

**HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE REIGN OF
SÜLEYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT**

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Considered to have begun with Germiyanlı⁽¹⁾ Ahmedi, Ottoman historiography⁽²⁾ Continued during the reign of Murad II with anonymously composed works entitled *Tevarih-i al-i Osman* ("Chronicles of the Exalted Osmanlis") that were created principally from historical chronologies. It entered upon a more lively period however during the reign of Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror. Under the patronage of that sultan as well as of that Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasha, a protector of scholars and the sciences, such valuable historians as Şükrullah, Enveri, and Dursun Bey emerged and produced works. Aşık Paşazade's own *Tevarih-i al-i Osman* is regarded as the first independently-composed Ottoman history.⁽³⁾ This was work intended for popular consumption and in actual fact was not much different from the anonymous annals. Its author lived during the reigns of Çelebi Mehmed, Murad II, Mehmed II, and Bayezid II, and he participated in quite a few military campaigns, on which account he was a witness to many events. The historian Neşri on the other hand is like the complement of Aşık Paşazade with his own *Kitab-ı Cihannuma* ("Book of the Whole World"): the plain, epic-like style and popular mode of expression of the former is not to be found in the latter. In this regard, it would not be a mistake to consider Neşri to be the first interpretive and critical Ottoman historian. The reign of Bayezid II on the other hand was a time when typical

examples of classical Ottoman historiography were produced. Both Idris-i Bitlisi (a representative of the Persian School) and Ibn Kemal (a representative of the Turkish School) penned their famous works by order of that sultan. Idris also had a deep influence on the 16th and 17th Century historians who followed him; and indeed it was a result of this influence that when official historiography emerged after the 18th Century, annalists always wrote their chapter headings in Persian. Ibn Kemal's *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, which he took up in Turkish by order of Bayezid II, was unknown until quite recent times and it was not used as a source. Characteristic of historiography, during the short but productive reign of Selim the Grim is the appearance of a large number of works of the *gazavatname* type – epic poems of military exploits. Most of these were given the name *Selimname* (“The Book of Selim”), and as may be understood from the title, they dealt with the struggles of Selim against his father and brother while he was still governor of Trabzon and extending to his wars and victories against the Persians and Mamelukes following his accession to the throne.⁽⁴⁾

Süleyman I, who is known as “The Lawgiver” (*Kanuni*) and “The Magnificent”, has an exceptional place among Ottoman sultans, for it was he who reigned for nearly half a century upon the Ottoman throne and governed the Empire with such great skill. He is a person who has become the subject of a considerable number of monographic works and even of novels. To write of the reign of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver, which represents after all the period of the Empire's maturity, and furthermore to do justice in any attempt to introduce the numerous chronicles – large and small – which treat this period should be regarded as no small task. Difficult though it may be however, if one considers how much light could be cast on future research even just by making such an introduction to historiography during Kanuni's reign, the importance of the task becomes obvious.

If we exclude the few general-purpose histories, the histories of the Royal House that were composed at the end of

the 15th Century, or at the end of the 16th Century, or during the 17th Century are but infrequently encountered during the reign of the Lawgiver. On the other hand, the extraordinary increase in the appearance of works of the *gazavatname* type – as opposed to classical historiographic writing – is noteworthy. The *Selimname* works of the reign of Selim I now appear before us with the title *Süleymanname*. Unlike the works on Selim however, which had after all to deal only with the events of eighteen years, no examples of a *Süleymanname* are known which treat the whole period of forty-six years, a length of time that in some cases cannot be spanned by the life of single person. The work of this type regarded as being the most perfect is the *Tabakatu'l-memalik* (“Accounts of the Dominions”) of Celalzade Mustafa, but even that doesn't reach down until the end of Kanuni's reign. There even some examples of the *Süleymanname* genre that treat only a very short period of the reign of Süleyman I, in some cases, just a single one of that sultan's campaigns.

In this limited study dealing with the historiography of the reign of the Lawgiver – which is after all, the most magnificent period of the Ottoman state – we shall discuss first of all the general histories, which treat Ottoman history as a part and continuation of Islamic history as well as the similarly general works of the *Tevarih-i al-i Osman* type that began with the founding of the Ottoman state, and after that pass on to works which are accounts only of the reign of the Lawgiver. This section, in which an attempt has been made to introduce the most important and original sources of the period, has been devoted to works of the *Süleymanname* type, although it also includes contemporary works relating the reign of Süleyman I even though they may not actually have been given that title. Next are briefly introduced the accounts of conquests (*fetihname*) and of victories (*zafername*) dealing with the campaigns in which Kanuni himself participated and with his conquests. After the works concerned with Sultan Süleyman's last campaign, we pass on to works written about such personages as Barbaros Hayred-

din Pasha and Piyale Pasha, who were the most famous naval commanders of the day. This is followed by the writing of dynastic histories (*şehname*), an activity that was popular during the reign of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, and, after a long hiatus became a continuous state – (or more precisely, a court –) provided service during the reign of the Lawgiver. A brief attempt is made to introduce the writers of such works and the works themselves. Finally, attention is given to biographical works in prose (which in those days were not really distinct from history) and at the same time to the work entitled *eş-Şakaiku'n-Nu'maniyye*.

Although written in rather a short time, this article at the very least presents in summarized form the results of studies previously conducted on this subject, though at the same time in most cases I have personally examined works were not previously the subject of studies.

