

Sadullah el-Ankaravi : Daily Concerns of an Ottoman Astrologer

Thesis submitted to the
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences
in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

125015

Master of Arts

in

History

by

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2002

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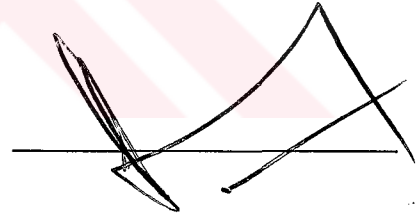
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September 2002

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis owes much to many people. I could not write this thesis in this form without my thesis supervisor Dr. Işık Tamdoğan-Abel for whom I am very grateful. Her specialness lies in the fact that she attempted throughout the thesis to understand the direction I wanted to take. I wish to express my appreciation to Prof. Şerif Mardin who has played a very special role in furnishing me with valuable insight. I should also like to thank Prof. Edhem Eldem for his helpful comments. I should mention Prof. Selçuk Esenbel, Prof. Faruk Birttek, Prof. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Prof. Halil Berktaş, Prof. Cemal Kafadar, Ass.Prof. Mahmut Erol Kılıç, Ass. Prof. Recep Şentürk, Ass. Prof. Christoph K. Neumann, Dr. Derin Terzioğlu for their encouragement in various ways for the development of my ideas for this thesis. I would also like to thank Cumhure Üçer and Hülya Yeşilyaprak for their help in the Kandilli Observatory.

Thanks are due to my all friends fortunately too numerous to cite here one by one for their support. Lastly, my deep gratitude goes to my family. I thank my mother Ayşen Tunalı and my father Erdal Tunalı for initially encouraging me to study. Without their support, I could not further my study up to this degree. And above all, all appreciation should go to my lovely husband Haşim Koç who has helped me in so many ways. Without his help and patience I could not write this thesis while I tried to rear up our new-born baby.

ABSTRACT

Sadullah el-Ankaravi :

Daily Concerns of an Ottoman Astrologer

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Gülçin (Tunah) Koç

This thesis aims to study daily concerns of an Ottoman astrologer who lived in the first half of the 19th century in Ankara: Müderriszade Sadullah el-Ankaravi. Beside his prominent feature as an astrologer, he held the posts of *naib*, *müftü* and *nakib-ül eşraf* at different times. In addition to all of these, he was also a poet. His personal notes recorded at the edge of the calendars and horoscope collections were mainly analyzed in this study in order to understand the daily concerns of this multi-dimensional personality. Several other subjects like the places he lived in, his family, *ilm-i nücum*, his books, his education were considered to have a broader scope for the issue. Hence, the estate records and *temettuat* records about him were taken into consideration, either.

This thesis does not belong to the genre of “classical biography” which was based on chronological order. Nevertheless, it has a particular type of narration which is tried to be emphasized throughout the thesis. For instance, an analogy between the daily concerns of Sadullah Efendi and his residence has been conducted in which his daily concerns has been narrated in the relevant rooms. Thus, it is aimed to approach the life of Sadullah Efendi as it was presented in his notes.

ÖZET

Gülçin (Tunalı) Koç

Sadullah el-Ankaravi :

Bir Osmanlı Münecciminin Gündelik Endişeleri

Bu tezde 19.yy'ın ilk yarısında yaşamış müneccim özelliği ön plana çıkan, aynı zamanda naiblik, müftülük, nakib-ül eşraflık yapmış, şairliğiyle de tanınan Müderriszade Sadullah El-Ankaravi'nin gündelik endişeleri incelenmiştir. Bunun için Sadullah El-Ankaravi'nin düzenlemiş olduğu takvimler ve zayıçe mecmu'alarındaki kişisel notlarından faydalanılmıştır. Ayrıca bu endişeleri anlayabilmemiz için yaşadığı yerler, ailesi, müneccimlik, okuduğu kitaplar, aldığı eğitim de söz konusu edilmiştir ve bunlara ulaşabilmek için, tereke ve temettuat kayıtlarına da ayrıca müracaat edilmiştir.

Tez, klasik kronolojik biyografi kurgusu dışında kendine has bir kurguya sahiptir ve tezin 'anlatı' olma özelliği ön plana çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Mesela Sadullah Efendi'nin gündelik endişeleriyle yaşadığı konağı arasında analogi yapılmış, konak anlatılırken endişeler de alakalı odalara taksim edilmiş ve bu odaların içlerinde anlatılmışlardır. Tezin kendisine özgü bir 'anlatı'sının olmasıyla Sadullah Efendi'nin hayatına, kendisinin notlar aracılığıyla bize sunduğu şekliyle yaklaşabilmek amaç edinilmiştir.

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List of Abbreviations

AŞS	Ankara Şer'iyye Sicilleri
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
DİA	TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi
Eİ ²	Encyclopedia of Islam (new edition)
IJMES	International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
KRK	Kandilli Rasathanesi Kütüphanesi
T.	Takvim
Z.M.	Zayıç Mecmuası



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I.

Introduction

Garibattandır. Yetmişbir senesi Rebi-i sani gurreesinde hamam odasında daima oturup yazı yazdığım pencerenin önünde peş tahtanın önüne tesbihimi komuş idim. Ufak taneli bir ağaç tesbihtir. Ferdası günü gördüm imamesinden maada tanelerini fare yemiş. Sübhanallah! Şaştım. Güya hap gibi yutmuş. Ömrümde görmedim ve duymadım. İmamesi ve kaytanı parçaları kalmış.

**Müderriszade Seyyid Sadullah b. Abdülkerim
b. Mustafa Şeyhi el-Ankaravi**

On a cold Ankara night in the winter of 1855, in a room sleeping in silence, a little dormouse with shiny eyes cannot help gnawing a small string of wooden prayer beads.

In the morning, a man enters the room and to his surprise sees that his prayer beads have been devoured by a hungry dormouse and only a few chewed up pieces remain. Having never seen anything like this before, he is very astonished and records in his calendar what the dormouse has done.

Time elapses and the new era of the 20th century is ushered in. Sometime during the first decade of the new century, a man by the name of Fatin Gökmen buys this calendar from one of the antiquarian booksellers in Istanbul.

By the 1980's, the calendar, numbered 251 in the inventory has been waiting, forgotten, on the dusty shelves of Kandilli Observatory for many years.

At the beginning of the new millennium, in the autumn of 2000, when the author of these lines reads the last page of calendar number 251, written by Müderriszade

Sadullah bin Abdülkerim el-Ankaravi so many years earlier, she discovers what the hungry dormouse did and, startled, whispers, “What a coincidence!”

* * * * *

As I whispered those words, I was remembering that only six months before I had read the same story about the dormouse included as a last note in an article about almanacs of the Müneccimbaşı (the Chief Astrologer).¹ The writer had used many other notes in order to create the atmosphere of the calendars. His main purpose was to illustrate the value of them as historical sources for dating correctly catastrophic events such as fires, earthquakes, eclipses, great wars or famines, and political events such as appointments and dismissals of the ministers. The dormouse story, however, can, according to the author, be read as an example of the Chief Astrologer’s personal relationships and family ties.²

When I read the article, however, I was not much interested in either great historical events or the family ties of the Chief Astrologer. Instead, I was impressed by the fact that the writer had written about what a little mouse had done. The author of the article, Aydüz, mentioned neither the name of the Chief Astrologer nor the number of the calendar he took it from. I was so impressed that, to satisfy my curiosity I went to the Kandilli Observatory to see if there were more of these notes. To my astonishment I found, there were 1339 books, 358 of which were calendars in the collection at Kandilli Observatory which had been founded in 1911 by Fatin Gökmen. He had collected Islamic manuscripts written in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, which deal mainly with astronomy and astrology. There are also 168 books on mathematics, geography and a smaller number of works on other subjects. The oldest work in the collection, *Tahdid Nihayat al-Amakin Tashih Masafat al-Masakin*, is dated 416 (A.D.1025), and written in

¹ Salim Aydüz, “Müneccimbaşı Takvimleri ve Kaynak Olarak Tarihi Değerleri,” *Cogito* 22 (Bahar 2000) : 132-144.

Arabic by Biruni. The oldest calendar is the Persian one prepared for Sultan Bayezid in 897 (A.D.1489-90) which bears his personal seal.

In order not to be drowned in this sea of manuscripts, I first consulted Cevad İzgi's unpublished work describing the calendars and Muharrem Dizer's catalogue, then the catalogue compiled by UNESCO.³ Under their guidance, I began to study only the calendars containing annotations in the margins. At the beginning, I became perplexed since I had never encountered such texts before. At first glance, their arrangement seemed nonsensical. I could not understand the lines saturated with astrological knowledge written in Ottoman Turkish, let alone decipher the many symbols and diagrams. Gradually with the help of the sources which are related to this subject, I began to solve the puzzle or at least grasp that it was not difficult to understand the language of the notes recorded on the edges. Some of these were charts consisting of columns of information on the relative position of the seven celestial bodies on each day of the month in question when the position of the moon in the zodiacal signs, or *ihitiyarat*, was suitable on important days such as the three big religious feasts, called *et-tevkiat*.⁴ Concentrating on these annotations, I began to fill my note-books with these personal notes. Although I knew something of the private life of the chief astrologers, I knew little about their identity, because only a few of them had recorded their names. Among those whose names had been noted, it was Müderriszade Sadullah b. Abdülkerim el-Ankaravi whose works most frequently contained private notes such as

² Ibid., 140.

³ A photocopy of Cevad İzgi's work was donated to the ISAM library by Salim Ayduz. Muharrem Dizer, *Kandilli Rasathanesi Kitablığı Takvimi*, (İstanbul: 1973) ; Günay Kut and others, haz., *Kandilli Rasathanesi Kataloğu*, unpublished catalogue. (UNESCO, 1996). This work has been prepared under the project of Memory of the World, which was organized and supported by Unesco. A CD-ROM version of this catalogue is also available in three languages: *B.U. Kandilli Observatory and Earthquake Research Institute: Catalogue of Astronomical, Astrological and Mathematical Manuscripts* (Memory of the World Program, UNESCO, 1996)

⁴ Salim Ayduz, "Osmanlılar'da Müneccimbaşılık Müessesesi" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1994), 183. M. Hofelich, "Takvim", in *Enc. of Islam*, new ed. vol.10, 145-6. Hereafter EI².

his dreams, information about his son Mustafa Pertev, his servants, his jobs, his pipe, his health and etc. Although in addition to these notes, he recorded many 'official' historical information focusing on the appointments and the dismissals⁵, it was above mentioned privacy which led me to wonder about his life more than that of the others and as he had left behind a relatively large number of almanacs, I found myself focusing on him. In a short time, I became so familiar with his style that I was even able to distinguish his calendars among the anonymous ones. Calendar Number 251 is one example of an anonymous work which I have been able to attribute to Sadullah el-Ankaravi. As mentioned above, I was by chance confronted once more with the story of the mouse. From that time on, I never thought of studying any subject other than the intriguing private world of Sadullah Efendi.

Perhaps the lack of general interest in the histories of "small" individuals is the reason why the owner of the prayer beads attracts the attention of only a very few people. Along with the rarity of historians dealing with "micro" subjects, is the commonplace assumption that there are not many sources in Ottoman historiography that include "self narrative".⁶ It was claimed that such personal writings, a corpus in which authors talked about themselves, needed a strong sense of individuality which pre-modern Ottomans lacked,⁷ a claim which is applied to all non-Western societies. This can be seen especially in the historians of Arabic autobiography. Dwight F. Reynolds states that "the structural and rhetorical characteristics of the western

⁵ In this type of notes, there is an interesting parallelity between Hafız Mehmed b. Süleyman's and Sadullah Efendi's records. Besides the 'news' from the careers of the officials, they recorded weddings, deaths, births, and other informations about their friends with dates. For comparison, see Kemal Beydilli, *Osmanlı Döneminde İmamlar ve Bir İmanın Günlüğü* (İstanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı yay., 2001).

⁶ Notable exceptions include: Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: the Diary of a Dervish in 17th c. Istanbul and First-person Narratives in Ottoman Literature", *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989) : 121-150. Derin Terzioğlu, "the Sufi and Dissident: *Niyazi Mısri*," unpublished PhD. Thesis, (Harvard Univ., 1999); Suraiya Faruqi, *Stories of Ottoman Men and Women* (İstanbul: Eren yay., 2001); Madeline C. Zilfi, "The Diary of a Müderris: A New Source for Ottoman Biography," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1977) : 157-173. ; Cornell Fleischer, "Secretaries' Dreams: Augury and Angst in Ottoman Scribal Service," in *Armağan: Andreas Tietze*, ed. Ingeborg Baldauf, Rudolf Vesely (Prag : Enigma Corp., 1994.) : 77-88.

chronological, narrative-based autobiography have become the gauge by which scholars seek to measure the level of 'self-consciousness' and 'individual identity' present in other historical periods and other cultures, by-passing the changing literary conventions that mediate these expressions of the Self."⁸ Parallel to this, many manuscripts are ignored and not taken as first-hand personal narratives through which the life of the individual can be discovered. On this issue, Cemal Kafadar is emphatic, saying, "I hope to have shown that there is a wide spectrum of unknown or ignored first-personal writings as a lacuna among Ottoman historical sources. There is every reason to assume that systematic research in manuscript collections will yield many more diaries, dream-logs, autobiographies, memoirs of captivity, or letters, which carry a potential of extending the horizons and traditional boundaries of Ottoman studies, introducing a new personal dimension to Ottoman social and cultural history."⁹

His words fit these almanacs perfectly. For nearly a century they have been sitting on the dusty shelves of the Kandilli Observatory's library. As with other neglected manuscripts, the fact that these contain first person narrative is a point not much considered. Instead, researchers¹⁰ have seen them as a source for the history of Ottoman astronomy, from which to learn the exact dates of disasters, for instance, or dates of the setting-up of headquarters, or other dates in general Ottoman history. Moreover, the fact that every culture has its own way of presenting the self is also ignored. For instance, the role of poetry as a "rhetoric of emotion", employed in "art" to reflect a person's inner feelings is not included in the self-narrative genre. Whereas, in

⁷ Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others," 124.

⁸ Dwight F. Reynolds, ed., *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*, (Berkeley/Los Angeles : Univ. of California Press : 2001), 19.

⁹ Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others", 124.

¹⁰ They are also few in number. Among them, Caroline Finkel (in her study on earthquakes), Menage and Atsız (to enliven the early Turkish historiography), Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Ramazan Şeşen, Cevad İzgi and Salim Aydıöz (in their work on the history of astronomy and science) can be counted.

both Islamic and Chinese cultures, poetry acts as an alternative discourse for expressing the self.¹¹ Additionally, the recording of dreams, personal letters and travel accounts can be counted as lying on the border of this genre. For Kafadar, to catch hold of those traces that mark the individual in Ottoman history, the historian must be possessed of an amazing spirit. In this sense, it is uncertainty that must provoke the historians, not the known facts. "Exploration means reaching into the unknown, and the explorer who knows in advance what he will find is not an explorer."¹²

As I explained above, my experience with the sources began in a vacuum. That is, I faced a body of unknown material from which I did not know what subject might emerge. At this point, firstly the material and my interests oriented me to Sadullah Efendi, but the same feeling of uncertainty continued. At that time I did not know what I would focus on in the material of Sadullah Efendi. Questions such as "What can I do with Sadullah Efendi?" ; "How can I evaluate his notes?" or "Which aspects of his life can I use?" were flying through my mind. However, such questions, my own interests and the material itself determined how the subject would develop. In this sense, I was like a detective who tries to collect evidence to catch the killer through asking questions. S/he does not know in advance who the killer is. Instead, throughout the subsequent adventure s/he faces a kind of deductive process through which to finish his/her job. In the flow of events, s/he usually changes his/her mind about the identity of his/her enemy. So that the previous step does not necessarily lead to the next. Although this may seem like 'failure' or 'indecision' on the road to a proper conclusion, all of the experiences s/he lives through have some effect. This was also true for me. Like the detective with a corpse on his hands, I had Sadullah Efendi on mine. Step by step, with

¹¹ Pei-Yi Wu, *Confucian's Progress: Autobiographical Writings in Traditional China*, (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1990), 6; Reynolds, 98-99.

¹² William B. Willcox, "the Strange Nature of Pure Joy" in *The Historian as Detective: essays on evidence* ed. Robin W. Winkel (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1968), 500.

new evidence and further questions, I experienced the same deductive process. During this process, if someone had asked me what I was doing, s/he would probably have received many different answers until my perspective had developed. However, there is one difference between a detective and me: for him, to catch the killer means resolving the problem; but, for me, to reach a conclusion was not a solution. I could not be sure of exactly what had happened in history. In this sense, the historian's craft is not to arrive at great conclusions, but to give the reader a sense of history based on his/her selective focus.

The second process began when I concentrated on Sadullah Efendi's life hidden and dispersed throughout his personal notes. It was dispersed because, as there were not calendars for every year, nearly thirty-five years remained obscure. In this sense my material was limited. However, this fact did not discourage me in the search for aspects of his life and, accordingly, I cast my nets wider. The existence of "*temettuat defterleri*" at a time when Sadullah Efendi was alive, 1844, urged me on to seek out Ankara *temettuat defters* in the *Başbakanlık Arşivleri* (Ottoman Archives). It was a matter of complete guesswork since for Ankara, at least, there were 203 independent regional *defters* arranged according to the name of each neighbourhood and I did not know in which part of the city he lived. More importantly, I was not sure about whether his possessions were recorded or not! Nevertheless, I began to order these *defters* randomly. I went on to play this guess-which-quarter-he-lived-in game, until I noticed a small detail noted by Sadullah Efendi. In one of his dreams, he mentions a place name in such a way as to suggest that it could not be far away from his house. Hence, from this detail, the possibilities were lessened to five and in one of these, "Misafir Fakih no:1", I read the name for which I was seeking: Abdülkerimzade Sadullah Efendi. This experience delighted me so much that at this time I wanted to throw myself into the sea

of documents to see what a wonderful world it was. The first thing I encountered on doing this was a mysterious treasure box, “Ankara sicilleri”, that hid two beautiful crowns: the estates of Sadullah Efendi and his son, Pertev Efendi. On these crowns, many valuable diamonds -their clothes, properties, household items, wives’ names, debts and books- were assembled together. With them, I acquired an almost complete picture of Sadullah Efendi’s identity. Then, I saw two fish that could have not lived outside this sea of wonders glowing in wonderful colours: his gravestone and his residence. However, I was not entirely certain about their connection to Sadullah Efendi and they might still be the inhabitants of my sea of wonders. To live in the land of science, where one should tread securely on firm ground, there must be certain facts.¹³

At this point, as questions never end, I had to settle my curiosity in order not to spend a whole life-time on this subject. If I could not put an end to my desire to discover all of the information I was able to about Sadullah Efendi, I would seem like an architect who piles bricks up continuously without constructing a particular building. So, I began to listen to my heart’s advice. I saw that to weigh one’s interests in order to point oneself to one direction was harder than to dive into the depth of the sea of wonder. With the materials I collected from that sea, I could have made several studies on Sadullah Efendi from various aspects. For example, I could have focused on his mental world, or on his family ties, or merely on his astrologer side; or I could have studied him in terms of network analyses, chronological biography and his specialities in the realm of self-narrative in Ottoman historiography; or I could merely have discussed whether his notes might be treated as an example of the “diary” genre. However, in thinking of these as possible aspects, several facts disturbed me. First of all, these subjects, although they were related to Sadullah Efendi, they did not let him

¹³ As it will be mentioned below, although there are some clues on the connection of the gravestone and the house’s to Sadullah Efendi, since they are not based on certain facts, I could not prove their accuracy.

speak. Whereas, if I based my research on what he talked about, I wanted to take into consideration the points to which he gave importance. Moreover, in choosing one of them, (except the chronological biography), I might lose the totality principle in Sadullah Efendi's life. Like the well-known anecdote about the description of an elephant by the blind men, the whole picture of his life could not be reflected in single subjects.¹⁴ As each touches one part of it and describes the elephant according to the particulars he touches, his description does not reflect the elephant as a whole. At this point, quotidian concerns are one of best ways to give a complete picture of Sadullah Efendi as a person. By focusing on such concerns, we could gain simultaneously information about his daily life, his relationships, his desires, his milieu, and his emotions. Additionally, I am not obliged to categorize his life into separate titles such as: "Sadullah Efendi's Daily Life", "Economic Condition of Sadullah Efendi", "Sadullah Efendi's Family Relationships", "Sadullah Efendi's *Tarikat* Affiliation", "Sadullah Efendi: the *Müneccim*" and so on. It is very possible that one can tell his life in a such way, but, for me, this does not exactly mirror his life experience. In reality, he did not live under such a categories: he experienced them in totality. If we consider the private concerns of Sadullah Efendi once more, we notice his peculiarity of being generous enough to share his daily concerns with 'us': It is this which provides the skeleton for the present study. His persona as an astrologer which concerns itself mainly with the ephemeral side of human life also goes hand in hand with my decision to focus on his own daily concerns.

While narrating the private concerns of Sadullah Efendi which is the main corpus of this story, I have constructed an imaginary theater play that is composed of the act and scenes. In this theater play, daily concerns constitutes the acts, whereas other

¹⁴ This anecdote tries to tell us what an elephant looks like from the perspective of the blinds.

background information about Sadullah Efendi constitutes several scenes in which those acts take place. These scenes serve as spaces for the acts to be performed in this piece. In order to clarify, I can make a brief analogy between the life and theater play. We should have some places in order to fulfil the roles in this world, as players of an act need to have scenes to perform their arts. In our play, our figure, Sadullah Efendi, plays his role through his daily concerns that are recorded in his notes at the edge of the calendars and also that take place in different scenes. Those scenes are the parts containing information about where he spent his life, the art/science he conducted, his education, his tutor etc. Hence, all of those scenes are the preparatory repertoire to the main act of our play: Daily concerns of Sadullah Efendi.

What can be said about these concerns? In every phase of human life, there are many, basic, quotidian concerns bound to the particular place, or time and to the human beings themselves. As the specifics of each of those factors vary, daily concerns also include the same variety. To be sure, A's concerns are different from those of his or her parents, children, spouse, friends, colleagues, relatives, neighbors etc., and the ratio of the differences increases if we compare these concerns with the concerns of people at another time in another land. However, the factors which are the causes of the differences also give the unifying characteristics to the daily interests. For instance A's concerns may resemble B's if they are of the same sex, share the same human values, live in the same period and the same place. So, with the help of these kinds of unifying characteristics, just knowing A, one can shed light on the other people's lives if they share the same conditions.

When this fact is considered with regard to Sadullah Efendi, it can be seen that I used some criteria in order to determine what his concerns among the notes were. For instance, I took into consideration only the ones which were directly related to him and

in which he used the first person pronoun. (Although generally Sadullah Efendi uses the third person plural pronoun, “we”, or *bu aciz, fakir* etc. to express himself, I treated these as though he were speaking about himself in the first person.) Additionally, in exploring his concerns, I made two division for dealing with them: *harem* and *selamlık*. The reason for using those two categories was shaped after reading his notes again and again. At first, I had many categories for his concerns, such as being a father, husband, brother, son, relative, *mürid*, friend, *müneccim*, client, *müftü*, *naib*, poet etc. and I tried to relate them to the roles that every person plays in her/his life span. However, there is the possibility that the categories or the roles I thought to use have become anachronistic. As seen in the above mentioned examples, my categorization does not reflect Sadullah Efendi in real terms. To give an example, if nowadays being a poet could be a role that has a distinguishing characteristic, in 19th c. Ottoman society it could be so ordinary and such a prevalent part of a highly educated person’s inner life that there was no need to make a distinction between being a poet and being a client or a *murid*. Furthermore, being a “müneccim” does not necessarily preclude being a *müftü* or a *naib*. Thus, I forced myself to consider Sadullah Efendi’s notes and with the help of these, to probe into his life deeply in order to see it as it was presented there. My efforts bore fruit in the end: I began to see that there was a kind of distinction between his notes with regard to his life-style and the structure of his house. To put this more clearly, I saw that Sadullah Efendi had many notes reflecting the *harem-selamlık* division. As he lived in such a divided house and moved between the divisions, the subjects of his notes also reflect a *harem* and *selamlık* separation. That is to say, the notes in which he talks about his son differ from the ones about the arrival of *pashas* in Ankara. From another angle, one can label this differentiation as “inner” and “outer”; or “private” and “public”.¹⁵ Additionally, his private concerns are to be told within the

¹⁵ For “public” and “private” problematic especially in Ottoman history, see Tülay Artan, “Mahremiyet:

rooms of his house. At this time, the functions of the rooms have a basic role in the narration of the private concerns within them. As house means “shelter” for human beings, it silently witnesses all their life experiences. So, reflecting this fact, as he walks from the stables to pass through the rooms of his house, we are confronted with Sadullah Efendi’s daily concerns symbolized by one of the rooms. In this sense, the stables represent his concern for his servants, the coffee-room for his health, the *selamlık* for his status as a judge and census supervisor, whereas the *divanhane* represents his concern for his pashas, the *mabeyn* room for his budget; the *harem* room represents his concern for his *harem* and last but not least, Pertev’s room represents his thoughts on his son, Mustafa Pertev Efendi.

If we come to the style of this study, that is as a kind of “biography”, it should be said that narrative and “micro-historical” approaches are given preference.¹⁶ Although for Ricoeur, all written history necessarily takes some kind of narrative form it is a well-known fact that, in the name of “new history” which was more concerned with the analysis of structures, historians dismissed that form.¹⁷ And because of this, in his famous article on the re-use of narrative in historical writing, Stone talks about “the

Mahrumiyetin Resmi,” *Defter* 120 (1999) : 91-115; Fikret Yılmaz, “16. yy Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyetin Sınırlarına Dair,” *Toplum ve Bilim* 83, (1999-2000) : 93-109; Abraham Marcus, “Privacy in 18th c. Aleppo: the Limits of Cultural Ideals,” *IJMES* 18 (1986) : 165-183; Minna Rozen, “Public Space and Private Space Among the Jews of Istanbul in the 16th and 17th centuries,” *Turcica* 30 (1998) : 331-346.

¹⁶ About the use of narrative in history and the debate over it, see: David Carr, *Time, Narrative and History* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1986); F.R. Ankersmit, *Narrative Logic: A Semantic Analysis of the Historian’s Language* (Boston: The Hague, 1983); Hayden White, *The Content of the Form* (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1990); Keith Jenkins *Why History?* (London & New York: Routledge, 1999); Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (Hannover & London : Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1997); Eric Hobsbawm, *On History* (New York: New Press, 1997); Alun Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies* (London: Routledge, 2000); Lawrence Stone, *The Past and Present Revisited* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987); idem., “History and post-modernism,” *Past and Present* 131 (1991) : 217-18; idem., “History and post-modernism,” *Past and Present*: 135 (1992) : 187-94; Michael Stanford, *A Companion to the Study of History* (Oxford & Cambridge: Blackwell, 1999); Hans Kellner, “Narrativity in History: Post-structuralism and since” *History and Theory*, 26, no. 4 (1987) Beiheft: 26 : 1-26; C. Behan McCullagh, “The Truth of Historical Narratives” in *History and Theory* 25, no.4 (1986) Beiheft: 25 : 30-46; L. B. Cebik, “Understanding Narrative Theory” in *History and Theory* 25, no.4 (1986) Beiheft: 25 : 58-81.

¹⁷ Peter Burke, “Overture: the New History”, in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* ed. by Peter Burke, (Oxford&Cambridge: Polity Press: 1995), 4.

revival” of it.¹⁸ One step further, Burke makes a distinction between “traditional” narrative, which is favoured by those historians who claim that a historian’s job is to tell a story and those who are concerned with structures rather than events, and “modern” narrative.¹⁹ For Burke, historians of the latter persuasion try to reach a synthesis between narration and analysis . They do not ask yet whether or not to write narrative; instead, they debate the various ways of writing a narrative. Hayden White and the film historian and director, Siegfried Kracauer, are two who discuss these ways. Kracauer claims that modern fiction in Joyce, Proust and Virginia Woolf “offers a challenge, an opportunity to historical narrators”, and Hayden White also accuses historians of neglecting literature.²⁰ Moreover, a French historian, Jacques Revel, cites Sabina Loriga’s study to demonstrate the fact that even cinema can be used by the historian as a kind of narrative technique.²¹ Additionally, Burke mentions different cinematic techniques such as “montage”, flashbacks, cross-cutting and the alternation of scene and story which can be useful in the historian’s difficult task of making a synthesis between events and structures and presenting multiple viewpoints.²² In this sense, Sabina Loriga has used Akira Kurosawa’s *Rashomon* in her study about 18th c. military history of Piedmont. Additonally, Spence narrates how, Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary friar in China, who lived at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century used flashback techniques. In this work, he tells, how this friar taught Chinese scholars to build a “Palace of Memory”, based on the conventional techniques of mnemonics that stem

¹⁸ See Lawrence Stone, “The Revival of Narrative”, *The Past and the Present Revisited* (London & New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987) : 74-96.

¹⁹ Burke, “History of Events and the Revival of the Narrative” in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, 237.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 237-8.

²¹ See for the interusage of different narrative techniques, Jacques Revel, “Micro-analyse et construction du social”, in *Jeux D’échelles: La micro-analyse a l’experience*, ed. Jacques Revel, (Gallimard/ Le Seuil, 1996), 32-33. Burke, 245.

²² Burke, “History of Events”, 246.

from the very earliest times.²³ The peculiarity of Spence's study stems from the author's distinctive manner of narrating historical events. Rather than using the chronological order, he thinks of his historical narrative as using four images and pictures from Matteo Ricci's memory palace. In this narration, he uses "flash-back" method, that is to say, he frequently goes back and forth in time sequence. Thus, the aim of the author, to travel with Ricci through the same icons of his mental structure and between Italy and China, has been reached and also the narrative has been shaped in a different manner from the familiar chronological one. In this sense, as a category of historical writing, or as a genre, narration might encompass a wide range of style of writing. In Burke's words referring to W.R. Siebenschuh's *Fictional Techniques and Factional Works* (1983): "It looks as if historians have to develop their own 'fictional techniques' for their 'factual works'."²⁴

Historians such as Carlo Ginzburg, Georges Duby, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Natalie Zemon Davis, Sabina Loriga and Jonathan Spence are among the ones who try to write their works using narrative techniques. Their other common characteristic is that all of them use the "micro-historical" approach in the below mentioned studies.²⁵ Although we know that micro history is an approach and "has no body of established orthodoxy to draw on"²⁶, to give a sense of what it deals with, it can be useful to take here the slogan Jacques Revel suggests for micro-history: "Why make things simple when one can make them complicated?. "By this" states Levi, "he means that the true

²³ See for a more detailed summary of the work, the first chapter of Jonathan Spence's *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, (New York: Penguin, 1984) : 1-23.

²⁴ Burke, 241.

²⁵ See Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: the Cosmos of a Sixteenth Century Miller*, trans. by Anne and John Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1992); Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge & Mass. : Harvard Univ. Press, 1983) ; Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Carnival*, tr. M.Fenney, (London, 1980); George Duby, *The Legend of Bouvines*, trans. by C. Tihanyi, (Cambridge, 1990 Rabelias) Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, (New York: Penguin, 1984); Sabina Loriga, *Soldats. Un Laboratoire Disciplinaire: L'armée Piémontaise au XVIII siècle*, (Paris: Menthath, 1991).

problem for historians is to succeed in expressing the complexity of reality, even if this involves using descriptive techniques and forms of reasoning which are more intrinsically self-questioning and less assertive than any used before.”²⁷

Under the guidance of these definitions, I feel more secure in what I am doing among the pile of historical studies. Additionally, instead of using a classical chronological form, I try to give a sense of his daily concerns spreading throughout his whole life. Moreover, to escape from the simplification of human experience by assertive definitions, I also deal with a “small” person among the vast populace of Ottoman history while emphasizing his multi-dimensional life. Like the mixed colours on an artist’s palette, his life is so complex that single colour of one category could not paint its variety.

At the end, I want to present the format of this work in order to guide the readers and construct a concrete form. Following this introduction, one year from the whole life time of Sadullah Efendi welcomes us and opens the door of his residence, giving a sense of the atmosphere conveyed by his notes. This is not a separate chapter, but, rather, a prelude to the theater play. It serves as an entrance to the story of Sadullah Efendi. The scenes of our play follow this prelude. Scenes of “Ankara”, “Family”, “Başhoca İshak Efendi”, “İlm-i Nücum”, “Residence” come respectively. Those parts of the narration, theater play, give the reader background information about Sadullah Efendi, before the play goes on performing the act, which is composed of his daily concerns. Then, the conclusion follows the part of the act. Appendices, examples of transcribed forms of the historical materials that are used and studied for this thesis have been added at the end. In addition to those, some photographs showing an observatory

²⁶ Giovanni Levi, “On Microhistory”, in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke, Polity Press, 1995, 93.

²⁷ Ibid., 110.

and items related to the science of astrology are appended. A glossary has also been prepared for the attention of the readers in order to give them a sense of the people Sadullah Efendi had a relationship with and also to introduce them to the terms that are often mentioned throughout the study.



Prelude

“Bu tali’de Kalecik’den çıkılub Ankara’ya hanemize azimet olundu sabahdan çıkılub ba’del gurub yatsu vaktinde hanemize duhul müyesser oldu kapumuz kapalı bulunub dak eyleyub açtırdık ibtida haremimizi gördük ba’de mahdumu gördük gamum ve hemum-u hasret munda’fi’ oldu bi hamdillah-i teala.”

Müderriszade Seyyid Sadullah b.

Abdülkerim b. Mustafa Şeyhi el-Ankaravi

During the last half of May, one night in 1846, somebody was knocking the door of a residence in Misafir Fakih district. When a servant opened the door, he saw his master who had returned from Kalecik.

That morning, Sadullah Efendi had left Kalecik where he was the representative of qadi in charge of the court. Having journeyed throughout the day, he arrived at his home in Ankara at that night.

Within a few minutes, first Necibe Hanım, his wife, and then his son, Mustafa Pertev Efendi, had witnessed Sadullah Efendi’s happiness at meeting them again.

Not long before, he had held the post of *naib* at Kalecik. He had casted a horoscope to see whether he would be appointed to an auspicious position or not. However, when he was appointed he did not know what he would be confronted with in Kalecik. In fact, he experienced many difficulties in those years. While he was in Kalecik a year before his arrival to Ankara among his acquaintances, almost every living being perished from a year-long drought. He noted that many people died from starvation. Wheat prices increased up to two hundred and eighty *guruş* a unit, but after the spring, bread prices dropped to fifty-six *para*. As a result of this small disaster, he suffered so much from a kind of financial crisis that that year's almanac is full of notes on his finances. In the beginning of the spring, he recorded the appearance of a flying stork as a hopeful sign and followed it with a prayer. He even informed us that roses have bloomed as a result of the rainfall, but they could not hear the nightingale singing as perfectly as usual.²⁸ Moreover, he mentioned the gladness of the surviving people: *"While it was raining, people were touching the drops of rain on their faces then putting their faces to the ground and thanking God, because for a year there had been no rain."*²⁹ Coincidentally with this happy alteration in the weather conditions, Sadullah Efendi dreamed he received golden, silver and enameled boxes. He states that he filled up his bosom with them. Somebody said he received them as a gift of "qaside".³⁰ Sadullah Efendi prayed that the dream would become auspicious. One day later, his dream came true; he learned that he had become the *naib* of Kangırı. However he had already been waiting for six months to receive the happy news about his appointment, because on the eighth of Zilhicce in the year 1261 (8/12/1845), he had cast a horoscope

²⁸ Kandilli Rasathanesi Kütüphanesi (KRK), T. 235/2b, 6 CA 1262.

²⁹ KRK, T. 235/2b, p.35. *"Bu ayda emtar nazil oldukça halk-ı alem yüzlerine sürüb ve yüzlerin yerlere sürüb Hak tealaya teşekkür ettiler zira bir senedir rahmet münkatı' olmuş idi."*

³⁰ *"Alem-i manada çok altın ve gümüş ve mineli kutular önüme konulub koynuma doldurdum kaside caizesidir dediler. Allah teala hakkımızda mütemeyyin ve mesud ve mübarek eyleye amin."* KRK, T. 235/3b.

on this issue. He stated that it was the first time he had asked a question about himself. With long practical prayers, he concluded that within five months and eighteen days, a new appointment would occur. Then he added that the *niyabet* of Kangırı was given to him six months after his casting the horoscope. So, it can be said that he guessed nearly the right date. Then in order to go to Kangırı, he left Kalecik and arrived in Ankara as mentioned above. In Kangırı, he immediately found himself at the centre of the social network. The principal of Kangırı, Halil Efendi, asked about his rank; Hacı Ahmed Efendi about his property; Müftü Seyyid Efendi about his off-spring; Hacı Said Efendi about *tali*'; Hacı Ali Efendi about infertility. Other things he noted were that the *muhassıl*'s daughter Naime Hanım had died, the sons of Topçuoğlu Hafız Efendi and Yusuf Bey had been born, he had paid the baker's and the butcher's bill, a total of 1262 *guruş*, and witnessed by the *müftü efendi*, he had bought four packhorses, Abdi Ağa had gone to Istanbul, *muhassıl*'s son Rıza Efendi had brought horses as a present to İstanbul; Halil Efendi, Abdullah Efendi and Hacı Bekir Efendi had gone to Ankara; Vasıf Paşa's chief steward, Süleyman Efendi, Mustafa, Pertev and Mehmed had made short visits to Kangırı, he (Sadullah Efendi) had sent a letter via pastor Çalık; *müdür* Hafız Ağa had brought a suit against Sadullah Efendi concerning Yapraklı Panayır where the famous fair of Kangırı was held.³¹ He acknowledged that he had suffered from this last issue very much for a year and from his son's and servants' misbehaviours. He noted that they caused pain in his inner world that he experienced every day. For his sake, when he was dismissed and returned to Ankara a year later, nothing remained. He seemed to give up all of these problems in Kangırı. Although we

³¹ Çankırılı Ahmet Onay and Tahsin Nahit Uygur give information about famous Yapraklı Panayır tradition. They say that it was held in the autumn, people sent their foods and clothes two days before it to the gardens they went and it was important especially for the poets who came from various places of Anatolia. See Çankırılı Tahsin Nahit Uygur, *Çankırı Halk Edebiyatı* (Kastamonu, 1932), 43 and Çankırılı Ahmet Onay, *Aşık Tokatlı Nuri*, (1933), 5. Sadullah Efendi did not give a detailed information about this lawsuit that he called as "Yapraklı Panayır". Hence, one could not understand what kind of a suit it was.

can not understand the essence of the problem between himself and both his son and *müdür* Hafız Ağa, the problems between his servants can almost be understood from his notes. For instance, he expelled a servant called İsmail on the 25th of Receb 1262 (20/07/1846) because he dared to make love in the court when they all had gone to the meal.³² Yet he had joined the household of his own volition. Sadullah Efendi noted his joining thus: “*When we arrived at Çankırı, at first I saw a servant at the gate among the people and I greeted him. After a month he came and joined us.*”³³ In addition, in that year, he cast many horoscopes about finding a servant. These notes signified his need of a loyal assistant. Thus, he cast many horoscopes devoted to his desire for the return of Hidayet who was one of his most loyal servants.³⁴

³² KRK, Z.M. 342/108b. “İntisab-ı Çankırlı İsmail 5 receb 1262 Medine-i Çankırı’ya duhumumuzda ibtida ehaliden olarak kapıda bir uşak görüb ibtida ona selam verdim merkum uşak bir mah mururunda gelub bize intisab etti ismi İsmaildir talii budur ki mezbur yigirmi beş gün hizmet edüb biz ziyafete gidüb mahkeme تنها kaldıkta füşhiyata cesaret etmiş istima olundukta Şaban-ı şerifin gurrresi yevm-i Cuma def’ ve tard olundu.”

