

**CONTEXTUALIZING AN 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY OTTOMAN ELITE:  
ŞERİF HALİL PAŞA OF ŞUMNU AND HIS PATRONAGE**

by

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Submitted to the Graduate School of Arts and Social Sciences  
in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in History

Sabancı University  
2011

CONTEXTUALIZING AN 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY OTTOMAN ELITE: ŐERİF HALİL  
PAŐA OF ŐUMNU AND HIS PATRONAGE

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DATE OF APPROVAL: 8 SEPTEMBER 2011

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## ABSTRACT

### CONTEXTUALIZING AN 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY OTTOMAN ELITE: ŞERİF HALİL PAŞA OF ŞUMNU AND HIS PATRONAGE

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History, MA Thesis, 2011

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Keywords: Şumnu, Şerif Halil Paşa, Tombul Mosque, Şumnu library.

The fundamental aim of this thesis is to present the career of Şerif Halil Paşa of Şumnu who has only been mentioned in scholarly research due to the socio-religious complex that he commissioned in his hometown. Furthermore, it is aimed to portray Şerif Halil within a larger circle of elites and their common interests in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. For the study, various chronicles, archival records and biographical dictionaries have been used as primary sources. The *vakıfnâme* of the socio-religious complex of Şerif Halil proved to be a rare example which included some valuable biographical facts about the patron.

Apart from the official posts that Şerif Halil Paşa occupied in the *Defterhâne* and the *Divânihâne*, this study attempts to render his patronage of architecture as well as his intellectual interests such as calligraphy and literature. In other words, his legacy is put under close scrutiny. The intended goal in researching about an unknown 18<sup>th</sup> century elite like Şerif Halil Paşa is to give substance to a ghost hidden in the stage of history who indeed served as the *sadâret kethüdâsı* twice and took active part in the translation committee organized by Damad İbrahim Paşa.

## ÖZET

### 18. YÜZYILDA YAŞAYAN BİR OSMANLI ELİTİNİ ETE KEMİĞE BÜRÜNDÜRMEK: ŞUMNULU ŞERİF HALİL PAŞA’NIN KARIYERİ VE MİRASI

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Şumnu, Şerif Halil Paşa, Tombul Cami, Şerif Halil Paşa Külliyesi,  
Şumnu Kütüphanesi

Bu çalışmanın ana amacı, ismi sadece doğduğu yer olan Şumnu’da yaptırdığı külliye aracılığıyla bilinen ve anılan Şerif Halil Paşa’nın Osmanlı sarayındaki kariyerini ortaya koymaktır. Ayrıca Şerif Halil Paşa’nın kurduğu bağlantıları daha geniş bir perspektifte ele alıp bizzat içinde yer aldığı elit sınıfın ortak özellik ve ilgilerinin sunulması amaçlanmaktadır. Araştırma için, çeşitli kronikler, arşiv belgeleri ve biyografik sözlükler kullanılmıştır. Bunların dışında, Şerif Halil Paşa Külliyesi’nin vakıfnâmesi, patron hakkında nadir olarak görülebilecek nitelikte otobiyografik bilgiler sunmaktadır.

Bu araştırmada Şerif Halil’in Defterhane ve Divânthane’deki resmi görevlerinin dışında; mimari patronajı, hat ve şiir gibi sanatsal ilgileri de sunulmaktadır. Şerif Halil gibi 18. yüzyılda yaşamış ve hakkında çok az şey bilinen bir elitin kariyerinin araştırılmasındaki amaç iki kez sadaret kethüdası olarak görev almış ve Damat İbrahim Paşa’nın kurduğu çeviri komisyonunda aktif görevler üstlenmiş bir hayaleti ete kemiğe büründürmektir.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been written without the support of my supervisor Tülay Artan who was always available when I needed help and answered my perplexed questions with patience. I also would like to thank Hülya Adak and Bratislav Pantelic for reading several drafts of this study and providing valuable feedbacks. Furthermore, I wish to express my gratitude for each faculty member of the Sabancı University History Program for providing me with an invaluable period of learning.

Special thanks go to Nazlı İpek Hünler, Maximilian Hartmuth and Gizem Kaşoturacak Korg whose friendship and academic contributions made my time at the graduate school enjoyable. Many thanks to the librarians in the Information Center at Sabancı University and Sumru Şatır who patiently answered my questions and made my life much easier during the completion process of this thesis. Without the help of Ertuğrul Ökten and Aziz Nazmi Şakir, it would be impossible to transliterate relevant archival documents and primary sources.

My parents, Behice and Rüştü Bilaloğlu, who always put up with my negligent and short tempered mood deserve a lot more than these humble remarks. Without their support and endless love, I could not have taken one step further.

Last but not least, it has been a great pleasure to share each and every moment of not only this short-lived thesis process but also my entire life with my precious Tuğçe Kasap.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BOA: Bařbakanlık Osmanlı Arřivi

SNL: Sofia National Library

VGM: Vakıflar Genel M¼d¼rl¼ę¼ Arřivi

# I. INTRODUCTION AND THE SCOPE/LIMITATIONS OF SCHOLARSHIP ABOUT BIOGRAPHY WRITING

## I.1 Contextualizing Şerif Halil Paşa: Problematization of the Concept of Individuality in Ottoman Society

*[What] can we know about a man? For a man is never an individual; it would be more fitting to call him a universal singular. Summed up and for this reason universalized by his epoch, he in turn resumes it by reproducing himself in it as singularity. Universal by the singular universality of human history, singular by the universalizing singularity of his projects, he requires simultaneous examination from both ends.<sup>1</sup>*

In the preface to the first volume of *The Family Idiot: Gustave Flaubert, 1821-1857*, Jean-Paul Sartre asks a very intriguing existentialist question as to the method and amount of information that one can attain about the life and self of a man. Sartre calls him a “universal singular” in order to draw attention to the fact that, at an abstract level, the genesis of a subject/man in which he develops a so-called individuality is accomplished within a universal framework; and the outputs of this persona are contradictingly re-shaped by the very same universal context. The give-and-take relationship between the broader universality versus the subjective individuality turns out to be stuck in an infinite loop. Thus, the subject is rightfully considered to be both a part *and* product of the time in which he lives.

Sartre’s insightful stance on the validity of information that a researcher can attain about the life of a subject (or in his words, “universal singular”) is specifically applicable to the practice of writing historical biographies of Ottoman elites. Giving a solid body to a ghost roaming the stage of history often requires imposing some *universalized* norms of a given age to the character. Often, the character of the biographical study is often subjected to being described with generic adjectives and

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<sup>1</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre, *The Family Idiot: Gustave Flaubert, 1821-1857*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1994), pp. 9 – 10.

specific cultural/ideological idioms from the author's own culture/time. By understanding this contradictory situation, one can easily criticize any sort of written account for blindly adhering to the strict framework in which it is produced. I propose to present my findings about a little-known 18<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman elite like Yusuf Şerif Halil Paşa (hereafter: Şerif Halil) with a solid awareness of the traps that are likely to present themselves in writing the biographies of Ottoman grandees.

A native of Şumnu (presently in northern-east Bulgaria),<sup>2</sup> Şerif Halil (unknown-1752) belonged to a prominent family who had long searched for their fortunes in the capital. His father, Ali Ağa, and grandfather, Şaban Efendi, were prominent men locally; however, Şerif Halil's career as a bureaucrat was much brighter. He was able to join the *defterhâne* (the Imperial Registry) in 1711, and then the *divânihâne* (the Imperial Chancery). It was here where Şerif Halil "came into being" in the intellectual and artistic circles as a poet and a member of the translation committee during the grand vezirate of Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşa (between 1718 and 1730). Following the fall of Damad İbrahim Paşa, he served in various capacities as a bureaucrat and was eventually able to rise to the position of *vezir*. Şerif Halil took up active roles during the grand vezirates of Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa (1732-35 and 1742), Muhsinzâde Abdullah Paşa (1737) and Seyyid Hasan Paşa (1742-46), respectively.

Despite his extensive involvement, he is most commonly remembered in relation to a major socio-religious complex that he commissioned in his hometown. Şerif Halil Paşa Complex is the largest mosque in modern-day Bulgaria, and is an equal to the monumental complex of provincial towns such as Aydın and Nevşehir, with its preserved library, medrese, and ablution fountain, making it the subject of many encyclopaedic entries and short articles.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, its patron, Şerif Halil, has so far been denied the scholarly attention he deserves. Like many other little-known elites, he is identified as just another member of a social group whose peculiar characteristics are blurry, which makes the attempt to discover the life-story or political (if not cultural and economic) motivations and networks of an Ottoman bureaucrat one of the toughest tasks of Ottoman social history. The difficulty certainly lies in the

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<sup>2</sup> Further information about the city will be included in the next chapter.

<sup>3</sup> The mosque that Şerif Halil commissioned is generally known as the Tombul Mosque among local Bulgarians due to its domed structure.

absence of self-narratives which would provide the complete life/career-stories of the protagonists on whom a biographical study is carried out. Furthermore, the focus on the *cemaats* (the social groups) rather than the person makes it hard to portray the individual members of the society in their own context. The two questions to ask at this point are: Does the “individual” as understood in the European context exist in the Ottoman society? And: How much of an “individual’s” life story can we truly learn? Indeed, the answers to these questions lead to another question: Can we write the life story of an Ottoman elite like Şerif Halil in his own right — as a *singular universal* as Sartre conceptualizes it?

The answer to the first question is controversial, because the meaning and scope of “individuality” has never been clear neither in European nor in Ottoman context.<sup>4</sup> The generally accepted outlook toward individuality in Islamic societies, which regarded the notion of “individual” as absent due to the collectivist human ideals of Islam, is now challenged by recent scholarly attempts that aim to deduce evidence about the concept of individualism from several first-person narratives, also called “ego-documents.”<sup>5</sup> As the name implies, these documents include an *ego* writing about

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<sup>4</sup> Jakob Burckhardt is the first historian to bring the concept of individuality into the spotlight in the context of the Renaissance in 1860. *The Civilization of Renaissance in Italy*, Penguin Books (1990) pp. 88-105. The two main aspects in which Jacob Burckhardt found the fundamental character of the Renaissance as a new civilization were the rise of individualism and the discovery of the world and of man. He regarded Renaissance individualism as the awakening of man’s awareness of himself, as a being apart from a group or a class, and saw that man’s consciousness of self. Burckhardt’s thesis that depicted the Renaissance separate from the Middle Ages is largely refuted by recent scholarship that puts forward an earlier origin and gradual evolution of certain characteristics of Renaissance culture. For a recent criticism of Burckhardt’s construct see: Chapter 2, in William Caferro, “Individualism: Who Was the Renaissance Man?”, in *Contesting the Renaissance* (Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010). See also : Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980); John Jeffries Martin, ‘The Myth of Renaissance Individualism’, in Guido Ruggiero, ed., *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), pp. 208-224; and idem, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave/St. Martin’s Press, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> Ego documents might be regarded as a reply to Cemal Kafadar’s call for a name for “the process of self-consciousness and observation at the levels of both the person and the social order at large.” (Cemal Kafadar, “Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in the Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narrative in Ottoman Literature,” *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989), p. 126). See Randi Deguilhem (ed.), *Individual and Society in the Mediterranean Muslim World: Issues and Sources*, Aix-en-Provence, 1998 that seeks to define the relationship between the individual and society in such a

himself/herself and giving self-referential information to its audience, which incites us to include all kinds of documents that possess author-references such as travelogues, autobiographical anecdotes, as well as accounts of entire life stories within the scope of this genre.

In light of the purview of ego-documents, “individuality” can therefore be defined as a sense of self-awareness, the possession of an *ego*, and the ability to locate oneself among the others. Returning to the first question raised at the beginning about the existence of an Ottoman “individual” as ascertained in European context, I shall attempt to distinguish between being “a part of a group” or being “*apart* from a group.” The former category fits into the scheme of Jakob Burckhardt’s conception of a man’s discovery of his self-awareness, whereas the latter one conforms to my understanding of what an Ottoman individual might be. I am fully aware that my use of “individuality” alludes to group identity; however, I think that in the Ottoman context, the self-awareness of being a member of a specific social group and producing narratives in accordance with this fact is a display of ego-oriented action/will. Natalie Davis’ explanation of the important conditions in defining the “self” is applicable to my stance on the Ottoman individual on the grounds that “the exploration of self [...] was made in conscious relation to the groups to which people belonged and that the greatest obstacle to self-definition was not embeddedness, but powerlessness ...”<sup>6</sup> That is why the biographical compilations that appeared in the Ottoman cultural context generally specialized on various types of official posts or social groups rather than the individuals, such as *Davhat ül-Meşayih* on the *şeyh ül-İslâms*, *Hamilet ül-Küberâ* on the *dar üs-*

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way as to understand, for each period of Islamic history, the organisation of interdependent relationships, the position attributed to the individual, and the creation of a hierarchy of the values which rule society. Also see Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (eds.), *Many Ways of Speaking About the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian and Turkish (14th – 20th century)*. Göttingen: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010 in which Michael Nizri studies the memoirs of *şeyh ül-islâm* Feyzullah Efendi (1638 – 1703) and Denise Klein presents her findings about the intertextual references to the autobiographic natures of 18th century *sefaretnâmes*.

<sup>6</sup> After Cemal Kafadar, “Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in the Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narrative in Ottoman Literature”, *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989), p. 135; Natalie Z. Davis, “Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth Century France,” in T. C. Heller, M. Sosna, D. E. Wellbery, eds., *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality and the Self in Western Thought*, Stanford (1986), pp. 53 – 63.

*saâde ağas*, *Hadikat ül-Vüzerâ* on the vezirs, *Sefinet ül-Rüesâ* on the the *reîs ül-küttâbs* and *Tezkîret-üş Şuarâs* on the *divan* poets.<sup>7</sup> As an exception to these biographical sources that were written within the framework of group identity, *Sicill-i Osmâni* (*The Ottoman Register*) by Mehmed Süreyya (1897) can be counted, and the problems and scope of which will extensively be elaborated in my review of sources used to identify the career line of Şerif Halil.<sup>8</sup>

This study aims to present Şerif Halil's life story as a humble contribution to the growing bulk of biographical studies about Ottoman elites that gained momentum especially after the 1980s. Since then, there has been a diligent scholarly attempt "to debunk the myth of the autonomous, individualized self as a universal reality, and to come to terms with the multiplicity of ways people have represented themselves across boundaries of culture, gender, and social class."<sup>9</sup>

This thesis is composed of four chapters. In the first chapter, as a background to my method and approach, I will briefly review the origination of the biographical method in the field with reference to the prosopographic research introduced by Norman Itzkowitz and his former students in the 1960s. That will be followed by a survey of existing studies on Ottoman individuals. By reviewing the secondary literature about my protagonist as well as introducing the primary sources that I have used in order to construct a career line for Şerif Halil, I aim to answer the other two questions that I raised at the beginning, concerning the limitations and scope of biography writing in the Ottoman sphere.

In the second chapter, I will introduce the history of Şumnu as a setting of the early years of Şerif Halil, with a specific focus on the effects of political and military

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<sup>7</sup> For a good summary of Ottoman Biographical Chronicles see Feridun Emecen, "Osmanlı Kronikleri ve Biyografi," *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3 (1999), pp. 83 – 90.

<sup>8</sup> Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları (1996). The book is a comprehensive biographical dictionary that aims to include all prominent Ottoman elites of all periods. However, it leaves out a great number of significant Ottoman elites especially from the earlier periods. The scope of the work is generally no more than a few lines for most of the entries. Thus, in my quest for discovering biographical facts about Şerif Halil, I will refer to it only after I find corrected and supplemented information from other sources such as chronicles and archival documents.

<sup>9</sup> Derin Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of Times: Sufi-Narratives and the Diary of Niyâzî-i Mısrî (1618-94)," *Studia Islamica* 94 (2002), p.140

developments on provincial elites. In the third chapter, I will divide Şerif Halil's lifespan into three major periods and discuss under the subheadings: "From Şumnu to Istanbul"; "From Defterhâne to Divanhâne"; and "Şerif Halil's Career Later in the 18th Century." First, I shall attempt to identify the family ties of Şerif Halil and the possible ways that helped him to be admitted to the *defterhâne*. Şerif Halil's associates in the palace will be closely evaluated in order to portray him within the appropriate context. Furthermore, based on the information that I gathered from the archival sources and chronicles, I will procure a complete log of the bureaucratic service of Şerif Halil.

The fourth and final chapter will dwell on the legacy of Şerif Halil, and is instrumental in showing how he inscribed his persona on stone. In other words, his legacy will be put under scrutiny in relation to his ambitions and intellectual and artistic interests such as literature, architecture, and calligraphy.

## **I.2 The Portrayal of "The Self" in Ottoman Studies**

The common assumption about Ottoman literature has been that it did not produce a body of personal writings or a corpus in which authors talked about themselves. Furthermore, it was repeatedly articulated that prior to the Tanzimat period (1839-1876), there were no sources of autobiographic nature (for example, diaries, memoirs, or personal letters), mainly due to the depersonalization as a result of the high value Islam placed on the mystical ideal of self-annihilation in the divine.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the only known autobiography of Ottoman literature until the 20th century was the memoir of Osman Ağa of Temeşvar, a 17th-century account that was prefaced by Richard Kreutel as the "single, relatively extensive autobiography known from old Ottoman literature."<sup>11</sup> Then in 1989 Cemal Kafadar tackled the problem of first-person narratives

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<sup>10</sup> Cemal Kafadar, *ibid*, p.124

<sup>11</sup> *Die abenteuerlichen Schicksale des Dolmetschers Osman Ağa aus Temeschwar von ihm selbst erzählt* (Graz, Wien, 1962). The original text was published by Richard Kreutel, *Die Autobiographie des Dolmetschers Osman Ağa aus Temeschwar* (Hertford, England, 1980). For its modern Turkish version, see Harun Tolasa, *Kendi Kalemiyle Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa, Bir Osmanlı Sipahisinin Hayatı ve Esirlik Hatıraları*, (Konya, 1986).

through a diary kept by another 17th-century Ottoman dervish named Seyyid Hasan. However, this must not mean that there was no interest in biographical research before Kafadar's groundbreaking contribution to the contextualization of self-narratives in the Ottoman world. There were indeed earlier attempts to present "the human and intellectual flesh that gives coherence and meaning to the institutional skeleton" of Ottoman studies.<sup>12</sup>

For the study of elite households, the prosopographic method has been used since the 1960s. Prosopography can briefly be defined as group biography and through the medium of fragmental biographical data, for example, can be used to study the function, political and economic power, importance and the social role of a specific group. Basically, it consists of collecting and juxtaposing such data for each individual belonging to a clearly circumscribed group. This method can even be applied to the periods on which very little evidence is available; however prosopography might contribute to our understanding of social groups with a fairly rich documentation.

In 1962, Itzkowitz studied the personal backgrounds of the various members of the Ottoman ruling class to construct valid arguments about various offices of Ottoman administration. By working on various fragmental biographical data which enabled him to portray client-patron relationships and career lines of a number of elites, Itzkowitz refuted the then largely accepted model of Ottoman political organization which was based on a duality of a "ruling institution" versus a "Muslim institution" in terms of function and religious-ethnic background. He further added that Muslim-born Ottomans were also able to take active part in administration, and converts played a significant role in 18th-century Ottoman politics. In that sense, he rejected the view that part of the explanation for Ottoman decline after the 17th century was to be found in the "revolt" of the Muslims hitherto excluded from the "ruling institution." Based on these biographical facts about members of the Ottoman ruling class, Itzkowitz was able to conclude that in the 18th century the Ottoman administration was organized along more

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<sup>12</sup> Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: the Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)*, Princeton University Press (1986) p. 4

varied career lines which were primarily functional.<sup>13</sup> This pioneering article by Itzkowitz gave momentum to the study of group biographies in the Ottoman studies.

Ten years later, in 1972, Itzkowitz was involved in another prosopographic enquiry, this time in collaboration with one of his former students, Joel Shinder. In an attempt to elucidate whether the Tanzimat era meant a complete renewal of the Ottoman elite in pursuit of reform and Westernization, they studied the personal backgrounds of *şeyh ül-islâms*, who were the heads of *ulema* hierarchy. Carrying out biographical research as a method to study the bureaucratic/religious office holders, they concluded that a complete renewal of the Ottoman elite was not the case.<sup>14</sup>

Especially after Mustafa Akdağ's reference to provincial administrators' households as an influential force in Celâli uprisings, more and more scholars took up interest in the study of these elites and their households.<sup>15</sup> The prosopographic method was adopted by two other prominent students of Itzkowitz, namely Rifaat Abou-el-Haj and Metin Kunt, in the 1970s. Both scholars attempted to shed light on high official households. Abou-el-Haj focused on those whom he called "an ignored element of the Ottoman elite," namely the vezirs and paşas who came to govern the identity of a growing number of men who eventually became vezirs and paşas in the later 17th century in their own rights.<sup>16</sup> They also generated their own satellite households. However, Abou-el-Haj was criticized by his peers for the time period that he chose. Kunt argued that by the late 17th century, the crucial changes had already taken place and therefore Abou-el-Haj's scope was not valid to spot a full-fledged transformation. Kunt furthermore asserted that Abou-el-Haj's categorization of the military class was

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<sup>13</sup> Norman Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities", *Studia Islamica*, No. 16 (1962), pp. 73 – 94.

<sup>14</sup> Norman Itzkowitz and Joel Shinder, "The Office of Şeyh ül-İslâm and the Tanzimat – A Prosopographic Enquiry," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.8, No. 1 (1972), pp. 93 – 101.

<sup>15</sup> Mustafa Akdağ, *Celâli İsyânları (1550-1603)*, Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Cografya Fakültesi Yayınları 144, (Ankara, 1963), p. 44

<sup>16</sup> Rifaat Ali Abou-el-Haj. "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households 1683-1703: A Preliminary Report," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 94, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec., 1974), pp. 438 – 447.

claimed to fail in making the basic distinction between provincial and central military groups.<sup>17</sup>

Four years after the publication of Abou-el-Haj's prosopographic study, Kunt wrote a monograph entitled *Sancaktan Eyalete: 1550-1650 Arasında Osmanlı Ümerası ve İl İdaresi (From Sanjak to Eyalet: Ottoman Governors and Provincial Administration, 1550-1650)*.<sup>18</sup> In 1983, Kunt incorporated new materials and broadened the scope of his work, first published in Turkish. Working on the provincial appointment registers in the prime minister's archives, Kunt was able to organize a list of appointments to various positions such as *sancakbeyi* (district governor) and *beylerbeyi* (provincial governor-general). Most of the entries included details not only about the name of the officers but also about the date of the appointments, the revenues allocated to the officers, and their previous posts. By working backward, Kunt constructed the career lines of the appointed officers and came up with a portrayal of the shifts in provincial government within the period that he specified.<sup>19</sup>

Many scholarly attempts that specifically dealt with the bureaucratization of the Ottoman administration in the 17th century and made use of biographical data have been carried out. In 1980, another student of Itzkowitz, Karl Barbir, was able to collect significant biographical data about thirty-two individuals with military-administrative backgrounds who resided in Damascus by using published and unpublished biographical dictionaries. These individuals were either part of the civilian administration or the *ulema* class. By focusing on how they merged with the local population, Barbir presented a study of individuals whom he called *paşa-turned-efendis*

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<sup>17</sup> See Metin Kunt's criticism of the article written by Abou-el-Haj: *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1560*, New York: Columbia University Press (1983), p.154; Also see "Müteşebbis Bir Osmanlı Veziri: Derviş Mehmed Paşa, *Birikim* 2 (1977), pp. 47-64 by the same author, in which he analyzes the patterns of attracting attention at the palace via the example of Derviş Mehmed Paşa. Dwelling on positioning and the importance of strong connections, Kunt demonstrates that Derviş Mehmed Paşa was a farsighted and alert figure when his links that promoted him to the post of grand vezirate are taken into consideration.

<sup>18</sup> Metin Kunt, *Sancaktan Eyalete: 1550-1650 Arasında Osmanlı Ümerası ve İl İdaresi*, İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press (1978).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 101-156.

who retained an Ottoman identity while at the same time becoming a Damascene.<sup>20</sup> Also in 1980, Carter Findley engaged himself with the career lines that developed in the opposite direction of those explored by Barbir, and published a monograph that analyzed the *efendi-turned-paşas* in the bureaucratic establishment of 19th century. Findley's focus was on the careers that started out in the scribal offices and ended up in the significant positions of the Ottoman administrative hierarchy. This I find in line with the pattern of Şerif Halil's rise. Findley's research included various archival records that enabled him to reach solid conclusions about vezir and paşa households of the last quarter of the 18th and early-19th centuries.<sup>21</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi also contributed to the bulk of archival research in the field with a short article reviewing the existant prosopographic studies in different subtitles such as Ottoman officials and their households, *ulema* households, transformation in central and provincial governments and *reaya*, the civilian society.<sup>22</sup>

Another crucial contribution to the prosopographic studies of the Ottoman *ulema* families/dynasties came from Madeline Zilfi in her monograph titled *The Ottoman Ulema in the Post Classical Age (1600-1800)*. Through a close reading of available biographical dictionaries, chronicles, and appointment rosters, Zilfi was able to compile a list of representative religious dignitaries such as *şeyh ül-islâms*, Rumelia chief justices, Anatolia chief justices, and the *vaizan* (preachers) who held office between 1589 and 1839. Zilfi's findings enabled her to present readers with a good picture of the

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<sup>20</sup> Karl Barbir, "From Pasha to Efendi: The Assimilation of Ottomans into Damascene Society 1516-1783," *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, I (1980), pp. 67-82.

<sup>21</sup> Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press (1980) and "Patrimonial Household Organization and Factional Activity in the Ottoman Ruling Class," in Halil İnalcık, Osman Okyar, and T. Nalbantoglu, eds., *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920)*, (Ankara, 1980), pp. 227-35.

<sup>22</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, "Civilian and Political Power in the Ottoman Empire: A Report on Research in Collective Biography (1480-1830)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1985), pp. 109-117.

culmination of Ottoman bureaucratization and patterns of appointments to certain posts in the religious establishment in this period.<sup>23</sup>

In 1986, Ali Uğur attempted to prepare a standardized edition of a biographical dictionary with a specific focus on the *ulema* of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. However, Uğur's work covered only an analysis of the first half of Mehmed Şeyhi Efendi's *Vakâ'i'ül-Fuzalâ*, which includes biographical information of approximately 590 individuals.<sup>24</sup>

An article written by Baki Tezcan in 2009 reinforces the mainstream approach that began with Zilfi's aforementioned work. By analyzing the factual information and family backgrounds of a group of 81 people who were *şeyh ül-islâms* (Rumelia and Anatolia chief justices), Tezcan portrays a privileged social group called *mevâli*, a nobility of sorts, the members of whom were able to pass on their social ranking to their sons. His findings lead Tezcan to arrive at tangible conclusions as to the legitimizing and legal-administrative functions of the *ulema*, the main features of the rules that governed the career paths of the members of the aforementioned social group, and the exclusivity of the *mevâli* nobility between 1550 and 1650.<sup>25</sup>

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Although the function and target of prosopographic research was not to portray the life stories of individual Ottoman elites, the method was influential in giving momentum to the biographical research in the field. Thanks to the discovery of hitherto-unknown manuscripts such as diaries, dream-logs, and memoirs, as well as a more intensive treatment on previously found documents, research concerning Ottoman first-person narratives gained momentum in the 1980s. This new research agenda paralleled

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<sup>23</sup> Madeleine Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)*, Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica (1988). For a list of the biographical notes about the notables mentioned in the text see in the same book, pp. 237- 56.

<sup>24</sup> Ali Uğur, *The Ottoman Ulema in the Mid-17th Century: An Analysis of the Vakâ'i'ül-Fuzalâ of Mehmed Şeyhi Efendi*, Berlin (1986).

<sup>25</sup> Baki Tezcan, "The Ottoman Mevâli as Lords of the Law," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 20 (2009), pp. 383-407.

developments in biographical research methods in the European context. Instead of solely portraying a life story without attempting to contextualize it, new methods propounded that “... no social study that does not come back to the problems of biography, of history and of their intersections within a society, has completed its intellectual journey.”<sup>26</sup> That might be interpreted as a call for a critical reading of the time periods in which the people in question lived and *universalized* themselves.

As a reflection of such new interests in historical studies, in 1986 Cornell Fleischer published a monograph on Mustafa Âli of Gallipoli (d.1600), an eminent Ottoman historian and man-of-letters. Fleischer’s target was not only to present a biography of Âli, but also to locate his protagonist within a broad survey and analysis of Ottoman political and historiographical thought. Therefore, Fleischer’s book reflected on Ottoman military and bureaucracy.<sup>27</sup> The book was also significant in that it was one of the first serious attempts to locate an Ottoman individual with a critical approach toward the conventional post-16<sup>th</sup>-century historiography which attributed Whiggish appellations onto the following centuries.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, Fleischer spared a significant amount of space to Âli’s remarks about the cultures of people living in different parts of the Ottoman world.

The trend of portraying men like Mustafa Âli — much cited but little-known — continued with Robert Dankoff’s monograph on Melek Ahmed Paşa, who served as the

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<sup>26</sup> C. W. Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, London: Oxford University Press (2000), p. 6

<sup>27</sup> Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: the Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)*, Princeton University Press (1986).

<sup>28</sup> Whig history presents the past as an inevitable progression towards ever greater liberty and enlightenment, culminating in modern forms of liberal democracy and constitutional monarchy. In general, Whig historians stress the rise of constitutional government, personal freedoms and scientific progress. The term is often applied generally (and pejoratively) to histories that present the past as the inexorable march of progress toward enlightenment. This scheme parallels with Cornell Fleischer’s discussion about “the decline paradigm.” For a review and criticism of Whig history, for example see, “The Whig Interpretation of History” by Herbert Butterfield; “Whig History and Present-Centred History” by Adrian Wilson and T.G Ashplant; “Modern Historiography: An Introduction” by Michael Bentley.

grand vezir between 1650 and 1651.<sup>29</sup> Based on the *Seyahatnâme* of Evliya Çelebi, Dankoff collected and provided explanatory notes about Melek Ahmed Paşa, who was also a kinsman and patron to Evliya. Indeed, during his visit to Şumnu, Evliya was a member of the entourage of the paşa. In a similar fashion, this time with a stronger emphasis on Evliya, Dankoff published another seminal monograph about the traveller, in which he examined Evliya's social status as a gentleman and member of the literati, as well as his perceptions about different cities such as Cairo and Istanbul.<sup>30</sup> Dankoff's work is, in a sense, an immediate reply to the 1989 call of Kafadar, who questioned "how one [could] talk of the personal dimensions in the intellectual life of the 17th century and not feel obliged to come to terms with the ubiquitous Evliya Çelebi."<sup>31</sup>

As mentioned earlier, Kafadar's study on the diary of dervish Seyyid Hasan (kept between August 1661 and July 1665, and curiously named *Sohbetnâme*) was a milestone, because he problematized the concept of "self and others" in the Ottoman context and was able to locate such ego-documents in their appropriate framework; he also opened a new sub-field that attracted a lot of scholars in the following years. Kafadar portrayed the social networks, forms of sociability and web of space that were established by a 17th-century dervish.<sup>32</sup> The diary of Seyyid Hasan was not the only ego-document that Kafadar brought into the spotlight. In 1992, the scholar published the dream-log of Asiye Hatun, who was an Ottoman female dervish from Skopje (in

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<sup>29</sup> Robert Dankoff, *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman, Melek Ahmed Pasha, (1588-1662 : As Portrayed in Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travels)*, New York (1991).

<sup>30</sup> Idem, *An Ottoman Mentality: the World of Evliya Çelebi*, Leiden and Boston (2004).

<sup>31</sup> Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in the Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narrative in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989), p. 126.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, pp.125-50; However, this article is not the very first one which carries out a scrutiny on the diary of an Ottoman subject. For earlier examples, see for instance Fazıl Işıközlü, "Başbakanlık Arşivi'nde Yeni Bulunmuş Olan ve Sadreddin Zâde Telhisî Mustafa Efendi Tarafından Tutulduğu Anlaşılan H. 1123 (1711) – H. 1184 (1735) Yıllarına Ait Bir Ceride ve Eklentisi," *VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu (1970). The same diary was also studied by İsmail Erünsal, "Bir Osmanlı Efendisi'nin Günlüğü: Sadreddinzâde Telhisî Mustafa Efendi ve Cerîdesi," *Kaynaklar* 2 (1984), pp. 77-81.

modern-day Macedonia).<sup>33</sup> The manuscript included details from the dream letters written between 1641-43. Kafadar portrayed the gendered feature of Asiye Hatun's letters which included self-doubt as well as the subordinate position of the author as a woman. Derin Terzioğlu, a student of Kafadar, also brought to readers' attention an equally unusual document: the diary of Niyâzî-i Mısrî (1618 – 94).<sup>34</sup> At the time of keeping his diary, Niyâzî-i Mısrî was already over 60 years old and a well-known Sufi master, poet, and an outspoken dissident. Having run into trouble with the authorities in the context of the Kadızâdeli controversy, he was sent into a prolonged exile on the island of Lemnos. Terzioğlu manages to present her protagonist's writings as an combination of a secular diary and a visionary account. Mısrî often talks about mundane things, such as how he spent the day, how much he slept, and what he ate.<sup>35</sup> The dream-logs and diaries that Kafadar and Terzioğlu shed light on were instrumental to categorize these previously unclassified manuscripts under the umbrella of Ottoman self-narratives or ego-documents. Another former student of Cemal Kafadar, Aslı

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<sup>33</sup> Cemal Kafadar, "Mütereddit Bir Mutasavvıf: Üsküplü Asiye Hatun'un Rüya Defteri, 1641 – 43," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 5 (1992), pp. 168 – 222. The text includes transcription and facsimile. Also published by the same author without the facsimile and the complete transliteration as *Asiye Hatun, Rüya Mektupları*, İstanbul: Oğlak (1994). Another interpretation about Asiye Hatun's self-doubt or "hesitation" is also discussed by Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, New York: Tauris (2000), p. 116.

