

DIMITRIE CANTEMIR.
A NEW TURKISH DOCUMENT
ON HIS PALACE OF ORTAKÖY

MIHAI MAXIM

This new and important Turkish document on Cantemir's palace of Ortaköy – the most ancient in the matter – which will be presented in this paper I did discover in the famous *Ottoman Archives* of Istanbul, the biggest archives in Turkey – and among the biggest in the world – that nowadays belongs to the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey (*T. C. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*, abbreviated form: *BOA*) and that once were the Grand Viziers' Archives. According to the latest official estimations, are here over 130 million documents or, more precisely, 100 million documents and 365,000 *defter*'s (registers)¹, i.e. taking into account the number of documents contained in a register (for a few pieces to a few hundreds, at least), the same officials evaluated the total number of documents preserved at *BOA* “around 150 million” pieces². So far only a third part of this huge mass of documents has been catalogued and thus placed at the researchers' disposal. In my opinion, perhaps in some 20–30 years, we will be able to speak about 200 million documents extant in *the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives (BOA)* of Istanbul³.

I entered for the first time these Archives 40 years ago, but my systematic research on Prince Dimitrie Cantemir (1673–1723), as a huge personality of the

¹ Dr. Önder Bayır (The Prime Ministry's Archives' Director), “Rumeli Araştırmaları Açısından Osmanlı Arşivinin Önemi”/ The Ottoman Archives' importance from the point of view of research concerning Rumelia, a paper delivered at the *International Symposium on Ottoman Studies in South-East Europe*, organised by IRCICA (Research Centre for Islamic Art, History and Culture), Istanbul, 12 July 2008.

² See Arif Yüksel, Deputy Counselor (*Müsteşar Vekili*) at Prime Ministry (*Başbakanlık*), in: *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Katalogları Rehberi*/ The Guide of Catalogues of the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives, Ankara, 1995, p. IV (*Önsöz*/Foreword).

³ The famous archivist and for long Director General of Prime Ministry's Archives Mithat Sertoğlu mentioned in 1955 a number of 23,422,210 documents transferred to these Archives up to that time plus 23,000 documents coming from the Pious Foundations (*Evkaf*) and, in addition, 15,534 registers (*defter*'s); see Mithat Sertoğlu, *Muhteva Bakımından Başvekâlet Arşivi*/The Prime Ministry's Archives from the point of view of its contents, TTK Basımevi, Ankara, 1955, p. 84. *Grosso modo* it means some 40–50 million documents. In 1979 Atilla Çetin (the new Director General) wrote about “more than 100 million documents” preserved in the same Archives (Atilla Çetin, *Başbakanlık Arşivi Kılavuzu*/ The Prime Ministry's Archives' Guide, Istanbul, 1979, p. XI).

Ottoman-Romanian relationship and of European cultural history⁴, started since 1995, when I came to Turkey as Professor at Istanbul University, Faculty of Letters (1995–2001), perhaps the best years of my life... I continued these investigations during my next working stays in Istanbul as Director of the “Dimitrie Cantemir” Romanian Cultural Institute in Istanbul (2005–2011) and as Professor at Fatih University (2013–2014). So, I had wonderful opportunities to work at **BOA** on my “D. C. Project” – during these stays – not only 1–2 days per week, but sometimes, for months (during academic leaves, legal holidays, etc.), *even every day*.

Unfortunately as for our famous *Küçük Kantemiroğlu* /Dimitrie Cantemir (1673–1723), that is the Moldavian Voyvode Constantin Cantemir’s (June 1685 – March 1693) younger (in Turkish: *Küçük*) son⁵, I was disappointed for results of these long archives investigations: I could discover at **BOA** *only a few tens records* on D. Cantemir⁶ (and nothing at **Topkapı Archives** after 1973) and I must say that at least half of these documents are double/“parallel” records of financial evidence.

How can we explain this scarcity of records on Prince Cantemir despite huge amount of documents existing in these fabulous Turkish Archives, especially at **BOA**? This scarcity could be understood, on the one hand, taking into consideration the interruptions in the recordings (for instance, of *Ruznâmeçe Defterleri*/ Registers of the daily incomes and expenditures of Central(State) Imperial Treasury, with interruptions just in 1710–1711; on the other hand, we must not forget that Dimitrie Cantemir was the Reigning Prince(in Turkish: *Voyvoda*) of Moldavia only for three weeks in 1693, but not confirmed by the Porte, and once again for 9 months, from November 1710 – to July 1711, so all in all *he was in a public position less than one year*. For a huge Empire, controlling so many territories spread on three continents and so many dignitaries/personalities and having only in Istanbul at least 50 financial offices (*kalem*), what does one year of a Moldavian *Voyvodalık* mean? By contrast, for D. Cantemir’s contemporary Wallachian Voyvode and great rival Constantin Brâncoveanu(1688–1714) I could find at **BOA**, *for his 26 years reign a few hundreds records!*⁷ For instance, *only in one day* namely on 22 Şevval

⁴ Mihai Maxim, “Kantemiroğlu (Dimitrie Cantemir)”, in: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 24, Istanbul, 2001, pp. 320–322; idem, “Dimitrie Cantemir (1673–1723)”, in: C. Kafadar, H. Karateke, C. Fleischer (eds.), *Historians of the Ottoman Empire/Osmanlı Tarihçileri*, Harvard University Press, 2006 (www.ottomanhistorians.com).

