
HAFIZ AHMED AĞA LIBRARY

Across Centuries and Sea



The Hafiz Ahmed Ağa Library*

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“My association with the Hafiz Ahmed Ağa Library began in 1997, when Elias Kollias, then director of the Ephorate of Antiquities, invited me to translate its original catalogue from Ottoman Turkish into English. At the time, Dr. Kollias imagined that the task would require no more than a month. Were he alive today, he would, I suspect, be surprised—if not appalled—to learn that the project has now extended over three decades.

The reasons for this protracted endeavor lie in the nature of the original catalogue itself. Abbreviations are frequently used for the names of authors and titles of works, but these are of little help in securely identifying either. Moreover, the catalogue provides no account of the twenty-five classificatory headings, most of them being Islamic sciences, into which the library’s holdings are divided, nor does it offer biographical information on the scholars whose works defined the sciences. It soon became clear that the project could not remain a mere inventory of books. Rather, it had to evolve into a broader undertaking: a historical survey of the Islamic sciences, a biographical study of their authors, and a contextual discussion of the Prophet Muhammad, the Kur’ān, and the formative period of Islam.

In this light, an almost thirty-year effort for what was once thought to be a one-month task is perhaps not as implausible as it may seem. The British historian Arnold Toynbee confronted a similar experience: what began as a modest set of notes eventually grew into his monumental ‘A Study of History’, a multi-volume work that took him three decades to complete and expanded into nothing less than a history of the world.

At the close of my own study of the library, I was fortunate enough to be introduced to Tarık Tüten, the representative (mütevelli vekili) of the administrator (mütevelli) of the library’s pious foundation. Tarık has been an unfailing source of patience and support, particularly as I have contended with a debilitating illness. His encouragement has extended well beyond friendship: he has been an ardent advocate of my research on the library and on the history of Ottoman Rhodes, and he has shown himself to be a first-rate scholar through his involvement in the field of Ottoman studies and in the publication of this volume.”

John Robert Barnes

Due to a theft from the Library of two valuable Kur’āns in 1990 and their sale at Sotheby’s auction house in London, while they were subsequently recovered through Interpol, there was a concern for the creation of a catalogue that would be comprehensible either in English or Greek that would make every volume in the Library easily identifiable. Having someone with a knowledge of Ottoman translate the catalogues was found to be expedient since employing a team of specialists in Near Eastern bibliography examine and record each of the 828 volumes would have been labor-intensive and time consuming, not to mention expensive. The Ottoman catalogues were not of much use to Ephorate officials for they presented a problem on two counts. First the inventory found in the vakfiye of Hafiz Ahmed Ağa, in the first 1795 *Catalogue*^{1a}, and in the two 1923 catalogues were written in Ottoman in the Arabic script. And while the 1995 *Catalogue* was written in transliterated Ottoman in modern Turkish using the Latin script, the titles of the volumes are the same abbreviated descriptive titles given in all previous catalogues in Ottoman and on the spines of the cartons housing the volumes. These brief entries are not the actual full titles of given works, nor do they provide the full names of the authors. Needless to say, repeating this shorthand in yet another catalogue would be of little value in identifying a work or its author. In spite of the significant contribution their inventory has provided for the Library, the catalogue compiled in 1995 by Hüsnü Özer and Ali Çakır from the General Directorate of Religious Foundations in Ankara remains for the specialist.

A problem then of all the catalogue entries, with the exception of the 2010 *Resimli Katalog*^{1b} and the present catalogue, is that they are written in a kind of shorthand which in its brevity is meant to

* The present study was undertaken at the request of the Fourth Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities on Rhodes, presently styled the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, a department of the Greek Ministry of Culture responsible for the historical, archaeological and architectural monuments of the Dodecanese islands. It was originally published in Greek in *Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά*, περιοδική επιστημονική έκδοση της Στέγης Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, Τόμος ΚΣΤ’ (Rhodes 2014), 333-90 and Τόμος ΚΖ’ (Rhodes 2017), 963-1043. The article in this volume is an abbreviated version and the first publication in English.

^{1a} The original leatherbound catalogue of the Hafiz Ahmed Ağa collection placed in his library is undated. In a supplement to Prof. Ettore Rossi’s article on the Ottoman siege and conquest of Rhodes, he has written an addendum on the Hafiz Ahmed Ağa Library, which he visited in 1924. On p. 58 he makes the notation that while the catalogue is undated, it does bear the seal of the founder, Hafiz Ahmed Ağa, and provides the date at the bottom of the seal which is 1207 in the Islamic calendar beginning the 19th of August 1795. This leads the reader to infer that the date of the catalogue is the Gregorian calendar date 1795 anno domini. However, the Islamic date of 1207 is not the equivalent of the year 1795; it corresponds to the Christian calendar date of 1792-3, the date when the Library was established according to vakfiye pious foundation deeds of Hafiz Ahmed Ağa relating to the founding of the Library. How a meticulous scholar such as Ettore Rossi failed to notice this egregious error and allowed it to go into print is beyond comprehension. An inscription in stone (levha) over the entrance to the library complex has the foundation date of 1208, not 1207, due to the fact that the buildings and library personnel were created as pious endowments by a series of vakfiye attachments which had been added as supplements to an original vakfiye deed creating vakıf property in Smyrna as a source of revenue for various pious foundations Hafiz Ahmed Ağa had established there. See Ettore Rossi, *Assedio e Conquista di Rodi nel 1522, Secondo le Relazioni Edite ed Inedite dei Turchi, Con una notizia sulla Biblioteca Hafiz di Rodi* (Roma: Libreria di Scienze e Lettere del Dott. G. Bardi, 1927), p. 58.

^{1b} *Resimli Katalog* (Photographic Catalogue) is an abbreviated title used throughout this study for *Rodos Fethi Paşa Vakfı Hafiz Ahmed Ağa Kütüphanesi Yazma Eserler Kataloğu* (A Catalogue of Manuscript Works in the Hafiz Ahmed Ağa Library, a Part of the Fethi Paşa Religious Foundation on Rhodes), Editors Bekir Şahin and Faruk Ağartan, with the Assistance of Mikail Bayram and Mehmed Tıghoğlu, Konya 2010. The study is authoritative and is a state of the art production for the original collection of 828 volumes that Hafiz Ahmed Ağa placed in his library and some 1200 volumes that have come to the Library as pious donations over time.

be descriptive; the titles are intended to be instantly recognizable; and while they are, they remain intelligible only to the adept. For anyone not intimately acquainted with the material, however, they are not at all helpful for they presuppose a considerable knowledge about the title and author on the part of the reader.

By way of explanation, take for example the title written in the vakfiye, the first 1795 *Catalogue*, the two 1923 catalogues, and the 1995 *Catalogue*. The title is, briefly, *Hafidī ale'l-Muhtasar*. What, exactly, does this mean? In point of fact, it means a good deal as there is a wealth of information that lies behind this short entry. To begin with, it should be noted that the lâkab Hafidī is not particularly self-evident; it is not at once apparent that Hafidī is a by-name for Saifaddīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Sa'daddīn Ḥafid at-Taftāzānī al-Herewī, who died in either 906/1500 or in 916/1510. Ḥafid at-Taftāzānī wrote a gloss (*ḥāshiya*) entitled *Sharḥ ash-sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar* on the second interwoven commentary (*sharḥ*) by yet another scholar named at-Taftāzānī, specifically *Sa'daddīn* Mas'ūd b. 'Umar *at-Taftāzānī* (d. 791/1389), whose commentary is entitled *Mukhtaṣar al-Ma'ānī*. This work is a commentary on the abridgement by Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Kazwīnī, Khaṭīb Dimashk entitled *Talkhīs al-Miftāḥ*, which is a synopsis of the third part of a comprehensive study on rhetoric known as the *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* by Sirādjaddīn as-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229).

None of this information, obviously, is evident from the abbreviated title. The entry provided in the 2010 *Resimli Katalog* (Kayıt no. 12, p. 533) certainly fares better as it is more informative. The authors have provided the following: Hāshiye ale'l-Muhtaṣarī'l-Meani by Hafid at-Taftazani Seyfeddīn Ahmed b. Yahya el-Herevī (d. 916/1510). Here it is clear that the work is by Ḥafid at-Taftāzānī and that it is a gloss (*ḥāshiye*) on a commentary (*ṣerḥ*) entitled *Muhtaṣarī'l-Meani*, although it is rather doubtful that any reader who is not an adept in the Islamic sciences would be able to get much farther beyond that. For the full names of authors and the complete titles of works, the authors of the *Resimli Katalog* appear to have relied upon the *Kesfel-Zunun* of Kātib Çelebi, which is given in their bibliography.

For anyone not well-versed in the Islamic sciences, it would not be possible to follow the trail of commentary that leads back to the original source. Fortunately, the existence of Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* makes this reconstruction possible. Apart from providing an entry on Ḥafid at-Taftāzānī in the second volume of his study, Brockelmann fully enumerates the commentaries and glosses in his entry on as-Sakkākī in volume I. The pertinent information regarding the gloss by Ḥafid at-Taftāzānī is found in the GAL in GI 294, which is presented as follows:

GI 294. Sirādjaddīn a. Ya'qūb Yū. b. a. Bakr b. M. b. 'A. *as-Sakkākī*, geboren 555/1160 in Khwārizm, starb in Qaryat al-Kindī bei Ma'li i.J. 626/1229. I. *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* in 3 Teilen: I. *'Ilm aṣ-ṣarf*, 2. *'Ilm an-naḥw*, 3. *'Ilm al-ma'ānī wal-bayān*. After listing the numerous commentaries on the third part of the *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm*, Brockelmann then presents various synopses of the *Miftāḥ*, followed by an abridgement of the third part, *'Ilm al-ma'ānī wal-bayān*: Auszüge aus dem 3 Teil: I. *Talkhīs al-Miftāḥ* v. Djamāladdīn M. b. 'Ar. al-Qazwīnī Khaṭīb Dimashq, gest. 739/1338. This is followed by numerous commentaries on the abridgement by al-Qazwīnī. Included among them are two commentaries by at-Taftāzānī (gest. 791/1389), followed by a number of glosses. The first commentary (A.) is entitled *ash-Sharḥ al-Muṭauwal*, while at-Taftāzānī's second interwoven commentary (B.) is entitled *ash-Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar*. This second commentary has given rise to a number of glosses. Among them is that of the author in question, which is presented as the second entry: Glossen: –b. v. A. b. M. b. Ya. b. M. al-Herewī Ḥafid at-Taftāzānī, gest 916/1510 (GII 218).

In addition, Brockelmann provides a separate entry for Ḥafid at-Taftāzānī in the second volume of his study (GII 218). Although his biography of the author is brief, it is nevertheless informative in identifying who he was and how he died. Ḥafid at-Taftāzānī followed his father in becoming Shaikh al-Islām in Herāt. He was executed by the command of Ismā'il, the founder of the Shi'ite Ṣafawid dynasty in Iran: GAL GII 218: Saifaddīn A. b. Ya. b. M. Sa'daddīn Ḥafid at-Taftāzānī al-Herewī folgte seinem Vater als Shaikh al-Islām in Herāt und wurde im Ram. 916/Dez. 1510 auf Befehl des Ṣafawiden Ism. hingerichtet (n.a. 906/1500). –5. *Sharḥ ash-sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar* I, 355.

As the majority of the volumes in the Library are in Arabic and comprise renowned works by celebrated authors, for the present study recourse was to the most authoritative and complete reference work for Arabic titles and authors, Carl Brockelmann's *Geshichte der arabischen Literatur*. This has been followed by reference to Bursalı Mehmed Tahir's *Osmanlı Müellifleri* (Biographies of Ottoman Authors), and Mehmed Süreyya's Sicill-i Osmânî (An Ottoman Biographical Dictionary). Other reference works that were consulted are the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, both first and second editions, the *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* in Turkish, the TDV *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, which is Online, and the *Türk Ansiklopedisi*. It should be noted that not all of the authors and titles of the volumes in the Library were found in these reference works. Corrections and additions of titles and authors have been supplied by the 2010 *Resimli Katalog*. Another concern was to make the Islamic sciences comprehensible in English to the non-specialist by providing an introduction to each category. A perceived need for those unacquainted with the authors or the titles was to offer the reader a brief biography of the author which would explain why this person achieved enduring renown in his particular field or in a variety of fields in the Islamic sciences.

The present system of enumerating the volumes is to provide a running list of works that continues through all categories including Kur'an, sciences and literature. Thus, if the number of books in the Kur'an category is six, the Tafsir category that follows begins with the number 7, not with the number 1. This continuous numbering that runs through all the categories is called the *sıra numarası* in the 1923 catalogues and in the 1995 *Catalogue*. After the numbering that represents the running list, there is the numbering system that corresponds to the books within a given category of the sciences. The first book in any category begins with the number 1 and continues to the end of the books in that category. Within the Kur'anic Commentary category of Tafsir, for example, the volumes are enumerated 1 through 72. In the two 1923 catalogues this numbering of volumes within a category is known as the *vakıf numarası*.

