

SUSAN A. SKILLITER
(Cambridge)

AN UNDATED FRAGMENT OF A BERAT CONCERNING THE
APPOINTMENT OF A MÜTEFERRIKA

The Ottoman *berat* preserved, as Additional MS 285⁶⁵, in Cambridge University Library, poses an enigma — no date. Even its accession to the Library was not recorded, but it may have formed part, with some other Ottoman documents, of the Burckhardt Bequest of 1819. The document is in an imperfect state; the *tuğra* together with probably the first line of text, containing the nişan-i şerif *expositio*, seem to have been cut off, as has the end of the document, comprising the text of the conclusion of the *comminatio*, the *sanctio*, the *corroboratio*, the date and place of issue. We are left with a piece of paper measuring 82x36 cm., backed with canvas, with seven lines of text on one side, written throughout in a splendid *divani celisi*, such as one sees used sometimes only for the *expositio* of original documents. Black and red inks are used, alternately, for blocks of text of varying sizes, and four circlets of gold paint were placed at regular intervals over every line of writing, each of which is at least 3 cm. high and rises sharply on the left-hand side. The writing is extremely beautiful, like fine lace, very difficult to read, but we have to bear in mind that this calligraphic masterpiece is issued in favour of an expert, a Divan official. A comparable document, but not so beautiful, is the *berat* of A. H. 1028/A. D. 1619 given as facsimile 18 in Guboglu, *Paleografia*.

Our fragment comprises the *narratio* (begins: Bundan akdem), the *dispositio* and part of the *comminatio*, hence its date and the Sultan's name in the *tuğra* are lost. However, a clue towards its dating is given in line 4, as follows: '... ikiyüz nefer müteferrika ve ikiyüz nefer çavuş ve elli divan-i âlişanım kâtibi ve (blank) nefer defter-i hakanî kâtibi ve (blank) nefer şağırđı gedikli olup...'. We find in the *Kanunname* drawn up by Tevkîi Abdurrahman (*Millî Tetebbular Mecmuası*, II, 543) this the penultimate law, the *Kanun-i Gedikliyan*: 'Gedikli müteferrika ikiyüz neferdir. Gedikli çavuş ikiyüz

neferdir. Gedikli divan kâtibi altmış neferdir, şagirdi on sekiz neferdir. Gedikli defter-i hakanî kâtibi on altı neferdir, şagirdi yirmi altı neferdir.

Bu mezkûrlardan ve züema ve erbab-i timardan ve solaktan ve peykten bir ferd defterli olmak kanun değildir. Amma bölük sipahilerinden ve ulûfeli müteferrika ve ulûfeli çavuş defterli olagelmiştir.' The *Kanun-name* was compiled in A. H. 1087, at the command of the Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa, that is between his appointment to office on 28 Şaban 1087/5 November 1676 and the end of the year, 5 March 1686. Mehmed IV (1648—1687) was Sultan. It is likely that our *berat* was issued soon after and consequent upon the promulgation of the *Kanun*.

I offer here a transcription of the fragment, with thanks to Profesör Filipović and Dr Abrahamowicz for their kind help, together with a tentative translation. A summary of the contents follows:

The Sultan (? Mehmed IV) has been informed about the decline in numbers of his soldiers on campaign and in the garrisons, due to the absenteeism of members of the Court and Divan service, namely *Müteferrikas*, *Çavuşes*, Scribes and Apprentices (*şagird*). A roll-call (*yoklama*) of *zeamets* and *timars* had been ordered and a limit had been set on the holdings of such people who later, after having been appointed, failed to answer the call to join their posts during a naval expedition.

The Sultan declares that, like his noble ancestors who devoted themselves to the *Gaza* and *Cihad* and were concerned with strengthening the frontiers and equipping the armies, he also is occupied with the important matter of setting in order (*tanzim*) the armed forces. Thus, a *ferman*, bearing the Sultan's own handwriting (*hatt-i hümayun*), has been issued, commanding that a certain number of such people, that is 200 *Müteferrikas*, 200 *Çavuşes*, 50 Scribes of the Divan with their Apprentices and an unspecified number of Scribes from the Imperial Tax-office (*Defter-i Hakanî*) and their Apprentices, who have given good service to the Empire, shall be rewarded with a privilege (*gedikli*), on condition that they all go on campaign in their divisions when called and have their holdings recorded in the account-books (*gedikli defterleri*) in the Inner Imperial Treasury (*İÇ Hazine-i Âmire*). When one of their number dies or his holding becomes vacant (*mahlul*) care must be taken to maintain the *status quo* by informing the Sultan and, as long as he has not issued an order commanding otherwise, by seeing that the holdings are not transferred, and by never allowing anything contrary to this to be done.

