

A FIRMAN OF SÜLEYMÂN  
 THE MAGNIFICENT TO THE KING OF  
 FRANCE PRESERVED IN AN EXERCISE  
 BOOK OF THE “K.K. AKADEMIE  
 ORIENTALISCHER SPRACHEN”  
 IN VIENNA, 1831\*

**I**n the course of this century the manuscripts of the former “K.K. Akademie Orientalischer Sprachen” (later called “k. u. k. Konsular-Akademie”) were taken over by the österreichisches Staatsarchiv, whereas the printed books of the Konsular-Akademie library are now kept at the Oriental Institute of Vienna University. Among them, however, there are fifteen handwritten students’ exercise books. It is completely unknown what happened to all the other exercise books that certainly must have existed. Two books contain one part each of a Latin translation of Na‘îmâ’s history, completed in 1796 by two students of the Academy, Joseph Hirnschall and Joseph Plenck<sup>1</sup>. Another exercise

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<sup>1</sup> They are both listed as new students in 1794, cf. *Die k. u. k. Konsular-Akademie von 1754 bis 1904. Festschrift zur Feier des 150-jährigen Bestandes...*, p. 94; the two volumes bear the shelf-marks X36 [OG 69], vol. 1 and 2 respectively. The students dedicated their work to Hofrat von Jenisch of the Academy, which is seen from a beautifully carved cover. Jenisch himself (1734-1807) was one of the first eight students of the Academy when it was opened in 1754, cf. E. PETRITSCH, “Die Wiener Turkologie vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert”, *Germano-Turcica. Geschichte des Türkisch-Lernens in den deutschsprachigen Ländern. Ausstellung des Lehrstuhls für Türkische Sprache, Geschichte und*

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book is a collection of Ottoman proverbs compiled and translated by Anton Steindl de Plessenet in 1830<sup>2</sup>.

Around 1830, according to the curriculum of the Academy, the students had to follow juridical and diplomatic lectures including history and political science during the first five years as well as courses of various Oriental and European languages (Turkish, French, Arabic, Italian, Greek, Persian) throughout the whole period of education (six years). Every term they had to take special courses in Turkish diplomatics (“Lesen und Übersetzen türkischer Geschäftsbriefe”) and in French<sup>3</sup>. The exercise books enable us to establish the system according to which the students had to copy and translate Ottoman documents: depending on how advanced they were in their studies, they had to fulfil different tasks. Those who were more or less beginners and whose Ottoman handwriting was still clumsy, had to copy and translate sixteen to twenty short documents of very similar content. Those who were at a higher level had to copy and translate sixteen to twenty longer documents of various types. Mostly the texts were translated into Latin, but some students also did French, Italian, German, Greek and even English translations, although we do not know of any preparatory courses of English. There are, of course, quite a lot of misspellings in the Ottoman texts and many translations prove extremely inaccurate and abridged. But nevertheless, these exercise books are a valuable source for both the history of teaching Turkish and for history itself.

Except those mentioned before, the remaining twelve volumes<sup>4</sup> contain Ottoman documents mainly dating from the 18th and 19th centuries, which were copied and translated by thirty-one different students between 1758 and 1831<sup>5</sup>.

*Kultur der Universität Bamberg in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universitätsbibliothek Bamberg*, Bamberg, 1987, p. 30 and 38-39. I presented these two translations at the 35th ICANAS, Budapest, 7-12 July, 1997.

<sup>2</sup> He is listed as a new student in 1826, cf. *Die K.u.K Konsular-Akademie*, p. 95; the volume bears the shelfmark X 26 [OUe 108/1]. On this collection of proverbs see C. RÖMER, “Eine handschriftliche Quelle der 1865 in Wien herausgegebenen *Osmanischen Sprichwörter*”, Festschrift Hans Hirsch, *WZKM* 86 (1996) p. 369-377. On Steindl de Plessenet’s life and career see A. WANDRUSZA, “Anton Steindl Ritter von Plessenet. Ein österreichischer Diplomat in der Levante”, *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchiv* 25 (1972), p. 449-464.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. V. WEISS EDLER VON STARKENFELS, *Die kaiserlich-königliche orientalische Akademie zu Wien, ihre Gründung, Fortbildung und gegenwärtige Einrichtung*, Vienna, 1839, p. 38-41 and Germano-Turcica, “Dokumentation”, p. 130-131.