<sup>34</sup> Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire Niyâzî-i Mısrî (1618 - 1694)," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1999; Also see eadem, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyâzî-i Mısrî (1618 – 1694)," *Studia Islamica* 94 (2002), pp. 139 – 165 and "Sunna-minded Sufi Preachers in Service of the Ottoman State: the *Nasihâtnâme* of Hasan Addressed to Murad IV", *Archivum Ottomanicum* 27, Harrasowitz Verlag (2010), pp. 241 - 313 for Terzioğlu's other publications about self-narratives.

<sup>35</sup> The fact that the ego documents mentioned in my research belong to *sufis* is not a coincidence. As writers of self-narratives, they had a certain advantage over the rest of the Ottoman literati in that Sufism procured them a set of sophisticated concepts and jargon with which to write about themselves. Furthermore, *sufis* inherited from earlier generations a great bulk of life stories of their masters and the great *sufis* of the past. These were transmitted orally and through writing. However, neither the Ottoman *sufis* nor their medieval predecessors had a specific term for what we have designated as "first-person narratives", "self-narratives" or "ego-documents".

Niyazioğlu also contributed to the contextualization of biography writing in the field with her dissertation on Nevizâde Atâi's (1583 – 1635) biographical dictionary.<sup>36</sup>

In the biographical research of Ottoman grandees, another crucial source was the *sefâretnâmes* (embassy accounts) in which the voice of the envoys of the sultan is heard. These texts are usually approached as a source of factual information; however one has to keep in mind that their authors were more than just state officials. A careful reading between the lines of such documents provides us with certain parts that carry the traces of authorial intervention. There is a recent study on the writings of the envoys sent to Russia in the 18th century by Denise Klein.<sup>37</sup> However, the most extensive monograph on an envoy is still the biography of Ahmed Resmi Efendi, written by Virginia Aksan in 1995.<sup>38</sup> The reports which Ahmed Resmi wrote during his service as a special envoy to Vienna and Berlin (in 1757 and 1763, respectively), provide a solid base for Aksan to construct his biography, as well as portraying the power (im)balance between the Europeans and the Ottomans. In other words, what starts out as a specific account on Ahmed Resmi grows into a larger framework that renders the location of the Ottomans in a broader European context.

What about the commoners and provincials in the Ottoman Empire? Would they write any self-narratives? In the light of the research carried out by the likes of Steven Tamari and Dana Sajdi, we learn that especially in the lands within the borders of

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<sup>36</sup> Asli Niyazioğlu, "Ottoman Sufi Sheikhs Between This-World and Hereafter: A Study of Nevizâde Atâi's (1583 – 1635) Biographical Dictionary," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2003. Based on the self-narratives of Nevizâde Atâi, Niyazioğlu wrote another article entitled "Dreams of the Very Special Dead: Nevizâde Atâi's (d.1635) Reasons for Composing His Mesnevis," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 25 (2008), pp. 221 – 33 in which she portrayed the authorial intervention in Atâi's works. For a varying approach towards dream-logs within the framework of *Halveti – Sünbûli şeyhs*, see by the same author, "Dreams, Biography Writing and the Halveti – Sünbûli Sheikhs of 16th-century İstanbul," *Many Ways of Speaking About the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian and Turkish (14th – 20th Century)*, Göttingen (2010), pp. 171–184.

<sup>37</sup> Denise Klein, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman *Sefâretnâmes* on Russia," *Many Ways of Speaking About the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian and Turkish (14th – 20th Century)*, pp. 90 – 102.

<sup>38</sup> Virginia Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700 – 1783*, Leiden: Brill (1995).

modern-day Syria, people recorded the events of their times from their own perspectives for reasons that are still not clear.<sup>39</sup> Sajdi's study of the chronicle of Shihab al-Din Ahmad Ibn Budayr al Hallaq (fl. 1762) who was a barber in Damascus might be regarded as an amalgam of popular oral epic and an elite chronicle. Sajdi also notes that Ibn Budayr was not alone as a commoner in writing history in the 18th century. Accordingly, there were other lay people such as a couple of Shi'i farmers from Southern Lebanon, a judicial court clerk, two soldiers, three priests and a Samaritan secretary.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, Tamari's study of the chronicle of Mohammad ibn Kannan who was a historian, teacher, and also a member of the Damascene society prove that there is a surprising number of chronicles that survive from eighteenth-century Syria.<sup>41</sup> Probably the most prolific of all these Damascene writers was Al-Nabulusi who was a Sufi visionary. He wrote more than 200 works that dealt with a good range of subjects from Sufism to the question of the lawfulness of the use of tobacco.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> For more information on Syrian chronicles written in the 18th century see Bruce Masters, "The View from the Province: Syrian Chronicles of the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 114, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep., 1994), pp. 353-362.

<sup>40</sup> Dana Sajdi, "A Room of His Own: The History of the Barber of Damascus," *The MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies: Crossing Boundaries, New Perspectives on the Middle East*, 2003, pp. 19 – 35.

<sup>41</sup> Steven Tamari, "A Damascus Diary: 1734-35 Ibn Kannan (d. 1754)," *Electronic Middle East Sourcebook* (1734\_ibn\_kannan.pdf). Also from the same author, see Steven Tamari, "The Barber of Damascus: Ahmad Budayri al-Hallaq's chronicle of the year 1749," in M. Amin, B.C. Fortna, and E. Frierson, E (eds.), *The Modern Middle East: A Sourcebook For History*, Oxford (2006): Oxford University Press, pp. 562-68 for another reflection on Ahmed Budayr Ibn Hallaq after Sajdi's research.

<sup>42</sup> For more information on Al-Nabulusi's writings see B. von Schlegell, *Sufism in the Ottoman Arab world: Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani al Nabulsi*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania (1997), Philadelphia PA.; E. Sirriyeh, *Sufi visionary of Ottoman Damascus: 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi, 1641-1731*, London (2005): Routledge Curzon; Samer Akkach, *Letters of A Sufi Scholar: the correspondence of 'Abd al-Ghani Al-Nabulusi*, Leiden (2010): E.J. Brill.

Beginning with the prosopographic research carried out in the 1960s and the emanation of self-narratives in the Ottoman studies especially after the 1980s, I have given examples from various primary sources that help us construct biographies, such as archival materials, dream-logs, diaries, travelogues, and *sefâretnâmes*.

As for my protagonist, Şerif Halil, unfortunately, there are not any extensive ego-documents that would facilitate the task of writing his biography. The only source in which he speaks about himself in the first person singular is the *vakıfnâme* of his pious deed foundation, which is very unusual.

### I.3 (Re)constructing the Biography of Şerif Halil: A Review of Sources

Receiving only rare and passing mention due to the socio-religious complex that he commissioned in his hometown Şumnu, Şerif Halil is a little-known figure of the 18<sup>th</sup> century who has not been the subject of critical historical study thus far. The earliest scholarly attempt to shed light on the socio-religious complex in Şumnu was carried out by Herbert Duda, who summarized the *vakıfnâme* of Şerif Halil's pious foundation and published an exact copy of it in 1949.<sup>43</sup> Based on the article written by Duda, Von Robert Anhegger briefly dealt with Şerif Halil's pious deeds and the content of the records in the official archival registers.<sup>44</sup> In 1958, Süheyl Ünver wrote a short article about the "Turkish calligraphers and their works" in Şumnu in which he referred to Şerif Halil as "an able calligrapher with a refined taste for artistic works."<sup>45</sup> A year after Ünver's publication, Şerif Halil was cited by Petar Mijatev, who wrote about Ottoman architectural heritage in modern-day Bulgaria. Mijatev referred to Şumnu as one of the towns with the largest number of Ottoman architectural inscriptions, which was mainly a result of the role the town played as a military and administrative center. Furthermore,

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<sup>43</sup> Herbert W. Duda had published the summary and the facsimile of the *vakıfnâme* in 1949, in "Moschee und Medrese des Şerif Halil Pascha in Schumen," *Balkantürkische Studien*, Vienna (1949), pp. 63 – 126.

<sup>44</sup> Van Robert Anhegger, "Neues Zur Balkantürkischen Forschung," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Wiesbaden (1953), pp. 70 – 91.

<sup>45</sup> Süheyl Ünver, "Şumnu'da Türk Hattatları ve Eserleri", *Belleten* 185, Ankara (1958), pp. 31 – 36.

he compiled an inventory of the monuments in Şumnu.<sup>46</sup> In 1960, Boris Nedkov questioned the birthplace of Şerif Halil in his monograph on the modern-day Bulgarian lands and beyond as narrated in the famous geography book of Al-Idrisi.<sup>47</sup> Another reference to the *vakıfnâme* of Şerif Halil's pious foundation was given in 1963 by Milan Penkov, who, as a continuation of the research initiated by Mijatev, wrote about the Ottoman inscriptions on stone in Şumnu. As in earlier articles, Penkov's references to Şerif Halil were limited to his patronage of the socio-religious complex in the city.<sup>48</sup>

The monumental complex commissioned by Şerif Halil was first brought to the attention of Turkish scholarship by Osman Keskiöglü, who himself was a native of Şumnu. In 1969, he wrote on some of the Ottoman monuments and pious foundations established in the towns, which are within the borders of Bulgaria today.<sup>49</sup> Although the article was very general and did not include any details about the patron or the mosque that he erected, it was the beginning of a series of other articles to be published by the same author. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi also pointed to the Şerif Halil Paşa Mosque in his extensive account about Ottoman architectural heritage in the Balkans.<sup>50</sup> He offered a translation of the foundation inscription and published in Arabic alphabet. His references to Şerif Halil consisted only of a few sentences that he quoted from Mehmed Süreyya's *Sicill-i Osmanî*.

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<sup>46</sup> Petar Mijatev, "Les Monuments Osmanlis en Bulgarie," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 23 (1959), pp. 7 – 28. This article was translated into English by Yaşar Yücel, *Ottoman Monuments in Bulgaria*, Türk Tarih Kurumu (Ankara: 1987), pp. 1 – 24.

<sup>47</sup> Boris Nedkov, *Balgariya i Sisednite i Zemi Prez XII vek spored 'Geografiyata' na Idrisi*, Sofia (1960), p. 23. Nedkov used Al-Idrisi's *Nüzhetü'l-Müştak fi İhtirâkı'l-Âfâk* (The Book of Pleasant Journeys Into Faraway Lands) to re-create a history of the region where modern-day Bulgarian state exists. He argued that Şerif Halil was born in Madara, a small town close to Şumnu, about which I will elaborate in the third chapter, under the subheading "From Şumnu to Istanbul".

<sup>48</sup> Milan Penkov, "Turski Kamenni Nadpisi ot Kolarovgrad," *İzvestiya na Narodnija Muzej*, Şumnu (1963) pp. 75 – 90.

<sup>49</sup> Osman Keskiöglü, "Bulgaristan'da Bazı Türk Âbide ve Vakıf Eserleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 8, Ankara (1969), pp. 311 – 328.

<sup>50</sup> Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri IV*, İstanbul (1982), p. 112.

In 1983, Keskiöglu wrote another article about the Ottoman monuments in the region together with A. Talha Özeydin in which the authors listed the remnants of Ottoman architecture in each city of modern-day Bulgaria. They referred to the Şerif Halil Mosque as the monument that honored the town of Şumnu. For the first time in this article, Şerif Halil's character was placed under scrutiny, and the authors presented the information about the patron that they gathered from the chronicle of İzzi Süleyman Efendi.<sup>51</sup> In 1985, Keskiöglu transliterated a big portion of the *vakıfnâme* and briefly repeated the above-mentioned information on the complex. This article turned out to be a frequent reference in articles published over the next two decades.<sup>52</sup>

The post-1980s witnessed a rise in Bulgarian nationalist historiography and many articles regarding the Ottoman architectural heritage in Bulgaria came out. In 1990, Mihaila Stajnova authored a short article on the architectural style of Şerif Halil's mosque and repeated the claim that it had been constructed on the site of a previously demolished church.<sup>53</sup> In a similar manner, Margarita Harbova also dwelled on the formal structure of the mosque and drew attention to the three columns in the vestibule

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<sup>51</sup> Osman Keskiöglu & A. Talha Özeydin, "Bulgaristan'da Türk-İslâm Eserleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 17, Ankara (1983), pp. 109 – 140. İzzi Süleyman Efendi's official history covers the years 1157 – 65 (1744 – 52) and was printed in Istanbul in 1785. He records complete logs of appointments in the *Divân-ı Hümayun*; therefore, his work is a very valuable source for the researchers studying the biographies of Ottoman statesmen. İzzi also composed several chronograms and a *divân*, however won very little fame as a poet. He served as the *Mektûb-i kethüdâ-i sadr-ı âli* in 1739, which implies that he knew Şerif Halil in person. There is no transliterated version of İzzi Süleyman Efendi's chronicle into modern Turkish or English; however, see Abdullah Kara, "İzzi Divânı," *Unpublished MA Thesis*. İstanbul Üniversitesi (1998). The transliteration of the chronicle of İzzi is to be published by Mesut Aydiner in 2011.

<sup>52</sup> Osman Keskiöglu, "Şumnulu Şerif Halil Paşa Vakfiyesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 19, Ankara (1985), pp. 25 – 30. However, Keskiöglu's transliteration is incomplete. The corrected and complete transliteration of the *vakıfnâme* is in the Appendix 2.

<sup>53</sup> Mihaila Stajnova, "La Mosquée Tomboul À Choumen – Influence Du Style "Lâle", *Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art*, Polish Scientific Publishers, Warsaw (1990), pp. 225 – 229. The claim about the construction site of Şerif Halil Paşa Mosque mentioned above was first articulated by Andrei Zehirev in 1878, "Prevod Na Statiyata Mesto Şumnu v Bulgarsku," *Slavia* 4, Prag (1878), pp. 191 – 192. Furthermore, one year after the publication of Zehirev's article, Feliks Kanitz, who himself did not see the interior of the mosque propounded that there were remnants of a previously demolished cathedral under the plaster of the walls in *Donau-bulgarien und der Balkan: Historisch-geographisch-ethnographische Reisestudien aus den Jahren 1860-1878* III, Leipzig (1879), p.62.

to suggest that on the site of Şerif Halil's Mosque previously was a "Byzantine style" cathedral.<sup>54</sup>

In 1997, Svetlana Ivanova wrote an entry about Şumnu in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, in which she referred to Şerif Halil as a Şumnu- or Madara-born statesman with a brilliant career. Ivanova stated that Şerif Halil was the *kethüda* (the administrative intendant) of Damad İbrahim Paşa.<sup>55</sup> Two years later, Stoyanka Kenderova and Zorka Ivanova published a catalogue of the collections of Ottoman libraries that were built in the 18th and the 19th centuries in modern-day Bulgaria. The manuscript collection was bequeathed by Şerif Halil to the library of his socio-religious complex. Kenderova and Ivanova presented an incomplete inventory of the content of the library in Şumnu. They also included the facsimiles of a few title pages of manuscripts from the library of Şerif Halil.<sup>56</sup>

In the following decade, we find encyclopaedic entries of various lengths which happen to repeat, quote or plagiarize the above cited works. In 1999, Havva Koç wrote an entry for Şerif Halil in the *Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi*; however, it was only a summary of the article written by Keskiöglü in 1968.<sup>57</sup>

The International Symposium of Cultural Interaction in the Balkans and Ottoman Architecture, that was held in Şumnu in 2000, attracted more attention to the socio-religious complex that Şerif Halil commissioned. Among many papers that were presented during the symposium, two are closely related to my research. The first article was by Sadi Bayram who studied the *vakıfs* (pious foundations) established in the towns within the borders of Bulgaria today. Although his specific emphasis was not on

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<sup>54</sup> Margarita Harbova, *Gradoustoistvo i Arhitektura po Balgarskite Zemi Prez XV – XVII vek*, Sofia (1991), pp. 75 – 77; 164 – 173. A more elaborate discussion about this controversy will be included in the next chapter.

<sup>55</sup> Svetlana Ivanova, "Şumnu", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden: Brill (1997), pp. 502 – 504.

<sup>56</sup> Stoyanka Kenderova and Zorka Ivanova, *From the Collections of Ottoman Libraries in Bulgaria During the 18th-19th Centuries: Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manuscripts and Old Printed Books*, Sofia (1999), pp. 14 – 19.

<sup>57</sup> Havva Koç, "Şerif Halil Paşa," *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi*, v.2, YKY. İstanbul (1999) pp. 585 – 6.

Şumnu, he devoted a large portion to Şerif Halil's *vakıf*. However, the information that he provided was not any different from Keskioglu's summary and transliteration of the *vakıfnâme*.<sup>58</sup> The second article presented in this symposium related to Şerif Halil was written by Orlin Sabev who analyzed the socio-religious complex. Sabev included a review of the articles written about the monument until that time. Written in Bulgarian, the article provided the Bulgarian scholars with an interpretation of the foundation inscription of the mosque. Moreover, the author questioned the influence of the "Ottoman Baroque," a misnomer for the Ottoman architectural monuments built especially in the second half of the 18th century.<sup>59</sup> This was the first of a series of articles to be published by Sabev about Şumnu and Şerif Halil Paşa's socio-religious complex. In 2001, he wrote an article on Muslim brotherhoods in Şumnu, which included a survey of the shifts in the socio-ethnic population structure of the city between the 15th and the 18th centuries.<sup>60</sup> The greatest contribution of Sabev to the bulk of articles about Şerif Halil was the publication of the book collection bestowed by the patron in his socio-religious complex. Sabev's transliteration and classification of the book list brought the content of the library in Şumnu into the spotlight. (It should be noted that these books were the ones originally bestowed by the patron, Şerif Halil.<sup>61</sup>)

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<sup>58</sup> Sadi Bayram, "Bulgaristan'da Bulunan Osmanlı Vakıfları," *Balkanlar'da Kültürel Etkileşim ve Türk Mimarisi Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Şumnu (Mayıs 2000), pp. 127 – 135.

<sup>59</sup> Orlin Sabev, "Djamiyata na Şerif Halil Paşa v Şumnu: Sledi ot Dialoga Mezhdu Zapada i Orienta," *ibid*, pp. 611 – 625.

<sup>60</sup> Idem, "Muslumanskite Mistichni Bratstva v Şumnu XVII – XIX vek," *Istoriya na Muslumanskata Kultura po Balkarskite Zemi*, ed. Rossitsa Gradeva, Sofia (2001), pp. 300 – 323. Based on this article, Sabev presented an extended version in the International Symposium of the Culture of Islamic Mysticism in Bursa in 2005. "Osmanlı Dönemi Şumnu Tekkeleri," *Uluslararası Bursa Tasavvuf Kültürü Sempozyumu* 4, ed. M. Temelli, Kültür Sanat ve Turizm Vakfı, Bursa (2005), pp. 179 – 191.

<sup>61</sup> Idem, "Bir Hayrat ve Nostalji Eseri: Şumnu'daki Tombul Camii Külliyesi ve Banisi Şerif Halil Paşa'nın Vakfettiği Kitapların Listesi," *Enjeux politiques, économiques et militaires en mer Noire (XIVe-XXIe siècles)*, études à la mémoire de Mihail Guboglu sous la direction de: Faruk Bilici, Ionel Căndea, Anca Popescu. Musée de Braïla-Editions Istros, Braïla, 2007, pp. 557 – 583. This article might be regarded in addition to the monograph that Sabev wrote in 2006, where he mentioned the library in Şumnu without giving further details. *İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni 1726 – 1746*, Yeditepe Publication, İstanbul (2006).

In 2005, Nurcihan Kahraman wrote an MA thesis on the architectural features of the socio-religious complex, in which she did not include a critical study of the patron's personal background. Her references to Şerif Halil were limited to the information provided by Keskiöglü and Ünver. She also compared the socio-religious complex with one of its contemporaries, the Damad İbrahim Paşa complex in Nevşehir. Her attempts to re-present the plan and sketch of the socio-religious complex via various softwares visually enriched the bulk of studies about the complex. Moreover, Kahraman attempted to refute the assertions about the construction site of the complex that had been put forward by Harbova and Stajnova.<sup>62</sup>

In 2010, it fell onto Neval Konuk to write an entry about Şerif Halil Paşa Külliyesi in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Quoting from Sabev and Kahraman, she presented a general picture of the architectural features and elements of the complex. The article did not include specific references to the personage of Şerif Halil, but proved to be a summary of what had been written about the complex thus far.<sup>63</sup>

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As it might be deduced from the corpus of writings about the Şerif Halil Paşa Complex, the focus has been on the monument rather than its patron. Especially since the publication of Keskiöglü's article in 1983, in which he quoted from İzzi Süleyman Efendi's chronicle to shed light on the official posts of Şerif Halil, researchers have taken the career of Şerif Halil in Istanbul for granted and have not done a close reading of the other chronicles depicting the same time period. In order to test the validity of information provided by İzzi, I shall include the histories of several other chroniclers such as Mehmed Subhî Efendi (1730-43), Uşşâkîzâde es-Seyyid İbrâhim Hasîb Efendi (1695-1712), Anonymous Chronicle (1688-1704), Kadı Ömer Efendi (1740-44),

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<sup>62</sup> Nurcihan Kahraman, "Şumnu Şerif Halil Paşa Camisi (Tombul Cami)," Unpublished MA Thesis, Marmara University, Istanbul (2005). See footnote 53 for nationalist arguments about the construction site of the complex.

<sup>63</sup> Neval Konuk, "Şerif Halil Paşa Külliyesi," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 38, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İstanbul (2010), pp. 572 – 3.

Musâffâ Mustafa Efendi (1736-44), and Ahmed Vâsîf Efendi (1752-74).<sup>64</sup> In order to construct the setting of Şerif Halil's early life, I shall refer to Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahâtnâme*, in which he narrates his experience in Şumnu and puts forward claims about the *seyyids* (the descendants of Hüseyin, the grandson of Prophet Mohammad). Furthermore, so as to get statistical information about the number of *seyyids* in the *sancak* of Niğbolu, *Kanûnname-i Sultânî li' Aziz Efendi* will prove helpful.<sup>65</sup>

Additionally, I will use some archival materials located in the prime minister's archives (hereafter BOA), Sofia National Library (hereafter SNL), and the Archives of General Directorate of Foundations (hereafter VGM).<sup>66</sup>

Other primary sources that include biographical information about Şerif Halil are *Tuhfe-i Hattatin* by Müstakimzâde Süleyman Saadeddin, *Tuhfe-i Nailî*, *Sicill-i Osmanî* by Mehmed Süreyya and *Fâ'iz ve Şakir Mecmuası*.<sup>67</sup> Among these biographical

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<sup>64</sup> *Vak'anüvis Subhî Mehmed Efendi Tarihi*, ed. Mesut Aydınar, Kitabevi. İstanbul (2007); *Uşşâkîzâde es-Seyyid İbrâhim Hasîb Efendi Tarihi*, ed. Raşit Gündoğdu, Çamlıca. İstanbul (2005); *Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, Türk Tarih Kurumu. Ankara (2000); Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruznâme-i Sultan Mahmud Han*, ed. Yavuz Oral, *Unpublished Graduation Thesis*. İstanbul University (1966); *Musâffâ Mustafa Efendi'nin I. Mahmud Devri Vekayinâmesi*, ed. Ahmed Kızılgök, *Unpublished Graduation Thesis*. İstanbul University (1964); Ahmed Vâsîf Efendi, *Mehâsinü'l-Âsâr ve Hakâikü'l-Ahbâr*, ed. Mücteba İlgürel, Türk Tarih Kurumu. Ankara (1994).

<sup>65</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahâtnâme*, v.3, ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı, YKY, İstanbul (1996), pp. 178-9; Rhoads Murphey, *Kanûnname-i Sultânî li' Aziz Efendi, On Yedinci Yüzyılda Bir Osmanlı Devlet Adamının Islahat Teklifleri*, Harvard University (1985), p. 38.

<sup>66</sup> BOA 810/34403 Cevdet – Askeriye; 541/22232 Cevdet – Maliye; 658/26925 Cevdet – Maliye, 97/4805 Cevdet – Belediye, 12077 Evkaf Defterleri, 66/3285 Cevdet – Belediye, 336/13767 Cevdet – Maliye. In order to detect the names of the *mahalles* in Şumen in the last quarter of the 17th century, I will make use of the *hurufat* registers that are the archival documents which show the appointments of various officers such as *imams*, *hatips*, trustees and *nazırs* to specific areas. They are called *hurufat* (the plural of *harf*, letter) because the records are sorted out alphabetically.

<sup>67</sup> Müstakimzâde Süleyman Saadeddin, *Tuhfe-i Hattatin*, Devlet Matbaası. İstanbul (1928); Mehmed Nail Tuman, *Tuhfe-i Nailî: Divân Şairlerinin Muhtasar Biyografileri*, Bizim Büro Yayınları. Ankara (2001); Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı. Ankara (1996); *Fâ'iz ve Şakir Mecmuası* in Suleymaniye Manuscript Library, Halet Efendi Kitaplığı, 763. The *mecmua* was also studied by Metin Hakverdioğlu, *Edebiyatımızda Lâle Devri ve Damad İbrahim Paşa'ya Sunulan Kasideler*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Selçuk University. Konya (2007).

reference books, Mehmed Süreyya's *Sicill-i Osmanî* differs from earlier examples in that it has an inclusive approach which does not categorize the individuals according to the social branches that they belonged to. It is not also limited to the biographies of a group of people who lived in a specific time span.

The *vakıfnâme* is the only first-person narrative about Şerif Halil.<sup>68</sup> The original document dated May 4, 1744 (H. 21 Rebi'ül Evvel, 1157/M.) was written in *ta'lik* calligraphic style by a certain Seyyid Mustafa,<sup>69</sup> and it is preserved in the Şumnu Historical Museum, where a copy of it can be found in the Directorate General of Foundations in Ankara.<sup>70</sup> Generally, in such documents, first the pious deeds of the patron and then the expenditures/profits are recorded; however, the *vakıfnâme* of Şerif Halil's pious foundation follows the reverse order.

The trustee of the pious foundation was Şerif Halil himself until he appointed his nephew Çavuşzâde Es-seyyid Mehmed Ağa to follow him after his death. Furthermore, he clearly remarked that the future trustees of the *vakıf* were to be the oldest members of his family.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> For the earlier studies on *vakıfnâme*, see Herbert W. Duda, "Moschee und Medrese des Şerif Halil Pasha in Şumen", *Balkantürkische Studien*, Wien, 1949, s. 72-73; Milen Penkov, "Turski Kamenni Nadpisi ot Kolarovgrad." *İzvectiya na Narodniya Muzej*, 1963. 75-90"; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimarî Eserleri*, cilt IV, İstanbul, 1982, s. 112; Osman Keskiöğlü, "Bulgaristan'daki Bazı Türk Vakıfları ve Âbideleri", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, VII, 1968, s. 136-137; Orlin Sabev, "Džamiyata na Şerif Halil Paşa (Tombul Džamiya) v Şumen: ot Sledi Dialoga Meždu Zapada i Orienta." *Balkanlarda Kültürel Etkileşim ve Türk Mimarisi Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri. Şumnu: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları*, 2000., *Balkanlar'da Kültürel Etkileşim ve Türk Mimarisi Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri (17-19 Mayıs 2000, Şumnu-Bulgaristan)*, haz. A. A. Yasa, Z. Zafer, cilt 2, Ankara: Atatürk Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Bakanlığı, 2001, pp. 615-616.

<sup>69</sup> *Vakıfnâme*: "...Eseri Cemil ve hayri Cezil ketebehül-fakiru Es-seyyid Mustafa ufiye anhu..." Personal communication with Irvin Cemil Shick on 31 July, 2011: "The *vakıfnâme* was most probably written by passable scribe, not calligraphic, hands."

<sup>70</sup> VGM, *Haremeyn*: 4 (737); Şumnu Historical Museum, 131.

<sup>71</sup> *Vakıfnâme*: "...ve ben lâbis-i libâs-ı hayat oldukça vakfı mezkure kendim mütevellî olub ba'dehu usul ve furû'mun ekber aslahı batnen ba'de batnın ve karnen gibbe karnin mütevellî olalar ve benim usul furû'umdan sonra zikrî âtî kâimmakam olan yiğenimiz Çavuşzâde Es-seyyid Mehmed Ağa nam kimesnenin usûl ve fûru'in şart-ı mezkur üzre mütevellî olalar..."

In the document, there are some crucial autobiographical lines written in first-person singular, and which will be addressed in the third chapter concerning Şerif Halil's family ties and early life. Furthermore, the assets and pious deeds of the patron included in the *vakıfnâme* prove to be valuable documentation which enable us to elucidate conclusions about his wealth, and will be addressed in my last chapter dealing with his legacy.

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An important source about the architectural patronage of the Şerif Halil is the foundation inscription (*kitâbe*), which is found over the entrance gate to the mosque. It was written on a fine marble with the technique of embossment in *talik* calligraphic style by İbrahim Namık (d.1757/8). Although the marble plate seems to have been cleaned during the restoration works in 1994, the text is not perfectly legible; therefore, we have to depend on the transliteration of Osman Keskioglu.<sup>72</sup> The poet to compose the chronogram to commemorate the construction of the mosque was Nimetullah Efendi, who was shortly mentioned as Nimet in the poem.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Osman Keskioglu, “Şumnulu Şerif Halil Paşa Vakfiyesi” p. 30 :Kethüdâ-yi Sadr-ı âli, mülteca-yı hâss-ü âm / Ol semiy’yi bâni-i Beytül-harâm, zât-ı şerif / İki defa kethüdalık mesned-i vâlâsını / Eyledi ikbâl-ü izzetle müşerref ol afif. / Ol mühimsâz-ı umur-u din-ü devlet kim odur / Mücri-i sünnet, muin-i hâdim-i şer’ı münif / Menşe-i pâk-i vücudu olmağıyle ol kerim / Eyledi âsâr ile bu beldeyi pâk ü nazif / Yaptı ezcümle bu ziba mâ’bed-i pürnuru kim / Tarhı hob ve resmi mahbubu binası hem rasif / Habbezâ manzume-i nev mâ’bed-i dilkeş bina / Kim sezâ Beytül Harâma olsa manendi redif/ Hak bu kim Hubbül-Vatan misdakın icra eyledi / Nail-i ecr-i cezil etsin Hüdavend-i latif Vafına tarhetti Nimet dahi bir tarih-i hub Hemçu nur ihya olurdu Câmi-i pâk-i Şerif. Ketebehu İhrahim Namık – 1157

<sup>73</sup> According to *Tuhfe-i Nâilî*, Nimetullah Efendi was born in Istanbul in 1700 whereas in *Sicill-i Osmanî*, it is written that his birth year is 1710 (H.1122). As his father, Abdülrahim Efendi, then the *ruzmançeci* of Eyüb, passed away when he was a child, Nimetullah grew up with his grandfather Osman Efendi. In 1730, one year before Şerif Halil was appointed to the post of *tezkire-i sâni*, he became a *müderris*. Although he was removed from this office when Dâmadzâde Ebülhayr Efendi was the *şeyh ül-İslam*, after a short time, he regained his position. He became the *molla* of Galata, Egypt and Mecca in 1753/54 (H.1167) and 1764 (H.1178) respectively. With the *pâye* of Istanbul, he became the *kadı* of the sublime army (*ordu-yu hümayun kadısı*) in 1769/70 (H.1183). As to the year in which he died, there are different suggestions in *Sicill-i Osmanî*, *Tuhfe-i Nâilî* and the chronicles of Şefket and Silahdarzâde. According to Süreyya, he died in January 1773 (H. Şevval 1186), whereas Nâilî records his death year as 1772, twenty years later than Şerif Halil's death. In the chronicles of Silahdarzâde and Şefket, the year of his death is given to be H. 1180 (1766/1767), which seems unlikely.

The translation of the verse is as follows:

*He, the administrative intendant of the grand vizier, the refuge of the needy,  
This honorable man who gave his name to this House of God,  
Served in the sublime post of the chief stewardness of the grand vizier twice,  
With success and pride.  
He, who served the state and religion in significant posts,  
The deputy of Sunnah and the servant of the exalted Shari'a,  
In the place of his origin, this gracious man,  
Commissioned monuments and made this town clean and refined.  
He built this monument of absolute purity,  
This long-lasting building of beautiful patterns and beloved decorations  
An appealing and smart building in the new style,  
Whoever worthy of following ---  
And showed his love for his hometown,  
The God shall give him plenty of rewards,  
Nimet wrote down the chronogram of this auspicious date,  
This sacred and pure mosque, like him [the patron] bestows light to the world.*

The chronogram portrayed Şerif Halil's architectural patronage as his self-manifestation.

At this point, it must be noted that the tombstones in the backyard of Şerif Halil's mosque is not of any help to this research because all of them belong to the prominent members of the local society in Şumnu in the 19th century. Most of tombstones are totally unreadable and the area needs to be cleaned.

