

# A Janissary's Son Turned Druggist and His Highly Successful Designer Drug in 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> Century

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One day, during their conversation, a gaunt and feeble old man appeared at the door, braced by his servants. They all stood up to greet him, crying “Welcome, my dear Halimi Efendi,” and they sat him in the upper row. After some rounds of *berş-i rahiki* and glorious coffee, as the party warmed up, they cocked their caps and began crying *bre bre....* (They urged Halimi Efendi to regale them with his adventures in the company of Shehzade Selim when they went out incognito from Trabzon and spied on Shah Isma’il.) ...<sup>1</sup>

Evliya Çelebi’s description of a meeting of veterans at his father’s home suggests that the substance he calls *berş-i rahîkî* was a customary item offered to guest at parties in 17<sup>th</sup> century Istanbul. Abdî’s *Sûrnâme* relating the events of the state festivities that took place in 1675 illustrates it very well that by the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the use of this substance had become widespread in the

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality. The World of Evliya Çelebi*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, p. 180.

city. According to Abdî the show provided by opium addicts (*tiryâkiyân*) and the consumers of *berş-i rahîkî*, whom he calls *berş-hârân* was a popular event of the program. A mock-coffeehouse was set up for them where they were served coffee, opium and *berş-i rahîkî*. When they started getting under the influence of these substances fireworks were unleashed and the sultan laughed at the funny movements of the scared addicts.<sup>2</sup>

The place it occupied in everyday life in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century, lent the substance so much poetic potential that *berş-i rahîkî* made its appearance in contemporary classical poetry as well. A late 17<sup>th</sup> century poet, Siyâhî Dede's kasîde dedicated to Mahmûd Efendi praised the then defterdar of Cyprus for his generosity and munificence with the following words.

Tab' ehline şeker yidürür müflise dînâr  
Dil-teşnelere su yerine câm-ı keyâne

He distributes sugar to the poets and golden coin to the poor,  
Instead of water he gives royal goblets to those whose heart suffers  
from thirst.

Keyf ehli olan zümre-i erbâb-ı safâya  
İtmekde durur berş-i rahîk ile i'âne<sup>3</sup>

He supports the merry ones addicted to mind altering substances  
By providing them continuously with *berş-i rahîk*.

Ahmed Yârî an Ottoman official cum poet who served at various places in the 17<sup>th</sup> century claimed in one of his couplets that the best cure for a headache was *berş-i rahîkî*:

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2 Mehmet Arslan, *Lebîb Sûrnâmesi. Hâfîz Mehmed Efendi (Hazîn) Sûrnâmesi. Abdî Sûrnâmesi*. Istanbul: Sarayburnu Kıtaplığı, 2011, pp. 503-04.

3 Gülşah Cangöz, "*Siyâhî Dede Dîvânı. (İnceleme-Transkripsiyonlu Metin)*", M. A. Thesis, Kocaeli: Kocaeli Üniversitesi, 2010, p. 114.

*Def'-i sudâ'a berş-i rahîkî şefîkdür*  
*Def'-i humâra çâre rahîk-i 'atîkdür*<sup>4</sup>

The most gentle [medicine] against a headache is *berş-i rahîkî*,  
The [best] solution against a hangover is red wine.

*Berş* was not only a simple substance enlivening parties or an everyday medicine against headache; it also seems to have been a source of inspiration for poets, as Nazîr Ibrâhîm's (d. 1188/1774) following couplet shows:

Tarâvetle görüp ruhsârını hayretde kalmışken  
Nazîrâya bu güne tâze şî'ri söyleden berşdür<sup>5</sup>

He saw her/his face full of youthful freshness and he became intoxicated,  
And *berş* prompted Nazîr to compose this new piece of poem today.

What was this evidently very popular and socially accepted substance which could make people talkative or groggy but at the same time inspired poets or cured headaches and which was expensive enough to be used as a symbol of lavishness? What was it made of, when was it first concocted and why was it called *berş-i rahîkî*? The present paper aims at answering these questions.

