

°ABDURRAHMAN HIBRİ  
(b. May 1604 - d. 1658 or 1659)

LIFE

°A.H. was the son of the *müderriş* Habbāzzāde Hasan Efendi (d. 10 Ramadan 1039/23 April 1630), nicknamed *şalbaş* (lit. “with a tittering head”). Another son of Hasan Efendi was °Abdülqādir (d. 1087/1676), who served as a qadi in several Anatolian towns. Due to a confusion created by Şeyhī,<sup>1</sup> the careers and dates of death of °Abdurrahmān and °Abdülqādir Efendis have been widely purported in the research literature<sup>2</sup> and catalogues,<sup>3</sup> before they were corrected by Mücteba İlgürel.<sup>4</sup> °A.H.’s son Feyzullāh Efendi (d. 1123/1712) completed the picture of an archetypically provincial family of °ulemā by entering the path of the °ilmiyye.<sup>5</sup>

°A.H. was educated in his native Edirne and Istanbul. Despite the lack of information on his formal studies in the Ottoman capital, it appears that he adopted Hibri (lit. “knowledgeable, learned”) as his *nom-de-plume* when he started composing poetry as a young man. He taught until the end of his life as *müderriş* in a number of colleges in Edirne. His professional life was only interrupted for the performance of the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1041/1632 and a short residence in the nearby Didimoticho (Dimetoch), where he was posted in 1046/1636-37 at the Medrese of Oruç Paşa. °A.H. also accounts his visits to sanctuaries and hot springs in the hinterland of Edirne and in eastern Thrace.<sup>6</sup>

His teaching positions in Edirne differed in degree from the low ranking Medrese of Emīr Qādī (with a daily stipend of 40 *aqçe* daily) via the *medreses* of İbrāhīm Paşa (Jumada I 1049/August 1639), Sarrāciyye (Zilhijja 1052/January 1643), Emīniyye (Jumada I 1053/August 1643), Taşlıq or °Alī Bey (Safer 1054/April 1644), Eski Cāmi° (mid-1056/ca. August 1646) up to the more prestigious schools of Üç Şerefeli (Shawwal 1065/August 1655) and Dārü’l-ḥadīş (10 Jumada II 1068/6 March 1658). °A.H. emphasizes that he followed in three appointments the scholar Baba Ḥalilzāde Meḥmed [?] Efendi (d. 1045/1635?), probably a former tutor, and reports that his father had already been the head of the Medrese of Taşlıq.

During °A.H.’s lifetime Edirne suffered a considerable relapse in intellectual life and economic prosperity, which deteriorated due to a destructive flood in 1033/1623-24. Since the town was neglected by the Ottoman court after the reign of Aḥmed I (r. 1012-26/1603-17) the inhabitants noted with satisfaction the visit of Murād IV (r. 1032-49/1623-40) in the third year of his reign. °A.H. was among the local literati who had the occasion to respond to the welcome *qaşīda* of the celebrated Nefi°i (d. 1044/1635) with their own pieces of poetry (*naẓīre*).<sup>7</sup>

The year of °A.H.’s death as 1069/1658-59 is confirmed by the inscription on his gravestone in a cemetery of the Yıldırım neighborhood of Edirne.<sup>8</sup>

## WORKS

① *Enīsü'l-Müsāmirīn*

°A.H.'s most important contribution to Ottoman literature is a historical, topographical, and biographical description of Edirne with its environs divided into 14 chapters (*faşl*) entitled *Enīsü'l-Müsāmirīn* ('Friend of the Evening Entertainments').<sup>9</sup> Since *Enīs* was terminated in 1046/1636, later marginal notes in the manuscripts cannot be attributed to the author.

Judging by his enumeration of numerous smaller townships which traded with the regional center, °A.H.'s understanding of Edirne as a regional unit appears to be economic rather than administrative. Six of these towns (*qaşaba*) are in a distance of one day's journey (*menzil*) and deserved for this reason a more or less detailed description: Didimoticho, Ergene Köprüsü (Uzunköprü), Hafsa (Havsa), Cısır-i Muşafā Paşa (Svilengrad, Bulgaria), and Çirmen (Ormenion, Greece).