<sup>4</sup> Shelfmarks X 25 [OUe 118], X 35 [OG 21], I. Bd., X 35 [OG 21], II. Bd., X 35 [OG 21], III. Bd., X 35 [OG 21], IV. Bd., X 35 [OG 21], V. Bd., X 35 [OUe 22/1], Bd. 1, X 35 [OUe 22/1], Bd. 2, X 35 [OUe 22/1], Bd. 3, X 35 [OUe 22/1], Bd. 4, X 35 [OUe 22/1], Bd. 5, X 37 [OG 96].

<sup>5</sup> The oldest volume dates from 1758 (X 25 [OUe 118]). Only half the pages have been filled, the rest remaining empty, and the heading indicates that it was Franciscus de Paula Zigeiner’s exercise book, who is listed as having entered the Academy in 1755; cf. *Die K.u. K. Konsular-Akademie*, p. 93.

Older documents, however, are preserved in X 37 [OG 96], the title of which reads, “Tractatus Pacis Turcici Inter Sultanum et Caesares initi nimirum (!) quos in Latinum, Gallicum, Italicum, et Germanicum translulit Baro Carolus Solignac C.R. Academiae Linguarum Orientalium Alumnus Anno 1814”<sup>6</sup> According to its index, the volume is supposed to contain copies of several peace treaties between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires from 1567 to 1649, but the index does not completely correspond to what is really there.

Many of the earlier documents concern affairs of Austrian merchants and other subjects travelling in the Ottoman Empire as well as a number of Austrian residents at the Porte, especially Baron de Herbert Rathkeal who is mentioned several times<sup>7</sup>. That copies of such documents should be made accessible to students who were instructed for their future careers as diplomats seems quite clear. And we know that the Empress Maria Theresa had issued an order that the Viennese archives were to be opened to the students. Moreover many documents were collected in the Ottoman Empire and sent to Vienna by Austrian subjects<sup>8</sup>. We must assume, therefore, that other documents like petitions, private letters, *temessüks*, *tezkeres* as well as a number of sultans’ decrees not concerned with Austrian affairs (these are abundant in practically all exercise books, especially in those of the less advanced students), either were part of what was collected in the Ottoman Empire or were copied out of Ottoman defters or *inşā*-books, also in view of their formal characteristics. There are several *inşā*-books in the library of the Konsular-Akademie<sup>9</sup>.

In the most recent item of our collection, we have found the oldest Ottoman document preserved in this group of exercise books. It is a firman of Süleymân the Magnificent directed to the King of France and has been copied and translated into Latin in 1831 by Anton von Hammer-

<sup>6</sup> C. Solignac is not mentioned in the list of students in *Die K.u. K. Konsular-Akademie*, p. 95.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. X 35 [OUe 22/1], Bd. V, X 35 [OUe 22/1], Bd. IV. Peter von Herbert-Rathkeal was of Irish descent. He was born in 1735 in Constantinople. After the family had settled in Vienna, his younger brother Thomas (1738-1760) was admitted as one of the first eight students of the Academy in 1754 (cf. *Die K.K. Konsular-Akademie*, p. 93). There is no evidence that Peter von Herbert-Rathkeal ever studied at the Academy. But he was appointed “Corepetitor” and “Prefect” at the Academy in 1757. He held several posts in civil service and was resident at the Porte from 1780 until his death in 1802. He successfully negotiated commercial agreements between Austria and the Porte. This period was interrupted by the outbreak of the Ottoman war against Russia and Austria in 1788. After he had presided at the peace negotiations of Sistova in 1791 he went back to Constantinople where he died in 1802 and was buried in Pera; cf. C. VON WURZBACH, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich, enthaltend die Lebensskizzen der denkwürdigen Personen, welche 1750-1850 im Kaiserstaate und in seinen Kronländern gelebt haben*, Vienna, 1856-1891, vol. 8, p. 352-357.

