FİLİZ ÇAĞMAN'A ARMAĞAN

EDİTÖRLER
AYŞE ERDOĞDU
ZEYNEP ATBAŞ
AYSEL ÇÖTELİOĞLU

LALE YAYINCILIK

LALE YAYINCILIK

Kültür ve Sanat Yayınları-6
Sertifika No: 20575

FİLİZ ÇAĞMAN'A ARMAĞAN

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Ayşe Erdoğdu
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Yayına hazırlayan
Lale Uluç

Kitap tasarımı
Ersu Pekin

İstanbul 2018
ISBN 978-605-81378-0-6

Baskı
Karakış Basım
Maltepe Mah. Litros Yolu Sok.
No. 1BF1, Zeytinburnu İstanbul
+90 212 544 58 20
Sertifika no: 33820

Dağıtım ve satış
Lale Organizasyon
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KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI

Michael Rogers*

A Vakıfname of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan (d. 1883) in the Khalili Collection (MSS 969)**

The Valide Camii at Aksaray in Istanbul, founded by Pertevniyal Valide Sultan is a conspicuous building, inaugurated in 1288/1871-2: it is the first 'Gothic' mosque in Ottoman Turkey, and, interestingly, its date coincides with the opening of the church of St. Stephen of the Bulgars at the Fener, a Gothic building of cast iron, prefabricated in Vienna and floated down the Danube. With it are associated a number of vakıfnames,[1] one of which is in the Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, MSS 969.

The manuscript is on polished brownish woven paper, 277 folios, 11 lines nesih to the page, written in black ink, with catchwords, gold stops, margins ruled in gold and polychrome. It measures 30 x 18.3 cm; the text block is 19.3 x 10.3 cm. The illuminated frontispiece (folio 1b) is inscribed with the customary executive formula, evidently in the hand of Pertevniyal's son, Sultan 'Abdülaziz, *mucibince 'amel oluna*. It is in a contemporary stamped and gilt binding and has a slip-case (*zarf*).

The text refers on numerous occasions to vakfiyes and their codicils (*zeyller*). The present document is, however, not itself a deed of endowment, nor do many of the endowments it details relate directly to the Aksaray foundation. It is finely, if not particularly accurately, written and illuminated in polychrome and gold, with only summary indication of the witnesses (*suhûd el-hâl*) at the end of each section and with no actual signatures. Moreover, despite the sequence of dates, it was written out by a single scribe at one go, though it obviously depends upon a series of miscellaneous originals, each presumably bearing the tuğra of the Sultan and the signatures of the witnesses, and possibly their seals as well. Unfortunately, the particular occasion for this copy is not explained, nor why it was dated (18 Ra 1294/2 April 1877) so long after the inauguration of the Valide Camii.

A formal study of Ottoman imperial vakıfnames would usefully clarify their relation to one another. Did the lawyers, for example, have recourse to earlier documents to give them guidance as to how they should be drawn up? And did the choice of a different model lead to differences of procedure and drafting? The Pertevniyal vakıfname appears to incorporate significant innovations, in particular, the library endowed upon the foundation, which is the subject

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** Note on transliteration. The present contribution is unlikely to be consulted by non-Ottomanists. Accordingly, titles in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman are given in a simplified system, with modern Turkish diacriticals and long vowels indicated by circumflex accents.

1 There is at least one other copy, possibly, however, not identical, in the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü in Ankara, Dolap 179 K.9, covering almost exactly the same period 2 Ca 1279-18 Ra 1294. Cf. *Woman in Anatolia* 1993, no. C 76, p. 240. Cf. Ateş 1982, pp. 61, 62, 80. A review of the catalogue of Pertevniyal's library is, I hope, a suitable offering to Filiz Çağman, the most generous of friends and the most distinguished historian of the Ottoman Sultans' collections of books and manuscripts.

of my contribution here. It was principally endowed upon the Rüşdiye mekteb[2] attached to the foundation. The Rüşdiye [148b] was to teach, inter alia, Arabic and Persian and the staff included a teacher of Persian, as well as three people to teach both scribal practice and various calligraphic hands *rık'a*, *dîvânî*, *sülüs*, *imlâ*, *inşâ*, *resm-i meşk*.

The endowment of the library of the Aksaray complex was the most lavish of Pertevniyal Valide Sultans's literary benefactions, but she made others as well, manuscripts to the tomb of Fâtih, the shrine of Eyüp, the mosque of Mehmed Darüssade Ağası in the Çarşamba Pazarı, the mosque and tomb of Yahya Efendi at Beşiktaş, and the mosque of the tekke of Keşfi Efendi at Fındıklı, as well as to some institutions which are not precisely identified. Some books were also endowed (folios 132b-133a, 188b-189a) upon her tomb, including two printed works of '*ilm-i hâl* (the spiritual life). These are not wholly irrelevant to the books for the mekteb, since, to judge from the books listed as in the tomb, some of them may, during her lifetime at least, have moved back and forth.

