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MEHMET HÂŞİM EFENDİ'S MEMORANDUM (*MECMŪ'A*)
ON CIRCASSIA OF 1213 (1798-9); CONTENTS, STYLE,
TEXTUAL HISTORY AND A HITHERTO UNKNOWN
AUTOGRAPH KEPT IN THE LIBRARY OF
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*Jan SCHMIDT**

1. Introduction

Although by the late eighteenth century the territory occupied by the Ottoman Empire had been shrinking for at least a century, there was one small area where new outposts were won, or rather reclaimed, for the Sultan. These were situated in the north-western part of the Caucasus which had been the habitat of the Circassians and Abkhasians since time immemorial.¹ Documentation on this brief episode is sparse. The single most important source is found in a detailed memorandum written by Mehmed Hâşim Efendi who was an eyewitness *in loco*. He was a scribe who served at least two pashas, sent out as governors by the Porte, in the capacity of secretary. This source was for a long time mainly known, it seems, from an elaborated version found in the *Tārîḫ-i Cevdet*, a famous multi-volume history of the Ottoman Empire, with an emphasis on contemporary developments, by Aḫmed Cevdet Paşa (1822-85).²

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1 Cf. Amjad Jaimoukha, *The Circassians. A Handbook*, Richmond 2001, p. 37.

2 See *Tārîḫ-i Cevdet*, revised edition, III, Istanbul 1303, in particular pp. 133-209 - in the following I will refer to this edition; there are also a few sections in later parts of the history on events that took place after 1200 (1785) but were only superficially covered by Hâşim Efendi. See also Christoph K. Nuemann, *Das indirekte Argument. Ein*

But even this version remained obscure to the few scholars who occupied themselves with the episode; it is, for instance, not quoted in Uzunçarşılı's History of the Ottoman Empire, for which only archival papers seem to have been used.³ It was, however, summarised and partly quoted at length in the second part of a popular work on Circassia by Mehmet Güneş, published in Istanbul in 1969.⁴ By then a catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the Topkapı Sarayı Library had appeared. In it, a manuscript of Haşim Efendi's work, MS Hazine 1564(i), was described for the first time.⁵ The manuscript, an autograph according to the cataloguer, and possibly offered to the ruling Sultan, had already been seen by the scholar Mirza Bala, and was later also used by Halil İnalçık and Cemal Gökçe.⁶ It is dated 27 *Cemâdi l-evvel* 1213 (6 November 1798) in the colophon, but there is no explicit indication that this copy was written by the author himself.⁷ As he explains in the introductory section to the relevant episode in his History, Cevdet Paşa made use of a copy of the work preserved in the library of the poet and former sheikulislam, 'Arif Hikmet Beg Efendi (d. 1275/1859).⁸ Unfortunately for us, the library moved to the city of Medina with its owner and is now part of the Abdul Aziz Library there, not readily accessible to foreign users.⁹ Fortunately for us though, this copy, if it still exists - we do not know as no catalogue of the Turkish MSS of this library is available for checking - is not the only other one available. During

Plädoyer für die Tanzimât vermittelt der Historie. Die Geschichtliche Bedeutung von Ahmed Cevdet Paşas Ta'rih, Münster & Hamburg 1992, pp. 32, 200.

³ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* IV, 1, Ankara 1956, pp. 564-5, 582-4.

⁴ *Evliya Çelebi ve Haşim Efendi'nin Cerkezistan Notları*, pp. 99-184. The book is quoted in Aydın O. Erkan, *Tarih boyunca Kafkasya*, Istanbul 1999, p. 34.

⁵ Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesindeki Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961, p. 315.

⁶ Mirza Bala, 'Çerkesler', in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*; Halil İnalçık, "Çerkes iii", in *Enclopaedia of Islam*, second edition; Cemal Gökçe, *Kafkasya ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kafkasya Siyaseti*, İstanbul 1979, extensively for pp. 45-72 and 117-23.

⁷ MS Hazine 1564, f. 66a* - I add an asterisk because the (original) foliation is erroneous from 57 (which should have been 56) onwards.

⁸ *Tarih-i Cevdet* III, p. 133.

⁹ Abbas Saleh Tashkandy, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Historical Collection of the Scientific Manuscripts at the Library of 'Arif Hikmat in Medina, Saudi Arabia*, University of Pittsburgh 1974, p. 12 - a letter to the librarian of 18 September 2003 has so far remained unanswered.

cataloguing work in the University Library of Leiden I recently found another manuscript, Cod.Or. 12.829, clearly a draft autograph, of, it appeared to me then, the same work. The colophon states that the copy was completed by the author, Seyyid Meḥmed Hâşim, known as Emîrzâde - his name appears in the form of a signature - in 1213 (1798-9), the same year given in the colophon of the Topkapı manuscript. Comparing the scripts in the Topkapı and Leiden manuscripts, one can conclude that both manuscripts were written by the same man, that is Meḥmed Hâşim Efendi, or perhaps by a copyist in his employ. If that is indeed the case - and this seems likely to me - we have two autographs, or autographs at one remove, of, apparently, the same work at our disposal. However, when I began to compare the two texts, it became increasingly clear that the texts, apart from the very beginning, differ considerably. The Topkapı manuscript is essentially a polished version of the draft in the Leiden manuscript. The quotations copied by Cevdet Paşa, rather unexpectedly, closely resemble those of the Leiden draft version.

The existence of two autograph (or near-autograph) versions of essentially the same text is quite unique and grants us the possibility of looking over the shoulder, as it were, of the writer at work, composing and rearranging his text. Moreover, we have a version, the one by Cevdet Paşa, obviously adapted to the literary taste of a later generation: Cevdet Paşa did not content himself with literally quoting long passages from the manuscript at his disposal. He also seems to have tampered with the language, especially the syntax. This, in turn, offers us a possibility of obtaining some insight into the changing style and idiom of the Ottoman literary language between the 1790s and the middle of the nineteenth century. Cevdet Paşa's version was not based only on Meḥmed Hâşim's text; he also added, as he explains himself in the aforementioned introductory section, data and passages obtained from other sources: archival documents, geographical treatises and oral information. Apart from their linguistic and literary aspects, Hâşim Efendi's work - Cevdet Paşa qualified it in the same passage as 'a treasure-trove' (*define*) which threw new light on an unresolved historical problem - also provides lively documentation of an area at the farthest periphery of the Ottoman lands. The work is by no means, as one might expect of a memorandum, a dull enumeration of administrative facts. Hâşim Efendi was more than an obscure official at a far outpost of the Empire. He was primarily, as is clear from his works, a scholar and man of letters,

curious about the world around him, a geographer and ethnographer, even an ethnolinguist, who wrote about the life and customs, sometimes the languages, of the non-Muslims, or at most, half-Muslims, Circassians and others, whom he encountered during his years in the far North-East.

But before turning to these interesting matters, I will first pay some attention to the author and his work. To begin at the beginning, who was Emîrzâde Seyyid Mehmed Efendi?

2. The Author and His Works

Not much is known about Hâşim Efendi. He is not mentioned by Franz Babinger in his dated but still unsurpassed survey of Ottoman historiography.¹⁰ Short articles dedicated to him and his works are found in a few handbooks.¹¹ Brusalı Mehmed Tâhîr mentions that he was born in Tosya, but from where he obtained this information is not indicated.¹² No other information seems to be available, apart from what he writes about himself in his works. From his remarks, it is clear that he followed a career of a letter-writing bureaucrat established in Istanbul and elsewhere. In 1183 (1769-70) he was sent from the Ottoman headquarters at İshakçı on a mission to Hotin (Khotyn) and later presented a report to the Imperial Stirrup. At that time he was an assistant clerk, *halife* (*kalfa*), to the chief secretary, *mektûbî-i defterî*, of the grand vizier.¹³ From the memorandum it is clear that, as the sparse literature also informs us, Hâşim Efendi accompanied Feraḥ 'Alî Paşa¹⁴ as his secretary (*kâtib*) to Soğucak,¹⁵ the present Novorossiysk, a port town on the coast of the Black Sea

¹⁰ *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (GOW), Leipzig 1927.

¹¹ Brusalı Mehmed Tâhîr, *'Osmânî mü'ellifleri* III, Istanbul 1342, pp. 162-3; *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi* (TDvEA) IV, Istanbul 1981, p. 140.

¹² It is repeated in TDvEA, see previous footnote.

¹³ Cf. MS Hazine 1564(ii), f. 217b.

¹⁴ See for a brief biography: Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i osmanî. Osmanlı ünlüleri* (Nuri Akbayar & Seyit Ali Kahraman, eds.), Istanbul 1996, pp. 516-7 (henceforward indicated as SO); see also Zübeyde Güneş Yağcı, "Ferah Ali Paşa'nın Soğucak Muhafızlığı (1781-1785)", Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Samsun 1998.

¹⁵ The name is uncertain and is spelled differently in various sources. It could also be Soğucuç, Soğıcaç or even Soğıcuç; even Hâşim Efendi seems not to have been sure: the second vowel is spelt either as *plene wāw* or as *plene yā* in the texts of the memorandum.

in the north-western Caucasus, where the pasha had been appointed warden (*muḥāfiẓ*). This was in 1195 (1780-1). Hâşim Efendi explicitly mentions in the introductory sentence, which occurs in both the Leiden and Istanbul manuscripts, that the memorandum was written by him in his capacity as secretary to the pasha. After about two years, 'Alî Paşa moved to the newly reconstructed fortified port town of Anapa farther north, which, because of its proximity to the estuary of the Kuban River, had a greater strategic significance for the Ottomans, and it is clear that Hâşim Efendi went there with his employer. The pasha died in 1099 (1785). Soon afterwards - Hâşim Efendi did not want to become involved in the disloyal practices of 'Alî Paşa's successor Bîcânoghlu 'Alî Paşa¹⁶ - he returned to Istanbul. The latter was dismissed within a year and the author let himself be persuaded by his superior - but also his tutor (*ḥōca*) and fellow dervish (*pīrdaş*) - at the Porte, the then *āmedî* Ebūbekir Rātib Efendi (d. 1214/1799),¹⁷ to return to Anapa with the next warden, İpeklizāde Muştafā Paşa. The latter remained at his post until the first sack of the town in 1205 (1791).¹⁸ How long Hâşim Efendi remained at his post or when he returned to Istanbul is unknown, but by the time he was completing his memorandum he was certainly back in the Ottoman capital.¹⁹

Hâşim Efendi, then, is known to have written two works. Firstly, there is the memorandum mentioned above. The work lacks a proper title. I have called it a memorandum, '*taḳrīr*', because the word occurs in the introductory sentence preceding the text, perhaps meant as a heading. The sentence occurs in both the Leiden and the Istanbul manuscripts. From this we may conclude that the work was written for a grand vizier or, indeed, the Sultan himself, to report on the historical events in the north-western Caucasus and the, rather disturbing, later developments. The fact that a stylistically embellished version

¹⁶ Cf. SO, p. 281.

¹⁷ Cf. SO, pp. 1360-1. He was born in Tosya, so he may have known Hâşim Efendi from there.

¹⁸ The pasha was appointed governor of Trabzon and warden of Adakale in 1201 (1786-7), cf. SO, p. 1197, but it seems that during these later years Anapa was administered from there. According to SO, the pasha became involved in the war against the Russians, won a battle, and was taken prisoner. Hâşim Efendi says he fell into the hands of the Russians when Anapa surrendered in 1791, see below.

¹⁹ This is clear from a reference to himself, situated in Istanbul, in the Leiden manuscript, f. 68a; cf. also below.

ended up in the Topkapı Sarayı Library may be an indication of its having been meant for the Sultan. However, the work is more generally known - if we may use this word for such a little known text - as '*mecmū'a*', miscellany, probably because of its very mixed contents. The word occurs twice in annotations in blue pencil by a reader or owner of the Leiden manuscript.²⁰ It is found again in Cevdet Paşa's aforementioned introductory section and the work was also known as such to Brusalı Mehmed Tâhîr. Karatay in his catalogue has the title '*Ahvâl-i Anapa ve Çerkes*', but where he found this title (or whether he invented it himself) is not indicated. It does not seem to occur in the Topkapı manuscript itself. Sources for Hâşim Efendi's memorandum were, apart from his own memory and, doubtless, documents that passed through his hands, 'the writings of Ahmed Câvid',²¹ as he states in the final lines of the Istanbul manuscript. These are not further specified. Ahmed Câvid was a state official, professional historian and diligent chronicler of daily events who was interested in Caucasian history and wrote about it.²² Hâşim Efendi apparently knew him personally: in the same sentence in the Topkapı manuscript the author seems to suggest that he asked the chronicler for permission to use his writings. Later, in 1215 (1800-1), the Leiden manuscript came into the possession of the historian. Hâşim Efendi may have given it to him or bequeathed it to him upon his death.

Apart from the memorandum, Hâşim Efendi wrote a geography entitled *Tuḥfe-i nigerât-i midād*.²³ It is only known from one manuscript, the Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Hazine 1564(ii), and is part of the same manuscript that contains the memorandum, MS Hazine 1564(i). It is written in the same handwriting and, like the memorandum, completed in 1213 (1798-9) -

²⁰ Cod.Or. 12.829, ff. 2a and 11a.

²¹ For Ahmed Câvid and his works, see GOW, pp. 313-5; Abdülkadir Özcan, "Ahmed Câvid", in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (DİA). He died in 1218 (1803). To what extent Hâşim Efendi depended on this source is a matter for further research.

²² Cf. *Tārîḫ-i Cevdet* III, p. 181.

²³ Karatay has the word '*nikerât*', which does not seem to exist; *nekret* means 'subtlety of genius', so *nekrât*, also a possible reading, could be understood as 'subtleties' - the word is repeatedly found in headings in the work over sections in which the women of certain places are discussed, so the quasi-Arabic plural of the Persian *niger*, short for *nigâr*, 'idol' or 'beautiful woman', could perhaps be meant. If so, the abbreviated version of the word was clearly needed to make up the number 1213.

curiously, the numerical value of the letters of the title is also 1213.²⁴ The colophon does not mention the name of the author, but the manuscript of the *Tuḥfe* is probably an autograph, or near autograph, like the memorandum preceding it in the same volume. The work contains descriptions, with historical, anecdotal and other digressions, of the Aegean islands, Aleppo and a number of towns in Anatolia and Rumelia.

3. The Leiden Manuscript

Earlier I mentioned three manuscripts of the memorandum, kept in Leiden, Istanbul and Mecca respectively. My description of the Leiden manuscript is not yet published, so I shall give some more data here. The manuscript has been rebound in boards covered in black linen; the binding, of cheap quality, is of modern Turkish origin. The text is written in *riḳ'a* script in black ink with rubrics in red on glazed white paper. It is blotted in parts, particularly towards the bottom of the pages, owing to moisture damage. There are 82 numbered folios, originally foliated 1 to 60. Some pages have folded extensions. The pages measure about 315x200 mm, the text surface about 235x105 mm. There are 25 lines per page. The text proper, which contains a great many erasures and additions both in the text and in the margins, is preceded by an index (ff. 2b-4a). There are also some glosses in the margins of the text as well as a few annotations in a different hand on the endpapers. The glosses can be dated up to 1236 (1820-1).²⁵ The longer annotations refer to, notably, two events which took place in the year the manuscript was concluded: the Battle of the Nile in which the French fleet was destroyed by the British Navy (under Admiral Lord Nelson) and the closure of the French Embassy in Beyoğlu.²⁶ The manuscript contains an owner's inscription of Aḥmed Cāvīd with the year 1215 (1800-1) on f. 11a. The manuscript was purchased for the Leiden University Library from the antiquarian booksellers, Thornton & Son, of Broad Street, Oxford, on 11 December 1972 for less than 200 Pounds.

²⁴ See the colophon, MS Hazine, f. 217b - Karatay mentions 1214, but this is clearly a misreading.

²⁵ Cf. Cod.Or. 12.826, f. 45a.

²⁶ Ibidem, ff. 80a-b.

4. The Historical Context

The revival and military reinforcement of the Ottoman outposts in the north-western Caucasus were related to the political developments, of undisguised threat to the Ottoman Empire, of the late eighteenth-century. Better informed Ottomans were painfully aware of the situation, as is clear from what Hâşim Efendi wrote. Without any need to go into details, discussed elsewhere in various handbooks, monographs and articles,²⁷ here an outline of some of the basic developments will suffice. First and foremost was the successful expansion of Russia southwards to the Balkans, the shores of the Black Sea and into the Caucasus. Landmarks were: the invasion of the Crimea in 1771, followed by its precarious independence in 1774 and definite annexation by Russia in 1779, recognised by the Porte in 1784. By that time, Russia controlled the northern shore of the Black Sea, including the Taman Peninsula at the entrance to the Sea of Azov, its troops stationed on the northern banks of the River Kuban to the east, while, further south-eastwards, Kabarda was largely under its military control and Georgia, further south, under its suzerainty. The ancient kingdom was annexed by Russia in 1801. Sohum (Sokhumi) in Abkhasia fell into Russian hands in 1810. In 1829, finally, the Porte had to cede its influence in Circassia to Moscow. This signified the definite abandonment of the Ottoman outposts.

The Ottomans had first made their presence in the area in 1475, when they occupied Kefe (Caffa, Feodosia), Azak (Azov) and the Taman Peninsula, and settled in the port town of Anapa, where they replaced the Genoans. By that time and during the following centuries, the area surrounding Anapa, mainly inhabited by Circassian tribes, fell, as the Ottomans understood the situation, under the sovereignty of the khans of the Crimea and therefore indirectly under that of the Sultan. Not much attention was paid to the area - with the exception of the ubiquitous Evliyâ Çelebi who seems to have travelled

²⁷ I mention here only: Alan W. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea 1772-1783*, Cambridge 1970; Alan Cunningham, 'The Ochakov Debate', in: *Collected Essays in Anglo-Ottoman Encounters*, London 1993, pp. 1-31; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi IV*, pp. 564-5, 582-4; Gökçe, *Kafkasya*, pp. 10-44; Virginia H. Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace. Ahmed Resmi Efendi 1700-1783*, Leiden, New York & Cologne 1995, p. 100 sqq. ; Michael G. Müller in Klaus Zernack, ed., *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands II/2*, Stuttgart 2001, pp 608-23.

there in 1640-1 and 1666²⁸ - but that changed during the eighteenth century. In order to withstand the encroaching Russian power and find compensation for the loss of easy access to Crimean ports, the towns of Soğucağ, Gelincik (Gelenžik), and Anapa were revived, fortified and restored in the 1780s, janissaries maintained there all year long, and wardens (military governors) appointed. One of the main tasks of these wardens was to mobilise as many local Circassians, Abkhasians and Tatars - many of the latter had fled their country of origin - as possible to the Islamic cause. Success was scant and only temporary. Anapa came under attack in the 1790s, and was temporarily occupied in 1791 and 1808, until the town, by then the last Ottoman stronghold in the area, was definitely stormed and taken by Russian troops in 1828.

