

## THE SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE OTTOMAN PALACE LIBRARY: AN ENCYCLOPEDIC COLLECTION AND ITS INVENTORY

This essay interprets the objectives and intellectual horizons of an inventory of books once kept at the Inner Treasury within the private residential third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace (figs. 1a–b).<sup>1</sup> It considers the implications of the inventory for the imperial library as a building and as a collection shaped under two successive sultans, Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) followed by his son Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512). Focusing on the encyclopedic classification of knowledge in this document, which was commissioned by the latter sultan from his court librarian, I draw attention to the spaces and organization of books in the library, the cataloguing principles implemented in its inventory, and some of its telling holdings with remarkable titles.

A close reading of the inventory promises to yield macro-perspectives. This unparalleled document sheds light on the hierarchies of knowledge and the beginnings of textual canon formation in diverse disciplines at the time of its compilation. It provides invaluable information on epistemological categories prevalent during the formative stages of the palace library collection, the subsequent dispersal of volumes to other libraries, and the titles of unknown or no longer extant manuscripts. I argue that the Inner Treasury was not merely a storehouse but the site for an ongoing production and classification of knowledge, as organized in the systematic subject catalogue of its books, which corresponded to the spatial ordering principles of the library itself. The book treasury constituted the nexus for the compilation, codification, and preservation of a distinctive corpus of manuscripts with simultaneously indigenous and trans-regional dimensions. The lacunae of the inventory must have informed subsequent acquisition strategies for a still expanding encyclopedic collection, which ar-

guably laid the foundation for future directions in the cultures of knowledge, books, and libraries within the imperial palace and beyond. The primary agents of this legacy were the two sultans under whom the core collection of the palace library was assembled, their teachers and intimate circle of courtiers, their librarians, as well as the universalistic ambitions behind the collection itself.

Written in Arabic, with some Arabized Persian and Turkish entries, the library inventory in oblong format (length: 367 mm, width: 145 mm) has a late nineteenth-century European leather binding, possibly added in Hungary. During the rebinding process it lost some folios, and the order of a few others was mixed up (see Transliteration and Facsimile in volume 2). Currently featuring 365 pages, the inventory was prepared during the year 908 (1502–3) and transcribed in a clean copy in 909 (1503–4). It begins with a page containing two Arabic chronograms that provide the latter date, and a table of contents (*fihrist*) whose initial pages are missing. Two prefaces, the first in Ottoman Turkish dated 909, and the second in Arabic giving the date 908 (translated into English in Appendices IV and V at the end of this volume), are followed by the book catalogue itself.<sup>2</sup> The author indirectly identifies his name in the entries of some treatises he authored, as “the weakest slave al-‘Atufi, the keeper of books at the imperial treasury of Sultan Bayezid Khan” (*aḍ‘afi al-‘ibādi al-‘Aṭūfi al-khādimi li-kutubi al-khizānati al-‘āmirati al-Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khāniyyati*, 151 {14–17}), “the weakest slave of God al-‘Atufi” (*aḍ‘afi ‘ibādi Allāhi al-‘Aṭūfi*, 166 {10}); and “the weakest slave al-‘Atufi” (*aḍ‘afi al-‘ibādi al-‘Aṭūfi*, 303 {17–18}).



a



b

Figs. 1a–b. The Topkapı Palace in Istanbul. [1a] View from the Marmara Sea, with the Inner Treasury (Treasury-Bath complex). (Photo: Gülrü Necipoğlu) [1b] Close-up view of the Inner Treasury (Treasury-Bath complex). (Photo: Doğan Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture* [Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2010], 186)

Despite limitations possibly due to the relative speed with which it was completed, the inventory-cum-catalogue titled “Register of Books” (*defter-i kütüb, kitāb al-kutub*, hereafter the “inventory”) is a document of considerable historical interest, being the only surviving example of its kind from the Ottoman period. It seems to be the sole comprehensive catalogue of the imperial library that was ever attempted, assuming there were no updated later versions of it that are lost. Further, it is the single known catalogue of an Islamic library that spells out in two prefaces the principles adopted in its own idiosyncratic classificatory system, partly colored by practical concerns. Two surviving pre-1500 public library catalogues from the Arab Middle East that have been identified thus far lack preambles explicating how and why they were prepared.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, no original inventory of books has come to light from the palatine libraries of other early modern Islamic dynasties, or from earlier palaces for that matter.

Besides testifying to a previously unknown attempt at the classification of knowledge, the “Register of Books” prepared for Bayezid II by his librarian was tailored to suit the circumstances of a specific architectural space, containing not only the palace library but also the private treasury collection of the Ottoman sultans. With the exception of sporadic references to some manuscripts in chests and cupboards, contemporaneous registers (*defter*) of this “Imperial Inner Treasury” (*hizāne-i ‘āmiri-i enderūnī*) exclude the vast collection of Islamic books that were kept in the same building as an autonomous collection. The library holdings were placed alongside prized artifacts inherited, collected, and commissioned by the sultans, or seized as booty and presented as gifts. Therefore, the inventory of the palace library complements surviving early examples of registers comprising lists of objects stored at the Inner Treasury, the subject of an ongoing book project of mine.

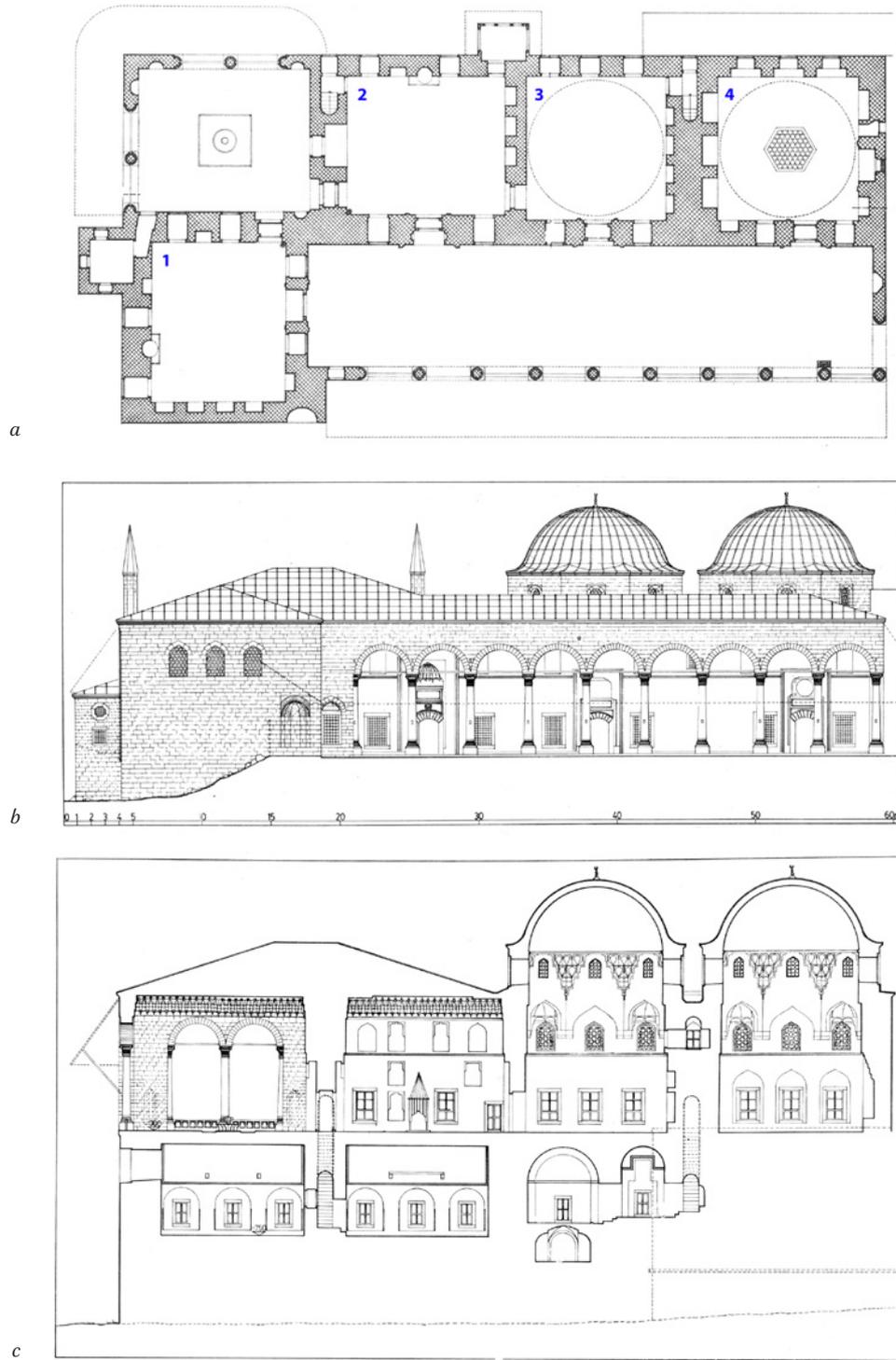
While the co-editors of this volume have contributed multiple essays, I preferred combining several lines of inquiry in a longer essay with three parts. The first part focuses on the palace library, the second part turns to the inventory itself, and the third part considers some outstanding volumes of the book collection. Starting with the architecture and diverse contents of the Inner Treasury, accompanied by a comparison to contemporary palatine libraries elsewhere, I then turn to the mo-

bility of books in the palace’s reading spaces and readership practices. This is followed by a reconstruction of the inventory’s “classification of the sciences” (*taşnīfal-‘ulūm*) and an analysis of cataloguing methods adopted by the librarian, in conjunction with the codicological examination of some extant volumes. The concluding part highlights selected inventory entries along with their surviving manuscript copies that can be associated with Mehmed II, Bayezid II, and the contexts of their court cultures (see my Appendix III at the end of this volume). It thus complements lists of entries provided in other essays that assess the strengths and weaknesses of the library collection in specific disciplines.

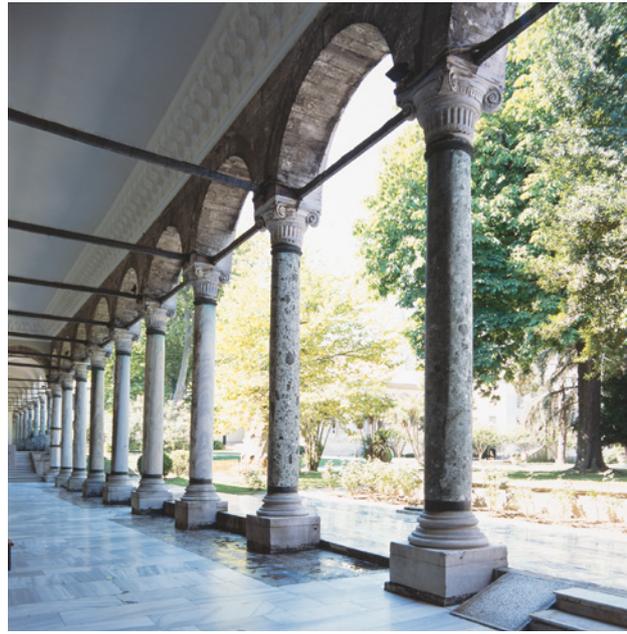
## PART I: THE PALACE LIBRARY

### *The Inner Treasury, Its Spaces, Collections, and Librarians*

The Inner Treasury is an imposing ashlar masonry building, with its L-shaped suite of three halls abutted by a fourth hall that functioned as the undressing chamber of a vanished bathhouse for the sultans and their male households (figs. 2a–c). This Treasury-cum-Bath complex is believed to have been the first royal edifice constructed by Mehmed II (ca. 1462–63) at a view-commanding corner of the third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace.<sup>4</sup> Raised above a series of subterranean vaults, each of the four halls has a portal opening to a stately round-arched marble colonnade with Italianate composite “Ionic” capitals extending along the right wing upon entering the courtyard. The muqarnas portal of the second hall, referred to in a mid-sixteenth-century archival document as the throne room or reception hall (*dīvānhāne*), is more monumental than the accompanying three portals.<sup>5</sup> Its privileged status is further marked by a pair of green porphyry columns that are aligned with the portal along the otherwise white marble courtyard colonnade. This hall communicates with a projecting balcony and a spectacular loggia featuring a central water-jet fountain. The round arches of the loggia rest on white marble columns whose purpose-made Italianate composite capitals are identical to those facing the third courtyard (figs. 3a–c).<sup>6</sup> Commanding breathtaking vistas at the conjunction of two seas (the Black



Figs. 2a–c. Inner Treasury (Treasury-Bath complex). [2a] Ground plan. [2b] Elevation from the third courtyard. [2c] Cross-section from the third courtyard. (Drawings: Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Feridun Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı: Bir Mimari Araştırma* [Istanbul, 1982])

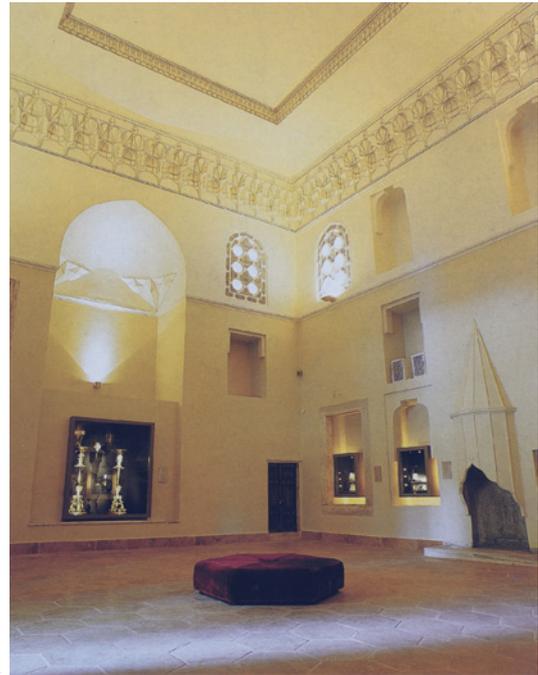
*a**b**c*

Figs. 3a–c. Inner Treasury (Treasury-Bath complex). [3a] Paired green porphyry columns of the courtyard arcade, with portals of the first and second halls (throne room). [3b] Courtyard arcade. [3c] Belvedere loggia with water-jet fountain. (Photos: Hadiye Cangökçe)

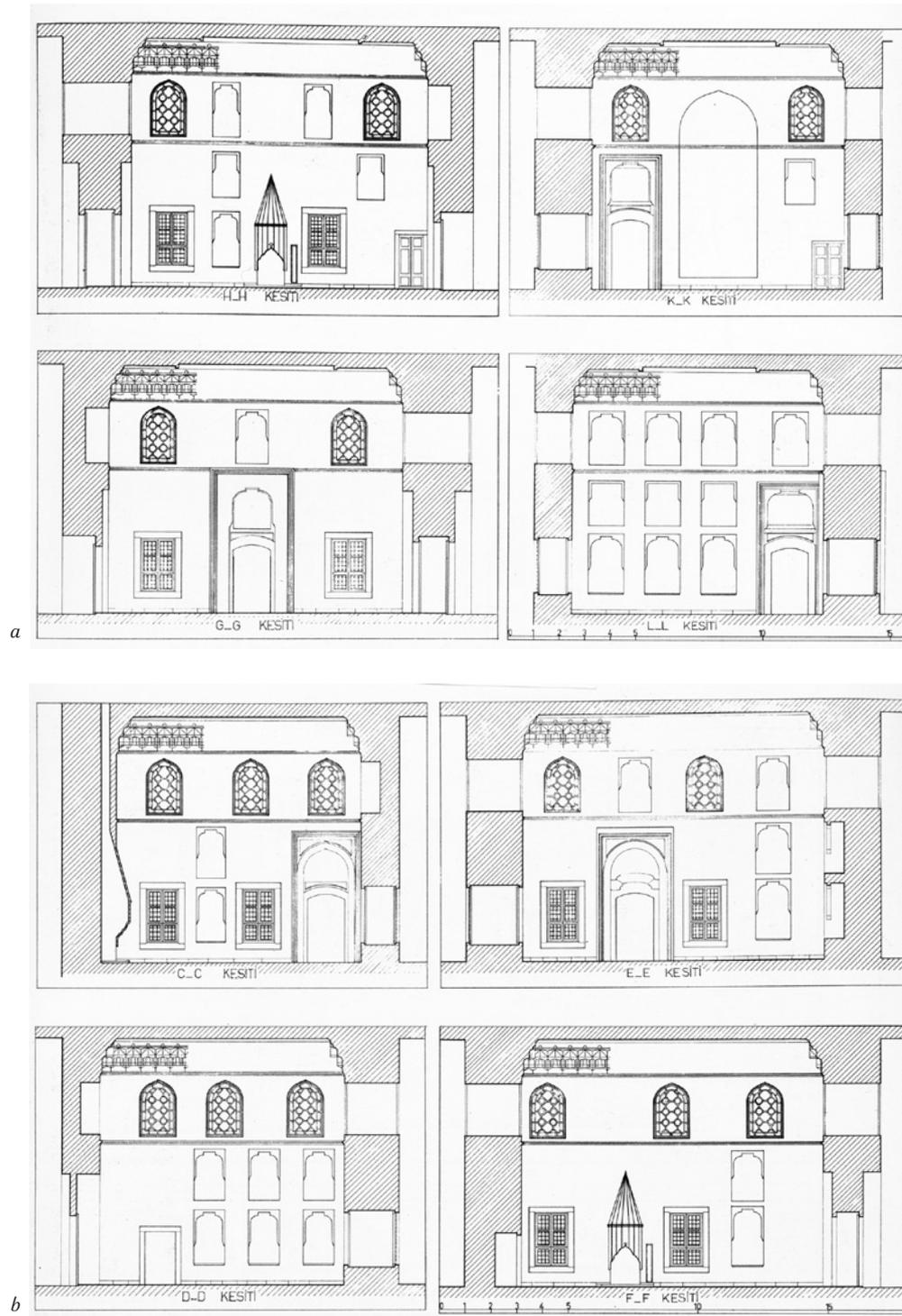
Sea and the Mediterranean) and two continents (Europe and Asia), the interior of the throne room boasts a tall pointed-arched alcove for the royal throne, extending from floor to ceiling, and a bronze fireplace (fig. 4a). The fountained loggia that functions as a belvedere also communicates with a protruding latrine and with the first hall, which features another bronze fireplace (fig. 4b).

The Frenchman Jean-Claude Flachat (d. 1775), who was granted access to the Inner Treasury as premier palace merchant, described the “*casné*, ou trésor imperial” as an immense building lit by windows facing the Marmara Sea with many subterranean chambers in which objects resistant to humidity were stored. He observed that in its upper halls, “they hang on planks (*planches*) in multiple tiers, or in cupboards (*armoires*), all kinds of textiles, harnesses of infinite value, and precious stones raw or worked; in one word, everything valuable that the sultans possess.”<sup>7</sup> Now completely denuded of their original painted decorations, the three main upper halls are lit by double-tiered windows. They have many built-in wall niches with “Bursa-arched” profiles, some arranged in multiple levels that were once reached by no longer existing wooden galleries and perhaps movable ladders (figs. 5a–b).<sup>8</sup> The underground chambers are lit by a single row of windows, their walls lined up with spacious alcoves whose height extends from floor to ceiling.<sup>9</sup>

It is clear that the upper and lower halls were intended from the very beginning to display and store treasured possessions, including books. Soon after Bayezid II ordered the library holdings to be catalogued in 1502–3, the magnificent Treasury-Bath complex underwent extensive repairs following a catastrophic earthquake in 1509. This earthquake particularly damaged the fourth hall belonging to the adjacent bathhouse. At that time, a huge buttress was added along the garden façade of the structurally weak bathhouse, extending from the domed fourth hall up to the curtain wall separating the third and second courtyards of the palace complex. The original twin wooden domes of the Treasury-Bath complex, crowning the third and fourth halls, is seen in a copy of Cristoforo Buondelmonti’s city map from the early 1480s. These domes accompanied the colossal wooden hipped roof that covered the rest of Mehmed II’s multifunctional edifice, identified by a late-Ottoman



Figs. 4a–b. Inner Treasury. [4a] Second hall (throne room) interior with throne alcove and fireplace. [4b] First hall interior with multi-tiered niches and fireplace. (Photos: Melisihan Devrim, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Hazine Dairesi’ndeki Renovasyondan sonra... Hazinenin Yeni Yüzü,” *Art decor* 101 [2001]: 90–91)



Figs. 5a–b. Inner Treasury. [5a] Top four: Interior elevations of the second hall or throne room. [5b] Bottom four: Interior elevations of the first hall. (Drawings: Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Feridun Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı: Bir Mimari Araştırma* [Istanbul, 1982])

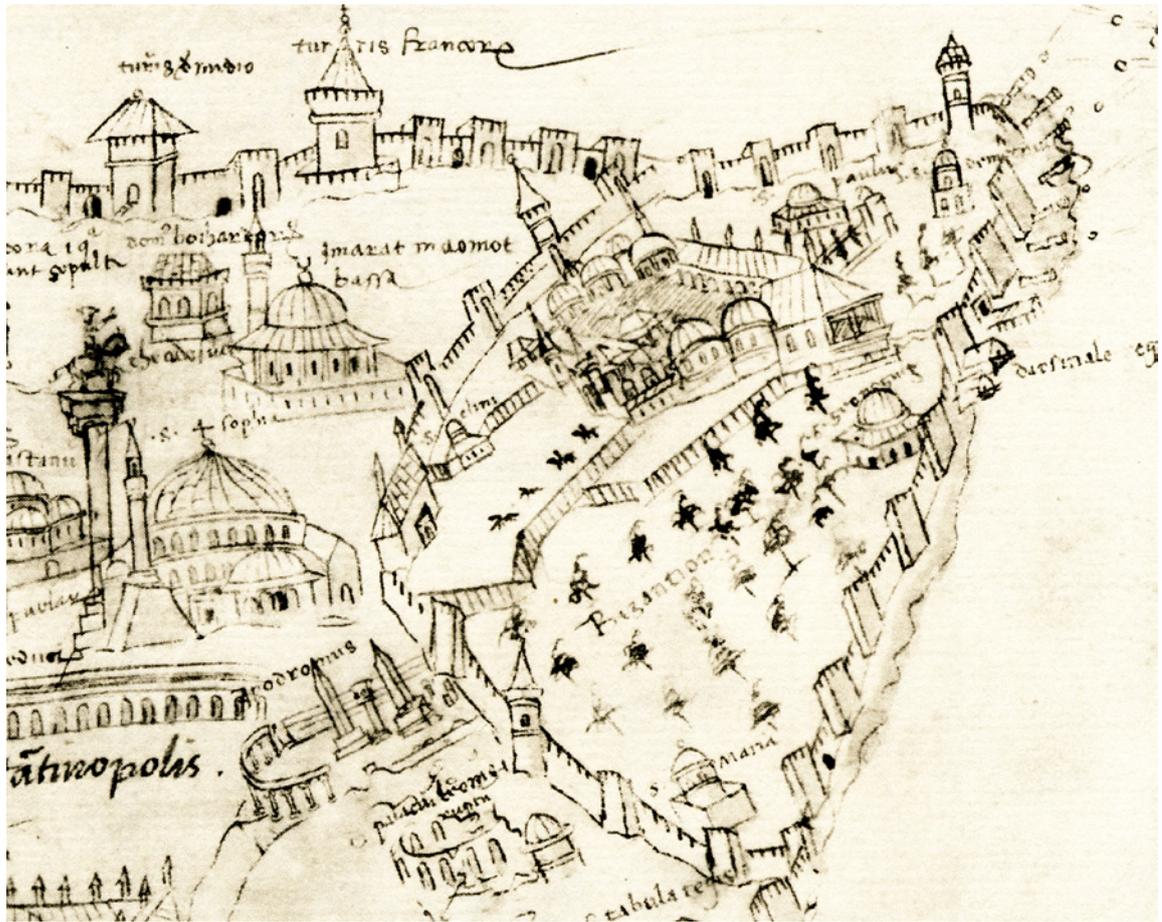


Fig. 6. Cristoforo Buondelmonti, the Topkapı Palace in the “Constantinopolis” map of *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, early 1480s. Ink drawing. Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS G 13, fol. 54a. (Photo: courtesy of the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek)

palace tradition as “Fatih Köşkü” (Mehmed the Conqueror’s Pavilion). The presently lower, modern hipped roof covers internal flat ceilings, namely the domeless rectangular first and second halls, which are the only ones provided with a fireplace, and the fountained belvedere communicating with both (fig. 6). An Ottoman elevation drawing made ca. 1509–11 of the massive new buttress built along the outer garden façade identifies the hall adjacent to the domed fourth hall of the damaged bathhouse as the “imperial treasury” (*hizāne-i ‘āmir*), thereby confirming its function at that time.<sup>10</sup>

The suite of three intercommunicating halls, or at least the domed third hall adjacent to the bathhouse, must have already functioned during Mehmed II’s reign

as the private Inner Treasury (differing from the public Outer Treasury of the palace’s second courtyard). This is implied by an archival document dated 881 (1476), which refers to the “new treasury” (*hizāne-i cedīd*), where gold currencies were deposited inside large jars (*küp*), barrels (*varıl*), and chests (*şandūk*) at the “lower treasury” (*aşağa hizāne*) in the basement. Barrels full of silver currencies, a chest containing jewels (*şandūk-i cevāhir*), and gold and silver objects were placed at the “middle treasury” (*orta hizāne*). A note refers to a separate “detailed register” (*defter-i mufaşsal*), itemizing the contents of the jewelry chest.<sup>11</sup>

The underground treasuries mentioned in this document most likely refer to the interconnected

subterranean spaces beneath the domed third hall, reached from that hall via a locked iron door and a staircase (fig. 2c). These basements consist of two rectangular halls covered by barrel vaults. The inner hall provides access via an additional staircase to the lowermost third space crowned by a quatrefoil vault. This lowest space featured an inbuilt clover-shaped marble baptismal font reused as a repository for treasures. As for the more accessible first rectangular space reached from the upper floor, both of its longer sides are entirely lined with identical “Bursa-arched” alcoves extending from floor to ceiling. As opposed to the other two superimposed spaces protected with a bolted iron door, where gold and silver currencies were apparently locked up, the narrow hall with Bursa-arched alcoves may well have functioned as a book treasury.

These three spaces are independent from a pair of larger rectangular underground treasuries with barrel-vaulted ceilings, which are reached from the throne room via another locked iron door connected to a staircase. Located underneath the throne room and the fountained loggia, these two intercommunicating basement treasuries feature walls spanned by capacious built-in alcoves with round arches also extending from floor to ceiling. These were probably intended for storing certain humidity-resistant items, including furnishings, clothing, objects, astrolabes, and some books in chests.

The 1509 earthquake apparently initiated the gradual transformation of the Inner Treasury into a storage space, which became increasingly cluttered with accumulating treasures toward the end of Bayezid II’s reign. This sultan’s son and successor Selim I (r. 1512–20), who spent most of his short reign in military campaigns, is said to have willed the lock on the courtyard gate of the third domed hall to be sealed by his own round treasury seal in perpetuity to commemorate his unsurpassable augmentation of its contents. Thereafter, the Inner Treasury appears to have been visited by the sultans only rarely, during special events such as accessions and other festivities, or upon the arrival of annual revenues from Egypt when the sealed lock of the domed third hall was opened ceremonially.<sup>12</sup>

Mehmed II’s Treasury-cum-Bath complex fused the pleasures of the mind and body. In this luxurious build-

ing the sultan must have gazed upon his expansive domains and delightful palace gardens, bathed with his companions, contemplated his treasures, engaged in discussions with select scholars and courtiers, and read books from his library. The building’s unique blend of Ottoman, Timurid-Turkmen, Byzantine, and Italian Renaissance architectural elements echoed the cosmopolitanism of the treasury collection and multilingual library housed therein.<sup>13</sup> One may even speculate that Mehmed II temporarily resided at this monumental multifunctional mansion with a few intimates between military campaigns prior to the completion around the mid-1470s of the multi-domed Privy Chamber complex at the opposite corner of the same courtyard, both of which are depicted in the Buondelmonti map from the early 1480s (fig. 6).<sup>14</sup> The well-protected first hall of the Inner Treasury, featuring only a few ground-level windows and conveniently abutting the toilet accessed via the fountained belvedere, could have functioned as the royal bedchamber in the mid-1460s (figs. 4b, 5b).

Also depicted in the Buondelmonti map is the small freestanding private audience hall (Chamber of Petitions) in front of the gate leading from the second courtyard into the third. Constructed shortly after 1477, it inaugurated Mehmed II’s newly instituted ceremonial seclusion codified in his book of ceremonies or “Law Code” (*Ḳānūnnāme*).<sup>15</sup> Before the Chamber of Petitions was built, the sultan may have held private audiences in the second hall of the Inner Treasury, which functioned as a reception hall or throne room. He likely met there with privileged courtiers and guests to whom he would display some of his treasures and library collection (figs. 4a, 5a). One such visitor appears to have been the last reigning Anatolian Seljuq prince, Kılıç Arslan, from whom Mehmed II seized Alanya in 1471, in return for offering him the governorship of Gümülcine (Kototini) in Rumelia. The deposed prince was honorably received at the imperial palace and was showered with gifts by the sultan who, in appreciation of Kılıç Arslan’s expertise in gemology, appointed him to assess the value of precious stones and jewels entering the imperial treasury. During one of their private conversations, which likely took place at the Inner Treasury, the sultan showed Kılıç Arslan a slightly flawed jewel, which the prince promised to repair. Before returning this piece to

the royal treasurer, however, Kılıç Arslan defected to the Mamluk court on a merchant's ship from Gümülcine. It is recounted that in order to seek forgiveness from Mehmed II, the prince dispatched the superbly restored jewel with other gifts to Istanbul via the sultan's vizier. When Mehmed II was shown that jewel, he is said to have immediately recognized it, as only a seasoned connoisseur would, to the astonishment of those present.<sup>16</sup>

As I have pointed out elsewhere, Mehmed's cherished collection of Byzantine relics was kept at his "palace library" (*dārü's-salṭanatlarında olan kitābhāne*). He was greatly distressed on one occasion when Molla Lutfi (d. 1495), his intimate (*muṣāhib*) and librarian (*ḥāfiẓu'l-kütüb*, lit. "keeper of books"), stepped on a block of marble to reach for a book that the sultan had requested.<sup>17</sup> That marble slab happened to be the purported Cradle of Jesus Christ, which, according to an inventory of the relics, Mehmed II had refused to sell when the Venetians offered 30,000 ducats for it, announcing that he would not sell it for even 100,000 ducats. The Italian translation of that inventory is preserved in a letter of Bayezid II, dated 1488, in which he offered to the king of France all the relics his late father had assembled in the royal palace after the fall of Byzantine Constantinople in exchange for holding his younger half-brother Prince Cem (d. 1495) hostage, so that the prince could not revive his claim for the throne. The inventoried relics included a manuscript as well, the miracle-working Gospel of St. John the Evangelist, written in the hand of St. John Chrysostom.<sup>18</sup>

We learn from the Greek chronicle written by Kritovoulos and dedicated to Mehmed II (ca. 1467) that, while resting from military campaigns at his newly completed palace in the summer of 1465, the sultan "occupied himself with philosophy, such as that of the Arabs and Persians and Greeks, especially that translated into Arabic. He associated daily with the leaders and teachers among them, and... held philosophical discussions with them about the principles of philosophy, particularly those of the Peripatetics [Aristotelians] and the Stoics."<sup>19</sup> As is well known, among Mehmed's companions in those years was the Greek scholar-diplomat George Amiroutzes of Trebizond (d. ca. 1470), a relative of the aristocratic Byzantino-Serbian-born grand vizier Mahmud Pasha Angelović (g.v. 1456–66, 1472–74). Knowledgeable in Aristotelian philosophy, theology, medicine, mathe-

tics, geography, and rhetoric, this polymath was honored by the sultan with "frequent audiences and conversations." Amiroutzes had been ordered in the summer of 1465 to combine in a single large-scale world map the charts scattered in Ptolemy's book of geography, which was skillfully completed and inscribed with Arabic names provided by his son, "who was expert in the languages of the Arabs and the Greeks."<sup>20</sup> Amiroutzes described how he became one of the "intimates" (*familiares*) of the sultan who "distracted himself with the study of letters and philosophy," so as "to be continually near him" and to accompany him in campaigns behind his army. Mehmed frequently discussed with Amiroutzes "philosophy as well as the dogmatic differences between our two peoples."<sup>21</sup> Some of these theological, philosophical, and scientific discussions may well have taken place in the recently completed "Fatih Köşkü" (Conqueror's Pavilion) that incorporated the sultan's library. It is probably not a coincidence that the earliest group of manuscripts produced for Mehmed II in his new capital Constantinople/Istanbul date from around the mid-1460s, corresponding to the completion of the Treasury-cum-Bath complex.<sup>22</sup>

The episode with Molla Lutfi reveals that the library collection was accompanied by antiquities and marvels kept in the same building, where books and objects engaged in silent conversation. When Mehmed II asked his personal tutor and vizier Sinan Paşa (d. 1486) to suggest a trustworthy scholar for his "book treasury/library" (*khizānati kutubuhu*), the latter had recommended Molla Lutfi, who was a pupil of his. Thus, both of these erudite men who were disciples of Shaykh Vefa (d. 1491) obtained access to the imperial treasury's "exquisite books and rare sciences" (*laṭā'if al-kutub wa-gharā'ib al-'ulūm*) during the second formative stage of the palace library collection in the 1470s, the first being in the mid-1460s. Not surprisingly, several works of the influential Shaykh Vefa are featured in 'Atufi's inventory. Sultan Mehmed II built a mosque and bathhouse next to the dervish lodge constructed by the shaykh in Istanbul that contained his impressive library, which was endowed in 1485. I am tempted to speculate that among the numerous amulets and talismans listed in 'Atufi's inventory were those prepared by Shaykh Vefa, said to have been coveted by grandees who were his disciples. When Mehmed II urged Sinan Paşa to study

mathematical sciences with the Timurid astronomer-mathematician ‘Ala’ al-Din ‘Ali b. Muhammad Qushji (hereafter ‘Ali Qushji, d. 1474), who had joined the Ottoman court sometime before 1472, the busy vizier sent Molla Lutfi to attend this scholar’s classes on his behalf, thereby indirectly perfecting his own mathematical knowledge.<sup>23</sup> ‘Ali Qushji is reported to have arrived in Istanbul with a large retinue and a vast book collection. ‘Atufi enumerates in the palace library inventory Arabic and Persian works by this renowned Timurid scholar, some of which are known to have been dedicated to Mehmed II.<sup>24</sup>

To turn to the author of MS Török F. 59, the Ottoman scholar Hayreddin Hızır b. Mahmud b. Ömer el-‘Atufi (d. 1541) was from Merzifon, a town in the region of Amasya where Bayezid II had been stationed as a prince between 1454 and 1481. He refers to himself in the section on medical books as having written two treatises on prophetic medicine and one on preventive healthcare, all bound together in a single volume (151 {14–17}); he also cites a second copy of the latter (166 {10}). Another work by ‘Atufi on dream interpretation is listed in the inventory’s extensive section on occult sciences (303 {17–18}). According to Ottoman biographical dictionaries, ‘Atufi received a broad general madrasa education in the religious and rational sciences. After having served as royal librarian and tutor (*mu‘allim*) of Bayezid II’s palace pages, he became a preacher (*vā‘iz*) in Istanbul’s mosques and wrote books of his own.<sup>25</sup>

Although it is unclear when exactly ‘Atufi was a palace tutor, I find it worth noting that this position is mentioned alongside that of the royal librarian in an undated wage register attributed to Bayezid II’s reign (for which I propose a date before ca. 1504). The register lists as a self-contained group of inner palace staff “The corps of the royal imam, and the two teachers of the inner palace pages, and the keeper of royal books, four persons” (*Cemā‘at-i imām-i ḥāṣṣa ve mu‘allimān-i ḡulmān-i enderūnī ve ḥāfīz-i kütüb-i ḥāṣṣa dört neferdūr*).<sup>26</sup> Except for ‘Atufi, the tutors and royal librarians employed in Bayezid II’s palace, who likely managed the acquisition of books for the palace library, remain relatively unknown.

Another source reveals that, as “keeper of books” (*ḥāfīz-i kütüb*), Mevlana ‘Atufi received a reward of 2,000 aspers and a robe (*cübbe*, worn by the ulema) for a

“book” (*kitāb*) he presented as a gift to Bayezid II in 1503 (16 Jumada II 909). The unnamed book mentioned in this Register of Rewards (*Īn‘āmāt Defteri*) could have been a preliminary copy of ‘Atufi’s library inventory, whose Arabic preface, dated 908 (1502–3), glorifies Bayezid II with pompous titles. In the only surviving “clean copy” of ‘Atufi’s inventory, this Arabic preface is preceded by a later one in Ottoman Turkish, dated 909 (1503–4). Several months thereafter, in 1504 (15 Ramadan 909), ‘Atufi received another sultanic donation of 3,000 aspers as a “preacher” (*vā‘iz*). This reveals that upon completing the inventory, ‘Atufi left the palace service with a promotion in the ulema ranks and was no longer Bayezid II’s keeper of books. Nevertheless, ‘Atufi continued to receive regular annual donations of 3,000 aspers as a preacher until the end of the sultan’s reign, with the latest reward given in 1512 (19 Dhu’l-Hijja 917), when he presented a book and received a higher donation of 5,000 aspers plus a *cübbe*. ‘Atufi was subsequently awarded 3,000 aspers for the gift of another book he authored as “preacher” at the beginning of Selim I’s reign in 1512 (5 Rabi‘ II 918). He was still a preacher in 1519 (Muharram 926) during the penultimate year of Selim’s rule, when he was given two houses from the Aya-sofya (Hagia Sophia) endowments.<sup>27</sup>

The approximately fifteen works ‘Atufi authored ranged in subject matter from Qur’anic exegesis and hadith to theology, medicine, and logic, and consisted mostly of commentaries or glosses. Compared to Mehmed II’s librarian Molla Lutfi—a witty, freethinking intellectual who eventually became a high-ranking madrasa professor but was executed for alleged heresy in 1495—‘Atufi appears to have been a scholar of middling stature.<sup>28</sup> Though less famous than the notorious Lutfi, ‘Atufi’s encyclopedic madrasa education prepared him to fulfill the basic criteria required of book keepers (*ḥāfīz-i kütüb*) as listed in the endowment deed (*waqfiyya*) of Mehmed II’s mosque complex in Istanbul and that of Bayezid II in Edirne. The former deed required the holder of that position to “know the names of esteemed books and be knowledgeable in details pertaining to books needed by professors, tutors, and capable individuals,” whereas the latter deed expected the book keeper to be “pious, a believer, and trustworthy.” ‘Atufi’s successor as palace librarian is not mentioned in the primary sources. He may have been a Maliki scholar

from the Maghrib (North Africa or Spain), Husain b. Maya al-Maghribi al-Maliki, who dedicated an Arabic manuscript interpreting the Qur'an's first sura (Appendix III: 1) to Bayezid II in the year 911 (1505–6).<sup>29</sup> In that manuscript the author identifies himself as “keeper of the book treasury of the lofty noble [sultanic] residence” (*khādīman bihi khizānati kutubi al-maqarri al-ashrafi al-‘āli*), nearly the same title by which ‘Atufi refers to himself in the palace library inventory (*al-khādīmi likutubi al-khizānati al-‘āmirati al-Sultān Bāyezīd Khāniyyati*, 151 {17}). This suggests that Husain b. Maya may have been appointed as the successor of ‘Atufi, who had left the post of court librarian by 1504; alternatively, he could have been one of the library scribes.

As indicated earlier, the preacher ‘Atufi continued to present his own works to Bayezid II after he completed the inventory. One of the examples preserved at the Topkapı library is an Arabic commentary concerning hadith on the subject of belief and jihad (Appendix III: 5). Dated 916 (1511), it features a dedication to the sultan and is described as a gift “offered to the Ottoman imperial treasury of Sultan Bayezid Khan” (*fī khidamāti khizānati ‘uthmāniyyati khāqāniyyati Sultān Bāyezīd khāniyyati*). However, this volume lacks impressions of the sultan's almond-shaped sovereignty seal, with which the imperial library books were stamped in their opening and final pages. Moreover, it is missing from ‘Atufi's library inventory, which was prepared earlier (ca. 1502–4) and does not appear to have been updated thereafter except for a few insertions, as we shall see.

The collection of books inventoried by the librarian ‘Atufi was primarily formed over three generations, starting with Mehmed II's father Murad II (r. 1421–44, 1446–51), but it may have also included items belonging to their forebears. Books collected by Mehmed II in the Inner Treasury were not stamped with his seal; nor did those he inherited from his father bear seal impressions of any Ottoman sultan. Bayezid II had all manuscripts accumulated in the Inner Treasury stamped with his own almond-shaped sovereignty seal, featuring his imperial monogram (tughra). This seal was never again used after the death of Bayezid II, given the common practice of annulling the sovereignty seals of deceased sultans by engraving a line over them. Since manuscripts at the palace library were generally stamped

twice with Bayezid's seal on their first and last pages, it may be deduced that those featuring only one seal were repaired at some point, or simply lost their beginning or final pages.<sup>30</sup>

MS Török F. 59 exclusively catalogues books in Islamic languages that were kept at the Inner Treasury founded by Mehmed II, whose library collection was inherited and expanded by Bayezid II, a keen collector of books like his father.<sup>31</sup> Mehmed's collection of Byzantine and other manuscripts in non-Islamic languages has not been incorporated into this inventory, even though some of them were produced for him and feature bindings comparable to their Islamic counterparts. Nor were European printed books (incunabula) belonging to the royal library included in ‘Atufi's inventory. Late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century registers of the Inner Treasury record furnishings, robes, objects, and scientific instruments stored in the same building. They also list the number of books in non-Islamic languages as a self-contained group, without enumerating any titles. None of the extant copies of those books at the Topkapı library bear Bayezid II's seal impressions, an absence that seems to signify their different status as treasury items independent from the library collection.<sup>32</sup>

The earliest surviving register of the Inner Treasury known to me is dated 901 (1496). This document from the middle of Bayezid II's reign lists unidentified manuscripts and documents stored in certain chests (*şandūk*). Those on the upper floor of the Inner Treasury (*der bālā-i hizāne-i ‘āmiri-i enderūnī*) consisted of a chest with sections of the Qur'an in *maghribī-kūfī* script; a chest full of book pouches (*kīsehā-i kitāb*); a chest containing letters, almanacs, and other documents (*mekātib ve taqvīm ve sā'ir evrāk*); another chest with figural representations and other documents (*taşvīrāt ve bākī evrāk*); a chest of paper documents and other miscellanies (*evrāk-i kāğıd ve bākī hūrdavāt*); a chest of miscellaneous paper documents (*evrāk-i hūrdavāt*); and three chests holding a total of 59 non-Islamic books (*kitābhā-i ‘imrānī*). The contents of the Inner Treasury's basement (*zīr-i hizāne-i enderūnī*) included sections of the Qur'an written in Kufic script by “His Highness ‘Ali” (i.e., the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law); parchment scrolls (*ṭomār ‘an pōst*) in the handwriting of ‘Ali; a volume in

the handwriting of 'Ali; and a chest containing 20 non-Islamic (*imrānī*) books.<sup>33</sup>

A larger number of books in foreign languages is catalogued in the next surviving Inner Treasury register, dated Sha'ban 907 (1502). Compared to the 79 non-Islamic books stored in four chests that the previous register lists, this one consolidates the category into a single entry, mentioning a total of 161 unidentified volumes with no reference to chests. These are defined as "non-Islamic books and others" (*kitābhā-i imrānī ve ğayrihā*), thereby setting them apart from the Islamic books catalogued in 'Atufi's inventory a year later in 908 (1502–3).<sup>34</sup> One wonders whether non-Islamic volumes would have been classified as treasury rather than library items during the reign of Mehmed II, who collected them with an enthusiasm apparently unshared by his successor. In addition to giving away the Inner Treasury's Byzantine relic collection as diplomatic gifts, Bayezid II is reported to have auctioned off his late father's European paintings at the bazaar, where they were largely bought by the Venetian community of Istanbul. The auctioning and gifting of some contents of the Inner Treasury, however, is also documented in later periods as a common practice that was counterbalanced by the steady inflow of new items. In my interpretation, Bayezid II, who came to power with support from traditionalist factions opposed to Mehmed II's radical imperial project, was making a conspicuous public statement by "deaccessioning" select items from his father's Inner Treasury collection soon after his enthronement.<sup>35</sup> Yet, the new sultan would perpetuate Mehmed II's enduring cosmopolitan imperial legacy in many other ways.

