

Listening to the Sources: Ottoman Documents, Defters, Manuscripts and Miniatures A Lifetime's Study

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When, during my last visit to Istanbul, Seyfi Kenan out of the blue kindly invited me to talk to his students about the main topics of my research work, I felt quite honoured, yet when later unexpectedly he asked me to write down my talk, I thought oh my God, one more text in the queue. Nevertheless, I went to the park of the nearby Nymphenburg Palace, sat down on a bench overlooking a lovely little lake, and started thinking about the main fields of my interest and especially about a title characterizing my interests and my research. Was there something connecting my different fields of study? Yes, I thought after some time, there was above all my interest in the sources, the documents, defters, manuscripts and miniatures, frozen witnesses of past life.

The first manuscript

When I visited the *Aya Sofya Müzesi* for the first time in summer 1963 I noticed a sign saying *kütüphane*. I already understood that the meaning of the word was library, so after looking at it for a moment, I decided to step in. When I opened the door, I saw a man sitting at one of the tables, I approached him and said: “*Gün aydın*, I am a student from Munich, Germany. I have never seen an original Ottoman manuscript. May I see one here”? He asked me to sit down, offered me a glass of tea, and disappeared. I drank my glass of tea and looked around. Sometime later the man, obviously the librarian, reappeared carrying a pile of manuscripts bound in brown leather covers. He showed them to me, one after the other: the texts were beautifully written in different types of calligraphy,

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there were illuminations, and miniatures. I do not remember the individual manuscripts or texts, the language of which was, however, not only Ottoman but also Arabic and Persian. Before the librarian showed me the last manuscript, he asked me to stretch out my hands and forearms in front of me, and saying “be careful”, he put the large volume down on them. The manuscript was heavy, so heavy that I needed utmost caution not to drop it. It was, as far as I remember a Qur’an, and its folios were completely covered with gold. This short visit to the library of the *Aya Sofya Müzesi* was my first acquaintance and experience with original Ottoman manuscripts.

A manuscript concerning the Ulema

A further Ottoman manuscript was put on my table by my Hoca, Hans Joachim Kissling (1912-1985), who intended to publish the biographical dictionary of Ottoman ulema written by Uşakizade Seyyid İbrahim Efendi (1664/65-1724). This manuscript from Vienna was, however, not the original, but consisted of photographs of 710 pages in a box without any order. Dr Milan Vasić (1934-2003) from Sarajevo, who at that time was in Munich on a scholarship, helped me to put the photographs in the correct order, not an easy task, as the page numbers very often were almost, or completely unreadable. We also prepared two lists of the biographies in the book.¹ As many names and chapter headings were hardly readable, I was entrusted with their “restoration”, having to make them visible again with pen and ink. As I was by no means a skilled calligrapher, it took me long hours of utmost concentration. With these activities I entered the world of Ottoman manuscripts.

As I had become well acquainted with the Uşakizade manuscript, I accepted Professor Kissling’s proposal to base my dissertation on it, and so I stumbled further ahead into the realm of the Ottoman ulema, the *ilmiye*, an unexpectedly wide, but hardly explored field of research at that time. As a starting point I prepared an overview of the scholarly works and the extant sources for the history of the *ilmiye*. Then I focused on the source itself, on the families Uşakizade and Seyrekzade, the ancestors and the relatives of the author, and especially on his life and work.

I succeeded in identifying the original manuscript, written by Uşakizade himself, by comparing the handwriting in the author’s second work, the *Tarih-i Uşakizade*, an autograph, with the handwriting in the known manuscripts of the *Zeyl-i Şakayık*. The autograph turned out to be a manuscript in the *Süleymaniye*

1 ‘Uşâqîzâde’s *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrter und Gottesmänner des Osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert (Zeyl-i Şağâ iq)*. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Hans Joachim Kissling. Wiesbaden 1965.

Kütüphanesi, of which the Vienna manuscript, published by Kissling, was a direct copy. The manuscripts also allowed a glimpse at the political background: Uşakizade had dedicated his work to Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi, the teacher and Şeyhülislam (1695-1703) of Sultan Mustafa II, who had ordered him to write it. The versions of the text written after the Şeyhülislam's fall and death during the Edirne Vak'ası in 1703, however, were dedicated to Grand Vizier Çorlulu Ali Pasha (1706-1710). But when in 1730 Sultan Mahmud I, the son of Seyyid Feyzullah's pupil, came to power and gave the highest posts to the sons of his father's teacher, new copies of the work were again written with the original dedication to Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi.

Reading the *Tarih-i Uşakizade* I noticed that at a certain point the handwriting and the first-person narrator changed. Persons this new narrator called his relatives helped to find out that he was Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi. This change occurred exactly when Uşakizade was Kadi of Medina from April 1707 to April 1708. So Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi had obviously acted as the deputy of Uşakizade as historiographer during his absence from the capital. This cooperation appears like an act of friendship and mutual trust. But later Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi incorporated Uşakizade's *Zeyl-i Şakayık* completely and almost verbatim into his own biographical dictionary, the *Vekayi ül-Füzela*, without even mentioning his name. He left out all authentic personal remarks of Uşakizade, but he made corrections and added further biographies.

In order to study all extant copies of Uşakizade's dictionary I travelled to Vienna, Sarajevo, and Istanbul and had the pleasure of turning the pages of the original Ottoman manuscripts with my own hands in the unique atmosphere of the manuscript departments of the *Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi*, the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, and in small Vakıf Kütüphanes like the *Murad Molla Kütüphanesi* and the *Rağıb Paşa Kütüphanesi*, with their special charm. The only manuscript I could not get any information about, even when in later years I tried it on the spot, was the one in Cairo's *Daralkutub*.

The main question, however, was what the genealogical and biographical material found in the *Zeyl-i Şakayık* and its predecessors, the earlier biographical dictionaries, could tell us about Ottoman ulema-families and the biographies of individual scholars. As the Uşakizade, Seyrekzade, and Vardarişeyhzade families were prominent ulema families represented by numerous biographies, I could put together genealogical tables of four or five generations. The genealogical tables show, however, only men related to men mentioned, but women are not named. Only if a man was identified as the son-in-law of another man, or when the son of a non-Seyyid was called a Seyyid, women were indirectly present. As, however, according to the *şari'a* women inherited part of their husband's or father's estate, my next step was to find probate inventories of the families. And in

fact, there were some in the first original Ottoman *defters* I ever had in my hands, namely in the registers (*sicills*) of the Kadis of Istanbul, then housed in the *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi*. Entries in these *sicills* included the names of Seyyid İbrahim's two grandmothers, three aunts, his mother, and three sisters. And of course, there were valuable details about the material situation of the family, their houses, gardens, slaves etc. The second part of the book is dedicated to the detailed biography of Seyyid İbrahim Efendi.²