<sup>8</sup> Albrecht KRAFFT, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der K.K. Orientalischen Akademie zu Wien*, Wien, 1842, p. VII.)

<sup>9</sup> KRAFFT, mss. no. 83-142.

Nemesbány<sup>10</sup>. This document, though undated, must be the first or second of the three letters Süleymān sent to Charles IX in order to make him pay the 150 000 florins the French court owed to the Mendes-Nasi firm.

In 1554/55 Don Joseph Nasi joined his aunt Gracia Mendes Nasi in Constantinople where she had finally settled after having fled from Portugal (they were of Marrano descent) to Italy via France and Antwerp<sup>11</sup>. He married Dona Gracia's daughter and the family returned to Judaism openly. They established a bank in Constantinople and Joseph Nasi soon gained the confidence of Prince Selīm, a way which opened all possibilities for him to become most influential.

France owed the sum of 150 000 florins to the Mendes-Nasi banking house, a sum which had been lent to Francis I. The French court constantly refused to pay the debt, arguing that all the properties of Jews belonged to the State treasury anyway<sup>12</sup>. From the document we see quite clearly that it was not a debt that the French King owed to Joseph Nasi personally, but that it was money Charles' IX father (Francis I, 1515-1547) had borrowed from Joseph Nasi's uncle. Although this uncle is not mentioned by name, we can conjecture that it probably is Francisco Mendes, Dona Gracia's husband who died in 1535<sup>13</sup>. Nasi now sought to win back his money, using his good relations with Selīm and Süleymān. First an Ottoman *çavuş* was sent to France to remind the court of his claim, then (in April 1564) Nasi entrusted an envoy sent via Algiers (Vincentio Justiniani) to stress his point of view<sup>14</sup>. This was fol-

<sup>10</sup> This volume bears the shelfmark X 35 [OG 21], V. Bd. Its title, very similarly formulated as those of the other volumes, reads: *Collectio Scriptorum Turcicorum Characterè Divani exaratorum quae Antonius Steindl de Plessenet, Antonius de Hammer, Felix Miessl, Ferdinandus de Klei(n)mayrn et Robertus Steiner in Latinum Idioma transtulere I. Semestre 1831*. Anton Freiherr von Hammer-Nemesbány, not related to Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, entered the Academy in 1826, later became a higher state employee and also served as Imperial Interpreter of Oriental languages (cf. WURZBACH, vol. 7, p. 267 and *Die K. u. K. Konsular-Akademie*, p. 95). Felix Miessl joined the Academy in the same year, whereas Steiner and Kleinmayrn only were admitted two years later, i.e. in 1828 (cf. *Die K. u. K. Konsular-Akademie*, p. 95).

<sup>11</sup> For partly extensive biographies of both Gracia Mendes Nasi and Joseph Nasi, see e.g. ŞAFVET, "Yūsuf Nāsī", in *TOEM* 2 (16), 1328, p. 982-993; GALANTE, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, reprint ISIS, Istanbul s.a., vol. 2, p. 40-46; vol. 5, p. 150-156 (identical with the last), 314; idem, "Don Joseph Nassi (Duc de Naxos) d'après de nouveaux documents, conférence faite à la société "Bene-Berith" le samedi 15 février 1913", *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, vol. 8, p. 295-323 (documents identical with those in the title mentioned last); vol. 8, p. 63; Cecil ROTH, *The House of Nasi*, Tel Aviv, 1952; P. GRUNEBaum-BALLIN, *Joseph Naci, duc de Naxos*, Paris, 1968.

<sup>12</sup> GALANTE, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p.42.

