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*Travelers' tales, sultans, and scholars
since the eighth century*

Edited by Bill Hickman and

Gary Leiser

Turkish Language, Literature, and History

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Turkish Language, Literature, and History

The twenty-two essays collected in *Turkish Language, Literature, and History* offer insights into Turkish culture in the widest sense. Written by leaders in their fields from North America, Europe, and Turkey, these essays cover a broad range of topics, focusing on various aspects of Turkish language, literature, and history between the eighth century and the present.

The chapters move between ancient and contemporary literature, exploring Sultan Selim's interest in dream interpretation, translating newly uncovered poetry and exploring the works of Orhan Pamuk. Linguistic complexities of the Turkish language and dialects are analyzed, while new translations of sixteenth-century decrees offer insight into Ottoman justice and power. This is a *festschrift* volume published for the leading scholar Bob Dankoff, and the diverse topics covered in these essays reflect Dankoff's valuable contributions to the study of Turkish language and literature.

This cross-disciplinary book offers contributions from academics specializing in linguistics, history, literature, and sociology, among others. As such, it is of key interest to scholars working in a variety of disciplines, with a focus on Turkish Studies.

Bill Hickman is former Associate Professor of Turkish Language and Literature at the University of California (Berkeley), now retired. His most recent publication is *The Story of Joseph: A Fourteenth Century Turkish Morality Play* by Shevket Hamza.

Gary Leiser completed graduate work in Middle Eastern history at the University of Pennsylvania in 1976. His research interests focus on the Eastern Mediterranean world in the twelfth thirteenth centuries. His *Prostitution in the Eastern Mediterranean World: The Economics of Sex in the Late Antique and Medieval Middle East* is forthcoming.

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University. His major interests are early Anatolian Turkish, early Turkish medical texts from Anatolia, and early Uyghur. His publications include *Ehüleyz Mustafa Efendi—Risâle-i Fezâyü Fe Lügât-i Mîf'edât-i Tıbbiye* and (with Vahit Türk and Yasin Şerifoğlu) *Eski Anadolu Türkçesi Dersleri*.

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Bill Hickman is formerly Associate Professor of Turkish Language and Literature at the University of California (Berkeley), now retired. His most recent publication is *The Story of Joseph: A Fourteenth Century Turkish Morality Play* by Şeyyad Hamza. He earlier edited Franz Babinger's *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, translated by Ralph Manheim. He is the author of an ongoing series of articles on the fifteenth-century Anatolian Turkish Sufi poets, Esrefoğlu Rumi and Ümmi Kemal, published in books and scholarly journals in the US, Europe, and Turkey.

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Mehmed Fuad Köprülü (1890–1966) was one of the leading Turkish scholars and intellectuals of the twentieth century. His pioneering work on the history of Turkish literature and Turkish history has had a profound effect on the study of those subjects in Turkey. He is regarded as the father of modern, scientific Turkish research on the culture and history of the Turks. His most important work was *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, translated by Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff.

Klaus Kreiser held the Chair of Turkish Language, History, and Civilization at Bamberg University from 1984 until his retirement in 2002. He is the author of numerous articles and books on Ottoman and modern Turkish history. Currently he is working on the Foreign Cultural Policy of Turkey. He is preparing a book on the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi and a volume on public monuments and memorials in the Islamic World.

Gary Leiser is a retired civil servant. He completed a dissertation on the earliest *madrasas* in Egypt under the direction of George Makdisi at the University of Pennsylvania (1976). His main area of scholarly interest is the social and cultural history of the Eastern Mediterranean world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He has translated the most important historical works of Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, including *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature* (with Robert Dankoff), and a large part of the Mitteferrika edition of Kâtib Çelebi's *Kitâb-i Cihânnümâ*, forthcoming under the editorship of Gottfried Hagen.

Rudi Paul Lindner is an independent scholar living in Ann Arbor, Michigan. He has published *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* as well as *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory*.

Heath W. Lowry recently retired as Atatürk Professor of Ottoman and Modern Turkish Studies at Princeton University. He is currently a member of the faculty of Bahçeşehir University in Istanbul as a Distinguished Visiting Professor. His major research interests include early Ottoman history and the Ottomans in the Balkans. Among his important publications are *The Islamization & Turkification of Trabzon (Trebizond), 1461–1583; The Nature of the Early Ottoman State; Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities: Christian Peasant*

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15 A Divan for the Sultan

Between the production of an Oriental text and the German art of printing

Klaus Kreiser

The Persian *Divân* of Ottoman Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20) played a special role in German–Turkish cultural relations. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe became aware of a verse by "Selimî" by way of reading the *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien in Künsten und Wissenschaften* by Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817).¹ Nearly a century later, on June 9, 1905, the German Chargé d'Affaires in İstanbul presented a sumptuous edition of the *Divân* to Sultan Abdülhamîd II (r. 1876–1909) on behalf of Emperor Wilhelm II (r. 1888–1918). It contained 305 poems. This gift would not have been possible if Diez had not acquired a handwritten manuscript of the *Divân* while he was the envoy of Frederick the Great in İstanbul; after his death, the manuscript became a part of the Königlische Bibliothek in Berlin. The following pages, documented most notably by the records of the Archives of Strasbourg² and Berlin³ will trace the history of this major Orientalist undertaking.⁴ In contrast to the German Foundation (*Alman* or *Almanya Çeşmesi*) inaugurated in 1901 or the ambitious project of a House of German–Turkish Friendship (*Dostluk Yurdu*), whose foundation was laid in 1917, the poetry edition was initially not intended to serve the German interests in the Near East. This thought only developed when the Emperor and Foreign Office took the opportunity to use the *Divân* as a gift in return for the massive amount of archaeological objects, which Abdülhamîd had released for the Museum in Berlin at the turn of the twentieth century.

On May 1, 1898 Dr. Paul Horn (1863–1908),⁵ *privatdozent* (lecturer who received a symbolic university salary and/or fees from his students) at the Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität in Strasbourg,⁶ sent a petition to the Curator, asking support for a study visit in Constantinople. He justified the need for the journey in three ways:

Perusal of the catalogs of the mosque libraries of Constantinople, forty altogether in number, and which have only recently been acquired by the University and State Library,⁷ have shown me what rich materials for Oriental studies are contained in them. In Berlin Arabic manuscripts from Constantinople had been utilized several times already; the Persian manuscripts however have been completely ignored until now, as far as I know. I intend to write a dictionary for the Persian language. This is a task that no one else

will likely attempt in the near foreseeable future, although it would fill a pressing gap. For this to come to pass years of lengthy preliminary work will be needed; using the manuscript treasures of Constantinople would significantly further my plans. The last vestiges of valuable Persian manuscripts, lost without a trace, also point towards Turkey; pursuing inquiries in that direction would definitely be justified. For someone who has made the study of the Orient his life goal, it is essential to view the places of one's intellectual work with one's own eyes. Constantinople is the closest large city of the Orient; a visit, in addition to the examination of the existing manuscripts there and the improvement of my Turkish language skills, would be of immeasurable value to me. I have now been a lecturer for more than eight and a half years and believe that I am sufficiently advanced in my scientific endeavors for this kind of study trip to be able to conduct it with maximum benefit for my academic discipline.

The applicant was supported by Theodor Nöldeke, one of the most influential Orientalists of the University, with an enthusiastically formulated assessment in a report of April 28 of the same year. Nöldeke emphasized:

There [in Istanbul] can be found many treasures of Persian literature. It is to be expected that these treasure troves include valuable old original lexicons, which would be very useful for the abovementioned and his great plan to replace our current highly inadequate Persian dictionaries with one that would satisfy any scientific demand. The lexicon of Asadī,⁸ which he published meticulously based on the sole known manuscript, demonstrates the high value of these old documents in contrast to the much younger ones produced in India, and which form the basis of our dictionaries. And in any case, using the various valuable manuscripts for this very purpose is of high importance.

Nöldeke also demonstrated his personal deep understanding for the need to support a research stay in the Ottoman capital by closing his letter rather wistfully:

It has pained me for years that I know the Orient only through books. I do appreciate how valuable it is for any Orientalist to have experienced the Orient in person, even for a short time. Since Constantinople still is in many ways the capital of the Orient, Dr. Horn will be able to acquire in a short time an outlook on Oriental life like nowhere else. He will also easily find the opportunity to socialize with Persians and thus will be able to get to know directly people of the country whose language, literature and history form the main area of his studies.

