

AMBASSADORS, SPIES, CAPTIVES, MERCHANTS AND TRAVELERS:
OTTOMAN INFORMATION NETWORKS IN THE EAST, 1736-1747

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AMBASSADORS, SPIES, CAPTIVES, MERCHANTS AND TRAVELERS

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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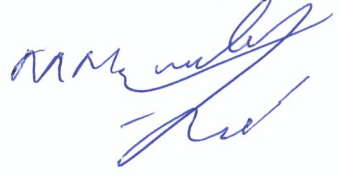
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ABSTRACT

AMBASSADORS, SPIES, CAPTIVES, MERCHANTS AND TRAVELERS: OTTOMAN INFORMATION NETWORKS IN THE EAST, 1736-1747

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This thesis sheds light on the Ottoman information networks in the East during the reign of Nadir Shah in Iran. It emphasizes singular cases of agencies who convey (and process) information, such as ambassadors, spies, captives, merchants, couriers, and travelers, but with due effort to depict the clear and implicit connections and links among them.

The study is limited to the period when Nadir Shah reigned in Iran from 1736 to 1747, because the intensity of the developments and contacts in this interesting period provides an opportunity to investigate the sources and agents of information with due attention to detail. The study emphasizes Ottoman agents but it makes room for the voices, views and actions of Iranian and other actors as well. The thesis is based mainly on Ottoman sources but benefits from other sources as well. Its main focus is on Anatolia, Iraq, the Hedjaz, Iran, and India, and on individuals who were in contact with the Ottoman central and local officials.

The research combines descriptive and analytical approaches. The descriptive side of the study aims to show how and when intelligence arrived in Istanbul. In the process, it introduces new or hitherto neglected Ottoman sources and agents as well. Münif's ambassadorial report on Iran and Müteferrika's *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah* are cases in point. Careful assessment of the available information helps correct some chronological and geographical mistakes in the current literature and draw attention to incoherent narratives in the primary sources. At the analytical level, this research

points to the tensions and complexities of policy making. It points to friendly or hostile relations among certain Ottoman agents and how two political factions, led by Ahmed Paşa and Hacı Beşir Ağa, respectively, influenced the making of the Ottoman government's Iran policy in the 1730s and 1740s.

Keywords: Information networks, Ottoman-Iranian relations, Nadir Shah, Ahmed Paşa, Hacı Beşir Ağa, Münif Mustafa Efendi.



ÖZ

ELÇİLER, CASUSLAR, ESİRLER, TACİRLER VE SEYYAHLAR: OSMANLI'NIN DOĞU'DAKİ İLETİŞİM AĞLARI, 1736-1747

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Bu tez Nadir Şah'ın İran'daki hakimiyeti esnasında Doğu'daki Osmanlı haber alma kaynaklarını ve iletişim ağlarını açıklamaktadır. Tez, elçiler, casuslar, esirler, tacirler, ulaklar ve seyyahlar gibi bilgi taşıyan, ileten aktörler düzeyinde tekil vakaları incelerken bunlar arasındaki somut ve muhtemel bağlantılar ile ilişkileri de göstermektedir.

Çalışma, Nadir Şah'ın İran'ı yönettiği 1736'dan 1747'e kadar süren dönemle sınırlıdır. Bu dönemde olayların yoğunluğu ve karmaşıklığı bize iletişim ve haberleşme kaynaklarını ve sorunlarını dikkatle inceleme imkanı vermektedir. Tezde çoğunlukla Osmanlı kaynakları esas alınmakla birlikte başka dilde kaynaklardan da yararlanılmaktadır. Coğrafi olarak Anadolu, Irak, Hicaz, İran ve Hindistan'ı kapsamakla birlikte Osmanlı merkezi ve yerel görevlilerle iletişime geçmiş kişilere yoğunlaşmaktadır.

Araştırma, tasviri ve analitik iki tür yaklaşıma dayanmaktadır. Tasviri boyut, istihbaratın İstanbul'a nasıl ve ne zaman vardığını göstermeyi hedeflemektedir. Bunu yaparken, Münif Mustafa Efendi'nin *İran Sefaretnamesi* ile İbrahim Müteferrika'nın *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah*'ı gibi yeni veya ihmal edilmiş bilgi kaynaklarını ve bilgi taşıyıcılarını tanıtmaktadır. Ayrıca, mevcut literatürdeki kronolojik ve coğrafi hatalar ile birincil kaynaklarda birbiriyle çelişen anlatımlara dikkat çekmektedir. Analitik düzeyde ise çalışma, politika belirleme sürecinin çetrefilliğini, karmaşıklığını göstermektedir. Bazı Osmanlı aktörleri arasındaki dostane ve hasmane ilişkilere işaret

ederek Ahmed Paşa ve Hacı Beşir Ağa liderliğindeki iki siyasi hizbin Osmanlı Devleti'nin İran politikasını nasıl etkilediğini ileri sürmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İletişim ağları, Osmanlı-İran ilişkileri, Nadir Şah, Ahmed Paşa, Hacı Beşir Ağa, Münif Mustafa Efendi.



Cihan Hocam'a



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ABBREVIATIONS

Calendars

H: Hegira

H.S: Hegira Shamsi

Months of Hegira Calendar

M: Muharrem

S: Safer

RA: Rebi-ul evvel

R: Rebi-ul ahir

CA: Cemazi-el evvel

C: Cemazi-el ahir

B: Receb

Ş: Şaban

N: Ramazan

L: Şevval

ZA: Zilkade

Z: Zilhicce

Evail: The first ten days of the month

Evasit: The middle ten days of the month

Evahir: The last nine/ten days of the month

Archival Documents

BOA: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi

BOA. A.d.: Sadaret Teşrifat Kalemi Defterleri

BOA. A.AMD: Amedi Kalemi Belgeleri

BOA. A.DVN: Divan (Beylikçi) Kalemi Belgeleri

BOA. A.DVN.DVE: Düvel-i Ecnebiye Belgeleri

BOA. A.DVN.MHM: Mühimme Kalemi Belgeleri

BOA. A.DVN.NMH: Name-i Hümayun Kısmı Belgeleri

BOA. A.DVNS.MHM.d: Mühimme Defterleri

BOA. A.MKT: Sadaret Mektubi Kalemi Belgeleri

BOA. AE.SMHD.I: Ali Emiri Mahmud I

BOA. C.AS: Cevdet Askeriye

BOA. C.DH: Cevdet Dahiliye

BOA. C.HR: Cevdet Hariciye

BOA. C.MAL: Cevdet Maliye

BOA. C.SM: Cevdet Saray

BOA. D.BŞM: Başmuhasebe Kalemi

BOA. D.BŞM.d: Başmuhasebe Kalemi Defterleri

BOA. D.TŞF: Teşrifat Kalemi Belgeleri

BOA. HAT: Hatt-ı Hümayun

BOA. İE.SM: İbnülemin Saray Mesalihi

BOA. MAD.d: Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler

BOA. KK.d: Kamil Kepeci

BOA. NHD: Name-i Hümayun Defterleri

NLB. OAK: St Cyril and Methodius National Library (of Bulgaria), Orientalska Archivna Kolektsiya (The Oriental Archive Collection)
T SMA. E: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, Evrak

Manuscript Libraries in Turkey

AEK: Atıf Efendi Kütüphanesi
AMK. Yazma: Milli Kütüphane, Yazmalar Koleksiyonu
ASMK: Askeri Müze Kütüphanesi
AUK: Ankara Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi
ATUK: Atatürk Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi
IAEK. ŞR: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Kütüphanesi, Şevket Rado Yazma Eserler
IBBAK: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı
IMK: İzmir Milli Kütüphanesi
IUNEK. TY: İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, Türkçe Yazmalar
KMM. TY: Konya Mevlana Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Türkçe Yazmalar
KRR: Kayseri Raşid Efendi Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi
KVK: Kütahya Vahidpaşa İl Halk Kütüphanesi
MHK: Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi
MK: Millet Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi
MK. AE. Edb: Ali Emiri Edebiyat
MK. AE. Mnz: Ali Emiri Manzum
MK. AE. Trh: Ali Emiri Tarih
SHM: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi
SK: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi
SYK: Selimiye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi
TSMK: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi
TSMK. B: Bağdat Köşkü
TSMK. H: Hazine
TSMK. EH: Emanet Hazinesi
TSMK. R: Revan Köşkü
TSMK. Y: Yeni
TTKK: Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi
YKSÇAK: Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Araştırma Kütüphanesi

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BAV: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Library)
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HAL: Hafiz Ahmed Agha Library in Rhodes
NLE: National Library and Archives of Egypt
NLI: National Library of Israel
MAL: Malik Abd-ul Aziz Library in Medina
ÖNB: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Austrian National Library)
PUL: Princeton University Library
SBB: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Orientabteilung (Berlin State Library, Oriental Department)

UBL: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig (Leipzig University Library)
UBLE: Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden (Leiden University Library)
UML: University of Michigan Library
UUB: Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek (Uppsala University Library)

Institutions

IRCICA: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture
ISAM: İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi
TDV: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
TTK: Türk Tarih Kurumu

Encyclopaedias and Journals

EI²: The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition
EI³: The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Third Edition
IA: İslam Ansiklopedisi
TDVIA: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi
YYOA: Yaşamlarıyla ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi

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1133/1695-1721)." PhD diss., Marmara University, 2001.



NOTES ON DATES AND TRANSLITERATION

I used three online sources to convert historical dates into modern Gregorian calendar dates. I relied on “Türk Tarih Kurumu Tarih Çevirme Klavuzu” to convert dates in the Hegira and Rumi calendars. I used the website of “Iran Chamber Society” to convert Solar (*Shamsi*) Hegira calendar, and the website of “Ian’s English Calendar” to convert the Old and New Style dates in eighteenth-century British newspapers.¹

Almost all time intervals in the thesis are estimated according to the Hegira calendar and not the modern one. However, the last month of the Hegira calendar, *Zilhicce* (Z.), has twenty-nine or thirty days, based on whether it is a leap year or not. I have either referred to primary sources or made assumptions about the length of the month in certain Hegira years to calculate the duration of an agent’s journey or sojourn in a specific place. Ragıb’s work, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, indicates that Z.1148 had thirty days.² In his diary, Kadı Ömer Efendi writes that Z.1153 and Z.1154 had thirty days,³ and Z.1158 had twenty-nine days.⁴ I have assumed that Z.1149 had twenty-nine days, Z.1150 had thirty days, and Z.1151 had twenty-nine days.

For the transliteration of Ottoman Turkish texts, I have rendered them in simplified modern Turkish. For the Arabic and Persian words, I preferred to use popular English variations.

I cited the titles and names of agents according to the place where they lived. If they lived in the Ottoman Empire and were Ottoman subjects, as in the case of even

¹ “TTK Tarih Çevirme Klavuzu,” accessed May 1, 2018, <http://www.ttk.gov.tr/genel/tarih-cevirme-kilavuzu/>. “Iran Chamber Society,” accessed May 1, 2018, http://www.iranchamber.com/calendar/converter/iranian_calendar_converter.php. “Ian’s English Calendar,” accessed May 1, 2018, [http://people.albion.edu/imacinnis/calendar/Old %26 New Style Dates.html](http://people.albion.edu/imacinnis/calendar/Old%26NewStyleDates.html).

² Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik, Osmanlı-İran Diplomatik Münasebetlerinde Mezhep Tartışmaları*, ed. Ahmet Zeki İzgöer (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2003), 35.

³ Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname I*, 36, 100.

⁴ Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 82.

certain chroniclers living in Ottoman Iraq, I have followed modern Turkish orthography. However, I used the English variations of the titles of Iranian, Indian and Uzbek agents, such as “Beg” and “Khan” instead of “Bey” or “Han.”

For geographical names outside modern Turkey, I used the English versions of such locations except for places to which the Ottoman sources refer under specific names, such as “Tak Ayağı” near the Ottoman-Iranian border at Iraq.

I indicate the words added to Turkish texts or the English translation by brackets in quotation marks (“[]”).



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1729, Shah Tahmasb II ended the Afghan invasion of Iran by retaking Isfahan, with the help of his brilliant commander, Tahmasb-quli Khan or later Nadir Shah. This commander deposed first Shah Tahmasb II and then the infant shah, Abbas III and declared himself as the new ruler of Iran and the founder of Afsharid dynasty in 1736. His successful campaigns against the Afghans, the Ottomans, the Mughals and the Uzbeks and negotiations with the Russians restored the territorial integrity of the empire. However, when he was assassinated by his own troops in 1747, the political situation in Iran was similar to the 1720s, because of civil wars, local rebellions and lack of central authority. Many European, Indian and Ottoman accounts focused on Nadir's life and Iran under his rule, especially after his campaigns in Afghanistan and India, from 1736 to 1739.

Jean Otter, a contemporary traveler in the region, wrote one of the most detailed of these accounts. He stayed in Istanbul from 1734 to 1736, and in Isfahan, from 1737 to 1739, to study Turkish, Arabic and Persian. He was appointed as the French consulate in Basra and called back to France in 1743. His work includes his brief but crucial conversation with Seyfi Bey, the *mütesellim* of Hüseyin Paşa, the governor of Mosul, on his return from Basra to Istanbul in 1743. Otter referred to the betrayal of Nizam-ul Mulk, a powerful leader in the Mughal court, in the context of Nadir's campaign on India. Seyfi Bey replied "Is not there among us a second Nizam-ul Mulk who betrayed the Grand Seigneur and brought this king [Nadir Shah] upon us?"⁵ implying Ahmed Paşa, the governor of Baghdad. Jonas Hanway refers to Ahmed Paşa in a similar vein: "Had Bagdat been in less skillful hands, it might very probably have fallen a sacrifice to the Persians, and yet many of the Turks gave this general [Ahmed Paşa] the odious appellation of Nizam al Muluck, an allusion to the treachery which

⁵ "N'y aurait-il pas parmi nous un sécond Nizam-ul-Mulk, qui trahit le Grand Seigneur, & fait venir ce Roi contre nous?" Jean Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse: Avec une Relation des Expéditions de Tahmas Kouli-Khan*, vol. 2 (Paris: Guerin, 1748), 365.

was imputed to that Indian lord, as already related.” Seyfi Bey’s words indicate two points: There was a conflict between the Ottoman governors of Mosul and Baghdad and the Ottomans were aware of the details of events in India between Nadir Shah and the Mughal elites.

Another example of Ottoman awareness of the developments to the east of their borders is the similarity between Dutch and Ottoman sources in reporting an incident that involved Nadir Shah. An anecdote involving Nadir Shah and a poor poet, during the siege of Qandahar by the Iranian army in 1737, is told similarly in the Dutch and Ottoman sources. The report entitled, “Description of the Rise of the Persian Usurper of Vali Ne'mat or Nader Shah,”⁶ written in 1740 at the instruction of Karel Koenad, Director of the Dutch United East Indies Company at Gamron (Bandar Abbas), narrates:

A Khorasani poet left for the court at Qandahar in search of a reward for the ode that he had made in honor of Nader. Having presented himself to the shah the poet declaimed his laudatory verses. Nader did not like them and ordered to have the poet offered for sale by having him taken around the army camp. However, nobody offered to buy the poet. Nader then asked him, “How did you get here?” The poet replied: “On a donkey.” Nader then ordered the donkey to be put up for sale, for which immediately a good price was offered and accepted. Nader then ordered that this money be given to the court usher who had accompanied the poet through the army camp and then he chased the poet out of the camp as a point of ridicule to everyone.⁷

Sırrı Efendi’s work on the siege of Kars by Nadir in 1744 includes the same story if to poke fun at Nadir:

...Hatta Özbek yahud Afganiyan ulemasından bir fakir seyyah, ordusunda bulunub bir garra kaside verüp “Mekarim-i to be-afak mibered şair/Ez vazife-i zad-ı sefer deriğ medar” müeddasinca harçlık ümidinde oldukda “Kişi muradın nedir?” diye sual idüp “Fukara-yı ulemadanım, ihtiyacım vardır, ihsana geldim” dedikde, “Ya böyle bir alay söz ile ihsan mı olur?” demiş. O zat-ı şerif dahi

⁶ “Beschrijvinge Wegens d’Opkomst des Persischen Opwerpeling Welie Mahamed off Sjah Nadir.” Willem M. Floor, *The Rise and Fall of Nader Shah: Dutch East India Company Reports, 1730-1747* (Washington, D.C: Mage, 2009), xii.

⁷ Floor, *The Rise and Fall of Nader Shah*, 72.

“Şahım, şahların ekser ihsanı böyle ahval-ı şahanesini yad ü tezkar ve sebt-i ceride-i asar idenlere mezbul ola gelmişlerdir” didikde, “Var kişi Rum’a git, anı Rum’da iderler” eymiş, “Buralarda öyle şey olmaz” deyü cevab virüp, bir kaç gündən sonra ol fakire rast gelüp, çağırdup “Kişi dahi bundasın” deyü sual, Ol dahi “Bir hımara malik idim, anı satub harcluk eyledim, süvar olacak merkebim yokdur ki gideyim” didikde “Bes ki gördün mü hımar kasideden hub işe yaradı” deyü suhreye alup, ol zat-ı şerif dahi böyle eymiş “Hımarın gördüğü işi kimse göremedi,” deyip şahın hımandan dun olduğuna telmih eylemiş...⁸

Ottoman awareness of the developments in the neighboring countries and their sources of information in this regard are issues that are usually overlooked in Ottoman historiography. The present thesis intends to help close this gap and try to answer the following questions: How were the Ottomans informed of the developments in lands to the east of the empire? What were the sources of information they relied on? The thesis answers these question mainly focusing on an interesting and significant period of Ottoman history, namely the years when Nadir Shah reigned in Iran and Ottoman-Iranian relations intensified through war and peace negotiations as well as cultural exchanges.

More specifically, the thesis sheds light on a network of Ottoman intelligence in Iran under the rule of Nadir Shah by analyzing singular cases on the level of agencies such as ambassadors, spies, captives, merchants, couriers, and travelers while revealing proven and possible links among them. The study is based mainly on Ottoman sources but benefits from other sources as well.

The research has two levels of approach, descriptive and analytical. The descriptive side of the study aims to show how and when the intelligence arrived in Istanbul as well as to introduce new/neglected Ottoman sources and agents such as Münif’s ambassadorial report on Iran or Müteferrika’s *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah*. A second issue is to correct some chronological and geographical mistakes in the current literature and draw attention to incoherent narratives in the primary sources. At the analytical level, it emphasizes complexities of policy making. It points to friendly or hostile relations

⁸ Sırrı Efendi, *Risaletü-t Tarih-i Nadir Şah (Makale-i Muhasara-i Kala-ı Kars)*, ed. Mehmet Yaşar Ertaş (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2012), 9-10.

among certain Ottoman agents and argues that two political factions influenced the making of the Ottoman government's Iran policy in the 1730s and 1740s, namely the factions of Ahmed Paşa and Hacı Beşir Ağa.

The study gives a central place to Ottoman agents but it makes room for Iranian, Indian and European actors as well. It is limited to the period when Nadir Shah reigned in Iran from 1736 to 1747 and mainly focuses on the regions of Anatolia, Iraq, the Hedjaz, Iran, and India, and to the people who were in contact with the Ottoman central and local officials.

1.1. Significance of Ottoman-Iran Relations during the Reign of Nadir Shah

The Safavids, Afghans, Afshars, Zands, and Qajars ruled over Iran throughout the eighteenth century. Nadir Shah and Karim Khan Zand were two dominant political figures in this period. Karim Khan Zand preferred the title of regent of the Safavids in the second half of the century, whereas Nadir first ruled as regent between 1732 and 1736, and then declared himself as the shah in 1736. His negotiations with the Russians and successful campaigns against the Ottomans, the Mughals, and the Uzbeks in the second quarter of the century secured the territorial integrity of Iran.

The Ottoman-Iranian relationships had many first and singular cases during Nadir's reign in Iran. Beginning with the Genç Ali Paşa's ambassadorship to Iran, mutual official missions created a non-stop diplomatic traffic from 1736 to 1742. An exchange of delegates at the border at an ambassadorial level took place for the first time in the course of Ottoman-Iranian relationships in 1747. The Sublime Porte welcomed Hacı Khan's mission, which was around three thousand people, in 1741. It was probably the most crowded ambassadorial mission in the Ottoman capital. Furthermore, the article to have a consulate/embassy in Isfahan for three years in the unratified Istanbul Treaty of 1736 and in the Kurdan Treaty of 1746 is important, when we remember that the first Ottoman embassy in Iran was opened in the mid-nineteenth century.⁹ Nadir Shah's proposal to the Ottomans to accept the Jafari

⁹ Aliyev Salih Muhammedoğlu, "İran (Tarih/Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri)," *TDVIA*, vol. 22 (İstanbul: TDV, 2000), 408.

madhhab (school of law) as the fifth *madhhab* was another interesting point of the era. The proposal was part of Nadir's political agenda in Iran. Since the negotiations between Nadir Shah and Mahmud I lasted for several years and they are partly recorded, there are enough Ottoman sources that help establish the main features of Ottoman information gathering process in the East. Moreover, at times of tension and war, both sides made use of spies to gather information about each other's moves and military power. Finally, this was a period of multifaceted cultural exchanges as well. A research on these rich sources provides us an opportunity to enlarge and enrich our knowledge of Ottoman information networks based on research done in different eras and regions of Ottoman history.¹⁰

1.2. Significance of Information Network and Agencies

Studying an information network in the pre-modern era reveals the story of the basic element of a decision-making process, namely information. Although the story itself includes many steps such as gathering, transferring/narrating and perceiving, this study focuses on a simplified version of the process, focusing on the arrival of information to Istanbul and possible relations among its carriers. This thesis emphasizes that the ambassadors were not the only carriers of information as many historians did in their writings.¹¹

Surveying the reports from the borders also helps us to notice what the chroniclers in the capital knew and chose to write about. In other words, the differences between

¹⁰ Emrah Safa Gürkan, "Espionage in the 16th century Mediterranean: Secret Diplomacy, Mediterranean go-betweens and the Ottoman Habsburg Rivalry" (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2012); *Sultanın Casusları: 16. Yüzyılda İstihbarat, Sabotaj ve Rüşvet Ağları* (Istanbul: Kronik, 2017). Coşkun Tüfekçi, "Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri (1795-1896) (Casusluk Faaliyetleri Çerçevesinde)" (MA thesis, Kırıkkale University, 2012). Ahmet Yüksel, *II. Mahmud Devrinde Osmanlı İstihbaratı* (Istanbul: Kitap, 2013); *Rusların Kafkasya'yı İstilas ve Osmanlı İstihbarat Ağı* (Istanbul: Dergah, 2014). John Paul Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2013).

¹¹ Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West, France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1987), 15. Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 179-210. Gabor Agoston, "Information, ideology, and limits of imperial policy: Ottoman grand strategy in the context of Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry," in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, ed. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2007), 81-92.

the chronicles and intelligence reports give us clues about the Ottoman historiography and to what extent it was biased. For instance, Subhi's chronicle does not mention about Nadir's campaign in India, and the official registers, *name-i hümayun defterleri*, include every royal letter of Nadir Shah to the Porte with the exception of the letters of 1742.

Examining the agencies in an information network presents a usefully detailed narrative. Besides its contribution to biographical studies, it can show the grey areas between war and peace periods, voluntary and obligatory actors, and planned and coincidental events. Brief narratives mostly overlook these matters. The relations among certain agents also disclose their personal networks and agendas as well as shedding light on the central and local government policies. A research on individual cases or small groups is significant to point out different views and factions in political organizations. This method can bring new approaches into the literature and present alternative understandings instead of monolithic consideration of the Ottoman bureaucracy.¹²

1.3. The Framework of the Study

This thesis includes six chapters and four appendices. The rest of the current introductory chapter presents an overview of Ottoman-Iranian relations between 1736 and 1747 pointing to their political, diplomatic and cultural dimensions. It does not give a complete account of the wars between two sides but it presents a summary of diplomatic relations, in addition to certain examples of flow of information and cultural exchanges among the diplomats and poets. Chapter two, "Review of Sources, Agents, and Literature" includes three parts. The first two parts introduce the reader to the variety of sources and the seven groups of agents discussed in the thesis. The

¹² See Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (New York: Cambridge University, 2010). Günhan Börekçi, "Factions and Favorites at the Courts of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-1617) and His Immediate Predecessors" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2010). Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (New York: Oxford University, 2010). Emrah Safa Gürkan, "Fooling the Sultan: Information, Decision-Making and the "Mediterranean Faction" (1585-1587)," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 45 (2015): 57-96.

last part considers inconsistencies of primary sources along with popular mistakes encountered in current literature.

Chapter three elaborates on the Ottoman foreign policy of Iran in the 1730s and 1740s in a distinctive approach. It argues that there were two rival factions of bureaucrats under the leaderships of Ahmed Paşa and Hacı Beşir, respectively, that shaped Ottoman foreign policy of Iran in this period. The factions refer to and, to a certain degree, speculate about the rivalries, friendships, and patronage relations among certain actors like governors, ambassadors and members of the Ottoman missions to Iran.

Chapter four, “Official Sources of Information: Official Missions” is about ambassadorial and deputed missions and their hosts, *mihmandars*. It examines the journeys and stays of the missions as well as the related official correspondence between the Ottomans and the Iranians, Indians, and Uzbeks. The fifth chapter reveals short but important stories of the other agents within five parts: Spies, captives, travelers, couriers and Nadir Shah’s Indian campaign as a case study of Ottoman intelligence. The last chapter, conclusion, summarizes the major and minor arguments of the study and underlines its contribution to the literature.

Four appendices contain the details of the primary sources of the thesis. The first, “Routes and Distances” explains three main routes from Istanbul to the cities in Iran and India such as Yerevan, Qazvin, Isfahan, Qandahar, Surat, and Delhi and the frequency of their use by the agents. It also presents the distances of these routes in the modern metric system in form of tables. The second introduces a new Ottoman ambassadorial report on Iran to the literature: Münif Mustafa Efendi’s *İran Sefaretnamesi*. It includes a short review on the academic writings on Münif, the list of Münif’s works in manuscript libraries, and the Latinised versions of Münif’s *İran Sefaretnamesi* and Nazif’s short report on the Ottoman mission in 1742. The next intends to explore a neglected area between political history and literary history by giving examples of Turkish poems on Nadir Shah and Iran, between 1736 and 1747.

The last appendix contains selected paintings of the certain actors like Mahmud I, Hacı Beşir Ağa, Nadir Shah, and Jean Otter.

1.4. An Overview of Ottoman-Iranian Relations in 1736-1747

In the first decades of the eighteenth century, the Safavids could not deal with the turmoil and rebellion in the eastern provinces of their empire. This situation led to the fall of Isfahan into the hands of tribal Afghans in late October 1722. The new rulers of Iran had authority over central and southern parts of the country while a Safavid prince, Tahmasb II, escaped to northern Iran and began to rally supporters for his cause. In 1729, he seized Isfahan and defeated the Afghans with the help of one of his commanders, whose name was Tahmasb-quli Khan or later Nadir Shah.

During the struggle between Tahmasb II and the Afghans, The Russian and the Ottoman empires launched military campaigns on northern and western Iran in 1723. Peter the Great and Ahmed III made a deal about the new border between the two empires in Caucasia and Azerbaijan in 1724, to prevent possible struggles in the region. When the Ottoman-controlled territories in western Iran became neighbors with the areas under Afghan rule, the two sides sent ambassadors to each other for negotiations, which failed. The only main battle between the Ottomans and Afghans in Andujan ended with the retreat of the Ottoman army from the field in 1726. The Afghan ruler, Ashraf Shah, proposed a peace agreement and the treaty of Hamadan was signed in the following year. The Sublime Porte sent Raşid Mehmed Efendi as ambassador to Iran in 1728 and welcomed Ashraf's ambassador, Namdar Muhammad Khan, in 1729. Meanwhile, Tahmasb II and Nadir captured Isfahan and ended the Afghan rule in Iran. The Porte did not accept the demand of Shah Tahmasb II to return to the borders of 1722. The Iranian army under the leadership of Nadir began to retake Ottoman controlled cities, including Hamadan, Kermanshah, and Tabriz, in 1730. When Nadir went to Khorasan to assist his brother against the Afghans, the Ottomans could not benefit from his absence in the region since they had their own problems. The army was in Üsküdar, the Anatolian side of Greater Istanbul, preparing for a campaign on Iran but showed no sign to move. The news of the fall of Tabriz and the delay of the campaign on Iran gave people in opposition the

chance to remove the long-time Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa from the highest position in Ottoman bureaucracy. Their rebellion in late September 1730 was successful and resulted in the dethronement of Ahmed III and killing of Damad İbrahim Paşa along with several other officials. The new sultan, Mahmud I, eliminated the rebels within two months.

In 1731, Tahmasb II attacked the cities in northern Iran that were still under Ottoman control. He failed to capture Yerevan, which was under the command of Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa and was defeated near Hamadan by the army of Ahmed Paşa, the governor of Baghdad in 1731. After the conquest of Tabriz by Ali Paşa in the same year, the young Safavid ruler offered a peace agreement. The delegates of Ahmed Paşa and Tahmasb II signed a treaty near Hamadan in early 1732: Northern parts of the Aras River would be under the Ottoman rule. This agreement, however, pleased neither side. Mahmud I did not ratify the treaty since newly conquered Tabriz was left to the Safavids whereas Nadir considered it a humiliation to his earlier success. Nadir returned to Isfahan and dethroned Tahmasb II. He began to rule the country for the next four years in the name of Abbas III, the new infant shah.

Nadir's army besieged Baghdad for nine months in 1733 and the city was saved with the army of Topal Osman Paşa. Nadir was defeated at first but quickly managed to rally the remnants of his troops and gained a total victory over the Ottoman army in the end. The Ottoman commander was killed. When Nadir returned to Baghdad for a second siege in late 1733, Ahmed Paşa proposed to him a new treaty to keep to the borders of 1722, or the Zohab Treaty of 1639. Nadir accepted the offer since he had to deal with a pro-Tahmasb rebellion in Shiraz. The Sublime Porte denounced this agreement and deposed Ahmed Paşa from the governorship of Baghdad next year. In the years of 1734 and 1735, an Iranian army retook Tabriz and other cities in northern parts of the Aras River. After the unsuccessful siege of Kars in 1735, Nadir again defeated another famous Ottoman political and military leader near Yerevan, Köprülüzade Abdullah Paşa (see Figure D.10.). The Porte was ready to negotiate for a treaty and assigned Genç Ali Paşa as its ambassador for peace talks.

When Genç Ali Paşa left Erzurum on 22 November 1735, the negotiations for a peace agreement between Mahmud I and Nadir officially began. After a long wait in Berdaa due to Nadir's campaign in Dagestan, Ali Paşa arrived on the Mugan plains on 1 February 1736. He was immediately summoned to Nadir's court. Meanwhile, Nadir assembled notables from all parts of Iran at Mugan to receive their agreement for his coronation (He was crowned on 8 March 1736). During the negotiations, Nadir Shah insisted on the recognition of the Jafari *madhhab* as the fifth school of law by the Ottoman as a prerequisite for a peace agreement regarding the remaining points of difference. These were the appointment of a leader for Iranian pilgrims by the Iranian ruler, the recognition of Jafari *madhhab* in the Kabah, in Mecca, permanent representatives (*şehbender*) in Ottoman and Iranian courts, and prohibition of trade of Iranian captives in the Ottoman Empire and vice versa. Genç Ali Paşa replied that he had the authority to negotiate only the border issues. Nadir sent his ambassador Abd-ul Baqi Khan with Ali Paşa to Istanbul for further negotiations on a solution over the recognition of the Jafari *madhhab* as a school of law of Sunni Islam.

The Ottoman and Iranian missions left Mugan on 7 March 1736 and arrived at Istanbul on 6 August. Abd-ul Baqi Khan was accepted to the royal court on 28 August. The negotiations between the Ottomans and Iranians were held in eight meetings. In the end, the Sublime Porte accepted three of Nadir's five demands. The other two regarding the Jafari *madhhab* were declined. The Ottoman sultan appointed Mustafa Paşa as ambassador and Abdullah Efendi and Halil Efendi, two prominent scholars, to assist him in further discussions over both issues. The Iranian mission began its return journey on 27 November 1736. After a week the Ottoman mission left Istanbul. Meanwhile, Ilbars Khan, ruler of Khwarazm, sent two ambassadors to Istanbul, probably in early 1736. The first one, Chaghatay Beg, arrived Istanbul on 9 August 1736. The ambassador of the other Uzbek mission died on the way and Molla Avaz Baqi replaced him. They were received in the Ottoman royal court on 18 December, two weeks after Mustafa Paşa's leave. The Sublime Porte probably waited for the closure of Ottoman-Iranian negotiations to welcome the Uzbek missions. They were called to the presence of Mahmud I to deliver their letters on 13 February 1737.

In July 1737, Abd-ul Karim Khan came to Istanbul after a long journey. Actually, he was a member of Abd-ul Baqi Khan's mission and was expected to come to the Ottoman capital during the negotiations. His main mission was to deliver royal gifts, including an elephant, therefore the preparations probably took time. He presented the gifts and letters to the royal court on 15 July. Abd-ul Karim Khan began his return journey in the middle of August 1737.

After his coronation at Mugan, Nadir led his army to Qandahar. During the siege of the city, he offered to play a mediatory role in the peace negotiations between the Ottomans and Russians. He sent Muhammad Rahim and Nazar Ali Khan to Ottomans and Muhammad Tayyib Khan and Muhammad Reza Khan to Russians. In December 1737 Muhammad Rahim Khan left Isfahan and arrived Istanbul after a journey of six months. The Sublime Porte declined the offer. The Iranian mission left the Ottoman capital in mid-December.

Nadir conquered Qandahar on 23 March 1738 and began his campaign on the Mughal Empire. Mustafa Paşa left Isfahan where he had waited over six months, probably due to the siege of Qandahar. He arrived Qandahar on 9 May and two days later was summoned to the presence of the shah. The outcome was not different from the negotiations in Mugan two years ago. Nadir practiced a delay-strategy, and sent another ambassador, Ali Mardan Khan, to Istanbul. The Iranian ambassador passed away during the journey near Sivas in early January 1739. Oghuz Ali Khan, the deputy ambassador of the mission, replaced him. After Sivas, the mission stayed in Bolu and İznikmid for several months by the orders of the Sublime Porte. They finally reached Üsküdar on 16 December 1739. Abd-ul Karim Khan came to Istanbul to inform the Porte of the upcoming visit of the Iranian ambassador, Hacı Khan, on 3 January 1740. Abd-ul Karim Khan was received to the presence of by the Ottoman grand-vizier and left the city the same month.

Hacı Khan arrived in Baghdad in June 1740. His mission consisted of three thousand people and carried valuable gifts, including several elephants. He arrived in Istanbul on 7 March 1741 and delivered his letters on 4 April. According to the Ottoman

chronicles, he did not have the authority to negotiate. He presented the same arguments of previous missions over religious issues. The Porte appointed Münif Mustafa Efendi as the Ottoman ambassador to deliver the same answer to Nadir Shah. Münif Mustafa Efendi left the capital on 15 June and Hacı Khan on 3 July 1741. Münif arrived in Yerevan, probably in late September, where he waited over four months due to Nadir's campaign in Dagestan. He reached the Iranian army in Karakaytak on 13 January 1742. In his return journey, Münif wrote a letter to inform the Porte that the negotiations had failed and they should prepare for war. He came back to Istanbul on 10 April 1742. The war broke out in June 1743 when Nadir's army crossed the Ottoman-Iranian border near Zohab. In the summer of 1743, Şehrizor, Erbil, and Kirkuk fell before the advance of the Iranian army in Iraq. However, Basra did not fall even with the help of the local tribes to the Iranians. Mosul resisted for a month and Nadir Shah had to end the siege on 20 October. The Porte greatly praised Governor Hüseyin Paşa and rewarded him for the successful defense of the city.

In December 1743, the Shah returned to Kirkuk and then went to Najaf where he planned a meeting of Shii and Sunni religious scholars. When he asked for the participation of two Ottoman scholars, the Porte refused to oblige. Ahmed Paşa, the governor of Baghdad, however, sent Abdullah Süveydi Efendi as his representative to the meeting in Najaf. The participants signed a statement that declared the Jafari *madhhab* as a legitimate school of law along with the four major Sunni schools of law.

Nadir signed a ceasefire with Ahmed Paşa and the Iranian army retreated from Iraq and moved towards Azerbaijan. The army laid siege to Kars from August to October in 1744. Hacı Ahmed Paşa, the Ottoman commander in Kars, defended the city successfully and forced the Shah to end the siege, as Hüseyin Paşa had done in Mosul the previous year. The Porte launched an army under the command of Yeğen Mehmed Paşa, ex-grand-vizier, in the spring of 1745. In August, Yeğen Mehmed Paşa arrived Murad Tepe, near Yerevan, where two armies attacked each other for ten days. Due to his illness, the Ottoman commander passed away which led to the defeat of the Ottoman army. Nadir Shah released a vast number of Ottoman captives in his army, after his victory, as a peace gesture. At the same time, he sent his

ambassador to Baghdad to negotiate a peace agreement that omitted the Jafari *madhhab*. Fath Ali Khan, the Iranian ambassador, arrived Baghdad on 6 October 1745. The ambassador, accompanied by Veli Efendi (the court scribe of Ahmed Paşa), left the city for the Ottoman capital two days later.

Nazif Mustafa Efendi, the official guide assigned to the Iranian mission, welcomed Fath Ali Khan in January 1746. Fath Ali delivered the Shah's letter, which involved the shah's omission about the recognition of Jafari *madhhab* by the Porte and his territorial requests in Iraq or Azerbaijan with the consent of the sultan. The Ottoman government agreed only to the first offer and dispatched Nazif Mustafa Efendi as its ambassador to Iran. The Iranian and Ottoman missions left Istanbul on different days in March 1746 and met in Baghdad in May. They arrived at Kurdan in late August and signed the peace treaty on 4 September 1746. Nazif Efendi left Nadir's military camp the next day and returned to Istanbul on 13 December. He had informed the Porte about the treaty and its articles beforehand. The Porte began the necessary preparations to send another ambassador, Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa, to verify the treaty and to wish the lasting of good relations with Iran. Kesriyeli left Istanbul on 28 January 1747 and met with the Iranian ambassador Mustafa Khan (Nadir's *ex-itimad-ud davla* or grand-vizier) at the Ottoman-Iranian border near Sermil, Iraq, on 26 June. The exchange of Ottoman and Iranian ambassadorial missions at the border in 1747 was the first of its kind to the best of our knowledge. It signifies a new period in diplomatic interactions between the two countries. This trend, however, ended with the assassination of Nadir Shah by his own troops in Khorasan in June 1747. When the news of Nadir's assassination reached the Ottoman mission in Hamadan, Kesriyeli had to return to Baghdad.¹³

¹³ Laurence Lockhart, *Nadir Shah: A Critical Study Based Mainly upon Contemporary Sources* (London: Luzac, 1938). Robert W. Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations, 1718-1743: A Study of Rebellion in the Capital and War in the Provinces of the Ottoman Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1975). Peter Avery, "Nadir Shah and the Afsharid Legacy," in *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, vol. 7, ed. Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly, and Charles Melville (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2007), 3-62. Stanford Shaw, "Iranian Relations with the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, vol. 7, 297-313. Ernest Tucker, *Nadir Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2006). İlker Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)" (PhD diss., Ege University, 2010). Abdurrahman Ateş, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1720-1747)* (Istanbul: Altın Post, 2012).

The situation in Iran after the Nadir's death in 1747 became similar to what it was in the early years of the Afghan rule in the 1720s. The country was devastated by civil wars among the members of the Afsharid dynasty as well as provincial rulers. This time, the Porte did not intervene and ignored the calls from certain Iranian governors. I argue that the Kurdan Treaty of 1746 satisfied the demands of two main factions of bureaucrats that shaped Ottoman foreign policy of Iran, namely the factions of Ahmed Paşa and Hacı Beşir Ağa. Both leaders, however, passed away after a short time, Beşir Ağa in 1746 and Ahmed Paşa in 1747. Their successor inherited these networks and agendas until a certain degree. The Ottoman foreign policy of Iran after Nadir's death should be also related to the information provided by the Ottoman networks in the region, in addition to the accurate views of experienced Ottoman officers regarding the situation in Iran.

The officials involved in diplomatic negotiations and contacts developed an affinity with each other and the places they visited. Just paying attention to the time spent in Iran or Ottomans and with Iranians and Ottomans in the diplomatic missions should oblige us to recognize that they had additional consequences, including cultural interactions. In the last pages of his work, Ragıp Paşa listed the books Mahmud I gave Abd-ul Baqi Khan and other members of the mission as gifts in 1736. The list includes *Kasshaf*, *Sahih-i Bukhari* and *Sharh-i Maqasid*.¹⁴ The information at hand makes clear that cultural exchange occurred in other areas as well. An undated Ottoman archival document, which was probably written after the Kurdan Treaty, is about exchange of poets and scholars. Molla Rajab delivered two letters by Mustafa Khan and Molla Ali Ekber, respectively, to the Crimean Khanate. Both letters asked the Khan of Crimea to send some Turkish scholars and poets to Iran, as Nadir Shah demanded.¹⁵

Another interesting dimension of cultural interaction is the Iranian ambassadors' interest in astrological beliefs. The dates of the meetings of Iranian delegates with

¹⁴ Ragıp Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 158.

¹⁵ BOA. HAT. 209.

Ottoman officials during Abd-ul Baqi Khan's mission in Istanbul in 1736 and the Ottoman and Iranian exchange of ambassadors at the border in 1746 were arranged based on Iranians' astrological beliefs.¹⁶ All these cases show us that embassies and missions were not only about issues of war and peace but they also helped enhance cultural exchanges (while generating better awareness of differences) between the Ottoman and Iranian elites. Other agents of information must have similarly involved multi-dimensional influences and interactions.

The influence of a new style of Persian poetry known as *Sabk-i Hindi*, the Indian style, comes to mind readily. The Mughal court encouraged this style in the seventeenth century. Briefly, it consisted of "conceptual complexity," "greater density of expression" and "linguistic innovations."¹⁷ *Sabk-i Hindi* quickly spread among Iranian as well as Ottoman poets. When Agah of Samarqand came to Diyarbakır in 1669, he was most welcomed since he was a student of two prominent poets of the style, Saib of Tabriz and Shawkat of Bukhara.¹⁸ He influenced and trained many Ottoman poets, including Lebib, Vali, Hami, Nabi, Hamdi, Emni, Emiri, and Çeteci Abdullah Paşa, by the time he died in Diyarbakır in 1728.¹⁹

Traveling dervishes as well as traveling scholars, merchants, and bureaucrats put different parts of the region together and facilitated cultural interaction. We can see the traces of these interactions in the *divan* of Ebubekir Nusret Efendi. He was buried

¹⁶ "Bugün Kamerin Merih ile mukarenesi günüdür. İndimizde nahs-ı azimdir. Bugün bu mikdar ile iktifa edip İnşaallahur-rahman Pazartesi günü yine cem olalım..." Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tefvik*, 77. "Bunların bazar günü mübadeleden nukul u istinkaflarına sebep ne ola, deyu taraf-ı Devlet-i Aliyyeden gelen takvimlere ihale-i nazar-ı iman olundukda fil-vaki yekşenbe günü firag ve sükun ve düşünbe günü sad işaret olduğundan gayri ehad günü Kamer hudud-ı nahseynden ahir derece-i burc-ı cedide bulunmağla bu husus ahali-i İranın ihtiyarat-ı necumiyyeye olan itibarlarından naşi bir halet olduğu tahkik olundu." Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 73.

¹⁷ J. T. P. De Brujin, "Sabk-i Hindi," *EP*, vol. 8 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 683-684.

¹⁸ "1080 [1669] hududunda şehrimize [Diyarbakır] şeref-bahş-ı vurud olmuştur. O zaman Saib ve Şevket asarı memleketimizde ser-i meşk-i edebiyat idi. Şu iki zat-ı ali-kadirden tahsil-i kemalat iden bir üstadın [Agah] vurudu edba-ı memlekete badi-i neşat olduğundan pek ziyade bir rağbete mazhar olub vatan-ı sani ittihaz eyledi." Ali Emiri, *Tezkire-i Şuara-ı Amid*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Amidi, H. 1328/1910), 28.

¹⁹ Ali Emiri, *Tezkire-i Şuara-ı Amid*, vol. 1, 28.

in the cemetery of the *Kaşgari Tekkesi*, a Naqshbandi tekke built in 1745. Its first sheikh, Abdullah Nidai, was a well-traveled scholar. He had visited many cities, including Kashgar, Bukhara, Samarqand, Balkh, Isfahan, Shiraz, Baghdad, Kirkuk, Mosul, Aleppo, and Mecca, before settling in Istanbul and becoming the sheik of first the *Kalendarhane Tekkesi* in 1743 and then of the *Kaşgari Tekkesi* from 1747 until his death in 1760.²⁰

Nusret Efendi, who attended this *tekke*, was one of the first Ottoman scholars who wrote a commentary on the *divan* of Saib of Tabriz, in addition to being a renowned poet of his time. Nusret's own *divan* includes a chronogram that marks the death of his friend, Recai Efendi, who held the office of *reisulküttab* twice, in 1761-1763, and 1769-1772. Recai Efendi prepared six copies of the *divan* of the Ottoman poet and ambassador, Münif Mustafa Efendi, in the 1750s.²¹ Nusret includes the poems of Münif and Mirza Abd-ur Rezzaq in his *divan*. Münif Efendi had to stay in Yerevan for several months in 1741, during his mission to Iran. In one of his poems, he compares the seas of Ottoman lands with the rivers of Iran, implying the inferiority of the latter: "Ne keş-a-keşde kalurduk o kaşı yay ile biz/ Düşmesek hançer-i ebrusuna ger ray ile biz/ Bir zaman Rumda derya-keş idik ey saki/ Şimdi İranda kanaat iderüz çay ile biz."²² Mirza Abd-ur Rezzaq or Neş'e, a famous poet in Nadir's court, responded to Münif: "Her müsafir gele hoşnud iderüz çay ile biz/ Telh-kam eylemeyüz herkese derya ile biz/ Bahr-ı ihsana gerek havsala takat götüre/ Verne sir-ab iderüz katreni derya ile biz."²³ Münif's poem and Mirza's answer in Nusret's *divan* indicate that Münif's satirist poem echoed in Iran just as Neşe's answer to Münif was known in Istanbul. Clearly, the Ottoman-Iranian conflict was not limited to battlefields or negotiation tables, but it appeared in poetry as well.

²⁰ Azmi Bilgin, "Abdullah Nidai ve İki Şiiri," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 27 (1997): 64-66.

²¹ See the tables in B.2.

²² Münif Mustafa Efendi, *Antakyalı Münif Divanı: Tenkitli Basım*, ed. Sabahattin Küçük (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999), 208.

²³ Kemal Karabuçak, "Ebubekir Nusret Divanı (İnceleme-Tenkitli Metin)," (PhD diss., Sakarya University, 2018), 58.

Ebubekir Nusret Efendi's social network was not the only circle of literary information in Istanbul in the second half of the eighteenth century. Hoca Neşet played a significant role in spreading the *Sabk-i Hindi* style among Ottoman poets in the same period. He was more famous for the students he mentored, such as Şeyh Galib, than for his poems.²⁴ Pertev, one of his disciples, wrote Hoca Neşet's biography. According to the text, Hoca Neşet went to the Hedjaz with his father in 1750, when he was fifteen years old. After his return to Istanbul, he learned Persian from an Iranian physician and poet, Aymani, who was the assistant physician at Nadir's court.²⁵ The Ottoman elites in Istanbul probably solicited Aymani's thoughts on the political situation in Iran during Nadir's rule and after his death, in addition to benefitting from his linguistic and medical skills.

The sources refer to the information policy of the Porte and its efforts to control the news arriving in the capital from the eastern front. After 1734, the Porte began to detain the couriers from the eastern parts of the empire before they entered the capital. This method was employed to control the flow of information into the capital keeping in mind the rebellion of 1730 and other attempts to remove the government in the second quarter of the century.²⁶

The news of the fall of Hamadan and especially of Tabriz in 1730 were not the main reasons behind the 1730 rebellion in Istanbul, but they definitely helped the opposition to create considerable tension in the city. In his study on Cornelius Calkoen, the Dutch ambassador at Istanbul, Bosscha Erdbrink writes:

²⁴ "...Hoca Neşet'in asıl önemi, ortaya koyduğu eserlerden çok yetiştirdiği öğrenciler ve özellikle devrinde İran edebiyatının yeniden keşfedilmesine vesile olmasından ileri gelmektedir." Mustafa İsen, "Hoca Neş'et," *TDVIA*, vol. 18 (Istanbul: TDV, 1998), 192.

²⁵ "...mağz-ı Kuran ve lübb-i lübab-i irfan olan Mesnevi-i Şerif ibaresine intisab için zeban-ı Farsi istihsali labüd olmağın ol esnada Asitane'ye gelüp tababet ile iştiğal üzre olan Tahmasb Kulu Nadir Şah'ın tabibi sanisi Aymani merd-i hünermend ki İsfahan ve Şiraz'da yaran-ı Acemiye nice müddet şive-i suhenguyide ahund olmuşlaridi..." Ekrem Bektaş, "Pertev'in Hoca Neş'et Biyografisi," *Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 2 (2011): 196.

²⁶ Robert W. Olson, "Jews, Janissaries, Esnaf and the Revolt of 1740 in Istanbul: Social Upheaval and Political Realignment in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 20/2 (1977): 185-207.

On September 20th [1730], Calkoen wrote that the actions of the Porte had been “so irregular that one failed to detect any system in them for some time, indeed, that there appeared to be no system at all, but that they were conducting affairs from one day to the next.” Amidst this confusion, the news of the capture of Tebriz by the Persians and of the ignominious flight of the Ottoman frontier army had a devastating effect upon both the Court and the population of Istanbul. The Grand Vizier’s vacillating policy was universally blamed, while news of the expected arrival of fleeing soldiers from the eastern front added to the rumors and excitement already existing in the city.²⁷

The Ottoman sources as well invoke similar comments on the subject. Abdi Efendi mentioned in his chronicle on the 1730 rebellion that the fall of Tabriz was planned under the orders of Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa. When the news arrived the capital, it caused great disapproval among the people:

...İbrahim Paşa Hazretleri mahfi Tebrizi dahi Kızılbaş vermiş ve içinde olan ümmet-i Muhammed’in rub’u bulmadığı aşikar ve lisan-ı nasta mütevatir olup gayri cümle nas kendülerinden nefret edüp bir bahaneye bakarken böyle vaki olmak üzere şuyu buldu ki... Bu haber-i muhiş mah-ı rebülevvelinde [RA.1143/14 September-13 October 1730] Asitane-i saadette tevatür buldu. Alem içinde ser-i surh [Iran] tarafından adem geldi, anda olan ümmet-i Muhammedin üç dört bin miktarını esir edüp badehu her birini birer ukubet ile helak eylediği şöhret bulmuş idi.²⁸

In the end, Damad İbrahim Paşa could not prevent the spread of the news which triggered a series of events that ended with his deposition and beheading. His successors in the office during the rule of Mahmud I probably made their best not to repeat the same mistakes since the war with Iran continued and the Ottoman army was not always victorious at the battlefield. According to Angelo Emo, the Venetian Ambassador to Istanbul in the early 1730s, “Bad news came continuously from Asia and was concealed as usual.”²⁹ Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa, the grand-vizier from 1732 to 1735, “...began in May 1733 to announce victories which had not taken place. He

²⁷ G. R. Bosscha Erdbrink, *At the Threshold of Felicity: Ottoman-Dutch Relations During the Embassy of Cornelis Calkoen at the Sublime Porte 1726-1744* (Ankara: TTK, 1975), 93.

²⁸ Abdi Efendi, *Abdi Tarihi*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat (Ankara: TTK, 1943), 25, 27.

²⁹ Mary Lucille Shay, *The Ottoman Empire From 1720 to 1734: As Revealed in Despatches of the Venetian Baili* (Connecticut: Greenwood, 1978), 143.

used this scheme in July without deceiving the people permanently.”³⁰ When the Porte decided not to accept the treaty between Ahmed Paşa and Nadir in 1734, the ambassador wrote as follows:

Once more the troops objected to the war. The [grand] vizier [Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa] sought to win them by announcing that he would lead the army. He increased their pay and presented the officers with gifts. He also introduced a new method for maintaining secrecy. At different times couriers from the front had been carefully guarded, but in the early part of 1734, he did not permit them to enter Constantinople. They were met several days’ distance from the city, and only their news was brought to the vizier. Evidently the reports were not to the taste of the government... Although it was said late in January [1734] that a treaty had been negotiated by Achmet Pasha and Tahmasp Kuli Khan, the announcement was not accepted as true until later. The proposals proved so unfavorable that Ali Pasha denounced them in a council on February 9, and it was agreed that the war should continue. This decision called forth expressions of discontent. Fires began breaking out simultaneously in various parts of the city. The usual governmental devices for subduing and suppressing rebellious feeling were used: the exiling of Albanians, the closing of coffee shops, and the stationing of guards about the city.³¹

According to the reports of the Russian diplomats in Istanbul, the Porte continued to employ similar methods in the mid-1740s: “...news of Ottoman losses in battles against the formidable Nadir Shah were concealed, revealed only partially, or even staged as victories, announced by cannon-fire from the towers of the city.”³²

Sometimes, a courier or even visiting ambassador was met and detained outside of Istanbul to control the news they carried or to check their credentials. The steward (*kahya*) of the governor of Baghdad was detained at İznikmid for a while in 1744: “Constantinople, March 16... At last, the Kaija of Achmet Bashaw, who had been detained at Nicomedia [İznikmid], from whence he sent his dispatches to the Porte, arriv’d here the 10th of February [1744] and had several conferences with the Kislar

³⁰ Shay, *The Ottoman Empire From 1720 to 1734*, 144.

³¹ Shay, 146.

³² Mariya Vladimirovna Amelicheva, “The Russian Residency in Constantinople, 1700-1774: Russian-Ottoman Diplomatic Encounters” (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2016), 163.

Aga...”³³ The journey of the Iranian ambassador, Fath Ali Khan, to Istanbul in the following year is another example that the Porte tried to control the flow of information between the capital and the eastern front of the empire in the mid-1740s, as it did in the previous decade. Fath Ali Khan had to stay in certain destinations and was questioned about his authority as an ambassador as well as the peaceful intentions of Nadir Shah by the orders of the Porte.³⁴



³³ *The London Evening Post*, May 17-19, 1744.

³⁴ BOA. HAT. 37234. BOA. HAT. 37248.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW ON SOURCES, AGENTS AND LITERATURE

2.1. Locating the Sources

The primary sources of Ottoman-Iranian political relations in the second quarter of the eighteenth century are mainly in Turkish. However, one needs to consult sources in several other languages as well, such as those in Persian, Arabic, English, French, Dutch, Italian, and Russian. One of the aims of this research has been to cover as many of the relevant sources as possible. However, it is hard to reach out to all the relevant literature within the confines of a thesis. One should keep in mind as well that the discovery of new sources in the future will not be surprising. Partially certain archives and manuscript libraries in Turkey, Iran, India, and other countries still contain uncatalogued collections. Consequently, this thesis has only the modest claim of providing a preliminary framework within which to discuss the agents of information.

For the Turkish archival sources, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), and Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (TSMA) are the two leading archives while others outside of Turkey, like the National Library of Bulgaria (NLB), also preserve numerous Ottoman documents. The archival documents to which this research refers can be simply classified under four groups: Reports or *takrir*, payment documents, internal correspondence, and foreign correspondence. Reports may cover the details of diplomatic negotiations, descriptions of official ceremonies, activities of an ambassador, observations of a spy or the story of a captive. If the report of an ambassador is more than several pages, it is defined as an ambassadorial report, *sefaretname*. Internal correspondence includes letters among officers in central and provincial governments and the edicts of the Porte. Foreign correspondence consists of documents and letters related to different countries, including royal letters, peace agreements or lists of gifts. Payment documents are usually about the costs of an official mission. The official hosts of missions, *mihmandar*, wrote them during the journey to keep the Porte informed.

They are very important since they give us specific details of the locations and dates of the diplomatic missions on their travels.

A second group of primary Turkish sources is the writings of Ottoman statesmen that are preserved as manuscripts. These works include authors' observations and commentaries on political and diplomatic relationships between the Ottomans and Iranians, the status and travels of ambassadorial and deputed missions. These works also refer to certain archival documents that are no longer available in the archives.³⁵

Subhi Mehmed Efendi and İzzi Süleyman Efendi were court historians during the second quarter of the eighteenth century.³⁶ Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, Abdurrahman Süveydi Efendi, Kerküklü Resul Havi, and Yasin al-Ömeri give notable information on Ottoman political, social and cultural histories in their works on the same period.³⁷ Certain Persian chronicles had been translated into Turkish. This situation is related to Ottoman political and intellectual interest on Iran. Cases in point are the works of Mirza Mahdi Khan (official chronicler at the court of Nadir Shah), Eskandar Beg Monshi, Sharafaddin Fazlullah el-Husaini

³⁵ There may be two reasons behind this fact: The copy in the archive may have been lost in time or it is not accessible due to incomplete or unsystematic catalogues.

³⁶ Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi: Sami ve Şakir Tarihleri ile Birlikte (İnceleme ve Karşılaştırmalı Metin)*, ed. Mesut Aydınar (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2007). İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi* (İstanbul: Raşid ve Vasif Efendiler Matbaası, H. 1199/1784).

³⁷ Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Mür-it Tevarih*, vol. 1, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1976). Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, H. 1252/1836). Sayyar K. Al-Jamil, "A Critical Edition al-Durr al-Maknun fi al-Maathir al-Madiya min al-Qurun" (PhD diss., University of St. Andrews, 1983). Abdurrahman Süveydi Efendi, *Hadiqat al-Zawra fi Sirat al-Wuzara*, ed. İmad Abdul-Salam Rauf (Baghdad: Macmu-ul İlmi, 2003). Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzerâ: Zeyl-i Gülşen-i Hulefa*, ed. Muhammed Bakır el-Tiflisi (Baghdad: Darüt-Tıbaatü Darüsselami, H. 1246/1830). Resul's work was printed without numbers of pages. In this study, I have referred to the copy in the digital library of İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı (IBBAK). The library workers numbered the pages starting from the pages of contents, *fihrist*, with Arabic numbers, not starting from the preface. In short, the account has two parts; preface (4 pages) and text (364 pages). Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzerâ: Zeyl-i Gülşen-i Hulefa*, IBBAK. Belediye Osmanlıca Kitaplar, O. 46, accessed by January 1, 2016, <http://katalog.ibb.gov.tr/kutuphane2/kitaplar/520005700056000480005200095001140011500069.pdf>.

Qazvini, and Ghiyasaddin Muhammad.³⁸ In addition to these texts, İsmail Asım Efendi, an official chronicler of the era, translated *Acaib-ul Letaif* of Ghiyasaddin Naqqash into Turkish in H. 1140/1728.³⁹

There were specific texts on battles, sieges, and diplomacy between the Ottomans and Iranians during the reigns of Mahmud I and Nadir. An untitled text (*risale*) narrates the siege of Baghdad in 1733 and the subsequent war between Nadir Shah and Topal Osman Paşa.⁴⁰ A register of important affairs (*mühimme defteri*) in BOA includes the edicts of the Porte related to Abdullah Paşa's campaign in the east in 1734-35.⁴¹ Another register, *defter*, in a manuscript library covers various edicts and payment documents regarding the Ottoman-Iranian wars from 1743 to 1745.⁴² Osman Saf Efendi and Sırrı Efendi were in Kars, during the siege of the city by Nadir Shah in 1744. Both recorded the siege from their perspectives.⁴³ Dayezade Mustafa Efendi as well was in Kars during the siege. He mentions in his work on the history of the Sultan Selim Mosque that he wrote a text on the same subject.⁴⁴ İzzi Efendi wrote a separate text based on the reports of others on 05.M.1159/28 January 1746 about

³⁸ Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Tarih-i Nadir Şah Tercümesi*, trans. and ed. Karslı Hacibi (1) SK. Esad Efendi, 2179. (2) IAEK. ŞR., 248. (3) İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi, 1319. Eskandar Beg Monshi, *Tarih-i Alam-ara-i Abbasi Tercümesi*, trans. Mehmed Nebih, IBBAK. Muallim Cevdet Yazmaları, 57. Ghiyasaddin Muhammad b. Khandamir, *Tarih-i Habib-us Siyer*, trans. editorial board, TTKK. Yazma Eserler, 538. Sharafaddin Fazlullah el-Husaini Qazvini, *Tarih-i Şahan-ı İran*, trans. Subhi Mehmed Efendi, SK. Esad Efendi, 2096. Also see, Salim Aydın, "Lale Devri'nde Yapılan İlimi Faaliyetler," *Divan* 3 (1997): 158, 161-162.

³⁹ *Acaib-ul Letaif* is an ambassadorial report/travelogue of a Timurid mission to China in early 1420s. Ghiyasaddin Naqqash, *Acaib-ul Letaif*, trans. Küçük Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, ed. Ali Emiri (Istanbul: Kader, H. 1131/1913). Also see, Ghiyasaddin Naqqash, *Hitay Sefaretnamesi*, trans. Küçük Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, ed. Betül Mutlu Muhaddere (Ankara: TTK, 2013).

⁴⁰ *Risale*, (1) ÖNB. H. O., 97. (2) IUNEK. TY., 2449.

⁴¹ Kemal Erkan, ed., *1734-1735 Osmanlı-İran Savaşı Mühimme Defteri* (Istanbul: Çamlıca, 2011). Hojat Fakhri, "Dafatir-i Muhimma-i Osmani wa Ehammiyat-i Anha der Shinakht-i Tarikh-i Iran (Daftar-i Muhimma az Ramazan 1146 ta Zihicce 1147)" (MA thesis, Tehran University, 2016).

⁴² *Defter*, IBBAK. Muallim Cevdet Yazmaları, 18.

⁴³ Osman Saf Efendi, *Risale*. Sırrı Efendi, *Risaletü't-Tarih-i Nadir Şah*.

⁴⁴ Dayezade Mustafa Efendi, *Edirne Sultan Selim Camii Risalesi*, ed. Oral Onur (Istanbul: Kuşak, 2002), 18.

the siege. He included this piece in his chronicle later.⁴⁵ Emrah Aydemir introduced another Ottoman source on the siege, a text written by Haşmet, into the literature recently.⁴⁶

Mehmed Ragıb Paşa's work, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, is devoted to diplomatic negotiations between the Ottoman bureaucrats and Abd-ul Baqi Khan's mission in Istanbul in 1736.⁴⁷ His other work, *Münşeat*, also includes official letters to Iranian bureaucrats.⁴⁸ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi's *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide* is another significant source on Ottoman diplomacy in the eighteenth century. He served as a member of the border committee (as *sınır mollası*) that served to settle issues between the Austrians and Ottomans after the peace of 1739 and as *ordu kadısı* (senior judge) on the Ottoman mission to Iran in 1747.⁴⁹

Certain texts on etiquettes in official ceremonies (*teşrifat defteri*) of the era give details about the status of Iranian agents in the Ottoman lands. Selman Efendi recorded official ceremonies from 1727 to 1734, while İsmail Efendi's work covers from 1736 to 1740.⁵⁰ Abdullah Naili Paşa and Mustafa Münif's works include important documents related to arrivals of Iranian and Indian ambassadors to Istanbul in the time of Mahmud I. Naili Paşa wrote his book on diplomatic ceremonies, *Mukaddime-i Kavanin-i Teşrifat* in the mid-eighteenth century and Mustafa Münif completed his work, *Mecmua-ı Merasim-i Devlet-i Aliyye*, in 1800.⁵¹

⁴⁵ İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Ceride-i Vekai-i Muhasara-ı Kale-i Kars*, NLI. Yah. Ar., 77.

⁴⁶ Emrah Aydemir, "Haşmet'in Tarih-i Muhasara-i Kars Der Zaman-ı Ahmed Paşa Adlı Eseri (İnceleme-Metin)" (MA thesis, Gazi University, 2017).

⁴⁷ Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*.

⁴⁸ Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Münşeat ve Telhisat*. Hasan Gültekin, "Türk Edebiyatında İnşa: Tarihi Gelişim-Kuram-Sözlük ve Metin" (PhD diss. Hacettepe University, 2007), 361-467.

⁴⁹ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, ed. Ali İbrahim Savaş (Ankara: TTK, 1999).

⁵⁰ Selman Efendi, *Defter-i Rusum-ı Kavanin-i Teşrifat*, BOA. A.d. 347. İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348.

⁵¹ Abdullah Naili Paşa, *Mukaddime-i Kavanin-i Teşrifat* (1) BOA. A.d. 356. (2) BOA. A.d. 359 (3) TSMK. Y., 3959. (4) İBBAK. Muallim Cevdet Yazmaları, 502. (5) AEK. Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, 28. (6) YKSÇAK.

Contemporary diaries (*ruznames*) involve important clues on Ottoman-Iranian relations. The personal diaries of Sadreddinzade Telhisi Mustafa Efendi, Ahmed bin Mahmud, Sıdkı Mustafa Efendi, Ahmed el-Bediri and İbn Kenan were written in the 1730s and 1740s.⁵² Furthermore, Hıfzi Ağa, Salahi Ağa, Katip Ahmed, and Kadı Ömer Efendi recorded the daily life of Sultan Mahmud I.

Hıfzi Ağa's royal diary noted the events of the years of 1730 and 1731.⁵³ His other work with Salahi Ağa begins in 1735 and ends in 1738.⁵⁴ Katip Ahmed wrote about four and a half months of the Sultan's daily life in 1734.⁵⁵ Kadı Ömer Efendi's work, the longest text of all, covers the entire decade from 1740 to 1750.⁵⁶

The number of Ottoman prosopographical works that focus on Ottoman offices such as those of the grand-vizier, admiral, chief eunuchs, chroniclers, chief jurisconsult (*şeyhülislam*), *nişancı*, and *reisülküttab* increased sharply after the mid-eighteenth century.⁵⁷ They were written either for the first time for some offices or to update

Türkçe Yazmalar, 596. (7) TTKK. Yazma Eserler, 49. (8) SBB. Ms. or. oct., 2995. Mustafa Münif Efendi, *Mecmua-ı Merasim-i Devlet-i Aliyye*, IUNEK. TY., 8892.

⁵² Sadreddinzade Telhisi Mustafa Efendi, *Ceride*, BOA. KK.d. 7500. Ahmed b. Mahmud, *Tarih*, SBB. Ms. or. quart, 1209, 216b-327b. Ahmed el-Bediri, *Hawadit Dimasq al-Yawmiyya: 1154-1175/1741-1762*, ed. Ahmad İzzat Abd-ul Karim (Cairo: Jamiyyet-ul Mısriyye li-d Dirasati-t Tarikhiyye, 1959). Ahmed el-Bediri, *Berber Bediri'nin Günlüğü, 1741-1762: Osmanlı Taşra Hayatına İlişkin Olaylar*, trans. Hasan Yüksel (Ankara: Akçağ, 1995). Ali Aslan, "18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İlim Hayatından Bir Kesit: Sıdkı Mustafa Efendi'nin Günlüğü ve Mülazemet Yılları" (MA thesis, İstanbul University, 2015). İbn Kenan, *Yawmiyyat Shamiyya*, ed. Akram Ahmad al-Ulabi (Damascus: Dar-ut Tıbaa, 1994).

⁵³ Hıfzi Ağa, *Ruzname-i Sultan Mahmud Han*, TSMK. R., 1977/3. Şükran Çınar, "Patrona Halil İsyanı'na ve I. Mahmud Devrine Ait Tarihçe" (Graduate thesis, İstanbul University, 1974).

⁵⁴ Hıfzi Ağa and Salahi Ağa, *Zabt-ı Vekayi-i Şehriyari*, IUNEK. TY., 2518.

⁵⁵ Katip Ahmed, *Ruzname*, TSMA. 10732. Efan Uzun, "Sultan I. Mahmud'a Ait Bir Ruzname (H.1147/M.1734)," *Turkish Studies: International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 8/7 (2013): 687-703.

⁵⁶ Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname-i Sultan Mahmud Han*, MK. AE. Trh., 423. Also see, Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, "Ruzname," *TDVIA*, vol. 35 (İstanbul: TDV, 2008), 278-281.

⁵⁷ On grand-viziers, Şehrizade Mehmed Said, "Gül-i Ziba," in *Zeyl-i Hadikat-ul Vuzera*, ed. Dilaverağazade Ömer Vahid Efendi (İstanbul: Ceride-i Havadis Matbaası, H. 1271/1855), 37-86. For its Latinized version, see Şehrizade Mehmed Said, "Gül-i Ziba," in *Hadikatü'l-Vüzera ve Zeylleri: Osmanlı Sadrazamları*, ed. Mehmet Arslan (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2013), 195-233. On the *şeyhülislams*, Müstakimzade Süleyman Sadeddin Efendi, *Devhatül Meşayih: Osmanlı Şeyhülislamlarının Biyografileri* (İstanbul: Çağrı, 1978). On admirals, Mehmed Hafid Efendi, *Sefinetül Vüzera*, ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu

previous studies by adding new entries. In brief, the aforementioned archival documents and manuscripts give us the opportunity to examine thousands of pages in pursuit of a specific political, social or cultural issue of Ottoman history in the second quarter of the century.

The variety of the primary sources in other languages makes locating all sources of diplomatic interactions an impossible task for a single researcher. Some of them are not published and most of them are not translated into other languages. Persian sources of the era, mostly chronicles,⁵⁸ do not give detailed information on Iranian and Ottoman missions as much as the Turkish sources do.⁵⁹ Andreasyan and Bournoutian published Armenian chronicles of the period.⁶⁰ The unpublished reports of two British ambassadors to Istanbul, namely Everard Fawkener in 1735-1742, and Stanhope Aspinwall in 1742-1747, are available under State Papers 97.⁶¹ They include these ambassadors' observations and thoughts on the mutual military and diplomatic

(Istanbul: Şirketi Mürettibiye, 1952). On the *nişancı*s, Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Nişancılar Durağı*, ed. Bilgin Aydın and Rifat Günalan (Ankara: TTK, 2015). On chief eunuchs, Ahmed Resmi Efendi, *Hamiletü'l-Kübera*, ed. Ahmet Nezihi Turan (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2000). Zeynep Aycibin, "Ahmet Resmi Efendi'nin Hamiletül Kübera'sı ve Müstakim-Zade Zeyli," *Belgeler* 26 (2001): 183-226. Derviş Abdullah, *Risale-i Teberdariye Fi Ahval-i Darüssaade*, ed. Pınar Saka (Istanbul: İnkılap, 2011). On chroniclers, Mehmed Cemaleddin Efendi, "Ayine-i Zurefa," in *Osmanlı Tarih ve Müverrihleri: Ayine-i Zurefa*, ed. Mehmet Arslan (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2003), 23-71. On *reisülküttab*s, Ahmed Resmi Efendi, *Halikat-ür Rüesa* (Istanbul: Takvimhane-i Amire Matbaası, 1269/1853). There are three titles of the book which can lead confusion. In some manuscripts it is titled as *Hadikat-ür Rüesa* or *Sefinet-ür Rüesa* and in other manuscripts ant printed version of the text, it is *Halikat-ür Rüesa*. The title of *Sefinet-ür Rüesa* is the popular one in current literature. See, Bekir Kütükoğlu, "Halikatü'r-Rüesa," *TDVIA*, vol. 15 (Istanbul: TDV, 1997), 304-305.

⁵⁸ Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Cihanguşa-yı Nadiri*, ed. Sayyid Abdullah Anvar (Tehran: Anjuman-i Asar va Mekhafir-i Farhangi, H.S. 1377/1998). Muhammad Kazim Marvi, *Alamara-yi Nadiri*, 3 vols, ed. Muhammad Amin Riahi (Tehran: Intisharat-i Ilmi, H.S. 1377/1988).

⁵⁹ For a detailed examination of Persian primary sources during the time of Mahmud I and Nadir Shah, see Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 292-302. Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 25-73. Ernest Tucker, "Persian Historiography in the 18th and Early 19th Century," in *A History of Persian Literature Volume X: Persian Historiography*, ed. Charles Melville (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012): 258-291.

⁶⁰ Hrand D. Andreasyan, trans., *Osmanlı-İran-Rus İlişkilerine Ait İki Kaynak* (Istanbul: İstanbul University, 1974). Abraham Erewants'i, *History of the Wars, 1721-1738*, trans. George A. Bournoutian (California: Mazda, 1999). Abraham Kretats'i, *The Chronicle of Abraham of Crete*, trans. George A. Bournoutian (California: Mazda, 1999).

⁶¹ *State Papers 97*, vols. XXV-XXXIII, Correspondence between Whitehall and the British Diplomatic Representatives at Constantinople, (1728-1748), The National Archive of UK.

activities of the courts of Mahmud I and Nadir Shah. Thanks to Willem M. Floor's book on the reports of the Dutch East India Company in Iran, we have more information on the situation of Ottoman missions in Iran as in the examples of Mustafa Paşa and Kılıç Reis.⁶² Some of the details in his book are very hard to find elsewhere. Cases in point are Mustafa Paşa's illness in Isfahan, celebrations of Ottoman and Russian ambassadors of their state's respective victories in the late 1730s, and the arrival date of the news of Nadir Shah's victory at Karnal. In her article, Nevin Özkan reviews Pietro Busenello's 279 pages long detailed account on the Ottomans, "Lettere Informative Delle Cose De Turchi." Busenello, the secretary of the Venetian ambassador to Constantinople in 1742-46, writes his views on Ottoman bureaucracy, Ottoman-Uzbek political relations, the ongoing Ottoman-Iranian war, and its economic and social effects on society in his report.⁶³ His master, Giovanni Dona, also touches upon Ottoman-Iranian relations in his report when he went back to Venice in 1746.⁶⁴

The Dutch and French ambassadors to Istanbul, Portuguese and Russian diplomats in Iran, and Carmelite missionaries in Iraq also noted the latest political, diplomatic and economic developments and sent reports to their capitals.⁶⁵ Future studies based on these sources would shed light on the internal dynamics of Ottoman-Iranian relations by taking into account the varying perspectives of different actors.

⁶² Floor, *The Rise and Fall of Nader Shah*.

⁶³ Nevin Özkan, "Venedik Senatosu Sekreteri Pietro Busenello'nun İstanbul Gözlemleri (1742-1746), Lettere Informative Delle Cose De Turchi," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 20 (2000): 269-294.

⁶⁴ Giovanni Dona, "Relazione," in *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, vol. 14, ed. Maria Pia Pedani-Fabris (Padova: Bogetta d'Erasmus, 1996), 966-968.

⁶⁵ Erdbrink, *At the Threshold of Felicity*. Hermann Gollancz, *Chronicle of Events between the Years 1623 and 1733, Relating to the Settlement of the Order of Carmelites in Mesopotamia (Bassora)* (London: Oxford University, 1927). Herbert Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia, and The Safavids and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 2 vols. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1939). For the English sources on the era, see, Jon Emerson, "Some General Accounts of the Safavid and Afsharid Period, Primarily in English," in *History and Literature in Iran: Persian and Islamic Studies in honour of P.W. Avery*, ed. Charles Melville (London: British Academic, 1998), 27-41. Also see, Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 303-313.

2.2. Classifying the Agents

I have taken seven groups of agents into consideration during my research on the Ottoman sources of information in the East. These are ambassadorial missions, deputed missions (official missions without an ambassador), *mihmandars* (guides or hosts of the official missions), spies, captives, merchants, travelers, and couriers. I categorize ambassadorial and deputed missions with hosts as “official agents” and the others as “unofficial agents.” The adjectives of “official” and “unofficial” before the word “agent” are used in a specific context throughout the thesis. Official agent refers to an agent whose position was known and recognized by different sides in an information network. In other words, it means transparent agents in international relations such as an Ottoman ambassador in Iran or an Ottoman bureaucrat in a meeting with a foreign delegate.

These identifications and categorization have their grey areas since some agents carried two identities such as spy-merchant or merchant-ambassador. For instance, Sayyid Ataullah began his journey from Delhi to Basra as a merchant. As soon as he reached Basra in 1744, he told the Ottoman officers that he was an Indian ambassador to the court of Mahmud I. His merchant identity was a disguise not to attract attention, possibly due to the agreement between Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah in 1739, which forbade any political interaction between the Ottomans and the Mughals. The Ottoman officers in Basra and Baghdad were very skeptical of his ambassadorial credentials since they were not informed of the arrival of an Indian ambassador and Sayyid Ataullah’s appearance was very poor for an ambassador. Another example is Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi who was a member of Mustafa Paşa’s ambassadorial mission to Iran in 1736. He joined Nadir’s court as a musician in Qandahar in May 1738 and was released from his duty in Herat in June 1740. He traveled back to Istanbul and wrote a travelogue. He was an official agent at the beginning of his journey and later became an unofficial agent.

Other classifications such as agents with-consent and without-consent are also possible in this context. For instance, captives were surely agents without-consent. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi and Abdullah Süveydi Efendi were very unwilling in their

journeys as members of Ottoman diplomatic missions to Iran, as they clearly mention their feelings in their works. In short, the classification of agents as official and unofficial agents is imperfect but it helps define and comprehend the roles of agents in a network of information.

2.2.1. Official Missions and Their Hosts

In this study, ambassadorial mission implies an appointed ambassador. Deputed missions refer to people who have a specific mission to carry out such as the presentation of gifts, letters or news to the court of the target country. We can consider their status to be between a courier and an ambassador. Their difference from courier is that they are welcomed with a diplomatic ceremony in their destination. Like ambassadorial missions, they usually had two royal receptions, one where they delivered letters and gifts and another where they received letters and gifts for delivery. A deputed mission leader did not have the authority to negotiate as an ambassador did. To put it in other terms, the Renaissance diplomatic concepts of “ambassador” and “nuncio”⁶⁶ appear to be relevant to Ottoman diplomatic positions that I call an “ambassadorial mission” and a “deputed mission,” respectively.

The Ottoman definitions of “*sefir*”, “*elçi*”, “*orta elçi*”, “*büyük elçi*”, “*name-ber*”, and “*name-res*” for the statuses of diplomatic officers are not mutually exclusive in the context of Ottoman, Iranian and Mughal diplomatic agents in 1736-1747. For instance, Ottoman texts refer to Sayyid Ataullah as *name-res*,⁶⁷ *sefir*,⁶⁸ and *elçi*⁶⁹ whereas *name-res* implies a lower degree than *sefir*. Persian chronicles are not helpful in this regard since they refer to Fath Ali Khan as a courier (*chapar*)⁷⁰ while

⁶⁶ Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (New York: Dover, 1988), 26-27.

⁶⁷ “Ameden-i name-res ez canib-i Hind...” İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 13a.

⁶⁸ “Ameden-i name-res-i Hind be Asitane-i aliyye... Seyyid Ataullah nam bir nefer sefir...” BOA. D.TŞF. 2-27.

⁶⁹ “Hind elçisi...” BOA. NHD. 8, 604.

⁷⁰ Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Cihanguşa-yı Nadiri*, 414. Muhammad Kazim Marvi, *Alamara-yi Nadiri*, vol. 3, 1072.

the Ottoman sources call him an ambassador.⁷¹ However, the practice in the Ottoman diplomatic etiquette signifies the clear-cut distinction between ambassadorial and deputed missions. As in the cases of Ali Mardan Khan and Molla Avaz Baqi, the Porte decreased the status of an ambassadorial mission to deputed one if the ambassador died. Another example is the third visit of Abd-ul Karim Khan to Istanbul in 1740. He was accepted to the presence of the Ottoman grand-vizier and received a letter from him, not a royal one since his mission was to inform the Sublime Porte about the next Iranian ambassador.⁷²

From 1736 to 1747, the Ottomans sent five ambassadorial and two deputed missions to Iran. The Ottoman ambassadors were Genç Ali Paşa, Mustafa Paşa, Münif Mustafa Efendi, Nazif Mustafa Efendi, and Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa. The deputed missions were Kılıç Reis and Abdullah Süveydi Efendi. Nadir Shah dispatched five ambassadorial and two deputed missions to the court of Mahmud I. These are Abd-ul Baqi Khan, Ali Mardan Khan, Hacı Khan, Fath Ali Khan, and Mustafa Khan. Abd-ul Karim Khan came to Istanbul twice as the head of an Iranian deputed mission. Muhammad Shah, the ruler of the Mughal Empire, sent Sayyid Ataullah as his ambassador to Istanbul. The Porte assigned Mehmed Salim Efendi as the Ottoman ambassador to Delhi who accompanied Indian ambassador on his return journey. The ruler of Khwarazm, Ilbars Khan (Muhammad Bahadır Khan), sent two ambassadors to Istanbul, Chaghatay Beg, and Molla Avaz Baqi.

I have located eleven texts which are directly related to the Ottoman missions between 1736 and 1747. All were written by members of Ottoman missions to Iran and India, except for Ahmed Paşa's letters (see Table 2.1.). Only Mehmed Emin Paşa's *Hindistan Seyahatnamesi* is about India while the remaining ten are about Iran under Nadir Shah. Four of these ten texts are travelogues/memoirs written by Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, and Mehmed Emin Paşa. Three texts are ambassadorial reports by Münif Mustafa Efendi, Nazif

⁷¹ "İran sefiri Feth Ali Beyin..." BOA. HAT. 154.

⁷² İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 7b.

Mustafa Efendi, and Rahmi Mustafa Efendi. Two texts are short reports by Hüseyin Ağa and Nazif Mustafa Efendi. The last is three letters by Ahmed Paşa, the governor of Baghdad. These texts contain inner views of members of Ottoman missions. We can easily notice the clash or unity of perspectives and interests of the members when two or more authors wrote their observations on the same mission, as in the cases of Münif Mustafa Efendi in 1742 and Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa in 1747. When we enlarge the scope of the analysis to consider other sources such as chronicles or archival documents, the missions of Abd-ul Baqi Khan, Nazif Mustafa Efendi and Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa draw our attention as the top three most recorded cases in Ottoman primary texts. Official correspondence and some payment documents are leading sources for the other Ottoman, Iranian, Uzbek, and Indian diplomatic missions.

Table 2.1. The reports of members of Ottoman missions to Iran and India, 1736-47

To	Mission	Author	No	Title
Iran	Genç Ali Paşa	Hüseyin Ağa	1	<i>Takrir</i> ⁷³
	Mustafa Paşa	Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi	2	<i>Tahmas Kulu Han'in Tevarih</i> ⁷⁴
	Münif Mustafa Efendi	Münif Mustafa Efendi	3	<i>İran Sefaretnamesi</i> ⁷⁵
		Nazif Mustafa Efendi	4	<i>Takrir</i> ⁷⁶
Abdullah Süveydi Efendi	Abdullah Süveydi Efendi	5	<i>Risale fi-l Mubahese maa Ulema-i Iran</i> ⁷⁷	

⁷³ Rağb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tefvik*, 28-34.

⁷⁴ Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, *Tahmas Kulu Han'in Tevarih*, ed. Esat Uras (Ankara: TTK, 1942). For its French and Persian translations, see Yacoub Artin Pacha, "Journal de Tambouri Aroutine: Sur la Conquete de l'inde par Nadir Schah," *Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien* 8 (1914): 174-232. Muhammad Amin Riahi, *Safaratnamaha-i Iran: Gozarasha-i Musafirat wa Mamuriyat-i Safiran-i Osmani dar Iran* (Tehran: Intisharat-i Tus, H.S. 1368/1989), 115-162.

⁷⁵ Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi* (1) AUK. Mustafa Con A, 765/1. (2) SBB. Ms. or. oct., 2517, 31a-37b. (3) IAEK. ŞR., 5, 86b-92b. (4) IMK. Yazma Eserler, 1715. (5) IUNEK. İbnülemin, 2588, 109a-117a. (6) IUNEK. TY., 5503/3. (7) KMM. TY., 5432, 105a-110b. (8) KVK., 629/1, 33b-40b. (9) MHK., 5169/1, 102b-108b. (10) MK. AE. Mnz., 412, 80a-85a. (11) SK. Ali Nihat Tarlan 18, 102b-109a. (12) SK. Esad Efendi, 2691, 84b-90a. (13) SK. Hüsrev Paşa, 565, 85b-90a. (14) TSMK. EH., 1564, 72b-79a. (15) TSMK. R., 797, 89b-94b. (16) UML. Abdul Hamid Collection, Ms. or. oct., 2517, 31a-37b.

⁷⁶ BOA. HAT. 198.

⁷⁷ Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, *Risale fi-l Mubahese maa Ulema-i Iran fi Bahsi-l Imame* (1) SK. Esad Efendi, 3580. (2) TSMK. H., 1318. The text was published in Egypt under various titles: *Al-Hucac-ul Qatiyya li-İttifaq-il Fırak-il İslamiyya* (Alexandria: Matbaat-us Saada, H. 1323/1905); *Muatamar al-Najaf*, ed. Muhibbuddin el-Khatib (Cairo: Salafiya, 1973). Süveydi's work was translated into Turkish by Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi in H. 1207/1792 and Yusuf Süveydi in H. 1326/1908. Abdullah Süveydi

Table 2.1. (Continued)

To	Mission	Author	No	Title
India	Mehmed Salim Efendi	Mehmed Emin Paşa	6	<i>Hindistan Seyahatnamesi</i> ⁷⁸
Iran	Nazif Mustafa Efendi	Nazif Mustafa Efendi	7	<i>Kaime</i> ⁷⁹
		Ahmed Paşa	8	<i>İran Sefaretnamesi</i> ⁸⁰
	Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa	Rahmi Mustafa Efendi	9	Letters ⁸¹
		Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi	10	<i>İran Sefaretnamesi</i> ⁸²
			11	<i>Tedbirat-ı Pesendide</i> ⁸³

Efendi, *Vekayiname-i Nadir Şah Der Mezahib-i Şiiyye-i Caferiyye*, trans. Gevrekzade Hafız Hasan Efendi, SK. Esad Efendi, 2436. For the Latinized version of Gevrekzade's translation, see Alaettin Özer, "Vekayiname-i Nadir Şah Der-Mezahib-i Şiiyye-i Caferiyye" (MA thesis, İstanbul University, 1990). Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, *Kitab-ı Tercümet-ul Hücec-ül Katiyye fi-l Fırak-ıl İslamiyye*, trans. Yusuf Süveydi (Cairo: Matbaat-ı Kurdistan-il İlmiyya, H. 1326/1908). For its abbreviated translations in modern Turkish, Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, "Hucec-i Katiyye," in *Hak Sözü'n Vesikaları*, trans. and ed. Hüseyin Hilmi Işık (İstanbul: Hakikat, 2015), 5-44. Mustafa Çağrı, "Sünni-Şii İttifakına Doğru," *Nesil* 10 (1979): 33-48. Also see Hala Fattah, "Representations of Self and the Other in Two Iraqi Travelogues of the Ottoman Period," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30 (1998): 55-62.

⁷⁸ Mehmed Emin Paşa, *Hindistan Seyahatnamesi*, MK. AE. Trh., 884. For its Latinized version, see İsmet Miroğlu, "Hindistan Hakkında XVIII. Yüzyılda Yazılmış Küçük Bir Eser," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 34 (1984): 543-554. Mustafa Uluocak, "XVIII. Yüzyıl Sefaretnamelerinde Türetme ve İşletme Ekleri" (PhD diss., Uludağ University, 2007), 558-569.

⁷⁹ BOA. HAT. 125.

⁸⁰ There are three versions of Nazif's ambassadorial report on Iran, *İran Sefaretnamesi*. The first one is a comparatively short version presented to Ahmed Paşa in Baghdad, after Nazif's return from Iran. Its title is "Suret-i takrir-i Nazif Efendi ki der huzur-ı Ahmed Paşa bad ez muavedet berişte-i beyan keşide." Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 106-112. The other two versions have no major differences, except for an extra commentary chapter, *zeyl*, on Nazif's mission and Ottoman-Iran political relations in the last pages of the third version. For the second version, without *zeyl*, see (1) Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, BNF. Supplement Turc, 1430, 48b-62a. (2) Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Tarih-i Nadir Şah Tercümesi*, SK. Esad Efendi, 2179, 245b-249b. (3) Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2, 1414-1419. For the third version, with *zeyl*, see (1) Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, MK. AE. Trh., 824. The *zeyl* takes part in 26-31. For the Latinized version of this copy, see Adnan Budak, "Mustafa Nazif Efendi'nin İran Elçiliği (1746-1747)" (MA thesis, Karadeniz Teknik University, 1999), 46-57. Uluocak, "XVIII. Yüzyıl Sefaretnamelerinde Türetme ve İşletme Ekleri," 634-647. (2) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 86a-91b. The *zeyl* takes part in 90b-91b. For the Persian translation of Nazif's ambassadorial report without *zeyl*, see Riahi, *Safaratnamaha-i Iran*, 179-194. According to Unat and Suner, there are two more copies which I did not have an opportunity to examine. One is in Basel, in the Collection of Prof. Rudolf Tschudi and the other is NLE. Turkish Manuscripts, 208. See, Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, ed. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal (Ankara: TTK, 1968), 86. Suna Suner, "A Register and Overview of Sefaretnames and Eighteenth Century Ottoman Envoys & Ambassadors (1700-1800)," accessed January 1, 2016, <http://archive.donjuanarchiv.at/go/sefaretnames>.