<sup>13</sup> GALANTE, "Don Joseph Nassi d'après de nouveaux documents", p. 595-596.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. CHARRIÈRE, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, Paris, 1848-60, vol. 2, p. 773-774, n. 1. It was the French ambassador to the Porte, Petremol, who was charged by Süleymān with stressing the importance of this matter. It seems that Nasi himself was indebted to Süleymān and Selīm, but was willing to accept "marchandises, comme estains, draps, brésil, canevas" instead of money. Petremol talks about Nasi's plan to tell

lowed by letters of Süleymân and Selîm in August 1564<sup>15</sup>. In March 1565, Süleymân sent another letter, which was accompanied by a letter of Petremol<sup>16</sup>. This document has been published several times<sup>17</sup>. In it Süleymân says that he had sent two other letters earlier. It now seems that we may have found the text of at least one of these (see appendix).

Needless to say, Joseph Nasi never got back his money, so that Selîm, in 1568, saw no other possibility than ordering the Beylerbeyi of Egypt to confiscate merchandise worth more than 1 000 florins on board French vessels at the Port of Alexandria to refund to his protégé. This was exactly the kind of refunding Petremol had stipulated, though it was not done by the king's own accord. Apparently, the *mültezims* of the Port of Alexandria had extended this practice to all other vessels, which had reduced the income from taxes. Selîm now stressed that this should only be done where French vessels were concerned<sup>18</sup>. This affair caused

Prince Selîm about the affair. It is very tempting to see a connection between Joseph Nasi's dissatisfaction with the French and Michael Czernovicz who just in the first part of 1564 tried to convince Ferdinand I that it was essential to win Joseph Nasi's goodwill (cf. M. LESURE, "Michel Černovic «explorator secretus» à Constantinople (1556-1563)", *Turcica*, XV, 1983, p. 153-154). Moreover, "on the Muslim side, the centre of espionage was the house of... the Duke of Naxos. He had a wide net of agents, mostly Slav and Jewish merchants, working for him in Corfu, Dalmatia, and even Venice. Although it is still not very clear it would seem that he was a double spy working for Spain as well" (cf. Ivana BURDELEZ, "The Role of Ragusan Jews in the History of the Mediterranean Countries", in A. M. GINIO (ed.), *Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Mediterranean World after 1492*, p. 194).

<sup>15</sup> Petremol was given the translations of these letters. He also tried to convince the French king that "Quand vous délibérez continuer l'amitié avec ces princes", paying the debt was the only solution. However, he goes on, "ou plus tost faire présent audict prince Sultan-Sélim, toutesfois sans faire sortir un escu de France, en donnant audict sr Nazi... assignation en deux u trois payemens en tant de draps, brézil caneavats ou autres marchandises... Sinon V.M. pourra user des mêmes excuses dont ilz on usé jusques à présent :..." Petremol then argues that all the goods of Jews had to be confiscated; CHARRIÈRE, vol. 2, p. 774-775 (note 1). — Süleymân's firman is not preserved in MD 6, which starts on 1 Muḥarrem 972 (August 9, 1564), cf. *6 numaralı Mühimme Defteri (972/1564-1565)*, Ankara, 1995.

<sup>16</sup> Petremol to Catherine de Médicis, Constantinople, 7 April 1565.

<sup>17</sup> For an abridged version of this story see GALANTE, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 42. For the text of Süleymân's third letter cf. GALANTE, "Don Joseph Nassi d'après de nouveaux documents", p. 317-318, *idem, op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 151-152; *idem, Documents officiels turcs concernant les Juifs de Turquie...*, Stamboul 1931, p. 188 (in all three instances the date should be March 29th instead of March 23rd), ŞAFVET, "Yūsuf Nāsī", p. 988. This is also the document mentioned by Elezović and Matuz under the correct date; cf. G. ELEZOVIĆ, *Iz Carigradskih turskih arhiva Mühimme Defteri, Zbornik za istočnjaku istorisku i književnu gradu*, Kn. II, Istoriski Institut kn. 1, Beograd 1951, p. 145, no. 917 and J. MATUZ, *Herrscherurkunden des Osmanensultans Süleymans des Prächtigen. Ein chronologisches Verzeichnis*, Islamkundliche Materialien 1, Freiburg 1971, p. 132, no. 740. For the full Ottoman text of this document, see MD 6, no. 942 (cf. *6 numaralı Mühimme Defteri (972/1564-1565)*, Ankara 1995, II, p. 70-71).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. GALANTE, *Documents officiels...*, p. 192-193; "Don Joseph Nassi", p. 322, ŞAFVET, "Yūsuf Nāsī", p. 992-993.