It should be noted that this double listing of continuous numbering and enumerating books within a category was first employed in the two 1923 catalogues, inventories which have been designated by their author Hafız Celaleddin Müftizade as *Fihrist* and *Evkaf Dairesi*. This method of double enumeration was not used for the *vakfiye* listing nor the first 1795 *Catalogue*; in fact, these first inventories have no numeration system at all. The authors of the 1995 *Catalogue* have used a *sıra numarası*, a single continuous numbering throughout the categories. The double numbering system has been employed again in the 2010 *Resimli Katalogue* and is used here in the present catalogue.

The kind of information provided about the books in the vakfiye and 1795 *Catalogue* is virtually identical. In the *vakfiye* listing, for each volume there is a description in Ottoman in the Arabic alphabet of the type of script, the color of the cover of the volume, the number of lines per page, the number of pages, the name of the author (at times), and an abbreviated title of the volume in a unbroken, extremely dense, and continuous series of works divided only by the expression *ve def'a* (and again) or by *ve yine* (and moreover; and again), and by the introduction of the next category of science. For example, in the Tafsir category the first, second and third entries appear as the following: *ve arab hattile cild-i ahmer kırk üç satır ve beşyüz doksan dört kağıdlı tefsir-i kurtubi'nin cild-i evveli ve kütüb-i tefasirden nefis nesih hattile cild-i ahmer yirmi beş satır ve beş yüz yedi kağıdlı bir cild tefsir-i allameti'l-beyzavi ve yine müzeyyen nesih hattile cild-i esved kırk yedi satır ve sekiz yüz yetmiş beş kağıdlı bir cild kadi üzerine haşiye-i şeyhzade*.²

² *And moreover*, in the arab script, with a red cover, 43 lines to the page and 594 leaves, volume I of the Kur'anic commentary by al-Kurtubī, *and from the books on Tefasir*, in the nesih script, with a red cover, 25 lines to the page and 507 leaves, one volume of the Kur'anic commentary by the learned al-Baidāwī, *and again*, in the nesih script, with a black cover, 47 lines to the page and 875 leaves, an illuminated volume of a gloss by Shaikhzāde on the

In dealing with the vakfiye entries, copying out this extensive and closely compacted list of works can be more than a little taxing, and the monotony of the activity itself has proven to make transcribing by the recorder repeatedly error-prone in an attempt to follow accurately the entries in proper sequence. The problem of following the miniscule script in Arabic orthography is rendered all the more difficult by the complete lack of any punctuation or capitalization of proper nouns, and disregard for any space separation between entries. A bibliographer would fare better in dealing with the first *1795 Catalogue*, which inscribes the details of each entry in the novel shape of an inverted triangle with an average of only ten to twelve entries per page. Unlike the dense vakfiye listing, there is considerable space around and between entries. Naturally by comparison this style of presenting the contents of the collection makes for relatively easy reading.

The first catalogue of the Hafız Ahmed Ağa collection has been dated to the year 1795, although there is no specific date when it was compiled in its pages. The date 1795 is suggested here, which was not long after the vakfiye list was written in 1792-3, although the first catalogue may have been compiled as early as 1793. This catalogue has a number of blank pages between each category. The reason for this is not entirely clear since there should not have been additional entries to the founder's collection—unless he or his descendants were to have made them. But there are no additional works in any of the categories by Hafız Ahmed Ağa, or by his son Ahmed Fethi Paşa. The spaces may have been reserved for comments regarding the existing corpus of books, but it is impossible to say. Some pages do have entries of books bequeathed by donors at various times, but they are spare.

For the sake of brevity and simplicity, the first 1923 catalogue is designated as 1923 *Fihrist* (List), since that is the title written on the cover of this register. It was compiled remarkably within a month's time in cemaziyelâhır 1341/January 1923 by Hâfız Mehmed Celâleddîn Müftizâde Efendi, a scholar from the island of Limni (Lemnos). Mehmed Celaleddin had originally come to Rhodes simply for a change of air (*tebdil-i hava*), but chose to occupy himself during his stay on the island by making gratis a record of the original collection of the Library. The inscription on the outside cover informs the reader that the *Fihrist* was compiled during the time when Hoca Mahmud Efendi was acting as head librarian.

The second catalogue was recorded at the same time and was intended as a copy for the *Evkaf Dairesi* (Office of Religious Foundations) on Rhodes, as clearly stated in large letters on the cover and on the first pages. This duplicate list was also written by Hâfız Mehmed Celâleddîn Müftizâde Efendi. Both catalogues have the approximately the same format, with some variations and additions in the comment section, and both are written in hardcover registers produced by the English Manufactory of Book and Register.

As for the *1995 Catalogue*, it was composed by Hüsni Özer and Ali Çakır, two scholars from the Vakıf Genel Müdürlüğü, the General Directorate for Religious Foundations in Ankara.³ While making an inventory of the books in the Library, these scholars have followed closely the first *1795 Catalogue*, as

Kur'anic commentary by Kâdî Baiḍāwī.

3 The actual title of the hardbound catalogue, as a desktop publication produced on a computer, is “Rodos'ta Fethi Paşa Kütüphanesinde Mevcut Kitaplarla ilgili 29.10.1995—06.12.1995 Tarihleri arasında Yapılan Çalışmaların Raporu” (A Report of work which was done between the dates 29.10.1995 and 06.12.1995 in connection with Books Existing in the Fethi Paşa Library on Rhodes). A copy of the study is housed in the Hafız Ahmed Ağa Library in the Medieval Town of Rhodes. Note: The Hafız Ahmed Ağa Library is also known by some as the Fethi Paşa Library due to the fact that the religious foundation of Hafız Ahmed Ağa was taken over by his son Fethi Paşa in the mid-nineteenth century. The name of the founder of the library, Hafız Ahmed Ağa, is retained here, however, to avoid the mistaken notion recorded elsewhere that Ahmed Fethi Paşa created the Library when in fact the Library was his father's creation.

evident from numbers they have written in pencil next to the entries. The hardbound desktop publication they have compiled covers the entire contents of the Library, that is, both the 828 volumes Hafız Ahmed Ağa purchased and placed in his library, and the some 1200 works that were later donated over time to the Library as pious donations.

It should be noted that the two 1923 catalogues and the *1995 Catalogue* have not maintained the original sequence of the classificatory headings as presented in the vakfiye list or in the first *1795 Catalogue*. Further, they have not respected the original order of entries for each category. This is apparent right from the beginning in the recording of the Kur'āns. The first Kur'ān is a work that has 13 lines to the page and 228 leaves, according to the vakfiye inventory and the *1795 Catalogue*. This Kur'ān appears however not as the first, but as the third Kur'ān in the 1923 catalogues, and as the fourth Kur'ān in the *1995 Catalogue*. Ideally, the original order of the first *1795 Catalogue* should have been maintained, both for the sequence of the categories and for the order of books. That however would have entailed a complete reconfiguration of the Library. Unlike the other catalogues, it is the 2010 *Resimli Katalog* alone that reflects the present order of books in the Library, as well as the present order of the classificatory headings, which, oddly, does not conform either to the order of previous catalogues or that of the vakfiye list or the original *1795 Catalogue*.

Rodosî El-Hâc Hafız Ahmed Ağa

The information concerning Hafız Ahmed Ağa is minimal. What little Mehmed Süreyya provides in his biography of Ottoman officials may have come from his grave stele. While the date of his birth is not known, it is clear that he came from the village of *Uzğur köyü* (Asgourou) on Rhodes and apparently was from an established Ottoman family. Nothing is known about his father, Hasan Ağa, whom Mehmed Süreyya has mistakenly identified as Mehmed Ağa, as the epigraphic evidence on Rhodes concerning him is quite spare and uninformative. Over the fountain in the courtyard of the library founded by Hafız Ahmed Ağa there is a dedication to his father, and there is the inscription on his grave stele located in the cemetery of the tekve of Murad Reis, which indicates that Hasan Ağa was a member of the Ottoman ruling class, although it remains unclear if he was from the civil service or from the military. It is also not known how his son entered the palace service as a youth from Rhodes. All that is known is that Hafız Ahmed Ağa received his early education in the Inner Service (*Enderun-i hümayun*) of the Imperial Palace in Istanbul, and rose through the ranks to one of the highest offices, that of Chief Equerry to the Sovereign (*Rikabdar-i Hazret-i Şehryarı*). He held this office until 8 Muharrem 1204/28 September 1789, when he retired. Some time later, it is not clear when, he was appointed Hicaz Kaftan Ağası. In this capacity he annually accompanied the Sürre Emîni, the official entrusted with sending gifts from the Sultan to the Şerif of Mekka. On his return from the Hıdjâz, in 1215/1800-01 he died.⁴ The reason for his

4 “Elhac Hafız Ahmed Ağa, Rodosîzâde,” *Sicill-i Osmânî*, vol. I (Westmead: Gregg International Publishers, 1971), 276; originally published in Istanbul: Matbaa-i âmire, 1308/1890. The authors of a 2010 publication of manuscripts in the Hafız Ahmed Ağa Library apparently derived their brief biographical entry on Hafız Ahmed Ağa from *Sicill-i Osmânî* as well-including Mehmed Sürreya's error in stating that the father of Hafız Ahmed Ağa was Rodosî Mehmed Ağa. See *Rodos Fethi Paşa Vakfı Hafız Ahmed Ağa Kütüphanesi Yazma Eserler Kataloğu*, ed. Bekir Şahin and Faruk Ağartan (Konya 2010), p. VII. Then in his study on the history of Rhodes, Mr. Nasuhoğlu provides a Türk Dil Kurumu journal publication which repeats the same information on Hafız Ahmed Ağa given in *Sicill-i Osmânî*, beginning with the statement that his father was Rodosi Mehmet Ağa. On page 72, however, he has given the correct name of Hafız Ahmed Ağa's father (Hasan Ağa) inscribed in Ottoman on a fountain in the courtyard of the Library In his study on Rhodes, the çeşme inscription is clearly legible in a phtograph on page 252. Apart from a number of the Türk Dil Kurumu publication (401 sayılı), he provides no other information. But Mr. Nasuhoğlu should not be taken to task for not following scholarly protocol: he received his professional training as a lawyer, not as an academician. His not having proper note citation or an index aside, Mr. Nasuhoğlu's study is a valuable mine of information on the history, customs, and culture of the Turkish community on Rhodes, especially for the twentieth century. See Mehmet Sadi Nasuhoğlu, *Rodos: Anılar-Tarihçe*,

death is not known, but according to one account he was killed in the region of Antalya, his death having been ordered by the Sultan,⁵ perhaps with the usual object of confiscating his wealth. As a man of considerable means, Hafız Ahmed Ağa wanted to do something for the place of his origin, the island of Rhodes. After his retirement as Chief Equerry to the Sultan, he determined on building a library in the Turkish quarter of the Old Town of Rhodes. What he envisioned was more than a library, however. He thought of it as a *külliye*, that is, as a number of buildings with various functions. Apart from the central building of the library within the walled compound, he also built a two-storey school house to educate boys in Arabic and the Kurʿān. In back of the school was a storehouse that acted as a kind of pantry where cooking utensils such as a large caudron (*kazan*) was kept. This came into service on holy days and sacred nights of the year to serve religious meals (*kanduri*) to the staff members of the library complex at the end of their fast during the six holy nights of Şevval (Shawwal), for dervishes who recited litanies for the souls of the founder's family during the four sacred nights of the year, and to serve the poor on these occasions, as well as at the end of Ramazan during Şeker Bayramı, and on the day of Kurban Bayram.

The library was intended to be open to the public:—specifically to that sector of the public that was literate in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman. Since the educated class was limited in the main to the religious, civil and military officials that comprised the ruling class of the Ottoman Empire, it naturally excluded the majority of the Muslim population of Rhodes who were not literate; that is, fishermen, seamen, traders, merchants, and anyone engaged in agriculture, except perhaps for a class of large landowners (*ağalar*) and certain members of their extended family. Individuals of the ruling class, whether high-ranking civil, religious or military personnel, could not be classified as residents of Rhodes since their tour of duty often lasted for a few years before being transferred to some other location in the empire. These Ottoman officials were necessarily then a transient population. Another sector of the transitory literate class comprised visitors to the island. They consisted primarily of ranking members of the religious class (*ulema*) and above all members of the Egyptian aristocracy and their entourage. Often they came to Rhodes during the hot summer months for a change of air (*tebdil-i hava*),⁶ while a number of them had summer residences on the island. Another class of visitors that were of the Ottoman ruling class were those who stopped in Rhodes as the last port of call on their way to Alexandria, or who disembarked on the island as part of a maritime stage on route to making the pilgrimage to Mecca. During their stay on Rhodes it would have been natural for them to spend their leisure hours in the library.

