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An Ottoman Historian: ʻUthmān Fütūḥī and His Work *ʻAjā'ib al-Meḥārib ve Gharā'ib al-Meʻārik*

Veysel Göger[1], **Hüseyin Sarıkaya**[2]

Abstract

This study is on a less-known Ottoman historian ʻUthmān Fütūḥī and his works, particularly his chronicle about the Yemen expedition (1569-1571). The author wrote two books. The first, titled *ʻAjā'ib al-Meḥārib ve Gharā'ib al-Meʻārik,* is about this Yemen expedition. The scribe committed this work to paper upon request of Kūjā Sinān Pasha who was the chief-commander of the Ottoman troops dispatched to Yemen to suppress the Zeydī uprising. We now have two copies of this work (full and incomplete), which are accessible. ʻUthmān Fütūḥī benefited to a considerable extent -as a reference- from *Nāme-i Fütūḥ-ı Yemen* by Muṣṭafá Rumūzī. However, we have additionally found out that Fütūḥī narrates some specific information that Rumūzī doesn't.

Fütūḥī's second work with religious content is called *Kenz al-Mewâʻiẓ*. As far as we know, the sole copy is in the Egyptian National Library and Archives. Fütūḥī submitted this manuscript to Khādim Mesīḥ Pasha, the then-Egypt Governor.

Keywords

Ottoman Chronicle • Uthmān Fütūḥī • Yemen Expedition (1569-1571) • Kūjā Sinān Pasha • Muṣṭafá Rumūzī • Khādim Mesīḥ Pasha

Bir Osmanlı Tarihçisi: Osmân Fütûhî ve *ʻAcâ'ibü'l-Mehârib ve Garâ'ibü'l-Meʻârik* Adlı Eseri

Öz

Bu çalışma, kimliği pek de bilinmeyen bir Osmanlı tarihçisi Osmân Fütûhî ve onun eserleri –özellikle de Yemen seferi hakkında kaleme aldığı kroniği– hakkındadır. Müellifin iki eser kaleme aldığı bilinmektedir. Bunlar arasında bulunan *ʻAcâ'ibü'l-Mehârib ve Garâ'ibü'l-Meʻârik* başlıklı eseri Yemen seferi (1569-1571) üzerinedir. Yazar, Zeydî isyanını bastırmak amacıyla Yemen'e sevk edilen Osmanlı askerî kuvvetlerinin başkumandanı Koca Sinân Paşa'nın isteği üzerine bu eseri kaleme almıştır. Bu eserin günümüze ulaşılabilen iki ayrı nüshasına da (biri tam diğeri eksik nüsha) sahibiz. Müellif, ana kaynak olarak Mustafa Rumûzî tarafından kaleme alınan *Nâme-i Fütûh-ı* Yemen adlı eserden önemli ölçüde faydalanmıştır. Bunun yanında, Fütûhî'nin Rumûzî'de yer almayan bazı özgün bilgileri naklettiği de anlaşılmaktadır.

Fütûhî'nin dinî muhtevaya sahip ikinci çalışması *Kenzü'l-Mevâ'iz* olarak anılmaktadır. Bildiğimiz kadarıyla eserin tek nüshası Mısır Milli Kütüphanesi ve Arşivi'nde bulunmaktadır. Fütûhî bu nüshayı dönemin Mısır Valisi Hâdim Mesîh Paşa'ya sunmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Osmanlı Kroniği • Osmân Fütûhî • Yemen Seferi (1569-1571) • Koca Sinân Paşa • Mustafa Rumûzî • Hâdim Mesîh Paşa

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Introduction

Contemporary Ottoman historians need further resources to rightly elaborate and assess current information. This need is getting increase especially for the issues hardly resolved with available documents. Albeit putting the archives into service by the experts in an organizational structure provides a relatively regular data flow, unfortunately this state is a matter of question for the chronicles, which constitutes the second largest resource group. Therefore, identification, transcription and evaluation of the Ottoman chronicles in numerous archives and libraries around the world could be achieved by the efforts of individual Ottoman historians. Also, classification of these chronicles, commonly examined in M.A. and P.h.D studies allow other researchers to benefit fruitfully, which we believe is quite promising but there is still a lot to do. That is to say, various chronicles in private or public archives and libraries, the secrets of which are still undisclosed, are possible to be discovered.

Regarding the assessment above, we have examined a very-little-known Ottoman chronicle, describing the re-conquest of Yemen by the Ottomans between 1569 and 1571, additionally accentuated the value of the chronicle, the life and another work of the author.

Name and Life of the Author

Biographical details of Fütūḥī are limited with only what he presents in his own works. His name is ʻUthmān but he came known under the pseudonym of *Fütūḥī,* the son of ʻAbd al-Qādir, the son of ʻAlī al-Ṣabūḥī.[1] However, ʻİsmāʻīl Pasha Baghdādli, writing about Fütūḥī's work titled as *Kenz al-Mewāʻiẓ*, mentions his pedigree as follows: ʻUthmān b. al-Fütūḥī b. al-Vizier ʻAbd al-Qādir Pasha b. Mesīḥ Pasha al-Rūmī.[2] According to him, Fütūḥī's father is a vizier and grandfather Mesīḥ Pasha. But we treat this claim with suspicion because Fütūḥī himself conveys no such objective statement in his works.