⁸¹ Although Ahmed Paşa, the Ottoman governor of Baghdad, was not a member of the mission, he wrote three letters regarding Nazif Mustafa Efendi's mission in 1746. NLB. OAK. 64-25.

⁸² Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*. For the Persian translation of the text, see Riahi, *Safaratnamaha-i Iran*, 205-242.

⁸³ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 143-252.

The official host, *mihmandar*, of a mission was charged with many challenging duties such as to arrange places to stay, to deal with the costs of food and other needs, to follow diplomatic protocols and to provide formal and informal communication between the head of the mission and political and military officers during the missions' travels and visits. In short, he was very involved with the entire processes of a diplomatic mission. The Porte usually assigned one of the heads of the imperial guards, *kapıcıbaşı*,⁸⁴ as host to foreign delegations. In many cases, there were three appointments, one for a mission's journey from the border to Istanbul, one for its stay in the city, and one for its return journey. On some occasions, the governor of Baghdad took initiative and charged one of his men to serve the Iranian mission from Baghdad to the border or to the Ottoman capital.

Certain Ottoman officers were appointed as guide more than once during the diplomatic interactions between the courts of Mahmud I and Nadir Shah. A case in point is Seyyid Mehmed Ağa who served Abd-ul Baqi Khan in 1736 and Fath Ali Khan in 1746. This situation was also valid for Iranian guides of Ottoman missions. Muhammad Husain was the guide of Münif Mustafa Efendi in 1742 and Nazif Mustafa Efendi in 1746. The appointment of the same officers for certain duties created a familiar circle between Ottoman and Iranian diplomats during the negotiations. In time, there emerged a group of Iranian experts among Ottoman bureaucrats in Istanbul and a group of Ottoman experts in Nadir's court. Most of these people came to know each other personally by the 1740s. The most well known Ottoman official agent in Iran was probably Nazif Mustafa Efendi who went to Iran as a member of Raşid Efendi's mission to Iran in 1729, as a deputy ambassador of Münif Mustafa Efendi's mission in 1741, and as an ambassador in 1746. He also served as Fath Ali Khan's guide (*mihmandar*) during the latter's stay in the Ottoman capital in 1745. Tables 2.2 and 2.3 below show the Ottoman and Iranian agents who served more than once on diplomatic missions in 1736-47.

⁸⁴ Abdulkadir Özcan, "Kapıcı," *TDVIA*, vol. 24 (Istanbul: TDV, 2001), 346.

Table 2.2. Ottoman agents who participated in negotiations more than once

No	Name	Duty	Place	Year
1	Ragıp Mehmed Paşa ⁸⁵	Member of the ambassadorial mission	Tabriz	1726
		Ambassador	Herat	1732
		Negotiations	Baghdad	1733
			Istanbul	1736
				1738
1741				
2	Nazif Mustafa Efendi ⁸⁶	Member of the ambassadorial mission	Isfahan	1729
		Deputy ambassador	Karakaytak	1742
		Guide of Fath Ali Khan	Istanbul	1745
		Ambassador	Kurdan	1746
3	Münif Mustafa Efendi ⁸⁷	Member of the ambassadorial mission	Isfahan	1729
		Ambassador	Karakaytak	1742
4	Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa ⁸⁸	Negotiations	Kars	1744
		Ambassador	Hamadan	1747
5	Veli Efendi ⁸⁹	Companion of Fath Ali Khan	Journey	1745
		Deputy ambassador	Kurdan	1746
6	Seyyid Mehmed Ağa ⁹⁰	Guide of Abd-ul Baqi Khan	Istanbul	1736
		Guide of Fath Ali Khan	Journey	1746
7	Derviş Mehmed Ağa ⁹¹	Member of border committee	Shirvan	1726
		Guide of Haci Khan	Istanbul	1741

⁸⁵ BOA. HAT. 130. Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 699. Mesut Aydın, "Koca Ragıp Paşa, Hayatı ve Dönemi, 1699-1763" (PhD diss., Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar University, 2005), 40, 58, 61.

⁸⁶ BOA. HAT. 173. BOA. HAT. 198. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, MK. AE. Trh., 824. Mehmed Süreyya, "Nazif Mustafa Efendi," *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 4, ed. Nuri Akbayar and Seyit Ali Kahraman (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996), 1239.

⁸⁷ Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*. Mehmed Süreyya, "Münif Mustafa Efendi," *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 4, 1216.

⁸⁸ Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*. Osman Saf Efendi, *Risale*, 32. Sırrı Efendi, *Risaletü't-Tarih-i Nadir Şah*, 20. Aydemir, "Haşmet'in Tarih-i Muhasara-i Kars Der Zaman-ı Ahmed Paşa Adlı Eseri (İnceleme-Metin)," 122.

⁸⁹ BOA. HAT. 122. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*.

⁹⁰ BOA. C.HR. 6523. BOA. HAT. 154.

⁹¹ BOA. C.HR. 3089. Raşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli*, vol. 3, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan et al. (Istanbul: Klasik, 2013), 1496.

Table 2.3. Iranian agents who participated in negotiations more than once

No	Name	Duty	Place	Year
1	Abd-ul Karim Khan ⁹²	Guide of Genç Ali Paşa	Journey	1736
		Member of the ambassadorial mission	Istanbul	1736
		Head of the deputed mission		1737
		Ambassador	Istanbul	1739
2	Nazar Ali Khan ⁹³	Deputy ambassador	Istanbul	1738
		Ambassador to Ahmed Paşa	Baghdad	1742
		Negotiations	Karakaytak	1742
			Kurdan	1746
3	Abd-ul Baqi Khan ⁹⁴	Guide of Genç Ali Paşa	Journey	1735
		Ambassador	Istanbul	1736
4	Molla Ali Akbar ⁹⁵	Member of the ambassadorial mission	Istanbul	1736
		Negotiations	Karakaytak	1742
			Kurdan	1746
5	Fath Ali Han ⁹⁶	Member of the ambassadorial mission	Istanbul	1741
		Ambassador	Istanbul	1746
6	Mahdi Khan ⁹⁷	Negotiations	Karakaytak	1742
			Kurdan	1746
		Deputy ambassador	Baghdad	1747
7	Muhammad Reza Khan ⁹⁸	Deputy ambassador	Istanbul	1741
		Negotiations	Karakaytak	1742
			Kurdan	1746

2.2.2. Spies and Captives

The reports that provincial governments sent to Istanbul are the main sources of information on Ottoman spies and captives in Iran. This thesis covers the cases of seven Ottoman spies and three Ottoman captives in Iran, and two Uzbek fugitives from the Iranian army. The sources give us the names of all captives but mention the

⁹² İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 2b-4a, 7a. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 28. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 157b.

⁹³ BOA. NHD. 3, 26. Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 769. Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, SK. Ali Nihat Tarlan, 18, 105b. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 11.

⁹⁴ BOA. NHD. 3, 2. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 28.

⁹⁵ BOA. NHD. 3, 2. Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 105b. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 7.

⁹⁶ BOA. HAT. 173. BOA. NHD. 3, 43-44.

⁹⁷ BOA. HAT. 15. Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 105b. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 7. See Figure D.16.

⁹⁸ BOA. NHD. 3, 34. Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 107a. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 7.

names of only Abdülcélil and Molla Veli. In addition to these two spies, the sources refer to the unnamed spies working for the governor of Erzurum (in Karakulak Ali Bey's report), two unnamed spies in Tabriz, another unnamed spy in Tabriz, a merchant-spy from Yerevan, and an unnamed spy in the Iranian army during the Indian campaign. Feyzullah Bey, Ahmed Ağa, and Camuş Hasan Ağa were three Ottoman captives who were released as a gesture of Iranians, while Rasul and Muhammad Kurban escaped from the Iranian army and sought refuge in the Ottoman side. Besides these agents, we come across certain references in Ottoman texts, without a specific context, to situations of Iranian spies and captives in Ottoman lands. Iranian spies in/near Istanbul are briefly examined in a separate part of the fifth chapter. As for Iranian captives, we can mention the transportation of two groups of captives from Istanbul to Trabzon and then to the border, based on archival documents about the costs and official permissions of these operations.

2.2.3. Travelers

In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, many European, Indian, Russian, Iranian, and Ottoman travelers crossed the borders between Iran and its neighbors, the Indian, Russian and Ottoman empires, for the sake of trade, pilgrimage, diplomatic mission or just travel. A considerable number of them wrote their observations and memories in travelogues. Today we find a vast travel literature in multiple languages including Persian, English, French, Armenian, and Greek. Some of the contemporary travelers were Pere Louis Bazin,⁹⁹ Vasileios Vatatzis,¹⁰⁰ Leandro di

⁹⁹ Pere Louis Bazin, "Memoires sur les Dernieres Annees du Regne de Thamas Kouli-Kan et sa Mort Tragique, Contenus dans un Lettre du Frere Bazin," in *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses Ecrites des Missions Etrangeres*, vol. IV, ed. C. Le Gobien and Y. M. M. T. Querbeuf (Paris: Chez J. G. Merigot, 1780), 277-321; "Seconde Lettre Contenant les Revolutions qui Suivrent la Mort de Thamas Kouli-Khan," in *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses Ecrites des Missions Etrangeres*, vol. IV, 322-364.

¹⁰⁰ Vasileios Vatatzis, "Voyages de Basile Vatace en Europe et en Asie," trans. Emile Legrand, in *Nouveaux Melanges Orientaux: Memoires, Textes et Traductions, Publies par les Professeurs de l'Ecole Speciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes a l'occasion du Septieme Congres International des Orientalistes Reuni a Vienne*, ed. Ernest Leroux (Paris: De L'ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, 1886): 185-295; *Persica: Histore de Chah-Nadir*, ed. Nicolae Iorga (Bucharest: Institut Roumain d'Etudes Byzantines, 1939).

Santa Cecilia,¹⁰¹ Jean Otter,¹⁰² Jonas Hanway,¹⁰³ John Green,¹⁰⁴ Charles Perry,¹⁰⁵ William Beawes,¹⁰⁶ Gaylard Roberts,¹⁰⁷ James Spilman,¹⁰⁸ Joseph Emin,¹⁰⁹ Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri,¹¹⁰ Shaikh Muhammad Ali Hazin Lahiji,¹¹¹ and Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi. Some travelers such as Daniel Moginie are considered as fictional

¹⁰¹ Leandro di Santa Cecilia, *Paestina ovvero Prime Viaggio di F. Leandro di Santa Cecilia, Carmelitano Scalzo in Oriente* (Rome: Angelo Rotilj, 1753); *Persia ovvero Secondo Viaggio di F. Leandro di Santa Cecilia, Carmelitano Scalzo dell Oriente* (Rome: Angelo Rotilj, 1757); *Mesopotamia ovvero Terzo Viaggio di F. Leandro di Santa Cecilia, Carmelitano Scalzo in Oriente* (Rome: Angelo Rotilj, 1757).

¹⁰² Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, 2 vols. For its German and Persian translations see, *Reisen in die Türkei und nach Persien: Nebst einer Nachricht von den Unternehmungen des Tahmas Kouli Khan*, vol. 1, trans. Georg Friederich Casimir Schad (Nürnberg: M. J. Bauerischen, 1781); *Reisen in die Türkei und nach Persien: Nebst einer Nachricht von den Unternehmungen des Tahmas Kouli Khan*, vol. 2, trans. Johann Gottfried Heller (Halle: M. J. Bauerischen, 1789); *Safarnama-i Jan Oter: Asr-i Nadir Shah*, trans. Ali Iqbal (Tehran: Javidan, H.S. 1363/1984).

¹⁰³ Jonas Hanway, *An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea*, 4 vols. (London: Mr. Dodsley, 1753).

¹⁰⁴ John Green, *A Journey from Aleppo to Damascus: With a Description of Those Two Capital Cities, and the Neighbouring Parts of Syria* (London: W. Mears, 1736).

¹⁰⁵ Charles Perry, *A View of the Levant: Particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and Greece* (London: T. Woodward, 1743).

¹⁰⁶ William Beawes, "Remarks and Occurrences in A Journey From Aleppo to Bassora, By the Way of the Desert," in *The Desert Route to India, Being the Journals of Four Travelers by the Great Desert Caravan Route between Aleppo and Basra, 1745-1751*, ed. Douglas Carruthers (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1929), 5-40.

¹⁰⁷ Gaylard Roberts, "Mr. Robert's Letter Giving An Account of His Journey over the Desert of Arabia in His Way to England," in *The Desert Route to India, Being the Journals of Four Travelers by the Great Desert Caravan Route between Aleppo and Basra, 1745-1751*, ed. Douglas Carruthers (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1929), 44-47.

¹⁰⁸ James Spilman, *A Journey through Russia into Persia; by two English gentlemen, who went in the year 1739* (London: R. Dodsley, 1742).

¹⁰⁹ Joseph Emin, *Life and Adventures of Joseph Emin, 1726-1809*, ed. Amy Apcar (Calcutta: The Baptist Mission, 1918).

¹¹⁰ Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, *Bayan-i Waqi: Sarguzasht-i Ahwal-i Nadir Shah*, ed. K. B. Nasim (Lahore: Intisharat-i Daire-i Tahqiqat-i Pakistan, 1970). For its abridged and translated versions, see *The Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem*, trans. Francis Gladwin (Calcutta: William Mackay, 1788); *Dar Riqab-i Nadir Shah ya Safarnama-i Abd-ul Karim*, trans. Mahmoud Hedayat (Tehran: Sipahr, H.S. 1323/1944).

¹¹¹ Muhammad Ali Hazin Lahiji, "Tarikh wa Safarnama-i Hazin," in *Diwan-i Hazin Lahiji: Shaamil-i Qasaid, Ghazaliyat, Masnaviyat, Rubaiyat*, ed. Bazhin Taraqqi (Tehran: Kitabfurushi-i Khayyam, H.S. 1350/1971), 1-107; *Tazkira-i Hazin* (Isfahan: Tabid, H.S. 1334/1955); *The Life of Sheikh Mohammed Ali Hazin*, ed. F. C. Belfour (London: The Oriental Fund, 1831). For its English translation see, *The Life of Sheikh Mohammed Ali Hazin*, trans. F. C. Belfour (London: The Oriental Fund, 1830).

writers.¹¹² I will focus on three authentic travelers in chapter five. These travelers, Jean Otter, Tanburi Küçük Arutin, and Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, were in contact with Ottoman central or local statesmen.

2.2.4. Merchants

Turkish, Armenian, Iranian, Indian and European merchants were active in the region despite the social and economic turmoil due to the Ottoman-Iranian wars and tensions that marked the years of 1723-1735 and 1743-1745, and to Nadir's campaign on India and Central Asia in 1737-1741. Unfortunately, I could find only one significant incident that provides information about merchants: Two Indian trade ships brought the news of Nadir's victory at Karnal into the Ottoman lands in Jidda and the local officers sent the news to Istanbul. The recent studies such as Aslanian's book give us important hints about other possible examples among Armenian, Iranian and European trade-networks in an area that stretched from China, and Central Asia to the Indian Ocean, Iraq, Anatolia and Europe in this period.¹¹³

2.2.5. Couriers

I have analyzed fourteen cases of Ottoman couriers. All traveled from main cities in the eastern and southern parts of the empire to Istanbul, except for Topal Sadık who traveled from Istanbul to Baghdad. Most of the couriers noted the duration as well as the departure or arrival dates of their travel in their reports to the Porte. The couriers who traveled to Istanbul include Mehmed Ağa, Mehmed, and Lütfullah from Baghdad; Mustafa, İbrahim, and Hüseyin from Kars, Hacı Mehmed from Mardin, Mustafa from Trabzon, and six unnamed couriers from Yerevan, Kars, Kurdan, Sanandaj, Baghdad, and Mecca. All carried to the Porte the latest news from the eastern front. The courier from Yerevan delivered the news of the death of Yeğen Mehmed Paşa and Nadir's defeat of the Ottoman armies in 1745. Another courier

¹¹² Daniel Moginie, *L'illustre Paisan ou Memoires et Aventures de Daniel Moginie* (Lausanne: Chez Pierre, 1754). J. W Dühr and Henri Hosten, trans., "Daniel Moginie, a forgotten Swiss adventurer in Hindustan (1738-1749)," *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society* 8 (1920): 90-95. Laurence Cook, *Moginie: An 18th Century Adventure* (Victoria: Trafford, 2004).

¹¹³ Sebouh Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (California: University of California, 2011), 87.

from Kurdan carried the news of the Ottoman-Iranian peace treaty signed in 1746. I have calculated and compared the daily average speed of certain examples, based on the assumption that these couriers and Ottoman and Iranian missions followed three main routes in Anatolia in their journeys. This issue will be addressed in detail in the fifth chapter and in Appendix A.

2.3. A Review of Literature

When we look at the present literature on Ottoman-Iranian relationships between 1736 and 1747, the diplomatic-political and religious relations come forward as two most occupied areas. The diplomatic interactions, political decisions and the meeting at Najaf in 1743 attracted many historians' attention. The published texts are helpful for scholars in these fields. However, military history did not create the same effect in general, regardless of the number of primary sources. The histories of certain cities on/near to the Ottoman-Iranian borders in this period are studied.¹¹⁴ New perspectives and examinations on local sources and archival documents will contribute to the literature. The main trend in biographical research is the study of main political figures such as Mahmud I and Nadir Shah. There are recent publications on Nadir Shah in Europe and Iran,¹¹⁵ whereas many aspects of Mahmud I's life are still unexplored, although the royal diaries and accounts of foreigners in Istanbul about the sultan are referred in certain studies. Two remarkable studies look into the social networks in the Ottoman Empire during the rule of Mahmud I: Sievert's book

¹¹⁴ Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations*. Abdul-Latif Nasir Al-Humaidan, "Social and political history of the provinces of Baghdad and Basra from 1688 to 1749" (PhD diss., Victoria University of Manchester, 1975). Imad Abdul-Salam Rauf, *Al-Musul fi-l Ahd-il Osmani: Fatrat-al Hukum-al Mahalli, 1726-1834* (Najaf: Adab, 1975). Percy Kemp, "Mosul and Mosuli Historians of the Jalili Era (1726-1834)" (PhD diss., Oxford University, 1979). Ala Musa Kazim Nawras, *Al-Iraq fi-l Ahd-il Osmani: Dirasata fi-l Alaqaat-il Siyasa, 1700-1800* (Baghdad: Wizarat-ul Saqafa wa-l Alami, 1979). John R. Perry, "The Mamluk Paşalık of Baghdad and Ottoman-Iranian Relations in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic Studies* 1 (1987): 59-70. Thabit A. J. Abdullah, *Merchants, Mamluks, and Murder: The Political Economy of Trade in Eighteenth-Century Basra* (Albany: State University of New York, 2001). Dina Rizk Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire: Mosul, 1540-1834* (New York: Cambridge University, 2002). Thomas Lier, *Haushalte und Haushaltspolitik in Bagdad 1704-1831* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2004). Akram Nejabati, "Osmanlı Hakimiyetinde Hemedan (1724-1732)" (PhD diss., Ege University, 2014).

¹¹⁵ Michael Axworthy, *The Sword of Persia Nader Shah: From Tribal Warrior to Conquering Tyrant* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010); ed., *Crisis, Collapse, Militarism and Civil War: The History and Historiography of 18th Century Iran* (New York: Oxford University, 2018). Mehman Süleymanov, *Nadir Şah* (Tehran: Neqare Endishe, 2010).

examines Ragıb Paşa's bureaucratic career, social network, and intellectual milieu, while Wielemaker's thesis focuses on the Ottoman elites' social relations shaped around the building of the Taksim water network in the early 1730s.¹¹⁶ However, the relationship between Mahmud I and his favorite, Hacı Beşir Ağa, keeps its mystery. The academic writings on architectural works under Beşir's patronage totally dominates the literature, except for few studies related to his political or intellectual career such as Hathaway's pioneer book.¹¹⁷ Since Hacı Beşir Ağa was clearly one of the most powerful statesmen during the first half of the eighteenth century, this situation clearly prevents to comprehend the Ottoman bureaucracy of the period.

Nevertheless, there is a visible rise in prosopographical research within the last two decades.¹¹⁸ This situation may lead to emerge new analyses. When it comes to the areas of Ottoman-Uzbek and Ottoman-Mughal relationships in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, it will be no surprise to find new sources and actors since very few scholars studied on these topics.¹¹⁹ The recent academic studies on

¹¹⁶ Henning Sievert, *Zwischen arabischer Provinz und Hoher Pforte: Beziehungen, Bildung and Politik des osmanischen Bürokraten Ragıb Mehmed Paşa (st. 1763)* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2008). Alexander Frans Wielemaker, "The Taksim water network 1730-1733: Political consolidation, dynastic legitimization, and social networks" (MA thesis, Leiden University, 2015).

¹¹⁷ Jane Hathaway, *Beshir Agha: Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Imperial Harem* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005).

¹¹⁸ Recep Ahışalı, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatında Reisülkütüblük: XVIII. Yüzyıl* (Istanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı, 2001). Murat Uluskan, "Divan-ı Hümayun Çavuşları" (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2004). Erhan Afyoncu, "Osmanlı Siyasi Tarihinin Ana Kaynakları: Kronikler," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 2 (2003): 101-172. Robert Charles Bond, "The Office of the Ottoman Court Historian or Vakanüvis (1714-1922): An Institutional and Prosopographic Study" (PhD diss., University of California, 2004). Elif Özsarı, "Sheyhülislams During the Reign of Mahmud I (1730-1754)" (MA thesis, Fatih University, 2012).

¹¹⁹ Mustafa Budak, "Osmanlı-Özbek Siyasi Münasebetleri (1510-1740)" (MA thesis, İstanbul University, 1987). Tuğba Bozkır, "Name-i Hümayun Defterlerine Göre XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Özbek Münasebetleri" (MA thesis, Sütçü İmam University, 2009). Riazul Islam, *A Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations (1500-1750)*, vol. 1 (Karachi: Institute of Central & West Asian Studies, 1979); vol. 2 (Karachi: Institute of Central & West Asian Studies, 1982). Naimur Rahman Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations: A Study of Political & Diplomatic Relations between Mughal India and the Ottoman Empire, 1556-1748* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 2009); "Mughal India and the Ottoman Empire: A Study in Early Modern Diplomacy and Diplomacy Procedure," in *Tarihte Türk-Hint İlişkileri Sempozyumu: Bildiriler* (Ankara: TTK, 2006), 85-125. Ahmet Varol, "XVIII-XIX. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı-Babürlü Münasebetleri" (MA thesis, İnönü University, 1998). Tahir Sevinç, "Nadirşah'ın 1738-1739 Hindistan Seferi ve Sonuçları," *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 24 (2011): 13-35. Maya Petrovich, "The Land of the Foreign Padishah: India in Ottoman reality and imagination" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2012).

merchant-networks, travelers and Ottoman couriers and postal networks are promising.¹²⁰ However, when we consider the richness of the relevant primary sources, the studies in these fields appear to be at an early stage. The intelligence, intellectual and cultural dimensions of the Ottoman relations with its eastern neighbours in the first half of the century remain as one of the “terra incognita” of modern historiography.

The following sections focus on popular mistakes in academic studies in Turkish, English, and partly in Persian under three titles: Mistakes in chronology, names and geography, and on the Kurdan Treaty of 1746. They have two significant aims. The first is to show inconsistencies of the primary sources, especially in chronology. The other is to prevent the repetition of certain mistakes by the authors since the ones in the literature reached a surprising level that they even invent fictional actors and cities.

2.3.1. Chronological Mistakes

Some of the chronological mistakes originate from the conflicting dates in the contemporary texts while others are related to the misreading of the sources. One should also keep in mind that the majority of the scholars in Turkey prefer TTK’s conversion system to convert Hegira dates to modern ones, whereas writers outside of Turkey use different systems. This situation can create visible differences for the dates of the same event. For example, Naimur Rahman Farooqi converts evail.L.1157

¹²⁰ Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discovery, 1400-1800* (New York: Cambridge University, 2007). Nancy Um, *The Merchant Houses of Mocha: Trade and Architecture in an Indian Ocean Port* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2009). Suraiya Farooqi, “Trading between East and West: The Ottoman Empire of the Early Modern Period,” in *Well Connected Domains: Towards an Entangled Ottoman History*, ed. Pascal W. Firges et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 15-36. Scott Cameron Levi and Ron Sela, *Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2010). Colin Heywood, ed., *Writing Ottoman History: Documents and Interpretations* (Vermont: Variorum, 2002). İzzet Sak and Cemal Çetin, “XVII. Ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Hac Menzilleri,” *Selçuk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 19 (2005): 199-260. Cemal Çetin, *Ulak Yol Durak: Anadolu Yollarında Padişah Postaları (Menzilhaneleri) (1690-1750)* (İstanbul: Hikmetevi, 2013); “Osmanlılarda Mesafe Ölçümü ve Tarihi Süreci,” in *Tarihçiliğe Adanmış Bir Ömür: Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç’e Armağan*, ed. Hasan Bahar et al. (Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2013), 443-465.

as “last week of October/Early November 1744”¹²¹ whereas I convert it as “7-16 November 1744.” The reference to Hegira date with modern conversion can prevent this problem.

Table 2.4 presents fifteen cases of the conflicting dates that primary sources give for the same events. I have referred to reliable dates under the title of the first source and the others in the second source. Table 2.5 shows the conflicting dates in this study and current literature.

Table 2.4. Chronological inconsistencies of the primary sources

No	Event	First Source	Second Source
1	The appointment of İsmail Paşa to the governorship of Baghdad	Evahir.M.1147/ 23 June-2 July 1734 ¹²²	R.1147/ September 1734 ¹²³
2	The arrival of Abd-u Baqi Khan in Istanbul	28.RA.1149/ 6 August 1736 ¹²⁴	03.RA.1149/12 July 1736 ¹²⁵ evail.RA.1149/ 10-19 July 1736 ¹²⁶
3	The departure of Mustafa Paşa from Istanbul	01.Ş.1149/ 5 December 1736 ¹²⁷	H. 1148/1735 ¹²⁸
4	The arrival of Münif Mustafa Efendi in Istanbul	04.S.1154/ 10 April 1742 ¹²⁹	11.S.1154/ 17 April 1742 ¹³⁰

¹²¹ Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, 103, note 135.

¹²² İlker Külbilge, “141 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (H. 1148)” (MA thesis, Ege University, 2002), 196-198.

¹²³ Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 237.

¹²⁴ TSMA. E. 1572-3. Hıfzi Ağa and Salahi Ağa, *Zabt-ı Vekayi-i Şehriyari*, IUNEK. TY., 2518, 83b.

¹²⁵ Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 35.

¹²⁶ Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 304.

¹²⁷ Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 100.

¹²⁸ Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, *Tahmas Kulu Han'ın Tevrihi*, 15.

¹²⁹ Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 108b. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname I*, 106. “Constantinople, April 8... Munif Effendi, the Ambassador from the Porte to the Schaugh, returned hither the 30th [10 April 1742 in Gregorian calendar].” *The London Gazette*, May 18-22, 1742, 2.

¹³⁰ Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 745. Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, v. 2, 1371.

Table 2.4. (Continued)

No	Event	First Source	Second Source
5	The Ottoman royal court for Fath Ali Khan	03.M.1159/ 26 January 1746 ¹³¹	09.M.1159/ 1 February 1746 ¹³²
6	The departure of Nazif Mustafa Efendi from Baghdad	22.CA.1159/ 12 June 1746 ¹³³	26.CA.1159/ 16 June 1746 ¹³⁴
7	The arrival of the Kurdan Treaty in Istanbul	18.L.1159/ 2 November 1746 ¹³⁵	19.L.1159/ 3 November 1746 ¹³⁶
8	The arrival of Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa in Baghdad	20.CA.1160/ 30 May 1747 ¹³⁷	19.CA.1160/ 29 May 1747 ¹³⁸
9	The departure of Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa from Tak Ayağı	18.C.1160/ 26 June 1747 ¹³⁹	03.C.1160/ 12 June 1747 ¹⁴⁰
10	The arrival of Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa in Hamadan	01.B.1160/ 9 July 1747 ¹⁴¹	02.B.1160/ 10 July 1747 ¹⁴²
11	The death of Nadir Shah	11.C.1160/ 20 June 1747 ¹⁴³	12.C.1160/21 June 1747 ¹⁴⁴ 13.C.1160/21 June 1747 ¹⁴⁵
12	The departure of Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa from Sine	26.B.1160/ 3 August 1747 ¹⁴⁶	27.B.1160/ 4 August 1747 ¹⁴⁷

¹³¹ Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 82. The day is *sülasa*/Tuesday.

¹³² İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 41b. The day is *sülasa*/Tuesday.

¹³³ Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 2.

¹³⁴ Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, v. 2, 1414.

¹³⁵ İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 73b. Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2, 1411.

¹³⁶ Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 122.

¹³⁷ Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 67.

¹³⁸ Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 115.

¹³⁹ 26 June 1747. The day is *düşenbe*/Monday. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 73.

¹⁴⁰ Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 115.

¹⁴¹ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tebdirat-ı Pesendide*, 185.

¹⁴² Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 77.

¹⁴³ BOA. NHD. 3, 78. Lockhart and Külbilge refer to the same date. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 261. Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 358.

¹⁴⁴ The day is *çaharşenbe*/Wednesday. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tebdirat-ı Pesendide*, 211.

¹⁴⁵ The day is *çaharşenbe*/Wednesday. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 84.

¹⁴⁶ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tebdirat-ı Pesendide*, 225.

¹⁴⁷ Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 89.

Table 2.4. (Continued)

No	Event	First Source	Second Source
13	The death of Ahmed Paşa	14.L.1160/ 19 October 1747 ¹⁴⁸	ZA.1160/4 November- 3 December 1747 ¹⁴⁹
14	Stays of Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa in Aleppo and Baghdad	11 days in Aleppo, 11 days in Baghdad ¹⁵⁰	15 days in Aleppo, 15 days in Baghdad ¹⁵¹
15	Duration of Nazif Mustafa Efendi's mission	9 months and 6 days ¹⁵²	10 months and 6 days ¹⁵³

Table 2.5. The chronological mistakes in the literature

Event	The Date	The Dates in Literature
The arrival of Abd-ul Baqi Khan in Istanbul	28.RA.1149/ 6 August 1736	03.RA.1149/12 July 1736 ¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ The day is *hamis*/Thursday. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 92. Abbas Al-Azzawi, *Tarih-i al-Iraq Bayna Ihtilalayn*, vol. 5 (Beirut: Al-Dar-ul Arabiyya lil-Mawsuat, 2004), 324. Ayvansarayi gives the date as L.1160/6 October-3 November 1747. Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayi, *Vefayat-ı Selatin ve Meşahir-i Rical*, ed. Fahri Ç. Derin (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1978), 113. A Carmelite missionary, Bishop Emmanuel, gives the date as October 1747 in his report. Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, vol. 2, 1257.

¹⁴⁹ Mehmed Süreyya, "Ahmed Paşa," *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 1, 198. Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Mür-it Tevarih*, vol. 1, 138. Mehmed Süreyya and Şemdanizade probably misread the date in *Tarih-i İzzi*. İzzi Efendi writes that the news of Ahmed Paşa's death arrived in Istanbul on 16.ZA.1160/19 November 1747. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 142b. Kadı Ömer Efendi's work refers to the same date. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname III*, 29.

¹⁵⁰ Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 60, 67, 70.

¹⁵¹ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 149, 158. Resul Havi gives the duration of Kesriyeli's stay in Baghdad as fourteen days. Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 115.

¹⁵² Nazif left Istanbul on 24.S.1159/16 March 1746 and came back on 30.ZA.1159/13 December 1746. In Hegira calendar, his mission lasted for nine months and six days.

¹⁵³ Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, MK. AE.Trh., 824, 26.

¹⁵⁴ Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, grossentheils aus bisher unbenützten handschriften und archiven: Siebeuter Band, vom Carlowicz bis zum Belgrader Frieden, 1699-1739*, vol. 7 (Pesth: C. A. Hartleben, 1831), 463. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1 (Ankara: TTK, 2011), 232. Ali Djafar-Pour, "Nadir Şah Devrinde Osmanlı İnan Münasebetleri" (PhD diss., İstanbul University, 1977), 118. Riahi, *Safaratnamaha-i Iran*, 153. İzzet Sak, "1736-1741 Yılları Arasında İstanbul'a Gelen İran Elçilerinin Bazı Masrafları," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Edebiyat Dergisi* 16 (2006): 121. Adnan Er, "Safevi Devletinin Yıkılış Sebepleri" (MA thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar University, 2008), 57. Ateş, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1720-1747)*, 190. Nurten Sevinç, "Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki İran Elçilerinin Gelir-Giderleri, 1696-1741" (MA thesis, Marmara University, 2012), 22. Uğur Kurtaran, *Bir Zamanlar Osmanlı, Sultan I. Mahmud ve Dönemi, 1730-1754* (Ankara: Atif, 2014), 160.

Table 2.5. (Continued)

Event	The Date	The Dates in Literature
The Ottoman royal court for Abd-ul Baqi Khan	20.R.1149/ 28 August 1736	20.RA.1149/29 July 1736 ¹⁵⁵
The departure of Mustafa Paşa from Istanbul	01.Ş.1149/ 5 December 1736	C.1149/October 1736 ¹⁵⁶
The Ottoman royal court for Abd-ul Karim Khan	13.R.1150/ 10 August 1737	25.ZA.1150/26 March 1738 ¹⁵⁷
The arrival of Mustafa Paşa to Qandahar	19.M.1151/ 9 May 1738	19 May 1738 ¹⁵⁸
The arrival of Haci Khan in Istanbul	18.Z.1153/ 7 March 1741	12.Z.1153/23 February 1741 ¹⁵⁹
		Z.1141/February 1741 ¹⁶⁰
		17.Z.1153/5 March 1741 ¹⁶¹
The Ottoman royal court for Haci Khan	17.M.1154/ 4 April 1741	12.M.1153/9 April 1740 ¹⁶²
The arrival of Münif Mustafa Efendi in Istanbul	04.S.1154/ 10 April 1742	11.S.1155 ¹⁶³
		17 April 1742 ¹⁶⁴
		23 April 1742 ¹⁶⁵
The arrival of Sayyid Ataullah in Istanbul	17.Ş.1157/ 25 September 1744	14 September 1744 ¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁵ Djafar-Pour, "Nadir Şah Devrinde Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri," 118. Sevinç, "Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki İran Elçilerinin Gelir-Giderleri, 1696-1741," 23.

¹⁵⁶ Ateş, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1720-1747)*, 195.

¹⁵⁷ The date of royal letter that Abd-ul Karim Khan received in Istanbul is 25.RA.1150/23 July 1737. BOA. NHD. 3, 24. BOA. NHD. 7, 24. The Hegira month of RA can be confused as ZA, since their abbreviations in the registers are very similar. Külbilge gives the date as 25.ZA.1150/26 March 1738. Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 294.

¹⁵⁸ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 121.

¹⁵⁹ Djafar-Pour, "Nadir Şah Devrinde Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri," 125.

¹⁶⁰ Ateş, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1720-1747)*, 201.

¹⁶¹ Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, grossentheils aus bisher unbenützten handschriften und archiven: Achter Band, vom Belgrader Frieden bis zum Frieden von Kainardsche, 1739-1774*, vol. 8 (Pesth: C. A. Hartleben, 1832), 25. Sevinç, "Nadirşah'ın 1738-1739 Hindistan Seferi ve Sonuçları," 21.

¹⁶² Sevinç, "Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki İran Elçilerinin Gelir-Giderleri, 1696-1741," 25-26.

¹⁶³ Riahi, *Safaratnamaha-i Iran*, 167.

¹⁶⁴ Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 307.

¹⁶⁵ İbrahim Yetiş, "Osmanlı-İran Savaşları (1722-1746)" (MA thesis, Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University, 2014), 103.

¹⁶⁶ Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, 80.

Table 2.5. (Continued)

Event	The Date	The Dates in Literature
The Ottoman royal court for Sayyid Ataullah	29.Ş.1157/ 7 October 1744	27 September 1744 ¹⁶⁷
The departure of Sayyid Ataullah from Istanbul	03.L.1157/ 9 November 1744	02.N.1157/9 October 1744 ¹⁶⁸
		29 October 1744 ¹⁶⁹
The arrival of Fath Ali Khan in Baghdad	10.N.1158/ 6 October 1745	11.R.1159/3 May 1746 ¹⁷⁰
The arrival of Fath Ali Khan in Istanbul	18.Z.1158/ 11 January 1746	15.Z.1158/8 January 1746 ¹⁷¹
		19.M.1159/11 February 1746 ¹⁷²
		20.Z.1158 ¹⁷³
The Ottoman royal court for Fath Ali Khan	03.M.1159/ 26 January 1746	09.M.1159/1 February 1746 ¹⁷⁴
		February 1746 ¹⁷⁵
The departure of Nazif Mustafa Efendi from Istanbul	24.S.1159/ 16 March 1746	February 1746 ¹⁷⁶
		14 March 1746 ¹⁷⁷
		13 July 1746 ¹⁷⁸
The departure of Fath Ali Khan from Istanbul	26.S.1159/ 18 March 1746	21.S.1159 ¹⁷⁹

¹⁶⁷ Farooqi, 80.

¹⁶⁸ Sevinç, "Nadirşah'ın 1738-1739 Hindistan Seferi ve Sonuçları," 28.

¹⁶⁹ Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, 81.

¹⁷⁰ Tahir Sevinç, "İran'a Elçi Olarak Gönderilen Kesriyeli Ahmet Paşa'nın Sefaret Hazırlığı ve Yolculuğu (1746-1747)," *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 24 (2011): 408.

¹⁷¹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, 307. Uğur Kurtaran, "Yeni Kaynakların Işığında Sultan I. Mahmud Dönemi Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri (1731-1747)," *History Studies International Journal of History* 3/3 (2011): 201. Kurtaran, *Sultan I. Mahmud ve Dönemi*, 170.

¹⁷² Djafar-Pour, "Nadir Şah Devrinde Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri," 148.

¹⁷³ Riahi, *Safaratnamaha-i Iran*, 169.

¹⁷⁴ İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye, 1972), vol. 4, 32.

¹⁷⁵ Ateş, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1720-1747)*, 235. Yetiş, "Osmanlı-İran Savaşları (1722-1746)," 111.

¹⁷⁶ Sevinç, "İran'a Elçi Olarak Gönderilen Kesriyeli Ahmet Paşa'nın Sefaret Hazırlığı ve Yolculuğu (1746-1747)," 409.

¹⁷⁷ Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 348.

¹⁷⁸ Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, 85. Alper Yıldırım, "I. Mahmud Devri Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri" (MA thesis, Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi, 2017), 90. Doğan Yörük, "1747'de Nadir Şah'a Elçi Olarak Gönderilen Sivas Valisi Vezir Ahmed Paşa'ya Emaneten Verilen Kıymetli Eşyalar," in *CIEPO Interim Symposium: The Central Asiatic Roots of Ottoman Culture*, ed. İlhan Şahin et al. (İstanbul: İstanbul Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Odaları Birliği, 2014), 402.

¹⁷⁹ Riahi, *Safaratnamaha-i Iran*, 180, note 3.

Table 2.5. (Continued)

Event	The Date	The Dates in Literature
The return of Nazif Mustafa Efendi to Baghdad	20.N.1159/ 6 October 1746	20 October 1746 ¹⁸⁰
The arrival of Nazif Mustafa Efendi in Istanbul	30.ZA.1159/ 13 December 1746	01.Z.1159 ¹⁸¹
		13 January 1747 ¹⁸²
		7 February 1747 ¹⁸³
		February 1747 ¹⁸⁴ 1747 ¹⁸⁵
The record of Nadir's letter in the Ottoman official register	01.Z.1159/ 14 December 1746	01.C.1159/21 June 1746 ¹⁸⁶
The departure of Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa from Istanbul	16.M.1160/ 28 January 1747	13 January 1747 ¹⁸⁷
		07.M.1160/19 January 1747 ¹⁸⁸
		21 January 1747 ¹⁸⁹
		28 Sonkanun 1747 ¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁰ Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 351.

¹⁸¹ Riahi, *Safaratnamaha-i Iran*, 198.

¹⁸² Raif İvecan, "Osmanlı Hakimiyetinde Revan (1724-1746)" (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2007), 42.

¹⁸³ Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, 85. Yörük, "1747'de Nadir Şah'a Elçi Olarak Gönderilen Sivas Valisi Vezir Ahmed Paşa'ya Emaneten Verilen Kıymetli Eşyalar," 402. Budak, "Mustafa Nazif Efendi'nin İran Elçiliği (1746-1747)," 17.

¹⁸⁴ Ateş, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1720-1747)*, 245. Kurtaran, *Sultan I. Mahmud ve Dönemi*, 172.

¹⁸⁵ Hatice Demir, "Ottoman Diplomatic Relations during the Reign of Mahmud I" (MA thesis, Fatih University, 2011), 112.

¹⁸⁶ İbrahim Küreli et al., ed., *I. Mahmud-Nadir Şah Mektuplaşmaları: 3 Numaralı Name-i Hümayun Defteri (Transkripsiyon/Tıpkıbasım)* (Istanbul: Başbakanlık Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 2014), 162.

¹⁸⁷ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 148, note 242. Numan Efendi gives the date in a confusing way which led certain mistakes in the literature. He writes: "Bin yüz altmış senesi Muharremül-haram ibtida sebt günü azim alay ile... Üsküdar'a geçilüp, anda bir hafta meks ve öbür sebt günü yine alay ile Üsküdar'dan hareket..." Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, 148-149. When we consider the word "ibtida [beginning]" as "early" instead of "the first," the date Numan gave is consistent with the other sources. In other words, Numan meant "Saturday, early Muharrem (second Saturday of the month)" rather than the first Saturday of the month as in the notes of Hammer and Savaş. The mission crossed the Bosphorus on 09.M.1160/21 January 1747 and began their journey to Iran after staying one week in Üsküdar. Otherwise, it becomes inconsistent with the sources that give the exact date such as Kadı Ömer's royal diary: "On altıncı yevm-i sebtde [16.M.1160/28 January 1747]... Elçi paşa kulları [Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa] sekiz gün Üsküdar'da meks ve ikamet idub yevm-i mezburda canib-i maksuda ruberah azimet eyledi ve yevm-i mezbur kanun-i saninin onyedisi [17 Kanun-ı sani 1159/28 January 1747] idi." Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname III*, 3. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 28.

¹⁸⁸ Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 8, 81.

¹⁸⁹ Sevinç, "İran'a Elçi Olarak Gönderilen Kesriyeli Ahmet Paşa'nın Sefaret Hazırlığı ve Yolculuğu (1746-1747)," 443.

¹⁹⁰ Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, 88.

2.3.2. Mistakes in Names and Location

Misreading the locations and people in texts can have serious effects in the literature. Authors can avoid these mistakes by literature surveys. Otherwise, fictional cities and people may enter circulation in the academic writings. “Nehizet” and “Muir Khan” are cases in point. The word “nuhzat” means a single rise or departure.¹⁹¹ This word takes place in Nazif Efendi’s ambassadorial report in 1746: “...pes ez in mahall-i merkumdan dahi nuhzet ve Hemedan ve Kazvin üzerlerinden ordu-ı şahiyeye azimet olunmağla...”¹⁹² In his thesis, Budak misreads the text as “Baş ezayın mahal-i merkumdan dahi Nuhzat ve Hamedan ve Kazvin üzerlerinden ordu-yı şahiyeye azimet olunmakla...” and understands the word as a city in Iran: “İki gün sonra Kirmanşah’tan ayrılan sefaret heyeti Nehizet, Hamedan ve Kazvin üzerinden Şah’ın ordugahına ulaşmıştır.”¹⁹³ When Ateş and Sevinç made references to Budak’s thesis, they have repeated the mistake.¹⁹⁴

Some studies also misrepresented the journeys of ambassadors and certain geographical terms. For instance, the scholars usually did not pay attention to the detail whether Ottoman and Iranian ambassadors left the Ottoman capital together or not. They tend to consider that two missions moved together which is not correct for certain cases. Abd-ul Baqi Khan left Üsküdar before Mustafa Paşa in 1736, and Nazif Mustafa Efendi before Fath Ali Khan Efendi in 1746.¹⁹⁵ In some occasions, the Ottoman ambassador left the mission to move faster as Münif Mustafa Efendi did in 1742. He came back to Istanbul days before deputy ambassador of the mission, Nazif

¹⁹¹ Nuhzat (نہضت) means “a single rise or departure.” James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Istanbul: A. H. Boyajian, 1890), 2115.

¹⁹² Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 4.

¹⁹³ Budak, “Mustafa Nazif Efendi’nin İran Elçiliği (1746-1747),” 47, 22. Uluocak made the same mistake: “...pes ez in mahal-i merkumdan dahi Nehzat ve Hemedan ve Kazvin üzerlerinden ordu-yı şahiyeye azimet olunmağla...” Uluocak, “XVIII. Yüzyıl Sefaretnamelerinde Türetme ve İşletme Ekleri,” 635.

¹⁹⁴ Ateş, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1720-1747)*, 238. Sevinç, “İran’a Elçi Olarak Gönderilen Kesriyeli Ahmet Paşa’nın Sefaret Hazırlığı ve Yolculuğu (1746-1747),” 410.

¹⁹⁵ Külbilge, “18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747),” 348. Ateş, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1720-1747)*, 195, 237.

Mustafa Efendi.¹⁹⁶ Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa's journey from Istanbul to Baghdad took one hundred and twenty-three days, not one hundred days as Sevinç notes.¹⁹⁷ The negotiations at Kurdan in 1746 lasted ten days, not five days as Karadeniz writes.¹⁹⁸

Istanbul of the Ottoman era had three main districts, Galata, Üsküdar, and Eyüp, which were termed as "Bilad-ı Selase."¹⁹⁹ The word Istanbul in the primary sources, therefore, refers to either the area inside the city walls (*suriçi*) or a larger area that includes its three districts as well. Thanks to the royal diary of Mahmud I and other sources, we can tell the departure dates of Iranian and Ottoman ambassadors from Istanbul to Üsküdar (crossing the Bosphorus) and from Istanbul (Üsküdar) to Iran. If the writer does not pay attention to this nuance, he will be confused in the analysis of the texts such as "The ambassador left Istanbul." Külbilge gives the date of Nazif Efendi's arrival to Üsküdar, 15 March 1746,²⁰⁰ as the beginning of his journey to Iran which is not correct.

Abd-ul Baqi Khan came to Istanbul via Erzurum and returned to Iran via Antep and Baghdad in 1736. Çınar's statement that the Iranian ambassador stayed in Antep on his way to Istanbul is inaccurate: "...Abdülbaki Han ve maiyetinin, İstanbul'a gelirken yol güzergahında bulunan Antep'e uğrayıp ikametleri söz konusu olmuştur."²⁰¹ Nazif Mustafa Efendi traveled from Istanbul to Baghdad via Diyarbakır (middle-route in Anatolia) in 1746. Budak estimated that Nazif Efendi used right-side route and writes: "... muhtemelen Nazif Efendi de İstanbul Bağdat arasında en çok kullanılan yol olan

¹⁹⁶ Külbilge writes that they came back together. Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 307.

¹⁹⁷ Sevinç, "İran'a Elçi Olarak Gönderilen Kesriyeli Ahmet Paşa'nın Sefaret Hazırlığı ve Yolculuğu (1746-1747)," 443.

¹⁹⁸ Yılmaz Karadeniz, *İran Tarihi 1700-1925* (Istanbul: Selenge, 2012), 173.

¹⁹⁹ Mehmet İpşirli, "Bilad-ı Selase," *TDVIA*, vol. 6 (Istanbul: TDV, 1992), 151-152.

²⁰⁰ 21.S.1159. Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 348. Külbilge refers to the date in Kadı Ömer's diary. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 88.

²⁰¹ Hüseyin Çınar, "Osmanlı Ulak-Menzilhane Sistemi ve XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Antep Menzilleri," in *Osmanlı*, vol. 3, ed. Kemal Çiçek and Cem Oğuz (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 1999), 634.

Konya, Adana, Antakya ve Halep üzerinden Bağdat'a ulaşmıştır."²⁰² Sevinç refers to Budak's thesis without the word "probably" and writes as: "Mustafa Nazif Efendi Konya, Adana, Antakya ve Halep yolunu kullanarak Bağdat'a geldikten sonra..."²⁰³

Mehmed Süreyya writes that Abdullah Efendi showed his virtues at Qandahar, Samarqand, and Isfahan: "Kandehar, Semerkand ve İsfahan'da faziletini gösterdi."²⁰⁴ Süreyya is partly mistaken since Samarqand was not on the route of the Ottoman mission of 1736 to Iran. He probably refers to Müstakimzade's work on Ottoman *şeyhülislams* which gives the same information about Abdullah Efendi: "Kandahar ve Semerkand ve İsfahan semtlerinde ümera-i zaman ve İraniyan ile kadeh ilm ü irfan ü fazl ü kemallerini cümlesi istihsan itmişleridi."²⁰⁵ Other writers such as Mehmed Tahir Efendi and Mehmet İpşirli made the same mistake in their studies.²⁰⁶

The document of BOA. HAT. 198 is a report of Nazif Mustafa Efendi in 1742, not in 1746 as archival officials wrote down incorrectly. Sevinç misses the mistake and tries to merge the document with Nazif's mission in 1746: "Derbend Kale'sinden altı saatlik mesafede bulunan Kara Batak mukabelesinde Kerden'de bulunan Şahın ordugahına yaklaştığında..."²⁰⁷ Another failure of this merge is: "Mustafa Nazif Efendi, İran murahhası Ali Han ile değiştirdikleri muahede senedini almış ve kendisine filci başı

²⁰² Budak, "Mustafa Nazif Efendi'nin İran Elçiliği, 1746-1747," 20.

²⁰³ Sevinç, "İran'a Elçi Olarak Gönderilen Kesriyeli Ahmet Paşa'nın Sefaret Hazırlığı ve Yolculuğu (1746-1747)," 410. Sevinç also confuses the travel routes of Fath Ali Khan with Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa. Sevinç, 409, note 15.

²⁰⁴ Mehmed Süreyya, "Abdullah Vassaf Efendi," *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 1, 84.

²⁰⁵ Alper Yıldırım, "Müstakimzade Süleyman Saadeddin'in Devhatü'l-Meşayih Osmanlı Şeyhü'l-İslamlarının Biyografileri Adlı Eserinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi" (MA thesis, Mustafa Kemal University, 2014), 195.

²⁰⁶ Bursalı Mehmed Tahir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, vol. 2, ed. A. Fikri Yavuz and İsmail Özen (Istanbul: Meral, 1972), 428. Mehmet İpşirli, "Vassaf Abdullah Efendi," *TDVIA*, vol. 42 (Istanbul: TDV, 2012), 559. Banu Mumcuoğlu, "Şeyhülislam Akhisari Vassaf Abdullah Efendi Hayal-i Behçet-Abad (İnceleme-Metin-Sözlük)" (MA thesis, Celal Bayar University, 2006), vii. Murat A. Karavelioğlu, "Abdullah Vassaf Efendi," *YYOA*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2008), 21.

²⁰⁷ Sevinç, "İran'a Elçi Olarak Gönderilen Kesriyeli Ahmet Paşa'nın Sefaret Hazırlığı ve Yolculuğu (1746-1747)," 410.

tayin edilen Necef Beyi tarafından...”²⁰⁸ Demir makes an extreme mistake regarding the document: “When Nazif Mustafa Efendi went to Iran the helpers (mihmandars) of Shah Münif had met very kind.”²⁰⁹

Misspelling of Iranian names such as “Muhammad,” “Muayyar,” and “Mardan” is common in modern Turkish literature, specifically in studies on Ottoman-Iran political relations. These mistakes confuse and mislead the readers and researchers since the names in other texts will not match them. Many Turkish writers prefer “Mehmed” when they refer the people who were called “Muhammad” in Iran and India.²¹⁰ Although both are written by the same letters in Arabic alphabet (محمد), “Muhammad” is not pronounced as “Mehmed” in Iran and India, as it was in Ottoman lands. Another example is the misspelling of “Muayyar” as “Muir” or “Masir” in the literature. “Muayyar-ul Mamalik” was an office in Afsharid bureaucracy.²¹¹ The Ottoman sources related to the negotiations of 1746 in Kurdan refer to “Muayyar-ul Mamalik Hasan Ali Khan” as “Muayyar Khan” in short.²¹² Budak and Ateş give his name as “Muir Han” while Mesut Aydın and Hüsnü Abdulkadir Özel as “Muabber

²⁰⁸ Sevinç, 411.

²⁰⁹ Demir, “Ottoman Diplomatic Relations during the Reign of Mahmud I,” 112, note 386.

²¹⁰ Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, 244. Sevinç, “Nadirşah’ın 1738-1739 Hindistan Seferi ve Sonuçları,” 32. Sevinç, “İran’a Elçi Olarak Gönderilen Kesriyeli Ahmet Paşa’nın Sefaret Hazırlığı ve Yolculuğu (1746-1747),” 410. Filiz Güney, “XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri ve İran’a Giden Osmanlı Elçileri” (MA thesis, Afyon Kocatepe University, 2005), 46. Sıtkı Uluerler, “XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1774-1848)” (PhD diss., Fırat University, 2009), 97. Sevinç, “Osmanlı Devleti’ndeki İran Elçilerinin Gelir-Giderleri, 1696-1741,” 207. M. Münir Aktepe, “Nadir Şah’ın Osmanlı Padişahı I. Mahmud’a Gönderdiği Taht-ı Tavus Hakkında,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 28-29 (1974): 115. Cahit Bilim, “Elçi, M. Seyid Abdülvahab Efendi, Yazar, Sefaret Tercümanı Bozoklu Osman Şakir Efendi: Musavver İran Sefaretnamesi,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 13 (2002): 267. Kurtaran, *Sultan I. Mahmud ve Dönemi*, 174. İbrahim Yılmazçelik, “1736-1739 (H.1149-1151) Tarihli Amasya Şer’iyye Sicilinin Tanıtımı ve Fihristi,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 9 (1998): 468. Uluocak, “XVIII. Yüzyıl Sefaretnamelerinde Türetme ve İşletme Ekleri,” 634.

²¹¹ Reza Shabani, *Tarikh-i Ijtimai-yi Iran dar Asr-i Afshariya* (Tehran: Intisharat-i Nuvin, H.S. 1369/1990), vol. 1, 214.

²¹² “معير خان.” BOA. HAT. 125.

Han,” and Mustafa Uluocak as “Masir Han.”²¹³ The similar mistakes for other names are “Mervan”²¹⁴ instead of Mardan, “Zahir Ali”²¹⁵ instead of Nazar Ali, “Uğur Ali”²¹⁶ instead of Oghuz Ali, “Caca”²¹⁷ instead of Hacı, “Fatihali”²¹⁸ and “Fethi Ali”²¹⁹ instead of Fath Ali, “Ebu Suheyl Numan”²²⁰ instead of Ebu Sehl Numan, “Mustafa Hanif Efendi”²²¹ and “Nafiz Mustafa Efendi”²²² instead of Nazif Mustafa Efendi. Gültekin misreads the title of Hacı Khan and concludes that there was another Iranian ambassador named “Çarhacıbaşı Sul.”²²³ Riahi confuses “Veli Efendi” in Nazif’s ambassadorial report in 1746 with “Münif Efendi” and merges the two names into “Veli Münif Efendi.”²²⁴

Another issue is the incorrect order of double-names in the current literature. In every Ottoman manuscript and archival documents that I have examined, two Ottoman ambassadors’ names are written as “Münif Mustafa Efendi” and “Nazif Mustafa Efendi.” Many Turkish scholars such as Unat and Uzunçarşılı refer the names

²¹³ Budak, “Mustafa Nazif Efendi’nin İran Elçiliği, 1746-1747,” 22. Ateş, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1720-1747)*, 242. Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 786. Ragıp Mehmed Paşa, *Münşeat ve Telhisat*, 155. Uluocak, “XVIII. Yüzyıl Sefaretnamelerinde Türetme ve İşletme Ekleri,” 635.

²¹⁴ Sak, “1736-1741 Yılları Arasında İstanbul’a Gelen İran Elçilerinin Bazı Masrafları,” 153.

²¹⁵ Ercan Gümüş, “18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Amid Kazası” (PhD diss., Gazi University, 2014), 402.

²¹⁶ Külbilge, “18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747),” 297.

²¹⁷ Çınar, “Osmanlı Ulak-Menzilhane Sistemi ve XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Antep Menzilleri,” 634.

²¹⁸ Efdal As, “XVI. YY.dan Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarına Kadar Türk-İran Sınır Sorunları ve Çözümü,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi* 46 (2010): 227.

²¹⁹ Sevinç, “İran’a Elçi Olarak Gönderilen Kesriyeli Ahmet Paşa’nın Sefaret Hazırlığı ve Yolculuğu (1746-1747),” 408.

²²⁰ Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 23.

²²¹ Reza Shabani, “Munasabat-i Iran va Osmani dar Davraha-i Afshariyye ve Zandiyye (H. 1135-1210),” in *Tarihten Günümüze Türk-İran İlişkileri Sempozyumu* (Ankara: TTK, 2003), 138.

²²² Yıldırım, “I. Mahmud Devri Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri,” 76, 90.

²²³ Hasan Gültekin, “Koca Ragıp Paşa Münşeat’ında Nadir Şah ve Caferi Mezhebi Tartışmalarına Dair Mektuplar,” *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi* 76 (2015): 64.

²²⁴ Riahi, *Safaratnamaha-i Iran*, 179, note 2.

as “Mustafa Münif” and “Mustafa Nazif,”²²⁵ which I consider an unnecessary change. Today a researcher has to look up both name-orders of the Ottoman ambassadors in the encyclopaedias and indexes of academic writings. Furthermore, when we consider the possibility of other Ottoman bureaucrats of the eighteenth century who had the same names in such order, like “Mustafa Münif Efendi,”²²⁶ these changes can lead to confusions.

The references to unrelated sources in academic writings are not uncommon. Scholars probably confuse or misread primary sources and therefore referred to irrelevant documents.²²⁷

There are many examples of misrepresentation of certain political actors in the literature. I refer to the obvious mistakes like presenting Nadir Shah as “a pupil of musician” or “a poet” rather than controversial issues such as Nadir’s early life and origins or the aim of his policies. Uslu mentions Nadir Shah as a pupil of musician, in his review of Tanburi Arutin Efendi’s musical treaty: “Tanburi Küçük Artin’in 1730 yıllarında Ermenice yazdığı eserinde Üstad ile çırağı Tahmasp’ın karşılıklı

²²⁵ Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, 84. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, 301. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 23. Budak, “Mustafa Nazif Efendi’nin İran Elçiliği (1746-1747),” 17. M. Alaaddin Yalçınkaya, “Münif Mustafa Efendi,” *YYOA*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2008), 306. Sevinç referred to Muhammad Husain as “Hüseyn Mehmed.” Sevinç, “İran’a Elçi Olarak Gönderilen Kesriyeli Ahmet Paşa’nın Sefaret Hazırlığı ve Yolculuğu (1746-1747),” 410.

²²⁶ Mustafa Münif Efendi introduces himself in the first page of his work as: “...rikab-ı hümayunda teşrifatçılık hizmetinde istihdam olunmak için bu hakir-i pür-taksir kalil-ul bezia adim-ul iktidar Mustafa Münif’i hizmet-i mezkurede istihdam etmeleriyle...” Mustafa Münif Efendi, *Mecmua-ı Merasim-i Devlet-i Aliyye*. IUNEK. TY., 8892, 1b.

²²⁷ Some examples are Karadeniz’s reference to BOA. C.HR. 8736, Külbilge’s reference to BOA. C.HR. 6523, Öğreten’s reference to BOA. NHD. 8, Sevinç’s references to BOA. HAT. 223, and BOA. HAT. 191, and Kurtaran’s references to BOA. HAT. 127 and BOA. HAT. 193-C. Karadeniz, *İran Tarihi*, 170, note 437. Külbilge, “18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747),” 294, note 1708. Mustafa Kesbi Efendi, *İbretnüma-yı Devlet: Tahlil ve Tenkitli Metin*, ed. Ahmet Öğreten (Ankara: TTK, 2002), 497, note 1225. Sevinç, “İran’a Elçi Olarak Gönderilen Kesriyeli Ahmet Paşa’nın Sefaret Hazırlığı ve Yolculuğu (1746-1747),” 409, note 12, 410, note 24. Kurtaran, “Yeni Kaynakların Işığında Sultan I. Mahmud Dönemi Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri (1731-1747),” 201, note 205. Kurtaran, *Sultan I. Mahmud ve Dönemi*, 170, note 1456. Saray and Hakyemez give some authors’ names incorrectly. Mehmet Saray, *Türk-İran İlişkileri* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1999), 72, note 123. Cemil Hakyemez, *Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri ve Sünni-Şii İttifakı* (İstanbul: Kitap, 2014), 67, note 19.

konuşmalarını verirken Türk müziği hakkında da bir hayli bilgi verir.”²²⁸ Kurnaz confuses Nadir Shah with an Ottoman bureaucrat and poet named Nadir, who wrote *Vekayi-i Pür Sanayi-i Bedayi* in the 1720s.²²⁹ Akkaya refers to Nadir Shah as a Safavid ruler.²³⁰ Hammer confuses with Mehmed Salim Efendi who was an Ottoman poet, a bibliographer, *tezkireci*, and a religious scholar and died in 1743, with Mehmed Salim Efendi who was Ottoman ambassador to India and died in 1746.²³¹ Karadeniz writes that Nazif Mustafa Efendi was from the group of “ulemadan [religious scholars]” instead of “hacegandan [a specific title for Ottoman bureaucrats].”²³² Shabani gives the name of Ottoman ambassador as “Ahmed Paşa Qazvini”²³³ instead of “Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa.” Yetiş introduces Shahrukh Mirza, Nadir’s son, as an Iranian scholar: “...İran alimlerinden Şarruh Mirza’nın mektubunu...”²³⁴ In his article, Sevinç refers to Saadat Khan as the son of Muhammad Shah, the Mughal ruler: “Muhammet Şah’ın oğlu Saadet Han...” He also explains the ambassadorship of Hacı Khan by referring to Ali Mardan’s eye-illness in Sivas, instead of his death: “...Ali Han adında bir elçi göndermişti. Gönderilen elçi, Sivas’tan İstanbul’a gelirken gözünden hastalanmış, bunun üzerine Hacı Han adında yeni bir elçiyi görevlendirmişti.”²³⁵ Hakyemez clearly confuses with Hacı Beşir Ağa who died in 1746 with his namesake, who was sent to exile in 1780: “Bu olay nedeniyle Ragıp Efnedini’nin Beşir Ağayla aralarının açıldığı rivayet edilir... Beşir Ağa, devlet işlerini elin yüzünce bulaştırınca da bir süre sonra,

²²⁸ Recep Uslu, “Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Müzik Teorisi Eserleri,” in *Türkler*, vol. 12, ed. Hasan Celal Güzel, Kemal Çiçek, and Salim Koca (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), 445.

²²⁹ Cemal Kurnaz, *Anadolu’da Orta Asyalı Şairler* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1997), 148. Veysel Göger, “Nadir’in Vekayi-i Pür-Sanayi-i Bedayi Adlı Eseri” (MA thesis, Marmara University, 2009), xv-xvi.

²³⁰ Hüseyin Akkaya, “Nevres, Abdürrezzak,” *TDVIA*, vol. 33 (İstanbul: TDV, 2007), 56.

²³¹ Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 8, 58. Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, 83. For Salim Mehmed Efendi, the scholar and poet, see Hüseyin Güfta, “Salim,” *TDVIA*, vol. 36 (İstanbul: TDV, 2009), 46-47.

²³² Yılmaz Karadeniz, “İran ve Osmanlı Devleti Arasında Mezhebi İhtilafların Azaltılması ve İslam Birliği Teşebbüsleri (1555-1746),” *Asia Minor Studies* 8 (2016): 75.

²³³ Shabani, “Munasabat-i Iran va Osmani dar Davraha-i Afshariyye ve Zandiyye (H. 1135-1210),” 139.

²³⁴ Yetiş, “Osmanlı-İran Savaşları (1722-1746),” 112.

²³⁵ Sevinç, “Nadirşah’ın 1738-1739 Hindistan Seferi ve Sonuçları,” 17, 20.

1193/1779-1780'de Mısır'a sürülmüştür."²³⁶ Unat gives a picture of Nazif Mustafa Efendi in his book with an unclear reference to IUNEK: "Aslı İstanbul Üniversitesi kütüphanesinde dir."²³⁷ I have located this picture in the manuscript of IUNEK. TY., 6096, which is a copy of Ebubekir Ratib Efendi's ambassadorial report. The picture is the portrait of Ebubekir Ratib Efendi, not Nazif Mustafa Efendi.²³⁸

2.3.3. The Kurdan Treaty of 1746

Ottoman and Iranian delegates, Nazif Mustafa Efendi and Hasan Ali Khan, signed a peace treaty that ended the war of 1743-1745 on 4 September 1746. The treaty was signed in "Kurdan (کردان)," which is a small village in Savoj-bolagh County in the Alborz Province, in Iran. Nazif Mustafa Efendi describes it as "...Kazvin ile Tahran mabeyninde vaki Kerden nam sahrada... [a place named Kerden "کردن," located between Qazvin and Tehran]."²³⁹ In the Turkish version of the Kurdan Treaty, the location is mentioned as "...Kazvin ile Tahran beyninde ordu-yı meymenet-puy-ı hazret-i Şahiye... [The Shah's fortunated army, located between Qazvin and Tehran]."²⁴⁰ Some Persian and Ottoman texts also give the place of the treaty as "Savojbolagh (ساوجبلاغ)."²⁴¹

²³⁶ Hakyemez, *Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri ve Sünni-Şii İttifakı*, 74, note 41.

²³⁷ Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, 287. Riahi's work refers to Unat's study. Riahi, *Safaratnamaha-i Iran*, 398.

²³⁸ Ebubekir Ratib Efendi, *Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*, IUNEK. TY., 6096, 224b.

²³⁹ Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 5. "...Kazvin ile Tahran meyânında Kerden nam karye..." BOA. HAT. 125.

²⁴⁰ İbrahim Küreli et al., *I. Mahmud-Nadir Şah Mektuplaşmaları*, 176. "...Tahran ve Kazvin beyninde ordu-ı muallaya..." BOA. HAT. 100.

²⁴¹ Muhammad Kazim Marvi, *Alamara-yi Nadiri*, vol. 3, 1881. "...Nazif Efendinin ordu-ı Şaha mulakı olduğu Kazvin ile Tahran beyninde vaki Savuk-bulak nam mahalde..." BOA. HAT. 15.

Since its location and date are obvious, the treaty should be named related to its location as Kurdan Treaty of 1746.²⁴² “Kerden”²⁴³ is the popular one in Turkish studies although other versions such as “Kurdan,”²⁴⁴ “Kürdan,”²⁴⁵ “Kerdun,”²⁴⁶ “Savucbulaq,”²⁴⁷ and “Savecbelağ”²⁴⁸ are used. Some historians give incorrect locations of the treaty like Qazvin²⁴⁹ or Istanbul.²⁵⁰ Another is: “...Osmanlılara IV. Murad zamanında imzalanan Karlofça Antlaşmasındaki sınırlara dönmelerini kabul ettirdi (Muharrem 1160/Ocak 1747).”²⁵¹ Another writer, Mahdawi, gives incorrect information on the representatives: “The peace agreement between the Ottomans

²⁴² J. H. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record 1535-1914*, vol. 1 (Toronto: D. Van Nostrand, 1956), 51. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 255. Tucker, *Nadir Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran*, 2. In French, it was named as “Kherden.” See, Gabriel Effendi Noradounghian, *Recueil D'actes Internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. 1 (Paris: F. Pichon, 1897), 306.

²⁴³ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, 309. İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 4, 32. Aktepe, “Nadir Şah'ın Osmanlı Padişahı I. Mahmud'a Gönderdiği Taht-ı Tavus Hakkında,” 115. Azmi Özcan, “Nadir Şah,” *TDVIA*, vol. 32 (Istanbul: TDV, 2006), 277. Budak, “Mustafa Nazif Efendi'nin İran Elçiliği, 1746-1747,” 37. Külbilge, “18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747),” 369. M. Alaaddin Yalçınkaya, “Yenileşme Dönemi Osmanlı Diplomasisi: Karlofça'dan Nizam-ı Cedid'e (1699-1792),” in *Osmanlı Diplomasisi*, ed. M. Alaaddin Yalçınkaya (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, 2013), 113.

²⁴⁴ Abdurrahman Ateş, “Nadir Şah Avşar'ın Ölümünden Sonra İran'da Hakimiyet Mücadeleleri ve Osmanlı Devleti'nin İran Politikası,” *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 8 (2006): 59.

²⁴⁵ Djafar-Pour, “Nadir Şah Devrinde Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri,” 151.

²⁴⁶ Saim Arı, “Osmanlı Arşiv Kaynakları Işığında Nadir Şah-I. Mahmut Dönemi Ehli Sünnet-Şii Diyalogu” (PhD diss., Harran University, 2001), 86.

²⁴⁷ Süleymanov, *Nadir Şah*, 446.

²⁴⁸ Karadeniz, “İran ve Osmanlı Devleti Arasında Mezhebi İhtilafların Azaltılması ve İslam Birliği Teşebbüsleri (1555-1746),” 75.

²⁴⁹ Vladimir Minorsky, “Nadir,” *IA*, vol. 9, trans. and ed. M. Münir Aktepe (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim, 1964), 28. M. Münir Aktepe, “Mahmud I,” *IA*, vol. 7 (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim, 1977), 164. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 23. Temel Öztürk, *Osmanlıların Kuzey ve Doğu Seferlerinde Savaş ve Trabzon* (Trabzon: Serander, 2011), 27. Hakyemez, *Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri ve Sünni-Şii İttifakı*, 66. Uğur Demir, “Uzun Barış Dönemi ve Çöküşün Başlangıcı (1739-1789),” in *Osmanlı Tarihi (1566-1789)*, ed. Erhan Afyoncu (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, 2013), 192. Mehmet Ali Çakmak, “Hanlıklar Devrinde Azerbaycan-Türkiye Münasebetleri (1723-1829)” (MA thesis, Gazi University, 1996), 56.

²⁵⁰ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 11. Melike Sarıkcıoğlu, *Osmanlı-İran Hudut Sorunları (1847-1913)* (Ankara: TTK, 2013), 10.

²⁵¹ Rıza Kurtuluş, “İran'da Zend Hanedanı ve Dönemi” (MA thesis, Marmara University, 1995), 16.

and Iranians, on 4 September 1746 (H. 1159) in Istanbul, was signed between Mustafa Khan Begdili Shamlu and the Ottoman grand-vizier.”²⁵²

Another issue is the misinterpretation courtesies, *taaruf*.²⁵³ In Iran, *taaruf* usually refers to a very specific social manner and etiquette. Jonas Hanway explains that: “The Persians are polite but extravagantly hyperbolic in their compliments: this indeed is peculiar to the eastern nations; and the scripture, which partakes so much of that stile, is known to be derived from that quarter.”²⁵⁴ Nadir used exaggerated social etiquette in typical Iranian fashion when he addressed Ottoman ambassadors and he praised Mahmud I in Kurdan. Nazif noted the words of the Shah in his ambassadorial report in 1746:

...benim şevketlü kerametlü halefitullah hazretlerine deruni muhabbetim ne rütbelerde olduğunu ve benden memleket-i İran’ı der-haste eylese diriğ itmek olmayacağını bilürsüz... Ol ali-cah karındaşıma meyl ve muhabbetim ber-nahv üzeredir ki fil-asl memleketim olan Horasan’ı “Bir çukadara vir” diyü bana yazsa diriğ itmezem...²⁵⁵

The Iranian ruler asked for the cession of provinces of Iraq or Azerbaijan as an optional term in his letter to the Sublime Porte in late 1745, therefore his praises on the Ottoman sultan the following year in Kurdan should be thought as *taaruf*, not as a real gesture as Budak, Ateş and Yetiş present.²⁵⁶ As Hodgson writes, “...he [Nadir]

²⁵² Abdurreza Hushang Mahdawi, *Tarikh-i Rewabit-i Kharici-i Iran: Az Ibtida-i Dawran-i Safawiyya ta Payan-i Ceng-i Dewwom-i Cihani* (Tehran: Amir Kabir, H.S. 1393/2014), 175.

²⁵³ *Taaruf* (تعارف) means “compliment(s), ceremony, offer, gift, flummery, courtesy, flattery, formality, good manners, soft tongue, honeyed phrases, respect.” The verb form is *taaruf kardan* (تعارف کردن) which means “to use compliments, to stand upon ceremony, to make a present of, to speak with courtesy, to use honeyed phrases (soft tongue).” Abbas Aryanpur-Kashani and Menochehr Aryanpur-Kashani, *Farhang-i Fishurdah Farisi be Ingilisi* (Tehran: Amir Kabir, H.S. 1375/1996), 306.

²⁵⁴ Hanway, *An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea*, vol. 1, 330. Also see, Shaili Alirezai, “Taaruf dar Farhang-i Mardum-i Iran,” *Najwa-i Farhang* 8-9 (H.S. 1387/2008): 101-114.

²⁵⁵ “You know my love/affection for Mahmud I, the Caliph, is at such level that if he wants to take the country of Iran from me, I would not object... my love for my brother is so high that if he writes and tells me to give Khorasan, my main province, to a servant, I would not object.” Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *Iran Sefaretnamesi*, 16-17.

²⁵⁶ Budak, “Mustafa Nazif Efendi’nin İran Elçiliği (1746-1747),” 30. Ateş, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1720-1747)*, 241. Yetiş, “Osmanlı-İran Savaşları (1722-1746),” 112.

used the term ‘caliph’ of the Ottoman emperor in a complimentary way but not, of course, in any technical form such as might have been taken for an acknowledgement that the Ottoman had any superior status.”²⁵⁷ Another example is Abdullah Süveydi’s first meeting with Nadir Shah in 1743. When the Shah appointed Süveydi Efendi as his deputy at the meeting at Najaf, he praised him and said to him: “İmdi ya Abdullah Efendi, el-yevm sen benüm tarafumdan vekilüm olup işbu küfriyyat ki bunun ile cümlesi medhul ve mayublardur, anı anlardan def u ref edesin...”²⁵⁸ Hamza-i Faljani, an Afghan religious scholar, warned Süveydi that he should not take Nadir’s words seriously: “Sen Şah’un kelamına firifde olup da mağrur olma...”²⁵⁹ In the end, Süveydi played a minor role in the meeting. Nazif and Süveydi were most probably aware of the context of Nadir’s words because Nazif had been in Iran twice before, and Süveydi lived in Baghdad. Modern Turkish scholars either did not draw attention to this issue or misinterpreted Nadir’s speeches since they did not know or consider the role of *taaruf*.

The treaty of Kurdan was signed in September 1746, after Nadir withdrew his proposal of the fifth *madhhab* from the negotiation table in late 1745. Certain historians who focus on religious side of the Ottoman-Iranian relations consider the treaty within a misleading context and present it as an outcome of Najaf meeting of 1743: “Necef Konferansı’nda ulaşılan Sünni-Şii ittifakı konusundaki olumlu gelişmelerden sonra... hiçbir engel kalmadığı kanaatine varan Nadir Şah, derhal bu ilişkileri pekiştirmek üzere Fetih Ali Bey başkanlığındaki bir elçi heyetini Osmanlı’ya gönderir.”²⁶⁰ Another historian says: “Bu süre içerisinde her iki devlet arasında cereyan eden savaşlar, Nadir Şah’ın Müslümanların birliği için mezhebi ihtilafları bertaraf etme teşebbüsü sayesinde yerini sulha bırakmıştır.”²⁶¹ Yet another argues:

²⁵⁷ Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, vol. 3 (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1974), 153.

²⁵⁸ Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, *Vekayiname-i Nadir Şah*, 36.

²⁵⁹ Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, 39.

²⁶⁰ Arı, “Osmanlı Arşiv Kaynakları Işığında Nadir Şah-I. Mahmut Dönemi Ehli Sünnet-Şii Diyalogu,” 81.

²⁶¹ Karadeniz, “İran ve Osmanlı Devleti Arasında Mezhebi İhtilafların Azaltılması ve İslam Birliği Teşebbüsleri (1555-1746),” 75.

“Nadir Şah, bir yandan da Şii-Sünni yakınlaşması konusunda mücadelesinden vazgeçmemiş ve 1746 tarihinde çeşitli ülkelerden gelen Şii ve Sünni alimleri bir araya toplayarak, tartışma tertip ettirmiştir... Kasr-ı Şirin Antlaşması’ndaki sınırın aynen kabul edilmesi hususunda anlaşmaya varmıştır.”²⁶²

In Turkish and English literature, the treaty is usually considered as a verification of the Zohab Treaty of 1639, *Kasr-ı Şirin* in Turkish. Although this approach is true in the territorial context, it ignores the additional articles in the treaty and their importance. The articles on the temporary diplomatic attempt between Ottoman and Afsharid empires and the situation of Iranian pilgrims in Ottoman lands are disregarded by many Ottoman political and diplomatic historians. For example, the second article of the Kurdan Treaty stipulates the residence of an Ottoman ambassador in Iran for three years and vice versa:

İşbu iki devletin ittifak u ittihadını cümleye işaat için üç senede bir tebdil olunmak üzere dergah-ı mualla beynlerinde bir kimesne tayin olup, darus-saltana-i İran'da ikamet ve kezalik İran mutemedlerinden bir kimesne dahi Asitane-i Aliyye'de ikamet eyleye ve tarafeyn misafirlerinin kifayet mikdarı masraflarını göreler.²⁶³

A similar article was included in the Passarowitz Treaty in 1718. Six years later, an Ottoman diplomat, Kazgancızade Ömer Ağa, was appointed to Vienna where he stayed until 1732.²⁶⁴ As Güneş Işıksel points out that his mission is neglected in the literature: “Unutmamak gerekir ki, Babıali’nin Avrupa’daki ilk temsilcisi Yusuf Agah Efendi değildir... Şehbender Kazgancızade Ömer Ağa örneği üzerinde yeterince

²⁶² Uluerler, “XIX. Yüylün İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1774-1848),” 27. Also see, Külbilge, “18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747),” 320, note 1861.

²⁶³ Küreli et al., *I. Mahmud-Nadir Şah Mektuplaşmaları*, 177.

²⁶⁴ Raşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli*, vol. 3, 1456. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, 151. Abdülkadir Özcan, “Pasarofça Antlaşması,” *TDVIA*, vol. 34 (Istanbul: TDV, 2007), 180. Kemal Beydilli, “Viyana,” *TDVIA*, vol. 43 (Istanbul: TDV, 2013), 118.

durulmadığı gibi, benzer başka örneklerin çıkabileceğini akılda tutmak yerinde olacaktır.”²⁶⁵

After Nadir’s death in 1747, the Sublime Porte refused the offers of local rulers in Iran and did not intervene their conflicts the following years. Many Turkish historians like Uzunçarşılı view this policy as a loyalist and non-opportunist stance of Mahmud I:

Nadir Şah’ın katlinden sonra amcasına karşı otuz bin kişi ile isyan etmiş olan Ali Kuluhan, Ali Şah veya Adil Şah unvaniyle hükümdar olmuştu...Bağdad ve Erzurum valilerinden gelen tahriratlarda bir serasker tayin edilecek olur ise İran'dan kolaylıkla intikam alınacağı ve İran’ın süratle işgal edileceği beyan edilmiş ise de Sultan Mahmud Nadir Şah’la aktettiği muahedeye sadık kalmıştır.²⁶⁶

Saray, Kurtaran, Sevinç and Çiftçi make similar statements in their writings, while Beydilli criticizes these loyalist considerations of peace agreements in Ottoman historiography in his article.²⁶⁷ Other historians consider the peace policy of the Porte after Nadir’s death as a lost opportunity for the Ottomans. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa writes: “...hatta Nadir Şah’dan sonra bir müddet diyar-ı İran sahipsiz gibi kalmağla Azerbaycan ahalişi istima ve arz-ı dehalet itmişler iken müsaadeye cesaret olunamamış idi yoksa devlet-i Aliyyenin hengam-ı zaf ve füturu olmasaydı İran’ın pek çok yerleri zamime-i memalik-i mahrusse olabilirdi.”²⁶⁸ Yalçinkaya also shares this view: “Diğeri ise yine 1747’de İran’da Nadir Şah’ın öldürülmesiyle İran’ın yaklaşık

²⁶⁵ Güneş Işıksel, “II. Selim’den III. Selim’e Osmanlı Diplomasisi: Birkaç Saptama,” in *Nizam-ı Kadim’den Nizam-ı Cedid’e III. Selim ve Dönemi*, ed. Seyfi Kenan (Istanbul: ISAM, 2010), 338.

²⁶⁶ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/2 (Ankara: TTK, 2011), 311.

²⁶⁷ Saray, *Türk-İran İlişkileri*, 72. Kurtaran, *Sultan I. Mahmud ve Dönemi*, 173. Sevinç, “İran’a Elçi Olarak Gönderilen Kesriyeli Ahmet Paşa’nın Sefaret Hazırlığı ve Yolculuğu (1746-1747),” 442. Hilal Çiftçi, “Siyaset Kültürümüzde Ahde Vefa ve Nakz-i Ahd,” *Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1 (2015): 79. Kemal Beydilli, “Dış Politika ve Siyasi Ahlak,” *İlmi Araştırmalar: Dil, Edebiyat, Tarih İncelemeleri* 7 (1999): 47-56.

²⁶⁸ Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Osmaniye, H. 1302/1885), 63.

olarak yarım yüzyıl içinde bulunduğu karışıklık dönemi sürecinin değerlendirilmemesidir.”²⁶⁹

I will present a different aspect of this issue in the next chapter. Rather than being loyal to the agreement, Ottoman elites or both factions of the Ottoman policy makers were satisfied with the treaty and did not want another adventure in the East. The political situation of Iran in 1747 was very similar to that in 1722, except for Russian aggression in northeast Iran. The Porte was well informed about the main events in Iran after 1747, thanks to its information networks, and followed a cautious policy.



²⁶⁹ M. Alaaddin Yalçınkaya, “Osmanlı Devleti’nin Batı Politikası, Zitvatorok’tan Küçük Kaynarca’ya (1606-1774),” in *Türk Dış Politikası: Osmanlı Dönemi*, vol. 2, ed. Mustafa Bıyıklı (Istanbul: Gökkuşbu, 2008), 65. Mahdawi also considers the peace policy as a lost opportunity for Ottomans. Mahdawi, *Tarikh-i Rewabit-i Kharici-i Iran*, 177.

CHAPTER 3

FACTIONS OF AHMED PAŞA AND HACI BEŞİR AĞA IN MAKING OTTOMAN FOREIGN POLICY OF IRAN

The Ottoman higher bureaucracy was highly volatile during the reign of Mahmud I (1730-1754), compared to the era of his predecessor, Ahmed III (1703-1730) (see Table 3.1.). Hacı Beşir Ağa emerges as an exceptional and important figure in this picture. He survived the 1730 rebellion and maintained his position until his death in a period when grand-viziers and *şeyhulislams* were deposed frequently. He influenced Ottoman-Iranian relations. Another (unusually) constant Ottoman actor who influenced Ottoman-Iranian relations was Ahmed Paşa, the governor of Baghdad. He kept this position for twenty-one years and served as a crucial mediator between Nadir Shah and Mahmud I. Ahmed Paşa defended Baghdad against Nadir Shah in 1733, but he favored diplomacy and worked for peaceful settlement of differences. This approach enabled him to dissuade Nadir from attacking Baghdad again. Although Ahmed Paşa remained ever loyal to the Porte, his preference for diplomatic solutions and differences with Hacı Beşir caused some doubts about his allegiance in Istanbul.

This chapter focuses on this tension between Hacı Beşir Ağa and Ahmed Paşa and the factions that formed around them with a view to shedding light on the influence of social relationships and different positions on foreign policy making. The sources available to me forced me to focus on the agents' relations with Ahmed Paşa rather than Hacı Beşir Ağa since the governor played an active role in negotiations with Iran and is mentioned frequently in the primary sources. Nevertheless, the evidence indicates that a faction formed around Ahmed Paşa and another around Beşir Ağa. These factions were dynamic and fluid rather than static groups. Although the leaders and some members of the two factions died within a few years after the Kurdan Treaty of 1746, the new *darüssaade ağası* Hafız Beşir Ağa and the new governor of Baghdad Süleyman Paşa inherited the networks that these factions represented.

Table 3.1. The Ottoman higher bureaucracy, 1718-1749²⁷⁰

Grand-viziers	Şeyhulislams	Reisulküttabs	Year	Admirals	Defterdars
Damad İbrahim Paşa (149)	Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi (149)	Üçanbarlı Mehmed Efendi (147)	1718-1727	Hoca Süleyman Paşa (41), Kaymak Mustafa Paşa (109)	Hacı Mustafa Efendi (17), Hacı İbrahim Efendi (240)
			1728-1729		
THE REBELLION OF 1730					
Silahdar Mehmed Paşa (4), Kabakulak İbrahim Paşa (8), Topal Osman Paşa (6)	Mirzazade Mehmed Efendi (8), Paşmakçızade Abdullah Efendi (9)	Süleyman Efendi (2), Kastamonulu İsmail Efendi (71)	1730-1731	Abdi Paşa (1), Hafız Ahmed Paşa (1), Canım Mehmed Paşa (7), Abdi Paşa (1), Şahin Mehmed Paşa (5), Hacı Hüseyin Paşa (6)	İzzet Ali Paşa (48)
Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa (40), İsmail Paşa (6)	Damadzade Ahmed Efendi (20), İshakzade İshak Efendi (13), Dürri Mehmed Efendi (17)		1732-1735	Ebubekir Paşa (11), Canım Mehmed Paşa (42)	Üçanbarlı Mehmed Efendi (4), Canibi Ali Efendi (7), Boz İbrahim Efendi (17), Halil Efendi (16), Boz İbrahim Efendi (8)
Seyyid Mehmed Paşa (19), Seyyid Abdullah Paşa (4), Yeğen Mehmed Paşa (15), İvaz Mehmed Paşa (15)	Fezullahzade Mustafa Efendi (107)	Emarzade Mustafa Efendi (51)	1736-1740	Laz Ali Paşa (1), Süleyman Paşa (50)	Halil Efendi (10), Atif Mustafa Efendi (14), Yusuf Efendi (9), Atif Mustafa Efendi (29)
Hacı Ahmed Paşa (22), Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa (17)		Ragıp Mehmed Efendi (39)	1741-1743	Elçi Mustafa Paşa (29), Yahya Paşa (3), Pir Mustafa Paşa (3)	Yusuf Efendi (9), Atif Mustafa Efendi (1), Canibi Ali Efendi (9), Sadullah Efendi (8)
Hasan Paşa (35), Tiryaki Mehmed Paşa (13)	Pirizade Mehmed Efendi (13), Hayatzade Mehmed Efendi (7)	Emarzade Mustafa Efendi (42)	1744-1746	Ratıb Ahmed Paşa (11), Elçi Mustafa Paşa (17), Mahmud Paşa (7)	Yusuf Efendi (30)
Firari Abdullah Paşa (28)	Mehmed Zeyni Efendi (21), İshakzade Mehmed Efendi (13), Mehmed Said Efendi (10)	Naili Abdullah Efendi (72)	1747-1749	Hacı Mustafa Paşa (46)	Behçet Mehmed Efendi (38), Memiş Efendi (11)

²⁷⁰ The numbers inside the parentheses indicate the number of the months that the statesmen held the office. The table is based on the biographical information that İsmail Hami Danişmend provides in vol. 5 of his *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 5 (İstanbul: Türkiye, 1971), 54-59, 137-141, 208-213, 287-292, 340-342.

The sources point to differences in agents' thoughts on Ottoman-Iranian relations and more importantly in their social connections to Beşir Ağa or Ahmed Paşa. I employ the concept of faction to express these differences. Thus, Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa, Seyyid Mehmed Ağa, Hüseyin Paşa, Selim Paşa, and Rahmi Efendi are affiliated with the Beşir Ağa faction while Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, Münif Mustafa Efendi, Nazif Mustafa Efendi, Veli Efendi, and Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi are affiliated with the Ahmed Paşa camp (see Diagram 3.1.).