Hafız Ahmed Ağa may have been aware of the fact that his library would be of benefit to only a narrow segment of the Rhodian population. The school he created on the Library grounds would have had the purpose of ameliorating this situation. There were no schools on Rhodes before 1793 when he established his educational complex. Specifically, there were no religious primary schools for boys at the elementary level (*mekâtib-i sibyan*) either in the medieval walled town or in Turkish towns and villages throughout Rhodes. Basic instruction in Arabic and the Kurʿān was left to the imams of the mosques

second printing (Muğla Üniversitesi Basımevi, 2008), 69.

⁵ Ibid., 70.

⁶ Unfortunately for some, instead of finding a change of air, they encountered the plague. Serious pandemics repeatedly broke out throughout the Levant, especially during the course of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. A number of those who fell victim to the bubonic or pneumonic plague acquired the disease in Alexandria and died after their arrival on Rhodes, or they became infected while they were on the island. A number of them are found in the cemetery of Murad Reis near the port, which was a graveyard reserved for the Ottoman aristocracy, class distinction being maintained even in death.



Hafız Ahmed Ağa Library

Orfeos Street entrance at night (left) and courtyard and the library with guardian Mitso in front.

Photos: T. Tuten

within the medieval town. The more promising students continued their education in the *medreses* (in Arabic madrasas). The Old Town had three *medreses* as noted by Evliya Çelebi: namely, the Demirli, Hurmalı, and İbrahim Paşa *medreses*.⁷ There is no mention by Evliya Çelebi, who visited Rhodes in 1671-2, of a medrese founded by Sultan Süleyman as part of his külliye, although one source reports that the first *medrese* that was established in the Old Town (*iç kale*) was the Süleymaniye medrese, which was established in 1549.⁸ Apart from a *cami* and an *imaret* (soupkitchen), Süleyman's pious endowments (*evkaf*) included a *hamam*, identified as the *Hamam-ı cedid*, the Yeni Hamam or New Hamam, which has traditionally been associated, mistakenly, with the baths of Sultan Mustafa III (*regn.* 1757-1774).⁹

⁷ Uğur Ünen, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İdaresinde Rodos Adası," Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, Aydın 2013. Doctoral Dissertation online. Only three medreses are mentioned for the 17th century: Hurmalı, Demirli and İbrahim Paşa (p. 43).

⁸ Ünen, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İdaresinde Rodos Adası," p. 43.

⁹ According to a ferman of Sultan Selim II dated 1568, the *yeni hamam* was among the religious and charitable foundations established in Rhodes by his predecessor Sultan Süleyman (*regn.* 1520-1566). The Yeni Hamam is the name by which the public bathhouse next to the Sultan Mustafa III Camii has traditionally been known. It has been assumed until recently that the hamam adjacent to the cami was created as a vakıf and source of revenue for the Sultan Mustafa III mosque. The correct identification of the men's baths as the baths of Sultan

The women's baths were added to the men's baths of Sultan Süleyman as a source of revenue for the maintenance of the Sultan Mustafa III mosque across the way, and were built at the same time as the Sultan Mustafa mosque during the third quarter of the eighteenth century.¹⁰ In the sixteenth century then only two public baths existed: the *Hamam-ı atîk* (the Eski or Old Hamam), already in existence before the Ottoman conquest of Rhodes in 1522, and the *Hamam-ı cedîd* (the New Hamam), the men's baths of Sultan Süleyman.¹¹

The school established by Hafız Ahmed Ağa conformed to a Kur'anic school where instruction was limited to Arabic and reading the Kur'an. The head librarian and assistant librarian, who were both employed to teach in the school, were *müderrişîn*, persons who reached a grade in the hierarchy of the ulema which qualified them to teach at the medrese level. The instructor that evidently replaced them under Ahmed Fethi Paşa's reorganization of his father's foundation in the mid-nineteenth century is styled as a *ders-i âm* (*dersiâm*), who also attained the educational level of a *müderriş*. İbrahim Edhem Efendi was a preacher (*vaiz*) in the Süleymaniye mosque, a müfti of Rhodes, and a müderriş. It is stated on his grave stele that over the course of a long teaching career he had taught thousands of boys Arabic and the Kur'an. It may be assumed that İbrahim Edhem Efendi taught his students in the Süleymaniye Camii where he served as the imam.

Süleyman was first made by Giulio Jacopi. See his "Il Bagno di Solimano a Rodi," Estratto dal III Fascicolo—XI Anno di *Dedalo*, Agosto 1930 (VIII), (Milano-Roma: Casa Editrice d'Arte Bestetti & Tumminelli S. A.), 170. While recognizing that there has been some controversy over how to name the baths, in his study on the Turkish monuments and history of Rhodes, Zeki Çelikkol believed the proper appellation is the Baths of Sultan Mustafa since they were built to serve as religious foundation revenue for the Mosque of Sultan Mustafa III nearby. See Zeki Çelikkol, *Rodos'taki Türk Eserleri ve Tarihçe* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1986), 73. According to M. Sadi Nasuhoğlu (*Rodos: Anılar ve Tarihçe*, Muğla, 2008, 53; 61-2), the same architect and contractors (*müteahhitler*) were used for the construction of the baths and the mosque, although he cites no source to support this. Mr. Nasuhoğlu states that although the baths were made vakıf as a source of revenue for the mosque, for whatever reason, this arrangement was not adhered to, and administration was transferred from the Evkaf to the Ottoman government treasury (*miri*) which became a source of income for the maintenance of the baths. He does provide a story however of how the baths were completed before the mosque. A construction worker was seen putting a foundation stone to the mosque and after hesitating, taking it away a number of times. The foreman in charge of the construction called him over and asked for an explanation of what he was doing. The worker replied that he had not performed his ritual ablutions and was reluctant to place a cornerstone to a house of God with canonically unclean hands. The foreman agreed with this excuse, and for this reason the baths were completed first before the mosque. But this hardly seems plausible. Charming as the story is, a more likely explanation for the interruption, assuming that it had actually happened, would have been for the foreman to have simply called for a timeout from work until the worker had performed his ablutions, and the work on the mosque could then have proceeded on schedule.

10 Based on a study of the two different architectural styles for the baths, it has come to the light that the baths for men were constructed in the time of Süleyman, while the women's baths were added in the eighteenth century under Sultan Mustafa III (*regn.* 1757-1774), a recent architectural confirmation of Giulio Jacopi's 1930 study. It was the revenue from the additional women's baths, and not the men's baths, that served as a source of income for the salaried staff of the Sultan Mustafa III Camii and for maintenance of the mosque. See Δημοτική Λουτρόα: *Yeni Hammam*, text by Άννα Παρασκευοπούλου and Νίκος Ζαρίφης, Εκδόση Δήμος Ροδίων, 2000.

11 Ünen, opera citato, p. 42.



Hafız Ahmed Ağa Library, the reading room.

Photo: T. Tuten

The İbrahim Paşa Medrese was situated across from the İbrahim Paşa Camii at the lower end of the Old Town. By the beginning of the twentieth century, it had been reduced to a ruined condition and was torn down to be replaced by a series of shops that were made vakıf. The school had been known as the İsmail Paşa Medrese which served as an "iptidâî medrese" for boys at an elementary school level.¹² It would appear then that the İbrahim Paşa medrese ceased to function as such, although it is not clear when or exactly why. It may be assumed that the medrese ended its operation as a higher level theological school most probably during the course of the nineteenth century, and was converted to a primary religious school due to a lack of sufficient income from the vakıf. The Hurmalı Medrese may have suffered the same fate, for the only medrese known to have been functioning during the first part of the twentieth century was the Demirli Medrese. It is probable that the religious scholars and personnel suffered gradual reduction in their salaries with the establishment of the Evkaf-ı Haremeyn Nezareti, the Ministry for Haremeyn Estates, which had been established in 1249/1833 as a ministry separate from the jurisdiction of the Darüssaade Ağası.¹³ By 1843, their income from this foundation was lowered to the point that it was virtually nil.¹⁴ With their teaching staffs reduced to penury by the mid-nineteenth

12 Nasuhoğlu, *op. cit.*, 56.

13 John Robert Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), 77; and Chapter VIII for the general decline of religious foundations under the Imperial Evkaf Ministry, pp. 118-53.

14 Bekir Şahin et al., *Rodos Fethi Paşa Vakfı Hafız Ahmed Ağa Kütüphanesi Yazma Eserler Kataloğu* (hereafter *Resimli Katalog*), p. VIII: Haremeyn Evkafı arasında yer alan Ahmed Ağa kütüphanesi'nin görevlileri ve cami imamları ile medrese hocaları 1842 yılı itibariyle devlete müracat ederek ücretlerinin azlığı nedeniyle sefalet içinde bulunduklarını bildirmişlerdi. (Dating from the year 1842, the salaried officials of the Ahmed Ağa Library as well as the imams of the mosques and the teachers of the medreses who drew their salaries from the

century, it is suspected that the İbrahim Paşa and Hurmalı medreses would no longer have operated, and their buildings either would have been abandoned or would occasionally have served as primary-level theological schools (*mekâtib*).¹⁵ The medrese and library established by Hafız Ahmed Ağa would suffer a marked diminution in vakıf revenue by the mid nineteenth century as well.

Rodosîzade Ahmed Fethi Paşa, Son of Hafız Ahmed Ağa

Ahmed Fethi Paşa was born several months after his father's death, some time between the years 1801 and 1802. In 1809-10, as a youth who had attained the age of eight, he entered the Inner Service (*Enderun-i hümayun*) of Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, as his father had. In 1825-6, at the age of twenty-five, he graduated from the Palace Service (*çıkma*), and entered the Imperial Ottoman Army to begin a career in the military. Following his appointment as adjutant major in 1828-9, he took part in military action and he became a major, advancing rapidly in rank to become lieutenant colonel, and then full colonel in 1830 by the age of thirty. He then became the officer in charge of the Munitions Arsenal Barracks in Istanbul. Later in the same year, he became Court Chamberlain in the Imperial Palace to Sultan Mahmud II and then Chief Equerry to the Sultan, the high office his father had been associated with. In March-April of 1831 he became Divisional General of the Imperial Guards Regiments.

Being exceptionally bright and recognized for his skill in political and social situations, Ahmed Fethi Paşa was called upon to use his talents in a diplomatic capacity.¹⁶ He was sent to Vienna as provisional ambassador of the Ottoman government in June 1835 to congratulate Ferdinand I upon his succession to the throne of Austria, which had occurred on 2 March 1835. A year later, in June 1836, he was appointed full ambassador to Vienna, and held that position until October 1837 when he was dismissed. At the same time, as an additional concurrent office, in July of 1837 he was appointed governor of the province of Aydın with the rank of vizier. In January-February 1838 he was made ambassador to London, and was officially present as a representative of the Ottoman Empire at the coronation of Queen Victoria in Westminster Abbey on 28 June 1838. Shortly after that time he was appointed Ottoman ambssador to Paris in March-April 1838.

Ahmed Fethi Paşa's role as ambassador to the capitals of Europe did not extend beyond this brief period of a few years. Upon his return to Istanbul in 1839, he found himself embarking on yet another career as the head of various ministries within the Ottoman government. This began with his appointment as Minister of Commerce (*Ticaret Nazırı*) on 8 January 1840. It was at this time that he became engaged and married to Atiye Sultan, the daughter of Sultan Mahmud II. As son-in-law to the Sultan, he became

known as Damad Ahmed Fethi Paşa. He held the post briefly as Undersecretary to the Minister of War (*Serasker Kaimakamı*), but was soon dismissed from that office in April 1840. In April 1842 Ahmed Fethi Paşa was invited to become a member of the law court created in 1837 to try cases of high-ranking officials (*Meclis-i Vala-yn Ahkam-ı Adliye*). He was made head of that court in November 1843, and dismissed a year later. In March of 1845 he was appointed Minister for War Minitions (*Mühimmat-i Harbiye Nazırı*), and in August of that year was made for the first time Commander of the Arsenal (*Tophane Müşiri*) while still acting as Minister for War Munitions. He held the office of Tophane Müşiri for seven years, until July 1852, the longest period he held any official government appointment. After a brief appointment for the second time as Minister of Commerce in February 1853, he was again appointed Tophane Müşiri in May 1853. Dismissed on 9 September 1857, he was again for the third time made Commander of the Arsenal the following month on 22 October 1857.