⁵ His elder (*büyük*) brother, Antioh Cantemir, twice *Voyvode* of Moldavia (1695–1700, 1705–1707), was known as *Büyük Kantemiroğlu* or rather, simply, *Kantemiroğlu* (< *Constantin* > *Cantemir*’s son). For new Turkish sources concerning Antioh, see Mihai Maxim, “Brâncoveanu și Cantemireștii. Documente noi din arhivele turcești”/Brâncoveanu&the Cantemirs. New Documents from the Turkish Archives, in: *Arta istoriei, istoria artei. Academicianul Răzvan Theodorescu la 65 de ani*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2004, pp. 125–138; see also new documents which will be presented in the last part of this paper.

⁶ See Mihai Maxim, “Dimitrie Cantemir and His Time. New Documents from the Turkish Archives”, in: *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*, XLVII, 1–2 Bucarest, 2008, pp. 31–41.

⁷ See Mihai Maxim: *Brâncoveanu și Înalta Poartă. Documente noi din arhivele turcești*/Brâncoveanu and the Sublime Porte. New Documents from the Turkish Archives, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila, 2015 (forthcoming).

1106/05.06.1695, during the Ottoman preparations for new military campaign against the Habsburgs, three weeks before the Sultan Mustafa II left Edirne for Belgrade (30.06.1695)⁸, I repeat-only in one day (Fifth of June) – Prince Brâncoveanu of Wallachia received from the Porte 24 (*twenty four*) orders for *havâle*, that is transfers of different sums of money from the Wallachian tribute for the provisioning of Ottoman army⁹.

As for new documents concerning D. Cantemir that found until now at **BOA**, I must mention that most of these documents are referring to the confiscation of the Prince's goods in Istanbul according to the Islamic procedure of *müsâdere* (confiscation of the goods belonging to the “traitors” /*hain* of Islam, Muslims or non-Muslims). The amount of these confiscations was very modest (Cantemir family was rather a poor family), namely some 20,000 *guruş*¹⁰ (19,999, 5 *guruş* to be more precisely)¹¹, while from the former Reigning Prince of Wallachia Constantin Brâncoveanu was confiscated a fortune of (minimum) 818,579 *guruş*¹².

Recently I discovered another important – even extraordinary – new document on D. Cantemir at the same *Ottoman Archives (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi)*, namely *The Imperial Act of Property (Mülknâme-i Humâyun)* issued on 12 Rebiülâhır 1124/ 19 May 1712 (new style) and relating to his villa (*yalı*) of Ortaköy, in Beşiktaş (Istanbul), on the Bosphorus¹³, confiscated from Prince Cantemir and sold to *Sipahiler Ağası* Süleyman Bey for 3,000 *guruş*¹⁴.

⁸ Ismail Hami Danişmend, *Izahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi/Explanatory Chronology of the Ottoman History*, vol. 3 (1574–1703), Istanbul, 1972, p. 478.

⁹ **BOA**, Istanbul, fond **D.MMK (Bâb-ı Defteri.Maden Mukataası Kalemî)** The Porte of the <Great> Defterdar. The Office of Mines' Farming, *dosya 57,gömlek 10–23 & 26–35*.

¹⁰ In 1714–1715 years according to the Ottoman official sources, for 1 silver coin *guruş*, i.e. *zolota* or *taler*, the exchange rate was of 120 *akçe*'s (small silver coins); as for gold pieces, 3 *guruş* was paid for 1 Venetian *zecchino* (the most „respectable” currency) and 2,6–2,7 *guruş* for 1 Ottoman *altun* (for Ottoman sources, see Mihai Maxim, *Romano-Ottomanica*, p. 192, note XIII).

¹¹ **BOA**, fond **KK (Kâmil Kepeci)**, no. 2034 (*Ruznâme Defteri*), pp. 24, 24 bis, 25 (two documents); **KK**, no. 2239, (*Ruznâme Defteri*), pp. 22, 30; **KK**, no. 2166 (*Ruznâme Defteri*), pp. 108, 109, 111.

¹² For Ottoman sources at **BOA** concerning D. Cantemir, see such fonds as **KK (Kâmil Kepeci)**, **Ruznâme Defterleri**, **D. B ŞM(Bâb-ı Defteri. Başmuhasebe)**/The Porte of the <Great > Defterdar.General Accounting's Office), **D.MMK.BĞN(Bâb-ı Defteri.Maden Mukataası.Boğdan)**/The Porte of the <Great> Defterdar. The Office of Mines' Farming.Moldavia), etc. (apud Mihai Maxim, “Dimitrie Cantemir and His Time. New Documents...”, pp. 39–41); concerning Brâncoveanu: e.g. **BOA, Maliyeden Müdevver Defter**/ Register transferred from the Finance Office, no. 22 429, see Mihai Maxim, *Romano-Ottomanica. New Documents from the Turkish Archives*, The Isis Press, Istanbul, 2001, pp. 173–200.

¹³ *Ortaköy* (i.e.the medium/*orta* village/*köy*) on the Bosphorus was subordinated at that time to *kasaba*/small town of Beşiktaş (today an important municipality/*belediye* of Great/ *Büyükşehir* Istanbul; in 1712 Beşiktaş was an administrative unit called *nahiye*, dependent on the *kaza* (administrative and juridical district of the *kadı*) of Galata (Pera), one of 4 *kaza*'s of (Great) Istanbul, namely historical Istanbul, Galata, Eyüb and (in Asia) Üsküdar.