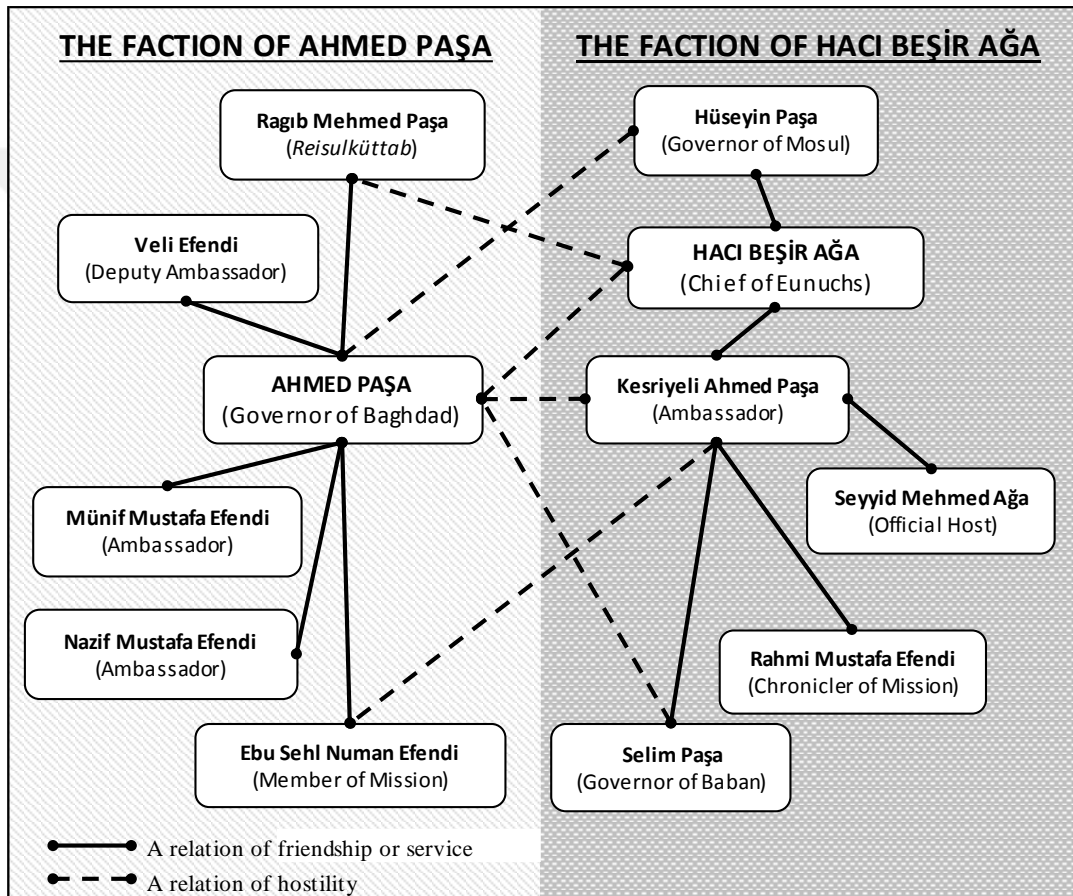


Diagram 3.1. The factions of Ahmed Paşa and Hacı Beşir Ağa

This categorization has its advantages as well as drawbacks. It excludes certain figures like grand-viziers at the court and military commanders in the field who had their own different views and agendas such as Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa or Köprülüzade Abdullah Paşa. Nevertheless, it offers a fresh outlook on the Ottoman foreign policy of Iran during the time of Nadir Shah, instead of a monolithic consideration of the Ottoman bureaucracy.

This approach helps to explain seemingly bizarre situations in Ottoman-Iran relations: Why did Nadir's army besiege Mosul and Kars but not Baghdad in the 1740s? Why did Ahmed Paşa decide to send his delegate to the meeting at Najaf while the Porte did not? Authors on the history of Iraq like Longrigg and Olson point to the conflict between Ahmed Paşa with Hüseyin Paşa in their works.²⁷¹ I have aimed to explain the conflict not only at the regional level but also in a more detailed and broader perspective. A major outcome of this approach is the realization that the Ottomans honored the negotiated treaty and did not launch a new campaign against Iran after Nadir's death not necessarily because they thought it proper to honor a deal as such but because that deal satisfied the requests of both factions.

We can consider Beşir's faction as an idealist one while Ahmed's faction as a realist/pragmatic. The concepts of idealist and realist are used in simplified meanings and refer to the degree of concession in their politics in this study. The first difference between the two factions was about accepting or rejecting the Jafari *madhhab* as a legitimate legal school along with the four major Sunni schools of law. Although I did not come across a source where Ahmed Paşa explicitly recognizes the Jafari *madhhab*, such actions of the governor as sending a scholar to Najaf meeting in late 1743 were consistent with the words of Ragıb Efendi, the *reisulküttab* at the court:

...Acem seferlerinde beş mezheb kavgasında, reisulküttab olan Ragıb Efendi "Mezheb-i Hakk dördtür. Lakin padişahımızın hükmü cari olan kazalarda kadılar, Padişah Hanefi-ül mezheb olmak hasebiyle dört mezhebden olanların davasını dahi Hanefi ictihadı üzere hükm ederler. Caferi mezhebi dahi tasdik olursa yine memleket-i Osmaniyede Hanefi mezhebi cari olur. Bu tasdik lafzi murad bir şeydir. Bunun için otuz seneden berü Anadolu harab ve nice yüz bin nüfus-ı müvahhidin telef ve hazine tehi ve rahat merfu olduğundan başka devletin Nemçe ve Moskov gibi düşmanı zuhur etti. Ve şimdi yine Acem ancak mezheb kavgası için sefer açdı. Kuru bir kelim için böyle zaruretde şerin müsaadesi vardır. Ve zarar-ı amdan zarar-ı hass evladır" dedikde, [Beşir Ağa] "Bir dahi bu kelamı lisana alma. Madama ben hayatda iken mezahib-i erbaaya

²⁷¹ Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1925). Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations*.

mezheb-i batılı hamis ettirmem” deyü say idub ve hulusuna binaen kibel-i mevte Acem ile mezhebsiz sulh müyesser oldu.²⁷²

The primary concern of Beşir Ağa and his fellow courtiers was a peace agreement with Iran without reference to the *madhhab* issue. Beşir Ağa and some religious scholars of the era did not accept Nadir’s proposal and defended the continuation of the war until the issue was withdrawn from the negotiation table. When Nadir gave up in late 1745, the Kurdan Treaty was signed the following year. In the end, the faction of Beşir Ağa reached its goal without any concession, although its leader did not see his victory since passed away in early June 1746.

Ahmed Paşa and some other Ottoman statesmen shared another view about the terms of a peace with Iran. Nadir’s proposal of the recognition of Jafariyya as a legitimate *madhhab*, the establishment of a “pillar” (*ruqn*) for it in Mecca, and the shah’s appointment of an overseer over Iranian pilgrims were acceptable terms for the sake of reaching an agreement that ended the Ottoman-Iranian war, which had lasted for years. Their main goal was the immediate end of the war within the borders agreed upon in 1639. Although the Hamadan Treaty of 1732, the Istanbul Treaty of 1736, and the negotiations from 1736 to 1743 did not bring a peace between the two countries, Ahmed Paşa was partly successful in his policy. He reached a ceasefire agreement with Nadir Shah on certain occasions and was able to move the battleground away from Baghdad to northern Iraq and eastern Anatolia.

²⁷² “About the campaigns on Iran and the quarrel about the fifth *madhhab* issue, Ragıb Efendi, the *reisulküttab* of the time, said, ‘There are four true madhhabs. However, the judges in our Sultan’s domains administer the law according to Hanafi rules since the Sultan is of the Hanafi *madhhab*. If [the legality of] the Jafari *madhhab* were to be recognized, then the Hanafi *madhhab* would still prevail. This recognition is rhetorical. Its refusal caused Anatolia’s devastation and several thousands of people of Shii orientation (*muvahhidin*) lost their lives and property. Moreover, such enemies as Austria and Russia have appeared. And now Iran has initiated hostilities against us again due to this *madhhab* issue. The law permits such a rhetorical deed in the face of such an exigency, for harm that remains particular is preferred to harm that becomes general.’ Upon this, he [Beşir Ağa] replied, “Do not mention these words ever again. I will not allow the recognition of a delusive and invalid [*batıl*] *madhhab* as a legitimate one while I am alive.” And thanks to the purity of his heart, God facilitated the reaching of a peace treaty with Iran without any mention of the *madhhab* issue before Beşir Ağa’s death.” Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Mür-it Tevarih*, vol. 1, 123. Also see, Tucker, *Nadir Shah’s Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran*, 114.

A second and probably more important difference between the two factions was about the scope of territorial concessions. The Porte demanded to keep the newly conquered areas in western Iran whereas Ahmed Paşa easily agreed to return to the borders of 1639 in 1733. He was aware of the challenges and threats against the Ottoman rule due to socio-cultural and geographical conditions in these largely Shii, tribal and mountainous areas that were furthermore so distant from the capital. The Porte appears to have a very optimistic view of its ability to overcome these difficulties.

3.1. The Faction of Ahmed Paşa

3.1.1. Ahmed Paşa

Hasan Paşa, the father of Ahmed Paşa, served as the governor of Baghdad from 1704 to 1724. During his term, he established order in the region by reaching deals with various local forces. The Porte rewarded his services by putting some of the nearby provinces and sub-provinces (such as Basra and Şehrizer hinterlands) under the administration of his close relatives, in addition to allowing him to keep his position as governor of Baghdad without interruption. When he died during the Ottoman campaign in Iran in 1724, his son was appointed as his successor. Ahmed Paşa ruled the province from March 1724 to June 1734 and from June 1736 until his death in October 1747.

Most of the secondary biographical studies on Ahmed Paşa contain incorrect information because the primary sources at hand give inconsistent information especially on the details of his political career until 1736. Mehmed Süreyya writes that he became *mirimiran* in H. 1127/1715, the governor of Konya in H. 1129/1717, Basra in H. 1133/1720, Şehrizer, Baghdad H. 1136/1724, Aleppo in H. 1147/1734, Rakka, and Baghdad in H. 1149/1736.²⁷³ According to Resul Havi, Ahmed Paşa was first appointed to the governorship of Şehrizer, then to Konya and Aleppo, and eventually to Basra in H. 1131/1719. His term in Basra lasted four years.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ Mehmed Süreyya, "Ahmed Paşa," *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 1, 198.

²⁷⁴ Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzerâ*, 17.

Abdurrahman Süveydi gives the sequence of Ahmed Paşa's appointments as Şehrizor in H. 1127/1715, Konya in H. 1127/1715, Aleppo in late H. 1129/1717, and Basra in M.1131/November-December 1718.²⁷⁵ Yasin el-Ömeri, however, writes that Urfa was Ahmed's first office in H. 1134/1722. After his removal from Baghdad, Ahmed Paşa was charged with the governorship of Erzurum in H. 1147/1734-1735.²⁷⁶ These inconsistencies lead to different narratives in the present literature.²⁷⁷

Another issue is the date of Ahmed's birth. Süveydi and Resul Havi give "Friday, late summer" and "Istanbul" as the date and place of his birth.²⁷⁸ Comparative assessment of references in Nazmizade, Raşid, Şemdanizade and Emo's works suggests that he was born in 1698. Nazmizade clearly implies in his work that Ahmed was very young when his father was the governor of Baghdad: "...veled-i emced-i pak-nihadleri saadetlu Ahmed Paşa hazretleri hadaset-i sin [early ages] ile peder-i ali güherleri ile maan bulunub..."²⁷⁹ When Ahmed became the governor of Şehrizor in 1715, Raşid and Şemdanizade refer to him as "Ahmed Bey,"²⁸⁰ while Nazmizade calls

²⁷⁵ Abdurrahman Süveydi Efendi, *Hadiqat al-Zawra fi Sirat al-Wuzara*, 226-229.

²⁷⁶ Al-Jamil, "A Critical Edition al-Durr al-Maknun fi al-Maathir al-Madiya min al-Qurun," vol. 2, 338, 352.

²⁷⁷ M. Cavid Baysun, "Ahmed Paşa," *IA*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim, 1978), 199-200. Abdülkadir Özcan, "Ahmed Paşa," *TDVIA*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: TDV, 1989), 111. Yahya Kelantari, "Ahmed Paşa," *Dairat-ul Maarif-i Bozorg-i Islami*, vol. 7 (Tehran: Markaz-i Dairat-ul Maarif-i Bozorg-i Islami, H.S. 1375/1996), 20-21. Al-Azzawi, *Tarikh-i al-Iraq Bayna Ihtilalayn*, vol. 5, 246. Editorial Board, "Ahmed Paşa," *YYOA*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2008), 142. Faruma Zachs, "Ahmed Paşa," *Eİ³*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 15.

²⁷⁸ "...ولد يوم الجمعة وقت طلوع سهيل، في قسبة يقال لها جفلكة، فوق اسلامبول بربع فرسخ..." Abdurrahman Süveydi Efendi, *Hadiqat al-Zawra*, 226. Resul Havi gives the same information: "...mevlidi zamanen tulu-i Süheyle karib yevm-i Cuma ve mekanen çarek saat mesafe-i İslambulun canib-i ulyasında vaki Çağlaka nam kasaba..." Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzerä*, 16. The place is "چاغلکه [Çağlaka, Çağlana]" for Resul, whereas it is "چيفلكة [Çiflik]" for Süveydi. In short, both sources refer to a location near Eyüp, Istanbul, and the date as Friday around the rise of *Süheyl*/Canopus without a year. The rise of Canopus refers to the end of summer as Palgrave writes in his travelogue: "...till the rise of Soheyl, or Canopus, here coincident with the first week of September..." William Gifford Palgrave, *Personal Narrative of A Year's Journey Through Central and Eastern Arabia (1862-63)* (London: Macmillan, 1869), 56.

²⁷⁹ Nazmizade Murteza Efendi, *Gülşen-i Hulefa*, ed. Mehmet Karataş (Ankara: TTK, 2014), 412.

²⁸⁰ Raşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli*, vol. 2, 906. Mustafa Öksüz, "Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi'nin Mürit-Tevarih Adlı Eserinin (180b-345a) Tahlil ve Tenkidi Metni" (MA thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar University, 2009), 313.

him “şibl-ül esed [lion cub].”²⁸¹ Giovanni Emo, the Venetian bailo in Istanbul, writes on the relationship between the Porte and Hasan Paşa in November 1720:

So great is the dissimulation of this Government that it does not declare him [Hasan Paşa] a rebel and constrain him with force, but communicates with him, shows confidence in him, and honoured him a short time ago by creating his Son Pasha at the premature age of seventeen.²⁸²

If we reconsider “a short time” as five years instead of several months or a year, it becomes consistent with other sources since young Ahmed Bey was not a *paşa* until 1715. Therefore, he was most likely born around 1697-98, when his father was recently assigned to the governorship of Karaman.²⁸³ Otherwise, we have to think that Ahmed Paşa was born in 1703 when his father was the governor of Diyarbakır and then Şehrizer. Furthermore, Emo’s statement means that Ahmed became the ruler of Şehrizer at the age of twelve, which seems very unlikely.

Other sources and studies in the literature are not helpful in deciding this issue. A British magazine gives Ahmed Paşa’s age as eighty years old in 1745. This is an incorrect assumption: “The Schach Nadir has constituted and acknowledged Achmet Bashaw, governor of Bagdad, or Babylon... Achmet is 80 years old and has no children...”²⁸⁴ Longrigg, probably considering the governor’s political career, writes that the governor was “born about 1685 at Chafalkah near Stambul...”²⁸⁵ Ali Shakir

²⁸¹ Nazmizade Murteza Efendi, *Gülşen-i Hulefa*, 413.

²⁸² Shay, *The Ottoman Empire From 1720 to 1734*, 86-87.

²⁸³ Hasan Paşa became the governor of Karaman on 12.R.1109/28 October 1697 (the day is *düşenbih*/Monday), Aleppo on 17.C.1110/20 December 1698 (*şenbih*/Saturday), Rakka on 22.Z.1111/10 June 1700 (*pençşenbih*/Thursday), Diyarbakır on C.1114/October-November 1702, Şehrizer on 01.C.1115/11 October 1703 (*pençşenbih*/Thursday), and Bagdad on 07.M.1116/12 May 1704 (*düşenbih*/Monday). Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Nusretname*, 333, 417, 450, 550, 636, 664.

²⁸⁴ *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, March 1745, 167.

²⁸⁵ Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, 127.

Ali refers to Longrigg's estimation in his book while Ali Kamil Hamza el-Serhan gives the date as 1683 in his article.²⁸⁶

Young Ahmed Bey or Ahmed Paşa was appointed as the governor of Şehrizer on 4 June 1715.²⁸⁷ Raşid, Nazmizade, and Şemdanizade gave the date as H. 1127/1715.²⁸⁸ He became the governor of Basra on 20 September 1716.²⁸⁹ When he was discharged from the office on 9 February 1720,²⁹⁰ the Porte ordered him to stay in Baghdad under his father's command for a while. Ahmed Paşa was appointed the governor of Karaman on 19 August 1720,²⁹¹ Aleppo on 4 March 1721,²⁹² and Basra (for the second time) on 24 December 1721.²⁹³ The dates that primary sources give for Ahmed's earlier governorships need clarification. Nazmizade writes that his governorship in Şehrizer lasted around a year and a half, which is partly consistent with Kılıç's date: "...bir buçuk sene mikdarı..."²⁹⁴ The Basra chronicle of the Carmelites, however, mention the length of his first term in Basra to be three years and a half, ending in June 1720. This means he was the governor of Basra between December 1716 and

²⁸⁶ Ali Shakir Ali, *Tarikh-ul Iraq fi-l Ahd-il Osmani: 1638-1750 Miladiyya 1948-1164 Hicriyya* (Mosul: Mosul University, 1985), 113. Ali Kamil Hamza al-Serhan, "Emaret-ul Hajj-ul Iraqi fi ahd-i Hasan Basha wa Ahmad Basha (1704-1747)," *Macallat-i Merkez-i Babil li-Dirasat-ul Insaniyya* 2/1 (2012): 113, note 53.

²⁸⁷ 01.C.1127. The day is *salı*/Tuesday. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Nusretname*, 832. Orhan Kılıç, *18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdari Taksimatı, Eyalet ve Sancak Tevcihatı* (Elazığ: Ceren, 1997), 202.

²⁸⁸ Raşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli*, vol. 2, 906. Nazmizade Murteza Efendi, *Gülşen-i Hulefa*, 407, 413. Öksüz, "Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi'nin Mürit-Tevarih Adlı Eserinin (180b-345a) Tahlil ve Tenkidi Metni," 313.

²⁸⁹ Kılıç, *18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdari Taksimatı*, 208. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Nusretname*, 860.

²⁹⁰ 01.R.1132. The day is *cuma*/Friday. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, 911.

²⁹¹ 15.L.1132. The day is *düşenbe*/Monday. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, 914.

²⁹² 05.CA.1133. The day is *salı*/Tuesday. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, 932.

²⁹³ 05.RA.1134. Fahameddin Başar, ed., *Osmanlı Eyalet Tevcihatı (1717-1730)* (Ankara: TTK, 1997), 283.

²⁹⁴ Nazmizade Murteza Efendi, *Gülşen-i Hulefa*, 413.

June 1720: "About the end of June Hamid [Ahmed] pasha, after three and a half years' government of the city, was removed..."²⁹⁵

The date differences in the sources may result from Kılıç and Silahdar's references to the Porte's orders, whereas Nazmizade and the Carmelites' chronicle give the dates of the execution of these orders in Iraq. Sarı Mustafa Paşa and Sirke Osman Paşa ruled Basra from February 1720 to December 1721. According to Silahdar, Sarı Mustafa's governorship lasted until 11 December 1720,²⁹⁶ whereas a report of the Carmelites tells that his removal was around February 1721.²⁹⁷ In his travel account, Captain Hamilton, a contemporary traveler in the region, refers to the governorship of Sirke Osman Paşa, who was the royal groom, *damad-ı şehriyari*, of Sultan Ahmed III: "...at Bassora, in anno 1721, for the Bashaw of the city having married a lady out of the Grand Seignior's seraglio..."²⁹⁸ Longrigg's account is correct in stating that Ahmed Paşa was not the governor in 1721 when misgovernment prevailed in Basra as indicated in Captain Hamilton's travelogue. However, Longrigg missed out, like many historians, that Ahmed Paşa ruled the province twice before 1724.²⁹⁹ Certain primary texts and documents are clear about Ahmed's second term in Basra, which began in late 1721: "...tekrar Basra eyaleti verilmişdir..."³⁰⁰ Çelebizade, the Ottoman court chronicler of the time, writes: "...bin yüz otuz dört senesi Şabanında [Ş.1135/May-June 1722] serhadlerde bulunan vüzera-yı izamdan Bağdad Valisi Hasan Paşa ve Basra mevalisi Hasan Paşazade Ahmed Paşa..."³⁰¹ The Carmelites' chronicle in Basra

²⁹⁵ Gollancz, *Chronicle of Events between the Years 1623 and 1733*, 567. Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, vol. 2, 1188.

²⁹⁶ 10.S.1133. The day is *çaharşenbe*/Wednesday. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Nusretname*, 930. Gollancz, *Chronicle of Events between the Years 1623 and 1733*, 595.

²⁹⁷ Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, vol. 2, 1188.

²⁹⁸ Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies*, vol. 1 (London: A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, 1739), 79.

²⁹⁹ Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, 127-128, note 3.

³⁰⁰ Başar, *Osmanlı Eyalet Tevcihatı (1717-1730)*, 283.

³⁰¹ Raşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli*, vol. 3, 1331.

includes a Turkish court document signed by “Hamid [Ahmed] Pasha” on 27 October 1722.³⁰²

Ahmed’s father Hasan Paşa died near Kermanshah on 26 February 1724, during the Ottoman campaigns in Iran.³⁰³ The Porte immediately appointed Ahmed Paşa as the governor of Baghdad and commander of the army (*serasker*) and Abdurrahman Paşa (Ahmed’s uncle) as the governor of Basra, when the news reached the Ottoman capital on 19 March 1724.³⁰⁴ Ahmed Paşa was removed from Baghdad, for reasons that I will elaborate below, in late June 1734.³⁰⁵ He was first appointed to Aleppo but then reassigned to Rakka at his request in October 1734.³⁰⁶ When Köprülüzade Abdullah Paşa was killed in the Battle at Bogavarad, Ahmed Paşa was appointed as *serasker* in the Eastern front with the title of the governor of Anadolu on 12 July 1735.³⁰⁷ He was reappointed to Baghdad on 23 June 1736³⁰⁸ and remained in the office until his death on 19 October 1747 (see Table 3.2.).

The registers of important imperial edicts (*mühimme defterleri*) are valuable sources to locate the names and exact titles of the many other “Ahmed Paşa”s who served as governors during the reigns of Ahmed III and Mahmud I. Failure to pay attention to

³⁰² 16.M.1135. Gollancz, *Chronicle of Events between the Years 1623 and 1733*, 292, 613. Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, vol. 2, 1188.

³⁰³ 01.C.1136. The day is *sebt*/Saturday. Raşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli*, vol. 3, 1391.

³⁰⁴ 23.C.1136. The day is *yeşenbih*/Sunday. Raşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, vol. 3, 1358. Başar, *Osmanlı Eyalet Tevcihatı (1717-1730)*, 136.

³⁰⁵ Evahir.M.1147/23 June-2 July 1734. Külbilge, “141 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (H. 1148),” 196-198.

³⁰⁶ Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzerâ*, 17. Ahmed Paşa was not in hurry to leave the city and stayed until CA.1147/November 1734. Erkan, *1734-1735 Osmanlı-İran Savaşı*, 114.

³⁰⁷ Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 252. Ahmed Paşa was referred as the *serasker* and the governor of Rakka in certain edicts in July and early August of 1735. Külbilge, “141 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (H. 1148),” 138-139, 163. In later documents, his title was the governorship of Anadolu. Külbilge, 177-178, 187-188. The exception is the edict of evahir.S.1148/13-21 July 1735: “...hala Anadolu valisi vezirim Ahmed Paşa ordu-ı hümayunumda olan asakir-i İslam üzerlerine ser-asker nasb olunmağla...” Külbilge, 150-151.

³⁰⁸ Kılıç, 18. *Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti’nin İdari Taksimatı*, 198-199.

such details is one of the main reasons behind the confusion and incoherent narratives in the primary as well as the secondary sources. During the period from 1734 to 1736, the governors of Aleppo were Abdullah Paşa, Polad Ahmed Paşa, and Hüseyin Paşa, in that order.³⁰⁹ The governors of Rakka were Kethüda Ahmed Paşa, Ahmed Paşa, and Kethüda Ahmed Paşa, for the second time.³¹⁰ The governors of Baghdad were İsmail Paşa and Silahdar Mehmed Paşa.³¹¹ From 1733 to 1736, the governors of Anadolu were Topal Osman Paşa, Köprülüzade Abdullah Paşa, Ahmed Paşa, and Silahdar Mehmed Paşa.³¹²

Ahmed Paşa inherited and expanded a household of slaves, *Mamluks*. After his death, his son-in-law, Süleyman Paşa, became the governor of Basra in 1748, and then of Baghdad in 1749. Süleyman was the first of the *Mamluk* governors (of Ahmed's household) who ruled the province until 1831. The governors sent from Istanbul failed to be able to govern the province in 1734-1736, and 1747-1749. We can explain the reasons behind Ahmed's long governorship (which led to the rule of the *Mamluks*

³⁰⁹ For Abdullah Paşa, see the edict of evahir.N.1146/25 February-6 March 1734, Erkan, *1734-1735 Osmanlı-İran Savaşı*, 1-3; the edict of evasit.RA.1147/11-20 August 1734, Külbilge, "141 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (H. 1148)," 204-205. Abdullah Paşa was referred as "the ex-governor of Aleppo" in the edict of evail.L.1147/24 Febr-5 March 1735, Külbilge, 171-172. For Polad Ahmed Paşa, see the edict of evasit.ZA.1147/4-13 April 1735, Erkan, *1734-1735 Osmanlı-İran Savaşı*, 207; the edict of evasit.B.1148/27 November-6 December 1735. Külbilge, "141 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (H. 1148)," 270-71. For Hüseyin Paşa, see the edict of evasit.ZA.1148/24 March-2 April 1736. Külbilge, 279-280.

³¹⁰ For Kethüda Ahmed Paşa Kılıç, see, Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 191. Kılıç, *18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdari Taksimatı*, 156. Mehmed Süreyya, "Ahmed Paşa (Hamalizade)," *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 1, 211. The Porte gave permission to Kethüda Ahmed Paşa, who was under the command of the *serasker* Ahmed Paşa, to return Rakka in the edict of evahir.ZA.1148/3-12 April 1736: "Rakka Valisi Vezir Ahmed Paşa'ya hüküm ki, senki vezir müşarün-ileyhsin maiyyetine memur olduğun hala Şark Canibi Seraskeri Vezirim Ahmed Paşa'nın yanında..." Külbilge, "141 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (H. 1148)," 296-297.

³¹¹ İsmail Paşa was replaced by Silahdar Mehmed Paşa in evahir.S.1148/13-21 July 1735. Külbilge, 146-147, 196-198.

³¹² For Topal Osman Paşa, see Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 304. For Köprülüzade Abdullah Paşa, see Külbilge, "141 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (H. 1148)," 259. For Silahdar Mehmed Paşa, see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/2, 317. The first three governors were also charged with the commandership in the eastern front. In the edict of evasit.R.1148/31 August-9 September 1735, Anadolu is mentioned as a province without the governance of viziers for a time: "...Anadolu eyaleti bir müddetden beru vüzera-yı azamdan hali olmak hasebiyle..." Külbilge, "141 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (H. 1148)," 195-196.

in Baghdad) and the failures of other governors in terms of Ahmed's realistic and pragmatist policies and his extensive intelligence network.

Table 3.2. The governors of Basra and Baghdad, 1716-1749

Year	Governors of Basra	Governors of Baghdad
1716-1719	Ahmed Paşa	Hasan Paşa
1720	Sarı Mustafa Paşa	
1721	Sirke Osman Paşa	
1722-1723	Ahmed Paşa	
1724-1727	Abdurrahman Paşa	Ahmed Paşa
1728-1730	Damad Mehmed Paşa	
1731-1732	Abdurrahman Paşa	
1733	Kethüda Ahmed Paşa	
1734	Ahmed Paşa	
1735	Vezir Mehmed Paşa	İsmail Paşa
1736	Hüseyin Paşa	Silahdar Mehmed Paşa
1737-1740	Ahmed Paşa	Ahmed Paşa
1741	Hüseyin Paşa	
1742-1747	Ahmed Paşa	
1748	Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa/ Hüseyin Paşa	Hacı Ahmed Paşa/ Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa
1749	Süleyman Paşa	Tiryaki Mehmed Paşa/ Süleyman Paşa

Ahmed Paşa was successful to keep the regional tribes under his control by force, compromise, or supporting alternative leaders. Other governors failed to establish order in the province, except for Süleyman Paşa. Ahmed supported alternative leaders in a local tribe against its established head, and played tribes against local governments, and the local governments against Nadir Shah.³¹³

Al-Muntafiq, Ben-i Lam, Rabia, Shammar, Babans, Al-i Abdi, Al-i Azizi, Bilbas, and Al-Kashan were some of the tribes in Iraq during the era. The governor launched many campaigns against these tribes to subjugate them. The area between Kirkuk and Hamadan (around Sulaymaniyyah) in Iraq was known as Baban province, Baban principality, or Baban government after the seventeenth century. The services of Hane Paşa of Baban in Ardalán and Halid Paşa of Baban in Qara Cholan in the 1720s under the Ottoman rule ensured the continuity of the rule of the family in the region. When the Iranian army advanced into Iraq in the 1730s and 1740s, certain pro-Iranian

³¹³ Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, 159. Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations*, 117-140.

Baban members, such as Selim of Baban,³¹⁴ took refuge to Nadir's court. Süleyman of Baban, son of Halid Paşa, escaped Qara Cholan when Nadir's army arrived in 1743. The Shah installed Selim as the new governor. Ahmed Paşa supported Süleyman of Baban against Selim afterward. He clearly mentions his plan for Selim's punishment in his letter to Mahmud I in 1746. Ahmed Paşa, however, postponed it due to the request of Nadir Shah regarding Selim's pardon and for the sake of the Kurdan Treaty:

...Baban sancağı mutasarrıfı Selim Beyin bundan akdem zuhur iden hilaf-ı merzu hareketinden naşi kaydı görülmeğe abd-i kadimleri müterakkib-i fırsat olub vaktiyle hakkından gelinmek için haki-pai-i hazret-i veli-n niamiden istizan ve istirhasa muntazır iken elçi [Nazif] efendi kullarının Şah ordusuna vusulünde mir-i merkum Şah tarafından muma ileyh efendi kullarına tavsiye ve canib-i devlet-i Aliyyeden mir-i miraniyyet ile sancağında ibkası iltimasında olduklarını tefhim eylediğinden gayrı... Böyle olduktan sonra mir-i merkum vaktine dek haliyle yerinde tehir buyurulmak tedbire evfak mülâhaza olunur. Çünkü bir şah o makule bir sancak beyini esna-ı musalahada rica ve ibkasını iltimas itmiş seza-i müsaade-i Aliye olunduğu nimayan olmağın fil-hakika iltimasları üzere müsaade buyurulmasının birkaç vechle hüsnü zahirdir... muvafık-ı rey-i rezin-i veli-n nimaneleri olur ise şah-ı mezburun ricasına binaen mir-i miraniyyet ile Baban sancağı mir-i merkuma ibka ve ihsan buyurulsa hem şimdilik şah-ı mezbur mutayyib olur ve hem mir-i merkum elimizde bulunub abd-i kadimlerine dahi ruhsat ihsan buyurulsa İnşallah-u Teala vaktiyle ibret-us sairin kaydı görülür...³¹⁵

When the news of Nadir's death arrived in Baghdad in late July 1747, Ahmed immediately began the preparations for his campaign against Selim. He defeated Şir Bey (Selim's brother) at Kamçuhe Castle and then besieged Selim at Surucek Castle. Selim demanded peace and accepted Ahmed's authority. The governor passed away during his return to Baghdad and the conflict between Selim Paşa and Süleyman Paşa (Ahmed's son-in-law) continued for a time.³¹⁶

³¹⁴ Mehmed Süreyya, "Selim Paşa," *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 5, 1491-1492. Mehmed Emin Zeki Bey, *Kürd ve Kürdistan Ünlüleri (Meşahir-i Kurd u Kurdistan)*, vol. 1, trans. M. Baban, M. Yağmur, and S. Kutlay (Stockholm: Apec, 1998), 184-185. David McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 33-34. Also see, Metin Atmaca, "Politics of Alliance and Rivalry on the Ottoman-Iranian Frontier: The Babans (1500-1851)" (PhD diss., Albert Ludwig University of Freiburg, 2013).

³¹⁵ NLB. OAK. 64-25, the second letter.

³¹⁶ Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, 178-179.

The siege of Basra by the Muntafiq tribe in 1741 is another example of Ahmed's regional policies. The governor captured Sadun, the head of the Muntafiq, and appointed Munaykhir (Sadun's father) as the new leader of the tribe in the early 1740s. When Munaykhir failed to fulfill the demands of Ahmed Paşa, he was deposed. Sadun was released and again became the leader. His gratitude was brief and soon rebelled against Ahmed Paşa. When the troops of Ahmed and Sadun met near Basra in 1741, the conflict ended with the victory of the governor, according to the chronicle of Kerküklü Resul Havi. As Olson underlines, it was an inconclusive battle for the other primary sources. Nevertheless, the governor returned Baghdad and the Muntafiq tribe under the leadership of Sadun soon raided Basra. According to Otter's travelogue and a report of the Carmelites in Basra, the main reason behind the peace between both sides was the removal of Ahmed Paşa from the governorship of Basra and the appointment of Hüseyin Paşa to the office. Ahmed, however, managed to regain city in 1741 by doing nothing about tribal raids against the rule of Hüseyin Paşa in the province, as the Carmelite report narrates as follows:

...on 5.4.1741 [5 April 1741] Ahmad Pasha of Baghdad made his entry into this town [Basra] with 15,000 horse and freed us from fear of an attack... After some skirmishes with them, contrary to every expectation, however, he made peace with them. Therefore, a chief of the Arabs, named Sa'dun, brother of 'Abdullah, known as Muntafiq, accompanied by many horsemen, having pitched his tents in the vicinity of the town began, not by right of war, but on the ground of the peace made, to levy a large contribution in money from the hamlets... So Basra, burdened with so many trials, protested against the onerous peace and its author; but grumbling ceased as soon as we learnt the reason for the peace concluded. For Ahmad Pasha had information from Constantinople that he had been removed from the governorship of the province, and that a certain Hasan [Hacı Hüseyin] Pasha, who some years previously had governed Basra, had been appointed. Having heard of this, the shrewd Ahmad Pasha with the greatest address had concluded peace with the said Sa'dun, rightly having in mind that, were the latter to rise against the new governor, he himself would fish the more comfortably in the muddied waters.

The result proved this to be correct for, 8.9.1741 [8 September 1741], when the new Mutasallim had hardly entered the town, accompanied by a few soldiers... the notables of the town unanimously agreed (in accordance with the objective of Ahmad Pasha) to submit and represent to the Sultan by written memorials that, if he wished to retain this province and town, he should commit the government of it once more to Ahmad Pasha, whom alone they considered capable enough to coerce the Arabs. As we learnt on

2.11.1741 [2 November 1741] the emperor (i.e. Sultan) granted the petition of the notables, and Ahmad Pasha was confirmed (as governor) on condition that he would break the peace with the Arabs and wage war on them... on the 11th of the same month the army of Ahmad under the leadership of Sulaiman Kiaia threw itself on the Arabs, and after a stout and fluctuating fight obtained at last a complete victory over them. The head of Sa'dun was cut off and sent to Constantinople...³¹⁷

There was an apparent conflict between the governors of Baghdad and Mosul, namely the *Mamluks* in Baghdad and the *Jalilis* in Mosul, in the 1730s and 1740s. Jalili İsmail Paşa became the governor of Mosul in 1726 and his son Hacı (or Jalili) Hüseyin Paşa in 1730. Hüseyin Paşa's successful defense of Mosul against the attacks of Nadir's army in 1733 and 1744 paved the way for the *Jalilis* to be the dominant family in the province. Most of the governors of Mosul from 1726 to 1834 were from the *Jalili* family.³¹⁸

The central government in Istanbul aimed to balance or break the influence of Ahmed Paşa's household in Iraq by giving the control of Basra to Hüseyin Paşa in the 1730s and 1740s. When Ahmed Paşa was removed from Baghdad and Basra in 1734, Hüseyin Paşa acted first as the citadel commander (*muhafız*) of Baghdad and later as the governor of Basra. Ahmed Paşa was appointed to the commandership at the eastern front after Nadir's victory at Bagavard in 1735 and returned his previous post at Baghdad in 1736. The Porte again tried to outflank Ahmed Paşa in 1741 by granting the governorship of Basra to Hüseyin Paşa. As mentioned above, this policy failed and Ahmed Paşa regained Basra.

We can trace the conflict between the *Jalilis* in Mosul and Ahmed's household in Baghdad in archival documents. Although the province of Baghdad was superior to Mosul in terms of revenue and manpower, the geographical location of Mosul gave a significant advantage to Hüseyin Paşa: He could control or delay the transportation

³¹⁷ Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, vol. 2, 1196-1197.

³¹⁸ Mehmet İpşirli, "Celili," *TDVIA*, vol. 7 (Istanbul: TDV, 1993), 268-269. Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire: Mosul, 1540-1834*. Ayşen Ay, "Jalili household in Ottoman Mosul, 1726-1834" (MA thesis, Fatih University, 2013).

of the supplies from Anatolia to Baghdad on the Tigris River. The Porte warned Hüseyin Paşa to send the supplies to Baghdad in March 1734 and to prevent the plunder of the rafts (*kelek*) on the river by the local tribes near Mosul in May.³¹⁹ The governor of Mosul continued to use this strategy in the 1740s. Ahmed Paşa accused Hüseyin Paşa of delaying the transportation of the supplies to Baghdad in his letter to Porte in June 1746: "...Diyarbakir tarafından fakat otuz kıta kelek sefinesi inşa ve zehair ile tahmil ve irsal olunub zikr olunan otuz kelek zahireyi Musula vusullerinde Musul valisi Abdülcelil-zade Hüseyin Paşa hazretleri zabt ve tehir itdiği..."³²⁰

Ahmed employed a realist strategy in his policy on Iran during the negotiation and war periods which eventually affected his relationship with the Porte. He was well aware of the territorial limits of his rule as a governor and the disorder that the tribes could create in Baghdad in his absence. He did not advance beyond Hamadan and began to negotiate peace terms with Shah Tahmasb II subsequent to his victory in the battlefield in late 1731, although some sources indicate that the road to Isfahan was open to the Ottoman armies.³²¹ Neither the Ottoman sultan Mahmud I nor Nadir, the de facto ruler of Iran, acknowledged the Treaty of Hamadan in 1732. Leaving Tabriz to the Safavids was unacceptable to the Ottoman side, whereas Nadir considered the treaty a disgrace for ignoring his recent military successes. Upon the news of the treaty, Nadir returned from his campaign in Afghanistan and laid siege to Baghdad for eight months. The siege ended with the arrival of Topal Osman Paşa in the region. Topal Osman and his forces defeated the Iranian army in their first encounter but he was killed in the second one in 1733. Ahmed Paşa signed a treaty with Nadir, who was also in a difficult situation due to rebellions in Iran. When Nadir suppressed the uprising, he returned but leading his army into the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia, and not Iraq. A similar scenario occurred in 1743 when Nadir returned from his campaign in Dagestan. His army besieged Kirkuk, Mosul, and Basra. Only the first fell into the hands of the Iranians. Mosul was saved by the successful

³¹⁹ Erkan, *1734-1735 Osmanlı-İran Savaşı*, 17-18, 20-21, 60.

³²⁰ BOA. HAT. 223.

³²¹ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 56.

defense of its people while Basra by the agreement between Ahmed Paşa and Nadir Shah. After the meeting at Najaf, Nadir returned to Iran to suppress rebellions and then led his army to eastern Anatolia. Certain phases of this campaign are crucial to understanding Ahmed Paşa's policy regarding the courts of Nadir Shah and Mahmud I.

When the Iranian troops arrived the vicinity of Baghdad and the Shah demanded Ahmed Paşa to deliver Baghdad in the middle of 1743, the Paşa's answer was "Take Mosul, and I will hand you Baghdad." Some primary sources present these words as the cunning strategy of Ahmed against Nadir to gain time (to gather the crop)³²² whereas others underline the governor's wish for the siege of Mosul by referring to the conflict between the governor and the grand-vizier (Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa), in addition to Ahmed's struggle with Hüseyin Paşa.³²³ Ahmed Paşa dispatched his couriers to the capital to inform the situation and stated that it would be impossible to defend Iraq without a new army from Istanbul. The Porte decided to renew the war and ordered for the transportation of the troops and necessary supplies to the cities in Iraq. The fall of Kirkuk triggered the deposition of Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa on 23 September 1743. In the meanwhile, Nadir's army failed to capture Mosul after a fierce siege of forty days and retreated in October. The Shah visited holy shrines near Baghdad and reached an agreement with Ahmed Paşa in early December. The sources, however, do not give the full text of this agreement as Lockhart and Külbilge note in their studies.³²⁴ It most likely includes an article to resume the negotiations

³²² "Bağdad Valisi vezir-i müşter-i tedbir Ahmed Paşa... ber-tarik-i hile ve huduuuyu gösterub Nadir Şah tarafına bir elçi gönderub 'Git Musul vilayetinin zabt et badehu biz size itaat ve inkıyad ederiz ve burasını size kavga ve cidalsiz teslim eder gider' demesi üzerine Nadir Şah kendi akl-ı kasırınca Ahmed Paşanın bu kelamını hakikat ve sıhhate haml ederek tasdik etmiş." Hasan Tefvik Efendi, *Musul Salnamesi* (Mosul: Musul Vilayet Matbaası, H. 1308/1891), 261. Subhi Mehmed Efendi and Sırrı Efendi briefly mention about Ahmed Paşa's answer to Nadir. Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 770. Sırrı Efendi, *Risalet-üt Tarih-i Nadir Şah*, 12. Abdullah Süveydi writes that the governor somehow managed to overcome the threat: "...her ne tedbir eyledi ise edüp ve Bağdadın duvarını dahi Nadir-i mesfure rüyet ettirmeyüp..." Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, *Vekayiname-i Nadir Şah*, 17.

³²³ Otter writes that Ahmed Paşa had sent letters to Nadir Shah to leave his campaign in Dagestan and attack on Kirkuk, Mosul, and Diyarbakır. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, vol. 2, 361. Also see, *The Daily Post*, February 8, 1742.

³²⁴ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 234. Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 321, note 1864.

between both sides on the issue of the fifth *madhhab* (by sending of a scholar to the meeting at Najaf). Ahmed Paşa called Abdullah Süveydi Efendi into his presence and appointed him as his deputy to the meeting at Najaf on 8 December 1743³²⁵ while the siege of Basra ended due to the agreement on the very same day:

...At length, 8.12.1743, to universal rejoicing, two messengers arrived -one a Turk the other a Persian- reporting that a covenant of peace had been made between Nadir Shah and Ahmad Pasha, so on both sides hostilities ceased, the gates of the town were opened, and after some days the Persian army took itself back to Persia.³²⁶

The Porte had planned to send Safi Mirza to Iran and install him as the real/alternative ruler of the country, besides sending orders to the commanders and governors in the eastern parts of the empire for an upcoming war during the summer of 1743. Safi Mirza, a Safavid prince for the Ottoman sources, took refuge to the Ottomans in the late 1720s and was staying in Rhodes under detention. The Iranian chronicles refer to him as an imposter named Muhammad Ali Rafsanjani. Safi was brought to the capital in June and summoned before the grand-vizier, the chief of the black eunuchs, and later the Sultan, in August 1743.³²⁷ The Prince left Istanbul and arrived at Kars on 19 December.³²⁸ When Ahmed Paşa sent his courier to the Porte to inform his agreement with the Shah, there was no room for his intermediary since the Porte had already decided to solve the issues with Iran by employing offensive tactics rather than diplomacy.³²⁹ After the courier was detained near Istanbul for a time, he arrived at the city and was accepted to the presence of Hacı Beşir Ağa, according to a British newspaper:

³²⁵ 21.L.1156. The day is *pazar/Sunday*. Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, *Vekayiname-i Nadir Şah*, 20.

³²⁶ Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, vol. 2, 1198.

³²⁷ Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 801-805.

³²⁸ Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 326.

³²⁹ Külbilge, 327-329. Çoruhlu, "Musaffa Mehemmed Efendi Kit'a min Tarih-i Sultan Mahmud-ı Evvel," 131.

Constantinople, March 16 [1744]. Since the raising of the siege of Mousul, Thamas Kouli Kan's son kept the city of Bagdad block'd up. Kouli Kan himself encamp'd between Bagdad and Kirkiout, whither the Kaija [Kahya] of Achmet Bashaw went to execute the commissions he was charg'd with by the Porte. The result of the negotiation was, that Kouli Kan should return home, in consequence of a plan of peace which he had agreed upon with Achmet Bashaw, who had reserv'd to himself the Porte's approbation, accordingly dispatch'd again his Kaija to Constantinople for that purpose. Thamas Kouli Kan, who has declar'd himself a true Musulman, would by no means return to Persia without going in pilgrimage to four mosques, two of which lie within a quarter of a league of Bagdad... Kouli Kan being return'd from his pilgrimage, withdrew the 13th of December a little way from Bagdad, abandoning the places and towns he had taken: Whereupon Achmet Bashaw sent out proper officers to take possession of them in the Grand Signior's name. It was 23d of January that we receiv'd the news of this unexpected event, at which the whole city greatly rejoiced, because of the uneasiness we were under for Bagdad. At last the Kaija of Achmet Bashaw, who had been detain'd at Nicomedia [İznikmid], from when he sent his dispatches to the Porte, arriv'd here the 10th of February, and had several conferences with the Kislar Aga: and after divers councils held on this subject, it was resolv'd the 25th of the same month, in a general divan, to reject the plan of peace as contrary to the law... This Bashaw's Kiaja is still here, which makes some people think that the Porte has not yet absolutely broke off all negotiations with the Persians: However, all things are preparing for a vigorous campaign...³³⁰

The relationship between Ahmed Paşa and Nadir Shah was definitely a complex one. On the one hand, they developed a mutual understanding in time. According to the travelogues of Hanway and Otter, Nadir had great respect for the governor. Hanway writes:

[Nadir Shah] Having asked if there were any prince on the earth greater than himself and the grand signior [Mahmud I]; and being answered, that there were not any, he replied, "You are mistaken; the Basha of Bagdat [Ahmed Paşa] is greater than either of us; for both of us have been endeavouring to reduce him to our subjection, but his fortune and conduct have been superior to our attempt."³³¹

An anecdote takes place in the chronicles of Abdurrahman Süveydi and Kerküklü Resul Havi should display this relationship, in addition to the agreements between

³³⁰ *The London Evening Post*, May 17-19, 1744.

³³¹ Hanway, *An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea*, vol. 4, 281.

both sides in 1733 and 1743 as mentioned before. Ahmed Paşa was known for his hunting skills (see Figure D.8.). When he left Baghdad for hunting in a place located in northeastern parts of the province in 1741, a rumor began to circulate that he went to Iran on a campaign. The rumor caused a great panic among people in Kermanshah and Hamadan. Nadir decided to send troops to the region to appease the people and warned his soldiers not to cross the border or provoke the Ottoman officers. The mobilization in the region alarmed Baghdad but the spies Ahmed Paşa sent to Iran revealed the true situation. As Abdurrahman Süveydi and Resul Havi emphasize, the events might lead to another course if there was not a mutual understanding between the governor and the Shah.³³²

This understanding, on the other hand, had its limits. The siege of Basra in 1743 by the Iranian troops was an attack on a city under the governance of Ahmed Paşa. Selim of Baban was another case in point. When Nadir Shah asked Ahmed Paşa (and the Porte) for Selim's pardon and his appointment to the Baban province in 1746, he must have known the conflict between Ahmed and Selim. The Shah and the governor of Baghdad were aware of their pragmatist policy against each other as Sırrı Efendi mentions in his work. He considers the friendship between both sides as superficial and their rivalry as real: "...birbirlerine adavetleri sahih ve dostlukları kazib olduğu müberhendir."³³³ His text also includes Nadir's words regarding Ahmed Paşa as in Hanway's account with a slight but important difference: "Bağdad valisi Ahmed Han cümlemizden akildir. Benimle Devlet-i Osmaniyyeyi ve Devlet-i Osmaniye ile beni tahvif idüp, miyanede kendü safasında asude cümleyi firifte-i desise itmişdir. Fursat müyesser olur ise intikamım alırım."³³⁴ Likewise, Ahmed Paşa was not friendly in his private talks about the ruler of Iran. Although he sent a scholar to the meeting at

³³² Abdurrahman Süveydi Efendi, *Hadiqat al-Zawra*, 467-469. Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 62-63.

³³³ Sırrı Efendi, *Risalet-üt Tarih-i Nadir Şah*, 7.

³³⁴ "Ahmed Paşa is clever than all of us. He threatened the Sublime Porte with me and me with Sublime Porte while he was prosperous. If I get an opportunity, I will have my vengeance." Sırrı Efendi, *Risalet-üt Tarih-i Nadir Şah*, 7.

Najaf, he considered Nadir as “a heathen who does not believe afterlife.”³³⁵ The governor told Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi that he was most pleased when he received the news of Nadir’s death, his “sworn enemy.”³³⁶

Ahmed Paşa had serious conflicts with the Porte during his first and second terms in Baghdad. Grand-vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa removed him from office in 1734 on the pretext of his agreement with Nadir Shah in the previous year. When Abdullah Paşa was killed in the battle of 1735, Hekimoğlu was deposed and sent to exile and Ahmed Paşa was reappointed as the commander of the eastern armies. Hekimoğlu’s second term at the office lasted from April 1742 to September 1743. Contemporary Ottoman and foreign sources refer to the struggle between Ahmed Paşa and Ali Paşa in the 1740s.³³⁷ Hanway writes:

The vizir Ali Basha employed all his skill and interest to displace Achmed, Basha of Bagdat: he even carried his resentment so far, as to tamper with Osman Basha, governor of the citadel (muhafız) of Bagdat; and to promise him the government of the city and province, if he could by any means remove Achmed. This proposal not being accepted, the vizir, according to the ordinary course of eastern intrigues, tried Achmed; and orders were dispatched to him to send the head of Osman. Being surprized at so extraordinary a commission, in prejudice to a man against whom he had no cause of complaint, he acquainted Osman with the affair. This produced an explanation on both sides, the mutual confidence which from thence arose...³³⁸

³³⁵ “Bu herif [Nadir] bu mezheb ile mütemezhib değildir, sani-i alemi münkir bir dehr-i kafirdür.” Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tebdirat-ı Pesendide*, 155.

³³⁶ “Öyle bir Firavun ve Nemrud misillü müstedric-i hasm-ı canımın helaki ile mübeşşer oldum. Bundan sonra yaşamaz isem dahi gam degildir.” Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, 233.

³³⁷ “...müşarun-ileyh [Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa] ile Bağdad Valisi vezir-i mükerrem Ahmed Paşa hazretlerinin beynlerinde ez-kadim nifak u şikak olduğundan...” Melek Çoruhlu, “Musaffa Mehemed Efendi Kit’a min Tarih-i Sultan Mahmud-ı Evvel” (MA thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar University, 2005), 128. “...Ahmed Paşa’nın Hekimbaşızade Ali Paşa hazretleriyle miyanelerinde üstüvar olan adavet ü bağzadan...” Sırrı Efendi, *Risalet-üt Tarih-i Nadir Şah*, 7.

³³⁸ Hanway, *An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea*, vol. 4, 236. William Heude, who traveled to Iran in the early nineteenth century, recorded a rumor on the same subject. William Heude, *A Voyage up the Persian Gulf, and a Journey Overland from India to England, in 1817* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1819), 145-146.

Nevertheless, the appointment of Hüseyin Paşa as the governor of Basra in 1741 implies that the conflict was not limited to Hekimoğlu's tenure. I argue that Beşir Ağa was the key figure behind the Porte's actions or decisions against Ahmed Paşa.

Three cases, the Najaf meeting, the siege of Mosul by the Iranian army and his fight with the Babans, should illustrate Ahmed Paşa's pragmatism. The Porte refused to accommodate Nadir Shah's request for sending scholars to Najaf, but Ahmed Paşa sent his deputy, Abdullah Süveydi Efendi. The people in Baghdad (and then Basra) enjoyed the peace upon Ahmed's agreement with the Shah in 1743, when Mosul and later Kars were besieged by the Shah's army. The governor postponed his campaign against Selim Paşa at the request of Nadir Shah in 1746, and acted after the news of the assassination of the Shah in 1747. Ahmed's authority over the tribes in Iraq, Nadir Shah's respect for him, and his other qualities helped make the governor irreplaceable after 1376. Ahmed Paşa managed to turn his household into a regional dynasty in time, thanks to his regional policies and his success in maintaining complex relationships with the Porte and Nadir. According to Olson, it would be incorrect to date the establishment of the *Mamluks* in Baghdad as the appointment of Hasan Paşa to the city in 1704 or Süleyman Paşa in 1749. As he explains in detail, "it was not in 1704 or 1749, but during Ahmet Paşa's rule that the foundation of the Mameluk dynasty was laid."³³⁹

The primary sources provide ample information about Ahmed Paşa's intelligence network, an important pillar of his governance in Baghdad. Numan Efendi's work indicates how far-reaching this network was. Ahmed Paşa told Numan that he had his own spies in the Ottoman mission to Iran in 1747: "Benüm sizünle mutemed casuslarım var idi..."³⁴⁰ He was well aware of Numan's advice to Kesriyeli, the Ottoman ambassador, and the debates between them. Ahmed Paşa also knew Kesriyeli's correspondence with Selim Bey before the mission arrived Baghdad. It would be impossible to explain the governor's prediction of the collapse of Nadir's

³³⁹ Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations*, 200, note 21.

³⁴⁰ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 234.

reign in Iran without referring to his spy-network. Before Kesriyeli's mission left Baghdad, the governor informed the ambassador on the recent news in Iran that Nadir Shah began to kill the deputies of his commanders and then called the commanders before his presence to kill them. The governor concluded that "the Shah's reign is about to end," and advised Kesriyeli "to stay in the city until another news arrives":

...dünkü gün Huveyze canibinden bir casusum geldi... bu seraskerler keyfiyeti takrir için Nadir Şaha birer han irsal eylemişler, anları da katl ve: "Seraskerler gelsünler!" deyü emr eylemiş ve "Her bir seraskerlerini dahi katl ider," deyü yanuna varmayup ve kendü ordusunda azim kıtal u ihtilal olup, kelamının nüfuzı kalmamış, alayim-i idbarı bedidar olmuş. Galiba istidracı tamam olmak gerekdür. Elhamdülillah-i Teala Bağdad bolluk ve ucuzluk, on beş gün tayinatınız miriden virildükden sonra, yigirmi otuz gün dahi cümle mesarifinüzi ben görürüm. Bir eyüce haber gelinceye değin bunda meks eylesenüz ve bila-tashih-i haber birden bire İran ummanına kendinüzi salmasanız münasib olur...³⁴¹

Joseph Emin's memoirs of Baghdad in the 1720s includes the governor's employment of Armenians for information.³⁴² In December 1732, Kinnoul, the British ambassador in Istanbul, noted that Ahmed Paşa sent a "great many Arab Spys" into Isfahan to survey Nadir's resources.³⁴³ Another example is on the conflict between Nadir and his eldest son, Riza-quli Mirza, which ended with the blinding of the prince by the orders of the Shah in Dagestan in the autumn of 1742.³⁴⁴ Although I could not find a document regarding the incident in the Ottoman archives, the news in the British newspapers indicates that the Porte was aware of the struggle between the father and his son in late 1741, thanks to information sent by Ahmed Paşa:

³⁴¹ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, 157.

³⁴² "Emin's grandfather, Michael, was almost ruined by an Armenian treacherous informer, named Kardash, but for the protection of one Mr. Dorrel, resident at Basra, who happened to be then at Bagdad, and was much taken notice of by its governor Ahmad, who grew so very fond of him, that he used to call him My Balioz Beg." Joseph Emin, *Life and Adventures of Joseph Emin, 1726-1809*, 6.

³⁴³ Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations*, 94.

³⁴⁴ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 207.

Extrail of a private letter from Constantinople, Oct. 3. The hostilities pretended, some time ago, to have been commenc'd against this empire by Thamas Kouli Kan, were only idle reports to which it was hard to give any credit. We have receiv'd more accounts on this subject in the letters lately sent to the Grand Signor by Bashaw Achmet, who commands at Babylon: According to those letters, the army which Thamas Kouli Kan assembled in August last on the frontiers of Armenia, consisted of near 130,000 Men... In the mean time Kouli Kan's eldest son thought he perceiv'd that his father did not harbour a very good opinion of him, and that he even had some thoughts of excluding him from the succession to the Persian throne, in order to secure it to his second son...³⁴⁵

A final example is that Ahmed Paşa's report to the Porte about the necessity of providing special attention to Mahdi Khan, a member of the Iranian mission in 1747. Although Mustafa Khan was the ambassador and Mahdi Khan was a deputy, Ahmed Paşa underlined Mahdi's relations with the Shah were superior to those of the ambassador:

Bağdad valisi vezir-i mükerrerrem izzetlu Ahmed Paşa hazretlerinden bu defa çukadar-ı sadr-ı ali Ahmed kullarıyla varid olan tahriratın hülasasıdır... hala İran elçileri Mustafa Han ve Mehdi Han olmağla gerçi büyük elçi Mustafa Han olmak takribiyle itibar ve ihtişam-ı mezburedir lakin Mehdi Han Mustafa Handan ziyade şahlarının mukarrib ve mutemedi ve her halde vakıf-ı esrarı olduğu mütevatir olmağla vezir-i müşar ileyh tarafından mutad üzere donanmış atlar verilmekte ve sair ikramlarında çendan dur tutulmayub şayanları üzere ihtiram olunub ancak zahir halde Mustafa Hanın saniyesi olduğuna binaen taraf-ı evliya-ı nimesden emr olunmadıkça esna-ı rahda muma ileyh Mehdi Hana layıkı üzere ikram olunmayacağı müberhen olmağla Mustafa Handan bir mikdar tefavüt ile Mehdi Hana ikram ve riayet itmeleri babında hilal-i tarikde olan vüzera-ı azam ve mir-i miran ve sair iktiza idenlere tenbih ve tekid buyurulmasın...³⁴⁶

3.1.2. Other Members

Ragıb Mehmed, son of Şevki Mehmed Efendi, was born in 1699 in the Ottoman capital. He learned Persian, Arabic, and calligraphy in his childhood and became a scribe in the *defterhane*, the central finance department, in Istanbul. He acted as secretary to the governors in the eastern parts of the empire such as Arifi Ahmed

³⁴⁵ *The Daily Post*, November 19, 1741. *The Boston Gazette*, February 2, 1742.

³⁴⁶ BOA. HAT. 15.

Paşa, Köprülüzade Abdullah Paşa, Ahmed Paşa, and Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa during the Ottoman campaigns in Iran in the 1720s. He became first the deputy to *reisulküttab* and later the *defterdar* of Baghdad in the early 1730s. He was sent as an envoy to Nadir, who was in Herat, in 1732. Ragıb was in Baghdad during the siege of 1733 and joined the negotiations between Ahmed Paşa and Nadir. He was called back to the capital and rewarded as *maliye tezkireciliği* due to his negotiation skills in Baghdad. He was appointed as *ordu defterdarı* under the service of Ahmed Paşa for a short period in 1735. Next year, he became the secretary of the grand-vizier in the Ottoman army but was immediately called back to the capital for the Ottoman-Iranian peace negotiations. He participated in the Ottoman-Austrian and Ottoman-Russian negotiations first as a deputy envoy and later as the grand-vizier's secretary from 1737 to 1739. He became the *reisulküttab* in 1741 for the following three years. The Porte appointed him as the governor of Egypt in 1744, Aydın in 1748, Sayda in 1750, Rakka in 1751, and Aleppo in 1755. Sultan Osman III appointed Ragıb Mehmed Paşa to the highest office in the empire, grand-vizier, on 29 February 1757. The Sultan's illness and death in October 1757 was a crucial period for Ragıb since Ebukof Ahmed Ağa, the *darüssaade ağası*, planned to replace him. Ragıb secured his office as the first grand-vizier of the new sultan, Mustafa III, and ended the military and economic power of chief of black eunuchs afterward. He died on 8 April 1763. The primary and secondary sources underline Ragıb's outstanding skills as a statesman as well as a poet, a scholar, a translator, a political historian, and a philanthropist. He is one of the most well-known and well-studied political figures of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁷ Norman Itzkowitz, "Mehmed Raghıb Pasha: The Making of an Ottoman Grand Vizier" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1959). Franz Babinger, "Raghıb Pasha," *EJ*, vol. 8 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 390-391. Hüseyin Yorulmaz, *Koca Ragıb Paşa* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1998). Henning Sievert, *Zwischen arabischer Provinz und Hoher Pforte: Beziehungen, Bildung and Politik des osmanischen Bürokraten Ragıb Mehmed Paşa (st. 1763)*; "Eavesdropping on the Pasha's Salon: Usual and Unusual Readings of an Eighteenth Century Ottoman Bureaucrat," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 41 (2013): 159-195. Mesut Aydın, "Koca Ragıb Paşa, Hayatı ve Dönemi, 1699-1763"; "Dönemin Kaynakları ve Arşiv Belgelerine Göre Koca Ragıb Mehmed Paşa'ya Dair Bir Portre Denemesi," *Çukurova Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 25/4 (2016): 1-36. Bilge Karga Göllü, "Koca Ragıb Paşa Üzerine Bir Kaynakça Denemesi," *Çukurova Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 25/4 (2016): 137-145.

As mentioned above, Ragıb’s conversation with Hacı Beşir Ağa during his term as *reisulküttab* in 1741-1744 points out that Ragıb preferred to accept Nadir’s proposal regarding the Jafari *madhhab* instead of war. However, this view was clearly unacceptable to Beşir Ağa. Ragıb was removed from office in 1744, on the eve of another Ottoman-Iranian war. According to Hammer, Ragıb’s close relationship with Ahmed Paşa was a significant reason for Ragıb’s new post.³⁴⁸ We can consider his appointment to Egypt as an exile from the capital but to a place where Hacı Beşir Ağa had considerable political and financial authority. Jane Hathaway and Andre Raymond discuss the relationship between the chief eunuchs in the royal palace and Egyptian households in their studies.³⁴⁹ The death of Beşir Ağa in 1746 gave Ragıb an opportunity to attack and exile certain regional figures and factions in Egypt like the Qatamisha or Abdurrahman Kahya al-Qazdağlı. As Andre Raymond mentions in his book, Abdurrahman Kahya was a friend of Hacı Beşir Ağa like his father.³⁵⁰ Although Ragıb was forced to resign in 1748 due to continuous struggle among various political factions in Egypt, “his deposition cannot be considered a cataclysmic defeat, for he had weathered four years in Cairo, more than most governors,” as Hathaway observes.³⁵¹ Ragıb’s couplet in his *divan* describes his feelings for his first governorship: “...Kelal geldi tasarruftan Ümm-i dünyayı/ Yeter şu Kahirenün kahrı azm-i Rum edelim...”³⁵²

³⁴⁸ Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 8, 52.

³⁴⁹ Andre Raymond, *Le Caire des Janissaires: L’apogee de la ville ottomane sous ‘Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1995). Andre Raymond, *Yeniçerilerin Kahiresi: Abdurrahman Kethüda Zamanında Bir Osmanlı Kentinin Yükselişi*, trans. Alp Tümertekin (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 1999). Jane Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdağlıs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997). Jane Hathaway, “Eunuch Households in Istanbul, Medina, and Cairo during the Ottoman Era,” *Turcica* 41 (2009): 291-303. Jane Hathaway, “The Economic and Charitable Activities of the Ottoman Chief Harem Eunuch (Darüssaade Ağası) in the Ottoman Provinces,” in *History from Below: A Tribute in Memory of Donald Quataert*, ed. Selim Karahasanoğlu and Deniz Cenk Demir (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University, 2016), 202-204.

³⁵⁰ Raymond, *Yeniçerilerin Kahiresi*, 149.

³⁵¹ Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt*, 94.

³⁵² Ömer Demirbağ, “Koca Ragıb Paşa ve Divan-ı Ragıb” (PhD diss., Yüzüncü Yıl University, 1999), 305. “Weariness has come from governing the Mother of the World/ It is enough, this ill-treatment by Cairo, Let us make haste to Rum.” Itzkowitz, “Mehmed Raghıb Pasha: The Making of an Ottoman Grand Vizier,” 127.

Ragıb served Arifi Ahmed Paşa, Abdullah Paşa, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa, and Ahmed Paşa during his early career in the eastern provinces of the empire. The last two played a considerable role in Ragıb’s life as his main patrons. Ragıb served as the deputy to *reisulküttab* and the *defterdar* of Baghdad from the spring of 1730 until late 1733. Ragıb’s two *qasidas* in his *divan* praise Ahmed Paşa’s victories in the battlefield. The governor greatly rewarded the poet in return. An anecdote about the Ottoman-Iranian peace negotiations held in Baghdad during the siege of 1733, makes Ragıb give an astute response, referring to Ottoman victories over Iran in the reigns of Selim I and Murad IV, to Nadir’s representative who wanted to insult the governor.³⁵³ This anecdote, the two *qasidas*, and the reward Ahmed gave to Ragıb point out the close relationship between them. When Ahmed Paşa was removed from the governorship of Baghdad, Ragıb went back to the capital where he was appointed to *maliye tezkireciliği*. This time, he was under the patronage of his previous master, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa who was the grand-vizier from 1732 to 1735. Ragıb and Hekimoğlu knew each other from the Ottoman campaigns on Iran in the late 1720s. His *divan* also includes *qasidas* praising Hekimoğlu. When İsmail Paşa replaced Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa, Ragıb had already secured his position in central bureaucracy due to his skills and, probably, his social network. His work on the Ottoman-Iranian negotiations of 1736, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, and his proses and poems on the Ottoman wars with Austria and Russia proved his diplomatic and literary talents which paved his way to the office of *reisulküttab* in 1741. His confidence to challenge Beşir Ağa by considering Nadir’s proposal should be related to his relations with Ahmed Paşa and Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa. As I mentioned earlier, these two statesmen were rivals regarding the Ottoman policy of Iran. The literature does not explain or examine the details of the relationship between Hacı Beşir Ağa and Ali Paşa or the latter’s political agenda. However, I argue

³⁵³ “Hatta Bağdad defterdarı iken, Bağdad valisi Ahmed Paşa yanında, Acem’den gelen elçi, paşanın yanında Atlas Tarihi’ni gördükde ‘Bizim şahımız seyf tarihini mütalaa eder’ deyicek, Ahmed Paşa cevabdan habt olup, hazır-ı bil-meclis olan Ragıb Efendi’den lisan-ı hal ile istimdad ettikde, hemen Ragıb Efendi ‘Tarih-i seyf ikidir. Biri Selimi ve biri Muradi’dir. Acaba hangisidir?’ demekle, elçi hanı habt ettikde, Ahmed Paşa’yı ihya etmek mertebesi mesrur etmiştir. Acem’in muradı şimşirleri galib olduğunu ima ile [Ahmed] Paşayı tahcil iken, şahan-ı Acem’i kahr eden Sultan Selim ile Sultan Murad olduğunu Ragıb Efendi işrab etmekle elçiyi hacil etti.” Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Mür-it Tevarih*, vol. 2, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1978), 55.

that Ragıb’s statement was coherent with the actions of Ahmed Paşa like the participation of Süveydi Efendi in the Najaf meeting.

Münif Efendi, son of a local notable, was born in Antakya. Damascus, Aleppo, and Baghdad were some of the cities he visited in his early life. In Aleppo, he met with Raşid Efendi who was the judge in the city from 1722 to 1724. Münif went to Istanbul in early 1725, probably, with Raşid Efendi. His first official duty was to accompany Raşid Efendi, the Ottoman ambassador to Iran in 1728. After gaining experience in minor bureaucratic offices (mostly as a scribe), such as *defterdar katipliği*, *kisedarlık*, *sadaret kethüdası katipliği*, and *kaymakam katipliği*, Münif was sent to Poland as a “name-ber,” deputed envoy, to deliver a royal letter in 1738. He had acquired the title of *hacegan* due to his services and acted as *ruzname-i sani* and *maliye tezkirecisi* in the same years. Münif Efendi was appointed as the Ottoman ambassador to Iran together with Nazif Mustafa Efendi in 1741. When Nadir declined the Porte’s counter-proposal, the ambassador returned to the capital. In late 1742, he became *maliye tezkirecisi*, for the second time. Münif retreated from bureaucratic duties after a while due to the death of Atif Efendi, one of his patrons. Münif Mustafa Efendi passed away in Istanbul in 1743.³⁵⁴

I could not find a source revealing Münif’s thoughts on the proposal of Jafari *madhhab*. His *qasidas* on Ahmed Paşa and Abdurrahman Paşa (Ahmed’s uncle) indicate a certain relationship between Münif Efendi and Ahmed Paşa. Münif most probably met the governor of Baghdad during his visit to the city early in his career when he was on Raşid Efendi’s mission in 1728. Another significant point is that there are no poems about Hacı Beşir Ağa, praising him, the buildings he sponsored, and his other deeds in Münif’s *divan*, unlike many poets of this era. Unless new and in-depth

³⁵⁴ Müstakimzade Süleyman Sadeddin Efendi, *Tuhfe-i Hattatin*, ed. Mustafa Koç (Istanbul: Klasik, 2014), 483. Mehmed Süreyya, “Münif Mustafa Efendi,” *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 4, 1216. Bursalı Mehmed Tahir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, vol. 2, 230-231. Ayşe Peyman Yaman, “Hat Sanatı İçin Kaynak Devhatü’l-Küttab İncelemeli Metin Çevirisi” (MA thesis, Marmara University, 2003), 314-315. Hacer Topaktaş, “Osmanlı Sefaretnameleri Işığında 1730-1763 Yıllarında Osmanlı Devleti İle Lehistan/Polonya Arasında Diplomatik İlişkiler” (MA thesis, Karadeniz Teknik University, 2005), 53. Orhan Sarıkaya, “Tezkirecilik Geleneği İçerisinde Fatin Tezkiresi” (MA thesis, İstanbul University, 2007), 613-615. Yalçınkaya, “Münif Mustafa Efendi.”

examination of Münif's poems and letters prove my impression wrong, he seems to have stayed away from Hacı Beşir Ağa.

Fortunately, we have more information about the relationship between Nazif Mustafa Efendi and Ahmed Paşa. Nazif Efendi was born in Istanbul. After serving as a scribe for nine years in Boghdan, Romania, he returned to the capital and became affiliated with Uçanbari Mehmed Efendi and Nuh Efendi. He was a member of Raşid's mission to Iran in 1728. He was promoted to *İstanbul mukataacısı* after the mission, thanks to his relationship with Tavukçu Mustafa Efendi, the *reisulküttab* of the time. He was the deputy ambassador in the Ottoman mission to Iran in 1742. Four years later, he welcomed Fath Ali Khan in Istanbul as his official guide at the court. He was appointed to the ambassadorship to Iran to sign a peace treaty in 1746. Nazif Efendi and Fath Ali Khan left the city on different dates but later met in Baghdad. Both missions arrived Kurdan where the treaty was signed on 4 September 1746. Nazif arrived Istanbul on 13 December and immediately was summoned at the presence of the grand vizier. Next day, he was before the sultan and greatly praised for his success at the negotiations. He became *Anadolu muhasebecisi* in 1747 and chief of the palace cavalry salary bureau (*süvari mukabelecisi*) in 1748. Then he acted as the secretary of the grand-vizier from early 1750 to late 1752, one of the most important offices in the Sublime Porte. Due to reasons we do not know, he was exiled to Edirne. After a certain time, he came back to Istanbul where he died on 28 January 1755.³⁵⁵

The sources do not cover when Nazif Efendi met Ahmed Paşa or Nazif's personal views on the fifth *madhhab* issue. An archival document in NLB, however, indicates the close relationship between the ambassador and the governor. In his letter to the Sultan, Ahmed Paşa recommends Nazif Efendi's promotion to an office under the

³⁵⁵ 14.R.1168. Müstakimzade Süleyman Sadeddin Efendi, *Tuhfe-i Hattatin*, 479. Mehmed Süreyya, "Nazif Mustafa Efendi," *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 4, 1239. Franz Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*, trans. Coşkun Üçok (Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992), 356. Yaman, "Hat Sanatı İçin Kaynak Devhatü'l-Küttab İncelemeli Metin Çevirisi," 321. M. Alaaddin Yalçinkaya, "Mustafa Nazif Efendi," *YYOA*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2008), 305-306. Aslan, "18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İlim Hayatından Bir Kesit," 79, 93. Seyyid Hasan Muradi, *Bir Katibin Kaleminden İstanbul'un 12 Yılı (1754-1766)*, ed. Recep Ahışalı (Istanbul: Yeditepe, 2016), 3. Tahir Güngör, "Vak'a-nüvis Hakim Efendi Tarihi (Metin ve Tahlil)," (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2014), 224-225.

grand-vizier: "...muma ileyh efendi kullarına şan virilmek mukteza-ı şime-i çakir-nevaziden olmağla bu hal üzere terk olunmayub mansıb-ı samiye ihsanıyla beyn-el emsal vel-akran kamyab buyurulması ez derun-i rica-ı bendeganem olduğu ilam ve inha zımında kaime-i uburiyyet tahririne vesile-i cüretim olmuştur..."³⁵⁶ We do not know whether the letter was helpful for Nazif Efendi regarding the offices he was appointed after his ambassadorship or his social network in Istanbul was the key factor behind his career. Nonetheless, we should keep in mind that Nazif Efendi arrived Baghdad on 8 May 1746 while Fath Ali Khan on 31 May. This situation gave Ahmed Paşa and Nazif Efendi considerable time to plan a strategy for negotiations. The primary sources do not include the details but the very existence of the letter shows that Nazif won Ahmed Paşa's favor at the end of his mission.

The governor promised Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi a similar letter of recommendation³⁵⁷ but he passed away during his return to Baghdad in October 1747. Although Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi objected to the recognition of the Jafari *madhhab* in his works, we can consider him to be close to Ahmed Paşa's faction. He opposed Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa's decisions constantly while he served on the mission to Iran. Furthermore, his work, *Tebdirat-ı Pesendide*, pictures the pragmatic views and actions of the governor of Baghdad regarding Nadir Shah and Iran in a favorable tone.

Numan Efendi was born in Eğin, Erzincan, around the beginning of the eighteenth century. After studying mathematics, law, and religious disciplines in Sivas and Diyarbakır, he came to Istanbul in 1726. The *şeyhulislam* of the time, Fazıl Abdullah Efendi, appointed him as *müfti* of Tabriz where Numan stayed until 1735. He became *ordu kadısı* in Kefe, Crimea, in 1737. Numan played a significant role as a member of the border committee working on the settlement of border disputes between the Ottomans and Austrians after the Belgrad Treaty of 1739. After serving in Tokat, İzmir, Cyprus, and Birgi in various positions, he joined Kesriyeli's mission to Iran in 1747. Numan Efendi was finally appointed to Manisa as a judge, the office he desired

³⁵⁶ NLB. OAK. 64-25, the first letter.

³⁵⁷ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tebdirat-ı Pesendide*, 234-235.

for years, in 1753. He probably died two years later. He wrote several works on various topics, including mathematics, diplomacy, demarcation, the use of tobacco, and comparison of Sunni and Shii Islam.³⁵⁸

Numan Efendi's *Tebdirat-ı Pesendide* and Rahmi Efendi's *İran Sefaretnamesi* give us two different and conflicting narratives on the Ottoman mission to Iran in 1747. Kesriyeli could not accomplish his mission and had to return to Baghdad because of Nadir Shah's death. Rahmi presents the story of the mission in a pro-Kesriyeli context: The ambassador made his best to protect the lives of the members of his mission and the royal gifts entrusted to them. He did so acting in cooperation with Ahmed Paşa. Numan Efendi emphasizes the conflict between the ambassador and the governor. While discussing the meetings of the two statesmen he praises the governor as a wise administrator. Ahmed Paşa was well informed thanks to his intelligence network and took decisions by considering the interest of the empire. The ambassador followed a hostile agenda against the governor, ignored every advice about the ceremonies and route of the mission, in addition to the news on Nadir Shah. According to Numan Efendi's account, Kesriyeli's correspondence with Selim Paşa (the governor of the Baban Province),³⁵⁹ and referring to Nadir as "our master" in his conversation with the Iranian ambassadors at Sermil³⁶⁰ were two examples of his many inappropriate behaviors.

³⁵⁸ Mehmed Süreyya, "Numan Efendi," *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 4, 1262. Bursalı Mehmed Tahir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, vol. 3, ed. A. Fikri Yavuz and İsmail Özen (Istanbul: Meral, 1975), 112. Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*, 301-302. Cevat İzgi, "Numan Efendi, Eğinli," *TDVIA*, vol. 33 (Istanbul: TDV, 2007), 235-236. Mehmet Kalaycı and İsmail Alper Kumsar, *Bir Osmanlı Aliminin Çileli Yılları: Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi* (Ankara: Hitabevi, 2017).

³⁵⁹ "...Asitane-i aliyye'den Bağdad'a gelür iken, Musul'a vusulümüzde, Nadir Şah istima idüp hazz eylesün için [Kesriyeli] bir eyü at donanmasıyle bir gice Musul'dan Selim-i merkuma irsal ve 'Oğlum' deyü kendüyi babalığa kabül eylesiçün mektub tahrir..." Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tebdirat-ı Pesendide*, 227.

³⁶⁰ "... [Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa] ilçü Mustafa Han ile evvel kelamı: 'Nadir Şah efendimüz kandadır?' deyü 'Efendimüz' lafzı ile kelama ağaz idüp..." Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, 163.

3.2. The Faction of Hacı Beşir Ağa

3.2.1. Hacı Beşir Ağa

The information on the early life of Hacı Beşir Ağa is limited. He was from Abyssinia and sold as a slave in Cairo. After serving İsmail Bey in Egypt for a certain time, Yapraksız Ali Ağa, an ex-chief of black eunuchs at the Ottoman palace, took Beşir to the capital in 1694 when the Sultan pardoned Ali Ağa and reappointed to his previous office.³⁶¹

Beşir's close relationship with Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan should have helped him to become royal treasurer in July 1707.³⁶² He was, however, removed from his duty with Uzun Süleyman Ağa (the chief eunuch of the time) on 21 February 1713³⁶³ and exiled to Cyprus on 26 June 1713.³⁶⁴ After a certain time,³⁶⁵ he was sent to Egypt and appointed the chief of the tomb eunuchs in the Hedjaz, the *şeyh-ül harem*. Beşir was recalled to the palace in late 1716 and arrived the Ottoman capital at the beginning of April 1717.³⁶⁶ He served the empire as the *darüssaade ağası* for almost three decades, until his death on 2 June 1746.³⁶⁷

³⁶¹ Hathaway, *Beshir Agha*, 29.

³⁶² R.1119. Raşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli*, vol. 2, 781. Mehmed Süreyya, 271. Ahmed Resmi Efendi gives a different a date, H. 1117/1705. Ahmed Resmi Efendi, *Hamiletü'l-Kübera*, 63.

³⁶³ 27.M.1125. The day is *şenbe*/Saturday. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Nusretname*, 781.

³⁶⁴ 03.C.1125. The day is *düşenbe*/Monday.

³⁶⁵ We can assume that he was sent to Egypt after Süleyman Ağa was executed in Magosa, Cyprus in R.1127/April-May 1715. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Nusretname*, 832.

³⁶⁶ Evasit.R.1129/25 March-3 April 1717. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 59a-59b. "The pilgrimage that year [1716] occurred in November, and the sultan order appointing Beshir chief harem eunuch reached him in Mecca at the end of that month. He returned to Cairo at the beginning of 1717 and waited to embark for Istanbul until April, a decision that made perfect sense as the prime sailing seasons were autumn and spring." Hathaway, *Beshir Agha*, 59-60.

³⁶⁷ Abdülkadir Özcan, "Beşir Ağa, Hacı," *TDVIA*, vol. 5 (Istanbul: TDV, 1992), 555. Havva Koç, "Beşir Ağa, Hacı," *YYOA*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2008), 315-316. Lokman Tay, "Dar-üssaade Ağası Hacı Beşir Ağa ve Eserleri" (PhD diss., Erciyes University, 2015). Ayhan Ürkündağ, "Darüssaade Ağası Hacı Beşir Ağa ve Hayratı" (PhD diss., Afyon Kocatepe University, 2017). Hacı Beşir Ağa died on 12.CA.1159 (the day is *hamis*/Thursday). Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 99. İzzi gives the date as Thursday, 13.CA.1159/2 June 1746. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 59b. A British newspaper refers to the same date: "Constantinople, June 24. On the 22nd past [2 June 1746 in Gregorian calendar] the Kislâr Aqau, or Chief Black Eunuch, died in a very advanced age..." *The London Gazette*, July 26-29, 1746, 1. Many

The literature does not offer a social network for Hacı Beşir Ağa, whom I consider one of the most powerful political figures in the empire (see Figures D.6 and D.7.). He had the longest term among the chief eunuchs. The anecdotes in the literature imply his influence over the sultan regarding the selection of grand-viziers as Uzunçarşılı underlines.³⁶⁸ Hathaway entitles Beşir as “vizier maker.”³⁶⁹ Itzkowitz writes that “the entire history of the Empire produced no more powerful Kızlar Aghasi than Al-Hajj Beshir Agha.”³⁷⁰

Beşir’s return to the palace as the chief of black eunuchs should be related to his close relationship with Damad İbrahim Paşa, who gained the Sultan’s favor in 1715 and 1716. Beşir Ağa managed to stay at the same office after the rebellion of 1730. He successfully noticed any threat to his position at the court and eliminated them during his tenure. Şemdanizade gives the details of Beşir Ağa’s counter-plan to remove Kabakulak İbrahim Paşa (the grand-vizier in 1731) who had planned to depose Beşir. The vizier could be successful if Beşir had not been forewarned by Kethüda Mehmed Ağa and Mustafa Efendi. In the end, Beşir Ağa established his authority at the court and İbrahim Paşa became the first of many deposed at the request of Beşir:

Amma [Kabakulak İbrahim Paşa] azlinin sebebinin hakikatini bu abd-i fakir [Şemdanizade] bu maddeyi, işbu Mürüt-tevarih’imize tesvid ederiken mir kapdanlardan Şamlı-zade nam kapdan yanımıza gelmişidi; “Ben müşarünileyh İbrahim Paşa ile bad-el azl Ağriboz’da görüşüp sohbet ettiğimde ‘Benim azlimin esbabını irad etmişler; lakin hakikati, çünkü hin-i cülusda: Darüssaade Ağası el-Hac Beşir Ağa bizi bulup, bizimle def-i eşrar etmeye bais olduğu için sarayda istiklal kesb ettiğine kanaat etmeyüp, sahib-i mühr umuruna dahi istila eder oldukda, padişahın rikabına varup, ‘Efendim ben Mısır’da çok zaman eğlendim, siyah Araplar’da bir akıllı görmedim ki, şimdi vekalet-i Saltanat-ı Aliyye’yi Kızlar Ağası’nın akli üzre idare ve onun idaresile hareket edeyim ve

historians miss the day of the week in the conversion of Hegira dates and give the date of Beşir’s death as 3 June 1746.

³⁶⁸ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, “Osmanlı Tarihinde Gizli Kalmış Veya Şüphe İle Örtülü Bazı Olaylar ve Bu Hususa Dair Vesikalar,” *Bellekten* 163 (1977): 519-523.

³⁶⁹ Hathaway, *Beshir Agha*, 63.

³⁷⁰ Itzkowitz, “Mehmed Raghib Pasha: The Making of an Ottoman Grand Vizier,” 143.

etmediğim suretde bana münfail olıcak ve infial edicek, beni kazaya uğradacak, ben dahi bu vesvese ile her işi hazm ve ihtiyat kaydında olacağım, bu sebepten umur-ı devlet ala-ma-yeliku idare olunmayup müşevveş olacak' dememle, Ağa'nın azline padişah karar verüp, 'Çekdiri hazırla ve seher saraya gelüp [Beşir] ağayı tebid eyle,' buyurmağla Paşakapısı'na gelüp, hufyeten çekdiriyi ihzar ettim ve bu sırra bir ferd mahrem olmadı. Ancak kayın pederim olup, Ciğalazade kethüdası olan Mehmed Ağa'yı vezir kethüdası etmişidim; bende beşâşet görücek, 'Efendimin süruru var, biz de hissedar olsak' diyerek, dualar ettiğinde, çünkü kayınpedirim ve hasseten çırağım, 'Ancak onun hüzn ve süruru benimledir' zannı ile sırrı keşf eyledim; meğer hain imiş. Benim sadrımaya gelmeye vesile addedüp, bu sırrı bir varakaya tahrir ve bir saatın zarfına yazıp imamı olan Sarmısakcı-zade ile bad-el mağrib [Beşir] Ağa'ya göndermiş; Ağa dahi saatın bi-vakt gelmesinde iş var deyüp, zarfını açup nazar ettikde, esrara vakıf olıcak, Valide Sultan'a firavan hedaya ile varup, maddeyi beyan ve hüzn ve büka ile istirham ettikde, Valide merhamet edüp, gece padişaha varup niyaz ettikde, padişah mahzur beyan etti. Lakin Valide bir rütbe iltizam edinmiş ki, nihayetinde, 'Ey oğul sana validelik hakkımı helal etmem' deyicek. Padişah 'Gerçi bizim üzerimize [İbrahim] Paşa'nın hakkı ve hukuku çok; lakin hakk-ı Valide cümleden çok' deyüp, [Beşir] Ağa'yı sadrında ibka etmiş. 'Lakin vezir bu hususa münfail olur, infialini defe çare nedir' deyü Valide'den istifsar ettikde, '[İbrahim] Paşayı defden özke çare olmaz' demekle hazırladığım çekdiri ile bizi buraya irsal ettiler...''³⁷¹

Hacı Beşir Ağa ruled the Ottoman bureaucracy like an invisible hand. He was neither charged for political failures of the Ottoman government nor greatly praised in the chronicles regarding the outcomes of his achievements. He was, however, always informed about any developments at the court such as Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa's (the grand-vizier in 1732-1735) conversation with the Dutch ambassador about Iran in late 1733: "According to the ambassador's secretary Rigo, a summary of this conversation was presented the following day to the *qızlar ağası*, the superintendent of the Harem, 'pour la communiquer au Sultan.'"³⁷²

As mentioned, the faction of Hacı Beşir Ağa in this study is confined to his relationship with certain bureaucrats. Some primary and secondary sources give clues about certain supporters and allies of Beşir Ağa regarding his internal and foreign policies. The Venetian Bailo refers to the existence of an alliance among Hacı Beşir Ağa, *mufti*,

³⁷¹ Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Mür-it Tevarih*, vol. 1, 24.

³⁷² Erdbrink, *At the Threshold of Felicity*, 225. Also see, Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 94, 97.

and the *defterdar* in the early 1730s. According to the ambassador, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa tried and partly managed to dissolve this alliance during his grand-viziership.³⁷³ The report of the Dutch ambassador in Istanbul, dated 10 January 1736, covers a rumor in the city: “İsmail paşa would have attempted to overthrow the ‘French faction’ at Court, including the powerful *qızlar ağası* Beşir and the *reis ül-küttab*.”³⁷⁴ In his history of the eunuchs, Derviş Abdullah considered the black eunuchs at the royal palace as the main source of evil in the Ottoman Empire. He mentioned the names “Beşir Ağa” and “Pirizade” together in constant.³⁷⁵ Sayyid Ataullah, the Indian ambassador to the Porte in 1744, brought a letter of Gujarat Ruler for Beşir Ağa. The existence of the letter indicates the reputation of the *darüssaade ağası* in India:

Hindden gelen Seyyid Ataullah Efendinin ba ferman-ı ali kethüda bey tarafından iftara davet olundukda irad eylediği takriridir. “...mahsusan saadetlu dar-üs saadet-uş şerife ağası [Hacı Beşir Ağa] hazretlerine mektub tahrir etmekle mektub-ı mersumu mukaddema Bağdadda iken ademim ile göndermişdim. Hilal-i tarikde illet-i mizac arız olduğundan mektub-ı mersumu iblağ idemeyub şimdi gelmekle mektub-ı merkumu getürmüşümdür” diyu teslim idub hatm-i kelim etmişdir.³⁷⁶

All these cases show a different side of Beşir Ağa’s network. Regarding the course of the Ottoman-Iranian relations of the period, we can identify Beşir Ağa’s politics on Iran as “idealist” based on his conversion with Ragıb Paşa. As Hathaway points out the mosques, foundations, libraries and religious schools he commissioned in the empire was “not simply to increase the number of Hanafi institutions in the Ottoman domains but to reinforce the presence of official Ottoman Hanafism and the accompanying official Ottoman religious sanction.”³⁷⁷ A hagiographical story about

³⁷³ Shay, *The Ottoman Empire From 1720 to 1734*, 36-37.

