

“KOCA NİŞANCI” OF KANUNİ: CELALZADE MUSTAFA ÇELEBİ, BUREAUCRACY
AND “KANUN” IN THE REIGN OF SULEYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT (1520–1566)

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by
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September 2006

To my family

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of
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in

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BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
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September 2006

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ABSTRACT

“KOCA NİŞANCI” OF KANUNİ: CELÂLZÂDE MUSTAFA ÇELEBİ,
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This dissertation analyzes the development of Ottoman administration and its consequences in political reasoning under the reign of Sultan Süleyman in the light of career and works of *nişancı* Celâlzâde Mustafa Çelebi. It shows that Ottoman bureaucracy did not only provide the tools for an effective administration of the state, but it also played an important role in the production of genuine Ottoman political understanding. It investigates expansion of Ottoman bureaucracy at the beginning of Süleyman’s reign and its effects on the development of a new political discourse with its emphasis on justice and *kanun*. It shows bureaucrats’ (*kalemiyye*) perception of Ottoman rule and its articulation in the works composed by members of bureaucracy on history and politics.

Celâlzâde Mustafa was a model bureaucrat, prose stylist and historian for late 16th century Ottoman literati, who served in the Ottoman chancery as a divan scribe (1517-1525), as *reisülküttâb* (1525-1534) and *nişancı* (1534-1556, 1566-7). He contributed to the formation of a genuine Ottoman political reasoning with his works

on history and ethics, as well as with his service in the chancery which undertook the codification of Ottoman laws, *kanun*. He was an influential bureaucrat and his views were representative for the members of Ottoman bureaucracy. A study of his life and works will reveal the struggle between different branches of Ottoman administration and the role of bureaucrats in the formation of genuine political literature which emphasized on *kanun* for the legitimacy of Ottoman rule.

Key words: Ottoman bureaucracy, chancery, Celālzāde Mustafa, 16th century Ottoman historiography, *kanun*, *nişancı*.

ÖZET

KANUNİ'NİN “KOCA NİŞANCI”SI: KANUNİ SULTAN SÜLEYMAN
DEVİRİNDE (1520–1566) CELÂLZÂDE MUSTAFA ÇELEBİ, BÜROKRASİ VE
“KANUN”

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Bu tez Sultan Süleyman devrinde Osmanlı yönetiminin gelişimini ve bunun siyasî algılayıştaki etkilerini nişancı Celâlzâde Mustafa Çelebinin hayatı ve eserleri ışığında analiz etmektedir. Osmanlı bürokrasisinin sadece devlet idaresine etkin araçlar sağlamakla kalmadığını aynı zamanda özgün Osmanlı siyasi algılayışının oluşumunda da önemli bir rol oynadığını göstermektedir. Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Osmanlı bürokrasisinde görülen genişleme ve bunun kanun ve adalete vurgu yapan yeni siyasi söylemin gelişimindeki etkilerini araştırmaktadır. Bürokratların (*kalemiyye*) Osmanlı idaresi hakkındaki algılayışlarını ve bu algılayışın bürokrasi mensupları tarafından kaleme alınmış tarih ve politika kitaplarında nasıl ifade edildiğini göstermektedir.

Celâlzâde Mustafa 16. yüzyıl sonundaki okumuş kesim tarafından model olarak kabul edilen bir bürokrat, yazar ve tarihçidir. Osmanlı yönetiminde divan kâtibi (1517-1525), *reisülküttab* (1525-1534) ve *nişancı* (1534-1556, 1566-7) olarak hizmet etmiştir. Özgün Osmanlı siyasi algılayışının oluşumuna ahlak ve tarih üstüne olan kitapları ile ve Osmanlı kanunlarının derlenmesi görevinden de sorumlu olan

divandaki alıřmaları ile katkıda bulunmuřtur. Etkili bir brokrat olan Cellzde'nin fikirleri Osmanlı brokrasisi mensubu kiřilerce de paylařılmaktadır. Onun eserlerinin ve hayatının ele alınması Osmanlı ynetiminin farklı birimleri arasında yařayan ekiřmeyi ve Osmanlı idaresinin meřruiyet kaynağı olarak kanun'a vurgu yapan zgn Osmanlı siyaset literatrnn oluřumunda brokratların oynadığı rol aydınlatacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı brokrasisi, divan, Cellzde Mustafa, 16. yzyıl Osmanlı tarihiliğı, kanun, niřancı.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Atāi	Hadāiku’l-Hakāik fi Tekmileti’ş-Şakāik
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
EI2	Encyclopedia of Islam, second edition
KK	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Kamil Kepeci Tasnifi
MEB İA	Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı İslam Ansiklopedisi
Mevāhib	Mevāhibu’l-Ḥallāḳ fi Merātibi’l-Aḥlāḳ
Ṭabaḳāt	Ṭabaḳātu’l-Memalik ve Derecatu’l-Mesalik
TDV İA	Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi
TSMK	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi
TTK	Türk Tarih Kurumu

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

For Ottoman texts:

‘	ع
,	أ
ḥ	خ
ḥ	ح
ṣ	ث
ñ	ك
ḵ	ق
ẓ	ظ
ẓ	ذ
ẓ	ض

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION AND BUREAUCRACY IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

16th century Ottoman history, and especially the reign of Sultan Süleyman witnessed the consolidation of Ottoman central administration over vast lands of the empire through effective functioning of an expanded bureaucracy. The sultanic legal system, functioning of religious institution (*‘ilmiyye*), civil, administrative and financial administration gained its final classical form under Süleyman the Magnificent. “Through the laws and regulations enacted under the supervision of Celālzāde, the basic institutions of the Ottoman imperial system received their final forms and were systematically applied throughout the empire”.¹ This “classical” form of the Ottoman institutions differed from the earlier Near Eastern state institutions and 15th century administrative practices of the Ottoman Empire, and it contributed to the consolidation of the Ottoman central administration as a legitimate power. As Halil İnalcık indicated, most of the grand vezirs were chosen among the

¹ Halil İnalcık, “State, Sovereignty and Law During the reign of Süleyman” in *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, eds. Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar, İstanbul, ISIS Press, 1993, p. 79.

“ulemā class until the reign of Mehmed II.² Though Mehmed II put an end to this tendency by ordering the execution of Çandarlı Halil in 1453, he and his successors continued to recruit bureaucrats or “ulemā with expertise on finance or chancery as grand vezirs.³ Whereas, Süleyman never appointed a grand vezir of “ulemā origin in his long reign (1520-1566), after he dismissed his father’s grand vezir Piri Mehmed in 1523.

Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi’s biography⁴ is a perfect case to study the bureaucratic expansion of the Ottoman Empire, the foundation of its classical institutions and the state ideology. Great (*Koca*) *Nişancı* served in various offices during his long career, first as private secretary to two grand vezirs (1517-1525), and then as *reisülküttab* (head of the secretariat, 1525-1534) and *nişancı* (head of the imperial chancery, 1534-1556). Sultan Süleyman honored him with the title of *muteferrika başı* (chief of the notables attached to the palace) in his retirement.

² Halil İnalcık, “Wazir” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Edition, v.11, p. 194.

³ *ibid*, p. 195.

⁴ The earliest and most detailed account of Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi’s biography was given by İ. H. Uzunçarşılı in an article entitled “Onaltıncı asır ortalarında yaşamış olan iki büyük şahsiyet: Celalzade Mustafa ve Salih Çelebiler” *Belleten*, XXII (1958) pp. 391-441. Celālzāde entries in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, *İslam Ansiklopedisi* and *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* are very brief and largely depend on Uzunçarşılı’s article; V. L. Menage, “Djalalzade Mustafa Celebi” *EI2*, M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, “Celalzade”, *MEB İA*, Celia Kerslake, “Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi”, *TDV İA*. Two works of Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi –*Selimname* and *Mevahib*– became subject for a master thesis and a dissertation, however, these studies added nothing new to the given biography of Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi in Uzunçarşılı’s article; Mustafa Balcı, *Celalzade’nin Mevahibü’l-Hallak fi Meratibi’l-Ahlak İsimli Eseri*, unpublished MA thesis, Harran Üniversitesi, 1996, Celia Kerslake, *A critical edition and translation of the introductory sections and the first thirteen chapters of the “Selimname” of Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi*, unpublished dissertation, University of Oxford, 1975. Celālzāde’s *Tabakāt* was published in facsimile by Petra Kappert, which facilitated the use of *Tabakāt* greatly by providing a detailed list of contents and index; *Geschichte Sultan Suleyman Kanunis von 1520 bis 1557, oder, Tabakat ul-Memalik ve Derecat ul-Mesalik* von Petra Kappert, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1981. Kappert’s introduction provides a brief biography of Celālzāde depending on Uzunçarşılı’s article. This study benefited from previous studies and also so far neglected primary sources –narrative and archival– in illuminating Celālzāde’s biography and views, and in evaluating his role in the context of Ottoman polity. Celālzāde’s family, social circle and political relations and influence were emphasized in the light of archival sources such as *Ruznamçe*, *Ruus* and *Mühimme*, as well as narrative sources such as *menākıbnāmes*, *münşeāt*s and Ottoman chronicles. Most importantly, Celālzāde’s views and motives were explained by comparing his works with other contemporary sources and by interpreting them in the context of political environment of the period. This study also aimed to contribute current level of research on Ottoman bureaucracy, political understanding and *kānūn* by using archival sources and analyzing views and biographies of leading Ottoman bureaucrats, such as Celālzāde, İdris Bitlisî, Ramazānzāde, Kemalpashazāde, Mustafa Ālî and Selānikî.

Celālzāde accompanied the sultan on his last military campaign with this title. After Süleyman's death in 1566, he became *nişancı* once more and remained in the service of Selim II (1566-74) until his own death in 1567.

After presenting an outline of the Ottoman administration in this chapter, we will examine the development of the Ottoman bureaucratic and legal institutions in the next chapter in the light of Celālzāde Mustafa's biography.

1.1- Career path of *Kuttāb*

Kātib (pl. *Kuttāb*) denotes a person whose function is to write or draft official letters or administrative documents. *Kuttāb* were recruited in the administration from the beginning of the Islamic history but they were instrumental in reinforcing the central administration after the establishment of capital at Damascus.⁵ Umayyads and Abbasids relied on *kuttāb* mostly among the local population in administering conquered lands. That was probably due to local *kuttāb*'s familiarity with administrative traditions and tax systems of the region. In the early years of the Umayyads (661-750) most of the *kuttāb* were non-muslim, local inhabitants who speak the language of the conquered land: Greek in Syria and Pahlavi in Iraq and Iran.⁶ After the *divans* are arabicized at the time of Abd al-Malik (685-705) *kuttāb* continued to be recruited from the local population but the ratio of Muslim *kātib* increased gradually.⁷ It was in the time of the Umayyads that *kuttāb* were divided into at least five different categories in accordance with the functions they have performed, such as *kātib-i resāil*, *ḥarac*, *şurṭa* etc.⁸ Besides, *kātib-i resāil* (chancery scribe) include two types of scribes: those who are distinguished with literary skills

⁵ R. Sellheim and D. Sourdel, "Kātib" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Edition, v.4, p.754. Mustafa Sabri Küçükbaşçı, "Kātib" *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul, 2002, v. 25, p. 49.

⁶ R. Sellheim and D. Sourdel, "Kātib" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Edition, v.4, p.754

⁷ *ibid*, p. 754.

⁸ Mustafa Sabri Küçükbaşçı, "Kātib" *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul, 2002, v. 25, p. 49.

and with their expert knowledge of official documents, and those who further improved their role as a counselor of the caliph in administrative affairs. Since the Umayyads did not have the office of vezirate, head of the *kātib al-resāil* also performed the duties of a vezir. Early works on necessary qualities of a *kātib* and on statecraft are written in the time of the Umayyads by members of the *kuttāb* class. Eminent members of the *kuttāb* usually produced works on statecraft, prose and history writing in the following centuries, which demonstrated their literary skills and expertise on statecraft.

The establishment of the Abbasid dynasty gave rise to the recruitment of *kuttāb* from the Persian population of the empire together with the incursion of Persian elements into Abbasid government and culture.⁹ Though *kuttāb* did not form a closed corps during the Abbasid era, since they needed a solid training in the art of letter writing and finance, families of *kuttāb* began to arise, such as *Barmakids*. These secretaries of Iranian origin had a special interest in philosophical and literary masterpieces of old Iranian and Indian culture and they had a special intellectual orientation which was criticized by some writers such as famous theologian and prose writer Djāhiz (d.255/869).¹⁰ The establishment of *nizāmiyya medreses* under the rule of Saljukids, provided another source for the training of *kuttāb*, and it lessened the gap between the cultural and intellectual orientation of *kuttāb* and *ulemā*. Though there were slightly different preoccupations of two groups, both of them belonged to the same social sphere as the men of religion. This tendency towards unifying the two spheres was also noticeable at the time of the Mamluks,

⁹ R. Sellheim and D. Sourdel, “Kātib” *EI2*, v.4, p.755, B. Lewis, “Abbasids” *EI2*, v. 1, p. 15.

¹⁰ R. Sellheim and D. Sourdel, “Kātib” *EI2*, v.4, p.755, W. Barthold, D. Sourdel “al-Barmika”, *EI2*, v.1, p.1034, Ch. Pellat, “Djāhiz” *EI2*, v.2, p.386.

where “the secretaries and men of religion constituted what were called ‘the men wearing turbans’”¹¹

In the Abbasids and Saljukids, the highest ranking official, the *vezir*, were usually chosen among the *kuttāb*, and he was the head of the bureaucracy. Although the *vezir*, as the deputy of the sultan or caliph, was responsible from the general supervision of the civil administration, his most important duty was to oversee the finances of the state. Though there were *vezirs* appointed as the highest authority over civil and military units, usually *vezirs* had the authority only over civil administration, and “tension between the *vezir* and the military was a perennial feature of most reigns”.¹² Ilkhāns preferred to have two *vezirs* responsible for military and civil administration. Under the Timurids, the status of the *vezir* declined vis-a-vis the military power. Similarly, *vezir* was mainly responsible from the financial affairs under the Akkoyunlu and Karakoyunlu dynasties. Mamluk administration depended heavily on the predominance of military officials (*erbāb-i seyf*) over civil administration (*erbāb-i qalem*). The position of the *vezir* gradually declined in the administration and on several occasions mamluks were appointed to the office. The office of *vezir* was even abolished in 1328, but it was restored after the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad (1310-1341).¹³ The *vezir* was jointly responsible with *nāzir al-dawla* (controller of the treasury) from the treasury. Head of the Mamluk chancery was called *sāhib dīwān al-inshā* until Kalawun (r. 1279-1290), who promoted the holder of the title to the confidential post of secretary (*kātib al-sirr*).¹⁴ There were two types of chancery scribes in Mamluks; *kuttāb al-dest* and *kuttāb al-*

¹¹ R. Sellheim and D. Sourdel, “Kātib” *EI2*, v.4, p.756.

¹² Ann K. S. Lambton, “Wazir”, *EI2*, v. 11, p. 193.

¹³ P. M. Holt, “Mamluks”, *EI2*, v. 6, p. 326.

¹⁴ P. M. Holt, “Mamluks”, *EI2*, v. 6, p. 326.

derc, and the *Kātib al-sirr* was the head of *kuttāb al-dest*.¹⁵ *Kātib al-dast* was a clerk attending on the sultan during his audiences and he was superior to *kātib al-darc* who prepared official documents and letters. Egyptian scholar and *kātib* al-Ḳalkāshandī (1355-1418), who is famous for his work on *inṣāʾ*, *Subḥ al-Aʾshā fi Ṣināʾat al-Inshāʾ* (*The Daybreak for the Sufferer of Night Blindness in Composing Official Documents*) became a *kātib al-dast* in the Mamluk chancery after a short period of teaching.¹⁶ Al-Ḳalkāshandī's work addresses his fellow-*kuttāb* of the chancery and the work contains a comprehensive scale of disciplines a *kātib* should master. Those essential disciplines include a profound knowledge of Qur'ān and the prophetic traditions, principles of government, Arabic literature, history, foreign languages and calligraphy.¹⁷ Besides, al-Ḳalkāshandī presented a list of complementary disciplines recommended for *kuttāb*, which include logic, the deciphering of codes, arithmetic, optics, mechanics, astrology, medicine, engines of war and falconry.¹⁸ Al-Ḳalkāshandī's encyclopedic work aimed to present necessary qualities for an ideal chancery scribe who was superior to financial scribes. According to al-Ḳalkāshandī, a chancery scribe should possess the qualities of a scholar and high moral values. Like Celālzāde, al-Ḳalkāshandī states that "after a short period of teaching law I decided that the only profession profitable for the mind of a scholar was that of *kātib*".¹⁹ It should be noted that Celālzāde's description of an ideal *kātib* or *debīr* includes the knowledge of literary, religious and administrative sciences as well as

¹⁵ Halil İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttāb" *MEB İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v. 9, p. 671. Samira Kortantamer, "Memluktarda Devlet Yönetimi ve Bürokrasi", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, no. 2 (1984), p. 41.

¹⁶ Maaïke Van Berkel, "A Well-Mannered Man of Letters or A Cunning Accountant: Al-Qalkashandī and the Historical Position of the Kātib", *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean*, v. 13 (2001) p. 93, C. E. Bosworth, "al-Ḳalkāshandī", *EI2*, v. 4, p. 509.

¹⁷ Maaïke Van Berkel, "A Well-Mannered Man ...", pp. 92-3.

¹⁸ *ibid*, p. 92.

¹⁹ Al-Ḳalkāshandī, *Subḥ al-Aʾshā fi Ṣināʾat al-Inshāʾ*, ed. Muhammad Husayn Shams al-Dīn, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990, v. 1, p. 34, cited in Maaïke Van Berkel, "A Well-Mannered Man ...", p. 93. For Celālzāde's expression see next chapter.

high moral standards. Another similarity between Celālzāde and al-Ḳalkāshandī is that Celālzāde described his post as *kātib-i esrār* when he was referring to the years he served as *reisulkuttāb* (1525-1534).²⁰

Although there are similarities between Celālzāde and al-Ḳalkāshandī's views, there are fundamental differences between the status and power of civil administration in the Ottomans and Mamluks. The distinctive characteristic of the Mamluk administration was the central role of the military households, and the extension of mamluk control over the administration. Whereas, the Ottoman chancery, religious and financial administration preserved their autonomous status even after the reforms of Mehmed II and Süleyman the Magnificent in favor of *kul* system.²¹

During the 14th century, the Ottoman sultans have chosen their *vezirs* mostly from among the '*ulemā*-bureaucrats or *kadīs*'.²² Then, Çandarlı family members who served as *kadi* in their earlier career, held the highest ranking posts in the Ottoman administration during the period 1385-1453, becoming *grand vezirs*, *vezirs* and *kazaskers*.²³ Mehmed II's elimination of Çandarlı Halil after the conquest of Istanbul in 1453 marked the beginning of a new era for the Ottoman *vezirate*: supremacy of military men (*kuls*) over '*ulemā*-bureaucrats. However, Mehmed II and his successors continued to appoint *grand vezirs* from among the '*ulemā*-bureaucrats until Süleyman the Magnificent, such as Karamani Mehmed (nişancı: 1464-1476 grand vezir: 1476-1481), Çandarlı İbrahim (1498-1500) and Piri Mehmed (1518-

²⁰ Celālzāde Mustafa, *Cevāhiru'l-Aḥbār fī Ḥasāilī'l-Ahyār*, manuscript, Nur-i Osmaniye Library, 2356, cited in İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Tosyalı Celālzāde Mustafa ve Salih Çelebiler" *Belleten*, 85-88 (1958), p. 414.

²¹ Halil İnalçık, "Sultan Süleyman: The Man and The Statesman" in *Soliman Le Magnifique et Son Temps, Actes du Colloque de Paris Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 7-10 Mars 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein, p. 91, H. İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire The Classical Age 1300-1600*, London: Phoenix, 1994, pp. 93-4, H. İnalçık, "Mehmed II" *EI2*, v. 6, p. 980, idem, "Wazir", *EI2*, v. 11, p. 195.

²² Halil İnalçık, "Wazir", *EI2*, v. 11, p. 195.

²³ *ibid*, p. 195.

1523).²⁴ Besides, there were ‘*ulemā*’-bureaucrats who were promoted to the *vezirate*, such as Cezerī Kasım (d. 1485), Tacizāde Cafer (d. 1515) and Hocazāde Mehmed (*vezir*: 1517). Sultan Süleyman never promoted his servants of ‘*ulemā*’ origin to the rank of *vezirate*, but as H. İnalcık pointed out:

“Persons who became distinguished by being intimate advisors to Süleymân appear to have been either personalities such as *şeyh ül-islām*, the head of the ‘*ulemā*’, Ebu’s Suud and *nişancı* Celâlzâde Mustafâ, the head of the Ottoman bureaucracy, both responsible for the basic organizational changes and legislation under Süleymân, or his close family members in the Palace, his mother Hafsa, his wife Hurrem or his daughter Mihrumah.”²⁵

As mentioned above, a chancery scribe should master a number of disciplines in order to advance in his career, such as religious sciences, literature, history, principles of administration, law, foreign languages and calligraphy. Therefore, eminent bureaucrats of the Ottoman administration mostly came from the ‘*ulemā*’ families until the second half of the 16th century, and they became *kâtib* of the divan after graduating from *medreses*. Another way of training for a scribe was to become an apprentice (*şâkird*) of an experienced *kâtib* in one of bureaus in financial departments or in chancery. As the biographies of 16th century *reisulkuttābs* and *nişancıs* demonstrate, becoming a *şâkird* in the chancery without a *medrese* education did not promise a brilliant career for the *şâkird*. But the case was different for financial scribes who did not need to have superior literary skills necessary to compose imperial letters. Therefore *şâkird* system training was necessary and

²⁴ *ibid*, p. 195.

²⁵ H. İnalcık, “Sultan Süleyman: The Man and The Statesman” p. 96.

sufficient for the financial departments, but it was widely applied in the chancery only after institutional development took its final form in the late 16th century.²⁶

Training of a *şākird* within the bureaucracy was similar to the training of an apprentice in the other branches of handicraft (*hurfe* or *sinā‘at*), because the profession of a scribe (*kitābet*) is deemed within that category.²⁷ A candidate for the position of a *şākird* or *kātib* needed to be a relative or a protégé of someone in the Ottoman administration.²⁸ This principle was observed in other branches of *sinā‘at* as well, but it was especially important for the path of *kitābet*, which requires highest degree of integrity and confidence.²⁹ When someone is accepted as *şākird*, he is left into the hands of an experienced scribe or to the head of the department for training. *Şākirds* are usually chosen among the 10-15 years old boys, and their training continues about 10-15 years.³⁰ A *şākird* was not allowed to inscribe official documents until the end of the training. *Şākirds*’ training included studying sciences necessary for a *kātib*, such as religion, law, history, philosophy and foreign languages, making translations from foreign languages, and improving their skill in the composition by imitating the writings of famous *münşīs*.³¹ There were a number of *inşā’* works which contain letters of eminent authors, for the use of a *şākird* in his training. The official and private letters composed by leading *münşīs* are preserved in those *inşā’* works and they served as stylistic models to be followed by *şākirds* and *kātibs*. The earliest *inşā’* works copied in the Ottoman realm belong to the first half of 14th century and they demonstrate the influence of Ilkhanid and Saljukid

²⁶ Erhan Afyoncu, Recep Ahıskalı, “Katip” *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v. 25, p. 55.

²⁷ Halil İnalçık, “Reis-ül-Küttāb” *MEB İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v. 9, p. 676.

²⁸ *ibid*, p. 676.

²⁹ *ibid*, p. 679.

³⁰ Erhan Afyoncu, Recep Ahıskalı, “Katip” *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v. 25, p. 53, Christine Woodhead, “From Scribe to Litteratuer: The Career of a Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Kātib” *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin*, v. 9 (1982), no. 1, p. 58.

³¹ Halil İnalçık, “Reis-ül-Küttāb” *MEB İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v. 9, p. 677, Christine Woodhead, “From Scribe to Litteratuer ...” p. 59.

administrative tradition over the Ottomans: Hasan al-Hoyi's *Gunyat al-Kātib ve Munyat al-Talib*, and *Rusûmu'r-resâil ve Nucûmu'l-fezâil*, several anonymous *inşâ* collections are the examples of this kind.³² The Ottoman *inşâ* literature flourished in the early 16th century and the Ottoman literati began to follow several works of famous Ottoman authors such as Idrisi Bitlisi, Kemalpaşazade, Tacizade Cafer and his brother Sadi as stylistic models. A more detailed list of those works will be given in the second chapter.

When a *şâkird* comes to the end in his training, he is officially granted the permission to write imperial orders (*hükûm-i şerîf yazmağa icazet buyrulur*).³³ But it does not necessarily mean he is given the status of *kātib*: becoming a *kātib* depends on the vacant posts (*gedik*) in the office. On the other hand, if a *kātib* of the *divan* wants to be transferred to the treasury department, he becomes *şâkird* in the treasury department.³⁴ But this practice seems to be applied only to *kâtibs* with little experience; there are a lot of cases where a *divan kâtib* is moved to the posts in the treasury department.

The exact number of *kâtibs* and *şâkirds* in the chancery and their income is difficult to ascertain. Because, some of them received salary (*'ulûfe*) and the others were granted *timar* and *zeâmet*. It seems that some *şâkirds* did not receive regular payment, but they were paid from the revenue called "*orta akçesi*". *Orta Akçesi* was the sum of fees collected from the documents that *divan* scribes prepared, such as *berât*, *tezkire* etc.³⁵ Moreover, not all of the *kuttâb* with *'ulûfe* received their salary from the chancery; there are scribes working in the financial departments, who are

³² H. İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb", p. 672, 678. see also, A. S. Erzi, *Selçukiler Devrine Ait İnşa Eserleri*, Ankara, İlahiyat Fakültesi, 1963, Yahya b. Mehmed, *Menâhicü'l-İnşâ*, ed. Şinasi Tekin, Cambridge, Orient Press, 1971, Şinasi Tekin, "Fatih Sultan Mehmed Dönemine Ait Bir İnşa Mecmuası", *Journal of Turkish Studies*, II, (1996), Osman Özgüdenli, "İlhanlı Devrine Ait Anonim Bir Münşeat Mecmuası: *Risâla al-Sâhibiyye*", *Belleten*, LXIII/238, (Aralık 1999), s. 725-726,

³³ BOA, *Mühimme* 4, p. 169.

³⁴ BOA, *KK*, 1863, p. 51.

³⁵ Erhan Afyoncu, Recep Ahıskalı, "Katip" *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v. 25, p. 55.

listed in the payroll registers of *sipahi* troops, for instance.³⁶ The figure found in the financial registers (*rūznāmçe defterleri*) shows only those *kuttāb* who received ‘*ulūfe*, or those who received *in‘ām* (extra payment). Therefore, it must be noted that those figures denote only the minimum number for the scribes recruited in the imperial bureaucracy. The oldest registers belong to the reign of Bayezid II and they demonstrate that there were “a small and relatively undifferentiated body of scribes, nearly all of them concerned with finance, carried out the bureaucratic functions essential to the central government”.³⁷ The register of 900/1494 gives the figures for the imperial chancellery under two titles; there were 25 scribes recorded as *kātibān-ı divan* (5) and *kātibān-ı huzāne-i amire maa şākirdāneş* (20). The register of 909-910/1503-4 includes *kātibān-ı divan* and other important officials under the general title of *şākirdān-ı kātibān-ı huzāne-i amire*, (i.e. assistant secretaries) which is absolutely wrong. According to the register, there were 11 scribes for treasury, 3 secretary for vezirs (*kātibān-ı paşāyān*), 8 assistant scribe for treasury, 2 *kātib-i divān*, 3 scribe for *nişancı*, and 10 other scribes with various missions, making the total 37 scribes for the central administration. Later registers from the reign of Sultan Süleyman gives more detailed figures; a register for the year 935/1529 classifies scribes (of *divan*) under their office; scribes under the authority of *defterdar* or *nişancı* (*kātibān tābi-i defterdārān* or *tābi-i nişancı*). According to this register, there were 35 scribes for treasury, 3 scribes for vezirs, 23 assistant scribes (*şākirdān*), 7 scribes for *defterdars*, and 15 scribes for *nişancı*, 6 scribes under the service of *defter emini* (who was also under the authority of *nişancı*) making a total of 90 scribes.³⁸

³⁶ BOA, *Mühimme* 2, p. 158, *MAD* 559, p. 296, *KK* 1866, p. 59, Erhan Afyoncu, Recep Ahıskalı, “Katip” p. 54.

³⁷ Cornell Fleischer, “Preliminaries to the Study of the Ottoman Bureaucracy” *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 10 (1986), p. 140.

³⁸ BOA, *KK*, 1764, pp. 80-1. Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi’s name is first among the scribes under the authority of *Nişancı*, “reis” title is added to his name.

Another record from the same register displayed the *kuttāb* who received extra payment (*salyāne*) in Ramadan 937/April 1531. According to the register, there were 87 *kuttāb*, *şākird* and translator working in the central administration. This number includes the heads of the departments such as *reisülküttāb* and *defter emini*, and it indicates that 15 *şākird* out of 18 *şākirds* receive ‘*ulūfe*’ payment.³⁹ Next year’s record for the same payment (Ramadan 938) states that 5 new *şākird* were added to the list and the total number reached 93.⁴⁰

Another financial register provides the names and salaries (‘*ulūfe*’) of *kuttāb* working in 955/1548, which states that there were 61 *kuttāb* who receive ‘*ulūfe*’.⁴¹ According to the register, there were 17 divan scribes whose salaries range between 53 and 9 akçe, and 5 *şākirds* in the divan who received either 7 or 8 akçe. It should also be noted that none of the *defterhane* personnel and translators was included in the list, which suggest that all of them were assigned *timar* or *zeamet*. As the records of *ru’ūs* registers demonstrate, most of the *kuttāb* preferred to have *timar* or *zeamet* instead of ‘*ulūfe*’ in the reign of Sultan Süleyman. Although only scribes of the divan and *defterhane* were entitled to *timar* or *zeamet*, it seems that scribes working in financial departments under the Defterdar also acquired *timars* in some way.⁴²

Another register for the year of 971/1563-4, records 87 scribes working in the departments who received extra payment (*salyāne*) in Ramadan 971/April 1564.⁴³ But the *salyāne* was paid to various officials in different occasions and the records were scattered over the pages of the register. So this number is definitely lacking some of the chancery officials and *şākirds*. Lastly, as Koçi Bey stated, there were 99

³⁹ BOA, *KK*, 1764, pp.146-7.

⁴⁰ BOA, *KK*, 1764, pp.172-3.

⁴¹ BOA, *MAD 7118*, pp. 9-11.

⁴² Erhan Afyoncu, Recep Ahıskalı, “Katip” p. 55.

⁴³ BOA, *KK*, 1866, pp. 213-4, 217, 219-20, 223-4.

scribes working in the bureaus in 982/1574, among whom there were 48 divan scribes and 51 scribes of the treasury.⁴⁴

To summarize, the Ottoman bureaucracy grown considerably during the reign of Süleyman: there were 37 officials in the beginning of the 16th century working in the central departments, which increased to 90 officials -at least- in 1529. It seems that the size of the bureaus remained stable after that date until the end of 16th century, and official nomenclature, hierarchical structure and professional paths took their “classical” form. The Ottoman administration was in need of more qualified personnel after the conquests of Selim I, and this need was largely met by recruiting *medrese* graduates in the Chancery, such as Celālzāde and Ramazanzāde. Most of *reisulkuttābs* and *nişancıs* of the 16th century came from the ‘*ulemā* families, and they began to work as *kātib* after *medrese* education. This tendency began to change in the second half of the 16th century; there were many candidates (sons of *kuttāb*) competing to serve the Sultan and *şākird* system training provided the personnel needed for bureaucracy. Then, scribes of the Chancery (*kalemiyye*) regarded *medrese* graduates as outsiders, as members of another path (*‘ilmiyye*).⁴⁵ In late sixteenth century, Mustafa Ālī (d. 1600) complained that he had the same educational background and merits with Celālzāde and Ramazanzāde, however he was deemed to be ineligible for the post of *nişancı*, due to lack of experience (*kıdem*) in bureaucracy.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Cited in H. İnalçık, “Reis-ül-Küttāb”, p. 674.

⁴⁵ H. İnalçık, “Reis-ül-Küttāb”, p. 677.

⁴⁶ See Cornell H. Fleischer, *Tarihçi Mustafa Āli, Bir Osmanlı Aydın ve Bürokrati*, Istanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996, p. 96-9.

1.2- Different branches in the bureaucracy: administrative and financial

The Ottoman central bureaucracy consisted of two main departments: chancery and financial department (*defterdarlık*). As stated above, there were about 90 scribes working in these departments under the authority of *nişancı* and *defterdars*. Obviously, the Ottoman bureaucracy did not rely solely on the work of two departments; there were many auxiliary institutions working in the fields of collection of taxes and duties, payment of salaries, administration of *evkāf* and municipal works. Unlike Celālzāde who spent all his life working in the chancery, most of the scribes were appointed to different branches of the bureaucracy in the capital or in the provinces. For instance, like Celālzāde, Ramazanzāde Mehmed (d. 979/1571) was an assistant (*dānişmend*) in the *sahn medrese* before he was appointed as *kātib* of the chancery by Grand Vezir Piri Mehmed in 923/1517. He worked in the central bureaus about 20 years, and then he served as *defterdar of timars* for Rumelia. After becoming *kethüda of timars* for Rumelia in 944/1537, he served as *defter emini* and *reisülküttāb* in the chancery. Then, he was transferred to Haleb as *defterdar*, and he became a *sancak bey* in Egypt in 960/1553.⁴⁷ When *Nişancı* Eğri Abdizade Mehmed was transferred to the post of *defterdar* in 964/1557, Sultan Süleyman appointed Ramazanzāde as *nişancı* disregarding his Grand Vezir Rustem's nominee.⁴⁸ Ramazanzāde served as *nişancı* until his retirement in 970/1562. Ramazanzāde Mehmed's career may be considered representative of the typical *kātib* of the chancery who were promoted to the highest-ranks. Although we have very little information on some *reisülküttābs*, we can say that most of the 16th century

⁴⁷ BOA, KK 1766, p. 27.

⁴⁸ Mustafa Âlî, *Künhü'l-Aḥbār*, manuscript, section on reign of Sultan Süleyman, entry of Ramazanzāde.

reisülküttābs served in various posts in the center and in the provinces. Eğri Abdizade (d. 974/1566), Boyalı Mehmed (d. 1001/1592), Abdurrahman Pasha (d. after 971/1563), Lalezār Mehmed (d. 991/1583) and Feridun Ahmed (d. 991/1583) have all served in both of the departments (chancery and treasury) and they were appointed to provincial posts during their career.

The career of a lower or middle-ranking *kātib* is more difficult to ascertain, but it is safe to state that their career looked like high-ranking *kātibs* in terms of institutional mobility. There were middle-ranking *kātibs* working in the same position for more than 50 years, but that was most probably an exception, like Celālzāde's case.⁴⁹ Celālzāde's own son, Mahmud may be accepted as a middle-ranking *kātib*, who never accomplished his dream of becoming *reisulkuttāb*. He was enlisted among the *mutefferrika* with 50 akçe salary during his father's lifetime. Then, we do not know what happened exactly but it seems that he lost the status of *mutefferrika*. Mahmud served as *timar defterdarı* in insignificant provinces then he became *tezkireci* of Siyavuş Pasha (grand vezir between 1582-4, 1586-9 and 1592-3). Then Mahmud served as the timar defterdar of Karaman. He joined Mehmed III's Eğri campaign in 1596, where he was wounded. One of Mahmud's poems in his *Münşeat* narrates the difficulties he had suffered after his father's death, and he asks for a source of income in his retirement: a *sancak* in Egypt or becoming *defter kethüdası* in the province of Damascus.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, we have no information of his whereabouts after that date, but the positions he asked for were reserved for high-ranking *kātibs* of the chancery.

⁴⁹ Erhan Afyoncu, Recep Ahıskalı, "Katip" p. 54. A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v.7, İstanbul, Fey Vakfı Yayınları, 1993, pp. 607-13.

⁵⁰ Mahmud bin Celālzāde Mustafa, *Münşeat*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Hüsrev Paşa, 564, f. 39a-41a.

The Ottoman central and provincial administration offered many positions for a middle-ranking *kātib* in the central bureaucracy (see Table 1). For instance, there were offices created to regulate expenditures and revenues in a particular field: *emanets*. *Harc-i Hāssa emini* was mainly responsible from palace expenditures and revenues among other things. *Emānets* of *harc-i hassa*, *arpa*, *tersāne* and *matbah* etc. were permanent offices which employed *kuttāb* as the second-ranking official after *emin* (head of the office).⁵¹ In the hierarchy of *emānets*, *harc-i hassa* occupied the highest-rank. And the head (*emin*) of *harc-i hassa* was a nominee for the post of *defterdar*, or a prominent provincial *defterdar* such as Haleb or Egypt.⁵² The *emin* of *harc-i hassa* is chosen from among *emins* of lesser ranks such as *emin-i arpa*, or, *kātib* of *harc-i hassa* is promoted to the office. So a middle-ranking *kātib* in the chancery or in the treasury would apply for the *kitābet* of middle ranking *emānets* in order to follow a different path in bureaucratic hierarchy leading to the office of *defterdar*. Some of *emānets* were created temporarily in order to supervise big construction projects, for instance *bina emini* for the construction of Süleymaniye Mosque supervised the construction (1550-1557) which cost 897,350 gold florins (one-tenth of the budget of the empire in 1527-8).⁵³

⁵¹ These five *Emānets* received a total of 583.000 gold florins from the treasury in the financial year of 974/1566, which meant 15% of total expenditure of the treasury, see A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnāmeleri*, v. 7, pp. 384-402.

⁵² BOA, *Mühimme*, 2, p. 175.

⁵³ G. Veinstein, "Süleyman" *EI2*, v. 9 p. 838.

Table 1: Central Bureaucracy and Related Institutions:

Central Bureaucracy
(Departments and officials)

Defterdars		Nişancı		Kazaskers	
Office of Def	Divan	Divan	Defterhane	ilmiye	judiciary
Ruznāmecî Muhāsebecî Mukātaacî Tezkirecî Mukābelecî Mevkufatcî Mevcūdātî Teslīmātî Teşrîfâtçı Vāridātî şākirds	Ahkam Katibs, Şākirds	Reisülküttab Berat Emini (Kağıd Emini) Divitdar Katib-i rusum-i berat, Tezkirecis Katibs Şākirds	Defter Emini Katibs Şākirds	Madrasas	Kazās

Related Institutions

In the Center		In the Provinces	
Emānets, Tevliyets	Kitābets	Governor's Retinue:	Financial Adm.
Emin-i Harc-i Hassa Emin-i Arpa Emin-i Tersane (Emin-i Galata) Emin-i Matbah Emin-i Bina Emin-i Gümrük Emin-i Çuha Tevliyet-i Ayasofya Tevliyet-i Bayezid Tevliyet-i Muradiye Emin-i Edirne Emin-i Kefe Etc.	Kitabet-i Arpa Kitabets in other emānets and tevliyets, Kitābet-i Yeniçeri Kitabets for 6 bölüks Kitābet-i Kapucu Kitābet for other military and palace troops (şāhinciyān, cebeciyān etc.)	Nişancı Tezkireci Kātib	Defterdar of treasury Kethüda of timars Defterdar of timars Defter Emini Temporary officials: Tahrir Emini Tahrir Kātibi

It should be noted that *emānets* and other institutions of the Ottoman central administration which will be dealt below, were not open only to *kuttāb* of the central bureaucracy; they also employed members of the ‘ulemā and military as *emins* and *kātibs*. In that sense those institutions acted as intermediary institutions between four branches of the Ottoman administration: military, financial, civil and religious administration. Although it was possible, for instance, for a member of the military to be enrolled in the chancery and vice versa, it was not a usual practice.⁵⁴ Whereas, institutions like *emānets* and *kitābets* for military troops were traditionally open to all members of the Ottoman administration.

Another important position for a scribe was *kitābet* for military troops such as *silahdar*, *sipahi* or *yeniçeri*. *Kitābet of the yeniçeris* was at the top of the hierarchy and it was presiding over *ruznamçeci* –the highest scribe in the treasury after *defterdar*- in the imperial ceremonies.⁵⁵ Famous Ottoman historian Selānikī (d. ca. 1008/1600?) began his scribal career in the treasury department. Then, he served as *divitdār* of *nişancı* Boyalı Mehmed for four years until he was promoted to the *kitābet* of *silahdār* troop. After two years of service, he was promoted to the *kitābet of sipahis* but he was dismissed within a few months (997/1589). Selānikī severely criticized the decision in his work stating that unlike him, his successor had no experience in the bureaucracy.⁵⁶ After a while, Selānikī was appointed to the treasury department as *muhassebeci-i Anadolu*, only to be dismissed again after a year. He became *muteferrika* in 1000/1592 with 45 *akçe* revenue. He applied for the position of *kitābet-i matbah-i āmire* in 1002/1594, but an inexperienced, lower-ranking *kātib*

⁵⁴ See for instance, BOA, *Mühimme* 2, p. 185, *Mühimme* 4, pp. 8, 183, KK, *Ruus*, 208, p.157, KK, *Ruus* 212, p. 26, KK, *Ruus* 213, pp. 34, 47.

⁵⁵ BOA, *Mühimme*, 2, p. 1, Lütü Paşa, “Asafname” in A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnāmeleri*, v. 4, p. 266.

⁵⁶ Selānikī Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999, pp. XV, 215.

of the *matbah* was appointed to the post instead of him. Deeply disappointed by the decision, Selānikī criticized the manner of appointments in his day claiming that it would lead to the disaster of the state. According to Selānikī, *matbah-i āmire* expenditure doubled even tripled during the last 20 years due to inexperienced and ignorant *kātibs* appointed within the department. Selānikī provided figures from the reign of Süleyman and Selim II to support his claim, and he stated that. “*mukaddemā hākim-i mal olanlar hademe-i matbahdan kimesneyi getürüb baş kاتب itmek olmamışdır*”.⁵⁷ Selānikī was most probably right in his assertion; though *emins* and *kātibs* were appointed among the members of military in the reign of Süleyman, they were supported by professional scribes from the central bureaucracy. There seems to be a balance between the number of professional scribes and other officials recruited in these institutions under the reign of Süleyman. A detailed study of *ruus* registers is needed to verify Selānikī’s statement for the reign of Süleyman.

The career of a typical Ottoman scribe included assignments in the provincial posts, such as *defterdar* or *kethüda* of *timars*, or *defterdar* of provincial treasury. As stated above, the most important provincial *defterdars* were the ones in the provinces of Egypt and Haleb. Defterdars of Haleb and Egypt received 150.000 *akçe* and 230.000 *akçe* respectively in 1550s, while *reisülküttāb* and *defter emini* were entitled to 50.000 *akçe*.⁵⁸ On the other hand, provincial *timar defterdars* received about 40-50 thousand *akçe zeamet*. Middle-ranking *kātibs* in the central bureaucracy or members

⁵⁷ Selānikī Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, p. 386.

⁵⁸ BOA, *KK Ruus*, 209, p. 45, Seyyid Muhammed es-Seyyid Mahmud, *16. Asırda Mısır Eyaleti*, Istanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1990, pp.230-1, Erhan Afyoncu, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatında Defterhâne-i Āmire (16-18. Yüzyıllar)*, unpublished Dissertation, Istanbul, Marmara University, 1997, p. 94, Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu’s-Selātīn*, p. 592.

of the military such as *çaşnigir*, *silahdar* were appointed as provincial *timar defterdars* or *kethüdas* in the 16th century.⁵⁹

The *kâtibs* employed in the imperial divan were required to have a wide range of ability and their tenure in the provinces was regarded as a test proving their competence. Another important assignment for the *kuttāb* was the preparation of survey registers (*tahrir defterleri*) for the provinces. As İnalcık indicated, *tahrir emins* (surveyor) were usually “chosen from among respectable *ulemā*’ or bureaucrats with a reputation of being just and honest”.⁶⁰ *Tahrir emini* usually worked together with a *kātib* in preparing survey registers and they were aided by local *kadı* and other authorities. *Tahrir* registers are a comprehensive list of revenue sources; land, population, vineyards etc. and “the *emin* was also charged with reporting all particular local practices of taxation with special regard to differences in rates”.⁶¹ So, it was not surprising that *kuttāb* who worked in the department of *defterhane* were mostly chosen for the task. After a successful survey, *emin* and *kātib* are usually rewarded with promotion.

Kuttāb were also employed in the administration of religious foundations (*evkāf tevliyeti*) together with members of *ulema* and military. The richest *teвлиyets* were Süleymaniye, Ayasofya, Bayezid, Edirne and Muradiye, but there were *teвлиyets* in almost all of the provinces.

⁵⁹ BOA, KK Ruus, 210, p.252, BOA, KK Ruus, 211, p. 65, KK Ruus, 214, p. 48, KK 75 (*Mühimme*), p. 161.

⁶⁰ Halil İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, v. 1 1300-1600, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 134. for the preparation of *tahrir* registers see also H. İnalcık, “Ottoman Methods of Conquest” reprinted in *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy, Collected Studies*, London, Variorum Reprints, 1978, pp. 107-112.

⁶¹ H. İnalcık, “Ottoman Methods of Conquest” p. 111.

1.3- Sultan, Sadrazam, other high ranking statesmen and their relations with chiefs of bureaucracy

As H. İnalcık stated, “The Ottoman central government or “Imperial Council” had four ministerial positions which were autonomous vis-à-vis each other”.⁶² The grand vezir, as the sultan’s absolute deputy, was the general supervisor of the administration. But, the heads of the financial and judicial bodies and the chancery were also direct representatives of the sultan, who had absolute control of appointments to these posts.⁶³ As stated above, though Süleyman the Magnificent never promoted a high-ranking bureaucrat to the post of vezir, he guarded the autonomy of the bureaucracy vis-à-vis grand vezir by personally appointing *nişancı*, *defterdars* and *kazaskers* and by maintaining close relations with them.

The most powerful grand vezir of Süleyman was Ibrahim Pasha (d. 1536) who had acquired unprecedented status of “permanent commander-in-chief” (*serasker*). Nevertheless, Ibrahim Pasha’s power was checked by a senior and influential bureaucrat, *Defterdar* İskender Çelebi. It is not surprising that after the execution of *Defterdar* İskender (941/1535) grand vezir Ibrahim remained in the office only one year, and he was executed allegedly for coveting the sultanate.⁶⁴

Grand Vezirs wanted, understandably, to consolidate their power by appointing chief bureaucrats from their circle. Rüstem Pasha was perhaps the most successful among grand vezirs of Süleyman, who appointed officials from his circle to the posts of *nişancı*, *defterdar*, and *reisulkuttāb*. Mustafa Ali of Gelibolu presented various examples displaying the grand vezir’s attitude, in his works: *Künhü’l-Ahbar* and *Nushatu’s-Selātīn*. For instance, *nişancı* Eğri Abdizade Mehmed, Celālzade’s

⁶² Halil İnalcık, “Sultan Süleyman: The Man and The Statesman” p. 91.

⁶³ H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire The Classical Age 1300-1600*, London: Phoenix, 1994, p. 95.

⁶⁴ H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 95.

successor, was among the Rüstem Pasha's favorite officials.⁶⁵ Similarly, Rüstem Pasha was very influential in the appointments of *defterdars*, he even appointed Kadı Bayram as *defterdar* contrary to the bureaucratic tradition.⁶⁶ When Rüstem Pasha re-appointed as grand vezir in 962/1555, he immediately ordered transfer of former grand vezir's trusted divan scribes, Memi Çelebi and Lalezar Mehmed Çelebi, to insignificant provincial posts.⁶⁷ According to Mustafa Ali, Celālzāde's voluntary retirement was a result of Rüstem Pasha's promise about appointing Celālzāde's son as his successor.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, as stated above, sultan Süleyman was well informed about his grand vezir's actions and he did not approve all of the appointments suggested by Rüstem.⁶⁹ For instance, Süleyman appointed Ramazanzāde as *nişancı* in 964/1557, rejecting his grand vezir Rüstem's nominee.⁷⁰ Celālzāde strongly emphasizes that he was appointed as *nişancı* by Sultan's order.⁷¹ Sultan Süleyman's successors in the 16th century followed a similar policy in the appointments: for instance, Murad III dismissed *nişancı* Feridun Bey, a protégé of Sokollu, and Feridun's banishment from the capital in 984/1576 was "the first of several measures aimed at weakening Sokollu's position".⁷² Murad III even refused to appoint grand

⁶⁵ Mustafa Āli, *Künhü'l-Ahbar*, manuscript, reign of Sultan Süleyman, entry of Mehmed Çelebi, Atāi, *Hadaiku'l-Hakaik fi Tekmileti's-Şakaik*, İstanbul, Çağrı Yayınları, p. 58.

⁶⁶ Mustafa Āli, (*Nushatu's-Selātīn*) *Mustafa Ali's Counsel for Sultans of 1581*, ed. Andreas Tietze, Wien, 1979, p. 165.

⁶⁷ BOA, A. RSK. 1455, p. 20, Mustafa Ali, *Künhü'l-Ahbar* (II. Selim, III. Murat ve III. Mehmet Devirleri), v. 2, ed. Faris Çerçi, Kayseri, Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2000, p. 103.

⁶⁸ For details see next chapter, Mustafa Āli, *Künhü'l-Ahbar*, manuscript, Reign of Sultan Süleyman, section on poets, entry of Nişānī.

⁶⁹ See M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Rüstem Paşa ve Hakkındaki İthamlar", *İÜEF Tarih Dergisi*, v. 8 (1956), no. 11-12, pp. 11-51.

⁷⁰ Mustafa Āli, *Künhü'l-Ahbar*, manuscript, section on reign of Sultan Süleyman, entry of Ramazanzāde.

⁷¹ *Tabakāt*, p. 260b.

⁷² J. H. Mordtmann [V. L. Menage], "Feridun Beg" *EI2*, v. 2, p. 881.

vezir Hadım Mesih Pasha's nominee as *reisülküttāb* in 993/1585, which culminated in the grand vezir's resignation.⁷³

On the other hand, members of *kalemiyye* were in favor of having bureaucrat vezirs instead of military commanders. Grand Vezir of Selim I, Piri Mehmed, was depicted as an ideal grand vezir in the works of Idris-i Bitlisī (d. 926/1520), Celālzāde and Mustafa Āli of Gelibolu. Idris-i Bitlisī discussed superiority of men of pen over men of sword in his work *Kānun-i Şehinşāhī*, and he advised sultan to choose vezirs from among the men of pen. According to Bitlisi, the sultan also needed a vezir from the military class, whose responsibility would be protection of the military, preparations for war and conquering lands.⁷⁴ So, Bitlisī suggested a dual vezirate for the Ottoman administration, emphasizing the superiority of men of pen.

Celālzāde Mustafa advocated a similar position in his *Ṭabaḳāt* and especially in *Mevāhib*. According to Celālzāde, though two groups (*kalemiyye* and *seyfiyye*) are equal like twins, men of pen are superior to military because of two reasons: first, pen aims to write i.e. production and development whereas sword means destruction. Secondly, it is very rare to have well-educated men but there is abundance of men of sword.⁷⁵ Celālzāde's criticism of executed grand vezirs (Ibrahim Pasha, Ahmed Pasha) contained common elements which can be accepted as Celālzāde's criticism of the men of sword. According to Celālzāde, both of them lost common sense after they reached great power under the influence of ignorant and unqualified people. Though, both of them had good-manners in the beginning of their career.

⁷³ Mustafa Ali, *Künhü'l-Ahbar (II. Selim, III. Murat ve III. Mehmet Devirleri)*, v. 3, ed. Faris Çerçi, Kayseri, Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2000, p. 493, A. H. De Groot, "Mesih Mehmed Pasha" *EI2*, v. 6 p. 1025.

⁷⁴ For a good discussion of Bitlisi's views see Hüseyin Yılmaz, *The Sultan and the Sultanate: Envisioning Rulership in the age of Süleyman the Lawgiver (1520-1566)*, unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Harvar University, 2005, pp. 332-340.

⁷⁵ Celālzāde, *Mevāhib*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 3521, f. 197a-b.

Celālzāde Mustafa does not comment on removal of Lutfi Pasha from the office, and his character. However, Mustafa Āli portrays Lutfi Pasha as an educated man in comparison to other Pashas (of *devshirme* origin). But Mustafa Āli adds;

“Although he [Lutfi Pasha] has studied grammar (*sarf u nahv*) and some books on Islamic law such as *Kenz* and *Kudurī*, he thought of himself at the same level with Kadı Baydawī and al-Zamakhsharī. He used to ask meaning of words to eminent ‘*ulemā*’ of the time, like Ebussuud and Aşçızade Hasan, who preferred to stay silent in accordance with the saying “*cevābu’l-aḥmāḳ-i sukūtun*”. But he [Lutfi Pasha] interpreted that as a sign of their ignorance.”⁷⁶

Mustafa Āli also narrates an incident to demonstrate Lutfi Pasha’s ignorance and arrogance. According to Mustafa Āli, Ali bin Salih (Vasi Alisi, d. 950/1543) presents his book *Hümayunnāme* to Grand Vezir Lutfi Pasha, stating that he had worked on it for the last 20 years. Ali bin Salih also informed the Grand Vezir about the content of his work, indicating its significance for the art of government. When Lutfi Pasha learned about the book, he commented; “It is a waste of time to spend 20 years for such a book, instead, you should have worked on a religious science”.⁷⁷

It is fair to assume that Mustafa Āli’s evaluation of Lutfi Pasha reflects a general viewpoint shared by Ottoman secretarial class. Lutfi Pasha was distinguished with his education among other Pashas but he was still “ignorant” in the eyes of “well-educated” bureaucrats, like Celālzāde, Ramazanzāde and Mustafa Āli. Most probably, Celālzāde waited eagerly for the appointment of a vezir from the learned class, someone like himself. Celālzāde’s description of a good vezir makes it clear

⁷⁶ Mustafa Āli, *Künhü’l-Ahbar*, manuscript, reign of Sultan Süleyman, entry of Lufi Pasha.

⁷⁷ Mustafa Āli, *Künhü’l-Ahbar*, manuscript, reign of Sultan Süleyman, entry of Ali bin Salih, and Andreas Tietze, *Mustafā Ālī’s Counsel for Sultans of 1581*, v. 2, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften, 1982, p. 202-3.

that like Bitlisi, he was in favor of bureaucrat-vezirs. In fact, the chapter of *Mevāhib* on *vezāret* focuses on the qualities of a good *kātib*, and it states that *kātib* is the commander of the learned circles (*ehl-i irfān*).⁷⁸

⁷⁸ *ibid*, f. 197a-b.

CHAPTER II:

LIFE OF CELÂLZÂDE MUSTAFA ÇELEBİ

2.1- Celâlzâde's Family History, origins, his education and enrollment in imperial bureaucracy

Celâlzâde Mustafa was born probably in 896/1490. He was the first son of a middle ranged *kadı* (“*kasaba kadısı*”), named Celal of Tosya⁷⁹. 16th century Ottoman sources do not give much information about his father, except for his occupation and birthplace.⁸⁰ The author of the *Amasya Tarihi* -the most detailed

⁷⁹ Tosya is a town in Kastamonu province of modern Turkey. But in the early 16th century Tosya was a *kaza* in the *liva* of Kankırı, which was a part of Rum *eyaleti*. Later on in 16th century, Tosya became part of Ankara sancağı hence in the Anadolu Eyaleti. Located on the road between İstanbul-Amasya (*Sol kol*) Tosya is mentioned as the 4th *konak* (a day's distance) from Amasya in *menzilnames* of 16th century. See *Kanunname-i Osmani*, Esad Efendi 2362, Süleymaniye Ktb., f. 156b.

⁸⁰ Sehi, Hatibzade Abdullatif, Aşık Çelebi, Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi, Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali and Beyani connect Celâlzâde's family to Tosya. Taşköprüzade does not mention Kadı Celal's town, indicating only that He was a student of Hacı Hasanzade in İstanbul and then became muderris in the same medrese, after becoming *kadı* in a number of towns he retired with 35 *akçe* revenue. He died in 934 or 935. Since Taşköprüzade himself was *muderris* at *Hacı Hasanzade Medrese* in 933/1527, his account is especially important. The only contemporary source that relates Celâlzâde's family to Amasya is Muhammed bin Ibrahim Halebi, the author of *Durr al-Habeb fi Tarih-i Ayan-ı Haleb*. According to the author, Celâlzâde's family is from a town called *Celede* near Amasya, cited in İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, “Tosyalı Celâlzâde Mustafa ve Salih Çelebiler” *Belleten*, 85-88 (1958), p. 391. Oddly enough, no contemporary source gives Kadı Celal's father's name either, only Huseyin Husameddin –without providing his sources, states full name of Mustafa Çelebi's father as “Celaledin Abdurrahman bin Hasan” see Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Nişancılar Durağı*, manuscript, Isam Library, İstanbul, p. 82-3.

history of Amasya- Hüseyin Hüsameddin Amasi, asserts that Mustafa Çelebi's father Kadı Celal was a native of Tosya, but he came to Amasya and settled there. Hüseyin Hüsameddin does not mention his sources and most probably, his assertion relies on his deduction rather than information. Taking into account of the Mustafa Çelebi's relations in his youth with people related with Amasya, it seems to me safe to assume that Mustafa Çelebi's father settled in Amasya in his retirement. I will try to indicate these relations in the following pages.

Early childhood of Mustafa Çelebi must have been spent in different cities because of his father's occupation. As the sources state, his brother Salih was born in 899/1493 in Volçitrin, near Pristine/Kosovo. So we can infer that his father worked in towns under the supervision of Rumeli Kadıaskerlik, since once a *kadı* was appointed by one of the *kadıaskerlik*, he always works in *kazas* under the supervision of that *kadıaskerlik*, unless an imperial degree granted, imposing the contrary.⁸¹ We know nothing about the towns and duration Kadı Celal worked, but we know that in the 16th century, *kadıs* were appointed usually for duration between 18 months and 3 year.⁸² The term *kasaba kadısı* (kadı of town) used for Mustafa Çelebi's father, Celal, is not very informative either. In fact, all of the *kadıs* except for the six *mevleviyet* are included within that category.⁸³ Until the conquest of Arab provinces by Selim I (1512-1520), these six *mevleviyets* (highest ranking kadılıks) were İstanbul, Edirne, Bursa, Filibe, Sofya and Selanik. We do not know the exact number of *kazas* in the Rumeli province of the Ottoman Empire for the period, the earliest studied records belongs to the 17th century, and they indicate there were 450 *kazas*

⁸¹ Mehmet İpşirli, "Osmanlı Devletinde Kazaskerlik (XVII. yüzyıla kadar)" *Belleten*, LXI, 1997, p. 664.

⁸² Turan Gökçe, "Anadolu Vilayetine Dair 919 (1513) Tarihli Bir Kadı Defteri" *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 1994, p.223. Gökçe also states the exceptions to this rule, found in an appointment list dated 1528 for kadıs in Ottoman Anatolia.

⁸³ İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, Ankara, TTK, 1988, pp.91-97.

under the control of *Rumeli Kadiaskerlik*.⁸⁴ However, we know the exact figures for the Anatolian provinces before the Selim I's conquests; in 919/1513, there were 235 *kazas* in Ottoman Anatolia.⁸⁵ Therefore, it is safe to assume that the Rumeli province consisted of 200-300 *kazas* during the first quarter of 16th century. To describe a little more the possible career options of an Ottoman learned man in the early 16th century; there were 150 *medreses* in 934/1528 in Anatolia province.⁸⁶ Daily wage of a *muderris* lecturing in one of those *medreses* varies between 10 and 60 *akce*, whereas the wage range of a town *kadi* in the Ottoman Anatolia is between 4 and 150 *akce* per day.⁸⁷ Ottoman law for the promotion of learned man was decreed by Mehmed II (1451-1481) and it was applied in the early 16th century by some changes. The highest-ranking *muderrises* are appointed as *kadis* to *mevleviyets* (i.e. 300-500 *akce* revenue), and the *muderrises* with 50 *akce* salary were appointed to *kadiliks* with 150 *akce* revenue.⁸⁸ Once a *muderris* chose to follow the path of becoming a *kadi*, he can always turn back to *medrese*, he can be promoted to higher posts in the judiciary, or he can be transferred to the other branches of bureaucracy, like *defterdarlik*. Though Ottoman law enables the highest-ranking *kadis* (*mevalis*) to be appointed as *Beylerbeyi* (Governor of a province), it is not a usual practice in the Ottoman polity. On the other hand, if a *muderris* choose to stay in the *medrese*, it usually means he is not pursuing the highest posts in the Ottoman administration,

⁸⁴ İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, Ankara, TTK, 1988, p. 91, M. Kemal Özergin, "Rumeli Kadılıkalarında 1078 Düzenlemesi" Ord. Prof. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan, Ankara, TTK, 1988, p.253.

⁸⁵ Turan Gökçe, "Anadolu Vilayetine Dair 919 (1513) Tarihli Bir Kadı Defteri" *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 1994, p. 226. Another source probably written between 915/1509 and 919/1513 gives the number as 222 for Anatolian *kazas*. See Süleymaniye K. Kılıç Ali Paşa, 509, folio. 166.

⁸⁶ Turan Gökçe, "934 (1528) Tarihli Bir Deftere Göre Anadolu Vilayeti Medreseleri Ve Müderrisleri" *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 1996, p. 163.

⁸⁷ Turan Gökçe, "Anadolu Vilayetine Dair 919 (1513) Tarihli Bir Kadı Defteri" *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 1994, p. 229, Turan Gökçe, "934 (1528) Tarihli Bir Deftere Göre Anadolu Vilayeti Medreseleri Ve Müderrisleri" *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 1996, p. 164.

⁸⁸ İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, Ankara, TTK, 1988, p. 89

though if he is a renowned writer he can be appointed as *kātib-i divan* or even as *nişancı*.⁸⁹

As mentioned before, Celālzāde's family has strong ties with Amasya. Hüseyin Hüsameddin asserts that Celālzāde studied religious sciences in İstanbul *medreses* under the supervision of leading '*ulemā* of Amasya origin, such as Tacizade Sadi, Kemalpaşazade Ahmed and Salih Efendi.⁹⁰ Contemporary sources does not disclose any detail about Celālzāde Mustafa's education, except citing that he was, like his father and brother, a pupil of famous *hattat* Sheyh Hamdullah in İstanbul. Probably Huseyin Husameddin is right in assuming that Celālzāde Mustafa, like his brother Salih, studied under the supervision of eminent scholars from the same social background, such as Tacizade Sadi and Kemalpaşazade. As we know, Mustafa Celebi's brother Salih began his studies under Kemalpaşazade and then attained *mulazemet* degree (certificate of eligibility for office) upon the accession of Sultan Süleyman to the throne in 926/1520 through Sultan's teacher Hayreddin.⁹¹ According to Atai, Hoca Hayreddin selected six best students studying under the eminent scholars of his time; Malul Emir Efendi from Kadı of İstanbul Sarı Görez⁹², Merhaba Efendi from Anadolu Kazasker Mirim Çelebi, Muhyiddin Curcani from former Anadolu Kazasker Seydi Çelebi, Bostan Efendi and Salih Efendi from Kemalpaşazade and Sinaneddin Yusuf bin Husameddin from Mufti of İstanbul Ali

⁸⁹ Tacizade Cafer Çelebi was müderris in Mahmud Paşa Medrese when he was appointed nişancı by Bayezid II in 903/1497-8, see V. L. Menage, "Djafar Celebi", *EI2*, and Ramazan zāde Mehmed, *Nişancı Tarihi*, manuscript, İstanbul Süleymaniye Library, Hasan Hüsni, 856, f. 74b.

⁹⁰ Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Nişancılar Durağı*, manuscript, İsam Library, p. 82-3.

⁹¹ Or upon Belgrad expedition in 927. see Atai, *Hadaiku'l-Hakaik fi Tekmileti's-Şakaik*, İstanbul, Çağrı Yayınları, p. 248, cf. Kınalızade Hasan and Aşık Çelebi. About 20 years later, Hoca Hayreddin's son Kurd Ahmed studied under his father's best students; Arabzade Mehmed Efendi, Celālzāde Salih Efendi and Bostan Efendi. See Atai, p. 33-34. Celālzāde Salih's another student, namely Husam, became *mulazim* of Hoca Hayreddin in 950, it seems Celālzāde Salih always had good relations with his tutor, until his death in 950. see Atai, p. 262-3.

⁹² Or Sarı "Gürz" for the explanation of the transliteration of his nickname see Ş. Tekindağ, "Yeni Kaynak ve Vesikaların Işığı Altında Yavuz Sultan Selim'in İran Seferi" *Tarih Dergisi*, xvii/22 (1968), p. 53, n. 20.

Efendi. Later on, Malul Emir Efendi, Bostan Efendi and Sinaneddin Yusuf became Kadiaskers, Merhaba Efendi and Celālzāde Salih retired as kadı of Edirne and kadı of Mısır. It should be noted that Kemalpaşazade, Mufti Ali Cemali, Sinaneddin Yusuf and Celālzāde Salih came to Istanbul from Amasya in different dates, and probably have the same social circle.