¹⁴ **BOA**, fond **Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler (MAD)**/Registers transferred from the Finance Office, no. 3 439, p. 200; already published in: Mihai Maxim, *O istorie a relațiilor româno-otomane,cu documente noi din arhivele turcești*,vol. II. *De la Mihai Viteazul la fanarioji (1601–1711/1716)*/A History of the Ottoman-Romanian Relations, with New Documents from the Turkish

Forty years ago my colleague and friend Prof. Tahsin Gemil did find some documents concerning the confiscation of the same villa (*yalı*) of Ortaköy, one piece of which he entirely published in 1973¹⁵. His documents were found at **TKSMA** (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi/Archives of the Topkapı Palace's Museum), and not at **BOA**, because – in my opinion – these documents were concerning two members of the *Imperial Family* – Princess Fatma and her husband <Damad/ Sultan's son-in-law> Silâhdar Ali Pasha – and consequently these documents were “distributed” to Topkapı Palace's Archives. On the contrary, according to the opinion expressed by my colleague, because such documents were concerning pious foundations (*vakıf/pl.evkâf*), controlled by the Harem's chief / *Dar üs-saâde Ağası* or *Kızlar Ağası*, all documents relating to *pious foundations, including our documents concerning Prince Cantemir's villa of Ortaköy*, should be “automatically distributed” to Topkapı.

But such an “automatic” distribution *is not proved* by archival documents; in fact, at **BOA** we are in possession of huge mass of documents concerning *vakıf/evkâf*. For instance, in 1955 Mithad Sertoğlu wrote about 23,000 documents coming to *Başvekâlet Arşivi* from *Evkâf*¹⁶; and we have today at **BOA** *not only all Sultans' vakıfs Archives but even vakıfs Archives of Dârüssaâde Ağası*¹⁷, i.e. the Harem's chief, resident in Topkapı Palace, mentioned by T. Gemil¹⁸. Even *Surre Defterleri*, i.e. Registers of *Surre* (sums and gifts sent every year by the *Padişah* to *Haremeyn*, that is the Holy Cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina, controlled by he same *Darüssaâde Ağası*), because such sums were sent from different (some 500!) places as *vakıfs* belonging to *Haremeyn üş-Şerifeyn*, even such registers called *Surre Defterleri* are located at **BOA**¹⁹; for instance, concerning Romanian lands we have here such *vakıfs/evkâf* subordinated to Mecca and Medina in Oradea (*Varad*), Isaccea (*Isakçı*), Giurgiu (*Yergöğü*), Ismail (*Ismail Geçidi*) and *last but not least* in Lugoj and Sebeş (in Romanian Banat)²⁰. Consequently, documents discovered by

Archives, Vol. II, From Michael the Brave to the Phanariote Princes, 1601–1711/1716, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila, 2013, doc. no. 4, pp. 218–233.

¹⁵ Tahsin Gemil, “Ştiri noi din arhivele turceşti privitoare la Dimitrie Cantemir”/ New Information from the Turkish Archives concerning Dimitrie Cantemir, in: *Anuarul Institutului de istorie şi arheologie „A. D. Xenopol” – Iaşi, tom X (1973)*, pp. 435–444; idem, *Relaţiile Ţărilor Române cu Poarta otomană în documente turceşti 1601–1712/Relations of the Romanian Principalities with the Ottoman Porte as reflected in Turkish Documents 1601–1712*. Direcţia Generală a Arhivelor Statului, Bucureşti, 1994, doc. 236, pp. 500–502.

¹⁶ See *supra* footnote no. 3.

¹⁷ *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi*/The Guide of Catalogues of the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives, Ankara, 1995, pp. 290, 439, etc.

¹⁸ See T. Gemil's paper in this volume. Unfortunately his “Cantemir Session”, organized by the Romanian Academy, did consist only of *monologue papers, without discussions and debates*.

¹⁹ See *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi* (quoted *supra* footnote no. 15), pp. 239, 240, 267. Codified as **EV.HKM.SR** there are some 4 170 *Surre* Registers relating to A.H. 1009–1327/A.D. 1600–1909.

²⁰ During A. H. 1070–1098/ A.D. 1659–1687, that is for 29 financial years, were sent to Mecca and Medina, as *vakıf*, from Lugoj and Sebeş, some 87,000 gold pieces (*hasene*), i.e. approximately

T. Gemil in 1973 were located at **TKSMA**, not because of *Darüsssaâde Ağası* “Patronage” over these *vakıf* Archives, but – I repeat my opinion – because some important persons mentioned in these documents, and first of all Fatma Sultan, Ahmed III’s daughter, were belonging to the Imperial Family (of Topkapı). Anyway “my” new document (**Mülknâme**), despite the fact that is relating to a *vakıf* “property”, in fact was “distributed” not to the Sultan’s Archives (**TKSMA**) but to the State (Grand Vizir’s) Archives, i.e. **BOA**, where I found it. *So, a strong rule concerning the presence of vakıf documents only at Topkapı does not exist.*

The aforementioned new document, an **Imperial Act of Property (Mülknâme)** given to *Sipahiler Ağası* Süleyman Bey, starts by pointing out that “the former *Voyvode* of Moldavia, non – Muslim subject (*zimmi*)²¹ *Kantemiroğlu*²², revealing his treason (*hıyânet*) <to the Porte> did desert (*firâr iden*) to *Dâr al-harb* (the Abode of War)²³, <consequently > all his real estates and things (*cümle emlâk ve eşyası*) were confiscated by the State (*taraf-ı miriden ahz ü kabz olunmağla*)²⁴.