Following that *ferman* this *berat* is given. Since one of the *Müteferrikas* of the Imperial Court, Yüsuf, has died, his *zeamet* of 20,000 *akçes*, derived from the village of Qazan Bınarı in the district (*nahiye*) of Şumni in the *sancak* of Niğbolu, has become vacant. This *zeamet* is now granted to the holder of the *berat* Mehmed,

who is at the same time promoted to the rank of *Müteferrika* with a living (*dirlık*) of 40,000 *akçes* derived from the state revenue (*miri*), of which 25,000 *akçes* have been given and the additional 15,000 will be paid out by the Imperial Treasury on production of this *berat* and in accordance with the signed copy of the expenses-book (*ruzmançe*).

The Sultan commands finally that *Müteferrika* Mehemmed, even though he has been a long-serving Divan official and has been on campaign regularly with the Grand Vizier (? Kara Mustafa), since he has not been appointed to the retinue (*Koşuntu*) of the commander (*serdar*) or to a garrison and so has not reported for duty, his *zeamet* and living shall not be given; otherwise, it shall be confirmed upon him, and nobody shall change the Sultan's order.

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Text of Cambridge University Library Add. MS 285⁶⁵.

Tuğra and first line, with expositio, lacking. [(1) نشان شریف ۰۰۰]

(2) بوندن اقدم رطامت و تبطار یوقلمه سی فرمان اولدوقده متفرقه وچاوش وکاتب و شاکرد ایچون
 بر حد تعیین اولنمشکن صکره دریادن سفیرلی اقتضا اتکله هر بری برر طریقله متفرقه
 وچاوش وکاتب و شاکرد اولوب مامور اولدقلری محللره کتلمکله سفر هاپیونده و محافظه لرده عساکر
 نصرت شعارک قلمتیه باعث اولدقلری سح هاپیونه القا و عز حضور پادشاهانه انها اولنوب
 ایصدی ابای کرام (3) واجداد عظام انار الله تعالی براهینهمک جل اوقات علیه و سر ساع
 سنیه لری غزا و جهاده مصروف اولوب سده شعر دین و تجهیز چنود موحدین بو خاندان دولت
 مکین سلاطینه نقش تکین اولوب بنمداخی تنظیم احوال چیوش الزم لوازمات و اهم مهبط عرض
 و ناهوس سلطنتمدن اولمنله طایفه مزوره دن هر قنخسی دولت علیه نه زیاده حدجه میل اتش
 ایسه اولهوله اكدآر (4) و واجب الرعايه اولنلردن ایکیوز نفر متفرقه و ایکیوز نفر چاوش و اللی
 دیوان عالیشام کا تبی، (blank) نفر شاکردی، (blank) نفر دفتر خاقانی کا تبی، (blank) نفر
 شاکردی کدکلو اولوب ماعدا نعتدار متفرقه وچاوش وکاتب و شاکرد ولا رتبه جله سی سنجاقلری عسکری
 والای بکلیری ایله بیواقلری التده سفر ایسوب و تعیین اولنان طایفه مزوره نك کدکلو دفترلی طغرالی
 غزای (5) جهان ارامله معنون بر صورتی ایچ خزینه مامورده حفظ اولنوب ایچیلردن بری فوت
 اولوب ویا کدوکی محلول اولدوقده رکاب هاپیونه عرض اولنوب خط هاپیون سعادت هرونم ویرلمدکجه
 بر فون کدک ویرلمایوب ویر برلرینه فراغت اولمیوب بو قاعده طی وجه الاستمرار مری اولوب
 خلاصه جوازندن حذار اولنلق بابنده خط هاپیون سعادت هرونه فرمان عالیشام صادر
 اولمشدر اکا بناء (6) نیکبولی سنجاغنده شومنی ناحیه سنده قران بیگاری نام قرینه دن

