-61b:** Ordered interlinear, Persian-Greek translations of various forms of verbs, starting with infinitives (*al-Maṣādir*, ar.), through tenses and participles. Each verbal form is illustrated with the examples of the same ten Persian verbs translated to Greek (*danistan, šinahtan, āmuhtan, ḥondan, nuviştan, farmudan, numudan, āmadan, raftan, ruftan*)

**62b:** Ordered, interlinear, Arabic-Greek translation of the nineteen terms related to logic  
Beginning: *Bismillāh-Maqūlāti 'ašara—'Arḍ* (The Ten Categories—Accidents)

**63b-66a:** Ordered, interlinear, Arabic-Greek translation of some fifty plus logical terms from *Eisagogue* including several examples of sentences.

Beginning: *Bismillah-Al-iṣṭilāḥātu 'l-yunāniyya al-mantiqiyya-Isāgūjī.*

End: *Tammāt al-iṣṭilāḥātu 'l-yunāniyya al-mantiqiyya bi' 'awni 'llāhi wa ḥusnu tawfīquhu*

**67b:** Ordered, interlinear translation to Greek of various verbal forms of the Arabic verb *naṣara*; as of 71a: under *Afāl Muḥtalifa*, a list of various verbs given in first person singular; 71b Pronouns;

Beginning: *Bismillah-Emsile-i Muṭṭarida Al-Ma 'lūmu*

**72a:** Note: *Qāla al-muḥaqqiq Al-Ṭūsī rahmahu 'l-lāh ta 'ālā wa 'l-kalāmu fī luḡati 'l-Yunāniyyīn kānat yudakku /bi-infirādhā 'alā wuqū 'ihā fī 'l-ḥāl wa tusammī qā'imatan summa tuṣrifu (ṭṣrf) ilā 'l-mādī wa 'l-mustaqbal bi-adawāti li-dālika yaqtarinu bihā.* Examples: three verbs.

**73a:** Pronouns, Greek-Persian

**73b:** 101a: Exercises in Greek pronunciation and writing

**101a:** Greek Alphabet

### c) SBB-MS Or. oct. 33

Title added (in European hand): *Bi- mulḥaqāt-i Dānistan min al-luḡati al-rūmiyyati*

Attested in *MS Török F.59* (p.297=f.145b) as: *Kitābu mulḥaqāt-i Dānistan min al-luḡati 'r-rūmiyyati wa 's-sarfiyyati [wa-Risālatu ḥikāyati Qirīsūs bi-ḥaṭṭin 'arabiyyin wa-ḡayrihi wa-awrāqin fihā ḥuṭūṭun muḥtalifatun fī muḡalladin wāḥidin]* (Book of appendices to the *Dānistan* from the Greek and Serbian [and treatise of the story of Croesus in Arabic script and other things, and folios with various scripts, in a single volume])

Catalogue description in: Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der Koniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin: Sechster Band, XV-XIX, I. Buch* (Berlin: A. Ascher & Co.), 1894, p.197-198.

Contents:

**2b-113a:** *Al-Mulḥaqāt Bi-Dānistan* (Appendices to *Dānistan*)

**2b-14a:** [Introduction]

**14b-24b:** *Bābu 'l Maṣādir [Al-Fāris 'yyatu—Al-Rūmiyyatu—Al-Sirfiyyatu]* (The Infinitives: Persian-Greek-Serbian)→223 Persian verbs glossed with Greek and Serbian equivalents.

**24b-66b:** Various Forms Derived from the Infinitive. Each form is illustrated by minimum 2 to 4 examples. All 223 verbs are given only for The Third Person Singular of the Future Tense (*Al-Mufradu 'l-Ġā 'ibu Li 'l-Mustaqbal*, ff. 28b-38b)

**67a-100b :** *Bābu 'l-Asmā' i [Al-Fāris 'yyatu—Al-Rūmiyyatu—Al-Sirfiyyatu]* (Nouns)

**100b-107a:** Noun-Pronoun; Pre/Postposition-Noun [*Al-Fāris 'yyatu—Al-Rūmiyyatu—Al-Sirfiyyatu*]

**107a:** *Beyānu 'd-Damā 'iri al-Muḍāfati ilayhā* [Grammatical Explanations of Suffixal Pronouns]

**109a-113a:** *Al- 'Adadu [Al-Fāris 'yyatu—Al-Rūmiyyatu—Al-Sirfiyyatu]*

**End:** *Tamma Kitābu'l-Mulḥaqāti bi-Danistan bi-'awni'l-lāh wa ḥusni tawfīqihi wa'l-ḥamdu li'lāhi'l-maliki'l-mannān wa'ş-şalwatu 'alā Muḥammadi ḥabībi'r-raḥmān wa 'alā/ ālihi wa aṣḥābihi'l-murşidīn ilā'l-ġufrān*

**114b-119a:** *Al-'Adadu Bi'l-'Arabiyyati wa'l-Rūmiyyati wa's-Sarfiyyati*

**120b-140b:** *Aḥkāmu'l-Ḥukamā'i* [Text in Greek. Transliteration in Arabic script of the Greek Text. Translation of the Greek text to Arabic]