Who was this Süleyman Bey who was given this **Imperial Act of Property** of 1712? Officially he was known as *Bey*, a title like *Sancakbeyi*/Province Governor, even a *Prince* like *Boğdan Beyi*/Reigning Prince of Moldavia; on the other hand he was an *Ağa*, an inferior degree, but designating *de facto* an important position, as Topkapı Cavalry soldiers (*Sipâhiler*)’s Commander (*Ağa*), an army corps composed of great dignitaries sons (*Sipahiler Oğulları*)²⁵.

304.5 kilograms of gold, according to data contained in 42 *defter*, which I discovered and studied at **BOA**; see Mihai Maxim, “Yeni Osmanlı Belgelerine Göre XVII. Yüzyılda Temeşvar Eyâletinden Mekke ve Medine’ye Gönderilen *Surre* Altını”/The *Surre* Gold Sent in XVII. Century from the *Eyâlet* of Timişoara to Mecca and Medina”, in: *XIV.Türk Tarih Kongresi.Ankara: 9–13 Eylül 2002. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler.II.Cilt ncII.Kısım, s.1049–1053 + levha*. As for other “Romanian Vakıfs” for Mecca and Medina, see sources in: Mihai Maxim, “Yeni Osmanlı Belgelerine Göre...”, p. 1053; also: T.Gemil, *Relaşıile Țărilor Române cu Poarta otomană în documente turceşti (1601–1711)*, Bucureşti, 1984, docs. no. 35, 57, 141, 203.

²¹ See Mihai Maxim, *Țările Române și Înalta Poartă. Cadrul juridic al relaşıilor româno-otomane în Evul Mediu. Cu o prefață de Prof.Halil Inalcık*/The Romanian Principalities and the Sublime Porte. The Juridical-Legal Foundations of the Ottoman-Romanian Relationship in the Middle Ages. With a Preface by Prof.Halil Inalcık, Editura Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 1993, chapter V: “Statutul *zimmi*-ilor în *Dâr al-Islâm*”/The Status of the *Zimmi*’s in *Dâr al-Islâm*.

²² Dimitrie Cantemir (in Romanian sources, e.g. Neculce: *Dumitraşco Cantemir*), 14/25 Nov.1710 – July 1711.

²³ I.e. to Russia, at war with the Porte, in Ottoman sources known as *Prut Seferi* (Prut <River> campaign) or *Moskov seferi* (Moscow campaign) (April-July 1711); see classical work of Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Prut Seferi ve Barışı 1123 (1711)*/The Prut Campaign and Peace, 2 vols., Ankara, TTK, 1951; Prof. Dr. Kemal Çiçek (coordinator), *Baltacı Mehmet Paşa, Sempozyum Bildirileri*/Papers delivered to Baltacı Mehmet Paşa Symposium, Çorum, 2007; Mihai Maxim, *Brăila 1711. Noi Documente Otomane/Brăila 1711*. New Ottoman Documents, Muzeul Brailei, Editura Istros, Brăila, 2011, pp. 68–72 and sq.

²⁴ According to the Islamic procedure of *müsâdere* (seizure of all goods belonging to the traitors/*hâin* of Islam, Muslims or Non-Muslims).

²⁵ See Midhat Sertoğlu, *Resimli Osmanlı Tarihi Ansiklopedisi* (The Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Ottoman History), Istanbul, 1958, p. 296.

The great significance of this **Mülknâme** consists in making mention about Prince Cantemir's neighbours at his mansion (*yalı*) or palace (*palas*) of Ortaköy which became – according to our great Master Professor Halil Inalcık (99 years old!) – “a place of debating the causes of the Ottoman decline and of ideas concerning the westernization”, Romanian Prince being “the first to open a window towards the West for the Turkish culture”; with its western style garden, beverages (wine, etc.), Turkish, Jewish, Armenian music and especially with its western guests (diplomats and intellectuals), the palace of Ortaköy became a cosmopolitan center of inter-cultural and even inter-religious dialogue between East and West²⁶.

In the light of these considerations any new information on this palace²⁷, on its location, on its limits and neighbourhood is very important for us.

Such new information we obtained from this **Imperial Act of Property (Mülknâme)** of 12 Rebiülâhır 1124/ 19 May 1712 (new style) or 8 May 1712 (old style still used in Moldavia and Wallachia at that time), given to Süleyman Bey, the buyer of this *yalı* (in Turkish) or *palas* (in Latin, in Cantemir's words).

Here is *the Turkish-Ottoman text* of this important document transliterated in modern Turkish (*Latin*) alphabet:

“**Mülknâme-i Hümayûn** yazılı ki:

Sabıka Boğdan Voyvodası olub zühûr eden hıyâneti sebebi ile dâr ül-harbe firâr eden Kantemiroğlu nâm zimminin cümle emlâk ve eşyası taraf-ı miriden ahz ve kabz olunmağla mesfûruñ mülki olub alel' karâr yedinde mülki olub Mahruse-i Galata müzâfâtından kasaba-i Beşiktaş'a tâbi' Ortaköy nâm karyede bir tarafda Vezirim Silâhdar Ali Paşa adem-Allâhü te'âla iclâlehû yalısı ve bir tarafında sâhil-i bahr ve bir tarafında İbrâm Yehudi menzili ve bir tarafında târik-i âmm ile mahdûd hariciye ve dahiliye büyût-u adide-i müstâcel ebniyesi; mülki ve arsası müteveffâ defterdar vakfına senede..... akça mukâtaalı yalı ta'bir olunur menzili ve menzil-i mezbûr ile hizâsında zokak aşûri malûm el-hudûd zat-ı eşcâr-ı meşmere ve gayrı meşmere hâdika ve içinde bir ahûr ve bir havuz ve bir mâ'i câri su hazinesi iki bi'rimâ ve bağçe-i mezbûrun fevkinde malûm el-hudûd kürûm mülk