يكرى بيك آنچه رطامته متصرف اولان درگاه ملام متفرقه لردن متفرقه يوسف فوت اولوب
رسالتى معلول اولمنله رسالت مزبور رافع توتيع رفيع الشان خاقانى وناقل يرليخ بليخ مسرت
متقال تاجدارى قدوة لاما جد ولاكارم محمد زيد مجده به توجه اولنوب متفرقه لق كدوكى دخي
موي اليه محمد زيد مجده (7) محل ومستحق اولمنله متفرقه لق كدوكى دخي توجه
وميزينه اولان قرق بيك آنچه تك يكرى بش بيك آنچه سي انعام اولمنله طاعدا اون بش بيك
آنچه بي تسليم خزينه عامرهم ايلدوكنه مضي صورت روزنامه ويرلكله موجبنجه اشيو برات
سعادت اثار سهجت غاياتى ويردوم ويردوكمه موي اليه متفرقه محمد زيد مجده دخي
وجه شرح اوزره علي الدواع (8) ديوان عاليهام خدمتنده وشرق وغرب سفرلينه
وزير اعظم طى الشان ايله واقع اولان سفرله اشوب سردارلره قوشندي ومحافظة لره
تعيين اولنوب وقوشندي ومحافظة به وارمديفيمچون رسالت ودرلكي ويرليه وويريلور ايسه كيرو
موي اليه ابقا وقر اولوب بي حاجت كمنه دن دخل ايدليه ديويو نشان شريفه
دائمه مرعي طوتلوب هيچ احد تبديل وتغيير اتميه هر كيم تبديل (end of MS)

1-2. The text of this section is broken away, and the letters which have been lost have been reconstructed as well as possible.

English translation:

(line 2) When previously the roll-call of *zeamets* and *timars* was commanded, it having been communicated to the glory of my royal Presence and suggested to my imperial Hearing how, even though limits had been determined, one by one, for *Müteferrikas* and *Çavuşes* and Scribes and Apprentices, afterwards, expeditions by sea being necessary, each one of them, each in his own way had become *Müteferrika* or *Çavuş* or Scribe or Apprentice and received the order, and how, by not going to their posts, they have caused the decline in numbers of my troops, which are distinguished by God's help to victory, on my imperial campaign and in the garrisons;

(lines 2-5) well then, the best moments of the sublime days and the joy of the elevated hours of my noble fathers and illustrious grandfathers — may God (exalted be He) enlighten their proofs! — having been spent in expeditions against the infidel and the Holy War, and the reinforcing of the frontiers of the Faith and equipping of the armies of the Monotheists being the sealinscription for this firm-fortuned dynasty of Sultans, and because the setting in order of the conditions of the armies is one of the most necessary of the essential duties and the most serious of the important matters of the honour and reputation of my own sultanate also, my illustrious order with

my imperial Handwriting, associated with happiness, has been issued in respect of whatsoever person from the aforesaid group who shall have shown inclination to a considerable extent towards my exalted Empire becoming the holder of a privilege, from among that category of meritorious and estimable people two hundred *Müteferrikas* and two hundred *Çavuşes* and fifty Scribes of my illustrious Divan and their [space for number left blank] Apprentices and [blank] Scribes of my imperial Tax-office and their [blank] Apprentices, and whatever number, over and above, of *Müteferrikas* and *Çavuşes* and Scribes and Apprentices and those without rank going on campaign, all of them, with the army of their *sanjaks* and their *alaybeğis*, under their standards, and one copy, headed with my resplendent, world-adorning *Tuğra*, of the account-books of the privilege-holders of the aforesaid group, which has been designated, having been preserved in my Inner Imperial Treasury, when from among them one person dies or else his holding becomes vacant, as long as notification has been made to my imperial Stirrup and my imperial Handwriting, associated with happiness, has not been given, in respect of privileges not being given to any person, and transfer not being made from one to another of them, and this system being preserved in an uninterrupted way, and precaution being taken about the granting of permission contrary to it.