Following Bayezid II's enthronement, new horizons appeared for the skilled people from Amasya where Prince Bayezid was governor for a long time until 1481. Sufi leaders such as Çelebi Halife or Cemal-i Halveti, eminent artists such as Sheyh Hamdullah, jurists like Kemalpaşazade and Zenbilli Ali Cemali and stylists (*münşî*) like Tacizade Cafer Çelebi moved to Ottoman capital and recruited in the high posts of Ottoman administration. Çelebi Halife was an influential *halveti sheyh* in Amasya and he is described as an enthusiastic adherent of Prince Bayezid's cause against Cem Sultan in 16th century sources. Upon Bayezid's accession, with the help of Sultan and his Grand Vezir Mustafa Pasha, he founded the first *halvetiye zaviye* in Istanbul. Named after its patron, *zaviye of Mustafa Paşa* was the biggest among Istanbul *zaviyes* with its 40 chambers. Çelebi Halife's son Piri Mehmed Paşa later became grand vezir of Selim I, and he continued to support Halveti order in Istanbul.⁹³ Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi named Piri Mehmed Pasha as one of his two masters together with *Nişancı* Seydi Bey. According to Celālzāde Mustafa, Piri Mehmed Pasha is an ideal grand vezir, he admires him and praises highly in his works *Tabakāt* and *Selimname*. Piri Mehmed Pasha is a cousin of Zenbilli Ali Cemali Efendi. After Çelebi Halife's death in 903/1497-8, his son-in-law, Sümbül Sinan guided the followers of Halvetiye order, actually, he is accepted as the founder of

⁹³ For Cemali Family see Yusuf Küçükdağ, *Cemali Ailesi*, Istanbul, Aksarayı Vakfı Yayınları, 1995. For *zaviye* of Kocamustafa Paşa and Bayezid II's support see Nazif Velikahyaoğlu, *Sümbüliyye Tarikatı ve Kocamustafapaşa Külliyesi*, İstanbul, Çağrı Yayınları, 2000, and Ö. L. Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri" *Belgeler*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1979, v. 9, 13, p. 307.

new order named after him, *Sümbüliyye*. Sümbül Sinan was an influential man in learned circles as well as in the Palace. He preached in the biggest mosques of Istanbul; Ayasofya and Fatih, and upon the completion of Sultan Selim mosque, Sümbül Sinan inaugurated the religious ceremony. His close relation with *Mufti Kemalpaşazade* is described in the contemporary sources.⁹⁴ After Sümbül Sinan's death in 936/1529, Sümbüliyye order sustained its significance in Sultan Süleyman's reign under the guidance of Merkez Efendi (Musa Muslihiddin, d. 959/1551) and Yakub-ı Germiyani (d. 979/1571).

Sheyh Hamdullah (d.926/1520) is another important figure worth to be mentioned because of his role as tutor of Celālzāde Mustafa, of his brother and father. Sheyh Hamdullah, probably the greatest master of Ottoman calligraphy art, is mentioned among the people whom Bayezid II met in Amasya, and upon his succession to throne, commissioned to work in the Capital. Sheyh Hamdullah was also a follower of *Halvetiye-Zeyniyye* order, like his father Mustafa and grandfather Sarıkadı Rukneddin. In a *halvetiye silsilename* (genealogy of *halvatiyye* masters) written by Sheyh Hamdullah, he places his father's and grandfather's names after well-known Halvetiyye leaders; Abdurrahman Erzincani and Pir İlyas Amasi.⁹⁵ We do not know exactly when and where Celālzāde family became student of famous Sheyh Hamdullah, but it should be in Istanbul since Sheyh Hamdullah spent last 30 years of his life in the Ottoman capital.

Tacizade Cafer Çelebi and his brother Sadi Çelebi are mentioned among the famous *münşîs* (stylist) of their time. Tacizade Cafer and Celālzāde Mustafa's father

⁹⁴ Cited in Nazif Velikahyaoğlu, *Sümbüliyye Tarikatı ve Kocamustafapaşa Külliyesi*, İstanbul, Çağrı Yayınları, 2000, p. 88.

⁹⁵ Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah*, İstanbul, Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı, 1992, p. 29-30.

studied religious sciences under the same *muderris*; Hacı Hasanzade.⁹⁶ Cafer Çelebi was a professor in Istanbul Mahmud Pasha *medrese*, when he was appointed *nişancı* in 903/1497.⁹⁷ Relying on Aşık Çelebi and Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, İsmail Erünsal asserts that: “On achieving this post he [Cafer Çelebi] received the rank and style of *paşa*, and enjoyed most of the privileges of a *vezir*. He was very conscious of his own dignity, and it was because of a protest that he made to the Sultan that the *nişancı* was henceforth given precedence over the *defterdar* in the *Divan*, and allowed a *vezirial* tent when on campaign”.⁹⁸ Although Cafer Çelebi was a very influential statesman, probably with the rank of *vezirate*, it would be a mistake to assume that his privileged position as a *nişancı* survived with his successors. Mehmed II’s *Kanunname* makes it clear that “if *Nişancı*’s status is same with *vezirs* and *beglerbegis* then he takes precedence over *defterdars*, if he is a *nishancı* with *sancak* then he is placed below the *defterdars*.”⁹⁹ Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali narrates another incident from Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi’s tenure as *nişancı*, that causes eventually a shift in the court protocol; when Nevbaharzade is promoted to be *şikk-i sani defterdar* he refuses to sit above his former superior (Celālzāde) in the court. Upon hearing the issue, Sultan Süleyman appreciates Nevbaharzade’s concern and He orders experience (*kıdem*) should be observed to determine the precedence between *nişancı* and *defterdars*.¹⁰⁰ Status of *Nişancı* will be dealt in the following pages in detail.

⁹⁶ Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Kitabu’t-Tarih-i Kühü’l-Ahbar*, eds. A. Uğur, M. Çuhadar, A. Gül, İ. H. Çuhadar, Kayseri, 1997, p. 1226. Mecdi Mehmed Efendi, *Hadaiku’ş-Şakaik*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan, İstanbul, Çağrı Yayınları, 1989, p. 335.

⁹⁷ İsmail E. Erünsal, *The Life and Works of Taci-zade Cafer Çelebi with a critical edition of his Divan*, İstanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1983, p. 31.

⁹⁸ *ibid*, p. 31.

⁹⁹ “Ve nişancının mertebesi eğer vezaret ve beğlerbeğlik ise defterdarlara tasaddur eder; ve sancak ile nişancı ise defterdarlardan aşağı oturur.” Abdulkadir Özcan, ed., *Kanunname-i Al-i Osman*, İstanbul, Kitabevi, 2003, p.6

¹⁰⁰ cited in İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, “Tosyalı Celālzāde Mustafa ve Salih Çelebiler” *Belleten*, 85-88 (1958), p. 403. However, It should be noted that *defterdars* and *nişancı* are not placed next to each

Tacizade Cafer Çelebi held the office of *nişancı* until 917/1511, later on Selim I restored him to office in late 919/1513, a year later he was appointed *Kadıasker* of Anatolia. Cafer Çelebi was executed by Selim's order in 921/1515.¹⁰¹ All of the contemporary sources agree about Cafer Çelebi's abilities as an eloquent prose stylist. Mecdî reckons him among the *nişancıs* who created new formulas and phrases to be used in Ottoman official documents.¹⁰² Celālzāde Mustafa was to become the second to introduce innovative ways for the Ottoman chancellory.

As explained above, Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi found himself in a suitable environment to improve necessary skills to become a court secretary (*divan kâtibi*). He learned calligraphy from Sheyh Hamdullah, literary and religious sciences from Kemalpashazade and Tacizade Sadi Çelebi. He probably attended the mystic circles (*halvetiyye* or *zeyniyye*) close to the Ottoman Palace in Istanbul. When he was a graduate student (*danişmend*) there appeared to be two ways before him; to stay in *medrese*, or to be a *kadı*. For Celālzāde, becoming a *muderris* meant to be always in poverty and need, on the other hand, becoming *kadı* provides revenues but with doubtful legality. So he wanted to pursue a career with his pen.¹⁰³ Piri Mehmed Pasha helped him to realize this dream.

other in *divan*, three *defterdar* sit on the opposite of *Nişancı*, so it should not have been a problem at all.

¹⁰¹ For possible reasons see İsmail E. Erunsal, *The Life and Works of Taci-zade Cafer Çelebi with a critical edition of his Divan*, İstanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1983, p. 39-42.

¹⁰² “el-hakk bu zamanda *divan-ı osmaniyye* tersim ve terkim olunan *menaşir-i sultaniyye* ve *feramin-i hakaniyye-i osmaniyyenin* terkiib ve tertib ve imla ve inşasında *kavaid-i cedide-i sutude ihtira idüb*, *ahkam-ı nafizu'l-kelam* ve *maktu'u'l-meram* ve *menaşir-i kaza-ceryan* ve *kader-fercamda izhar-ı yed-i beyza* eyledi. Mecdi Mehmed Efendi, *Hadaiku's-Şakaik*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan, İstanbul, Çağrı Yayınları, 1989, p. 336

¹⁰³ “evvel-i neşv-ü-nema ve ibtida-i buluğ-i belağat-intimada tahsil-i funun-u-adab ve tekmil-i ulum-i maarif iktisaba talib-u-rağib olub, zamanede *bais-i hayat-u-zindegani* ve *sebeb-i asayiş-u-guzerani* olur menasib ki *ebna-yı cinse münasib idi*, *tedris u kaza göründü ki*, biri *fakr u ihtiyaca enis*, biri *mahza kazadır*. Birisinin *netayic u fevayidi* arf u izafet ki sonu *afet*, birisinin *hall-i avayidi meşuk-ı mahall-aşub* ve *zarafet*. Ol iki *tarika sulukin saliki* hemvare *hevaya memluk* olur. *La-cerem pişe-i tahrir u kitâbet* ki *mahz-ı vufur-ı rahat* ve *huzurdan kinayet* olub *fevayid-i semerat-ı kalem dafi-i enva-i humum u elemidir*.” Celālzāde Mustafa, *Selimname*, A. Uğur, M. Çuhadar, eds., Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990, p.

Aşık Çelebi states Celālzāde's enrollment in the Ottoman divan as *kātib* was in 922/1516. Celālzāde himself does not give an exact date but he writes that after the return of Selim from the conquest of Arab lands, Piri Pasha was the only vezir in Istanbul. (...) he (Celālzāde) was a *kātib* of divan and he remained at his service for six years.¹⁰⁴ Sultan Selim's campaign against Memluks lasted two years during which vezir Piri Mehmed Pasha was left behind in Istanbul.¹⁰⁵ On his way back home, Sultan Selim summoned Piri Mehmed Pasha to Damascus and appointed him grandvezir in 12 Muharram 924/24 January 1518. Piri Mehmed Pasha held the post after Sultan Süleyman's succession until he was dismissed in 13 Shaban 929/27 June 1523. Therefore, Celālzāde Mustafa's entry into the imperial bureaucracy occurred probably in 923/1517, when Sultan Selim was still residing in Cairo. Certainly, conquest of Arab lands required the expansion of Ottoman imperial bureaucracy and Piri Mehmed Pasha was the highest statesmen in the imperial capital to deal with this issue. Another protégé of Piri Pasha, Ramazanzāde Mehmed Celebi states that "he was a graduate student of Seyyidi Karamani in Sahn medrese, upon Seyyidi Karamani's death [in 923] he was assigned to divan by grand vezir Piri Pasha".¹⁰⁶ Ramazanzāde's education and career path was similar to Celālzāde's in many respects; both of them learned calligraphy from Sheyh Hamdullah and literary-religious sciences from Tacizade Sadı Çelebi (d. 923).¹⁰⁷ Later on, both of them became *reisülküttāb* and *nişancı*, and both of them authored Ottoman history. It is probably because of these similarities that Celālzāde nicknamed *Koca (Great) Nişancı* and Ramazanzāde is known as *Kucuk (Little) Nişancı*. Their reputation must

¹⁰⁴ Celālzāde Mustafa, *Selimname*, A. Uğur, M. Çuhadar, eds., Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990, p.44.

¹⁰⁵ Selim's departure for Egyptian conquest is 4 Cumadel ula 922/5 June 1516, and his return 17 Receb 924/ 25 July 1518.

¹⁰⁶ Ramazanzāde Mehmed, *Tarih-i Nişancı*, Süleymaniye Library, Hasan Husnu, 856, f.74

¹⁰⁷ Ramazanzāde Mehmed, *Tarih-i Nişancı*, Süleymaniye Library, Hasan Husnu, 856, f.74, Uğur Derman, "Kanuni Devrinde Yazı Sanatımız" *Kanuni Armağanı*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001, p. 283

have been long-lasting; three decades later well-known historian Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali places himself as their successor in history writing in his *Kunhu'l-Ahbar* (written between 1000-6/1591-8).¹⁰⁸

Selim I's reign witnessed rapid expansion of borders as well as the quick promotion and dismissal of state officials. Elite circles from Amasya province were especially under suspicion because of their links with possible contenders. For instance, Grand Vezir Koca Mustafa Pasha was executed in Ramadan 918/ December 1512 for being a supporter of *Şehzāde* Ahmed who was governor of Amasya. Tacizade Cafer Çelebi was first re-appointed as *Nişancı*, then he was executed as well after *Yeniçeri* uprising in Amasya in 921/1515. *Yeniçeris* had raided and plundered houses of third vezir Piri Mehmed and Sultan Selim's tutor Halimi Çelebi in Amasya, being held responsible, grand vezir Dukakinzade Ahmed was immediately executed in Amasya, and upon Sultan's return to capital city, second vezir Iskender Pasha and Tacizade Cafer were executed in Istanbul. Sultan Selim's eastern policy required the suppression of religious and social groups close to Shah Ismail's sect, *kızılbaş*. For this reason, "Selim conducted a purge of suspected *Kızılbaş* and 40.000 *kızılbaş* were jailed or executed"¹⁰⁹ especially in the eastern provinces of Ottoman realm.

Amasya region was also hosting significant *Halvetiyye* centers; as explained above, *Halvetiyye* order flourished in Amasya region when it was governed by Bayezid II, and upon Bayezid's accession to throne, *Halvetiyye* spread in Istanbul.¹¹⁰ But during the reign of Sultan Selim, *Halvetiyye* order suffered a setback because of

¹⁰⁸ "bu hakir yani müellif-i kesirü't-taksir gerek bunlar ile [Ramazanzāde] ve gerek Celālzāde ile nice nice ihtilat etmişiz hüsn-i iltifatlarından veled-i manevi edindikleri rağbete yetmişiz hikmet Hüdandır tevarih-i al-i Osman yazmada anlara salis olduk akıbet Ramazanzāde merhumun saadethanesini iştira idüb güya ki muhallefatına varis olduk" Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Kunhu'l-Ahbar*, manuscript, section on Sultan Süleyman's *defterdars* and *nişancıs*.

¹⁰⁹ Halil İnalcık, "Selim I" *EI2*, v. 9, p. 128..

¹¹⁰ F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", *EI2*, v. 4, p. 991.

Selim's uncompromising *sunni* policy against *shii*-influenced Persia. During Selim's reign, *Halvetiyya* order emphasized its *sunni* orientation and the names of five Shia Imams were dropped from the *silsila*.¹¹¹ Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi's first encounter with Sultan Selim reflects this confrontation. As Mustafa Ali of Gelibolu pointed, famous *halvetiyye* master from Amasya, Muhammed b. Husameddin b. Pir Ilyas¹¹² was arrested in Amasya and transferred to Istanbul. He was a descendant of leading Halvetiyye master, Pir İlyas and he had numerous followers. He was accused of gathering men claiming *Şehzāde* Korkud's survival. Grand Vezir Piri Mehmed Pasha tried to persuade furious Sultan that Sheyh Muhammad was not a threat to the State. Then Sultan asks him to bring someone knowing the secrets of Sheyh Muhammad. Grand Vezir selects Celālzāde Mustafa, a young divan scribe at the time, to persuade Sultan. Upon questioning Celālzāde, Sultan seems to be persuaded, and sends Celālzāde to prison to inform Sheyh Muhammad that he will soon be released. But Sultan dies before the release of Sheyh Muhammad.

Mustafa Ali of Gelibolu narrates the incident as he heard from Molla Sıdkı Muslihiddin. According to Mustafa Ali, when Celālzāde Mustafa entered Sultan's chamber, he sees Sultan;

“Pādişāhı burnunda gözlükle kitāb müţāla’asında görmüş ve ri’āyet-i ādābla
tapu kılmış, Hān-i Selim-i Gazūb ki kātīb-i mezbūru görmüş Celāl oğlu
Mustafa sen misin diyu sormuş. Ben kuluñ pādişāhım diyu cevāb virdikde
Gümüşlüoğlunu nice bilürsün, cevher veya meder midir yoksa hālīs zer

¹¹¹ F. De Jong, “Khalwatiyya”, *EI2*, v. 4, p. 991

¹¹² Mustafa Ali gives his name in two different forms; Gümüşlüoğlu Sheyh Muhammad b. Sheyh Husameddin b. Pir Ilyas and Gümüşlüoğlu Sheyh Muhyiddin b. Celal b. Husameddin b. Pir Ilyas. Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Kitabu't-tarih-i Kühū'l-Ahbar*, eds. A. Ugur et al. Kayseri, 1997, p.1194,1243. Taşköprüzade presents biography of a certain Sheyh Muhyiddin Muhammad Amasi without giving much detail, Taşköprülū-zade, *Eş-Şakaiku'n-Numaniye fi ulemai'd-Devleti'l-Osmaniye*, ed. A. S. Furat, Istanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1985, p. 419. Gümüşlüoğlu's son-in-law Mehmed Çelebi is mentioned in a register recording Bayezid II's expenditures (*ināmāt defteri*) for the year 909/1503. According to the register he received 3000 aspers from Sultan, see Ö. L. Barkan, “İstanbul Saraylarına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri” *Belgeler*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1979, v. 9, 13, p.296.

midir nice idrāk kılursın didikde, velāyet ma'deniniñ cevheri ve riyāzat putaşınıñ hāliş zeri bir ulu kişı bilürin didikde ol mu, ol mu diyü üç kere tekrār idüb hıddet ve ğaẓab ateşini nev'an inkār etmiş. Ammā kātib-i mezbūr Celālzāde aldırmaıub aslā cevab-i şehriyārīden üşenmez ve lisānına cārī olan kelimātdan dönmez, beli pādīşāhım ulu kişidir envā'ı kerāmāt ve mükāşefāt ānıñ ednā işidir didüğü gibi nev'an ğaẓabı sākın olub gitmiş, bir mikdar rıfqla tekellüm etmiş. (...) [Sultan] kātib-i mesfūrdan bu cüreti ki görmüş, dahī berü gel diyü iltifāt idüb 'ulūfesin şormuş ol dahi ondan ne ziyāde ve ne dūndur, ancaķ ondur didikde, on mu, on mu diyü istiğrāb itmiş, ben seni vezīr ideyim diyü va'de-i ḥasene buyurub ba'dehu maḥbese göndermiş, var şeyḥe bizden selām söyle ḥātırın hoş tutsun dimiş. Anlar ki zindāna varmışlar şeyḥ-i mezbūru kemāl-i ḫacret ve ıztırābda görmüşler evvelden āşināsı ve ḳable'l-ḫabs muḥibb-i bī-riyāsı olmağla bir miḳdār ḫātır-sāzlıķdan soñra teselliyete başlamış ya'ni ki pādīşāh-ı 'ālem size bī-ḫadd selām eyledi, her ne olduysa a'dā taḫrīkiyle oldu diyü söylemiş.”¹¹³

Mustafa Ali's account of the incident aims to provide another reason for the death of Sultan Selim. According to this account, Celālzāde Mustafa tries to persuade Sheyh Muhammad that Sultan Selim was not responsible for what happened to the sheyh. But Celālzāde was late to convince Sheyh Muhammad; he had already prayed God for the punishment of Sultan Selim. Sheyh foretells Sultan Selim's death, explaining Celālzāde that he had seen Ali, the fourth Caliph, in his dream punishing Sultan Selim in return for Sheyh's suffering. Eventually Sultan Selim dies within a month. So, Mustafa Ali implies that according to Celālzāde, Sultan Selim's cause of death was his wrongdoings that caused suffering of a holy man. Actually this attitude is typical to Celālzāde Mustafa, as we will see later on, he usually refers to sins committed by state officials when explaining their fall and eventual execution, in his history, *Tabaḳatu'l-Memalik ve Derecātu'l-Mesalik*. The more important aspect of this account is to clarify Celālzāde's relation towards *Halvetiyye* order, as Mustafa Ali

¹¹³ Mustafa Ali, *Kūnhü'l-Ahbar*, manuscript, section on Selim's Death

puts it “Celālzāde knew sheyh before his imprisonment and he was a true lover of him” (evvelden āşināsı ve able’l-abs muibb-i b-riyāsı olmala). Huseyin Husameddin asserts that one of Celālzāde’s father’s *hatt* works is hanging on the wall of famous halvetiyye sheyh Pir Abdurrahman.¹¹⁴ Since Pir Abdurrahman was also the master of aforementioned Sheyh Muhammad, it is possible that Celālzāde was close to that branch of *Halvetiyye* order.

Celālzāde Mustafa’s own account of the aforementioned incident blames Ferhad Pasha for what happened to Gmşlolu (Sheyh Muhammad) and it also provides clues about Celālzāde’s links with elite circles from Amasya. According to Celālzāde Mustafa, the contender was not ehzāde Korkud, it was ehzāde Murad, son of ehzāde Ahmed. When the threat emerged, Piri Mehmed Pasha was grand vezir and his son-in-law Mustafa Pasha was second vezir. Sultan Selim appointed Ferhad Pasha (then Beglerbey of Rumeli) as third vezir and he was entrusted with dealing with this issue. According to Celālzāde; “no other vezir were aware of that issue and Sultan was giving orders directly to Ferhad Pasha”.¹¹⁵ According to Celālzāde, Ferhad Pasha was an ignorant and unjust vezir and he applied excessive harshness to suppress a possible uprising in support of ehzāde Murad’s cause. Celālzāde’s emphasis on other vezirs’ unawareness of the incident implies that Sultan Selim did not trust Piri Pasha and his son-in-law in taking necessary measures which will inevitably discomfort elite circles from Amasya region. Celālzāde criticizes Ferhad Pasha for benefiting the opportunity to seize possessions of all wealthy people from Amasya. As he says;

“Bu bahāne ile ol diyārda olan mslmanları ki māl-u-menāle ādir ve
tvānā ve uvvet ve servet ehli ola her birine bir drl isnād eyleyb

¹¹⁴ Hseyin Hsameddin, *Niancılar Duraı*, manuscript, Isam Library, p. 83.

¹¹⁵ Celālzāde Mustafa, *Selimname*, A. Uur, M. uhadar, eds., Ankara, Kltr Bakanlıı, 1990, p. 219

řutub māl-u-menāllerin alub ve kendūleri katl eyleyūb bī-gūnāh řok
kimesneleri zāyī ve tebāh eyledi.”¹¹⁶

Celālzāde does not state his acquaintance with Sheyh Muhammad or his visit of him in the prison, but he praises him saying “he was a noble man whose pray is valued” and narrates Sheyh’s pray and forecast about the fate of Sultan. But Celālzāde eloquently puts it without mentioning Sultan. As Celālzāde states, Sheyh Muhammad told some people that “Cenāb-ı

Though it is difficult to infer from the above statement that Sultan Selim’s death is implied, if it is read together with Mustafa Ali’s aforementioned account, it certainly links Sultan Selim’s death with this incident. This vagueness is characteristic to Celālzāde’s works; because of his mission as *niřancı*, he aims to defend Ottoman *sultanate*. After narrating aforementioned event, Celālzāde’s *Selimname* ends with chapter on Sultan Selim’s death. Just before his death, Sultan Selim confesses to his grand vezir Piri Mehmed that “he caused some injustices in his last days, but his goal was to secure the welfare and safety of all *Muslims*”.¹¹⁸ Celālzāde emphasizes strongly on importance of having good *vezirs* in his concluding poems at the end of last two chapters.

As Celālzāde clearly put in the beginning of his *Selimname*, he aimed to demonstrate the real history of Sultan Selim, since it was usually misrepresented by some people. He claims that Sultan Selim never aimed to rise against his father, but some ignorant people interpreted the war between Sultan Bayezid and his son in řorlu as a sign of uprising. According to Celālzāde, it was actually a conspiracy of

¹¹⁶ Celālzāde Mustafa, *Selimname*, A. Uęur, M. řuhadar, eds., Ankara, Kūltūr Bakanlıęı, 1990, p. 218.

¹¹⁷ Celālzāde Mustafa, *Selimname*, A. Uęur, M. řuhadar, eds., Ankara, Kūltūr Bakanlıęı, 1990, p. 218.

¹¹⁸ “āhır-i’ ömrümde ba’zı mezālime sebep u bā’is oldum. Maķřūd u murādım refāhiyyet-i müsliimīn netice ve maķřad-i āmālim hūzūr-i mūminīn idi.” Celālzāde Mustafa, *Selimname*, A. Uęur, M. řuhadar, eds., Ankara, Kūltūr Bakanlıęı, 1990, p. 220.

corrupted high ranking officials who are afraid of Selim. Celālzāde states that some people wrote Sultan Selim's history, but their work relies on their weak speculation and false reports. Whereas it was a time that no one except Vezir, *nişancı* and divan scribe was aware of state functioning. "Secrets of sultanate and manners of caliphate were extremely secret and protected".¹¹⁹ That's why Celālzāde, as an insider, feels that it is his responsibility to present the real history of Sultan Selim.

As explained above, Celālzāde Mustafa had necessary intellectual, artistic and literary qualifications to be a divan scribe, and he was close to influential social circles. Moreover, he was a reliable, discreet and diplomatic person, which was an important quality for a scribe.¹²⁰ Therefore Celālzāde ascended quickly in the Ottoman bureaucracy; he became private secretary (*tezkireci*) of grand vezir Piri Mehmed Pasha. We can not ascertain exactly when he was promoted, but he was probably *tezkireci* when he was introduced to Sultan Selim. According to Mustafa Ali's account, even Sultan Selim astonished that someone with qualifications of Celālzāde has that little salary; 10 aspers daily. Though we do not have salary records of the time, salary registers from the first half of 16th century display *tezkireci*'s daily revenue (*ulufe*) as 23 aspers.¹²¹ According to the same register, there were 11 scribes under *Nişancı*'s authority and their salaries were varying between 7 and 33 aspers, average salary being 19 aspers. An earlier source dating back to 900/1494 demonstrates that there were 5 *divan* scribes and their salaries totaled 2290

¹¹⁹ "esrār-ı şalţanat ve etvār-ı hilāfet nihāyet mertebede maḥfūz ve maẓbut idi" Celālzāde Mustafa, *Selimname*, A. Uğur, M. Çuhadar, eds., Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990, p. 24.

¹²⁰ When narrating the aforementioned conversation between Celālzāde and Sultan Selim, Mustafa Āli comments that "it was Sultan's custom to ask same questions again and again, by getting angrier every time, if the person interrogated changes his first statement, Sultan decides that he is a liar. That is why Sultan knew Celālzāde was not lying" Mustafa Ali, *Künhü'l-Ahbar*, manuscript, section on Selim's Death.

¹²¹ Topkapi Palace Archive, D.7843, cited in Ö. L. Barkan, "H. 933-934 (1527-1528) Mali Yılına Ait Bütçe Örneği" *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 15 (1953-4), no. 1-4, p. 314,323. The register has no date on it, but it must belong to years 940-950 (1533-1543).

aspers per month, making average salary 15,26 aspers per day.¹²² Therefore, Mustafa Ali's account of 10 aspers is either wrong, or Celālzāde was still an ordinary *divan* scribe, instead of *tezkiireci*, in the end of Sultan Selim's reign.

As mentioned above, Celālzāde chose the path of *kalemiyye* (bureaucracy) largely because it promised wealthier prospects. As he indicated, the path of *ilmiyye* means choosing the poverty, and *kaza* promised revenues but with doubtful legality. Celālzāde Mustafa's brother Salih graduated from the same *medrese*, *Sahn*, and he became *muderris* with 25 aspers revenue in 926/1520. Celālzāde Salih's case was not unique, his fellow colleagues who became *mulazım* from Sultan's teacher Hoca Hayreddin, were appointed to *medreses* with same salary.¹²³ Then why Celālzāde Mustafa asserts that the path of *kalemiyye* is superior to the path of *ilmiye* and *kaza*, because it provides legitimate revenues? Because a scribe in the Ottoman *divan* has revenues other than his salary, he gets extra payments (*salyane*), he receives benefits (*in'ām*) in some occasions, and he gets promotions as he is experienced. As an *ināmāt* register from Bayezid II's reign demonstrates, *divan* scribes received two extra payments for the year 909/1503-4. Among them, there were two scribes with the title *kātib-i divān*, who received a total of 4,000 aspers in two occasions. There were also 3 scribes with the title *kātib-i tevkiī*, one of them Mevlana Ömer received 6,000 aspers for regular *ināmāt* and another 3,000 aspers for the *kaside* he composed. Other two *kātib-i tevkiīs* received 1,000 aspers in total.¹²⁴ According to the

¹²² And there were 20 treasury scribes (*kātibān-ı hıżāne-i amire maa şākirdāneş*) with average salary of 21,25 aspers. These numbers of course refer only to scribes receiving salary, in addition to them there were scribes holding fiefs (*tımar*), whose number cannot be ascertained. Topkapı Palace Archive, 9587, cited in Ö. L. Barkan, "H. 933-934 (1527-1528) Mali Yılına Ait Bütçe Örneği" *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 15 (1953-4), no. 1-4, p.308-9.

¹²³ For Malul Emir and Merhaba Efendi see Mecdi, 484, 485. For Bostan Efendi and Muhaşşi Sinaneddin Yusuf see Atai, p. 129-132 and 248-251. It should be noted since they were Hoca Hayreddin's *mulazıms*, they were appointed to the highest posts. Other graduates normally begin their career in *medreses* with 20 akçe per day or less.

¹²⁴ Ö. L. Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri" *Belgeler*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1979, v. 9, 13, pp. 307-8, 351-2, 364.

aforementioned register, scribes received only one bonus payment in the following year and *kātib-i tevkiī* Omer received another 3,000 aspers for the *mersiyye* he composed for the death of Sultan's son, Şehzāde Mehmed.¹²⁵ However, it is impossible to ascertain how much a *divan* scribe earns, as we know, scribes are also paid in accordance with their rank from the revenue called “*orta akçesi*”. *Orta Akçesi* was the sum of fees collected from the documents that *divan* scribes prepared, such as *berāt*, *tezkire* etc.¹²⁶

When Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi entered the imperial service, the institutional organization of Ottoman chancellery was still moderate in terms of size and functionary bodies. Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi's career witnessed the development of Ottoman chancellery in the direction of administrative requirements. As we see in the *registers* from the reign of Bayezid II, there was “a small and relatively undifferentiated body of scribes, nearly all of them concerned with finance, carried out the bureaucratic functions essential to the central government”.¹²⁷ As mentioned before, the register of 900/1494 gives the figures for the imperial chancellery under two titles; there were 25 scribes recorded as *kātibān-ı divan* (5) and *kātibān-ı hıżāne-i amire maa şākirdāneş* (20). The register of 909-910/1503-4, includes *kātibān-ı divan* and other important officials under the general title of *şākirdān-ı kātibān-ı hıżāne-i amire*, (i.e. assistant secretaries) which is absolutely wrong. According to the register, there were 11 scribes for treasury, 3 secretary for vezirs (*kātibān-ı paşāyān*), 8 assistant scribe for treasury, 2 *kātib-i divān*, 3 scribe for *nişancı*, and 10 other scribes with various missions, making the total 37 scribes for central administration. Later registers from the reign of Sultan Süleyman gives more detailed figures; a

¹²⁵ Mustafa Açıkgöz, *II. Bayezid Devri İnamat Defteri*, unpublished Master Thesis, İstanbul, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1996, p. 54, 80-1.

¹²⁶ Erhan Afyoncu, Recep Ahıskalı, “Katip” *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v. 25, p. 55.

¹²⁷ Cornell Fleischer, “Preliminaries to the Study of the Ottoman Bureaucracy” *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 10 (1986), p. 140.

register for the year 935/1529 classifies scribes (of *divan*) under their office; scribes under the authority of *defterdar* or *nişancı* (*kātibān tābi-i defterdārān* or *tābi-i nişancı*). According to this register, there were 35 scribes for treasury, 3 scribes for *vezirs*, 23 assistant scribes (*şākirdān*), 7 scribes for *defterdars*, and 15 scribes for *nişancı*, 6 scribes under the service of *defter emini* (who was also under the authority of *nişancı*) making a total of 90 scribes.¹²⁸ As stated before, the imperial chancellery developed greatly in size and in terms of organizational structure beginning with the reign of Sultan Selim. As we learn from the contemporary sources, although posts of *reisülküttāb* and *defter emini* existed before Celālzāde Mustafa entered the imperial service, their offices were not distinguished from the scribes. The earliest use of the term *reisülküttāb* in the archival documents dates back to Selim's reign, 921/1515.¹²⁹ Comparing the amount distributed to scribes in the registers of 909/1503 and 935/1529, it is possible to assert that a scribe with the title *kātib-i tevkīl* was acting like *reisülküttāb* in 909/1503. In 935/1529, Celālzāde Mustafa received the same allowance with *kātib* Ömer who received 3,000 aspers in 909/1503, though Celālzāde's title was *reis*.¹³⁰ Another record from the same register describes Celālzāde Mustafa as follows; *kātib-i divān, reis-i küttāb-ı tevkīl*. This phrase reflects that the post of *reisülküttāb* was still not fully differentiated from other divan scribes, and that he was acting as assistant of *nişancı*.¹³¹ Similarly, *defterhane*, the office of

¹²⁸ BOA, KK, 1764, p. 80-1. Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi's name is first among the scribes under the authority of *Nişancı*, "reis" title is added to his name.

¹²⁹ Haydar Çelebi Ruznamesi cited in Feridun Ahmed Bey, *Münşeātu's-Selātīn*, v. 1, İstanbul, 1274, p. 465, 470-471. Alternative views on the origin of *Reisu'l-Kuttāb* will be discussed in the following chapter. See also, Recep Ahışalı, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatında Reisülküttāblık (18. Yüzyıl)*, İstanbul, Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı, 2001.

¹³⁰ BOA, KK, 1764, p. 81, Ö. L. Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri" *Belgeler*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1979, v. 9, 13, p. 308.

¹³¹ BOA, KK, 1764, p.135.

defter emini, was established in the second half of 15th century, but there were only 2 scribes working in this office in 909/1503.¹³²

Rapid expansion of borders necessitated rapid expansion of Ottoman Chancellery and its re-organization. Victory over Persian *Safawids* and the conquest of *Mamluk* lands gained the Ottomans a clear supremacy over their rivals. As Celālzāde Mustafa pointed out; “*if all the people living under the government of world conquering and justice abiding Sultan is elaborated, if Sultan’s servants, armies, weapons, lands, seas, treasures, castles, mines, jewels, ethnic groups, learned men and artists are listed, it would have been a miraculous work*”.¹³³ Ottoman central government faced the challenge to control all these lands under their banner in the reign of Sultan Selim. Sultan Selim’s unexpected death and Süleyman’s succession was an opportunity for governors of newly conquered lands, such as Damascus and Egypt, to declare their independence and to establish their own kingdom.

As usual, the new Sultan came with his own personnel (*ma’iyyet*) of governorship and made a number of appointments to central administration. Süleyman’s advisor (*lala*) Kasım Pasha (Cezerî) became fourth *vezir*, after Piri Mehmed, Mustafa and Ferhad Pashas. His *nişancı* Mehmed of Amasya succeeded *nişancı* Abdi Bey in the capital. Sources does not provide much information on Mehmed Bey, except stating that he was dismissed after a while and he died as

¹³² Erhan Afyoncu, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatında Defterhâne-i Âmire (16-18. Yüzyıllar)*, unpublished Dissertation, Istanbul, Marmara University, 1997, pp. 4-6,69-70, 99.

¹³³ bu pâdişâh-ı memâlik-sitân ve sâhib-kırân-ı şehinşah-ı melâyik-şân ve madelet-nişânın zîr-i nikîn-i hükümetlerinde râm olan tavâyif-i enâmdan zümre-i fuzalâ-yı kirâm fırka-i ulema-i ızam ile erbâb-ı fazl u ırfân ashâb-ı keşf u ikân, esnâf-ı sipâh ve asker, enva-ı cunûd ve leşker, esbâb-ı futûh u nusret, âlât-ı haşmet u şevket, guruh-ı etbâ’ ve ensâr, cümle-i huddâm-ı encum-şiar, âmme-i reâyâ ve memleket, kâffe-i berâyâ ve vilâyet, memâlik ve ekâlim-i mamûre, kılâ ve bihâr-ı mevfüre, hazâyin ve cihâz-ı nâ-mahdûde, cevâhir ve emvâl ve maâdin-i nâ-madûd, rakam-ı tafsîl ile merkum, kalem-i tavsîf ile mersum olunsa acûbe-i zamân ve nâdire-i devrân olurdu. Celâlzāde Mustafa, *Geschichte Sultan Süleyman Kânunîs von 1520 bis 1557, Tabakât ul-Memâlik ve Derecât ul-Mesâlik*, Petra Kappert, ed., Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981, p.9a.

“*Pasha*” of Sivas in 948/1541.¹³⁴ Celālzāde Mustafa was at the service of Grand Vezir Piri Mehmed Pasha, ie. he was Grand Vezir’s *tezkiireci* (private secretary). As stated above, Celālzāde was a protégé of Piri Mehmed Pasha and *nişancı* Seydi Bey. We do not have much information on Seydi Bey’s personality but sources are rich about Piri Mehmed Pasha of famous *Cemali* family. Celālzāde’s *Ṭabaḳāt* and *Selimname* describes him as a responsible, hard-working, honest and noble person. Celālzāde Mustafa participated in Sultan Süleyman’s first campaign (Belgrade) in the retinue of Grand Vezir. As it will be seen below, his *Ṭabaḳāt* clearly favors Piri Mehmed Pasha’s views when narrating the discussions of war council on the military strategy to be applied in aforementioned campaigns.

Kemalpashazade¹³⁵ and Celālzāde¹³⁶ begin their work on Sultan Süleyman’s reign by providing examples illustrating the Sultan’s justice. For instance, the Sultan’s release of the merchants who had been arrested in Selim’s reign because of their inobservance of trade ban with Iran, or Sultan’s punishment of a usurper, Sancakbey of Gelibolu Cafer. Nişancı Ramazanzāde does not provide concrete examples of Sultan’s justice but he emphasizes Sultan’s respect for justice, his care for the people and his esteem for religious duties, like ban on wine and persecution of heterodoxy.¹³⁷ Lutfi Pasha, like most of other sources focusing on military campaigns, begins with the uprising of Canberdi Gazali in Damascus.¹³⁸

Upon enthronement, Sultan Süleyman’s biggest challenge was to sustain order and he responded Canberdi’s revolt by sending an army under the command of

¹³⁴ Atai, *Hadaiku’l-Hakaik fi Tekmileti’ş-Şakaik*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Esad Ef. 2309, f. 62. Atai’s work in print misses a few lines in the section on *nişancı*s of Sultan Süleyman (p. 105).

¹³⁵ Kemal Paşa-zade, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, ed. Şefaettin Severcan, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, pp. 36-44.

¹³⁶ Celālzāde Mustafa, *Geschichte Sultan Süleyman Kānunīs von 1520 bis 1557, Tabakāt ul-Memālik ve Derecāt ul-Mesālik*, Petra Kappert, ed., Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981, pp. 27b-28a.

¹³⁷ Ramazanzāde Mehmed, *Tarih-i Nişancı*, Süleymaniye Library, Hasan Husnu, 856, f. 64-66.

¹³⁸ Kayhan Atik, *Lütfi Paşa ve Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001, p. 244, Mustafa Karazeybek, *Tarih-i Al-i Osman, Topkapı Palace, Revan, 1099*, unpublished Master thesis, Istanbul University, 1994, pp. 306-307.

third vezir Ferhad Pasha. Like Sultan Selim, Süleyman entrusted his brother-in-law, Ferhad Pasha, to restore order in Damascus and to prevent a similar revolt in East Anatolia. Ferhad Pasha succeeded in defeating Canberdi with the help of powerful governor of Zulkadir province, *Şehsuvaroğlu* Ali. Eventually, Ferhad Pasha ordered the execution of Şehsuvaroglu Ali and his three sons as well, to prevent any uprising in the future.¹³⁹ Loyalty of Hayır Bey, governor of Egypt with Mamluk origin, had been guaranteed with installment of powerful janissary garrison in the city and with appointment of loyal, high ranking officials from center like *defterdar*. In addition, Hayır Bey's son was detained in the capital as a preventive measure. Annexation of Arab lands (*memalik-i Arab*) necessitated the trial of new principles or titles in administrative structure. Damascus and Egypt were important provinces, and they required senior governors. After the defeat of Canberdi, Ayas Pasha, the governor of Anatolia had been appointed as governor of Damascus. Normally, it would not have meant a promotion, since after Anatolia, governorship of Rumelia is expected. But it is obvious that Ayas Pasha was appointed because he was considered loyal and a talented governor, eventually he became governor of Rumelia upon Ahmed Pasha's promotion to vezirate.¹⁴⁰ Similarly, governors with the rank of *vezirate* were appointed to Egypt after Hayır Bey, like Mustafa Pasha, Ahmed Pasha and Güzelce Kasım Pasha. In short, Süleyman the Magnificent's reign necessitated the establishment of new measures, laws or *kanuns*, and it also provided the opportunity for creative people to prove themselves. Celālzāde Mustafa was lucky in that respect

¹³⁹ Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, İstanbul, 1274/1858, v.1 p. 530. Celālzāde, Kemalpaşazade, Ramazanzāde and Lutfi Pasha do not provide a clear reason for Şehsuvaroglu's execution, but all of them agree that Şehsuvaroglu was secretly aspiring for independence. As Celālzāde states, Şehsuvaroglu was privileged an autonomous government (*alā vech'i-istiklāl*) by Selim I, and he was blinded by the power he enjoyed. *Ṭabakāt*, p. 68a. Kemalpaşazade compares Şehsuvaroglu's status with Hān of Crimea, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, p. 144-146.

¹⁴⁰ Ayas Pasha was governor of Damascus between 15 Rebi al-ahir 927-3 Muharrem 928. see Henri Laoust, *Les Gouverneurs de Damas sous Les Mamlouks et Les Premiers Ottomans (658-1156/1260-1744) traduction des annales d'ibn Tulun et d'ibn Cuma*, Damas, 1952, and V. J. Parry, "Ayas Pasha", *EI2*, v. 1, p. 779.

and, as we will see below, he proved himself in several occasions. Especially the first half of the Süleyman's reign can be characterized as a time of search and innovation in state organization and in fine arts as well. With Gulru Necipoglu's words; "*the long reign of Süleymān can be divided into two parts, each with its own distinctive artistic as well as broader cultural-political orientation: the first was characterized by an eclectic syncretism and the second by a homogenous classical synthesis constituting a maturation of earlier experiments*".¹⁴¹

As stated above, Celālzāde Mustafa was *tezkireci* of Grand Vezir Piri Mehmed Pasha when Sultan Süleyman set out for his first campaign on Belgrade in 927/1521. Celālzāde Mustafa's account of the campaign contains details no other contemporary source covers. According to *Ṭabaḳāt*, war council is summoned in Sofia and members of Ottoman *divan* (court) discussed the strategy to be followed. Grand Vezir's view to besiege Belgrade was opposed especially by Governor (*Beylerbey*) of Rumelia, Ahmed Pasha. Ahmed Pasha proposed to lay siege to Böğürdelen castle (Sabac) on Sava, his view is supported by other *vezirs* and it is accepted by war council. Nevertheless, Sultan decided to send Ahmed Pasha on Böğürdelen and Piri Pasha on Belgrade, Sultan himself set out for Böğürdelen. Celālzāde Mustafa criticizes Ahmed Pasha severely, saying "ill-tempered, irascible, brainless, bad-mannered, ignorant and Georgian in origin"¹⁴². On the other hand Piri Mehmed Pasha is praised for his foresight, noble-mindedness, wisdom and

¹⁴¹ Gülru Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, A Canon for the Arts: Conceptualizing the Classical Synthesis of Ottoman Art and Architecture" *Soliman le Magnifique et Son Temps, Actes du Colloque de Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 7-10 Mars 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein, p. 203. see also, G. Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg-Papal Rivalry" *The Art Bulletin*, 71, sept. 1989, p. 401-427.

¹⁴² "*Mütehevvir ve mütehattik, bī-akl u bī-edeb, cāhil ve gürci-neseb*" Celālzāde Mustafa, *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 46b. According to Mustafa Ali, Ahmed Pasha is Albanian; "*Ahmed Paşa-yı hāyindir ki cins-i Arnavud-ı lecūc ve anūd ve müfsid ve zeban-ı dirāz ve küfrānu'n-ni'me ve hile-perdāz bed-asl idüğüne bināen ...*" *Künhü'l-Ahbār*, manuscript, section on Sultan Süleyman's vezirs. However, Mustafa Ali also cites Ahmed Paşa as Georgian in another instance, see *Künhü'l-Ahbār*, 2nd vakia, reign of Sultan Süleyman.

comprehensiveness. According to Celālzāde, Piri Mehmed Pasha is equal to Āsāf in *vezirate*, Aristotle and Lokman in wisdom and foresight.¹⁴³ After conquering Bögürdelen, Sultan came to Belgrade and it was captured in Ramadan 927/August 1521. After the campaign, Governor of Rumelia Ahmed Pasha is promoted to 4th vezirate and his post is granted to Damascus governor Ayas Pasha. Sultan arrived in Istanbul in October 1521.

Sultan's second campaign aimed to secure the sea route to Egypt, by conquering Rhodes. Second vezir Mustafa Pasha was entrusted with the command of fleet and "*all the servants of his royal highness who volunteer to accompany Mustafa Pasha were allowed to join him by Sultan's order*". Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi was enlisted as *kātib-i divān* among vezir's retinue and he departed from Istanbul on 10 Racab 928/5 June 1522.¹⁴⁴ Sultan and his grand vezir Piri Mehmed preferred land route and they departed from Istanbul a week later. As Celālzāde stated, Sultan's wish was actually to continue conquest in the west, aiming at Buda. But he says, the infidels were very powerful in the sea and they were attacking merchants and pilgrims. He cites that Sultan Mehmed II assigned his vezir Mesih Pasha to conquer Rhodes, but he failed. Afterwards, Piri Mehmed urged Sultan Selim to embark on a campaign against Rhodes, Sultan accepted the idea and ordered to begin preparations for campaign, but he did not survive.¹⁴⁵ Celālzāde Mustafa provides a vivid description of campaign beginning with the departure of Ottoman fleet and ending with the capture of castle. His account of the campaign mostly coincides with the

¹⁴³ Celālzāde Mustafa, *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 45a-46b.

¹⁴⁴ Celālzāde Mustafa, *Ṭabaḳāt*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Fatih, 4422, f.54b, and 4423 f. 49a. Note that facsimile edition of *Ṭabaḳāt* by Petra Kappert gives the date as 3 Racab 928/30 May 1522 for Mustafa Pasha's departure, p.69a-b. It must be a mistake since Kemalpaşazade also gives the date as 10 Racab, and journal of Rodos campaign (*ruzname-i feth-i Rodos*) states it was 9 Racab 928. see Kemalpaşazade, *Tevarih-i Āl-i Osman, X. Defter*, ed. Şefaettin Severcan, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1996, p. 134, and M. Akif Erdoğan, "Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Rodos Seferi Ruznamesi" *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, İzmir, v. XIX (July 2004), no. 1, p. 57.

¹⁴⁵ Yusuf Küçükdağ, *Piri Mehmed Paşa*, Konya, 1994, p. 82-85.

account given in journal (*ruzname*) of Rhodes campaign found in Feridun Bey's *Münşeāt*. Celālzāde emphasizes the strength of castle and presents reasons explaining long and unsuccessful siege. According to Celālzāde, greedy and jealous vezir Ahmed Pasha demonstrated his ill-manners even before the siege began, while accompanying Sultan on the road to Marmaris. Ahmed Pasha persuaded Sultan that Mustafa Pasha was not able to lead such a campaign and he succeeded to attain a *berāt* ordering Ahmed Pasha as general commander (*serasker*).¹⁴⁶ As we learn from the journal of Rhodes campaign, Sultan awarded 3rd vezir Ahmed Pasha¹⁴⁷, Rumelia Governor Ayas Pasha and Commander of Janissaries Bali Ağa with a *kaftān* (robe of honor) on 29 Shawwal 928/20 September 1522,¹⁴⁸ whereas Piri Mehmed Pasha and Mustafa Pasha were not rewarded during the campaign. It seems that military skills of Piri Mehmed Pasha and Mustafa Pasha were not appreciated by Sultan. Again, Celālzāde portrays Piri Mehmed as a humble, experienced statesman working for the benefit of the Sultanate; uninterested in Ahmed Pasha's conspiracies. However, Piri Mehmed Pasha's wise suggestions about siege strategy were not accepted by the imperial divan under the influence of Ahmed Pasha.¹⁴⁹ During the siege, death of Hayır Bey, governor of Egypt, necessitated the appointment of a new governor; Sultan Süleyman decided to send Mustafa Pasha. Rhodes were captured on 6 Safer 929/25 December 1522. During the campaign, Ahmed Pasha's manners angered

¹⁴⁶ "Ahmed Paşa ki rezālet-i şān ile sâhib-i nişān, şirret ve şekāvet-i tab' ile müşārun ileyhi bi'l-benān idi kâmet-i bî-dirāyetine libās-ı cehl münāsib hil'at olmuşdı, ... Ahvāl-i kal'ayı kendüye tefvîz itdürüb min ba'd Ahmed Paşa mübāşir ola diyü hükm-i hümayunla cumhūr-i guzāta ser'asker ta'yîn olunub mukaddem irsāl olundu", *Tabakāt*, p. 83a.

¹⁴⁷ Celālzāde cites Ahmed Pasha as third vezir, though he does not explain when third vezir Ferhad Pasha was relieved of the post, probably it is because Ferhad Pasha was sent away and Ahmed Pasha was at Sultan's service. See *Tabakāt*, p. 85a. Kemalpaşazade, on the other hand, states Ahmed Pasha as fourth vezir, *Tevarih-i Āl-i Osman, X. Defter*, p.159 and 175.

¹⁴⁸ Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, İstanbul, 1274/1858, v.1 p. 533.

¹⁴⁹ Celālzāde, *Tabakāt*, p. 86a.

many senior officials like Piri Mehmed, Mustafa and Ayas Pasha¹⁵⁰, but he achieved to get an important position in the center; Mustafa Pasha was sent to Egypt and Ferhad Pasha was reduced to province governor.¹⁵¹ Though Piri Mehmed, Celālzāde's protector, was still grand vezir when Sultan returned his capital in Rabi I 929/January 1523, he certainly lost Sultan's favour.

Palace circles and especially second vezir Ahmed Pasha were expecting a new appointment for grand vezirate. As Celālzāde stated, Ahmed Pasha accused Piri Mehmed Pasha of accepting bribes from notables of Egypt, who were exiled by Sultan Selim. Sultan Süleyman entrusted Muhyiddin Fenārızāde, kazasker of Anatolia, to investigate the charges. Celālzāde implies that Muhyiddin Fenārızāde was a member of rival faction; his investigation was affected by partisanship and his relations (*şān-ı şer'ā teşvīş virdi, tarīk-i hākdan çıkub ta'aşşub ve nisbet yollarına sülük itdi*).¹⁵² Consequently, Muhyiddin Fenārī, presented false reports in compliance with Ahmed Pasha's accusations.

Sultan Süleyman did not hesitate to make changes in state protocol or to set new rules to strengthen his absolute power.¹⁵³ As stated above, Sultan Süleyman faced the challenge to control newly acquired lands that doubled the Ottoman realm in size. When Hayır Bey died during the Rhodes campaign, imperial *divan* was summoned and it is decided that "since the stability of illustrious Egypt was

¹⁵⁰ Upon Ahmed Pasha's accusations, Ayas Pasha was arrested and prisoned for one day during the siege (5 Zilkade 928/26 September 1522). Then Sultan realized Ayas Pasha's innocence, he was released and ordered to join Piri Mehmed Pasha's troops together with his own troops. Celālzāde Mustafa, *Ṭabakāt*, p. 95b. According to Kemalpaşazade, Ibrahim Pasha, then *agha* of privy chamber, persuaded Sultan about Ayas Pasha's innocence, see *Tevarih-i Āl-i Osman*, X. *Defter*, p.162.

¹⁵¹ Ferhad Pasha became governor of Semendire upon Sultan's return to capital. Lutfi Paşa, *Tevarih-i Āl-i Osman*, Istanbul, Matbaa-i Amire, 1341 (1922), p. 314.

¹⁵² Celālzāde, *Ṭabakāt*, p. 110a.

¹⁵³ For an excellent discussion of Süleyman's legislative personality see Halil İnalcık, "State, Sovereignty and Law During the Reign of Süleyman" *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, eds. Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar, İstanbul, ISIS Press, 1993, 59-92.

essential, it is better to send a vezir”.¹⁵⁴ Mustafa Āli presents a brief description of Sultan Süleyman’s reign in the beginning of related chapter of his *Künhü’l-Ahbar*. As Mustafa Āli indicated; “vüzerāyī dāmād idinmek ve vükelāyī ekseriyā haremden çıkan nuvvāb-ı kāmīyābdan intihāb etmek aşılarda anlardan [Sultan Süleyman] oldu”.

Sultan Süleyman had changed the hierarchy of palace servants in the Rhodes campaign; the status of *emir-i ahur* (head of imperial stables) was heightened vis-à-vis other palace officials.¹⁵⁵ But Sultan’s most unexpected deed occurred in the appointment of his new grand vezir upon his return from Rhodes campaign. Second vezir Ahmed Pasha’s expectations did not realize, Sultan appointed the head of privy chamber (*hasodabaşı*) Ibrahim as the governor of Rumelia and Grand Vezir, on 13 Shabān 929/27 June 1523.¹⁵⁶

Piri Mehmed Pasha’s release of the office deprived Celālzāde Mustafa of the support of a powerful master. However, appointment of Ibrahim Pasha, instead of Ahmed Pasha, comforted Celālzāde Mustafa’s status as *tezkiireci*. Usually, all *vezirs* have their own *tezkiirecis*, *kethudas* etc. and when a *vezir* is promoted to *Grand Vezirate*, it means also a promotion of his retinue. Because Ibrahim Pasha became Grand Vezir with no experience in state administration and with no retinue, he needed to have experienced officials. Celālzāde Mustafa was the perfect candidate for the job; he had served former Grand Vezir for six years. Eventually Celālzāde Mustafa became *tezkiireci* of new grand vezir Ibrahim Pasha.

¹⁵⁴ “diyār-ı celilü’l-i’tibār Mısır’ın intizāmı cümle-i vācibātdan olduğuna bināen vüzerādan birisi ol cānibe gönderilmek enseb ve evlā görüldüğü ecilden ...” *Ṭabaḳāt*, 97b.

¹⁵⁵ “ve emir-i ahur Mustafa Ağa dīvān-ı ālide min ba’d kapucibaşları ve emir-i alemleri tasaddur etmek buyuruldu”, Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu’s-Selātīn*, p. 536. However, previous protocol was restored later on; circumcision ceremony of 946 Racab/1539 December is a reference event setting Ottoman imperial protocol, see *Mecmua-i Humayun*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Esad, 3343, f. 391a and *İnşa Mecmuası*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Esad, 3363, f. 22a.

¹⁵⁶ Celālzāde, *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 111a.

Contemporary sources agree that Ibrahim Pasha's ignorance of state administration was balanced by Celālzāde Mustafa's experience. Beyānī (Mustafa b. Cārullah, d. 1006/1597-8) narrates with Celālzāde Mustafa's words; "*when Ibrahim Pasha suddenly became Grand Vezir, he asked for a qualified kاتب among divan scribes and he appointed me [i.e. Celālzāde] as his tezkireci. He [Ibrahim Pasha] was not educated about world affairs and many petitioners flooded divan. Secretly, we had an agreement that if it is a matter of law, in accordance with my signal, he will send the petitioner to Kazasker; if it is a matter of finance, he will send the petitioner to Defterdar. If it is a matter of vezirate that he should deal with, then I will grab pen and ink holder and he will say "write my order"*".¹⁵⁷

Kınalızade Hasan (d. 1012/1603) indicates that Celālzāde was Ibrahim Pasha's *kاتب-i sırr*, and also his advisor and supporter in matters dealing with state affairs.¹⁵⁸ Sehī (d. 955/1548) cites the prestige Celālzāde enjoyed in the court of Sultan Süleyman and Aşık Çelebi (d.979/1571) names Celālzāde as advisor and helper of every vezir.¹⁵⁹

Another important source of the 16th century, Mustafa Āli (d. 1008/1600) had acquaintance with Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi and he quoted Celālzāde very often in his work *Künhü'l-Ahbār*. Actually, it is not an exaggeration to say that *Künhü'l-Ahbār* mostly relies on *Tabakāt* in chapters on Sultan Süleyman. As Mustafa Āli

¹⁵⁷ "İbrahim Paşa harem-i pâdişāhiden def'aten vezir-i azamlığa çıkdıkda küttâbdan bir gâyetle ehl-i vukûf kimesne isteyüb hak'iri getürüb tezkireci edildi. Kendünün ahvâl-i âleme vukûfu yok şikâyetçi ise izdihâm ider. Mâ-beynimizde, tenhâda ittifâk olunmuşdur ki eğer şer'ata müteallik nesne ise benüm işâretimle Kadiaskere sala, eğer mâl-i pâdişāhiye müteallik ise defterdâra göndere, eğer kendüye, vezârete müteallik ise ben devata kaleme yapışurum ol dahi hükm yazılsun buyururdu." Beyānī, Mustafa bin Carullah, *Tezkiretu's-Şuarā*, ed. İbrahim Kutluk, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997, p. 293.

¹⁵⁸ "vezir-i mezbûrun [İbrahim Paşa] mâ-bih'i-işîzhârı, ve kâr-ı ıslâh-ı memâlik-i islâmı mu'temen ve müsteşârı idi." Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretu's-Şuarā*, ed. İbrahim Kutluk, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1981, v. 2, p.989. However Kınalızade is mistaken in assuming that it was Celālzāde's earliest appointment.

¹⁵⁹ "hazret-i Padişāh-ı sâhib-kırân huzur-ı şer'ifinde bunlara [Celālzāde] olan itibâr nesl-i Osmânî'de bir nişancıya olmuştur." Sehī, *Heşt Bihişt*, ed. Günay Kut, Harvard University Press, 1978, p. 135. "her vezîre zâhîr ve her müşîre müsteşâr idi." Aşık Çelebi, *Meşairu's-Şuarā*, ed. Filiz Kılıç, unpublished dissertation, Ankara, Gazi University, 1994, p. 462.

expresses in his entry on Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha, he reports mostly what he heard from Celālzāde Mustafa. He adds; “when Ibrahim Pasha was appointed Grand Vezir, he had great difficulty to govern as good as his predecessor Piri Mehmed did. Eventually he decided to get away from capital and he found the excuse in instability of Egypt.”¹⁶⁰

Certainly Celālzāde Mustafa enjoyed greater prestige as *tezkireci* of Ibrahim Pasha than he enjoyed before. Firstly, Piri Mehmed Pasha did not succeed in acquiring Sultan’s confidence, which undermined his status and caused to be criticized by other vezirs. Secondly, Ibrahim Pasha was more powerful and he needed the guidance of skilled servants, like Celālzāde. And thirdly, Sultan and his new grand vezir represented the new generation who would like to establish their own way of government. Sultan Süleyman, Ibrahim Pasha and Celālzāde Mustafa were about the same age, early 30s. As stated before, especially the first half of Süleyman’s reign can be *characterized by an eclectic syncretism*. New era offered proper environment for the presentation of new rules, regulations and styles, and it gave the opportunity to those who would like to display their skills.

Celālzāde Mustafa’s brother, Salih benefited the new political environment as well, he composed a *kaside* praising new Grand Vezir. He was rewarded with *medrese* of Murad Pasha in Istanbul, and an increase of 5 aspers in his revenue, later on, another 5 aspers is added.

New Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha married Sultan’s sister Hatice in Racab 930/May 1524. Ibrahim Pasha was Sultan Süleyman’s close associate and now, his brother-in-law, but Grand Vezir was still obliged to prove his competence in state

¹⁶⁰ “müştir-i müşārun ileyh ki sadr-ı vezārete geçmişler icrā-yı ahkām idüb Pīrī Paşa gibi alub virmede hayli mihnet ve elem çekmişler, ākibet bir bahane ile taşra gitmeği münāsib görmüşler vilāyet-i Mısır’ın bazı umūru muhtell olmuş...” Mustafa Āli, *Kūnhü’l-Ahbār*, manuscript, entry of Ibrahim Pasha.

administration. New Grand Vezir faced the challenge to overcome administrative problems originating from expansion of the Empire. Moreover, military dynamism of the Empire required a thorough knowledge of international situation. As Celālzāde stated in chapter on Rhodes campaign, Sultan wanted to conclude struggle over Hungary. On the other hand, Shah Ismail's death (19 Racab 930/23 May 1524) weakened the Safavid state and presented new opportunities in the east.¹⁶¹ Ibrahim Pasha was not qualified enough to deal with these issues. Therefore, Mustafa Āli's account explaining Ibrahim Pasha's real motives to depart for Egypt is quite reasonable. Ibrahim Pasha had the opportunity to assess contemporary situation of the Empire with help of Egyptian mission.

Second vezir Ahmed Pasha had been offended by Ibrahim Pasha's promotion. He insisted for an appointment in the provinces. Agreeing to Ahmed Pasha's wish, Sultan approved him as Governor of Egypt. Ahmed Pasha tried to ally with local military class; Mamluks, and allowed janissaries to return to Istanbul while he was governing Egypt. Suspecting Ahmed Pasha's actions, Ottoman capital sent a secret *ferman* addressing Musa Bey, a military official, to execute Ahmed Pasha and to assume governorship.¹⁶² But Ahmed Pasha discovered plans and executed all of the senior military commanders loyal to the Ottoman capital. Claiming independence, Ahmed Pasha established his sultanate in the Ottoman model.¹⁶³ Ahmed Pasha persuaded *defterdar* of Egypt, Kadızade Mehmed Bey, to join his government.

¹⁶¹ Shah Ismail sent an emissary (Hasan Bey) to Ottoman Capital to congratulate Sultan's accession to throne in Muharram 930, see, BOA, KK 1766, p.116. It seems that Shah's delayed emissary was not welcomed warmly by Ottoman Sultan. Sultan Süleyman's letter addressing Shah Ismail mentions that since Sultan was busy with campaigns on Belgrade and Rhodes, he did not punish Shah Ismail, but soon Ismail will be punished. See, *Munşeat Mecmuası*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Esad, 3879, f. 70b. Contemporary Ottoman sources does not give much information on Shah Ismail's emissary; Ramazanzāde's *Tarih-i Nişancı* states that "*şāh İsmā'il'den elçi gelüb şaltanat mubārek olsun diyu ve ta'ziye için nāme ile der-i devlete mulākī oldı, fī sene 930.*" Manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Esad, 2362, f. 124a.

¹⁶² Halil Inalcik, "Ahmad Pasha Khāin", *EI2*, v. 1, p. 293.

¹⁶³ Seyyid Muhammed es-Seyyid Mahmud, *16. Asırda Mısır Eyaleti*, Istanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1990, p. 79-81.

Kadıze Mehmed was a former *nişancı* and *defterdar* in the reign of Sultan Selim.¹⁶⁴ He pretended to accept Ahmed Pasha's offer, secretly organizing a *coup d'état* against him. Ahmed Pasha was captured and killed after 12 days of *sultanate*, in Racab 930/April 1524. Former Governor of Anatolia Kasım Pasha, then probably third vezir, replaced him as governor of Egypt and Kadıze Mehmed Bey served as *Defterdar*.

New governor Kasım Pasha and defterdar Mehmed Bey did not work together in harmony. It seems that Kasım Pasha accused the *Defterdar* of misconduct and corruption. Moreover, there were rumors that a new uprising led by Ibrahim Gülşenî, famous mystic leader, is on the way.¹⁶⁵ When Ibrahim Pasha decided to depart for Egypt, the obvious reason was to investigate the accusations and to establish a system pleasing local people, military units and central administration.

Ibrahim Pasha departed for Egypt on 1 Zilhicce 930/30 September 1524. He was accompanied by *Defterdar of Rumelia* Iskender, *tezkiireci* Celālzāde, scribes of imperial treasury and palace servants. Ibrahim Pasha's intention to go by sea route did not realize because of bad weather. He was forced to follow land route through Marmaris, Karaman, Haleb and Damascus. After a 5 months journey, Ibrahim Pasha reached Cairo on 8 Cumada II 931/2 April 1525.¹⁶⁶ Celālzāde Mustafa narrates journey in detail, emphasizing Grand Vezir's investigation and punishment of governors and other state officials on the road. As Celālzāde states; "[Ibrahim Pasha] *her menzilde dīvān idüb 'adl u inşāf kapularını açdı, şer'-i kavīme ve kânūn-i kadīme bi'l-cümle şırāt-i müstakīme muhālif olan mezālīm ve mehāyifi bi'z-zāt teftiş idüb mazlūmlara i'ānet ve ri'āyet zālīmle envā'-i recz u kahr ve siyāsetler kıldı.*"¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Celālzāde, *Tabakāt*, p. 114a.

¹⁶⁵ Mustafa Āli, *Künhü'l-Ahbar*, manuscript, entry of Ibrahim Pasha.

¹⁶⁶ Celālzāde, *Tabakāt*, p. 121a-125b.

¹⁶⁷ Celālzāde, *Tabakāt*, p. 123b.