It has not been possible to identify every single one of the books listed. The school-books of the past are inconceivably distant from us, for the good reason that once they were mastered they were then discarded for more advanced texts and forgotten. They rapidly went out of date, and even if they remained in the curriculum for some decades their authors or compilers, who may have been little more than hacks, were consigned to oblivion. The history of Turkey in the 20th century makes the school-books even more remote, since their authors have mostly been passed over by the standard works of reference, and the frequent similarity of their titles often makes their identification hazardous.

Most of the entries in the catalogue, with the conspicuous exception of the dictionaries and Ayvansarayî's *Hadîkat el-Cevâmi'*, are for single copies. The prohibition against lending or borrowing any of them may perhaps suggest that they would have been accessible to the pupils. However, the traditional way of studying was by rote, so the only individuals who actually needed to consult the books were the schoolmasters, for whom a single copy, for example, a medical text-book would have been more than adequate. Less immediately suitable for a primary or secondary school would have been the fine Korans and prayer-books specially commissioned for it, and even less the splendid illustrated manuscripts, which testify to Pertevniyal's taste as a collector. It is, however, possible that they were more to highlight the foundress's generosity and add prestige to her foundation than for public instruction.[3]

The catalogue, (dated 15 L 1289/17 December 1872), begins [161b] with the statement that it is of 828 books, both manuscript and printed. How the total was calculated is something of a mystery, for the number of volumes in the catalogue comes to only 781. The breakdown is as follows: *mesâhif* 30; *Delâ'il al-Hayrât* 20; *tefâsîr* 77; *ahâdîs* 74; *siyer* 38; *kıraat* 6; *usûl* 21; *fıkh* 61; *fetâvâ* 30; *ferâ'iz* 4; *tasavvuf* 78; *mevâ'iz* 22; adâb etc. 33; *ma'âni* etc. 22; *mantık* 38; *nahv* 57; *sarf* 26; *tevârîh* 56; *lugât* 23; *cüz'iyât* (miscellanea) 65. Some of the listed works include marginal commentaries by later scholars, and it is possible that the text and the commentary were counted as separate works. However, if one counts by titles rather than by volumes the total of works would appear to be even lower.

The reform of primary and secondary education in mid-19th century Turkey raises the question how far this impinged upon the traditional curriculum: in the present case, the immediate answer is that the books, and the authors of commentaries or glosses upon them, are mostly typical of the medrese curriculum as it had become established by the 18th century. The texts listed in two versions of the Tertîb el-'Ulûm, by Saçaklızade Mehmed b. Ebubekir

2 Pakalın 1972, III, pp. 65-8.

3 The *vakıfname* unfortunately never states where the printed books were printed, and many works went through numerous impressions in the 19th century, if not more than one edition, making it difficult to determine the relationship between the publication of the same title in Bulaq and Istanbul: they may simply have been identical reprints. Nor does it indicate whether any of these were lithographed which (Marzolph 2003, pp. 177-98), given that from c. 1270/1853-4 for at least two decades printing in Iran was entirely superseded by lithographic reproduction, is highly likely. An incidental complication in dating these printed works is that from 1256/1840-41 to 1916 the Maliye calendar was used, where a fixed number (584, or in some circumstances 585) was added to the Hicrî year to give the AD equivalent. As a general rule, however, we may suppose that the printed works listed were current editions, not rare or precious incunabula, such as those printed by İbrahim Müteferrika, though when texts were printed in a Müteferrika edition I have noted the fact.

el-Mar'aşî (composed in 1128/1715-16), and by Erzurumlu İbrahim Hakkı (composed in 1165/1751-2)[4] include practically all the authors and authorities given in the catalogue in Pertevniyal's vakıfname. The substantial section of books on Sufism (tasavvuf), some biographical and some of them treatises by eminent mystics, especially Ibn 'Arabî, must represent Pertevniyal's personal taste, however, for she also provided an endowment for the refurbishment of his tomb in Damascus.

This conservativism, given the large part in the medrese curriculum played by Koranic studies, Tradition, Islamic law, Arabic grammar and prosody, is doubtless only to be expected. It also suggests that the question of the reform of the traditional curriculum is better answered by consideration of the non-theological works in the catalogue. This I propose to do in what follows, while also noting the fine illustrated or illuminated volumes in the collection.