The role of the ulema in the Ottoman Empire has interested me ever since, and I lectured and wrote articles on different aspects of their history. I was invited for example by the Harvard Law School to discuss a paper on the *medreses* read by Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu in 1998, and I wrote articles on the Kadis, who were essential for the Sultan's justice,³ on two heretics ulema had to deal with,⁴ on the economic situation of the ulema,⁵ on the relationship of ulema and dervishes to the state,⁶ on the critique of ulema in the *risales* of Koçi Bey and others,⁷ and on the statement of some European sources that Şeyhülislams were punished by being grinded in a mortar.⁸ An original *ruus defteri* housed in Stuttgart, gave me the chance of dealing also with those members of the İlmiye not mentioned in the

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- 2 *Vorstudien zur Geschichte der İlmiye im Osmanischen Reich. I. Zu Uşakîzade, seiner Familie und seinem Zeyl-i Şakayık.* Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients. Vol. XXXII. München 1978, 347 pp.
 - 3 "Sultan und Gerechtigkeit im Osmanischen Reich". Stefan Plattenborg (Ed.), *Gerechtigkeit und gerechte Herrschaft vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Band 101), Göttingen 2020, pp. 153-176.
 - 4 "The Koran: an Ottoman Defter!" Ottoman Heretics of the 18th Century". *Syncretismes et Hérésies dans l'Orient Seldjoukide et Ottoman (XIVe - XVIIe siècles)*. Actes du Colloque du Collège de France, Octobre 2001, sous la direction de Gilles Veinstein. Paris 2005, pp. 299-310.
 - 5 "On the Economic Situation of the Ottoman Ulema". *V. Milletlerarası Türkiye Sosyal ve İktisat Tarihi Kongresi. Tebliğler*. Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi. İstanbul 21-25 Ağustos 1989. Ankara 1990, pp. 635-642.
 - 6 "Sozialgeschichtliche Probleme um Ulema und Derwische im Osmanischen Reich". *I. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi (İstanbul, 15.-20.X.1973). Tebliğler 1. Türk Tarihi*, İstanbul 1979, pp. 218-233.
 - 7 "Die Kritik an den Ulema in den osmanischen politischen Traktaten des 16.-18. Jahrhunderts". *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920). Birinci Uluslararası „Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi Kongresi“ Tebliğleri*. Hacettepe University, Ankara, Juli 11-13, 1977, ed. by Osman Ökyar and Halil İnalçık. Ankara 1980, pp. 147-155.
 - 8 "Der Tod im Mörser: Starben so osmanische Schejhülislame"? *Von der Pruth-Ebene bis zum Gipfel des Ida. Studien zur Geschichte, Literatur, Volkskunde und Wissenschaftsgeschichte des Donau - Balkan - Raumes. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Emanuel Turczynski.* (= Südosteuropa Schriften vol. 10). Ed. by Gerhard Grimm, München 1989, pp. 141-152.

biographical dictionaries: the *hatibs*, *imams*, *müezzins*, and the other people serving in mosques and other *vakıfs*.⁹

Ottoman Defters

Two defters from the Austrian National Library (*Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*) in Vienna I worked on, did not concern the ulema, but covers the social and economic history. The first one was a *şikayet defteri* covering eight and a half months of the year 1675, containing about 2.800 *fermans* reacting to whatever complaints people from all over the empire had addressed to the state. An international group of colleagues agreed to cooperate. We planned to read, transcribe, and translate it, and publish it with registers. Limited time and other obstacles prevented us from realizing the complete plan. A facsimile-edition of the original text with an introduction and registers of administrative units and larger towns was therefore published in Vienna in 1983.¹⁰ Unfortunately, we failed in publishing the second volume, although a considerable part of the work for it had been done. The circumstances were too unfavourable. We had hoped, however, that the first publication of a complete defter of the *Divan-ı hümayun* might induce others to publish more Ottoman *defters* the same way, making them available to scholars everywhere. We were not disappointed in this respect.

The other defter placed in the National Library in Vienna turned out to be a *Cebelü Defteri* from the late 17th century. This defter registers timar-holders (*sipahi*) freed from the war-service: under-age boys inheriting their deceased father's timar, sick, injured and aged timar-holders, those undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hacı*), *defterlü adamlar* of high officials, and *sipahis* entrusted with special services. The *defter* clearly shows that in the late 17th century the boys in contrast to the regulations in the classical period did not just receive a beginner's timar but inherited the complete *timar* or *zeamet* of their fathers. Of course, they were obliged to send the number of *cebelüs* prescribed. The sick, the injured and the aged timar-holders had the same regulation. The pilgrimage was allowed without obligations, but only in times of peace. *Defterlü adamlar* were holders of timars or *zeamets* serving in the retinue of high dignitaries, who put them on the lists (*defters*) which then were copied into the *cebelü defteris*. Other *timar*-holders registered, were used for special services. Both

9 "Ulema und „kleinere Religionsdiener“ in einem Defter der Jahre vor 1683“. *Osmanistische Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte. In memoriam Vančo Boškov*. Ed. by Hans Georg Majer. Wiesbaden 1986, pp. 104-119

10 "Das osmanische „Registerbuch der Beschwerden“ (*Şikâyet Defteri*) vom Jahre 1675. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek cod. mixt. 683. Herausgegeben, eingeleitet und mit siebzehn Fachkollegen gemeinsam übersetzt von Hans Georg Majer. Bd. I: Einleitung, Reproduktion des Textes, Geographische Indices, Wien 1984, 68 pp., 224 fol.

these groups were freed from following the flag of their *sancakbeys* and did not have to send *cebelüs*. Obviously their *timars* now just served as payment without the traditional obligation, while leading dignitaries of the state profited from their service without having to pay. Nevertheless, the rule that every *timar*-holder was obliged to be present at the inspection (*yoklama*) of his troop was still valid, otherwise he would lose his *timar*. Being registered in the *cebelü defteris*, however, secured the boys and men against the accusation of not being present, and the loss of their *timars* or *zeamets*.¹¹

A special kind of Ottoman defter are the so-called budgets (*bütçe*). Ömer Lütfi Barkan (1902-1979) published some of them, the earliest of which was from Süleyman the Magnificent's time. When I studied them, they appeared amazingly familiar to me, and I remembered that I had already read such a text, not in Ottoman, however, but in Italian. That text was a chapter in Iacopo di Promontorio's *Recollecta*, a book containing information the author had collected in the Ottoman Empire during the reigns of Sultans Murad II and Mehmed II.¹² When I compared it with the earliest Ottoman texts, the Italian text turned out to be the translation of an original Ottoman *bütçe* from Mehmed the Conqueror's time.¹³ It is the earliest of its kind known so far.

Studying defters I had become deeply interested in the economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, and so I wrote additional articles,¹⁴ and organized two symposia in Munich, an *Interdisziplinäres*

11 "Von der Heeresfolge freigestellte osmanische Timar-Inhaber in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts". *Şerefe. Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday*. Ed. by Pál Fodor, Nándor E. Kovács and Benedek Péri. Budapest 2019, pp. 381-398.

12 "Franz Babinger, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Iacopo de Promontorio-de Campis über den Osmanenstaat um 1475*. München 1957, pp. 62-72.

