

On Some Ottoman Sources of Kadić's *Chronicle*

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I

The manuscript work *Tārīḫ-i Enverī*, in the secondary literature known as Kadić's *Chronicle*, has so far been often mentioned in the scholarly literature. Many Bosnian researchers of cultural history wrote books and studies using data from it. Also, in various professional journals there are many published articles dealing with the analysis of certain literary and historical texts or archival material compiled by Kadić.

Muhammad Enverī Kadić is known in scientific literature as a chronicler, poet and epigraphist. He was born in 1855 in Sarajevo's Gazi Mehmed Bey *Mahala*, known as Bistrik, where he lived until his death in 1931. Like other educated Bosniaks, along with his native Bosnian, he mastered Turkish, Arabic and Persian. He worked in several institutions, such as the Archives, the Vakuf Committee, the City Administration, the Tax Office and the Court. The experience Kadić has gained in working in the Archive of the Bosnian Vilayet government (Evrāk-i Kalem) and later in the Archives of the Supreme Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a Director of a section. This greatly helped him in his later scholarly work.

In Bosnia during the Ottoman period, as well as in the entire Empire, the Ottoman-Turkish language was the language of state administration, judiciary and official communications in general. All texts he used as a court scribe were written in Arabic and Turkish.

The position of scribe (*kâtib*) in the mentioned archives required the reading of various minutes, reports and documents, as well as their recording and sending via correspondence. While doing that Kadić came to idea that all this diverse materials he encountered, especially those relating to the past of Bosnia and Herzegovina, should be collected at one place. In this way, at his workplace, the foundation of his work was created. His work he filled with rich material for the study of both the general and cultural history of Bosnia and Herzegovina from years 766 –

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1346/1364-65 – 1927-28, ordered chronologically. It was written in the Ottoman-Turkish language, with certain fragments in Arabic and Persian, while one part that relates to the Austro-Hungarian occupation is written in Bosnian and in Latin script.

II

From the structure of the work, it is evident that the author recorded for a long time the documents and events from the Bosnian past, especially from the end of the 19th century, because Kadić lived at the end of the 19th and in the beginning of the 20th century. In Kadić's *Chronicle* there are numerous data from the social, political, military, economic, religious and cultural life of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which give us a more complete insight into the lives of the inhabitants of Bosnia.

In this *Chronicle* were copied numerous historical documents, a large number of inscriptions, which Kadić fully and exactly copied into his *Chronicle* from a large number of *nišans*-tombstones and objects of sacred and profane architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina (*tarihs* from the medreses, mektebs, mosques, muvekkithanes, konaks, bridges, fortresses, etc.), adding, along with most of them, notes relating to the person or object in question. Further, he used literary texts, chronicles or historiographical works, complete or specific chapters of the works of Bosnian authors wrote in the Oriental languages, so that we now are aware about many works and about some writers, especially poets, who were otherwise not mentioned.

It should be noted here that in the work of Fehim Nametka entitled "Kadić's collection as a source for the study of literary material", a summary of the contents of the artistic literary material of the *Chronicle* (I-XXVIII volumes) is presented.¹

III

During the preparation of his handwritten work *Tārīḥ-i Enverī*, Kadić used many sources and literature available to him. In most cases, he mentioned his sources expressly, which significantly increases the scientific value of the entire material and makes it a more valuable source for modern research. In this paper I shall give short overview of some Ottoman sources and literature Kadić used, beside the Bosnian sources in the Oriental languages.

1 See: Fehim Nametka, "Kadićev Zbornik kao Izvor za Proučavanje Književne Građe", *Radio Sarajevo – Treći program*, XI/ 38 (1982), Sarajevo 1982, pp. 438-477. (hereafter: F. Nametka, "Kadićev Zbornik kao Izvor...").

As we have already mentioned earlier, Ottoman sources used in *Chronicle* are primarily old Ottoman histories and literary works, from which he took fragments about the Ottoman penetration into Bosnia during the reign of Sultan Murat I, the conquest of Novo Brdo, Smederevo and other places, and data on the wars of Sultan Bayezid Yıldırım, the rule of Sultan Murat II and Mehmed Fatih. Then, Ottoman histories from the rule of Sultan Suleiman Legislator until the last direct years of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia. These were:

*Tācu't-tevārīh*², the work written by the Ottoman scholar, historian, Sheikhul-Islam Hoca Sa'deddin Efendi which included historical events from the time of the founder of the Ottoman dynasty Sultan Osman I (in 1281 – 1326) to Sultan Selim and Yavuz (in 1512 – 1520). The work was printed in Istanbul, 1279/1862. – vol. I (582 s.), and 1280/1863. – vol. II (600 s.). At the beginning of the first volume there is the author's biography, and at the end the "Epics about Selim" (*Selīm-nāme*). At the end of the second volume of this work, the biographies of Shaykhs and scholars are presented (vol. II, pp. 402-600).³