The only other manuscripts and works on paper or parchment mentioned in the 1502 Inner Treasury register are sections of the Qur'an in Kufic script stored in a chest; 61 diverse scrolls of written or illuminated papers (*derchā-i tomar-i mütenevvī'a*), and a chest full of various maps and documents (*harīṭahā-i mütenevvī'a ve evrāk*). Another Inner Treasury register dated Sha'ban 910 (1505) refers to what is probably the same chest as "one chest with written or illuminated scrolls, maps, and papers by painter-designers" (*bir şandük dercler ve hārtalar ve naḳḳāş kāğıdlarıdur*), the "papers" presumably being loose sheets with paintings and drawings.<sup>36</sup> A later Inner Treasury register from the end of Selim I's

reign (ca. 1518) lists booklets of annual almanacs with prognostications (*eczā'-i taḳvīm*); Samarqandi, Indian, and Herati papers; figures of the climes and a single map (*şuver-i eḳālīm, pāre-i harīṭa*); chests containing scrolls of letters and miscellaneous documents (*tomar-i mekātib ve evrāk-i hürdavāt*); as well as a hugely increased collection of holy books: *Şūrat al-An'ām* manuscripts in small chests (82 volumes), sections of the Qur'an in *maghrībī* script in boxes (68 volumes), sections of the Qur'an in *naskh* script in six small chests (180 volumes), and two old worn-out volumes of Qur'an sections.<sup>37</sup>

To sum up, early Inner Treasury registers from the reigns of Bayezid II and his successor Selim I demonstrate that some Qur'ans and paper or parchment items, generally without bindings (such as scrolls, maps, archival documents, and annual prognosticative almanac booklets), were deliberately excluded from 'Atufi's book inventory even though they were kept in the same building, much like the non-Islamic books with bindings belonging to the Inner Treasury collection. The latter books may have been omitted from 'Atufi's inventory not because they were undervalued, but because they were categorized as being of the same order as treasured objects that were not expected to be regularly requested or circulated. The number of 161 "non-Islamic books and others" cited above in Bayezid II's 1502–3 register drops to 149 volumes of "non-Islamic books" (*kütüb-i gebrī*) in Selim I's ca. 1518 register.

I have not come across any further reference to this group of foreign-language books in later registers, which implies that they perhaps faded into oblivion in the Inner Treasury basements. Indeed, the modern cataloguer of the non-Islamic manuscript collection (Gayri İslami, G.İ.), Adolph Gustav Deissmann, reported that these manuscripts were brought out from a cellar of the Inner Treasury (*aus einem der Keller des Schatzhauses*), where they had been stored in chests. In 1927 he was shown these mostly Greek and Latin codices, along with non-Islamic parchment and paper scrolls, loose sheets, and maps. During 1928 he examined these works belonging to the "legendary Serai-Bibliothek," and in 1929 he was shown the underground cellar of the Inner Treasury, where "most books" were once held, but which at that time were kept in cupboards in the ground floor. Some of the non-Islamic items, which had been damaged by

moisture and unfavorable storage conditions, were re-stored by conservators sent from Berlin in 1929.<sup>38</sup>

An Inner Treasury register from the end of Sultan Süleyman I's reign (r. 1520–66), dated 971 (1564), shows that some books from the imperial library collection were housed in the throne room (*dīvānhāne*) at that time, possibly in accordance with former tradition. Besides two large coffers (*anbār*) containing palace furnishings and royal garments, the register lists 262 books stored within four cupboards (*dolāb*) in this hall. The itemized volumes are grouped according to language: "Register of Persian books" (*defter-i kitābhā-i fārisī*) with 55 volumes; "Register of Turkish books" (*defter-i kitābhā-i türki*) with 118 volumes; and "Register of the cupboard of Arabic books" (*defter-i dolāb-i kitābhā-i arabīyyāt*) consisting of 89 volumes.<sup>39</sup>

It is striking that the number of Turkish books, which filled two cupboards, surpasses the works in Arabic and Persian, which were kept in a single cupboard each, as the latter languages are predominant in 'Atufi's inventory. This difference in proportion reflects a notable cultural transformation during the Süleymanic age, which ushered in a growing process of Ottomanization in various domains, including language.<sup>40</sup> Clearly, the 262 books listed in Süleyman's Inner Treasury register do not represent all of the books kept inside that building, but were likely a selected corpus of precious or commonly consulted manuscripts stored in the throne room. The remaining volumes were probably distributed on the upper and lower floors of the Inner Treasury in chests and cupboards subdivided by shelves. Other books could have been stacked on top of one another according to diminishing size—as was common practice in medieval Islamic and later Ottoman libraries—inside some of the "Bursa-arched" built-in wall niches of the upper halls (figs. 7a–c).

#### *The Topkapı Book Treasury and Other Palatine Libraries*

Constituting the nerve center of the Ottoman royal workshops overseen by the chief treasurer, the Inner Treasury was not only a site for collecting, but also for commissioning the production of artifacts in multiple media, including manuscripts. Unlike the Timurid and Turkmen institution of the *kitābhāna/kutubkhāna*, which is believed to have combined a treasury/library

(*khizāna*) for storing books and a scriptorium/book workshop for copying and producing them, the Ottoman royal library in the Inner Treasury was spatially separate from, yet institutionally connected to the court scriptorium (*naḳḳāṣhāne*).<sup>41</sup> Most likely established by Mehmed II as a dependency of the Topkapı Palace built between 1459 and 1478, the scriptorium was housed in a converted Byzantine church at the nearby Hippodrome. It boasted figural gold mosaics and its basement curiously functioned as the royal menagerie.<sup>42</sup> The relatively loose organization of court workshops under Mehmed II would be systematized and amplified by Bayezid II and later sultans.<sup>43</sup> An undated wage register from Bayezid's reign shows that his palace staff included a group of eight "book calligraphers" (*kātībān-i kütüb*), another group of nine consisting of "book binders" (*mücellidān*) and their assistants, and painter-decorators (*naḳḳāṣān*) with their assistants consisting of twenty-two persons," adding up to a total of 39 employees.<sup>44</sup>

The no longer extant Timurid-Turkmen palatine libraries were succeeded by libraries in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century royal palaces of Safavid Iran and Mughal India, which have also disappeared without a trace. The latter seem to have been pavilions or halls, whether or not they incorporated workshop facilities. For instance, one of three buildings constructed in 1534 for the Mughal emperor Humayun (r. 1530–40, 1555–56) at a waterfront garden in Agra was a two-story octagonal pavilion whose upper chamber housed a royal library. Called *Khāna-i Dawlat* (House of Felicity), it was furnished with "prayer carpets, books, jeweled pens, beautiful folders, and fine albums with pictures and calligraphy." Upon regaining Delhi, Humayun created a similar library at the Purana Qil'a palace complex. Once again a two-story octagonal pavilion, this extant red sandstone edifice popularly known as Sher Mandal is generally believed to have been the site of a fatal accident. In 1556 Humayun passed away after falling down the slippery stone staircase of his palace "library (*kitābhāna*), which had recently been constructed."<sup>45</sup> The emperor had just engaged in astronomical observation with a group of mathematicians on the roof terrace of that building before starting to descend. When he reached the second flight of steep steps, his foot slipped



a



c



b

Figs. 7a–c. Libraries in manuscript paintings. [7a] Abu Zayd and al-Harith meet in a public library at Basra, where a bookcase with niche-shaped shelves contains horizontally stacked volumes. *Maqāmāt* of al-Hariri, 634 (1237), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Arabe 5847, fol. 5b. (Photo: © Bibliothèque nationale de France) [7b] Three men in front of a built-in book cupboard, whose shelves contain horizontally arranged volumes with edges labeled with abbreviated titles. Second half of the fourteenth century, album painting, Iran. (Photo: © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, PK [SBB-PK], Diez Album, Diez A\_fol. 71, p. 6, no. 1) [7c] “Bursa-arched” wall niches with horizontally stacked volumes at the royal observatory in Galata, Istanbul, where the chief astronomer Taqi al-Din is shown working with his colleagues. 1581, Seyyid Lokman, *Shahanshāhnāmāh*, Istanbul University Library, F. 1404, fol. 57a. (Photo: after Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* [London, 2011], 149, fig. 123)

as he respectfully bowed upon hearing the call for the evening prayer.

The “illiterate” Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) inherited and enlarged his father Humayun’s book collection through gifts, conquests, commissions, and translations. By the time of his death, Akbar’s library in the Agra fort had expanded from about 4,000 volumes to 24,000, from which selected works were read aloud to him daily. According to the *Ā’in-i Akbarī* (Regulations of Akbar), the imperial library collection was divided among several locations rather than being housed in a single purpose-made building. Some books were kept within and others outside of the private royal residence (harem): “Each part is subdivided, according to the value of the books and the estimation in which the sciences are held of which the books treat. Prose books, poetical works, Hindī, Persian, Greek, Kashmīrian, Arabic, are all separately placed. In this order they are also inspected.”<sup>46</sup> As we shall see, ‘Atufi’s inventory, too, organizes books by subject matter, separating prose works from those in verse, with the latter category subdivided into specific languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and “Mongolian.” Books in non-Islamic languages are excluded from his inventory.

The Safavid royal library in Isfahan was a hall with built-in wall niches, apparently not unlike the extant octagonal *Chīnīkhāna* (House of Porcelain) at the dynastic shrine of Shaykh Safi al-Din in Ardebil. The latter functioned as a “library-repository” to which Shah ‘Abbas I (r. 1588–1629) donated manuscripts and a collection of Chinese porcelain.<sup>47</sup> The French jeweler Jean Chardin (1660s–70s) described a library staffed with bookbinders and a librarian among the court workshops (*kārkhāna*) of the Safavid palace complex in Isfahan, which were grouped around a courtyard. He states that the library was a rectangular hall, 22 by 12 “paces,” whose walls were pierced with niches from bottom to top, each of them 15 to 16 “fingers” deep. In those niches, volumes were piled up on top of one another according to size and thickness, regardless of their subject matter, with the names of authors mostly inscribed on the edges of books written in Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and “Coptic.” Double curtains covered the niches, such that no books were visible upon entering the hall, but only the curtains and a double row of chests lined up along the walls, each of them four feet high and containing fifty to sixty vol-

umes. Only two chests stored volumes in “Occidental languages,” which were on Catholic rituals, history, and mathematics and had been pillaged from the conquest of Hormuz and from the ambassador of Holstein’s house, where the learned secretary Adam Olearius (d. 1671) had collected fine books. In 1684 the German physician-botanist Engelbert Kaempfer also portrayed the royal library in Isfahan as a storage space or manuscript treasury (*Hofbücherei*). Its 9,000 to 10,000 volumes were kept in shelves and chests, and its staff included binders, calligraphers, and gilders. Kaempfer described the workshop of court painters (*Hofmalerwerkstatt*) as a distinct space.<sup>48</sup> The spatial detachment of the royal library (*kitābkhāna*) from the workshop of painter-decorators (*naqqāshkhāna*) is also implied by a late Safavid source (ca. 1725), which refers to the separate heads of these two institutions.<sup>49</sup>

While this spatial separation finds a parallel in Ottoman Istanbul, what makes the royal library at the Inner Treasury of the Topkapı Palace special is its survival as a multifunctional building dating from the mid-1460s, along with its partially intact book collection. The earliest developmental stages and contents of this collection can now be reconstructed thanks to the fortunate discovery of ‘Atufi’s inventory. Conceptually, the Ottoman Inner Treasury comes close to its counterparts in fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century palaces in Central Europe, where the private royal treasury (*Schatzkammer*) combined long-prized possessions with “books and reliquaries, including objects that might be called works of art” before the emergence of the *Kunstkammer* from the 1550s onward, when separate libraries became more common.<sup>50</sup> Not unlike the scenic treasury-cum-library at the Topkapı Palace, the palatine Corviniana library in Buda comprised two vaulted halls overlooking the Danube. Its precious books were arranged on gilded wooden shelves, with less valuable volumes stored in chests. A sofa extending between two windows was utilized by the king of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458–90), for reading and holding discussions with scholars.<sup>51</sup>

In an article on Bayezid II’s library inventory, Miklós Maróth has observed that the famous Corviniana library, which was created around the same time, featured only about 2,500 volumes and was the largest private royal library in Europe. By contrast, Maróth counted

about 5,700 volumes with approximately 7,200 titles in the inventory of the Ottoman sultan's library.<sup>52</sup> It must be noted, however, that the actual number of titles was certainly higher because 'Atufi did not systematically list all items that were bound together in compendiums. Moreover, the palace library collection would expand considerably in the last decade of Bayezid II's (d. 1512) reign and beyond.

The holdings of the Corviniana library were rivaled only in Western Europe by the semi-public papal library at the Vatican. By the end of Pope Nicholas V's pontificate (1447–55) the Vatican library contained 1,160 books, a number Pope Sixtus IV (1471–84) raised to 2,527 in 1475, and to 3,650 at the end of his pontificate.<sup>53</sup> Fewer books existed at the celebrated palace library built between 1465 and 1472 for the Duke of Urbino, Federico da Montefeltro, who at the time of his death in 1482 had accumulated over 900 sumptuous manuscripts.<sup>54</sup> The number of books (about 1,136) removed from the library of the Palazzo Medici at the time of the family's expulsion from Florence in 1494 was not much larger than that of its counterpart in Urbino.<sup>55</sup>

According to İsmail Erünsal, the only contemporaneous Ottoman library that came close to matching the number of manuscripts kept in Bayezid II's Inner Treasury was the private library collection of Mü'eyyetzade Abdurrahman Çelebi (d. 1516), the sultan's former intimate companion when he was a prince in the Amasya palace. After escaping from Amasya in 1479 following Mehmed II's order to execute him for allegedly having corrupted Prince Bayezid with addiction to alcohol and revelry, Mü'eyyetzade spent several years in exile in Mamluk Syria and Aqqoyunlu Iran. During those years he studied with celebrated scholars, including Jalal al-Din Dawani (d. 1502) in Shiraz. Upon returning to the Ottoman empire, Mü'eyyetzade became one of the foremost scholar-statesmen of Bayezid II's reign and was said to have collected 7,000 books, which is probably an exaggeration.<sup>56</sup> His agency in the transmission of rare books from the Timurid-Turkmen lands to Bayezid II's library must have been considerable. Only 2,112 volumes are recorded in an inventory of Mü'eyyetzade's books, which was prepared by a committee in 1516 upon the order of Sultan Selim I, who commanded that books dispersed after his death be gathered together. There were probably unretrieved items that would have raised

the total count recorded in the inventory, though not to the extent claimed. A note in this inventory explains that some books were marked as being worthy of the sultan, implying that these items could potentially be incorporated into the palace library, while the rest would be sold to pay the debts of the deceased owner.<sup>57</sup>

The books Mehmed II endowed as a *waqf* to the public library of his grandiose mosque complex in Istanbul (featuring eight madrasas, eight preparatory schools, a hospice, and a hospital, built between 1463 and the 1470s) were fewer than those contained in his palace library. Moreover, they had a narrower subject range, with entire areas of knowledge missing or underrepresented. The public library's holdings consisted of 1,241 endowed books, of which only 839 were donated by the sultan and the rest were given by scholars and grandees, according to an updated catalogue prepared during Bayezid II's reign.<sup>58</sup> Compared to his father's donation, Bayezid II endowed an even smaller number of books to his own mosque-madrassa-hospital complex in Edirne (ca. 1488), merely 42 volumes intended for use in the single madrasa where they were stored in a chest. Thus, the Ottoman palace library surpassed in size and diversity the *waqf* libraries belonging to public religious institutions, as was also the case in the Mamluk Sultanate and most other Islamic polities.<sup>59</sup>

Erünsal notes that the endowed holdings of public libraries in the early modern Ottoman world barely exceeded five to six thousand volumes. According to inflated accounts, their medieval Islamic counterparts boasted fifteen to twenty thousand books, not to mention the legendary proportions of some early medieval royal and semi-royal libraries, whose stock reportedly reached several hundred thousand volumes. The palatine library of the Umayyad caliphs in Cordoba is said to have featured 400,000 to 600,000 books, while that of the Fatimid caliphs in Cairo had 1,600,000 to two million volumes.<sup>60</sup> These "outlandish" numbers cited in Arabic narrative sources have recently been characterized as "symbolic and of no factual value," having a "topos-like quality."<sup>61</sup>

#### *Reading Spaces and the Mobility of Books Stamped with Bayezid II's Seal*

In an undated *Relatione*, the Jewish court physician of Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–95), Domenico Hierosolimi-

tano, refers to two large libraries (*libreria*) in the third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace, where the sultan was “served by men.”<sup>62</sup> Born in Safed in Ottoman Palestine, Domenico held this post for “about twelve years in Constantinople” and then left for Italy upon converting to the Catholic faith in 1593. In my interpretation, the first library can be identified as that of the Inner Treasury and the second library as the one within the Privy Chamber complex in the same courtyard of male palace residents, where the sultans slept until Murad III’s reign. This sultan moved into a new bedroom pavilion at the women’s harem quarters, which was built by the chief architect Sinan in 986 (1578–79).<sup>63</sup>

Domenico describes the first library (at the Inner Treasury) as “a communal one (*una commune*) behind the rooms of the servants (*camerieri*) and pages” who served the sultan, a library to which Domenico may have had access in his capacity as court physician. He locates the non-Islamic manuscript collection of Mehmed II in this “communal” library,

where there are books in all kinds of languages, of great beauty, all written by the pen, and in particular 120 items from those of Constantine the Great, each one two cubits (*braccia*) long and not more than three palms (*palmi*) wide, made of parchment fine as silk. In them are written the old and new testaments, and other histories and lives of the saints, all in letters of gold, covered [bound] with silver gilt, with jewels of inestimable value. No one is permitted to touch them.<sup>64</sup>

The 120 Byzantine codices of “Constantine the Great” mentioned by Domenico come close in number to the 149 “non-Islamic” books listed in Selim I’s Inner Treasury register (ca. 1518) discussed above, though somewhat reduced. A further attrition occurred when the French ambassador in Istanbul, Pierre de Girardin, acquired fifteen rare Greek manuscripts and one in Latin from the Topkapı Palace collection in 1687 for the library of Louis XIV (now at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris), with the aid of an Italian renegade employed in the service of the “seliktar” (Silahdar or Swordbearer at the Privy Chamber).<sup>65</sup> It was apparently the same Italian renegade from Livorno, a former royal page called Mustafa Agha, who, with the help of his friends at the palace, sold to Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsili (1658–1730) Greek manuscripts removed from the palace collection,

which he claimed the sultan had donated to him. In 1692 Marsili purchased additional Greek manuscripts inherited by the widow of Mustafa Agha, who was executed at Edirne in 1691. A recently discovered library inventory attributed to Marsili itemizes his 17 Greek manuscripts once belonging to the Topkapı Palace collection, which are now kept at the Biblioteca Universitaria in Bologna.<sup>66</sup>

Domenico describes the more exclusive second library in the courtyard of male servants as “the other library that is private (*secretata*) and more inwards (*più indentro*), which is attached to the rooms of the Grand Signor and is the more famous.” It is unclear whether this private library at the sultan’s Privy Chamber complex extending along the left wing of the third courtyard (which comprised multiple domed halls built by Mehmed II and remodeled by Selim I) existed from the very beginning. The library may have been located near the extant dormitory of Privy Chamber pages that replaced earlier structures demolished in the nineteenth century.<sup>67</sup> According to Domenico’s account of Murad III’s daily routine, each morning this bibliophile sultan left the harem where he slept. At the Privy Chamber complex in the male quarters, he wrote for half an hour and read for an hour in his study (figs. 8a–b), to which he returned at noon to continue his studies until lunch was served there. In the evening he read books there once again before dinner, and then reentered the harem to sleep.<sup>68</sup> Domenico adds that some books were kept inside two cupboards in the sultan’s Privy Chamber itself (*nella sua camera*), where

there are on each side, two cupboards (*armarij*) with crystal glass doors, and in these cupboards, there are always some two dozen illustrated manuscripts, which he is accustomed to read often. These cupboards are low, so that, sitting in the Turkish fashion, one can see the books that are there through the transparency of the crystal glass, in such a way that the Grand Signor can conveniently take them out, and he is accustomed to reading them often.<sup>69</sup>

Above these cupboards there was another small open cupboard (*armarietto aperto*) where purses full of coins were placed weekly as the sultan’s pocket money. This most private third space for books seems to be the one depicted in a late sixteenth-century painting, which represents Murad III accompanied by male attendants of



Figs. 8a–b. Sultan Murad III scrutinizing the manuscript that contains this very image at a desk in his study featuring built-in book cupboards, accompanied by two leading Privy Chamber pages and dwarfs. Seyyid Muhammed ibn Emir Hasan al-Su‘udi, *Meṭālī‘ü’l-sa‘āde ve menābī‘ü’l-siyāde* (The Ascension of Propitious Stars and Sources of Sovereignty), ca. 1582. [8a] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Supplement Turc 242, fol. 7b. (Photo: © Bibliothèque nationale de France) [8b] New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.788, fol. 6b, purchased from Demotte and Company, 1935. (Photo: © The Pierpont Morgan Library)

the Privy Chamber complex as he is seated on a domical canopied throne, with a colonnade visible in the background. If so, then the two cupboards described by Domenico would have been located inside the third courtyard’s Privy Chamber, rather than within the sultan’s new bedroom at the women’s quarters. A curious example of micro-architecture, the throne canopy is fronted in the painting by a pool with a central water-jet fountain and flanked by hinged cupboards, whose bookshelves of gilded wood contain horizontally stacked manuscripts (fig. 9). The water-jet fountain is probably a now-lost “fountain near the Privy Chamber” mentioned in a repair document dated 1639–40, which lists expenses for gilding its dragon mouth-, curved-tulip-, and straight-tulip-shaped waterspouts that are visible in the painting.<sup>70</sup>

We learn from other sources that Ottoman sultans had readers at the Privy Chamber where they were customarily served meals in the presence of the chief physician. According to Luigi Bassano da Zara (ca. 1537–40), Ottoman dynastic chronicles and the history of Alexander the Great were always read out there after dinner to Sultan Süleyman. He adds that this sultan was well-versed in matters of philosophy and in the scientific works of Avicenna (Ibn Sina, d. 1037) that were read aloud to him in Arabic (fig. 10). The Venetian diplomat Benedetto Ramberti (1534) reports that Süleyman was especially fond of reading the works of Aristotle along with their commentaries in Arabic and diligently studied theology to such an extent that he claimed to rival the muftis. A reader would read to him once or twice a week the histories of the deeds of his ancestors, which

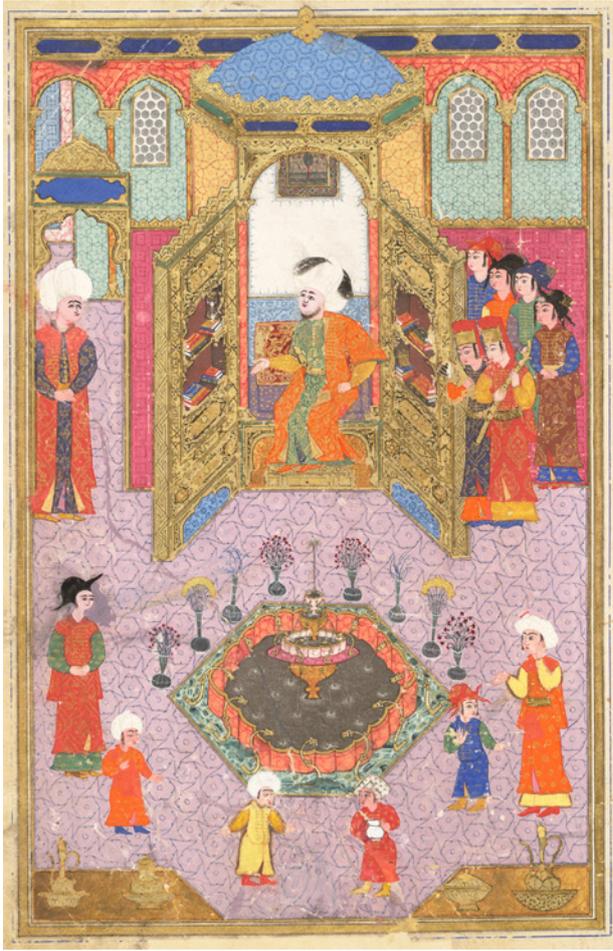


Fig. 9. Sultan Murad III seated in a domical canopied throne with hinged bookcases featuring horizontally stacked manuscripts, accompanied by two leading Privy Chamber pages, attendants, and dwarfs. Cenabi, *Cevāhirü'l-Ġarā'ib, Tercüme-i Bahrü'l-'Acā'ib* (Gems of Marvels: Translation of the Sea of Wonders), 1582. Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection, 1985.219.2. (Photo: Imaging Department, © President and Fellows of Harvard College)

Süleyman's secretaries guarded with reverence as "sacred treasures," since the sultan preferred those "true histories" over panegyric flattery. Similarly, when the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58) retired to his private royal quarters for dinner after the congregational evening prayers, selections from "reliable books" of dynastic history were read to him "by eloquent courtiers who were knowledgeable about historical matters."<sup>71</sup>

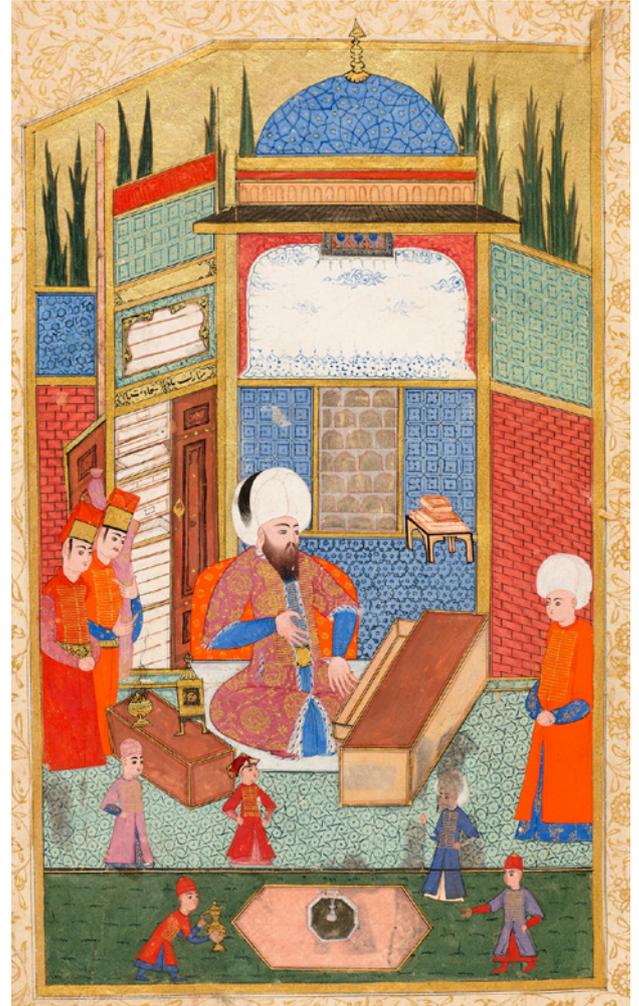


Fig. 10. Sultan Süleyman conversing with a prince in the company of two leading Privy Chamber pages and dwarfs in his study, featuring a book cupboard whose shelves contain horizontally stacked volumes. Talikizade Mehmed, *Şehnâme*, ca. 1596–1600. Istanbul, TSMK, A. 3595, fol. 79a. (Photo: Hadiye Cangökçe, courtesy of Emine Fetvacı)

Reading practices, then, were not confined to private contemplation by the Ottoman sultans themselves, but also involved books read out to them in the exquisite spaces of the Privy Chamber complex, fronted by domed pavilions grouped around a large pool on its marble terrace overlooking gardens. As such, spaces of reading in the Topkapı Palace included airy pavilions with ample natural light and garden settings. The presence of books at the Privy Chamber is confirmed by archival docu-

ments from the reign of Selim I onward.<sup>72</sup> These documents and notes written on manuscripts by librarians testify to the traffic of volumes between the Privy Chamber and the Inner Treasury, each occupying the two most view-commanding corners of the third courtyard across from one another.<sup>73</sup>

The title pages of several extant books listed in MS Török F. 59 are inscribed with the phrase *odadan çıkan kitâb* (i.e., book transferred from the Privy Chamber to the Inner Treasury). If the private libraries inside and near the Privy Chamber mentioned by Domenico already existed during Bayezid II's reign, one might imagine a similar movement of books loaned to these reading spaces from the Inner Treasury. There was also a treasury known as the Privy Chamber Treasury or Swordbearer's Treasury (*Silahdar Hazinesi*), named after one of the leading pages to whom its key is believed to have been entrusted since the days of Mehmed II. Late-Ottoman chroniclers report that books were stored in cupboards in the treasury of the Swordbearer along with holy relics, currency, and weapons. Manuscripts in the Topkapı library collection that are currently labeled "Emanet Hazinesi Kütüphanesi" came from this treasury.<sup>74</sup>

To return to the Inner Treasury books inventoried by 'Atufi, 784 manuscripts in the current collection of the palace library, which feature either a seal impression of Bayezid II, a dedication, or an annotation of ownership (*ex libris*) referring to him, have been analyzed by Zeynep Atbaş in her essay in this volume. Of these manuscripts, 750 were stamped with the seal of Bayezid II and 117 feature dedications to him. None of the 146 manuscripts in this group that bear dedications to his father were stamped with Mehmed II's seal.<sup>75</sup> The remaining 521 manuscripts consist of Ottoman works not dedicated to any sultan and others produced in different regions of the Islamic world between the ninth and early sixteenth centuries. Since completing her essay, Atbaş has identified 226 additional volumes at the Topkapı library that were stamped with Bayezid II's seal, which are not discussed in her essay but have been appended as an "addendum" to her list of manuscripts bearing this sultan's seal impressions, comprising 1,010 items (Appendix I). Most likely this number will continue to grow, and it is complemented by Zeren Tanındı's ever-expanding list of 176 manuscripts stamped with Bayezid II's seal that were transferred from the Topkapı Palace to other li-

braries (Appendix II). A total of 1,186 manuscripts with this sultan's seal are listed in the appendices of Atbaş and Tanındı at the end of the present volume. Additional books with seal impressions of Bayezid II are identified in the essays of several authors, including that of Cemal Kafadar, which has its own appendix comprising 130 items.<sup>76</sup>

Accompanied by illustrative plates, my own book list at the end of this volume (Appendix III) is based on that of Atbaş. It presents observations derived from the physical examination of a selected sample of more than fifty books at the Topkapı library, which are stamped with Bayezid II's seal and/or dedicated to him. I have established that in many volumes bearing his seal, the titles written on the opening pages and on paper labels pasted over the binding flaps match 'Atufi's inventory entries exactly, or very closely (Appendix III: 4, 7, 10, 13, 14, 18, 21–23, 25–37, 39–50). The absence of a match in a well-preserved volume must therefore signify that it is a different manuscript copy from the one catalogued in the inventory. Books stamped with Bayezid II's seal but excluded from MS Török F. 59 may initially have been kept in other imperial palaces (e.g., the Edirne Palace, the Galata and Old Palaces in Istanbul), or in the provincial palaces of princes. Alternatively, such books may have been either written or catalogued after the inventory's completion, between ca. 1502–4 and the sultan's demise in 1512 (see Appendix III: 2–3, 6, 8–9, 19–20). There are also examples of books dedicated to Bayezid II that lack his seal impression, some of them undated and others written after the completion of 'Atufi's inventory (Appendix III: 1, 5, 11–12, 15–17, 24, 38).

The opening pages of extant manuscripts listed in the inventory generally identify volumes commissioned by Mehmed II and Bayezid II as having been made "by order of the treasury" (*bi-rasm khizāna*) of the sultanate, sometimes specifying that they were ordered by the ruler himself or made to be read by him (*bi-rasm muṭāla'a; li-muṭāla'a al-sultān*). Although not indicated as such, several inventory entries may refer to volumes inherited from earlier Ottoman sultans, among whom Murad II stands out in particular as a bibliophile. From the luxury books dedicated to him, an example preserved in the Topkapı library bears impressions of Bayezid II's seal and is cited in the inventory without reference to Murad II (in fact, 'Atufi never specifies for whom a book was made and when).

This exquisitely illuminated manuscript in Persian on music theory by the famous theoretician ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi (d. 1435) was copied in 838 (1435) probably in Timurid Herat, with a dedication to Murad II, shortly before the author’s death. It is one of two manuscript copies of the same work listed in the library inventory: *Maqāṣidu al-alḥāni li-‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī fī al-mūsīqī* (Meanings of Melodies by ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi, on Music, 335 {17}). The title assigned by ‘Atufi is inscribed verbatim above the opening page and on the paper label pasted on the binding’s flap; the manuscript also bears two seal impressions of Bayezid II at its beginning and end (Appendix III: 46, Pl. 22 [1–3]). The author had served in the courts of the Jalayirids and their successors in Iran, Iraq, and Central Asia. It is believed that ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi sent this manuscript to the court of Murad II where his youngest son, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, was a courtier and to whom the Ottoman sultan had donated a fief at Edirne in 1421. In 1423, the author sent an earlier version of the same work (also dedicated to Murad II) to the Ottoman court, where ‘Abd al-‘Aziz and his descendants perpetuated al-Maraghi’s musical legacy in the court circles of Mehmed II and Bayezid II, and continued to be active under Selim I and Süleyman I. Copies of an abridged Persian treatise on music, dedicated to Mehmed II by ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. ‘Abd al-Qadir, are listed in the library inventory: *Naqāwatu/Nuqāwatu al-adwāri fī al-mūsīqī* (Best of the Modes, on Music, 335 {16}, 336 {18}). One of these copies still exists in the Topkapı library: the top of its opening page bears the same title assigned by ‘Atufi in the inventory, while its first and last pages are stamped with Bayezid II’s seal (the sticky label on the binding is lost). The works on music dedicated by ‘Abd al-‘Aziz’s son, Mahmud, to Bayezid II in 1503 and later to Selim I are missing from the library inventory, in keeping with its date.<sup>77</sup>

Some of Bayezid II’s personal books feature a notation of ownership (ex libris) not found in his father’s manuscripts. One such volume produced during his principality in 870 (1466) is inscribed, “from the books of Sultan Bayezid” (*min kutubi Sultān Bāyezīd*, Appendix III: 29, Pl. 10). Although it was subsequently stamped with Bayezid II’s almond-shaped seal of sovereignty upon his accession to the throne, this volume is not included in ‘Atufi’s inventory. A book listed in the inventory that bears Bayezid II’s seal has a similar ex libris, “from the books of Sultan Bayezid son of Mehmed Khan,

may his sovereignty be everlasting” (*min kutubi al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥemmed Khān -khallada mulkahu*, Appendix III: 30, Pl. 11 [2]). Yet another book cited in the inventory, but dedicated to Mehmed II, features Bayezid II’s seal impressions and the following ex libris, which is repeated in many other volumes: “owned by Sultan Bayezid son of Mehmed Khan, may his sovereignty be everlasting” (*Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥemmed Khān -khallada mulkahu*, Appendix III: 28, Pl. 9 [1]).

Bayezid II’s ownership notes are brief and formulaic compared to those documented later in the holdings of the Mughal imperial library, which are inscribed by the successors of Akbar with comments on the date of acquisition and provenance, as well as personal observations and a ranking according to quality in five classes. Such Mughal imperial notations are often accompanied by numerous seal impressions of successive owners and library supervisors, inspection records, and crowded notes, unlike the sparsely annotated opening pages of manuscripts belonging to the Ottoman palatine library. The quotation above from the *Āṭn-i Akbarī* indicates that the qualitative categorization of books determined their placement in the Mughal imperial library, which was subdivided into sections according to the value of the books and the subjects they dealt with.<sup>78</sup> However, the annotations and ownership notes of Mughal manuscripts lack the systematic references to fields of knowledge that are specified in the book titles assigned by ‘Atufi in his inventory. These titles are repeated on the opening pages and binding labels of volumes catalogued by him, as we shall see below.

Bayezid II gifted books from his library to his two sons renowned for their own cultural patronage, Ahmed and Korkud, whose manuscript collections were appropriated upon their execution by their reigning brother Selim I and reincorporated into the Topkapı Palace library. From the books Bayezid sent as gifts to the provincial palaces of these two princes, their differing personal interests can be deduced. To Prince Ahmed, the sultan dispatched six divans (collected poems) and a *Shāh-nāmah* in December 1483. Later in February 1486, the same prince received nine more divans from his father.<sup>79</sup> In contrast, gifts sent to Prince Korkud, a scholar, musician, poet, and calligrapher educated in Mehmed II’s palace, consisted of only one divan and four books on religious sciences. Korkud himself authored works in the latter field, all in Arabic, ranging from theology, ju-

risprudence, and mysticism to ethics. These works, which are now kept in the Ayasofya collection of the Süleymaniye Library, originated from the Inner Treasury of the Topkapı Palace.<sup>80</sup>

The portability and mobility of books meant that they circulated not only within the spaces of the imperial palace, but also beyond, leaving their habitat during royal outings to suburban palaces and military campaigns in which sultans carried their favorite books. For instance, I found lists of books in a register dated 1008–13 (1599–1605) that Mehmed III had requested from the Topkapı Palace during his seasonal stays at the suburban Davudpaşa Palace outside the city walls of Istanbul. It is also known that Selim I lost a chest full of books (*bir şandūk kitāb*) in the course of his campaign in Mamluk Syria-Egypt (1516–17), some items of which were recovered by the governor of Cairo, Khayr Bek. One of the lost books was the Ilkhanid historian Wassaf's (d. 1323) chronicle, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, which happened to be the sultan's chief "entertainment" during that campaign. Upon conquering Cairo, Selim I ordered the work to be copied by the palace tutor (*sarāy ḥocası*) Mevlana Şemseddin, a speedy copyist who was able to transcribe the Qur'an in merely ten days.<sup>81</sup> When Sultan Süleyman passed away during his last campaign in Hungary in 1566, the inventory of his personal belongings sent back to the Inner Treasury from Belgrade consisted of 41 chests, one of which was "a chest containing books" (*bir şandūkda kitāblar olur*).<sup>82</sup>

Although the number of Islamic manuscripts listed in 'Atufi's inventory (approximately 5,700 volumes) would increase thereafter, many of these works were gifted by the sultans as personal presents to individuals and as pious endowments (*waqf*) to institutions from the Inner Treasury. It is important to emphasize that 'Atufi's inventory was not a legal document, just as palace library manuscripts stamped with Bayezid's seal were his own private property, rather than a legally inalienable pious endowment collection. Therefore, sultans who subsequently inherited these books as personal property were free to donate them as private gifts to individuals or as pious endowments to libraries within imperial mosque complexes. Starting in the eighteenth century, sultans also endowed separate libraries within the Topkapı Palace grounds, at which point the

selected books were stamped with the *waqf* seals of those rulers.<sup>83</sup>

Although Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–30) had the Inner Treasury books inspected and stamped with his seal, this inventory check does not seem to have produced a new all-encompassing catalogue like that of 'Atufi. Book collections confiscated from deceased individuals, which had been catalogued in separate registers, were stored at that time as self-contained sub-collections in designated windowsills, alcoves, cupboards, or chests in the Inner Treasury.<sup>84</sup> The freestanding library pavilion built for Ahmed III at the middle of the Topkapı Palace's third courtyard in 1719 brought together some of these separate collections as a charitable endowment of nearly 5,000 books, intended for the male inhabitants of the inner palace. This sultan's endowment deed (*waqfiyya*) explains that, because the countless exquisite books accumulating since the foundation of the palace through "possession, purchase, or presentation to the royal treasury" had remained hidden and dusty in cupboards (*dolāblar*), he decided to make them more accessible. Ahmed III thereby transformed the legal status of selected books into a permanent *waqf* for the palace school and aghas. Some of these books had been brought out a year earlier, in 1718, from a basement of the Inner Treasury (*bodrum ḥazīnesi*) by three palace officers: the Swordbearer and the chiefs of the Privy Chamber and Inner Treasury. These items were handed over to the Privy Chamber's keeper of books for the renewal of their bindings.<sup>85</sup>

Thereafter, an endowment of 4,000 additional Inner Treasury books was bequeathed by Mahmud I (r. 1730–54) to the public library he established next to the Hagia Sophia mosque in 1740 (the Ayasofya collection, which was later moved to the Süleymaniye Library). In 1742 Mahmud I endowed a set of palace books to the second public library he had built at Mehmed II's mosque complex (the Fatih collection, which would also be transferred to the Süleymaniye Library), and he established yet another library at the Galata Palace in 1753. Thereafter, further volumes were endowed to the Revan and Baghdad kiosks at the Topkapı Palace, which constituted dependencies of the Privy Chamber complex, while a library built for the Corps of Gardeners in the palace's outer garden by Mustafa III in 1767 received more than 5,000 manuscripts.<sup>86</sup> Even then,

numerous precious books remained in the Inner Treasury, as revealed by their current call numbers in the Topkapı library, which start with the letter H, denoting Hazine (Treasury).