I – GENERAL HISTORIES

Works That Treat Ottoman History as A Part and Continuation of Islamic History

The author of one of the works of this type is Nasuh's-Silahi, one of the polymathic personalities of Kanuni's reign. Until quite recently, very little was known about the life and – especially – the historical works of this man. Thanks however to the valuable work of Dr. Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, these are matters that are now well established. In addition to being a historian, Nasuh was also a calligrapher and an artist, not to mention a geographer as well. He was born in Bosna and was trained at the Court's school for pages. He was a student of Sai. Owing either to his having invented the game of *matrak*⁽⁵⁾ or to his skill at it, he is known by the name *Matrakci*. His proficiency at arms was commented by the Lawgiver⁽⁶⁾ as well as by such leading contemporary personalities as Aşık Çelebi, Celalzade Mustafa, and Gelibolulu Âli.⁽⁷⁾ He died in 1564.⁽⁸⁾

Matrakci Nasuh's first attempt as a historian was his

translation into Turkish of the *Taberi Tarihi* ("History of Taberi") from the original Arabic. Entitled *Mecmau't-tevarih* ("Confluence of the Chronicles"), this effort however was more than just a dry translation: having been expanded with additions and revisions, it became virtually an original and new work. Nasuh brought the book chronologically up to date and also wrote a Turkish appendix for the *Taberi Tarihi*. Unfortunately, with the exception of an anonymous fragment concerning the reigns of Bayezid II and Selim I (now in the British Museum) no complete copy of the work extending from the founding of the Ottoman state down to the reign of the Lawgiver is known to exist.

Nasuh's truly important work as a historian however is unquestionably his history of the reign of the Lawgiver.⁽⁹⁾ Composed in the form of a *Süleymanname*, the work is presented as an addition (appendix) to his translation of Taberi and deals with the events of the years 1520-1553. Only recently was it realized that this work, anonymous examples of which are scattered about in a number of libraries under different titles, was a *Süleymanname* by Nasuh.⁽¹⁰⁾ The author wrote this work after his *Beyan-i menazil-i sefer-i Irakeyn* ("Declaration of the Stages of the Expedition Against the Two Countries of Iraq"), which was also known as *Mecmû-i menazil*; that is to say, in 1537-1538. The first part of this *Süleymaniye* contains events of the years 1520-1537.⁽¹¹⁾ The famous works of Matrakci entitled *Beyan-i menazil...*, a single copy of which is now at the Library of Istanbul University (TY. 5964), is in fact a section that is lavishly illustrated with miniatures and that deals with the history of Kanuni's reign from 1533 to 1536. Indeed, the text of the *Menazil* is to be found verbatim in this *Süleymanname*. The independent and illustrated *Menazilname* ("Book of the Stages") is as much a priceless masterpiece of art as it is valuable from the standpoint not only for its topography and architecture.⁽¹²⁾

Matrakci Nasuh's work entitled *Fetihname-i Karaboğdan* ("Book of the Conquest of Moldavia") is actually a continuation of this *Süleymanname* of his.⁽¹³⁾ Another continuation of

the **Süleymanname** is entitled **Tarih-i Feth-i Şikloş ve Estergon ve Istoni-Belgrad** ("History of the Conquest of Şikloş, Estergon, and Istoni-Belgrade")⁽¹⁴⁾ In the copy illustrated with miniatures that was presented to the sultan, both the calligraphy and the depictions of the various stages were personally prepared by Matrakci. Completed in 1543, this manuscript copy also has pictures of vessels in the fleet under the command of Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha. Another manuscript copy (Istanbul Archaeological Museum Library, Number 379) is also a continuation of the **Süleymanname** and covers the years between 1541 and 1553. Thus for now, the years 1539-1541 are missing. At the Marburg Library (Number HS.OR.OCT. 955), there is a fragment of the **Süleymanname** dealing with Kanuni's Second Persian Campaign (1548-1549). Nasuh had dedicated the portion dealing with this expedition to Rustem Pasha. Similarly, Matrakci also produced on behalf of that same vizier, a brief summary of **Mecmau't-tevarih** which is entitled **Camiu't-tevarih** ("Compendium of the Chronicles").⁽¹⁵⁾ The section of this work dealing with Ottoman history in time became attributed to Rustem Pasha and he has entered the literature as being its author. Doubts about the authorship of this **Tevarih-i al-i Osman** attributed to Rustem Pasha were first raised by Ludwig Forrer.⁽¹⁶⁾ It is now a known fact that the beginning part of this history up to the death of the Conqueror is based upon an anonymous **Tevarih-i al-i Osman**, on Muhyiddin Cemali's **Tevarih-i al-i Osman**, and particularly on Neşri's **Kitab-i Cihan-uma**.⁽¹⁷⁾ The part of the work which is of true importance – that dealing with the reigns of Bayezid II and Selim I, and with the reign of Süleyman I up to 1561 – was published by Forrer as the work of Rustem Pasha. Yurdaydın however in his most recent studies has proven that these parts (which were published in German) are identical with Nasuh's **Mecmau't-tevarih** from the standpoint of content and style, though the section attributed to Rustem Pasha is more abridged.⁽¹⁸⁾ In other words, it is now clear that the **Tevarih-i al-i Osman** believed to have been written by Rustem Pasha is

in fact the continuation of the **Camiu't-tevarih** (an abridgement by Matrakci Nasuh of his own translation of the History of Taberi) and that it was incorrectly attributed to that vizier. The annotation made to the effect that the work was by Rustem Pasha must be a later accretion⁽¹⁹⁾ and in any case, the work contains charges against Rustem Pasha accusing him of intriguing and lying.