(lines 5–7) In consequence of that, because one of the *Müteferrikas* of my sublime Court, *Müteferrika* Yüsun, who was in possession of the *zeamet* of twenty thousand *akçes* from the village named Qazan Bınarı in the district of Şumni in the *sancak* of Niğbolu, has died and his *zeamet* has become vacant, the aforesaid *zeamet* has been conferred upon Mehemmed, the example of the glorious and noble ones — may his glory be increased! —, the bearer of the high-ranking imperial Diploma and the carrier of the eloquent, joy-auguring royal Order, and the privilege connected with the office of *Müteferrika* also being appropriate to and merited by the aforementioned Mehemmed — may his glory be increased! —, because the privilege connected with the office of *Müteferrika* moreover is conferred and the twentyfive thousand *akçes* of the forty thousand *akçes* which is its state revenue have been bestowed, I have given this happiness-working and joy-producing *Berat* for my imperial Treasury to hand over the extra fifteen thousand *akçes* in accordance with the signed copy of the account-book which is being given, and I have commanded as follows:

(lines 7, 8) This my noble Sign which declares, 'The aforementioned *Müteferrika* Mehemmed — may his glory be increased! — has been continually in the service of my high-ranking Divan, for his part, as has been described, and for the Eastern and Western campaigns he has ridden out with the highly-renowned Grand Vizier on the cam-

paigns which have taken place, and he has not been appointed to the commanders for the retinues and garrisons, but because he has not come to the retinue and garrison let his *zeamet* and living not be given, but if it is being given let it be confirmed and established again upon the aforementioned and, without need, let no harm be done (to him) by anybody', shall be held in respect for ever, and let nobody at all change or alter (it). Whosoever changes:... [end of MS].

S u m m a r y

AN UNDATED FRAGMENT OF A BERAT CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT OF A MÜTEFERRIKA

Among the Ottoman documents — about 35 in all — which I have been describing recently for inclusion in a brief handlist of the Turkish manuscripts in Cambridge University Library, one, Addition MS 285⁶⁵ seemed to be of particular interest. It consists of only seven lines of a berat, with the tuğra and first line and the end, including the date, broken or cut off. As it is so enigmatic I wanted to bring it to the notice of the Ottomanists gathered at the Third Symposium of C.E.P.O. at Sarajevo, to enlist their aid concerning its identification.

The Sultan declares his interest in reforming the Ottoman military forces, especially now that a roll-call has revealed widespread absenteeism on campaign and from the garrisons by the class of Müteferrikas, Çavuşes, Scribes and Apprentices. Thus he has issued a fermn, rewarding a specified number of members of that class, who have been dutiful, with privileges, dependent upon their attendance for military service, and regulating the conditions of privilege-holding. Under these terms he gives this berat, conferring upon a certain Mehemmed the *zeamet* of 20,000 akçes deriving from the village of Qazan Bınarı in the district of Şumni in the sancak of Niğbolu, which used to belong to the late Müteferrika Yūsuf, together with the office of Müteferrika with a living of 40,000 akçes. The newly-appointed Müteferrika's privileges and duties are then laid down. The date is probably 1677, or soon after.

R e z i m e

ODLOMAK IZ BERATA O NAIMENOVANJU MÜTEFERRIKA

Među turskim dokumentima, oko 35, koje sam nedavno opisala za Kratak pregled turskih rukopisa u Univerzitetskoj biblioteci u Cambridge-u, rukopis broj 285⁶⁵ je izgledao posebno interesantan. Berat se sastoji od samo sedam redova. Tugra, prvi red, kraj, uključujući i datum, su oštećeni ili pocijepani. Pošto je tako zagonetan željela sam da o njemu obavijestim skup turkologa na Trećem simpozijumu C.E.P.O. u Sarajevu, ne bi li se neko zainteresovao da pomogne u njegovoj identifikaciji.

Sultan izražava svoj interes za reformaciju turske vojne sile, naročito sada kada je objelodanjena yoklama (prozivka) i kad je odsustvovanje u ratu i iz garnizona od strane müteferrika, çavuş-a, pisara i šegrta uzelo maha. Zato je izdao ferman kojim nagrađuje određen broj članova te klase, koji su mu bili odani, povlasticama zavisno od njihove spremnosti za vojnu službu i pruža im povoljne uslove za imanja koja su dobili zahvaljujući povlaštenom položaju. Po ovim odredbama on donosi ovaj berat, prenoseći na izvjesnog Mehmeda zeamet od 20,000 akči koje dobija od sela Qazan Binari u oblasti Şumni u sandžaku Nigbolu koji je pripadao prijašnjem müteferriki Yūsuf-u zajedno sa službom müteferrika i dohotkom od 40,000 akči. Zatim su nabrojane ostale nove povlastice i dužnosti müteferrika. Rukopis potiče vjerovatno iz 1677. godine ili nešto kasnije.