5. Contents

What is Hâşim Efendi's memorandum about? Essentially, the work is a chronological survey of events that took place in Ottoman Circassia between the appointment of Ferağ 'Alî Paşa in 1195 (1780-1) and the year in which the author concluded his work, 1213 (1798-9). To this main story, as it were, a great number of digressions on various topics were added. In what follows, I will present a summary of the contents, arranged according to subject matter. It is not exhaustive and inevitably is a personal, but I hope, even-handed interpretation of the text as I understood it. Only a systematic edition can do full justice to the texts under discussion.

5.1. Preliminaries

The book begins with an explanation of the preliminaries that preceded the appointment of 'Alî Paşa.²⁹ In an extremely complicated first sentence

28 Robert Dankoff & Klaus Kreiser, *Materialien zu Evliya Çelebi. II. A Guide to the Seyâhat-nâme of Evliya Çelebi. Bibliographie raisonnée*, Wiesbaden 1992, pp. 21-2, 85-6; see also Güneş, *Çerkezistan Notları*, pp. 8-95.

29 The Leiden manuscript (hereafter L) L, ff. 11b-14a; the Topkapı manuscript (hereafter H), 0b-2b; the page opposite the second folio of H which has the original number of 1 (= 1a) I have given the number 0 - according to Western fashion it would be numbered 1 (1b) and the following page, originally marked 1, 2a.

loaded with geographical and other data³⁰ - the passage is not quoted by Cevdet Paşa - the author states that the Sublime State had scandalously given away the Crimea to the Russians. This was made worse by the treacherous behaviour of the [last ruling] khan, Şâhîr Giray, who had a weak spot for these infidels. If the latter, with the support of his force of 200,000 Tatar raiders, had repeated the devastating inroads of 1182 [1768-9] undertaken by Kırım Giray Khan,³¹ they, the Russians, would have begged for mercy and subjected themselves to the Porte! As a consequence, the Ottoman fleet could no longer dock in the ports of Özi [Ochakov], Kılburun and H̄öcabeg [Odessa], and were left with only Bendereregli [Ereğli] and Sinop in the Black Sea. This made it necessary to protect Anatolia against the advancing infidels. In order to find ways to compensate the loss, the Porte decided unanimously to organise a naval expedition. A galleon, under the command of the admiral, Ġāzî Hasan Paşa, and the military commander, Canikli [H̄accî] 'Alî Paşa,³² together with his sons Mikdād Ahmed Paşa and H̄üseyn Paşa, called at Soğucağ, put up camp in front of the old fortress, and began to take fresh water on board. Soon gunfire was heard from a hill nearby, and a local leader called Tamğanoğlu Narçu Mehmed Giray Beg³³ and three *begs* (tribal chiefs) called H̄ajun, H̄aprağ and H̄apağ, approached the Ottomans on horseback. Both parties watched each other in amazement, and in the end the janissaries offered the Circassians, dressed in rags, money to buy yoghurt and eggs, which the latter refused contemptuously. During the night, the Ottomans were attacked and many soldiers dragged off in chains, each of them sold to the local 'mountain dwellers' for the price of a cow. A third of their tents were also taken away. Those who had not been captured by the locals, viziers and officers, fled as quickly as they could.³⁴ This

30 The author, among other things, mentions the names of the seven - but in the Leiden version actually eight - names of the Cossack tribes, 70,000 men in all, who had hitherto supported the khan but had since taken the Russian side. He also mentions the existence of 40,000 mosques on the island, see also below.

31 Cf. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, pp. 31-2.

32 The former commander of the Crimea died in 1199 (1785), cf. SO, p. 286.

33 He was a Circassian foster brother of Şâhîr Giray of the Şapşık tribe, cf. L, f. 27a; see also L, f. 49a, with marginal additions.

34 According to Cevdet Paşa, this event took place in 1192 (1778), cf. *Tārīh* III, p. 150; there is no date mentioned in H̄aşim Efendi's versions. The episode is not found in most secondary literature, cf. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation*, pp. 93-4, 106-7, and Aksan,

unhappy outcome convinced the ruling élite of the land that a better man should be sent to the area in order to subject and reform those wild people, whose very language sounded hardly human. The choice fell on Feraḥ 'Alî Paşa who was known for his bravery in the battle of Shumni [Shumen] during the Ottoman-Russian war.

From this introductory part it is already clear that Hâşim Efendi approached history in a completely traditional way: the world is divided between believers (Muslims) and infidels, and events are explained by the moral stance of their protagonists. Especially the last khan of the Crimea (who actually had little choice considering the overwhelming Russian power) could have worked wonders if he had not shown such contemptuous behaviour.³⁵ The Russian Empire could easily have been subjected if only the Sultan and the khan had shown some pluck! There is nothing about European politics, the strength of armies, particularly the Russian troops or naval force, or the motives and behaviour of individual players like Catherine the Great or Sultan 'Abdulhamîd I. The passage was obviously not acceptable to Cevdet Paşa, who gives a slightly more subtle account of the preliminaries. Despite the fact that Circassia had been under Ottoman suzerainty for centuries, he explains, the area was virtually *terra incognita* to the Porte. Circassia was considered to be a part of the Crimea and therefore left to the khans to deal with. Ottomans knew who the Tatars were, but did not know anything about the other ethnic groups in the area among whom they never sent administrators - this same point is made by Hâşim Efendi in his long opening sentence, who adds that Ottomans also failed to intermarry with these unknown people. Although Circassians and Abkhasians came to Istanbul, Cairo and elsewhere as slaves, Cevdet Paşa continues, they did not bring much useful information with them because they arrived as children and soon forgot about their country of origin. When the threat of Russia became imminent in the area, the Crimea became independent, and the Russians began to stretch their hands out even towards Daghestan and Georgia, it was understood that the integrity of Anatolia was at stake. It were

Ahmed Resmi Efendi, pp. 174-5, which mention, apart from the reinforcement and approvision of Soğucuk [*sic*], two naval expeditions directed against the Crimea, both of which failed miserably. Gökçe, *Kafkasya*, pp. 33-4, adopted the version of events as found in Enverî's chronicle, which is similar to that in Hâşim Efendi's memorandum.

35 He was exiled to Rhodes in 1201 (1786-7) and executed for treason the following year, SO, p. 1561.

the Admiral, Gāzī Ḥasan Paşa, and Canikli 'Alī Paşa in a memorandum to the Porte of 1192 [1778] who actually suggested that the Circassians be subjected and reformed and that a strong buffer between the Russian Empire and Anatolia be erected. Only in 1195 [1780-1] did the matter begin to be discussed seriously among the pillars of state.³⁶

5.2. The Mission of Feraḥ 'Alī Paşa

'Alī Paşa, according to Hāşim Efendi, was summoned to Istanbul, where he learned that the Sultan considered him the right person to lead an expedition to subject Circassia. Thereupon, the author suggests, the pasha presented the 'Sublime State' with a memorandum containing fourteen numbered articles on the situation *in loco* and his need for support, in particular money and provisions.³⁷ From the text of this document - if it ever was that³⁸ - it is clear that it, at least in part, must have been a report sent to the Sublime State after 'Alī Paşa had left Istanbul. In it, among other things, the pasha complains about the lack of response to earlier requests - he had not received a penny from Istanbul and asked for a gift of 500 purses of aspers as well as the governorship of Ankara and mayoralty of Tumbaşar³⁹ with concomitant fiefs (Articles 11 and 12) - and also mentions his departure from Istanbul (Article 14). However that may have been, we learn from the text that the fort of Soğucağ was not much bigger than the Maiden's Tower in the Bosphorus with a garrison of twenty-four men, from an agha down to a muezzin, in normal circumstances. At the time the fortified town was in ruins and almost completely abandoned. What the pasha needed was an extra thousand troops from Anatolia with a year's pay - the pasha himself was contributing 600 to 700 soldiers from his own district -, builders, a commander, a construction manager

³⁶ *Tārīḥ* III, pp. 133-5.

³⁷ Cevdet Paşa quotes an abbreviated and rearranged version with six articles; he also suggests that the memorandum in fact was a statement read out or directly communicated to the Sultan by 'Alī Paşa before his departure in 1195 (1780-1), *Tārīḥ* III, pp. 136-7.

³⁸ We should be careful to take the text of this memorandum as a word-by-word quotation of a real document when we realise that the Topkapı manuscript contains yet another version closely resembling that in L, but with quite a number of changes in language and style, see also below.

³⁹ Place not identified.

and a quartermaster-general (to be charged with recruiting local troops): carpenters, bricklayers, stonemasons and so forth, as well as provisions: flour, biscuits, salt, seeds (for growing wheat) and hand mills, all kinds of guns, ammunition, axes, shovels, rope, nails, palisades and other utensils, and, finally, presents: bows, rifles, textiles, leather, thimbles, flints and so forth, to persuade potential recruits to join the Ottomans. Soon after his arrival from Izmit and, possibly, an audience with the Sultan - the text is not clear on this - 'Alî Paşa and a small army of Janissaries boarded a galleon in Beykoz, prepared at the Arsenal and loaded with provisions, guns, ammunition and gifts. The ship sailed to Sinop where timber and other provisions were loaded. A few days later it safely arrived in Soğucağ.⁴⁰

To their dismay, the pasha and his men were met with silence: no welcoming shots were fired from the fortress, and it soon became apparent to the pasha and his men that all members of the garrison had perished from a lack of provisions.⁴¹ Only one soldier and his wife had been able to scrape through on a ration of soup brewed from flour dust. To keep up morale, this dismal situation was kept secret and the pasha had his retinue fire a few shots to make a festive impression on the men still on board the galleon - the sound also attracted the attention of group of tribesmen who came to welcome the Ottomans. Selected soldiers were immediately lodged in the ruins in order to give the impression that the town had not been abandoned. As soon as the half-starved people had been nursed back to health, they were consulted about the local situation. They advised the pasha to treat the local population with circumspection, respect their customs, to appoint a trustworthy translator to deal with them, to mellow them with opulent gifts and the sweet sounds of prayer and Koran recitation, and to pay ransom for kidnapped soldiers without

⁴⁰ L, ff. 14a-15b; H, ff. 2b-4a. Cevdet Paşa states that 'Alî Paşa was not only appointed *muḥâfiẓ* of Soğucağ but also *beglerbegi* of Rumelia with the rank of vizier, *Tārîḫ* III, p. 137. According to SO, p. 516, he was only appointed *vâli* of Ankara with the rank of vizier in 1198 (1784).

⁴¹ Elsewhere, however, Hâşim Efendi suggests that together with former inhabitants of the town, at least four members of the garrison: the preacher, the imam, the muezzin and an fortress guard, who had fled to the mountains, returned later to take up their old professions, L, f. 17b; H, f. 6b.

complaining. The pasha should also seriously consider marrying a daughter of the chief of the local Circassian Şapşık (Shapsugh)⁴² tribe.⁴³

The proposed policy was put into practice. Firstly, a dragoman was appointed in the person of Kirli Mehmed Ağa. He had been a leader of a suicide squad [*serdengeçdi ağası*] of Taman [and probably of Tatar origin - but Hâşim Efendi is silent on this] and had fled when the Russians approached and found refuge with a tribal leader somewhere in the Abkhasian mountains, surviving by peddling small wares bought in Istanbul. His family and relatives were also encouraged to settle in Soğucağ with gifts. More refugees and former town inhabitants followed, more than could be lodged in the ruinous houses outside the fortress.⁴⁴

Before the next step was taken, and in order to boost morale and assure himself of their loyalty, 'Ali Paşa gathered his troops in front of the so-called Treasurer's Fountain near the fortress, and gave a long up-lifting speech, reminding his audience of the Day of Wrath and promising them that he would take care of their personal needs. Thereupon, all officers swore an oath of allegiance, promising to behave well, and were given presents.⁴⁵ The next step was a policy of intermarriage. 'Ali Paşa would set the example and arranged a marriage with the daughter of Hâccî Hasan Ağa, chief of the local Şapşık tribe, who had been appointed proxy [*kethüdâ*] to the pasha in the aforementioned ceremony. The wedding proceeded apace with a distribution of gifts on a grand scale among the tribe's members, and a sumptuous banquet, lasting three days and nights, and providing meats, bread, *pasta* (pastry) and *boza* (millet beer) in profusion, was held in the mountains with the tribesmen and tribeswomen, while guns were fired, prayers were said, drums beaten, trumpets blown, songs sung, poems recited and dances performed, in a mixture of Islamic and heathen rituals. The wedding was concluded in the pasha's quarters in the

42 Cf. Jaimoukha, *The Circassians*, p. 19; Ch. Quelquejay, "Çerkes i", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition.

43 L, ff. 15b-17a; H, ff. 4a-5b.

44 L, ff. 17b-19a; H, ff. 5b-6b.

45 L, ff. 17b-19a; H, ff. 6b-8a.

fortress, upon which his father-in-law and his men were donned robes of honour.⁴⁶

Later - Hâşim Efendi is economical with dates, so we do not know when exactly these events took place - ships arrived from Anatolia and Istanbul bringing mercenaries [*yamaķān*], who were lodged in new barracks, as well as building materials. A mosque, a *medrese*, a bathhouse, and shops were built with the help of these men.⁴⁷ They were Anatolian Turks, who, on the whole, had a bad reputation as brigands. This seemed to be confirmed when, one winter - perhaps the first - a group of them⁴⁸ decided to escape from the dreary outpost. Trying to get away in two barges, moored in the harbour, they were stopped by gunfire after the news had reached the pasha's ears. When they moved against him, a number of the deserters were killed at the fortress gate and later nine of them executed - a tenth was innocent, but could not be rescued even by the pasha, who argued vainly in his favour with his merciless proxy.⁴⁹

The pasha's wedding with a Circassian girl was followed by, if we may believe Hâşim Pasa, many others. 'Alī Pasa's officers were sent into the hinterland to inspect girls of as many different tribes as possible through the mediation of the dragoman. The resulting marriages led, the author optimistically concludes, to the virtual subjection of all tribes in the area.⁵⁰ In a following chapter, Hâşim Pasa tries to make the spreading of the Ottoman influence plausible by describing how family members, particularly womenfolk, came to visit Soĝucaķ and their married female relatives there. Thus they gradually became acquainted with the true faith and Islamic customs. 'Alī Paşa went so far as to instruct these married girls and female visitors to act as active missionaries in the cause of Islam, an Islam as interpreted by Ottoman rather than Tatar *hōcas*. Needless to say, these instructions were accompanied by gifts of textile and leather. Hâşim Efendi again optimistically concludes that

46 L, ff. 19a-21a; H, ff. 8a-10b.

47 L, f. 21a; H, ff. 10b-11a.

48 Whether only these mercenaries were to blame for what follows is questionable; the three versions of the text differ on this point, see also below.

49 L, ff. 21a-22b; H, ff. 11a-12b. See also below.

50 L, ff. 22b-23a; H, ff. 12b-14a.

the true faith spread rapidly in the area.⁵¹ One aspect of this phenomenon was the proliferation of Islamic names among the tribesmen.⁵² Ottoman *hōcas* and even a circumciser from Istanbul, dressed in Circassian costume and married to a Şapşık girl, were sent among the tribes.⁵³

Apart from proselytizing, 'Ali Paşa also tried to put an end to piracy which was rife all along the coast down to Batum (Batumi). An envoy with presents was sent to convince the leaders of the coastal tribes abandon the practice, leave the Muslim ships alone and even burn their boats. The mission, according to Hâşim Efendi, was a success.⁵⁴ Some of the men captured during the disastrous expedition of Ġâzî Hasan Paşa some years earlier and whose whereabouts became known, could be released from slavery by payment of ransoms.⁵⁵

After the Ottomans had secured their hold on Soğucağ, steps were taken to spread their influence both to the south and the north. At first, attention was paid to Gelincik, a small port town 'one mile' [in fact about 30 kms.] to the south.⁵⁶ Although it officially belonged to Russia, according to Hâşim Efendi, local Circassians, led by an Ottoman officer in Circassian dress, were stimulated to steer clear Russian captains who called at the port.⁵⁷ 'Ali Paşa sent some of his officers to prepare an Ottoman settlement. The men were put in trust as guests of the local Circassian leader, the aforementioned Narçu Mehmed Beg. A barracks, a bastion, and a mosque were built complete with a

51 L, ff. 23a-26a; H, ff. 14a-16b.

52 L, ff. 26a-b; H, ff. 16b-17a. Hâşim Efendi adds that 'Ali Paşa began to bestow names like Mehmed, 'Ali, Hasan and Hüseyn on converted men, writing them down on pieces of paper. These slips of paper were shown to anybody who asked for their names, the men obviously not being able to read their own new names.

53 L, f. 26b; H, f. 17a.

54 L, ff. 26b-27a; H, ff. 17a-b.

55 L, f. 27a; H, f. 17b.

56 The harbour had the shape of 'a barber's mirror', according to Hâşim Efendi, who curiously added a small drawing in the text in both L and H.

57 This passage is only found in H, and dated 1201 (1786-7); this would mean that the interference with Russian shipping only took place much later after the death of 'Ali Paşa.

gun and a powder magazine.⁵⁸ More important to the Ottomans was Anapa in the north. A military expedition over land was undertaken⁵⁹ and the road to the port through mountainous territory secured. 'Ali Paşa appointed an adopted Albanian son, Selim, as pass-guard, and had him accepted as guest and married to a daughter of the local chief, Buğanat. Anapa was situated on the bank of a river, the Buğür,⁶⁰ and had a sheltered harbour that, Hâşim Efendi guessed, could easily hold 'a thousand ships'. In order to protect it from the Russians in the Taman Peninsula, the ruined castle at the entrance of the port needed to be repaired. For that purpose, building materials were brought in from Soğucağ, while during the night fireworks were ignited and shells were fired to ward off robbers.⁶¹ During the following year, 1197 [1782-3], building started seriously. Construction work was supervised by an engineer called Hüseyin Ağa, who employed 200⁶² young Tatars earning ten para per day for their exertions. Soon also houses, shops, a coffeehouse and a bath - owned by the author - were built. To enhance the safety of the Ottoman outposts, 'Ali Paşa encouraged the settlement of 12,000 Tatars in a nearby valley two miles from Anapa. This was, as Hâşim Efendi explains, part of a more general policy of binding the 40,000 Tatars who had fled to Kabarda in the late 1770s and making them useful as a buffer between the Russians and mountain tribes along the Rivers Kuban and Laba. In return for rations of food, they would no longer obey their khans, till the land, pay tithes and support the pasha against both Circassians and Russians.⁶³ On the other, northern, bank of the Buğür, opposite Anapa, on the orders of 'Ali Paşa, the Tatars built another fortress which was called Nogay.⁶⁴ Another small fort was built on the Cemti Peninsula

58 L, f. 27a, H, ff. 17b-18a.

59 According to Cevdet Paşa, this was in 1196 (1781-2), *Tarih* III, p. 151.

60 The name could also be read as Bağür; the first syllable is not vocalised.

61 L, ff. 27a-28a; H, ff. 18a-19b. In the Topkapı version, Hâşim Efendi added that when the Russian generals at the New Fortress in Taman became aware of the Ottoman presence in Anapa, their souls burned with a terrible fire.