Hâfız Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî (d. 1201/1787) in his *Mecmû'a-i Tevârih*, a collection of chronograms compiled not long before the author's death, in 1786 remarks that *berş* made its appearance in the reign of Süleymân the Lawgiver and adds that it was invented by Yûsuf Rahîkî effendi who is often mentioned in contemporary poetic anthologies (*tezkiiret üş-şü'arâ*) and who prepared it first as medicine for the sultan.<sup>6</sup>

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4 Nurgül Karayazı, *17. Yüzyıl Şâiri Ahmed Yâri ve Divânı. (İnceleme-Metin). Doktora Tezi. İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2012, p. 1077.*

5 Necdet Şengün, "*Nazîr İbrahim ve Divânı. (Metin-Muhtevâ-Tablîl)*", Unpublished Ph. D. Diss., İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 2006, p. 542.

6 Hâfız Hüseyin Ayvânsarâyî, *Mecmuâ-i Tevârih*. Hazırlayanlar Fahri Ç. Derin-Vahid Çabuk. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1985, p. 18.

Sources from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup>, first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century partly confirm and partly contradict Ayvansarâyî's information.

As a letter written by Mehmed the Conqueror to Fenerizâde Ahmed, the tutor of his son, Bayezid, shows that *berş* was one of the many intoxicating substances used by the prince and his boon companions.

Envâ-i husûsiyetle fesâdlarından gayrî benim oğlumı tab'-ı zatı muktezâsından çıkarup esrâr-ı mühmile ilkâ edüp hâtır-ı şerîfine gubâr-i hayretten inkisâr müterettüp olmuş. Ma'âcîn-i garîbe ü dahi berş ü efyûndan mürekkep olmuş niçe mükeyyifât-i 'acîbe getirüp manâfi'-i kesîre ü fevâyid-i latîfe 'arz edüp dâ'ire-i insâniyetden çıkarup mizâc-i şerîfine futûr târî olmuş idi.<sup>7</sup>

Through their wicked influence and other special methods they changed my son's nature. They enticed him with secrets (esrâr) that cause carelessness and his noble memory became covered with the dust of bewilderment.<sup>8</sup> They brought unknown electuaries, berş and strange intoxicants prepared from opium. Claiming that these are very pleasant, useful, extremely enjoyable and helpful, they made him lose his humanity and they broke his noble character.

The sultan's letter dated 1479 is important from two points of view. First, it suggests that a substance called *berş* existed before Rahîkî's time who according to Ayvansarâyî passed away in 954/1547 and second, it also informs us that *berş* was used as a kind of mind altering drug belonging to the same class (*mükeyyifât*) as opium or electuary paste (*ma'cûn*).

*Berş* thus appears to have been the name of a drug which was clearly not invented by Rahîkî as Ayvansarâyî states. Still, in a way his assertion might be correct, if we suppose that *berş-i rahîkî* was a special type of *berş* designed by Rahîkî who modified some original

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7 Ferîdûn Bey, *Mecmû'a-i münşe'ât us-selâtin*, İstanbul 1265, I, 270. For the transcription of the text see Samiha Ayverdi, *Edebî ve Manevî Dünyası İçinde Fatih*. İstanbul 1953, 211-212.

8 The noun esrâr has a double meaning in the text (tevriye) and also means cannabis.

recipe. Mustafa 'Âlî's information seems to confirm this theory since he claims that "one of the *şeyhs* who were close to him saw his poverty and misery, took pity on him and gifted him with the recipe of *filonya-i selîmî*. He increased the quantity of some of the ingredients and decreased the quantity of others."<sup>9</sup>

As far as Rahîkî's person is concerned Ayvansarâyî is right to state that the best sources for his life are contemporary poetic anthologies as all of them, except for Ahdî's (d. 1002/1594) work, devote at least a few lines to his life and his poetry.<sup>10</sup>

Sehî bey (d. 955/1548) the author of the first Ottoman *tez-kire* described Rahîkî whose original name according to him was Yûsuf as a person of melancholic character, a druggist by profession who was extremely talented in concocting medicines.<sup>11</sup> Latîfî (d. 990/1582) quite evidently not being a fan of Rahîkî's poetic output, did not waste much space on him.<sup>12</sup> 'Âşık Çelebi (d. 979/1572) who met him in person informs his readers very briefly in his short entry on Rahîkî that his original name was Sinân. He used to be a *kuloğlu*, very much interested in both rational and Gnostic knowledge but after the Mustafa Ağa incident his '*ulûfe* payment was cancelled and he was forced to look for another way of living.<sup>13</sup>

'Âşık Çelebi does not say why Rahîkî was punished this way. Kınalızâde Hasan Çelebi (d. 1012/1604) is also very laconic on the subject and simply says that "as he was charged with rebellion and other serious crimes his '*ulûfe* payment was cancelled and the young

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9 Mustafa İsen,, *Künhü'l-Abbâr'ın Tezkire Kısmı*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1994, p. 220.