Horn's application was approved, as was the case with his previous library-centered research travels (*Bibliotheksexkursionen*) to London, Rome, and St. Petersburg, by Prince Hermann zu Hohenlohe-Langenbourg, the Governor (*Statthalter*)

of the Imperial State (*Reichsland*) of Elsass-Lothringen, who had the final say in all affairs pertaining to the Imperial University. Horn arrived in Istanbul at the end of March 1899, later than intended, where he immediately presented himself to the German Ambassador, Freiherr Marschall von Bieberstein. Marschall served in Istanbul as Ambassador from 1894–1900 and was the representative of an active policy in the Orient which did not focus exclusively on power and economic-political goals, but also—in the time period of the “jealous patriotism”—championed cultural ambitions. These ambitions were made clearly evident with his official participation at the openings of various archaeological excavation campaigns. Despite the support of the Embassy, however, Horn encountered numerous obstacles:

Soon enough the difficulty arose that on several occasions the librarians could not be located, so that it became impossible for me to access the libraries. The Turkish Education Ministry assigned an inspector to me, who always accompanies me to the libraries. Often enough, even he finds it impossible to gain entry. Complaints to the Ministry lead to negotiations between the various departments and are invariably time consuming. I often encounter passive resistance, which I can only surmount by giving *bakshish*. Conditions here are such as one cannot imagine back home. Over the last few months, many manuscripts have been stolen and consequently stricter policies have been instituted. For now I cannot have any manuscripts taken to my apartment, as was the custom earlier, but I still hope to attain this privilege in the near future.

On May 4, 1899, Horn sent a letter of thanks for a raise in his travel stipend, since “Constantinople is an expensive city, one needs large amounts of money for *bakshish* alone, without which many times not much can be achieved at all.” In the same letter he writes about a new project, not mentioned before, namely the publication of the Persian poetry collection of Sultan Selīm.⁹ Horn already arrived in Istanbul with a copy of the Berlin manuscript¹⁰ of Selīm's *Divan*, in order to be able to compare it with the manuscripts available there. Without any thought to the expansion to the German–Ottoman contacts that he would initiate with this project, he made a determined proposal to the University that his planned edition could possibly be intended as a gift from the Emperor Wilhelm II to Sultan Abdülhamid II:

Concerning the printing of the poems of Sultan Selīm, I believe that his Majesty the Emperor could assign those poems to the Imperial Press, should he be inclined to give an edition as a gift, as conceptualized by me, to his Majesty, the Sultan.

In autumn of that year (November 10, 1899)—after Horn's nine-week sojourn, during which he looked through an impressive number of no less than 1039 Persian manuscripts¹¹—he returned to Strasbourg slightly late for the winter semester. Nöldeke meanwhile supported this new endeavor with warm words:

For many years Dr. Paul Horn (...) has focused his work above all on the more than thousand-year-old Neo-Persian literature, from Firdawsī's predecessors to the diary of the deceased Shah.¹² He did not stay solely within the borders of Iran, but also extended his interests into the Persian literature of India and other areas. The Persian poems of the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I (1512–20) specifically drew his interest, and he conceived the plan to publish these. It would be highly desirable if he could be enabled and supported to execute this intention. This collection of songs shows us the formidable ruler of a nation, who at the time conquered three different parts of the world in a barbaric fashion, as a genteel cultured man. He is not only completely conversant in the Persian language—the equivalent for contemporary Turks to what the French language was around 1700 for most European countries—but is also equally conversant in the arts of Persian poetry and rhetoric, and is even familiar with theological discussions. The publication of the *Divan* would therefore contribute significantly not only to our knowledge of literature but also to our knowledge of human culture in general.

Few European scholars are as well prepared for this task as Dr. Horn. He was the first to copy Selīm's *Divan* from the Berlin manuscript. Then he used his stay in Constantinople, made possible so generously by the esteemed State Government (*Landesregierung*), to compare a number of manuscripts of this work which can be found there in various libraries. He has therefore gathered rich material for an assessment of the text.¹³ This extensive research showed that the Berlin manuscript is the best copy, and he will use it as the foundation for the planned publication. He correctly limits his notes to those variant readings which have to be listed based on philological-historical principles, while leaving out the the information on a vast jumble ("Wust") of useless interpretations.¹⁴ Incidentally, the manuscripts do not differ as significantly as would typically be expected with Persian-national poets.

To finance the printing cost, Horn suggested an application to the Emperor, obviously through the official channels of the Curator (*Kurator*), the Governor, and the Civil Cabinet. Wilhelm II showed himself in favor of the proposal. On January 3, 1900, Horn wrote to the Curator after having learned that his work would be taken care of by the Imperial Press in Berlin. His letter shows how far he still had to go before finishing this edition, by the fact that he even considered the importance of further comparison studies with other manuscripts as a necessity.

Your Highness, I am honored to submit the clean copy for the printing of the finalized manuscript of the Persian poems by Sultan Selīm. The copy contains nearly 2/5 of the text. I intend to copy the remainder, which is a compilation of short poems of 5, 7, or 9 lines, by the end of the month. The text of the 92 poems included is ready for the press; occasional pencil notes

pertain to small questions which can be finally resolved only at the last moment, during the final corrections of the print sheets.

I ask most respectfully to obtain the decision of His Majesty, the Emperor, on the choice of language for the introduction discussing the literary importance of the princely author. Since His Majesty the Sultan does not understand German, either French or Turkish could be considered. Apart from the copy of the Königl. Bibliothek in Berlin, only one other European library (with the exception of Constantinople) owns a manuscript of the poems, namely the British Museum.¹⁵ It would significantly increase the value of the publication if this source could also be considered for the drafting of the text, especially for several uncertain passages which can only be found in either the Berlin manuscript or in one of those I personally saw in the Constantinople. I thought to ask a colleague on London¹⁶ to undertake the comparison of the manuscripts sheet by sheet during the printing process. Naturally I would not share with him the purpose of this edition and would ask him to maintain complete confidentiality of the whole endeavor. Otherwise I could carry out the comparison myself in London in the next two weeks (...).

Regardless of these questions, the preliminary positive decision by the Emperor was forwarded on February 5, 1900 to the Imperial Chancellor, Prince zu Hohenlohe-Schillingfürst and to the Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*) respectively.

The *privatdozent* at the Kaiser-Wilhelm-University in Strasbourg, Dr. Paul Horn, has the intention to publish the Persian poems of Sultan Selīm (d. 1520), based on the manuscript found at the Königl. Bibliothek in Berlin and collated by Horn with the manuscripts of the Library [!] in Constantinople during his research there. The Imperial Governor (*Kaiserlicher Statthalter*) of Elsass-Lothringen stated that Dr. Horn abandoned the thought of printing this by himself because of the high cost. However, he raised the question whether His Majesty the Emperor and King would be sympathetic to the idea of presenting these poems of Selīm I,¹⁷ which had never before been made public, as a gift to his descendant, the reigning Sultan of Turkey.

Paul Horn certainly had the right intuition regarding the prevalent mood at the Imperial Court. Most likely his proposition that payment for the cost of printing could come from the General *Kaiserlicher Dispositionsfund* (the fund at the free disposition of the Emperor) would have been in vain without his simultaneous proposal to present the work to the Sultan. It has to be emphasized at this point that the *Divan* project was pursued parallel in time to the multi-year German excavation campaigns at Pergamon, Miletus, and Didyma as well as various other places in the Near East, including Babylon and Sam'al (Zincirli). Numerous archaeological objects traveled in the direction of the museums in Berlin after the issue of a new Turkish law on antiquities (1874). These objects were part of princely gifts or part of the division of archaeological finds. With his proposal of a gift for the

Sultan, Horn anticipated a goal which would later be promoted further by Marschall in Berlin, albeit in a loose fashion, namely how to balance and overcome the highly asymmetric number of German imports of valuable art objects by at least offering an occasional important gift in return.