13 "Ein osmanisches Budget aus der Zeit Mehmeds des Eroberers". *Der Islam* 59 (1982) pp. 40-63, eine Berichtigung auf S. 387. Turkish Translation by Samira Kortantamer: "Fatih Sultan Mehmet Zamanında Bir Osmanlı Bütçesi". *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 3 (1987), pp. 115-140.

14 "Wie stellten sich die Osmanen zur Wohlfahrt ihrer Länder"? *Beiträge des Südosteuropa-Arbeitskreises der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft zum IV. Internationalen Südosteuropa-Kongreß der Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen, Ankara, 13.-18.8.1979*, ed. by Klaus-Detlev Grothusen. Göttingen 1979, pp. 64-78; „Traditionsbildung und Tradition im Osmanischen Herrscherhaus“. *Höfische Kultur in Südosteuropa*. Bericht der Kolloquien der Südosteuropa-Kommission 1988 bis 1990. Ed. by Reinhard Lauer and Hans Georg Majer. Göttingen 1994, pp. 153-173; "The Functioning of a Multi-ethnic and Multi-religious State: The Ottoman Empire". *European Review* 5. 1997, pp. 257-265. For a revised and enlarged German version see: "Gesellschaftliche und religiöse Auswirkungen der Osmanenzeit in Südosteuropa". *Religion und Gesellschaft in Südosteuropa*, ed. by Hans-Dieter Döppmann. München 1997, pp. 117-131.

Symposion in 1982, and an *Internationales Symposion* in 1984,¹⁵ and finally the IV. *International Congress on the Economic and Social History of Turkey* in 1986.¹⁶

Ottoman Documents in Germany

Ottoman documents have fascinated me ever since I studied the fundamental “*Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache*” by Friedrich Kraelitz¹⁷ in a seminar with Professor Kissling. I practiced reading documents with Bedriye Atsız (1912-2002), who taught Turkish and Ottoman at our Institute, and with Dr Vančo Boškov (1934-1984) from Sarajevo, who had already published Ottoman documents, and stayed with us on a scholarship for two years. I also practiced using whatever published documents I could find, as they allowed me to control my readings at once. Then, one day the first unpublished documents were handed over to me by Professor Kissling. These documents had been found in the archives of the Counts of Galen when an exhibition was prepared in Münster. The organizers of the exhibition asked for information about these exotic documents. Most interesting was the piece with a *tuğra*. I tried hard but in vain to decipher it. No sultan had had such a *tuğra*. Was it a fake? It did not look like one. Finally, it came to my mind that there were some rare examples of documents with *tuğras* issued by Ottoman princes. I found out that the document was in fact issued by an Ottoman prince, namely Prince Ahmed, son of Sultan Bayezid II, the governor of Amasya. As it dated 1501, I realized that I had come upon the earliest Ottoman document preserved in Germany.¹⁸ Only in the 20th century an earlier document, dating 1441, was acquired by the State Library (*Staatsbibliothek*) in Berlin.¹⁹ The second document, an *arz* of the Kadi of Karahisar-i Şarkî dating August 1663, accompanied Prince Ahmed’s *firman*, and allowed to reconstruct its travel from the Ottoman province of Rum to the German region of Westphalia. The text of the *arz* was about a quarrel concerning the position of head of the Pious Foundation of the *zaviye* of Şeyh Bahaeddin in Suşehri. The Kadi wrote to the Porte

15 “*Osmanistische Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte. In memoriam Vančo Boškov*. Wiesbaden 1986, XI and 206 pp.

16 “*Türkische Wirtschafts - und Sozialgeschichte von 1071-1920. Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses, München 1986*. Ed. by Hans Georg Majer and Raoul Motika. Wiesbaden 1995.

17 Friedrich Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Diplomatie*. Wien 1921.

18 “Ein Nişân des Osmanenprinzen Ahmed, des Statthalters von Amasya, für die Zâviye des Scheich Bahâ' ed-Din vom Jahre 906/1501“. *Südost-Forschungen* 31 (1972), pp. 319-331.

19 Klaus Schwarz, „Eine Herrscherurkunde Murad II. für den Wesir Fazlullah“. *Journal of Turkish Studies* 5 (1981) pp. 45-60.

asking for a *berat* in favour of the rightful successor. Prince Ahmed's document confirming the possessions and privileges of the Pious Foundation was added, and the two documents went in search of the Grand Vizier Köprülüzade Ahmed Pasha, who at that time was campaigning in Hungary. Most probably the documents fell into the hands of troops of the Bishop of Münster during the battle of Saint Gotthard/Mogersdorf in 1664 and were presented to their Bishop Count Christoph Bernhard von Galen (1606-1678). In his family's archives they have been preserved from 1664 until lately, when they were transferred to the *LWL-Archivamt für Westfalen* in Münster.

Bishop Christoph Bernhard von Galen had not arrived on the battlefield in person. only after the end of the battle. Elector Max Emanuel von Bayern, however, whom according to Bavarian tradition the Ottomans had called the blue king,²⁰ had taken an active part in the war against the Ottomans as a commander from 1683 to 1688.²¹ Wondering whether there were any documents or letters in the Bavarian State Archives resulting from contacts he had had with the Ottoman commanders, I found letters written by two Ottoman commanders in special situations. Ebubekir Pasha, Commander of the fortress of Esztergom, thanked the Elector politely for the safe-conduct given by Bavarian units to the Ottoman garrison after the capitulation of the fortress in 1683.²² When he arrived in Belgrade shortly after, Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha had him killed, but failed to save his own life. Yeğen Osman Pasha, the Ottoman commander-in-chief in 1688, a former Anatolian robber, in his letter addressed to the Elector, announced an Ottoman embassy travelling to Vienna in the middle of the war, intending to inform the Emperor of the accession of Sultan Süleyman II (1687-1691). In fact, however, the two ambassadors' task was to negotiate peace between the two Empires. In his letter, the Pasha asked the Elector, who was Imperial high commander at that moment, to permit the embassy to cross the border and to continue the travel to Vienna securely. Translations and copies of the letter later were slightly changed on both sides to improve the prestige of either party. The embassy reached Austria but was permitted to return to Istanbul only after Süleyman II's death, and without results.²³

20 "Der blaue ‚König‘". *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 38 (1975), pp. 730-738

21 "Die Türken - Gegner des Westens am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts". *Kurfürst Max Emanuel. Bayern und Europa um 1700. Band I: Zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte der Max Emanuel-Zeit*, ed. by Hubert Glaser. München 1976, pp. 362-372.

22 "Zur Kapitulation des osmanischen Gran (Esztergom) im Jahre 1683". *Südosteuropa unter dem Halbmond (Festschrift Stadtmüller)*. München 1975, pp. 189-204.