Preparation of a *kanunname* for Egypt was the most important part of Ibrahim Pasha's mission in Egypt. Like all of provincial *kanunnames*, *kanunname* of Egypt contain articles about the rights and responsibilities of military classes as well as financial responsibilities of the local people. But *kanunname* of Egypt distinguishes itself from other *kanunnames* by giving priority to the organization and size of military classes. *Kanunname* begins with articles on the military classes, which reflects central administration's primary concern; the safety and obedience of Egypt. Ottoman administrative tradition was to incorporate local military class of conquered lands into Ottoman military-administrative system. This tradition worked well in relatively small and nearby lands to the Ottoman capital, like Balkans. Whereas Egypt's size, distance and state tradition created some complications. Unfortunately there is no comprehensive study examining effects of annexation of Mamluks in the Ottoman state tradition. Contents of *Kanunname* for Egypt will be analyzed in following chapter.

Celālzāde Mustafa do not strongly emphasize his role in the codification of *kanunname*, but he was the primary aide of Grand Vezir in its preparation process. As stated above, Celālzāde describes his master in the imperial divan, Seydi Bey as *kanun-şinās* (expert in law). No doubt Celālzāde Mustafa learned a lot about Ottoman laws during six years he worked with Seydi Bey and Piri Mehmed Pasha. Actually, *Kanunname* of Mısır can be regarded as a work authored by Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi. Long and ornate introduction (*mukaddime*) of *kanunname* contains statements about the necessity of Sultan's legislative duties, people's need for laws and praise of Ottoman family. Here Celālzāde compares Sultan with prophets and saints (*evliya*) and he narrates events led to the codification of *kanunname* by

Ibrahim Pasha.¹⁶⁸ In *Ṭabaḳāt*, Celālzāde states that upon complaints “[*Ibrahim*] Pasha handled the issue with utmost care, making found the oldest registers from the time of Mamluks, the just laws from the time of late Kayıtbay –may the paradise be his resting place- of Kansu Guri and Hayır Bey are examined, (...) consequently a moderate law was prepared in a way that do not cause any loss for Sultan’s treasury and do not harm tax-paying subjects.”¹⁶⁹ Celālzāde adds that after the codification of *kanunname*, it was sent to capital and approved by Sultan.

In addition to issuing a “just” *kanunname*, Ibrahim Pasha carried out charitable works like creating foundations for the orphans of city, repairing mosques, and releasing prisoners convicted for unpaid debts. Celālzāde emphasizes that Pasha used mostly his own income to carry out these works and He encouraged Celālzāde as well to do the same. Celālzāde regards these deeds as the assurance serving to the maintenance of Ottoman rule. According to Celālzāde, Circassians is loyal only in appearance, their nature is inclined to establish their own rule; “even if a Circassian is in miserable condition, he aspires to establish his own kingdom”¹⁷⁰ Therefore, it is important to gain allegiance of other segments of the local population by *istimālet* (conciliatory) policies. Celālzāde concludes that as long as deeds of Ibrahim Pasha are remembered, there will be stability in Egypt.

In Egypt, Ibrahim Pasha, like his predecessors, accepted visitors among local notables. Ibrahim Gülşenī was a notable religious leader with a number of followers

¹⁶⁸ For *Mukaddime of Kanunname* see *Tercüme-i Kavanin-i Cevahir-Nizam*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Esad, 1827, f. 1b-12a. After a long section on praise of Sultan, Celālzāde concludes with these words; “Nebī değildi velī ol güzide-i hulka /Cemi-i hulkını virmiş nebīlerin Hālīk / Velāyet ehli kamu gördüler kerāmetini / Velī denilse o şāh-ı vilāyete lāyık”, f. 5b.

¹⁶⁹ “Paşā-yı sa’d-encām bu bābda ziyāde ihtimāmlar idüb sinīn-i sābıkada vāḳi’ olan defātir-i ḳāḍimeyi buldurub selātīn-i Çerākiseden merhūm Kayıtbāy-i cennet-cāy ve bihişt-me’vā zamanlarında ma’mūlun bih olan ḳavānīn-i ‘adl-āyini getirüb soñra Ḳansu Gūri devrinde ba’dehū Hayır Bey eyyāmında icrā olunan umūru ma’lūm idinüb (...) ḥazīne-i Sulṭana ne ḳuşūr ve takşīr ve ne re’ayā-yı memlekete ‘özü ve zulme tevḫīr olunsun diyü i’tidāl üzere miyāne bir ḳānūn-i ‘adl-maḳrūn ḳoyub”, *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 127a.

¹⁷⁰ “ḳānde bir Çerkes görsen aç ve müflis, rû-siyah / vāris-i mülk u diyār ṭālīb-i taht u külah” *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 104b.

especially among soldiers, who did not come to welcome Grand Vezir. Gülşenī was born in Amid (Diyarbakir) and spent most of the time in the region between Amid and Tabriz, taking part in political struggles in the region. His lineage is claimed to reach legendary ancestor of Turks, Oguz Han.¹⁷¹ Besides, Sheyh's son was married to widow of Tomanbay who led the resistance against Ottoman conquest after Kansu Guri's death. It seems that Ibrahim Pasha was disturbed by Sheyh's popularity among military men in Egypt, he suspected latter's political ambitions.¹⁷² *Menākīb-ı İbrahim Gülşenī* portrays Ibrahim Pasha as an arrogant statesman who slandered Sheyh because Sheyh did not visit him. However Celālzāde and Defterdar İskender are mentioned among those who respected Sheyh and valued his advises.¹⁷³

Receiving Sultan's order, Ibrahim Pasha appointed Governor of Damascus, Hadım Süleyman Pasha, as Governor of Egypt¹⁷⁴ and made preparations to depart for Istanbul. While Ibrahim Pasha was still in Egypt, an uprising broke out in Istanbul, and rebels sacked the palace of Ibrahim Pasha, vezir Ayas Pasha and Defterdar Abdusselam. According to Celālzāde, it was a rebellion of *levends* and *mufsidīn* who claimed to act in the name of janissaries. Celālzāde adds, some people who hate Grand Vezir had been silenced by latter's departure for Egypt. They hoped that Ibrahim Pasha would stay in Egypt permanently. When they realized that they are mistaken, they rebelled in 23 Racab 931/16 May 1525. Then, however, janissaries gathered in front of the gate of their leader, denouncing the rebels and asking for punishment of those responsible. Eventually, Agha of Janissaries Mustafa,

¹⁷¹ For Ibrahim Gülşenī see, Muhyi-yi Gülşenī, *Menākīb-ı İbrahim Gülşenī*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1982, and Himmet Konur, *İbrahim Gülşenī, Hayatı, Eserleri, Tarikatı*, İstanbul, İnsan Yayınları, 2000.

¹⁷² As Mustafa Āli reports, Sheyh had thirty thousand followers, see *Künhü'l-Ahbar*, manuscript, entry of Ibrahim Pasha.

¹⁷³ Muhyi-yi Gülşenī, *Menākīb-ı İbrahim Gülşenī*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1982, p. 397, 431.

¹⁷⁴ Unlike Mustafa Pasha and Ahmed Pasha, Hadım Süleyman was appointed "beylerbeyilik *tarikiyla*" not as a vezir, Celālzāde, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 129a.

reisülküttab Haydar and *kethuda* of Mustafa Pasha are executed because of their involvement in the incident.¹⁷⁵

Ibrahim Pasha, together with his retinue, left Egypt for Istanbul in 22 Shaban 931/14 June 1525. He chose land route again probably because he carried the *salyane* (annual tax) of Egypt with him. When Grand Vezir arrived in Kayseri, he was informed that former *timar* holders of Dulkadir province were gathering together to attack Grand Vezir's company and seize the treasury. Learning that *sipahis* of Dulkadir were deprived of their *timars*, Grand Vezir ordered the return of their lands and he gained their loyalty back. It seems that former vezir Ferhad Pasha was held responsible for the uneasiness prevalent in the region. Therefore, Ferhad Pasha was executed in Muharrem 931/November 1524 after he was dismissed from Semendire province. Celālzāde states that Ferhad Pasha's sins committed in the province of *Rum* ultimately caught him.¹⁷⁶ Celālzāde is either referring to the incident of Halveti Sheyh Muhammad, as mentioned above, or the confiscation of *timars* after Şehsuvaroglu Ali's execution.

2.2- Celālzāde As Reisu'l-Küttāb under Sadrazam Ibrahim Pasha (1525-1534)

Upon Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha's arrival in Istanbul on 18 Zilkade 931/6 September 1525, Celālzāde Mustafa was promoted to the post of *Reisülküttab*. Celālzāde's master Seydi Bey was probably *Nişancı* at that date.¹⁷⁷ As mentioned

¹⁷⁵ Celālzāde, *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 129a-b. Celālzāde does not state the exact date of their execution, saying only that "later on they have been found guilty". A *ferman* found in Feridun Bey's *Munşeāt* is dated 10-20 Ramadan 931 and it is composed by Haydar Çelebi. Therefore, execution of Reisülküttab must have been after that date. See, Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātin*, p.543-4.

¹⁷⁶ Celālzāde, *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 130a-131a.

¹⁷⁷ Contemporary narrative sources do not indicate Seydi Bey's appointment date, but Atāi states that Seydi Bey was appointed after Amasyalı Mehmed Pasha who served as *nişancı* very short time at the early years of Süleyman's reign, see Atai, *Hadaiku'l-Hakaik fi Tekmileti's-Şakaik*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Esad, 2309, f. 62a. A court register records Seydi Bey (bin Hayreddin) as

above, Seydi Bey was an expert in Ottoman law, but he is not a renowned *münşî*; as far as we know from Ottoman *munşeât* works. Ottoman *munşeât* works contains copies of important documents and sometimes names of the authors. Unsurprisingly, important official documents such as Sultan's letters to other sovereigns were authored by Nişancı of the time. Tacizade Cafer, Hocaşade Mehmed were famous *nişancı*s, and samples of their work can be found in *munşeât* works. Whereas, most of the official letters from Sultan Süleyman's reign were attributed to Reisülküttab Celâlzâde Mustafa, instead of Nişancı Seydi Bey. Letter to Shah Tahmasb, *Fetihname* of Mohac Campaign, *Berat* for Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha were all composed by Celâlzâde Mustafa, when he was still *Reisülküttab*.¹⁷⁸

Celâlzâde Mustafa's competence in Ottoman law was also appreciated when he was only a *Reisülküttab* or even before. Celâlzâde's role in the codification of *kanunname* of Egypt was mentioned above. Besides, an important reference work for Ottoman protocol is dated 932/1525-6 is also attributed to Celâlzâde. Protocol of Imperial Ceremony (*sûr-i humâyûn*) can be found in various *munşeât-kanun* works, and it presents the protocol applied in wedding ceremony of Ibrahim Pasha. One of the copies states explicitly that "Bu kânun İbrâhim Paşa zamânında olub Nişancı Beyin hizmetleri reîs-i küttâb iken emrile mücelled hâzîneğe kayd ve sebt eylemişler, fî sene 932".¹⁷⁹

It seems that Celâlzâde Mustafa's first year (932/1525-6) as *Reisülküttab* was especially busy because of international politics and bureaucratic expansion. Sultan Süleyman's famous letter to French King Francis I who was captured at Pavia and prisoned in Madrid, is dated Rebiulahir 932/January 1526. It was probably composed

Nişancı in Shawwal 933/July 1527, see Istanbul Müftülük Archives, *Evkaf-i Hümayun Müfettişliği*, 1, f. 168b-170a.

¹⁷⁸ For these three letters see Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selâtin*, p. 541-551.

¹⁷⁹ *Kânunname-i Osmânî bâ-hatt-i Dîvânî*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Esad, 2362, f. 80b.

by Celālzāde. Sultan's letter (*tehdidname*) to Shah Tahmasb has no date but it was probably written in 932 as well, because it mentions only campaigns of Belgrade and Rhodes and not Mohac.¹⁸⁰ Long *fetihname* of Mohac campaign was written in Zilkade 932/September 1526. Though its composer is not expressed in contemporary sources, its style and content suggest that it was prepared by Celālzāde. Actually, *Tabakāt*'s section on Mohac campaign is a detailed version of the *fetihname*.

Expansion of Ottoman bureaucracy must have necessitated new and larger buildings; as we learn from *Tarih-i Nişancı*, *divanhane* and imperial treasure were renovated and decorated in 932/1525-6.¹⁸¹

Without doubt, the most important event of 932/1525-6 was Sultan's campaign on Hungary. Sultan's aim was to conquer and annex the lands south of Drava river and to invade Buda. Celālzāde's account of the campaign mostly coincides with the account given in journal (*ruzname*) of campaign.¹⁸² *Tabakāt*'s section on Mohac campaign was surely first composed as a separate work, with its own introduction. When Celālzāde incorporated it into *Tabakāt*, he chose not to omit the introductory phrases. So it begins with praise of God, Prophet and his companions, continues with the praise of Sultan. Unlike chapters on Belgrade and Rhodes campaigns, Celālzāde focuses on Sultan's actions; other figures, even Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha, are only superficially mentioned.¹⁸³ Of course, it is not Celālzāde's aim to underestimate contributions of Grand Vezir and other leading

¹⁸⁰ Sultan's letter to Francis I can be found in E. Charriere, *Negociations de la France dans le Levant ou correspondances, memoires et actes diplomatiques des ambassadeurs de France a Constantinople et des ambassadeurs, envoyes ou residents a divers titres a Venise, Raguse, Rome, Malte et Jerusalem, en Turquie, Perse, Georgie, Crimée, Syrie, Egypte, etc, et dans les Etats de Tunis, d'Alger, et de Maroc, I*, Paris, 1848, p. 116, for Sultan's letter to Tahmasb, see Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, p. 541-543.

¹⁸¹ "İstanbulda olan dīvānhāne ve hıżāne-i āmire tecdīd ve tezyīn olmak buyruldu, 932", *Tarih-i Nişancı*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Reisulkuttap, 619, f. 68b

¹⁸² Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, p. 553-566.

¹⁸³ As it is understood from the poems, Celālzāde authored work after he became *Nişancı* (i.e. 941/1534), i.e. probably after Ibrahim Pasha's death in 942/1536. That would be another reason for not to attribute Ibrahim Pasha a central role.

statesman, *Ṭabaḳāt* acknowledge and appreciate their role, but they are portrayed as simple servants of Sultan, carrying out Sultan's order. If we compare Mohac with earlier two campaigns i.e. Belgrade and Rhodes, difference in Celālzāde's style becomes obvious. Earlier campaigns are shadowed by the struggle between Grand Vezir Piri Mehmed Pasha and other statesmen, especially the vicious Ahmed Pasha. Sultan was not dictating the strategy to be followed, he was listening advises of war council and choosing between sound suggestions. Unfortunately, he was influenced by ill-mannered suggestions of Ahmed Pasha. Whereas, Mohac campaign was accomplished in harmony from beginning to end, by skilled and virtuous servants of Sultan who followed orders. Celālzāde does not include events harming this harmony in his account of the campaign. For instance, he does not mention of the soldiers executed by Sultan's order for not obeying discipline, or soldiers' burning of the church in Pest contrary to Sultan's wish.¹⁸⁴ On the other hand, Celālzāde provides a detailed description of Ottoman soldiers's zeal for *gaza*, especially after the crossing of Drava river which has cut Ottoman troops' way back to *diyar-i islam*. Celālzāde describes the scene of Ottoman camp on the night before battle on Mohac; *delis* of Rumeli reads stories of *Oguz gazas*, *ulemā* preach soldiers reading and explaining passages from Holy Book.¹⁸⁵ According to Celālzāde, it was a sacred night and on the morning, army moved after Sultan prayed for all of his brave soldiers. Celālzāde emphasizes Sultan's "sacred" personality; he is the shadow of God on earth, his personality and wisdom is a reflection of divine inspiration (*zıll'u-llahi fi'l-arz, āyine-i ḡamīr-i munīr-i ḡusrevānī ki medār-i ilhāmāt-i Rabbānīdir*).¹⁸⁶ Consequently, after reading Celālzāde's account of the Mohac Battle, it is not hard to

¹⁸⁴ *Ruzname* of Campaign, Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, p. 553, 563

¹⁸⁵ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 143b.

¹⁸⁶ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 143a. Celālzāde also describes Sultan as "mehdi-i āḡiru'z-zaman" in p. 134b and 434b.

believe that “*there is no doubt army of islam was aided by secret soldiers and sacred souls. Some good people narrates that even Prophet and his companions was with Ottoman army.*”¹⁸⁷ As stated above, *Ṭabaḳāt*’s section on Mohac campaign is a detailed *fetihname* of Sultan, aiming to promulgate Sultan’s victorious actions and to exalt his name.

After visiting tomb of Eyub Ensārī and his ancestors, Sultan departed from Istanbul on 11 Racab 932/23 April 1526, together with 12.000 janissaries and other soldiers. Celālzāde describes ceremony of departure in detail, mentioning all servants of Sultan. Grand Vezir and Governor of Rumelia Ibrahim Pasha, second vezir Mustafa Pasha and third vezir Ayas Pasha participated in the campaign. Governor of Anatolia Behram Pasha joined in the army in Edirne, where Grand Vezir left with his soldiers in advance. Reisülküttab Celālzāde Mustafa does not express it but probably he accompanied Grand Vezir, together with Defterdar Iskender. After crossing Sava river on 3 Shawwal 932/13 July 1526, Grand Vezir laid siege to Varadin (Petrovaradin). Besieged by land and by river with 800 vessels, Varadin was taken on 17 Shawwal 932/27 July 1526. Ottoman army lost about 1.000 soldiers.¹⁸⁸ Conquering other castles on the southern bank of Danube, like Ilok, Grand Vezir advanced till Osijek on the river Drava. To cross the river, Ibrahim Pasha ordered the construction of a bridge, which was accomplished in 4 days. Ottoman army crossed river on newly built, 284 *żirā*’ long (215 meters) bridge, on 12 Zilkade/20 August. As Celālzāde states, upon crossing river “*köprü kesilüb diyār-ı islāmdan ‘alāḳa ḳaṭ’ oldu*”.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ “Ceyş-i İslām-penāh ile cunūd-i gaybiyye ve ervāḥ-i muḳaddese bile idüğüne iştibāh yoğ idi. ... ba’żi şuleḥāy-i ebrārdan naḳl u rivāyet olundu ki Ḥaẓreti Risālet-penāh şalavātullahi ‘aleyhi ve selāmuḥu cümle-i ervāḥ-i muḳaddese şaḥābe-i kibār ile rıdvānullahi te’ālā ‘aleyhim ecma’in bu gazā-yı garrāda bile imişler.” *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 150a.

¹⁸⁸ Celālzāde’s account mostly coincides with *ruẓname* of campaign in dates and numbers, differences, if there is, will be noted, *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 140a, Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu’s-Selātīn*, p. 557-8.

¹⁸⁹ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 142a.

Ṭabaḳāt is especially rich in describing situation just before Mohac Battle. Celālzāde points out that Hungarian King Lajos managed to get reinforcements from other Christian lords, such as Germans, Russians, Polish, Czechs, Spaniards, Franks, Herseks, Sicilians, Portuguese, Venetians, Genoese and Romans. As Celālzāde indicates, Ottoman army was informed about size and location of the enemy forces when crossing Drava river. Celālzāde estimates total number for Lajos' allied forces as 150.000. Therefore, Grand Vezir Ibrahim needed to consult with experienced commanders of the army. As an experienced soldier, Governor of Semendire Bali Bey informed Grand Vezir about the manners of Hungarians and explained their tactics. According to Bali Bey, it was impossible to confront Hungarians when they attack, Ottoman army should have avoid confrontation with Hungarian forces. If Ottoman forces manage to get behind Hungarian forces, they will succeed, but to do that, all auxiliary units should stay behind the army and Ottoman forces should have an empty space right behind them. According to Celālzāde, Ibrahim Pasha was astonished when he heard Bali Bey's suggestion. After a moment of silence, Grand Vezir acknowledged Bali Bey's point.¹⁹⁰ Ottoman army proceeded in an order to enable such a tactic, keeping a long distance with auxiliary units.

As stated above, Celālzāde presents a detailed description of Ottoman camp during the night before battle on Mohac valley. Eventually, two armies met in 20 Zilkade 932/29 August 1526, Ottomans succeeded to implement agreed tactics and they won an illustrious victory. According to Celālzāde, more than 200.000 men fell on the ground in less than 2-3 hours, whereas muslims lost only 150 men. Amazed by the great victory, Celālzāde concludes; "no one among *Sultans* and *Hakans* of

¹⁹⁰ "Paşaya hayret müstevlî olup bir miḳdār mütefekkir oldular. Āḥiru'l-emr 'aḳl-i ḳudsî-mertebetleri mazḥar-ı te'yîdât-i Rabbânî idi, ârâ-yı müşkil-küşâları buña müncerr oldu ki ..." *Ṭabaḳāt*, 146a.

past have ever gained such a great victory. From the time of Prophet Adam until today, it is not known that two great ruler have ever met with armies of that size”.¹⁹¹ *Ruzname* of campaign first estimates the loss of Hungarians as 50.000 infantry and 4.000 cavalry, then it corrects the number as 20.000 and 4.000. According to *ruzname*, Ottomans lost only 50-60 men. After the victory, Sultan Süleyman’s new golden throne was placed in the battlefield, *divan* was held and commanders paid their respect. A *Fetihname* was immediately prepared –most probably by Celālzāde- and it was sent to Rumelia, Anatolia, Egypt, Damascus, Diyarbekir, Kurdistan, Walachia, Moldova, Hameyn, Yemen, Said, Zengibar, Crimea, Algeria and Loristan.

Fetihname stresses on Sultan’s zeal for *gaza*, on his “sacred” personality; aided by God and Prophet, and on other religious motives such as conversion of churches into mosques and call for pray. *Fetihname* also mentions that Hungarian king called for and received support from other Christian lords and he had an army of 150.000 men. After a long description of campaign, *Fetihname* ends with informing victory at Mohac, stating that it was an unprecedented victory, no one before Sultan Süleyman ever gained. *Fetihname* does not include numbers on loss of both sides, and it informs that King Lajos disappeared, whether he is dead or alive is unknown. Celālzāde’s *Fetihname* will be examined in terms of style and language and it will be compared with previous examples in the following chapter.

Sultan Süleyman headed for Buda after the victory, and he spent 10 days in King Lajos’ palace. Celālzāde, like others, watched pictures and statues of palace in admiration. Author of *ruzname* narrates that city of Buda and Hungarian royal family have a history of 4700 years. Celālzāde mentions Lajos’ ancestors who had defeated

¹⁹¹ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 150a.

Tatars in the same place (Mohac) many years ago, in the age of *Zulkarneyn*. Sultan Süleyman entertained himself with feasts and hunting in Buda. Eventually, statues are carried to Ottoman fleet to be transferred to Istanbul and Sultan left city on 13 Zilhicce 932/20 September 1526 for Pest. After Pest, Sultan and his Grand Vezir headed back for Varadin, following separate routes; Sultan followed Danube, whereas Grand Vezir chose Tisza river. When Sultan and Grand Vezir arrived in Varadin, i.e. Ottoman lands, on 3 Muharram 933/10 October 1526, they were informed of the uprising in Anatolia. Governor of Anatolia, Behram Pasha set out immediately to deal with the issue. Sultan and Grand Vezir followed him arriving in Istanbul on 8 Safar 933/14 November 1526.¹⁹²

Interestingly, Celālzāde does not attempt to provide an explanation for leaving Hungarian capital after the conquest. Annexation of Hungary was probably not a realistic strategy for Ottoman administration. Another noteworthy anecdote of the campaign is the status of Defterdar Iskender; he always accompanied Grand Vezir with his own retinue during the campaign. Though Defterdars were not expected to lead their troops into battle, it seems that Iskender Çelebi had a remarkable garrison. Besides, he seems to be the head of imperial bureaucracy (*ehl-i kalem*); since *Tabakāt* and *Ruzname* never mentions the name of the *Nişancı* during the campaign, and *ehl-i kalem* moves together with Iskender Celebi's retinue. *Ruzname* of campaign states that when army captured a lot of stocks after a period of scarcity, 50.000 sheep were sent to Grand Vezir and 20.000 sheep were sent to Defterdar Iskender.¹⁹³ Undoubtedly, Iskender Çelebi represents another exceptional case in Ottoman way of administration, which, institutional structure was not firmly

¹⁹² *Tabakāt*, p. 156a, according to *ruzname* Sultan arrived on 7 Safar 933, Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, p.566.

¹⁹³ Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, p.564.

established and personal skills and charisma would be more important than the post one occupies.

Back in Istanbul, Sultan learned that Turkman population in Bozok province once again rebelled when he was at Mohac battle. Celālzāde describes rebels as “mountain people, champions of ignorance” and states that they have killed province governor Mustafa Bey and Kadı Muslihiddin who was entrusted with registering province revenues (*vilayet kitābeti emr olunan*). Governor of Karaman Iskenderpasazade Hurrem immediately acted to suppress rebellion but since he was an “ignorant and unintelligent”¹⁹⁴ person, Ottoman army was defeated near Kayseri on 20 Zilkade 932/28 August 1526. Hurrem Pasha and other province governors were killed in the battle. Rebels led by Baba Zunnun acquired more power and wealth after their victory and three weeks later they won another victory over Governor of Rum, Huseyin Pasha. Finally Governor of Haleb Husrev Pasha defeated rebels and killed Baba Zunnun on 22 Zilhicce, but success of rebels had incited discontented population. People in Tarsus and Adana rebelled but they were immediately suppressed by province governor Ramazanoglu Piri Bey.

Upon rebellion of Kalender in Karaman province, Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha set out to deal with issue on 28 Racab 933/30 April 1527, Celālzāde Mustafa was accompanying Grand Vezir. Assured of victory, Grand Vezir took measures to blockade Kalender’s escape route to Safavids, sending army under the command of Governor of Anatolia Behram Pasha. A descendant of famous Sufi Hacı Bektaş, Kalender is described as a renegade (*mulhid*) by Celālzāde, who “rebelled with the hope of sultanate”.¹⁹⁵ Surprisingly, Kalender and his dervishes defeated Ottoman forces and killed notable commanders including Governor of Karaman, Mahmud

¹⁹⁴ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 159b.

¹⁹⁵ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 165a.

Pasha, on 8 Ramadan. Behram Pasha managed to escape and when he was questioned by Grand Vezir for the defeat, he accused other commanders of not fighting with Kalender. According to Celālzāde, Grand Vezir had an army of 5.000 men under his command and Kalender's forces are estimated as 30.000. As Celālzāde states, "*Grand Vezir was a compassionate, kind and good-mannered man who listens other people, at the beginning of his vezirate*"¹⁹⁶. First, Grand Vezir applied to diplomatic measures to divide Kalender's forces. Learning that most of Kalender's forces are from Dulkadir province, Ibrahim Pasha secured allegiance of Dulkadir notables with rewards, and he promised to grant *timars* to Dulkadir *sipahis* after the victory. Ibrahim Pasha's plan worked, within a week, Kalender lost most of his soldiers and he was killed in the battle on 22 Ramadan 933/21 June 1527. Celālzāde indicates that after the victory Ibrahim Pasha's prestige augmented greatly and his income increased to 2 million *akce*.

After the victory, Ibrahim Pasha decided to investigate Behram Pasha's accusations. For him, it was a shame for imperial forces to be defeated by miserable dervishes (*ıṣṣık*), and responsible people should be punished to prevent its occurrence again. Ibrahim Pasha summoned a *divan* to interrogate Behram Pasha and other commanders of army. Celālzāde was entrusted with keeping register of interrogation. Almost 40 commanders were present at *divan*, Ibrahim Pasha started with questioning Behram Pasha. Scared of Grand Vezir's manner, Behram Pasha could not utter a word. Other commanders mostly accused each other for the failure, some of them defended themselves resorting to Destiny. Angered Grand Vezir was about to order executioner (*paşaya ḥiddet gālib olub cellāda işāret eşnāsında iken*) when

¹⁹⁶ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 168b.

one of them confessed their ignorance and conceit. Grand Vezir was persuaded that their crime was not treason, he renounced punishment.

Celālzāde Mustafa Celebi returned Istanbul with Grand Vezir on 13 Zilkade 933/11 August 1527. A few months later, an incident showed that even Ottoman capital and ‘ulemā circles were not immune to religious disputes. A member of ‘ulemā, Kabız caused turmoil among learned circles because he claimed that Prophet Jesus was superior to Prophet Mohammad.¹⁹⁷ *Ṭabaḳāt*’s chapter on case of Kabız is the only contemporary account, and it provides an opportunity for Celālzāde to demonstrate Kazasker Fenarizade’s deficiencies. As stated above, Kazasker Fenarizade was entrusted with investigating charges on Grand Vezir Piri Mehmed, Celālzāde’s master. Upon his report, Celālzāde’s master had been dismissed. According to Celālzāde, case of Kabız proved Kazasker’s ignorance and wisdom of Celālzāde’s teacher, Mufti Kemalpashazade.

Ṭabaḳāt indicates that Molla Kabız was brought to imperial *divan* with aforementioned accusation on 8 Safer 934/3 November 1527. Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha accepted case as a religious matter and transferred it to kazaskers; Fenarizade Muhyiddin and Kadiri Celebi. Celālzāde describes both of them as ignorant, but he especially criticizes Muhyiddin saying he became kazasker due to his relations. Kabız defended his case in *divan* referring to verses from Koran and Kazaskers could not refute Kabız’s assertions. They could not silence Kabız according to *sharia*, but they insisted that he must be punished according to *orf*.¹⁹⁸ Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha refused to punish Kabız by *orfi* law, as Kazaskers demanded. He insisted that Kazaskers are obliged to refute Kabız’s assertions in front of *sharia*. Eventually

¹⁹⁷ For a thorough evaluation of Kabız see A. Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler*, Istanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, p. 230-238 and R. C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, London, Ithaca Press, 1986, p. 185, 234-236.

¹⁹⁸ “meẓkūr mulḥidin müdde’ası bâbında şer’ile iskâta ḳâdir olmayub gaẓâb-âميز evẓâ’ ile ‘örfi hükümler eylediler” *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 173a.

Kabız escaped punishment, but after the *divan*, Sultan Süleyman intervened and ordered re-trial of Kabız in front of Mufti Kemalpashazade and *kadı* of Istanbul Sadeddin. As Sultan ordered, case was listened again in the presence of Mufti and Kadı. All of Kabız's assertions were refuted by Mufti's wise statements. Then as *sharia* imposes, Kabız was asked to renounce his misbelief, to be saved from punishment. Whereas, Kabız maintained his position, and he was executed by *sharia*

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Another incident of the year 934/1528 is a good example to understand *sharia* and *siyasat* distinction in Celālzāde's perception. One night, as Celālzāde narrates, a muslim's house in Istanbul was broken in and all of household were killed. After a long investigation, state officials were unable to find out offenders. Though there was not any proof to blame anyone, unemployed, non-muslim *levend* gangs were held responsible. They had committed such crimes before, and they were only suspects. Consequently, all *levends* of the city were gathered from streets, markets, taverns and *bozahanes*. About 800 *levend* in total were executed in crowded public places. Celālzāde emphasizes that they were executed because of administrative necessity (*siyaseten katl eylediler*). He clarifies; “At first sight, such a punishment was an exaggeration and unfortunate. It is apparent that most of them had nothing to do with aforementioned crime. God's will occurred in that way and it has made an example for wrongdoers. Potential criminals were scared to death. After the incident, no such crime has ever been committed in Istanbul”.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ “muḳteẓā-yı şer‘-i ḳavīm üzere mülhīd-i mezbūr seyf-i şer‘-i manşūr ile maḳḥūr oldu.” *Ṭabakāt*, p. 175b.

²⁰⁰ “Eğerçi bi-ḥasebi’z-zāhir bu ḥuşūşun vuḳū‘u nev‘-i tekellūf ve küdürerden ḥālī olmayub ḥuşūş-i mezbūrda ekserinin vuḳūfu ve şu‘uru olmaduḡı bedīhīdir. Meşīyyet-i ilāhī bu yüzden zuḥūr idüb erbāb-i fesāda mūcib-i ‘ibret ve aşḫāb-i cürm ü ‘ināda müstevcib-i dehşet olub ol zamandan şonra maḫrūse-i İstanbulda ānun emsālī şenā‘at olmadı”, *Ṭabakāt*, p. 176a.

Celālzāde's perception of *urf* and *sharia* is clarified in the light of last two accounts, i.e. case of Molla Kabız and punishment of *levends*. It becomes clear that Celālzāde's mind does not include *urf* as a branch of *sharia*, as some specialists in Islamic law, like A. Akgunduz, asserted.²⁰¹ According to Akgunduz, Islamic law grants legislative power to sovereign in some areas of law, and Ottoman *kanun* practices should be regarded within that capacity. Apparently, legislative power bestowed to the ruler can be used within the limits of general principles of *sharia*. Though Celālzāde Mustafa was a learned man in religious sciences and he sometimes uses *kanun* and *sharia* as synonyms, it is apparent that Celālzāde accepts *urf* (Sultan's legislative - administrative power) as an independent, autonomous field, not as a concept within *sharia* (Islamic law). As Halil Inalcık put it "*Kānūn, or sultan law, meant a general ruling emanated from the will of the ruler.*"²⁰² Celālzāde's use of the words *kanun*, *urf* and *siyasat* coincides with Inalcık's conviction. This subject will be discussed further in following chapters.

Celālzāde Mustafa was still *reisülküttāb* when Sultan Süleyman entrusted him preparation of a *berat* assigning Ibrahim Pasha as general commander. Celālzāde narrates the occasion in detail without giving much clue why he was chosen instead of *nişancı*. Sultan granted Ibrahim Pasha extraordinary powers, no grand vezir has ever had. Meanwhile Sultan aimed to elevate his own status vis-à-vis Grand Vezirate. As Celālzāde pointed out, Ottoman Sultans used to have 4 flags since the beginning of dynasty. By Sultan's order, number of flags (*rāyāt* or *a'lām*) was

²⁰¹ Ahmet Akgündüz discusses Ottoman law in the first volume of his *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, 9 v., İstanbul, Fey Vakfı Yayınları, 1992.

²⁰² Halil Inalcık, "State, Sovereignty and Law During the reign of Süleyman" in *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, eds. Halil Inalcık and Cemal Kafadar, İstanbul, ISIS Press, 1993, p. 76, Inalcık elaborated *kanun* and Ottoman law in many articles, see also; "Kanun" *Eİ2*, "Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law" *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 1 (1969), 105-138, "Osmanlı Hukukuna Giriş: Örfi-Sultani Hukuk ve Fatih'in Kanunarı" *AÜ. SBF Dergisi*, v. XIII, (1958), 102-126, "Kutadgu Biligde Türk ve İran Siyaset Nazariye ve Gelenekleri" in *Reşit Rahmeti Arat İçin*, Ankara, TKAE, 1966, p. 259-275.

increased to 7, and Ibrahim Pasha was granted with *tug* (horse tail) flag and drum (*ṭabl u ‘alem*) which was emblem of royal authority.²⁰³ Celālzāde provides an explanation for this novelty, using Sultan’s own words; “*One day after the divan, vezirs had departed for their home. Sultan called for this humble servant [Celālzāde] to His royal presence. He said; “By God’s will, our empire enlarged greatly and there is no limit for affairs of Muslims. It is impossible for me to deal with all these issues in person. To administer significant affairs of empire and of religion, prepare a berat which appoints Ibrahim Pasha as serasker and ensures the obedience of all our servants to him”*”.”²⁰⁴

Celālzāde drafted *berat*²⁰⁵ as ordered and submitted it to Sultan on 18 Racab 935/28 March 1529. Upon Sultan’s approval, *berat* was issued with *nishan* and it was read in front of all janissaries and servants. It seems that Celālzāde was not comfortable with this novelty, as a phrase he used indicates “*el-memuru ma‘zūrun*” (servant is excused). Actually, quoting Sultan in *Ṭabaḳāt* and emphasizing his order, probably aimed to demonstrate that Celālzāde did not approve this novelty. Celālzāde presents a lengthy section on heavy burden of sovereignty (*emānet-i ḥukūmet*) in the beginning of the chapter.²⁰⁶ As he states, one should have a perfect character and moral standing to carry out such a great responsibility. Whereas, majority people has some defects in their nature; some people are corrupted in

²⁰³ *Ṭabaḳāt*, 179b, 181b. C. E. Bosworth, “Tugh” *EI2*, v. 10, p. 590.

²⁰⁴ “Bir gün dīvān-i hümayunda vüzerā devlethānelerine gıtdiklerinden soñra hażret-i Ḥudāygān-i ‘āṭıfet-nişān –ebbede Allahu’l-meliku’l-mennān- bu kemine bendelerini ‘izz-i ḥużūr-i mevfūru’l-ḥubūrlarına da‘vet idüb kelām-i dürer-bār cevāhir-nizām ile teşrīf-i ḥiṭāb erzānī kıldılar. Meşıyyet-i ilāhī birle eknāf-i memleketimiz uzayub meşāliḥ-i müslimīn için mühimmātımıza nihāyet yok. Her ḥuşūşda bi’z-zāt kendümüz mübāşeret için itmek münāsib olmayub mühimmāt-i dīn u devletiñ tenfīz u icrāsı için İbrāhim Paşa ser‘asker adına olub cümle kullarımız āñā mutāba‘at ve inḳıyād itmek için bir berāt-i şerif şüretin tesvīd idüb getür diyü buyurdular.” *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 179a.

²⁰⁵ A copy of Berat is included in *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 179b-182b, but it has no date and there are slight differences with the copy found in Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu’s-Selātīn*, p. 544-546, for the text see Appendix 1.

²⁰⁶ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 178a-b.

financial matters, some are blinded by their status, ignorance or greed. That's why, apart from Shadow of God, who is supported by God (*mueyyed min 'indi Allah*) there would be only one person among thousands, who can accomplish such a task. Celālzāde indicates that Ibrahim Pasha was trained up by Sultan and he was the most suitable person for such a task. Nevertheless, Celālzāde adds that *until the campaign on Baghdad*, Ibrahim Pasha had a number of virtues that ensured him a status above others, like strict observance of justice and consulting with other people.

Apart from flag and drum (*ṭabl u 'alem*), Ibrahim Pasha was awarded with a bejeweled sword, 500.000 akçe, 9 horses and 4 *hil'at* (robe of honor). Besides, his annual revenue was increased to 3 million akce with a rise of 1 million.²⁰⁷ He was appointed permanent *serasker* (*her zamanda 'umūmen ser'asker*). Ibrahim Pasha was entrusted with the appointment of every government official including the Beglerbegs. Most probably, Celālzāde Mustafa's status and revenue was also affected by his master's new status. It seems that Ibrahim Pasha ceded to be Governor of Rumelia as well, Kasım Pasha was appointed as Governor. However, upon death of vezir Mustafa Pasha on 18 Shaban, Kasım Pasha was promoted to *vezirate* and Rumelia was again left to Grand Vezir's hands.

Sultan Süleyman set out for his 4th campaign on 2 Ramadan 935/10 May 1529. Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha, vezirs Ayas and Kasım, Sultan's teacher Hayreddin, Kazaskers Muhyiddin and Kadiri, Defterdars Iskender, Mahmud and Ahmed, Nişancı Seydi Bey and Reisülküttab Celālzāde Mustafa accompanied Sultan.²⁰⁸ A financial register (*ruzmançe*) kept during the campaign, provides list of

²⁰⁷ Until Ibrahim Pasha, Grand Vezirs' annual income (*hāşş*) was 1,2 million akçe and Ibrahim Pasha's predecessor Piri Mehmed Pasha used to have that amount, see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988, p. 164. According to Mehmed II's *Kanunname*, vezirs had an allowance of 1,2 millian *akce*, see Abdulkadir Özcan, ed., *Kanunname-i Al-i Osman*, İstanbul, Kitabevi, 2003, p.20.

²⁰⁸ BOA, Kamil Kepeci, Büyük Ruznamçe Kalemi, 1764, p. 96, 102.

the scribes (*kuttab*) who were entitled to receive annual payment (*salyane*). According to register, only 17 out of 90 were left in Istanbul, others joined the campaign. Celālzāde Mustafa, as *reisülküttāb*, received the highest payment (3.000 *akçe*).²⁰⁹

Celālzāde Mustafa's account of the campaign is not as detailed as the *Ṭabaḳāt*'s section on Mohac campaign. It usually coincides with the *Ruzname* of campaign preserved in *Feridun Bey's Münşeāt*, but fails to provide detailed, vivid description of events.²¹⁰

Like other contemporary sources, *Ṭabaḳāt* indicates that aim of the campaign was to support King Yanos for the throne of Hungary by re-conquering Buda. Celālzāde adds that King Ferdinand gained reputation among Christian lords and he was brother of Spanish *çesar* (Caesar). If Ferdinand is not stopped, he can even try to attack Ottoman domains and claim to be *sahib-kıran* (world conqueror²¹¹) or *çesar*.

After a very difficult expedition because of bad weather, Ottoman army reached Mohac plain on 13 Zilhicca 935/18 August 1529, where Sultan accepted King Yanos's obedience. *Ruzname* describes the ceremony in detail and indicates that Sultan stood up when King Yanos entered the imperial tent (*otağ-i hümayun*), then King Yanos and Ibrahim Pasha were seated while other vezirs were standing. Celālzāde emphasizes on the magnificence of military parade and mentions that King was honored with kissing Sultan's hand.

When Ottoman army attacked Buda on 4 Muharram 936/8 September 1529, Ferdinand's soldiers negotiated surrender on condition of safe return to their country.

²⁰⁹ BOA, Kamil Kepeci, Büyük Ruznamçe Kalemî, 1764, p.80-81.

²¹⁰ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 182b-193b, Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātîn*, p. 566-577.

²¹¹ "*Sahib-kıran*" literally means "lord of the auspicious conjunction" the term was used to signify "the universal sovereign undefeated in battle", see Cornell Fleischer, "Seer to the Sultan: Haydar-i Remmal and Sultan Süleyman" in *Cultural Horizons, a Festschrift in honor of Talat S. Halman*, ed. Jayne L. Warner, New York, Syracuse University Press, 2001, p. 291.

Sultan accepted the terms but janissaries were disappointed to see that they were deprived of spoils. As compensation, they demanded for a general reward (*in'ām*) from Grand Vezir. *Ruzname* states that they uttered “unwise” words to Ibrahim Pasha and they attacked other prominent people with stones.²¹² Lutfi Pasha indicates that Grand Vezir took shelter in a church and janissaries allowed him to pass only after he promised them with rewards.²¹³ Unsurprisingly, Celālzāde omits to narrate janissaries’ undisciplined, shameful actions targeting Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha. As Celālzāde states, *Ṭabaḳāt* was a *ṣehname-i hümayun*, that aims to record great actions and magnificence of Sultan Süleyman.²¹⁴ Apparently, failures and shameful actions of Sultan’s servants are not meant to be included in it.

After the conquest of Buda, Ottoman army headed for Vienna (*Beç*) and laid siege to the city on 23 Muharram 936/27 September 1529. Celālzāde admires the strength of city walls and mentions lack of heavy artillery in the Ottoman army. Besides, he adds, being in distant lands from *diyar-i islam*, Ottoman soldiers were quite uncomfortable. Eventually, Ottoman army abandoned siege and headed for Buda on 13 Safer/17 October. Vezirs and other prominent state officials were awarded with gifts in Vienna and janissaries acquired their prize, 1.000 akçe.

When Ottoman army captured Buda, ancient crown of Hungary had been confiscated for treasury. King Yanos requested return of the crown while Sultan was passing through Pest on his way back home. Celālzāde states that according to Hungarian custom, one should possess the crown to claim sovereignty over the country. Therefore Sultan granted the crown to King Yanos, sending it with Prince’s Son (Alvise Gritti), Perin Petri (Peter Perenyi) and the head of Hungarian priests

²¹² Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu’s-Selātīn*, p. 571.

²¹³ Kayhan Atik, *Lütfi Paşa ve Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001, p.267-8.

²¹⁴ Celālzāde Mustafa, *Tercume-i Zehru’l-Kimam*, manuscript, Nuruosmaniye Library, 2356, f. 7a, *Ṭabaḳāt*, f. 8a-10b.

Arşık.²¹⁵ As *ruzname* indicates, before returning it, Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha convened all the Begs to see the ancient crown which was “produced in the time of Nuşirevan”, legendary Persian king.²¹⁶ Gülru Necipoglu demonstrated Sultan Süleyman’s attempts aiming to gain respect and admiration of Christian west.²¹⁷ Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha’s project of producing a magnificent helmet with four crowns for Sultan Süleyman might have been a result of this experience in Hungary. As Necipoglu states, magnificent 115.000 ducats worth helmet was exhibited together with other bejeweled objects when Sultan received the Austrian delegation at Nish in 1532.²¹⁸

Sultan had accomplished to prevent Ferdinand’s intervention into Hungary in the campaign, and he victoriously returned Istanbul on 14 Rebiülahir 936/16 December 1529.²¹⁹ But, Charles V’s coronation as Holy Roman Emperor by Pope in Bologna (February 1530) marked that struggle over the title of *sahib-kıran* was not over yet.

Ottoman capital witnessed a magnificent *sur-i hümayun* (imperial celebration) in the summer of 936/1530²²⁰. Sultan and his Grand Vezir wanted to stage a celebration appropriate to Sultan’s magnificence. Celālzāde recorded a detailed description of festivities stressing on Sultan’s unprecedented glory. As Celālzāde repeats on every occasion, “no one among former Sultans and Hakans

²¹⁵ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 193a.

²¹⁶ Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu’s-Selātīn*, p. 576.

²¹⁷ Gülru Necipoğlu, “Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry” in *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, eds. Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar, İstanbul, ISIS Press, 1993, p. 163-194.

²¹⁸ Gülru Necipoğlu, “Süleyman the Magnificent ...”, p. 173.

²¹⁹ Celālzāde is mistaken in month; *Ṭabaḳāt* gives the date as 14 Rebiulevvel. *Ruzname* provides both *hijrī* and *şemsī* date, stating it was Thursday see, Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu’s-Selātīn*, p. 577.

²²⁰ 21 Zilkade 936-20 Zilhicce 936/17 July-15 August 1530, *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 194a-200b.

have ever achieved so many conquests and glory”.²²¹ By God’s favor, Sultan had three sons at the age of circumcision. Governor of Anatolia was called to Capital to help preparations and all governors and notables of the Ottoman realm were invited to festivities. As Celālzāde noted, visitors from Arabia and eastern Anatolia arrived in Istanbul with their gifts to be present at festivities. Soldiers and riders demonstrated their skills in various plays and races. An Arab rider won the races; a cavalryman of *mamluk* origin (*çerkes*) fascinated spectators with his horse riding skills. Eminent ‘*ulemā* discussed religious subjects in front of the Sultan; cooks and candy makers served fancy products. Whole capital witnessed the splendor of Sultan and all Ottoman subjects heard of the festivities.²²² Like Sultan’s campaigns, such events were described and eternalized in various works of Ottoman authors and poets. Their works and poems served to spread Sultan’s reputation as well as to establish Ottoman rule in the hearts of subjects in distant provinces of the Empire. As Celālzāde stated, “a *kātib* is Sultan’s eyes, his ears and his hands”²²³ and “Sultans are the soul for the body of justice, They are the eternal life of the country”.²²⁴ As a head of *kātib*s, Celālzāde have deeply felt the necessity to spread and eternalize Sultan’s deeds and magnificence among Ottoman subjects.

Demonstration of Ottoman glory was also a tool to influence foreign envoys. Ottoman palace received Ferdinand’s emissary in 17 November 1530. Entering into the first gate of Topkapı Palace, Ferdinand’s emissary passed through two elephants,

²²¹ “Selātīn-i cihān-teshīr-i evvelīn havākīn-i ‘ālem-gīr-i sābīkīnden kimesneye muḳadder olmayan futūḥāt-i garībe-i nādīre ve te’yīdāt-i ‘acībe-i fāḥireyi cenābı saltanat-meāblarına nasīb etdi.” *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 194b.

²²² For instance, there is an entry on festivities in Manisa court records, see Çağatay Uluçay, “Kanuni Sultan Süleyman ve Ailesi ile İlgili Bazı Notlar ve Vesikalar” in *Kanuni Armağanı*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001, p. 249.

²²³ “Kātib Pādīşāhıñ görür gözü, işidir kulağı ve tutar elidir” *Mevāhib*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 3521, f. 197a.

²²⁴ “Pādīşāhlar ‘adālet bedenleriniñ rūḥ-i revānları, memleket tenleriniñ ḥayat-i cāvidānları, canlarıdır”, *Mevāhib*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 3521, f. 162a.

lions, leopards, 3.000 janissaries and *solaks* to reach Ottoman *divan*, where Grand Vezir and other *divan* members waited. After the *divan*, Nişancı and head of *çavuş*s accompanied emissary to Sultan's chamber.²²⁵

As a frontier country of Islamic world, Ottoman dynasty was always under the threat of a joint attack of Christian states. To counter such a threat, Ottoman statesmen have often used diplomatic moves to avoid an alliance of western states for a crusade against Ottomans. Conquest of Belgrade and subjugation of Hungary incited Christian west once more to form an alliance against Ottomans. Against the alliance of Charles V, Ferdinand and Pope, Ottomans sided with France and Venice. Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha were aided by Christian subjects of the empire like Alvise Gritti in matters about Western world, and Persian renegades like Ulama Pasha in matters about Eastern policy. Whereas, Ottoman diplomatic tradition and language was preserved and developed by *divan* scribes led by Nişancı. As mentioned above, mostly, Nişancıs personally prepared important documents and diplomatic letters of Sultan, but because of Celālzāde Mustafa's *inşā'* skills and his good relations with Grand Vezir, it would be safe to assume that Celālzāde Mustafa was actively participated in the formation of diplomatic letters of the period as *reisülküttāb*. There are a number of novelties seen in the imperial documents of this period. Most noticeable of them are related with Sultan's *intitulatio* found in *ahdnames*. Proportionate to the Empire's expansion, new provinces were added to the *intitulatio* section of the documents. Besides, "*tāc-baḥş-i ḥüsrevān-i rūy-i zemīn*" (the distributor of the crowns of the Khusraws of the world) became an integral part of the *intitulatio*. A more detailed examination of novelties in official language (*inşā'*) will be dealt in third chapter.

²²⁵ Joseph Von Hammer Purgstall, *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi*, v.5, tr. Mehmed Atā, eds. Mümin Çevik and Erol Kılıç, Istanbul, Üçdal Neşriyat, 1984, p. 1365-1368.

Failure of diplomatic undertakings and Ferdinand's attack on Buda, necessitated a new campaign in the west. Sultan and his Serasker embarked on campaign in 19 Ramazan 938/25 April 1532. Celālzāde describes the campaign as "campaign on Alaman", *ruzname* indicates it was a "campaign against king of Spain".²²⁶ According to Celālzāde, Ferdinand (*Ferendoş*) was trying to ensure a joint attack of Christian forces from land and sea to Ottoman Empire. Besides, Charles V (Karlo), king of Spain, had acquired a crown named *korona* and he was endeavoring for the title of "*sahib-kıran*" (world conqueror). Celālzāde adds that *korona* was preserved in the province of Alaman, implying that the aim of the campaign was to capture *korona*.²²⁷ He also points out that Sultan's aim was not to conquer castles but to meet allied kings in the battle.²²⁸ Therefore Ottoman army did not carry heavy artillery to be used in the sieges.

Ṭabaḳāt's section on campaign of Alaman is notably differs from the earlier sections in style and content. Celālzāde prefers to use more stylish language and provides less detail on the objects and strategy of campaign. Unlike earlier sections, he praises Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha and vezirs Ayas and Kasım Pashas with long and elegant statements. Rhetoric of the section suggests that it was written as an independent work probably during the lifetime of Grand Vezir.

Like earlier campaigns, Grand Vezir proceeded in front of the Sultan when Ottoman army entered into the enemy lands. *Ruzname* of campaign, which presents daily reports, mostly indicates dates and places Sultan and Grand Vezir have met. Celālzāde does not provide such a detailed report but the dates given in *Ṭabaḳāt* usually coincides with Grand Vezir's schedule. Therefore, it is safe to assume that Celālzāde accompanied Grand Vezir during the campaign.

²²⁶ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 206a, Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, p. 577.

²²⁷ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 209b-210a.

²²⁸ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p.224b.

Ferdinand had sent an emissary to conclude an armistice with Ottomans. Hapsburg envoys waited for Ottoman army in Nish, where they were received by Sultan. Celālzāde describes the scene in detail, mentioning the beauty and greatness of Sultan's imperial tent, decoration of court with jewels, order of soldiers outside of the tent and the richness of their costumes. Celālzāde concludes that "they saw the ceremony and they lost their mind, as if they have drunken wine".²²⁹ It seems that Celālzāde was right, emissary reports reflects their admiration for the treasure of Ottoman Sultan, which they guessed the worth of what they have seen was more than 1,2 million ducats.²³⁰

Ferdinand's emissaries were received twice, first in Nish and then together with French emissary in Sirem near Belgrade. Ceremony held in Sirem (3 Zilhicca 938/7 July 1532) must have been even more brilliant since Han of Crimea with his 10.000 cavalry joined the Ottoman forces. As Celālzāde narrates, French emissary was received well because French king was a true friend of the Porte, whereas, "the others" were not. Therefore, French emissary was allowed to leave in peace, but the others were not allowed to leave.

Ottoman army waited two days in Sirem for *akincis* (frontier forces) and for the arrival of Tuna fleet. With the arrival of 50.000 *akincis*, Grand Vezir headed for Vienna. Crossing over Drava in Osijek, Grand Vezir advanced in western Hungary. More than a dozen of castles surrendered without resistance until Ottoman army reached Köszeg (Güns) in 8 Muharram 939/10 August 1532, which surrendered after a resistance of 20 days. Then, Ottoman army turned west, instead of north to reach

²²⁹ "Gördüler āyini bī-hūş oldular / Mey içüb gūya ki sarhoş oldular / mest ve lā-yu'qāl olub hayrān-vār / sākit ve dem-beste hāmūş oldılar." *Ṭabakāt*, p. 217b.

²³⁰ Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent ...", p. 173. Note that annual revenue of Ottoman treasury for the year 933-934/1527-1528 was about 9,1 million ducats (if the revenues of *timar*, *hass* and *evkaf* are excluded, it is 4,7 million ducats (1 ducat=59 *akçe*)). See Ö. L. Barkan, "H. 933-934 (1527-1528) Mali Yılına Ait Bütçe Örneği" *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 15 (1953-4), no. 1-4, p. 280.

Vienna, and advanced into Steiermark (Styria). Grand Vezir arrived in Gracas (Graz, capital of Styria province) which “belongs to the King of Spain”, in 11 Safar/12 September. On his way back, Grand Vezir continued to advance towards south, receiving the submission of castles on his route. Ottoman army crossed over Drava near Maribor, then Sultan and Grand Vezir followed different routes towards Belgrade. Sultan reached Osijek through Pozega, whereas Grand Vezir headed for further south to ensure the submission of more castles. Two army met in Belgrade on 12 Rebiulevvel 939/12 October 1532, where grand vezir, vezirs, Han of Crimea, defterdars and nişancı were awarded with *hıl’ats* (robe of honor).

Sultan and Grand Vezir arrived in Istanbul on 23 Rebiulahir/22 November. Ottoman capital celebrated victory for five days, during which Sultan joined celebrations disguising himself (*tebdil-i suret*).²³¹

Celālzāde omits to mention Andrea Doria’s attack on Morea, his capture of Koron (Koroni), Paria, and two castles on the gulf of Lepanto, while Sultan was on campaign in Austria. Andrea Doria, the admiral of Charles V, had installed 2.000 Spanish soldiers to guard Koron castle.²³² As Celālzāde states, Sultan appointed Governor of Semendire Mehmed Bey for Morea to recapture Koron. Mehmed Bey managed to save the castle from “Franks” by using wise policies towards local population on 18 Ramadan 940/2 April 1534.²³³

Celālzāde Mustafa also neglects to include *ahidnames* given to Ferdinand and Leh²³⁴ in 939/1532-3, before Iranian campaign. Safavid Shah Thahmasb had consolidated his mandate in the region by capturing Baghdad (935/1529) and

²³¹ Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu’s-Selātīn*, p. 584.

²³² Joseph Von Hammer Purgstall, *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi*, v.5, tr. Mehmed Atā, eds. Mümin Çevik and Erol Kılıç, Istanbul, Üçdal Neşriyat, 1984, p. 1385.

²³³ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 240a.

²³⁴ Original text of the *ahidname* given to Polish King, is missing, for Italian (dated January 1533) and Latin (May 1533) translations see, Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations, 15th- 18th Century*, Leiden, Brill, 2000, p. 230-233.

defeating rebellious governor of Azerbaijan, Ulama. Ulama was a former *timar* holder from Teke province and when Ulama managed to flee from battleground, he re-entered Ottoman service in 938/1532. Sultan was obliged to embark on a campaign in the east, which he postponed for several years. Therefore, peace in the western border was a necessity for Ottoman administration.

Hammer provides a detailed description of negotiations relying on emissary reports. Ferdinand's emissaries met with Grand Vezir 7 times in May-June 1533, Reisülkütab Celālzāde Mustafa, Nişancı Seydi Bey, Gritti and translator Yunus were present at Grand Vezir's court.²³⁵ Ferdinand's emissary has also brought a letter from Charles V, addressing Sultan. In his speech, Ibrahim Pasha emphasized on Sultan's power and mentioned Charles' failure to unite Catholic faith, proving his knowledge of European affairs. Eventually, Ferdinand acquired an *ahidname* of Sultan, granting him Hungarian lands that are already under his control for a yearly payment of 30.000 ducats.²³⁶ Ferdinand's emissaries also received a letter from Grand Vezir answering Charles V's letter. Ibrahim Pasha's letter (dated evāil-i Zilhicca 939/24 June-3 July 1533²³⁷) was most probably written by Celālzāde Mustafa Celebi. Charles V is described as "the king of Spain and provinces attached to it" and Ibrahim Pasha uses the title of "*ķāim-maķām-i şaltanat ve ser'asker-i sāmī-mertebet, vezīr-i a'zam-i cenāb-i ħilāfet-menķibet*".²³⁸ Charles V is severely criticized in the letter for using the title of "king of Jerusalem". Ibrahim Pasha also mentions the treaty signed between Porte and Ferdinand, and he points out the friendly relations between

²³⁵ Joseph Von Hammer Purgstall, *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi*, v.5, tr. Mehmed Atā, eds. Mümin Çevik and Erol Kılıç, İstanbul, Üçdal Neşriyat, 1984, p.1391.

²³⁶ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v. 2, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998, p. 489.

²³⁷ Jean-Louis Bacque-Grammont, "Une Lettre D'Ibrahim Paşa à Charles-Quint" *Comité International D'études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes, VIth Symposium, Cambridge, 1-4 July 1984*, proceedings, eds. Jean-Luis Bacque-Grammont and Emeri van Donzel, İstanbul, 1987, p. 65-88.

²³⁸ Jean-Louis Bacque-Grammont, "Une Lettre D'Ibrahim Paşa ...", p. 72.

the Sultan and King of France. The letter ends with statements on “Sultan’s generosity and compassion for those who would like to have friendly relations”.

After concluding peace with Ferdinand, Ottoman Palace invited Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha in 1533, as a measure to counteract Andrea Doria’s predominance over the sea. Then, Grand Vezir and commander in chief Ibrahim Pasha set out for the eastern campaign (*sefer-i ‘irakeyn*) on 2 Rebiulahir 940/21 October 1533. Sultan stayed in the capital, together with vezirs Ayas and Kasım Pashas, Governor of Rumelia Yakub Pasha, Defterdar Mahmud and Nişancı Seydi Bey.²³⁹ Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi accompanied Grand Vezir together with Defterdar Iskender Çelebi. Defterdar Iskender and Grand Vezir Ibrahim had developed good relations; they were like father and son, as Ali described, until this campaign.

Celālzāde Mustafa’s account of the campaign is full of conspiracies against Ibrahim Pasha and accusations of Ulama Beg and Iskender Çelebi. According to Celālzāde, Ulama was Muslim only in appearance, he was not loyal to the Ottoman throne and he was trying to serve Shah’s cause. On the other hand, Iskender Çelebi had some merits that made him a close associate of Ibrahim Pasha. Whereas, he was a disciple of Ahmed Pasha who had rebelled in Egypt, and he was promoted to Defterdar by Ahmed Pasha’s support. Besides, Iskender was a corrupted official accepting bribes.²⁴⁰ According to Celālzāde, Ibrahim Pasha learned about Iskender’s corruption while he was residing in Haleb for winter. A man of foresight (*ehl-i*

²³⁹ BOA, KK, 1863, *Ruznamçe* register, p. 141-2.

²⁴⁰ “[İskender Çelebi] ibtidā-i neş’etinde erbāb-i qalem ve aşhāb-i raqamdan hıznāne-i ‘āmir kātiblari zümresinden olub Mısr’da hıyānet iden Ahmed Paşa ile celīs ve hem-dem muşāhabetinde şirīn-zebān ve hoş-dem kimesne idi. Fī’l-ḥaḳīka ba’zı ahlāk-i ḥamīde ile mevsūf ḥusn-i mu’āşeret ve ülfetde kerem-i nefis ile me’lūf ḥadd-i zātında vufūr-i luṭfa mecbūl ‘inde’l-enām mu’azzez ve maḳbūl idi. Ahmed Paşa terbiyeti ile Defterdārlik payesine qadem başub cumhūr-i nāss içinde muḥterem [İbrahim] Paşa yanında daḥī taḳarrub-i ḥāşş taḥşīl idüb eḥaşş-i ḥavāşdan olub cümletu’l-mülk idi, bī-nihāye mala mālīk amma irtışā ve şayd-i ḳalb ve sebīl-i aḥz u celbe sālik olmaḡla müttehem idi” *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 247b-248a.

başiret), Nakkaş Ali knew everything about Iskender Pasha's affairs and he informed Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha about Iskender Çelebi's unlawful actions. Then, Pasha abandoned companionship with Iskender and the latter was desperate for his life (*ümīd-i hayatdan me'yūs oldu*). Therefore, Iskender strived to undermine Grand Vezir's authority together with renegades from Safavids by suggesting dangerous undertakings, like campaign into the heartlands of Iran.²⁴¹ According to Celālzāde, the aim of the campaign was to conquer lands near Ottoman realm, like Van, Erciş, Adilcevaz and Baghdad. But conspirators, hoping for a great failure, persuaded Ibrahim Pasha to advance into Tabriz.²⁴²

Ibrahim Pasha arrived in Haleb on 10 Cumadelahire 940/27 December 1533, to make preparations for the campaign. His plan was to gain submission of Safavid governors and local chiefs to Ottoman sovereignty by using diplomatic means (*husn-i tedbīr ile*), such as gifts, bribes and promises. Grand Vezir's wisdom and wealth of Ottoman treasury assured the submission of castles like Adilcevaz, Erciş and Van in a short time. As Celālzāde states; Ibrahim Pasha spent "too much, unlimited money to capture those castles".²⁴³ Meanwhile, Barbaros Hayreddin had arrived in Haleb, after received by Sultan in Istanbul, to meet with Grand Vezir. With Celālzāde's words; "[Hayreddin] was an independent ruler of Algeria, he wanted to acquire prestige, honor and eternal fortune by becoming a servant of Sultan".²⁴⁴ Eventually, Hayreddin was appointed as Governor of Algeria on 22 Ramadan 940/6 April 1534 in Haleb by Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha. At the same time, Grand Vezir headed for Diyarbekir sending a report to the Sultan on Safavids and asking for Sultan's

²⁴¹ "Murādları Paşayı ele vermek ve yahud bir nekbete mübtelā etmek idi." *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 248a.

²⁴² "müfsidīnin iğvāşı ve Ulamanıñ şeyṭaneti gālib oldu", *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 248b.

²⁴³ "ḥadden efzūn bī-nihaye vāfir altun ḥarc u şarf itdiler", *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 247a.

²⁴⁴ "lākin ol diyarlarda ḥukūmeti istiqlāl üzere olub āsitān-i 'ālī-şān-i pādīşāhī bendelerinden olmağı sermāye-i devlet-i cāvidānī sebeb-i 'izzet u cāh ve kāmranī 'add idüb ..." *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 245a.

departure for campaign in Zilkade 940/May 1534.²⁴⁵ Celālzāde's description of *irakeyn seferi* does not envisage Sultan's personal participation in the campaign at the beginning. According to Celālzāde, Grand Vezir was supposed to capture Baghdad, but he changed his mind in Diyarbekir under the influence of mischief-makers (*müfsidîn*) to advance into Persia. Possibility of a battle with Shah Tahmasb necessitated change of plans and Sultan's personal participation. In the light of Ibrahim Pasha's reports, we can say that from the very beginning, aim of the campaign was not limited with the annexation of Baghdad and it included a confrontation with Shah. Actually, Grand Vezir was pretty sure to defeat Tahmasb if Shah dares to attack. Therefore, Celālzāde's account misrepresented events to blame mischief-makers, namely Iskender Celebi, Ulama Bey and their retinue.

Grand Vezir stayed in Amid (Diyarbakir) for almost two months before moving towards Tabriz. In the meantime, castles of Adilcevaz, Erciş and Van surrendered without struggle, former Safavid governors and local leaders submitted their obedience. When Grand Vezir arrived in Tabriz on 26 Muharram 941/7 August 1534, Ottoman army got stronger with reinforcements from local forces. Grand Vezir appointed Ulama as Governor (*Beylerbeyi*) of Azerbaijan and his retinue as *sancakbeys* in the region. Sultan of Geylan Muzaffer Shah joined the Ottoman army with 10.000 soldiers. Murad of *Bayındır* who was promised of Tabriz after the victory, led Akkoyunlu soldiers. Grand Vezir also promised provinces of Persia to some princes from the line of Timur in exchange of their support. On the other hand, Ibrahim Pasha was in contact with Ubeydullah Han of Ozbeks, who was threatening Horasan province. Therefore, assured of his power, Grand Vezir was trying to meet

²⁴⁵ Ibrahim Pasha's report informs Sultan of the submission of Safavid governors in Geylan and Şirvan and obedience of Kurdish tribal leaders in the region, see M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Arz ve Raporlarına Göre İbrahim Paşanın İrakeyn Seferindeki İlk Tedbirleri ve Fütühâtı", *Belleten*, v. 21 (1957) no. 81-84, p. 452, 466.

missing Shah on the battleground.²⁴⁶ However, Shah's appearance changed the atmosphere in the Ottoman army, making necessary another *berat* of Sultan Süleyman, which insists on obedience of all Ottoman soldiers to Serasker's orders.²⁴⁷

Celālzāde Mustafa claims that “*those mischief-makers (müfsidīn) who incited Ibrahim Pasha for Persia, secretly informed Shah about Ottoman army. They encouraged Shah not to miss the opportunity of defeating Ottomans*”.²⁴⁸ In addition, Ulama tried to weaken and divide Ottoman army by sending forces into unreachable places like Kızılıcağa, and by requesting divisions for different purposes.