## II. ŞUMNU: THE SETTING OF ŞERİF HALİL'S EARLY LIFE<sup>74</sup>

*Maarif ehline mecma' o belde,  
Kemalât nehrine menba' o belde*<sup>75</sup>

The history of Şumnu needs to be separately analyzed, because it is the setting of Şerif Halil's early years. It is a city in north-eastern Bulgaria at the foot of the Şumnu plateau, a location that makes it panoramically beautiful and strategically significant. The city is a crossroads between the Stara Planina passes, the Danube and the Black Sea. The creek of Bokluca (Porojna), is an important landmark that played a crucial role in the formation of the city center.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> For detailed information about the history of the city, among many other indetailed articles, see the entry of "Şumen" in *Encyclopediia of Islam* by Svetlana Ivanova; Evliya Çelebi, "Seyahatname", VIII. pp.178-9; M. Du Bocage and G. Barbie, "Description de la ville de Chumla et de ses environs..." in *Journal de voyages ou archives géographiques du XIXe siècle*, Paris 1828; Machiel Kiel, "The Heart of Bulgaria Population and Settlement History of the Districts of Provadia, Novi Pazar and Shoumen from the late Middle Ages till the End of the Ottoman Period" and "Urban Development in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period and the Place of Turkish Architecture in the Process"; Stoyanka Kenderova, "Bulgaria, in World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts"; Osman Keskiöglü, "Bulgaristan'daki Bazı Türk Vakıfları ve Âbideleri" and "Şumnulu Şerif Halil Paşa Vakfiyesi" in *Vakıflar Dergisi*; Herbert Duda, "Balkantürkische Studien" in *SB Osterr. Akad. der Wiss.*

<sup>75</sup> In his unpublished *divân*, Eski Cumalı Ahmed Hamid from *Hacegân-ı divân-ı hümayun* describes Şumen as the "gathering place for the well-educated and the spring of the river of virtues." (Osman Keskiöglü & A. Talha Özaydın, "Bulgaristan'da Türk-İslâm Eserleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 17, Ankara (1983), p. 119)

<sup>76</sup> **Bokluca(-dere)** (Porojna), it is the biggest creek flowing from the plateau of Şumen and is in the area called Köşkler, which possibly suggests the presence of seasonal lodges perhaps for hunting. It is fed by various streams such as Çillibaba, Sulumera, Arslancık, Zindan, Çınarcık-çeşme. Because most of the spring is used to cater the water needs of the city, like the irrigation of truck gardens, the water level of the creek is very low. As for the origin of the name of the creek, Bokluca, in vernacular Turkish,

In the 11th and the 12th centuries, the city was called Simeonis by the Byzantines. Al-Idrisi referred to it as Misionis, which might be a corrupted version of the previous name. The excavations carried out in the 1960s and 1970s revealed a 13th-century inscription which included a text of prayer in Slavonic language. In the text, the city was called Şumnu, which might have been designated in reference to the Bulgarian word “şuma” that means verdure, foliage.<sup>77</sup> In the Ottoman period, we find several names used for the city such as Şumi, Şumnu, Şumna, Şumnua, Şumlar, Şumla and Şumni.<sup>78</sup> Between 1950-64, it was renamed Kolarovgrad.<sup>79</sup>

There are numerous remnants of fortresses, settlements, churches and monasteries in Şumnu. The city indeed sits on a plateau (today known as Hisarlık) where five different fortresses had existed succesively: a Roman one (4th century), three Byzantine ones (the 5th-6th centuries, the 9th-10th and the 12th-14th centuries) and an Ottoman one (15th century).<sup>80</sup> The Ottomans conquered the city in 1388-89 during the campaigns of Çandarlı Ali Paşa, who was the grand vezir of Sultan Murad I at the time. The fortified medieval town of Şumnu was totally destroyed by the Crusaders during

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is used to refer to a coppice and shrubbery. Translated from M.Türker Acaroğlu, “Bulgaristan’da Türkçe Yer Adları Kılavuzu” p. 145.

<sup>77</sup> Machiel Kiel, “Şumnu,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Türk Diyanet Vakfı. İstanbul (2010), p. 227 and Svetlana Ivanova, “Şumnu,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden: Brill (1997), p. 502. Svetlana Ivanova refers to the very same finding as the Shishman Inscription whereas Kiel avoids naming it.

<sup>78</sup> Evliya Çelebi, “Ziyâretgâh-ı Şumnu,” *Seyahâtnâme*, p.179.

<sup>79</sup> As an alternative to Ivanova and Kiels’s claims about the origin of the name of the city, Evliya Çelebi states that due to the great trouble which the Ottomans suffered under the command of Çandarlı Ali Paşa while attempting to conquer the city, it was called “Şumlu” which might be translated as “troublesome”. (Pars Tuğlacı, *Osmanlı Şehirleri*, p. 396); Evliya Çelebi, “Der-vasf-ı kal’a-i harâb Şûmî, ma’ mûr, müzeyyen şehr-i Şumnu,” *Seyahâtnâme*, v.3 p.178: “Sebeb-i tesmiyesi oldur kim sene (---) târîhinde Yıldırım Hân asrında Alî nâm vezîr-i hümâm feth ederken vefret üzre meşakkat çekilüp “Şu Şumni feth olmayup kaldı” deyü nefes etdüğü dem kalâdan vere bayrakları zâhir olup Bulkar keferesi elinden dest-i İslâm’a girüp memâlik-i İslâm’a zem olunup ismi Şumni kaldı. Ammâ bânîsi ma’lûmum değildir...” On the other hand, Kolarovgrad was the name given after the famous Bulgarian communist political leader and leading functionary in the Communist International, Vasil Petrov Kolarov who was born in Şumen.

<sup>80</sup> Svetlana Ivanova, *ibid.* p.503.

the Varna campaign of 1444 and it was abandoned and never restored in its previous location again. The new settlement area was down below the plateau around the Bokluca creek.

The earliest source to give information about the socio-ethnic structure of the city is a *tahrir icmâl* register dated 1479. According to this document, there were seventy-four Christian households and eleven Muslim households living in the city. The total population was roughly 400-450.<sup>81</sup> In 1485, the city was the *zeâmet*<sup>82</sup> of Bâli Bey ibn Malkoç and the Christian population was formed by sixty-eight households, fifteen *mücerreds* (bachelors) and one widower. On the other hand, apart from fourteen Muslim households, eleven of which were *yörüks*<sup>83</sup> and *sipahis* (cavalrymen), fifteen Muslim *mücerreds* inhabited the city.<sup>84</sup>

In 1516, 107 Christian households resided in the city, whereas the number of Muslim households were ninety-four.<sup>85</sup> The *tahrir* register of 1526-28 shows that Şumnu was turned into a *has*<sup>86</sup> of the sultan and the total population of the city was 1100, of which 550 were Muslims.<sup>87</sup> The earliest *mahalle* of the city was named Eskipazar and it was located along the western border of Şumnu. After the construction

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<sup>81</sup> SNL: O. A. K., n.45/29

<sup>82</sup> Zeâmet is a military fief with an annual income of 20,000 to 100,000 *akçes* paid by the *reâyâ* in the form of tithes, taxes, fees and market dues. (Gustav Bayerle, "Zeâmet," *Pashas, Begs and Efendis*, p.163)

<sup>83</sup> *Yörük* or *yürük*, "nomad" belongs to one of the nomadic or semi-nomadic Turkoman and Kurdish tribes in Anatolia and the Balkans who maintained their semi-autonomous status. They had long resisted repeated government attempts at forcible settlements; some of these tribal groups survived to our day. (Gustav Bayerle, "Yürük," *Pashas, Begs and Efendis*, p.162)

<sup>84</sup> Rumen Kovachev, *Opis Na Niğboluskiya Sandjak ot 80te Godini na XV Vek*, Sofia (1997), p. 152.

<sup>85</sup> Machiel Kiel, "Şumnu," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, p. 227.

<sup>86</sup> *Has* was the private property denoting land and revenue units that produced an annual income in excess of 100,000 *akçes*. (Gustav Bayerle, "Hass," *Pashas, Begs and Efendis*, p. 77)

<sup>87</sup> M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri Başlarında Rumeli Eyaleti, Livaları, Şehir ve Kasabaları," *Belleten*, 77-80, 1956, pp. 247-285.

of the mosque commissioned by the Rumelia provincial governor-general Yahyâ Paşa in c.1500, a new *mahalle* appeared to the east of Eskipazar, which was named *Mahalle-i Câmi-i Şerif*. In this *mahalle* was also the Eski Hamam.<sup>88</sup> In thirty years' time, Şumnu possessed a full-fledged city centre. By 1555, three more *mahalles* had been formed, named Söğütpınar, Velî Kadı and Yolcu. In 1579-80, the *mahalle* of Solak Sinan also came into being.<sup>89</sup>

While in many cities in Rumelia there was a population decrease in the mid-17th century, Şumnu's population kept increasing. According to the *Mufassal Avâriz* Register dated 1642, four more Muslim *mahalles* were formed, the names of which were Kara Efendi, Süleyman Efendi, Dündarzâde and Şâban Halife, which I consider to have been named after Şerif Halil's influential grandfather, Şâban Efendi.<sup>90</sup> At this time, in the city, there were 413 Muslim households. Furthermore, an Armenian *mahalle* hosting twenty-five households was formed by the Armenian refugees fleeing from the Safavids. At the time, the total population was about 2500-2700, 76 percent of which were Muslims. In addition, there were two Christian *mahalles*.<sup>91</sup>

According to Evliya Çelebi who visited Şumnu, together with Melek Ahmed Paşa in 1651, there were ten mosques and *mahalles*, seven *mektebs*, a *tekke*, a *han*, a *hamam* and 300 shops in the city.<sup>92</sup> Two *kadıs* (with a daily salary of 300 *akçes*), a *nâ'ib*, a *nâkibü'l-eşraf*, a *subaşı*, a *kethüda*, a *sipahi kethüdası*, a *serdar* of the Jannisaries, a *muhtesib* and a *bacdâr* were holding office in Şumnu during Evliya

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<sup>88</sup> Eski Câmi (the Old Mosque) survived until 1992, when it was demolished by the Bulgarian authorities whereas Eski Hamam (the Old Bath) survived until the 1960s.

<sup>89</sup> Machiel Kiel, *ibid*, p. 228

<sup>90</sup> Details about my suggestion as to the origin of the name of this *mahalle* will be provided in the next chapter, under the title of "From Şumen to Istanbul".

<sup>91</sup> SNL: O. A. K., 129/3, 8a.

<sup>92</sup> Being the relative of Melek Ahmed Paşa, who was the grand vezir of Mehmed IV between 1650-51, Evliya Çelebi entered the paşa's household (*kapulandı*) and travelled in most of the Rumelia region together with him.

Çelebi's visit.<sup>93</sup> The traveller also described the physical characteristics of the city to great extent.<sup>94</sup>

Evliya claimed that there was no *bezistan*, *medrese* or *dâr-ül kurra*. However, we have to approach Evliya's account with a certain degree of doubt. Evliya often wrote about what he witnessed with credibility, whereas what he regarded as missing may potentially be an overstatement – and in our specific case of Şumnu, that rule is valid, considering the fact that in the city there has existed a *bezistân* since the 16th century, which has been used for different purposes and functions throughout modern day.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, eight years after Evliya's visit, the Catholic bishop Philipp Stanislavov informs us that there were two churches and about 1,200 Orthodox inhabitants in Şumnu. The number of Catholics were 120, and were registered as Dubrovnik merchants in the *Avârız* Register of 1642. According to Stanislavov, about 4,500 Muslims lived in the city, which also seems to be an exaggeration, because the total population of the city had reached only 5,500 – 6,000 by the mid-18th century.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> *Nâ'ibs* are deputies of *kadıs* who administer them to certain legal cases. *Nâkibü'l-eşrafs* are the chiefs of the descendants of Prophet Muhammad. *Subaşıs* are the commanders of a subdivision of a provincial sipahi company; they also exercised the functions of chief of police in their subdivisions. *Kethüdas* were “stewards” or leader of specified units who were deputized to act as commanders. Men of substance all had personal *kethüdâs*, as in the case of Şerif Halil being the *kethüda* of the grand vezir. *Muhtesibs* would inspect the marketplace to ensure that the prices conformed with the official price list called *narh* and they levied dues on merchants and artisans. *Serdars* were the field marshals, the commander-in-chief.

<sup>94</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *ibid*, p. 179: “...Şehri cümle on aded mahalle ve cümle iki bin aded bağ u bâğçeli ve cânib-i erba'ası havâleli dağlar ve yigirmi yerde mesîregâhlı yerler ortasında ma'mûr u müzeyyen şîrîn kasabadır. Tahtâni ve fevkânî kiremitli ve ekseri şındıra tahta örtülü şâhâne ve şâhnîşinli evlerdir. Lâkin cânib-i erba'aları ekseriyyâ tahta havlılıdır...”

<sup>95</sup> Svetlana Ivanova, *ibid*, p. 503. As of May, 2011, the *bezistân* is in a devastated situation. An inscription written during the restoration works that were carried out at the beginning of the 19th century is stored in the local museum. Also in the northern-gate of the *bezistan* there is a *tuğra* of Mahmud II, who himself went to Şumen and commissioned some architectural works as well as the restoration of the existant ones. (Yaşar Yücel, *Macaristan ve Bulgaristan'daki Türk Sanat Eserleri*, pp. 46-47) The *bezistân* was last restored in 1922.

<sup>96</sup> Machiel Kiel, *ibid*. p. 228

The 18th century witnessed a boom in the number of architectural works coupled with the increasing population in Şumnu. In 1729-30, Hacı Ahmed el-Acem commissioned the construction of Kilek Mosque, which also gave its name to the *mahalle* surrounding it. The clock tower and the Şerif Halil Paşa Socio-Religious Complex were constructed in very close quarters in 1740 and 1744, respectively.

In the second half of the 18th century, architectural constructions continued and minor buildings such as Reis Paşa Mosque (1773-4) and Kurşunlu Mosque and Fountain (1774-5) were built. Such urbanization attempts were reflected in the total population numbers. The *Mufasssal Avârız* Register of 1751 shows that the city hosted 714 Muslim and 172 non-Muslim households. In this period, three non-Muslim *mahalles* named Kilise, Kosta and Stanco appeared. However, contrary to the earlier records, it is seen that in these non-Muslim *mahalles* lived some Muslims, too. Likewise, in the Muslim *mahalles* of Kadı Mescidi and Hacı Pîri, some non-Muslims were residing.<sup>97</sup>

In time, the population surge resulted in a great contribution to the economic welfare of the town. There were about 50 *vakıfs* that owned not only agricultural estates but also shops and workshops.<sup>98</sup> By the final decade of the 16th century, the Ottoman authorities had closed the waters of the empire to foreign ships in order to ensure the steady flow of Istanbul commerce from the West, and allowed only the merchants who were either Ottoman subjects or allies. This move became especially beneficial for the

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<sup>97</sup> Machiel Kiel, *ibid*, p. 229.

<sup>98</sup> Ivanova gives the example of Hacı Recep *Vakıf* which was founded in 1671 and drew most of its income from 41 shops in order to illustrate the general picture. During my research in the General Directorate of Foundations, I have been able to detect the following *vakıfs* that were founded in Şumen: Yahya Bey bin Abdullah in H. 1065; Kolcu Mehmed bin Recep bin Abdullah (Mehmed Ağa bir Recep Ağa) in H. 1082; Çavuş Ahmed bin Veysi in H. 1092; Hüseyin bin Haydar in H. 1105; Mustafa Efendi bin Ahmed in H.1107; Deven Hatun Bint-i Gazanfer in H.1113; Abdullah Çavuş bin Mustafa in H. 1130; Hüseyin Ağa bin Ali in H. 1131; Mustafa Ağa bin Ali in H. 1148; Osman Efendi bin Mehmed Ağa in H.1149; Fatma Hatun Bint-i Ahmed in H. 1164; Safiye Hatun Bint-i Mustafa in H.1175; Mehmed Paşa bin Abdullah Paşa in in H. 1186; Mustafa Baba Efendi bin Abdülkerim in H.1206; Eş-şeyh Mustafa Baba in 1206; Nasreddin Efendi bin Mustafa in H.1211; Mustafa Efendi bin Abdülkerim in H. 1216; Havva Hatun Bint-i Abdülkerim in H. 1220; Ali Efendi bin Ömer in H. 1255; Mustafa Bey bin İsmail Ağa in H.1260; Mehmed Efendi bin Mehmed Fethi Efendi in H.1277 Hüseyin Ağa in an *unidentified year*; El-hac Muslu in an *unidentified year*.

Dubrovnik merchants who also operated from and within Şumnu. Although their numbers were small, their impact was large, considering the fact that thousands of items produced in this geography made their way to Italian and other European markets.<sup>99</sup> By the mid-18th century, the town had turned into a “distribution center” that provided the whole region with a variety of goods. Leather production was very widespread, and the town was also famous for its coppersmiths.<sup>100</sup>

The town had systematically been fortified during the grand vezirates of Muhsinzâde Abdullah Paşa (1737), to whom we find Şerif Halil to assist as a *sadâret kethüdâsı*, and Cezayirli Hasan Paşa (1790). It became a part of the fortified quadrangle formed by the neighbouring towns of Ruse, Varna and Silistre during the Turko-Russian wars of 1768-74, 1806-12, 1828-9 and 1877-8. Following the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the Ottoman armies left Şumnu and the town became a part of the autonomous Bulgarian Principality under Ottoman suzerainty, the predecessor to the independent Bulgarian kingdom.<sup>101</sup> At the time, the total population was 20,100, of which 53 percent were Muslims. The number of mosques have greatly decreased: forty-seven mosques had existed in Şumnu in 1889, which decreased to twenty-five in 1920, to fifteen in 1959, to nine in 1972.<sup>102</sup> As of May 2011, there are only three mosques left, which are Kilek Mosque, Tatar Mosque and Şerif Halil Paşa Mosque, the latter being architecturally monumental and symbolic of the town.

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<sup>99</sup> P. Dennis Hupchick, *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: Slavic Orthodox Society and Culture Under Ottoman Rule*, MacFarland & Company, North Carolina (1993), p.46.

<sup>100</sup> Ivanova, *ibid*, p. 503.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid*, p.504.

<sup>102</sup> Machiel Kiel, “Şumnu”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, p. 229.

## II. 1 The Specificity of the Construction Site of Şerif Halil Paşa Complex

The Şerif Halil Paşa Complex is located on the crossroads of two main lines divided by the creek of Bokluca, on the west of Şumnu. In more than a century, there have been speculations as to the construction site of the complex. Elaborating on the aspects of this controversy, which I had briefly established in my introduction, would be helpful to deduce conclusions as to the status of the site before the construction project.

A controversial claim about the site of the mosque was first put forward by Andrei Zehirev. Writing in one of his articles in the Czech journal *Slavia* in 1878, he claimed that the mosque had originally been a church in Byzantine style with a perfect composition and a dome.<sup>103</sup> In parallel to Zehirev, Felix Kanitz, basing his arguments on the information that he obtained from local Bulgarians, stated in 1879 that on the site of Şerif Halil Paşa Complex had stood a Christian cathedral and under the plaster of the walls there were the traces of the damaged fresks.<sup>104</sup> However, Kanitz was not able to enter into the building at the time of writing this article and his assertions remained largely undocumented.<sup>105</sup> Mihaila Stajnova and Margarita Harbova defended the claim that there had existed a Bulgarian church on the site of Şerif Halil Paşa Mosque by

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<sup>103</sup> Andrei Zehirev in 1878, “Prevod Na Statijata Mesto Şumnu v Bulgarsku,” *Slavia* 4, Prag (1878), pp. 191 – 192.

<sup>104</sup> Feliks Kanitz, *Donau-bulgarien und der Balkan: Historisch-geographisch-ethnographische Reisestudien aus den Jahren 1860-1878*, v. III, Leipzig (1879), p.62.

<sup>105</sup> Orlin Sabev, *Djamiyata Na Şerif Halil Paşa (Tombul Djamiya) vı Şumnu: Sledi ot Diyaloga Mejdu Zapada i Orienta*, p. 611. Furthermore, see Maximilian Hartmuth, “Deconstructing a Legacy in Stone”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, v.44, 2008, p. 703 in which he gives the background of the formation of such allegations. Accordingly, it was during the process of demolitions or renovations of mosques in Bulgaria that the names of local (Christian) craftsmen were discovered under the plaster. Already by the 1960s, when the first such discovery was made in Veliko Tarnovo, the idea of Bulgarians having played a vital part in the making of Ottoman architecture in the country emerged, even if only uneasily coexisting with other depreciative readings of this heritage.

asserting that the plan was an example of local Bulgarian religious architecture.<sup>106</sup> Harbova put the construction plans under a very diligent study and aimed to show that the the three columns in the vestibule were remnants of a previously demolished church on the site of Şerif Halil's Mosque.<sup>107</sup> The counter-argument put forward by Nurcihan Kahraman refers to the *vakıfnâme* which clearly explains that Şerif Halil commissioned the restoration and extension of the existing mosque of his grandfather, Şaban Bey; thus, the existence of a former church in the site of the mosque is very unlikely. Furthermore, she claims that when the details of the building composition are taken into consideration, the basement structure is not that of a typical church which generally consists of a single building; instead, the systematic construction plan is clearly of a socio-religious complex.<sup>108</sup> Quoting from Kahraman, Neval Konuk also shares the same idea that Şerif Halil Paşa Complex is nothing but a restoration and enlargement of the ruined mosque of Şaban Efendi, the grandfather of the patron.<sup>109</sup>

Because it was a very common practice for the Ottomans to convert churches into mosques or masjids, Şumnu might not have been an exception. The Ottomans' approach toward Christians and their holy places in a newly conquered city was theoretically conditional according to the manner of its incorporation into the Ottoman lands. If taken by conquest, the fortress and the city were subject to a three-day plunder, and the enslavement of the local population while all churches were bound to be converted into mosques. In the case of voluntary capitulation, the law ruled that the Christians could preserve their sanctuaries. The process of converting churches to mosques was widely visible from the 15th to the 17th centuries.<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, it was

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<sup>106</sup> Mihaila Stajnova, "La Mosquée Tomboul À Choumen – Influence Du Style "Lâle", *Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art*, Polish Scientific Publishers, Warsaw (1990), p. 226.

<sup>107</sup> Margarita Harbova, *Gradoustoistvo i Arhitektura po Balgarskite Zemi Prez XV – XVII vek*, Sofia (1991), pp. 75 – 77.

<sup>108</sup> Nurcihan Kahraman, "Şumnu Şerif Halil Paşa Camisi (Tombul Cami)," *Unpublished MA Thesis*, Marmara University, Istanbul (2005), pp. 24 – 25.

<sup>109</sup> Neval Konuk, "Şerif Halil Paşa Külliyesi," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 38, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İstanbul (2010), pp. 572 – 3.

<sup>110</sup> For more detailed information about the policy towards conversion of ecclesiastical properties, see Rossitsa Gradeva, "Ottoman Policy Towards Christian Church

an established fact that ecclesiastical property, including the churches, was confiscated to a great extent and used for various purposes such as supporting the newly founded *vakıfs* or military institutions.<sup>111</sup>

In the specific case of Şumnu,<sup>112</sup> Nachev's reference to a new church "dedicated to Virgin Mary" and built in 1412 in the vicinity of Şumnu (probably on the construction site of a small monastery that had been demolished during the Ottoman conquest) might reinforce the assertions about the existence of a church on the site of the mosque.<sup>113</sup>

It is traceable in the archives that there existed the mosque of Şaban Bey in the area before the construction of Şerif Halil's complex; however, it has to be suggested that either Şaban Efendi, Ali Ağa or another unnamed patron might have transformed an existant church into a mosque some decades prior.<sup>114</sup> Machiel Kiel explains that we must retain a certain degree of doubt as to the existence of a church in the area, especially considering the traditional Bulgarian mindset that presents the Ottoman conquest as an all-destroying event.<sup>115</sup> According to this theory, the Ottomans are held

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Buildings," *Rumeli Under the Ottomans, 15th-18th Centuries: Institutions and Communities*, Analecta Isisiana: Ottoman and Turkish Studies 76, pp. 343 – 371

<sup>111</sup> Rossitsa Gradeva, *ibid.* p. 346

<sup>112</sup> The problems and complication about the construction site of the Şerif Halil Paşa Complex stem from the weakness and the indemonstrability of the assertions above, which indeed results in the formation of nationalist myths even within the Bulgarian academic circles. The tide of verbal rumours also widely circulate among the officers in the Şumen Historical Museum who are indeed responsible even for the registration of the archaeological findings in the city. Dimitar Stoykov, the officer working in the Oriental Department of the Museum, accedes to the assertions above, adding that during the restoration of the Şerif Halil Paşa Complex in 2002, they were reported about the discovery of various remnants allegedly belonging to a church buried under the soil; however, he fails to show any concrete proof and the *muezzin* of the mosque, Mustafa Mustafaev assured me that he never heard of that before. I conclude that what Stoykov suggests is an extension of the argument related to the findings in Veliko Tarnovo in the 1960s. (Personal contact in May, 2011 in Şumen Historical Museum)

<sup>113</sup> V. Nachev, *Balgarski Nadpisi*, Sofia (1994), pp. 89-90.

<sup>114</sup> See the footnotes 181 and 121 for archival records.

<sup>115</sup> Machiel Kiel, "The Heart of Bulgaria Population and Settlement History of the Districts of Provadia, Novi Pazar and Shoumen from the late Middle Ages till the End

responsible for the destruction and disappearance of the medieval Bulgarian culture, as well as for the backwardness of that country today. This might be explained with the “catastrophe theory” that readily embraced the mentality of having been victimized by violent intruders.<sup>116</sup>

Additionally, the location where Şerif Halil Paşa Complex sits might also shed light on the controversy related to the previous situation of the construction site.<sup>117</sup> Situated down below the plateau, in the plain, the complex is away from the hilltop where the medieval Bulgarian town of Şumnu had stood. Thus, if there had been a church in this site, it might at most have been a monastic one, considering its distance to the settlements on the hilltop.<sup>118</sup>

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of the Ottoman Period,” *Uluslar arası Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri Sempozyumu*, Eskişehir (2005), p. 17.

<sup>116</sup> An aspect of this theory was the notoriously sharp and in fact wholly superfluous controversy about “mezraas and demographic collapse” which raged in the 1970s. For a review of several thesis that depicted the Ottomans as the traditional enemy of the Bulgarians and, thus, the destroyer of their cities, see Evgeni Radushev, “Bulgaristan’da Tarih Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Tarihi (Yeni Bir Yaklaşım Doğru)”; Daniel Koleva and Ivan Elenkov, “Did ‘the Change’ Happen? Post-Socialist Historiography in Bulgaria” in *(Re)writing History, Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism*. Also see Vasiliev’s narration of the role of the local Bulgarian workers in the flourishing of Ottoman architectural works, which exemplifies what Kiel means by “catastrophe theory”: “[D]uring the five-century long Turkish domination (1396–1878) . . . the uncultured Turkish invaders destroyed private and public buildings and, being of different religion, demolished a great number of churches... Irrespective of the pressure exercised by the illiterate Turkish rulers, the artistic culture continued to develop . . . The Bulgarians gave a new impetus not only to the art in general but to its different branches as well. They became irreplaceable masters even for the Turkish enslavers.” (A. Vasiliev, *Balgarski vazrozdenski majstori: zivopisci, rezbari, stroiteli*, Sofia: Izdat Nauka i Izkustvo, (1965), p.740)

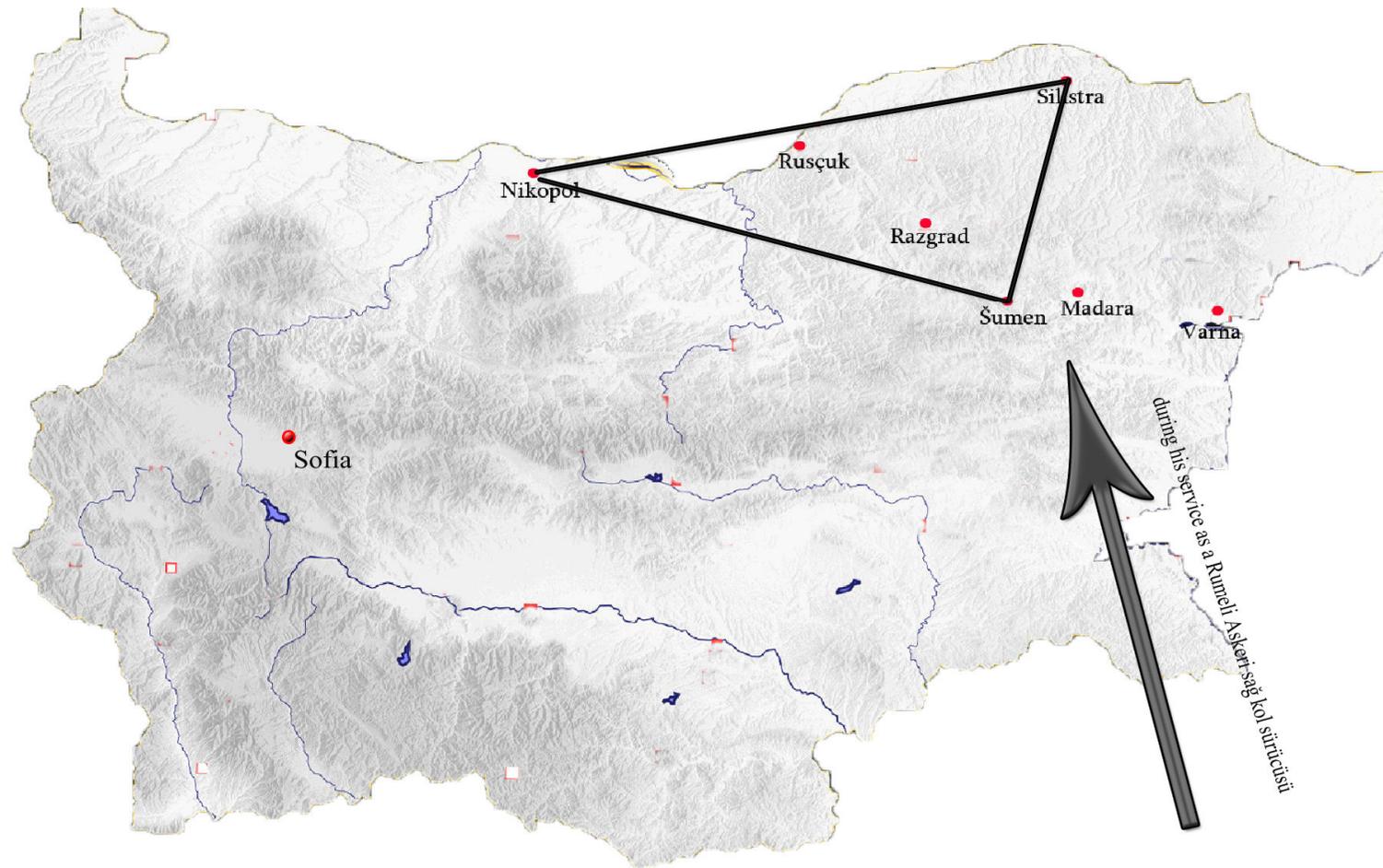
<sup>117</sup> See the drawing by Feliks Kanitz in p.42 which depicts Şumen from hilltop. Şerif Halil Paşa Complex is explicitly visible on the skirts of the hills.