³⁷⁴ Erdbrink, *At the Threshold of Felicity*, 238.

³⁷⁵ “...kızlar ağası mezbur Hacı Beşir hayin ve münafık ile İmam Piri-oglu mühlid ve zındık bu iki münafık ve kezzablar...” Derviş Abdullah, *Risale-i Teberdariye Fi Ahval-i Darüssaade*, 153. For the similar statements in the text, see, Derviş Abdulah, 152, 154, 157, 163, 166, 169, 172, 177, 180, 181.

³⁷⁶ BOA. HAT. 172. Also see, Mustafa Münif Efendi, *Mecmua-ı Merasim-i Devlet-i Aliyye*, IUNEK. TY., 8892, 276b.

³⁷⁷ Hathaway, *Beshir Agha*, 100. Also see, Jane Hathaway, “Exiled Chief Harem Eunuchs as Proponents of the Hanafi Madhhab in Ottoman Cairo,” *Annales Islamologiques* 37 (2003): 197-198.

Hacı Beşir Ağa and Ebu Said Muhammed el-Hadimi implies the virtues of el-Hadimi as well as Beşir's patronage over the religious scholars and the close bond between the Sultan and Beşir:

Birgün, padişah Birinci Mahmud ile mülakatı esnasında, padişah, Hacı Beşir Ağa'ya Harem-i Şerif'te ne kadar kaldığını, bu kadar müddet zarfında harikulade ne gibi halata muttali olabildiğini sorulduğunda, Hacı Beşir Ağa: "Harem-i Şerif'te geçirdiğim bu kadar müddet zarfında fevkalade olarak üç hale muttali oldum" der. Ve bu üç halden birisini şöyle anlatır: "Ravza-ı Mütahhare'deki Cibril kapısı gecenin seher vaktine yakın bir zamanda aralanırdı, gireni anlamak ve tecessüs etmek isterdim, fakat vücuduma arız olan rehavet ve durgunluk neticesi içeri giren zatın kim olduğuna muttali olamıyordum. Bir gece yine Cibril kapısı açıldı, hemen kapıya koştum, ben kapıda iken içeri bir zat girdi, giren zata kim ve nereli olduğunu sordum. Konya mülhakatından olup Hadimi Muhammed Efendi olduğunu haber verdi. Sebep-i ziyaretini sorulduğunda... Bu ilk görüşmeden sonra arada gelir, görüşürdük" deyince padişah, Hacı Beşir Ağa'nın bu sözünün doğruluğuna kanaat getirmek için Ebu Said-ül Hadimi'yi İstanbul'a davet etti. Hadimi Muhammed Efendi İstanbul'a vardığında, padişah, yaş, baş, şekil ve şemail ve simaca müşabehet ve müşakeleti olan birkaç zatı bir araya koydurduktan sonra Hacı Beşir Ağa'yı çağırır ve bu zatları gösterir. Hacı Beşir Ağa'nın, bu zatlar arasından doğruca Ebu Said-ül Hadimi'nin yanına giderek hoş-amedî yapması padişahı hayrette bırakır. Padişah, Hacı Beşir Ağa'nın Hadimi hakkında hikaye ettiği vakiyaya inanır ve mutmain olur.³⁷⁸

Certain books at Hacı Beşir Ağa's library such as *Fi Beyan-i Mezahib-il Batıla ke-r Revafız*³⁷⁹ and *Risale fi Silsile-i Eimmet-il İсна Aşere*³⁸⁰ point out Beşir's interest to religious discussions of the era. We know that Pirizade Mehmed Sahib Efendi, sultan's first priest (*imam-ı evvel*) from 1730 to 1745, played an active role at the Ottoman-Iranian negotiations of 1736, thanks to Ragıb's work.³⁸¹ Pirizade's work of correction on El-İmadi's text on *muta* marriage and his satirist poem on Nadir Shah imply the mutual understanding between Pirizade and Beşir Ağa regarding the heresy of the

³⁷⁸ Ebülula Mardin, *Huzur Dersleri*, vol. 2, ed. İsmet Sungurbey (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1966), 772-773.

³⁷⁹ *Defter-i Kütübhanesi-i Beşir Ağa* (İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, H. 1303/1886), 53. Kadir Gömbeyaz, "Baberti'ye Nispet Edilen Bir Fırak Risalesi Hakkında Tespitler ve Mülâhazalar," *e-Makalat Mezhep Araştırmaları* 1 (2012): 7-33.

³⁸⁰ *Defter-i Kütübhanesi-i Beşir Ağa* (İstanbul: Mahmud Bey, H. 1300/1883), 26.

³⁸¹ Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tefvik*, 48, 78, 94, 101. Also see, TSMA. E. 1572-7.

fifth *madhhab*.³⁸² *Fetva mecmuas*³⁸³ and certain texts on the refutation of *Rafizi* and *Shia*³⁸⁴ around the mid-century can give an idea about the general opinion of the Sunni scholars who supported the views of Hacı Beşir Ağa.

3.2.2. Other Members

Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa (ambassador), Seyyid Mehmed Ağa (*kapıcıbaşı*), Rahmi Efendi (chronicler, poet) and Selim Paşa (ruler of Baban province) can be considered as members of the faction of Hacı Beşir Ağa. The primary sources do not give their views on the fifth *madhhab*, but some details of their actions and agendas. Three of them, Mehmed Ağa, Rahmi Efendi and Selim Paşa had certain relations with Kesriyeli who became affiliated with Hacı Beşir Ağa in the 1730s. Although Kesriyeli became the ambassador to Iran after the death of Hacı Beşir Ağa, he and Hafız Beşir Ağa³⁸⁵ (Hacı Beşir's successor) maintained Hacı Beşir's hostile agenda against Ahmed Paşa.

Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa, son of a local notable in Kesriye/Kastoria, came to Istanbul around 1702.³⁸⁶ When Hasan Ağa, his close relative, was charged with the leadership of *sürre* caravan to the Hedjaz, Kesriyeli accompanied him. Hasan Ağa passed away

³⁸² Saffet Köse, "Hanefi Fakih Hamid El-İmadi'nin (1103-1171/1692-1758) "Luma Fi Ahvalil-Muta" Risalesinin Neşri," *İslam Hukuku Araştırmaları* 2 (2003): 227-261. For Pirizade's correction of el-İmadi's text, Saffet Köse, "Şeyhulislam Pirizade Mehmed Sahib Efendi'nin (1085-1162/1674-1749) Hamid El-İmadi'nin (1103-1171/1692-1758) "Luma Fi Ahvalil-Muta" Adlı Risalesine Yazdığı Tekmile," *İslam Hukuku Araştırmaları* 5 (2005): 421-432. For Pirizade's poem on Nadir, see, Meral Topal, "Piri-zade Mehmed Sahib Hayatı, Edebi Kişiliği, Eserleri ve Divanı'nın Tenkitli Metni" (MA thesis, Fırat University, 2004), 85-86.

³⁸³ Emrah Bilgin, "Ömer bin Salih el-Kırımı Tuhfetül-Fetava (İnceleme-Tenkitli Metin-Tıpkıbasım)" (MA thesis, Bozok University, 2010), 126-127. Bünyamin Çalık, "Kadızaade Muhammed Arif Efendi'nin "Bahrul-Fetava" Adlı Eserinin Fetva Açısından Değerlendirilmesi" (PhD diss., Atatürk University, 2012), 351-354, 790.

³⁸⁴ Mehmed Fikhi Efendi, *Keşf-ül Gavamiz fi Ahkam-ir Revafiz*, Atıf Efendi, 1179, 334b-363b. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Hevadim-i Revafiz* (1) MK. AE. Arabi 370, 1-23, (2) Konya, Burdur 425, 125-142. (3) IBBAK. Osman Ergin 1574, 1b-13b. Abdullah Süveydi Efendi. *Vekayiname-i Nadir Şah*. Also see, Osman Şahin, "Fetva Emimi Mehmed Fikhi Efendi'nin (1147/1735) Hayatı ve Eserleri," *Diyanet* 3 (2008): 137. Kalaycı and Kumsar, *Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi*, 44-53.

³⁸⁵ Abdülkadir Özcan, "Beşir Ağa, Morali," *TDVIA*, vol. 5 (Istanbul: TDV, 1992), 555-556.

³⁸⁶ H. 1114/1702-1703. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 202a.

during the journey and Kesriyeli became the new leader of the caravan in 1714.³⁸⁷ After his return to the capital, he enjoyed the patronage of Kethüda Mehmed Ağa.³⁸⁸ As I have mentioned above, Mehmed Ağa and Sarımsakçızade Mustafa Efendi prevented the deposition of Hacı Beşir Ağa by the grand-vizier in 1731. Beşir Ağa rewarded Mehmed Ağa with the offices of *sipahiler ağası* in 1731 and *cebecibaşı* in 1735. Mustafa Efendi became *imam-ı sani* in 1731 and *imam-ı evvel* in 1745.³⁸⁹ We can assume that Kesriyeli met and became affiliated with Hacı Beşir Ağa, thanks to Kethüda Mehmed Ağa.

Kesriyeli Ahmed Efendi was considered as a candidate for the ambassadorship to Iran in 1736. Instead, he was charged with the restoration of the water canals and wells and became the deputy of Beşir's foundations in the Hedjaz.³⁹⁰ After serving as *matbah emini* for three years and in other various duties,³⁹¹ he was sent to Kars as *ordu defterdarı*. He participated in the negotiations with Nadir Shah three times during the siege of the city in 1744. He left the region to inform the Porte about Nadir's terms for a peace agreement without the permission of the Ottoman commander. This action led him into detention in Samsun and Edirne. He was recalled to the capital in L.1159/October-November 1746 and charged with the office of *ruzmançe-i evvel*. He was appointed as the Ottoman ambassador to Iran in November 1746 with the title of the governorship of Sivas. The Ottoman mission, however, had to return from Hamadan to Baghdad upon the news of Nadir's death in 1747. He became the governor of Basra in November 1747 and Baghdad in March 1748. He

³⁸⁷ H. 1126. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, 202a.

³⁸⁸ Mehmed Süreyya, "Mehmed Ağa (Hacı)," *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 3, 946-947.

³⁸⁹ Mehmed Süreyya, "Mustafa Efendi (Sarımsakçızade)," *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 4, 1176.

³⁹⁰ İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 202b.

³⁹¹ The offices Kesriyeli held in order were, *cizye and mukataat zabtı, surre emini, muhasıllık* of Chios and Morea, *şehremeni, arpa emini, ruzmançe-i evvel*, the restoration of water canals and wells in Mecca, *matbah-ı amire emaneti, ruzmançe-i evvel* (second time), *ordu defterdarı, ruzmançe-i evvel* (third time), ambassadorship to Iran, governorships of Basra, Baghdad and Maraş. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, 202a-203a.

was removed from Baghdad after nine months and died near the city while he was on the way to Maraş as the new governor.

Kesriyeli had close relations with Beşir Ağa as in the example of his various duties in the Hedjaz. His achievements in the Hedjaz was rewarded by a long tenure of *matbah emini* since the usual appointments for the office lasted for a year. Beşir Ağa, however, overlooked Kesriyeli's leave from the capital in 1744 when Hasan Paşa, the grand-vizier from 1743 to 1746, appointed Kesriyeli to a post in Kars as Hammer notes in his chronicle.³⁹² The primary reason for Kesriyeli's exile from the capital was his growing influence over the sultan that became a threat for the grand-vizier.

Aiming to be a mediator between the Porte and Nadir Shah by leaving the Ottoman commander in Kars out was a dangerous adventure for any Ottoman officer. The motivation behind Kesriyeli's actions in Kars was most likely to restore his reputation at the court. However, his plan backfired and he was held in detention in Samsun, Orfan/Zihne, and then Edirne. His pardon was issued after Hacı Beşir's death in 1746. In other words, he was out of the faction from 1744 to 1746. His return to the court and appointment to the ambassadorship to Iran should be related to the conflict between Hasan Paşa and Hafız Beşir Ağa in 1746. The former was deposed on 9 August 1746 and exiled to Cyprus afterward.

Kesriyeli was pardoned in early June 1746.³⁹³ When the news from Kerdan on a peace agreement between the Ottomans and Iranians arrived in Istanbul on 2 November 1746,³⁹⁴ the Porte appointed Kesriyeli as the ambassador to Iran to ratify the peace treaty. The appointment of an Ottoman bureaucrat, who was exiled for his neglect of the chain of command, to such a critical mission indicates the power of his patron at the court rather than his skills. I assume Hafız Beşir Ağa was the man behind

³⁹² Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 8, 52.

³⁹³ Evasit.CA.1159/1-10 June 1746. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 60a.

³⁹⁴ 18.L.1159. The day is *erbaa*/Wednesday. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, 73b. Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2, 1411. The *şeyhulislam* informed the sultan about the news next day, 3 November 1746. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 126.

Kesriyeli's ambassadorship to Iran. Hafız Beşir's support could explain why Kesriyeli was charged with the governorship of Basra and later Baghdad after his unsuccessful mission to Iran in 1747, in addition to the source of Kesriyeli's confidence to challenge against the governor of Baghdad, Ahmed Paşa.

Kesriyeli was in contact with Selim Paşa (Ahmed Paşa's enemy), before his arrival in Baghdad in 1747. He also appointed Ali Efendi, whom Ahmed Paşa dismissed from his household, as his steward during his ambassadorship. Moreover, Kesriyeli chose to return Baghdad via Sine and Tuz Khurma, namely Baban province, rather than via Kermanshah by disregarding the letters of Ahmed Paşa: "...Baban ülkesünde bir dürlü emniyyet olmayup, hasaret-i azime olunmak akreb-i ihtimal olmağla, avdetinüz iktiza itdükde, heman yine gitdiginüz yoldan Kirmanşahan'a ve andan Bağdad-ı darü's-selama gelmege niyyet ve ahar niyyetlerden rücü ve avdet eyleyesüz..."³⁹⁵

Seyyid Mehmed Ağa, a *kapıcıbaşı*, was Kesriyeli's nephew and groom.³⁹⁶ He acted as the official guide of Abd-ul Baqi Khan in 1736, and Fath Ali Khan in 1746. Their kinship can clarify the role of Kesriyeli during the negotiations in Kars. According to Sırrı Efendi, Nadir Shah praised Kesriyeli in his letters to the Ottoman commander in Kars. Kesriyeli was called to the camp of the Iranian army three times during the siege at Nadir's specific request:

Devlet-i Osmaniyye ile sulh u salah iradesiyle dostluk için gelmiş idik, siz muharebeye tasaddi eylediniz. Kesriyeli Ahmed Efendi gibi mutemed-i devlet adem orduda bulup, iki devlet beyninde böyle cidal münasib değildir. Elbette tarafımıza gelsin dostluğa dair mükamele ve devleteyn beyninde hüsni musafat muradımızdır... Kesriyeli Ahmed Efendi gelsün, şifahen ifade idecek sözumüz vardır...³⁹⁷

³⁹⁵ "...Since there is no safety in Baban province but there is a high chance for great calamities, you should intend to return Baghdad the way you arrived, via Kermanshah, and should not to act otherwise..." Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 212.

³⁹⁶ Mehmed Süreyya, "Seyyid Mehmed Ağa," *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 5, 1503.

³⁹⁷ Sırrı Efendi, *Risaletü't-Tarih-i Nadir Şah*, 18-19.

Why an Ottoman *defterdar* became a crucial mediator for Nadir Shah? If we leave Seyyid Mehmed Ağa's service for the Iranian ambassador in 1736 aside, the sources do not refer to a previous acquaintanceship between the Shah and Kesriyeli. It is possible Seyyid Mehmed Ağa became a mediator between his father-in-law and the Iranian delegates in Istanbul for Kesriyeli's reputation in the eyes of Iranians.

Rahmi Efendi was the official chronicler of the Ottoman mission to Iran in 1747. As explained in the previous part, his narrative regarding the situation of the mission in Iran is different from the account of Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi. Rahmi's text served the interest of Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa by excluding the details of the certain events such as the meeting of the governor and the ambassador near Baghdad (where the latter was humiliated)³⁹⁸ and by presenting a narrative that includes the failures of Ahmed Paşa like his unsuccessful campaign against Selim Paşa in 1747.³⁹⁹ Nevertheless, Rahmi's text was the popular one for the story of Kesriyeli's mission. The existence of seven extant copies of the Rahmi Efendi's manuscript suggests its attraction whereas there are two copies of Numan's manuscript.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁸ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 235.

³⁹⁹ Toğaç, Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 91. Numan Efendi, however, refers to Ahmed Paşa's victory over Selim. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 236.

⁴⁰⁰ Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 11. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 5-6.

CHAPTER 4

OFFICIAL SOURCE OF INFORMATION: OFFICIAL MISSIONS

The story of the Ottoman official missions, particularly those sent to Iran in the first half of the eighteenth century, can be identified within five stages. These are the preparation of the mission, the journey, the negotiations, the return journey and presentation of the outcomes. This framework is also valid for Iranian ambassadors who came to Istanbul, although I focus on the cases of Ottoman ambassadors to Iran primarily.⁴⁰¹

The preparation of an official mission, the first stage, can be divided into three steps. The first one is the selection of an ambassador and members by the ruler and the delivery of letters and gifts to them with a royal ceremony. The second step part is the issue of orders to governors throughout the route of the mission and sending a small group to the target country to announce the departure of a mission. The third one is the crossing of the Bosphorus and the necessary preparations for its travel in Üsküdar, which can last from a few days to several weeks.

In the second stage, the mission starts its journey which has two parts. During the first part, the mission travels until border where they meet their Iranian host. On the border, most of the Ottoman soldiers leave the mission while they are replaced with Iranian ones. Only some Ottoman guards accompany the mission in Iran. The second part of the journey begins under the supervision of an Iranian host to Nadir's present location. During his reign, Nadir Shah preferred a mobilized court rather than a stable

⁴⁰¹ See, Norman Itzkowitz and Max Mote, ed., *Mubadele: An Ottoman-Russian Exchange of Ambassadors* (Chicago: Chicago University, 1970), 15-31. Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations: A Study of the Political and Diplomatic Relations between the Mughul Empire and Iran* (Lahore: Iranian Culture Foundation, 1970), 226-237. Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th century): An Annotated Edition of 'Ahdnames and Other Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 169-184. Bülent Ari, "Early Ottoman Diplomacy: Ad Hoc Period," in *Ottoman Diplomacy, Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed. A. Nuri Yurdusev (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 49-56. Ali İbrahim Savaş, *Osmanlı Diplomasisi* (Istanbul: 3F, 2007), 63-77. Güneş Işıksel, *La diplomatie ottomane sous le règne de Selim II: paramètres et périmètres de l'Empire ottoman dans le troisième quart du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Peeters, 2016), 21-37.

one. The destinations of four Ottoman ambassadorial missions' were different from each other. In the third stage, the Ottoman mission is welcomed with a ceremony by another Iranian host who will be under the service of the ambassador during the mission's stay. The negotiations start with the arrival of the mission, whether with a small chat on foot or an organized meeting or dinner with Iranian bureaucrats. There are two royal courts for the mission. In the first one, the head of the mission delivers letters and gifts to the Shah. In the other, he receives the Shah's letters and gifts for the Ottoman sultan (see Figures D.11, D.12 and D.13.). Meanwhile, the Shah usually begins the first stage of the process to send his own mission; he appoints an Iranian ambassador, gives him the letter and the gifts and issues orders for the preparation of the travel of the Iranian mission to Istanbul.

The fourth stage is the mission's return journey which is identical to the second stage. An Iranian host supervises the Ottoman mission on its return. As in most cases such as Abdul-Baqi Khan or Ali Mardan Khan, an Iranian ambassador accompanied the Ottoman one. Both missions travel together to the border where Iranian soldiers are replaced by Ottoman ones with an official ceremony. After the ceremony, an Ottoman host escorts the Iranian mission. In the fifth and the final stage, the Ottoman mission brings the letters and gifts that it received, to the court within a few days of its arrival to Istanbul. Its head presents the details of his mission in oral and sometimes in a written report, an ambassadorial report or *sefaretname* in Turkish.⁴⁰²

This chapter examines the last four stages of the Ottoman, Iranian, Indian and Uzbek missions in detail between 1736 and 1747. Table 4.1 below includes the details of the travel routes, members and hosts of the diplomatic missions in chronological order. The first part of the chapter explains the journeys of the official missions. The second compares the duration of their stays at their final destination which was Istanbul for Iranian, Indian, and Uzbek ambassadors. The Ottoman missions journeyed to different locations in Iran to meet with Nadir Shah. The final part presents the

⁴⁰² Kemal Beydilli, "Sefaretname," *TDVIA*, vol. 36 (Istanbul: TDV, 2009), 289-294.

documents related to official correspondences between the Ottoman ruling elites and their Iranian, Mughal and Uzbek counterparts.

Table 4.1. An overview of Ottoman, Iranian, Uzbek and Indian missions, 1736-1747

No	Mission		Host of the mission during		Route	Year
			Journey	Court		
1	Ottoman	Genç Ali Paşa ⁴⁰³	Abdul-Baqi Khan ⁴⁰⁴	?	Erzurum, Mugan ⁴⁰⁵	1735-36
2	Ottoman	Genç Ali Paşa ⁴⁰⁶	Kerim Beg ⁴⁰⁷	-	Mugan, Istanbul ⁴⁰⁸	1736
	Iranian	Abdul-Baqi Khan ⁴⁰⁹	Mustafa Ağa ⁴¹⁰	Mustafa Ağa ⁴¹¹		
3	Ottoman	Kılıç Reis ⁴¹²	?	?	Baghdad, Kerman, Baghdad ⁴¹³	1736-37

⁴⁰³ The mission included Genç Ali Paşa (ambassador) and Hüseyin Ağa. Mirza Muhammad, Nadir Shah's treasurer (*hazinedar*) escorted the Ottoman mission. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 27.

⁴⁰⁴ Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 28.

⁴⁰⁵ The route of the mission was Erzurum, Tbilisi, Ganja, Barda, and Mugan. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 28-29.

⁴⁰⁶ The mission included Genç Ali Paşa (ambassador) and Hüseyin Ağa.

⁴⁰⁷ Abraham Kretats'i, *The Chronicle of Abraham of Crete*, 111.

⁴⁰⁸ The route of the missions was Mugan, Erzurum, Sarıyar, Amasya, İznikmid, Kartal, Fenerbahçesi, and Üsküdar. BOA. C.HR. 6916. BOA. C.HR. 7402. BOA. C.HR. 7715. BOA. C.HR. 7965. TSMA. E. 1572-3. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 34-35. Yılmazçelik, "1736-1739 (H.1149-1151) Tarihli Amasya Şer'iyeye Sicilinin Tanıtımı ve Fihristi," 469.

⁴⁰⁹ The mission included Abdul-Baqi Khan (ambassador), Mirza Abd-ul Qasim Kashani, Molla Ali Akbar, Muhammad Karim (steward, *kethüda*, of Molla Ali Akbar), Mirza Shafi (chronicler), and Abd-ul Husain Beg (nephew of Abd-ul Baqi Khan). BOA. NHD. 3, 2. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 80, 98.

⁴¹⁰ BOA. AE.SMHD.I. 6027. BOA. C.HR. 7402. BOA. C.HR. 7715. BOA. C.HR. 8648. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 35.

⁴¹¹ BOA. C.HR. 7178. BOA. C.HR. 8710. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 58.

⁴¹² Floor, *The Rise and Fall of Nader Shah*, 67, 69.

⁴¹³ The route of the mission was Baghdad, Isfahan, Kerman, Isfahan, and Baghdad. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 114. Floor, *The Rise and Fall of Nader Shah*, 67, 69.

Table 4.1. (Continued)

No	Mission		Host of the mission during		Route	Year
			Journey	Court		
4	Iranian	Abd-ul Baqi Khan ⁴¹⁴	Seyyid Mehmed Ağa ⁴¹⁵	-	Istanbul, Qandahar ⁴¹⁶	1736-38
	Ottoman	Mustafa Paşa ⁴¹⁷	?	?		
5	Uzbek	Chaghatay Beg ⁴¹⁸	?	?	Khwarazm, Istanbul, Khwarazm ⁴¹⁹	1736-37
		Molla Avaz Baqi ⁴²⁰				

⁴¹⁴ The mission included Abdul-Baqi Khan (ambassador), Mirza Abdul-Qasim Kashani, Molla Ali Akbar, Muhammad Karim (steward, *kethüda*, of Molla Ali Akbar), Mirza Shafi (chronicler), and Abd-ul Husain Beg (nephew of Abd-ul Baqi Khan). Jean Otter traveled with the mission. BOA. NHD. 3, 2. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tefvik*, 80, 98. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, vol. 1.

⁴¹⁵ BOA. C.HR. 6523. BOA. C.HR.7150. Turnacıbaşı İbrahim Ağa was secondary *mihmandar*. BOA. A.AMD. 4-20. İzzet Sak and İbrahim Solak, ed., *53 Numaralı Konya Şer'iyе Sicili (1148-1149/1736-1737) (Transkripsiyon ve Dizin)* (Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2014), 156.

⁴¹⁶ The route of the missions was Üsküdar, Geyve, Eskişehir, Seyyidgazi, Konya, Adana, Kurdkulağı, Antep, Kızılhisar, Orul, Mizar, Urfa, Kavurhuri, Satılmış, Koçhisar, Nusaybin, Mosul, Kerkük, Baghdad, Tak Ayağı, Isfahan, Yazd, Kerman, Sistan, and Qandahar. BOA. A.AMD. 4-20. BOA. A.DVNSHADR.d. 5, 19. BOA. C.HR. 3093. BOA. C.HR. 6523. Floor, *The Rise and Fall of Nader Shah*, 75. Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, *Tahmas Kulu Han'ın Tevarihî*, 15-16. Cemil Cahit Güzelbey and Hulusi Yetkin, *Gaziantep Şer'i Mahkeme Sicillerinden Örnekler (Cilt: 81-141) (Miladi 1729-1820)* (Gaziantep: Yeni Matbaa, 1970), 25. Sak and Solak, *53 Numaralı Konya Şer'iyе Sicili*, 14, 148. Çınar, "Osmanlı Ulak-Menzilhanе Sistemi ve XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Antep Menzilleri," 634.

⁴¹⁷ The mission included Mustafa Paşa (ambassador), Abdullah Efendi, Halil Efendi, and Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi (musician). BOA. NHD. 3, 7.

⁴¹⁸ The mission included Chaghatay Beg (ambassador), Mavlana Niyaz-ul Sheikulislam Naqshbandi, and Sheikh Abdullah. BOA. NHD. 7, 436. Sak and Solak, *53 Numaralı Konya Şer'iyе Sicili*, 685. Budak, "Osmanlı-Özbek Siyasi Münasebetleri (1510-1740)," 62. For the costs of Uzbek missions in Istanbul, see BOA. C.HR. 7181, and BOA. C.SM. 6279.

⁴¹⁹ The route of the missions was Khwarazam, Sivas, Kayseri, Istanbul, and Khwarazm. Sak and Solak, *53 Numaralı Konya Şer'iyе Sicili*, 685-686. Both missions probably traveled to Ottoman lands via Iran as other Uzbek ambassadors of the eighteenth century did: Abd-ul Baqi Beg (via Balkh and Damascus, 1706) Korucubashi Allah Verdi (via Mashhad, 1720), and Muhammad Badi (1790). Budak, "Osmanlı-Özbek Siyasi Münasebetleri (1510-1740)," 57, 61. Muhammad Badi refers to two routes that a mission would follow from Istanbul to Bukhara. The first was from Istanbul to Baghdad, Iran, Dasht-i Kabir, and Bukhara. The other was from Istanbul to Anapa, Dagestan, Darband, Astrakhan, and Bukhara. Hacer Çıtık, "4 Numaralı Name-i Hümayun Defteri Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi (H. 1203-1206/M. 1788-1792)" (MA thesis, Kilis 7 Aralık University, 2014), 22-24.

⁴²⁰ Molla Avaz Baqi was the deputy ambassador of the Uzbek mission. When the first ambassador passed away on the road, Molla Avaz Baqi replaced him. I could not locate the first ambassador's name. İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 8b. BOA. NHD. 7, 436. Budak, "Osmanlı-Özbek Siyasi Münasebetleri (1510-1740)," 62.

Table 4.1. (Continued)

No	Mission		Host of the mission during		Route	Year
			Journey	Court		
6	Iranian	Abd-ul Karim Khan ⁴²¹	Hüseyin Çavuş, Salih Ağa ⁴²²	Salih Ağa ⁴²³	Tabriz, İstanbul, Iran ⁴²⁴	1736-38
7	Iranian	Muhammad Rahim Khan ⁴²⁵	Salih Ağa ⁴²⁶	Ebubekir Ağa ⁴²⁷	Qandahar, İstanbul, Isfahan ⁴²⁸	1737-39

⁴²¹ İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 2b-4a. BOA. NHD. 3, 24.

⁴²² BOA. C.HR. 4599. Salih Ağa was the host, *mihmandar*, of the mission during the return journey. BOA. C.HR. 8653. Yılmazçelik, "1736-1739 (H.1149-1151) Tarihli Amasya Şer'iyye Sicilinin Tanıtımı ve Fihristi," 467.

⁴²³ İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 3a.

⁴²⁴ The route of the mission was Tabriz, Erzurum, Karahisar-ı Şarki, Tokat, İstanbul, Çerkes, Amasya, Tokat, Diyarbakır, Baghdad and Iran. BOA. C.HR. 4599. BOA. C.HR. 7866. BOA. C.HR. 8653. BOA. C.HR. 9256. TSMA. E. 1572-8. Yılmazçelik, "1736-1739 (H.1149-1151) Tarihli Amasya Şer'iyye Sicilinin Tanıtımı ve Fihristi," 467. Şener Çakmak, "39 Numaralı Amasya Şer'iyye Sicili H. 1149-1151 (M. 1736-1739)" (MA thesis, Fırat University, 1996), 158, 194. On 29 December 1736, Abd-ul Karim Khan, a member of Abd-ul Baqi's mission, departed from Adana to lead another Iranian mission which had already left Tabriz. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, vol. 1, 69-70.

⁴²⁵ The mission included Muhammad Rahim Khan (ambassador) and Nazar Ali Khan (deputy ambassador). BOA. NHD. 3, 26. Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, SK. Ali Nihat Tarlan, 102b.

⁴²⁶ Çakmak, "39 Numaralı Amasya Şer'iyye Sicili H. 1149-1151 (M. 1736-1739)," 302. Süleyman Ağa, a servant of the governor of Baghdad, also accompanied the Iranian mission from Baghdad to İstanbul. BOA. D.BŞM.d. 2216, 4.

⁴²⁷ BOA. C.HR. 8194. BOA. D.BŞM.d. 2216, 4.

⁴²⁸ The route of the mission was Qandahar, Isfahan, Baghdad, Sivas, Amasya, İstanbul, Amasya, Tokat, Diyarbakır, Baghdad, and Isfahan. BOA. AE.SMHD.I. 3544. BOA. C.HR. 1150. BOA. C.HR. 6501. BOA. C.HR. 8955. BOA. D.BŞM.d. 2216, 4. Floor, *The Rise and Fall of Nader Shah*, 75, 81. Yılmazçelik, "1736-1739 (H.1149-1151) Tarihli Amasya Şer'iyye Sicilinin Tanıtımı ve Fihristi," 468-469. Çakmak, "39 Numaralı Amasya Şer'iyye Sicili H. 1149-1151 (M. 1736-1739)," 302.

Table 4.1. (Continued)

No	Mission		Host of the mission during		Route	Year
			Journey	Court		
8	Ottoman	Mustafa Paşa ⁴²⁹	?	-	Qandahar, Istanbul ⁴³⁰	1738-39
	Iranian	Ali Mardan Khan ⁴³¹	Mustafa Ağa ⁴³²	Mustafa Ağa ⁴³³		
9	Iranian	Abd-ul Karim Khan ⁴³⁴	Ahmed Ağa ⁴³⁵	Ahmed Ağa ⁴³⁶	Iran, Istanbul, Iran ⁴³⁷	1739-40
10	Iranian	Haci Khan ⁴³⁸	Derviş Mehmed Ağa ⁴³⁹	Derviş Mehmed Ağa ⁴⁴⁰	Attock, Istanbul ⁴⁴¹	1740-41

⁴²⁹ The mission included Mustafa Paşa (ambassador), Abdullah Efendi, and Halil Efendi. BOA. NHD. 3, 7.

⁴³⁰ The route of the missions was Qandahar, Qazvin, Baghdad, Diyarbakır, Sivas, Tokat, Bolu, İznikmid, and Üsküdar. İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 7b. BOA. A.DVNS.MHM.d. 145, 236-237. BOA. C.DH. 2824. BOA. C.HR. 95. BOA. C.HR. 335. BOA. C.HR. 3348. BOA. C.HR. 6779. BOA. C.HR. 7401. BOA. C.HR. 8046. Floor, *The Rise and Fall of Nader Shah*, 78. Gümüş, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Amid Kazası," 402.

⁴³¹ The mission included Ali Mardan Khan (ambassador), Oghuz Ali Khan (deputy ambassador), and Molla Muhammad Muhsin. BOA. NHD. 3, 29.

⁴³² İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 7b. BOA. C.HR. 3348. BOA. C.HR. 6779. BOA. C.HR. 7401. BOA. C.HR. 8046.

⁴³³ BOA. AE.SMHD.I. 6397. BOA. C.HR. 95. BOA. C.HR. 6680.

⁴³⁴ The mission included Abd-ul Karim Khan (head of the mission), Selim Beg and Binbaşı Ali Beg. İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 7b. BOA. NHD. 3, 34.

⁴³⁵ İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 7b. Sevinç, "Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki İran Elçilerinin Gelir-Giderleri, 1696-1741," 95.

⁴³⁶ İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 7b. Sevinç, "Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki İran Elçilerinin Gelir-Giderleri, 1696-1741," 95.

⁴³⁷ The route of the mission was Iran, Istanbul, Diyarbakır, Baghdad, and Iran. BOA. C.HR. 7100.

⁴³⁸ The mission included Haci Khan (ambassador), Muhammad Reza Khan (deputy ambassador), Fath Ali Khan (steward, *kethüda*) and Najaf Beg (elephant keeper). BOA. NHD. 3, 34. BOA. HAT. 173. Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 108a.

⁴³⁹ BOA. AE.SMHD.I. 7280. BOA. C.HR. 93. BOA. C.HR. 997. BOA. C.HR. 2891. BOA. C.HR. 3081. BOA. C.HR. 3597. BOA. C.HR. 4791. BOA. C.HR. 9267. BOA. D.BŞM.d. 2423, 20. BOA. D.BŞM.d. 2492, 2. Ahmet Zeki İzgöer, ed., *Diyarbakır Şer'iyye Sicilleri Amid Mahkemesi*, vol. 3 (Diyarbakır: Dicle Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi, 2014), 214. Güzelbey and Yetkin, *Gaziantep Şer'i Mahkeme Sicillerinden Örnekler*, 35. Gümüş, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Amid Kazası," 407. Kamil Kepecioğlu, *Bursa Kütüğü*, vol. 1, ed. Hüseyin Algül et al. (Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2009), 66.

⁴⁴⁰ BOA. C.HR. 3089. BOA. C.HR. 3563.

⁴⁴¹ The route of the mission was Attock, Baghdad, Kirkuk, Mosul, Diyarbakır, Siverek, Urfa, Birecik, Antep, Azaz, Aleppo, Atarib, Maarrat Misrin, Antakya, Belan, İskenderun, Payas, Kurdkulağı, Misis,

Table 4.1. (Continued)

No	Mission		Host of the mission during		Route	Year
			Journey	Court		
11	Iranian	Haci Khan ⁴⁴²	Derviş Mehmed Ağa ⁴⁴³	-	Istanbul, Karakaytak ⁴⁴⁴	1741-42
	Ottoman	Münif Mustafa Efendi ⁴⁴⁵	Muhammad Husain ⁴⁴⁶	Muhammad Husain ⁴⁴⁷		
12	Ottoman	Münif Mustafa Efendi ⁴⁴⁸	Muhammad Husain ⁴⁴⁹	-	Karakaytak, Istanbul ⁴⁵⁰	1742

Adana, Ereğli, Karapınar, Konya, Iğın, Akşehir, Argıt Hanı, İshaklı, Bolvadin, Bayat, Beyal, Hüsrevpaşa, Bardakçı, Seyitgazi Akviran, Eskişehir, Söğüt, Bilecik, Lefke, İki Kuğu, Masakça, İznikmid, Hereke, Göklüdere, and Üsküdar. BOA. AE.SMHD.I. 7280. BOA. C.HR. 93. BOA. C.HR. 985. BOA. C.HR. 997. BOA. C. HR. 2891. BOA. C.HR. 3081. BOA. C.HR. 3597. BOA. C.HR. 4791. BOA. C.HR. 4871. BOA. C.HR. 9267. BOA. D.BŞM.d. 2423, 2-20. BOA. D.BŞM.d. 2492, 2. BOA. NHD. 3, 34. İzgöer, *Diyarbakir Şer'iyye Sicilleri*, vol. 3, 214. Güzelbey and Yetkin, *Gaziantep Şer'i Mahkeme Sicillerinden Örnekler*, 34. Gümüş, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Amid Kazası," 406-408. Çınar, "Osmanlı Ulak-Menzilhane Sistemi ve XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Antep Menzilleri," 634. Ömer Düzbakar, "XV-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Devleti'nde Elçilik Geleneği ve Elçi İşlerinin Karşılmasında Bursa'nın Yeri," *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 6 (2009): 190. Haci Khan left Attock on 20.B.1152/23 October 1739 and arrived in Baghdad in August 1740. Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Cihanguşa-yı Nadiri*, 337. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, vol. 2, 130.

⁴⁴² The mission included Haci Khan (ambassador), Muhammad Reza Khan (deputy ambassador), Oghuz Ali Khan, Molla Muhammad Muhsin, Fath Ali Khan, and Najaf Beg.

⁴⁴³ BOA. C.HR. 3135. BOA. C.HR. 3567. BOA. C.HR. 5254. BOA. C.HR. 7290. Hale Kumdakçı, "402 Nolu Üsküdar Şer'iyye Sicil Defterinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi" (MA thesis, Marmara University, 2009), 169, 285, 292. Saksoncubaşı Ali Ağa was the second *mihmandar* of the mission. BOA. C.HR. 2261. BOA. C.HR. 3135. BOA. C.HR. 3567. BOA. C.HR. 9183. Kumdakçı, "402 Nolu Üsküdar Şer'iyye Sicil Defterinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi," 309.

⁴⁴⁴ The route of the missions was Kartal, Gekböze, Hereke, İznikmid, Taraklı, Göynük, Yılbaşı, Çerkes, Bayındır, Karacaviran, Koçhisar, Tosya, Osmancık, Turhal, Tokat, İrak, Erzurum, Kars, Yerevan, Darband, and Karakaytak. BOA. C.HR. 1217. BOA. C.HR. 2261. BOA. C.HR. 3080. BOA. C.HR. 3094. BOA. C.HR. 3135. BOA. C.HR. 3264. BOA. C.HR. 3567. BOA. C.HR. 5146. BOA. C.HR. 5254. BOA. C.HR. 6422. BOA. C.HR. 7290. BOA. C.HR. 9183. BOA. HAT. 198. Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, SK. Ali Nihat Tarlan, 18, 102b. Kumdakçı, "402 Nolu Üsküdar Şer'iyye Sicil Defterinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi," 293, 296, 305, 309, 319.

⁴⁴⁵ The mission included Münif Mustafa Efendi (ambassador), and Nazif Mustafa Efendi (deputy ambassador). BOA. NHD. 3, 37.

⁴⁴⁶ Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, SK. Ali Nihat Tarlan, 18, 103a-103b.

⁴⁴⁷ Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 105b.

⁴⁴⁸ The mission included Münif Mustafa Efendi (ambassador), and Nazif Mustafa Efendi (deputy ambassador).

⁴⁴⁹ Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 107b.

⁴⁵⁰ The route of the mission was Karakaytak, Darband, Hızırzende, Yerevan, Kars, Erzurum, Kelkit, Hacıköy, and Üsküdar. BOA. HAT. 198. Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 18.

Table 4.1. (Continued)

No	Mission		Host of the mission during		Route	Year
			Journey	Court		
13	Ottoman	Abdullah Süveydi Efendi ⁴⁵¹	-	Nazar Ali Khan ⁴⁵²	Baghdad, Najaf, Baghdad ⁴⁵³	1743
14	Indian	Sayyid Ataullah ⁴⁵⁴	Ali Ağa ⁴⁵⁵	?	Delhi, Istanbul ⁴⁵⁶	1744
15	Indian	Sayyid Ataullah ⁴⁵⁷	?	-	Istanbul, Delhi ⁴⁵⁸	1744-46
	Ottoman	Mehmed Salim Efendi ⁴⁵⁹	?	?		

⁴⁵¹ Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, *Vekayiname-i Nadir Şah*.

⁴⁵² Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, *Vekayiname-i Nadir Şah*, 37.

⁴⁵³ The route of the mission was Baghdad, Najaf, Kufe, and Baghdad. Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, *Vekayiname-i Nadir Şah*, 25, 33, 85.

⁴⁵⁴ The mission included Sayyid Ataullah (ambassador), and his son. BOA. A.DVNS.MHM.d. 57, 74.

⁴⁵⁵ BOA. D.BŞM. 3594-59. Sevinç, "Nadirşah'ın 1738-1739 Hindistan Seferi ve Sonuçları," 25.

⁴⁵⁶ The route of the mission was Delhi, Surat, Bushehr, Basra, Baghdad, and Üsküdar. BOA. D.TŞF. 2-27. BOA. NHD. 8, 601. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 13a-13b. Y. Hikmet Bayur, "Osmanlı Devletinin Nadir Şah Afşar'la Barış Yapmasını Önlemek Amacını Güden Bir Gurkanlı Denemesi," *Bellekten* 49 (1949): 93.

⁴⁵⁷ The mission included Sayyid Ataullah (ambassador), and his son. BOA. A.DVNS.MHM.d. 57, 74.

⁴⁵⁸ The route of the missions was Üsküdar, Antakya, Damascus, Mecca, Jidda, Mocha, Socotra, Surat, Aurangabad, Balenda, and Delhi. Mustafa Münif Efendi, *Mecmua-ı Merasim-i Devlet-i Aliyye*, IUNEK. TY., 8892, 277b. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 14a. Miroğlu, "Hindistan Hakkında XVIII. Yüzyılda Yazılmış Küçük Bir Eser," 544-546. Adem Kara, "Antakya'nın III Numaralı Şerhiye Sicili (H. 1156-1157/M. 1743-1745)" (MA thesis, Sakarya University, 2000), 266-268. Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, 83.

⁴⁵⁹ The mission included Mehmed Salim Efendi (ambassador), Yusuf Ağa (deputy ambassador), Ali Ağa (steward, *kethüda*, of Mehmed Salim Efendi), and Mehmed Emin Efendi (son of Yusuf Ağa). Mehmed Salim Efendi died in Aurangabad, India, and Yusuf Ağa replaced him. Sevinç, "Nadirşah'ın 1738-1739 Hindistan Seferi ve Sonuçları," 30. Miroğlu, "Hindistan Hakkında XVIII. Yüzyılda Yazılmış Küçük Bir Eser," 541. Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, 83.

Table 4.1. (Continued)

No	Mission		Host of the mission during		Route	Year
			Journey	Court		
16	Iranian	Fath Ali Khan ⁴⁶⁰	Seyyid Mehmed Ağa ⁴⁶¹	Nazif Mustafa Efendi ⁴⁶²	Yerevan, Istanbul ⁴⁶³	1745-46
17	Iranian	Fath Ali Khan ⁴⁶⁴	Seyyid Mehmed Ağa ⁴⁶⁵	-	Istanbul, Kurdan ⁴⁶⁶	1746
	Ottoman	Nazif Mustafa Efendi ⁴⁶⁷	Muhammad Husain ⁴⁶⁸	Muhammad Husain ⁴⁶⁹		
18	Ottoman	Nazif Mustafa Efendi ⁴⁷⁰	Muhammad Husain ⁴⁷¹	-	Kurdan, Istanbul ⁴⁷²	1746

⁴⁶⁰ The mission included Fath Ali Khan (ambassador), and his son-in-law. BOA. HAT. 173.

⁴⁶¹ BOA. HAT. 173. Veli Efendi accompanied the Iranian ambassador during his journey. BOA. HAT. 122. BOA. HAT. 37248.

⁴⁶² BOA. HAT. 150. BOA. HAT. 173.

⁴⁶³ The route of the mission was Yerevan, Hamadan, Baghdad, Karatepe, Bolu, İznikmid, Kartal, and Üsküdar. BOA. HAT. 122. BOA. HAT. 173. BOA. HAT. 37234. BOA. HAT. 37248. Muhammad Kazim Marvi, *Alamara-yi Nadiri*, vol. 3, 1072.

⁴⁶⁴ The mission included Fath Ali Khan (ambassador), and his son-in-law. BOA. HAT. 173.

⁴⁶⁵ BOA. HAT. 154. BOA. MAD.d. 18430, 18-19. Ahmet Kankal et al., *252 Nolu Mardin Şer'iyeye Sicili Belge Özetleri ve Mardin* (Istanbul: İmak, 2006), 128.

⁴⁶⁶ The route of the missions was Üsküdar, İznikmid, Hendek, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Mosul, Baghdad, Tak Ayağı, Gerend, Kermanshah, Hamadan, Qazvin, Kurdan. BOA. HAT. 154. BOA. HAT. 191. BOA. HAT. 223. BOA. HAT. 37239. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*. Kankal et al., *252 Nolu Mardin Şer'iyeye Sicili Belge Özetleri ve Mardin*, 128.

⁴⁶⁷ The mission included Nazif Mustafa Efendi (ambassador), and Veli Efendi (deputy ambassador). Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*.

⁴⁶⁸ BOA. HAT. 223. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, 2.

⁴⁶⁹ BOA. HAT. 125. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, 6.

⁴⁷⁰ Nazif Mustafa Efendi was the ambassador of the mission.

⁴⁷¹ NLB. OAK. 64-25, the first letter.

⁴⁷² The route of the mission was Kurdan, Baghdad, Mardin, and Istanbul. BOA. A.AMD. 7-57. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*.

Table 4.1. (Continued)

No	Mission		Host of the mission during		Route	Year
			Journey	Court		
19	Ottoman	Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa ⁴⁷³	Muhammad Yusuf Khan ⁴⁷⁴	-	Istanbul, Hamadan, Baghdad ⁴⁷⁵	1747
20	Iranian	Mustafa Khan ⁴⁷⁶	Abdi Efendi ⁴⁷⁷	-	Isfahan, Baghdad ⁴⁷⁸	1747

4.1. Journeys of the Official Missions

This part covers the second and fourth stages of the official mission, namely their journeys and return-journeys. The tables below show the destinations with the dates of the journeys of ambassadorial and deputed missions. The cases are the missions of Genç Ali Paşa, Abd-ul Baqi Khan, Mustafa Paşa, Abd-ul Baqi Khan, Abd-ul Karim Khan, Muhammad Rahim Khan, Ali Mardan Khan and Oghuz Ali Khan, Hacı Khan, Münif Mustafa Efendi, Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, Fath Ali Khan, Nazif Mustafa Efendi, Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa, and Mustafa Khan. The tables give the detailed routes of the

⁴⁷³ The mission included Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa (ambassador), Receb Paşa (deputy ambassador), Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi (*ordu kadısı*), Mustafa Bey (*ordu defterdarı*), Rahmi Mustafa Efendi (chronicler), Abdurrahman Bey (steward, *kethüda*), Ali Bey (*has ağası*), Hacı Mehmed Ağa (*hazinedar*), Ebubekir (chief-physician), Hacı İslam (*silahdar*), Ahmed Bey (grandson of Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa), Mustafa Bey (grandson of Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa), and Seyyid Mustafa Efendi (scribe of Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi). Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 148, 166. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 24.

⁴⁷⁴ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 161. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 77.

⁴⁷⁵ The route of the mission was Kartal, Gökbuz, İznikmid, Sabanca, Akhisar, Lefke, Vezirhanı, Bilecik, Söğüt, İnönü, Eskişehir, Seyyidgazi, Hüsrev Paşa, Bayat, Bolvadin, İshaklı, Akşehir, Arkid Hanı, Ilgın, Kadın Hanı, Ladik, Konya, Ereğli, Ulukışla, Çifte Han, Dülek, Kızoluk Hanı, Çakıd, Adana, Misis, Kurdkulağı, Payas, Beylan, Antakya, Harim, Tezin, Uteyrib, Tuman, Aleppo, Heylana, Kilis, Öykü, Antep, Mizar, Biret-ül Fırat, Taban Suyu, Kara Süngü, Bürge, Urfa, Mecrancan, Aynzar, Kafir Huri, Satılmış, Meşuk, Koçhisar, Nusaybin, Mosul, Musaid, Cezayir, Toprak Kala, Acı Su, Kızıl Han, Tekrit, Aşık u Maşuk, Telkuş, Kazimiye, Baghdad, Safve, Şehriban, Kızıl Rıbat, Hanki, Kasr-ı Şirin, Gerend, Harunabad, Mah-i Deşt, Ayn-el Keş, Kermanshah, Hamadan, Hemeke, Kerkeabad, Sine, Karaçuvulan, Serçinar, Tavuk, Tuz Hurmatı, Kifri, Narin Suyu, Müsebbih Hanı, Yenice, and Baghdad. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 45-92. Kankal et al., *252 Nolu Mardin Şer'iyeye Sicili Belge Özetleri ve Mardin*, 133. Mehmet Kalaycı and Eyüp Öztürk, "18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Coğrafyasında Tütünün Sosyo-Kültürel Zeminine Dair Bir Metin: Ebu Sehl Nu'man Efendi ve Tahlilu'd-Duhan Adlı Risalesi," *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 58 (2017): 33.

⁴⁷⁶ The mission included Mustafa Khan (ambassador), Mirza Mahdi Khan Astarabadi (deputy ambassador), and Muhammad Emin (*mollabaşı vekili*). BOA. HAT. 15. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 153.

⁴⁷⁷ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 161.

⁴⁷⁸ The route of the mission was Isfahan, Gerend, Tak Ayağı, and Baghdad. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 71-73. Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzerâ*, 115. Muhammad Kazim Marvi, *Alamara-yi Nadiri*, vol. 3, 1181.

missions and their rests during the journey by referring to numerous sources such as Turkish and Persian chroniclers, British newspapers, travel accounts, ambassadorial reports, royal diaries of Mahmud I, archival documents, and local judge registers.

Since the routes of the Ottoman and Iranian missions in Anatolia and Iraq were almost identical with the Ottoman postal service and the distances in these routes were convertible to the metric system, I have considered adding a secondary table that presents daily speed of the official missions between two locations.

There are two goals behind these experimental tables. The first is to observe the average speed of an agent throughout his travel and to compare it with the others. Most Ottoman ambassadors traveled faster in Ottoman lands than Iran and vice versa, like Fath Ali Khan's coming to Istanbul or Nazif Efendi's travels in 1746. In other words, the average speed of some ambassadors' return journeys was higher than their first one which implies their hurry to report the results of negotiations. The Sublime Porte ordered such actions in certain cases. Mūnif Mustafa Efendi left the mission to return quickly to Istanbul by an imperial edict. When we examine the results within two negotiation periods between the Ottomans and Iranians (the first was from 1736 to 1742 and the other from 1745 to 1747), we can easily notice the similarities and differences among the cases. The main outcome of the comparison is interesting but not surprising. The average daily speed of the official agents in the first negotiation period was fourteen kilometers, whereas it was twenty-five kilometers in the second period (see Figure 4.1.).⁴⁷⁹ The Ottomans were at war the Austrians and the Russians from 1736 to 1739, while Nadir Shah was dealing with the Afghans in Qandahar, the Mughals in India and the Uzbeks in Central Asia between 1736 and 1742, in addition to local rebellions in Iran. The ambassadors of two sides traveled at a slower pace in a period when their rulers engaged in wars with other countries. After a series of battles and sieges between the armies of Mahmud I and

⁴⁷⁹ This chart excludes the journeys of Abd-ul Baqi Khan, Hacı Khan and Fath Ali Khan from Istanbul to Iran, since they traveled with the Ottoman missions. The average speed of the agents in the first and second negotiation periods are calculated based on the division of the sum of the distances of the agents' journeys by the sum of the days they spent on the travels.

Nadir from 1743 to 1745, securing a peace treaty became a top priority in both courts' foreign policy.

The second goal is to predict their locations based on their daily speeds. These estimations may help the researchers by narrowing the dates of the agents' travels from seasons to months, from months to weeks and to days as they scan hundreds of pages of local and central registers and archival documents. The tables also present an opportunity to compare with other academic studies.

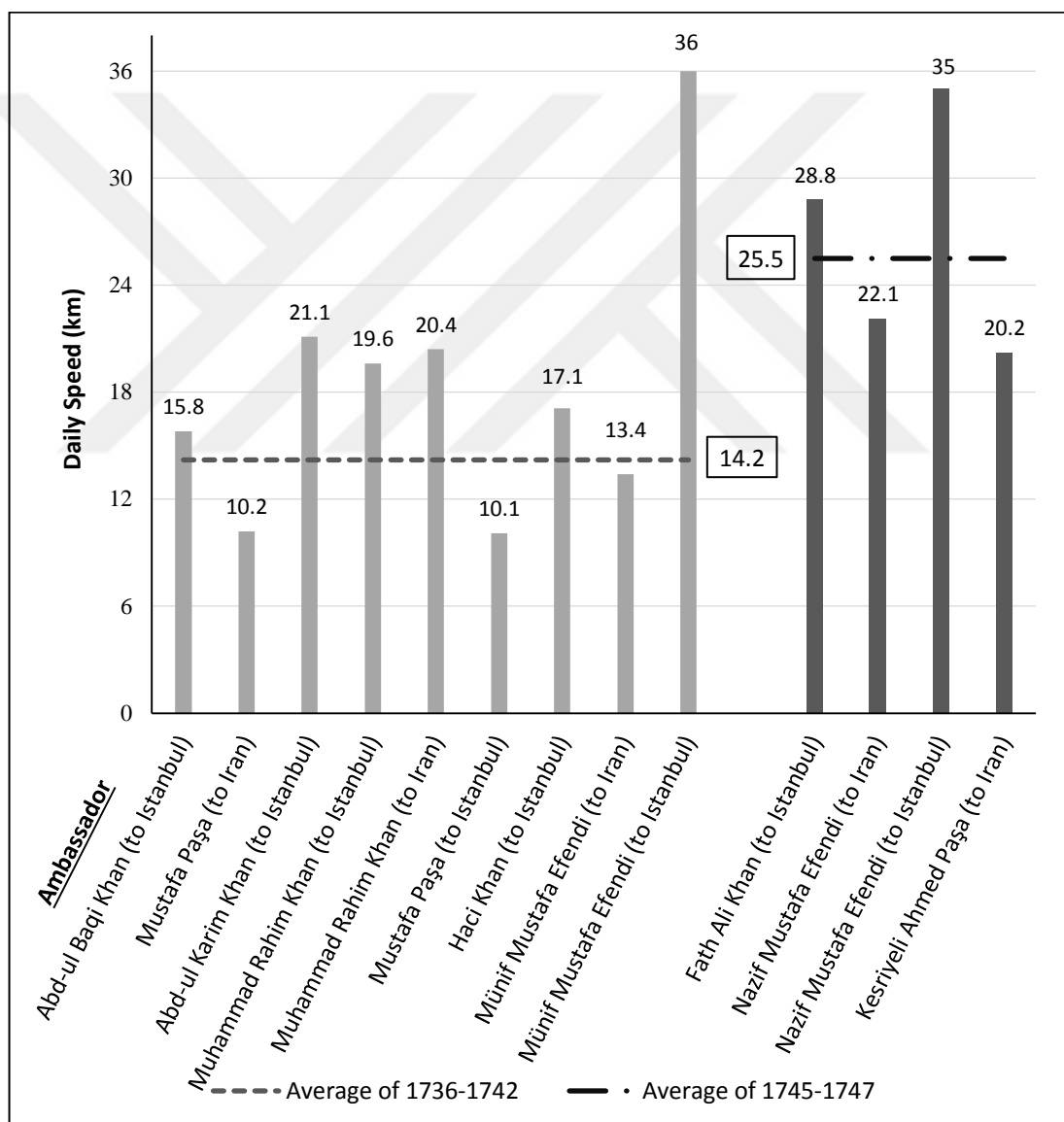


Figure 4.1. The daily speed of ambassadors' journeys, in 1736-1742 and 1745-1747

Table 4.2. Genç Ali Paşa's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Erzurum	Tbilisi	07.B.1148 ⁴⁸⁰	21.B.1148 ⁴⁸¹	15
Tbilisi	Mugan	28.B.1148 ⁴⁸²	18.N.1148 ⁴⁸³	50
Erzurum	Mugan	07.B.1148	18.N.1148	71

Table 4.3. Genç Ali Paşa and Abd-ul Baqi Khan's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Mugan	Erzurum	23.L.1148 ⁴⁸⁴	12.Z.1148 ⁴⁸⁵	49
Erzurum	Sarıyar	20.M.1149 ⁴⁸⁶	07.S.1149 ⁴⁸⁷	18
Sarıyar	Istanbul	08.S.1149 ⁴⁸⁸	28.RA.1149 ⁴⁸⁹	50
Mugan	Istanbul	23.L.1148	28.RA.1149	154

Table 4.4. The daily speed of Genç Ali Paşa and Abd-ul Baqi Khan's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Mugan	Erzurum	49	877	17.8
Erzurum	Sarıyar (Niksar) ⁴⁹⁰	18	564	31.3
Sarıyar (Niksar)	Istanbul	50	1006	20.1
Mugan	Istanbul	154	2447	15.8

⁴⁸⁰ 21 November 1735. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 27.

⁴⁸¹ 9 December 1735. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, 28.

⁴⁸² 14 December 1735. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, 28.

⁴⁸³ 1 February 1736. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, 29. Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2, 1294. Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yansında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 275.

⁴⁸⁴ 7 March 1736. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 31. Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2, 1295.

⁴⁸⁵ 24 April 1736. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 34.

⁴⁸⁶ 31 May 1746. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, 35.

⁴⁸⁷ 17 June 1736. BOA. C.HR.7402.

⁴⁸⁸ 18 June 1736. BOA. C.HR.7402.

⁴⁸⁹ 6 August 1736. TSMA. E. 1572-3. Hıfzi Ağa and Salahi Ağa, *Zabt-ı Vekayi-i Şehriyari*, IUNEK. TY., 2518, 83b. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 105.

⁴⁹⁰ Sarıyar, as small village in Yıldızeli, is considered as Niksar to calculate the distance. See, Ahmet Özkılıç, Ali Coşkun, and Abdullah Sivridağ, *Osmanlı Yer Adları*, vol. 2 (Ankara: Başbakanlık Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 2013), 1186.

Table 4.5. Mustafa Paşa and Abd-ul Baqi Khan's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Istanbul	Konya	01.Ş.1149 ⁴⁹¹	13.N.1149 ⁴⁹²	42
Konya	Kurdkulağı	20.N.1149 ⁴⁹³	06.L.1149 ⁴⁹⁴	17
Kurdkulağı	Baghdad	07.L.1149 ⁴⁹⁵	10.M.1150 ⁴⁹⁶	92
Baghdad	Isfahan	06.S.1150 ⁴⁹⁷	03.R.1150 ⁴⁹⁸	57
Isfahan	Qandahar	10.L.1150 ⁴⁹⁹	19.M.1151 ⁵⁰⁰	99
Istanbul	Isfahan	01.Ş.1149	03.R.1150	239
Istanbul	Qandahar	01.Ş.1149	19.M.1151	521

Table 4.6. The daily speed of Mustafa Paşa's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Istanbul	Konya	42	671	16
Konya	Kurdkulağı	17	505	29.7
Kurdkulağı	Baghdad	92	1564	17
Baghdad	Isfahan	57	915	16
Isfahan	Qandahar	99	1683	17
Istanbul	Baghdad	183	2740	14.9
Istanbul	Isfahan	239	3655	15.2
Istanbul	Qandahar	521	5338	10.2

⁴⁹¹ 5 December 1736. Abd-ul Baqi Khan left Istanbul on 20.B.1149/24 November 1736, ten days before Mustafa Paşa's departure. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 100.

⁴⁹² Sak and Solak, *53 Numaralı Konya Şer'iyeye Sicili*, 15-16.

⁴⁹³ Sak and Solak, 15-16.

⁴⁹⁴ 7 February 1737. BOA. C.HR. 6523.

⁴⁹⁵ 8 February 1737. BOA. C.HR. 6523.

⁴⁹⁶ The original date is 12 May 1737, in Gregorian calendar. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, vol. 1, 159. I have converted it to Hegira calendar to calculate the duration.

⁴⁹⁷ 5 June 1737. BOA. A.AMD. 4-20.

⁴⁹⁸ The original date is 31 July 1737, in Gregorian calendar. Floor, *The Rise and Fall of Nader Shah*, 71. I have converted it to Hegira calendar to calculate the duration.

⁴⁹⁹ 31 January 1738. I have estimated this date. According to the Dutch reports, Nadir Shah ordered Mustafa Paşa to leave Isfahan after N.1150. Floor, *The Rise and Fall of Nader Shah*, 75. Lockhart gives the date of Mustafa Paşa's departure from Isfahan as the beginning of February 1738. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 121.

⁵⁰⁰ 9 May 1738. Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Cihanguşa-yı Nadiri*, 305.

Table 4.7. Abd-ul Karim Khan's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Karahisar-ı Şarki	Istanbul	17.M.1150 ⁵⁰¹	15.RA.1150 ⁵⁰²	58

Table 4.8. The daily speed of Abd-ul Karim Khan's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Karahisar-ı Şarki	Istanbul	58	1228	21.1

Table 4.9. Muhammad Rahim Khan's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Isfahan	Istanbul	03.N.1150 ⁵⁰³	06.RA.1151 ⁵⁰⁴	182

Table 4.10. The daily speed of Muhammad Rahim Khan's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Isfahan	Istanbul	182	3575	19.6

Table 4.11. Muhammad Rahim Khan's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Istanbul	Kermanshah	03.N.1151 ⁵⁰⁵	02.S.1152 ⁵⁰⁶	148

⁵⁰¹ 17 May 1737. Çakmak, "39 Numaralı Amasya Şer'iyye Sicili H. 1149-1151 (M. 1736-1739)," 158.

⁵⁰² 14 July 1737. The day is *bazar*/Sunday. İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 2b.

⁵⁰³ 25 December 1737. I have estimated this date. According to the Dutch reports, "...the envoys were Nazer 'Ali (Nazer Alie) and Rahim Khan (Rahiem Chan) and they had left before New Year to Baghdad with a suite of 40 men..." Floor, *The Rise and Fall of Nader Shah*, 75.

⁵⁰⁴ 24 June 1738. BOA. D.BŞM.d., 2216, 4.

⁵⁰⁵ 15 December 1738. I have estimated this date by considering two documents. First, the Porte issued an order on 26.Ş.1151/9 December 1738, regarding the mission's departure. The route was from Istanbul to Baghdad via Tokat and Diyarbakır. BOA. C.HR. 6501. Second, two Ottoman soldiers who would accompany the Iranian ambassador wrote a petition for their payments on 03.N.1151/15 December 1738, and received their payments on the same day. This process usually took much longer in the Ottoman bureaucracy, not within a day but in a week, therefore I assume that the Iranian mission left Istanbul on this date. BOA. C.HR. 1918.

⁵⁰⁶ 11 May 1739. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, vol. 2, 20. I have converted the date into Hegira calendar to calculate the duration. For their arrival at Isfahan see, Floor, *The Rise and Fall of Nader Shah*, 81.

Table 4.12. The daily speed of Muhammad Rahim Khan's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Istanbul	Kermanshah	148	3024	20.4

Table 4.13. Mustafa Paşa and Ali Mardan Khan's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Qandahar	Sivas	01.S.1151 ⁵⁰⁷	20.N.1151 ⁵⁰⁸	226
Sivas	Istanbul	?	15.N.1152 ⁵⁰⁹	350 ⁵¹⁰
Qandahar	Istanbul	01.S.1151	15.N.1152	575

Table 4.14. The daily speed of Mustafa Paşa and Ali Mardan Khan's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Qandahar	Sivas	226	4764	21
Sivas	Istanbul	350	1086	3.1
Qandahar	Istanbul	575	5850	10.1

Table 4.15. Hacı Khan's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Kirkuk	Antep	28.B.1153 ⁵¹¹	20.N.1153 ⁵¹²	52
Antep	Azaz	21.N.1153 ⁵¹³	23.N.1153 ⁵¹⁴	3
Azaz	Maarrat Misrin	?	24.L.1153 ⁵¹⁵	32 ⁵¹⁶

⁵⁰⁷ 21 May 1738. Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Cihanguşa-yı Nadiri*, 306.

⁵⁰⁸ 1 January 1739. I have estimated this date. Külbilge writes that Ali Mardan Khan died in early January 1739. Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 297. I have converted the date into Hegira calendar to calculate the duration.

⁵⁰⁹ 16 December 1739. BOA. C.HR. 6680.

⁵¹⁰ I have assumed their arrival date as departure date, since I could not locate it.

⁵¹¹ 19 October 1740. BOA. D.BŞM.d. 2423, 20.

⁵¹² BOA. C.HR. 2891.

⁵¹³ BOA. C.HR. 2891.

⁵¹⁴ 15 December 1740. Derviş Mehmed Ağa, the guide of Hacı Khan, had a meeting with judge, *kadı*, of Azaz. BOA. AE.SMHD.I. 7280.

⁵¹⁵ 12 January 1741. I have estimated this date. The *defter* of the costs of Iranian mission in Maarrat Misrin is dated as evahir.L.1153/9-17 January 1741. BOA. C.HR. 3081.

⁵¹⁶ I have assumed their arrival date as departure date, since I could not locate it.

Table 4.15. (Continued)

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Maarrat Misrin	Ilgin	25.L.1153 ⁵¹⁷	27.ZA.1153 ⁵¹⁸	32
Ilgin	Bolvadin	28.ZA.1153 ⁵¹⁹	04.Z.1153 ⁵²⁰	7
Bolvadin	Istanbul ⁵²¹	04.Z.1153 ⁵²²	18.Z.1153 ⁵²³	15
Kirkuk	Istanbul	28.B.1153	18.Z.1153	139

Table 4.16. The daily speed of Hacı Khan's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Kirkuk	Antep	52	830	15.9
Antep	Azaz (Kilis) ⁵²⁴	3	51	17
Azaz (Kilis)	Maarrat Misrin	32	176	5.5
Maarrat Misrin	Ilgin	32	813	25.4
Ilgin	Bolvadin	7	114	16.2
Bolvadin	Istanbul	15	455	30.3
Kirkuk	Istanbul	139	2388	17.1

Table 4.17. Hacı Khan's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Istanbul	Kartal	18.R.1154 ⁵²⁵	18.R.1154 ⁵²⁶	1
Kartal	Yılbaşı	19.R.1154 ⁵²⁷	27.R.1154 ⁵²⁸	9

⁵¹⁷ 13 January 1741. BOA. C.HR. 3081. I have estimated the date as 25.L.1153/13 January 1741.

⁵¹⁸ 14 February 1741. BOA. C.HR. 3597.

⁵¹⁹ 14 February 1741. BOA. C.HR. 3597.

⁵²⁰ 20 February 1741. The day is *pazarirtesi*/Monday. BOA. C.HR. 4791.

⁵²¹ Fenerbahçesi, Kadıköy.

⁵²² 20 February 1741. BOA. C.HR. 4791.

⁵²³ 7 March 1741. BOA. C.HR. 5793. BOA. D.BŞM. 41072, 6-7. In these two Ottoman archival documents, the costs of the Iranian mission in Istanbul begins with the date of 18.Z.1153.

⁵²⁴ Azaz is considered as Kilis to calculate the distance.

⁵²⁵ 3 July 1741. Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 709. Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2, 1367.

⁵²⁶ 3 July 1741. BOA. C.HR. 3567.

⁵²⁷ 4 July 1741. BOA. C.HR. 3567.

⁵²⁸ 12 July 1741. BOA. C.HR. 5146.

Table 4.17. (Continued)

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Yılbaşı	Bayındır	28.R.1154 ⁵²⁹	02.CA.1154 ⁵³⁰	4
Bayındır	Turhal	03.CA.1154 ⁵³¹	16.CA.1154 ⁵³²	14
Turhal	İrak	17.CA.1154 ⁵³³	19.CA.1154 ⁵³⁴	3

Table 4.18. The daily speed of Hacı Khan's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Istanbul	Kartal	1	23	23
Kartal	Yılbaşı (Düzce) ⁵³⁵	9	256	28.4
Yılbaşı (Düzce)	Bayındır	4	187	46.7
Bayındır	Turhal (Sonisa) ⁵³⁶	14	472	33.7
Turhal (Sonisa)	İrak (Niksar) ⁵³⁷	3	68	22.6
Istanbul	İrak (Niksar)	31	1006	32.4

Table 4.19. Münif Mustafa Efendi's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Istanbul	Darband	30.RA.1154 ⁵³⁸	03.ZA.1154 ⁵³⁹	210
Darband	Karakaytak	05.ZA.1154 ⁵⁴⁰	05.ZA.1154 ⁵⁴¹	1
Istanbul	Karakaytak	30.RA.1154	05.ZA.1154	212

⁵²⁹ 13 July 1741. BOA. C.HR. 5146.

⁵³⁰ 16 July 1741. BOA. C.HR. 3135.

⁵³¹ 17 July 1741. BOA. C.HR. 3135.

⁵³² 30 July 1741. BOA. C.HR. 5254.

⁵³³ 31 July 1741. BOA. C.HR. 5254.

⁵³⁴ 2 August 1741. BOA. C.HR. 3264.

⁵³⁵ Yılbaşı, a small village in Mudurnu, is considered as Düzce to calculate the distance.

⁵³⁶ Turhal is considered as Sonisa to calculate the distance.

⁵³⁷ İrak/İrekiye, a small village in Başçiftlik, is considered as Niksar to calculate the distance.

⁵³⁸ 15 June 1741. I have estimated this date. The original date is evahir.RA.1154/6-15 June 1741. Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 706.

⁵³⁹ 11 January 1742. The day is *pençsembe*/Thursday. BOA. HAT. 198. Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, SK. Ali Nihat Tarlan, 18, 102b.

⁵⁴⁰ 13 January 1742. The day is *cumaertesi*/Saturday. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 102b.

⁵⁴¹ 13 January 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 103a.

Table 4.20. The daily speed of Münif Mustafa Efendi's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Istanbul	Darband	210	2817	13.4
Darband	Karakaytak	1	34	34
Istanbul	Karakaytak	212	2851	13.4

Table 4.21. Münif Mustafa Efendi's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Karakaytak	Darband	16.ZA.1154 ⁵⁴²	16.ZA.1154 ⁵⁴³	1
Darband	Yevlakh	17.ZA.1154 ⁵⁴⁴	03.Z.1154 ⁵⁴⁵	17
Yevlakh	Yerevan	03.Z.1154 ⁵⁴⁶	17.Z.1154 ⁵⁴⁷	15
Yerevan	Kars	18.Z.1154 ⁵⁴⁸	24.Z.1154 ⁵⁴⁹	7
Kars	Erzurum	26.Z.1154 ⁵⁵⁰	01.M.1155 ⁵⁵¹	6
Erzurum	Istanbul	03.M.1155 ⁵⁵²	04.S.1155 ⁵⁵³	32
Karakaytak	Istanbul	16.ZA.1154	04.S.1155	79

Table 4.22. The daily speed of Münif Mustafa Efendi's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Karakaytak	Darband	1	34	34
Darband	Yevlakh	17	527	31
Yevlakh	Yerevan	15	380	25.3
Yerevan	Kars	7	148	21.1
Kars	Erzurum	6	192	32
Erzurum	Istanbul	32	1570	49
Karakaytak	Istanbul	79	2851	36

⁵⁴² 24 January 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 107a.

⁵⁴³ 24 January 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 107a.

⁵⁴⁴ 25 January 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 107a.

⁵⁴⁵ 9 February 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 107b-108a.

⁵⁴⁶ 9 Februray 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 108a.

⁵⁴⁷ 23 February 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 108a.

⁵⁴⁸ 24 February 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 108a.

⁵⁴⁹ 2 March 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 108b.

⁵⁵⁰ 4 March 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 108b.

⁵⁵¹ 8 March 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 108b.

⁵⁵² 10 March 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 108b.

⁵⁵³ 10 April 1742. The day is *sülasa*/Tuesday. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 108b. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname I*, 106. *The London Gazette*, May 18-22, 1742.

Table 4.23. Abdullah Süveydi Efendi's journey to Najaf

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Baghdad	Najaf	22.L.1156 ⁵⁵⁴	24.L.1156 ⁵⁵⁵	3

Table 4.24. Fath Ali Khan's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Yerevan	Baghdad	25.B.1158 ⁵⁵⁶	10.N.1158 ⁵⁵⁷	45
Baghdad	Istanbul ⁵⁵⁸	12.N.1158 ⁵⁵⁹	18.Z.1158 ⁵⁶⁰	96
Yerevan	Istanbul	25.B.1158	18.Z.1158	142

Table 4.25. The daily speed of Fath Ali Khan's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Yerevan	Baghdad	45	1440	32
Baghdad	Istanbul	96	2660	27.7
Yerevan	Istanbul	142	4100	28.8

⁵⁵⁴ 9 December 1743. The day is *pazartesi*/Monday. Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, *Vekayiname-i Nadir Şah*, 25.

⁵⁵⁵ 11 December 1743. The day is *çarşenbe*/Wednesday. Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, 28.

⁵⁵⁶ 24 August 1745. I have estimated this date based on the report of Camuş Hasan Ağa, an Ottoman captive. Hasan Ağa was summoned before Nadir Shah two times. The first was on 24.B.1156/23 August 1745 and the second was on 26.B.1156/25 August 1745. At the second meeting, the Shah told Hasan Ağa that he sent an ambassador to Baghdad. Fath Ali Khan must have left the Iranian army for Baghdad between these two meetings. BOA. HAT. 189.

⁵⁵⁷ 6 October 1745. BOA. HAT. 122.

⁵⁵⁸ Fath Ali Khan arrived at Yemişçi Bahçesi, Kadıköy on 18.Z.1158/11 January 1746. The Iranian mission continued to Üsküdar and crossed the Bosphorus next day. BOA. HAT. 173. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 40a. Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2, 1403. BOA. C.HR. 4702. BOA. C.MAL. 31650.

⁵⁵⁹ 8 October 1745. BOA. HAT. 122. BOA. MAD.d. 18430, 14.

⁵⁶⁰ 11 January 1746. The day is *salı*/Tuesday. BOA. HAT. 173. *The London Evening Post*, February 22-25, 1746.

Table 4.26. Fath Ali Khan's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Istanbul	Diyarbakır	26.S.1159 ⁵⁶¹	11.R.1159 ⁵⁶²	45
Diyarbakır	Baghdad	?	10.CA.1159 ⁵⁶³	29 ⁵⁶⁴
Istanbul	Baghdad	26.S.1159	10.CA.1159	73

Table 4.27. The daily speed of Fath Ali Khan's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Istanbul	Diyarbakır	45	1700	37.7
Diyarbakır	Baghdad	29	960	33.1
Istanbul	Baghdad	73	2660	36.4

Table 4.28. Nazif Mustafa Efendi's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Istanbul	Baghdad	24.S.1159 ⁵⁶⁵	17.R.1159 ⁵⁶⁶	53
Baghdad	Tak Ayağı	22.CA.1159 ⁵⁶⁷	04.C.1159 ⁵⁶⁸	13
Tak Ayağı	Gerend	05.C.1159 ⁵⁶⁹	05.C.1159 ⁵⁷⁰	1
Gerend	Kurdan	06.C.1159 ⁵⁷¹	06.Ş.1159 ⁵⁷²	60
Istanbul	Kurdan	24.S.1159	06.Ş.1159	160

⁵⁶¹ 18 March 1746. Seyyid Mehmed Ağa, the official host of Fath Ali Khan, gives the duration of their journey from Istanbul to Diyarbakır as forty-five days, in his report. BOA. HAT. 191.

⁵⁶² 2 May 1746. The day is *isneyn*/Monday. BOA. HAT. 191.

⁵⁶³ 31 May 1746. NLB. OAK. 64-25, the first letter.

⁵⁶⁴ I assumed their arrival date as departure date, since I could not locate it.

⁵⁶⁵ 16 March 1746. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 26. "Vienna, May 4 - Letters from Constantinople of the 9th past advise, that the Persian ambassador set out from thence the 18th of March, with the Grand Seigneur's answer to the letter from Schach Nadir; and that Mustapha Effendi, who is appointed his Highness's minister plenipotentiary in Persia, set out two days ago for Bagdad..." *The Daily Advertiser*, May 12, 1746. The date in the newspaper is consistent with the report of Seyyid Mehmed Ağa. BOA. HAT. 191.

⁵⁶⁶ 8 May 1746. The day is *pazar*/Sunday. BOA. HAT. 223.

⁵⁶⁷ 12 June 1746. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 2.

⁵⁶⁸ 23 June 1746. The day is *pençşenbe*/Thursday. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, 2.

⁵⁶⁹ 24 June 1746. The day is *cuma*/Friday. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, 2-3.

⁵⁷⁰ 24 June 1746. The day is *cuma*/Friday. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, 2-3.

⁵⁷¹ 25 June 1746. The day is *sebt*/Saturday. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, 4.

⁵⁷² 24 August 1746. The day is *çarşamba*/Wednesday. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, 4. BOA. HAT. 125.

Table 4.29. The daily speed of Nazif Mustafa Efendi's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Istanbul	Baghdad	53	2660	50.1
Baghdad	Tak Ayağı	13	216	16.6
Tak Ayağı	Gerend	1	45	45
Gerend	Kurdan	60	620	10.3
Istanbul	Kurdan	160	3541	22.1

Table 4.30. Nazif Mustafa Efendi's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Kurdan	Baghdad	18.Ş.1159 ⁵⁷³	20.N.1159 ⁵⁷⁴	32
Baghdad	Mardin	04.L.1159 ⁵⁷⁵	01.ZA.1159 ⁵⁷⁶	27
Mardin	Istanbul	02.ZA.1159 ⁵⁷⁷	30.ZA.1159 ⁵⁷⁸	29
Kurdan	Istanbul	18.Ş.1159	30.ZA.1159	101

Table 4.31. The daily speed of Nazif Mustafa Efendi's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Kurdan	Baghdad	32	881	27.5
Baghdad	Mardin	27	875	32.4
Mardin	Istanbul	29	1785	61.5
Kurdan	Istanbul	101	3541	35

⁵⁷³ 5 September 1746. BOA. HAT. 125.

⁵⁷⁴ 6 October 1746. The day is *perşembe*/Thursday. NLB. OAK. 64-25, the first letter. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 74a.

⁵⁷⁵ 20 October 1746. The day is *perşembe*/Thursday. NLB. OAK. 64-25, the first letter. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 74b.

⁵⁷⁶ 15 November 1746. BOA. A.AMD. 7-57.

⁵⁷⁷ 16 November 1746. BOA. A.AMD. 7-57.

⁵⁷⁸ 13 December 1746. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 80a. *The London Evening Post*, February 5-7, 1747. *The Dublin Journal*, February 14-17, 1747. Nazif Efendi was summoned to the presence of the grand-vizier on 13 December, and of the Sultan on 01.Z.1159/14 December 1746 (the day is *erbaa*/Wednesday). Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 26. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 126-127.

Table 4.32. Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Istanbul	Eskişehir	16.M.1160 ⁵⁷⁹	30.M.1160 ⁵⁸⁰	15
Eskişehir	Seyyidgazi	02.S.1160 ⁵⁸¹	02.S.1160 ⁵⁸²	1
Seyyidgazi	İlgın	03.S.1160 ⁵⁸³	11.S.1160 ⁵⁸⁴	9
İlgın	Konya	12.S.1160 ⁵⁸⁵	14.S.1160 ⁵⁸⁶	3
Konya	Adana	18.S.1160 ⁵⁸⁷	?	13 ⁵⁸⁸
Adana	Antakya	01.RA.1160 ⁵⁸⁹	?	10 ⁵⁹⁰
Antakya	Aleppo	10.RA.1160 ⁵⁹¹	15.RA.1160 ⁵⁹²	6
Aleppo	Antep	25.RA.1160 ⁵⁹³	30.RA.1160 ⁵⁹⁴	6
Antep	Urfa	02.R.1160 ⁵⁹⁵	09.R.1160 ⁵⁹⁶	8
Urfa	Baghdad	20.R.1160 ⁵⁹⁷	20.CA.1160 ⁵⁹⁸	30

⁵⁷⁹ 28 January 1747. The day is *sebt*/Saturday. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname III*, 3. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 28.

⁵⁸⁰ 9 February 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 30.

⁵⁸¹ 11 February 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 30.

⁵⁸² 11 February 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 30.

⁵⁸³ 12 February 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 30.

⁵⁸⁴ 20 February 1747. The day is *isneyn*/Monday. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 53.

⁵⁸⁵ 21 February 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 53.

⁵⁸⁶ 23 February 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 53.

⁵⁸⁷ 1 March 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 55.

⁵⁸⁸ I have assumed their arrival date as departure date, since I could not locate it.

⁵⁸⁹ 13 March 1747. The day is *düşenbe*/Monday. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 57.

⁵⁹⁰ I have assumed their arrival date as departure date, since I could not locate it.

⁵⁹¹ 22 March 1747. The day is *çaharşenbe*/Wednesday. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 59.

⁵⁹² 27 March 1747. The mission stayed in Aleppo for eleven days. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 60.

⁵⁹³ 6 April 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 61.

⁵⁹⁴ 11 April 1747. The mission stayed in Antep for two days. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 61.

⁵⁹⁵ 13 April 1747. The day is *pençşenbe*/Thursday. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 61.

⁵⁹⁶ 20 April 1747. The mission stayed in Urfa for twelve days. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 63.

⁵⁹⁷ 1 May 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 63.

⁵⁹⁸ 30 May 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 67.

Table 4.32. (Continued)

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Baghdad	Tak Ayağı	01.C.1160 ⁵⁹⁹	12.C.1160 ⁶⁰⁰	12
Tak Ayağı	Gerend	18.C.1160 ⁶⁰¹	18.C.1160 ⁶⁰²	1
Gerend	Harunabad	19.C.1160 ⁶⁰³	19.C.1160 ⁶⁰⁴	1
Harunabad	Mah-i Deşt	20.C.1160 ⁶⁰⁵	20.C.1160 ⁶⁰⁶	1
Mah-i Deşt	Kermanshah	21.C.1160 ⁶⁰⁷	21.C.1160 ⁶⁰⁸	4
Kermanshah	Hamadan	?	01.B.1160 ⁶⁰⁹	10
Istanbul	Hamadan	16.M.1160	01.B.1160	163

Table 4.33. The daily speed of Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa's journey to Iran

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Istanbul	Eskişehir	15	296	19.7
Eskişehir	Seyyidgazi	1	45	45
Seyyidgazi	İlgin	9	228	25.3
İlgin	Konya	3	102	34
Konya	Adana	13	438	33.6
Adana	Antakya	10	204	20.4
Antakya	Aleppo	6	125	20.8
Aleppo	Antep	6	120	20
Antep	Urfa	8	136	17
Urfa	Baghdad	30	1046	34.8

⁵⁹⁹ 10 June 1747. Rahmi Efendi gives the details of the journey between Baghdad and Tak Ayağı: They traveled from Baghdad to outside of Imam-ı Azam Gate (01.C.1160), from the gate to Safve (02.C.1160), Safve to Kubbe-i Ebi'l-leyş (03.C.1160), Kubbe-i Ebi'l-leyş to Kazganiyye (04.C.1160), a day in Kazganiyye (05.C.1160), Kazganiyye to Şehriban (06.C.1160), Şehriban to Kızıl Ribat (07.C.1160), a day in Kızıl Ribat (08.C.1160), Kızıl Ribat to Hanki (09.C.1160), a day in Hanki (10.C.1160), Hanki to Kasr-ı Şirin (11.C.1160), Kasr-ı Şirin to Tak Ayağı (12.C.1160), a day in Tak Ayağı (13.C.1160), Tak Ayağı to Ottoman-Iranian border, Sermil (14.C.1160), three days in Sermil (15.C.1160-17.C.1160), and from Sermil to Gerend (18.C.1160). Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 70-73.

⁶⁰⁰ 20 June 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 71-73.

⁶⁰¹ 26 June 1747. The day is *düşenbe*/Monday. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 73.

⁶⁰² 26 June 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 73.

⁶⁰³ 27 June 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 73.

⁶⁰⁴ 27 June 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 73.

⁶⁰⁵ 28 June 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi 73.

⁶⁰⁶ 28 June 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi 73.

⁶⁰⁷ 29 June 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi 73.

⁶⁰⁸ 29 June 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi 74.

⁶⁰⁹ 9 July 1747. The day is *ahad*/Sunday. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 185.

Table 4.33. (Continued)

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Baghdad	Tak Ayağı	12	216	18
Tak Ayağı	Gerend	1	45	45
Gerend	Harunabad	1	40	40
Harunabad	Mah-i Deşt	1	40	40
Mah-i Deşt	Kermanshah	4	23	5.7
Kermanshah	Hamadan	10	193	19.3
Istanbul	Hamadan	163	3297	20.2

Table 4.34. Mustafa Khan's journey to Baghdad

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Isfahan	Gerend	10.M.1160 ⁶¹⁰	11.C.1160 ⁶¹¹	150
Gerend	Tak Ayağı	12.C.1160 ⁶¹²	12.C.1160 ⁶¹³	1
Tak Ayağı	Baghdad	18.C.1160 ⁶¹⁴	21.C.1160 ⁶¹⁵	4
Isfahan	Baghdad	10.M.1160	21.C.1160	160

Table 4.35. The daily speed of Mustafa Khan's journey to Baghdad

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Isfahan	Gerend	150	654	4.3
Gerend	Tak Ayağı	1	45	45
Tak Ayağı	Baghdad	4	216	54
Isfahan	Baghdad	160	915	5.7

4.2. Durations of Official Missions

The journeys of official missions ended with a ceremony at their final destinations. The representatives of Nadir Shah were welcomed at Üsküdar by appointed Ottoman officers. After the ceremony, they crossed the Bosphorus and were settled in a place where they waited for their call to the royal court. The waiting could last around a month for typical cases. After the first royal court for the ambassadors, the Ottoman and Iranian delegates held several meetings. In the second royal court, the Iranian

⁶¹⁰ 22 January 1747. Muhammad Kazim Marvi, *Alamara-yi Nadiri*, vol. 3, 1181.

⁶¹¹ 20 June 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 71.

⁶¹² 21 June 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 71.

⁶¹³ 21 June 1747. I have estimated this date. The Iranian mission was already settled in Tak Ayağı when the Ottoman mission arrived on 13.C.1160/21 June 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 71.

⁶¹⁴ 26 June 1747. The day is *düşenbe*/Monday. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 73.

⁶¹⁵ 30 June 1747. Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzerâ*, 115.

ambassadors received the letters and gifts for their rulers and began the preparations for their returns. This diplomatic process showed no difference for the Ottoman ambassadors in Iran and Uzbek and Indian ambassadors in Istanbul with one major exception: Their duration of stays at the royal courts. When we look into the ambassadors of Nadir Shah in Istanbul, we can quickly notice the similarities between them. Abd-ul Baqi Khan stayed in the Ottoman capital for one hundred and fourteen days and Hacı Khan for one hundred and twenty days. I argue that the similar values of the two cases are not coincidental but a result of the diplomatic etiquette of the Sublime Porte (see Figure 4.2.). Moreover, the duration between the arrival of the Iranian ambassadors and the first royal court are very close to each other as well as the duration between the second court and their departure from Istanbul.