62 H has the number 1000.

63 L, ff. 28a-b; H, ff. 19b-20b - the autobiographical note is found only in H, cf. also below.

64 L, f. 29b; H, f. 21a. H, ff. 20b-21a, adds the text of an order from 'Ali Paşa to the Nogay Tatars in a mixture of Ottoman and Chagatay/Tatar Turkish, instructing them to complete the construction of three bastions with gates and bridges as well as a moat, all

beyond the Kızıldağ Boğazı in the estuary of the Kuban. Kâdioglu Mehmed Efendi was appointed agha.⁶⁵

Meanwhile tension had risen on the border. The inhabitants of Taman, fearing an invasion of Russian troops,⁶⁶ requested assistance from 'Alî Paşa. The latter, not aware of the latest political developments, sent his proxy with an army of janissaries and guns. They were able to defeat an enemy force, but the Tamanites, realising that their cause was hopeless, fled to Anapa, where eventually 500 of them were housed. The pasha's proxy, still in Taman, was approached by an envoy from Şâhin Giray, who pointed out to him that the Porte had already officially ceded Taman to Russia. Unaware even that negotiations were being conducted, he lost patience and hacked the man, surely a renegade, to pieces. The Russians complained to the Sultan,⁶⁷ upon which the Porte sent an order to have the proxy's severed head sent to Istanbul. 'Alî Paşa, barely able to save the courier who had conveyed the order from the murderous hands of his proxy, refused, answering that he would not let him go without accompanying him to Istanbul.

During the same year, the influx of refugees from Taman triggered an extensive building programme in Anapa. Temporary shelters for refugees were improvised from reeds cut in the river. The following spring saw the construction of a *han* [caravansarai] for slave traders, a customs office, a covered market, a *han* for guests and foreigners, barracks, two mosques, two bathhouses, shops and houses. The fortress was completed with a moat, a bridge, a gate, a secretary's office, a mosque, kitchens and so forth. The names of the inhabitants were registered and various officials appointed. Trade flourished and the income from customs rose from 11,000 kuruş to 25,000

within eight days, ff. 20b-21a; the text is also printed in Cevdet Paşa, *Târîh* III, p. 323 (document No. 13), see also below. The haste and work pressure cost the lives of a number of men who were executed and hung from the gates as a warning to the workers.

65 L, ff. 49a-b; H, ff. 47b-48a.

66 Cevdet Paşa specifies a number of 12,000 troops led by Şâhin Giray, *Târîh* III, p. 153.

67 They handed in a note, *beyân-nâme*, in the middle of 1197 (1783), Cevdet Paşa, *Târîh* III, p. 153. Cevdet Paşa adds that 'Alî Paşa had vainly requested the dispatch of more troops from the Porte earlier that year.

kuruş in the second year.⁶⁸ A part of this income had to be paid to Circassian chiefs who otherwise would have obstructed the town's further development. Ten to fifteen of these men received *berâts* [patents], entitling them to a salary of 150 to 300 esedî kuruş per year.⁶⁹ Further rights and duties, especially regarding the payment of taxes and ownership rights to land, were laid down in a law [*Kānūn*] issued by 'Alî Paşa.⁷⁰ In later chapters, Hâşim Efendi mentions that a *berât* arrived from the Porte, allowing Ottoman Friday prayers to be said in the local mosques,⁷¹ and gives details on the local fisheries. Particularly the Nogay Tatars were keen on fishing sturgeon for obtaining caviar in the Kuban. With expert help from Istanbul - salt was imported from the Crimea - the industry flourished, and in the first year 20,000 kuruş⁷² in fish tithes were already levied. The money was used to pay soldiers and to cover expenses incurred by the maintenance of the fortress. 'Alî Paşa even toyed with the idea to have the Porte contract a financier [*mültezim*] to manage the business, but the idea was rejected.⁷³ Important export articles were leather and bee's wax, and nine ships loaded with these goods left for Istanbul.⁷⁴

More developments are described in further chapters. Measures were taken to bring the ethnic minorities within the orbit of the law. Upon consulting an official who had ties with the Gypsy community of Topkapı in Istanbul, it was decided that a chief [*çeribaşısı*] and tax collector [*cizyedâr*] should be appointed to deal with the local Gypsies, among whom there were both Christians and Muslims.⁷⁵ Encouraged by the pasha, the local Armenians:

68 L, ff. 29b-30a; H, ff. 21b-23b - H gives far more details than L, mentioning among other things the number of 550 shops, among which a *boza* shop. It also specifies the type of revenues pocketed by the customs office: toll paid by shippers, porters and muleteers, visitor's tax, coffee tax, city tax and others.

69 L, f. 30b; H, ff. 25a-26a.

70 L, ff. 30b-31a; H, f. 26a.

71 L, f. 32b; H, f. 28b. H specifies that in 33 villages mosques had been built.

72 H has 30,000 kuruş.

73 L, f. 32b; H, pp. 28b-29a - the chapter is not found in Cevdet Paşa's *Tārîh*.

74 L, f. 49b; H, ff. 48a-b. H adds that the export of wheat was forbidden - it had in fact to be imported from Istanbul; it was replaced by melons.

75 L, ff. 37a-b; H, ff. 38a-b. Cevdet Paşa adds that they were of Indian origin and kept themselves at a distance from civilisation in Europe and Asia; it was the virtue of 'Alî

tailors, furriers and money changers, handed in a petition asking for permission to build a new quarter and church outside Anapa. This was granted.⁷⁶ At a certain point in time, a mill was set up in the fortress. It produced fine flour, which formerly had to be imported from Istanbul, and from which flat loafs of white bread, called *Ḳalaç*, were produced; these loafs, which replaced the coarse brick-shaped ones, were sold at 2 para per *okka*.⁷⁷ Thirty⁷⁸ wells were dug inside the town - carrying water from the nearby river was impractical,⁷⁹ in particular because water-carriers were regularly captured by tribesmen. Hâşim Efendi relates that the digging brought to light all kinds of ancient objects like marble well heads, jewellery, seals, a picture of a bird with Kufic inscriptions, human bones and pieces of textile. These objects were sold for 5 kuruş or more to Christians. He himself bought a piece of emerald for 3 kuruş, selling it later in Istanbul for 50.⁸⁰ A proposal to the Porte to exploit the gold and silver mines on the Kuban near Anapa went unanswered; it reasoned, according to Hâşim Efendi, that the pasha already had 150,000 troops at his disposal. What would happen if permission were given and the pasha decided to revolt?⁸¹

Meanwhile in Istanbul envy and suspicions were arising. Imagining the pasha, a governor of two fortified towns, gathering riches and beautiful slave girls, whereas they lacked both, some men persuaded the Sultan to send a new governor or at least an inspector to look into the matter. Thereupon a palace official, the *Ḳapucıbaşı* Şâîr Hüseyn Ağa, was sent as commissary-general [*nüzl ü binâ emîni*] to Anapa with the, to 'Ali Pasa and his men, surprisingly large income of 25 *kise* akçe as well as a budget of 20 kuruş per day for

Paşa to give them a place in Islamic society and stimulate their acculturation, *Tarih* III, p. 166.

76 L, f. 38b; H, ff. 38b-39a.

77 L, ff. 37b-38a; H, ff. 39a-b. Added is an anecdote - and a lesson for the people of Anapa - about a wandering soldier who, suffering regularly from cold and hunger, showed extreme gratitude whenever he was honoured by a gift of bread, kissing it and vowing to become a dervish, L, ff. 38a-b; H, f. 39b.

78 H: mentions the number of forty-five.

79 In a later chapter, Hâşim Efendi relates that at a certain point janissaries were given the task of digging a moat in order to bring in the water of the river closer to Anapa, L, f. 49b; H, f. 48a.

80 L, ff. 39a-b; H, ff. 42a-b.

81 L, ff. 65a-b; H, f. 57a*.

expensès incurred. Later he received another 5000 kuruş.⁸² In a later chapter, Hâşim Efendi, who was obviously closely involved in the financial aspects of the matter, relates the fate of another commissary-general, 'Abdullâh Ağa, who was charged with the digging of a moat and the further building work on the walls of the fortress. He was given a budget of 20,000 kuruş. When after two years he asked for additional sums of 400 to 500 kuruş, he was dismissed and ordered to hand over the original sum to the courier from Istanbul. Pleading his case in the capital later, he was exiled to Bozca Ada, accused of insubordination. His house in Anapa was sealed and the contents, worth 150 kuruş, confiscated by the then pasha, İpeklizâde Muştafâ Paşa. This was completely unjust, as Hâşim Efendi was well aware - in the end there was even a surplus of 5600 kuruş of the original budget remaining - but this knowledge, he concluded, did not help the poor man.⁸³

The prospering of Anapa as a trading post induced 'Alî Paşa to move his residence there but he forbade others to follow his example lest Soğucağ become depopulated.⁸⁴ Not long afterwards,⁸⁵ a ship loaded with guns, ammunition, provisions and presents for the local tribesmen arrived from

82 L, ff. 31a-b; H, ff. 26a-b - the chapter is omitted in Cevdet Paşa's *Târih*. (From this point onwards, the *Târih*, p. 156 sqq., begins to be less dependent on Hâşim Efendi's work as a primary source.) H begins with a sentence referring to a treatise on good management by Canikli 'Alî Paşa, in which the dispatch of a trustworthy officer to assist a governor in a difficult outpost, inhabited by potentially unruly soldiers and slaves, was recommended. The work is also mentioned in a long marginal addition in L, f. 31b, where Hâşim Efendi explains that it was difficult for the commissary-general to buy meat locally because the Circassians kept their cattle until very old and inedible. In the same marginal note, he also accuses the Financial Department in Istanbul of corruption and tampering with the books: whereas Hüseyn Ağa was in reality given an allowance of 17,500 kuruş on two occasions, these amounts were booked as 117,500 kuruş. In order to have the co-operation of the *defterdâr*, he was given a slave girl.

83 L, f. 38b, margin; H, ff. 40a-42a. A more dramatic version is given in H, where the story, larded with verses, focuses on the complaint of the unjustly treated official, who, learning of the order from Istanbul, tore up his clothes and threatened to throw himself into the moat surrounding the fortress.

84 L, f. 31b; H, ff. 26b-27a.

85 This is my guess, in view of the place of this small chapter in the, globally chronological, sequence of events; as usually, no date is given. The chapter is also omitted from the *Târih*.

Istanbul.⁸⁶ Although Hāşim Efendi gives the impression that Circassia was soon under the control of 'Ali Paşa, it is clear from the above and the content of other chapters, that this was wishful thinking. Particularly the presence of the large colony of Tatar refugees in the area was problematical. At some point in time during 'Ali Paşa's wardenship, Nogay Castle came under direct attack by a force of 8000 men under the command of Bahādur Giray, the elder brother of Şāhīn Giray. He was a refugee himself⁸⁷ but still had ties with Russia because his son, Selīm, was held hostage in that country and had become a major in the Russian army. After he had vainly tried to ingratiate himself with the Şapşık tribe, who were deeply suspicious about his ties with the Russians - he imagined that he actually could sell the Circassians and Abkhasians and their country to the Russians - he moved to Nogay Castle to impose himself as khan on the local Tatars. Close to the fortress, his men were decimated by gunfire. This crude behaviour fundamentally shocked the warriors, who, accustomed to pay blood money to a victim's relatives, traditionally took the utmost care to avoid killing an opponent. In this way fear for the Turks was sown in the hearts of the tribesmen, Hāşim Efendi concluded.⁸⁸

Another problem was the unemployment of the Tatar refugees, as Hāşim Efendi explains in a later chapter. Although some of them were active as fishers or had irregular jobs in the fortress, others lived by selling stolen goods, including horses and silver trappings robbed from the Ottomans, on the Anapa market. In order to bind these men to the Ottoman cause and put them under the authority of the law, the pasha decided to appoint thirty princes [*mīrzās*] and others as officers in the army for the defence of the Kuban frontier; the

86 L, f. 31b; H, f. 27a.

87 After he had been khan for seven months in 1196 (1782), he was imprisoned by Şāhīn Giray, but was able to escape to Kabarda, cf. SO, p. 350.

88 L, ff. 31b-32b; H, ff. 27a-28a - H adds that the courage of the Abkhasians was destroyed, deeply impressed as they were by compositions of their poets that described the disaster. The Porte tried to have Bahādur Giray removed from the country, but he refused. Instead, his brother Aḳ Gōz Sultan embarked on the ship that was meant to take him to the capital. Later he was captured and deported to Istanbul, where rumours began to circulate that 'Ali Paşa had confiscated his possession and become rich. For more details on the affair, see Cevdet Paşa, *Tārīḫ* III, pp. 161-4. Eventually, Bahādur Giray went to Istanbul in 1204 (1789-90) and settled on a farm near Tekirdağ; he died in 1206 (1791-2), SO, p. 350.

necessary *berâts* were requested from the Porte and their names recorded in the customs ledger [*gümrük kitâbı*]. Their installation was celebrated during a meeting of the Friday Council in a ceremony, attended by 3000 to 4000 horsemen, in which they were given their papers, standards and robes of honour. The pasha gave a speech and guns were fired. An inventory of the appointments for service in the fortress, from agha down to assistant clerk and dated 1197 [1782-3], is added.⁸⁹ It was probably copied from a *defter* by Hâşim Efendi.⁹⁰

Another problem facing the Ottomans was the Circassian custom of capturing persons in order to obtain a ransom. At some point, members of a tribe led by Zanoğlu Giray Beg kidnapped one of the pasha's footmen [*çuğadâr-i enderûn*] and the customs' secretary, Şakızlı Aḥmed Efendi. Immediately the pasha's quick-tempered proxy rushed off with a group of men to liberate them, plundering the villages they passed through on their way. In order to prevent more violence, Zanoğlu, who had sent envoys to Anapa to negotiate with the pasha, persuaded his tribesmen to let the prisoners go.⁹¹

In order to get more information about developments in the Crimea and Caucasus, the Porte sent orders to Anapa to report on the situation in the area. This resulted in the mission of two spies who were sent to the Crimea and a place called Añabazar⁹² respectively.⁹³ Reports on their mission written in the first person singular are included in the text.⁹⁴ The man who had been in the Crimea, mentions that the Queen⁹⁵ had not yet arrived, that 6000 Albanian

89 From some of the names mentioned it is clear that they were not only Tatars; a certain Erzurumî Mehmed Efendi, for instance, was appointed secretary (*divân kâtibi*).

90 L, ff. 36a-37a; H, ff. 37b-38a. L adds a story (f. 36b) on a certain Ḳalmuḡ Mirzâ who used to steal sheep and other animals from the tribes, and even sold tribesmen to the Russians; the man was arrested and severely reprimanded and threatened with execution by 'Alî Paşa.

91 L, ff. 32b-33a; H, ff. 29a-30a.

92 Not identified, clearly somewhere north of the Kuban in the region around the Sea of Azov.

93 L, ff. 33a-b; H, ff. 30a-b.

94 As elsewhere in the work, where documents are supposedly quoted, the reports in the Leiden and Topkapı manuscripts are quite different in language, style and content (cf. also above).

95 H adds: Catharina [that is: Catherine the Great].

deserters, who had served the Ottomans in Hotin, had been recruited for the protection of the coast, that an arsenal had been built in Kherson where many ships were under construction, that warships were cruising outside the ports of Kefe, Yeñikal'e, amıřburnı and elsewhere, that Muslim princes were given decorations and salaries. The island gave the impression that war was being prepared.⁹⁶ In the second report, it was mentioned that a port was being restored near the River Taygan and that the Abkhasians used to rob the Russians of their cattle and boys, but that Russian troops had begun to react violently to all signs of an Islamic presence, like shooting at muezzins calling to prayer. The report also mentioned the appearance of the Imam Manřur, originally a shepherd called Uřurman, but now fervently spreading the true faith, in 'aan or řařan' [Chechniya].⁹⁷ He was greatly feared by the Russians, who had sent troops after him. The Tatars had also predicted the appearance of a saint [*ma'řum*] from a certain verse of the Koran - this was the Imam Yूसuf.⁹⁸

Upon this news, an envoy-cum-spy, the pasha's servant, the *enderun aęası* adıoęlı Meęmed Aęa, was sent to Kabarda from Hęciler Castle,⁹⁹ and was able with the help of local guides to meet the Imam and give him presents. A report was later transmitted to Istanbul.¹⁰⁰ The report,¹⁰¹ again in the first person singular, is quoted by Hāřim Efendi. The envoy wrote that he was

96 L, f. 33b; H, ff. 30b-31a. H has more details, among them that it seemed that the Crimea was to be divided between Austria and Russia, that Russian soldiers were billeted in Tatar houses (where they did all kinds of repulsive things), and that a Jewish judge had been appointed to one of the courts. The Muslim princes were forced to wear hats.

97 For a recent study on the imam, see Zübeyde G. Yaęcı, 'A Chechen National Hero of the Caucasus in the Eighteenth Century: Sheikh Mansur', in *Central Asian Survey* 22-1 (2003), pp. 103-115.

98 L, ff. 34a-b; H, ff. 31a-32a.

99 This was a stronghold on the River Kuban controlled by the Ottomans; it is often mentioned by Hāřim Efendi. It is not found on contemporary European maps of the period, which only show the Russian strongholds on the northern bank of the Kuban, cf. maps in the Leiden University Library, Port. 162 Nos. 62-5; Port. 178 No. 117. See also the two maps in Gökçe, *Kafkasya*.