<sup>118</sup> Evliya Çelebi, also, refers to this distinction between the present settlement area, which he calls “aşağı şehir” and the castle of Şumen on the hill top. “Hâlâ kal’ası şehrin hâ’ilinde bir türâblı püşte üzre şekl-i murabba’dan tûlanice câ-be-câ rahnedâr olmuş ve derûn [u] bîrunı harâbe yüz tutmuş hâne ve dizdârsız kal’a-i mu’attaladır. Ammâ aşağı şehri ma’mûrdur.” (*Seyahatnâme*, p. 178)

Date	Non-Muslims	Muslims	Total Population
1479	74 households	11 households	400 – 450
1516	107 households	94 households	-
1555	152 households	252 (11% of which were <i>mühtedis</i> )	2000
1642	About 620 people	413 households	2500 – 2700
1751	172 households	714 households	4000 – 4500
1845	956 Bulgarian households + 118 Armenian households	1542 households	13.000 – 14.000
1878	-	8520 people	-
1934	-	6500 people	-
1970	-	700 households (about 3500 people)	-

**Table 1. The Population Figures in Şumnu**

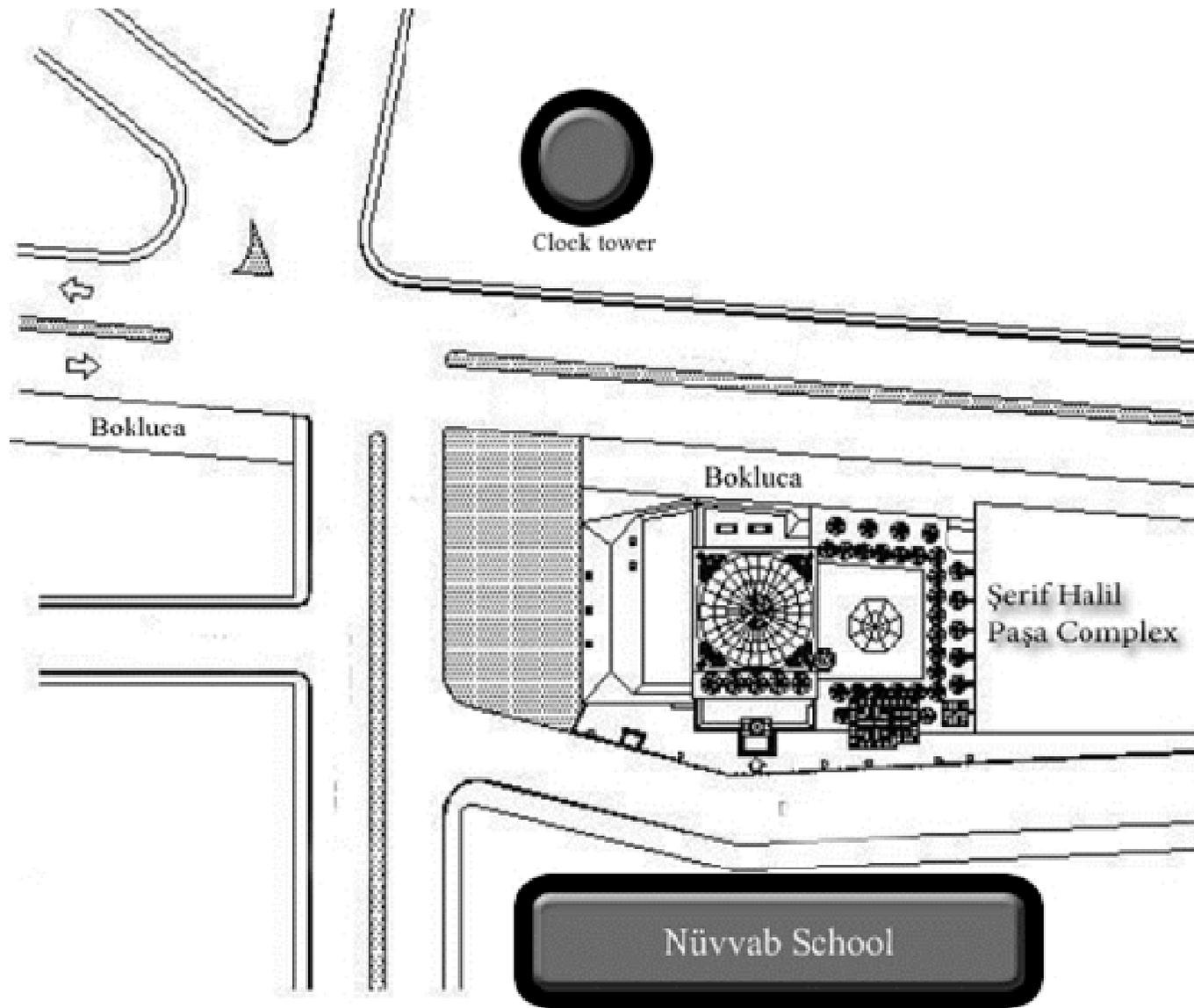
(Sources indicated in the text.)



**Map 1: Şumnu and other prominent cities in the vicinity during Şerif Halil's Career**



The panorama of Šumen depicted in Feliks Kanitz, *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan* (1882). The Şerif Halil Paşa Mosque and library are visible on the foreground. The picture represents the *aşağı mahalle* which was established after the destruction of the medieval residential area.



### III. GIVING SUBSTANCE TO A GHOST HIDDEN IN THE STAGE OF HISTORY: THE LIFE STORY OF ŞERİF HALİL

#### III. 1 Family Ties & From Shumen to Istanbul

Quite frankly, there are few substantial conclusions that can be made upon documentary data, which is by and large lacking for the childhood of Şerif Halil. We do not have any concrete evidence as to the year in which he was born. However, a few remarks regarding his early life is in order so that we can locate Şerif Halil and his family within a larger picture of the Ottoman provincial notable families in the *eyalet* of Silistre and the *sancak* of Niğbolu in the 17th century.<sup>119</sup>

Some crucial autobiographical parts written in first-person singular in the *vakıfnâme* of Şerif Halil's pious foundations such as "...in Şumnu, where I was born and grew up..." are the only lines in which we hear the voice of our protagonist.<sup>120</sup> The

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<sup>119</sup> After the mid-16th century the *sancak* of Silistre became an *eyalet*. There were seven *sancaks* in Silistre in the middle of the 17th century. On the other hand, Şumnu had been the judicial center of the *sancak* of Niğbolu since the 15th century. Strasilir Dimitrov, Nikolay Zhechev and Velko Tonev, *Istoriya na Dobruza*, vol 3., Sofia (1988), pp. 12 – 15.

<sup>120</sup> *Vakıfnâme*: "...ve Maskat-ı re's ve menşe-i vücudum olan Şumnu kasabasında..." This expression by Şerif Halil sheds light onto the aforementioned argument by Boris Nedkov who related his birthplace to Madara, a village close to Şumen. As far as Şerif Halil's association to Madara is concerned, we cannot simply refute Nedkov's claim, because the *vakıfnâme* includes information about two different monuments that Şerif Halil patronized (or commissioned the restoration of) in Şumen and Madara. One of them, a mosque, was enlarged on the former site of his grandfather Şaban Efendi/Bey/Hoca/Halife's Mosque; and the other, also a mosque, on the site of his father Ali Ağa's Mescit. When the proximity of the two places are taken into consideration, it might, at times, be impossible to mark off one another; indeed, in the

*vakıfnâme* and some records in the BOA clearly state that his father was Ali Ağa, and Şaban Efendi was his grandfather.<sup>121</sup> Another important figure in his family was his nephew Çavuşzâde Es-seyyid Mehmed Ağa, whom he referred to as “yiğenimiz” and, as stated earlier, to whom he appointed the trusteeship of the pious foundation upon his death.<sup>122</sup>

Apart from these three members of Şerif Halil’s family, we come across some other interesting names that are counted in the list of witnesses for the additions made in the *vakıfnâme* in 1745 (H. 1158) such as El-Hac Osman Ağa bin Ali, Es-seyyid Osman bin Şaban and El-Hac İbrahim bin Halil. The constant repetition of the names Şaban, Ali and Halil might imply blood relation. Although the attempt to establish kinship between these men and Şerif Halil only by looking at their names might seem to be too simplistic and ungrounded to procure a solid base of facts for Şerif Halil’s family, it is necessary to keep in mind that the witnesses of a *vakıfnâme* are generally chosen among the prominent members of a given society, associates or family members. As for our specific case of the pious foundation in Şumnu, finding such distinguished people with the same names in a short period of only a few years sounds unrealistic. The problem stems from the fact that Şerif Halil and his nephew Çavuşzâde Mehmed Ağa carried the title of *seyyid* given to the descendants of the Prophet Mohammad’s grandson Hüseyin. However, among the names mentioned above, only Osman bin Şaban had this title. At this point, analyzing the scope of being a *seyyid* and how people were entitled to the

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Prime Minister’s Archives, one record broadly refers to Ali Ağa Mosque in Madara under the more general name of Şumen. “...Şumnu’da pederi Ali ve ceddi Şaban Beyler’in harap mescidleri...”

<sup>121</sup> BOA, : “Şumnu’da pederi Ali ve ceddi Şaban Beyler’in harap mescidleri camiye tahvil edildiğinden bunlara karşılık olmak üzere...”; *Vakıfnâme*: “...ceddim Şaban Bey merhum intimâ ile şehir bu def’a müceddeden ihyâ ve ta’mir eylediğim cami-i şerife...” and “...Matara nam karyede vâki’ vâlidî mâcidim Ali Ağa merhume müntemi olub müceddeden tevsi’ ve binâ...”

<sup>122</sup> Çavuşzâde Mehmed Ağa appears in the BOA as a military officer who was responsible for registering 500 cavalry men to disturb the march of the Austrians in Wallachia. Furthermore, Subhî also mentions him as a notable in Şumen in his chronicle. BOA, Cevdet – Askeriye, 34403/810: “...Eflak hududundaki (Perişan) boğazına tahassun eden nemçelilerin kahr ü tedmir eylemek üzere Şumnulu Çavuşzade Mehmed tarafından her bayrağı elli nefer olmak üzere on bayrak asker yazılması...” and Subhî, p. 406: “...ile Şumnu a’yânından Seyyid Mehmed Ağa ve rikâb-ı Hümayun...”

position of *seyyidlik* is in order, so that we can reach a conclusion about whether Şerif Halil's being a *seyyid* was his acquired or innate title.

The *seyyids* and *şerifs* (the descendants of Prophet Mohammad's other grandson, Hasan) were given a privileged position in Islamic societies. The *seyyids* were also granted various advantages, such as exemption from taxation and military service, employment and being put on a salary. A specific amount of the booty gained from warfare was spared for them. Similar to the example of earlier Islamic empires, the Ottomans, too, honored the *seyyids* by indicating their privileges specifically in the *kanunnâmes*. In order to keep a record of the lineage of the *seyyids* and to prevent ill-intentioned leakages into this group, the organization of *Nikâbet* was established in the reign of Bayezid II.

The chief of this organization was called *nâkibü'l-eşraf* who had a very prominent position among the elite. They would record the *şecere* (pedigree) of the *seyyids* in the Registers of *Sâdât* (the plural form of *seyyid*), and for those whose pedigree is approved, the *nâkibü'l-eşraf* would issue a *hüccet*, a document indicating the authenticity of one's being a *seyyid*. There were two conditions to receive the *hüccet* from the *nâkibü'l-eşraf*. The first one was the confirmation of the witnesses about the subject's being a *seyyid*, whereas the second one was the submission of the previous *hüccets* given to the elder members of the family.<sup>123</sup> In Şerif Halil's case, no record informs us about an older relative of Şerif Halil being called a *seyyid* except for one witness in the *vakıfnâme*, Es-seyyid Osman bin Şaban (whom I took for his uncle due to the similarity between the names of Osman's father and Şerif Halil's grandfather). If Osman had been the uncle of Şerif Halil, then his father Ali also must have been titled a *seyyid*. However, in no records, not even in the *vakıfnâme*, is Ali Ağa referred to as a *seyyid*. This fact leads us to suggest that Şerif Halil most probably acquired the title of *seyyid*, which was not shared by his elder relatives.

As a matter of fact, in an effort to benefit from the privileged position in society as well as the honors granted by the state, many people were disguised under the mask of being a *seyyid*. Many *müteseyyids* (frauds) were able to have access to *hüccets*. It is reported that by the end of the 16th century, the number of the *müteseyyid* and their relatives benefitting from the favours granted to them had reached 30,000-40,000

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<sup>123</sup> Rûya Kılıç. *Osmanlı'da Seyyidler ve Şerifler*. İstanbul (2005), pp. 63-5.

people in the *sancaks* of Niğbolu and Silistre, and the *nâhiyes* of Dimetoka and Gümülcine. Throughout the empire, there were more than 300,000 *müteseyyids*.<sup>124</sup>

A crucial point about the *müteseyyids* in Şumnu was narrated by Evliya Çelebi. While reporting about a conversation that he witnessed between a prominent local of Şumnu and Melek Ahmed Paşa, Evliya Çelebi referred to the significant number of *müteseyyids* in the city in a condemning tone.<sup>125</sup> Accordingly, the man, who claimed to have received his *hüccet* during Osman II's campaign to Hotin, asked for the property rights of a house that he allegedly inherited from his ancestors. Critical of the intrusion of this man during a gathering together with Melek Ahmed Paşa and Gınâyi Efendi, Evliya seemed pleased to announce that this man was not a real *seyyid* and he and his relatives were subject to severe punishment. Evliya Çelebi referred to Şumnu as a city that was *müteseyyid*-laden twice in the same page.<sup>126</sup>

Evliya's story is certainly not evidence that Şerif Halil and his family may have been *müteseyyids*. But it is a good example to show how people wanted to manipulate this title for their own favors. In official records located in the Ottoman archives and the chronicles, Şerif Halil was not referred to as a *seyyid*. In the *vakıfnâme* and *Tuhfe-i Hattatin*, however, he was titled as such. The only fact about Şerif Halil's *seyyid* title is that we cannot trace his lineage any further than his grandfather, and thus, we can never

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<sup>124</sup> *Kanûnnâme-i Sultânî li' Aziz Efendi*, p. 38.

<sup>125</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahâtnâme*, pp. 178-9. "Zirâ sâdât-ı kirâmı ve müteseyyidi gâyetü'l-gâye çokdur kim, [hadith] Allah içerdeki ve dışardaki lânet etsin." Translation: "The God shall curse the ones inside and outside."

<sup>126</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *ibid*, p.179: "...Kalmuk tatarı gözlü ve İznik çinisi gibi gözlü zehr-i mâr sözlü nûrsuz yüzlü hâşâ emirleri var. Hattâ bir da'vâ ile bir emîr Melek Ahmed Paşa huzûruna gelüp ifrât üzre bir feryâd u figân edüp 'Ceddim rufuçun bu ev benim aba ve dedelerimden kalmıştır.' deyü ceddine yemin edüp vakfullah hâneyi mülk-i mevrûsumdur, deyü feryâd ile dîvânı kapatdı. Gınâyi Efendi eydür: 'Adam sen yeni emîr olmuşa benzersin. Zîra tezvîr da'vaya yapışdın.' dedikde hemân 'Behey Efendi Sultân Osman kişi Hotin seferine buradan geçerken Nakibü'l Eşrâf Gulâmî Efendi'den üç yüz kile arpa verüp emir kapusuna çıkup on bir kişi şecere aldık. On bir kişiden yedi kişi kaldık. Hani benim gibi eski emir' deyince Paşa 'Ya öbür yoldaşların kandedir. Anları kande bulalım.' dedikde 'İşte bunlardır.' deyü beş kişi gösterüp başlarından destârların alup ahâlî-i vilâyetden ahvalleri su'âl olundukda ıkrârları üzre müteseyyidlikleri isbat olunub yedişer yıllık tekâlif-i örfiyyeyi vermek üzre akrabâ-yı taalukatlarıyla kırk yedi nefer kimesneye hükm olunub izn-i şer'îyle destârı alınub sicill-i şer'î mübinde re'âyâ kaydolunub bu güne müteseyyidi çok şehr-i Şumnu'dur. Hudâ islâh ede."

be sure about its authenticity. At this point, it would be meaningful to ask why Şerif Halil should need to designate himself as a *seyyid*.

In the Ottoman society, vertical mobility from the *reaya* class to the *askeri* class was possible.<sup>127</sup> The most important condition for getting a promotion was to serve the state and religion. *Medrese* education or showing success in the battlefield were alternative ways of rising to a more respectable status. Likewise, being a *seyyid* was also effective in rising in the administrative layers, and indeed it was the most effortless way of having an honorable position, because the *seyyids* did not have to serve in any capacity in return for the social and economic benefits provided to them.<sup>128</sup> Furthermore, it was a permanent title which could be handed down to the descendants. For Şerif Halil, being a *seyyid* was certainly not a way for rising from *the reaya* to the *askeri*, because his ancestors were already influential members of the society. Still, he might have manipulated this title in order to find himself a place in Istanbul, which his father and grandfather could not have achieved.<sup>129</sup>

Considering the honorary titles of Şerif Halil's grandfather and father, we can detect the shift in their status and roles in Şumnu. We have access to various primary sources that mention different titles for Şaban such as *bey*, *hoca*, *halife* and *efendi* whereas his father is always called *ağa*.<sup>130</sup> As Bayerle clarifies, *efendi* (master) is a title used for educated people, especially for scribes. The title particularly suggests *medrese* education, whereas *bey* mostly indicates military ranking. When we combine *bey/efendi* with Şaban's other title, *hoca* (tutor), we might deduce that he was probably a *medrese* graduate scribe who played an active role in the bureaucratic divisions of Ottoman

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<sup>127</sup> The *askerî* were granted religious or administrative authority directly with the *berat*, title of privilege given by the sultan. The *reaya* paid taxes and did not participate in administrative tasks.

<sup>128</sup> See Rûya Kılıç, *ibid*, pp. 75 – 77, for a discussion of how being a *seyyid* was manipulated for getting promotions to higher posts.

<sup>129</sup> It is very probable that Şerif Halil's father and grandfather might have spent most of their lives in this small geography, because we do not come across their names independently in any official record.

<sup>130</sup> Halit Çal, "1192 Numaralı 1697-1716 Tarihli Hurufat Defterine Göre Bulgaristan'daki Türk Mimarisi," *Balkanlar'da Kültürel Etkileşim ve Türk Mimarisi Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Şumnu (Mayıs 2000), pp. 221-289

administration in Şumnu. It's also important to note that the title of *halife* may also denote a junior scribe (a *şakird*) of the imperial chancery. This title is subordinate to the position of the *hacegan-ı dîvân-ı hümayun*, in which capacity Şerif Halil served in the *divânihâne* until 1731.<sup>131</sup> Therefore, it would not be ludicrous to deduce that Şerif Halil might have used the earlier connections that his grandfather had established in the scribal post.

As for Şerif Halil's father, Ali, his title *ağa* is given to senior officers or officials in the military who were subordinates to *beys*. Although no certain conclusions can be reached as to the professions of Şerif Halil's grandfather and father, in light of this data, it might be guessed that while Şaban Efendi is likely to have been involved with scribal activities, Ali Ağa might probably have been a military officer.

Şerif Halil's nephew Çavuşzâde Es-seyyid Mehmed Ağa might also be a key person to help us reach conclusions as to Şerif Halil's closer kin in Şumnu. The title of *dîvan çavuşu* implies strong ties with the palace considering the fact that these men would serve in myriad roles, including: as escorts in official palatial ceremonies, as personal cortege for ambassadors, as messengers, diplomatic envoys, and – if needed – as executioners of high officials condemned to death.<sup>132</sup> The number of the *çavuş* in the *divân* in the mid-17th century was 693.<sup>133</sup> Şerif Halil's desire to appoint Çavuşzâde Es-seyyid Mehmed Ağa into the trusteeship of his socio-religious complex immediately after himself might be explained with the possibilities that either his own sons (if he had any) were too young for this duty or that he might have wanted to pay tribute to his unnamed *çavuş* brother who might have introduced Şerif Halil to the palace and secured a position for him in the Imperial Council Hall. The latter suggestion seems more likely considering the fact that Şerif Halil explicitly wants it to be known that Mehmed Ağa is his nephew, by referring to him as “yiğenimiz.”

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<sup>131</sup> Subhî, p. 35: “...ve Dîvân hocalarından Şerîf Efendi'yi *Defterhâne* umûruna vukûf-tâmmı olmağla Küçük *Tezkîrecilik* makâmlarında istihdâm...”

<sup>132</sup> Gustav Bayerle, “Çavuş,” *Pashas, Begs and Efendis*, p. 29; For further information on and evolution of the post of *çavuş*, also see Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Sözlüğü*, v.1, p. 332.

<sup>133</sup> Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhis-ül Beyan*, p. 93.

On the other hand, approaching the post of *çavuş* as a monolithic title might deviate us from reality, because the unnamed brother might have been a *sâdât çavuşu*, who were subsidiaries of the *nâkibü'l-eşraf* and were not in charge in the *divân*. They were also chosen among the *seyyids* and *şerifs*.<sup>134</sup> In that case, our assumption about a *çavuş* brother serving in the palace would be inaccurate.

The other factor which might have enabled Şerif Halil to establish a spot for himself in Istanbul was his educational background, which shaped him into a proper man of letters who would find a place in the translation committee of Damad Ibrahim Paşa some decades later. I do not think it would be too far-fetched to propose two routes for Şerif Halil's initial education: first, a *mekteb* in Şumnu, and second, a *medrese* either in the *sancak* of Niğbolu or in Istanbul.<sup>135</sup>

The 17th century witnessed a rise in the number of educational institutions in the lands within the border of modern-day Bulgaria. Dozens of *medreses* and hundreds of *mektebs* were opened. The majority of *medreses* were of the general kind, whereas thirteen specialized in training staff for mosques, and three focused on the study and interpretation of the *hadis*.<sup>136</sup> Evliya Çelebi reported the existence of 20 *mektebs* in Niğbolu. The traveller also noted that thanks to various benefactors, the students received monthly rations from the respective *vakıfs*. They were also granted a suit of holiday clothes and presents every year.<sup>137</sup>

Parveva's study of *Tapu Tahrir and Avarız Registers* of the *sancak* of Niğbolu in 17th century provides us with a solid picture of the way educational institutions gradually increased in the region. In 1613, there was one *müderris* and six *hocas*

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<sup>134</sup> Rûya Kılıç, *Osmanlı'da Seyyidler ve Şerifler*, pp. 91-2.

<sup>135</sup> Evliya Çelebi wrote that there was no *bezistan*, *medrese* or *dâr-ül kurra* in Şumen in the mid-17th century. (*Seyahâtname*, p. 179) However, we have to approach Evliya's account with a certain degree of doubt, because he often writes about what he witnesses. Therefore, what Evliya said to have existed might prove to be reliable information, whereas what he regards as missing is to have the potential of being an overstatement.

<sup>136</sup> Orlin Sabev, *Osmanski Obrazovatelni institucii po balgarskite zemi prez XV-XVIII v.*, Graduation Thesis, Veliko Tarnovo: VTU "Sv. Sv. Kiril i Methodiy", 1995.

<sup>137</sup> After Stefka Parveva, "Urban Representatives of the *Ulema* in Bulgarian Lands in the Seventeenth Century," *Islamic Studies* 38, (1999), pp. 3 – 43; Dimitar Gadzhanov, "Patuvaneto na Evliya Chelebi iz Balgarskite Zemi Prez Sredata Na XVII vek," *Periodichesko Spisanie na Balgarskoto Knizhovno Druzhestvo*, (1990), p. 70.

registered in the *sancak*, whereas the number of the *müderri*s rose to two in 1643. By 1698, a date which would be fitting with the time Şerif Halil began his studies in a *medrese*, there were three *müderri*s, a *hoca*, a *softa* and a *talib-i ilm*.

### III. 2 From the *Defterhâne* to the *Divânihâne* (1711-1731)

Şerif Halil's long bureaucratic career in Istanbul began as a scribe, *defter-i hâkâni kâtibi* in the *defterhâne* (the Imperial Treasury of Registers) in 1711, which was one of the three offices from which the classical Ottoman administration was run, together with the *divân-ı hümayun* (Imperial Council) and the *hazine-i âmire* (the Treasury). The chief of the *defterhâne* was the *defter emini*. Here, different sorts of registers such as the detailed (*mufassal*) and synoptic (*icmal*) records of land holdings, conferments of fiefs, *zeâmet*s, *has*, and *timars* were kept locked and could only be opened with the grand vezir's seal.<sup>138</sup> In archival records the *defterhâne* is also named *Defterhâne-i Âmire*, *defter-i vilâyet*, *defter-i hâkâni* and *defter-i dergâh-âli*.

The personnel of the *defterhâne*, such as scribes (*kâtibs*) and their deputies (*şakirds*), would be appointed or fired by the decision of the *defter emini*. The newly appointed staff would start serving in the office after they were recorded to the *ruûs kalemi*. The most important criteria for admission to the *defterhâne* was loyalty, the ability to keep secrets and a good knowledge of mathematics.<sup>139</sup> *Kâtibs* and *şakirds* would work under the supervision of the *kesedâr*, the assistant to the *defter emini*. Their jobs were to copy the required parts of the documents, to prepare imperial deeds of grant (*berat tezkîresi*) and to keep the records of daily activities in the office. In return for their services, the *kâtibs* would be given salary (*ulûfe*), *timar* or *zeâmet*.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Erhan Afyoncu, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatında Defterhâne-i Amire (XVI-XVIII. Yüzyıllar)*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Marmara University (1997).

<sup>139</sup> Erhan Afyoncu, "Defterhâne," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* IV, Türk Diyanet Vakfı. İstanbul (1994), pp. 101

<sup>140</sup> *Timar* was the military fief with an annual revenue of less than 20.000 *akçes* bestowed upon a *sipâhi* for military services whereas *zeâmet* was a military fief with an

The information about the first post that Şerif Halil occupied in 1711 was provided by the chronicle of İzzi Süleyman Efendi. While recounting the events that took place in 1745 when Şerif Halil rose to the position of vezirate, İzzi starts a new paragraph to introduce him to his audience. Accordingly, Şerif Halil was a man of letters with a refined taste for fine arts and science. He was well-educated and was able to speak Arabic and Persian.<sup>141</sup> He also sharpened his writing skills in various styles such as *divânî*, *rik'a* and *siyakat* during his service in the *defterhâne*.

We can neither account for the other posts that he might have occupied in the *defterhâne* until his admission to the *divânihâne* during the grand vezirate of Damad İbrahim Paşa (1718-30), nor point out a specific year for the beginning of his career in the *divânihâne*. The only information about his initial involvement in the *divânihâne* is provided by Subhi and İzzi who refer to him as a member of the *hacegân-ı divân-ı hümayun* who were the senior scribes and the bureau chiefs of the imperial chancery.<sup>142</sup> In 1732, the *divân* had fifty secretaries, twenty apprentices, and thirty candidates. Eventually the title of *hâce* became ceremonial with numerous officials holding it.<sup>143</sup>

Şerif Halil managed to secure himself a place within the entourage of the Damad İbrahim Paşa thanks to his intellectual qualities. İbrahim Paşa, who himself was a patron of arts, enjoyed attending gatherings of poetry and entertainment. He supported prominent literary figures such as Seyyid Vehbî, Nahifî, Ahmed Neylî, Nedîm, Raşid the Chronicler and Osmanzâde Tâib. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, he established a committee of translation that proved to be a prolific union and translated many renowned Arabic, Persian, Latin and Greek works into Turkish, which included many of those Şerif Halil leisurely associated with.<sup>144</sup> Şerif Halil took active part in the group

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annual income of 20.000 to 100.000 *akçes* paid by the *reâyâ* in the form of tithes, taxes, fees and market dues. (Bayerle, p. 163)

<sup>141</sup> İzzi Süleyman Efendi, v. 1, pp. 31-32: “exact quotation to be inserted...”

<sup>142</sup> See the footnote 131, for Subhî’s reference to Şerif Halil; İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300 – 1500*, New York (1973), p. 101.

<sup>144</sup> Salim Ayduz, “Lale Devri’nde Yapılan İlmi Faaliyetler,” *Divan* 1997-1, pp. 143–170. The other members of the committee were the following: 1. Mirzazâde Mehmed Sâlim Efendi, 2. İshak Efendi, the *ex-kadı* of İstanbul, 3. Medhî Efendi, the *ex-kadı* of

formed for the translation of *Aynî Tarihi* from Arabic in 1725 (H.1138) and his performance was appreciated.<sup>145</sup> Damad İbrahim Paşa also enjoyed the *kasides* written by Şerif Halil, mainly as a praise for the patron, which were collected in the *Fâ'iz ve Şakir Mecmuası*.<sup>146</sup>

Furthermore, according to the chronicler İzzi, Şerif Halil composed some chronograms for Damad İbrahim Paşa; however, after exhaustive research, I was not able to find any of these.<sup>147</sup> The Revolt of Patrona Halil in 1730, in which Damad İbrahim Paşa was executed, gave an end to the famous gatherings of poetical consumption, but Şerif Halil managed to survive this chaotic period with an even higher profile and reputation within the elite circles.

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Damascus, 4. Mestçizâde Abdullah Efendi, the *ex-kadı* of Salonika, 5. Râzî Abdüllatif Efendi, the *ex-kadı* of Yenişehir, 6. Ahmed İlmî Hâlis Cinân Efendi, the *ex-kadı* of Aleppo, 7. Kara Halilzâde Mehmed Said Efendi, 8. Neylî Ahmed Efendi, the *ex-kadı* of İzmir, 9. Mustafa Efendi, the *ex-kadı* of Galata, 10. Yanyalı Esad Efendi, the *ex-kadı* of Galata, 11. Ömer Efendi, the *fetva emini*, 12. Arabzâde Hasan Efendi, the *şeyh* of Süleymaniye Mosque, 13. Ali Efendi, the *şeyh* of Şehzâde Mosque, 14. Yekçeşm İsmâil Efendi, *müderris*, 15. Ahmet b. Receb Efendi, *müderris*, 16. Turşucuzâde Efendi, *müderris*, 17. Seyyid Vehbi Efendi, 18. Nedîm Ahmed Efendi, 19. Arabzâde Sâlih Efendi, 20. Şerif Halil Efendi, 21. Şâmî Ahmed Efendi, 22. Şâkir Hüseyin Beyefendi, 23. Darendeli Mehmed Efendi, 24. Râzî Efendizâde Abdurrahman Münib, 25. Küçük Çelebizâde İsmâil Âsım Efendi, 26. Hacı Çelebi, *mülâzım*, 27. Şeyhî Mustafa Efendi, 28. Hüseyin Paşazâde Avfî Mehmed Bey, *mevkûfatçı*, 29. İzzet Ali Bey (Paşa), *defterdar mektupçusu*, 30. Tavukçubaşı Çelebi damadı Mustafa Efendi.

<sup>145</sup> The fulfilment of the translation project was expressed by one of the other translators, Mirzazâde Salim Efendi as “erbâb-ı devlete bir ziyâfet-i cemîle ve hizmet” meaning “a sublime service and feast for the connoiseurs of the state.” Salim Aydüz, *ibid*, p. 145.

<sup>146</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Halet Efendi, n. 763. The *mecmua* begins with the following expression: “Cennetmekân firdevs-âşiyân Sultan Ahmed Han hazretlerinin veziriâzamı merhum İbrahim Paşa hazretlerinin asırlarında olan şuâranın arz ettikleri kasâid ve tevârihtir...” Translation: “The *mecmua* consists of the eulogies and histories presented by the poets who wrote during the period of the deceased grand vezir İbrahim Paşa of Sultan Ahmed Han whose abode shall be heaven.” Apart from Damad İbrahim Paşa the *mecmua* of Fâ'iz ve Şakir includes *kasides* written for Ahmed III and some other vezirs. One of the *kasides* that Şerif Halil wrote for Damad İbrahim Paşa is in the appendix.

<sup>147</sup> İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *ibid*.

### III. 3 Şerif Halil's Later Career

Having established a strong position for himself since his entrance to the *defterhâne* in 1711, Şerif Halil was appointed to the post of *tezkîre-i sâni* or *küçük tezkîreci* in 1730/1 (H. 1143) to serve as the deputy of the *tezkîre-i evvel* or *büyük tezkîreci* Şeyhzâde Nuh Efendi (d. 1738/9, H.1151).<sup>148</sup> In about a year, he became the *tezkîre-i evvel*, the senior secretary and served in the immediate retinue of the grand vezir Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa.<sup>149</sup>

Two years later, after Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa was removed from his post in 1735/6 (H. 1148), İsmail Paşa was appointed the new grand vezir but remained in this post for only 87 days.<sup>150</sup> In the same year, Şerif Halil was given the post of *cizye muhasebecisi* (poll tax accountant) in Edirne and was sent away.<sup>151</sup> In 1736 (H.1149), during the

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<sup>148</sup> Subhî, *ibid* ; İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *ibid*; Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, p. 1586; BOA, 15/1653 İE. TCT.: “*Tezkîre-i Sani Şerif Halil Efendilere tevcih kılındığına dair sadır olan buyuruldu...*”

<sup>149</sup> Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa was a very influential figure in the palace. Having been born in 1699 (H.1110), he established himself a very strong position during the reigns of Ahmed III and Mahmud I and rose up to the office of grand vezirate for three times (in 1732-1735, 1742 and 1755 respectively). Until 1732, he had served in various capacities such as *kapıcıbaşı*, *Türkmen ağası*, *Zile voyvodası*, *Rumeli beylerbeyi*, governor of Adana and Aleppo, *serasker of Tabriz*, governor of Diyarbekir and Tabriz respectively. These posts were followed by his first grand vezirate in 1732 (H.1144), from which he was sacked in 1735 (H.1148). In three years' time as a grand vezir, he managed to commission a mosque in Davudpaşa, with a library. His bibliophily and patronage of architecture proved to be a role model for Şerif Halil. His service to the state went on as the *vâli* of Kandiye, Bosnia and Egypt during which periods he showed many achievements both in bureaucracy and the battlefronts. As a result, in 1742, he was appointed as the grand vezir again and Şerif Halil Paşa was his *kethüda* for less than a year. (*Sicill-i Osmanî*, p. )

<sup>150</sup> Subhî, p. 269. “...Vezîria'zam İsmail Paşa seksen yedi gün mesned-i sadârette karâr ve sene-i merkûme şabânül-muazzamın dokuzuncu sebt günü rikâb-ı hümâyûna çağrılıp...”

<sup>151</sup> Subhî, p. 271. “...Divân-ı Hümâyûn'da *Tezkîre-i evvel* Şerif Halil Efendi'ye ... cizye muhasebesi tevcih buyurulmağa...”; BOA, 658/26925 C. ML., : “Edirne Cizyedarı Şerif Halil'in yanında cizye evrakının altı sırm arabası ile orduya nakli...” Cizye is a head-tax levied on non-Muslims that is a concrete proof of their protection under the status of *zimmi*. The Ottomans widely used the term *haraç* instead of *cizye*. It was directly

grand vezirate of Muhsinzâde Abdullah Paşa (1737), he was assigned to the post of *sadâret kethüdası*, “the administrative steward” of the grand vezir’s office.<sup>152</sup> Having been newly established in 1725, this post was hierarchically superior even to the one of the *re’is ül-küttab*, “the head of the chancery of the *dîvân-ı hümayûn*.”<sup>153</sup> But, he did not seem to have survived in this post, and together with the grand vezir, he was removed.