In 1571, upon Kūjā Sinān Pasha's (d. 1596) appointment to the governorship (*beylerbeyi*) in Egypt following the Yemen campaign, he meets with Fütūḥī.[3]

1 The Library of Topkapı Palace Museum (LTPM), K. 908, f. 374a. Also see. The *Egyptian National Library and Archives [Dār al-Kütüb], Taṣawwuf wa Akhlāq al-Dīniyyah Türkī,* no. 160, fol. 37b.

2 Bābān-dhāde ʻİsmāʻīl Pasha Baghdādli, *Īḍāḥ al-Meknūn fī al-Dheyl ʻalā Keshf al-Ẓünūn ʻan Asmāʼ al-Kütüb wa al-Fünūn*, emend. Kilisli Rifat Bilge (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947), 2: 388.

3 Kūjā Sinān Pasha was appointed to Egypt governorship on May 10, AD 1571 for the second time and in the early July of this year; he arrived at Qāhirah See. Ahmet Önal, "Koca Sinan Paşa'nın Hayatı ve Siyasî Faaliyetleri (1520-1596)" (Ph.D Diss., Marmara University, 2012), 40-42.

During this visit, Kūjā Sinān Pasha orders him to write a book picturing the Yemen expedition. Likewise, he dedicates his another work called *Kenz al-Mewā‘iẓ* to Khādim Mesīḥ Pasha (1574-1580), predecessor of Khādim Ḥasan Pasha, supposedly in late 1574.

His Works

‘Ajā’ib al-Meḥārib ve Gharā’ib al-Me‘ārik

J. Richard Blackburn is the first researcher to mention this work in an academic article.[4] However, not seeing the work personally, Blackburn just refers to the information in a museum catalogue.[5] Thereafter, Hulûsi Yavuz namely alludes to this work in two of his studies, and[6] briefly introduces it in the third one.[7] Yavuz claims that Fütūḥī writes his work as a result of a competition among several candidates by order of Kūjā Sinān Pasha (d. 1596), which is erroneous,[8] and gives concise information on the language and physical characteristics of the manuscript and avoids criticizing the content of the work.[9] With the aim of emendating the deficiencies mentioned, we will examine *‘Ajā’ib al-Meḥārib ve Gharā’ib al-Me‘ārik* by ‘Uthmān Fütūḥī.

Manuscripts

Only the copy in the Library of Topkapı Palace Museum (T copy) has been known to all until very recently but we have found an incomplete one in France (Bibliothèque Nationale de France) as a consequence of extensive research. Both are subjected to review in this article. The copy in Koğuşlar Kitaplığı, no. 908 of the Library of Topkapı Palace Museum is the full version in size of 18*21 cm,

4 J. Richard Blackburn, “The Collapse of Ottoman Authority in Yemen, 968/1560-976/1568” *Die Welt des Islams* 19, no. 1-4 (1979): 120.

5 Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yayınları, 1961), 229-230.

6 Hulûsi Yavuz, “Kâbe ve Haremeyn’in Muhâfazası Bakımından Hadım Süleyman ve Sinan Paşalar’ın Yemen Seferi,” *Diyanet Dergisi* 19, no. 4 (1983): 50; Idem, *Kâbe ve Haremeyn İçin Yemen’de Osmanlı Hâkimiyeti (1517-1571)* (İstanbul: Serbest Matbaası, 1984), 160-161.

7 Hulûsi Yavuz, “Osman el-Fütûhî’nin Acâ’ibü’l-Muhârib ve Garâ’ibü’l-Ma’ârik Başlıklı Yemen Tarihi ve Ehemmiyeti,” in *Siyaset ve Kültür Tarihi Açısından Osmanlı Devleti ve İslâm* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1991), 219-222.

8 The information referred by Yavuz is unavailable in the relevant folio (*‘Ajâ’ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 370a-b), nor does Fütūḥī relate such an event in his work.