Ahmed Fethi Paşa died in that office on 14 February 1858 at the relatively young age of 57 or 58, depending on which date is given for his birth. Because of the amount of time he spent as Tophane Müşiri until death, Ahmed Fethi Paşa's name is usually associated with that office.

As to his character, he has been described as extremely intelligent and highly cultured, and it is worthy of note that he was never out of imperial favour. As to his appearance, he tended to be a little on the heavy side, and was said to be afflicted with chronic asthma as well. The cause of his death is unknown. On Rhodes he left a clock tower and a school, and, according to Mehmed Süreyya, a library.¹⁷

Ahmed Fethi Paşa was something of an enthusiast for Western timepieces, and is known for his having built a European-style clocktower. The tower is adjacent to the Süleymaniye mosque and across from the library of his father. He also furnished a clock for the new Rüşdiye school he built next to the clock tower. The longcase clock was supplied by Edward Prior of Clerkenwell, London, who supplied clocks and timepieces for the Ottoman empire. For some time the clock has been out of operation. It is now housed in the courtyard of the clock tower as a non-functional heirloom.

Something else that attracted Ahmed Fethi Paşa's attention while in Europe was museums. On his return to Istanbul, he was determined to initiate something similar, if only on a modest scale. He decided upon creating a military museum in the region of the former Byzantine church of Haghia Irene. In the new museum, which he named *Mecma-ı Asar-ı Atika*,¹⁸ he displayed historic pieces of military ordnance.

Apart from creating in 1852 a European-style clock tower in the Old Town and a Rüşdiye secondary school next to it, Ahmed Fethi Paşa took over the pious endowment of his father and added it to his own. The reason for doing so was to ensure the financial soundness of the foundation, which since the early 1840s had failed to yield sufficient income from the revenue-bearing landed and roofed property that Hafız Ahmed Ağa had endowed for his Library. According to his foundation deed (*vakfiye*), Hafız

Haremeyn Pious Foundations petitioned the government and made it known that owing to a reduction in their pay they were reduced to a state of penury.)

15 Nasuhoğlu, *op. cit.*, 56. According to Mr. Nasuhoğlu, before the medrese located across from the İbrahim Paşa Camii was torn down in the 1920s to be replaced by a number of shops that were made vakıf, it had been known as the “İsmail Paşa Medresesi” which was under the direction of a religious scholar know as Hacı Şerif. The building then served as an “iptidaî medrese” administered by someone known as Hoca. The name of this medrese remained the “Şehir İçi Mektebi” until the building was demolished. It would appear from Mr. Nasuhoğlu's description that there was a confusion of terms in designating the building either as a medrese or a mekteb. The school probably served as a mekteb, a theological primary school for boys, during the latter part of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. This structure may have been the original İbrahim Paşa medrese until it was deprived of revenue during the course of the first half of the nineteenth century. But this is no more than a surmise, and what happened to the medrese awaits further investigation.

16 This ability to recognize and promote talent by government officials and influential persons who had the means to do so was a basic characteristic of the Ottoman Empire, which accounts in part for the empire's dynamism and longevity.

17 “Fethi Ahmed Paşa, Rodosîzade,” *Sicill-i Osmânî*, iv, 9-10. The authors of the *Resimli Katalog* (Introd. VII) have reproduced in Turkish the list of Ahmed Fethi Paşa's appointments as a military officer, a high-ranking government official, and as an Ottoman ambassador found in *Sicill-i Osmânî*, but without the benefit of equivalent terms in apposition and without commentary. “Ahmet Fethi Paşa, Rodosizade, Damat,” *İnönü Ansiklopedisi*, vol. I (Ankara: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1946), 256; “Fethi Paşa, Rodosizade Damat Ahmet,” *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Yedigün Neşriyatı, 1946-7), 138. The mistaken notion that Ahmed Fethi Paşa created a library that is found in *Sicill-i Osmânî* is repeated in İbrahim Gövsa's *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopedisi*. More correctly, he inherited and took over his father's library complex.

18 M. Sadi Nasuhoğlu, *opera citato*, 70.

Note: *Mecma-ı Asar-ı Atika* is not fully descriptive of Ahmed Fethi Paşa's military museum. It translates as “a place of assemblage of antiquated works,” without specifying that the antiquated works are of a dated military nature such as canons, cannonballs and the like. Still, Fethi Paşa's military museum represented a prototype of museums such as the Istanbul Archaeological Museum of today.

Ahmed Ağa created revenue for his library from property which he owned throughout the city of Smyrna (İzmir). There is no mention of his creating vakıf property in Rhodes. At some point in time, Hafız Ahmed Ağa's foundations in Smyrna must have become *bi-kudret*, that is, powerless to yield an income, although it is unclear why. It is possible that vakıf property may have declined in value due to inflation, or it may have been abandoned as the result of the plague. Roofed property would have been exposed to repeated outbreaks of fires, while crops on landed property in Smyrna were often subject to the ravages of crop pests.¹⁹ Whatever the cause, the loss of income from religious foundation property in Smyrna may have compelled the Library's personnel to petition the Darüssaade Ağası to receive income from the Haremeyn evkafı, although when this was done is not clear. By 1843 this income was no longer sufficient, and the library personnel had to apply to the Ottoman government for a living wage. This dire state of affairs compelled Ahmed Fethi Paşa to create his own vakıf by purchasing eighteen shops throughout the walled town of Rhodes and devoting the income to his father's library, in effect making the library his own pious foundation since Hafız Ahmed Ağa's evkaf had ceased to exist.



Clock Tower, built by Ahmed Fethi Paşa
1852-1853
Photo: T. Tuten

In taking over his father's pious endowment, for the sake of economy Ahmed Fethi Paşa altered some of the original terms of the foundation deed, specifically in cutting back on what he must have regarded as superfluous personnel such as a second guard to the library grounds as well as second doorman, and two librarians who were paid additional salaries to teach boys Arabic and the Kur'an on alternating days. While the sequence of events presented here is only conjecture, further research in the archives should clarify what actually happened.

As for Ahmed Fethi Paşa's own endowments, they comprised a clock tower in the vicinity of the Library and a *rüşdiye* secondary school for boys adjacent to it, where, according to his *vakfiye*, the students would be instructed in Arabic, Persian, and reading the Kur'an. As to the school, it was staffed by an instructor (*muallim-i sibyan*), an assistant in charge of discipline (*muavin*), and a doorman (*bevval*), who drew their salaries from the seventeen shops Ahmed Fethi Paşa had created and had made vakıf.²⁰

19 Vitalis Strumza was appointed head of a commission to eradicate phylloxera attacking vines in the viticulture industry in Smyrna during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Avram Galanti, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, Tome VII (Istanbul: Editions Isis, n.d.), 145.
20 T. C. Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü sayı 410. Müşarünameyle Ahmed Fethi Paşanın 21 Safer 1269 tarihli vakfiyesinin muhakeme kısmı hariç olarak çıkarılan örneğidir.

As for the imposing European-style Clock Tower, the inscription that Ahmed Fethi Paşa placed on it is worthy of note, and is presented here in English translation:

The fame of Sultan Abdülmecid Han's liberality that has captivated the world has come to this city and provided this majestic spectacle.

A love of country and a desire to give thanks to his homeland inspired Ahmed Fethi Paşa to build this Clock Tower.

May the soul of his father, Hafız Ahmed Ağa, rejoice with the knowledge that this edifice has been added to the works of benefice he has created for this city.

*It is fitting and proper that the construction of this building was made sound under the sign of Scorpio.*²¹

Every hour that the people observe the time, it is as if the clock gives the path of the fixed times of the world-adorning sun as it traverses the heavens.

*God created that Shah that affixes the stated hours with his Minister.*²²

*The clock mechanism moves purely with a natural grace, like a pendulum, and provides two beautiful times.*²³

This charming and lovely Clock Tower is now a part of Rhodes. With its ring may the heavens resound with the liberality of Ahmed Fethi Paşa.

By way of a final note, some four years after the Clock Tower and Rüşdiye school were built, on 6 November 1856 at 3.45 pm, lightning struck the Ottoman Arsenal (*cebhane*) located in front of the conventual Church of St. John the Baptist and its campanile. Apart from completely destroying the church and sheering off the top half of the former Palace of the Grand Masters, the blast damaged a number of buildings along the Street of the Knights, part of the wall surrounding the Old Town,²⁴ and numerous buildings throughout the Turkish quarter. The explosion is estimated to have killed eight hundred people, primarily Turkish Rhodians residing in the Old Town. It also seriously damaged both the Clock Tower and Rüşdiye secondary school. Both edifices were restored to their original condition however from the revenue of the endowment Ahmed Fethi Paşa had created.²⁵ Further damage to the Library was sustained in 1863 as a result of a major earthquake that struck Rhodes.²⁶

21 Undertakings such as building projects were considered auspicious if carried out under the proper astrological sign.
22 The Shah and his Minister are the Sun and the Moon.
23 This probably refers to the clock ringing on the half hour and the hour.
24 There is an inscription on the upper part of the wall surrounding the Old Town (*kale, iç kale*) to the left of the Amboise Gate. It states that the wall was repaired by Dizdar Mustafa, but the date has been effaced. It is likely that the restoration was undertaken after the explosion of the Ottoman Arsenal in 1856.
25 The reader is referred to the dedicatory inscription on a large stone for a new Arsenal created in 1276/1859-60 by Sultan Abdülmecid located in the garden of the Villa Dragut inside the Archaeological Museum within the Old Town. The inscription states that Sultan Abdülmecid had made an Arsenal once before (probably in the 1840s), but by chance it had been destroyed when it was struck by a bolt of lightning; consequently he was restoring the arsenal anew. See John Robert Barnes, "Gunpowder and the Explosion in 1856 of the Former Church of St. John in the Medieval Town of Rhodes," *Fortifications of the Ottoman Period in the Aegean*, Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference held in Mytilene 30th - 31st October 2018, Edited by Pavlos Triantafyllidis (Mytilene 2021), 321-28. The paper is accessible in Volume II.
26 *Resimli Katalog*, Introduction, p. VIII.

The Nature of the Library

There are two basic categories of books in the Library. The first category comprises those books purchased by the founder, Hafız Ahmed Ağa, and placed in his Library. They occupy the first two top rows of three levels of glass door wooden cases, and represent with the Kur’ān twenty classificatory headings. In all, Hafız Ahmed Ağa donated 828 volumes to his library. Most of the books are bound manuscript copies of classical Arabic, Persian and Ottoman works copied by hand at various times, but many of them during the course of the eighteenth century and purchased by the founder from the *sahhaf*lar, the secondhand bookseller’s markets in Istanbul and elsewhere. A number of them are illuminated manuscripts that are beautiful examples of the bookmaker’s art.

The second category, housed in the bottom third row of the bookcases, represents pious donations (in Arabic *waqf*, in Turkish *vakıf*) to the Library made by individuals over the course of time, as well as collections of volumes from various Islamic institutions on Rhodes such as theological schools (A. pl. *madāris*, Tr. *medaris*) and congregational mosques (A. pl. *djāwāmi’*, Tr. *cevami*). This collection amounts to some 1200 volumes in all. Taken as a whole, the physical quality of books in the secondary collection cannot compare with the original founder’s donation. A good many of these works are printed and the paper and bookbinding material are not of the best quality.

Both collections were intended to be separate and remain distinct. By way of example, all volumes placed in the Library by Hafız Ahmed Ağa had the large circular seal of the founder on the last page.²⁷ This identified the work as an original volume purchased by the founder. Books that were subsequently bequeathed to the Library by individuals are without the founder’s seal, but have been given a number, which clearly indicates that the work was a donation by a private individual.

Regrettably, this arrangement has not been respected, and as a consequence books that should have been placed in the bottom row as later additions to the Library have found their way into the two top shelves. How this occurred came about in the following manner. From the outset in creating his library, Hafız Ahmed Ağa took careful measures to guard against possible theft and loss of these valuable works by stipulating that no book was to be taken out of the Library. Visitors were only allowed to read the books in the outer reading room (*tedkik odası*) during Library hours. At the end of the day, all books taken out of the back room of the Library had to be returned by the Librarian to the shelves from which they were taken. The collection of volumes were not, then, to be used as in a lending library. In addition, it was stated in Hafız Ahmed Ağa’s foundation deed that there should be two salaried officials to watch each other to note and report any irregularity committed by the other. In his *vakfiye* Hafız Ahmed Ağa provided for two gatekeepers (*bevvalab*) at the entrance to the Library compound, two custodians for the grounds (*mustahfaz*), and two librarians (*hafız-ı kütüb*) in attendance within the Library proper who also served as teachers of the Kur’ān to boys in the classrooms on the Library’s grounds. He also stated that in the event that a book was lost or stolen, or if an original volume was substituted by another, the head librarian would be personally held responsible and would be required to replace the volume at his own expense.²⁸

27 In addition, each page of the first catalogue for the Library, designated here as the *1795 Catalogue*, was stamped with the seal of Hafız Ahmed Ağa, which gives the assurance that this long, leather-bound catalogue is an accurate and authorized list of the founder’s books. The *1795 Catalogue*, with few exceptions, follows the order of the classificatory headings and the sequence of volumes in the list of books recorded in Hafız Ahmed Ağa’s pious foundation deed (*vakfiye*).