10 For rather sketchy descriptions of his life see Ömer Zülfe, "Raḥîkî ve Şiirleri", *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi*, sayı 21 (2009), 171-198; Ömer Düzbakar-Özlem Ercan, "Notes on the Attar-Poets in Ottoman History: Reflections from the Shari'a Court Records of Bursa and Poets' Biographies". *Journal of the International Society for the History of Islamic Medicine* 5 (2006), pp. 19-25.

11 Sehî Bey, *Tezkire-i Sehî*. İstanbul 1325, p. 137.

12 Latîfî, *Tezkiretü's-Şu'arâ ve Tabsiratü'n-Nuzamâ*. (İnceleme-Metin) haz. Rıdvan Canım. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 2000, p. 271.

13 'Âşık Çelebi: *Meşâ'irü's-Şu'arâ*. Vol. 3, haz. Filiz Kılıç. İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü 2010, p. 1351.

sprout of his name and fame was exterminated from the rose-garden of the sultanate's books for ever.”<sup>14</sup>

Mustafa ‘Âlî’s short biographical notice is a bit more informative on the subject. In a few jumbled sentences relating the incident he says that Rahîkî was appointed as a guardian to a handsome young man, called Ferdî who had an amorous relationship with Mustafa Ağa. On the evening of the great fire in Istanbul they were spending their time together and the *ağa* was too drunk to fulfil his official duties.<sup>15</sup>

The series of events leading to Rahîkî’s punishment become clear if we turn to the detailed account of the story hidden in ‘Âşık Çelebi’s biographical essay on Ferdî. This account seems to be the best recorded version of the story as it came from a respectable and credible source, a person who was earlier the teacher of Mustafa Ağa and who personally related the events to ‘Âşık Çelebi. According to Çıkrıkçı-zâde Mustafa Çelebi, a müderris at the Kapluca medrese in Bursa, the *ağa* fell in love with Mehmed, a *yayabaşı*’s son from Istanbul. The boy was of an exceptional beauty and the *ağa* was so much in love with him that he even gifted away to Ferdî his precious and valuable sword belt he had received as a token of respect for his bravery from Yavuz Sultan Selim. Once they were having a time together in the *ağa*’s garden outside Istanbul when a few *yayabaşı* appeared with the news that the janissaries had rebelled and they were looting the houses of *vezîrs*. Mustafa Ağa was befuddled with wine and even the harshest methods tried were not enough to sober him up. He was put into a boat and ushered back to the city where as a result of his negligence he was sentenced to death and executed a few days later.<sup>16</sup>

The riots mentioned by ‘Âşık Çelebi took place on 25 March 1525 and the following night when rebellious janissaries pillaged

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<sup>14</sup> Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü’ş-şuarâ*. I. Eleştirmeli baskıya hazırlayan İbrahim Kutluk. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989, p. 405-406.

<sup>15</sup> İsen, *Künhül-Abbâr’ın Tezkire Kısım*, p. 220.

<sup>16</sup> ‘Âşık Çelebi: *Meşâ’irü’ş-Şuarâ*. III, 1159-1169.

the houses of high ranking state officials and rich Jewish families.<sup>17</sup> Knowing how harshly the sultan treated all those who were held responsible for the rebellion, Rahîkî's punishment looks extremely mild. He appears to have had some supporters at the court who saved him by saying that he could not fulfil his duties because he was ordered to do errands for Mustafa Ağa.<sup>18</sup>

Rahîkî's ordeal soon turned out to be a lucky turn in his life. He opened a druggist's shop at the Mahmutpaşa market and learnt his new profession by studying medical books. Soon enough he added wine to his range of products and his shop soon started flourishing.