The transfer of books from the imperial palace collection to *waqf* libraries had a precedent in the Mamluk context, where private libraries contributed to the formation of those in endowed religious institutions. Hence, the freezing of private collections into *waqf* libraries depleted the holdings of the Mamluk palace library and those of the elites.<sup>87</sup> A systematic comparison of the booklist of MS Török F. 59 and existing manuscripts stamped with Bayezid II's seal could help, in the long run, to reconstruct the contents and early history of the Inner Treasury library as a collection. The *waqf* seals of later sultans and notes by subsequent owners, borrowers, and librarians promise to provide additional clues regarding the afterlives of manuscripts listed in 'Atufi's inventory and their dispersal to other collections in and beyond modern Turkey.<sup>88</sup> Future codicological research on the materiality, marginalia, glosses, and colophons of these books will shed light on their production, circulation, and reception, as well as Ottoman readership, librarianship, and collecting practices.<sup>89</sup> The inventory also carries the potential to make wider contributions to the history of manuscripts, arts of the book, libraries, cataloguing, and collecting in general.

## PART II: THE PALACE LIBRARY INVENTORY

### *The Classification of Knowledge and Categorization of Books*

That some book titles on the opening pages of extant manuscripts are believed to have been written in Bayezid II's own hand points to his personal involvement in the cataloguing project of the palace library that he delegated to his librarian. In one such manuscript the title written in a single line above the opening page, which is stamped with Bayezid's almond-shaped seal at the lower left corner, has been authenticated by a diagonal note: "This is the noble handwriting of Sultan Bayezid, one line, it is true" (*Sultân Bâyezîdüñ hatt-ı şerîfdür, bir satır, şahh*) (fig. 11). Nine copies of that manuscript are listed in 'Atufi's inventory with exactly the same title (75 {15–19}, 76 {1–3}), making it impossible to

distinguish these volumes from one another. The title line includes the assigned name of the book and its author, followed by the science or discipline (category of knowledge) to which it belongs: *Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari li-'Aḍūd al-Dīn fī uṣūli al-fiqhi* (Book of the Abridged Commentary by Adud al-Din [al-Iji], on the Principles of Jurisprudence).<sup>90</sup>

This is precisely the format that Bayezid II instructed his palace librarian to follow when cataloguing the imperial book collection, as indicated by the Arabic preface of the inventory, according to which 'Atufi was ordered to designate the titles and affiliated disciplines of each volume. The librarian explains that when his illustrious patron "resolved to attend to the books of the religious sciences" (*bi-ri'āyati kutubi 'ulūmi al-dīni*), he ordered this slave of his to

determine the titles of the books in his imperial treasury (*bi-ta'ayyuni asmā'i kutubi khizānatihi al-āmīrati*) and to classify every book according to its particular discipline (*bi-khuṣūṣiyyati fannihi*), writing [this information] on the front pages and the bindings, and [he commanded me] to write these in the [present] register in a way that corresponds to the titles and descriptions (*al-asmā'i wa-al-awṣāfi*) that are [written] on the front pages and the bindings—without altering [these] in any way [marginal note:] that is to say, any semantic way, not any literal way. For on rare occasions the text in one differs from the text in the other without changing the understood meaning. As for such differences, they concern either substitution, or addition and subtraction, or pre-position and post-position (12 {5–10}, translated in Appendix V).

This passage is somewhat ambiguous concerning 'Atufi's duties. It suggests that he had to first determine the title and discipline of a book, then to write this information on both the opening page (*al-zuhūr*) and the binding (*al-julūd*) of the book, and finally to copy the assigned identification in the inventory. However, many books must have already featured preexisting titles written by former librarians on their opening pages and/or bindings. In such cases 'Atufi would have simply checked to ascertain their correctness, revising or rewriting this information on the book's opening page and binding, thereafter recording it exactly in the inventory. Other volumes whose titles were waiting to be identified and classified would have involved greater scrutiny on his part.

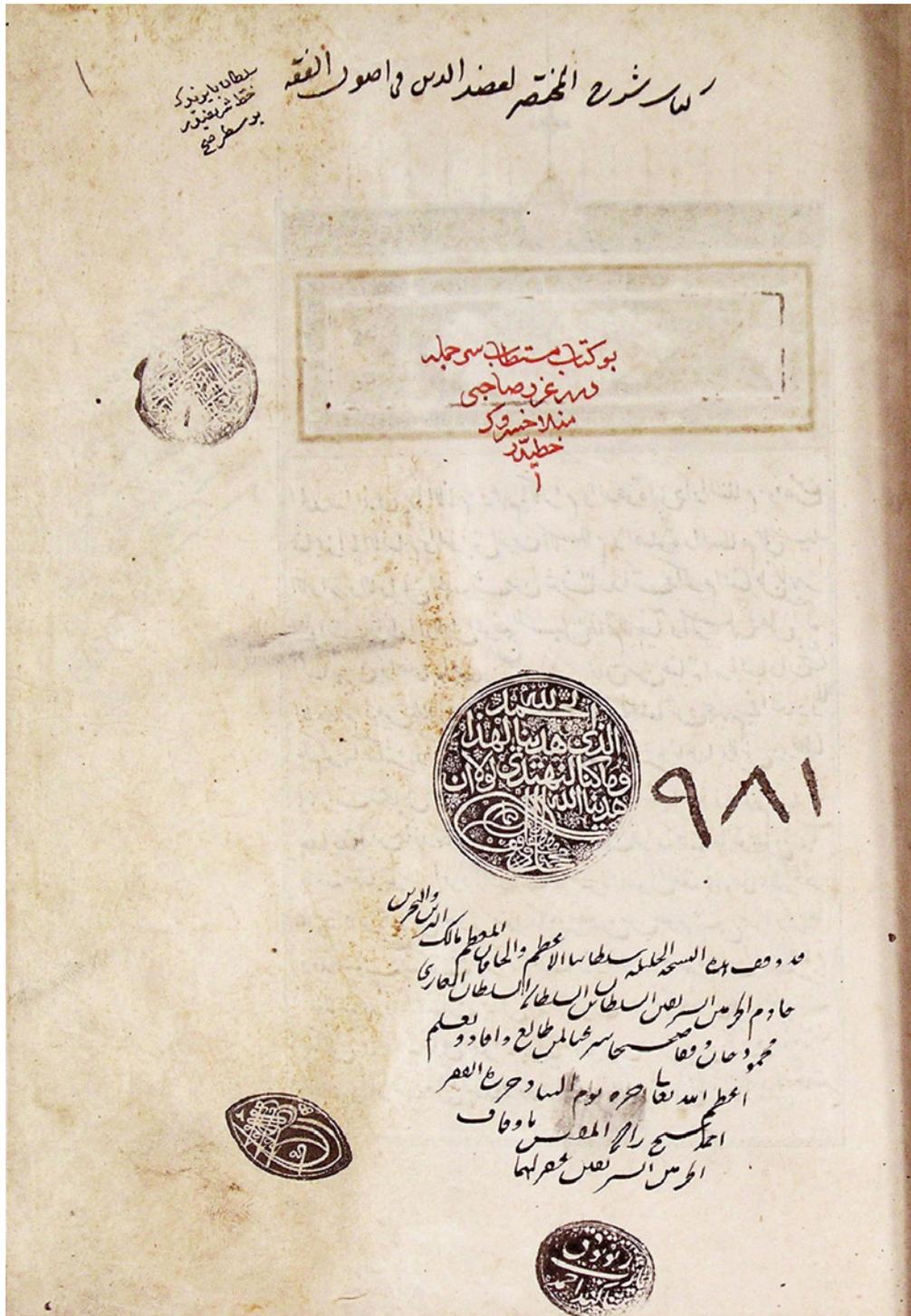


Fig. 11. Opening page of a book on the principles of jurisprudence, at the top of which the title was written by Bayezid II; the red ink inscription praises the scholar Molla Hüsrev, who transcribed the manuscript. Stamped with Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal, the small round Inner Treasury seal of Selim I, the large round *waqf* seal of Mahmud I, and the oval seal of his *waqf* inspector. Istanbul, SK, Ayasofya 981, fol. 1a. (Photo: courtesy of Zeren Tanındı)

Such a scenario appears to be confirmed by my physical examination of books stamped with Bayezid II's seal. In several volumes, older titles on the opening pages have been crossed out or left in place but modified with interlinear insertions or accompanied by titles assigned by 'Atufi, which differ in that they systematically include field classifications at the end. Occasionally the previous title inscribed above the opening page was altered by crossing out some words and adding others. Additions to the end of book titles identified the affiliated discipline of a work as being either "on" (*fî*) or "pertaining to" (*min qibali*) a specified field of knowledge (see fig. 14a below, also Appendix III: Pl. 5 [1], 10, 22 [1]). Such designations, which were assigned to each book by the librarian, were recorded above the opening page (fol. 1a) or flyleaf, and on the sticky label of the binding flap. Remarkably, the designations written on the books themselves match exactly (or nearly so) those that appear in the entries of the inventory, which were recorded subsequently.

A telling example that sheds light on the cataloguing procedure is a famous Timurid calligraphy album compiled during Shahrukh's reign (r. 1405–47) in Herat (Appendix III: 40, Pl. 17 [1]). The title written above fol. 1a, which also bears Bayezid II's seal impression, perfectly matches the corresponding entry in 'Atufi's inventory (the binding's sticky label is lost): *Safīnatun fihā khuṭūṭun nafīsatun wa-Rasā'īlu fī mujalladin a'ẓama* (A Compendium Containing Exquisite Calligraphy and Epistles within a Large Bound Volume, 257 {9}).<sup>91</sup> A slanted note in Turkish, also attributable to 'Atufi and written along the left edge of that page, reads: "let it be recorded under divans" (*devāvīnde derc oluna*). Clearly, this note was necessitated by the complex task of assigning one specific field of knowledge to the diverse texts collected within this monumental album, which is listed in the inventory under Persian divans and versified books. The note confirms that the librarian first wrote the title on the book itself, before the same information was recorded in the relevant section of the inventory, perhaps with the help of one or more assistants.

'Atufi, or an assistant of his, wrote in each book and in the inventory itself the title given by the author, sometimes abbreviating it, or citing the popular title by which it was widely known. Not always indicating the

names of authors, the librarian also occasionally assigned generic titles to books based on their subject matter, or simply listed a keyword followed by a disciplinary affiliation. The fact that various titles are given to different copies of the same work in 'Atufi's inventory reflects the notorious flexibility of premodern titles. 'Atufi avoided systematizing headings or naming books in a more consistent manner, perhaps to accommodate preexisting labels or to distinguish different copies of the same work. The recognizable hand in *naskh* script, with some variations, that transcribed the titles and disciplines of many manuscripts stamped with Bayezid II's seal can be attributed to 'Atufi and/or his assistant(s), who copied and modified previous headings, as well as created new ones.

'Atufi's task involved a combination of procedures. Even though the affiliated disciplines of books were often missing from their previously assigned titles, the volumes must have been loosely grouped according to discipline in the library spaces and chests. After all, Mehmed II's librarian Molla Lutfi wrote a well-known treatise in Arabic on the classification of religious and linguistic sciences, titled *al-Maṭālib al-ilāhiyya fī mawḍū'āt al-'ulūm al-lughawīyya* (The Divine Questions in the Subjects of the Philological Sciences), and his teacher 'Ali Qushji reportedly composed an encyclopedia of knowledge called *Mawḍū'āt al-'ulūm* (Subjects of the Sciences) that has not yet come to light.<sup>92</sup> The relevance of such encyclopedic classifications of the sciences to the cataloguing of libraries has long been recognized. It may well be that the classificatory system devised by 'Atufi was partly rooted in an earlier encyclopedic conception envisioned by Molla Lutfi and his royal patron, Mehmed II, who was the true founder of the palace library. Whether or not this was the case, it is rather improbable that 'Atufi organized *ex novo* the entire library, whose formation was a cumulative process initiated by his predecessors. Interestingly, 'Atufi's inventory lists four copies of medieval classifications of the sciences by the Sunni Ash'arite scholars Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111) and Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1210). It has been observed that al-Razi's classification, which integrated the religious and rational sciences, was widely imitated by sixteenth-century authors in Iran.<sup>93</sup>

I would argue that a similar integration characterizes 'Atufi's individualized classification of knowledge.

The entries of MS Török F. 59 exemplify the conciliation of revelation with reason in the palace library collection, which merges the religious and rational sciences. Yet in the Arabic preface quoted earlier, 'Atufi states that Bayezid II had commissioned the inventory because of his particular attention to "books in the sciences of religion" (*kutubi 'ulūmi al-dīni*, 12 {5–6}). The librarian received the order to prepare the inventory just around the time when the mosque and madrasa complex of Bayezid II in Istanbul was being built, between 906 and 911 (1501–5), perhaps with a view to determine some of the canonical books whose copies would be supplied to the single madrasa of that institution. However, the fact that many of the disciplines classified in the inventory were hardly represented in madrasa libraries reveals the incomparably broader horizons of the palace library collection.

As one would expect, this document presents an intellectual universe in which knowledge has been hierarchically organized in a descending order of authority, starting with the Qur'an and religious sciences, followed by other disciplines that add up to a total of twenty sections (*tafşil*). A comparable hierarchy of knowledge characterized fifteenth-century Renaissance Italy, where medieval theological literature dominated most library catalogues, with the Bible in the first place and humanistic works "simply added on." In response to his royal patron's special attention to the religious sciences, some of 'Atufi's inventory categories (such as philosophy and theology) and individual book entries occasionally resort to specifying their degree of adherence to the shari'a. By contrast, the unconventional Mughal emperor Akbar is said to have ordered his librarian to catalogue books in three sections, "giving the first place to books of verse, medicine, astrology, and music; the middle place to works on philosophy, religious mysticism, astronomy, and geometry; and the lowest place to commentaries, the traditions (hadith), books on theology, and on all subjects connected with the sacred law."<sup>94</sup>

In the table of contents of 'Atufi's inventory, the listed fields of knowledge abruptly begin with jurisprudence because pages corresponding to the section headings of the first six categories of knowledge have

been lost. Since these headings are repeated verbatim later on, at the beginning of each of the twenty disciplinary subdivisions, I have reconstructed the missing six "sections" (*tafşil*) between pages 1 and 2 as follows:

- [1] *Tafşilu al-maşāḥifi al-'azīzati* (The Holy Qur'an, pages 12–17)
- [2] *Tafşilu kutubi al-tafāsiri wa-kutubi 'ilmi al-qirā'ati* (Qur'anic exegesis and the science of recitation, pages 18–28)
- [3] *Tafşilu kutubi al-aḥādīthi wa-kutubi asmā'i al-rijāli wa-ansābihim wa-kutubi manāqibi aṣḥābi al-ḥadīthi wa-kutubi shamā'ili al-nabī-ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sal-lama-* (Traditions, reporters of traditions and their genealogies, lives of companions who reported traditions, and the Prophet's character, pages 30–42)
- [4] *Tafşilu kutubi al-ad'iyyati wa-kutubi khawāṣṣi al-Qur'āni wa-kutubi 'ilmi al-wafqi* (Books of prayers, properties of the Qur'an, and the science of magic squares, pages 45–55)
- [5] *Tafşilu kutubi 'ilmi uşūli al-dīni, ay, 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Science of the principles of religion, or the science of philosophical theology, pages 56–68)
- [6] *Tafşilu kutubi uşūli al-fiqhi* (Principles of jurisprudence, pages 73–80)

The extant pages of the table of contents (pages 2–5) list the following sections:

- [Page 2]
- [7] *Tafşilu kutubi al-fiqhi wa-kutubi manāqibi al-a'immati* (Jurisprudence and lives of the imams, pages 83–101)
  - [8] *Tafşilu kutubi al-taşawwufi wa-kutubi al-naşā'ihi wa-al-mawā'izi wa-kutubi manāqibi al-mashāyikhi wa-al-awliyā'i -quddisa sirruhum- wa-kutubi 'ilmi al-akhlāqi* (Sufism, exhortations and admonitions, lives of the shaykhs and saints, and the science of ethics, pages 105–51)
  - [9] *Tafşilu al-kutub al-tibbiyyati [wa-mā yata'allaqu bi-al-tibbi bi-jihatīn min al-jihāti ka-kutubi al-sumūmi wa-kutubi al-falāḥati]* (Medicine, and what is related to medicine with respect to toxicology and agriculture, pages 151–72)
  - [10] *Tafşilu kutubi al-siyari wa-al-tawārikhi wa-kutubi ādābi al-ḥarbi wa-kutubi umūri al-riyāsati wa-al-saltānati wa-al-siyāsati wa-kutubi al-furūsiyyati wa-al-bayḥarati, ya'nī farasnāmah [ay bayḥarnāmah] wa-kutubi bāz-nāmah, wa-kutubi sagnāmah wa-kutubi 'ajā'ibi al-makhlūqāti wa-kutubi şuwari al- aqālīmi* (Biography and history, etiquette of war, matters of rulership and sultanate and politics, horsemanship, veterinary practice; namely, books of the horse [or falconry],

books of the veterinarian, houndsmanship, wonders of creation, and figures of the climes, pages 175–203)

[Page 3]

[11] *Tafşîlu al-dawâwîni al-‘arabiyyati wa-al-kutubi al-manzûmati bi-al-‘arabiyyati wa-kutubi al-khuṭabi wa-al-kutubi al-musajja‘ati wa-al-kutubi al-amthâli wa-kutubi al-tarassuli wa-al-inshâ‘i wa-al-siyâqati wa-al-arqâmi wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-‘arûḍi wa-‘ilmi al-qawâfi wa-al-shi‘ri wa-al-mu‘ammâ* (Arabic divans, versified books in Arabic, [followed by Arabic, Persian, Turkish] orations, rhymed prose, proverbs, official documents, prose composition, secretarial accounting, ciphers, the science of prosody, the science of rhyme, poetry, and literary puzzles, pages 203–28)

[12] *Tafşîlu al-dawâwîni al-fârisiyyati wa-al-kutubi al-manzûmati bi-al-fârisiyyati* (Persian divans and versified books in Persian, pages 230–59)

[13] *Tafşîlu al-dawâwîni al-turkiyyati wa-al-mughûliyyati wa-al-kutubi al-manzûmati bi-al-turkiyyati wa-al-mughûliyyati* (Turkish and Turkic [“Mongolian,” mostly Chaghatay] divans, and versified books in Turkish and Turkic, pages 261–67)

[14] *Tafşîlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ânî* (Science of rhetoric, pages 268–77)

[15] *Tafşîlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-şarfi wa-al-naḥwi* (Science of morphology and syntax, pages 280–92)

[16] *Tafşîlu kutubi al-lughati al-‘arabiyyati wa-al-fârisiyyati wa-ghayrihimâ* (Lexicons in Arabic, Persian, and other languages, pages 293–300)

[Page 4]

[17] *Tafşîlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-ta‘bîri wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-firâsati wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-kîmiyâ‘i wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-ahjâri wa-kutubi al-ramli wa-kutubi al-fâli wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-nayrinjâti wa-kutubi al-ṭilsimâti wa-kutubi al-sîmiyâ‘i wa-kutubi al-‘azâ‘imi wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-jafri wa-kutubi al-şinâ‘ati al-‘ajbati wa-kutubi al-ḥiyali wa-kutubi al-sihri* (Science of dream interpretation, science of physiognomy, science of alchemy, science of stones, geomancy, omens, science of *nayranjât* [magical tricks], talismans, *sîmiyâ‘* [letter magic], the adjuration of spirits, the science of *jafr* [letter divination], wondrous mechanical arts/automata, engineering feats, and sorcery, pages 302–11)

[18] *Tafşîlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-nujûmi wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-hay‘ati wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-ḥisâbi wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-handasati wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-mûsiqî wa-kutubi al-lahwi ka-al-şatranji* (Science of stars, the science of configurations [theoretical astronomy], the science of arithmetic, the science of geometry, the science of music, and entertainments like chess, pages 313–37)

[19] *Tafşîlu kutubi al-ḥikmati al-islâmiyyati [wa-hiya allati tabḥathu fihâ ‘alâ qânûni al-şar‘i al-şarîfi al-nabawî] wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-jadali wa-kutubi al-manṭiqi wa-kutubi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyati* (Islamic philosophy [in which investigated subjects are in conformity with rules of the Prophetic law], the science of dialectic, logic, and “philosophical” philosophy, pages 339–63)

[Page 5]

[20] *Tafşîlu al-kutubi al-mutarjamati min al-Tawriyati [Tawrâti] wa-al-Zabûri wa-al-İnjîli* (Translations of the Torah, Psalms, and the Bible, pages 364–65)

The boundaries between these twenty sections of the inventory are somewhat blurred by the librarian’s listing of different manuscript copies of the same book under more than one discipline to which they could simultaneously belong. As is explained in ‘Atufi’s Turkish preface discussed below, by doing so he kept in mind the fields from which readers might request the books in question. This flexibility need not be construed as confusion and uncertainty on his part, then, but rather as a reflection of his familiarity with the fluid readership practices of scholarly and court circles of his time. Hence, the classification system of the palace library inventory was colored by the learned librarian’s choices and inferences about the expectations of readers.

#### *Rules of the Inventory and Book Repositories*

The prefatory section of ‘Atufi’s inventory in Ottoman Turkish is unique in its explication of the rules he devised in cataloguing the imperial book collection, in accordance with his patron’s specific instructions discussed above. Those instructions were summarized in the brief Arabic preface that follows the much longer one in Turkish. Titled “The Rule of the Register and Its Exceptions” (*Qânûnu al-daftari wa-şawâdhduhu*, 5–9), the Turkish preface outlines principles the librarian adopted in the naming, classification, and inventorization process, along with compromises necessitated by exceptions to those rules (see my translation in Appendix IV at the end of this volume). One can only imagine the complications he faced in the intellectual organization and physical maintenance of the treasury spaces where the books were kept. ‘Atufi was confronted with challenges ranging from identification and field classification to the spatial organization of books, which entailed different yet integrated strategies. The rules

established in the Turkish preface seem to have addressed not only his royal patron, who ordered him to prepare the inventory, but also future librarians and possibly potential readers.

The first rule established by 'Atufi is that each volume, whether it pertains to one or more disciplines (*fenn*), should be placed in a single repository or book treasury (*mağzen*, lit. magazine) and listed only once, under a single corresponding discipline in the inventory (5 {13–19}, 6 {1–4}). An exception to this rule is books with a single title that may be relevant to two disciplines. Such books were listed under separate disciplines in the inventory only if several manuscript copies existed, because of the probability that they may be requested (*istenmek ihtimālî eclinden*) from each of those two disciplines, presumably by the sultan or other readers.

The second rule is that volumes containing several book titles (i.e., multiple-text compendiums) are classified under the discipline corresponding to whichever title is more esteemed (*mu'teber*) and thus more likely to be requested, or alternatively on the basis of rarity (*ka'lîl el-vücûd*) (6 {5–18}). An exception to this rule is multiple-text volumes containing several equally esteemed and rare works, in which case a subjective classificatory choice would be made by the librarian. However, if a second copy of a volume containing the very same set of texts was available, it was listed under a different discipline corresponding to another esteemed book title that might be requested. This special treatment of compendiums indicates 'Atufi's acute awareness of the problems posed by the multiplicity of works bound within single volumes. The inventory, whose sections on specific disciplines generally begin with more popular or rare books, therefore has fascinating implications for reading practices and the relative esteem of certain titles over others.

The third rule is that the title of each book (*ism-i kitâb*), which is recorded in the inventory according to a particular manner (*bir üslûb-i hâşş*), must be the same as (*bi-'aynihi*) the way it appears on the binding flap (*ma'lebb*) and on the opening page (*zahr*). This rule was systematically applied, with the exception of a few rare cases and inadvertent mistakes (6 {18–19}, 7 {1–19}, 8 {1–7}). The rule clearly responds to the explicit instruc-

tions given by Bayezid II, who ordered 'Atufi not to alter the titles written on the books and their bindings in any way when recording them in the inventory, as is explained in the Arabic preface quoted above. A necessary exception to this rule concerns lengthy books extending over several volumes that have been recorded under one entry in the inventory, in which case the corresponding number of volumes is indicated next to that single title. Such an entry varies in form, but not content, from the individual titles written in each of the volumes, which are accompanied by their own specific volume number. In incomplete sets, only the number of the existing volumes has been written in the inventory next to the title.

The fourth rule is that books in verse, whatever their subject matter, have been separated as a group from books in prose, which are grouped according to discipline (generally, prose entries indicate the language of the work only when it is not Arabic, the default language). Instead, the volumes in verse are catalogued together under the category of divans and versified books, in accordance with their language, namely, Arabic, Persian, or Turkish/Turkic (8 {7–19}, 9 {1–5}). An exception to this rule is versified works that are highly acclaimed (*jâyet mu'teber*) and considered fundamental to a particular discipline (*rûkn-i fenn*). These works have been listed together with prose books in their corresponding discipline. If a versified book exists in several copies, most of these are listed under works in verse, with only a few copies incorporated under the associated discipline from which they might perchance be requested.

The linguistic classification of versified books by 'Atufi hints that they were regarded primarily as literary pieces. The large number of panegyric, *Shāhnāmā*-style versified histories in the inventory glorifying the exploits of Bayezid II, Mehmed II, and their ancestors demonstrates the cultural prestige of such works, which blur the boundaries between literature and history. The languages of these works testify to the trilingualism of the Ottoman court, which would diminish with the increasing Turkification of book culture from the late sixteenth century onward.<sup>95</sup> The literary genre of versified histories also began to be overshadowed around that time by histories written in flamboyant

Ottoman Turkish prose interpolated with Turkish, Arabic, and Persian quotations in verse.

The fifth rule established by 'Atufi is that each heading written on the opening page and binding flap of a book is to be recorded in the inventory by placing a linear mark (*butta*, a line drawn to distinguish separate names in a catalogue) in red ink above its beginning, and a red triple zero (*üç şifir*) at its end. An exception to this rule is double- or multi-volume works, which are cited in the inventory only once, under a single heading marked by these signs (9 {5–12}). The purpose of this convention is to visually distinguish individual items in the inventory, whether single- or multi-volume, so as to make them rapidly identifiable. Thus, the inventory facilitates searching by means of visual aids, which also include section headings for each of the twenty disciplines that are calligraphically differentiated by bolded majuscule letters in red ink. Furthermore, the separation of these sections and their subsections has been indicated with blank spaces.

These five “Rules of the Register” (*el-ḳavānīn el-defterīyye*) are followed by a brief section on “The Rule of the Book Repository” (*ḳanūn-i mahzen-i kütüb*) (9 {13–19}). Here, 'Atufi explains that the disciplines of separate sections (*tefāsil*, namely, the twenty subject categories I reconstructed above), which are enumerated in the inventory's table of contents (*fihrist*), must be written the same way (*bi-'aynihi*) on labels affixed to the top of the corresponding book repositories. Moreover, deluxe manuscripts (*nefāyis*) in each discipline are to be assigned a place (*mekān*) different from that of ordinary books (*ḡayr-i nefāyis*). Above these distinct spaces should be written “deluxe repository” (*nefāyis mahzeni*) or “non-deluxe” repository (*ḡayr-i nefāyis*). The stated purpose of this rule is to avoid mixing volumes belonging to these separate repositories when they are periodically taken out of the treasury and placed under sunlight to prevent mildew. Another striking rule is that, on those occasions, “Islamic books must be treated in accordance with religious decorum” (*kütüb-i İslāmiyye-nüñ ri'āyeti dīn ri'āyetine rāci'dür*).

Taking a step back, it is worth speculating about the intended purpose of the book inventory in light of the rules outlined by 'Atufi. His royal patron's insistence on writing book titles and their corresponding disciplines

in exactly the same way on the opening pages of books, on their binding flaps, and in the inventory is remarkable. Besides its epistemological concern with systematic classification according to fields of knowledge, this requirement reveals that the inventory was not only intended to catalogue the library holdings. It was also meant to facilitate locating specific works upon request, while at the same time contributing to efficiency and speediness in inspecting books during inventory checks. However, the absence of a total count of volumes in MS Török F. 59 suggests that periodic inventory counting was less of a concern than finding books upon demand.<sup>96</sup>

Erünsal has pointed out that, by contrast, the catalogues of Ottoman public libraries describe the physical appearance of books in as much detail as possible, so as to “ensure that valuable copies were not replaced by inferior copies” by those who borrowed them. The prime concern in MS Török F. 59 is to emphasize “the finding of information as quickly as possible, and for this reason classification became important.”<sup>97</sup> I would like to add that the palace library was used not only by the sultan, his intimate entourage, and residents of the inner palace, but it also seems to have provided limited access to privileged courtiers and scholars. 'Atufi specifically mentions in his Turkish preface that he classified book headings with a view to the disciplines from which they were more likely to be requested (*istenmek ihtimālî eclinden / maṭlûb olunmasına ihtimâl / istene diyyü ihtimâl*). Indeed, some interlinear and marginal emendations in the inventory are accompanied by annotations listing books that had been “demanded” (*maṭlab*), meaning that they had been checked out by the sultan or possibly other readers. Since these books include several technical medical treatises and lexicons, it seems likely that at least some of them were loaned to the chief court physician or other physicians.<sup>98</sup> Several books that were permanently given away as gifts by the sultan are indicated in the inventory with the Turkish expression “has been donated” (*'aṭā' olundu*).<sup>99</sup>

That nonresident members of the court were permitted restricted access to the royal library's books is revealed by two late sixteenth-century Inner Treasury records, which list a fixed set of more than sixty-five medical books given to successive court physicians on

long-term loan.<sup>100</sup> While these books could have been used outside the palace, I find it more likely that they were stored at the Chief Physician's Tower (Hekimbaşı Kulesi), near the Privy Chamber where this officer presided over meals served to the sultans. This tower pavilion of the walled-in private garden extending in front of the third courtyard functioned as a royal pharmacy and office that was frequented by court physicians. Late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century archival records list books from the Inner Treasury that were donated as gifts and loaned out to residents of the inner palace, including aghas, court astrologers (*müneccim*), the sultan, and royal women.<sup>101</sup>

The main purpose for the compilation of 'Atufi's inventory, then, was to facilitate locating requested books and to make the library more accessible by means of its subject catalogue, whose twenty disciplinary categories exactly matched those written on the labels of corresponding book repositories. Probably because generic titles and multi-text compendiums rendered alphabetization impractical, the individual books within the inventory's separate sections were not organized alphabetically. Moreover, the number of books was expected to fluctuate due to the deaccessioning of works as gifts and new acquisitions, for which blank spaces were left at the end of each section and subsection. Rather than following an alphabetical order, books grouped according to fields of knowledge were ordered with an eye to popularity and rarity. Those in greater demand were placed at the beginning of the inventory sections, which further aided the search for requested books and their proper storage after being returned.<sup>102</sup>

This brings to mind an endowment deed dated 966 (1559) concerning the public library of one Bedreddin Mahmud in Kayseri, which has been summarized by Erünsal. The deed stipulates annual inventory checks in the month of Ramadan, the dusting of all books at that time, and their replacement in the book repository (*maḥzen*) according to the order indicated in the book catalogue (*fihrist*).<sup>103</sup> The Topkapı Palace library, too, had a topographical dimension with a direct correspondence between the sections of disciplines listed in its inventory and the labels placed on its book repositories. So did some of its medieval Islamic royal counterparts, whose holdings were more numerous. For instance,

the gigantic Fatimid palatine book treasury (*khizānat al-kutub*) in Cairo, which stored works in all domains of knowledge known at that time, had forty storage sections or *khizānas* (*khazā'in*, sing. *khizāna*), rooms or walk-in closets with built-in shelves, or cupboards recessed in walls. Each of these had locked doors from which was hung a list of contents identifying subject matter. The books were grouped in two sections, an outer and a less accessible inner one, with a reading bench reserved for the Fatimid caliph, who also borrowed books. The palace library of the Buyid ruler 'Adud al-Dawla (d. 983) in Shiraz was a hall with book repositories on both sides, each having a catalogue and shelves labeled according to subject matter, whereas books in the tenth-century Samanid royal library in Bukhara were stored in coffers.<sup>104</sup>

Physical evidence for the book repositories and their attached labels at the Inner Treasury of the Topkapı Palace has entirely disappeared. The repositories were probably cupboards subdivided by shelves, and built-in wall niches or alcoves, accompanied by chests. I have confirmed that on the few remnants of tiny paper labels pasted on the bindings of books (along the outer face of the fore-edge section of their flaps) titles were written horizontally, to be legible when the volumes were stacked on top of one another in various repositories. These sticky labels lack call numbers, just as the inventory does not provide the total number of books. Many books in 'Atufi's inventory are listed in multiple copies, suggesting that they were not intended only for use by the sultans but also by denizens of the palace. The collecting of several copies of a single title also indicates attention to specific criteria of merit for particular volumes: degree of esteem among readers, rarity, variant text editions including autographs and those with unique marginal glosses or commentaries, translated versions, chains of ownership pedigree, materiality, calligraphic and aesthetic quality.

The curricular focus of the "palace school" for pages residing in the third courtyard of the Topkapı was on religious indoctrination, ethics, politics, literary skills, and some crafts (music, archery, hunting, sports such as wrestling, or other dignified activities depending on talent). The curriculum is described by Giovan Antonio Menavino, a twelve-year-old Genoese slave who

was presented to Bayezid II by the famous corsair and Ottoman navy admiral Kemal Reis. Menavino was educated for five years in the imperial palace, where he remained between 1504 and 1514. His description shows that palace tutors instructed the pages so that they would become loyal Muslims and learned warrior-statesmen, also possessing such virtues as erudition, polished speech, excellent gentlemanly manners, and honest morals. The youngest novices initially learned to speak, read, and (to a lesser degree) write Turkish, followed by reading the Qur'an along with books in Arabic and Persian under the guidance of teachers. Promoted to upper-grade dormitories, where they began to perform specific services for the sultan, older pages read more advanced books for pleasure. Those selected to reside as chamberlains in Bayezid II's Privy Chamber were required to be well-read (*ben literati*). Menavino specifies that among these pages were the sultan's three favorites, who had to be "handsome, graceful, good warriors, well-read, well-bred, and optimal speakers." The scholar-diplomat Guillaume Postel, who accompanied a French embassy in 1536–37, reports that Sultan Süleyman frequently visited the place in his palace where the royal pages studied (*du costé ou ils estudiant*).<sup>105</sup> He adds that Süleyman, who read interpretations of the religious law but more often works by Aristotle or Averroes (Ibn Rushd, d. 1198) in Arabic, occasionally inquired about the opinions of elderly palace tutors (*vieux Hogealar ou docteurs*) who were employed to instruct the pages in Islamic law.

It can therefore be surmised that the library books were partly intended for the education of pages, princes, chancery trainees, and polyglot scribes. The latter had traditionally conducted diplomatic correspondence in Greek, Latin, Serbian, Arabic, Persian, Uyghur, and Ottoman Turkish, but by the mid-1520s Sultan Süleyman instituted a monolingual practice that restricted the language of official documents produced in the central chancellery to Ottoman Turkish (except for Arabic and Persian in some cases).<sup>106</sup> The educational aims of the "palace school" within the residential third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace must have contributed to the encyclopedic scope of the royal library, given the close connection between the position of the librarian and the two tutors of pages in Bayezid II's undated wage register,

cited earlier in relation to the career of 'Atufi, who left the palace service in 1504. According to Menavino (1504–14), the "palace school" (*schola del Serraglio*) had four tutors (no longer two), who taught 80 to 100 newly arrived youngsters in "the dormitory called New Chamber" (*casa chiamata Lengioda*). Bayezid II is known to have increased the number of palace tutors and books, founding this new dormitory in the third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace, called Yeni Oda (New Chamber) or Küçük Oda (Small Chamber), as a preparatory school for higher-grade dormitories. The sultan also established another preparatory school for the youngest pages at the Galata Palace.<sup>107</sup> The dormitories of pages at the Topkapı featured some endowed book collections of their own, which are presently catalogued in the palace library under the denomination "Koğuşlar" (Dormitories).<sup>108</sup>

Rare manuscripts belonging to the Inner Treasury collection were likely permitted to be copied for the public libraries of madrasas and the private libraries of prominent scholars or statesmen upon request. It has been proposed, for example, that the aforesaid scholar-statesman Mü'eyyedzade, who was Bayezid II's former boon companion as a prince, may have been allowed access to the palace library.<sup>109</sup> Likewise, the undated petition of an anonymous royal astronomer-astrologer to access some items in Bayezid II's treasury (*khizāna*) has been cited as evidence for the possibility of special consultations of its contents: in this case, an astrolabe and two astronomical books, along with the horoscopes of the sultan and his two sons, Princes Ahmed and Korkud. Intending to use these items in his own calculations, the petitioner apparently had insider information about the contents of the Inner Treasury, which included not only the specific books he requested, but also astrolabes. In fact, an astrolabe dated 1505–6 and signed by an astronomer called "al-Ahmar al-Nujumi al-Rumi" has an inscription that echoes the dedications of manuscripts produced by order of Bayezid II's treasury. It reads: *li-rasm khizānati al-sultān al-a'zam al-sultān ibn al-sultān sultān Bāyezīd ibn Meḥammed Khān -khal-lada mulkahu* (By order of the treasury of the Greatest Sultan, the Sultan Son of the Sultan, Sultan Bayezid son of Mehmed Khan—may his sovereignty be everlasting).<sup>110</sup>

Like court physicians, then, royal astronomer-astrologers who were privy to Bayezid II's secrets as confidants appear to have been among the privileged users of the imperial library. The implication is that deluxe manuscripts may also have been accessible to the staff of the court scriptorium (*naḳḳāṣḫāne*) and to royal book scribes (*kātibān-i kütüb*) on occasion. Indeed, Bayezid II is rumored to have had calligraphy specimens of the celebrated Yaqut al-Musta'simi (d. 1298) taken out from the palace library so that his favorite court scribe and calligraphy tutor, Shaykh Hamdullah (d. 1520), could study them closely in order to improve upon these admired models. After a period of spiritual seclusion, Hamdullah miraculously accomplished the challenging feat and codified the Ottoman versions of the six canonical scripts. Loose-leaf representational images and calligraphic scrolls are listed in the Inner Treasury registers discussed earlier. A few entries in 'Atufi's inventory also refer to bound albums. One example is the aforementioned Timurid calligraphy album produced in Herat during Shahrukh's reign, whose dated specimens span the years 1267 to 1434 (Appendix III: 40, Pl. 17 [1–2]). Since it includes a substantial series of works by Yaqut and his students, this splendid album was almost certainly among the Inner Treasury items Bayezid II loaned to Shaykh Hamdullah for study purposes.<sup>111</sup> A comparable competitive streak in Bayezid's artistic patronage can be detected in the report that he ordered the Ottoman statesman-poet Veliyüddinzade Ahmed Pasha to compose poetic replies (*naẓīres*) to each of the ghazals the Timurid statesman-poet Mir 'Ali-Shir Nava'i (d. 1501) had sent as gifts to the sultan from Herat.<sup>112</sup>

As a calligrapher tutored by the Amasya-born Shaykh Hamdullah, who belonged to the Khalwati Sufi order, Bayezid II was sensitively attuned to the aesthetic properties of calligraphy. Therefore, despite its parsimonious entries, MS Török F. 59 identifies several Qur'ans, prayer books, and divans as having been written in the hand of Yaqut (12 {13}, 15 {16}, 17 {18}, 46 {8}, 204 {13–14}, 207 {2–3}, 213 {7–8}, 286 {13}) and Shakyh Hamdullah (known as Ibn al-Shaykh; 12 {15–16}). Some prayer books and volumes or sections of the Qur'an are specified as having "exquisite writing" (*bi-khattin nafisin*) (14 {8–9}, 15 {6, 10, 12, 13}, 47 {8, 12}), one of these being a Qur'an

"transcribed to be recited by the Sultan [Bayezid II] (*ḳutiba li-tilāwati al-Sultān*) (15 {10}).<sup>113</sup>

The special status accorded to deluxe manuscripts penned by celebrated calligraphers shows that aesthetic concerns were important, even though they are overshadowed by subject matter in the classification system of the library inventory. Books commissioned by Mehmed II and Bayezid II from the court scriptorium differ visually from non-Ottoman manuscripts. The latter were unified with Ottoman court productions to some degree by the addition of new bindings, illuminated frontispieces, and headings. Variations in the aesthetic qualities of manuscripts, their paper type, relative size, and bindings provided visual clues about the stratified ranking of books, with luxury volumes (*nefāyis*) stored in separate repositories standing out from the rest.

With their lavish bindings, the illuminated and illustrated manuscripts of the palace library attest to the value attached to aesthetic quality in the production of new deluxe manuscripts and the refurbishment of old ones. However, the only manuscripts described in some detail by 'Atufi are the Qur'ans, which occupy a place of honor at the very beginning of his inventory. Unlike other manuscripts, they are listed with reference to paper type, paper size, and calligrapher. One of these is even identified as a gift from the ruler of Egypt (15 {19}); this may have been the exquisitely illuminated, undated Qur'an dedicated to Sultan Qa'itbay (Qaytbay, r. 1468–96) that once belonged to the Topkapı Palace collection.<sup>114</sup> If so, it might have been sent with a gift-bearing embassy of Qa'itbay that was received in 1485 by Bayezid II in Edirne, a mission that did not succeed in preventing the protracted Ottoman-Mamluk war that broke out soon thereafter (1485–91).<sup>115</sup> Alternatively, it is possible that the Qur'an arrived with one of several later Mamluk embassies received between 1490 and the completion of the library inventory.<sup>116</sup>

#### *Dating the Inventory and Codicological Examination of Manuscripts*

My aim in this section is to contextualize the inventory and to establish a repeatable methodology for codicologically identifying extant manuscripts that belonged to the palace library at the time 'Atufi catalogued its holdings. Examining volumes stamped with Bayezid II's

seal in conjunction with corresponding entries in the inventory provides tantalizing clues to manuscript connoisseurs with a taste for detective work. Apart from its addictive potential, such a codicological exercise can yield unexpected revelations about the expansive vistas and striking exclusions of the palace library collection, which was dominated by post-Mongol manuscripts from the eastern Islamic lands.

The brief Arabic preface of MS Török F. 59 corroborates Bayezid II's agency in shaping the conceptual framework of the palace library inventory. This document bears witness to a systematic reorganization and itemized classification of books in the Inner Treasury, whose collection of objects had been recatalogued a year earlier, in 907 (1502). Shortly thereafter, the sultan commissioned two multivolume dynastic histories, culminating in his own reign, from the scholars İdris Bidlisi and Kemalpaşazade (Ibn Kemal), which were written in Persian and Ottoman Turkish, respectively. The former work was completed in 911 (1506), and the latter in 916 (1510); therefore, they are missing from MS Török F. 59.<sup>117</sup> These histories celebrated the consolidation of Bayezid II's imperial rule after the elimination of the rival contender to the throne, Prince Cem (d. 1495), and the victorious conclusion of an Ottoman-Venetian naval war (1499–1503). It was in the same context of confidence that Bayezid commissioned the library inventory.