France to be offended and the ambassador de Noailles not only demanded the restitution of the confiscated goods, but also that Nasi should be punished. But he was again protected by Selīm who had issued the decree himself<sup>19</sup>.

In our document Joseph Nasi is called Selīm's *müteferriqa*, which corresponds to the title given to him in the instances quoted by Charrière, *loc. cit.* He gained this title after his mission to Kütahya in 1559, when he had brought Selīm a large sum of money Sülyemān offered to his son as a present<sup>20</sup>. This means that Galante refers to his title of *müteferriqa* of the Porte when he says that Joseph Nasi only became a "muteferik" when Selīm succeeded his father in 1566<sup>21</sup>.

The firman gives rise to several questions:

a) Can we rely upon the words: *qidvetü a'yāni l-milleti l-mesihīye* in the *inscriptio* instead of *qidvetü a'yāni l-milleti l-müseviye* as in the known letter quoted earlier? It is generally thought that Joseph Nasi returned to Judaism shortly after his arrival at Constantinople in 1554/1555. Since our present letter must apparently be addressed to Charles IX, who only succeeded to the throne in 1560, we would have to fix 1560 *as terminus ante quem non* of Joseph Nasi's conversion back to Judaism. Maybe it is easier to interpret this as a mistake on behalf of Anton von Hammer, who probably was unaware of the details or the whole of the story.

b) For the reasons discussed earlier, we can assume that the firman was written between 1560 and March 1565, although it is more probable to expect all the letters to have been sent in the years 1564 and 1565. We will of course, not be able to decide which of the documents we now have in hands.

c) Like so many of the Ottoman documents preserved in the exercise books, this one, too, must have been copied from an Ottoman collection of firmans. Its heading suggests that it could have been taken from a *Mühimme defteri*: *Frānča pādīšāhuna nāme-i šerīf yazıla ki*. As far as is known today, the *Mühimme defterleri* comprising the years 1561-1564 (August) have been lost.<sup>22</sup> It is not very probable, though, that the students had a *Mühimme defteri* at their disposal except maybe for what may have belonged to the booty taken during some fight. The heading used in the exercise book may also have been copied into an *inšā* from the *Mühimme defteri* of this period. Much patience and luck would be necessary to find just the *inšā* Hammer used here, and it is by no means clear that his source is still extant. Thus, for the time being this problem cannot be solved.

<sup>19</sup> GALANTE, "Don Joseph Nassi (Duc de Naxos) d'après de nouveaux documents", p. 303-304.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. GALANTE, *op. cit.*, vol 2, p. 43.

<sup>21</sup> GALANTE *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 41.

<sup>22</sup> They would have to come in between MD 3 and 6, MD 4 being a *tevğih defteri* and MD 5 being chronologically posterior to MD 6, see e.g. A. ÇETİN, *Başbakanlık Arşivi Kılavuzu*, Istanbul, 1979, p. 49. MD 3 does not contain a copy of this firman.

d) Similarly we cannot say anything about what happened to the original firman.

e) The Latin translation Anton von Hammer provided is not really a translation. It is rather some sort of abstract that leaves out most epitheta and gives a very abridged version. The translation lacks a rendering of the frame sentence, which is a bit problematic since it consists of *bildürüb* only. It is not clear if the person who informed Süleymân was Joseph Nasi or Selîm, because both names are part of genitive constructions. There are also some smaller errors, e.g.: it is of course the letter that is full of love and not the King's side (*scriptum nobile ad partem Vestram sinceritate plenam* [instead of *plenum*] *hujus negotii causa missum est*. This is meant to be the translation of: *irşen ve iktisâben asitân-i muhalledü l-iqbâlümüze olan vüfür-i şadâqat u ihlâş ve hüsn-i ihtişâşuñuza binâ'en nâme-i şerîfümüz irsâl olundu*. The copy of the Ottoman text, however, is much more accurate than the translation.