However, the editor and many other participants would struggle with a multiple-year process filled with scientific controversy, bureaucratic problems, and political differences before the final publication of the *Divan*. The Prussian Minister of Culture (specifically *Minister der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medicinalangelegenheiten*) had received Horn's manuscript on August 29, 1900 and had forwarded it to Eduard Sachau (1845–1930), the influential director of the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen at the University of Berlin under the label "strictly confidential." On October 25, the head of the college department Ministerialdirektor Friedrich Althoff responded that Sachau wished to see the various manuscripts that Horn had used.

By year's end (December 24, 1900), Althoff was able to forward Professor Sachau's "expert evaluation" of December 10 to the Foreign Office. Sachau provided a summary report on three handwritten pages, without going into any depth. "An exact evaluation of the text of all 282 poems in all detail would require at least one semester of undivided work," for which he would have to ask for a special leave of absence and suspend all his other commitments. Therefore he chose to restrict himself to a small selection of poems (he does not mention which ones) and to submit those to an exacting analysis. He regretted that he was unable to compare the manuscript of the Königlichen Bibliothek as it had been lent out (likely to Strasbourg).

It has been shown to me that Dr. Horn has examined the work with great diligence and proficient knowledge of the language and has compiled a print-ready text. It cannot, however, be ruled out that an Oriental reader may find a mistake here and there or that manuscripts will be found which present a better interpretation. But I do not hesitate to declare that Dr. Horn's work has reached such a level of maturity that it can now move quickly into print and therefore into the public eye.

He added two additional considerations to his final decision which would ultimately create many headaches and require much time and cost for the authorities.

1. The work should be printed in Germany with the available printing types and no attempt should be made to reproduce it in a purely Oriental form [...] since no expert Oriental calligrapher capable of this task currently exists in Germany. To procure such a specialist would result in an inordinately high cost, never mind the expense of transferring the text onto stone.
2. It is recommended that the editor is required to provide a German translation containing all the needed annotations for the complete understanding of the Persian text alongside the original.

It is recognized that such a translation carries multiple challenges, but at the same time it would provide greater guarantee for the correctness of the complete edition, since it would force the editor to account for every single word in his mother tongue.

The first "consideration" advised that the edition in Germany be made with a type that was already available, without identifying a specific font. While Sachau in principle preferred the lithography typically used in Iran, he advised against using it for reasons of cost. In his estimate, there was no "Oriental calligrapher" available in Germany. It seems that even the lecturers at the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen¹⁸ were not considered adequate. The second "consideration" is somewhat more surprising. Sachau felt that a translation into German with annotations was necessary not for a German-speaking readership, but rather to force the scholar editor, despite "various difficulties" to control his "complete task."

The Foreign Office reacted evasively to Sachau's proposition to prompt Horn for a German translation (February 8, 1901). Rather, one should consider this only "after His Majesty has decided on the printing." In the meantime (March 4, 1901), Sachau had taken note of Nöbdeke's expert evaluation via administrative authority, the Ministry of Culture (*Kultusministerium*). Sachau did not omit from his summation a translation, even though he now unexpectedly writes of the reproduction "of the whole *or a part*" (italics added). A translation would not just be a "greater guarantee," as he had mentioned before for the accuracy of the project, but—and this is a new argument—it would also provide His Majesty, the Emperor and King, the opportunity to review the content.

Beginning that spring, the Foreign Office engaged in the various options for printing. Legationsrat Ernst Kuntzen, the head of Department (*Referat*) 2, which handled among other subjects "Arts and Sciences," followed Sachau's argument that no one "of the desirable ability" could be found in Germany to produce the document. Thus from the Wilhelmstrasse viewpoint, only two options remained: "Either the work would be printed in Constantinople with the *ta'lik* types available there or a way could be found to produce it at the Imperial Press—based on the calligraphic transcript produced in the Orient—with lithographs." Kuntzen recommended the second option. With a production at the Imperial Press, the highest guarantee could be given for impeccable and appropriate execution of the printing and other features, whereas in Constantinople this kind of high quality production would be unlikely, apart even from the difficulties in supervising the printing process. He added that the Imperial Press¹⁹ would only charge its cost. Kuntzen argued further that the "desired utmost confidentiality" could hardly be achieved in Constantinople. Berlin also recognized that the necessary dedication for the Sultan written in the Ottoman language would prove an additional challenge, for which a different solution had to be found than for the Persian text.

Apparently the Embassy in Istanbul was not included in these discussions in a timely manner. While the Foreign Office still directed questions to the Imperial Press, the Embassy had already contacted a calligrapher well-known to their

staff. Thus the concept of "confidentiality" was already compromised by summer 1901. On August 30, 1901, Hans Baron von Wangenheim²⁰ wrote from Tarabya to the new Imperial Chancellor, Bernhard von Bülow:

As a result of the production of the Turkish inscription on the Fountain of the Emperor in Istanbul, His Majesty the Emperor recently decorated the calligrapher of the printing house "Osmanie," İzzet Efendi,²¹ who is also a teacher at the Imperial Lyceum (Kaiserliches Lyceum) at Galata Sarai. İzzet Efendi has agreed to produce the calligraphy for the Persian poems of Sultan Selim I in *ta'lik* style and has stipulated a remuneration for the copy of 104 quarto pages [...] to be 150 Turkish pounds (approximately 2,760 marks). He is also agreeable to come to Berlin for a lengthy stay. However, as the civil servant of a public education institution, he will need the approval of His Majesty, the Sultan. When the possibility that this approval might not be obtained was pointed out to him, İzzet Efendi said that in that case, execution could be done by way of an extremely clear script phototype, i.e., photolithography or photozincography, in which case his personal presence in Berlin would not be necessary, and that his sending the calligraphy done by him would suffice.

Wangenheim did not seem concerned that the calligrapher, who would participate in the preparation of a gift for the Sultan, needed prior approval by the Sultan whom he had to ask for permission for a potential business trip to Berlin. 'İzzet also considered calling in a "professor" for Persian if necessary. As he offered to employ this scholar at his own expense, the Embassy looked at the Efendi's remuneration as sufficient.

Simultaneously, Berlin sent Geheimrat Legationsrat Robert Schöll (*Referent für Reklamationsachen, Kirchen- und Schulsachen, Kunst und Wissenschaften*) initially to Strasbourg with Nöldeke and Horn, and after that to Leipzig with Offizin Drugulin to conduct discussions regarding the choice of printing method. Prior to this moment, Horn had already been in contact with this company, which specialized in Oriental languages.²² On his return to Berlin, Schöll gathered these results into a report and a finalizing vote for the head of the department, dated September 30, 1902:

The best possible goal is the production of a scientific-critical edition which will give weighted information for any major discrepancies and variations in interpretation among the main manuscripts. This is only possible in a printed edition according to European standards and customs. Therefore it is evident that a calligraphed edition done at the hands of an Oriental cannot be much more than the creation of a new calligraphed edition. In outward appearance, a *work of German printing art (ein Werk deutscher Buchdruckkunst)* [emphasis added] should be presented to the Sultan. With a purely calligraphic production, the serious research of the German scholar would be overshadowed by the calligraphy from Constantinople. To have the calligraphed edition

produced there is highly unsuitable. Once the text has been written down, any changes could only be done with great difficulty; however, it would be imperative to give the editor the opportunity to go through the whole manuscript with the calligrapher, who in turn would require time off by the Sultan. While it has been said that an educated Persian demands the exact copy of a script be written with a reed pen, and therefore type could not be used, we have to remember that this work is not intended for Persians but for Constantinople. The fonts of the Vienna Imperial Press, while considered old-fashioned, would be sufficient for the present purpose according to Professor Dr. Nöldeke. The ego of the Oriental is already pleasantly touched when he sees works of his literary writers in the production of European offices. The Vienna *ta'lik* fonts should create an imposing impression if coupled with an elegant external framework, according to Prof. Nöldeke. An example for this argument is the case of the work by Graf, owned by the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin, *Le Boustân de Sa'âd*, Vienna, 1858, whose publication at the time created much favorable astonishment in Constantinople.²³ Should one decide not to accept the aid of the Vienna Imperial Press, it should be considered whether the Berlin Imperial Press could cut new types which then could become part of its inventory.²⁴ It is assumed that the cost for the approach will not be much higher than the production of calligraphed page via lithography. According to Prof. Nöldeke, suitable type should be found with W. Drugulin in Leipzig, a company that specializes in the type-casting and printing of Oriental languages.