The multilingual Bidlisi, who had formerly served as secretary (*munshī*) to the last Aqqoyunlu Turkmen rulers, wrote mostly in Persian but also in Arabic and Turkish. He joined Bayezid's court shortly after the Aqqoyunlu capital Tabriz fell in 1501 to the Safavid ruler Shah Isma'īl I (r. 1501–24). Leaving Tabriz around 1502, he dedicated three early works to Bayezid II just before MS Török F. 59 was completed. The palace library inventory lists only these three books, which Bidlisi presented to the sultan in 1503, prior to being commissioned to write his multivolume Ottoman dynastic history around 1504 (22 {12–13}, 144 {4–5}, 194 {13–14}). Like Mü'eyyeddade, the aforementioned scholar-statesman of Bayezid II's court, Bidlisi had studied in Shiraz with Dawani. Two of the latter's works in Persian are featured in the palace library inventory: six copies of Dawani's world-famous manual on ethics (114 {2–7}) dedicated to the Aqqoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (r. 1453–78), and a

work of advice (146 {18–19}) specifically made for Bayezid II's "imperial book treasury" (*khizāna-yi 'āmira-yi kutub-i sulṭānī*). It is known that Dawani dedicated works to this sultan, who in turn offered him gifts and corresponded with him via letters, some of which have survived. Several students of Dawani were invited by Mü'eyyeddade to Istanbul, where they benefited from this influential statesman's patronage.<sup>118</sup>

The cultural horizons of the Ottoman palace library expanded with the migration of books, scholars, poets, painters, calligraphers, and binders from the Timurid, Turkmen, Mamluk, and other courts throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. For instance, Mehmed II's 1473 victory over the Aqqoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan resulted in an inflow of scholars, artisans, and probably manuscripts from the latter's seized "armory, treasury, and other belongings" (*cebeḥānesi ve ḥazīnesi ve bākī esbābı*), along with his secretary (*munshī*), Sayyid Muhammad of Shiraz.<sup>119</sup> Shortly thereafter, in 1475, the Aqqoyunlu prince Ughurlu Muhammad Mirza (d. 1477), to whom Mehmed II gave his daughter in marriage, most likely brought personal treasures and books with him when he sought political asylum at the Ottoman court. Ughurlu Muhammad Mirza's son born from that marriage, Göde (Short) Ahmed Beg, married a daughter of Bayezid II and occupied the Aqqoyunlu throne in Tabriz during his brief reign in 1497. İdris Bidlisi had served as secretary (*munshī*) to this son-in-law and nephew of Bayezid II in Tabriz before joining the court of the Ottoman sultan.

I find it significant that 'Atufi's book inventory was prepared prior to the further expansion of the Ottoman palace library collection under Selim I, whose victories in Safavid Iran (1514) and Mamluk Syria-Egypt (1516–17) triggered an additional influx of books.<sup>120</sup> These new books were complemented by rare volumes acquired from Ottoman private libraries belonging to deceased scholars (such as Mü'eyyeddade), as well as Selim I's executed brothers, Princes Korkud and Ahmed. Like his predecessors, Selim I was an ardent bibliophile. According to one of his intimates, this sultan's gaze was rarely separated from books, as he harbored an interest neither in women nor in sleep. After his accession to the throne in 1512, he surveyed "all the exquisite books kept in the Imperial Treasury (*ḥizāne-i 'āmire*), casting a

quick glance on each, one by one, from beginning to end."<sup>121</sup>

The book inventory commissioned by Bayezid II demonstrates that, long before Selim I's conquests, a considerable collection of Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, and Turkic (mostly Chaghatay, with some Qipchaq and Tatar) manuscripts had already been assembled at the Inner Treasury. These works were acquired through diverse channels, ranging from inheritance, gifts, and commissions to purchase and booty. Some of them were likely brought by rulers, princes, nobles, scholars, calligraphers, and artists who had immigrated to the Ottoman lands. 'Atufi's inventory reveals that in addition to their patronage of manuscripts produced in their own court scriptorium, the Ottoman sultans were prodigious book collectors. This predilection, which was also shared by the ruling elites, eventually turned Istanbul into the foremost international market for books in the Middle East. Books plundered during periods of upheaval in Iran and Central Asia often flowed to the Ottoman capital, where they would be clandestinely sold. A telling episode shows how a rare manuscript that had been brought to Istanbul and purchased for Mehmed II's imperial treasury (*hāzīne-i 'āmiri*) was eventually returned to 'Ali-Shir Nava'i in Herat in 1485, when it was revealed in the Bursa shari'a court to have been stolen from the endowed manuscripts of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh Mirza.<sup>122</sup>

As noted earlier, the date 'Atufi provides in his Arabic preface, 908 (1502–3), differs from that of the two Arabic chronograms on the first page of the inventory, which give the completion date as 909 (1503–4). This time lag is consistent with the explicit reference on that page to the inventory's transcription from a rough draft into a clean copy (1 {8–9}), after which time supplementary annotations and corrections appear to have been added. A note written in two lines of smaller *naskh* script in the same hand, inserted by 'Atufi at the lower right corner of this first page, reads: "It [presumably the double chronogram] was composed and written by the lowly author of this honorable register" (*'ansha'ahū wa-ḥarrarahū al-ḥaqīru mu'allifu hādihā al-daftari al-khaṭīri*, 1 {19–20}). However, the inventory itself was apparently transcribed in a different hand than that of its author, 'Atufi, as is implied by an interlinear note added to the Arabic

preface in smaller *naskh* script (12 {10}). It specifies that "this lowly slave [and he is the author of this register, not its transcriber]" (*al-'abdu al-ḥaqīru [wa-huwa mu'allifu al-daftari lā kātibuhu]*), obeyed the sultan's command and finished the inventory in 908 (1502–3). The note also confirms that 'Atufi worked with one or more assistants who were scribes (*kātib*). Indeed, two scribes were assigned to İdris Bidlisi for transcribing clean copies of his drafts between 1504 and 1506, when he was writing his multivolume Ottoman dynastic history in Persian commissioned by Bayezid II.<sup>123</sup>

Another revealing entry I noticed in the inventory indicates that Bayezid II's famous chancellor Tacizade Ca'fer Çelebi had passed away, by the addition of the pious phrase "may God's mercy be upon him" next to his name. This is perplexing because Tacizade was executed by Selim I in 1515, long after 'Atufi had compiled the book inventory. The entry refers to Tacizade as the deceased translator of a history book on the kings of ancient Persia: *Tarjamatu Kitābi al-mu'jami bi-al-turkiyyati li-Tāj-zādah -raḥimahu Allāhu ta'ālā- fi al-tawāriḫi* (Translation of *Kitāb al-Mu'jam* into Turkish by the late Tacizade—May God Bless His Soul—on History, 185 {5}). The full title and author of this work are not specified, but Fehmi Karatay's catalogue of Turkish manuscripts kept at the Topkapı Palace Museum library identifies the extant volume as an abridged translation of Sharaf al-Din Fadl Allah al-Qazwini's (d. 1329) *Kitāb al-mu'jam fi āthār mulūk al-'ajam* (Book of the Alphabetically Arranged Deeds by the [Ancient] Kings of Persia), which had been translated by order of Bayezid II, as indicated in the manuscript's dedication medallion (fol. 1a). Since Qazwini's history in Persian was translated into Turkish by Sarıca Kemal (d. after 1489), the inventory's entry may have misidentified the translator, unless Tacizade had retranslated it.<sup>124</sup>

The title listed in 'Atufi's inventory is repeated verbatim, including the pious phrase at the end, above the manuscript's opening page (fol. 1a) and on the authentic rectangular paper label pasted on the flap of its binding (Appendix III: 44, Pl. 21 [1–4]). This suggests that the volume must have been catalogued after Tacizade's death in 1515. The entry nevertheless concerns a book dedicated to Bayezid II that is stamped at the beginning and end (fols. 1a, 132a) with his seal, which could not

have been used after the sultan's death in 1512. It can be hypothesized, then, that the volume had been stamped with Bayezid's seal during his reign, but it was not included in 'Atufi's inventory for some reason. Curiously, the volume's flyleaf has a shorter title written above it, without the name of Tacizade or the pious phrase showing that he had died (Appendix III: 44, Pl. 21 [2]): *Tarjumah-i Tārīkh-i mu'jam bi-al-turkiyya* (Translation of *Tārīkh-i mu'jam* into Turkish). A variant title written under this flyleaf title in an elegant monumental cursive script mentions Tacizade, but it does not refer to his death: *Mukhtaşar-i Tārīkh-i Waşşāf-i Turkī, tarjuma-i Tāj-zāda* (Abridgement of Wassaf's History in Turkish, translated by Tacizade). However, as noted above, Karatay identifies the author of the Persian text as Qazwini, rather than Wassaf.

Closer scrutiny of the two-line title on fol. 1a referring to Tacizade's death indicates that an earlier title under it was carefully erased. At the end of the first line, the barely legible last word of the erased former title reads *Waşşāf*, an error that was corrected and replaced with the new title that also appears in the inventory. Hence, the two variant titles on the flyleaf were in all likelihood written earlier than the one on fol. 1a and on the sticky label of the binding. This last version, matching verbatim the entry in the inventory, omits the author's name and identifies the translator as Tacizade (though whether or not this was a misidentification requires further research).

While the puzzling entry appears to be indistinguishable from the rest of the inventory, it may well have been added to the clean copy of 'Atufi's inventory (completed in 1503–4) by a scribe in a similar *naskh* script after Tacizade's death in 1515, when the previously overlooked volume was perhaps catalogued. Indeed, this entry comes at the very end of a subsection of the inventory followed by blank lines, where it was probably inserted because the book had been translated for Bayezid II, dedicated to him, and stamped twice with his seal. Such empty spaces in the inventory not only divide the subject groupings of the book collection into subsections, but also anticipate the library's future growth. These spaces indicate that the inventory's contents were intended to be updated by adding new items, but only

a few add-ons in a different *ta'liq* hand are identifiable at the end of several subsections.<sup>125</sup>

Other perplexing entries that may be spotted by researchers in the future will require a more detailed examination of 'Atufi's inventory and the corresponding extant manuscripts.<sup>126</sup> Although the Tacizade entry raises the possibility that another clean copy of the inventory could have been made during Selim I's sultanate, perhaps due to wear and tear of the original over the course of about a decade, this seems quite unlikely. The contents of 'Atufi's inventory do not appear to have been changed significantly, except for minor updates and emendations. Such an inference is supported by the fact that none of the Ottoman dynastic chronicles written after the inventory's preparation, including those by Kemalpaşazade and İdris Bidlisi mentioned earlier, are listed in MS Török F. 59. Nor do we find any reference whatsoever to the names of later sultans who succeeded Bayezid II. The Inner Treasury's book collection no doubt continued to grow during the last decade of Bayezid's reign, after the completion of the library inventory. Some of the new acquisitions were presented to the sultan as gifts, in return for which he bestowed awards that are recorded in the aforesaid *İn'âmât Defteri* (Register of Rewards) covering the period between 909 (1503–4) and 917 (1512), starting with the year 'Atufi finished the clean copy of the library inventory.<sup>127</sup> However, the sample of books I examined at the Topkapı library reveals that works written after 1503–4, which are included in Zeynep Atbaş's list of extant volumes stamped with Bayezid II's seal (Appendix I), are consistently missing from 'Atufi's inventory (see my Appendix III).

Various annotations added to the only surviving clean copy of MS Török F. 59 attest to the practical aspect of this somewhat fluid document, which was meant to serve successive librarians as a functional tool for recording newly acquired, given away, and checked out volumes of the royal library. Nevertheless, the extant copy of 'Atufi's inventory does not appear to have been used extensively, judging by its nearly pristine condition. This suggests that separate documents were subsequently deployed to record the lending and gifting of the royal library's holdings after 'Atufi left his post as librarian in 1504. Additional acquisitions were probably

recorded in specific registers of sub-collections annexed to the original core collection catalogued by ‘Atufi. That these sub-collections were likely kept in their own individual cupboards is implied by a register at the palace archives, which records some books that had been checked out from the Inner Treasury by Murad III. Volumes handed over to him in 1588–89 via one of the Privy Chamber dwarfs included “an anthology from the cupboard of books that came with the felicitous sultan,” that is, from the provincial capital Manisa where Murad III had resided as a prince. A second anthology he requested at that time was “from the cupboard of books that came with the late Sultan Selim [II] from the princely province [i.e., Manisa].” This register shows that some special new collections were kept intact in designated cupboards. The same register lists a Qur’an given by a different dwarf “to be read by the junior lady” (*küçük hānum*) in Ramadan 1589.<sup>128</sup>

That women of the imperial harem had access to Inner Treasury books is also confirmed by an earlier register dated 1557–58, which refers to a copy of the *‘Antar-nāma* (The Romance of ‘Antar) in three volumes loaned to the “senior lady” (*büyük hānum*).<sup>129</sup> Six multivolume Arabic and Turkish copies of this chivalric romance by ‘Antar ibn Shaddad, the heroic pre-Islamic Arab warrior-poet and adamant lover of ‘Abla, are listed in the palace library inventory (188 {3–7}). Of these, only one comprises a set of three deluxe volumes in Turkish, which must be the copy borrowed by that senior lady: *Kitābun fākhīrun fī Qiṣṣati ‘Antar bi-al-turkiyyati fī thalātha mujalladātin* (A Luxurious Book on the Story of ‘Antar in Turkish in three volumes, 188 {6–7}).

It is rather disappointing for the art historian that ‘Atufi’s inventory only identifies ten books as illustrated (*muṣawwar*). These are a compendium of hadith on the Prophet’s Ascension (*Mi‘rājnāmah*), a Book of Solomon (*Sulāymānnāmah*), two copies of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s (d. 756?) mirror for princes called *Kalīla wa Dimna*, an unnamed history in Persian, a book pertaining to rulership, a treatise in Persian on Falconry (*Bāznāmah*), a Persian Book of Kings (*Shāhnāmah*), a Persian mathnawi by ‘Assar Tabrizi (d. ca. 1390) titled *Mihr u Mushtarī* (Sun and Jupiter), and an *Automata* of Badi‘ al-Zaman Abu al-‘Izz Isma‘il b. al-Razzaz al-Jazari (fl. twelfth century). Through codicological examination I have only been

able to identify one of these volumes with certainty and can suggest possible candidates for some of the others:

1) *Kitābu aḥādītha fī al-mi‘rāji muṣawwarun*, 39 {15}, listed among books on hadith: Possibly a Chaghatay Turkic *Mi‘rājnāma* in Uyghur script produced in Timurid Herat in 1436–37, which features paintings identified by marginal annotations in Ottoman Turkish and Arabic, although it is not stamped with Bayezid II’s seal. It lacks its opening page with assigned title, as well as the sticky label of its binding (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Supplément Turc 190).<sup>130</sup>

2) *Sulāymānnāmah al-muṣawwaru fī al-tawārīkhi*, 178 {5}, listed among books on history: Perhaps Uzun Firdevsi’s incomplete Turkish *Süleymānnāme*, dated 1490 and dedicated to Bayezid II, though not stamped with his seal. The pages with seal impressions may have been removed when the manuscript received its new binding, at which time all pages were cropped to fit the binding (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T. 406).<sup>131</sup>

3) *Kitābu Kalīla wa-Dimna al-muṣawwaru fī al-tawārīkhi*, 189 {10}, listed among books on history, presumably in Arabic.

4) *Kitābu Kalīla wa-Dimna al-muṣawwaru bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi*, 189 {11–12}, listed among books on history: Probably not the Persian copy made in Timurid Herat and dedicated to Prince Baysunghur in 1429 (TSMK, R. 1022). Stamped with Bayezid II’s seal (on fols. 1a and 146b), it lacks a sticky label on its binding, and the abbreviated title above its opening page comes close to, but does not exactly match, the entry in ‘Atufi’s inventory. This Timurid manuscript’s variant title *Kitābu Kalīla wa-Dimna fī al-tawārīkhi* omits the phrase *al-muṣawwaru bi-al-fārisiyyati*. Therefore, this is more likely one of the five other manuscripts listed in the inventory, which lack references to illustrations and have exactly the same title (189 {7–8, 11}).<sup>132</sup>

5) *Kitābu tawārīkha muṣawwarun bi-al-fārisiyyati*, 191 {5}, listed among books on history.

6) *Kitābu farā’idi al-sulūki al-muṣawwaru fī umūri al-salṭanati*, 197 {4}, listed among books on rulership.<sup>133</sup>

7) *Kitābu bāznāmah muṣawwarun bi-al-fārisiyyati, min qibali umūri al-riyāsati*, 199 {18}, listed among books pertaining to rulership.

8) *Kitāb-i shāhnāmah-i muṣawwar*, 240 {9}, listed among Persian divans and versified books: Probably not the *Shāhnāmah* of Firdawsi, dated 895 (1490) and made in Aqqo-yunlu Shiraz, which is stamped with Bayezid II’s seal on

fols. 1a and 584a (Istanbul University Library, F. 1407). The title on its opening page, *Kitāb shāhnāmāh*, differs from the one assigned by ‘Atufi, which ends with the word *muṣawwar*. Besides, it lacks a sticky label on its original leather binding embossed with a longer title identifying the author.<sup>134</sup>

9) *Kitāb-i Mīhr u Mushtarī muṣawwarun*, 251 {17}, listed among Persian divans and versified books: Probably not the copy of this work by ‘Assar Tabrizi made in Aqqoyunlu Shiraz in 1482, which is dedicated to Bayezid II and stamped with his seal on fols. 1a and 191b. It lacks a title assigned by ‘Atufi on its opening page and has no sticky label on its binding (TSMK, A. 3563). Perhaps the manuscript listed in the inventory is the illustrated copy at the Süleymaniye Library (Fatih 4130), dated Dhu’l Hijja 894 (November–October 1489), which lacks its opening pages that would have been inscribed by ‘Atufi, but it is stamped with Bayezid II’s seal at the end (fol. 221a).<sup>135</sup>

10) *Kitābun muṣawwarun li-l-Ra’īs al-Jazarī fi al-sanā’i’i al-‘ajībati wa-al-ḥiyali*, 310 {11–12}, listed among books on wondrous mechanical arts/automata and engineering feats: Confidently identifiable as TSMK, H. 414, whose slightly cropped title above fol. 1a exactly matches the entry in the inventory. Under the cropped title is written a variant title with the same words in a different order: *Kitābun li-l-Ra’īs al-Jazarī al-muṣawwarun fi al-sanā’i’i al-‘ajībati wa-al-ḥiyali*. This volume is stamped with Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a and 174a, but it no longer preserves a sticky label on its binding. Another illustrated copy of al-Jazarī’s work (TSMK, A. 3472) produced at Diyarbakır in 602 (1205–6) is also stamped with Bayezid II’s seal (fols. 1a, 179a), but its title lists the author’s name differently without mentioning illustrations: *Kitābu Abī al-‘Izz al-Jazarī fi al-umūri al-‘ajībati wa-al-ḥiyali* (fol. 1a). This variant title corresponds verbatim to that of another volume listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory (201 {16}), whose abbreviated title on the renewed sticky label of its binding is *Kitābu al-ḥiyali li-Abī al-‘Izz*.<sup>136</sup>

To these ten manuscripts specified as “illustrated” in the inventory, one can add a few other entries alluding to anthologies with painted images that have yet to be identified. One of these is an oversize album referred to as *Kitābun kabīrun fi awwalihi qaṣā’idu wa-fīhi taṣāwīru kathīratun ‘ajībatun* (A Large Book with Qasidas in the Beginning and Containing Many Wondrous Figural Representations, 257 {5–6}). Another anthology is described as *Kitābun fīhi da‘awātun wa-ash‘ārun wa-Qaṣīdatu Burda wa-Rasā’īlu wa-taṣāwīru gharībatun bi-al-tadhhibi* (A Book with Prayers, Poems, a Qasida Burda, Epistles, and Curious Figural Representations

with Illuminations, 255 {19}, 256 {1}). In a few instances drawings are mentioned within the title, as in *Kitābun fi nuqūshi al-ahjāri wa-manāfi’ihā* (A Book with Drawings of Stones and Their Benefits), 201 {13–14}; *Ṣuwaru ālāti al-ḥarbi* (Figures of War Machines, 196 {6}); and in geography books illustrated with maps (*ṣuwar, taṣwīr, ashkāl*) such as those of al-Istakhri (d. 957) and Ptolemy, 202 {10–14}, 203 {4–9}.

There is generally a perfect or near-perfect match between titles in ‘Atufi’s inventory and those written on the opening pages and binding flaps of extant manuscripts. Therefore, the librarian’s omission of systematic references to illustrations in book titles may have been partly conditioned by his practical concern for abbreviation. This omission also hints at the secondary status of illustrations with respect to subject matter, which constituted the main focus of ‘Atufi’s classificatory system. Physical examination of manuscripts reveals that many more illustrated books were included in the inventory—particularly in the sciences, literature, and history—that have not been identified as such in ‘Atufi’s entries.<sup>137</sup>

Extant illustrated books stamped with Bayezid II’s seal that are listed in the inventory without reference to their illustrations include Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah al-Hamadani’s (d. 1318) *Tansūkh-nāmāh-i İlkhān* (Treasure Book of the Ilkhan), an Ilkhanid treatise on Chinese medicine copied in 1313;<sup>138</sup> the early thirteenth-century manuscript of Ayyuqi’s romance of *Warqa wa-Gulshāh*;<sup>139</sup> the Arabic translation of Dioscorides’s *De Materia Medica* (On Medical Materials) dated 1228;<sup>140</sup> and the late thirteenth-century Pierpont Morgan library copy of Ibn Bakhtishu’s “Book of Benefits of Animals” in Persian.<sup>141</sup> Another renowned illustrated manuscript stamped with Bayezid II’s seal is the Freer Gallery copy of the divan of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir (d. 1410), who had sought refuge from Timur’s siege of Baghdad at the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I’s (d. 1403) court. Its lavishly illuminated second version is at the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum in Istanbul. Both manuscripts were probably among the three copies with identical titles, listed as *Dīwān-i Sulṭān Aḥmad* in the library inventory.<sup>142</sup> Whether we can presume that the acquisition of these volumes and others could go back that far is an open question.

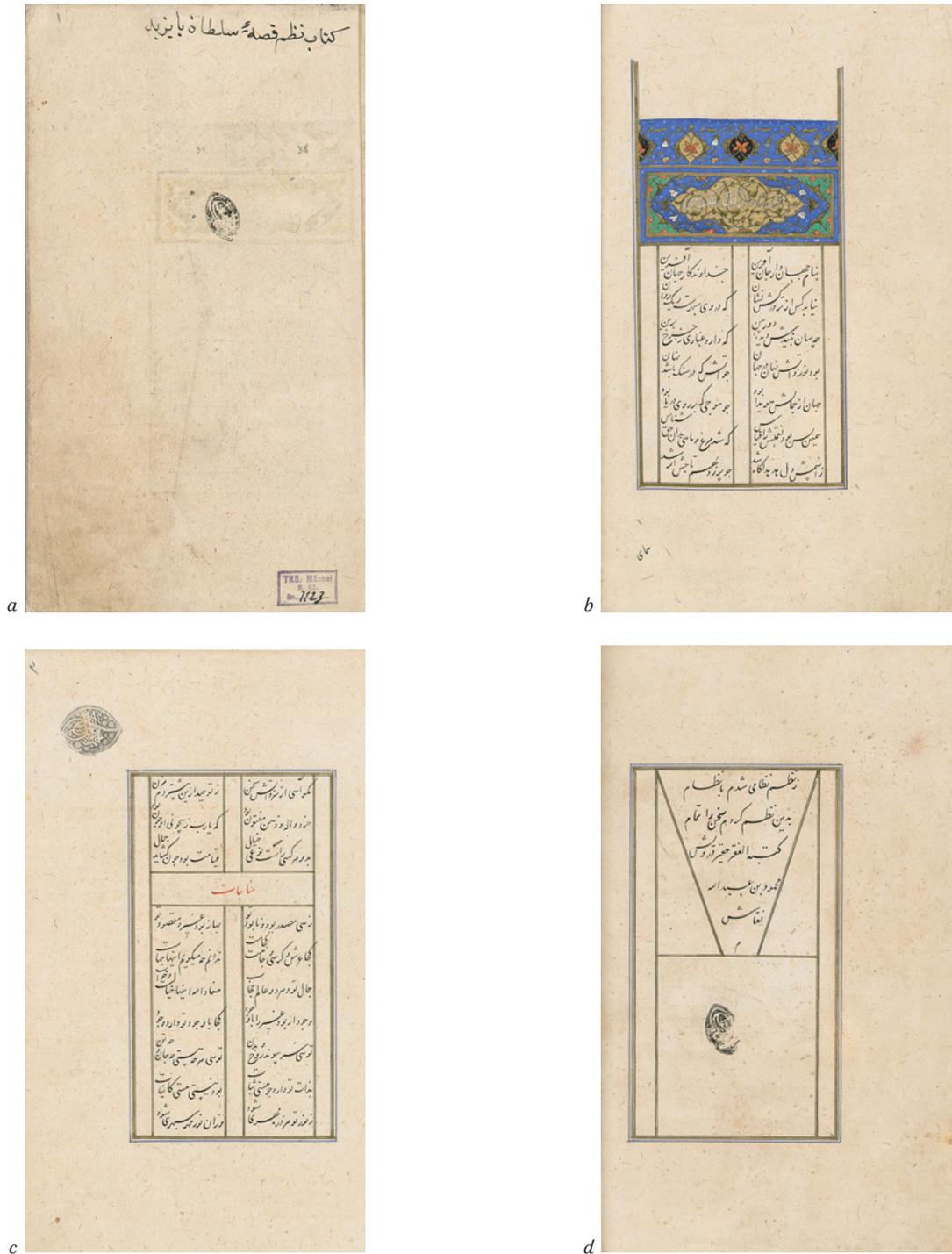
Besides such celebrated manuscripts, the inventory lists a surgical atlas in Turkish without mention of its illustrations: a copy of the *Cerrāhiyye-i Hāniyye* (The Ilkhanid Surgery Book) dedicated to Mehmed II in 870 (1465–66). Its author, Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu (d. after 1468), was a physician-surgeon practicing at the Amasya hospital built in 1308 during the Ilkhanid period.<sup>143</sup> Another volume whose illustrations are not cited by ‘Atufi is an anonymous Arabic treatise on hydraulic automata (pneumatics), attributed to the Banu Musa brothers of ninth-century Baghdad, titled *Kitābun fi al-ḥiyali wa-al-umūri al-‘ajībati fi ‘amali ālāti al-mā’i* (A Book on Mechanics and Wondrous Matters in the Practice of Hydraulic Machines). Illustrated with some figural images whose faces have been deliberately effaced, this manuscript copy, probably from the fourteenth century, bears seal impressions of Bayezid II (Appendix III: 35, Pl. 14 [1–2]).<sup>144</sup>

An additional illustrated manuscript to which Bayezid II’s librarian assigned a title with no mention of its paintings is a versified history in Persian, covering the early years of this sultan’s reign from 1481 up to 1485 (figs. 12a–f). In the manuscript’s illuminated heading on fol. 2b the work is identified by its author, whose pen name was formerly thought to be *Ummī*, as *Shāhnāmah az guftār-i Malik-i Āhī* (A *Shāhnāmah* Recounted by Malik Ahi, figs. 12b, 12c). Stamped with Bayezid II’s seal on its first and last pages (figs. 12a, 12d), the manuscript preserves the original rectangular sticky label pasted along the fore-edge of the flap of its binding that reads, *Naẓmu Qiṣṣah-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -khallada Allāhu ta‘ālā khilāfatahu* (Versified Story of Sultan Bayezid Khan, May God Make His Caliphate Everlasting, figs. 12e, 12f). The same title appears in ‘Atufi’s inventory under the section on Persian divans and versified books (249 {19}, Appendix III: 48). Differing from the title specified by the author Ahi, the one given by ‘Atufi is repeated above the manuscript’s opening page (fol. 1a) except for the pious phrase at the end, which is omitted: *Naẓmu Qiṣṣah-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān* (fig. 12a). The *Shāhnāmah* of Ahi dedicated to Bayezid II (on fols. 13b and 97a–98b) must therefore have entered the imperial library collection before or around the time ‘Atufi prepared the inventory. Hence, one can discount a later date for this

manuscript’s production in favor of the years between ca. 1486 and 1503–4.<sup>145</sup>

Sara Nur Yıldız has identified another version of this *Shāhnāmah* (Cambridge University Library, Or. 196, fols. 2a–105b), which is the same work except that its introduction is slightly different, and its colophon provides the completion date of 891 (1486), which is missing from the undated Topkapı version. The author of the Cambridge manuscript, which lacks seal impressions of Bayezid II and an authentic sticky label on its binding, identifies himself as *Āhī* (fol. 3a, line 1) and calls his work a *Shāhnāmah* in the colophon (fol. 104b). While its calligraphy and binding seem original, the spaces that are reserved in it for illustrations were apparently filled later with paintings in a Qajar-like style. Interestingly, an incomplete draft of the same work with deleted lines, interpolations, and spaces reserved in it for illustrations marked as *maḥall-i taṣvīr*, has been identified by Zeren Tanındı in the Süleymaniye Library (Fatih 4092, fols. 53b–140a). Tanındı points out that the author, named Malik-zadah Mahmud, was an émigré from Herat who first joined Prince Bayezid’s court in Amasya and then moved with him to Istanbul.<sup>146</sup> This undated early draft, once again referring to the author’s pen name as *Āhī* (fol. 54b), is a close variant that deserves to be studied in relation to the two later versions of the same work.<sup>147</sup> Darwish Mahmud bin ‘Abdullah Naqqash, who signed the colophon of the somewhat humble Topkapı manuscript, has convincingly been identified as both its scribe and painter (fol. 98b, fig. 12d). He had formerly worked at the court scriptorium of the Aqqoyunlu ruler Ya‘qub Beg (r. 1478–90) in Tabriz, due to which his Persianate painting style differs from the Europeanizing manner of his Ottoman colleagues.

The rectangular sticky label on the binding of the Topkapı *Shāhnāmah* is authentic, judging by its old paper and miniscule *naskh* script (figs. 12e, 12f). Several other manuscripts with titles matching those of ‘Atufi’s inventory feature similar original rectangular labels on their binding flaps, written in tiny script (Appendix III: Pl. 1 [3], 2 [2], 6 [2], 9 [3], 18 [3], 20 [3], 21 [4], 22 [3], 23 [3]). Unfortunately, some volumes cited in the inventory no longer preserve their opening and last pages with seals, or their original bindings. Moreover, not all of the somewhat crude sticky labels of cut paper on ex-



Figs. 12a–f. Istanbul TSMK, H. 1123, Persian *Shāhnāmah* of Bayezid II by Malik-i Ahi. [12a] Opening page (fol. 1a) with the title assigned by ‘Atufi and Bayezid II’s almond-shaped seal. [12b] Illuminated headpiece with the author’s original title (fol. 2b). [12c] Page with the author’s pen name *Āhī* spelled in the first line, and Ahmed III’s almond-shaped seal (fol. 3a). [12d] Final page (fol. 98b) with Bayezid II’s seal and colophon signed by the painter-calligrapher.



e



f

Figs. 12e, 12f. Leather binding with authentic rectangular sticky label on its flap. Istanbul TSMK, H. 1123. (Photos: Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

tant bindings have survived. Nor do the remaining labels have the same type of paper, shape, and handwriting. Unlike the authentic, small rectangular labels with tiny script, larger labels with cartouche-shaped, rounded, or triangular endpoints were added by subsequent librarians to replace damaged binding labels (Appendix III: Pl. 4 [3], 5 [2], 8 [3], 9 [2], 12 [4], 13 [3], 14 [2], 15 [2]). The latter generally have variant titles written in monumental *naskh* or *nasta'liq* script on relatively new paper. These titles often list the number of lines per page and rarely mention affiliated disciplines, unlike the original rectangular sticky labels attributable to 'Atufi or his assistants.

This means that reconstructing with certainty the holdings of the palace library in the year 1502–3 (allowing for minor revisions and additions to the inventory in and around 1503–4) requires not only identifying Bayezid II's seal impressions on extant manuscripts, but also establishing that the titles written on their opening pages and binding flaps correspond exactly or very closely to the entries in 'Atufi's inventory. Verifying a perfect or nearly perfect fit through codicological examination opens the way to answering other kinds of questions regarding the biographies of manuscripts catalogued in MS Török F. 59, including their date, provenance, patronage, and circulation, which may provide important insights to historians of art and intellectual culture.

### PART III: THE PALACE LIBRARY COLLECTION

#### *Cultural Pluralism: Remarkable Manuscripts Associated with Mehmed II and Bayezid II*

In this concluding part focusing on highlights from the palace library collection, I assess some telling traces left in the inventory's pages that bear witness to the court cultures and personal proclivities of the library's two successive founders, Mehmed II and Bayezid II. The imperial cosmopolitanism of the inventory stands in contrast to the relative "parochialism" of the few surviving medieval Islamic library catalogues and book lists, which are dominated by the works of local scholars. With its dialectic between transregional and indigenous perspectives, the manuscript collection catalogued in

MS Török F. 59 attests to the universalistic ambitions behind the Ottoman palace library, which contains manuscripts classified under all fields of knowledge as the embodiment of an encyclopedic ideal. This document unsettles the long-held assumption that interest in such a wide range of humanistic subjects had vanished in the "post-classical" Islamic world (after ca. 1200), a conclusion largely informed by the relative narrowness of madrasa curricula. The inventory confirms that books excluded from the curriculum of religious institutions nevertheless circulated in private and commercial realms. In addition to its astonishing diversity, the Ottoman palace library collection stands out for the sheer quantity and quality of its holdings, as well as for its inventory in Arabic, which remained the universal language of Islam and cosmopolitan scholarship, despite the rising status of vernacular languages in the early modern era. In contemporary Europe, too, Latin was still the standard in significant private libraries, with vernacular languages amounting to "no more than a tenth to a third" of their collections in the late fifteenth century.<sup>148</sup>

Straddling the late medieval and early modern ages, the reigns of Mehmed II and Bayezid II marked a time when Ottoman cultures of knowledge dynamically absorbed currents not only from the Latin West, but especially from the Mamluk, Turkmen, and Timurid realms through both émigré and local Rumi scholars who had studied abroad in those regions. Although relatively few intellectual interactions with the Islamic West have been documented, the exodus of Muslim and Jewish scholars from al-Andalus further expanded the cultural horizons of the Ottoman palace library from 1492 onward, as signaled above by the presence of a Maghribi keeper of books in Bayezid II's service in 1505–6.<sup>149</sup>

The library inventory also testifies to a previously underestimated connectivity with the Indian Ocean world, particularly the Deccan. It is noteworthy to find among its entries two works in Persian on literary prose by Khwaja Mahmud Gawan Gilani, an Iranian merchant who immigrated to India in 1453, the year Mehmed II captured Constantinople, and died in the same year as the Ottoman sultan, in 1481. This author became the chief court merchant (*malik al-tujār*, Prince of Merchants) of the Deccani Bahmanid Sultanate and was eventually

promoted to the position of prime minister with the honorific title “Khawāja-i Jahān” in the court of Muhammad Shah III (r. 1463–82).

Mostly importing horses in return for Indian textiles, the erudite statesman-merchant Mahmud Gawan engaged in trade with the Ottoman territories (*diyār-i Rūm*) during Mehmed II’s reign, as recorded in the Bursa registers. For instance, in 1479 his three agents arrived in Bursa via Arabia with consignments of “diverse textiles and goods” (*envā’-i aḳmīše ve emti’a*). One of the agents died there, at the caravansaray of Mahmud Gawan’s namesake, the learned Ottoman grand vizier Mahmud Pasha (d. 1474), where those commodities were being traded. Just before Mahmud Gawan’s execution in 1481, six of his agents came to Bursa, where one of them fell ill in the same caravansaray; from there, some of the agents moved on to the Balkans to market their fabrics. The palace library inventory lists Mahmud Gawan’s theoretical treatise on literary prose and secretarial arts as *Kitābu manāziri al-inshā’i li-Khwājah-i Jahān* (Book of Vistas of Prose Composition by Khwaja Jahan, 220 {17}), along with the collection of his epistolary correspondence, *Kitābu riyāḍi al-inshā’i fārisi li-Mahmūd al-Gilāni* (Book of Gardens of Prose Composition in Persian by Mahmud of Gilan, 220 {14}). The latter includes letters to Mehmed II, and another one addressed to his grand vizier Mahmud Pasha in which the author praises his own literary talents and eloquence. After Mahmud Gawan’s demise, Bayezid II received a Bahmanid ambassador at Edirne in 1485, along with others sent by rulers of the Mamluk Sultanate (accompanied by the Deccani envoy), the Crimean Khanate, Hungary, Poland, and Puglia (in southern Italy) in order to congratulate the sultan’s recent victories. Yet the two manuscripts of Mahmud Gawan’s works probably entered the Ottoman palace library under Mehmed II, given that the author’s agents regularly visited *diyār-i Rūm* during the reign of this sultan, who was known for his enthusiastic patronage of foreigners, particularly scholars and men of Persian letters. In fact, Mehmed II’s preference for foreign talent was jokingly lamented in a Turkish poem presented to him by Çatladı Kasım, quoted later by the poet Lamî’i (d. 1531): “If you wish to stand in high honor on the sultan’s threshold / You must be a Jew or a Persian or a *Fireng* (European)!”<sup>150</sup>

The fluidity of transregional cultural interchanges between the Ottoman domains and the eastern Islamic lands would gradually diminish after the establishment of the Shi’i Safavid state in Iran (1501), which intensified the process of Sunnization between the reigns of Bayezid II, Selim I, and Süleyman I. This development was accompanied by the absorption of the Mamluk Sultanate into the Ottoman empire (1516–17), the Portuguese domination of the Indian Ocean, and the progressively eroding cultural memory of the prestigious Timurid tradition following the demise of Sultan Husayn Bayqara (d. 1506) in Herat. The foundation of a record number of madrasas in Istanbul and in other major cities of the empire starting with the reign of Mehmed II contributed to the synthesis of transregional intellectual traditions with local Rumi ones, giving rise to growing Ottomanization during the Süleymanic age and beyond. The late sixteenth-century linguistic Turkification of Ottoman intellectual culture, in turn, coincided with the emergence of a new chapter of enhanced connectivity among the increasingly Persophone courts of the Safavids, Mughals, and Deccani Sultanates. The pluralism of the book collection catalogued by ‘Atufi therefore brings into clearer focus the potentialities of a path not followed by later Ottoman sultans, whose court cultures drifted away from multilingualism and initiated the codification of less flexible, domesticated knowledge systems.

‘Atufi’s deviations from former Islamic classifications of the sciences were in part conditioned by the specific contents of the palace library, whose collection responded to the intellectual orientations of Mehmed II, Bayezid II, and their courts. In other words, the collection and its collectors were inseparable. Hence, ‘Atufi’s classificatory system was not an entirely abstract theoretical construct, as in the case of encyclopedic enumerations of the sciences. Books collected and commissioned by both sultans ranged from standard works with a curricular dimension to rare titles that often reflected their own personal interests. Given that this was the collection of an imperial palace library, it is only natural that it comprised a large percentage of books on rulership, politics, advice, ethics, religion, jurisprudence, philology, epistolography, recordkeeping, literature, poetry, history, and some courtly pastimes

(hunting, falconry, horsemanship, archery, music, and chess).

Among the scientific manuscripts at the Topkapı library prepared during Mehmed II's reign, which Zeynep Atbaş has examined in her essay in this volume, the largest number of works were on Arabic and Persian philology (27 manuscripts, 10 of which were commissioned by the sultan), including lexicons, books of grammar, prosody, and rhetoric. The second largest group was on wisdom and philosophy (19 manuscripts, 12 of which were dedicated to Mehmed II), followed by the third major group on medical texts (16 copied for him). According to well-known Venetian reports soon after the fall of Constantinople, Mehmed II was tutored daily by an Arabic-speaking philosopher, and two Italian physicians trained in Greek and Latin respectively read to him ancient and contemporary works on history. MS Török F. 59 captures Mehmed II's penchant for philosophical and theological debates, as well as his attraction to Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi's (d. 1191) illuminationist (*ishrāqī*) Neoplatonic mystical philosophy fused with philosophical theology. This controversial Sufi philosopher-shaykh had been executed in Aleppo for his "heretical" works, which cited those of Hermes Trismegistus, Pythagoras, Plato, and Plotinus. Many copies of his treatises and their commentaries are included in 'Atufi's inventory, several of which were commissioned by Mehmed II or produced during his reign (Appendix III: 26 [1–5], Pl. 8 [1–3]). While the inventory's entries on philosophy are numerically dominated by Avicenna's works and their commentaries, the second largest group consists of Suhrawardi's treatises with accompanying commentaries.<sup>151</sup>

Mehmed II was unsuccessful in his attempt to recruit the Naqshbandi Sufi litterateur and scholar 'Abd al-Rahman Jami, who was on his way back from the hajj to the Timurid capital Herat, to the Ottoman court in 1474. But later, the sultan sent a gift-bearing embassy to Herat, requesting that Jami write a work assessing the respective positions of philosophers, theologians, and Sufis on a specific list of metaphysical questions that had been debated for centuries. In response to this request, Jami wrote *The Precious Pearl*, which only reached Istanbul shortly after the sultan's death in 1481. The work commissioned by Mehmed II is missing from the library

inventory drawn up under Bayezid II, either because the latter sultan was less concerned with the burning philosophical-theological questions that deeply preoccupied his father, or because the manuscript was never presented to him. Nonetheless, Bayezid too sent gifts to Jami and in return received *qasidas* dedicated to him.<sup>152</sup>

As is well known, Mehmed II also asked two scholars affiliated with the Ottoman court to evaluate the Ash'ari theologian al-Ghazali's (d. 1111) criticism of philosophers in *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers). In this competition, Hocazade Muslihuddin Mustafa b. Yusuf (d. 1488) prevailed with a slight margin over 'Ala' al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1482), who showed greater lenience toward philosophers. It is thought provoking that the palace library inventory lacks an entry on the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Rushd's (Averroes) defense of Aristotelian philosophy, titled *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* (The Incoherence of Incoherence), against al-Ghazali's polemical work. Several copies of the latter are included in the inventory, however, along with the responses to this work written for Mehmed II (62 {11–17}, 63 {6–9}, 74 {10}, 348 {18–19}). 'Atufi even approvingly designates one of the copies of Ghazali's *Tahāfut* as a work "on the annulment of philosophical philosophy" (*fī ibtālī al-hikmati al-falsafiyati*). This copy was bound together in a single volume with the philosophical treatises of Avicenna and Suhrawardi, along with a work on Sufism by Ibn al-'Arabi's (d. 1240) student Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi (d. 1274), who settled in Konya (348 {17–19}, 349 {1–2}). While Averroes's *Tahāfut* may have been available outside the imperial palace, neither Hocazade nor 'Ala' al-Din al-Tusi referred to it in their responses to Ghazali's *Tahāfut* commissioned by Mehmed II. This has given rise to a disagreement in scholarship as to whether or not Averroes's *Tahāfut* was known to the Ottomans at that time. Based on 'Atufi's inventory, it can be surmised that a manuscript of Averroes's work did not exist at the palace library of Mehmed II, unless his successor disapprovingly gave it away. While Bayezid II's librarian maintained a critical distance to books on "philosophical philosophy," the culture of debate promoted by Mehmed II nonetheless contributed to the accommodation of works with divergent viewpoints in the palace library, which do not appear to have been systematically censored or purged thereafter.<sup>153</sup>

Mehmed II composed Turkish poems collected, perhaps posthumously, in a *divan* that is conspicuously missing from the palace library inventory. Among unidentified literary works associated with Mehmed II, ‘Atufi cites a compendium in the sultan’s own handwriting under books on rhetoric, titled *Majmū‘atun fī al-nawādiri wa-al-fawā’idi bi-khaṭṭi al-Sultān al-maghfūri al-marḥūmi Meḥemmed Khān -ṭāba tharāhu-* (A Compendium of Witticisms and Wise Sayings in the Handwriting of the Late Sultan Mehmed Khan, May His Grave Be Pleasant, 218 {7–8}). Another intriguing unknown work is an epistle in Turkish verse that combines an encomium of Mehmed II with a eulogy of his new mosque in Istanbul (*Risālatun fī madḥi Meḥemmed Khān -ṭāba tharāhu- wa-madḥu al-jāmi‘i al-jadīdi bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati*, 266 {15–16}).