°A.H. states in his foreword that, while Persian and Arab authors had written special histories of their towns, learned Ottomans did not follow this tradition. He states that he decided to compile a history of Edirne from the time of the Ottoman conquest (which he dates erroneously as 760/1358)<sup>10</sup> to his lifetime to fill this gap. °A.H. justified his neglect of the pre-Ottoman epoch with reference to the ignorance of "the historians" with respect to the events in this period. It is noteworthy that he does not make use of the so-called *Şaltuq-nāme* compiled in the 1470s and mentions the *Hikāye-i* (or *Risāle-i*) *Hekīm-i Beşir Çelebī* written in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century only incidentally in Chapter 4 in a paragraph on the Hıdırlık sanctuary.<sup>11</sup> Both narratives contain "pagan" elements in the foundation myths of Edirne and other legendary tales from pre- and post-Islamic times.<sup>12</sup> The chapter on dervish lodges provides information on mainstream and heterodox brotherhoods. While including the more popular saints with obscure history, °A.H. seems to keep a professional distance to all sorts of *Işık*, *Melāmī*, and *Meczūb* in his account. He also leaves out the non-Muslim population and their buildings almost completely with few exceptions such as the Roman-Byzantine fortification.

The material for °A.H.'s narrative comes from unnamed history books (*kütüb-i tevārīh*) such as the anonymous chronicles of the House of °Osmān, Meḥmed b. Meḥmed Edirnevī's (d. 1050/1640) *Nuḥbetü'l-tevārīh ve'l-aḥbār*,<sup>13</sup> Sa°düddīn's (d. 1008/1659) *Tācü't-tevārīh*<sup>14</sup> and Muşafā °Alī's (d. 1088/1599) *Künhü'l-aḥbār*.<sup>15</sup> He also made use of bio-bibliographical dictionaries such as Taşköprüzāde's (d. 968/1561) *Şaqā'iq* and its Turkish translation and continuation *Hadā'iqu's-Şaqā'iq* by his fellow citizen Meḥmed Mecdī (d. 999/1591), Sehī Beg's (d. 955/1548-9) anthology *Heşt Bihişt* and °Aşık Meḥmed Çelebī's (d. 968/1562) *Tezkiretü's-şu°arā*. The fact that both Mecdī and Sehī, pioneers of the bio-bibliographical genre in the Ottoman world, were born in Edirne flattered °A.H. who was so firmly rooted in his birthplace. In addition to these standard sources, °A.H. drew on *dīvāns* of local poets, inscriptions of buildings and gravestones, and completed these written materials with a consider-

rable number of personal recollections and observations. In search of the biography of a certain sheikh not known by Taşköprüzâde, for instance, °A.H. refers to a *defter* or a document with the signature of a judge, which he has seen.<sup>16</sup>

In the short first section °A.H. summarizes the events before the conquest of Edirne as an effort of Lâlâ Şahin Paşa (d. >789/1388) and his Rumelian *gazis*. Chapters 2-8 provide reliable information on buildings and settlements, while Chapters 9-12 focus on classes of learned men, sultans and poets. The last two chapters have the character of an anthology with accounts of remarkable events (in prose) and poems. Approximately two thirds of *Enîs* is written in a style closer to the *tezkiye* genre with a local focus rather than to a history of events. It is debatable whether the topographical chapters are more than a preface to the biographies of rulers, learned men, and poets.<sup>17</sup> The chapters on the physical fabric of the town are linked with firsthand information on many personalities, most of whom lived in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century.

In Chapter 7, °A.H. emphasizes the wretched state of Edirne and the poverty of its population: There is nothing special but rosewater and quince, no new baths were constructed after that of Soqullu Mehmed Paşa (d. 987/1579). These pessimistic remarks keep *Enîs* distant from the *şehrengîz* (“city thriller”) literature.<sup>18</sup> According to °A.H., the virtues (*fazâ’il*) of Edirne lie in the piety and learnedness of his Muslim representatives and its glorious past. While its simple prose ties *Enîs* to the local chronicles of the Arab “classical age,” the work is also linked to the structure of universal histories with its mixture of prose and poetry.

Since the “classical” Ottoman historiography produced only a very limited number of urban histories, *Enîs*, as the earliest and most reliable specimen, became the main source for all successive historians of Edirne such as Maḥmūd °Örfî (d. 1192/1772), Aḥmed Bādî (d. 1326/1908) and Tosyavîzâde Rif°at °Oşmân (d. 1933), the latest Ottoman chronicler of Edirne. The same is true for the universal historian Kâtib Çelebî (d. 1067/1657), who used *Enîs* copiously.<sup>19</sup> The dependence of the so called *Ta’rîḫ-i Cevrî Çelebî*<sup>20</sup> on *Enîs* was already remarked by Franz Babinger.<sup>21</sup>