²⁶ Halil Inalcık, *Foreword to Dimitrie Cantemir, Historian of South East European and Oriental Civilizations. Extracts from << THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE >>*. Edited by Alexandru Duşu and Paul Cernovodeanu. With a foreword by Professor Halil Inalcık, President of the AIESEE, Bucarest, 1973, pp. 5–10; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, translated from German *Kunst und Alltagsleben im Osmanischen Reich*, by Elif Kılıç, Tarih Vakfı, EREN, Istanbul, 2005, p. 297; Mihai Maxim, “Dimitrie Cantemir and His Time .New Documents from the Turkish Archives”, pp. 38–41; idem, “Prens Dimitrie Cantemir'in 1688–1710 Istanbul Yılları Hakkında Yeni Osmanlı Belgeleri” (New Ottoman Documents concerning Prince Dimitrie Cantemir's 1688–1710 Istanbul Years), in: *XVI. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (XVI. Congress of Turkish History). *Ankara, 2010* (forthcoming).

²⁷ See also Cantemir's Palace in Constantinople drawn by himself in his *History of the Ottoman Empire*, in: *Dimitrie Cantemir, Historian...Extracts from <<THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE>>*..., between pp. 72–73, but only for a general orientation.

bir kıt'a bağı ve bostâni cümletü'l ve-l -tevâbi ve-l -vâhik ve kâffet ül- hukûk ve –l merâfik cânib-i beyt ül-mâl

âide olub taraf-ı mirîden zabt ve tâlibine fûrûht olunması fermanım olmağın beyt ül-mâlde tâlibleri muvâcehelerinde mezât olundıkda iki biñ yedi yüz guruş bâhâ ile hâlâ sipahiler Ağası olan kıdvet ül-emâsıl ve'l –emâcid Süleyman Bey dame- mecdûhu üzerinde karardâde olub rağbet-i bil-küllîye meşrûta olundıkdan soñra üç yüz guruş izdiyâd ile üç biñ guruşa kendüye tarik-i mirîden bey' ve mûmaileyh Süleyman Bey dahi iştirâ ve kabûl eyledüğünü tarik-i şer'-i şerifden hüccet-i şer'iyye dahi virilüb ve bahâsı olan meblağ-ı mezbûr üç biñ guruşa tamâmen teslim-i Hâzine-i Amirem eyledüğünde yedine sûret-i Rûznâmçe-i Hümâyûn virilsinki bervech-i mülkiyet rûsûmu için Baş Muhâsebeye kayd olunub yedine Mülknâme-i Hümâyûnum virilmek telhis olundıkda mucebince Baş Muhâsebeye kayd olunub Mülknâme-i Hümâyûnum virilmek bâbında fermân-ı alışânım sâdır olmağın şürûtiyla Mülknâme-i Hümâyûn yazılmak için tezkire kayd olundu.

Fi 12 R(ebiülâhır) 1124”.

(**Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi/** The Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives, Istanbul, Fund *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler/* Registers transferred from the Finance Department, no. 3 439, p. 200, document dated 12 Rebiülâhır 1124/19 May 1712, new style /calendar = 8 May 1712, old style; published for the first time, with the Romanian translation, in: Mihai Maxim, *O istorie a relațiilor româno-otomane, cu documente noi din arhivele turcești*. Vol. II. *De la Mihai Viteazul la fanarioți, 1601–1711/1716*. A History of Ottoman – Romanian Relations with *New Documents from the Turkish Archives*, Vol. II, *From Michael the Brave to the Phanariotes, 1601–1711/1716*, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila, 2013, pp. 218–229, doc. no. 4).

Translation:

“< This> Imperial ²⁸Act of Property (**Mülknâme-i Hümâyûn**) ²⁹ is to be written as follows:

all real estates and goods (*emlâk ve eşyası*) of the non-Muslim (*zimmi*)³⁰ called Kantemiroğlu³¹ –, the former Voyvode of Moldavia (*sabika Boğdan Voyvodası*), which treason (*hyâneti*)³² has appeared and who has fled to the Abode of War (*dâr ül-harb*)³³, – were seized and taken (*ahz u kabz olunmağla*) by the

²⁸ This Imperial Act of Property was issued by the Emperror (*Padişah, Sultan*) Ahmed III (1703–1730).

²⁹ *Mülk* (pl. *emlâk*) = possession, real estate, a sort of private property in the Ottoman Empire, but – until 19th century – not a full (unconditional) private property like in the West. As a matter of fact Prince Cantemir's “property” belonged to the *vakıf* (pious foundation) of the late *defterdar* Ibrahim Paşa, paying a rent (*icâre*) of 17 aspers, which was assumed by the new “proprietor” Süleyman Bey (see *supra* note 15). So this *mülk* was rather a real estate possession.

³⁰ *Zimmi* = Ar. *dhimmi* = non-Muslim subject of a Muslim State. See also *supra* footnote 21.

³¹ Dimitrie Cantemir, former *Voyvoda (Bey, Prince, Hospodar)* of Moldavia (three weeks in 1693, but not recognized by the Porte; Nov. 1710–July 1711). See also *supra* footnotes 5 and 22.

³² Today *ihanet*.

³³ That is to Russia (see *supra* note 23).