Advent of Shah Tahmasb changed the optimistic mood prevalent in the Ottoman army into suspicion and anxiety. For Celālzāde, this change was visible even before, beginning with army's entrance to Persian lands. He provides a vivid description of environment and links it with absence of Sultan's unique magnificence;

“ [İbrahim] Paşada müşāhede olunan āşār-i şevket ve şehāmet, eṭvār-i ‘izzet ve mehābet herkese ma‘lūm ve zāhir oldu ki şehriyār-i Cem-cāhıñ āsitān-i ḥilāfet-āşiyānlarında, ḥaẓreti Zıllullah-i ‘ālem-penāhıñ sūdde-i şa‘ādet-‘uddelerinde imiş. Bende her ne denlū müsā‘ade-i devlet ile kāmran olub dest-yārī-i kuvvet ve tuvān ile nām u nişān bulur ise gerü bende imiş. Varlık Zıllullah-i ‘ālem-penāhda, vucūd Pādişāh-i sa‘ādet-destgāhda olub, ḥālet-i Zıllullahī gayra virilmez, encüm ne deñlū firāvān ve tābān olursa tāb-i āfitāba irilmezmiş. Hemān ki ḥāric-i vilāyete ḳadem başılıb ḥāk-i ‘acemlik deġüb sūtūr-i sitāre-ḥaşem vāḳi‘ oldu, Paşa gerü ol Paşa ‘asker yine ol ‘asker ammā ‘uyūn-i nāssdan bir naẓar daḥī peyda, ḡamāyir-i enāmda bir fikr u māḥulya daḥī hüveydā oldu; şāha şāh gerek imiş diyü ḥalkıñ zebānı dırāz olub,

²⁴⁶ See Ibrahim Pasha's letter to Menteşā Sultan (Tahmasb's commander of Azerbaijan) in M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, “Arz ve Raporlarına Göre İbrahim Paşanın İrakeyn Seferindeki ilk Tedbirleri ve Fütühātı”, *Bellekten*, v. 21 (1957) no. 81-84, p.457, 477.

²⁴⁷ *Berat* is dated evāil-i Safer 941/12-22 August 1534, Sultan was in the vicinity of Sivas, for *berat* see, M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, “Arz ve Raporlarına Göre ...”, p. 471-473.

²⁴⁸ *Tabaḳāt*, p. 251b.

her ʔāife firāra cezm idüb, biri biriyle ittifaḫ idüb hem-rāz olmaḡa başladılar. Ḳadr u ḳıymet-i ʃāhī gün gibi rüşen [...] oldu.” (Ṭabaḳāt, p. 249a).

Fortunately for the Ottomans, Sultan arrived in Tabriz on 19 Rebiulevvel 941/28 September 1534 before Shah Tahmasb’s attack on Ottoman army. “Sultan’s presence gave life to dead bodies, unlimited stability to the world”.²⁴⁹ Eventually, Shah of Safavids retreated, Sultan tried to catch Shah in vain going as far as the border of Isfahan. But limited supplies and harsh environment impeded Ottoman army. Sultan decided to proceed towards Baghdad, sending forces to protect Tabriz and granting permission to auxiliary divisions on 12 Rebiulahir/21 October. A few days later Defterdar Iskender Çelebi was dismissed and deprived of lands he held, together with his relative (*ḳayın*) Huseyin Çelebi. As Celālzāde states; “it was time for Iskender Çelebi to harvest the crops he planted on this transitory garden; his granary was full with seeds of sins and iniquities.”²⁵⁰ Interestingly, Celālzāde Mustafa does not mention his master’s death on the way of Baghdad; Nişancı Seydi Bey died because of “supply distress” (*zaḫīre zaḫmetinden*) on 3 Cumadelula 941/10 November 1534.²⁵¹

Safavid guards of Baghdad had fled towards Persia and Ottoman army entered the city without fight on 22 Cumadelula/28 November. Sultan’s first act was the visit of the tomb of Imam Azam Abu Hanife, which had been destroyed by Safavids. Celālzāde provides a lengthy section on Abu Hanife’s life and genealogy. Then he mentions on Sultan’s visit to other important religious places.

Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi was promoted to the post of *Nişancı* on 28 Cumadelula 941/5 December 1534 in Baghdad and he held the post until his first

²⁴⁹ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 253b-254a.

²⁵⁰ “İskender Çelebi geşt-zār-i a‘mālinde taḫşil itdüḡü āmāli maḫşūlātınıñ zamanı erişüb toḫm-i evzār ve vebāl ile aḫvāli anbārı doldurub ...”, *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 257a.

²⁵¹ Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu’s-Selātīn*, p. 590.

retirement on 21 Zilhicce 963/26 October 1556. Fortunately, journal of campaign (*ruzname*) preserves an entry on this appointment and other related promotions. Nişancı Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi was granted a *hāşş* of 180.000 *akçe* revenue. His former post, *reisülküttāb* was granted to *kātib-i divān* Receb Çelebi with revenue of 50.000 *akçe*. In addition, two other scribes of the *divan* gained promotions; Ramazanzāde Mehmed's revenue was increased to 30.000 *akçe* from 18.000 *akçe*, and Kara Memi Çelebi's daily payment (*uluḡe*) rised to 50 *akçe* from 38 *akçe*.²⁵² Unfortunately, we do not have enough information on new Reisülküttab Receb Çelebi, a register of Ramazan 938/April 1532 shows him among divan scribes of lower rank. According to register, Receb Çelebi recieved 1.000 *akçe* payment whereas, Ramazanzāde Mehmed and Memi Çelebi received 2.000 and 1.500 *akçes* respectively.²⁵³ According to the same register, Receb Çelebi was not *divitdar*, *tezkiireci* or private secretary of *Vezirs* either, so it remains a mystery why he was chosen for the post instead of senior scribes. As a rule, *reisülküttāb* is nominated by Grand Vezir and appointed by Sultan, usually among *tezkiirecis* or among Grand Vezir's retinue.²⁵⁴ But *reisülküttāb* was working under the authority of *Nişancı*, so, perhaps Celālzāde Mustafa was influential in the appointment of Receb Çelebi. Receb Çelebi served as *reisülküttab* for 13 years until his death in 954/1547.²⁵⁵

2.3- Celālzāde as Nişancı (1534-1556)

²⁵² Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, p. 592.

²⁵³ BOA, KK, 1764, p.173.

²⁵⁴ Halil İncılık, "Reis-ül-küttāb", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, p. 679, İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988, p. 242

²⁵⁵ Recep Ahıskalı states 28 Rebiulahir 954/17 June 1547 as Receb Çelebi's death, see *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatında Reisülküttāblık (18. Yüzyıl)*, İstanbul, Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı, 2001, p. 103, whereas M. Kemal Özergin gives the date as 28 Cumadalahir 954/15 July 1547, see *Sultan Kanuni Süleyman Han Çağına Ait Tarih Kayıtları*, Erzurum, 1971, p. 17.

Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi served 23 years as *nişancı*, the longest tenure among all *nişancı*s of the Ottoman Empire. As contemporary sources and his retirement revenue (300.000 *akçe*) demonstrate, Celālzāde enjoyed Sultan's favor during his tenure. He could have requested for a higher post like *defterdar* or even *vezirate*, there are many examples from 16th century, of *vezirs* with *nişancı* background. Cezeri Kasım Paşa (d. after 927/1520), Tacizade Cafer Çelebi (d. 921/1515) and Boyalı Mehmed (d. 1001/1593) would be counted among *vezirs* with *nişancı* background. Besides, Ramazanzāde Mehmed (d. 979/1571) and Egri Abdizade Mehmed (d. 974/1566) became *defterdars* in their career after they served as *nişancı*. Apparently, Celālzāde Mustafa preferred the post of *Nişancı* to other ranks. He enumerates the reasons in a long and elegant paragraph in his *Ṭabaḳāt*, to summarize;

“Office of drawing noble, world-adorning signature [i.e. office of nişancı] is the greatest among all offices and the noblest among all services. Supremacy of nişancı's office over other offices (...) is obvious, in many respects. First of all, all great sultans (...) needed two types of servants to rule over vast lands; man of pen and man of sword. As a matter of fact, sword and pen are twins, one of them is the soul and the other is body. But pen [i.e. administrative units] is above the sword [i.e. military]. That is because sword aims to destroy whereas pen aims to produce. (...) Rule of sword devastates a country whereas rule of pen causes prosperity. (...) Besides, a lot of people are appropriate to be recruited in the military, but good scribes (debīr) are very rare. If there is a good scribe in the administration, all other servants can easily be found. (...) Secondly, nişancıs are always busy with drawing noble signature (tughra) and they always pray for the permanency of State, writing “muzaffer dāimā” in every tughrā. Thirdly, all of the servants of the Porte receive their salaries from the royal treasury, causing expenditure. Whereas nişancıs collect revenues from outside, every year they realize 5-6 million

akce revenue.²⁵⁶ Fourthly, mischief-makers usually depend on Sultanic orders to exploit tax paying subjects (*reaya*). If *nişancı* is careful and cautious, he foresees undesirable results of a Sultanic order and he prevents it. (...) Justice is the cause of long life and good reputation in this world; it will be rewarded in the other world as well. (...) Therefore, it is obvious that post of *nişancı* is the most important rank in the administration.” (p. 259b-260b)

Being *nişancı*, Celālzāde Mustafa Bey²⁵⁷ became one of the ministers of State (*erkān-i Devlet*); he was entitled to sit on the center (*şadr*) at *dīvān-i hümayūn* together with *vezirs*, *kazaskers* and *defterdars*. He was also granted the privilege of being present at Sultan’s chamber (*arz odası*) when Grand Vezir briefs Sultan.²⁵⁸ In addition to duties he performed as *reisülküttāb*, Celālzāde was now responsible for the department of *defterhāne* as well. *Reisülküttāb* was the head of *divan* scribes and *defter emini* was presiding over *defterhane* where all *timar* (land) registers are preserved with utmost care. Both of them worked under the command of *Nişancı*. Therefore, Celālzāde Mustafa is quite right in asserting that *Nişancı* performed the

²⁵⁶ Probably, Celālzāde refers to sum of fees, such as *resm-i berāt*, *tezkire* and *kitābet* charged for documents prepared by the *defterhane* and *reisülküttāb* departments of imperial secretariat, excluding departments of *defterdarlık* and *kazaskers*. Some of this revenue is preserved for the expenditures of the departments and the remaining amount is transferred to the imperial treasury. *Resm-i Berāt and Tezkire* was 1.797.625 akçe in 933-4/1527-8, 3.641.242 akçe in 954-5/1547-8, and 16.686.029 akçe in 974-5/1566-7. see Ö. L. Barkan, “Hicri 933-934 (M. 1527-1528) Mali yılına ait bir Bütçe Örneği” *İÜİFM* 15 (1953-1954), p. 286,. “954-955 (1547-48) Mali Yılına Ait bir Osmanlı Bütçesi” *İÜİFM* 19 (1957-58), p.238-240, “H. 974-975 (M. 1567-1568) Mali Yılına Ait bir Osmanlı Bütçesi” *İÜİFM* 19 (1957-1958), p. 300-302. Erhan Afyoncu provides some figures for *defterhane* department relying on archival documents; *Defterhane*’s net revenue during a period of 6.5 months in 1568 was 243.597 akçe, which was transferred to the imperial treasury. This figure excludes *resm-i berat*, which was collected by *Reisülküttāb*’s department. Total net revenue of *defterhane* and *divan* reached to 4.563.988 akçe in 1607-1608, (this figure covers a period of 1.5 year). Besides, there was a 503.812 akçe revenue from *maliye* departments. See Erhan Afyoncu, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatında Defterhāne-i Āmire (16-18. Yüzyıllar)*, unpublished Dissertation, Istanbul, Marmara University, 1997, p. 10. For Ottoman tax system see Halil İnalcık, “Resm”, *Eİ2*, v. 8, p. 486-7.

²⁵⁷ “Koca” *Nişancı* Celālzāde Mustafa never gained the rank of *Beglerbegilik* or *Pasha* during this tenure. Being *Nişancı*, Celālzāde acquired the title of “Bey” like a provincial governor (*sancak beyi* or *umerā*). Celālzāde accepted the *maḥlaş* (pseudonym) of *Niṣānī* and composed poems with that pseudonym. “Mustafa bin Celal al-Tevḫīr” shows the date of Celālzāde’s appointment, in *abjad* calculation, i.e. 941 *hicrī*.

²⁵⁸ Halil İnalcık, , “Reis-ül-küttāb”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, p. 673, 681.

most important function, i.e. observance of justice, in a state.²⁵⁹ In that respect, it is not an exaggeration to assert that Celālzāde regarded himself as Sultan's deputy, who is responsible for exalting Sultan's reputation and preserving justice in Sultan's name, by observing other state official's actions. As Celālzāde states, men of sword would devastate a country if they are not checked by men of pen. As *Ṭabaḳāt* demonstrates, Celālzāde was very suspicious of other state officials, even if they are from the men of pen, like Iskender Çelebi.

Iskender Çelebi was hanged (*şalb u siyāset*) at a square in Baghdad on 8 Ramadan 941/13 March 1535 and his relative (*kayın*) Huseyin was be-headed after two weeks.²⁶⁰ As mentioned above, Celālzāde had accused him of being a part of conspiracy against Grand Vezir. For Celālzāde, Iskender Çelebi was working with Safavid renegades for the disaster of Grand Vezir and Ottoman army to cover his crimes and save his life. Celālzāde's accusations might not reflect the historical reality, still *Ṭabaḳāt* mirrors significant historical information. Celālzāde was an actor of the events as well as a historian; what he recorded in *Ṭabaḳāt*, bears witness to highly competitive struggle among high ranking officials. For Celālzāde, it was possible for a wicked official to risk whole Ottoman army just to destroy a political opponent, in this case Grand Vezir. Mustafa Ālī of Gelibolu who has a deep respect for Celālzāde, finds Celālzāde's accusations unbelievable and connects it to Celālzāde's partisanship. As Mustafa Ālī says; "*Celālzāde Mustafa's account of the incident reveals partisanship of Ibrahim Pasha and Celālzāde's enmity towards*

²⁵⁹ For the central role of the concept of "justice" in Near Eastern State tradition see Halil İnalcık, "State, Sovereignty and Law During the reign of Süleyman" in *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, eds. Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar, İstanbul, ISIS Press, 1993, p. 59-92, and İnalcık's other works; "Kanun" *Eİ2*, "Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law" *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 1 (1969), 105-138, "Osmanlı Hukukuna Giriş: Örfi-Sultani Hukuk ve Fatih'in Kanunarı" *AÜ. SBF Dergisi*, v. XIII, (1958), 102-126, "Kutadgu Biligde Türk ve İran Siyaset Nazariye ve Gelenekleri" in *Reşit Rahmeti Arat İçin*, Ankara, TKAE, 1966, p. 259-275.

²⁶⁰ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 272b, Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, p. 592-3, Lütü Paşa, *Tevārih-i Āl-i Osman*, ed. Āli Bey, İstanbul, Matbaa-i Amire, 1341 (1922), p. 351.

Defterdar, so we will go into detail in this matter.”²⁶¹ According to Mustafa Ālī’s report, Iskender Çelebi and Ibrahim Pasha were like father and son at the beginning. Some people, who envied Iskender Çelebi, informed Grand Vezir about Iskender Çelebi’s elite soldiers. They incited Grand Vezir to ask for some troops among Iskender Çelebi’s retinue before campaign on Iran. Grand Vezir asked for 110 elite soldiers among Iskender Çelebi’s retinue, sending a list of names. Iskender Çelebi responded Grand Vezir’s wish by delivering 110 soldiers, but only 30 of them were included in Grand Vezir’s list. Grand Vezir was offended by Iskender Çelebi’s behavior (Iskender’s fortune consisted of 6.200 servants and 1200 of them were soldiers). Then Nakkaş Ali’s accusations of Iskender Çelebi increased Grand Vezir’s distrust of the *Defterdar*. After the execution of Iskender Çelebi, his fortune was confiscated by state and some of it was distributed among vezirs.²⁶²

Elimination of Iskender Çelebi strengthened Grand Vezir’s authority as well as Celālzāde Mustafa’s status. As Mustafa Ali reports, Celālzāde Mustafa disliked defterdar Iskender. Celālzāde’s statements in *Ṭabaḳāt* show that Celālzāde was not friendly with *kazaskers* Fenarizade Muhyiddin and Kadiri Çelebi either. Celālzāde Mustafa’s brother Salih could not get a promotion for a long time since 930/1524, probably because of *kazaskers*. Following years witnessed a rapid promotion of Celālzāde Salih Çelebi.

While Sultan Süleyman was still in Baghdad, Shah Tahmasb had defeated Ottoman garrison in Tabriz and attacked to Van. Sultan Süleyman set out for Tabriz on 28 Ramadan 941/2 April 1535 and recaptured the city without meeting any opposition on 29 Zilhicce 941/1 July 1535. Sultan awarded all janissaries with 1.000

²⁶¹ “Ṭabaḳātu’l-Memālikde Celālzāde merhūm yazduḡı üslūbda İbrāhīm Paşa cenābına mütāba’at ve defterdār-i mezbūra kendü cānibinden ‘adāvet muḳarrer olmaḡın, bu bābda bir miḡdār tafṣīl irtikāb olunmuṣdur”, Mustafa Ālī, *Kūnhü’l-Aḥbār*, manuscript, section on reign of Sultan Süleyman, 32th incident.

²⁶² Mustafa Ālī, *Kūnhü’l-Aḥbār*, manuscript, section on reign of Sultan Süleyman, 32th incident.

akçe, timar holders also received a rise of 20% in their revenue. According to Celālzāde, Grand Vezir's manners have changed after that date because of the great power and prestige he reached. Ibrahim Pasha lost his common sense listening to insincere and inferior people.²⁶³ Ulama Pasha had seduced Ibrahim Pasha on the way of Baghdad, saying "Although Shah of Persia has a limited *sultanate*; he has a number of servants using the title of "Sultan",²⁶⁴ Our Sultan of the world is envied by other great rulers because of the greatness of his *sultanate* and power. Is it not reasonable, that one of Sultan's slaves use the same title [i.e. Sultan]. Convinced by Ulama's arguments, Ibrahim Pasha started to use title of "Serasker Sultān" in the official documents".²⁶⁵

Execution of Iskender Çelebi had amplified Grand Vezir's power, but he could not enjoy it for a long time. Whereas Celālzāde gained Sultan Süleyman's confidence and he enjoyed being *nişancı* for more than two decades.

Sultan Süleyman tried to pursue Shah Tahmasb but it was obvious that Shah would never risk a pitched battle. Then Sultan renounced chasing Shah and decided to turn back at Derguzin and reached Tabriz at 21 Safer 942/21 August 1537. After residing a week in Tabriz, Ottoman army came back to Istanbul through Hoy, Erciş, Amid and Haleb on 14 Racab 942/8 January 1536.²⁶⁶

²⁶³ "Paşanınñ tabi'atı diğer-gün kesret-i iltifat ve taqarrubden kuvvet-i havşalası zebün oldu, erbāb-i hevā ile ülfet aşhāb-i aḡrāz ve mezzellet ile muşāḡabet itdi." *Ṭabaḡāt*, p. 274b.

²⁶⁴ Tahmasb's leading military-administrative officials used the title "Sultan". For instance, holders of the office of "Muhrdar" Amir Sultan Musullu, Ibrahim Sultan Musullu or "amir al-umaras" like Div Sultan and Köpek Sultan Ustaclu, see Colin Paul Mitchell, *The Sword and The Pen, Diplomacy in Early Safavid Iran 1501-1555*, unpublished dissertation, University of Toronto, 2002, p. 205-206.

²⁶⁵ "Ulāma-i şeyṭānet-āsā [ibrahim] Paşaya iḡvā virüb 'Acem Şāhınınñ ednā saltānatı ile bu deñlü Sultān adına beḡleri ve hānları vardır, ḡazreti Pādişāh-i rüy-i zemīn kemāl-i ḡudret ve şevketleri ile maḡbuṭ-i şāhān-i 'ālīşān-i felek-temkīn olmuşlardır, bir kulları sultān adına olsa 'aceb midür diyü ānuñ delālet ve reh-nümālīḡı ile menāşir-i ḡākāniyyede vāḡi' olan elḡabına ser'asker sultān lafzını iḡtirā' idüb ḡayd itdirdi." *Ṭabaḡāt*, p. 274b-275a.

Celālzāde also adds a poem criticizing that practice; "Yaraşmaz bendeye ism ola sultān / Melek ol nām ile olmuşdu şeyṭān / Ḳuluñ faḡri 'ubūdiyyet gerekdir / şāh olmaz bendeye ḡidmet gerekdir / Eḡerçi Mışıra sultān oldu Çerkes / Hümā olmaz ḡaḡīḡat büm u kerkes ..."

²⁶⁶ *Ṭabaḡāt*, p. 276a, Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, p. 598.

As Celālzāde states, Sultan was not pleased with the outcome of *Irakeyn* campaign; though Baghdad and surroundings had been conquered, Shah Tahmasb could not have been captured or defeated. That was because of Grandivezir's inadequacy of taking necessary measures. Mustafa Ālī reports that Grand Vezir had spent 80.000 ducats before the campaign to gain loyalty of regional leaders, which Sultan did not approve when he learned.²⁶⁷ As mentioned above, Celālzāde was critical of those expenditures as well. Besides, Grand Vezir's character had been totally changed after the conquest of Baghdad under the influence of ignorant, insincere and inferior people. At first, Ibrahim Pasha was respectful to the traditions and laws of Ottoman Empire, he always sought advice of experienced officials before entering into any undertaking. As a calligrapher himself, Celālzāde adds; in the beginning, Grand Vezir was used to accept the *mushafs* (Koran) presented to him showing great respect and he was used to reward calligraphers. After the conquest of Baghdad, Grand Vezir did not accept calligraphers who would like to present their gifts, i.e. *mushafs*. Eventually Grand Vezir began to disregard laws and traditions, allowed unjust executions and became a source of injustice. As usual Celālzāde stresses on Divine punishment, he quotes "if it is God's will, He paves the way for its happening". Sultan was informed about Ibrahim Pasha's unfair, unlawful deeds and "Ibrahim Pasha's circle of life was sealed with the word of death on the night of 22 Ramadan 942/15 March 1536."²⁶⁸

Obviously, Ibrahim Pasha did not have the support and sympathy of religious circles²⁶⁹ and Sultan's wife, Hürrem.²⁷⁰ After Iskender Çelebi's execution, Ibrahim

²⁶⁷ Mustafa Ālī, *Künhü'l-Aḥbār*, manuscript, section on reign of Sultan Süleyman, 34th incident.

²⁶⁸ "Ramażanıñ 22. gecesı dāyire-i ḥayātına raḡam-i memāt çekilüb" *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 278b.

²⁶⁹ Ibrahim Pasha had ordered the transfer of statues from Buda to Istanbul, statues were placed in front of Ibrahim Pasha's palace. A popular poem composed by Figānī severely criticized Ibrahim Pasha for statues. Figānī was executed by Ibrahim Pasha's order in 938/1532. Mustafa Ālī, *Künhü'l-Aḥbār*, manuscript, section on Poets in the reign of Sultan Süleyman, entry of Figānī. Besides, famous

Pasha had become the target of officials in the Ottoman bureaucracy, who were in the circle of late Defterdar. When the head of Ottoman chancellery, Nişancı Celâlzâde, ceased to support Grand Vezir because of his manners after the conquest of Baghdad, Grand Vezir's mistakes became more visible to the eyes of Sultan.

Celâlzâde only mentions Sultan's dissatisfaction with the results of *Irakeyn* campaign and omits latest developments in western frontier; Grand Vezir's advisor Alvise Gritti had been killed in a rebellion supported by rulers of Wallachia and Moldova in September 1534. Rulers of Moldova, Wallachia and Transylvania had signed agreements with each other against Ottoman Empire in April-May 1535. Besides, Hungarian king Zapolya had reached an agreement with Ferdinand in May 1535.²⁷¹ Barbaros Hayreddin had conquered Tunus in August 1534 with Ottoman fleet but Charles V took offensive, defeated Ottoman army and captured Tunus in June 1535. In brief, Ibrahim Pasha's western policy was not very effective either.

Upon Ibrahim Pasha's death, Ayas Pasha became Grand Vezir. Ayas Pasha has served as Governor of Damascus, Governor of Rumelia and vezir since 927/1521. Celâlzâde Salih presented a *kaside* celebrating this appointment and he was rewarded with a promotion to *Atik Ali medrese* with 40 *akçe* revenue, in 942/1536. As mentioned above, Celâlzâde Salih had not been promoted for the last 12 years. Celâlzâde Salih had also presented a *kaside* for late Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha upon latter's return from *irakeyn* campaign, which had not been rewarded. Celâlzâde Salih's *divan* contains three more *kasides* for Ayas Pasha, composed to

Halveti Sheyh Ibrahim Gülşenî was temporarily exiled from Egypt to Istanbul in 934-5/1528-9 by Grand Vezir's order. Upon inspection, Ibrahim Gülşenî and his son were released. Himmet Konur, *İbrahim Gülşenî, Hayatı, Eserleri, Tarikati*, Istanbul, İnsan Yayınları, 2000, p. 126-128.

²⁷⁰ Ignoring Ottoman tradition, Sultan Süleyman had married Hürrem just before campaign of *irakeyn*, in 940/1534. Hürrem's letter to Sultan Süleyman testifies Hürrem's feelings about Ibrahim Pasha, see Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 64, and Çağatay Uluçay, *Osmanlı Sultanlarına Aşk Mektupları*, Istanbul, 1950.

²⁷¹ Mihail Guboğlu, "Kanuni Sultan Süleymanın Boğdan Seferi ve Zaferi" *Belleten*, v. L (1986) no. 198, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, p. 754.

celebrate circumcision festival of latter's sons and Ayas Pasha's return from campaign. One of those *kasides* enabled Celālzāde Salih to be appointed as *muderris* in *Sahn medrese*, the highest institution among *medreses* of the Capital in 943/1537.²⁷² So, after a long wait, Celālzāde Salih was promoted twice within 2 year, probably because of good relations between his brother and grand vezir. It should be noted that Nişancı Celālzāde Mustafa and Grand Vezir Ayas Pasha had sympathy for the same mystic order, *halvetiyye*.²⁷³

Governor of Rumelia, Lutfi Pasha was promoted to 3rd vezirate upon Ayas Pasha's promotion. Unlike Celālzāde who only narrates Barbaros's attack to the coasts of Calabria, Lutfi Pasha severely criticizes Hayreddin Pasha's failure in Tunus. Lutfi Pasha also discloses the reasons of Pulya (Apulia) campaign and campaign against Portugal in Indian Ocean.²⁷⁴ According to the agreement signed in February 1536, Francis I of France and Ottoman Sultan planned a joint attack against Charles V's possessions in Italy.²⁷⁵ In addition, Ottoman administration decided to help Sultan of Gujarat Bahadur Shah (932-943/1526-1537) who had requested military support of Ottomans against Portugal. Lutfi Pasha notes that Bahadur Han had also sent important amount of money to be used in military expenditures.²⁷⁶ Vezir *Hādım* Süleyman Pasha was entrusted with making preparations in Egypt for an expedition to India. He was appointed as Governor of Egypt on 10 Rebiulahir

²⁷² Celālzāde Salih Çelebi, *Divan – Münşeāt*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Kadızade Mehmed, 557, f. 23a.

²⁷³ See below for a discussion of mystic orders' influence over Ottoman administration. Reşat Öngören, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf, Anadolu'da Sufiler Devlet ve Ulema*, 16. yüzyıl, İstanbul, İz Yayıncılık, 2003, p. 320.

²⁷⁴ Lutfi Paşa, *Tevārih-i Âl-i Osman*, ed. Âli Bey, İstanbul, Matbaa-i Amire, 1341 (1922), p. 357-259.

²⁷⁵ İsmail Soysal, "Türk – Fransız Diplomasi Münasebetlerinin İlk Devresi" *İUEF Tarih Dergisi*, (1951-1952), v. 3, no. 5-6, İstanbul, p. 77-81.

²⁷⁶ According to archival sources Bahadur had sent 13.986 ducats, see Halil Sahillioğlu, *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi H. 951-952 Tarihli ve E12321 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*, İstanbul, IRCICA, 2002, p. 8. The figure given in Lutfi Paşa's *Tevarih* is misleading, see p. 358.

943/26 September 1536 with revenue of 4 million *akce*.²⁷⁷ But Bahadur Shah was killed by Portuguese on 3 Ramadan 943/13 February 1537, before getting help from Ottomans.²⁷⁸

As planned, Sultan and his new Grand Vezir Ayas Pasha set out for Pulya or Corfu campaigning on 7 Zilhicca 943/17 May 1537. Ottoman fleet consisted of 280 ships and it was commanded by Vezir Lutfi Pasha and Barbaros Hayreddin. Sultan's sons Mehmed and Selim had also participated in the campaign and Ottoman army reached Avlonya (Valona) on 5 Safer 944/13 July 1537. Lutfi Pasha raided the coasts of Apulia with 4.000 janissaries and cavalries of Rumelia but Ottoman army was disappointed with the defeat of Gelibolu fleet by Andrea Doria near Corfu. 12 ships from Ottoman fleet were destroyed by Charles' Admiral who commanded 28 ships. Moreover, Francis could not have succeeded in invasion of northern Italy, as planned.²⁷⁹ Eventually, Sultan decided to attack Corfu Island which was under Venetian possession. But Ottoman fleet was late to lay siege on the castle when it reached there on 1 Rebiulahir 944/6 September 1537. A few days later Sultan ordered for the return journey.

For Celälzāde, Corfu campaign was successful in many respects. First, the region of Valona was full of Albanian bandits who have relatives or friends among high ranking Ottoman administration. Because of their good relations with Ottoman capital, those Albanian bandits (*eşirrā*) were never punished and they have gradually grown stronger. Grand Vezir Ayas Pasha was Albanian in origin as well, who persuaded Sultan to stay a long term in Valona. Because Ayas Pasha knew the region

²⁷⁷ For Süleyman Pasha's *berāt* see *Münşeāt Mecmuası*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, 3831, f. 20a.

²⁷⁸ P. Hardy, "Bahadur Shah Gujarātī" *EI2*, v. 1, p. 914.

²⁷⁹ İsmail Soysal, "Türk – Fransız Diplomasi ...", p. 80-81.

very well, he succeeded in bringing those bandits into submission.²⁸⁰ Secondly, people of Valona were used to enlist as pirates in Christian vessels. They used to raid on Muslim lands and cause great damage. Upon witnessing Sultan's power, they were terrified of punishment and ceased to join enemy forces. Lastly, Delvine province was conquered and Ottoman soldiers who raided Apulia returned with unlimited booty.

As usual, Sultan granted rewards to soldiers and bureaucrats after the victorious campaign, and some officials were promoted. Divan scribe Ramazanzāde Mehmed had been appointed to Timar Defterdar of Rumelia province after the campaign of *irakeyn*.²⁸¹ He was promoted to Kethüda of Rumelia on the way back to Istanbul in Rebiulahir 944/September 1537.²⁸² As mentioned before, like Celālzāde, Ramazanzāde Mehmed (*Küçük Nişancı*) was recruited in imperial chancellery by Grand Vezir Piri Mehmed. Celālzāde Mustafa and Ramazanzāde have similar educational background and both of them authored Ottoman histories. After serving in financial and administrative posts, Ramazanzāde became Nişancı as well during Celālzāde's retirement.

Another significant novelty was Sultan's dismissal of *kazaskers* Muhyiddin Fenarizade and Kadiri Çelebis. Kazaskers were removed from office because they have dared to ask Sultan about the execution of Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha.

²⁸⁰ *Tabakāt*, p. 287b.

²⁸¹ Probably in Zilhicce 942, since there are a number of new recruits to divan secretariat during that period, see, BOA, KK, 1863, p. 108-9, 148-9.

²⁸² Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, p. 601. Journal of campaign has an entry stating that "Defterdar of Rumelia" Yeşilce Mehmed was appointed as "Kethüda of Rumelia", without specifying "timar defterdarı". Archival sources makes it clear that Alauddin Çelebi was the Defterdar of Rumelia in the period. Besides, it is highly unusual to be appointed as Defterdar of Rumelia after serving as *kātib-i divan*. Narrative sources and archival sources sometimes ignore to specify "timar defterdarı". İsmail H. Danişmend mistakenly accepts Ramazanzāde Mehmed as *Hazine Defterdarı* or *Baş Defterdar* relying on Feridun Bey's *Münşeat*, see *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, v. 5, Istanbul, Türkiye Yayınevi, 1971, p. 250.

“Angered by the impertinence of their questions, Süleyman dismissed them”²⁸³ on 15 Rabiulahir 944/21 September 1537. Sources also indicate Ayas Pasha’s role in the dismissal of Muhyiddin Fenarizade, adding that Muhyiddin Fenarizade’s relatives too were removed from offices in the following days because of Ayas Pasha’s enmity.²⁸⁴ *Kadı* of Istanbul Ebussuud was appointed as Rumeli Kazasker and *kadı* of Cairo Çivizade (Muhyiddin Mehmed) replaced Kadiri Çelebi as Anadolu Kazasker. Celālzāde brothers were probably delighted with Sultan’s decision. As mentioned above, Celālzāde Mustafa uses a very unfavorable language against both of *kazaskers* in *Ṭabaḳāt* whereas Ebussuud is highly praised for his wisdom and character. On the other hand, Celālzāde Mustafa never mentions Çivizade who was very unpopular among religious circles because of his views on Sufi Sheyhs, like Ibrahim Gulshanī, Ibn al-Arabi, Imam Ghazali and Jalal al-Din Rumi.²⁸⁵ In that respect, Ebussuud was on the opposite side of Çivizade and he “repudiates a *fetva* of Çivizade’s which declares Şeyh Ibrahim and his followers to be impious and heretical”.²⁸⁶ Sources agree that Çivizade was dismissed from the post of *fetwa* because of those unpopular views.²⁸⁷ Celālzāde Mustafa, too, was not on the side of Çivizade, but Çivizade was disliked by former *kazasker* Muhyiddin Fenarizade as well, which would make him an ally of Celālzāde Mustafa, at least in the beginning.²⁸⁸ An anecdote found in *Atai*, implies that Ebussuud was not friendly with Muhyiddin Fenarizade either. According to the anecdote, Muhyiddin Fenarizade was supported by Hacı Efendi (Abdurrahim Mueyyedi d.944/1537), who was successor of Ebussuud’s father Sheyh Yavsi (Muhyiddin Iskilibi, d. 920/1514) at the *zaviye* of

²⁸³ Atai, p. 186, cited in R. C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, London, Ithaca Press, 1986, p.260.

²⁸⁴ Mecdi and Atai, cited in R. C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, London, Ithaca Press, 1986, p.260.

²⁸⁵ R. C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, London, Ithaca Press, 1986, p.251-253.

²⁸⁶ Ertuğrul Düздаğ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı*, İstanbul, 1972, no. 968, cited in R. C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, London, Ithaca Press, 1986, p. 252.

²⁸⁷ Çivizade served as Mufti between 945 and 949/1539-1542, R. C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, London, Ithaca Press, 1986, p.251-253.

²⁸⁸ R. C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, London, Ithaca Press, 1986, p.246, 249.

Yavsi Baba in Istanbul.²⁸⁹ Ebussuud's father Sheyh Yavsi had gained favor of Bayezid II while the latter was governing Amasya province, who built a *zaviye* in Istanbul for Sheyh Yavsi after accession to throne. If the anecdote of Atai Bey is believed, Ebussuud holds Hacı Efendi responsible for Muhyiddin Fenarizade's long tenure. Ebussuud explains his appointment as *kazasker*, using a symbolic language, linking it with the death of Hacı Efendi who always supported Muhyiddin Fenarizade. Sources also indicate good relations between Ebussuud and Hacı Efendi's successor (*halife*) Bahaeddinzade (Muhyiddin Mehmed bin Bahaeddin, d. 952/1545). The last Bayramiyye *Sheyh* of the Yavsi Baba *zaviye* was Ebussuud's brother Nasrullah (d. 974/1567), after him *zaviye* was inherited by Halvetiyye order.²⁹⁰

Although we cannot certainly link Celālzāde Mustafa with a *Sufi sheyh*, as mentioned above, he was close to Halvetiyye order, which had a lot of representatives and branches in the capital and other cities of the Empire. Atai states that Celālzāde built a *zaviye* for Halvetiyye order near his mosque in Eyup. He adds, Sheyh Ahmed, a *halife* of Merkez Efendi (Halvetiyye-Sümbüliyye order) used to preach in the mosque of Celālzāde on Fridays.²⁹¹ Celālzāde's respect for prominent Halvetiyye leaders like Ibrahim Gülşenî and Sheyh Muhammad was mentioned above. Celālzāde's respect for Ibrahim Gülşenî is also supported by a letter of Celālzāde addressing kadı of Edrene and requesting help (*şefaatname*) for Ibrahim Gülşenî's follower Hamza Dede.²⁹² It is not an exaggeration to assert that most of the Ottoman statesmen had sympathy for mystic orders and they have taken into account

²⁸⁹ Atāi, *Hadaiku'l-Hakaik fi Tekmileti's-Şakaik*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, İstanbul, Çağrı Yayınları, 1989, p. 351, Reşat Öngören, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf, Anadolu'da Sufiler Devlet ve Ulema, 16. yüzyıl*, İstanbul, İz Yayıncılık, 2003, p. 158-161.

²⁹⁰ Reşat Öngören, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf...*, p. 159,163.

²⁹¹ Atai, *Hadaik*, p. 114, 203.

²⁹² *Münşeat Mecmuası*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Esad, 3879, f. 65a.

şefaatname letters of *Sufi* leaders when choosing between candidates for a post. *Münşeat* works record a lot of examples of *şefaatname* genre but most of them omit the names proposed. Grand Vezir Piri Mehmed Pasha (d. 939/1532), Ayas Pasha (d. 946/1539), Rüstem Pasha (d.968/1561), Semiz Ali Pasha (d. 972/1565) and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (d. 987/1579) are reckoned to be among eminent statesmen who supported Halvetiyye order. Vezir Mustafa Pasha (Çoban, d. 935/1529), *tercuman* (court translator) Yunus (958/1551) and chief architect Acem Ali (d. 944/1537, Mimar Sinan's predecessor) supported Halvetiyye order by building *zaviyes* for them.²⁹³ As Atai states, his great grandfather, Nişancı Eğri Abdizade Mehmed was a member of Halvetiyye order as well, a follower (*murid*) of Müfti Sheyh.²⁹⁴ Undoubtedly, there were many followers of Halvetiyye, like Nişancı Mehmed, in the Ottoman bureaucracy; unfortunately contemporary sources rarely indicate those relations.

A systematic study of Ottoman mystic orders and biographic sources would contribute greatly to reveal political-social factions of leading Ottoman statesmen. Unfortunately it is not possible to ascertain those social links with current level of study on Ottoman prosopography.

Sultan Süleyman returned from Pulya campaign to Istanbul on 18 Cumadelahira 944/22 November 1537. Ottoman capital started to make preparations for next year's campaign on land and on sea. Ottoman imperial arsenal built ships for Hayreddin Pasha's navy and forged cannons for Süleyman Pasha's fleet in Red sea. Financial departments coordinated extraordinary tax (*nüzul*) collection and administrative departments composed imperial orders to arrange army organization. In Europe, Habsburgs acquired some diplomatic achievements at the expense of

²⁹³ Reşat Öngören, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf*,p. 320-331.

²⁹⁴ Atai, *Hadaik*, p. 63, see also, Reşat Öngören, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf*,p. 111-114.

Ottomans; Zapolya and Ferdinand signed a secret agreement in February 1538, which hands over Hungary to Ferdinand after Zapolya's death. Papacy, Venice and Habsburgs formed an anti-Ottoman alliance in February 1538. Lastly, King of France and Charles V agreed on a truce for 10 years in June 1538, which yielded Savoy to Francis.

For Celālzāde, campaigns of 945/1538 are proofs of Ottoman Sultan's unquestionable supremacy over all the other rulers of past and present. He describes the campaign in detail, emphasizing the uniqueness of events. For *Ṭabaḳāt*, Campaigns of 945/1538 (i.e. Sultan's Moldova (Karaboğdan) campaign, Hayreddin and Süleyman Pashas' campaigns) are so distinguished even from the earlier campaigns of Sultan that they mark the beginning of a new era. Number of soldiers and ships, construction of bridges over rivers (Danube and Prut), arrival of Crimean soldiers and news from the distant parts of the empire distinguishes this year's campaigns from the earlier ones.

Süleyman Pasha set out for India in 15 Muharram 945/13 June 1538 and Barbaros Hayreddin departed for Preveze in 9 Safer 945/7 July 1538. Sultan left the Capital at the head of Ottoman army with his two sons, Grand Vezir Ayas Pasha, 2nd vezir Lutfi Pasha and all the other officials on 10 Safer/14 June. Ottoman army was carrying the 7 flags (*sancak*) that symbolize the rule over 7 climates, and 4 horse tail (*tuğ*) to signify rulership over the 4 corners of the world.²⁹⁵ In Edirne, Ottoman Sultan recieved the emissary from the ruler of Basrah, who has sent his son with many gifts and a submission letter. Arriving in Isakça on 22 Rebiulevvel/18 August, Ottoman army crossed the Danube on a bridge so strong that "10.000 cavalry can

²⁹⁵ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 301b.

pass over it at the same time without causing any damage”.²⁹⁶ Celālzāde admires the work greatly and compares it with previous bridges that were built on Danube by Sultan’s order. For Celālzāde, none of the earlier bridges can compete with this one in size and strength. Though Celālzāde does not provide the name of the architect, as we know from Mustafa Saī’s *Tezkiretu’l-Bunyan*, Mimar Sinan had participated in the Karaboğdan campaign but the chief architect was still Acem Ali. *Tezkiretu’l-Bunyan* does not mention the bridge over Danube, but it indicates that Mimar Sinan was entrusted with the construction of a bridge over Prut, which is praised by Celālzāde as well. When Acem Ali died after the campaign, Mimar Sinan was appointed as chief architect largely because of his success in building a strong bridge over Prut River.²⁹⁷ After crossing Prut, Ottoman army headed for Suçav (Suceava) through Yaş (Iaşi). Celālzāde describes various divisions of the Ottoman army; *akıncıs*, *delis*, *janissaries*, Anatolian and Rumelian *sipahis*, as he described them in the Mohac campaign. But he does not provide the number for all Ottoman forces, because, he states, “if it is recorded, (...) most of the readers will not believe it. They would probably think it is an exaggeration; a habit of historians (...) and the author will be accused of lying”. So, Celālzāde adds, “it was not recorded on purpose”.²⁹⁸ However, Celālzāde emphasizes;

“bu üslûb-i garîb, tertîb-i ‘acîb pâdişâhân-i cihân, hüsrevân-i zemîn u zamândan tâ ibtidâ-i neş’e-i ‘âlem ve zuhûr-i devr-i benî Âdemden ilâ yevminâ hâzâ ne şark ve ne garbda ne cenûb ve şimâlde ne Hıta ve Keşmir Hoten’de ne Çin ve Maçin’de ne Hindüstan ve Zengibâr ve Habeş’de dahî bir pâdişâh-i cihân-penâha nasib olmuş değildir.” (*Tabakât*, 310b)

²⁹⁶ *Tabakât*, p. 308b.

²⁹⁷ Saī Mustafa Çelebi, *Yapılar Kitabı, Tezkiretü’l-Bünyan ve Tezkiretü’l-Ebniye*, ed. Hayati Develi, İstanbul, Koçbank, 2002, p. 136-138.

²⁹⁸ *Tabakât*, p. 310b.

As Nişancı, Celālzāde Mustafa should have known almost exact figure for the Ottoman army. In the beginning of chapter on Karaboğdan campaign, Celālzāde enumerates provinces that are assigned to navy under Hayreddin Pasha's command, and provinces that are entrusted with the protection of eastern border. A quarter of the Janissaries and half of the Anatolian soldiers were assigned to Hayreddin Pasha's command.²⁹⁹ Besides, some forces from Rumelia province were entrusted with the protection of western borders which were under the threat of Venice, Papacy and Spain. Therefore, Ottoman army was reduced in size. I think, the real reason for not recording the figure of Ottoman army was to protect the image that Sultan has the greatest army in the world. Therefore, Celālzāde avoided lying about the army size.³⁰⁰ On the other hand, Celālzāde provides a figure for Crimean army and for the enemy forces based on *his estimate*; almost 200.000 soldiers and 70.000 respectively.³⁰¹ Mihail Guboğlu discusses the figure given in various sources and concludes that Crimean army cannot exceed 20.000 men.³⁰² To conclude, exaggeration was a habit of Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi.

Unsurprisingly, Moldovian ruler Petru Rareş did not confront Ottoman army, Sultan appointed new ruler (*voyvoda*) from the old Moldovian dynasty and departed for home. When Ottoman army arrived in Isakça on 8 Cumadelula 945/2 October 1538, they have learned about other expeditions. As Celālzāde indicates, Ottoman army could not get any news for more than a month since they entered Moldovia.

²⁹⁹ *Tabakāt*, p. 293a-294a.

³⁰⁰ Relying on archival sources dating 933-4/1527-8, Ö. L. Barkan indicates that there were 27.868 *timars* in the Ottoman Empire, who were obliged to participate campaigns. Therefore Barkan estimates the total figure for *sipahis* (provincial cavalry) as 70-80.000. In addition, there were 27.000 *janissaries* and other divisions in the standing army. See Ö. L. Barkan, "Timar" *IA*, p. 287. About 50.000 *Akıncis* (irregular cavalry) must be added to these figures, though their number reduced greatly in the 2nd half of the 16th century. A. Decei, "Akıncı" *EI2*, v. 1, p. 340.

³⁰¹ *Tabakāt*, p. 315a, 315b.

³⁰² Mihail Guboğlu, "Kanuni Sultan Süleymanın ...", p. 781.

Meanwhile, messengers (*ulak*) from all over the world had arrived in Isakça and they have waited for the return of Ottoman army. Ottoman officials were informed about news from “*India, Yemen, Tayif, Hicaz, Saïd, Aden, Egypt, Baghdad, Basrah, Muş’a’şa, Bahreyn, Loristan, Kurdistan, Soran, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Damascus, Haleb, Karaman, Rum, Lands Of Turkman and Circassians and Ejder Han, Alexandria, Reşid, Dimyat, Algeria, Saruhan, Germiyan, Aydın, Isfendiyar, Spain, Papacy, France, Portugal, Bosnia, Semendire, Herzegovina, Izvornik and Avlonya*” when they arrived in Isakça.³⁰³ Undoubtedly, Celālzāde overstates again, but he has a ground to exaggerate; Ottomans successfully launched three major campaigns at the same time against allied forces. Ottoman officials learned about the victory of Ottoman navy at Preveze, and the treaty between France and Spain.

As usual, *Fetihnames* were prepared to inform the rest of the country and other states about unprecedented victories. Unfortunately, Feridun Bey’s *Münşeāt* does not provide a copy of *fetihnames*, but it is certain that different *Fetihnames* were prepared by different authors to be sent over *kadis*³⁰⁴, *beys*³⁰⁵ and foreign rulers. Nasuh Matraki was one of the authors of *Fetihname* which was converted into an independent work, *Fetihname-i Kara Boğdan*, immediately after the campaign.³⁰⁶ Similarly, Celālzāde Mustafa probably authored a *fetihname* at first, and then he extended the work to be included into his *Ṭabaḳāt*. There are various reasons

³⁰³ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 319a.

³⁰⁴ A *fetihname* sent to the *Kadı* of Bursa was preserved in *şeriyye sicil* (court register) and it was published by Tayyib Gökbilgin, “Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri Müesseseler ve Teşkilatına Işık Tutan Bursa Şer’iye Sicillerinden Örnekler” in *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı’ya Armağan*, Ankara, TTK, 1988, p. 108-9. *Fetihname* orders the announcement of victory to the city residents and organization of celebration activities.

³⁰⁵ A *fetihname* sent to the governor of Amasya province, Bali Bey, was preserved in a manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Yahya Efendi, 6335, f. 43b-44b, cited in Mihail Guboğlu, “Kanuni Sultan Süleymanın ...” p. 797.

³⁰⁶ Nasuh Matraki’s work was written on 23 Cumadelaire 945, see Mihail Guboğlu, “Kanuni Sultan Süleymanın ...” p. 798, A. Decei, “Un Fetihname-i Karaboğdan (1538) de Nasuh Matraki” *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, İstanbul, 1953, sh. 113-124, Hüseyin Gazi Yurdaydın, *Matrakçı Nasuh*, Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1963, p. 39.

supporting this assumption; first, *Ṭabaḳāt*'s section on Mohac campaign is an extended version of *Fetihname* of Mohac which was preserved in Feridun Bey's *Münşeāt*. There is no reason to believe that same procedure was not followed again. Secondly, as Nişancı, it was Celālzāde's responsibility to compose eloquent *fetihnames* to be sent over friendly nations. Thirdly, Celālzāde, like Nasuh Matraki, authored the section of Karaboğdan immediately after the campaign; he did not amend some phrases that needed to be corrected, like the date given for Süleyman Pasha's departure from Egypt, or the re-capture of Nova castle.³⁰⁷ To conclude, *Ṭabaḳāt*'s section on Karaboğdan campaign (291a-333a) was written in 945/1538, and it was an extended version of *fetihname* authored by Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi.

Ottoman army arrived in Edirne on 29 Cumadelula 945/23 October 1538 and Sultan stayed there during the winter, returning to Istanbul on 24 Zilkade 945/13 April 1539. *Ṭabaḳāt* does not mention the death of Grand Vezir Ayas Pasha on 26 Safer 946/13 July 1539, or plague and fire that greatly damaged the Capital in the same month.³⁰⁸ It was because Celālzāde had aimed to exalt Sultan's reputation, not to present historical events in his work. As mentioned above, Celālzāde and Ayas Pasha had worked together in harmony and I think Mustafa Āli's comment on Ayas Pasha also reflects Celālzāde's thoughts about Grand Vezir; "*Pīrī Paşa ve sāyir vükelā-i*

³⁰⁷ Celālzāde provides two different dates for Süleyman Pasha's departure; 15 Muharram and 30 Muharram. 15 Muharram was stated at the beginning of the chapter, then it was corrected as 30 Muharram probably in accordance with the report of Süleyman Pasha about campaign. Celālzāde's comments on the capture of Nova castle by enemy forces reflect that it had not been re-captured by Hayreddin Pasha yet while the section was written. Finally, report of Süleyman Pasha's campaign was not fully covered by Celālzāde, which suggests that Celālzāde could not edit the first draft of the section later on.

³⁰⁸ Lutfi Paşa, *Tevarih-i Āl-i Osman*, Istanbul, Matbaa-i Amire, 1341 (1922), p. 370, Kemal Özergin, *Sultan Kanuni Süleyman Han Çağına Ait Tarih Kayıtları*, Erzurum, 1971, p. 13.

*dānā gibi hüsn-i tedbīr ile engüşt-nümā deġil idi, her nice bulduysa öylece kollardı, ahvāl-i devletiñ tezelsülüne bāis ve bādī olacaķ evzā'a mürtekib olmadı.”*³⁰⁹

Though Huseyin Husameddin asserts removal of Celālzāde Mustafa from office of Nişancı after the death of Ayas Pasha, apparently he is mistaken; no other source confirms Huseyin Husameddin’s assertion, which also includes chronological errors.³¹⁰

Second vezir Lutfi Pasha was promoted to Grand Vezirate upon Ayas Pasha’s death. Celālzāde Mustafa does not comment on Lutfi Pasha’s character. However, Mustafa Āli portrays Lutfi Pasha as an educated man in comparison to other Pashas (of *devshirme* origin). But Mustafa Āli adds;

“Although he [Lutfi Pasha] has studied grammer (*sarf u nahv*) and some books on Islamic law such as *Kenz* and *Kudurī*, he thought of himself at the same level with Kadı Baydawī and al-Zamakhsherī. He used to ask meaning of words to eminent ‘*ulemā*’ of the time like Ebussuud and Aşçızade Hasan, who preferred to stay silent in accordance with the saying “*cevābu’l-aḥmāķ-i sukūtun*”. But he [Lufti Pasha] interpreted that as a sign of their ignorance.”³¹¹

Mustafa Āli also narrates an incident to demonstrate Lutfi Pasha’s ignorance and arrogance. According to Mustafa Āli, Ali bin Salih (Vasi Alisi, d. 950/1543) presents his book *Hümayunnāme* to Grand Vezir Lutfi Pasha, stating that he had worked on it for the last 20 years. Ali bin Salih also informs Grand Vezir about the

³⁰⁹ Mustafa Āli, *Künhü’l-Ahbar*, manuscript, reign of Sultan Süleyman, entry of Ayas Pasha. As mentioned above, Mustafa Āli mostly relies on *Ṭabaķāt* and what he heard from Celālzāde himself, for the reign of Sultan Süleyman.

³¹⁰ Without explaining his source, Hüseyin Hüameddin states that “944 *senesi Recebinde Sadrazam Ayas Paşanın vefatı üzerine azl edildiye de 945 senesi şabanında saniyen nişancı oldu*”. As mentioned above, Ayas Pasha died on 26 Safer 946. Hüseyin Hüameddin, *Nişancılar Duraġı*, manuscript, Isam Library, Istanbul, p. 83.

³¹¹ Mustafa Āli, *Künhü’l-Ahbar*, manuscript, reign of Sultan Süleyman, entry of Lufi Pasha.

content of his work, indicating its significance for the art of government. When Lutfi Pasha learned about the book, he comments; “It is a waste of time to spend 20 years for such a book, instead, you should have worked on a religious science”. Disappointed with Grand Vezir’s manner, Ali bin Salih turns back in despair leaving two copy of his book at the hands of Grand Vezir’s servants. Grand Vezir allows one of the copies to be offered to Sultan, the other one is left at the hands of the servant. *Defter emini* Ramazanzāde Mehmed witnesses the scene and he buys the other copy from the servant for 50 ducats. Mustafa Āli records that he heard the incident from Nişancı Ramazanzāde Mehmed who was *defter emini* at the time.³¹²

It is fair to assume that Mustafa Āli’s evaluation of Lutfi Pasha and Ayas Pasha reflects a general viewpoint shared by Ottoman secretariat. Mustafa Āli mentions Piri Mehmed as an ideal grand vezir and compares Ayas Pasha with him. Lutfi Pasha was distinguished with his education among other Pashas but he was still “ignorant” in the eyes of “well-educated” bureaucrats, like Celālzāde, Ramazanzāde and Mustafa Āli. Most probably, Celālzāde waited eagerly for the appointment of a vezir from the learned class, someone like Piri Mehmed, or himself. However, Sultan Süleyman never promoted bureaucrats to the rank of vezirate, all of Sultan’s vezirs were from *devshirme* origin, and most of them were his son-in-laws.³¹³ Sultan preferred to depend on his loyal slaves who were grown up in the imperial palace, to strengthen his rule over the vast lands of the empire. Sultan’s slaves had no relatives or very few relatives and they were a part of huge imperial family called *Osmanī*, or

³¹² Mustafa Āli, *Künhü’l-Ahbar*, manuscript, reign of Sultan Süleyman, entry of Ali bin Salih, and Andreas Tietze, *Mustafā Ālī’s Counsel for Sultans of 1581*, v. 2, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften, 1982, p. 202-3.

³¹³ “Süleyman made the *damad* grand vezir a standard feature of his reign” see Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 66-7. Vezirs Ferhad (d. 931), Çoban Mustafa (d. 936), Mustafa (d. 945) and Grand Vezirs Ibrahim (d. 942), Lutfi (d. 970) and Kara Ahmed (d. 962) was Sultan’s brother-in-law, Rüstem Pasha (d. 968) married Sultan’s daughter. Grand Vezirs Semiz Ali (d. 972) and Sokollu Mehmed (d. 987) married Sultan’s granddaughters. Admiral Piyale and vezir Ferhad also married Sultan’s granddaughters.

Osmanlı.³¹⁴ They were the real representatives of the Ottoman central administration in the provinces. Sultan controlled their actions by codification of Ottoman law (*kānūn-i Osmanī*) and by representatives of imperial bureaucracy and judicial officials like *defterdar* and *kadı*. Sultan usually personally chose the head of Ottoman bureaucracy, i.e. Nişancı. Celālzāde strongly emphasizes that he was appointed as nişancı by Sultan's order.³¹⁵ As Mustafa Āli records, Ramanzāde Mehmed was promoted to the rank of nişancı contrary to Grand Vezir's will by Sultan's order.³¹⁶ In addition to monitoring consistency of Governors' actions with Ottoman law, Nişancı Celālzāde also served to the legitimation of Ottoman rule by his works. He represented Sultan as an abstract figure, namely "soul of the country" in his works. This aspect will be further discussed in third chapter.

Victories of Barbaros Hayreddin had forced Venice to seek for peace. Ottoman Sultan granted permission for peace negotiations and stayed in the capital to celebrate his sons' circumcision festival. Celālzāde Mustafa describes festivities in detail, which were held between 15-28 Racab 946/26 November-9 December 1539. He mentions only Şehzade Bayezid's circumcision; ignoring Sultan's disabled child Cihangir and Rüstem Pasha's wedding with Sultan's daughter on 23 Racab³¹⁷. Celālzāde indicates the presence of emissaries from Ferdinand, France and Venice³¹⁸

³¹⁴ For Celālzāde's use of the term see, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 34b, 105b, 107a.

³¹⁵ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 260b.

³¹⁶ Mustafa Āli, *Kūnhü'l-Ahbar*, manuscript, reign of Sultan Süleyman, entry of Ramanzāde Mehmed.

³¹⁷ A court register preserves the record of Rüstem Pasha's marriage with Mihrimah Sultan, for which Rüstem Pasha was obliged to pay 100.000 ducats (*mıhr-i müeccel*) to Sultan's daughter, see Istanbul Müftülük Archives, *Evkaf-i Hümayun Müfettişliği*, 7, p. 89.

³¹⁸ Venice enjoyed the support of France to conclude peace with Ottoman Empire. First Venetian Ambassador was appointed in April 1539 and third Venetian ambassador concluded negotiations with the Porte, succeeding to obtain an *ahidname* dated 1 Cumadelahir 947/2 October 1540, for the text of *ahidname* see T. Gökbilgin, "Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki Vesikalar Külliyyatında Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri Belgeleri" *Belgeler*, v. 1 (1964) no. 2, p. 121-128. For negotiations and *ahidnames* given to Venice, see Hans Peter Alexander Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats: The *Ahidnames*. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents", *EJOS*, 1(1998), no. 2, p. 1-698.

without refering to the negotiations. Instead, *Ṭabaḳāt* emphasizes on the prestige enjoyed by Hoca Hayreddin, Sultan's teacher, in the imperial protocol. As mentioned above, Celālzāde Salih Çelebi started his career as an assistant (*mulazım*) of Hoca Hayreddin. In the following years, Hoca Hayreddin also accepted Celālzāde Salih's students as his assistant and Hoca Hayreddin's son Kurd Ahmed studied religious sciences from Celālzāde Salih.³¹⁹ *Ṭabaḳāt* reveals a deep respect for Hoca Hayreddin, who was probably the most esteemed person for Celālzāde Mustafa, especially after the death of Piri Mehmed (d. 939/1532) and Kemalrashazade (d. 940/1534).

According to state protocol, Celālzāde Mustafa was seated on the right side, after governors of Rumelia and Karaman and prior to *sancakbeys*, whereas Defterdars were seated on the left side above other *sancakbeys* and *muteferrikas*, at the first banquet, which was organized by Grand Vezir.³²⁰ Hoca Hayreddin attended second and third banquets, which were honored by Sultan's presence. Interestingly, Mufti of the time, Çivizade, did not attend at the third banquet given for 'ulemā, whereas late Mufti Kemalrashazade had been seated at Sultan's left side at the banquet of 936/1530.³²¹

Though Celālzāde Mustafa does not mention, he must have taken place in peace negotiations with Venetian emissaries, together with Grand Vezir and translator Yunus Bey. Venice succeeded in getting an *ahidname* (dated 1 Cumadelahir 947/2 October 1540) only after surrendering all of the castles Ottomans demanded, and accepting to pay a compensation of 300.000 ducats. In return, Venetians continued to enjoy trade privileges they had acquired with earlier *ahidnames*. Celālzāde Mustafa introduced new formulas to reflect Ottoman Sultan's

³¹⁹ Atai, p. 34.

³²⁰ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 338b, a list of attendant guests and applied protocol was preserved in *Mecmua-i Humayun*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Esad, 3343, f. 392a.

³²¹ Cf. *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 201a, 340a. *Mecmua-i Humayun*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Esad, 3343, f. 392a.

elevated status vis-a-vis Venetian Doge in the new *ahidname*; “*tāc-bahş-i hüsrevān-i rūy-i zemīn*” was added to *intitulatio* section, “*arz-i ‘ubūdiyyet*” was used for the Doge, and the *locatio* was described as “*dāru’l-ḥilāfetil-aliyye*” instead of “*dāru’s-saltanatil-aliyye*”.³²²

While Ottomans negotiating peace with Venice, they have learned about Safavid Shah Tahmasb’s alliance with Ferdinand. As Grand Vezir Lutfi indicates in his work, Tahmasb and Ferdinand had agreed to help each other by attacking Ottomans simultaneously.³²³ Death of Zapolya (July 1540) signaled the revival of struggle for Hungaria. As Celālzāde describes, “*king of Çeh and Alaman, brainless Ferdinand had gone crazy due to his ambition to rule over Hungary. (...) Though Ferdinand suffered from defeat everytime he attacked Hungary, he did not learn from mistakes. Once more he had been subjugated to his ambition to rule over Hungary*”.³²⁴

Upon Ferdinand’s attack on Hungary in October 1540, Ottoman *divan* decided to launch another campaign to save Hungary. Second Vezir Sofu Mehmed has set out in advance at the head of Rumelian forces and a division of janissaries. New Grand Vezir Hadım Süleyman Pasha moved to the Eastern border to confront expected attack of Safavids in Muharrem 948/April 1541. Celālzāde Mustafa accompanied Sultan who departed from Istanbul at the head of remaining soldiers on 25 Safer 948/20 June 1541.³²⁵ Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha had been ordered to protect Adriatic coasts, later on he was sent to Algeria which has been under siege of Charles V since August 1541. Fortunately for Ottomans, Charles’ navy suffered greatly from storm and after four month’s siege Charles retreated.

³²² Hans Peter Alexander Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats ...”, p. 273-302.

³²³ Lütü Paşa, *Tevārih-i Āl-i Osman*, p. 384-385.

³²⁴ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 341a.

³²⁵ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 342a.

Mehmed Pasha arrived in Buda at the end of Rabiulevvel 948/July 1541 and began to harass enemy troops who laid siege to Buda. When Sultan Süleyman reached environs of Buda, forces of Ferdinand lifted the siege and began to retreat in disorder. Mehmed Pasha took advantage of the situation, attacking enemy who try to retreat by way of Danube. Mehmed Pasha's attack inflicted heavy casualties on Ferdinand's forces. When Sultan's army reached at Buda on 4 Cumadelula 948/26 August 1541, war was already over.

Sultan decided to appoint an Ottoman Governor for Buda until Zapolya's infant son reaches the age to rule. Meanwhile, infant son was granted with a *sancağ* (province) in Erdel (Transilvania). As Celālzāde states;

“oğluña Erdel vilāyetinde sancağ-i hümāyūn ‘ināyet olunub soñra irişüb yarar olduğda gerü babası yerine Engürüs krallığı tevcīh olunmağ mu‘āhede-i hümāyun-i şeref-şudūr buldu”. (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 344b)

Celālzāde emphasizes that late Zapolya's widow was the daughter of Polish (Leh) King. However, Celālzāde does not mention his meeting with her; Nişancı was entrusted to inform the queen about Sultan's decision. Together with translator, Nişancı Celālzāde carried the *berat* ornamented with golden and dark blue lines, to the queen.³²⁶

Unlike Celālzāde's *Ṭabaḳāt*, *Fetihname* of the campaign does not include Sultan's promise to Zapolya's widow. But most of its content and style coincides with Celālzāde's account of the campaign, which suggests that it was composed by Celālzāde. Unfortunately, Feridun Bey does not reveal the name of the author for the

³²⁶ Peçevî İbrahim Efendi, *Tarih-i Peçevî*, eds. Fahri Ç. Derin and Vahit Çabuk, Istanbul, Enderun Kitabevi, 1980, p. 232, Hammer, v. 5, p. 1477.

fetihname, which was sent to Grand Vezir to inform about the latest victories.³²⁷ As *fetihname* informs, the province of Hungary was annexed and converted into *dar al-islam*, and Sultan awarded Zapolya's son with his father's possessions in Erdel. At the beginning of *fetihname*, Sultan reminds Grand Vezir about the first conquest of Hungary (932/1526) and appointment of Zapolya as king. As Sultan indicates, at earlier times; "the province was far away from *dar al-islam* and it was hard to control it (*feth itdüğüm Engürüs vilāyetiniñ dāru'l-mülkü olan Budin tahtı ki ol zamanda memālik-i islāmiyyeden ba'īd ve žabtı 'asīr olub*)". Therefore, Sultan had conferred the control of Hungary on Zapolya in return of a yearly payment (*harāc*), and now it is annexed to other protected domains (*memālik-i maḥrūse*).