23 "Ein Brief des Serdar Yeğen Osman Pascha an den Kurfürsten Max Emanuel von Bayern vom Jahre 1688 und seine Übersetzungen". *Islamkundliche*

Among some documents caught by Bavarian guards, there was an unidentified letter addressed to a Pasha. It turned out to be a letter written by an Ottoman Grand Vizier. He had written it shortly before he lost the battle near Mohács in August 1687. His loss had consequences; the army revolted, he had to flee, and was finally killed by order of the hesitant sultan. Grand Vizier Sarı Süleyman Pasha (1685-1687) has, however, left traces in Bavaria, namely his letter and his tent, and he is also indirectly present in huge paintings illustrating the Bavarian warfare against him on the walls of the palace of Schleißheim near Munich. Traces can be found as well in Istanbul: a mosque, an inscription, a gravestone and *vakıf* names showing his activities as donor to pious foundations (*vâkıf*) around Istanbul, as well as in Rumili, especially around Pripol (*Prijepolje*) his home region. In biographical texts written after his final military defeat, he has mostly been judged as an incapable and despicable person. Sources written, however, before this defeat depict him as a talented and highly esteemed Ottoman vizier.²⁴

A letter written by another high-ranking Ottoman Pasha in peacetime, however, found its way to the Municipal Archive of Munich. Çakırcı Hasan Pasha, who played an important role in the *Edirne vakası* (1703), writes this private letter to the Emperor's falconer. I deciphered the corrupted name of the recipient and found material about him and his family in the archives of Linz and Vienna. After I had identified the Imperial ambassador mentioned in the text, I followed the careers of these three men, who had contacts across the borders of the two Empires.²⁵ Documents like these, today can be understood as tiny historical bridges between two neighbouring cultures, although their original context was often military.

The Ottoman army itself did not only carry weapons, ammunition, and provision but also loads of papers.²⁶ Consequently

Abhandlungen (Festschrift Kießling). München 1974, pp. 130-145.

- 24 "Bavyera ve İstanbul'da İzleri Olan Bir Osmanlı Sadrazamı: Sarı Süleyman Paşa. *Osmanlı İstanbulu III. III. Ululararası Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu Bildirileri 25-26 Mayıs 2015*, İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi, ed. by Feridun M. Emecen, Ali Akyıldız, Emrah Safa Gürkan. İstanbul 2015, pp. 19-51. A revised and extended German version entitled „Spuren des osmanischen Großwesirs Sarı Süleyman Pascha in Bayern und Istanbul“ appeared in *EOTHEN. Münchner Beiträge zur Geschichte der Islamischen Kunst und Kultur* 7 (2018), pp. 189-224 [The words „Erstellt von“ were wrongly put at the beginning of the title].
- 25 "Ein osmanisches Schreiben aus der wohlbehüteten Stadt Belgrad von 1706/07. Der Falkner (Çakırcı) Hasan Pascha, der kaiserliche Oberstfalkenmeister Georg Andre Graf Volkra und der Gesandte Christoph Ignatz Edler von Guarient und Rall". *Oberbayerisches Archiv* 138 (2014) pp. 78-107.
- 26 "Schreibrohr und Papier auf dem Marsch: Schriftkultur in der osmanischen Armee". Sevgi Ağcağül and Henning Siefert (Eds.), *Kitâb-ı Hedâyâ. Studien zum Osmanischen Reich und seinen Nachbargebieten. Zu Ehren von Hedda*

the bulk of the Ottoman documents and defters now in Germany mirrors above all the highly bureaucratic Ottoman administration of the army and the state, as well as the situation of individual soldiers and people. In various German museums there are collections of exquisite Ottoman weapons, saddles, and tents witnessing Ottoman taste and craftsmanship. The documents, *defTERS*, and an important number of manuscripts taken also as booty, complete the picture of the impressive Ottoman cultural heritage in Germany, resulting mostly from the wars.

Several German Orientalists and Ottomanists above all Georg Jacob (1862-1937), Helmuth Scheel (1895-1967), and Franz Babinger (1891-1967) already published Ottoman documents from Germany in the first half of the 20th century. Most of the documents and *defTERS* are, however, not yet catalogued properly or even published, and others are hitherto unknown altogether. As they are not kept in a single institution, but in different archives, libraries, museums, and private collections all over the county, it is a problem even to find them. Some institutions or owners house many pieces, some few, some only a single piece, which nevertheless might be of interest. The reason for this situation was that Germany until the late 19th century did not exist as one state. Instead, the German territory was split up in numerous states, reigned by princely families within the framework of the Holy Roman Empire. Diplomatic relations existed only, and almost exclusively, between the Emperor in Vienna and the Sultan in Istanbul. Consequently, few documents resulting from official diplomatic contacts exist in Germany. The important Ottoman documents that Count Wolfgang IV zu Oettingen-Wallerstein brought back from his embassy in 1700 are an exception.²⁷ Some pieces result from contacts between military commanders from either side. The bulk, however, is war booty taken during the wars between the Houses of Habsburg and Osman. When the Sultan or the Grand Vizier went to war, they took along a functional part of the Imperial chancery. When they lost a battle, the chancery sometimes had to be left behind, as it happened in 1683, and the enemy collected whatever was found on the battlefield.²⁸ Battles lost by other commanders offered similar opportunities. After a battle in 1684, a suspicious-looking bundle of documents was found in the deserted

Reindl-Kiel. Bonn 2020, pp. 97-115.

27 “Drei feierliche osmanische Sultansurkunden aus bayerischen Sammlungen (1601-1700)”. *Diplomaten und Wesire. Krieg und Frieden im Spiegel türkischen Kunsthandwerks*, ed. by Peter W. Schienerl unter Mitarbeit von Christine Stelzig. Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, München 1988, pp. 71- 79.

28 “Fundstücke aus der vor Wien verlorenen Kanzlei Kara Mustafa Paşas (1683)”. *Das Osmanische Reich in seinen Archivalien und Chroniken. Nejat Göyünç zu Ehren*. Ed. by Klaus Kreiser and Christoph K. Neumann. Istanbul 1997, pp. 115-122.

Ottoman camp. It was sent to Vienna at once. The Turkish interpreter Franciscus Meninski (1623-1698) examined the documents and sent them to his superior Margrave Hermann von Baden, telling him that it contained just personal papers of a Pasha. It was the archive of the Vizier Boşnak Osman Pasha. The Margrave kept it for himself, and it survived in Baden until the Second World-war when it was evacuated for safety's sake and never came back. Fortunately, the documents had been published by Franz Babinger, and are still available as facsimiles.²⁹ As far as I know this is the only archive of an Ottoman Pasha and Vizier that has survived. So, I wondered what had become of the archives of all the other Pashas. Analysing Osman Pasha's archive, I considered what kind of data could be expected from other Vizier archives, if more of them came to light, even as fragments.³⁰ Generally, however, the Ottoman documents and *defters* were not collected systematically, commanders, officers, and men took whatever they liked. In the long run a good part of the paper-booty ended in a great variety of collections, the most important ones were those of German Princes. Other documents, *defters*, and manuscripts were bought from merchants, private owners or directly in the Ottoman Empire or modern Turkey. The famous writer and historian Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790-1861) for example acquired seventy Ottoman documents while he travelled in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. Most of them deal with *timar* affairs (*arz*, *arz-i hal*) in the *sancak* Maraş around the year 1742, and as historical sources for Maraş in the 18th century are rare, these documents and what they tell, might fill a small gap in the history of the region.³¹