Also boasting a *divan* of his own, which is not listed in the inventory unlike that of his rival Prince Cem (244 {19}), Bayezid II appears to have had somewhat narrower interests compared to those of his father. Yet his intellectual curiosity was broader than commonly imagined, judging from two well-informed ambassadorial reports written at the same time that ‘Atufi prepared the library inventory. The 1503 *Relazione* of the Venetian ambassador Andrea Gritti, who had lived for many years in the Ottoman capital as a prominent merchant-diplomat, explains that the “pious” (*religioso*) and “melancholic” (*melanconica*) Bayezid, who excelled in horseback hunting, “professes to have some knowledge of philosophy (*filosofia*), but above all devotes attention to cosmography (*cosmografia*), in which they say he is extremely well-educated (*instruittissimo*).” According to another report by Gritti’s secretary from the same year, in which Bayezid II is judged as less “cruel and terrifying” (*crudo et teribele*) than his father, this 63-year-old sultan received the Venetian ambassador wearing a dark green camlet caftan over a likewise dark-colored robe and a small turban, “all signs of being devoted to religion” (*tutti segni esser dedito a la religione*). The secretary notes that, though Bayezid had given up wine long ago, he was unable to abstain from excessive sexual intercourse. He adds that the sultan was said to be an expert in archery, which he practiced constantly, and pursued as a hobby the “mechanical arts” (*le arte mecanice*), including carving in carnelian and silver, as well as “alchemy”

(*alchimia*). Bayezid was also held to be “exceptionally well-read in his [religious] law (*doctissimo ne la sua leze*), astrology (*astrologia*), and theology (*theologia*), and continually studied (*studia continuamente*)” works by Arab, Persian, and other Muslim authors.<sup>154</sup>

Interestingly, the library inventory cites a book on holy warfare authored with literary skill by the sultan himself, *Risālatu Sultān al-Salāṭin Sultān Bāyezid Khān -zīdat sa‘ādatahu fī al-dārayni- muṣanna‘atan fī al-jihādi* (Treatise of the Sultan of Sultans, Sultan Bayezid Khan— May His Bliss Be Increased in Both Worlds— Artistically Fashioned on Jihad, 214 {15–17}). While this work has not yet come to light, an Arabic commentary on hadith concerning belief and jihad that the preacher ‘Atufi dedicated to Bayezid II in 1511 still exists in the Topkapı library, hinting at the sultan’s abiding interest in this subject. It has been observed that Sinan Pasha, the tutor-cum-vizier of Mehmed II, mostly wrote Arabic treatises on the mathematical sciences, jurisprudence, and theology during his pupil’s reign, whereas under Bayezid II’s rule he authored Turkish works on the lives of saints, religion, and Sufism. This change in orientation may have been a response to the differing priorities of intellectual culture during each sultan’s reign, in conjunction with shifting factional rivalries and political circumstances. The relative fall from favor of “philosophers” (*mütefelsefin*), who had previously overshadowed legal scholars, and the concomitant rise of studies on Islamic “jurisprudence” (*fikh*) under Bayezid II is alluded to in a Turkish letter by Ghulam Sinan (d. 1506). The disgruntled author of that undated letter, written (ca. 1495–96) shortly after the execution of the supposedly heretical former palace librarian Molla Lutfi, had been a student of the mathematician-astronomer ‘Ali Qushji (d. 1474) in Istanbul. In 1485 he dedicated to Bayezid II a commentary on the astronomy treatise his teacher ‘Ali Qushji had presented to Mehmed II more than a decade before, in 1473 (Appendix III: 27).<sup>155</sup>

Dominated by religious sciences and Sufism, books in the palace library that were written for Bayezid II also encompassed astronomy-astrology, mechanics, medicine, literature, and history. According to the essay by Zeynep Atbaş in this volume, among extant scientific works produced for and dedicated to Bayezid II, those on astrology-astronomy constituted the largest group

(24 manuscripts). Books on history also occupy a prominent place in MS Török F. 59, which is not surprising given that this sultan's reign marked a turning point in the development of a dynastic tradition of Ottoman historiography in Turkish and Persian. Likewise, 'Atufi's inventory demonstrates the emergence of a nascent tradition of Turkish divans in the Ottoman court. Nevertheless, the 7-page list of Turkish poetry is overshadowed by 27 pages on Persian poetry. The 27-page-long section on Arabic poetry, on the other hand, contains a polyglot subcategory on Arabic, Persian, and Turkish/Turkic works on literary prose composition (*inshā'*) and manuals on secretarial skills.<sup>156</sup>

It has been noted that under Bayezid II's patronage, there was a substantial increase in the number of illuminated Qur'ans and copies of the sixth sura (*al-An'ām*), with relatively fewer luxury manuscripts commissioned on other subjects in comparison to the deluxe volumes created for his father's treasury in diverse disciplines. Qur'ans copied for Bayezid II by Shaykh Hamdullah eclipsed other manuscript types in the luxury of their bindings, illuminations, and calligraphy. The somewhat humble appearance of the other manuscripts dedicated to this sultan speaks to their predominantly functional and educational role. Most of them seem to have been presented to him as gifts, rather than commissioned by order of the royal treasury. Compared to the many classics by well-established medieval Islamic authors produced for his father's library, the gifts received by Bayezid were often works by relatively unknown contemporary and local authors. This is in keeping with his policy of rewarding indigenous and, to a much lesser degree, imported talent with donations to promote cultural production within the Ottoman domains. By contrast, contemporary sources stress Mehmed II's persistent patronage of foreign artists, poets, and scholars: wherever in the world he heard of a man of "outstanding talent," the sultan tried to attract him to his capital with generous gifts. According to İdris Bidlisi, the aforesaid Göde Ahmed Beg (grandson of Uzun Hasan and Mehmed II, and son-in-law of Bayezid II, who briefly possessed the Aqqoyunlu throne in 1497) used to praise Mehmed II in court gatherings at Tabriz, applauding his policies, justice, wisdom, and generous patronage of émigré scholars and artists from lands of

the "Arabs and Iranians." Bidlisi contrasted Mehmed II's personal attention to the needs of these intellectuals and their direct access to the sultan's presence with Bayezid II's impersonal and relatively meager patronage of foreigners in favor of Rumis (Ottomans) and converted slave servants (*kul*).<sup>157</sup>

The numerous Qur'ans listed in 'Atufi's inventory include exquisite copies penned by internationally renowned calligraphers and those attached to Bayezid II's court. The list also features multiple copies of the sura *al-An'ām* (17 {16–19}, 48 {11–12}). We learn from Bayezid II's abovementioned Genoese page, Menavino, that forty readers of that sura (called *enamcılar*) frequented the sultan's residence every morning. Each held a book while reading the *al-An'ām* aloud for about an hour, as they sat on their knees in a circle formation at the palace mosque: it was believed that all wishes of Bayezid II would be fulfilled by having that sura recited forty times daily. Some Qur'an manuscripts are specified in 'Atufi's inventory as including sections on Qur'anic divination (*fāl al-Qur'ān*). The presence of works on the science of magic squares (*'ilm al-wafq*) and amulets (*al-ḥamā'il*) in the inventory's fourth section (*tafşil*) is noteworthy, especially since these were not always codices.<sup>158</sup> The inclusion of multimedia objects inscribed with talismanic texts in this section seems to have been conditioned by the very nature of those esoteric sciences, which were not confined to books. Although 'Atufi generally excludes from the library inventory any items not bound as volumes, here he lists many amulets folded in various shapes (circular, triangular, square); others written on paper or silk; talismanic shirts and a felt cap (45 {7–9}); as well as inscribed tablets of silver, copper, and wood (45 {18–19}, 46 {1–2, 7–8}).

The inclusion of talismans among books on religious sciences is congruent with the prominence of works on occult and esoteric knowledge in the seventeenth section of the library inventory, subjects of interest to both Mehmed II and Bayezid II. That section contains dynastic horoscopes as well as apocalyptic prophecies. An anonymously listed example of the latter, datable to Mehmed's reign, is titled *Kitābu ṣayḥati al-būmi fī ḥawādithi al-rūmi min qibali 'ilmi al-jafri wa-al-wafqi* (The Owl's Cry on the Events of Rome, Pertaining to the Sciences of Letter Divination and Magic Squares,

309 {17}). It has been suggested that this work, generally attributed to Ibn al-‘Arabi, may have been authored by ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad al-Bistami (d. 1454). It alludes to eschatological traditions, such as “The Hour will not arise before Great Constantinople and its cities have been conquered.” Its likely author, al-Bistami, who passed away in Ottoman Bursa a year after the capture of Byzantine Constantinople by Mehmed II, was a Hanafi scholar and Sufi, born in Mamluk Antioch. Influenced by Ibn al-‘Arabi, he studied in Mamluk Syria and Egypt before joining the court of Mehmed’s father, Murad II, to whom he dedicated several works, and trained influential early Ottoman scholars such as Mehmed Şah el-Fenari (d. 1436). Ibn al-‘Arabi’s writings are also well represented in the palace library inventory, as are occult texts by his contemporary, the Ifriqian Sufi Ahmad al-Buni (d. 1225 or 1232–33), along with the tenth-century *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity (Ikhwan al-Safa’)* that inspired them both. The Greek holdings of Mehmed II’s library likewise contained works on prophecy, apocalypticism, and the occult, responding to millenarian expectations aroused by his conquest of Constantinople.<sup>159</sup>

‘Atufi’s inventory abounds in treatises on astrology-astronomy and cosmography-geography, again fields of interest to both Mehmed II and his successor. Entries on the mathematical science of astronomy highlight the continuous lineage of this subject from the courts of the Mongol Ilkhanids and Timurids to that of the Ottomans. The genealogy goes back to the Ottoman-born astronomer-mathematician Qadizade al-Rumi (d. after 1440)—the tutor of Ulugh Beg who became one of the directors of the ruler’s observatory in Samarqand—and to his colleague ‘Ali Qushji (d. 1474), both of whose works are listed by ‘Atufi. The combined legacy of these two Timurid scholars was personified in Mirim Çelebi (d. 1525), their great-grandson. This Ottoman astronomer-mathematician furthered the tradition of the “Samarqand School” in the lands of Rum. His father, born from the marriage of Qadizade al-Rumi’s son to a daughter of ‘Ali Qushji’s in Samarqand, came with ‘Ali Qushji to Istanbul and married the daughter of the Ottoman scholar Hoca-zade Muslihuddin Mustafa (winner of the abovementioned competition set up by Mehmed II). The offspring of that marriage, Mirim Çelebi, was educated by influ-

ential Ottoman scholars. In keeping with its date of compilation, the library inventory lists only two early works by Mirim Çelebi, who was a contemporary of ‘Atufi’s and was appointed Bayezid II’s tutor in the mathematical sciences around the mid-1490s (98 {14–15}, 315 {17–18}). Commissioned by this sultan, Mirim Çelebi’s second work is a Persian commentary on the Timurid ruler Ulugh Beg’s catalogue of stars. It is recorded in the inventory as *Sharhu Zīj-i Ulugh Beg li-Mawlānā Mīrim Çelebi -sallamahu Allāhu ta‘ālā- fī al-nujūmi* (Commentary on the *Zīj* of Ulugh Beg by Mawlana Mirim Çelebi—God Almighty Grant Him Salvation—on Astrology, 315 {17–18}). Exactly the same title is written in the opening page of an autograph manuscript dated 1499 and stamped with Bayezid II’s seal. Given that the multilingual scientist-scholar Mirim Çelebi would subsequently engage with Ibn al-Haytham’s (d. ca. 1040) and Kamal al-Din al-Farisi’s (d. ca. 1318) Arabic treatises on optics, he most likely consulted the palace library copies of these works listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory (359 {7–10}).<sup>160</sup>

Interestingly, both manuscript copies of al-Farisi’s Arabic book on optics, which revised that of Ibn al-Haytham, are marked in the inventory’s margin as having been “checked out,” which demonstrates that they were being consulted by an unidentified reader: *Tanqīhu al-manāẓiri [maṭlab]* (Revision of the Optics, 359 {8–9}), *Kitābu tanqīhi al-manāẓiri min qibali al-ḥikmati [maṭlab]* (Book of the Revision of the Optics, Pertaining to Philosophy, 359 {9–10}). Instead of classifying this work and Ibn al-Haytham’s work on optics (a discipline combining physics, metaphysics, and mathematics) under the mathematical sciences, ‘Atufi lists them in the inventory’s section on philosophy, as books “pertaining to philosophy.” One of the two copies of al-Farisi’s manuscripts is still kept at the Topkapı library and bears the seal impressions of Bayezid II in its first and last pages.<sup>161</sup>

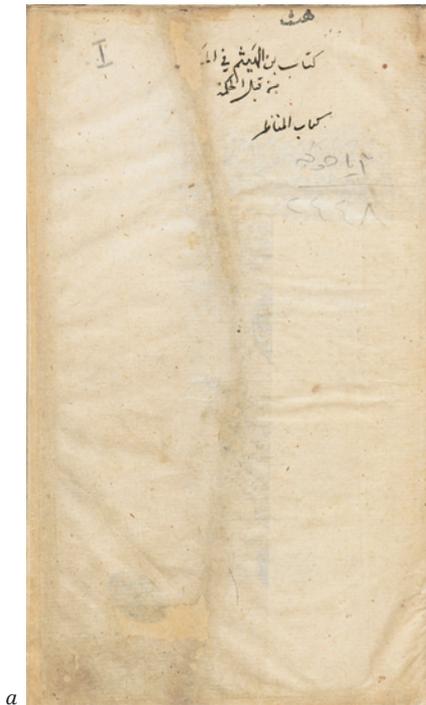
Remarkably, all surviving manuscripts of the celebrated Arabic treatise on optics by the mathematician-astronomer, physician, and philosopher Ibn al-Haytham are known to have been preserved in Istanbul libraries.<sup>162</sup> What has not been noticed previously, however, is that nearly each of these rare manuscripts bears seal impressions of Bayezid II. They were transferred from the Topkapı Palace, where only some copies remain, to

royal public libraries in the eighteenth century (Ayasofya and Fatih collections, now at the Süleymaniye Library). The title above the flyleaf of one of these manuscripts is identical to an entry in 'Atufi's inventory: *Kitābu bin al-Haytham fī al-manāziri min qibali al-ḥikmati* (Book of Ibn al-Haytham on Optics, Pertaining to Philosophy, 359 {7}) (fig. 13a). I was surprised to discover that this manuscript has a previously overlooked dedication in its opening page (fol. 1a), stamped with Bayezid II's seal, which states that it was produced to be read by Mehmed II (*bi-rasm muṭāla'a*) (fig. 13b). The monumental manuscript is the only known premodern copy that contains the full text of Ibn al-Haytham's *Kitāb al-Manāzīr* (Book of Optics), consisting of seven books or volumes (*jild*) (fig. 13c). In keeping with the dedication to Mehmed II, the completion date given in its colophon is 869 (1464–65) (fig. 13d).<sup>163</sup>

Besides this large-format single-volume manuscript, another entry in 'Atufi's inventory refers to a medieval six-volume set in smaller format: *Kitābu bin al-Haytham fī al-manāziri min qibali al-ḥikmati fī sitti mujalladātin* (Book of Ibn al-Haytham on Optics, Pertaining to Philosophy, in Six Volumes, 359 {7–8}). Once belonging to the Inner Treasury collection, these volumes with varying dates (476/1083 and 636/1239) are now kept at the Topkapı and Süleymaniye libraries. Each of the six volumes is stamped with Bayezid II's seal and repeats verbatim the title assigned by 'Atufi, with the exception of specifying its particular volume number. Classified as pertaining to philosophy, they contain all seven books of the *Optics*.<sup>164</sup> It has been shown that the monumental single-volume manuscript mentioned above was copied from these six volumes, however, without scrutinizing the Ottoman context in which this skillfully curated scholarly edition was reconstituted from a disparate medieval set.<sup>165</sup> Another large-format manuscript of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* at the Topkapı library, containing only the first three books, was copied in 915 (1509) from the same medieval set according to a librarian's note on fol. 1a. This manuscript testifies to a continuing interest in optics during Bayezid II's reign, perhaps in the circle of Mirim Çelebi, but it lacks the sultan's seal impressions and is excluded from 'Atufi's inventory that was compiled earlier.<sup>166</sup>

Medical treatises recorded in the inventory are especially plentiful. Yet those written for Bayezid II by 'Atufi himself emphasize prophetic and preventive medicine, unlike their scientific counterparts commissioned by Mehmed II. Works on medicine dedicated to Bayezid II were often written by contemporaneous physicians (Appendix III: 17, 19–21). Interestingly, the royal library inventory cites an extant Persian medical treatise on the treatment of joint pains, dedicated to Mehmed II who is known to have suffered from gout. (According to Gritti's *Relazione* mentioned above, Bayezid II also had gout problems that impeded his horsemanship exercises.) Written by the physician Mas'ud b. Hakim al-Din al-Tabib al-Hasani, this manuscript's illuminated frontispiece roundel states that it was made "by order of the sultan's treasury" (*bi-rasm khizānati al-sultān*). Subsequently stamped with Bayezid II's seal, the colophon of the manuscript produced for Mehmed II gives the date June 8, 1476 (Appendix III: 18, Pl. 5 [1–2]). Several extant copies of Avicenna's *Qānūn fī al-tibb* were also created for Mehmed II, who requested two Latin books on this treatise from the vassal Rectors of Ragusa in 1466 and 1477. These were a commentary by Taddeus Florentinus and Gentilis Fulginas, and the first book of Marsilius de Sancta Sophia's edition of Avicenna's *Canone*, accompanied by three other unnamed medical books in Latin. The books were intended for the sultan's Italo-Jewish physician and confidante Jacopo da Gaeta (from Gaeta near Naples), who eventually converted to Islam as Yakub Pasha.<sup>167</sup>

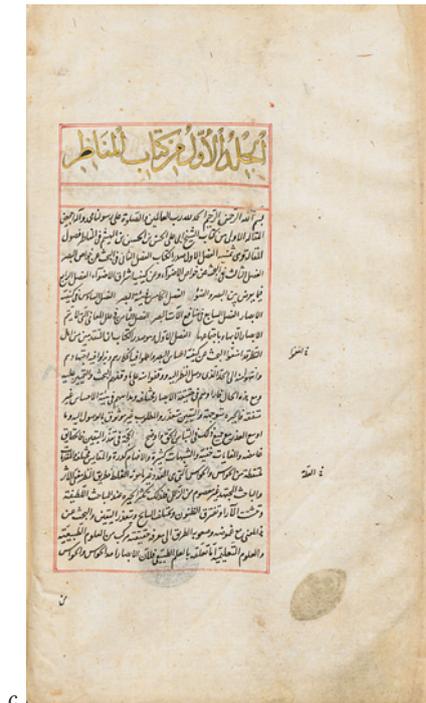
Books collected and commissioned by Mehmed II include Arabic translations of Greek, Latin, and Syriac texts. One of these is a book of prognostication on eschatological mysteries, which predicts that the final Fourth Monarchy will be under the "ruler of Constantinople" (*malik al-Rūm*). This manuscript was translated from Syriac into Arabic, and its dedication reveals that it was made by order of Mehmed II's treasury (*bi-rasm khizāna*). I have established that its title on fol. 1a, *Kitābu Dāniyāl al-nabī-'alayhi al-salāmu-* (Book of the Prophet Daniel, Peace Be Upon Him), corresponds exactly to an entry in 'Atufi's inventory (308 {8}). Once belonging to the Inner Treasury collection, the manuscript bears seal impressions of Bayezid II on its first and last pages. An early sixteenth-century Hebrew chronicle of



a



b



c



d

Figs. 13a–d. Ibn al-Haytham’s *Book of Optics* copied in 869 (1464–65) for Sultan Mehmed II. [13a] Flyleaf with title assigned by ‘Atufi. [13b] Opening page (fol. 1a) with dedication to Mehmed II in gold stating the manuscript was produced to be read by him; stamped with Bayezid II’s almond-shaped seal, the round *waqf* seal of Mahmud I, and the oval seal of his *waqf* inspector. [13c] Heading with introduction to volume I (fol. 1b). [13d] Final page (fol. 677b) with dated colophon and Bayezid II’s seal. Istanbul, SK, Ayasofya 2448. (Photos: Süleymaniye Library)

the Ottoman empire reports that Mehmed II frequently had the Book of Daniel read out to him by Rabbi Isaiah Meseni. The chronicle even claims that the sultan undertook the study of Hebrew to be able to read the Book of Daniel, since he had learned about its supposed reference to the messianic king of Constantinople (i.e., Mehmed himself). This otherwise dubious account throws light on the context in which this translation was commissioned by Mehmed II.<sup>168</sup> A Greek manuscript on divination and magic at the Topkapı library, the *Testament of Solomon* (G.İ. 17), is believed to have “been designed as one of a pair” with *Kitābu Dāniyāl*, based on their close codicological correspondence and identical bindings covered with crimson velvet (a unique feature characterizing some books owned by Mehmed II that have patterned velvet covers, usually red and green).<sup>169</sup>

Another book translation attributed to Mehmed II, now lost, is the Florentine humanist scholar Leonardo Bruni Aretino’s 1422 commentary on the first volume of Polybius’s *Punic Wars*. This book in Latin, which the sultan ordered to be translated, had been presented to Mehmed II as a gift prior to 1463 by Niccolò Ardingelli, a prominent textile merchant of the Florentine community in Istanbul. Two translations cited in the cosmography-geography section of ‘Atufi’s inventory were probably made for Mehmed II as well: *Risālatun fī bayāni madīnati Fulūrindīn* (Treatise on the City of Florence, 201 {5–6}), and *Kitābun fī madīnati al-Banāṭīqa wariyāsatihā min qibali al-tawārikhi* (Book on the City of the Venetians and Its Government, Pertaining to History (201 {8–9})).<sup>170</sup> These unknown manuscripts are classified by Bayezid II’s librarian together with works on wonders (*‘ajā’ib*) and marvels/curiosities (*gharā’ib*) that encompass other geographies, such as India, China, and Constantinople.

Mehmed II’s attentiveness to the ancient history of his new capital is exemplified by Greek and Latin texts on the antiquities of Constantinople that were copied and translated during his reign. Although not dedicated to him, a *Diēgēsis peri tēs Hagia Sophias* (Narrative concerning Hagia Sophia) manuscript in Greek, transcribed by Michael Aichmalotes in 1474, still exists at the palace library (G.İ. 6). It could have been consulted for the adaptive translations of the *Diēgēsis* into Persian and Turkish in the Ottoman court toward the end of Meh-

med II’s reign, with revised versions produced under Bayezid II. Examples listed in the inventory include *Tarjumatu Kitābi Qusṭantīniyya wa-Ayāşūfiyya, bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-tawārikhi* (Translation of the Book on Constantinople and Hagia Sophia into Turkish, on History, 200 {16–17}) and *Kitābu dhikri qal’ati Qusṭantīniyya wa-binā’i Ayāşūfiyya fī al-tawārikhi* (Book on the Castle of Constantinople and the Construction of Hagia Sophia, on History, 201 {1–2}). In the seventh volume of his Persian history of the Ottoman dynasty covering the reign of Mehmed II, İdris Bidlisi mentions that he consulted some Byzantine chronicles in writing that volume. It has been suggested that he likely made use of a Greek source translated into Persian by order of Mehmed II on the foundation myths of Constantinople and the construction of Hagia Sophia, which was probably accessible to Bidlisi at the palace library of his patron Bayezid II.<sup>171</sup>

Titles classified by ‘Atufi in the cosmography-geography section of the inventory blur the historical and legendary boundaries of these disciplines, thereby facilitating the assimilation of translated non-Islamic works that are relegated to the realm of mythology. Likewise, pre-Ottoman translations of works by Greek philosophers and scientists have been seamlessly absorbed into other sections of the inventory that correspond to such diverse fields as Sufism, philosophy, ethics, politics, medicine, and the mathematical sciences. These translations are accompanied by manuscripts of the Alexander Romance classified under Persian and Turkish literature, as well as Arabic and Persian copies of Aristotle’s book of advice to Alexander, listed under advice literature and politics.<sup>172</sup>

Mehmed II’s well-known interest in Greek histories of the Macedonian empire-builder did not exclude their Islamic versions, which also enjoyed popularity in fifteenth-century Timurid and Turkmen courts. Three entries on Alexander the Great are grouped together in ‘Atufi’s inventory in such a way that they form a separate subsection within the history section, preceded and followed by blank spaces (182 {11–14}). The first entry, *Tarjumah-i Iskandarnamah min al-Rūmī ilā al-Turkī fī al-tawārikhi* (Translation of the Book of Alexander from Greek into Turkish, on History), may have been a translation made for Mehmed II, given that Alexander

the Great was his role model.<sup>173</sup> The second entry is an unspecified *Kitābu Iskandarnāmah fī tis'ī mujalladātin fī al-tawārikhi* (Book of Alexander in Nine Volumes, on History), two volumes of which I have located at the Topkapı library. This Turkish work can be attributed to Taceddin Ahmedī's (d. 1413) brother Hamzavi: both volumes feature Bayezid II's seal impressions, their titles match the inventory entry, and they were copied during Mehmed II's reign (the last, ninth volume is dated 1470). This semi-mythical literary work must have been listed under the inventory's history section because it is largely written in prose and incorporates a historical section on the Ottoman dynasty. The third item in the Alexander group is a translation from Greek into Arabic, although not specified as such: *Kitābu al-aḥwālī wa-al-akhbārī al-iskandariyyati wa-akhbārī ḥukamā'i zamāni Iskandār al-mazbūri fī al-tawārikhi* (Book on the State of Affairs and Traditions of Alexander and Traditions of Sages in the Age of the Aforementioned Alexander, on History). This entry can be confidently identified with a volume of epistles exchanged between Alexander and Aristotle that once belonged to the palace library. Dated 716 (1316), it bears the same title and the seal impressions of Bayezid II on its first and last pages (figs. 14a–b). The long title is repeated verbatim on the partly damaged authentic rectangular paper label pasted on the flap of the binding (fig. 14c). The previously unnoted dedication under the title on fol. 1a explains that it was made by order of the imperial treasury (*li-rasm khizānati al-āmirati*) of Sultan Bayezid II.<sup>174</sup> This new evidence revealed by my codicological examination of the volume signals an ongoing interest in Alexander the Great at the court of Bayezid II. After all, İdris Bidlisi's dynastic history refers to this sultan as the "Alexander" of the age and the "Caesar of Rum," titles also used by Mehmed II. Scholars have identified the compendium of epistles, compiled from Hellenistic sources in the Umayyad period, as a Graeco-Arabic epistolary "novel." Yet 'Atufi classifies it under the section on history, thus endowing it with greater factual authority.<sup>175</sup>

Other translated works cited in the inventory include the rendition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* from Greek into Arabic, commissioned in 1465 by Mehmed II from the previously mentioned Byzantine scholar George Amiroutzes and his Arabic-speaking son Basileios, who con-

verted to Islam as Mehmed Beg. The Arabic annotations of the accompanying large-scale world map were written by this son, who translated several Greek texts into Arabic for the sultan, including the Greek Orthodox Creed composed upon the sultan's request by Maximos III (the patriarch of Istanbul between 1476 and 1482) and the Bible. Amiroutzes's younger son, Alexandros, later İskender Beg, was nicknamed the "Philosopher's Son" (Filozofoglu) and held the position of chief treasurer (*ḥazīnedārbaşı*) or minister of finance. Three manuscripts of the Arabic translation of Ptolemy's *Geographia* are listed by 'Atufi (203 {5–9}). Two manuscript copies of this work that originated in the palace library have come to light, both of which are dedicated to Mehmed II and bear Bayezid II's seal impressions, with a partially preserved version that may well be the third copy mentioned in the inventory.<sup>176</sup>

These entries on three translated Ptolemy volumes are preceded in the inventory by a fourth anonymous book on the science of astronomical geography, probably also prepared for Mehmed II: *Kitābu [‘ilmi ṣaḥḥ] hay’ati ashkālī al-arḍi fī al-ṭūli wa-al-‘arḍi al-ma’rūfi bi-jughrāfiyyā*. All four titles, which are in keeping with reports about this sultan's abiding interest in the mathematical sciences of geography and cartography, are grouped together as a subsection, separated by empty spaces from their Islamic versions, which are classified under "Books on Wonders of Creation." Among manuscripts stamped with Bayezid II's seal are some medieval Islamic works on geography illustrated with diagrammatic maps, which are classified in 'Atufi's inventory under history or pertaining to history. These include a copy made for Mehmed II, revealing the diversity of his interests in cartography, which encompassed both Islamic and translated Greek classics. The palace library also has two thirteenth- to fifteenth-century Greek versions of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (TSMK, Seragliensis 27, 57) and one in Latin dated ca. 1450 (TSMK, Seragliensis latinus 44). These manuscripts could have been consulted for Mehmed II's translation project, but we do not know when they were acquired.<sup>177</sup>

Since the arts of war were a consuming passion and skill of Mehmed II, it is believed that he acquired Latin and Italian illustrated treatises on military engineering and tactics. The palace library inventory



contains more than a few titles in this field, such as a work called *Şuvaru al-ālāti al-ḥarbi* (Figures of War Machines, 196 {6}). Some of the listed treatises on military strategy were translated from Greek, but their present whereabouts, dates, and places of translation have yet to be determined: these include two copies of a work titled *Risālatun fī ādābi al-ḥurūbi mutarjamatum ‘an al-yūnāniyyati bi-al-‘arabiyyati* (A Treatise on the Etiquette of War Translated from the Greek into Arabic, 196 {8–9, 12–13}); and a volume combining an Arabic and a Persian translation from Greek belonging to the same genre (*Risālatun fī ādābi al-ḥurūbi mutarjamatum ‘an al-yūnāniyyati bi-al-‘arabiyyati wa-Risālatun mutarjamatum bi-al-fārisiyyati ‘an al-yūnāniyyati fī ādābi al-ḥarbi* (A Treatise on the Etiquette of War Translated from the Greek into Arabic, and A Treatise Translated from the Greek into Persian on the Etiquette of War, 196 {9–11}).

It is unclear whether these translated treatises were produced in an Ottoman context or elsewhere, making it difficult to associate them with Mehmed II or Bayezid II. According to Gritti’s 1503 *Relazione* cited above, the latter sultan reformed the Ottoman army by regulating its discipline, improving the quality of armaments, and not sparing any expense on portable artillery or men knowledgeable in using such weapons. Gritti also praised Bayezid’s reorganization of the cavalry soldiers and naval forces that resulted in “marvelous” (*meravigliose*) victories. İdris Bidlisi’s dynastic history presented to Bayezid II in 1506 similarly claims that none of the former Ottoman sultans possessed such an esteemed and well-equipped navy as he did.<sup>178</sup> These accounts suggest that treatises on military sciences would have been prized not only by Mehmed II but also by his successor.

A translation project from Greek into Arabic that has been attributed to Mehmed II, who was known for his interest in Suhrawardi, resulted in an anthology redolent with Sufi illuminationist concepts. This anthology combines the undestroyed fragments of the late-Byzantine Neoplatonist philosopher George Gemistos Plethon’s (d. 1452) controversial neo-pagan work, the *Nomoi* (Book of Laws), with the same author’s *Compendium Zoroastreorum et Platonicorum dogmatum* (Summary of the Zoroastrian and Platonic Doctrines) and his edition of the *Chaldaean Oracles*, which he attributed to

the disciples of Zoroaster who influenced Plato. The *Nomoi* was accused of espousing paganism and was consigned to fire (in 1454, 1460, or 1462) by George Gennadios Scholarios, the Aristotelian Greek-Orthodox patriarch of Ottoman Constantinople. Its remaining fragments in Arabic, which had apparently been translated from the latest Greek autograph version by Plethon, exist in the only known copy of this anthology at the palace library. I was able to confirm that the volume bears an impression of Bayezid II’s seal and its title corresponds exactly to the following entry in ‘Atufi’s inventory: *Tarjumatu al-baqiyyati min Kitābi Yamışūs al-wathanī fī madhāhibi al-awwalīna min ‘abadati al-aşnāmi* (Translation of the Remains of the Book of Gemistos the Pagan on the Doctrines of the Ancients on the Worship of Idols, 311 {13}; see Appendix III: 13, Pl. 4 [1–3]). This title, which was inscribed by Bayezid’s librarian, has been misattributed to a modern conservator of manuscripts at the Topkapı Museum.<sup>179</sup>

The Arabic manuscript, in which the author is disparaged as a pagan (*al-wathanī*) and Sabeian (*al-Şābī*), comprises rites of idol worship, theurgic prayers to Zeus and the gods, illuminationist cosmological concepts, divination, and magic. According to its preface, the work was burnt for fear of the possibility that it might lead astray the vulgar commoners (*al-‘awāmm*), implying that the palace elites were above such temptation. Interestingly, this work has been classified in the inventory’s section on occult sciences as a book “on wondrous affairs” (marginal annotation: *fī al-umūri al-‘ajībati*), indicating that it came to be regarded as a “curiosity,” whatever the original intention may have been for its translation. ‘Atufi also lists a formerly unknown second copy of the same work that seems to be lost: *Tarjumatu Kitābi Yamışūs al-wathanī tarjamatun thāniyyatan fī madhāhibi ‘abadati al-aşnāmi* (Translation of the Book of Gemistos the Pagan, Second Translation on the Doctrine of the Worship of Idols, 311 {14}).

Entries on translated works imply that the unusually rich collection of lexicons and grammars catalogued in ‘Atufi’s inventory (pages 293–300) may have been partially related to translation projects undertaken by Mehmed II, and to a lesser extent by his successor as well. The inventory lists bilingual lexicons (Arabic-Persian, Persian-Arabic, Turkish-Persian, Turkish-Arabic,

Greek-Arabic, Greek-Persian, Greek-Turkish), trilingual Arabic-Persian-Turkish lexicons, and even quadrilingual lexicons with interlinear translations. Examples of the latter include two copies of a lexicon with interlinear translations that once belonged to the palace library and are now kept at the Süleymaniye Library. Each of these quadrilingual lexicons carries previously unnoted seal impressions of Bayezid II, although they may well have been associated with his father's court. One of these (SK, Ayasofya 4750) is identified by 'Atufi as *Risālatu kalimātin 'arabiyyatin mutarjamatin bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-al-rūmiyyati [ay al-yūnāniyyati] wa-al-sarfiyyati* (A Treatise of Arabic Words Translated into Persian and Greek [or Ancient Greek] and Serbian, 296 {2}). The other copy (SK, Ayasofya 4749) is bound together with several lexicons and grammar textbooks written in the same hand within a compendium, whose contents are described by 'Atufi as: *Risālatu kalimātin 'arabiyyatin mutarjamatin bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-al-rūmiyyati wa-al-sarfiyyati; wa-Kitābu Īsāghūji 'alā al-lughati al-'arabiyyati mutarjamun bi-al-yūnāniyyati fī al-manṭiqi; wa-Risālatu al-amthilati al-muṭṭaridati al-mutarjamati bi-lughatin 'arabiyyatin fī mujalladin wāḥidin* (A Treatise of Arabic Words Translated into Persian, Greek, and Serbian; and the *Book of Isagoge* [Porphyry's "Introduction" to Aristotle's "Categories"] in Arabic Translated into Greek, on Logic; and a Treatise on Regular Examples of Conjugation Translated [from Greek] into Arabic, in a Single Volume, 296 {10–13}).<sup>180</sup>

Another compendium of multilingual lexicons and grammar manuals described in an entry by 'Atufi exists in the Topkapı library (296 {3–8}; see Appendix III: 25). It begins with a Persian-Turkish lexicon written by Muhammad b. Hajji İlyas (d. before 1460) titled *Kitābu Tuḥfati al-hādiyyati* (Gift of the Rod), with interlinear translations in Greek, Latin (Frankish: *al-afranjiyyati*), and "other languages." This piece is followed by the abovementioned book on logic, Porphyry's *Isagoge* in Arabic with interlinear Greek translations. Then come treatises on regular examples of conjugation translated into Persian and other languages; on philosophical sciences; on the correction of the names of Greek philosophers; and on the Greek terminology used by astronomy scholars.<sup>181</sup> An additional quadrilingual lexicon is defined in the inventory as comprising the alphabeti-

cally arranged Arabic-Persian-Turkish-Greek names of medicines (299 {5–7}). Another multilingual example is al-Zamakhshari's (d. 1144) *Kitābu muqaddimati al-adabi fī al-lughati* (Book of Introduction to Literature, on Language), an Arabic lexicon listed in the inventory with one volume comprising interlinear translations into Persian and Turkish, and another volume having translations into Persian and Latin (Frankish: *al-afranjiyyati*, 294 {11–13}). One additional lexicographic treatise mentioned in the inventory, *Risālatu tarjamati al-'ibriyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-lughati* (Treatise on the Translation of Hebrew into Persian, on Language, 299 {19}–300 {1}), hints at a concern for translating Hebrew texts, possibly in the Ottoman court where Jewish scholars thrived.

Besides testifying to a culture of translation, the many lexicons and grammars catalogued by 'Atufi reflect the context of multilingualism prevailing at the Ottoman palace with its contingent of converts, wherever or whenever these handbooks were prepared. They appear to have been aids for linguistic training and for reading works in diverse languages. These handbooks would have been essential reference tools for scholars and students alike. Though relatively few, the translated classics that are seamlessly integrated into the Islamic corpus in 'Atufi's inventory are far from negligible. These include translations of works by Hermes Trismegistus, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Galen, Philo of Byzantium, Apollonius of Perga, Hero of Alexandria, Apollonius of Tyana, Andromachus, Polemon of Laodicea, Ptolemy, Porphyry, Zosimos of Panopolis, Pappus of Alexandria, Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus, and Muristus.

The Inner Treasury also housed classics in Greek and Latin (besides books in Hebrew, Armenian, Syriac, Serbian, Italian, and French), alongside their translations made in various times and places. For instance, one of the surviving Greek manuscripts that once belonged to the palace library is Homer's *Iliad*, copied (ca. 1463) for Mehmed II, who developed an interest in the legends of Troy, western Anatolia, and Greece while he was based in Manisa (Magnesia) as a prince (1446–51). 'Atufi's inventory curiously cites an anonymous translation titled *Ḥikāyat-i Īdhīpūs min al-tawārīkhi* (The Story of Oedipus, on History, 194 {4}), which is probably the legend of the mythical Greek king of Thebes related by Homer

and post-Homeric traditions. Another intriguing entry among the lexicons section reads, *Kitābu mulḥaqāt-i Dānistan min al-lughati al-rūmiyyati wa-al-sarfiyyati* [*wa-Risālatu ḥikāyati Qirīsūs bi-khaṭṭin ‘arabiyyin wa-ghayrihi wa-awraqin fihā khuṭūṭun mukhtalifatun fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] (Book of Appendices of the *Dānistan* on the Language of Greek and Serbian [and Treatise of the Story of Croesus in the Arabic Script and Other Scripts, and Folios with Various Scripts, in a Single Volume], 297 {1}). The “Story of Croesus” in this compendium may have been an interlinear translation in Arabic script of a Byzantine Greek text on legends concerning this ancient king of Lydia, who reigned in western Anatolia (ca. 560–46 BCE). Croesus was mentioned by Herodotus and used by Byzantine rhetoricians as an exemplum for his legendary wealth and fall from power upon losing divine favor.<sup>182</sup>

Some Ottoman-period volumes at the Topkapı library that are stamped with Bayezid II’s seal consist of translations from Persian into Arabic that were made for his father. Among them are two manuscripts on logic, a subject on which several works were dedicated to Mehmed II (Appendix III: 32–33). Cited in ‘Atufi’s inventory, one of these two manuscripts has a fascinating dedication explaining that Mehmed II commissioned the translation of this book on logic because he considered the Persian language better suited to poetry than to the specialized terminology used by scholars in the sciences (*al-‘ulūm wa-al-ma‘ārif*), unlike Arabic with its greater clarity and strength of expression. The author praises the sultan’s appreciation of books and philosophy, thanks to which he raised the lighthouse of “the ancient sciences” (*al-‘ulūm al-awā’il*, fols. 2a–2b, see Appendix III: 33).