**141b-234b:** *Ḥikāyatu'l-Maliki Ḳrīṣūs*

**235b-283b:** [Exercises in writing and pronunciation. Series of Serbian syllables written in Cyrillic script]

**284a:** Serbian Letters [A table with Cyrillic Alphabet]

**285a-299a:** [Exercises in writing and pronunciation. Series of Latin syllables written in Latin script]

**300b-343a :** [Exercises in writing and pronunciation. Series of Greek syllables written in Greek script]

**343b:** Greek Alphabet [A table with Greek Alphabet]

## Appendix B

### a) Texts from Hācī Yūsuf's *Mecmū`a*

#### I. Hācī Yūsuf, *Arzuhal I*

(Based on MS R-7303 III [pp. 213-215] and Mataradžija, "Arzuhal Hadži Jusufa Livnjaka," 104-114.)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1.pomağaj imočki <i>kažiya</i><br><i>zulum itdi nā`ib şūfiya</i><br>doisto je <i>mura`iya</i><br>udri njeğa ģospodine                | <i>astarin vatraveş</i><br>izişe nam divi ģoĳoş<br>poĳla tvojim ģospodine   |
| 2.ostavinam prazan lonač<br><i>boynuna</i> mu imočki mač<br><i>tāĳdir bize</i> i nabač<br>vele brzo ģospodine                        | 9. <i>daħi yediler bir</i> janje<br>dopaleje lute rane<br>da se nime ne od hrane<br>udri njeğa ģospodine                        |
| 3. <i>ne yalanlar size</i> sastavi<br>terĳa nama ostavi<br>şad nas <i>sahālom</i> rastavi<br>udri njeğa ģospodine                    | 10.ĳad mu dođe naš portogur<br><i>itduĳi işini onur</i><br><i>dermeyup ĳuzi` sunur</i><br>prisjelo im ģospodine                 |
| 4.i te`bi hoće naudit<br>ne umije dobro sudit<br>nedaj po naħiji ĳodit<br><i>nazar</i> na nas ģospodine                              | 11.učerili nanas zube<br>ter sjedeći janje robe<br><i>isterler</i> danas porobe<br>a zaştoli ģospodine                          |
| 5.ne`tom Sporubi <i>kažiya</i><br>svaĳa nam ĳrdna dodija<br><i>meded senden efendiya</i><br>udri njega ģospodine                     | 12. <i>başdı</i> na nas pet (kobila?)<br>svaĳaĳa hrđa ubila<br>pomozi sveta Marija<br>i pomagaj ģospodine                       |
| 6. <i>ayakteri bir ĳoç aldı</i><br>ništa ne ostade <i>hep çaldı</i><br><i>canını cehenneme şaldı</i><br>udri ne`ga ģospodine         | 13. <i>kendisi biner ĳır atı</i><br>nisu mu od p`edla ĳanati<br>evnjeğa hoće sve igrati<br>a gore ģospodine                     |
| 7. <i>haĳķında dileriz kör ola</i><br><i>nā`ibler içinde ĳor ola</i><br><i>haĳķı ańmadı</i> do pola<br>nosit <i>ruşvet</i> ģospodine | 14. <i>meşeden çıkarır</i> slavil<br>posidi Sporo na ĳlavil<br><i>ceħayāsidir zorba steril</i><br><i>bu gerçektir</i> ģospodine |
| 8.çimende oturup <i>türpveş</i>  | 15. <i>ister oĳluna göz ĳapar</i><br><i>gizli rüşvetini yapar</i>   |



još je ljuči ne' go papar  
oḱaniĝa ĝospodine

16. *rüşvet itdi* brez prilike  
vidismo mu zle bileĝe  
ḱano poljičke pulke  
od zire ĝospodine

17. rezad Brešnić saĝradijo  
ne boji se on kadije  
kano baško popadije  
i još gore ĝospodine

18. teško Matije' vić Juri  
*çun olmuş nâ'ib* Spori  
*dileruz kesilsun burnu*  
za nas živje ĝospodine

19. *bunu deyin eder hele*  
Brešniklije ovo vele  
nismo znali do şufije  
što je *zulum* ĝospodine

20. na bu ĝlavo nalet je  
ḱano baĝave kamilje  
virlo sav je od huljine  
objesiĝa ĝospodine

21. svuda svirne ḱano slije' pac  
dugo mu je zelen vije' nac  
jel' *olurdu* da je nijemac  
neg' *muzevvir* ĝospodine

22. *zimmiye oldu hayf ve 'ār*  
golem je steril *himar*  
ḱano koze u ḱomar  
svud se vere ĝospodine

23. *better oĝlu bir edebsiz*  
mi to pre' te' ć isteriz  
*nām ve neşani olsun bilursiz*  
je' da bude ĝospodine

24. *ırz yok imiş zerece*  
došo na zle *derece*  
zlo je pošo na to reče  
sve' ti čovje' k ĝospodine

25. *çenganede 'arz var dir*  
*ona 'arz şaklamak 'ardır*  
*heman dört pay himârdır*  
i još gore ĝospodine

26. *şārik şāriktır kâbā*  
ḱano vartaḱovički baba  
morilaĝa vazda guba  
za života ĝospodine

27. *ummîdir županski imam*  
zanjim ḱlanjat je *harām*  
*bir hoşçe şaĝırdır temām*  
dobro sudi ĝospodine

## II. Ḥācī Yūsuf, *Arzuhal II*

(Based on MS R-7303 III [pp. 215-216])

Yüz urub ḱāḱipāyına Efendim 'arziḱālīm vār  
Gördün dīvān-ı 'adlinde bu işde ne günāhım var  
Varidi Ḳoḱçik *ostade* elimde nāme-i taḱvīl  
İki bin üçyüz akçelik ki virmiş idi defterdār  
Yanınca bir kāĝid yazmış buyurmuş vireler ḱāḱkım  
Elim boş sīm ile zerden bilur idi ne ḱālīm var  
(Ḳmnde) Ḳoḱçiki buldum oturub içer anda  
Nazar meydānına baḱdım ki güne güne ni' met var  
Selam virdim elin öptüm didi hoş gedin yā 'ārif

Nezâketle banâ didi kim buyur cānım ne hizmet var  
Didim var bir temessüküm ki geldim haqlaşalım anı  
*Muçi yer şād keş ti biti niz bedeme* berdār  
Ya çekil geldüğün yoldan yâhud aradığın buldun  
*Yere keş sad ono znati* emîn kimdir yâhud dîzdār  
Çün işitdüm bu ne kaşdı *da ne misle oni dobro*  
Zarâfetle idüb (*izvun*) *ne vala mi* dedim tâdar  
Binub bârgirin üstne ne (...düm) kâçub gitdüm  
*Ne dāyu mi tamo haqā aqo boğā znaş* defterdār  
*A sad yüz dutub Allāha selmānıma* geldüm  
*Pomiluj me siromāh sām* du‘āgu olayım her bār  
(Dirigā hasretā hayfā) zemane iktizāsıdır  
Olubdur akçe derdinden melek şeytāna hizmetkār.