The deliberations pointed firmly towards a letter-printing process and towards production in Berlin. Three issues remained to be decided:

- 1 Use of the Vienna (*nas'*/*ta'lik* types,²⁵ based on the recommendations made by Nöldeke. The Strasbourg Orientalist considered the beautiful *Bustân* edition of the theologian Karl-Heinrich Graf as exemplary. This edition had previously been financed and printed by the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*.²⁶
- 2 The more conventional process with *nashî* types, which existed at the Berlin Imperial Press. Friedrich Rosen endorsed this option with a reference to the customary script type used in Ottoman Turkey for Persian poetry.
- 3 A new commission of *ta'lik* types from the Orient, either via Drugulin in Leipzig or from Cairo. Horn held out for a *ta'lik* font and, as will be seen, ultimately asserted himself.

On November 22, 1902, Rosen reiterated in an internal office memorandum the various suggestions made by Marshall von Bieberstein concerning a necessary and long overdue gift for Abdülhamîd:

The Imperial Embassy in Constantinople has pointed out several times, most recently during his stay in Berlin, that it would be highly desirable for His

Majesty, the King, to present a suitable and valuable gift to the Sultan in the near future. For this particular purpose, Professor Horn's intended edition of a printed manuscript of the Persian poems by Sultan Selim I would be eminently suitable, under the premise that the print could be produced in Germany.

During the final days of the year (December 6, 1902), Horn sent in several examples from the *Divan* in German:

Gott, dir gebührt das König(s)tum; du bist jedes Königs Schutz und Schirm.

Du erniedrigst den, der dir nicht gefällt, und erhöhst, wen du willst.

Herrschermacht verleihst nur du (dem), der du die Geheimnisse aller Menschen kennst.

Von Deiner Allgegenwart legt jegliches Ding vom Mond bis zu den Fischen Zeugnis ab.

Wenn ich mich gegen Dich vergehe, so entziehe mir dann Dein Erbarmen nicht; denn stündlos ist keiner...

*Ausser auf Dich setze ich auf Niemanden Hoffnung, sei gnädig dem Selim.*²⁷

The translator added brief explanatory notes to his text examples: Sultan Selim was an accomplished master of the forms of Persian poetry and without doubt was one of the preeminent poets of the classical school outside of Persia. The unhappy love of the mighty sultan, the ruler of the world, was one of the most favored lyrical themes.

At the beginning of 1903, the final decision was made to print the *Divan* with the *ta'lik* types as proposed by Horn. The Imperial Press purchased 431 types in April, 1 franc per piece, via the German Consulate General in Cairo (Report to the Imperial Press of April 5, 1903). The types had been created by the highly regarded, although under Abdulhamid's rule politically suspect, print-type cutter (*Schriftschneider*) Krikor Rafaeelian/Raphaëlien.²⁸ Horn described impressively in a subsequent article how these finely cut script types were unable to withstand the print pressure of the Berlin rapid-style press machines.²⁹ To create an even-toned printout of the luxury edition on parchment required more than 1,000 hours of hand press work.

In the early summer of 1903, while the work on the Selim project finally took on firmer shape, the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, which was close to being completed, received the highly decorated facade from the desert castle of Mshatta [al-Mushattā] as a gift of the Sultan. The Ambassador was tasked on June 20, 1903 to convey the wholehearted thanks of his Majesty for the Mshatta gift.³⁰ In addition, Berlin requested a wire report whether the Ambassador considered the

luxury edition of the poems of the Sultan Selim I as a suitable counter gift. This edition could be produced exceptionally well at the Imperial Press, as had been previously emphasized in the Embassy report of March 10, 1900.

On the very same day, Wangenheim responded in his position as Imperial Chargé d'Affaires:

Similar to all the gifts of his Majesty the Emperor, the presentation of a luxury edition of Selim I's poems would greatly delight the Sultan. However, I am concerned that Abdul Hamid may not be enough of an art connoisseur to be able to fully appreciate the value of such a gift. The Sultan loves weapons, horses, dogs, modern gadgetry such as the cinematograph and gramophone more than sculpture, paintings, and books. He has, for example, never yet seen the so-called Alexander sarcophagus. For that very reason I would also refrain from an archaeological present to counter Mshatta. Instead I may also point to the very secret wish of the Sultan, shared with me by his Master of Ceremonies, Ibrahim Bey, who dreams of riding horses which come from the stud farms of his Majesty the Emperor and King, rather than the white horses given to him by the Emperor of Austria.³¹ The horses should be of black color and easy-going temperament (...). Should Selim's poems be selected as the return gift, I would recommend the addition of a decoratively enhanced book cover so that the edition is suitable for inclusion in the Sultan's private museum.³² The Sultan would most appreciate such gifts which he then can show off repeatedly as presents received by his august friend the Emperor and King.

Wangenheim's report, mostly unabbreviated, reached the Emperor in Kiel; the word "gadgetry" (*Spielereien*), however, had been replaced by the more innocuous "entertainment items" (*Unterhaltungen*). The Emperor understood quite well that Abdulhamid's main passion was not centered on "sculpture, paintings, and books." He decided on June 29, 1903, scribbled in the margin of the text with a short pencilled remark: "So, horses."³³

This did not mean that the Selim-*Divan* disappeared from the Emperor's attention. Wilhelm II was kept abreast of the state of affairs. His Secret Civil Cabinet (*Geheimes Civil-Cabinet*) reported on June 8, 1903 to Imperial Chancellor Bülow that "his Majesty [...] deigned to be supremely in agreement with the proposed measures." Finally, on August 18, 1903, the sum of 9,000 marks was released from the Imperial Dispositionsfond. Marked with *Urgent!*, the Imperial Press produced a cost estimate for the Emperor by September 2. Of the estimated total of 8,650.62 marks, the costs for the print setup (800), the manufacture of the zincographs and the production of the color plates (2,000), as well as the actual print run (1,765), comprised the major expenses (4,565). The edition which was printed on parchment paper and intended specifically for the Sultan cost 776 marks; about 500 marks of that sum were intended for the book cover alone.

Berlin anticipated the completion of the *Divan* by the beginning of 1904. Wilhelm II had decided on September 8, based on repeated petitions by the

Imperial Press, that "this unique work" could be exhibited at the World Fair in St. Louis "as representing their Imperial Press."³⁴ However, the exhibition of a personal gift intended for an Oriental sovereign at a sales exhibition in the American midwest *prior* to its official presentation would have constituted a grave faux pas, something the responsible parties at the Imperial Press had clearly overlooked.

Paul Horn, who in all these years had only spent a few days in Berlin (at the end of 1902) through an invitation by the Foreign Office, could only observe the development of all this from afar, the more so since he had fallen ill. He wrote to Rosen from the Spa Bad Nauheim on September 26, 1903: "I have not fared well this summer. I have overworked myself and finally had to give up and stop in mid-September. I hope to be back in top form for the winter months." He read the first forty correction sheets of the Persian text by winter. Since he inserted multiple changes as well as interpretative variations in reading from other manuscripts into the already print-ready text, the Imperial Press incurred a "substantial cost overrun for the editor's proof corrections." The Imperial Post Office therefore advised the Foreign Office of the necessity to keep the total number of the edition to 100 copies.

At this stage a new obstacle arose. The Foreign Office considered a second corrective reading necessary for the text pages whereas Horn had already declared them as print-ready; the office suggested Nöldeke for this task, based on advice given by Rosen (Imperial Post Office to Foreign Office, February 1, 1904). Horn however had to let them know that the (by now seventy-eight-year-old) Professor Dr. Nöldeke "due to his declining health would not be able to read [...] a second correction and take on the responsibility for the correct rendition." The Foreign Office subsequently considered the inclusion of Dr. Oskar Mann,³⁵ employee of the Königl. Bibliothek, as *highly advisable* (underlined in the original). There is no need to remind the reader that "experts" in Neo-Persian would be a rarity in German-speaking academia. Berlin at least assumed Horn's approval of this choice, but this assumption proved to be thoroughly wrong. In a four-page letter to the Foreign Office on March 21, 1904, Horn proposed the dismissal of Mann, whose enlistment as an expert was "highly unappealing for personal reasons".