9 Yavuz, “Osman el-Fütûhî’nin Acâ’ibü’l-Muhârib ve Garâ’ibü’l-Ma’ârik Başlıklı Yemen Tarihi ve Ehemmiyeti,” 221-222.

consists of 374 folios and 13 lines, fully vocalized naskh script on oil painted paper doublure, leather-covered with separator and decorative elliptical rosette. The work has an illuminated head piece (fol. 1b). Significant words, proper names, headings, Koranic verses and hadiths are in red ink. The exact name of the author *'Uthmān al-Fütūḥī b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī al-Ṣabūḥī* and copying date on Sha'bān 11, AH 980 / December 17, AD 1572 appear in the colophon. No copy info is available.[10]

The second (incomplete) one (P copy) is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Suppl. Turc. no. 174. The text is incomplete. It contains only the last 163 folios of T copy. It begins with the passage entitled *Muḥārebe-i 'Ajībe-i Ākhar ve Mu'āreke-i 'Ajībe-i Dīger,* is in size of 12,5*21 cm, consists of 166 folios and 11 lines. The manuscript is written in Nesta'līq script, with fist page and certain pages framed, marks specific words and headings in red. The manuscript colophon testifies that the scribe is *'Uthmān al-Fütūḥī b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī al-Ṣabūḥī* who wrote the text on Jumādā al-Ākhirah 16, AH 980 / October 21, AD 1572. Likewise, no copy information is available.[11]

Comparing the two copies, there seems to be several differences in relation to sentences and wording. For instance, certain words, sentences and full name of the text (T copy, fol. 374b) are in T but not in P. Moreover, two particular folios (comp. T, fol. 371b-373b, P, fol. 166a) are missing from the P copy.

Unavailability of copy information raises the possibility of them having been written by the scribe himself. Moreover, less than two month duration between the dates in colophons imply that the scribe wrote the text twice. The author composed P copy first and then T copy with revisions. He must have given T copy to Kūjā Sinān Pasha before being called back to Istanbul on Ramaḍān 16, AH 980 (January 14, AD 1573)[12] and Pasha devoted it to the Topkapı Palace Library. Given the possibility, we assume that the revised version (T copy) is remarkable, which leads us to prioritize it in this article.

The Reason for Writing

The author begins to speak about why he wrote this book by saying: *"Sebeb-i taḥrīr-i ṣaḥāyif-i evrāq-ı fütūḥāt-ı Wilāyet-i Yemen…"* under the heading of *Bā'ith-i teswīd-i fütūhāt-ı Yemen, Khātime-i ṣafḥa-i evrāq hem*. According to this narration, Kūjā Sinān Pasha returns to Egypt subsequent to the suppression of *al-Muṭahhar b.*

10 *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 374a-b.

11 *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, P, fol. 166a.

12 The Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive (BOA), Mühimme Defteri (MD), no: 21, the provision no: 82.

al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyá Sharaf al-Dīn's revolt in Yemen *(Sinān Pasha feth-i wilāyet-i merqūme içün ghazā edüp,... maḥmiye-i Mışır'a ḥuṣūl u wuṣūl...)*. There Fütūḥī appears before Pasha who requests him to write about the Yemen campaign in a literary and vivid manner *('alá qadr al-imkān elsen-i lisān ve aḥsen-i zebān üzere...)*. Upon this request, Fütūḥī commences to write the Yemen expedition and composes his work added with Koranic verses and hadiths, quotations by well-known statesmen and his own poems *(āyāt-ı kerīme-i mu'jiz-nizām ve idkhālāt-ı ahādīth-i Nebewiyye-i fesīḥ al-kelām... kelimāt-ı güzīn-i ekābirīn[i] ilhāq eyledim)*.[13]

The Content and Literary Method

The work starts with *besmele,* praising Allah (swt), Muhammad (pbuh) and Sultān Selīm II (1566-1574), then describes the background of turmoil in Yemen, preparations for battle by Grand Vizier Ṣoqullu Meḥmed Pasha (d. 1579) and mobilization of Kūjā Sinān Pasha as chief army commander (*Serdār-ı Ekrem*) with 4000 soldiers against rebels.[14] Subsequently, it recounts the details of Sinān Pasha's arrival after a long journey at Mecca on Sha'bān 22, AH 976 (January 28, Ad 1569) and then Cāzān bordering on Yemen-Hijāz on Ramaḍān 30 (March 18), Ūdhdemūr-ūghlu 'Uthmān Pasha's (d. 1585) military operations in the region and conditions of armed forces suffering food shortage etc.[15] The author continues to convey the re-conquest of castles and cities in Yemen -Qāhiriyyah, Bahranah, İbb, Ta'ker, Ba'dān, Ṣan'a, Derām, Habb, Adamān, Nihād, Kawkabān etc.- by Sinān Pasha. The broadest subject touched in the text is the struggles in front of Kawkabān fortress and surrounding areas.[16] The book culminates with a chapter describing a peace settlement between warring parties at the request of defeated *al-Mutahhar b. al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyá* (d. 1572) the then-chief of rebels after capture of Kawkabān (Dhulqa'ada, AH 977 / April, AD 1570), Sinān Pasha's moving to Egypt following arrival at Mecca and Medīnah, administrative practices in Egypt and the reason for written this book by Fütūḥī.[17]

Particularly some other subtopics are mentioned: the physical characteristics of certain mountains and castles in Yemen,[18] Ūdhdemūr-ūghlu 'Uthmān Pasha's smoking cannabis, which ends up with failure in commanding soldiers,[19]

13 *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 369b-371b.

14 *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 1b-4b.