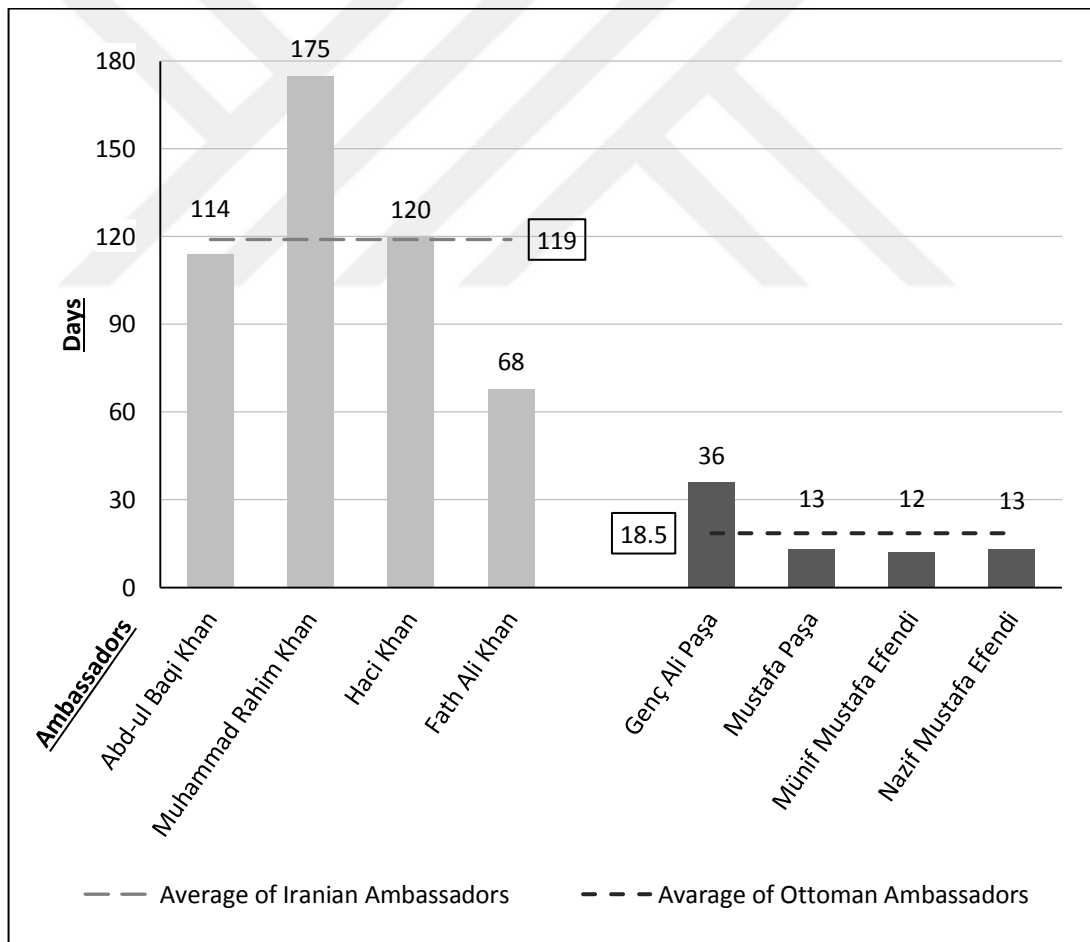


Figure 4.2. The stays of the Iranian and Ottomans ambassadors at the royal courts

The Ottoman ambassadors' stay in Iran signifies the mobilized court of Nadir Shah. All Ottoman ambassadors met with the Shah in different locations: Genç Ali Paşa in Mugan, Mustafa Paşa in Qandahar, Münif Mustafa Efendi in Karakaytak, and Nazif Mustafa Efendi in Kurdan. The duration of the last three ambassadors' stays at the Iranian court or army, are almost identical, thirteen days. The difference between the sojourns of the Ottoman and Iranian delegates give the latter an obvious advantage to negotiate, to observe, and to obtain intelligence.

Two Ottoman missions spent considerable time at one destination during their journeys to Iran. Mustafa Paşa stayed in Isfahan for seven months due to Nadir's siege of Qandahar in 1737. In his travelogue, Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, who was a musician of the mission, mentioned his meetings with certain officers in Isfahan. He saw a portrait of young Tahmasb II, visited a Safavid palace, *Sadabad*, frequently met with an ex-royal jeweler, and talked with the Iranian soldiers.⁶¹⁶ The second is Münif Mustafa Efendi's mission. The deputy ambassador of the mission, Nazif Efendi, writes in his report that they waited in Yerevan for few months in late 1741 because of Nadir's campaign in Dagestan. During the return of the mission to Istanbul, Nazif Efendi met an unnamed spy, sent by the host of the house they stayed in Yerevan: "...çend mah Erivanda misafiri olduğumuz Melek nam zımminin ticaret bahanesiyle mahsus bir nefer ademisi gelub..."⁶¹⁷ The spy informed him on the recent events in Iran in which I will elaborate in the next chapter.

These two cases, however, could not match with the stay of Oghuz Ali Khan in Istanbul. When Ali Mardan Khan passed away near Sivas in early January 1739, Oghuz Ali Khan replaced him. The Porte ordered the mission to stay first at Bolu and later İznikmid. The mission arrived in Üsküdar at the end of the year. Oghuz Ali Khan was

⁶¹⁶ "Şah Hüseyinin Tahmas adlı bir evladını... biz kendisini görmedik, lakin bize İsfahanda tasvirini gösterdiler, naklettiğim gibi idi... Mir Üveysin zerger başısı, bir Çulhalı [Julfa] ihtiyar Ermeni idi. Bizim ile İsfahanda çok görüştü." "...bu işi bana İsfahanda Kızılbaşlar tarif ettiler..." "...ne kadar han, bey ve ülema varsa dediği günde hepsi gelip cem oldular. Nerede der isen İsfahan'da (Sadabat) derler, kahtane gibi müferrih bir sefa yeri vardır biz de gördük..." Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, *Tahmas Kulu Han'ın Tevarihî*, 39, 41-42.

⁶¹⁷ BOA. HAT. 198.

accepted to the presence of Mahmud I on 4 April 1741, after another Iranian ambassador, Hacı Khan, came to the capital. The merged Iranian mission left the city on 3 June 1741. In other words, Oghuz Ali Khan stayed in the cities near Istanbul for six months, and in Istanbul for a year and a half. The archival documents regarding the costs of his stay contain detailed information like the names of rented mansions and houses for the mission in Üsküdar or the ambassador's petitions on various issues such as spices.⁶¹⁸ Furthermore, he gathered hundreds of Iranian slaves, who were later sent to Iran, which required to be in touch with central and local authorities.⁶¹⁹

A judge register, *kadı sicili*, of Üsküdar includes a crucial document about one of Oghuz Khan's servants, Mevlam-virdi. He disappeared just before the leave of the mission from the city and later came to the judge to state that he changed his name to Ali and married an Iranian slave-girl, *cariye*, on 13 July 1741. Because the number of people in both Iranian missions, several hundred for Oghuz Ali Khan and three thousand for Hacı Khan, we have to consider possible cases like Mevlam-virdi, who stayed for love or other business in Istanbul:

Bundan akdem medine-i Üsküdar'da bir buçuk seneden beri mukim İran elçisi [Oghuz Ali Khan] etbaından Karadağlı Acemden adı Mevlam-virdi dimekle maruf olub elçi gideceği esnada gaybet idüb tarih-i ilamdan bir hafta mukaddem [29.R.1154/13 July 1741] Üsküdar'da Hayreddin Çavuş Mahallesi'nde bir Acem cariyesini kendüye akd itdürüb ismini Ali tesmiye ol-vechle ahz olmağla ahz olunduğu keyfiyet ile ber vech-i muharrer mahalleye gelüb sakin olduğu mahalle-i mezbure imamı meclis-i şera gelüb haber virmekle mezbur ilamıyla huzur-ı alilerine irsal olundu. Fi 6 Cemazi-el evvel sene 1154 [06.CA.1154/20 July 1741].⁶²⁰

The following tables includes the details of the stays of seven Iranian, two Uzbek and an Indian missions in Istanbul, and four Ottoman ambassadors in Iran. They give the

⁶¹⁸ BOA. AE.SMHD.I. 13439. BOA. C.HR. 95. BOA. C.HR. 3089. BOA. C.HR. 3563. BOA. C.HR. 6680. BOA. C.SM. 2278.

⁶¹⁹ BOA. C.HR. 3864. BOA. C.HR. 7354. BOA. C.HR. 7678.

⁶²⁰ Ayhan Uçar, "Üsküdar Mahkemesi'ne Ait 403 Numaralı Şer'iyeye Sicili" (MA thesis, Marmara University, 2004), 110-111.

durations between the arrival and first court, second court and the departure, and total stay.

Table 4.36. The Iranian missions in Istanbul

Mission	Arrival date	The dates of royal courts for mission		Departure date
		Delivering letters	Receiving letters	
Abd-ul Baqi Khan	28.RA.1149 ⁶²¹	20.R.1149 ⁶²²	11.C.1149 ⁶²³	23.B.1149 ⁶²⁴
Abd-ul Karim Khan	15.RA.1150 ⁶²⁵	16.RA.1150 ⁶²⁶	13.R.1150 ⁶²⁷	16.R.1150 ⁶²⁸
Muhammad Rahim Khan	06.RA.1151 ⁶²⁹	?	15.Ş.1151 ⁶³⁰	03.N.1151 ⁶³¹

⁶²¹ 6 August 1736. The day is *isneyn*/Monday. TMSA. E. 1572-3. Hifzi Ağa and Salahi Ağa, *Zabt-ı Vekayi-i Şehriyari*, IUNEK. TY., 2518, 83b, 130b.

⁶²² 28 August 1736. The day is *sülasa*/Tuesday. TMSA. E. 1572-3. Hifzi Ağa and Salahi Ağa, *Zabt-ı Vekayi-i Şehriyari*, IUNEK. TY., 2518, 88a. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 36.

⁶²³ 16 October 1736. The day is *sülasa*/Tuesday. Hifzi Ağa and Salahi Ağa, *Zabt-ı Vekayi-i Şehriyari*, IUNEK. TY., 2518, 93b. Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 336.

⁶²⁴ 27 November 1736. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 100.

⁶²⁵ 14 July 1737. The day is *bazar*/Sunday. İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 2b. Hifzi Ağa and Salahi Ağa, *Zabt-ı Vekayi-i Şehriyari*, IUNEK. TY., 2518, 130a.

⁶²⁶ 15 July 1737. BOA. A.d. 348, 2b. BOA. C.HR. 9190. Hifzi Ağa and Salahi Ağa, *Zabt-ı Vekayi-i Şehriyari*, IUNEK. TY., 2518, 130b-132a.

⁶²⁷ 10 August 1737. BOA. A.d. 348, 3b.

⁶²⁸ 13 August 1737. I have estimated this date by considering two sources. Abdul-Karim Khan visited *kaim-makam* of Istanbul on 14.R.1150/11 August 1737 and the *şeyhulislam* on 15.R.1150/12 August 1737. İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 4a. Second, Abdul-Karim Khan was in Çerkes on 07.CA.1150/2 September 1737. BOA. C.HR. 8653. We can conclude from the distance between Üsküdar and Çerkes, around five hundred kilometers, he should have left Istanbul shortly after the second royal court.

⁶²⁹ 24 June 1738. BOA. D.BŞM.d. 2216, 4.

⁶³⁰ 28. November 1738. I have estimated this date. The original date is *evasit*.Ş.1151/24 November-3 December 1738. BOA. NHD. 3, 28.

⁶³¹ 15 December 1738. I have estimated this date by considering two documents. BOA. C.HR. 6501. BOA. C.HR. 1918.

Table 4.36. (Continued)

Mission	Arrival date	The dates of royal courts for mission		Departure date
		Delivering letters	Receiving letters	
Abd-ul Karim Khan	04.L.1152 ⁶³²	05.L.1152 ⁶³³	18.L.1152 ⁶³⁴	?
Oghuz Ali Khan	15.N.1152 ⁶³⁵	17.M.1154 ⁶³⁶	06.R.1154 ⁶³⁷	18.R.1154 ⁶³⁸
Haci Khan	18.Z.1153 ⁶³⁹			
Fath Ali Khan	18.Z.1158 ⁶⁴⁰	03.M.1159 ⁶⁴¹	15.S.1159 ⁶⁴²	26.S.1159 ⁶⁴³

Table 4.37. Stays of Iranian missions in Istanbul

Mission	Duration between arrival and the first court	Duration between the second court and departure	Duration of stay
Abd-ul Baqi Khan	22	41	114
Abd-ul Karim Khan	1	4	32
Muhammad Rahim Khan	?	18	175
Abd-ul Karim Khan	1	?	?
Oghuz Ali Khan	476	11	566
Haci Khan	29	11	120
Fath Ali Khan	15	12	68

⁶³² 3 January 1740. The day is *bazar*/Sunday. İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 7b.

⁶³³ 4 January 1740. The day is *bazarentesi*/Monday. İsmail Efendi, 7b.

⁶³⁴ 17 January 1740. The day is *bazar*/Sunday. İsmail Efendi, 7b.

⁶³⁵ 16 December 1739. BOA. C.HR. 6680.

⁶³⁶ 4 April 1741. The day is *salı*/Tuesday. Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 679. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname I*, 39.

⁶³⁷ 20 June 1741. The day is *salı*/Tuesday. Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 707. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname I*, 55.

⁶³⁸ 3 July 1741. Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 709. Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2, 1367.

⁶³⁹ 7 March 1741. BOA. C.HR. 5793. BOA. D.BŞM. 41072, 6-7. Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 673-674.

⁶⁴⁰ 11 January 1746. The day is *salı*/Tuesday. BOA. HAT. 173. Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2, 1403. *The London Evening Post*, February 22-25, 1746. BOA. C.HR. 4702. BOA. C.MAL. 31650.

⁶⁴¹ 26 January 1746. The day is *sülasa*/Tuesday. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 82.

⁶⁴² 8 March 1746. The day is *sülasa*/Tuesday. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 87-88.

⁶⁴³ 18 March 1746. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 45a.

Table 4.38. Uzbek and Indian missions in Istanbul

Mission	Arrival date	The dates of royal court for mission		Departure date
		Delivering letters	Receiving letters	
Chaghatay Beg ⁶⁴⁴	01.R.1149 ⁶⁴⁵	15.Ş.1149 ⁶⁴⁶	12.L.1149 ⁶⁴⁷	?
Molla Avaz Baki ⁶⁴⁸	?			
Sayyid Ataullah	17.Ş.1157 ⁶⁴⁹	29.Ş.1157 ⁶⁵⁰	02.L.1157 ⁶⁵¹	03.L.1157 ⁶⁵²

Table 4.39. Stays of Uzbek and Indian missions in Istanbul

Mission	Duration between arrival and first court	Duration between second court and departure	Duration of stay
Chaghatay Beg	133	?	?
Sayyid Ataullah	12	1	46

⁶⁴⁴ BOA. NHD. 7, 436. For the cost of the mission in Istanbul, see, BOA. C.HR. 7181. BOA. C.SM. 6279.

⁶⁴⁵ 9 August 1736. İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 2a.

⁶⁴⁶ 18 December 1736. The day is *salı*/Tuesday. Both ambassadors were summoned to the royal court together. İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 8b. Hıfzi Ağa and Salahi Ağa, *Zabt-ı Vekayi-i Şehriyari*, IUNEK. TY., 2518, 101a.

⁶⁴⁷ 12 February 1737. The day is *sülasa*/Tuesday. Both ambassadors were summoned to the royal court together. They received the grand vizier's letters while only Chaghatay Beg received the royal letter. İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 2a. BOA. NHD. 7, 436. Hıfzi Ağa and Salahi Ağa, *Zabt-ı Vekayi-i Şehriyari*, IUNEK. TY., 2518, 107b.

⁶⁴⁸ BOA. NHD. 7, 436. Molla Avaz Baki was deputy ambassador. The first ambassador passed away on the road. İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 8b. Budak, "Osmanlı-Özbek Siyasi Münasebetleri (1510-1740)," 62. I could not locate the name of dead ambassador, and Molla Avaz Baki's arrival date and travel route.

⁶⁴⁹ 25 September 1744. BOA. D.TŞF. 2-27. Mustafa Münif Efendi, *Mecmua-ı Merasim-i Devlet-i Aliyye*, IUNEK. TY. 8892, 276a. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 13a.

⁶⁵⁰ 7 October 1744. BOA. D.TŞF. 2-27. Mustafa Münif Efendi, *Mecmua-ı Merasim-i Devlet-i Aliyye*, IUNEK. TY. 8892, 276a. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 13b.

⁶⁵¹ 8 November 1744. BOA. D.TŞF. 2-27. Mustafa Münif Efendi, *Mecmua-ı Merasim-i Devlet-i Aliyye*, IUNEK. TY. 8892, 277b. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 14a.

⁶⁵² 9 November 1744. BOA. D.TŞF. 2-27. Mustafa Münif Efendi, *Mecmua-ı Merasim-i Devlet-i Aliyye*, IUNEK. TY. 8892, 277b. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 14a. *The General Advertiser*, January 28, 1745.

Table 4.40. Ottoman missions in Nadir's army

Mission	Arrival date	The dates of royal courts for mission		Departure date
		Delivering letters	Receiving letters	
Genç Ali Paşa	18.N.1149 ⁶⁵³	18.N.1149 ⁶⁵⁴	?	23.L.1149 ⁶⁵⁵
Mustafa Paşa	19.M.1151 ⁶⁵⁶	21.M.1151 ⁶⁵⁷	?	01.S.1151 ⁶⁵⁸
Münif Mustafa Efendi	05.ZA.1154 ⁶⁵⁹	06.ZA.1154 ⁶⁶⁰	14.ZA.1154 ⁶⁶¹	16.ZA.1154 ⁶⁶²
Nazif Mustafa Efendi	06.Ş.1159 ⁶⁶³	08.Ş.1159 ⁶⁶⁴	17.Ş.1159 ⁶⁶⁵	18.Ş.1159 ⁶⁶⁶

Table 4.41. Stays of Ottoman ambassadors in Nadir's army

Ambassador	Duration between arrival and first court	Duration between second court and departure	Duration of stay
Genç Ali Paşa	0	?	36
Mustafa Paşa	2	?	13
Münif Mustafa Efendi	1	2	12
Nazif Mustafa Efendi	2	1	13

⁶⁵³ 1 February 1736. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 29. Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2, 1294.

⁶⁵⁴ 1 February 1736. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 29. Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2, 1294.

⁶⁵⁵ 7 March 1736. Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 31. Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2, 1295.

⁶⁵⁶ 9 May 1738. Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Cihanguşa-yı Nadiri*, 305.

⁶⁵⁷ 11 May 1738. Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, 305.

⁶⁵⁸ 21 May 1738. Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, 306.

⁶⁵⁹ 13 January 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, SK. Ali Nihat Tarlan, 18, 103a.

⁶⁶⁰ 14 January 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 103a-103b.

⁶⁶¹ 22 January 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 106b-107a.

⁶⁶² 24 January 1742. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 107a.

⁶⁶³ 24 August 1746. The day is *çarşamba*/Wednesday. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 4. BOA. HAT. 125.

⁶⁶⁴ 26 August 1746. The day is *cuma*/Friday. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 8.

⁶⁶⁵ 4 September 1746. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, 23-24.

⁶⁶⁶ 5 September 1746. BOA. HAT. 125.

4.3. Official Correspondence

I have located sixty-two documents related to official correspondence between the courts of Mahmud I and Nadir Shah from 1736 to 1747. These are royal letter, letter, *ahidname*, and *temessük*. Royal letter, *name-i hümayun*, refers to correspondence between rulers while letter, *mektup*, refers to official documents between rulers and officers and among officers. *Ahidname* means peace agreements whereas *temessük* refers to its unrati ed and draft version.⁶⁶⁷ There are four other kinds of documents, *şukka*, *kaime*, *raqam* and *ruhsatname* which can be considered as minor documents. *Şukka* and *kaime* are additional parts of royal letters. *Raqam* is the official edict in Iranian bureaucracy. *Ruhsatname* means permit document.

In this part, I will analyze three aspects of the forms of documents, the languages they were written in, the offices they addressed, and their recording process into Ottoman registers, *name-i hümayun defterleri*. The Ottomans wrote all their correspondences in Turkish, except for the *şeyhulislam*'s letters in Arabic. The Iranians wrote almost all documents in Persian while Nadir's letter delivered by Muhammad Rahim Khan to the Ottoman sultan was in Turkish.⁶⁶⁸ Molla Ali Akbar wrote his letters in Persian and Arabic. Turkish and Persian dominated the correspondences between the Ottomans and Iranians, whereas Arabic was preferred between religious offices. When we enlarge the scope of analysis by including Indian and Uzbek correspondences, the outcome does not change. Indian and Uzbek rulers wrote their letters in Persian, and the Ottomans replied in Turkish.

Ottoman sources do not refer to the existence of a translator during the Ottoman negotiations with Iranians, Indians or Uzbeks. Many Ottoman bureaucrats knew Persian like Mehmed Ragıb Paşa and Münif Mustafa Efendi. Some ambassadors of the states to the east of the Ottoman Empire knew Turkish. Cases in point are Uzbek

⁶⁶⁷ Also see, Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th century)*, 3-56.

⁶⁶⁸ In his work, Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, mentions a Persian letter with a Turkish *kaime* of Nadir Shah to Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa in 1734. The *kaime* was likely written by the Shah himself: "...Sadr-ı esbak vezir-i alişan devletlü Ali Paşa hazretlerine adet üzere bir Farisi mektub tahrir edip derununa İran Türkisi ve ber-vech-i tahmin kendi hattı ile bir kaime vaz edip..." Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 25. Tucker, *Nadir Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran*, 37.

ambassadors, Sayyid Ataullah, Mirza Mahdi Khan, and most probably Fath Ali Khan. Since Nadir's mother language was Turkish, he preferred to speak Turkish as in the cases of his meeting with Abraham of Crete, Münif Mustafa Efendi, Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, and Nazif Mustafa Efendi.⁶⁶⁹ After the battle at Karnal in 1739, Nadir Shah conversed with Muhammad Shah in Turkish since the Mughal ruler also knew the language.⁶⁷⁰ Therefore the spoken language during the negotiations of the period was mainly Turkish.

An analysis of the letters' recording process into the Ottoman registers reveal some clues about the principles of the Ottoman bureaucratic structures. The Ottoman bureaucrats recorded almost all letters that sent by Iranians into their royal letter registers, *name-i hümayun defters*. It is possible to locate their several copies and drafts of a letter in the Ottoman archives. I have found seventeen drafts of the diplomatic letters. The Kurdan Treaty's translation in Turkish in 1746 and Mahmud I's *ahidname* to Nadir Shah in 1747 have two different drafts, namely the draft of draft. These drafts of the documents involve the notes, changes, and additions of the Ottoman scribes and bureaucrats before the final version of the text.

The date differences between the letters and the court meetings for the ambassadors can be useful to comprehend certain features of the diplomatic and decision-making processes at the Ottoman court. For instance, Abd-ul Baqi Khan was summoned at the royal court and received the letters to Nadir Shah on 16 October 1736. The letter

⁶⁶⁹ Abraham Kretats'i, *The Chronicle of Abraham of Crete*, 30-31. Abdullah Süveydi Efendi, *Vekayiname-i Nadir Şah*, 35-36. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 12-13. Nazif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 104a. "When speaking, Nadir preferred to use Turki (Chaghatai or Eastern Turkish), but he must have been thoroughly conversant with the Persian language as well..." Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 274.

⁶⁷⁰ Jadunath Sakar, *Nadir Shah in India* (Calcutta: Naya Prokash, 1973), 52, 57. Malik writes that "He [Muhammad Shah] felt no difficulty in expressing himself in Turkish while he could compose beautiful lyrics in Hindi." Zahiruddin Malik, *The Reign of Muhammad Shah, 1719-1748* (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1977), 56.

of Mahmud I was copied on the register on 1 October 1736, whereas the letter of the Ottoman grand-vizier on 7 October.

An extensive examination on Ottoman and Iranian official correspondence reveals an interesting point about Ottoman historiography. The Ottomans did not record the letters Münif Mustafa Efendi brought to Istanbul, although the Ottoman ambassador received the Nadir's letters to the Ottoman court in Karakaytak on 21 January 1742.⁶⁷¹ Münif Efendi came back to Istanbul and was summoned to the presence of the sultan. He presented his ambassadorial report on 10 April 1742.⁶⁷² Nevertheless, almost all Ottoman chronicles summarize Münif's mission in a few sentences that Nadir was persistent on the article of the fifth *madhhab*, and the Porte immediately started preparations for a coming war. If we leave the reports of Münif Mustafa and Nazif Mustafa in 1742 aside, there are no details in the Ottoman sources about Münif's mission. That is to say, the Ottomans knew but preferred not to record any details regarding the mission and, most importantly, the letters Münif brought. This situation must be related to the unpleasant arguments within Nadir's letters to the Ottoman court.

A comparison of the addresses and languages of the correspondence between the Ottoman and Iranian elites indicates that the Ottomans had a more refined bureaucracy than Iranians. The apparent reason was the recent change of dynasty in Iran in 1736. The Ottoman Empire had an entrenched bureaucracy which affected the Iranian one in time. Two examples support this view. First, Nadir Shah addressed Mahmud I, the grand-vizier and the *seyhulislam* in his letters delivered by Abd-ul Baqi Khan to the Ottoman court in 1736. This situation had changed within a decade. When Fath Ali Khan arrived in Istanbul in 1746, he delivered the letter of Nadir Shah to Mahmud I, the *itimad-ud davla* to his counterpart (the Ottoman grand-vizier), and Iranian chief molla to the Ottoman *seyhulislam* (see Diagram 4.1.).

⁶⁷¹ Münif Mustafa Efendi, *Iran Sefaretnamesi*, SK. Ali Nihat Tarlan, 18, 106b-107a.

⁶⁷² Münif Mustafa Efendi, 108b. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname I*, 106.

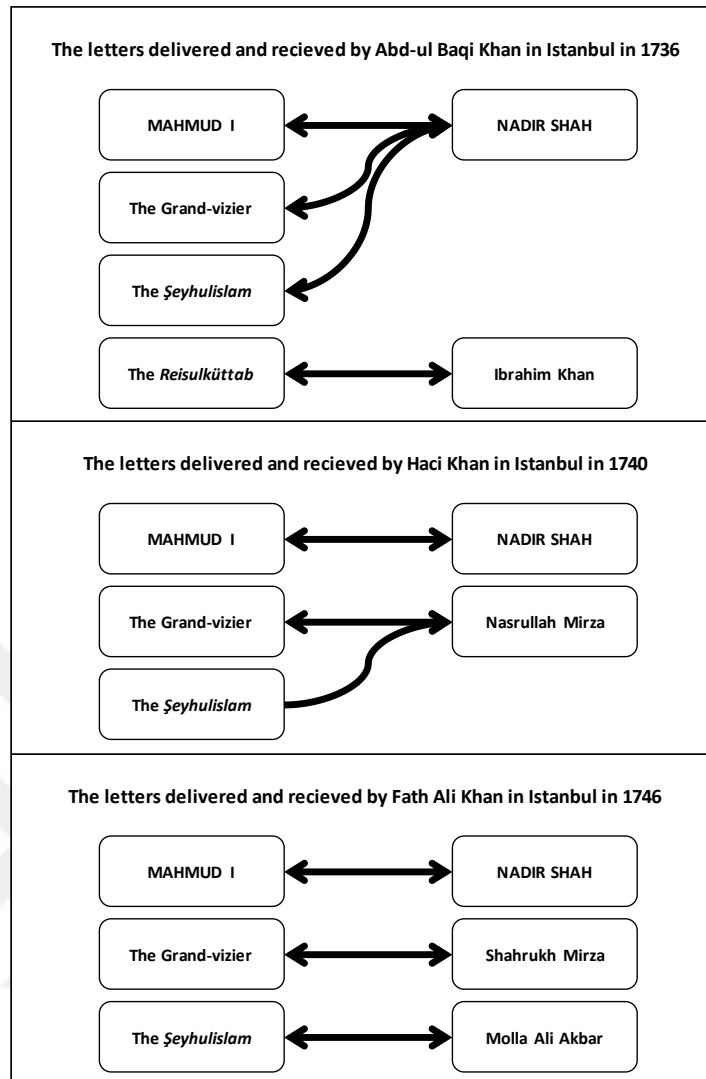


Diagram 4.1. The addresses of letters between the Ottomans and Iranians in 1736, 1740 and 1746

The other case is the *şeyhulislam*'s letters. The *şeyhulislam* addressed Nadir Shah and the *itimad-ud davla* until Molla Ali Akbar's (the chief molla) letter was delivered to him in 1746. Moreover, all of the *şeyhulislam*'s letters were in Arabic whereas Molla Ali Akbar's first letter was in Persian and the others were in Arabic. The changing of the addresses and languages of the diplomatic letters in the Afsharid bureaucracy point out that Nadir's court was still establishing its diplomatic etiquette during the 1730s and 1740s. Nevertheless, we should consider this process as an interaction between two sides instead of the absolute Ottoman impact on the Iranian bureaucracy since the Ottomans made certain changes in their diplomatic etiquettes. The appointment of Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi as the *ordu kadısı* of Kesriyeli's mission

in 1747, was an outcome of this interaction. According to Ahmed Paşa, governor of Baghdad, this specific title was created for the Ottoman ambassadorial mission, hence it would be equal to the Iranian mission. The Iranian mission to Istanbul in 1747 had a deputy office of chief molla, *mollabaşı vekili*. When the governor asked Numan Efendi about his duty, the latter replied by referring to the responsibilities of an ordinary judge. The governor implied in his words that Numan was also the semi-official representative of the *şeyhulislam*:

...elçi ordusunda vaki olan deaviyi istima ve fevt olanların terekesin ve dahi ahz olunan havalatın zahriyye hüccetlerin tahrir iderüm, didigümde: "Cihet-i memuriyyetün öyle degildür, göreyim, sen bu hususda iktiza iden işin reculi misün? Sana ne veçhile tayin olunduğünü nakl ideyim" didigünde, bu fakir: "Buyurun!" didim. [Ahmed Paşa] Buyurdu ki: "İlçi Nazif Efendi Nadir Şah yanundan akd-i musalaha kağıdları ile avdet ve Asitaneye ricat eyledükden sonra, Muayyer Handan bir mektub ve derunında münderic bir ilçi tertibi defteri gelüp, ilçi-i evvel Şami Hacı Mustafa Han ve ilçi-i sani Mehdi Han ve mollabaşı vekili Ahund Mehmed Emin ve defterdar ve vaka-nüvis ve sair memurlar zikr olunmuş. Mektubunda: 'Devlet-i Nadiriyyenün tertib defteri budur, Devlet-i Osmaniyyenün tertibi ne güne ise, şah-ı Acem-cah huzuruna arz olunmak için defterini irsal eylemenüz memuldür.' deyü tahrir eylemiş. Biz dahi ol mektub ve ol defteri tatar ile Asitane-i saadete irsal ve 'Devlet-i Aliyyenün ilçi tertibi dahi bu tertibden ala olmaz ise, hele dun olmayup, müsavi olmak lazımdur,' deyü tahrir eyledük, Muayyer Hanın çaparını cevab gelinceye değin alıkoyduk. Devlet-i Aliyyeden ilçi tertib defteri gelüp, ilçileri mukabelesünde paşaları ve mollabaşı vekili mukabelesünde müderrisin-i kiramdan Numan Efendi deyü seni ve sair memurlar mukabelesünde birer kimesneyi tayin ve tahrir eylemişler."⁶⁷³

Another office in Kesriyeli's mission follows this pattern. Mustafa Bey was appointed as the *ordu defterdarı* of the Ottoman mission to Iran. Şemdanizade Süleyman Efendi, an Ottoman chronicler in the eighteenth century, underlines that the previous official missions did not include such officials:

Kesriyeli Ahmed Efendi'ye üç tuğ ile Sivas verilüp, eslaf elçilerinden ziyade asker ile gidecek oldukça, hacedandan Mustafa Bey ordu-defterdarı ve müderrisinden Numan Efendi ordu-kadısı ve şuaradan Kırimi Rahmi Efendi

⁶⁷³ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tebdirat-ı Pesendide*, 153.

vaka-nüvis olup, ve bir kapıcı-başı kethüda nasb olundu... gerçi selef elçilerine, ordu-kadısı ve ordu-defterdarı tayin olunduğu yoğidi...⁶⁷⁴

The eighteen tables in the next pages include the details of seventy-six official documents between the Ottomans and the Iranians, Mughals, and Uzbeks, from 1736 to 1747. The tables present the address, carrier, form, and languages of the letters. The numbers in the parentheses indicate the copies of the documents in different sources. The dates of the Ottoman courts for ambassadors (which were shown in the previous part) and the dated letters can help researchers about the documents without a date.

Table 4.42. The letters Abdul-Baqi Khan delivered in Istanbul

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Nadir Shah to Mahmud I	Abd-ul Baqi Khan	Royal Letter	1	Persian ⁶⁷⁵
		Oral Report	2	Turkish Translation ⁶⁷⁶
Nadir Shah to the grand vizier	Abd-ul Baqi Khan	Letter	3	Persian ⁶⁷⁸
				Turkish Translation ⁶⁷⁹
Nadir Shah to the <i>şeyhulislam</i>	Abd-ul Baqi Khan	Letter	4	Persian ⁶⁸⁰
				Turkish Translation ⁶⁸¹
Ibrahim Khan to the <i>reisulküttab</i>	A courier	Letter	5	Turkish Translation ⁶⁸²

⁶⁷⁴ Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Mür-it Tevarih*, vol. 1, 121.

⁶⁷⁵ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 1-2. For its English translation, see, Ernest Tucker, "Letters from Nader Shah to the Ottoman Court, 1736," in *The Modern Middle East: A Sourcebook for History*, ed. Camron Michael Amin et al. (Oxford: Oxford University, 2006), 389-392. For its modern Turkish translation, see Küreli et al., *I. Mahmud-Nadir Şah Mektuplaşmaları*, 27-29. (2) Abd-ul Husain Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish: Hamrah ba Namaha-yi Saltanati wa Asnad-i Siyasi wa Idari* (Tehran: Zarrin, H.S. 1368/1989), 279-282.

⁶⁷⁶ (1) TSMA. E. 3299-1. (2) Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 36-40.

⁶⁷⁷ (1) TSMA. E. 5110-1. (2) Mustafa Kesbi Efendi, *İbretnüma-yı Devlet*, 499.

⁶⁷⁸ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 2-3. For its English translation, see, Tucker, "Letters from Nader Shah to the Ottoman Court, 1736," 392-394. (2) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 283-286.

⁶⁷⁹ Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 40-44.

⁶⁸⁰ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 3-4. (2) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 287-290.

⁶⁸¹ Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 44-46. Its date is 20.R.1149/28 August 1736.

⁶⁸² Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, 149-150.

Table 4.43. The letters Mustafa Paşa and Abdul-Baqi Khan received in Istanbul

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Mahmud I to Nadir Shah	Mustafa Paşa	<i>Ahidname</i>	1	Turkish ⁶⁸³
		Royal Letter	2	Turkish ⁶⁸⁴
		Oral Report	3	Turkish ⁶⁸⁵
	Abd-ul Baqi Khan	Royal Letter	4	Turkish ⁶⁸⁶
The grand vizier to Nadir Shah	Mustafa Paşa	Letter	5	Turkish ⁶⁸⁷
	Abd-ul Baqi Khan	Letter	6	Turkish ⁶⁸⁸
The <i>şeyhulislam</i> to Nadir Shah	Abd-ul Baqi Khan	Letter	7	Arabic ⁶⁸⁹
				Turkish Translation ⁶⁹⁰
The <i>reisulküttab</i> to Ibrahim Khan	Abd-ul Baqi Khan	Letter	8	Turkish ⁶⁹¹

Table 4.44. The letters Uzbek missions delivered and received in Istanbul

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Ilbars Khan to Mahmud I	Chaghatay Beg	Royal Letter	1	Turkish Translation ⁶⁹²
Ilbars Khan to Mahmud I	Molla Avaz Baqi	Royal Letter	2	Turkish Translation ⁶⁹³

⁶⁸³ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 4-7. (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 409-413. (3) Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 337-348. (4) Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 113-123. The date of four copies is C.1149/7 October-4 November 1736.

⁶⁸⁴ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 11-13. Its date is 30.CA.1149/6 October 1736. (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 416-418. Its date is 30.CA.1149/6 October 1736. (3) Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 109-113.

⁶⁸⁵ Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 147-148.

⁶⁸⁶ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 8-10. Its date is 25.CA.1149/1 October 1736. (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 413-416. Its date is 25.CA.1149/1 October 1736. (3) Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 102-109.

⁶⁸⁷ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 16-17. Its date is 10.C.1149/16 October 1736. (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 422-424. Its date is 10.C.1149/16 October 1736. (3) Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 132-137.

⁶⁸⁸ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 13-16. Its date is 01.CA.1149/7 October 1736. (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 418-421. Its date is 01.CA.1149/7 October 1736. (3) Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 124-131.

⁶⁸⁹ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 17-18. (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 424-426. (3) BOA. A.DVN.DVE. 20, 190-7. (4) Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 137-141.

⁶⁹⁰ Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 141-146.

⁶⁹¹ Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Tahkik ve Tevfik*, 149-153.

⁶⁹² BOA. NHD. 7, 430-431. The record date of the letter in the register, *defter*, is H. 1148/1735-1736.

⁶⁹³ BOA. NHD. 7, 431-432.

Table 4.44. (Continued)

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Mahmud I to Ilbars Khan	Chaghatay Beg	Royal Letter	3	Turkish ⁶⁹⁴
The grand vizier to Ilbars Khan	Chaghatay Beg	Letter	4	Turkish ⁶⁹⁵

Table 4.45. The letters Abd-ul Karim Khan delivered and received in Istanbul

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Nadir Shah to Mahmud I	Abd-ul Karim Khan	Royal Letter	1	Persian ⁶⁹⁶
		Royal Letter	2	Persian ⁶⁹⁷
				Turkish Translation ⁶⁹⁸
List of Gifts	3	Turkish ⁶⁹⁹		
Nadir Shah to the grand vizier	Abd-ul Karim Khan	Letter	4	Persian ⁷⁰⁰
Nadir Shah to the <i>seyhulislam</i>	Abd-ul Karim Khan	Letter	5	Persian ⁷⁰¹
Mahmud I to Nadir Shah	Abd-ul Karim Khan	Royal Letter	6	Turkish ⁷⁰²

⁶⁹⁴ (1) BOA. NHD. 7, 436-437. The record date of the letter in the register, *defter*, is evasit.N.1149/13-22 January 1737. (2) Mustafa Kesbi Efendi, *İbretnüma-yı Devlet*, 510-512. The date of the letter is 15.N.1149/17 January 1737.

⁶⁹⁵ Mustafa Kesbi Efendi, *İbretnüma-yı Devlet*, 512-513. The date of the letter is 15.N.1149/17 January 1737.

⁶⁹⁶ It is identical to Nadir's letter that was delivered by Abd-ul Baqi Khan in 1736. (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 19-20. (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 473-474.

⁶⁹⁷ Abd-ul Karim Khan was a member of Abd-ul Baqi Khan's mission in 1736. When Nadir Shah decided to send another mission to Istanbul for the gifts, Abd-ul Karim left Abd-ul Baqi near Adana to lead this new mission. He delivered four letters to the Ottoman court in 1737. Nadir's letters to Mahmud I, the grand-vizier and the *seyhulislam*, were identical to the letters of Abd-ul Baqi Khan's mission which were previously delivered in 1736. Abd-ul Karim Khan had a second royal letter and the list of gifts, unique to his mission. (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 23-24. (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 478-479. (3) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 299-302.

⁶⁹⁸ (1) TSMA. E. 1572-16. (2) Mustafa Kesbi Efendi, *İbretnüma-yı Devlet*, 497-499. Both copies begin without the title part, *elkab*.

⁶⁹⁹ (1) BOA. NHD. 7, 479. (2) İsmail Efendi, *Defter-i Rusumat-ı Teşrifat-ı Hümayun*, BOA. A.d. 348, 3b. (3) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 303-304.

⁷⁰⁰ It is identical to Nadir's letter that was delivered by Abd-ul Baqi Khan in 1736. (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 20-21. (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 474-475.

⁷⁰¹ It is identical to Nadir's letter that was delivered by Abd-ul Baqi Khan in 1736. (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 22-23. (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 476-478.

⁷⁰² (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 24-25. (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 480-481. The date of both copies is 25.RA.1150/23 July 1737.

Table 4.46. The letters Muhammad Rahim Khan delivered and received in Istanbul

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Nadir Shah to Mahmud I	Muhammad Rahim Khan	Royal Letter	1	Turkish ⁷⁰³
Nazar Ali Khan to the <i>reisülküttab</i>	(In Istanbul)	Letter	2	Turkish Translation ⁷⁰⁴
Mahmud I to Nadir Shah	Muhammad Rahim Khan	Royal Letter	3	Turkish ⁷⁰⁵
The grand vizier to Nadir Shah	Muhammad Rahim Khan	Letter	4	Turkish ⁷⁰⁶

Table 4.47. The letters Mustafa Paşa delivered in Istanbul

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Nadir Shah to Mahmud I	Mustafa Paşa	Royal Letter	1	Turkish Translation ⁷⁰⁷
		<i>Şukka</i>	2	Turkish Translation ⁷⁰⁸

Table 4.48. The letters after Ali Mardan Khan's death

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
The grand vizier to Nadir Shah	A courier of Ahmed Paşa	Letter	1	Turkish ⁷⁰⁹
The grand vizier to Nasrullah Mirza	A courier	Letter	2	Turkish ⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰³ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 25-26. (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 501-502.

⁷⁰⁴ BOA. HAT. 130.

⁷⁰⁵ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 26-28. Its date is *evasit*.Ş.1151/24 November-3 December 1738 (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 503-507. Its date is *evasit*.Ş.1151/24 November-3 December 1738. (3) BOA. C.HR. 8736.

⁷⁰⁶ (1) Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Münşeât ve Telhisat*, 39-42. Its date is Ş.1151/14 November-12 December 1738. (2) *Münşeât*, UUB. O Nov. 619, 11a-12a. Its date is Ş.1151/14 November-12 December 1738.

⁷⁰⁷ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 29-30. (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 550-551.

⁷⁰⁸ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 30. (2) BOA. NHD. 7, 551-552. The date of both copies is 01.M.1153/29 March 1740.

⁷⁰⁹ (1) Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Münşeât ve Telhisat*, 77-79. (2) *Münşeât*, UUB. O Nov. 619, 34b-36a.

⁷¹⁰ BOA. NHD. 3, 30-31.

Table 4.49. The letters Hacı Khan delivered in Istanbul

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Nadir Shah to Mahmud I	Hacı Khan	Royal Letter	1	Persian ⁷¹¹
				Turkish Translation ⁷¹²
Nasrullah Mirza to the grand vizier	Hacı Khan	Letter	2	Persian ⁷¹³
				Turkish Translation ⁷¹⁴

Table 4.50. The letters Münif Mustafa Efendi and Hacı Khan received in Istanbul

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Mahmud I to Nadir Shah	Münif Mustafa Efendi	Royal Letter	1	Turkish ⁷¹⁵
	Hacı Khan	Royal Letter	2	Turkish ⁷¹⁶
The grand vizier to Nasrullah Mirza	Münif Mustafa Efendi	Letter	3	Turkish ⁷¹⁷
	Muhammad Reza Khan	Letter	4	Turkish ⁷¹⁸
The <i>şeyhülislam</i> to Nasrullah Mirza	Münif Mustafa Efendi	Letter	5	Turkish ⁷¹⁹
	Muhammad Reza Khan	Letter	6	Turkish ⁷²⁰

⁷¹¹ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 32. The record date of the letter in the register, *defter*, is 18.M.1154/4 April 1741. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 30-32. The record date of the letter in the register, *defter*, is 18.M.1154/4 April 1741. (3) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 305-309.

⁷¹² (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 33. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 32-34. (3) TSMA. E. 6690-1. (4) Mustafa Kesbi Efendi, *İbretünma-yı Devlet*, 495-497.

⁷¹³ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 33-34. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 34. (3) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 310-311.

⁷¹⁴ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 34. This copy is incomplete. (2) BOA. NHD. 3, 34. (3) BOA. NHD. 8, 35. (4) BOA. HAT. 134. This copy is a draft.

⁷¹⁵ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 36-37. Its date is evail.R.1154/16-25 June 1741. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 38-61. Its date is evail.R.1154/16-25 June 1741. (3) Ragıb Mehmed Paşa, *Münşeât ve Telhisat*, 32-38. (4) BOA. İE.SM. 3291. This copy is a draft.

⁷¹⁶ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 34-35. Its date is evail.R.1154/16-25 June 1741. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 56-58. Its date is evail.R.1154/16-25 June 1741. (3) BOA. A.DVN.NMH. 1-26. Its date is evahir.R.1154/6-14 July 1741.

⁷¹⁷ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 39. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 62-63. Its date is 13.R.1154/28 June 1741. (3) *Münşeât*, UUB. O Nov. 619, 34a-34b.

⁷¹⁸ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 38. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 61-62. The date of both copies is 10.R.1154/25 June 1741.

⁷¹⁹ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 40. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 63-65. (3) BOA. İE.SM. 3293. (4) *Münşeât*, UUB. O Nov. 619, 37b-38a. This copy is a draft.

⁷²⁰ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 39. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 63. (3) BOA. İE.SM. 3292.

Table 4.51. The letters Münif Mustafa Efendi delivered in Istanbul

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Nadir Shah to Mahmud I	Münif Mustafa Efendi	Royal Letter	1	Persian ⁷²¹

Table 4.52. The letters after Münif Mustafa Efendi's mission

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Nadir Shah to Mahmud I	A courier of Ahmed Paşa	Royal Letter	1	Persian ⁷²²
				Turkish Translation ⁷²³
Nasrullah Mirza to the grand vizier	A courier of Ahmed Paşa	Letter	2	Persian ⁷²⁴
Mahdi Khan to the grand vizier	A courier of Ahmed Paşa	Letter	3	Persian ⁷²⁵
Mahmud I to Nadir Shah	A courier of Ahmed Paşa	Royal Letter	4	Turkish ⁷²⁶
The grand vizier to Ibrahim Khan	A courier of Ahmed Paşa	Letter	5	Turkish ⁷²⁷

Table 4.53. The letters Sayyid Ataullah and Mehmed Salim Efendi delivered and received in Istanbul

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Muhammad Shah to Mahmud I	Sayyid Ataullah	Royal Letter	1	Turkish Translation ⁷²⁸
Sayyid Ataullah to Kethüda Bey	(In Istanbul)	Letter	2	Persian ⁷²⁹
				Turkish Translation ⁷³⁰

⁷²¹ (1) Muhammad Kazim Marvi, *Alamara-yi Nadiri*, vol. 3, 979. (2) Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Cihanguşa-yı Nadiri*, 371-372.

⁷²² (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 40-41. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 103. (3) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 318-320.

⁷²³ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 41-42. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 104. The record date of both letters in the register, *defter*, is 03.B.1155/3 September 1742.

⁷²⁴ Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 321-323.

⁷²⁵ Navai, 324-325.

⁷²⁶ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 42-43. Its date is 25.B.1155/25 September 1742. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 105-106. Its date is 25.B.1155/25 September 1742. (3) BOA. A.DVN.NMH. 1-27. Its date is 25.B.1155/25 September 1742. (4) BOA. HAT. 163. This copy is a draft.

⁷²⁷ *Münşeât*, UUB. O Nov. 619, 36a-36b.

⁷²⁸ (1) BOA. NHD. 8, 141-142. (2) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 14b. Also see, Islam, *A Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations*, vol. 2, 346-349.

⁷²⁹ BOA. NHD. 8, 604.

⁷³⁰ BOA. NHD. 8, 604-605. For its Latinized version, see Bayur, "Osmanlı Devletinin Nadir Şah Afşar'la Barış Yapmasını Önlemek Amacını Güden Bir Gurkanlı Denemesi," 93-95.

Table 4.53. (Continued)

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Sayyid Ataullah to Kethüda Bey	(In Istanbul)	Oral Report	3	Turkish ⁷³¹
Mahmud I to Muhammad Shah	Mehmed Salim Efendi	Royal Letter	4	Turkish ⁷³²
	Sayyid Ataullah	Royal Letter	5	Turkish ⁷³³

Table 4.54. The letters Fath Ali Khan delivered in Istanbul

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Nadir Shah to Mahmud I	Fath Ali Khan	Royal Letter	1	Persian ⁷³⁴
				Turkish Translation ⁷³⁵
Shahrukh Mirza to the grand vizier	Fath Ali Khan	Letter	3	Persian ⁷³⁸
Molla Ali Akbar to the şeyhulislam	Fath Ali Khan	Letter	4	Persian ⁷⁴⁰

⁷³¹ BOA. HAT. 172.

⁷³² (1) BOA. NHD. 8, 142-143. (2) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 15b-16b. Also see, Islam, *A Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations*, vol. 2, 353.

⁷³³ (1) BOA. NHD. 8, 144-145. (2) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 14b-15b. Also see, Islam, *A Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations*, vol. 2, 352.

⁷³⁴ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 43-44. Its date is evail.M.1159/24 January-2 February 1746. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 161. (3) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 361-362.

⁷³⁵ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 45. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 164. (3) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 42a. (4) BOA. HAT. 84. This copy is a draft. It begins without royal titles, *elkab*. (4) Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 84-85.

⁷³⁶ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 44. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 161-162. (3) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 363-364.

⁷³⁷ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 46. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 165-166. (3) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 42a-42b. (4) Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 85-86.

⁷³⁸ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 44. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 162. (3) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 370.

⁷³⁹ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 46. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 166. (3) BOA. A.DVN.NMH. 2-3.

⁷⁴⁰ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 45. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 163. (3) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 294-295.

Table 4.55. The letters Nazif Mustafa Efendi and Fath Ali Khan received in Istanbul

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Mahmud I to Nadir Shah	Nazif Mustafa Efendi	Royal Letter	1	Turkish ⁷⁴¹
	Fath Ali Khan	Royal Letter	2	Turkish ⁷⁴²
The grand vizier to Shahrukh Mirza	Nazif Mustafa Efendi	Letter	3	Turkish ⁷⁴³
	Fath Ali Khan	Letter	4	Turkish ⁷⁴⁴
The <i>şeyhulislam</i> to Molla Ali Akbar	Nazif Mustafa Efendi	Letter	5	Arabic ⁷⁴⁵
	Fath Ali Khan	Letter	6	Arabic ⁷⁴⁶ Turkish Translation ⁷⁴⁷
Mahmud I to Nazif Mustafa Efendi	Nazif Mustafa Efendi	<i>Ruhsatname</i>	7	Turkish ⁷⁴⁸

Table 4.56. The letters related to Ottoman-Iranian negotiations at Kurdan

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Mahmud I to Nazif Mustafa Efendi	A courier	Letter	1	Turkish ⁷⁴⁹
Mahmud I to Ahmed Paşa	A courier	Letter	2	Turkish ⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴¹ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 48-50. Its date is evahir.M.1159/13-22 February 1746. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 169-172. Its date is evahir.M.1159/13-22 February 1746. (3) BOA. A.DVN. 2157-51. Its date is evahir.M.1159/13-22 February 1746. This copy is a draft. (4) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 46a-48b. (5) Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 89-93.

⁷⁴² (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 47-48. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 167-168. (3) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 45a-46a. (4) Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 87-89.

⁷⁴³ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 52-53. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 175-176. (3) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 49b-50b. (4) BOA. HAT. 37189. (5) BOA. HAT. 37189-A. This copy is a draft. (6) Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 95-96. This copy begins without the title part, *elkab*.

⁷⁴⁴ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 51. Its date is 15.S.1159/9 March 1746 (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 173-175. Its date is 15.S.1159/9 March 1746. (3) BOA. HAT. 37189-B. This copy is a draft. (4) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 48b-49b. (5) Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 93-95.

⁷⁴⁵ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 54. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 178-179. (3) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 365-366. (4) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 50b. (5) Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 96-97.

⁷⁴⁶ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 53. Its date is 15.S.1159/9 March 1746. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 176-177. Its date is 15.S.1159/9 March 1746. (3) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 291-293.

⁷⁴⁷ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 53-54. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 177-178.

⁷⁴⁸ (1) BOA. NHD. 8, 172-173. (2) BOA. A.DVN.MHM. 5-5. The date of both copies is evail.S.1159/23 February-4 March 1746.

⁷⁴⁹ BOA. NHD. 8, 185-186. The date of the letter is evail.C.1159/21-30 June 1746.

⁷⁵⁰ (1) BOA. NHD. 8, 186-188. (2) BOA. A.DVN.MHM. 5-44. The date of both copies is evail.C.1159/21-30 June 1746.

Table 4.56. (Continued)

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Nadir Shah to Hasan Ali Khan	(In Kurdan)	Raqam	3	Persian ⁷⁵¹
Nazif Mustafa Efendi to Hasan Ali Khan	(In Kurdan)	<i>Temessük</i>	4	Turkish ⁷⁵²
Hasan Ali Khan to Nazif Mustafa Efendi	(In Kurdan)	<i>Temessük</i>	5	Persian ⁷⁵³
				Turkish Translation ⁷⁵⁴

Table 4.57. The letters Nazif Mustafa Efendi delivered in Istanbul

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Nadir Shah to Mahmud I	Nazif Mustafa Efendi	Royal Letter	1	Persian ⁷⁵⁵
				Turkish Translation ⁷⁵⁶
Shahrukh Mirza to the grand vizier	Nazif Mustafa Efendi	Letter	2	Persian ⁷⁵⁷
				Turkish Translation ⁷⁵⁸
Molla Ali Akbar to the <i>şeyhulislam</i>	Nazif Mustafa Efendi	Letter	3	Arabic ⁷⁵⁹
				Turkish Translation ⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵¹ (1) BOA. HAT. 219. The date within the text is 15.Ş.1159/2 September 1746. (2) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 371-372. The date within the text is 15.Ş.1159/2 September 1746.

⁷⁵² (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 58-60. The date within the text is 17.Ş.1159/4 September 1746. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 196-199. The date within the text is 17.Ş.1159/4 September 1746. (3) BOA. A.DVN.MHM. 6-48. The date within the text is 17.Ş.1159/4 September 1746. (4) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 83a-84b. (5) Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 101-104.

⁷⁵³ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 60-61. The date within the text is 17.Ş.1159/4 September 1746. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 199-201. The date within the text is 17.Ş.1159/4 September 1746. (3) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 373-379. The date within the text is 17.Ş.1159/4 September 1746.

⁷⁵⁴ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 62-63. The date within the text is 17.Ş.1159/4 September 1746. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 201-204. (3) BOA. HAT. 220. The date within the text is 17.Ş.1159/4 September 1746. This copy is the first draft. (4) BOA. HAT. 100. The date within the text is 17.Ş.1159/4 September 1746. This copy is the second draft. (5) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 84b-86a. (6) Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 104-106.

⁷⁵⁵ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 54-55. The record date of the letter in the register is 01.Z.1159/14 December 1746. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 190-191. The record date of the letter in the register is 01.Z.1159/14 December 1746. (3) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 367-369. (4) BOA. HAT. 37234-B. This copy is a draft. (5) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 81b-82a. (6) Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 98-99.

⁷⁵⁶ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 55-56. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 191-192. (3) BOA. HAT. 37172. This copy is a draft.

⁷⁵⁷ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 56. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 193.

⁷⁵⁸ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 56. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 193. (3) BOA. A.DVN.DVE. 20, 190-6. (4) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 82a-82b. (5) Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 99-100.

⁷⁵⁹ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 57. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 194. (3) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 296-298. (3) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 82b-83a. (4) Kerküklü Resul Havi, *Tarih-i Devhat-ul Vüzera*, 100-101.

⁷⁶⁰ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 57-58. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 195. (3) BOA. A.DVN.DVE. 20, 190-15. Its date is 01.Z.1159/14 December 1746.

Table 4.57. (Continued)

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Hasan Ali Khan to the grand vizier	Nazif Mustafa Efendi	Letter	4	Persian ⁷⁶¹

Table 4.58. The letters Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa received in Istanbul

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Mahmud I to Nadir Shah	Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa	<i>Ahidname</i>	1	Turkish ⁷⁶²
		Royal Letter	2	Turkish ⁷⁶³
The grand vizier to Nadir Shah	Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa	Letter	3	Turkish ⁷⁶⁴
The grand vizier to <i>Itimad-ud davla</i>	Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa	Letter	4	Turkish ⁷⁶⁵
The <i>şeyhulislam</i> to Molla Ali Akbar	Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa	Letter	5	Arabic ⁷⁶⁶

Table 4.59. The letters Mustafa Khan received in Isfahan

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Nadir Shah to Mahmud I	Mustafa Khan	<i>Ahidname</i>	1	Persian ⁷⁶⁷
				Turkish Translation ⁷⁶⁸

⁷⁶¹ (1) BOA. HAT. 37240. (2) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 384. This copy is incomplete.

⁷⁶² (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 64-66. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 205-208. Its date is *evasit.Z.1159/25* December 1746-3 January 1747. (3) BOA. HAT. 2. Its date is *evasit.Z.1159/25* December 1746-3 January 1747. This copy is the first draft. (4) BOA. A.DVN. DVE. 20, 190-18. Its date is *evasit.Z.1159/25* December 1746-3 January 1747. This copy is the second draft. (5) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 100b-103b.

⁷⁶³ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 66-68. Its date is *evasit.Z.1159/25* December 1746-3 January 1747. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 209-211. Its date is *evasit.Z.1159/25* December 1746-3 January 1747. (3) BOA. A.DVN.NMH. 1-35. Its date is *evasit.Z.1159/25* December 1746-3 January 1747. This copy is a draft. (4) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 99a-100b.

⁷⁶⁴ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 69-70. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 211-212. (3) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 103b-105a.

⁷⁶⁵ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 70-71. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 229-230. (3) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 105a-106a.

⁷⁶⁶ (1) BOA. NHD. 3, 71-72. Its date is *evasit.M.1160/13-22* January 1747. (2) BOA. NHD. 8, 231-232. Its date is *evasit.M.1160/13-22* January 1747. (3) BOA. A.DVN.MHM. 8-32. Its date is *evasit.M.1160/13-22* January 1747. (4) İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 106a-107b.

⁷⁶⁷ (1) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 380-383. The date within the text is M.1160/13 January-11 February 1747. (2) BOA. HAT. 92-E. The date within the text is M.1160/13 January-11 February 1747. This copy is a draft. (3) Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Cihanguşa-yı Nadiri*, 415-419.

⁷⁶⁸ (1) BOA. HAT. 57890. The date within the text is M.1160/13 January-11 February 1747. (2) BOA. HAT. 5. The date within the text is M.1160/13 January-11 February 1747. This copy is a draft.

CHAPTER 5
**UNOFFICIAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION: SPIES, CAPTIVES, MERCHANTS,
COURIERS, AND TRAVELERS**

“Acem diyarında benim casuslarım münkati değildir...”⁷⁶⁹

Ahmed Paşa, governor of Baghdad

In the early modern era, an ambassador had many duties such as representing his ruler, performing diplomatic etiquette, delivering and receiving letters and gifts, negotiating over certain issues, and finally gathering information.⁷⁷⁰ His mission was strictly under control by officers of central and local governments while they were in the lands of the target country. Sending information to his ruler in secret should have been very difficult for him under these circumstances.⁷⁷¹ He usually shared his observations in his return after a journey that took months. Therefore the information that diplomatic agents provided were not recent. This situation was different for other agents such as spies, captives, merchants, and travelers. Spies' primary objective was to obtain information about the target country. Captives, merchants, and travelers played coincidental roles in the networks of information. Their intentions were simply to reach their destinations. Nevertheless, all four had the latest intelligence, and they were in contact with local officials as soon as they crossed the border. If these officials considered the information noteworthy, they sent it to the central bureaucracy by written or oral reports with couriers. The couriers arrived at their destinations very quickly, mostly at triple or quadruple the average speed of an official mission. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Sublime

⁷⁶⁹ “I am never in a shortage of spies in Iran...” Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 157.

⁷⁷⁰ Emrah Safa Gürkan, “Laying Hands on Arcana Imperii: Venetian Baili as Spymasters in Sixteenth-Century Istanbul,” in *Spy Chiefs: Intelligence Leaders in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia*, vol. 2, ed. Paul Maddrell et al. (Washington, D.C: Georgetown University, 2018), 67-96.

⁷⁷¹ In Ottoman archives, there are three letters of Abd-ul Baqi Khan to Nadir Shah, two from Istanbul and one from Baghdad. All of them were translated into Turkish. This situation indicates that the Ottomans were closely monitoring the correspondences of the Iranian ambassador. For the letters Abd-ul Baqi Khan sent from Istanbul, see TSMA. E. 1572-3, and TSMA. E. 1572-8; for the letter from Baghdad, see BOA. A.AMD. 4-20.

Porte received numerous intelligence reports from its border regions in this way, which are preserved in Ottoman archives.

The number of academic studies on Ottoman spies, captives, merchants, travelers, and couriers in the context of intelligence has increased over the last two decades. They usually focus on the Mediterranean Sea, Central and Southeast Europe, Russia, and the sixteenth, seventeenth and nineteenth centuries in terms of geography and time. The number is relatively low for the eastern and southern neighbours of the Ottoman Empire. Researches on the Ottoman intelligence on Central Asia, Iran, India and the Indian Ocean, mostly examine the events in the sixteenth, late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁷⁷² Some scholars such as Giancarlo Casale and Emrah Safa Gürkan contextualize and present these networks within a broader framework of Ottoman bureaucracy by referring to the specific agendas of different political factions at the court. However, we lack such frameworks for the reign of Mahmud I, as I have emphasized before.

This chapter elaborates the unofficial agents under five parts: Spies, captives, travelers, couriers, and Nadir Shah's Indian campaign as a case study of Ottoman intelligence. The first part involves the cases of Karakulak Ali Bey, two Ottoman spies to Tabriz, a spy from Yerevan, another Ottoman spy to Tabriz, Molla Veli, payment

⁷⁷² On Iran, John E. Woods, "Turco-Iranica I: An Ottoman Intelligence Report on Late Fifteenth/Ninth Century Iranian Foreign Relations," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 38 (1979): 1-9. Tüfekçi, "Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri (1795-1896) (Casusluk Faaliyetleri Çerçevesinde)." Yüksel, *Rusların Kafkasya'yı İstilas ve Osmanlı İstihbarat Ağı*. On Indian Ocean, Cengiz Orhonlu, "1559 Bahreyn Seferine Aid Bir Rapor," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Tarih Dergisi* 22 (1967): 1-9. Salih Özbaran, "A Turkish Report on the Red Sea and the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean (1525)," *Arabian Studies* 4 (1978): 81-88. Giancarlo Casale, "His Majesty's Servant Lutfi: The Career of a previously unknown sixteenth-century Ottoman envoy to Sumatra based on an account of his travels from the Topkapı Palace Archives," *Turcica* 37 (2005): 43-81; "An Ottoman Intelligence Report from the Mid Sixteenth-Century Indian Ocean," *Turkish Studies* 31 (2007): 181-188. Uğur Demir, "Haremeyn, Şam, Cidde, Habeş, Yemen, Hindistan ve Mısır ile İlgili Bir Takrir," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 43 (2014): 301-339. On Istanbul, Nigel Webb and Caroline Webb, *The Earl and His Butler in Constantinople: The Secret Diary of an English Servant Among the Ottomans* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006). Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*. Ahmet Yüksel, "III. Selim Devri Bir Casusluk Hikayesi," *Toplumsal Tarih* 196 (2010): 48-54. Yüksel, *II. Mahmud Devrinde Osmanlı İstihbaratı*. On captives, İzzet Sak, "İranlı Kölelerin Satışının Yasaklanması ile İlgili Fermanlar," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1 (1994): 259-266. Nida Nebahat Nalçacı, "Erken Modern Dönem İstanbul'unda Savaş Esirleri ve Zorunlu İstihdam" (MA thesis, İstanbul University, 2013). Murat Tuğluca and Ülkü Küçük, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Savaş Esirlerinin İadesi: 1736 Osmanlı-İran Anlaşmasına Göre Acem Esirlerin Teslimi Meselesi," in *Osmanlı'da Siyaset ve Diplomasi*, ed. Mehmet Yaşar Ertaş, Haşim Şahin, and Hacer Kılıçaslan (İstanbul: Mahya, 2016), 57-74.

documents of three Ottoman spies, and the Iranian spies in the Ottoman Empire. The second examines the reports of three Ottoman captives in Iran (Mir Feyzullah, Ahmed Ağa, and Camuş Hasan Ağa) and two Uzbek fugitives from the Iranian army (Rasul and Muhammad Kurban). In the third part, three travelers among many will be highlighted: Jean Otter, Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, and Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri. The following one focuses on fourteen cases of Ottoman couriers, and their daily speed on carrying the news. The final part presents the outcomes of a preliminary investigation of primary sources on when, how and what the Ottomans knew about Nadir's campaign in India within the following season of the victory of the Iranian army at Karnal in 1739. It also introduces the first Ottoman chronicle on the campaign, namely Müteferrika's *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah*. All of these agents, whether intentionally or not, played essential roles in Ottoman information networks in the East during the 1730s and 1740s. In short, the chapter aims to shed light upon their untold/neglected stories. Table 5.1 below shows the travel-details of certain spies and captives of the period.

Table 5.1. An overview of journeys of spies and captives

Name	Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Feyzullah Bey ⁷⁷³	Semnan	Baghdad	?	?	39
	Baghdad	Istanbul	?	?	36
Ahmed Ağa ⁷⁷⁴	Kars	Erzurum	26.Ş.1157/ 4 October 1744	28.Ş.1157/ 6 October 1744	3
Camuş Hasan Ağa ⁷⁷⁵	Yerevan	Kars	28.B.1158/ 27 August 1745	30.B.1158/ 29 August 1745	3
Uzbek Muhammad Kurban ⁷⁷⁶	Kars	Erzurum	?	?	3
An Ottoman Spy ⁷⁷⁷	Tabriz	Erzurum	01.RA.1154/ 17 May 1741	12.RA.1154/ 28 May 1741	12

⁷⁷³ TSMA. E. 1572-18.

⁷⁷⁴ BOA. A.AMD. 6-34.

⁷⁷⁵ BOA. HAT. 189.

⁷⁷⁶ BOA. A.MKT. 36-51.

⁷⁷⁷ BOA. A.MKT. 31-16.

5.1. Spies

We can establish the typical features of Ottoman spies in Iran under the rule of Nadir Shah by considering the cases of Karakulak Ali Bey, two Ottoman spies to Tabriz, an Ottoman spy to India, another Ottoman spy to Tabriz, a spy from Yerevan, Molla Veli and two payment documents for three spies. Spies were mainly backbones of the Ottoman intelligence network in Iran. They infiltrated targeted cities and armies and gathered information. When they returned, the intelligence they brought was sent to the Porte with couriers immediately. Most of them served under the Ottoman governors of the eastern provinces of the empire, and some received their salaries from provincial treasuries. The intelligence operations usually covered the areas within four or five hundred kilometers beyond the border and their services were not limited to the time of war. Baghdad and Erzurum were two significant intelligence headquarters of the Ottoman intelligence network. Tabriz, Hamadan, Kermanshah, and Huveyze were primary destinations of the Ottoman spies. Some were sent to the same regions several times. They aimed to obtain information about the current location of Nadir Shah, the uprisings against his rule, and the size and the next target of his army.

Nadir Shah and local Iranian rulers also used spies to gather intelligence about the Ottomans. Although I could not locate a specific case in the sources, the Porte's precautions in the Ottoman chronicles and registers (*mühimme defterleri*) against the activities of the Iranian spies clearly indicate their existences.

5.1.1. Karakulak Ali Bey

The Porte ordered to send seventy Iranian captives back to their homeland on 14 March 1740.⁷⁷⁸ The captives were gathered up by the Iranian ambassadors in Istanbul.⁷⁷⁹ They would follow the route from Istanbul to Trabzon (by sea), Erzurum

⁷⁷⁸ 15.Z.1152. BOA. C.HR. 7354.

⁷⁷⁹ These Iranian ambassadors in the report must be Oghuz Ali Khan and Molla Muhammad Muhsin. Oghuz Ali Khan became the head of the Iranian mission after Ali Mardan Khan died near Sivas during the journey. The mission reached Üsküdar on 15.N.1152/16 December 1739 after prolonged stays in Bolu and İznikmid by the Porte's orders. BOA. C.HR. 6680.

and then the Iranian border.⁷⁸⁰ Karakulak Ali Bey, a *kapıcıbaşı*, oversaw this operation.⁷⁸¹ They arrived Erzurum on 14 May 1740,⁷⁸² and the border on 23 May.⁷⁸³ Ali Bey stayed in Erzurum for three months due to a certain “*Şehsuvarzadeler*” issue.⁷⁸⁴ He probably left the city in August and came back to the Ottoman capital after a journey of four or five weeks. He presented his report on 22 September 1740.⁷⁸⁵

The report includes the recent observations of the Ottoman spies. They were sent to Iran by Vezir Ahmed Paşa, the governor of Erzurum. They came back to Erzurum when Ali Bey was still in the city. According to the reports of the spies, the Iranian troops in Yerevan and other regions close to the border were in preparations for a new campaign in Dagestan against Lazgis. The killing of Ibrahim Khan (Nadir’s brother) by Lazgis was the primary reason for the campaign.⁷⁸⁶ Ali Bey himself observed the purchase of horses and other pack animals in vast quantities by the Iranian merchants in Kars, Erzurum, and Tokat during his return to the capital.⁷⁸⁷ Nadir Shah was in Peshawar when he heard the news of his brother’s death in January of 1739.⁷⁸⁸ He

⁷⁸⁰ The route was Üsküdar, Trabzon, Erzurum and Iran. BOA. C.HR. 3864. BOA. C.HR. 7354. This route was previously used for the travel of Iranian captives to Iran when Abd-ul Baqi Khan was in Istanbul. The Porte ordered similar issues for Iranian captives in October 1736, BOA. C.AS. 49140, BOA. C.HR. 5283, BOA. C.HR. 7563; and on 02.Z.1153/18 February 1741. BOA. C.HR. 7678.

⁷⁸¹ Little is known about his life. He was a *gedikli kapıcıbaşı* and died in H. 1183/1769 in Üsküdar. BOA. C.HR. 7354. Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 2, 413.

⁷⁸² 17.S.1153. BOA. C.HR. 7354.

⁷⁸³ 26.S.1153. BOA. C.HR. 7354.

⁷⁸⁴ This issue is unexplained in the document. BOA. A.MKT. 30-1.

⁷⁸⁵ 01.B.1153. BOA. A.MKT. 30-1.

⁷⁸⁶ “...sabıka Erzurum valisi Ahmed Paşa hazretlerinin memleket-i İrana irsal eylediği casusları avdet idub kulunuz Erzurumda iken varid oldular. Ve bu siyak üzere haber verdiler ki gerek Revan ve havalisi ve gerek sair hududa karib olan mahallerde bil cümle tevaif-i Acam levazım-ı seferiyyelerin tertib ve mahsuller-i zehair cem idub bu keyfiyyet bazılarında sual olundukda ‘Lezki taifesi şahımızın karındaşını katl eylediler. Şahımızın Lezki üzerlerine seferi vardır’ diyu cevab...” BOA. A.MKT. 30-1.

⁷⁸⁷ “...gerek Erzurum ve gerek Kars ve beru Tokat caniblerine gelince katır ve bargir ve at makulesi tavarları Acem tüccarı cem idub ceste ceste götürmedirler...” BOA. A.MKT. 30-1.

⁷⁸⁸ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 173.

reached Qandahar in May 1740 and issued orders for Abd-ul Gani Khan and Fath Ali Khan to proceed to Shirvan and to suppress Lazgis in the autumn.⁷⁸⁹ The Iranian commanders, however, were able to launch their attacks after March 1741. Nadir came to the region in the summer of 1741.⁷⁹⁰ The activities that the Ottoman spies observed were the preparations for the campaign. The Shah was in Bukhara when Ali Bey informed the Porte in September 1740.⁷⁹¹ The report shows the Ottomans were aware of the next target of the Iranian army months ahead.

5.1.2. Two Ottoman Spies in Tabriz

Another document in the Ottoman archives, dated 28 May 1741,⁷⁹² summarizes the report of two Ottoman spies in Iran. It was most likely written to Istanbul by the governor of Erzurum since canons and ammunition for the defense of Bayezid, Erzurum, were asked in the last part of the report. The governor sent two spies to Iran on hearing that the Shah came to Qazvin. When the spies reached Tabriz, they heard that Nadir Shah had planned to leave Qazvin on 18 May 1741⁷⁹³ and to arrive in Kara Çemen, near Tabriz, on 3 June.⁷⁹⁴ One of the spies left Tabriz on 17 May⁷⁹⁵ and returned Erzurum to inform the governor on 28 May, whereas the other went towards Qazvin to infiltrate the Iranian army to obtain more information.⁷⁹⁶ In the text, the governor adds that “as the second spy returns, he would send another

⁷⁸⁹ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 185-6.

⁷⁹⁰ Lockhart, 201.

⁷⁹¹ Axworthy, *The Sword of Persia*, 223.

⁷⁹² 12.RA.1154. BOA. A.MKT. 31-16.

⁷⁹³ 02.RA.1154. BOA. A.MKT. 31-16.

⁷⁹⁴ 18.RA.1154. BOA. A.MKT. 31-16. Külbilge writes that Nadir arrived in Shirvan on 8 June 1741, which is consistent with the intelligence of Ottoman spies provided. Külbilge, “18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747),” 303.

⁷⁹⁵ 01.RA.1154. BOA. A.MKT. 31-16.

⁷⁹⁶ “...Acem Şahı Kazvine geldiği haberin istimaından iki nefer mutemed casuslar tayin idub Kazvin semtine irsal ve Tebrize duhullerinde şah-ı mesfur bu mah-ı mübarekin ikinci günü Kazvinden hareket ve mah-ı mezburun on sekizinci gününde Tebrizin öte yanında vaki Kara Çemen nam mahalde ordusun kurub birkaç gün meks ve sükunet itmek haberiyle zikr olunan casusanın biri Tebrizden geruye avdet ve birisi dahi orduya varmak için hatta-ı mezburdan öteye gideli...” BOA. A.MKT. 31-16.

report.”⁷⁹⁷ The Porte probably considered this report as verification of Nadir’s campaign in Dagestan.

The dates in the document are partly consistent with secondary sources. The main issue is that we do not know when Nadir Shah arrived and left Qazvin since the chronicles of Mahdi Khan and Muhammad Kazim do not give the exact date of the Shah’s entry to Qazvin or his departure from the city in their chronicles. Lockhart and Axworthy’s studies⁷⁹⁸ refer to the travel account of Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri. The text gives the date of Nadir’s entry to the city as 10 June 1741.⁷⁹⁹ Kashmiri’s account, however, does not show coherency, since he gives the date of his leave from Qazvin as 1 June 1741⁸⁰⁰ and his work includes Nadir’s actions in the city.

5.1.3. A Spy from Yerevan

Münif Mustafa Efendi and Nazif Mustafa Efendi arrived in Nadir’s camp at Karakaytak, Dagestan in January 1742. The Ottoman mission had been waiting in Yerevan for several months due to Nadir’s campaign in Dagestan. They were accepted to the presence of the Shah, and both sides held meetings for a peace agreement the following days. The negotiations, however, was unsuccessful and the mission began its return to Istanbul. Münif Efendi, the ambassador, left the mission in Kelkit to travel fast and inform the central government on the outcomes, by the orders of the Porte. Nazif Efendi, the deputy ambassador, and the rest of the mission arrived in Istanbul after a time.

⁷⁹⁷ “...ol dahi geruye avdet eyledikde şah-ı mezburun mahall-i merkuma uburu ve sair hareket ve sekanat ve ne semte azimeti asarından isticlab eylüdiği ahbarı tafsil takriri tahrir idub...” BOA. A.MKT. 31-16.

⁷⁹⁸ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 200. Axworthy, *The Sword of Persia*, 233.

⁷⁹⁹ 25.RA.1154. There is another date for Nadir’s entry to Qazvin, 04.RA.1154/20 May 1741, in three copies of the Kashmiri’s account. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, *Bayan-e Waqi*, 110, note 1. However, when we consider the assassination attempt on Nadir at Pol-i Sefid on 28.RA.1154/15 May 1741, and the Shah’s meeting with his governors in Firuzkuh on 29.S.1154/16 May 1741, Nadir’s travel from Firuzkuh to Qazvin within several days seems unlikely. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 199. Floor, *The Rise and Fall of Nader Shah*, 92.

⁸⁰⁰ 16.RA.1154. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, *Bayan-e Waqi*, 115.

The Ottoman ambassador and his deputy presented the Porte their reports on the mission. Münif's ambassadorial report (*sefaretname*) and Nazif's short report (*takrir*) share similar views (and even same words) on the negotiations at Karakaytak, except for a difference: Nazif's report includes his meeting with a spy from Yerevan, in Hacıköyü. According to the report, Münif Efendi and Nazif Efendi stayed in the house of a non-muslim named "Melek" (most probably Armenian) in Yerevan before they were called to Nadir's camp. The spy was a servant of Melek and traveled in disguise as a merchant.⁸⁰¹

The spy from Yerevan informed Nazif Efendi about the two incidents. First, Nadir Shah had sent a mission to Delhi and asked for money but his request was refused.⁸⁰² Second, the officers Nadir sent to Khorasan to obtain food supplies for his army were also unsuccessful. The people in the region showed resistance against the orders of the Shah and the officers he appointed.⁸⁰³

Rizaul Islam refers to the account of Anand Ram Mukhlis (a contemporary Indian chronicler) on the diplomatic relations between the courts of Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah after the Shalimar Treaty of 1739. Nadir "deputed two military officers at the rank of 500 (*pansad-bashi*), namely Muhammad Salih Beg and Muhammad Karim Beg Afshar to search out and apprehend the deserters"⁸⁰⁴ during the return of the Iranian army from India to Iran. Both officers delivered Nadir's monetary demands to Muhammad Shah and left Delhi in December 1740. Islam's also points that Khawaja Abd-ul Kashmiri's travelogue refers to an Iranian mission to

⁸⁰¹ "Bu kulları [Nazif Efendi] Hacı Köyü nam mahalle geldikde çend mah Erivanda misafiri olduğumuz Melek nam zimminin ticaret bahanesiyle mahsus bir nefer ademisi gelub bu vechle bast-ı kelim eyledi ki..." BOA. HAT. 198.

⁸⁰² "...mukaddema [Nadir] şahın bir mikdar hazine irsali niyazıyla Cihanabada gönderdiği ademleri... ve hasir def ve tard..." BOA. HAT. 198.

⁸⁰³ "...ve ordusunda zahire isali için Horasan ve havalisine irsal kılınan mübaşirleri dahi ahalileri caniblerinden men ve red olunmalarıyla... Horasan caniblerinde bu mekule harekete cüret eden kimesnelerin ahzlarına bir iki han tayin ve tesyir kılındığı mesmu olmuşdu. El-haletu haze Horasan ahali bu defa dahi zikr olunan hanları bir dürlü memleketlerine uğratmayub..." BOA. HAT. 198.

⁸⁰⁴ Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations*, 153.

the Mughal court after 1739. He argues that the two mission were probably not same by referring to the translation of the Kashmiri's travelogue in Elliot and Dowson's work. The translation is:

...Mahmud Ali Beg and Mahmud Karim Beg, who had been sent by Nadir Shah, arrived at [Mughal] Court... After a few days, they said that Nadir Shah had sent a verbal message to the effect, that in consequence of his wars in Turan and Daghistan and Rum, and the large army he kept up, and his having remitted three years' revenue to all the population of Iran, his treasury was empty, and if he (Muhammad Shah) would send fifty or sixty lacs as a help to him... Muhammad Shah cleared the account by his answer, which was this: "...However, on account of the weakness of my kingdom... I get no revenues at all from my provinces, and my expenditure exceeds my income. This subject is not mentioned in your letter, and therefore a verbal answer is suited to a verbal message."⁸⁰⁵

Two points, however, indicate the Iranian missions to the Mughal court in the accounts of Mukhlis and Kashmiri were the same. First, the names of the Iranian officers in Elliot and Dowson's translation should be "Muhammad Ali Beg" and "Karim Beg"⁸⁰⁶ instead of "Mahmud Ali Beg" and "Mahmud Karim Beg." Second, Kashmiri does not give a date about the Iranian mission but the envoys' reference to the remission of three years' revenue in Iran implies that they arrived in Delhi between 1739 and 1741.⁸⁰⁷ The spy from Yerevan must have informed Nazif Efendi about this mission.

The other subject, the revolt in Khorasan, in the report is difficult to trace since it is not clear where "Khorasan" refers to. I could not find a rebellion around Mashhad in the early 1740s in the secondary sources. The report may refer to the uprising under the leadership of Nur Ali Khan in Khwarazm against Nadir's rule. After Nadir

⁸⁰⁵ H. M. Elliot and John Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. 8 (London: Trübner, 1877), 132.

⁸⁰⁶ Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, *Bayan-e Waqi*, 168.

⁸⁰⁷ "Upon return to Persia, Nadir had declared a three-year moratorium of taxes for his subjects, but he revoked this promise when he commenced his war in Dagistan." Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations*, 120.

conquered Khiva in 1740, he left Tahir Beg as his deputy. Tahir Beg was captured and then put to death by Nur Ali Khan.⁸⁰⁸

The report of the spy from Yerevan is an interesting case regarding the Ottoman information networks in the region. It shows that an Ottoman mission employed the local sources of information to obtain intelligence. Although it is the only case I have located in which an Ottoman diplomatic officer met with a spy, other Ottoman missions to Nadir's court most likely used similar methods.

5.1.4. Another Ottoman Spy in Tabriz

Another Ottoman spy-report is about Nadir's arrival in Kara Çemen, near Tabriz. This time Nadir was coming back from Dagestan.⁸⁰⁹ The report was written to Istanbul by a certain Ottoman governor when the unnamed spy at his service came back from Iran on 12 May 1743.⁸¹⁰ As the report informs, Nadir Shah left Mugan on 2 May⁸¹¹ and decided to go Hamadan via Ardabil and Kara Çemen.⁸¹² A certain Russian ambassador joined the Nadir's court at Shabran. He stayed in the Iranian camp at Mugan for six days and then traveled to Kara Çemen with the army. The Ottoman spy could not learn the intention of the ambassador. The Shah planned to meet with the troops of Amir Aslan⁸¹³ who was coming from Kabul, in Kara Çemen. The report tells

⁸⁰⁸ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 195, 211.

⁸⁰⁹ According to Lockhart, Nadir left Darband on 10 February 1743. The march of the Iranian army to Kura took no less than forty days due to the difficult circumstances in winter. The army arrived Merivan via Hashtarud and Qara Chaman on 18 May 1743. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 210, 211, 226.

⁸¹⁰ 18.RA.1156. The day is *ahad*/Sunday. BOA A.MKT. 34-6. The author or place of the report is unmentioned. He should be a governor due to the titles and demands in the text. I assume it was written by the governor of Erzurum.

⁸¹¹ 08.RA.1156. The day is *hamis*/Thursday. BOA A.MKT. 34-6.

⁸¹² Süleymanov writes that Nadir Shah did not enter Tabriz and followed the route of Hashtud and Kara Çemen: "O, Təbrizə daxil olmadı və bu şəhərdən 4 fərsəng aralı olan Həştud-Qaraçəmən yolu ilə hərəkətini davam etdirdi." Süleymanov, *Nadir Şah*, 421.

⁸¹³ "Emir Aslan" should be Aslan Khan Qırqlu Afshar, the commander of the Iranian army in Azerbaijan when Nadir was assassinated in 1747.

two more spies had been sent to Tabriz on 29 April 1743.⁸¹⁴ Ammunition and food stocks had been asked in the last part of the document.

The report is mostly consistent with secondary studies. According to Lockhart, Nadir Shah rested in Mugan for twenty days, not six days as the text mentions, and he did not go to Hamadan but sent his son, Mirza Nasrullah.⁸¹⁵ The report does not cover Nadir's plan to meet with his three sons and the Indian ambassador in Merivan. Nevertheless, the news the Ottoman spy brought were crucial for the Ottomans on the eve of a war. Nadir Shah departed from Merivan to Sine and then crossed Ottoman-Iranian border in late June 1743.⁸¹⁶ The second phase of the war between the armies of Nadir Shah and Mahmud I had begun.

5.1.5. Molla Veli

The war lasted until the defeat of the Ottoman army near Yerevan on 21 August 1745. The Shah decided to seek an agreement with the Ottomans after his victory. He released some Ottoman captives as a gesture of peace within the following days. Molla Veli was sent to the Iranian army to gather information by the excuse of prisoner exchanges in the meantime. His primary mission was, however, to investigate Nadir's peaceful intentions. He caught up the Iranian army near the Kurni River and delivered his letter to Mustafa Khan, Nadir's *itimad-ud davla*. Veli traveled with the army for several days and came back to present his report on 16 September 1745.⁸¹⁷ Mustafa Khan told Molla Veli that the Shah intended to make peace and he would wait for an answer until the *nowruz* (21 March 1746). Fath Ali Khan had been already sent to Baghdad for negotiations. In the last lines of the document, there is

⁸¹⁴ 05.RA.1156. The day is *isneyn*/Monday. BOA A.MKT. 34-6.

⁸¹⁵ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 226-227.

⁸¹⁶ Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 311.

⁸¹⁷ 19.Ş.1158. BOA. A.AMD. 6-54. Another archival document, dated as 21.Ş.1158/18 September 1745, also refers to Molla Veli: "Tahrir-i kaimeden sonra şah ordusuna gönderilen ademimiz geldi. Takriri tahrir ve irsal olunmuşdur. Kendusi Tebriz tarafına gidub Allah-ul hamd bu havalilerde külliyetlu askeri kalmamağla malum-ı devletleri olmak için tahrir olundu." BOA. A.MKT. 37-20.

an explanation that “Molla Veli is a trustful man and the Turkish letter he received from Mustafa Khan was sent to Istanbul”:

Esir istihlası bahanesiyle istihbar-ı ahval için şah ordusuna gönderilen Molla Velinin takriri. Ordu-ı Şaha Kürni Çayında yetişub Mustafa Hana olan mektubu verdim. Dört konak maan gittim. Şah Şerir Geçidinde Nehr-i Arasdan geçüp Tebriz tarafına gitti. Mustafa Hanın cevabı “Şevketlu padişah ile şehinşahın muradı sulh eylemekdir. Mezheb-i hamise davasıyla meyanede çok kıtal olmağla andan vazgeçüp Bağdad tarafından Feth Ali Hanı elçilik ile devlet-i Aliyyeye gönderdi. Ve bu serhadlara su-i kasdı olmayub bir yatur öküzlerin kaldırmamak üzere kadğa eyledi. Nevruz-ı sultaniyeye dek habere müterakkibdir. [Hacı Ahmed] Paşaya böyle ifade eyle” diyu tenbih eyledi ve beni dahi menzil-i mezburdan mektubuyla avdet ettirdi... Merhum Molla Veli mutemed ademdir. Takriri malum-ı şerifleri olmak için tahrir olundu. Ve bu defa Mustafa Han Türkçe mektub tahrir eylemekle aynı gönderilmiştir. 19 Şaban 1158.⁸¹⁸

The report of Molla Veli remarks the transition from the statue of war to peace between two countries. In other words, it shows us the grey area in the Ottoman diplomacy. This situation is similar to Münif Mustafa Efendi’s meeting with Iranian elites at Karakaytak. In 1742, both sides were aware of the deadlocked talks over the issue of the fifth *madhhab*, which meant an upcoming war. In the case of Molla Veli, we can observe the semi-official interactions between the Ottomans and Iranians for a peace agreement, which paved the way for the Kurdan Treaty in 1746.

5.1.6. Two Documents about Payment to Ottoman Spies

There are two archival documents about payments to Ottomans spies who went to Iran. The first was written by Yusuf Paşa, governor of Çıldır, regarding an Ottoman spy named Abdülcelil on 20 August 1742.⁸¹⁹ According to the document, Abdülcelil went to the Iranian army several times. His daily wage was twenty *sağ akçes*, and it would be paid from the *jizya* treasure of Ahışa.

⁸¹⁸ BOA. A.AMD. 6-54.

⁸¹⁹ 18.C.1155. BOA. C.AS. 15484.