The vast majority of the fine manuscripts [164b] are Korans (*Mesâhif-i Şerife*, *Kelâm-i Kadîm*[5]), naturally, mostly the work of contemporary calligraphers and mostly of medium or small format. The named contemporary scribes include Sadık el-Sıdkî (undated); Hüseyin el-Râşid (1253/1838-9); Seyyid Mehmed Sâlih (1266/1849-50); 'Abdurrahman Şükrî (undated); 'Ömer el-Hulûsî (1288/1871-2); and Hafız Mehmed 'Ali el-Niyazî (1281/1864-5). There are also Korans by 18th century scribes – Mehmed Yûsuf (1114/1702-3); Mehmed b. Yahyâ Mar'aşî (L 1137/June-July 1725); and Seyyid Sâlih İskenderî (1204/1790-1). Larger-format Korans, and Korans in more than one volume included tall folios (vezîrî), by İbrahim al-Râşid İslambolî (1275/1858-9); Mehmed Şâkir (1284/1867-8); 'Abdullah Vefâ'î (1125/1713-14); Ahmed İlhâmî (19 M 1279/17 July 1862 and 14 Ca 1270/14 February 1864); 'Abdülkâdir el-Nakşibendî (undated); Hafız Mustafa Zekî Efendi (undated); Mehmed Behçet Efendi (undated); Seyyid Hüseyin el-Fevzî (1287/1870-1); a Koran in *nasta'lîk* (Turkish *ta'lîk*); Seyyid 'Osman el-Hilmî (1281/1864-5); and a 30-part Koran in the hands of Seyyid Halil Rıfkı and İbrahim Edib (1 S 1280/1863-4). Finally, there were a number of heirlooms – a finely illuminated Koran by İbrahim b. Derviş (959/1552) and one by Hamdullah İbn el-Şeyh (13 lines to the page, undated).[6] The details of these manuscripts, many of them specific commissions, are important evidence for deliberate collecting, which is all the more useful in view of the lack of published large- or medium-format Korans of this late period.

In addition to complete Korans, a number of selections, generally including the 6th chapter, the *Surat el-En'âm*, are listed [166a]:[7] a small format volume, calligraphed but with no colophon, in a slip-case, 11 lines to the page (1275/1858-59); another in medium format, 7 lines (1266/1849-50); another, 7 lines (1267/1850-51); in the hand of Halil Rıf'at, without a slip-case, 7 lines (1267/1850-51); another, including the *kasides* of Şâmil, 2 lines *sülüs* and 4 lines *nesih* to the page. A number of albums (*murakka'-i mesk*) are also listed: a 34-page calligraphic album in the hand of İbrahim Tahir; a 15-page calligraphic album, with 1 line of *sülüs* and 5 lines of *nesih* to the page, in a slip-case; and a 10-page calligraphic album, with 1 line of *sülüs* and 10 lines of *nesih* to the page, in a slip-case.

Manuscripts of the popular prayer-book, the *Delâ'il el-Hayrât*, included [165b] a medium-format calligraphed *Delâ'il-i Serif* in a slip-case, in the hand of Hafız Mustafa, with gold-sprinkled margins and each page gold-illuminated, 9 lines (1205/1790-91); another in the hand of Hafız Hüseyin Râsid, 7 lines (1265/1848-49); another, in the hand of Ahmed known as Hafız el-Kuran, illuminated in gold and lapis-blue, 9 lines (1167/1753-54); a medium-format *Delâ'il-i Serif* with a slip-case, in the hand of Seyyid Mehmed Râsim, 9 lines (1270/1853-54); a small copy signed by Şeyh Abdülgani on the final page in the margin, 11 lines; a small-format copy with a marginal commentary, 11 lines, undated; and, among various printed copies, volumes with commentaries by Davudzade Mehmed Efendi[8] and Mehmed el-Fâsî (d. 1063/1653).[9]

4 Izgi 1997, I, pp. 69-107, 163-78.

5 (Redhouse) A term of respect for the Koran: it does not imply that the manuscript was of any great antiquity.

6 A Koran in the hand of Şeyh Hamdullah which had belonged to Pertevniyal Valide Sultan was sold at Christie's London, 29 May 2003, lot 21. This also has 13 lines. Since it did not, however, appear to bear the seal of the *vakıf* the copy listed may not have been the only one she possessed in his hand.

7 A medium-format *En'am-i Şerif* in the hand of Hafız 'Ali el-Şükr[î] is specifically stated to be in Pertevniyal's tomb.

8 Brockelmann II, pp. 252-3. This was printed in Istanbul in 1254/1838-9.

9 *Matâli' el-Musirrât*. Cf. Brockelmann II, pp. 252-3.