³³ KRK, Z.M. 342/108b. “Medine-i Çankırı’ya duhumumuzda ibtida ahaliden olarak kapıda bir uşak görüb ibtida ona selam verdim merkum uşak bir mah mururunda gelub bize intisab etti ismi İsmaildir.”

II.

Chapter One: Scenes of Sadullah Efendi's Life

In this section, I used the term scene which encompasses the places Sadullah Efendi lived in³⁵, and his family. Thus, I aim to show that the life of a person is carrying out in lots of scenes that are taking place through the influence of several factors. As the total of the scenes constitutes his life, I aim to understand what each of the scenes means for Sadullah Efendi in terms of their interconnection to each other in this small part.

If we consider the scenes generally, we see that he gave a special importance to his home-country and his house in that location. We may deduce this from his way of speaking about Ankara and his house. It can be claimed that the idea of *vatan*, Ankara, and *hane*, his house, are interrelated with each other in his mind in such a manner that when he talks about his homesickness or his arrival in Ankara, he usually uses the two terms together.³⁶ Secondly, he also includes his family in this term “vatan”. For him, home-country means being with his family. Ankara automatically reminds him of his family so that when he is in Istanbul, he dreams of being in Ankara with his elder son and little Mehmed in the coffee-room of his house, and when he is in Kuyucak village, he wonders whether a letter will come from his home-country and his family.³⁷

³⁴ See KRK, Z.M. 342/126a-127b

³⁵ This means that whether or not he was away from Ankara and his residence in this city, those places continued to be Sadullah Efendi's permanent residence.

³⁶ The below mentioned expressions constitute good examples: KRK, Z.M 342/30b :“*Sual-i fakir der İslambul haneme varmak mukadder olur mu vatanıma gider miyim?*” 19 Ca 1265; KRK, Z.M. 539/1a: “*Ankara'ya gitmek ve haneme varmak mukadder olur mu deyü defaaten sual ittim bu tali zuhur etti Ankara'ya ve hanemize duhulümüztün tali'idir.*” 11 Zilkade 1240 (27 Haziran 1825); KRK, Z.M.539/3a: “*Ankara'ya vusulumuz ve hanemize duhulumuzun tali'idir*” 29 Cemaziyelahir 1261 (5 Temmuz 1845); KRK, Z.M.539/4b: “*Huruc ez kasaba-ı Kalecik 27 Ca 1262 (24.05.1846) Bu tali'de Kalecik'den çıkılub Ankara'ya hanemize azimet olundu*”; KRK, Z.M.539/ 5a: “*Huruc ez Ankara ve ez fakirhane azimet be Kankarı 3 C 1262 (29.05.1846) Kangırı niyabetine memur olmamızla bu tali'de Ankara'dan hanemizden huruc olunub..*”; KRK. Z.M. 539/6a: “*Duhul-u be şehir-i Ankara ve duhul-u be menzil ve hane-i fakir*” 14 B 1265 (06.06.1849); KRK. T.240/13b: “*...kendimi Ankara'da hanemde gördüm....*” 28 Ş 1265

³⁷ For seeing the usage of home-country, house and his family members : KRK.T.240/13b: “*...derunuma vatan gelüb oğlum ve Mehmed gözümün önünde güya yanımda gibi bir hal olub bir mertebe-i iştiyak galebe etti ki tabir olunmaz ba'de yatub rüyamda Mehmed'i gördüm bizim kahve odasında helva yaparlar*

Moreover, when he is living in İstanbul, he considers himself to be in a foreign place, *gurbet*, and regards himself as alone, *garib*; although he is surrounded by various people from all walks of life.³⁸ In this sense, the house almost loses its meaning if a family does not live in it.³⁹ Thus, parallel to his thoughts, his family will be dealt with in the chapter on this “scenes of Sadullah Efendi’s life” just after the one describing Ankara. In addition to, including the concept of family, the house conceptually connotes life with all of its problems and pleasures. Everything was experienced under the roof of the house. In this *Lebenswelt*, Sadullah Efendi’s daily concerns might be taken into consideration as being a part of this theoretical structure of the house. In this structure, the house symbolizes the main axis of life. Thus, I will make an analogy between the rooms of the residence of Sadullah Efendi and the sub-plots of his daily concerns. Namely, I am going to narrate each of his concerns with relation to a separate part of his house. At the same time, the division of the physical space of his *konak* into *haremlik-selamlık* should be kept in mind. The reflection of this division appears in the notes about his daily concerns so that of “inner” and “outer” correspond respectively to the *harem* and *selam* part of the residence. Thus, I aim to show the “scenes” of Sadullah Efendi as being composed of the city in which he spent most of his life together with his family and his house. The last will include his daily concerns as relevant to each part of the house. This idea is based on the assumption that daily concerns are an inevitable part of life and they are experienced under the roof of the house, thus signifying the life of its members.

imiş...” 28 Ş 1265; For the synonymity of Ankara and his family: KRK. Z.M.342/99b: “Sual-i fakir ki vatanımdan ehlimden mektub gelür mü? 22 Ş 1247 Kuyucak kasabasında iken ehlimden mektub gelir mu deyü sual ettüm bu tali’ geldi... mektub gelmez deyü hukm olundu fil vaki’ kasaba-ı mezburda iken mektub gelmedi.”

³⁸ KRK.Z.M. 342/ II: “*Garibin başına gurbet diyarda neler gelmez...*” 7 C 1264. Among those he has relationship with we can mention Ayşe Hanım, Nafiz Paşa, Hayri Efendi, Hasıla Hanım, İzzet Paşa, Sheikhülislam, Hakkı Efendi vs.

Scene One : Ankara

We can move on Ankara, the city of Sadullah Efendi, which means for him not only the birthplace, but also the city within which his family, his house, his property and real estate and his friends come into existence. Ankara is located in the North-western part of Central Anatolia on the plain of Ankara creek, which is a tributary of the River Sakarya. Its climate has the characteristics of a steppe climate, that means excessive daily and seasonal temperature differences. In winter it is very cold, and in summer very hot during the day but at night it is relatively cool. We can find some anecdotes in Sadullah Efendi's notes about the hot summers of Ankara. On the 15th of Cemaziyelevvel in 1255 (27.7.1839), he expressed it in these words: *"it was so hot that the temperature was over a 100 C. Even our neighbor, Mumcu Emir Ağa, said that although he had put oil and candles in a very cold place in the harem, due to the heat, they had melted. I have not seen this happen due to excessive heat for 40 or 50 years."*⁴⁰ Almost 20 days after this note he writes: *"we(I) wore furs on account of malaria, although it was very hot today."*⁴¹ In another note, he indicates a plague of locusts. On the first days of Şevval in 1241 (May 1826), the people of Ankara went to the fields and waste areas to combat the locusts on the orders of Nuri Paşa, who was the governor of Ankara at that time, but their efforts did not succeed. Then the people came together at the Namazgah to pray. Sadullah Efendi states that a big crowd was there. As mentioned above⁴², severe droughts also took place in Kalecik and Kangırı in 1261 and 62. In order

³⁹ About a philosophical interpretation on the meaning of the house in the Turkish culture and its relation with language, especially Turkish; see Ömer Naci Soykan's "Ev Üstüne Felsefe Bir Deneme", *Cogito* 18 (1999), 100-115.

⁴⁰ "Bir mertebe sıcak oldu ki yüzün fevkinde hararet oldu, hatta komşumuz Mumcu Emin Ağa nakl etti ki hanemde pek serin olan mahalle mum ve yağ koydum eriyib katre katre damladı gördüm dedi ve kırk-elli senedir bu vakte gelinceye kadar böyle şiddet-i harareten mumun ve yağın tebahür ettiğini görmdim dedi." KRK, T. 215/6a

⁴¹ KRK, T. 215/7a

⁴² See, Prelude part above.

to overcome the heat, people migrated in summer to the vineyards located near the city and did not return until the beginning of autumn.⁴³ Sadullah Efendi also owned a vineyard-house, having bought Gökmen Ağa's for 600 *guruş*, and about two months later he went there with his family.⁴⁴

It can be safely claimed that Sadullah Efendi's life was connected to Ankara in every aspect. Apart from the weather conditions, its economic, administrative and socio-cultural atmosphere had many effects on his relatively small world.⁴⁵ Under the guidance of this fact, we can begin to see a strong relationship between Ankara and Sadullah Efendi in commercial activities. To begin with the economic effects, if we look at his estate inventory, we are able to see that Sadullah Efendi has many shops that played significant roles in the commercial life of Ankara. In the beginning, we notice that in Atpazarı he owned a coffee-house, two *tekneci* shops, a barber-shop and a plot for a shop, worth a total amount of 22,000 *guruş*. In Abacılar Bazaar, he owned a coffee-house and a restaurant, *aşçı dükkânı*, worth 5,500 *guruş*. In addition to these, he had others in the Bedesten's Havvaf bazaar: two shoe-maker's shops, a draper's, eleven tailor's shops, a textile, *çulha* shop valued at a total of 15,500 *guruş*. The list goes on to cite; a *çulha* shop near Piriñ Hanı (1500 *guruş*), a locksmith's in Koyunpazarı (2500 *guruş*), an shop selling olives in Balıkpazarı (3000 *guruş*), a coffee-house (3000 *guruş*) near the Hisar gate, a lime depot, *kireçhane* (4000 *guruş*) and sweet-maker's and seller's shop, *helvacı* (2500 *guruş*) near Tahtakale, a farrier's (1000 *guruş*) and a *tekneci* (1000 *guruş*) shop at Ulucalar Bazaar. The markets, khans and other places

⁴³ Şeref Erdoğan, *Ankaram*, (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001), 149.

⁴⁴ KRK. T. 215/ 4b and KRK. T.215/ 8a

⁴⁵ As these factors are intermingled with each other in daily life of Ankara, their influence on Sadullah Efendi also carries out a complex feature although I will not state this for practical reasons. To make it clearer, while talking about the economy of Ankara, for example, it could not be forgotten that its economy is not independent from other factors. As my aim is not to show this complexity in Ankara and hence in Sadullah Efendi's life, I talk about them in a manner without any reference to their influence on each other. An analyse of their interrelation could be a subject of an another work instead. Hence below mentioned sentences should be read bearing in mind this fact.

where his shops were located had a significant role in the commercial life of Ankara. Let me begin with Atpazarı first of all which was one of the most important commercial centres of Ankara at that time. This important district was also known as “the area of *hans*”, “*hanlar bölgesi*”, and located between the Bedesten and the outer walls of the Citadel. Many *hans* were built together in this district. Among them, Sadullah Efendi owned a shop in the Piriñ Han, which was constructed in 18th c.⁴⁶ According to Özdemir, Abacılar Bazaar was located near Atpazarı.⁴⁷ The Bedesten, now the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, was also situated at the south-western part of Atpazarı district and was constructed in the 15th. c by Mehmed the Conquer’s vizier, Mahmud Paşa. It was one of the most crowded commercial centres of Ankara. Security (because it was guarded by private custodians) played an important role in its importance as well as the trade of various items, including the famous Angora wool, Ankara *sof*, mainly sold there.⁴⁸ As I mentioned above, Sadullah Efendi also had several shops concerned with the textile trade there. Even Koyunpazarı was a significant place for trade activities due to its nearness to Atpazarı and the Bedesten. Mehmet Tuncer declares that there was an iron-makers market in Koyunpazarı.⁴⁹ This information agrees with the details given in Sadullah Efendi’s estate, which indicates an iron-shop in the place mentioned above. In addition to all of these, there was another market called Balıkpazarı. In the *sicil* defter of 1827, a tax record indicates that many fish-shops and olive-shops were to be found within this market area.⁵⁰ This record indicates them as being in that quarter and shows that the same kind of taxes were collected from both fish and olive sellers which agrees with the details given in Sadullah Efendi’s estate in which both of these were listed as

⁴⁶ Mehmet Tuncer, *Ankara (Angora) Şehri Merkez Gelişimi (14-20.yy)*, (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001), 60.

⁴⁷ Rifat Özdemir, *19.yy. 'ın İlk Yarısında Ankara*, (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yay., 1987), 58.

⁴⁸ Özdemir, 26-27; Tuncer, 39-40.

⁴⁹ Tuncer, 46.

⁵⁰ Özdemir, 230.

being in Balıkpazarı. Apart from those, Sadullah Efendi possessed shops in the Tahtakale district, which was located between Hacı Bayram Mosque and the Karacabey complex. Another market was that of Ulucalar, whose location is not clearly expressed in the sources. Probably, it coincided with today's Ulucanlar Caddesi, between the Kayseri gate and Atpazarı. Tuncer informs us that iron and tinplate shops were to be found alongside Ulucanlar street at the beginning of the 20th century.⁵¹ This information agrees with Sadullah Efendi's estate record: he owned a farrier's shop in the same quarter. Hisarkapı it connects the Citadel to İplik Pazarı was very close to the probable place of the residence of Sadullah Efendi.⁵² From this account of Sadullah Efendi's shops and this description of the commercial life of Ankara, we are able to recognize how both are interconnected. The life of and properties owned by Sadullah Efendi, a relatively wealthy person of that era, show a parallelism with Ankara as a center of trade and commercial activities.

If we consider the administrative-political aspect of Ankara, we realize that the reforms of the Tanzimat era had a clear influence upon the life of the city. As one of the consequences of Tanzimat reforms in 1836, the Ankara, Kastamonu, Safranbolu, Çorum and Çankırı sanjaks were collected under the rubric of "*Redif-i Mansure Ankara Müşirliği*", under the government of İzzet Paşa. After him, according to the Ankara Salnamesi of 1325 (1907), Davut Paşa (1254-56), Palaslı İsmail Paşa (1256-57), Tayyar Paşa (1257-59), İsmet Paşa (1259-61), Vasıf Paşa (1261-63), Hasan Paşa (1263-64), K.

⁵¹ Tuncer, 94.

⁵² Sadullah Efendi had also properties and shares unseen in his estate. Those were found in the Register of Profit taxes (*temettülat defterleri*) and counted as 20 shops in Atpazarı and Koyunpazarı; 40 shops in Bedesten and İplik Pazarı. Those shops were belonging to İsabey and Mahmutpaşa foundations and Sadullah Efendi took their rental income. Furthermore, he owned fields of clover and vegetable gardens in different districts of the city. Notwithstanding that those properties were not recorded in his estate, the traces of those unrecorded properties appear in the court case between Pertev Efendi and Adile Kadın after twenty-two days of Sadullah Efendi's death. In this case, Adile Kadın, who was the deputy of her children, claimed that the half share of several shops that are recorded only in Temettülat record were burned down and destroyed and contributed that Pertev Efendi has left his share to his siblings. Thus, she gained additional 23,950 *guruş* in the name of her children. AŞS. 264/80,81-139,141.

Şerif Bey (1264-65), Giritli Mustafa Paşa (1265-68)) and K. Sadri Bey (1268-71) respectively were in charge of Ankara as *vali*.⁵³ However, if we look at Sadullah Efendi's notes, this list seems unreliable. According to his notes, the appointment and dismissal of the governors of Ankara are shown in this order : Mehmet İzzet Paşa (?-1255), Davut Paşa (1255-56), Sadullah Paşa (1256-56), Tayyar Paşa (1256-57), İsmail Paşa (1257-58), Rüstem Paşa (1258-59), İsmet Paşa (1259- 1261), Vasıf Paşa (1261-1263), Hasan Paşa (1263-?), Mustafa Paşa (?-1270), and Sadri Bey (1270-70).

Another novelty of the Tanzimat era was the establishment of a "tax-collectorship" under the name of *muhasallık*. *Muhassıl* was the official who was in charge of collecting the taxes of one *sanjak* or *eyalet*. This system lasted only one or two years. In his notes Sadullah Efendi often talked Zühdü Mustafa Efendi, who held the position of *muhasal* for almost one-and-a half years. In his *divan*, Sadullah Efendi even wrote down a satirical poem about Mustafa Efendi, because he had appointed a young boy called Şakir to a high post for which he did not have the necessary skills. (22773) In Muharrem of 1256 (September 1840), he quotes, a lyric by Davut Paşa, but does not give any additional information on this subject:

"*muhasılina sami derler samiri*
katib-i divan iderler kafiri"⁵⁴

Instead of *muhasıls*, officials were then hold responsible for the fiscal issues until 1859. Many lines can be seen in his "divan" about one *defterdar* of Ankara, Galip Efendi. Another *defterdar* was Cazim Efendi for whom Sadullah Efendi composed a chronogram to commemorate the date of the appearance of his collection poems. For instance, in addition to poems about Galip Paşa, there were some about his repair of the

⁵³ *Ankara Vilayeti Salnamesi 1325*, haz. Kudret Emiroğlu, Ahmet Yüksel, Ömer Türkoğlu, Ethem Coşkun, (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı Yay.: 1995), 44.

⁵⁴ KRK. T.215/13b

Taceddin lodge, about catching cold, building a fountain, the death of his daughter, and a poem imitating *terci'-i bend* by Galip Paşa.

Another novelty from the perspective of government by Mahmut II was the establishment of councils which at the beginning were called “*muhassılık meclisi*”. After the abolishment of these councils, another council called “*memleket meclisi*” (council of country) was set up instead. Those councils performed a role as courts in the cases emerging between the government officials of various ranks and the ordinary public. Those cases were processed by these councils and a decision reached at the end. They were like Anatolian counterparts of the “Meclis-i Vala” located in Istanbul. Although they did not resemble them in executive issues, they were similar in the way they had the authority to inspect or check the governor’s income and tax incomes, and audit the annual inventories kept by provincial governors, officials of provincial treasuries etc.⁵⁵ In one of his notes dated the 13th Muharrem of 1256 (17 September 1840), Sadullah Efendi comments on this assembly as follows: “*In order to be a member of the board, lots were drawn during Tanzimat-ı Hayriyye. Lots were cast first for me, then for Hayri Efendi, Dizdar Ağa and Behçet Efendi, to become members of the council.*”⁵⁶ Again in the note following this, he recounts that he gave up this job voluntarily to become *naib* of Beypazarı. As he records the date of the document for receiving his salary, we grasp that while he was a member of the council, he had received money. Furthermore, his office at the ministry of the population, which we will mention below, enables us to suggest a parallel between his life and the various administrative functions of the city. It is also very clear that the web of his relationships

⁵⁵ Musa Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay., 1997), 215.

⁵⁶ “*Tanzimat-ı hayriye zuhurunda aza-yı meclis olmak için kura olundukta ibtida bu fakire ba’de Hüseyin Efendi’ye ba’de Dizdar Ağa’ya ba’de Behçet Efendi’ye kura zuhur edüb aza-yı meclis tayin olunduğumuzun tali’i zayıçesidir.*” KRK. Z.M. 342/8b

consisted of the elite and honored people of Ankara, in general. Many of those people were officials in the administration of the city during the Tanzimat period. Apart from them, he also draws attention to the traditional part of the society, which included *muftis*, *sheikhs*, *nakibs*, *qadis*, *naibs* and tradesmen. Thus, we can see how his socio-cultural milieu was made up.

About this socio-cultural aspect, it can be said that some dervish lodges, especially those of Hacı Bayram, Taceddin and Bahaeddin Nakşi, occupied a significant place within the social life of both the city and of Sadullah Efendi. Moreover, the feasts, visits, and meetings of the Pashas were important events within their lives. Every activity affecting Ankara also had some influence on Sadullah Efendi. For instance, public performances of Arabic acrobats, fires, the arrest of prostitutes, treasure hunters, and news of important men coming to Ankara were regularly recorded by him.

Scene Two : Family Background

In the second scene, his family background will be narrated. This will constitute his lineage in the broader perspective because the significance of the people around him makes this scene an inevitable part of the story about Sadullah Efendi's daily concerns. Thus, this scene aims to present the reader first the lineage of Hacı Bayram Veli, and then the members of the family.

If we consider the full name of Sadullah Efendi -Müderrişzâde Seyyid Sadullah b. Abdülkerim b. Mustafa Şeyhi el-Ankaravi- we come across the relevant information about his lineage. Firstly, his patronymic of "Müderrişzâde" refers to one of subdivisions of the line of Hacı Bayram Veli. Şeyhi Mustafa was the grandfather of

Sadullah Efendi and mother of Şeyhi Mustafa, Saime Hatun, was the lineage of Hacı Bayram Veli. She married Mûderriszâde Ahmed b. Abdurrahman b. Mehmed and thus, their two sons Mustafa and Mehmed Emin were the founders of the Mûderriszâde subdivision of the family. This was reinforced through the marriage of Mehmed Emin Efendi's daughter, Afife Hanım, to the father of Sadullah Efendi, Abdülkerim Efendi, who was, himself, a son of Şeyhi Mustafa.⁵⁷ Even if, according to Bayramoğlu's accounts, we do not have any relevant information about Mehmed Emin Efendi, we know that Mustafa Efendi was knowledgeable about poetry, science and astrology, and received the pseudonym of Şeyhi. When he received fame in Ankara thanks to his talent in astrology, Sultan Mustafa III, who was interested in astrology, called him to İstanbul.⁵⁸

Sadullah Efendi mentions the date of his father's death and his dreams about him. Abdülkerim Efendi was also an expert on astrology (*ilm-i nücum*) like his father, Şeyhi Mustafa, and historical sources narrate him as being one of the famous scholars of Ankara. When he died on the 21st of Cahir 1228, Sadullah Efendi was living in İstanbul. He received information on this issue in a letter from his uncle.⁵⁹ Fuad Bayramoğlu informs us that Galip Bey, who was the grandson of Sadullah Efendi, wrote down in his private notes that Abdülkerim Efendi was a poet and skilful in calligraphy.⁶⁰ Indeed, in one note of Sadullah Efendi (19 M 1265), he says that he has received a booklet written in his father's own handwriting from Galip Efendi.⁶¹ In his dreams, Sadullah Efendi realizes his father was always in a good position. In one of them, Sadullah Efendi describes his father as if he is his teacher : He gives Sadullah

⁵⁷ Bayramoğlu, Fuat. *Hacı Bayram Veli Yaşamı-Soyu-Vakfı*, 2 cilt. Ankara: TTK Yay., 1988, cilt.2, 105,113.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 113-4.

⁵⁹ KRK. Z.M 342/ I

⁶⁰ Fuad Bayramoğlu, 118.

⁶¹ KRK.T.240/10a

Efendi an ornamented book which he takes and says that he can understand it. At this time Abdülkerim Efendi expresses his admiration. Then Sadullah Efendi asks him about the influence of the stars and his father answers him.⁶² There is no other information about him. However, from these dreams, we understand that Sadullah Efendi accepts that his father was a well-educated and virtuous person.

* * * * *

We are familiar now with the astrologer side of Sadullah Efendi's father and grandfather. It seems that he has been inherited his knowledge/talent on *ilm-i nücum* firstly from these close relatives. We can understand from this family background that in what kind of social milieu Sadullah Efendi has grown up, and how this environment did shape him. As we mentioned above, his father seemed to him as if he had been his tutor, we may guess that after the lessons by his father on *ilm-i nücum*; he had taken courses about *fenn-i nücum* from the Chief *Müneccim* of the Palace, Rakım Efendi, and the second *müneccim*, Durakpaşazade İbrahim Bey.⁶³ We know that he studied the methods for preparing the astrological calendars with them and in two calendars he especially points out that he prepared these under the supervision of Rakım Efendi.⁶⁴

Mehmed Rakım Efendi comes from a family in which his grandfather was also a *müneccimbaşı* like Sadullah Efendi. He married the daughter of the *müneccimbaşı* Cihangirli Mehmed Sadık Efendi, and after his father-in-law died in 1812, Rakım

⁶² KRK.T.240/12a. "Rüyamda pederimi gördüm yedime müzehheb bir kitab verdi bakdım bunu ben okurum dedim tahsin etti veşk tesir eder mi dedim tesir eder dedi vakt-i muhtar yazınca ona insaniyet karuşub ruh bulub tesir eder dedi mahz hayırdır inşallah" 17 Ra 1264 ; KRK.T.525/11b: "Pederimi rüyada gördüm mahalt-i a'la-yı aliyyedeydi" 10 L 1254; KRK.T.525/12a: "Pederimi rüyada gördüm güzel bağ ve bahçede ve güzel sular gördüm hayırdır. Fethullahül hayr Amin." 22 L 1254.

⁶³ Z.M. 539/ 1a.

⁶⁴ Millet kütüp. Ali Emiri-Riyazi, no:231 and KRK, no: 334.

Efendi was *müneccimbaşı* until his death in 1826.⁶⁵ At the same time, we know that the well-known Kethüdazade Mehmed Arif Efendi, who was among the chief instructors of the Beşiktaş group who used their residences in Beşiktaş district for the purpose of learning, took lessons from him in his youth as Sadullah Efendi did.⁶⁶ When it comes to the place, although we do not know where Sadullah Efendi took lessons on *ilm-i nücum*, it may be said that Rakım Efendi's or Durakpaşazade's residence was used for that purpose.⁶⁷ Durakpaşazade İbrahim Bey remained as the *müneccim-i sani* for seven years and died in 1832. He left behind him many books on *ilm-i nücum* and it is recorded that he knew French well.⁶⁸

We do not know which books Sadullah Efendi owned concerning this science, unfortunately. The reason for that is the unknown recorder of the estate who cut short the section on the books on *ilm-i nücum*; he did not write their names, instead he wrote down their total price of 3,100 *guruş* and noted only the general title: various books on *ilm-i nücum*.⁶⁹ In addition, Sadullah Efendi informs us that he had read *Hülasatü-l Hesab* under the tutorship of Ishak Efendi who is among the most important figures in the history of Ottoman Science. For this reason, we find it appropriate to open a small section about him.

⁶⁵ Salim Aydıöz, "Müneccimbaşılık Müessesesi", 210-3.

⁶⁶ Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "19. Asrın Başlarında Kültür ve Eğitim Hayatı ve Beşiktaş Cemiyet-i İlmiyesi Olarak Bilinen Ulema Grubunun Buradaki Yeri" *Osmanlı İlmi ve Mesleki Cemiyetleri: 1. Milli Türk Bilim Tarihi Sempozyumu: 3-5 Nisan 1987*. haz. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1987), 62.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 44, 46.

⁶⁸ Aydıöz, "Müneccimbaşılık", 213.

⁶⁹ AŞS. 264/ 39-21.

Scene Three : Başhoca İshak Efendi

Let me move on one of the influential person in Sadullah Efendi's life: His tutor, Başhoca İshak Efendi, who occupies one of the scenes among Sadullah Efendi's life due to the significance he played in the life of the main actor of this small part.

On the first page of the "zayıf mecmua" # 539, Sadullah Efendi recorded that when he was appointed to Sütlüce-Hasköy as a *naib*, he also attended the lectures of Mühendis Hacı İshak Efendi, which were held in the "Mühendishane" in Hasköy. During the course, they read *Hülasat-ul Hesab*'s whole text.⁷⁰ This book was taught until the eve of 20th century in various madrasas of the Islamic world.⁷¹ There are nearly 100 copies of it in Turkish libraries. Among them the oldest one dates back to 1654, and the newest one dates back to 1886. In the beginning, it was written by Bahauddin Muhammed b. Hüseyin el-Amili who was the scientist of the period of Şah Tahmasb b. Şah İsmail el- Erdebili, emperor of the Safavi state. It was translated into German, French and Turkish in 18th and 19th centuries and there are several *şerhs* of it in the libraries.⁷²

In the calendars, we encounter the name of İshak Efendi when his son Said Bey died and when Sadullah Efendi's son, Mustafa Pertev, married the daughter of İshak Efendi, Lebibe Hanım.⁷³ About the bride, we know that Pertev was her second husband from the fact that, on the 3th of Cemayizelevvel 1247, Halil Esrar Dede, her first husband, died.⁷⁴ However, it is possible that Pertev married another daughter of İshak Efendi whose name was not recorded. It is clear that this marriage was conducted after the death of bride's father in 1252 (1836).

⁷⁰ Z.M. 539/ 1a.

⁷¹ Cevad İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim*, 1. cilt: *Riyazi İlimler* (İstanbul: İz yay., 1997), 139.

⁷² Ibid., 144.

⁷³ T. 236/ 10b, 20 M 1264 and T. 240/ 9b, 4 M 1265.

To focus on the main actor of this small section, we turn to the study by İhsanoğlu under the title of “Chief Instructor İshak Efendi/ Pioneer of Modern Science in Turkey”. In this detailed book it is claimed that İshak Efendi was a Jewish convert from Yanya.⁷⁵ İshak Efendi’s birth date and education prior to the Mühendishane is unknown. İhsanoğlu indicates that he learned Hebrew from his family and Greek in the village where he was born. His knowledge of Turkish, Arabic and Persian shows that he had a Madrasa or similar education in his childhood or youth, after his conversion to Islam. His teaching of the *Isagoci* book in his logic courses, his derivation of new Ottoman terminology from Arabic roots prove this fact. After his education at the Mühendishane, where he also gave lessons as a senior class student at the same time, he was assigned to be Imperial Court Dragoman. In 1830, he was appointed to the Mühendishane as chief instructor to restore order and raise the level of education with the provision that, if he did not succeed, he would be punished. In 1834, he was sent abroad to repair the sacred buildings (*ebniye-i mübareke*) in Medine. He died in February 1836 on his way back to İstanbul from Medine.⁷⁶

After examining some details concerning İshak Efendi and Sadullah Efendi’s relation to him, we may analyse his importance in Sadullah Efendi’s character formation. It is widely known that among his students there were famous scientists and scholars of 19th c.; Chemist Derviş Paşa, “Müşir” Emin Paşa and “Mirliya” Esad Paşa who contributed to the development of Western sciences in the Ottoman state. Esad Efendi, the writer of *Mirat-ı Mühendishane* stated that “Among the scientists of his period, İshak Efendi had a very special place with his hard-working and committed character and it is impossible not to admire him after reading his works....He talked with a Jew in Hebrew, with a Christian in Latin. When people from Arab countries, Persia or

⁷⁴ *Sicil-i Osmani*, Mehmed Süreyya, pg. Cilt 2.

⁷⁵ Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Başhoca İshak Efendi* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yay., 1989) , 96.

France came to his house, he could make conversation with them in their mother tongue. At the same time people from the Christian population or the Patriarchate visited him at the Mühendishane for help in reading or translating complicated old documents”⁷⁷

In addition, Esad Efendi gives some information about his daily-life: “In his private life, İshak Efendi lived in Yavuz Selim with his brother, Esad Efendi. When he had not courses, he stayed in his house and spent his time writing or translating books, going only to Sultan Selim Mosque to pray. He translated books while leaning against a pillow and supporting the book for translation upon his knees, the paper in his hands. At the same time he enjoyed smoking a *nargile*.”⁷⁸ About him, Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu claims that “The swift and widespread translations made by him and the new methods and organisation he brought into the Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayün’s educational system, can be considered to be the basis of intensive reforms made in the Ottoman educational system and sciences after the Tanzimat period.”⁷⁹ İhsanoğlu also accepts İshak Efendi’s famous book *Mecmua-ı Ulum-u Riyaziye* as “the first attempt to compile the Turkish texts of natural and mathematical sciences such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, biology, botanic, zoology and mineralogy in a compendium.”⁸⁰ Similarly, İsmail Kara considers him to be among the pioneers who were careful to use Ottoman terms while translating works based on foreign sources.⁸¹

As İhsanoğlu informs us some of the terms coined by him were still being used in Turkey in the year 1930 and one can find them even today in some Arabic works.⁸² We know that in 1249, İshak Efendi was teaching Etienne Bézout’s (1730-1783) Cours

⁷⁶ Ibid., 97-99.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 27.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 95.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 102.

⁸¹ İsmail Kara, *Bir Felsefe Dili Oluşturmak* (İstanbul : Dergah Yay., 2001)

⁸² İhsanoğlu, *Baḥoca*, 105.

de Mathematiques a l'Usage du Corps Royal de l'Artillerie.⁸³ Additionally, in his above-mentioned book, *Mecmua-i Ulum-u Riyaziye*, İshak Efendi referred to Bezout's work in the sections on mathematics and mechanics.⁸⁴

After the discussion on his education, particularly on *ilm-i nücum*, I want to shift the focus on what it consists of as a science/art with a more detailed outlook to the issue.

Scene Four : *İlm-i Nücum*

In this scene, another subject that constitutes an important part in the life of Sadullah Efendi comes into appearance: *İlm-i Nücum*. This scene aims to explore what this art/science is and how Sadullah Efendi conduct this art/science from the perspective of his daily concerns.

Humankind has witnessed a signal change in the scope of science which is bound up with the color of the relationship between the East and Western world. The history of science literature contains many examples concerning the great paradigm shift that occurred in the Western world and its influence throughout the world.⁸⁵ Specialists call this shift a “scientific revolution”, which designates the total transformation of the way people experience their perception of the universe. At this point, Sadullah Efendi stands out as a person dealing with the interpretation of star-

⁸³ İhsanoğlu, *Başıhoca* p. 59, based on Takvim-i Vekayi.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 104.

⁸⁵ For a detailed information on this issue, see: Sir Herbert Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science: 1300-1800* (New York: Free Press, 1965). Sir Karl Raimund Popper, *All Life is Problem Solving*, tr. Patrick Camiller, (London & New York: Routledge, 1999). S. Thomas Kuhn, *The Essential Tension: Selected Studies in Scientific Tradition and Change*, (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1977), idem., *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press., 1970). İsmet Özel, *Üç Mesele* (İstanbul: Çığdem Yay., 1988). İlhan Kutluer, *Modern Bilimin Arka Planı* (İstanbul: İnsan Yay., 1985). Fritjof Capra, *The Turning Point: Science, Society and the Rising* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982). G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: 1927-48). Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996).

signs depending on Ptolemaic universe which today is accepted as non-scientific and irrational. Although there is one case in which he approaches *ilm-i nücum* as being invalid and claims that he will give up practising it, he continues to be a *müneccim*.⁸⁶ He kept on living in the world in which for Grunebaum “(there is) no mandatory or even no clearly perceived dividing line between natural and the supernatural, any more than (i) between the possible and (ii) the impossible.”⁸⁷ He calls this one of the features of a pre-modern world, in which the Western world before Descartes was also included. Throughout several centuries, before modernity came into the Islamic world alchemy, astrology, mysticism and dream interpretation were not left aside but were categorized under the title of “*batini ilm*” as complementary to the “*zahiri ilm*”s such as geometry, physics, chemistry, medicine and astronomy.⁸⁸ Both of them were included under the classification of “*akli ilm*”/rational science, a complement to the “*nakli ilm*”/science. Sadullah Efendi also conducted astrology in the same encompassing/total character of science in Islam. So that, like many other people, he did not find any contradictory situation in his mental world from being educated in both *fikh* and *ilm-i nücum*, a *nakli* science and an *akli* one. In addition, as we will see below, he did not see *ilm-i nücum* as unnatural in meaning both astronomy and astrology, a *zahiri* science and a *batini* one. Besides, like the Renaissance astrologer, Cardano Bruno, Sadullah Efendi lived also

⁸⁶ On Cemayizelevvel 1264 (April 1848), he expressed himself with these fragile words: “*Although I left my country home and arrived at İstanbul when my star map was under very proper condition as Batlamyus said, I did not realize any influence of it. I suffered so much when I stayed there and I could not even hold onto any niyabet that were given out generously to the illiterate and inadequate ones. So it indicates the invailidity and falsehood of Batlamyus’ sentences. All the astrologers are big liars, even if in the past these stars had influence, at the moment they become unsound. So all the astrologers and their sciences are out-of-date. Astrologers! Look at my condition, take lessons and leave this müneccimlik, here I leave it.*” However he kept on interpreting stars.

⁸⁷ G.E.von Grunebaum, “The Cultural Function of the Dream as Illustrated by Classical Islam” in *Dream in World History*, ed.by G. E. von Grunebaum and Roger Calliois (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1966), 6.

⁸⁸ There were also several other classifications such as *medeni*, *tabii*, *ilahi*, *ta’limi*, *ameli*, *nazari* etc. For the classification of the sciences, see Nev’i Efendi, *İlimlerin Özü*, haz. Ömer Tolgay, (İstanbul: İnsan Yay., 1995). Ibn-i Khaldun, *The Mukaddimah: an Introduction to History*, tr. Franz Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1967). Farabi, *İhsa’ul-ulûm: İlimlerin Sayımı*, tr. Ahmet Ateş (İstanbul: MEB Yay., 1990).