*Contents:* All manuscripts are organized in sections (*faşl*) and comprise the following scheme 1) short prehistory of the Ottoman conquest; 2) city walls, markets (including 2 *bedesten*), palaces (Yeñi Sarây, Mamaq Sarâyı), gardens; 3) mosques, imarets etc., beginning with the Selîmiyye and the other imperial mosques, descriptions include chronograms, mention of servants such as Friday preachers; 4) *medreses* (24 in total), *dârü’l-qurrâs* (3 in number), dervish lodges (*hânqâh*, *zâviye*, 20-30 in number), and surprisingly in this chapter descriptions of public baths in the hinterland (*ılıca*, *qaplıca*), connected with sanctuaries (°Oşmân Baba, Qanber Baba, Nefes Baba) and a “sacred fountain” (*ayazma*); 5) economic structures such as *hâns* (18 in number) and *ribâṭs* (7-8 in number); 6) bathhouses (22 active *hammâms*, 11 in ruins), with a special paragraph on “completely ruined bathhouses” which mentions even places where no trace of the building survives; 7) waterways (3 rivers), bridges, fountains, gardens; 8) townships (*qaşaba*); 9) graves of sheikhs, °ulemâ and qadis; 10) biogra-

phies of sultans who stayed in Edirne, their life and works until the accession of Mehmed IV in 1058/1648; 11) the succession of qadis in Edirne, which was the highest ranking position after Istanbul (there were 8 qadis born in Edirne); 12) poets born in Edirne and samples of their works; 13) remarkable and curious events until 1033/1624 (*aḥvāl-i ʿacībe ve veqāʿi-i ğarībe*); 14) poems praising Edirne.

② *Defter-i Aḥbār*

The “Register of Traditions” is a narrative of the general Ottoman history from its beginnings up to the period of Murād IV, even though the introduction gives the death of Aḥmed I as the final date (1026/1617). The work is divided into six chapters (*defter*) and a conclusion (*ḥātime*). The first *defter* is a very short synopsis, whereas the second part of the manuscript goes into the details of the political history after the conquest of Baġdād with copies of the correspondence between the Shāh and the Ottoman Sultan. The last pages are filled with columns of the names of grand viziers (*tertib-i vüzerā*) from Ḥayrūddīn Paşa (d. 789/1382) to Gürcü Mehmed Paşa (d. 1062/1651-52), *şeyḫü’l-islām*s, qadis, and other officials. This “concise book” (*kitāb-ı muḥtaşar*) is written in a more ambitious, at times ornate style compared to the more prosaic phrases of *Enīs*. The only existing manuscript is carefully executed.

A work with a similar character is the *Rivāyāt-ı Fütūḥāt-ı Āl-i ʿOsmān*, a compilation by an anonymous author, who attributes this “work” (*maqāle*) to the “late Ḥibrī.” It continues the narrative until the reign of Maḥmūd I (r. 1143-68/1730-54), and makes extensive use of the town descriptions in *Enīs*.<sup>22</sup>

③ *Menāsik-i Mesālik*

Of higher originality is the report on the religious rites and ceremonies to be performed during the pilgrimage based on his own pilgrimage in 1041/1632. ʿA.Ḥ. describes all halting places between Edirne and the Holy Sites in the Hijaz on the customary route via Istanbul, Qonya, Aleppo, and Damascus with distances, particularities of the route, facilities for pilgrims, and sanctuaries. The longest part of the text deals with the collective ceremonies and prayers in Mecca. The special features of this treatise are short portrayals of towns and their main buildings (emphasizing constructions and repairs by the Ottoman dynasty) and observations of the organisation of the pilgrims’ caravan.

A longer excursus is devoted to the occurrences (*ḥavādişāt*) which happened during his pilgrimage. ʿA.Ḥ. focuses on four events: 1) the execution of the grand vizier Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Paşa (d. 1041/1632), a week before his arrival in Istanbul; 2) the rebellion in Balıkesir of İlyās Paşa (d. 1042/1632), who was brought to Istanbul and executed there; 3) the disputes between the pilgrims’ caravan and the nomad tribes from Damascus to Mecca; 4) the disputes between the Ottoman authorities and the various families competing to become *şerif* of Mecca.

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°A.Ḥ. wrote on Ottoman history, literature, and religious themes, he translated from Persian, and produced a *dīvān*.<sup>23</sup> Some of his works show that he was eager to record contemporary events such as the troubled situation in the provinces, while Murād IV's conquests of Erevān (1045/1636) and Baġdād (1048/1638) encouraged him to write short chronicles of these campaigns.