Of the illustrated manuscripts in the catalogue the *Siyer-i Nebî* [171b], in calligraphic nesih with gilding, 13 lines to the page, with 192 paintings is perhaps the best known. This is the volume now in the Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul, MS 1974.[10] It is a later, but highly accomplished, copy of Volume IV (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library MS 419) of the 6-volume set ordered for Mehmed III, executed, in Zeren Tanındı's view, in the 17th or the early 18th century. The copyist's name has been erased, but he may have been Mustafa b. Veli, who originally copied the rest of the six volumes dedicated to Murad III. Below is the signature '*müzehhib* Süleyman Kasım Pasa', who evidently executed the illustrations. The circumstances in which the copy was ordered are not known. It is, however, one of a number of manuscripts made for Murad III of which later facsimiles were made in the 17th century.[11] Other identifiable manuscripts are a *Şâhnâme* with 32 miniatures (32 sahifesi-i musavver olarak 'Acemkâri müzehheb ve nefis *Şâhnâme*[12]); and an album, *Eşkâl-i Âl-i 'Osman*, containing 32 portraits of Ottoman Sultans, written in *nasta'lîk*.[13] Two other illustrated manuscripts which have not been identified, however, are a fine copy of the Hamse of Nizâmî with 32 miniatures and a Turkish verse translation of Nizâmî's *Hüsrev u Şirîn*.

The historical works [198b] covered a wide spectrum, from the Classical Arabic and Persian historians, such as Tabarî, Ibn Haldûn and Mîrhvând, some of them in Turkish translations as well, through devotional works such as the *Hadîkat el-Su'adâ*, Mevlevî biographies and no fewer than 3 copies of Ayvansarayî's *Hadîkat el-Cevâmi'*, to the classical Ottoman historians, including Kâtib Çelebi. They also show a slight preponderance, however, in favour of 'modern', political history, in a wide range of 19th century works, as well as a complete anomaly, the *Makâmât* of el-Harîrî. The full list is as follows: *Tâc el-Tevârîh*, (by Hvâce Sa'deddin) 2 vols, printed; *Tarih-i Râşid*, 3 vols, printed; *Münşeât-i Feridun Beg*, 2 vols, printed;[14] *Tarih-i Vâsi*, *Mahâs el-Esâr ve Hakâ'ik el-Ehyâr*, 2 vols, printed;[15] *Ravzat el-Safâ* (by Mîrhvând), printed; *tercüme-i Ravzat el-İcâbât*; *Tarih-i Tabarî-i kebir*,[16] printed; *tercüme-i Mukaddima-i Ibn Khaldûn*, printed; *Tarih-i Çelebizâde Efendi*,[17] printed; *Şekâ'ik-i Nu'mâniye li-Mecdi Efendi*,[18] printed; *Zeyl-i Şekâ'ik li-'Atâî*;[19] *Makâmât-i Harîrî* (!), *nesih*; [199a] *Tarih-i Ebu'l-Necib*, *ta'lik*; *Tarih-i Ağvan*, printed; cennetmekân Katib Çelebi, printed; *Sefîne-i Nefsiye-i Mevleviye*, printed; *Hadîkat el-Su'adâ*, *ta'lik*; *Hadîkat el-Cevâmî*, 2 vols, printed; another, 2 vols, printed; *Takvim-i tarihi*, *nesih*; *Subhat el-Ebrâr fi Târîh el-Enbiye*, *nesih*; *Hadîkat el-Cevâmî*, printed; *Netâ'ic el-Funûn*, *ta'lik*; *Keşf el-Zunûn 'an esâmi el-Kütüb ve'l-Funûn*, printed;[20] [199b] *Tarih-i Cevdet*,[21] printed; *Hayrullah Efendi*[22] *tarihi*,

10 Tanındı 1984 pp. 34-5, bearing a *vakıf* seal dated 1279/1862-3. Cf. *Woman in Anatolia* 1993, no. C 76.

11 For example, a copy of the *Selim Han-nâme* (British Library Or. 7043) dated 1099/1687 (cf. Titley 1981, pp. 59-60), which is after the *Şehnâme-i Selîm Han* (Topkapı Saray Library A. 3595, dated 988/1580-1). Cf. Çağman 1973, pp. 413-41.

12 Evidently MS 1984 in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art (Ölçer et al 2002, p. 339) dated 956/1549, though this now has only 24 miniatures.