Since the German collections and their contents still remained an almost unknown territory, I decided a long time ago to do research on the documents and *defters* in Germany with the aim of making

29 "Das Archiv des Bosniaken Osman Pascha. Nach den Beständen der Badischen Landesbibliothek zu Karlsruhe, herausgegeben und erläutert von Franz Babinger. Berlin 1931. For corrections concerning the history of the archive see my article: „Verlorene Urkunden und Briefe aus der „Türkischen Kammer“. Die Karlsruher Türkenbeute. Die „Türkische Kammer“ des Markgrafen Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden-Baden. Die „Türkischen Curiositaeten“ der Markgrafen von Baden-Durlach. Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe. Bearbeitet von Ernst Petrasch, Reinhard Sängler, Eva Zimmermann, Hans Georg Majer. München 1991, pp. 356-369.

30 "The Papers of Boşnak Osman Pasha and the Problem of Ottoman Vizier and Pasha Archives". 2. *Uluslararası Osmanlı Coğrafyası Arşiv Kongresi / 2nd International Archive Congress on Ottoman Lands*, ed. by Hadice Oruç, Mehmet Yıldırım, Songül Kadioğlu. *Bildiriler Cilt 1*, Ankara 2019, pp. 493-498.

31 "Timär-Gesuche ('arz', 'arzuhal') aus dem *sancak* Maraş vom Jahre 1742 und anderes: Zu 70 Originalen aus dem Besitz von Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer". Johannes Zimmermann, Christoph Herzog, Raoul Motika (Eds.), *Osmanische Welten: Quellen und Fallstudien. Festschrift für Michael Ursinus*. (= *Bamberger Orientstudien 8*), Bamberg 2016, pp. 413-446.

them visible and available in a catalogue. I have now been working on it for decades as I find more material in more places than I had ever expected. I already visited most of the well-known collections of Ottoman manuscripts housing also documents and *defters*. Wherever I travelled within Germany for other reasons, I went to the archives, libraries, and museums looking for Ottoman documents. I spent many hours looking through the collections, making notes, ordering microfilms or xeroopies and later scans. Many colleagues informed me about further institutions housing documents. Owners sent me copies or sometimes even the originals of their pieces, asking for their age and contents. On the documents in Munich³² and in Germany³³, I wrote preliminary overviews. But the work is still going on.

It is known that detecting and interpreting falsifications of documents was an important topic for historical research on the European Middle Ages. Only little was known, however, about Ottoman fakes. Very, very few Ottoman documents have so far been proved to be fakes. Does that mean that Ottoman documents appearing original are really all originals? I discussed this aspect of Ottoman diplomatics in an article,³⁴ and as various Ottoman sources show, there were more Ottoman fakes produced than one is inclined to think vis-à-vis the few fakes, historians have hitherto proved to be fakes. The Ottoman authorities were aware of it, and they pursued and punished the forgery of documents and the *tuğra* severely. To my present knowledge fakes seem, however, to be rare among the Ottoman documents in Germany.

Mustafa II and his Reign

Many of the Ottoman documents I found so far, are remains of the war lasting from 1683 to 1699. I got more and more interested in that period of intensive, although mostly military contacts,³⁵

32 "Ottoman Documents in Munich Collections. Origin and Fate, Type and Contents, Preservation and Whereabouts". *Osmanlı Coğrafyası Kültürel Arşiv Mirasının Yönetimi ve Tapu Arşivlerinin Rolü Uluslararası Kongresi / International Congress of "The Ottoman Geopolitics Management of Cultural Archive Heritage and Role of Land Registry Archives"*, 21-23 Kasım/November 2012 İstanbul. Bildiriler. Vol. 1, Ankara 2013, pp. 151-161.

33 "Alman Arşivleri ve Kütüphanelerindeki Osmanlı Belgeleri". *Avrupa Arşivlerinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*. Ed. Yonca Köksal / Mehmet Polatel. Ankara 2014, pp. 15-29.

34 "Über Urkundenfälschung im Osmanischen Reich". *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community. Essays in Honour of Suraiya Faroqhi*. Ed. by Vera Costantini and Markus Koller. Leiden Boston 2008, pp. 45-69.

35 "Ottoman Knowledge of the Imperial Commanders". Colin Heywood and Ivan Parvev (Eds.), *The Treaties of Carlowitz (1699). Antecedents, Course and Consequences*. Leiden Boston 2020, pp. 131-150; „Albaner und Bosnier in der osmanischen Armee. Ein Faktor der Reichsintegration im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert". *Jugoslawien. Integrationsprobleme in Geschichte und*

especially in the last phase, when promising successes of the Ottomans were stopped by a defeat, followed by negotiations and the peace of Karlowitz. When many years ago during a workshop in Munich Mübahat Kütükoğlu asked me, why of all in the Ottoman reigns I chose Mustafa II's reign as the topic for a book, I answered that he ascended to the throne in a perilous situation. Nevertheless, people expected him to win battles and to change the course of the war in favour of the Ottomans, as he was young, handsome, and energetic and went to war in person. He seemed to succeed, but then he lost the battle of Zenta in 1697, left the theatre of war for ever, and was compelled to conclude the peace of Karlowitz in 1699. He did not win the war, but he still had the chance to win the peace. Instead, he withdrew to Edirne under the influence of his teacher and Şeyhülislam Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi and failed, his reign ending in a rebellion, the *Edirne vak'ası*. His period, although relatively short was extremely dramatic. So, I thought it was worthwhile to study it thoroughly, directly from the Ottoman and European sources.

Thanks to a scholarship I was able to do research for the book in Vienna, Venice, London, Sarajevo, Dubrovnik, Zadar and above all in the *Topkapı* and *Süleymaniye* libraries and the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* in Istanbul. And, as I was working in these institutions long before scans began to dominate the work there, I enjoyed the feeling of having direct contact with those past days through original defters and piles of original documents I got in my hands in the course of time. I wrote the book and it helped my academic career, but as I intended to revise and enlarge it before having it printed, I collected more material, gave talks on the subject, and in addition to an article on the portraits of Mustafa II (see below) I published articles on the harem of Mustafa II,³⁶ on his stays in Istanbul,³⁷ on logistic problems of the Ottoman and Habsburg armies in his time,³⁸ on documents granting privileges to merchants, catholic clerics and the Holy City,³⁹ and on a defter containing the letters written by his last

Gegenwart. Beiträge des Südosteuropa-Arbeitskreises der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft zum V. Internationalen Südosteuropa-Kongreß der Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen, Belgrad, 11.-17.9.1984, ed. by Klaus-Detlev Grothusen. Göttingen 1984, pp. 105-117.