100 L, f. 34b; H, f. 32a.

101 Again there are substantial differences between the versions in L and H, H giving more details (which I include in my summary).

hospitably received by the Imam, who asked him whether he needed medicine for melancholia or madness. The house, part of a village of forty to fifty houses, looked Circassian and was not much more than a wooden cell. Apart from his mother and four to five sons, the Imam was accompanied by a Tatar mollah. He looked quite like a saint in ecstasy. He had a long neck, wide spaced eyebrows, a light brown beard and a friendly face. In his youth, he had herded ducks, lambs and sheep. One day, tending his sheep, he received a call from God and began to announce that wine, adultery and sodomy were forbidden, as was dissimulation towards Russians. It was legitimate to capture them and enslave them. He said he was ignorant and had been ordered to give sound advice to Muslims. He said he could not predict the future, and if the visitor did not believe him, he should ask the *'ulemā*. His followers produced all kinds of pamphlets on which the name of Mañşūr and some pious Arabic words were stamped with a seal made of cow horn. This gave the impression that the saint was an ordinary rebel. His followers also said prayers in his name. When the spy presented his report to the Porte, no attention was paid to him because of his unusual language and behaviour.¹⁰²

News reached Anapa that the Russians had sent an army of 7000¹⁰³ soldiers to capture the Imam. Seeing the soldiers approaching, the Imam took a handful of dust from the floor of his cabin and threw it on them. No longer able to see much as if they had been caught up in a cloud of smoke, the men started to kill each other and fled in panic. Some of them found refuge in Hâcciler Castle, reasoning that the Turks would not kill them. A few men were selected by the local governor, the *mütesellim* Kâftânî 'Alî Ağa, and sent on to the pasha in Anapa. They were given away as presents to his friends, among them Hâşim Efendi (see also below).¹⁰⁴

The news about the Imam, as conveyed by the spy's report and the Russian deserters, clearly worried the Ottomans in Anapa. His growing reputation as a successful rebel could well undermine the ordered existence of the mountain tribes. More information was obtained by the pasha from a certain

102 L, ff. 34b-35a; H, ff. 32a-35a - H adds a lengthy digression on the saint's miracles which proved his status as imam.

103 H has the number of 10,000.

104 L, f. 35a; H, ff. 35a-b.

Bulut¹⁰⁵ Khan, a nephew of the Imam, who passed through Anapa, and was to accompany Kādioglu Mehmed Ağa to Istanbul. The khan was a slave dealer and pilgrim guide who regularly travelled between Daghestan, Istanbul and Mecca. He also carried pamphlets with him, written by Tatar 'ulemā and sealed by the Imam, which he tried to sell in the Ottoman capital. On his way back, he told the pasha that the efendis he had met in Istanbul had shown only animosity, spitting into his face and refusing to pay 5 or 10 kuruş for the pamphlets. The pasha was worried that this story would further diminish the reputation of the Sultan among the tribes.¹⁰⁶

Relations with Russia deteriorated because of the increased hostility from the Tatars, who were inspired to slay and enslave infidels by the subversive words of the Imam. Tatar 'ulemā moved among the tribes, and even came so far as Anatolia and the Hijaz, preaching and distributing religious pamphlets. The tribesmen, on the whole, were not unsympathetic towards the Tatar missionaries and did not find fault with their words. Seeing that things went from bad to worse, 'Alī Paşa decided to approach the grand vizier who was also his friend and protector, Ḥalil Ḥamid Paşa,¹⁰⁷ asking him for cloth, leather, rifles and other objects that could be given away as presents to the tribes. In his letter, he included complaints and demands for compensation received from Russians on the other side of the border, and some of the inflammatory pamphlets circulating in the area. In urging action, the grand vizier stood alone, although eventually the Sublime State agreed to send the presents requested. A plan to hold ready a force of 200,000 men to intervene if necessary was dismissed as too dangerous to the security of the State itself. Suspicion against 'Alī Paşa was still rife and some statesmen even believed that the Imam Manşūr was an invention of the grand vizier and the pasha. A sergeant [*çavuş*] and a footman [*çoğadār*], who knew the Tatar language, were

105 The name is rendered as 'Bolat' in Gökçe, *Kafkasya*, p. 118, but both L and H clearly have BWLWT.

106 L, ff. 35b-36a; H, ff. 36a-37b. Cevdet Paşa adds that the problem was exacerbated by the fact that the Porte had become disinterested in paying much attention to 'Alī Paşa's problems, *Tārīḫ* III, p. 176.

107 A former *āmedī* and *re'isülküttāb*, he was grand vizier between 1197 (1782) and 1199 (1785); he died in the same year, cf. SO, pp. 578-9; for a detailed biography, see: İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, 'Sadrāzam Halil Hamid Paşa', in: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* V (1935), pp. 213-67.

selected by Ġāzī Hasan Paşa. On a swift galley they were to sail to Anapa in five days, travel from there to Daghestan in order to investigate the matter in another five days, and to return to Istanbul in yet another five. They were to distribute the presents among the tribes and to exhort the Tatars in their own language not to disturb the peace with the Russians. They would be hanged if they returned too late. Owing to contrary winds, the terrified men were twice bound in a small harbour near Giresun and arrived in Anapa only after five months - Hâşim Efendi saw their desperate letters sent to Istanbul from various ports of call. In Anapa disappointment awaited them when they learned that the journey to Chechniya would take them at least two hundred hours. They also realised that they would not be offered the slaves on whom they had counted by the pasha. They saw that the pasha was poor, wearing coarse cloth, and that his servants went about almost naked. They contented themselves with making enquiries in Anapa. When, returned to Istanbul, they reported what had happened to the grand vizier, the latter felt pity for the pasha and sent him a fur coat. The latter donned it when he was about to receive officials from the Porte, but normally he used to wear Abkhasian sandals and a Circassian cap.¹⁰⁸

Despite the fact that Anapa was successful as a trading post, the pasha and the Ottoman troops were in a precarious position. They were dependent on the import of most food: salt, pepper, rice, horse beans, chickpeas, lentils and other beans, from Istanbul. The Circassians did not grow vegetables which they called 'dry grass' unfit for humans consumption, and were only ready to sell old cows to the Ottomans. There was a serious problem if provisions did not arrive in time, as in 1198 (1783-4)¹⁰⁹ when the annual ship was held up in Sinop and the stores ran out of food. 'Alī Paşa and the 100 to 150 guests whom he entertained daily had to content themselves with bread and the local *pasta*. By scraping together the last pennies in his treasury and borrowing more money in the Bazaar, the pasha had ingredients bought and dishes of *helva* prepared. After these had been eaten, a special prayer was said in his private mosque in the fortress and repeated 70,000 times. Those who were attending realised that a miracle was in the making. They were not disappointed: the next day at nine o'clock in the morning the expected ship appeared on the horizon.

¹⁰⁸ L, ff. 39b-42a; H, ff. 42b-43b.

¹⁰⁹ The year is only mentioned in Cevdet Paşa's *Tārīh*, III, p. 168.

At the time of prayers a favourable wind had made its departure from Sinop possible. Hâşim Efendi adds that the pasha had worked more, quite unbelievable, miracles, not the least one being the long-suffering obedience of the men who had abandoned a good life in Anatolia and followed their master to a hostile country. To sit back in frustration was not what 'Alî Paşa had in mind when he had moved to the Caucasus and he could hardly wait for the day he would be able to attack the Russians and cross the Kuban with a large army of companions, janissaries, and Tatar and Circassian horsemen to redress the injustices of the past.¹¹⁰

This was wishful thinking. Russia still held the initiative, and on one occasion its troops crossed the Kuban into Kabarda, threatening the fortress of Hâcciler where the *mütesellim*, Kaftânî 'Alî Ağa, commanded a force of 10,000 Tatars of questionable loyalty. 'Alî Ağa desperately needed guns and ammunition, and only with enormous trouble could these be brought in from Anapa. The hostile tribes in the area were only ready to let these through because of the presence of Âbâd Kırım Giray,¹¹¹ the young son of a Circassian chief, who was sent with the troops and whom the local tribesmen, obeying their rules of hospitality, were obliged to receive as a guest of honour. The boy returned in rags, his horse bereft of its trappings, having been obliged to give away everything he had.¹¹²

5.3. The Last Days and Demise of Feraḥ 'Alî Paşa

The appearance of the Imam Manşūr had made 'Alî Paşa weary. He became convinced that it meant an end to peace for the world and came to the conclusion that for him 'the robe of the world had become threadbare'. He predicted that the end would come in 1202 [1787-8], 202 being the numerical value of the prayer word 'Lord' [*reb*].¹¹³ Hâşim Efendi accompanies his description of the pasha's last days with biographical notes. The pasha had been a Georgian slave. He had become a vizier of two horsetails and was a

¹¹⁰ L, ff. 42a-44a; H, ff. 43b-44b.

¹¹¹ A marginal gloss in L, f. 45a, explains that he was a chief of the Şapşıks, performed the pilgrimage in 1218-9 (1803-5) and died in the Hijaz, leaving behind two sons.

¹¹² L, ff. 44b-45b; H, ff. 44b-45b.

¹¹³ L, f. 39a; the passage is not found in H, but is in Cevdet Paşa's *Tarih*, III, p. 185.

perfect dervish - in the memorandum the pasha is often referred to as 'the sheik'. He had taken the path of the Halvetiye order, following the guidance of Maḥmūd Efendi at the Taḳiyeciler Mosque in Yeñi Baḫçe, Istanbul. He became the sheik's *ḫalīfe* and later received his crown and mantle.¹¹⁴ In Anapa, the pasha cultivated an Anatolian mercenary, aptly called Derviş Muştafâ, who sang songs for him accompanied on his *sâz*. As 'lord of the night', the man had free access to the pasha's quarters and spent the night in the company of night watchmen. He was paid for his work - the pasha once gave him ten para for a distich - and was given food and drink by the population. After the pasha's death, he wept for three days and nights, and died on the fourth. This, according to Hâşim Efendi, was another of the pasha's miracles.¹¹⁵

Not long before he died, the pasha's wife, Meryem, gave birth to a daughter. Meryem's father, Ḥasan Ağa, was informed and after three days Şapşık tribesmen arrived with sheep, lambs, honey, drinks and so on. A lavish banquet was held and the father honoured by the pasha with gifts of silver, leather, textile and other precious things - these in turn were distributed among his tribesmen. The daughter, however, soon died. This steeped the pasha in grief.¹¹⁶ This grief added to his tribulations. What saddened him most was the growing distrust in Istanbul. Although he had given everything he had for the benefit of the state, some statesmen in the capital had turned against him when he did not send them the expected presents and slaves, and begrudged him the 4000 to 5000 *kīse* akçe he had been granted between 1195 [1780-1] and 1199 [1784-5] for paying the salaries of his 150,000 warriors and for funding the

114 L, f. 53b; the passage is not found in H, but it was used for the epilogue only found in this manuscript, cf. below. At least part of this information was given to Hâşim Efendi by the pasha's wife ('she told me some of her secrets') when her husband's lay dying.

115 L, ff. 53b-54b; H, ff. 61a*-b*.

116 L, ff. 54b-55a; H, ff. 53a-54a. H adds that the pasha had little profit from his position as son-in-law of a Circassian chief: the tribesmen remained tree-worshippers, and their Islam was like that of the Gypsies: mixing their religious rituals with those of Christians and others; they went no further than confirming that Islam was good and Moscow bad. In a further paragraph on his biography, Hâşim Efendi writes that Ḥasan Ağa had embraced and adopted a Muslim name, and had also learned to read, write and had studied the principles of Islam. During one lesson, he asked his teacher whether he would be able to see or hear God in Mecca, and later performed the pilgrimage with his *ḫōca*. Upon his return, however, he went on worshipping trees and performing heathen rituals, H, ff. 54a-b.

inevitable gifts. They had also suggested to the Sultan that he might well come to Istanbul and topple the government. He had had enough and in early *Şevval* 1199 [7-16 August 1785], he summoned builders and indicated to them a spot at the entrance to the mosque in the fortress where he wished his mausoleum [*türbe*] to be built. He also had a *vakfiye* document drawn up for the foundation of two mosques with personnel and made Hâşim Efendi write a letter to the Porte, informing it of his expected demise, to be sent off the next day with the grand vizier's footman. When the pasha told his companions that he wished two distichs to be written as an inscription on his mausoleum, they burst out in tears.

The mausoleum was built in a day and the pasha, his intimates and his wife spent the night in it, and continued to remain there on the following forty nights. At dawn the pasha took leave of his friends and called for the surgeon to draw blood.¹¹⁷ At the third time, the flow stopped. The following two days the pasha spent calling God's name and arranging his affairs. On the fourth, the pasha announced that the end was nigh. He took leave of imams and other dignitaries, and Şâîr Hüseyn Efendi was instructed to see to daily affairs until the next warden had arrived. He was also told to settle his accounts, among them debts to an amount of eight *kîse*, and to take care of his legacy.¹¹⁸ The official correspondence was to be sent to Istanbul in a sealed box. Thereupon, a prayer rug was laid out, the pasha was placed onto it, and, repeating the name of God, he passed away, the final word *hüve* on his lips. The shattered and wailing widow remained in the mausoleum for three days until, on the fourth, God, at her request, let her pass away too.¹¹⁹

5.4. The Last Years

When news reached the Porte that the pasha had died, 'Acaralı Bicānoğlu 'Alî Beşe was appointed as his successor. He had been a janissary, had been

¹¹⁷ By then, the mother of a certain Hâlîl Efendi of the Crimea had seen in a dream that the pasha was struck by heaven - her husband interpreted this as an instruction to sacrifice a spotless black ram on his doorstep - no such a ram could be found however.

¹¹⁸ It consisted of the crown and robe inherited from his sheik - these were given to Dervîş Muşafâ - a Koran, 'one or two' books on mysticism, and some coins: two *altmışlık* an *esedî kuruş* and a Venetian ducat [*yaldız altın*].

¹¹⁹ L, ff. 55b-58a; H, ff. 57a*-61b*.

dismissed and made himself governor of Faş [Poti] after he had his predecessor killed. Soon he had to flee and went to Istanbul with a few stolen slaves, where he established himself as a slave trader. He was known for his egotism and deceit. He ingratiated himself in government circles by giving away male and female slaves. After he had heard about the vacancy in the slave market, he was able to obtain the wardenship of Anapa from the grand vizier, Yūsuf Paşa.¹²⁰ He arrived there on 12 *Muḥarrem* 1200 (15 November 1785). He instantly estranged the companions of the late pasha by refusing to pay them a decent salary. When they informed him that they used to receive 25 kuruş every three months, he told them that for that sum he could employ a man for a year. Depressed, most men resigned and left the town with their families. When he approached Hâşim Efendi and asked him to stay on as secretary, the latter refused after he was asked to tamper with the books, noting down expenses but omitting revenue. Back in Istanbul, the author noticed that letters were arriving from Anapa in which the population complained that the new pasha tried to rob them of their slaves. When they came to kill him, he fled disguised in woman's clothes and found refuge in the mountains.¹²¹

The next warden was İpeklizāde Muşafā Paşa, who was appointed at his own request. A former regimental commander [*bölükbaşı*] of the Anatolian brigand, Qādiogli, he had been appointed governor of Çorum.¹²² He was a shrewd politician. Soon after the appointment, an intimate of the late 'Alī Paşa, a resident of Çorum, put Hâşim Efendi forward as a candidate secretary. Summoned to the Porte, his patron Ebübekir Efendi persuaded him to take the job (cf. also above). Hâşim Efendi agreed, on condition that he provided him with the necessary gifts. When the author approached the harbour of Anapa, it was clear that the new pasha had not yet arrived and that the town lay under siege of tribesmen. He was able to arrange a truce with an envoy of the Circassians, who had set their minds on presents of furs and cloaks. Soon

120 This is impossible: (Koca) Yūsuf Paşa only became grand vizier on 24 *Rebī'ülevvel* 1200 (25 January 1786); before that he was a court official and, from 1199 (1785), vizier and governor of the Morea (Peloponnese), cf. SO, pp. 1698-9. He was twice grand vizier and died in 1215 (1800).

121 L, ff. 58b-59b; H, ff. 61b*-62a*. In the same year he was exiled to Sinop (cf. below), but later he succeeded in getting appointed governor in Trabzon, and, again, in Faş. He died in 1212 (1797), cf. SO, p. 281.

122 This is not mentioned in SO, cf. p. 1197.

afterwards the pasha arrived. Hâşim Efendi went to greet him on board his ship, but then discovered to his dismay that the new warden was accompanied by three officials, inherited from Bîcânoğlu, and twelve miserable sailors.¹²³ The author was able to conduct the pasha to the fortress in a small boat, and there homage was paid to 'Alî Paşa's tomb. Meanwhile, janissaries, who were paid one to two gold coins each, were secretly conducted on board of the ship in order to make it appear as if nothing irregular had happened. Grateful for this successful strategy, the pasha declared Hâşim Efendi his brother and vowed to protect him forever afterwards. Soon afterwards, Muştafâ Paşa was able to preside over his first council meeting, where he declared to be a partisan of the late 'Alî Paşa. This greatly pleased those present.¹²⁴

One of his first measures was to get rid of Bîcânoğlu and his retinue, among them nine men from his country of origin, Adzharia. A janissary officer was sent to him and told him that it was safe to return to Anapa. This he did and, having arrived there, he was given documents which cleared him of any misconduct and even announced his promotion to the rank of vizier with one horsetail, although, as Hâşim Paşa adds, he deserved execution. Furnished with these papers, he could be persuaded to embark on a ship loaded with gunpowder, nails and copper which lay ready in the harbour and was destined for Sinop. Giving a summary judgement of both men, Hâşim Efendi praises Muştafâ Paşa for his efficiency. He had been born in the village of İpek near Çorum and later had the support both Gâzî Hasan Paşa¹²⁵ and Yûsuf Paşa, who had him appointed warden of Adaçal'esi (Adakale).¹²⁶ After the war with

¹²³ The text in L, f. 60b:17-20, rather enigmatically, reads: '*gördüm-ki bu bîçärenüñ Bîcânoğlundan üç adam ziyâdesiyle on iki adam çıplak adam ile geldigine...*'; rendered by Gökçe, *Kafkasya*, p. 130, as: '*biçare dahi Bican Oğlu'ndan üç adam [= adam] fazla olarak, o [= on] iki çıplak adamıyle gelmiş*'. This version was clearly copied from *Târîh-i Cevdet III*, p. 195:3-4. H, f. 62b*: 5-6, only has: '*kezâlik silihdâr ve çukdâr ve hazinedâr on üç nefer adamlar-ile mükemmel kapısı ile gelüb dura vardır.*'

¹²⁴ L, ff. 59b-61a; H, ff. 62a*-b*.