Within the dynamic system of shifting roles in the Ottoman palace, Şerif Halil became an experienced player. In 1737/8 (H. 1150), he became the *Rumeli askeri sağkol sürücüsü*, a military officer responsible for registering and allocating troops to a specific area. In the cities such as Edirne, Yanbolu, Karinabad, Pravadı, Tırnova and Niğbolu found in the Eastern Rumelia, active precautions were taken due to the march of the Russians towards the Black Sea.<sup>154</sup> Although Şerif Halil was again involved in a

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collected for the state treasury and listed in the *defter-i cizye-i gebrân*, “the cizye account of the unbelievers”. Certain local officials and the poor were exempt from it. (Bayerle, 28).

<sup>152</sup> Being the son of a prominent merchant named Muhsin Çelebi, Muhsinzâde Abdullah Paşa had entered the *defterhâne* one year earlier than Şerif Halil in 1710 as a *darbhane defterdarı* in place of his brother Mehmed Efendi. His rise in official rankings was much faster than Şerif Halil, which included promotions to very prestigious positions such as *defterdar-ı şikk-ı evvel*, *darbhane emini*, *küçük ruznamçeci* and *sadaret kethüdası* in a short period of four years. Having married the daughter of Çorlulu Ali Paşa, Abdullah Paşa established an even stronger network which might have probably been helpful in his rise into the position of grand vezir, after a long career of service in various posts such as *nişancı*, janissary *ağa*, *muhasıl*, and *vâli* of Vidin, Rumelia, Bosnia, Adana, Selanik, Lepanto and Tırhala. When he died in 1749, he is written to have been over 90 years old. Muhsinzâde’s attempts to fortify Şumen was influential in the city’s later prominence as an *ordugâh* town. Şerif Halil’s official cooperation with Muhsinzâde Abdullah Paşa, as a *sadâret kethüdası*, lasted about one year. However, it would not be far-fetched to deduce that the long existence of Muhsinzâde in the Ottoman palace might have been an advantage for Şerif Halil. (*Sicill-i Osmanî*, p. 82)

<sup>153</sup> Muzaffer Özcan, “Sadâret Kethüdâlığı,” Unpublished PhD Thesis, Marmara University, 1995, p. 12.

<sup>154</sup> These cities served as the stations where the army resided and was deployed. Şumen was in the *sancak* of Niğbolu, which also included other *menzils* such as Yerköyü, Ivraga, Niğbolu, Lofça, Tırnova and Zıştovi. It was connected with the *sancak* of Vize in which were differens *menzils* such as Hayrabolu, Birgöz, Babaeski, Çorlu, Kırkkilise, Ereğli, Silivri, Terkos, İnceğüz. (C.J.Heywood, “Some Turkish Archival Sources for the History of the Menzilhane Network in Rumeli During the Eighteenth Century (Notes and Documents on the Ottoman Ulak, I,” *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi*, vols. 4–5, 1976–1977, p. 41.)

post that required the fundamental qualities of a *defterhâne* member, his current service was more of a military agenda. During the warfare against the Russians and the Austrians between 1736 and 1739, the Ottomans suffered a series of disasters until 1737, due to the fact that the sultan's army had not even been mobilized then. The Russians' attempts to push across the Dniester into Moldavia during the summer of 1737 met heavy Ottoman reinforcements at Bender, where Şerif Halil was actively taking part.<sup>155</sup>

After succesful campaigns against the Russians and the Austrians, Şerif Halil returned to Istanbul in the spring of 1739 (H.1152). In the same year, the *başmuhasebeci* (and the former *nüzül emini*) Halil Efendi was accused of misusing his authority and subsequently dismissed from his post.<sup>156</sup> Şerif Halil replaced him as the new *başmuhasebeci*, the chief of the finance bureau that managed all the expenditures of the Imperial Council, the accounts of Rumelia and poll tax accounts.<sup>157</sup> During his service as the *başmuhasebeci*, Şerif Halil was sent to the Balkans for the supervision of the construction of a wooden bridge on the Sava River in order to facilitate the march of the army in Bosnia in 1739/40 (H.1152).<sup>158</sup> In the end, as of 1739, sultan's armies were able to recapture Belgrade and push back the Habsburgs beyond the Sava. Later in the same year, he became the *defter emini*, "the superintendent of cadastral registers." With

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<sup>155</sup> Subhî, p. 521: "...Rumeli'nin orta ve sağ kollarından Bender cânibine asker tesyîr ü irsâl idüp bir seneden berü ol taraflarda ikâmet ü karâr üzre olan sâbıkâ Kethüdâ-yı sadrîa'zamî Şerîf Halil Efendi..."

<sup>156</sup> Subhî, p. 531: "Rü'yet-i Muhâsebe-i Emîn-i Nüzül ve Zuhûr-ı Mâl-i Mevfûr der-Zimmetiş"

<sup>157</sup> Subhî, p. 532: "...bilâ-mansıb Ordu-yı Hümâyûn'da olan Şerîf Halil Efendi hazretlerine tevcih olundu."

<sup>158</sup> Subhî, p. 569: "...ve hâlâ başmuhasebeci olan Şerîf Halil Efendi hazretleri dahi cisr-i merkûmun inşâsına nezâret eylemek üzre me'mûr u ta'yîn buyuruldu." Also in Musâffâ Mustafa, p. 69: "...icâleten ve müsâra'aten cisr-i mezbûrun ibnâsı ve bir gün evvel tekmîline ihtimâm olunmak üzere sâbıkâ kethüdâ-yı sadr-ı 'âlfî olunup bi'l-fi'l muhâsebe-i evvel olan Şerîf Halil Efendi me'mûr ve ta'yîn ol dahi 'ale'l-fevr çadırların kaldırup kal'a-i mezbûrun Bosna kapısı karşusunda ve kal'aya tahmînen buçuk sâ'at mesâfe Ada kurbünde darb ve ordu-yı hümâyûnda..."

this appointment, he rose to the rank of the chief of *defterhâne*, where he had entered as a scribe 28 years earlier.

On 22 April, 1743 (27 Safer, H. 1156), Şerif Halil was appointed to the post of *sadaret kethüdası* for the second time during the second grand vezirate of Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa. However, Hekimoğlu, too, did not stay for long and was replaced by Seyyid Hasan Paşa later that year. After his service as the *sadaret kethüdası* for the second time, Şerif Halil embarked on more peripheral missions. The time he spent in the palace was significantly less than the previous terms.<sup>159</sup> Şerif Halil actively participated in the campaign to Iran and his success was appreciated.<sup>160</sup>

It was also the year that Şerif Halil performed several pious deeds, such as commissioning the construction of his socio-religious complex in Şumnu, fountains in the vicinity of the Hippodrome, sidewalks near the *Defterhâne-i Âmire*, which was a tribute that was paid to the office where he began his career and served as the chief administrator later in 1739.<sup>161</sup>

In 1745, he was promoted with the title of vezir and was sent to Aydın as a *muhassıl*.<sup>162</sup> Although Uzunçarşılı suggests that he was appointed as the *vâli* of Konya

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<sup>159</sup> Subhî, p. 796: "... yevm-i mezbûrda ba'de'z-zuhr Kethüdâ-yı sadrîa'zamî Şerif Halil Efendi..." The other grand vezir to whom Şerif Halil assisted as a *sadâret kethüdası* was Kürd Seyyid Hasan Paşa, whose career in the palace started in 1738, about 8 years later than Şerif Halil. Originally an officer in the janissary corps, he took up several roles such as *kul kethüdası*, *janissary Ağa*, *vâli* in İçel (Mersin) and Diyarbakır, *vezir* and *grand vezir*. The duration of their cooperation was more than a year, after which Şerif Halil was given the title of *vezir*. Coming from a military background, Seyyid Hasan Paşa's path probably did not intersect with Şerif Halil before the aforementioned cooperation. However, judging from their ancestral titles, they both seem to have enjoyed the bringings of being a *seyyid*.

<sup>160</sup> İzzi Süleyman Efendi, v. 2, p. 268

<sup>161</sup> BOA, 97/4805, C. BLD.: "...Sadaret Kethüdası Şerif Halil Efendi'nin, İstanbul'da Fazlı Paşa Sarayı içinde *Defterhâne*'ye tahsis olunan mahalle, katipler için tatlı su akıttığı ve ayrıca çeşme yaptırdığı gibi Şumnu'da pederi Ali ve ceddî Şaban Beyler'in harap mescidleri camiye tahvil edildiğinden bunlara karşılık olmak üzere bazı has mukataalarının mezkur vakfa tahsis olunduğu..."

<sup>162</sup> BOA, 541/22232, C. ML.: "Uhdesinde olan mukataalardan 75.348 kuruşun bir an evvel gönderilmesi... (Aydın muhassılı Vezir Şerif Halil Paşa'ya)." "*Muhassıl* is a revenue official, sometimes in charge of the revenues of a specific *sancak* or *vilayet*,

in the same year, neither İzzi nor Subhi or Mehmed Süreyya confirms this.<sup>163</sup> Furthermore, I have not come across any register mentioning such an appointment in the BOA.

After rising to the position of vezir, he is mentioned as a *paşa* in chronicles and the archives. In the fall of 1746 (Ramazan, H. 1159), he became the *vâli* of Trabzon. In the same year, in Şevval, he was charged with the *muhafızlık* of Lepanto.<sup>164</sup> In 1748 (H. 1161), he was sent to Belgrade as a *vâli*, again. He served in the same capacity in Eğriboz before his last mission to Bosnia in January/February 1752 (*Rabi' al-awwal* H.1165). On the way to Bosnia, he wanted to reside in the town of İzdin (in Central Greece) for some time to enjoy the fresh air and clean water; however, he had a stroke there and passed away on February 15, 1752 (*Rabi' al-awwal* H. 1165).<sup>165</sup> Although in *Tuhfe-i Nâili*, he is said to have died in 1747, this seems erroneous in the light of information we get from İzzi, Subhî and the BOA.<sup>166</sup> The exact location of Şerif Halil Paşa's tomb is not known; however, İzzi notes that he was buried close to his death place, İzdin.<sup>167</sup>

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sometimes of the collection of a specific tax. The *muhassıl* was often the chief of a hierarchy of tax-farmers operating in a province.” (Bayerle, p. 111)

<sup>163</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, IV/I, p. 153

<sup>164</sup> *Muhafız* is a guard, warden, especially the commander of a fort, the *dizdâr*. (Bayerle, p. 111)

<sup>165</sup> Under the title of “the news of the death of Şerif Halil Paşa”, İzzi Süleyman Efendi provides us with an elaborate account of Şerif Halil's last journey. “Ağrıboz Muhafızı iken Bosna Vâlisi tayin edilen Paşa Ağrıboz'dan kalkıp Bosna'ya giderken, yolda İzdin kasabasına geldikten yâ turâbı çeker, yahut âbı müeddasinca oranın havası ve suyu gayet hoşuna gitmiş ve orada birkaç gün istirahat karar vermiş. Orada istirahat ederken, damla isabet etmiş ve ansızın vefat eylemiştir...” (v.2, 268). Mehmed Süreyya also quotes from İzzi to present a brief summary of Şerif Halil's death. (*Sicill-i Osmanî*, p. 1586).

<sup>166</sup> *Tuhfe-ül Nâili*, v2, p.485.

<sup>167</sup> İzzi, *ibid.*

DATE	Post / Activity
1711	Admission to <i>Defterhâne</i> ; <i>Defter-i Hakân-i Kâtibi</i>
In an unspecified year between 1718-30	Admission to <i>Divânihâne</i> ; <i>Hâcegân-ı Divân-ı Hümayun</i>
1725	Translation committee, <i>Aynî Tarihi</i>
1730/1	<i>Tezkîre-i Sâni</i> to Şeyhzâde Nuh Efendi
1732/3	<i>Tezkîre-i Evvel</i> to Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa
1735/6	<i>Cizye Muhasebecisi</i> in Edirne
1736/7	<i>Sadaret Kethüdâsı</i> to Muhsinzâde Abdullah Paşa
1737/8	<i>Rumeli Askeri Sağ Kol Sürücüsü</i> against the Russians / Warfare in Bender
April/May 1739	Return to Istanbul and <i>Başmuhasebeci</i>
1739/40	Supervisor of the construction of a wooden bridge over the Sava River in Bosnia; upon his return to Istanbul, <i>defter emini</i>
22 April 1743	<i>Sadaret Kethüdâsı</i> to Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa and Kürd Seyyid Hasan Paşa
1743	Commissioning of the socio-religious complex in Şumnu as well as some other pious deeds
1744	The <i>vakıfnâme</i>
1745	<i>Vezir</i> ; Aydın <i>Muhassılı</i> ; <i>vâli</i> of Konya(?)
1746	<i>Vâli</i> of Trabzon ; Lepanto <i>Muhafızı</i>
1748	<i>Vâli</i> of Belgrade
1752	<i>Vali</i> of Eğriboz; appointment to Bosnia
February 1752	Death in İzdin

**Table 2: Şerif Halil's Activities and Posts**



**Map 2: Şerif Halil's Official Posts and Journeys**

### III. 4 Şerif Halil's Associates: the Witnesses of the *Vakıfnâme*

Within the 41 years (1711-1752) that Şerif Halil spent in the service of the state, he established a strong profile and a set of networks that secured him appointments to significant positions in Ottoman administration.

The choice of witnesses for the *vakıfnâme* of his pious foundation indicates with whom he had close ties. When the backgrounds of the witnesses are taken into consideration, it is possible to investigate their association with Şerif Halil that might have been more than official cooperations. In my quest to shape the social and political circle of Şerif Halil, I will include the witnesses according to the order in which they were listed in the original manuscript.

The *vakıfnâme* was approved by Kadı Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, the military judge of Rumelia<sup>168</sup>; Kadı Seyyid Abdullah Hoca Zâde, the military judge of Anatolia<sup>169</sup>; and

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<sup>168</sup> *Vakıfnâme*: "...Mâ fihi mukırran kavluhu Te'âlâ ve ketebe ma kaddemû ve âsârahum harrerehu'l-müstefidü min âlâi's-Samed Mehmed Esad el-Kâdı bi asker-i Rumeli ufiye anhu ve an eslâfihi ve ahlâfihi..." Also in the chronicle of Subhî and *Sicill-i Osmanî*, he is mentioned: "...He was the son of *şeyh ül-İslâm* İsmail Efendi. He was born in 1685. After serving in various capacities as a *müderriş*, *molla*, *evkaş müfettişi*, *fetvâ emini* and *ordu kadısı*, in 1744 (H.1157), he became the *kadıasker* of Rumelia. Four years later, he was appointed as the *şeyh ül-İslâm* and died in 1753 (H. 1166). He was a skillful poet as well as being good at music and other literary genres. He commissioned the construction of a mosque and patronized a school in his father's mosque, in which sense he is very much similar to Şerif Halil Paşa. Among his prominent works are *Lehçetü'l-lügât*, *Yâsin* and *Âyetü'l Kürsî* interpretations, a parallel text to *Etvâk* by Zemahşerî, *Bülbülnâme* and *Tezkîre-i Hânendegân*. He also had musical compositions. Furthermore, his daughter, Fitnat Hanım was also a poet."

<sup>169</sup> *Vakıfnâme*: "...Mâ heva haze'l-kitabu yûcibu ecra'l-müstetâbe ve ene'l-fakiru Es-seyyid Abdullah Hoca Zâde el-Kâdı bi asker Anadolu gufire lehu..." Also in *Sicill-i Osmanî*, p. 70: "Hocazâde Seyyid Abdullah Efendi was the son of Osman Efendi who had served in the post of *kadıasker*. Starting out as a *müderriş*, in 1724 (H.1136), he became the *molla* of Edirne, in 1730/31 (H.1144) and in 1732/33 (H.1145) respectively, he was sent to Mecca and back to Istanbul. In 1744 (H.1157), the year when the *vakıfnâme* was written, he was appointed the *kadıasker* of Anatolia, but later in the same year, he was discharged. He died in 1747 (H.1160) and his tomb is in Edirnekapı."

Ahmed Efendi, the son of Veliyüddin and the military judge of Konstantiniyye.<sup>170</sup> The document was registered in the *vakıf* records on June 22, 1744 (H. 11 Cemaziy'el evvel 1157).<sup>171</sup>

The witnesses of the *vakıfnâme* of his pious foundation were mostly chosen among his closest circle composed of the elites sharing very similar intellectual and political interests. When these men are investigated more closely, it is easy to see that the first four names were enjoying relatively upscale positions and they seem to have formed an intimate group with a lot of common characteristics and, perhaps a friendship dating back to the past. The last four names are, on the other hand, implicative of Şerif Halil's permanent ties with the *defterhâne* where he had proven himself. As expected, the last four names engage relatively less significant posts; however, they seem to have been following the route that Şerif Halil once had taken, which proves that the witnesses of the *vakıfnâme* were not randomly chosen.

The first witness is **Pirizâde Sahib Mehmed Efendi**, who came from a noble family that served the Ottoman state in various capacities for decades.<sup>172</sup> The earliest date in which Sahib Mehmed Efendi is recorded to have been engaged with official duties was 1701/2 (H. 1113) when he was a *müderriş*, ten years earlier than Şerif Halil's entrance to the *defterhâne*.<sup>173</sup> It is obvious that Sahib Mehmed Efendi proved to be successful in this post, if we take into consideration that the *müderriş* had a strict system of promotion from one *medrese* to another, or to different *kadı* posts up to the position of *kadıasker* or *şeyh ül-İslâm*. Fitting to this scenario, Sahib Mehmed Efendi served as the *kadıasker* of Anatolia in 1733 (H.1146) and Rumelia in 1739 (H.1151) and 1743 (H.1156) respectively. At the time of his being listed as a witness to the *vakıfnâme* of Şerif Halil's pious foundation, Sahib Mehmed Efendi was *the imâm-ı evvel* of the sultan

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<sup>170</sup> *Vakıfnâme*: "...Mâ fihi minne'l-birri'l-merğub ve'l-hayri'l-meşkur muvâfikun li'şşer'i bilâ kusûr harrerahu el-fakir ilâ Rabbihil-mu'în Ahmed bin Veliyüddîn el-Kâdı Medine-i Kostantaniyye el-mahrûse ufiye anhuma..."

<sup>171</sup> *Vakıfnâme*: "...Kayd şud ba fermân-ı âli el-vâki fi 11 Cemaziye'l-evvel 1157."

<sup>172</sup> *Vakıfnâme*: "Umdetü'l-muhakkıkîn kudvetü'l-mudakkıkîn el-mevle'l-âlimu'r-rabbani ve'n nehrirü'l-fadû's-semadani halen Sultanî sa'adetlu Faziletlu Mehmed Pîri-zâde Efendi Hazretleri"

<sup>173</sup> *Sicill-i Osmanî*, p. 1435.

and only one year later, in 1745 (H.1158), he became the *şeyh ül-İslâm*. In other words, he climbed up the ranks that a *müderriş* could possibly hold, with a regular order starting out as a *kadı* and ending up as a *şeyh ül-İslâm*.

Sahib Mehmed Efendi and Şerif Halil had some common points within the literary realm. Subhî's chronicle and *Tuhfe-i Nailî* refers to Sahib Mehmed Efendi as the translator of Ibn Khaldun's *Mukaddime*, whereas Süreyya notes that he was an able man of letters and sciences who could write poetry in three languages.<sup>174</sup> Indeed, Sahib Mehmed Efendi, similar to Şerif Halil, was one of the poets who wrote *kasides* for Damad İbrahim Paşa and it is very probable that their acquaintance dates back to this association.<sup>175</sup>

The second witness of the *vakıfnâme* is **Mustafa Efendi** who was the son of a prominent family in Kastamonu.<sup>176</sup> He came to Istanbul after his father's death and became the son-in-law of the *tavukçubaşı* Ali Ağa. Like Şerif Halil, he went through some layers of scribal duties and became *the başmukataacı* in 1730, just one year before Şerif Halil's appointment as the *tezkîre-i sâni*. Mustafa Efendi, who had previously taken up several *divânâne*-related posts such as *büyük kale tezkîrecisi*, *beylikçi* and *defter emini*, was the *reis-ül küttâb* during his testimony to the *vakıfnâme*.<sup>177</sup> However, as in the example of Pîrîzâde Sahib Mehmed Efendi, the relationship between Mustafa Efendi and Şerif Halil was not limited to the relevance of their official posts. He was also a very able man of letters who could compose poetry in three languages. He was

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<sup>174</sup> Subhî, p. 34; *Tuhfe-i Nailî*, v.2, p.532.

<sup>175</sup> Metin Hakverdioglu suggests that the content of two of the five *kasides* titled *Kaside-i Sahib Efendi* is clearly implicative of an authorial intervention when it is considered that these poems mention journeys to Salonika for an official mission.<sup>175</sup> The fact that Sahib Mehmed Efendi served as the *molla* of Salonika in H.1135 (1722/23) is supportive of Hakverdioglu's assumption. Metin Hakverdioglu, *Edebiyatımızda Lâle Devri ve Nevşehirlî Damad İbrahim Paşa*, p. 153.7

<sup>176</sup> *Vakıfnâme*: "Umdetu erbabi'l-cahi ve'l-celali kudvetu ashabi'l-mecdi ve'l-ikbali halen reîsü'l-küttâb sa'adetlu atufetlu Mustafa Efendi Hazretleri"

<sup>177</sup> *Beylikçi* is the chief of the Divân Bureau, the central bureau of the Imperial Council maintaining records and preparing all of the edicts, decrees, and international correspondence. He was senior to all the scribes of the *divân* and worked under the direct supervision of the *re'isü'l-küttâb*. (Bayerle, p. 20)

very creative, especially in Arabic. They were working together on the translation committee formed by Damad İbrahim Paşa to translate the *Aynî Tarihi*.<sup>178</sup>

Another common point between Şerif Halil and Mustafa Efendi was their patronage of architecture and interest in book collections. Mustafa Efendi commissioned the construction of many *mescids*, *medreses*, *mektebs*, libraries in Istanbul, Belgrade and his hometown Kastamonu.<sup>179</sup> There was a library in the *medrese* that Mustafa Efendi commissioned in Kastamonu in 1741. Furthermore, he constructed another library in the courtyard of Nasrullah Kadı Mosque in his hometown in 1746. He also planned to patronize a third library in Istanbul; however, according to the second *vakıfnâme* written on behalf of his pious deeds, it is stated that this building was not built in his life time. In this *vakıfnâme*, it is shown that Mustafa Efendi consecrated a total of 1,237 books for his library, which was quite a high number in those days.<sup>180</sup>

**Mollacıkzâde Ali Ağa**, then the chief *çavuş* in the imperial council, was the fourth witness of the *vakıfnâme*.<sup>181</sup> He came from a prominent family and his father was Mollacık Mehmed Ağa.<sup>182</sup> He was much younger than Şerif Halil Paşa and served in various posts such as *kapıcıbaşı*, *arpa emini* and *başbaki kulu* before being sent to Egypt as an officer in 1738-39 (H.1151). Upon his return to the capital, he became the *arpa emini* again; and then was appointed to the post of *çavuşbaşı* in 1744 (H.1157). His later appointments included significant posts such as *sipahiler ağası*, *tersane emini*, *çavuşbaşı*(for the second time), *arpa emini* (for the second time) and finally the *vâli* of

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<sup>178</sup> See the names in this committee in the 144th footnote.

<sup>179</sup> İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara (2008), pp. 219-222; *Sicill-i Osmanî*, p.1179

<sup>180</sup> İsmail E. Erünsal, *ibid*, p. 222.

<sup>181</sup> *Vakıfnâme*, “Umdetü'l-emacid ve'l-ekârim zübdetü'l-e'âzîmî ve'l-efahîm Serçavuşani dîvânî âli sa'adetlu mekremetlu Ali Ağa Hazretleri”

<sup>182</sup> Mollacık Mehmed Ağa started out his service as the *kapıcıbaşı* and became the *şehremîni* in 1727/28 (H.1140). In 1729/30 (H.1142) very soon after leaving his post, he died.

Lepanto before his death in 1768 (H.1181). His architectural patronage was limited to the construction of the Kirazlı *Mescit*.<sup>183</sup>

**Abdi Efendi** was the fourth witness of *the vakıfnâme* and his relationship with Şerif Halil was, indeed, similar to that of Sahib Mehmed Efendi and Mustafa Efendi. Abdi Efendi, too, was very active during the grand vezirate of Damad İbrahim Paşa in terms of literary activities.<sup>184</sup> Being the son-in-law of Üçanbarlı Mehmed Efendi,<sup>185</sup> he became the *divitdâr* and *mühürdâr* of Damad İbrahim Paşa as well as fulfilling several scribal posts in the Sublime Porte. He served as the *reis ül-küttâb* by proxy of his father-in-law. Another common point of Şerif Halil with Abdi Efendi was the similarity of the posts that they occupied, considering that Abdi Efendi was appointed as the *evkaf muhasebecisi, tezkîre-i sâni, Tophane nâzırı, tezkîre-i evvel* and *reis ül-küttâb*, in which some capacities Şerif Halil also had served.

As explained earlier, the remaining four witnesses were directly related with Şerif Halil's household. The fifth witness of the *vakıfnâme*, **Haşim Efendi**<sup>186</sup> was the *tezkîre-i sâni*, which was the first post that Şerif Halil had taken up, whereas the sixth witness **Hamza Efendi**<sup>187</sup> was also responsible for scribal posts in the office of the grand vezir. Subhî, refers to him as the *kapucular kethüdası vekili*, a post that he later

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<sup>183</sup> *Sicill-i Osmanî*, p. 292; Subhî, p.822: "...Azl-i Ser-Çavuşân Abdi Ağa ve Nasb-ı Ali Ağa: ...hâlâ arpa emini olan Ali Ağa kâmrevâ vü dilşâd kılındı..." and also in p. 512: "...Arpa emâneti Mollacıkzâde Ali Ağa'ya... tevcîh ü ibkâ olunup..."

<sup>184</sup> *Vakıfnâme*: "Umdetu erbabu't-tahriri ve'l-kalem zübdetu ashabi't-tastiri ve'r-rakam halen tezkere-i evvel kapıdan-ı âli sa'adetlu Abdi Efendi Hazretleri"

<sup>185</sup> Üçanbarlı Mehmed Efendi(1673/74-1732) established ties with Damad İbrahim Paşa while he was the *baltacı* of Beyhan Sultan. Thanks to this link, he entered the scribal layers and served the state in various capacities such as *dârüssade yazıcısı, Haremeyn muhasebecisi, reis ül-küttâb, defter emini* and *defterdar-ı şikk-ı evvel*. (*Sicill-i Osmanî*, p. 1024)

<sup>186</sup> *Vakıfnâme*: "Umdetü erbabu't-tahriri zübdetü ashabi't-takriri halen tezkere-i sani kapıdan sa'adetlü Haşim Efendi Hazretleri". Also in Subhî, p.551: "... ve Tezkîre-i sâni Haşim Efendi cenâbları dahi..."

<sup>187</sup> *Vakıfnâme*: "Umdetu ashabi'l-meârifi ve'l-kemal halen mektubi-yi hazret-i sadri ili sa' adetlu Hamza Efendi Hazretleri"

took up. **Ali Efendi**<sup>188</sup> and **Mahmud Efendi**,<sup>189</sup> the last two witnesses, were employed in the scribal office of Şerif Halil Paşa.

The lineage of Şerif Halil starting in 1711 in the *deFTERhâne* and ending in 1752 in İzdin gives us clues about the unwritten aspects of his life. His attempts to find a place in the retinue of Damad İbrahim Paşa between 1718 and 1730 through a display of his literary skills, and his ability to remain evasive in extraordinary circumstances like the Patrona Revolt in 1730, clearly implies that he was a political being just like the other members of his circle put above scrutiny. Almost all of these men knew what was expected from them to keep a strong profile in their respective circles, and one of these expectations was practising pious deeds and establishing *vakıfs*, to which Şerif Halil did not remain indifferent. This is because that was effective in both portraying himself as a benefactor, paying tribute to the local people of his hometown and leaving a good name behind. If we take into consideration that today the locals of Şumnu know his name simply due to the socio-religious complex that he patronized, he seems to have achieved one of his initial motivations.

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<sup>188</sup> *Vakıfnâme*: “Fahru'l-emasili ve'l-akran halen *kâtib*-i kethuda hazret-i sadr-ı âli izzet lu mekremetlu Ali Efendi Hazretleri”

<sup>189</sup> *Vakıfnâme*, “Fahru'l-eşbah ve'l-akran halen halife-i evvel *kâtib* kethüda-i sadr-i âli rifatlu muhabetlu Mahmud Efendi Hazretleri”

## IV. LEAVING A GOOD NAME BEHIND: PIOUS DEEDS

### IV. 1 Şerif Halil's Assets and the Expenditures of his *vakıf*

The complex that Şerif Halil commissioned in Şumnu was not purely a tribute that he paid to the locals of his hometown. The mosque and its dependencies included a lot of reference to the patron's life-long pursuits, as well as reflecting the fundamental interests of the members of the circle in which Şerif Halil expressed himself. Before analyzing how Şerif Halil constructed his legacy on stone, shedding light on his other benevolent acts and the properties that he endowed is in order. The information that we gather about Şerif Halil's assets and the expenditures of his *vakıf* is from the BOA and the *vakıfnâme*.

The assets that the patron endowed for his pious foundation included a field ready for cultivation in Varna; a house and its extensions in the district of Kürkçübaşı, in Cerrahpaşa/İstanbul; a farm and its extensions in the district of Yeniköy in Varna, and 10.000 *kuruş* in cash.

Apart from the mosque, *medrese*, *mekteb*, library and ablution fountain that Şerif Halil built on the site of his grandfather Şaban Bey's ruined mosque in Şumnu, the *vakıfnâme* informs us that in 1743 he had already built a fountain in the Hippodrom and sidewalks in the vicinity of the *Defterhâne-i Âmire* that provided freshwater for the *kâtibs*.<sup>190</sup> Furthermore, he realized the restoration of the *mescid* of his father Ali Ağa in

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<sup>190</sup> See the footnote 145 for the record in the BOA; also in the *Vakıfnâme*: "İstanbul'da At meydanı kurbunda Fazlı Paşa sarayı ittisâlinde Defterhâne-i amire kalemine mahsûs mahal...binâ ve inşâ eylediğim çeşmelere..."

Madara,<sup>191</sup> as well as consecrating two mills in Nefşe and Külefçe, which are in Yenipazar. In 1744 and 1745, new revenue sources were added to the *vakıfnâme*: a mill around the Baykuş Boğazı river in Eğridere, 20 acres of field and 2,300 *kuruş* in cash.

The expenditures and appointment list of the pious foundation is clearly written in the *vakıfnâme*. Accordingly, 15 *akçes/day* were to be given to the second *imam* where as the second *müezzin* would get 10 *akçes/day*. The other scheduled expenditures were as follows:

- 8 *akçes/day* for the third *kayyum* (caretaker) ;
- 5 *akçes/day* for each of three *devirhans*;
- 15 *akçes/day* for the honorable Friday preacher;
- 8 *akçes/day* for the instructor teaching at the *medrese* three days/week;
- 4 *akçes/day* for the illumination of the 10 *medrese* classrooms;
- 10 *akçes/day* for a *şeyh ül-kurra* who could read the Kur'an in a proper manner two days/week;
- 10 *akçes/day* for a calligrapher who could teach calligraphy lessons in the library two days/week;
- 10 *akçes/day* for the *hafız-ı kütüb* (librarian) and the *muvakkit* (the officer attached to a mosque whose chief duty was to determine the time for the prayer);

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<sup>191</sup> Madara was originally a castle built on the plain of Kulefçe, a village of Şumen. It was built in the early-medieval era. It is surrounded by steep and deep cliffs. This is most probably the Mundaga Castle that the king Simeon defended against the Hungarians. Later, in 1388, the Castle of Matara was conquered by the Ottoman Turks. There have been some archeological excavations in the area. The findings are stored in a small museum in the town. The name Madara is tracable in the Ottoman archival documents dating back to the last quarter of the 16th century. Evliya Çelebi calls the place “Kara-Matara”. Although a Bulgarian researcher claimed that the word ethimologically belonged to the Bulgarian language (1943), it is most probably of Arabic origin, meaning a sort of bottle made of leather or silence cloth, and is used as a jug. Translated from M.Türker Acaroğlu, *Bulgaristan'da Türkçe Yer Adları Kılavuzu* pp. 668-9.

- 6 *akçes*/day for the other librarian whose job was to keep the books inside the library and prevent them from being taken out;
- 3 *akçes*/day for the caretaker of the water conduit;
- 5 *akçes*/day for each of 3 *eczahans* who recited the Kur'an in the mornings;
- 5 *akçes*/day for the *naathan* with a beautiful voice;
- 3 *akçes*/day for the cleaner of the toilets and 60 *vukkıyes* of olive oil per annum to illuminate the balconies (*şerefes*) of the minarets in sacred nights.

In the list above, it is especially noteworthy and implicative of Şerif Halil's personal interests that he included a master of calligraphy and the two librarians, each with a specified duty. During my research, I have not come across any reference to the amount of money spent for the construction of the complex. Upon looking at the scarcity of revenue sources indicated in the *vakıfnâme*, it is a valid question to ask how Şerif Halil was able to raise enough money to construct such a monumental building, to which, at this point, I have no concrete answer.

#### IV. 2 Contextualization of the Şerif Halil Paşa Socio-Religious Complex

“... maskat-ı ra's ve menşe-i vücûdum olan Şumnu Kasabasında olan ceddım Şaban Bey merhum intimâ ile şehir bu def'a müceddeden ihyâ ve ta'mir eylediğim cami-i şerif...”