Tārīh-i Haber-i Şaḥīḥ, whose author Mehmed Fevzi, which includes the period from the arrival of the Ottomans to the reign of Sultan Selim II.⁴

Tārīh-i Hayrullāh Efendi by historian and writer Ḥayrullāh Efendi.⁵ Kadić used data from the 7th volume of the mentioned history that was printed in Istanbul 1273/1856-57.

Tārīh-i 'Osmānī. It is impossible to establish what was this history of the Ottoman Empire, unless one performs a detailed textual analysis. Since Kadić included it in the first volume of his *Chronicle*, which covers the period from 1364 – 1557, it can be assumed that it was one of the early anonymous chronicle.

Münşe'āt-i Selāṭīn, authored by Aḥmed Ferīdūn Beg (d. 991/1583), a famous Ottoman writer (stylist, poet, calligrapher). He was longtime secretary of Sokollu Mehmed Pāṣā and the Sancakbegi of Smederevo in 1578/79. years. His epistolographic work was the most important such work in Ottoman culture.⁶

2 We used the *İslām Ansiklopedisi* (İA) transliteration system.

3 Ağâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Vol. I, 5. ed, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları), 2008, p. 382. (hereafter: Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, I).

4 *Ibid.*, p. 387.

5 *Ibid.*

6 See: Olga Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje u Srbiji (1459-1683)*, Posebna izdanja, knj. 18, (Beograd: Istorijski institut), 1974, p. 263; J. H. Mordtmann-[V. L. Ménage], "Ferīdūn Beg", in: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, Volume II: C-G, (Leiden: E.J. Brill), 1991, pp. 881-882.

Tārīh-i Selānikī, whose author was Selānikī Muştafā, and it includes the period of rules of Sultan Suleyman the Legislator, Selim II, Murat III until the end of the rule of Mehmed III (971/1563 - 1008/1600).⁷

Şoqollī, by Aḥmed Refik (Altunay), Turkish historian, journalist and poet, who wrote many historical books, including this one, dedicated to Sokollu Mehmed Pāşā, printed in Istanbul in 1924.⁸

Takvīmu't-tevārīh (Takvīmu't-tevārīh-i Kātib Çelebī), which includes the general chronology of the events from the period of Hazret-i Adem until 1648.⁹

Tārīh-i Rāşid – Rāşid's History, his most important work, which deals with events from 1660 to 1722. Rāşid especially uses a significant older Silahdar's Chronicle, but in addition he used official documents and his own observations, so his work is of great importance. It was printed twice, in 1740. and 1865. in Istanbul.¹⁰

Üngürüs Tārīhi – History of the Turkish rule in Hungary, from which Kadić lists sancaks in the Bosnian Eyālet from 1064/1654. years.¹¹

Tārīh-i Gülşen-i Me'ārīf, by Ferā'izizāde Mehmed Sa'īd. The general history of the world in two volumes, which speaks of prophets, the history of Islam and the history of the Ottoman Empire. The author composed it in a simple and understandable style based on older works. It was printed in Istanbul 1252/1836-37 years.¹² In the fifth volume of his Chronicle, which covers the period 1699 – 1737, Kadić uses data from the second volume of this History (cilt II, pp. 1258).

Tārīh-i Şubḥī, by Şubḥī Mehmed Efendī. This work is a digest of the chronicle *Vekāyi'-nāme*, by Sāmī Efendī and Şākīr Bey, and the author wrote a supplement to

7 Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Vol. I, p. 383; Mehmet İpşirli, "Selānikī Mustafa Efendi", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi)*, Vol. 36, İstanbul 2009, pp. 357-359; Selānikī Mustafa Efendī, *Tarih-i Selānikī*, I-II, 2. ed, Prepared by Prof. Dr. Mehmet İpşirli, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 1999.

8 Cf. Ahmed Refik Altunay, *Sokollu*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları 119, İstanbul 2001.

9 C. Brockelmann, "Kātib Çelebī", *İslām Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 6, (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi), (1993), p. 436.

10 M. Kemāl Özergin, "Rāşid", *İslām Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 9, (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi), (1993), p. 634.

11 See note 1 in the paper: Šaćir Sikirić, "Jedan Rukopis Džāmīna Divana", *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju (POF)*, V/1954-55, Sarajevo: OIS, (1955), p. 322.