Annexation of Hungary after 15 years from the first conquest can be explained with Ottoman traditional conquest strategy observable from the beginning of Ottoman history.³²⁸ It also reflects the beginning of a new period in the reign of Sultan Süleyman; a period of consolidation and institutional establishment. As mentioned above, Sultan Süleyman has faced challenges from west, east and within the imperial domains in the early years of his reign; relative weakness of Ottoman naval forces vis-à-vis western powers, Safavids influence in the eastern Anatolia and quick annexation of Mamluk lands were sources of challenges threatening Süleyman's rule. Whereas Süleyman succeeded to suppress rebellions of Canberdi Gazali, Hain Ahmed Pasha and *kızılbaş* uprisings, and he consolidated his power in the east by eliminating governor of Zulkadir province, *Şehsuvaroğlu* Ali, and by conquering Baghdad in the *Irakeyn* campaign. Hoping to maintain her dominance on the Mediterranean, Venice had joined the alliance of Habsburgs, but she accepted

³²⁷ Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, p. 551-554.

³²⁸ For a detailed examination of this strategy see, Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest" reprinted in *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy*, London, Variorum Reprints, 1978, p. 104-129.

Ottoman naval supremacy after Barbaros Hayreddin's victory at Preveze. Sultan of the two continents and two seas (*şultānu'l-berreyn ve ḥāḳānu'l-baḥreyn*) had successfully demonstrated his power to confront all his enemies in land and sea especially with his last campaigns on Moldovia and Buda.

When Sultan decided to annex Hungary in 948/1541, Ottoman statesmen and officials were confident that no foreign enemy was capable of threatening Ottoman power. As Celālzāde Mustafa always prays in his work (*ḥallade Allahu mulkehū*), Ottoman Empire seemed to sustain forever. Former Grand Vezir Lutfi Pasha's treatise on governance (*Āsāfnāme*) focuses on the observance of law (*kanun*) and some administrative-financial principles to ensure the stability of the Empire. For Lutfi Pasha current number of the Ottoman forces (12.000 janissaries and 15.000 cavalry and artillery) was adequate to defend the empire in land and sea. But some administrative and financial practices would ruin Ottoman Empire such as extraordinary taxes (*avārīż*), *ulak* system (state couriers) and unjust, illegal revenues collected from tax-paying people.³²⁹

Consequently, Sultan focused on consolidation of the foundations for an "eternal" government, which means the establishment and elucidation of Ottoman laws and traditions. Expansion of imperial bureaucracy and military-administrative offices had also contributed greatly to the development of *kanun* consciousness among Ottoman officials and public. Undoubtedly, codification of Ottoman laws had begun before the reign of Sultan Süleyman, but he was largely credited with the establishment of Ottoman law.³³⁰ Ebussuud described Ottoman Sultan as "*the propagator of the Sultanic laws*" (*nāşiru'l-ḳavānini's-Sultāniyye*) among other things, in the inscription on the main gate of Sultan's mosque in Istanbul (completed in

³²⁹ Lutfi Paşa, *Āsāfnāme*, in A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v. 4, p. 258-290.

³³⁰ Halil İnalcık, "Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law" *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 1 (1969), p. 126.

964/1557).³³¹ There are a lot of reasons to explain Sultan Süleyman's reputation as *ḳānunī* ("law-abiding" or "lawgiver"), which will be discussed in chapter four, here it is enough to indicate that Sultan's second term i.e. the years after 948/1541 is especially influential in establishing that reputation. According to Gülru Necipoğlu, first term ends with the death of Ibrahim Pasha (942/1536) and after a transitional period, grand vezirate of Rüstem Pasha (951/1544) marks the beginning of second term, which was characterized by "a homogenous classical synthesis constituting a maturation of earlier experiments" in terms of cultural-political orientation.³³² I think, annexation of Hungary and victories of Ottoman navy mark the consolidation of Ottoman rule in the region from Buda to Baghdad, and it enabled Ottoman statesmen to focus on internal affairs i.e. administrative practices which were regulated by *kanun* (law). Nişancı Celālzāde Mustafa and Mufti Ebussuud played a significant role in the codification and conceptualization of Ottoman laws.³³³ Oldest manuscript of Sultan Süleyman's famous code is dated Shawwal 952/December 1545.³³⁴ In the light of his studies on *kanunname* manuscripts and contemporary sources, Uriel Heyd concludes that Sultan Süleyman's new criminal code was compiled by Celālzāde Mustafa under the grand vezirate of Lutfi Pasha, i.e. between Safer 946/July 1539 and Muharrem 948/April 1541.³³⁵

Administration of Buda was entrusted to the experienced governor of Anatolia, Süleyman Pasha. Sultan appointed Süleyman Pasha with the rank of

³³¹ Halil İnalçık, "State, Sovereignty and Law ...", p. 67. For the inscription see also Cevdet Çulpan, "İstanbul Süleymaniye Camii Kitabesi" in *Kanuni Armağanı*, Ankara, TTK, 2001, p. 291-299.

³³² Gülru Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State ..." p. 203.

³³³ For Ebussuud's contribution to the conceptualization of Ottoman law within the context of Islamic law, see Halil İnalçık, "Islamization of Ottoman Laws on Land and Land tax" in *Festgabe an Josef Matuz : Osmanistik – Turkologie – Diplomatie*, eds., C. Fragner and K. Schwarz, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1992, pp. 101-118.

³³⁴ Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973, p. 25.

³³⁵ Uriel Heyd, *Studies...*, p. 27.

vezirate, and returned home. Sultan and Ottoman army arrived in Istanbul on 8 Shaban 948/ 27 November 1541.

Celālzāde Mustafa's brother Salih had assumed the translation of Persian work; *ķışsa-i Firuz Shāh* by Sultan's order under the grand vezirate of Ayas Pasha. It seems that though Celālzāde Salih concluded the eight-volume translation in a very short time, death of Ayas Pasha delayed the presentation of the work to Sultan Süleyman. Eventually, Sultan awarded Celālzāde Salih Çelebi with Bayezid *medrese* in Edirne appreciating his work in 949/1542.³³⁶

Ottoman Capital was hosting Ferdinand's emissaries, when Ferdinand's forces attacked Buda again in Shaban 949/November 1542. On the other hand, French emissary persuaded Ottoman administration for a joint attack on Charles V's domains. Sultan decided to launch another campaign on Hungary and ordered the construction of new ships for imperial navy. Besides, eastern borders of the Empire were under the threat of Shah Tahmasb. Nevertheless, Ottoman administration was experienced enough to coordinate measures in three fronts; west, east and sea. Celālzāde Mustafa describes preparations and campaign in a long section of *Ṭabaķāt* without providing much detail on facts. Instead, Celālzāde aims to demonstrate Sultan's magnificence and obedience to God. Celālzāde always reminds his readers that Sultan seeks refuge in God's support (*ināyet*) and Prophet's miracles (*mu'cizāt*) in his actions, repeating the same statements used in *ahidnames* and *fetihnames*. Within that context, Celālzāde indicates God's support upon Sultan and Ottoman army. *Ṭabaķāt* emphasizes on Sultan's and Ottoman subjects' zeal for *gaza* using very elegant language. Celālzāde does not ignore revealing the support of heterodox movements as well as the traditional representatives of the religious circles.

³³⁶ İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Tosyalı Celālzāde ...", p. 424.

Heterodox orders such as *Bektāṣī*, *Baba Yusūfī*, *Haydārīyān*, *Cavlakī*, *Edhemī*, *Kalenderiyān*, *Bayrāmī*, *Nimetullahī* and *Cāmī* greeted Sultan at the gates of Edirne.³³⁷ *Ṭabaḳāt*'s section of 10th campaign is also distinguished with its style; though Celālzāde aims to prove his *inṣā'* skills in most of the *Ṭabaḳāt*, he uses more embellished style and focuses on Sultan. For instance, Grand Vezir's name was not even mentioned once in that section.

Contrary to the custom, Sultan decided to launch his 10th campaign from Edirne instead of Istanbul. So, Ottoman administration accompanied Sultan when he left for Edirne on 8 Shaban 949/17 November 1542. According to a *ruzmançe* register, Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi participated in campaign at the head of 19 scribes and officials, including *reisülküttab* and *emin-i defter*. Besides, there were 4 *kātib* for Grand Vezir and other vezirs, 3 translator and 9 scribes under the Defterdar's command.³³⁸

Ottoman administration had made arrangements for a major campaign against Ferdinand by raising extra-ordinary taxes (*avarız*), sending orders for the provisioning of the army and giving directions to the frontier forces for preemptive strikes. However, Ottoman army did not leave Hungarian lands; Sultan aimed to "re-conquer" cities with strategic and symbolic significance for the province Buda; like the ancient capital of Hungary, Estergon (Gran, Esztergom) and the coronation city of Hungarian Kings Istolni Belgrad (Szekesfehervar, Stuhlweisenburg). Estergon and Istolni Belgrad had been subjugated before by late Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha's peaceful, diplomatic efforts, but it was largely a symbolic submission. Sultan aimed permanent annexation of these cities in his 10th campaign.

³³⁷ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 348b.

³³⁸ BOA, KK, 1765, f. 26b-28a.

Departing from Edirne on 18 Muharrem 950/23 April 1543, Sultan proceeded towards Estergon after capturing castles in south Hungary like Valpovo, Siklos and Pecs in Rebiulevvel-Rebiulahir/June-July. Ottoman army besieged Estergon on 22 Rebiulahir/ 25 July and waited 4 days for the arrival of artillery coming from Buda. After conquering Estergon on 6 Cumadelula/7 August, Sultan instructed the rebuilding of city fortifications and installation of a powerful garrison to defend the city. Ottoman Sultan also received Polish (Leh) emissary in Estergon. As Celālzāde states, Polish King was a powerful ruler, who used to refer himself as the ruler of *rub'-i meskun* (quarter of the world) in his letters. He was scared by movement of Sultan's army and sent an emissary with many gifts to pay his respects to Sultan's threshold.³³⁹

After Estergon, Ottoman army moved south-west to besiege Istolni Belgrad. The city was captured after a fierce struggle, on 4 Cumadeluhra/4 September. As Celālzāde indicates;

“Hudāygān-i Huda-penāh ve şer'-maḥfūfuñ -*halled*e Allahu *zılāle-ma'deleti*hi-bu sefer-i ferḥunde-eşerde vāḳi' olān futūḥāt-i cemīlede Ḥaḳḳa teveccüh-i du'āları ve berekāt-i meymenet-āyāt-i ed'yye-i mübārekelerinin kemāl-i teşiri müşāhede ve 'āyān idi.” (*Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 370a.)

Sultan prohibited destruction of the tombs for old Hungarian Kings that are preserved in a great church of Istolni Belgrad. Another big church was transformed into Mosque, and after praying on Friday, Sultan awarded all his servants for their courage. As usual, *fetihnames* were sent to the distant lands from Algeria to Aden,

³³⁹ “Leh vilāyetinin kralı Sicizmundu [Sigismund] ki mülūk-i küffārda azim-i şān ile fāyīḳu'l-aḳrān [...] yazduḡu nāmelerde kendüye isnād-i ḥukūmet-i rub'-i meskūn iderdi [...] elçi gönderüb gelüb ordū-yi hümāyūna vāşıl olmuşdu [...] āsitān-i ḥilāfet-āşiyāna izhār-i 'ubūdiyyet ve iḥlāş eyledi.” *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 364b.

including Cyprus and Venice.³⁴⁰ Then Sultan returned Istanbul through Buda and Belgrad and arrived capital on 18 Shaban 950/16 November 1543. According to the *rużnamçe* register, about 15.000 soldiers had participated in the campaign, and total expenditure for 7 months had reached 61,6 million *akce* or 1 million ducats.³⁴¹

Unfortunately, Ottoman capital could not celebrate Sultan's victory because Sultan's son, Şehzāde Mehmed passed away on 8 Shaban 950/5 November 1543 in Manisa. Late Şehzāde's body was transferred to Istanbul, "all Muslims" and Sultan attended his funeral on 18 Shaban/15 November.³⁴² Celālzāde Mustafa refers to the temporariness of the world and regrets that Şehzāde died at a young age. Celālzāde admires Sultan's submission to the will of God, indicating once more that the Caliph is endowed by divine support (*ḥaẓreti ḥilāfet-penāh maẓhar-i te'yīdāt-i ilāhdır.*)

Sultan decided to immortalize memory of his son by building a complex (*küllīye*) on his name, consisting of *shehzade*'s tomb, a mosque, a *medrese* and an *imāret*. Architects presented to the Sultan eccentric plans and designs for the complex, among which Sultan favored a well balanced, beautiful one.³⁴³ Construction began immediately and it took five years and 250.000 ducats to finish all of the buildings.³⁴⁴

Celālzāde brothers lost an important protector in the same year; Sultan's teacher, Hoca Hayreddin passed away on 13 Ramazan 950/ 10 December 1543. Celālzāde Salih was teaching at Bayezid medrese in Edirne, as we learn from his

³⁴⁰ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 373b.

³⁴¹ 15.000 soldiers include only *janissaries*, artillerymen and imperial cavalry divisions, i.e. soldiers with salary from central government. It should be noted that figure for expenditures contain regular salary payments of officials and soldiers, as well as war expenses. See, Mehmet İpçioğlu, "Kanuni Süleyman'ın Estergon (Esztergom) Seferi, 1543" *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, X (1990), p. 137-159.

³⁴² *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 376b.

³⁴³ "müessisān-i Aristo-şemāyil müctemī' olub eṭvār-i garībede resimler ve ẓarḥlar bünyād idüb getirdiler, 'izz-i ḥuẓūr-i salṭanata 'arẓ olunub maṭbū' ve mevzūn olan üslub ihtiyār olundu." *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 377b.

³⁴⁴ Mustafa Ālī, *Künhü'l-Aḥbār*, manuscript, section on reign of Sultan Süleyman, 43th incident.

münşeāt, he was satisfied with teaching and reading, he had declined offers of promotion to *każā* of Bursa and Edirne.³⁴⁵ However, Celālzāde Salih changed his mind in 951/1544, in a petition addressing directly to the Sultan, Celālzāde quotes Prophet's words "Sultan is the protector (*velī*) of those who have no protector" and he requests for a post in *każā*.³⁴⁶ Celālzāde Salih had asked for one of two provinces; Edirne or Bursa, but he was granted *każā* of Haleb in Ramadan 951/November 1544. As mentioned above, path of *każā* promised revenues; Celālzāde Salih's income increased to 500 *akçe* from 50 *akçe*. But he lost the tranquility he enjoyed while he was *muderris* in Edirne. As Celālzāde Salih confesses in the introduction of his work *Cevāmiu'l-Hikāyāt*; "while I was serving as *kadı* in Arap provinces I have not departed from the path of justice. I have never acquired an illegal income, but it was hard to deal with the oppressors in these lands. I could not prevent them and they could not change my manners. Eventually, they have prevailed by their injustice; I was defeated, with justice".³⁴⁷ Celālzāde Salih served only two months as *kadı* of Haleb, then he was transferred to Egypt to carry out investigation of former governors; Süleyman Pasha and Husrev Pasha.

As mentioned above, Grand Vezir Süleyman Pasha and 4th vezir Husrev Pasha had served as governors of Egypt before. They have accused each other in the imperial *divan* of usurpation committed in Egypt. Consequently, Sultan dismissed both of them, 2nd vezir Rüstem Pasha was granted with grand vezirate on 25 Ramadan 951/10 December 1544. A commission was established consisting of Celālzāde Salih, *kadı* of Egypt Emir Çelebi, Defterdar of Egypt and Governor of Egypt to investigate financial registers of Egypt belonging to the tenure of Süleyman

³⁴⁵ See Celālzāde Salih's letter to his brother Atayi in Celālzāde Salih Çelebi, *Divan – Münşeāt*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Kadızade Mehmed, 557, f. 17b.

³⁴⁶ "as-sultānu veliyyun men la-veliyye leh" Celālzāde Salih Çelebi, *Divan – Münşeāt*, f. 1a.

³⁴⁷ Cited in İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Tosyalı Celālzāde ...", p. 424.

Pasha (931-941/1525-1535 and 943-945/1536-1538) and Husrev Pasha (941-943/1535-6).³⁴⁸ Celālzāde Salih left Haleb on 28 Zilkade 951/10 February 1545 for Egypt, where he was entitled 200 *akçe* from Egyptian treasury.³⁴⁹ During the investigation, Celālzāde Salih had the opportunity to compose a history of Egypt, which he finished in Zilkade 953/December 1546.³⁵⁰ Then, Celālzādes Salih returned Istanbul and he was appointed to Sahn *medrese* for a short time, until he was transferred to the *kaḏā* of Damascus on 2 Rebiulahir 954/22 May 1547.³⁵¹

As we learn from the *mühimme* records, Ottoman administration was busy with making preparations for new campaigns in west and east, constructing new ships for the navy and acquiring knowledge of rival powers; Spain, Portuegese and Safavids during the winter of 951-2/1544-5.³⁵² Like other high-ranking state officials, Nişancı Celālzāde followed Sultan in war as well as in peace; for instance, when Sultan decided to spend the winter in Edirne. Notes on the margins of *mühimme* records indicate that Nişancı ratified most of the orders written by *divan* scribes, whereas some of them were submitted to Grand Vezir.³⁵³ New grand vezir Rüstem Pasha was an experienced statesman and son-in-law of Sultan. Unlike former grand vezirs, Ayas, Lutfi and Süleyman, Rüstem Pasha is renowned with intervening financial-administrative bureaucracy by appointing his retinue to high posts and with financial measures introduced to ensure an increase in state budget.³⁵⁴ As will be mentioned below, Rüstem Pasha also tried to appoint a Nişancı from his circle to strengthen his authority, which Sultan did not approve.

³⁴⁸ Halil Sahillioğlu, *Mühimme Defteri*, p. 7-11.

³⁴⁹ İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, “Tosyalı Celālzāde ...”, p. 424, Halil Sahillioğlu, *Mühimme Defteri*, p. 82.

³⁵⁰ Celālzāde Salih, *Tarih-i Mısır*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Halet Efendi İlavesi, 190, f. 86b, 181b.

³⁵¹ BOA, KK, Ruus, 208, p. 87.

³⁵² Halil Sahillioğlu, *Mühimme Defteri*.

³⁵³ Halil Sahillioğlu, *Mühimme Defteri*, p. 131, 161.

³⁵⁴ M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, “Rüstem Paşa ve Hakkındaki İthamlar”, *İÜEF Tarih Dergisi*, v. 8 (1956), no. 11-12, p. 16-20, 34-8. Mustafa Âlî, *Mustafa Âlî's Counsel for Sultans of 1581*, ed. Andreas Tietze, Wien, Verlag Der Österreichischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften, 1979, p. 165

Unlike expectations, Sultan has called off the campaign in 952/1545 and peace negotiations with Ferdinand's emissaries continued. Ottoman administration concluded peace with Ferdinand and Charles V in Cumadelula 954/June 1547.³⁵⁵ According to the *ahidname*, Ottoman Sultan "granted" peace (*amān-i şerīfīm ihsan olunub*) to Ferdinand and Charles for five years on the condition that they will not attack Muslim lands in northern Africa or friends of Ottoman Porte, i.e. France and Venice. Besides, Ferdinand was obliged to pay a yearly tribute (*kesim*) of 30.000 ducats, for the Hungarian lands under his control.³⁵⁶

After concluding peace with Habsburgs, Ottoman administration began preparations for a campaign in the east. A new opportunity had arisen for Ottomans when Elkas Mirza, Shah Tahmasb's brother had rebelled and took refuge to the Ottomans in Rebiulevvel 954/April 1547. Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi does not hide his dislike of Safavids (*kızılbaş*) even renegades that can be useful for Ottoman power. As mentioned above, Celālzāde accused Ulama Pasha of hypocrisy in the first campaign on Iran (*irakeyn*). But Ulama Pasha served well in the Ottoman army and he was the governor of Bosna when Elkas arrived in Istanbul. For Celālzāde, Elkas Mirza was an "ungrateful man, a member of the corrupted family of Safavids and a companion of mischief and trouble. He had joined the Ottomans for his own sake and it was fair to remove his corrupted existence from the surface of earth".³⁵⁷ *Ṭabaḳāt* makes it clear that Celālzāde opposed campaigning against Safavids but it does not explain real reasons other than the "hypocrisy" of Safavid renegades. As Celālzāde

³⁵⁵ Final draft of *ahidname* (dated evail-i Cumadelula 954) was sent to Ferdinand and Charles to be signed. Upon their approval, *ahidname* was granted in *evahir-i* Shaban 954/5-15 November 1547. For the final draft of *ahidname* see Anton C. Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymāns Des Prächtigen An Karl V, Ferdinand I, und Maximilian II*, Wien, Verlag Der Österreichischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften, 1983, p. 11-20.

³⁵⁶ Charles V and Ferdinand signed the agreement on 1 August and 29 August 1547, respectively. Hammer, v. 5, p.1510-1512.

³⁵⁷ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 382b.

states, Sultan was already inclined for a new campaign in the east and Elkas has been instrumental in Sultan's decision by his various tricks and deceits.³⁵⁸

Elkas had arrived in Ottoman Capital with a number of followers and he was received like a sultan. Elkas, his administrative and military officials were added to the payroll registers of Ottoman administration, with important amount of salaries. For instance, Celālzāde's office (*kātiban-i divan*) contained 22 salaried scribes and assistant scribes between the years of 943-955/1536-1548³⁵⁹, whose salaries varied between 20 *akçe* and 7 *akçe*.³⁶⁰ With the arrival of Elkas, his scribe, Derviş was included among divan scribes' payroll register with a salary of 40 *akçe*.³⁶¹

Celālzāde Mustafa's son, Mahmud was granted the status of *müteferrika* with 40 *akçe* income and he participated in Sultan's 11th campaign together with his father.³⁶² *Mütefferrikas* of the imperial palace mostly consisted of the sons and brothers of high-ranking state officials such as vezirs, *kazaskers*, *defterdars* and *nişancı*. Besides, some retired officials and descendants of dependant dynasties such as Moldova and Crimea were included in this category. It was possible to be recruited as *müteferrika* and *kātib* at the same time; for instance, Nişancı Eğri Abdizade Mehmed's son Ahmed and famous *münşī* Feridun Bey was a *müteferrika* and *kātib*.³⁶³ However, Celālzāde Mustafa's son, Mahmud was not included in the imperial secretariat at the beginning, later on, after Celālzāde Mustafa's death, he served as *tezkiireci* for Siyavuş Pasha (1010/1602) and as a *defterdar* of Karaman

³⁵⁸ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 383a.

³⁵⁹ It should be remembered that most of the scribes were granted *timar* or *zeamet* for their livelihood, unfortunately it is very difficult to ascertain their exact number. BOA, MAD, 559, p. 148-149, BOA, MAD, 7118, p. 9-10.

³⁶⁰ With the exception of Mevlana Muhyiddin who received 53 *akçe*. He was a veteran in the office of *divan*, serving more than 20 years in the same position. Normally, he should have been granted *zeamet* by then but he was not, for reasons unknown to us. BOA, MAD, 7118, p. 9-10.

³⁶¹ Military officials of Elkas also received high salaries, see BOA, MAD, 7118, p. 9-10, BOA, KK, Ruus, 208, p. 149-150.

³⁶² BOA, MAD, 7118, p. 39 and Mahmud bin Mustafa bin Celal, *Divan*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Hüsrev Paşa, 564, f. 24b.

³⁶³ Atai, p. 58, 336. J. H. Mordtmann [V. L. Menage], "Feridun Beg" *EI2*, v. 2, p. 881.

(*timar defterdarı*).³⁶⁴ Mahmud's *divan* testifies that he participated in every campaign for fifty years, beginning with the campaign of 955/1548 until Mehmed III's Eğri campaign in 1004/1596. Mahmud regrets that those who had served him were appointed to higher posts such as *reisülküttāb* and *nişancı* whereas he was not. Mahmud's *divan* contains at least two poems composed after 1004/1596 to request an appointment to the financial administration of Damascus. Mahmud makes it clear that he had consumed all of his property and had nothing left for livelihood in his retirement.³⁶⁵

Although Celālzāde Mustafa's son could not reach higher posts, Koca Nişancı's other disciples acquired important positions. Boyalı Mehmed Pasha (d. 1001?/1593) was nephew of Celālzāde, who became vezir in 988/1580 after serving as *nişancı* for 9 years.³⁶⁶ Nevbaharzade was a disciple and *divitdar* of Celālzāde Mustafa, who later served as 2nd *defterdar*. Unfortunately, contemporary sources does not provide much information on Nevbaharzade, except stating that he refused to obey traditional state protocol due to his respect for his master, Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi.³⁶⁷ Likewise, we do not have much information on Sarhoş Abdi Bey who was *divitdar* of Celālzāde Mustafa and later served as *nişancı* in 1601.³⁶⁸ As sources indicate, Feridun Ahmed Bey (d. 991/1583) learned calligraphy and probably *inşā'* from Celālzāde Mustafa, since his master Çivizade Abdi was not a renowned *münşī*.³⁶⁹ Lastly, Abdurrahman Çelebi came from Tosya and became a scribe in the

³⁶⁴ Mahmud bin Mustafa bin Celal, *Divan*, f. 39a.

³⁶⁵ Mahmud bin Mustafa bin Celal, *Divan*, f. 25a, 41a.

³⁶⁶ Mustafa Ali, *Kühü'l-Ahbar (II. Selim, III. Murat ve III. Mehmet Devirleri)*, v. 2, ed. Faris Çerçi, Kayseri, Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2000, p. 106. Atāī, p. 337. Ahmed Resmi Efendi, *Halifetü'r-Rüesa (Halikatü'r-Rüesa)*, ed. with introduction, Mücteba İlgürel and Receb Ahıskalı, İstanbul, 1992, p. 11-12.

³⁶⁷ Peçevī İbrahim Efendi, *Tarih-i Peçevī*, p. 46.

³⁶⁸ Atāī, p. 114.

³⁶⁹ Uğur Derman, "Kanuni Devrinde Yazı Sanatımız" *Kanuni Armağanı*, p. 278, J. H. Mordtmann [V. L. Menage], "Feridun Beg" *EI2*, v. 2, p. 881.

imperial divan, later on, he served as *reisülküttāb* and governor of Baghdad.³⁷⁰ Abdurrahman Çelebi (Pasha) was probably a protégé of Celālzāde Mustafa, since sources does not indicate another reason to explain his entry into divan service except for his birthplace.

Celālzāde Mustafa accompanied Sultan when he departed from Istanbul on 18 Safar 955/29 March 1548 for the campaign against Safavids.³⁷¹ As usual, Celālzāde provides a vivid description of Sultan's 11th campaign using the same ornamented style of *Ṭabaḳāt*. However, *Ṭabaḳāt*'s section on 11th campaign differs from other sections that depict Sultan's *gazas* against "infidels". In other sections, Celālzāde prefers to stress on Islamic zeal of Sultan and his soldiers, and he frequently uses terms such as "soldiers of islam" or "flags of islam" to indicate Ottoman army. Celālzāde also expresses proudly the abundance of the spoils (*ganimet*) gained by victorious soldiers of Islam in their war against infidels. Interestingly, Celālzāde does not use the same terminology for campaigns against Safavids, who were certainly infidels as well, in the eyes of Celālzāde. Celālzāde's account of the campaign prefers to use "army of Ottoman dynasty" (*ceyş-i Osmānī*), or "soldiers of Süleymanī" instead of "soldiers of islam". Similarly, Celālzāde prefers to employ "flags of Ottoman dynasty" or "country of Ottomans" instead of *dar al-islam*. He emphasizes that Ottoman soldiers never plundered Safavid lands whereas Safavids pillaged and massacred civilians in Ahlat, Muş, Adilcevaz and Kars. To sum up, according to Celālzāde, Safavids were infidels as well, but fighting with them was not included in the concept of *gaza*.

As Celālzāde states, Sultan's main goal was to re-capture the castle of Van which belongs to the Ottoman realm. However, "*Elkas –the leader of satan and the*

³⁷⁰ Mustafa Ali, *Künhü'l-Ahbar (II. Selim, III. Murat ve III. Mehmet Devirleri)*, v. 2, ed. Faris Çerçi, p. 100 and Ahmed Resmi Efendi, *Halifetü'r-Rüesa*, p. 9.

³⁷¹ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 384b.

companion of devil- incited Sultan to go to Tabriz".³⁷² Therefore Sultan proceeded towards Tabriz and the city surrendered without struggle on 20 Cumadel ahir 955/27 July 1548. Elkas was enthroned as the Shah of Persia in Tabriz and Sultan supported him with soldiers and treasury. When Elkas wanted to raise income from the population of Tabriz by use of violence and torture, Sultan did not allow him.³⁷³ Then, Sultan turned back to Van and recaptured the castle on 19 Racab/24 August. When Sultan arrived in Diyarbekir on 25 Shaban 955/29 September 1548, Ottoman army learned that infidel (*bī-dīn*) *kızılbaş* attacked Erzincan and massacred innocent people. Sultan sent vezir Ahmed Pasha in advance and the main Ottoman army led by Sultan followed them, towards north. After the victory of the Ottoman advance forces over *kızılbaş*, Sultan returned Amid in late Ramadan/November. Meanwhile, Elkas requested permission to raid into the heartlands of Persia. According to Celālzāde, Sultan granted permission "to be safe from inauspicious existence of Elkas" but Sultan did not allow Ottoman soldiers to participate in Elkas' raid.³⁷⁴ Elkas raided Kashan and Isfahan and returned to Baghdad with a lot of booty. Sultan received precious gifts from Elkas in his winter quarter, Haleb. Ottoman administration had expected submission of *kızılbaş* leaders to Elkas Mirza, they were disappointed by Elkas' performance.³⁷⁵ Imperial bureaucracy sent letters to Crimean Han and rulers of Horasan region to get ready for an attack on Safavids in Racab

³⁷² "Elkaş-i vesvās-imām ve ḥannās-iltiyāmıñ vāşıta-i taḥrīki ile 'inān-i 'azm-i cihānbānī gerü Tebriz cāniblerine muṣarīf buyruldu." *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 389a.

³⁷³ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 389b-390a.

³⁷⁴ "Āsitān-i sa'ādet-āşiyāna ḳudūmunde şeāmet olub, 'asākir-i müslimīn arasında olması nev'-i kerāhiyyetden ḥālī olmayub aḥvāl-i ḥasr-ittisāl ef'āl-i mefāsīd-meālinden cunūd-i muvaḥḥidīn müteneffirler idi. [Elkas'ın] mesūlu maḥall-i ḳabūlde maḳbūl olub" *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 396b.

³⁷⁵ Lütü Paşa, *Tevārih-i Āl-i Osman*, p. 437.

956/July 1549.³⁷⁶ Ottoman Sultan also received emissary of Ferdinand, who had submitted yearly tribute in Haleb.³⁷⁷

Celālzāde asserts that Elkas Mirza renounced his faith once more; becoming a *rafizī* he escaped to mountains and took shelter in Kurdish tribes.³⁷⁸ For Lutfi Pasha, “some people who envied Elkas and his kethuda, charged kethuda with unreasonable things. Elkas’ kethuda was executed by Sultan’s order. Elkas escaped after being informed by the fate of his kethuda”.³⁷⁹ Sultan sent orders to vezir Mehmed Pasha and Kurdish commanders for the arrest and execution of Elkas in Cumadelahire 956/July 1549. Pursued by Ottomans and Safavids, Elkas could not find a shelter and he was captured by Safavids after he had escaped from vezir Mehmed Pasha’s attack on 17 Shaban 956/10 September 1549.³⁸⁰

Instead of attacking Safavids, Sultan decided to punish Georgian rulers who had attacked Erzurum and killed Musa Pasha, governor of Erzurum, in the second year of Iranian campaign. Celālzāde reminds the readers that Georgians were Christians and *Oguznames* narrate *gazas* of Oguz leaders with Georgian soldiers.³⁸¹ Vezir Ahmed Pasha was entrusted with the campaign on Georgia and he managed to conquer a number of castles with efficient use of artillery. Sultan waited in Diyarbekir for the return of Ahmed Pasha, i.e. until 2 Shawwal/24 October. Then, Ottoman army moved towards west and reached Ulukışla on 11 Zilkade 956/1 December 1549, where Sultan sent a *fetihname* to Ferdinand, “since it is a good

³⁷⁶ *Tarih-i Al-i Osman (TSMK, Revan, 1099)*, ed. Mustafa Karazeybek, Unpublished Master Thesis, Istanbul University, 1994, p. 441-445.

³⁷⁷ For Sultan’s letter to Ferdinand see, Anton C. Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymāns..* p. 20-22.

³⁷⁸ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 399b-401b.

³⁷⁹ “Ammā ba’zī ḥasūdlar Elḳas’ın kethudāsına ḥased idüb ve ba’zī nā-ma’ḳül nesneler isnād idüb ve Sultan Süleyman’a gamz idüb çengele urdular. Elkas daḥī bu ḥālī işidicek can başına sıçrayub Rum Pādişāhı Sultan Süleyman āsitānesine gelmek şadedinde iken dembeste olub durduḡu yerde ne yana gideceḡin bilmedi.” Lütfi Paşa, *Tevāriḥ-i Āl-i Osman*, p. 443.

³⁸⁰ Colin Paul Mitchell, *The Sword and The Pen*, p. 319.

³⁸¹ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 401.

custom to inform friends about happy news”.³⁸² Content and style of *fetihname* coincides with Ṭabaḳāt’s section on 11th campaign; i.e. most probably Celālzāde Mustafa authored it. *Fetihname* informs Ferdinand about the conquest of Van, of 35 castles in Georgia and most of Azerbaijan province, it also mentions Elkas’ raids into Kum, Kaşan, Isfahan and Kazvin. Same *fetihname* was sent to Francis I with a different *inscriptio (elḳāb)*, which will be mentioned in the following chapter.³⁸³

Ottoman army arrived in Istanbul on 1 Zilhicce 956/21 December 1549. Celālzāde Mustafa Bey has been away from Istanbul most of the time during his tenure as scribe, *reisülküttāb* and *nişancı*. In addition to accompanying all campaigns of Sultan Süleyman, Celālzāde had also participated in late Grand Vezir Piri Mehmed and Ibrahim Pashas’ expeditions. In other words, Celālzāde Mustafa had spent 10 years out of 33 years of his tenure traveling across the empire when he was back in Istanbul after Sultan’s 11th campaign. Remaining years of Celālzāde’s career elapsed in a relatively more restful way; residing in Istanbul and Edirne except for two more campaigns. Following Sultan’s example, Celālzāde Mustafa commissioned the construction of a *kulliye* (complex) consisting of a mosque, a *hamam* (public bath) and *zaviye* near his mansion in Eyub district.³⁸⁴ The neighborhood of the *Kulliye* was named after him: *Nişanca*. Chief Architect Sinan designed Nişancı’s Mosque and *hamam*, probably while he was supervising the construction of Süleymaniye Mosque, i.e. after 27 Cumadelula 957/12 June 1550.³⁸⁵

³⁸² “aḥbār-i meserret-āsārın dostlarımızı i’lām u iş’arı ‘ādet-i ḥasene-i ḳādīme olmağın ...”, Anton C. Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymāns..* p. 27.

³⁸³ Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu’s-Selātīn*, p. 603-606.

³⁸⁴ Atāī, p. 114, Aşık Çelebi, *Meşairu’ş-Şuarā*, p. 463.

³⁸⁵ Archival sources testify that Nişancı Mosque has been constructed before 963/1556, BOA, Mühimme, 2, p. 43. Mustafa Ali reported on poet Kandī’s death and burial in Nişancı Mosque’s graveyard in 961/1554. Though we cannot ascertain the date of construction, it was built probably after 957/1550, more precisely; sometime between 950-961/1543-1554. see Mehmet N. Haskan, *Eyüp Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1993, p. 76, T. Öz, *İstanbul Camileri*, v.1, Ankara, 1962, p. 111, Ayvansarayi Hüseyin Efendi, *Hadīkatu’l-Cevāmī*, ed. A. N. Galitekin, Istanbul, İşaret, 2001, p. 375-7, Tarkan Okçuoğlu, “Nişancı Mustafa Paşa Camii” *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, p. 87.

It was no longer necessary for the Sultan to participate in campaigns personally; there was no major threat to the Ottoman army in the world and within the boundaries of the Empire. Sultan has appointed mostly his slaves (*bende*, *kul*), who were trained in the imperial palace, to high-ranking posts in the center and in the provinces. No one among the subjects of Ottoman Empire would doubt the power of the Sultan. Within that context, the Sultan and high-ranking officials focused on improving infrastructure in the Capital and provinces by building aqueducts, bridges, mosques and *medreses*. Unlike his predecessors, the grand vezir Rüstem Pasha considered it useless to sponsor poets to increase Ottoman court's prestige among other Islamic rulers.³⁸⁶ Traditionally, Ottoman court had endeavored to attract renowned poets and intellectuals from all over the Islamic world to contribute Sultan's image as the protector of artists. Unquestionable supremacy of Ottoman power had a negative effect on "inclusiveness" of Ottoman administration; there were many candidates competing to serve the Sultan and new generation of Ottoman officials tried to restrict entry into Sultan's service, instead of attracting. Many years later, Mustafa Âlî (d. 1600) complained that he has the same educational background and merits with Celâlzâde and Ramazanzâde, however he was deemed to be ineligible for the post of Nişancı, due to lack of experience (*kıdem*) in bureaucracy.³⁸⁷ Sultan commissioned monumental projects after his 11th campaign to make his heritage permanent, such as Süleymaniye *kulliye* (1550-1557), a set of aqueducts for the capital, known as *kırkçeşmeler* (1554-1564), a *kulliye* in Damascus (1555), an imaret (soup kitchen) in Makka and Madina, and mosques in al-Quds (1552), Konya (1550), Kefe (1550), Belgrade and Baghdad. New *vakıfs* (foundations) were

³⁸⁶ Ş. Altundağ and Ş. Turan, "Rüstem Paşa", *İA*, v. 9, p. 800-2, C. Woodhead, "Rüstem Pasha" *EI2*, v. 8, p.640.

³⁸⁷ Cited in Cornell H. Fleischer, *Tarihçi Mustafa Âli, Bir Osmanlı Aydın ve Bürokrati*, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996, p. 96-9.

established for the administration of those projects, which contributed to the expansion of Ottoman central and provincial bureaucracy, creating new posts for *kalemiyye*. However, Ottoman bureaucracy has become more restricted to insiders as long as it has grown bigger, mainly due to two reasons: increased need for specialization, and employment of current officers' sons.

Celālzāde Mustafa's brother Salih retired in Receb 957/July 1550 with a 90 akçe revenue, his house was placed next to his brother's mansion.³⁸⁸ Celālzāde Mustafa's mansion was a gathering place for poets and intellectuals from all over the empire. Nişancı's generosity to poets and especially to "Arab" intellectuals is praised in contemporary sources, such as *Kunhu'l-Ahbar* and *Meşāiru'ş-Şuara* of Aşık Çelebi.³⁸⁹ According to Atāī, Celālzāde Mustafa has awarded poets for *kasides* presented to him with 45.000 ducats in total, excluding the value of presents given to poets.³⁹⁰

When the governor of Buda, Kasım informed the Ottoman administration of the agreement between Ferdinand and the former Queen of Hungary that enables the inheritance of Transylvania by Ferdinand, the Ottoman administration entrusted the Governor of Rumelia, Mehmed (Sokollu) to conquer major castles in the region that were strategically important for the safety of Buda province. Sokollu Mehmed successfully invaded Transylvania and captured a number of castles in the summer of 1551, but when he returned to Belgrade, Ferdinand's divisions have re-occupied the region. The Ottoman Sultan, again, preferred to stay in the capital, sending his second vezir Ahmed at the head of the Ottoman army. Celālzāde probably stayed in the Capital at the service of the Sultan. While second vezir Ahmed was besieging the

³⁸⁸ BOA, KK, Ruus 209, p. 88.

³⁸⁹ Mustafa Āli, *Kūnhü'l-Ahbār*, "Kandī" and "Fuzulī", Aşık Çelebi, *Meşairu'ş-Şuarā*, "Nişanī", p. 461-3. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Tosyalı Celālzāde ...", p. 401-3.

³⁹⁰ Or 2,7 million *akçe*, Atāī, p. 114.

castle of Temeşvar in the summer of 1552, which was defended by joint forces of Spain, Germany and Hungary, Ottoman admiral of Red Sea, Piri Reis attacked Muscat and Portuguese-held Hormuz and Shah Tahmasb raided into eastern Anatolia. The second vezir was successful in the conquest of Transylvania and a new province, Temeşvar, was established after the campaign. Piri Reis had captured Muscat but he lifted the siege of Hormuz upon the arrival of Portuguese fleet, which caused him to be executed by the order of sultan when he arrived in Cairo in 961/1553-4. As for the Safavids, Süleyman decided to send his grand vezir Rustem at the head of the Ottoman army. Rustem proceeded to Aksaray where he secretly informed the sultan of the janissaries's sympathy for Şehzāde Mustafa and the latter's plans for the Ottoman throne.³⁹¹ Eventually, the sultan recalled Rustem and he decided to lead the Ottoman army in person for a campaign against Persia in the summer of 1553.

Celālzāde provides detailed account of the “infidel” (*bī-dīn*, *mulhid*) Safavids' attacks on “Muslims” of eastern Anatolia. He emphasizes the atrocities committed by Safavids in the region and relates how they massacred the innocent people and pillaged their properties.³⁹² Celālzāde's account displays the contrast between the attitude of Ottomans and Safavids towards their respective people. Though the Safavids were infidels in Celālzāde's view, it seems that there was significant opposition to the idea of fighting with the Safavids among the Ottoman subjects.

As Celālzāde states, the Ottoman army was about to set out when the Safavid embassy arrived in Istanbul to negotiate peace. Therefore, the Ottoman administration refused to start negotiations and the Sultan left Istanbul at the head of

³⁹¹ *Ṭabaḳāt*, 432a, Hammer, v.6, p. 1676.

³⁹² *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 426b-430a.

his army on 18 Ramadan 960/28 August 1553. After receiving Şehzāde Bayezid in Bursa and Selim in Bolvadin, the sultan proceeded to Eregli to meet his eldest son and the governor of Amasya, Şehzāde Mustafa. When Mustafa arrived at the Ottoman camp he was welcomed by vezirs before the *dīvānhāne* pavilion and he was invited inside to meet his father. After he entered the pavilion, as Celālzāde put it, “preordained destiny marked it to be the last moment of his life”.³⁹³ Şehzāde’s two leading officials (*ağā*) shared the same destiny, they were beheaded at the *meydān-i siyaset*. The Grand Vezir Rustem and third vezir Haydar were dismissed from office and second vezir Ahmed was appointed to grand vezirate.

In Celālzāde’s view, everybody was upset because of shehzade’s execution and ordinary people blamed Rüstem Pasha for what happened to Şehzāde. Unaware of the essence of affairs, everybody interpreted the event in accordance with their temperament. But those who are distinguished with intelligence, knew that it was the preordained destiny and the just Sultan ordered nothing but what is essential for the safety and welfare of his subjects. As Celālzāde relates:

“Ḥaḳīḳat-i ḥāle kimsenin vuḳūfu ve iṭṭilā’ı olmayub her kes muḳteẓā-yi tab’ı üzere ḳıl u ḳāl iderlerdi. Şunlar ki cevāhir-i ‘azīzu’l-vucūd ‘aḳl ile ser-efrāzlardır ḳaẓāya rızā virüb mecāri-i umūru taḳdīr-i Ḥaḳḳa tefvīẓ ve ḥavāle eylediler. Ḥaẓreti Pādīşāh-i şāfi-ẓamīr ve pak-i’tiḳād evāmir-i şer’-i ilāhīye muṭī’ ve münḳād ve ṭabī’at-i sa’adet-menḳabetleri rāh-i sedāda sālik olub şer’-i pāke muḥālīf umūra irtikābdan bi-ḥasebi’z-zāhir mu’arrā olub maḥẓā rızā-yi zū’l-celāl için cāh-i dünya ve mā-fihā nazār-i i’tibārlarında dāne-i ḥardelden aşgar nizām ve intizām-i bilād ve refāhiyyet ve āsāyiş-i ‘ibād emrinde yād ile ferzendiñ farkı olmayub evlād ile bī-gāneniñ yanlarında nisbeti berāber idüğünde iştibāh olmayub ...” (p. 437a-b)

³⁹³ “Taḳdīr-i Ḥaḳḳda zamān-i ḥayātı ol demde āḥir olub eyyām-i ömrünüñ devām-i sebātı ol sā’atde nihāyete irişmek muḳadder imiş.” *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 436b.

Unlike other Ottoman historians who thought Şehzāde was innocent, Celālzāde went further claiming that people of Amasya suffered greatly from the oppression of Şehzāde's officials. Therefore, for Celālzāde, merciful God removed the obstacle (i.e., Şehzāde Mustafa) to justice. Celālzāde frequently relates "God's will" to the Sultan's *siyaset* punishments as we have seen before in the cases of İstanbul *levends*, Ferhad Pasha and Ibrahim Pasha. But Celālzāde never tries to reconcile *siyaset* with basic principles of *şeriat*, which suggests that he accepts 'örf (the Sultan's legislative - administrative power) as an independent, autonomous field, and not as a concept within *şeri'at* (Islamic law).³⁹⁴ As Halil İnalcık has put it, "*Kānūn, or sultan law, meant a general ruling emanated from the will of the ruler.*"³⁹⁵ Celālzāde's use of the words *kanun*, 'örf and *siyaset* coincides with İnalcık's description. Celālzāde's emphasis on God's will aimed to indicate that the Sultan, who was *mehdi-yi ahiru'z-zaman*,³⁹⁶ acted according to "divine inspiration" and his primary aim was the provision of justice, stability and order. Certainly, The Ottoman-Safavid competition was another important reason for Celālzāde's emphasis on God's support and guidance to the Ottoman Sultan.

Süleyman decided to stay in Haleb during the winter and prepare for the campaign against the Safavids. As usual, Celālzāde accompanied the Sultan and the Ottoman army arrived in Haleb on 1 Zilhicca 960/8 November 1553.³⁹⁷ According to

³⁹⁴ Unlike some scholars who consider *siyaset* as a punishment within the category of *tazir* punishments prescribed by Islamic penal law. For instance see Ahmet Mumcu, *Osmanlı Devletinde Siyaseten Katl*, Ankara, Birey ve Toplum, 1985, p. 205.

³⁹⁵ Halil İnalcık, "State, Sovereignty and Law During the reign of Süleyman" in *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, eds. Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar, İstanbul, ISIS Press, 1993, p. 76, İnalcık elaborated *kanun* and Ottoman law in many articles, see also; "Kanun" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Edition, v.4, p. 556, "Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law" *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 1 (1969), 105-138, "Osmanlı Hukukuna Giriş: Örfi-Sultani Hukuk ve Fatih'in Kanunarı" *AÜ. SBF Dergisi*, v. XIII, (1958), 102-126, "Kutadgu Biligde Türk ve İran Siyaset Nazariye ve Gelenekleri" in *Reşit Rahmeti Arat İçin*, Ankara, TKAE, 1966, pp. 259-275.

³⁹⁶ *Tabaḳāt*, p. 134b and 434b. For apocalyptic interpretations seen in the reign of Süleyman see Cornell Fleischer, "Seer to the Sultan: Haydar-i Remmal ...".

³⁹⁷ *Tabaḳāt*, p. 438b.

Celālzāde, the Sultan exhibited his justice once more by his actions in Haleb, and the historians' record of those actions secured him an eternal reputation as an exemplary, just sultan. Celālzāde used the occasion to criticize unnamed state officials who undertook the task of increasing state revenues by using illegal (*nā-meşru'*) means. His criticism resembles the typical accusations for the grand vezirate of Rüstem Pasha, though Celālzāde never displayed a clear sign of disapproval for Rustem's policies.³⁹⁸ As Celālzāde enumerated, the sultan abolished the illegal taxes imposed on foundations (*evkāf*) and on city dwellers who built their houses on state property. Besides, the sultan ordered the strict observance of *vakıf* deeds prohibiting state officials' interference in the financial administration of *vakıfs*.

As mentioned above, Sultan Süleyman had dismissed the grand vezir and third vezir after the death of Şehzāde to keep disappointed janissaries in control. He had also pleased servants of the late Şehzāde by assigning them *timars* (*istimālet*).³⁹⁹ Süleyman continued to make new appointments for high-ranking posts in the administrative and financial bureaucracy while he was residing in Haleb. Some of those appointments were most probably due to the same purpose: pleasing disappointed circles who disapprove Rustem and his policies. Unfortunately, we do not have adequate information to identify trusted officials of Rüstem Pasha in the Ottoman bureaucracy.

Ramazanzāde Mehmed was the *defterdar* of Haleb and he was retired as a *sancakbey* of a sub-province in Egypt with a revenue of 320.000 akçe in Zilhicca 960/November 1553. Ramazanzāde's former post was given to the *defterdar* of Diyarbekir Murad, and the *reisülküttāb* Eğri Abdizade Mehmed became the *defterdar* of Diyarbekir. Abdurrahman Çelebi of Tosya was the *tezkireci* of Rüstem

³⁹⁸ For those accusations see T. Gökbilgin, "Rüstem Paşa ve Hakkındaki İthamlar", *Tarih Dergisi*, v. 8 (1955), 11, pp. 11-50.

³⁹⁹ See *Tabakāt*, p. 437a, BOA, KK, Ruus, 210, p. 255.

Pasha and most probably a protégé of Celālzāde, replaced Eğri Abdizade Mehmed.⁴⁰⁰ The *Defter Emini* Cafer retired with revenue of 40.000 akçe and the *muteferrika* Dervis b. Baba Nakkas replaced him with the same revenue.⁴⁰¹ Five months later, the *defterdar* of Rumelia Ebulfazl and the third *defterdar* Ishak retired with revenue of 40.000 akçe and the *defterdar* of Anatolia Mehmed (Şerifezade) was promoted to the *defterdarlık* of Rumelia.⁴⁰² Eğri Abdizade Mehmed, the *Defterdar* of Diyarbekir, became the third *defterdar* and *Defterdar* of Bagdad, Ibrahim was promoted to the *defterdarlık* of Anatolia. Celālzāde remained in the office with a rise of 30.000 akçe in his revenue and his eldest son, *muteferrika* Mahmud's salary increased from 40 to 50 akçe.⁴⁰³

It seems that when the Sultan departed from Haleb for eastern campaign on 6 Cumadelula 961/9 April 1554, he was still unconvinced of the janissaries' loyalty. As Celālzāde indicated, Süleyman convened a *divan* (war council) near Amid on 12 Cumadeluhra/15 May, inviting all of janissary commanders and old janissaries. Then, the Sultan addressed them:

“Ḥaẓreti Ḥilāfet-medār sa‘ādet-şi‘ār elfāz-i dürer-bār gevāhir-āsār kelām-i ābdār-i lālī-şi‘ārlarından dürerler nişār idüb kullarına ḥiṭāb-i müsteṭāb ve iltifāt-i behcet-nikāb ile qadirlerin eflāka irişdirüb cihād fī sebīlillāh bābında anları gazāya taḥrīz idüb dilāverlikleri ve yoldaşlıkları zāḥir olanlara envā‘-i mevā‘id ve istimālet ile ol günü rüz-i ‘id-i sa‘īd eylediler. Bendegān-i südde-i vālā çākerān-i ‘atebe-i ‘ulyā bi-esrihim ‘arż-i ‘ubūdiyyet ve iṭā‘at-i emr-i lāzimu’l-imtişāl gösterüb cümle cānımız başımız malımız ḥüdāvendigār-i sa‘ādet-medār yoluna fedadır şark ve garba her ne memlekete giderlerse tābī‘ ve muṭī‘ yüz dönmezüz didiler” (p. 448b.)

⁴⁰⁰ BOA, KK 1766 p. 27 and KK, Ruus 210 p. 255. Mustafa Ali, *Künhü’l-Ahbar*, v. 2, ed. Faris Çerçi, p. 100, Atāī, p. 58.

⁴⁰¹ BOA, KK, Ruus 210, p. 266, see also Erhan Afyoncu, *Defterhane-i Amire*, pp. 127-138.

⁴⁰² BOA, KK, Ruus 211, p. 83, 57.

⁴⁰³ 21 Cumadelula 961/24 April 1554, BOA, KK, Ruus 211, p.84.

Furthermore, the Ottoman Sultan decided to grant extra payment (*bahşış*) for janissaries and *sipahis* when the Ottoman arsenal distributed weapons to the army in Karga Dağı near Erzurum on 29 Cumadeluhra/1 June. Needless to say, Sultan's address to janissaries and the *bahşış* payment before the campaign were both contrary to the custom. As the archival documents published by Tayyib Gökbilgin also demonstrate the janissaries' dislike of Rüstem Pasha and their sympathy for late Şehzāde Mustafa was strong enough to be remembered three years after the shehzade's death. The janissaries had even threatened the Sultan in their petition demanding the dismissal of their commander (*ağa*), and they expressed their regret for Mustafa's death.⁴⁰⁴ To conclude, Süleyman the Magnificent followed a good strategy to secure his absolute rule by using both strict measures (execution of shehzade) and conciliatory policies towards janissaries and the people. Celālzāde puts a special emphasis on Sultan's obedience to Islamic law and the Prophet's traditions (*sunnah*) in sections dealing with the events following the execution of Şehzāde Mustafa. In that respect, the change seen in the last sections of the *Ṭabaḳāt* coincides with Süleyman's attitude in his old age, whose "religious feelings began to turn to a strict austerity which bordered on Puritanism".⁴⁰⁵

As we know, Ebussuud's attempts to reconcile Ottoman laws with Islamic legal tradition by producing treatises (*risale*) and *fetvas* that explain the Ottoman practice with Islamic concepts began in the last years of Süleyman's reign and continued in the reign of Selim II.⁴⁰⁶ It seems that Islamization of the Ottoman laws was an administrative necessity resulted from rivalry with Safavids and bureaucratic

⁴⁰⁴ "senden dahi ve oğullarından dahi ve paşalarından dahi bîzār olduk bir fesad ideriz ki ..." "vay bize ne devletsüz başımız var imiş ki Sultan Mustafa gidüb biz kalmak bâri ol sağ imişse iş bir dürlü dahi olurdu" T. Gökbilgin, "Rüstem Paşa ve Hakkındaki İthamlar", p. 49, see also pp. 29-32, 46-50.

⁴⁰⁵ G. Veinstein, "Süleyman" *EI2*, v. 9, p. 837.

⁴⁰⁶ See Halil İnalcık, Halil İnalcık, "Islamization of Ottoman Laws on Land and Land tax" in *Festgabe an Josef Matuz : Osmanistik – Turkologie – Diplomatiek*, eds., C. Fragner and K. Schwarz, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1992, pp. 101-118.

expansion as well as Süleyman's personal preference. As Linda Darling pointed out, the political changes that mark the transition from medieval to early modern can be observed in the entire Mediterranean region after 1500.⁴⁰⁷ "The Mughal, Safavid and expanded Ottoman empires were more highly centralized and much longer lasting than their predecessors [i.e., The Timurid, Akkoyunlu and Mamluk]".⁴⁰⁸ Although impersonal, absolute and indivisible authority of the sultan was not a new concept for the Ottoman state tradition, it can be argued that Süleyman was more successful than his predecessors in establishing a highly centralized administration thanks to the Ottoman bureaucracy. Increased size of state machinery necessitated codified laws regulating Sultan's servants' relations with each other and with tax-paying subjects. It also contributed to the production and elaboration of the Ottoman state ideology by works of leading state officials such as Celālzāde and Ebussuud. Like other state officials, Celālzāde aimed to contribute to the consolidation of Ottoman rule in the vast region stretching from Buda to Baghdad. He portrayed the Ottoman Sultan as a semi-divine figure who assures the protection of true faith (*sunni* Islam) and justice. It is interesting that Shah Tahmasb pursued a similar policy aiming to demonstrate the legitimacy of Safavid rule by employing concepts of Twelver Shiism and older political, ideological and cultural traditions, in the same period.⁴⁰⁹ As Colin P. Mitchell expressed "the Safavid empire began, in many ways, to show an unprecedented degree of cultural sophistication during the period 1541-1555".⁴¹⁰ And Shah Tahmasb's policy included "the slow and deliberate reduction of Qızılbaş power and, along with that, a rejection of their original ethos as a provincial

⁴⁰⁷ Linda Darling, "The Prince, the Just Sultan and the Coming of the Early Modern Era in the Mediterranean" in *The Mediterranean World, The Idea, The Past and Present*, eds. E. Özveren, O. Özel, S. Ünsal, K. Emiroğlu, İstanbul, İletişim, pp. 49-60.

⁴⁰⁸ Linda Darling, "The Prince, the Just Sultan ..." p. 57.

⁴⁰⁹ Colin Paul Mitchell, *The Sword and The Pen*, p. 258.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid. p. 256.

Azerbaijani mystical movement”.⁴¹¹ It seems that the political rivalry between the Ottomans and the Safavids contributed to the production of literary, artistic and historical works following the traditional features of urban Islamic civilization in both of the countries.

After waiting for the arrival of Rumelian and Anatolian sipahis in Karga Dağı, Süleyman slowly advanced northeast and arrived in Kars on 5 Shaban 961/6 July 1554. Then, as Celālzāde relates, the Ottoman sultan sent a letter to Shah Tahmasb stating that the Ottoman army had never pillaged the Safavid lands before, showing mercy for innocent people and hoping for Shah’s repentance. However, the letter reads, the Safavids killed innocent Muslim subjects and plundered their properties last year. Besides, all of the Muslim scholars agreed that the Safavids’ belief could not be accepted within the borders of Islam. Therefore, the Ottoman army would act in a different manner this time, pillaging Safavid lands. Celālzāde inserts the text of the latter in *Ṭabaḳāt* without mentioning that he was the author.⁴¹²

In addition to the imperial letter, Celālzāde also included the letters of Grand Vezir Ahmed and Governor Ayas. Although Shah Tahmasb’s response was not included in the *Ṭabaḳāt*, the Ottoman letters included in the *Ṭabaḳāt* presented a brief summary of Shah’s response. Besides, we have a lengthy missive of Shah Tahmasb recorded in Persian sources and a short Persian letter was preserved in *Münşeatu’s-Selātin*.⁴¹³

First of all, it should be noted that insertion of a whole letter into *Ṭabaḳāt* was not typical of Celālzāde’s style. On the contrary, he only inserted a few very important official documents such as imperial document (*berat*) of the Grand Vezir

⁴¹¹ Ibid. p. 258.

⁴¹² *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 459a-460b.

⁴¹³ For a good analysis of Shah Tahmasb’s missive see Colin Paul Mitchell, *The Sword and The Pen*, pp. 321-363, Feridun Bey, *Münşeāt*, pp. 630-3.

Ibrahim Pasha in the *Ṭabaḳāt*. Therefore, it can be safely argued that aforementioned four letters had an important historical and literary value for Celālzāde.

The four letters recorded in the *Ṭabaḳāt* were written in 961/1554 and they reflect the environment before the peace treaty was signed between the two parties. The Ottoman letters mostly focus on the illegitimacy of the Safavid rule and their blasphemous behaviours (*rafāʿa ve ilhād*). For the Ottomans, *Kızılbaş* belief represented a deviation from the true path of Islam; it was an aberration, a wicked innovation of last fifty years, with no roots in the Islamic history. The imperial letter makes it clear that the Sultan never aimed to expand his domains by attacking the Safavids. Since he had already acquired enormous wealth by God's support, the Ottoman Sultan was not in need of more wealth and power. His only intention was to protect the honour of the first caliphs whom the Safavids used to curse. Though the imperial letter recorded in the *Ṭabaḳāt* did not include statements rejecting Shah Tahmasb's claim to *sayyidship*, as we learn from Tahmasb's letter, the Ottoman chancery had also criticized Tahmasb's forged pedigree in a previous imperial letter.⁴¹⁴ In short, it seems that the Ottomans did not consider annexing Tabriz and Azerbaijan as a realist ambition but the Safavids was a real threat for the Ottoman claim to the supremacy in the Islamic world. As Celālzāde made it clear in the *Ṭabaḳāt*, he never believed that the Ottomans could establish permanent rule over Tabriz though they had easily conquered the city more than once.

Shah Tahmasb responded with a long missive reflecting cultural and ideological sophistication of the Safavid administration. As Mitchell pointed out, Tahmasb's letter reveals the development of Safavid identity as a Twelver Shiite

⁴¹⁴ Colin Paul Mitchell, *The Sword and The Pen*, p. 333.

polity, and of the Safavid chancery as an inheritor of Timurid literary tradition.⁴¹⁵ Unkown author of the letter was well versed in religious sciences and history and he was familiar with both *Sunni* and *Shiite* sources. The Safavid letter attempted to refute point by point each of the Ottoman doctrinal attacks. It portrayed the Ottoman – Safavid struggle as a continuation of centuries old sunni – shii enmity; the Safavids representing the side of Ali, the fourth caliph, and the Ottomans representing the side of Muaviya, Merwan and Yazid. According to the letter, it was the Ottomans who deviated from the true path of Islam and the Safavids were the protector of true religion. Furthermore, it was clear for Tahmasb that the Ottoman sultans “are mixed with an unclean nature and dirty lineage”.⁴¹⁶ The most of the Ottoman soldiers came from non-muslim countries and the Ottoman ‘*ulemā* “... in a number of ways, are *kafirs*, idiots, ill-fortuned, and untrustworthy ... each of them are the worst of the tribe of Lot and these ‘*ulemā* fraternize with *kafirs*, from among the Europeans, Jews, Christians and heretics”.⁴¹⁷ However, Tahmasb asserted, the *Kızılbaş* soldiers (*gazis*) have entirely absorbed *sharia*, observing canonical rules regarding prayer, *zekāt*, *hajj* and *jihād*. They do not drink wine, spill blood or commit rape, which “is permitted all the time in your *mazhab*”.⁴¹⁸ In addition to condemning the Ottoman practice, the letter is severely critical of entire *sunni* interpretation of the sacred texts (i.e. *tafsir* and *hadis*) and the Islamic history. The letter discusses in detail the development of the *sunni* tradition and it disapproves of *sunni* ‘*ulemā* working with oppressive rulers such as Umayyads and Abbasids who were enemies of *ahl al-bayt* (family of the Prophet). According to the letter, the Islamic history justifies *Shiite* doctrine since it prevailed over *sunнизм* in spite of the fact that it never attained the

⁴¹⁵ Ibid, p. 257-8, 324, 340.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid, p. 333.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid, p. 348.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid, p. 347.

support of the political authority. Tahmasb also mentioned the spread of *shia* over regions like India, Central Asia and Anatolia. As the letter reads, “... soon, God willing, all of the people of the world will be wholly devoted to this path and *mazhab*, and there will be no more enemies of this blessed group [*i.e. shia*].”⁴¹⁹ Then, Tahmasb portrays himself as the supreme ruler of the Islamic world informing the Ottoman Sultan that Khan of Uzbeks and the great ruler Humayun were among his vassals.⁴²⁰

Although it can be argued that ideological conflict played a little role in determining the foreign policy of a 16th century state⁴²¹, Celālzāde was persuasive in asserting that the Ottomans did not aim to conquer Tabriz and Azerbaijan in the last campaign. As mentioned above, Celālzāde states that the Ottomans began to plunder Safavid lands contrary to their custom just to take revenge for atrocities committed by *kızılbaş* in eastern Anatolia. As *Ṭabaḳāt* relates, the Ottoman Sultan wanted to reach one of the two targets: to enforce Shah Tahmasb for a pitched battle, or to enforce him for peace negotiations. However, the Ottoman administration insisted that the Safavids should initiate peace negotiations. Therefore, the Ottomans strongly rejected the Safavid peace proposal when it included a statement implying that the Ottomans asked for peace. As the letter of Grand Vezir to the Safavids indicate:

“... [mektubunuzda] şulḥ ḥaberlerine intizārdayuz denilmiş, bu intizārunuz ḥüddām-i āsitān-i melāyik-āşiyān caniblerin siziñ ile şulḥ u şalāḥa ṭālīb olmak rica idersinüz. Ol ḳapı muḳaffel ve mesdūddur. Ṭaleb-i şulḥ nāḳār ve zebūn olan gayretsüzleriñdir. El-ḥamdu lillah ve’l-minne ḥaẓreti Ḥilāfet-penāḥ bütün ‘asker-i ẓafer-rehber ile ḥudūd-i memālik-i maḥrūseye ḳarīb yerde müştā ta’yīn olunub ḳışlamak buyrulmuşdur. İnşaallahu’l-‘azīz evvel bahar-i

⁴¹⁹ Ibid, p. 349.

⁴²⁰ Ibid, p. 350.