Matrakci Nasuh produced works not just on history but also on mathematics and weaponry and he is an important personality in the history of 16th Century scholarship. He is noted for his work on mathematics entitled **Cemalu'l-kitab ve kemalu'l-hisab** ("The Beauty of Literature and the Perfection of Reckoning")⁽²⁰⁾ that he wrote during as early as the reign of Selim I (1517) and presented to that sultan. In this work, Nasuh expounds on numbers, the four mathematical operations, fractions, and proportions in twenty-two chapters.⁽²¹⁾ In 1533, the author took up this work again, revising and expanding it under the title of **Umdetu'l-hisab** ("Principles of Reckoning").⁽²²⁾ In his work entitled **Tuhfetu'l-guzat** ("Gift of the Ghazis") which he wrote in 1529 on the subject of military prowess, another aspect of Matrakci Nasuh appears before us. In his words, knowing the principles of warfare is of great importance and one should train oneself in them. Thus in this work, Nasuh provides information on archery, on the use of the sword, shield, and mace, and on equestrianism. By means of sketches that he drew, he attempts to reveal his intentions.⁽²³⁾

A second work of this type was authored by Ramazan-zade Mehmed Çelebi. Mehmed Çelebi was originally from Merzifon and came to Istanbul at a very early age. He became one of the clerks of the Imperial Chancery, rising to director of the registry of landed property in 1552 and to minister of foreign affairs the following year. Owing to his success in the general land survey conducted in the Morea, he was rewarded with the position of **nişancı** (inscriber of the imperial monogram), but some time later he was dismissed from the capital and sent to Aleppo as provincial director of

finance. From there, Ramazanzade was transferred to Egypt. In 1562 he was once again made *nişancı* at Süleyman's wishes. To distinguish him from Celalzade, a famous contemporary *nişancı*, he is referred to as *Küçük Nişancı* ("Lesser *Nişancı*") and *Yeşilce*. He died in 1571 and is buried in Istanbul in the courtyard of the Emir Buhari dervish lodge. ⁽²⁴⁾

Ramazanzade's reputation stems not so much from his position as *nişancı* however as it does from his general history (actually a sort of a handbook) entitled *Siyer-i enbiya-i izam ve ahval-i hulefa-i kiram* ("Biographies of the Exalted Prophets and the Circumstances of their Excellencies the Caliphs") or otherwise as *Menakib-i al-i Osman* ("Exploits of the Exalted Osmanlis"). The work however is referred to more often than not as *Tarih-i Nişancı Mehmed Pasha* ("History of *Nişancı* Mehmed Pasha"), *Tarih-i Ramazanzade* ("History of Ramazanzade), or simply as *Tarihi-i Nişancı* ("*Nişancı*'s History"). In the introduction, the author tells us that he wrote the work while serving as scribe of the imperial monogram for the purpose of being able to provide ready answers to questions that were asked of those he held that post, thus indicating that he had no great claims of being a historian. Indeed, *Nişancı Tarihi* is a brief compilation made from a variety of sources and may be divided into four parts. The first is a "History of the Prophets" beginning with Adam and extending to the last. The second part is an abridged history of Muslim states and is based mostly on two Arab historians: Ibn Iyas and Ibn Şahne. The part which is of interest to us (and which also is of real importance) is the third: the author wrote this in the same style as the previous two but deals only with the wars and conquests, and charities of the Ottoman sultans, providing also a list of the viziers of their reigns. This section accounts for some two-thirds of the whole work, but half of that is a history of the reign of the Lawgiver and extends to the murder of Prince Bayezid in 1561. Ramazanzade devoted the last part of his general history to a number of ancient states in Central and Southwest Asia.

With the exception of the third part dealing with Kanuni's reign, *Nişancı Tarihi* is not really valuable as an original source. Nevertheless it is a short and useful work, and for that reason it was much read, frequently copied, and republished twice - once in 1279 (1862-3) and again in 1290 (1873-4). ⁽²⁵⁾

Another work of the same type was written by Muslihiddin el-Lari. Originally from the city of Lar in Iran, Muslihiddin in his youth went to India where he was a teacher for Humayun Shah. From there he went on the pilgrimage to Mecca coming thence to Istanbul. Lari served as a professor in the Husrev Pasha and Mes'udiye medresses in Istanbul and later in Diyarbakir to which he migrated, serving also as mufti there. He died in 1572. ⁽²⁶⁾

His work *Mir'atu'l-edvar ve Mirkatu'l-ahbar* ("Mirror of the Ages and Stairway to the Chronicles"), which he wrote in Persian, is a universal history. ⁽²⁷⁾ The author completed in this work in 1566 and dedicated it to Sokullu Mehmed Pasha. In his introduction he lists his sources. The work consists of ten parts, the last of which is devoted to Ottoman history. In this section, which covers the period from the founding of the state to 1566, he gives lists of the famous statesmen, members of the Ulema, and authors during the reign of each sultan. At Sokullu Mehmed Pasha's advice, he revised and expanded the "Mir'at" and translated it into Turkish. The last part however (which he regarded as quite deficient and erroneous) was not so translated. In actual fact, it was during the course of this translation that he decided to write his famous work *Tacu't-tevarih* ("Crown of the Chronicles"). ⁽²⁸⁾ Muslihiddin el-Lari also has a number of other compositions and annotations, mostly of a religious nature. There are quite a few copies of his universal history extant, both in Turkey and abroad. ⁽²⁹⁾

While it is also stated that another work of this type was written by Gazali Mehmed (who was known by the nickname "Delu Birader"), ⁽³⁰⁾ the fact is that no mention is made either in Mecdi's *Şakaik Zeyli* ("Appendix to *Şakaik*") ⁽³¹⁾ or in con-

temporary memoranda (tezkire),⁽³²⁾ or even in Fuad Köprülü's monographic studies of a universal history by this person. Written in Persian, the work was supposedly entitled *Mir'at-i Kainat* ("Mirror of the Universe") and beginning with the Creation, extended down to the reign of the Lawgiver.⁽³³⁾

Similarly the existence of *Fezleketü't-tevarih* ("Summary of the Chronicles") a work supposedly composed by Tokadi Mehmed Efendi (who lived in the 16th Century) is also still in doubt. Another work that begins with the creation, this one too extended down to the middle years of Suleyman's reign.⁽³⁴⁾ Neither universal history has ever been encountered in any library or catalog.