28 T.C. Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü. 743 numaralı defterin 79 sahife ve 26 sırasında kayıtlı Hasan oğlu Rikapdar Rodoslu Ahmed Ağanın 13 rabiulahir 1208 tarihli (Monday, 18 November 1793) vakfiyesi, and separately,



Hafız Ahmed Agha Library, still life on the shelf.
Hadith (left) and Tafsir (right) sections
Photos: T. Tuten

This last stipulation was fine, in theory. However, the head librarians were not men of substantial financial means. Often they were found to be teachers of Arabic to school children, professors in the medreses, or imams of one of the many congregational mosques found throughout the medieval town of Rhodes. While highly educated, they eked out their living as religious salaried officials; consequently, they hardly had the means to pay for a missing volume—especially given the financial straits they found themselves in by the mid-nineteenth century. The volumes Hafız Ahmed Ağa bequeathed to his library were copied by master calligraphers and represented outstanding examples of the bookmakers’ art. While a number of these bound manuscripts date back to as early as 1450, many of them seem to have been made during the course of the eighteenth century. A single volume, then, would have been prohibitively expensive to purchase, especially during the nineteenth century when inexpensive printed works began to replace these single labor-intensive copies. Added to this, it would not have been easy for librarians situated on Rhodes to locate and replace books in the booksellers’ markets of Istanbul and İzmir, assuming they had the means to do so.

It would appear that Hafız Ahmed Ağa’s system of dual guardians worked quite well, for it is probable that no book from his original collection was ever lost or stolen. But exactly within a half century of the Library’s creation, the founder’s stipulation that there were to be two gatekeepers, two custodians of the grounds, and two librarians was no longer financially feasible due to a loss of revenue from the endowment’s roofed and landed property.

When Ahmed Fethi Paşa created his own pious endowment in 1852, in place of the two gatekeepers (*bevvalab*) and two guards of the grounds (*mustahfaz*), there was to be one gatekeeper who also functioned as a guard of the library complex. In addition, a servant was appointed to ensure the cleanliness of both the buildings and the grounds; and as evident from his title, *ferraş*, he had the specific duty of spreading and removing carpets during the canonical times for prayer. At this time both the head and

vakfiyesinin aynen örneği. Ve beher sene mah-i muharrem ü'l-haram duhul eyledik de cezire-i mezkurenin ulema ve ayan ekabir ve aḡniyasi kütübhane-i mezkurede cem’ olub hakim-i belde huzurunda kütübhane-i mezkurede mevzu’ kütüb-i mücellide mumza ve mahtum defteri mantukunca yegân yegân olunarak devir ve ta’dad ve yine yerlü yerine vaz’ olunub maazallahü taalâ defter-i mezkurdan ancak bir varak noksan bulunub yahud kütüb-i mezkure tebdil ile yerine âhar kitap vaz’ olunmuş bulunmak ihtimal olur ise hafız-i kütüb efendilere ve küfelasına alaeyyihalin tazmin ettirilüb yine yerine vaz’ ettireler.

assistant librarian may have been relieved of their duty to instruct children in Arabic and the Kur’ân, for the school within the Library complex was assigned a separate teacher (*dersiâm*).²⁹ It is also possible that Ahmed Fethi Paşa found the existence of a second librarian superfluous, and from 1852 on there was only one head librarian for the library. Added to this, Ahmed Fethi Paşa may have found the annual review of books in the Library by a committee unnecessary, although, like the appointment of a single head librarian, this is not mentioned in his *vakfiye*. Regrettably, after the original 1795 *Catalogue*, there was no additional catalogue made for the Library until 1923. Apart from the *vakfiye* of Ahmed Fethi Paşa in mid-century, there is no other information about the operation of the Library throughout the entire nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth.

As for the conditions for the operation of his Library complex, Hafız Ahmed Ağa stated in his vakfiye that apart from their duties in the Library, the head librarian and his assistant had the additional responsibility of teaching boys the Kur’ân, for which they were paid a separate stipend. The head librarian received sixty akçes daily as *hafız-ı kütüb* and forty akçes daily as a fee for teaching (*dersiye*). The assistant librarian was to receive fifty akçes daily as a librarian and thirty akçes daily as a *dersiye* or teaching fee for hs instruction. Under this arrangment the librarians must have alternated as teachers since both were responsible for being in the library during library hours and teaching students as well. As for the two gatekeepers and two guards, they were each to receive ten akçes daily for their services. Apart from their daily salaries, the personnel of Library complex received gratis cakes of made of white flour (*fodula*) from the nearby public kitchen (*imaret*) of Sultan Süleyman: the librarians were to obtain daily six to twelve loaves each and the *mustahfazlar* and *bevvalar* were allotted four to eight loaves daily.³⁰

The school of the Library complex consisted of a two-storey wooden structure comprising an upper and a lower level classroom (*dershane*) located immediately to the left of the entrance to the Library grounds. It was designed to accommodate forty students, who were to receive one akçe daily. They were allotted twenty *guruş* (*kurush*) to cover food expenses for an excursion that took place once a year,³¹ As for instruction, the students were to be taught every day of the week except Tuesdays and Fridays and designated holidays from dawn until three o’clock in the afternoon.³² With regard to the two days of the week when instruction was not given, Friday was a day of assembly in the congregational mosques, while Tuesday was set aside as a holiday for children from school in celebration and remembrance of the Muslim conquest of Palestine. The holiday was originally set on Thursday, but within the Ottoman dominions it fell on Tuesday.³³

29 Ibidem.

30 T.C. Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü. 743 Numeralı Defteri 153 sahife ve 36 sırasında kayıtlı Hasan oğlu Rikapdar Rodoslu Ahmed Ağa’nın 7 Muharrem 1211/13 July 1796 tarihli vakfiyesin aynen örneğidir.

31 Ibidem.

32 T.C.Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü. Rodosî Hafız Ahmed Ağa vakfiyesi. Ve kütübhane-i mezkurede bir fazıl ve âlim bir kimesenin hafız-ı kütüb-i evvel ve müderris olub kütübhane-i mezkureye bervech-i ati müdavemet ve hazırun alan talebeye beher hafta salı ve cumadan maada eyyam-ı sairede ulum-u nafiadan dersi talim edüb hizmeti mukabelesinde yevmi elli akçe hafız-ı kütüblük ve otuz akçe dersiyye ki oldahi cem’an yüz seksen akçe vazifeye mutasarrıf olalar ve mezburan efendiler vazifelerinden maada babüssaade ağası nezaretinde olan cezire-i rodosta vaki merhum ve mağfurunleh Sultan Süleyman Han tabesirrahü cami-i şerifi imaretinden alınmak üzere taraf-ı padişahiden vakf-ı müşarünileyh zavaidinden olmak üzere müteayyin buyurulan cem’an yirmi çift foduladan hafız-ı kütüb efendilerden her biri yevmi altışar çiftten on iki çift fodulayı ahz edeler ve mustahfaz ve bevvalardan her biri dahi yevmi dörder çiftten sekiz çift fodulayı dahi imaret-i mezkurdan ahz edeler ve ber vech-i muharrer hafız-ı kütüb ve müderris ve bevval ve mustahfaz olan efendilerden her biri yevmi cuma ve salı ve idinden maada beher yevm kütübhane-i mezkureyi tulu-i şemsden vakt-ı asra değin küşad edüb...

33 “Maktab,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition, 1993 repr. V: 178: “Tradition has it that the Caliph ‘Umar (who

The Library as a Place of Vigil and Ritual Prayer

Apart from its primary function as a library, and secondarily as a school, Hafız Ahmed Ağa intended that the grounds of his Library would also be a place of Islamic ritual and prayer. Vigils were to be held on the four sacred nights of the Islamic year, namely, the *Lailat al-Mawlid* (Tr. *Leyle-i Mevlid*), the night preceding the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet on 12 Rabi’ al-awwal; *Lailat ar-Raghâ’ib* (Tr. *Leyle-i Ragaib*), the night preceding the first Friday in the month of Radjab, considered the anniversary of the conception of the Prophet; *Lailat al-Mir’âdj* (Tr. *Leyle-i Mirac*), anniversary of the night of the Prophet’s ascension into heaven, the night before 27 Radjab; and *Lailat al-Bara’a* (Tr. *Leyle-i Berat*), the 15th night of the month of Sha’bân. Apart from being a night for the forgiveness of sins,³⁴ the last sacred night, *Lailat al-Bara’a*, was an evening devoted to commemorating the dead.

What is of interest is that Hafız Ahmed Ağa stipulated that not just on *Leyle-i Berat*, but on each of the four sacred nights, apart from the litanies special to them, the evening would be spent in prayers for the souls of the departed, and specifically for the souls of his parents and relatives. As stated in the vakfiye, on each of these nights the head librarian was to invite twenty members of a Şüfî brotherhood and assemble them in the Library and in the classrooms where they were to recite seventy thousand times the *kelime-i tevhid*³⁵ for the souls of the parents of Hafız Ahmed Ağa and of his relatives. In return for this service, they were to receive sixty para each for a total of thirty guruş.

During the four sacred nights, religious meals (*kanduri*) were to be provided for those performing the litanies and partaking in the ritual, and helva would be served, while food would also be distributed to the poor. At the end of their litanies, the dervishes would be offered *gaziler helvası* to be cooked on the Library premises, while on the six holy days of the month of Shawwâl ash-sharîf (Tr. Şevval-i şerif), the staff of the Library who kept the fast on each of these nights were to be fed from the revenue of the founder. It was further stipulated in Hafız Ahmed Ağa’s vakfiye that every year on the 15th of Muharrem, one hundred guruş from the founder’s revenue was to be expended on the cooking of *aşure*, a sweet, pudding-like dish consisting of cereals, nuts and raisins, and distributed to the Muslim poor, while seven and a half guruş was to be given to each of the servants responsible for its preparation. On *Kurban Bayramı* (‘*İd-i Ađhâ*), the Festival of Sacrifice, by agency of the *mütevelli vekili*, the administrator’s representative, a sheep was to be purchased and slaughtered in the courtyard of the Library, and the meat was to be distributed among the Muslim poor for the sake of the souls of the parents of the founder and his relatives. It was stipulated that the butcher (*kassab*) was to receive seven and a half guruş for his services. As the sacred nights were evenings of celebration and nights of illumination, it may be assumed that, like the mosques, the

founded the first Kur’ânic schools) prescribed the Thursday rest. It is said in explanation that the triumphal return of the Muslim troops after the conquest of Palestine took place on a Thursday; the pupils having had a holiday to take part in the festivities, the Caliph ‘Umar decided that henceforth Thursday should be a holiday in the schools. In the Ĥidjâz the holiday is Tuesday (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes Arabes de Tanger*, p. 184, note 2).” In the Ottoman Empire, the holiday was held on Tuesday as well.

34 A “night of quittance” for the forgiveness of sins, which has been compared to the Jewish Day of Atonement. See “Sha’bân” by A.J. Wensinck in the *Ency. Isl.*, first edition, 1993 reprint VII: 239.

35 Recitation of the *kelime-i tevhid* 70,000 times during the course of an evening may strike the reader as excessive; but this number of repetitive litanies does not seem so unusual with the realization that adherents of the Djazuliya, a sect of the Shâdhiliya order of dervishes, recited the *basmala* (Tr. *besmele*) formula “In the name of God, the Compassionate and the Merciful” 14,000 times a day. They were also to recite twice a day the *Dalâ’il al-khairât*, a collection of prayers for the Prophet written by al-Djazûli, the founder of the sect. In the evening they were to recite the *Dalâ’il al-khairât* again followed by a recitation of the fourth part of the Kur’ân. See “Al-Djazûli,” *Ency. Isl.* first edition, 1993 repr. II: 1032-3.

grounds and buildings of the Library complex would have been brightly lit as well.³⁶

As a final requisite, Hafız Ahmed Ağa stated that twelve hundred gurus was to be set aside for the liberation of Muslim slaves held captive by the Knights of St. John on the island of Malta.³⁷ If slaves were not purchased in a given year, then the money was to be kept and added to the following year's ransom. He could hardly have foreseen however that within two years' time Napoleon would take Malta from the Knights of St. John and put an end to slavery, thereby obviating this last provision in the vakfiye.