15 *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 4a-11b.

16 *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 213a-304b.

17 *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 311b-372b.

18 *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 12a-b, 90a-91b.

19 *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 9a-b.

another troop urged to ‘Aden under the command of Curtogoli Khıḍır Beg and actions taking place,[20] expedition route followed by Ottoman army,[21] difficulties encountered by Sinān Pasha,[22] a legendary war hero named Gedik Ferhād’s superhuman-effort and bravery[23], ‘Abdullah Dā‘ī’s, an influential indigenous figure, activities to help Ottoman army,[24] ambushes set up by rebels and counter-measures taken,[25] fiscal appearance and incomes of Yemen[26] etc.

Narrating events, ‘Uthmān Fütūḥī uses present tense rather than preterit. For instance, the description of what rebels aimed for an ambush is written as follows: *“rāh-ı ‘askerin boghazin alalar, ya‘nī dhikr ulan bāblarda ṭūralar… jemī‘sin jū‘ ile helāk ideler.”*[27] Similarly, several consecutive cases are taken down as the following: *“kilāb ü şighāl-minwāl ülüşib, ja‘lī jür’etler kılurlar…. ul arada nüdhūlden ‘udūl iderler”*.[28] The script starts describing each event by the generic expression *al-Qıṣṣah* as well.

The literary style of the work, when compared to that of *Feṭḥ-nāme-i ‘Aql-i Wādī* by *Serhengī*[29] taking part in Tunisian expedition under the command of Kūjā Sinān Pasha and leaving a chronicle about this campaign in 1574, is quite flowery but much simpler than other *Shahnāma*s written in the second half of the 16th century. From an overall perspective, we as historians can consider the wording to be moderate. The work is composed of both prose and verses. The later sometimes contains chronograms of particular conquests and scribe’s pseudonym *Fütūḥī*.[30]

The Source Value

By comparison to the other texts depicting the Yemen campaign of Kūjā Sinān Pasha in the 1569-1571 period, we recognize noticeable similarities

20 *‘Ajâ’ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 43a-51a, 55b-62a.

21 *‘Ajâ’ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 61a-72a, 81a-89b, 162a-174b.

22 *‘Ajâ’ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 29a-33a, 72b-74b.

23 *‘Ajâ’ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 74b-78b.

24 *‘Ajâ’ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 37b-38b, 102b-109b.

25 *‘Ajâ’ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 62b-63b, 109b-120b.

26 *‘Ajâ’ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 139a-142a.

27 *‘Ajâ’ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 112b.

28 *‘Ajâ’ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 113a.

29 Serhengî, *Fetiḥ-nâme-i ‘Akl-i Vâdî-i Serhengî*, ed. Veysel Göger - Hüseyin Sarıkaya (İstanbul: Nizamiye Akademi, 2015).

30 See also *‘Ajâ’ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 6b, 39b.

between *'Ajā'ib al-Meḥārib ve Gharā'ib al-Me'ārik* and *Nāme-i Fütūḥ-ı Yemen*[31] by *Muṣṭafá Rumūzī*. Although Fütūḥī avoids expressing obviously, he utilizes Rumūzī's extensively.[32] The sequence of events in both texts is almost the same. Fütūḥī's narration overlaps with Rumūzī's. However, Rumūzī's records are more elaborate. Notwithstanding this resemblance, Fütūḥī gives particular details Rumūzī doesn't. For example, Fütūḥī just narrates the conflict taking place in front of Ta'ker castle during three days and three nights;[33] a rebellious man, *Abū al-Naṣr* killed in combat at the outskirts of Ba'dān Mountain;[34] slaying 600 insurgents sheltered in Hezzān castle;[35] 'Abdallāh Dā'ī's movement to Ṣay'ān with backup forces;[36] Kūjā Sinān Pasha's order for repairing Alexandria weirs.[37]

As a result, Fütūḥī refers to *Nāme-i Fütūḥ-ı Yemen* as the main source and ingeniously composes his work by transcribing Rumūzī's into prose. The comparisons given below exemplify the transcription:

31 Hulûsi Yavuz, *Yemen'de Osmanlı İdâresi ve Rumûzî Târihi (923-1012/1517-1604),* 2 vol. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2003).

32 While Muṣṭafá Rumūzī mentions only the first name of Yemen Treasurer (Rumūzī himself, indeed) sent to negotiate with al-Mutahhar the commander-in-chief in Thula castle (see Yavuz, *Rumûzî Târihi*, 2: 1170-1172); Fütūḥī introduces both name and pseudonym of this man by recording *"Nāẓır-ı Emvāl-i Wilāyet-i Yemen Mīr Muṣṭafá ki, Rumūzī Beg dimekle müte'āref..."* (see *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 311b-312a). This fact indicates that Fütūḥī knows a lot about Rumūzī and elaborates on *Nāme-i Fütūḥ-ı Yemen.*

33 *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 91b-92a.

34 *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 117b.

35 *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 125b.

36 *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 164a.

