

RAGUSAN SPYING FOR THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

SOME 16th-CENTURY DOCUMENTS¹ FROM THE STATE
ARCHIVE AT DUBROVNIK

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INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovacka Republika) occupied, from the middle ages to 1808, a coastal strip in the south of present-day Yugoslavia, stretching from the south of Konavli, not far from Kotor (Cattaro), to the Neretva valley and including the peninsula of Peljesac, the islands of Mljet and Lastovo, and the city of Ragusa, nowadays called Dubrovnik, its Serbo-croatian name. It formed an aristocratically-ruled, trading city-state in the Italian tradition, and under the protection of the Ottoman Empire outlived that tradition for a long time.

At the beginning of the 13th century the territory became a possession of Venice. One and a half century later, the sovereignty passed to the kings of Hungary who interfered in no way with Ragusa's affairs, so that the Ragusans started to call their constitutional unit a Republic, as in fact it was, and which it remained until it was conquered by Napoleon.

As early as the Venetian period, Ragusa, besides being an important transit port for the western Balkans, possessed a merchant fleet whose ships regularly went all the way to the north coast of Africa, Lebanon and Asia Minor. Contacts with near-by Mediterranean ports, especially those on the Adriatic coast of Italy, were very frequent, and trade relations excellent. By the end of the 14th century Ragusa had become the most important harbour on the east coast of the Adriatic, and in the whole region ranked third, after Venice and Ancona.

¹ The collection of which was made possible by a grant from the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.)

About 1450, the Republic came gradually under Turkish influence, and the Sultan replaced the Hungarian monarch as its sovereign; but until 1526 the Ragusans continued to recognize the latter's rights, especially when they felt they needed his protection or mediation; which in any case proved of no great help.

Ragusa payed tribute of 12,500 ducats, and expressed its devotion to every new Sultan. For the rest, its freedom was considerable, and founded upon capitulations the first of which was issued in 1430 by Murad II, and they got their definitive shape from Süleyman I. The territory was guaranteed; Ragusans were allowed to trade freely in the Ottoman Empire on payment of exceptionally low customs duties and often on better terms than the local people themselves; and no Turkish official was to prevent the coming and going of any foreign merchants, even of declared enemies of the Sultan, to the port.

In the firmans, stored at the Ragusan archives, Ragusans are often referred to as dhimmi's, and ranked with the other ra'aya². They didnot, however, pay an individual poll tax. When in these firmans the word jizya occurs, it means the same thing as is mostly called kharaj; that is to say, the annual tribute. On the other hand, tax collectors on the Balkans had to be reminded of the fact that they were not to treat them as ra'aya on matters of taxes and duties and thus claim too much from them³.

Still, the Ragusans, though in the course of time slavified,⁴ kept in close touch with the Mediterranean world; their religion being Roman Catholic, their official language Italian, and their trading interests being to a large extent situated in Christian countries. Cultural and sentimental ties with Italy were strong, notwithstanding a certain, and often bitter, rivalry with other trading cities; primarily with Venice.

Thus lying on the border of two antagonistic "blocs"- forming a loose part of the Turkish Empire, but in many ways attached to the

² e. g. in A.T. K 127: دوبره ونیکلوسایر رعایا کبی خراج کذار رعایا لرمدر .

³ in the narratio of the same document: امینلر سز دخی سایر رعایا کبی: سز دیو خلاف شرع کمرک وزیاده نسته طلب ایندوکلرین

⁴ In the firmans, Ragusa is always referred to as Dubrovnik; written دوبره ونیک or دوبرو نیک

Christian Mediterranean sphere- the Ragusans were in an excellent position to help both parties, and to profit from each one. The stress no doubt, was laid on the second element, as was usual in those times.

One of the most obvious ways in which the tiny republic could serve was by collecting information.