12 Abdülkadir Özcan, "Ferāizizade Mehmed Said", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 12, İstanbul 1995, pp. 366-367.

them. The book has two volumes. It was published in Istanbul in 1783-84 years.¹³

Tārīḫ-i Cevdet – Cevdet's History, written in 12 volumes, and includes the period from 1774 to 1826.¹⁴ The author, Aḥmed Cevdet Pāšā was also the *ālim*, the legal adviser to the Grand Vizier Muṣṭafā Reṣīd Pāšā, several times a governor in the provinces of the Ottoman Empire and an official court chronicler.¹⁵

Tārīḫ-i Luṭfī, cilt 4-5, by Aḥmed Luṭfī, whose history includes the period from the abolition of the janissaries from 1826 to 1844. It was published in Istanbul in 1872.¹⁶

The work *Bedāyi'ü'l-inṣā*, by Muṣṭafā Reṣīd Pāšā, an Ottoman statesman, a diplomat and one of the reformers.¹⁷ The work was printed in two volumes in Istanbul 1302/1884-85. From its second volume (cilt 2, pp. 99-104), Kadić takes over Cevdet Pāšā's letters from Bosnia from 1864 in his *Chronicle*.¹⁸

Üss-i İnkılāb, by the modernist Aḥmed Midḥat Efendī, from the first volume this work Kadić took over the data concerning the last years of Ottoman rule in Bosnia (cilt 1, pp. 294-296 and 297-309).¹⁹

In Kadić's *Chronicle*, copies of numerous biographies of well-known Ottoman statesmen, military leaders and scholars who served in Bosnia are to be found. Among them are the biographies of the famous figures of Bosnia and Herzegovina who played significant roles in the history of our region or who were the promoters of education and culture in our country. There are biographies of our poets, prose writers and scholars. The aforementioned biographies, over 500 of them,

13 According to: Salih Sidki Muvekkīt Hadžihuseinović, *Povijest Bosne*, knjiga I, [s turskog preveli Abdullah Polimac... [et al.], Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1999, XIII. (hereafter: Muvekkīt, *Povijest Bosne*).

14 Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Izabrana djela: Prilozi za političku istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine u XVIII i XIX stoljeću*, IV, [priredili Avdo Sućeska, Enes Pelidija], (Sarajevo: "Veselin Masleša"), 1991, p. 53. (hereafter H. Kreševljaković, *Izabrana djela...*, IV).

15 Āli Ölmezoğlu, "Cevdet Paşa", *İslām Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 3, İstanbul: Millî Eđitim Basmevi, (1977), p. 114-115 i 119.

16 Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Vol I. , p.386.

17 Kemal Beydilli, "Mustafa Reşid Paşa", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 31, İstanbul 2006, pp. 348-350.

18 The famous letters from Ahmed Dževdet-paşa were translated into Bosnian. See: H. Kreševljaković, *Izabrana djela...*, IV, pp. 49-72.

19 About this work, see more: Muharrem Dayanç, "Ahmet Midhat Efendi ve *Üss-i İnkılāp* Üzerine", *Turkish Studies – International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, Volume 7/1, (2012), pp. 837-847.

the highest number of which are found in volumes in III and IV, whose number declines as one approaches the end of the work, Kadić took over from several valuable sources, such as:

Ḥadā'īku-'l-ḥakā'īk fī tekmlēti-'ṣ-ṣekā'īk (Zeyl-i Şekā'īk), whose author is: 'Atā'ī, [Muḥammed ('Atā'ullāh) b. Yahyā Nev'ī-zāde] (991-1044/1583-1635). This work is an important source, giving biographies of prominent scholars and dervish şeyhs between 1557-58 and 1634 when the work was completed. It was printed in Istanbul 1268/1851-52. years.²⁰

Already in the second volume of the *Chronicle*, one part of the manuscript *Cevāhiru-'l-menākīb – The gems of a biography*, written by a certain Şefīk Efendī, was copied. It contains a biography of Sokollu Meḥmed Pāšā together with information about his origins and family.²¹

Ḥadīkatü-'l-vüzerā' – The work of historians and poets Tayyib Aḥmed Efendī, which includes biographies of 108 Ottoman viziers from the establishment of the Ottoman dynasty to the end of the rule of Mustafa II (1695-1703). It was printed in Istanbul in 1855, together with the additions that some other authors have written to this work.²²

Tezkire-'i Rizā – The work of Meḥmed Rizā, which contains short biographies of 189 poets who wrote between 1591-91 and 1640-41. His Tezkire is a supplement to Tezkire by Hasan Çelebī. It was published in Istanbul in 1316/1898-99.²³