¹²⁵ The admiral became deputy grand vizier in 1199 (1785) and grand vizier in 1203 (1789); he died some months later, in 1204 (1789), SO, pp. 638-9.

¹²⁶ Apart from this, he was appointed governor of Trabzon with the rank of vizier in 1201 (1786-7), cf. SO, p. 1197.

Russia he was, however, stripped of his vizierate and exiled to Bursa.¹²⁷ In Anapa he was able to reconcile its inhabitants with the tribesmen outside the town and thus restored order. By distributing presents, he could also arrange further marriages between local Muslims and Circassian and Tatar girls.¹²⁸

Meanwhile disturbing news had been coming from İstanbul: conflicts and bloody confrontations with the Russians were on the increase. A group of Tatars had moved into Daghestan to plunder and raids were conducted across the Kuban by combined Tatar-Circassian forces who had asked assistance from the Porte. Muştafâ Paşa read out the letters in his council and the local garrison was kept on the alert. An auxiliary force was mobilised in İstanbul, but the approaching winter made shipping and the expedition to Anapa impossible. The crisis was exacerbated when a successful raid was undertaken against Yeñikal'e [the most eastern port town of the Crimea, opposite Taman] by a group of brigands, and booty brought to Anapa.¹²⁹

An Ottoman force did eventually arrive in Anapa: 700 men, aboard two galleons, under the command of Köse Muştafâ Paşa.¹³⁰ This only made matters worse: ignoring the sensitivities of the tribesmen, the small army moved into the countryside, where the soldiers were kidnapped by the locals and had to be liberated by another army of 500 men under Giresunlu Hâlidzâde. They came back, bereft of clothes and weapons. The garrison in Anapa, fearing that the enemy would appear at the gates at any moment, sent a courier, Selanikli Nu'mân Beg, to İstanbul with a report, asking for military support. Contrary winds, however, drove the ship back from the Bosphorus. Eventually it had to dock in Amasra, where the local elders, complaining about their lack of powder and ammunition, requested the courier to petition the Porte for it on their behalf. This proved to be impossible, at least for the time being. The garrison's fear was not unfounded, and Anapa was attacked three times. The troops stood

127 This was sometime after 1207 (1792-3); later, in 1213 (1798-9), he was appointed governor of Hanya (Khania) and restored to the vizierate; wounded and made prisoner by Napoleon's army in Egypt, he died in Damietta 1215 (1800), *ibidem*.

128 L, ff. 61a-b; H, f. 62b*.

129 L, ff. 62a-63b - the chapter is not found in H.

130 He was a commander [*başbuğ*] of the Black Sea Fleet and later became warden of Anapa (in 1206/1791-2), SO, pp. 1201-2. The expedition took place in 1202 (1787), cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, IV, p. 582.

powerless and the infidels, in a final bombardment, set the town on fire. The town burnt down and most men perished. Muştafâ Paşa and his men were captured and the storerooms in the fortress were plundered.¹³¹ In a later chapter, Hâşim Efendi explains in more detail that the pasha fought on until the last possible moment when they were forced to give up. The pasha was taken prisoner and taken to the Crimea where he remained until the end of the war. After his return he was made vizier with an income of 100 kuruş from the *cizye* revenue of Tokat - but was ordered to live in Sivas. This was in 1206 [1791-2].¹³²

The theme of the decline and destruction of Anapa is elaborated in following chapters. Although the *ğâzîs* were able to kill more than 20,000 Russians, the town, besieged three times, was taken and sacked, the troops and inhabitants, fearing the tribesmen, fled to the surrounding mountains, and even as far as Taman and the Crimea. In order to rebuild the town and bring home the refugees, the Porte decided to send an intelligent vizier, and chose Naķibzâde Muştafâ Paşa, who, as *başbuğ* in Algiers and Tunis in the past, had been able to capture nine Russian ships in the Mediterranean. He had been commander of the Black Sea Fleet during the years 1204-5 [1789-91]. Upon his arrival in Anapa, he set to work, rebuilding the town and trying to rally the dispersed inhabitants. But even more urgent was the capture and execution of two blackguards and traitors who had caused much unrest among the tribes: 'Acaralı Meħmed Beg¹³³ and Erzurumlu Hâfız Meħmed, known as the Emîr Kâdî. The former, a beardless man, had joined the army of Canikli 'Alî Paşa which had taken Yaluta [Yalta], and with the hope of gathering booty, he had let himself be captured by the Russians and had joined the retinue of a Russian general. Following the general in the Crimea and Kabarda, he befriended Nogay Tatars and Abkhasians. He began to trade in slaves with Istanbul and put himself forward as treasurer to Bîcânoğlı, with whom he returned to Anapa. In Istanbul, he had mixed with government officials and suggested that

¹³¹ L, ff. 63b-65a; H, ff. 62b*-63a*. H adds a description of the situation in 1211 (1796-7), when the small garrison, bereft of money and provisions, and suffering from the severe winter cold, sold their weapons for wood; those who did not freeze to death were exiled to Anatolia; this would never have happened had Ferah 'Alî Paşa still been alive!

¹³² L, ff. 69a-b; the chapter is not found in H.

¹³³ Better known as Kutayışlı Meħmed Beg, cf. Gökçe, *Kafkasya*, pp. 151, 155.

he could bind the Kabardians to the Porte if they appointed him ruler of the province. By alleging that he had an order from the Porte for his execution if he did not move, he blackmailed Baṭṭāl Hüseyn Paşa, then military commander at Anapa, into embarking on his fateful expedition into Kabarda which led to his surrender to the Russians.¹³⁴ In this way, he was always scheming and trying to draw money from the Treasury under false pretences, on one occasion through some of his slaves who were not aware what they were doing. When Hâşim Efendi met the man who called himself Meḥmed Beg in Bahçekapısı, he made it clear to him that he would not lie about these matters if queried by efendis of the Porte.

The other traitor was a man from Tazegül near Erzurum, who as a religious student had become involved in a fight with some janissaries, killing some of them. He was able to escape to Anatolia and Rumelia, but fearing that he would be found out, he boarded an Abkhasian ship to Soğucağ, trying to learn as much as possible about the customs and laws of that people during the journey. He became friends with members of one of the tribes, married a local girl, and made his fortune by selling them talismans in the form of pieces of paper with script on them, or rather exchanging these for cattle. This had been forbidden by the late Feraḥ 'Alî Paşa, and had he been alive, he would have stopped this. The man made common cause with the aforementioned Adzharian, thus becoming his partner in mischievous intriguing. But the men were captured and executed. Afterwards, one of their followers sent a letter to İstanbul and complained that the two men, a governor and a cadî, and friends of Âbâd Beg, had been killed - by an Armenian executioner to boot - without an order from İstanbul. The warden, Muştafâ Paşa, was dismissed, his standard and horsetail taken from him, and he was exiled to İstanköy [Kos].¹³⁵ Finally, 'Oşmân Paşa, a former governor of Kocaeli was appointed warden of Anapa

¹³⁴ This was in 1204-5 (1790), cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* IV, pp. 583-4. He was a grandson of Canikli 'Alî Paşa. After Russian mediation, he was rehabilitated in 1213 (1798-9), and appointed vizier and governor of Trabzon. He died in 1215 (1801), cf. SO, pp. 718-9. H adds that his troops returned to Anapa and boarded three ships; owing to bad weather, the ships sank and no one survived; for a more detailed account of the events, see Gökçe, *Kafkasya*, pp. 154-62.

¹³⁵ L, ff. 66b-69a; H, ff. 63a*-65b*; this event apparently took place in 1211 (1796), cf. Gökçe, *Kafkasya*, pp. 183-4.

with the rank of vizier.¹³⁶ Şâîr Hüseyn Ağa, the former commissary-general under Feraḥ 'Alî Paşa, who knew the country, was appointed his proxy in order to make matters easier. When, upon arrival, the pasha's men were disappointed in their profits, the agha, suspected of laziness, was sent back to Istanbul. After a letter to the Porte, he was exiled to Sinop for a few months.¹³⁷

5.5. Digressions

So far the chronological narrative of the events, at least those relevant in the eyes of the author. But the memorandum offers more than a traditional political and military history. Even in the first chapter which discusses what I have called the preliminaries, the reader encounters a fascinating aspect of Hâşim Efendi's work: his keen interest in the manners, customs and language of the 'wild mountain dwellers'. The work contains a great many remarks, asides and even separate chapters on geographical, ethnographic and linguistic phenomena. As many Ottoman writers, Hâşim Efendi was - this must already have become clear from the summary so far - also interested in biographies, and the memorandum also includes a few autobiographical passages, often anecdotal.

5.5.1. Geography and Ethnography

In the first sentences of the memorandum, which are essentially describing political developments, Hâşim Efendi indicates the geographical backdrop to his narrative. First there is the Crimea, of which he writes:

"...it lies opposite the island of Taman in the straits of the Sea of Azak [Azov] at the extremity of the Black Sea and is 750 miles in circumference. It is also known as the Green Island and it allows ingress from the continent through a place called Orkapısı [Perekop]... On the aforementioned island of the Crimea there were 40,000 mosques, that is, it was full of as many quarters and a great

¹³⁶ This was also 1211 (1796). At the same time, he became governor of Ankara and Kayseri, cf. SO, p. 1301; Gökçe, *Kafkasya*, p. 184.

¹³⁷ L, f. 69b; H, f. 65b*.

abundance of communities. It was attractive and close to the heart for its lavishly producing scholars and sweet [*şirin*]¹³⁸ princes...¹³⁹

In a following sentence, the author directs his attention - as were the politicians in Istanbul at the beginning of the narrative - to Circassia, which is characterised thus:

“...[it should be noted that it takes] a hundred hours by sea from the port of the fortress of Sohum on the shore of Anatolia to the Kızıldağ Straits beneath the plain of Cemti¹⁴⁰ which lies on the Anatolian side of the River Kuban that marks the Islamic border, and going from there upwards along the River Kuban and reaching the slope of Mount Elbrus, [it takes another] hundred hours to a place called Hacciler Castle¹⁴¹ - this place is opposite Kabarda -; to arrive [back] in Sohum from the aforementioned mountain slope and from the slopes of enormous mountains that are an efficient barrier between the provinces of Lezgi¹⁴² and Abkhasia, thanks to the power of God, may His name be exalted, [it takes another] hundred hours, [so] it is [in all] a three hundred hour triangle. In this pleasant land there live and reside the Abkhasians who were essentially fathered and dispersed by, and descended from two ancestors called Koylu and Şaydı, as well as the Abazek,¹⁴³ Circassians and Naḩuḩac¹⁴⁴

138 It was also the name of an important Tatar clan. See for Crimean scholars: Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, 'Crimean Tatar and Nogay Scholars of the 18th Century', in Michael Kemper, Anke von Kügelgen & Dmitriy Yermakov, *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, Berlin 1996, pp. 279-96.

139 L, ff. 11b-12a; H, ff. 0b-1a.

140 From another passage in the text (cf. above), it is clear that this was a small peninsula in the estuary of the River Kuban.

141 A stronghold on the River Kuban, cf. above.

142 A place mentioned in Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, *Osmanlılar'ın Kafkas-elleri'ni fethi (1451-1590)*, Ankara 1976, p. 261.

143 A marginal gloss in L it is explained that the name should actually be spelt 'Abazeḩş', f. 69b; probably identical with the Abzakh, who lived in central Circassia, cf. Jaimoukha, *The Circassians*, p. 19.

144 Probably identical with the Nartkhuaj, who lived in north-western Circassia, cf. Jaimoukha, *The Circassians*, p. 19.

who, old men and boys aside, comprise 80,000 warriors and fighters with helmets on their heads and clothed in mail, wild mountain-dwellers, bereft of discernment, not able to distinguish between unbelief and Islam, but brave like Sam, Rustam and Nariman. They have familiar ties with and are mixed with the Tatars by proximity because they share the ancestry of the, by origin, Chingizid sultans, who were therefore their foster-fathers, but because they had not been held in respect by the courtesy of marriage and there had not been appointed and sent governors and officers [among them] by the Ottoman state, the latter did not know that there were [such] men on the earth other than Tatars...¹⁴⁵

In the following, not much space is dedicated to geographical features, although there are a few short descriptions of curiosities. Among them are the volcanic remains of the 'ash hills' of Taman, compared to chimneys of hell;¹⁴⁶ the sea horses of the Sea of Azak;¹⁴⁷ and a frightening cave man fettered in the mountains near Hâcciler Castle.¹⁴⁸ One section is devoted to living creatures, plants, fruits and vegetables. Hâşim Efendi mentions wild men (on Mount Elbruz); box trees (used for timber) which grew near Sohum; cornelian cherries and wild apples (in the mountains); and half-breed horses and foxes (on the coast of the Sea of Azak). In the region of Çupsun near Sohum grapes (for wine and arak) and tobacco were grown. Rarely, stinging-nettle and Chinese rhubarb [*at Kulağı*] were found on the market of Anapa. Most vegetables grown in the area were exported to Istanbul. In Taman a rich crop of melons was harvested from which *pekmez* was cooked.¹⁴⁹

145 L, f. 12b; H, ff. 1a-2b.

146 L, ff. 37b-38a; not found in H. There are twenty-five mud volcanoes on the peninsula, cf. 'Taman' Peninsula', in: *Great Soviet Encyclopædia* Vol. 25, New York & London, 1976. One of them seems to have erupted on 24 February 1794, cf. the map by the Dutch rear-admiral, J. van Woensel, *Kaart van het Nauw tussen de Zwarte en de Azovsche Zee* etc. in Leiden University Library, Port. 178 No. 115.

147 L, ff. 48a-b; not found in H.

148 L, ff. 65b-66b; H, ff. 55b-57a*.

149 L, ff. 48a-b; H, f. 47a.

There is more about the inhabitants of the region. Towards the end of his work, Hâşim Efendi gives a summary of what he had learned about the mountain tribes. Again mentioning the three main groups and their legendary ancestors, he writes that their leaders, unlike for instance Ottoman military commanders, belong to a hereditary nobility.¹⁵⁰ They are headstrong but intelligent, straightforward and loyal. Men do not normally let their beards grow, not even when they are old. The young pay respect to their elders and serve them like slaves. They do not usually kill each other or show hostility to one another, and do not fight each other. They tend to stick to their customs and have done so for centuries. They cultivate tobacco plants near their houses and sell the leaves for 25 para each. But they are indolent in every way and grow only what they need themselves. Their character is like that of the Arabs. Their clothes are all alike and there are no rich or poor among them. Friends cannot say no to each other and can take what they want from one another. If they are in need, they take sheep, animals and slaves from the Russians. Stealing is bravery for them. They do not fear the Russians. One Abkhasian is able to enslave ten Nogay Tatars reputed to be a brave people. They do not show hostility to their slaves and do not hurt them but keep them to be served by them and give them clothes and food. They tend to give back more than they receive. They would be very useful servants for the Porte.¹⁵¹ Some of these themes recur in other parts of the memorandum, where we find descriptions of habits of eating and drinking, the behaviour of women and girls, the exchange of presents and hospitality. The Circassian tribes with which the Ottomans came into closest contact and tried to become related to through marriage, were those of the Şapşık, sometimes also spelled Şapşih or Şapşığ. A marginal gloss in the Leiden manuscript connects the name of the tribe with that of a river, Şapşin,

150 In a marginal gloss in L, it is explained that among the Abkhasians and Circassians there are three ranks: *beg* (highest), *özden* (middle) and *tuğağı* (lowest: foot soldiers); *begs* were particular to Circassians, whereas among the Abkhasians and Abazeks the *özden* occupied the highest rank, f. 19b; see also the gloss on f. 45a, which explains that Abkhasians of the rank of *özden*, even if they married daughters of a Circassian *beg*, could not become *begs* themselves. In another gloss by the same reader, it is explained that the word *tuğağı* is related to the word *tuğav*, which means 'common people', followed by the particle *ğı*, which means 'horse', L, f. 13a.

151 L, ff. 69b-70b. This chapter is not found in H.

on one bank of which this people lived.¹⁵² They were said to be descendants of the legendary *Qoyli*,¹⁵³ elsewhere named as an ancestor of the Abkhasians (cf. quotation above).¹⁵⁴

A striking aspect of the social culture of the tribes, one with which foreigners, including the Ottomans, were immediately confronted was that of host-guest and master-slave relationships. If a foreigner travelling unprotected in Circassia did not find a host, he ran the almost inevitable risk of being enslaved. Hāşim Efendi discusses the first phenomenon, '*Qonukluk*', in a separate chapter. Rules concerning hospitability were elaborate. They consisted of uttering polite phrases when meeting and taking leave of a host/guest, and this was accompanied by exchanging caps and a long ride together; the exchange of lavish presents, including clothes, slaves and horses, irrespective of whether one could afford the expense or not; and sharing gifts with one's friends. Hosts had to do their utmost to satisfy their guests, whether they were poor or rich, a prince or a beggar, but guests should not exaggerate their demands for food, and the preparation of a chicken head is more than enough for a poor host. At night, the host should remain awake and ready to pay attention to the needs of the guest, and he should not sit down in the presence of his guest. When the guest has nothing left to bestow on the host, it is time for him to leave.¹⁵⁵

Slavery was not a phenomenon restricted to foreigners. The tribespeople could also consider members of their own group slaves, enslave them, sell them or give them away as gifts. In a chapter on adultery and sodomy, Hāşim Efendi explains that although women were visible in public and present, most conspicuously at festive banquets, and although boys and girls were allowed to hold hands and even spend some time together in a separate room, a boy should

¹⁵² L, f. 16a.

¹⁵³ L, f. 19a.

¹⁵⁴ Reading through the memorandum, one gets the impression that the various ethnic groups were not always distinguished too precisely, or sometimes not at all, by the author.