⁴²¹ See Rhoads Murphey, “Süleyman’s Eastern Policy” in *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, eds. H. Inalcık and C. Kafadar, Istanbul, ISIS Press, 1993, p. 241.

huceste-âşârda ‘asker-i şîr-fen birle sad hezâr bennâyân-i bünyân-ken bisyâr üstādân-i esās-efken iḥzār olunub şevket-i gazanferân-i zûr-âverân ile memâlik-i ‘Acem gubâr-engîz olub Erdebil ve Tebriziñ eşkâli “fe-ce‘alnâ ‘âliyahâ sâfilehâ” muḳteżāsınca vaz’-i âḫara tebdîl olunur.” (p. 470a)

The Ottoman army and the auxiliary forces such as Kurdish tribes carried out raids in the regions of Nahcuvan, Revan and Tabriz immediately after the letter. As Celâlzâde narrates, the Safavids were extremely worried about the Ottomans’ threat of destroying Erdebil and Tabriz. Eventually, they have responded with a letter asking for peace. The Safavid emissary arrived in the Ottoman camp in the vicinity of Erzurum on 28 Shawwal 961/26 September 1554. Sultan Süleyman accepted the Safavids’s peace proposal in principle and he demobilized the Ottoman army after rewarding soldiers and commanders as usual.⁴²² Then, Sultan went back to Amasya to reside until the peace negotiations with Safavids are concluded (3 Zilhicca 961/30 October 1554).

Both sides have shifted the style used in diplomatic correspondence after the peace agreement. But the Safavids were more generous than the Ottomans in eulogizing the Ottoman Sultan, which confirms Celâlzâde’s account that the Safavids were in need of peace. Although the Ottoman chancery praised Shah Tahmasb in accordance with diplomatic rules, they were cautious not to describe him as an ideal “Muslim” ruler. Instead, he was described with reference to his political power and noble lineage. For instance, the Ottoman chancery praised Shah’s nobility linking it with ancient Persian kings: sülâle-i selâṭîn-i Kistrâ-aşıl (essence of kings from ancient

⁴²² Governor of Rumelia, Mehmed Pasha (Sokollu) was appointed third vezir, for other appointment see A. RSK, 1453, p. 16.

Persian lineage).⁴²³ The Safavid Shah was depicted as “the supporter of the beautiful state” (ṣāhīru’l-devleti’l-behiyye), instead of more frequently used expression: “the supporter of the state and religion” (ṣāhīru’l-devleti ve’l-dīn).⁴²⁴

On the other hand, the Safavids had no difficulty in lauding Sultan Süleyman with Islamic and pre-islamic notions. Previous letter of Shah Tahmasb had addressed Sultan Süleyman as “the most evil of the great, great grandchildren of the Damned” (*badtarīn avlād-i buzurgtarīn-i ahl-i jahannam*).⁴²⁵ After the peace agreement, Sultan Süleyman became “the protector of the frontiers of Islam and Muslims, who plants the banners of kingship and faith” (*ḥāfiẓ-i şugūru’l-islam ve’l-müslimīn, nāşib-i a’lāmu’l-mulk ve dīn*).⁴²⁶ Shah Tahmasb’s missive has a long *intitulatio* where Süleyman is extolled as “the most powerful sultan of sultans and great caesars, the sign of the most imposing of kings and Persian rulers with most excellent rank and power”.⁴²⁷ The Safavid chancery also praised Sultan Süleyman in verse and prose by comparing him to ancient rulers such as Jamshid, Solomon, Dara Shikuh, Alexander and Khusrau in the *intitulatio*. Among other things, Sultan Süleyman was extolled as “he who carries the banners of justice and decency” and “he who strikes off the heads of infidels and adulterers”.⁴²⁸

Celālzāde contributed to the formation of Sultanic image as a supreme ruler by emphasizing on arrival of foreign emissaries in his *Ṭabaḳāt*. As mentioned above, Celālzāde and the Ottoman administration considered sending an emissary – especially to conclude a peace treaty- as a sign of weakness or inferiority. Therefore,

⁴²³ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 495a and Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu’s-Selātīn*, İstanbul, 1274/1858, v.1, p. 633.

⁴²⁴ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 495a and Feridun Bey, p. 633. note that “devleti’l-behiyye” (the beautiful state) can also be translated as “the kingdom of Persia”.

⁴²⁵ Colin Paul Mitchell, *The Sword and The Pen*, p. 329.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 356. Although Celālzāde criticized Shah’s letter due to lack of respect for the first three caliphs (Abubakr, Omar, Osman), he praised the style of the letter and he included it in the *Ṭabaḳāt*, pp. 491a-495a.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 356.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 356.

the Ottoman *ahidnames* makes it clear that the Sultan “has no fear of enemies and he was not in need of peace treaty. However, he will observe the terms of peace treaty unless it was broken by the other party.”⁴²⁹ Within that context, Celālzāde described the arrival of French, German, Polish and Venetian emissaries in the Ottoman camp in Amasya. He related a detailed account of joint French-Ottoman attacks on the Spanish territories and activities of Admiral Seydi Ali in the Indian Ocean aiming to prevent Portuguese expansion. Undoubtedly, Celālzāde’s account aimed to prove that the Sultan was the supreme ruler not only in the Islamic world but also in the Europe. However, it also hints that the Ottoman administration was satisfied with their status within the existing world order and they aimed to preserve that status instead of further expansion. In that sense, the Ottoman administration saw no harm in accepting the Safavids as a legitimate power contrary to their attitude for the last 50 years. For the Ottomans, the Safavids had accepted the Ottoman supremacy in return. Besides, if we rely on Celālzāde’s account, the Ottoman administration considered France as a reliable ally in the west, and Ferdinand had also accepted the Ottoman supremacy. There was no major threat to the Ottoman supremacy in the international level. And the Ottoman administrative, financial, political and diplomatic rules and procedures was established firmly thanks to the efforts of eminent officials like Celālzāde, Ebussuud and Rüstem Pasha. In short, Celālzāde’s account of the events after the peace negotiations with the Safavids reflects that conclusion of peace treaty with the Safavids signified not only the end of 50 years old enmity between the two powers but also the end of dynamic, formative period of Süleyman’s reign. Unsurprisingly, *Ṭabaḳāt* narrates only a few years more after the peace treaty with the

⁴²⁹ See for example *ahidnames* granted to Venice: T. Gökbilgin, “Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki Vesikalar Külliyyatında Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri Belgeleri” *Belgeler*, v. 1 (1964) no. 2, and Hans Peter Alexander Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats: The *Ahdnames*. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents”, *EJOS*, 1(1998), no. 2, p. 1-698.

Safavids and then it concludes with the construction Süleymaniye mosque. Though Celālzāde continued to produce works relating to the Ottoman history (*Selimname*) and ethics (*Mevahib*) in his retirement, he did not add new chapters to his magnum opus *Ṭabaḳāt* in order to cover last ten years of Süleyman's reign. The last chapters of *Ṭabaḳāt* already gives the reader feeling that the Ottoman empire reached a perfect, unchanging status. Therefore, the last ten years of Süleyman's reign is only a continuation of this perfection, and it does not need to be repeated in the *Ṭabaḳāt*. On the other hand, as Kınalızade Ali criticizes, Celālzāde's style includes reiteration of the same descriptive phrases and that monotonous style is defective in terms of meaning.⁴³⁰ However, for Celālzāde, these reiterated descriptions served the purpose of creating an image of the Ottoman rule which is just, magnificent, all-powerful and eternal. For instance, Celālzāde never ignores to pray for the continuation of the Ottoman rule after he mentions sultan's name: “*ebbede (or ḥalledede) Allahu mulkehu ilā yevmi'l-ḳiyāmet*” (may God make his rule eternal). Or, he is never tired of expressing his conviction that the Ottoman sultan is the most powerful and wealthy ruler in the history of mankind. In short, *Ṭabaḳāt* succeeds in creating a persuasive image of the Ottoman rule in readers' mind with the help of these repetitions.

After receiving emissaries of Habsburgs and Safavids in Amasya, the Ottoman sultan set out for Istanbul on 1 Shaban 962/21 June 1555 and he arrived in Istanbul on 12 Ramadan/31 July.⁴³¹ On his way back to Istanbul, the sultan was informed about the uprising of a person in Nigbolu and Silistre, who claimed to be late şehzade Mustafa. According to Celālzāde, he had attracted a rabble (*evbāṣ*) of supporters, together with some rich people (*māldār umenā*) and dervishes of

⁴³⁰ “... vālid-i firdevs-mekān bu gūne gevher-eḫṣān olurlar idi ki: ekṣeriyā ṭumṭuraḳ-ı elfāz ile muḳayyed olduğundan cānib-i ma'nā ri'āyet olunmaḳdan ḳalur idi” Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretu'ş-Şuarā*, v. 2, p. 990.

⁴³¹ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 497a, 499b.

Simavna. Sultan Süleyman immediately sent forces under the command of vizir Mehmed (Sokollu) to suppress the rebellion. As Celālzāde relates, rebels began to scatter when they heard of vizir's movement and the rebel leaders were captured by the forces of Nigbolu governor and şehzade Bayezid before the arrival of vizir Mehmed. Celālzāde indicated that the administration of Rumelia was entrusted to şehzade Bayezid when sultan left for Persian campaign but he does not openly criticize şehzade for not taking the necessary measures to suppress the rebellion immediately. Although Busbecq's conviction that Bayezid actually wanted to manipulate the uprising to serve for his own plans of enthronement seems an exaggeration⁴³², this event probably shaken sultan's belief in administrative abilities of Bayezid. Nevertheless, şehzade Bayezid regained support of the central administration after a few months: when Rüstem Pasha was re-appointed grand vezir on 11 Zilkade 962/27 September 1555, one of his first actions was to give an increase of 400.000 *akçe* to şehzade Bayezid's annual income.⁴³³ Şehzade Bayezid enjoyed a privileged status vis-a-vis his brother Selim in designating candidates for various posts as well.⁴³⁴ Celālzāde's brother, Salih benefited from the competition between two şehzades: Bayezid ordered him to translate a six volume work, *Cevāmi' u'l-Ḥikāyāt*, from Persian. Unfortunately, we do not know exactly what Celālzāde Salih received from the şehzade upon completion of the work. As for Celālzāde Mustafa, he praises Rüstem Pasha's skills and merits in the *Ṭabaḳāt*, but it seems that Celālzāde was never a member of the palace factions. He was a senior official assigned by the sultan himself. His experience, loyalty and skills enabled him

⁴³² Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, tr. Edward S. Forster, Oxford, University Press, 1968, pp. 80-83

⁴³³ According to a *ruus* register Rüstem Pasha was re-appointed grand vezir on 11 Zilkade and Bayezid received an increase of 400.000 *akçe* on 12 Zilkade, see BOA. A. RSK. 1455, p. 7-8. Celālzāde gives the date as 13 Zilkade for Rustem's grand vezirate, *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 502a.

⁴³⁴ See for instance BOA. Mühimme, 2, p. 40.

a privileged status near the sultan and he probably had his own circle in the bureaucracy. Especially after the last campaign, we encounter several records that “Nişancı’s men” (*kulları* or *adamları*) are granted timars.⁴³⁵ Celālzāde Mustafa had already been influential in selecting new recruits to the imperial chancery for a long time and his two sons were included *müteferrika* troops. After the Nahcuvan campaign of 960-2/1553-5, six people from the Nişancı’s retinue gained *timars* and they became *sipahis*.⁴³⁶

Celālzāde’s view on the dismissal and execution of grand vezir Ahmed Pasha was not so different from his views on the previous cases, such as Ibrahim Pasha’s dismissal. Similarly, Celālzāde asserts that Grand Vezir Ahmed’s attitude and character changed after he became grand vezir, under the influence of ignorant and inferior people. For Celālzāde, holding the post of grand vezirate manifests the true personality of a person and if he has some defects, they become more visible. Grand Vezir Ahmed was a man of modest skills and intelligence and his personal qualities did not meet the high standards of grand vezirate. Therefore, for instance, Celālzāde adds, the greatest army in the history of the mankind (i.e. the Ottoman army) could not conclude the last campaign with an absolute victory over the Safavids. For Celālzāde, the grand vezir’s inability to make quick decisions relating to the strategy of the Ottoman forces caused wasting an opportunity to defeat the Safavid army and to capture the Shah. Moreover, for Celālzāde, Grand Vezir Ahmed was not a just person; he did not even know the difference between the justice and oppression:

“zülme irtikābdan ašlā ictinābı yok idi, zülm nedir ‘adl ne ile olur bilmezdi. Kendünün ‘adl taşavvur etdüği huşuşlar ve erāzil-i nāsıñ ta’lîmi, cāhilān müfsidlerin irşād ve tefhîmi ile ma’lûmu olan maddeler maḥẓ-i żalāl ve zülm idi. Lā-cerem “men zaleme heleke”

⁴³⁵ See for example BOA, Mühimme, 1, p. 291, Mühimme, 2, p. 146.

⁴³⁶ BOA, Mühimme, 1, p. 291, Mühimme, 2, p. 146.

muḳteżāsınca sālī-i mā-şana‘at felek elinden cām-i mevt-encāmı nūş
eyledi” (Ṭabaḳāt, 502a)

Unfortunately Ṭabaḳāt does not present more specific examples explaining Celālzāde’s assertion that the Grand Vezir did not actually know the difference between justice and oppression (‘adl and ḡulm). But, it is certain that as the highest official responsible from the observance of justice, Celālzāde’s criticism implies that the Grandvizir did not seek the counsel of *nişancı* in matters relating to the administration of justice. As stated above, Celālzāde presented Piri Mehmet Pasha who was a member of ‘ulemā, as an ideal figure for grand vezirate in the Ṭabaḳāt and he criticized other grand vezirs of *devşirme* origin for their ignorance and weak personalities. Apparently Celālzāde expected grand vezirs to act in accordance with laws as he interpreted them. And grand vezirs were reluctant to make compromises which will undermine their authority. This tension between the “learned” officials of the bureaucracy and vizirs served well to the sultan’s control over central administration. It was a method also used in the administration of distant provinces such as Egypt; the highest officials of financial (*defterdar*), judicial (*kadı*) and political (*vali*) fields were not in a hierarchical relation and they often informed the center about wrongdoings of each other. Süleyman’s preoccupation with control of state officials is also reflected in his policy of choosing son-in-law grand vezirs. As Leslie Peirce put it “Süleyman made the damad grand vezir a standard feature of his reign”.⁴³⁷ Tayyib Gökbilgin’s article on Rüstem Pasha also demonstrate that there were many people who dared to complain the sultan about his powerful grand vezir and son-in-law Rüstem Pasha.⁴³⁸ In short, though Süleyman preferred to have strong

⁴³⁷ Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 66-7.

⁴³⁸ T. Gökbilgin, “Rüstem Paşa ve Hakkındaki İthamlar”, *Tarih Dergisi*, v. 8 (1955), no. 11-12.

grand vezirs such as Ibrahim Pasha and Rüstem Pasha, he scrutinized their actions very closely thanks to his information sources from other high-ranking state officials and women of the dynasty.

The nature of the relationship between Celālzāde Mustafa and Rüstem Pasha is not easy to ascertain. If we believe the *Ṭabaḳāt*, Celālzāde admired the grand vezir's personality and administration. But it should be noted that the related sections of the *Ṭabaḳāt* were written during the grand vezirate of Rüstem Pasha and Celālzāde did not revise those sections after Rüstem Pasha's death in 968/1561. If we take into consideration, for instance, Celālzāde's statements about Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha, there are great differences between two portraits of Ibrahim Pasha in the *Ṭabaḳāt*, before and after the Iranian campaign. Besides, Rüstem Pasha was known to be intolerant of criticism and an unforgiving man for his political rivals.⁴³⁹ Moreover, Mustafa Ali implies that Celālzāde asked for retirement due to the grand vezir's request and the latter's false promise of appointing Celālzāde's son as nişancı.⁴⁴⁰ Therefore, Celālzāde's praise of Rüstem Pasha most probably does not reflect his real feelings about the grand vezir. Nevertheless, they are helpful to understand Celālzāde's notion of a good grand vezir. According to the *Ṭabaḳāt*, Rüstem Pasha had six virtues that made him a good grand vezir: first, he observed religious law in his daily life and he was a practicing Muslim. Second, he enjoyed listening to the Koran. Third, he was a gentle, soft-spoken man. Fourth, he observed religious law (*evāmir-i şer'-i pāk-i rasūl*) in state administration. Fifth, he was a philanthropist

⁴³⁹ See Mustafa Ālī, *Künhü'l-Aḥbār*, manuscript, Reign of Sultan Süleyman, section on poets, entry of Yahya, Mustafa Ālī, *Künhü'l-Aḥbār*, ed. Faris Çerçi, p. 103 and Atai, p. 249.

⁴⁴⁰ Mustafa Ālī, *Künhü'l-Aḥbār*, manuscript, Reign of Sultan Süleyman, section on poets, entry of Nişānī.

who sponsored every kind of charitable actions. And lastly, he was an energetic, enthusiastic man who dealt with every aspect of state affairs all the time.⁴⁴¹

After relating victories of the Ottoman forces in four distant provinces; Hungary, Crimea, Algeria and the western Mediterranean Sea, *Ṭabaḳāt* concludes with the section on the completion of Süleymaniye mosque. As stated above, the *Ṭabaḳāt* aimed to bear witness to the magnificence of Süleyman's reign and the construction of Süleymaniye Mosque represented a perfect scene to conclude such a monumental work. After asserting once more that Süleyman's power was unrivaled in the history of mankind –including the kingdom of Prophet Süleyman and Zulkarneyn- Celālzāde related Sultan's aim to leave charitable works that make his heritage eternal. Then, he described the complex (mosque, medrese, soup-kitchen (*imaret*) and hospital) in detail, emphasizing the sultan's respect and care for the protection of true faith: sunni Islam. Unlike the contemporary interpretation that ten *şerefe* (gallery of a minaret) of Süleymaniye Mosque represent the tenth sultan of the Ottomans, Celālzāde states that four minarets stand for the four caliphs and ten *şerefes* symbolize ten companions of the Prophet (*'aşere-i mübeşşere*). In addition, building of a *dāru'l-hadīs* signified the sultan's respect for the traditions of the Prophet (*sunnah*) and sunni Islam. Therefore, for Celālzāde, Süleymaniye complex was a second *ka'be* of the Muslim world.⁴⁴² According to the *Ṭabaḳāt*, construction of the mosque finished on 9 Shawwal 963/15 August 1556⁴⁴³, but other contemporary sources accept the date of opening ceremony (14 Zilhicca 964/8

⁴⁴¹ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 502b-503a.

⁴⁴² “Ol maḳām-i behişt-ārā cāmi'-i firdevs-ḥaram ve mescid-i Aḳşā-mişāl ravẓa-i dāru's-selām ve numūne-i beytullahi'l-ḥaram olmağla şānī ka'be-i 'ulyā vāḳī' oldu.” *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 522a.

⁴⁴³ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 521a.

October 1557) for the completion of the construction.⁴⁴⁴ As Gülru Necipoğlu stated, “The Süleymaniye complex presented a public statement of power and legitimacy”.⁴⁴⁵ And it addressed not only the Ottoman subjects but also the whole Muslim world: Shah Tahmasb sent an emissary to improve friendly relations and to congratulate the Ottoman sultan for the completion of the Süleymaniye.⁴⁴⁶

2.4- His Retirement and works (1556-1566)

The “Great” (Koca) Nişancı Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi retired from the office of chancery on 21 Zilhicca 963/26 October 1556, at the age of 66. Contemporary sources such as Kınalızade (written in 1586) and Aşık Çelebi (w. 1566) state that he retired voluntarily.⁴⁴⁷ But Aşık Çelebi quotes a couplet of Celālzāde reflecting repentance:

“‘Aceb mi göklere irse figānum
Elümden uçdı şāhin-i nişānum”

On the other hand, Mustafa Ali of Gelibolu states that Grand Vezir Rüstem persuaded Celālzāde to resign with a false promise of making Celālzāde’s son nişancı after him:

“Ba’zılar kavlince Rüstem Paşa kendüyi sevmemegin yirüñizi oğluñıza ‘arz
idelüm diyu evvelā ‘azline ırzā eyledi, ba’dehū āhar kimesneye virüp

⁴⁴⁴ M. Kemal Özergin, *Sultan Kanuni Süleyman Han Çağına Ait Tarih Kayıtları*, Erzurum, 1971, p. 20. Ayvansarayı Hüseyin Efendi, *Hadikatu’l-Cevāmī*, ed. A. N. Galitekin, Istanbul, İşaret, 2001, p.56-7.

⁴⁴⁵ Gülru Necipoğlu, “A Kanun for the State ..” p. 212.

⁴⁴⁶ Shah’s emissary arrived in Istanbul on 13 Shawwal 964/9 August 1557, M. Kemal Özergin, *Sultan Kanuni...*, p. 20. For diplomatic correspondence see Feridun Bey, v. II, p. 14-18, and Remzi Kılıç, *16. ve 17. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı-İran Siyasi Antlaşmaları*, İstanbul, Tez Yayınları, 2001, p. 82-84.

⁴⁴⁷ Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretu’ş-Şuarā*, ed. İbrahim Kutluk, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1981, v. 2, p. 989, Aşık Çelebi, *Meşairu’ş-Şuarā*, ed. Filiz Kılıç, unpublished dissertation, Ankara, Gazi University, 1994, p. 462.

kendüyi bir mikdār teḳā'üdle mütesellī kılmak istedi. Hālā ki ḳadr-şinās-ı devrān ya'nī ki pādişāh-ı 'ālemiyān ri'āyetinde cüll-i himmet kıldı. Manşıbı hālinde mutaşarrıf olduğı hāşları cemī'an ber-vech-i teḳā'üd virilmesini emr itdi."⁴⁴⁸

Mustafa Ali's report is not much reliable due to two reasons: first, the statement "Ba'zılar ḳavlince" undermines the credibility of the argument. Secondly, Celālzāde had two sons, Mahmud and Hüseyin, both of them were *müteferrika* with 50 and 25 *akçe* revenue respectively and they were not scribes of the chancery.⁴⁴⁹ Therefore, in accordance with bureaucratic practices, Rüstem Pasha should not have promised such an appointment. But, Rüstem Pasha's former *tezkiireci* and *reisulküttab* of the time, Abdurrahman Çelebi, was probably a protégé of Celālzāde, and he would have been a candidate for the post of nişancı. In short, though Mustafa Ali's account is not much reliable, it is probably true that Rüstem Pasha did not want to keep Celālzāde as nişancı.

Archival sources confirm the contemporary narrative sources in that Celālzāde's retirement did not bring about a change in his income: he continued to receive 300.000 *akçe* with the title of *müteferrika başı*. Whereas, the new nişancı, Eğri Abdizade Mehmet who was the second defterdar (şıḳḳ-i şānī) before, entitled only 200.000 *akçe* in his new post.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁸ Mustafa Ālī, *Künhü'l-Aḥbār*, manuscript, Reign of Sultan Süleyman, section on poets, entry of Nişānī.

⁴⁴⁹ See BOA, *KK, Ruus*, 211, p. 84 and *Mühimme*, 2, p. 179. Celia Kerslake is mistaken in asserting that Celālzāde's son was a divan scribe, see "Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, p. 261.

⁴⁵⁰ BOA, *Mühimme*, 2, p. 175. Note that vezir İbrahim retired in Safer 963/December 1555 with a pension of 200.000 *akçe*, see BOA, *KK, Ruus*, 214, p.38. Another retired *vezir*, Lutfi Pasha's pension was increased to 200.000 *akçe* (from 100.000 *akçe*) in the same period. BOA, *KK, Ruus*, 214, p. 38. Former Grand Vezir Süleyman Pasha had retired with 150.000 *akçe* in 954/1547, BOA, *KK, Ruus*, 208, p. 10. Defterdars of Treasury, Ebulfazl and Ishak retired in 961/1554 with only 40.000 *akçe*, BOA, *KK, Ruus*, 211, p. 57. According to Lutfi Pasha's *Asafnāme*, vezirs were entitled 120.000 and defterdars were entitled 60.000 *akçe* in their retirement, see *Asafname* in A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v. 4, p. 274.

Müteferrika başı Celālzāde Mustafa had authored two works during his long career as Nişancı; *Ṭabaḳāt* and *Me‘āricu’n-Nübüvve*. He spent most of his time in his retirement authoring more works on history and ethics. As stated above, Celālzāde Mustafa’s and his brother’s mansion was a gathering place for eminent poets and intellectuals from all over the empire. He protected poets from the beginning of his career as Nişancı until his death. As Halil İnalçık demonstrated, even Fuzuli sought for patronage of the Ottoman authorities and he composed two *kasides* for Nişancı Celālzāde.⁴⁵¹ Though we do not know exactly Celālzāde’s response to Fuzuli, Celālzāde’s generosity to poets and especially to “Arab” intellectuals is praised in contemporary sources, such as *Kunhu’l-Ahbar* and *Meşāiru’ş-Şuara* of Aşık Çelebi.⁴⁵² According to Atāī, Celālzāde Mustafa has awarded poets for *kasides* presented to him with 45.000 ducats in total, excluding the value of presents given to poets:

“Sarhoş ‘Abdi Çelebiden mesmū’-i faḳīr olmuşdur ki: Nişancı-yi Merḥūma virilen ḳasīdeleri ben ḥıfz idüb virilen cāizeleri işāret iderdim ba‘dehu ḥesāb itdim cins-i eşvāb ve sāir re’s māl-i ševābdan gayri nuḳūd ve mebāliḡ yirmi yedi yük aḳçeye (2.700.000 akçe) bāliḡ olmuşdu.”⁴⁵³

⁴⁵¹ Halil İnalçık, “Sen Olasan Kaleme İtibar İçün Hāmī: Fuzulī ve Patronaj” in *Cultural Horizons*, ed. Jayne L. Warner, Syracuse University, 2001, pp. 308-315.

⁴⁵² Mustafa Āli, *Kūnhü’l-Ahbār*, “Kandī” and “Fuzulī”, Aşık Çelebi, *Meşairu’ş-Şuarā*, “Nişanī”, p. 461-3. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, “Tosyalı Celālzāde ...”, p. 401-3.

⁴⁵³ Or 2,7 million *akçe*, Atāī, p. 114.

As Mustafa Ali reports, when Rüstem Pasha became grand vezir he abolished the regular payments for poets and Celālzāde's patronage became vitally important.⁴⁵⁴

Undoubtedly, the most important work of Celālzāde is *Tabakātu'l-Memālik ve Derecātu'l-Mesālik* (Layers of Kingdoms and Levels of Routes).⁴⁵⁵ It covers the period between 1520 and 1556. As stated above, at first, Celālzāde Mustafa authored separate works such as *Mohaçnāme*, *Fetihnāme-i Rodos* and *Fetihnāme-i Karaboğdan*⁴⁵⁶ on Sultan Süleyman's campaigns, which were modeled on *fetihnames*, i.e., imperial letters sent to provincial officers to inform them of military victories. Then, he decided to create a monumental work, *Tabakāt*, by combining his previous works in a single volume and adding new chapters describing the Ottoman domains. We do not know exactly when he decided to compose the *Tabakāt*, but it was written gradually over a long period, probably between 1526 and 1557.⁴⁵⁷ Celālzāde's original plan for the *Tabakāt* consisted of 30 chapters; the last chapter concerned Süleyman's campaigns, and the remaining 29 were to comprise a description of the Ottoman realm. He may never have compiled the first 29 chapters. Traces of them survive only in the contents page and in the title of the work, "layers of kingdoms and levels of routes", a frequently used title in Arabic works of geographical literature.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁴ Mustafa Ālī, *Künhü'l-Aḥbār*, manuscript, Reign of Sultan Süleyman, section on poets, entries of Kandī, Fuzūlī, and Fikrī.

⁴⁵⁵ Celālzāde Mustafa, *Geschichte Sultan Süleymān Kānunīs von 1520 bis 1557, Tabakāt ul-Memālik ve Derecāt ul-Mesālik*, Petra Kappert, ed., Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981. For a review of this edition see V. L. Menage, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, v. 47, (1984) no. 1, pp. 154-157 and Rhoads Murphey, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, v. 106 (1986) no. 4, pp. 805-807.

⁴⁵⁶ For a description of these works see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Onaltıncı Asır Ortalarında Yaşamış Olan İki Büyük Şahsiyet: Celālzade Mustafa ve Salih Çelebiler" *Belleten*, v. 22 (1958) 85-88, pp. 408-9.

⁴⁵⁷ The earliest date that Celālzāde mentioned about compiling *Ṭabakāt* is 941/1534 when Celālzāde showed some parts of *Ṭabakāt* to men of letters from Tabriz. See *Ṭabakāt*, p. 250b-251a.

⁴⁵⁸ Ch. Pellat, "al-Masalik wa'l-Mamalik" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., v. 6, p. 639.

Celālzāde clarifies his aim at the beginning of the work: to exalt the sultan's name and to make his memory everlasting.⁴⁵⁹ For Celālzāde, no other ruler deserved more to be remembered because no one had ever achieved so many great victories. He criticizes other contemporary histories without naming their authors. In Celālzāde's view, they did not know the real concerns of Ottoman administration and so depended on what they had imagined or what they had heard from unreliable sources. He excludes only Fethullah Arifi's (d. 1561) work *Süleymannāme* which was the official history of the sultan's reign written in Persian. Celālzāde claims for his work a status similar to that of the *Süleymannāme*, indicating that the *Tabakāt* is a *şehnāme* ('king's book') written in Ottoman. In brief, as an official history, the *Tabakāt* focuses on events that reflect the sultan's magnificence and justice.

Although the *Tabakāt* is a very important primary source for the reign of Süleyman, it has been relatively little used by modern scholars. Probably because of its highly ornamented style, later scholars preferred to use the works of two eminent Ottoman historians from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who summarized the contents of the *Tabakāt* in their works: Mustafa 'Ali's *Kühü'l-Ahbār* (written between 1592-9) and Peçevi's *History* (written in 1641).⁴⁶⁰ In terms of literary tradition, Celālzāde's work develops the style of earlier Ottoman historians such as Tursun Bey (d. after 1491), Idris-i Bitlisi (d. 1520) and Kemalpaşazade (d. 1534), who themselves emulated the style of Ilkhanid and Timurid histories such as

⁴⁵⁹ Celālzāde Mustafa, *Tabakāt*, pp. 8b-9a.

⁴⁶⁰ Style of the *Tabakāt* was difficult to understand even for Ottomans, *Kühü'l-Ahbār* and *Peçevi's History* were printed in 1860s but *Tabakāt* was not printed in Ottoman script, a "simplified" Turkish version of it was prepared by Sadettin Tokdemir and it was published in modern Turkish script in 1937; see Celal oğlu Mustafa, *Türk Ordusunun Savaşları ve Devletin Kurumu, İç ve Dış Siyaseti*, ed., Sadettin Tokdemir, İstanbul, Askeri Matbaa, 1937, Mustafa Ali, *Kühü'l-Ahbār*, 5 v., İstanbul, 1862-1869. Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi*, 2 v., İstanbul, 1864-1866.

Cüveyni's (d. 1283) *History of the World Conqueror (Tarih-i Cihāngüšā)* and Şerefüddin Yazdî's (d. 1454) *Şerefnāme*.⁴⁶¹

Since the content of the *Ṭabaḳāt* coincides with Celālzāde's tenure at the service of the sultan, it was exposed above in the light of Celālzāde's biography. For the manuscripts of the work, see Appendix 2.

The second work that Celālzāde authored during his tenure is a translation of *Me'āricu'n-Nübüvve fī Medārici'l-Fütüvve* of Mu'īn al-Miskīn (Mu'īn al-Dīn Muhammad Amīn b. Hacı Muhammad al-Farahī al-Harawī, d. 907/1501-2).⁴⁶² Mu'īn al-Miskīn's work was very popular in the East and "it contains a very full account of the life of the Prophet consisting of a *muḳaddime*, four books and a *ḥātime*".⁴⁶³ As Celālzāde stated, he began to translate the work in 959/1552 in Edirne, and he preferred to present a summary translation of the work since it contains many different *rivāyets* (traditions) about the same subject.⁴⁶⁴ Celālzāde gave the title of *Delāil-i Nübüvvet-i Muhammedī ve Şemāil-i Fütüvvet-i Ahmedī* to his work. A more popular translation of the same work was carried out by Altıparmak Muhammad b. Muhammad (d. 1033/1623-4). His translation bears the same title, *Delāil-i Nübüvvet-i Muhammedī ve Şemāil-i Fütüvvet-i Ahmedī*, and it was published twice in İstanbul (1257/1841) and Bulak (1271/1854).⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶¹ For an evaluation of Tursun Bey's history see H. İnalçık, "Tursun Beg, Historian of Mehmed the Conqueror's Time" *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, v. 69 (1977), pp. 55-71 and Kenan İnan, "The Incorporation of Writings on Periphery in Ottoman Historiography: Tursun Bey's Comparison of Mehmed II and Bayezid II" *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, v. 9 (2003), no. 1-2, pp. 105-117. V. L. Menage, "Bidlisi, Idris" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., v.1, p. 1208.

⁴⁶² E. Berthels, "Mu'īn al-Miskīn" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., v.7, p. 481.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Celālzāde Mustafa, *Delāil-i Nübüvvet-i Muhammedī ve Şemāil-i Fütüvvet-i Ahmedī*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Fatih, 4110. cited in İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Onaltıncı Asır Ortalarında Yaşamış ..." pp. 412-413.

⁴⁶⁵ J. Schacht, "Altıparmak" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., v. 1, p. 423.

Upon finishing *Ṭabaḳāt*, Celālzāde decided to compile history of Selim I, *Selimnāme* or *Meāšir-i Selim Ḥānī*.⁴⁶⁶ It is most probably the first work that Celālzāde wrote in his retirement. *Selimnāme* narrates the reign of Selim (1512-1520) and his struggle to ascend the throne. In the introduction, Celālzāde criticized other *selimnāmes* of being speculative works. As he claimed in the *Ṭabaḳāt*, Celālzāde maintained that most of the state affairs were unknown to outsiders and the authors of *selimnāmes* did not have reliable information sources essential to write those works. For Celālzāde, state administration necessitates strict observance of confidentiality and no one except the grand vezir, the nişancı and scribe is aware of those secrets:

“... anların ḥaḳāyığına bir vezir-i a‘zam ve bir tuğrā-yi garrā-yi ‘ālem-ārā hizmetine mübāşir olan Nişancı ile kاتب-i dīvāndan gayrı ferdin iṭṭilā‘ı olmazdı. (...) Şāhlar umūru āşikār ve ma‘lūm olursa düşman tedarik eder, maḳşūd ḥāşıl olmaz.”⁴⁶⁷

Therefore, Celālzāde felt the need to write “true” history of Selim I after he completed *Ṭabaḳāt*. Unlike other *selimnāmes*, Celālzāde’s work argues that Selim did not rebel against his father’s rule but the villain vizirs of Bayezid II conspired against Selim to eliminate him. Selim’s father is portrayed as a decent but feeble sultan who cannot control his vizirs. Whereas dissolute vizirs of Bayezid II foresaw the problems if Selim succeeded his father, therefore they tried to eliminate him by conspiracies and calumnies.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁶ Celālzāde Mustafa, *Selimnāme*, A. Uğur, M. Çuhadar, eds., Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990. Celia J. Kerslake prepared a critical edition of *Selimnāme*; *A Critical Edition and Translation of the Introductory Sections and the first Thirteen Chapters of the Selimnāme of Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1975.

⁴⁶⁷ Celālzāde Mustafa, *Selimnāme*, A. Uğur, M. Çuhadar, eds., Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990, p. 24.

⁴⁶⁸ *ibid*, pp. 25-29.

Like the *Ṭabakāt*, the *Selimnāme* is written in highly embellished style. The first thirteen chapter of the *Selimname* deal with the history of Selim and the following long chapter is a discourse on moral values. For the manuscripts of the work see Appendix 2.

Another work of Celālzāde on ethics is *Mevāhibu'l-Ḥallāk fi Merātibi'l-Aḥlāk* (Talents bestowed by the Creator in the levels of ethics). Celālzāde composed the *Mevāhib* in his retirement probably after the *Selimnāme*. The *Mevāhib* is comprised of 56 chapters on moral values and principles of administration such as honesty (şıdk), courage (şecā'at), consultation (meşveret), justice ('adālet) and sovereignty (salṭanat). The author quotes the tradition “teḥallaḳū bi-aḥlāḳillah” (be shaped by the ethics of God) and he correlates moral qualities with names of God (esmāu'l-ḥusnā). In that sense, it differs from the works of philosophical ethics such as Nasir al-Din Tusi's (1201-1274) *Ahlak-i Nasiri* or Kinalizade Ali Celebi's (1510-1572) *Ahlak-i Alai*.⁴⁶⁹ Although the influence of philosophical ethics is traceable in the *Mevāhib*, it does not follow systematically for instance platonic definition of four cardinal virtues (wisdom, valour, temperance and justice) or Aristotalian definition of virtue as the mean between two extremes. Celālzāde mentions some Arab works as his sources but he does not name them.⁴⁷⁰ Most of the ethical stories of the *Mevāhib* can be found in the works of mirror-for-princes genre. Therefore it is difficult to ascertain Celālzāde's sources, but the style and content of the *Mevāhib* resembles most Ghazali's (1058-1111) *Nasihat al-Muluk*.⁴⁷¹

In the *Mevāhib*, principles of good administration were laid down in accordance with traditional teachings of mirror-for-princes genre; the concept of

⁴⁶⁹ Nasir al-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, tr. G. M. Wickens, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1964, Kinalizade Ali Çelebi, *Ahlāk-i Alāī*, Bulak, 1833.

⁴⁷⁰ Celālzāde, *Mevāhibu'l-Ḥallāk fi Merātibi'l-Aḥlāk* Manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Fatih, 3521, 5a.

⁴⁷¹ Al-Ghazali, *Counsel for Kings (Nasihat al-Muluk)*, tr. F. R. C. Bagley, London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

justice was emphasized as the most important constituent of the good government. In addition, Celālzāde presented his views on the qualities that a grand vezir or scribes should have, or on the importance of respect for rights (riāyet-i ḥuḳūḳ). But unlike Lütfi Pasha's *Asāfnāme*, Celālzāde's *Mevāhib* did not examine the Ottoman case; it only presented historical or legendary figures as examples of justice or injustice.

The central role of justice was emphasized in the *Mevāhib* with those words:

“mülk ‘adl ile ḳāyim olur şāḥibi kāfir ise dahī, ammā ḳulm ile durmaz viran olur şāḥibi mümin olursa dahī (...) melik ‘askersiz, asker māl̄suz, māl̄ şehirlersüz, şehirler re‘āyasuz, re‘āya ‘adlsüz olmaz ‘adl cümleden mühim ve lāzım imiş.” (233a)

As stated above, for Celālzāde, sultans are the source of stability, security and welfare; they “are the soul for the body of justice, they are the eternal life of the country”.⁴⁷² On the other hand, the grand vezir and the divan scribes are largely responsible for the administration of a just government. Unsurprisingly, Celālzāde placed the divan scribe (*debīr*) next to the grand vezir: both of them are equally important for a just administration.⁴⁷³ In fact, the chapter of *Mevāhib* on *vezāret* focuses on the qualities of a good *kātib*, and it implies that the grand vezir should be a man of pen (*ehl-i ḳalem*) instead of a member of military class (*ehl-i seyf*). Because, the *kātib* is “*Padişahın görür gözü ve işidir ḳulağı ve tutar elidir*” and he is the commander of the learned circles (*ehl-i irfān*).⁴⁷⁴ It should be noted that Celālzāde's views on the balance of power between the men of pen and men of sword were largely shared by the famous münşī of the previous generation, Idrisi Bitlisi who had proposed a different solution for the problem: having two vizirs of

⁴⁷² “Pādişāhlar ‘adālet bedenleriniñ rūḥ-i revānları, memleket tenleriniñ ḥayat-i cāvidānları, canlarıdır”, *Mevāhib*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 3521, f. 162a.

⁴⁷³ *ibid.*, f. 197a.

⁴⁷⁴ *ibid.*, f. 197a-b.

equal power from each class.⁴⁷⁵ In short, the *Mevāhib* also reflects Celālzāde's perception of the role of Nişancı and his unsatisfied ambitions of being a vizir or even the grand vezir like Piri Mehmed Pasha.

Another work of Celālzāde is a translation of Abu Hafs Sirāc al-Din Umar's *Zehru'l-Kimām* and it is entitled *Cevāhiru'l-Aḥbār fi Ḥaṣā'il-i-l Aḥyār* (jewels of narratives about the merits of virtuos people). *Cevāhir* tells the story of Prophet Yusuf in 17 chapters. Celālzāde finished the work on 23 Ramazan 972/24 April 1565, at the age of 75.⁴⁷⁶ It was dedicated to şehzade Selim, for the manuscripts of the work see Appendix 2.

Celālzāde also wrote a short treatise entitled *Hediyyetu'l-Muminīn*, which is a discourse on basic principles of religion and ethics.⁴⁷⁷

As stated above, Celālzāde contributed greatly to the codification of laws for the province of Egypt while he was private secretary of Grand Vezir İbrahim Pasha in 931/1525. After the death of Nişancı Seydi Bey in 941/1534, Celālzāde was the highest-ranking official responsible for the codification of the Ottoman laws until 963/1556. Thanks to his efforts in the codification of the Ottoman laws, Celālzāde is credited with having a *kanunname* named after him; *Celālzāde Kanunnamesi*. As Halil İnalçık stated, "in the Ottoman empire kanunname was occasionally extended to refer to regulations which vizirs and pashas had enacted (Kasım Pasha Kanunnamesi), laws which a competent authority had formulated (e.g., the kanunname of the nishancı Celālzāde) or to reform projects (e.g., the kanunname of Ibshir Pasha)."⁴⁷⁸ Many manuscripts of the *Celālzāde Kanunnamesi* can be found in

⁴⁷⁵ Hüseyin Yılmaz, *The Sultan and the Sultanate: Envisioning Rulership in the age of Süleyman the Lawgiver (1520-1566)*, unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Harvar University, 2005, pp. 333-341.

⁴⁷⁶ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Onaltıncı Asır Ortalarında Yaşamış Olan İki Büyük Şahsiyet: Celālzade Mustafa ve Salih Çelebiler" *Belleten*, v. 22 (1958) 85-88, pp. 413-415.

⁴⁷⁷ *ibid*, p. 413.

⁴⁷⁸ Halil İnalçık, "Kānunnāme" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., v.4, p. 562.

the Istanbul libraries.⁴⁷⁹ Although there are differences between the size and content of those manuscripts, *Celālzāde Kanunnamesi* contains rulings about *yaya* and *müsellem* troops, *yörüks*, *çeltük* (rice cultivation) and various rulings on *timar* and *sipahis*.

Although Celālzāde was a famous münşī and poet of the time, his poems are incorporated into his works such as *Ṭabaḳāt* and *Selimnāme*, and he does not have a *divan* in a separate volume. Likewise, there are copies of official letters composed by Celālzāde in various *münşeāt* (collection of literary writings) works, but Celālzāde's own *münşeāt* is extinct.⁴⁸⁰

2.5- Celālzāde's second tenure as Nişancı (1566-1567)

When Celālzāde Mustafa retired from the office of the nişancı at the age of sixty-six (963/1556), he held the revenues assigned to him on the condition that he will accompany the sultan at military campaigns.⁴⁸¹ Therefore, Celālzāde accompanied the sultan in his last campaign in Hungary. Nişancı of the time, Eğri Abdizade Mehmed also accompanied the sultan until his death en route to Szigetvar. A few weeks later, Sultan Süleyman died in his tent under the walls of the castle of Szigetvar on the night of the 20-1 Safer 974/6 September 1566. Grand Vezir Sokollu Mehmed (d.1579) took a set of measures to keep the sultan's death secret until the

⁴⁷⁹ For a list of manuscripts see Appendix 2, three *Celālzāde Kanunnāmesi* were published by Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnāmeleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, v. 7, İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1994, pp. 221-359.

⁴⁸⁰ For the work (*Tarih-i Kale-i İstanbul ve Mabed-i Ayasofya*) mistakenly attributed to Celālzāde see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Onaltıncı Asır Ortalarında Yaşamış ...", p. 416.

⁴⁸¹ "Oturak: Nişancı Bey dirliği ile müteferrika itmek, elinde olan timāri ile ve kâğıd emninden mutasarrıf olduğu vazifesiyle müteferrika olub sefer-i pâdişahi vâkı' olduğda eşmek buyruldu." *BOA, Mühimme*, 2, p. 175.

succession of Selim II and return of the army in order.⁴⁸² One of those measures was making an appointment for the post of nişancı; an appointment made by the sultan. The Grand Vezir would rather appointing nişancı among his own retinue, but such an act would have caused criticism of his opponents and disapproval of the new sultan. As stated above, Sultan Süleyman had rejected his Grand Vezir Rüstem's suggestion ('arî) for the post of nişancı and appointed Ramazanzâde Mehmed in 964/1557. Years later, Murad III dismissed nişancı Feridun Bey, a protégé of Sokollu, and Feridun's banishment from the capital in 984/1576 was "the first of several measures aimed at weakening Sokollu's position".⁴⁸³ Therefore, Celâlzâde Mustafa was the perfect candidate for the post of nişancı when the sultan died: no one would have criticized the "great" nişancı's re-appointment. Besides, Celâlzâde's age (76) promised that it would not be a long-term appointment. Feridun Bey's *Nüzhetü'l-esrârî'l-ahbâr der-sefer-i Zîgetvar* and Selânikî Mustafa Efendi's *Tarih* reflect the struggle between the new sultan's retinue and the old state officials. As Selânikî reported, even the grand vezir was not sure about his status after the death of Süleyman.⁴⁸⁴

As *Selânikî Tarihi* reports, the grand vezir's decision to keep the sultan's death secret was not immediately accepted by all vizirs who were later persuaded by the grand vezir's private secretary (*kâtib-i esrâr*) Feridun Bey.⁴⁸⁵ Probably, Celâlzâde Mustafa Çelebi's re-appointment strengthened the grand vezir's position since Celâlzâde had witnessed arrangements carried out in the previous enthronement: Piri Mehmed Pasha had kept Sultan Selim's death secret until

⁴⁸² The Ottoman army learned the sultan's death after 48 days, see A. Süheyl Ünver, "Kanunî Sultan Süleymanın Son Avusturya Seferinde Hastalığı, Ölümü, Cenazesi ve Defni" *Kanunî Armağanı*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001, p. 304. Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999, p. 47.

⁴⁸³ J. H. Mordtmann [V. L. Menage], "Feridun Beg" *EI2*, v. 2, p. 881.

⁴⁸⁴ Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, pp. 49-50.

⁴⁸⁵ *ibid*, pp. 36-38.

Süleyman's accession to throne in 1520. As sources report, Celālzāde was invited to the sultan's tent to be honoured with a robe (*hil'at*) due to his re-appointment. He was unaware of the sultan's death, and his eyes filled with tears when he learned the fact. Then, the grand vezir warned him not to reveal his grief outside of the tent, and he appreciated the grand vezir's decision of keeping sultan's death secret. When he walked out of the tent smiling and cheerful, the outsiders believed that the sultan was still alive.⁴⁸⁶

Celālzāde Mustafa's second term lasted for thirteen months until his death in Rabi'u'l-ahir 975/October 1567. Celālzāde was preparing the imperial letter (*nāme-i hümayun*) to be given to the emissary of Alauddin (Ri'āyet Shah, r. 1537-1571), the sultan of Atjeh, when he passed away.⁴⁸⁷ The imperial letter states that sultan Alauddin's ask for help against the Portuguese was accepted by the Ottoman sultan, and an Ottoman navy consisting of 17 ships, soldiers and artillerymen will sail soon under the command of Kurdoğlu Hızır.⁴⁸⁸

Celālzāde's protégé and nephew Reisulküttab Mehmed (Kara or Boyalı, d. 1001/1593) replaced him, and he served as *nişancı* until 3 Ramazan 981/27 December 1573.⁴⁸⁹ Then, Boyalı Mehmed Pasha served as the governor of Maraş (1574) and Haleb (1575-1577). He became *nişancı* once more in 1577, and then he was promoted to the vizirate in 1580.

Celālzāde had two sons and at least one daughter. As stated above, his sons Mahmud and Hüseyin gained the müteferrika status. Celālzāde's elder son, Mahmud,

⁴⁸⁶ Cited in İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Onaltıncı Asır Ortalarında Yaşamış ...", p.399.

⁴⁸⁷ BOA, 7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, Ankara: Devlet Arşivleri Genel Md. Yayınları, 1998, pp. 124-6. see also Razaulhak Şah, "Açı Padişahı Sultan Alaeddin'in Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'a Mektubu" *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, v. 5 (1967) no. 8-9, pp. 373-409.

⁴⁸⁸ BOA, 7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, p. 125, Razaulhak Şah, "Açı Padişahı .." pp. 375-377.

⁴⁸⁹ Atai, p. 337, Selānikī, p. 318, İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, v. 5, İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1971, p. 323. Mustafa Alī states that Firuz Bey, Sultan Selim II's former nişancı, served as nişancı very short time after the death of Celālzāde, see *Künhü'l-Aḥbār*, ed. Faris Çerçi, v. 2, p. 106.

served as defterdar in the provinces then he became tezkireci of Siyavuş Pasha (grand vezir between 1582-4,1586-9 and 1592-3). Then Mahmud served as the timar defterdar of Karaman. He joined Mehmed III's Eğri campaign in 1596, where he was wounded. One of Mahmud's poems in his *Münşeat* narrates the difficulties he had suffered after his father's death, and he asks for a source of income in his retirement: a sancak in Egypt or becoming defter kethüdası in the province of Damascus.⁴⁹⁰ Unfortunately, we have no information of his whereabouts after that date. Likewise, we know nothing about Hüseyin' life and the only thing that we know about Celālzāde's daughter is that she was married to Gürez Seyyidi's (d.923/1517) son, Mehmed. Gürez Seyyidi was kadiasker of Anatolia in the reign of Selim I, his son, Mehmed became kadı of Baghdad and Medine and he died in 996/1587.⁴⁹¹

Celālzāde Mustafa was buried in the graveyard of his mosque in Eyup/Nişanca district. His tombstone reads:

Celāl oğlu Nişānī ki cihānıñ
Fenāsın gördü 'azm itdi beķāya
Ten-i hāki olub aşılna rāci'
Çarışdı rūh-i pāki aşfiyāya

Yeri cennet ola deyu melekler
Feleklerden el açdılar du'āya
İşidib Ruh-i kudsī didi tarih
İlāhī rahmet eyle Mustafaya, 975.

⁴⁹⁰ Mahmud bin Celālzāde Mustafa, *Münşeat*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Hüsrev Paşa, 564, f. 39a-41a.

⁴⁹¹ Atai, p. 301.

CHAPTER III:

İNŞĀ', OFFICIAL LANGUAGE USED AT THE STATE BUREAUS

3.1- İnşā' literature before 1500

The author of an invaluable source for the first two centuries of the Ottoman history, Aşıkpaşazade, criticizes the introduction of new taxes and administrative practices in the Ottoman realm and he blames 'ulemā-bureaucrats from Persia and Karaman for these unjust innovations.⁴⁹² For instance, a scholar, Fazlullah who came from Acem and became vezir in the reign of Murad (1362-1389), had advised the sultan to raise revenue by confiscating *zakat* payments of rich muslims, which was reserved for the benefit of the poor. According to Aşıkpaşazade's account, sultan Murad was enraged

⁴⁹² Aşıkpaşazade (Ahmed Aşıkī) "Tevārih-i Āl-i Osman", in *Osmanlı Tarihleri*, ed. Nihal Atsız, İstanbul, Türkiye Yayınevi, 1949, pp. 139, 232, 240. For Aşıkpaşazade and his work see Halil İnalcık, "How to Read 'Āshīq Pasha-zāde's History" reprinted in H. İnalcık, *Essays in Ottoman History*, İstanbul, Eren, 1998, pp.31-55.

by Fazlullah's proposal and he immediately dismissed the vezir.⁴⁹³ In another occasion, Aşıkpaşazade concludes "Elhāsılı Āl-i Osmanun günah etmesine sebep [vezir] Ali Paşa olmuş idi. Zira anun yanına hîle eder Acem danışmendleri çok gelürler idi".⁴⁹⁴

The oldest authentic document bearing Orhan's *tuğra* (1326-1362) confirms Aşıkpaşazade in that early scribes or 'ulemā-bureaucrats were familiar with Ilkhanid-Saljukid administrative practices: Orhan's *vakfiye* is dated 724/1324, and it is written in Persian though most of the documents of this kind was written in Arabic or in Turkish in the following century.⁴⁹⁵ As Halil İnalcık stated, an analysis of the official documents belonging to the reigns of Osman and Orhan demonstrate Ilkhanid and Saljukid influence over the Ottoman chancery.⁴⁹⁶ Besides, the oldest books copied in the Ottoman realm on administration are Persian works describing the administrative and economic structure of the Ilkhanids, such as *Sa'ādetnāme* and *Risāle-i Felekiyye*.⁴⁹⁷

As stated in the first chapter, Ottoman administration relied on 'ulemā-bureaucrats in financial, civil and judicial matters, and vezirs were mostly chosen from among the 'ulemā-bureaucrats until the reign of Mehmed II. *Madrasa* curriculum included also the study of *ilmü'l-belāga*, the Arabic science of literary rhetoric, since it was important for the study of religious sciences such as *tafsir* (Commentary of Kur'ān).

⁴⁹³ Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevārih-i Āl-i Osman*, pp. 232-3.

⁴⁹⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevārih-i Āl-i Osman*, p. 139.

⁴⁹⁵ I. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Gazi Orhan Beyin Vakfiyesi" *Belleten*, v. 19 (1941) pp. 277-288. Murad I's and Emir Süleyman's *vakfiyes* is written in Turkish in 767/1366 and in 807/1404 respectively. See Tahsin Öz, "Murad I ile Emir Süleyman'a ait İki Vakfiye" *Tarih Vesikaları*, v. 1 (1941), no. 4, pp. 241-245. Whereas, early *vakfiyyes* were mostly prepared in Arabic, see M. N. Şahin, İ. Keten and S. Çalık, *Selçuklu ve Beyliklerde Vakfiye Tuğraları*, Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 2005.

⁴⁹⁶ H. İnalcık, "Reis-ül-Küttāb" *İA*, p. 672.

⁴⁹⁷ Şinasi Tekin, *Yahyā b. Mehmed al-Kātib, Menāhicü'l-İnşā*, Cambridge, 1971, p. 11, Ö. L. Barkan, *15 ve 16. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirāi Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları, Kanunlar*, İstanbul, 1943, pp. LXXI-LXXII, Walter Hintz, *Die Resāla-ye Falakiyya des Abdollah ibn Mohamammad ibn Kiya al-Māzandarānī. Ein Persischer Leitfaden des Staatlichen Rechnungswesens (um 1363)*, Wiesbaden, 1952. For a description of works on Ilkhanid administration see also, Osman G. Özgüdenli, "İlhanlılar Devrine Ait Anonim Bir Münşe'ât Mecmuası: Risāle el-Sāhibiyye" reprinted in *Ortaçağ Türk-İran Tarihi Araştırmaları*, İstanbul, Kaknüs, 2006, p. 235.

Besides, *ilmu'l-belāga* was essential for the education of a good Ottoman scribe who is supposed to compose eloquent Arabic letters of the Ottoman sultan addressing to muslim rulers, such as Mamluks. So, Arabic *ilmu'l-belāga* works such as *Telhisu'l-Miftāh* of Kazvinī (d. 739/1338) was already in the reading list of an Ottoman scribe.⁴⁹⁸

In addition to *ilmu'l-belāga* works, *inshā'* works were composed for the use of scribes beginning with Umayyads. The first representative of the literature for secretaries (*inshā'*) is Abd al-Hamid b. Yahya's (d. 132/750) *Risāle ila'l-Kuttāb*, and it was inspired by the tradition of Sāsānid secretariat.⁴⁹⁹ Abd al-Hamid's *Risāle* addressed to the scribes and described their responsibilities and the dignity of their office.

Inshā' works can be divided into three categories; first group of works include Abd al-Hamid's *Risāle* and they deal with essential qualities of a scribe together with a description of tools and methods of writing.⁵⁰⁰ Arabic *adab al-kātib* literature falls into this category. Ibn Kutayba's (d. 276/889) *Adab al-kātib* is an example of this genre and it is a manual of philology for the use of secretaries.⁵⁰¹ Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Yahya al-Sūlī's (d. 335/947) *Adab al-kuttāb* is another example, which covers topics such as appropriate writing tools, the right formulae of address, some administrative expertise and orthography, and aspects of etiquette.⁵⁰² Ibn Durustawayh's (d. 346/957) *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, similarly, deals with all the material side of the art of writing such as calligraphy, orthography, the dating of letters and the formula of protocol.⁵⁰³ Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī's (d. ca. 414/1023) *Risāle fī ilm al-Kuttāb*, and al-Cahshiyārī's (d.

⁴⁹⁸ Christopher Ferrard, "The Development of an Ottoman Rhetoric up to 1882, Part I, The Medrese Tradition" *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, v. 3 (1982), pp. 165-7.

⁴⁹⁹ H. A. R. Gibb, "Abd al-Hamid b. Yahya" *EI2*, v.1, p. 66, H. R. Roemer, "inshā'" *EI2*, v.3, p. 1242, R. Sellheim and D. Sourdel, "Kātib" *EI2*, v.4, p.756.

⁵⁰⁰ H. İnalcık, "Reis-ül-Küttāb" *İA*, v. 9, p. 677.

⁵⁰¹ G. Lecomte, "Ibn Kutayba" *EI2*, v. 3, p. 845.

⁵⁰² S. Leder, "al-Sūlī" *EI2*, v. 9, p. 847.

⁵⁰³ J. C. Vadet "Ibn Durustawayh" *EI2*, v. 3, p. 758, R. Sellheim and D. Sourdel, "Kātib" *EI2*, v.4, p.756.

331/942) *Kitāb al-wuzarā wa'l-kuttāb* are other important examples of the first category written in Arabic.⁵⁰⁴

With the rise of Saljukids, Persian *inshā'* works began to appear after the second half of 6/12 century, under Arabic influence.⁵⁰⁵ The earliest work of this kind is Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥālīq al-Mayhanī's *Dustūr-i Debīrī*, and *Kitāb al-Resāil bi'l-Farisiyye*.⁵⁰⁶ Muhammad b. Hinduṣāh Naḥcuvānī's monumental work, *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'yīn al-marātib* belong to the second half of the 8/14th century, and it includes model letters for different purposes addressing to various officials, the right formulae of address (*ḥitāb*), and epistolary formulae (*elḳāb*).⁵⁰⁷ Naḥcuvānī's comprehensive work illustrates the development of Persian *inshā'* literature, but the author emphasized the originality of his work, stating that "the style of Rashīd al-Dīn Vatvat, Bahā'ī al-Dīn, Nūr al-Dīn Munshī, and Razi al-Dīn Khashshāb had become antiquated and were no more suitable to the liking and trend of the people of the time".⁵⁰⁸ Hasan al-Hoyī's *Gunyat al-Kātib ve Munyat al-Talib* and *Rusūmu'r-resāil ve Nucūmu'l-fezāil*, can also be included in this category.⁵⁰⁹ The earliest Ottoman *inshā'* work of this kind is Yahyā b. Mehmed al-Kātib's *Menāhīcu'l-İnṣā* (written before 884/1479). It consisted of three chapters dealing with the rules of epistology (*ḳavā'id al- inshā'*), titles (*ta'rīfāt*) and

⁵⁰⁴ S. M. Stern, "Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī" *EI2*, v. 1, p. 126-7, D. Sourdel, "Al-Djahshiyārī" *EI2*, v.2, p.388, R. Sellheim and D. Sourdel, "Kātib" *EI2*, v.4, p.756.

⁵⁰⁵ H. R. Roemer, "inshā'" *EI2*, v.3, p. 1243.

⁵⁰⁶ H. İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttāb" *İA*, v. 9, p. 677, H. R. Roemer, "inshā'" *EI2*, v.3, p. 1243, Muhammed b. 'Abdī'l-Ḥālīq el-Meyhenī, *Destūr-i Debīrī*, ed. A. S. Erzi, Ankara, 1962.

⁵⁰⁷ Muhammad b. Hinduṣāh Naḥcuvānī, *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'yīn al-marātib*, ed. Abdulkarim Alioğlu Alizāde, Moscow, 1964, H. R. Roemer, "inshā'" *EI2*, v.3, p. 1243.

⁵⁰⁸ Cited in Colin Mitchell, "Safavid Imperial *Tarassul* and the Persian *Inshā'* Tradition" *Studia Iranica*, 26 (1997), p. 189.

⁵⁰⁹ H. İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttāb", v. 9, p. 672, 678. see also, A. S. Erzi, *Selçukiler Devrine Ait İnşa Eserleri*, Ankara, İlahiyat Fakültesi, 1963. For al-Hoyi and his works see also Muhammed Emin Riyāhī, *Osmanlı Topraklarında Fars Dili ve Edebiyatı*, İstanbul, İnsan Yayınları, 1995, pp. 128-130.

compositions (*terkībāt*).⁵¹⁰ *Menāhīcu'l-İnşā'* also includes eleven copies of official documents from the reigns of Murad II and Mehmed II. Mahmud b. Edhem al-Amasī's (d. after 897/1492) *Gülşen-i İnşā'* was probably the second oldest Ottoman work within this category. Unfortunately we do not know much about its author whose two works were preserved in the libraries; a Persian-Ottoman dictionary, *Miftāhu'l-Luga* (written in 897/1492) and *Gülşen-i İnşā'*. The oldest manuscript of *Gülşen-i İnşā'* was copied in 1510, so it must have been written before the reign of Selim.⁵¹¹ *Gülşen-i İnşā'* consisted of three chapters: chapter on letters (*nāme*), on titles (*muḥāṭabāt*), and on examples of Sultanīc edicts (*menāşīr*).

The second category of *inshā'* literature includes works presenting copies of official and/or private letters composed by renowned *munshīs* (*munsha'āt*).⁵¹² *Munsha'āt* of renowned *munshīs* served as stylistic models for professional scribes and trainees as well as for literati who emulated those letters in their correspondence. Unsurprisingly, most celebrated *munshīs* were among the highest-ranking officials of the Saljukid, Khvārazmian, Ilkhanid and Timurid chancellery. The chief secretary (*sāḥib-i dīvān al- inshā'*) of the Khvārazmshāh Atsız (1127-56), Rashīd al-Din Vatvat (d. 578/1182) was among the most respected *munshīs* of his time. His highly ornate letters were preserved in various collections, in Arabic and in Persian, to serve as models for chancery scribes. Rashīd al-Din's *munsheāt* contains the official letters composed on behalf of his master, Khvārazmshāh Atsız, as well as his private letters in both languages. "Two bilingual collections of epistles were compiled by Rashīd al-Din

⁵¹⁰ Yahyā b. Mehmed al-Kātib, *Menāhīcu'l-İnşā'*, ed. Şinasi Tekin, Cambridge, 1971, p. 14.

⁵¹¹ Şinasi Tekin argues that *Gülşen-i İnşā'* was composed in the reign of Selim (1512-1520), but the manuscript found in *İzmir Milli Kütüphanesi*, 1901, was copied in 916/1510. For *Miftāhu'l-Luga*'s date of composition see *Ankara Milli Kütüphanesi*, 06 Ceb 141/1.

⁵¹² H. İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttāb" *İA*, v. 9, p. 677.

himself, *Abkār al-afkār fī 'l-rasā'il wa 'l-aṣ'ār* and *'Arā'is al-Ḥawāṭir wa nafā'is al-nawādir*, and others are preserved elsewhere".⁵¹³ Rashīd al-Dīn's contemporary and the chief secretary of Saljuk Sancar (1118-57), Muntajab al-dīn Juvainī (the uncle of famous historian, Juvainī) is another eminent *münṣī* who contributed significantly to the development of *inshā'* literature. Bahā'ī al-Dīn Baghdādī also served as the chief secretary under the reign of Khvārazmshāh Takish (1172-1200), and his two works can be included in this category: *al-Tawassul ilā al-tarassul* and *Atabat al-Kataba*. As Mükrimin Halil demonstrated, several of the documents purporting to belong to the reigns of Osman Gazi and Orhan Gazi found in the *Münşeāt* of Feridun Bey, are spurious, being modeled on documents in Bahā'ī al-Dīn Baghdādī's *al-Tawassul ilā al-tarassul*.⁵¹⁴

The most distinguished works of this kind were compiled by *munshīs* of Timurid chancellery; Nasr Allah Samarkandī's *Munsha'āt*, ṣāhib-i resāil Nizam al-Dīn 'Abd al-Vāsi' Nizāmī's *Manshā al-inshā'*, 'Abd al-Rahman Jāmī's (d. 1492) *Munsha'āt*, Husain Vā'iz Kāshifī's (d. 1504-5) *Maḥzan al-inshā'* are among the major works of this kind.⁵¹⁵ In addition to *inshā'* works, scholars, historians, mystics and men of letters authored works in Arabic, Persian and Turkish using the same *inshā'* style under the patronage of Timurids. Ḥāfiz-i Abrū (d. 1430), Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī (d. 1454), Mirḥānd (d. 1498) and Ḥandemir (d. 1535) authored histories with highly refined style using rhetorical analogy, rhymed prose and poetry. 'Abd al-Rahman Jāmī (Mollā Jāmī), 'Alī Şīr Nevā'ī (d. 1501), Sa'd al-Dīn Taftazānī (d. 1390) and Sayyid Sharif Curcānī (d. 1413) are among the

⁵¹³ F. C. De Blois, "Rashīd al-Dīn Watwat" *EI2*, v. 8, p. 444.

⁵¹⁴ Mükrimin Khalil [Yinanc], "Feridun Beg Münshe'ātu", *Tarih-i Osmānī Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 77, pp. 161-8, no. 78, pp. 37-46, no. 79, pp. 95-104, no. 81, pp. 2 16-26.