The Berlin manuscript is one of seven which I have consulted for the preparation of my text. This manuscript, like all the others, contains only a portion of the poems gathered by me. Is Dr. Mann willing to inspect all the others as well? This would include repeating the foreign journeys I had to undertake to be able to consult these texts?

Horn asked the Foreign Office for Dr. Mann's "intentions" and revealed that there had been a falling-out between him and Mann after a review by the latter³⁶ had appeared in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* and Horn's response went unanswered by Mann. Additionally it would be for Horn

an embarrassing imposition, to have to endure the expert opinion of a younger person, whose scant academic achievements are in stark contrast to my longstanding activities in the field of Persian. Should I just acquiesce to the contrary opinions of this gentleman? A higher authority would be required. Dr. Mann's knowledge of the living Neo-Persian language can not be taken into consideration for decisions concerning an edition of older lyrical poems.

Should the Foreign Office require a text revision by an academic scholar, Horn would like to propose Carl Hermann Salemann.³⁷ This gentleman was a member of the Academy of Sciences in Petersburg and a recognized authority.³⁸ His friend E. G. Browne³⁹ in Cambridge should also be considered, although he believed that Salemann would have more time available. With these statements, Horn acknowledged the international cooperation which was taken for granted in the German field of Oriental Studies; however he did not imagine that the gift to be offered to the Sultan was to be "made in Germany." The "German" character of the production of the text was already somewhat compromised by the inclusion of an Englishman⁴⁰ and a Frenchman.⁴¹ The proposal to add another Englishman (Browne) or a Russian (i.e., the Baltic German national Salemann) for the text revision overtaxed even the "cosmopolitan" Orientalist Rosen. Horn however remained firm on this point:

Regarding the rejection of his Exc. (Excellency) Salemann, for being a foreigner, I would like to remind you of the fact that I am indebted to another foreigner, Professor Clément Huart in Paris, for the comparison of the Paris manuscript. He, too, executed this service for me as a friend, as would Exc. Salemann, who would read the complete text without being officially asked to do so.

Oskar Mann (who was now addressed as "Professor Mann" since conferment of the title by the Emperor) was tasked with the examination of the text regardless of Horn's objections. In the event, he found—according to Horn—only a few "unimportant alternate readings."

By now the work had moved along to the point where the foreword could be tackled. Rosen recommended "tailoring it" for a Turkish audience. It would also be useful to introduce "a few friendly thoughts of Sultan Selim and wishes for the present-day Sultan." As his health had further deteriorated, Horn had several Turkish friends⁴² help him with this task (Strasbourg, June 28, 1904, to the Foreign Office), "however, only with their adherence to the necessary discretion."

The publisher's foreword was intended to begin with these words:

Selâtin-i salîte-i Selim Hân-i Evvel hazretlerinin zâde-i lab'-i bilâğâ pesendaneleri olan eş-âr-ı lefâifet aşârları kendilerini melikü'l-sû arâ nâmıyla yâd ü tezkire ve kelâmü'l-mülûk mülûkâ'l-kelem is bu dîvân-i

belâgat beyânıñ Alman Devlet maibâ' i-resmîyesinde iab' olunarak sülâle-i tâhîre-i Al-i 'Osman'ın hacrâ'î-halefî ve taht-î 'âlî-i bahâ'î salîhanat-ı senîyenîñ câlî-i zî-serefî hân-ı mu'azzam-selâtin-i saltîfe-i 'Abdülhamîd Hân-ı şânî hazretlerine takdîm ve ihdâ olunması Almanyâ İmparatoru İkinci Vîlhelm hazretleri tarafından emr ü tensib buyrulmuşdur.

Its Ottoman wording can hardly be recognized in the German version of the printed edition:

It is universally well known that the Ottoman rulers, since time immemorial, have protected writers and poets and that several of them have dedicated themselves to poetry. Of all royal patrons of the arts and poets in the past, the most outstanding has been Sultan Selim I. He deserves a special place in the history of the art of poetry. A complete edition of his poems has long been an urgent necessity and the wish of His Majesty, the German Emperor Wilhelm II.⁴³

This short piece in the Turkish language was reexamined by the Foreign Office. On August 10, 1904, Hans Freiherr von und zu Bodmann reported from Tarabya in his function as the Chargé d'Affaires:

The opening preface crafted by Professor Horn [...] in the Turkish language has been dutifully reexamined by the Legationsrat Dr. Gies.⁴⁴ While overall this constituted a splendid stylized draft, the latter believed it necessary to make several changes to accommodate specific Oriental perceptions and phrases. In addition he changed the more Koran-specific *terminus technicus* "ki[s]râat" which is not used in the Turkish language to a more commonly used expression.

Finally the dedication inscription to the Sultan was commissioned. The inscription was formulated by Hakkî Bey, a civil servant in the Ministry of Justice, who received two Turkish pounds in remuneration (Message Pera to Imperial Chancellor Bülow, January 4, 1905). Dragoman Gies had further proposals for text amendments: "The word *dehichannûta*, used in the first line, and meaning 'the one whom the world obeys' has [...] become such an exclusively used *epitheton ornans* for the Sultan that its inclusion in a dedication by His Majesty the Emperor to the Sultan himself would be amiss." Gies proposed to replace this word with *kaiseri*, and to also use the more common *pay-tachta* for Royal Palace than *dâris-saltanat*.

The completion of the book was announced on May 12, 1905 (Confirmation of the Foreign Office to the Imperial Post). Wilhelm Padel⁴⁵ cabled on June 9, 1905: "Imperial Chargé d'Affaires Freiherr v. Bodmann presented at today's Selamlık on behalf of his Majesty the Emperor the splendid edition of the Persian Poems by Selim I artfully created in Berlin."

Reactions in the international and German press media remained few and far between and were for the most part short and bland.⁴⁶ The Parisian *Temps*

reported on this with a reference to Abdülhamîd's ideological connection to Selim, a context that never surfaced in German records. The aspirations of Abdülhamîd for a universal caliphate were never linked to the *Divan*-project, at least not from the German side:

Le Baron Bodmann, chargé d'affaires de l'ambassade allemande à Constantinople, a soumis au Sultan, au nom de son souverain, un splendide exemplaire de poésie du Sultan Sélim Ier, publié par plusieurs [!] savants orientalistes allemands. Le sultan s'est montré très touché de cette marque d'attention. Le sultan Sélim est le fondateur du Khalifat dans la maison d'Osmân et à ce titre sa mémoire est particulièrement chère à Abdil Hamid.⁴⁷

The liberal *Frankfurter Zeitung* brought out a sardonic "Kleines Feuilleten" (by "M." Constantinople): "The Sultan is especially an enemy of poetry despite—or because of—the fact that his brother Murad Effendi shows great promise in poetry and music." The article ended with the malicious sentence: "Who will believe that the ruler of the world, Selim the Brave and Terrible, had truly known no higher wish than to be a dog in the street of his beloved?"⁴⁸

With the work completed, the Imperial Post turned towards final clarification of all finances. Oskar Mann had not yet received his stipend of 200–300 marks for the "revision" of the print edition. The author of the letter proposed instead that the Secretary of State forego any payment and instead present one copy of the *Divan* to Mann. More bewildering, even for Paul Horn, the originator and executor of the whole enterprise, no form of honorarium had been intended other than the presentation of a "soft-bound" author copy. At least the Sultan had bestowed the Osmanîye Order (Third Class) on Horn, which was sent to him by the Embassy (Report of the Embassy to the Imperial Chancellor, June 15, 1905). On October 31, 1905, the Imperial Chancellor received a letter from the Kaiserliche Statthalter, which touched on the appropriate remuneration for the Strasbourg professor. Through his correspondence with the Curator of the University, Horn had asked "if there could not be granted an appropriate honorarium for his work producing the collection of Persian poems by Sultan Selim I, which His Majesty the Emperor has presented as a gift to the Sultan." Horn would not have taken this step easily. By now forty-two years old, he had been named associate professor by 1900, but had still not received a budgeted salary. His annual compensation from the government's fund for the Remuneration of Docents came to only 2,400 marks per year. Without any private income, he had to maintain a wife and child, and had been ill for a long time with "Neurasthenia and Anemia." The Statthalter's letter moved through several official channels before reaching the Emperor, who decided shortly before Christmas 1905 to "mercifully grant" to Horn 1,200 marks from the Dispositionsfond of the Imperial Bank (December 11, 18, 1905).