A manuscript concerning astronomy, on the other hand, was translated for Bayezid II from Hebrew into Arabic by its Jewish author, Iliya (Ilyas b. Ibrahim al-Yahudi, d. after 1512). Called ‘Abd al-Salam al-Muhtadi upon his conversion to Islam, the author is believed to have written that treatise in Hebrew before immigrating from al-Andalus to Istanbul. He translated the treatise, which explicates an astronomical instrument invented by him and called *al-Dābid*, into Arabic in 1502 upon Bayezid II’s request (Appendix III: 38). This treatise is

omitted from ‘Atufi’s inventory, which was compiled just around that time. Instead, the inventory cites an earlier polemical work on theology by the same author that aims to refute the proofs of the Jews against Islam. The earliest extant copy of the latter in the Topkapı library was dedicated to Bayezid II in 1497 and is stamped with his seal.<sup>183</sup>

Another Jewish astronomer-cum-physician affiliated with Bayezid’s court, Moses Galeano (Moses ben Judah Galeano), wrote in Arabic under the name Musa Jalinus (Moses Galen). He is believed to have been a “potential transmitter of scientific information between the Ottoman empire and the Veneto, primarily between 1497 and 1502,” when he visited Venice and Padua. One of his teachers was Elijah Mizrahi (d. 1526), the Chief Rabbi of Istanbul and a scholar of mathematics and astronomy. A short Arabic treatise on astronomy written by Musa Jalinus, “the physician” (*al-ṭabīb*), has recently been identified in a compendium at the Topkapı library. It is titled “An Account of Some of the Impossibilities Necessitated by the Hypothesis of the Proposal of the Orb of the Epicycle and the Eccentric and the Demonstration of the Necessity of the Motions of the Heavens and All Its Parts in One Direction.”<sup>184</sup> A noteworthy reference by Musa Jalinus to the seating order at Bayezid II’s court, which resembled the position of the heavenly bodies, indicates that he participated in such courtly assemblies: “Thus the divine decree is that the most ready to receive perfection is placed higher and the more distant from receiving perfection lower, as is the case in the ordering of how we sit before the Sultan.”<sup>185</sup>

My codicological examination of the compendium, in which Musa Jalinus’s piece is preceded by an important work by the Andalusian scholar al-Bitruji (d. ca. 1204), has revealed that the title written above the opening page (fol. 1a) stamped with Bayezid II’s seal perfectly matches the titles of two identical works listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory: *Kitābun ‘ajībun fī al-hay’ati wa-Risālatun ukhrā fī mujalladin wāḥidin* (A Wondrous Book on Theoretical Astronomy and Another Treatise, in a Single Volume, 332 {14–16}). The inventory thus provides previously unknown evidence that this extraordinary compendium not only belonged to Bayezid II’s palace library, but that it once existed in two manuscript copies

like many others. ‘Atufi’s two identical entries on this anonymous compendium judge the first work (by al-Bitruji) as a “wondrous book,” while the second item bound together with it is listed as “another treatise” (that of Musa Jalinus).<sup>186</sup>

Musa Jalinus also produced some Hebrew translations of Arabic treatises describing astronomical instruments. This special interest of his was shared by Bayezid II, to whom various astronomers dedicated treatises on the same subject. Two planispheric astrolabes constructed for this sultan have come to light, and a third spherical astrolabe has hypothetically been attributed to Musa Jalinus. His works furthermore bear witness to the fascination with alchemy and wondrous mechanical devices at Bayezid II’s court, as noted in the 1503 report by Gritti’s secretary cited above. Musa Jalinus even constructed a wheeled moving humanoid automaton in wood with a long gown, which he operated in Istanbul at the assembly of an unnamed military judge (*kazasker*). It is tempting to speculate that the *kazasker* Musa Jalinus tried to amaze with this robot might have been the powerful scholar-statesman, bibliophile, and patron of intellectuals and poets, Mü’eyyetzade, who served as the military judge of Anatolia in 1501–5 and of Rumelia in 1505–11. Mü’eyyetzade did commission Musa Jalinus to translate a Latin text into Arabic, which was completed in 1506–7: the introduction to the tables of Abraham Zacuto of Salamanca (originally in Hebrew).<sup>187</sup>

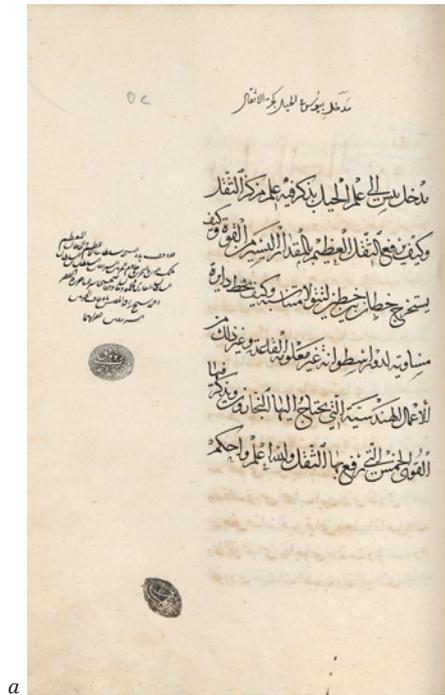
Bayezid II’s personal attention to mechanics and engineering is exemplified by his bridge project across the Golden Horn and “other works” for which Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo were unsuccessfully invited to Istanbul (ca. 1502–3 and 1506, respectively). The inventory’s books on mechanics and engineering may have been partly related to this sultan’s building projects, not only the unrealized bridge but also his mosque complex in Istanbul that was under construction during the same years, between 1501 and 1505.<sup>188</sup>

The undated copy of a translated treatise on mechanics (bound together with a medical text in a single volume later in the eighteenth century) could have been commissioned by Bayezid II, if not his father. Stamped with Bayezid’s seals on its first and last pages, this is an Arabic rendering of Pappus of Alexandria’s Greek treatise on mechanics, which the author defines as both a

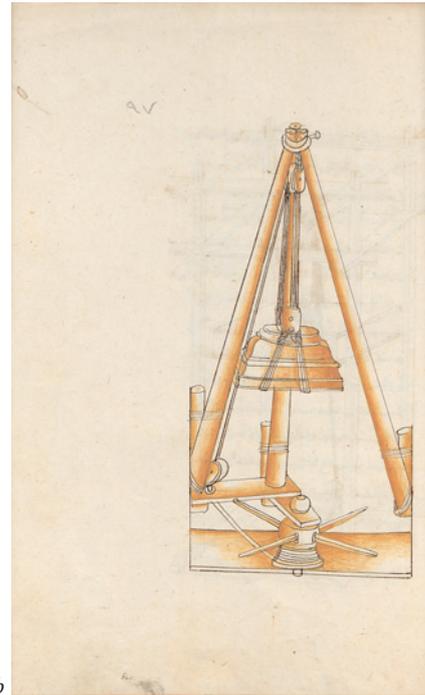
science and an art/craft. The compendium is identified on fol. 1a as *Risālatun ṭibbi bi-al-turkī ma’a Madkhalu Babūs fī al-ḥiyali ka-jarri al-athqāli* (A Treatise in Turkish on Medicine, and Introduction of Pappus, on Mechanical Devices for Lifting Weights, fig. 15a). This compendium is not listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory precisely because its contents, combining medicine and mechanics, were bound together in a single volume subsequently, as revealed by its binding from the late Ottoman period. In fact, in this compendium, only Pappus’s treatise is stamped with Bayezid II’s seal at its beginning and end. Therefore, one of the three individual copies of Pappus’s treatise listed in the palace library inventory with the same title must surely have been this one: *Madkhalu Babūs fī al-ḥiyali ka-jarri al-athqāli*, 310 {5–6}, 335 {4–5}.<sup>189</sup>

Surprisingly, the geometrical diagrams in this particular copy are accompanied by drawings in a Europeanate pictorial idiom, which reveals a familiarity with contemporary Western treatises featuring scientific illustrations. An emphasis on architectural construction is apparent in the depiction of mechanical devices for lifting weights, such as a block of stone, a classical column base, and an obelisk. Indeed, the description of contents on the opening page of this treatise specifically refers to “the constructions of geometry needed by carpenters (or masons)” (*al-a’māli al-handasiyya allatī yuhtāju ilayhā al-najjārūn*) (figs. 15b–d).

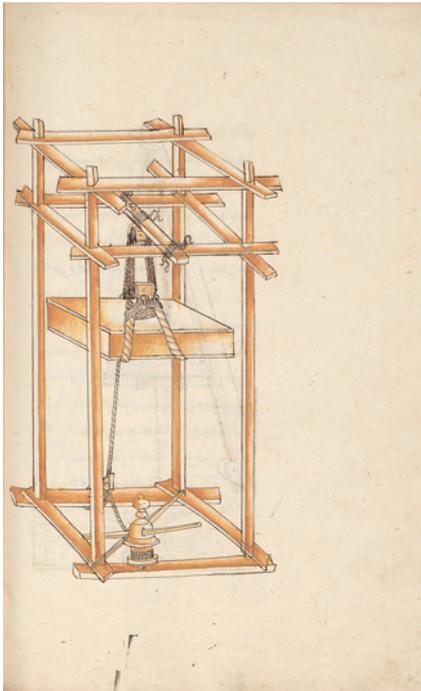
The applied sciences represented in many other entries of ‘Atufi’s inventory, including al-Jazari’s illustrated *Automata* discussed earlier, demonstrate a practice-oriented facet of the palace library collection. One such example is a copy of Abu al-Wafa’ al-Buzjani’s (d. ca. 997–98) celebrated treatise on applied geometry, titled *Kitābu fīmā yahtāju ilayhi al-ṣāni’ min a’māli al-handasati* (Book on What Is Needed by the Craftsman/Artisan from Geometrical Constructions). This deluxe Arabic manuscript, copied ca. 1447–49 by order of the treasury of the Timurid Ulugh Beg (d. 1449), had entered the Ottoman palace library from which it migrated to the Ayasofya collection at the Süleymaniye Library. Bearing seal impressions of Bayezid II at its beginning and end, it is listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory with a similar but slightly modified title incorporating the author’s name and omitting the word *al-ṣāni’*: *Kitābu Abī al-Wafā’ fīmā*



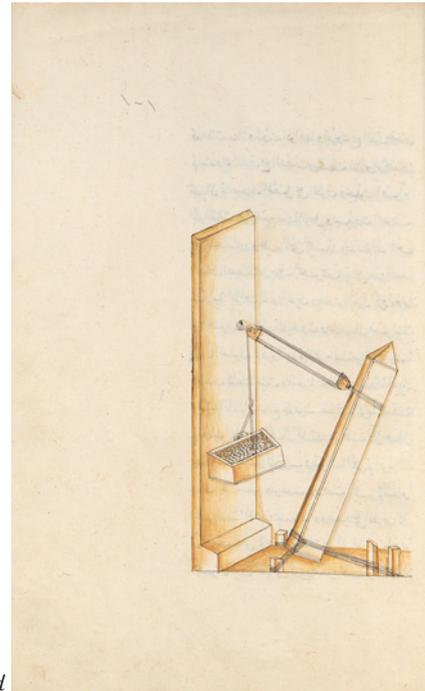
a



b

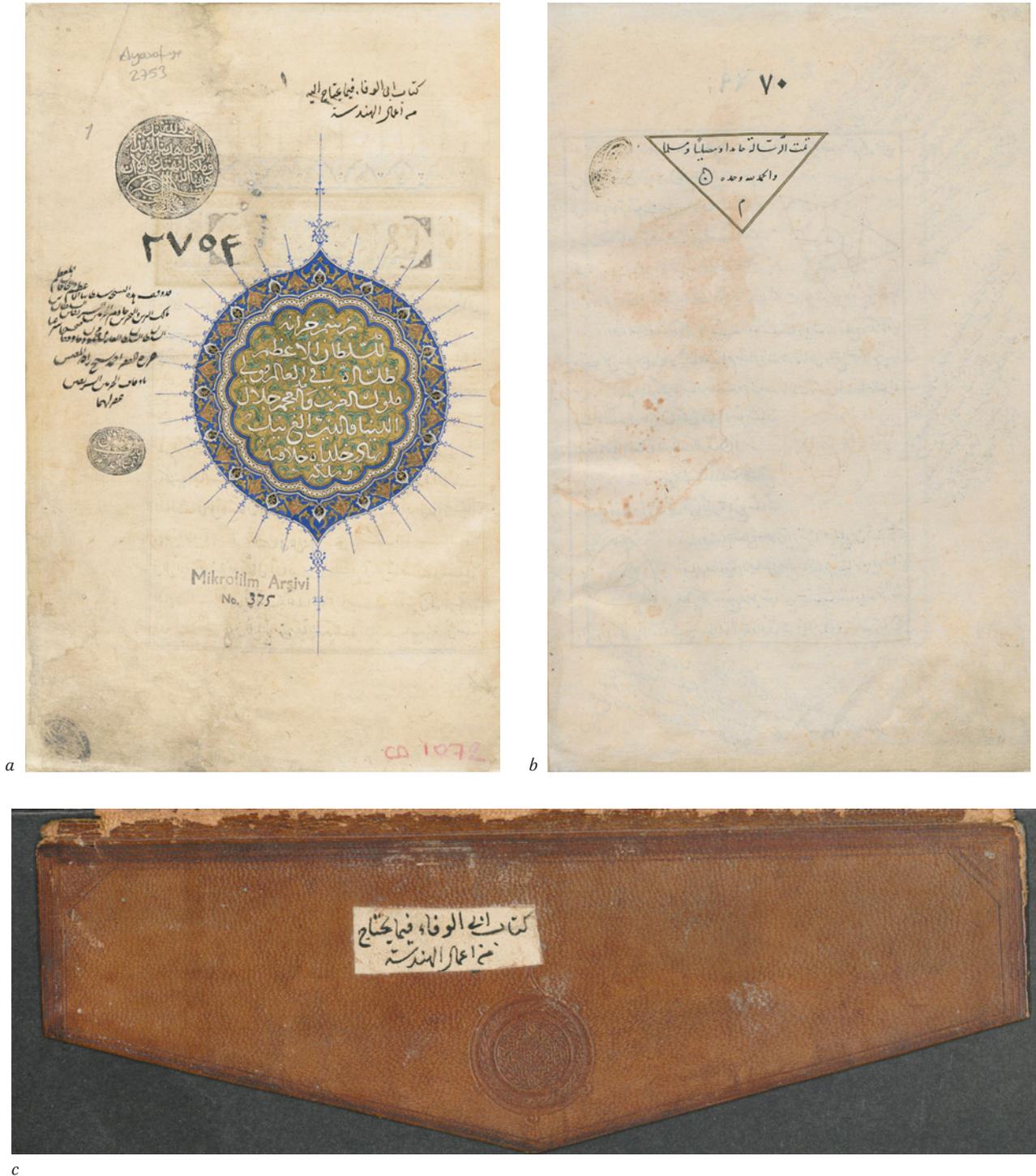


c



d

Fig. 15a. Opening page (fol. 52a) with title assigned by 'Atufi at the top and a description of contents, stamped with Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal and the oval seal of Mahmud I's *waqf* inspector. [15b] Mechanical device for lifting a column base (fol. 97a). [15c] Mechanical device for lifting a block of stone. [15d] Mechanical device for lifting an obelisk (fol. 101a). Istanbul, SK, Ayasofya 3624. (Photos: Süleymaniye Library)



Figs. 16a–c: Abu al-Wafa' al-Buzjani's book on practical geometry. [16a] Opening page (fol. 1a) with title assigned by 'Atufi at the top, illuminated dedication medallion stating the manuscript was produced by order of Ulugh Beg's treasury, stamped with the seals of Bayezid II, Mahmud I, and the inspector of Mahmud I's *waqf*. [16b] Final page with Bayezid II's seal. [16c] Authentic rectangular sticky label on the binding flap. Istanbul, SK, Ayasofya 2753. (Photos: Süleymaniye Library)

*yaḥtāju ilayhi min a'māli al-handasati*, 326 {5}. Exactly the same variant title appears both above the manuscript's opening page (fol. 1) and in the authentic rectangular sticky label of its binding flap (figs. 16a–c).<sup>190</sup>

MS Török F. 59 ends with a section on Arabic and Persian translations of the Old and New Testaments, which are indirectly alluded to in the Byzantine scholar Amiroutzes's "Dialogue on the Faith of Christ Held with the Sultan of the Turks" (364 {9–19}, 365 {1}). During this private inter-confessional dialogue mediated by an interpreter, Mehmed II had cautioned the Greek Orthodox Amiroutzes not to distort the ancient Hebrew Scriptures because the "formerly Jewish" Italian physician Jacopo da Gaeta (Yakub Pasha) was attending the discussion, and because Arabic translations of all pre-Islamic holy books were available in the royal palace.<sup>191</sup> This brings us full circle to the sultan's library at the Treasury-Bath complex of the Topkapı Palace, where this religious dialogue might have taken place.

While it is possible to link some titles in the book inventory to the idiosyncratic personal interests of Mehmed II and Bayezid II, the majority of manuscripts fulfilled the requirements of an up-to-date encyclopedic library collection mirroring interconnected regional and transregional courtly-scholarly networks. As the memory of both sultans faded over time, it was these general works that left a lasting imprint on Ottoman manuscript culture by laying the groundwork of a core collection and canonical teaching curriculum.<sup>192</sup> Not all books were meant to be read, strictly speaking, since many of them had been collected for their prestigious pedigree and artistic value. The palace library was therefore a dynastic patrimonial *lieu de memoire* that played a mediating role between the past, present, and future.

In conclusion, MS Török F. 59 is an astounding archive that opens a window to the expansive vistas and epistemological frameworks of Ottoman court culture between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Reflecting a persistent passion for collecting and commissioning manuscripts, it maps out a cultural and intellectual landscape that was still expanding. If the library had been merely a depot, its contents would have hardly required classification according to twenty broadly defined fields of knowledge by means of a comprehensive cataloguing project. This was surely a culture in

which books were actively collected, copied, and consulted, rather than locked up and forgotten. The fact that many of us still read and consult these books is a testimony to their continuing agency.

## NOTES

*Author's note:* Photographs of folios and bindings from some Topkapı Palace library manuscripts discussed in this essay are reproduced in my Appendix III at the end of this volume, to which I provide cross-references here. I am grateful to Zeynep Atbaş and Zeren Tanındı, whom I consulted on many questions throughout the preparation of this essay. I have indicated Arabic case endings (*irābs*) in transliterating book titles cited from the palace library inventory, rather than following the standard convention according to which they are omitted. My decision to match the transliteration system adopted by Bayezid II's librarian in MS Török F. 59 was informed by a concern to demonstrate how closely the titles 'Atufi assigned to books correspond to the titles written on the first pages and bindings of extant manuscripts catalogued by him.

1. Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára Keleti Gyűjtemény, MS Török F. 59. A microfilm of the manuscript was obtained for the Harvard University library upon my request in 2004, thanks to the assistance of András Riedlmayer, and with the help of the Keeper of the Oriental Collection at that time, Dr. Kinga Dévényi. My preliminary observations on this primary source, prepared in 2005 for the proceedings of the *Bellini and the East* exhibition conferences in Boston and London, were published with a long delay, as the joint proceedings did not materialize: Gülru Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople" *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 1–81.
2. I would like to thank Dr. Nándor Erik Kovács of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, for sending the measurements of MS Török F. 59. I am also grateful to Zeren Tanındı for dating the binding and attributing it to a European binder based on its gilded designs. The table of contents and Ottoman Turkish preface were introduced to scholarship by İsmail E. Erünsal in several early articles, where he misinterpreted as 959 (1552) the two chronograms that in fact provide the date 909 (1503–4). I repeated his erroneous dating at first in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism." The correct date is revealed by adding up the *abjad* letters, which yield 909 and are written under two ambiguous numerical dates on page 1. Cemal Kafadar has demonstrated in his essay in the present volume that the ambiguity of numbers can be explained by the fact that "0" closely resembles "5" in the Persian notation system for numbers. In the revised edition of his pioneering

- monograph on Ottoman libraries, Erünsal emended his previous misdating (i.e., 952 corrected to 909): see his *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara, 2008), esp. 94, 117, 128, 460–65, 650–58. The revisions in his book followed a study on MS Török F. 59, which curiously does not cite Erünsal's important publications and only focuses on history books and related subjects: Miklós Maróth, "The Library of Sultan Bayazıt II," in *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th–17th Centuries*, ed. Éva M. Jeremiás. Acta et Studia, 1 (Piliscsaba, Hungary, 2003), 111–32. Early articles by İsmail E. Erünsal include: "959/1552 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," *Erdem* 4, no. 10 (1988): 181–93; "The Catalogue of Bayezid II's Palace Library," *Istanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Kütüphanecilik Dergisi* 3 (1992): 5–66; "A Brief Survey of the Development of Turkish Library Catalogues," in *M. Uğur Derman Festschrift*, ed. Irvin Cemil Schick (Istanbul, 2000), 271–83. See also the expanded version of an article dated 2008, recently reprinted among Erünsal's collected essays: "909/1503 Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi," in *Edebiyat Tarihi Yazıları: Arşiv Kayıtları, Yazma Eserler, ve Kayıp Metinler* (Istanbul, 2016), 257–83.
3. On these two late thirteenth-century catalogues, see Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library: The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue* (Edinburgh, 2016), 3–6, 60–64. Hirschler observes that "one of the most fascinating early Ottoman catalogues is the palace library inventory of 1502/3, which is the subject of a forthcoming publication edited by Gülrü Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar and Cornell H. Fleischer," 7.
  4. For this building, known as Fatih Köşkü (i.e., Mehmed the Conqueror's Pavilion), and early registers of the Inner Treasury (Enderun Hazinesi, İç Hazine), see Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA; London, 1991), 124–41; my "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 15, 26–30, 36, 48; and "'Virtual Archaeology' in Light of a New Document on the Topkapı Palace's Waterworks and Earliest Buildings, ca. 1509," *Muqarnas* 30 (2013): 315–50, esp. 317, 326–27, 329–33.
  5. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (hereafter TSMA) D. 4855, dated Zilkade 971 (1564), fols. 3b–4a; discussed in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 137, 139.
  6. The authenticity of the matching Italianate colonnades is accepted by Ayverdi, who restored the building in the early 1940s: Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fâtih Devri 855–886* (1451–1481), vol. 4 (Istanbul, 1974); and Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Feridun Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı: Bir Mimari Araştırma* (Istanbul, 1982). I disagree with the view that these were added in an otherwise unrecorded eighteenth-century renovation during the "Ottoman Baroque" period. On this untenable view, see Uğur Tanyeli, "Topkapı Sarayı Üçüncü Avlusu'ndaki Fatih Köşkü (Hazine) ve Tarihsel Evrimi Üzerine Gözlemler," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 4 (1990): 157–88, at 163. The Italianate Renaissance-style capitals have no parallel whatsoever in "Ottoman Baroque" examples; moreover, there was no incentive or even possibility to add lavish colonnades in the eighteenth century when the fountained belvedere and part of the courtyard arcade remained completely walled-in as storage spaces: see Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 26, 68n17 and note 12 below.
  7. Jean-Claude Flachet, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts d'une partie de l'Europe, de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, et même des Indes Orientales / par Jean-Claude Flachet* (Lyon, 1766), 181.
  8. The wooden galleries are mentioned in Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fâtih Devri*, 715–27, esp. 723, and in Eldem and Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı*, 75–77, Pls. 73–76, at 76. For pre-restoration photographs, see Tahsin Öz, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Onarımları," *Güzel Sanatlar* 6 (1949): 6–74, esp. 54–62.
  9. The previously whitewashed halls of the Treasury-cum-Bathhouse have recently been stripped of their plaster coating during an ongoing restoration project that has revealed their brick and stone masonry, along with modern interventions using concrete. Some of the basement windows were originally narrower and enlarged at an unknown date (oral communication with Dr. Nilay Özlü, a former member of the restoration team).
  10. On the name "Fatih Köşkü," see note 4 above. In the early 1940s the two wooden domes covering the third and fourth halls were replaced with the present concrete domes, and the originally much higher hipped roof was substituted by the current lower version: see Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fâtih Devri*, 721. The ca. 1509–11 elevation drawing is published and discussed in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 128–29, fig. 74; and my "Virtual Archaeology," 320–21, 330.
  11. Cited in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 134: TSMA, D. 9713, dated 881 (1476). Facsimile and transcription published in Halil Sahillioğlu, "Osmanlı Para Tarihinde Dünya Para ve Maden Hareketlerinin Yeri (1300–1750)," *Ortaoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Gelişme Dergisi*, Special Issue, "Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Üzerine Araştırmalar" (1978): 1–38, at 29–31 (Table 1).
  12. For Selim I's will and his treasury seal, see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, 2nd ed. (Ankara, 1984), 319–20. At an unknown date, probably after the mid-sixteenth century, the fountained belvedere and part of the courtyard arcade of the Inner Treasury were walled-in to create additional spaces for storing treasury items: see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 128, 138–39, fig. 73. These walls were removed during renovations in the 1940s: see Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fâtih Devri*, 721, 726, fig. 1052; Öz, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Onarımları," 54–62.
  13. For a more detailed discussion of the Treasury-Bath complex, see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 124–41. My book revised some observations made by the authors cited above in note 6 on this building, based on primary sources that were unavailable to them.
  14. The Law Code of Mehmed II (ca. 1477) specifies that the Privy Chamber (Has Oda) was already built by that time:

- Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri* (Istanbul, 1990), 326 (31). For this building, see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 141–58.
15. The Law Code of Mehmed II (ca. 1477) orders a Private Audience Hall (Arz Odası) to be built: Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 326 (30). For this building, see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 96–110.
  16. Muhammed İbrahim Yıldırım, trans. and ed., *İdris-i Bitlîsî Heşt Behîşt: VII. Ketîbe: Fatih Sultan Mehmed Devri 1451–1481* (Ankara, 2013), 195. Mentioned without a citation in Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, ed. William C. Hickman, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton, 1978), 300.
  17. Edirneli Sehî, *Heşt Bihîşt: The Tezkire: An Analysis of the First Biographical Work on Ottoman Poets with a Critical Edition Based on Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, O. 3544 by Günay Kut / by Sehî Beg* (Cambridge, MA, 1978), 149–52.
  18. Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 136. This document was published by Franz Babinger, who underestimated Mehmed II's sincere devotion to the relics: "Sultanischer Reliquien-schacher im Frankenland," in *Spätmittelalterliche fränkische Briefschaften aus dem grossherrlichen Seraj zu Stambul* (Munich, 1963), 96–119, esp. 108–14.
  19. Kritovoulos of Imbros, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. Charles T. Riggs (Princeton, NJ, 1954), viii, 3, 14, 209.
  20. Ibid., 177, 209–10.
  21. Astérios Argyriou and Georges Lagarrigue, "Georges Amir-outzès et son 'Dialogue sur la foi au Christ tenu avec le Sultan des Turcs,'" *Byzantinische Forschungen* 11 (1987): 29–221, at 65. Only the 1518 Latin translation of the *Dialogue* made in Rome survives, with its concluding pages lost. The no longer extant Greek original, retrospectively based on many such debates (*pluribus disputata*), has been hypothetically dated to ca. 1466–68 or 1470, at 50–52, 66–67. See also Jorge Ameruzes de Trebisonda: *El diálogo de la fe con el Sultán de los Turcos*, ed. Oscar de la Cruz Palma (Madrid, 2000).
  22. On the chronology of Islamic and non-Islamic books produced for Mehmed II in two periods, during the mid-1460s and the late 1470s, see Julian Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983): 15–34, esp. 18–19, 21; "East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library," *Bulletin du bibliophile* 1 (1987): 296–320; Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style*, ed. Tim Stanley (London, 1993).
  23. On Sinan Pasha's recommendation of Molla Lutfî as librarian, see Ahmed ibn Muştafa Şaşköprizâde (Tâsh-kubrîzâdah), *Şekâ'îku-nu'mânîye fi 'ulemâ'-i d-Devlet-i 'Osmânîye (al-Shaqâ'iq al-nu'mânîyya fi 'ulamâ' al-dawla al-'uthmânîyya)*, ed. Ahmed Şubhî Furât (Istanbul, 1985), 174. Mehmed II's tutor Sinan Pasha was appointed vizier in 875 (1470) and then served as grand vizier for a year (ca. 1476–77); Molla Lutfî accompanied the dismissed grand vizier during his exile: See *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (hereafter *TDVİA*), s.v. "Sinan Paşa," by Aylin Koç. The rich library collection endowed by their spiritual master Shaykh Vefa (Muslihuddin Mustafa) combined religious and rational sciences and was dominated by books on Sufism: see *TDVİA*, s.v. "Muslihuddin Mustafa," by Reşat Öngören, and note 58 below. Books on prayers, poetry, and astrology authored by Shaykh Vefa (Wafa', Abu al-Wafa') are under the following entries: MS Török F. 59, 46 {13}, 47 {6}, 50 {7}, 246 {1}, 248 {1–2}, 250 {7–8}, 263 {9–11, 18}, 313 {16–17}. Some of these works are discussed in the co-authored essay of Cemal Kafadar and Ahmet Karamustafa in this volume. For a discussion of amulets and talismans in the inventory, without mention of Shaykh Vefa, see Guy Burak's essay.
  24. MS Török F. 59, 58 {5–6}, 59 {8–9}, 151 {18–19}, 315 {16–17}, 316 {1–2}. For the inventory's entries on astronomy, astrology, and the mathematical sciences, see the essays of Tunç Şen and Cornell H. Fleisher; Elaheh Kheirandish; and Jamil Ragep et al.
  25. On three extant manuscripts of 'Atufî's compendium of medical works, see Fehmi Ethem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1962–66), nos. 7373–76: A 2095, A 2107, A 2117. For 'Atufî's biography and works, see Taşköprizâde, *Şekâ'îku-nu'mânîye*, 416–17; Nev'îzâde Atâ'î, *Şakaik-i Nu'mânîye ve Zeyilleri*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, 5 vols. (Istanbul, 1989), 1:415; *TDVİA*, s.v. "Atûfî, Hayreddin Hızır," by İsmail L. Çakan; Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 117nn628–29, 461n2512. On 'Atufî's connection with his hometown Merzifon, see Cemal Kafadar's essay in this volume.
  26. T SMA, D. 9587, fol. 2b. My dating of this document is based on the number of tutors in the "palace school" that was raised to four by 1504; see Menavino in note 105 below.
  27. See pages 24, 40, 449, 498 (pagination in Arabic numerals) in Bayezid II's "Register of Rewards" (*in'âmât defteri*), which continues with some of Selim I's donations and those from the beginning of Sultan Süleyman's reign until 1527: Istanbul, Belediye Kütüphanesi (Atatürk Kitaplığı), Muallim Cevdet 0.71. The register is analyzed and reproduced in facsimile in Hilal Kazan, "XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Sarayının Sanatı Himayesi" (PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2007). I thank Zeren Tanındı for providing a copy of this dissertation. Another dissertation brought to my attention by Tülay Artan shows that 'Atufî regularly received donations as a preacher until the end of Bayezid II's reign: see İlhan Gök, "Atatürk Kitaplığı M.C. O.71 Numaralı 909-933/1503-1527 Tarihli İn'âmât Defteri (Transkripsiyon-Değerlendirme)" (PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2014). For the two houses donated to the "preacher" (*vâ'iz*) 'Atufî from the Ayasofya endowments, see Erünsal, "908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu," 262n17, 263m9; and his "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi'nin Arşiv Kaynakları I: II. Bayezid Devrine Ait Bir İn'âmât Defteri," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 10-11 (1981): 303–42.
  28. For Mevlana Lutfî's works, see İbrahim Maraş, "Tokatlı Molla Lutfî: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Felsefesi," *Divân: İlmî Araştırmalar* 14 (2003): 119–36. On accusations concerning his appropriation of books from the royal library and

- other collections, and the reasons for his execution during Bayezid II's reign, see İsmail E. Erünsal, "Fâtih Devri Kütüphaneleri ve Molla Lütüfî Hakkında Birkaç Not," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 33 (1982): 57–78; and İsmail E. Erünsal, "Molla Lütüfî: Hakkındaki İthamlar ve Şikâyet Mektupları," *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 19 (2008): 179–96.
29. The two *waqfiyyas* referring to book keepers are cited in Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 370. The Mahgribi scholar's manuscript is at the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (hereafter TSMK), A. 59.
  30. Zeynep Atbaş has discovered a few manuscripts at the Topkapı library featuring seals of Bayezid II that have been carefully cut out from elsewhere and pasted indistinguishably into these volumes. One such example is even more unusual in that it has three seal impressions of Bayezid II, rather than the usual two; two of these seals were cut out from elsewhere and remounted in that manuscript. Atbaş has also found a unique manuscript, which has three seal impressions of Bayezid II that were not cut out from elsewhere. See her essay in this volume.
  31. On Bayezid II's passion for books, see Zeren Tanırdı, "Bayezid II's Collection of Illuminated Books," in *Kasayid-i Efsahi der medh-i Sultan Bâyezîd—Efsahi's Odes in Praise of Sultan Bayezid*, ed. Çağatay Anadol (Istanbul, 2012), 7–33. For his interest in history books, see Feridun M. Emecen, "II. Bâyezîd'in Tarih Merakı Üzerine Bir Not: Fenarîzâde Alâeddîn Alî'nin Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi Derlemesi," in *Kitaplara Vakfedilen Bir Ömre Tuhfe: İsmail E. Erünsal'a Armağan*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 2014), 1:331–44.
  32. For a modern catalogue of 135 Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Armenian, Syriac, Serbian, and French manuscripts now kept at the Topkapı library, see Gustav Adolf Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai: mit einem Verzeichnis der nichtislamischen Handschriften im Topkapu Serai zu Istanbul* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1933). Julian Raby has attributed the production of some of these manuscripts to Mehmed II's court scriptorium on the basis of watermarks, dedications, and bindings in "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium"; see also his "East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library." According to Zeynep Atbaş, the non-Islamic manuscripts and fifteenth-century European printed books preserved at the palace library lack Bayezid II's seal (oral communication). The latter include Roberto Valturio's *De Re Militari* (Verona, 1472; TSMK, H. 2699), and Francesco Berlinghieri's Italian translation of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (Florence, 1482), which was first dedicated to Mehmed II but upon his death, was rededicated to Bayezid II. Another copy of the *Geographia* has a dedication to Bayezid's brother Prince Cem. Both printed editions feature hand-colored maps with gold-leaf borders, illuminations, and dedications. See Sean Roberts, *Printing a Mediterranean World: Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography* (Cambridge, MA; London, 2013), esp. 5–14.
  33. TSMK, D. 4: "Defter-i mevcûdât-i hizâne-i enderûni," 13 Sha'ban 901 (April 27, 1496), fols. 1b, 3b, 4a, 4b, 5b, 6b, 7a, 8a. I interpret the word *imrânî* as a reference to *Âl-İmrân* (Family of 'Imran), third chapter of the Qur'an on the father of Maryam (Virgin Mary). The family includes 'Imran, St. Anne, Mary, and Jesus. In a later register, cited in note 37 below, this term is substituted with *gebrî*, meaning *gavur* (non-Islamic, or infidel). Seventeenth- to nineteenth-century Ottoman inheritance registers of *dhimmis* and non-Muslims somewhat pejoratively identified foreign books as "kefere kitabı" (infidel books): see İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar* (Istanbul, 2013), 328–29.
  34. TSMK, D. 3/1 "Mevcûdât-i hizâne-i enderûni," compiled by two finance ministers (*defterdâr*), Mevlana Alaüddin and Kasım Çelebi, in the beginning of Sha'ban 907 (February 1502), fol. 4a.
  35. For this interpretation and well-known eye witness reports on Bayezid II's aversion to figural arts and the sale of his father's European paintings, see Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 30, 45–48.
  36. TSMK, D. 3/1, dated beginning of Sha'ban 907 (February 1502), fols. 1b, 4a, 5b, 6b. The later register dated 10 Sha'ban 910 (January 16, 1505), TSMK, D. 10026, is reproduced in Tahsin Öz, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Kılavuzu II* (Istanbul, 1938), document XXI, fol. 16b.
  37. TSMK, D. 3/2: "Defter-i mevcûdât-i hizâne-i enderûni," written in Istanbul ca. 1518, fols. 1b, 9b, 12a–b.
  38. Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai*, 3–8; Funda Berksoy, "The Cooperation of G.A. Deissmann and E.H. Eldem in the Classification of the Non-Islamic Manuscripts in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum," in *M. Uğur Derman Festschrift*, ed. İrvin Cemil Schick (Istanbul, 2000), 175–85, esp. 178–79. In 1859 the German scholar Constantin Tischendorf discovered Kritoboulos's Greek chronicle of Mehmed II's reign in a chest of manuscripts shown to him: Emil Jacobs, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bibliothek im Serai zu Konstantinopel I* (Heidelberg, 1919), 112–13.
  39. TSMK, D. 4855, dated Zilkade 971, fols. 3b–4a; discussed in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 137, 139.
  40. Gülrü Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts: The Classical Synthesis in Ottoman Art and Architecture during the Age of Süleyman," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps, Actes du Colloque de Paris Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 7-10 mars 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris, 1992), 195–216; Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli* (Princeton, NJ, 1986).
  41. On Timurid and Turkmen libraries, see David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400-1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven, CT; London, 2005), 28–29, 133–44; and the unpublished doctoral dissertation by Simon Rettig, "La production manuscrite à Chiraz sous les Aq Qoyunlu entre 1467 et 1503" (University of Aix-Marseille, 2011), introduction, esp. 13–15. In the fourteenth century, the Mongol-Ilkhanid ruler Ghazan Khan had established in his mausoleum complex in Tabriz a library (*bayt al-kutub*) and an annexed scriptorium (*bayt al-qânûn*) staffed with a scribe, a librarian, and a custodian who should repair the library

- books: see Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn ibn Humām al-Dīn Khvānd Mīr, *Tārīkh-i ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 3, trans. and ed. Wheeler M. Thackston as *The Reign of the Mongol and the Turk* (Cambridge, MA, 1994), 107; Nourane Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme: Calligraphes et bibliophiles aux temps des dynasties mongoles (Les Ilkhanides et les Djalayirides, 656-814 / 1258-1411)* (Leiden and Boston, 2018).
42. The earliest reference I could find to the scriptorium is in an account book dated 1527–28 at the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter BOA), MAD 17884, fol. 61. It mentions the “repair of the workshop of painter-decorators (*karḥāne-i naḳḳāṣān*) and the arch above the menagerie (*der fevk-i arslānhāne*) near the Hippodrome,” Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 48, 271n71. For the three mosaic-decorated Byzantine churches around the Hippodrome that were converted by Mehmed II into a royal menagerie for lions, an elephant house, and a powder magazine, see page 46; and Gian Maria Angiolello, *Viaggio di Negroponte*, ed. Cristina Bazzolo (Vicenza, 1982), 27–28.
  43. Necipoğlu, “Kanun for the State”; see also Hilāl Kazan, *XV. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi* (Istanbul, 2010).
  44. TSMA, D. 9587, fols. 3b, 5a. Cited in Necipoğlu, “Kanun for the State,” 204, 215n13. See also Kazan, *XV. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 139, 163; Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 434.
  45. Bimal Kumar Datta, *Libraries and Librarianship of Ancient and Medieval India* (Delhi, 1970), 61–63. On the “House of Felicity,” see Gulbadan Begīm, *Humāyunnāma*, ed. and trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, *Three Memoirs of Homayun*, 2 vols. (Costa Mesa, CA, 2009), 1:23. On Humayun’s fall from the stairs of his library, see Abū’l-Faẓl ‘Allāmī, *The History of Akbar*, ed. and trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA; London, 2016), 498–99. For Sher Mandal, sometimes attributed to the Afghan ruler Sher Shah (1540s), but most probably built by Humayun, see Catherine B. Asher, *The New Cambridge History of India: Architecture of Mughal India*, vol. 1, part 4 (Cambridge, 1992), 33–34. For the less likely hypothesis that it may have been built later under Akbar, in the second half of the sixteenth century, see Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development (1526-1858)* (Munich, 1991), 38–41.
  46. On Akbar’s library, its organization, his favorite books, and his custom of having books read aloud to him, see Abū’l-Faẓl ‘Allāmī, *The Ā’in-i Akbarī*, vol. 1, trans. H. Blochmann, 3rd ed. (Calcutta, 1927), 109–13; Ellen Smart, “Akbar, Illiterate Genius,” in *Kalāndarśana: American Studies in the Art of India*, ed. Joanna Williams (New Delhi, 1981), 99–107. For the Mughal imperial library and the swelling of its holdings from 4,000 books to 24,000, see Kavita Singh, *Real Birds in Imagined Gardens: Mughal Painting between Persia and Europe* (Los Angeles, 2017), 20–21; John Seyller, “The Inspection and Valuation of Manuscripts in the Imperial Mughal Library,” *Artibus Asiae* 57, no. 3/4 (1997): 243–350. The 24,000 books of Akbar’s library are mentioned in Joannes de Laet’s *De Imperio Magno Mogolis* (1631): Joannes de Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, trans. J. S. Holyland (Bombay, 1928), 108–9. Cited in Sh. Abdul Aziz, *The Imperial Library of the Mughuls* (Delhi, 2009), 57–58; V. S. Smith, “The Treasure of Akbar,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (April, 1915): 231–43, at 243; and Datta, *Libraries and Librarianship*, 64–67.
  47. For the building in Ardebil, see Kishwar Rizvi, *The Safavid Dynastic Shrine: Architecture, Religion, and Power in Early Modern Iran* (London, 2011), 143–55.
  48. On Chardin’s and Kaempfer’s accounts, see Mariana Shreve Simpson, “The Making of Manuscripts and the Workings of the *Kitab-khana* in Safavid Iran,” in *The Artist’s Workshop*, ed. Peter M. Lukehart (Washington; Hanover, NH, 1993), 105–21, at 113–14. See *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l’Orient*, ed. L. Langlès, 10 vols. (Paris, 1811), 7:372–74; Engelbert Kaempfer, *Am Hofe des persischen Grosskönigs (1684–1685)*, ed. Walter Hinz (Tübingen, Basel, 1977), 154–56.
  49. *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk: A Manual of Safavid Administration (ca. 1137–1725), Persian Text and Facsimile (B.M. Or. 9496)*, trans. Vladimir Minorsky (Cambridge, England, 1980), 100. However, in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Uzbek Central Asia, libraries (*kitāb-khāna*) simultaneously functioned as treasuries (*khazīna al-kutub*) for the conservation of volumes and workshops for manuscript production: Maria Szuppe, “Lettrés, patrons, libraires. L’Apport des recueils biographiques sur le rôle du livre en Asie centrale aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Cahiers d’Asie centrale* 7 (1999): 99–115, esp. 103. This Timurid practice was also perpetuated in the Mughal court: Maktub Khan, the supervisor (*dārūgha*) of Jahangir’s library (*kitābkhāna*), was also in charge of the painters’ studio: *The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, trans. ed., annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston (Oxford, 1999), 27, 269; cited in Abdul Aziz, *Imperial Library of the Mughuls*, 59.
  50. Thomas Dacosta Kaufmann, “From Treasury to Museum: The Collections of the Austrian Habsburgs,” in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge, MA, 1994), 137–54, esp. 137–42. An extant palace that combines library and royal treasury is that of the Wittelsbach dynasty known as Schatzkammer der Residenz (Treasury of the Munich Residence), which goes back to the reign of Duke Albrecht V (r. 1516–75): see Dorothea Diemer et al., *Die Münchener Kunstkammer* (Munich, 2008). On the union of *Kunstkammer* and library, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Joseph Connors and Angela Dressen, “Biblioteche: l’architettura e l’ordinamento del sapere,” *Il Rinascimento italiano e l’Europa*, vol. 6 of *Luoghi, spazi, architetture*, ed. Donatella Calabi and Elena Svaldruz (Treviso-Costabissara, 2010), 199–228, 752–55, at 224–28.
  51. Connors and Dressen, “Biblioteche,” 212; Csaba Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library, History and Stock*, trans. Imre Gombos (Budapest, 1973); Marcus Tanner, *The Raven King: Matthias Corvinus and the Fate of His Lost Library* (New Haven, CT; London, 2009), 8–10.
  52. Maróth, “Library of Sultan Bayazıt II,” 112.