- 36 "The Harem of Mustafa II (1695-1703)". *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 12 (1992) pp. 431-444.
- 37 "Sultan Mustafa II in Istanbul". *Osmanlı İstanbulu IV. IV. Ululararası Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu Bildirileri 20-22 Mayıs 2016*, İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi, ed. by Feridun M. Emecen, Ali Ak yıldız, Emrah Safa Gürkan. İstanbul 2016, pp. 339-361.
- 38 "17. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Avusturya ve Osmanlı Ordularının Seferlerdeki Lojistik Sorunları". *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 2 (1981), pp. 185-194.
- 39 "Drei feierliche osmanische Sultansurkunden aus bayerischen Sammlungen (1601-1700)". *Diplomaten und Wesire. Krieg und Frieden im Spiegel türkischen Kunsthandwerks*⁴, ed. by Peter W. Schienerl with contributions by Christine

Grand Vizier Rami Mehmed Pasha.⁴⁰ After years full of obstacles, at present I am trying intensively to revise and complete the book, and hopefully it will be published next year.

Ottoman and European portraits

Two German scholars who had attended the 5th *International Congress of Turkish Art*, Budapest in 1975, had proposed to Hans Joachim Kissling to invite the 6th *Congress* to be held in Munich in 1979. He consented, on to condition that he himself would not be involved in the preparatory work and other duties. The date of the congress came nearer and nearer, but the two scholars at that time were absent from Munich and unable to organize the congress. Who, however, could do it? In the Munich Institute there was no one left, but me. So, I did it. During the congress I met many art historians, and was attracted by their works, and topics. Unfortunately, as organizer, I was unable to listen to most of the papers I was interested in. At the end of the congress, I therefore made up my mind to attend the next congresses, listen to all papers interesting to me, and to present a paper myself. It was not easy to find a topic that would enable a historian to contribute something to art history. Finally, I got the idea: the portraits of the sultans. So, I went to the 7th *International Congress of Turkish Art* held in Warsaw in 1983 and presented a paper on the portraits of Sultan Mustafa II.⁴¹ Then, with a wider perspective, I collected material on the portraits of all the Ottoman sultans and wrote an article on the iconography of the Ottoman Sultans.⁴² The material I had collected so far, and the work on this article, which ordered the extant material and dealt with principal problems, gave me the idea of trying to organize a research project. First talks with the German art historian Jürg Meyer zur Capellen (1941-2020), who had written an article on the portraits of Sultan Mehmed II,⁴³ ended positive, he was ready to cooperate. During the *International Congress of Turkish Art* in Cairo in 1987, we began to present our plan to colleagues, most of whom had already written about portraits of sultans. As a result, we finally were a group of eight art historians and one historian working on *The Sultan's Portrait*. The group members were the art historians Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda,

Stelzig, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, München 1988, pp. 71- 79.

40 "Zwei İnşâ' Râmî Mehmed Paschas in Wien"? *Osmanistik - Turkologie - Diplomatiek. Festgabe an Josef Matuz*. Ed. by Christa Fragner and Klaus Schwarz. Berlin 1992, pp. 201-212.

41 "Sultan Mustafa II. in der osmanischen Miniaturmalerei". *Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. by Tadeusz Majda. Warschau 1990, pp. 153-160.

42 "Zur Ikonographie der osmanischen Sultane". *Das Bildnis in der Kunst des Orients*. Ed. by Martin Kraatz, Jürg Meyer zur Capellen and Dietrich Seckel. Stuttgart 1990, pp. 99-119.

43 "Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, "Das Bild Sultan Mehmeds des Eroberers". *Pantheon* 41 (1983) pp. 208-220.

Gülru Necipoğlu, Gül İrepoğlu, Serpil Bağcı, Banu Mahir, Julian Raby, Jürg Meyer zur Capellen and me.

The *Fritz von Thyssen Foundation* sponsored our project. We collected portraits of Ottoman and European origin, extant in many countries of the world. The richest collections were those in Istanbul and Vienna. According to our definition for collecting the material, every portrait claiming to be the portrait of a sultan had to be included. We came upon an unexpected number of extremely varied portraits. Meeting as often as possible, mostly in Istanbul, we shared our finds and discussed them intensively. It soon became clear that many portraits, Ottoman as well as European, were parts of series of portraits, forming something like ancestral portrait galleries of the Ottoman dynasty. We structured our work therefore by differentiating between portraits belonging to series and single portraits, and we ordered them according to their time of origin, not the reign of the depicted sultan. Every member of the group specialized in the portraits of certain sultans, artists, styles, and techniques. In small symposia organized in Venice (1994), Oxford (1995), and Vienna (1997) we presented papers on these subjects, and discussed them together with some local scholars. Our research was well advanced when we were surprised by an unexpected proposal. The *Türkiye İş Bankası* intended to celebrate its 100st anniversary with a cultural event, and contacted Filiz Çağman, who was then director of the *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi*. She told them that there was an advanced project, which could well be the basis for an exhibition. The bank was interested and consented. Our group then concentrated on the exhibition, drafted the exhibition plan, chose the portraits to be exhibited, wrote all the articles, and descriptions of the portraits for the catalogue. The exhibition lasted from 8 June to 6 September 2000. Comprehensive catalogues in Turkish (*Padişahın Portresi*, Istanbul 2000) and English (*The Sultan's Portrait*, Istanbul 2000) accompanied the exhibition. The catalogue contains a considerable part of the results that our research had brought about. Beginning in the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror who invited Italian artists to the Ottoman court, the portrait of the sultan became a subject of interest for Ottoman, as well as for European art. It was fascinating to see, how for centuries such portraits either authentic, traditional, or invented, were produced in great numbers in both worlds by well-known artists, as well as by minor, nameless artists. These artists did not work completely independent of one another. Many of their products reveal intercultural contacts and exchange in both directions through the centuries. An important difference was, however, that the Ottoman portraits for a long period of time were miniature paintings enclosed in books, while the European portraits were publicly visible oil-paintings, medals, miniature paintings and many, many prints.

For the portrait group the years of common research were a lasting, and inspiring experience. Our research resulted not only in our contributions to the catalogue, but also in the member's additional individual publications dedicated to our subject. I made contributions to the catalogues of exhibitions in Essen and Frankfurt in 1985, Dresden and Bonn in 1995, Völklingen in 2005, Frankfurt in 2008, Hamburg in 2016, and to the catalogue of a coming exhibition in Zürich (2022). Apart from the two articles already mentioned, I dealt with the European and Ottoman portraits of the Sultans in Germany and Austria,⁴⁴ followed the European and Ottoman traditions in the Sultan's portraits and their interrelationship,⁴⁵ and I pointed at connections between Paolo Giovio, the bishop, historian and great collector and the Ottomans, as well as at connections between Paolo Veronese, the great Venetian painter and them:⁴⁶

When Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha, the Ottoman Grand Admiral, wintered with his fleet in Toulon in 1543, he gave a box containing Ottoman portraits of the Sultans to a French commander as a present. Paolo Giovio had them copied, and later these copies were again copied by Cristofano dell'Altissimo for Cosimo I. dei Medici (some can still be seen in the Uffici in Florence), as well as by Tobias Stimmer, whose woodcuts were published in two works of Giovio. The influence of these portraits on the later European portraits of the sultans was immense. But who was the master of the original Ottoman portraits in the box of the Admiral? I was able to show that they were works of the Ottoman artist Nigari, who was a sea-captain and had also painted a fine portrait of the Grand Admiral.⁴⁷ Nigari himself obviously knew European portraiture, had included elements from it into his own personal style, and he has above all deeply influenced the European portraiture of the Sultans.