To the traders, scattered all over the Ottoman lands and more especially in Rumelia, together with the envoys who brought the yearly tribute to Istanbul by land, little from what was going on in the Empire could remain unknown, so that a substantial amount of information about conditions and events in Turkey was passed on to the West by way of Ragusa. The Turks were not perfectly unaware of this, and in 1591 a firman was issued to the Beylerbey of Bosnia, ordering that the Ragusan envoys on their way in Bosnia should be accompanied by reliable *ça'uşes*, one of the reasons being that "with the envoys there came so many spies of the Frankish misbelievers"⁵.

But nor on the other side did the Ragusan intelligence service remain inactive. Their widely developed Mediterranean trade kept them abreast of many things worth knowing, and often very interesting, to their Ottoman sovereigns. Especially of naval affairs the the Ragusans must have had a thorough knowledge, and probably most of their reports to Istanbul contained information on those matters.

The documents edited here, in any case, deal, as far as the subject of the news received is mentioned, with reports concerning the sea, and the Venetian fleet being the most important in the surroundings of Ragusa, we may presume that a good deal of the information bears on this traditional rival and enemy, of Ragusa and the Turks alike.

Our first three documents on Ragusan spying date from the years 1541-51, on the seaways a comparatively quiet period as a result of the Turco-Venetian peace treaty of 1540, which was to remain in force for 30 years.

The Sultan, Süleyman I, was occupied in Europe and Persia.

Still, rather intensive pirate activity was taking place in the western Mediterranean, not wholly outside Ragusa's sphere of inte-

⁵ In A. T. A 109: ایلچی ایله بیله فرنکستان کفرهستدن نیجه جاسوس کلوب

rests. Khair ed-Din Barbarossa infested the coast of Italy, besieging Nice in cooperation with the French in 1543; and he was succeeded in those regions by Turghut reis, who raided the Neapolitan shores in 1548 and took the fortress of Mahdiya in Tunisia shortly after, only to be expelled from it in 1550 by Andrea Doria. He sustained, however, Doria's subsequent siege of the island of Djerba.

The receipts for the information from this period are very brief, maybe because the Ragusans had not very much to tell, and they do not even go into the subject matter of the information, with the exception of A8 10, which mentions "some information concerning the sea".

The last three, from the years 1570 and '71, are far more explicit in their statements, as a result of the circumstances of the moment: Christian states preparing for an all-out naval attack on the Turks.

After actions in the Aegaeon and elsewhere Turkish troops had landed under the command of Lala Mustafa Paşa, on the 1st of July, 1570, at the Venetian possession of Cyprus, near Limasol, and soon occupied the whole island, with the exception of two fortified places, Nicosia and Famagusta. It seems that Venice had invited Ragusa to assist her, but the Ragusans refused. This appears from a firman (A. T. K 112) from May 1570 to Sinan, the Sancakbey of Bosnia, ordering him to assist the Ragusans in every possible manner, "as it is likely that the Venetians will attack them, because they do not give them assistance...⁶"

During that time, the Venetian captain-general, Girolamo Zane, was waiting with his fleet in the Adriatic -at Zadar until June, and then at Corfu; the papal commander Colonna waited at Otranto for the Spanish ships that were waiting with Andrea Doria for an order of king Philip II.

At the end of August, finally, they all assembled in the bay of Suda, Crete⁷. On September 9th Nicosia surrendered, and nine days later the siege of Famagusta started.

⁶ وندیکلویه یاردم ویرمدوکلریچون اوزر لرینه کلمک احمالی اولوب

⁷ In the instructions for the Ragusan ambassadors at Constantinople of 11.9.1570 we read, among other things:

"Nuove scritte al signor bassa (paşa):

Che le XII galee del Papa, per quanto s'intende, si sono unite con 49 galee del, Re Filippo. Che in tutto sono 61 galee, le quali intorno a XVIII del passato

Still, the commanders at Suda could not for a long time agree on going to Cyprus; and when at last they sailed eastward, Doria turned back off Karpathos, and Zane and Colonna felt they had to follow his example; so Doria returned to Messina, Colonna to Otranto, and Zane with a loss of thirteen galleys to Corfu. Discontent was great in Venice, and Zane was dismissed and punished. In his place was appointed Sebastiano Venier.