53. Connors and Dressen, "Biblioteche," 205–6.
54. *Ibid.*, 209.
55. *Ibid.*, 203–4, 213–15. For the Medici and other Renaissance libraries, see also Angela Dressen, *The Library of the Badia Fiesolana: Intellectual History and Education under the Medici (1462-1494)* (Florence, 2013); Guido Arbizzoni, Concetta Bianca, and Marcella Peruzzi, eds. *Principi e signori: Le Biblioteche nella seconda metà del Quattrocento* (Urbino, 2010).
56. On this high number, see Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 126–27, who thinks it is probably an exaggeration. Mü'eyyadzade's library collection is discussed and compared to that of Bayezid II by Judith Pfeiffer in the present volume, where she agrees with Erünsal's assessment in this regard.
57. TSMA, D. 9291/1-2: This archival document, in two parts, is analyzed in Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 126–27, and in greater detail by Judith Pfeiffer in the present volume.
58. TSMA, D. 9559, 3b–39b. The 839 books endowed by Mehmed II are grouped in the following order: Qur'anic exegesis, hadith, jurisprudence, rational theology, philosophical wisdom, Arabic books, logic, and miscellanea. The last eclectic category of only 31 volumes features books on advice literature, lives of imams, Sufism, medicine, astronomy, astrology, Euclid's *Elements*, Persian poetry, Persian works by Rumi, and, curiously, a *History of Genghis Khan*. During Mehmed II's reign, a similar classification that does not exclude the rational sciences is found in the *waqfiyyas* of the public libraries established by the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha and Shayh Vefa. The latter was the spiritual mentor of Sinan Pasha and the palace librarian Molla Lutfi; on his endowed library see note 23 above. By the end of Sultan Süleyman's (d. 1566) reign, the number of books in Mehmed II's mosque complex rose to 1,770: Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 108–10, 458, 470–75, 661–63. Erünsal discusses two extant catalogues of Mehmed II's public library; one was prepared under Bayezid II by Şah Çelebi İbnü'l Fenari around 907–18 (1501–12): BOA, D. HMH. STF. No. 21. 941/B. The other one, compiled in 968 (1560–61) by Hacı Hasanazade under Sultan Süleyman (TSMA, D. 9559), was preceded by a now lost third catalogue by Molla Arab (i.e., Hacı Mehmed), Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 128, 465–75. Hacı Hasanazade preferred to base his own catalogue on that of Molla Arab because it was organized better and it more efficiently facilitated the checking out and returning of books.
59. On books endowed by Mehmed II and Bayezid II, see Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 425. For the parallel case of endowed public libraries in the Mamluk Sultanate, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250-1517): Scribes, Libraries and Market* (London and Boston, 2019), 48–49.
60. For these exaggerated numbers, the description of libraries, and further bibliography, see Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 18–74; İsmail E. Erünsal, *Orta Çağ İslâm Dünyasında Kitap ve Kütüphâne* (Istanbul, 2018), 417–19; Youssef Eche (Yūsuf 'Ishsh), *Les bibliothèques arabes publiques et semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Égypte au Moyen Age* (Damascus, 1967); Houari Touati, *L'armoire à sagesse: Bibliothèques et collections en Islam* (Paris, 2003).
61. Hirschler, *Ashrafiya Library Catalogue*, 4, 33. Hirschler considers the more than 2,000 books listed in the catalogue of the somewhat minor Ashrafiya library, kept in a mausoleum-cum-madrasa complex in Ayyubid Damascus, as a "remarkably large collection," 2–3. See also Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt*, 7–8, and the section on "The Size of Libraries," 46–50, for "exaggerated, legendary numbers given for earlier periods."
62. "Dalla banda sinistra dove è servito dalli huomini vi sono doi Librarie grandi, cioè una commune dietro le stanze de' Camerieri, e Paggi, che l'hanno in custodia, & l'altra, che è secreta, più indentro, & attaccata alle stanze di esso Gran Signore, & è la più famosa: ma sempre nella sua camera, tanto da una parte, come dall'altra, sono due armarij, con porticelle di christallo dentro a'quali sono sempre doi dozine di libri miniati, che esso usa sempre di leggere: essendo detti armarij bassi: sicche standosi à sedere alla turchesca, si vede li libri, che vi sono per la trasparenza del christallo: di modo, che esso Gran Signore li può commodamente pigliare, usando spesso di leggere" (Domenico Hierosolimitano, *Relatione della gran città di Costantinopoli* [London, British Library], Harley 3408, fols. 36–37, 39; translated in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 153). See more recently *Domenico's Istanbul*, where the Italian text is translated with an introduction and commentary by Michael Austin, ed. Jeffrey Lewis (Warminster, Wiltshire, 2001), 21. The commentary by Austin is unreliable in its identification of the sites of libraries at the Topkapı Palace and their construction chronology: see 139–43.
63. Domenico specifies that the two libraries were in the courtyard of male servants, not in the female quarters of the harem (see the Italian passage quoted in note 62 above). Domenico's description is confusing because he does not describe the courtyard of male servants from the vantage point of the palace's third main gate leading into the third courtyard. Having described the adjacent harem for female residents, and looking at the sultan's quarters from the vantage point of the outer garden fronting the harem's garden façade, he correctly refers to the women's quarters abutting the royal stables as being on the right side, and the courtyard of male pages as being on the left side. Hence the two libraries were not on the left side of the male section of the third courtyard upon entering from the third gate, but rather on the left side of the harem's outer garden façade (i.e., in the male sector of the third court). Some books may indeed have been kept at the harem, but there is no information concerning the presence of a library in the women's quarters during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries or in later periods, for that matter, although there are references to books being loaned to women in the harem

from the Inner Treasury in the second half of the sixteenth century and later (cited in note 129 below).

64. “Nella Libreria, che è alli Camerieri, a Paggi, vi sono libri di tutte sorti dei’ linguaggi di gran bellezza tutti scritti à penna, & in particular cento venti pezzi di quelli di Costantino Magno, ciascuno lungo doi braccia, e non più di tre palmi largo, fatti di carta bergamina sottile, che par seta, dove stà scritto il Testamento vecchio, e nuovo, & altre Historie, vite dei’ Santi, tutti à lettere d’oro, coperti d’argento indorato, con gemme di prezzo inestimabile, i quali non si permette, che siano toccata da niuno” (Domenico Hierosolimitano, *Relatione della gran città di Costantinopoli*, 37). I have slightly modified Austin’s translation in *Domenico’s Istanbul*, 21.
65. These manuscripts were selected by the French ambassador Girardin and his two advisors from a set of about 200 Greek manuscripts said to have been removed from the palace collection by the mediation of an Italian renegade: “un renegat italien, l’homme d’esprit, qui est au service de seliktar, premier officier du sérail et favori du Grand Seigneur. Il a eu permission de visiter les livres et de les communiquer, et m’ayant fait apporter, en différents fois, tous ce qu’il y a d’auteurs grecs, qui ne consistent pas en plus de deux cents volumes.” Quoted in Jacobs, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bibliothek im Serai zu Konstantinopel*, 121–334, at 121. The list of 16 manuscripts that arrived in Paris in 1688 is on p. 122, with their seals illustrated on p. 127.
66. On Marsili’s inventory, see Angelo Bernasconi, “Un gruppo di codici greci bolognesi proveniente della biblioteca di sultano Mustafâ I,” *Scriptorium* 40 (2006): 254–68, with 8 plates. The inventory explains that the Greek manuscripts Marsili bought were extracted (*estratti*) by the Livornese renegade called “Trinch Meunet Ayà [sic Agà]” from the “Imperial Seraglio di Costantinopoli” and donated to that renegade by “Sultan 4°.” Elsewhere the renegade is named “Mustafa” by Marsili: see Chiara Fraggiana di Sarzana, “Lo *Iatosophion* della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna: Il 3632,” in *BUB: Ricerche e Cataloghi sui Fondi della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna*, ed. B. Antonino (Bologna, 2010), 9–13, at 11n4. Bernasconi, who discovered Marsili’s inventory, speculates that “Sultan 4°” was probably Murad IV (r. 1623–40). In my opinion this sultan may have been Mehmed IV (r. 1648–87), whose reign is closer to the dates when Girardin (1687) and Marsili (1692) acquired the palace manuscripts, which according to Mustafa Agha were donated to him from the palace library with the sultan’s permission. Following Jacobs (*Untersuchungen*, 121–31), Bernasconi believes that the seal stamped in most of the Paris and Bologna manuscripts could be that of Prince Mustafa (1591–1639), who briefly ruled as Sultan Mustafa I (r. 1617–18, 1622–23). Jacobs misidentified the seals stamped on the Greek manuscripts in Paris, acquired by the French ambassador Girardin, as those of “Prince Mustafa,” with only one seal of “Sultan Mustafa.” Jacobs lists and illustrates these seals (*Untersuchungen*, 122, 127), but the single sultanic seal is in fact the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II (Paris, BnF, Grec 1672, Plutarch), while the octagonal seal, which differs from those of Ottoman sultans and princes, must have been that of the Livornese Mustafa Agha. This seal of “God’s slave Mustafa,” dated 1684–85, reads *yâ kâfi al-muhimmât ‘abdahu Muştafâ sene* [10]96, with *yâ ghafûr* repeated three times. Zeynep Atbaş, curator of the Topkapı library, has found no seals of sultans in current non-Islamic manuscripts under her custody.
67. For this second library, see Domenico Hierosolimitano, *Relatione della gran città di Costantinopoli*, 36–37, cited fully in note 62 above. Flachet’s eighteenth-century description of the Privy Chamber complex prior to the demolition of some structures is in his *Observations sur le commerce*, 185–86, 195–96. The chronicler ‘Ata records the replacement of these structures with a new dormitory under Sultan Abdülmeçid (r. 1839–61), who extensively renovated the third court after a fire in 1856: Aḥmed Ṭayyârzâde ‘Aṭâ, *Târîḫ-i ‘Aṭâ*, 5 vols. (Istanbul, 1292–93 [1875–76]), 1:30, 312–13.
68. Cited in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 96.
69. See the Italian text quoted in note 62 above. Discussed in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 153.
70. *Ibid.*, 153, 288n150.
71. For readers of Ottoman sultans and their custom of eating at the Privy Chamber, see *ibid.*, 153, 288n151. On books and Sultan Süleyman, see Luigi Bassano, *Costumi et i modi particolari della vita de’ turchi* (Rome, 1545), ed. Franz Babinger (Munich, 1963), fols. 20v–21r [pages 47–48]; Benedetto Ramberti, *Libri tre delle cose dei Turchi* (Venice 1539), Book III: 30b–31a. History books read aloud to Shah Jahan focused on his dynasty’s Timurid legacy and the deeds of his Mughal ancestors: Rajeev Kinra, *Writing Self, Writing Empire: Chandar Bhan Brahman and the Cultural World of the Indo-Persian State Secretary* (Oakland, CA, 2015), 121–22. A history of Shah Jahan’s ancestor Timur, the *Zafarnāma*, was read out to him at night: Inayat Khan, *The Shâh Jahân Nāma of ‘Inayat Khan: An Abridged History of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, Compiled by His Royal Librarian*, trans. from the Persian by A. R. Fuller, ed. W. E. Begley and Z. A. Desai (New Delhi, 1990), 573.
72. The earliest reference to items loaned to the Privy Chamber that I have come across appears in an Inner Treasury inventory of Selim I (ca. 1518), TSMK, D. 3/2, fols. 14b–15b: “Contents of the Imperial Inner Treasury, kept inside the storage chests for swords near the Privy Chamber” (*Mevcûdât-i ḫizâne-i ‘âmire-i enderûnî der enderûn-i anbârḫâ-i şimşîr der nezd-i oda-i ḫâşşa*). Among the contents of those chests are listed swords, daggers, and book pouches.
73. A dated example of a librarian’s note is found on fol. 1a of an album compiled during Selim I’s reign and stamped with his almond-shaped sovereignty seal (TSMK, H. 2160): “This is the book that exited the [Privy] Chamber in order to be stored, in the month of Dhu’l Hijja during the year 983 (1576)” (*Sene 983 mâh-i zîl-ḫiccede odadan ḫıfz olunmağa çıkan kitâbdur*). This album was thus kept at the Privy Chamber complex before being removed for storage at the Inner Treasury in 1576.

74. 'Atā, *Tārīh-i 'Atā*, 1:92, 209–10, 313; 'Abdurrahmān Şeref, "Topkapı Sarāy-i Hümāyūnı," *Tārīh-i 'Osmānī Encümeni Mecmu'ası* 5-12 (1326–27/1910–11), 405. The Privy Chamber Treasury is identified as the Treasury of Holy Relics (*emānāt-i mübāreke hazīnesi*) and Treasury of the Sword-bearer (*Silāhdār Ağa hazīnesi*) in two nineteenth-century ground plans. Late sixteenth-century documents refer to the "Treasury of the Privy Chamber" as "*hāne-i hāşşa hazīnesi; oda hazīnesi, odada olan hazīne-i hāşşa*": Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 133–41, 153–58.
75. Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal measures 2.2 x 1.4 cm and reads: *Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed el-muẓaffer dā'imā* (Bayezid Son of Mehmed, Always Victorious). Two previously unknown almond-shaped seals of Bayezid II were discovered by Zeynep Atbaş, who attributes them to the end of Bayezid's days as prince or to the first year of his reign. See her essay in this volume with its appendix containing examples of Bayezid II's ex libris. Garo Kürkman has identified in the Venice archives a hitherto unknown round seal of Bayezid II, stamped on an Ottoman document dated 909 (1503). This seal is the same as Selim I's round treasury seal bearing at its center the inscription *Sultān Selim Şāh* and surrounded by the four-fold rotation of the pious phrase *Tawakkaltu 'alā Khāliqi* (I have placed my trust in the Creator). The only exception is that the center of the newly discovered seal is inscribed *Sultān Bāyezīd*. This seal will be published by Garo Kürkman in his forthcoming book, *Anatolian Seals and Engravers* (oral communication with Zeynep Atbaş).
76. While Atbaş's Appendix I lists every book with Bayezid II's seal impression that she could identify at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Zeren Tanındı's Appendix II is only a selective sample of primarily artistic manuscripts with the same seal that were transferred from the Topkapı Palace to other libraries. The Süleymaniye Library has many more manuscripts with Bayezid II's seal.
77. On 'Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi's manuscript dedicated to Murad II (TSMK, R. 1726, Karatay, F 279) see Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 112–17. Another manuscript dedicated to Mehmed II on fol. 1b by the son of 'Abd al-Qadir after his father's death bears the name *'Abd al-'Azīz bin al-marḥūm al-maghfūr Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir* (TSMK, A. 3462, Karatay F 278). For 'Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi's works on music, which survive in the Topkapı and other libraries, see Recep Uslu, *Merâgî'den Sultan II. Murad'a Müziğin Maksatları: Makāsidi'l-Elhān* (Ankara, 2015), 20–23. On his son and grandson, who were active in the Ottoman empire and dedicated works on music to later sultans, see 30–34; and *TDVİA*, s.v. "Abdülkâdir Merâgî," by Nuri Özcan. Manuscripts on music listed in 'Atufi's inventory are considered by Jamil Ragep et al. in the present volume.
78. For Bayezid II's ex libris samples, see my Appendix III: 6, 26.2, 28, 29, 31, 36, and Plates 9 [1], 10, 11 [2]; and Zeynep Atbaş's essay with an appendix, "Examples of Bayezid II's Ex Libris." For ownership notes, annotations, and the ranking system of manuscripts in the Mughal imperial library, see Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation of Manuscripts," 243–349. The quotation from the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* is in note 46 above. On ex libris examples, seal impressions, value notations, and other annotations by librarians in the Decani ruler Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II's (r. 1580–1627) surviving books from the dispersed Bijapur royal library, see Keelan Overton, "Book Culture, Royal Libraries, and Persianate Painting in Bijapur, circa 1580–1630," *Muqarnas* 33 (2016): 91–154.
79. TSMA, D. 10017, fol. 2a: Cited in Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 124n308.
80. TSMA, D. 10017, fol. 3a: Cited in Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 125–26. Books authored by Prince Korkud at the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (hereafter SK) are mentioned in 126n31. Zeynep Atbaş has discovered previously unknown books donated by Bayezid II to his less famous son, Prince Mehmed: see her essay in this volume.
81. For lists of books requested by Mehmed III, see TSMA, E. 861 (12). On books lost by Selim I, see Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 129–31, 129nn682–83. Erünsal cites two documents, an inventory of books kept at the citadel palace of Aleppo prepared for Selim I, and a letter concerning the search for this sultan's own lost books in 1517. The letter by the governor of Cairo, Khayr Bek, was sent to the sultan's chief treasurer, reporting that he had already dispatched one of the lost books and was sending four more by land, as they might be damaged by humidity on a ship (TSMA, E. 6196).
82. I found this reference in TSMA, D. 9499, dated 974 (1566), fol. 2a. On archival registers also being taken to military campaigns in chests, see Feridun M. Emecen, "Sefere Götürülen Defterlerin Defteri," in *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (Istanbul, 1991), 241–68.
83. A document dated 969 (1561) lists 122 books sent from the imperial treasury to one of the newly completed Süleymaniye madrasas: TSMA, E. 861 (1). Books removed from the imperial treasury (*hizāne-i 'amire*) and endowed by Selim II in 1572 to the madrasa of the Selimiye complex in Edirne are listed in his *waqfiyya* (Ankara, VGM 1395): see Müjgan Cunbur, "Kütüphane Vakfiyelerinde İlimlerin Sınıflandırılması ve Bibliyografik Künyeler," *Türk Kütüphaneciliği (Turkish Librarianship)* 19, no. 4 (1970): 309–16, at 313–14; Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 148n779, 371. Zeren Tanındı's essay and her Appendix II at the end of this volume document the transfer of Inner Treasury books from the Topkapı Palace to public royal libraries in Istanbul and elsewhere. These books are now kept in the following collections of the Süleymaniye Library: Ayasofya, Fatih, Turhan Valide, Şehzade Mehmed, Süleymaniye, and Laleli; and in Istanbul: Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul University Manuscript Library, Fatih Millet, Köprülü, and Nuruosmaniye libraries. Tanındı has also discovered manuscripts stamped with Bayezid II's seal at the Bursa Library, Manisa Library, Amasya Library, and other libraries outside Turkey.

84. I have examined a series of unpublished mid- to late-sixteenth-century archival registers that list books appropriated from deceased grandees for the Inner Treasury: TSM, E. 861 (4–8). For specially designated spaces in the Inner Treasury containing confiscated books, see Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 195n1022.
85. *Ibid.*, 193–99.
86. *Ibid.*, 195n1022, 213, 417. The eighteenth-century Armenian author Ghukas Inchichean mentions two new libraries at the Topkapı Palace, that of Ahmed III inside the third courtyard and that of Mustafa III near the mosque of gardeners in the outer garden. The latter featured more than 5,000 volumes: G. Inchichean, *XVIII. Asırda İstanbul*, trans. H. D. Andreasyan (Istanbul, 1976), 31. On the emergence of purpose-built public libraries as a new building type in which works of literature, history, political advice, moral philosophy, and sometimes the sciences began to hold a more prominent place as compared to former madrasa and mosque libraries, see Yavuz Sezer, “The Architecture of Bibliophilia: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Libraries” (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2016). Sezer notes that books endowed by Mustafa III for the corps of gardeners were transferred in 1831 to the madrasa of the Laleli Mosque built by him (107–9). Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909) selected volumes from the Inner Treasury to be rebound and transferred to the Yıldız Palace, but upon his demise these books returned to the Topkapı Palace, with some items given to the Istanbul University Manuscript Library.
87. For books supplied from the Mamluk palace at the citadel and other private collections to public religious institutions as *waqf*, see Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt*, esp. 17–28.
88. On the migration of these books to other libraries, see notes 83–86 above.
89. One of the few studies on a late-Ottoman book collection is Berat Açı, ed., *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü: Cârullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve Derkenar Notları* (Ankara, 2015).
90. SK, Ayasofya 981, fol. 1a: reproduced in Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 102, fig. 83.
91. TSMK, B. 411.
92. Molla Lutfi’s encyclopedic classification omits the rational sciences, despite his expertise in these fields: see Maraş, “Tokatlı Molla Lütfi,” 128, 134–35. For ‘Ali Qushji’s lost treatise, see *TDVİA*, s.v. “Ali Kuşçu,” by Cengiz Aydın. On an earlier Ottoman classification of 100 sciences, dated 1424, whose author explained his aim as adding 40 fields of knowledge to the 60 covered in Fakhr al-Din al-Razi’s (d. 1210) Persian encyclopedia (discussed below in note 93), see Kemal Faruk Molla, “Mehmed Şah Fenârî’nin *Enmûzecu’l-Ulûm* adlı Eserine Göre Fetih Öncesi Dönemde Osmanlılar’da İlim Anlayışı ve İlim Tasnifi,” *Dîvân İlmî Araştırmalar* 18 (2005): 245–73.
93. On the relevance of classifications of sciences to libraries, see Alain Besson, *Medieval Classification and Cataloguing: Classification Practices and Cataloguing Methods in France from the 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Biggleswade, England, 1980); and Hirschler, *Ashrafiya Library Catalogue*, esp. 72–80. On Islamic classifications of knowledge and the influence of al-Razi’s version in sixteenth-century Iran, see Gerhard Endress, “The Cycle of Knowledge: Intellectual Traditions and Encyclopedias of the Rational Sciences in Arabic Islamic Hellenism,” in *Organizing Knowledge: Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World*, ed. Gerhard Endress (Leiden; Boston, 2006), 103–35, esp. 128–29. The four manuscripts on encyclopedic classifications of sciences by al-Razi and al-Ghazali listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory (64 {16–19}, 65 {1}) are discussed in Abdurrahman Atçıl’s essay in this volume. I find it noteworthy that an anonymous classification of sciences in Arabic is specified in the inventory as having been “checked out” (300 {9–11}).
94. The categories of knowledge adopted by ‘Atufi are listed in MS Török F. 59, 2–5, a section that has a few missing pages. On his categorization of some books “based on the criterion of adherence to Islamic doctrine,” see Dimitri Gutas’s essay in this volume. On the primacy accorded to the Bible and theological books in Italian libraries see Dressen, *Library of the Badia Fiesolana*, 35. The unconventional classification system of books in Akbar’s library is reported by the disapproving historian ‘Abd al-Qadir Bada’uni (d. 1605) in a discussion of the court poet Fayzi’s (d. 1595) books that were passed on to the Mughal emperor upon his death: cited in Seyller, “Inspection and Valuation of Manuscripts,” 270.
95. Inheritance registers (*muhallefât*) from the seventeenth century onward are dominated by Arabic and Turkish books, with very few works in Persian according to Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar*, 326.
96. Erünsal notes in *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 464–65, that, unlike other book catalogues, ‘Atufi’s inventory gives no total count of books, revealing that its main purpose was not annual inventory counting but rather finding the books, with empty spaces left for new acquisitions.
97. Erünsal, “Brief Survey,” 275.
98. MS Török F. 59. Checked out books are cited on pages 165 {lower right margin}, 167 {upper and lower right margin}, 168 {upper left margin}, 169 {upper and lower right margin}, 171 {lower right margin}, 178 {lower left margin}, 181 {lower right margin}, 190 {mid-left margin}, 299 {mid-right margin}, 300 {mid-left margin}, 307 {right margin, between lines 4 and 5}, 357 {lower right margin}, 359 {mid-right margin}, 361 {mid-right margin}.
99. MS Török F. 59. Books donated as gifts are cited on pages 110 {18–19}, 169 {1}, 187 {between 1 and 2}, 293 {14, 18}, 294 {18}.
100. TSM, D. 8228: Molla Kasım borrowed these books in 983 (1575–76); they were passed on to his successor İsa Çelebi in 988 (1580). Cited in Aykut Kazancıgil, “Fatih Devri İlimi Hayatı içinde Tıp Eğitimi ve Tababet,” in *Istanbul Armağanı*, ed. Mustafa Armağan, 4 vols. (1995), 1:256. Also discussed in Nühket Varlık’s essay in this volume, where

- she points out that some scholars have raised doubts about whether these two physicians were employed at the imperial palace or in a public royal hospital.
101. For the Head Physician's Tower, also called Baş Lala Kulesi, see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 187, 292–93n7, Pl. 11 (59). Examples of such library records that I have consulted include TSMA, E. 861 (12–17), D. 6083, and D. 3261.
  102. Sometimes organized alphabetically or thematically, medieval Arabic library catalogues shared no single classification system. Some of these catalogues would likely have been familiar to 'Atufi. For an elaborate "three-tier system" of organizing books according to alphabet, theme, and size in the Ashrafiyya library, see Hirschler, *Ashrafiyya Library Catalogue*, 65–79.
  103. Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, 582/1, on page 33, cited in Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 380–81.
  104. Touati, *L'armoire à sagesse*, 8, 71, 293–300. See also Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt*, 7–14, 52–69, especially for extant *khizānas* in Mamluk religious complexes in Cairo. On medieval Islamic libraries and for additional bibliography, see Eche, *Les Bibliothèques Arabes*; Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 1–74; Erünsal, *Orta Çağ İslâm Dünyasında Kitap ve Kütüphâne*; and Hirschler, *Ashrafiyya Library Catalogue*, 86–95.
  105. Giovan Antonio Menavino, *I cinque libri della legge, religione, et vita de' Turchi et della corte, & d'alcune guerre del Gran Turco* (Florence, 1548), 92–97. The French scholar-diplomat Postel was sent by King Francis I to the court of Sultan Süleyman in 1536–37 as an official interpreter of the embassy of Jean de la Forêt. Postel collected oriental manuscripts for the king's royal library and traveled a second time in the Ottoman empire in 1549–50. See Guillaume Postel, *De la République des Turcs: et là où l'occasion s'offrira, des mœurs et loy de tous les Muhamédistes* (Poitiers, 1560), Part III:11.
  106. On the educational dimension of the palace library inventory, see also Tahera Qutbuddin's essay in this volume. The palace school curriculum and the education of pages are discussed in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 111–22; where Menavino is cited at 111, 114. On books read in 1579 by treasury pages (mostly religious manuals, books on Sufism, grammar, and literature), and the seventeenth-century curriculum of the palace school, see Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington; Indianapolis, 2013), 25, 29–37. In "Greek Scriptorium," 26–28, Raby proposes that some of the extant Greek manuscripts at the palace library were intended for the linguistic training of Mehmed II's chancellery staff. The latest Ottoman document in Greek at the Venetian state archives is dated 1529; it is an official letter announcing a conquest (ASV, Documenti Turchi, no 250). See Maria Pia Pedani, ed., *The Series Lettere e Scritture Turchesche of the Venetian State Archives* (Leiden, 2009), xv. I thank Zahid Atçıl for this reference.
  107. Menavino, *I cinque libri*, 96. On the palace school and dormitories of pages, see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 111–22. Bayezid II's further development of his father's palace organization, with added emphasis on the education of pages and his establishment of new preparatory schools, is mentioned in 'Aṭā, *Tārīḥ-i 'Aṭā*, 1:72, 185.
  108. Books endowed for the use of pages in the service of the Inner Treasury are listed in "check-out" registers from the mid-sixteenth century onward. In my view, these *waqf* volumes may have been kept in the pages' dormitory rather than in the Inner Treasury itself. See TSMA, E. 861 (11) dated 1008 (1599–1600), "Ḥazīne-i 'āmirede mevcüd vakıf kitāblar" (*waqf* books present in the imperial treasury), which were stored at the "*ḥāne-i ḥazīne*," likely the dormitory of treasury pages. For endowed books in dormitories, see also the essay of Zeynep Atbaş in this volume.
  109. Judith Pfeiffer's essay in the present volume refers to a book borrowed from the Inner Treasury by Mü'eyyездzade, which bears both his borrower's mark and the impressions of Bayezid II's seal. She proposes that the sultan may have given that book to him as a present.
  110. The petition is cited in Tunç Şen and Cornell H. Fleischer's essay in this volume, where they raise the pertinent question of whether 'Atufi's inventory was accessible to other members of the palace. For astrolabes, quadrants, and astronomical instruments kept in the Inner Treasury, which are listed in the treasury inventories dated 1496 and 1505, see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 134–35. I have slightly modified the dedicatory inscription of Bayezid II's astrolabe cited by David A. King, who identifies its maker as "a Turk from Central Anatolia": see his "Two Astrolabes for the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II," in *Essays in Honour of Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 2006), 1:439–59, at 454–55. I prefer to interpret the designation "al-Rūmī" more broadly, as an "Ottoman" regardless of ethnicity and from a wider geography than Anatolia.
  111. On Shaykh Hamdullah's probable access to books kept at the royal library, see M. Celâl, *Şeyh Hamdullah* (Istanbul, 1948), 9; cited in Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 98. For this calligrapher, see Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah* (Istanbul, 2007). The album in question (TSMK, B. 411) is dubbed "The Timurid Calligraphy Album" and is described in Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, 106–21.
  112. This report in Latifi's (d. 1582) Ottoman Turkish biographical anthology of poets is discussed in Ferenc Csirkés's article in the present volume.
  113. On Qur'ans listed in the inventory, see the essays of Zeren Tanındı and Zeynep Atbaş.
  114. This Mamluk Qur'an (T. 533) is now kept in the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum (hereafter, TİEM), in Istanbul: see Zeren Tanındı's essay in the present volume, and her chapter, "The Bindings and Illuminations of the Qur'an," in *The 1400<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Qur'an: Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art Qur'an Collection* (Istanbul, 2010), 90–121, at 99, cat. 62.
  115. The Venetian diplomat Giovanni Dario, who attended this reception ceremony at the Edirne Palace, describes some of the gifts presented by the Mamluk ambassador without mentioning a Qur'an: Guglielmo Berchet, *La Repubblica*

- di Venezia e la Persia* (Torino, 1865), no. 17, 150–51. Berchet misidentified that document as the report of an embassy to Iran, which is contradicted by its references to Edirne and the Ottoman grand vizier Davud Pasha (g.v. 1482–97).
116. In her essay *Zeren Tanındı* suggests the date 1503 for the presentation of Qa'itbay's Qur'an. For embassies exchanged with the Mamluks during Bayezid II's reign, see Cihan Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans and the Mamluks: Imperial Diplomacy and Warfare in the Islamic World* (London, 2014), esp. 248–74.
117. For dates of rewards given by Bayezid II to these two authors upon the presentation of the completed drafts of their history books, see Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 89. Bidlisi's career, his works, and the dynastic histories written by him and Kemalpaşazade are analyzed in a forthcoming book by Vural Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a Bir Bürokrat ve Tarihçi: İdris-i Bidlisi (1457-1520)*. I am grateful to the author, who generously shared with me his unpublished book manuscript.
118. On the contents and dates of early works by Bidlisi listed in the library inventory, see Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a*, 22, 171–92, 194–96, 590. Genç observes that Bidlisi gives two different dates for his departure from Tabriz, 907 (1501–2) and 908 (1502–3), implying that he probably left Tabriz in 1502 and began to write his Ottoman dynastic history around 1504; see 14–26, 149–50, 171. At 125n415, Genç discusses Jalal al-Din Dawani's book produced for Bayezid II's library, which is cited in 'Atufi's inventory as *Sharḥu rubā'īyyāti Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī bi-al-fārisīyyati min qibālī al-naṣā'īhi* (Commentary on Quatrains of Mawlana Jalal al-Din al-Dawani in Persian, Pertaining to Advice, 146 {18–19}). On long-distance exchanges between Dawani and Bayezid II, see 125n414. Dawani's book on ethics, *Akhlaq-i Jalālī* (Jalalian Ethics), was also known as *Lawāmi' al-ishrāq fī makārim al-akhlaq* (Lights of the Rising Sun on Ethical Virtues). The library inventory lists it anonymously with its abbreviated title, *Kitābu makārimi al-akhlaqi bi-al-fārisīyyati min qibālī al-taṣawwufī* (114 {2–7}), describing it as a Persian work pertaining to Sufism. Probably because it was well known, it did not need a fuller citation. For both works of Dawani, see the essay of Hüseyin Yılmaz in the present volume. On students of Dawani who benefited from Mü'eyyadzade's patronage at the Ottoman court, see Hanna Sohrweide, "Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im osmanischen Reich (1453–1600)," *Der Islam* 46, no. 1–2 (1970): 263–302, at 280–81.
119. Cited and discussed in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 43.
120. Erünsal mentions books transferred from the royal library in the Cairo citadel to the Inner Treasury of the Topkapı Palace by Selim I: see *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 131. He assumes that Selim I did not take books bequeathed as endowments (*waqf*) to public libraries, but only confiscated those from the private libraries of defeated rulers and governors, 437–39. However, an undated one-page list at the Topkapı Palace archives (TSMA, E. 6090) giving the number of books kept in the Mamluk sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri's (r. 1501–16) mosque in Cairo without naming their titles, which consisted of ten chests containing 469 volumes, may suggest otherwise. Its heading reads, "These are the books in Sultan Ghawri's mosque" (*Sultān Gawrī cāmi'inde olan kitāblar*). For the book treasury of Sultan al-Ghawri's funerary mosque-madrasa-*khanqah* complex, see Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt*, 30, 32–33, 62–63, 67–68. This library consisted of two private collections, showing that it was "not easy in the late Mamluk period to supply a large number of books to fill the library of a princely religious institution" (*ibid.*, 80–81). Likewise, endowed libraries of religious complexes often passed on to private or other libraries, despite their *waqf* stipulations (*ibid.*, 9–10). For the argument that the Ashrafiyya library catalogue (now in the Süleymaniye Library's Fatih collection) was shipped with a substantial number of endowed manuscripts from the Ayyubid-period Ashrafiyya madrasa in Damascus to the Topkapı Palace library as booty upon Selim I's conquest of Syria in 1516, see Hirschler, *Ashrafiyya Library Catalogue*, 46–53. Hirschler proposes that many of these books were transferred from the Topkapı Palace to the Fatih and Ayasofya collections of the Süleymaniye Library by Mahmud I (r. 1730–54). He notes that books repeatedly changed legal status between endowed and private in medieval collections, thereby ensuring their survival over longer periods (*ibid.*, 39–40).
121. Hoça Sa'deddin, *Tacüt-tevārih*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1279/1863), 2:398–99.
122. By the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, the flourishing book market in Istanbul overshadowed those in other Ottoman centers, including Bursa, Edirne, Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Mecca, and Jerusalem according to Erünsal, *Sahafluk ve Sahaflar*, 295–96, 337–39. The book sent back to Herat via Khwaja Hafiz Yazdi is identified in a document preserved in the Bursa qadi court registers as *Tafsir-i Qādi* (dated 12 Rabi' I 890; March 29, 1485): quoted in Erünsal, *Sahafluk ve Sahaflar*, 297n35.
123. Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a*, 385–86.
124. TSMK, R. 1465: Fehmi Ethem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1961), 1, no. 1011, Tarih, 327–28. Karatay notes the possibility that the Tacizade attribution, added by a later hand, may instead refer to Tacizade Ca'fer Çelebi's brother Sa'di Çelebi (d. 1516–17). On the Turkish translation of Qazwini's Persian history, see *TDVİA*, s.v. "Sarica Kemal," by İsmail E. Erünsal. For the many copies of the original Persian version listed in 'Atufi's inventory, see the essay of Ferenc Csirkés in this volume.
125. Additions of new books to the inventory's empty spaces in a different hand appear on pages 56, 83, 199, 204. Other insertions in the same (or a very similar) hand as that of the scribe/transcriber of the inventory include those on pages 1, 151, and many interlinear corrections.
126. A different kind of discrepancy appears in a volume not listed in 'Atufi's inventory, which is discussed in the essay

- of Zeynep Atbaş (TSMK, A. 3480, Karatay A 7118). This is a commentary by Mirim Çelebi on his grandfather 'Ali Qushji's Arabic astronomy treatise dedicated to Mehmed II. It bears three seal impressions of Bayezid II (fols. 1a, 2a, 199b), but was dedicated to Selim I on fol. 3a in 925 (1519). Atbaş proposes that the volume was probably refurbished after Bayezid II's demise, as is revealed by the golden text frame that partly covers one of Bayezid's seal impressions stamped during his lifetime. Interestingly, this sultan's two other seal impressions have been cut out from elsewhere and pasted indistinguishably into this volume. For an entry with another inconsistent date in the inventory, see my Appendix III: 45. Because the corresponding volume has two seal impressions of Bayezid II and also a dedication to him, the post-Bayezid *abjad* date written hastily in its last page in a different hand must be erroneous.
127. For this register, see note 27 above. On books presented as gifts to Bayezid II, which are listed in that register, see Kazan, XV. *Asrda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 347–49.
128. TSMA, D. 9628, fol. 4a: *Sa'âdetlü pâdişâh ile gelen kitâblar tolabından bir mecma' ve merhûm Sultân Selim ile sancâkdan gelen kitâblar tolabından bir mecma' Baba Cüce yedinden içeriye teslim*. The Qur'an was handed over to the junior lady on 13 Ramadan 997 (July 26, 1589) by the dwarf Haydar Cüce (fol. 4a).
129. TSMA, D. 6083, dated 965 (1557–58), fol. 2b.
130. Translated from Arabic into Chaghatay Turkic by Mir Haydar and calligraphed in Uyghur script by Malik Bakhshi of Herat, the volume was bought in Istanbul in 1673 by Antoine Galland. This text is followed by another one in Uyghur script, titled *Memorial of the Saints*. See Marie-Rose Séguy, *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet: Mirâj Nâme* (New York, 1977).
131. I am grateful to Zeynep Yürekli-Görkay, who informed me that there are no seal impressions of Bayezid II in this manuscript. For the date and description of the manuscript, see Serpil Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting* (Washington, DC, 2009), 46–47. Yoltar proposed the date ca. 1506–12, given that the author received seven donations from Bayezid II in that period: Ayşin Yoltar, "The Role of Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Luxury Book Production: 1416–1520" (PhD diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 2002), 425–42. I thank Yoltar for suggesting that this might indeed be the volume listed by 'Atufi, even though she had proposed a later date for the manuscript.
132. For the manuscript, see Zeren Tanındı's article in the present volume.
133. I thank Hüseyin Yılmaz, who suggests that this manuscript might be Ibrahim b. Ishaq Shams Sajjaji's *Farâ'id al-Sulûk fi Fađâ'il al-Mulûk*, a mirror for princes like the *Kalîla wa Dimna*, written in 610 (1213): see Nasrin Askari, *The Medieval Reception of the Shâhnâme as a Mirror for Princes* (Leiden, 2016), 50–52. But he cautions that other authors have also written works on this genre. An entry in the inventory cites a different copy, defined as pertaining to Sufism: *Kitâbu farâ'idi al-sulûki fi al-naşâ'ihî min qibali al-taşawwufi* (114 {13}).
134. The book's flyleaf note, *odadan çıkan fârisî*, indicates that it was transferred from the Privy Chamber to the Inner Treasury at some point.
135. This manuscript, too, was produced in the Aqqoyunlu workshop in Shiraz.
136. The variant title of another copy of al-Jazari's illustrated treatise, labeled on fol. 1a as *Kitâb al-Jâmi' bayn al-'amal wa-al-hîyal*, does not match 'Atufi's entries (SK, Ayasofya 3606). This variant is an example of the notorious flexibility of premodern book titles. Stamped with the *waqf* seals of Mahmud I and his endowment inspector, its opening page may once have featured Bayezid II's seal on its missing lower left corner. On the upper left corner is the round Inner Treasury seal of Selim I and what appears to be his almond-shaped sovereignty seal, both of which are effaced. The illustrated Oxford manuscript of al-Jazari's *Automata* (The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Greaves 27) lacks seal impressions of Bayezid II. I thank Serpil Bağcı for checking that manuscript on my behalf.
137. Some of the outstanding illustrated manuscripts are discussed by Zeynep Atbaş and Zeren Tanındı in this volume.
138. Three copies with a similar title are listed in 'Atufi's inventory: MS Török F. 59, 307 {7}: *Tansûkhnâmah-i ilkhânî li-l-Naşir al-Ṭûsi fi 'ilmi al-jawâhiri min al-ahjâri*; 184 {3–4}: *Kitâbu tansûkhnâmah-i ilkhânî fi 'ilmi al-ahjâri*, bound together with a work on history; and 165 {7–8}: *Kitâbu Atânskûkhnâmah-i İlkhân fi al-ṭibbî*. The first two entries refer to Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's (d. 1274) treatise titled "Book on Precious Stones for the Ilkhan": see Naşir al-Din Ṭûsi, *Tansûkhnâmah-i İlkhânî*, ed. Muḥammad Razavî (Tehran, 1970). The third entry corresponds to the only known illustrated Persian copy of a work on Chinese medicine, which begins with a preface by the Ilkhanid vizier and polymath Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah al-Hamadani (d. 1318). On this illustrated manuscript (SK, Ayasofya 3596), dated 713 (1313), see Persis Berlekamp, "The Limits of Artistic Exchange in Fourteenth-Century Tabriz: The Paradox of Rashid al-Din's Book on Chinese Medicine, Part I," *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): 209–50. I have examined the manuscript, whose title on the flyleaf, *Kitâb tashriḥ bi-al-fârisiyya* (Book of Anatomy in Persian), does not match 'Atufi's entry and seems to be a later librarian's addition. It is likely that the front page bearing the title assigned by 'Atufi is lost because Bayezid II's seal is stamped only at the end (fol. 262b). The partly torn opening page (fol. 1a) has the *waqf* seals of Mahmud I and his endowment administrator, but it probably also featured a now-lost seal impression of Bayezid II.
139. Two copies are listed in MS Török F. 59, 253 {12}, *Dastân-i Warqa wa-Gulshâh*; and 254 {4}, *Naẓm-i ḥikâyati Warqa wa-Gulshâh bi-al-fârisiyyati*. The only extant copy (TSMK, H. 841, Karatay F 386) has seal impressions of Bayezid II.
140. There are three entries on Dioscorides's work in MS Török F. 59. The first is *Kitâb al-ḥashâ'ishi li-Dîsqûridus wa-huwa khamsu maqâlâtin fi al-ṭibbî* (The Book on Herbs by