Although Şerif Halil Paşa's own expression about the mosque that he commissioned in his hometown sounds like paying tribute to his deceased grandfather Şaban Bey, as well as bestowing a pious deed for his local Şumnu people, the result of

this project was much more influential.<sup>192</sup> The complex is one of the few monumental architectural projects of the first half of the 18th century, as well as the largest Ottoman religious monument in modern-day Bulgarian lands. The construction was completed in 1744 (H.1157). Among locals of Şumnu, it is today known as the Tombul Mosque, due to the domed structure of the building. It is a unique example of a well-preserved complex with its *medrese*, library, *mekteb* and ablution fountain. Its architect is unknown; however, the resemblance of its plan and structural composition with the Mosque of Damad İbrahim Paşa in Nevşehir might be implicative of a provincial architectural school active in the first half of the 18th century.<sup>193</sup>

The first half of the 18th century witnessed a relative decrease in the number of large-scale endowments. Even the Sultan Mahmud I, who reigned for twenty-four years between 1730 and 1754, commissioned only a few libraries and schools with limited follow-up costs. Much of the architectural activity during this period revolved around restoration, repair and rebuilding.<sup>194</sup> The decrease in the number of new *selatin* (sultanic) mosques after the construction of the Blue Mosque (1616, commissioned by Ahmed I) was clearly visible. In this period, only four mosques were patronized by the

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<sup>192</sup> Ahmed Vâsıf Efendi refers to the mosque as follows: “Bir mükellef cami binasıyle medh-u senasını zebanzed-i baid ve karib eyledi...” Translation: “With this wonderful mosque, he [Şerif Halil] made the words of praisal frequently articulated and repeated.” (*Vâsıf Tarihi*, v. 2, pp. 125-6)

<sup>193</sup> Osman Keskiöğlü & A. Talha Özaydın, “Bulgaristan’da Türk-İslâm Eserleri,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 17, Ankara (1983), p. 119: “According to Ali Sami Ülgen, a master architect who also worked for Directorate General of Foundations, Şerif Halil Paşa Mosque might have been built by one of the *halifes* or students of El-Hac Mehmed Emin Ağa who was the chief of Royal Corps of Architects at the time”. In my opinion, it is very probable that the architect of the mosque was appointed from Istanbul. In other words, it was not a *vakıf* or *şehir mimarı* considering the fact that the *vakıfnâme* does not give information about the amount of money given to the architect. For the definitions and details about different members of *imâr teşkilatı*, see Abdülkadir Dündar, *Arşivlerdeki Plan ve Çizimler Işığında Osmanlı İmâr Sistemi*, Kültür Bakanlığı, Ankara (2000), pp. 7-95.

<sup>194</sup> Maximilian Hartmuth, “The History of Centre-Periphery Relations as a History of Style in Ottoman Provincial Architecture”, *Proceedings of the International Conference Centres and Peripheries in Ottoman Architecture: Rediscovering A Balkan Heritage*, p. 27. Indeed, the mosque of Şerif Halil Paşa can also be evaluated in this axis, considering the fact that it was a restoration and enlargement of his grandfather Şaban Bey’s mosque. However, it was so elaborate that it would not be an overstatement to regard it a brand-new mosque.

members of Ottoman dynasty in Istanbul; namely Emetullah Gülnuş Valide Sultan Mosque (1710), Ahmediye Mosque (1722), Fatma Sultan Mosque (1727) and Nuruosmaniye Mosque (1755), whereas the number of large-scale mosques commissioned by the Ottoman elites are ten; namely Kaptan İbrahim Paşa Mosque (1707), Çorlulu Ali Paşa Mosque (1708), Şeyh ül-İslâm İsmail Efendi Mosque (1725), Kaymak Mustafa Paşa Mosque (1725), Damad İbrahim Paşa Mosque (1727), Mirzazâde Mehmed Salim Efendi Mosque (1731), Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Mosque (1735), Şerif Halil Paşa Mosque (1744), Hacı Beşir Ağa Mosque (1745) and Maktûl Mustafa Paşa Mosque (1753).<sup>195</sup>

All of these mosques, apart from the ones of Şerif Halil Paşa and Damad İbrahim Paşa, are in Istanbul. Stylistically having a similar pattern to the 16th-century architectural works, these two mosques were most probably built for their patrons' desires "to equip their (relatively insignificant) native towns with some magnificence from the capital, and to promote them as urban centers by contributing to their prominence through their infrastructure."<sup>196</sup> Being one of the elites who commissioned a large-scale mosque between 1703 and 1754, Şerif Halil clearly displays the extent of his wealth, authority and ambitions.

#### **IV. 3 Şerif Halil's Book Collection: The Library Building and the Adventure of Vakıf Libraries in the Reign of Mahmud I**

*Din ve dünyanın kıvâm ve nizâmı, ma'ârif ve ulûmun revâc ve intâcı ile olup ve kesb-i hüner ve fezâ'il, cem'i kütüb ve resâyile mevkûf olmakdan nâşi eslâfdan geçen erbâb-ı hayrât her beldede iktizâsına göre tullâb-ı dirâyet-nisâbın mütâla'a ve intifâ'larıçün funûn-ı şettâdan nice kitâblar vakf ve tesbîl ve bazı kütüphâneler binâ ve tertîb ve hâfız-ı kütübler vaz' ve ta'yin eylediklerine*

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<sup>195</sup> In the scope of my research, there are only the mosques which were built in Istanbul and those that were commissioned in peripheral areas but show resemblance to the ones in the center, which indeed turn out to be the largest-scaled mosques: Damad İbrahim Paşa Mosque in Nevşehir and Şerif Halil Paşa Mosque in Şumen.

<sup>196</sup> Maximilian Hartmuth, *ibid.* p. 28

*binâen talebe-i ûlum fukarâsı hîn-i hâcette mütâla'a ve tensîk ile kesb-i meleke-i tedkik ve tahkik ide geldikleri emr-i celî olup.*<sup>197</sup>

Probably the best way to analyze the activity of collecting and bequeathing books into *vakıf* libraries in the first half of the 18th century is possible upon reading the words of Mahmud I quoted above. Building and organizing libraries is clearly encouraged by the sultan himself. Thanks to some developments like the opening of the paper mill in Yalova and the re-opening of the printing press, the reign of Mahmud I (1730-54) became the golden age of *vakıf* libraries.<sup>198</sup> Having himself built some libraries at Ayasofya, Fâtih and Galatasaray, the sultan instigated the commissioning of similar buildings even in the furthest corners of the empire.<sup>199</sup> Many elites and members of the *ulema* founded library buildings of various sizes. Even from the mouths of the *reâyâ* could be heard epic songs about the sultan's emphasis on library building.<sup>200</sup> Grandees with whom Şerif Halil established close contacts such as Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa and

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<sup>197</sup> After İsmail E. Erünsal. *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, p. 136; BOA, 152 – Mühimme: Mahmud I's letter to the *kadı* of Kastamonu about the libraries in this city. Interpretation: "...The pillar of the world and the religion stands on the value given to culture and sciences. Thus, because earning of skills and virtues is provided with the books and treatises; in every town, the owners of *vakıf*s, according to the need, must build and organize some libraries as well as consecrate books for skillful students to read and benefit..."

<sup>198</sup> For a detailed list of all of the libraries founded during Mahmud I's reign see, İsmail E. Erünsal, *ibid*, pp. 227-230.

<sup>199</sup> For more information on the library of Ayasofya, see Âzade Akar, "Ayasofya'da bulunan Türk Eserleri ve Süslemelerine Dair Bir Araştırma.", *Vakıflar Dergisi* VIII (1969), pp. 284-6 and Ahmet Küçükkalfa, "Ayasofya Kütüphanesi", *İlgi* 37 (1983), pp. 14-7

<sup>200</sup> For example, on the library of Ayasofya: Muhtar Yahya Dağlı, *İstanbul Mahalle Bekçilerinin Destan ve Mani Katarları*, pp. 59-60. "Âl-i Osman'ın şevketi/ Yoktur nazîr-i devleti/ Dört köşede medh olunur/ Kütüphanenin zîneti./ Zîyneti dehre saldı fer/ Vasfa sezâdır serteser/ Ayasofya Câmîinde/ Eyledi bir âli eser./ Muvaffak eyledi Allâh/ Hayr olur makbûl inşallah/ Seyr edip kütüphâneyi/ Her gören dedi maşallah. Translation: The majesty of the House of Osman/ To which there is no equal state/ Praised in every corner/ The valuable ornamentation of the library./ Its ornamentation shed light on the world/Worthy of explaining in detail/in the mosque of Hagia Sophia/ Commissioned a sublime work./ God helped him be succesful/ Hopefully this building shall bring benefaction/ While looking at the library/ Everybody said May God preserve it!

Mustafa Efendi of Zonguldak (one of the witnesses of the *vakıfnâme*) also commissioned libraries. Hekimoğlu's library was an extension to the mosque that he patronized in Davutpaşa, whereas Mustafa Efendi founded several libraries in Zonguldak and Istanbul.<sup>201</sup>

Being a vigilant and ambitious figure who kept an eye open to the developments and trends around him, Şerif Halil could not remain indifferent to the fashion of collecting and endowing books during the reign of Mahmud I. He built a library as a dependency of his socio-religious complex and, as mentioned earlier, entrusted two *hafız-ı kütübs* with specific duties like keeping the library open from the morning until night for four days per week and providing the students with the books that they wanted, as well keeping them within the library in accordance with the catalogue that had been prepared.<sup>202</sup> The library building is on the right side of the entrance gate and it is on the second floor.<sup>203</sup>

In the original *vakıfnâme* that I obtained from Şumnu Historical Museum, the catalogue mentioned above is not attached. However, discovered by Orlin Sabev,<sup>204</sup> the

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<sup>201</sup> Erünsal writes that Mustafa Efendi established a library in the mosque that he commissioned in Zonguldak; however, that is not true. Mustafa Efendi's library was founded in the Nasrullah Kadı Mosque (pp. 205-7). Furthermore, he is also mistaken to state that Şerif Halil founded a library as an extension to the mosque and *medrese* that he commissioned in Cerrahpaşa, because he never patronized buildings of these types there. However, his house was in Cerrahpaşa as clearly remarked in the *vakıfnâme*: "...İstanbul'da Cerrahpaşa kurbunda Kürekçi Başı mahallesinde vâki' bir taraftan Turnacıbaşı veresesi ve bir taraftan Süleyman Çelebi ve bir taraftan el-Hac Ahmed Ağa mülkleri ve bir taraftan tarik-i amm ile mahdud dâhiliyesinin tabaka-i ulyâsında bir cihân-nûmâ ve tabaka-i vustasında üç bab oda ve bir sofa ve süflâsında bir bab oda ve kiler ve matbah ve bi'rimâ ve kenîf ve mağsel ve su mahzeni ve iki sedl-i bağçe ve hâriciyyesinde fevkâni bir bab oda ve tahtani iki oda..."

<sup>202</sup> The original records of the first catalogue consisting of the books bestowed by Şerif Halil are in the Appendix 5.

<sup>203</sup> There is a small wooden door on the right side of the courtyard opening to a number of 16 steps till one can reach the library. Most of the books consecrated at the time were taken to the National Library in Sofia. Because the socio-religious complex is currently undergoing a restoration, the library building is full of calligraphic inscriptions carried from the interior of the mosque, to which only limited access can be provided, due to supporting iron sticks besieging every corner of the building. (As of May 2011)

<sup>204</sup> Sabev, Orlin. "Bir Hayrat ve Nostalji Eseri: Şumnu'daki Tombul Cami Külliyesi ve Banisi Şerif Halil Paşa'nın Vakfettiği Kitapların Listesi", pp. 557-583 in *Enjeux*

list of the books are appended to the end of the copy of the *vakıfnâme* in General Directorate of Foundations in Ankara.<sup>205</sup> The list is supposed to be the first catalogue of the library and dates back to 1744/5. Thanks to Sabev, we are now able to access the subjects, languages and the versions of the books that Şerif Halil Paşa collected and then bequested.

According to the list, there were 198 different titles and a total of 222 volumes of books which were classified according to their topics typical of Ottoman *medrese* curriculum.<sup>206</sup> The classification of these topics were: *tefsir*, commenting on the Kur'an; *hadis*, the study of Prophet Mohammad's sayings and deeds; *fıkıh*, Muslim canonical jurisprudence; *fetva*, rules in accordance with the Islamic religious law; *kıraat*, reading the Kur'an aloud; *akaid*, tenets of religion; *nesaih*, advice; *meani*, eloquence, rhetoric; *nahiv*, a sort of exercise on Arabic words; *sarf*, morphology; *adab*, spritual courtesy and manners; *mantık*, logic; *hikmet*, a branch of Islamic philosophy; *heyet*, astronomy; *hendese*, geometry; *hesab*, arithmetics; *tıbb*, medicine; and *coğrafya*, geography and various dictionaries.<sup>207</sup>

Because Arabic was the language of education in the *medreses*, 80 percent of the books in the library were in Arabic. Only 15 percent of the collection was in Persian, and consisting of dictionaries and poetry books. The remaining 5 percent was in Turkish.<sup>208</sup> Probably one of the most valuable books of the collection was *Nüzhetü'l-*

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*politiques, économiques et militaires en mer Noire (XIVe-XXIe siècles), études à la mémoire de Mihail Guboglu. Musée de Braïla-Editions Istros, Braïla, 2007.*

<sup>205</sup> *Vakıfnâme*: “Vâkıf-ı müşârun ileyh hazretlerinin medine-i Şumnuda binâ eyledikleri kütübhânelerine vakf ve vaz' eyledikleri kütüb-ü mevkufenin vakf-ı zirde onuncu kağıtda Şeyhu'l-İslâm Efendi vakfiyyesi zeylinde mukayyedir.”

<sup>206</sup> Orlin Sabev, *ibid*, p. 564.

<sup>207</sup> The total number of books in Şerif Halil's library is still entirely unknown to either the scientific circles or the general public. In 1993, the Ministry of Culture reached a decision to have the Şumen collection transferred for safe keeping in the National Library in Sofia. It is estimated that the collection has about 800 manuscripts and 1500 old printed books. (Kenderova and Ivanova, p. 17)

<sup>208</sup> For a complete transliteration of the booklist in a proper classification, see Sabev, Orlin. “Bir Hayrat ve Nostalji Eseri: Şumnu'daki Tombul Cami Külliyesi ve Banisi Şerif Halil Paşa'nın Vakfettiği Kitapların Listesi”, pp. 557-583 in *Enjeux politiques, économiques et militaires en mer Noire (XIVe-XXIe siècles), études à la mémoire de Mihail Guboglu. Musée de Braïla-Editions Istros, Braïla, 2007.*

*Müştak fi İhtirâki'l-Âfak* by the famous Muslim geographer Şerif El-İdrisi (1100-1166), which was copied by Muhammed ibn-i Ali from Cairo in 1556 and contained 70 colourful maps.<sup>209</sup> Apart from the standard *medrese* curriculum, Şerif Halil endowed some books that portrayed his taste of literature such as *Kasîde-i Bürde*, *Şerh-i Kasîde-i Bürde*, *Şerh-i Sâdi*, *Şerhü'l Gazeliyyât-i Sâdi*, *Tercüme-i Kelâm-ı Cihâr Yâd*, *Mesnevî-i Şerif*, *İntihâb-ı Mesnevi*, *Şerh-i Mesnevî*, *Gülistân*, *Lâmi's Şerh-i Gülistân*, *Bôstân*, *Pend-i 'Attâr ve Tercüme*, *Dustûrü'l-'Amel li-Riyâzi*, *Mantkü't-Tayr*, *Manzume fi'l-Aruz ve l'Avâmmî*, *Şerh-i Divân-i Ömer al-Karzî*, *Divân-ı Sâib*, *Divân-ı Hâfiz* and *Şerh-i Hâfiz*.

According to Kenderova and Ivanova, some of the books of Şerif Halil's library were taken from a previously established *medrese* attached to Solak Sinan Mosque commissioned by a certain Edhem Efendi (1671).<sup>210</sup> On the other hand, the BOA indicate that Kesimzâde Mehmed Efendi, a local of Şumnu and probably the keeper of the library, brought 480 volumes of the collection to Beyazıt Library as he migrated from Şumnu in 1922.<sup>211</sup>

Comparing the library with the ones in Istanbul, Erünsal suggests that the Şerif Halil Paşa Library in Şumnu is not worthy of attention.<sup>212</sup> However, this library was a *medrese* library and was mainly aiming to satisfy the needs of the town's student body. When the book catalogue is taken into account, it would not be an overstatement to conclude that the scope of the library was quite satisfactory for the city. Within the broader picture of the *vakıf* libraries constructed during the reign of Mahmud I, some of which included over 1,000 titles, Erünsal's evaluation is not without validity.

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<sup>209</sup> This book is stored in the Oriental Department of the Sofia Museum. Its call number is OR 3198.

<sup>210</sup> During my research about the history of Şumen, I have not come across any reference that would confirm Kenderova and Ivanova's reference to an earlier *medrese* and library established in the city. *From the Collections of Ottoman Libraries in Bulgaria During the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manuscripts and Old Printed Books Sofia, May 1998*, ed. S. Kenderova, Z. Ivanova, Sofia: National Library, 1999, pp. 14-19.

<sup>211</sup> After İsmail E. Erünsal, *ibid*; BOA. MF. KTU. 9/91.

<sup>212</sup> İsmail E. Erünsal, *ibid*, p. 230.

Furthermore, it is clear that it was not the personal library of Şerif Halil, considering that in the book list, we do not even find the *Aynî Tarihi*, which was translated from Arabic by the translation committee in which he also took active part. Furthermore, in the light of this evidence, we can conclude that the library in Şumnu was not a display of Şerif Halil's bibliophily, but rather his willingness to serve his hometown.

The list of books as transliterated by Orlin Sabev is as follows:<sup>213</sup>

### **Minü't-Tefâsîr**

- Kelâmullahi'l-kadîm, hüsn-ü hatt, cild 1  
Tefsîr-i Kebîr li'l-İmâm Fahreddin er-Râzî, cild 3  
Tefsîrû'l-Kâdî Beyzâvî, cild 1  
Tefsîrû'l-Keşşâf li'z-Zemahşerî, cild 3  
Tefsîrû'l-Kevâşî, cild 1  
Tefsîr li-İbn Kemâl Pâşâzâde, cild 1  
Tefsîr li-Ebu's-su'ûd, cild 3  
Tefsîr-i Medârik, cild 1

### **Min Havâşü't-Tefâsîr**

- Şeyhzâde 'ale'l-Beyzâvî, cild 3  
Hâşiye-i ... 'ale'l-Kâdî, cild 1  
Hâşiye-i 'ale'l-Kâdî el-müsemma bi-Envârü't-Tenzîl, cild 1  
Hâşiye-i Kevâkibî 'ale's-S'adî, Hâşiye-i Beyzâvî, cild 1  
Keşf 'ale'l-Keşşâf, cild 1  
S'adeddîn 'ale'l-Keşşâf, cild 1  
'İsamüddîn 'ale'l-Kâdî, cild 1  
Durrü'n-Nazîm fî Kavâidü'l-Kur'âni'l-'azîm, cild 1  
Tezhîb-i Ziyâ, cild 1  
Havâs-ı Kur'ân, cild 1

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<sup>213</sup> Orlin Sabev, *ibid*, pp. 16-21.

### **Minü'l-Ehâdîsi's-Serîf**

- Sahîhü'l-Buhârî, cild 2  
Kastallânî, Şerhü'l-Buhârî, cild 4  
Mesâbîhü's-Şerîfiyye, cild 1  
Mişkâtü'l-Mesâbîh li-'Alî el-Kârî, cild 3 (?)  
Zeynül-'arab, Şerhü'l-Mesâbîh, cild 1  
Câmi'ü's-Sagîr, cild 1  
Munâvî-i Kebîr 'ala Câmi'ü's-Sagîr, cild 4  
Munâvî-i Sagîr 'ala Câmi'ü's-Sagîr, cild 2  
'Azîzî 'ala Câmi'ü's-Sagîr, cild 2  
Mevâhîbü'l-Ledduniyye li'l-Îmâm Kastallânî, cild 1  
Şifâ-yı Şerîf li'l-Kâdî 'Îyâz, cild 1  
Şihâb 'ala Şifâ, cild 1  
Hasâisü'l-Kebrî li'l-Îmâmi's-Suyûtî, cild 1  
Ezkâr-i Nevevî, cild 1  
Delâilü'l-Hayrât, cild 1,  
Fasî 'ala Delâilü'l-Hayrât, cild 1  
Şerh-i Hadîs-i Erba'in li-'Alî .... (?)

### **Minü'l-Fıkhi's-Serîf**

- Hidâye, cild 1  
Hâşiye-i S'adî 'ale'l-Hidâye, cild 1  
Bâlîzâde 'ale'l-Hidâye, cild 1  
Hâşiye-i Ekmeleddin, Hâşiye-i Hidâye  
Dürer-i Gurer, cild 1  
Şurunbulâlî 'ale'd-Dürer, cild 1  
Hâşiye-i Vânî 'ale'd-Dürer, cild 1  
Hâşiye-i diğeri 'ale'd-Dürer, cild 1  
Multeka'l-Ebhur, cild 1

Halebî 'ale'l-Mülteka, cild 1  
Bahrü'r-Râik 'ala Kenzu'd-Dekâik, cild 2  
Remzü'-Hakâik 'ala Kenzu'd-Dekâik, cild 2  
Şerhü'l-Mecma' li'l-'Aynî Tahta (?), cild 1  
Sadrü'ş-Şeri'a, cild 1  
Hafız 'Acem (?) 'ala Sadrü'ş-Şeri'a, cild 1  
Kuhistânî, cild 1  
Islâh-ı İzâh, cild 1  
Vakı'atü'l-Müftîn, cild 1  
Tahkîkü'l-Ferâiz, cild 1  
Seyyid Şerif 'ale's-Sirâciyye, cild 1  
... ü'l-Ahkâm, cild 1  
Zeyliyye ve Risâle-i sâire, cild 1

### **Minü'l-Usuli'l-Fıkıh**

Menâr-ı İbn-i Melek, cild 1  
Tavzîh 'ale't-Tenkîh, cild 1  
Telvîh 'ale't-Tavzîh, cild 1  
Mişkâtü'l-Envâr 'ale'l-Menâr, cild 1

### **Minü'l-Fetavai'ş-Şerife**

Kâdîhân, cild 1  
Tâtârhâniyye, cild 2  
Surettü'l-Fetâva, cild 1  
Eşbâh-ı Nezâir, cild 1  
Nechü'l-Necât (?), cild 1  
Tenvîrû'l-Ebsâr, cild 1  
Halebî-i Kebir, cild 1  
.... (?), cild 1

Fetâva-yı ‘Alî Efendî, cild 1

Cöng-i Mü’eyyedzâde, cild 1

### **Minü’l-Kıra’at**

Müfredât-ı Nâfi‘, cild 1

Kitâbü’l-Kenz, cild 1

### **Minü’n-Nesaih**

T‘alimü’l-Müte‘allim, cild 1

Şerh-i T‘alimü’l-Müte‘allim, cild 1

Fusûs, cild 1

### **Minü’l-‘Akâid**

Şerh-i Fıkhü’l-Ekber li-‘Alî el-Kârî, cild 1

Şerh-i Mevâkîf li-Seyyid Şerîf, cild 1

Matâli‘, cild 1

Seyyid ‘ale’l-Matâli‘, cild 1

Kara Dâvud ‘ale’l-Seyyid ‘ale’l-Matâli‘, cild 1

Tavâli‘, cild 1

İsfahânî ‘ale’t-Tavâli‘, cild 1

Tarikat-ı Muhammediyye, cild 1

Şerhü’l-‘Akâid, cild 1

Hâşiye-i Hayâlî ‘ale’l-‘Akâid, cild 1

Kara Dâvud ‘ala Şerhü’l-‘Akâid, cild 1

Şerh-i ‘Adudiyye, cild 1

Telhîsü’l-Lâli (?) Şerhü’l-Emâlî, cild 1

İhyâü’l-‘Ulûm li’l-Gazâlî, cild 1

Külliyât-ı Ebu’l-Bekâ, cild 1

### **Minü'l-Me'ani**

Telhîs, cild 1

Mutavvel, cild 1

Hasan Çelebî 'ale'l-Mutavvel, cild 1

Hâşiye-i Seyyid 'ale'l-Mutavvel, cild 1

Ayverdi 'ale'l-Mutavvel, cild 1

Ta'likat 'ale'l-Mutavvel, cild 1

Muhtasar, cild 1

Hâşiye-i Muhtasar, cild 1

S'adeddîn 'ale'l-Miftâh, cild 1

Şerhü'l-Miftâh li-Seyyid Şerîf, cild 1

Şerh-i Lâmiyetü'l-'Acem li'l-Îmâmü's-Sâfedî (?), cild 1

### **Minü'n-Nahiv**

Kâfiye, cild 1

Câmî, cild 1

Kavâid-i Ziyâiyye 'ale'l-Câmî, cild 1

Hâşiye 'ale'l-Câmî, cild 1

'Îsâm 'ale'l-Câmî, cild 1

Şeyh Râzî 'ale'l-Kâfiye, cild 1

Mükemmel Şerh-i Mufassal, cild 1

Şumunnî 'ale'l-Mugnî, cild 1

Tuhfetü'l-Garîb Şerh-i Mugnî'l-Lebîb, cild 1

Menhelü's-Safî fi Şerhi'l-Vâfi, cild 1

Şerh-i Lübbü'l-Îmâmi'l-Uhdî, cild 1

Şumunnî 'ala Elfiyye-i İbn Mâlik, cild 1

Nahiv Cümlesi, cild 1

Kavâid ma' Şeri'a, cild 1

Kâfiyeci 'ala Kavâidü'l-'Îrâb, cild 1

İzhâr, cild 1  
Zav‘, cild 1  
Şerh-i Dibâce, cild 1  
Evzâh ‘ale’l-Misbâh, cild 1  
Şerh-i İzhâr li-Adâlî, cild 1  
Dinkôz, cild 1  
Hâşiye ‘ale’l-İmtihânü’l-Ezkiyâ, cild 1  
Neveviyye, cild 1  
Şerh-i Lâmiyetü’l-Ef‘âl, cild 1  
Edebü’l-Kâtib, cild 1  
Manzume fi’l-‘Aruz ve’l-‘Avâmmî, cild 1  
Muhsin-i Kaysarî, cild 1

### **Minü’s-Sarf**

Sarf Cümlesi, cild 1  
Şâfiye, cild 1  
Râzî ‘ale’ş-Şâfiye, cild 1  
Seyyid ‘Abdullah ‘ale’ş-Şâfiye, cild 1  
Hâşiye-i Merâh, cild 1  
Rûhü’ş-Şurûh ‘ale’l-Maksûd

### **Minü’l-Âdâb**

Hüseyin Efendî Risâlesî, cild 1  
Hâşiye-i Hüseyin Efendî, cild 1  
... (?) ‘ale’l-Vaz‘iyye, cild 1  
Ve Havâş-i ahir fi’l-Âdâb, cild 1

### **Minü’l-Mantık**

İsâgôcî ve Hüssâm Kâtî ve Muhyiddîn, cild 1

Fenârî, cild 1

Kûl Ahmed, cild 1

Burhân, Hâşiye-i Kûl Ahmed, cild 1

Hâşiye-i ‘Îmâd ve Sultânşâh ‘ala Kutbuddîn, cild 1

Tasvîrât ve Tasdîkât, cild 1

### **Minü’l-Hikmet**

Şerh-i İşârât li-Abî Sinâ, cild 1

Kâdîmîr ve Lârî, cild 1

Fahreddîn ‘ala Kâdîmîr, cild 1

Kemâleddîn ‘ala Kâdîmîr, cild 1

### **Minü’l-He’yet**

Kâdîzâde ‘ala Çağmûnî, cild 1

Risâle-i Mukantarât, cild 1

### **Minü’l-Hendese ve’l-Hisâb**

Eşkâl-i Te’sîs ve Bahâyî, cild 1

### **Minü’l-Lügati’l-‘Arabîyye**

Kâmusü’l-Muhît, cild 1

Sihâh-i Cevherî, cild 1

Ahteri-i Kebîr, cild 1

Muntahât, cild 1

Vânkûlî, cild 1

... ü’l-Lügat, cild 1

İbn-i Firişte, cild 1

### **Minü’l-Kasâid ve Şurûh**

Kasîde-i Bürde, cild 1

Şerh-i Kasîde-i Bürde, cild 1  
Şerh-i ... S'adî, cild 1  
Şerhü'l-Gazeliyyât-i S'adî, cild 1  
Tercüme-i Kelâm-ı Cihâr Yâd, cild 1  
Şerh-i Dîvân-i 'Ömer al-Karzî (?), cild 1  
... 'ala Dîvân-i Hazret-i 'Alî Keremullah Vechiyye (?), cild 1

### **Minü'l-Farsiyye**

Dîvân-i Sâib (?), cild 1  
Mesnevî-i Şerîf, cild 1  
İntihâb-i Mesnevî, cild 1  
Şerh-i Mesnevî, cild 1  
Dîvân-i Hâfız, cild 1  
Sudi, Şerh-i Hâfız, cild 2  
'Ukudü'l-..., cild 1  
Gülistân, cild 1  
Lâmî, Şerh-i Gülistân, cild 1  
Bôstân, cild 1  
Pend-i 'Attâr ve Tercüme, cild 1  
Dustûrû'l-'Amel li-Riyâzî ve ..., cild 1  
Mantikü't-Tayr, cild 1

### **Min Lügatü'l-Fârsî**

Lisânü'l-'Acem eş-şehîr be-Ferheng-i Şu'ûrî, cild 2  
Deşîşe, cild 1  
N'imetullah, cild 1  
...-i Kebîr, cild 1  
Câmi'ü'l-Furs, cild 1  
Hulâsat, cild 1

### **Minü't-Tıbb**

Kâfî, cild 1

Gâyetü'l-Beyân, cild 1

### **Min Coğrafya**

Nüzhetü'l-Meşârik, cild 1

Tuhfetü'l-Garâib min 'Acâibü'l-Kâinât, cild 1

### **Minü'l-Türkiye**

Menâsık-i Manzûme, cild 1

Sîrôzî, cild 1

Şakâik-i Nu'mâniyye, cild 1

Tercüme-i Hattat, cild 1

Tercüme-i Fıkh-ı Keydânî, cild 1

Târîh-i Hoca Cihân, cild 1

Bahrü'l-Ma'ârif, cild 1

Dîvân-i Câmî, cild 1

Tercüme-i Tufetü's-Salât, cild 1

## **IV. 4 The Establishment of Şumnu Calligraphy School**

Turning out to be one of the most productive Kur'an production centers in the 19th century, the city of Şumnu owes a great deal to Şerif Halil.<sup>214</sup> The impetus for the

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<sup>214</sup> For the calligraphy school in Şumen, see Süheyl Ünver, "Şumnu'da Türk Hattatları ve Eserleri", *Bellekten*, XLVII/185, 1983, s. 31-36; Tim Stanley, "Şumen as a Centre of

emergence of a calligraphy school in Şumnu started with his appointment of a calligraphy master in his library. The Kur'an copies written by the calligraphers who were educated in Şumnu were in great demand not only from neighboring areas but also from the capital, Istanbul.<sup>215</sup>

As in the example of his book collection, Şerif Halil seems to have reflected his personal likings as far as the importance that he gave to calligraphy education while entrusting officers to the dependencies of his socio-religious complex is concerned. According to Müstakimzâde Süleyman Efendi's *Tuhfe-i Hattâtin*, Şerif Halil was a very able calligrapher who could write in *sülüs* and *nesih* in a masterly manner. Having been educated by the prominent and well-known Abdullah Efendi, Şerif Halil was also equally efficient in practising *divânî*, *rik'a* and *siyakat*, a skill that he must have developed during his service in the *defterhâne*.<sup>216</sup>

The patron's strong interest in this art form was also noticeable upon a scrutiny of his book collection. Among many other books and albums that included calligraphic examples, the Kur'an copy which was the first item of the catalogue was written in *talik* style.<sup>217</sup> Perhaps due to his ambition for calligraphy, Şerif Halil endowed only three of the seventeen titles that were published in the printing press between 1727 and 1742. These were *Sihâh-ı Cevheri*, *Vankulu Lûgatı* and *Ferheng-i Şuûri*, which might be classified as reference books.<sup>218</sup>

What started out as the personal interest of Şerif Halil ended up as an industry in the 19th century. The city became known for its own calligraphic school called "Şumnu işi." The prolific production of Kur'an copies resulted in the formation of various sub-branches, such as gilding and bookbinding. However, just like their counterparts in

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Qur'an Production in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century", *M. Uğur Derman 65 Yaş Armağanı*, der. İ. C. Schick, İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2000, s. 483-512.

<sup>215</sup> Süheyl Ünver, *ibid*, p.32

<sup>216</sup> Müstakimzâde Süleyman Efendi, *Tuhfe-i Hattâtin*, p.198. Transliteration: "Şumnu'dandır. Hüsn-ü hat, sülüs, ve nesihî üstadper nur seyyid meşhur İmam-ı Cami-i Mir Abdullah Efendi'den talimdad ve temeşşük idüb divani ve rik'a ve siyakat ve sair envai hatt--da dahi kalem-i liyakat erbabından idi."

<sup>217</sup> See the Appendix.

<sup>218</sup> Orlin Sabev, *ibid*.

Istanbul, gilders and bookbinders were working collectively, thus none of their names are available to us.