37 *'Ajâ'ib al-Meḥārib*, T, fol. 353-369b.

Muṣṭafá Rumūzī, ***Nāme-i Fütūḥ-ı Yemen,* ed. Hulûsi Yavuz, vol. 1-2**	**‘Uthmān Fütūḥī,** ***‘Ajā’ib al-Meḥārib ve Gharā’ib al-Me‘ārik***
pp. 269-273. “Şöyle bî-behre kalmaz el-kıssa Kara paydan alur hele hisse Mîrîye nef‘i ol kadarca olur Kim niçe yük güherçile bulur … Lâzım olur ki olmayup te’hîr Sû-yı Paşaya gönderile beşîr Tâ bu ahbâr-ı ferrûh-ı vâlâ Ola ma‘lûm-ı Hazret-i Paşa Lâ-cerem âdemin idüp irsâl Gönderür uşbu resme ‘arz-ı hâl … Eyler ol lutf-ı Müste‘ân-i Ganî Hoş ri‘âyet beşârete geleni Ana mebzul olup o gün himmet Geydürür hil‘at-i girân-kıymet Hadden efzûn ana keremler olur Hâsıl in‘âm-ı ‘âma mazhâr olur Âdemine bu lutfı eyliyecek Kendü geldükde gör ki n’olsa gerek Kendüsi dahî irtesi çü gelür Gerçi Paşa hikâyeti bilür Lîkin ol kân-ı hilm ü lutf u kerem İdüp ana ri‘âyeti muhkem Makdemine anun o Ferruh-fâl Kıldı haddinden artuk istikbâl … Dir ana hâlünüz nedür kardaş Çok zamân oldı mı niceydi savaş Vâki‘ olan husûsı bilürken Eyler ana su‘âli bilmezden Hâlünüz ne belâ vü zahmetden Ta‘ab u mihnet ü meşakkatden …”	**[29a]** …**al-Qıṣṣah:** Bu ghanāyim-i ‘uẓmādan herkes pür-ḥisse uldukdan sunra, ‘Uthmān Pāshā kendü khüddāmından birini beshārete **[29b]** irsāl eyler. Huḍūr-ı Vezīr-i nasīre irdikde, ahbār-ı beshāreti ‘alā mā-huwa al-wāqı‘ bir bir söyler. Hemān-dem ul ehl-i jād u kān-ı kerem, a‘nī Düstūr-ı manṣūr-ı muḥterem, beshārete gelene bī-ḥadd ü bī-qıyās müzhdegānīler wirir. el-Ḥāṣıl mawhibe-i beshāreti ḥadden ashırır. ‘Alá al-seher ki, mihr-i münewwar, qabā-yı zerrīn ile ‘ālemi khil‘ātler. Ul ḥīn ü ān ‘Uthmān Pasha dakhī huḍūr-ı haḍrat-ı Düstūr-ı ‘ālī-shāna gelür. Derḥāl ul kerīm al-khıṣāl dakhī niche qadem ānıñ maqdemine ḥaddinden artıq istiqbāl eyler. “Zaḥmetlerden ḥāliniz nedür?” deyüb, telaṭṭufla ahwāl-i jidālden su’āl eyler. Eyledügi kār-ı nā-hemwāra bi-al-jümle wāqıf iken rıfq u mülāyemeti elden kumaz…
p. 283: “Müflis ü bî-nevâ vü yalun u ac Birkaç akçe ‘alûfeye muhtâc Kaçan üç ay ola ‘alûfe ala Alduğı da ‘alûfe olsa hele On üç akçe ‘alûfesi olan Bir filori alur üç ayda hemân Kankı harcın görür anunla ‘aceb Kim yetişmez virürse kahveye heb Dirligi bunlarınsa kahve ile Cânı yok kahvesiz dirile bile Çıkamaz taşra kahve içmeksiz Kahvesiz olmaz olur etmeksiz İki üç gün yemezse etmek olur Kahveyi bir gün içmez ise ölür …”	**[34b]**… bir ālāy bī-kār üch ayda birkāc aqche ulūfeye intiẓār cheker nā-chārlardır. Yawmī un üch aqche ulūfesi ulan üch ayda bir altun alub, günde bir ‘Uthmānī ṭutmaz. Ul dakhī seḥerī qahwalarına yetmez. Haḍret-i Sheykh Shādilī, evreng-i taqwānıñ sulṭān-ı ‘ādili, ḥadhāqat-i ḥikmetden **[35a]** khālī ulmayub, Wilāyet-i Yemen’iñ hewā-yı ḥārına muwāfık ve āb-ı shūrābına muṭābıq, nef‘-i shurbın ishrāb u ish‘ār eylemegin, herkes müdāwametden bir gün qalmazlar. Ashsız, etmeksiz ulup, qahwasız ulmazlar.