“not only in a world of wonders, but in one of signifiers.”⁸⁹ Hence, both of them, like their pre-modern colleagues, trusted in the reality of dreams as firmly as in planetary motions. As he lived in a society where dreams were seen as privileged signs⁹⁰, Sadullah Efendi left behind nineteen dreams recorded in his private calendars. His intention in recording his dreams may be sought in the habit of “sharing them with intimates”⁹¹ and in the tradition of oneirocriticism which is essentially concerned with allegory, news from the “outside reality.”⁹² As it is known, “the recording of dreams and the soliciting of dream interpretations were common Ottoman activities”⁹³ as in medieval Islamic society from where the libraries have “innumerable dreams scattered in every literary genre”⁹⁴ nearby in the (auto)biographical documents.⁹⁵ In a sense, we, today, have less need of our dreams than the people of earlier times.⁹⁶ Grunebaum tries to explain the reason for this in these words: “We are no longer so deeply concerned with the Hereafter and the supernatural; better put, the borders of the ‘natural’ have been pushed out, and with this expansion of the rationally, even experimentally, accessible, the importance of the dream, the vision, the revelatory communication has shrunk within our daily lives and our intellectual lives as well.”⁹⁷ The same statement

⁸⁹ Anthony Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos/the Worlds and Works of A Renaissance Astrologer* (Cambridge [u.a.]: Harvard University Press, 1999) ,169.

⁹⁰ Fedwa Malti-Douglas, “Dreams, the Blind, and the Semiotics of the Biographical Notice”, *Studia Islamica* 51 (1980), 142.

⁹¹ Cornell Fleischer, “Sectaries’ Dreams: Augury and Angst in Ottoman Scribal Service” ,87. About this issue Fleischer also says: “..the discussion of dreams and delineation and interpretation of their significant commonalties (‘I dreamed about *such and such*’) would have been a regular part of conversation in the household or in the bureau.” same page.

⁹² Fedwa Malti-Douglas, 145 ; Grunebaum, 21.

⁹³ Robert Dankoff, *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman*, 16. see also Cernat Kafadar’s “Mütereddit Bir Mutasavvıf: Üsküplü Asiye Hatun’un Rüya Defteri”, *Topkapı Sarayı Yıllığı* 9 (1990) : 168-222. The unique article about this issue has a preliminary survey of the literature so that we do not see it necessary to give information beyond his detailed work.

⁹⁴ Toufy Fahd, “The Dream in Medieval Islamic Society” in *Dream in World History*, 351.

⁹⁵ “Since dreams were so closely interwoven with Muslim life, the autobiographies of many prominent Muslim figures contain extensive dream diaries and accounts of decisions based upon dream revelations.” Rober L. Van de Castle, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1995), 72.

⁹⁶ Although psychoanalysis is widely conducted on dreams, its systematization and world-view is leaned on modern scientific assumptions that are very different from “pre-modern” conception of the universe and hereafter.

⁹⁷ Grunebaum, 20

could be taken as valid for astrology. Although it seems to be persisting, it is clear that astrology has survived without its cosmological and epistemological background and seems to survive in a more vulgarized and popularized way in the columns of newspapers and periodicals.

To understand this, firstly one must learn what *ilm-i nücum* is. Literally it means “science of the stars” and it is the description of the situation of the state of the sky and what it contains. In short, it is about the use and the preparing of the *zics* which are comprehensive handbooks containing both theoretical chapters on astronomy and the relevant tables, calculating the stars’ and the planets’ elliptical co-ordinates, their sizes, motions etc., preparing the calendars and the interpretation of the stars’ movements and positions in time.⁹⁸ *Ilm-i nücum* is based on the principle that, as a microcosm, man has affinities with the entire macrocosm and is subject to the influences of the stars.⁹⁹ The cosmos in this science is the one based on “L’Amour che mouve il sole el’altre stelle” in the Dantean sense. In this cosmos, the microcosm is humankind, with the four elements-earth, air, water and fire, at the centre. Outside the realm of the elements, which reaches up to the sphere of the moon, the planets revolve, embedded in crystalline spheres: the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. Outside the last sphere appear the signs of the Zodiac with four angels; Gabriel, Azrael, Michael and Israfil.¹⁰⁰

As the link between astrology and astronomy is not clearly separated in Islamic culture at least until the 19th c., the term *müneccim* signifies both astrologer and astronomer.¹⁰¹ However, from the thirteenth century onwards, if one needs to make a distinction between the two, astronomy was commonly referred to as *ilm-i felek* (science

⁹⁸ In appendix part, there are two photographs showing how the astrologers of Europe and of Ottoman Empire were working. See Appendices.

⁹⁹ Nallino, “Astrology” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, (new edition), vol. I., 495.

¹⁰⁰ see, Seyyed Huseyin Nasr, *İslam ve İlim* ter. İlhan Kutluer (İstanbul: İnsan Yay., 1989), 27-36.

of the spheres) or *ilm-i heyet* (science of the [heavenly] configurations), and counted as a mathematical science instead of the applied physical sciences in which astrology, referred to as *ilm-i ahkam-ı nücum* (science of the decrees of the stars), belongs, together with agriculture, medicine and alchemy.¹⁰² Ibn-i Tawus cites part of a list of topics that an astrologer should learn. Saliba says that the list covers two full printed pages of mainly astronomical subjects. Again learning from Saliba, Al-Qabisi states that “ ‘the perfect astrologer’ is supposed to know astronomy so well that he would need no one else to help him develop his own observations and ephemeris.”¹⁰³ For Cabir bin Hayyam, “the astrologer must be a mathematician; he must have mastery of astronomy; this is a part of the astrology.” Similar to these words, Adovardo, an European astrologer from the 15th century, cites that :

Ah! Anyone who wants to give a really full account would have to have a lot more precepts than this. Imagine someone whom the astronomers have taught that Mars inspires the force of armies and the rage of battle, Mercury teaches many sciences and subtlety of intellect and marvellous arts, Jupiter governs ceremonies and religious minds, the sun grants rank and sovereignty, the moon stimulates voyages and female and plebeian movements, Saturn hinders and delays our thoughts and efforts. Imagine that he knew all of their natures and powers, but had no idea in which part of the sky, or at what elevation, each of them has more or less power in itself, and with which rays each of them forges friendship or enmity with the others, and what effect they can have, in conjunction, toward causing good or bad fortune. Certainly he would be no astrologer.¹⁰⁴

In medieval Islamic and Renaissance Western society, one of the ways to become a *müneccim* was to study a major astrological text, such as the *Almagest* of

¹⁰¹ Salim Aydüz, *Osmanlılar'da Müneccimbaşılık Müessesesi*, 2 and 12.

¹⁰² George Saliba, *A History of Arabic Astronomy: Planetary Theories during The Golden Age of Islam* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1994), 66.

¹⁰³ Saliba, “The Role of the Astrologer in Medieval Islamic Society” in *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* XLIV (1992), Damas, 54-5.

Ptolemy (*El-Majesti* of Batlamyus), then learn some basic astronomy and mathematics in order to use or even construct an ephemeris, then step by step learn how to cast a horoscope.¹⁰⁵ For this, an astrologer must use an astronomical instrument, for example, an astrolabe, to tell the exact time and the almanac, “a work largely consisting of tables, which would provide him with all the data he was likely to need to construct and interpret genitures and interrogations”¹⁰⁶ to determine the positions of the heavenly bodies for the required moment.¹⁰⁷ We know that Sadullah Efendi had many astrolabes and several ephemeris like other *müneccims*. Probably, in the making of an astrologer, the way which was frequently followed was to be an apprentice like an artists, at the hands of an astrologer. There are many references attesting to such relationship in medieval Islamic society. In addition, in Ottoman society, the same one-to-one tutoring basis seems to have been conducted. With the help of Salim Aydüz’s work, we may trace this in the lives of the *müneccimbaşı*.¹⁰⁸ Sadullah Efendi’s life also gives many clues: he tried to teach his son, Pertev, how to prepare a calendar when he was still a child. Since Sadullah Efendi’s father, Abdülkerim Efendi, was a well-known *müneccim*, this style of teaching is reminiscent of what Sadullah Efendi himself might have experienced in his childhood. Additionally, as explained above, he notes that he has taken courses from the Chief *müneccim* of the palace, Rakım Efendi, and the second *müneccim*, İbrahim Bey, in preparing calendars. Under the tutorship of İshak Efendi, he also reads “*Hülasat-ül Hesab*”.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Grafton, *Cardano’s Cosmos*, 30.

¹⁰⁵ Saliba, “The Role of the Astrologer”, 52.

¹⁰⁶ Grafton, 22.

¹⁰⁷ Saliba, “The Role”, 52.

¹⁰⁸ Aydüz, “Osmanlılar’da Müneccimbaşılık”.

¹⁰⁹ See page 33-34 for the detailed information on this book.

If we turn our attention to *ilm-i nücum* again, we see that it has a very old tradition. Indians, Persians, Syrians, Copts and Greeks “had reached higher levels of sophistication, whether in mathematical planetary theory, in claims to evaluate the ways in which the stars influence human events, or in calendar systems with astronomical content.”¹¹⁰ Even the Arabs themselves had some kind of basic knowledge of the “lunar mansions and the heliacal rising of certain stars.”¹¹¹ Islamic Civilisation in which astrology was practised, also widens its border. Then came a well-known translation phase. Several texts began to be translated into Arabic from Greek, Pahlavi, Syriac and Sanskrit especially from the ninth century on. These texts included the Tetrabiblos and Almagest of Ptolemy, books by Dorotheus of Sidon and Zik-i Shatro-ayar (Zij al-Shah). In addition to such developments, many observatories were founded in different corners of the “Dar-al Islam”: important instances are those of Şammasiye in Baghdad and Kasiyun in Damascus (9th c.); in Maragha in 13th century (in which there were several astronomical staff, such as Nasir Al-Din Al-Tusi, and a Chinese scholar, Fao Mun-ji); in Samarkand (founded by Uluğ Bey [1393-1449]) in 1420/1 and in Istanbul (by Takiyeddin [1521-1585] on the orders of Murad III [1574-1595]) in 1574/5. The Samarkand observatory has a special place among these, because, under the direction of Uluğ Bey, famous scholars of the time, such as Ali Kuşçu, Giyaseddin, Kadızade Rumi, worked there and produced the long-lasting astronomical tables known as *Uluğ Bey Zic*.¹¹² Additionally, minarets, clock-towers (*muvaakkithanes*) and other high places were used for the observation of the sky in areas where there was no observatory established for these tasks. While these improvements were taking place, hot debates on the nature of *ilm-i nücum* were going on. Several scholars, including Farabi, Ibn-i Khaldun, Ibn-i

¹¹⁰ John North, *Astronomy And Cosmology* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995), 174.

¹¹¹ Saliba, *A Hist. of Arabic Astronomy*, 67.

¹¹² See Aydin Sayili, *Observatory in Islam* (Ankara: 1969)

Qayyum Al-Cazwiyya and Ibn- Rushd (Averroes), took up a definite stance against this science.¹¹³ For instance, a ninth century poet, Abu Tammam al-Habib ibn Aws, in his famous poem in words such as: "The sword is much more telling than the [astrologer's] books..." mocks the false prediction of the astrologers that al-Mu'tasim would not be able to conquer Amorium,¹¹⁴ However, Kindî, İhvan al-Safa and Fahr al-Din-i Razi did not reject astrology. The famous Al-Biruni chose to take part in this debate: he attacked astrology and said that he discussed it only to warn the intelligent man to reject that science; but at the same time he compiled the best encyclopedic work on medieval Islamic astrology.¹¹⁵

Along with these debates, *ilm-i ahkam-ı nûcum* was categorized by its definition and methodology. Accordingly, it was divided into two branches: natural astrology, consisting of the observation of the influences of the stars on the natural elements, and judicial astrology consisting of the observation of the influences of the stars on human destiny. The latter is applied to two important areas of human life: genethliology (*mevalid*) and hemerology (*ihdiyariyat*, literally elections). The first is "the most common type, dealing with the problems of individuals, mainly through a reading of the heavenly configurations at his time of birth, starting from the point of the 'horoscope', that is, the point of the ecliptic that is ascending the eastern horizon at that time."¹¹⁶ It is concerned with the fate of individuals and permits the compilation of their horoscope, starting from the date of birth. Saliba states that the artistic depictions of medieval astrologers present either individually or in groups at the time of the birth of a child are extremely numerous.¹¹⁷ *İhtiyarat* and *Mesail* (Choice and Interrogation) are types of less importance but much more widely practised. The former consists rather in

¹¹³ About this issue, see Saliba, *A History of...*, 66-72.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 68.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 69.

¹¹⁶ George Saliba, *A History of Arabic Astronomy*, 70-71.

distinguishing the auspicious (*sa 'd*) and inauspicious (*nahs*) astrological signs (*ahkam*), the opportune and inopportune hours to take action, the favourable and unfavourable moment for such conduct, all in terms of the sun's position in the signs of the Zodiac, the path that the sun traces through the sphere of the stars, and the moon in its mansions (*menazil*), and the relations which result from them, such as opposition (*mukabele*), lunar quarter (*terbi'*) and sixth (*tasdis*) etc. In addition it deals with the questions (*mesail*) which are asked by clients concerning their daily activities and their outcome.¹¹⁷ In the case of the "*ihitiyariyat*" and "*mesail*", the ascendant to be determined was that of the moment in question. In the notes about these questions, Sadullah Efendi generally adds information on which moment he uses for determination. Also the range of questions under these two branches is very wide. Concerning this, we will give examples from the notes of Sadullah Efendi and see the variety of questions being asked of him.

Since antiquity the Zodiac had been divided into twelve signs, each of which is represented by an animal or other symbol. In Arabic (English names in brackets) these symbols are : Hamel (Aries), Sevr (Taurus), Cevza (Gemini), Seretan (Cancer), Esed (Leo), Sünbüle (Virgo), Mizan (Libra), Akreb (Scorpio), Kavs (Sagittairus), Cedy (Capricorn), Delv (Aquarius) and Hut (Pisces). The following are the names of the seven planets : Utarid (Mercury), Zühre (Venus), Mirrih (Mars), Müşteri (Jupiter), Zuhul (Saturn), Kamer (Moon) and Şems (Sun). There are many miniature paintings depicting these signs in the manuscript collections. Each of them was believed to have its own character and influence which must be learned in order to be an astrologer. In Sadullah Efendi's *Zayıçe Mecmua's*, one may follow such knowledge; while he was charting a horoscope with the help of the almanacs, astrolabes or simple clocks, after determining

¹¹⁷ Idem., "The Role of the Astrologer", 57, fn. 72.

¹¹⁸ *Encyclopedia of Islam*, (new edition) vol.7, 550-8, 106-8.

the ascendant (*tali'*), from which the initial (*awa'il or marakiz*) of the remaining eleven celestial houses were calculated¹¹⁹, he interprets this data by his skilled knowledge of the above-mentioned signs. There are various parts or points of the Zodiac which are of the highest importance through their relation to the sun, the moon and the five planets, for they show their limits (*hudud*), houses and injurious influences (*vebalat*), ascendancies (*eşref*) and decline (*hubutat*).¹²⁰ In terms of the planets, the astrologer must take into consideration the fact that “each planet, like each house, had a character. Each, accordingly, also had properties that set it apart from the rest, being hot or cold, dry or wet, and exercised a particular influence on the mutable creatures on the earth below.”¹²¹ As we learn from Nallino, “even the degrees of Zodiac are considered by many astrologers to have their own peculiar nature, such as masculine, feminine, shining, dark, coloured, smoky etc.”¹²² Sadullah Efendi is supposed, too, to have the knowledge to determine how each of the planets affected the others' powers, “enhancing or diminishing them by a complex set of rules”¹²³. These “aspects” are as follows: Opposition (*istikbal*) (180 degrees), Trine (*teslis*) (120 degrees), Quadrature (*terbi'*) (90 degrees) and Sextile (*tasdis*) (60 degrees). Opposition and quadrature are hostile relations, whereas trine and sextile are positive. In the notes of Sadullah Efendi, there are several examples of how he interprets the positions of heavenly bodies; however, as mentioning them is not the purpose of this work, we will leave them out. Instead, we are interested in the colour of the questions he faced during his life-span.

About the practise of *ilm-i nücum*, first of all it must be said that as Grafton points out, “all astrology, like all politics, is local”. Like Cardano who worked with the Milanese, Sadullah Efendi had a strong client network in Ankara. Although he also had

¹¹⁹ Nallino, “İlm-i Nüjum”, 496.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 495.

¹²¹ Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos*, 26.

¹²² Nallino, 495.

a relationship with some high-ranking officials from Istanbul via correspondence, most of these officials had been in Ankara previously. So it can be safely claimed that his personal relationships were established during their stay in Ankara. With some of them, Sadullah Efendi so improved his personal friendship that during his time in Istanbul, he frequently visited their residences along the Bosphorous and even stayed there. For instance, Izzet Pasha and Nafiz Pasha's big residences were available for him to spend the night at. Presumably he also improved his relations with them during their duties in Ankara. As will be explained below, his desire or need to establish connections with prominent people stems both from the nature of astrology and also from the Ottoman idea of a patron/client-based bureaucratic system. We base this section heavily on the former one. In an article on "The Role of the Astrologer in Medieval Islamic Society", George Saliba mentions such a relationship in the same words. For him, astrologers' patrons were usually men of political power. He says that "like other craftsmen, artists, and professionals, they had to depend on a patronage system for their sustenance, and they seem to have exploited that system with some success." In the Ottoman Empire "princes, rulers, caliphs, and local officials consulted with astrologers before embarking on actions of any major important."¹²⁴

As mentioned above, Sadullah Efendi had many local patrons, but not from the court. The court astrologers, who were paid monthly salaries and even gifts were the most lucky ones. It is true that Sadullah Efendi mentioned receiving some gifts from the pashas, but he received them mostly as a result of his presenting with a *kaside*. He did not leave any record of payment for his astrological services. However, based on the fact that Sadullah Efendi wrote down nearly every piece of money he received in his expenditure notes, we can guess that he probably did not take money for his astrological

¹²³ Grafton, 30.

¹²⁴ Saliba, 66.

practices. Instead, in one note, he recorded that he received a letter of thanks containing compliments on his astrological knowledge. However, he might have preferred not to note down the gifts in cash. In addition, one of the reasons why Sadullah Efendi continues to chart diagrams could be related to the conditions for the subsistence of him and his family that he complains about. Nevertheless, these are speculations; we claim with more confidence that he seems to use his poetical ability and astrological service more or less for prominent people in order to receive gifts and construct the political ties which he needed for his appointments. No wonder then, that poems and horoscopes were the main tools Sadullah Efendi used in the arena of hard competition in which the Ottoman *ulema* strove for their livelihood. If we look at the range of the questions Ottoman statesmen asked Sadullah Efendi, we see that the concern about or stress of their political lives constitute the highest number. Usually, he was confronted with questions such as the following: “How long will I remain in this position?”, “Will I get a good appointment in that position and gain a good reputation & property?”. They also wonder the same things about their political rivalries. Sometimes, Sadullah Efendi drew up genitures for them. In these genitures, every information about their possible lives is noted. So we can follow the life expectancy of prominent 19th c. Ottoman people from these.

To make sense, a typical one of the genitures will be presented here. It was prepared for Cazib Salahaddin Ağa b. Sheikh Ahmed Efendi. In this paper the geniture will be shortened because in order to translate the whole, one must have a good knowledge of *ilm-i nücum*. As our purpose is about the hidden or clear genre of the geniture’s text, astrological details are unnecessary. With Sadullah Efendi’s astrological interpretations, a possible course for the life of Salahaddin Ağa is as follows:

...he does not look like his mother, father, uncle or tutor. ...his appointments are not in his home country, but instead in the provinces ... he can not escape from illness... indicates that his sense of hearing and appetite is very strong... he also has a nervous character. Because Mars is under the sun's position, he is always frightened of the privileged persons and if he becomes angry, he is unable to control himself. He is always upset and becomes grieved even about small things... indicates that he has a hard character...indicates that he married of his own will but antipathy exists between him and his wife. This negative feeling does not cause trouble, but gossip and uneasiness will always exist in their domestic lives. However, although he does not appreciate the fact, his wives manage the household well... indicates that he has the opportunity of being close to notable people and through their influence, he will reach high positions and gain (valuable) property. His rank in the state will be in office and government departments, not in academics. (Interestingly) he dislikes and does not want to see those prominent persons who help him in taking office. He will even try to cut off relationships with them...indicates either the death of his slave or concubine or their illnesses in the provinces...indicates that he will inherit a fortune which he will squander. He (also) becomes possessed of property without any effort on his part which suggests it will be illegally obtained. God knows best... indicates love, he likes women very much. I (Sadullah Efendi) trust that at the moment he is in love. ...indicates that he will be separated from his parents in far provinces and even that his father will die there...indicates that he has got a few brothers but even they are in a bad position...indicates that contrary to his success with money, he will own rentable property only with difficulty...indicates the death of his wife: and it seems that she was a good person and people will be upset by her death, they will not lament the living one...indicates abundance of money and property. I (Sadullah Efendi) have not seen such richness before. However, he can not give/leave money to his relatives.¹²⁵

In the above mentioned geniture, Sadullah Efendi seems to look at some issues in particular. His attitude shows the existence of a mutual understanding between

¹²⁵ KRK, Z.M. 342/ 23b-24a.

his explanations and Salahaddin Ağa's expectations from life. We can safely claim that they communicate within the same boundries. It may be said that if Sadullah Efendi were to make the same interpretations for a contemporary Turkish bureaucrat, presumably he would find few things making sense to him. Although he might inquire about his health, money, job and love conditions, the genre of the geniture would be settled differently. The change in the state system and family relationships means that people's life-time concerns would also change. In the case of Cazib Salahaddin Ağa, we can easily follow possible anxiety areas. Sadullah Efendi's interpretation of his relationships with prominent people, his parents, brothers, servants, wives and children reflect the personal worries of Cazib Salahaddin Ağa and possibly of other 19th century Ottoman statesmen. Alongside, this might be the fact that universal concerns on health and money constitute the areas of greatest speculation and in his character analyses, Sadullah Efendi must show his ability to the full. The crucial point in the case of Cazib Salahaddin Ağa is his fear of everybody. Sadullah Efendi writes this down at the heart of the horoscope diagram with such words: "*Heman korkar heman korkar avamdan ve havasdan heman korkar*". At the end of the geniture, he adds such information: "*In 1223(1808), his father died in the provinces. Cazib Selahaddin Ağa became a notable in Ankara and got property in this rank. Then he was raised to the rank of kapucubaşı. He is good at quick replies... he was appointed to Edirne in the west, Diyarbakır and Halep in the east. He has been married four times and became the father of four children. He is a very rich person with real estates and farms. Mostly he was complaining about a pain in his...*"¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Z.M. 342/ 23b: "1223 senesi Rebiul'ula evasıtında Mevludun pederi Sheikh Ahmed Efendi gurbette vefat etmiştir. Mevlüd Ankara'dan ayan ve gayet-ül gaye nafız olub gayet mal-dar olmuştur. Ve muratıbdan dahi ibtida tarik-i kuzata duhul idüp sonra kapucubaşı olmuştur. Marifetten beheryab ve şair ve huşku ve hazır cevap ve hub-u manzır vesat-ül kame nahif-ül vücud Ankara'dan garbi olarak Edirne'ye ve şarki olarak Diyarbakır ve Haleb taraflarına mansıba azimet ve sefer itmıştır. Ve dört tezevvüc idüb dört evladı olmuştur. Çifilik ve akarat sahibi bir zattır. Ve ekser vech-ü butun ve sancıdan şikayet eder sahib-i tahi beyt-ül marazda olduğundandır."

Confusion stems from the repetitive feature of this additional information and the text itself. As Sadullah Efendi draw up this geniture on 19 Safer 1271, (10.11.1854), his prediction about the death of Sheikh Ahmed Efendi and other information about his wives, children and property seems to be nonsense. It repeats an already known fact. The geniture seems not to be a prediction but merely an interpretation of already known conditions. It also suggests that Sadullah Efendi has drawn up this chart only as an exercise. A sense of prediction in his interrogations prepared for many people, but especially for prominent bureauracts, about their possible appointments and dates of dismissal is lacking in this geniture. Additionally, comparing the genitures to the interrogations, the former constitute a very small place in his horoscope collection. However, it is also possible that he might have had another collection, merely devoted to them, which has not come down to us.

In the end we can speculate that Sadullah Efendi was probably an astrologer dealing with less important but widely practised issues, rather than being an investigator of world history or one who drew up genitures which are “the most central and challenging task of the skilled astrologer over the centuries and millennia”¹²⁷. As well as casting horoscopes for the above mentioned prominent people of the society, Sadullah Efendi also cast horoscopes for relatively unimportant people. Although they form only a small portion, we see that these people also ask him questions. To give an example, on the 8th Şevval 1264 (07/09/1848), when Sadullah Efendi and the son of one of his uncle, Hayri Efendi return from seashore residences along the Bosphorous to offer good wishes on the occasion of the *Kurban Bayram*, he notices a women who is praying in his residence. After praying, she says, “I have learned of your astrological knowledge. As you are an astrologer, I would like to consult you about the condition of

¹²⁷ Grafton, *Cardano*, 9.

my daughter and son who are in Crete.” Sadullah Efendi was surprised at her knowledge of him. He notes this: “*Whatever her source of news, she heard that I am an astrologer.*” He makes a chart for her question and concludes that the news of their death will come soon, but piously observes that God knows best.¹²⁸ Most of the time, whether the person is important or relatively unimportant, Sadullah Efendi casts horoscopes for his friends. For instance, when he and his friends sit together they ask him questions about their “stars”. These consultations occur in a friendly atmosphere different from that of his consultation for the Pashas. In his own words, his friends’ questions occur in this way: “*bila niyet meclisde otururken bazı ahabab tali’ime bakiver dedikleri su’alin zayıçeleri.*” Among those friends can be counted the *defterdar* and *müftü* of Ankara: İzzet Efendi and El-Hac Osman Vafi Efendi, Derviş Süleyman, his servants Mustafa and Ali and Italikzade İbrahim Efendi. About the reason for people’s resorting to him for various anxieties of everyday life, it is to be seen that getting appropriate answers make people relax in return to their concerns.

Sometimes Sadullah Efendi himself expresses one dimension of his art clearly. He calls this “*teselliyat*”/ consolation in which he chooses to say pleasant words in order to give consolation. For instance, on 19 N 1254 (06.12.1838), he records a horoscope and adds some information about it. It says that when one of his friends, Enverzade Nurullah Molla, in a state of despair and sadness, was sitting in a village, away from the urban community, he wrote a letter to him. In his letter, he advises him to return to Ankara at the exact time that he has made a chart for. Sadullah Efendi confesses at this point that he prepared this chart only in order to console him. Afterwards, Nurullah Molla, unaware of Sadullah Efendi’s real purpose, comes back to Ankara on Sadullah Efendi’s advice. A kind of miracle occurs two months later: he becomes chief acrobat and then a wealthy person. Sadullah Efendi seems surprised with

¹²⁸ Z. M. 342/ 102b.

this result and tries to direct the attention of the reader to the condition of the stars at that time.¹²⁹ He offers consolation to Nurullah Molla in these words: "Let's see what God will do". It is reminiscent of a poem by Erzurumlu İbrahim Hakkı, which adds following line to the former one: "Whatever he will do is beautiful." In this case, Sadullah Efendi's intention was to relieve his friend of a depressed condition by using his experience in the knowledge of the sky. He practises the same "psychological" method in other cases, too. In some of them, he offers consolation to couples who want children very much. If he does not find a hopeful result, he again expresses this in the same way: he says: "As it is known that 'every astrologer is a liar', it was offered to them as some words of consolation."¹³⁰

In another case, Selim Pasha asks about an appointment and its rank while he is returning from Maraş to his home-town, Bursa. At this time, because Sadullah Efendi is a *naib* of Beypazarı, through which Selim Pasha is passing on his journey, he consults Sadullah Efendi in certain hope. Nevertheless, bad news is awaiting him: when Sadullah Efendi charts the horoscope, he concludes that Selim Pasha will become miserable. For the sake of his mental health, however, he does not inform the pasha what he saw in the chart. Instead, as he notes down, he prefers to offer him a consoling interpretation. Afterwards, he informs us that, as he had predicted, Selim Pasha became miserable.¹³¹ Although the information Sadullah Efendi gives in an additional note is not very clear,

¹²⁹ KRK, Z.M. 342/ 117b: "*Vakt-i muhtar beray-ı duhul-u hane ve belde Nurulah molla 19 N 1254*"

"*Ahbabımızdan Enverzade Nurullah efendi perişan hal ve bi ser-u samn dermanda kalub karyede sakin olurdu bu vakti ihtiyar edüb şu vakitte gel haneye ki dahil ve sakin ol görelim Allah neyler deyü teselliyat için bu vakti ihtiyar edüb haber verdim ol dahi bu tali vakitte hanesine dahik olub sakin oldu heman 1-2 mah murur edüb tabiatıyla canbazbaşılık kendüsüne tevcih idüb ve esbab-ı bulunub cambazbaşısı olub onunla oldukça ta'yiş eyledi ahval-i tali'a ve kevakiba dikkat buyrula fesubhanallah.*"

¹³⁰ Z. M. 342/ 100b. "*Küllü müneccimin kezzab fehâsı üzere veled olur deyü cevap verüb teselli eyledik./ küllü müneccimin kezzab fehâsınca teselli için veled olur deyü cevap verdik el-ilm-u inde-lallah*"

¹³¹ Z.M. 342/ 83a. "*Sual-i Selim Paşa ez mansıb ve 'izz-u şeref 17 Rebiulahir 1259*" "*Sabıkan Maraş valisi Selim Paşa Maraş'dan azl olunub mahall-i ikameti olan Bursa'ya giderken Beypazarı'nda bizden tali'ini su'al itmiştir bu tali' oldu el-ilm-u inde-lallah-u teala ... 'izz-u saadete ve mansıba delil yoktur mansıb yoktur ... malını perişan etmeğe delalet eder ... afiyetten dahi bir iyilik görünmez ... bu zat pek çok zahmet çeker el- 'ilm-u inde-laah ahkam budur ama kendüsüne biraz teselliyatı havi ahkam yazulub verildi ba'de zaman istima'im oldu ki gayet perişan olmuş.*"

the last example is the most interesting one. In this horoscope, Sadullah Efendi seems to be confronted with an inappropriate question. The question is “Is there any sinful act between the two?” The intention of Said Molla while asking this could not be understood without the help of Sadullah Efendi’s explanation. He notes that he answered him in some pleasant phrases of consolation, but did not give a true interpretation. Instead he preferred to leave this question aside until he had more time for examining it and pondering over it. As the reason for this, he explains that the question is a very disgraceful and evil one.¹³² So, we can grasp that it carries a kind of unpleasant meaning. However, the sentence is still obscure, because one can not read between the lines and find the exact sinful act. The term “two” starts the confusion: it signifies both the day of Monday on which the question was asked, and also two persons. Thus, the meanings of the question changes: firstly it may mean “Is there any sinful act between the Mondays?” or, secondly, “Is there any sinful act between two persons?”. Nevertheless Sadullah Efendi reads that person’s heart’s and foresees what would come next. Through this act, we can safely claim that he is a clever man. However, as we learn from Grafton, in some circumstance, court astrologers especially have to play this game in some circumstances, in which they could not carry out their duty of telling their clients the complete truth.¹³³ At the end, we see that, like Cardano, Sadullah Efendi “made no bones about the connection between horoscopy and networking”.¹³⁴ He also uses his ability as a psychological adviser. People come to him to hear pleasant words about their concerns. Centuries before Sadullah Efendi, Firmicus Maternus from the West recommends astrologers to conduct the delivery of judgements

¹³² Z. M. 342/ 99b. “Sual-i Said Molla isneyn beyninde haram var mıdır yok mudur? 2 Ra 1253 yevm-i isneyn” “Ahkam söyler gibi güzel tabirler ile teselli olunub ahkama tasaddi olunmadı vakt-i vası’da kendümüz mülâhaza ve mütale’a itmek üzere terk olundu zira kabih ve fena ve kesf-ü ayuba müte’allik su’aldir.”

¹³³ Grafton, 123.

¹³⁴ Grafton, 113.

just as Sadullah Efendi does: “ In drawing up a chart, do not show up the bad things about men too clearly, but whenever you come to such a point, delay your responses with a certain reticence, in case you seem not only to explain but also to approve what the evil course of the stars decrees for man.”¹³⁵

* * * * *

Return to Scene Two : Family Background

After this long remark on ilm-i nücum, we want to turn again our attention into the family of Sadullah Efendi. The younger son of Şeyhi Mustafa, Tüfenkçibaşı Mehmed Arif Efendi lived in Istanbul and was educated at the Palace school (*Enderûn*). According to Fatin’s memoirs, Mehmed Efendi was born in 1171 (1757). In 1209 (1793), he became *tüfenkçibaşı*. After being promoted gradually, he received the position of judge in Yenişehir, in Edirne and then in 1239 (1823) in Mecca. In 1242 (1826), he became a judge in Istanbul and died in 1245 (1829). He was a poet and was also the author of “ A History of the Tüfenkçibaşı”, *Tüfenkçibaşı Tarihi* which was referred to by Cevdet Paşa in his famous *Tarih-i Cevdet*. Sadullah Efendi mentions his uncle sometimes; for instance, he notes that his uncle has recorded the death of Müneccimbaşı Rakım Efendi, who was one of Sadullah Efendi’s teachers.¹³⁶ Sadullah Efendi talks about his cousins (sons of Mehmed Arif Efendi), too. He writes down that Daniş Efendi came to Ankara on the 1st of Şaban in 1255 (18/12/1839) and on 2nd of

¹³⁵ Grafton, 19.

¹³⁶ KRK, Z. M. 342/ 2.

Şevval he visited Sadullah Efendi in his residence; in Ramazan of the same year, he became surgeon to the Ankara cavalry.¹³⁷ His other cousin, Hayri Efendi, was described in the sources as *Molla* of Aleppo.¹³⁸ Sadullah Efendi also records this appointment on 30 Şevval 1264, in his calendar number, 240, page 7b. Relying on Sadullah Efendi's own words, it seems that while Sadullah Efendi was in İstanbul during 1263 and 1264, Hayri Efendi spent some time with him. For instance, in one case they went together to shore residences along the Bosphorus to offer their good wishes on the occasion of Bayram; in others, they visited each other in their respective houses.¹³⁹ Another son of Abdülkerim Efendi is Vahid Efendi (1210-1273/1796-1856). There is no additional information about Vahid Efendi, except that his wife Sabire Hanım was the sister of Sadullah Efendi's wife, Necibe Hanım.¹⁴⁰ Sadullah Efendi talks about him in some notes. He informs us that on the 27th of Şevval 1241, a court case took place between Vahid Efendi and Hacı Bayram Veli Sheikh Said Baba, and at the beginning of the year 1242, Vahid Efendi went to Istanbul. In addition to this information, Sadullah Efendi recounts that the daughter of Vahid Efendi became engaged in Safer, 1257. Two months after this event, Vahid Efendi, Hakim Efendi and Sadullah Efendi together went to visit a girl in order to betrothe Pertev to her.¹⁴¹

About his sister, also called Necibe Hanım, Sadullah Efendi gives very brief information also. Sadullah Efendi names his new-born daughter, Necibe. She was born 15 years after the death of her aunt and Sadullah Efendi probably wants to commemorate her. This is the second time he has done this, however. About her sudden death he writes a poem dedicated to the date of her death in these words:

Dedim hemşiremin tarihin sa'da niyaz ile

¹³⁷ KRK. T.525/ 9b,11b.

¹³⁸ Fuad Bayramoğlu, 117.

¹³⁹ KRK. T.40/7a, 9b, 4a, 5b.

¹⁴⁰ Fuad Bayramoğlu, 118.

*Necibe Hanım'ı ya rab cenanda culuh saz eyle*¹⁴² (29 Receb 1255- 8/10/1839)

Interestingly enough, in these notes there is no word containing any emotion that could show us how grieved Sadullah Efendi was. Instead he seems to use poems simply to express himself. Necibe Hanım's name is seen first on 11th Z of 1240 (27/6/1825), when Sadullah Efendi looks at the horoscope of his arrival at his house in Ankara. He notes that he came from İstanbul and first visited Necibe Hanım before going to his own house.¹⁴³ Two years later he writes that his sister had a daughter but she did not live long.¹⁴⁴ Thirteen years later, four months before the date of this sad event, on the 27th S of 1255 (12/5/1839) Sadullah Efendi mentions that he has bought a clock for her.¹⁴⁵ Because he did not give the details we can not understand whether it was a present or a commission. At the end, he writes down that his sister, Necibe Hanım, died in 28 Receb 1255 and was buried in Taceddin Dergahı near Sheikh Şehabettin Efendi's grave.¹⁴⁶ Apart from those, we have no information about her.

As he comes from the lineage of Hacı Bayram Veli, his family ties are closely intermingled with those of the Bayramiyye order. Several times, he gives information about the Bayrami *sheikhs* of his period, especially about Muhlis Baba, Said Efendi and Reşad Efendi. Muhlis Baba is also his father in law, and Said Efendi and Edhem Reşad Efendi are his wife, Şerife Nesibe Hanım's brothers.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, it seems worthwhile to give some information about this order here. Hacı Bayram Veli lived in 15th c. Ankara and the order he had established was the first Turkish order of mystics in Anatolia. After its establishment, many people were attracted to his path and became members of this *tarikât*. Bayramiyye began to spread after 815/1412 in the

¹⁴¹ KRK. T.186/1a,7a; KRK.T.221/14b; KRK.T. 222/4b.

¹⁴² Divan : no. ?