Conditions under which the Library operated according to the founder's endowment deed no longer apply today since dating from the early 1960s Hafız Ahmed Ağa's foundation has ceased to operate as a library. Religious observances have been maintained in the Library complex, however. Fruit juices are distributed from the Library every year on *Şeker Bayramı* at the end of Ramazan. During *Kurban Bayramı* a sheep is still slaughtered on the Library grounds and the meat distributed to "the poor." The preparation and cooking of *aşure* on the premises is still observed and is distributed to members of the Muslim community and to friends of the Library. And while prayers are still recited for the souls of the founder and his parents in the reading room of the Library, this ritual is kept brief and carried out by the *mütevelli vekili* and a few individuals, as opposed to twenty dervishes reciting litanies throughout the night.

Head Librarians in the Twentieth Century

Şeyh Abdullah had been head librarian of the Library for at least thirty-six years, or probably longer. In all likelihood, he had also been shaikh of the Murad Reis tekke as well. With Şeyh Abdullah's death in January 1909,³⁸ he was succeeded as head librarian by Danazade Yusuf Dana Efendi, who had been appointed Hafız-i kütüb by the representative administrator of the foundation (*mütevelli vekili*) Eyübzade Eşref Efendi. But upon Yusuf Dana Efendi's death not long thereafter, Mahmud Kemal Efendi was authorized by *mütevelli vekili* Eyübzade Eşref Efendi to assume duties as head librarian. Mahmud Kemal remained head librarian until he was appointed *mütevelli vekili* and his place as head librarian was taken by Koca Hafız Mustafa Efendi, the imam for the Hüdayi quarter of the Old Town. As Mustafa Efendi was ostensibly called to Istanbul on business in 1923, he was replaced as head librarian on 14 cemaziyelevvel 1341/2 January 1923 by Hafız İbrahim Edhem Efendi, the müderris of the Süleymaniye cami-i şerifi.³⁹

36 Candle-lit and torch-lit processions, along with the illumination of buildings such as mosques, minarets, libraries and madrasas, were originally quite alien to Muslim thinking and may have been adopted from Christian practice. Devotion to Muḥammad, whether visiting his tomb in Medina or the place of his birth in Mecca or partaking in evening rituals celebrating his conception and birth (*mawlid an-nabī*), were criticized by ultra conservative pietists such as Ibn Taimīya who saw in them acts of piety more properly reserved for God. See H. Fuchs "Mawlid," in the *Ency. Isl.*, first edition, 1993 repr. V: 419-22.

37 T.C. Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü. 743 Numeralı Defteri 153 sahife ve 36 sırasında kayıtlı Hasan oğlu Rikapdar Rodoslu Ahmed Ağa'nın 7 Muharrem 1211/13 July 1796 tarihli vakfiyesin aynen örneğidir.

38 Surrounded by its own iron fencing, Şeyh Abdullah's grave is the first cenotaph at the beginning of the third row of graves and is situated directly opposite the mosque of Murad Reis. The date of death is 18 Muharrem 1327/ Wednesday, 20 January 1909.

39 Notes section on page 136 at the end of the 1923 *Fihrist* Catalogue, and on page 158 of the identical 1923 *Evkaf Dairesi* Catalogue. Both catalogues were compiled by Hafız Mehmed Celeleddin Müftizade in 1923. The notes section at the end of the catalogue inventory has been periodically added to from 1923 until 1995, with the remarks of Messrs. Hüsnü Özer and Ali Çakır from the General Directorate of Religious Foundations in Ankara, the two scholars responsible for creating the 1995 *Catalogue* in transliterated Ottoman. The above record of the head librarians from the time of the death of Şeyh Abdullah in 1909 to Koca Hafız Mustafa Efendi's resigning the office, due to his having no desire to continue in it (*rağbetsizliği*), and the appointment of İbrahim Edhem Efendi in his place in 1923, are described in a single document dated 1 Şubat 1338, 14 Cemaziyelevvel 1341/ 2 January 1923, signed and sealed by various officials such as the Rodos Müftüsü Sami Efendi, Mütevelli vekili Mahmud

After virtually six years of serving as head librarian, İbrahim Edhem Efendi was appointed Müfti of Rhodes on 15 safer 1347/3 August 1928. The position of Hafız-ı kütüb was then assigned to Çankazade Hafız Mustafa Lütfi Efendi, the imam and hatib for the Enderun cami-i şerifi.⁴⁰ When Çankazade Mustafa Efendi left Rhodes to reside in Turkey, on 27 zilkade 1369/10 September 1950, Hoca Mahmud Kemal became head librarian,⁴¹ and he retained this office until his death in 1963.⁴² The following year, at the request of Kaymakam Muhittin Rifat Bey, Mütevelliye Madame Fatma Saide Argeşo was invited from Istanbul to receive a copy of the inventory of books from Mütevelli vekili Mehmed Kumanyacı on 20 June 1963.⁴³ This ceremony formally closed the Library, and from that time on the Library has become a museum for tourists who are invited to visit the former Reading Room (*tedkik odası*), inspect photocopies of works in the display cases, and sign their names in the guest book. Although they are not allowed into the library room proper, from their comments in the guest register it is obvious that visitors are appreciative of the opportunity to experience something of the Library as it once was, if only on a superficial and impressionistic level.

A Possible Reason for the Reconfiguration of the Contents of the Library

Anyone looking through the various catalogues of the Library will be surprised to find that the original order of the classificatory headings that is presented in the 1793 vakfiye list of books and the first 1795 *Catalogue* has not been maintained in subsequent catalogues. This includes the two 1923 catalogues entitled *Fihrist* and *Evkaf Dairesi*, the 1995 *Catalogue*, and the *Resimli Katalog* published in 2010. Why this is the case is not at all apparent. It can only be conjectured that the order of the categories changed because of a preference of the head librarian. It may be that his decision to change the sequence of the categories was based on a personal value judgement, but this is simply a surmise. The first instance of a change of order in the classificatory headings is with the two 1923 catalogues. As the compiler of the catalogues was a visiting scholar from the island of Limni who performed his service gratis, it is doubtful if he would have originated the change of sequence but simply followed the order he found existing in the Library. The 1995 *Catalogue* follows the order of the two 1923 catalogues, but for whatever reason, it appears that the 2010 *Resimli Katalog* does not.

Apart from a rearrangement in the sequence of the categories, something else that has been noted is that the distinction between the two top rows of bookcases reserved for the original collection of 828 volumes that Hafız Ahmed Ağa placed in his library and the bottom row assigned for books that were later donations has not been maintained. Added to this, the seal of the founder, which is stamped on all volumes of the original collection, has been used on volumes that were additions to the library as pious bequests. This free use of the Founder's seal makes the bibliographer who encounters these volumes believe that he is looking at an original volume.

Kemal, Hafız-i kütüb İbrahim Edhem Efendi , the Evkaf Müdürü Vekili, the Head of the Turkish Islamic Religious Community Association of Rhodes (*Cemaat-i İslamiye Reisi*), and other members of the Cemaat-i İslamiye.

40 Notes section, page 134 of the 1923 *Fihrist* Catalogue. The document is signed by former head librarian and Müfti of Rhodes, salef-i Hafız-i kütüb-i evvel ve Müfti-i belde İbrahim Edhem Efendi, and his successor, halef-i Hafız-i kütüb Mustafa Lütfi Efendi and Mütevelli-i kaimmakam-i vekili Mahmud Kemal.

41 Notes section, page 131 of the 1923 *Fihrist* Catalogue. The document on this page is signed and dated by the former Hafız-i kütüb (Çankazade Hafız) Mustafa Efendi, the current Hafız-i kütüb Mahmud Kemal, with the date 11 Eylül 1950 and the Mütevelli Vekili Ali, dated 27 Zilkade 1369/10 Sept. 1950

42 This information was provided by Firdavs Hanım, niece of Şeyh Süleyman Kaşlıoğlu, Shaikh of the Murad Reis Tekyesi and Müfti of Rhodes, in a personal interview with the author. Şeyh Süleyman died in 1974.

43 End section of 1923 *Fihrist* Catalogue, page 129. The statement is signed by Rodos Müftüsü Şeyh Süleyman Kaşlıoğlu, by the Rodos Cemaat-i İslamiye Reisi Sadettin Sami, and by the Mütevelli Vekili, Mahmud Kumanyacı, with the date 20 June 1963.

Then there is the fact that various printed volumes have found their way to the top shelves when it is obvious that these works, given their publication date, could not have been part of the library's original collection. Some volumes clearly represent additions and replacements of books that are missing, as the two Kur'āns that have replaced two missing *An'ām ash-sharīfs*. But others, such as multi-volume printed works, clearly do not fit this category.

How this free-handed intervention in the organization of the Library came about and who was responsible for it is an open question. There is some evidence, however, that leads to a specific individual. Şeyh Abdullah was shaiikh of the Murad Reis tekke. Concurrently, he was librarian for the Hafız Ahmed Ağa Library for almost forty years (or possibly longer) until his death in 1909. Virtually nothing is known about his life; but there are two colorful incidents that are worth retelling.

That he was acting librarian as early as 1873 comes from the fact that in that year he befriended Ebüzziya Tevfik and Ahmed Midhat, two journalists from Istanbul who had been exiled to Rhodes. Not long after their arrival on the island, Şeyh Abdullah paid the two distinguished prisoners a visit in their new quarters, a small structure that had been built into the wall of the Old Town that was located down the street from the Library. During the time Şeyh Abdullah spent with them in their confined quarters, he regaled them with lectures on the *Shifā'* *ash-sharīf* of Ibn Sīnā and the life and works of Kāḏī Mīr,⁴⁴ subjects on which he was well-qualified to discuss. Before leaving, Şeyh Abdullah may have noticed a book Ebüzziya was reading, a work entitled *A Million Mistakes in French Grammar*. When queried why he was reading it, Ebüzziya replied that the book helped to distract him from his horrid place of confinement, where scorpions and spiders as big as his hand came out from the walls at night.⁴⁵ Taking due note of his literary interest, Şeyh Abdullah returned with a volume of *Durraṭ al-Ghawwāṣ* from the Library, a book on mistakes in Arabic often made by the well-educated. Ebüzziya found the work taxing and difficult to get into, especially when listing mistakes in grammar, and finally he had to put it down. It was only then that he discovered to his surprise that the book was written by none other than Harīrī, the celebrated author of the fabled *Makāmāt*.⁴⁶

Another notable incident occurred toward the last years of Şeyh Abdullah's life when he received a distinguished visitor to the tekke of Murad Reis. While Victor Emmanuel was still heir-apparent to the throne of Italy, he came to Rhodes in 1900 and paid a visit to the tekke. He noticed the bits of cloth and kerchiefs suspended around the catafalque-like structure over the grave of Murad Reis, and asked Şeyh Abdullah the meaning of them. The shaiikh responded that owing to the sanctity of Murad Reis' tomb, the faithful came to pray there and left pieces of clothing as a remembrance of their visit in the hope that they would achieve their desire in whatever they prayed for. Sceptical, Victor Emmanuel wondered if Şeyh Abdullah ever witnessed any miracle the saint had performed. Being both clever and wise, the shaiikh had a ready answer. He asked "Isn't it the clearest sign of sanctity to compel such a prince as yourself to visit his tomb? You too will attain your desire." By curious coincidence, while he was still on Rhodes, Victor Emmanuel discovered that his father, Umberto I, had died, and that he had been declared king of Italy on 9 July 1900.⁴⁷

44 Mithat Cemal Kuntay, *Namık Kemal, Devrinin İnsanları ve Olayları Arasında*, vol. II (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1949), 443. GI 451, SI 812. Abū 'a. al-Ḥu. (H) b. 'Al. b. *Sīnā* al-Qānūnī, gest. 428/1037. –18. *Kitāb ash-Shifā'*. GAL GII 210, SII 294. Ḥu. b. Mu'inaddīn *al-Maibudī* Qāḏī Mīr Mantıqī, gest. um 904/1498. –2. *al-Hidāya*, Einleitung in die Philosophie. –3. *Sharḥ Ḥidāyat al-hikma*.

45 Kuntay, *opera citato*, 434.

46 Ibid., 443-4.

47 The story is recounted by Celalettin Rodoslu in his *Rodos ve İstanköy Adalarında Gömülü Tarihî Similari* (Historical Personages Buried on the Islands of Cos and Rhodes) (Ankara: Çankaya Matbbası, 1945), 18-19.

Şeyh Abdullah died on 18 Muharrem 1327/Wednesday, 20 January 1909. His successful long career as a shaiikh and scholar was marred by the tragedy of his three daughters having predeceased him. While the information about his personal life is virtually nil, this applied to his professional life as well: there is no mention on his grave stele of his being *hafız-ı kütüb* for the Library. He wished only to be remembered as shaiikh (*postnişin*) of the tekke primarily and as *nakibüleşraf*, chief of the Descendants of the Prophet on Rhodes. He also wished to be remembered as a learned scholar and a cultured shaiikh. A biography of the life of this important figure for the history of Rhodes still awaits further research.