13 Now Türk ve Islâm Eserleri Müzesi MS 1916. This seems to be the treatise entitled *Hadîkat el-Mülûk* or *İcmâl-i menâkıb-i selâtîn-i Âl-i 'Osmân* by 'Osmânzâde Ahmed Tâlib and continued by Seyyid 'Abdüssamed, with 32 portraits of the Ottoman Sultans up to 'Abdülmecid, of which there is a copy in the British Library, Or. 9505 (Titley 1981, pp. 63-4).

14 Printed by Müteferrika 1153/1741, but most probably the later printing, Istanbul 1274-5/1858.

15 The diplomat and historian. This history was published in 1197-1201. Cf. Müctebâ İlgürel, *IA* XIII (1986), pp. 214-17. It was printed in Istanbul in 1804 and at Bulaq in 1243/1827-8 and 1246/1830-31.

16 The celebrated historian of early Islam (d. 310/923). Cf. C.E. Bosworth, *EI*, 2nd edition, X (1998), pp. 11-15.

17 The author (d. 1173/1760) of a supplement to the history of RâŞid. Printed by İbrahim Müteferrika in 1153/1741, but the volume here is more probably the printing of 1282/1866-67. Cf. J.R. Walsh, *EI*, 2nd edition, II (1964), pp. 19-20. The *Tarih-i Râşid* (d. 1148/1735) covered the period from 1660 up to the reign of Ahmed III. Cf. Christine Woodhead, *EI*, 2nd edition, VIII (1994), p. 441

18 The Turkish translation of Tasköprüzade's *Şekâ'ik*.

19 Nev'i-zade 'Atâî (d. 1045/1635-6) was the well-known continuator of Taşköprüzade's *Şekâ'ik*. Cf. J.R. Walsh, *EI*, 2nd edition, I (1960), pp. 752-3

20 The famous encyclopaedic work of Hacı Halifa (d. 1067/1657). Cf. O.S. Gökyay, *EI*, 2nd edition, IV (1968), pp. 760-2

21 Cevdet Paşa died in 1895. His best known work was a history of the Ottoman empire in 12 volumes, from the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca to the suppresssion of the Janissaries, known as the *Tarih-i Cevdet*. Cf. H. Bowen, *EI*, 2nd edition, I (1960), p. 284-6.

22 Hayrullah Efendi (d. 1866) was the author of a general history, *Târih-i 'Umûmî* in 15 volumes (never completed), printed in 1271-81/1855-66. This included a history of the Ottoman dynasty. Cf. Th. Menzel, *IA* V/1 (1950), pp. 393-4.

printed; *Ibn Talha Şerhi*, *nesih*; *Tuhfet el-Mulûk fi Irsâd el-Sulûk*, printed; ditto, printed; another, printed; *Netîce el-Sulûk fî tercüme-i Nasîhat el-Mulûk*, *nasta'lîk*; another, *ta'lik*; *Nesîc el-Sulûk fî Siyâset el-Mulûk*, *nasta'lîk*;[23] *Tarih-i Cevdet*, printed; *Vekayi'-i Latif Efendi*; *Hadîkat el-Cevâmî*, printed; *Durrat el-Gürebâ*, *nesih*; *Târîh-i Mekke-i Mükerreme ve Medine-i Münevvere*, *nasta'lîk*; *Ibn Haldun*, *nasta'lîk*; [200a] *Kisas el-Enbiye ve Târîh-i Hülefâ*,[24] 2 vols, printed; *Tabarî tercümesi*, 2 vols, printed.

The Dictionaries (*lugât*) [201b] include important classical Arabic and Persian compilations and Turkish translations or selections from them: *Kâmûs tercümesi*,[25] 3 vols, printed; do., 3 vols, printed; *Burhân-i Kâti' tercümesi*, *Tibyân-i Nâfi'*, printed;[26] *Burhân-i Kâti' tercümesi*, printed; *İhtirâ-i kebir*, printed; *Eser-i Şevket*, printed; another, printed; another, printed; *Vankulı*[27], printed; [202a] *Ibn Firiste lugatı*,[28] *nesih*; *Hayât el-Hayavân, ba-hatt-i 'Arab*;[29] another, printed;[30] *Durar el-Müntehâb el-Mansûra fî Islâh-i Galatât el-Meşhûra*, printed;[31] *Nuhbat serhi*, printed; *Lugat-i Ni'metullah Efendi*.[32]