¹⁴³ KRK.Z.M.539/1a

¹⁴⁴ KRK.T.186/13b

¹⁴⁵ KRK.T.215/2b

¹⁴⁶ KRK.T.215/7b

surroundings of Ankara, when Hacı Bayram Veli came back to Ankara after the death of his *sheikh*. He began to teach people according to the discipline. In ten years, the number of his pupils increased very fast and as a result, he was summoned to Edirne by the Sultan due to a misunderstanding of his activities by the state authorities. After this visit, good relationships emerged between the state and the Bayramiyye order and it was considered legitimate part of the state. After the death of Hacı Bayram Veli, the Bayrami order separated into two divisions: Şemsiyye and Melamiyye. There were also various *khalifs* of Hacı Bayram, representing the order in various city centers around Ankara. Except four poems, one letter and one *risale*, no written sources belonging to Hacı Bayram telling the views of his order are extant today. However, it is commonly accepted that, after his meeting with the Sultan in Edirne, the Sunni characteristics of his order developed. Hacı Bayram dealt with the peasantry to provide for his subsistence and was known as “Ahi Baba” among artisans. This feature indicates that he supported a kind of sufism that merged with the social life of the people, and had dynamic aspects. His followers were mostly peasants and artisans. In the years following and through the centuries, the *sheikhs* of this order made crucial contributions to the formation of the social and religious life of Anatolian people.¹⁴⁸

In addition to Bayramiyye, Sadullah Efendi had relations with the Halvetiyye order. Sheikh Halil Efendi is at the center of this relationship. Although he did not mention his order’s name, from the “Kastamonu Jurnal Defter” of the year 1252-53, I learn that Sheikh Halil Baba was the Halveti sheikh of Kastamonu-Gerede.¹⁴⁹ Sadullah Efendi records two notes about him, in the first of which, he informs us that he has received a letter from him; and in the second, he notes his death in 2 M 1259. After his

¹⁴⁷ For these notes, see KRK.T. 161/10b; T.186/1b,9a; T. 208/ 4a; T.525/ 6b, 7a, 11b; T.224/5a; T.240/5b and T.251/1b.

¹⁴⁸ Fuat Bayramoğlu, Nihat Azamat, “Bayramiyye”, DİA, cilt. 5, 269-273.

death he also wrote a *kasida* dedicated to him in which he calls him “*pirimiz*”.¹⁵⁰ Similar to his sister’s death, at this time Sadullah Efendi uses a poem to express his emotions:

*Bize .. bize kim gitti cihandan pirimiz
Bir alay biçarayız kim bilmeziz tedbirimiz.
Göklere çıksın gibar-ı .. miz feryadla
Bunca bey viraneyüz kabil değil tamirimiz
Rüzgar
Öyle bir pervaneyüz kim kalmadı tenvirimiz
Bir yetimiz kim gözümüz yaşı dinmez haşre dek
Kimsemiz yok ki sile ruhsar-ı pür taksirimiz
Öyle mecnunuz ki bilmez kimse leylamızı
Neyleyim düşdi aduvvun destine zincirimiz
İzzetin baht-ı siyahi gibi ser taserine*
Tuttu afaki sevad ah ..miz¹⁵¹*

Apart from this description of Sheikh Halil Efendi, he also describes the Halveti *tekke* near his house that he visited in Istanbul.¹⁵² The Halveti order was the most widespread order of the Islamic world. The founder of it was Ömer el- Halveti (d. 800/1397-98), who was a pupil of his uncle Ahî M. Halveti (d. 780/1378-79). He became *sheikh* of the order after the death of his uncle. Several other order such as Celvetiyye originated from this order. The so called second founder was Seyyid Yahya-yı Şirvani. The order originated in Azerbaijan and spread over Anatolia. From Anatolia, the members caused the order to reach out into the Balkans, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, Sudan, Ethiopia and South Asia. The order was introduced to Anatolia first by Amasyalı Pir İlyas. In various cities, many *khalifs* tried to spread the teaching

¹⁴⁹ *Kastamonu Jurnal Defteri*, haz. Abdülkerim Abdulkadiroğlu, İ.Hakkı Aksoyak and Necip Fazıl Duru, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Müdürlüğü yay. No: 11), 1998, 270-1.

¹⁵⁰ KRK.T.224/6b: “Şeyh Halil efendimizden mektub gelüb inabet ettik Allah teala darında aziz eyleye ve saadet darın ile mazhar-ı esrar-ı tevhid eyleye amin.” 24 B 1258; KRK.T.224/11b.

¹⁵¹ KRK.T. 224/11b

and belief of the order and to begin their own teaching activities. Habib Karamanî established a sub-division of *tarika* which caused Kemaleddin İshak Karamanî (d. 933/1517) to bring the order to İstanbul. This order has four important divisions: Rûşeniyye, Cemâliyye, Ahmediyye and Şemsiyye.¹⁵³

Besides Bayramiyye and Halvetiyye, Sadullah Efendi describes Mevleviyye, especially its sheikh Hüsameddin Efendi. Up until his death in 1 C 1269 (12/03/1853), Sadullah Efendi gives information about his journeys between Ankara and Istanbul, and his post as a member of the *meclis* of Ankara.¹⁵⁴ However, Hüsameddin Efendi does not constitute his only tie to the Mevlevi order. In his estate inventory, *Mesnevis* and a commentary on it show us that he liked to read Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi's poems.



¹⁵² KRK.T.240/3b: “Camii Fatih’de salatı ba’de-l eda civarımızda Halveti tekkesine gittik”. 25 C 1264

¹⁵³ Süleyman Uludağ, “Halvetiyye”, *TDİ*, c. 15, 393-394.

¹⁵⁴ KRK.T. 525/8a; T.236/9a; T.221/9b and T. 249.

III. Chapter Two : Skeleton of the Play

Acts : Daily Concerns of Sadullah Efendi; Scene : His Residence

Until this part of the present study, I have given lots of background information about Sadullah Efendi in order to understand him and his daily concerns in a more accurate way. Now, the acting part of this play which is composed of daily concerns of our figure begins. These daily concerns will be narrated as if the play is being performed in the residence of Sadullah Efendi. Thus, Sadullah Efendi's house constitutes the scene of the act, whereas the scenario of the act might be read within the structure of his residence. Daily concerns are to be found as distributed to each room or part of the residence. In this distribution, the function of each of those part is taken into account and daily concerns are put to the corresponding room of the house.

The house in which Sadullah Efendi usually passed his days and received his guests had an important role throughout his life-span as has being briefly mentioned above. He notes when he repairs one of its corners, enters it on returning from a long journey, or sees it in his dreams, and he talks about it frequently. He calls it *hane*, *fakirhane* or *konak*, and the fact that it is located in the Inner Citadel will be shown below. We can add some additional information about Sadullah Efendi's possible love for his house. Several times, he notes the date when one of its corners was repaired or when the rooms were changed according to winter or summer seasons. Sometimes he especially orders his servants to furnish a room in which he wants to sit. It is clear that these notes reflect the importance he gives to his house and when we think of the reasons for this interest, we are able to find some clues. First, we can make a connection between his interest in it and its value. As it was the most expensive commodity in his estate, valued at 28,500 *guruş*, he takes pains over it. As to have a big expensive

residence was one of the basic indicators of prosperity, Sadullah Efendi might want to gain some kind of respect by means of it. However, we also know that he had a prominent place in society through his family background, occupational duties and his wife's position as daughter of an important sheikh of Ankara. Nevertheless, he might have wanted to use it to strengthen his highly already respectable position. Secondly, as mentioned above, in dreams even where the event is not related, he gives many details about his dwelling-place so that we can find many clues about it. In one case, however, we directly see him unconsciously make the analogy between his home-sickness and the house. In one dream, he recorded: "*işbu Rebiülulânın 3. Sebt günü konakda ba'de-l işa saat 3'te derunuma vatan gelüb oğlum ve Mehmed gözüümün önünde güya yanımda gibi bir hal olub bir mertebe-i iştiyak galebe etti ki tabir olunmaz ba'de yatub rüyamda Mehmed'i gördüm bizim kahve odasında helva yaparlar imiş helva getürüb benim ağzıma koydu uyandım bu rüya hayırdır inşallah-ü teala kariben bir neyabet ve ikbal ve saadet ile mesrur olacağımıza delalet ider inşalla-ü teala.*"¹⁵⁵ This relates that on the third of Rebiulula of 1264 (February 1848), he misses his country home so very much that he feels that his son and grandson are with him. Then he goes to sleep and sees a dream in which he is in the coffee-room of his residence in Ankara, helwah is being cooked there and Mehmed, his grandson, brings some and puts it in the mouth of Sadullah Efendi. Then he awakes and prays that this may be a sign of his appointment as *niyabet*. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, he makes an unintended analogy between Ankara and his house in this dream. When he misses his home-background very much, he finds himself in his residence. So, the concept of *vatan*/home-country is bound up with his home and his relatives. Hence, we can claim that the idea of "home, sweet home" has very strong ties with both Ankara and his relatives. His

¹⁵⁵ KRK., T.240/14b

house has some symbolic references too. Thirdly, these notes may also be connected with the strong feeling for their houses in the lives “pre-modern” Ottoman people. It is clear that in Sadullah Efendi’s life, his idea of home and the hours spent inside it, were different from ours even though we live in the same lands. While our lives are moving towards “public” space, and this is shown as one of the basic indicators of being “modern”, Sadullah Efendi seemed to spend his life more in the “private” realm. Especially for Turkish women, showing themselves in the “public” domain is perceived as a liberating act.¹⁵⁶ At the end, after telling all the possible reasons for Sadullah Efendi to write down so many details concerning his house, we must also make a connection with his astrological side. The latter also indicates the importance of these details in Sadullah Efendi’s perception so that he appraises them as being signs in the universe of the stars. Hence, we can claim that his astrological curiosity concerning his house does not constitute the only possible reason for his intentions in recording them; instead, it acts as a complementary factor to the above-mentioned reasons.

After these words on the essence of relationship between Sadullah Efendi and his house, we can focus on his house’s location. We begin with the Citadel which was a fortress which contained a garrison. It was used as a storage space for money and valuables belonging to the Ottoman State¹⁵⁷ and as a jail.¹⁵⁸ Additionally the Citadel was full of private dwellings, which, according to Aktüre, Özdemir and Faroqhi, tended to be those of a large number of wealthy residents.¹⁵⁹ Özdemir says that as foreign European merchants bought houses in this district as is recorded in the Ankara *sicil*

¹⁵⁶ Nevin Meriç, *Osmanlı’da Adab-ı Muaşeret ve Gündelik Hayatın Değişimi* (İstanbul: Kaknüs Yay., 2000), 171-196. and Ekrem Işın, *İstanbul’da Gündelik Hayat* (İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 1995), 111-123.

¹⁵⁷ Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in seventeenth century Ankara and Kayseri* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 35.

¹⁵⁸ In Şevval 1241, Sadullah Efendi notes that nearly ten prostitutes were held and jailed in the fortress for 3-4 days. KRK, T. 186/ 2b.

¹⁵⁹ S.Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance*, 146.

“defters”, it must have been among the most desirable residential areas.¹⁶⁰ Also its nearness to the commercial centres such as the Bedesten, At Pazarı and İplik Pazarı as well as its special feature of being well protected might have been an important element for its attractiveness.¹⁶¹ Unlike the other Citadel *mahalles* Sultan Alaeddin, Emirler, Dış Hisar, the name of the *mahalle* Sadullah Efendi belonged to, Misafir Fakih, is not found before the 1830 population census. In this census, the Citadel is recorded as being the most densely populated district of Ankara. Sadullah Efendi’s house may have been in the same area of Akkale because in one of his dreams, when he saw ships coming to Akkale, passengers from the ships pass along the street in front of his house.¹⁶² It may have been near the Sultan Alaeddin Mosque, because his gravestone is found in the small garden of this mosque.¹⁶³ However, the most important evidence comes from one detail. In Yavuz’s article on the inner Citadel settlement, one house, Yayçeken no:20, is called to our attention by its resemblance to Sadullah Efendi’s. The first similarity comes from the same basic feature of the two : the division into *haremlık* and *selamlık*, which will be mentioned below. For Yavuz, this division of the residence belonged to the third construction period and dated from 1246/1831. In the first period, the house was built into the Citadel wall and had an outer courtyard. By the fourth period, it had

¹⁶⁰ Özdemir, 43.

¹⁶¹ Rifat Özdemir, 19. Yy. Ankara, 43.

¹⁶² T. 240/ 13b : “Şaban’ın 28.ci Cumartesi gecesi rüyada bir bağçe ve biraz hevatın görüb biriyle sohbet ettim uyandım sabah namazından sonra yine yattım o defa rüyamda garaibden olarak kendimi Ankara’da hanemde gördüm ki iki aded ..vapur her gün Akkala nam mahalle gelür imiş ve yine gelürler ben dahi Akkala tarafına gittim bizim konağın valasındaki sokağa adamlar imiş onları gördüm konağımızın verasındaki yokuş bir tozlu güzel yol olmuş ve ol vapurlar gelürler iken bakdım bizim konak çatısından yukarıda vapurun birinin bacası üzerinde dört köşe demir kuş gibi nesne ve birinin bacası üzerinde aynı kuş resmi bir demir uçarak gelirler gilya onlar vapurun yürüdüğüne alametler imiş ve vapurlar geldiler deyü onların taraflarına vardım hemşiremin kapusu tarafında olan sokağa duman çökmüş hatta kömürün fena rayıhası damağa gidib burnumu tutdum dumanda kesafet yok vapurlar nerede kalmış deyü bakdım göremedim lakin...tekerlerinin ...tutdum...”

¹⁶³ Fuat Bayramoğlu, *Hacı Bayram Veli*, cilt. 2, 118. Also, as an additional information, when we visited Ankara, we went to this mosque for finding out his grave. We faced with a broken stone. This could indicate either his grave or his son’s, because the sentence has been cut of in “Seyyid Abdülkerimzade bin...”. And the first lines did not give any distinctive details to identify whether it belongs to Sadullah Efendi or his son Pertev.

been divided into two separate houses.¹⁶⁴ This chronology is also in agreement with Sadullah Efendi's life-span. It is possible that the third construction was made by Sadullah Efendi himself, and the fourth division was made by his close-relatives after his death. Possibly, Pertev and his step-mother, Adile Hanım, wanted to separate their houses after the only tie between them died. The other similarity is that of the bath-room. In Sadullah Efendi's house, there was a bath, *hamam*, the dates of reparation of which he mentions.¹⁶⁵ In Yayçeken number 20, there is also a small beautifully decorated *gusulhane*. Although Sadullah Efendi does not call it a *gusulhane*, he mentions that he always writes in the *hamam oda*. We know that this *gusulhane* was within the room and there was no other house with a bath in the Citadel. The confusion stems from the terminology Sadullah Efendi he uses concerning the bath. Although we know that *hamam* and *gusulhane* refer to different things in Ottoman architecture, as this *gusulhane* is a decorated one which resembles a small *hamam*¹⁶⁶, it is possible that Sadullah Efendi calls it "*hamam*" instead of *gusulhane*. The last similarity which helps us to conclude that the house in Yayçeken street and Sadullah Efendi's are the same, comes from a very interesting piece of information. On the 1929 Ankara Survey Map, an incline that goes up to Atpazarı and Yayçeken Streets is recorded as Müneccim Yokuşu.¹⁶⁷ This might also be an indication of Sadullah Efendi's residing in this area especially as we know that his residence also was located between a road and an upward slope. The former was in front of the residence, and the latter at the back.¹⁶⁸ The house in Yayçeken Street fits this location, as in front of it is the Yayçeken Street and at the back side is a small hill-like slope which leads from the castle wall.

¹⁶⁴ Aysıl Yavuz, "19.yy Ankarasında Kale-İçi", *Tarih İçinde Ankara* der: E. Yavuz ve Ü.N. Uğurel (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fak. İşliğı, 1984), 189.

¹⁶⁵ KRK, T. 208/ 10b.

¹⁶⁶ Yavuz, 163.

¹⁶⁷ Mehmet Tunçer, *Ankara'nın Gelişimi*, 92.

¹⁶⁸ KRK, T. 240/ 13b. "... bizim konağın valasındaki sokağa adamlar imiş onları gördüm konağımızın verasındaki yokuş bir tozlu güzel yol olmuş.."

When we come to the inner furnishing of this large house, we can use only a few of the notes of Sadullah Efendi. His *tereke* may help us, bearing in mind that the inventory of his house is incomplete as the possessions of his wife are not included.¹⁶⁹ Even this incomplete estate shows a certain level of comfort. The total sum of the household furnishings was valued at 3,795 *guruş*. Most of his household furnishings consisted of textiles in numerous forms; pillows, cushions, mattresses, bed coverings, floor coverings, mostly of high quality.¹⁷⁰ By comparing 16th c. Üsküdar estates, Seng concludes that "Ottomans appeared to be early practitioners of minimalism.. The number and mass of items remained small even as a person rose in socio-economic level, each basic item becoming more expensive and more embellished. Thus, although we see a slight rise in such as the number of household furnishings, they remained of a mass that could be easily transported, that could be packed up and moved in a few trunks, by cart or pack animal."¹⁷¹ It can be said that the same is true of the life-style of Sadullah Efendi, who lived in 19th c. Ankara. With the new technological innovations, there are few additions: the only difference in the household furnishings of Sadullah Efendi is three chairs, one of which is made of iron. The equipment for the preparation

¹⁶⁹ Y.Seng, „The Üsküdar Estates“, 137.

¹⁷⁰ The term "ceyyit" which means "excellent, good" has been used frequently for the household furnishings of Sadullah Efendi, whereas "köhne" meaning "worn" has been used rarely for the same objects. About this issue, Mathews puts forwards her/his thoughts as such: "a working hypothesis might even be formulated that states that wedding goods-regardless of whether they were brought to the marriage by the husband or the wife- should be interpreted as personal capital and not as goods intended for daily use. This was prompted by the presence of a general array of household goods in the inventories of deceased males that often differed very little from those of deceased females. If property is conceived as personal and not joint, and if many of the goods bear no marker in the inventory signifying that their condition is "used" (mus'temel) –or old"(köhne-eski) or "worn out, threadbare"(kurade) – we may be allowed to consider the possibility that such goods (as well as other property) were brought to the marriage by each party for some other purpose than ordinary use. ...scholars reported that, typically, brightly polished copperware was lined up on shelves in the houses only for display. ..finally, when we focus our attention on the term "used", it would seem natural to assume that personal and household goods should have been in a "used" condition. Yet the term "used" is employed rather infrequently in these inventories. This alone should urge us to investigate whether a custom of not using such goods in daily life was in force. (alternatively, a better translation of müstemel should be sought) ..reframed, our supposition could state that only those in dire straits would have been forced to actually use their wedding goods and that their safekeeping represented their potential utilization as a contingent from of capital or credit instrument." Matthews, "Isolario" in *Consumption Studies*, 55-6.

¹⁷¹ Seng, 289-90.

and serving of food comprised the remainder of his possessions together with basic household implements: kitchen utensils made of copper or other metals, dishes, serving trays, with chests, candlesticks, lanterns, braziers, metal vessels for ablution and for washing the clothes. To give some details and explain their functions, it can be said that Ottoman people ate their meals sitting on the ground, and helped themselves from big metal service trays called *sini*. Everybody ate from the same dish or from *sahans*, round shallow dishes with knobbed covers. Sadullah Efendi also had small saucepans called *küşhane*, various other saucepans, metal bowls for soup, water and compote, frying pans, a large open copper kettle, *kazgan*, and several trays produced in Damascus, *Dimaşki tepsi*. As the number of these items is an indicator of prosperity, it can be said that Sadullah Efendi had a prosperous life by looking at the number of approximately 85 pieces of kitchen utensils and their total value of 4105 *guruş*. Of the other household items, chests made from several kinds of wood and cane were used for the storage of clothes and other items. Candlesticks and lanterns were the main instruments of light. Sadullah Efendi had a *billur fanus*, which is a glass or gauze shade folding lantern and a *fiske*, a small one with a handle, several *şamdans* (candlesticks), a big *fener* (lantern) and a *kandil* (lamp). Lanterns were used for the outside lighting in the same way as the street-lamps of modern times. People commonly used them on evening visits. Sadullah Efendi's six mirrors both decorate his residence and were in daily use for checking their apparel. They varied in price from 40 to 100 *guruş*. Braziers were widely used for heating. Sadullah Efendi had five, both big and small; one of them of brass, and another in European style. Alongside these, he had a stove and probably in the rooms there were fireplaces. Long-spouted ewers (*ibriks*) and small washbowls (*leğens*) were used for ablution and washing the hands; large copper pitchers with handles (*güğüms*) were used for several purposes related to washing the clothes as were the big *leğens*. They

were all made of metal. Additionally, as a sign of prosperity, he had spoons and china tea and coffee cups.¹⁷² These were termed “*çini*” which possibly refers to their Chinese origins, or to their production in İznik, or other ceramic centres¹⁷³ such as Kütahya, because Sadullah Efendi also owned a coffee box produced there. As Lane describes, the handle-less coffee-bowl is placed within a cup (called “*zarf*”) of silver or brass.¹⁷⁴ Sadullah Efendi had two *zarfs*, of silver and enamel. Abdülaziz Bey and Edward Lane state that the servant knows the appropriate gestures in serving the coffee such as holding the foot of the *zarf* with his thumb and first finger, with great care.¹⁷⁵ Additionally he owned a samovar which costs 151 *guruş* for tea preparation.¹⁷⁶ However, as in Seng’s examples, Sadullah Efendi’s wealth was tied up in real property: the total value of which was 90,000 *guruş* together with the *konak*. Approximately 75 percent of his wealth consisted of real estate.

After citing the kitchen utensils of the *konak*, we more or less try to make sense of Sadullah Efendi’s household’s table-manners and etiquette of eating in which the above mentioned items are used both for preparing and serving food. On this issue, we must apply to foreign visitors’ travel accounts. They left many pages full of descriptions of Ottomans table-manners. However, we can not mention all of them, so we choose a description of one witnessed in 1835 in the residence of a respectable merchant. In the following, Julia Pardoe recounts her impressions of the *iftar*¹⁷⁷, or

¹⁷² About the addiction of coffee, it is known that from the 16th c. onwards it was drunk but it became widespread from the 18th c. on in the Ottoman territory. It came from Yemen to Mecca and from there with the pilgrimages to Cairo and Istanbul. Sometimes it was even forbidden and coffeehouses were closed by the sultans. About tea, Faroqi says that it came via Russia or Southeastern Asia from China. Along with tea lots of Chinese porcelain was also exported from China. Faroqi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam: Ortaçağdan Yirminci Yüzyıla* ter. Elif Kılıç (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay., 1997), 234.

¹⁷³ Seng, 132-3.

¹⁷⁴ Edward Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians: 1833-1835*, printed by East-West Publications, (Great Britain, 1989), 142.

¹⁷⁵ Abdülaziz Bey, *Merasim ve Tabirler*, 1. Cilt, 179-180 and Lane, 143.

¹⁷⁶ AŞS, 264/ 21-39.

¹⁷⁷ Melman calls Pardoe’s description in the same way. Billie Melman, *Women’s Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1919* (London: Macmillan, second ed. 1995).

meal concluding the daily fast in *Ramazan*. By citing this, however, we do not claim that it represents Sadullah Efendi's household's daily menu in particular. Bear in mind that it can only create a general atmosphere in which we find some clues about the household's table-manners.

*"...at the centre of the floor was spread a carpet, on which stood a frame, about two feet in height, supporting an immense round plated tray, with the edge slightly raised. In the centre of the tray was placed a capacious white basin, filled with sliced cheese, anchovies, caviar and sweetmeats of every description: among them were scattered spoons of box-wood, and goblets of pink and white sherbet, whose rose-scented contents perfumed the apartment. The outer range of the tray was covered with fragments of unleavened bread, torn asunder; and portions of the Ramadan cake, a dry, close, sickly kind of paste, glazed with whites of eggs, and strewed over with aniseeds ... As soon as the serious business of the repast really commenced ... and [we] squatted down with our feet under the round dinner tray, having on our laps linen napkins of about two yards in length richly fringed; the room was literally filled with slaves ... Fish, embedded in rice, followed the side or rather circle saucers ... With the fish, the spoons came into play, and all were immersed in the same dish; but I must not omit to add that this custom is rendered less revolting than it would otherwise be, by the fact that each individual is careful, should the plat be partaken of a second time (a rare occurrence, however, from the rapidity with which they are changed), always to confine herself to one spot. The meat and poultry were eaten with the fingers, each individual fishing up, or breaking away, what pleased her eye; and several of them tearing a portion asunder, and handing one of the pieces to me as a courtesy, with which, be it remarked, par paranthesie, I should joyfully have dispensed. Nineteen dishes, of fish, flesh, fowl, pastry and creams, succeeding each other in the most heterogeneous manner – the salt following the sweet, and the stew preceding the custard- were terminated by a pyramid of pillauf (pilav) ... the instant that an individual has satisfied his appetite, he rises without comment or apology, washes his hands, and resumes his pipe or his occupation."*¹⁷⁸

Also customarily every person before and after sitting down to the tray/*sini*, washes his hands. A servant brings to him a basin and ewer (called *leğen* and *ibrik*), that mentioned above. Lane vividly describes them with such words: "A basin has a cover pierced with holes, with a raised receptacle for the soap in the middle; and the water, poured upon the hands, passes through this cover into a space below, so that when the basin is brought to a second person, the water with which the former one has washed is not seen."¹⁷⁹

Now, I am going to tell about other personal properties which, among other household items, seem to be his private belongings. These can be determined mostly through an analysis of the list of his estate, as we rarely see notes on his expenditures. Without a doubt, we can say that Sadullah Efendi pays a special attention to his pipes. He even records the time he orders them and worries deeply when they are lost.¹⁸⁰ We can relate this to the common addiction to smoking in 19th c. Ottoman lands or to the pleasure-values of Ottomans, or it can be seen as a sign of the hospitality of the host that increases his prestige.¹⁸¹ Sadullah Efendi had fourteen pipes and thirteen *nargiles* with a total value of 1,553 *guruş*. Generally, a pipe is between four and five feet long (but some are shorter or of greater length) and made of wood. The mouthpiece called "*imame*", the most expensive part of the pipe, is composed of two or more pieces of opaque, light-colored amber, ornamented with enameled gold, agate, jasper, carnelian, or other precious substances.¹⁸² Sadullah Efendi's *tereke*'s scribe records that Sadullah Efendi left amber mouthpieces and jasmine-stick pipes. The *tereke* lists several types of *nargiles*, a pipe in which the smoke passes through water before being in holed: brass?,

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 124-125.

¹⁷⁹ Lane, 148 and for similar description see Abdülaziz Bey, cilt.1, 212.

¹⁸⁰ KRK, Z.M. 342/114b-115a

¹⁸¹ Abdülaziz Bey states that in the great residences there were even servants called '*tütüncübaşı ağa*' who were responsible from the serving and the cleaning of the pipes which requires to be cleaned very often. See; Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri*, I.cilt, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay., 1995), 180-181.

walnut?, enameled, *sim sırlı, maden sırlı, balgami* (a yellow chalcedony) with “*marpuç*”s or “*tapiç*”s that are very long flexible tubes from which the smoke comes to the mouth. Another kind of *nargile* has a glass vase called “*şişe*” and Sadullah Efendi also had this type. In one expenditure note, also he records that he ordered a *nargile* from a Yemenite jeweler in Beyoğlu Massı and spent 97 *guruş* on it.¹⁸³

On the morning of the fourth day of Şaban 1270 (1854), he realizes that his pipe has been stolen. Fourteen days later, during the night, he prays for his pipe to be found by morning. In addition he prepares a horoscope for the stolen pipe on the basis of the moment he realized that the pipe was gone (by looking at the clock) and asks “*Will my pipe be found?*”. From this very interesting horoscope, we learn that the pipe was stolen from the pipe-cupboard (*hücre misüllü çubukluk*). The horoscope shows that: “*Thief must be from among our servants, s/he knows the house and us well. Thief seems to be a female, she has not given it to anybody yet. I wonder whether Mahbube has stolen it. After the thief is found, I hope I will treat him/her humanely not nastily. Lord, help me to behave well... It seems that I will get my property back.*”¹⁸⁴ On the 7th day of Ramazan, he again asks the same question and interprets the horoscope and describes the thief so vividly that I can’t help but cite it in Turkish in his own words: “*Bu zayıçede merih delil-i sarıktır ve Merih’in sureti kızıl yüzlü ve kızıl saçlı ve koyun baktı gözlü ince çeneli ve keman kaşlı ve tez yürüyüşlü ve kezzab ve karzetane? haris ve edib ve etine dolu... erkek suretinde avret yahud avret suretinde erkektir.() Rabbim malımı bana nasib ede amin.*”¹⁸⁵ Additionally, nearly two months later, in the month of Zilkade of the same year, (August 1854), he informs us that apart from the first one, another pipe and a *marpuç* have been stolen from the chest and he prepares another

¹⁸² Lane, 141.

¹⁸³ notes, pg. 41, 1262.

¹⁸⁴ notes; pg.64

¹⁸⁵ KRK, Z.M. 342/114b

horoscope. At the end of long definitions of the positions of the stars and planets, he expresses his hope of finding the thief. He seems not to be satisfied with the answers of the sky so that after a month, on the 10th of Zilhicce, he consults the Sheikh about this situation and the Sheikh gives him hope in these words: “[*They*] *will be found within twenty one days beginning from this Friday.*” However, he did not leave any information as to whether he found them or not. The only clue comes from the last dream he saw only two months before his death. On the evening of 26th of Rebiülevvel in 1271 (17.12.1854), he dreams of himself in various positions in several episodes. In one of them, Latif Bey told him that “A pipe which I borrowed [from you] could be yours.” Sadullah Efendi notes the beauty of it in his dream-narration. Later when the sequence changes, he sees himself with Suyuti Paşa who is carrying a big pipe. Suyuti Paşa gives it to Sadullah Efendi who “*took one or two puffs of it.*”¹⁸⁶ He is so fond of his pipes that he even sees them in his sleep. In both of these episodes, Latif Bey and Suyuti Paşa give him pipes. This might represent Sadullah Efendi’s desire to get his own back. As we know he thinks that they were stolen, but instead of the thief returning them, he gets them back from Latif Bey and Suyuti Paşa.

Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar discusses Ottoman people’s interest in clocks in his book “Boğaziçi Yalıları” as follows: In former times people were very busy with day-clocks and night-clocks. Their special interest in clocks are signs of the pursuit of worship, pleasure and perseverance. These old clocks that are wound up every night with keys reckoned the hours from sunset to twelve. For these people, the common clocks in their residences also carry an exceptional importance together with their personal watches. And we found that in all of these past times the sounds of happiness or sadness (according to our daily mood), come from the house’s body and heart instead of the

¹⁸⁶ KRK, T.251/The last page

clocks themselves.¹⁸⁷ Just like the people discussed above, Sadullah Efendi, too, has a special interest in clocks. His interest in clocks might be nurtured from the same source as that of other Ottoman people. But this interest results also from his background in astrology. The fact that astrology is closely bound up with the study of time, means that clocks play a basic role in the life of Sadullah Efendi. However, clocks are not the only tools for making precise measurements of time. The records of Sadullah Efendi's real estate indicates that he used an astrolabe, five quadrants (*rubu tahtası*) and a *üstübeci* in his measurements.¹⁸⁸ In the chapter on clocks, Reşad Ekrem Koçu notes the close relationship between the people engaged in making/selling/repairing of clocks and *ilm-i nücum*. He states that they pay great attention to first winding up a new clock made by themselves at an auspicious time. For this, they have to have some essential astrological knowledge.¹⁸⁹ He also tells a historical anecdote dating back to the 16th century, about the bad results of winding up a new clock at an inauspicious time.¹⁹⁰ Sadullah Efendi had many precious clocks and even a chest containing the tools of a professional clock-repairman. He mentions clocks when he wants to buy one or when he prepares a horoscope. For instance, on the 20th of Ramazan 1255 (27.11.1839), Sadullah Efendi notes that he bought a sapphire clock for 250 gurus. On the 4th of Şevval 1262 (26.09.1846), he asks whether he could buy "*peştakta*"(table-clock) at an auction. Probably this was a real-estate auction. After he interprets the horoscope, he hopes that he will be able to buy that clock. He even prays for this. On the 1st of Muharrem 1252 (18.04.1836), he notes the date of purchasing a clock but he does not give details about it. In addition to this, he also buys an expensive clock for his sister, Necibe Hanım, which might have been a special order from her or Sadullah Efendi's present to her.

¹⁸⁷ Kemal Özdemir, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Saatler* (İstanbul: Creative Yay., 1993), 146.

¹⁸⁸ At the end, pictures for an astrolabe and quadrant are appended. See the appendix part.

¹⁸⁹ Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim, Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Sümerbank Kültür Yay., 1967), 198.

From his note on the last page of the year 1256 (1840), we learn that he bought it for 1500 gurus and he paid down half the cost of it. This clock must have been a very precious one because for the same amount of money one could buy a modest house in Ankara. Sadullah Efendi has several valuable clocks but, none of them is as expensive as that of Necibe Hanım. In his estate, we come across the above-mentioned sapphire clock recorded as “sapphire alarm-clock: 200 gurus”. As there is no other recorded “sapphire” clock, it seems that in nine years its value has declined by 50 gurus (because of the economic conditions or because the clock has lost some of its quality over time) or else the scribe has estimated wrongly. The existence of a “customer” who tries to cut its price down because s/he wants to buy that item, is among the possibilities.¹⁹¹ Other types of clock are: a cased clock for 201 gurus, a *faris* (Paris?) clock for 245 gurus, a musical cased clock for 200 gurus, *maşalı* clock for 400 gurus, a clock for 120 gurus and alarm clocks for 170 and one for 81 gurus. *Maşalı* clock represents a different example of escapement¹⁹² and one may still see long-case clocks with their long pendulums in the old mosques in Istanbul, leaning against the wall. In most cases they are decorated with Edirne-made ornaments. It is said that as their pendulums move from right to left in their long wooden boxes, the most favoured ones sound like the chanted utterance of "Allah".¹⁹³ The “Faris” clock could be Parisian in origin, but this is only a speculation.

Among Sadullah Efendi’s personal properties, writing materials prove to be one group of very basic items. Since without them he could not have written anything, we put down these items first. He had four writing sets that cost a total of 232 gurus. These were composed of a *tekne? divid* worth 70 gurus, a *sim divid* worth 200 gurus,

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 198.

¹⁹¹ For the same issue see; Yavuz Cezar, “Bir Ayan’ın Muhallefatı,” *Belleten* XLI/161 (1977), 51-53.

¹⁹² Wolfgang Meyer, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesindeki Saatlerin Kataloğu*, [y.y.,t.y.] (İstanbul: Ümit Basımevi), 9.

an ebony *divid* worth 22 *guruş*, two writing *kuburs*(holster) worth 19 *guruş*, a pair of scissors at 21 *guruş* and two inkpots. *Divits* are pen-cases with inkwell which are worn in the girdle. In a writer's apparatus at that time, one could find inkpots, reed pens, scissors, pen-knives, a sand bottle that was used to sprinkle sand on wet ink, a sponge-box and sponge for cleaning the reed pens after writing and a small water-ewer for diluting inks, with a tray for putting all of these on.¹⁹⁴ They might be made of silver, porcelain, ebony or glass. Sadullah Efendi has silver and ebony pen-cases, and a special pencilbox called "*kubur*" can also be found in his estate.¹⁹⁵ Expensive jewellery also formed part of Sadullah Efendi's estate. Interestingly enough, this seems to have belonged to a woman rather than to a man. If we think about it, we can guess that, as there is no cash in his estate, he might have kept the jewellery instead of cash. Other possibilities are that he keeps it as an investment, or it has been left to him by his mother or he got it after the death of his first wife, Nesibe Hanım or his sister, Necibe Hanım. Whatever the reason, it is clear that he had two diamond rings, one green ruby ring, one pearl-studded watch cover (*incili saat kabı*), one pearl-ornamented comb, one gold watch, one ruby ring, one diamond- decorated snuffbox, one string of pearl prayer-beads, two pieces of gold of hundred carats each, one gold piece of twenty carats, three small pear-shaped gold medallions (*armudiye*), and one other *armudiye*. Their total value reached nearly 6,800 *guruş*. As indicated many times before, one could have bought six houses in the Hisar district with this amount according to the records of Sadullah Efendi's estate. If we add the value of eight other strings of prayer-beads to this amount, the total worth reaches 7400 *guruş*, the price of Sadullah Efendi's most expensive shop which is a coffee-house in Atpazarı. Among the beads, two recorded are made from the root of the coconut palm (*kuka*) and cost 301 *guruş*, but for the

¹⁹³ Celal Esat Arseven, *Sanat Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul : Maarif Matbaası, 1943), 4:1735.

¹⁹⁴ Abdülaziz Bey, *I.cilt*, 201-204.

others there are no details. As well as the jewellery, Sadullah Efendi had weapons. He had two pairs of yellow pistols, a Mauser rifle, two large (*bala*) swords, a pair of silver-mounted pistols and a small English pistol, worth a total of 554 *guruş*.

In addition to all of the items mentioned above, Sadullah Efendi also had a rich 'wardrobe' in his house. As would be expected, since clothing is among the basic indicators of the status of a person in society, we learn lots of things about Sadullah Efendi by looking at what he wears including the head coverings that are also important signs of status and social rank.¹⁹⁶ The clothing of Sadullah Efendi is valued at approximately 3509 *guruş*, which comprised three percent of his wealth and for this amount one could purchase three small houses in the town. Although their total value is high, the percentage remains very small, like that of the estates of lower-level members of society. As a mark of wealth, he possessed several sets of clothing as opposed to those who owned only a single set of clothing. He even had thirty different head coverings: eight white, seven green, three Indian, eleven *abani*. As their colour has special meanings, his position as an *ulema* and his *seyyid* background clearly show themselves when we look at the white and green *sariks*. Green *sariks* especially have a clearer meaning implying those descended from the prophet Muhammed. So, to wear them without being a *seyyid* is strictly forbidden by law. It is even among the duties of *nakibs* to find the false *seyyids*, checking the ones who are wearing a green *sarik*; Sadullah Efendi himself was appointed three times as a *nakib*. A white *sarik* is worn by different people especially by those who are from a higher social rank or the *ilmiye* class. The Indian type of head-covering was popular among the wealthy. This trend may also be seen in the estate of Sadullah Efendi: three Indian *sariks* are valued at 83

¹⁹⁵ Arseven, c. 2: 1100.