In the autumn and winter 1570-71 talks took place between Venice and Spain to form an anti-Turkish league; because of mutual distrust and disagreement over the choice of a commander and vice-commander the talks were without quick results. After lengthy deliberations, however, and partly because of the interest taken by Pope Pius V, a Holy League, consisting of Venice and Spain, together with the Pope was proclaimed in May, 1571.

The supreme command would be with Don Juan of Austria, the vice-command with Colonna. In the treaty, among other things, was recognized the inviolability of Ragusa, which had passed into Venetian hands on the occasion of an earlier crusade, in 1205.

The place of rendezvous was Messina. The papal ships arrived in June; the Venetians came from Crete and the Adriatic in July; and the Spanish fleet, with Don Juan and Doria, arrived on the 25th of August.

On the first day of that month Famagusta had surrendered to the Turks. The combined fleet sailed on September 16th from Messina, and crushed the Turkish forces at Lepanto on October 7th.

(i.e. the month of August) passorno da Corfu, ueleggiando inuer' Candia per unirsi con l'armata uenetiana, la quale si trouaua in Candia, che in tutto tra l'una et l'altra armata saranno galee sottili 195, galee grossi XI, il galeone Fausta et XX nauì. Et s'intende che e fatta la lega tra il Papa, il Re Filippo et i Venetiani. Il Re di Francia ha fatto pace con gli Ugonoti, suoi ribelli. Quanto altro intenderemo, subito ne daremo auuiso a vostra Signoria illustrissima per fante a posta. Ma delle armate difficilmente potremo intendere cosa alcuna, per essere molto lontane di qui.

(Radonic 2,2 - p. 238)

D.A.D.A.T.⁸) - A8 ga
 1d.4.948 h—
 25.7 - 3.8 1541 a.d.

هو

TUGHRA OF SÜLEYMAN I

(سليمان بن سليم خان مظفر دائماً)

افتخار امراء الملته المسيحيه مختار كبراء الطائفة العيسويه دوبرونيك
 بكارى توقيح رفيع همايون واصل اوليجاق معلوم اولاه كه 2 حاليا دركاه
 سعادت دستكاهمه ادمكز ايله مكتوب كوندروب بعض اخبار عرض ايلمش سز
 بوبابده هر نه كه دنلمش ايسه 3 تمام معلوم ومفهوم اولدي ايله اولسه
 بيوردوم كه من بعد داخي اول جانبيره كوز قولاق طوتوب 4 لايح وسائح
 اولان اخبار صحيحه¹⁰ اصلى و حقيقتيله¹⁰ مفصل دركاه سعادت دستكاهمه
 يازوب 5 عرض ايلمكدن خالي اوليه سز شويله بلاسز علامت 6 شريفه
 اعتماد قلاسز تحريراً فى اوائل شهر ربيع الآخر 7 سنه ثمان واربعين وتسعايه
 بيورت مورش صويو

HE⁹

(Süleyman, son of the sovereign Selim, the ever-triumphant)

Pride of the rulers of the Christian community, choice of the
 great of the nation of Jesus, the Beys of Ragusa.

When the imperial, illustrious Cipher arrives, it shall be known
 that now you have sent to my Court, the seat of felicity, one of your
 men and a letter, and you have submitted some information.

Everyting that was said on this matter has become completely
 known and understood.

So, then, I have ordered that henceforth, too, you keep your eyes
 and ears to those parts, and do not cease to write and submit the true
 information that appear and that circulate, in accordance with¹⁰

⁸ i. e. Drzavni Arhiv u Dubrovniku Acta Turcorum

⁹ i. e. God!

¹⁰ comp. this use of-la in expressions such as (A.T. K 131) شرعله كفالتي ثابت (A.T. K 166a) الير لردن شرعله ثابت اولورسه الالر and (A.T. K 166a) دكييل ايكن

their source and with the real state of affairs, in detail to my Court, the seat of felicity. Thus you shall know; upon the noble Sign you shall rely.