State (*taraf-ı mirîden*)³⁴. <This> property (*mülk*) which the abovementioned (*mesfûr*)³⁵ non-Muslim was possessing by a legal decision (*alel'karar*) in his hand(*yedinde*) <is situated> in the village called Ortaköy (*Ortaköy nâm karyede*)³⁶, dependent on the borough of Beşiktaş (*kasaba-i Beşiktaş*)³⁷, one of the localities subordinated to the *kaza* of well-protected Galata (*mahruse-i Galata*)³⁸. <The limits of this *mülk* of Kantemiroğlu³⁹ > are as follows: on the one side (*bir tarafda*) <there is> the mansion (*yali*)⁴⁰ of my Vizier (*Vezirim*) Silâhdar Ali Pasha⁴¹ – may God the Most High make eternal his glory!; on its other side <there is> the seashore (*sahil-i bahr*) <on the Bosphorus>⁴² and on the other <third> side <of this property> (*bir tarafından*) <is situated> the mansion (*menzil*)⁴³ (of Abraham the Jew (*Ibram Yahudisi menzili*) and on the other <fourth> side the are numerous habitation buildings (*büyût enbiyesi*) which inside and outside were done in a hurry (*müsta'cel*)⁴⁴. His <Kantemiroğlu's> property (*mülki*) and his building land (*arsası*)

³⁴ In accordance with the Islamic procedure of *müsâdere* (literally: “confiscation”), all movable and immovable properties belonging to the “traitors (*hain*) of Islam” had to be confiscated by the Islamic State. For this procedure in Brâncoveanu’s case (1714), see: Mihai Maxim, *Romano-Ottomanica. Essays & Documents from the Turkish Archives*, The Isis Press, Istanbul, 2001, pp. 173–197.

³⁵ But for the Muslims, the Ottoman chancelleries used the more distinguished terms of *mezbûr*, *mezkûr*, *merkûm* and *mehbûs*; for great dignitaries they did use the elevated term of *müşarileyh* (*müşarinüleyh*).

³⁶ *Ortaköy* means “medium (or central) village” (*orta*=medium/central + *köy*/Ar.*kariye*=village); see also *supra* note 13.

³⁷ See *supra* note 13.

³⁸ See *supra* note 13.

³⁹ Cf. *Cantemir's Palace in Constantinople drawn by himself* (see *supra* note 27).

⁴⁰ *Yalı*= shore; waterside residence; but “palace” (in Latin: *palas*) in Cantemir’s words. As a matter of fact the Turkish equivalent for “palace” is *saray*.

⁴¹ Vizier Silâhdar Ali Pasha, son-in-law (*damad*) of Ahmed III (1703–1730); he married Fatma, one of the sultan’s 32 daughters (Ahmed III was also father of 21 sons); the future Grand Vizier of Ahmed the same *Padişah* (Emperor), between 27.04.1713 and 06.08.1716, and “martyr” (*şehid*) by his death in the famous battle at Peterwardein (5 Aug.1716), against the Habsburgs. As former *Silâhdar* (custodian of arms) of the Mufti Feyzullah Efendi (killed in 1703), he inherited the nickname of *Silâhdar* (see also footnote 60). So the full name of Ali Pasha became *Şehid Damad Silâhdar Ali Paşa* (see Mithad Sertoğlu, *Resimli Osmanlı Tarihi Ansiklopedisi/ The Illustrated History of the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul, 1958, pp. 248–249, 294–295).

⁴² Thanks to this location on the seashore (*sahil-i bahr*), Prince Cantemir was able to avoid to be arrested by the *bostancı başı* (the Sultan’s police) and to take refuge into the French Ambassador (Ferriol) summer residence situated also on the seashore (at Tarabya/Terapia), as Cantemir himself has related in his *History of the Ottoman Empire* (see *Dimitrie Cantemir, A Historian...Extracts...*, p. 263).

⁴³ *Menzil* = halting place, station, house, mansion.

⁴⁴ I.e. improvised habitation buildings, which is rather strange for such a cosmopolitan place, with many rich people.

and his mansion (*menzili*) called (*ta'bir olunur*) *yalı* (waterside residence, villa) were *mukataalı* (subject to a *mukataa*/farming rent)⁴⁵ paying yearly (*senede*) a rent of⁴⁶... aspers (*akça*)⁴⁷ to the pious foundation (*vakıf*) of the late *defterdar*; and over the street (*zokak aşuri*), <situated> on the level with the aforementioned *menzil* (called *yalı*), there is a known limit (*malûm el-hudûd*) marked by fruit-trees (*eşcâr-ı müsmire*) and besides these trees an orchard (*hadika*) and within this garden a stable (*âhûr*) and an artificial basin (*havuz*) and a reservoir of flowing water (*mâ'î câri su hazinesi*), two wells (*iki bi'rhâ*); and outside of the aforesaid garden (*bağçe-i mezburûn fevkinde*) <there is another> known limit <of this> property (*mülk*), consisting of vine <stocks> (*kürûm*) <and within this> a vineyard (*bir kat'a bağ*) and a vegetable garden (*bostânî*); <the *mülk*> and all its dependencies and annexes were seized (*zabt*) by the State (*taraf-ı mirî*) as revenues (*rûsûm*) belonging to the State Treasury (*beyt ül-mâl*); and since my imperial order has been given (*fermânım olmağın*) <all these> to be sold (*fürûht olunması*) to the desirous <person> (*tâlibine*); as a result of confrontations of the desirous <persons>, at the Treasury, during the sale by auction (*mezât olundıkda*), final decision has been given (*karârdâde*) for the Aga of Sipahis (*Sipahiler Ağası*) Süleyman Bey – an example for the most eminent and glorious men –, who has offered two thousand and seven hundred piasters (*guruş*)⁴⁸; after his demand has been conditionally accepted (*meşruta*)⁴⁹, <later>, by means of the Treasury (*tarik-i mirî*), the sale (*bey*) was done to him (*kendiye*), with an augmentation (*izdiyâd*) of

⁴⁵ *Mukataalı* = subject to the *mukataa* rent; *mukataa* = a farming out of public revenue; rent paid for a *vakıf* = pious foundation.