### III. Şevkî (the third poem from Hâcî Yūsuf’s Mecmū‘a)

(Based on MS R-7303 III [pp. 217])

Sürüb yüz hâkîpâyına (...) bir niyâzım var  
Hayırdır niyyetim billâh bu işde hem sevâbın var  
Poturlar haqqına luţf it ‘ināyet ile bir fetvâ  
Şol kim bî-nāmâz olur su‘âl itmen murādım var  
Mufettiş emr-i şâhîle ki gelmiş Bosnaya şimdi  
Vekâlet bendene virmiş elimizde temessük var  
Kimi ‘Âlî kimi Bâlî kimi Tursun kimi Durgut  
Namâz abdest nedür bilmez nice (bşe) Poturlar var  
Küfürle hele köylerde dutup mesken bir ahmaqlar  
Geçer hayvân gibi ‘ömri ne gusul ve tahâret var  
Efendim (hibbetun) lillâh buyur şer‘an ne lâzım var  
Şu kim terk-i şalvet ider şehâdet itmeye izhâr  
Kulun Şevkî ricâ ider ana keskince fetvâ vir  
Namâz kılmayanî tefitş ko eylesun sevâbın var

### b) Mehmed Hevâ’î Üsküfî-i Bosnevî

#### I. Texts Attributed to Hevâ’î Üsküfî—Catalogue entries for MS OIS R-2915

NOTE I: Below is a translation of two catalogue entries (marked 2915 and 2915-2) describing now non-extant manuscript OIS/R-2915, the only known collection of texts attributed to Hevâ’î Üsküfî, in Salih Trako and Lejla Gazić, eds. *Katalog Rukopisa Orijentalnog Instituta-Lijepa Književnost* (OIS: Sarajevo, 1997), 250-252 and 235-236.

NOTE II: The transliterations of the parts of the description which were printed in Arabic script are mine and marked by italic. I kept the spelling of names as found in the entry.

## Mecmu'a

This codex contains a dozen of small, independent compositions or fragments and excerpts from some works, among which there are texts of the poet Muḥammad Hawā'ī Üsküfī. It contains:

1b-17a *Luġat-i Firişteoġlu*

Versified Arabic-Turkish dictionary written by 'Abullatīf b. 'Abdul'azīz Ferişteoġlu (or Ibn Firişte). Copied by Sayyid Bahġatī in 1133/1720-21.

18b-19a Two *kasides* and one *rubai* in Turkish language written by Muḥammad Hawā'ī Üsküfī

19b-28a *Risāle-i Tebşireti'l- 'Ārifīn* .

A poetic work authored by Muḥammad Hawā'ī Üsküfī. In one poetic chapter the author criticizes representatives of the Ottoman government: judges, pashas, begs, spahijas, and others. In the poem titled *Sebeb-i te'lif İn Risāle* []the authors says he was born in 1010/1601-02, that he lost his parents while still a child, while in the poem titled *Telḥīs fī Ḥiṭāb-ı Pādişāh* []he says that the sultan of his time was Murād IV (1623-1640). In the poem titled *Ḥikāyet-i Şūret-i Br Stān* [] which contains five verses with autobiographical contents, the poet explicitly notes that he was born in Sanjak of Zvornik and that he was child of a beg.

28a-30b Four poems by Hevaji in Bosnian language (see no. 2512-2)

{479

2512-2

28a-30b *Eş'ār-i Havā'ī Üsküfī*

Poetic and prose works in Bosnian language authored by Muḥammad Üsküfī who used the pseudonym Hawā'ī (born in the village of Dobrinja near Donja Tuzla in 1010/1601. It is not known when he died, but he was still active in 1060/1651)

28a-30b Four poems by Hevaji in Bosnian language

The first is titled *Īlāhi bezebān-i Şırb* and it starts with *Molīmo se tebi Boje*

The second is titled *Berāy-ı Da 'vet-ı Īmān bezebān-ı Şırb* and it starts with *Boje yedini, ti nas ne kini*

The third starts: *Vişnemu boġu sve ġoyi sazda-ġaġo ċu poći ġaġoli doći*

The fourth starts: *Yā Ķauri vami velu-hodte nami vi na viru*}

31a Hevaji's poem of 14 verses in Turkish language

31b *Risālat 'ul 'Aġā'id wa Maġālat 'ul Fawā'id*

A short treatise by Hevaji in Arabic language about the partial free will ending with 6 verses (2 in each language, Arabic, Turkish and Persian). Two of the 6 verses contain the poet's pseudonym.

32a-35a Fourteen ghazels by the poet Nabī (d. 1124/1712-13)

36a-Two poems by Hevaji: one *kasida* (15 verses) in Arabic and one *ghazel* (5 verses) in Turkish.

36b-37b-Four *hutbes* in Arabic, and one *ghazel* in Turkish by Hevaji which speaks, in a humorous way, about different meals.

38a-39a *Munadżat*, 38 verses in *mesnevi* form, in Turkish, by anonymous author.

39b-40a One folk poem (*türkü*) in Turkish (20 verses) which, in terms of contents reminds of our folk song which starts *Hadżijina Fata, izadī na vrata, da ti vidim bijelo lice sto ga imaš ti*

42a Two couplets about love in Turkish, by anonymous author, and the nazires to those verses composed by the poets Seyyid 'Omar Efendi, the mufti of Serez, Faḥrizāde, katib-i divan of the governor of Baghdad, Sayyid Nu'mān b. Hamdi, mufti of Sivas, Zāri Fayżullāh pasha, Bekir Efendi, mufti of Mardin and Shawġī

43b-51a *Maġbūl-i 'Ārif*

Turkish-Bosnian dictionary composed in verses by Muḥammad Hawā'ī Üsküfî ( see no. 2915-2)

{2915-2

43b-51a *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif*, Turkish-Bosnian dictionary composed in verses by Muḥammad Hawā'ī Üsküfî.