The account of his pilgrimage to Mecca contains valuable historical details. A treatise on determination of time (*Risāle-i evqāt*) is a proof of his astronomical interest. The title *Ḥadā'iqu'l-cinān* of a unique manuscript on the fluid genre of *Muḥādā-rāt* reveals nothing on the content.<sup>24</sup> Another non-historical work is his translation of Ḥusayn Vā'iz's ("Kāşif", d. 910/1504-5) well known Persian commentary on the 40 Hadith collections.

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Mehmed Tâhir and Babinger refer to four additional manuscripts: (10) Berlin, Private Library of J. H. Mordtmann, [TBC].<sup>27</sup> (11) Edirne, Private Library of Şalâheddîn Efendi, Mevlevî Sheikh; [TBC].<sup>28</sup> (12) Edirne, Private Library of Şevket Beg, Mayor of Edirne; [TBC].<sup>29</sup> (13) Serres/Siroz, [TBC].<sup>30</sup>

*Editions*: (1) Sevim İlgürel. *Abdurrahman Hibrî ve Enîsü'l-müsâmirîn*. Unpublished PhD dissertation (Istanbul Üniversitesi, 1972). Based on Ms. Üniversite Kütüphanesi, TY no. 451. (2) Ratip Kazancıgil. *Abdurrahman Hibrî. Enîsü'l-Müsâmirîn. Edirne Tarihi 1360-1650* (Edirne, 1996). Facsimile of Ms. Reşid Efendi. According to S. İlgürel, last chapter is missing. Extremely careless modernized Turkish edition.



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### ② *Defter-i Aḥbār*

*Manuscripts:* (1) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Veliyüddin Efendi, no. 2418; 73 fol., 25 lines, nesih. Meḥmed Ṭāhir refers briefly to reports on Murād IV's campaigns.<sup>31</sup> The only evidence in library catalogues of *Ta'rīḫ-i Feth-i Revān* and *Ta'rīḫ-i Feth-i Bağdād* (dated 1068/1657-58) are that they are "amongst the books of Bādī Aḥmed Efendi in the Selimiye Library of Edirne."<sup>32</sup>

### ③ *Menāsik-i Mesālik*

*Manuscript:* (1) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Lala İsmail, no. 104/3; fol. 87-149, 15 lines, nesih. Written by "Aḥmed bi-Şehir Kātib Çelebī sākin-i Qāsim Paşa," Zilka-de 1088/December 1677.

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<sup>1</sup> Şeyhî, *Vekayii'l-Fudalâ*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (Istanbul, 1989), vol. 1, 426-427.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), 212-214; Victor Ménage, "Hibrî," *EF*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 3 (1971), 351-352.

<sup>3</sup> www.yazmalar.org has 1088/1677 for the death of the author in the description of all quoted manuscripts.

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<sup>5</sup> Şeyhî, *Vekayii'l-Fudalâ*, vol. 2-3, 353.

<sup>6</sup> cAṭā'î and cA.H.'s own works constitute the source of all biographical dates.

<sup>7</sup> Rıdvan Canım, *Başlangıçtan Günümüze Edirne Şairleri* (Ankara, 1995), 5-6.

<sup>8</sup> Osman Nuri Peremeci, *Edirne Tarihi* (Istanbul, 1939) [cover 1940], 130; Ratip Kazancıgil, *Abdurrahman Hibrî. Enîsü'l-Müsâmirîn. Edirne Tarihi 1360-1650* (Edirne, 1996), 173, 183-84; incorrect transliteration.

<sup>9</sup> The Vienna manuscript is entitled *Tevârîh-i Edirne*.

<sup>10</sup> The date of the conquest of Adrianople is still open to controversy.

<sup>11</sup> Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Edirne Hakkında Yazılmış Tarihler ve *Enîs-ül Müsâmirîn*," *Edirne: Edirne'nin 600. Fethi yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı* (Ankara, 1965), 79-81; Klaus Kreiser, "Beşir Çelebi - Hofarız İbrâhîm Qaramans und Vertrauter Mehmeds II. Fâtiḥ," *Islamkundliche Abhandlungen aus dem Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen Orients an der Universität München. Hans Joachim Kissling zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Schülern*, ed. Hans Georg Majer (München, 1974), 92-103; Klaus Kreiser, *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliyâ Çelebi. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt* (Freiburg, 1975), 261-263; Stephane Yerasimos, *Légendes d'Empire: La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques* (Istanbul, Paris, 1990), 207-219; Aydın Oy, "Risâle-i Beşir Çelebi, Menâkıb-ı Medine-i Edrene," *Edirne: Serhattaki Payitaht*, ed. Emin Nedret İşli and M. Sabri Koz (Istanbul, 1993), 71-101.