¹⁹⁶ Seng, 291.

guruş, whereas seven white or green ones are valued at approximately 50 *guruş*.¹⁹⁷ About the *abani* types of head-covering, Reşat Ekrem Koçu informs us that it was originally called “*ağabani*” which is white linen cloth adorned with silken yellow leaves.¹⁹⁸ He adds that the most beautiful ones were made in Bursa. Furthermore Sadullah Efendi owned skullcaps and two fezzes. The latter demonstrates the famous Mahmudian (II.Mahmud) reforms in the dress code. As is known, Mahmut II revised the codes and ordered trousers and the *fez* to be worn in offices. As Sadullah Efendi worked for seven years as a bureaucrat in the population administration office (*nüfus nezareti*) in Ankara, he seems to have worn these as an obligation.

Other signs of wealth that can be traced in his ‘wardrobe’ are the various furs. Ten furs are valued at approximately 1000 *guruş* and a small house belonging to him also has the same value. His furs are defined as *kakum*, *samur*, *petum* (fur of unknown provenance) and *şali*. *Şali* fur means the outer part is made of *şali*, which was widely known as Angora mohair, and the inside is fur. The others are very famous fur types and they indicate a remarkable level of prosperity. Additionally, he owns various colourful (red, green, black, white) garments (*kebe* or *cübbe*) made of felted wool (*çuka*), another wool (*kazmir*) garment and one of Angora mohair (*şali*); various robes (*entari*), drawers (*don*), shirts (*gönlek*), shawls (*şal*), socks, a pair of baggy trousers (*şalvar*) and a hooded-robe (*kukulata*). The notes of Sadullah Efendi also contain a number of cloth names, which are similar to the above-mentioned ones. However, they also include shoes and trousers that are missing in the estate. When Sadullah Efendi writes down the debts and the money owed to him at the end of the calendar of 1254(1838/39), he notes that he bought four pairs of shoes for 42 *guruş* and a pair of slippers worn in the inner-

¹⁹⁷ AŞS. 264/22-39.

¹⁹⁸ Koçu, 10.

part of the house (*mest pabuç*) for 23 *guruş*.¹⁹⁹ In addition, at the end of the calendar of 1257-8(1841/42), he does the same and from this note we learn that he bought *fezzes* and trousers for himself and his son, Pertev, from Krikor for 130 *guruş*.²⁰⁰ Another reason to touch on the clothes in the notes along with the notes on expenditure concerns his astrological curiosity. He gives special importance to finding out the favourable time for his acts by the interpretation of the movement of the stars and their positions. When he is making these calculations, he also prays to God for the act to be auspicious. In one note, this desire shows itself clearly; when he is preparing a star map about wearing a robe, he writes down that, three hours after this, Mustafa came with good news and they had a very pleasant conversation. He wonders what will occur then and hopes it will be auspicious.²⁰¹ Besides, on 10 Ca 1262 (07/05/1846) after finding out the auspicious time for wearing a new robe, he points out that because long robes have been prohibited, he should not wear it, but as many people, especially scholars (*ulema*) of which he is a member, began to wear long robes, and he is wearing a new long robe too.²⁰²

If we come to the description of the inner structure of Sadullah Efendi's house in order to make an analogy with his transitory concerns, firstly, we have to mention two feature of its dimensions. The first one is its peculiarity in being divided into two parts, as *haremlık* and *selamlık*. As is discussed in the introduction, his notes both in the calendars and *zayıce* collections, through which we arrive at his concerns, seem to have two different scopes. Together with notes on formal matters, he also gives information about his own private life. This "outer" and "inner" distinction reminds me of the structure of his house being divided into two parts. In his estate inventory, this basic distinction is reflected as "*hariciyelu*" and "*dahiliyelu*", which means "outer" and "

¹⁹⁹ KRK, T. 525/ 18a.

²⁰⁰ KRK, T.222/ 14b.

²⁰¹ KRK, Z.M. 342/ 118a. On 7 Şaban 1263 (21.07.1847)

²⁰² KRK, Z.M. 342/ 116b.

inner” respectively, thus indicating “*selamlık*” and “*harem*” sides.²⁰³ As he lives according to this division in his house, his notes unconsciously reflect two similar aspects which may also be named “public” and “private”. Hence, his notes on his health, and about his *harem*, his son (Pertev), or his servants have different features than the ones on his profession (*niyabet* and *nazırlık*), or about the pashas or expenditure. The former are included in his notes on “*haremlık*” side and the latter on “*selamlık*” side.

The second dimension is about the rooms themselves which play crucial roles in this analogy. According to their function in the daily life of Sadullah Efendi, his concerns are narrated and put within the walls of the rooms. This time, instead of harem-selamlık division, it is their function which is focused on. For instance, if we take into consideration Sadullah Efendi’s notes about his servants that are included on the harem side, these are narrated within the stables which are located on the *selamlık* side. Because the servants occupy rooms on the same floor as the stables, information about them is given within the selamlık. In addition to this, his daily concerns follow the arrangements of the rooms of his house. Bearing in mind these facts, the narration will begin with the stables and the servants, including Hidayet. Then, since it is on the same floor, comes coffee-room, where Sadullah Efendi’s concerns for his health are represented. After ascending the stairs to the second floor, we come to the *selamlık* room²⁰⁴ which welcomes the male guests, and where various issues, especially appointments and dismissals, are talked about. Parallel to this, Sadullah Efendi’s concerns about his posts as *niyabet* and *nazırlık* are noted. The main reception room,

²⁰³ Faroqhi accepts them as indicators of the outer and inner courtyards, whereas Yavuz interprets the same as *selamlık* and *harem*. For the discussion of these terms, see: Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in seventeenth century Ankara and Kayseri*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press), 1987 and Aysıl Yavuz, “19.yy Ankarasında Kale-İçi”.

²⁰⁴ Sadullah Efendi mentions in his notes a room called *güz odası*. On the classical sources about the inner structure of Ottoman house, there is not any reference to *güz odası*. See Sedat Hakkı Eldem, A.

divanhane, is on this floor also. Fully furnished with large and small cushions, with pillows, mattresses, bed coverings, and floor coverings, mostly of high quality, it constitutes the most prestigious room of the house. In particular, honoured persons are welcomed there with careful service. Of these the pashas are the most important and also there represent also Sadullah Efendi's main concern through their being the key to the doors of social, economic and cultural benefits. From this side of the house, one can pass to the harem side by using the *mabeyn*. As it is located between the two parts, Sadullah Efendi's income flow through it to the harem and debts flow from the harem to the *selamlık*. Hence his financial calculations, including debts, credits and expenditures, are put into this room. Passing through the *mabeyn*, Sadullah Efendi comes to the harem side which is used by the women, children and head(s) of the family. On this same floor, the second, a harem room is located. As it represents the heart of the house, his hidden concerns about his wives and his thoughts on marriage are described there. His elder son, Mustafa Pertev Efendi, also lives in his own room(s) on the harem side, so Sadullah Efendi's concerns about him are located here. Apart from these, although Sadullah Efendi mentions the name of other rooms such as *yukarı yaz odaları*, the upper summer rooms, *aşağı kış odaları*, the lower winter rooms, *camlu oda*, a room with windows, and *hamam oda*, bath room, as he does not give detailed information as to their exact place, I do not use them in this above-mentioned narration. However, some additional information about the function of summer and winter rooms, can be added. According to K  m  rc  o  lu, the characteristics of Ankara houses are separate rooms for summer and winter. They were constructed with the purpose of adapting the life of the household to seasonal conditions; small winter rooms were always on the first floor with lower ceilings, small windows and doors so that they would be well-protected from

K  m  rc  o  lu. I have deduced from the sources that the room Sadullah Efendi called as *g  z odası* corresponds to a separate *selamlık* room in *selamlık* side.

the cold.²⁰⁵ On the other hand, the summer rooms were on the second floor with large windows and high ceilings. When we look at Sadullah Efendi's life-style, we notice that they move from summer rooms to winter rooms in November and from winter rooms to summer rooms in April or May. Before they change rooms, as Sadullah Efendi notes, the empty room is furnished and prepared for the use of the family members.²⁰⁶

Act One : *Sözüm Bu İki Gözüm el-Vefa ve Tam Vefa*

Showing the inner structure of the house means beginning with the stables²⁰⁷ on the ground floor of the *selamlık* side and taking a look at the servants' rooms as mentioned above. These rooms encountered many different servants throughout Sadullah Efendi's life: The sheets on which he takes notes are also familiar to them because he records his servants' names frequently. The way of he indicates them as if they are members of the family causes me to add them to the harem concerns. Several times he describes how he suffers from them. His servants' misbehaviour causes trouble in his house and he relates this to his personal zodiac.²⁰⁸ Their misbehaviour contains disloyalty which Sadullah Efendi is reluctant to see. He prepares horoscopes for every servant to learn about their loyalty. In these horoscopes he takes their time of joining the household as the indicator for the positions of the stars, and prays to God for their devotion. In one case he even writes a line about it: "*sözüm bu iki gözüm el-vefa ve tam vefa.*".²⁰⁹ However, these servants did not turn out to be as loyal as he expected. Most

²⁰⁵ Eyüb Kömürçüoğlu, *Ankara Evleri*, (İstanbul: n.p., 1950), 46.

²⁰⁶ KRK. T.525/10a: "*Kış odasını tefriş ettik*", KRK. T. 215/10a: "*Kış odası aşağı oda ve Pertev'in odası tefriş olundu*".

²⁰⁷ About the stables, it can be said that relying on Sadullah Efendi, ground floor of his residence consists of it, which was constructed, in 1 N 1251(21/12/1835) with opening up the wall of the lower *divane?* room. Although he did not write about it, nearby the stables this floor might be inhabited by the servants and there might be storage spaces such as *samanlık*, *kiler* etc.

²⁰⁸ KRK, T. 221/ 14a. Z.M. 342/ 2a, 42b, 107b, 109b.

²⁰⁹ KRK, Z.M. 342/ 109b. On 21Şaban 1263 (04.08.1847).

of them stay for only short periods, sometimes just hours. Two of them even left him soon after they had been given a pair of shoes and a garment.²¹⁰ Although, most of the time, he does not write down the causes of their leaving, he mentions these once in a while when he fires them or when there are exceptional cases. For instance, in Ra 1256 (May 1840) he expelled Nuri, a convert from Vidin, because he suspected that Nuri was a thief or disloyal, and reports that Nuri cried while departing.²¹¹ On the 8th of Receb 1257 (25/08/1841), Ali from Hisar served for 20 days and left because he was drafted.²¹² Furthermore, Sadullah Efendi expelled Mehmed from Çığa on 18 Zilkade 1257 (01/01/1842) because he was suspected of having had a relationship with a woman.²¹³ Also, he expelled İsmail from Çankırı on 25 Receb 1262 (20/07/1846) because he dared to make love in the court when the place was deserted, as they all had gone to the meal. Yet he had been employed of his own free will in Çankırı. Sadullah Efendi writes this about the way he became employed: *"When we arrived at Çankırı, I first saw a servant at the gate among the people and I greeted him. After a month he came and took up service with us."*²¹⁴ About mad Mehmed he notes that he could not put up with his madness and disobedience and this seems to be the reason for his dismissal on the 9th of Ramazan 1263 (22/08/1847).²¹⁵ Also it should be noted that Sadullah Efendi does not like lazy servants. If they are lazy, he notes down their laziness and his discontent.²¹⁶ However, although this characteristic was the reason for their expulsion in many cases, he only wrote down their laziness as a detail. If we turn to look at him as their patron, we see a merciful person. He takes care not to retreat them badly. In the Ramazan of 1270 (June 1854), when his long-stemmed tobacco pipe

²¹⁰ KRK, Z.M. 342/ 106b, 110a.

²¹¹ KRK, Z.M. 342/ 106b.

²¹² KRK, Z.M. 342/ 107a.

²¹³ KRK, Z.M. 342/ 107b.

²¹⁴ „medine-i Çankırı'ya duhulumuzda ibtida ahaliden olarak kapıda bir uşak görüp ibtida ona selam verdim merhum uşak bir mah mururunda gelub bize intisab etti ismi İsmaildir." Z.M. 342/ 109b.

²¹⁵ KRK, Z.M. 342/ 109b.

(*çubuk takımı*) has been stolen from his pipe-cupboard, he looks at the star map and interprets it thus: “ *The thief must be from among our servants, one who knows the house and us well. The thief seems to be female, as she has not given it to anybody yet. I wonder whether Mahbube has stolen it. After the thief is found, I hope I will treat him/her humanely, not nastily. Lord, help me to behave well... It seems that I will get back my property.*”²¹⁷ Also in the case of Ahmed from Ayaş, Sadullah Efendi treated him like a father. Although he became ill and could not work, he stayed in Sadullah Efendi’s house for a long time as if he were their son. About him Sadullah Efendi writes: “*He joined the household on the 12th of Ş 1251 (03/12/1835). Six months after his coming, a kind of sore appeared on his leg. He suffered very much from it. He stayed with us for three years without working. Then he returned to his own town, Ayaş, because he was embarrassed by his illness. However, I and my son and others of the household were very pleased with him. May God give him health!*”²¹⁸ In these three years Sadullah Efendi did his best to help Ahmed recover. For instance, Tüfenkçi Laz, a doctor of that era, saw Ahmet, but the medicine he offered did not work, unfortunately. They used the water cure as well; Ali Ağa and Ahmed went to Destarlı Baths and stayed there some time. Two months after their return, Ahmet returned to Ayaş.²¹⁹ Furthermore, Sadullah Efendi was concerned about Ahmed in his dreams; he saw him three times during a period of eleven days. In the first dreams he saw him cured and serving Yusuf Ağa, but in the last one he saw him as he was when he came to them and

²¹⁶ KRK, Z.M. 342/ 108b, 107a.

²¹⁷ KRK, Z.M. 342/ 114b-115a. “...sarık mal-ı mesruku kimseye vermemiştir kendindedir...acaba Mahbube mi sirka etti ola inşallah zuhur ettikte hüsn-ü muamele eyleyim bedluluk etmeyeyim Rabbim hüsn-ü muameleye muvafık eyleye amin...ben mal-ı mesruka vasıl olacağım.”

²¹⁸ İntisab kerden Ayaşlı Ahmed 12 Ş 1251

„Merkum intisabdan 6 ay sonra ayağından sarıca illeti peyda olub çok zaman mümted oldu ol illele malul olarak üç sene perişan bila hizmet yanımızda kalub ba'de illetinden mahcub olub vatani olan Ayaş'a gitmiştir. Lakin kendinden ben ve oğlum ve sairî gayet memnun idik Allah şîfa vire.“ Z.M. 342/ 115b.

²¹⁹ KRK, T. 525/ 6a, 7a, 8a, 10a.

fell ill.²²⁰ However, as will be indicated below, he was concerned not only about Ahmed. Mustafa and Hidayet were also part of his main daily concerns. For instance, like a father, he advises Mustafa not to drink wine: *“Mustafa’ya şarab içme deyu nasihat itdim kabul etmedi akabetin fena olur dedim dinlemedi görelim ne zuhur eder. 29 B 1252 Mustafa on bir sene sonra gereği gibi şeametini çektikten sonra feragat idiüp kendiye nedamet geldi ama ne faide zararını müşahade itdi ba’de hicabından naşi bütün bütün mebhur değil idim dedi mahza günde içerdi.”*²²¹

When one entered the service of Sadullah Efendi, one became a member of the household. It should be noted that, in general, servants changed their patrons quickly and it was difficult to find loyal ones. In the writings of Sadullah Efendi, we notice some kind of network among servants and patrons, in terms of finding each other, described in the following manner: when some of his servants left, he heard that they had found somebody to employ as servants. It must have been the rule of the game, as even he himself saw his former servants in dreams as being employed by somebody else.²²² The network between them must have worked well so that servants knew the ones they would be willing to work for, because in some cases they came and took up service with Sadullah Efendi of their own volition. For instance, as we saw above, after İsmail saw Sadullah Efendi at the gate in Çankırı, he came to take up service with Sadullah Efendi of his own free will. At this point some questions should be asked; the first one is about the intent of İsmail in being there, the second is the way in which İsmail had found out about Sadullah Efendi. These can only be answered by guesswork. About the first one it may be said that the gate was one of the places where unemployed servants stood in order to “catch” a job, or it may have been only a coincidence. It is

²²⁰ KRK, T. 525/ 11b.

²²¹ T.180/12b

²²² He saw Ahmed and Hidayet as being employed by someone. KRK, T. 525/ 11b.

more difficult to find an appropriate answer to the second one, but, at least, it is certain that finding out about an administrator of a small town must have been easy. So he could have learned who the stranger passing by was. It should be added that, in Anatolian towns like Çankırı, everybody knew each other well; even if there was no need, unemployed servants might look to the newcomers as a source of income. This suggestion also helps us to understand the reason why İsmail stood at the entrance to the town. Additionally, the network worked by the help of intermediaries. This fact may be seen from a description of Sadullah Efendi about his servants. In some cases, along with the names of the servants, he mentioned the names of high-ranking people of the society. He noted that the servants came to him with a reference from these people. They were probably the servants of former patrons or mutual acquaintances. It is clear that to apply with a strong reference must have been advantageous. Nevertheless, this reference might also come from the servants' relatives who were known by Sadullah Efendi, for instance from their fathers. The below-mentioned Mustafa was the son of his neighbour, Süleyman Usta. It should be added that Mustafa was among the few who were from Ankara. Most of them came from various other places in Anatolia, such as Maraş, Kemah, Yabanabad, Kayseri, Çemişgezek and the townships of Ankara province, which were Çankırı, Ayaş, Beypazarı and Kalecik. Where Sadullah Efendi has given their names, if they are local people, he has written their fathers' names. However, if they are not from nearby, he has mentioned only the names of their hometowns.

Act Two : *Hidayet Gelir mi?*

Among the above-mentioned servants, Hidayet bin Ebubekir Ağa must have had a special place in the household because over a ten-year period Sadullah Efendi

keeps writing down. On the 18th of Zilkade 1253 (14/03/1838), Sadullah Efendi mentions Hidayet for the first time: he joins Sadullah Efendi's household but leaves it again after eighteen days. On the 13th of Muharrem 1254 (09/04/1838), Sadullah Efendi looks at his star-map to see whether Hidayet will return or not. He predicts that he will. He was right, because seven months and seven days later Hidayet does return.²²³ In the eyes of Sadullah Efendi, this must have been a special event because he re-reads the horoscope and adds the current news in red ink. In the first month of 1257 (February 1841), Sadullah Efendi says at the very edge of the calendar that he puts this down in order not to forget the pain he suffered in his heart when the house became disorder because of Hidayet's absence from the house. Six months later, on the 8th of Cemaziyelevvel 1257 (28/6/1841), he writes that Hidayet asks for permission to leave and twenty days later we are informed that he went to Konya.²²⁴ On the 29th of Şaban, Ahmet, another servant, asks about Hidayet's situation.²²⁵

On the 12th of Şevval 1257 (27/11/1841), Sadullah Efendi informs us that Hidayet first took up service with the *qadı* of Konya and then went to İstanbul.²²⁶ Again on the 6th of Safer and 11th of Ramazan, 1257 (19/3/1841 and 16/10/1841), Ahmed asks about him.²²⁷ Also on the 5th of Ramazan, 10th of Ramazan and 28th of Zilkade 1257 (21/10 and 26/10/1841, 11/01/1842), Ali Ağa asks about Hidayet.²²⁸ To these questions Sadullah Efendi gives various answers, such as, Hidayet is alive, he may be under the patronage of *ulema* or *vüzera*, or that he is travelling, or that he has gained some money

²²³ KRK. Z.M.342/130a

²²⁴ KRK.T.221/14a, KRK. T.222/5b

²²⁵ KRK.Z.M.342/124a

²²⁶ KRK. T.222/6a

²²⁷ KRK.T.222/13a, KRK.Z.M.342/124b

²²⁸ KRK. Z.M.342/124a,124b

and gone into service with an *efendi* but that he must be both frightened and making progress. Sadullah Efendi inquiries for three years eight months about the condition of Hidayet and then on the 18th of Rebiülahir 1261 (26/4/1845), he writes that after three years, eight months, twenty-two days he has talked with him in İstanbul, in the house of Kadiasker. About this meeting, Sadullah Efendi mentions that although Hidayet found him and came to him of his own will, he did not re-join the household.²²⁹ Again on the 23rd of Şaban in 1261 (28/8/1845), when he looks at the star map, he sees that Hidayet may be ill or he may die. He hopes that this result will be proved wrong. He worries as to whether any of Hidayet's relations or any news about him would come so that he can learn how Hidayet is.²³⁰ These questions become his main concern because after this date up until the 28th of Şevval 1263 (11/8/1847), Sadullah Efendi keeps on worrying about the condition of Hidayet. Furthermore, while he is wondering about Hidayet, he dreams about him. First on the 23th of Ra 1258 (5/5/1842) Hidayet is seen with Sheikh-ul hac Halil Efendi while Sadullah Efendi was kissing Halil Efendi's hand.²³¹ On the 22nd of C 1259 (20/7/1843), Hidayet is seen bending his arm behind his back.²³² In the calendar of the same year Sadullah Efendi notes without a date that, after Mustafa, in the world of visions he saw Hidayet coming from his house with a *heybe* on his shoulder. The last dream is noted down on the 11th of Zilkade 1262 (01/11/1846) in which he sees Mustafa and () Ağa and Mustafa informs him about the coming of Hidayet and says that Hidayet and his father are in Demirlibağçe as they will go to live in Kayseri. Sadullah Efendi also saw Hacı Ahmed Efendi riding a horse and going to his house in the lower part of the town and saw himself going in the opposite direction. After this dream he makes a horoscope in the morning and asks whether Hidayet will

²²⁹ KRK.Z.M.342/126b

²³⁰ KRK.Z.M.342/126b

²³¹ KRk.T.224/2b

²³² KRK. T.226/5a

come or not and then he interprets the result as a sign that a messenger, a letter or news about Hidayet will come on that day.²³³ Unfortunately Sadullah Efendi did not write down whether this came true or not. Finally, we can say that, for some unknown reason, Sadullah Efendi gives great importance to this servant. Throughout the years when he waits for and misses Hidayet, he is also anxious about him.

Act Three : *Na-mizac Oldum*

The coffee-room of the house was probably located on the first floor of the selamlık side. In this room, a hearth had been constructed for preparing coffee, and there was a cupboard to keep the coffee-cups in and a bench for the guests who wanted to drink coffee in this room. His concerns about his health are represented by this room because, in the calendars for the years 1256-57 (1840-41), 1258-59 (1842-43) and 1264-65 (1848-49), Sadullah Efendi mentions his chronic haemorrhoids, a condition which is closely related to his eating habits. Although we do not know exactly what Sadullah Efendi eats, we can follow up the clues from his *tereke*. The abundance of sets of pipes and narghiles, *çubuk & nargile takıms*, and the existence of coffee-grinders, *kahve değirmens*, and sets of coffee-cups, *fincan takıms*, indicate that he smokes tobacco frequently and usually drinks a lot of coffee.²³⁴ These addictions may be the reason for his complaints. He suffers so much that in the year 1264-5 (1848-9) he cannot even fast in Ramazan.²³⁵ In one case he tries a laxative but it does not work.²³⁶ Also he cites some cures for haemorrhoids: one of them is made from *ısrıgan otu* (*urtica dioica*), another from *zerdali* (*prunus arraeniaca*). Mustafa Ağa, probably one of his friends, advises him to crush the stone of *zerdali* and mix it with water, then drink this mixture. It acts like

²³³ KRK.Z.M.342/127a

²³⁴ see AŞS.264/ 22,23-39

²³⁵ KRK.T.240/6a

²³⁶ KRK.T.221/5b in 5 R 1255

an antihelminthic and laxative.²³⁷ Sadullah Efendi also prays to regain his strength and notes the favourable result. On the 24th of Şevval 1255 (31/12/1839) he talks about the recurrence of a sore on his leg. He cures it by cauterisation.²³⁸ The last complaint is about his eyes. In 1263, he suffers from the eye-strain for from three to five days. He brings ‘taşçı karı’ to his house, who removes 4 stones without seeing and then, thanks God, he recovers.²³⁹ This traditional method reminds us of the medicine man’s curing methods which can be seen in pre-Islamic Turkic culture also. In shamanistic traditions, as well as various methods of healing, the shaman sucks out poison from a patient with the help of an object which has been ‘shot’ into the patient by an evil spirit. The object may be a piece of wood, a small pebble or a piece of stone or a bone which the shaman has previously hid in his mouth. It is supposed that in this way, poison becomes transferred from the patient to the object.²⁴⁰

Act Four : Asitane’den Nazırlık Mührü Gelüb Ahz Eyledim

The upper storey is accessible by a staircase which must have been on the *selamlık* side because in his dream on the 26th of Ra 1271 (17/12/1854), when he takes Suyuti Paşa from the stables, they climb a staircase and then arrive at the upper storey. There Sadullah Efendi finds that Sheikh Tiridzade has come and is sitting in a room which faces the street.²⁴¹ Although this dream includes many details, we do not need all

²³⁷ KRK.T.224/IIA

²³⁸ KRK.T.215/10b

²³⁹ „Bu eyyamda gözüm ağrıyub üç-beş gün hayli mihnet çektim ba’de taşçı karıyı getirttim görmeden dört taş çıkarttı şifayab oldum el-hamdulillah.“ 06 Za 1263. KRK. T. 236/8a

²⁴⁰ *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Mankind*, vol. 19, (Marshall Cavendish Limited, 1978), 2459.

²⁴¹ “71 senesi rebiulevvelinni 26. Ehad günü Hamdi paşadan atıyye gelüb ahşamında yani isneyn gecesı rüyamda bir halka-ı zikrde kelime-i tevhid ettimn o mertebe tevhid ettim ki kendime bir hal geldi galiba keşf hali budur deyü düşündüm onun ertesi Salı gecesı dahi “rabbenâ feth beynena ve beyn-i kavmina bil hak ve ente hayrul fatihin” diyerek konak kapısını açtım ve bir kır ata süvar olmuşum kendimi at üzerinde ve dizgini elimde gördüm onun ertesi Çarşamba gecesı dahi Latif Bey ve Rifat Bey ikisi bir yerde oturub sohbet ediyorlar ve sohbetleri mala ve eşyaya müteallik olub bunlar babalarının malını taksim ediyorlar

of them at this point. From the above-mentioned detail only, we learn that Sadullah Efendi's male guests are welcomed in the upper storey, above the stables. The *selamlık* room is located on this floor. It functions as the office of Sadullah Efendi where he holds conversations with his visitors. The subject of those conversations might have been appointments and dismissals as he talks about these in his notes frequently. Although he became *müftü* and *nakip-ül eşraf* of Ankara, his main posts were as *niyabet* and *nüfus nazırlığı*. Therefore, they will each be narrated separately.

Among the reforms of Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839), the institution of a census had an important place. He gave the order to hold a census as part of his effort to create a new army and a new system of bureaucracy, following the abolition of the Janissary Corps in 1826. As Shaw points out, "in this census only men were included, since only they served in the army and paid taxes, and the count was long delayed because of the Ottoman-Russian war that followed, and was completed only in 1831."²⁴² The census was held throughout the empire with the help of the religious hierarchy, which had its own organization alongside that of the newly reorganised bureaucracy.²⁴³ After that year, a separate Census Department (*Ceride-i Nüfus Nezareti*) was also established for the first time as part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It was organised in 1835 in order to provide general control and to compile and keep the empire-wide population records.²⁴⁴ We realize that Sadullah Efendi was assigned as a census supervisor (*defter-i nüfus nazırı*) in Ankara on the 20th of Şevval 1250 (19 Şubat

ben yanlarında bulunmak münasib değil gizli sohbetleri vardır ben gideyim deyü mülâhaza ederken Latif Bey bir sagir basma kitab verdi onu aldım ve sana verdiğim çubuk takımın senin olsun dedi bir hoş çubuk takım imiş bade kendimi konağımda gördüm Suyuti Paşa geldi dediler güya bana takılıb teşevviş vermek için ahıra saklanmış heman ahura varub bana bu gadri kim etti niçin böyle saklanub beni korkutursun deyüb eteğini öpüp koltuğuna girip yukarıya çıkardım elinde bir büyük takılmalı çubuk var imiş bana verdi alub aralıkta bir iki nefes içerek yukarıya çıktık güz odasına oturttum bunun akibinde şeyh Tiridzade Efendi bize gelmiş odanın gördüm ve aşı Debbağhane yolundan Tiridzadenin oğlunun hatim ve .. alayı dünbe ve kudum çalarak geçerler imiş şeyhi çağırdım gel pencereden bakalım dedim yine tevhid ettik bu rüyalar acayib şeylerdir görelim hayırlar zuhur eder inşallah." KRK, T. 251 / 14b.

²⁴² Stanford F. Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914," *IJMES*.9 (1978) ,325.

1835).²⁴⁵ Although in the sources his assignment is related to his former position as *nakib-ul eşraf kaymakamı*, as he was introduced by Mehmet İzzet Paşa to the Census Department in İstanbul, it is probable that his actual appointment took place within the scope of the unofficial and intimate relationship between them.

In the first note about his position, he writes down that the imperial edict from İstanbul reached him on the 10th of Z 1250 (10.03.1835), nearly 20 days after the assignment. Relying on the court records, Rifat Özdemir writes that Sadullah Efendi worked without salary for one year. But Mehmet İzzet Paşa notices the inconsistency of the situation and sends a letter to İstanbul for a monthly salary of 500 *guruş* to be paid to Sadullah Efendi.²⁴⁶ We learn that this amount was not paid regularly, because at the end of the calendar # 215, Sadullah Efendi notes that for eight months, from 1254 Receb to 1255 Safer, he had received a total amount of 4000 *guruş* in salary from Osman Efendi.²⁴⁷ In addition, in the middle of the year 1256 (1840), he states that he went to Tiridzade and Taceddin Dergahı about his salary. He informs us that he prayed in the *hutbe*, after which he felt better and Sheikh Tiridzade said “This job had been dismissed from you but it remained, don’t care, that’s O.K.(?)”²⁴⁸ In this position, Sadullah Efendi’s duties were to supervise the writing down of the names of the people who were born and who died, to record the *cizye* owners, to follow up those who left Ankara and give them travel permits (*murur tezkiresi*), record all of these in the notebooks and send them to İstanbul every six months.²⁴⁹ In the details of his notes, Sadullah Efendi explains some of the above-mentioned duties, such as beginning or

²⁴³ Shaw, 326 and Musa Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu*, 45. Rifat Özdemir, *19.yy. 'ın İlk Yarısında Ankara*, 64.

²⁴⁴ Shaw, 327.

²⁴⁵ Özdemir, 164.

²⁴⁶ Özdemir, 164-5.

²⁴⁷ KRK, T. 215/ 14b.

²⁴⁸ KRK, T. 221/ 6b. “Tiridzade 'ye ve taceddin Dergahı 'na gitim maaşım için nezer ettim hutbede tefeul ? ettim güzel geldi. / Tiridzade bu mahsıl azl olunacak idi kaldı gayri olsun dedi.”

²⁴⁹ Özdemir, 165.

finishing the recording of the people in the city and its towns, writing letters to the Census Department and carrying out the imperial edicts. Additionally, he distributes the seals for census receipts (*nüfus tezkiresi*) or travel permits (*mürur tezkiresi*), or both of them, to the local mayors (*muhtars*) and *imams*.²⁵⁰ Alongside these notes, he also mentions his son, Pertev Mustafa, as a census recorder (*nüfus mukayyet*). In general, he went to the towns to supervise the census counts.²⁵¹ One of his records is found in the *Başbakanlık Arşivi*. He writes down the name of every man in the different villages from Muharrem of 1252 to Receb of 1252 and from 1253 Receb to 1254 Muharrem.²⁵² Again, from such details we learn that there was also a scribe (*jurnal katibi*) in Ankara as well as in other towns such as Kasaba-ı Bala and Abana. This scribe was in charge of recording the facial and physical characteristics of people and the reason why they came to the city and left it. When he had recorded them, he gave travel permission documents (*mürur tezkireleri*) to them. Additionally, he also recorded the ones who died or had married.²⁵³ Although Sadullah Efendi does not describe the scribe of Ankara clearly, Rifat Özdemir informs us that his name was Celilzade Said Efendi. We found in the notes of Sadullah Efendi that Celilzade Said Efendi's wife dies and that within three months he had remarried.²⁵⁴ With regard to the office, at one point he noted that they moved from the *jurnalhane* to the palace on the 1st of Ca 1257 (21/06/1841). Musa Çadırcı also points out that there was a *jurnalhane* in Ankara, for which a rent of 518 *guruş* was been paid in the first half of the year 1837.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁰ KRK, T.208/ 6a, 24 Ca 1251.

²⁵¹ KRK, T. 208/ 3a, 5a.

²⁵² BOA, Kefeci Nüfus Defteri, no: 6303.

²⁵³ We get those information from *Kastamonu Jurnal Defteri* (1252-53/1836-37), haz. Abdülkerim Abdulkadiroğlu, İ. Hakkı Aksoyak, Necip Fazıl Duru (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivi Genel Md. Yay., 1998).

²⁵⁴ KRK, T. 208/ 6a, 9a.

²⁵⁵ Çadırcı, 47-8.

To sum up, from the 10th of Z 1250 (09/04/1835) to the 1st of Ş 1257 (17/09/1841)²⁵⁶, Sadullah Efendi remains in the position of census supervisor of Ankara. This is his longest post and seemed among the most highly prestigious ones, in accordance with Sultan Mahmud II's centralisation reforms.

Act Five : *Amasya Niyabetine Nail Olur muyum?*

Another concern about his jobs that is set in the *selamlık* room is his post as *naib*, the assistant of the judge.

It is widely known that the *kadı* had an overwhelming authority in the legal system of the Ottoman Empire. As the Ottoman Sultan was the representative of an Islamic state, who ruled by virtue of the legitimacy accorded to him by the law of Islam, the *kadı* functioned as a symbol of the Islamic foundation of the state.²⁵⁷ However his function went beyond that of a judge in the ordinary sense. Relying on the Bursa court records of the 17th c., Haim Gerber says "the *kadı* in the Ottoman system was the chief provincial administrator, and the major link connecting the central government with the mass of its citizens."²⁵⁸ Among the duties of the *kadı* was that of issuing the firmans directing tax collection, redress of grievances, suppression of banditry and other administrative matters²⁵⁹, to hear the cases and to prepare notary deeds about every aspect of human lives. However, from the 18th c. on we see more and more *naibs*, *kadıs'* agents, carrying out these duties instead of *kadıs*. Especially in the Ankara of 19th c., Özdemir and Çadırcı claim that all these matters were carried out by the *naibs* and even

²⁵⁶ Only from 5 Ş 1255 to 6 M 1256 (for four months) he was dismissed.

²⁵⁷ Joyce H. Matthews, "Toward an Isolario of the Ottoman Inheritance Inventory" in *Consumption Studies and the History of Ottoman Empire 1550-1922* ed. D. Quataert, (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 2000), 49.

²⁵⁸ Haim Gerber, "Sharia, Kanun and Custom in the Ottoman Law: The Court Records of 17th c. Bursa", *Int. Journal of Turkish Studies* 2, no. 1, (1981), 133.

²⁵⁹ R.C. Jennings, "Limitations of the Judicial powers of the Kadı in 17th c. Ottoman Kayseri," in *Studia Islamica* XLVIII (1979): 151.

official correspondence was sent to them.²⁶⁰ It seems that after taking a *kaza* as *arपालिक*, the *kadı* preferred to pay a *naib* to carry out such duties instead of doing these himself.

Sadullah Efendi was one of these *naibs* and he did performed this work during the following periods: 1228-29 (1813-14) [Ayaş], 1235-38(1820-23) [Ayaş], 1238-42(1823-26) [Südlüce-Hasköy], 1257-60 (1841-44) [Beypazarı], 1261(1845) [Kalecik], 1262-63(1846-47) [Çankırı]. In the sources, it is written that Sadullah Efendi completed his madrasa education in Ankara and decided to become a *naib*.²⁶¹

About this early education of Sadullah Efendi, we know nothing. However, since madrasa education has not changed much since then, we can guess the nature of Sadullah Efendi's education. Of the style of teaching, it can be said that, all over the Muslim world, from Yemen to Anatolia, the same education method based on recitation and memorisation is at work. As Messick writes: "Recitation and memorisation were at the foundation of Muslim pedagogy, in both literal and general methodological sense. In neighbourhood Quranic schools in Ibb, as elsewhere in the Muslim world for many centuries, young children began their instructional lives by acquiring the sacred text by rote. The goal was recitation from memory, and the basic method was oral repetition."²⁶² Also, "...pedagogical activity, in primary instruction as in advanced work, proceeded ideally from an initial oral recitation (or dictation) by the teacher to the listening students. The student later repeated the text segment on his own, often until memorisation was achieved. Finally, returning to the teacher, the student endeavoured to accurately reproduce the original recitation. Writing intervened in these procedures in facilitating the work of repetition."²⁶³ When J.de Kay visited the "Mühendishane" in

²⁵⁹ R.C. Jennings, "Limitations of the Judicial powers of the Kadı in 17th c. Ottoman Kayseri," in *Studia Islamica* XLVIII (1979) : 151.

²⁶⁰ Özdemir, 178-179, Çadırcı, 79-87.

²⁶¹ Salim Aydüz, „Sadullah Efendi (Müderrişzade)“ *YYOA*, 2. cilt (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yay.,1999), 480-481.

²⁶² Brinkley Messick, *The Calligraphic State* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1993), 21.

²⁶³ Ibid., 22.

1831, he described the method of the education carried out by İshak Efendi: “ They (students) were all seated in various positions on the floor, and had their papers before them, copying literally after the dictation of the lecturer.”²⁶⁴

In this system, as Şerif Mardin points out, “One master, initiating his students into the intricacies of the classics in his own field, and, in secondary studies, one book, learned by rote, passed around from student to student, brought out of the cupboard to resolve new questions.”²⁶⁵ For him, the emergence of schoolbooks for all was a “major cultural watershed” because it “replaced a system of face-to-face contacts in learning and teaching.”²⁶⁶ Since the books that were read under their supervision contain the teachers’ names, the *icazatnames* can be found in this system. Unfortunately Sadullah Efendi’s has not survived till today, and so, as emphasized above, we do not know exactly what his early education was. However, we can guess more or less what he read in the madrasa.