pp. 296-299: Çün gelürler huzûr-ı Paşa'ya Tapu kılup Salâh-ı kem-pâye Resm-i takbîl-i yed bulup tetmîm Kal'a miftâhını ider teslîm … Çünki olur rüsûm-ı şükr-i edâ Başladı itmege Salâh'a nidâ … Didi yidün mi etmegin şâhın Dirliğini alup şehinşâhın … Didi bu mıydı hakk-ı ni'met-i şâh İy yüzi kara bahtı bed gümrâh Gelmeyüp akluna hakk-ı nânı İdesin pâdişâha 'isyânı Dimedün mi iki gözüne tura Dâr-ı 'ukbâda Hak yüzüne tura Didi bilmez miyem hakk-ı nânı Neydügin yâ cezâ-yı küfrânı N'itdiler gör ki bana neylediler Dir dimez 'âsî eylediler Olmadum 'âsî kendü kendümden Cebren oldı Hudâ hakı cebren Sanmanuz siz ben şehe 'âsî Hak bilür dilde olan ihlâsı 'Âsî oldumsa zâlime oldum İşte geldüm çü 'âdili buldum Kıssa ma'lûm idi Paşa'nun Oldı araduğı ağızın anun … Döndi idüp lutfına âgâz Hoş idüp gönlin anun ol mümtâz … Pes buyurdı yarar serâserler Getürüp anda hâzır eylerler Geydürürler Salâh'a merğûbin Kethüdâ-yı hisâra bir hûbin …"	**[37b]** …Ul dem, Didhār-ı Qal'a-i Ṣalāḥ dakhī felāḥ-ı seri ve ıslāḥ-ı leshkeri ichün teshmīr-i āstīn idüb, Āsitāne-i iṭā'ate bash qūr. Khāk-pāy-i **[38a]** sherīflerine rū-mālide ve ghubār-ālūde gelür. Miftāḥ-ı bāb-ı qal'ayı ul ḥīnde pīsh-i sherīflerinde qūr. Khıdmet-i ālī-nühmetlerinde el qawshırır ṭurur. Ḥaḍret-i Düstūr-ı ghayūr: "Nichūn 'āṣī uldıñ, Ḥaqq-ı nān-ı Sultān-ı 'ālī-shānı ferāmūsh qıldıñ?" deyü su'āl itdikde, hezār i'tidhār idüb, dir ki: "Bu bizim ṭāyife-i Khāyifeden ilá al-ān 'işyān u ṭughyān hichbir zemānda ṣādır ulmamışdır. Belki ul khāṭıra khāṭır-ı fātire bir kerre ṣudūr da bulmamıshdır. Lākin; **Qıt'ah** Her gelen Beglerbeginin ẓulm ü qahrıyla bizüm Bashımızdan bir dem eksik ulmaz idi ḍarb-ı let Bu metheldür tā ezelden atalardan süylenür Küfr ile qāyim ulur, ẓulm ile ṭurmaz memleket **Nesr:** Anların hezze-i hezzātı hezīmet-i ehl-i Wilāyet ve qāṭı'-ı shiryān-ı ehālī-yi memleket ve bā'ith-i newrān-ı **[38b]** ra'iyyet ulmıshdur. Ul ejilden iqlīm-i Yemen āshūb u fiten ile ṭulmıshdur. Ne ān ki, bizden Pādishāh-ı *ẓıllullah* ḥaḍretlerine zerre 'işyān wa shemme ṭughyān ṣādır olaydı, Wilāyet chāq [chāq] büyle belā-yı fitne ile dulaydı. Bizde istiqāmet wardur, ne seqāmet! Kemāl-i istiṭā'at wardur, ne khıyānet!" deyüb jewāb wirdikde, ul ān girān qıymetlü khil'atlerle Didhdār-ı mezbūr wa Ketkhudāsı khil'atlenüb…
p. 309: "… Ceyş ü Paşa çü Mûzi'a geldi İtdiler cây beş gün ol beledi İllerine Zibîd'ün uş bu beled İntihâ-yı nevâhî vü serhâd Hem Ta'iz'le Zibîd'edür mâbeyn Vâkı' olmış miyân-ı memleketeyn Hem yakın anda bender-i Mîha Varmak ister o bendere Paşa Varup anda göre kadırgaları 'Aden'e göndere kadırgaları …"	**[40a]** … mezbūr Ta'iz'le Zebīd'e mā-beyn ulub, nevāḥīsine serḥadd wāki' ulan Mawzi'a nām mevḍi' u maqāmda birkach gün ārām eylemek niyyetine nüzūl qılınur. Tā ki, ḥaḍret-i Vezīr-i kethīr al-tedbīr 'asākir-i naṣīri ve ahmāl ü athqāl ile jimāl ü bighāl ü ḥamīri, mevḍi'-i mezbūrda kuyub gideler. Bender-i Mīkhā ki, ul mahalle qarībdür, bi-zātihī warıb, feṭḥ-i 'Aden tedārükin ideler…