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#### APPENDIX

#### Transcription

(1) *Frânça pâdişâhına nâme-i şerîf yazıla ki*

(2) *hâliyen ferzend-i erğimend-i erşed-i es'ad 'lğ oğlum Selîm tale baqâhunuñ zümre-i müteferriqalarından olan qıdvetü a'yâni* (3) *l-milleti l-mesîhîye Firenk begi Yâsef Nâsîniñ bundan aqdem babañuz qırâlî (!) hayâtında qabza-i taşarruflarında olan* (4) *vilâyetlerinüñ mühimmâtına küll[î] ihrâğât lâzım olmağla qarz tarîqiyle 'ammüsü elinden alınandan lâzimu l-edâ ve* (5) *mühimmü l-qazâ yüz elli biñ altun haqqı olmağla sâ'ir mühimmâtunuñdan taqdîm olunması bâbında 'ahd u peymânuñuz* (6) *olub ve müşârün ileyh oğlum tavvale llâhu 'ümrehü ğânibine mektûb-i meveddet-âşâruñuzla inhâ olduğın bildürüb* (7) *olbâbda 'âtebe-i (!) 'aliye-i sa'âdet-nişânumuzdan nâme-i hümayün-i mahabbet-nümâmuz gönderilmek tevaqu' olunduğda* (8) *irşen ve iktisâben asitân-i muhalledü l-iqbâlümüze olan vüfür-i<sup>23</sup> şadâqat u ihlâş ve hüsn-i ihtişâşuñuza binâ'en* (9) *nâme-i şerîfümüz irsâl olundu varub vuşul bulduğda ğenâbuñuzda merküz olan âşâr-i 'adl ve 'ahd* (10) *u peymânuñuz muqtezâsıñğa lâzım olduğı (!) üzre babañuz qırâlî (!) halâş e!tmek için mezkûra müteveĝğih olan* (11) *haqqın irsâl eylemekde envâ'-i mesâ'î-yi ğemileñüz zuhûra getirüb ve bâb-i sa'âdetümüz ğânibine ebvâb* (12) *u (!) kâtibî meftûh qılub şihhat u selâmetüñüz aħbârını i'lândan hâlî olmayasız*

<sup>23</sup>11 Wrongly written *duhûr*.

## English translation

“An exalted letter is to be written to the *pādišāh* of France :

Now the following has been announced :

The model of the notables of the Christian faith, Yāsef Nāsī, one of the group of the *mūteferriqa* of the worthy, most orthodox and fortunate etc. son, my son Selīm, may his life last long, is entitled to the sum of 150 000 gold pieces to be paid and to be refunded. (This sum) had been taken before as a loan from his uncle when in the day of the King your father all sorts of expenditures were necessary for the benefit of the countries under his dominion. Therefore there is an oath and a promise of yours that this will precede any other of your state agenda. This has been announced to my aforementioned son, may God make his life last long, by your letter full of love.

As it was expected that in this matter our exalted letter of love would be sent from our lofty threshold of felicity, (this) our exalted letter is being sent because of your manifold friendship and love and your good affection, which hereditarily exists vis-à-vis our Porte of eternal happiness.

When it arrives you shall, as is necessary according to the traditions of justice centered in your Majesty and according to your oath and promise, show many a nice endeavour to send to the aforementioned (the sum) he is entitled to, in order to exonerate the King your father. And you shall open the doors of correspondence with our Porte of felicity and you shall not stop communicating news of your health and well-being.