Works that Begin with the Founding of the Ottoman State

Hadidi was the first historian to begin his work with the foundation of the Ottoman state. Hadidi was born in Ferecik and became a professional scholar, serving as a professor. He most likely died some time around 1533. His real name is unknown. Because his father was a blacksmith, he used the pen-name **Hadidi** in his poetry. According to one story he himself worked at ironmongery.⁽³⁵⁾

His work entitled *Tevarih-i al-i Osman*⁽³⁶⁾ begins with Osman I and reaches down to the Lawgiver. Like Ahmedî's *Iskendername* ("Book of Alexander") the work is in rhymed and metered couplets.⁽³⁷⁾ Hadidi began his work with a classical introduction, the author declaring that he took up the work in order to be remembered for his good works and indicating that he had taken Şeyhi (died 1431 ?) as his model, that he had seen Aşık Paşazade's history, that he would be writing a history in verse, and that this would lighten the heart of the sultan (though there is no record of the work's ever being presented to Suleyman). Hadidi must have completed his work towards the end of his life. Most of the sources of the history (which deals with events up until 1522) are unknown. Considering the frequent use of the term *ravi* ("they

say"), the author must have made as much use of oral sources as he did written.⁽³⁸⁾ Among the written sources however, there is no question but that Aşık Paşazade's history (which he mentions "having seen") had an important place. The other principal sources (other than anonymous works) are the histories of Oruc, Ruhi, and Neşri. Hadidi must have written the final part of his history based upon his own observations. Despite being heavily criticized, Hadidi's history was used as a source principally by Hoca Sadeddin Efendi,⁽³⁹⁾ but also by Matrakci Nasuh, Mehmed Zaim, and Peçuylu Ibrahim. While the style of language is not without its faults, one may infer that Hadidi was a good poet.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Another Ottoman history of this type was authored by Muhyiddin Mehmed, who was the son of Zenbilli Ali Cemali Efendi, the famous Sheikulislam of the reign of Selim I. Known better as "Molla Çelebi", he was raised as a scholar and served as a professor and twice as *cadi* of Edirne. He died in 1550 and is buried alongside his father's grave in Zeyrek.⁽⁴¹⁾

His general history, also entitled *Tevarih-i al-i Osman*⁽⁴²⁾ covers the period between the founding of the Ottoman state and 1549. Until about the middle of the reign of Bayezid II, the work is a copy of earlier anonymous histories, while the information provide after 1490 is basically original.⁽⁴³⁾ There are two versions of these chronicles as personally prepared by the Leunclavius into Latin and then German. It was published in Frankurt, first in 1588 and then again in 1596, this time with an index. The second version was more detailed and was published, again in Frankfurt, by the same person in 1591. The work was later translated in its entirety into German and published in 1595 in the same city.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Muhyiddin Mehmed also has a number of other compositions and translations, mostly of a religious nature.

Among the Ottoman grand viziers, Lutfi Pasha occupies an important place as an Ottoman historian. During the reign of Selim I he was brought to the court where, after receiving a good education, he became a court courier in 1512.

As a provincial governor from the Public Exchequer he participated in the Lawgiver's sieges of Rhodes (1521) and of Vienna (1529). As a governor-general for Karaman, Lutfi Pasha joined in the Iraq campaigns (1534-1536). Following his appointment to the posts of governor-general for Anatolia and Rumelia, he was made grand vizier for a third time in 1536.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The following year, he joined the Mediterranean naval campaign with Admiraly Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha, attacking the castles of Otranto and Castro and participating in the siege of Malta. In 1536 he was appointed to the position of secondary vizier and performed important services by participating in Sultan Suleyman's campaign against Moldavia. The following year Lutfi Pasha was once again grand vizier, and his most important domestic service in that capacity was his reformation of the official courier system.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Similarly his most important act in the foreign service during his office as grand vizier was the successful peace treaty that he concluded with the Venetians. On account of a dispute that arose between him and his wife (Şah Sultan, a sister of Sultan Suleyman), Lutfi Pasha resigned his post and after their divorce, he withdrew to his farm at Dimetoka where he busied himself for the rest of his life with writing. He died there in 1563.