⁵¹⁵ Colin Mitchell, "Safavid Imperial *Tarassul* and the Persian *Inshā'* Tradition" *Studia Iranica*, 26 (1997), p. 189.

authors whose works were influential over the Ottoman literati.⁵¹⁶ Concurrent with the Timurid period, Mahmūd Gāvān (d. 1481) produced *Manāẓir al-Inshā'* and *Riyāz al-inshā'* while serving as the grand vezir (*Hāce-i Cihān*) to the Bahmānid dynasty of the Deccan.⁵¹⁷ Many manuscripts of his works can be found in the Istanbul libraries, and he was praised as the best *munshī* together with historian Wassāf (d. 1330) by some 16th century Ottoman literati, such as *tezkiye* writer Latifī and historian Mustafa Āli.⁵¹⁸ The earliest Ottoman *inshā'* work of this category is Ahmed Dā'i's (d. c. 1427) *Teressül*, unfortunately, all but four pages from the beginning of the work is missing. According to Sehi, *Teressül* remained a popular hand-book for a long time, but Latifī describes the work as outdated and states that it is no longer useful for the literati.⁵¹⁹

The third category of *inshā'* literature comprises encyclopedic works collecting every kind of information that a scribe needs.⁵²⁰ As stated in the first chapter, according to Al-Ḳalkāshandī, a *kātib* should be equipped with a profound knowledge of Qur'ān and the prophetic traditions, principles of government, Arabic literature, history, foreign languages and calligraphy.⁵²¹ Besides, al-Ḳalkāshandī presented a list of complementary disciplines recommended for *kuttāb*, which include logic, the deciphering of codes, arithmetic, optics, mechanics, astrology, medicine, engines of war and falconry.⁵²² al-Ḳalkāshandī's (1355-1418) work on *inshā'*, *Subḥ al-A'shā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (*The Daybreak for the Sufferer of Night Blindness in Composing Official Documents*) is the best

⁵¹⁶ W. M. Thackston, D. J. Roxburgh, et al. "Timurids", *EI2*, v. 10, pp. 515-518.

⁵¹⁷ Colin Mitchell, "Safavid Imperial *Tarassul*...", p. 190.

⁵¹⁸ Latifī, *Tezkiretu's-Şu'arā*, ed. Rıdvan Canım, pp. 402, 487, Mustafa Ali, *Künhü'l-Aḥbār*, manuscript, reign of Sultan Süleyman, entry of Kınalızade Ali Çelebi.

⁵¹⁹ Latifī, *Tezkiretu's-Şu'arā*, ed. Rıdvan Canım, p. 165, Fahir İz, "Ahmad Dā'i" *EI2*, v. 2, p. 98.

⁵²⁰ H. İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttāb" *İA*, v. 9, p. 678.

⁵²¹ Maaïke Van Berkel, "A Well-Mannered Man of Letters or A Cunning Accountant: Al-Qalkashandī and the Historical Position of the Kātib", *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean*, v. 13 (2001), pp. 92-3.

⁵²² *ibid*, p. 92.

representative of encyclopedic *inshā'* works. It contains an introduction, ten discourses (*maḳālāt*) and a conclusion, and it aims to provide all the information necessary for chancery *kuttāb*.⁵²³ *Subḥ al-A'shā* also contains a large number of original documents going back to the earliest years of Islam. Another Mamluk chancery scribe, Shihāb al-Din Ahmad ibn Fadlallah al-'Umarī (d. 1349) authored two works for the use of scribes, which can be included in this category: *al-ta'rīf bi'l-muṣṭalāḥ al-sharīf*, and *masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-amṣār*. *Al-ta'rīf* is a manual of administration describing the Mamluk organization and explaining the manner of correspondence. And *Masālik* is an encyclopedic work dealing with history, literature, administration, geography, religion and law.⁵²⁴

As stated above, the *inshā'* tradition reached its peak under the Timurids as an art of letter-writing and as a form of literature. The Ottoman literati admired the works of 'Abd al-Rahman Jāmī, Husain Vā'iz Kāshifī, Wassāf, Ḥāfız-i Abrū, Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, Mirḥānd and Ḥandemir, which were written in Persian and widely read by the Ottoman literati. As a study on Istanbul manuscript libraries demonstrate, those Persian works occupied the highest ranks in the list of 130 different Persian works in terms of manuscript number, and autographs of Wassaf and 'Abd al-Rahman Jāmī are preserved in Istanbul libraries.⁵²⁵ As we know, Mehmed II tried to attract 'Abd al-Rahman Jāmī to Istanbul, and Bayezid II sent two letters to the famous *munshī* and *sūfī* of Harat.⁵²⁶ As stated above, 16th century Ottoman literary critics, such as Latīfī and Mustafa Ālī, stated

⁵²³ Al- Ḳalkāshandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā fi ṣinā'at al-Inshā'*, ed. Muhammad Husayn Shams al-Dīn, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990, C. E. Bosworth, "al-Ḳalkāshandī", *EI2*, v. 4, p. 509.

⁵²⁴ K. S. Salibi, "ibn Fadlallah al-'Umarī" *EI2*, v. 3, p. 758.

⁵²⁵ Osman Özgüdenli, "İstanbul Kütüphaneleri Farsça Tarih Yazmaları Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar" reprinted in *Ortaçağ Türk-İran Tarihi Araştırmaları*, İstanbul, Kaknüs, 2006, pp. 389-405.

⁵²⁶ Cl. Huart, H. Masse, "Djāmī" *EI2*, v. 2, p. 422.

Wassāf and Hāce-i Cihān as the best representatives of elegant prose-poetry authors, and they regarded most of the 15th century Ottoman poets and prose writers as inferior, outdated and simple. For Latīfī, the Ottoman poetry and prose became noteworthy only in the beginning of 16th century: the founder of “real” Ottoman poetry was Necātī (d. 914/1509), and Latīfī, himself, introduced a new style in the Ottoman prose by adorning the text with proverbs, parables and phrases.⁵²⁷

The Ottoman chancery at the time of Mehmed II employed scribes from different nations, and they produced documents in various languages such as Arabic, Persian, Greek, Slavonic, Latin and Italian.⁵²⁸ The Ottoman *ahidnāmes* given to the western states (Venice, Genoa, Hungary, Ragusa etc.) were mostly composed in the language of receiving country or in both languages in the 14th and 15th centuries. For instance, 5 out of 12 *ahidnames* given to Venice between the years 1403-1517 were written in both of the languages: the Ottoman Turkish and Italian, 6 of them were written either in Italian or in Greek and only one of them were written in Turkish.⁵²⁹ Similarly, two Ottoman *ahidnames* addressing to the king of Poland were written in Latin in 1489 and 1494, and two of them were written in Italian in 1502 and 1519.⁵³⁰ Murad II’s *ahidname* to Ragusa was written in Slavonic in 1442 and it was re-issued in the reign of Mehmed II.⁵³¹ One

⁵²⁷ Latīfī, *Tezkiretu’ş-Şu‘arā*, ed. Rıdvan Canım, pp. 487, 515-521, Th. Menzel, “Nedjāti Bey”, *EI2*, v. 8, p. 2, Nihad M. Çetin, “Laṭīfī”, *EI2*, v. 5, p. 693.

⁵²⁸ Halil İnalcık, “Mehammed II”, *EI2*, v. 6, p. 980.

⁵²⁹ Hans Peter Alexander Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats: The *Ahdnames*. . .” p. 191.

⁵³⁰ For the text of *ahidnames* see, Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations, 15th-18th Century*, Leiden, Brill, 2000, pp. 197-221.

⁵³¹ Fr. Miklosich and J. Muller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra 6 vols.*, Vindobonae (Vienna) 1860-1890, III, Vindobonae 1865, v. 3, 286-7, 290, 295, 313, 318. cited in V. L. Ménage, “Seven Ottoman Documents From the Reign of Mehmed II” in S. M. Stern and R. Walzer (eds.), *Documents From Islamic Chanceries*, Oxford, Cassirer, 1966, p. 94.

of the earliest Ottoman treaties, the treaty of 1387 between Murad I and Comune of Genoa was drawn up in Greek and it was translated into Latin.⁵³²

The Ottoman chancery abandoned to produce *ahidnames* in the language of receiving country under the reign of Süleyman the magnificent, and the *ahidnames* were exclusively written in Ottoman after 1525. There seems to be two main reasons for this novelty, first, it was part of modifications introduced by *nişancı* to *ahidname* type documents, aiming to reflect supremacy of the Ottoman sultan over other rulers. Within that context, phrases were added to the text of *ahidnames* stating that receiving party had asked for peace, and the ottoman sultan had no fear of enemies. Additionally, as Menage indicated, in the *inscriptio* section where the name of the addressee and his title is expressed, the Ottoman chancery began to use deliberately derogatory words for the addressee.⁵³³ The second reason for the “Ottomanization” of the *ahidnames* was the level Ottoman *inşā’* tradition: as we will see below, the Ottoman *inşā’* works flourished in the 16th century and the Ottoman littérateur began to accept those Ottoman *inshā’* works as equal to the most eloquent and elegant *inshā’* works in Persian and Arabic.

3.2- Ottoman Insha literature in the 16th Century and Celālzāde

The Ottoman *inshā’* tradition developed considerably in the 16th century thanks to the works of ‘ulemā-bureaucrats, scribes and litterateur such as Mesīhī, Tacizāde Cafer and Sadi, Lāmīi Çelebi, Kemalpaşazade, Celālzāde brothers, Kınalızade Ali and

⁵³² Kate Fleet, “The Treaty of 1387 between Murad I and the Genoese” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, v. 56 (1993), no. 1, p. 31

⁵³³ V. L. Ménage, “On the Constituent Elements of Certain Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, v. 48, (1985), no. 2, p. 290.

Latifi. They succeeded in the creation of an Ottoman literary style by incorporating into Turkish the matter borrowed and translated from Persian literature, and by domesticating Persian and Arabic words. Concomitant with the development of the Ottoman prose literature, we see a rapid increase in the production of Ottoman *münşe'āt* (collection of epistles) works which combine letters of aforementioned renowned authors. Therefore, though Kemalpaşazade's history or Celālzāde's *Ṭabaḳāt* are not within the category of *inshā'* works in the strict sense of the term, they served as literary models for next generations and they must be included within this category. Besides, as explained in the previous chapter, Celālzāde's *Ṭabaḳāt* was written gradually over a long period, between 1526 and 1557, and its nucleus was the *fetihnāmes*, i.e., imperial letters sent to provincial officers to inform them of military victories. Celālzāde was not the only historian who enlarged a *fetihnāme* into a book, as we know Nasuh Matraki was one of the authors of *Fetihnames* prepared after Sultan Süleyman's Karaboğdan campaign of 945/1538. Then, Nasuh Matraki transformed the official *fetihnāme* into an independent work, *Fetihname-i Kara Boğdan*, immediately after the campaign.⁵³⁴ In short, there was a close relation between the formation of a literary style for the Ottoman chancery and the style of imperial historiography. And the development of Ottoman official language cannot be examined independent of the development of Ottoman prose literature.

Mesīhī (d. after 918/1512) was one of the distinguished Ottoman *münşīs* who lived in late 15th and early 16th century. He was a *divan* scribe at the service of Grand Vezir Hādīm Ali Pasha (d. 1511), then he became secretary to the governor (sancakbey)

⁵³⁴ Nasuh Matraki's work was written on 23 Cumadelahire 945, see Mihail Guboğlu, "Kanuni Sultan Süleymanın ..." p. 798, A. Decei, "Un Fetihname-i Karaboğdan (1538) de Nasuh Matraki" *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, İstanbul, 1953, sh. 113-124, Hüseyin Gazi Yurdaydın, *Matrakçı Nasuh*, Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1963, p. 39.

of Bosnia, Firuz.⁵³⁵ He gained reputation as a creative and original poet and as an elegant stylist. His *munsheāt*, *Gül-i Sad-berg* (the many-petalled rose) contains about hundred epistles and describes different forms of address and answer providing examples of rhymed and unrhymed prose (*neşr-i müsecca‘ ve gayr-i müsecca‘*). For Latîfî, *Gül-i Sad-berg* was composed in the style of Mahmud b. Edhem al-Amasî’s *Gülşen-i İnşā’*, and it gained popularity among the learned circles.⁵³⁶

Tācizāde Cāfer (d. 921/1515) was among the most influential *münşīs* (stylist) of the early 16th century. He received classical *medrese* education under the prominent ‘ulemā of the time, such as el-Kastallanî (d. 901/1505-6), Ḥatibzāde (d. 901/1495-6), Ḥācezāde (d. 893/1488) and Ḥacı Ḥasanzāde (d. 911/1505-6). As stated in the previous chapter, Ḥacı Ḥasanzāde was teacher of Celālzāde Mustafa’s father, Celāl, as well. There are other striking similarities between Tācizādes and Celālzādes that indicate close ties between two family: both of the families had close ties with Amasya based religious-literary circles (Halvetiye order), and both family members were distinguished calligraphers and *munshīs* of the time.⁵³⁷ According to *Tuhfe-i Ḥattātīn*, Cafer Çelebi studied calligraphy along with famous calligrapher from Amasya : Şeyh Ḥamdullah.⁵³⁸ Cafer Çelebi was a professor in Istanbul Mahmud Pasha *medrese*, when he was appointed *nişancı* in 903/1497. Relying on Aşık Çelebi and Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, İsmail Erunsal asserts that: “On achieving this post he [Cafer Çelebi] received the rank

⁵³⁵ Th. Menzel, E. G. Ambros, “Mesīḥī” *EI2*, v. 6, p. 1026, V. L. Menage, “An Ottoman Manual of Provincial Correspondence” *Wiener Zeitschrift Für Die Kunde Des Morgenlandes*, v. 68, (1976), pp. 40-41.

⁵³⁶ Latîfî, *Tezkiretu’s-Şu‘arā*, ed. Rıdvan Canım, p. 499.

⁵³⁷ İsmail E. Erunsal, *The Life and Works of Taci-zade Cafer Çelebi with a critical edition of his Divan*, İstanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1983, p. XXVI, Taşköprülüzade, *Eş-Şekaiku’n-Numaniye fi Ulema-devleti’l-Osmaniye*, A. S. Fırat (ed.), İstanbul, 1985, p. 487, .Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Kitabu’t-Tarih-i Kühü’l-Ahbar*, eds. A. Uğur, M. Çuhadar, A. Gül, İ. H. Çuhadar, Kayseri, 1997, p. 1226. Mecdi Mehmed Efendi, *Hadaiku’s-Şakaik*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan, İstanbul, Çağrı Yayınları, 1989, p. 335.

⁵³⁸ Cited in İsmail E. Erunsal, *The Life and Works ...* p. XXV.

and style of *paşa*, and enjoyed most of the privileges of a *vezir*. He was very conscious of his own dignity, and it was because of a protest that he made to the Sultan that the *nişancı* was henceforth given precedence over the *defterdar* in the *Divan*, and allowed a *vezirial* tent when on campaign”.⁵³⁹ Although Cafer Çelebi was a very influential statesman, probably with the rank of *vezirate*, it would be a mistake to assume that his privileged position as a *nişancı* survived with his successors. Mehmed II’s *Kanunname* makes it clear that “if *Nişancı*’s status is same with *vezirs* and *beglerbegis* then he takes precedence over *defterdars*, if he is a *nishancı* with *sancak* then he is placed below the *defterdars*.”⁵⁴⁰ Tacizade Cafer Çelebi held the office of *nişancı* until 917/1511, later on Selim I restored him to office in late 919/1513, a year later he was appointed *Kadıasker* of Anatolia. Cafer Çelebi was executed by Selim’s order in 921/1515.⁵⁴¹ All of the contemporary sources agree about Cafer Çelebi’s abilities as an eloquent prose stylist. Mecdi reckons him among the *nişancıs* who created new formulas and phrases to be used in the Ottoman official documents.⁵⁴² Riyāzī states that “he was Hâce-i Cihan of his time in the field of *inshā*”⁵⁴³ Cafer Çelebi was able to compose eloquent letters in three languages, Ottoman, Persian and Arabic, but his *munshe’āt* is not extant; only six official letters (*nāme*) were preserved in various *munshe’āt* works.⁵⁴⁴ Cafer Çelebi’s style is also reflected in his *Maḥrūse-i İstanbul Fetihnāmesi*, which “may be considered

⁵³⁹ *ibid*, p. XXXI.

⁵⁴⁰ “Ve nişancının mertebesi eğer vezaret ve beğlerbeğilik ise defterdarlara tasaddur eder; ve sancak ile nişancı ise defterdarlardan aşağı oturur.” Abdulkadir Özcan, ed., *Kanunname-i Al-i Osman*, İstanbul, Kitabevi, 2003, p.6

⁵⁴¹ For possible reasons see İsmail E. Erunsal, *The Life and Works ...* p. 39-42.

⁵⁴² “el-hakk bu zamanda divan-ı osmaniyyede tersim ve terkim olunan menâşir-i sultaniyye ve feramin-i hakaniyye-i osmaniyyenin terkiib ve tertib ve imla ve inşasında kavaid-i cedide-i suture ihtira idüb, ahkam-ı nafızu’l-kelam ve maktu’u’l-meram ve menâşir-i kaza-ceryan ve kader-fercamda izhar-ı yed-i beyza eyledi. Mecdi Mehmed Efendi, *Hadaiku’ş-Şakaik*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan, İstanbul, Çağrı Yayınları, 1989, p. 336

⁵⁴³ Cited in İsmail E. Erunsal, *The Life and Works ...* p. LXVIII.

⁵⁴⁴ For a list of these epistles see İsmail E. Erunsal, *The Life and Works ...* p. LXVII.

one of the finest examples of sixteenth century Ottoman prose writing”, according to Erünsal.⁵⁴⁵

Tacizāde Cafer Çelebi’s brother Sa’dī (d. 922/1516) was also famous as a *munshī* and poet. His educational background is similar to his brother: he studied under Kadızāde and Hacı Hasanazāde. Then, he was appointed *muderris* to *medreses* in Bursa and Istanbul.⁵⁴⁶ According to Mecdī, he was especially gifted in Arabic prose, though he composed elegant letters in three languages. It is reported that after his brother’s death, he composed the sultanic missive addressing to the Mamluk Sultan, and he was rewarded with 30.000 *akçe* in return.⁵⁴⁷ His *munshe’āt* is extant and it was partially published.⁵⁴⁸ Among his students, there are leading *munshīs* of 16th century, such as Celālzāde Salih, Ramazanzāde and most probably Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi.

İdris-i Bitlīsī (d. 926/1520) was among the most esteemed *münşīs* of 16th century. His history *Haşt Bihişt* (“Eight Paradises”) was written in the most elaborate style of Persian *inshā’* following the histories of Juwaynī, Wassāf and Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī as model. However, İdris-i Bitlīsī’s contribution to the Ottoman *inshā’* literature is limited with his Persian works; he has no works in Ottoman *inshā’* style.⁵⁴⁹

Lāmi’ī Çelebi (d. 938/1531-2) gained a reputation as ‘Abd al-Rahman Jāmī of Anatolia (Cāmi-i Rūm) due to his translations from ‘Abd al-Rahman Jāmī’s works as well as his elegance and originality.⁵⁵⁰ Lāmi’ī Çelebi’s grandfather was a famous *naqqāş* (painter-carver) who had been taken by Timur to Samarkand, and his father was

⁵⁴⁵ *ibid*, p. LXI.

⁵⁴⁶ Mecdī Mehmed Efendi, *Hadaiku’ş-Şakaik*, p. 337.

⁵⁴⁷ Aşık Çelebi, cited in İsmail E. Erünsal, *The Life and Works ...* p. XLV.

⁵⁴⁸ Tacizāde Sa’dī Çelebi, *Mecmua*, manuscript, Istanbul Bayezid Library, Veliyyüddin Efendi, 3258, *Sa’dī Çelebi Münşe’ātı*, Necati Lugal, Adnan Erzi (eds.), Istanbul, 1956.

⁵⁴⁹ V. L. Menage, “İdris Bidlīsī” *EI2*, v. 1, p. 1208.

⁵⁵⁰ B. Flemming, “Lāmi’ī” *EI2*, v. 5, p. 650.

defterdar in the reign of Bayezid II. Lāmi‘ī studied at *medrese* under Ahavayn and Hacı Hasanzāde. He was a follower of Nakşibendī master Emir Ahmed Buhārī (d. 922/1516), and he took as his model in literary activities another famous Nakşibendī master from Harat: ‘Abd al-Rahman Jāmī. Lāmi‘ī was a prolific writer; he authored more than 40 works. The best known work of him is his translation of ‘Abd al-Rahman Jāmī’s *Nafahāt al-uns*, which is a collection of Sūfī biographies. Lāmi‘ī’s *munshe’āt* contains 23 author’s private letters addressing to Grand Vezir Ibrahim, Emir Ahmed Buhari and other notable persons. According to Aşık Çelebi, Lāmi‘ī’s style was a perfect combination of poetry and prose, and most of other *tezkiye* authors agree with Aşık Çelebi.⁵⁵¹ However, Latifī states that “though he was highly educated and skillful person, his style is not imaginative: “egerçi zü-funūn u mütefennindür lākin nazm u inşā’ında reng u rūḥ yokdur kelimātının ḥāyīde ve rûz-merre elfāz u ‘ibārātı çokdur, muşannefātının ekşer u aḡlebi müellefāt-i ekābir-i selefden me’ḥûz u menḡuldür (...) vufûr-i te’lîfâtı cihetinden aşḡāb-i fûnūn u ‘ulūm aña Cāmi-i Rûm ıtlāḡ itmişlerdür”.⁵⁵²

Kemalpaşazade (d. 940/1534) was probably the most prolific scholar, historian and *munshī* of the 16th century. Contemporary sources are unanimous in praising the profundity and extant of his knowledge. He authored more than 200 works in three languages on various subjects ranging from religion to history and literature. His ten volume history (*Tevāriḡ-i Āl-i Oşmān*) was written in a very eloquent and ornate Ottoman, in this respect, it is the first of its kind.⁵⁵³ He was commissioned by Bayezid II to compile a comprehensive Ottoman history in Turkish in parallel to Idris-i Bitlīsī’s

⁵⁵¹ “Şi‘r u inşāyı şīr u şeker gibi cem itdi” cited in Sadettin Eğri, *Bir Bursa Efsanesi (Lāmi‘ī Çelebi’s Münārāza-i Sultān-i Bahār Bā-şehriyār-i Şitā)*, Istanbul, Kitabevi, 2001, pp. 42-43.

⁵⁵² Latifī, *Tezkiretu’ş-Şu‘arā*, ed. Rıdvan Canım, pp. 476-7.

⁵⁵³ For Kemalpaşazade and his work see, Halil İnalcık, “The Rise of Ottoman Historiography” in *Historians of the Middle East*, B. Lewis and M. Holt (eds.), London, 1962, pp. 152-67.

Persian work. Though his *Tevāriḥ* was richly decorated with the use of Turkish proverbs, sayings and idioms in prose and poetry, Arabic and Persian expressions are dominant in his literary style. Ironically, he is the author of a treatise which aims to demonstrate supremacy of Persian over all other languages except Arabic: *Risāle fī maziyyat al-lisān al-Fārisī*. On the other hand, he also authored *Manzum Darb-i Mešel*, which is a collection of Turkish proverbs and idioms in verse.⁵⁵⁴

Vāsi Alisi (d. 950/1543-4) is another famous *münṣī*, whose reputation largely rest on his *Humāyunnāme*. Like aforementioned *münṣī*-scholars, Vāsi Alisi received a classical *medrese* education including the study of calligraphy. According to Mustafa Ali's account, the author worked on his *Humāyunnāme* for twenty years but his effort was not appreciated by Grand Vezir Lutfi (1539-41) who did not even glance at the work when it was presented to him. Mustafa Ali severely criticized the Grand Vezir's arrogance and ignorance.⁵⁵⁵ *Humāyunnāme* is a translation of Husain Vā'iz Kāshif's Persian *Anwār-i Suhaylī* which is a translation of Arabic *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.⁵⁵⁶ According to Latīfī, “şīve-i suḥanveri ve ‘işve-i letāfet-perverī anda tamam olmuş ve fenn-i san‘at-i inşāda yed-i beyzā göstermek dāyiresin bulmuşdur. (...) elḥāşıl bir inşā-i celīlū’ş-şān ve cemīlū’l-beyāndur ki aḳşām-i inşāda ḳısm-i siḥr-efsūn ve Münşe’āt-i Vaşşāfdan vaşfi efzūndur”.⁵⁵⁷

Celālzāde Salih (d. 973/1565), like his brother Mustafa, studied religious sciences from leading *münṣī*-‘ulemā, such as Tacizāde Sa’dī and Kemalpaşazāde. Both

⁵⁵⁴ V. L. Menage, “Kemāl Pashazāde” *EI2*, v. 4, p. 880, Abdurrahman Güzel, “Kemal Paşazāde’nin Eserlerinde Türk Halk Edebiyatına Ait Bazı Motifler” in *Şeyhülislām İbn Kemāl*, H. Bolay, B. Yediyıldız, M. S. Yazıcıoğlu (eds.) Ankara, 1989, pp. 175-189.

⁵⁵⁵ Mustafa Āli, *Kūnhū’l-Aḥbar*, manuscript, reign of Sultan Süleyman, entry of Ali bin Salih, and Andreas Tietze, *Mustafā Ālī’s Counsel for Sultans of 1581*, v. 2, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften, 1982, p. 202-3.

⁵⁵⁶ Latīfī, *Tezkiretu’ş-Şu‘arā*, p. 401, Kathleen R. F. Burrill, “Wasi Alisi” *EI2*, v. 11, p. 162.

⁵⁵⁷ Latīfī, *Tezkiretu’ş-Şu‘arā*, pp. 401-2.

of them learned calligraphy from Şeyh Hamdullah. And both of them mastered three languages: Arabic, Persian and Ottoman. Like Celālzāde Mustafa, Salih authored several *fetihnāmes* describing Sultan Süleyman's campaigns on Belgrade, Rhodes and Buda. He compiled a history of Egypt (Tārīḥ-i Mısr-i Cedīd) and translated several works from Persian, such as *Kıssa-i firuz şah* and *Cevāmi'u'l-ḥikāyāt*, which are representative works of elegant Ottoman prose style.⁵⁵⁸ Celālzāde Salih's *munshe'āt* consists of his letters addressing to Sultan, Pashas, Han of Crimea, Kemalpaşazāde, Hoca Hayreddin, an unnamed *reisulkuttāb* and other eminent people. His letters are written for different purposes, such as *ta'ziye* (letter of condolence), *tehniye* (letter of congratulation), *muhabbetnāme* (letter of friendship), *arż-i ḥāl* or *istid'ā* (petition) and *şefa'atnāme* (letter of intercession).⁵⁵⁹

Kınalızade Ali (d. 979/1572) is another esteemed scholar of 16th century, whose works on various subjects served as model for the Ottoman literati. After a classical *medrese* education, he taught at several *medreses*, served as kadı of Damascus, Egypt, Bursa and Edirne. Then, he became *kadıasker* of Anatolia in 1571 and held the post until his death. Two of his works, *Aḥlāk-i 'ālā'ī* (a *nasīḥatname* work on ethics and government) and *münşe'āt* is especially important in terms of *inshā'* style. His *münşe'āt* consists of mostly *tehniye*, *şefa'atnāme* and *ta'ziye* type letters written for unnamed people.⁵⁶⁰ According to Mustafa Ali, Kınalızade Ali was versed in most of sciences, religious and literary, and he was a modest, well-mannered scholar. As Mustafa Ali states, he met with Kınalızade Ali in Damascus, while the latter was composing *Aḥlāk-i*

⁵⁵⁸ İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Tosyalı Celālzāde ..., pp. 428-37, J. R. Walsh, "Djalalzāde Sālih Çelebi", *EI2*, v. 2, p. 401.

⁵⁵⁹ Celālzāde Salih Çelebi, *Münşe'āt*, manuscript, Istanbul Süleymaniye Library, Kadızāde Mehmed, 557.

⁵⁶⁰ Kınalızade Ali Çelebi, *Münşe'āt*, manuscript, Istanbul Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi, 3331.

‘*ālā’ī*. Then, Mustafa Ali and Kınalızade came together every week and discussed the parts of *Ahlāk-i ‘ālā’ī* as the work proceeded. But, Mustafa Ali adds: “... inşāda ise Hāce’i Cihān rütbesinde *āsār*’ı dürer-nişārı muḳarrerdür. Ancaḳ edālarında elfāz’ı ‘Arabiyye ğālib olmağla çendān şūh u ‘ālem-gīr olmaduğı beyne'n-nās eẓher u eşherdür”.⁵⁶¹

3.3- Celālzāde’s Insha as found in his works

As Beyānī (d. 1006/1597-8) indicated in his *tezkire*, Celālzāde Mustafa resolutely defended his *inshā*’ style even against the sultan:

“rāḳımu’s-suṭūr kendüden istimā’ itdim: “Sultan Selim Hān-i ḳadīm vüzerādan maḥfī eṭrafa ba’ẓı aḥkām ve evāmır göndermelü olduḳda baña yazdırırdı. Ba’ẓı ‘umūrda muḥālefet şeklin gösterüb münāsib olan böyle eylemekdir pādişāhım der idim. Bir iki def’a ibrāḳ ve ir’ād idüb ıẓhār-i gazab iderdi ben muşırır olub sa’ādetlu pādişāhım fermān senindir amma sa’ādetlu şāhib-ḳırāna münāsib olan budur dediğim gibi münbasiṭ olub imdi öyle yaz dir idi.”⁵⁶²

Beyānī’s account may contain some degree of exaggeration or mistakes, but it is almost certain that for Celālzāde Mustafa, *inshā*’ style and the post of *nişancı* was crucially important to reflect the sultan’s magnificence and dignity. As stated before, Celālzāde regarded the post of *nişancı* as the most important rank in the Ottoman

⁵⁶¹ Mustafa Ali, *Künhü’l-Ahbar*, manuscript, reign of Süleyman, section on Poets, Mevlānā Ali Çelebi.

⁵⁶² Beyānī, *Tezkiretü’ş-Şuarā*, p. 293.

administration. He enumerated a number of reasons to defend his claim, which can be summarized as: 1) *ahl-i kalem* is more important than *ahl-i sayf* because they seek for the prosperity of country, which is the basis for state revenues whereas, *ahl-i sayf* looks for destruction. And *nişancı* is the head of *ahl-i kalem*. 2) justice is the most important element of good government, and the *nişancı* is responsible for the observance of justice in the Ottoman realm. As Celālzāde states, “mischief-makers usually depend on Sultanic orders to exploit tax paying subjects (*re‘ayā*). If *nişancı* is careful and cautious, he foresees undesirable results of a Sultanic order and he prevents it. (...) Justice is the cause of long life and good reputation in this world; it will be rewarded in the other world as well. (...) Therefore, it is obvious that post of *nişancı* is the most important rank in the administration.”⁵⁶³

Therefore, Celālzāde Mustafa endeavored to protect the sultan’s reputation as a just ruler by using mainly two instruments: codification of Ottoman laws and improvement of Ottoman *inshā’* style. As stated before, Celālzāde Mustafa was accepted as the second most influential *nişancı* after Tacizade Cafer, who introduced new literary formulas to be used in the official documents issued by the Ottoman chancery. In this section, we will focus on the *inshā’* style used in two types of official documents: ‘*ahidnāmes* and *fetihnāmes*. ‘*Ahidnāmes* are especially important to reflect sultan’s power and prestige in the eyes of friendly or hostile rulers, with its content and form i.e. calligraphy, style, elegance etc. And *fetihnāmes* were mostly sent to provinces to announce the victory, in other words their target was mostly Ottoman subjects, though *fetihnāmes* were also composed to be sent to friendly rulers.

⁵⁶³ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 260b.

It should be noted that one should not expect great differences in the style of Ottoman official documents, especially in *‘ahidnāmes*, due to two reasons: first, the Ottoman chancery had long established practices of bureaucratic administration which had been established under the reign of Mehmed II.⁵⁶⁴ Preceding documents of the same kind were the primary guide of a chancery scribe. Secondly, *‘ahidnāmes* were instruments at the international level, and the receiver country sought to renew an *‘ahidnāme* under the same conditions. For instance, the Ottoman chancery issued *‘ahidnāmes* in mainly two type: *nişān*-type *‘ahidnāmes* begins with the *nişān* formula: *nişān-i şerīf-i ‘ālīşān (...) hükmü oldurki:*” and *nāme*-type *‘ahidname* which begins with “*Ben ki sultānu’s-selātin ...*”. The style used in *nişān*-type *‘ahidnāmes* approaches to the style of a *fermān* which conveys a command to an inferior. The Ottoman chancery issued *nişān*-type *‘ahidnāmes* for Venice since the second half of the 15th century, whereas Polish kings received *nāme*-type *‘ahidnāmes*. As we will see below, Ottoman chancery preferred to issue *nişān*-type *ahidnāmes* in the reign of Süleyman, but *‘ahidnāmes* issued for the Polish king continued to be *nāme*-type after a *nişān*-type *‘ahidnāme* in 1554.⁵⁶⁵

The most important change in the style of Ottoman official documents is the change of the language; the Ottoman chancery began to use exclusively Turkish in the *‘ahidnāmes* and *nāmes* after 1525. That change is most probably was initiated by *reisülküttāb* Celālzāde Mustafa. As explained in the previous chapter, the most important official documents such as Sultan’s letters to other sovereigns (*nāme*) were authored by *nişancı* of the time. Tācizade Cafer, Hocażāde Mehmed were famous

⁵⁶⁴ Halil İnalcık, “Mehemmed II”, *EI2*, v. 6, p. 980.

⁵⁶⁵ For the text of *‘ahidnāmes* issued for Polish King see, Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations, 15th- 18th Century*, Leiden, Brill, 2000, pp. 197-265.

nişancıs, and samples of their work can be found in *munşeāt* works. However, most of the official letters from the reign of Sultan Süleyman were attributed to *Reisülküttab* Celālzāde Mustafa, instead of Nişancı Seydi Bey: imperial missive to Shah Tahmasb, *fetihname* of Mohac Campaign, *berat* for Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha were all composed by Celālzāde Mustafa, when he was still *Reisülküttab*.⁵⁶⁶ Evidently, *nişancı* Seydi Bey was an expert in Ottoman law, but he was not a renowned *münşī*; as we know from Ottoman *munşeāt* works which contain no sample of his writings.

Another important change in the text of '*ahidnāmes* is appeared in the intitulation ('*unvān*') section: an elaborate *formula devotionis* was added before the name of the sultan. The Polish *ahidnāme* of 932/1525 has the following *formula devotionis*: “Ḥaẓret-i 'izzet cellet ḡudretuhu ve 'alet kelimetuhunuñ 'ināyeti ve mihr-i sipehr-i nübüvvet aḡter-i burc-i fütüvvet pişvā-yi zümre-i enbiyā ve muḡtedā-yi fırka-i aşfiyā Muḡammed Muṡṡafāniñ - şalla'llahu 'aleyhi ve sellem- mu'cizāt-i keşiretu'l-berekātı ve dört yāriniñ ki Ebu Bekr ve 'Ömer ve 'Osman ve 'Alidir -rızvānu'llahu 'aleyhim ecma'in anlarıñ ervāḡ-i muḡaddesesi murāfaḡatıyla”.⁵⁶⁷ As Menage pointed out, *formula devotionis* was placed above the *tuḡrā* as sign of respect for God, Prophet and caliphs, and it was a practice applied by post-Mongol Islamic chanceries such as Akkoyunlu and Crimean Khanate.⁵⁶⁸ Furthermore, older Ottoman '*ahidnāmes* had a very short *formula devotionis*, which was consisting of the phrase: “by the grace of God”. Whereas, this elaborate *formula devotionis* which was introduced by Celālzāde Mustafa, was consisting of three elements, namely “by the grace of God (1), miracles of the Prophet (2), and companionship of the four caliphs (3)”. As Menage argued, first two element of this

⁵⁶⁶ For these three letters see Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, p. 541-551.

⁵⁶⁷ Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish...* p. 222.

⁵⁶⁸ V. L. Ménage, “On the Constituent Elements ..”, pp. 291-299.

formula devotionis was introduced in imitation of post-Mongol Islamic chanceries, and the third one was an Ottoman innovation, “a declaration of Sunnī orthodoxy and a riposte to Shāh Ismā‘il’s practice of introducing his decrees with a prominent *Yā ‘Alī*.”⁵⁶⁹

Another novelty was seen in the *intitulatio* of the *‘ahidnāmes*: more elaborate description of the Ottoman domains was inserted into *intitulatio*. That novelty was a reaction to Hungarian king’s missive at first, then it was repeated by Charles who claimed to be the king of Jerusalem in his letter of 1533.⁵⁷⁰ The Ottoman chancery replied by adding an elaborate description of the Ottoman realm in the *intitulatio*, and proportionate to the Empire’s expansion, new provinces were added to the *intitulatio* section of the documents. The imperial letter of 954/1547 addressed to the “king Charles in the province of Spain”, and it enumerated 22 provinces and 2 seas of sultan Süleyman in the *intitulatio*.⁵⁷¹ Besides, “*tāc-bahş-i hüsrevān-i rüy-i zemīn*” (the distributor of the crowns of the Khusraws of the world) became an integral part of the *intitulatio*, after the victory at Mohac.

Another novelty can be observed especially in the Venetian *ahidnāmes*, since they include commercial privileges. Earlier Venetian *‘ahidnames* included statements emphasizing on the reciprocity of the commercial privileges, and an elaborate oath formula. Furthermore, *‘ahidname* was validated upon the confirmation of both parties by swearing an oath in the presence of the representatives of the other party. However, this practice was abandoned after the *ahidname* of 1540, and later Venetian *ahidnames*

⁵⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 300-1.

⁵⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 289. Charles V was severely criticized in Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha’s letter for using the title of “king of Jerusalem”. This letter (dated evāil-i Zilhicca 939/24 June-3 July 1533) was most probably composed by Celālzāde, see, Jean-Louis Bacque-Grammont, “Une Lettre D’Ibrahim Paşa à Charles-Quint” *Comité International D’études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes, VIth Symposium, Cambridge, 1-4 July 1984*, proceedings, eds. Jean-Luis Bacque-Grammont and Emeri van Donzel, Istanbul, 1987, p. 65-88.

⁵⁷¹ Anton C. Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymāns Des Prächtigen ...* p. 12.

became much more similar to the form of *nişān*. Oath section of the *ahidname* was not removed but it was shortened. With Theunissen's words: "an increasing *unilateralization* of the articles of the treaty (*dispositio*), as well as for a further *nişanization* of the form of the '*ahd-nāme*'" can be observed during the reign of Sultan Süleyman.⁵⁷² It should also be noted that Venice acquired the '*ahidnāmes* of 947/1540 only after she accepted to surrender all of the castles Ottomans demanded, and to pay a compensation of 300.000 ducats. In return, Venetians continued to enjoy trade privileges they had acquired with earlier *ahidnāmes*. In the '*ahidnāmes*, "*arz-i 'ubūdiyyet*" was used for the Doge, instead of "*arz-i ihlās ve muḥabbet*" and the *locatio* was described as "*dāru'l-ḥilāfetil-aliyye*" instead of "*dāru's-saltanatil-aliyye*".⁵⁷³

Ottoman *fetihnāmes* exhibited a set of changes similar to the development of '*ahidnāme* during the 16th century. Like '*ahidnāmes*, *fetihnāmes* had been composed in Arabic or in Persian in the 15th century. The earliest *fetihnāmes* belonging to the reign of Murad II and Mehmed II were written in Arabic if they were addressed to Mamluks or Sharif of Hicāz, or they were written in Persian if they were addressed to Timurids or Karaman.⁵⁷⁴ After the annexation of Mamluks, *Fetihnāmes* were exclusively composed in Ottoman Turkish, and they were mostly written for the governors of the Ottoman provinces. The *fetihnāme* of Van (956/1549) was sent to the King of France and Ferdinand, and it was not much different from the *fetihnāmes* addressing to Ottoman governors. The King of France was honored with the title of "*iftihāru'l-umerāi'l-*

⁵⁷² Hans Peter Alexander Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats ...", p. 240.

⁵⁷³ Cf. with earlier *ahidnāmes* in Hans Peter Alexander Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats ...", p. 283.

⁵⁷⁴ Feridun Bey, *Münşeāt*, pp. 198, 208, 221-228, see also Ahmet Ateş, "İstanbul'un Fethine Dair Fatih Sultan Mehmed Tarafından Gönderilen Mektuplar ve Bunlara Gelen Cevaplar", *Tarih Dergisi*, v. 4 (1952), no. 7, pp. 11-50, Adnan Sadık Erzi, "Türkiye Kütüphanelerinden Notlar ve Vesikalar II", *Belleten*, v. 14 (1950), no. 53-56, pp. 612-631.

‘ızāmi’l-‘ıseviyye” whereas Ferdinand was addressed as “*kıdvetu umerāi’l-‘ızāmi’l-‘ıseviyye*”. And both of them were described as the “king of province” (*Vilāyet-i Beç kıralı*, and *Vilāyet-i Fransa kıralı*). The *fetihnāme* of Van informed aforementioned kings of the conquest of Van, of 35 castles in Georgia and most of Azerbaijan province, and it concluded with a statement explaining purpose of the letter: “since it is a good custom to inform friends about happy news”.⁵⁷⁵

Unsurprisingly, *Fetihnāmes* addressing to Ottoman subjects focused on the sultan’s zeal for *gaza*, on his “sacred” personality, and on other religious motives such as conversion of churches into mosques and initiation of call for pray (*eẓān*). *Fetihname* of Mohaç begins with a statement similar to the *formula devotionis* of ‘*ahidnāmes*, which mentions that the sultan launched the campaign by seeking refuge in the grace of God and miracles of the Prophet.⁵⁷⁶ *Fetihnāmes* aim to reflect greatness of the glory, so they usually give exaggerated numbers for the Ottoman army and enemy forces. For instance, *Fetihname* of Mohaç indicates that Hungarian king has called for help and received support from other Christian lords, and he had an army of 150.000 men. After a long description of the campaign, *Fetihname* of Mohaç ends with informing victory at Mohaç, stating that it was an unprecedented victory, no one before Sultan Süleyman ever gained: “selāṭīn-i nāmdār ve ḥavākīn-i ẓu’l-iḳtidār belki aşḥāb-i guẓīn-i ḥayru’l-aḥyārdan kimesneye müyesser olmayan futūḥāt-i cemīle Ḥaḳḳıñ ‘ināyeti ile cenāb-i celālet-meābıma naṣīb oldu.”⁵⁷⁷ As we will see below, these notions are repeatedly stated in Celālzāde Mustafa’s History.

⁵⁷⁵ “aḥbār-i meserret-āsārın dostlarumuza i’lām u iş’ārı ‘ādet-i ḥasene-i ḳadīme olmağın ...”, Anton C. Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymāns..* p. 27. Feridun Bey, *Münṣeatu’s-Selātīn*, p. 603-606.

⁵⁷⁶ Feridun Bey, *Münṣeatu’s-Selātīn*, p. 547.

⁵⁷⁷ *ibid*, p. 551.

3.4- Celālzāde as a Historian

As stated above, *Ṭabaḳāt* can be described as a detailed *fetihname* of the sultan's campaigns. Celālzāde provides more detailed description of the Ottoman army, sultan and the administration etc. in the *Ṭabaḳāt*, using the same style found in *fetihnāmes*. For instance, in the chapter on Mohaç campaign, Celālzāde provides a detailed description of Ottoman soldiers's zeal for *gaza*, especially after the crossing of Drava river which has cut Ottoman troops' way back to *diyār-i islām*. According to Celālzāde description of the Ottoman camp on the night before battle on Mohac; *delis* of Rumeli read stories of *Oguz gazas*, *ulemā* preached soldiers reading and explaining passages from Holy Book.⁵⁷⁸ According to Celālzāde, it was a sacred night and, in the morning, army moved after Sultan prayed for all of his brave soldiers. Celālzāde emphasizes Sultan's "sacred" personality; he is the shadow of God on earth, his personality and wisdom is a reflection of divine inspiration (*ẓill'u-llahi fi'l-arz, āyine-i ḡamīr-i munīr-i ḡusrevānī ki medār-i ilhāmāt-i Rabbānīdir*).⁵⁷⁹ Within that context, Celālzāde did not need to record some disturbing events in the *Ṭabaḳāt*, which were recorded in other Ottoman sources. According to Celālzāde, Mohac campaign was accomplished in harmony from beginning to end, by skilled and virtuous servants of Sultan who followed orders. For instance, *Ṭabaḳāt* does not mention of the soldiers executed by Sultan's order due to undisciplined actions, or soldiers' burning of the church in Pest contrary to Sultan's wish.⁵⁸⁰ On the other hand, *Ṭabaḳāt* recorded everything that supports the idea of *gazā*:

⁵⁷⁸ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 143b.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 143a. Celālzāde also describes Sultan as "mehdi-i āḡiru'z-zaman" in p. 134b and 434b.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ruzname of Campaign*, Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selātīn*, p. 553, 563

“there is no doubt that, army of Islam was aided by secret soldiers and sacred souls. Some good people narrates that even Prophet and his companions was with the Ottoman army.”⁵⁸¹

Unsurprisingly, Celālzāde’s style of exposition in *Ṭabaḳāt* reflects the style and precision used in official documents and law codes. Celālzāde’s early years in the imperial *divan* coincided with Selim I’s conquests and the expansion of the Ottoman bureaucracy. As a young *divan* scribe, Celālzāde contributed greatly to the codification of laws for Egypt (1525). He introduced new literary formulas to be used in official documents during the time he held the post of *reisülküttab*. Sultan Süleyman’s early years were a period of innovation, when new methods and administrative practices were introduced in every field.⁵⁸² As stated above, *reisülküttab* Celālzāde was the chief architect of innovations introduced in bureaucratic language, rather than the *nişancı* of the time, Seydi Bey (d. 1534), who was supposed to compose significant imperial documents.⁵⁸³ Like other state officials, Celālzāde aimed to contribute to the consolidation of Ottoman rule in the vast region stretching from Buda to Baghdad. He contributed to the development of an official language highlighting the Sultan’s power and prestige and serving to strengthen the legitimacy of Ottoman rule. Ottoman official documents such as *fetihnâme*, *ahidnâme*, *berāt* and *fermān* underlined the legitimacy of Ottoman rule by highlighting notions of justice, stability and divine support in the

⁵⁸¹ “Ceyş-i İslām-penāh ile cunūd-i gaybiyye ve ervāḥ-i muḳaddese bile idüğüne iştibāh yoğ idi. ... ba‘ẓı şuleḥāy-i ebrārdan naḳl u rivāyet olundu ki Ḥaẓreti Risālet-penāh şalavātullahi ‘aleyhi ve selāmuḥu cümle-i ervāḥ-i muḳaddese şaḥābe-i kibār ile rıdvānullahi te‘ālā ‘aleyhim ecma‘ın bu gazā-yı garrāda bile imişler.” *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 150a.

⁵⁸² Gülrü Necipoğlu, “A Kanun for the State ...”, p. 203. see also, G. Necipoğlu, “Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power ...” pp. 401-427.

⁵⁸³ Exemplary documents of this period such as letter to Shah Tahmasb (1526), *berat* of Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha (1529), *fetihnâme* of Mohac campaign (1526) were composed by Celālzāde. See Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu’s-Selātîn*, pp. 541-546.

intitulatio section. However, the formulas used in *intitulatio* do not provide an elaborate description of justice as understood by Ottoman officials. The *Tabakāt* is an extension of Celālzāde's efforts to portray Ottoman rule as an ideal system that will survive forever, and the Ottoman sultan as an abstract figure representing the impersonal, absolute and indivisible authority.

The *Tabakāt* is not a comprehensive history of Süleyman's reign; it highlights events demonstrating the sultan's power and justice. However, this does not undermine significance of *Ṭabaḳāt* as a historical source, it is one of the most detailed sources for the reign of Süleyman. Besides, *Ṭabaḳāt* reflects considerations of Ottoman administration which can not be found in other histories written by "outsiders", as Celālzāde indicated.

Lastly, Celālzāde's style of exposition in *Ṭabaḳāt* certainly contributed to the consolidation of *inshā'* style he introduced in the Ottoman chancery. According to Hasan Çelebi, his father, Kınalızade Ali, used to criticize Celālzāde's style stating that it includes reiteration of same descriptive phrases, and that monotonous style is defective in terms of meaning.⁵⁸⁴ However, for Celālzāde, these reiterated descriptions served the purpose of creating an image of the Ottoman rule which is just, magnificent, all-powerful and eternal. For instance, Celālzāde never ignores to pray for the continuation of the Ottoman rule after he mentions sultan's name: "*ebbede (or ḥallede) Allahu mulkehu ilā yevmi'l-ḳiyāmet*" (may God make his rule eternal). Or, he is never tired of expressing his conviction that the Ottoman sultan is the most powerful and wealthy ruler in the history of mankind. When Celālzāde describes a campaign of Grand Vezir or a naval

⁵⁸⁴ "... vālid-i firdevs-mekān bu gūne gevher-efṣān olurlar idi ki: ekṣeriyā ṭumṭuraḳ-ı elfāz ile muḳayyed olduğundan cānib-i ma'nā ri'āyet olunmaḳdan ḳalur idi" Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretu'ş-Şuarā*, v. 2, p. 990.

battle of Barbaros Hayreddin, he states that the army of Islam attacked by seeking refuge in the grace of God, the miracles of the Prophet and the protecting influence of the sultan (*Allahın ‘ināyeti, peygamberin mu‘cizāti ve sultanın himmetiyle*). In short, *Ṭabaḳāt* succeeds in creating a persuasive image of the Ottoman rule in readers’ mind with the help of these repetitions, and it also supports the consolidation of *inshā’* style introduced by Celālzāde.

CHAPTER IV:

KANUN AND ITS FUNCTION IN THE AGE OF SULTAN SULEYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT AND CELĀLZĀDE'S CONTRIBUTION

4.1- The Term Kanun and its evolution in the 16th Century Ottoman Empire

The term *ḵānūn* originally denoted to “registers and lists recording land-taxes” and it was used in the administrations of Abbasids, Saljukids, Ilkhanids and Mamluks.⁵⁸⁵ Ottomans preferred to use *defter* for land registers but they continued to use the term *ḵānūn* with the meaning of “tax” and *ḵānūnnāme* to refer to the list of land taxes and the methods of raising them. The Ilkhanid administration called the office responsible from

⁵⁸⁵ Halil İnalcık, “Ḵānūn” *EI2*, v. 4, p. 558.

the land registers as “*bayt al-ḳānūn*”, which is equivalent of Ottoman “*defterhāne*”.⁵⁸⁶

The earliest Ottoman *ḳānūnnāmes* were probably preserved in the *defterhāne* following the Ilkhanid tradition. *Sancaḳ ḳānūnnāmes*, showing taxes and regulations for each province, were inserted to the first pages of land registers (*taḥrīr defteri*) in the reign of Bayezid II. The oldest surviving *sancak ḳānūnnāme* was composed for Bursa province in 892/1487.⁵⁸⁷

As İnalçık stated: “As a development from the meaning “financial regulations”, *ḳānūn* came to mean legal prescriptions independent of the *shari‘a* laid down by the sultan by virtue of his authority as ruler”.⁵⁸⁸ A limited legislative power was already recognized by the *shari‘a* for the ruler of Islamic community to issue decrees relating to the fields not covered by *shar‘ī* orders, but legislative activities of the early Ottoman sultans were not within the limits of *shari‘a*. Mehmed the Conqueror’s extensive legislative activities was legitimized with reference to ‘*urf*, ruler’s independent law-making power.⁵⁸⁹ The Ottoman understanding of ‘*urf* in the 15th and 16th centuries was different from the ‘*urf* prescribed by *shari‘a*:⁵⁹⁰ it was largely a continuation of Turko-Mongol state tradition which was pursued by Ilkhanids, Golden Horde and Timurids.⁵⁹¹ This understanding of ‘*urf* was expressed in the works of some 15th century Ottoman

⁵⁸⁶ *ibid*, p. 558.

⁵⁸⁷ Halil İnalçık, “Ḳānūnnāme” *EI2*, v. 4, p. 562, Ö. L. Barkan, *15 ve 16. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirāi Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları, Kanunlar*, İstanbul, 1943, pp. 1-6. A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v. 2, pp. 179-187.

⁵⁸⁸ Halil İnalçık, “Ḳānūn” *EI2*, v. 4, p. 558.

⁵⁸⁹ Halil İnalçık, “Mehammed II” *EI2*, v. 6, p. 980.

⁵⁹⁰ For a discussion of Ibn Taymiya’s and Dede Efendi’s views on ‘*urf* and *siyāsa al-shar‘iyya* see Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973, pp.199-203.

⁵⁹¹ Halil İnalçık, “Mehammed II” *EI2*, v. 6, p. 980, *idem*, “Ḳānūnnāme” *EI2*, v. 4, p. 562. For Ottoman state tradition see also H. İnalçık, “State, Sovereignty and Law During the reign of Süleyman” in *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, eds. Halil İnalçık and Cemal Kafadar, İstanbul, ISIS Press, 1993, p. 76, “Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law” *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 1 (1969), 105-138, “Osmanlı Hukukuna Giriş, Örfi-Sultani Hukuk ve Fatih’in Kanunları” *AÜ. SBF Dergisi*, v. XIII, (1958), 102-126, “Kutadgu Biligde Türk ve İran Siyaset Nazariye ve Gelenekleri” in *Reşit Rahmeti Arat İçin*, Ankara, TKAE, 1966, pp. 259-275.

writers, such as Tursun Bey's *Tārīḥ-i Ebu'l-Feth*, and Ahmedī's (d. 815/1413) *Iskendernāme*.⁵⁹²

Mehmed II was probably the most influential Ottoman ruler who contributed to the development of *ḳānūn* from the meaning of "financial regulations" to "legal prescriptions independent of the *shari'a*", by his decrees on various subjects and by codification of his general *ḳānūnnāme* on state organization. Mehmed II had issued several *ḳānūnnāmes* or *ḳānūn-ḥukms* reforming financial administration and increasing revenue sources for his centralized empire.⁵⁹³ But, his real achievement was the introduction of a *ḳānūnnāme* regulating basic administration of the empire: hierarchy of officials and departments in the center and in the provinces, state protocol, palace organization, *medrese* education etc. were all covered in Mehmed II's *ḳānūnnāme*.⁵⁹⁴ Though the earliest surviving copy of Mehmed II's *ḳānūnnāme* belong to the 17th century and there are some anachronistic elements in the text, it is certain that Mehmed II issued a general *ḳānūnnāme* probably in the last years of his reign.⁵⁹⁵ Mehmed II's innovation strengthened the understanding of *ḳānūn* as a body of laws regulating every aspect of state organization, which is not restricted with the financial matters.

Bayezid II's reign (1481-1512) witnessed codification of the Ottoman general *ḳānūnnāme* in a more elaborate and systematized way. The earliest surviving copy of

⁵⁹² Tursun Beg, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, (eds.) Halil İncalcık and Rhoads Murphey, Chicago, American Research Institute, 1978, pp. 12-3. Nihad Sami Banarlı "Ahmedī ve Dāsītān-i Tevāriḥ-i Āl-i Osmān", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, v. 6 (1936-39), pp. 49-135.

⁵⁹³ For those *ḳānūn-ḥukms* see Halil İncalcık, Robert Anhegger, *Ḳānūnnāme-i Sultānī ber Mūceb-i 'Örf-i 'Osmānī*, Ankara, TTK, 1956, Halil İncalcık, *Fatih Devri Üzerine Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, Ankara, TTK, 1954.

⁵⁹⁴ For a new critical edition of Mehmed II's *ḳānūnnāme* see, Abdülkadir Özcan, ed., *Kānunnāme-i Āl-i Osman*, İstanbul, Kitabevi, 2003.

⁵⁹⁵ Halil İncalcık, "Mehmed II", p. 980, and "Suleiman The Lawgiver ...", p. 109. For a discussion of views on the authenticity of Mehmed II's law see Abdülkadir Özcan, *Kānunnāme-i Āl-i Osman*, pp. XI-XIX.

Bayezid II's *ḳānūnnāme* is dated 907/1501, so it must have been promulgated before this date.⁵⁹⁶ Bayezid II's *ḳānūnnāme* includes Mehmed II's penal law with some additions but it does not include Mehmed II's *ḳānūnnāme* on state organization. In addition to penal law, Bayezid II's *ḳānūnnāme* contains two chapters on laws regulating rights and obligations of *sipāhī* soldiers, and *re'āyā*, which were mostly not found in Mehmed II's *ḳānūnnāme*. As Halil İncalcık indicated, *ḳānūnnāmes* of Anatolia (especially *Hudāvendigār*), Karaman and Semendre were sources of the general *ḳānūnnāme* of Bayezid II.⁵⁹⁷ As a result of conciliatory policy followed by the Ottomans since the early years, pre-conquest taxes and practices of a province were not immediately abolished by the Ottoman administration. They took their place in the general *ḳānūnnāme* as local practices. But the Ottoman law as it is expressed in Bayezid II's *ḳānūnnāme* has become the main source for the typical laws to be introduced in newly conquered provinces. Bayezid II's *ḳānūnnāme* formed the model for later *ḳānūnnāmes* during the 16th century, and Süleyman's celebrated *ḳānūnnāme* was not much different from his grandfather's *ḳānūnnāme*.⁵⁹⁸

The development of the Ottoman *ḳānūn* under the reign of Bayezid II was not limited with the codification of general *ḳānūnnāme*. Bayezid II issued *ḳānūnnāmes* regulating various fields of central and provincial administration, such as *ḳānūnnāme* of *ihtisāb* (regulations on crafts and prices), *ḳānūnnāme* of *devşirme*, *ḳānūnnāme* of *pençik*, and *ḳānūnnāme* of *nişancı rusumu* etc.⁵⁹⁹ As stated in previous chapter, the *inshā'* style of official documents issued by Ottoman chancery was reformed during

⁵⁹⁶ For Bayezid II's *ḳānūnnāme* see, A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v. 2, pp. 39-111.

⁵⁹⁷ Halil İncalcık, "Suleiman The Lawgiver ...", pp. 124-5.

⁵⁹⁸ See Halil İncalcık, "Suleiman The Lawgiver ...", pp. 117-125, and Halil İncalcık, "Ḳānūnnāme" v. 4, p. 562.

⁵⁹⁹ For these *ḳānūnnāmes* see, A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v. 2.

Bayezid II's reign by influential *nişancı* Tacizâde Cafer (*nişancı*: 1497-1511). Bayezid II's reign is also accepted as the formation period of classical Ottoman poetry and prose. It is not an exaggeration to state that codification of the Ottoman *ķānūnnāmes* gained momentum under the reign of Bayezid II, and it contributed greatly to the image of the Ottoman Empire as a *ķānūn*-regulated state.

After the conquests of Sultan Selim (1512-1520), naturally, we see a rapid increase in the number of provincial *ķānūnnāmes*: new Ottoman provincial *ķānūnnāmes* were prepared for the provinces of Damascus, Diyarbekir, Erzurum, Erzincan, Harput, Trablus, Tarsus, Sis, Bayburd, Ruha etc.⁶⁰⁰ Those *ķānūnnāmes* were mostly compiled in accordance with the local customs, but some taxes were abolished since they were regarded as contrary to *shari'a* and Ottoman law.⁶⁰¹ Most *ķānūnnāmes* of southeastern Anatolian provinces were compiled in 924/1518, and the compiler of these *ķānūnnāmes* explicitly stated that these laws were taken from Hasan Padişah's *ķānūn* (i.e. Akkoyunlu ruler; Uzun Hasan).⁶⁰² It is interesting that the title and explanatory note were written in Persian, and the same manner was repeated in Selim I's general *ķānūnnāme*. The oldest copy of Selim I's *ķānūnnāme* is dated June 1520, only three months before Selim's death.⁶⁰³ The compiler of the *ķānūnnāme* did not follow Bayezid II's *ķānūnnāme* as a model; articles were given under 22 topics (*fāşıl*), and they were not recorded in a systematic order. Bayezid II's *ķānūnnāme*, however, had organized topics under three chapters (*bāb*) in following way: Penal Law (chapter 1) with 4 topics, *sipāhī* related laws (2) with 7 topics and *re'aya* related laws (3) with 7 topics. And unlike Selim's

⁶⁰⁰ For Selim I's *ķānūnnāmes* see, A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v. 3.

⁶⁰¹ Halil İnalcık, "Suleiman The Lawgiver ...", p. 127. Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, pp. 154, 156, 170, 172.

⁶⁰² See *ķānūnnāmes* of Harput, Ergani, Ruha, Çirmik, Mardin, Diyarbekir, Arabgîr and Siverek in Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, pp. 145-173.

⁶⁰³ Yaşar Yücel, Selami Pulaha (eds.), *I. Selim Kanunnameleri*, Ankara, TTK, 1995, p. 146.

ḳānūnnāme, Bayezid II's *ḳānūnnāme* was written exclusively in Turkish, and it followed a systematic order, for instance descriptive or defining articles were placed at the beginning, exceptions, and regional differences were placed at the end of each topic. Whereas, first three topics of Selim's *ḳānūnnāme* contain articles about penal law, and it largely follows Bayezid's *ḳānūnnāme*. The remaining part of Selim's *ḳānūnnāme* has no discernible pattern; topics on *re'aya* and *sipāhī* related laws are followed by topics on penal law and financial regulations.

For the Ottoman central bureaucracy, Selim I's conquests meant preparation of new provincial *ḳānūnnāmes*, creation of new economic and administrative institutions and incorporation of new military classes (such as *mamluks*) into Ottoman system. In short, Ottoman *ḳānūn* collection increased considerably in the reign of Selim, and it contributed to legitimizing Ottoman rule by abolishing some of the old taxes. But it was in the reign of Sultan Süleyman that Ottoman *ḳānūn* collection reached a degree of standardization and it was enforced in the Ottoman domains including Eastern Anatolia, Syria and Iraq. Moreover, Ottoman *ḳānūn* extended to every field of administration and it regulated organization and hierarchy of offices, rights and obligations of different status groups such as military, *ḳalemiyye* and *ilmiyye*. With that capacity, Ottoman *ḳānūn* gained the status of the most important institution controlling and limiting powers of highest state authorities: grand vezir in the center and governors in the provinces.

Observance of justice was the most important principle of good administration according to traditional Islamic and Ottoman political philosophy. When Süleyman the Magnificent ascended to throne, his first actions aimed to demonstrate his justice by ordering release of imprisoned merchants, and execution (*siyāset*) of a *sancakbey* who

was oppressing people.⁶⁰⁴ Celālzāde presented in his *Ṭabaḳāt* many incidents that demonstrate sultan's concern for his subjects (*re'aya*), such as abolition of excessive taxation, charitable works, construction of bridges and aqueducts etc. But, the most important tool for the sultan to exercise justice was *siyāset* (discretionary punishments). In the *Ṭabaḳāt*, justice is depicted as a joint product of *ṣerī'at ḳānūn* and the sultan's discretionary punishments. The term *siyaset* was originally used to refer to the state administration; classical works for the art of government (mirrors for princes genre) formulate *siyāset* as government in accordance with justice. Later on, *siyaset* acquired the meaning of "physical punishments for offences against the state".⁶⁰⁵ The Ottomans used the term in both senses but they mostly preferred to use "*tedbir-i umūr*" for regular administrative practices. Süleyman conferred *tedbir-i umur* on his grand vezirs but he was cautious about controlling their power by personally appointing other high-ranking officials responsible for the administration of justice such as *nişancı*, and *kazasker*. When high-ranking officials failed to comply with laws, the sultan intervened in state administration with the second meaning of *siyaset*.

The sultanic authority was the source of Ottoman *ḳānūns*, and sultan himself was above the law.⁶⁰⁶ In Celālzāde's formulation, unlimited power would eventually cause oppression (*ẓulm*) if it is bestowed on ordinary man who does not have a perfect character and moral standing. Whereas, the Ottoman sultan, as "God's shadow on earth" has a unique position among human beings; he is distinguished with being supported by

⁶⁰⁴ Halil İnalçık, "Suleiman The Lawgiver ...", p. 110, *Ṭabaḳāt*, pp. 27b-28a.

⁶⁰⁵ C. E. Bosworth, "siyasa" *EI2*, v. 9, p. 694.

⁶⁰⁶ See, Halil İnalçık, "State, Sovereignty and Law ...", pp. 78-81.

God (*mueyyed min ‘indi Allah*) and recipient of “divine inspiration”.⁶⁰⁷ To conclude, Süleyman succeeded in establishing a sultanic image which combined two contradictory images: a law-abiding ruler and an omnipotent sovereign whose will was not limited.⁶⁰⁸ And the Ottoman bureaucracy served as a control apparatus for the observance of justice, and at the same time as a tool enabling sultan’s absolute power.

4.2- Codification of Ottoman Laws under the reign of Sultan Süleyman

Sultan Süleyman issued two general *ḳānūnnāmes* in his long reign. Süleyman’s first general *ḳānūnnāme* belongs to the early years of his reign and it is modeled on Selim I’s *ḳānūnnāme*.⁶⁰⁹ It consisted of 21 topics (*faşıl*), and they were not categorized under chapters (*bāb*). It is largely a reproduction of Selim’s *ḳānūnnāme*, but it includes copies of two imperial edicts (a *fermān* and a *berāt*) issued in the form of *ḳānūnnāme*.⁶¹⁰ One of them was issued in Racab 929/June 1523, the other has no date but it was issued apparently in the early years of Süleyman’s reign. First lines of *ḳānūnnāme* explains purpose of compilation with Süleyman’s words:

“... atam ve dedem (...) nazar kılmışlar ve görmüşler kim zalimler mazlumlara zulm kılub, hadden tecāvüz edüb re‘āyanın hāli mükedder olub ve ol sebebdan Kānūn-i Osmānī vaz‘ etmişler imiş. Yine ben dahi

⁶⁰⁷ “zıll’u-llahî fi’l-arz, âyine-i âzamîr-i munîr-i ḥusrevânî ki medâr-i ilhāmât-i Rabbânîdir” Celâlîzâde Mustafa, *Tabakât*, p. 143a, 178a-b. Celâlîzâde also describes Sultan as “mehdi-i âḥîru’z-zaman” in p. 134b.