The second is an order of the Porte dated as 27 January 1743.⁸²⁰ It is about payments of *çukadars*, two spies and the cost of transportation of ammunition to Malazgird. 250 *guruş* will be paid from *miri akçe* for both spies. The document does not give any name or place regarding the spies. We can assume that they were sent to Iran since the only place in the document is Malazgird, an Ottoman town on the Iranian border.

Unfortunately, I could not locate the reports of Abdülcelil and the mentioned two spies. The studies in the next years may reveal them, or the reports may not exist due to oral transmission of the information to Istanbul.

5.1.7. Iranian Spies in the Ottoman Empire

Certain references in Ottoman primary sources prove the existence of the Iranian spies in the Ottoman Empire. The central government warned Ottoman military officers against the activities of Nadir's spies, namely the rumors they spread in the Ottoman army.⁸²¹ I will look into the Iranian spies behind the front lines: the Iranian spies in/near Istanbul.

An Ottoman officer captured a letter from the Iranians to their spies in Saraçhane, Istanbul, during the summer of 1743, and reported it to janissary leader who then informed the grand-vizier on the subject. Although Subhi Efendi, the court chronicler of the time, does not give the content of the letter, his chronicle includes the considerable precautions such as the investigation of markets and the prohibition of meetings in coffeehouses and barber shops by the Porte against the spies at the capital:

...Asitane-i Saadet'de evvela cevasis-i Acamdan bir bedbaht-ı fitne-nüma derununa, nice türrehat tahrir ü imla olunmuş bir tezkireyi bir takrib ile Sarrachane sükuna ilka idüp, tezkire-i merkume Sarracan Kethüdası'nın eline girmekle yeniçeri ağası hazretlerine ref ü iradet ve müşarün-ileyh hazretleri dahi der-akab cenab-ı sadaret-penahiye varup, keyfiyyet-i hali hikayet

⁸²⁰ 01.Z.1155. BOA. AE.SMHD.I. 687.

⁸²¹ Yahya Koç, "149 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (1155-1156/1742-1743) İnceleme-Çeviriyazı-Dizin" (MA thesis, İstanbul University, 2011), 287-288. Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 308, 342.

itmeleriyle, husus-ı mezkur sadr-ı ali tarafından paye-i serir-i devlet-masir-i Hüsrüvaneye arz u telhis olundukda bu makule fesad u şakavet ile ikaz-ı fitneye cesaret idenlerin ala-eyy-i hal ele getirilmesi ve derya-yı bi-giran-ı adem olan şehir-i İslambol'un teftiş ü tefahhus olunması için ferman-ı hümayun-ı cihandari şeref-sudur bulmağla ağa-yı müşarün-ileyh hazretleri dahi hasbel-memure leyl ü nehar bil-cümle esvak u bazarı geştü gūzar ile tecessüs-i eşkiyada say-i mevfur buyurduklarından maada, şehir-i İstanbul ve nevahsisnde vaki mecmua-ı herze-gūyan-ı devran ve makarr-ı tiryakıyan-ı çerb-zaban olan kahvehane ve berber dükkanlarında tecemmu olunmamak üzere tenbih u tekid itmeleriyle...⁸²²

Another instance is the return journey of Fath Ali Khan in 1746. Seyyid Mehmed Ağa, the guide of the ambassador, suspected of two men who joined the mission as barbers of the ambassador in Hendek, near Istanbul.⁸²³ One of them was young, and the other had a mustache which indicated that he was older. Their origins were unknown. When the Ottoman guide wrote about the situation to Istanbul, the Porte ordered Mehmed Ağa to investigate them during the journey and to inform the governor of Diyarbakır. A common point between the spies in Subhi's chronicle and the Porte's letter to Seyyid Mehmed Ağa is the suspicion of the Ottoman authorities on barbers. As explained in the previous chapter, the Iranian ambassadors spent more time in the Ottoman capital than the Ottoman ambassadors at the court of Nadir Shah. The sojourns of the Iranian missions in Istanbul for months must have helped them to place their spies or connect local sources of information in the city.

5.2. Captives

5.2.1. Ottoman Captives in Iran

I will look into the three Ottoman captives' reports and the intelligence they provided to Istanbul. They were captured by the Iranian soldiers and became war captives: Feyzullah Bey, Ahmed Ağa, and Camuş Hasan Ağa. Mir Feyzullah's captive life in Central Iran ended with the unratified Istanbul Treaty of 1736. He arrived in Istanbul after a journey of two months and a half. Ahmed Ağa was released to deliver a letter of Mustafa Khan to the Ottoman officials in Erzurum in 1744. Likewise, Camuş Hasan

⁸²² Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 774-775.

⁸²³ BOA. HAT. 154.

Ağa was sent to Kars after the death of Yeğen Mehmed Paşa in 1745. The reports of all three captives have common chronological issues. They give a certain day or month without a year. Nevertheless, specific events in the documents are useful to date them.

5.2.1.1. Feyzullah Bey

The title of the report is “Sabıka Çorum Sancağı Alayı Beyisi Feyzullah Beyin takriridir [the report of Feyzullah Bey, the Ottoman military commander from Çorum].”⁸²⁴ The document is the longest one among those examined in this part. It begins with Feyzullah’s story of becoming a war prisoner after the death of Abdullah Paşa near Yerevan.⁸²⁵ The Ottoman commander was killed at the battle of Bagavard on 19 August 1735.⁸²⁶ Nadir Shah sent Feyzullah Bey with other 750 Ottoman captives to Khorasan under the supervision of Lutf Ali Khan, the ruler of Semnan. The Ottoman captives were separated from each other in the city. Lutf Ali Khan kept Mir Feyzullah beside him. In his report, Feyzullah presents the political situation of Iran in by referring to his personal observations and the rumors he heard. The report mentions Shah Tahmasb II and his status in Nishapur in addition to Ali Mardan Khan’s rebellion against Nadir’s rule in Loristan. According to the text, there were no significant military troops in Hamadan and Kermanshah in 1736 and many Iranians opposed the recent coronation of Nadir in Mugan.

When Nadir Shah heard Lutf Ali Khan’s generous assistance to the overthrown Safavid ruler (Tahmasb II) regarding his journey to Sabzevar, he ordered the death of Lutf Ali. Muhammad Zaman Beg, the brother of Lutf Ali, released the Ottoman captives after this event. Feyzullah Bey and other captives returned from Semnan to Istanbul via Hamadan, Baghdad, and Diyarbakır. Feyzullah journeyed from Semnan

⁸²⁴ TSMA. E. 1572-18. Mustafa Kesbi’s work includes the same report with a different title: “Havadis-i Tahmasbkulu Han an-canib-i Miralay-i Çorum Mir Feyzullah.” Mustafa Kesbi Efendi, *İbretnûma-yı Devlet*, 484-486.

⁸²⁵ “Ben Revan kurbunda zuhur eden Serasker Abdullah Paşa vakasında Aceme esir olmuş idim...” TSMA. E. 1572-18.

⁸²⁶ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 88. Külbilge, “18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747),” 270.

to Baghdad in thirty-six days, and from Baghdad to Istanbul in thirty-nine days.⁸²⁷ We can conclude from the last words of the report, “...diyu takrir ider [...as he informs],” the document was written in Istanbul.

The duration of Feyzullah’s captivity in Iran should be around nine months.⁸²⁸ He was probably released in May 1736 and arrived in Istanbul in August 1736. His references to Qazvin as Nadir’s present location supports this view.⁸²⁹ Nadir Shah stayed in Qazvin for three months and did not leave the city until April 1736.⁸³⁰

5.2.1.2. Ahmed Ağa

Unlike Feyzullah Bey, Ahmed Ağa clearly gives the dates of his captivity in his report.⁸³¹ Ahmed Ağa became a prisoner during the second siege of Kars by the Iranian army on 22 August 1744. On the forty-third day of his captivity, he was summoned before Nadir Shah with another Ottoman military officer, Bekir Bayrakdar.⁸³² Both were released with Mustafa Khan’s letters and sent to Erzurum at the final days of the siege of Kars.⁸³³ They arrived in the city on 6 October 1744.⁸³⁴ The document includes the number of cannons at the arsenal, the separation and detention process for Ottoman prisoners in the Iranian army, and a rumor of a

⁸²⁷ “... Bağdaddan çıkalı dahi otuz beş otuz altı gün olmağla Semnandan çıkdığımın bugüne gelince yetmiş beş gün mikdarı vakit olmuşdur diyu takrir ider.” TSMA. E. 1572-18.

⁸²⁸ “...sekiz ay bu minval üzere mürur ve ol esnalarda Tahmasb-kulu Hanın Muğan kışlakında şahlık keyfiyeti zuhur eyler iken ... bade yirmi otuz gün mürurunda elsine-i Acamda bu güne ahbar şüyu buldu ki...” TSMA. E. 1572-18.

⁸²⁹ “... bu haber Tahmasb-kulu Hanın henüz ikamet üzere olduğu Kazvine vusulünde... ve Tahmasb-kulu Han bu eyyamda bu heyet üzere yedi sekiz mikdarı bin Afgan ve Afşar askeri ile Kazvin haricinde Şah Abbas Çaştgahi tabir olunan mahalde ikamet üzere olub...” TSMA. E. 1572-18.

⁸³⁰ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 104, 107.

⁸³¹ “Mah-ı Recebin on üçüncü günü [13.B.1157/22 August 1744] esir olub kırk iki gün ordusunda tophanesinde kaldım...” BOA. A.AMD. 6-34.

⁸³² “...kırk üçüncü günü Erzuruma göndermek için beni ve Erzurumlu serdengeçdi bayrakdarlarından Bekir Bayrakdarı...” BOA. A.AMD. 6-34.

⁸³³ The siege ended on 10 October 1744. Külbilge, “18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747),” 337.

⁸³⁴ “...üç günde Erzuruma geldik ki işbu mah-ı Şabanın yirmi sekizinci günüdür...” BOA. A.AMD. 6-34.

rebellion in Shiraz. Ahmed Ağa probably refers to Taqi Khan's rebellion in Iran from January to June 1744.⁸³⁵

5.2.1.3. Camuş Hasan Ağa

The Ottoman commander Yeğen Mehmed Paşa passed away on the tenth day of the battle between the Ottoman and Iranian armies at Murad Tepe.⁸³⁶ The Iranian army made a night raid upon the trenches and defeated the demoralized Ottoman troops on 21 August 1745. Camuş Hasan Ağa was captured at this attack. After spending the night at the prison, Hasan Ağa was brought before Nadir Shah. He was released with 250 Ottoman prisoners as a gesture of peace three days later. Before his leave, he was called to Nadir's presence second time and received a letter of Mustafa Khan to Hacı Ahmed Paşa.

Hasan Ağa's report includes the details of his both conversations with the Iranian ruler. Nadir planned to send Fath Ali Khan as his ambassador with Hasan Ağa to Kars, but Fath Ali was sent to Baghdad due to the unsafety of the roads between Yerevan and Kars.⁸³⁷ Hasan Ağa left the Iranian army at Etchmiadzin on 27 August 1745⁸³⁸ and arrived at Kars on 29 August.⁸³⁹ Persian chronicles also refer to Hasan Ağa's release

⁸³⁵ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 241-242.

⁸³⁶ Murad Tepe should be located around modern Yeghvard, the north of Yerevan. According to Makas, the name of Murad Tepe is changed to Konakervan/Kanakerevan. Zeynelabidim Makas, "Ermenistan'da Adları Değiştirilen Bazı Türk Yerleşim Yerleri Üzerine," *On Dokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi* 7 (1992): 138.

⁸³⁷ "...ve Bağdad tarafına gönderdikleri elçiyi [Fath Ali Khan] benim ile Kars tarafından göndermek muradı idi. Lakin askerinin avdetinden yolların ihtilali ihtimaliyle bu tarafdaki göndermeyub Bağdad canibine gönderdi..." BOA. HAT. 189.

⁸³⁸ 28.B.1158. BOA. HAT. 189. The date and location of Hasan Ağa's release from the Iranian army are consistent with the Persian sources. Mahdi Khan writes that Nadir Shah left "Murad Tepe" on 27.B.1158/26 August 1745 (*pençşenbe*/Thursday). Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Cihanguşa-yı Nadiri*, 410. The Iranian army most likely reached Etchmiadzin next day, since the distance between Murad Tepe and the Etchmiadzin Cathedral is around twenty-five kilometers.

⁸³⁹ 30.B.1158. BOA. HAT. 189.

and the letter he received.⁸⁴⁰ The message Hasan Ağa brought to Kars was sent to Istanbul with Mustafa, an Ottoman courier.⁸⁴¹

Camuş Hasan Ağa and Nadir Shah knew each other before Hasan's captivity in 1745. Hasan Ağa was among the Ottoman delegates to the Shah during the siege of Kars on 7 September 1744.⁸⁴² It may be the reason why Nadir chose him to deliver his letter. The release of Hasan Ağa was the first diplomatic interaction between two sides after the battle. After Hasan's return to Kars, Hacı Ahmed Paşa wrote his answer to Mustafa Khan and then Mustafa Khan sent a second letter to Hacı Ahmed Paşa (see Table 5.2.). The Ottomans sent Molla Veli to the Iranian army to gather more information, as mentioned above.

Table 5.2. The letters of Mustafa Khan on Fath Ali Khan's mission

From	Carrier	Form	No	Language
Mustafa Khan to Hacı Ahmed Paşa	Camuş Hasan Ağa, Mustafa	Letter	1	Persian ⁸⁴³
				Turkish Translation ⁸⁴⁴
	Hüseyn	Letter	2	Persian ⁸⁴⁵
				Turkish Translation ⁸⁴⁶

5.2.2. Uzbek Fugitives from Nadir's Army

Another source of information for the Ottomans was the Uzbek fugitives from Nadir's army. I have located two cases: Rasul and Muhammad Kurban. Both escaped from the Iranian army to the Ottoman side and informed the Ottoman officers about Nadir's military strategies activities as well as the political situation in Iran. However,

⁸⁴⁰ Muhammad Kazim Marvi, *Alamara-yi Nadiri*, vol. 3, 1074. Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Cihanguşa-yı Nadiri*, 410.

⁸⁴¹ BOA. HAT. 93-A.

⁸⁴² 29.B.1157. Osman Saf Efendi, *Risale*, 33-34. Sırrı Efendi, *Risaletü't-Tarih-i Nadir Şah*, 20.

⁸⁴³ (1) Muhammad Kazim Marvi, *Alamara-yi Nadiri*, vol. 3, 1072-1073. (2) Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Cihanguşa-yı Nadiri*, 410.

⁸⁴⁴ BOA. HAT. 93-A.

⁸⁴⁵ (1) BOA. HAT. 208. (2) Navai, *Nadir Shah wa Bazmandaganish*, 354-358.

⁸⁴⁶ BOA. HAT. 126.

they could be Iranian double agents as Osman Saf Efendi stresses in his account on the siege of Kars in 1744. According to Osman Saf, Uzbek and Afghan deserted soldiers came to Kars with expressing their hate of Nadir Shah and returned to Iran with valuable gifts and intelligence:

Bu esnada, Valacah Şehzade Mirza Safi Hazretleri, Nadir Şah'dan mazarrat görüp nefret ve firar ve itaat suretile gelen Sünni Afgan ve Özbek taifesine hilat ve bahşişler ihsan edüp... elçiler tedarükü esnasında mukaddema suret-i hakk ile muhacir gelen Afgan ve Özbek taifeleri, güruh güruh nifakları zahir ve firar edüp; Nadir Şah'a varup, casusluk eylediklerinde...⁸⁴⁷

Uzbek Rasul, a fugitive soldier from Nadir's army, came to Kars from Yerevan. His report does not include any date. Nonetheless, we can assume it was written in early 1744 since Uzbek Rasul refers to Hamadan as Nadir's present location.⁸⁴⁸ According to Lockhart, Nadir celebrated the *nowruz* (21 March) of 1744 near Hamadan.⁸⁴⁹

The information in Rasul's report on the uprisings in Fars and Azerbaijan provinces against Nadir Shah's rule is mostly accurate. Rasul informs that Mirza Nasrullah, Nadir's son, was in Berdaa with fifteen thousand men against a short-lived rebellion in Shirvan.⁸⁵⁰ It was most likely the rebellion under the leadership of Sam Mirza and Muhammad Khan. The rebels were crushed by Nasrullah's troops on 20 December 1743.⁸⁵¹ The text also mentions Kalb Ali Khan's uprising in Shiraz and Bandar-Abbas.⁸⁵² Rasul probably confuses him with Taqi Khan who killed Kalb Ali Khan and

⁸⁴⁷ Osman Saf Efendi, *Risale*, 35.

⁸⁴⁸ "...hala Nadir Şah yalnız yirmi beş bin asker ile Hemedan derunundadır..." BOA. A.AMD. 6-73.

⁸⁴⁹ "Nadir celebrated the *nowruz* (21 March) of 1744 near Hamadan." Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 247.

⁸⁵⁰ "...ve Serhuk-oğlu dahi Esmâ Sultanın karındaşı ile maan Lezki ile gelub Şemka ve cisiri almışdır. Ve Şemka muhafızı olan hanı dahi giriftar eylemişlerdir. Ve kusur askeri helak etmişlerdir. Ve Nadir Şahın oğlu Nasrullah Mirza Berdaa şehrinde yalnız on altı bin asker ile oturuyor..." BOA. A.AMD. 6-73.

⁸⁵¹ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 238-239. Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 331-333.

⁸⁵² "...bir kaç mah mukaddem şah-ı mesfurun hanlarından Kelb Ali Han asi olmuş idi. Han-ı mezbur Kelat ve Bender-i Abbas ve Şiraz kalelerini almışdır. Ve bu esnalarda Mazenderan ve Gilan ve Reşd havalilerini dahi garat idub mecmui esir eylediğini Şiraza getürmüşdür..." BOA. A.AMD. 6-73.

then rebelled and sacked Fars region.⁸⁵³ Nevertheless, the intelligence Rasul provided was valuable for the Ottomans since Nadir failed to capture Mosul in late 1743 and later had to return to Iran to deal with the rebels.

The other Uzbek soldier, Muhammad Kurban, escaped from Nadir's army on 19 September 1744, during the siege of Kars. He arrived Erzurum after three days.⁸⁵⁴ His short report includes unsuccessful escape attempts of the Ottoman captives from the Iranian camp and fortification of a bastion in Çakmak (near Kars) by the orders of the Shah. It should be "Temur Paşa" bastion, built in 1734.⁸⁵⁵

5.3. Travelers

Among many travelers of the period, I will look into the journeys of Jean Otter, Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, and Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri. These travelers share three points in common. First, all three visited Iraq and Iran in the late 1730s and early 1740s. Second, they were in contact with the Ottoman and Iranian bureaucrats. Third, they wrote about Nadir's biography and his Indian campaign, in addition to the interactions between the Ottomans and Iranians. We can consider their works as a combination of a travelogue and chronicle.

Otter, Arutin, and Kashmiri traveled together during the certain parts of their journeys but probably did not know each other. Jean Otter traveled with the mission of Hacı Khan to go to Iran. Arutin Efendi was a musician in Mustafa Paşa's mission to Iran in 1736. Otter stayed in Isfahan while Arutin left the mission in Qandahar and joined Nadir's court in 1737. After Nadir Shah defeated the Mughals at Karnal and entered Delhi, Kashmiri joined Nadir's service before the Iranian army left the Mughal capital. Tanburi and Kashmiri traveled with the army from Delhi to Sind and Afghanistan. Tanburi left in Herat whereas Kashmiri stayed at Nadir's court

⁸⁵³ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 218, 241.

⁸⁵⁴ "İşbu mah-ı Şabanın on ikinci sebt günü ordu-ı Nadir Şahiden çıkub üç günde Erzuruma geldim..." BOA. A.MKT. 36-51.

⁸⁵⁵ Şenol Kantarcı, "Kars Tabyaları'nın İnşası" (MA Thesis, Atatürk University, 1997), 19. Osman Ülkü, "Kars ve Ardahan Tabyaları" (PhD diss., Atatürk University, 2006), 161.

throughout the campaign on Uzbeks. He left the Iranian army in Qazvin and began his journey to the Hedjaz. The route followed by Kashmiri was Baghdad, Damascus, Mecca, Jidda, Bengal, and Delhi.

5.3.1. Jean Otter

Jean Otter was born in Kristianstad, Sweden, in October 1707. He converted to Catholicism in 1728 and went to France where he studied theology and learned English, Spanish and Italian languages. After working at the French Post Office at Paris for three years, he was sent to Istanbul to study the Oriental languages by the French government. Otter arrived at the Ottoman capital on 10 March 1734. He stayed in the city over two years and learned Turkish and Arabic. When he was assigned to establish commercial relations between Iran and France, the circumstances were favorable for his journey to Iran in 1736. He secured a permit from the governor of Baghdad with the help of the French ambassador and taking advantage of the fact that the Ottomans and Iranians were not at war but negotiating peace. Indeed, the Iranian ambassador Abd-ul Baqi Khan was about to depart from Istanbul accompanied by an Ottoman ambassador, Mustafa Paşa. Otter joined the Iranian mission and traveled from Istanbul to Isfahan. After staying at Isfahan for two years, he returned to Basra where he was appointed as the French consul. When he was ordered to return to France, he came back to Istanbul in August 1743 and then Paris in February 1744. Otter became a translator at Royal Library in Paris in the same year and Professor of Arabic Languages at Royal College in 1746 (see Figure D.14.). He died in September 1748.⁸⁵⁶

Jean Otter published his travels under the name of "*Voyage en Turquie et en Perse: Avec une Relation des expéditions de Tahmas-Kouli-Khan.*" His observations on the geography, history and social customs of the cities he visited make his work one of the most valuable source of the era. Otter's two-volume travelogue covers his talks with ladies in the streets of Istanbul, religious scholars at their homes, senior offices

⁸⁵⁶ Bahram Sohrabi, "Early Swedish Travelers to Persia," *Iranian Studies* 38 (2005): 639-642. "The Dictionary of Swedish National Biography," accessed May 1, 2018, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=7846>.

at the palaces of governors, and ordinary soldiers on the roads in Anatolia, Iraq, and Iran. His notes on the details of the tension between two ambassadors (Mustafa Paşa and Abd-ul Baqi Khan) and the conflict between two governors (Ahmed Paşa and Hüseyin Paşa) are hard to find in other sources. His work also includes certain Iranian and Ottoman couriers and the news they carried.⁸⁵⁷

Otter noted an interesting event during his stay in Urfa in March 1737. A Turkish ex-captive who was returning from Iran informed Mustafa Paşa that the Afghans defeated Nadir Shah. The Paşa was very happy about this news and gave the captive a present, but his reactions offended Abd-ul Baqi Khan. As they left the city on 25 March, an Iranian courier, accompanied by a courier of Ahmed Paşa from Baghdad, refuted the earlier news and told them that Nadir was victorious in his battles with the Afghans.⁸⁵⁸ Otter's account indicates that the tension between the two ambassadors was not a one-time occasion. It recurred in Mosul and Baghdad as well.

Jean Otter's travelogue gives almost all dates and destinations of his travels. We can calculate the daily speed of his journeys between Istanbul, Baghdad, and Isfahan. Since Otter traveled with both missions in 1736 and 1737 (not only with the Iranian mission) and entered Baghdad and Isfahan before them, his journey from Istanbul to Isfahan was slightly different from them.⁸⁵⁹ The next four tables cover the details of his travels from Isfahan to Basra in 1739 and from Baghdad to Istanbul in 1743.

⁸⁵⁷ Otter writes that the Iranian ambassador welcomed eight couriers from Iran during his travel from Istanbul to Baghdad: One courier in İzmit, two in Adana, one in Urfa, two in Koçhisar, one in Dakuk, and one in Baghdad. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, vol. 1, 44, 69, 114, 119-120, 153, 159.

⁸⁵⁸ Otter, vol. 1, 113-114.

⁸⁵⁹ From Üsküdar to Kartal (24 November 1736), Kartal to Gebze (25 November), Gebze to İzmit (26 November), four days in İzmit (27 November-1 December), İzmit to Sapanca (2 December), Sapanca to Geyve (3 December), Geyve to Akhisar (4 December), Akhisar to Lefke (5 December), a day in Lefke (6 December), Lefke to Vezirhanı (7 December), Vezirhanı to Bilecik (8 December), Bilecik to Bozüyük (9 December), Bozüyük to İnönü (10 December), İnönü to Eskişehir (11 December), three days in Eskişehir (12-14 December), Eskişehir to Seyyidgazi (15 December), Seyyidgazi to Bardaklu (16 December), Bardaklu to Hüsrev Paşa (17 December), two days in Hüsrev Paşa (18-19 December), Hüsrev Paşa to Bayat (20 December), Bayat to Bolvadin (21 December), three days in Bolvadin (22-24 December), Bolvadin to Akşehir (25-26 December), two days in Akşehir (27-28 December), Akşehir to Arıt Hanı (29 December), two days in Arıt Hanı (30-31 December), Arıt Hanı to Kadın Hanı (1 January 1737), Kadın Hanı to Ladik (2 January), Ladik to Konya (3 January), seven days in Konya (4-10 January), Konya to Göçü (11 January), Göçü to Gueive (12 January), Gueive to Karapınar (13 January), four days

Table 5.3. Jean Otter's journey to Basra⁸⁶⁰

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Kermanshah	Mahi Deşt	12 May 1739	13 May 1739	2
Mahi Deşt	Harun Abad	14 May 1739	15 May 1739	2
Harun Abad	Baghdad	16 May 1739	30 May 1739	15
Baghdad	Basra	8 May 1739	19 June 1739	12
Kermanshah	Baghdad	12 May 1739	30 May 1739	19

Table 5.4. The daily speed of Jean Otter's journey to Basra

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Kermanshah	Mahi Deşt	2	23	11.5
Mahi Deşt	Harun Abad	2	40	20
Harun Abad	Baghdad	15	301	20
Kermanshah	Baghdad	19	364	19.1

Table 5.5. Jean Otter's journey to Istanbul⁸⁶¹

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Baghdad	Kirkuk	10 June 1743	17 June 1743	8
Kirkuk	Erbil	18 June 1743	20 June 1743	3

in Karapınar (14-17 January), Karapınar to Ulukışla (18 January), Ulukışla to Adana (19-22 January), seven days in Adana (23-29 January), Adana to Kurdkulağı (30 January-6 February), Kurdkulağı to Payas (7 February), Payas to İskenderun (8 February), İskenderun to Yeni Han (9 February), Yeni Han to Antakya (10 February), a day in Antakya (11 February), Antakya to Haram (12 February), Haram to Atarib (13 February), Atarib to Han Toman (14 February), Han Toman to Aleppo (15 February), nineteen days in Aleppo (16 February-5 March), Aleppo to Kilis (6 March), a day in Kilis (7 March), Kilis to Kızılhisar (8 March), three days in Kızılhisar (9-11 March), Kızılhisar to Mızar (12 March), Mızar to Birecik (13 March), a day in Birecik (14 March), Birecik to Çarmelik (15 March), Çarmelik to Urfa (16 March), eight days in Urfa (17-24 March), Urfa to Gavur Huri (25-26 March), Gavur Huri to Meşuk (27-28 March), Meşuk to Koçhisar (29 March), four days in Koçhisar (30 March-2 April), Koçhisar to Karadere (3 April), Karadere to Nusaybin (4 April), Nusaybin to Mosul (5-11 April), seven days in Mosul (12-18 April), Mosul to Çemen (19-23 April), Çemen to Altunsuyu (24-25 April), Altunsuyu to Kirkuk (26 April), three days in Kirkuk (27-29 April), Kirkuk to Dakuk (30 April), Dakuk to Tuzhurmatı (1 May), Tuzhurmatı to Kifri (2 May), Kifri to Karatepe (3 May), Karatepe to Narinsu (4 May), Narinsu to Abbas Köprüsü (5 May), Abbas Köprüsü to Devre Han (6 May), Devre Han to Yenice (7 May), Yenice to Baghdad (8 May), twenty eight days in Baghdad (9 May-5 June), Baghdad to Buhriz (6-8 June), a day in Buhriz (9 June), Buhriz to Şehriban (10 June), Şehriban to Kızıl Ribat (11 June), Kızıl Ribat to Hanikin (12 June), Hanikin to Kasr-ı Şirin (13 June), Kasr-ı Şirin to Acem Hanikin (14 June), Acem Hanikin to Tak Ayağı (15 June), Tak Ayağı to Gerend (16 June), a day in Gerend (17 June), Gerend to Harunabad (18-20 June), Harunabad to Zivri (21 June), Zivri to Mahideşt (22 June), Mahideşt to Kermanshah (23 June), Kermanshah to Taq Bostan (1 July), Kermanshah to Bisotun (2 July), Bisotun to Sahneh (3 July), Sahneh to Tarim-Ara (4 July), Tarim-Ara to Feyruzabad (5 July), Feyruzabad to Nahavand (6 July), Nahavand to Charbora (7 July), Charbora to Rudgerd (8 July), Rudgerd to Talkhistan (13 July), Talkhistan to Hinna Dere (14 July), a day in Hinna Dere (15 July), Hinna Dere to Dehenna (16 July), Dehenna to Vis (17 July), Vis to Guive Chara (18 July), Guive Chara to Madei Chah (19 July), Madei Chah to Tiran (20 July), Tiran to Isfahan (21 July 1737). Otter, vol. 1, 37-202.

⁸⁶⁰ Otter, vol. 2, 21-46.

⁸⁶¹ Otter, vol. 2, 224-357.

Table 5.5. (Continued)

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Erbil	Mosul	20 June 1743	22 June 1743	3
Mosul	Nusaybin	25 June 1743	3 July 1743	9
Nusaybin	Diyarbakır	3 July 1743	7 July 1743	4
Diyarbakır	Ergani	10 July 1743	10 July 1743	1
Ergani	Sivas	11 July 1743	26 July 1743	16
Sivas	Tokat	27 July 1743	28 July 1743	2
Tokat	Turhal	30 July 1743	30 July 1743	1
Turhal	Amasya	31 July 1743	1 August 1743	2
Amasya	Merzifon	2 August 1743	2 August 1743	1
Merzifon	Osmancık	3 August 1743	5 August 1743	3
Osmancık	Hacıhamza	6 August 1743	6 August 1743	1
Hacıhamza	Tosya	7 August 1743	7 August 1743	1
Tosya	Koçhisar	8 August 1743	8 August 1743	1
Koçhisar	Karacalar	9 August 1743	9 August 1743	1
Karacalar	Bayındır	10 August 1743	10 August 1743	1
Bayındır	Gerede	11 August 1743	11 August 1743	1
Gerede	Bolu	12 August 1743	12 August 1743	1
Bolu	Düzce	13 August 1743	13 August 1743	1
Düzce	Hendek	14 August 1743	14 August 1743	1
Hendek	İznikmid	15 August 1743	17 August 1743	3
İznikmid	Gebze	18 August 1743	18 August 1743	1
Gebze	Üsküdar	19 August 1743	19 August 1743	1
Baghdad	Üsküdar	10 June 1743	19 August 1743	71

Table 5.6. The daily speed of Jean Otter's journey to Istanbul

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Baghdad	Kirkuk	8	352	44
Kirkuk	Erbil	3	119	39.6
Erbil	Mosul	3	92	30.6
Mosul	Nusaybin	9	256	28.4
Nusaybin	Diyarbakır	4	141	35.2
Diyarbakır	Ergani	1	68	68
Ergani	Sivas	16	546	34.1
Sivas	Tokat	2	102	51
Tokat	Turhal	1	46	46
Turhal	Amasya	2	68	34
Amasya	Merzifon	1	46	46
Merzifon	Osmancık	3	79	26.3
Osmancık	Hacıhamza	1	51	51
Hacıhamza	Tosya	1	52	52
Tosya	Koçhisar	1	56	56
Koçhisar	Karacalar	1	69	69
Karacalar	Bayındır	1	51	51
Bayındır	Gerede	1	51	51
Gerede	Bolu	1	68	68
Bolu	Düzce	1	68	68
Düzce	Hendek	1	69	69
Hendek	İznikmid	3	108	36
İznikmid	Gebze	1	51	51

Table 5.6. (Continued)

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Gebze	Üsküdar	1	51	51
Baghdad	Üsküdar	71	2660	37.4

5.3.2. Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi

Little is known about the early life of Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi. He was a court musician in the court of Mahmud I and joined the military band (*mehteran*) of Mustafa Paşa's mission in 1736. He decided not to return with the mission and stayed at Nadir's court at Qandahar in May 1737. Arutin Efendi traveled within Nadir's army to India and joined many meetings with other musicians in Shah's entourage for the next three years. He left the Iranian army at Herat in June 1740⁸⁶² and came back to Istanbul via Mashhad.

Tanburi Arutin Efendi wrote two works, a memoir on his travels and a musical treatise (*edvar*) about his meetings with Iranian, Arab, Indian, and Uzbek musicians when he was at Nadir's service.⁸⁶³ Besides these works, we do not know much about his life or the details of his return to Istanbul. Although his observations are mostly coherent with the other contemporary sources, his travelogue contains some incorrect statements. For instance, Arutin Efendi gives the date of the Ottoman mission's leave from Istanbul as H. 1148/1735 instead of H. 1149/1736. He also writes that Mustafa Paşa advised Nadir about the position of the cannons during the siege of Qandahar which seems a fictional story since the siege ended in late March 1738 and the Ottoman mission arrived in May:

O dışarda kalan dağın yarısının tepesine Tahmas Kulu, bir tophane yaptı. Topları, azim dert ve meşakkat, ile yukarı çıkarttı. Ol kadar tarif ettiler ki: (zira biz görmedik) Mustafa Paşa Hazretleri, Kandiharın seyrine vardı. Tahmas Kulu götürdü. Mustafa Paşa, "Şu dağın hali yerinde yarısına dek tophane yapılsa,

⁸⁶² Nadir's army reached Herat on 10 June 1740 and stayed for fifteen days. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 186.

⁸⁶³ Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, *A Musical Treatise of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Eugenia Popescu Judetz (Istanbul: Pan, 2002); *Tahmas Kulu Han'ın Tevrihi*. Also see, Ernest Tucker, "Religion and Politics in the era of Nadir Shah: The Views of Six Contemporary Sources" (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 1992). Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, ed., *Osmanlı Musiki Literatürü Tarihi* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2003), 103-104.

bu kale tez alınır zira, gayrı yerinden kaleyi döğmek kabil değildir. Ancak bu taraftan alınırsa alınır” demiş dediler. Lakin, biz işitmedik. Amma söylese de kabildir. Zira, sonradan Tahmas Kulu, o tophaneyi yaptı. Ondan aklımız kesti ki paşanın tarifiyle tophaneyi oraya çıkarmış.⁸⁶⁴

Tanburi’s book includes his observations and many heard stories. The text is unique by presenting the inner-world of an eighteenth-century Ottoman traveler from Istanbul to Delhi and a collection of popular rumors on Nadir Shah in Iran. Throughout his text, Tanburi explicitly explained what he saw, heard and was told. His notes on distances between the cities he visited, descriptions of battlefields, the Peacock Throne, the enthronement scene of Muhammad Shah by Nadir Shah, and the massacre in Delhi are accurate. The fact he did not remember certain names of the people and locations in India⁸⁶⁵ and the chronological mistake at the beginning of his account indicate that he wrote his travelogue after a period of time.

Tanburi was a curious traveler as certain parts of his account imply. One of his servants brought two Indian captives into his tent during the siege of Kabul by the Iranian army in 1738, and Tanburi questioned them: “Hatta, benim şakirdimin biri seyir için gitmiş idi, iki tanesini de o tutmuş, aldı çadırımıza geldi. Hiç birisinin burnu kanamadan onlara sual edip içeride olan işlerin haberini aldık.”⁸⁶⁶ Another example is the musical performance at the royal court in Delhi. He was one of the musicians at the ceremony that Nadir enthroned Muhammad Shah as the ruler of India in 1739. Since the musicians of all kind were playing at the same time during the ceremony, Tanburi gave his attention to Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah rather than his instrument:

Bu, öyle bir şey ki hiç bir birinin sedasını duymaz, bir vaveyla kopar, ne onun sedasını onlar, ne de öbürü obirinin. Böyle karma karışık bir şey. Biz de o (Şeb-ül anter) in içinde saz çalıyoruz amma mehterhane sedasından birbirimizi anlayıp saz mı çalabildik? Biz ettiğimiz nağmeyi bile anlamıyoruz, değil ki

⁸⁶⁴ Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, *Tahmas Kulu Han'ın Tevrihi*, 19.

⁸⁶⁵ “Oradan geçtik ve bir kaç şehre de gittik. Lakin, adları hatırımızda kalmadı.” “Ancak, saptığımız yerlerin adları güç olduğu için hatıra gelmez. Şu kadar bilirim ki Lahuru geçmiş idik...” “Adı hatırımında yok, lakin kendini gördüm...” Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, *Tahmas Kulu Han'ın Tevrihi*, 24, 26, 32.

⁸⁶⁶ Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, 23.

refiklerimizin ettiğini anlayalım. Ancak elimiz varır gelir. Güya mızrap ururuz amma aslı yok. Heman gözümüz Tahmas Kulunun meclisini seyr etmede. Mehmet Şah ile suhbet ederlerdi. Ne suhbet ettiklerini işitmedim amma, bunu gördüm ki suhbet arasında Tahmas Kulu, Mehmet Şahın surgucunu başından aldı yanma, yer üzerine, koydu. Bir vakittan sonra yine aldı Mehmet Şahın başına sokdu bunu gördükte, tahkik bize de bir ağlama geldi. Sonra gördüm ki ikisi de ayağa durdular, el kaldırıp dua ettiler, ve öpüştüler.⁸⁶⁷

We do not know about the rest of his life. Traveling to Iran and India, meeting with various musicians and Iranian statesmen, and more importantly being a witness to Nadir's Indian campaign must bring a certain level of fame to Tanburi. His narrative-style in his book implies that he was also a talented story-teller. The people in Istanbul were likely glad to listen to his travel stories on Iran and India.⁸⁶⁸

5.3.3. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri

After Nadir restored Muhammad Shah to the Mughal throne in May 1739, many South Asians joined his service in his return to Iran. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri was one of them.⁸⁶⁹ He left Delhi with the Iranian army on 16 May. He succeeded to obtain an official position in Nadir's court and permission for *hajj* and other pilgrimages. When Nadir arrived Qazvin in 1741, he gave his permission of pilgrimage for Khwaja Abd-ul Karim and Sayyid Alawi Khan (Shah's personal physician). Both left

⁸⁶⁷ Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, 32.

⁸⁶⁸ Nevres-i Kadim translated the memoirs of Jahangir Shah (*Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*) into Turkish in the 1750s. The translation includes his notes and commentaries on the text. One of them is about an Indian traveler who came to Istanbul in 1743. The traveler's description of the Mughal capital amazed the people but it was an "Indian exaggeration" for Nevres. He discusses the reality of this well-known story in the city in detail: "Bin yüz elli altı tarihinde [H. 1156] belde-ı tayyibe İstanbul'a cihan-gerdan-ı Hindustan'dan ser-bürehne bir seyyah-ı Hindi gelmiş idi. Yevm min-el eyyam bir meclisde cihan-gerd-i bisyar-guv düruğ kitabını açıp mübalağa babından bazı garaib-i maznunet-ül vuku nakli ile huzzar-ı meclisi dem-beste-i hayret-i isticab ederek Hindustan'ın vüsat-i daire-i memleket ve şahlarının vefret-i saman-ı saltanat ve kesret-i esbab-ı devlet ü kudretini beyan zımında bu veçhile vesme-sa-yı ebruyı muğ-beçe-i rivayet olup 'Pay-taht-ı Cihanabad'ın içinden karban yüklenip dahil-i şehirde bir kerre konmadıkça şehri huruç mümkün olmaz' deyü bey-el avamm meşhur olan haberi verdikde..." Nevres also writes that he told this story to Ragıb Efendi, the *reisulküttab* of the time. Jahangir Shah, *Tarih-i Selim Şah: IV. Babürlü Hükümdarı Cihangir Şah'ın Hatıratı*, trans. Nevres-i Kadim, ed. Fahri Unan (Ankara: TTK: 2013), 53, note 60.

⁸⁶⁹ Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discovery, 1400-1800*, 248. Ernest Tucker, "Abd al-Karim Kashmiri," *EP*, vol. 2015-3 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1-2. Also see, Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, 124-139. Mana Kia, "Accounting for Difference: A Comparative Look at the Autobiographical Travel Narratives of Hazin Lahiji and 'Abd-al-Karim Kashmiri," *Journal of Persianate Studies* 2 (2009): 210-236.

the court together and began their journey for *hajj* on 1 June 1741.⁸⁷⁰ They reached Kermanshah on 10 June. After crossing the Ottoman-Iranian border at Geilank, a town near Gerend, they were welcomed by a servant of Ahmed Paşa at the gates of Baghdad. In his work, Khwaja Abd-ul Karim records his visits around the city in detail. He and Sayyid Alawi Khan followed the route of Kirkuk, Mosul, Aleppo, and reached Damascus where they joined the *hajj* mission. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim became a pilgrim in February 1743 by performing the *hajj* rituals at Mecca. After staying three months in the city, he returned to India by a ship from Jidda to Bengal. He arrived Delhi on 1 August 1743 (see Table 5.7.).

Table 5.7. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim’s journey

Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Qazvin	Kermanshah	16.RA.1154 ⁸⁷¹	25.RA.1154 ⁸⁷²	10
Kermanshah	Aleppo	?	01.L.1154 ⁸⁷³	?
Aleppo	Mecca	?	06.Z.1154 ⁸⁷⁴	?
Mecca	Jidda	01.RA.1155 ⁸⁷⁵	02.RA.1155 ⁸⁷⁶	2
Jidda	Hooghly	evail.R.1155 ⁸⁷⁷	C.1155 ⁸⁷⁸	?
Hooghly	Delhi	01.M.1156 ⁸⁷⁹	10.C.1156 ⁸⁸⁰	158

Kashmiri did not write the details of his meetings with Ahmed Paşa and other Ottoman officials. Since Nadir Shah had written a letter to inform the governor on

⁸⁷⁰ Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, *Bayan-e Waqi*, 115.

⁸⁷¹ 1 June 1741. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, 115.

⁸⁷² 10 June 1741. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, 118.

⁸⁷³ 10 December 1741. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, 133.

⁸⁷⁴ 12 February 1742. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, 153.

⁸⁷⁵ 6 May 1742. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, 154.

⁸⁷⁶ 7 May 1742. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, 154.

⁸⁷⁷ Early May 1742. Kashmiri stayed in Jidda for a month. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, 154.

⁸⁷⁸ Early August 1742. Kashmiri stayed in Bengal for seven months. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, 165.

⁸⁷⁹ 25 February 1743. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, 165.

⁸⁸⁰ 1 August 1743. Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, 166.

Khwaja Abd-ul Karim and Sayyid Alawi Khan,⁸⁸¹ the governor was aware of their travel to Baghdad and appointed one of his men as their host, *mihmandar*. In another occasion, Ahmed Paşa explained them the dangers of the desert route between Baghdad and Mecca and advised to catch up the hajj mission in Damascus.⁸⁸² The situation in Iran, Central Asia, and India were most probably other topics of the meetings between the governor and two travelers.

5.4. Couriers

I have applied two methods to locate a courier in the Ottoman information networks in the eastern parts of the empire. First, I have taken dates of critical political and military events into account by referring the primary and secondary sources and followed arrivals of the news to Istanbul by examining the Ottoman sources, specifically chronicles and Kadı Ömer's royal diary of Mahmud I. The other is the references to the travel information in the reports of couriers in the Ottoman chronicles and archival documents, like "I left Baghdad and arrived Istanbul after seventeen days." I have calculated the average speed of the couriers based on the assumption that they followed one of three main routes in Anatolia.⁸⁸³ The couriers are Mehmed Ağa, Mehmed and Lütfullah from Baghdad, Mustafa&İbrahim and Hüseyin from Kars, Hacı Mehmed from Mardin, Mustafa from Trabzon, and five unnamed couriers from Mecca, Baghdad, Kurdan, Kars, and Yerevan to Istanbul, in addition to Topal Sadık who, unlike the others, had journeyed from Istanbul to Baghdad. These couriers delivered latest news to the Sublime Porte such as Nadir Shah and Ahmed Paşa's deaths or Nadir's Indian campaign. Most cases cover the last years of the Ottoman-Iranian wars between 1743 and 1745 and the Kurdan Treaty of 1746.

⁸⁸¹ Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, 119.

⁸⁸² Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, 133-134.

⁸⁸³ It is possible that two Ottoman couriers, Mustafa and the courier from Mecca, traveled to Istanbul by ship. However, Mustafa states that he escorted Veli Paşa until a certain place near Trabzon, therefore he must have come to Istanbul by land. BOA. A.AMD. 7-56. The courier from Mecca most likely preferred the land route to Istanbul instead of a ship from Egyptian or Eastern Mediterranean ports, due to the safety of roads and the importance of the news he carried. BOA. HAT. 184.

On 13 June 1743, Jean Otter came upon to Topal Sadık who was coming from Istanbul to inform Ahmed Paşa about the preparations for war in the capital, near Baghdad.⁸⁸⁴ Mehmed Ağa, the steward of Ahmed Paşa, came to Istanbul in September 1743. He reported the recent news on the Iranian army, located around Kirkuk.⁸⁸⁵ An Ottoman courier arrived Istanbul with the news of the end of the siege of Kars on 20 October 1744.⁸⁸⁶ In the following year, Yeğen Mehmed Paşa lost his life during the battle near Yerevan, and the Ottoman army was defeated on 21 August 1745.⁸⁸⁷ Mahmud I was informed of the commander's death and the retreat of Ottoman army on 5 September.⁸⁸⁸ Mustafa Khan (Nadir's *itimad-ud davla*) sent Camuş Hasan Ağa to the new Ottoman commander with his letter after the battle. In his letter, Mustafa Khan underlines the Shah's intentions to end hostilities and states that an ambassador, Fath Ali Khan, had been sent to Istanbul via Baghdad for peace negotiations. Two Ottoman couriers, Mustafa&İbrahim, brought the letter of Mustafa Khan to Istanbul. Another courier, Hüseyin, brought Mustafa Khan's second letter after a short time. Mehmed, the courier of Ahmed Paşa, left Baghdad and arrived at the capital on 24 October 1745.⁸⁸⁹ He informed the Porte about Fath Ali Khan's leave from Baghdad.

Fath Ali Khan's mission in the Ottoman court was successful, and the Porte assigned Nazif Mustafa Efendi as the ambassador to Iran for further negotiations. Nazif arrived at the court of Nadir Shah in Kurdan, and a peace treaty was signed on 4 September 1746. Next day, Nazif and an unnamed Ottoman courier left Kurdan for Baghdad and Istanbul.⁸⁹⁰ The first news regarding the treaty was heard in the Ottoman capital on

⁸⁸⁴ Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, vol. 2, 228.

⁸⁸⁵ Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 815-818.

⁸⁸⁶ 14.N.1157. The day is *sülasa*/Tuesday. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 9-10.

⁸⁸⁷ BOA. A.DVNS.MHM.d. 152, 6. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 30b.

⁸⁸⁸ Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 64.

⁸⁸⁹ BOA. HAT. 122.

⁸⁹⁰ "...mukaddemce temessüklerin mefhumu malum-ı evliya-ı nime buyrulmak ümidiyle heman hareketimiz günü [18.Ş.1159/5 September 1746] esna-ı rahda birer suretlerinin tahrirlerine müsaraat ve merfu-ı saha-ı sipehr mertebetleri kılınmıştır..." BOA. HAT. 125.

4 October 1746.⁸⁹¹ Lütfullah, another courier of Ahmed Paşa, arrived in Istanbul with three letters of his master and the text of the treaty on 2 November.⁸⁹² Hacı Mehmed informed the Porte that Nazif Efendi had left Mardin and was on his way to the capital on 27 December.⁸⁹³ Meanwhile, Mustafa came to Istanbul from Trabzon, with his short report on a Safavid prince, Sam Mirza, on 24 December.⁸⁹⁴

The Porte appointed Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa as its ambassador to Iran before Nazif Efendi came back. Kesriyeli, however, did not accomplish his mission since Nadir Shah was assassinated on 20 June 1747.⁸⁹⁵ When the first news arrived the Ottoman mission, the ambassador refused to believe it.⁸⁹⁶ The mission was in Hamadan and faced with a threatening situation due to the rumors of Nadir's death as well as the Iranian troops in the region. Kesriyeli decided to move towards the northern areas to avoid possible threats. After staying three days near the city, the mission traveled from Hamadan to Qorveh on 22 July, to Kargabad on 23 July, to Naysar 24 July and arrived Sine on 25 July.⁸⁹⁷ Four Iranian soldiers of Sine who were present in the army on the night of the assassination reported the details of the incident to the Ottoman ambassador next day, 26 July 1747.⁸⁹⁸ The report reached Istanbul on 23 August

⁸⁹¹ Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 117.

⁸⁹² İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 73b. Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2, 1411.

⁸⁹³ BOA. A.AMD. 7-57.

⁸⁹⁴ BOA. A.AMD. 7-56.

⁸⁹⁵ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 261. Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 358.

⁸⁹⁶ "...Nadir Şah hakkında istima olunan eracif-i ahbarı tezkib..." Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 78.

⁸⁹⁷ Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, 78-80.

⁸⁹⁸ 18.B.1160. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 209. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 136a. A Turkish manuscript in Russia includes a copy of the report. The title is "Sine sükkânının maruf ve müntesiblerinden olup Nadir Şah ordusunda olan dört nefer ademin Kesriyyeli vezir-i mükerrem elçi Ahmed Paşanın huzurunda itdikleri takrirleridir." W. D. Smirnov, *Manuscripts Turcs de l'Institut des Langues Orientales* (St. Petersburg: Eggers & Comp., 1897), 42. The date of the report in Smirnov's study is 28.B.1160/5 August 1747, which is inconsistent with the other copies. There are two possible explanations: The report was either misdated/misread or dated in Baghdad instead of Sine.

1747.⁸⁹⁹ The contemporary and later Ottoman historians such as İzzi Efendi, Şemdanizade Süleyman Efendi, and İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı refer to the same report in their works.⁹⁰⁰ After Nadir's death, Ahmed Paşa besieged the castles of Surucek and Kamçuhe (*Sur-ı Cek* and *Sur-ı Taş*) in Baban province to establish his authority over Selim Paşa. The sieges lasted from early September until 6 October 1747.⁹⁰¹ The governor passed away near Abbas Bridge during his return to Baghdad on 19 October 1747.⁹⁰² The news of his death reached Istanbul on 19 November 1747.⁹⁰³

The tables below show the similarities and differences between the cases. They prove that Ottoman couriers traveled faster than any other agents, especially ambassadors, as one expects (see Tables 5.8 and 5.9.).

Table 5.8. Journeys of Ottoman couriers

Name	Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Courier	Mecca	Istanbul	24.S.1152 ⁹⁰⁴	01.CA.1152 ⁹⁰⁵	66
Topal Sadık	Istanbul	Kefri	31 May 1743	13 June 1743 ⁹⁰⁶	14
Mehmed Ağa	Baghdad	Istanbul	CA.1156	B.1156 ⁹⁰⁷	30

⁸⁹⁹ 17.Ş.1160. The day is *erbaa*/Wednesday. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname III*, 21. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 134a.

⁹⁰⁰ Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 81-87. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 209-212. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 134b-136a. Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Mür-it Tevarih*, vol. 1, 135-136. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, 310.

⁹⁰¹ Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 91-92. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 236.

⁹⁰² 14.L.1160. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 92. Abdurrahman Süveydi Efendi, *Hadiqat al-Zawra*, 604. Numan Efendi gives the details of Ahmed Paşa's illness and death. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 236-237.

⁹⁰³ 16.ZA.1160. The day is *ahad*/Sunday. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname III*, 29. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 142b.

⁹⁰⁴ 2 June 1739. BOA. HAT. 184.

⁹⁰⁵ 6 August 1739. BOA. HAT. 160.

⁹⁰⁶ Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, vol. 2, 228. Topal Sadık told Otter that he was on the road for fourteen days.

⁹⁰⁷ 21 August-19 September 1743. "Suret-i takrir-i muma-ileyh Mehmed Ağa. Kulunuz Bağdad'dan çıkali otuz gün oldu..." Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 816.

Table 5.8. (Continued)

Name	Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Courier	Kars	Istanbul	03.N.1157 ⁹⁰⁸	14.N.1157 ⁹⁰⁹	12
Courier	Yerevan	Istanbul	22.B.1158 ⁹¹⁰	08.Ş.1158 ⁹¹¹	17
Mustafa&İbrahim	Kars	Istanbul	30.B.1158 ⁹¹²	14.Ş.1158 ⁹¹³	15
Hüseyin	Kars	Istanbul	?	20.Ş.1158 ⁹¹⁴	?
Mehmed	Baghdad	Istanbul	12.N.1158 ⁹¹⁵	28.N.1158 ⁹¹⁶	17
Courier	Kurdan	Istanbul	18.Ş.1159 ⁹¹⁷	18.N.1159 ⁹¹⁸	30
Lütfullah	Baghdad	Istanbul	27.N.1159 ⁹¹⁹	18.L.1159 ⁹²⁰	22
Mustafa	Trabzon	Istanbul	21.L.1159 ⁹²¹	10.ZA.1159 ⁹²²	19
Hacı Mehmed	Mardin	Istanbul	02.ZA.1159 ⁹²³	13.ZA.1159 ⁹²⁴	12

⁹⁰⁸ 9 October 1744. The day is *cuma*/Friday. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 10.

⁹⁰⁹ 20 October 1744. The day is *sülasa*/Tuesday. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 9.

⁹¹⁰ 21 August 1745. The day is *sebt*/Saturday. BOA. A.DVNS.MHM.d. 152, 6. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 30b.

⁹¹¹ 5 September 1745. The day is *ahad*/Sunday. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 64.

⁹¹² 28 August 1745. BOA. HAT. 189.

⁹¹³ 11 September 1745. BOA. HAT. 93-A.

⁹¹⁴ 17 September 1745. BOA. HAT. 126.

⁹¹⁵ 8 October 1745. BOA. HAT. 122.

⁹¹⁶ 24 October 1745. “Bağdad valisi vezir-i mükerrem Ahmed Paşa hazretlerinin tatarı Mehmed kullarının takriridir. Kulunuz Bağdaddan çikalı on yedi gün oldu...” BOA. HAT. 122.

⁹¹⁷ 5 September 1746. BOA. HAT. 125.

⁹¹⁸ 4 October 1746. The day is *sülasa*/Tuesday. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname II*, 117.

⁹¹⁹ 13 October 1746. NLB. OAK. 64-25, the first letter.

⁹²⁰ 2 November 1746. The day is *erbaa*/Wednesday. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 73b. Feraizcizade Mehmed Said, *Tarih-i Gülşen-i Maarif*, vol. 2, 1411.

⁹²¹ 6 November 1746. BOA. A.AMD. 7-56.

⁹²² 24 November 1746. “Cebeci başı ağanın Trabzondan gelen ademi Mustafa kullarının takriridir. Trabzondan kulunuz çikalı on dokuz gün oldu...” BOA. A.AMD. 7-56.

⁹²³ 16 November 1746. BOA. A.AMD. 7-57.

⁹²⁴ 27 November 1746. “Mardinden gelen tatar-ı hazret-i sadr-ı ali Hacı Mehmed kullarınızın takriridir. Kulunuz Mardinden çikalı on iki gün oldu...” BOA. A.AMD. 7-57.

Table 5.8. (Continued)

Name	Departure Place	Arrival Place	Departure Date	Arrival Date	Duration
Courier	Sine	Istanbul	18.B.1160 ⁹²⁵	17.Ş.1160 ⁹²⁶	30
Courier	Baghdad	Istanbul	14.L.1160 ⁹²⁷	16.ZA.1160 ⁹²⁸	32

Table 5.9. The daily speed of Ottoman couriers

Name	Departure Place	Arrival Place	Duration	Distance	Daily Speed (km)
Courier	Mecca	Istanbul	66	4100	62.1
Topal Sadık	Istanbul	Kefri	14	2467	176.2
Mehmed Ağa	Baghdad	Istanbul	30	2660	88.6
Courier	Kars	Istanbul	12	1762	146.8
Courier	Yerevan	Istanbul	17	1910	112.3
Mustafa&İbrahim	Kars	Istanbul	15	1762	117.4
Mehmed	Baghdad	Istanbul	17	2660	156.4
Courier	Kurdan	Istanbul	30	3541	118
Lütfullah	Baghdad	Istanbul	22	2660	120.9
Mustafa	Trabzon	Istanbul	19	1512	79.5
Hacı Mehmed	Mardin	Istanbul	12	1785	148.7
Courier	Sine	Istanbul	30	3160	105.3
Courier	Baghdad	Istanbul	32	2660	83.1

5.5. Nadir Shah's Indian Campaign as a Case Study

Nadir Shah's most significant success, besides establishing his authority in Iran, was his campaign on India. In late 1735, Nadir had restored all Safavid lands by crushing numerous local rebellions, defeating Afghans and Ottomans, and having an agreement with Russians, except for Qandahar. As Axworthy stresses out by referring Catholicos Abraham, there were rumors in Mugan about the campaign on Qandahar that it would not end with the conquest of the city.⁹²⁹ The report of a Carmelite father, Emmanuel of S. Albert, in October 1736 supports this argument: "His Majesty

⁹²⁵ 26 July 1747. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 209.

⁹²⁶ 23 August 1747. The day is *erbaa*/Wednesday. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname III*, 21. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 134a.

⁹²⁷ 19 October 1747. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 92. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 236-237.

⁹²⁸ 19 November 1747. The day is *ahad*/Sunday. Kadı Ömer Efendi, *Ruzname III*, 29. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 142b.

⁹²⁹ Axworthy, *The Sword of Persia*, 175.

is now in Spahan preparing for his expedition to Kandahar and India...⁹³⁰ After having an unratified peace agreement (due to the articles of the fifth *madhhab*) with the Ottomans who were dealing with Russia and Austria in the meantime, Nadir Shah prepared for his plans on Qandahar and beyond. The political situation in Delhi was suitable for his ambitions. Zahiruddin Malik writes that:

The [Mughal] Empire... was deep in the grip of financial crisis and in the throes of incessant warfare with the Marathas. The governing class was in complete disarray as its strength was hopelessly dissipated in factional quarrels. Nadir Shah surveyed the whole situation and carefully prepared his blow to strike at a time when the Empire was breaking up under pressures of Maratha attacks.⁹³¹

Nadir took Qandahar on 23 March 1738,⁹³² and crossed the Mughal border in May at Mukur, between Qandahar and Ghazna.⁹³³ The pretext of the war was Mughal court's indifference to Nadir's request of the close of the frontier for Afghan fugitives. The main cities in northwest India were captured by his army one by one within a year. The main battle between the Iranian and Mughal armies at Karnal ended with the former's victory on 24 February 1739.⁹³⁴ After the battle, Nadir managed to benefit from the factional quarrels at the Mughal court during the negotiations with Nizam-ul Mulk and Qamaraddin Khan. When Muhammad Shah visited the Iranian camp as a prerequisite for peace, Nadir took the Indian ruler into his custody. Muhammad Shah was released after giving up certain territories of his empire and a promise of a tremendous amount of gold, jewelry, and other valuables. In other words, he became a vassal of Nadir Shah.

⁹³⁰ Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, vol. 1, 606.

⁹³¹ Malik, *The Reign of Muhammad Shah, 1719-1748*, 160.

⁹³² 02.Z.1150. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 119. Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 281.

⁹³³ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 123.

⁹³⁴ 15.ZA.1151. Lockhart, 135.

The victorious ruler entered Delhi on 20 March 1739.⁹³⁵ The following day, the *nowruz* and the *eid al-adha*, was Friday and the *khutba* was read in Nadir's name. Towards the evening, local resistance showed itself in some parts of the city and turned out attacks against on the Iranian army. At the afternoon of 22 March, the rebellion was suppressed by the army with a great massacre of six hours in certain districts of Delhi.

Per the agreement between Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah in May 1739, Muhammad Shah would send tribute to the Afsharid Empire every year, Indus River would be the Iranian-Indian border and there would be no diplomatic interactions between the Mughals and the Ottomans. On his return to Iran, Nadir's army invaded Bukhara and Khiva in the autumn of 1740. He arrived in Mashhad in February 1741.⁹³⁶

This part investigates Nadir Shah's Indian campaign as a case study for Ottoman intelligence under three fundamental questions: When and how the Ottomans received the news of Nadir's campaign and to what extent they were aware of the situation in Mughal Empire. Nadir announced his victory by sending his ambassadors, Ali Mardan Khan and then Hacı Khan to Istanbul in the early 1740s. These diplomatic missions represent the official side of Ottoman information networks in the East. We can enlarge the frame of the analysis by considering other agents such as merchants, spies, and travelers who played an essential role in the information network between Istanbul and Delhi. I will present a framework of Ottoman intelligence on Nadir's Indian campaign by analyzing these agents, based on mostly Ottoman sources. It is going to be partly speculative due to the lack of the dates in sources.

In Ottoman archives, there are three documents related to Nadir Shah's political and military actions in India: BOA. HAT. 160, BOA. HAT. 184, and BOA. HAT. 58454. Varol, Sevinç, Kurtaran, and Petrovich briefly refer to the first two documents in their

⁹³⁵ 09.Z.1151. Lockhart, 144.

⁹³⁶ Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 282.

writings,⁹³⁷ whereas the third is neglected in the present literature. I will refer to BOA. HAT. 184 as *the report of Indian merchants*, BOA. HAT. 160 as *the report of Sharif's man in India* and BOA. HAT. 58454 as *the spy report on the campaign* to prevent confusions from the original references of documents. Only *the report of Indian merchants* has a date, 2 June 1739.⁹³⁸ I have dated the other two documents based on their contents. I will examine *the report of Indian merchants* and *the report of Sharif's man in India* together and assume that both documents were sent to Istanbul from Mecca with the same courier. This assumption gives us the exact date of the arrival of the news of Nadir's Indian campaign in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. In the final section, I will introduce an Ottoman account on Nadir's life and campaign, İbrahim Müteferrika's *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah*. It is the first and most detailed chronicle in Ottoman Turkish among the contemporary sources on the campaign.

5.5.1. The First News on the Campaign

The report of Indian merchants, a text of twenty-six lines, was written from the Hedjaz to the Porte by an unnamed officer who probably worked for the Sharif of Mecca. According to the document, two Indian trade ships arrived in the port of Jidda on 24 May 1739.⁹³⁹ The Ottoman officers in the Hedjaz received the news of Nadir's successful campaign in India from these merchants. After nine days, the report was written to Istanbul. Newly arrived Indian merchants and a report of unnamed Sharif's man who resided in India confirmed the authenticity of the news. The latter should be underlined because only a few works in the literature examine the diplomatic relationships with the Mughals and Sharif of Mecca⁹⁴⁰ or the Turkish/Ottoman

⁹³⁷ Varol, "XVIII-XIX. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı-Babürlü Münasebetleri," 86. Sevinç, "Nadirşah'ın 1738-1739 Hindistan Seferi ve Sonuçları," 19. Kurtaran, "Yeni Kaynakların Işığında Sultan I. Mahmud Dönemi Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri (1731-1747)," 196. Petrovich, "The Land of the Foreign Padishah: India in Ottoman reality and imagination," 276, note 397.

⁹³⁸ 24.S.1152. BOA. HAT. 184.

⁹³⁹ 15.S.1152. BOA. HAT. 184.

⁹⁴⁰ Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, 107-143.

merchants in India.⁹⁴¹ *The report of Indian merchants* tells that a long-detailed report (*mufassal kaime*) of Sharif's man in India that was attached to it and sent to Istanbul. It ends with the expectation of another Indian merchant ship's arrival at the port of Jidda and emphasized that "as they receive new information about India, they would write to Istanbul immediately." The text is:

...maruz-u kulları budur ki hanan-ı Acemden mukaddema alem-efraz-ı tuğyan iden Tahmas-kulu Han bu defa memalik-i İrandan huruc ve... fesada uruc ve tahrib-i bilad iderek memleket-i Hind ve Luc irub padişah-ı Hind ile mukabele ve muharebe eyledikde ve vükela-ı Hindin ekseri kenduye tabiiyet ve bu vechle zafer-yab olub padişah-ı Hinde teğallüb ve padişahı ve nizam-ud devleti olan hanı dürlü mekr ve hile ile ele götürüb ahz ve habs ve cümle taht ve tacını zabt eylediği bu sene-i mübareke Safer-ul hayrın on beşinci günü bender-i Ciddeye dahil olan sefain-i Hindiyye ile gelen tüccardan istima olunduğundan gayrı yine sefain-i mezbure ile bazı mahallere varid olan mekatibde dahi tahrir-i saadetlu şerif hazretlerinin Hindde mukim vekili tarafından şerif-i müşar ileyhe mufassal kaime gelub bu emr-i garibin vukuu reside-i rütbe-i tahkik olmağla kaime-i merkumenin sureti ihrac ve keyfiyet-i malum-ı devletleri olmak için haki-pai-i devletlerine irsal kılındı. Ve bu sene-i mübarekede bender-i Ciddeye gelecek sefine üç kıta olmak üzere istima olunub lakin tarih-i mezburda ikisi dahil-i liman olub birisi dahi tarih-i kaime-i benedigeye gelinceye değin henüz bad-ban-ı nümai zuhur olmayub bundan sonra dahi her ne vechle haber zuhur eder ise yine ala-vuku hakipa-i devletlerine arz ve ilam kılınacağı malum-u devletleri buyuruldukda ol babda emr ve ferman devletlu inayetlu veli-n niam kesir-ul kerem efendim sultanım hazretlerindir. 24 Safer 1152.⁹⁴²

This report is the earliest document among the Ottoman sources on Nadir's campaign in India. His victory at Karnal was on 24 February 1739, and the news arrived the

⁹⁴¹ Gupta and Nadri write that the Turkish Chelabi family was one of the richest merchants at Surat in the eighteenth century. Ashin Das Gupta, "India and the Indian Ocean in the Eighteenth Century," in *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, ed. Ashin Das Gupta and Michael N. Pearson (Calcutta: Oxford University, 1987), 135. Ghulam A. Nadri, *Eighteenth-Century Gujarat: The Dynamics of Its Political Economy, 1750-1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 59.

⁹⁴² "...the report of your servants is that we heard the news from the Indian merchants who arrived the port of Jidda on the 15th of Safer in this year [15.S.1152/24 May 1739] that Tahmas-quli Khan left Iran and went to India and Balochistan where he defeated the Indian army and subjugated the Indian shah and Nizam-ul Mulk with various tricks and made them his prisoners and seized all the treasury. Among the letters Indian merchants brought from India, a long detailed report from the Sharif [of Mecca]'s man, who resides in India, confirms this information. We have sent this report to presence of Excellency. We heard that this year three Indian ships would arrive Jidda and two of them have entered the port until the date of this report. Thus, as the other one arrives, we will inform you with recent news... 24.S.1152 [2 June 1739]." BOA. HAT. 184.

Hedjaz on 24 May, after ninety days. According to reports of Dutch East Indian Company in Isfahan, the news of the victory of the Iranian army arrived at the city on 16 May 1739, eighty-two days later.

The second document, *the report of Sharif's man in India*, is around one hundred and twenty lines. It summarizes the events from the end the siege of Qandahar until Nadir's entry to Delhi within a political and diplomatic context: The negotiations and royal ceremonies between Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah in addition to the political factions at Mughal court. The unnamed writer underlines the power of the Indian notables over the Mughal ruler and the internal conflicts at the court. He narrates the battle at Karnal and the following negotiations in detail. The report ends with Nadir's orders to Mughal viziers for the collection of the tributes and the description of the Peacock Throne, *Taht-i Tavus*. The *khutba* in the mosques of Delhi was read in the name of Nadir which indicates that he became the ruler of India.⁹⁴³ The dates in the text are consistent with secondary sources. The writer of the report distinguishes the incidents as he saw, heard or was informed about. He adds that he lacks information on some occasions and he would send another report as he gets any news on the developments.

We know from its first line of *the report of Sharif's man in India* that it arrived in Istanbul at the beginning of the month of CA (*Cemazi-el evvel*).⁹⁴⁴ The report, however, does not include a year. We can locate the date of the document from its last sentences that informs the Porte about Nadir's coronation in Delhi, which took place on 20 March 1739. Since the text does not give any information on the rebellion in the city against the Iranian army on 21 March, it must have been written on 09.Z.1151/20 March 1739. The other possibility, namely the negligence of the rebellion, is unlikely because of the narrative of political events in India in the text.

⁹⁴³ "...ve dirler ki Nadir Şahın duhulü ve cülusu nevrüz günü [10.Z.1151/21 March 1739] ola. Zira Hamel burcunun evvel günüdür. Ve bu gün ki cuma günüdür. Hatib melik Nadir Şahın ismini mutad üzere zikr eylemişdir..." BOA. HAT. 160.

⁹⁴⁴ "Vakta ki bu sene-i mübarekede mah-i Cemazi-el evvel duhul eyledikde haber geldi ki..." BOA. HAT. 160.

I argue that *the report of Sharif's man in India* is the mentioned document from India in *the report of Indian merchants*. This argument involves two assumptions. First, *the report of Sharif's man in India* reached the Hedjaz with Indian merchants. Second, it was sent to Istanbul with *the report of Indian merchants*. The chronological order of the argument fits with the travel conditions from India to the Hedjaz and later Istanbul. The journey of a merchant, Qazvini, from Surat to Mecca in 1676 lasted forty-six days.⁹⁴⁵ Khawaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri writes that they saw Ceylon after twenty-three days sailing from Mocha during his journey from Jidda to Bengal in 1743.⁹⁴⁶ Mehmed Emin Paşa gives the distance between Jidda and Surat as 200 *cams* during his journey in 1745. A ship can cover twenty *cams* under favorable circumstances or several *cams* in other conditions.⁹⁴⁷ When we assume the travel time of two Indian ships in *the report of Indian merchants* as a month and a half by considering these three cases, the ships left the Indian port (Surat) at the beginning of April 1739. An Indian courier or merchant carried *the report of Sharif's man in India* from Delhi to an Indian port, most likely Surat, by covering over 1000 kilometers within two weeks. His travel was possible if he was in a hurry.⁹⁴⁸ After the Indian two ships arrived Jidda, an Ottoman courier left the Hedjaz with two documents, *the report of Indian merchants* and *the report of Sharif's man in India*, on 2 June. He arrived in Istanbul on 6 August 1739 (see Map 5.1.).

⁹⁴⁵ M. N. Pearson, *Pious Passengers: The Hajj in Earlier Times* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1994), 46.

⁹⁴⁶ Khwaja Abd-ul Karim Kashmiri, *Bayan-e Waqi*, 157.

⁹⁴⁷ Miroğlu, "Hindistan Hakkında XVIII. Yüzyılda Yazılmış Küçük Bir Eser," 545.

⁹⁴⁸ If we assume the distance from Delhi to Surat as 1100 kilometers and the duration as fourteen days, the average speed of a courier was seventy-eight kilometers per day. The Ottoman courier from Mecca to Istanbul traveled nearly 4100 kilometers in sixty-six days with the average speed of sixty-two kilometers per day.



Map 5.1. The first news of Nadir's Indian campaign arrives in Istanbul

5.5.2. A Detailed Report on the Campaign

The longest of the three documents is *the spy report on the campaign*, around one hundred and eighty lines. It explains the military operations of Nadir's campaign in detail, by giving out certain dates, the names of Iranian commanders, and the locations and number of the troops. The text has no title and gives no information about its writer. The report begins with the departure of the Iranian army from Isfahan and ends with its return to Qandahar from Delhi. Therefore, it must have been written around May 1740. The possibilities of being written after 1740 or being a summary/translation of a Persian text are unlikely due to three reasons. First, the text begins and ends without a note explaining that the report is a translation as usual in the Ottoman documents. Second, the document must be a draft, since its calligraphy is hard-to-read and the scribe or author used an informal language as in the examples of "tapşurub," "Dede burcunu urdular" and "ismini Nadir-abad kodu." The third and most important reason is that *the spy report on the campaign* contains distinctive chronological mistakes. The text gives the dates of the events with a difference of one year. For instance, the date of Nadir's departure from Isfahan is

17.B.1149/21 November 1736, whereas the report gives it as 26 November 1735: “Bin yüz kırk sekiz senesin Receb-i şerifinde onuncu günü [10.B.1148/26 November 1735] İsfehandan hareket...”⁹⁴⁹ The Iranian troops around Qandahar were successful to subdue the local rulers in the region and joined the siege of Qandahar at the beginning of 1738⁹⁵⁰ while the date in the document was January 1737: “Kırk dokuz ramazan-ı şerifinin gurreesi günü [01.N.1149/3 January 1737] Tahmasb askeri tamam-ı Kandahar üzerine cem oldular.”⁹⁵¹ Another example is the date of Nadir’s return to Kabul from Delhi: “...ve andan hiç bir mahallere tavkkuf etmeyub on günde Kabile gelub on günde olub ve bin yüz elli bir senesi Ramazan-ı şerifenin [01.N.1151/13 December 1738]... idub...”⁹⁵² Nadir Shah arrived Kabil on 01.N.1152/2 December 1739.⁹⁵³

When we consider adding a year to the dates in *the spy report on the campaign*, they become consistent with other sources since the dates in the report are mostly accurate in terms of days and months. The Iranian army took Qandahar on 02.Z.1150/23 March 1738. The report does not give an exact date for the end of the siege but a certain day after *eid al-fitr* and *nowruz*: “...iyd-i Ramazan [01.L.1150/22 January 1738] ve iyd-i Nevruz [21 March 1738] idub bir gün andan Tahmasb iki bin askere emr idub... Dede burcunun altında olan kayaya Ağvandan habersiz gizlediler...”⁹⁵⁴ According to Lockhart, Nadir set out from Qandahar for India on 21 May 1738.⁹⁵⁵ The report gives the date of Nadir’s leave as 23 May 1738, a difference of two days: “...mah-ı Saferin üçüncü günü [03.S.1151] Kandahardan hareket...”⁹⁵⁶ It

⁹⁴⁹ BOA. HAT. 58454.

⁹⁵⁰ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 117.

⁹⁵¹ BOA. HAT. 58454.

⁹⁵² BOA. HAT. 58454.

⁹⁵³ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 157.

⁹⁵⁴ BOA. HAT. 58454.

⁹⁵⁵ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 123.

⁹⁵⁶ BOA. HAT. 58454.

gives the correct day and month for the departure of the Iranian army from Delhi:
“...Saferin yedinci günü [07.S.1152/16 May 1739] Cihanabaddan çıkub...”⁹⁵⁷

The narrative in *the spy report on the campaign* is more accurate in terms of the order of events and the names of locations and people. The report tells the revolt and massacre in Delhi as follows:

...şehrin öte tarafında Pahar-gence mahallesinde ahşama karib Tahmasb üzerine yürüyüş eylediler. Bir kaç ademini şehir içinde katl ve Tahmasba haber geldikde iki bin piyade tayin ve anların etrafını kesub sabaha dek beklediler. Sabah olub Tahmasb atlanub büyük camiye girub, tamam-ı askeri isteyub ve her bir mahalleye bin... çapul virub şehrin yarusını aldılar erkekleri katl ve ehl ve iyallerin esir ve emvalleri gazin eylediler ve yarusını... ve andan Kameruddin Han Nizam-ul Mülk gelub çok niyaz eyledi ki “Bu şehrin günahından geç” diyu esirleri geruye virub...”⁹⁵⁸

On Delhi massacre, Lockhart wrote by referring various sources:

...dispatched some mounted *nasaqchis* to the Paharganj granaries... this mob then attacked and killed the *nasaqchis*... Realising then that the trouble was of a serious nature, Nadir dispatched a body of 1,000 jazayirchis to quell the rioters, but, owing to the darkness and the smallness of their numbers, they failed to restore the order. The Shah then ordered his men to remain under arms all night, to defend themselves if attacked, but to take no further action without sanction from him. At sunrise the next morning Nadir mounted his horse and, with a strong escort, rode through the streets to the golden-domed Raushanud-Daula mosque... When the massacre had been in progress for some hours, the Emperor sent the Nizamul-Mulk and Qamarud-Din Khan to the Shah, to implore him to be merciful.⁹⁵⁹

As mentioned in the previous part, Tanburi Küçük Arutin sent one of his servants to gather information to Kabul in 1738 and left Nadir’s camp at Herat in 1740. We can assume a similar case regarding the source of this detailed report. An Ottoman representative/spy could have traveled in the Iranian army throughout the campaign.

⁹⁵⁷ BOA. HAT. 58454.

⁹⁵⁸ BOA. HAT. 58454.

⁹⁵⁹ Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 146-148.

He could have left the camp at Qandahar (just before Nadir Shah's expedition to Central Asia) to return the Ottoman Empire and present the report.

5.5.3. Müteferrika's Second Work on Iran: *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah*

Many scholars examined the life and works of İbrahim Müteferrika, the famous Ottoman publisher of the eighteenth century, and the books printed in his publishing house. He was born in Hungary in the early 1670s. When he converted to Islam and became an Ottoman subject, he chose the name İbrahim. He entered the "Müteferrika" corps members served in various missions in the Ottoman bureaucracy. He played significant roles in diplomatic negotiations in Ottoman conflicts with the Austrians and Russians in 1736-1739, and Ottoman-Swedish alliance against Russia. He established the first printing house that was permitted to print books in Arabic scripts in the Ottoman Empire in the late 1720s. He published four maps and seventeen books. İbrahim Müteferrika died in 1747.⁹⁶⁰

Müteferrika wrote two works on the political history of Iran in the first half of the eighteenth century. The first one, *Tarih-i Seyyah*,⁹⁶¹ was a Turkish translation of Krusinski's work on the decline of the Safavids and the rule of Afghans in Iran in the 1720s.⁹⁶² *Tarih-i Seyyah* was one of the first printed books in Müteferrika's publishing

⁹⁶⁰ Niyazi Berkes, "İbrahim Müteferrika," *EP*, vol. 3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), 996-998. Erhan Afyoncu, "İbrahim Müteferrika," *TDVIA*, vol. 21 (Istanbul: TDV, 2000), 324-327. Erhan Afyoncu, "İlk Türk Matbaasının Kurucusu Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler," *Bellekten* 243 (2001): 607-623. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, ed., *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2000), 134-138. Fikret Sarıcaoğlu and Coşkun Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi ve Müteferrika Matbaası* (Istanbul: Esen, 2008). Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni, 1726-1746* (Istanbul: Yeditepe, 2013).

⁹⁶¹ Tadeusz Judasz Krusinski, *Tarih-i Seyyah der Beyan-ı Zuhur-ı Ağvaniyan ve Sebeb-i İnhidam-ı Bina-i Devlet-i Şahan-ı Safeviyan*, trans. İbrahim Müteferrika (Istanbul: Dar-ut Tibaat-ul Mamure, H. 1142/1729).

⁹⁶² Lockhart gives a short biography of Krusinski and the story of translations of his work. Laurence Lockhart, *The Fall of the Safavi Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1958), 518-525. There are many edited and translated versions of Krusinski's work. Tadeusz Judasz Krusinski, *Histoire de la Dernière Revolution de Perse*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. Jean Antoine du Cerceau (Paris: Briasson, 1728); *The History of the Revolution of Persia: Taken from the Memoirs of Father Krusinski*, trans. Editorial Board (London: J. Pemberton, 1728); *Tarih-i Seyyah hoc est: Chronicon Peregrinantis Seu Historia Ultimi Belli Persarum Cum Aghwanis Gesti*, trans. Johann C. Clodius (Leipzig: Filium, 1731); *The chronicles of a Traveller or A history of the Afghan Wars with Persia, In the Beginning of the Last century, from Their Commencement to the Accession of Sultan Ashruf*, trans. George

house in Istanbul. The other, *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah*, is the unpublished second volume of the first one. The book broadly covers the political events in Iran and India from the Safavid reconquest of Isfahan in 1729 until Nadir Shah's return to Iran from India in 1740. It must have been written in the 1740s, between the end of Nadir's campaign and Müteferrika's death in 1747.

In the preface of his study on Nadir Shah, İbrahim Müteferrika clearly states that the sources of his second work on Iran were the reports of contemporary travelers from the East. He focuses on Nadir's rise to the throne and his campaign in Afghanistan and India:

...ve kendusi [Nadir] taht-ı İrana tasallut ve dava-ı istiklali ve sair keyfiyyet-i ahvali yine ol diyar seyyahlarının zabt ve tahriratından ahz ve tercüme ve nakl ve rivayet ile mehma imkan ber-acele cem ve derc ve tercüme-i ulada münderic vekaiye zeyl olmak üzere tertibe şuru olundu... ve kezalik tercüme-i saniyede Tahmas-kulu Hanın zuhuru ve Ağvan ve Hind ve Acem ile vaki keyfiyyet-i ahvali ve mabeynlerinde zaman-ı zuhurundan beru vuku bulan havadis ve vekai seyyahlardan zafer-yab olduğunu zabt ve tahrire göre nakl ve rivayet ve lakin devlet-i Aliyye ile vuku bulan vekai icmalen işaret ile iktifa olunub sıhhati üzere tafsili vekai-nüvislerin zabt ve tahrirlerine havale olundu... Seyyahlar rivayeti üzere...⁹⁶³

Müteferrika mentioned *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah* as “*tercüme-i saniye* [the companion translation],” therefore it could be identified as a translated account.⁹⁶⁴ The Gregorian calendar for certain dates in the text supports this view. Moreover, there

Newnham Mitford (London: J. Ridgway, 1840); *Tarih-i Afgan*, trans. İbrahim Müteferrika (Istanbul: Ceridehane, H. 1277/1860); *Xristian Seyyahın Tarixi: Sefeviler Dövlətinin Süqutuna Dair Qiymətli İlkin Menbe*, trans. Şahin Fazil (Baku: Azərneşr, 1993); *Judasz Tadeusz Krusinski'nin İran Seyahatnamesi*, trans. Nahide Şimşir (Istanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat, 2013); *Tarih-i Seyyah*, trans. İbrahim Müteferrika and ed. Recep Demir (Ankara: Grafiker, 2016).

⁹⁶³ İbrahim Müteferrika, *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah*, UBL. Vollers, 1024, 7a-7b.

⁹⁶⁴ The editors of *İstanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Katalogları* consider Müteferrika's work as an original text: “İfade ve üslubundan İbrahim müteferrika tarafından yazıldığı anlaşılıyor...” *İstanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Katalogları*, vol. 1/2 (Ankara: Maarif, 1943), 317. Nevertheless, Bekir Kütükoğlu, Mehmet Yaşar, Fikret Sarıcaoğlu and Coşkun Yılmaz present it as a translation in their writings. Kütükoğlu writes: “...muhtemelen İbrahim Müteferrika tarafından tercüme suretiyle vücuda getirilen *Tarih-i Seyyah Zeyli*...” Bekir Kütükoğlu, *Vekayinüvis: Makaleler* (Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1994), 322, note 10. Sırrı Efendi, *Risaletü-t Tarih-i Nadir Şah*, xxxiii, note 61. Sarıcaoğlu and Yılmaz, *Müteferrika*, 96. Also see, İsmail Orman, *Askeri Müze Yazma Eserler Koleksiyonu* (Istanbul: Askeri Müze ve Kültür Sitesi Komutanlığı, 2011), 65-66.

were many publications on Nadir Shah in European countries in the 1740s, publications from which he could benefit.⁹⁶⁵ Müteferrika's narrative-style shows significant similarities with them: It introduces his reader to the geography, history, and customs of cities and regions in Iran, Afghanistan, and India. He then continues with the main political and military events. However, the book should be considered as an original work instead of a translation due to its two distinctive features. First, it includes certain details that other contemporary accounts do not contain such as the short biographies of the Iranian commanders in Nadir's army, the importance of Mashhad for Shiis, and the enthronement ceremonies at Qazvin, in addition to Nadir's life and campaign in India. Second, it gives a room for its author's critiques of the contemporary sources on certain subjects, mostly under the title of "*dakika* [particularities]." For instance, Müteferrika states that the presentation of Nadir as a new/second Timur in the contemporary European accounts was inaccurate. He comments on about the rumors about Nadir's life as follows:

...seyyahlar rivayeti üzere Nadir-i merkumun ibtida-i emirde zuhuru ihbarı diyar-ı Efrenc reside oldukda güya "selefde maruf Timura halef bir Timur-ı cedid zuhur itdi" diyu hakkında bir nice güftegu oldu ve lakin aslı ve nesli bilinmeyub mücerred etrafda mesafe-i baidede bulunub evfahi ve afaki ve dur-şenidi ahbarı havi bazı mekatib-i müşebbeh-ül meal ile istidlal olunub nice lağviyyat söylendi. Bazılar "Gürcistan beylerinden Osmaniyen cenklerinde maktul bir beyin" bazılar "Dağıstan Kumu beylerinden birinin oğludur" dediler. Bazılar "Horasani-ül asl Acemdir ve İsfahan muharebesinde Ağvanlara karışub mevcut bulunmuş idi" dediler. Bazılar "Horasan göçebesi Terakimelerinden bir aşiret beyidir" bazılar ise "Efrenc seyyahlarından azamüş bir Kızılbaşdır" dediler. Ve lakin indimizde Nadir merkumun menşei ve mebdinde ve aslında ve neslinde sıdk ve sıhate karib ol diyarda bulunan seyyahların tahriratından ve Acem halkından memalik-i Osmaniyeye ve memalik-i Rus taraflarına yazılan ve mekatib mazamininden isticlab olunan ahbardır ki hülasa-ı müfadi vech-i ati-ül beyan üzeredir Nadir Hanın menşeyi iklim-i Horasandır...⁹⁶⁶

Although Müteferrika refers to travel-accounts and letters from Iran and India without giving specific names, his study includes some details on the sources of his

⁹⁶⁵ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Europe's India, Words, People, Empires, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2017), 190-192.

⁹⁶⁶ İbrahim Müteferrika, *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah*, UBL. Vollers, 1024, 11a-11b.

work. On Nadir Shah's campaign on India, Müteferrika refers to a certain Dutch traveler/chronicler as "Nadirin vekayini cem iden Felemenk seyyahı."⁹⁶⁷ The source he mentions was most likely *Historie de Thamas Kouli-Kan: Sophi de Perse*, an anonymous account of Nadir's life published in Amsterdam in 1740, based on the Dutch reports.⁹⁶⁸ The number of troops in the Mughal army at Karnal in *Historie de Thamas Kouli-Kan* and *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah* indicates the relation between them. The former gave the number of the army as follows:

It consisted of 1200 Pieces of Cannon, most of them Brass, and 50 Mortars. All these formidable Preparations were augmented by 500 Elephants, loaded with Towers and armed Men...⁹⁶⁹

To which add, that instead of 500,000 horse in the Mogul army, that number has been with more probability applied to the foot, and the cavalry computed at only 200,000: But then the number of elephants and artillery has been in proportion as much enlarged, as that of the men has been lessened; it being affirmed that there were 3000 armed elephants, and 8000 pieces of cannon in the army of the Indian monarch.⁹⁷⁰

The number of the canons and elephants in the army matches the one Müteferrika gives in his work:

Ahval-ı Asker-i Hind. Ol diyar seyyahlarının tahrirat ve rivayetine itimad caiz görülürse Hind askerinin kesreti ve ziyneti ve şevketi hadd u saff ve tabirden dura-dur, bir vakit ve bir zamanda bu rütbe-i asker-i kesir görülmüş ve işidilmiş değildir. Dört yüz bin atlu ve ol mikdarı tüfenklu harbelu ve kemankeş ve mızraklu üç yüz bin tadad olunmuş idi. On bin top otuz bin deve iki bin filleri var idi. Nadirin vekayini cem iden Felemenk seyyahı ancak bin iki yüz bakır topları ve cenk için donanmış beş yüz filleri idüğün tahrir eyledi...⁹⁷¹

⁹⁶⁷ İbrahim Müteferrika, *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah*, UBL. Vollers, 1024, 90b.

⁹⁶⁸ *Historie de Thamas Kouli-Kan: Sophi de Perse*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Arkstee&Merkus, 1740-1741). The book was republished in Amsterdam in 1741, and in Paris in 1742 and in 1743. I will refer to its English translation, published in 1742. *The Compleat History of Thamas Kouli Kan, (at present called Schah Nadir) Sovereign of Persia*, 2 vols. (London: J. Brindley, 1742).

⁹⁶⁹ *The Compleat History of Thamas Kouli Kan*, vol. 2, 50. Also see, Willem M. Floor, "New Facts on Nadir Shah's Indian Campaign," in *Iran and Iranian Studies: Essays in Honor of Iraj Afshar*, ed. Kambiz Eslami (New Jersey: Zagros, 1998), 205, note 45.