This stern-countenanced but honest vizier was one of the last practitioners of the style of Sultan Selim the Yavuz; though he lived during the most magnificent period of the Empire, he was the first of its statesmen to sense that the government of the state had begun to deteriorate and while power he sought to reverse this, devoting attention to naval affairs and especially trying to keep the state's budget in balance. During the nearly twenty years of his retirement, he wrote treatises on religious subjects in Arabic and Turkish in which he accused scholars of the day of ignorance. From contemporary accounts, it is clear that Lutfi Pasha was one who was proud of his own scholarship.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Looking at the lines of verse that he scattered about his works, one could also say that he was a fair to middling poet.⁽⁴⁸⁾

It was with his works *Tevarih-i al-i Osman* and *Asafname* ("Book of the Grand Vizier") however that Lutfi Pasha really made his reputation. In the preface to his history he gives a list of the various works large and small that he wrote.⁽⁴⁹⁾ These "Chronicles of the Exalted Osmanlis" are in fact a general Ottoman history written in the tradition of classical Ottoman historiography. Beginning with Osman I, it comes down to the author's own day. It is now clear that the portion up until the reign of Selim I is basically a copy of another anonymous Ottoman chronicle published by Giese.⁽⁵⁰⁾ For this section, Lutfi Pasha also made use of Ahmedi's *Iskendername*, of Ruhi's history, and of Neşri's *Cihannuma*. Because he reports the reigns of Selim I and of the Lawgiver in particular large through his own eyes, this work is regarded as an original source. Nevertheless, having been written by someone fallen out of favor (as he was) Lutfi Pasha's work must be used with caution as he may have acted subjectively in relating certain events. The most important parts of this history, which reaches down to 1554, are the pages in which Lutfi Pasha relates his years as vizier. What is particularly interesting is that even at that early date, the author was able to recognize and point to aspects of imperial power that had begun to wane and deteriorate. *Tevarih-i al-i Osman* was published in Istanbul in an edition dated 1341.⁽⁵¹⁾

Lutfi Pasha is better known however for a short treatise entitled *Asafname*, which he wrote on the subject of the state's organization, than for his history. In this work he provides information about the organization and protocol of the Ottoman state, while at the same time he also points out aspects of it that were detrimental to the state's order. Because this is the first work ever to be written on this subject and also because it reflects the views of a grand vizier, the book has been the target of much attention and it has been republished several times.⁽⁵²⁾

II – HISTORIES OF THE REIGN OF THE LAWGIVER AND THE “BOOKS OF SÜLEYMAN”

Before we pass on to works of the *Suleymanname* type, it would be appropriate here to make mention of a few *Selimnames* that deal with events of the reign of Selim I but were actually written during the reign of Sultan Suleyman. Though such works are concerned with occurrences during Selim's reign, they nevertheless fall within the scope of the historiography of the latter period, having been written during the reign of the Lawgiver. Nonetheless, no independent study has been made of *Selimnames* and for that reason, we are only going to mention them briefly here – it not being felt necessary to dwell overlong upon them.

On the verbal orders of Selim the Grim, Idris of Bitlis (Idris-i Bitlisi) began writing such a *Selimname*, but he died in 1520 without completing the work. At the orders of Süleyman, this *Selimname* was completed by his son, Ebu'l-Fazl Mehmed, who added his own chapter headings and finished the last part. We should also point out that Ebu'l-Fazl Mehmed also wrote a history of the reign of Selim entitled *Selim-şahname* (“The Book of Selim Shah”). While this work, written in Persian, resembles his father's own *Selimname* here and there, it is distinct from that work on account of half of its being in verse.⁽⁵³⁾

Similarly, Volume IX of the Ottoman Chronicles (originally written by Ibn Kemal and presented to Bayezid II) dealing with the reign of Selim I was also written by orders of the Lawgiver.⁽⁵⁴⁾

In the Lawgiver's reign, Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi also wrote a *Selimname* during the final years of his life.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Şukri-i Bitlisi, who participated in Selim the Grim's campaigns against Persia and Iraq, revised his *Selimname* in verse during Suleyman's reign and producing a clean copy presented it to the sultan. The work is in the form of a *mesnevi* (rhymed couplets) and is illustrated with miniatures. In 1620 it was converted to a prose work by Çerkesler Katibi

Yusuf. It underwent a rewriting in 1627 by Cevri.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Şîrî was another author who composed his history of the reign of Selim I entitled *Tarih-i Feth-i Mısır* (“History of the Conquest of Egypt”) during the reign of the Lawgiver.⁽⁵⁷⁾

A work by Carullah bin Fahdi'l-Mekki (died 1547) entitled *el-Cevahiru'l-hisan*⁽⁵⁸⁾ should be regarded as being of the *Selimname* type and finally, we should also indicate that the *Selimname* that makes up the first part of the dynastic history of Mahremi (whom we shall be mentioning for his own *Suleymanname*) was also written during the time of the Lawgiver.

Works that were written during the rule of Kanuni Suleyman and that, for the most part, deal solely with events of the reign of that sovereign are generally lumped together under the name *Suleymanname*. Nevertheless as we shall be seeing below, there are also histories that were written under different names as well.

Süleymannames in Prose

The most detailed history of the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent was written by Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi and for that reason, the most perfect of all the *Süleymannames* is the one he wrote. Mustafa Çelebi was originally from Tosyali. He is known chiefly by the name *Celalzade* (“son of Celal”), a reference to his father Celal, who was a *kadı*. His true agnomen however is *Koca Nişancı* (“the Greater Nişancı”) a title given to distinguish him from the other Nişancı of the same period, Ramazanzade Mehmed. Mustafa Çelebi was sometimes also referred to with the titles “pasha”⁽⁶⁰⁾ and “bey”.⁽⁶¹⁾ He came to Istanbul at a very early age, was attached to the household of Grand Vizier Piri Mehmed Pasha and became a clerk for the *Divan* (Council of State). During the time of Makbul Ibrahim Pasha Mustafa Çelebi also demonstrated his merit, becoming chancellor in 1525. Ten years later he was raised to the rank on *nişancı*. Celalzade's true reputation stems from his ability with the imperial courtly style of