Dated in the first (decade) of the month of Rabi' al-akhir of the year 948 in the camp on the river Mureş¹¹).

D.A.D.A.T. - A8 10. 3d.11.953 h-
13 - 22. 1. 1547 a.d.

هو

TUGHRA OF SÜLEYMAN I

مفاخر الامراء الملة المسيحية دوبرونيك بکلری توقيع رفيع همایون واصل
اولیجاق معلوم اولاً که 2 حالیا درکاه معلومه مکتوب کوندروب دریایه
متعلق بعضی خبرلر بلدرمش سز 3 هر نه که دنلمش ایسه مفصلاً معلوم
اولدی امدی بیوردوم که من بعد دآخی 4 خبرکک عقبن کسایوب منصال
کفار خاکسار طرفلرندن ودونامه سندن 5 و¹² فکر وفراست باطله لری نه نک
اوزرنه ایدوکین¹³ حقیقتی ایله معلوم ایدنوب¹⁴ 6 یوجه استانمه عرض
ایلمکدن خآلی اولیه سز 7 شوپله بلاسز علامت شریفه اعتماد قلاسز 8 تحریراً
فی اوآخر شهر ذی القعدة سنه ثلث و خمسين وتسعمایه

بمقام ادرنه

Pride of the rulers of the Christian community, the Beys of Ragusa. When the imperial, illustrious Cipher arrives, it shall be known that now you have sent a letter to my Court and communicated some information concerning the sea.

Everything that was said has become known in detail.

Now I have ordered that henceforth, too, you shall not interrupt the flow of your information, and shall not cease to find out from the

¹¹ The Mureş (Hung. Maros) takes its rise on the Carpathians, runs through Transylvania, and discharges into the Tisza near Szeged, in southern Hungary. The Sultan was on his way to Buda, which he took and annexed about a month later.

¹² superfluous (note 2)

¹³ idüğün

¹⁴ edinüp

troops of the dust-like infidels and from their fleet what in fact their absurd thoughts and intuitions are about, and submit it to my high Threshold.

Thus you shall know; upon the noble Sign you shall rely.

dated in the last (decade) of the month of Dhu'l-qa'da of the year 953 in the Residence Edirne.

D.A.D.A.T. - K 68. 216 x 562 mm. 3d.12.957 h— 31.12.1550 - 8.1.1551 a.d.

هو

TUGHRA OF SÜLEYMAN I

مفاخر امراءِ الله المسیحیہ مراجع کبراءِ الطایفه العیسویہ دورہ ونیک
 بکلری توقیع رفیع همایون واصل اولیجاق معلوم اولاً کہ 2 حالیا سده
 عدالت بخشمه مکتوب کوندروب اول طرفلره متعلق بعض اخبار بلدرمش سز 3
 هر نه کم دیمش ایسکزمفصلاً معلوم اولدی بیوردوم که حکم شریف واجب
 الاتباعم 4 واردوقده من بعد داخی خبرکزک عقبن کسمیوب معلومکز
 اولان احوال و اخباری 5 مفصل و مشروح یازوب سده سعادتہ عرض
 و اعلام آتمکدن خالی اولیه سز 6 شوپله بلاسز علامت شریفه اعتماد قلاسز
 تحریراً فی اواخر 9 شهر ذی الحجہ سنہ سبع و خمسن و تسعمایه

بمقام ادرنه

Pride of the rulers of the Christian community, recourse of the great of the nation of Jesus, the Beys of Ragusa.

When the imperial, illustrious Cipher arrives, it shall be known that now you have sent a letter to my Gate, the giver of justice, and have communicated some information concerning those parts.

Everything you have said has become known in detail.

I have ordered that, when my noble decree, with which conformity of action is imperative, arrives, you shall henceforth, too, not interrupt the flow of your information, and shall not cease to write down, in detail and with a commentary, the circumstances and information known to you, and submit and report them to my Gate of felicity.