⁹⁷⁰ *The Compleat History of Thamas Kouli Kan*, vol. 2, 94.

⁹⁷¹ İbrahim Müteferrika, *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah*, UBL. Vollers, 1024, 90b.

Another source of the work could be Jean Otter who met İbrahim Müteferrika while he was in Istanbul in the mid-1730s.⁹⁷² He returned to the Ottoman capital in August 1743, after staying two years in Iran to study Persian and four years in Basra acting as the French consul. In the preface of his book, Otter specifically thanked İbrahim Müteferrika for his knowledge on the geography of the region. His thanks imply the close relationship between them. It is possible that Müteferrika consulted Otter about recent news on Iran and Nadir Shah. *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah* relies on many other sources, but I could not locate them. Meeting this challenge requires a separate and detailed examination of the five extant copies of the manuscripts.⁹⁷³ The existence of five copies of the manuscript suggests its attraction and indicate the Ottoman elites' interest in the developments in Iran and India (see Table 5.10). New copies will probably emerge in time as the catalogues of manuscript libraries in or outside Turkey become accessible to researches.

Table 5.10. The copies of *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah*

No	Code	Scribe	Date	Collection	Library
1	B.285	?	?	Bağdat Köşkü	TSMK
2	EH. 1398	El-Hac Mehmed Rakımi	R.1165/ February-March 1752	Emanet Hazinesi	
3	Vollers 1024	?	?	-	UBL
4	2178/1	Mehmed Neşati	23.RA.1245/ 22 September 1829	Esad Efendi	SK
5	901-40	?	12.M.1189/ 15 March 1775	Yazma Eserler	ASMK

In conclusion, *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah* is unique regarding the details it covers and the language it was written in. It was the first and most detailed account on Nadir Shah in Turkish. Subhi Efendi, the Ottoman court chronicler of the time, did not write a word on Nadir's campaign in Afghanistan and India. His chronicle only mentions that the Shah had returned from India and his army was preparing for war against the Lazgis in Dagestan.⁹⁷⁴ In the preface of his work on the siege of Kars by the Iranian

⁹⁷² Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, vol. 1, 17.

⁹⁷³ The Leipzig University Library (UBL) copy of the manuscript, which is probably the original manuscript, has 209 pages with nineteen lines on each page.

⁹⁷⁴ "...şah-ı müşarün-ileyh dahi canib-i Hindden bad-el avdet dar-üs saltana-ı İsfahana uğramayup güya birkaç seneden berü daire-i itaatden huruc ile memalik-i İrana isal-i hasaret iden taife-i Lezgiyanın tedib

army in 1744, Sırrı Efendi emphasizes the manipulations and deviousness of Nadir's strategy in India against the Mughals without giving any detail on the campaign.⁹⁷⁵ If we leave Tanburi's travelogue and Müteferrika's study aside, there are two more Ottoman-Turkish texts that cover Nadir's life and his campaign in India. They were, however, written after Nadir's death: Hacibi's translation of Mirza Mahdi Khan's chronicle in the late eighteenth century and Tahir-ul Mevlevi's translation of James Fraser's *The History of Nadir Shah* in the early twentieth century.⁹⁷⁶

The three archival documents that I mentioned in previous pages and Müteferrika's *Zeyl-i Tarih-i Seyyah* indicate that the Sublime Porte was well informed about developments in Iran and India, although the contemporary Ottoman scholars preferred not to write about Nadir's Indian campaign, except for İbrahim Müteferrika.

ü guşmaları için üzerlerine sefer ü hareket eylemek avazesıyla..." Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi*, 712.

⁹⁷⁵ "...tevfir-i hazine kasdıyla esab-ı umurdan belki ind-el ukala muhal add olunan mevaddan diyar-ı baid Hindistana asakir-i bi-şumar ile azimet ve tedarük-i zahire ve ab hususlarında muhayyir-i ukul nice emr-i garib vaz-ı acib ihtirayıyla dar-ül mülk-i Hind olan Cihanabada varup ala tarık-ıl kahr u galebesiyle hazain ve emval-i bi-hisab gasb eylemesi gibi ve iktiza eyledikçe meydanda saf muharebelerinde vesile-i galebe ve zafer olacak hile-i ceng ve imal-i askerde kemal-i maharer ve kudret misillü haletlerinden..." Sırrı Efendi, *Risaletü-t Tarih-i Nadir Şah*, 8.

⁹⁷⁶ Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Tarih-i Nadir Şah Tercümesi*, trans. and ed. Karslı Hacibi (1) SK. Esad Efendi, 2179. (2) IAEK. ŞR., 248. (3) İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi, 1319. James Fraser, *The History of Nadir Shah: Formerly Called Thamas Kuli Khan, The Present Emperor of Persia* (London: W. Straban, 1742). Fraser's account on Nadir Shah was translated into Persian by Abu al-Qasim Khan in the first decade of the twentieth century. Tahir-ul Mevlevi translated the Persian translation into Turkish in 1910. James Fraser, *Hind'in Moğol Hükümdarları ve Nadir Şah*, tr. Tahir-ul Mevlevi (Trabzon: İkbal, 1910).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The eighteenth century was a period of transition in between the classical and modern eras of Ottoman history. It did not witness such grand-transformation as the abolition of the Janissaries in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, minor ones like the abolition of the *levendat* system, the attempt to establish *humbaracıyan*, the powerful black eunuchs in court politics, the rise of local or regional households in the empire as in the cases of the Azms in Syria, the Jalilis in Mosul, and the *Mamluks* in Baghdad and Egypt, the establishment of printing presses in Turkish, the spread of the *Sabk-i Hindi* style among Turkish poets, and the rapid increase in the number of ambassadorial reports, *sefaretnames*, did occur. Russia's expansion in the Caucasus and aggressive policy toward Poland, and the collapse of the Safavids in the East were some of the significant developments that affected Ottoman foreign policy from the 1720s to the 1750s.

This study has aimed to cast light on this interesting period in general and to establish the main features of Ottoman information networks in lands to the east of the empire in 1736-47, in particular. It tries to explain how and when the Ottomans learned about the significant developments in the region in these years, when Nadir Shah dominated Iran and challenged its neighbors. It looks into the journeys and sojourns of the Ottoman, Iranian, Indian, and Uzbek ambassadorial missions and examines the official documents they delivered and received. Furthermore, this thesis uncovers the stories of other agents such as travelers, captives, spies and merchants who played essential roles regarding the flow of information between Iran, India, and the Ottoman Empire.

In the process, the study offers corrections to certain chronological and geographical mistakes observed in the primary and secondary sources, flaws that lead to incoherent narratives regarding the same events and agents. The study also introduces hitherto unknown or neglected works of certain Ottoman authors,

including Münif Mustafa Efendi's *İran Sefaretnamesi* and İbrahim Müteferrika's *Zeyli Tarih-i Seyyah*. Thus the information provided on these authors in the present thesis complements significantly the many academic studies on these two important Ottoman bureaucrats and authors.

The research is based on (and refers to) hundreds of documents from the Ottoman archives in Turkey and dozens of primary texts in several languages regarding Ottoman-Iranian relations. Thus, the present study joins other recent works that highlight the abundance and variety of the primary sources of eighteenth-century Ottoman history. It should encourage other researchers to turn their attention to these rich but hitherto neglected sources of information. The present study also indicates that the richness of information facilitates and invites quantitative analyses.

The primary outcomes of the present study and its contribution to the literature can be summarized under four points. The first and obvious one is its contribution to biographical studies. The thesis presents the lives and careers of some of the eighteenth-century Ottoman bureaucrats in view of their social networks. It provides similar information on Iranian ambassadors, European travelers, and Ottoman captives, military officers and poets.

Second, the study casts light on the workings of the Ottoman government in the reign of Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754). His predecessor, Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730), enjoyed a stable reign, when Damad İbrahim Paşa led the Ottoman higher bureaucracy in 1718-1730. There were no significant changes in the main offices for a decade -except when an officer passed away. Mahmud I, however, frequently deposed and replaced grand-viziers, admirals, *şeyhulislams*, *reisulküttabs*, and *defterdars*. Therefore, understanding the policy-making processes and locating the *de facto* and *de jure* power-holders under his rule become a challenge. One has to consult a variety of sources and be sensitive to complexities to develop a coherent narrative that accommodates contemporary tensions and fluidities. Indeed, one can argue that the grand picture of Ottoman bureaucracy in the reign of Mahmud I was colorful, complex, and fluid.

Nevertheless, some people managed to hold their posts in the central or local governments for a long time with profound effects. I have examined the cases of two such statesmen, namely Hacı Beşir Ağa, the chief of black eunuchs, in Istanbul and Ahmed Paşa, the governor of Baghdad. They kept their respective positions for more than twenty years. Both tried to influence the government's Iran policy while pursuing their different and conflicting agendas. A significant difference between them was Hacı Beşir Ağa's formalistic outlook that led him to insist on not recognizing Jafarism as a formal (legitimate) *madhhab* (school of law) as opposed to Ahmed Paşa's pragmatic willingness to negotiate the issue with Iranians. Monolithic views would fail to explain the seemingly bizarre situations observed in the eastern front of the empire in the 1740s. We would be unable to explain, for instance, why the Iranian army besieged Kars, Mosul, but not Baghdad, or why an Ottoman representative participated in the Najaf meeting despite the Porte's firm rejection of Nadir's request that Ottoman scholars attended it.

My point here is that historians need to be aware of differences –between the central and provincial actors and sources in this case as well as in general– to make sense of the subtleties of this complex era. Reliance on assumptions influenced by more familiar central documents and retrospectively modernist (centrist) orientations would prove inadequate even misleading in understanding the course of Ottoman-Iranian relations (and interactions) during the period under consideration. Similarly, we would miss the tensions and dynamics of the center's relations with the provinces.

The third outcome of my work on Ottoman information networks in the East is the clues it presents about Ottoman historical writing and record keeping –clues that have certain implications for modern historians as well. The royal registers (*name-i hümayun defterleri*) cover every letter Nadir Shah sent to the Porte, except for the ones in 1742. Similarly, Ottoman chroniclers like Subhi Efendi were silent about Nadir's campaign on India, except for Müteferrika's text. These facts indicate that the Ottoman court chroniclers were picky about certain topics in their recording of historical events. However, the Ottoman-Iranian correspondence at times of war and information related to spies at times of peace and peace negotiations indicate that

the Ottomans were interested in obtaining detailed and specific information on the new dynasty as well as in the political, economic, social, and cultural developments in Iran. Looking into Ottoman-Iranian relations with a focus on agencies of information enables us to recognize the grey areas in diplomacy, the times between war and peace, transitions from one situation into another, and the interactivity of relations. Münif's mission in 1742, the report of Molla Veli in 1745, and the significant changes that Nadir Shah's titles and epithets underwent in time in Ottoman primary sources should illustrate the point. (Careful analysis of the differences between the wording of the Ottoman letters sent to the court of Nadir and their drafts that exist in the Ottoman archives might yield significant information about the formulation and shifts of Ottoman foreign policy.)

Finally, this study's focus on diplomatic missions, couriers, scholars as well as travelers, merchants, couriers, spies, and captives highlights that the Ottomans and Iranians continuously interacted just as the representatives of the Ottoman and Afsharid governments did through war, peace, and negotiations. Certain literary works manifest the interactive nature of this relationship. A case in point is Münif's poem and Mirza Abd-ur Rezzaq's answer to Münif. Indeed, some Ottoman and Iranian delegates knew each other for ten or fifteen years by 1747. They were familiar with each other's sensitivities. Thus, the meetings between the Ottoman and Iranians in Istanbul in 1736 and at the border in 1747 were arranged by taking the astrological beliefs of the Iranian delegation into consideration (as it is indicated in the introduction above). Similarly, the Ottomans had their own prognostications. According to Hammer, the royal astrologers in Istanbul interpreted the fall of two meteors from the sky in 1740 as the deaths of two rulers in the north. The prophecy proved accurate since the Austrian emperor, and Russian empress died within the same week.⁹⁷⁷ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, a member of the Ottoman mission to Iran in 1747, considered an Ottoman sword sent to Nadir as a royal gift earlier, as a fortunate sign of the end of Nadir's reign and dynasty.⁹⁷⁸

⁹⁷⁷ Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 8, 29-30.

⁹⁷⁸ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 183.

Numan's text provides examples of concrete interactions as well. When he went to a public bath in Hamadan, a bath attendant warned him about the threatening situation in the city against the Ottoman mission. He began his words as "Ben Osmanlu'nun çok çöreğini yemişim... [I have benefited much from the Ottomans...]."⁹⁷⁹ Whether he was an informer or a layman treated well by Ottoman officials, who ruled the city for a while in the late 1720s, his warning saved the Ottoman mission as Ebu Sehl Numan noted.

The interaction between the Ottomans and Iranians on the military, cultural, social, diplomatic, religious, and economic dimensions was far away from a relation that flourished during peacetime and ceased in times of war since it was not limited to battlefields and diplomatic negotiations. The present thesis sheds light on some parts of this interaction while inquiring into the means of information that enabled the Ottomans to keep track of the events and developments in Iran and India in a particularly volatile period, in the time of Nadir Shah. This effort should highlight the significance of paying close attention to studying the multiple dimensions of the interactive relations between the Ottomans and Iranians, Indians, and other eastern states and societies. Studies on this *terra incognita* would enhance our knowledge of eighteenth-century Ottoman history and of the changes that affected Ottoman policies, society and culture in the eighteenth century.

⁹⁷⁹ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, 172.

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APPENDIX A

ROUTES AND DISTANCES

This appendix explains the routes and distances that are referred in this thesis in four parts. In the first part, I will present two assumptions and five sources to argue the possibility of measuring the distances regarding the Ottoman and Iranian agents' journeys. The second part looks into the return travels of Nazif Mustafa Efendi and Münif Mustafa Efendi to Istanbul. The next gives the distances in the five sources in detail. Then, I will list twelve routes followed by the agents during their journeys.

A.1. Sources and Assumptions

It is possible to calculate and compare the distance of travels of Ottoman and Iranian agents of the eighteenth century by considering two assumptions. First, the Ottoman and Iranian agents followed three main routes in Anatolia and Iraq as the Ottoman couriers did, namely the routes of postal service: The right side, middle side and left side. These terms are related to the geographical directions when one turns his back on Istanbul and looks eastward. Second, the distances of these main routes are convertible into modern metric system thanks to the primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources such as Ottoman ambassadorial reports or payment documents include most of the destinations of the Ottoman and Iranian agents' journeys. We can conclude that all agents used these three routes in Asian lands of the Ottoman Empire with few negligible differences. The origin of the three routes, right, middle and left, was Üsküdar. The right side route, or *hajj* route, was from Üsküdar to Eskişehir, Konya, Antakya, Aleppo, Damascus, and Mecca. The middle route was from Üsküdar to Bolu, Tosya, Merzifon, Diyarbakır, Mosul, and Baghdad. The left route was from Üsküdar to Bolu, Tosya, Merzifon, Erzurum, Kars, and Yerevan. All of them had numerous secondary routes.

The measurement of distance in the eighteenth century was very different from modern metric system. The Ottomans used various terms of length/distance such as

arşın, ayak, adım, mil, fersah, berid, konak but *saat* was the popular one. It refers to the distance that a horseman traveled in one hour in normal conditions. According to Halil İnalçık's article,⁹⁸⁰ one *saat* is equal to 5,685 km and one *konak* is 45,48 km. Cemal Çetin applied it to the Ottoman sources and argued these equations are consistent with modern metric system and are very close to the distances measured by modern systems.⁹⁸¹ I have referred these equations in their conversion to the metric system.

This thesis refers to the combination of five different sources to measure the distance of agents' travels from 1736 to 1747. The first is Çetin's book on Ottoman official couriers and the routes they followed.⁹⁸² His study focuses on the Ottoman measurement unit of *saat* in the analysis of Ottoman post-station registers (*menzil defteri*) of the eighteenth century and presents the three main routes in Asian lands of the Empire and the distances between two locations on them. Moreover, he specifically stresses which destinations (*menzil*) were new or which were not in use anymore in the first half of the eighteenth century, the same period of this research. The book is limited to the distances of the routes from Üsküdar to Damascus (right-side), Baghdad (middle) and Yerevan (left-side). The second source is Sak and Çetin's article on the distance between Istanbul and Mecca.⁹⁸³ It explains the route and destinations of Ottoman Muslim pilgrims traveled from Istanbul to the Hedjaz, based on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Ottoman travel accounts.

To measure distances from Yerevan or Baghdad to different locations in Iran is a challenge for a researcher since the literature offers some authentic texts and no secondary sources. I have referred to *Menzil Defteri* in a sixteenth-century Turkish

⁹⁸⁰ Halil İnalçık, "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology," *Turcica* 15 (1983): 339-340.

⁹⁸¹ Çetin, "Osmanlılarda Mesafe Ölçümü ve Tarihi Süreci," 456-457. In his article, Çetin gives the example of Evliya Çelebi's notes on the distance between Ardahan and Erzurum, which is consistent with the modern metric system. He also warns the reader about the possibility of inconsistencies of the equations as the number of samples increases.

⁹⁸² Çetin, *Ulak Yol Durak*.

⁹⁸³ Sak and Çetin, "XVII. Ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Hac Menzilleri."

manuscript, *mecmua*, in Süleymaniye Manuscript Library.⁹⁸⁴ It lists the routes from Istanbul to Baghdad and Tabriz, and from Baghdad to Hamadan, Mashhad, and Qandahar and gives the distances in terms of *saat*. I have used it for the destinations in Iran and Afghanistan. The main issue is that *Menzil Defteri* can be misleading since it was written two centuries before the period I investigate. Nonetheless, the distances and destinations it gives make it reliable for the eighteenth century. According to *Menzil Defteri*, the distance from Istanbul to Erzurum is 285 *saats* and to Baghdad is 469 *saats* while Çetin gives the same distances as 276 and 468 *saats*.⁹⁸⁵ The destinations in travel accounts of the eighteenth century such as Nazif Mustafa Efendi and Rahmi Efendi's ambassadorial reports or Jean Otter's travelogue are consistent with *Menzil Defteri*.⁹⁸⁶

The fourth source is Arutin's travelogue. I have referred to his notes on the Ottoman mission's journey from Isfahan to Qandahar. When there is no travel record between two destinations, I have calculated the distance by modern methods that can be found on websites,⁹⁸⁷ as a last resort. I have applied this method to measure the distance in six cases: Yerevan-Darband, Yerevan-Hamadan, Hamadan-Kurdan, Sahneh-Isfahan, Kermanshah-Sine, and Urfa-Nusaybin. This method is risky to measure pre-modern roads but can be useful to give an idea about the travel distances of the Ottoman and Iranian agents and compare their journeys (see Map A.1.).

⁹⁸⁴ *Menzil Defteri*, SK. Esad Efendi, 3262, 156b-159a.

⁹⁸⁵ *Menzil Defteri*, SK. Esad Efendi, 3262, 156b-157b. Çetin, *Ulak Yol Durak*, 149, 160.

⁹⁸⁶ An interesting point is that Arutin tells the story of "Zagferan Han" in his travelogue, which is most likely the destination of "Zaferani" in *Menzil Defteri*. Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, *Tahmas Kulu Han'ın Tevarihî*, 46-47.

⁹⁸⁷ "Distance Calculator," accessed January 1, 2016, <http://www.distancecalculator.co.za>.



Map A.1. The sources for the distance of the routes

A.2. The Return Journeys of Münif Mustafa Efendi and Nazif Mustafa Efendi

Before Nazif Mustafa Efendi came back to Istanbul in 1746, Hacı Mehmed, an Ottoman courier, arrived at the capital and presented his report to the Porte on 27 November 1746. His report includes sufficient information to check the validity of our assumptions on the daily speed of the agents. In his report, Hacı Mehmed gives the details of his and Nazif Mustafa Efendi's journeys, in addition to his estimation of the present location of Nazif Efendi:

Mardinden gelen tatar-ı hazret-i sadr-ı ali Hacı Mehmed kullarınızın takriridir. 13 Zilkade 1159 [27 November 1746]. Kulunuz Mardinden çikalı on iki gün oldu. Kulunuz çıkmazdan bir gün mukaddem [01.ZA.1159/15 November 1746] elçi Nazif Mustafa Efendi Mardine dahil olub bir gün anda meks ve kulunuz çıktığım gün [02.ZA.1159/16 November 1746] ol dahi Dersaadete azimet eyledi. Muma ileyh mekatib-i Aliyye ile isticale giden tatarı Kangal menziline rast geldim. Elçi-i muma ileyh tahminen bugünlerde Sivasa dahil olmuşdur... diyu takrir eder.⁹⁸⁸

⁹⁸⁸ "The report of Hacı Mehmed, the courier of the grand-vizier, who came from Mardin. [27 November 1746]. It has been twelve days since your servant [Hacı Mehmed] left Mardin. The day before your servant left, the ambassador, Nazif Mustafa Efendi, arrived Mardin and rested for a day. The day your servant left the city, he also began his travel to Istanbul. In Kangal, I came across a courier with letters

According to the document, Nazif Mustafa Efendi reached Mardin on 01.ZA.1159/15 November 1746 and left the city with Hacı Mehmed next day. Hacı Mehmed arrived at the capital twelve days later, on 13.ZA.1159/27 November 1746. Nazif Mustafa Efendi came back to Istanbul on 30.ZA.1160/13 December 1746, thus he spent twenty-nine days between Mardin and Istanbul. In his study on the postal service of the eighteenth century, Çetin gives the distance between Mardin and Istanbul as 1785 kilometers and between Mardin and Sivas as 699 kilometers.⁹⁸⁹ Nazif's average speed was 61.5 kilometers per day, and he covered 738 kilometers in twelve days. That is to say, Nazif should have been near Sivas when Hacı Mehmed presented his report in Istanbul.

The sources, however, do not give detailed information on the travels of all agents. The tables in the fourth chapter include certain cases that I could not locate how many days an agent stayed in a destination during his journey, so I had to assume the arrival date as the departure date. This assumption distorts the reality of conditions of a journey in the eighteenth century and decreases the validity level of outcomes on average speeds of agents. Nevertheless, these deficits in calculations should be acceptable since all results aim to compare the average speeds of various agents rather than stating their exact speeds. In addition to the opportunity to observe the outcomes in quantitative terms, such estimations can fill in the gaps in the agent's travels like Münif Mustafa Efendi's return to Istanbul and most certainly help scholars in their researches by narrowing the dates from seasons to months, from months to weeks and days as they scan hundreds of pages of registers and archival documents.

In early 1742, Münif Efendi (the ambassador) and Nazif Efendi (the deputy ambassador) departed from Nadir's army in Karakaytak after unsuccessful negotiations for a peace treaty. During their return, they arrived at Erzurum on 8 March and stayed for two days. According to Nazif's report, Münif Efendi left the

who was on his way to the ambassador, in a hurry. I guess the ambassador have arrived Sivas today... as he [Hacı Mehmed] informs." BOA. A.AMD. 7-57.

⁹⁸⁹ Çetin, *Ulak Yol Durak*, 143.

mission in Kelkit (between Erzurum and Istanbul) to travel faster by the orders of the Porte.⁹⁹⁰ Münif arrived at the capital on 04.S.155/10 April 1742. A spy from Yerevan, in disguise as a merchant, caught up the rest of the mission in Hacıköyü and presented his report to Nazif about the recent developments in Iran.⁹⁹¹

Unfortunately, Nazif's report on does not give any date for either his meeting with the spy and his arrival to Istanbul nor Münif's leave from the mission. Nevertheless, we can estimate the dates for these three occasions by taking the average speed of the mission between Kars and Erzurum as the constant, thirty-two kilometers per day. In our calculation, the Ottoman mission arrived in Kelkit where Münif left the mission on 11.M.1155/18 March 1742. Nazif Efendi and the rest of the mission continued their travel. Nazif met with the spy from Yerevan in Hacıköyü on 17.M.1155/24 March 1742 and came back to Istanbul on 21.S.1155/27 April 1742. In conclusion, Münif Efendi arrived in the capital seventeen days before Nazif Efendi.

A.3. The Distances in the Sources

The following fourteen tables give the distances in the sources. The first six are based on Çetin's two works, and they are more reliable than the others. Two Ottoman texts, *Menzil Defteri* and Tanburi's travelogue, are the sources for Tables A.7 and A.8. I have used modern methods as can be found on websites for the last six tables.

⁹⁹⁰ "...kat-i menazil ederek Kelkit çiftliğine vusulümüzde muma ileyh bendelerinin [Münif Mustafa] beş altı nefer ademisi ile ber vech-i istic al Asitane-i saadete atf-ı zemam müsaraat eylemeleri ve kullarının [Nazif Mustafa] dahi ağırlıklar ve baki ademler ile akablarından erişmesi hususlarını havi tahrirat-ı aliyye ve tensikat-ı celiyye vurud etmekle muciblerince hareket olunmuşdu..." BOA. HAT. 198.

⁹⁹¹ "... bu kulları [Münif Mustafa and Nazif Mustafa] Hacı Köyü nam mahalle geldikde çend mah Erivanda misafiri olduğumuz Melek nam zımminin ticaret bahanesiyle mahsus bir nefer ademisi gelub..." BOA. HAT. 198.

Table A.1. The distance between Üsküdar, Aleppo, and Urfa⁹⁹²

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (saat)	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (saat)	Distance to origin (km)
Üsküdar	Kartal	4	23	4	23
Kartal	Gebze	5	28	9	51
Gebze	İzник	16	91	25	142
İzник	Lefke	6	34	31	176
Lefke	Söğüt	12	68	43	244
Söğüt	Eskişehir	9	52	52	296
Eskişehir	Seyyidgazi	8	45	60	341
Seyyidgazi	Hüsrev Paşa	8	46	68	387
Hüsrev Paşa	Bolvadin	12	68	80	455
Bolvadin	İshaklı	6	34	86	489
İshaklı	Akşehir	5	28	91	517
Akşehir	İlgin	9	52	100	569
İlgin	Ladik	10	56	110	625
Ladik	Konya	8	46	118	671
Konya	Karapınar	24	136	142	807
Karapınar	Ereğli	12	69	154	876
Ereğli	Ulukışla	9	51	163	927
Ulukışla	Dölek (Yayla)	14	79	177	1006
Dölek	Adana	18	103	195	1109
Adana	Kurdkulağı	12	67	207	1176
Kurdkulağı	Payas	8	46	215	1222
Payas	Bağras (Belen)	7	40	222	1262
Bağras (Belen)	Antakya	9	51	231	1313
Antakya	Tenrin (Tizin)	12	69	243	1382
Tenrin (Tizin)	Aleppo	10	56	253	1438
Aleppo	Kilis	12	69	265	1507
Kilis	Antep	9	51	274	1558
Antep	Birecik	12	68	286	1626
Birecik	Urfa	12	68	298	1694

Table A.2. The distance between Üsküdar, Aleppo, and Damascus⁹⁹³

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (saat)	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (saat)	Distance to origin (km)
Üsküdar	Antakya	231	1313	231	1313
Antakya	Damascus	76	432	307	1745

⁹⁹² Çetin, *Ulak Yol Durak*, 92-126. One saat is equal to 5,685 kilometers.

⁹⁹³ Çetin, 114-117.

Table A.3. The distance between Üsküdar, Diyarbakır, and Baghdad⁹⁹⁴

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (saat)	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (saat)	Distance to origin (km)
Üsküdar	Kartal	4	23	4	23
Kartal	Gebze	5	28	9	51
Gebze	İznikmid	9	51	18	102
İznikmid	Sapanca	7	40	25	142
Sapanca	Hendek	12	68	37	210
Hendek	Düzcepazarı	12	69	49	279
Düzcepazarı	Bolu	12	68	61	347
Bolu	Gerede	12	68	73	415
Gerede	Bayındır	9	51	82	466
Bayındır	Çerkes	6	34	88	500
Çerkes	Karacalar	3	17	91	517
Karacalar	Karacivan	4	23	95	540
Karacivan	Koçhisar	8	46	103	586
Koçhisar	Tosya	10	56	113	642
Tosya	Hacıhamza	9	52	122	694
Hacıhamza	Osmancık	9	51	131	745
Osmancık	Merzifon	14	79	145	824
Merzifon	Amasya	8	46	153	870
Amasya	Turhal	12	68	165	938
Turhal	Tokat	8	46	173	984
Tokat	Sivas	18	102	191	1086
Sivas	Kangal	18	102	209	1188
Kangal	Alacahan	7	39	216	1227
Alacahan	Hasançelebi	7	41	223	1268
Hasançelebi	Hasanpatrik	10	57	233	1325
Hasanpatrik	Malatya	10	56	243	1381
Malatya	İzoli	10	57	253	1438
İzoli	Harput	16	91	269	1529
Harput	Ergani	18	103	287	1632
Ergani	Diyarbakır	12	68	299	1700
Diyarbakır	Mardin	15	85	314	1785
Mardin	Nusaybin	10	56	324	1841
Nusaybin	Mosul	45	256	369	2097
Mosul	Karakuş	4	24	373	2121
Karakuş	Erbil	12	68	385	2189
Erbil	Altunsuyu	12	68	397	2257
Altunsuyu	Kirkuk	9	51	406	2308
Kirkuk	Dakuk	9	51	415	2359
Dakuk	Tuzhurmatı	9	51	424	2410
Tuzhurmatı	Kefri	10	57	434	2467
Kefri	Baghdad	34	193	468	2660

⁹⁹⁴ Çetin, 126-149.

Table A.4. The distance between Üsküdar, Erzurum, and Yerevan⁹⁹⁵

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (saat)	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (saat)	Distance to origin (km)
Üsküdar	Kartal	4	23	4	23
Kartal	Gebze	5	28	9	51
Gebze	İznikmid	9	51	18	102
İznikmid	Sapanca	7	40	25	142
Sapanca	Hendek	12	68	37	210
Hendek	Düzcepazarı	12	69	49	279
Düzcepazarı	Bolu	12	68	61	347
Bolu	Gerede	12	68	73	415
Gerede	Bayındır	9	51	82	466
Bayındır	Çerkes	6	34	88	500
Çerkes	Karacalar	3	17	91	517
Karacalar	Karacivan	4	23	95	540
Karacivan	Koçhisar	8	46	103	586
Koçhisar	Tosya	10	56	113	642
Tosya	Hacıhamza	9	52	122	694
Hacıhamza	Osmancık	9	51	131	745
Osmancık	Merzifon	14	79	145	824
Merzifon	Ladik	8	46	153	870
Ladik	Sonisa	12	68	165	938
Sonisa	Niksar	12	68	177	1006
Niksar	Tilemse	12	68	189	1074
Tilemse	Hacımurad	12	69	201	1143
Hacımurad	Karahisar-i Şarki	15	85	216	1228
Karahisar-i Şarki	Şiran	12	68	228	1296
Şiran	Germuri	12	68	240	1364
Germuri	Karakulak	11	63	251	1427
Karakulak	Aşkale	15	85	266	1512
Aşkale	Erzurum	10	58	276	1570
Erzurum	Hasankale	6	33	282	1603
Hasankale	Mecengerd	11	63	293	1666
Mecengerd	Karahamza	11	62	304	1728
Karahamza	Kars	6	34	310	1762
Kars	Kızilkule	10	57	320	1819
Kızilkule	Karbansaray	8	45	328	1864
Karbansaray	Yerevan	8	46	336	1910

Table A.5. The distance between Üsküdar, Şiran, and Trabzon⁹⁹⁶

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (saat)	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (saat)	Distance to origin (km)
Üsküdar	Şiran	228	1296	228	1296
Şiran	Gümüşhane	14	79	242	1375
Gümüşhane	Trabzon	23	137	266	1512

⁹⁹⁵ Çetin, 126-186.

⁹⁹⁶ Çetin, 161-164.

Table A.6. The distance between Baghdad, Mashhad, and Qandahar⁹⁹⁷

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (saat)	Distance (km)
Baghdad	Han Saffe	4	23
Han Saffe	Behruz	3	17
Behruz	Şehriban	8	45
Şehriban	Kızıl Ribat	5	28
Kızıl Ribat	Hankuli	5	29
Hankuli	Kasr-i Şirin	6	34
Kasr-i Şirin	Tak Ayağı	7	40
Tak Ayağı	Gerend	8	45
Gerend	Harun Abad	7	40
Harun Abad	Mahi Deşt	7	40
Mahi Deşt	Kermanshah	4	23
Kermanshah	Kuh bisutun	4.5	25
Kuh bisutun	Sahneh	4.5	26
Sahneh	Kagevar	7	40
Kagevar	Ester abad	4.5	25
Ester abad	Karye-i Zağa	4.5	26
Karye-i Zağa	Hamadan	9	51
Hamadan	Nevre	9	51
Nevre	Tecre	7.5	42
Tecre	Ducan	4	23
Ducan	Mezdkan	3.5	20
Mezdkan	Karye-i Şahsun	6.5	37
Karye-i Şahsun	Şehr-i Save	5	28
Şehr-i Save	Hurşid Abad	7.5	43
Hurşid Abad	Rast Fican	2.5	14
Rast Fican	Asl abad	9	51
Asl abad	Şehr-i Tahran	13	74
Şehr-i Tahran	Kunbed Kebud	8	46
Kunbed Kebud	Eyvan Keyf	6	34
Eyvan Keyf	Mahalle-i Bağ	7	39
Mahalle-i Bağ	Deh Nemek	7	40
Deh Nemek	Lasgerd (Sorkheh)	7.5	43
Lasgerd (Sorkheh)	Şehr-i Simnan	7.5	43
Şehr-i Simnan	Ahvan	7.5	42
Ahvan	Huşe	7	40
Huşe	Şehr-i Damğan	7	40
Şehr-i Damğan	Deh Molla	8	45
Deh Molla	Bestam	6	34
Bestam	Meyami	12	68
Meyami	Meyan deşt	7	40
Meyan deşt	Abbas Abad	6	34
Abbas Abad	Mezinan	8	46
Mezinan	Mehr	5	28
Mehr	Rivend	3.5	20
Rivend	Şehr-i Sebzvar	7	40
Şehr-i Sebzvar	Zaferani	7	40
Zaferani	Havz senk	6	34
Havz senk	Şehr-i Nişabur	8	45

⁹⁹⁷ *Menzil Defteri*, SK. Esad Efendi, 3262, 157b-159a.

Table A.6. (Continued)

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (saat)	Distance (km)
Şehr-i Nişabur	Kademgah	5.5	31
Kademgah	Kunbed Diraz	10	57
Kunbed Diraz	Tark	6	34
Tark	Mashhad	3.5	20
Mashhad	Seng Sebt	7	40
Seng Sebt	Herize	7.5	43
Herize	Hayrabad	7.5	43
Hayrabad	Terbetcam	8	45
Terbetcam	Abbas Abad	6	34
Abbas Abad	Kehr riz	3.5	20
Kehr riz	Küfrkale	5.5	31
Küfrkale	Şiş	7.5	42
Şiş	Şekiban	9.5	54
Şekiban	Herat	9.5	54
ŞHerat	Şah Bid	10	57
Şah Bid	Ederseker	9	51
Ederseker	Şehr-i Semendar	11.5	65
Şehr-i Semendar	Ab-ı Zendegani	10.5	60
Ab-ı Zendegani	Cice	10	57
Cice	Rıbat yitu	8.5	48
Rıbat yitu	Şehr-i Ferh	9	51
Şehr-i Ferh	Harmalık	8.5	48
Harmalık	Habhək	10.5	60
Habhək	Dil Aram	10	57
Dil Aram	Şurab	14	80
Şurab	Gereşk	12	68
Gereşk	Halhuban	10	57
Halhuban	Köşk-i nehut	2	11
Köşk-i nehut	Ergandab	10	57
Ergandab	Qandahar	6	34

Table A.7. The distance between Damascus, Medina, and Mecca⁹⁹⁸

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (saat)	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (saat)	Distance to origin (km)
Damascus	Medina	357.5	1787	357.5	1787
Medina	Mecca	113.5	568	471	2355

⁹⁹⁸ The distance from Baghdad to Simnan is based on an anonymous Ottoman pilgrimage account in 1780-1781. *Menazil-ül Hacc*, SK. Aşir Efendi, 241/2, 51b-59b. Latif Armağan, İzzet Sak and Cemal Çetin examine the account in their articles, in detail. A. Latif Armağan, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Hac Yolu Güzergahı ve Menziller (=Menazilü'l-Hacc)," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 20 (2000): 73-118. Sak and Çetin, "XVII. Ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Hac Menzilleri," 214-217. One *saat* is equal to five kilometers between Damascus and Mecca. Sak and Çetin, 211.

Table A.8. The distance between Isfahan, Yazd, Kerman, Sistan, and Qandahar⁹⁹⁹

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (<i>konak</i>)	Distance (km)
Isfahan	Yazd	7	318
Yazd	Kerman	10	455
Kerman	Sistan	10	455
Sistan	Qandahar	10	455

Table A.9. The distance between Yerevan, Darband, and Karakaytak¹⁰⁰⁰

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (<i>saat</i>)	Distance (km)
Yerevan	Yevlax	-	380
Yevlax	Mugan	-	157
Mugan	Darband	-	370
Darband	Karakaytak	6	34

Table A.10. The distance between Urfa and Nusaybin¹⁰⁰¹

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (<i>saat</i>)	Distance (km)
Urfa	Nusaybin	-	227

Table A.11. The distance between Hamadan, Qazvin, and Kurdan¹⁰⁰²

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (<i>saat</i>)	Distance (km)
Hamadan	Qazvin	-	237
Qazvin	Kurdan	-	87

Table A.12. The distance between Sahneh and Isfahan¹⁰⁰³

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (<i>saat</i>)	Distance (km)
Sahneh	Isfahan	-	500

⁹⁹⁹ Tanburi Küçük Arutin Efendi, *Tahmas Kulu Han'ın Tevrihi*, 15-16. Arutin Efendi gives the distance in terms of *konak*. One *konak* is equal to 45.48 kilometers. Çetin, "Osmanlılarda Mesafe Ölçümü ve Tarihi Süreci," 455.

¹⁰⁰⁰ "Distance Calculator." According to Nazif's report, the journey from Darband to Karakaytak takes six *saats*. BOA. HAT. 198.

¹⁰⁰¹ "Distance Calculator." This road connects the right route to the middle route in Anatolia. Rahmi's account is also considered. Rahmi Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, 64.

¹⁰⁰² "Distance Calculator."

¹⁰⁰³ "Distance Calculator."

Table A.13. The distance between Yerevan and Hamadan¹⁰⁰⁴

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (saat)	Distance (km)
Yerevan	Hamadan	-	883

Table A.14. The distance between Kermanshah and Sine¹⁰⁰⁵

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (saat)	Distance (km)
Kermanshah	Sine	-	136

A.4. The Routes

Baghdad and Erzurum were two important Ottoman cities near the border between the Ottoman and Afsharid Empires. Kermanshah and Yerevan were the counter ones in Iran. When Nadir Shah was in the provinces of Azerbaijan or Dagestan, the missions followed the left-side route in Anatolia and reached their destination via Erzurum and Yerevan. If Nadir was in the other parts of Iran, the missions traveled between Istanbul and Baghdad by following the other two main routes in Anatolia, middle or right side. After Baghdad, they arrived Kermanshah and continued their journey to Nadir's court.

The Porte considered two factors whether the mission would follow middle or right side route between Istanbul and Baghdad. The distance was not one of them since the lengths of both routes were very close to each other.¹⁰⁰⁶ The first was the number of members of the mission. The Porte ordered crowded groups such as the missions of Hacı Khan and Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa to follow the right-side route, due to sea transportation of supplies between Istanbul and Antakya. The second is the economic and social situation of the town and cities on the routes. Every mission was an economic burden on people and rulers of the provinces on its route since they were responsible for the provisions of the mission. The Ottoman archives include many petitions from local people, written by local judges, *kadıs*, to Istanbul on this issue.

¹⁰⁰⁴ "Distance Calculator."

¹⁰⁰⁵ "Distance Calculator."

¹⁰⁰⁶ The difference between the distances of the two routes from Istanbul to Baghdad is eighty kilometers.

They requested the division of their mandatory share of supply with other regions or their exemption of it because they did not have enough resources.

I have established twelve routes by analyzing forty-eight journeys, which are not limited to ambassadorial missions. As mentioned before, it is easy to chart these routes in Ottoman lands but not in Iran. The origin and destinations of the agents in Iran were not constant due to Nadir's mobilized court. Therefore, I name the routes as "R," "M," and "L," which indicate they followed the right-side route, middle route or left-side route in Anatolia, by referring to Istanbul as the origin. In addition to this categorization, there are numbers that indicate their differences from each other since the agents used different secondary roads of the same route. In other words, the routes of M1 and M2 follow the middle route in Anatolia but they differ from each other after a place (see Table A.15.). Table A.16 shows the popularity of the routes by matching them with agents. The other tables in this part present the distances of the twelve routes in modern metric system, based on the combinations of the tables in the third part.

Table A.15. The destinations of the routes

Route	Destinations
R1	Üsküdar, Antakya, Aleppo, Kirkuk, Baghdad, Kermanshah, Sahneh, Isfahan, Qandahar
R2	Üsküdar, Antakya, Aleppo, Kirkuk, Baghdad, Kermanshah, Sahneh, Hamadan
R3	Üsküdar, Antakya, Aleppo, Damascus, Medina, Mecca, Jidda, Surat, Delhi
M1	Üsküdar, Tokat, Diyarbakır, Kirkuk, Baghdad, Kermanshah, Sahneh, Hamadan, Qazvin, Kurdan
M2	Üsküdar, Tokat, Diyarbakır, Kirkuk, Baghdad, Kermanshah, Sahneh, Isfahan, Kerman, Qandahar
M3	Üsküdar, Tokat, Diyarbakır, Kirkuk, Baghdad, Kermanshah, Sahneh, Hamadan, Tehran, Semnan, Mashhad, Qandahar
M4	Üsküdar, Tokat, Diyarbakır, Kirkuk, Baghdad, Kermanshah, Sahneh, Hamadan, Yerevan
M5	Üsküdar, Tokat, Diyarbakır, Kirkuk, Baghdad, Kermanshah, Sine
M6	Üsküdar, Tokat, Diyarbakır, Kirkuk, Baghdad, Basra, Surat, Delhi
L1	Üsküdar, Tokat, Şiran, Erzurum, Kars, Yerevan, Mugan, Karakaytak
L2	Üsküdar, Tokat, Şiran, Trabzon
L3	Üsküdar, Trabzon (by sea), Şiran, Erzurum

Table A.16. The agents and the routes

Route	No	Agent	Year
R1	1	Kılıç Reis (Baghdad to Kerman)	1736
	2	Kılıç Reis (Kerman to Baghdad)	1737
	3	Mustafa Paşa and Abd-ul Baqi Khan (Istanbul to Qandahar)	1737
	4	Jean Otter (Istanbul to Isfahan)	1737
	5	Haci Khan (Baghdad to Istanbul)	1741
R2	1	Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa (Istanbul to Hamadan)	1747
	2	Mustafa Khan (Kermanshah to Baghdad)	1747
R3	1	Unnamed courier of Sharif's man in Delhi (Delhi to Surat)	1739
	2	Two Indian ships (Surat to Jidda)	1739
	3	Unnamed courier (Mecca to Istanbul)	1739
	4	Sayyid Ataullah and Mehmed Salim Efendi (Istanbul to Delhi)	1745
M1	1	Abd-ul Karim Khan (Istanbul to Çerkes)	1738
	2	Abd-ul Karim Khan (Istanbul to Baghdad)	1740
	3	Mehmed Ağa (Baghdad to Istanbul)	1743
	4	Mehmed (Baghdad to Istanbul)	1745
	5	Nazif Mustafa Efendi and Fath Ali Khan (Istanbul to Kurdan)	1746
	6	Unnamed courier (Kurdan to Istanbul)	1746
	7	Lütfullah (Baghdad to Istanbul)	1746
	8	Hacı Mehmed (Mardin to Istanbul)	1746
	9	Nazif Mustafa Efendi (Kurdan to Istanbul)	1746
	10	Unnamed courier (Baghdad to Istanbul)	1747
M2	1	Muhammad Rahim Khan (Qandahar to Istanbul)	1738
	2	Muhammad Rahim Khan (Istanbul to Isfahan)	1739
	3	Jean Otter (Isfahan to Baghdad)	1739
M3	1	Mir Feyzullah (Semnan to Istanbul)	1736
	2	Mustafa Paşa and Ali Mardan Khan (Qandahar to Istanbul)	1739
M4	1	Fath Ali Khan (Yerevan to Istanbul)	1745
M5	1	Unnamed courier (Sine to Istanbul)	1744
M6	1	Jean Otter (Basra to Istanbul)	1743
	2	Sayyid Ataullah (Delhi to Istanbul)	1747
L1	1	Genç Ali Paşa and Abd-ul Baqi Khan (Mugan to Istanbul)	1736
	2	Abd-ul Karim Khan (Erzurum to Istanbul)	1737
	3	Ali Bey (Kars to Istanbul)	1740
	4	Münif Mustafa Efendi and Haci Khan (Istanbul to Karakaytak)	1741
	5	Münif Mustafa Efendi (Karakaytak to Istanbul)	1742
	6	Merchant-spy (Yerevan to Merzifon)	1742
	7	Rasul (Yerevan to Kars)	1743
	8	Muhammad Kurban (Kars to Erzurum)	1744
	9	Ahmed Ağa (Kars to Erzurum)	1744
	10	Unnamed Courier (Kars to Istanbul)	1745
	11	Hasan Ağa (Yerevan to Kars)	1745
	12	Unnamed courier (Yerevan to Istanbul)	1745
	13	Molla Veli (Kars to Yerevan)	1745
L2	1	Mustafa (Trabzon to Istanbul)	1746
L3	1	Iranian captives (Istanbul to Kars)	1736
	2	Ali Bey (Istanbul to Trabzon)	1740
	3	Iranian captives (Istanbul to Kars)	1740
	4	Iranian captives (Istanbul to Kars)	1741

Table A.17. The route of R1, from Istanbul to Isfahan and Qandahar

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Üsküdar	Kartal	23	23
Kartal	Gebze	28	51
Gebze	İzник	91	142
İzник	Lefke	34	176
Lefke	Söğüt	68	244
Söğüt	Eskişehir	52	296
Eskişehir	Seyyidgazi	45	341
Seyyidgazi	Hüsrev Paşa	46	387
Hüsrev Paşa	Bolvadin	68	455
Bolvadin	İshaklı	34	489
İshaklı	Akşehir	28	517
Akşehir	İlgin	52	569
İlgin	Ladik	56	625
Ladik	Konya	46	671
Konya	Karapınar	136	807
Karapınar	Ereğli	69	876
Ereğli	Ulukışla	51	927
Ulukışla	Dölek (Yayla)	79	1006
Dölek	Adana	103	1109
Adana	Kurdkulağı	67	1176
Kurdkulağı	Payas	46	1222
Payas	Bağras (Belen)	40	1262
Bağras (Belen)	Antakya	51	1313
Antakya	Tenrin (Tizin)	69	1382
Tenrin (Tizin)	Aleppo	56	1438
Aleppo	Kilis	69	1507
Kilis	Antep	51	1558
Antep	Birecik	68	1626
Birecik	Urfa	68	1694
Urfa	Nusaybin	227	1921
Nusaybin	Mosul	256	2177
Mosul	Karakuş	24	2201
Karakuş	Erbil	68	2269
Erbil	Altunsuyu	68	2337
Altunsuyu	Kirkuk	51	2388
Kirkuk	Dakuk	51	2439
Dakuk	Tuzhurmatı	51	2490
Tuzhurmatı	Kefri	57	2547
Kefri	Baghdad	193	2740
Baghdad	Han Saffe	23	2763
Han Saffe	Behruz	17	2780
Behruz	Şehriban	45	2825
Şehriban	Kızıl Ribat	28	2853
Kızıl Ribat	Hankuli	29	2882
Hankuli	Kasr-i Şirin	34	2916
Kasr-i Şirin	Tak Ayağı	40	2956
Tak Ayağı	Gerend	45	3001
Gerend	Harun Abad	40	3041
Harun Abad	Mahi Deşt	40	3081
Mahi Deşt	Kermanshah	23	3104

Table A.17. (Continued)

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Kermanshah	Kuh bisutun	25	3129
Kuh bisutun	Sahneh	26	3155
Sahneh	Isfahan	500	3655
Isfahan	Yazd	318	3973
Yazd	Kerman	455	4428
Kerman	Sistan	455	4883
Sistan	Qandahar	455	5338

Table A.18. The route of R2, from Istanbul to Hamadan

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Üsküdar	Baghdad	2740	2740
Baghdad	Sahneh	415	3155
Sahneh	Kagevar	40	3195
Kagevar	Ester abad	25	3220
Ester abad	Karye-i Zağa	26	3246
Karye-i Zağa	Hamadan	51	3297

Table A.19. The route of R3, from Istanbul to Mecca and Delhi

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Üsküdar	Antakya	1313	1313
Antakya	Damascus	432	1745
Damascus	Medina	1787	3532
Medina	Mecca	568	4100
Mecca	Jidda	-	-
Jidda	Surat	By ship	
Surat	Delhi	-	-

Table A.20. The route of M1, from Istanbul to Hamadan and Kurdan

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Üsküdar	Kartal	23	23
Kartal	Gebze	28	51
Gebze	İznikmid	51	102
İznikmid	Sapanca	40	142
Sapanca	Hendek	68	210
Hendek	Düzcepazarı	69	279
Düzcepazarı	Bolu	68	347
Bolu	Gerede	68	415
Gerede	Bayındır	51	466
Bayındır	Çerkes	34	500
Çerkes	Karacalar	17	517
Karacalar	Karacivan	23	540
Karacivan	Koçhisar	46	586
Koçhisar	Tosya	56	642
Tosya	Hacıhamza	52	694
Hacıhamza	Osmancık	51	745

Table A.20. (Continued)

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Osmancık	Merzifon	79	824
Merzifon	Amasya	46	870
Amasya	Turhal	68	938
Turhal	Tokat	46	984
Tokat	Sivas	102	1086
Sivas	Kangal	102	1188
Kangal	Alacahan	39	1227
Alacahan	Hasançelebi	41	1268
Hasançelebi	Hasanpatrik	57	1325
Hasanpatrik	Malatya	56	1381
Malatya	İzoli	57	1438
İzoli	Harput	91	1529
Harput	Ergani	103	1632
Ergani	Diyarbakır	68	1700
Diyarbakır	Mardin	85	1785
Mardin	Nusaybin	56	1841
Nusaybin	Mosul	256	2097
Mosul	Karakuş	24	2121
Karakuş	Erbil	68	2189
Erbil	Altunsuyu	68	2257
Altunsuyu	Kirkuk	51	2308
Kirkuk	Dakuk	51	2359
Dakuk	Tuzhurmatı	51	2410
Tuzhurmatı	Kefri	57	2467
Kefri	Baghdad	193	2660
Baghdad	Han Saffe	23	2683
Han Saffe	Behruz	17	2700
Behruz	Şehriban	45	2745
Şehriban	Kızıl Ribat	28	2773
Kızıl Ribat	Hankuli	29	2802
Hankuli	Kasr-i Şirin	34	2836
Kasr-i Şirin	Tak Ayağı	40	2876
Tak Ayağı	Gerend	45	2921
Gerend	Harun Abad	40	2961
Harun Abad	Mahi Deşt	40	3001
Mahi Deşt	Kermanshah	23	3024
Kermanshah	Kuh bisutun	25	3049
Kuh bisutun	Sahneh	26	3075
Sahneh	Kagevar	40	3115
Kagevar	Ester abad	25	3140
Ester abad	Karye-i Zağa	26	3166
Karye-i Zağa	Hamadan	51	3217
Hamadan	Qazvin	237	3454
Qazvin	Kurdan	87	3541

Table A.21. The route of M2, from Istanbul to Isfahan and Qandahar

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Istanbul	Baghdad	2660	2660
Baghdad	Sahneh	415	3075
Sahneh	Isfahan	500	3575
Isfahan	Qandahar	1683	5258

Table A.22. The route of M3, from Istanbul to Mashhad and Qandahar

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Istanbul	Hamadan	3217	3217
Hamadan	Nevre	51	3268
Nevre	Tecre	42	3310
Tecre	Ducan	23	3333
Ducan	Mezdkan	20	3353
Mezdkan	Karye-i Şahsun	37	3390
Karye-i Şahsun	Şehr-i Save	28	3418
Şehr-i Save	Hurşid Abad	43	3461
Hurşid Abad	Rast Fican	14	3475
Rast Fican	Asl abad	51	3526
Asl abad	Şehr-i Tahran	74	3600
Şehr-i Tahran	Kunbed Kebud	46	3646
Kunbed Kebud	Eyvan Keyf	34	3680
Eyvan Keyf	Mahalle-i Bağ	39	3719
Mahalle-i Bağ	Deh Nemek	40	3759
Deh Nemek	Lasgerd (Sorkheh)	43	3802
Lasgerd (Sorkheh)	Şehr-i Simnan	43	3845
Şehr-i Simnan	Ahvan	42	3887
Ahvan	Huşe	40	3927
Huşe	Şehr-i Damğan	40	3967
Şehr-i Damğan	Deh Molla	45	4012
Deh Molla	Bestam	34	4046
Bestam	Meyami	68	4114
Meyami	Meyan deşt	40	4154
Meyan deşt	Abbas Abad	34	4188
Abbas Abad	Mezinan	46	4234
Mezinan	Mehr	28	4262
Mehr	Rivend	20	4282
Rivend	Şehr-i Sebzvar	40	4322
Şehr-i Sebzvar	Zaferani	40	4362
Zaferani	Havz senk	34	4396
Havz senk	Şehr-i Nişabur	45	4441
Şehr-i Nişabur	Kademgah	31	4472
Kademgah	Kunbed Diraz	57	4529
Kunbed Diraz	Tark	34	4563
Tark	Mashhad	20	4583
Mashhad	Seng Sebt	40	4623
Seng Sebt	Herize	43	4666
Herize	Hayrabad	43	4709
Hayrabad	Terbetcam	45	4754
Terbetcam	Abbas Abad	34	4788
Abbas Abad	Kehr riz	20	4808

Table A.22. (Continued)

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Kehr riz	Küfrkale	31	4839
Küfrkale	Şiş	42	4881
Şiş	Şekiban	54	4935
Şekiban	Herat	54	4989
Herat	Şah Bid	57	5046
Şah Bid	Ederseker	51	5097
Ederseker	Şehr-i Semendar	65	5162
Şehr-i Semendar	Ab-ı Zendegani	60	5222
Ab-ı Zendegani	Cice	57	5279
Cice	Rıbat yitu	48	5327
Rıbat yitu	Şehr-i Ferh	51	5378
Şehr-i Ferh	Harmalık	48	5426
Harmalık	Habhek	60	5486
Habhek	Dil Aram	57	5543
Dil Aram	Şurab	80	5623
Şurab	Gereşk	68	5691
Gereşk	Halhuban	57	5748
Halhuban	Köşk-i nehut	11	5759
Köşk-i nehut	Ergandab	57	5816
Ergandab	Qandahar	34	5850

Table A.23. The route of M4, from Istanbul to Hamadan and Yerevan

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Istanbul	Hamadan	3217	3217
Hamadan	Yerevan	883	4100

Table A.24. The route of M5, from Istanbul to Kermanshah and Sine

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Istanbul	Kermanshah	3024	3024
Kermanshah	Sine	136	3160

Table A.25. The Route of M6, from Istanbul to Basra and Delhi

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Istanbul	Baghdad	2660	2660
Baghdad	Basra	-	-
Basra	Surat		By ship
Surat	Delhi	-	-

Table A.26. The route of L1, from Istanbul to Kars and Karakaytak

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Üsküdar	Kartal	23	23
Kartal	Gebze	28	51
Gebze	İznikmid	51	102
İznikmid	Sapanca	40	142
Sapanca	Hendek	68	210
Hendek	Düzcepazarı	69	279
Düzcepazarı	Bolu	68	347
Bolu	Gerede	68	415
Gerede	Bayındır	51	466
Bayındır	Çerkes	34	500
Çerkes	Karacalar	17	517
Karacalar	Karacivan	23	540
Karacivan	Koçhisar	46	586
Koçhisar	Tosya	56	642
Tosya	Hacıhamza	52	694
Hacıhamza	Osmancık	51	745
Osmancık	Merzifon	79	824
Merzifon	Ladik	46	870
Ladik	Sonisa	68	938
Sonisa	Niksar	68	1006
Niksar	Tilemse	68	1074
Tilemse	Hacımurad	69	1143
Hacımurad	Karahisar-i Şarki	85	1228
Karahisar-i Şarki	Şiran	68	1296
Şiran	Germuri	68	1364
Germuri	Karakulak	63	1427
Karakulak	Aşkale	85	1512
Aşkale	Erzurum	58	1570
Erzurum	Hasankale	33	1603
Hasankale	Mecengerd	63	1666
Mecengerd	Karahamza	62	1728
Karahamza	Kars	34	1762
Kars	Kızılkule	57	1819
Kızılkule	Karbansaray	45	1864
Karbansaray	Yerevan	46	1910
Yerevan	Yevlax	380	2290
Yevlax	Mugan	157	2447
Mugan	Darband	370	2817
Darband	Karakaytak	34	2851

Table A.27. The route of L2, from Istanbul to Şiran and Trabzon

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Üsküdar	Şiran	1296	1296
Şiran	Gümüşhane	79	1375
Gümüşhane	Trabzon	137	1512

Table A.28. The route of L3, from Istanbul to Trabzon and Erzurum

Departure Place	Destination	Distance (km)	Distance to origin (km)
Istanbul	Trabzon		By ship
Trabzon	Gümüşhane	137	-
Gümüşhane	Şiran	79	-
Şiran	Erzurum	274	-



APPENDIX B

A NEW OTTOMAN AMBASSADORIAL REPORT ON IRAN: MÜNİF MUSTAFA

EFENDİ'S *İRAN SEFARETNAME*Sİ

I will introduce a new Ottoman ambassadorial report to the literature, Münif Mustafa Efendi's *İran Sefaretnamesi*, under four parts. The existence of this report is shortly mentioned in three manuscript library catalogues and a thesis.¹⁰⁰⁷ Nevertheless, historians did not examine or refer to the original text in their writings. The first part reviews the works of Münif Mustafa Efendi and the academic studies in the literature. The next lists the copies of Münif's works in manuscript libraries. The third and fourth parts present the Latinized version of Münif's ambassadorial report on Iran in 1742 and Nazif Mustafa Efendi's (deputy ambassador) short report on the same mission.

B.1. Münif Mustafa Efendi: An Ottoman Poet and Ambassador

Münif Mustafa Efendi, an Ottoman poet and statesman, lived in the first half of the eighteenth century. His works are usually classified under four titles. These are *hadis-i erbain tercümesi*, *divan*, two *zafenames*, and *münşeât*. Münif's *hadis-i erbain tercümesi* is the Turkish translation of Jami's *hadis-i erbain*.¹⁰⁰⁸ His *divan* consists of his qasidas, ghazals, couplets and other kinds of poems.¹⁰⁰⁹ His two *zafenames*, one in verse of forty couplets and the other in prose, tell the Ottoman reconquest of

¹⁰⁰⁷ The catalogues of Millet Kütüphanesi, Berlin State Library and İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü introduce Münif's *münşeât* (prose) under two parts: Münif's letters and his report on Darband and Nadir Shah. The catalogue of Millet Kütüphanesi and Kılıç's thesis present the second part of Münif's prose as his *İran Sefaretnamesi*. Manfred Götz, *Türkische Handschriften*, vol. 4 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979), 272. Günay Kut et al., *İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Yazma Eserler Kataloğu*, vol. 3 (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2014), 1361. "MK.," accessed January 1, 2016, <http://www.milletkutup.gov.tr/>. Muharrem Kılıç, "Münif Antaki Hayatı Edebi Kişiliği Eserleri Divanının Tenkitli Metni ve İncelemesi" (MA thesis, Atatürk University, 1995), 20.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Hadis-i Erbain* or *Çihil Hadis* of Abdurrahman Jami is Persian translations of forty hadith of the Prophet Muhammad in verse. Ömer Okumuş, "Abdurrahman Cami," *TDVIA*, vol. 7 (İstanbul: TDV, 1993), 97.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Editorial Board, *İstanbul Kütüphaneleri Türkçe Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu*, vol. 3/1 (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1965), 556-563.

Belgrade in 1739.¹⁰¹⁰ *Münşeat* refers to his letters in prose. In addition to these four chapters, there is another one with the title of *terceme-i hal-i Münif*, a biography of Münif, which should have written by one of his close friends. There are three common forms for the copies of Münif's works in manuscript libraries. The first is titled as *Mecmua-i Münif* or *Külliyat-i Münif* which includes all of his works. The second is *Divan-ı Münif*, and it usually covers his *divan*, in addition to one or two of his works. In the third, we locate Münif's works as a singular chapter, mostly *zafername*, in mixed manuscripts, *mecmuas*. The printed version of Münif's *divan*¹⁰¹¹ covers *terceme-i hal-i Münif*, *hadis-i erbain tercümesi* and *divan*. The date and publisher are unknown. It was most probably printed in the nineteenth century.

The studies on Münif Mustafa Efendi mostly focus on his poems. Hilal Avcı wrote her graduate thesis on Münif's *divan* in 1979. It is probably the first academic study on Münif in Turkey. The subject of Muharrem Kılıç's thesis is again Münif's *divan*. Sabahattin Küçük's article on Münif's *Hadis-i Erbain Tercümesi* was published in 1997 and his book on Münif's *divan* in 1999. Özgen Felek wrote her thesis on the analysis of Münif's *divan* in 2000. Hafize Demirel's review of Küçük's book in 2005, Yalçınkaya's article in 2008, and Yıldırım's article in 2014 are recent academic writings on Münif.¹⁰¹²

These studies, however, do not cover the other works of Münif such as *münşeat* or *zafername*. Likewise, there is a lack of communication between scholars who

¹⁰¹⁰ Agah Sırrı Levend, *Gazavatnameler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Gazavatnamesi* (Ankara: TTK, 1956), 144-145.

¹⁰¹¹ Münif Mustafa Efendi, *Divan-ı Münif*, IBBAK., O. 566.

¹⁰¹² Hilal Avcı, "Antakyalı Münif ve Divanı" (Graduate thesis, Ankara University, 1979). Kılıç, "Münif Antaki Hayatı Edebi Kişiliği Eserleri Divanının Tenkitli Metni ve İncelemesi." Sabahattin Küçük, "Münif'in Kırk Hadis Tercümesi," *Türkoloji Dergisi* 12/1 (1997): 89-105; ed., *Antakyalı Münif Divanı*. Özgen Felek, "Antakyalı Münif Divanı Tahlili" (MA thesis, Fırat University, 2000). Hafize Gamze Demirel, "Sabahattin Küçük; Antakyalı Münif Divanı (Tenkitli Basım)," review of *Antakyalı Münif Divanı*, by Sabahattin Küçük, *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 15 (2005): 369-371. M. Alaaddin Yalçınkaya, "Münif Mustafa Efendi." Ali Yıldırım, "Antakyalı Münif'in Benzer İki Gazelinin Düşündürdükleri," *İlmi Araştırmalar: Dil, Edebiyat, Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 21 (2014): 193-205. Also see, Münif Mustafa Efendi, *Münif Divanı: Tenkitli Basım*, ed. Sabahattin Küçük, ISAM Library, 181992 (Elazığ: Unnamed publisher, 1995).

specialize in literary history and political history in Turkey. Historians of Turkish literature take only Münif's *divan* into the centre of their analyses, while academic writings on the Ottoman political history of the first half of the eighteenth century rely on the works of the Ottoman or Persian chroniclers like Subhi Mehmed Efendi or Mirza Mahdi Khan regarding to Münif's diplomatic mission in 1742, without giving any references to Münif's other works.¹⁰¹³ This fact explains the discovery of an Ottoman ambassadorial report not in a dusty/unknown manuscript in an uncatalogued library but among proses of a well known and studied Ottoman bureaucrat and poet of the eighteenth century.

Münif's *münşeât* should be examined under two parts rather than one part unlike most of the library catalogues and studies. The first part is the letters related to Raşid Efendi's diplomatic mission to Iran in 1729. Münif Mustafa Efendi was a member of the mission. The second is Münif's ambassadorial report on Iran (*İran Sefaretnamesi*). It usually takes place in the last pages of his *münşeât*.¹⁰¹⁴ The report begins as "Bab-ul ebvabdan avdet idub Asitane-i devlete vusulünde huzur-ı hümayunda arz eylediği takririn suretidir."¹⁰¹⁵

I have located ninety-eight manuscripts that include one or all of Münif's works.¹⁰¹⁶ I have listed them in nine tables by giving their titles, codes, scribes, dates, and collections of the manuscript libraries. Fifty-one copies are preserved in libraries in Istanbul. Another fifteen ones are located in other cities in Turkey, nineteen copies

¹⁰¹³ Külbilge, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)," 307. Ateş, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri*, 203-204.

¹⁰¹⁴ Münif's *İran Sefaretnamesi* takes place in the middle pages of three copies. (1) KVK. 629/1. (2) UML. Abdul Hamid, Isl. Ms. 444. (3) AUK. Mustafa Con A, 765/1.

¹⁰¹⁵ (1) SK. Esad Efendi, 2691. (2) SK. Hüsrev Paşa, 565. (3) MK. A.E. Mnz, 412. (4) MHK, 5169/1. (5) IAEK. ŞR, 5. (6) TSMK. 1947/1. In some copies, its title is "Bab-ul ebvabdan avdet idub Asitane-i devlete vusulünde huzur-ı hümayunda arz eylediği takririn suretidir ki aynıyle bu mahalle kayd ve sebt olundu." See, (1) SK. Ali Nihat Tarlan, 18. (2) KMM. TY, 5432. The text begins without any title in the other copies.

¹⁰¹⁶ The number is twenty-three for Kılıç and thirty-three for Küçük. Kılıç, "Münif Antaki Hayatı Edebi Kişiliği Eserleri Divanının Tenkitli Metni ve İncelemesi," 78-95. Münif Mustafa Efendi, *Antakyalı Münif Divanı*, 10-18.

are in libraries in Europe and USA, twelve copies are in Cairo, and one copy in Medina. Seventeen copies include Münif's ambassadorial report (see Table B.10.).

Among few named scribes/copyists of the copies, the name of "El-Hac Mehmed Recai" draws attention. He wrote six copies of Münif's *divan*.¹⁰¹⁷ Five of them are dated in the early 1750s. He also wrote a copy of *divan* of Nabi in 1750 and a copy of *Telhis-ul Keşf-ul Esrar* of Ebubekir Nusret Efendi in 1772.¹⁰¹⁸ I assume that he was Mehmed Emin Recai Efendi, the *reisulküttab* in 1761-1763 and 1769-1772, rather than a certain Mehmed Emin Recai who lived in the mid-eighteenth century. The dates of the manuscripts that he copied are consistent with the career of Recai Efendi, the *reisulküttab*.

Recai Mehmed Emin Efendi, son of Borlulu Halil Ağa, was born in 1719. He was a court scribe under the service of Koca Ebubekir Paşa in Jidda. The title of *el-Hac* or *Hacı* should be related to his life in the Hedjaz. He came to Istanbul under the patronage of Halil Paşa. The offices he was appointed were *tezkire-i sani*, *tezkire-i evvel*, *reisulküttab*, *çavuşbaşı*, *sadaret kethüdası*, *tersane emini*, *arpa emini*, *tersane emini* (second time), *reisulküttab* (second time), *reis vekili*, *rikab çavuşbaşısı*, *sadaret kethüdası* (second time) *şikk-ı evvel defterdarı*, *nişancı*, and *defter emini*, in that order. He died in 1780. Two buildings, a mansion and a school for children, *sıbyan mektebi*, had been built in Istanbul under his patronage.¹⁰¹⁹ Recai Mehmed Emin Efendi should have written six copies of Münif's *divan* and a copy of Nabi's *divan* before he was appointed to the office of *tezkire-i sani* in 1755. After he was removed from the

¹⁰¹⁷ (1) SK. Ali Nihat Tarlan, 18, 109a. (2) TSMK, R. 797, 94b. (3) IAEK. ŞR, 5, 91b. (4) MHK, 5169/1, 108b. (5) NLE. Turkish Manuscripts, 120. (6) NLE, Khidev Turkish Manuscripts, 8755.

¹⁰¹⁸ Nabi, *Divan-ı Nabi*, AMK. Adnan Ötügen, 1287. The date of the copy is H. 1163/1750. Ebubekir Nusret Efendi, *Telhisu Keşful-Esrar*, Çorum Hasan Paşa İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 163. The date of the copy is 1187/1772.

¹⁰¹⁹ Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 4, 1364. Süleyman Faik Efendi, "Zeyl ala Sefinet-ür Rüesa," in *Halikat-ür Rüesa* (Istanbul: Takvimhane-i Amire Matbaası, 1269/1853), 102-104. İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 5, 298, 344-346. Mikail Uğuş, *Recai Mehmed Efendi Sıbyan Mektebi Sebili ve Çeşmesi* (Istanbul: İlim Yayma Vakfı, 2013). Abdulkerim Abdulkadiroğlu and Mehmet Sarı, "Külliyat-ı Recaizade Ahmet Cevdet," *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi* 39 (2009): 323-333.

reisulküttab in 1772, he held no official post for the next two years. He copied *Keşf-ul Esrar* in 1772.

B.2. The Lists of Münif's Works in Manuscript Libraries

Table B.1. Münif Mustafa Efendi's works in TSMK¹⁰²⁰

No	Title	Code	Scribe	Date	Collection
1	Divan	R. 752/2	?	?	Revan Köşkü
2	Divan	R. 797	El-Hac Mehmed Recai	L.1164/September 1751	
3	Zafername	R.1324/2	?	?	
4	Zafername	R. 1325/3	?	?	
5	Divan	R. 1947/1	?	?	
6	Divan	H. 925	?	?	Hazine
7	Divan	H. 976	?	?	
8	Divan	Y. 633	Seyyid İbrahim	H. 1220/1805	Yeni
9	Divan	EH. 1465	?	?	Emanet Hazinesi

Table B.2. Münif Mustafa Efendi's works in SK¹⁰²¹

No	Title	Code	Scribe	Date	Collection
1	Divan, Münşeat	18	El-Hac Mehmed Recai	H. 1164/1751	Ali Nihat Tarlan
2	Zafername	109/6	?	?	
3	Zafername	193/3	?	?	
4	Divan	2691	?	H. 1175/1762	Esad Efendi
5	Zafername	3655/3	Hacı Mustafa Sıdkı	12.Z.1163/11 November 1750	
6	Divan	752	?	?	Galata Mevlevihanesi
7	Divan	5302	?	L.1241/May 1826	Hacı Mahmud Efendi
8	Divan	362	Abdullah Selam	Z.1202/September 1788	Hafid Efendi
9	Divan	664	?	?	Halet Efendi
10	Divan	153	?	?	Halet Efendi Mülhaki
11	Divan	565	?	?	Hüsrev Paşa
12	Divan	486	?	?	Lala İsmail Efendi
13	Divan	368	?	?	Mihrişah Sultan
14	Zafername	473/3	?	?	Pertev Paşa
15	Zafername	992/7	?	H. 1177/1764	Reşid Efendi
16	Divan	305	?	?	Yahya Tevfik Efendi

¹⁰²⁰ Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), 296-297; vol. 2, 193-194, 241, 245, 269. "T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Türkiye Yazmaları," accessed January 1, 2016, <http://yazmalar.gov.tr/>.

¹⁰²¹ İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, ed., *Türkiye Yazma Toplu Kataloğu*, vol. 34/1 (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Kütüphaneler Genel Müdürlüğü, 1981), 8, 86, 173-174. Editorial Board, *İstanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Kataloqları*, vol. 1/2, 197-198. "T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Türkiye Yazmaları."

Table B.3. Münif Mustafa Efendi's works in MK¹⁰²²

No	Title	Code	Scribe	Date	Collection
1	Külliyat	AE. Mnz. 412	?	?	Ali Emiri Manzum
2	Divançe	AE. Mnz. 413	?	?	
3	Zafername	AE. Edb. 391	?	?	Ali Emiri Edebiyat
4	Hadis-i Erbain	AE. Frs. 962/4	?	?	Ali Emiri Farsça
5	Zafername	AE. Trh. 470	?	?	Ali Emiri Tarih

Table B.4. Münif Mustafa Efendi's works in IUNEK¹⁰²³

No	Title	Code	Scribe	Date	Collection
1	Divan	61	?	?	Türkçe Yazmalar
2	Zafername	368/2	?	?	
3	Zafername	1246/7	?	?	
4	Divan	1443	?	H. 1223/1808	
5	Divan	1666	?	?	
6	Zafername	1779	?	?	
7	Divan, Münşeat	2860	Mehmed bin Mustafa El-Edirnevi	26.ZA.1168/3 September 1755	
8	Divan, Münşeat	2906	Veliyullah Tabı	H. 1171/1758	
9	Divan	5503/5	?	?	
10	Divan	5534	?	?	
11	Divan	2588	Molla İsmail El-Bukhari	15.RA.1274/3 December 1857	İbnülemin
12	Divan	2858/2	Feyzullah Beşiktaşlı	03.S.1168/19 November 1754	
13	Divan	3135	?	?	
14	Divan	3493/2	?	?	

¹⁰²² "T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Türkiye Yazmaları." "MK."

¹⁰²³ "T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Türkiye Yazmaları."

Table B.5. Münif Mustafa Efendi's works in other libraries in Istanbul¹⁰²⁴

No	Title	Code	Scribe	Date	Collection	Library
1	Divan	ŞR. 5	El-Hac Mehmed Recai	H. 1165/1752	Şevket Rado Yazma Eserler	IAEK
2	Divan	ŞR. 27	Müstakimzade Süleyman	R.1193/July 1779		
3	Mecmua-i Münif	25	?	?	Hüseyin Kocabaş Yazmaları	SHM
4	Mecmua-i Münif	26	?	?		
5	Divan	2675/1	?	?	Veliüddin Efendi	Bayezıt Devlet Kitaplığı
6	Divan	O. 66	?	H. 1174/1761	Belediye Yazmaları	IBBAK
7	Divan	443	?	?	Yazma Eserler	YKŞÇAK

Table B.6. Münif Mustafa Efendi's works in Ankara¹⁰²⁵

No	Title	Code	Scribe	Date	Collection	Library
1	Külliyat	559	?	?	Yazmalar	AMK
2	Külliyat	1958	?			
3	Zafername	2292/7	?	H. 1157/1744		
4	Mecmua-i Eşar	2605/1	?	?		
5	Divan	5264/6	?	?		
6	Zafername	6/1	?	?	Yazma Eseler	TTKK
7	Divan, Münşeat	765	Halil El-Ahmedi Resai Burusevi	H. 1165/1752	Mustafa Con A	AUK

¹⁰²⁴ Günay Kut et al., *İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Yazma Eserler Kataloğu*, vol. 1, 117-119, vol. 2, 579-581, 716, 844-45, 1042-1043, vol. 3, 1361. İsmail Bakar, *Sadberk Hanım Müzesi Kütüphanesi Hüseyin Kocabaş Yazmaları Kataloğu* (İstanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 2001), 144-145. Yücel Dağlı et al., *Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Araştırma Kütüphanesi Yazmalar Kataloğu* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2001), 180. "T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Türkiye Yazmaları." "IBBAK.," accessed January 1, 2016, <http://ataturkkitapligi.ibb.gov.tr/>.

¹⁰²⁵ "T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Türkiye Yazmaları." "TTKK.," accessed January 1, 2016, <http://kutuphane.ttk.gov.tr/opac/>. "AUK.," accessed January 1, 2016, <http://yazmalardtcf.ankara.edu.tr/>.

Table B.7. Münif Mustafa Efendi's works in other cities in Turkey¹⁰²⁶

No	Title	Code	Scribe	Date	Collection	Library
1	Divan	417	?	?	-	KVK
2	Divan	629	?	?		
3	Divan	5169/1	El-Hac Mehmed Recai	R.1163/ June 1750	-	MHK
4	Divan	1966	?	?	-	SYK
5	Divan	ASL 438	?	?	Agah Sırrı Levent	ATUK
6	Divan	1715	?	?	Yazma Eserler	IMK
7	Divan	1270	?	?	Raşid Efendi	KRK
8	Divan	5432	?	?	Türkçe Yazmalar	KMM

Table B.8. Münif Mustafa Efendi's works in NLE, Cairo¹⁰²⁷

No	Title	Code	Scribe	Date	Collection
1	Hadis-i Erbain	57	?	?	Talat
2	Zafername	110	?	?	
3	Divan	111	?	?	Talat
4	Külliyat	238	?	?	
5	Divan	96	?	?	Turkish Manuscripts
6	Divan	97	?	?	
7	Külliyat	120	El-Hac Mehmed Recai	16.S.1164/14 January 1751	
8	Müntehab-ı Divan	S 4463	?	?	
9	Divan	8731	?	?	Khidev Turkish Manuscripts
10	Divan	8732	?	?	
11	Divan	8755	El-Hac Mehmed Recai	?	
12	Divan	2	Salih bin Osman el-Üsküdari	H. 1166/ 1753	Khalil Agha

¹⁰²⁶ Güler Gönültaş, *Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi Türkçe El Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Manisa: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Manisa Şubesi, 1981), 11. Ali Yardım, *İzmir Milli Kütüphanesi Yazma Eserler Kataloğu*, vol. 3 (İzmir: İzmir Milli Kütüphane Vakfı, 1997), 301-302. Ali Rıza Karabulut, *Kayseri Raşid Efendi Eski Eserler Kütüphanesindeki Türkçe, Farsça, Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 1 (Kayseri: Mektebe, 1995), 13. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana Müzesi Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 3 (Ankara: TTK, 1972), 321-322. "T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Türkiye Yazmaları." "ATUK.," accessed January 1, 2016, <http://kutuphane.atauni.edu.tr/>.

¹⁰²⁷ Ali Hilmi al-Dağüstani, *Fihrist al-Kutub al-Turkiyah al-Mawjudah fi al-Kutubkhanah al-Khidiwiyah* (Cairo: Al-Matbaah al-Uthmaniyah, H. 1306/1889), 123-124. Nasrullah Mubasshir Tirazi, *Fihris-ul Mahtutat-it Turkiyye el-Osmaniyye: Elleti İktinetha Dar-ul Kutub-il Kavmiyye munzu am 1870 hatta nihaye 1980*, vol. 2 (Cairo: El-Heyet-ul Mısıriyyet-ul Amme lil-Kitab Fihris-el Makhtuta, 1989), 95-96; vol. 3 (Cairo: El-Heyet-ul Mısıriyyet-ul Amme lil-Kitab Fihris-el Makhtuta, 1990), 306. "T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Türkiye Yazmaları."

Table B.9. Münif Mustafa Efendi's works in Europe, USA, and Saudi Arabia¹⁰²⁸

No	Title	Code	Scribe	Date	Collection	Library
1	Eşar	Or. 6901	?	H. 1326/1908	Turkish Manuscripts	BL
2	Divan	Or. 7156	?	?		
3	Divan	Or. 7157	?	?		
4	Divan	Or. 9474	?	?		
5	Külliyat	Vat. Turco 228	Mehmed Edib	L.1283/ February 1867	Vaticani Turchi	VL
6	Külliyat	Vat. Turco 229	?	?		
7	Zafername	Vat. Turco 84/3	?	?		
8	Divan	Mxt. 60	?	?	Manuscripts and Rare Books	ANL
9	Divan	Mxt. 162	?	?		
10	Divançe-i Münif	Ms. or. oct. 948	?	?	Oriental Manuscripts	SBB
11	Külliyat	Ms. or. oct. 2505	?	?		
12	Külliyat	Ms. or. oct. 2517	?	24.RA.1231/ 19 June 1816		
13	Divan	Or. 12385	?	?	The Taeschner Collection	UBLE
14	Divan	Or. 12387	?	?		
15	Külliyat-i Münif	1063	?	?	-	HAL
16	Zafername	121	?	15.S.1168/1 December 1754	Supplement Turc	BNF
17	Zafername	B.N.M. 12225/1	?	?	Coleccion de D. Antonio Lopez de Cordoba	BNE
18	Mecmua-i Münif	Isl. Ms. 444	?	H. 1155/1742	Abdul Hamid Collection	UML
19	Divan	1567	?	?	Islamic Manuscripts New Series	PUL
20	Divan	101/811	?	?	Arif Hikmet	MAL

¹⁰²⁸ Ettore Rossi, *Elenco dei Manoscritti Turchi Della Biblioteca Vaticana: Vaticani Barberiniani Borgiani Rossiani Chigiani* (Roma: Citta Del Vaticano, 1953), 68-69, 199-200. Gustav Flügel, *Die Arabischen Persischen Türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlichen und Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien* (Wiemar: George Olms, 1977), 683-684. Manfred Götz, *Türkische Handschriften*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1968), 269-271; vol. 4, 24-25, 225-227, 272. Beschrieben von Hanna Sohrweide, *Türkische Handschriften*, vol. 5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1981), 218. Jan Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections in the Netherlands*, vol. 3 (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2006), 158-167. Bekir Şahin et al., *Rodos Fethi Paşa Vakfı Hafız Ahmed Ağa Kütüphanesi Yazma Eserler Kataloğu* (Istanbul: İslam Tarih Sanat ve Kültürünü Araştırma Vakfı, 2013), 386-387. Edgard Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Turcs*, vol. 1 (Paris: Bibliotheque Nationale, 1932), 222. Hüseyin Yurdaydın, *Madrid Milli Kütüphanesi'nde Bulunan Türkçe Yazmalar* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Orientales y Africanos Universidad Autonoma de Madrid, 1981), 37. Mahmut Şarlı, "Medine-i Münevvere'de Arif Hikmet Bey Kütüphanesi'nde Bulunan Edebiyatla İlgili Türkçe Yazma Eserler," *İlmi Araştırmalar: Dil, Edebiyat, Tarih İncelemeleri* 11 (2001): 103. "T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Türkiye Yazmaları." "HathiTrust Digital Library," accessed January 1, 2016, <https://www.hathitrust.org/>. "Princeton Library University," accessed January 1, 2016, <http://library.princeton.edu/>.

Table B.10. Copies of Münif Mustafa Efendi's *İran Sefaretnamesi*¹⁰²⁹

No	Code	Pages	Collection	Library
1	18	102b-109a	Ali Nihat Tarlan	SK
2	2691	84b-90a	Esad Efendi	
3	565	85b-90a	Hüsrev Paşa	
4	R. 797	89b-94b	Revan	TMSK
5	R. 1947/1	11b-18a		
6	EH. 1564	72b-79a	Emanet Hazinesi	IUNEK
7	2588	109a-117a	İbnülemin	
8	5503/3	In last pages	Türkçe Yazmalar	MK
9	AE.Mnz. 412	80a-85a	Ali Emiri Manzum	
10	ŞR. 5	86b-92b	Şevket Rado Yazma Eserler	IAEK
11	629/1	33b-40b	-	KVK
12	5432	105a-110b	Türkçe Yazmalar	KMM
13	5169/1	102b-108b	-	MHK
14	İsl. Ms. 444	45b-54a	Abdul Hamid Collection	UML
15	Ms. or. oct. 2517	31a-37b	Oriental Manuscripts	SBB
16	765/1	In last pages	Mustafa Con A	AUK
17	1715	In last pages	Yazma Eserler	IMK

B.3. Münif Mustafa Efendi's *İran Sefaretnamesi*

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(6) Bab-ul Ebvabdan¹⁰³¹ avdet edib Asitane-i devlete vusulünde huzur-u (7) hümayunda arz eylediği takririn suretidir ki aynıyle bu mahalle (8) kayd ve sebt olundu. (9) Mah-ı Zilkadet-uş şerifenin üçüncü pençşenbe günü¹⁰³² Bab-ul Ebvab dimekle maruf (10) Derbend kalesine vusulümüze tahminen iki saat kalarak bir mahalde taraf-ı (11) şahiden mukaddema elli bir tarihinde Rahim Han refakatiyle Devlet-i Aliyyeye (12) elçi gelen Nazar Ali Han istikbalimize gelub mezid terhib ve tehil ve taraf-ı (13) şahiden istifsar-ı hatırımızı müşir-i makal ve kil ile Derbende vusulümüzde (14) güya bir mikdar teneffüs için emr-i şahi üzere ertesi cuma günü¹⁰³³

¹⁰²⁹ Although I could not find an opportunity to examine, two copies likely include Münif's ambassadorial report, (1) BAV., Vat. Turco 228. (2) NLE. Turkish Manuscripts, Edebi Türki 120.

¹⁰³⁰ Münif Mustafa Efendi, *İran Sefaretnamesi*, SK. Ali Nihat Tarlan, 18, 102b-109a.

¹⁰³¹ Darband. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 2, ed. Zekeriya Kurşun, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 1998), 154.

¹⁰³² 03.ZA.1154/11 January 1742. The day is *pençşenbe*/Thursday.

¹⁰³³ 04.ZA.1154/12 January 1742. The day is *cuma*/Friday.

anda meks (15) olundu. Mah-ı mezburun beşinci cumaertesi günü¹⁰³⁴ Derbendden hareket olunub tahminen

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(1) beş saat içere Dağıstanın Karabatak¹⁰³⁵ nam mahalli mukabelesinde (2) damen-i guh-i Elburuzda ordu-ı şaha bir saat kalarak sabıka Devlet-i (3) Aliyye-i ebed-il istikrara sefaretle gelen Abdülbaki Hanın oğlu olub babası (4) fevtinden sonra Kirmanşahan beylerbeyisi ve hala ordu mihmandar başısı olan (5) Mustafa-kulu Han ile Devlet-i Aliyyeden elçi Hacı Han ile avdet edib (6) üç gün mukaddem orduya ihzar olunan Rıza Han ve müteayyinan-ı daire-i (7) şahiden feraşbaşı elli altmış atlu ile bizi istikbal ve bir kurşun (8) menzili kenare-i orduda tehiyye ve idad eyledikleri hiyame nuzul olunub (9) bad-et taam merasim-i hoş amed ve hayr makdemi eda ve ikmal idub gittiler. Heman (10) yevm-i mezburun¹⁰³⁶ akşamında beyn el-işaeyn mihmandar başı Mustafa-kulu Han (11) ve Nazar Ali Han çadırlarımıza gelub “İnşallah-u Teala yarın¹⁰³⁷ saat beşde (12) şahımız hazretleri sizleri huzuruna davet eder, name-i hümayunu alub buyurursuz,” (13) dimeleriyle bizler dahi siyab-ı seferimizi tebdil ve name-i hümayunu hazret-i hilafet- (14) penahiye zarfından çıkarub amade-i ser-i balin tebcil eyledik. Ales-seher (15) muma ileyh mihmandar başı ve esna-ı tarikde mihmandarımız olan kuri yesavul başı

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(1) Muhammed Hüseyin Bey gelub saat beşde atlarımıza süvar ve ordu-ı şahıye müteveccih (2) olarak Devlet-i Aliyye-i ebediy-ul devamdan maiyyetimize tayin

¹⁰³⁴ 05.ZA.1154/13 January 1742. The day is *cumaertesi*/Saturday.

¹⁰³⁵ This name is written as “Karakaytak” in Nazif’s short report. BOA. HAT. 198. Karakaytak (Karakaitag, Karakaytagsky, Kaitag or Кайтагский in Russian) is an administrative and municipal district of the Republic of Dagestan, in Russia. It is located in the west of Darband region. The travel account of Evliya Çelebi refers to “Kaytak” tribe in the region. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 2, 145-146.

¹⁰³⁶ 06.ZA.1154/13 January 1742. The day in Hegira calendar begins at sundown. See, Stephen P. Blake, *Time in Early Modern Islam: Calendar, Ceremony, and Chronology in the Safavid, Mughal, and Ottoman Empires* (New York: Cambridge University, 2013), 3.