writing and poetry during the twenty-three years of his occupancy of this post. At the Imperial Council he was all but a lawmaker himself.⁽⁶¹⁾ Though Mustafa Çelebi resigned from this office in 1557 and went into retreat in his home in Eyup, in 1566 he was again made *nişancı* with the intervention of Sokullu Mehmed Pasha in 1566, and he remained in that position until his death, the next year. Celalzade's tomb is near a mosque that Celalzade had built in the vicinity of his house in Eyup. There is also a dervish convent and a bath at the same place.⁽⁶²⁾ In the Ottoman state, Celalzade Mustafa was regarded as the greatest holder of the office of *nişancı* after Tacizade Cafer Çelebi. Throughout his active official life – and particularly during the ten-year hiatus between his two terms as *nişancı* – he was the author of many works. The most important of these (and also the one that is of concern to us) is his *Tabakatu'l-memalik ve Derecatu'l-mesalik* ("Accounts of the Dominions and Classifications of the Professions").⁽⁶³⁾ Though the author states in his foreword that he wrote the book basically for the purpose of providing information concerning the state's central and provincial organization (which had been much ignored until his own time) as well as concerning its military and social structure, the work (many manuscript copies of which still survive) is really only a political history of the reign of the Lawgiver. Though the author states he dealt with thirty "accounts" and three hundred and seventy-five "classifications", today only the thirtieth account of *Tabakatu'l-memalik* survives, and that deals with events between 1520-1554. Under the circumstances, two possibilities come to mind: either the author never actually wrote these other sections or they have not managed to come down to the present day. According to an annotation made on a copy now at the Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Library (Number 778 folio 18/a) that was written in the handwriting of his son, Celalzade did write twenty-nine such accounts previously.

Written in rather a ponderous and ornate style, this work is an original source for the history of Süleyman I. In the in-

troductio to his book, Mustafa Çelebi undertakes a serious criticism of works previously written on the subject of the reign of the Lawgiver. Since he was setting down events of a period that he had actually experienced, he relies upon his own observations most of the time as a source. Celalzade's *Tabakatu'l-memalik* provides lively and interesting descriptions of events of the period, and it was already being quoted as a source even in the century during which it was written. It was a principal source drawn upon by such historians as Âli and Peçuyly Ibrahim. *Tabakatu'l-memalik* was printed for the first time in 1937 as part of a military publication program with the title (in Turkish) "The Wars of the Turkish Army and the Circumstances of the State During the Period of the Rise of the Ottoman Empire". A facsimile edition, with the inclusion of an extensive introduction and an index, was produced in Germany in 1981 by Petra Kappert. Two exceptional copies of the work are to be found, one at the Library of Istanbul University (TY 5997) and the other at the Ayaşofya (Süleymaniye) Library (Number 3296). More often than not, individual parts of the *Tabakatu'l-memalik* appear in a number of libraries cataloged as separate works.⁽⁶⁴⁾ For example, the *Fetihname-i Cezire-i Rodos* ("History of the Conquest of the Island of Rhodes") registered under number 757 at the Selimağa Library in Üsküdar, pages 81-192 of manuscript Number 3170/4 at the Nurosmeniye Library, and the manuscripts numbered "Tarih-287" at the Ali Emiri (Millet) Library and "TY 501" at the University Library are all the part of the *Tabakat* that deals with the conquest of Rhodes.⁽⁶⁵⁾ In the same way, the *Mohaçname* ("History of Mohachs") registered under Number TY 2623 at the Istanbul University Library is the part dealing with the conquest of Hungary. The *Gazavat-ı Sultan Süleyman* (Number 3319 at the Ayasofya Library) and the manuscripts registered under Number 2315 at the Esad Efendi (Süleymaniye) Library are sections of the *Tabakatu'l-memalik* that deal with Sultan Süleyman's expectations against Moldavia.

Celalzade also wrote a work on morals entitled *Mevahi-*

bu'l-hallak fi meratibi'l-ahlak which he later expanded and re-named **Enisu's-selatin ve celisu'l havakin**. In the later work he dealt with religious and moral subjects in three sections. The work is additionally important owing to its reflection of the powerful elegance of Celalzade's style. In his work entitled **Selimname**, Mustafa Çelebi (who also had done translations of Arabic and Persian works of a religious nature) relates the exploits and conquests of Sultan Selim The Grim while still crown prince and as sultan. ⁽⁶⁶⁾ Rather more of a compilation of previously written "Books of Selim", it complements them thanks to a number of additional bits of information that he provides. Celalzade Mustafa displayed in poetry the same success that he showed in prose: there exists a brief **divan** of his in which poems that he wrote under the pen name of "Nişani" are collected. ⁽⁶⁷⁾ The author's **Kanunname** is evidence of his thorough grasp of consuetudinary law and thus is worth examination on its own.