People well-versed in Gnostic knowledge (*erbâb-i 'irfân*) planning to go for a stroll to Galata and beloveds wishing to fascinate their lovers with their beauty all flocked to his shop and for these lively people he prepared everything that was needed for a good party.<sup>19</sup>

Rahîkî's business prospered and soon he became a well-to-do man. His success might have been partly due to his ability to tap into the current trends in contemporary drug culture. *Berş* at that time appears to have been so popular with educated people that as a short poem, a *kit'a* by Yetîm indicates, the image of the light-minded scribes became closely associated with the notion of *berş* consumption in mid-16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman public opinion.

Süfehânun gıdâsı oldugına  
Berş u efyûna budur istidlâl  
Nâs-i esker teneffür itdükçe  
Çelebi zümresi olur meyyâl

They are food for [only] light-minded people.  
See the proof! Berş and opium  
are despised by most people.  
The çelebis, however, are craving for them.

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17 Danişmend, İsmail Hami, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1971, II, 106-107.

18 Mustafa İsen, *Künhü'l-Abbâr'ın Tezkire Kısım*, p. 220.

19 'Âşik Çelebi: *Meşâ'irü's-Şu'arâ*. III, 1352.

In a 17<sup>th</sup> century prose text relating a debate between pleasure-giving substances, opium, *berş-i rahîkî*, cannabis, boza, wine and coffee, *berş* intends to prove his superiority by saying that he is favoured by “witty and gentle *çelebis* who are in the possession of total perfection (*zarîf u latîf, sâhib-i kemâl çelebis*), beloveds whose nature is full of coquetry and whose behaviour makes people agitated (*âlüfte-tabî at vu âşufte sîret yârân*), servants initiated into Gnostic knowledge and gifted with poetic talent (*ma’ârîf-âşinâ vu tab’-i selîm sâhibi olan mahâdîm-i kirâm*) and famous scholars (*ülemâ-i zî-şân*).<sup>20</sup>

Contemporary historical sources also quite often refer to the *berş* addiction of people belonging to this layer of society. In his *Nasîhat al-Salâtîn* Mustafa ‘Âlî complains more than once about the incapability of scribes to do their work properly due to their addiction to *berş* and other drugs.<sup>21</sup> His remark on the bad habits of calligraphers illustrates well how widespread and common the addiction to the drug was among the intelligentsia:

In short calligraphy is a virtue, which unstintingly confers honour upon those who possess it. And the art of writing is a path toward nobility and fame, which leads those who command it to glory and high station, unless they are reproached by people for bad morals or are notorious [for their] addiction to *berş*, *afyon* and *beng*.<sup>22</sup>

The drug habits of certain social groups was surely influenced by their financial capabilities. Dervishes and the poor preferred cannabis, a mind altering substance that was relatively cheap and easily accessible since it was made from a plant growing also wild and in its crudest form as *esrâr* or *gubâr* its preparation did not need any

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<sup>20</sup> Hatice Aynur-Jan Schmidt, “A Debate Between Opium, Bersh, Hashish, Boza, Wine and Coffee; The Use and Perception of Pleasurable Substances Among the Ottomans”. *Journal of Turkish Studies* 31/1 (2007), p. 94.

<sup>21</sup> Kasım Ertuş, “Gelibolulu Mustafa ‘Âlî’nin Nasîhatu’s-Selâtîn İsimli Eserlerinin Tenkidli Metni”, M. A. Thesis İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2008, p. 78, 123.

<sup>22</sup> Esra Akın-Kıvanç, *Mustafa ‘Âlî’s Epic Deed of Artists. A Critical Edition of the Earliest Ottoman Text about the Calligraphers and Painters of the Islamic World*. Leiden: Brill, 2011, 204.



professional expertise. *Berş* on the other hand was produced by specialists, like *Rahîkî*, which quite necessarily meant that it was more costly and available for only those who could afford a higher price.