⁶⁰⁸ Halil İnalçık, “State, Sovereignty and Law ...”, pp. 79.

⁶⁰⁹ For Süleyman’s *ḳānūnnāme* see, A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v.4, pp. 294-360.

⁶¹⁰ *ibid*, pp. 320, 323. Their form also looks like ‘*adāletnāmes*’ of late 16th century, for ‘*adāletnāmes*’ see Halil İnalçık, “Adāletnāmeler” *Belgeler*, v. 2 (1965), no. 3-4, pp. 49-145.

buyurdum ki beğlerbeğiler ve sancak beğiler ve çeribaşılar ve subaşılar ve sipāhiler bu Kānūn-i Osmānī üzere re‘āyadan hukuk ve rūsūm taleb edeler, ziyade zulm ederler ise ‘itāb-i elīmime müstahak olurlar, şöyle bileler, itimad kılalar.”⁶¹¹

As the introductory note and aforementioned two imperial edicts indicate, Süleyman’s first *ḳānūnnāme* was probably issued and sent to provinces in the early years of Süleyman’s reign to demonstrate his adherence to justice. So, Süleyman’s *ḳānūnnāme* resembles ‘*adāletnāmes* of later sultans. As Halil İnalcık stated: “The Ottoman sultans after Suleiman I published ‘*adāletnāmes* instead of *ḳānūnnāmes* and their content became more and more elaborate”.”⁶¹²

Sultan Süleyman’s second general *ḳānūnnāme* was issued probably between the years 1539-1541. The oldest manuscript of Sultan Süleyman’s famous code is dated Shawwal 952/December 1545.⁶¹³ In the light of his studies on *ḳānūnnāme* manuscripts and contemporary sources, Uriel Heyd concludes that Sultan Süleyman’s new criminal code was compiled by Celālzāde Mustafa under the grand vezirate of Lutfi Pasha, i.e. between Safer 946/July 1539 and Muharrem 948/April 1541.⁶¹⁴ Süleyman’s new *ḳānūnnāme* was almost identical with Bayezid II’s *ḳānūnnāme* in terms of content and form: only three articles out of 252 were amended in Süleyman’s *ḳānūnnāme*.⁶¹⁵ One of the amendments deals with *yaya* troops (auxiliary military forces) and it states that though they were obliged to pay a fixed amount (40 *akçe*) under the name of *arpa* and *buğday akçesi* according to previous *ḳānūnnāme*, it was decided that they would pay

⁶¹¹ A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v.4, p. 296.

⁶¹² H. İnalcık, , “Suleiman The Lawgiver ...”, p.136.

⁶¹³ Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973, p. 25.

⁶¹⁴ Uriel Heyd, *Studies...*, p. 27.

⁶¹⁵ Of course article numbers were added hypothetically in modern editions, there are no numbered articles in original *ḳānūnnāme-i Osmānī*. See A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v.4, pp. 294-360.

aforementioned tax in kind, namely half *müdd arpa* and *buğday*.⁶¹⁶ Other two amendments deal with the collection of tax revenues known as *resm-i nikāh* (marriage tax) of military class and *resm-i ganem* (sheep tax), and it concludes that they were collected by *kazasker* and *sancak beg* respectively.⁶¹⁷ Süleyman's new *ḳānūnnāme* did not bring about a change in the amount of fixed taxes and fines such as *resm-i çift* and *cerāim*.⁶¹⁸ Similarly, new articles were not inserted into *ḳānūnnāme* to reveal tax ratios of recently conquered provinces. For instance, Bayezid II's *ḳānūnnāme* presented various amounts collected as *çift-resmi* in different provinces: regular *çift resmi* was 36 *akçe*, but it was 42 in Hamid province and 30 in Antalya etc. After a period of transition, *çift resmi* was introduced in Syria and in the eastern Anatolian provinces under Süleyman with a rate of 40 *akçe* and 50 *akçe* respectively, which was not reflected in Süleyman's *ḳānūnnāme*.⁶¹⁹

Although Süleyman the Magnificent's general *ḳānūnnāme* did not provide an updated and enlarged collection of Ottoman *ḳānūns*, they were preserved in provincial *ḳānūnnāmes* issued under Süleyman. In fact, it can be asserted that Süleyman's fame as *Kānūnī* originated from his achievement in establishing *ḳānūn-i osmānī* as a standard work of reference, rather than the originality of his *ḳānūnnāme*. As stated above, Selim I's provincial *ḳānūnnāmes* for newly conquered lands (eastern Anatolia, Syria, Egypt) were largely compilation of previous laws applied under Akkoyunlu and Mamluks. New provincial *ḳānūnnāmes* were issued for these regions in accordance with Ottoman tax

⁶¹⁶ *ibid*, p. 389.

⁶¹⁷ *ibid*, pp. 384-5.

⁶¹⁸ Under Bayezid II's reign, gold-akçe ratio was 1/52, which increased to 1/59 in 1526, see Şevket Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire" in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, v. 2, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 947-960.

⁶¹⁹ For *çift resmi* see, H. İnalcık, "Osmanlılarda Raiyyet Rusūmu" *Belleten*, XXVIII (1959), pp. 575-610, and *idem*, "Çift Resmi" *ET2*, v. 2, p. 32..

system under the reign of Süleyman. As a result of replacing many local taxes with a few composite ottoman tax (for instance *resm-i çift*), these provincial *ḳānūnnāmes* were prepared using relatively simple Ottoman tax terminology and they merely referred to *ḳānūn-i osmānī* in some sections. For instance, Selim I's *ḳānūnnāme* of Diyarbekir (1518) enumerated five taxes imposed on a farmer, which amounted to 46 *akçe* in total. Whereas, Süleyman's *ḳānūnnāme* (dated 1540) mentions only *resm-i çift* (50 *akçe*) and *irgadiye* (6 *akçe*) as taxes imposed on a *çiftlik*.⁶²⁰ Besides, the compiler of the *ḳānūnnāme* merely referred to the *ḳānūn-i osmānī* in some sections, stating that "in this matter the Ottoman law will be applied".⁶²¹

Like his predecessor, Sultan Süleyman also issued *ḳānūnnāmes* relating to specific groups (*yaya*, *müsellem*, *eflak*), state organization and protocol, financial administration and 'ilmiyye. One of the sultan's *ḳānūnnāmes* in the form of imperial decree is particularly interesting to reveal reproduction of *ḳānūnnāmes* in the Ottoman chancery: Süleyman's *kānūn-i rusūm-i berevāt* which pronounces fees of official documents to be paid by the recipient, state that those who receive a copy of *kānūnnāme* will pay 120 *akçe*: "*ve ümerāya verilen yasaḳnāmelerden ve re'āya için yazılan ḳānūnnāmelerden ve mu'afnāmelerden yüz yirmişer akçe alına*".⁶²²

Another important development of the period relating to the Ottoman laws can be described as 'islamization' of *ḳānūnnāmes*: as H. İnalcık demonstrated, Ebussuud attempts to reconcile Ottoman laws with Islamic legal tradition by producing treatises (*risāle*) and *fetvās* that explain the Ottoman practice with Islamic concepts began in the

⁶²⁰ Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, pp. 132, 145.

⁶²¹ "ḳānūn-i Osmānīye mürāca'at olunub ziyāde alınmaya", Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, pp. 117, 136, 207, 216.

⁶²² A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v.4, p. 674.

last years of Süleyman's reign and continued in the reign of Selim II.⁶²³ As Uriel Heyd indicated, some manuscripts of Süleyman's *ḳānūnnāme* include numerous 'corrections' in the form of marginal notes added in the late sixteenth century. "Most of the marginal notes abrogate or correct statutes of the criminal code because they contradict the *sharī'a*. 'The injunction of the holy law is valid; there is no *ḳānūn* [in this matter] (*emr-i şer' mu'teberdir, ḳānūn(ı) yokdur*) is the most common note."⁶²⁴ It seems that Islamization of the Ottoman laws was an administrative necessity resulted from opposition with Safavids, and bureaucratic expansion as well as Süleyman's personal preference: as stated above (in the first chapter), as a reaction to Safavids' *shi'i* ideology Ottomans emphasized on *sunnī* Islam. *Ḳānūn* and *şerī'at* were accepted by the civil bureaucracy as the most important elements of good administration, that prevents oppression of military officials (grand vezir, vezirs and governors). Therefore, '*ulemā*-bureaucrats endeavored to improve Ottoman laws by reconciling *ḳānūn* and *şerī'at*.

4.3- Celālzāde's contribution to the codification of Ottoman Laws

Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi occupied the post of *Nişancı* (Chancellor) which means *Mufti of Kanun*,⁶²⁵ and his share in designating Süleyman by honorary title *Kānūnī* is undeniable. Sultan Süleyman was described as the propagator of the Sultanic laws (*nāşiru'l-ḳavānīni's-sulṭāniyye*) in the inscription of Süleymaniye Mosque

⁶²³ See Halil İncılık, "Islamization of Ottoman Laws on Land and Land tax" in *Festgabe an Josef Matuz : Osmanistik – Turkologie – Diplomatie*, eds., C. Fragner and K. Schwarz, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1992, pp. 101-118, and H. İncılık, , "Suleiman The Lawgiver ...", p. 132.

⁶²⁴ Uriel Heyd, *Studies...*, p. 149.

⁶²⁵ Halil İncılık, "Osmanlı Hukukuna Giriş: Örfi-Sultani Hukuk ve Fatih'in Kanunarı" AÜ. SBF Dergisi, v. XIII, (1958), p. 112.

composed by Mufti Ebussuud.⁶²⁶ As stated above, real achievement of Süleyman was the expansion and standardization of the ottoman laws rather than issuing new *ķānūns*. Celālzāde Mustafa took a leading role in this project from the beginning of Süleyman's reign.

It seems that Selim I did not issue a *ķānūnnāme* for Egypt after the conquest, he conferred the administration of Egypt on an ex-mamluk governor, Hayır Bey with the title of *nāibu's-saltāna* (deputy of the sultan).⁶²⁷ First *ķānūnnāme* of Egypt was issued by Sultan Süleyman and it was largely compiled by Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi when he was serving as *tezkireci* for the grand vezir. Like all of provincial *ķānūnnāmes*, *ķānūnnāme* of Egypt contain articles about the rights and responsibilities of military classes as well as financial responsibilities of the local people. But *kanunname* of Egypt differed from other *ķānūnnāmes* by giving priority to the organization and size of military classes. *Kānūnnāme* begins with articles on the military classes, which reflects central administration's primary concern: the stability and security in Egypt.

Celālzāde Mustafa do not emphasize his role in the codification of *ķānūnnāme*, he narrates the compilation process as an achievement of grand vezir Ibrahim Pasha. The long and ornate introduction (*mukaddime*) of the *ķānūnnāme* which is authored by Celālzāde, contains statements about the necessity of Sultan's legislative duties, people's need for laws and praise of Ottoman family. Here Celālzāde compares Sultan with prophets and saints (*evliya*) and he narrates events that led to the codification of *ķānūnnāme* by Ibrahim Pasha.⁶²⁸ In *Ṭabaķāt*, Celālzāde states that upon complaints

⁶²⁶ Halil İnalçık, "State, Sovereignty and Law ...", p. 67

⁶²⁷ A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v.4, p. 434.

⁶²⁸ For *Mukaddime of Kanunname* see *Tercüme-i Kavanin-i Cevahir-Nizam*, manuscript, Süleymaniye Library, Esad, 1827, f. 1b-12a. After a long section on praise of Sultan, Celālzāde concludes with these

“[Ibrahim] Pasha handled the issue with utmost care, making found the oldest registers from the time of Mamluks, the just laws from the time of late Kayıtbay –may the paradise be his resting place- of Kansu Guri and Hayır Bey are examined, (...) consequently a moderate law was prepared in a way that do not cause any loss for Sultan’s treasury and do not harm tax-paying subjects.”⁶²⁹ Celälzâde adds that after the codification of *ķānūnnāme*, it was sent to the capital and approved by the sultan.

Sultan Süleyman’s *ķānūnnāme* of Egypt was the first and only *ķānūnnāme* issued for the province, and it included articles on the basic organization of provincial administration, military troops, financial and administrative officials and institutions, rights and obligations of *re’āya* and definition of taxes.⁶³⁰ It is quite different from a typical Ottoman provincial *ķānūnnāme* and it largely maintains Mamluk institutions of tax collecting in rural areas, such as *kāşıfs*, *şuyūh al-‘rab* and *‘ummāl*.⁶³¹ On the other hand, the *ķānūnnāme* abolished some taxes and dues such as *resm-i kesr-i vezn* or *der-āmed*, which were described as unjust innovations (*bid’at*).⁶³² An important section of the *ķānūnnāme* on taxes ends with these words: “‘āmmē-i memlekete i’lām ve i’lān oluna ki Kayıtbay zamanından [i.e. 1468-1496] sonra mütezāyid olan rūsūmı ‘ummāle ve mübāşirīne vermeyeler”.⁶³³

words; “Nebī değildi velī ol güzide-i hulka /Cemi-i hulkını virmiş nebilerin Hālīk / Velāyet ehli kamu gördüler kerāmetini / Velī denilse o şāh-ı vilāyete lāyık”, f. 5b.

⁶²⁹ “Paşā-yı sa’d-encām bu bābda ziyāde ihtimāmlar idüb sinīn-i sābıkada vāķi’ olan defātir-i qādimeyi buldurub selātīn-i Ćerākiseden merhūm Kayıtbāy-i cennet-cāy ve bihişt-me’vā zamanlarında ma’mūlun bih olan kavānīn-i ‘adl-āyini getürüb şonra Kansu Gūri devrinde ba’dehū Hayır Bey eyyāmında icrā olunan umūru ma’lūm idinüb (...) hāzīne-i Sulṭāna ne kuşūr ve taķşir ve ne re’ayā-yı memlekete ‘özü ve zulme tevfir olunsun diyü i’tidāl üzere miyāne bir ķānūn-i ‘adl-maķrūn koyub”, *Ṭabaķāt*, p. 127a.

⁶³⁰ For *ķānūnnāme* of Egypt see A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v.6, pp. 86-140, Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, pp. 355-387.

⁶³¹ Seyyid Muhammed es-Seyyid Mahmud, *16. Asırda Mısır Eyaleti*, pp. 88-9.

⁶³² A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v.6, pp. 124-6.

⁶³³ *ibid*, p. 125.

According to the *ḳānūnnāme*, five military divisions were created to defend Egypt and to secure the Ottoman rule. The *ḳānūnnāme* described the size, administration, salary (*‘ulūfe*) and training of these troops in detail, and it signified that four of these divisions will be recruited among Ottoman soldiers and the fifth one (*cemā‘at-i ḳerākise*) will be commanded by Ottoman officials (*ağası ve kethüdāsi ve kātibi Rumlu tāifesinden ola*).⁶³⁴ These military divisions and their size were given in the *ḳānūnnāme* : *gönüllüiyān* (cavalry force, 1100), *tüfenkçiyān-i süvārī* (cavalry, 900), *mustahfizān* (infantry, 1000), *‘azebān* (infantry, 1000) and *ḳerākise* (cavalry, 1000). According to the *ḳānūnnāme*, three divisions (*tüfenkçiyān-i süvārī*, *mustahfizān* and *‘azebān*) were armed with muskets and the production and possession of fire arms were strictly forbidden for the rest of the population: “*ve ḥisār eriyle ‘azebden veya atlu tüfenkçiden gayrı kimesneye tüfenk şatılmaya, āḥar kimesnede tüfenk olsa getirüb beğlerbeğiye ve nāzır-i emvāle ‘arż oluna ki değer bahāsiyla beğliḡe alına. Şöyle ki ba‘de’t-tenbīh getürmeyüb elinde bulunursa girift olduğdan sonra şāḥibini şalb edeler.*”⁶³⁵

The *ḳānūnnāme* of Egypt emphasized sultan’s respect for justice and holy law in the introduction (*muḳaddime*) and throughout the text. One of the articles is interesting to demonstrate sultan’s respect for holy law: *ḳānūnnāme* of Egypt made it clear that the sultan banned consumption of alcoholic beverages, and no revenue was recorded in the *ḳānūnnāme*, that comes from *muḳāṭa‘a* of *meyḥānes* and *bozaḥānes*. Moreover, “a shameful custom” (*‘ādet-i ḳabīḥa*) of Egyptians that is practiced in wedding ceremonies was abolished as well: “... *gelin olacak kız yedi def‘a, her def‘ada bir türlü va‘zla ve*

⁶³⁴ ibid, p. 107.

⁶³⁵ ibid, p. 103.

libasla yedi dürlü şūrete girüb ol meclise gelüb nice dürlü lu‘b ve lehv ve raqs eyleyüb cemī‘ ehl-i meclis şuratına aķçe yapışdırurlarmış, bu dahī hīlāf-i muķteżā-yi şer‘-i muṭahḥar olmağın ref‘ olundu.”⁶³⁶

As stated above, Celālzāde is credited with having a *ķānūnnāme* named after him: *Celālzāde ķānūnnāmesi*. As Halil İnalçık stated, “in the Ottoman empire *ķānūnnāme* was occasionally extended to refer to regulations which vezirs and pashas had enacted (Kasım Pasha *ķānūnnāmesi*), laws which a competent authority had formulated (e.g., the *ķānūnnāme* of the *nishancı* Celālzāde) or to reform projects (e.g., the *ķānūnnāme* of Ibshir Pasha).”⁶³⁷ Many manuscripts of the *Celālzāde Kānūnnāmesi* can be found in the Istanbul libraries.⁶³⁸ Although there are differences between the size and content of those manuscripts, *Celālzāde Kanunnamesi* contains rulings about *yaya* and *müsellem* troops, *yörüks*, *çeltük* (rice cultivation) and various rulings and definitions on *timar*, *sipahis* and land taxes. In fact, only articles of criminal law were not included in the *ķānūnnāme* of Celālzāde. Contents of Celālzāde’s *ķānūnnāme* can be classified into three category: first, some articles are the exact copy of the articles found in the general *ķānūnnāme* of Sultan Süleyman. Second, some articles give a detailed definition of the terms used in the Ottoman tax system and briefly explained in the general *ķānūnnāme*. Third, this group includes articles on subjects not covered by the general *ķānūnnāme*, or they explain various complicated cases. Moreover, Celālzāde’s *ķānūnnāme* contains articles slightly different from the general *ķānūnnāme*. For

⁶³⁶ *ibid*, p. 130.

⁶³⁷ Halil İnalçık, “Kānunnāme” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., v.4, p. 562.

⁶³⁸ For a list of manucripts see Appendix 2, three *Celālzāde Kanunnāmesi* were published by Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnāmeleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, v. 7, İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1994, pp. 221-359.

instance, Süleyman's *ķānūnnāme* gives the size of a *ķiftlik* (basic land unit) as 60 *dönüm* in fertile soil, or as 80-90 *dönüm* and 120-130 *dönüm* in less fertile soil. Whereas Celālzāde's *ķānūnnāme* gives the size as 70-80 *dönüm* in fertile soil, and 100 *dönüm* and 130-150 *dönüm* in less fertile soil.⁶³⁹

Celālzāde's *ķānūnnāme* is very detailed in topics relating to amount and definitions of various taxes. For instance, it gives a detailed list of people who are exempt from *resm-i ra'yyet* or *ispençe* (for non-Muslims): imams, priests, descendants of the Prophet (*seyyids*), disabled persons, members of *ilmiyye* (*kadı*, *muderris* and *dānişmend*), and janissaries.⁶⁴⁰ Similarly, it presents elaborate description of various taxes, dues and method and time of tax collection, which cannot be found in the general *ķānūnnāme*. Some of the articles deal with issues which were not covered by any *ķānūnnāme*, but they were subject of imperial decrees, such as the list of goods which are forbidden to trade with the infidels.⁶⁴¹ Or, legal fee of a *mübāşir* (who collects money on behalf of someone in distant provinces) was given in Celālzāde's *ķānūnnāme* in a range between 0,5% and 2,5%.⁶⁴²

Celālzāde's *ķānūnnāme* also contains verdicts on frequently seen disputes, and most of them are related with the allocation of tax revenues between the old and new beneficiaries. An interesting case which contrasts with the image of Sultan Süleyman as depicted in the *ķānūnnāme* of Egypt, deals with the problem of revenues from *meyhānes*: "*bir sancaķda ya bir ze'āmetde meyhāne ķāşıl yazılub bād-i hevāsı bir yıla ya iki üç yıla şatılsa 'āmil-i meyhāne eşhür-i ĥurumda [i.e. sacred months] tutulmadı*

⁶³⁹ One dönüm equals approximately 1000 sq. m., see H. İnalçık, "Çiftlik" EI2, v. 2, p. 33. A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v.4, p. 307 and v. 6 pp. 295, 323.

⁶⁴⁰ A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v.6, pp. 286, 292, 293, 329, 330.

⁶⁴¹ *ibid*, p. 322.

⁶⁴² *ibid*, p. 284.

deyü nizā‘ edüb kıstını aşığa teklif etse kıānün budur ki bir ‘āmile ki bir iş şatılır eşhür-i ħurum müstešnā olmaz ...”⁶⁴³

Celālzāde’s *ķānūnnāme* was probably compiled from the imperial edicts (*fermān*, *berāt*) which were issued either as an ‘*adāletnāme*’ or as a response to governors’ questions. A few of them were preserved in *ķānün* collections, such as the *fermān* of 937/1530 on *timār* addressing to governor of Rumelia Behram Pasha, and the *nişān* of 943/1536.⁶⁴⁴ Celālzāde Mustafa explained *ķānün*-related issues in his private letters addressing to province governors as well, and these letters are another proof of his contribution to the codification of Ottoman laws.⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 331.

⁶⁴⁴ For the text of *fermān* and *nişān* see A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v.4, pp. 563-585, for similar *fermāns* see *idem*, v.6, pp. 177-182.

⁶⁴⁵ For Celālzāde’s letter to the governor of Karaman see, A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, v.6, pp. 55-9.

CHAPTER V:

CONCLUSION

16th century Ottoman history reveals the realization of one of the greatest examples of Near Eastern empires founded according to the traditional concepts of statecraft and under the spirit of *gaza*. As expressed by many middle age thinkers of the Muslim world, such as Miskawayh, Ghazali, Tusi and Amasi of early Ottoman period, the traditional formulation of statecraft centers on the concept of “justice”. When the Ottoman Empire acquired the leading position in Islamic world in the 16th century, it is not suprising that Muslim world witnessed the reproduction and articulation of the same ideas in the works of Ottoman *‘ulemā*-bureaucrats, scholars and litterati. The realization of the traditional political ideals under the reign of Sultan Süleyman, and the appraisal and reproduction of classical Islamic political literature rewarded Süleyman with the title *Kanuni* “the Lawgiver or Lawabiding”. Süleyman was regarded as the third greatest Ottoman Sultan after his great grandfather Mehmed II “the Conqueror” and his father Selim “the Grim”. Though Süleyman’s military achievements were in no way less than those of his ancestors, in fact he earned more brilliant victories, but his fame as a soldier was shadowed by his image as a “law-abiding” and “just” sultan. Without doubt, age of Süleyman the Magnificent can better be described by administrative, cultural and artistic

developments commissioned by Sultan rather than the military achievements of him. This study set out to explore effects of bureaucratic expansion by focusing on the career and works of an influential 16th century bureauacrat and intellectual, Celālzāde Mustafa. Among the findings of this study, the major developments that came about in the field of administration and political thought in the reign of Süleyman can be summarized as follows:

After Selim I's conquests, the Ottoman administration was in need of more qualified personnel, and this need was largely met by recruiting *medrese* graduates especially in the Chancery. Most of *reisulkuttābs* and *nişancıs* of the 16th century came from the 'ulemā families, and they began to work as *kātib* in the Ottoman chancery after *medrese* education. This tendency began to change in the second half of the 16th century, and *şākird* system training provided the personnel needed for bureaucracy. Eventually, scribes of the Chancery (*kalemiyye*) regarded *medrese* graduates as outsiders, as members of another path ('*ilmiyye*). In parallel to the expansion of central bureaucracy, its ranks became restricted to the *kuttāb* who began their career as *şākird* in the central bureaus or, as *kātib* in low-ranking posts of various administrative units in the center and in provinces, such as *emānets*, *kitābets* and *tevliyets*. In addition to their administrative and financial services, these institutions served as transitional places for members of military who wanted to pursue scribal career. On the other hand, chancery and treasury scribes began to be enlisted in the elite military divisions in the reign of Süleyman, such as *silahdār*, *sipāhī* and *müteferrika*, as a result of promotion. The practice of recruiting members of elite military corps in the civil administration -especially in financial departments- continued after the reign of Süleyman with an increasing momentum.

Military achievements and geographic expansion of early 16th century led Ottoman officials to regard themselves as the members of the most powerful administration. This belief in the supremacy of Ottoman rule had an important effect on the administrative innovations and political discourse of the period. Concomitant with the development of classical Ottoman poetry and prose, Ottoman Chancery ceased to issue *‘ahidnāmes* and *fetihnāmes* in Arabic, Persian, Greek or Latin, and the Ottoman Turkish became the exclusive language of the chancery. Similarly, Ottoman chancery introduced new formulas to be used in the imperial documents reflecting the supremacy of the Ottoman sultan. Central administration’s concern for keeping the distant provinces such as Egypt under the Ottoman rule was another important factor shaping administrative innovations of early 16th century. Some of these novelties proved unsuccessful such as the delegation of sultanic power to the grand vezir. Whereas, some of them were quite useful, such as the expansion of an autonomous bureaucracy responsible from the observance of Ottoman laws vis-à-vis powerful grand vezirs in the center and governors in the provinces. Sultan Süleyman observed a balance of power between men of pen and men of sword by appointing vezirs exclusively from among his *kuls* and chief bureaucrats from among men of pen.

The conflict between the men of pen and men of sword is visible in the works of 16th century bureaucrat intellectuals, such as Idris-i Bitlīsī, Celālzāde and Mustafa Ali. Men of sword were usually depicted as ignorant and oppressive figures in these works. Celālzāde portrayed grand vezir Ahmed as a man who did not even know the difference between justice and injustice. Chiefs of central bureaucracy enjoyed autonomy granted by Sultan Süleyman and they assumed responsibility of codification and observance of Ottoman laws. As the epithet “*Kānūnī*” signifies, most important

achievement of Süleyman's reign was in the field of law: thanks to the efforts of eminent bureaucrats, the Ottoman *ḵānūn* acquired a degree of standardization and it became the most important element in the political discourse supporting legitimacy of Ottoman rule.

The Ottoman bureaucracy did not only provide the tools for an effective administration of the state, but it also played an important role in the production of genuine Ottoman political understanding. The consolidation of Ottoman dynasty is a result of this genuine Ottoman political understanding articulated by members of bureaucracy. Eminent bureaucrats, like Celālzāde, regarded themselves as the guardians of Ottoman law and they served to the legitimation of the Ottoman Empire by describing it as a *kanun*-regulated state in their works. Besides, the Ottoman sultan was described as an abstract figure representing the source of just laws, stability, security and welfare of the country in histories composed by eminent bureaucrats. It is not a coincidence that 16th century Ottoman historiography and political literature was largely composed of works authored by '*ulemā*-bureaucrats. These works were mostly written in the elegant style of Ottoman chancery (*inshā'*) and they elaborated '*ulemā*-bureaucrats' conceptualization of the Ottoman polity.

The success of the Ottoman sultans –and especially Süleyman- in establishing effective and loyal administrative units, gifted the Ottoman dynasty with a long-lasting survival and gave it a unique place in the history of Muslim Near Eastern dynasties. The consolidation of Ottoman dynasty was a result of this genuine Ottoman administrative system and political culture promoted by the bureaucracy. However, it depended on active intervention of the sultan and autonomy of the bureaucracy vis-à-vis grand vezirs. It is not surprising that after Süleyman, charismatic sultans are only an exception like Murad IV, instead there are powerful *vezirs* who control bureaucracy. Therefore, study

of the Ottoman bureaucratic system in the reign of Süleyman is especially important to understand the state organization, ideology, and unique place of Ottoman history among other Near Eastern states.

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APPENDIX 1:

*Tevkîrî Celâlzâde inşasıyla İbrahîm Paşanın ser' askerlik berâtı sûretidir.*⁶⁴⁶

[Nişân-i şerîf-i 'alışân-i sâmi-mekân-i sulţanî

ve tuğra-yi ğarra-yi gitî-sitân-i ĥaķanî ĥükmü oldur ki]⁶⁴⁷

çün bi-ĥamdillahi tebâreke ve te'âla ve ĥüsn-i tevĥîkihi

bârgâh-i ehadiyyet ve dergâh-i şamediiyyetden ki maşdar-i menşûr-i pûr-nûr-i sa'âdet-

mevfûr-i [tuti'l-mulke men teşa]⁶⁴⁸

ve maţla'-i âfitâb-i yarlıĥ ve tuğra-yi [ma yefteĥillahu linnasi min rahmetin fela-mümsike

leha]⁶⁴⁹ dır

kemâl-i ĥudret ve meşiiyyet-i ilâhî

ve vufûr-i mevhibet-i irâdet-i nâ-mütenâhiden

ebvâb-i ĥazâin-i luţf

mefâtih-i aĥkâm-i mülk ve millet

çehre-i eyyâm-i devlet-i rûz-efzûn

ve ĥurre-i ğarra-yi sa'âdet-maķrunumdan⁶⁵⁰

meftûĥ olub

enâmil-i salţanat-iĥtiyâr

⁶⁴⁶ There are differences between the two copies of *berât*, which are preserved in Feridun Bey (hereafter F) and *Tabakât* (hereafter T). Here, text of (F) was followed and differences found in (T) were indicated in footnotes. Feridun Bey, *Münşeatu's-Selâtîn*, İstanbul, 1274/1858, v.1 p.544-546, and Celâlzâde Mustafa, *Geschichte Sultan Süleymân Kânunîs von 1520 bis 1557, Tabakât ul-Memâlik ve Derecât ul-Mesâlik*, Petra Kappert, ed., Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981, p.179b-182b.

⁶⁴⁷ nishan formula is lacking in T. it begins with "çün"

⁶⁴⁸ Suratu Al-i Imran, 26, "Thou givest Power to whom Thou pleasest" the *ayat* is lacking in (F)

⁶⁴⁹ Suratu Al-Fatir, 2, "What Allah out of His Mercy doth bestow on mankind there is none can withhold" the *ayat* is lacking in (F)

⁶⁵⁰ T : "makrunuma"

ve eyādī-i hilāfet-iktidarıma teslīm olundu, *yuhtaşşu bi-rahmetihi men yeşā*⁶⁵¹ [el-ayet]⁶⁵²

Her rüz zuhūr-i ‘avāṭıf-i bedayī‘-i rabbānī⁶⁵³

ve berüz-i leṭāif-i şanāyī‘-i subḥāniden⁶⁵⁴ -*celle celāluhu ve ‘amme nevāluhu*-

pay-i⁶⁵⁵ rāyāt-i zafer-simāt⁶⁵⁶ nuşret-ķarīn salṭanatım

ve *rafa’nāhu mekānan* ‘aliyyā⁶⁵⁷ mukteżāsınca

meyāmin-i fetḥ-mübīn ile⁶⁵⁸ evc-i ‘illiyyīne

ve şāhbāz-i çetr-i hümāyūn-i hümā-pervāz hilāfetimi

destyārī-i ve *yeşsuruke Allahu*⁶⁵⁹ *naşran azīzen*⁶⁶⁰ ile

küngüre-i ṭārem-i eflāka irişdirüb

evāmir ve nevāhī-i padişāhānemi

“aṭī‘u-llahe ve aṭī‘u’r-resule ve ulī’l-emri minkum”⁶⁶¹ müsted‘āsınca

yümn-i hidāyet-i lem-yezelisi murāfıķı ile

basīṭ-i zemīne şāmil ve cārī

ve merāsım-i dād-güsterī ve ‘adl-perverīde

[şīt u]⁶⁶² şadā-yi şāhānemi

aķṭār ve emşār-i baḥr u berrde

nefehāt-i nesāim-i şabā ve cenūba hem-‘inān kılub

⁶⁵¹ Suratu al-Bakara, 105. “Allah will choose for His special Mercy whom He will”

⁶⁵² It is lacking in T.

⁶⁵³ T: “bedayī‘-i ‘avāṭıf-i rabbānī”

⁶⁵⁴ T: “şanāyī‘-i leṭāif-i subḥāniden”

⁶⁵⁵ T: “kadr-i”

⁶⁵⁶ *Simāt* is lacking in T.

⁶⁵⁷ Suratu Meryem, 57. “we raised him to a lofty station”

⁶⁵⁸ “İle” is lacking in T.

⁶⁵⁹ It is lacking in T.

⁶⁶⁰ Suratu al-Fetih, 3. “And that Allah may help thee with powerful help”

⁶⁶¹ Suratu’n-Nisa: 59. “obey Allah, and obey the Messenger, and those charged with authority among you.”

⁶⁶² “şīt” is lacking in F.

muğlakāt-i beyyināt-i cihandarī
ve muhkemāt-i müteşabihāt-i kişver-güşâyiniñ fethini⁶⁶³
vufür-i fazīlet-i bī-nihāyesinden
elsine-i suyūf-i ābdār
ve aklām-i nüvvāb-i kām-kārim⁶⁶⁴
muḳayyed ve merbūṭ eyledi.
*zālike faẓlu'l-llāhi yu'tihi men yeşā'u vallahu zu'l-fazli'l 'aẓīm.*⁶⁶⁵
Ve maḳālīd-i taḳallūd-i umūr-i cihān ve cihānbānī
ve mefātīḥ-i intiẓām-i āḥvāl-i⁶⁶⁶ 'ālem ve 'ālemiyānī
keff-i kifāyet ve ḳabẓa-i iḳtidār-i vilāyetime müfevvez ḳılub
bisāt-i merātīb-i şevket ve iḳbālīmī
zırve-i 'ulyā-yi *es-sultān ẓıllullahi fi'l-arz* da basıṭ⁶⁶⁷ eyleyüb,
sürādikāt-i 'aẓāmet ve iclāl-i⁶⁶⁸ ferḥunde-fālīmī
evc-i mu'allā-yi *ve rafa'nā ba'zakum fevḳa ba'zin derecāt* üzere derc eyledi⁶⁶⁹
Mişbāḥ-i necāḥ-i ḥilāfet ve kāmkarī
ve sirāc-i vehhāc-i 'aẓāmet ve şehriyārīmī⁶⁷⁰
ki ḳandīl-i ābdār-i envār-i sa'ādet⁶⁷¹,
ve mişkat-i aṣṣār-i devlet ve siyādetdir,
ziyā-yi 'ālem-ārā ve rüşenā-yi cihān-bīnāsı ile

⁶⁶³ T: feth u hallini

⁶⁶⁴ T: kām-kārimde

⁶⁶⁵ Suratu'l-Hadid: 21. "that is the Grace of Allah, which He bestows on whom He pleases: and Allah is the Lord of Grace abounding." T: *zālike min faẓli'l-llāhi aleyne ve ale'n-nās*, Suratu Yusuf, 38.

⁶⁶⁶ T: Aḥvāl-i

⁶⁶⁷ T: bast.

⁶⁶⁸ T: iḳbāl-i

⁶⁶⁹ T: üzerine ref' eyledi.

⁶⁷⁰ T: şehriyārī ki

⁶⁷¹ T: ḳandīl-i envār-i tabdar-i sa'ādet

‘arşa-i mülk-i zemîni rûşen ve münevver kılub
 fevehât-i ‘abher-nekehât-i naşafet ve ‘adâlet
 ve nefehât-i ‘anber-şemmât⁶⁷² re’fet ve ‘inâyetim ile
 meşâmm [ve] dimâğ-i kâ’inâtı⁶⁷³ mu‘aţtar eyledi.
el-ḥamdulillāhillezi hedānā li-hazā [ve mā-künnā lenehtediye levlā en- hedānā Allah]⁶⁷⁴.
 Ki ‘arşa-i salţanat ve cihāndārī
 temām-i füşhatde
 ve dā’ire-i mülk ve ıttā-i iklīm
 kemāl-i vüs‘atdedir.
 Fe-lā cerm meyāmin-i tevfiķāt-i ilāhi
 ve maḥāsin-i te’yidāt-i nā-mütenāhī
 rûz-be-rûz ma‘raz-i burûzda cilveger olmağla
 bu ālā’-i vālā-yi subḥānī
 ve na‘ma-yi bī-intihā-yi⁶⁷⁵ rabbānīniñ
 ki *ve in te‘addū ni‘metallāhi lā- tuḥşūhā*⁶⁷⁶
 edā-i merāsım-i şükr ve ifā-yi levāzım-i ḥamdi
 zimmet-i himmet-i bülend-rutbetime
 vācib ve lāzım olmuşdur
 ki *innallāhe yuḥibbu ma‘āliye’l-umūr* müsted‘āsınca
 ihyā-yi kavānīn-i ‘adālet

⁶⁷² T: simāt

⁶⁷³ T: berāyāyı

⁶⁷⁴ It is missing in T.

⁶⁷⁵ T: bī-müntehā-yi

⁶⁷⁶ Suratu Ibrahim, 34 and al-Nahl, 18, “if you count the favors of Allah never will you be able to number them”

ve ikzā-yi⁶⁷⁷ āyīn-i re'fet ve naşafet
 ve tanzīm-i umūr-i eṭrāf-i memālik
 ve tertīb ve teşyīd-i mebnānī-i ḥudūd ve mesālik
 ve ḳabẓ ve başt-i aḥvāl-i mülk ü millet
 ve 'aḳd ve rabṭ-i ḳazāyā-yi memleket
 ve inzibāt-i mehāmm-i ḥilāfet
 ve inḥiṭāt-i rūsūm-u ḫulm ve ḍalālet için ;
 bir [vezir-i]⁶⁷⁸ kār-dān ve sā'ib-i rey
 ve bir müşīr-i [kāmrān]⁶⁷⁹ 'adl-fermā-yi
 naşb olunub
 zimām-i ḥal ve 'aḳd-i aḥvāl-i saltanat
 anıñ efkār-i şā'ibesine teslīm olunsa⁶⁸⁰
 zīrā esālīb-i zevābıṭ-i cihānbānī
 ve ḳavānīn-i menāhic-i kişver-sitānīde
 şol zümreki tāc-i ibtihāc-i
 “ve le-ḳad aştafaynāhu fi'd-dünyā”⁶⁸¹ ile müstes'ad [olub]⁶⁸²
 ve sirāc-i vehhāc-i “ve ātāhu Allahu el-mulke ve'l-ḫikmete ve 'allemehu mim mā yeşā”⁶⁸³ ile
 müşerref oldular,
 dā'imā ḥadem-i sa'ādet-ḥaşemden⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁷⁷ T: imzā-yi

⁶⁷⁸ Vezir is lacking in F.

⁶⁷⁹ Kāmrān is lacking in F.

⁶⁸⁰ T: oluna

⁶⁸¹ Suratu al-Bakara, 130, “*Him we chose and rendered pure in this world*”

⁶⁸² Olub is missing in F.

⁶⁸³ Suratu al-Bakara, 251, “*and Allah gave him power and wisdom and taught him whatever (else) He willed*”

⁶⁸⁴ T: rakamdan

nāşıye-i emānī ve āmāllerine
 levām‘i-i işrākāt-i “innellezīne sebeķat lehūm minne’l-husna”⁶⁸⁵
 lāmi‘ ve raķşān olub⁶⁸⁶
 yūmn-i ‘avāţıf-i hūsrevāne
 ve mekārım-i ıřtınā‘āt-i padişāhāneleriyle
 evc-i medāric-i seniyyeye erişdirüb
 ve mā minnā illa lehu maķāmūn ma‘lūm⁶⁸⁷
 derecātına ıřāl eylediler
 ben daķı bu ma‘nā-yi sa‘ādet-mebnāniñ şudūru
 ve bu każıyye-i marżıyye-i devlet-intimāniñ zuhūru için
 her bār ki ‘aķl-i dūr-bīn
 ve ferāset-i ‘adālet-āyīnime mūrāca‘at eyledim⁶⁸⁸,
 bu emānetiñ tahmīlini
 rāfi‘-i tevķī‘-i refi‘-i ‘ālem-muţā‘-i hūsrevānī
 ve dārende-i menşūr-i meşhūr-i⁶⁸⁹ mūcibü’s-sürūr-i gītī-sitānī,
 cenāb-i vezāret-meāb, şadāret-nişāb, devlet-iktisab, sa‘ādet-intisāb,
 vāşıta-i ‘aķdu’d-devleti’l-ebediyye
 rābıta-i ‘aķdu’s-sa‘ādeti’s-sermediyye,
 kāidu cuyūşı’l-İslām
 şāķıbu’l-‘izz ve’l-ihtişām,
 eş-şārimu’s-şamşām,

⁶⁸⁵ Suratu al-Anbiya, 101, “*Those for whom the Good (Record) from us has gone before ...*”

⁶⁸⁶ T: dirahşān ola.

⁶⁸⁷ Suratu al-Saffat, 164, “*not one of us but has a place appointed*”

⁶⁸⁸ T: etdikde

⁶⁸⁹ meşhūr-i is lacking in T.

dırğām-i pelenk-intikām,
 āsafü'z-zamān,
 melāz-i ehl-i īmān,
 hucetü'r-raḥmani 'ale'l-insān
 maḥzar-i 'avāṭifu'llāh-i te'āla maṣdar-i elṭāf-i bī-intihā⁶⁹⁰
ellezi tele'le'e min vecenāt-i devletihi nūri'l-hüdā ve tebeyyene min ufḵ-i sa'ādetihi ṣemsü'l-
i'tilā,
 [el-ğāzī fi-sebīli'llāh el-mücāhid li-vechi'llāh]⁶⁹¹,
 el-maḥfūf bi-ṣunūf-i letāif-i 'avāṭifi'l-meliki'l-ā'la,
 mübārizü'd-devleti ve'd-dīn⁶⁹² ve'd-dünyā,
 nizāmü'l-mülk
 vezīr-i ā'zam İbrāhīm Paşa -*edame Allahü te'āla iclālehu ve zāde iḵbālehu'ya-*
 elyāḵ ve evlā ve maḥall ve aḥrā görüb
 anıñ ḥüsn-i ḥidemāt-i sābıka ve lāhıkası
 mūcib-i feyezān-i ḵulzüm-i zehḥar-i 'avāṭif-i mülūkāne
 ve kemāl-i taḵarrüb [ve]⁶⁹³ rütbet-i faiḵa ile
*ve's-sābıḵüne's-sabıḵün ulaike'l-muḵarrabün*⁶⁹⁴
 sa'ādeti ile mümtāz ve ser-efrāz olub asitāne-i sa'ādet-aṣiyānımda
 şeref-i iltifāt ve ḥüsn-i ḵabūl [ve]⁶⁹⁵ terbiyet-i kimyā-āşārım ile mürebbī ve maḵbūl
 olduğundan ğayrı

⁶⁹⁰ T: maṣdar-i elṭāf-i bī-intihā maḥzar-i 'avāṭifu'llāh-i te'āla

⁶⁹¹ It is lacking in T.

⁶⁹² ve'd-dīn is lacking in T.

⁶⁹³ It is lacking in F.

⁶⁹⁴ ulaike'l-muḵarrabün is lacking in T. suratu al-Vakıa, 10-11 “And those Foremost (in Faith) will be Foremost (in the Hereafter). These will be those Nearest to Allah.”

rezānet-i ‘aql ve fehm ile ārāste
 ve⁶⁹⁶ vüfūr-i şehāmet ve şecā‘at [ve]⁶⁹⁷ hāzm ile pīrāste,
 mekārim-i ‘ādatla mevşūf
 ve şiyānet-i cibillet [ve]⁶⁹⁸ zāt ile ma‘ruf
 rey-i şā‘ibi miftāh-i müşkilāt
 ve ṭab‘-i veḳḳādı mişbāh-i mu‘ḍilāt olub
 iḳbāl ve devlet-vār ve zafer-girdār mülāzım-i ḥidemāt-i seniyye-i pādīşāhānem
 olmağla⁶⁹⁹ mā-şadaḳ-i feḥvā-yi kelām-i sa‘ādet-fercām
 izā erāde Allāhu bi-melikin ḥayran ce‘ale lehu vezīran şāliḥan izā nesiye zekkerahu el-hadīṣ⁷⁰⁰
 vāḳ‘i olmağın
 anıñ ḥaḳḳında ḥūrşīd-i tābān-i ‘ināyātım⁷⁰¹ meşārīḳ-i ‘izzet ve iclālden şārīḳ ve ṭālī
 ve āfitāb-i nūr-nevīd-i dirahşān ḥimāyātım
 āfāḳ-i himmet ve ‘aṭıfetimden bārīḳ ve lami‘ olub
 evvelden taşarrufātında⁷⁰² olan yigirmi kere yüz biñ aḳçalık ḥaşları üzerine on kere yüz
 biñ aḳçalık ḥaşlar daḥi⁷⁰³ ilḥāḳ ve izāfe eyleyüb
 cümle ḥaşları otuz kere yüz biñ aḳçalığa yetişdirilüb⁷⁰⁴
 ḳalem-rev iḳlīm-i salṭanatımda vāḳ‘i olan memālik ve mesālikiñ
 ḥıfz u ḥırāseti ve zabṭ u şiyāneti için
 vezīr-i a‘zamlıḳ üzerine ser‘askerlik ta‘yīn eyleyüb⁷⁰⁵

⁶⁹⁵ It is lacking in F.

⁶⁹⁶ It is lacking in T.

⁶⁹⁷ It is lacking in F.

⁶⁹⁸ It is lacking in F.

⁶⁹⁹ T: olub.

⁷⁰⁰ “El-hadis” is lacking in T.

⁷⁰¹ T: ‘ināyetim

⁷⁰² T: tasarruflarında

⁷⁰³ T: aḳça dahi.

⁷⁰⁴ T: irişdirilüb.

mezîd-i ‘avâṭıfımdan⁷⁰⁶ tuğ-i sa‘âdet-i furûğ ile ṭabl ve ‘alem erzāni kılub
bu berât-i sa‘âdet-âyyât ve devlet-emârâtı⁷⁰⁷ virdim
ve buyurdum ki
ba‘de’l-yevm daḥi [cemî‘-i evkât ve ezmân ve cümle-i sâ‘ât ve aḥyānda]⁷⁰⁸
kemā-kân⁷⁰⁹ vezîr-i a‘zam ve kâffe-i memâlik-i maḥrûsemde cenâb-i celâlet-meâbım
kıbelinden ser‘askerim olub
vüzerâ-i âşâf-nişân-i mesned-nişîn ve⁷¹⁰ Rumili beylerbeyisi ve kaḍı‘askerlerim ve
‘âmmе-i ‘ulemâ ve fuṣalâ ve kuzât ve sâdât ve meşâyîḥ⁷¹¹ ve sâ’ir beylerbeyilerim ve
‘umûmen erkân-i devlet-i ḳahire ve a‘yân-i salṭanat-i bâhire⁷¹² ve sancaḳ beyleri⁷¹³ ve
bâb-i sa‘âdet-meâbımda ḥidmet eden bölük ağaları⁷¹⁴
[ve ḥüccâb-i serâ-perde-i ‘azamet ve kâmrânî ve nüvvâb-i kârgâh-i ḥaşmet ve
kışversitânî ve müteferriḳalarım ve bölük kethüdâları ve ḳapum ḳulları cümlesi]⁷¹⁵
ve cemî‘-i⁷¹⁶ memâlik-i maḥmiyyemde vâḳi‘ olan alay beğleri ve şubaşılar⁷¹⁷ ve
çeribaşıları
ve mecmû‘-i⁷¹⁸ ‘asâkir-i nuşret-me’âşirim ḥalkı
ve sâ’ir zümre-i ekâbir ve efâzıl
ve cümle-i e‘âli ve esâfil ve erbâb-i menâşıb ve cihât

⁷⁰⁵ T: vezîr-i a‘zamlığı üzere ser‘asker ta’yîn idüb

⁷⁰⁶ T: ‘âtıfetimden

⁷⁰⁷ “ve devlet-emârâtı” is lacking in T.

⁷⁰⁸ It is lacking in F.

⁷⁰⁹ It is lacking in T.

⁷¹⁰ T: “ile”

⁷¹¹ T: meşâyîḥ-i küberâ

⁷¹² T: “ve külliye erkân-i devlet ve a‘yân-i salṭanat-i zâhire”

⁷¹³ T: ve sancaḳ beyleri ḳullarım

⁷¹⁴ T: bölüklerim ağaları

⁷¹⁵ T: “ve ḳapum ḳullarının atlusı ve yayası”

⁷¹⁶ T: mecmû‘u

⁷¹⁷ T: alay beğlerim ve subaşıları

⁷¹⁸ T: cümle-i

ve cumhūr-i enāmdan kâṭınān-i sūdde-i ‘arş-āsā⁷¹⁹
ve sākinān-i ‘atebe-i giti-fezā
ve kuṭṭān-i memleket ve vuṭṭān-i vilāyet
ve ehl-i veber ü meder
ve cümle⁷²⁰ şagīr ü kebīr, ġanī vü faķīr
muḥaşşalan ḥavāşş u ‘avām kāffe-i enām
mūmā-ileyhi vezīr-i ā‘zam
ve her zamanda ‘umūmen ser‘askerim bilüb
kemāl-i tā‘zīm ve ikrām ile mu‘azzez ü mükerrem⁷²¹
ve vufūr-i tebcīl ü tefḥīm ile mübeccel ü mufahḥam ṭutub⁷²²
müşārun ileyhiñ ḥuzūrunda⁷²³ iķbāl ü istiķbāl[inde]⁷²⁴ daķīka fevt itmeyüb
her ne ki derse ve her ne vech görürse benim lisān-i dürer-bārımdan şadır olmuş
kelām-i sa‘ādet-encām ve emr-i vācibü’l-iḥtirāmım bilüb
[sözünü]⁷²⁵ sem‘-i taḥķīķ ile ıṣgā ve ḥüsn-i kabūl ile telaķķī eyleyüb
devlet-i kâhire-i şāḥib-ķırānīye müte‘allık olan
cümle-i mühimmāt-i umūr ve kāffe-i meşālīḥ-i cumhūrda
emrinden ve sözünden tecāvüz ve ‘udül ve inḥirāf ve zühül eylemeyeler.
Eğer asitāne-i sa‘ādet-āşiyānımda ve eğer sā’ir memālik-i maḥrūsemde vāķi‘ olan
beylerbeyileriñ ve sancaķbeyileriñ ve bākī a‘lā ve ednā ve⁷²⁶ erbāb-i menāşib ve

⁷¹⁹ T: sa‘ādet-intimā

⁷²⁰ T: bi’l-cümle

⁷²¹ T: mübeccel

⁷²² The line is lacking in T.

⁷²³ T: ḥuzūruna iyāb u zehābda

⁷²⁴ It is lacking in F.

⁷²⁵ It is lacking in F.

⁷²⁶ It is lacking in T.

merātib ve aşḥāb-i cihāt ve menāziliñ ve bi'l-cümle ḥavme-i salṭanatımda⁷²⁷ olan
külliyyen kullarımıñ 'azl u naşbı anıñ rey-i sâ'ibine ve fikr-i şâfisine⁷²⁸ müfevvez olub
şolki merāsım-i ḳavānīn-i vezāret ve ser'askerī
ve levāzım-i esālīb-i şadāret ve dād-güsterīdir mü'eddā ḳılub
sālik-i mesālik-i 'adālet ve naşafet
ve zāhib-i mezāhib-i şer' ve diyānet olub
ṭabaḳāt-i maḥlūkātı 'alā tefāvüti'd-derecāt menāziline tenzīl eylemekde⁷²⁹ daḳıḳa fevt
eylemeye⁷³⁰,
ve her bār ki sefer-i hümāyūn vāḳi' olub
sa'ādet ve iḳbāl ve 'izzet⁷³¹ ve iclāl ile cenāb-i celālet-meābım teveccüh etmelü olub
veyaḥud 'asker-i zafer-peykerim irsāl olunmaḳ lāzım gele
ol vaḳit daḥi ser'askerliğe müte'allıḳ olan ḥuşūşāt⁷³² her ne ise külliyyen mūmā ileyhiñ
ārā-yi şā'ibe-i işābet-ḳarīn
ve efkār-i şāfiye-i⁷³³ metānet-rehīnine müfevvez olub
evāmirine imtişāl ve nevāhīsinden ictināb eyleyüb
emrine muḥālefet [ve ḥükmüne mu'ānedet]⁷³⁴ itmeyeler
yoldaşlığı ve merdāneliği zuhūr idenler bābında⁷³⁵
ve müsteḥaḳḳ-i āṭıfet ü 'ināyet olanlar ḥaḳḳında⁷³⁶
eğer beylerbeyilik tevcīh itmekdir⁷³⁷

⁷²⁷ T: ḥukūmetimde

⁷²⁸ T: efkār-i şāḳıbesine menūṭ

⁷²⁹ T: etmekde

⁷³⁰ T: etmeye

⁷³¹ T: devlet

⁷³² T: ḥuşūşiyyāt

⁷³³ T: şāḳıbesine

⁷³⁴ It is lacking in F.

⁷³⁵ T: "yoldaşlığı zāhir olanlar babında

⁷³⁶ The line is lacking in T.

ve eğer a'lā ve ednāya tımar ve 'ulūfe virme'dir⁷³⁸

bi'l-cümle envā'-i menāşıb ve cihatdan

muhaşşalan⁷³⁹ her ne tevcīh ve ta'yīn⁷⁴⁰ ve tefvīz ve taklīd iderse

[teraqqi-i 'āmm vmücib-i 'ibret ve 'umūm üzere bahşış ve ihsān-i külliden ğayrisi]⁷⁴¹

benim 'izz-i huzūr-i sa'ādet-mevfūr-i müstelzimu'l-hubūrumda⁷⁴²

maḥall-i qabūlde ve menzile-i irtizāda biline⁷⁴³

ve kezālik⁷⁴⁴ zikr olunan fırka-i 'asākir-i nuşret-meaşirinden⁷⁴⁵

el-'iyāzu billāh fermān-i şerīfe⁷⁴⁶ muḥālif muşarun ileyhiñ emrine ve sözüne muḥālefet

ve 'inād idenler kim gerekse olsun ve yāḥūd⁷⁴⁷

hilāf-i şer'-i muṭahhar ve mugāyir-i kânūn-i muḥarrer

re'āyaya⁷⁴⁸ zulm ü ta'addī idenler⁷⁴⁹ kaç nefer olur ise olsun

aşlā⁷⁵⁰ südde-i sa'ādetim cānibine 'arż⁷⁵¹ ve i'lām itmeğe tevaḥḫuf itmeyüb

envā'-i uḫubāt ve siyāsātdan her neye müsteḥaḫḫ ve sezā-vār olur ise

muḫtezā-yi şer' ü kânūn⁷⁵² üzere te'hīr itmeyüb⁷⁵³

siyāset idüb gereği gibi ḥaḫlarından geldüre ki

sā'irlerine mücib-i 'ibret ve naşīḫat ola⁷⁵⁴

⁷³⁷ T: eylemektir

⁷³⁸ T: eylemektir

⁷³⁹ It is lacking in T.

⁷⁴⁰ T: her ne tevcīh iderse

⁷⁴¹ It is lacking in F.

⁷⁴² T: benim 'izz-i sa'ādet-huzūr-i -mevfūr ve müstelzimu'l-hubūrumda

⁷⁴³ T: irtizādadır

⁷⁴⁴ It is lacking in T.

⁷⁴⁵ T: meaşirden

⁷⁴⁶ T: benüm fermān-i şerīfime

⁷⁴⁷ T: 'inād idenleri ve yaḥūd

⁷⁴⁸ T: re'āya ve berāyāya

⁷⁴⁹ T: idenleri her kim gerekse olsun

⁷⁵⁰ T: aşlā ve ḫat'ā

⁷⁵¹ It is lacking in T.

⁷⁵² T: şer'-i ḫavīm

⁷⁵³ It is lacking in T.

Ol bābda hiç aḥad māni‘ ve dāfi‘ olmaya⁷⁵⁵

şöyle bileler⁷⁵⁶

‘alāmet-i şerīfe i‘timād kıllalar.

*tahrīran fī evā’il-i şehir-i şa‘bāni’l- mu‘aẓẓam lisene-i ḥams ve šelāšīn ve tis‘ami’e be-maḳām-i
koşantīniyye.*

(Şaban 935/April 1529)

⁷⁵⁴ T: mūcib-i ‘ibret vāki‘ ola.

⁷⁵⁵ The line is lacking in T.

⁷⁵⁶ T ends.

APPENDIX 2:

Manuscripts of Celālzāde's Works

1- *Tabakātu'l-Memālik ve Derecātu'l-Mesālik*,
Petra Kappert's edition (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1981)
is a facsimile of

Berlin Manuscript: Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Or. Quart. 1961.

And it shows variants of those manuscripts:

Süleymaniye, Fatih, 4423

Süleymaniye, Ayasofya, 3296 (müstensih: Mahmud b. Mustafa)

İstanbul Üniversitesi Ktb., TY. 5997.

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, H. O. 41.

Other manuscripts of *Tabakāt*;

Süleymaniye, Hüsrev Paşa, 427 and 428 (2 volume),

Süleymaniye, Fatih, 4422,

Topkapı Sarayı, Bagdad, 298,

Topkapı Sarayı, Emanet Hazinesi, 1427,

Kopenhag, Königliche Bibliothek, cod. Turc. XI,

Upsala, Universitätsbibliothek, Cels. 22,

London, British Museum, Add. 7855,

London, British Museum, Add. 24959,

London, British Museum, Or. 1590,

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Turc 165,

Süleymaniye, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa, 778, (müstensih: Mahmud b. Mustafa)

Süleymaniye, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa, 779, (müstensih: Mahmud b. Mustafa)

İstanbul Üniversitesi, TY. 1584,

Köprülü Ktb. Ahmet Paşa, 245,

Atıf Efendi Ktb. Atıf Efendi, 1910,

Süleymaniye, Esat Ef. 2315

Süleymaniye, Ayasofya, 3319.

Fragments of *Tabakāt*::

Mohaçname : İstanbul Üniversitesi Ktb., TY. 2623.

Fetihname-i Rodos:

İstanbul Üniversitesi Ktb., TY. 501.

İstanbul Üniversitesi Ktb., TY. 833.

İstanbul Üniversitesi Ktb. T2519,

İstanbul Üniversitesi Ktb., TY. 2599.

İstanbul Üniversitesi Ktb., TY. 2628.

Nur-ı Osmaniye Ktb., 3170.

Selim Ağa Ktb., 757.
Fetihname-i Karaboğdan: Süleymaniye Ktb., Ayasofya, 3319,
Süleymaniye Ktb., Esad Efendi, 2315.

2- *Selim-name* or *Meāšir-i Selim Han*

Edited by A. Ugur, M. Cuhadar, (Ankara: Kultur Bakanligi, 1990)

It is a transliteration of the manuscript:

The British Museum, Add. 7848,

Celia J. Kerslake prepared a critical edition of the *Selimmāme*. (unpublished dissertation, University of Oxford, 1975)

It is based on those six manuscripts:

İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Kütüphanesi, nr.362. (müstensih: Mahmud b. Mustafa)

Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Turkish MSS. 158,159,

Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Revan, 1274.

Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Hazine, 1415.

Dresden, Sachsische Landesbibliothek, E 350 (formerly Konigliche Bibliothek, 350).

The British Museum, Add. 7848

Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Bağdad Köşkü, 196.

3- *Mevāhibu'l-Ḥallāk fi Merātibi'l-Ahlāk*

Süleymaniye Ktb., Hamidiye, 706. (müstensih: Hasan b. Hüseyin, dated 994/1586),

Süleymaniye Ktb., Aşir Efendi, 174. (müstensih: Ali b. Ömer, Receb 1079/Dec. 1668)

Süleymaniye Ktb., Mihrişah Sultan, 275,

Süleymaniye Ktb., Bağdatlı Vehbi, 763,

Süleymaniye Ktb., Laleli, 1612,

Süleymaniye Ktb., Zühdü Bey, 639,

Süleymaniye Ktb., Fatih, 3521,

Süleymaniye Ktb., Hacı Mahmud Efendi, 1605,

Süleymaniye Ktb., Hacı Mahmud Efendi, 1578,

Süleymaniye Ktb., Ali N. Tarlan, 155,

Topkapı Sarayı Ktb., Ahmet III Kitaplığı, 3068,

Topkapı Sarayı Ktb., Ahmet III Kitaplığı, 3069,

Topkapı Sarayı Ktb., Revan, 396,

Topkapı Sarayı Ktb., Revan, 410,

Topkapı Sarayı Ktb., Hırka-i Saadet, 370,

İstanbul Üniversitesi Ktb., Üniversite Kitaplığı, TY, 006,

İstanbul Üniversitesi Ktb., Üniversite Kitaplığı, TY, 5664,

İstanbul Üniversitesi Ktb., Üniversite Kitaplığı, TY, 598,

Nur-i Osmaniye Ktb., 2205,

Nur-i Osmaniye Ktb., 2206,

İstanbul B. Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı, Osman Ergin, 20,
İstanbul B. Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı, Muallim Cevdet, 159 (K. 31/1).

4- *Delâil-i Nübüvvet-i Muhammedî ve Şemâil-i Fütüvvet-i Ahmedî*

İstanbul Üniversitesi Ktb., TY. 4110.
Süleymaniye Ktb., Fatih, 4289.
Süleymaniye Ktb., Serez, 1813.

5- *Cevâhiru'l-Aḥbâr fî Ḥasâil-i'l-Aḥyâr*

Nur-ı Osmaniye Ktb., 2356. (bearing the seal of Süleyman the Magnificent).
İstanbul Üniversitesi Ktb., TY. 787. (entitled “Tercüme-i Zehrü'l-Kimâm” dated
23 Ramazan 972/ 24 April 1565)
Süleymaniye Ktb., Reşid Efendi, 1029/15 (2 volume).
Nur-ı Osmaniye Ktb., 1941.

6- *Ḳānunnāme, or Celālzāde Ḳānunnāmesi*

Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnāmeleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, v. 7, İstanbul,
Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1994.

First Group:

Süleymaniye Ktb., Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi, 1004. (published by A.
Akgündüz)
Süleymaniye Ktb., Esat Efendi, 851,
Süleymaniye Ktb. Esat Efendi, 3812,
Süleymaniye Ktb. Ayasofya, 2894,
Süleymaniye Ktb. Erzincan, 144,
Süleymaniye Ktb., Hacı Mahmud Efendi, 913./2
Süleymaniye Ktb., Harput, 283,
Süleymaniye Ktb., Yazma Bağışlar, 1202.

Second Group:

Süleymaniye Ktb., Esat Efendi, 851 (published by A. Akgündüz)
Süleymaniye Ktb., Esat Efendi, 3812
Süleymaniye Ktb. Erzincan, 144.
Süleymaniye Ktb., Harput, 283/2.

Third Group:

Süleymaniye Ktb., Yazma Bağışlar, 1202. (published by A. Akgündüz)
Süleymaniye Ktb. Ayasofya, 2894.
Süleymaniye Ktb., Esat Efendi, 851.
Süleymaniye Ktb., Hacı Mahmud Efendi, 913.

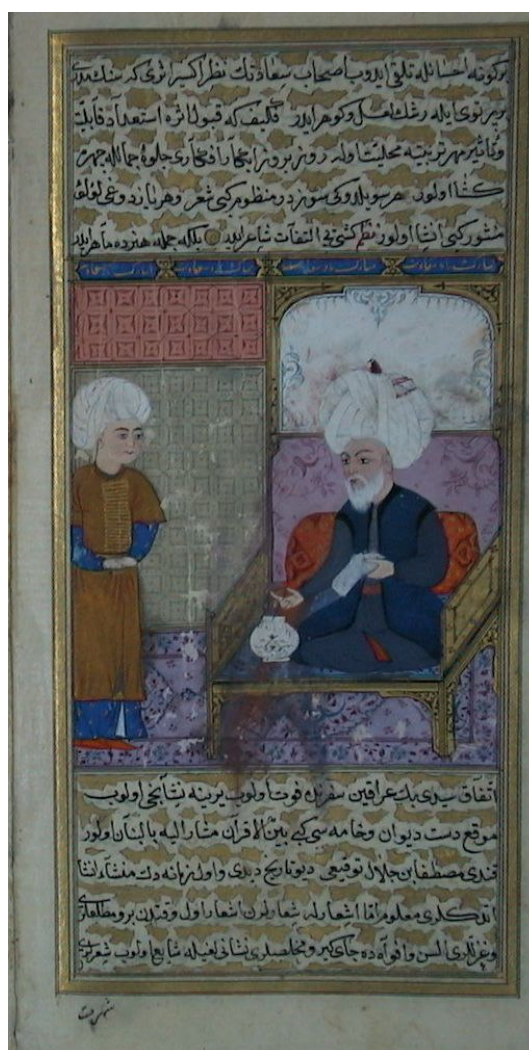
Uncategorized:

Süleymaniye Ktb., Fatih, 3507.
Süleymaniye Ktb., Şehid Ali Paşa, 2884.
Millet Ktb., Molla Murad, 1165.
Millet Ktb., Yazma Kanunnameler, 76.

Millet Ktb., Yazma Kanunnameler, 80.
Süleymaniye Ktb., Laleli, 3735/2. (“Kıta mine’l-Kavanini’s-Sultaniyye”)

APPENDIX 3:

Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi; extract from Meşāiru'ş-Şu'ārā



Ali Emiri, TR 772, p. 365

APPENDIX 4:

Selections from Archival Documents