A scholar of the first order, Şeyh Abdullah main interest was in *Falsafa*, Islamic Philosophy. He wrote a translation and commentary on al-Abharī's *Kitāb al-İsāghūdjī*, an adaptation of Porphyri's *Eisagoge*. He is also said to have collaborated with 'Abidīn Pasha in his translation of Djalāladdīn Rūmī's *Mathnāwī* from Persian to Ottoman. This however is doubtful since it is known that 'Abidīn Pasha published his translation of the *Mathnāwī* in 1886 when he was governor of Ankara. It is evident from the works sent to the Library by illustrious officials and scholars that during much of his tenure as head librarian Şeyh Abdullah was well-connected to people in high places. He received publications from two governors of the Province of the Archipelago,⁴⁸ 'Abidīn Pasha and Nazım Pasha, from Süleyman Rahmi Bey and Cafer Paşa el-Çerkezi both from the ruling class of Egypt, and from Sultan 'Abdülhamid II.

It also may well be that during his long tenure in office, in consideration of Şeyh Abdullah's probity and scholarly attainments, there was no longer need for a committee to meet yearly to inspect and individually count all the volumes one by one in his presence. There is no evidence of a separate register in the Library recording a yearly official inventory. In fact, there is only one instance of this record keeping by a committee headed by the lieutenant-governor of Rhodes, and that was on 21 Receb 1261/26 July 1845.⁴⁹ In this official declaration, fifteen volumes were said to have been missing at the time. This recording took place at a time when the Library and its staff were experiencing financial difficulty.

Some seven years later in 1852, Ahmed Fethi Paşa, the son of Hafız Ahmed Ağa, was compelled to take over the foundation of his father to place it on a firmer financial foundation. It is possible that due to financial constraints, during the last half of the nineteenth century an assistant librarian was considered redundant and during that period of time Şeyh Abdullah was acting alone as head librarian. As librarian of the Hafız Ahmed Ağa Library for almost half a century, Şeyh Abdullah saw himself as more than just a custodian serving patrons of the Library. The circumstance of being free from supervision would have given him the liberty to put his own stamp on the Library's collection, and through his correspondence and personal contacts with scholars and high officials to make the Library renowned throughout the Levant.

Interference in the original order of the volumes placed in the Library by the founder was not without precedent; there is some evidence of personal intervention having occurred in the Library before. On page 175 of the first *1795 Catalogue*, there is an entry that Ömer Rasım Efendi, a former cashier of the treasury (*Defterdar Kesedarı*),⁵⁰ had made vakf and placed in the Library the following number of books. A published three-volume translation of the Arabic dictionary *Kamus*⁵¹ from Arabic to Ottoman, and a single published volume of a translation to Ottoman of the Persian dictionary entitled *Burhan-ı Kati*.⁵²

48 *Cezayir-i bahr-ı sefid vilayeti*.

49 As stated on the last page (p. 175) of the first *1795 Catalogue*.

50 Ömer Rasım Efendi was probably Defterdar Kesedarı for the Province of the Archipelago (*Cezayir-i Bahr-ı Sefid Eyaleti*).

51 An Arabic to Ottoman translation by Mütercim Ahmed Âsım of the Arabic dictionary of Firūzābādī entitled *El-Okayunusü'l-basıt fī tercemeti'l-Kamusi'l-Muhit*, published in 3 vols. in İstanbul 1814-17.

52 A Persian to Ottoman translation by Mütercim Ahmed Âsım of the Persian dictionary *Burhan-ı Kati*' entitled

Both translations were by Mütercim Ahmed Âsım. The date that these two pious donations to the Library were made is recorded as 25 Rebiyülâhır 1246/13 October 1830. Of the two works, the *Tercüme-i Burhan-ı Kati*’ published in İstanbul in 1214/1799 is listed in the 1995 *Catalogue* in the Lugat category as sıra no. 658 (p. 52). The three-volume Arabic-Ottoman translation of the *Kāmūs al-muḥīṭ* of Firūzābādī is not recorded, however. It is probable that the work disintegrated over time due to overuse. But the fact that the Ottoman translation of the *Burhan-ı kati*’ appears as part of the inventory of the original collection of Hafız Ahmed Ağa is evidence that both works were placed in the first tier of the Founder’s collection. Ömer Rasim Efendi’s bequest appears to have been the first and an isolated instance during the first half of the nineteenth century of published works that were later donations to the Library finding their way onto the shelves of the original collection reserved for bound manuscript copies of the founder.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, under his stewardship of the Library Şeyh Abdullah was to increase this activity by placing a number of donated printed volumes in the shelves set aside for Hafız Ahmed Ağa’s collection. And he must have done so for the same reason. To his mind, these works should not have been consigned to the bottom row of bookshelves where they would be lost among an undifferentiated mass of volumes. They deserved pride of place on the top shelves because of their importance and the fact that they were given by high-ranking and distinguished benefactors.

A number of examples of this irregular activity can be found in the 1795 *Catalogue*, the first catalogue of the Library. On the bottom of page 30 of the catalogue, in his own hand and signed with his signature, Şeyh Abdullah states that in the year 1324/1906 he placed in the Library ten volumes of the commentary on the *Şaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī entitled *Irshād as-sārī fī sharḥ al-Bukhārī* by Kaşallānī. The work, which was published in Bülāk in 1288/1871-2, was donated by Süleyman Rahmi Bey, a member of the Egyptian ruling class and resident of Rhodes. A six-volume publication of *Tafsīr Rūḥ al-bayān* by İsmā’il Hakkı printed in İstanbul in 1187/1773-4 was donated by Süleyman Rahmi Bey as well.⁵³ Separately, yet another ten-volume copy of the *Irshād as-sārī* of Kaşallānī published in 1302/1884-5 was donated to the Library by Çerkes Cafer Paşa.

A certain Cafer Bey (the same Cafer Paşa from Egypt?) is known for having made a pious donation in the Fıkh category to the Library. According to Hafız Celaleddin Müftizade, the author of the two 1923 catalogues, Cafer Bey gave the Library a three-volume edition of *Şerhu Ahkamu Şeria* by Muhammed Zeyd el-Elbani, published in Egypt in 1903. Although registered with No. 861 as a later addition to the Library and described as *mühürsüz*, without the seal of the founder, it is listed in Celaleddin Efendi’s inventory of the original collection and given vakıf numbers 121, 122, and 123 beyond the 120 official volumes comprising the Fıkh/Fıkhı category.⁵⁴ The 1923 *Fihrist* Catalogue gives a vakıf number, No. 124, for a translation of a gloss by *Ṭaḥṭāwī* on the commentary by *Shurunbuālī* on his *Nūr al-îdāh wa-nadjāt al-arwāh*.⁵⁵ In addition to the three printed volumes of *Sharḥ al-aḥkām ash-sharī’a* by al-Albanī, the 1995 *Catalogue* lists *Şerhu Gururu’l-Ahkam*, a commentary on the *Gurar al-aḥkām* of M. b. Farāmurz b. ‘A. *Mollā Khosraw* in Ottoman, 927 pages, printed in 1258/1842-3, and *Fetavayı Ali Efendi*, a printed work in Arabic, 337 pages, without a series number. These unauthorized additions to the original collection were in the Fıkh category alone.

Tıbyan-ı naḥī der terceme-i Burhan-ı Kati’, published as a single volume in İstanbul, 1799. See “Âsım, Ahmet, (Mütercim),” *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, iii: 448-9.

⁵³ Süleyman Rahmi Bey died in Rhodes in 1309/1891-2, and was buried in the cemetery of the tekke of Murad Reis. His grave is in the first row of graves to the left of the mausoleum of Murad Reis beginning left to right.

⁵⁴ 1923 *Fihrist* Cat. p. 163:

⁵⁵ Brockelmann, GAL. GII 313. Abu’l-Ikhlāş Ḥ b. ‘Ammār al-Wafā’ī *ash-Shurunbuālī* al-Ḥanafī, Professor in al-Azhar in Kairo, st. 1069/1658. –4. *Nūr al-îdāh wa-nadjāt al-arwāh*, die Gottesdienstlichen Pflichten. –Cmt. a. v. Verf. *İmdād al-fattāh*, verf. 146/1636. Auszug: *Marāqī ‘l-falāh*, gedr. K. 1305, 1308, 1321. –Glosse. v. Shihābaddin A. b. M. aṭ-Ṭaḥṭāwī, (*Sharḥ Marāqī ‘l-falāh*) gest. 1233/1818; gedr. Bülāk 1269, 1279, K. 1304, 1318.

On page 40 of the 1795 *Catalogue* Şeyh Abdullah wrote that in the year 1324/1906 the governor of the Province of the Archipelago Nazım Paşa made vakf and placed in the Library a number of works on the Islamic sciences of Siyar, Taşavvuf and Tārīkh. In the Siyar category of the Islamic sciences, two works have been added: *Şerhu Kaside-i Dimyatiyye* (Anon.) and the collection of commentaries *Şerhu Kaside-i Nuniyye*, *Şerhu Kaside-i Munferice*, and *Şerhu Kaside-i Tantaraniyye*. While these two works are listed in the two 1923 catalogues, the 1995 *Catalogue* and the *Resimli Katalog*, they are not recorded in the vakfiye listing nor in the first 1795 *Catalogue*. According to the 1995 *Catalogue* (p. 54), *Şerhu Kaside-i Dimyatiyye* is *mühürsüz* (without the founder’s seal). Nevertheless, the *Resimli Katalog*, No. 461, Kayıt no 22 (p. 244) has *Şerhu Kaside-i Dimyatiye* as having the founder’s seal: Hafız Ahmed Ağa *Kütüphanesi mühürleri vardır*.

Apart from these works, the authors of the 1995 *Catalogue* list the following in the Tafsīr category as later additions to the Library. Sıra no. 78: The aforementioned *Tefsir Ruhul-beyan*; Sıra no. 79: *Tefsiru Kadı Beydavi* li Kadi Beydavi; Sıra no. 80: *Tefsiru Sure-i Yusuf ilel Ahzap* (No. 859, *mühürsüz*). At the end of the Ḥadīth category, apart from the two mentioned ten-volume commentaries by al-Kaşallānī, there are two published volumes of the *Buhari-i Şerif* donated to the Library by Sultan Abdulhamid II. It should be noted that all of these donations occurred during Şeyh Abdullah’s tenure as librarian, and they all have been placed in the upper shelves reserved for the Library’s original collection of 828 volumes. Added to this, the large circular seal of the founder that has been stamped on all of the original volumes to identify them as part of the donation of Hafız Ahmed Ağa has been used repeatedly on volumes that are later donations to the Library. Because of the additions by later donors and the misuse of the founder’s seal, it is impossible to know by examining them on the shelves which books are part of the original corpus of volumes. Furthermore, Şeyh Abdullah has added his own translation from Arabic to Ottoman of the *İsāghūdī* of al-Abharī as the last work at the end of the Mantık ilkh section of the original 1795 *Catalogue*.⁵⁶ (p. 117, the last entry). This makes the reader believe that the study is part of the original collection. In point of fact, in order to avoid confusion, it should have been placed on the opposite blank page with an explanation that the work is an addition to the founder’s collection written by the head librarian. Finally, it is alarming to find that Şeyh Abdullah had taken the liberty of writing a marginal commentary in one of the original volumes, to which he had signed his name.⁵⁷

Arrangement of the Order of the Classificatory Headings and the Sequence of Books

In the first years since the Library’s opening in 1793, it may be assumed that the arrangement of the books must have followed the original vakfiye list and the order of the first 1795 *Catalogue* which is virtually the same as that of the vakfiye. Over the course of the nineteenth century—and it is not possible to determine when—the order of the categories in the Library changed. Why this was done is not clear. It may have been due to the personal preference of the head librarian, or the priority of those members of the ulema from the Library’s annual committee to review the books, or it may have been the decision of the founder’s son, Ahmed Fethi Paşa. The new arrangement of the classificatory headings might have come about when the books were placed in cartons for their protection; when that was done, however, cannot for the present be determined. The *Resimli Katalog*, on the other hand, does not follow the order of the categories as presented in the two 1923 catalogues; for whatever reason,

⁵⁶ *Terceme-i İsağuci*. 1795 *Catalogue*, p. 117, entry 58, the last entry in the category Kütübü’l-Mantik ve’l-Hikme ve’l-Hey’e ve’l-Adab. This work is missing from the Mantık ilkh category.