Now we come to the question of ingredients. Contemporary sources occasionally refer to the short or long term effects of *berş* but they do not mention what *Rahîkî*'s pill was made of. The sole exception is a medical text. The *Mecmâ'-i Tibb* written by Siyâhî Karamânî Lârendevî in the late 16<sup>th</sup>, early 17<sup>th</sup> century seems to have preserved the whole recipe.<sup>23</sup>

The two main psychoactive components in the mixture were opium and the ground seeds of white henbane (*Hyoscyamus albus*, *benc-i sefid*). The other ingredients included black pepper, ginger, saffron, yellow sweet clover (*Melilotus officinalis*, *iklîl al-melik*), Spanish chamomile (*Anacyclus pyrethrum*, *'ûd al-kahr*), cardamom, cinnamon, Arabian balsam tree (*Commiphora opobalsamum*, *habb ul-belesân*), castoreum, resin spurge (*Euphorbia resinifera*, *ferfiyûn*), Indian valerian (*Valeriana jatamansi*, *sünbül-i hindî*), celery seeds and last but not least honey.

First, the henbane seeds were heated up and then they were soaked in water for three days. Each day the water was changed three times. After carefully drying the seeds in the shade they were ground together with the other ingredients, except for saffron, and mixed with almond oil. The mixture was left to rest overnight. Next day honey was heated up and when it cooled down, first saffron was added and then all the other components. Finally small pills were formed from the soft paste.

Compared to other preparations having a similar name, the *berşâ'îşâ* of 15<sup>th</sup> century pharmacological works, the *berş-i filuniyya-i rûmî* as found in the *Helvâhâne defteri*, *berş* from late 16<sup>th</sup> century Egypt and *berş* as prepared in 19<sup>th</sup> century Iran it is quite obvious that Mustafa 'Âlî's information on *Rahîkî*'s modifying the recipe of an already existing drug might be correct, since *Rahîkî*'s mixture

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23 Mücahit Akkuş, "Siyâhî Karamânî Lârendevî'nin Mecmâ'-i Tibb Adlı Eseri. (Gramer-Metin-Sözlük)". Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2008, pp. 200-201.

was based on the same psychoactive components, opium and henbane as other electuaries of the *berş* type and it differed only in its flavouring.<sup>24</sup>

Evliya Çelebi's description of the old veterans having coffee and *berş* would suggest that this designer drug was a rather harmless confectionery. However it was not the case as the long term use of *berş* could lead to physical decline and ultimately to death.

Contemporary poetical anthologies contain many stories of poets whose death was caused by *berş*. Beyânî's fate as described by 'Âşık Çelebi seems to have been a typical end for an addict.

Ölmezden evvel hod berşden şöyle geçmişti, gören sanırdı ki zehr-i efyûn degül semm-i helâhil içmişti. Esrâr-i keyfiyyât ile 'aceb tahayyülâta düşüp kendü mahz-ı hayâl olmuşdı. Kadd ile nihâl ve şekl ile hilâl ve za'f ile hilâl olmuşdı.<sup>25</sup>

Before he died, *berş* had withered him to such an extent that everyone who saw him thought that instead of poisonous opium he had been consuming lethal venom. He got absorbed into the secrets of pleasures and plunged into [the world of] weird visions so deeply that he became like an apparition himself. His body was like a twig, his shape like the waning moon and weakness made him like toothpick.<sup>26</sup>

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24 İlhan Uçar, "Hazâ Kitâb-i Hulâsa-i Tibb-i Cerrâh Mes'ûd. (Giriş-İnceleme-Metin-Dizinler)", Unpublished Ph. D. Diss., Sakarya: Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2009, 182; Arslan Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri ve Topkapı Sarayında Eczacılık*. İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 1992, 16-17; Prosperus Alpinus, *De medicina Aegyptiorum*, libri IV. Venetiis, 1591; Jakob Eduard Polak, Über den Gebrauch der Erregungs und Betaubungsmittel bei den Persern. *Wiener Medizinische Halle* III/3 (1862), 28.

25 'Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü's-Şu'arâ*. Hazırlayan Filiz Kılıç. İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü 2010, I, 445.

26 For a couple of further cases see Marinos Sariyannis, "Law and Morality in Ottoman Society: The Case of Narcotic Substances". *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands: Toward a Social and Economic History. Studies in Honor of John C. Alexander*. Edited by Elias Kolovos, Phokion Kotzageorgis, Sophia Laiou and Marinos Sariyannis. İstanbul: İsis, 2007, p. 314, note 1.