In the madrasa curriculum, a special order of study is followed: firstly, students learn the grammatical structure of the Arabic language. For this, *Emsile, Bina, Maksud, İzzi, Merah* and *Şafiye* are read. In the *nahiv* section, which is about syntax, *Avamil, İzhar, Kafiye* and *Molla Cami* are studied. *Telhis, Muhtasar Meani, Mutavvel* are the works of Arabic Literature that are also part of the curriculum. Students learn rhetoric from these books. After them comes logic, and the book for this subject is called *İsagoci*. From this level on, students choose to focus on a branch of science. From the estate of Sadullah Efendi, we can follow the track of what he read during his madrasa education and also what he chose.²⁶⁷ He had three copies of *Molla Cami, Kafiye, İsam*

²⁶⁴ J.de Kay, *Sketches of Turkey 1831-32 by an American* (New York: J. And J. Harper, 1833), 139.

²⁶⁵ Şerif Mardin, *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey: the Case of Bediüzzaman Said Nursi* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989), 119.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 119.

²⁶⁷ Although the deed of the estate is not a perfect guide for the books that Sadullah Efendi read during his life-time, it can serve to help us recognize his own taste in selecting them from the shelves of book-sellers or the estate of a dead person. On the other hand, we must not forget that some books might have be

(one of the commentaries of *Molla Cami*) and one copy of *Avamil, Mutavvel* and *Merah*. In addition, he had Buhari from *hadis*, *Tefsir-i Kadı* and *Tefsir-i Celal* from *tefsir*, the exegesis of the Koran. Most importantly, in his estate, there are several books about *fikih* which shows that he specialised in law and decided to be a judge. *Netice-ül Fetava, Kuduri*, three *Mülteka, Fetva-ı Üskübi*, three *Nikolalı Ali Efendi Fetvası, Mecmuat-ul Fetava, Salih Efendi Fetvası*, two *Dürer, Fetva-ı Ataullah* and commentaries of *Mülteka*- all of these underlie his education in *ilm-fikh*. Especially, the books on *fetvas* clearly fulfill the practical need of a man who was several times appointed *müftü* and *naib* as we expressed in this section.

Among the books on *ilm-i fikh*, Sadullah Efendi had *Bezzaziye, Dürer'ül-Hükkam, Hidaye, Mülteka, el-Feraizu's-Siraciyye, Nikolalı Ali Efendi Fetvası, Mecmu'a-i Fetava, Behçetü'l Fetava*, which will be discussed below. He also had *Keşfu'l Esrar, Neticet'ül-Fetava, Mecmu'a-i Mesail, Fetava-ı Üskübi, Salih Efendi Fetvası, Fetava-ı Ataullah* on the same subject. There are also some books that could make him seem even more cultivated, such as *Cihannuma, Travels of Evliya Çelebi, Kanun, Nevadir-i Süheyli, Raşid Efendi Tarihi, Tezkiret-üş-Şuara* and *Şekayik-i Numaniye*. Lastly, he had several *Mecmuas* (magazines) though we could not find out what their contents were.

Let me begin with the common/ popular books: *Kafiye, Molla Cami, İsam, Nahiv Cümlesi*. *Kafiye* is the famous work on Arabic grammar by Ibn-i Hacib (d.

inherited from his father or grandfather. He might also have been a person who was interested in collecting books at random. Additionally, it is possible that he did not read all of them. However, it can be safely claimed that the contents of his books correspond to his persona. That is to say, there are many books on *ilm-i nūcum*, many other books relating to common madrasa education and popular books read by every average Ottoman scholar and *fikh* books and *divans*, all of which mirror his *müneccim, naib* and poet sides. Unfortunately, we do not know the names of books on *ilm-i nūcum*, because in the estate inventory record, they were written down under the title of "various books on *ilm-i nūcum*", without indicating their names. In Pertev Efendi's inventory, the number of them was given as: "a hundred volume on *ilm-i nūcum*". As we suppose that Pertev Efendi inherited them from Sadullah Efendi, a hundred copies indicates the latter's great interest in this art/science.

646/1249). This book, together with Birgivi's *el-Avamil* and *İzhar*, was used as a textbook in Ottoman madrasas for centuries. The whole of it is called *Nahiv Cümlesi* or *Mecmuası*. It is composed of three chapters on nouns, verbs and words, respectively. There are many commentaries on this book. One of them is known as *Molla Cami*, which was written by Abdurrahman-ı Cami (d. 898/1492), who was a Persian and the author of *Baharistan*. "İsam" is a commentary on the latter book.²⁶⁸

Mevakıf is considered to be the most perfect and systematic work in *kelam*. It was written by Adududdin Abdurrahman b. Ahmed b. Abdülgağfar es- Sıddıki el-Bekri eş-Şebankari el-İci who lived between 1281 and 1355 in Shiraz. He became *müderres* and *kadı* in Shiraz after he had attended lectures given by the most prestigious scholars of his time. He wrote many books on *kelam* and *Şafii fıkıh*. El-İci accepted *kelam* as the most eminent and fundamental science. Subjects such as wisdom, existence, essence, matter, imamate were discussed in *Mevakıf*. There are many commentaries on this but the best one is by Seyyid Şerif Cürcani (1340-1413) which became more famous than the *Mevakıf* itself. Although *Şerh-i Mevakıf* (which Sadullah Efendi owned) was written in Samarkand, it was dedicated to Pir Muhammed İskender, governor of Shiraz. With Seyyid Şerif's commentary, *Mevakıf* was widely read by the Ottomans in the madrasas and re-printed several times.²⁶⁹

Altıparmak Mecmua is the work of Altıparmak Mehmed Efendi (d. 1623-24), who was born in Skopje. His father was employed as the *kadı* of Mecca and Medine. Mehmed Efendi joined the Bayramiye *tariqah* in İstanbul, and he gave lectures on *hadith*, *tefsir* and *fıqih* at Fatih Mosque. Later he went to Cairo and stayed there until his death. While there he engaged in *tasavvuf*. He translated "Mearicün-nübüvve", Molla Miskin's book on Prophet Muhammed's life and the history of the prophets, from

²⁶⁸ Hulusi Kılıç, "Kafiye", *DİA*, c. 24, 153-154.

²⁶⁹ Şerafeddin Gölcük, *Kelam Tarihi* (Konya: Esra yay. 1992), 179-183.

Persian into Turkish. It gained fame as *Altıparmak* and was published in Istanbul in 1257.²⁷⁰

Another book that appears in Sadullah Efendi's library was noted down as *Dede Cöngü*. The word "cönk" has been used to mean both "journal" and "boat". In librarians' terminology, *cönk* is used to mean a book form. These types of works are listed in the libraries as "collection of poems", but they do not only contain poems. Although there are some works in the form of *cönk* consisting only of prose narratives, there are others containing even religious information and prayers.²⁷¹ Kemaleddin İbrahim b. Bahşi b. İbrahim 's (d. 1567) *Dede Cöngü* is one of them which became very famous among madrasa students. This is the annotation, *haşiye* of Taftazani's commentary, *şerh* to *Li't Tasrif* of El-İzzi on Arabic morphology. It contains comprehensive explanations of some Arabic terms and words from the perspective of morphology. It took the name of "Dede Cöngü" because it was compiled as a "cönk".²⁷² Coming from the madrasa, Sadullah Efendi also had one copy of it which was priced at 80 guruş.

Kara Davud was the most famous Turkish commentary on Muhammed b. Süleyman el-Celuzi's collection of prayers called *Delâ'ilü'l-Hayrat* by Karadavudzâde Mehmed Efendi (d. 1170/1756). The most important feature of this book is its special style that addressed the feeling of the common people by using lots of short stories in order to comment on the prayers. It was re-printed fifteen times between 1254 and 1330 (1838-1912).²⁷³ It might not have been read in the madrasas, but probably it was used by the pupils as a supplementary text.

²⁷⁰ Adnan Karaismailoğlu, "Altıparmak," *DİA*, c.2, 542.

²⁷¹ Orhan Şaik Gökyay, "Dede Cöngü" *DİA*, c. 9, 73-74.

²⁷² Ahmet Akgündüz, "Cönk" *DİA*, c. 9, 76-77.

²⁷³ Hatice Kelpetin Arpaş, "Kara Davud", *DİA*, c. 24, 459.

Birgivi's *İzhâr, Avâmil* and *Tarikat-ı Muhammediye*: Mehmed b. Pir Ali el-Birgivi (929-981/1523-1573) is known for his insistence on the protection of the sacred law against any non-observance of the faith and from even the slightest deviation from it. After completing his education, he taught in the madrasas of Istanbul, became a *kassam* to the army and at last became a *müderris* in the madrasa of Birgi, where he is buried. His two grammatical works, the *İzhar* and the *Awamil*, were widely used in madrasas for many years and considerably facilitated the study of Arabic. His *Tarikat-i Muhammediye*, written in Arabic, was highly esteemed among scholars. It contains his sermons and homilies on ethics, *tasavvuf* and Islam. His Turkish manual of the rudiments of theology, entitled *Vasiyetnâme*, is known also as *Risale-i Birgivi*. We can very briefly comment on him as a scholar who focused on the needs of the common people in terms of their questions on religious matters and tried to satisfy these needs.²⁷⁴

Cevâhir is the work of the famous Ebü'l Fazl Adudüddin Abdurrahman b. Ahmed b. Abd'ülga'ffar el-İci, who was born probably in 680/1281 in İc, near Shiraz. On completing his education, he became the *kadı* of Sultaniye, the new capital of the Ilhanids. He twice became a *kadı* of Shiraz. Because of political rivalries, he was later imprisoned in the fortress of Direymiyan and died there in 756/1355. He had a peculiar influence on Ottoman intellectual thought and his works were widely read throughout Ottoman madrasas. Their popularity is evident from the great number of commentaries. "Cevahir'ül Kelam" is his work on theology and was dedicated to Gıyaseddin Muhammed b. Residuddin, an Ilhanid vizier. This work was like a summary of another of his works, *Mevakif*.²⁷⁵

Muhammed b. İsmail b. İbrahim b. El- Mugire b. Bardizbah ebu Abdullah el-Cufi ***el-Buhari***, known for short as Buhari, was a famous traditionalist, a *muhaddis*,

²⁷⁴ Kasım Küfrevi, "Birgivi", *ET*² (new edition), vol. I, 1235. Emrullah Yüksel, "Birgivi", *DİA*, c.6, 191-194.

who lived between 194 and 256/ (810-870 of the present era). Since his childhood, he had been credited with a remarkable memory. His journeys in search of the traditions of the prophet began with his pilgrimage to Mecca at the age of sixteen. Throughout his life, he travelled widely in the Islamic world, from Horasan to Egypt. In later life, Buhari experienced the hostility of the governor of Nişapur and died in the village to which he had been exiled by the governor. In his life-time, Buhari was known for his great perception in detecting defects in traditions of the prophet. His most famous work is the *Sahih*. It was known as *Sahih-i Buhari*, Buhari for short. It took him sixteen years to compile this huge work which was arranged in ninety-seven books containing 3,450 chapters. The material was arranged according to subject matter. By the 10th c., Buhari's *Sahih*, along with Muslim's "Sahih", was placed at the head of collections of the Sunni tradition.²⁷⁶

Delailün-Nübüvve is a term used for the books which aim to prove the truth of the prophet Muhammed's prophecies. For this, miracles, both shown by himself and those which appeared at his birth, are taken as evidence by the authors of the *Dela'il*. They needed to write "evidences of the prophecy" in separate books or in theology books. From the history of Islam, scholars had written several such books under different names. Those scholars, such as Beyhaki, el-İsfahani, el-Eş'ari, Bakillani, İbn-i İshak and Ebu Hatim er-Razi are famous for their *Delails*.²⁷⁷ As there is no additional information about its author, we could clearly not discover the author of Sadullah Efendi's *Delail*.

Siyer-i Veysi is the work of Üveys b. Mehmed (1561-1628) who used the pen – name of Veysi and who died while he was the *kadı* of Skopje. He was known as one of the most famous prose writers of Divan Literature. His book on the life of the Prophet

²⁷⁵ Tahsin Görgün, "el-İcî, Adudüddin", *DİA*, c. 21, 410-14.

²⁷⁶ J. Robson, "Al-Buhari", *EF*², vol. I, 1296-97.

Muhammed, *Dürretü't-tas fi siret-i sahib'l Mirac*, known for short as *Siyer-i Veysi*, finished at the Battle of Bedir in the second volume, because he could not complete it. It was first printed in 1820 and then re-printed in 1867 in İstanbul. Sadullah Efendi had one volume of it which cost 21 *guruş*.

Tefsir-i Tıbyan is a well-known commentary on the Koran by Ebü'l Meali Muinüddin Muhammed b. Abdirrahman b. Muhammed el-İcî es- Safevi, who was born in İc, one of the townships of Shiraz in 832/(1429). He took lessons from pupils of Seyyid Şerif Cürçani and other important scholars. He visited Mecca and lived there for approximately ten years. During that time, he gave lessons and wrote books. He died there in 905/1500. *Cevami'ut- tıbyan fi Tefsir-il Kur'an* was written in front of Ka'ba according to the wishes of the author's father. He completed it when he was forty years old, after taking two long years over this piece. In the book, he quoted the words and speeches of the Prophet. It resembles *Tefsir-i Celaleyn* in terms of its shortness and reliability.²⁷⁸ Sadullah Efendi owned one volume of this important work priced at 255 *guruş*.

İhya-i 'Ulûm üd-Din is a great book by Ebu Hamid Muhammed b. Muhammed el-Tûsi (450–505 / 1058-1111), who was an outstanding theologian, jurist and mystic in Islamic history. He was born at Tus in Horasan. In 484 / 1091 he was appointed by Nizam-ul Mülk to be *müderres* at the Nizamiye madrasa founded by him in Baghdad. After a few years, he abandoned his active career as a jurist, theologian and professor and eleven years later in 499/1106 he returned to teach at Nişapur. During this period, al-Ghazali was living as a poor sufi. It was during this period that he compiled his greatest work, *Ihya-ı 'Ulûm üd-Din* (The Revival of the Religious Sciences). After starting to teach at Nişapur, he also wrote the autobiographical work, *al-Munkiz min al-*

²⁷⁷ Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, "Delailün-Nübuvve", *DİA*, c. 9, 115-117.

²⁷⁸ Muhammed Eroğlu, "el-İcî es-Safevi", *DİA*, c. 21, 414-16.

dalal (Deliverance from Error.). Before his death in 505/1111, he had once again abandoned his teaching activities and retired to Tus where he had already established a hermitage to train young disciples. He left behind him many famous books written at different times of his life. His greatest piece was the *Ihya*, which was composed of equal four parts dealing with cult practices, social customs, vices, and virtues. Each one of those parts was divided into ten books. The *Ihya* has been taken as a complete guide for devout Muslim in every aspect of the religious life.²⁷⁹

As we mentioned several times above, Sadullah Efendi was an Ottoman scholar educated in the madrasa. His books on *ilm-i fikh* is one of the indicators that Sadullah Efendi occupied a position as *naib*. He used them to fulfil his occupational needs.

Bezzaziye is a work on Islamic canonical law by Hafizüddin Muhammed bin Muhammed bin Şihab el-Kerderi el Harizmi el-Bezzazi (d. 1424). Although it is known as *el-Feteva'l Bezzaziye* or *Feteva'l Kerderi*, its actual title is *el-Cami'ul- Veciz*. It contains several *fetvas* from Hanefi scholars of different time-periods. However, its main feature is that it contains *fetvas* on several problems confronted in el-Bezzazi's time together with questions and their answers by some *fakihs*.²⁸⁰

Dürer'ül- Hükkam is a commentary on the *Gürer'ül- Ahkam* of Molla Hüsrev by the author himself. He was an Ottoman jurist of 15th century and for long periods was employed as *kadı* or *kadıasker*. With its short, concise judgements, *Dürer* seems like a Sultanic code of regulations without sections. Nevertheless, it was widely used as an informal law-text by his successors. It was written according to Hanefi law and its

²⁷⁹ W. Montgomery Watt, "Al-Ghazali" in EI² vol. 2, 1038-1041.

²⁸⁰ Ahmet Özel, "Bezzâzi", *DİA*, c. 6, 113-14.

plan was organized parallel to the other *fıkıh* books: Containing 55 books, it begins with “Kitabü’t-Tahare” and ends with “Kitabü’l- Vasiyye”.²⁸¹

Hidaye is one of the most esteemed and famous texts of Hanefi *fıkıh*. It was written by Burhaneddin el-Merginani who died in 1197. It is a commentary on *Bidayet’ül-Mübtedi* by the same author. Its perfection in both Arabic and *fıkıh* gained him an enduring fame among scholars and it was taught in the madrasas as a basic text. There are many commentaries on it and there are translations of it in several libraries.²⁸²

Mülteka el-Ebhur is the work of Halepli İbrahim b. Muhammed b. İbrahim who lived in 16th century. He went to Egypt to study and then came to Istanbul. He was employed as *imam* in several mosques in Istanbul. When he was an *imam* in Fatih Mosque, he became a *müderres* in Dar’ül- Kurra. He died in 956. *Mülteka* is the sum of his work, containing *Kuduri*, *Muhtar*, *Kenz*, *Vikaye* and *Hidaye*. There are many commentaries on it and it was widely used by Ottoman jurists.²⁸³

El-Feraizu’s-Siraciyye was written by the Hanefi scholar, Ebu Tahir Siracuddin Muhammed b. Abdürreşid es-Secavendi [d. 596/(1200)]. It is widely known as *Siraciyye* and as given as such in Sadullah Efendi’s deed of estate. It is on Islamic inheritance law only and accepted as the best of the books on the subject. Its existence in his deed of estate is quite normal because he must have been confronted with several suits stemming from inheritance disagreements among inheritors.

Nikolalı Ali Efendi Fetvası consists of a collection of *fetava(pl.fetva)* by Çatalcalı Ali Efendi (d. 1692). It includes 4412 *fetava* given in answer to the questions of the 17th c. Ottomans. It is one of the most reliable *fetva* collections of Ottoman scholars. The arrangement of the *fetava* has been made according to the classical style,

²⁸¹ Ahmet Akgündüz, „Dürer-ül Hükkam“ *DİA*, c. 10, 27-28.

²⁸² Cengiz Kallek, „el-Hidâye“ *DİA*, c.17, 471-73.

²⁸³ Mustafa Uysal, *İzahlı Mülteka Tercümesi* (İstanbul: ? , 1968) , 11-13.

i.e., first question, and then answer. It was printed in more than ten different editions.²⁸⁴

It is clear that Sadullah Efendi used it and the ones following for practical purposes.

When he was the *müftü* of Ankara and the *naib* of several towns, he must have looked for help from these *fetva* collections in order to answer people's inquiries.

Mecmu'a-i Fetâva is the work of Sheikhülislam Ankaravî Mehmed Emin Efendi (d. 1098/ 1687). He composed his *fetvas* under the rubric of *el-Fetâva-ı Ankaraviyye* or *Mecmu'a-i Fetâva*. In this work, the classical style of question-answer was not used. Instead, *fetvas* were given without the questions. The Ottoman jurists also used this style of arrangement.²⁸⁵

Behçetü'l-Fetava is a collection of the canonical decisions given by Sheikhülislam Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi (d. 1156/1743), prepared by Fetva Emini Mehmed Fıkhî el-Aynî. As it is one of the most important *fetva* collections of the Ottomans, there are copies in many libraries. It was printed twice between 1266 and 1289.²⁸⁶

If we come to his performing of *niyabet* practically, it can be said that in order to be appointed, finding out a strong patron was the main part of the game. Several times Sadullah Efendi writes about being interviewed for this post by high-ranking people. For instance, on the 9th of C 1248 (03/11/1832), he looks at his horoscope to see whether he would be appointed as *naib* or not. Because Esad Efendi, under whose patronage Sadullah Efendi works, is in İstanbul at that time, Sadullah Efendi seems to have asked him for employment.²⁸⁷ He interprets the stars as saying that it would not happen and he adds that this came true. On the 8th of Zilhicce 1261 (08/12/1845), he

²⁸⁴ Cengiz Kallek, "Çatalcalı Ali Efendi," *DİA*, c. 12, 438.

²⁸⁵ Ahmed Akgündüz, "Fetava-i Ankaraviyye," *DİA*, c.12 438-39.

²⁸⁶ Ahmed Özel, "Behçetü'l-Fetava," *DİA*, c. 5, 346.

²⁸⁷ KRK, Z.M. 342/ 29b. "Asitane-i aliyyede iken hizmetinde olduğum devletlû Esad Efendi hakkımda himmet idüb naibliğe talib olduğunda fakirin sualidir... adem-i husûl ile hükm olunmuş idi hükm-i mezbur isabet etti."

again looks at his horoscope about the same issue and says that this time it was auspicious because it seems that some important people'/person's favour would influence his appointment to come about. After that he is appointed as a *naib* of Çankırı.²⁸⁸ However it is clear that, beyond that of important people the real help he seeks is from God. He prays in such words, which reveal this intent: "*O My Lord! Grant me an auspicious employment, grant that kindness and favour will come to this humble person (Sadullah Efendi) through the help of Lord.*"²⁸⁹

Additionally, he sees many dreams, which are basically professional, that mirror "the ardent hopes of advancement nurtured by"²⁹⁰ him. The first one of these dreams is dated 19 C 1263 (03/06/1847). It runs as follows: "*On Sunday night (ehad gecesi) in my dream I talked with Sheikhülislam. I said: 'I presented a kaside to you.' 'It came.' He replied. [Then] I said: 'I will be put to the examination, but I have no knowledge.' [He answered as] 'I will make sure of the instructor, so he will not ask you difficult questions.' He wore a white robe [and] I kissed it. May it be auspicious.*"²⁹¹ The colour of Sheikhülislam's robe is remembered from the other details of the dream because Sadullah Efendi gives it a special meaning: the colour white is good and auspicious. The other "professional" dream is recorded on the 14th of Safer 1264 (21/01/1848). Sadullah Efendi saw himself like this " *I was a qadi of Ankara. I was riding a red horse and going to Pasha...I wore a kavuk on my head and my uncle was giving books in such and such neighbourhoods. May it be auspicious.*"²⁹² The year 1264/1848-9, when Sadullah Efendi is in İstanbul and under the patronage of Nafiz

²⁸⁸ Z.M. 342/ 30a.

²⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 30a. In Turkish: " ..Rabbim hayırlı mansıb ihsan eyleye ve kerem ve inayet bu abd-i acize imdad-ı Rabb-u tealadan olur. Kesmem ümidimi eltaf-ı Hüdadan sa'da/ Hakkımdır eğer mekani? İnayet ferma."

²⁹⁰ Cornell Fleischer, 82.

²⁹¹ KRK, T. 236/ 3b. "*Ehad gecesi şeyhülislamı rüyamda gördüm size kaside takdim ettim dedim geldi dedi imtihan olacağım lakin çok ilmim yoktur dedim hocaya tenbih edeyim seni sıkmasınlar dedi arkasında beyaz cebesi vardı bus ettim inşallah hakkımızda hayırdır.*" 19 C 1263.

²⁹² KRK, T. 236/ 11a. "*Rüyamda Ankara'ya kadı olmuşum ve bir al ata binüb paşaya giderim .. başımda kavuk var idi ve ammim filan mahallede kitablar verirler? Hayırdır inşallah.*" 14 S 1264

Paşa, is clearly a time of hope and anxiety for Sadullah Efendi in terms of his job. The reason for that is the fact that again on the 28th of Şaban 1264 (30/07/1848), on Friday night (*Cumartesi gecesi*), he sees some strange dreams. In the second part of one of these dreams, he dreams of himself in a large courtyard with the Sultan. Somebody says to him that a new law has been passed about the holding of the offices of *kadı* and *müftü* and they recommend him to apply for a job and ask the favour of the Paşas. He replies that they know about the issue and may be they have done this for him. Then he awakens.²⁹³ One page later, before the second dream recorded on the 3rd of Rebiülevvel in 1264, Sadullah Efendi gives some additional information. He states that after Nafiz Paşa asked the Sheikh-ül İslam for a post (*niyabet*) for him, he then summoned Sadullah Efendi and sent him to the examination. This sentence follows one on the third of Rebiulula of 1264 (February 1848), in which he misses his home so very much that he feels as though his son and grandson were with him. Then he goes to sleep and dreams that he is in the coffee-room of his mansion in Ankara, *halvah* is being cooked there and Mehmed, his grandson, brings some to him and puts it in his mouth. Then he wakes up and prays that this may be a sign of his appointment as *niyabet*.²⁹⁴ Although he interprets these dreams as signs of auspicious news, sometimes he gets frustrated while he is still in Istanbul, running from one influential bureaucrat to the other. The note below mentioned shows Sadullah Efendi's temperament. He wrote reproachfully about the "system" when he could not gain any employment although he had seen many

²⁹³ T. 239/ 13b. "Ondan sonra kendimi bir vası' avluda gördüm ki Padişah-ı ebniyelerinden beş-altı kademe merdivandan çıktım askere yeni bir kanun açılmış ve müftü yahud kadı nasb olunacak imiş bana sen taleb ol paşalara rica eyle dediler ben dahi paşalarını bilirler belki bu hususu benim için yaptılar beni götürürler dedim böyle uyandım hayırdır inşallah."

²⁹⁴ T.240/ 14b. "Devletlü Nafiz Paşa bu fakir için şeyhülislamdan niyabet rica edüb binaenaleyh sheikhülislam dahi bu fakiri celb edüb imtihana havale ettikten sonra işbu Rebiülulânın 3. Sebt günü konakda ba'de-l işa saat 3'te derunuma vatan gelüb oğlum ve Mehmed gözümün önünde güya yanımda gibi bir hal olub bir mertebe-i iştiyak galebe etti ki tabir olunmaz ba'de yatub rüyamda Mehmed'i gördüm bizim kahve odasında helva yaparlar imiş helva getirüb benim ağzıma koydu uyandım bu rüya hayırdır inşallah-ü teala kariben bir niyabet ve ikbal ve saadet ile mesrur olacağımıza delalet ider inşallah-ü teala."

auspicious dreams. In Cemayizelevvel 1264 (April-May 1848), he expressed himself in these words: *“Although I left my home and arrived at İstanbul when my star map was in a very proper condition as Batlamyus said, I did not witness its influence. I suffered so much when I stayed there and I could not even gain any of the niyabets that were given out generously to illiterate and inadequate persons. So it shows that Batlamyus’ words were false and invalid. All the astrologers are big liars, even if in the past these stars had influence, at the moment they are not reliable. So all the astrologers and their sciences are out-of-date. Astrologers! Look at my condition, learn your lesson from it and leave this müneccimlik, I hereby relinquish it.”*²⁹⁵ However he keeps on consulting the stars.

It can be added that Sadullah Efendi hopes to be honoured even after the appointments have been done. In the above case, he complains about not being appointed and accuses the stars and the scornful bureaucrats of his failure, but even after the appointments had been made he kept hoping to be singled out by the members of the appointing body. For instance on 7th of R 1262 (04/04/1846), he arrives in Çankırı. About the time of his arrival, he notes that he travelled comfortably, and during the stay, he received respect and honour there. He especially adds that the Kaymakam let him stay in his palace when he first arrived there and, again, two weeks later, when he was leaving, he gave him a present.²⁹⁶ Then he comes back to Kalecik and stays there until he is appointed to Kangırı as *naib*. He mentions that Hafız Ağa, who had previously

²⁹⁵ KRK, Z.M. 342/ 46b. “Yevm-i mezkurda acele edüb saat üç buçukta azimet ettük Allah mütemeyyin ede amin kale batlamyus.....malum ola ki bu talide vatanımızdan hareket ve İslambula azimet ettüm dört kevkeb-i burc şerefinde bulundu dahi biri tali’de bulundu hiç faidesi olmadı İslambul’da bir sene hur-u haz? Ve hakir oldum hatta alime ve cühela-ı kuzatta mebzul olan bir niyabete nail olmadım işte Batlamyus’un bu kelamı batıl ve kezb-ü sarîh olduğu nümayan oldu küllü müneccimin kezzab ve küllü nücüm küllab eger zaman-ı evailde bu nücümün tesirâtı var ise de köhnelenüb batıl olmuş binaenaleyh müneccimler de batıl ilimleri de batıl vesselam vel eklam müneccimler bu zayiçe benim halime bakub ibret alsınlar yok... müneccimliği terk etsünler işte ben terk ettüm.”

²⁹⁶ Z.M. 539/ 4a. „Azimet be Kangırı 7 R 1262. Bu seferimizde rahat ve sefa ile azimet ve Kangırı’da hürmet-ü riayet ve izzet bulunup hayli güzel oldu ve menfaat dahi oldu. Avdetimiz günü gecesi devletlû kaymakam Bey hediye ihda buyurdular vardığımız anda devletlû kaymakam bey sarayına misafir ettiler.”

offended his feelings, accompanied him on this journey and they were content. He also writes down that during the stay, he experienced comfort, affluence, enjoyment and cordial behaviour.²⁹⁷ Interestingly enough, on the same matter, Sadullah Efendi used a very different tone in another note. On the 3rd of C 1261 (09/06/1845), he claims that he experienced trouble, difficulty and even a great famine in Kalecik. Only, in the former one, he indicated his appointment to Çankırı as happy news.²⁹⁸ We can understand this contradiction by looking at the details of the dates. In the former one, he especially emphasizes the conditions in the last month of his duty in Kalecik. However in the last note he makes a generalisation. In fact, before these notes he considers the issues in Kalecik and makes some complaints; for instance on the absence of court cases and the severe drought. In addition, in the calendar of the year 1262 (1846), Sadullah Efendi mentions this great famine in which he sees the death of his friends. He speaks about the delight of the people when it rained: *"While it was raining, people felt the drops of rain on their faces, then, bringing their faces down to the ground, they thanked God, because for a year there had been no rain."*²⁹⁹ So it may be understood better that after the troubles and difficulties he had already experienced in the first months, he writes down the good conditions he experienced in later days. In addition, from the details of debt that were noted on the first pages of 1262-63 year's calendar, we can grasp that he had incurred debts while he was in Kalecik. He states that he settled his debts on the 25th of Şevval 1262 (19/08/1846) when he was in charge of the administration of Çankırı through the notary duties he had undertaken. This is in the estate inventories where he recorded his own share of them in the first pages of calendar no. 235.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., "Avdet ez Kangırı ve azimet be Kalecik 20 R 1262. Bu seferde dahi zevk ve asayiş ve sefa ile geldik. Mukaddem bize bedhah olub gönül azabları veren müdür-i sabık Hafız Ağa refikimiz olub hüsn-ü muaşeretle geldik Kalecik kazası mahkemesine dahil olduk."

²⁹⁸ Z.M. 539/ 9b.

²⁹⁹ T. 235/ 2b. "Bu ayda emtar nazil oldukça halk-ı alem yüzlerine sürüb ve yüzlerin yerlere sürüb Hak tealaya teşekkür ettiler zira bir senedir rahmet münkatı' olmuş idi."

It should not be forgotten that Sadullah Efendi relied on court cases in terms of income. If there had been no lawsuits about notary deeds, he could not have made a living. For instance, on the 29th of Zilkade 1264 (28/10/1848), he complains about the lack of litigants and the closure of the court although Çankırı had a big administrative unit. Generally we expect that *naibs* preferred to be appointed to greater administrative units both because of their prestigious positions and the fact that from these positions they could be appointed to higher and more prestigious ones. However, in this sentence, the hidden desire of a *naib* to be appointed to a higher position in the hierarchy of appointments, reveals itself as such: if a place is a big one, there would be more inhabitants. Inhabitants mean relations; relations mean the need for a court whether these relations are friendly (marriage, *sulh* etc.) or hostile (various lawsuits). Again, more inhabitants directly means more need for notary transactions such as estate inventories. So in the above-mentioned note, he consulted the star map to see whether he would earn money or gain property and prayed to God to send him these from some unseen treasure-chest. On the 16th of Za 1262 (06/11/1846), he refers to the fact that there were three lawsuits going on in the court.³⁰⁰

When he is in charge of Kalecik in 1261 (1845), he also notes two journeys to the villages in order to plead before a court. The court represents Sadullah Efendi's personality in these cases as understood from the notes. He does not give the name of the first village but he said that he gained as much as 150 *guruş* and returned after a week.³⁰¹ As for the second journey, he gives the names of both villages where the disagreement took place: Timurtaş and Kunk respectively. He informs us that he arrived at Timurtaş one night, but the inhabitants of Kunk village did not come to the court of

³⁰⁰ T. 235/ 9a.

³⁰¹ Z.M. 539/ 3b.

pleas and he returned without carrying out his task.³⁰² Although in these cases Sadullah Efendi himself represents the court, in other cases special places were used. In 1261 (1845) in Kalecik, for example, the residence of Hacı Mustafa Ağa was used as the court and it had a clerk and other officials.³⁰³ In 1258 (1842) Beypazarı, a madrasa functioned as a court³⁰⁴ and in Çankırı in 1262 (1846), the residence of Hacı Said Efendi was used for this purpose.³⁰⁵

To sum up, it can be claimed that although Sadullah Efendi insists on becoming a *naib*, in this post, his concerns increase and he benefits little from remaining a *naib*. Maybe throughout his life, he wants to be appointed to a higher place, but unfortunately, the palace and the stars do not take into consideration the recommendations of the high officials on his account.

Act Six : *Sual-i veliünneam İzzet Paşa ez mansıb*

In the upper floor of the *selamlık*, there was also a *divanhane*. It functioned as a spacious reception chamber for male guests and usually it faced the street. In most cases, *divanhane*s were heavily decorated but we do not know about Sadullah Efendi's. Only, we guess that it was also more decorated than the other rooms. He welcomed his respected guests in this room. Being very active in personal relationships, he needs such a room. Among the persons, he receives as guest, pashas, or high government officials, have a significant place.

It is very obvious that Sadullah Efendi could not live without his Pashas. Each of the calendars he prepared contains lots of information about the pashas with whom

³⁰² Z.M. 539/ 4a

³⁰³ *ibid.*, / 4a.

³⁰⁴ T. 224/ 11b.

³⁰⁵ Z.M. 539/ 5a, T. 235/ 4a.

Sadullah Efendi had some kind of a relationship. Even in one of his dreams, the hidden expectation of Sadullah Efendi to construct a network web with them reveal itself: on the 28th Ş of 1264 (30/07/1848), when he is at İstanbul, he sees a very strange dream. At the end of it, he hears voices informing him about new appointments to the posts of *kadı* and *müftü*. They advise him to apply to his patrons for these positions; he answers that they already know the issue and maybe this possibility is the result of their efforts. Then he awakes: “...yeni bir kanun açılmış ve müftü yahud kadı nasb olunacak imiş bana sen taleb ol paşalara rica eyle dediler ben dahi paşalar bilirler belki bu hususu benim için yaptılar beni götürürler dedim böyle uyandım hayırdır inşallah.”³⁰⁶ Additionally, in the same year, he records the request of Nafiz Paşa from the Sheikhülislam about his appointment: “Devletlü Nafiz Paşa bu fakir için sheikhülislamdan niyabet rica edüb binaenaleyh sheikhülislam dahi bu fakiri celb edüb imtihana havale ettikten sonra...”

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Which ways, then, are used by Sadullah Efendi in establishing this kind of relationship with the pashas? We realize from his notes that Sadullah Efendi established these relationships through his knowledge of *ilm-i nücum* and poetry. As we will clarify below, however, being a *müneccim* meant at the same time being a consultant. Especially high-ranking people asked the *müneccims*’ advice about their personal affairs. Poetry also, especially offering *kasida* to important officials, is a part of this network game. For instance, on the 23rd of Şevval 1255, Sadullah Efendi talks about the benefit he gained in return for the *kasida* he presented to Davut Paşa.³⁰⁸ In the year 1262, he dreams that three boxes with gold, silver and enamel ornamentation were put in front of him and he was told that those were in return for *kasida* he had already

³⁰⁶ T. 240/13b

³⁰⁷ T.240/14b

presented.³⁰⁹ Almost one year after this dream, in Cemaziyelahir of the year 1263, he dreams this time of Sheikh ul-Islam and says to him : “*I have presented you with a kasida*”. Sheikh ul-Islam in his white robe replies him that he has already received it.³¹⁰ Indeed, he had prepared a *kasida* as thanks to Sheikh ul-Islam Mekkizade Asım Efendi for the post of regent in Beypazarı.³¹¹ Sadullah Efendi also presented *kasidas* to Galip Paşa, Şerif Paşa, İsmet Paşa, Rüstem Bekir Paşa, İzzet Paşa, Davud Paşa, Halil Paşa and Mahmut II. Those *kasidas* exist in his *divan*. For instance, in return for his *kasida* of “*kasida-i iyâ*” (*kasida* of the feast) presented to Sultan Mahmud II, he becomes the recipient of the “Sultan’s gift”, according to his own expression.(Divan 22750). Some of the above-mentioned *pashas*, to whom Sadullah Efendi has presented *kasidas*, did not have any posts in Ankara. While they were traveling towards their official posts, they passed through Ankara and Sadullah Efendi presented them *kasidas* during their stay there. Şerif Paşa, Halil Paşa and Rüstem Bekir Paşa belong to this group of *pashas*. For instance, in 1256/1840, Rauf Paşa was assigned chief-governor of Maden and while he was passing through Ankara, Sadullah Efendi was appointed to be responsible for the welcoming ceremony. He presented a *kasida* on the date of this ceremony to Rauf Paşa. (Divan 22734) He composed chronograms to commemorate the date of several events pertaining to different people. For example, for his cousin Daniş Efendi, he prepared one to commemorate his starting school. Another one was for another of his cousins, Hayri Efendi, on the occasion of his circumcision, and another one for the birth of Şehzade (Crown Prince) Abdülaziz. He composed some others for his uncle,

³⁰⁸ KRK.T.215/8b

³⁰⁹ T.235/3b: “*Alem-i manada çok altın ve gümüş ve mineli kutular önüme konulub koynuma doldurdum kaside caizesidir dediler. Allah teala hakkımızda mütemeyyin ve mesud ve mübarek eyleye amin.*”

³¹⁰ T.236/3b: “*Ehad gecesi şeyhülislamı rüyamda gördüm size kaside takdim ettim dedim geldi dedi imtihan olacağım lakin çok ilmim yoktur dedim hocaya tenbih edeyim seni sıkmasınlar dedi arkasında beyaz cebesi vardı bus ettim inşallah hakkımızda hayırdır.*” 19 C 1263

³¹¹ Sadullah Efendi, *Evrâk-ı Perişân Mecmuâ-ı Eşâr*, (Bayezid Devlet Kütüphanesi, Bayezid, n.5749, 255vr.), 22745. From now on, the CD numeration of this work is used and named as Divan.