Beginning: *Ḥodā ismi her işde idelim yād-ki tā ide bizi ol daḫi dilşād*

In the introductory part the author mentions his name and his origin, praises the Ottoman sultan Murad IV (r.1623-1640) to whom he dedicates this work, and explains his decision to write a dictionary like this, and this by saying that many dictionaries had been written, but none of these were written in Bosnian, not in prose nor in verses: *Velī Bosnā dilince yok yazılmış -Ne neşr ile ne nazm ile düzülmiş*

In the last verse it is noted that the work was finished in 1041/1631-32: *Şöyle bilsun nükte-i sencān-ı kelām –oldı bir kırk birde bu nüsha tamām }*

52a-56b 'İlmu'l-'arūz-ı Hevā'ī Üsküfî

Hevā'ī's versified treatise addressing the theme of poetic meter, in Turkish.

Beginning: *Ola tekerrüm ḥamdī benden dāimā -pes şalāt ve hem selām-ı enbiyā*

The name of the author is mentioned in the last verse.

56b-59a One poem in five verses, several short texts in rhymed prose, all in Turkish, of didactic contents. Two of these texts are finished with one verse in Bosnian each. In the end of the last text, the author's name, Hevaji, is mentioned.

59ab Hevaji's kaside in Bosnian language (see no. 2915-2) which starts *Bosansḳī da vam bisidim bratani*

{2915-2

59ab: Kaside in Bosnian language which starts *Bosansḳī da vam bisidim bratani*}

59b-60a Several verses in Arabic and Turkish languages, no data on the author

60ab Hevaji's dova /prayer in Bosnian language (see no. 2915-2) which starts *Boje jedini ti nas grişno robye obrosti*

{2915-2

60ab The prayer, dova, in Bosnian language which starts *Boje jedini ti nas grişno robye obrosti*

No data on copying. Carton binding, hard. L. 28a -30b + 43b -51a +59a -60b (19x13,5 cm) different number of lines (15 x 8.5 cm). White paper, smooth, of good quality. Nash and nash-ta 'līḳ. Black ink. }

No data on copying.

The whole codex was copied by several copyists. Only the first part contains the name of the copyist and the year of the copying: Sayyid Bahḡatī in 1133/1720-21.

Carton binding, hard, the edges and corners hard, on the edges and corners strenghtened by the cloth. L. 1-61 (19x 13.5 cm) different number of lines (15x 8.5 cm). White paper, smooth, of good quality. Nash and nash-ta 'līḳ. By various hands. Black ink, occassionaly red in titles.

## II. *Maḳbūl-i 'Ārif*—Introduction

(Based on MS GHB R-2865, dated to 1750-51)

1. Ḥodā ismin her işde idelüm yād/Ki tā ide bizi Ol daḫi dilşād!
2. Diyüb Allāh iden işine ağāz/ Anun işi olur āḫir ser-firāz
3. Ḥemīşe ḥamd ola Ol Zü'l-Celāle/ Ki insāni erişdirdi kemāle