Besides long term health effects, consumers of *berş* also had to face the risk of getting killed by a not properly prepared substance. 'Âşık Çelebi recorded a tragic event that took place in Galata in the house of the painter Haydar in 971/1563–1564, when the pills offered by the host, killed one of the guests and made seriously sick several others:

Mezkûr Nigârînün evinde bir cem'iyet olup mesîrdir diyü bir hokka  
getürüp içinden yiyenlerden Eyyûb kâzisi Sinân Çelebi fevt olup  
ba'zılar haste ve müşrif-i mevt olup ba'zılar dahi sersâm olmagla meş-  
hûr-i enâm oldukda zurefâdan biri bu târihi dimişdir

Târîh

Didiler berrâşlar târihini

Haydarın berşin yiyen oldı helâk (971)27

There was a gathering in the house of the above mentioned Nigârî. When it was suggested that it was high time for partying, a medicine box was brought in. Out of those who took [pills] from it, Sinân Çelebi, the judge of Eyyüp died on the spot, others became seriously sick, deadly ill or went delirious. Everyone talked about this misfortune and some witty people composed a chronogram recording its date.

The chronogram of the misfortune of the *berş* eaters is the following:  
Those who ate the *berş* of Haydar all passed away.

Nevertheless, people appear not to have been bothered by health hazards and the spread of coffee-drinking made *berş* even more popular. Taking *berş* with a cup of coffee had become a quite common custom and an integral part of friendly gatherings by the 1560s. Semiz 'Alî Paşa the Grand Vizier (d. 972/1565) made fun of the two commanders of the Ottoman fleet sailing towards Malta in 969/1562 saying that “the aforementioned persons are ill-famed for being addicted to intoxication. We have sent two people who are prone to get intoxicated for an excursion to the islands. Their ships must be full of *berş* and coffee. I do not know what services

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27 'Âşık Çelebi: *Meşâ'irü's-Şu'arâ*, haz. Filiz Kılıç. İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü 2010, II, 893.

they will render but I am sure they will have a good time consuming *berş* and coffee”.<sup>28</sup>

The custom soon spread to other parts of the empire. The inventory (*muhallefât defteri*) of the bequest of an Ottoman gentleman who passed away in Buda sometime around 1587 included several items of *berş*.<sup>29</sup> and William Biddulph an English clergyman observed in Aleppo in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century that

It is accounted a great courtesy amongst them to give unto their friends, when they come to visit them, a fin-jon, or scudella of coffee, which is more wholesome then toothsome, for it causeth good concoction, and driveth away drowsiness. Some of them will also drink bersh or opium which maketh forget themselves, and talk idle castles in the air, as though they saw visions and heard revelations.<sup>30</sup>

The ever growing popularity of *berş* brought enormous financial success to the undertaking Rahîkî founded. The demand for the drug pastes and *berş* designed by him seems to have been continuously increasing and in 1000/1591-92 Mustafa ‘Âlî recorded that “approximately thirty young boys and slaves ground the ingredients and cooked the paste in huge cauldrons but still they were unable to meet the demands of those who craved for its pleasures. They are said to sell pastes worth of 3000 *akçes* after paying taxes, every day”.<sup>31</sup>

Rahîkî’s legacy proved to be a lasting one. His small workshop was closed down only in the early 1830s and until 1783, when the last of his direct descendants passed away, it provided his heirs with a steady income.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Peçevî İbrâhîm, *Târîh-i Peçevî*. İstanbul, 1281, 410.

<sup>29</sup> Lajos Fekete, “XVI. Yüzyılda Taşralı Bir Türk Efendi Evi”. *Bellekten* 43 (1979), p. 472.

<sup>30</sup> *A Collection of Voyages and Travels consisting of Authentic Writers in our own Tongue which have not before been collected in English or have been abridged in other Collections*. London, 1745, I, 797.

<sup>31</sup> Mustafa İsen, *Künhül-Ahbâr’ın Tezkire Kısmı*, p. 220.

<sup>32</sup> Murat Uluskan, “İstanbul’da Bir Afyonlu Macun İşletmesi: Berş-i Rabiki Macunhanesi (1783-1831)”, *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi* 29 (2013), p. 105.