⁴⁶ Blank left in the document; in fact, this rent was of 17 aspers per day (*beher yevm*) (see Tahsin Gemil, *Relațiile Țărilor Române cu Poarta otomană în documente turcești (1601–1712)*, București, DGAS, 1984, doc. 236, pp. 500–502; see also *supra* note 15); *per annum* (a lunar year of 354 days) this means some 5018 aspers (*akça*) or some 14 Venetian gold pieces (*zecchini*) or some 42 *guruş*/piasters (the price of a beautiful horse). According to the title-deed of *gurre-i Cemaziülâhır* 1124/ A.D. 1712, July 6 (T. Gemil, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*), only *yalı* (villa, "palace") remained in the possession of Süleyman Bey for a rent (in the favor the *vakıf*) of 10 aspers per day, while *bağ* (vineyard) and *bostan* (vegetable garden) alongside with all dependencies and annexes became Ali Pasha's (and his wife Fatma Sultan's) "property", paying to the *vakıf* a rent of 7 aspers per day (at that time the cost of a *tıraş*/ shave was of 3 *akça*). See Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi/ The Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, 1999, p. 152, *tablo* 8.3; Mihai Maxim, *Romano-Ottomanica*, p. 192; *Condica de venituri și cheltuieli a Vistieriei, 1694–1704/ Register of the (Wallachian) Treasury's Revenues and Expenses, 1694–1704*, "Revista Istorică a Arhivelor Române", București, 1878, p. 225; S. M. Bilge, "Osmanlı İstanbul'nda Berber Esnafı"/ The Barbers Guild in Ottoman İstanbul, in: *Osmanlı İstanbulu*, II, İstanbul, 2015, p. 198.

⁴⁷ At that time 1 *guruş* (piaster, *real*, Ottoman *zolota*) = 120 *akça* (an Ottoman silver coin struck for the first time in AH 727/AD 1326–1327).

⁴⁸ In 1714, 3 *guruş* = 1 Venetian gold piece (*zecchino*); 2,6–2,7 *guruş* = 1 Ottoman gold piece (*altun*) (Mihai Maxim, *Romano-Ottomanica*, p. 192).

⁴⁹ That is on the condition (*şart*) that, meantime, this property will be not sold to another person.

300 *guruş*; for < the total sum of > 3000 *guruş*⁵⁰; and the said Süleyman Bey has bought (*iştirâ*) and accepted (*kabul*) <the aforementioned property> and a legal *hüccet*⁵¹ <in this sense> has been given to him by the Sacred Court (*Şer'-i Şerif*); and at the entire delivery to My Imperial Treasury⁵² of the sum of 3000 *guruş*, which is the price (*bahası*) <of this transaction>, a copy (*suret*) of *Ruznâme-i Hümayun* (Imperial Day-Book) is to be given in his hand (*yedine*), in such a manner that <the document> to be recorded at the General Accounts Office (*Baş Muhasebe' ye*)⁵³ for the taxes (*rüsûm*) on this possession (*ber vech-i mülkiyet*); and a report (*telhis*)⁵⁴ has been written in order to give in his (Süleyman Bey's) hand (*yedine*) My Act of Property (**Mülknâme-i Hümayun**); accordingly (*mücebince*) <this **Mülknâme-i Hümayun**> was registred at *Baş Muhasebe* and a *tezkere*⁵⁵ was issued for writing this **Mülknâme-i Hümayun**, in accordance with My Illoustrious *Fermân*⁵⁶ (*Fermân-ı âlişanum*).

<Dated> on (*fi*) 12 R (ebiülâhır) 1124⁵⁷.

Short comments

As I already mentioned the great significance of this document concern Prince Cantemir's Ortaköy neighbours, namely Ahmed III's son-in-law Vizier (later Grand Vizier) Silahdar Ali Pasha at one side of the property and Abraham the Jew (*Ibram Yahudi*) on the other side.

First of all from this **Mülknâme** we are informed that Prince Dimitrie Cantemir did have as a neighbour in Ortaköy the famous Vizier Silahdar Ali Pasha, who (as Grand Vizier) put to death on 15th of August, 1714, Cantemir's rival Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu of Wallachia ("my perpetual and sworn enemy", in

⁵⁰ According to *Ruznâme* registers (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*, Istanbul) that was a normal price: for instance, the waterside residence (*yalı*) confiscated from the former Grand Vizier Rami Mehmed Pasha (his Grand Viziership: 24 Jan. – 19 Aug. 1703) was sold for 2,500 *guruş*; the house (*hane*) at *Kuruçeşme* (on seashore) confiscated from Antioh Cantemir in 1714 was sold for 3,500 *guruş* 420,000 *akça* (Mihai Maxim, *Brâncoveanu și Cantemireștii. Documente noi din arhivele turcești/Brâncoveanu and the Cantemirs. New Documents from the Turkish Archives*, in: *Arta istoriei. Istoria artei. Academicianul Răzvan Theodorescu la 65 de ani*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2004, pp. 126–127, 137).

⁵¹ *Hüccet* (*hoget* in old Romanian) = a legal document (proof), issued by the judge, in this case the *kadı* of Galata and testifying the sale and purchase.