The holders of the post of calligraphy teacher educated many valuable scribes such as Mehmed Nuri who actively served the Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1861) and Abdulaziz (1861-1876). The growth of the number of scribes in the town was mainly due to two reasons. The first one was the continued demand for manuscript copies of the Kur'an, which, as the word of God, was not considered appropriate to be reproduced in the printing press, whereas the second reason was the keen interests sultans like Mahmud II had in this art form.

Mahmud II, in an attempt to analyze and heal the damages of the warfare with the Russians, went to Şumnu and was impressed with the efforts of the calligraphers who wrote Kur'ans. By the demand of these calligraphers, Mahmud II sent a very prominent calligrapher named Ibrahim Şevki from Istanbul to Şumnu, whose influence gave momentum and eloquence to the newly born Şumnu school.<sup>219</sup> Although we have evidence about İbrahim Şevki's students in Silistre, unfortunately, his specific activities in Şumnu are not recorded. However, one of his students, Süleyman Vehbi, turned into a key figure who also educated many calligraphers from Şumnu.<sup>220</sup>

Şumnu became more industrial, and had about 60 workshops only for the production of calligraphic texts. Ünver suggests that the calligraphers of Şumnu would write about 900 pages a day, which would equal to the length of one and a half of the complete Kur'an. After being bound, these texts would be transported to Istanbul with an officer responsible for the sale of them. In return, this officer would bring back some supplies and ingredients that were not found in Şumnu, such as papers for Qur'an production, pens, rulers, inks of different colours and skin for the cover of the books. Unfortunately, all of these transactions were verbally carried out, thus leaving no official records behind.<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Süheyl Ünver, "Şumnu'da Türk Hattatları", p. 32-33. The author also includes some examples of Kuranic pages produced by the scribes in Şumen in this article.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid*, p. 33

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid*, p. 36 According to the *ketebes*, "calligraphers" of some Kur'ans that were produced in the 19th century, Ünver detects that they were from Şumen. For example,

## CONCLUSION

Questioning the possibility of the existence of an Ottoman individual as understood in the European context, this thesis has aimed to (1) re-construct and present Şerif Halil Paşa's life story as a contribution to the growing corpus of biographical writings in the Ottoman studies especially after the 1980s; (2) specify the difficulties of writing biographical accounts of little-researched Ottoman elites; (3) shed light on expectations, ambitions and interests of an 18th-century bureaucrat; (4) locate him in an elite circle; and (5) ask questions that would enlarge the horizons of future studies about Şerif Halil.

The general assumption about Ottoman literature was that it did not have a corpus of self-narratives due to the collectivist ideals of Islam, which was thought to have ignored individuality. However, especially after Cemal Kafadar's contextualization of ego-documents in the late-1980s, more and more studies related to various Ottoman individuals' life-stories were carried out. Furthermore, there has been a scholarly attempt to debunk the myth of *universalized* individuals and come to terms with the multiple ways that people have presented themselves in Islamic societies.

Mainly referring to the *vakıfnâme* as an autobiographical source, this thesis has endeavored to reconstruct Şerif Halil's career line. It was also necessary to prepare a

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Ahmed Refik, Ahmed Zârifi, Hafız Osman Nazifi, Hafız Osman Âsım, Mehmed Nuri, Abdurrahman, Hafız Mustafa Şefki, Köse İmam, Topçu Ahmed Şükrü, Hasan Âşıkî, Hüseyin Vassaf, Hacı Hüseyin Hamdi, Osman Nuri, Ali Osman Hilmi, İbrahim Namık, Hafız Mehmed Hıfzı, İbrahim Edhem, İsmail Şevki, Salih Nâili, Hasan Rıza, Mehmed Nureddin, Mehmed Ali Ulvî, Hafız Ali Hamdi, Hasan Aşkî, Hüseyin Hafız Hamid, İsmail Besim, Hafız Osman Reşid, Ahmed Fuad, Şaban, Hafız Ahmed Nâib, Hasan Aman.

setting for his early life, which was done in the second chapter. Şerif Halil's life story might be scrutinized within two very broad periods as far as documentation giving information about his involvements are concerned. Before 1711, when he was yet in Şumnu, examining his childhood and educational background was by no means possible due to the absence of records; however, his family ties were helpful to speculate about the possible ways he was admitted into the *defterhâne*. On the other hand, after 1711, we have better evidence about his activities as a bureaucrat.

The attempt to portray Şerif Halil's persona in an elite circle brought as many questions as it did answers. In the light of the witnesses of the *vakıfnâme*, it was clear that he was a member of an elite circle whose ambitions, targets and interests were very similar. However, it is important to add that a more elaborate and inclusive prosopographic scrutiny on the holders of scribal administrative posts in the first half of the 18th century might help us identify the patterns of rise in bureaucratic levels. Furthermore, Şerif Halil proves to be an intersection of various controversial historiographical arguments due to the age in which he lived. In other words, it might be a quest for other studies to construe a solid explanation for several loaded appellations such as "the Tulip Age," "Ottoman Baroque" and "Ottoman decline" in the light of the elite circle identified in the thesis.

Another question begging to be answered is how Şerif Halil was able to collect enough money to commission the construction of such a monumental mosque in a matter of a few years. A study concentrating on the costs of similar projects in other provinces would help us estimate the construction cost of Şerif Halil's complex. Although scholars like Şevket Pamuk shed light on the amount of money paid to construction workers in Istanbul in a day, a similar study for the Balkan provinces is missing.<sup>222</sup> The *vakıfnâme* also does not give any clues as to how much the project cost.

I am sure that my research will be a contribution for further investigations into this topic. Most of the questions, problems and limitations that I mentioned in the introduction already anticipated the conclusions to be made here, and it is only left to the author to hope that the arguments and information gathered have been convincing for the reader. However, it is not a good sign to have a conclusion without questions,

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<sup>222</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge University Press, New York (2000), p. 152

thus I also hope to have raised new questions in the minds of my readers through the text.

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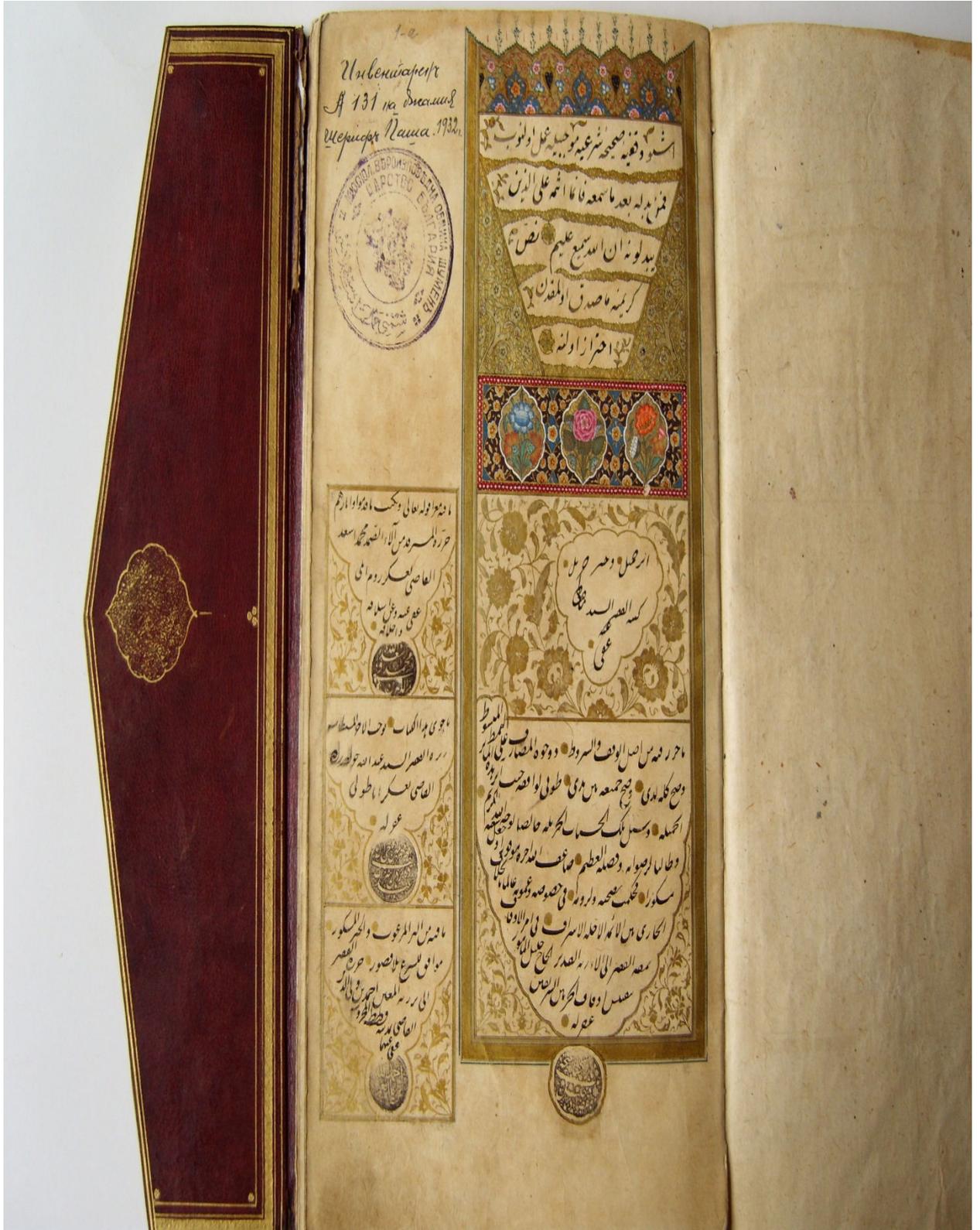
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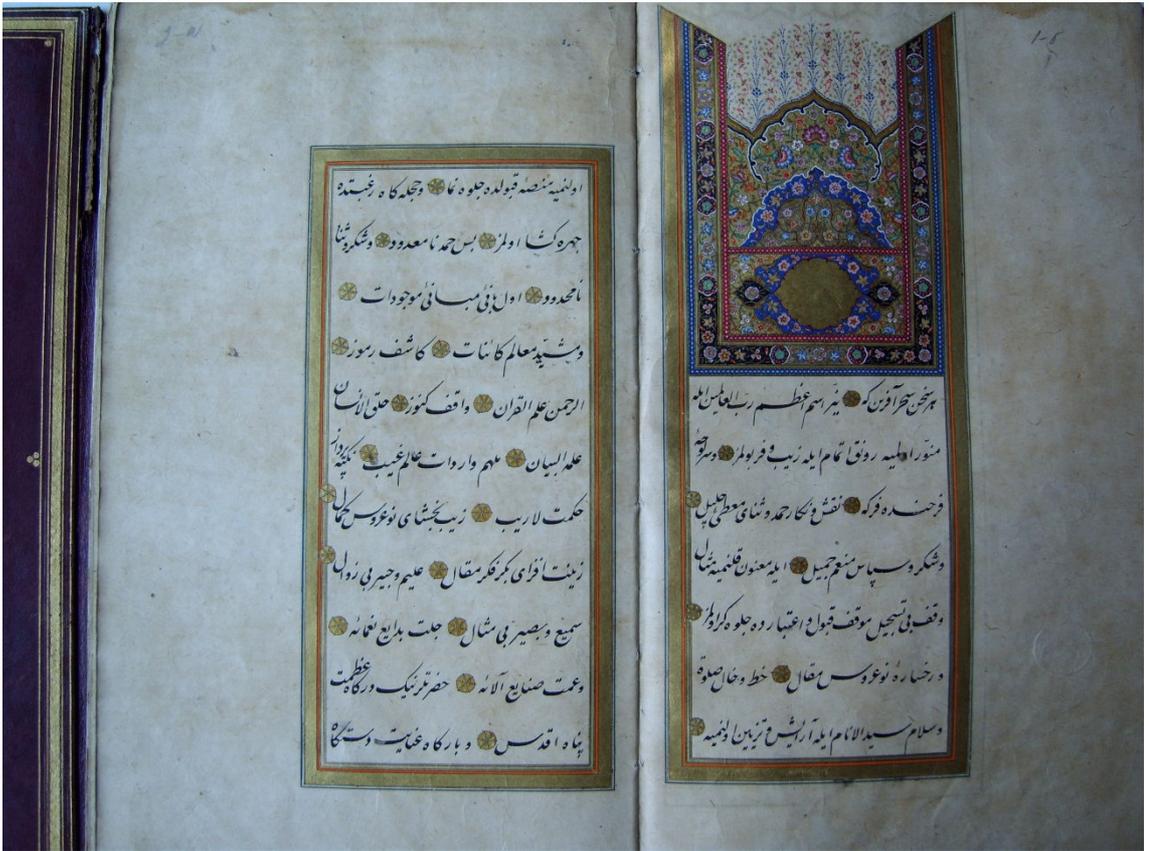
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APPENDIX

The Original *Vakfnâme*





هر سخن آفرین که پیر اسم اعظم رب العالمین  
منور اهل بیت رومی تمام اید زینت فریاد و  
فرخنده و فوکه نقش حکار حمد و ثنای معطی علی  
و شکر و سپاس سخن جمیل اید معنون قلمیته شای  
و نصب بی تحویل موقوف قبول اعتبار و در جلو کار  
در رخساره نوح و وس قبال خط و حال صوفی  
و سلام سید الانام اید آرایش ترین با لونیه

اولینیه نصیحه قبوله در جوده نما و چکامه کا در غنچه  
چهره کشت اولی سن حمد نامعدود و شکریه شای  
نامحدود و اول بی بس فی موجودات  
و پیش پیه عالم کائنات کا شرف رموز  
الرحمن علم القرآن واقف کونز صلی انزل  
علمه البیان ملام و ارواح عالم غیب کینه  
حکمت لاریب زینت شای نوح و کوس کل  
زینت انوار فکر مقال عیم و جیر فی زوال  
سمیع و بصیر فی مثال جلت بدایع نعمانه  
و عت صنایع آلاءه حضرت تریک در کایت  
پناه اقدس و بار کا دعایت و سکا



مفسر سنده شکاه ایوان قبول ارتضا صوبه  
تجاف اید اول نور که کلک نسرای جهانده  
رایحه ریاحین جیات اید بویا و عند لب لب  
و جانی شکر نعمت لایخص سیده نوره سراسر اید  
و الووف نفوذ مدحت و ثنای عیم الورود و صوفی  
عقود و جواهر صلوة و سلام نامعدود اول نور  
بجز جو و مرکز بی بهتای باغ شهود و قلم  
نخستین نور وین خاتم سلسله سلسلین  
قطب فلک رسالت مرکز داره اصالت  
سردار قافله انبیا سزاوار سبحان الذی  
ناظر کلزار مانع البصر و مطلق طوطی و کلک

نوامی و باطن علی اموی سحرهای  
و حی بوی ارقب ترین آله سلطان بر لب  
مع الله حضرت محمد رسول الله صلوات الله  
علیه و سلامه ما دام شکر شریف نظام العالم  
و استقامه جنابک روح مقدس منور  
و روضه معطر و عطر در قدم بر و طهر آینه  
ایثار و ثنای اول نور که نور زینتی عیش ایجا  
لوح و قلم و موجب کون صحایف عالم کا و  
تفصیل صفات کما لک کمالی حال و کون  
جهانک با جمله فصل ل و ایا کمالی بی ل  
و نور شای جواهر مثال جمله اول و صاحب

و زمره احباب غوث نصاب غوث آفتاب برین  
 برقع اولیور که هر بری طریق حق را بهر دست  
 سنی کس اولیور رضوان الله تعالی علیهم اجمعین  
 فلذک ارباب بصیرت و احباب صبیح  
 مستقیم یک ضمیمه زنده ظاهر و روشن  
 و پیشگاه خاطر خیر زنده نبرین بیند که ابداع  
 ذوات و حقایق سر حکمت و احراز عیب  
 خلافت و اصل صلیت معرفت و عبادت  
 العباد و تفکر و تدبر سبب را و معاد اولی  
 بس هر عاقل جازمه لازم و هر شایسته  
 لزومند جازمه که احوال پراگه احوال جهان غایت

عارف و بان پیلان رخسار غایت  
 واقف و اولیاب تمام غایت غایت  
 و رحمت صحیح دولت بیلبوب تحصیل رکن العباد  
 غایت و حال قوت و قدر زنده عبادت  
 و احراز نصاب است طاعت تیسر زنده طاعت  
 اقامت سبب و رتایدوب بر فواید اوقات  
 این آدم انقطع عمده الاعمیث صدقه جاریه علم  
 بیقطع به و ولد صالح بد قول و حدیث شریف  
 بر تقدیرین نوی مقصود صحیفات عالمه ظهور  
 بولان آثار خیر خلف مشا بر سنده فی الاطراف  
 و الاقطار سبب و کرم مستطاب و عبادت

خیر سبب اولی ستمه عنان غوثی مصروف  
 و زمام حق معطوف قبول صفات صفت  
 تحصیل صرف قدرت و ترتیب تبارک و تبارک  
 خیرت حسنات سبب عبادت امیه بود قدرت  
 و اجتناب بدولت موجب کفایت سبب سبب و جنت  
 سعادت خری میله ما صدق مدعی ماسبق اولی  
 حال دولت علی بدی الاستمرار و صدق علم  
 مشیت شرقی لیدر شرف اولان سر لوط و سبب  
 ضمیمه دولت سطر اول مجرب کرم  
 قطع طالع مکارم منع زلال مرام زو کرم  
 اقبال زینت نوری سنده جلال رفیع القدر

القدر و کرم سبب کرم احکام شریف السبب  
 سعادت و کرم سبب و کرم سبب شریف قلیل انان  
 المرام علی غایت خیر سبب سبب سبب  
 حضرت صدر عظمت شریف سبب سبب سبب  
 اوطه و معقود و مجلس شرف احمدی  
 و مجلسین شریف محمد دیده اوقات آیتها  
 نسیم و تبیین و تبیین صحت تصانیف لای  
 لزوم الیه تمیم و کرم سبب سبب و تبیین  
 نخل المرام سبب کرم لعمرو الله فی ابن عبد المرام  
 محضه نه آواز صبح شرقی حبه نظام و انوار  
 صبح مرمی خوشه انجام بوروب و انوار

و تخیلی که اوله و برکتیف و انور و صفا تیره و کمال  
 سازه معلوم بی حادی منبری وینه و لایسته روزم  
 و از نه تضاعف قریه جدید بسوی و خنده  
 واقع لدی الاهی و انجیران معلوم محدود و انجینه  
 بر باب کار که قله و نوقانی اوج اب اوله و بر جم  
 و کیمار و تخیلی بر باب اوله و کیمار کی نیار و بعد  
 باغچه و بهر ما و حوی و خا جیه سنده تخیلی با  
 اوله و انور و صفا تیره و بر کور و کرسن و حوی و کمال  
 سازه و ادوات معلوم بی حادی جفتک تعبیر لایه  
 منبری و اولیبال و انفس منامدن و حوی با  
 بیک غوش افراز و کمال امتیاز لایه متنازاید

ایدوب و املاک محرره مذکور و ایله مبلغ زبور  
 حبه تکریم و طالبان لایسته ربهم اعلیهم  
 و نصف صحیح موبد و جیس صحیح محمد ایله وقف صحیح  
 شویله شرط املکه بالاده مذکور حصه معینه و  
 حاصله رسومات و محصولات اوله طرف میری  
 ادوی شرط قیدمان مبلغ زبور الی بیک ترقی  
 بر سینه بدستولی ایله جانب میری و ادو نسلیم اوله  
 فضله فلان محصولات و منزل مذکور ایله جفتک  
 حاصله غلات و اجار مانده مبلغ ایله مار الذکر  
 ادون بیک غوش ایله و حوی مناسبت محمد و حفا  
 و لازمه حال مذکور و کرک اجاره و حده کرک ایله

ایچرا اولوب ایچمه حاصل اولان غلاتن کجیه  
 استنبوله آت میدانی قریه و نضی بیست  
 اتصالده و قرقانه حاره قلعه حصص محل ایچا  
 باند و فی سبیل الله تعالی مجد و انشا و انشا  
 چشدره جاری المذکر کبری و قفنه و برید کج  
 بر شهر یوز کیمر ایچمه قفنه سالی و اوله نسکه  
 مذکور کج رزیه خدمت و دوام زور جری  
 خصوصنده صرف قدرت ایچمه ایچون تعیین  
 بر نقره صوبی بیروی ایچمه و ذکر اوله چشدره  
 تعیین اولان سبیل بیروی ایچمه و قفنه  
 و قرقانه مذکور ده موضو کجیا بهر کجیا ایچون

ایچون شیخ بیروی ایچمه و برید و قرقانه  
 مذکور ده خا جنده مجدد احداث انشا ایچمه  
 تعمیر و ترمیمی ایچون تعیین اولان بیوی و برت  
 بدستولیده حفظ اولوب لدی لایقضا تعمیر و  
 صرف اولنه و ذکر اولان چشدره و خنده  
 مصدق کج دوام زور جری بیوی و مذکور ایچمه  
 تعمیر و ترمیمی امر نیه و قرقانه مذکور قلمند کج  
 اوله کج بی نظارت یادوب تعمیر و ترمیم لایقضا  
 مستولی بی اعلام و تعمیری خصوصنده اتمام  
 اگر مستولی تهاون و کجیا سالی بر سر ناظر وقف  
 و دستلوار السعاده الشریفه اغاسی حفر تری طرفه

و نصب خدیجه است از ده اولان اصل متولی و فقه  
 اعلام و انما اولدنی اقتضا سکوره مجله عرض بها  
 ایدوب تخفید و شستی امرنده اتمام تام لمیه  
 و فضا مزبورده واقع ایراد و مصارفات بهر سینه  
 و غیرین ارسال اصل متولی مدیح سبب سن روت  
 اولدنی صراطان و قضایه ناظر حضرتی رأی و قیود  
 محاسبین کوروب بدین معنی و حقوق محاسبین قوی  
 اولدنی و مزبور است محمد افغان سکوره اصول فرعی  
 بر وجه حرج قضا فرورده قان مقام متولی اولدنی  
 و مقابله اولن بش آنچه وظیفه بدین تصرف اولدنی  
 بعد الا اعتراض قان مقام دخی رأی ناظر و فضا اولدنی

اولدنی و فضا مذکور که تکلیف حرمین تحت بیگانه  
 و از سعاده الشرافیه افاری حضراتی ناظر اولدوب  
 که یازارنده حجت اولدنی و طرف بهر اشرفی یونان  
 اولن آنچه نظارت وظیفه سیار سال و برصا الیه  
 و و فضا مذکور که تبدل تغییر و تحویل کثیر تر بعد  
 افری بدیده اولدوب و یکیم کی ضبط و تصرف الیه  
 و سندان سکوره زواید و فضا اصول فرعی و حرمین  
 اولدوب درجه و س و وی اولان و کور و انما  
 بیننده لکن کیش خط الا مین توزیع و تقسیم الیه  
 بعد مذکور است یحییها خاک اصول فرعی و غیره  
 بر وجه حرج توزیع و تقسیم الیه و کور و ارباب کور

انها و اناده و اجناسی حدیثه صرف است ایدر  
 و مستطاب رس و منش و وجود اولان شتی بجهت  
 واقع حرم شعبان کج حرمه انما الیه شهر بود  
 تجد و اجناسی و غیر الیه کج جامع شریفه حدیثه سابقه  
 ما عدا وضع الیه کج ام ثانی بی یومی اولن شتی  
 و مؤون ثانی بی یومی اولن شتی و قیم ثانی بی یومی  
 واقع نفور و خواتمک هر برینه یومی شتی و یومی  
 یومی اوج آنچه وظیفه و برینه و عمل و صیاد کرسنه  
 و خطی جمع اولدوب جامع مذکورده بعد و اولدوب  
 حصا رتبه و خط و شصت ایدوب یومی اولن شتی  
 و وظیفه و برینه و زمره عمل و فرقه فضا اولن کرسنه

یکسینه و رسام اولدوب قضیه متوسر و اولدوب  
 مدرس و هفتده اوج کون طلبا بر تدریس الیه  
 یومی کیمی آنچه وظیفه و برینه و مدرس مذکورده  
 واقع اوج عدد اولدوب تک هر برینه شتی با یومی  
 آنچه و برینه و ذکر اولن ان و طرد و طلاب  
 بالنقض ساکن اولدوب آخر محمد و کس اولن کس  
 اولن ان شتی با و برینه کس ما عدا اولدوب  
 آخره و برینه و علم قرآنه ما هر یک شتی  
 اولدوب هفتده و یکی کون جامع مذکورده طلبا  
 تعلیم قرآن عظیم الشان ایدوب یومی اولن شتی  
 و برینه و فضا خطه ما هر یک هفتده و یکی

شهر و عوام ایدیشراط مذکوره مراعات نمودند اول  
 اسطفا غلات وقف خربزین شریفین قهر سمنه رساله  
 و ارمال و لینه و بولتینین شرط مذکوره و مبین نبود  
 محرره ایوب بعد از خاتمه و در مجموع تراویح معهود  
 و تقو و معده و دینی فارغ از الشافل متولی موی الهامه  
 کتابن مقدم تسلیم ایوب اولدنی سار متولیان و کس  
 خطی تصرف تام در رعایت اتمام شرط و قبول و اتمام  
 ایدی و دیگر بنده متولی موی الهامه و اوقف شریفین  
 اقرار متقرر و اقرار محرز کننده و جا با تصدیق و شفا  
 تحقیق تکمیل کرده و اوقف شریفین لالالت اتمام  
 و در ایالاتش هم در غیره و در معهوده حضرت می

حضرت می خرامینا و جنستان و خاقان روگردان  
 و دواوی شفا قدس تمان اولوب مهربان و کرم  
 محمدی و مسید و عاظم شیخ احمدی امام محمد  
 و تمام اکرم و فخر بختیقه کوفی جوزی با اکتفا  
 و کوفی حضرت نیک رای شریف و مذنب نیک  
 اوزره اگر چه آبش و وقف عفا طرف چری  
 صحته جاری و کس و وصحت آرا در اول اوزره  
 عاری و در راهم و دمایر و تقو و سر و غیر  
 وقف تائید ایچون مسوک و جس و تکلیف ایچون  
 مسوک اولمغنه اعمه شایسته زیر رحم ملک  
 حضرتی و قشنگ عدم حصد رسیده شریفین اکر کما

و سبب غیر معتبر و لازم اولمغنه بنان جناب اولوب  
 روایات مذکوره با جمله ایچون رجوع مدار  
 و املاک مذکوره نکت و قشنگ خروجه و لیل کما  
 اولمغنه ماعدا اوقف کلا و جزا جبا کشفه و کما  
 او تا و لغنه ربط اینک مستوجب عدم حصد متولی  
 فساد و قشنگ و لیلی عالم ربانی و فضل صلاقی امام محمد  
 بن حسن السیسی حضرت نیکان مروی و مقول و رسید  
 تحقیق قبول و لغنه اوقاف مذکوره و نیکایه  
 و کما فی لاول مکله استرا و در شروع ایدم سول  
 اولوب عفا را مستحده و و تقو و معده و دینی  
 و سبب متولی موی الهامه قبل شرفین نیکایه و کما

مرا و در اولمغنه و کلا متولی موی الهامه و کما  
 میدان جواب و کما کسیت ارام و خط  
 اولوب اگر چه قضیه و حال بسط اولوب  
 اوزره در کون نام اعلی و افضل حضرت ابوسف  
 اکمل عهده و اوقف منافع و قی لغنه شرط و غیر  
 و غلات او را زانی کند و تعیین و تخصیص و فی  
 ایدر سحر و وقف قولیده و وقف موبد و جس و حد  
 اولوب و قشنگ اوقادک جوزی و فی حضرت  
 امام زفر علییه رحمه ملک لاکبر و نام محمد و غیر  
 الانصاری حضرت نیک روی و زره جملایر و کما  
 قشنگ اولمغنه شرط محرز و نک و قشنگ

و علی الاطلاق صحت نزد بدن مفاصل و ملاحظه نماید  
 تا بین بدن قریب تک اتفاق قری ظاهر و متباین بود  
 تقریر روایات صحیح آمده رک زد و تسبیح ان شش  
 برله تاریخ و حق صد اقدام در هر بری سالک  
 اوزره فصل و چهارم ایله کلر زده صدر کتاب  
 مستطاب و شایع قلم حبه تمیذ شیخ و زین  
 اولان عالم فضیلت نافعندی حضرتی مس اولان  
 اولان خلافت و قوف تامی و بین الا بعد و تیع  
 اولان خلافت شعور مالاکلامی اولدنی حاله  
 کلامه نظر و بسطل خیر اولمقدن حذر ایدوب تمسید  
 قواعد ضری اولی و تمسید سبانی ذوقی امری کلامه

کور مکتوب عقارت مذکوره شد و ده و تقوید و دو کس  
 قول منته برانه نذهب فخر اوزره و تمسید نیه جمعی  
 شروط مبسوطه و قیود مضبوطه لایله لزوم و تمسید  
 حکم صحیح شش و نقصان صریح و غی ایدوب سبانی  
 مذکوره رسم هر سوم و طر معلوم اوزره و نقصان  
 و حسن منته اولمقدن بعد نقصان نقصان حال اول  
 من بدله بعد ما سمع فانما اتمه علی الذین سید اولان  
 سمیع عظیم و وقع الاشهاد و التحریر فی الیوم الحادی  
 و الفتر من شهر رجب الاول سنه تسع و خمسون و ثمان  
 من جرة من الغزوات

تمهة المستوفین تمهة اولی القنین تمهة العالی لریانی الیوم انشاء العالی لریانی الیوم سبطه علی العالی الیوم محمد بری الیوم حضرت بری الیوم	تمهة ارباب کلام بزم الیوم و الیوم الیوم حاشان و الیوم الیوم سعادت و الیوم الیوم حضرت بری الیوم
تمهة ارباب التحریر زبدة بجمی التحریر الیوم ثانی و الیوم الیوم باشم الیوم حضرت بری الیوم	تمهة ارباب الیوم الیوم الیوم الیوم الیوم حاشان و الیوم الیوم سعادت و الیوم الیوم حضرت بری الیوم


## The Transliteration of the *Vakıfnâme*<sup>223</sup>

İşbu vakfiyye-i sahiha-i şer'iyye mucibiyle 'amel olunub "Femen beddelehu ba'dema semi'ahû fe innemâ ismuhu 'alâllezîne yubeddilûnehû innallâhe semi'un alîm" nass-ı kerîmine mâ sadak olmakdan ihtirâz oluna.

Eseri cemil ve hayri cezil ketebehu'l-fakiru Es-seyyid Mustafa ufiye anhu. Mâ fihi mu'arran kavluhu Te'âlâ ve "naktubu ma kaddemû ve âsârahum" harrerehu'l-müşerref min âlâ'i's-Samed Mehmed Esad el-Kâdı bi asker-i Rumeli ufiye anhu ve an eslâfihi ve ahlâfihi.

Mâ hava haze'l-kitabu yûcibu itmam ecra'l-müstetâbe ve harrahuhu ene'l-fakiru Es-seyyid Abdullah Hoca Zâde el-Kâdı bi asker Anadolu gufire lehu.

Mâ fihi mine'l-birri'l-merğub ve'l-hayri'l-meşkur muvâfikun li'sşer'i bilâ kusûr harrerahu el-fakir ilâ Rabbihil-mu'în Ahmed bin Veliyüddîn el-Kâdı bi-medine-i Kostantaniyye el-mahrûse ufiye anhuma.

Mâ hurrire fihi min asli'l-vakfi ve's-şurûti ve vücûhi'l-masârifi 'alâ'n-nemati'l-mebşût vedaha küllühû ledeyye ve sahha cemi'uhu beyne yedeyye tûba li vâkıfîhi hasebe eseri hâzihi'l-ma'asiri'l-Cemile ve sebîli tilkel hisabi'l-cezile hâlısan li-vechillâhi'l-Kerim ve tâliben li-Rıdvânihi ve fazlihi'l-azim da'âfallâhu ecrâhu mevfûran vece'ale sa'yehu meşkûran fe hakemtu bi sıhhatihi ve lüzumihi fi hususihi ve umumîhi âlimen bi'l-hilâfi'l-cârî beyne'l-immeti'l-ecilleti'l-eşrâf fi emri'l-evkâf nemekahu'l-fakir ilâ âlâ-i rabbihi'l-Kadîr el-Hac Halil el-memûr bi teftiş-i evkâfi'l-Haremeyni's-Şerifeyn. gufire lehu.

Kayd şud ba fermân-ı âli el-vâki fi 11 Cemaziye'l-evvel 1157.

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<sup>223</sup> The transliteration of the *vakıfnâme* was realized thanks to the help of Aziz Nazmi Şakir and Ertuğrul Ökten. Furthermore, the previous transliteration by Osman Keskioglu was made use of. Many thanks to the officers in the VGM who allowed me to read some transliterated parts of the document.

Vâkıf-ı müşârun ileyh hazretlerinin medine-i Şumnu'da binâ eyledikleri kütübhânelerine vakf ve vaz' eyledikleri kütüb-ü mevkufenin vakf-ı zirde onuncu kağıtda Şeyhu'l-İslâm Efendi vakfiyyesi zeylinde mukayyedir.

Halen Kethudâyı sadr-i âlî Şerif Halil Efendi Hazretlerinin vakfiyyesidir.