¹⁵⁵ L, ff. 45b-47a. This chapter is not found in H.

not soil the honour of a girl.¹⁵⁶ If this happened, stiff penalties had to be paid, a forced marriage could follow, or culprits, including family members, could be sold off even for paltry sums as slaves in markets or to sea captains calling at Circassian ports. This accounted for the export of 400 to 500 male and female slaves each year. In order to avoid such trouble, the practice of sodomy was widespread. Another phenomenon concerning close relationships was that of 'besleme' whereby a young man offers himself to a tribal leader and is accepted as a son. If such an adopted son was captured by robbers, the adopted father might buy him back by offering two of his daughters instead. The Canboyluk tribe of Tatars also sold their sons, widowers and orphans who were regarded as property by the tribal leader. It is well known, Hâşim Efendi continues, that most men who come to the well-protected lands are proud of the fact that they were either sold or given away. About 200 slaves changed hands every year in compensation for men who had been killed. Daughters' marriages were arranged between the families concerned. Spouses saw each other for the first time under a tree and in the presence of the father-in-law, upon which rituals of flight, acceptance or abduction followed.¹⁵⁷

The tribesmen were fond of feasts and banquets, which could be grand affairs lasting for three days and nights, with thousands of guests, and were accompanied by the firing of guns, singing and dancing. Food consisted mostly of lamb, beef and *pasta*, a bread-like pastry baked with water but without salt. Drinks included arak and *boza*. Vegetables were not considered edible. Banquets could be part of a religious ritual, such as concluding a month of fasting. Some of the religious rituals they adhered to were clearly Islamic in origin. Through their close relationship with the Crimean Tatars, among whom the Circassians used to send their sons to be educated, they had some notion of Islam but were ignorant of pure Islam, the Koran and civilised customs [*edebiyât*] in general, Hâşim Efendi commented. On 'aşûrâ [10 Muharrem] they used to distribute sweet soup containing vegetables to ten neighbours and nativity poems [*mevlidü n-nebî*] were read to them by *hōcas* from Taman.

¹⁵⁶ According to Hâşim Efendi, Circassian girls were found attractive by Ottoman soldiers; in order to prevent fattening after their seventh year, they were restrained by a belt around their middle, were put on a diet and had to sleep on straw covered with their clothes; they imitated the hairdo of elegant Istanbul girls, L, ff. 22b-23a.

¹⁵⁷ L, ff. 49b-52b; H, ff. 48b-51b.

Although they were generally aware of the duty of worship, some of these people ate forbidden meat, worshipped trees, red eggs and other objects, and others celebrated 'şavşuruk', some sort of Christmas, each year, when they, together with their brethren, enjoy a copious meal in honour of their prophet called Bit.¹⁵⁸ The tribespeople firmly believed in trees. Somewhere between Soğucağ and Sohum there was a big oak tree. It was used for magical practices, such as begging for good luck before raids and for good weather. Once a year a cow came down the mountains offering itself for sacrifice at the tree. Its blood was reputed to heal the sick and revive the dead. Such practices in favour of general well-being and a good harvest also took place around deputy trees near their houses. In all, thirty-three tree gods were worshipped, but only women could do that - Hâşim Efendi found this illogical and unreasonable.¹⁵⁹ Belief in magic was rife - I have already referred to talismans - and prognostication with the help of horse-beans [*bağla fâli*] and shoulder blades [*fâl-i ketf*] had been adopted from the Tatars and slaves from Turkestan.¹⁶⁰

5.5.2. The Languages of the Tribesmen

All through the memorandum, Hâşim Efendi inserts words and phrases from local languages, including Circassian and, allegedly, Tatar Turkish - we have already come across various examples.¹⁶¹ The following items have not yet been mentioned:¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ L, ff. 23a-26a; H, ff. 14a-16b.

¹⁵⁹ L, ff. 52b-53b; H, ff. 51b-52b.

¹⁶⁰ H, f. 56b; this passage is not found in L.

¹⁶¹ Evliyâ Çelebi did something similar; his travelogue also contains brief inventories of words and sentences in the Tatar, Nogay, Circassian and 'Kalmık' languages, cf. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman & Robert Dankoff, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyhatnamesi. Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu - Dizini*, Vol. 7 [hereafter ECS], Istanbul 2003, pp. 244-5, 271, 290, 330. Some of the items, found in the *Seyâhatnâme*, are also found in the memorandum, cf. the footnotes below.

¹⁶² With a few exceptions, these items are written in red ink, with long vowels and/or diacritical marks in the original; some of the words and phrases occur more than once. I am obliged to Slava Chirikba of Leiden University for information on some of the recognizably Circassian items that follow.

huşa bu tağa bu = welcome (words with which the Ottomans were welcomed by local men in Soğucak)¹⁶³

şağray = an agent¹⁶⁴

Kış Kırık = by word of mouth (said of the spreading of news)¹⁶⁵

misiyan = Circassian girls¹⁶⁶

varade varade = words uttered by Circassian girls at a banquet¹⁶⁷

hura(n) = exclamation uttered by Christians¹⁶⁸

tamağa (?) = priesthood¹⁶⁹

hakuştaş ve veşible = (first) words spoken by a priest warning his congregation to repent¹⁷⁰

şavka = gift¹⁷¹

tapşu = banquet¹⁷²

haçapa (?) = a barge used for piracy on the coast of Çupsun¹⁷³

163 Translated in the text itself as '*hoş geldiñiz şafâ geldiñiz*', L, f. 16a; H, f. 4b.

164 L, f. 17a; the word is not found in H. A marginal gloss in L, *ibidem*, explains that the term meant a man with a good memory, chosen by a tribe to accompany an emissary so that the latter would not be able to give a false report.

165 L, f. 19b; H, f. 8b; Nogay-Turkish for 'shout', 'clamour', cf. N.A. Baskakova, ed., *Nogaycko-Russkiy Slovar* [NRS], Moscow 1963, p. 204.

166 L, f. 20a; H, f. 9a.

167 *Ibidem*; these words were also noted by Evliyâ Çelebi, cf. Güneş, *Çerkezistan Notları*, p. 53; the words are used for refrains but have no specific meaning.

168 H, f. 9a; not in L.

169 L, f. 20a; H, f. 9a; the first vowel is not indicated in the text; translated as '*papazlık*' in the text; the word literally means 'elders' in Circassian.

170 L, f. 20a; H, ff. 9a-b; the expression is followed by this explanation, most fully in H: '*ya'nî ey bende-i kıymir ü yıldırım ve ey gâfilân-i hicâb-âlûd şimdiki-hâlde böyle gerekdür [deyü] karibü z-zamân âgâh olub nâdim ü pîşmân... olub...*' Shible was the Circassian god of the thunderbolt.

171 L, f. 20a; the word is omitted in H; '*savga*' or '*savkat*' in Nogay-Turkish, cf. NRS, p. 281.

172 H, f. 14b; translated as '*ziyâfet*'; the word does not occur in L.

173 L, f. 26b; H, 17a; first syllable not vocalised; explained in L as: '*... ma'une şeklinde be-lâ omurğa yigirmi beş arşun kaddında h..çapa ta'bîr olunur kayıklar...*'

kufut = envoy¹⁷⁴

karı = old man¹⁷⁵

yaş = young man¹⁷⁶

kab haşab = they are going to kill [us]¹⁷⁷

tirmac = dragoman, translator¹⁷⁸

ötürük = a lie¹⁷⁹

Allâha bakasız tohtasız pâdişâh Rusya ile yaraşmışdur = for the love of God, sit down, the Sultan and Russia have made peace (a phrase to be said by an Ottoman agent to Tatars in order to keep them from fighting Russians)¹⁸⁰

piçen = dry grass¹⁸¹

ğumul = fermented dough¹⁸²

174 L, f. 27a; H, f. 17b.

175 H, f. 19b; the word does not occur in L; Tatar- and Nogay-Turkish, cf. *Tatarsko-Russkyi Slovar*, Academy of Science of the Soviet Union, Moscow 1966 [TRS], p. 236; NRS, p. 151; see also EÇS, p. 244; cf. Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, p. 647.

176 L, f. 29a; H, f. 20b; Tatar-Turkish, cf. TRS, p. 721.

177 L, f. 32b; expression not found in H; the text in L quotes the words of mothers frightening their children by saying: '*Türk geliyor kab haşab ya'ni katl eder deyü havfa tâbi' olub...*'

178 H, f. 36a; the word does not occur in L; the word is obviously a contaminated form of '*ulmaç*', which occurs in Chagatay and Kipchak, cf. Clauson, *Dictionary*, p. 500.

179 L, f. 40a; the word is not found in H; Nogay-Turkish, cf. NRS, p. 263; Clauson, *Dictionary*, p. 66.

180 L, f. 41a; not found in H; translated in L as '*Allâhu severseñ oturasız pâdişâh Rusya ile barışmışdur*'; the verb '*tohta-*' means 'to stop', 'to wait', is of Karaite origin, and occurs in some Anatolian dialects today, cf. Baruch Podolsky, *A Greek Tatar-English Glossary*, Wiesbaden 1985, p. 24; *Derleme Sözlüğü X*, Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara 1978, p. 3945; the verb '*yaraşmak*' is used in Tatar- and Nogay-Turkish, cf. TRS, p. 714; NRS, p. 462, and in Ottoman Turkish with the slightly different meaning of 'to harmonise'.

181 L, f. 42a; not found in H.

182 L, f. 43b; not found in H; it occurs as '*gomil*' in EÇS, p. 290, a Circassian word indicating 'a type of food', see also below; the basic meaning is 'provisions', 'victuals'.

taḷkan = fermented dough mixed with honey¹⁸³

tikilit paşamu = the pasha's secretary¹⁸⁴

ḳup = Circassian law¹⁸⁵

Hâşim Efendi also has a brief excursus on Circassian names: these consisted of the syllable 'ha', which meant 'dog',¹⁸⁶ followed by epithets, creating compounds like *ḥapak* ('big dog'), *ḥapraḳ* ('lucky dog'), *ḥapic* ('curly dog'), *ḥajun* ('hunting dog') and *ḥavcu* ('sharp dog'). These were as soon as possible changed into more acceptable ones like Meḥmed, 'Alî, Ḥasan and Ḥüseyn.¹⁸⁷

Apart from incidental items, the memorandum also contains a list of expressions and words, as the heading states, taken from the language of the tribes but mixed with Chagatay elements. They are followed by Ottoman Turkish equivalents. (In fact, most words are of Turkish origin.) They were used, according to the heading preceding it, in orders [*buyruldi*] and council certificates [*dîvân tezkeresi*].¹⁸⁸ Only a few of them are completely vocalised. Some of these items are also found in the running text of the memorandum. They are (in alphabetical order) - items marked with an asterisk are only found in the Topkapı MS:¹⁸⁹

a si özḥan = *a benim efendim* (my dear sir)

Allâha baḳ = *Allâhu sev* (love God)

183 Ibidem; not found in H; Tatar-Turkish, 'oat flower', cf. NRS, p. 512; cf. EÇS, p. 144; Clauson, *Dictionary*, p. 496.

184 L, f. 47b; not found in H.

185 Ibidem; not found in H.

186 Cf. L. Loewe, *Dictionary of the Circassian Language*, London 1854, p. cxv. In some traditional societies, ill-sounding or animal, especially dogs', names are given to children in order to deceive evil demons, cf. Alexander Haggerty Krappe, *The Science of Folk-lore*, London 1930, p. 223. (I am indebted to Laban Kaptein for this reference.)

187 The Circassian names only occur in H, f. 16b - the last item is only found in Cevdet Paşa, *Târîḥ* III, p. 149.

188 L, f. 29a; H, f. 20b; the heading in H states that they were 'Tatar words'.

189 Two items are illegible and without equivalent.

- alaşa* = *bārgīr, esb* (horse)¹⁹⁰
*aruġ** (?)¹⁹¹ = *güzel** (beautiful)
bala = *oġul* (son)¹⁹²
beg = *aşılzāde* (nobleman)
börk = *kalpak* (fur cap)¹⁹³
*cür** = *git** (go)
çav = *fesh-i sulh ve 'adāvet* (breaking the peace and hostility)
ġoltuz = *yatalum* (let us lay down)
ġoncuñ çiki = *ġömlegiñi çıkar* (he takes off your shirt)
*ġözgi** = *āyine** (mirror)¹⁹⁴
kabak (?)¹⁹⁵ = *hāne ve mekān* (house and place)¹⁹⁶
ka ko = *ta 'āl* (come); *gel** (come)
Ķara kişi = *çengāne* (gypsy); *Ķıbt ve çengāneleri** (gypsies)
karṭ = *iḥtiyār* (old)¹⁹⁷
kaytar = *perişan et* (scatter)¹⁹⁸
kiş = *yay kabı* (bow holder)¹⁹⁹

190 Tatar-Turkish, cf. TRS, p. 31.

191 First syllable not vocalised; '*aruġ*' = clean, occurs in Chagatay and other Turkish languages, cf. Clauson, *Dictionary*, p. 213; János Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, Bloomington 1966, p. 279.

192 Tatar-Turkish, 'child', TRS, p. 54; the original meaning is 'young bird', it occurs in Chagatay and Kipchak, cf. Clauson, *Dictionary*, p. 332.

193 Word used both in Ottoman, Chagatay and Nogay-Turkish, cf. NRS, p. 87; Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, p. 284; cf. EÇS, p. 244.

194 '*ġözgi*' in Ottoman Turkish.

195 First syllable not vocalised.

196 '*kabak*' = 'mountain village' in Nogay-Turkish (cf. NRS, p. 139); 'tavern' in Tatar-Turkish (cf. TRS, p. 196).

197 See previous section.

198 Tatar-Turkish, cf. TRS, p. 212; basic meaning is 'to turn', 'to turn back', cf. Clauson, *Dictionary*, p. 675; it also occurs in Chagatay and Kipchak.

199 'kiss' = 'purse' in Circassian, cf. Loewe, *Dictionary*, p. clx; '*keş*' = quiver, occurs in Turkish languages, cf. Clauson, *Dictionary*, p. 752.

- kuftu* = *elçi* (envoy)²⁰⁰
ku = *zirih* (armour)
maju kaḥ (?)²⁰¹ = *atiş ver* (give fire)
mariye = *câriye* (female slave)²⁰²
multık = *tüfenk kurşunu* (rifle bullet)²⁰³
mule-de = *avrat* (woman)
ne yaşar = *ne yapar* (what is he doing?)²⁰⁴
ne ko = *gelme* (do not go)
oṭav = *ḥayme* ve* çadır* (tent)²⁰⁵
özden = *kişizâdeden aşağı* (of lower rank than a nobleman); *celebi**
 (gentleman)²⁰⁶
*özüm** = *ḥod ya'nî kendüm** (myself)²⁰⁷
pice = *kız* (girl, daughter)²⁰⁸
pisi kaḥ (?)²⁰⁹ = *şu ver* (give water)
şadak (?)²¹⁰ = *yay* (bow)
sipāh = *kişizâde* (nobleman)

200 See previous section.

201 The second word not vocalised; '*mahzwa*'= fire in Circassian, cf. Loewe, *Dictionary*, p. xxvii; '*kaḥ*'= 'bring', cf. Loewe, *Dictionary*, p. ix; it literally means 'hither', 'this way'.

202 It also occurs in EÇS, p. 244, as a Tatar-Turkish word meaning, 'woman', 'female slave'.

203 Tatar- and Nogay-Turkish, meaning 'rifle', cf. TRS, p. 380; NRS, p. 230; the word also occurs in EÇS, p. 145, with the meaning of 'bullet'.

204 Chagatay and Tatar-Turkish, cf. Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, p. 323; TRS, p. 717.

205 Nogay-Turkish, cf. NRS, p. 253.

206 Cf. above.

207 Cf. Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, p. 307.

208 '*psahsey*'= 'girl' in Circassian, cf. Loewe, *Dictionary*, p. xxxi.

209 The second word not vocalised; '*psi*'= 'water' in Circassian, cf. Loewe, *Dictionary*, p. lxxxiv, '*kaḥ*'= 'bring', ibidem, p. ix. EÇS, p. 290, has '*ka*'.

210 First syllable not vocalised; '*zaghan dak*'= 'bow' in Circassian, Loewe, *Dictionary*, p. viii; the word is of Mongolian origin and means 'quiver', cf. Clauson, *Dictionary*, p. 752.

- talamağ* = *ğaşb etmek* (to confiscate)²¹¹
tanuğ = *şāhid* (witness)²¹²
tapşı = *ziyāfet cem'iyeti* (banquet gathering)²¹³
*taş toğulğa** = *baş tācı** (crown)
*tikilit** = *kātib efendi** (Mr Secretary)
ton = *libās* (clothes)²¹⁴
tohta = *otur* (sit down)²¹⁵
tuğağı = *kul ve cāriyeden hāşıl olub her kabīle derūnunda olanlar* (those being the off-spring of slaves and found in every tribe); *kul ve cāriyeden zuhūr eden** (someone originating from slaves)²¹⁶
yağşı = *eyü* (good); *güzel** (beautiful)²¹⁷
yaman = *fenā* (bad)²¹⁸
yaraş = *barışmağ* (to make peace)²¹⁹
*yaraşmuş** = *barışmış** (reconciled)²²⁰
yaş = *tāze deli kanlu* (a fresh young man); *cevān** (young man)²²¹

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- 211 Tatar-Turkish, 'to pillage', cf. TRS, p. 511; it also occurs in Chagatay and Ottoman Turkish, cf. Clauson, *Dictionary*, p. 492.
212 Word used both in Ottoman and Tatar-Turkish, cf. TRS, p. 515
213 See previous section.
214 Tatar-Turkish for 'fur coat', cf. Podolsky, *Glossary*, p. 24; Nogay-Turkish for 'coat', cf. NRS, p. 356; 'clothing' in Chagatay and Ottoman Turkish, cf. Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, p. 319.
215 See previous section; the same form with the same meaning is also found in EÇS, p. 244, as a Tatar-Turkish word.
216 Cf. above.
217 Word used in Ottoman, Chagatay and Nogay-Turkish, cf. Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, p. 323; NRS, p. 473; see also EÇS, p. 244.
218 It also occurs in EÇS, p. 244, as a Tatar-Turkish word with the same meaning; cf. Clauson, *Dictionary*, p. 937.
219 See the previous section.
220 See the previous section.
221 See the previous section.

The word list is followed by the text of an order concerning the construction of the fortress of Nogay, issued by Ferah 'Alî Paşa, in a mixture of Ottoman and Chagatay/Tatar Turkish.²²² Cevdet Paşa in his History added a word list²²³ which contains the non-Ottoman elements - I include items not yet mentioned:

kabaklarına salındı = yol verildi (they were dismissed)²²⁴

*katıgan (?)*²²⁵ = *toñmaq* (to become frozen)

tiş kuli = *tışarudaki fırka* (flank regiment)

*toğan ve çuvuk (?)*²²⁶ = *büyük ve küçük* (old and young)

tohtamak = *tevak্কuf ve ārām etmek* (to stop and rest)²²⁷

The document shows that the Ottoman authorities made some effort to adapt themselves to the linguistic environment of their Caucasian outposts, and that by doing so, the Chancellery personnel had to learn at least a few words unfamiliar to them. To what extent this effort may have been initiated by Hâşim Efendi or to what extent the Tatar dragoman, Kirli Mehmed Ağa, who was in the employ of the Ottomans (cf. above), was involved, we do not know. The inclusion of foreign words and a detailed glossary shows, anyway, that the author was interested in the local languages, as he was in the strange customs of the tribesmen.