4. Tūrāb iken anā verdi hayātı/‘Atā kıldı kamū ism-ü’-lügatı
5. Daḡı olsun şalavātıle/şalātıle selāmı/ Ḥabībıne ve aṣhāba devamı
6. Şalavātın afzalı ve ekmeli hem/ O sultāna ola ya Rabb demā-i dem
7. Pes imdi dinle ey şāhib-i kerāmet/ Karīn olsun cenābına selāmet
8. Gedā kim Ūskūfı –i Bosnevīyım/ Şehinşāh-ı cihandārun kŷılıyım
9. Nazar kıldım bu ğılmāni derŷna/ Ma‘rifde çoğu ğālib birŷna
10. Kimi şa‘ir, dŷzer a‘lā kaşıde/ Kimi kātib çeker ‘anā keşıde
11. Kimi fāzıl yazar yahşı luğlar/‘İbāretde komaz herkez ğalaṭlar
12. Kemālin(i) her biri ‘arz etdi şāha/ Budur oldu kamū erdikçe māha
13. Kişinin ṭālī‘i olsa şerefde /‘Avc-ı tırī olur da‘im hedefde
14. Sitārim ğün gibi ger olsa berrāk/ Ki men deh sāle olmazdım otŷrāk
15. Ḥücecden hem füzŷn oldu zi‘işrŷn/Ki uftadem der īn cennet-i zebirun
16. Bi ḡamdillāh ki bir sultāna irdŷk/Murād Hān ibn Aḡmed Ḥāna irdŷk
17. Vŷcudın şaklasun Allah ḡaṭadan/ Hiç unutmaz o kulların ‘aṭadan
18. Ānı gördŷm ki her kes bu ‘alāmet/ İdŷb taḡrīratı dŷzer be-ğāyet
19. Şeh-i ‘ādil olan Sultān Murāda/Nisār idŷb daḡı olur du‘āda
20. Murād itdŷm ki dŷzem bir risāle/ Hiç evvelden alınmaya ḡayāle
21. Velī yoğdur cihānda denmeyen söz/ Beyān olmuş kāmı eyŷ ve yavuz
22. Tevağğul eyleyŷb kıldım tefekkŷr/ Der an dem ḡāṭıra duştı tezekkŷr
23. Idem Bosna dilince bir luğat cem‘/Ki ola ol daḡı ḡālınce bir şem‘
24. Luğatlar çoğ yazılmışdur iken ḡub/Ķamŷ cevher gibi mergŷb ve maḡbŷb
25. Velī Bosna dilince yoğ yazılmış/Ne neşr ile ne nazm ile dŷzŷlmış
26. Şurŷ bizden naşīb itmek Ḥodādan/ Ki vacıbdŷr işi bilmek Ḥodādan
27. Tevekkelna diyŷp Bosna dilince/ Luğat yazdum olur nef‘i bilince
28. Kemāl ehli olan anlar rumŷzın/O fehm eyler işarat u ğumŷzın
29. Ḥasŷd olan bulur elbet bahāne/ Ḥoda iün kelpdŷr ol cihane
30. Çu Bosnālu olur iri be-kāmet/ İri bil hem luğatların be-ğāyet
31. Pes imdi bunları vezne getŷrmek/ Demŷr yaydŷr değil mŷmkin çekilmek
32. Bi-hamdillāh bedī‘ ŷzere şanāyı‘/ Beyān itdŷm k‘ola anda levami‘
33. Selīs idem yazub veznin muşarraḡ/ İden işğā olur ḡalbi mŷferraḡ
34. Leṭā‘ ifden beyān itdŷm Bosnaca/Ki dir gören: be, vallāhi hasence
35. Daḡı kıt‘am yazıldığça muşanna‘/ Yazardum anda bir beyt-i mŷlemma‘
36. Muḡaşşal, Şāhidī ṭarzı dŷzŷmŷz/Velī ḡāşā añā yoğdur sŷzŷmŷz
37. Ki bir mışra‘ ola Bosna dilince/ Biri Tŷrkī ola, vezne gelince
38. Bilŷr ehli ki var bunda meşakḡat/ Çekilmişdŷr emekler fi‘l-hakīḡat
39. İki kimse bulur bunda ifāde/Biri Bosna biri tab‘i kŷşāde
40. Ki Bosnāya olur Tŷrkī mŷfāde/ Ve ğayrinun olur ‘ilmi ziyāde
41. Żarār vār ki biz taḡsīl kılayduk/ Ķamŷ nāsın lisānundan bileyduk
42. Mŷbāḡ oldu tekellŷm dedi fāzıl/ Kitābu-‘İllāh o dilce ki olā nāzil
43. Çu İncīl Hazreti ‘İsāya geldi/ Ḥodādan kullara bir sāye geldi
44. Nŷzŷl etdi luğatlardan Latince/ Latin dili velī birdir Bosnaca
45. Bilinmekte anun yoğdur ḡaṭası/ Ki kim bilŷr ola lazım edāsı
46. Çu tanzīmine Hağ virdi tamāmı/ Didŷm Maḡbŷl-i ‘Ārif añā namı

47. Niyazum var velī ehli faẓıldan/Ki ‘afv ide bulunduqça /zelelden/  
 48. Bu daḥī çun ide taḫsīre iḫrār/ Anı setr eylemekdür de’b-i ebrār  
 49. Zi nikān hem şudūr itmez ta‘arruz/ Zi bed-ḥūyān be īn yed-i temeyyüz  
 50. Mafā‘īlun mafā‘īlun fa‘ūlun/ Ricāsı hem du‘ūadur Uskūfi’nun  
 51. O mü’mīn kim ide ihsān du‘āsın/ Bula Haḫḫun nice luṭf u ‘aṭāsın

### III. *Maḫbūl-i ‘Ārif*—Chapter I

(Based on MS GHB R-2865, dated to 1750-51)

Al-ḫıṭ‘atu-‘l-awwal

Bog Tañrı yedno birdür hem yedini vaḫdetī  
 Duša cāndur çovyek adam dirluğidür životi  
 Hem ferişte ‘angel oldı göklere di nebesi  
 Rāy cennet rāyniḫ oldı dimek cennetī  
 Moma kızdur pırāh tozdur tırāğ izdür put yol  
 Zāhide hem şūfi dirler şāmsiddür ḫalvetī  
 Visoḫodur yüksek olan alçaḫ olan nizoḫo  
 Hem soḫoldur şāhin adı uçdı dimek poleti  
 Ğılava başdur zub dişdür hem dudağa usna dirler  
 Nos burundur dil yezikdür bre bre sen de more ti  
 Usta ağız rame omuz hem kulağa uho di  
 Čelo alın ḫaş oburva sen güzelsin lipo ti  
 Gümişe hem sirebro dirler zılato dirler altuna  
 Güzele hem lipo dirler sana benzer ḫano ti  
 Hem tüfenge puşḫa dirler şabla dirler ḫılıuca  
 Luḫ yaydur şırğ ḫopye daḫi sen ur udri ti  
 At ḫondur mazğa ḫātır mağare dir eşege  
 Zob yemdür sino otluḫ ala sen de uzmi ti  
 Kuća evdür žena ‘avret muḫ dirler ḫocaya  
 Daḫi ḫurda vuḫ di hem vuçinadur heybeti  
 ḫonuğa hem ğost dirler most köpri mast yağ  
 Bıçağa hem noḫ dirler me’so daḫi bil eti  
 Pıraz erkeç ḫoç ovandur hem uliştödür ḫovan  
 Sir penirdür me’d baldur me’dovine serbeti  
 List yaprak ṭrud ṭuṭrak çakmak adı oğnilo  
 Hem seḫīdür pojaniḫ hem baya dirler boğati  
 Pırst parmak ruḫa eldür daḫi pristendür yüzük  
 Uş bitdür pire buḫa pire otı paprati  
 Led buzdur şu vodadur dere adı riḫadur  
 Şol tuzdur rieč sözdür susa sen de muçi ti  
 Tazı hrṭdur vižle zağar ḫučḫa dirler ḫancığa

Miš šiçandur pas köpekdür izločestdür nekbetī  
 Uçi piši virlo radi da ne budeš izločesti  
 Oķu yaza pekçe çalış olmayasın nekbetī  
 Fā' ilātün fā' ilātün fā' ilātün fā' ilāt  
 Sana benzer hūb yokdur nije nitko kako ti

IV. The ending part of *Call to Faith in Turkish*

(Based on Kemura and Ćorović, *Serbokroatische Dichtungen*, x.)