Her suhen-i seher âferin ki neyyir-i ismi Azam Rabbi'l-âlemin ile münevver olmaya revnak-ı itmâm ile zibüfer bulmaz ve ser levha-i ferhunde-i fer ki nakş-u nigâr-ı hamd-u senâ-yı mu'tı-i celil ve şükri sipas-i mün'imi cemîl ile muanven kılınmaya misâl-i vakf-ı bi tescil mevkif-ı kabul ve itibârda cilvegel olmaz ve ruhsâre-i nev-urus-i makâl-i hatt-ı hâl salâtu ve selâm Seyyidü'l-enâm ile arayış ve tezyin olunmaya minassa-i kabulde cilve numâ ve haclegâh-ı ra'bette çehre küşâ olmaz pes hamdu nâ mahdud ve şükrü senâ nâ mahdûd ol bâni-i mebâni-i mevcûdât ve müşeyyed-i maâlimi kâinât kâşifurumûz-i "er-Rahmanu alleme'l-Kur'âne" vâkıf-ı künûz" Halaka'l-İnsâne allemehu'l-beyân" mülhim-i vâridât-ı âlem-i gayb nükte-i perdâzı hikmet-i lâ rayb zibbahşâ-yı nev'urûs-i kemâl ziyet efzâ-yı bikri fikri makâl Alîm ve Habîr bî-zevâl Semî' ve Basîr bî misâl cellet bedâyi-u niamâihi ve ammet sanâyi-u alâihi hazretlerinin dergah-ı azamet-i penâhı akdes ve bârigâhı inâyet destgâh mukaddesinde piş-gâh-ı eyvân-ı kabûl ve irtizâ savbine ihtaf ve ihdâ olunur ki Gülşen-i sarayı cihânda insânı râyihâ-î reyahîn-i sâf ile bûyâ ve andelib-i dil-ü cânı şükri nimeti lâ yuhsasıyla neğme serâ eyledi ve ulûf-ı nukûd-ı midhât ve senâyi amimü'l-vûrûd ve sunuf-ı ukud-ı cevahir-ı salat-ı selâmu nâ ma'dud ol dürri yektayı bahr-i cûd nergis-i bi hemta-i bağı şuhûd fâtiha-i nüsha-i pürnûr-ı dîn hatime-i silsile-i mürselîn kutb-ı felek-i risâlet merkez-i dâire-i asâlet serdâr-ı kâfile-i enbiyâ sezâvâr-ı "Sübhânellezi esrâ" nâzır-ı gülzâr-ı "mâ zâge'l-basaru ve mâ tağâ" tûtii vilkeş-i nevâ-yı "vemâ yentıku ani'l-hevâ" mu'ciz numâ-yı "in huve illâ vahyun yuha "akreb-i mukarrebini ilâh sultan-ı serîr-i lî ma'allah Hazreti Muhammed Resûlullah Salâvatullahi aleyhi ve sellem mâ dâme şer'uhu's-şerifu

nizâmu'l-âlem ve intizâm-ı cenâbın rûh-ı mukaddes ve münevver ve ravza-i mu'attar ve mu'anber ve merkad-i müzehher mazharlarına îsâr ve nîsâr olunur ki nur-u münir-i bâis-i îcâdı levh u kalem ve mûcib-i tekvîn-i sahâyif-i âlem olub tafsil-i sıfat-ı kemâlının ikmali muhal ve tavsîf-i envârı cemâlini icmâlinde akl-ı küll lâl ve ehl-i kemâl bî-mecâldir ve gurer-i senâ-yı cevâhir-i misâli cümle-i âl ve evlâd ve ashâb ve zümre-i ecnâb-ı izzet-i iffet intisâblarına ref' olunur ki her biri tarik-i Hakka rehber ve sübül-i hidâyete sa'yı göster oldular. Rıdvanullahi Te'âlâ aleyhim ecmâ'ın.

Feli zâlik erbâb-ı basâir-i selimde ve ashâb-ı tabâyi'i müstekîmenin zamirlerinde zâhir ve rûşene ve pişgâh-ı hâtır-i hatırlarında müberhen ve müstenîr ki ibdâ-i zevât ve hakâyıkda sırrı hikmet ve ihtirâ-i tabâyi'ı halâyıkda asl-ı maslahat ma'rifet-i hâlikü'l-îbâd ve tefekkür ve tedebbür-ü mebde' ve mu'âd olmağla pes her âkil câzime lazım ve her reşîd-i kâmil lüzûmuna câzimidir ki ahvâl-i pür ihvâl-ı cihana ârif ve mal-i pür melâl-i zehârif-i tesârif-i zamana vâkıf olub intihâzı fırsatı ganimet ve ruhsât-ı sıhhati devlet bilip tahsil-i rızây-ı Rabbi'l-izzete azimet ve hâl-i kudret ve kudretinde ibâdet-i bedeniyye ve ihrâz-ı nis-ı istitâ'at-ı teyessüründe tâ'at-ı mâliye ikâmetine mübâderet edüb ber-fehvâyı "izamâte ibnü Adem inkata'a ameluhu illâ an selâsin sadakatun câriyetun ve ilmün yüntefe'u bihi ve veledun sâlihun yed'û lehu" hadis-i şerif-i pür-takdis-i nebevî muktezâsınca safahât-ı âlemde zuhûr bulân âsâr-ı hayr halef mesebesinde fi'l-etrâf ve'l-aktâr sebep-i zikr-i müstetâb ve bâ'isi dua-i hayri müstecab olacak semtine inân-ı azimeti masrûf ve zimâm-ı himmeti ma'tuf kılub sıfat-ı safiyye-i kudsiyye tahsiline sarf-ı kudret ve tertib-i meberrât ve tesbil-i hayrât ve hasenâta müsâva'at eyleye bu mukaddemât-ı vâcibetü'l-kabûlden mucî be-i külliye intâcına muvaffak ve ihtiyâr-ı saâdet-i uhrâ ile mâ-sadak müddeâyı mâ sebak olan hal-i devlet-i aliyye ebediyyü'l-istimrarda sadr-ı Azam küthûdalığı mansıb-ı şerif-i ile müteşerrif olan ser-levha-i dibâce-i nüshâ-i devlet sadr-ı evvel mecmua-i mekremet matla-i tavâli-i

mekârim menba-i zülâl-ı merâhım ziber-i kâmgâh-ı ikbâl ziynet efzâ-yı mesned-i iclâl  
refiulkadri zü'l-hasebi kerimü'l-hulki şerifü'l-nesebi sa'adetlu samehatlu atufetlu Es-  
seyyid Şerif Halil Ağa ibni'l-merhum Ali Ağa hazretleri sarâyı süreyyayı süreyya sadr-ı  
Azamîde şeref bahşâ-yı izz-ü sükun oldukları odada ma'kûd-ı meclisi şer'î şerif-i  
Ahmedî ve mahfel-i din-i münif-i Muhammedîde evkâf-ı atiyetü'l-evsâfi teslim ve tescil  
ve tesbil sıhhat ittisâfi lâzime-i lüzum ile tetmim ve tekmile mütevellî nasb ve ta'yin  
buyurdıkları fahrul-müderrişinil-kirâm Nimetullah Efendi ibni Abdurrahim Efendi  
mahzarında ikrârı sahih-i şer'î huçeste-i nizâm ve i'tirâf-ı sarîh-i mer'î ferhunde encâm  
buyurub Vilâyet-i Rumilinde Silistre Sancağında Varna Nâhiyesinde vâki mezrai  
Karagöz ve tevâbii mukaatasının bir buçuk hisse-i muayyenesi bundan akdem ber-vech-  
i mâlikâne uhdemde olub ber-vech-i âtî muvaffak olduğum envâ-i hayrât ve insâf-ı  
meberrâtın cihât-ı ma'lûme ve masârîf-ı lâzimesiçün mukataai mezbûrenin mâl-ı  
mirisinden kendü hisse-i mezkûre-i muayyenem için ta'yin ve tahsis olunan senevî  
ellibin kırk bir akçe mâl-i mîrisi beher sene vakfımız tarafından eda ve teslim olunmak  
üzere hisse-i merkûme-i muayyene-i taraf-ı miriden ifrâz ve mâlikâne kaydı ref' ve  
terkin olunub tevâbi' levâhıkı ile bâ hatt-ı humâyun-ı şevket makrun temlik-i sahih ile  
temlik ve ihsân ve mahall-i tevki'î kalemiyle vakf-ı şerife tashih ve yedime mülk nâme-i  
humayun inâyet ve i'tâ olunmağla mucibince dâhil-i silk-i emlâkım olan hissei  
merkûme-i muayyene ile mahmiye-i İstanbul'da Cerrahpaşa kurbunda Kürekçi başı  
mahallesinde vâki' bir taraftan Turnacıbaşı veresesi ve bir taraftan Süleyman Çelebi ve  
bir taraftan el-Hac Ahmed Ağa mülkleri ve bir taraftan tarik-i amm ile mahdud  
dâhiliyesinin tabaka-i ulyâsında bir cihân-nûmâ ve tabaka-i vustasında üç bab oda ve bir  
sofa ve süflâsında bir bab oda ve kiler ve matbah ve bi'rimâ ve kenîf ve mağsel ve su  
mahzeni ve iki sedl-i bağçe ve hâriciyyesinde fevkâni bir bab oda ve tahtani iki oda ve  
bir kenîf ve ahur ve samanhâne ve müştetilât-ı sâire-i ma'lûmeyi hâvi menzili ve yine

vilâyet-i Rumilinde Varna kazâsında karye-i Cedide sınırı dahilinde vâki lede'l-ahâli ve'l-cîrân ma'lumu'l-hudud dahilîyesinde bir bab karğir kal'a ve fevkâni üç bab oda ve bir hamam ve kiler ve tahtâni bir bab oda ve kebir iki anbar ve bir mikdar bağçe ve bi'ri mâ havlu ve hâricîyesinde tahtâni bir bab oda ve ahur ve samanhâne ve bir göz değirmen ve havlu ve müştetilât-ı sâire ve edevât-ı ma'lümeysi muhtevî çiftlik ta'bir olunur. Menzili ve atyebi mâl ve enfes-i menâlimden dahi on bin kuruş ifrâz ve kemâl-i imtiyaz ile mümtaz idüb emlâk-ı mezkûre ile meblağ-ı mezbûru hasbeten lillâhi'l-kerim ve tâliben li-merdâti Rabbihi'l-Alîm vakf-ı sahih-i müebbed ve habs-i sahihi muhalled ile vakf ve habs idüb şöyle şart eyledim ki:

Bâlâ'da mezkûr hisse-i muayyeneden hasıla-i rüsûmat ve mahsûlatdan evvelen taraf-ı mîriyeye edâsı şart kılınan meblağ-ı mezbûr elli bin kırk bir akçe beher sene yedi müteveli ile cânib-i mîriyeye eda ve teslim olunduktan sonra fazla kalan mahsûlat ve menzil-i mezkûr ile çiftlik-i mezbûrdan hâsılı gallât ve icârâtdan müctemi'a meblağ ile marru'z-zikr on bin kuruş ile dahi münasib mahallerden akar işтира ve lâzime-i mala gerek icare-i vâhide gerek icâreteyn ile icâr olunub bi'l-cümle hâsıl olan gallâtdan mahmiye-i İstanbul'da At Meydanı kurbunda Fazlı Paşa sarayı ittisâlinde Defterhâne-i Âmire kalemine mahsûs mahal ile Hâric bâbında fi Sebilillahi Te'âlâ müceddeden binâ ve inşâ eylediğim çeşmelere câri olan mâ-i lezzin Köprülü vakfına virilecek beher şehir yüz yirmibeş akçe mukataası edâ ve teslim olunduktan sonra mâ-i mezkurun mecralarına hizmet ve devâm üzere cereyânı husûsunda sarf-ı kudret itmek için tayin olunan bir nefer su yolcuya yevmî üç akçe ve zikr olunan çeşmelere ta'yin olunan sebilhâneye dahî yevmî üç akçe vazife virile ve defter-hâne-i mezkûrede mevzû'a bekciyân beher gice ikâd için şem' bahâ yevmî üç akçe virile ve defter-hâne-i mezkûre hâricinde müceddeden ihdas ve inşâ eylediğim kaldırımların ta'mir ve termimiçün ta'yin

olunan yevmiye dört akçe yed-i mütevellide hıfz olunub lede'l-iktizâ ta'mir ve termime sarf oluna ve zikr olunan çeşmelerin ve dâhilinde olan muslukların devâm üzere ceryân ve mezkur kaldırımın ta'mir ve termim emrine defterhâne-i mezkure kaleminde kisedâr olanlar hasbî nezâret idüb ta'mir ve termim iktiza itdikde mütevelliyeye i'lam tamir ve hususunda intimam edüb eğer müteveli tehâvûn ve tekâsul iderse nâzır-ı vakf devletlu Darü's-saadetü's-şerife Ağası hazretleri tarafına inhâ ve ifâde ve icrâsı hususunda sarf-u ve himmet eyleyeler ve maskat-ı ra's ve menşe-i vücûdum olan Şumnu Kasabasında olan ceddım Şaban Bey merhum intimâ ile şehir bu def'a müceddeden ihyâ ve ta'mir eylediğim cami-i şerife hademe-i sabıkasından ma'ada vaz' eylediğim İmam-ı sâniyeye yevmî onbeş akçe ve müezzin-i sâniyeye yevmî on akçe ve kayyım-ı sâniyeye yevmî sekiz akçe ve üç nefer devirhan her birine yevmî beşer akçe ve mukid-i kandile yevmî üç akçe vazife virile ve ulema ve sulehadan bir kimesne vâiz-i cum'a olub cami-i mezkurde ba'de edâi salâtu'l-cum'a huzzar-ı meclise vaaz ve nasihat edüb yevmî on beş akçe vazife virile ve zümre-i ulema ve fırka-i fudaladan bir kimesne ders-i amm olub kasaba-i merkumede ihyâ eylediğim medresede haftada üç gün tûllabe tedris edüb yevmî sekiz akçe vazife virile ve medrese-i mezkurede vâki on aded odanın her birine şem'i baha yevmî dörder akçe virile ve zikr olunan odalarda tullâb bi'n-nefs sâkin olub her mahallerde sâkin olanlara ta'yin olunan şem' i baha virildiğinden ma'ada odası tâlib-i ahire virile ve ilm-i kırâtda mâhir bir kimesne Şeyhu'l-Kurra olub haftada iki gün cami-i mezkurde tûllâba ta'lim-i Kur'ân-ı azimü's-şân edüb yevmî on akçe vazife virile ve fenn-i hatda mâhir bir kimesne haftada iki gün cami-i mezkur civârında ihyâ eylediğim kitabhânedede ta'lim-i fenn-i hatt edüb yevmî on akçe vazife virile ve kitabhâne-i mezkurede iki nefer kimesne hâfız-ı kütüb olub haftada dört gün mine's-subh-ı ile'l-mesâ kitabhâne-i mezkureyi açub vârid ve sâdır olan tûllâba havahaşker oldukları kütübü arz ve ihzâr devlet-hahları üzere mütâlâ'a ve istinsâha ruhsat ile kâm-kar edüb

ber-muceb-i defter-i mevzu'a olan kütübü hıfz ve hirâset ve taşra ihrâcına bir-vecihle ruhsât virmeyüb zikr olunan iki nefer hâfız-ı kütübün biri fenni rubu' ve üstürlabda mütefenin olub hem hâfız-ı kütüb-i evvel ve hem muvakkit-i cami-i mezkur ola yevmî on akçe vazife virile ve ikinci hâfız-ı kütübe yevmî altı akçe vazife virile ve cami-i mezkurun çeşme ve musluklarına câri mâ-i lezzin yollarını lede'l-iktiza ta'mir ve termim emrinde ihtimâm itmek üzere bir nefer su yolcuya yevmî üç akçe vazîfe virile ve üç nefer eczâhan cami-i mezkurde ba'de eda-i salati'l-fecri birer cüz-i şerif tilavet ve onar günde bir hatm-i şerif edüb sevabını evvelen vakfa ve sâniyen usûl ve furu'u ervâhına ihda eyleyüb her biri yevmî beşer akçe vazifeye mutasarrıf ola ve bir nefer cüzhân yine cami-i şerifde ba'de edâ-i salâti'z-zuhr bir cüz-i şerif kırât ve her otuz günde bir hatm-i şerif edüb sevâbını ebeveynim ruhlarına ihdâ eyleye yevmî beş akçe vazife virile ve bir nefer cüzhan dahi yine cami-i mezkurde ba'de edâi salâti'l-asr bir cüz-i şerif tilâvet edüb sevâbını ceddîm merhum Şaban Bey ruhuna ve usul fûru'ı ervâhına ihda eyleyüb yevmî beş akçe vazife virile ve cami-i mezkurun hatibi bâlâda mezkur devirhanların edâ-i hizmetde muvâzabet ve ihtimamlarına bi'n-nefs nezâret etmek üzere yevmî iki akçe ve kadimi hitabet vazifesine zam olunan altı akçe ki cem'an yevmî sekiz akçe vazife virile ve bir sâhibi nefes ve hoş el-hân kimesne cami-i mezkurde nathân olub yevmî beş akçe vazife virile ve cami-i mezkurun helâlarını tathir için ta'yin olunan ferraşa yevmî üç akçe vazife virile ve cami-i mezkurun imam-ı atikine yevmî altı akçe virile ve iki nefer müezzîn-i atikin her birine yevmî beş akçe virile ve kayyım-ı atikine yevmî üç akçe vazife zam olunmağla ber-minvâl-i muharrer virile ve cami-i mezkurun minâre ve derununda gerek leyâlî-i mübareke ve gerek leyâlî-i ma'lume-i sâirede îkâd olunacak kanâdil için beher sene altmış vukiyye rugan-ı zeyt ve zikr-i âtî Matra Karyesinde vâki cami-i şerifin mihrâbı tarafeyninde îkâd için her biri üçer vukiyye olmak üzere iki aded şemi asel ile kezalik leyali-i mübâreke ve leyâlî-i sâirede gerek

minâre ve derununda îkâd olunacak kanâdil-i ma'dûde için beher sene otuzar vukiyye rugan-ı zeyt virilub herbirinin îkâdî hususuna ihtimam oluna(Sahha)mezburin mihrab tarafında kadiminden îkâd olunan birer vukiyyei şem-i asele ve dörder vukiyye şemi asel dahi zam olunmağla mihrab-ı mezkurun her bir tarafında beşer vukiyye olmak üzere iki aded şemi asel îkâd oluna ve Yenipazar Kazasına tabi Matra nam karyede vâki' vâlidî mâcidım Ali Ağa merhume müntemi olub müceddeden tevsi' ve binâ ve camii heyetine ifrağ ile ihya olunan mescid-i şerifin imam-ı atikine yevmî altı akçe vazife ve müezzin-i atikine yevmî dört akçe vazife ve muallim-i sıbyân-ı atikine yevmî iki akçe vazife zam olunmağla vech-i meşruh üzere virile ve bir kimesne cami-i mezkurde vâiz-i cum'a olub yevmî on beş akçe vazife virile ve gallat-ı icarat-ı cem' ve tahsil için hizmetinde mücid ve sâi bir kimesne câbi olub yevmî altı akçe vazife virile ve irad-ı masârıf-ı vakf-ı ketb ve tahrir için fenn-i kitâbetde mâhir bir kimesne kâtib olub yevmî on beş akçe vazife virile ve ben lâbis-i libâs-ı hayat oldukça vakfı mezkure kendim mütevellî olub ba'dehu usul ve furû'mun ekber aslahı batnen ba'de batnın ve karnen gibbe karnin mütevellî olalar ve benim usul furû'umdan sonra zikrî âtî kâimmakam olan Yeğenimiz Çavuş-Zâde Es-seyyid Mehmed Ağa nam kimesnenin usûl ve fûrû'in şart-ı mezkur üzere mütevellî olalar neuzu billah min kahrı'l-Feyyaz usûl ve fûrû'a inkirâz târi olursa ra'yi nâzır ile bir mu'temed ve dindâr ve müstekim sadâkâtkâr kimesne mütevellî nasb oluna ve cihet-i tevliyet yevmî yirmi akçe ola ve mezbur Çavuş Zade esSeyyid Mehmed Ağa zikr olunan Şumnu Kasabasında Matra Karyesinde olan umûrî vakf-ı ru'yet kâimmakamı mütevellî olub iktiza iden umûr ve husûsu ve azl ve nasb-ı hademeyi âsitanede olan asıl mütevellî-i vakfa i'lam ve inhâ ol dahi iktizasına göre mahalline arz ve inhâ edüb tenfiz ve temşiyeti emrinde ihtimam-ı eyliye ve kaza-i mezburde vâki îrad ve masârıfın beher sene defterin irsâl ve asıl mütevellî ile muhasebesini ru'yet ol dahi zâbitân-ı vakf ile nâzır hazretleri re'yi ma'rifetleriyle muhâsebesini görüb yedine mûmzâ

ve mahtûm muhâsebe defteri ile ve mezbur Es-seyyid Mehmed Ağadan sonra usûl fûrû'u ber-vech-i muharrer kazâ-i mezburda kâimmakâm-ı mütevellî olalar ve mukâbilinde onbeş akçe vazifeye mutasarrıf olalar ba'de'l-inkirâz kâimmakâmlık dahî re'y-i nâzır-ı vakfa müfevvaz ola vakf-ı mezburun küllisine Haremeyn-i muhateremeyn nâzırı Darü's-saadeti'-Şerife Ağası nâzır olub zîr-i himâyei kerimânelerinde mahmî olan ve taraf-ı bâhirü'-ş-şereflerine yevmî on akçe nezâret vazîfesi irsâl ve îsâl oluna vakfı mezbûrun tebdil ve tağyiri ve tahvil ve teksiri merraten ba'de uhrâ yedimde olub dilediğim gibi zabt ve tasarruf eyleyem ve benden sonra zevâid-i vakf usûl ve fûrû'umdan mevcûde olub derecede müsâvî olan zükür ve inâs beynlerinde" li'zzekeri mislü hazzi'l-ünseyeyn" tevzî' ve taksim oluna ba'dehu mezkur Es-seyyid Mehmed Ağanın usûl-u fûrû'u beynlerinde ber-vech-i muharrer tevzi' ve taksim oluna eğer murûr-u eyyâm ve kurûr-u şuhur-u a'vâm ile şerâit-ı mezkure mürâat müteazzire olur ise mutlaka ğallât-ı vakf Haremeyn-i şerifeyn fukarasına irsâl ve îsâl oluna deyu tayin-i şurût-u mezkure ve tebyin-i kuyûd-u muharrere edüb cümle akarât-ı mahdûde ve mecmû'u kurâ ve mezârî'i ma'hûde ve nukud-u ma'dûdeyi fârigân ani'-ş-şevâğıl mütevellî-i muma ileyhe tarih-i kitâbdan mukaddem taslim edüb ol dahi sâir mütevelliyân-ı evkâf gibi zabt ve tasarruf-u tâm ve riâyet-i merâsim-i şurût ve kuyudda ihtimam eyledi dediklerinde mütevellî-i muma ileyh dahî vâkıfı müşarun ileyh hazretlerini ikrar-ı mukarrar ve itiraf-ı muharrerlerinde vicâhen tasdik ve şifâhen tahkik etdik de vakıf-ı müşarun ileyh lâ zâlet a'mâluhu mebrûreten ve zevâye'l-ardı biâmâret-i hayrihi ve birrihi ma'mûre hazretleri dahî haramgah çemen-istan-ı vifâkdan rügardâni ve vade-i şikaka şitâbân olub mümehhidi kavaid-î din-i Muhammedî ve müşeyyid-i deâîmi şer'î Ahmedî İmam-ı Azam ve akdem ve hümam-ı Ekrem ve Efham Ebu Hanifetil-Kûfi cuziye bî envâil-hayr ve Kûfi hazretlerinin re'yi şerif ve mezheb-i münifleri üzere eğerçi îşad-ı vakf-ı akar tarafı mecrâyı ve sıhhata câri ve lakin devhâ-i sıhhatı asâri

evrâk lüzûmdan âri ve derâhim ve denânîr ve nukud-u serû't-tegayyur vakf-ı te'bid için mesbûk ve habs-i tahlid için meskûk olmamağla eimme-i selâse-i nehâir Rahimehumullahu'l-Melikü'l-Kadir hazerâtı vakfiyyetinin adem-i sıhhatinde mesned-nişîn erike-i ittihâd ve tesbili ğayr-ı mu'teber ve lazım olduğuna hemzebânı iştihâd oldular rivâyât-ı mezkure bi'l-cümle benim için rücû'a medâr ve emlâkı mezkurenin vakfiyyetden hurûcuna delil-i âşikar olduğundan mâ'ada vâkıf küllen ve cüz'en ihbâle menfa'at-ı vakf-ı evtâr-ı nefsine rabt itmek müstavcib-i adem-i sıhhat ve müsted'i-i fesad-i vakfiyyet olduğü âlimi Rabbânî ve Fazıl-ı Samadâni imam Muhammed bin Hasan eş-Şeybânî hazretlerinden mervî ve menkul ve resîde-i tahkik ve kabul olmağın evkâf-ı mezkureden bi'l-külliyeye rucu' ve kema fi'l-evvel mülküme istirdade şuru' eyledim sual olunub akarâtı mahdûde ve nukûd-u ma'dûdeyi redd ve teslime mütevelliyi muma ileyhe kıbel-i şer'den tenbih olunmak muradımdır dedikte ğıbbes-sual mütevelliyi muma ileyh dahi eşbed-i suvar-i meydani cevab ve inan keş-i kumeyti'l-izlam ve hitab olub eğerçi kadiye ve hâl bast olunan minval üzeredir lakin imam-ı a'lem ve efdal Hazret-i Ebu Yusuf-u ekmel 'indinde vâkıf menâfi'i vakfi nefsine şart ve tahsis ve ğallât ve idraratını kendüye ta'yin ve tahsis dahi iderse mücerred vakaftu kavliyle vakf-ı müebbed ve habs-i muhalled olub ve vakfiyyet-i nukûdun cevazı dahi Hazret-i İmam Züfer alehi'r-rahme ve İmam Muhammed bin Abullah el-Ensari rivayet-i üzerine mimma la yüredd vela yünker kısmında olmağla şerâit-i muharrerinin sıhhati müteayyin ve ale'l-itlak sıhhat lüzümdan mufarık olmadığına İmameyni Hümameyn bedreyni kamereynin ittifakları zahir ve metindir deyu takrir-i rivayet-i sahiha ederek redd ve teslimden imtina' birle tenazu' ve tehasume ikdam ve her biri misalin meşruhaleri üzere faslı hasme ibraz eylediklerinde sadrı kitab-ı müstetâb ve şah-i kalem huceste rakam ile müveşşah ve zinetyâb olan hakim-i fazilet meâb efendi hazretleri mesail-i evkafda olan hilafiyata vukûi tammı ve beyne'l-eimme vâki' olan ihtilafâte

şu'ûli ma la kalamı olduğu halde tarefeynin kelimına nazar ve mübtıl-i hayr olmakdan hazer edüb temhîd-i kava'id-i hayri evla ve teşyîd-i mebâni-i vakfı ehra görmekle akarât-ı mezkure mahdudenin kavli müftabih eimme-i mezhib-i muhtar üzere vakfiyetlerine ve cümle şurût-i maksûta ve kuyût-i mazbutalarıyle lüzum ve sihatlerine hükm-i sahih-i şer'i ve kaza-i sarîh-i mer'î edüb evkaf-ı mezkure resmi mersum ve tarzi ma'lum üzere vakf-ı lazı ve habs-i mütehattim olmakla min ba'd nakz ve nakizine mecal muhal oldu " fe men beddelehu ba'de ma semi'ahu fe inne ma ismuhu alellezine yübeddilûnehu innel-lahe semî'un alîm" vaka'a'l-işhadu ve't-tahriru fi'lyevmi'l-hâdi ve'l-'işrîn min şehri Rabi'il-evvel li-seneti seb'a ve hamsîne ve mietin ve elf.min hicreti men lehü'l-izzü ve's-şeref.

Şuhudü'l-Hal:

Umdetü'l-muhakkıkîn kudvetü'l-mudakkıkîn el-mevle'l-âlimu'r-rabbani ve'n nehrirü'l-fadüs-semadani halen sultanî sa'adetlu faziletlu Mehmed Pîri-zade Efendi hazretleri; Umdetu erbabi'l-cahi ve'l-celali kudvetu ashabi'l-mecdi ve'l-ikbali halen reîsü'l-küttab sa'adetlu atufetlu Mustafa Efendi Hazretleri; Umdetü'l-emacid ve'l-ekârim zübdetü'l-e'âzımı ve'l-efahım Serçevuşani dîvânı âli sa'adetlu mekremetlu Ali Ağa Hazretleri; Umdetu erbabu't-tahriri ve'l-kalem zübdetu ashabi't-tastiri ve'r-rakam halen tezkere-i evvel kapıdan-ı âli sa'adetlu Abdi Efendi Hazretleri; Umdetü erbabu't-tahriri zübdetü ashabi't-takriri halen tezkere-i sani kapıdan sa'adetlü Haşim Efendi Hazretleri; Umdetu ashabi'l-meârifi ve'l-kemal halen mektubi-yi hazret-i sadri ili sa'adetlu Hamze Efendi Hazretleri; Fahru'l-emasili ve'l-akran halen katib-i kethuda hazret-i sadr-ı âli izzet lu mekremetlu Ali Efendi Hazretleri; Fahru'l-eşbah ve'l-akran halen halife-i evvel katib kethüda-i sadr-i âli rifatlu muhabetlu Mahmud Efendi Hazretleri.

## Photos of the Mosque



The Exterior

Photo taken by the author



The Courtyard

Photo taken by the author



From the Minaret

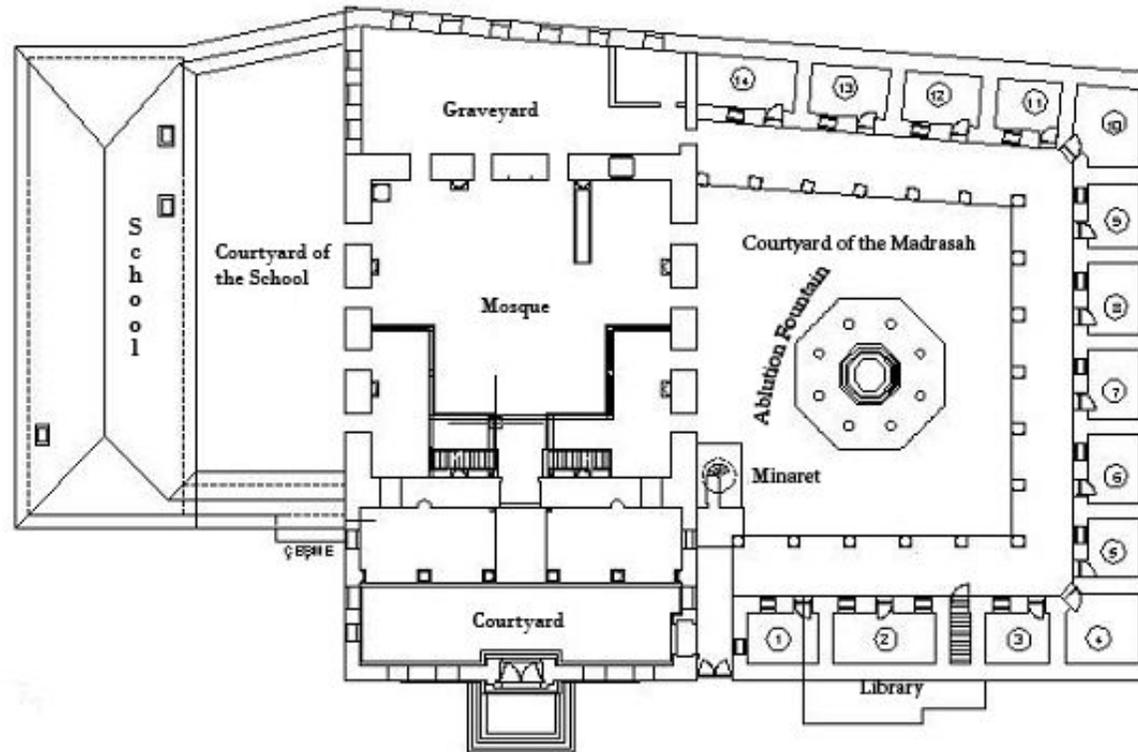
Photo taken by the author



The City Panorama From the Minaret

Photo taken by the author

## The Plan of the Şerif Halil Pasha Külliye



Adapted From "Şumnu Şerif Halil Paşa Camisi" by Kahraman, Nurcihan pg.146



شرح اشارت تاثير ولادى . قواله على كمال الدين على تاهير من الرتبة بانى  
لا يسيب  
شرح المقتضى من الهندسة اشكالها على من افغان العربى تاثير المجلد صحاح  
امير تيمور شهابت وان قولى زهر الفقه ابن شنة من الفصحاء تصديق زده  
شرح جعفر بن شرح ابان سماء شرح الفرائد ترميز على جواد شرح الفرائد  
قواتل على من افغان سادات مشوق شريف انتخا شوى شرح شوى  
روان جابط سوره شرح خطا عقود العودى كستان لا شرح برهان  
يد عطار دستور العمل بانى منطق الطير من لغات الفلاس من الفلاس شرح  
لعمريه من غير جاك كماله من الصب كافي غاية البيان  
من جليل زهد المشافق تحفة الغريب من البرزخ منسك نكوه سروسى  
شفا بنى نفاية ترجمه خطه ترجمه فق كوفى تاريخ مؤرخ جهان بلخاى ودهاى  
ترجمه تحفة العطار

اصح الورى الاله اللطيف  
رحمة الله على  
محمد واهله الطيبين  
الطاهرين

General Directorate of Foundations – Ankara Defter No 737, p. 137