In combination with the dictionaries the Persian books [203b], demonstrate Pertevniyal's intention that Persian should be well taught and suggest that one of the important educational innovations of the later 19th century was the institutionalisation of language-teaching. The list is supplementary to the Persian historical works which appear in the section on History above. The complete list is: *Mesnevî-i Şerif*, *serh-i İsma'il Ankaravi*, 6 vols, printed;[33] 21 line calligraphic *nasta'lîk*; *Şâhnâme-i Firdevsî-i Tûsî*, printed;[34] *32 sahifesi-i musavver olarak nefis Hamse-i Nizami*, 21 lines calligraphic *nasta'lîk*; *Divan of Hafız-i Şirazî*, printed; *Divan of Hafız-i Şirazi, şerh-i Sûdî*,[35] printed, printed; *Pend-i 'Attâr*,[36] printed; *Gülistân, şerh-i Sûdî*, printed;[37] another, printed; *Tuhfet-i Vehbî*, printed;[38] *Tuhfe, şerh-i Hayatî*, printed; [204a] another, printed; *Surûrî 'ala'l-Gülistân*,[39] *nesih*; *Dîvân-i Külliyât-i Sa'di*, *nasta'lîk*; *Ferhang-i Şu'ûrî*, 2 vols,

23 These three works may perhaps be various continuations of the well-known *el-Sulûk fî Ma'rifet Düvel ve Mulûk* by the Mamluk historian, Takiüddin Makrîzî. Cf. F. Rosenthal, *EI*, 2nd edition, VI (1991), pp. 193-4; Brockelmann II, 47-50, 675 and S II, pp. 36-8.

24 Attributed to the otherwise unknown author, al-Kisâ'î. Cf. T. Nagel, *EI*, 2nd edition, V (1986), p. 176.

25 One of the most famous late mediaeval dictionaries of classical Arabic, compiled by el-Fîrûzâbâdî (d.817/1415. It was translated into Turkish by 'Âsım Efendi (Antepli Mütercim Ahmed, d. 1235/1819 or 1248/1832). Cf. H. Fleisch, *EI* 2nd edition, V (1983), pp. 926-7.

26 A translation of the *Burhân-i Kâti'* by 'Asım Efendi printed in Istanbul in 1214/1799, 1278/1861-2 and 1287/1871-2 (2 vols), and at Bulaq in 1251/1835-6 and 1268/1852-3.

27 d. 1000/1591-2. His dictionary was a Turkish translation of the *Sihâh* or *Sahâh* of el-Cevherî. It was printed by the Müteferrika press in 1141/1728-9 and was reprinted there in 2 volumes in 1169-70/1755-7. Cf. Th. Menzel, *EI*, 2nd edition, XI (2001), p. 138.

28 A rhyming dictionary, Arabic-Turkish, of difficult or commonly misunderstood words in the Koran. Cf. Ömer Faruk Akün, *EI*, 2nd edition, II (1964), pp. 923-4.

29 *Sic*. Evidently a reference to an Arabic manuscript of some age.

30 Not exactly a dictionary but a zoological encyclopaedia by Muhammed b. Mûsâ el-Damîrî (d. 773/1371-2), which was printed in Cairo in 1284/1267-8. Cf. L. Kopf, *EI*, 2nd edition, II (1965), pp. 107-8.

31 Another dictionary of difficult or misunderstood words in the Koran, compiled in 1219/1804 by Mustafa 'Asir and printed in Istanbul in 1221/1806-7.

32 d. 1561 or 1562 A Persian-Turkish dictionary. Cf. E. Berthels, *EI* 2nd edition, VIII (1993), p. 44.

33 Isma'il Ankaravî (d. 1041/1631 or 1632) was the author of a celebrated commentary on the *Mesnevî* of Celâleddin Rûmî. Cf. Tahsin Yazıcı, *EI*, 2nd edition, IV (1974), p. 190.

34 Most probably, lithographed. Cf. Marzolph 2003, pp. 177-98.

35 K. Burrill, *EI*, 2nd edition, IX (1997), p. 762. He died in 1000/1592-3 or 1006/1598. His commentary on Hafız in 3 volumes was published at Bulaq in 1250/1834. Cf. Nazif M. Hoca, *Sûdî. Hayatı, eserleri ve iki risalesi'nin metni* (Istanbul 1980).

36 The *Pend-nâme* of 'Attâr, despite widespread reservations as to its authenticity, was translated into Turkish by Emrî in 964/1557 and remained extremely popular in Ottoman educational institutions. The text, together with the translation, was repeatedly printed in Istanbul, in 1266/1849-50, 1280/1863-64 and 1282/1865-66, and at Bulaq in 1244/1828, 1253/1838, 1257/1842. Cf. H. Ritter, *EI*, 2nd edition, I (1960), pp. 752-55; B. Reinert, *EIr*, III (1989), pp. 20-25.