Ḥalīfetü-'r-rü'esā / Sefinetü-'r-rü'esā, whose authors were Aḥmed Resmī and Süleymān Fā'īk. It includes biographies of well-known Ottoman writers, published in Istanbul in 1853.²⁴

Meşāyih-i 'Osmāniyeden Sekiz Zātiñ Terācim-i Ahvāl – whose author is Bursalı Meḥmed

20 Kâtib Çelebi, *Keşf-el-zunun*, Vol. II, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul 1971, p. 1058; Ḥayruddin az-Zirikli, *Al-A'lām. Qāmūs tarāğim li ašhur ar-riğāl wa an-nisā'min al-'arab wa al-musta'ribin wa al-mustašriqin*, Vol. VII, Bayrūt 1995, p. 141; Hazım Şabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima: (Bibliografija)*, Sarajevo: "Svjetlost", 1973, p. 32. (hereafter: H. Şabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH...*); *Historija Osmanske države i civilizacije*, II, priredio: Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, prevodioci: Kerima Filan...[et al.], (Sarajevo-Istanbul: OIS, IRCICA), 2008, p. 220. (hereafter: *Historija Osmanske države i civilizacije*, II)

21 See more: Erhan Afyoncu, "Sokullu Mehmed Paşa", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 37, pp. 354-357.

22 Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, I, pp. 366-367.

23 H. Şabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH...*, p. 31.

24 Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, I, p. 376-377.

Ṭāhir Bey. It was printed in Istanbul 1318/1900-01. years. In it, eight Sufi poets were discussed, among them 'Alī Dede Bosnevī and 'Abdullāh Bosnevī.²⁵

Semā'hāne-ī Edeb – the work by 'Alī Enver who lived in the second half of the 18th century. In this work, a large number of Mevlevi poets were noted down, with data about their tariqat, affiliations, ordering the names of the poets alphabetically. It was a continuation of Esrār Dede's *Tezkire* which lists the biographies of the poets.²⁶

Mecme'-i şu'arā vu tezkire-ī udebā – *Tezkire* by Meḥmed Sirācu'ddīn, which includes biographies of 2200 poets, entitled printed in Istanbul in 1909 in 4 volumes.

Tezkire-ī Hatimetü-l-eş'ār – *Tezkire* by Dāvūd Fāṭīn, which is a supplement to the continuation of those by Şāfā'ī and Sālim's. It deals with the poets "of the transitional until 1852-53. years". The work was completed in 1854 and was lithographed in the same year.²⁷

Sicill-i 'Osmānī, whose author is a well-known biographer and lexicographer Meḥmed Şüreyyā.²⁸ It includes biographies of well-known Turkish statesmen, military leaders and scholars and it also contains a number of biographies of Bosniaks, who also distinguished themselves as statesmen, military leaders, scholars, poets, etc.

Also among Kadić's sources for the *Chronicle* could be mentioned *Eşref's Dīvān* – *Dīvān-i Eşref / Dīvān-i Eşrefü-ş-şu'arā*, from which Kadić took one tarih from 1275/1858-59. on the occasion of the arrival of Meḥmed Akif Pāşā in Bosnia.²⁹ The author of this tarih is the divan poet Muştafā Eşref Pāşā who was born in 1819 in Bursa, where he died in 1894. He was a son of a certain Şidkīzāde Aḥmed Şidkī Efendī. He left the aforementioned *Dīvān*, (129 pp.), which was printed in Istanbul in 1278/1861-62. years.³⁰

25 Ömer Faruk Akün, "Bursalı Mehmed Ṭāhir", in: *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 6, İstanbul 1992, p. 456.

26 H. Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH...*, p. 30.

27 Safvet-beg Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti: Prilog kulturnoj historiji Bosne i Hercegovine*, priredio i "pogovor" napisao Džemal Čehajić, (Sarajevo: "Svjetlost"), 1986, p. 257.

28 Abdülkadir Özcan, "Mehmed Süreyyâ", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 28, Ankara 2003, pp. 527-529.

29 TE:XXV:208. Transcript from *Dīvān-i Eşref*, s. 103; F. Nametak, "Kadićev Zbornik kao Izvor...", p. 467. See the translation of this tarih in: Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne*, II, p. 1088.

30 See more about this divan poet: "Eşref Paşa", *Türk Dünyası Edebiyatçıları Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. III, AYK, Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, (2003), p. 446. Note: By insight into the copy of this

Then, in this *Chronicle*, one finds prints or transcripts from some of the Ottoman and Bosnian newspapers and magazines, which mention some interesting events that were happening at that time. Kadić copied some interesting things from them, as well as several of our poets' tarihs.