Thus you shall know; upon the noble Sign you shall rely.
dated in the last (decade) of the month of Dhu'l-hijja of the
year 957 in the Residence Edirne.

D.A.D.A.T. K 113. 2d.2.978 h—15 - 24.7.1570.a.d.

هو

TUGHRA OF SELİM II

(سلیم بن سلیمان خان مظفر دائماً)

مفاخر الامراء الملة المسيمية مراجع الكبراء في الطائفة العيسوية
دوبرونيك بکلری توقيع رفيع همایون واصل اوليجق معلوم اولاکه 2
سده* سعادتہ مکتوب کوندروب دوبرونیکه قریب التمش بشن پاره کوچک
قادرغہسی¹⁵ ایله ونديکلو کچوب 3 وبيله اون پاره بيوک قادرغہ واون
پاره کمیلری داخی اولوب هربری آدملری ویراقلری ایله 4 حاضر اولوب
وکریتده داخی اوتوز پاره قادرغہ ایله برقاچ کوندن صکره کچمک اوزره
اولدقلرین 5 بلدروب اولبابده داخی هر نه که عرض آتمش اسکوز معلوم
شريف اولدی ایمدی بیوردوم که حکم شریفم واردوقده 6 آستان سامی
مکانمه اولان عبودیت واخلاصکوز مستدعاسنجه اعدا طرفلر نه یرار
جاسوسلر کوندروب 7 فکر فاسد وخیال کاسدلرین تتبع ایلیوب ودونانمه لری
وسایر احوال لری نه اسه صحتی ایله معلوم ایدوب 8 واقف اولدوغکوز اخبار
صحيحه* علی التوالی اعلامدن خالی اولمیه سز شویله بلاسز علامت شریفه اعتماد
قلاسر 9 تحریراً فی اواسط صفر المظفر سنه ثمان وسبعین وتسعاًیه

بمقام قسطنطنیه

HE

(Selim, son of the sovereign Süleyman, the ever-triumphant)

Pride of the rulers of the Christian community, choice of the
great in the nation of Jesus, the Beys of Ragusa.

¹⁵ The qadirga (Byz. katargon) was one the smaller warships - H. and R. Kahane - A. Tietze - The Lingua Franca in the Levant, 1958. 241, 523-526.

When the imperial, illustrious Cipher arrives, it shall be known that you have sent a letter to my Gate of felicity, and have communicated that the Venetians passed near Ragusa with 65 of their small galleys, and that there were also 10 big galleys and 10 of their ships with them, each one prepared with its men and arms; and that a few days later they were passing by at Candia, too, with 30 galleys; on that matter, too, everything you submitted has come to my noble knowledge.

Now I have ordered that, when my noble decree arrives, you shall, according to the demands of your devotion and sincerity towards my illustrious Threshold, not cease to send capable spies to the enemies' parts, study their wicked thoughts and unmarketable fancies, make known anything concerning their fleet and other circumstances in accordance with the truth, and report continuously the true information of which you are cognizant.

Thus you shall know; upon the noble Sign you shall rely.

Dated in the middle (decade) of triumphant Safar of the year 978 in the Residence, Constantinople.

D.A.D.A.T. - A7 29a. 3d.11.978h-16-25.4.1571, a.d.

At the beginning of the dispositio we find کرکدرکه instead of accustomed که بیوردوم .

In the sanctio شویله بلاسز is left out.