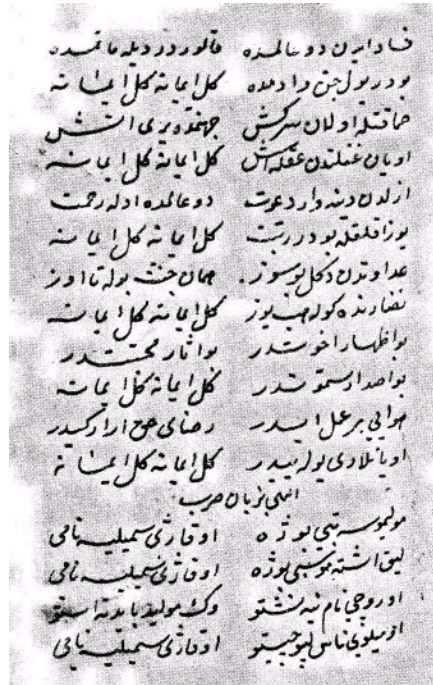


Figure 14. A Surviving part of *Call to Faith in Turkish*.

fesād iden du ‘ālemde/ķālur derdiyle mātemde  
 budur yol cin ve ademde/gel imāna gel imāna  
 hemā ķatle? olan serkeş/cehenemde yeri ateş  
 uyan ğafletden ‘akle e(ri)ş/ gel imāna gel imāna  
 ezelden dine var da ‘vet/du alemde ola rahmet  
 yüz aķlıķla budur raħmet/ gel imāna gel imāna  
 ‘adavetden deĝil bu söz/heman cenet bula tā öz  
 nażārında güle hub yüz/ gel imāna gel imāna  
 bu izhār-ı āhveşdur/bu aşār-i muħabbetdur  
 bu aşdārı semevvetdur/ gel imāna gel imāna  
**Hevāyī** bir ‘amel ider/rızā-yı haķ arar gider  
 oyānları yola gider/ gel imāna gel imāna

İlahī bizebān-i Şırb  
*Molimo se tebi Bože* (see below).

V. Hevā' i Üskūfī's Slavic Texts

(Quoted from Kasumović, Huković, and Smailović, *Muhamed Hevai Uskufi*, 52-68. The literal translation of the first poem is mine)

- |                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>Molimo se tebi Bože</i> | <i>To You, God, we pray</i>              |
| Ukaži smili se nami        | Show yourself, and have mercy on us      |
| Lik ištemo sebi Bože       | We are asking for an image for ourselves |
| Ukaži smilise nami         | Show yourself and have mercy on us       |

U ruci nam nije ništo	We have nothing in our hands
Već molidba jedna isto	But one and the same plea
Omiluj nas lipo čisto	(Make us pure and clean)
Ukaži smili se nami	Show yourself and have mercy on us

Nemuči nas ti rastankom      Do not torture us with parting  
Ovesel srce sastankom      Gladden our hearts with meeting  
I javi nam i još sankom      (Give us also a sign) in our dream  
Ukaži smili se nami      Show yourself and have mercy on us

Za tobom srce nam tuži      Our hearts long for you in sorrow  
Milostim uvezav uži      (Tie around us the ropes of your grace)  
Ne odbijaj i neruži      Do not reject us, do not scold us  
Ukaži smili se nami      Show yourself and have mercy on us

Život odhodi dan po dan,      Life is passing day by day  
Ne zaborav Bože jedan      Do not forget, oh, the Only God  
Moli ti se **Huvo** jedan      *Huvo* is praying to you  
Ukaži smili se nami      Show yourself and have mercy on us

2.

*Bože jedini ti nas ne kini*  
Sazdade ti nas ti paz uvik nas  
Mi smo nujni muke nečini  
Sazdade ti nas ti paz uvik nas

Ti prave pute ukaži nami  
U raje metni paklove jami  
Da te nađemo da nismo sami  
Sazdade ti nas ti paz uvik nas

Jadovni tužni kak se rodimo  
Srcem i umom tebse vodimo  
Misao si ti nam gdi god hodimo  
Sazdade ti nas ti paz uvik nas

Za tobom ovdi *kan* otrovani  
Od tebe da smo čin ugledani

Odrprvo mi smo omilovani  
Sazdade ti nas ti paz uvik nas

Satvori duše naše milosti  
Zemle nebesa isve tilosti  
Ti brodi nami ti gusti mosti  
Sazdade ti nas ti paz uvik nas

Srce nemisli bez tebe biti  
Bez tebe nismo mi nigde siti  
Ne luči od seb nas ti prihiti  
Sazadade ti nas ti paz uvik nas

Misao **Hevaji** u dne inoči  
Da te je naći teb da je doći  
Ištući srcem tebčese poći  
Sazadade ti nas ti paz uvik nas

3.

*Višnjemu Bogu sve koji sazda*  
Kako ću poći, kako li doći  
Pamet i duša kosumu razda  
Kako ću poći, kako li doći

Jadan i tužan da je ugodit  
Po volji uvik negovoj hodit  
Prvo i posli koj nam će sudit  
Kako ću poći, kako li doći

Drži sebe uvik na varu,  
Da se nenageš sa zlom u karu  
Radije dolazti zavitno daru  
Kako ću poći, kako li doći

Bože jedini putmi ukaži  
Nedrži mene bez teb, utaži  
Teb srce teži srastavne laži  
Kako ću poći, kako li doći



Nijeli **Hevai** vrimate naći  
Dosta nebilmu od tebe zaći

4.