- Dioscorides, and in it are five parts, on Medicine, 169 {3}). The second entry lists this work within a multi-title compendium (169 {5–7}). The third entry (169 {4–5}) matches verbatim the title of an extant manuscript (TSMK, A. 2127, Karatay: A 7191), which is stamped with Bayezid II's seal on the opening and last pages. The matching title, written on a paper label pasted on top of a previous title on the upper part of the opening page, reads *Mujalladun awwalu min Kitāb Dīsqūridus fī al-hashā'ishi wa-ghayrihā wa-fihī al-hashā'ishi khamsu maqālātīn fī al-ṭibbī* (First volume of Dioscorides on Herbs et cetera, and in it are five parts, on Medicine).
141. MS Török F. 59, 169 {13–14}: *Kitābu manāfi'i al-hayawāni bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-ṭibbī*. Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 500, featuring Bayezid II's seal on fols. 2a, 84b; several other copies with varying titles are listed by 'Atufi (169 {13–17}).
142. MS Török F. 59, 244 {11–12}: Washington, DC, Freer Gallery of Art, 32.30-32-37, in which Bayezid II's seal is stamped only on fol. 337b, implying that the front matter is lost; and TIEM, T. 2046. On these two manuscripts, see Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, "Selections from Jalayirid Books in the Libraries of Istanbul," *Muqarnas* 28 (2011): 221–64, at 229–30.
143. MS Török F. 59, 165 {17}: *Kitābu jarrāhiyyatin [ay, umūrin jarrāhiyyatin] khāniyyatin bi-al-turkiyyati ma'rūfīn bi-Jarrāhnāmah fī al-ṭibbī*. For three known illustrated copies of this work, see Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 25–26, 25n14; İltar Uzel, *Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu: Cerrāhiyyetü'l-Hāniyye*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1992). In her essay in this volume, Nükhet Varlık has identified one of these volumes as having been stamped with Bayezid II's seal.
144. MS Török F. 59, 310 {12–13}: TSMK, A. 3474, Karatay A 7143.
145. The manuscript (TSMK, H. 1123, not catalogued by Karatay) was identified as the "*Shāhnāmah* of Malik-i Um̄mī" in Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, cat. 34, 190–91; Yoltar, "Role of Illustrated Manuscripts," 386–99; and Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 50–51. More recently, it has been attributed to a poet with the pen name of Ahi by Andrew C. S. Peacock: oral communication cited in Sooyong Kim's essay in this volume, where Kim mentions two copies of a divan ascribed to an *Āhī* in 'Atufi's inventory (MS Török F. 59, 246 {19}, 247 {16}). I am grateful to Sara Nur Yıldız, who explained that Peacock's new attribution is based on the fact that the Topkapı manuscript does not clearly differentiate between the spelling of "h" and "m," due to which *Ummī* and *Āhī* are both possible readings. But on fol. 3a the spelling of the author's pen name clearly has an "alif" with a "madda" over it, which justifies reading it as *Āhī* (fig. 12c). The date ca. 1485 was proposed for this manuscript in Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 190; with the revised date of ca. 1495 suggested in Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 50–51. Yoltar assigned to it an even later date during or after 1502–3, based on Bayezid II's "Register of Rewards," which begins after that year and lists awards received by this *Shāhnāmah*'s calligrapher-cum-painter Darwish Mahmud bin 'Abdullah Naqqash in 1507–8 and 1508–9: "Role of Illustrated Manuscripts," 386–99.
146. For the Cambridge manuscript, labeled by a modern librarian as *Bāyazīdnāmah* on the spine of its binding, see Sara Nur Yıldız, "Ottoman Historical Writing in Persian, 1400–1600," in *Persian Historiography*, ed. Charles Melville (London, 2012), 456–61, at 457. Yıldız kindly explained to me that she did not connect the Topkapı manuscript with Ahi in her article, given its common attribution to Malik-i Um̄mī. She now believes that Ahi seems to be, in fact, the correct reading rather than Um̄mī (personal communication). I would like to thank Ünver Rüstem for sending me photographs of the Cambridge manuscript, whose dated colophon gives the scribe's name as 'Abdallah al-Katib (fol. 105a). I have noticed notes added later to the flyleaf and colophon margin of this manuscript, which identify the work as *Dīvān-i Malik-zādah*. In the colophon the author refers to himself as *Malik-i Maḥmūd* (fol. 105a). This seems in keeping with the identification of the author's given name as *Malik-zādah Maḥmūd* by Mikail Bayram, who brought the draft of the same work (SK, Fatih 4092) to the attention of Zeren Tanındı: see her article, "The Illustration of the *Shahnama* and the Art of the Book in Ottoman Turkey," in *Shahnama Studies II. The Reception of Firdausi's Shahnama*, ed. Charles Melville and Gabriella van den Berg (Leiden; Boston, 2012), 141–58, at 144–45.
147. I have confirmed that the author's name, *Malik-i Maḥmūd*, mentioned in the colophon of the Cambridge manuscript, also appears in the colophons of SK, Fatih 4092 (fol. 139b) and TSMK, H. 1123 (fol. 98a). The colophon of the Süleymaniye manuscript has two couplets crossed out by red lines, with revised couplets indicated as marginal annotations (fol. 98a). Therefore, the Cambridge manuscript, in which these crossed-out lines no longer remain and where one of the two marginal corrections is inserted as an interlinear annotation, must date after the draft version in the Süleymaniye. The Cambridge manuscript, in turn, preceded the final illustrated Topkapı version that lacks such authorial corrections. The illegible almond-shaped seal I noticed in photos of the Süleymaniye manuscript, which Zeren Tanındı graciously sent to me, measures 13 x 17 mm, a measurement that corresponds to Selim II's seal according to Zeynep Atbaş. I also spotted in this manuscript the following endowment note (fol. 53a): *Vakf-i merḥūm Çelebizāde Mevlānā Dervīş Mehmed*. This endower must be Mahmud I's grand vizier (d. 1716), whose library contained several manuscripts from the Ashrafiyya collection in Damascus that bear identical *waqf* notes. These manuscripts in the Süleymaniye Library's Fatih collection likely originated from the Topkapı Palace library, to which they had been transferred from the Ashrafiyya library: see Hirschler, *Ahrafiyya Library Catalogue*, 50–52.
148. Dressen, *Library of the Badia Fiesolana*, 35. I have briefly discussed several books cited in the inventory that can be associated with the imperial cosmopolitanism of Mehmed II in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 9–16, 23. On the

- strong “Damascene flavor” of the late thirteenth-century Ashrafiyya Library catalogue despite its “diversity and plurality,” see Hirschler, *Ashrafiyya Library Catalogue*, 35–40. Likewise, a bibliography of books written in twelfth-century Bukhara displays a regional focus: see Shahab Ahmed, “Mapping the World of a Scholar in Sixth/Twelfth Century Bukhara: Regional Tradition in Medieval Islamic Scholarship as Reflected in a Bibliography,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120, no. 1 (2000): 24–43. For the wide variety of books on “secular” subjects once belonging to private libraries of Ayyubid and Mamluk elites that ended up in the endowed religious libraries of Syria and Egypt, and the encyclopedic outlook of Mamluks, see Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt*, 40–42, 146–49.
149. The biographies of numerous Ottoman scholars who studied abroad, mostly in Mamluk, Timurid, and Turkmen metropolises, can be found in Taşköprizade, *Şekâ'îkunu-mânîye*.
150. Mahmud Gawan’s two works listed in the library inventory are discussed in Christopher Markiewicz’s essay in this volume: see also ‘Imād al-Dīn Maḥmūd Gāwān, *Manāẓir al-inshā* (Tehran, 1381/2002–3); Maḥmūd Gāwān, *Riyāz al-inshā*, ed. Chānd Ḥusayn and Ghulām Yazdānī (Hyderabad, 1948). The letter addressed to Mahmud Pasha is in *Riyāz al-inshā*, 125–29, no. 32; for a letter from Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani to Sultan Muhammad Shah al-Rumi (Mehmed II), see 391–93, no. 123; another letter to Mehmed II is at 393–98, no. 122. Mahmud Gawan’s commercial relations with Ottoman Bursa are examined in Halil İnalçık, “Bursa I: XV. Asır Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihine Dair Vesikalar,” *Belleter* 24 (1960): 45–102, document nos. 3, 12, and 40, at pages 69, 75–76, and 95–96; Richard M. Eaton, “Mahmud Gawan (1410–1481): Deccanis and Westerners,” in his *A Social History of the Deccan, 1300–1761: Eight Indian Lives* (Cambridge, 2005), 59–77, esp. 65, 76. For Bayezid II’s reception of ambassadors in Edirne, see note 115 above and Behiştî Ahmed Çelebi, *Târîh-i Behiştî II*, ed. Mertol Tulum (Ankara, 2016), 353–55. The verse quoted by Lamî’i is cited in Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 508.
151. For extant books associated with Mehmed II, see the articles of Zeynep Atbaş and Zeren Tanındı in this volume; Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*. Reports by the Greco-Venetian humanist Niccolò Sagudino and Giacomo Languschi are cited in Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 6–7. On deluxe manuscripts of al-Suhrawardî’s works produced for Mehmed II, see Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 151, 172. Works by Ibn Sina (Avicenna) and al-Suhrawardî cited in ‘Atufî’s inventory are discussed in Dimitri Gutas’s essay in this volume.
152. For an English translation of the work commissioned by Mehmed II, see ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *The Precious Pearl (al-Durrah al-fākhirah)*, Together with His Glosses and the Commentary of ‘Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī, trans. Nicholas Heer (Albany, NY, 1979), cited in Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 44. On the likelihood that this work was not delivered to Bayezid II, see the co-authored essay by Cemal Kafadar and Ahmet Karamustafa in this volume. Bayezid II also corresponded with and sent gifts to Jami in Herat: see Ömer Okumuş, “Jâmî, Abdurrahman,” *TDVİA* 7 (1993): 94–99, at 95. On annual gifts sent by Bayezid II to other Iranian scholars including Jalal al-Din Dawani, Sayf al-Din Ahmad Taftazani, and Mir Jamal al-Din Ataullah, and the sultan’s employment of İdris Bidlisi who became estranged from Ottoman court factions, see Genç, “Şah ile Sultan Arasında bir Acem Bürokrati,” 43–75, esp. 44n1.
153. I have borrowed the term “philosophical philosophy” from the essay of Dimitri Gutas, who notes the “religious watchdog aspect” of the inventory, where Bayezid II’s librarian sometimes inserts his own critical comments into book entries, particularly those on “philosophical philosophy” in the Avicennan mode. Gutas observes that philosophers from al-Andalus, including Averroes (Ibn Rushd) are “completely absent” from the palace library inventory, and that even Greek philosophers are sparsely represented. The earliest known manuscript of Averroes’s *Tahāfut* was copied in Istanbul in 925 (1519) according to İhsan Fazlıoğlu, who claims that it must have been known earlier in the Ottoman context: see his “Türk Felsefe Bilim Tarihi’nin Seyir Defteri,” *Dîvân: İlmî Araştırmalar* 18 (2005): 1–57, at 41–42. However, the availability of this work to the authors of the two texts commissioned by Mehmed II is uncertain, according to M. Sait Özervarlı, “Arbitrating between al-Ghazālî and the Philosophers: The *Tahāfut* Commentaries in the Ottoman Context,” in *Islam and Rationality: The Impact of al-Ghazālî. Papers Collected on His 900<sup>th</sup> Anniversary*, ed. Georges Tamer, 2 vols. (Leiden; Boston, 2015), 1:376–97, at 388, 390.
154. Andrea Gritti, “*Relazione* [1503],” in Eugenio Albèri, ed., *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato il XVI secolo*, 15 vols., Serie 3: *Relazioni degli stati ottomani* (Florence, 1855), 3:1–44, at 20–21. The report by Gritti’s secretary, I. Caroldus, from the end of September 1503 titled “*Relatione fata in Pregadi per sier Andrea Gritti ritornato orator dil Signor turco*,” is in Marino Sanuto, *I diarii*, ed. Federico Stefani, 58 vols. (Venice, 1879–1903), 5:449–68, at 458.
155. On the vizier Sinan Pasha’s works, see Koç, “Sinan Paşa,” 230–31. Ghulam Sinan’s letter, formerly misattributed to his namesake Sinan Pasha, is published and analyzed in Şükri Özen, “Sahn-i Semân’da bir Atışma: Gulâm (Köle) Sinan’ın Mektubu,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları - The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 38 (2011): 161–92, esp. 182–83, 189. Özen additionally identifies Ghulam Sinan’s commentary on ‘Alî Qushjî’s astronomy treatise (SK, Fatih 5396), which had also been misattributed to Sinan Pasha.
156. Maróth, “Library of Sultan Bayazid II,” 115; see also essays concerning ‘Atufî’s entries on the literary arts by Ferenc Csirkés, Sooyong Kim, Christopher Marckiewicz, and Tahera Qutbuddin in this volume.
157. On illustrated and illuminated manuscripts produced for Bayezid II, see Yoltar, *Role of Illustrated Manuscripts*, 267–68; and Zeren Tanındı’s and Zeynep Atbaş’s essays in this volume. Ottoman sources emphasizing Mehmed

- II's invitations to men of talent and learning are discussed in Gönül Tekin, "Fatih Devri Türk Edebiyatı," in *İstanbul Armağanı*, ed. Mustafa Armağan, 1:161–235, at 162–63. For Bidlisi's praise of Mehmed II's patronage of foreigners in contrast to Bayezid II, and Göde Ahmed's admiration for Mehmed II's policies, see Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a*, 126–27, 131, 167, 224, 260–61, 527–28.
158. Menavino, *I cinque libri*, 106–7. On Qur'ans and manuscripts of sura *al-An'am*, see Zeren Tanındı's and Zeynep Atbaş's essays in this volume. Prayer books, amulets, and talismans are discussed in Guy Burak's essay.
159. Esoteric and occult sciences were already strongly emphasized in Mehmed Şah el-Fenari's early classification of the sciences cited in note 92 above. Works in this field listed by 'Atufi are analyzed by Noah Gardiner in the present volume; see also Cornell Fleischer's essay. No extant volume of the *Owl's Lament* with Bayezid II's seal impression has yet been located. On this work, attributable to al-Bistami, see Cornell H. Fleischer, "A Mediterranean Apocalypse: Prophecies of Empire in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61, no. 1-2 (2018): 18–90, at 45; his "Shadows of Shadows: Prophecy in Politics in 1530s Istanbul," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2007): 51–62, esp. 55; and "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, ed. Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı et al. (Washington, DC, 2009), 232–36. See also *TDVİA*, s.v. "Bistâmî, Abdurrahman b. Muhammed," by Mustafa Çağrıncı; İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "İlk Dönem Osmanlı İlim ve Kültür Hayatında İhvanus's-safâ ve Abdurrahmân Bistâmî," *Dîvân: İlmî Araştırmalar* 1/2 (1996): 229–40; Denis Gril, "Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople," *Varia Turcica* 33 (1999): 133–52. On related works translated from Greek in the palace library, see Maria Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek into Arabic at the Court of Mehmed II the Conqueror," in *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture*, ed. Ayla Ödekan, Nevra Necipoğlu, and Engin Akyürek (Istanbul, 2016), 195–207, esp. 206–7.
160. Mirim's autograph manuscript (SK, Ayasofya 2697) is dated 12 Rajab 904 and stamped with Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a and 264a. His later treatise on optics dedicated to Sultan Selim I, which refers to the works of Ibn al Haytham and Kamal al-Din al-Farisi, is mentioned in Elaheh Kheirandish's essay in this volume. On Mirim's biography and works, see *TDVİA*, s.v. "Mîrim Çelebi," by İhsan Fazlıoğlu. For the "Samarqand School," see İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlı Felsefe-Biliminin Arkaplanı: Semerkand Matematik-Astronomi Okulu," *Dîvân İlmî Araştırmalar Dergisi* 14, no. 1 (2003): 1–66.
161. On the listing of optics under the mathematical sciences in earlier classifications of the sciences by al-Razi (d. 1210) and al-Amuli (d. 1352), see Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "Powers of One: The Mathematicalization of the Occult Sciences in the High Persianate Tradition," *Intellectual History of the Islamic World* 5 (2017): 127–99, at 146 and 150. Dated 716 (1316), the extant copy of al-Farisi's treatise has Bayezid II's seal impressions on fols. 2a and 205b. A partially erased book title on fol. 2a is illegible (TSMK, A. 3340, Karatay A 7151). Another title on fol. 1a is *Kitâbu Tanqîhi al-manâziri*. The same title is repeated on fol. 2a in a script differing from that of 'Atufi and/or his assistants.
162. The Istanbul manuscripts are described in Abdelhamid I. Sabra, *The Optics of Ibn al-Haytham, Books I-III: On Direct Vision* (London, 1989); and briefly discussed in Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Scrutinizing Gaze in the Aesthetics of Islamic Visual Cultures: Sight, Insight, and Desire," *Muqarnas* 32 (2015): 23–61, at 37–40. See also Elaheh Kheirandish's essay in this volume.
163. This manuscript (SK, Ayasofya 2448) has seal impressions of Bayezid II on fols. 1a and 677b. The date in the colophon (fol. 677b; see fig. 13d) has been read as 1464–65 (869) in the Süleymaniye Library's electronic catalogue. The date was misread as 899 (1493–94) in Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lxvii, where the dedication to Mehmed II (d. 1481) had been overlooked.
164. The first pages of the six-volume set are each consecutively labeled by 'Atufi from 1 to 6 as *al-mujallad (X) min kitâb bin al-Haytham fî al-manâziri min qibali al-hikmati*. Because one of the volumes contains two books, the total number of volumes is six, even though they contain all seven books. Hence, some of the volume (*mujallad*) numbers in 'Atufi's inventory, which are inscribed above the opening pages of each volume, do not correspond to the book (*maqâla*) numbers of the medieval titles written on the same pages. The Süleymaniye Library has volume 1 (Fatih 3212, medieval label Book I, dated 476/1083, Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a, 140b); volume 2 (Fatih 3213, medieval label Book II, dated 476/1083, Bayezid II's seal on fol. 1a); volume 3 (Fatih 3214, medieval label Book III, dated 476/1083, Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a, 197b); volume 4 (Fatih 3215, medieval label Books IV and V, dated 636/1239, Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a, 328b); and volume 6 (Fatih 3216, medieval label Book VII, dated 476/1083, Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a, 138b). The Topkapı library has only volume 5 (TSMK, A. 3339, Karatay A 7149, medieval label Book VI, dated 476/1083, stamped with Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 133b).
165. Sabra described the single-volume manuscript (SK, Ayasofya 2448) as "the only copy that has the whole text of I.H.'s work," comprising 677 folios. He noted that this complete copy was transcribed from what he calls the "Askari Set," which he named after the copyist Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ja'far al-Askari, who was the son-in-law of Ibn al-Haytham (i.e., SK, Fatih 3212, 3213, 3214, 3216; and TSMK, A. 3339) complemented by Fatih 3215: Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lxvii. See note 164 above for these six volumes. Sabra does not mention another large-format undated Ottoman copy in the palace library of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics*, which bears no seal impression of any sultan and perhaps dates from the eighteenth century (TSMK, H. 2007, Karatay A 7150: misidentified as E.H. 2007 by Karatay).

166. This volume (TSMK, A. 1899; Karatay A 7148) only has Ahmed III's seal impression on fol. 1a. I am grateful to Elaheh Kheirandish, who brought to my attention the important observation in Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lxviii–lxxxiii, that this volume was transcribed in 915 (1509) from a copy completed in 476 (1083) “as stated on the first page” (namely, SK, Fatih 3212, 3213, and 3214 in the “Askari Set”). Sabra noted that, in A. 1899, the date written at the end of Book I is Sunday, 2 Safar 915 (May 22, 1509) and the date at the end of Book II is Wednesday, 30 Rabi' I, 915 (July, 18, 1509). Another manuscript copy (Köprülü 952) is described in Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lxviii: written in Maghribi script, it contains fragmentary sections of books and seems to have been copied in the fourteenth century; but unlike other extant copies, it features the geometrical diagrams of Books IV and V. (These diagrams are missing from SK, Fatih 3215 and Ayasofya 2448, where their places are left blank.)
167. The medical books in Latin are listed in Raby, “East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library,” 303. On further bibliographical references to Jacopo da Gaeta, the Jewish physician who initially attended Murad II and subsequently became the physician to his son, Mehmed II, thereafter rising to the posts of finance minister and vizier after converting to Islam, see Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 7, 12.
168. Charles Berlin, “A Sixteenth-Century Hebrew Chronicle of the Ottoman Empire: The *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* of Elijah Capsali and Its Message,” in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature in Honor of I. Edward Kiev*, ed. Charles Berlin (New York, 1971), 21–44, at 27. For an inter-confessional debate between Mehmed II and George Amiroutzes on the prophecy of the Prophet Daniel concerning the four kingdoms, see Argyriou and Lagarrigue, “Georges Amiroutzès et son ‘Dialogue sur la foi au Christ tenu avec le Sultan des Turcs,’” 161–68. The translated Book of Daniel manuscript (SK, Ayasofya 3367) is cited in Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 12. Besides the seal impressions of Bayezid II on fols. 1a and at the end, it has the *waqf* seal of Mahmud I and of his endowment inspector on fol. 1a. Hence, the manuscript must have been transferred from the Inner Treasury to the Ayasofya collection of Mahmud I. On this manuscript, see also Raby, “Greek Scriptorium,” 19; Fleischer, “Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences,” 232; and Fleischer, “A Mediterranean Apocalypse,” 49.
169. Raby, “Greek Scriptorium,” 19.
170. On Ardinghelli's gift, see Emil Jacobs, “Büchergeschenke für Sultan Mehmed II,” in *Festschrift für Georg Leyh* (Leipzig, 1937), 20–26, at 25–26. Ardinghelli was one of Mehmed II's four Florentine advisors against Venice, who were well respected among the Florentine colony of the Pera district in Istanbul: Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 255. The two entries in the palace library inventory are discussed in Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 16.
171. The inventory's list of books on Hagia Sophia and Constantinople are cited in Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 23, 60n58, 70n24. I have not examined extant copies to determine whether they are stamped with Bayezid II's seal or not. For the Greek manuscript of the *Diēgēsīs*, see Deissman, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai*, 45–46, no. 6; and Raby, “Greek Scriptorium,” 17. The palace library also has an unillustrated Greek translation of Cristoforo Buondelmonti's Latin text, *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, featuring an Ottoman-style binding; see Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai*, 67, no. 24; Raby, “Greek Scriptorium,” 23, 29. On the Persian translation of a Byzantine chronicle used as a primary source by Bidlisi in his coverage of Mehmed II's reign, see Yıldırım, ed. and trans., *İdris-i Bitlîsî Heşt Behişt VII. Ketîbe*, LXXXIV–LXXXV, CVIII, 57, 61–62; Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a*, 466. Genç makes a plausible argument that Bidlisi must have also gained access to history books on Islamic dynasties, Ottoman chronicles, and other texts that were kept at Bayezid II's palace library (*Acem'den Rum'a*, 219–20, 466–68).
172. In the inventory, versions of the Alexander Romance that appear under Persian literature are: 231 {8}, 231 {8}, 234 {12}, 251 {13}. A Turkish version is: 264 {4–5}. Arabic and Persian versions of Aristotle's book of advice to Alexander are: 145 {11–13}, 197 {17–19}, 198 {6, 11–13}.
173. The lives of Alexander and Caesar translated into Turkish for Mehmed II are mentioned in Agostino Pertusi, ed., *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, 2 vols. (Verona, 1976), 2:132–33. An extant Greek copy of Arrian's *Anabasis*, the classical life of Alexander the Great, at the palace library has been dated to the 1460s and attributed to Mehmed II's court scriptorium in Raby, “Greek Scriptorium,” 18. A now-lost copy of Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Life of Alexander* in the Topkapı library was seen by A. Mordtmann, “Verzeichnis der Handschriften in der Bibliothek Sr. Maj. des Sultans,” *Philologus* 9 (1854): 582–83. On the comparison of Mehmed II to Alexander, his Aqqoyunlu rival Uzun Hasan, and further literature, see Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 6–9. For the comparison of Timur to Alexander in Timurid texts that glorify his spiritual and political authority, see İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī and the Islamic Republic of Letters* (New York, 2016), esp. 153, 254–57, 285.
174. The three Alexander entries are discussed in Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 6–9, where I wrongly suggested that the nine-volume set may have been a translation from Greek and misjudged the third title as a work probably associated with Mehmed II. The nine-volume set is identified by Cornell H. Fleischer and Kaya Şahin as possibly Taceddin Ahmedî's *İskendernâme* in Turkish verse in this volume. ‘Atufi generally (though not always) mentions languages other than Arabic in his entries, but he does not do so in this case. After checking extant manuscript copies of the *İskendernâme* at the Topkapı library, I concluded that the nine-volume manuscript listed by ‘Atufi is more likely the one in Turkish by Ahmedî's brother Hamzavi, which combines prose with some verse. Its two surviving volumes at the Topkapı library are: H. 1554, identified on fol. 1a as *al-jild*

- al-sādis min kitāb Iskandarnāma fī al-tawārikh* (The Sixth Volume of the Book *Iskandarnāma*, on History); and H. 1555, copied in the beginning of Sha‘ban 874/1470, which is identified on fol. 1a as *al-mujallad al-tāsi wa-huwa al-akhir min kitāb Iskandarnāma fī al-tawārikh* (The Ninth Volume and It Is the Last Volume of the Book of *Iskandarnāma*, on History). This last title confirms that the work belongs to the nine-volume set listed by ‘Atufi. On Hamzavi’s prose *Iskendernāme*, see İsmail Avci, “Türk Edebiyatında İskendernāmeler ve Ahmed-i Rıdvân’ın İskendernāmesi” (PhD diss., Balıkesir University, 2013), 47–52.
175. On titles used by Bidlisi for Bayezid II, see Genç, *Acem’den Rum’a: İdris-i Bidlisi*, 458, 530. The compendium with Bayezid II’s seal (SK, Fatih 5323) was transferred from the Topkapı library to the Fatih collection, now in the Süleymaniye Library. A second copy of the same compendium (SK, Ayasofya 4260, dated 714/1315) no longer preserves seal impressions of Bayezid II (the lower parts of fols. 1a–2a are torn, and the last page is missing). This manuscript also originated in the palace library; it is stamped with Mahmud I’s *waqf* seal (fol. 1a) and that of his *waqf* administrator on fol. 2a. The title on the flyleaf is *Kitāb al-muhāwara bayn al-Iskandar wa-Aristatālis*. On the contents of both volumes, see Mario Grignaschi’s articles: “Le roman épistolaire classique conservé dans la version arabe de Salīm Abū-l-‘Alā,” *Le Muséon* 80 (1967): 211–64; “Les Rasâ’il ‘Aristatālis ilâ-l-Iskandar de Salīm Abū-l-‘Alā’ et l’activité culturelle à l’époque omayyade,” *Bulletin d’Études Orientales* 19 (1965–66): 7–83; and “Un roman épistolaire gréco-arabe: la correspondance entre Aristote et Alexandre,” in *The Problematics of Power: Eastern and Western Representations of Alexander the Great*, ed. M. Bridges and J. Ch. Bürgel (Bern, 1996), 109–23. More recently: Miklós Maróth, *Correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander the Great: An Anonymous Greek Novel in Letters in Arabic Translation*, Documenta et Monographiae V (Piliscsaba, 2006). For a review comparing Maróth’s publication with those of Grignaschi, see Dimitri Gutas, “On Graeco-Arabic Epistolary ‘Novels,’” *Middle Eastern Literatures* 12, no. 1 (2009): 59–70.
176. On Amiroutzes, his sons, and texts translated from Greek to Arabic for the sultan by Mehmed Beg, see Vladimir Mirmiroğlu, *Fatih Sultan Mehmet Han Hazretlerinin Devrine ait Tarihi Vesikalar* (Istanbul, 1945), 94–102, at 98; Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 247. The two manuscript copies (SK, Ayasofya 2610 and 2596) have been identified in Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 11. One of these is listed by ‘Atufi as *Tarjumatu Kitābi Baṭlamyūs bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī tafṣīli al-aqālīmi al-ma’rūfi bi-‘ilmi al-jughrāfiyyā* (203 {6–7}). The same title is repeated verbatim above fol. 1a of Ayasofya 2596, which bears the seals of Bayezid II on fols. 1a, 75a, and has a dedication to Mehmed II on fol. 1a. The *waqf* seals of Mahmud I and of his endowment inspector are also stamped on fol. 1a. Another entry in the inventory, *Tarjumatu Kitābi Baṭlamyūs bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī tafṣīli al-aqālīmi ma’a ṣuwarihā al-ma’rūfi bi-jughrāfiyyā* (203 {7–9}), corresponds exactly to the title of Ayasofya 2610 (on fol. 23a), which is stamped with Bayezid II’s seal only on fol. 23a because its last page is missing. That treatise is preceded by another one with many maps, bound together in the same volume whose first pages are lost; it therefore lacks a title, and Bayezid II’s seal is only stamped at its end (fol. 21b). Perhaps referring to this partially preserved illustrated treatise or to another lost manuscript, ‘Atufi’s third entry reads, *Tarjumatu Kitābi Baṭlamyūs fī ‘ilmi al-jughrāfiyyā bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī ṣuwari al-aqālīmi* (203 {5–6}).
177. The inventory lists illustrated copies of al-Istakhri’s *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-Mamālik* (also called *Ṣuwar al-aqālīm*), among which TSMK, A. 2830 bears a dedication to Mehmed II but is not stamped with Bayezid II’s seal. Impressions of Bayezid II’s seal appear on the opening and closing pages of two other copies of al-Istakhri’s work. One of them is titled *Kitābu aqālīmi al-arḍi ‘alā al-mamāliki al-islāmiyyati fī al-tawārikhī* (SK, Ayasofya 2971, fol. 1a), while the other is identified as *Kitābu aqālīmi al-arḍi ‘alā al-mamāliki al-islāmiyyati min qibali al-tawārikhī* (TSMK, A. 3349, fol. 1a, 79b). Both titles come very close to two entries in ‘Atufi’s inventory: *Kitābu aqālīmi al-arḍi ‘alā al-mamāliki al-islāmiyyati* (202 {15–16}). Illustrated Arabic treatises in the geography section of the inventory are assigned generic titles (202 {10–16}); therefore, identifying extant volumes and their seals will require future codicological research. Greek and Latin manuscripts of Ptolemy’s geography at the Topkapı Palace library are listed in Deissman, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai*, 68–69, no. 27; 80–82, no. 44; 89–93, no. 57. Mavroudi speculates (“Translations from Greek into Arabic at the Court of Mehmed II the Conqueror,” 196–97) that another Greek version in Cardinal Bessarion’s collection, now in Venice (Marc. gr. Z.516=[904]), “can be tentatively associated with the library of Mehmed the Conqueror.”
178. Gritti, “*Relazione* [1503],” 20–21; Genç, *Acem’den Rum’a*, 458n1379. An illustrated military treatise in Latin, once kept at the Topkapı Palace book treasury, probably belonged to Mehmed II. This treatise by Mariano Taccola (d. ca. 1453–58) was written in 1449 and copied by Paolo Santini de Duccio, likely in Venice around the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Titled *De re militari et machinis bellicis*, it was acquired in 1687 by the French ambassador Pierre de Girardin through an Italian renegade, who removed it from the Topkapı Palace collection (BnF, Lat. 7239): see Bibliothèque nationale de France: <http://archivesetmanuscrits-slabs.bnf.fr>, Archives et manuscrits, Latin 7239. An illustrated treatise surviving at the Topkapı library is Roberto Valturio’s *De re militari* printed at Verona in 1472 (TSMK, H. 2699), whose manuscript version was sent to Mehmed II in 1461 by the ruler of Rimini, Sigismondo Malatesta, but was confiscated by the suspicious Venetians. On this and other European books presented as gifts to Mehmed II, see Jacobs, “Büchergeschenke für Sultan Mehmed II,” 20–26; Jacobs, “Mehmed II der Eroberer, seine Beziehungen zur Renaissance und seine büchersammlung,” 6–29;

- and Raby, "East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library," 300–301.
179. Discussed in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 11–12. For the extant Arabic manuscript and the misattribution of 'Atufi's title to a modern hand, see J. Nicolet and M. Tardieu, "Pletho Arabicus: Identification et contenu du manuscrit arabe d'Istanbul, Topkapı Serai, Ahmet III 1896," *Journal Asiatique* 268, no. 1-2 (1980): 35–57, at 38–39. On this Arabic translation, see also Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek into Arabic at the Court of Mehmed II the Conqueror," 203–7; and her "Pletho as Subversive and His Reception in the Islamic World," in *Power and Subversion in Byzantium*, ed. Dimiter Angelov and Michael Saxby (Farnham, England, 2013), 177–203.
180. The two quadrilingual lexicons are mentioned in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 11. The abbreviated title on fol. 1a of Ayasofya 4750 reads: *Lughati 'arabī wa-lughati fārisī wa-lughati rūmī wa-lughati sarfī*. Bayezid II's seal is stamped on fols. 1a and 63b. The second copy bound in a compendium (Ayasofya 4749) has Bayezid's seal on fol. 1a and the abbreviated title *Lughati fārisī, 'arabī, wa-rūmī wa-sarfī*. Both manuscripts were summarized, with no mention of Bayezid II's seals, in A. Caferoğlu, "Note sur un manuscrit en langue serbe de la bibliothèque d'Ayasofya," *Revue internationale des études balkaniques* 1, no. 3 (1936): 185–90; and Speros Vryonis, Jr., "Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul: Evolution in a Millennial Iconography," in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*, ed. Irene A. Bierman et al. (New Rochelle, NY, 1991), 13–52, at 39–40. See also Werner Lehfeldt, *Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbokroatisches Sprachlehrbuch in arabischer Schrift aus dem 15./16. Jahrhundert* (Bochum, 1970); and his edited book, *Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte – Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbisches Gesprächslehrbuch vom Hofe des Sultans aus dem 15. Jahrhundert als Quelle für die Geschichte der serbischen Sprache* (Cologne, 1989). Multilingual lexicons in the palace library inventory are discussed in the essays by Ferenc Csirkés and Tahera Qutbuddin.
181. TSMK, A. 2698 (Karatay: A 8732).
182. For a catalogue of surviving manuscripts and printed books in non-Islamic languages at the palace library, see note 32 above. On the *Iliad* manuscript made for Mehmed II, his days as a crown prince, and his fascination with the legend of Troy, see Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 6–7, 9–10. This *Iliad* manuscript in the BnF in Paris, which the French ambassador Pierre de Girardin acquired via intermediaries from the Topkapı library in 1687, is dated to around 1463 in Raby, "Greek Scriptorium," 20–21. The provenance of two other *Iliad* manuscripts in Greek, from the thirteenth and fifteenth century, that survive in the Topkapı Palace library is unknown: see Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai*, 42–43, no. 2; 96, no. 65. I would like to thank Dimitri Gutas, who pointed out that he has never come across any reference to "a story of Qirisus" in the Graeco-Arabica corpus, and has suggested that if the legend in Herodotus was available in a Byzantine Greek story, the manuscript in the library inventory "may well be a transcription, in Arabic characters, of the Greek story, in a manuscript which would appear to have contained other stories in various alphabets" (email correspondence). This section of the inventory does indeed include some lexicons and works in Greek. I am grateful to Dimitri Angelov, who confirmed that Croesus was a known figure in Byzantium; according to the electronic database of Byzantine Greek texts, Croesus was used "as an exemplum by rhetoricians for a wealthy king who loses divine favor and falls from power" (email correspondence).
183. On Ilyas ibn Ibrahim al-Yahudi, who wrote the Hebrew treatise on astronomy in al-Andalus before moving to Istanbul, see Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu et al., eds., *Osmanlı Tabii ve Tatbiki Bilimler Literatürü Tarihi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 2006), 20, no. 18; and Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu et al., eds., *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1997), 1:71–73. The polemical theology treatise is listed in 'Atufi's inventory as *al-Risālatu al-hādīyatu fī ibtālī hujaji al-yahūdi 'alā al-islāmī min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmī* (63 {14–15}). The earliest known extant copy (TSMK, A. 1735, Karatay A 4945) is identified on fol. 1a with a slightly different abbreviated title, which omits the affiliated discipline: *al-Risālatu al-hādīyatu fī ibtālī adillati al-yahūdi 'alā al-islāmī*. Dated 19 Jumada II 902 (February 22, 1497) and written by 'Abd al-Salam al-Muhammadi, it has Bayezid II's seal on fol. 38a. On an edition of the polemical treatise that does not use the earliest manuscript at the Topkapı, see Sabine Schmidtke, "The Rightly-Guiding Epistle (*al-Risāla al-Hādīya*) by 'Abd al-Salām al-Muhtadī al-Muḥammadī: A Critical Edition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 36 (2009): 439–70.
184. The treatise (TSMK, A. 3302, fols. 102b–109a) is titled *Dhikr ba'd al-maḥallāt* [i.e., *al-muḥālāt*] *al-lāzima li-aṣl wad' falak al-tadwīr wa-khārīj al-markaz wa-bayān luzūm kaww ḥarakāt al-samā' wa-jamī 'ajzā'ihā ilā nāḥīya wāḥida*, according to Robert Morrison, "A Scholarly Intermediary between the Ottoman Empire and Europe," *Isis: A Journal of the History of Science Society* 105, no. 1 (March 2014): 32–57, at 35–36. See also his "An Astronomical Treatise by Mūsā Jālīnūs alias Moses Galeano," *Aleph* 11, no. 2 (2011): 385–413. Unaware of Bayezid II's seal in that volume, Morrison speculated that it was "perhaps" written in the sixteenth century.
185. See Morrison's transcription and English translation of the Arabic text: "An Astronomical Treatise by Mūsā Jālīnūs alias Moses Galeano," 385–413; the quote is at 400–401.
186. Karatay's catalogue mentions only the first item in this compilation (TSMK, A. 3302, Karatay: A 7055), comprising two treatises. This first work on theoretical astronomy is by the Andalusian scholar Nur al-Din Abu Ishaq al-Bitruji (d. 1185), titled *Kitāb al-Murta'ishfi al-hay'a* (Book of Trembling on Theoretical Astronomy). The compendium has no sticky label on the flap of its original binding. Nor is there a seal impression of Bayezid II at the end of the volume; only one seal remains on fol. 1a. The final pages of the volume seem to be missing and Musa Jalinus's treatise ends

- abruptly on fol. 109a. The second manuscript copy listed by 'Atufi has not yet come to light. The Arabic treatise by Musa Jalinus and his other works are listed in İhsanoğlu et al., eds., *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi*, 1:224–25; and Morrison, "Scholarly Intermediary." See also the essay by Jamil Ragep et al. in this volume on al-Bitruji's groundbreaking work, which posited a "homocentric modeling as an alternative to Ptolemy's *Almagest*" (the first item in the Topkapı manuscript, whose second item is not discussed in their essay).
187. For Musa Jalinus's expertise in mechanical devices, his acquaintance with Bayezid II's court, his intellectual-professional networks in Istanbul, and his works, see Y. Tzvi Langermann, "Medicine, Mechanics, and Magic from Moses ben Judah Galeano's *Ta'ulumot hoḳmah*," *Aleph* 9 (2009): 353–77; Y. Tzvi Langermann, "A Compendium of Renaissance Science: *Ta'ulumot hoḳmah* by Moses Galeano," *Aleph* 7 (2007): 285–318, esp. 287–88. David A. King has hypothetically attributed a spherical astrolabe signed as "the work of Musa, in the year 885/1480-81" to Musa Jalinus in Istanbul; if his attribution is correct, this scientist was already active around the time of Mehmed II's death (d. 1481) and Bayezid II's accession: see *Spherical Astrolabes in Circulation: From Baghdad to Toledo and to Tunis and Istanbul*, <http://www.davidaking.academia.edu/version> 24 September 2018, pages 50–119. On the translation of Zacuto's *Almanacum perpetuum*, see *ibid.*, 109. For the two other astrolabes with dedicatory inscriptions to Bayezid II, dated 910 (1504–5) and 911 (1505–6), see David A. King, "Two Astrolabes for the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II," 1:439–59; and David A. King, *In Synchrony with the Heavens: Studies in Astronomical Timekeeping and Instrumentation in Medieval Islamic Civilization, Volume Two: Instruments of Mass Calculation* (Leiden; Boston, 2005), Part XIV: 775–96. Alchemical works in 'Atufi's inventory are analyzed by Noah Gardiner in this volume.
188. On the bridge project and Bayezid II's mosque complex in Istanbul, with its possible connections to Pope Julius II's New Saint Peter's in Rome, initiated ca. 1506, see Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London, 2011), 88–92; and my "Architectural Dialogues across the Eastern Mediterranean: Monumental Domed Sanctuaries in the Ottoman Empire and Renaissance Italy," in *The Companions to the History of Architecture, Volume I: Renaissance and Baroque Architecture*, ed. Alina Payne (Hoboken, NJ, 2017), 594–623, at 600–604.
189. European illustrated treatises on military engineering associated with Mehmed II are cited in note 178 above. Pappus discusses mechanics in Book VIII of his *Mathematical Collection*. I am indebted to Elaheh Kheirandish for bringing this undated illustrated Arabic translation (SK, Ayasofya 3624) to my attention; it is cited in her essay in the present volume. In the compendium, which I examined, only the treatise by Pappus (fols. 52a–103b) is stamped with Bayezid II's seals (fols. 52a and 103b). The seal of Mahmud I's *waqf* inspector is on fols. 1a and 52a, with Mahmud I's *waqf* seal on fol. 1b.
190. SK, Ayasofya 2753, seal impressions of Bayezid II, Mahmud I, and Mahmud I's *waqf* inspector are on fol. 1a, with another seal of Bayezid II on fol. 70b. On the practical geometry treatise of Buzjani, see my essay and that of Elaheh Kheirandish in Gülru Necipoğlu, ed., *The Arts of Ornamental Geometry: A Persian Compendium on Similar and Complementary Interlocking Figures*, Supplements to Muqarnas 13 (Leiden; Boston, 2017), 11–78, 79–144.
191. On translated pre-Islamic holy books listed in 'Atufi's inventory, see Cemal Kafadar's essay in this volume; and Argyriou and Lagarrigue, "Georges Amiroutzès et son 'Dialogue sur la foi au Christ tenu avec le Sultan des Turcs'," 157, 159. On a Bible translated from Greek to Arabic for Mehmed II by one of Amiroutzes's two sons, called Mehmed Beg, see Mirmiroğlu, *Fatih Sultan Mehmet*, 98.
192. Many titles of the scholarly-bureaucratic madrasa curriculum established by Sultan Süleyman about half a century later match those in 'Atufi's inventory, an observation that merits further examination. However, this curriculum is entirely confined to the Islamic religious sciences, unlike the wide-ranging disciplines encompassed in the palace library inventory. See the book list of the curriculum analyzed in Shahab Ahmed and Nenad Filipović, "The Sultan's Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial *medreses* Prescribed in a *fermān* of Qānūnī I Süleymān, Dated 973 (1565)," *Studia Islamica* 98/99 (2004): 183–218.