From periodical Ottoman publications, these were his sources: *Cerīde-ʾi Ḥavādīs* / *Rūznāme-i Ḥavādīs*³¹; *Tercümān-ı Ahvāl Ğazetesi*³²; *Taşvūr-i Efkār*³³; *Ḥazine-ʾi Fünūn*³⁴; *Mecmūʾa-i Ebūʾzziyā*³⁵; *Maʾlūmāt Cerīdesi*³⁶ and others.

As can be seen from the produced evidence, this is another confirmation that

Divan found in an Ankara library, we confirmed that the author of the above-mentioned tāriḥ from 1275/1858-59, was mentioned Muştafā Eşref Pāşā. See: Ankara, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (TBMM) Kütüphanesi (Es. No.: 1934:525).

- 31 During the reign of Sultanʾ Abdülmecīd, emerged the semi-official newspapers *Cerīde-ʾi Ḥavādīs* supported by the government. These were the second newspapers in the Ottoman state that were published in Turkish. They were printed since August 1840, and their editor-in-chief was the Englishman William Churchill. "After the death of the Editor-in-Chief (1864), the newspaper continued to be published by his son, with certain changes, so that in time they changed their name to *Rūznāme-i Cerīde-ʾi Ḥavādīs*, as it was formerly called an extension that was published in *Cerīde-ʾi Ḥavādīs*. Under the new name, they were issued five days each week." *Historija Osmanske drḏave i ĉivilizacije*, II, p. 156; Ayşe Zişan Furat, "Pisanje Osmanske Štampe o Iseljavanju Muslimana iz Srbije nakon Konferencije u Kanlidži", in: *Naseljavanje Muhadžira iz Srbije u Bosnu – Zbornik*, (Sarajevo: OIS – IIS), 2012, p. 148. (hereafter: A. Zişan Furat, "Pisanje Osmanske Štampe...").
- 32 *Tercümān-ı Ahvāl* – were the first private Ottoman newspapers, edited by Şināsī (1826-1871), who was one of the first Tanzimat generation of writers, started with Ağāh Efendi in 1860. This novelty played an important role in the changing of the literary language and the introduction of social topics into literary types. At the very end of the editorial of the first issue of the aforementioned newspaper (22 X 1860), the words of Şināsī were published: "these newspapers should be written at the level at which people can understand them". *Historija Osmanske drḏave i ĉivilizacije*, II, pp. 243 i 272; A. Zişan Furat, "Pisanje Osmanske Štampe...", p. 149.
- 33 The mentioned Şināsī, after leaving from the newspaper *Tercümān-ı Ahvāl* at the end of June 1862, *Taşvūr-i Efkār* began publishing, other Ottoman private newspapers. The first two and a half years of the newspaper was edited by the mentioned Şināsī, and after his departure to Paris by Nāmik Kemāl. See more A. Zişan Furat, "Pisanje Osmanske Štampe...", p. 149.
- 34 It is a literary magazine that was published in Istanbul during the reign of Sultan ʾ Abdülhamīd II, whose main goal was to educate society. Editor of this journal was Fāiḳ Reşād. See more: M. Orhan Okay, "Ḥazine-i Fünūn", in: *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 17, İstanbul 1998, pp. 135-137.
- 35 Ebūzziyā Tevfīḳ (İstanbul, 1849-1913), an Ottoman journalist, an encyclopedist and publicist, launched in 1880 a literary, scientific-political magazine in the Ottoman language called "Mecmūʾa-i Ebūzziyā". See more: Âlim Kahraman, "Mecmūa-i Ebūzziyā", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 28, pp. 268-269.
- 36 In this weekly literary journal, launched in 1895, poems and classical literary texts were published. See more: Abdullah Uçman, "Maʾlūmāt", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 27, pp. 542-543.

Kadić's *Chronicle* is invaluable for study of the past of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially its cultural history. Regardless of the time that is passed us and the numerous works that have resulted from this source, well-established researchers and those whose time is still coming, will continue to be able to work on new research topics in the field of Bosnia and Herzegovina's general and cultural history, as well as those of literature, folklore, ethnology and the like. Kadić's is an inexhaustible source that gives a new idea each time for some new, future research. Therefore, we dare to affirm that this paper will greatly facilitate the passage through one part of the material offered by Kadić's *Chronicle*, and be of great use in all further research of our cultural heritage. Thanks to the chronological order of events, researchers-users of the *Chronicle* have been given a simpler and easier access to a certain topic.

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