5.5.3. Autobiography

Thanks to a number of autobiographical passages in the memorandum - I have already referred to some of them in passing - we also know that Hâşim Efendi's social life was not restricted to a small circle of fellow-Ottomans in and around his offices in Soğucağ and Anapa, but that he went out and became acquainted with, and even made friends of, some local people. Although Hâşim Efendi does not inform us about his family - Ottoman writers hardly ever did

²²² L, ff. 29a-b; H, ff. 20b-21a; for the historical context, cf. above.

²²³ *Tarih* III, p. 323

²²⁴ Literally: 'they were let off to their places', cf. also the previous section.

²²⁵ First syllable not vocalised.

²²⁶ First syllable in last word not vocalised.

²²⁷ Cf. above.

that - we are informed about some details of his household. From more than one passage we learn that he was a slave-owner. He even possessed 'numerous male and female slaves', although he was too poor - 'for five years I was unable to lay my hands on gold or silver' - to give them new clothes.²²⁸ He was not so poor, however, that he was not able to have a coffeehouse, two pavilions and a bathhouse with two cupolas built in Anapa.²²⁹ At least one slave, as said above, was given to him by Feraḥ 'Alī Paşa: a young ('smooth-faced') Russian soldier who had given himself up in Hâcciler Castle. Hâşim Efendi felt sorry for the young man and allowed him to visit his mother, the Russian border being only four hours' travel away. Impressed by the supernatural power of the Imam Manşür, the young man subsequently converted to Islam. Consequently, he was no longer put into chains every night but, while putting his hand on a register [*defter*],²³⁰ had to swear loyalty to his master in the presence of the dragoman.²³¹

Hâşim Efendi became friends with at least one local chief, the aforementioned Zañoğlu Meḥmed Giray Beg, who lived in a village one and a half hours away from Anapa. (He was related to the family of the Crimean khans through his wife who had become a sister by adoption of the last khan's daughter.) Keeping up the friendship also meant becoming involved in complicated patterns of gift exchange. One of the annual visits to the author was, as he explains in a separate chapter, preceded by an exchange of presents: Hâşim Efendi sent a ball of flowered Aleppan textile while the *beg*, in order to reward him for his hospitality, was expected to give him a slave girl of five and a half span - value was traditionally expressed in length only, as the author explains. When Hâşim Efendi sent a man to fetch the slave, it appeared she was not available, having been given away to a friend who had come first. Instead, Hâşim Efendi was offered, on loan, his wife, his daughter and a Cossack slave belonging to a relation, Aḳ Göz Sultan. After lengthy negotiations involving Feraḥ 'Alī Paşa and a group of the tribe's elders, the transaction was deemed illegal according to local law and in the end Hâşim Efendi obtained the slave he

228 H, f. 10a; the passage does not occur in L.

229 H, f. 20b; the passage does not occur in L.

230 H: on the book of God.

231 L, ff. 35a-b; H, f. 35a-b.

had expected to receive.²³² Hâşim Efendi was on quite intimate terms with his patron, Feraḥ 'Alî Paşa. Once, after having shared a meal with him and a footman had removed the coffee cups, the author, as he writes in a separate chapter, left the pasha, who, ruminating on his approaching death, had fallen silent after having told him some anecdotes. When the guards had found out that 'Alî Paşa had been left alone, panic struck and one of the men grabbed the author by his collar, threatening to kill him with his sword. He was only absolved after he had sworn never to leave the pasha alone again. It became clear to him then that there was always a risk that a Taman Tatar, a recently converted tribesman or Russian could try to murder the pasha.²³³

5.6. Colophons

Perhaps in an effort to counter the bleak prospect for the Ottomans on the north-eastern shore of the Black Sea and persuade the Porte that it might not be too late, Hâşim Efendi concluded his book in the draft Leiden manuscript with a piece of advice to the Sultan. The chapter is called 'A summary of how to rule the aforementioned tribes'.²³⁴ At least a part of the text was that of a memorandum sent to Istanbul by Feraḥ 'Alî Paşa, begging support for his policies. In the past the latter had only been granted the province of Trabzon by the Porte, although he had asked for the dispatch of the *alay begleri* of Sivas, Erzurum and Trabzon to Anapa in order to reinforce the garrison there. This meant that only 150 feudatories from that province (instead of the requested 300 to 400) with their retinue found their way to Anapa. But because they were given new uniforms, had built up the place, founded households and regularly participated in council meetings, it was clear to observers from the outside that they were there to stay, and this made the them tremble. In order to turn these brave Turks into an effective force, they needed to be trained, preferably in the company of their slaves. They should not be tempted to go into trading and lose capital. More funds were therefore needed and it would be a good thing if the pasha were given the province of Kütahya and the feudal revenue [*arpalık*] and soldiery of Canik and Trabzon as well. The arrival of these men, horsemen and

232 L, ff. 47a-48a; H, ff. 45b-46b.

233 L, ff. 44a-b; the chapter is not found in H.

234 L, ff. 70b-71b.

gunners, with banners unfurled and on many ships would make an impression on the tribes. It would also increase the revenue of tithes and open the road to Daghestan, so that the tribes would be subjected and their country part of the well-protected lands. If war were to break out with Russia, it could be overcome by both the regular army and its allies in the Caucasus.

For what exact reason this section was inserted at the end of the Leiden manuscript is unclear, but it was omitted from the neat (Topkapı) manuscript. Instead, a more conventional epilogue ending in a proper colophon was put into it.²³⁵ In it, the exploits of Hâşim Efendi's patron, the late Ferah 'Alî Paşa, are summarised. He was of Georgian origin and in his youth, seeking knowledge and wisdom, he joined the company of the Hıalvetiye Sheik, Maḥmūd Efendi. He took the oath and became his servant, adopting the pen-name of Ferah. Later he became private secretary [*mühr-dār*] of Koca 'Abdî Paşa;²³⁶ Deputy Governor [*kā'im-maḳām*] and Governor of Rumelia; and warden [*muḥâfiẓ*] of Soğucağ with the rank of vizier. Within five years he was able to subject the tribes and build a great port and frontier town, Anapa. Unfortunately, however, despite his reliable and statesman-like service to the State, he was not trusted by some men who thought ill of him. But on his death the only thing he left behind was a few coins. The pasha's fame stands out even more clearly, Hâşim Efendi concludes, compared to the calamities that befell Anapa at the hands of Bîcānoğlı, Hâlidoglı, İpeklioglı, Şâtır Hüseyin Ağa, Köse Muştafâ Paşa and others, described earlier. His great deeds are well documented in the writings of a clerk of the *Divân* and, at present, Major of Istanbul [*şehr emîni*], Cavid Aḥmed Beg, and these, consulted after he had asked for them, were incorporated and commented upon by Hâşim Efendi in this memorandum (cf. also above).

6. Language and Style

So far we have discussed the contents of the memorandum. As said above, the text is not only interesting because of its content, but also for its peculiar codicological background. Because we are in the possession of two

²³⁵ H., ff. 65b*-66a*.

²³⁶ Statesman and governor of a great number of provinces, d. 1204 (1789-90), SO, pp. 53-4.

autographs, or near-autographs, and a third version in an edition by an outstanding historian of a following generation, we are able to obtain a rare insight into how a traditional prose text was composed and transformed at the hands of its author, in our case a bureaucrat of more than average skill and learning. It also allows us to interpret it, as it were, through the eyes of another outstanding intellectual of a following generation which had begun to leave the path of traditional *inşâ* and actively participated in the policies of reform.

When the language and style of memorandum in the Leiden and Istanbul manuscript versions are compared where that is meaningful (in most passages the texts are too different), it can roughly be said that in the Istanbul text the author tried to raise the level of the prose style of the draft to a full-fledged rhymed prose, including the full panoply of Arabic quotations, and Persian and Turkish verses, which are lacking in the draft. In order to give some idea of how this process worked, I will analyse one passage. I will also quote the same passage from Cevdet Paşa's History, which, in all probability, did not follow the text of what now probably is the Medina manuscript in all details and adapted the phrasing to the more modern standards of his time. It describes a rebellion among a group of mercenary troops, *yamağan*, who were lodged in the fortress of Soğucağ and could no longer bear the poverty, boredom and isolation of the Ottoman outpost probably when the first winter set in. The chapter is headed: 'The execution of the mercenaries', and in Cevdet Paşa's History: 'Sedition and rebellion among the soldiers'. The opening sentence - I have omitted about a half of it - in the Leiden manuscript reads as follows in transcription²³⁷ (f. 21b) - words in bold indicate that they are shared in one or two of the other quoted versions:

hengām-ı şitâ taḳarrüb edüb
Soğucağ lafzı ta'birine muvaffak menba'-i bürüdet-i şitâ
ve 'askeri miyânında vâkı' olan intifâ'
daḫı ticâretten 'ibâret ve menhiyât u hevâ

²³⁷ Unless otherwise indicated in the script, I add vocalisation conservatively, that is, according to the rules of pre-modern Ottoman Turkish; in some words we find divergent spellings, as in *oldığı* (instead of *olduğu*) or *'ömrümüz* (instead of *'ömrümüz*), written with *plene yâ* in the second syllable, or modern *olmadığını* (instead of *olmadığını*), with *plene yâ* in the third syllable.

vu hevese ruḥṣat olmadığından
 derūnlarında bulunan şerr-piṣeler muḥtārlarını ya'nī baş
 eskilerini iğfāl
 ve dünyādan bīrūn aḥiret-miṣāli
 senede bir kerre eger muḥālefet-i rūzgār ile bir sefine gelür
 ise
 dār u diyārımız ve diyār-i islāmdan belki ḥaber-dār
 olabiliyoruz
 şu dünyāda 'ömrümüz olduğca bir loḳma nān kısmetümüz
 sāye-veş kanda gider isek
 bizüm ile berāber gidüb 'ināyet-i ḥaḳḳ ile buluruz
 bu vezīrūn sāyesinde müddet-i vāfireden-berü ḥizmet-kār
 olub
 yolına cān u baş fedā edüb
 semmūr u sincab ve aḫlas u dībā
 ile mülebbes olan
 pīr ü cevān
 ağalar müşār ileyhūn lāf u güzāfına i'tikād u imān edüb
 aḥiret hevesi-yle 'uryān
 ve cigerlerin piryān
 eyledükleri
 kemāl-i ḥamākatlarındandır
 [...]

hemān ittifaḳan silāḥumuzu alub limanda merbūṫ iki kıṫ'a
 tombaz sefinelerini zabṫ ve irkāb u fekk-i lenger edüb
 ḥurūc ve deryāya çıkdıgumuzda
 elbet rūzgār bizleri semt-i selāmete resīde eder [...]

hevāmuzu buluruz deyü birbirlerin iğfāl eyledüklerini
 kapu ḥalkı müşār ileyhe iḥbār
 ve der-'aḳab sefinelerüñ dümen yekeleri aḫz olunmaḳ fermān
 olundi

In the Topkapı manuscript, we find the following text (ff. 11a-b):
 hengām-ı şitā takarrüb edüb
 altı māh 'ālem-i dünyādan ya'nī İstanbul ve Anaṫoli ve Rum elinden
 murğ-ı bālā-pervāz daḫı gelüb gitmek muḥāl

ve cânib-i deryâ mesdûd olduğundan ğayri
 berren daħı irtikâb meşakk-i tarîk ile yol bulub
 necât u rehâya mecâl olmadığını
 ve dâd u sitâd daħı sefâiniñ âmed ü refi ile olduğu
 ve hevâ-yi nefsanîyete bir vech-ile ruḥsat olmayub
 şeyhe muvâfaqata muhtâc olduğu
 şerr-pîşegân-ı yeñiçeriyân baş eskileri birbirlerin igfâl
 ve dünyâdan bîrûn âhîret-mişâl
 senede bir kerre muhâlefet-i rûzgâr ile bir sefine gelür ise
 dâr u diyârumuz ve diyâr-ı islâmdan belki haber-dâr
 olabiliyoruz
 şu dünyâda 'ömrümüz oldukça bir loḫma nân-ı 'azîz kısmetümüz
 sâye-veş kanda isek
 andadur
 bu vezîrûñ sâyesinde hizmet-kâr olub
 ugrına cân u baş fedâ
 ve sincab u semmür ve aḫlas u dibâ
 ile mülebbes olan
 aḫyân
 müşâr ileyhüñ lâf u güzâfına firifte vü i'tikâd u imân
 âhîret hevesi-yle 'uryân
 ve cigerlerin piryân
 eyledükleri
 mecmû'iuñ fıkdan-ı 'aḫl u hüş
 ve hamâkatlarındandur
 [...]

hemân bi-l-ittifâk silâhlanub
 limanda merbûḫ iki kıḫ'a ḫombaz sefinelerini zabḫ u irkâb
 ve deryâya ḫurûc
 ve elbet rûzgâr semt-i selâmete resîde eder [...]

nâ'il-i maḫşûd u merâm oluruz deyi ittifâk eyledüklerini
 vukûfi olan kavvâşân ve sâ'ir tebdilân müşâr^{ân} ileyhe takrir ü ihbâr
 eyledüklerinde

der-'aķab sefīnelerūñ dūmen yekeleri aķz ve [... tefhīm olunub...]

Cevdet Pasa quoted the text as follows (pp. 144-5):

*hengām-ı ŧitā gelüb
zāten mevķi' daķı menba'-i bürüdet olmaķ hasebi-yle Soĝucaķ
ta'birinüñ ma'nası nümāyān olduĝına
ve menhiyāta daķı ruķŧat olmayub
'askeri beyninde eglence ve kazanc yalnüz ticāretten 'ibāret
bulunduĝına binā'en ba'z-i ser-piŧeler muķtārlarını ya'nī
baŧ eskilerini iĝfāl
etmege baŧlamıŧlar.
ŧöyle ki: dūnyādan hāric āķiret-miŧāli böyle bir maķall-i tengnāka
senede bir kerre eger kađārā muķālefet-i havā ile bir sefīne
buralara dūŧer ise
dār u diyārumuzdan belki haber alabileceĝiz
ŧu dūnyāda 'ömrümüz olduķca bir loķma nān kısmetümüz
sāye-veŧ kanda gider isek
bizüm ile berāber gidüb 'ināyet-i haķķ ile buluruz
bu paŧaya müddet-i vāfireden-berü ħidmet-kār olub-da
yolına cān u baŧ fedā eden
bir taķım pīr ü cevān
semmūr u sincab ve aķlas u dībā
ile mülebbes iken
anuñ lāf u ĝüzāfına i'tikād u imān edüb
aldanaraķ
āķiret hevesi-yle 'uryān
ve ciĝerlerin piryān
etmeleri
kemāl-i ħamāķatlarındandır
[...]
hemān bi-l-ittifāķ silāķlarımızı alub ve limanda merbuķ iki
ķıķ'a ŧombaz sefīnelerini zabt ile süvār olub deryāya
çıķdıĝumuzda
elbette rüzĝār bizi semt-i selāmete iŧāl eder [...]
hevāmuzu bulub giderüz deyü birbirlerin iĝfāl eyledüklerini*

*gedüklüler tıyub paşaya iħbār eyledüklerinde
der-ħâl gemileriün dümen ve yekeleriniün alınmasını emr ediüb [...]*

The translation of this passage in the Leiden manuscript is as follows:

'The winter season approached and because Soğucağ was a source for the coldness of winter in accordance to what the word 'soğucağ' means while the benefit that occurred among its soldiers consisted of trade but no allowance was made to [such] forbidden things or [their] lust and passions, the evil-doers²³⁸ who were amongst them began to deceive their headmen, namely their leading elders, saying: "We are able to receive news from our home country and the world of Islam perhaps only once a year if a ship arrives by a contrariness of the wind [to this] outlandish [place] like the hereafter. As long as we live in this world our lot, which is [but] a piece of bread, follows wherever we go like a shadow, and, with the grace of God, we find it. It is due to their perfect folly that these aghas, young and old, dressed in sable, squirrel fur, satin and brocade, who have been serving under this vizier [Ferah 'Alî Paşa] for such a long time, sacrificing heart and soul on his behalf, believe and put their faith in his idle words, going naked in [their] longing for the other world and grilling their livers [i.e. suffering greatly] in the process... When, by mutual consent, we take our weapons, grab and board the two barges that lay tied in the harbour, cut the anchors, go away and take to the sea, the wind will surely bring us to safe quarters and we will find fulfilment of our desire." The officials connected to the outer courts of the Imperial Gate reported to the aforementioned one [the pasha] how they thus had been seducing each other and immediately afterwards orders were given that the rudders [and] tillers of the ships be captured instantly.'

(Here the sentence comes to an end in the Leiden version but in the two others it goes on for a while. The mercenaries were stopped by force. When they turned against the pasha and his retinue, some of them were shot dead. Afterwards, nine rebels and an innocent bystander were found guilty and executed.)

²³⁸ The word *şerr-pişe* (and in Cevdet Pasa's text *ser-pişe*) is not, it seems, documented in any dictionary.

If we compare the Istanbul text with the Leiden version, we see that the author, after the first short clause, changed the text considerably. In translation this passage would result in:

'The winter season approached and because for six months it would be impossible for high-flying birds to come from the nether world, that is, from Istanbul, Anatolia and Rumelia, and go again, and apart from the fact that the sea was barred, with the ravines in the road there was no course for escape and salvation by riding overland. Moreover, buying and selling was only possible when ships came and there was no permission of any kind of carnal passions, conforming to their religious elder being necessary, the evil-doers among the Janissaries, began to seduce the leading elders and each other...'