One **Süleymanname** whose contents deal with the years between 1520 and 1547 was until quite recently attributed to a poet by the name of Ferdi thanks to Hammer, ⁽⁶⁸⁾ and by J. von Karabacek to Crown Prince Mustafa, Kanuni's son. ⁽⁶⁹⁾ Most recently however it has been definitively proven that the work is by Kazasker Bostan Çelebi. ⁽⁷⁰⁾ Bostan Çelebi, whose real name was Mustafa, had memorized the Koran at an early age and had taken lessons in the art of its recitation. Later on he established a close relationship with Ibn Kemal and Muhyiddin el-Fenari, famous scholars of the era, and he became a disciple of Hayreddin Efendi, Kanuni's own teacher. Serving as professor and kadı in a variety of posts, Bostan Çelebi became kazasker (chief military justice) for Anatolia in 1547 and ten days later was promoted simultaneously to the same position for Rumelia. He died in 1570. His biography is cited in early ⁽⁷¹⁾ and in later ⁽⁷²⁾ sources. But while they list his religious works - most of which are commentaries - no mention is made of his "Book of Süleyman". As established by Professor Yurdaydın, the **Cülusname-i Sultan Süleyman** ("The Accession of Sultan Süleyman") regis-

tered under Number 3317 at the Ayasofya Library (Süleymaniye), is the same (in terms of content) as a manuscript entitled **Süleymaniye** (Library of Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Revan, Number 1283) and as another manuscript entitled **Tarih-i Sultan Süleyman** ("History of Sultan Süleyman") now at the library of the Turkish Historical Association; according to Yurdaydın, the work is a compilation by Bostan. This **Süleymanname** underwent various stages of composition by the author and the most extensive edition is that from the Hammer Collection, now in the Viennese National Library (Catalog Number 998). This copy extends to 1542. ⁽⁷³⁾ Owing to the tumultuous and troublesome nature of his later years, Bostan Çelebi was unable to write after that date though he did make a few additions to the work of various occasions. It is noteworthy that the stages of composition are in the form of the addition of new events as the point where the previous edition left off. In every case however, the author made scattered revisions in his work. The manner in which he deals with events - particularly in his establishing a connection with earlier occurrences - is an indication that the author was well possessed of the power of narration and synthesis. Bostan's **Süleymanname** is far more than a dry journal of events: with its lively descriptions and bits of verse strewn about here and there, it is in fact an example of literary prose. Apart from the possibility that Hasan Beyzade may also have made use of Bostan's work, ⁽⁷⁴⁾ the first person to deal with the book was Hammer, who made the attribution to Ferdi. Subsequently it attracted no attention at all. The fact is however that while the book is not as detailed perhaps as the works of Celalzade Mustafa or Matrakçı Nasuh, Bostan provides us with particularly more extensive information concerned with events at court than those two authors do, owing to his close relationship with the sultan's teacher, Hayreddin Efendi. As such, the work is one of the original sources for the period in question. ⁽⁷⁵⁾

The writer of another **Süleymanname** is Salih Çelebi, the brother of Koca Nişancı Mustafa Çelebi. A trained scholar of

the Ulema, he was a student of the famous calligrapher Sheik Hamdullah ⁽⁷⁶⁾ and of Ibn Kemal (Kemal Paşazade). Owing to the poor penmanship of the latter, he made fair copies of some of that author's works. During his professorship he wrote a brief history of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver's campaigns against Belgrade, Rhodes, and Budin, which he presented to that sultan. Having earned the favorable attention of the sovereign, Celalzade Salih Çelebi translated the eight-volume biography of Firuz Shah from Persian to Turkish at Kanuni's orders. In 1545 he went to Egypt as a government inspector and during his stay there wrote his **Tarih-i Mısır** ("History of Egypt"). ⁽⁷⁷⁾ After his return, Salih Çelebi served as kadı in a number of places, and after a position of Kadı of Egypt for three years he retired in 1550. During this time he was continuously busy with literary works at his home in Eyup, authoring quite a few works mostly of a religious and moral nature. ⁽⁷⁵⁾ At the orders of Crown Prince Bayezid he translated a work on morals by Cemaleddin Mehmed Avfi entitled **Cevamiu'l-hikayat ve Levamiu'r-rivayat** from Persian to Turkish for which he was rewarded with a professorship at the Eyup Medresse near his home. Salih Çelebi died in 1565. He was also a good poet and a collection of his works exists. ⁽⁷⁹⁾

Celalzade Salih is also known for a few accounts of military conquests (**fetihname**) concerned with Ottoman history ⁽⁸⁰⁾ Another work of his, **Tarih-i Sultan Süleyman** ("History of Sultan Süleyman") is also referred to by name, ⁽⁸¹⁾ but nothing certain is known of its nature or its content except that according to information provided by Aşık Çelebi and Hasan Çelebi however, Salih must have written a **Süleymanname** that name. H.O. Fleischer and F. Delitzch were the first to put forth information on this matter, while Yurdaydın has proven that Salih Çelebi wrote a history dealing with the years between 1520 and 1528, that is to say, the Lawgiver's first three military campaigns. ⁽⁸²⁾ In other words, until recently the separately titled sections of Salih Çelebi's "History of the Exalted Osmanlis" were supposed to be independ-

ent works and so they were regarded. Within the works themselves however these names nowhere appear and on the face of their subject matter, it would appear that they were given titles at a later date. ⁽⁸³⁾ In writing the section of his **Süleymanname** dealing with Rhodes, Salih Çelebi probably made use of Bostan's work. ⁽⁸⁴⁾ The sole perfect copy of this **Süleymanname** known is in the Leipzig Municipal Library and the calligraphy of this edition may be by the author's own hand. Copies in other libraries are catalogued under the titles of **Mohaçname** and **Fetihname**.