⁵² I.e. the State Treasury called *Dış Hazinesi* (External Treasury) while the Sultan's Treasury was called *İç Hazinesi* (Internal Treasury).

⁵³ That is in the *Baş Muhasebe*'s registers.

⁵⁴ *Telhis* = condensed report drawn up at the Porte (by the Grand Vizier or – like in this case – Grand *Defterdar*) for submission to the Sultan.

⁵⁵ *Tezkere* (in old Romanian: *teșcherea*) = short note, memorandum, letter.

⁵⁶ *Fermân* = imperial edict, command, order.

⁵⁷ I.e. AD 1712, May 19 (new style or 8 May 1712 old style, at that time still in use in Moldavia and Wallachia).

Cantemir's words⁵⁸). In 1716 (after 5th of August), in Russia, in his *History of the Ottoman Empire*, writing about this "elegant Palace" of Ortaköy, Romanian Prince did write: "I hear it is possess'd now by the present Emperors' (Ahmed III, 1703–1730 – M. M.) daughter (Fatma Sultan), wife of Ali Pasha the Prime Vizir (between 27.04.1713 and 06.08.1716 – M. M.)"⁵⁹; and in other place of the same work, Cantemir mentioned "the Mufti's (Feyzullah Efendi, killed in 1703 – M.M.) Silahdar (custodian of his arms – M. M.), Ali Pasha, the same who was afterwards Vizir (in May of 1712, according to our *Mülknâme*, Ali Pasha was already Vizir – M. M.), and in 1716 (on 5th of August – M.M.) was slain in a battle near Peterwaradin (against the Habsburgs – M.M.)"⁶⁰.

Relating to Cantemir – Ali Pasha relationship, Cantemir narrated in the same *History of the Ottoman Empire*:

"Near that quarter (Phanar/*Fenar/Fener* – M.M.), when I was at Constantinople (1688–1710, with interruptions – M.M.), I raised a Palace on a high Hill called *Sandjakdar Yokushi* (today partially restored as *Cantemir Memorial House*, within the municipality of Fatih, district of Fener-Balat – M.M.); the Building was elegant, and afforded a Prospect over almost the whole City and Suburbs. Under Sultan *Mahomet IV* (1648–1687 – M.M.), my Father-in-law *Şerban Cantacuzenus*, Prince of Wallachia (1678–1688; D. Cantemir married his daughter Casandra in 1700 – M.M.), having raised from the Valley Walls of 25 Cubits high, levelled the Ground for a Garden, and had now raised the first Wall of his House at an expence of 35,000 Imperial Crowns, when he received an order to proceed no farther, because he could already look into the Imperial Palace called *Tersane Serai* (near *Koç Museum* of today – M.M.). ***At length, by the Intercession of the*** (future – M.M.) ***prime Vizir Ali Pasha, I obtain'd*** (when? – M.M.) ***leave of the Emperor*** (which one: Süleyman II, 1687–1691? Ahmed II, 1691–1695? Mustafa II, 1695–1703? or even Ahmed III, 1703–1730? – M.M.) ***to carry on the Building of my Palace on the old Foundations*** (pointed out by me – M.M.), which I had hardly finish'd, when I was, as it were, thrust into the Principality of Moldavia (November 1710 – M.M.)"⁶¹. Despite some unprecise things, we have here an irrefutable proof of Cantemir – Ali Pasha connections in the past. Undoubtedly these "neighbourhood connections" did play an important role in Cantemir-Brâncoveanu relationship.

⁵⁸ *Dimitrie Cantemir, Historian...Extracts from "THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE"*, edited by Al.Duțu and P. Cernovodeanu, with a foreword by Professor Halil Inalcık, President of the AISEE, Bucharest, 1973, p. 263.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 131.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 231 (see also *supra* footnote 41). This a proof that 5 Aug.1716 should be considered *terminus post quem* for writing the last pages/ version of *The History of the Ottoman Empire*.

⁶¹ *Dimitrie Cantemir, Historian...Extracts...*, p. 122.

Secondly, the mention in *Mülknâme* of “Abraham the Jew (*Ibram Yahudi*)” as Cantemir’s neighbour does testify for Cantemir’s contacts with the Jews of Ortaköy, Sephardic Jews, with their musical folklore presented by the Romanian Prince in his famous treatise (*edvar*) of music offered to Ahmed III, today highly appreciated by international musicians.

As to the *location of Cantemir’s palace*: at the present we don’t know where exactly in Ortaköy was situated this *yalı/palas*. Making my own investigations in that quarter (*mahalle, site*), street by street, I came to the conclusion (or rather to the hypothesis) that Cantemir’s palace could be situated somewhere close to the today Mosque of Ortaköy (in Turkish: *Ortaköy Camii*), a hypothesis which was not rejected by Prof.Inalcık. If we could obtain information about “The *vakıf* of the *defterdar* Ibrahim Pasha (*Ibrahim Paşa Vakfı*)”; ”The Park/Garden of Fatma Sultan (*Fatma Sultan Parkı/ Bahçesi*)”; “The Villa/Palace of Şehid Damad Silahdar Ali Pasha (*Şehid Damad Silahdar Ali Paşa Yalısı*)”, “The Villa/Palace of Süleyman Bey, Commander of Cavalry corps (*Sipahiler Ağası Süleyman Bey Yalısı*)”, but also about “The Mansion of Abraham the Jew (*Ibram Yahudi Menzili*)” in archives, relating to the history of Ortaköy/ Beşiktaş, we can advance step by step in our knowledge on the precise location of Cantemir’s palace of Ortaköy.