⁵⁷ The following is from the 2010 *Resimli Katalog*. *Resimli Kat*. No. 231, Kayıt no. 86/12 (p. 123): *Semeretü’l-Fuad ve Tuḥfetü’l-İbad vallahī’l-Müveffiki’l-Hadi ile’r-Reşad (Aşereṭe Ehadis)* by Abdurrahman b. Abdüllatif b. Yahya el-Hüseyni, Arabic, in the nesih script, 35 lines to the page and leaves 114b-118b. Eser ve müellif adı mukaddimeden alındı. 117b-118a sayfa kenarlarında Abdullah er-Rodosi imzalı Türkçe bazı açıklamalar vardır.

the authors of the catalogue have given a different order. That order in all likelihood was not their own but was that of the volumes as they encountered them. The original order presented in the vakfiye list and the *1795 Catalogue*, followed by the order found in the 1923 catalogues, the *1995 Catalogue*, and the *Resimli Katalog*, are given here in transliterated Ottoman to show the contrasting varying arrangement of the classificatory headings in the Library over time. The number of the classificatory headings, under which the Kurʾān is listed is twenty. This number is misleading, however, since several sciences have been grouped together. There are two instances of this grouping: Kalām (Theology), has been added to ‘Akāʾid (Articles of Faith), while Hikmet (Philosophy), Hai’a (Astronomy), and Adab al-Munāẓara (the Art of Dialectic) have been added to Mantik (Logic). Adding these individual intellectual disciplines makes a total of twenty-four headings, including the religious ones, not twenty. Why this grouping was done is not clear; but since this arrangement is found at the outset in the vakfiye listing and first *1795 Catalogue*, it is retained here as a matter of consistent form that has been maintained throughout all the catalogues. In spite of the reader’s awareness that the total is twenty-four, the number of classificatory headings remains twenty, with the Kurʾān.

The first *1795 Catalogue* follows the vakfiye order of the categories, except for the case where Kirāʾāt comes after Tafsir instead of Aḥādith. The present catalogue follows the order of the categories in the *vakfiye* and specifically the *1795 Catalogue*.

Within each category the books have been numbered with a numeral in Arabic on the top side of the carton. In the middle of the carton a short descriptive title of the volume has been inscribed on a label, a title which usually does not differ from the vakfiye entry or that found in the first catalogue. It is important to note that with the rearrangement of the order of the categories, the order of books within a category changed as well. What this meant was that it was no longer possible to follow the order of books presented in the first *1795 Catalogue* or in the original vakfiye list. At some point in time over the course of the nineteenth century, a new catalogue must have been created (if not several) to correspond to the new order, but no other inventory between 1795 and 1923 has thus far been located.

The earliest catalogues that reflect the new order are two hardbound registers in the Ottoman script dating from the year 1923. A second catalogue in transliterated Ottoman based in part on the 1923 catalogues, but also on the first 1795 register, was made as recently as 1995. Anyone encountering the contents of the Library today would assume that what he sees is the original order of the volumes, and indeed it would be difficult to assume that it had ever been arranged in any other way.

Naturally, the most sensible thing to do for anyone contemplating making a recording of the Library would be to simply follow the present order of volumes. But there are problems in doing this. The basic problem is that it would be impossible to know the exact number of books Hafız Ahmed Ağa bequeathed to his library. Apart from this, it would also not be possible to know how many volumes were missing from this original list, and how many had been added, for it is now known that a number of books that bear the founder’s seal were not part of the original collection. The only way to have answers to these questions is to have recourse to the original vakfiye list and the first *1795 Catalogue*. Such a task involves recreating the original list, which entails adhering to the order of the classificatory headings and the order of the volumes within each category found in the vakfiye and in the original *1795 Catalogue*—in fine, recreating the founder’s collection as it was. This is the method that has been adopted for the present study. However, that recreation can only remain on paper since a major physical reordering of the contents of the Library would entail changing the sequence of the categories and the books within each category, an undertaking which cannot be seriously contemplated at this time.

From what has been described in the vakfiye thus far, it is apparent that Hafız Ahmed Ağa went to great lengths to ensure that none of the volumes in his collection would be lost or stolen. What did occur, however, was something that he may not have entirely foreseen. Some works were more popular than others, and in greater use and demand. Over time, due to the wear and tear of constant use, a

number of volumes began to become loose from their binding, and consequently became unusable. It may be imagined that the patchwork repair performed by local bookbinders only went so far, and, inevitably, despite the repair, some books simply disintegrated over time due to excessive use.⁵⁸ As a result of constant use and the humidity of Rhodes, books can dissolve to the point of becoming virtually unusable within the space of a few years, and this is the fate of many books today. The eventuality of having to repair volumes was something that was anticipated by the founder. Apart from revenue for the repair of buildings within the Library compound, Hafız Ahmed Ağa stipulated in his vakfiye that money was also to be set aside for the restoration of books. But in spite of this foresight and good intention, repeated repair could not prevent the inevitable dissolution of books over time to the point they ceased being usable. A noted example is the fate of two *Anʾām ash-sharīfs* that were part of the Kurʾān collection. Although recorded in the two 1923 catalogues, they are not listed in the *1995 Catalogue* and are presently missing.

Configuration of the Library

As for the configuration of the Library, it is divided into two high-ceilinged rooms with lofty cupolas. The rooms are separated by a wall with two large wooden doors and two iron-barred windows on either side of the doors. The actual library where the books are housed is located in the second room to the rear. The book room of the library consists of two free-standing bookcases connected by two wooden arches for stability. Each bookcase has three rows of interior and exterior glass-door cabinets with each row comprising seven cabinets, making eighty-four cabinets in all. The founder’s collection begins at the end of the bookcase immediately on the right as the visitor enters the Library proper. At the end of the top third row of cabinets is the glass-door cabinet housing the Kurʾāns. The problem of creating an accurate inventory at once presents itself in any effort to establish an exact record the Kurʾāns. Scholars engaged in a straightforward attempt to catalogue the library’s holdings will inevitably encounter confusion if they assume that the two basic divisions of the collections has been adhered to, and this confusion begins right with the first category of the classificatory headings, the Kurʾāns.

To begin with, it is immediately apparent that the cabinet is a jumble of Kurʾāns of various sizes, as exemplified by one Kurʾān that is actually pocket-sized and was made for a seaman. It is obvious from their lack of the founder’s seal that these Kurʾāns do not belong to the third-level upper tier of the bookcase; rather, they belong to the bottom level as subsequent donations to the Library. If the original vakfiye list and later catalogues are consulted, it is discovered that there are two volumes of an *Anʾām ash-sharīf* (Tr. *Enʾam-ı şerif*), a collection of verses from the Kurʾān, that are listed in the 1793 vakfiye, in the first *1795 Catalogue*, and in the two 1923 catalogues. Nevertheless, they are missing in the *1995 Catalogue*, and are currently not in the Library. To make up for this loss, some time after 1923 two valuable Kurʾāns that are bound illuminated manuscripts have been added to the list of Kurʾāns. These two Kurʾāns do not have the founder’s seal and are from the collection of later donations to the Library. However, in order to maintain the original number of volumes in the Kurʾān category, they have been included in the list of Kurʾāns. The total number of six Kurʾāns has been maintained until the *1995 Catalogue* compiled by Hüsnü Özer and Ali Çakır. It has not been adhered to by the authors of the 2010 *Resimli Katalog*, however, who have recorded no

58 Messrs. Hüsnü Özer and Ali Çakır, the two exceptional scholars from the General Directorate of Religious Foundations in Ankara responsible for compiling the *1995 Catalogue*, have carefully noted in the comment section of their ledger those books that have seen repair (*tamir görmüş*). The authors of the *Resimli Katalog* have done so as well.

less than seventeen volumes in the Kur'an category. The reason for this is that the compilers of the *Resimli Katalog* recorded each volume as it was found in the bookcase cabinets, without, evidently, consulting the previous catalogues too closely as a guide, if at all.

Because of the need to maintain the number of works within a category, the replacement of original works with others that do not have the same title and author creates problems in innumrating the books in the Library. This practice is evident in the first category that comprises Kur'āns. The total number of Kur'āns listed in the first *1795 Catalogue* is six. It has been noted that while the two *An'ām ash-sharīfs* have been recorded in the vakfiye list, in the first *1795 Catalogue*, and in the two 1923 catalogues, nevertheless they are not recorded in the *1995 Catalogue*. Their absence reduces the Kur'an category to four volumes in the *1795 Catalogue*, but to three Kur'ans in the *vakfiye* list owing to the fact that a two-volume Kur'an with the commentary in Ottoman by Abu'l-Laith in the margin is counted as one item in the vakfiye inventory. There is a discrepancy right from the beginning then between the vakfiye list and the first *1795 Catalogue*.

The Resimli Katalog

Apart from the vakfiye list, the *1795 Catalogue*, the two 1923 catalogues, the *1995 Catalogue*, and the present study completed as a rough draft in 2001, a most welcome addition to the catalogue collection of the Library has been the appearance of a color photographic publication entitled *Rodos Fethi Paşa Vakfı Hafız Ahmed Ağa Kütüphanesi Yazma Eserler Kataloğu* (hereafter cited as *Resimli Katalog*) prepared by Bekir Şahin and Faruk Ağartan with the assistance of Mikail Bayram and Mehmed Tıǧlıoğlu. The work was published in Istanbul in 2013 through IRCICA, the Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture centered in the Yıldız Palace complex in Beşiktaş, Istanbul, and is available for downloading on the Internet through Academia.edu.

The *Resimli Katalog* is a virtually flawless scholarly production in which any detail concerning the volumes housed in the Library can be found. This includes color photographic reproductions of the following: the cover of a volume, the first two pages of the work, a side of the carton housing the book showing the number of the book within a category, and a label on the side of the carton with a descriptive title of the work. Particulars about the volume are then provided such as the complete title and full name of the author, both in the Arabic script and in Ottoman transliteration, the number of lines per page, the total number of leaves, the name of the calligrapher who made the copy and the date and location where the work was copied, full dimensions of the volume, and a detailed physical description of the condition of the book, including whether or not it has seen repair. Further details are provided such as the previous owners of the work, when stated, or from signet seals, and a color photograph in illuminated manuscripts of the *mihrabiye*, the artistic colorful design over the first page in the shape of a *mihrāb*.⁵⁹ In fine, the description of each volume is exhaustive as well as accurate. It should be added that a welcome feature unique to this study is the inclusion of listing the authors and titles in various collections of treatises (*mecmua*). All previous catalogues have simply provided a general title that covers the entire collection of essays within a volume without identifying the individual treatises on the subjects or their authors. The *Resimli Katalog* is the first catalogue to provide an itemized inventory of all the treatises in a given collection (*madjmū'a*)

If there is any drawback to this study, as a minor criticism it is the fact that as a published book it is primarily of interest to scholars who are bibliographers of works in the sciences and those of classical Islamic literature, whether in Arabic, Persian or Ottoman. Further, while the full names of authors and titles are provided in the Arabic script, they are transliterated into Ottoman using the modern Turkish

59 The prayer niche in a mosque or mausoleum (*türbe*) indicating the direction of Mecca.

alphabet which corresponds to Latin characters with a few modifications. The Ottoman transliterations of author and title give the appearance of taking precedence over the Arabic as they are written in large letters.⁶⁰ What is provided for the reader then is a transliteration in Ottoman, not in Arabic, of the Arabic titles and authors. The catalogue follows therefore all previous catalogues, whether in Ottoman in the Arabic script or transliterated Ottoman as in the *1995 Catalogue*. There is no univerally recognized transliteration style for Arabic as found in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* or in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. The fact remains, however, that the majority of the titles in the sciences are in Arabic. For the benefit of the community of scholars at large, they should as a matter of course be transliterated with an Arabic transliteration system. The present study attempts to fulfill this need.

Added to this, in the *Resimli Katalog* the biographies of Hafız Ahmed Ağa and his son Ahmed Fethi Paşa are brief, comprising little more than a few paragraphs, and they are written in Turkish, which limits the readership to Turkish scholars primarily, and secondarily to scholars of Turkish and Ottoman—that is, mainly to scholars of Turkish and Ottoman as languages within the field of Islamic Languages and Literatures. Precise as the recording is, there is no presentation on how the Library and the buildings within the larger library compound were to be used according to the stipulations laid down by the founder in his vakfiyes, nor is there a study of the vakfiyes themselves. Further, there is no analysis of the material in the Library or how it has come to be catalogued, no introduction to each category of the sciences, and no biographies of eminent authors which would be of considerable interest to the reader. Once again, given the nature of the catalogue, its readership is limited primarily to the scholar with a knowledge of Turkish specializing in biblographical recording of mainly the Islamic sciences—a fact which narrows the market for this kind of work considerably.



60 The small point size of the Arabic script may have been due to an economy of space since the full names of authors and titles of their works are usually found to be long.