Bosanski da vam besedim bratani  
Da slušaju prijatelji o dobrotelji znani  
Vi moji virni drugovi  
Vi moji mirni žugovi

Valja sabrati um i pamet  
Ne valja činiti rug i zamet  
Zlo je učinit lasno  
Al je mučno načinit jasno

Dotle se pazi dok si svitla obraza  
Mnogo crna lica i čina učini omraza  
Nevideteli od ovoliko godin  
Turci i kavuri koji čine robin

Ne mogu da se sjedine na miru  
(...)  
Od toga je svima dogara (?)  
Usadi (?) ona nepriliče ogara (?)

5.

Ja Kauri vami velu  
Hodte nami vi na viru  
Po neviru što se kolu  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Nismo vami mi zlotvori  
Bog nas jedan jer satvori  
Budte Bogu bogodvori  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Jedno čedo razrodi se  
Naopako jer hodise  
Ter na jedin nevodí se  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Je li slika bit se robit  
Po neviru sići morit  
Jedno drugom kuće orit  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Zavitno rajú hoditi nemaći  
Kako ću poći kako li doći

Odazla se bogu klanjajte  
Na vrli žítak sebe slanjajte  
Uvedte se tudi mladine i momčeta  
Ne hodi kradom ni jedna četa

Opako hodeći zlo vas će bričit  
Od boga i od svita ričit  
Otvorte oči nehodte kano imanje  
Pastir nam ....(ivanje)

Zlo misleći i zlo hodeći  
I jedno drugo omrazom kudeći  
Kada ćete s mirom boga naći  
Al lasno je nevirno zaći

Bože jedini ne zaboravi nas  
Ovi svit učin dušam vas  
Da tebi virno svi dođemo  
Od tebe uzdarje da nadjemo

Zovemo vas jer se piše  
Boga sveta uznat više  
Paka vira težak diše  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Boi nebije koj pametan  
Bude veće prepravetan  
Išta viri on zametan  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Mi Turčini virno žiti  
Isa svetim oboviti  
Bez putase se nije biti  
Hodte nami vi na viru.

Mi na viri čuvamo se  
Nevirnikom rugamo se  
Kud distese ikamo se

Hodte nami vi na viru

Nepriliku mnogo godin  
Čini narod silu robin  
Kam kameno srce jedin  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Otac jedan jedna mati  
Prvo bi nam vala znati  
Jer ćemo se paski klati  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Kogod ima čistu pamet,  
On ne misli činit zamet  
Nevirniku noge sapet  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Nek ne čini silu slavu  
Ne priliči nekselavu  
Nek uznade Svetog Savu  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Ove riči promotrite  
Zavirnici idte vrite  
Nevirnike gonte brite  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Ne dajte se hali lučit  
Zaboraviv jedin mučit  
Čistu viru valja učit  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Kogod hodi naopako  
Vala sviti nega jako  
Nek na jedin vozi vlako  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Ovi pis je vazda viran  
Ko ga drži bude miran  
Iz nevire biži zaran  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Ko besputan bude opak

Ter nevirom digne uvak  
Na put gone vala mu jak  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Pamet nije bit se klati  
Već na viri biti brati  
Vrlo pravo, virno stati  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Dosta seje zla činilo  
Paski klalo i svinjilo  
I bez uma još kinilo  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Valja viru upraviti  
Od pakla se izbaviti  
Duše raju sve zaviti  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Ne mislimo zlo mi vami  
Već nećete ako sami  
Rečeno je zvat vas nami  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Zametnuli boje ludi  
Da budemo mi već ludi  
Da na viri nismo hudi  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Od zla čini pametar  
Pamet koji nečini kar  
Jer je pamet vazda uhar  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Kod hiljade i šezdeset  
I još jedan god bi uzet  
Pismo ovo dade pamet.  
Hodte nami vi na viru

Dobrnatan Dolno Solan  
Radi Hevajji je viran  
Pomoćučin Bože jedan  
Hodte nami vi na viru

## 6. Prose Prayer

“Bože jedini, ti nas grešno roblje oprosti, i vrli žitak, i na jedin navod i bili raj, i tvoje lipo milostivo lice. I svaki čas što je tvoja zapovida držimo. Ukaži da ne hodi među nami opačina, ni laž, ni nevira. Ti nas sačuvaj od omraze, i od muke, i od crna pakla, i od zla svakog čina, i neprilike, i osvim tebe drugoga robstva. I što se do sada po neviri robilo i od roda i od plemena po nemilosti vodilo, ti mir i prost učini svaku. Kano si od jednog kolina stvorio, onako na bratstvo utviruj, ne po viri od istoka i zapada sa svije strana svojoj milosti i rodu i prijateljem po putu sastav. Bože milostivi, tebi se molimo, teb se klanjamo, ti među nami opačine ispravi, da ne čine zamet, da uzmu viru i pamet, amin.” (*This is, according to the publishers, slightly modified version of the original, Kasumović, et al., Muhamed Hevai Ūskūft, 69.*)

### c) Hasan Ẹā'imī

I. The first lines of the first 30 out of ca. 325 poems from *Dīvān I*

(Based on Mehmet Uęur Aydın, “Kāimī Dīvānī: transkripsiyonlu metni ve tahlili.”)

1. Kanda isen Hak senunle kaim u daim ola
2. Añladuñ mı aleme niçün getürdi seni Hak
3. Yoluñuz erkanıñuz nedür sorasalar sailān
4. Derd iste gönül dünyada bu gün
5. Geldüñ a gönül meydāna bu gün
6. Sa'y eyle dedem erlik budurur
7. Meclisde bu gün talib bulunub
8. Hak'dan a gönül iste mededi
9. Gelseñ a gönül vaktile yola
10. Ey talib-i Hak aç can gözini
11. Ey dil bu fena talibi olma
12. Gayetde gönül meydan açılır
13. Kardaş berü gel gitme yabana
14. Şevkuñ varise talib berü gel
15. Dünyayı n'ider Allah'ı duyan
16. Gafil mi olur tevhide iren
17. Gafil yürümez tevhide giren
18. Düşdi bu gönül dürlü hevese
19. Yeter a gönül uyduñ hevese
20. Tevhidi sever aşka uyucu
21. Geldüñ a gönül meydana bu gün
22. Bu ikilik perdesinde ey gönül kalma yüri
23. Cuş ile kaynar bahre talıcı
24. Gel berü talib aşk ile yar ol
25. Gel berü aşık zevke ulaşık
26. Aşk eri farig nan u nemekden

27. Rast gele talib mah-ı nevinde
28. Gel gel imana düşme gümana
29. Ey dil nice bir gamlar çekersin
30. Ey dil uyansañ açsañ gözüñi (...)