Tüfenkçibaşı Tahir Efendi, on the occasion of his move to a mansion. For Zahide Hanım, the wife of Hadi Efendi, Vakanüvis Esad Efendi, Mehmet İzzet Paşa, Şehsuvarzade Derviş Efendi, Selahaddin Cazib Bey and Cazim Efendi, he composed chronograms to commemorate different events such as establishing a university, the birth of a daughter, repairing the Taceddin lodge and Haseki madrasa, moving to a *konak*, being assigned a new post as *Kapıcıbaşı*, or the publication of a collection of poems, respectively.³¹²

We can also follow Sadullah Efendi's poetical side by looking at the list of the books in his estate. It can be said that in literature, he prefers mystic-moral lyrics and the *divans* of his contemporaries. They could help him both in improving his poetical ability, Persian and Arabic (together into the dictionaries mentioned below) and also in presenting a feature which is necessary in the pashas' *meclis*, where one of the main conversation subjects was poetry.³¹³ He reads *Hafız*, *Gülüstan*, *Mesnevi*, *Baharistan*, *Senai* in Persian and *Makamat-ı Hariri*, *Hatim at-Tai*, *Ibn-i Zeydun* in Arabic. Let me describe these Persian and Arabic lyrics and then the *divans* of his peers.

Hafız Divanı is the principal work of Şemseddin Muhammed Şirazi, the Persian lyric poet and panegyrist, widely considered to be the pre-eminent master of the *gazel* form. He was born in Shiraz, probably around 1325-6, and is assumed to have died in the same city in 1390. Though he is credited for his sophisticated works in prose, his fame rests entirely on his *Divan*. His verse bears ample evidence of an excellent command of Arabic, a knowledge of the Islamic sciences and of Persian literature. It is generally claimed that he spoke through the standard themes and terminology of hedonism, the lament for mortality, human and mystical love, and so on. He is accepted as a superb linguistic and literary craftsman, who took these forms so far

³¹² Divan 22727, 22728, 22733, 22735, 22740, 22742, 22746, 22772.

³¹³ See Walter G. Andrews, *Şiirin Sesi, Toplumun Şarkısı* (İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 2000).

beyond the work of his predecessors that he practically cut off all succession; and he revolutionised the *gazel* and the panegyric both, by making the one the vehicle for the other in place of the *kaside*. It may be said that a serious interest in Hafiz seems to have been born, after his death, in the Ottoman world and in India and had reached to Europe by the late 18th century.³¹⁴ Hafiz's *Divan* was the most favoured Persian text of the Ottomans after *Mesnevi-i Manevi* and *Gülistan*. It was used for the purposes of improving the Persian language and the technique of poetic aesthetic or for the example of its mystical verses. Sometimes it was even used for fortune-telling. After praying for a blessing on his soul and reading the quatrain of “*Ey Hafız-ı Şirazi/ Bermen nigebedazi/ Men talib-i yek falem/ Tu kaşif-i her razı*”, one opens the *Divan* and interprets poems as one wishes.³¹⁵ However, we do not know exactly for which one of above mentioned purposes Sadullah Efendi possessed Hafiz's *Divan*. Maybe, he owned Hafiz for all these reasons.

Sudi Efendi was born in Bosnia, but received his education in Diyarbekir. He took Persian courses from Diyarbekir's *müftü* and from an expert in Persian literature, Muslihiddin Lari. From Diyarbekir, he moved to Damascus where he met with famous scholars. After having stayed for a time in various cities such as Baghdad, Kufe, and Necef, he returned to Istanbul. He died there at the end of 16th century. His knowledge of Persian and Arabic is well-known. Because of this, he had a place among the most favoured critics of Ottoman literature. His famous Commentary on *Divan-ı Hafız*, which was recorded as *Hafız Şerhi Sudi* in Sadullah Efendi's *tereke*, is the one which attracts the attention of people, especially those who want to learn Persian.³¹⁶

³¹⁴ G.M. Wickens, “Al-Hafız” *the Encycl. Of Islam*, (new edition) vol.III, 56-57.

³¹⁵ Şirazi, *Hafız Divanı*, trans. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, Şark-İslam Klasikleri (İstanbul : MEB, 1992), 26 and 28.

³¹⁶ Mustafa Koç, “Sudi Efendi,” *YYOA* cilt. II, 549-50.

Makamat-ı Hariri was written by Sheikh Ebu Mehmed Kasım bin Ali Hariri who was born in 1054, near Basra. He received a very sound education thanks to Basra's cultural advantages. During his life-time, he was engaged in the family silk trade. The word "Hariri" comes from this feature of the family. He died in 1122 in Basra. In his famous work, "Makamat", he calls the attention of his readers to the deficiencies and contradictions in society. To show these clearly, he wrote down the adventures of a fictitious hero, Ebu Zeyd es-Seruci. Another imaginary character, Haris bin Hemmam, is the story-teller of the work in which Hariri used both verse and prose styles successfully.³¹⁷ For what reasons, however, did Sadullah Efendi have this book? It might be because of his desire to improve his Arabic. Because *Makamat-ı Hariri* is accepted as one of the masterpieces of Arabic literature, this desire fits the general framework. The other reason can be related to Sadullah Efendi's poetic personality. The work might have delighted him in a totally different way. He might have got pleasure out of *Makamat*'s literary beauty as he enjoyed a *nargile* from his *yasemin çubuk*. At the same time, he might have made imaginary journeys into a fantastic world where he became a *kadı* riding a thoroughbred roan horse through the streets of Ankara and fighting with corruption like Es-Seruci. On the other hand, it is also possible that without traveling to an imaginary world, while he was reading about Es-Seruci's adventures in a corrupted society, Sadullah Efendi might have been thinking about his role as a judge in his own territory in the real world.

Hatim et-Tai is another name recorded by the clerk of Sadullah Efendi's tereke. This *divan* is attributed to Ebu Seffane Hatim b. Abdullah b. Sa'd et-Tai el-Kahtani who was the chief of the Tai tribe in Arabia. In the period of "Cahiliyye" he was a poet famous for his generosity. Through this characteristic, he even became the subject of an idiom: "More generous than Hatim (*ecved min Hatim*)". In his poems, he

³¹⁷ Hulusi Kılıç, "Hariri" *DİA*, c. 16, 191-192.

praised generosity and, smiling, he called on people not to forgo selfishness. His Divan that has come down to us today contains some poems that might not actually belong to Hatim. His fame for being generous lives on in Anatolia and Persia even today.³¹⁸

İbn-i Zeydun refers to Ebu'l-Velid Ahmed b. Abdullah b. Ahmed b. Galib el-Mahzum el-Endulisi, who was a famous Andalusian poet born at Cordova of an aristocratic family in 394 / (1003). Until his death in the year 463/1070, he actively participated in the political life of the petty kingdoms of Andalusia. His poetry fits the description of 'neo-classical'. His poems, especially those about his lover Vellade and his country, carry a certain talent in the expression of emotion. As well as his "diwan", he left short texts known as *risales*.³¹⁹ Sadullah Efendi probably possessed his *divan* rather than his *risales*.

Hadika-i Hakim Senai, another of the same genre, is the *mesnevi* of the mystic poet Senai (d.1131). It was the first mystic *mesnevi* in Persian literary history. Dedicated to Gaznevid Sultan Fahrüddeve Behram Şah, it consisted of ten chapters containing 10,000 couplets. It involves religious, moral, philosophical and didactical subjects. It was said that Celaleddin-i Rumi has very fond of it.³²⁰

Mesnevi is one of the books that has been read widely throughout the centuries and has had an influence upon lots of people through the teaching of Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi. He was the founder of the Mevleviye order and lived between 604-677 / (1207-1273). Although he was born in Balkh, in 626/(1228) his family moved to Konya at the request of the Seljuk prince, Alaeddin Keykubad. In this city, he met in 642/1244 Şemseddin Muhammed Tebrizi, who made a decisive alteration in the life of Mevlana. The "Mesnevi" is a didactical poetical work in double verses in six "defters".

³¹⁸ Süleyman Tülüçü, "Hatim et- Tai," *DİA*, c. 16, 472-73.

³¹⁹ G. Lecomte, "İbn-i Zaydun," in *EF²* (new edition), vol. III., 973-74. Rahmi Er, "İbn-i Zeydun," *DİA* c. 20, 464-66.

³²⁰ Mürsel Öztürk, "Hadikatü'l-hakika ve Şeri'atü't-tarika", *DİA*, c.15, 20.

Except for the famous eighteen verses of the introduction, he dictated the whole work to his successor as Sheikh Çelebi Hüsameddin Hasan. The whole of the work is composed very informally in an unorganized way. The stories are often interrupted by other stories: later on the previous story is picked up again.³²¹

Gülşen-i Tevhid is a commentary on *Mesnevi-i Manevi* by İbrahim Şahidi (1470?-1550?). He was a Mevlevi dervish. He wrote a *divan* but he is not a prominent poet. He knew Persian very well. His work was called *Gülşen-i Tevhid* as well as *Gülşen-i Esrar* or *Gülşen-i Vahdet*. He took 100 verses from each volume of *Mesnevi* and explained each verse in five verse of his own.³²²

Gülistan is the famous book of Ebu Abdullah Müşerrefeddin b. Muslih Sa'di, known as Sheikh Sa'di, who lived between 610?-691/ 1213?-1292 and was from Shiraz in Persia. Although there is very little information on his life, his works reveal a general intellectual sophistication in traditional Islamic education and his writings imply a wide knowledge of the world beyond Persia. Sa'di's fame rests on the *Bostan*, the *Gülistan* and his *gazels*. The first two are both collections of moralising anecdotes and arranged according to subject matter. In the case of *Gülistan*, there are eight books of these. The mixture of prose and verse that is presented in *Gülistan* makes the genre central to Persian literature. The *Gülistan* was completed in the same year as the sack of Baghdad and the abolition of the Abbasi caliphate by the Mongols. Sa'di's sufism which shows itself in his works, would seem to be close to the 'practical' one of el-Gazali, that is, a way of surviving with dignity in a morally dubious environment.³²³ Since its first appearance, the *Gülistan* has been widely read and, as a result of this, there are

³²¹ H.Ritter, "Djaleddin-i Rumi", *EI*, vol. II, 393-95.

³²² Murat A. Karavelioglu, "Şahidi, İbrahim", *YYOA*, c.2, 575.

³²³ R.Davis, "Sa'di", *EI*, VIII, 719-722.

numerous volumes in libraries throughout the world. In the Ottoman education system, it was widely used for teaching the pupils Persian.

Baharistan Şerhi is a commentary on the *Baharistan*, which is a moral and literary work of Abdurrahman-ı Cami (d. 1492) written in the Persian language and dedicated to Sultan Hüseyin Baykara in 1478. It has similarities in arrangement and style to Sadi's famous *Gülistan*, because Cami took it as a model for *Baharistan*. However, both of the works differ in terms of their context. In *Baharistan*, Cami presents the Sufis' thoughts and behaviour, the wisdom to be just and generous that a ruler must possess a generous person's attitudes, love and lovers' characteristics, jokes and witty remarks, poems and poets, and lessons taken from fables, or stories that are told by animals. It was one of the most favoured Persian works in Ottoman times because of its didactic though joyful style.³²⁴

Hayali is the name of the *divan* of Hayali Bey, used by the unknown clerk of Sadullah Efendi's *tereke*. Hayali Bey was born in Vardar, Yenice and died in 964/1556-57 in Edirne. He accompanied to Suleyman the Magnificent to the sieges of Rhodes, Irak and Baghdad. He also presented many panegyrics, *kasa'id*, to Sultan Suleyman. However, after the death of his two supporters, İskender Çelebi (d. 1534) and İbrahim Paşa (d. 1536), he lost his influence as a palace poet. Instead of him, Taşlıcalı Yahya Bey gained favour. The only work left by Hayali Bey is his *divan*. The *sufi* influence in his poems is attributed to Yenice's cultural atmosphere. As well as Fuzuli, he was considered a great poet in his time.³²⁵ Among Turkish *divans*, Sadullah Efendi's preference for Hayali Bey can be attributed to his *divan*'s *sufi* characteristics, because, as well as the works of several other poets, he also possessed Hayali Bey's.

³²⁴ Ömer Okumuş, "Baharistan", *DİA*, c. 4, 470-71.

³²⁵ Cemal Kurnaz, "Hayali Bey", *DİA*, c. 17, 5-7.

Akif Paşa Münşe'atı refers to the manual for correct style and phraseology by Mehmed Akif Paşa (1787-1845), who began his career as clerk to a local notable in his birth place, Bozok. From here he went on to the *divan-ı hümayün kalemi* where after 27 years he became the chief clerk, *reis-ül küttab* in 1247. He received the title of "pasha" in 1253 and, like other pashas, was appointed *mutasarrıf* of various Anatolian cities. After his dismissal, he made a journey to the Holy Places. After becoming a hadji, he died in Alexandria on his way back to İstanbul. Akif Pasha is considered to be one of the pioneers of the New Literature, *Edebiyat-ı Cedide*, (with his simple and short sentences). Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar adds that the context of his poems, especially *Adem Kasidesi*, with the complaints in angosise feature as new phenomena in Ottoman literature. In spite of this, in Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar's opinion, his works were a continuation of the old literature.³²⁶ His *münşe'at* and *eş'ar* were printed in one book in 1259 in İstanbul and in Bulak in 1846.³²⁷

Sururi refers to Seyyid Osman Sururi's *divan*. He was very famous for his chronograms, *tarihs*. He was born in Adana in 1165/1752, a son of Hafız Musa. In 1779, he came to the capital and his poetical ability was encouraged by Yahya Tevfik Efendi, who later became *sheikhülislam*. During the years 1788-90, he was the *kethüda* of his close friend, the poet Sümbülzade Vehbi Efendi. When Sururi died in 1814, he was buried beside Sümbülzade's grave in Üsküdar. His *divan* was printed in 1839 in Bulak.³²⁸

Vasıf Divanı is the work of Enderunlu Vasıf Osman Bey, widely known as "enderunlu" as he was educated in the palace. After thirty years of service there during the reigns of Abdülhamid I (1774-1789), Selim III (1789-1807) and Mahmud II (1808-

³²⁶ A. Hamdi Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* 7. Baskı (İstanbul : Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1988), 95-96.

³²⁷ İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri* 4 cilt. (İstanbul : Dergah Yay., 1988), 1: 80-88.

³²⁸ Edith G. Ambros, "Sururi", *El*, IX, 895-6.

1839), he retired of his own accord in 1818, and died in 1824 in İstanbul. During his palace years, the sultans were the subject of his panegyrics and he arranged many chronograms for important events also. In his *divan*, printed in 1841 and 1868 in Cairo and İstanbul respectively, the daily life of Istanbul, especially along the Bosphorus, appears as an important subject. The language he used reflects everyday speech. He had a special interest in the conversation of women and among these, a conversation between a mother and her daughter is a very famous one.³²⁹

Coming to the dictionaries, these begin with a lyrical one, *Tuhfe-i Vehbi*. It was written by Sünbülzade Vehbi, a famous poet of 18th century who belonged to the famous scholarly Sünbülzade family of Maraş. He received his education in Maraş and İstanbul. After that, he became first a *müderres* and then *kadı* in Rumeli. During the reign of Mustafa III, he became one of the members of Hâcegân-ı Divan-i Hümayun and was responsible for state correspondence. Selim III helped him to progress in his career as *kadı*. He died in 1809 in İstanbul. He was known as a poet of pleasure and also lived a life of pleasure. He is accepted as being a follower of Nedim and Nabi. He dedicated his *Tuhfe* to his son, Lütfullah, and to Arif and Nuri, two sons of Sadrazam Halil Paşa, in memory of his Persian journey. The *Tuhfe-i Vehbi*, a Persian-Turkish dictionary written in rhyme, was used in madrasas and re-printed several times.³³⁰

Lugat-ı Vankulu is the work of Mehmed b. Mustafa al Vani, a famous Ottoman jurist in the time of Murad III (1574-95) who especially distinguished himself in the field of fikh, lexicography and literature. Born in Van, he worked in a number of towns (İstanbul, Rhodes, Manisa, Salonika, Amasya, Kütahya and Yenişehir) as *müderres*, *kadı* and *molla* and died in 1591-92 as *molla* of Madina where he went in 1590 in succession to Su'udi. In his long period of 30 years' service, he displayed great

³²⁹ Ibid., c. 8, 515-517.

³³⁰ Mustafa Koç, "Sünbülzade Vehbi", *YYOA*, c.2, 655-56.

diligence in writing and translating. His principal work was the Turkish translation of the Sahah or Sihah of al-Djawhari, more esteemed by some people than the Kamus of al-Firuzabadi. This work brought him enduring fame. It was printed in 1729 by Müteferrika as one of the first books printed in Turkey.³³¹

Galatat-ı Hafid Efendi is the work of Mehmed Efendi. Instead of his real name, he was called Hafid, grandchild, after his grandfather *Reis-ül küttab* Mustafa Efendi. He became kadı of İstanbul in 1799. He dabbled in politics, for example, in the rebellion of Kabakçı Mustafa Paşa and was exiled to Kastamonu by Alemdar Mustafa Paşa. He was forgiven by Mahmut II and returned to İstanbul with the title of Rumeli Kadıasker. He died in 1811 while still in this post. “Ed-Dürerü’l- Müntehabatü’l- Mensure fi Islahi’l-Galatati’l-Meşhure”, widely known as “Galatat-ı Hafid Efendi” was written in 1804 and printed in 1221. It contains descriptions and etymologies of more than 1000 Arabic, Persian and Çağatay Turkish terms. The most important feature of the work is the fact that it gives historical, religious, sociological and folkloric information about the words. For example, when he describes “kalem”, he also gives additional information on books and calligraphy including a history of the latter. It is more like an encyclopaedia on account of this additional information.³³²

Kamus Tercüme: Although the word “kamus” refers to the ocean, after the Persian scholar Muhammed Mecdüddin Yakub Firuzabadi used it as a title of his great Arabic to Arabic dictionary, *kamus* came to be a common noun denoting a dictionary. Mütercim Asım Efendi translated this work into Turkish in five years (1805-1810). The first edition appeared in three volumes in 1814, 1815 and 1817 respectively, by

³³¹ Th. Menzel, *The Enc. Of Islam*, (new edition), vol.XI, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 138.

³³² Abdülkadir Özcan, “Hafid Efendi” *DİA*, c.15, 111-112.

permission of Mahmud II. By achieving the difficult task of translating Firuzabadi's *Kamus*, Asım Efendi was considered one of the great translators of his time.³³³

Lehçetü'l- Lügat was the first Turkish dictionary by Sheikhülislam Mehmed Esad Efendi and was written in 1732. The words he chose were the ones used by the common people. In this case, the origin of the words was not taken into consideration, instead preference was given to their usage in Turkish.³³⁴

Ahter-i Kebir is a famous work of Muslihuddin Mustafa (1560-61) who was born in Karahisar, and died in Kütahya where he was employed as a *müderres*. *Ahter* is an Arabic-Turkish dictionary containing 40,000 words. Although it is no better than Mütercim Asım's *Kamus*, some of its features make it as valuable; for example its alphabetical order, its small size that makes it easy to use, and sentences giving examples of the usage of words. It was written in an old Turkish dialect that was current from 12th to 15th century. Its fame added "*kebir*", "great", to its title and so it was called "*Ahter-i Kebir*" instead of its real title "*Ahter*". It was printed in 1242 (1826).³³⁵

Külliyat-ı Ebu'l Beka is different from the former classical dictionaries. The writer of this work, Ebu'l-Beka el-Kefevi was from the Crimea. There is not much information about his life. We only know that he was appointed as qadı to Birgi and Filibe and died in İstanbul in 1684. He dedicated his work, "*Külliyat*", to Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa. This work was a dictionary that mainly explains the Islamic terms used in Qur'an and Hadith. In the book, Ebu'l Beka focused on the meanings of words in the contexts of grammar, philosophy, logic, hadith, canonical law, commentary on the Qur'an, and Islamic theology. He also concentrated on the synonyms of these words, trying to show the differences in their usage. Because of such characteristics, it

³³³ TDEA, c. 5, 136.

³³⁴ *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Aniklopedisi*, (Dergah yay.: İstanbul), 1985-86, c.6, 78.

³³⁵ Hulusi Kılıç, "*Ahter*," *DİA*, c.2, 184-85.

was considered an excellent work in its own time. Examining the dictionary reveals that Ebu'l Beka made use of approximately 180 different sources.³³⁶

Burhan-ı Kat' is also a distinctive Persian to Persian dictionary written in 1652 by Muhammed Hüseyin b. Halef-i Tebrizi. It was dedicated to Abdullah, one of the sultans of Kutubşahi in Southern India. It contains 20,000 words and is arranged according to alphabetical order. A translation of "Burhan" was prepared by Mütercim Asım Efendi (d. 1819). It was first printed in 1214 in one volume. Resembling an encyclopaedia, it consists of idioms, proverbs, food recipes, information on botany and medicine preparation, children's plays, various crafts and their tools, etc. Mütercim Asım explained the reason for his translation of "Burhan" in terms of its broad range of subjects that covers approximately thirty different sciences. In each field, the book presents the origins and exact meanings of the terms and words relevant to the subject matter. This is the reason why he translated it into Turkish.³³⁷

After mentioning Sadullah Efendi's poetical characteristics that helps him for forming a network, back to Sadullah Efendi's relationship with the pashas, we are able to see that Sadullah Efendi most frequently mentioned Mehmet İzzet Paşa. He was born in Darende in 1207 (1792/93) and held various official posts such as guardian of the Bosphorus, chief captain, grand vizier and chief governor of a province. He was very active during the abolishment of the Janissary corps. On 1256 (1840), he was the chief commander of the army which consisted of English, Austrian, Prussian and Russian troops fighting against the Egyptian governor, Mehmed Ali Paşa. The troops under the control of İzzet Paşa won a battle near Beirut but on his way back he had an accident, as a consequence of which his left foot became disabled. Consequently, he gained his fame

³³⁶ Hulusi Kılıç, "Ebu'l Beka" *DİA*, c. 10, 298.

³³⁷ Ayla Demiroğlu, "Burhan-ı Katı" *DİA*, c.6, 432-33.

under the name of İzzet the Lamé. At the same time, he was also famous for his courage, anger, bravery and blood-thirstiness.³³⁸ Sadullah Efendi gives lots of information about the Pasha in his notes. He begins to talk about İzzet Paşa in 1251 (1836). His first note is on the gift of İzzet Paşa on the 23rd Z of 1251 (10/04/1836). The last one comes fourteen years later: at that time, Sadullah Efendi informs of the date of his return from the *yahı* of İzzet Paşa on the 20th S of 1265 (16/01/1849). Between these dates, there are many notes about him in the calendars of Sadullah Efendi. He seems to record every detail about him; such as his journeys, appointments, questions, campaigns, sons, wife, assistant, letters etc.³³⁹ In his horoscope collection # 342, he even opens a separate section on the questions of İzzet Paşa especially on his appointments.³⁴⁰ In this *mecmua*, there are nearly fifty horoscopes prepared for him. Sometimes, Sadullah Efendi suffers from these endless questions. For instance, on 14 Za 1254 (29/01/1839), he writes thus: “*Devletlü veliünneam İzzet Paşa efendimiz istemiş hakipayane gittim maşiyen yolda çok zahmet çektim ve düştüm yolar gayet çamur ve kar ve buz ile alude idi.*”³⁴¹ In this sentence, Sadullah Efendi complains about İzzet Paşa’s desire to see him on such a stormy day to ask a question about honor. However, the word “hakipayane” reveals that he must submit to İzzet Paşa’s wishes, because in his presence, the humble Sadullah Efendi is like the dust under his feet.

Davud Paşa comes to Ankara after the dismissal of İzzet Paşa in 1255 (1839). Their relationship lasts during Davud Paşa’s time there, which means that Sadullah Efendi does not mention him after his departure in 1256 (1840). In his records, Sadullah Efendi talks about Davud Paşa’s arrivals and departures, questions, gifts, actions

³³⁸ Uzunçarşılı, 235-247.

³³⁹ For these details, see: T.208/4a, 6a, 8a, 9a; T.571-10/5b,8b; T.525/4b, 5b, 6b, 7a, 8b, 9b, 11b, 13a; T.215/3b, 4b, 5a, 5b, 6a, 8a, 10a; T.221/ 3b, 9a, 9b; T.224/6b, T.231/4b; T.240/ 3a, 4a, 4b, 5b, 8b, 9b, 10a, 11a.

³⁴⁰ KRK.Z.M.342/121b-

³⁴¹ T.525/13a.

concerning Ankara and such-like.³⁴² Before their meeting, Davud Paşa had the posts of a governor of Bağdad, Basra and Bosnia. After his dismissal from Ankara, he became *şeyhülhareme* twice and died in Medine in 1267 (1851).³⁴³

About the following governors of Ankara, Sadullah Paşa, Tayyar Paşa, İsmail Paşa, Rüstem Paşa, İsmet Paşa, Vasıf Paşa and Hasan Paşa³⁴⁴, Sadullah Efendi gives nearly the same information as in the case of Davud Paşa.³⁴⁵ Only, for the first time, he talks about İsmet Paşa as “hain”/malicious, instead of using the usual praises such as “devletlü”, “veliünneam”. He even accuses İsmet Paşa of causing his dismissal from the *niyabet* of Beypazarı.³⁴⁶

At the end, we recognize that Sadullah Efendi’s relationships to Pashas and his poetical and astrological ability enable him to live in better conditions in the sense that he either offers them some *kasidas* expecting in return some gains from them, or he casts horoscopes for those officials. But we should keep in mind that this was the rule of the game in the Ottoman Empire.

Act Seven : Hesab Çetelemiz Kırıldı

From the *selamlık* side of the house, one can pass in to the harem through the *mabeyn* room. As it is located between the two, Sadullah Efendi’s income flows through it to the harem and debts flow from the harem to *selamlık*. Hence his concerns on financial calculations including debts, credits, expenditures are put into this room.

³⁴² For the notes of Sadullah Efendi about Davud Paşa, see; KRK.T.215/6a, 7b, 8b, 12a, 13b; T.221/5b.

³⁴³ Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay.: İstanbul), 1996, 408.

³⁴⁴ For Sadullah Efendi’s records about them, see; T.221/6b,6b,7b,8b,9b; T. 221/9b, T.222/1b,2b; T.221/3b, 6a, 6b; T.224/5a,10b; T.226/ 4a, 5b, 6a, 7b, 9b and Z.M.539/9a; T.231/10b, 12b, T.236/2b, 8b, 9b, 11b; T.236/13a, respectively.

³⁴⁵ Apart from them, he mentions the names of other pashas, such as Nafiz Paşa, Galib Paşa, Halil Paşa, Rauf Paşa, Selim Paşa, Mustafa Reşid Paşa etc.

³⁴⁶ Z.M.342/43a and Z.M.539/9a.

From a brief consideration of Sadullah Efendi's notes, we can very easily deduce how deeply he worries about the livelihood of the household and of the members of the household. This seems to be natural, because he was the head of the family. Also, he was responsible for the subsistence of the household. His concern may be seen in his notes about financial issues, i.e., how much he borrowed and when he paid his debts etc. Those concerns are important for us for two reasons. Firstly, they belong completely to the realm of daily concerns of Sadullah Efendi, and secondly, those concerns and the records of them may give us some clues about the organization of expenditure and income within the everyday life of an Ottoman person.³⁴⁷ Those reasons are important for us as they led us to analyze the notes relating to the financial concerns of Sadullah Efendi.

The notes seem to be written like doodles while dealing with other issues such as astrological issues or reading a poem. When some of his credits or debts come to his mind, he takes notes in the form of doodling and this makes the form and the style of his notes related to finance less orderly. However, in one case he has given a title to his expenditure notes: "*this is a notebook of the debts and credits on 25th of Şevval 1262*".³⁴⁸ But this is a unique case. Except for this one, we do not have any other notes underlying a special purpose. Nevertheless, those notes might give us some clues about the financial condition of Sadullah Efendi.

In analyzing the kinds of expenditures and incomes of Sadullah Efendi, I used to help of the diagrams, because recording them one by one is a very difficult task. I can say that he had three sources of income as stated in his notes. i) salaries from his offices, ii) rents from his real estate, iii) payment of credits he borrows to someone to him back,

³⁴⁷ See for an instance of a bourgeois in Istanbul, Paul Dumont et François Georgeon, "Un Bourgeois d'Istanbul au début de XXe siècle", *Turcica* XVII (1985): 127-179.

³⁴⁸ "Altmış iki senesi Şevvali'nin yigirmi beşinci günü verilen ve eda olunan deynimiz defteridir." KRK, T. 235.

even this is not a real income. The credit side of his table of accounts is composed of these three types. On the other hand, the debit side of the table implies a variety. But I tried to classify them under some headings and finally two broad categories were reached: i) his debts and ii) his expenditures. The last category is an open category and each of his purchases might be included within this category: books, pillows and etc.

Table 1

Account sheet of Sadullah Efendi	
Inputs	debts
credits salaries rents	expenditures debts
Year : 1254 Credit: 400 kuruş from Seyyid Ağa Salary: 1500 kuruş (annual) Rent: 580 kuruş	1254 <i>expenditure:</i> pipe: 80 kuruş books: 87 kuruş shawl: 36 kuruş bricks: 100 kuruş shoe: 42 kuruş mest: 23 kuruş <i>debts: 30 kuruş</i>

1255- salary : 750 <i>kuruş</i> rent: 180 <i>kuruş</i> another salary: 4000 <i>kuruş</i> calculation has done and	1256 7 pillows for mabeyn: 17 <i>kuruş</i> wine-garden: 600 <i>kuruş</i> salyane: 1550 <i>kuruş</i> servants: 15 <i>kuruş</i> soldiers: 30 <i>kuruş</i> Emir Ağa: 413 <i>kuruş</i> Exp. for Ramazan: 544 <i>kuruş</i> Debt to Kırmızıoğlu: 100 <i>kuruş</i> Clock for sister: 1500 <i>kuruş</i>, 700 k. Cash No debt no credit has remained.
1256-	1257 expenditures + salary of servants: 1155 <i>kuruş</i> Şakir: 20 <i>kuruş</i> Glasses: 20 <i>kuruş</i>
12	62 Baker: 100 <i>kuruş</i> Tailor: 90 <i>kuruş</i> Cloth: 90 <i>kuruş</i> (3*30 <i>kuruş</i>) Fur: 300 <i>kuruş</i> (bill of exchange) Tailor: 130 <i>kuruş</i> (senet) Debts: 882 <i>kuruş</i> total

1262-	1263
incomes from the estates of dead person he has recorded as <i>naib</i> of Kalecik:	debts:
940 <i>kuruş</i> total from 13 different estates.	141 <i>kuruş</i> to Seyyid Ağa
	128 <i>kuruş</i> to Muhzır Hüseyin
	80 <i>kuruş</i> to butcher
	32 <i>kuruş</i> to baker
	15 <i>kuruş</i> külabcı
	40 <i>kuruş</i> tailor Memiş Efendi
	46 <i>kuruş</i> jewelry
	60 <i>kuruş</i> Hacı Bahar
	50 <i>kuruş</i>
	10 <i>kuruş</i> cooker
	70 <i>kuruş</i> monthly rent of the residence to İsmail Ağa
	35 <i>kuruş</i> Muhzır Hacı Ahmed
	7 <i>kuruş</i> to honey-producer
	39 <i>kuruş</i> to son of baker
	50 <i>kuruş</i> to candle-seller Ali Ağa
	66 <i>kuruş</i> to butcher
	204 <i>kuruş</i> to soup-cooker
	32 <i>kuruş</i>
	32 <i>kuruş</i>
	25 <i>kuruş</i> to grocer
	17 <i>kuruş</i> for coffee

Act Eight : *Tezevvüc olur mu?*

After passing through the *mabeyn* room, one reaches the second floor of the *harem* side. On this side, a *harem* room used by his core family is to be found. As they have no separate rooms for sleeping, eating and other daily activities, these functions take place in *harem* room. The below-mentioned style of interior decoration also accommodated this multi-functionality. Coming to the users of this room, apart from the male members of the family, it can be claimed that one of the most private concerns of Sadullah Efendi is his wives. As he does not like to express himself on this matter, our

interpretations can not go beyond the realm of historical speculation. I prefer to begin with certainties, however. We know that Sadullah Efendi married twice. His second marriage took place after his first wife's, Nesibe Hanim's, death. We have more information about Nesibe Hanım because we have only indirect information about the identity of his second wife, Adile Kadın, whose name appears only in Sadullah Efendi's *tereke*. Sadullah Efendi's family seems to have played a central role in his first marriage. His marriage benefits not only the families, but also all those of the lineage of Hacı Bayram Veli. With this marriage, the Mûderriszades strengthen their ties with the main branch of the Hacı Bayram Veli family.³⁴⁹ Being the daughter of Sheikh Tayyib Baba and the sister of the Sheikh Mehmed Said Baba, Nesibe Hanim seems an appropriate choice for them. So the marriage was performed probably in 1230's (1815/16). For Sadullah Efendi, marrying a bride from a well-known, prosperous family must have had both advantages and disadvantages: It is clear that he gained honour and respect by becoming the son-in-law of the *sheikh* but he may have felt great personal pressure because he had to take care of his wife in the way that she was accustomed to living in her father's house. There seems to have been some other difficulties in their lives because they had only one son until the death of Nesibe Hanim, probably in 1267 (1850/1). About her death, their son Mustafa Pertev Efendi writes a poem, which also indicates the date:

Rahmetullahi aleyha ile namın yad ola

Validem ruh-ı şerifen fatihayla şad ola

Pertev oğlun ağlayub tarih yazdı ba-niyaz

*Kabr içinde sana ya rabbi gafur evrad ola*³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ Fuat Bayramoğlu,, 92 and 118.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 122.

Additionally, for the reason that Sadullah Efendi's work necessitated his living separately from his family, he always misses them very much. For example, on the 27th of Ca in 1262 (24/05/1846), when he returns from Kalecik after he has been dismissed from the post of *naib*, he notes that when he arrives at his house, he sees first his wife and then his son and then his grief and homesickness go away. After three years the same scene is repeated when he returns from İstanbul. At that time he also mentions that he feels comfortable in his own house. He suffers from homesickness so much that he writes down how he waits for a letter from his family and wonders whether he will return to his home town.³⁵¹ There are also some poems about being far away from home, in which he refers to Ankara, his house and family interchangeably as we saw at the beginning of this chapter. Apart from this type of complaint, in some of his notes Sadullah Efendi expresses problems, caused by 'harem' and 'home'. On the 8th of Ş 1255 (17/10/1839), he writes that '*we went to orchard, they (his family) caused me trouble so I suffered much*'.³⁵² As is stated in the part on Hidayet, in the first month of 1257, Sadullah Efendi writes at the very edge of the calendar that he puts down this note in order not to forget the distress (*gönül azabı*) he suffered when the house was in disorder because he was looking for Hidayet. On the 13th of B 1259 (10/8/1843), he notes that Hüseyin, one of his servants, had left and not returned so this act caused gossip in the house. He adds that every year he suffers a great deal and this distress is usually caused by the servants. As a *müneccim*, he relates this condition to his stars and tries to interpret the position of the stars to resolve the problem. On the first page of

³⁵¹ KRK, Z.M. 342/30b. 19 Ca 1265: "*sual-i fakir der İslambul haneme varmak mukadder olur mu vatanıma gider miyim? Asitane'de Nafiz Paşa'nın duthanelerinde sakın olduğum hengamda Cuma gicesi rüyamda elime bir avuç buğday dolduruldu ve bir bostan gördüm hazıratı gıya benim imiş icare virmek üzere bir kimesne ile mukavele ittim uyandım sabahleyin saat on birde yeşil cebe telbis ettim ba'de gayet canım sıkılıb bila mucib ve la sebeb canım sıkılıb gayet gammnak olduğum halde Ankara'ya gitmek ve haneme varmak mukadder olur mu deyü defaaten sual ittim bu tali zuhur etti. sefer vakti olub vatanıma muazzez gitmek ve varub beytime muazzezen vasıl olmak müyesser olur inşallah-u teala Rabbim hayr ve saadetle ve ikballe vasıl eyleye amin bi hürmet-i seyyidel murselin.*"

³⁵² KRK, T. 215/8a. "*Bağa gittik fezahatle burnumdan getirdiler.*"

zayıf mecmua # 342, he notes: “*Bu seneki Ramazan’da(1263) çektiğim mihnet ve meşakkat ve sarf ettiğim akçe ve kazandığım bihuzurluk cümlesi de haremden efzun idi.*”³⁵³ As the term ‘harem’ might indicate the whole house, not only his wife, we cannot conclude for certain like that Nesibe Hanım was the only cause of the troubles. Mustafa Pertev and the servants, maybe with the concubines, had a share in the troubles of Sadullah Efendi.