هو

TUGHRA OF SELİM II

مفاخر امراء الملته المسيحيه مراجع كبراء الطائيفه العيسويه دوبرونيك
 بكبرى توقيع رفيع همايون واصل اوليجق معلوم اولاه كه 2 سده سعادتمه
 مكتوب كوندروب فليب قرال ونديكه معاونت ايچون يوز پاره قدرغه
 پاپايه ويروب 3 احضارينه عجله ايلدوكلرين وبالجمله اكر ونديكه متعلق
 و اكر پاپا ودوقه وپچ قرالى وسائر فرنكستان 4 وغيره متفرع هر نه كه
 اعلام اولنمش ايسه مفصلا معلوم شريفم اولشدر كر كدر كه قديمدن 5

آستان سعادت آشیانمزه اولان وفور عبودیت و اخلاصکمز موجبنجه من بعد
 داخلی اول طرفاردن 6 غفلت ایلمیوب دایما احوال و اطوارین تتبع و تجسس
 ایلیوب واقف اولدوغکز اخبار صحیحه یی 7 علی التوالی اعلامدن خالی اولمیه سز
 علامت شریفه اعتماد قلاسز تحریراً فی اواخر ذی القعه سنه ثمان و سبعین
 بمقام قسطنطنیه وتسعایه

Pride of the rulers of the Christian community, recourse of the great of the nation of Jesus, the Beys of Ragusa.

When the imperial, illustrious Cipher arrives, it shall be known that you have sent a letter to my Gate of felicity (and made known) that king Philip has given 100 galleys to the Pope to assist Venice¹⁶, and that they make haste to get there; (that,) and in short, everything that was communicated, that which concerns Venice as well as that which touches the Pope, the Doge, the king of Vienna and the rest of Europe, etc. came in detail to my noble knowledge.

It is necessary that henceforward too, you donot cease to study and spy in those parts, without neglect, unceasingly their condition and circumstances, and report continuously the true information of which you are cognizant, according to the abundance of devotion and sincerity that you have had from olden days towards my Gate of felicity.

You shall rely upon the noble Sign.

Dated in the last (decade) of Dhu 'l-qa'da of the year 978 in the Residence, Constantinople.

¹⁶ before the proclamation of the Holy League (see introd.)

D.A.D.A.T. - K 82

217 × 572 mm.

Id. 4. 979 h—23/8-1/9. 1571. a.d.

هو

TUGHRA OF SELİM II

مفاخر امرآ الطایفه النصرانیه مراجع کبرآء فی المله المسلیحیّه دو برونیك
یکلری توقیع رفیع همایون واصل اولیجاق معلوم اولاکه 2 سده سعادتمه
مکتوب کوندروب وندیکلو اسپانیه ایله اتفاق واتحاد ایلدکلرین وندیك
قپودانی 3 جنه رال¹⁷ احوالن بلدروب اولبابده داخی هر نه دیمش ایسکز
معلوم اولدی امدی بیوردوم که 4 حکم شریف واجب الاتباعم وصول
بولدقده سده سعادتمه اولان وفور عبودیت 5 واخلاصکز موجبنه من بعد
داخی یرار ادملریکز کوندروب احوال واطوارین تتبع و تجسس 6 ایدوب
فکر و¹⁸ فاسدی وخیال کاسدی نه ایسه واقف اولدوغکز اخبار صحیحه
اعلامدن 7 خالی اولیه سز شویله بلاسز علامت شریفه اعتماد قلاسز 8 تحریرآ
فی اوایل ربیع الاخر سنه تسع و سبعین وتسعمایه
بمقام قسطنطنیه المحروسه

Pride of the rulers of the Nazarene nation, recourse of the great in the Christian community, the Beys of Ragusa.

When the imperial, illustrious Cipher arrives, it shall be known that you have sent a letter to my Gate of felicity and communicated that the Venetians have formed an alliance¹⁹ and united with Spain and you have reported the case of the Venetian captain-general²⁰; on that matter, too, everything you have said became known.

I have ordered that when my noble decree, with which conformity of action is imperative, arrives, you shall, according to the re-

¹⁷ most probably to be read: جنه رال قپودانی

¹⁸ comp. K 113, line 7

¹⁹ The so-called Holy Alliance (see introd.)