¹⁰³⁷ 06.ZA.1154/14 January 1742.

olunan iki nefer divan-ı (3) ali çavuşların önümüze alub refikim efendi¹⁰³⁸ kullarıyla bizler sağda ve muma (4) ileyhima solda yürüyüb orduyu muhafaza için dairenmadar toprakdan (5) mamul senger tabir olunur metrise müşabih mahallin kapusundan duhul olundu. (6) Zikr olunan kapudan daire-i şaha varınca bir kurşun menzili yolun yemin ve yesarında (7) ordu bazar ve dekakin namıyla bir iki yüz mikdarı çamurdan sahte kulübelerin (8) pişgahına gülru-i sepet olmak üzere bazı hordmord meyve ve guşt ve nan (9) vaz eylemişlerdi. Nime-i rahda yesavulan-ı şah ile Nazar Ali Han istikbalimize (10) gelub tarafeynden çegunegi-i hal ve hatır olunarak şah seraperdesinden (11) dört beş hatve beru köşkhane tabir olunur birbirine mukabil iki tulani hayme ki (12) külli yevmin bil-cümle hanan ve erkan-ı divanın mecmuları olan mahaldir.¹⁰³⁹ Eşik ağası ve sair (13) kar bendan-ı divanın delalet ve iradetleriyle mahalli mezburda atlarımızdan nüzul (14) olunub bi-tavakkuf ve teneffüs “Seraperde kapusundan içeru buyurun,” dediklerinde (15) bu kulları dahi derhal hazret-i padişah-ı İslam-penah efendimizin name-i hümayun-ı hidayet-mealin başım

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(1-4) beraber berdaşte-i dest-i tazim ve

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ رَبِّ اشْرَحْ لِي صَدْرِي وَيَسِّرْ لِي أَمْرِي وَاحْلُلْ عُقْدَةً مِّن لِّسَانِي يَفْقَهُوا قَوْلِي¹⁰⁴⁰

kerimesin piraye-i zeban ibtihal ve hitab hikmet nisab فَفُؤَلَا لَهُ قَوْلًا لِّبِنَّا¹⁰⁴¹ müdasın nakş-i kitabe-i mihrab-ı bal ederek refikim efendi (5) kulları ile içeru duhul ve seraperde kapusundan şahın calis olduğu mesnedin (6) ucu tahminen on hatve yerdire iki mahalde kaimen suret-i inhinada eda-ı merasim (7) olunub tamam-ı kenare-i ferşde mukabil-i şaha beş altı hatve mahalle karib (8) geldiğimizde tavakkuf ve eşik ağası name-i hümayun-ı hazret-i cihandariyi alub (9) şaha teveccüh edince bu kulları feyz-i lutf-u hüdavend ve tertil-i kelim ve savt-ı (10) bolend ile “Şevketlu kudretli

¹⁰³⁸ Nazif Mustafa Efendi.

¹⁰³⁹ See Figure D.9.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *The Quran*, 20:25-28. “O my Lord! Open for me my chest (grant me self confidence, contentment, and boldness). And ease my task for me; and loose the knot (the defect) from my tongue (i.e. remove the incorrectness from my speech) that they understand me.” *The Noble Quran: English Translation of the Meanings and Commentary*, trans. Muhammad Taqiuddin al-Hilali and Muhammad Muhsin Khan (Medina: King Fahd Complex for the Printing of the Holy Quran, H. 1419/1998), 416.

¹⁰⁴¹ *The Quran*, 20:44. “And speak to him mildly.” *The Noble Quran*, 417.

padişahımız Sultan Mahmud hazretlerinin (11) name-i hümayunlarıdır,” dedim. Şah dahi mübarek name-i hümayunu eline alub (12) beşâşet izhar ederek ser-i zanu beste mulasık pişgahına vaz ve bir iki (13) defa dest-i tazim ile ser-i zarfına mesh-i rahe-i tekrim edib bu kullarına müteveccihen (14) “Efendiler karındaşımız hünkar hazretlerinin dimağları çağ mıdır?” dedikde “Elhamdulillah-i Teala (15) çağdır, dostluğunuzda muhabbetinizdedir,” dedim. “Bizim anlar ile bir mezheb sözümüz

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(1) vardır. İnşallah dostluk ve karındaşlık kıyamete değin beynimizde gün be gün (2) artık olur,” diyu mütebessimane hitablarında kulları dahi leb beste-i adab bir mikdare (3) istade-i muvakkıf intisab olub murahhis insiraf ve iyab olduğumuz (4) mektub-u meali üslub-u hazret-i sadrazami ve rakime-i hakayık-ı mashub-u fetva- (5) penahi dahi adeten evvelce teslim olunur mulahazasıyla maan götürülmüşdü. (6) Müvavaha-i şahdan gaybuyet mertebesi avdet olundukda itimad-ud devle (7) olmak üzere mektub tahrir olunan şahın ferzend-i kehterini Nasrullah Mirza (8) hala Meşhedde hakim olduğu mesmu ve malumuz olmağın “Devletlu inayetlu (9) sadrazam efendimizden ve kerametlu semahetlu şeyhulislam efendimizden (10) Nasrullah Mirza hazretlerine mektublarımız vardır. Şah hazretleri kime emr ederlerse (11) ana teslim edelim,” istizan ile diyu eşik ağasına aheste ve nerm didim. (12) Ol dahi ala-esre dönüb istizan idicek iki kıta mektub-u evliya-ı nimeyi (13) dahi şah huzuruna isteyub teslim olundu. Taşra çıkdığımızda “Seraperdeye (14) muttasıl icalet-ul vakt itimad-ud devle itibar olunur Şah karındaşı (15) İbrahim Hanın oğlu İbrahim Han çadırına buyurun çağt-ı taamın anda edersiniz,”

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(1) diyu eşik ağası ve Nazar Ali Han önümüze düşüb han-ı muma ileyhin (2) çadırına varıldı. Bir mikdar sual-i hal ve hatır ve eyyam-ı şita seferlerinde (3) olan mütaib ve müşak ve mükteza-ı vakt ve hale göre bazı enfüs (4) ve afakdan bahs ve sohbet olunub badet taam merasim-i mihman nevazi (5) hitamında aramgah-ı hıyamımıza isticaze-i avdet ve azimet ile köşkhane (6) pişgahına çıkıldıkda taraf-ı şahiden tahminen yüz ellişer miskal taladan (7) mamul raht ve zeyn ile mücehhez ve amade kılınan atlara süvar ve olduğumuz (8) yere inanriz tecevvüh olduk. Yine beş on nefer yesavulan-ı şah

ber-karar-ı (9) sabık bizleri istikbal eyledikleri mahalle dek teşyii idub mihmandar başı (10) Mustafa-kulu Han ve Muhammed Hüseyin Bey ile haymelerimize gelub nuzul olundu. (11) Ertesi gün¹⁰⁴² mihmandarımız Muhammed Hüseyin Bey yediyle her biri Bağdadi gurusş (12) hesabınca on iki zulete olmak üzere bu kullarına ve refikim bendelerine (13) biner altun ve etbaimıza dahi yedi bin gurusşluk harclık gelub, “Şahımızın (14) atıyyesidir,” diyu teslim olunmuşdur. Üç gün mürurunda¹⁰⁴³ mezbur Nazar Ali Han (15) ve mihmandar başı Mustafa-kulu Han daire-i şahda mahsus nasb olunan hıyame davet

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(1) ve meclislerine duhulümüzde ser ta-be kadem kıyam ve porsiş-i hal ve hatır ile rusum-u (2) adıye-i ikramı itmamdan sonra sadr-ı meclis olan Molla Ali Ekber sol tarafında (3) muayyer başı ve vakıf-ı huzur Mustafa Han yanınca bu kulları ve refikim efendi (4) ve aşağı tarafında Nazar Ali Han ve mihmandar başı Mustafa-kulu Han ve mihmandarımız (5) kuri yesavul başı Muhammed Hüseyin Bey oturub sağ tarafında münşi-i memalik (6) Mehdi Han ve altında elçi Hacı Han ve rikab-ı şeyhul islami ve beş nefer (7) ahundları müretteb oturmuşlar idi. Umdeten erkanlarından sabık-uz zıkr (8) Muayyer-başı Molla Ali Ekber ile sadra mutasaddi olayım dedi. Lakin muayyer başı güya (9) mantık ve sohen saz olduğundan kelama ağaz idub şahın ibtida deşt-i (10) Muğanda tasallutun eylediği meclis şura-ı şur intima ve nedve-i dairet-us sui (11) nedamet ihtivada takiyye şuara-ı şıaya husulun taahhüd eylediği maddeteyn-i (12) desise-i mealdan bir mikdar kal ve makal ile tarafımızdan teati-i vezaif (13) cevab ve sual intizarında olduklarında bu kulları “Mübadi-i emirde bizim (14) kaziyye-i memuriyyetimiz ancak iblağ-ı name-i hümayun ile mahsure ve mahdudedir. (15) Bu babda ser rişte-i istimsak ve ihticac olacak tertib-i kıyas bedihiyy-ul intaca

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(1) ruhsatımız olmadığı,” mukaddimesin temhid edib “sohbet tarikiyle olursa (2) kelamat-ı üns ve ülfet cana minnetdir,” didim. Badehu eyadi-i muluk-u (3) İslamiyede

¹⁰⁴² 07.ZA.1154/15 January 1742.

¹⁰⁴³ 10.ZA.1154/18 January 1742.

olan memalik hududuna bi-vech-i şeri tecavüz ve duhul etmeğe (4) taaddi ve istila tabiri sahih olub feth itlakı ancak eyadi-i küffar-ı (5) harbiyyeden memleket nez ve istihlasına sadık iken mezburan biraz (6) feth-i Özbek ve feth-i Hind tabiri ile mübahat ve laf ve hurafat ile efsane (7) eylediler. Kulları iktiza-ı meclis üzere maal kerahe istima ve akab-ı (8) taamda resm üzere huzzara hoş baş veda eyledik. Bu meclisden (9) iki gün sonra¹⁰⁴⁴ yine refikim efendi kullarıyla bendeleri kema fil-evvel hayme-i (10) mezkureye davet ve siyak-ı sabık üzere hasbel zarure tecerrü-ü şurabe-i (11) sohbet olunub akıbetul emr salifez-zikr muayyer başı ve Molla Ali Ekber ve vakıf-ı (12) huzur Mustafa Han ve Mehdi Han ve rikab-ı şeyhulislamı ve beş nefer ahundları (13) “Hayme-i meclisimiz ne makalı muhtevi ve ne meal üzere müntevi olsun?” (14) bizlerden mutayibe gune suale tasaddi eylediklerinde “Bizim bildiğimiz murad eğer (15) salah-ı bilad ve ibad ise Devlet-i Aliyye-i ebed-il karar tarafından vech-i şeri üzere

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(1) beyan olunan izar müsellemet-ul medlul karin-i hüsn-ü kabul olduktan sonra (2) tarafeynin bunyad resafe-i musafat ve ittihadı kema kan sabit ve mütemadi olub (3) /amed şod rusul ve resail / ve tevarid-i rekaib ve kavafil / yevmen feyevmen şercere-i dusti / (4) müteferri ve müteessil / olarak zirdestan rağbet karin-i asayiş ve etminan (5) ve kıtan-ı ektar-ı memleket-mekin huze-i aramiş emin ve eman olmak şayeste-i selatin (6) nısfet nişandır.” İrad-ı kelim-ı sohbet baki olundu. Ordularına vusulümüzün (7) onuncu günü¹⁰⁴⁵ namelerin teslimi için refikim efendi kullarıyla davet ve daire-i şahda (8) ayin-i İraniyan üzere birer kat elbas hilat olunub mahzer-i şaha duhulümüzde (9) “Efendiler cevabname yazdım ve sizleri avdete murahhas eyledim. Maksudum ümmet-i Muhammed (10) beyninde dostlukdur, hile değildir. Benden vezir-i azama ve şeyhulislam efendiye (11) lisanen selam yeturun. Bu hayırlı işe sai itsunlar, sonra dünyada ve ahiretde (12) baz-hast olunurlar, yani sual olunurlar,” dedikte “Beli şahım, buyurduğunuz gibi (13) padişahlara hile düşmez, layık olan ümmet-i Muhammed beyninde dostlukdur. İnşallah-u Teala (14) buyurduğunuz emanet sözleri ve sair mesmu ve meşhudumuz olan hayırlı işleri veli nimetimiz (15)

¹⁰⁴⁴ 12.ZA.1154/20 Januray 1742.

¹⁰⁴⁵ 14.ZA.1154/22 January 1742.

efendimize bil cümle ifade ve inha ederiz” diyub bu kulları nameyi ahz ve kema fil-evvel

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(1) iki defa kaimen suret-i inhinada riayet-i merasim üzere taşra çıkıldı. (2) Eşik ağası ve Nazar Ali Han yanımıza düşüb yine bizi itimad-ud devle (3) makamında olan İbrahim Hanzade çadırına götürdüler. Çaşt taamında (4) çok tavakkuf olunmayub veda olundu. Lakin gerek meclis-i mezkurda (5) ve gerek huzur-u şaha duhul ve musulümüzde kafe-i erkan-ı devletleri mütehayyir ve renk-i (6) ruileri müteğayyir görülmüşdür. Hususa muayyer başı ve Hacı Han ve Mehdi Han heman (7) suret-i divare dönmüşlerdi. Bu halet-i hayret ferma-i şahlarının niyyet ve haytem (8) el akıbetinden teşam ve bu müzaika ve ızdırablarında bu güne tecellid (9) ve taannidi kendilere alamet-i hayr olmayub haza ve hızlanların teyakkun (10) tefehhüm eylediklerinden gayri manaya mahmul olmamak layiha-ı vicdan-ı kulları (11) olmuşdur. Teslim-i namenin ikinci günü ki yevm-i vusulumuzun on ikincisi ve mah-ı (12) Zilkadet-uş şerifenin on altıncı günüdür¹⁰⁴⁶ ordularından taklib-i ru-i (13) ricat ve geldiğimiz tarik üzere itlak-ı inan-ı azimet olunub ol gün (14) Timur Kapuk yani Timur Kapu dimekle maruf Bab-ul Ebvaba vusulümüzde dervaze-i (15) kalada ordu tarafından Rıza Han erişib “Derbendde meks üzere olan Rus elçisi

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(1) mizacsız imiş, hatırların sormağa memur oldum,” diyu takrib ve münasebetden (2) ari yine mezheb-i Caferiye müteallık feth-i kelim bizler dahi bi-la-vu-neam istimaa (3) meşgul iken şöyle arz-ı netice-i meram eylediği “Mezheb hususuna müzayakamız (4) değil İmam Rıza mezhebi olsun şahımız ana da razıdır efendiler. Allah için (5) olsun görüb işitdiğiniz hayırlı işleri Devlet-i Aliyyeye ifade edin,” (6) diyub gitti. Bab-ul Ebvabdan bir merhale berude Davud kalesi nam harabe palankaya (7) vusulümüzde yedd-i kerim-i velin-niamiye teslim olunmak üzere Elçi Hacı Han (8) tarafından üç kıta mektub ser be mühür gelub mihmandarımız Muhammed Hüseyin Bey (9) yediyle kullarına teslim ve meyane-i lefafa-i nameye peçide kılıldı. Muma ileyh (10) Hacı Han

¹⁰⁴⁶ 16.ZA.1154/24 January 1742.

bizler orduda iken Erivan beylerbeyisi olub hatta bizleri (11) orduda ziyafete davetleri günü hilat derber ve menşur-u teveccüh berser (12) görüldükde bu kulları bitarik-ul teğafül yanımda hemzanu-i mucalisetim olan (13) vakıf-ı huzur Mustafa-kulu Handan hafiyye sual eyledim, “Erivan beylerbeyisi (14) olubdur başında olan rakam-ı tevcihidir,” demişdi. Mah-ı Zilkadet-uş şerifenin (15) üçüncü günü¹⁰⁴⁷ eyalet-i Gence ile hitte-i Şirvanat beyninde hadd-ı fasıl olan

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(1) rodhane-i Kür cisrinden ubur ve nim-çar yek saat bu yoldan saye-i kenare-i (2) nehirde yemekliğe nuzul eylediğimizde han-ı merkum yanınca dört beş ordu çaparlık (3) ile ordu tarafından gelub Erivana geçduken mihmandarımız haber virdi. (4) Vakia mah-ı mezburun on yedinci¹⁰⁴⁸ Erivana duhulümüz günü mukaddema kendi ile (5) Devlet-i Aliyyeye gelen filci başı Necef Beyi kırk elli atlu ile bir buçuk saat (6) mesafede vaki cisr-i bala-i zengiye dek istikbalimize gönderub doğru (7) dahil-i kalede han sarayına davet ve bu davet zimniyyeden arz (8) ve ertesi maksud olan beş altı kıta şikeste beste top ve havan (9) müceddeden kundaklar yapırdıkların iradet eylemişdir. Allahul-hamd ve el-minne mah-ı mezburun (10) yirmi üçüncü pençşenbe günü¹⁰⁴⁹ refikim kullarıyla Arpa çayından ubur (11) ve istişam-ı revaih-i behcet ve sürur olunub Kars canibinden istikbalimize (12) gelen dört yüzden mütecaviz yekesüvaran meydan-ı celadet ile tarafımızdan (13) kıta peyvend maiyyet ve ala-edbarihim taklib-i ru-i irtidad ve ricat eden (14) çend nefer şerzime-i Acam mevahibesinde arz-ı adab cunud-ı İslam (15) ve yemin ve yesara takdim tuhfe-i tahiyat ve selam olunarak Karsa doğru

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(1) itlak-ı inan-i azimet ve tahrik-i kadime-i müsaraat olunmuşdur. Ve ertesi gün¹⁰⁵⁰ (2) Kars muhafızı Abdullah Paşa kullarının kethüdası Kars kalesine iki saat (3)

¹⁰⁴⁷ 03.Z.1154/9 February 1742. The scribe wrote the month of “ZA” instead of “Z” by mistake.

¹⁰⁴⁸ 17.Z.1154/23 February 1742.

¹⁰⁴⁹ 23.Z.1154/1 March 1742. The day is *pençşenbe*/Thursday.

¹⁰⁵⁰ 24.Z.1154/2 March 1742.

mesafede ve paşa-ı muma ileyh ve maiyyetine memur Karslu Yusuf Paşa (4) ve Timur Paşa karındaşı Cevher Paşa kulları nisf saat mesafede (5) kulların istikbal idub kale-i merkumeye vusulümüzde iki gün aram (6) ve andan dahi şod zirtenk ve irha-i zimam olunub mah-ı mübarek-i Muharrem (7) el-haramın gurresinde¹⁰⁵¹ Erzuruma vasıl ve iki gün meksden sonra asitane-i (8) saadet canibine ruberah azimet olub mah-ı Saferul hayrın dördüncü sülase (9) günü¹⁰⁵² Elhamdulillah-i Teala çarbaş-ı sadaretdede hakipa-i velin-niamiye ru-i mal (10) ile iktisab-ı saadet olunmuşdur. Bu kullarının memleket-i İrana dahi duhulü (11) ve çend mah müddet İran ve Gence taraflarında meks ve tavakkufdan sonra (12) ordu-ı şaha vusulü ve eda-ı memuriyet ile kifulü esnalarında semaen (13) ve müşahideten zahir hallerine vukufu şu mertebedir ki; bu vakte gelince Dağıstan (14) taraflarında bu kadar şedaid ve keşakeşe mübtela olmuşlar iken şahın kemal-i (15) temerrüd ve tebehhüründen el-an başında mevcud olan asakirinden bir ferd-i muhalefet

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(1) emrine zehreser olmayub meydan-ı muarekeden hayya rugerdan olanları bila-eman (2) kendi katl ederek tavan ve kerhen nefislerini ilka-i tehlikeden tehaşi etmemek babında (3) mecburlardır. Vel-hasil daire-i istila ve istidracında mütecemmi olan (4) asakiri imalde dakika fevt etmeyub on ademe malik olsa onunu dahi (5) döğüşdürür. Hanan ve sair-i hidme ve erkanın huzur-u şahda asayiş (6) ve rahata müteallik bir harf tekellümüne cesaretleri olmayub tarafat-ul ayn ferağ-ı (7) hatıra kudretleri yokdur. Bu kulları ordularına karib Hızırzende¹⁰⁵³ nam mahalde şahın (8) karındaşı İbrahim Hanın büyük oğlu Azerbaycan seraskeri olmuş gider idi (9) yolda at üzere görüşdük. Ordularına vusulümüzde şahın kendi kavminden (10) Lütf Ali Han ve Kelb Ali Han ve Feth Ali Han nam hanlar biri Gence (11) ve biri Tiflis ve biri Şiraz serdarı olub asker cemine (12) memur oldukları istima olundu. Mukaddema (13) hakipa-i velin-niamiye arz olunduğu üzere (14) mezburların muradları dostluk olmayub (15)

¹⁰⁵¹ 01.M.1155/8 March 1742.

¹⁰⁵² 04.S.1155/10 April 1742. The day is *sülase*/Tuesday.

¹⁰⁵³ It is located in Beshbarmaq Mountains, in Azerbaijan. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 2, 150. Rübaba Aliyeva et al., *Azerbaycan Toponimlerinin Ensiklopedik Lüğati*, vol. 1 (Baku: Şarq-Garb, 2007), 350.

fesad niyyetleri kala ve halen (16) zahir olmuşdur. (17) Tammel kitab bi-avn-il melik-ül vehhab (18) ...el-hakir-illallah el-Hac Mehmed Recai aferu zenubih (19) Sene 1164 Muharrem.¹⁰⁵⁴

B.4. Nazif Mustafa Efendi's Report on Münif's Mission in 1742

First Page, First Column

Bu defa canib-i İrandan gelen Nazif Mustafa Efendi kullarının hulasa-i takriridir.

(1) Elminnetullah-ı Teala dem be dem asar-ı kuvvet behcet hümayun hazret-i hilafet-penahi müşahide ve ilayim-i zaaf-ı hal-i şah-ı menzur ve muayine (2) olunarak refakat ve maiyyetlerine memur buyrulduğum Münif Mustafa Efendi kullarıyla mah-ı Zilkadet-uş şerifenin beşinci sebt günü¹⁰⁵⁵ (3) Derbend kalesinden tahminen altı saat içeru Karakaytak dağları musabinde vaki ordu-ı şahiyeye karib (4) mahallere vusulümüzde ordu mihmandar başısı olan Abdülbaki Hanzade Mustafa Han ve Hacı Han refiki Rıza Han (5) ve ferraş başı Ali-kulu Han elli altmış nefer müntehib atlu ile bizleri istikbal ve taraf-ı şahiden mahsus sual-i (6) hal ve hatırımızı müşir kal ve mekal ile ordu civarında tehmiyye ve idad eyledikleri çadırlara tesyir ve isallerinden sonra (7) yine yevm-i mezburun ahşamı hengam-ı işada mezkur Mustafa Han ve Nazar Ali Han “İnşallah-ur rahman (8) yarın¹⁰⁵⁶ saat beşde şahımız hazretleri sizleri huzuruna davet eder, name-i hümayunu alub azimet edersiniz,” (9) demeleriyle bizler dahi ales-sabah tazim-i evfa ile name-i hümayun-u hazret-i şehin-şahiye hazır ve müheyya eyledik. (10) Vakt-i muayyen hululünde mihmandar başı Mustafa Han ve esna-ı rahda mihmandarımız olan Muhammed Hüseyin Bey geldiklerinde (11) atlarımıza süvar ve ordu-ı şahiyeye müteveccih olub orduyu muhafaza için topraktan mamul mustatil-uş şekli (12) senger tabir eyledikleri metrise müşabe mahallin kapusundan duhul olundu. Zikr olunan kapudan hayme-i şahiyeye (13) varınca tahminen bin hutve mesafenin iki tarafında çub ve çamurdan sahte ekseri hali ve tehi (14) ordu-bazar dükkanlarının cabeca pişgahlarına pohte ve na-pohte etama vuzu eylemişler idi. Bu mesafenin (15)

¹⁰⁵⁴ M.1164/December 1750.

¹⁰⁵⁵ 05.ZA.1154/13 January 1742. The day is *sebt*/Saturday.

¹⁰⁵⁶ 06.ZA.1154/14 January 1742.

vasatında yesavulan-ı şah ile Nazar Ali Han bizleri istikbal edib şah seraperdesinden beş on hatve (16) beru köşkhane tabir olunur birbirine karşı çadurlar civarına vardığımızda eşik ağası ve sair kar bendan-ı (17) merasim-i divan delaletleriyle atlarımızda nuzul olunub asla tavakkuf ve aram olmaksızın “Sera perdeden içeru (18) buyrun” dediler. Derhal muma ileyh efendi kulları¹⁰⁵⁷ name-i hümayun hidayet-meali ber daşte-i dest tazim ve iclal (19) idub maan içeri dahil ve şahın calis olduğu mesnedin kenare-i ferşinde şaha beş altı hatve karib (20) mahalle vasıl olduğumuzda eşik ağası name-i hümayun-u mehabet-makrunu alub şaha doğru teveccüh edince (21) muma ileyh efendi bendeleri “Şevketlu kudretlu padişahımız Sultan Mahmud Han hazretlerinin name-i hümayunlarıdırı” (22) didiler. Şah dahi name-i hümayun-u celadet nemuni sağ eliyle alub izhar-ı inbisat ederek ser-i zanu beste (23) mulasık mahalle vaz ve bir iki defa ikram ile mesh idub, “Efendiler şevketlu padişah karındaşımız hazretlerinin (24) dimağları çağ mıdır?” dedikde “Elhamdulillah-i Teala çağdır ve dostluğunuzda muhabbetinizdedirler” denildi. “Bizim dahi (25) anlar ile beynimizde dostluk ve karındaşlık İnşallah-u Teala kıyamete dek gün be gün artık olur” diyu hitab (26) edib kulları dahi leb beste-i adab cüz-i tavakkufdan sonra murahhas insiraf ve iyab olduk taşra çıkıldıkda (27) eşik ağası ve Nazar Ali Han önümüze düşüb itimadud-devle itibar eyledikleri şah karındaşı oğlu (28) İbrahim Hanın çaduruna götürdüler. Bazı mertebe-i sual-ı hal ve hatır ile afaki sohbet ve badet-taam (29) çadırlarımıza isticaze-i avdet olunub köşkhane pişgahına çıktığımızda taraf-ı şahiden tahminen yüz ellişer (30) miskal altundan mamul raht ve zin ile mücehhez keşide kılına atlara süvar ve resm-i sabık üzere haymelerimize (31) gelub nuzul ve karar olundu. Ertesi gün¹⁰⁵⁸ mihmandarımız Muhammed Hüseyin Bey vesatıyla her biri ol diyarlarda (32) on ikişer nadiriye cari olmak üzere muma ileyh efendi bendeleriyle kullarına biner altun ve etba-ı (33) itba-ı çakiriye beş bin nadiri harclık gelub teslim olundu. İki gün mururunda mezbur Nazar Ali Han gelub (34) ordularında taraf-ı şahiden ziyafet için mahsus nasb olunan haymeye bizleri davet etmeleriyle (35) varıldıkda hayme-i mezkurede müctemi nuhbe-i ricali umumen kıyam ve merasim-i sual-i hatırı itmamdan sonra sadr-ı meclis (36) olan Molla Ali

¹⁰⁵⁷ Münif Mustafa Efendi.

¹⁰⁵⁸ 07.ZA.1154/15 January 1742.

Ekber telasüm ile sadra şuru gailesinde iken güya sohensazları Muayyer başı kelama ağaz (37) idub şahlarının Muğan sahrasında takıyye-i şıaran-ı Şııyyeye husulü taahhüd eylediği maddeteyn-i hile-i (38) mealden bir mikdar bast-ı mikal ile taraflarımızdan cevaba muntazır oldukda muma ileyh efendi ... (39) “Bizim memuriyetimiz ancak iblağ-ı name-i hümayune mahsuredir bu babda tekellüme ruhsatımız olmadığı bedihidir,” dediler. (40) Badehu biraz Hind ve Özbek taraflarına olan istila-ı bi-meallerinden bahs ile efsane-guilik eyledi. (41) Kulları dahi iktiza-ı meclis üzere istima ve badet taam huzzara veda eyledik. İki gün sonra yine (42) bu iki kulları davet ve hasbel zarure bazı mertebe sohbet olunub “Ahir-ul emr huzzar-i meclis sohbetimiz ne gune (43) kelim-ı hayr-ı encam ile suret-i hitam bulsun?” dediklerinde “Bizim bildiklerimiz eger murad-ı şahı ıslah-ı bilad ve ibad (44) ise name-hümayun-u hidayet-nemunde veche-i şeri üzere irad olunan izar müsellemet-ul medlul karin-i kabul (45) oldukdan sonra tarafeynin dostluğu ruz be ruz ziyade olarak reaya ve beraya karin-i asayış ve eman olmaları (46) şayan-ı şan-ı selatin nisfet ünvanıdır,” denilib hitam-ı kelim olundu. Ordularına vusulümüzün onuncu günü¹⁰⁵⁹ (47) namelerin teslim için kulları davet ve ayin-i İraniyan üzere ilbas-ı hilat olunub bade mahzar-ı şahıye (48) duhulümüzde “Efendiler şevketlu padişah karındaşımız hazretlerine cevab name yazdım ve sizleri avdete murahhas buyurdum.

First Page, Second Column

(1) Muradım iki İslam devleti mabeyninde dostlukdur, bir dürlü hile değildir. Benden vezir-i azama ve şeyhulislam (2) efendiye selam eylin. İki devlet arasını tevrika sai eylesunler, sonra dünya ve ahiretde baz-hast (3) olunurlar,” diyub yine bizleri İbrahim Han çadırına götürdüler. Taamdan sonra çendan tavakkuf olunmayub (4) veda olundu bu defada kaffe-i erkan-ı devletleri dembeste ve hayran ez-cümle muayyer başı ve Mehdi Han (5) ve Hacı Han mütegayyir ve perişan görülüb bir taraftan killet-i asakir ve zehair ve bir taraftan dahi istila-ı (6) gazavat-ı Lezkiyan-ı şecaat mesir ile kemal-i muzaika ve ızdırabları esnasında şahlarının bu gune tecellüd (7) ve teannüdüne mütehayyir oldukları tefehhüm olunmuşdur. Mukaddema ordu tarafında Elçi Hanın Erivan beylerbeyisi olduğu (8) istima olunmuşdu. Esna-ı rahda muma ileyhin dört beş

¹⁰⁵⁹ 14.ZA.1154/22 January 1742.

adem ile revane geçub gittiğini mihmandarımız (9) haber verdi. Revana duhulümüz günü han-ı muma ileyh filci başı Necef Beyi istikbalimize gönderub bizleri (10) doğru han sarayına davet ve zimnen beş altı kita top ve havane kundak yaptırdıkların iradet eylemiştir. (11) Avn ve inayet-bari ile mah-ı Zilhicet-uş şerifenin yirmi üçüncü günü¹⁰⁶⁰ muma ileyh efendi bendeleriyle maan (12) Arpa çayından ubur olunub kat-i menazil ederek Kelkit Çiftliğine¹⁰⁶¹ vusulümüzde muma ileyh bendelerinin beş altı (13) nefer ademisi ile ber vech-i istical Asitane-i saadete atf-ı zemam müsaraat eylemeleri ve kullarının dahi ağırlıklar (14) ve baki ademler ile akablarından erişmesi hususlarını havi tahrirat-ı aliyye ve tensikat-ı celiyye vurud etmekle (15) muciblerince hareket olunmuşdu (bu mahalden hatme-i takrire dek serd olunan mevadd sahib-i takririn refiki Münif Efendi kullarının takririnden hariç ve ziyadedir).¹⁰⁶² Bu kulları Hacı Köyü¹⁰⁶³ nam mahalle geldikde çend mah Erivanda misafiri olduğumuz (16) Melek nam zimminin ticaret bahanesiyle mahsus bir nefer ademisi gelub bu vechle bast-ı kelam eyledi ki “Mukaddema (17) şahın bir mikdar hazine irsali niyazıyla Cihanabada gönderdiği ademleri ... ve hasir def ve tard (18) ve ordusuna zahire isali için Horasan ve havalisine irsal kılınan mübaşirleri dahi ahalileri caniblerinden (19) men ve red olunmalarıyla bil-zarure Hind tarafı meskut anhu terk ve Horasan caniblerinde bu mekule harekete cüret (20) eden kimesnelerin ahzlarına bir iki han tayin ve tesyir kılındığı mesmu olmuşdu. El-haletu haze Horasan ahalisi bu defa (21) dahi zikr olunan hanları bir dürlü memleketlerine uğratmayub etraflarıyla gün be gün nihani muamele ve tecemma ve ittifaka (22) muahede üzere oldukları ordu-ı şahide şuyu bulunmuşdur,” diyu Melek mesfur tarafından takrir eyledi. (23) Ferman devletlu inayetlu efendim hazretlerindir.

Second Page

İrandan gelen Nazif Mustafa Efendinin takriri.

¹⁰⁶⁰ 23.Z.1154/1 March 1742.

¹⁰⁶¹ It is a town in Gümüşhane, Turkey.

¹⁰⁶² The text in parenthesis was written in red ink and located beside the text as a note in the document.

¹⁰⁶³ It is a town in Gümüşhane, Turkey. Today it is known as “Gümüşhacıköy,” since it was merged with “Gümüş” town in time.

APPENDIX C

SELECTED TURKISH POEMS ON NADIR SHAH

The Ottoman-Iranian wars of the eighteenth century appeared in Turkish poems as in the chronicles and specific proses on victories (*fetihname*) like the works of Kemani Mustafa Ağa or Nevres-i Kadim.¹⁰⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the poems did not attract the attention of both political and literary historians. The appendix aims to contribute to political and literature studies by presenting selected Turkish poems and to help raise new questions and analyses such as the perception of Nadir Shah and his rule among Ottoman poets of the era.¹⁰⁶⁵ The poems are categorized under four titles: On Mahmud I, the Ottoman elites, the diplomatic interactions, and Nadir Shah. Almost all of them include the words “Nadir/Tahmasb-quli” or “Iran/Ajam.”

Ottoman poets recorded Hacı Khan’s arrival in Istanbul in 1741 as well as contemporary diary-keepers.¹⁰⁶⁶ Nevres-i Kadim wrote poems on Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa’s mission in 1747 and his appointment to the governorship of Baghdad. The ambassadorship of Münif Mustafa Efendi is clearly seen in his *divan*. Rahmi Efendi and Numan Efendi, members of the Ottoman mission to Iran in 1747, wrote poems on Nadir’s death. The references to chess in Rahmi’s poems are especially remarkable since historians underline Mahmud I’s love for the game.¹⁰⁶⁷

Turkish poems on Nadir Shah in Iran and Azerbaijan of the same period seems an unexplored area. Neş’e (Mirza Abd-ur Rezzaq) and Agha Masih Shirvani in the

¹⁰⁶⁴ M. Münir Aktepe, *1720-1724 Osmanlı-İran münasebetleri ve Silahşör Kemani Mustafa Ağa'nın Revan Fetih-namesi* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1970). Nevres-i Kadim, *Tarihçe-i Nevres, İnceleme ve Tenkitli Metin*, ed. Hüseyin Akkaya (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2004).

¹⁰⁶⁵ There are also Turkish poems on Iran before or after this period such as Esad Efendi’s poem on the Hamadan Treaty of 1727: “Tarih-i Beray-ı Sulh-i İran... Lafzan-u manen didim ol demde tarih Esad/ Buldı bin yüz kırkda İran sulh-ile emn-ü eman.” Esad Efendi, *Şeyhülislam Es’ad Efendi ve Divanının Tenkitli Metni*, ed. Muhammet Nur Doğan (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1997), 140-141.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ahmed b. Mahmud, *Tarih*, SBB. Ms. or. quart, 1209, 343a.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, 335.

eighteenth century and Mirza Alakbar Sabir in the early twentieth century wrote poems on Nadir Shah. The Turkish poem of Neş'e in *Kalat-i Nadiri* is known in the literature thanks to Gandjei's article in 1977.¹⁰⁶⁸ His *divan* in Persian also contains Turkish qasidas on Nadir Shah and his victories over the Ottomans. The studies on Neş'e are mostly short bibliographic writings,¹⁰⁶⁹ except for Azime Şen's recent thesis on his *divan*.¹⁰⁷⁰ The Topkapı Palace Library copy of the manuscript points out the cultural exchange between the Ottomans and Iranians in the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁷¹

Another contemporary Turkish poet in Azerbaijan, Agha Masih Shirvani, writes: "Hak geturdu nazara ölmeği Nadir şehi piş/ Kim cülus eyledi Adil Şah olub hayr-endiş/ Mülk ü tahtını tasarruf kılıban İranın..."¹⁰⁷² Mirza Alakbar Sabir, praised Nadir's proposal of the fifth *madhhab* to the Ottomans, in the early twentieth century: "Nadir bu iki hesteliği tutdu nezerde/ İsterdi elac eyleye bu gorkulu derde/ Bu megsed ile ezm ederek girdi neberde/ Megtulen O'nun neşini goyduğ guru yerde..."¹⁰⁷³

¹⁰⁶⁸ Tourkhan Gandjei, "The Turkish Inscription of Kalat-i Nadiri," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 69 (1977): 45-53. Also see, Farhad Rahimi, "Nadir Şah'ın Kelat'ta Yazdığı Türkçe Kaya Yazıtı," *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2 (2014): 43-55.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Lutf Ali Beg Azarbegdili, *Atashkada-i Azar*, vol. 2, ed. Mirhashim Muhaddas (Tehran: Amir Kabir, H.S. 1378/1999) 657. Muhammad Ali Hazin Lahiji, *Tazkira-i Hazin*, 124. Muhammad Ali Tarbiat, *Danishmand-i Azerbaijan* (Tehran: Matbaa-ı Majlis, H.S. 1314/1935), 375. İsmail Paşa, *Hediyet-ül Arifin Esmâ-ül Müellifin ve Asar-ül Musannifin*, vol. 1, ed. Kilisli Rifat Bilge and İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1951), 568. Tehrani's work is the most detailed one among them. Agha Bozorg Tehrani, *Al-Zaria İla Tasanif al-Shia*, vol. 9/4 (Beirut: Dar-ul Adwa H. 1403/1983), 1187-1188.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Azime Şen, "Neş'e'nin Farsça Divanı (Metin-İnceleme)" (MA thesis, İstanbul University, 2018).

¹⁰⁷¹ I have located four copies of the manuscript. Mirza Abd-ur Rezzaq, *Divan-ı Neş'e* (1) Tehran Parliament Library, 14112. The date of the copy is H. 1164/1750. (2) TSMK. H., 977. The date of the copy is H. 1186/1772. (3) Tehran University Library, 3946. (4) Tabriz National Library, 2626. See, Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), 295-296. Ümran Ay, "DENA'ya Göre İran Kütüphanelerinde Bulunan Türkçe, Türkçe-Farsça, Türkçe-Farsça-Arapça Divanlarım Kısa Künyesi," *Divan Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi* 11 (2013): 122-123. Mehmet Nuri Çınarcı, "Tebriz Milli Kütüphanesinde Bulunan Türkçe El Yazmalarına Ek," *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies* 2 (2011): 105.

¹⁰⁷² Agha Masih Shirvani, *Azerbaycan Edebiyyatı Aka Mesih Şirvani, On İkinci Asr-ı Hicri*, ed. Salman Mumtaz (Baku: Kominist Gazetesi, 1925), 18. Cahangir Qehremanov, *Azerbaycan Klassik Edebiyatından Seçmeler: XVII-XVIII Esrlər Azerbaycan Şeri*, vol. 3 (Baku: Şarq-Qarb, 2005), 243.

¹⁰⁷³ Mirza Alakbar Sabir, *Hophopname*, ed. A. Mecit Doğru (Ankara: Atak, 1975), 93; *Hophopname*, vol. 1, ed. Memmed Memedov (Baku: Şarq-Qarb, 2004), 124.

C.1. Poems on Mahmud I

“Adayı aldı istirdad edip yine Beligrad’ı
Olup makdum-ı Nadir Şah’a alem buldu şadanı...”¹⁰⁷⁴

“Tefaül itdiler Tahmasb kulu hanun
Ser-i menhus ide Hakk-ı kariba hakde galta...”¹⁰⁷⁵

“Alemler reyince döndürmez mi olmuşken anun
Hükmü cari Hindine İranına Turanına...”¹⁰⁷⁶

“O mukteda-yı selatin kim çaker-i deridir
İmam-ı mülk-i Yemen ray-ı Hindu şah-ı Acem...”¹⁰⁷⁷

“Hidiv-i bahr u ber sultan-ı dehr-i madeletkarın
Dü-destinde ede mizan-ı hakk İran u Turanı...”¹⁰⁷⁸

“Şeh-i Ferhunde-pey şah-ı magazi-pişe kim eyler
Misal-i ab-ı cari hükmünü İran u Turana...”¹⁰⁷⁹

“Olur makhur-ı tiğün hasm-ı evbaş
Seza vü layıkın bulur kızılbaş...”¹⁰⁸⁰

“Hususa Nemçe küffarın soyup aldı Beligradı
Salup hake serin hem hanümanın virdi ber-bada
Makam-ı gaziyan u hem şehidandır o ca zira
Muadildir o hısn-ı dil-nişin manide Bağdada... (H. 1152/1739)”¹⁰⁸¹

¹⁰⁷⁴ Müstakimzade Süleyman Efendi. Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayı, *Mecmua-i Tevarih*, ed. Fahri Ç. Derin and Vahid Çubuk (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1985), 12.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Pirizade Mehmed Sahib Efendi. Topal, “Piri-zade Mehmed Sahib Hayatı, Edebi Kişiliği, Eserleri ve Divanı’nın Tenkitli Metni,” 86.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Nevres-i Kadim. Nevres-i Kadim, *Nevres-i Kadim ve Türkçe Divanı: İnceleme, Tenkidli Metin ve Tıpkıbasım*, vol. 2, ed. Hüseyin Akkaya (Massachusetts: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations Harvard University, 1995), 28.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Nevres-i Kadim. Nevres-i Kadim, *Nevres-i Kadim ve Türkçe Divanı*, vol. 2, 33.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Daniş Süleyman. Hamdi Birgören, “Daniş Divanı İnceleme-Metin” (MA thesis, Gazi University, 2004), 130.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Daniş Süleyman. Birgören, “Daniş Divanı,” 140.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Mirzazade Salim Efendi. Hüseyin Güfta, “Salim (Mirza-zade) Hayatı, Edebi Kişiliği, Eserleri ve Divanının Karşılaştırmalı Metni” (PhD diss., Atatürk University, 1995), 223.

¹⁰⁸¹ Nebzi. Sait Okumuş, “Nebzi Divanı (İnceleme-Metin)” (PhD diss., Selçuk University, 2007), 203-204.

C.2. Poems on the Ottoman Elites

On Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa

“Gidüp def eyledin şerr ü şururun cümle etrafın
Kudumunla dahi na-bud olur bi-şübhe Şah Nadir
Hele şimden girü ol na-bekarın ca-yı aramı
Ne İran’dır ne Turan’dır ne Hind ü ne Buhara’dır

...

Gelüp bir pir-i Ferruh-dem dile nakş eyledi tarih
Bu sadra yine şayeste Ali Paşa-yı danadır (H. 1155/1742)”¹⁰⁸²

“Cuybar-ı tigden sen kan içirdin düşmene
Şah-ı İran’ı sen itdin bi-neva-yı rüzgar
Sen Aras nehrini hem-reng-i dem-i Acam idüp
Eyledin İran’a birkaç yıl eda-yı rüzgar...”¹⁰⁸³

“Mücerred itmedi İran’ı arza-i şemşir
O memleket yalnız olmadı girifte-i sar...”¹⁰⁸⁴

“Fazl-ı Yezdan ile İran degün İnşaallah
Beli Turan dahi ber-gerde-i teshirün ola...”¹⁰⁸⁵

“Ol asaf-ı dilir ki guş itse azmini
İran degül ki şah-ı Acem terk-i can ider...”¹⁰⁸⁶

“Su-be-su asker-i İslam zafer-yab olub
Ceyş-i Tahmas serapa olacaktır makhur

...

Semt-i İranda madum olacaktır Nadir
Ceyş-i manhusi hezimetle olunca meksur

...

Kam ve idamı ile Nadir-i rafız etvarın
Çünkü tebşir olunmuşdi ezelde O ğuyur
Feth-i İranla nam almışdı sabıkda
Yine istesun bu sene anda gaza-ı mevfur

...

Kahr idub şerzeme leşker-i Nadir Şahı
Eline kabze-i İslama kıla mansur

¹⁰⁸² Fethi Efendi. Göker İnan, “Ahmed Hasib Efendi’nin Mecmua-i Tevarih’i” (MA thesis, Trakya University, 2013), 123-125.

¹⁰⁸³ Nevres-i Kadim. Nevres-i Kadim, *Nevres-i Kadim ve Türkçe Divanı*, vol. 2, 58.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Nevres-i Kadim. Nevres-i Kadim, vol. 2, 65.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Münif Mustafa Efendi. Münif Mustafa Efendi, *Antakyalı Münif Divanı*, 72.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Hazık Mehmed Efendi. Hüseyin Güfta, “Hazık Mehmed Efendi’nin Hayatı, Edebi Şahsiyeti, Eserleri ve Divanının Tenkidli Metni” (MA thesis, Atatürk University, 1992), 137.

...
Namdaş olmağla fatih-i Hayberle aduv
Nereye atf-ı inan itse buka kahr u sübur

...
Ru-beru kahrını Tahmas gam-ı istinasın
Diye endaz ile gördükde cunud-ı mahsur
Anda hazır bulunub dise Hasiba tarih
Oldı idamına Nadir Ali Paşa memur (H. 1158/1745)¹⁰⁸⁷

On Abdullah Paşa

“Sarf olındı rafiz-i serhaddine ol şir-i dil
Oldı çün mesmu Nadir Şah sarf-ı guş harir
Düşmen-i dinün bunu evvel atarlar gögsine
Tir-i ruyı terkeş-i devletdü ol çapük mesir
Kars-ı tıgıyla mih-i düşmeni kars itmeğe
Kars’a geldi dide-i ceyš oldı teşrif ile sir
Kars’da üç yıl muhafız bekledi ser-hadd için
Def idüp sükkanının dehşetleri oldı mucir

...
Avn-ı yarıyla yine bu saf-der-i ali-himem
Oldı birkaç defa Nadir Şah ile bala vezir
Her biri ger daver-i Zişan-sıfat say itseler
Şah-ı Nadir na-bedid oldurdu çün karn-ı bair

...
Rezmine azm itdügün şah-ı cedid-i hayl-ger
Mülhid-i bed-kiş-i Nadir Şah kezzab ü aşir
Olmuş istidrac-ı kamil an-karin ol harici
Ya helak olur ya dest-i ehl-i Sünnetde esir
İsm-i şumnından iki güne tefail eyledüm
Vakti gelmişdür ider Mevla anun ömrin kasir
Namı olmuşdur mürekkep nefy ile isbatdan
Nefyi isbat itdi yokdur ol sük-i düzah masir
Namı Nadir nadir olan olan nesne kel-madumdur
Emr-i Hak’la an-karib olur yiri nar-ı sair...¹⁰⁸⁸

“Safla nümune-i tevfikdür bu kim sadra
Gelünce geldi peyam-ı helak-ı Nadir Şah...¹⁰⁸⁹

“Olunca mühr-i devlet ziver-i engüşt-i ikbali

¹⁰⁸⁷ Müminzade Hasib Efendi. İsmail Ziyaeddin Efendi, *Metali-ul Aliyye fi Gurret-ul Galiyye*, IUNEK. TY., 2486, 200a-202a.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Hami Ahmed Efendi. Kadri Hüsnü Yılmaz, “Hami Ahmed (Diyarbakri) Divanı İnceleme-Metin” (MA thesis, Gazi University, 2011), 51-57.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Nevres-i Kadim. Nevres-i Kadim, *Nevres-i Kadim ve Türkçe Divanı*, vol. 2, 81.

Rakam-gir-i işaret-igah-ı madum oldum Şeh Nadir...¹⁰⁹⁰

Şerif Paşa

“Şerif Paşa’ya Sene-i Cedid Tarihi Zımında Tahmasın İnhizam u İzmihlalini İmayı Müştemil Bir Neşidedir Muharrem 1158 [M.1158/February 1745]

...

Sinin-i sabıka ta sabia irince payanı
İrer payana imar-ı cünud-ı Rafizi bed-nam

...

Düşünce işbu nev-ame bu lafz-ı pak ile tarih
Tefaül nassla geldi bu il galib gele İslam

...

İrüşsün Şarka ol tiğ zarefşan-ı zafer necatın
Müdemmer eylesin cünd-i Kızılbaşı idüp sersam

...

Degildir mümkün eltaf-ı firavanın hesab itmek
Husata cümle baranı iderse dab ulül-elham...¹⁰⁹¹

On Yeğen Mehmed Paşa’s death

“Yeğen Paşa edip gayret mükemmel askere hemdem
Kızılbaş’ın cihanı başına teng eyledi amma

...

Lebiba söyledi guş eyledikde fevti tarihin
Bozup zor ile Tahmasb şehid oldu Yeğen Paşa (H. 1159/1746)¹⁰⁹²

On Köprülüzade Ahmed Paşa

“Ne tesir-i diyanetdür ki yümn-i ahd-i ikbali
İdüp ilhad u rıfza cümle taib ehl-i İrani
Şeh-i İnan dahı dergah-ı cahah eyledi ilam
Ki na-hakk mezheb-i batıldan idüp rüy-gerdanı
Taleb-kar oldı iki alim-i kamil bu devletden
Ki tashih ide İnan ehline erkan-ı imanı¹⁰⁹³

On Şehla Ahmed Paşa

“Düşmenün Nadir-i asr ise dahı sultanum
Gele dergahuna zilletle mukayyed maglul...¹⁰⁹⁴

¹⁰⁹⁰ Haşmet. Haşmet, *Haşmet Külliyyatı: Divan, Senedüş-Şuara, Viladet-name (Sur-name), İntisabül-Müluk (Hab-name)*, ed. Mehmet Arslan and İ. Hakkı Aksoyak (Sivas: Dilek, 1994), 117.

¹⁰⁹¹ Tabi. Nejla Kaya, “Tabi, Hayatı Edebi Kişiliği ve Divanı” (MA thesis, Afyonkarahisar Kocatepe University, 2009), 71-77.

¹⁰⁹² Lebib. Hafız Hüseyin Ayyansarayı, *Mecmua-i Tevarih*, 139.

¹⁰⁹³ Ahmed Neyli. Atabey Kılıç, “Ahmed Neyli Divanı” (PhD diss., Ege University, 1994), 234.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Hami Ahmed Efendi. Yılmaz, “Hami Ahmed (Diyarbakri) Divanı İnceleme-Metin,” 121.

On Devat-dar Mehmed Paşa

“Öyle daver ki muhill-i edeb olur faraza
Şah-ı İran dese yanında eger sultanım”¹⁰⁹⁵

On Hacı Ali Paşa’s death

“Diyar-ı bekr meştasında yürüdi Hacı İsi’de
Olup amade-i peygar-ı Nadir Şah-ı bi-mezheb...”¹⁰⁹⁶

On Çeteci Abdullah Paşa

“Acem kuçeklerin uşşak çemberden geçürdü hep
Bu devri sufiyanun devr-i bezm-i İsfahan oldı...”¹⁰⁹⁷

C.3. Poems on the Fifth *Madhhab*, Baghdad and the Diplomatic Interactions

On the Fifth *Madhhab*

“Rafiziler say ider mihrab-ı hamış vazına
Bi-tekellüf anları iskat için ey huş-yar
Bir işaretdir o çar-ebru nezaket-pişenün
Kabe-i hüsninde vaz itmiş Hüda mihrab-ı çar”¹⁰⁹⁸

“Bu tutumla meger ol surh-ser İranidir
Pes anı ehl-i sünen itmesi kabil olmaz”¹⁰⁹⁹

On Baghdad

“Kaside-i Bağdad-ı Darüs-selam

...

İki kavm arasında taneden avare kalmışlar
Biri yani Acem şahı biri hem Rum sultanı
Acem geldükde Bağdad’a dirler ‘Mülhed ü Sünni’
O Rum geldükçe söyler ‘Rafizi bi-din-i Nasrani’
İkilik vadisinde kaldılar hayran-ı serkerdani
Dönerken devri vel-hasıl pozuldı çarh-ı mirani
Felek desti cefa gösterdi oldı münakis hali
Yıkıldı kasr-ı alası kesilde bağ u bostanı...”¹¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁹⁵ Nevres-i Kadim. Nevres-i Kadim, *Nevres-i Kadim ve Türkçe Divanı*, vol. 2, 100.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Hami Ahmed Efendi. Yılmaz, “Hami Ahmed (Diyarbakri) Divanı İnceleme-Metin,” 293.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Lebib. İdris Kadioğlu, “Lebib-i Amidi Hayatı, Edebi Kişiliği, Eserleri ve Divanı’nın Tenkitli Metni” (PhD diss., Dicle University, 2003), 187.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Belig. Ali Açıkgöz, “Belig Divanı Metin-İndeks” (MA thesis, Dokuz Eylül University, 1994), 221.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Nebzi. Okumuş, “Nebzi Divanı (İnceleme-Metin),” 257.

¹¹⁰⁰ Şeyhoğlu. Şeyhoğlu, “Kaside-i Bağdad-ı Darüs-selam” AMK. Yazma 1462/3, 48a-48b. Also see, Fatma Sabiha Kutlar, “Menkabet-i Penc Keşti” *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi* 58 (2011): 23-24.

“Bağdat Destanı

...

Balyemez top tabyada yatar
Kantardan gülle düşmana atar
Serasker gelse İran ne yapar
Ateşi firavandır şehri-i Bağdad’ın...”¹¹⁰¹

On Hacı Khan

“Tarih-i Ameden-i Efyal
Acem ilçisi nameyle gelüp şehri-i Sitanbul’a
Rikab-ı padişah-ı berr ü bahre oldu ruh-sude
Müverrih gayet-i ah ile tahrir itdi tarihin
Tokuz fil geldi şahdan dergeh-i Sultan Mahmud’a (H. 1154/1741)”¹¹⁰²

“Göricek surh-seri dedi Refia tarih
Baka elçisine bak filine Nadir Şah’ın (H. 1154/1741)”¹¹⁰³

On Münif Mustafa Efendi

“Der İran Gofte
Ne keş-a-keşde kalurduk o kaşı yay ile biz
Düşmesek hançer-i ebrusuna ger ray ile biz
Bir zaman Rumda derya-keş idik ey saki
Şimdi İranda kana’at iderüz çay ile biz”¹¹⁰⁴

“Görüp peyveste derhem çin-i mevci tak-ı ebruda
Sirişküm ab-ı semmur oldu san Derbend-i Baku’da”¹¹⁰⁵

“Ekanim-i selase bakmayup ey Ermeni-zade
Otur dört üstüne nuş it müselles Üç Kelisa’da”¹¹⁰⁶

On Nazif Mustafa Efendi

“Nazif Efendi Hazretlerine Tuhfetüz-zevra Tahrir Olundukda Zeyline Yazıldı

¹¹⁰¹ Haydaroğlu. Cüneyt Mengü, *Osmanlı Arşivi Belgelerinde Kültür Merkezi Kerkük* (İstanbul: Yalın, 2012), 86.

¹¹⁰² Mustafa Fenni Efendi. Hacı İbrahim Demirkazık, “18. YY. Şairi Mustafa Fenni, Divan (İnceleme, Tenkitli Dizin)” (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2009), 772. Hafız Hüseyin Ayyansarayı, *Mecmua-i Tevarih*, 367.

¹¹⁰³ Refia. Hafız Hüseyin Ayyansarayı, *Mecmua-i Tevarih*, 367.

¹¹⁰⁴ Münif Mustafa Efendi. Münif Mustafa Efendi, *Antakyalı Münif Divanı*, 208. This quatrain refers to Münif’s stay in Yerevan, in 1742. Münif Efendi and Nazif Efendi waited for several months in Yerevan due to Nadir Shah’s campaign in Dagestan. The little river (çay) in the quatrain should be Hrıdzan River in the city.

¹¹⁰⁵ Münif Mustafa Efendi. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 218.

¹¹⁰⁶ Münif Mustafa Efendi. Münif Mustafa Efendi, 219.

...
Semiy-i Mustafa zat-ı Nazifün
Getür tahrire ahval-i latifün

...
O din ü devlete çık hizmet itdi
Acem iklimine bid-defa gitdi
Anı devletden itdiler murahhas
Nizam-ı hale ol oldu muhallas
Aceb efkarı ile çekdi zahmet
Netice karı amma oldu rahmet
Ana ruhsat virüp Bari Teala
O müşkil işleri hep gördü ala
O demden berü rahat itdi alem
Keder ref oldu gitdi kalmadı gam
Nizamül-mülk dinürse ana layık
Bu bezm-i alem içre oldu fayık
Varup Bağdada itmişdi ikamet
Veliler zümresini hep ziyaret..."¹¹⁰⁷

"Bera-yı Nazif Mustafa Efendi Rahimehullahu Sübhanehu ve Teala ve li-men kale
aminen
Nagam-saz ol nükat-ı tazelerle ey dil-i güya
Nazif-i bezm-i alem vasfı maksudun senün zira

...
Cenab-ı padişah-ı alem-ara Han Mahmuda
Murahhas bende olmuş kar-ı uzmasın görüp ala
Varup İrana şah ile mülakat itdigi demde
Salabet gösterüp ol hükm ü dini eyledi icra
Piyade sözlerin guş eyleyince şah-ı İranun
Nezaketle anı mat eyledi bi-bak u bi-perva
Olup kavline razı şah ol dem bin niyaz ile
Muradı üzer kavli-i sulhı ol dem eyledi imla..."¹¹⁰⁸

On Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa

"Tarih-i Beray-ı Memur be-Canib-i İran Kesriyeli Ahmed Paşa
Zuhur itdi nesim-i feyz-bahş-ı Kadir ü Allam
Saba gün togrısından virdi dehre subh-dem peygam
Adu nadim gibi evza-ı na-berca-yı pişine
Der-i devletde yüz yerde ider zilletle istirham
Eman-ı mülk ü millet calis-i evreng-i kutbiyyet
Cenab-ı hazret-i Sultan Mahmud-ı melek-huddam
Virüb lütfen rıza redd itmedi mesulini zira
Kabul-ı mazeretdür adet-i dirine-i İslam

¹¹⁰⁷ Nazir İbrahim. Necdet Şengün, "Nazir İbrahim Divanı (Metin-Muhteva-Tahlil)" (PhD diss., Dokuz Eylül University, 2006), 379-380.

¹¹⁰⁸ Nazir İbrahim. Şengün, "Nazir İbrahim Divanı," 383-384.

Bu emr-i lazımdır-temhidün istihkamına enseb
Görüp bir kamil-i yekta-zuhur-ı vacibül-ikram
Ser-efraz eyledi unvan-ı darat-ı vezaretle
Ne imiş anlasun ada şüküh-ı devlet-i İslam
Fehim ü erşed ü akal debir ü ecmel ü ekmel
Semiyy-i Ahmed-i Mürsel resul-i daver-i İslam
Zamirinde musavver suret-i keyfiyyet-i eşya
Benanında muakkad inhilal-i ukde-i eyyam
Berat-ı devlet-i ünvanı lafz-ı pak-i düstürü
Tırız-ı hilat-i iclali emr-i sulh-ı hayr-encam
Zelili olsa da davasını serd itmeyen eyler
Berahin-i hikemle hasmı Eflatun ise ilzam
Nizamül-alem elkab-ı veziran oldığın şimdi
Cihana veçhini münşi-i hikmet eyledi ifham
Bu emr-i mücmele tafsil ile la-büd virür suret
Mukaddem kuvvet-i baht-ı gibi teyidi der iham
Muvaffak ola her emrinde tevfiyat-ı Mevlaya
Ola makrun-ı avn-ı Lem-yezel agaz ile encam
Zaman-ı devletinde bendeganı ber-murad olsun
Ola vadi-i mihnetde adası var ise güm-nam
Cihanda ta ki feyz ü bast ü dar ü gir ola Ya Rab
Ola her emr ü nehı vasıl-ı ser-menzeil-i itmam
Dehanun tolsa cevherle seza Ramiz bu mısradan
Vezaret hayr ile baki müeyyed seyyidül-ahkam (H. 1159/1746)¹¹⁰⁹

“Tarih-i Sefaret-i Kisrevi Ahmed Paşa Be-Sulh-ı Şah-i İran/Tarih-i Sulh-ı Nadir Şah
Sütüde padişeh-i taht-gah-ı mesned-i Rum
Cenab-ı Hazret-i Mahmud Han şah-ı enam
İdüp musalaha kasdıyla Şah-ı İrana
Bir ehl-i danışe hasr-ı sefaret-i peygam
Yegane-i vüzera müsteşar-ı ekrem kim
İder şena-i cemil ile kesb-i şöhret-i nam
Bu kevne emr-i hatıra reva görüp zatını
Yedine eyledi teslim hall u ikd-ı zimam
Ziji müsaade-i şehir-yar-ı heft iklim
Hoşa liyakat-ı zat u seciye-i ilham
Bu sulhun olmadı misli zamanede mesbuk
Yeter cihanda bu nakl-i safa medel-eyyam
Alel-husus o hedaya-yı Nadirül-emsal
Taraf taraf olup emra-i hatıra-ı kam
Olup emanet ü sıdkı netice-i rüçhan
Bu ritbe oldı şeref-yab-ı mesned-i ikram
Bu feyz-i neşe-i şevkün beyan-ı vafında
Karin-i acz olur ahir muhabir u aklam
Huda zevalden asude eyleye zatın

¹¹⁰⁹ Ramiz Mehmed Efendi. Fatih Polat, “Ramiz Mehmed Efendi Divanı (Edisyon-Kritik-Metin-İnceleme)” (MA thesis, Cumhuriyet University, 2003), 145-146.

Ola zamanede vareste-i gam u alam
Dehan-ı hamem okur Salika ana tarih
Rehin ü fitne-i es-sulh seyyidül-aklam”¹¹¹⁰

“Tarih-i Vali-i Bağdad Şüden-i Ahmed Paşa
Darüs-selama oldukda vali
Hem-nam-ı Ahmed Paşa-yı ali
Heft Ahmedane çün oldu sabi
Bağdad’ı bağ-ı dad itdi falı
Nevres de yazdı tarih-i pakin
Bağdad’a Ahmed pakize vali (H. 1161/1748)”¹¹¹¹

On the Kurdan Treaty

“Ez meyan hüsrüvan şod harb ve amed imtizaç”¹¹¹²

“Kedr ba cenk reft ez Rum ve İran sulh-ı hayr amed”¹¹¹³

“Gerçi sal-ı sabıkın tarihini
Döktü bu kalıbdı behlul-ı deni
Sal-i nev tarihidir Nusret yine
Kıl-u kem lillahi min lutf-ı hafi
Sene 1160 Velehu tarih-i sulh-ı İran (H. 1160/1747)”¹¹¹⁴

C.4. Poems on Nadir Shah and His Death

On Nadir Shah

“Her çend miyan-ı ehl-i İran içre
Söz sayd-ı şikar emrine dairdir
Ahuyı da baz ile tutarlar amma
İran’da hele avcı köpek Nadir’dir”¹¹¹⁵

“Egerçi Nadir İrani harab-ender-harab itdi
Zemin ü asmanda bir de ben berk-i cihan ateş...”¹¹¹⁶

¹¹¹⁰ Salik Efendi. Müzahir Kılıç, “Salik Efendi (Kasımpaşalı) Hayatı, Edebi Kişiliği, Divanı’nın Tenkitli Metni ve İncelemesi” (MA thesis, Atatürk University, 1998), 387-388.

¹¹¹¹ Nevres-i Kadim. Nevres-i Kadim, *Nevres-i Kadim ve Türkçe Divanı*, vol. 2, 192.

¹¹¹² Nevres-i Kadim. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, 74b.

¹¹¹³ Nevres-i Kadim. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, 74b.

¹¹¹⁴ Ebubekir Nusret Efendi. Gökhan Alp, “Ebubekir Nusret Efendi Divanı” (MA thesis, Kırıkkale University, 2015), 33. Nusret’s *divan* also includes a Persian chronogram on the treaty. Karabuçak, “Ebubekir Nusret Divanı (İnceleme-Tenkitli Metin),” 698.

¹¹¹⁵ Nevres-i Kadim. Nevres-i Kadim, *Nevres-i Kadim ve Türkçe Divanı*, vol. 2, 198.

¹¹¹⁶ Safi. Safi, *Safi Divanı: Hayatı-Sanatı-Karşılaştırmalı Metin-Sözlük-Dizin*, ed. Özlem Ercan (İstanbul: Gaye, 2014), 188.

“Çerag-ı çeşm-i şir-i afet-i devran mısın kafir
Harab itdin cihanı Nadir-i İran mısın kafir...”¹¹¹⁷

On Nadir Shah’s Defeat

“Tarih-i Zafer-eser bera-yı İnhidam-Yaften-i İraniyan
Saf-keş-i hayl-i ümem Hazret-i Sultan Mahmud
Olmuş ata ted-i Mansuruna tig-i Rüstem
Kahraman-paye-i meydan-ı şecaat koldu
Kef-i teshirine hakka ki musahhar alem
Bende-i mümtesel-i emr-i Hümayun oldu
O şeh-i aleme yek-nazarda nev-i alem
Cümleye galib olur hasılı meydan içre
Ceyş-i tedbiri ile şimdi o şah-ı efham
İşte ez-cümle şeh-i memleket-i İranın
Etdi ser-asker ile tacını tarac ol dem
Yed-i nasrıyla olup ukde-küşa-yı Nusret
Mülk-i İran’ı dahı mülküne kıldı munzamm
Dahı tatvil-i sühan lazım idi amma kim
Oldu endişe-i yek dem bu güher-pare-i yem
Çıkdı bir natıka-pıra-yı Hanif ol demde
Dedi tarihini hakka ki cihad-ı azam (H. 1157/1744)”¹¹¹⁸

On Nadir Shah’s Death

“Tarih-i fakir-i Türkvari li-yefheme külle zi-marifetin ve ari
Furu-maye çoban iken cihanda Nadir-i meşum
Tegallüble Acem iklimine şah oldu ol mezmum
Urumili İmam Kulı katırcı oğlı Afşarı
Seyis idi çoban oldu kamuya her hali malum
Obabaşı aşiret başı leşker sahibi olup
Olurdi tavr-ı tarzından anın zorbalığı meşhum
Vararak han olup Tahmasb-ı Sani’ye vezir oldu
Anı habs eyleyüp oldu yerine şah-ı na-makdum
Ana “La hayrun fi-ma vaka'a” tarih-i şum oldu
Edat-ı nefy-i kalb ile iderdi sikkesin mersum
Kamu İran u Turan ile Hind ü Sind’i korkutdı
Ahali ditreşüp havfiyle oldu yeksere mahmum
Tefekkür itmedi mevtin teferun itdi alemde
Olurken na-tasif ismi ile vasfımdan (madum-i) adem-mefhum
Çu teshir eyledi ol memleketler ehlini cümle
Hayalin kasd-ı Rum’a sarfla ol müfsid-i mezum
Niçe bihude teklifata ağaz itdi cehlünden
Didi: “Mezheb beş olsun hak dinilsun mezheb-i masum”
Cevabunda dinildi: “Hak bir olur, hem bu hadisur
Degildur muctehid vakti beşinci olamaz mazmum”

¹¹¹⁷ Safi. Safi, *Safi Divanı*, 425.

¹¹¹⁸ İbrahim Hanif. Cemal Aksu, “İbrahim Hanif Divanı” (MA thesis, İstanbul University, 1996), 90-91.

“Esabi beş mezheb dahi beş olsun” deyü yazdı
Bir engüştü uruldu kaldı dört engüşt ile mahrum
“Bu halka mezhebi beş itmeğe soz virmişim” deyü
Yürütdi Rum’a ehl-i Sünnet üzre leşker-i mehcum
Bi-hamdillah zaferyab olmadı bir kalaya kahren
Girü döndürdi her dem anı baht-ı padişah-ı Rum
Rücu-i kahkari vü yesle her defa avdet itdi
Cünun tari olup gayz ile oldı rüz u şeb mehmum
Çu gayzm sarf ider oldı kamu avan u etbaa
Hep andan yüz çevirdiler zaruri sulha oldı mum
Rakam yazdı reca-yi sulh ile vali-i Bağdad’a
Ola tarh-ı teklif ile silk-i ülfete manzum
O dahi arz idüp dergah-ı sultan-ı selatine
Karin oldı kabule terk olundu cürmle mekzum
Yürüdi iki canibden hedaya ile elçiler
Hulusı yok idi kablel-vusul mürd oldı ol mehzum
Acem ecnaduna çün itimadı yoğidi kata
Kamuya katli-am emrini kıldı ser-nüma mektum
Haberdar olduğunda ser-i köşkciler otağunda
Serin kat itdiler gice helak oldı pelid-i şum
Mekasıddan çü mahrum oldı, rahmetden de dur olsun
O kim tahmin ki itdi zulmile çok memleket mehdum
Bu kim tahmin ile katlünde tarih oldı kim tahmin
Sürurla hande oldı döndi tarih-i dil-i mağmum
Beş ay on bir günü de gam ile geçmişti bu salin
Anınçün bu sene oldı bu iki tarihe maksum
Olup isna aşer zibi vü istidracı tamam tarih
Hüsumı çün nisaba irdi oldı kendüsi mahsum
İdüp kalb ile bin fal Nadir’e madum olur dirdüm
Çü fal-ı elf olduğunda oldı madum Nadir-i mezmum
Kelam-ı kudsiyanda geldi kalbe Sehli üç tarih
Didiler “Binyüz altmışda vücudı fallahimadum” (H. 1160/1747)¹¹¹⁹

“Tarih-i Helak-ı Nadir Şah-ı Pür-Tebah
Şah-ı Ferhunde-şiyem Hazret-i Sultan Mahmud
Daver-i ruy-ı zemin padişah-ı mesned-i Rum
La-cerem zill-i Hudadur nola eyyamında
Alaf-tig-i tebar olsa bütün düşmen-i şum
Kim ki bed-hahi olup oldı heves-karı hilaf
Hurde-i hak-ı fena itdi Cenab-ı Kayyum
Mülk-i İrana nakliyle meğer Nadir Şah
Bir zaman olmuş idi tefrika-endaz-ı umum
Mülket-i Ruma dahi eyleyüp ilan-ı zuhur
Suz-ı kasdı alenen oldı cihane malum
Fitne ikaz iderek şeş-cihet-i alemde

¹¹¹⁹ Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 222-223.

Hab-ı rahatdan idi çeşm-i zamane mahrum
Na-gehan nazil olup saika-ı kahr-ı İlah
Eyledi saha-i alemde vücudın madum
Minnet Allaha ki dünyaya meserret verdi
Himmet-i kaid-i tevfikle bu emr-i merdum
Bu teveccüh eşer-i kalb-i şeh-i alemdür
Ta ki mirat-ı dili görmiye ekdar-ı hümum
Haşre dek saye sala dehre nihâl-i adli
Ermeye bağçe-i şevketinde bad-ı semum
Vüzerasıyla cihanda ide icra-yı şükuh
Eyleyüp bazu-yı tedbir ile dehri mahkum
Fikr-i tarihiyle bu müjde-i şevke Salik
Sebt-i mahv eyler iken hame-i nesr ü manzum
Leb-i hafifden işitdüm haber-i tarihin
Şah-ı İran iken oldu hele Nadir madum”¹¹²⁰

“Şah-ı Acem Olan Nadir Şah Tahmas Kulunun Katline Tarihtir
İtdi ferzin-i kaza ahir yirin Nadir-i Şah’ın
Nath-ı şatranc-ı emelde kuşe-i lahd u memat
İtdiler ol pilten-i mekkan mağlub-i hayl
Gösterüp icmazdan mansübeler hayl-i guzat
Geçmedi sarraf-ı takdirin yanında bir pula
Yire geçsün genc-i Karuni gibi nakd-i Kelat
Eyledi kahr-ı Hüda bazu-yi ikbalin şikest
Sal-i tarihin su’al itdükde Rahmi kainat
Feyz-i ruhaniyyet-i isna aşerle söyledüm
Eyledi baziçe-i eyyam Nadir Şah’ı mat (H. 1160/1747)”¹¹²¹

“Bir piyade başıyla fi’l-vaki
Neylesin Şahruh ya Nasrullah
Nat’-ı şatranc misilli İranın
Şimdi her kuşesinde var bir şah”¹¹²²

¹¹²⁰ Salik Efendi. Kılıç, “Salik Efendi (Kasımpaşalı) Hayatı, Edebi Kişiliği, Divanı’nın Tenkitli Metni ve İncelemesi,” 388-389.

¹¹²¹ Rahmi Mustafa Efendi. Sevgi Elmas, “Rahmi (Kırımlı, Mustafa) Hayatı, Edebi Şahsiyeti, Eserleri ve Divanının Tenkidli Metni” (MA thesis, Trakya University, 1997), 203. The title of the poem is “Tarih-i Rahmi Mustafa Efendi vaka-nüvis-i ilçi paşa” in Numan’s account. Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi, *Tedbirat-ı Pesendide*, 221. Its last couplet is slightly different in Ayyansarayi’s work: “Tahmasb-Kulu Han demekle maruf Nadir Şah’ın katline Tatar Rahmi Efendi dediği tarihtir... Himmet-i isna aşerle söyledim tarihini/ Eyledi baziçe-i eyyam Nadir Şahı mat (H. 1160).” Hafız Hüseyin Ayyansarayi, *Mecmua-i Tevarih*, 214.

¹¹²² Rahmi Mustafa Efendi. Elmas, “Rahmi (Kırımlı, Mustafa) Hayatı, Edebi Şahsiyeti, Eserleri ve Divanının Tenkidli Metni,” 130.

APPENDIX D

SELECTED PAINTINGS OF CERTAIN ACTORS

This appendix contains selected portraits and paintings of certain actors and events by European, Ottoman, Iranian, and Indian painters. Most of them were made in the eighteenth century. The first five paintings are of Mahmud I. The next two illustrate Hacı Beşir Ağa (see Figures D.6 and D.7.). I could not find a portrait or miniature of Ahmed Paşa, except for an illustration in an Ottoman calendar of the late nineteenth century (see Figure D.8). Figure D.9 describes the camp of Nadir Shah. The following one is an Iranian miniature of the Bagavard battle of 1735 (Figure D.10.). The next three show Ottoman ambassadors at the presence of the Iranian and Mughal rulers. Figure D.14 is the portrait of Jean Otter. The next one is an Indian miniature on Muhammad Shah in 1736. Figures D.16 and D.17 are from the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library copy of Mirza Mahdi Khan's chronicle. The last four are pictures of Nadir Shah by Iranian and European painters of the eighteenth century.



Figure D.1. Sultan Mahmud I, 1731¹¹²³



Figure D.2. Sultan Mahmud I, 1736¹¹²⁴



Figure D.3. Sultan Mahmud I, 1730s¹¹²⁵



Figure D.4. Sultan Mahmud I, 1815¹¹²⁶

¹¹²³ Georg-Paul Busch, "Mahmud I, 1731," in "Victoria and Albert Museum," accessed May 1, 2018, <https://www.vam.ac.uk/>.

¹¹²⁴ Etienne-Jehandier Desrochers, "Mahmud I, 1736," in "Victoria and Albert Museum."

¹¹²⁵ Jean Baptiste Vanmour, "Mahmud I, 1730s," in "Rijks Museum," accessed May 1, 2018, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en>.

¹¹²⁶ John Young, "Sultan Mahomet Khan V, 1815," in John Young, *A Series of Portraits of the Emperors of Turkey* (London: William Bulmer, 1815).



Figure D.5. Sultan Mahmud I, 18th century¹¹²⁷



Figure D.6. Hacı Beşir Ağa, 1720¹¹²⁸



Figure D.7. Hacı Beşir Ağa, 1724¹¹²⁹

¹¹²⁷ Rafael Manas, "Mahmud I," in "The David Collection," accessed May 1, 2018, <https://www.davidmus.dk/en>.

¹¹²⁸ Anonymous, "Kizlar agasi, Beşir Ağa, 1720," in *Le Serail et Divers Personnages Turcs*, BNF. La Valliere, 2017.

¹¹²⁹ Levni, "Beşir Ağa and viziers escorts the princes to circumcision room," in Vehbi Efendi, *Surname-i Vehbi*, TSMK. A. 3593.

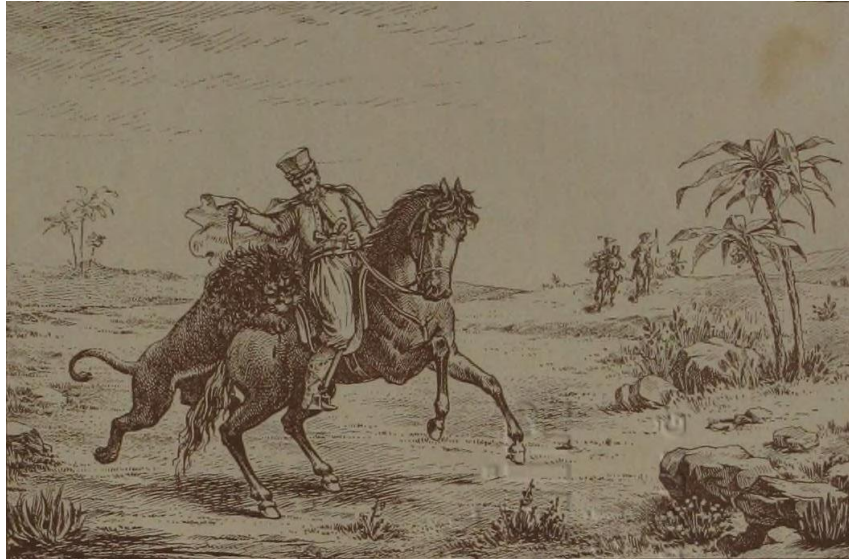


Figure D.8. Ahmed Paşa, 1880s¹¹³⁰

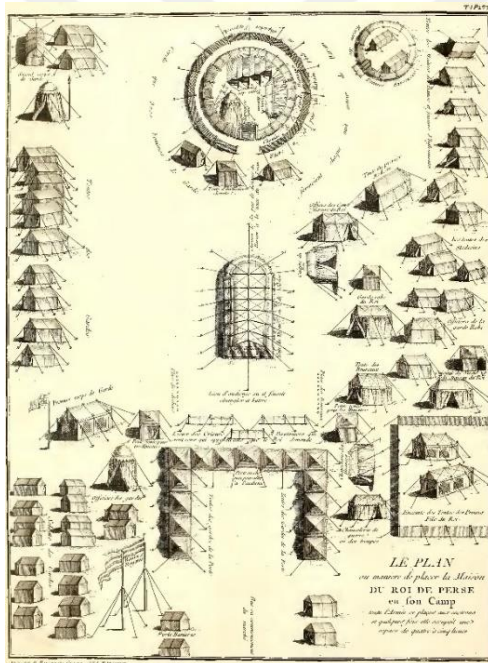


Figure D.9. Nadir Shah's camp, 19th century¹¹³¹

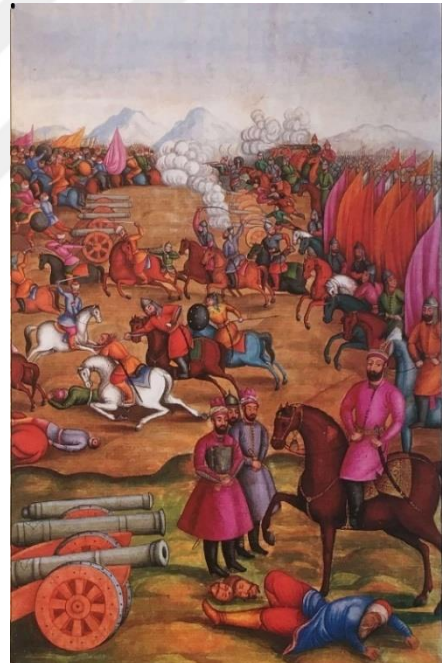


Figure D.10. The Battle of Bagavard, 1757¹¹³²

¹¹³⁰ Anonymous, "Ahmed Paşa kills a lion," in Ebuzziya Tevfik, *Reb-i Marifet*, vol. 8 (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ebuzziya, H. 1305/1888), 88.

¹¹³¹ Nicolas Ransonnette, "The plan of Persian king's camp," in *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses Ecrites des Missions Etrangeres*, vol. IV, 276-277.

¹¹³² Anonymous, "Nadir defeats the Ottomans at the battle of Bagavard, 1757," in Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Tarih-i Cihanguşa-yı Nadiri*, ed. A. A. Burumand (Tehran: Nigar, 1991).

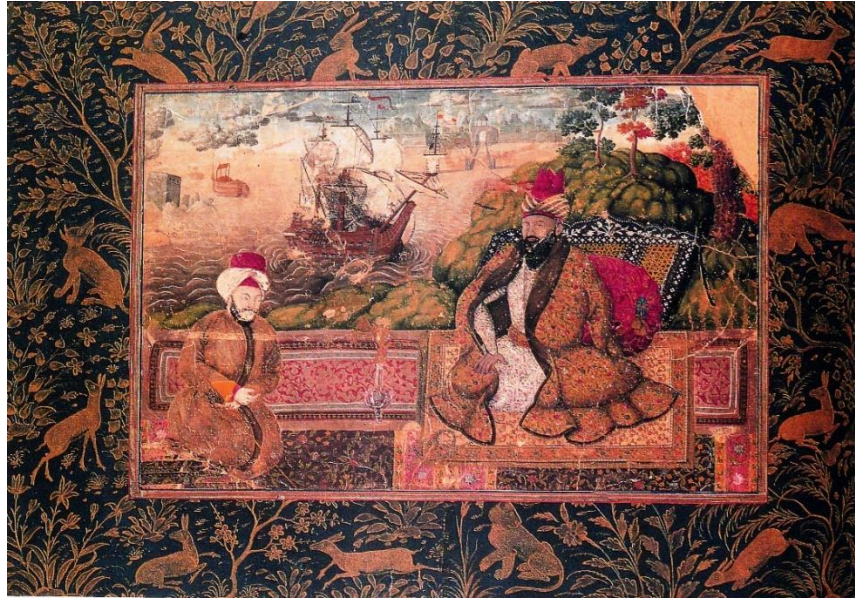


Figure D.11. An Ottoman ambassador at the presence of Nadir Shah, 1740s¹¹³³



Figure D.12. Vehbi Efendi at the presence of Karim Khan Zand, 1775¹¹³⁴

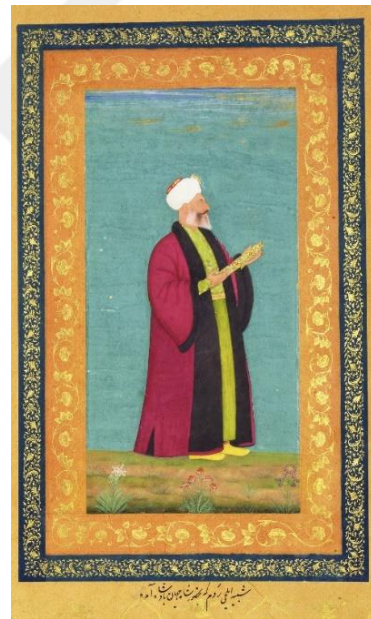
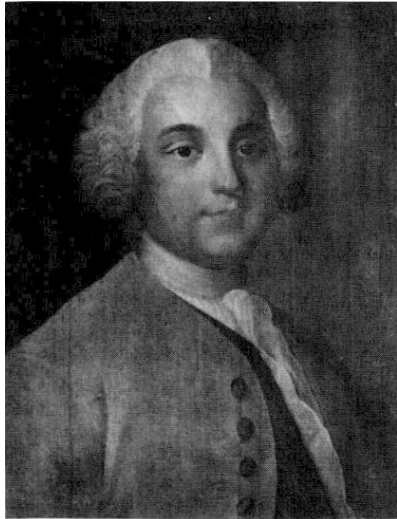


Figure D.13. An Ottoman ambassador at the Mughal court, 1650s¹¹³⁵

¹¹³³ Muhammad Rashid, "Nadir Shah receiving an Ottoman envoy, 1740s," in *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch 1785-1925*, ed. Layla S. Diba and Maryam Ekhtiar (New York: Brooklyn Museum of Art and I. B. Tauris, 1999), 142.

¹¹³⁴ Aboul Hasan, "Karim Khan Zand with the Ottoman ambassador Vehbi Efendi, 1775," in "The David Collection."

¹¹³⁵ Anonymous, "Portrait of a Turkish ambassador at the court of Shah Jahan, 1650s," in "The David Collection."



JONAS OTTER
Osign målning (beskuren)

Figure D.14. Jean Otter, 18th century¹¹³⁶



Figure D.15. Muhammad Shah and Qamaruddin Khan, 1736¹¹³⁷

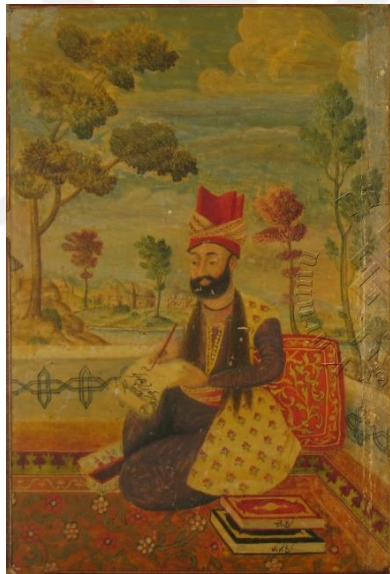


Figure D.16. Mirza Mahdi Khan Astarabadi, 18th century¹¹³⁸

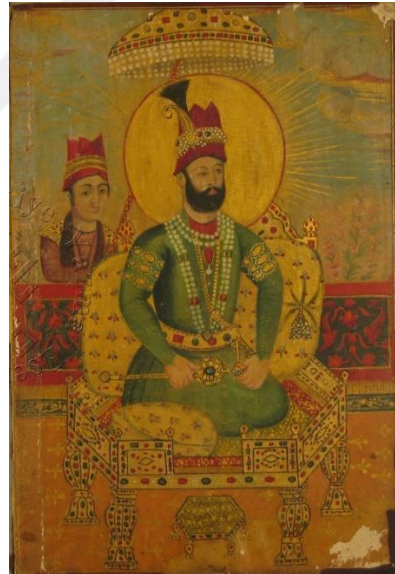


Figure D.17. Nadir Shah, 18th century¹¹³⁹

¹¹³⁶ Anonymous, "The portrait of Jean Otter," "The Dictionary of Swedish National Biography."

¹¹³⁷ Anonymous, "Muhammad Shah receives Qamaruddin Khan, 1736," in "Rijsk Museum."

¹¹³⁸ Anonymous, "Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, 18th century," in Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Tarih-i Cihanguşa-yı Nadiri*, SK. Atif Efendi, 1841.

¹¹³⁹ Anonymous, "Nadir Shah, 18th century," in Mirza Mahdi Muhammad Khan Astarabadi, *Tarih-i Cihanguşa-yı Nadiri*, SK. Atif Efendi, 1841.



Figure D.18. Nadir Shah, 1743¹¹⁴⁰

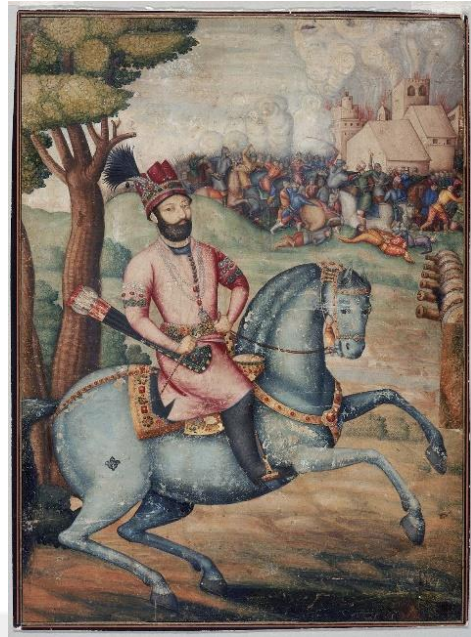


Figure D.19. Nadir Shah, 1740s¹¹⁴¹



Figure D.20. Nadir Shah, 1730s¹¹⁴²



Figure D.21. Nadir Shah, 18th century¹¹⁴³

¹¹⁴⁰ Bahram, "Nadir Shah, H. 1156/1743," in "The State Hermitage Museum," accessed May 1, 2018, <http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/?lng=tr>.

¹¹⁴¹ Muhammad Ali, "Equestrian portrait of Nadir Shah Afshar, 1740s," in "Museum of Fine Arts," accessed May 1, 2018, <https://www.mfa.org/>.

¹¹⁴² François Morellon, "Nadir Shah, 1730s," in "Rijks Museum."

¹¹⁴³ Jan Caspar Philips, "Nadir Shah Afshar on horseback, 18th century," in "Rijks Museum."