After the presentation to the Sultan, there remained the task of distributing the 100 soft-bound copies. The records name participants (Alexander George Ellis, Hermann Gies, Clément Huat, Grigor Sinapien), scholarly colleagues in

Germany (the Orientalists Georg Jacob in Kiel and Ferdinand Justi in Marburg) and Europe (Martijn Theodoor Houtsma in Leiden), libraries in Germany (recorded for Jena, Kiel, Munich, Wolfenbüttel, Wetzburg) and elsewhere (Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, British Museum and India Office in London, Bodleian in Oxford, Uppsala, Vatican) and last, but not least dignitaries and libraries in the Ottoman Empire. On March 4, 1906, Marschall reported to Berlin that the *Divan*-edition had

created a justified stir in the present educated Turkish circles and, I would like to add, that this publication has been raised to the heights of a literary event. As a consequence, I am approached by numerous Turkish dignitaries who ask to also have procured copies for them as well.

Surprisingly the Museum Director and Chief of Antiquities, 'Osman Hamdi, had not been considered; the Ambassador advised (on May 19, 1905) to overlook Hamdi for the time being, but to reserve two copies for him just in case. The names of the Grand Vizier (Avlonyalı Mehmed) Ferid Paşa (1851–1914) and the Minister for Religious Foundations Turhan (Hüsnü) Paşa (1846–1930) were also recorded.

The book cover of the edition designated for the Grand Vizier will be similarly decorated as the other two, but with somewhat less richly applied gilding; with respect to the great appreciation of Orientals for leather work and book covers, however, nothing less than Saffian leather can be used

(Embassy to Foreign Office, March 4, 1906)

The archaeologist Theodor Wiegand got in touch (outline of March 1906) to remind them of the Directeur de l'Instruction Publique de Smyrne Ismail Neily Bey, because "small favors" would be needed in connection with the excavations in Miletus. Horn himself had argued for the presentation of a copy to the Persian Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Mirza Reza Han (c. 1846–1910). The very same had composed a poem for the Hague Peace Conference (of 1907).⁴⁹

The German Consulate General of Cairo stated that the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Butros (Ghali) Pasha, had inquired about a copy for the private library of the Khedive. Subsequently, 'Abbās Hilmi received an extra edition of the *Divan* in a specially created luxury cover, which matched the one created for Abdülhamid, except for the dedication page (Imperial Chancellor to Consulate General, Cairo, July 10, 1906). Another high-ranking recipient was 'Abd al-'Aziz, Sultan of Morocco (1894–1908). In his copy, the two pages of the introduction originally intended for presentation of the book to Sultan Abdülhamid were glued together, and to compensate for this and even out the pagination, the copy included a page of silk fabric with decoration inserted before the title page.

Another name missing among the recipients of a "soft-bound copy" was that of the Berlin typesetter. Horn highlighted his achievements at a different moment:

Typesetter Mr. Dâud Sajist contributed valuable services to these works. The types were organized in eight typesets, which, laid out next to each other, created a whole typeset alley, necessitating the printer to continually move back and forth between the cases, having walked several kilometers at the end of each day.

He is the almost unknown hero of this story.

After the Sultan's fall, nothing much could be felt of the "justified stir" that Marschall had described earlier. Decades later Horn's edition experienced a late and indirect appreciation. The Istanbul literary scholar 'Ali Nihal Tarlan used this edition as the basis for his translation into the Turkish language and published it in his third volume of a series he titled *Türk Klasikleri* [sic].⁵⁰ Several of the copies distributed to various Turkish libraries have resurfaced since 1905.⁵¹ One of them is the original dedication copy which was given to the Istanbul University Library as part of the library of the Yıldız Palace.

German Orientalists continued to present their productions internationally. One example was the gift (*Festgabe*) for the Nineteenth International Congress of Orientalists, Rome, 1935, in which Hellmut Ritter provided the attendees with an edition of a tractate on mysticism from the ninth century. "To those who financed this item, the advertisement value of the high standard of German printing ability was more important than the actual mystical text," commented Josef van Ess. In 1953, the luxury edition of Ritter's *Karagöz III* formed the *Festgabe* of the *Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft* for the celebration of the 500-year anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople.⁵² These occasions have fallen into oblivion as much as the presentation of the *Divan* of Selim, although it was probably the most expensive project for the edition of a work in the history of Oriental studies. Even the catalog of an exhibition dedicated to the "friendship" of Abdülhamid II with the German Emperor does not mention the *Divan* anywhere.⁵³ Despite its size and cost, Wilhelm's present in return seems insubstantial when compared to the "gifts" he received from the Sultan. The decorated Mshatta facade that arrived in 1903 at the nearly completed Kaiser Friedrich Museum had to be packed into 422 boxes,⁵⁴ and the building blocks of the Market Gate of Miletus required 553 boxes before they could be sent on their journey to Berlin.⁵⁵

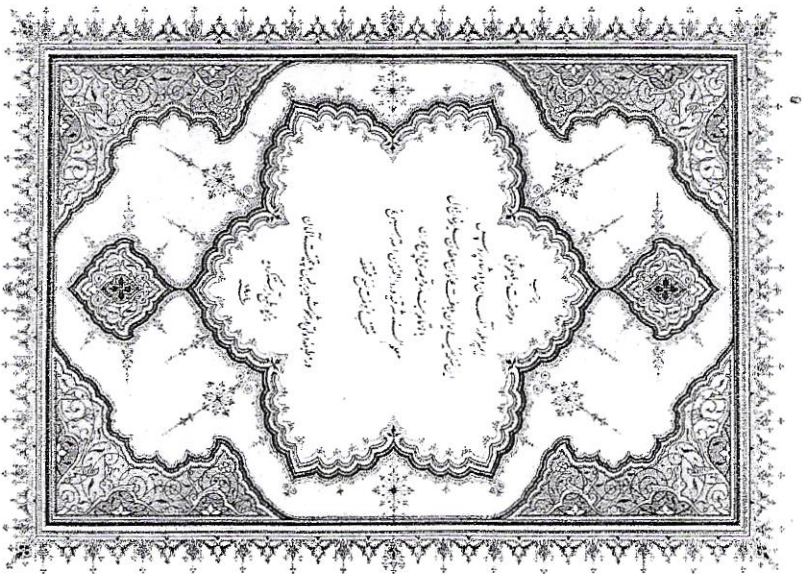


Figure 15.1 Dedication page of the *Divan*.

bar-hašb-i
amr-i haqrat-i Wīlalm-i tanī-i Imparātūr-i Ālmān wa-Pādīšāh-i Prūs
in nuṣṣa-i naṭīsa-i diwān-i balāḡat-i unwān-i sulṭān-i Salīm-ḡan-i awwal
ba-ihtimām-i banda-i kaisarī-i Pāwul Horn-i
mu allīm-i alsana-i šarkīyya dar Dār al-Funūn-i Isrāsbūrg
muntaḡab az haft nuṣaḥ-i muḡallifa
dar maṭba'a-i dawlatī dar šahr-i Barlīn-i pāyraght-i Ālmān
ba-zīwar-i tab' arāsta gardīd
sana-i 1904

(By order of His Excellency Wilhelm II, Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia, this copy of the exquisite collection of poetry by Sultan Selīm I, compiled from seven different manuscripts, has been published and adorned by the Imperial Press under the direction of the Emperor's servant Paul Horn, Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Strassbourg, in the city of Berlin, the capital of Germany, in the year 1904.)
(Copyright: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttele: Lf gr 2°1).



Figure 15.2 Variant readings.

Note: Last page (132) with list of variants. Most common are the letters ٲ for Berlin (Königliche Bibliothek) and ٲ for London (British Museum). (Copyright: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttele: Lf gr 2°1).