²⁰ by this time Sebastiano Venier; maybe Zane's dismissal from that post, and his being replaced by Venier-which, however had taken place as early as december 1570(see introd.)

quirements of the abundance of devotion and sincerity that you have towards my Gate of felicity, not cease to send henceforward, too, capable men of yours to study and spy their condition and circumstances, and report the true information of which you are cognizant about any wicked thoughts and unmarketable fancies they have. Thus you shall know; upon the noble Sign you shall rely.

dated in the first (decade) of Rabi' al-akhir of the year 979 in the Residence, Constantinople, the well-protected.

itt: I. Bozic - Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku - Beograd, 1952

A. Galante - محاربه بحريه مى in TOEM, Istanbul 1340.

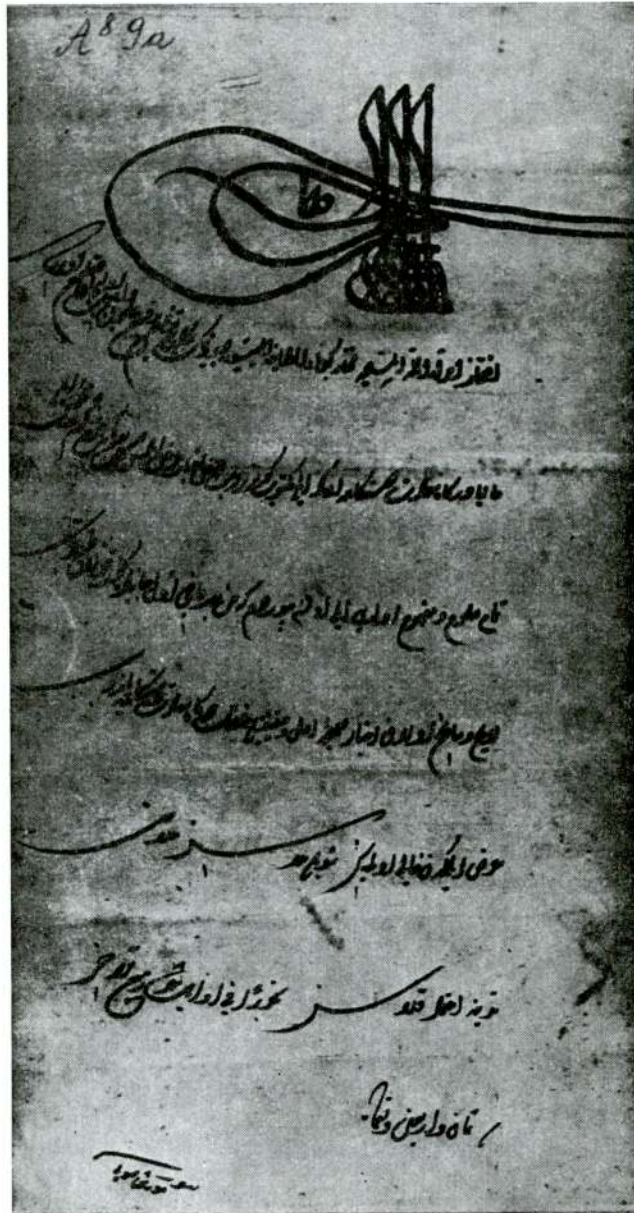
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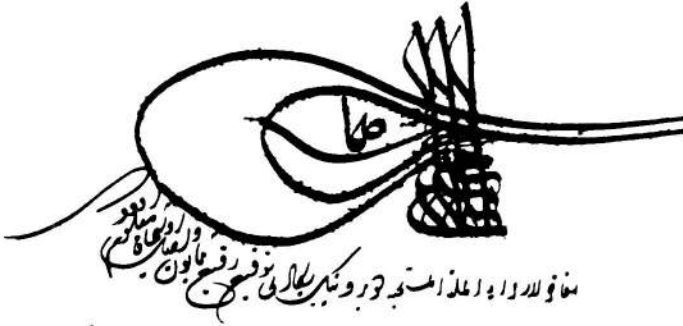
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جانا در کانه سلفه دکاتور کونه در و درنا بینهای بعضی غیر لوله برش