<sup>12</sup> Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, 1995), 71.

<sup>13</sup> Abdurrahman Sağırlı, "Mehmed b. Mehmed Edirnevî," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 28 (Istanbul, 2003), 495. Mentioned also in *Defter-i Aḥbâr*, see below.

<sup>14</sup> See Sa'c düddîn, *Tâcü't-tevârîḥ* (Chapter 1) on the Ottoman conquest of Thrace.

<sup>15</sup> See Muştafa cÂlî, *Künhü'l-aḥbâr* (Chapter 7) on the floods during the reign of Selim II.

<sup>16</sup> Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Edirne Hakkında Yazılmış Tarihler ve *Enîs-ül Müsâmirîn*," 87.

<sup>17</sup> Compare Richard Stevens Humphreys, "Ta'rikh: The Central and Eastern Lands 950-1500," *EI2* (Leiden, 2000), vol. 10, 276-280.

<sup>18</sup> For the *şehr-engîz-i Edirne*, compare: Ağâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk Edebiyatında Şehr-Engizler ve Şehr-Engizlerde İstanbul* (Istanbul, 1958) and Klaus Kreiser, *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliyâ Çelebi*, 250-54.

<sup>19</sup> Klaus Kreiser, *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliyâ Çelebi*, 269-273; Gottfried Hagen, *Ein osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit. Entstehung und Gedankenwelt von Kâtib Çelebis Ğihännümâ* (Berlin, 2003), 132.

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<sup>20</sup> Cevrî Çelebi, *Ta'rih-i Cevrî Çelebi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1291-92/1874-75).

<sup>21</sup> Babinger, *GOW*, 214.

<sup>22</sup> *Rivāyat-ı Fütühât-ı Celile-i Selâtin-i 'Osmâniyye*: (Süleymaniye online catalogue: *Ta'rih-i Âl-i 'Osman, in Ms. fol. 1b, line 4: Rivāyat-ı Fütühât-ı Celile-i Selâtin-i 'Osmâniyye*). (1) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Fatih 4361 [in printed catalogue erroneously recorded as Fatih 4362; 40 fol., 21 lines, talik. (*İstanbul Kütüphanelerinin Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Katalogları, Türkçe Yazmalar* (Istanbul, 1943), 113-14, no. 41.) Klaus Kreiser, *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliyâ Çelebi*, 267; not mentioned by Gökbilgin in "Edirne Hakkında Yazılmış Tarihler ve *Enîs-ül Müsâmirîn*."

<sup>23</sup> No copy extant in libraries; referred only in Meḥmed Ṭâhir, *'Osmânlı Mü'ellifleri*, vol. 3, p. 98.

<sup>24</sup> Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan Köşkü, no. 1631. Mentioned by Hüseyin Yazıcı, "Muhâdarât," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 30 (Istanbul, 2005).

<sup>25</sup> Concordance of mss. 4-6, 9 in Klaus Kreiser, *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliyâ Çelebi*, 276.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1, 16.

<sup>27</sup> Babinger, *GOW*, 213.

<sup>28</sup> Babinger, *GOW*, 213.

<sup>29</sup> Babinger, *GOW*, 213.

<sup>30</sup> Meḥmed Ṭâhir, *'OM*, vol. 3, 98; Babinger, *GOW*, 213.

<sup>31</sup> Meḥmed Ṭâhir, *'OM*, vol. 3, 98.

<sup>32</sup> See Oral Onur, *Edirne Vakıf Kütüphaneleri (Tamamı)* (Istanbul, 1986), 25-31 on a handlist of this library preserved as microfilm in the Süleymaniye Library, archival number 1258. Nimet Bayraktar and Mihin Lugal, *Bibliography on Manuscript Libraries in Turkey and The Publications on the Manuscripts Located in these Libraries* (Istanbul, 1995), 171. Cf. Ratip Kazancıgil, "Ahmed Bâdi Efendi ve Riyaz-ı Belde-i Edirne fihristi. Ahmet Bâdi Efendi'nin Biyografyası," *Edirne İl Halk Kütüphanesi Bülteni*, 9 (1986), 70-119.

Klaus KREISER

February 2007