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Notes

1 Several years after Goethe's death, the grammar school teacher (*Gymnasiallehrer*) Christian Wurm published a commentary on the "West-östlichen Divan," the major parts of which consisted of "Materials and Originals," which the scholarly writer had gathered from translated literature and from travel writers (*Commentar zu Goethe's west-östlichem Divan bestehend in Materialien und Originallen zum Verständnisse desselben* [Nürnberg: Johann Leonhard Schrag, 1838]). Wurm was the first author who recognized that the motto which Goethe had placed in front of *Suleika Nameh* harked back to Sultan Selim's Divan.

*Ich gedachte in der Nacht,
Dass ich den Mond sähe im Schlaf
Als ich aber erwachte,
Ging unvermutet die Sonne auf.
(I reflected during the night
That I saw the moon in my sleep
When I awoke however,
Unexpectedly the sun rose.)*

Identification was easy. Goethe had adopted the *malta* word for word from the *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien in Künsten und Wissenschaften* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1811) by his important adviser for all questions Oriental, Heinrich Friedrich von Diez. Diez does not quote the *malta* directly from the Divan, but from Laif's *Tezkire* instead, not, however, without missing the opportunity to criticize the "mutilation of Selim's chapters" in Thomas Chabert's translation (*Laif oder Biographische Nachrichten von vorzüglichsten türkischen Dichtern nebst einer Blumenlese aus ihren Werken* [Zürich: Heinrich Gessner, 1800], pp. 70–71). Katharina Mommsen has commented extensively on the relationship between Goethe and Diez and has taken the specific quote from Selim's Divan into consideration (*Goethe und Diez. Quellenuntersuchungen zu Gedichten der Divan-Epoche* [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961]).

2 Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg. Johann Strauss (Université unique de Strasbourg) copied for me the quoted letters by Horn and Nölske to *Münsterlied* Hamm, the Curator of the university, from the personnel record Horn 103 AL 452. I want to express my sincere gratitude to my scholarly friend and colleague at this institution.

3 Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde, Kunst und Wissenschaft nr. 528, presentation of the poems published by Dr. Horn in Strasbourg, vol. 1, February 1, 1900–May, 1903 (37,897); vol. 2, June, 1903–June, 1905 (37,898); vol. 3, July, 1905–December, 1906 (37,899).

4 The printing of this luxury edition was cursorily discussed by the publisher in an article which mainly covered the topic of the Divan as a work of literature. Compare Paul Horn, "Der Dichter Sultan Selim I.," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 60 (1906), pp. 97–111, with a short, but instructive treatment of the elaborate printing process and the listing of the seven manuscripts, which were the foundation for this edition, as well as the relationships among them: pp. 101–102.

In light of the little amount shared of the critical process needed for this work, it might seem that production of this text was easy. This was not, however, the case. Rather, often small, unimportant variants had to be weighed carefully to filter out the correct one, a process which could only succeed by diligently observing the lyrical style.

The volume comprised 132 pages and measured 48 cm in length.

5 Compare Erich Kettenhofen, "Paul Horn ein deutscher Iranist (1863–1908)," *Näme-ye Irān-e Bastān* 2.2 (2002–03), pp. 81–97, including a bibliography of 134 titles, and also see Kettenhofen, "Paul Horn" in *El/*, and a critical appraisal of Horn as a Turcologist by Klaus Kreiser, "Turkologie als Steckbrief? Von Paul Horn bis Carl Frank," *Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* (Semi Tezcan a Arınçan) 13 (2014), pp. 213–238. Additionally, I find Horn's name (Dr. phil., stud. jur.) in the *Ämlichen Verzeichnissen des Personals und der Studierenden des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Königlich Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin* listed as a student for Persian language during the winter semester of 1887–88 through the winter semester of 1888–89. Carl Andreas was the "Instructor of Persian" at the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, whereas Friedrich Rosen (1856–1935), his future sponsor at the Foreign Office, was registered as Instructor of the Hindustani Language. Horn had dropped his second study course of law prior to beginning his academic career at the University of Strasbourg in 1889.

6 Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Die orientalischen Studien an der deutschen Universität Strassburg," *Das Deutsche Vaterland*, 4 (1922), pp. 47–49.

7 The so-called *Dev-i Hamidi Katalogları* hardly differ from classical Ottoman library catalogues except for their location designation.

8 Paul Horn, *Asadi's neuersisches Wörterbuch Lughat-i Furs nach der einzigen valianischen Handschrift* (Berlin, 1897).

9 The dictionary project had only been put on hold, as mentioned in a letter by Horn to Friedrich Rosen (see also n. 5) in September, 1902.

10 Wilhelm Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften* (Berlin: Königliche Bibliothek, 1888), p. 896, nr. 915 <Diez A. 8< 80>. At no time among his notes and correspondence, as far as I can ascertain, did Horn see the need to point to the treatment of the Divan by Diez in his *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, pp. 239–257. The existence of a 1306 AH (began September 7, 1888) printed edition by Arakel in Istanbul is also completely overlooked. The publisher of this *Divan-i Yavuz Sultan Selim* was the retired Finance Officer of the Istanbul City Government, Hüseyin Hilmi (*Sekizinci Da'ire-i Beledîye Mâi Me'mûr-i Sâbık*). His edition contains eighty-two gazels after the opening *münâcâ*. The book contains a frontispiece of a bust portrait of the Sultan. The portrait goes back to an oil painting in the Topkapı Sarayı, which, in turn, is modeled after a portrait by Sansovino (kindly pointed out by Hans Georg Majer, Munich). Two years later, Seyh Vâsî (1851–1910) published a total of 166 *bays* including the Turkish translation and an additional twelve Turkish *myrâ's*. In his introduction, Vâsî criticized the edition by Hüseyin Hilmi as incomplete and extremely full of mistakes (*Barîka, Yavuz Sultan Selim es-şeyla tercümelevi* [Istanbul: Asarduryan, 1308/1890–91], p. 4, footnotes). Horn was certainly interested in the reception of Persian poetry in contemporary Turkey. His [Literary-] *Geschichte der türkischen Moderne* (Leipzig: C. F. Amelang's Verlag, 1902), pp. 52, 68–69, touches on another work by Seyh Vâsî (whom Horn referred to as "Weçî"), *Muhâzarât* (Istanbul: Karabet Matb., 1318/1900), in which Selim was acknowledged as well (p. 72).

11 Paul Horn, "Persische Handschriften in Constantinopel," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 54 (1900), pp. 475–509.

12 See Horn's bibliography as n. 5.

13 In Istanbul, Horn had collated the manuscripts of Es'ad Efendi, Hamidiye, and Faith. Access to the libraries at the Nûr-i Osmaniye and the one owned by Auf Efendi was refused to him.