## II. The first lines of the poems from *Dīvān II*

(Based on Lejla Šljivić, “Hasan Kā’imī Efendi’nın Vāridāt’ı.” The numbers in brackets designate the number of couplets or verses)

1. Biḥamdi’l-lāh bu demlerde bize tevḥik idüp Bāri (180)
2. Ğaflet yeter ḳardaşçığım aç gözini uyana baḳ (152)
3. Ḥamdulillāh buldı şıḥhat tonları pāk eyleyen (22x10)
4. Ḥamd añadur ‘izzetinden buldı ādem ıştıfā (45x7)
5. Hey dostumuz mīrī-’alay Ḥaḳḳ eyleye işüñ ḳolay (41)
6. Şimdi biñ yetmiş ḫoḳuz tāriḥidür geldi dinür (25)
7. Bi-ḥamdillāh demi geldi açıldı kūh ü şahrālar (37)
8. Şark u ğarb u baḫr u berri ḳıldı özge şadā (13x6)
9. Ğālib olmaḳ düşmene himmet bülend-aḫter gerek (22)
10. Pādişāhim iş açıldı şulḫ-ı Efreng oldı güç (7)
11. Şataşduñ özge bir ḫāle ne çāre (23)
12. ‘Ālemüñ aydınlığı hem varlığı (40)
13. Deryā-yı dil cüş eyledi andan ḫaberler söyledi (12)
14. Gel ey tālib ‘adem vaşfin bu dünyādan geçenden şor (7)
15. Ey dil uyansañ açsuñ gözüñi (29)
16. Ey dil ‘acebdür olduñ dīvāne (88)
17. Yetişdüñ özge seyrāna beşāret vardur ‘irfāna (18x2)
18. Ḥikmeti ḫaḳ oldı çün ‘ālemde fāş (12x4)
19. ‘Asker-i Islām yürüdi ḳaşdıña (14x4)
20. Pādişāh fermānidur varalum Efreng üstine (8)
21. Çün ḫıyānet şadır oldı Freng’lere yoḳdur emān (6x4)
22. Metīn olan yedi ḳal’a hücum ile ola meftūḫ (14)
23. Mübārek bir seferdür bunca biñ yılda bir düşmiş (7)
24. Bir Turaḳa var şehirde līk azdur çoḳ degil (10)
25. Muḫammed’dür çil-sāl-i temāşā (46)
26. Ḳuvvet-i zāt-ı ezelden ādeme tekrīmdür (6x6)
27. Buldı feraḳ diller ‘acep bu şevḳ ü bu esrār ile (12)
28. Elif ile seksān birinde şoralum (1x6+8x8)
29. Merḫaba pek mīm ü ḫā vü mīm ü dal ol tā ebed (9)
30. Niçedür Muḫammed āgamuz göñli uş özelenmede (3x10)
31. Gel diñle cānım cāna cenānım (65)
32. Şevāba nā’il olursın göñül yapmaḡa sa’y eyle (6)

**d) Anonym (fl.1647)—Quadrilingual Poem**

1. Nāma zillu'l-lāh wa'n-nāsu halak  
Bedo'a karde Soruš nuh falak  
Ey Muhammed ummeti netmek gerek  
Ne ima pred vojsku glava teško nam
2. Kulla yawmin zāda zulmun fi'l-bilād  
Zīr-i qobbe kas nadīde mard-i šād  
Bu cihāndan gideli sulṭān Murād  
Nečemose nasmijati teško nam
3. Intabah yā šāhibu'l-šadri'-l-'azīm  
Halk-i 'ālam tā to rā nabvad la'īm  
'An qarīb olmazsa imdād az raḥīm  
Mi odosmo do džavola teško nam
4. Tekelī vāli-i Bosna ḥāliya  
/Mazahar (-i) ḥašm-i Ḥodā o anbiyā'/?  
Gitti zamanında Kırka nām livā  
Čudna jada od sibjana teško nam
5. Hāšara'l-kuffār buldāna al-amīn  
/Dar havā-yi gīr u kes šāheb-zemīn/ ?  
Olmaz ise ol yüce mevlā mu'īn  
Od Turākā od ka'ūrā teško nam
6. Man tamannā manşaban ya'kul ḥarām  
Bar delaş ataş zanad aḥmaḳ çerā  
Novi fetḥinde bozulmuştur vīrā  
Od Turākā ḥīlebāza teško nam
7. Man lam yaškuru 'alā'l-ni'mi al-kebīr  
Şavad ḥāl-i ḳavm-i ū vaḥīm  
Sikke-i 'Osmāniyeden ḳaldıḳ 'adīm  
Veče nesta i novāča teško nam
8. Fa'ntaşır 'ālimā mā fi'l-ḳulūb  
İn moşībathā resīde az zonūb  
Ol esir olanlarun ḥālın görüp  
Ḳāḳo tuže od ḳā'ūrā teško nam
9. Kullu man kāna amīran fi'l-żalāl  
Panje dar duzaḳ zanad az ḡaşb-ı māl  
İrtikāb etmez Cuhūd bed-fi'āl  
Nesta suda oda sada teško nam
10. Niswat fi ḡīdihā ḥablun min masad  
Saltanat bar bād kardand az ḥasad  
Ger erenlerden zuhūr iderise mard  
Govorike Latīnide teško nam

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