## Latin Translation by A. v. Hammer-Nemesbány

*Scriptum nobile ad Regem Franciae*

*Quum hospitionum designator filii mei Selim (Deus vitam ejus longiorem reddat) sapientissimi et felicissimi principis, praestantissimus Magnorum nationis Franciae nomine Iosephus Nasi adhuc regnante Patre Vestro; avunculo suo, qui multas ob vastas possessiones (!) suas habuit, illi 150000 Piastrorum adtempus dederit, pactum inivistis, liquidationem hujus debiti, omnibus aliis hujusmodi rebus anteponendi, atque hanc ob causam litteras ad filium meum Selim (Deus vitam ejus longiorem reddat) misistis. Et quum tunc a Porta Excelsa Felicitate signata, litteras amicas expectaveritis, scriptum nobile ad partem Vestram, sinceritate plenam, hujus negotii causa missum est. Speratur igitur quod secundum signa justitiae quae edidistis et juxta pactum a parte Vestra initum, supradicto Iosepho Nasi summam debitam missuri sitis, rogaturque ut statum sanitatis Vestrae Excelsae Portae comunicitis (!).*



Claudia RÖMER, *A firman of Süleyman the Magnificent to the King of France preserved in an exercise book of the "K.K. Akademie Orientalischer Sprachen" in Vienna, 1831*

Among the printed books of the library of the "K.K. Akademie orientalischer Sprachen", now kept at the Oriental Institute of Vienna University, there are fifteen hand-written students' exercise books. Most of these contain Ottoman documents mainly dating from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, which were copied and translated into various languages by thirty different students between 1793 and 1831. Many documents concern affairs of Austrian merchants travelling in the Ottoman Empire as well as a number of Austrian residents at the Porte.

The oldest document of this collection, however, was copied and translated into Latin by Anton Hammer von Nemesbány in 1831. It is a letter of Süleyman the Magnificent to Charles IX asking for the restitution of 150 000 florins which the French court had borrowed from Joseph Nasi's uncle. Although this document bears no date, it must be one of the three letters Süleyman sent to Charles IX in this matter around 1565. The quality of the copy is quite good, but the translation is not very accurate. Some problems, however, have to remain unsolved. Nothing is known about the fate of the original firman, and it is not clear what source Hammer used for his exercise. Despite the formal characteristics of the copy, which would suggest it was taken from a *mühimme defteri* no longer extant, the text could also have been taken from one of the numerous *inşa* books that were at the disposal of students at the Academy.

Claudia RÖMER, *Une lettre de Soliman le Magnifique au roi de France conservée dans un cahier d'exercices de la "K.K. Akademie Orientalischer Sprachen" à Vienne, 1831*

Parmi les livres imprimés de la bibliothèque de l'ancienne «K.K. Akademie orientalischer Sprachen» conservés à l'Institut d'études orientales de l'université de Vienne il y a une quinzaine de cahiers d'exercices des étudiants de l'Académie, tous écrits à la main. La plupart de ces cahiers contiennent des documents ottomans des xviii<sup>e</sup> et xix<sup>e</sup> siècles, copiés et traduits par trente étudiants différents entre 1793 et 1831. Nombre d'entre eux concernent les affaires de marchands autrichiens voyageant dans l'Empire ottoman ainsi que quelques résidents de la Porte. Le document le plus ancien fut copié et traduit en latin par Anton Hammer von Nemesbány en 1831. Il s'agit d'une lettre de Soliman le Magnifique à Charles IX dans laquelle le sultan demande la restitution à Joseph Naci, duc de Naxos, d'une somme de 150 000 florins que la Cour française avait empruntée à son oncle. Bien que le document ne soit pas daté, il doit s'agir d'une des trois lettres que Soliman envoya à Charles IX concernant cette affaire vers 1565. La qualité de la copie est assez bonne, mais la traduction n'est pas très précise. Quelques problèmes ne peuvent pas être résolus. On ne sait rien sur

le sort du firman original, et la source que Hammer aurait pu utiliser n'est pas évidente. Du point de vue de son formulaire on pourrait penser que le firman a été recopié d'un *mühimme defteri* qui ne nous est pas parvenu, ou bien d'un des nombreux *inşa*, dont on sait que les étudiants de l'Académie disposaient pour leurs exercices.