One gets the impression that the passage was not so much altered here in order to raise the level of complexity in the rhymed prose - both variations are rich in rhyme and assonance - as to make the text more literary, including the imagery of flying birds, sailing ships and difficult journeying by land, or, on the other hand, more succinct. Variations in the part of the sentence that follows but is not repeated here concern details, like choice of vocabulary, and do not change the basic meaning. In both versions the discourse held by the rebels is a striking literary artifice, which the author kept intact in the polished version. A substantial addition in the Topkapı MS, not found in the two other versions, is found in a clause that follows the first part of the quotation ending in '*hamâkatlarındandır*'. Here we read - the passage begins with an Arabic quotation:

"ed-dünya harâm 'alâ ehli l-âhire ve l-âhire harâm 'alâ ehli d-dünyâ ve hümmâ harâmân 'alâ ehli llâh" bizler zümre-i âhiretden olmayub ve Hâccî Bektaş Velî küçiklerinden ve mağfurlarındanız'

In translation:

"This world is forbidden to the people of the other world and the other world is forbidden to the people of this world; both are forbidden to the people of God." We do not belong to the party of the other world but to the children of Hajji Bektash Veli whose sins are forgiven.'

In the Istanbul version we find more of such passages that point to the reverence by the soldiery for the patron saint of the Janissaries and, by extension perhaps, of the Alevi inclinations of the author.

To return to the philological details of our fragment: the more small-scale variations found in the Topkapı version of the text are the following - the Leiden version precedes the Topkapı one:

1. *aḥiret-miṣāli* > *aḥiret-miṣāl*
2. *nān* > *nān-i 'azīz*
3. *yolına* > *uğrına*
4. *fedā edüb* > *fedā*
5. *semmür u sincab* > *sincab u semmür*
6. *pīr ü cevān ağalar* > *ağayān*
7. *lāf u güzāfına i'tikād u imān edüb* > *lāf u güzāfına firīfte vü i'tikād u imān*
8. *kemāl-i hamākatlarındandır* > *mecmū'ınuñ fıkdān-i 'aql u hüṣ hamākatlarındandır*
9. *ittifākan silāhumuzı alub* > *bi-l-ittifāk silāhlanub*
10. *fekk-i lenger edüb ḥurūc ve deryāya çıkdüğümüzda* > *deryāya ḥurūc ve*
11. *hevāmuzı buluruz* > *nā'il-i maḫşūd u merām oluruz*
12. *kapu ḥalkı* > *vukūfı olan kavvāşān ve sā'ir tebdilān*
13. *iḥbār* > *takrīr ü iḥbār*

Comparing the two versions, we find a tendency towards embellishment, a heightened level of learnedness and the addition of rare words or quotations, and also improved rhyme. The process of change was subtle, and in details difficult to fathom by a modern reader, depending as it was on the literary taste of the author. To what extent this was a conscious effort is unanswerable. Changing words sometimes went together with a slight change of content and this should again remind us how literary much of Ottoman historiography actually was and how cautious we should be in using such texts as treasure troves of facts.

The types of changes discussed above are typical for the text as a whole. I will take the opportunity of giving a few more examples of this procedure of

embellishment. An element, not found in the passage analysed above, was the removal of common or more modern words and grammatical forms, replacing them by more *recherché* (Arabic and Persianite) ones. Thus we find:

- emr-i 'ālī-şān* (12b) > *emr-i hümayün-i şevket-maḳrūn* (1b)
vüzerā ve mīr-i mīrān (13b) > *vüzerā-yi 'izām ve mīr-i mīrān-i kirām* (2a)
büyükcek (14a) > *kebīrce* (2b)
el degirmeni (14b) > *degirmen-i dest* (3a)
bir kaç (14b) > *çend* (3a)
hedīye vermek (14b) > *'aḫīye i'tāsı* (3b)
andan alub (15b) > *mübāya'a* (4a)
beş vaḳt (16a) > *evḳāt-i ḫamse* (5a)
aḫa (16b) > *cezīre* (5b)
ḫānūn üzere (17a) > *ḫānūn baṣṭı-yla* (6a)
diḳḳat-i tāmm (19b) > *diḳḳat-i tāmm u ihtimām* (8b)

But on the other hand we find:

- mīrzā-yi şīrīnānunu* (11b) > *şīrīn mīrzālarını* (0b)
irkāb-i merkeb (15a) > *irkāb* (3b)
şānīyen (16a) > *ikinci* (5a)
i'tibār u ikram (17b) > *i'tibār* (6b)

More telling than these rather simple alterations is a long-winded elaboration like:

- irtikāb-i dürüg u zīnā vu livāḫadan ḡāyetü l-ḡāye ḫazer ü mücānebet eylemek* (7b)

(‘to do one’s utmost to be on the alert for and avoid committing perjury, adultery and sodomy’) whereas the Leiden MS has:

- yalan söylememek ve zīnā vu livāḫa etmemek* (18b)

(‘not to tell lies and not to commit adultery and sodomy’)

If we, finally, read the version found in Cevdet Pasa’s History, we find a further adaptation of the text to what appears to be a more modern syntax and both simpler and more explicit (progressive), less dense (regressive), language. Comparing his version with the Leiden text, which, as said above, it closely

resembles, we find that a few passages are rewritten altogether, although key words are maintained (but rhyme is abandoned). One finds the following cases:

1. *taḡarrüb edüb > gelüb*
2. *Soğucaḡ lafzı ta'birine muvaffaḡ > Soğucaḡ ta'biriniñ ma'nası niimâyân oldığına*
3. *menba'-i bürüdet-i şitâ > zâten mevki' daḡı menba'- i bürüdet olmak ḡasebi-yle*
4. *'askeri miyânında > 'askeri beyinde*
5. *intifâ' > eglence ve ḡazanc*
6. *ticâretten 'ibâret > ticâretten 'ibâret bulunduğına binâ' en*
7. *derünlerinde bulunan > ba' z-ı*
8. *şerr-pişeler > ser-pişeler*
9. *iḡfâl > iḡfâl etmege başlamışlar*
10. *ve dünyâdan bürün aḡiret-mişâli > şöyle ki: dünyâdan ḡâric aḡiret-mişâli böyle bir maḡall-i tengnâka*
11. *eger > kazârâ*
12. *muḡâlefet-i rûzgâr > muḡâlefet-i havâ*
13. *gelür ise > buralara düşer ise*
14. *dâr u diyârumuzdan ve diyâr-i islâmdan > dâr u diyârumuzdan*
15. *ḡaber-dâr olabiliyoruz > ḡaber alabileceğiz*
16. *bu veziriñ sâyesinde > bu paşaya*
17. *fedâ edüb... mülebbes olan pîr ü cevân > fedâ eden bir takım pîr ü cevân... mülebbes iken*
18. *müşâr ileyhüñ > anuñ*
19. *imân edüb > imân edüb aldanaraḡ*
20. *piryân eyledükleri > piryân etmeleri*
21. *ittifâḡan > bi-l-ittifâḡ*
22. *irkâb ve fekk-i lenger edüb > süvâr olub*
23. *resîde eder > işâl eder*
24. *hevâmuzı buluruz > hevâmuzı bulub giderüz*
25. *ḡapu ḡalkı müşâr ileyhe iḡbâr > gedüklüler tıyub paşaya iḡbâr eyledüklerinde*
26. *der-'aḡab > der-ḡâl*
27. *sefineleriñ > gemileriñ*
28. *yekeleri aḡz olunmak > yekeleriniñ alınmasını*

29. *fermān olundu > emr edüb*

A number of Arabic and Persian loanwords and constructions containing these words are replaced by Turkish equivalents (1, 5, 16, 18, 27, 28) or by more commonly known loanwords (4, 7, 15, 23, 26, 29), some of them still current today. Here and there words are added to explain the often ambiguous or unclear meaning of a passage (2, 3, 6, 10, 13, 19, 24, 25). Some changes seem to be random, and do not make much of a change, and were clearly inspired, if at all, by the author's taste (11, 12, 21). A change of meaning is, again, found in (25) where the palace officials (*kapu halkı*) - who had become 'government spies' (*tebdilān*) in the Topkapı version - were finally replaced by the vague 'holders of a tenured position' (*gedüklüler*). Punctuation is also added, at least in the printed version. Some of the changes were meant to break down the long sentence and shorten the endless series of gerunds and participle constructions of the original (9) - in the Topkapı version, characteristically, we find the opposite.

7. Conclusion

Approaching the end of the essay, it is perhaps useful to sum up and evaluate what has been found so far. Cevdet Paşa, as we saw, characterised Hâşim Efendi's work as a 'treasure trove' that was unique in shedding light on an obscure episode of Ottoman history. In this he was undoubtedly right. As far as we know, there is no other narrative work that deals with the episode. Other sources include Ottoman archival documents, a few of which have been published,²³⁹ and reports and travelogues by contemporary Western visitors.²⁴⁰

An interesting figure in the last category is Taitbout de Marigny, who published a work on Circassia in 1836 and 1837.²⁴¹ He had been consul for the

²³⁹ See, e.g., *Osmanlı Devleti ile Kafkasya, Türkistan ve Kırım Hanlıkları Arasındaki Münâsebetlere Dâir Arşiv Belgeleri (1687-1908 Yılları Arası)*, edited by the Directorate of State Archives of the Turkish Prime Minister's Office, Ankara 1992. Many more documents, including espionage reports and inventories of gifts, are to be found in the Başbakanlık Archives; these are presently deciphered and analysed by Zübeyde Yağcı of Balıkesir University. Gökçe, *Kafkasya*, is partly based on Ottoman archival documents.

²⁴⁰ Some of these works are discussed in Erkan, *Tarih Boyunca Kafkasya*, pp. 33-7.

²⁴¹ The work was first published in French in Simferopol in 1836; an uncensored version in English appeared a year later in London with the title *Three Voyages in the Black Sea*

Netherlands in Odessa, and visited Circassia in 1818 and 1823-4 in order to report to the Dutch government on trade opportunities. His observations date from a slightly later period, but it seems that not much had changed. What he has to say, in particular about local customs, confirms and partly overlaps the observations made by Hâşim Efendi. He also mentions Circassian words and includes a word list in his work. The author clearly did not share Hâşim Efendi's optimism concerning the prospect of Islamisation and subjugation of the local tribes by the Porte. He thought that 'the Turks' did not even endeavour to subdue them, being satisfied with trade,²⁴² and contented themselves with the possession of Anapa (that was in 1818).²⁴³ Soğucağ ('Soudjouk-kalé') was by then deserted, and not more than a 'heap of ruins'.²⁴⁴ Anapa did not fare much better. The author, who was received by the local pasha in 1823, describes his quarters as 'a miserable barrack... situated at the southern extremity of the fortress. In order to reach the hall of audience, I was obliged to pass through a sort of corridor, narrow, muddy, and dark, at the end of which a curtain before a door was raised...'²⁴⁵ The town was built in 1784 to protect the Tatars, who had taken refuge on the left bank of the Kuban, and the Nogays, living in that part of Circassia. It was also important for the Turks to preserve their former relations with the Caucasus.²⁴⁶ The walls of the fortress were mounted by eighty-five brass pieces of different calibre, but 'it is impossible to form an idea of the miserable state of these batteries; it would be impossible for them to fire more than three or four shots'.²⁴⁷ The author also presents some numbers: the population of the town, mostly of a mixed Turkish-Tatar-Circassian origin, did not comprise more than 2000 souls. They also

to the Coast of Circassia: including Descriptions of the Ports and the Importance of Their Trade with Sketches of the Manners, Customs, Religion &c. &c. of the Circassians. In the following I refer to this edition.

242 'The Turks alone... have kept up commercial relations with [the Circassians]... It is [in Anapa] that they have established their market with the Circassians, of whom they receive boys and girls, corn, wax, honey, hides, skins &c., in exchange for merchandise brought annually from Constantinople and Anatolia'.

243 *Three Voyages*, pp. 8-9.

244 *Ibidem*, p. 161.

245 *Ibidem*, p. 149.

246 *Ibidem*, p. 163.

247 *Ibidem*, pp. 166-7.

included a few Russian slaves and deserters, a few people from Central Asia as well as some poor Armenian and Greek traders. There were about 200 shops within its walls 'and as many cabins of wood'. The garrison was 400 men strong, 'some bad artillerymen and some armed peasants of Anatolia.' 'It is amusing to see them strolling through the streets, knitting worsted stockings, and carrying their guns slung by a rope behind their backs,' the author adds. The pasha would surrender the place immediately at the first appearance of the Russians. There were some wells 'of bad brackish water, which is not drunk', drinking water being carried from a small river nearby. The possession of Anapa was costly, and was not repaid by commerce. The pasha received 130,000 piastres for himself and his suite plus the necessary presents which he was obliged to distribute for his own security. Customs brought in 15,000 to 40,000 piastres, which sums were also assigned to him. Quarrels between Turks and Circassians were endemic.²⁴⁸

In other sections of the book, Taitbout de Marigny, like Hâşim Efendi, discusses various Circassian phenomena like hospitality (the protection system of host, '*konak*' - guest);²⁴⁹ eating habits (mentioning the fermented flower of millet, *komil*,²⁵⁰ carried by Circassians with them when they travel);²⁵¹ women (young girls mix with men and are admitted to all fêtes; girls are kept young by having their breasts flattened with virginal corsets);²⁵² marriage customs;²⁵³ the three-tiered class system (not characterised by a difference in dress and habits);²⁵⁴ the ubiquity of slaves (even children and relatives may be sold as slaves, as punishment for example; girls often prefer life in a voluptuous Turkish harem);²⁵⁵ illiteracy;²⁵⁶ religion and the mixture of pagan, Christian and

248 Ibidem, pp. 167-9.

249 Ibidem, pp. 9-10.

250 Probably identical with the *gumul* mentioned by Hâşim Efendi, cf. above.

251 Ibidem, p. 30.

252 Ibidem, pp. 35-6.

253 Ibidem.

254 Ibidem, pp. 47-9; the author also mentions the term '*usdenes*' (the second class of nobility), which clearly corresponds with Hâşim Efendi's *özden*, cf. above.

255 Ibidem, p. 49.

256 Ibidem, pp. 71-2.

Muslim rites;²⁵⁷ community of goods (Circassians sometimes give a rag so that they get a rich coat back);²⁵⁸ and language (according to the Turks, the sounds of the language can only be imitated by shaking a sack filled with pebbles).²⁵⁹

This summary of this traveller's report alone shows that Hâşim Efendi must have had many of the facts about Circassia right. One should however be suspicious about details: our author easily tampered with archival documents for literary reasons, as we have seen above, and he is not very precise about the identity of certain historical actors, like military units (see the text sample above), or numbers. These are often exaggerated: to suggest, for instance, that Şâhîr Giray or 'Alî Paşa had 150,000 or 200,000 troops at his disposal was clearly nonsense. (Elsewhere I have suggested large numbers be divided, for instance of troops, occurring in Ottoman histories by a factor ten to be on the safe side.) They often are also contradictory if the Leiden manuscript is compared with the Topkapı one. Another question is: did Hâşim Efendi with his memorandum intend to present a precise historical record, useful to later historians? Much of it reads like propaganda rather than a work of impartial learning. This impression is enhanced by, what one usually indicates by the somewhat elevated term 'paradigma', the intellectual mind-set, from which a work like the memorandum originated. As seen above, Hâşim Efendi's world picture was highly traditional. One aspect it shares with most other traditional Ottoman histories is the occurrence of fragments which modern historians would call legends, like the passages on 'Alî Paşa's gift of miracle working.

As regards power and politics, Hâşim Efendi expressed the traditional ideology that the world was to be ruled by one caliph, preferably an Ottoman sultan. Before that could be realised, mankind remained divided into two main groups fighting each other: believers and unbelievers, and more generally: 'good guys' and 'bad guys'. As in most works of traditional Islamic historiography, human history is understood to be particularly driven by ethics, by the actions of otherworldly learned saints, noble warriors and just rulers on the one hand, and greedy wicked traitors, listening to the whisperings of the Devil, on the other. There was not much room for subtlety here. The main

²⁵⁷ Ibidem, pp. 75-84.

²⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 93.

²⁵⁹ Ibidem, p. 191-2.

protagonist in the book, Feraḥ 'Alī Paşa, belongs to the first category, most of the others, from the treasonous Şāhīn Giray to the double-dealing slave traders Bicānoğlu 'Alī Paşa and the Emīr Kāḍī (all of them safely dead by the time of writing), to the second. The continual struggle against evil was undertaken for the sake of the glorious Ottoman Empire, the 'Sublime State' and the Sultan (whose name, characteristically, is never mentioned). The propagandistic impression is bolstered even more by the occurrence of grandiloquent descriptions, more grandiloquent in the Istanbul version of the text than in the Leiden one, of military exercises, ceremonies of gift exchange, and public preaching and praying, *de facto* staged in order to impress, coax or frighten the local tribespeople. These descriptions also reinforce the literary aspect of the memorandum, which was perhaps not only written to make a good impression on the Sultan but, doubtless, also Hāşim Efendi's fellow-literati.

Thus the memorandum, like many works of Ottoman historiography, was to a large extent also a work of *belles lettres*. Why, otherwise, would Hāşim Efendi have bothered to rewrite his original draft, polishing the style and adding learned Arabic phrases and poems? This literary effort apparently reaped little award. The work remained rare and, as we have seen, only two, perhaps three, copies have survived. Why was this so? Was it the exotism of the subject? Was it the literary style? A modern Western reader who bothers to read the work might not find it a very good read: the work lacks a title; lacks a preface and introduction; lacks a transparent structure and a clear division into chapters and sections; contains endless, obscurely constructed, sentences, often continuing for pages on end; contains repetitions and overlaps of all sorts; lacks a clear time frame; consists of a chaotic amalgamation of genres and subjects; and, the work petering out at the end, lacks any sort of plot and a clear conclusion. (Much of this, for that matter, was amended by Cevdet Paşa in his *Tārīḫ*.) The taste of a modern Western reader, of course, cannot be taken as a criterion for the reception of the work among Ottoman readers. Ottoman intellectuals of the period were used to read (or listen to) florid narrative like that found in the memorandum and at least some of the potential readers were exposed to similar texts in offices and institutes of learning every day, at least until, say, 1850. (Whether they would read a work like the memorandum voluntarily in their spare time we do not know.) By that year, the text must already have become illegible to most readers, of whom there could never have been many. (Hence

Cevdet Paşa's editing efforts.) The lack of literary success may also have been caused by the message the book sent to the reader: it was to a large extent a monument erected for a rather obscure pasha, long dead, who was increasingly seen as an obnoxious rival in ruling circles of the Ottoman capital at the end of his life. By the time Hâşim Efendi was writing, it seems that the Porte had already more or less given up the outposts in Circassia which had turned out to be indefensible against superior Russian forces in a hostile environment. The grand project of converting and subjecting the Tatars, Circassians, Abkhasians and other peoples of the Caucasus had come to nothing and the optimistic message of the book must already have rung hollow by 1800.