هونه کوه نیش بر مقصد مسلم اولای لوی پور قوم کن بود تلف

خبر ملک عقیق کتا پور مضار کتا رخا کار طوفان زنه و خوانه سندن

دکتر و فرامین با فله لوی زنه اوزنه ایر و کین عصفی ابله اسلام

یوره رسنا ذخرق لیکه نه تا چار و طیه

نوبع نبو ستر علفه صر شربته انما انده

موتبر لقا دلر فخر فزه الفند سندن تر و غیر و نمایا

مقام
اوریه



 من اول امره الملك جبريل عليه السلام واداه الله كتابه واداه الله كتابه واداه الله كتابه

حيا به طهر من كل ما كرهه الله عز وجل من كل ما كرهه الله عز وجل من كل ما كرهه الله عز وجل

يومئذ لا ينفعكم فضلكم منكم ولا اولادكم منكم ولا اولادكم منكم ولا اولادكم منكم

واداه فر من بعد ولحي جنوكم كل عبقن اسودت على كذولاة لحوول والقبائل

منصرف من زوج ما روي من حاله في قوله عليه السلام يا اولادكم

من اولادكم على رؤسهم اعمالكم انتم انتم انتم انتم انتم انتم انتم انتم انتم

ختام

شهر ربيع الثاني سنة 1300 هـ

مفاخر در روز اربعه سببه و اربع کبوتره انطا بعه سوره و برده کمالی تو حرم در عبادت و در روز
 سوره سوره کتب و در روز و برده کمالی تو حرم در عبادت و در روز
 و بیده لاده بان بیک فاکرغه و لاده بان کبیه و در روز و در بان هر ریز کوه و در روز
 حاضر در بان و در کبره و در روز بان و در روز بان و در روز بان و در روز بان
 بدر و بان و در لبا بیه و در بان و در بان و در بان و در بان و در بان و در بان
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عقده

مخبره در واسطه ملک المظفر نامه در سببه سببه

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 ما فوارده المثلث
 بجزءه كبرياء العظمة العسوية
 بروية كليله
 في حياضه
 في حياضه

سنه سلا مکتوب کو زور غلبه بر تلعل و نبرکه معا و نبره کج و نوزان قهر حیا و پیرک

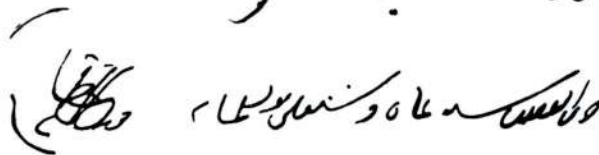
اصفیه بجمیل ایلر و کلرین و باغما اکر و نبرکه اسطیح و اکر با پا و فوه و پچم زار کوی و نکران

و غیره تنوع کرده اطلعه اولف و نایب انقله طوم باج ارحس در کور کور کور

آستانه ساران آستان اولف و نوز و نوزین در غلام کور و نوزین و نوزین و نوزین

خلفه با بیورب و زبا اوله و اطوارین تنوع و نختس با بیورب قف با اوله و نکران با بیورب

على التواله اطلعه من خانه اولیم


 در کعبه سده عامه و نختس با بیورب



منه فرموده العالی شاهنشاهی در صبح آرد و قائله بسیار خوش طبعی و در صبح با او در میان
روان و صاف

سأشعاره مکتوبه که در روز و شب بسیار است و در آنجا که در روز و شب در آنجا

جستارها احوال بر روی دیوار و در آنجا که در روز و شب در آنجا

حاج رشتی به بلبلان و وصله بر روی شاهنشاهی در روز و شب در آنجا

و از آنجا که در روز و شب در آنجا که در روز و شب در آنجا

در روز و شب در آنجا که در روز و شب در آنجا که در روز و شب در آنجا

فایده بسیار است و در آنجا که در روز و شب در آنجا که در روز و شب در آنجا

کتابخانه در روز و شب در آنجا که در روز و شب در آنجا که در روز و شب در آنجا

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