

HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

HĀCĪ °ALĪ (d. 2nd half of 17th c.)

LIFE

Little is known about H.°A.'s life. Evidence suggests that he lived in the 17th century and held various clerkships (*kātib*).¹ He also worked as a scribe in Egypt during the governorship of Şarı Tarhūncu Aĥmed Paşa (d. 1062/1652), upon whose suggestion he composed a work entitled *Aĥbārü'l-Yemānī* in 1060/1649 and described himself as "Mevlānā". H.°A. related the events he witnessed during his pilgrimage in a work entitled *Tuĥfetü'l-ĥüccāc*, which he composed in 1074/1663-64. In 1083/1672, he participated in the Qamaniçe expedition as secretary of the imperial council (*dī-vān-ı ĥümāyūn kātibī*) and penned the day-book (*rūznāmçe*) of this campaign under the title *Fetĥnāme-i Qamaniçe*. H.°A. is sometimes confused with Gelibolulu Muştafā °Alī.²

WORKS

① *Aĥbārü'l-Yemānī*

In 1060/1649, during his clerkship in Egypt, H.°A. translated Quţbuddīn Muĥamad b. Aĥmad's Arabic work entitled *Barq al-Yamānī fī al-Fatĥ al-°Uşmānī* into Turkish as *Aĥbārü'l-Yemānī*. The translation was a response to governor Aĥmed Paşa's (d. 1063/1653) questions about Yemen. Most of this work seems to be a direct summary of the Arabic text, but H.°A. also composed original segments. *Aĥbārü'l-Yemānī*'s introduction includes additions to Quţbuddīn's work. H.°A. also expanded his translation by adding the accounts of the warriors who participated in the conquest of Yemen, the travelers who visited the country, and the scholars who researched Yemen. The original work, entitled *Barq al-Yamānī*, ends in 981/1574 with the account of the battle of Ĥalqu'l-vād (Ĥalqu'l-vādī/Goletta), at which Sinān Paşa (d. 1004/1596) was the commander-in-chief of the Ottoman forces. H.°A., however, brings his translation up to his own time.³

The Süleymaniye Library (Hamidiye 886) manuscript, catalogued under the title *Aĥbārü'l-Yemānī*, was copied in 1077/1668 by Muştafā b. İbrāĥīm. He also expanded it by adding commentaries (*şerĥ*). In 1082/1671 Muştafā b. Rızvān added the summarized version of these commentaries to the main text⁴ and changed the title to *Telĥīsü'l-barqü'l-Yemānī*.⁵ These copies appear to belong to two different works, but the chapter and section headings are identical.

As is clear from its earlier date of composition and clearly recorded commentaries, *Aĥbārü'l-Yemānī* is the copy closest to the autograph manuscript and thus needs to be the basis for any discussion concerning the content of the work. It consists of an introduction, five parts, and a conclusion. The introduction explains the reason for the translation and reorganization of the work.⁶ The first part consists of fifteen chapters and gives an account of three generations of rulers of Yemen before the Ottoman con-

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quest;⁷ the second part contains thirty-six chapters and explains the conditions leading up to the conquest of Yemen by the Ottomans;⁸ the third part consists of sixty chapters and relates the conquest of Yemen by Sinān Paşa;⁹ the fourth part includes eleven chapters and covers the reigns of viziers and governors-general who ruled Yemen from Sinān Paşa up to Ḥaydar Paşa;¹⁰ and the fifth part consists of five chapters and narrates the rebellions of Yemen's local rulers and imams.¹¹ The conclusion discusses the disruption of Ottoman domination in Yemen from 1030/1620-21 onward and explains the factors leading to the heretical beliefs of Imām Qāsim (d. 1029/1620) and his descendants.¹²

② *Fethnāme-i Qamanıç*

An account of the daily events that transpired during the Qamanıç (Kamianets-Podilsky) campaign of 1083/1672. *Fethnāme-i Qamanıç* is an important historical source because it reveals details about an Ottoman military expedition of the 17th century. Ḥ.°A. relates events he personally witnessed as the secretary of the imperial council (*dīvān-ı hümayūn kâtibi*). The work is arranged according to the stations (*menzil*) of the Ottoman army during the campaign under discussion.

Fethnāme can be divided into four sections: an introduction, a narrative of the journey to Qamanıç, an account of the siege, and a discussion of the return trip. In the introduction Ḥ.°A. summarizes the political events of 1082/1671-72, the conflict between the Poles and the Ottomans to establish their supremacy over the Cossacks, and the expedition led by Ḥalīl Paşa (d. 1096/1685), the warden of Özi (Ochakov), in the winter of 1082/1671-72 to help the Cossack ruler (*hatman*) Petro Doroşenko (d. 1676). After this section, Ḥ.°A. describes the physical and spiritual preparations for the campaign, discusses the delivery of decrees inviting the provinces (such as Rümeli, Bosna, Anađolu, Sivas, Haleb, Qaraman, Diyārbekir, Mar°aş, Ađana) whose turn had come to participate in a military expedition (*sefer eşme*), and mentions the summons of the sultan's preacher (*salṭanat vā°izi*) Vānī Meḥmed Efendi (d. 1098/1687), who was in Bursa, to boost the morale of the army. According to *Fethnāme*, the *tūğs* and royal standards were raised and the imperial tent (*otāğ-ı hümayūn*) was pitched in the gathering place of the army in Çuqur Çayırı near Edirne on 2 Muharram 1083/30 April 1672. After Meḥmed IV moved into his tent on 9 Muharram 1083/7 May 1672, the army waited there for twenty-seven days (2a-8a).