37 Bulaq 1250/1834-35.

38 A Persian-Ottoman dictionary by Mar'aşlı Sünbülzâde Mehmed (d. 1809), printed at Bulaq in 1246/1840-41 and in Istanbul in 1251/1835-36. A commentary on Vehbî by Yayaköylü Ahmed Reşid was printed in Bulaq in 1257/1841-42, and in Istanbul in 1259/1843-44 and 1286/1869-70 (lithographed)

39 Muslihiddin Mustafa Surûrî (d. 969/1562) was the author of highly regarded commentaries on Hafız, Sa'di and Celâleddin Rûmî. Cf. Edith G. Ambros, *EI*, 2nd edition, IX (1997), pp. 895-6.

printed;[40] *Pend-i ʻAttâr şerhi*, printed; *Külliyat-i Sâ'ib*, *nastaʻlîk*; *Bustân, şerh-i Sûdî*, printed; *Molla Cami Divanı*, *nastaʻlîk*; *Gülistân, şerh-i Şemʻî*, *nesih*; *Vesîlet el-Mekâsid fi'l-Lugat*, *nastaʻlîk*; *Gülistân*, printed;[41] *Bustân*, *nastaʻlîk*; *Tuhfet-i Vehbî*, printed; *Gülistân Mülistân*,[42] printed.

The final section on Miscellanea (*cüz'iyyât*) [205b] is certainly miscellaneous, including poetry and literature, such as the Hamze romance, but also the 1001 Nights and other works unsuitably light for schoolboys, geography, arithmetic and surveying, medicine, physiology and chemistry. The full list, in which quite a lot of the titles remain to be identified, is: *Şerefü'l-İnsân-i Lamiʻî*,[43] *taʻlik*; *ʻArûz-i Endelüs* (a treatise on Arabic prosody), *şerh-i Muhsin-i Kayserî maʻa tercüme-i ʻAssâm*, printed; Molla Câmî *ʻaruz şerhi*, *Câm-i Muzaffer*, printed; *Melheme-i Cevrî*, *nastaʻlîk*; *Muhayilât-i ʻAzîz Efendi* (evidently, a book of tales of frauds and tricksters), printed; *Şemsîye-i Tesmîye olunur Melheme*, *nesih*; *Kemâlnâme-i Dökmeli Baba*, *nesih*; *Şifâ el-Mu'min*, *nesih*; *Şifâ el-Mu'min min el-Tıbb*, *nesih*;[44] *Mecmuʻa-i Resâ'il*, *nesih*; *Kanz el-ʻİbâd*, *nesih*; *Vâsi el-Merkûm fi Nutuk el-Mefhûm, ba-hatt-i ʻArab*; [206a] Hedâya el-Nihâya, ba-hatt-i ʻArab; Hülâsat el-Hesâb, printed; *Eşkâl-i Te'sîs*,[45] printed; *Nevâdir el-Garâ'ib and Mevârid el-Acâʻib*, *nastaʻlîk*; *Tercüme-i Hüsrev û Şîrîn*, *nesih*, *manzum ve musavver*; *Güzide*, *nesih*; *Divan-i Vehbî*, printed;[46] *Telhis-i resâ'il-i Râmât* (Steingass, 'the Pleiades', perhaps an astronomical treatise) printed; *ʻIlm-i Tabakat el-Ard*, printed; *ʻIlm-i Tıbb'dan Nusret Efendi risalesi*, printed; *Mehmed Pertev Efendi divanı*, *nastaʻlîk*; *Tayyibe-i Ezkâr*, *nesih*; *Hikâyet-i ʻAli Ibn Sina*, printed;[47] *Risâle-i Cografya*, printed; *Kavâ'id-i ʻOsmaniye*, printed; [206b] *Hediyet el-Fakîr*, *nesih*; *Enîs el-Munkâtaʻîn tercümesi, Şifâ el-Mu'min*, *nesih*; *Hamza hikayesi*, *nesih*; *ʻAcâʻib el-Ma'âsir ve Garâ'ib el-Nevâdir*, printed; *Müfîd el-ʻUlûm*, *nastaʻlîk*; *Adab-i Menâzil*, *nesih*; *Keşf el-Gumma ʻan Camîʻ el-Umma*, printed;[48] *Manh el-Gaffâr, şerh-i Tenvîr ve'l-Absâr*, 2 vols, the first in nesih, the second in *nastaʻlîk*; *tercüme-i Alf Layla ve Layla*, printed;[49] another, printed; another, printed; another, printed; another, printed; *Taʻlim-i Teşrih*, printed; *Kimiyâ-i Tıbbî*, printed; [207a] *Usûl-i İstihkâmât-i Cesîm*e (a treatise on major fortifications) printed; *Hülâsa-i Coğrafya*, printed; *Risâle-i Sâciye*, printed; *Tezkere-i Tûsî*,[50] nesih; *Şerh-i ʻAli el-Hânî ve İbrahim Çelebi min ʻilm el-hesab*, *nesih*; *Divan-i Hayâtî*, *nastaʻlîk*; *ʻIbretnumâ-i Lâmiʻî*, *nesih*; *Hülasa-i Lutfiyye-i Vehbî*,[51] printed; Arabic, Persian and Turkish translations (titles not given), printed; *Tuhfet el-Zekiye fî Lugât el-Şarkîye*, printed; *risale-i Subhat el-Zâkirîn*, printed; *İʻmâl el-Sâlihât*, *nastaʻlîk*; *mecmuʻa-i resa'il*, *nesih*; *ʻÂlem-i Barzah*, *nesih*; [207b], *Gâyet el-Beyân fî Tedbîr-i Beden el-Insân*,[52] *ba-hatt-i ʻArab*; *Edremidi Müridzade ʻAczî divanı*, printed; *Duʻa risalesi*, *nesih*.