- 14 For the machine-typed copy, the word *Wustes* was replaced with *Werkes*.
- 15 Soon it would become apparent that there were also additional manuscripts of the *Divan* in Paris and Upsala, which still needed to be incorporated into the manuscript.
- 16 Alexander George Ellis (1867–1942), long-time librarian at the British Museum.
- 17 Compare the already mentioned edition (in n. 10) by Hüseyin Hilmi from the year 1888–89.
- 18 The “Official Register” of the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen (see n. 5) lists as *Lector* of Turkish a Hassan Djelal-ed-Din, beginning with the summer semester 1895. Ardesbir M. Vacha was responsible for Persian (as well as “Guzarati” and “Hindus-tanti”), but he does not appear otherwise in our files.
- 19 The Imperial Press reported to the Imperial Post Office and therefore also to the Imperial Treasury.
- 20 Wangerheim reported for duty on January 20, 1900 as First Secretary (*Erster Sekretär*) at the Embassy in Constantinople. He remained in this position until the end of 1903. He returned to Turkey as the Ambassador in 1912.
- 21 Mehmed İzzet Efendi (1841–1904), together with Taşın Hânîz, wrote a manual of calligraphy styles, *Huṭṭ-i ‘osmāniye, stilis, nesih, rik’a, divānî ve ta’lik ve celi divānî ve hâf-i icazeden ibaret meşk mecmû’ası* (Istanbul, 1309/1892).
- 22 The company had published a substantial *Festschrift* for the Gutenberg-Jubilee (Baensch-Drugulin/Stettin, *Marksteine*, 1902). This volume, in a large folio format, contained examples of Arabic, Malaysian, Persian, Syriac, Turkish, and other languages. The Persian example (pp. 64–67) is the rendition of a prayer in Arabic and Persian. Of interest here is that the Persian interlinear version is set with *nasta’liq* type and the compiler was Eduard Sachau. The Syriac contribution came from Theodor Nöldeke. Thus both peer reviewers of Horn’s manuscript had contact with Offizin Drugulin no later than the summer of 1901, but still could not prevent the commission from going to the Imperial Press.
- 23 Charles-Henri Graf, *Le boustān de Sa’dî. Texte persan avec un commentaire persan* (Vienna: Impr. Impériale de la Cour et de l’État, 1858). This volume was published in both a simple and a luxury edition (see Digitalisat of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München), which mainly differed in their title pages. The simple edition was evidently not in color and was made with a lithographed title page (compare Inag Afşar, “Ketābā-ye ḥāp-e qadīm dar İran va ḥāp-e ketābā-ye fārsi dar ḡāhān” in *Honar va mardom*, N.S. 49 [1345/1966], pp. 26–33). I owe this reference to Ulrich Marzolph (Göttingen). Graf set the commentary in *nashī*, separated by a line from the main text in *nasta’liq*.
- 24 Reading uncertain.
- 25 Official documents mostly mention *ta’lik*.
- 26 Most likely the first European work with *nasta’liq* type was also printed in Vienna, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall’s *Markou Antinou Autokratos ton eis heauton biblioi. Griechisch und Persisch* (Leipzig, 1831). Edith Ambros (Vienna) pointed out to me a contemporary reference, John Spencer Smith, “Ecrits de Marc-Aurèle-Antonin,” *La France littéraire* 5 (1833), pp. 337–343, “je crois, le seul spécimen imprimé du *nasta’liq* qui existe dans l’Europe continentale.” Hammer writes in the introduction (p. viii) of his edition of Fazlî’s *Gül ü Bulbul* (*Gül ü Bulbul, das ist Rose und Nachtigall, ein romanisches Gedicht* [Pest and Leipzig: Hartleben, 1834]) that “the new Nestaitik script used here” shows “how the progress in Turkish literature and typography for the last half century can be attributed to the Imperial City.” Credit for this progress likely rests mostly with the publishing company of Anton Strauss (1775–1827), which specialized in foreign language types, and which was continued successfully by his widow, Magdalena (1764–1845). I do not preclude that the types for Hammer’s *Gül ü Bulbul* were reused in Graf’s *Bustān*. Regarding Hammer’s edition of the first volume of the Ilkhanid chronicle by Vassaf (1856), Sybille Wenker (Vienna) informed with me that “The types of Vassaf would most likely have entered the inventory of the
- 27 Court—and Imperial Press (Hof- und Staatsdruckerei) and would have been destroyed during World War II.”
- 28 Johann Strauss wrote to me regarding Kap’ aḡlīan (1846–1911) that he had received his training from the famous type-caster, Garabed Dēndeslan [Dnydyan], who in turn had been a master in the type-casting company of Harutūn Arabian in Ortaköy. Later he became self-employed and acquired an outstanding reputation. During the last years of Abdülhamid’s reign, he personally directed the branch established in Cairo. After the revolution of the Young Turks, he returned home to Istanbul, where he continued his work. He died on July 28, 1911 in Boyacköy. Rāfaelīan produced the types for numerous foreign magazines and acquired much merit in the service of freedom of thought. At that time, movable lead types were produced with extreme care and diligence in Istanbul, but their export was strictly forbidden.
- 29 It is unclear from the files how, in the final count, “1200 different types” divided into eight cases could have been used. (See also n. 4, Horn, “Der Dichter Süleim Selīm,” p. 98). Incidentally, against the opposition of “Osman Hamdi Bey (May 20, 1903). See Stefan Weber and Eva-Maria Troelenberg, “Mischatta im Museum. Zur Geschichte eines bedeutenden Monuments frühislamischer Kunst,” *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, 46 (2010), pp. 105–132; and Troelenberg, *Mischatta in Berlin* (Dortmund: Kettler, 2014).
- 30 The “Austrian white horses” appear in Ayşe Osmanoglu’s reminiscences as “a pair of white Hungarian horses” (i.e., therefore, Lipizzaner stallions) (*Babam, Sultan Abdülhamid Hâtıralarım* [Istanbul: Selçuk, 1984], p. 57).
- 31 Ayşe Osmanoglu (*Babam, Sultan Abdülhamid*) contributes several interesting details regarding the “Private Museum” in the Yıldız Palace. This is where a valuable Qur’ān was also preserved, a gift from the state visit of Muzaffer ad-Dīn Şāh in the year 1900. After the Sultan’s fall, a rumor spread that Abdülhamid only owned a few valuable books. Arminius Vambery wrote that Prince Hamid, “had an outspoken aversion to study, and in fact he never succeeded in mastering his difficult mother tongue which is composed of Turkish, Arabic and Persian” (“Personal Recollections of Abdul Hamid and His Court” in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, June, 1909, p. 982). The British correspondent Francis McCullagh noted, “the only objects in the accumulation of which Abd-ul-Hamid displayed the true zeal of a collector were pianos, gramophones, clocks, shirts, collars, keys, and modern fire-arms, especially revolvers” (*The Fall of Abd-ul-Hamid* [London: Methuen, 1910], p. 297).
- 32 It is known that the prince’s teachers could only bring the rudiments of the classical Ottoman tri-language education to his studies (M. Meim Hütläğü, “Bir İnsan Olarak Sultan II. Abdülhamid” in *Devr-i Hamid. Sultan II. Abdülhamid* 3, Kayseri: Eryöres Üniversitesi, 2001), pp. 225–241.
- 33 Catalog entry: “Germany makes an exhibit of fine printing, specimens of photography, maps and models.” <https://archive.org/stream/universalexposit00loui/universalexposit00loui.djvu.txt>.
- 34 Oskar Mann (1867–1917) was the librarian at the Königlichen Bibliothek and stood at the beginning of his academic career. His main work, which made him one of the

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16 Negotiating with nomads in the 1290s

Rudi Paul Lindner

We are not looking for needles in a haystack, but at a stack of needles, capable of different degrees of magnetism.

F. M. Powicke¹

The first conversation I had with Professor Dankoff took place in a subterranean level of the Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Library during the autumn of 1974. We discussed the relationship between *persuk*, "badger" in Turkish (and also the modern name of the Tembris river), and *Προσκογ*, the name of a Turkish beg.² I take pleasure in offering the following meditation on another example of Byzantinoturcica. The case in point is a comment on the Turks who lived on the east and southeast frontier in Bithynia.

There are many seekers of the Byzantine in Istanbul who find themselves before the mosaic portrait of Theodore Metochites (1270–1332) in the inner narthex of the church of the Chora monastery, which he restored between 1316 and 1321. Metochites served the empire for nearly thirty years and played an active role in the intellectual life of the Palaeologan court. He enriched himself while holding high office and rarely failed to offer his views on matters of great import. He witnessed the collapse of Byzantine governance and military power in Asia Minor, and he had occasion to observe the spread of Turkish occupation throughout Bithynia. It is not surprising that he found opportunity to comment from time to time, if in oblique fashion, on these changes in his voluminous and complex writings. Let us first review what we know of his views of the Turks and then examine a recently excavated nugget.

Scholars are familiar with his views on Turkish nomads as he expressed them in his essay on the Scythians. *On the Scythians* is essay no. 110 in his collection of "sententious remarks" or "didactic notes," *Semeioseis gnomikai*.³ Metochites published the collection between May 1326 and his fall from political power in May 1328.⁴ It is entirely possible, however, that Metochites drafted earlier versions of this and other essays. It is generally understood that he meant not only the Scythians of antiquity but "Scythians" as Byzantine intellectuals used the term to refer to nomads of his own day. There is a view that the essay consists of material abstracted from ancient authors and "applied" to the Turkish nomads of