Once the army departed from the plain of Çuqur Çayırı, it arrived at the first *menzil*, the village of Çömlek, and then set out for İsaqçı (Isaccea) on the Danube where the soldiers enjoyed an abundance of provisions due to the successful transfer of grains from both land and sea. The soldiers left their extra belongings and garments at the İsaqçı fortress for safekeeping and then crossed the Danube via bridges built by army engineers. They arrived at the plain of Qartal (Kagul), where both statesmen and soldiers left their belongings and clothes and donned simple garments and headgear. The army moved north from Qartal and arrived at Çuçure (Podu), an important logistical military base on the River Prut near the Moldavian center Yaş

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(İaşı). Here the soldiers finalized their preparations while waiting for the completion of the construction of a bridge which was being built on the River Prut. In Çuçure the whole army participated in a formal procession. The governors-general, governors, and janissary officers (*ağa*) all donned robes of honor in accordance with their ranks, and the soldiers took provisions (25a-42a). Wallachian forces joined the Ottoman army at the closest *menzil* to the enemy border, called Pınarbağı (Melnitsa Podolskaya), and the Crimean troops joined at the next *menzil*. Afterwards the army marched toward their target, Qamanıç. They stopped at thirty-five stations between Edirne and Qamanıç. After the capture of the fortress of Qamanıç on August 17, the army moved on to Bucuş (Buczacz). The Ottoman army concluded the Treaty of Bucuş with Poland (*Lehistān*) on September 23 and then commenced its return trip (42a-120b). On the way back to Edirne the army stopped at all stations, and the provincial forces left as the army came to their respective provinces (120b-136b).

Ḥ.°A. records the name (or names) of each *menzil* along with the date and time of arrival and the length of stay at each station. *Fethnāme* also addresses issues such as weather and road conditions, difficulties related to these conditions, unplanned stays,¹³ visits and inspections of cities and fortresses near *menzils*, presents and bonuses given to boost morale, and the distribution of salaries to the palace servants/janissary guards (*qapuqulu*).¹⁴ Ḥ.°A. also mentions the sultan's hunting trips on the way to and back from Qamanıç.

Fethnāme provides concrete evidence that each *menzil* was not only a stopping place for the army to acquire provisions but also an area of economic activity (129b). The *menzil* at the village of Mūsā Beg is a good example. According to *Fethnāme*, a temporary market was created within the army camp, where grains, bread, vegetables and fruits brought by villagers and townsmen from neighboring areas were sold at market price (*narḥ-ı cārī*). Ḥ.°A. states that Ottoman officials intervened when sellers inflated prices. *Fethnāme* also reports how provincial troops and armies of vassal states joined the Ottoman army at various *menzils*. Ḥ.°A. explains that robes of honor were awarded to commanders of these troops after processions before Ottoman officials (e.g., 17a).

Fethnāme also treats military festivities organized at important *menzils* (18b), such as İsaqçı, which was a significant gathering place on the northern expedition route in Rumelia. Ḥ.°A. explains in detail the appointment of one skirmisher (*çarḥacı*) and one billeting officer (*qonaqçı*) at each *menzil* for the next one (28a). From Qaraşu (Novodari) onward, the narrative follows a mixed-up chronology. For example there is an entry on 30 Safar although the month of Safar includes only 29 days.

Ḥ.°A. went to Hijāz and related his observations of the pilgrimage and the places he visited in his work entitled *Tuḥfetü'l-Ḥüccāc*. It consists of an introduction and six parts (1074/1663-64). A manuscript copy of the work is located at the Süleymaniye Library under the accession number Esad Efendi 386/6.

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Manuscripts: (1) Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, no. 657; 243 fols., 25 lines, coarse nesih. Babinger records it erroneously as Millet Kütüphanesi 801 (*GOW*, no. 154). (2) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hamidiye 886; 226 fols., 25 lines, nesih. (3) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hamidiye 921; 320 fols., 27 lines, nesih. As *Telhîsü'l-barqü'l-Yemānī*. (4) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Reistilküttab 632; 320 fols., 25 lines, talik. This moisture-damaged manuscript was copied by Mollâ Ḥalîl; its date of copy is not recorded.

② *Fethnâme-i Qamaniçe*

Manuscript: (1) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Lala İsmail Efendi, no. 308, 136 fols., 15 lines, nesih.

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¹ Franz Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri* (Ankara, 1982), no. 154; Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir, *°Osmānlı Mü’ellifleri*, vol. 3 (Istanbul, 1342/1923), 47.

² Franz Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*, 197.

³ Hulusi Yavuz, *Yemen’de Osmanlı İdaresi ve Rumuzî Tarihi*, vol. 1 (Ankara, 2003), XXII.

⁴ For example, the commentary for the first chapter (*bâb*) and third section (*faṣl*) of *Aḥbārü'l-Yemānī* (9b) is recorded in abbreviated form in the main body of *Telhîsü'l-barqü'l-Yemānī* (10b).

⁵ Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hamidiye 921.

⁶ H.°A., *Aḥbār*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hamidiye 886, 2a-2b.

⁷ H.°A., *Aḥbār*, 2b-34a.

⁸ H.°A., *Aḥbār*, 34a-90a.

⁹ H.°A., *Aḥbār*, 90a-200a.

¹⁰ H.°A., *Aḥbār*, 200a-211a.

¹¹ H.°A., *Aḥbār*, 211a-225a.

¹² H.°A., *Aḥbār*, 225a-226a.

¹³ For example in Köprü Köy; H.°A., *Fethnâme*, 12a-13b.

¹⁴ For example, salaries were distributed at the *menzil* in Qartal; H.°A., *Fethnâme*, 21a.

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August 2005

[Translated into English by *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*.
English version posted September 2008]