40 A Turkish-Persian dictionary by Halepli Hasan Surûrî compiled in 1082-92/1669-82. Printed by Müteferrika in 2 vols in 1155/1742-3. He was also the author of a commentary on the *Pend-nâme* of ʻAttâr.

41 Printed at Bulaq 1257/1841-2.

42 An oddly colloquial expression. Perhaps to be understood 'a Gülistân or such-like'.

43 B. Flemming, *EI* 2nd edition V (1986), pp. 649-51; Günay Kut Alpay, 'Lâmiʻî Chelebi and his works', *JNES* XXXV (1976), pp. 73-93. The *Şerefü'l-Insân* was written in 933/1526-27.

44 A work on medical chemistry by ʻÖmer b. Sinan el-Iznîkî (d. 1116/1704). Cf. Izgi 1997, p. 172, no. 26.

45 This may be the treatise on geometry and trigonometry by Şemseddin Semerkendî (d. 683/1284 or 1285), on which the astronomer, Kadızade Rumi wrote a commentary (815/1412-13), which was printed in Istanbul in 1268/1852-3. Alternatively, it was the Ottoman Turkish translation of it by Müftizâde Hoca Abdurrahim el-Mentevî, an instructor at the Galatasaray school for pages (d. 1252/1836 or 1837).

46 Bulaq 1253/1838.

47 Perhaps the autobiographical memoir of the Aristotelian philosopher and physician, ʻAlî b. Sîna.

48 By ʻAbdelvahhâb b. Ahmed el-Şaʻrânî, printed in Cairo in 1280/1863-4. Cf. Brockelmann II, pp. 334-8

49 This may well have been the text of *The Thousand and One Nights*, which was printed lithographically in Tehran under Nasruddin Shah in 1288/1871-2. To judge from the following entries the edition was in 5 volumes. Other current editions were the Bulaq printing of 1251/1835-6 in 2 vols, superseded in subsequent reprints at the Bulaq press by the Calcutta edition of 1839-42 in 4 volumes. Cf. W. Floor, *EIr*, IV (1990), pp. 760-64. The Turkish translation, which was only published under ʻAbdülhamid II, understandably in a heavily censored version, was printed twice, once in 4 and once in 6 volumes.

50 El-Tûsî's famous astronomical treatise, *el-Tezkere fî 'ilm el-hay'e*. Cf. F.J. Rageb, 'Nasîr al-Dîn Tûsî: as scientist', *EI*, 2nd edition, X, 2000, pp. 750-2; F.J. Rageb, *Nasîr al-Dîn Tûsî's memoir on Astronomy* (*al-Tadhkira fî 'Ilm al-Hay'a*) (New York 1993).

51 A versified treatise on chemistry by Sünbülzâde Vehbî (d. 1224/1809). Cf. Izgi 1997, op. 152.

52 A standard textbook on physiology and medicine, by Ibn Sellûm (d. 1081/1670 or 1671), who presented it to Mehmed IV in 1075/1665. It is the second most frequently copied text in the history of Ottoman medicine. Cf. İzgi 1997, II, p. 93.

This brief review of the catalogue of the books endowed upon her foundation by Pertevniyal Valide Sultan needs further work but is enough to give an idea of modernisation in the Ottoman secondary curriculum. However, it poses one curious puzzle. The splendid copy of Lokman's *Zübdet el-Tevârîh* (991/1583) chronicling the genealogy of the Ottoman Sultans from the Creation up to the reign of Murad III, now in the Türk ve Islâm Eserleri Müzesi, MS 1973, which is also known to have been in the library of Pertevniyal's foundation and was transferred from it to the Museum in 1915, is, astonishinggly, not listed in the catalogue in any of its sections.

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