When it comes to his second wife, Adile Kadın, we know only her father’s name, Gökmen. We see in the notes also that Sadullah Efendi states that he bought Gökmen Ağa’s vineyard in Cebeci for 600 *guruş*. It is possible that he is her future father-in-law. She had twins by Sadullah Efendi, one of whom is named Abdullah the other is Necibe. As is mentioned above, we come across Adile Kadın only after the death of Sadullah Efendi. On the 15th of Ca 1271 (02/02/1855), the *tereke* of Sadullah Efendi was recorded in the Ankara *sicil defter* number 684. Adile Kadın’s share of the inheritance was 14,497 *guruş*, Mustafa Pertev Efendi’s and Abdullah’s shares were 40,594 and Necibe’s was 20,297 *guruş*. A week later, Mustafa Pertev Efendi and representative of Adile Kadın came to the court with witnesses for dividing the property of the estate. Karadanoğlu Sadeddin Ağa says that her share after this division is shops: “.... but all of these shops are in ruin, they need reconstruction. The children’s livelihood could not be procured from their rent. Mustafa Pertev Efendi ceded his half share of his own volition. My demand from the court is to give permission to my client, Adile Kadın, the legal executor (*vasi*) for her children, to take this amount from Mustafa Pertev Efendi.”³⁵⁴ The court accepted the request and after the court fees and the debts of Sadullah Efendi

³⁵³ “All of the difficulties I have undergone on the Ramazan of this year and the money I have spent, were the results of Harem’s demands.”

³⁵⁴ AŞS. 264/80-139. “...*lakin dekakin.i mecmu'an-ı mezkuranın binası ahşab ve ekserisi harab ve muhtac-I tamir bulunub bazısı dahi muhterik arsa olub gulle hasil olmayub sagiran-I mezburan dahi nafaka ve kisveye ihtiyacları olduğundan mum-I ileyh Pertev Efendi nısf hisse-i mezkurası olan hisse-i şa'yi'ayı ma2lumasını ahire ferağ murad itmeğle sagiran-I mezburanın nısf hisse-i mezkurası olan hisse-i*

had been paid, the total 22,950 *guruş* worth of property was given to Adile Kadın because she was the legal executor. As we look at the names of the five witnesses, we notice that they are high-ranking members of the society: one is *ser muhızıran*, the other is *attarbaşı* and the other is *duhancı ağa*. The remaining two have the title of *efendi*. As Y.Seng demonstrates in a different case,³⁵⁵ the social weight of Adile Kadın, or of the family within the community, is attested to by the positions held by the witnesses-to-the-court (*şuhud-ul hal*) who were notable figures from the Ankara community. Therefore, although we do not know the position of Adile Kadın's family as well as we know Nesibe Hanım's, we can conclude that she might have come from a prosperous family, or that Sadullah Efendi had well-known friends who did not forget him and helped his wife even after his death.

Act Nine : *Vurud-u mektub nur-i aynım oğlum Pertev Mustafa el-hamdulillah-i teala*

Because Mustafa Pertev lives in this *konak*, there is a separate room for his residence in the *harem* section. In one of the notes, when Sadullah Efendi is talking about his return from a journey and arriving home on 14 B 1265 (06/06/1849), he says :
*"When I arrived at my house in Ankara at first I did not see any male person when I entered the harem, I saw our harem."*³⁵⁶ Then my son Pertev heard me and came through

şa'yi'ayı ma'lumalarını canib-i şer'-i şerifden müvekkilem vasi-i mezbure Adile Hatuna verilmek bil-ve kale matlubumdur..."

³⁵⁵ Y.Seng, "The Uskudar Estates as Records of Daily Life in an Ottoman Town, 1521-24" (unpublished Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1991), 154.

³⁵⁶ In the notes Sadullah Efendi never calls his wife as "my wife", he prefers to call her as "our *harem*" although he calls his son as "my son". It could be explained by his attitude for giving great importance to the privacy.

the door, so I saw him also."³⁵⁷ From this sentence it may be understood that Pertev lived in the same building but with his own wife in another room at this date. In other notes, Sadullah Efendi mentions Pertev's room also.³⁵⁸

Mustafa Pertev Efendi, who is noted by Sadullah Efendi with words of love and appreciation; but also, or sometimes, of sorrow and worry, constitutes one of the basic concerns of Sadullah Efendi. Although he could not realize all of his desires for Pertev, at least the choice of his name by Sadullah Efendi affects these desires. The name Mustafa is given him after his grandfather, Mderriszade Sheikhi Mustafa Efendi, and Pertev means a ray of light which stems from the stars. There is little information about him in the sources. Generally his poetical side and his work in the population office of Ankara is noted. In Fuad Bayramođlu's work, however, we learn that on the occasion of his birth, Ahi Baba Necip Efendi gave the date as 1233/1818:

Syledi miladına tarih dua ile Necib

İde Seyyid Mustafa Pertev seni Hak kamiya

Additionally, Sadullah Efendi records the same date, 23 Şevval 1233 (26/08/1818) as the birth date of his son.³⁵⁹ About his death, as there is an estate record in the court registers, we know that he died in 1277/1862, at the age of 44, six year after his father died.

However, in contrast to the sources' reticence, Sadullah Efendi speaks about him freely. Most of the time, we can follow what he did and what he did not do. If we arrange the record in chronological order, we come up with a possible life history of Sadullah Efendi's son, Mustafa Pertev Efendi.

³⁵⁷ KRK, Z.M. 539/ 6a.

³⁵⁸ KRK.T. 215/10a : 17 L 1255 "*Kış odası aşağı oda ve Pertev'in odası tefriş olundu/ bir derviş vefat etmiş*"

³⁵⁹ 1233 senesi Şevvalil mkreminin 23.Salı gn ođlum Pertev kudum-u nehade-i kehware-i vcud olmuştur tul-ullahi omrihi bil ameli salih.

The first note about Pertev comes from 1241 (1826), when he was eight years old. At the beginning of the calendar number 186, Sadullah Efendi records that, as an exercise, he instructs him on how to write a calendar, and then he himself makes the corrections. (*Bu nüshayı dahi oğlum Pertev'in eli alışsın için yazdırdım kendim tashih ettim.*)³⁶⁰ Nearly a year later, on the 1st of Muharrem 1242 (05/08/1826), we learn that Pertev starts primary school. He prays a meaningful prayer about this important event saying: May God make him a dutiful successor with useful knowledge and devout acts. (*Oğlum Pertev'i mektebe verdik. Allah ilm-i nafi' ve amel-i salih ile hayırlı halef eyleye amin.*)³⁶¹ Nine years later, when Pertev is eighteen years old, Sadullah Efendi teaches him how to prepare a calendar by using calculations. (*Oğlum Pertev'in ibtida hesab ve talim ettiği takvim-i sefamet amim budur.*)³⁶² In 1836, we see Pertev as an ex-officer in the Census Department of Ankara. İzzet Paşa seems to help not only Sadullah Efendi in finding this job but also his son in order to become an assistant.³⁶³ In the notes, we can follow Pertev's short trips to the villages and towns of Ankara on census business. [*Nüfus tahririne bu fakir kasaba-ı balaya ve Pertev kasaba-ı zire azimet ettik. 1 S 1252 (18/05/1836)*] and [*Avdet ez kasaba-ı zir ve duhul-u Pertev be Ankara 22 R 1252 (06/08/1836)*].³⁶⁴ When Pertev is in this position, he is nineteen years old. Nearly a month later, an interesting note occurs: it says that Pertev's shoes are lost. (*Pertev'in kundurası gaib şod. 29 Ra 1255*)³⁶⁵ Then slowly hard times begin for Sadullah Efendi, Pertev begins to be disobedient. (*Şiddet-i Pertev. 15 L 1254 (01/01/1839)*)³⁶⁶ However, this is not a continuous state, because Sadullah Efendi next mentions Pertev's dream, his orders from Hasan Efendi and the furnishing of his room. [*Pertev rüya görmüş şems*

³⁶⁰ KRK, T. 186/ 1a.

³⁶¹ T. 186/ 7.

³⁶² KRK, T. 208.

³⁶³ Rifat Özdemir, 166.

³⁶⁴ T. 208/ 3a.

³⁶⁵ T. 525/ 5a.

³⁶⁶ T.525/12a

*münkesif olmuş kırk kadar şems peyda olmuş. 13 B 1255 (22/09/1839)], [Hasan Efendi'ye Pertev 100 gurus verüb bazı şeyler sipariş etti.15 Ş 1255 (24.10.1839)], [Kış odası aşağı oda ve Pertev'in odası tefriş olundu 17 L 1255 (24.12.1839)]³⁶⁷ Two-and-half years later, we see Pertev at the time he is engaged to Hüseyin Efendi's daughter. (Hüseyin Efendi'nin kerimesi Pertev'e söz oldu. 10 R 1257 (31.05/1841)), (Hakim Efendi ve biraderimle Hüseyin Efendi'ye varub kerimesini mahdumum Pertev'e helalliğe taleb eyledik. Alah-ü teala hayırlı ve mütemeyyin eyleye amin. 3 Ca 1257 (23/06/1841)], [Haremnden gidüb Hüseyin Efendi'nin kerimesini bizim Pertev'e nişanlayub yüzük taktılar. Allah-ü teala mübarek ve mütemeyyin eyleye amin. 7 Ca 1257 (27/06/1841)]³⁶⁸. The notes continue with professional news about Pertev, such as his resignation from the Census Department and then his new job as an apprentice to the *divan efendisi*. Sadullah Efendi prays to God that this new job may be auspicious and bring good fortune to Pertev. [Mahdumum Pertev mukayyidlikten istifa eyledi ve istifa kabül şod.9 C 1257 (28/07/1841)], (Pertev divan efendisi yamağı oldu Allah mübarek eyleyüb bais-ü izz ve ikbal eyleye amin.10 C 1257(29/07/1841)]³⁶⁹ Two years after his taking up this new occupation, we notice that Sadullah Efendi begins to Pertev him for the first time by a title of “*efendi*” when he mentions his visit to him in Beypazarı. (Oğlum Pertev Efendi Beypazarı'na geldi. 3 Ş 1259 (21/08/1843)]³⁷⁰ Three months later, Pertev returns to Ankara in the entourage of a high treasury official of Ankara. [Pertev maiyet-i defterdarla Ankara'ya gitti Allah selamet vere. 26 Za 1259 (19/12/1843)]³⁷¹ Again two years later he makes another trip to Kangırı for a week (Mahdumum Pertev Kangırı'ya Bayraklı görmeğe geldi 03 Ş 1262(28/07/1846) /Reften-i Pertev be Ankara 11 Ş 1262 (05/08/1846)) and then we learn that he becomes Ankara*

³⁶⁷ T.215/7a,8a, 10a.

³⁶⁸ T. 222/4b.

³⁶⁹ T.222/5b.

³⁷⁰ T.226/6b

Zaptieh Organization's chief clerk on the 4th of Muharrem 1263 (23/12/1846) when he is 30 years old. (*Bizim mahdum Pertev zabtiye baş katibi olmuştur. 04 M 1263*)³⁷² However, at this time, Sadullah Efendi prays that Pertev will keep this job after he charts a horoscope for it. (*Bizim mahdum Pertev zabita baş katibi olmuş ve katib tayin olunduğu vakti bize tahrir eylemiş eğer sahih bu saatte olmuşsa tali budur....Allah-u teala hayırla bu memuriyetten halas eyleye amin.*)³⁷³ The year 1263/1846-7 passed with the re-emergence of misbehaviour on the part of Pertev. On the last page of this year's calendar no.236, Sadullah Efendi makes very serious complaints about Pertev. He even prays about him as he is getting into trouble. He declares that he could not even finish this calendar because of Pertev's acts that made him sad at heart. Sadullah Efendi apologizes to us/the reader for this calendar's state of incompleteness and asks us to be tolerant of this. (*İşbu takvimi .. hezar-ı meşakkat ve mihnet içinde olduğum halde ve oğlum olacak Pertev şekavetrev enva'-ı gam ve hezar -ı elem ve keder verüb delil.. azab-ı deruna giriftar olduğum hengam-ı melalet ve kederde üç ayda güçlülük bir tarafını yapabildim yine bu kadar dahi yapabildiğime hezar-ı tahsin ki güya na'l ile mih arasında kalmış gibi muazzaeb idim öyle azab verdi Allahından bulsun 1263 C evahirinde bu kadarcası ikmal oldu.*)³⁷⁴ Before writing down these sentences, he also informs us that Pertev's disobedience and obstinacy which had continued for about four months ended in that Wednesday, 6 Ş 1263 (20/07/1847). (*Dört mahdan berü mümted olan Pertev'in bağ-ü inad ve infial ve azab işbu Çarşamba gecesi def' olub gelüb elimi ve ayağımı öbdü. 06 Ş 1263*)³⁷⁵ We know that four months earlier, in Rebiülevvel of the same year, Pertev resists and seems to deny his father entrance. However, the meaning of 'karşı gelmek' in this context is not quite clear as it can also mean as 'karşılamak',

³⁷¹ T.226/10b

³⁷² T.235/5b,10b.

³⁷³ KRK.Z.M.342/67b.

³⁷⁴ T.236/13b

“welcoming”. Sadullah Efendi acknowledges that after Pertev’s resistance, he directly goes to his own house where his friends from Kalecik, Hacı Ahmed Ağa, Hacı Mustafa Ağa, Hafız Ağa, Seyyid Ağa and others are waiting to welcome him. He reveals that this welcome of theirs makes him very happy. *(Bu duhulumuzda oğlum Pertev karşı gelüb doğru hanemize duhul ve nuzul ettik ve Kalecik handanları Hacı Ahmed ağa ve Hacı Mustafa ağa ve Hafız ağa ve Seyyid ağa ve sairleri hanemizde mihman bulduk cümlesiyle görüşüb şad ve hazm olduk. 5 Ra 1263(21.02.1847))*³⁷⁶ Additionally, after Pertev apologizes, Sadullah Efendi does not dwell on Pertev’s disappointing behaviour. Instead, he refers to Pertev’s trip to the towns of Ankara with a Pasha, adding a prayer, not a curse. *(Pertev Paşa ile kazalara gitti Allah selamet ve bize hayırla kavuşdursun. 06 N. 1263 (19.08.1847))*³⁷⁷ Two years later, we are informed that he is married to Hocazade İshak Efendi’s daughter in 1265/1848. *(Oğlum Pertev Efendi Hocazade İshak Efendi’nin kerimesini tezevvüc edüb Muharrem’in on birinci Penşembe günü akd-i nikah olmuştur. Allah mübarek ve mütemeyyin eyleye amin. 04 M 1265 (01.12.1848))*³⁷⁸ Although Sadullah Efendi does not reveal the name of the bride, as we have an account of Pertev’s estate, we know that her name is Lebibe and that they have two young children, Mehmed Galib and Süveyde, at the time of Pertev’s death. Additionally, as the last note about Pertev recorded six months after the wedding, refers to the presence of Pertev in the house, we conclude that they live together in the same house. When Sadullah Efendi returns to Ankara, he points out that he does not see anybody when he enters on the *harem* side. While he was there, Pertev hears and comes to the door. Thanks God, he feels comfortable in his house again. *(Ankara’ya ve hanemize duhul olunub zekurdan kimesne görülmeyüb hareme girdim haremimizi gördüm ba’de oğlum*

³⁷⁵ T.236/5a.

³⁷⁶ KRK.Z.M.342/46a.

³⁷⁷ T. 236/6a.

³⁷⁸ T.240/9b.

*Pertev işidib kapudan geldi anı gördüm ve el-hamdulillah-i teala hanemde rahat oldum.14 B 1265 (06.06.1849))*³⁷⁹

Although Sadullah Efendi does not leave any other record concerning Pertev until his death on the 1st of C 1271 (19.02.1855), we again come across Pertev indirectly: at this time he informs us that his father, Müderriszade Sadullah Efendi has died on that day.³⁸⁰

We have a very rich source about what Pertev left behind as property. First of all, like his father, he had many books on various subjects: *ilm-i nücum*, (in 100 volumes), *ilm-i fikh*, history, medicine and literature. The books comprised nine percent of his wealth. This ratio is slightly under that of his father's estate inventory: Sadullah Efendi's books cover approximately ten percent. Like books, the amount, percentage-wise, of his clothing is almost the same as his father's two or three percent of their total personal property. However, when we come to basic household items including clocks, pipes and weapons, the difference reveals itself. When Sadullah Efendi dies, he leaves behind approximately twelve percent of his estate as basic items. Whereas, Pertev's household items comprise twenty-four percent of his wealth. So it can be said that Pertev seems to practice less minimalization than the father. Also there is a declining trend in his investments in real estate: 75 percent of his father's wealth consisted of real estate, but only 46 percent of Pertev's wealth consisted of real estate and he was not the sole owner, but just a share-holder. Nevertheless, instead of being an indicator of investment choice, this could reflect the fact that Pertev was less wealthy than his father: the total sum of his wealth is 78,549 *guruş*, which is 42,119 *guruş* below that of his father. There is cash in his *tereke* which was to be obtained from Canbazoglu

³⁷⁹ KRK.Z.M.539/5b.

³⁸⁰ In the calendar no. 251, on the page 12b, he writes: "Pederim Sadullah Efendi vefat etti... Rahmetullahi aleyh nurullahi kabrehu..."

Seyyid Mehmed Ağa, Kazım Efendi and Sadeddin Ağa, because they owe 5830 *guruş* to him. Although money as cash comprises only seven percent of his wealth, it carries an importance, because, whatever the reason, Sadullah Efendi did not own any ready cash. Instead, he had very precious jewellery that formed six percent of his total wealth. Pertev has also some valuable items but these only amount to two percent of his total property. Another difference between the father and the son is the existence of a loan. Sadullah Efendi does not have any debts, whereas Pertev has borrowed a total of 1350 *guruş* from Muhtar Efendizade Raşid Efendi, Dürzi Ohannes and Mustafa. He also has a debt of 1000 *guruş* as a *mehr-i mueccel* to his wife, Lebibe bint İshak Efendi. Apart from these, the existence of two mandolins, a violin and various kinds of paper such as *abadi, elvan, battal* ³⁸¹ shows a difference in the hobbies and interests of the father and the son. Although it is not written down, Pertev seems to have had a musical talent. The records of Sadullah Efendi help us to explain the existence of this official paper. As shown before, we know that Pertev held posts as a clerk in his life time.

³⁸¹ *Abadi Kagıd* is a kind of beautiful yellowish glazed writing paper, from Persia, India, or China. *Battal Kagıd* is a large-sized, thick writing paper, polished on one size only, and used in public offices for rough

IV. Conclusion

“The poetry of history lies in the quasi- miraculous fact that once, on this earth, on this familiar spot of ground, walked other men and women, as actual as we are today, thinking their own thoughts, swayed by their own passions, but now shall shortly be gone like ghosts at cock-crow.”³⁸²

G.M.Travelyan

The aim of this thesis is to prevent one individual from being an unknown ghost. I have tried to follow the traces of a person to remind ourselves, forgetful creatures that we are, of the existence of a person who lived in the past. This person is Mūderriszade Sadullah el-Ankaravi, a leading *müneccim* and poet of his time, the first half of 19th c., in his native area, Ankara. He has many other characteristics; and to show the fallacy of our weak imagination on the lives of the past generations, all the facets of his life have been portrayed through the lines. Thanks to God, Sadullah Efendi has allowed generously me to re-construct his story from the notes on his quotidian concerns with which he is at odds most of the time. His house, the items he uses in daily-life, his mental world, his books, his clothes, which seem very strange to us today, disappear from the surface as well as his friends, his family, and his servants with whom he has various conversations on different subjects. To give sense to all of them, I have narrated his life as an imaginary theater play which is composed of several scenes and acts. Scenes provide us background information about Sadullah Efendi that leads us to

³⁸² G.M.Travelyan, “Autobiography of an Historian”, 1949, 13.

better understand the acts which consist of daily concerns of him. This division of the play stems from the analogy between life and theater play. Scenes of this play enable us to imagine the ‘cosmos’ of Sadullah Efendi. It includes the city and the house he lived in, the family he comes from, his tutor and his knowledge on *ilm-i nücum*. The second chapter narrates the acts which constitute the skeleton of this play. It includes nine acts each of which has been narrated within a room of his residence. This scenario has been inspired by an analogy between the correspondence of his daily concerns and the functions of the room. For instance, the first act tells about the servants as one of the daily concerns of Sadullah Efendi and takes place in stable, where those servants spend nights. Thus, each room constitutes a small scene for each act. Second act is about Hidayet, the most loyal servant of Sadullah Efendi about whom Sadullah Efendi had recorded lots of notes. This act is being performed in stable, too. While narrating the story within the residence, the all encompassing scene of this part, the inner structure of the house has been narrated in order to give a sense to the reader how the scene is composed of. Through the third act, health issues are narrated within the coffee-room.

Following the end of the third act, we are moving to the upper storey, the *selamlık* room, where Sadullah Efendi’s concerns on his occupation, *nazırlık*, are explained. At the same floor, the next act takes place, either. In this act, his *niyabet* is explained. The following part is being played within *divanhane*, where his concerns about Pashas of his time are narrated. His financial concerns follows this act, which is played on the scene of *mabeyn* room. The *harem* room constitutes the scene for the next two acts, “*tezevvüc olur mu?*” and “*vurud-u mektub nur-i aynım...*”. The former one is composed of his concerns about his harem, whereas the latter is about his son, Mustafa Pertev Efendi.

Throughout these lines, I aim to allow Sadullah Efendi to be free, so, in every detail, he appears as if he is alive. The impossibility to categorizing people's lives within the models in our heads is another purpose of this thesis. Generally, when we look at the past, if one does not fit into our categories, we name the person concerned s/he as "extraordinary". In this process, as it is impossible to do so, we do not take into consideration the whole huge bulk of people. Thus, we forget that without knowing all of them, our categorizations become invalid, because with more examples, may be, our "extraordinary" person will turn out to be very "ordinary". In order not to emphasize this weak point, I try neither to show Sadullah Efendi's ordinariness or extraordinariness nor to put him into standard categorizations such as "A typical astrologer of 19th century", "A naib from 19th century Ankara", "An extraordinary Ottoman poet" or "Being a father in Ottoman lands" etc.

Additionally, I intend to show the deepness of his life in opposition to the encyclopedic articles based on chronological information. Parallel to this, the encyclopedic style of biography is indirectly criticized. However, I also bear in mind that in order to reflect all the diversity of past people's lives, we need very detailed sources. In this sense I am lucky. I have many notes recorded by Sadullah Efendi on his calendars and horoscope collections, as well as his estate inventories and his *divan*. But as C. Fleischer points out, for me, rather than the problem scarcity of sources, the main problem lies in the fact that: "Taken as a whole, personal miscellany collections – plentiful in manuscript libraries but generally exploited only for particular items of interest they contain rather than being treated as whole texts – afford nearly panoramic views of the social, cultural, and private psychic lives of individuals that can go far

toward telling us the ways and means whereby they interpreted their environment and assigned significance to their personal experiences within it.”³⁸³

Finally, I want to add something about the peculiarity of this thesis: It does not contribute great ideas to Ottoman historiography, it is not written in an analytical way, it is not based on any theory and it is only about Sadullah Efendi. However, without this study, the result is that one researcher accepts him as one of the 19th. poets, another as a *müneccim*; this one reads his calendars to determine the exact date of one event, that are examined at his poem collections to see whether their style is new or old. While they continue to be interested in particular items, his life remains behind the thick walls of the encyclopedia articles’ chronological information:

1206-1207/1792 : Mūderriszade Sadullah el-Ankaravi was born in Ankara.

1228/ 1813: His father, Abdülkerim Efendi was died and he was appointed as *naib* to Ayaş;

1229/1814: As *nakib* to Ankara;

23 Şevval 1233/ 5.9.1818: His elder son, Mustafa Pertev was born.

1235/ 1820: He again held the position of *nakib* in Ankara;

1235/ 1820: Appointed as *naib* to Ayaş;

1238/ 1823: He went to İstanbul, held the post of *niyabet* of Sütlüce and Hasköy. Until 1240/1825, he attended the courses of Hoca İshak Efendi, Durakpaşazade İbrahim Bey and Rakım Efendi in mathematics and *ilm-i nücum*.

1242/1823: He was appointed as *müftü* to Ankara.

1250- 257/1835-1841: He remained as a *nüfus nazırı* of Ankara.

1256-1257/ 1840-1841: He was selected as a member of Ankara court.

1257/ 1841: He held the post of *naib* of Beypazarı;

³⁸³ Fleischer, “Sectaries’ Dreams”, 84.

1261/ 1845: *Naib* of Kalecik;

1262/ 1846: *Naib* of Çankırı;

1264/ 1848: He went to İstanbul.

1265/ 1849: Returned from İstanbul to his house in Ankara.

1267/ 1851: His first wife, Nesibe Hanım, was died.

1270/ 1854: His twins, Abdullah and Necibe, were born to his second wife Adile Kadın.

1 C.evvel 1271/ 19.2.1855: He died in Ankara.

Hence, this study's small contribution to the Ottoman historiography is to bring one member of the public with all of his quotidian concerns, through scenes and acts mentioned above. To give a meaning to all of this, micro-historical approach and narrative techniques are used deliberately, because I believe that human experience has endless dimensions. To sum up, in this thesis, I have tried to open a small window on the life of one person who tried to relate himself to a science of macro-cosmos: *ilm-i nücum*.



Figure 1. İslam ve İlim p.120



Figure 2 : İslam ve İlim p.125

[illegible][illegible]

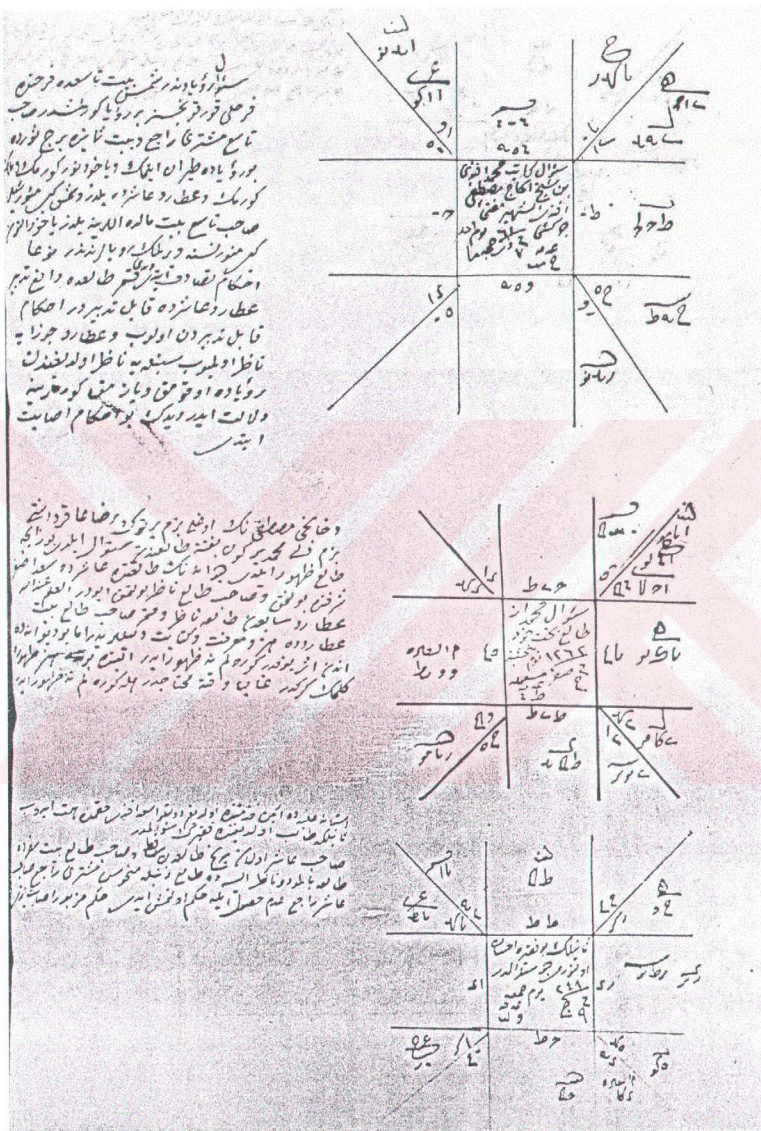




Plate 1 'Medieval night'. From a book of psalms, Paris, c.1220, now in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris. Centre: taking the bearings of a star using an astrolabe and telescope. Right: looking up the sun's current position in an Arabic planetary table. Left: the height of the star and the position of the sun are entered in a Latin book; afterwards, these figures are used to measure the hour on the astrolabe.

Figure 5: European astronomers at work.
The ordering of Time, back cover

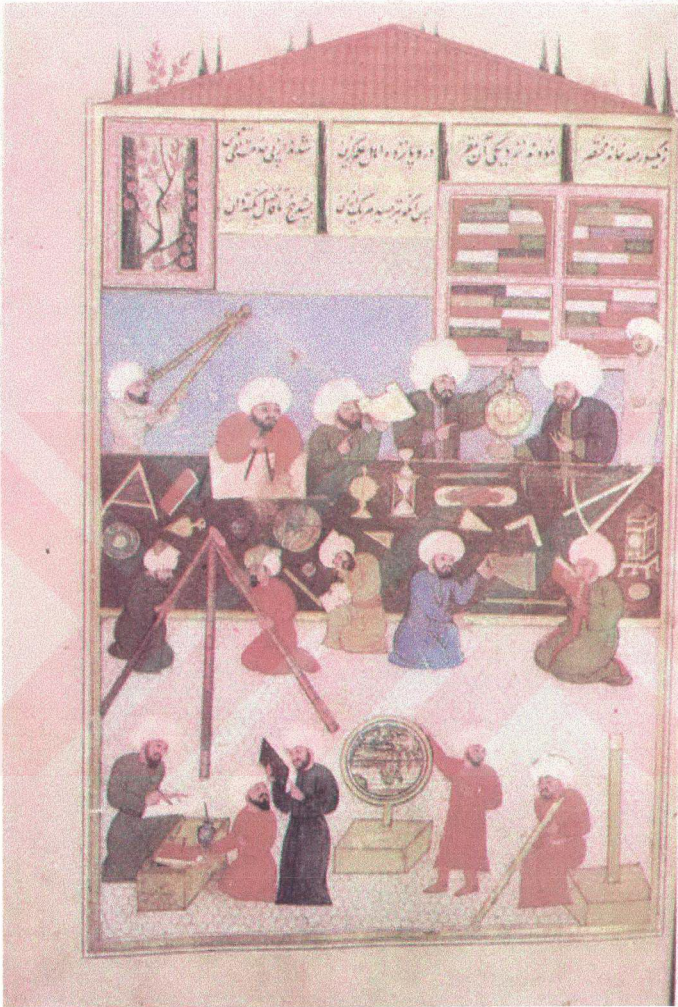


Figure 6: Ottoman müneccims at work
İslam ve İlim p.113

GLOSSARY (A)

Ağa: A lord or master, a petty-gentleman. Also in the 19th c. the term *agha* was popularly used for illiterate officers while literate officers were addressed as *efendi*.

Defterdar: A financial commissary-general of a province.

Divan: A collection of poems by one author.

Divan Efendisi: A scribe of the council

Efendi: A title for educated people, particularly, it signified traditional medrese education.

Eyalet: An alternative term for *vilayet* or *beglerbeylik* used from the 17th c. on to designate provinces.

Gazel: An ode, of not more than twelve distichs, of which the hemistichs must be of the same metre, those of the first distich, and the last one of all other distichs rhyming together.

Guruş: A piastre, the one hundredth part of a Turkish pound.

Hadis: A tradition of the prophet Muhammad, handed down from one or more of his companions.

Haşiye: A commentary composed of marginal notes.

Hutbe: The sermon of the Friday-service by the *hatib*.

İlm-i ahkam-ı Nücum: science of the decrees of the stars.

İlm-i Fıkıh: The canon jurisprudence of Islam.

İcazetname: Certificate of a *medrese* granted to a graduate enabling him to teach.

Kadı: A judge of the canon law of Islam and legal authority in particular judicial districts known as *kazas*.

Kaymakam: Deputy. In the Tanzimat period (1839-1877), at first the governors of *sancaks* then also the administrators of *kazas* were titled *kaymakam*.

Kaside: Panegyric. A poem of more than seven or twelve distichs, up to five hundred arranged in the Arabian method, with all the distichs rhyming together.

Kelam: The science of the Koran, of Biblical theology.

Kethüda: An authorized deputy in the Ottoman administration. The term could also refer to leaders of specified units who were deputized to act as commanders.

Konak: A mansion, large house.

Medrese: Muslim college for higher education. The focus was on religious sciences, specially theology, Koranic exegesis and jurisprudence. Prior to advanced learning, students had to acquire a thorough knowledge of Arabic, the traditions of the Prophet, and the proper language for all complemented the curriculum.

Meclis-i Vala-ı Ahkam-ı Adliye: the “Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances”, commonly shortened to Meclis-i Vala, the Supreme Council, established in 1838 to review and create legislative proposals.

Mihr-i müeccel: A dowry fixed at the time of a marriage to be paid by the husband to his wife as her rightful marriage portion. In this type, a dowry agreed to be paid to a wife in the event of her being divorced or widowed.

Muhassıl: An Ottoman revenue official sometimes in charge of the revenues of a *sancak* or *vilayet*, sometimes of the collection of a specific tax.

Muhtar: Local mayors

Mutasarrıf: From the 18th c. on, some officials with the rank of *vezir*, when vacant *eyalets* were not available, were assigned to administer *sancaks* as *mutasarrıfs*. The *mutasarrıfs* then would appoint their own *mütesellims* as agents to collect revenues.

Müderri: Professor of a *medrese*.

Müdür: In the Ottoman administration, the *müdür* was the official in charge of sub-districts of a *sancak*.

Müftü: An expert of the shari'a officially recognized as competent to issue *fetvas*, authoritative legal opinions.

Müneccim: As the link between astrology and astronomy is not separated clearly in Islamic culture at least until the 19th c., the term *müneccim* signifies both astrologer and astronomer.

Müneccim-başı: “Chief Astrologer”. The highest position of the *müneccims*, assisting the Sultan in propitious moments for the initiation of important state affairs in

accordance with the astrological charts. Also they are responsible for preparing the calendars.

Naib: A deputy of a *kadi*, who appoints him to administer certain legal cases.

Nakib-ül eşraf: The registrar of the descendants from the prophet Muhammad in every province and city. All such descendants, are supposed to be registered on the official rolls.

Niyabet: A being a substitute or a judge- substitute.

Sancak: Also known as *liva*, the basic military-administrative unit. Between four and twenty-four *sancaks* constituted a province known as *eyalet*.

Sicill: *Kadi* register of court cases and regulations.

Şerh: A complete running commentary on every word in any uninspired human literary work, containing the whole text as well.

Şeyh'ü-l İslam: the chief canonical functionary of the empire, the Minister of the Canon Law of Islam, shari'a.

Şeyh'ü-l Harem: The civil governor of Medina.

Takvim: An almanac, a calendar showing the correct times or places of celestial bodies.

Tali': The ascendant.

Tarikat: Sufi group of dervishes traveling on the same path.

Tefa'ul: A drawing an augury from a thing.

Tarikat: Sufi group of dervishes traveling on the same path.

Tefsir: A commentary on the Koran.

Tekke: A lodge of a dervish order, a center of worship, a refuge from the corruption of the world and an educational institution.

Tereke: The estate left by a person at death.

Zabtiye: The official designation of the police and gendarmerie after 1826.

Zayıç: A horoscope

Zic: An astronomical table and also a book of such tables.

Glossary B :

A. Relatives of Sadullah Efendi:

Abdullah : his younger son, from Adile Kadın

Abdurrahman Efendi : his uncle, from mother side

Abdülkerim Efendi : his father

Adile Kadın : his second wife

Afife Hanım: his mother, daughter of Mehmed Emin Efendi

Daniş Efendi and Hayri Efendi: his cousins, sons of Mehmet Tahir Efendi

Esmâ Hatun: his cousin, from mother side, daughter of Abdurrahman Efendi

Gökmen Ağa: his father-in-law, Adile Kadın's father

Hoca İshak Efendi: father-in-law of Mustafa Pertev Efendi

Lebibe Hanım: his daughter-in-law, wife of Mustafa Pertev, daughter of Hoca İshak Ef.

Mehmed Arif Efendi: his uncle, his father's brother

Mehmed Emin Efendi: brother of Şeyhi Mustafa Efendi

Mehmed Galib Efendi: his grandson, Pertev's son

Mehmed Vahid Efendi: his younger brother

Mustafa Pertev Efendi: his elder son

Necibe Hanım: his sister

Nesibe Hanım: his first wife

Sabire Hanım: Mehmed Vahid Efendi's wife and niece of Nesibe Hanım

Süveyde: his grandchild, daughter of Pertev

Şeyh Ahmed Muhlis Baba: son of Şeyh Mehmed Said Baba, Nesibe Hanım's nephew

Şeyh Mehmed Said Baba: his brother-in-law, brother of his first wife Nesibe Hanım

Şeyh Tayyib Baba: his father-in-law, father of Nesibe Hanım

Şeyhi Mustafa Efendi: his grandfather

B. Friends of Sadullah Efendi

Hadi Efendi, Şehsuvarzâde Derviş Efendi, Salahattin Cazip Bey, Cazim Efendi, Karadanoğlu Sadeddin Ağa, Hüseyin Efendi, Hacı Ahmed Ağa, Hacı Mustafa Ağa, Hafız Ağa, Seyyid Ağa, Kazım Efendi, Şeyhülhac Halil Efendi, Osman Efendi, Celilzade Said Efendi, Hacı Ahmed Efendi, Şeyh Tiridzade, Nuri Baba, Halil Esrar Dede, Zühtü Mustafa Efendi, Hayri Efendi, Dizdar Ağa, Müftü Seyyid Efendi, Hacı Said Efendi, Hacı Ali Efendi, Hacı Ahmed Efendi, Topçuoğlu Hafız, Yusuf Bey, Abdi Ağa, Abdullah Efendi, Hacı Bekir Efendi, Kethüdazade Mehmed Arif, Hakim Efendi, Derviş Süleyman, Galib Efendi

C. Pashas of Sadullah Efendi

İzzet Mehmed Paşa, Nafiz Paşa, Sadullah Paşa, İsmet Paşa, Selim Paşa, Vasıf Paşa, Rüstem Paşa, Davud Paşa, Suyuti Paşa, Şerif Paşa, Rauf Paşa, Nuri Paşa

D. Servants of Sadullah Efendi

Mustafa, Hidayet, Ahmet, Hüseyin, Nuri, Ali, Mehmet, İsmail.

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240, 249, 251.

Zayıf Mecmuası No: 342, 539.

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