pp. 743-744: "… Dir isen kimler idi bu umerâ Ne idi anlara 'aceb esmâ Biri Mahmûd Beg ki şöhret ana Dinilür Hîş Mustafâ Paşa Mısr'da mîr iken o fârigu'l-bâl Yemen'e oldı Nâzır-ı Emvâl Habs çekmek ana mukadder imiş Pes bu kârı ana kazâ itmiş Birisine Arık Hasan dinür Yemen'ün ol bir eskice begidür Karagöz Beg birisinün nâmı Yemen'ün mîr-i ehl-i ikdâmı Birinün nâmıdur Muhammed Beg Lakabıyla anılsa er ola yeg Çün Kızılbaş olmış ana lakab Şarkî olduğıdur pes ana sebeb Dinilür birisine Şâh 'Ali Ba'zıları itdi Şâh'ı Şeyh Velî Biri Kabak Beg ana halk lakab Kethüdâ-yı Kılıç dimişler heb …"	**[187a]**…Bu cümleden maḥmiye-i Mışır ümerāsından ulub, ḫīn-i khıyānet-i a'rej-i a'vejd[e] Nāẓır-ı Emwāl-i Wilāyet-i Yemen ulan Maḥmūd Beg'i ve ümerā-yı Yemen'den Arıq Ḥasan Beg'i ve Qaragüz Beg'i ve Qızılbāş dimekle mülaqqab **[187b]** Muḥammed Beg'i ve Shāh 'Alī Beg'i ve Qılıc Beg Ketkhudāsı Fāyiq Beg'i wa al-ḥāṣıl dhikr ulan altı enfār-ı ṣāḥib-waqār kimesneleri…

We have already mentioned above the background of *Ajā'ib al-Meḥārib ve Gharā'ib al-Me'ārik*. Besides, one study among all others describing Yemen expedition belongs to *Quṭb al-Dīn Muhammed al-Nehrewālī*,[38] the then-mufti of Mecca (d. 1582). According to Nehrewālī's statement in the preface of his work,[39] when Kūjā Sinān Pasha visits Mecca in the aftermath of Yemen expedition, he also orders him to write a History of Yemen by giving a copy of *Nāme-i Fütūḥ-ı Yemen*. Given all this information, we can conclude that Kūjā Sinān Pasha passes two copies apiece to Nehrewālī and Fütūḥī, who are instructed to write the Yemen campaign inspired by Rumūzī.

Kenz al-Mewā'iẓ

As far as is known, the sole copy is no. 160 in the Egyptian National Library and Archives (دار الكتب = Dār al-Kütüb), Taṣawwuf wa Akhlāq al-Dīniyyah Türkī. The manuscript is written in Nesta'līq script, in size of 12,5*20 cm, consists of 37 folios and 11 lines. Endowment deed is in inner-cover. According to this endowment deed, Abd al-Rahmān Aghā, the former Treasurer of Sultān

38 Qutb al-Dīn Muhammed b. Ahmed al-Nehrewālī al-Mekkī, *Ghazawāt al-Jerākise wa al-Etrāk fī Jenūb al-Jazīrah al-Müsemmá al-Barq al-Yemānī fi al-Fetḥ al-'Uthmānī,* inves. Ḥamed al-Jāsir (Riyād: Dār al-Yemāmah li al-Baḥth wa al-Terjamah wa al-Nashr, 1387/1967).

39 Nehrewālī, *al-Barq al-Yemānī,* 11-14.

(*Khazīnedār-ı Shahriyārī*) and Sheikh of Madinah al-Munawwarah consecrates it to Qāyinah Madrasah behind colonnades of Aqsungūr Mosque (Blue Mosque / Jāmi' al-Arzāq) for the sake of Sultān Mahmūd I (1696-1754). The very end of the deed records that the script was endowed in Jumādā al-Ākhirah, AH 1167 (March/April, AD 1754) and adds the 181th verse of Sūrah al-Baqarah.[40] The manuscript has an illuminated head piece (1b) and the text is framed. Significant words, proper names, headings, Koranic verses and hadiths are in red ink. The exact name of the author *'Uthmān al-Fütūḥī b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī al-Ṣabūḥī* appears in the colophon. This copy highly likely belongs to the scribe himself considering author's being in Egypt at a time when the text is written, dedicating it to Egypt Governor and the author's name at the very end of the text but not the copyist's.

The author, in this book, mentions roughly about the virtue of Ramaḍān and, in relation to this month Laylat al-Qadr and Bairām days. The work is composed of an introduction and three chapters.

The work starts with *besmele,* praising Allah (swt), Muhammad (pbuh), and specifies responsibility (*fardh*) of fasting (*ṣawm*) imposed during Ramaḍān and Koranic verses and hadiths spelling out the virtue of this month.[41] Following the referring to the scribe's pseudonym (*Fütūḥī)* in a couplet of a *mathnawī* (fol. 2a-b), he points out the name of the work (*Kenz al-Mewāiẓ*) and implies to have dedicated it to Mesīḥ Pasha (d. 1592). Also, he expresses his two purposes of writing: seeking Mesīḥ Pasha's approval and receiving readers' blessings.