Two isolated accounts of a story resulted in a surprising cultural exchange after they were brought together: (1) the European side of the story: The Venetian Bailo in 1578 wrote a letter to the Doge, after Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha had asked for portraits of the former sultans extant in Venice. The portraits of the last three sultans,

44 "Almanya ve Avusturya Koleksiyonlarında Osmanlı Sultanlarının Bazı Portreleri ve İkonografyadaki Yeri". *Sanat Tarihinde İkonografik Araştırmalar*. Prof. Dr. Güner İnal'a Armağan. Ankara 1993, pp. 295-323.

45 "Östliche und westliche Tradition im Sultansporträt". *Bamberger Symposium: Rezeption in der islamischen Kunst* vom 26. 6.-28. 6. 1992. Ed. by Barbara Finster. Beirut 1999, pp. 231-246.

46 "Giovio, Veronese und die Osmanen. Zum Sultansbild der Renaissance". *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*. Ed. by Bodo Guthmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann. Tübingen 2000, pp. 345-371.

47 "Nigârî and the Sultans' Portraits of Paolo Giovio". *9. Milletlerarası Türk Sanatları Kongresi (9th International Congress of Turkish Art)*. *Bildiriler (Contributions)*, Ankara 1995, vol. 2, pp. 443-456.

he wrote, had to resemble the sultans, as the people remembered them well. The Doge answered that the portraits were commissioned in and according to the other later documents that they were in fact sent to Istanbul. In 1983 the Italian art historian Ubaldo Meroni succeeded in finding fourteen portraits of Sultans attributed to the Venice workshop of Paolo Veronese. The two stories seemed to fit, unfortunately the portraits were in Munich, not in Istanbul. I found out, however, that in fact portraits of the same series had also arrived in Istanbul. (2) The Ottoman side of the story: A great, illustrated Ottoman history was prepared by the Saray workshop. As the artists needed to know how every Sultan had looked, the painter Nakkaş Osman and the writer Seyyid Lokman had been ordered to search for visual and written descriptions. When they had learned that such portraits were extant in Venice, they went to the Grand Vizier. So, the two accounts speak of the same story. Both accounts were known, but they had not been brought together before.⁴⁸

In the late 17th century, an Ottoman painter created two extraordinary *Silsilenâmes*, containing portraits of prophets, early Iranian and Muslim rulers, and the Ottoman sultans until Mehmed IV. He combined the Ottoman tradition with new elements from European portraiture and created a new style characterized by special colours, individualized sultans and sexy looking women.⁴⁹ He signed both manuscripts, calling himself Hüseyin el-musavvir, and Hüseyin el İstanbulî. My research showed that both manuscripts were produced in 1683, the uncompleted Ankara version as the model for the exquisite Vienna version, given as a present to the Sultan most probably by Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha right before the beginning of the campaign to Vienna. The stylistic peculiarities of Musavvir Hüseyin also allowed me to attribute another four illustrated manuscripts to him.⁵⁰ Musavvir Hüseyin was a highly gifted artist, and in my opinion, he was the most important Ottoman artist of the late 17th century, although we know nothing at all about his personality and career. He most probably was Levni's teacher, and his style influenced Levni who became the outstanding artist of the early 18th century, and one of the greatest Ottoman painters. A manuscript containing portraits of the Ottoman sultans in the library of the Topkapı Sarayı, now lost,

48 "Zur Ikonographie der osmanischen Sultane". pp. 101-102, 104-108; „Giovio, Veronese und die Osmanen“, pp. 353-359.

49 "Individualized Sultans and Sexy Women. The Works of Musavvir Hüseyin and Their East-west Context". *Art Turc / Turkish Art*. 10th International Congress of Turkish Art / 10e Congrès International d'art turc. Genève – Geneva 17-23 September 1995. Actes – Proceedings. Genf 1999, pp. 463-471.

50 "Gold, Silber und Farbe. Musavvir Hüseyin, ein Meister der osmanischen Miniaturmalerei des späten 17. Jahrhunderts". *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic Life / Studien zu Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Osmanischen Reich*. Ed. by Raoul Motika, Christoph Herzog, Michael Ursinus. Heidelberg 1999, pp. 9-42.

according to Prince Dimitrie Cantemir (1673-1723) was copied for him by Levni. When Cantemir's Ottoman History was printed in London in 1734, Claude du Bosc (1682-1745) transferred them into copperplate engravings true to the original Ottoman portraits. This was the first series of Ottoman sultans published in Europe presenting portraits of the sultans to the European public not in European, but in Ottoman style. Although Cantemir says clearly that Levni *copied* the portraits from a manuscript in the Saray, the Ottoman series of portraits acquired by Cantemir "with good presents", has generally been taken as the earliest work of Levni. The result of my stylistic analysis was, however, that these portraits clearly show characteristics of Musavvir Hüseyin's style and allow to attribute them to him. Produced by Musavvir Hüseyin for Sultan Mustafa II, this series now lost, was *copied* by Levni for Prince Cantemir, and Claude du Bosc prepared the engravings of it for the European print.⁵¹ Levni who created a distinctive style of his own developing further Musavvir Hüseyin's style and who was also inspired by an artistic exchange with a European artist in Istanbul, produced his own impressive series of portraits of the Sultans for Sultan Mustafa's brother Ahmed III. Levni and this European artist, probably Jean Baptiste Vanmour (1671-1737), both created portraits of Mustafa II resembling one another like brothers grown up in different environments. The artists obviously were aware of the others' works and profited from them.

When I visited an exhibition in Stuttgart in April 2004, I came across a startling exhibit. It was a page from a totally unknown early *Silsilenâme*, which unexpectedly ended with Sultan Ahmed I, not as usual with Mehmed III. There was no other *Silsilenâme* from Sultan Ahmed I's time, and it was the only known *Silsilenâme* presenting the reigning Sultan on horseback. It had to be researched and published.⁵² Unfortunately it is just a fragment though the part on the Ottoman sultans is complete. Stylistically the portraits are closely related to the other early *Silsilenâmes*, produced in Bagdad, but it shows very remarkable additions to the texts written around some portraits. These texts deal with historical events, narrate stories of interest, and mention contemporaries from the fields of religion and culture, and even persons from neighbouring states. The strange black and

51 "Levni, Musavvir Hüseyin, Claude du Bosc und die Sultansporträts Dimitrie Cantemirs ». *Zwischen den Welten. Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte für Jürg Meyer zur Capellen. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag*. Ed. by Damian Dombrowski with contributions by Katrin Heusing und Alexandra Dern. Weimar 2001, pp. 194-208.

52 "Sultan Ahmed I. hoch zu Ross. Ein ungewöhnliches osmanisches *Silsilenâme* in Stuttgart". *Tribus, Jahrbuch des Linden-Museums* 60 (2011) pp. 124-159 with 14 illustrations. A later, shortened version, however, with additions is: „An Extraordinary, Illustrated, Ottoman *Silsilenâme* From the Reign of Ahmed I. (1603-1617)". *14th International Congress of Turkish Art*. Proceedings. Editor Frédéric Hitzel. Paris Collège de France 2013, pp. 483-490.

white copy of a *Silsilenâme* in Paris, and another *Silsilenâme* in the al-Sabah collection in Kuwait resembles the Stuttgart *Silsilenâme* in many respects but differs also from it. The additional texts show the Stuttgart *Silsilenâme* to be educating as well as entertaining, and its poor state shows that it was used intensively, most probably in a *Mevlevihane*.

Ottoman scenes in European paintings and engravings

Other studies concerning art history went beyond the portraits of the Sultans. The High Commander of the Venetian army between from 1715 to 1747, Count Matthias von der Schulenburg, was a great collector of art, whose collection included the most prominent painters of Renaissance and Baroque. He had commissioned Antonio (and Francesco) Guardi to produce for him a series of paintings depicting Ottoman scenes. After his death, these paintings were unfortunately scattered. But a Venetian exhibition in 1993 succeeded in bringing together most of the 43 paintings. As the Guardis were not familiar with the Ottomans, they used models in a convincing and creative way. Most of these models have been identified. When I leafed through the catalogue, however, I noticed a scene the model of which was still unknown. In that scene an Ottoman official had wine drinkers punished. It appeared familiar to me, and I remembered a similar scene in an Ottoman miniature in a manuscript originally produced for a Venetian bailo in Istanbul, but later torn in two parts in Venice. One part came to Germany and was published in 1925, the other part stayed in Venice, but was also published in 1995. The scene I remembered was in the German part, the so-called Taeschner Album. When I compared the Ottoman miniature to the Italian painting, almost every detail of the Ottoman scene had its counterpart in the Guardi painting. The Guardis had in fact transformed an original Ottoman miniature into an Italian baroque painting without changing the original design, showing a rare example of intercultural, artistic open-mindedness.⁵³

Ottoman scenes not based on Ottoman miniatures, but on texts written by European historians, were designed and engraved by Augsburg artists for a history of the Ottoman Empire printed in 1694 and 1700 entitled: *Die neu-eröffnete Ottomanische Pforte*. The two costly and voluminous volumes were illustrated with over four hundred newly created engravings, showing scenes from Ottoman history. The artists did not use extant models. They chose a great variety of scenes freely from the texts, and according to some knowledge of the Ottomans and their own style and tradition, they

53 “Der venezianische Feldmaresciallo Graf Matthias von der Schulenburg, die „Quadri turcheschi“ der Brüder Guardi und die Osmanen“. *Opuscula György Hazai Dicata. Beiträge zum Deutsch-Ungarischen Workshop aus Anlass des 80. Geburtstages von György Hazai.* (=Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Türkvolker, vol. 19). Berlin 2015, pp. 123-159.

transferred the sentences and words into scenes. Although there are scenes of violence and cruelty, committed not only by the Ottomans the artists are mostly free from the prejudice that dominates some parts of the text. This visual panorama of the Ottoman history witnesses the intense interest in the Ottomans, aroused by the long war years (1683-1699) between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Roman Empire. The book is unique, as before it, no Ottoman history of either Ottoman or European origin had ever been provided with more illustrations.⁵⁴

Among the Guardi paintings and the prints in *Die Neu-eröffnete Ottomanische Pforte* just mentioned, I came upon images depicting the situation of Bayezid I, after he had been taken prisoner by Timur near Ankara in 1402. Getting interested, I found even more illustrations of the story. The sudden fall of a mighty ruler and his depressing fate has attracted European historians and writers as well as some opera composers through the centuries. In the course of time more and more new details were added to the story. The texts inspired artists to illustrate the fascinating topic which could be taken as a warning to some and a consoling message to many. It symbolized rise and fall, success and loss arousing emotions. Understandably there is no Ottoman depiction, some Safawid and Mogul artists, however, took up the subject, and above all many European artists. The advantage of these images was that they dealt with foreign rulers from the past and did not openly allude to a possible fate of European rulers. Illustrating texts written at different times, the artists chose either few or many details from their sources. For most European artists, the iron cage in which the defeated Sultan was locked up or transported was the central topic. One engraving shows Timur also stepping on the back of his kneeling prisoner when mounting his horse. The greatest humiliation depicted was, however, that according to another story, illustrated by the Augsburg engraving, Bayezid's almost naked spouse had to serve a glass of wine to Timur, the defeated Sultan gnawing bones together with the dogs on a carpet under the table. Huge, dramatic oil-paintings by the Italian baroque painters Andrea Celesti and Alessandro Campi most probably inspired by baroque opera performances of the time combine, with a surging crowd around, the transport in the cage and the scene of Timur and the Lady, who now as in the operas is Bayezid's daughter. It is an interesting phenomenon that the isolated scene from Ottoman history thanks to its dramatic character and symbolism developed its own European tradition, and was fully integrated into European art, far from Ottoman historical reality. Even in the 19th century artists continued to depict the encounter between the two

54 "17th Century Augsburg Artists and Their Illustrations of Ottoman History". *Gelenek, Kimlik, Bireşim: Kültürel Keşifmeler ve Sanat / Tradition, Identity, Synthesis: Cultural Crossings and Art. Günsel Renda'ya Armağan / Essays in Honor of Günsel Renda*. Ankara 2011, pp. 181-188.

rulers, but their views changed: Johann Nepomuk Geiger combined the European tradition with rich orientalist fantasy, the Ottoman court painter Stanislaus Chlebowski invented a completely new historical scene: Timur and his entourage visit Bayezid in his prison.⁵⁵

When I talked to Seyfi Kenan's attentive and interested students the world was as usual. Then nature interfered and changed the situation radically. The corona pandemic attacked human beings where it hurts most: our human contacts became a deadly danger. Consequently, I had to write during restrictions and lock downs. My research life had allowed me to travel and visit universities, libraries, archives and museums wherever I went in search of sources, information and advice. I met colleagues in these institutions and profited from their help and from the conversations we had. Now we are more and more dependent from the second, the virtual world on the screens of our computers. It surely has advantages, above all the immediate availability of many texts and images, as well as the possibility to see people and to speak to them worldwide. But as a historian I have always needed and enjoyed the inspiration from the direct contact to the sources, not only as texts but also as objects, and in original rooms, buildings, places, their atmosphere and smells. Now I miss traveling, I miss the personal contacts to my former students, to colleagues and friends, especially those in Istanbul, and I miss above all Istanbul, which has always been the *Der-i Seadet* for me.

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