The first section[42] emphasizes the importance of Ramaḍān and put an interpretation on the verses (Koran, 2:183-185)[43] revealing the obligation of fasting.

40 "If anyone changes the bequest after hearing it, the guilt shall be on those who make the change. For Allah hears and knows (All things)" (Koran, al-Baqarah (The Cow) 2/181).

41 *Kenz al-Mewā'iz*, fol. 1b-4b.

42 *Kenz al-Mewā'iz*, fol. 4b-17b.

43 "O you who have believed, decreed upon you is fasting as it was decreed upon those before you that you may become righteous. [Fasting for] a limited number of days. So whoever among you is ill or on a journey [during them] - then an equal number of days [are to be made up]. And upon those who are able [to fast, but with hardship] - a ransom [as substitute] of feeding a poor person [each day]. And whoever volunteers excess - it is better for him. But to fast is best for you, if you only knew. The month of Ramaḍān [is that] in which was revealed the Koran, a guidance for the people and clear proofs of guidance and criterion. So whoever sights [the new moon of] the month, let him fast it; and whoever is ill or on a journey - then an equal number of other days. Allah intends for you ease and does not intend for you hardship and [wants] for you to complete the period and to glorify Allah for that [to] which He has guided you; and perhaps you will be grateful" (Koran, al-Baqarah (The Cow) 2/183-185).

Here also, discussing etymological background of the name Ramaḍān (رمضان), he conveys some information as to the mystery of fasting through a hadith narrated by Ibn ʻAbbās (cca. d. 687-688) and quoted from *Ihyā al-ʻUlūm al-Dīn*.

The second chapter is about the merits and worth of Laylat al-Qadr.[44] The topical remarks of Sheikh Mohyiddīn İbn ʻArabī (d. 1240), İmām Ebū Ḥanīfa (d. 767) and İmām Shāfī (d. 820) are conveyed to readers.

The final chapter is on the importance of Bairām days.[45] Fütūḥī discusses the etymological sense of the feast term (عيد = al-ʻĪd), the wisdom of Ṣalāt al-Eīd and people's gathering in a mosque for worshiping such as Friday prayer and five time ṣalāh.

Fütūḥī completes his work with a chronogram. The last couplet of the above-cited stanza is as below: *"Qalemden qaṭʻ ülündughunda taḥrīr / Düşer* ***waʻẓa*** *ana tārīkh-i itmām"*.[46] Considering the term *waʻẓa* (وعظه) in abjad notation, we realize that it falls in AH 981. On the other hand, Khādim Mesīḥ Pasha to whom the work was dedicated by Fütūḥī was assigned to Egypt governorate on Jumādā al-Ākhirah 5, AH 982 / September 21, AD 1574.[47] Combining the two different findings, we assume that Fütūḥī wrote the work and shortly afterwards, submitted to Mesīḥ Pasha.

Conclusion

As a result of this study, we offer some new findings about an Ottoman historian living in Egypt in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and his works. Accordingly, ʻUthmān Fütūḥī is the son of a man by the name of ʻAbd al-Qādir and the grandson of ʻAlī al-Ṣabūḥī. Upon Kūjā Sinān Pasha's appointment to the Egypt governorship following the Yemen campaign (1569-1571), Fütūḥī meets with him. During this rendezvous, Kūjā Sinān Pasha orders him to write a book picturing Yemen expedition, which encourages him to write *ʻAjā'ib al-Meḥārib ve Gharā'ib al-Meʻārik* and uses *Nāme-i Fütūḥ-ı Yemen* by Muṣṭafá *Rumūzī* writing a voluminous his own book about Yemen expedition as a primary reference. However, Fütūḥī narrates some specific information that Rumūzī doesn't. Two copies of this work are housed in the Library of Topkapı Palace Museum (full)

44 *Kenz al-Mewāʻiz*, fol. 17b-35b.

45 *Kenz al-Mewāʻiz*, fol. 35b-37b.

46 *Kenz al-Mewāʻiz*, fol. 38b.

47 Mesīḥ Pasha administered for about five years and later became the Grand Vizier (See also. Şefaattin Deniz, "Mesih Paşa, Hadım", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (*DİA)*, Suppl. 2, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2016), 259-260).

and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (incomplete). Besides, another point we have realized during examination of this text is that Rumūzī created one of the most significant sources about Yemen and even Fütuhi and Nehrevali extensively used his writings as their reference material.

Fütūḥī’s other work is *Kenz al-Mewā‘iẓ.* He dedicates it to Egypt Governor Khādim Mesīḥ Pasha in circa AH 982 / AD 1574. The sole copy of the text is in the Egyptian National Library and Archives. The author, in this book, mentions roughly about the importance of Ramaḍān month, Laylat al-Qadr, Bairām days etc. and quoted from Koranic verses, hadiths and some specific works spelling out the virtue of this month.

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