Kemal Paşazade wrote his history at the order of Bayezid II and for that reason should be regarded as among the historians of that sultan's reign. However because additions were made at the orders of the Lawgiver to his major work **Tevarih-i al-i Osman**, it would not be a serious mistake to include him among the historians of Sultan Süleyman's era. Known also as Ibn Kemal, he was born in Tokat in 1468. While his given name was Şemseddin Ahmed, he was always referred to "Kemal's son" (**Ibn Kemal**) or "Son of Kemal Pasha" (**Kemal Paşazade**), a reference to his grandfather. Şemseddin Ahmed underwent a good education. Starting out in the military he later turned to scholarly pursuits, and was taught by some of the leading scholars of the day. He undertook professorships in a number of medresses and also served as cadı in important posts. He earned the great favor and appreciation of Selim I. In 1516 he was promoted to the rank of chief military justice for Anatolia and later to that of Rumelia. In that capacity he joined Selim on the latter's Egyptian campaign, during which he translated Ibn Tagribirdi's **en-Nucumu'z-zahire** from Arabic to Turkish. In 1526, Ibn Kemal was made Sheikulislam when that office was vacated upon the death of Zenbilli Ali Cemali Efendi and it is a well-known fact that he incited both Selim the Grim and later Süleyman the Lawgiver to undertake hostilities against the Shiite sects. This great scholar retained the title of Sheihulislam until his death in 1534. ⁽⁸⁵⁾ Assigned by Sultan Bayezid II (who was born in the reign of Mehmed the

Conqueror) to write a history of the Osmanlis in Turkish, Ibn Kemal took up the task of writing **Tevarih-i al-i Osman** ("Chronicles of the Exalted Osmanlis") a general history of the Osmanlı line. ⁽⁸⁶⁾ The work received the praise and appreciation of Bayezid II. Thus while he should – as we stated above – be regarded as one of the historians of the reign of that sultan, at a later date the reign of Selim I was added to the work at the Lawgiver's orders and the author extended the work up until 1526 during Süleyman's occupancy of the throne. ⁽⁸⁷⁾ Kemal Paşazade arranged the work into nine **defter** ("books") each dealing with the reign of a single sultan. To the previous eight such books of the "Chronicles", he added a ninth and tenth, the producing a major ten-volume history of the House Osmanli. He proved with this work that an Ottoman history could be written also in Turkish based on the model of **Heşt Bihişt** (Eight Paradises) penned in Persian by Idris-i Bitlisi at the order Beyazid II. Ibn Kemal presented the first eight books of his work to Beyazid II in the year 1510. The event concerning the crown princes in the final years of this sovereign's reign and the happenings in the reign of Selim I are narrated in the 9th book. The 10th book which is of interest to us here, is known under the titles "Mohaçname", "Tarih-i Ungurus", "Fetihnâme", "Gazavât-ı Sultan Süleyman", "Zafername-i Sultan Süleyman" ⁽⁸⁸⁾ and even "Süleymanname". ⁽⁸⁹⁾ As a matter of fact, this book mentioned in **Keşfü'z-zunun** (I, page 285) ⁽⁹⁰⁾ was thought by M. Pavet de Courteille to be an independent work of Ibn Kemal and was published by him in French accompanied by the Turkish text in 1859 under the title of "Historie de la campagne de Mohaçz" ⁽⁹¹⁾. In the 10th book Ibn Kemal has taken up the Lawgiver's campaigns starting from his accession to the throne and has thus created an original source based mainly upon his observation. However, this 10th book concerning the first seven years of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver's reign does not treat this epoch's happenings as a whole maybe on account of the many preoccupations of its writer who was the sheihhulislam at the time. For this very

reason, this book is present in various libraries under different titles. ⁽⁹²⁾

Ibn Kemal who has hundreds of treatises to his name dealing mostly with Islamic subjects as well as translation from the Arabic and the Persian, has also written philologic and literary works and poems of merit. ⁽⁹³⁾ 36 of his treatises have been published in 1316 by Ahmed Cevdet, owner of the **İkdam** newspaper. **Tefsirü'l-Kur'an** (Interpretation of the Koran), **Fetva Mecmuası** (Collection of Fatwas) and his dictionary of the Arabic and Persian languages named **Hakaiku'l-lugat**, which can be classed among his major works, have not been taken up as yet. The First and Second Books of **Tevarih-i al-i Osman** (History of the Ottoman Dynasty) have been published in ancient script and its 7th Book in the form of édition critique and facsimile was published by Şerafettin Turan. The 8th and the 9th Books on the other hand have been published in Germany by Ahmet Uğur in the year 1985.

Süleymannames in verse

Süleymannames in verse written in the days of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver, most of which are cited with their poet's pseudonym and none of which cover the whole of the Lawgiver's period, are quite numerous. The most important and those about whom we were able to acquire some knowledge are the following:

Süleymanname of Gubari Abdurrahman b. Abdullah

Abdurrahman Efendi born in Akşehir, concluded his primary education in that township and his medresse education in Istanbul. He later joined the Nakshi order, went once to Mecca and on his return was appointed teacher and companion to Orhan, son of the crown prince Bayezid. Gubari who took part in the Lawgiver's Irak campaign (1534-1536) as a clerk, was appointed superintendent of the Surre ⁽⁹⁴⁾ (money or goods sent annually by the monarch to Mecca) on his return to Istanbul and died in 1566 in Mecca. ⁽⁹⁵⁾ Abdur-

rahman Efendi who had taken lessons of calligraphy from Mustafa Dede, son of Sheihh Hamdullah, adopted the pseudonym "Gubari" on account of his skill in this script.⁽⁹⁶⁾ The name of his Süleymanname written in Persian is *Şehname* (dynastic history). This work which he started writing in 1551 by the order of the Lawgiver, is a chronicle of the early years of Süleyman I. One copy of this work which reflects the characteristics of the *şehname* style, can be found in the Manisa Public Library (Number 1346). Another copy of the same work is recorded as Nr 764 in the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa (Süleymaniye) Library. About one third of the *Şehname* is full of prayers, hymns, supplications and advice to the Prince Süleyman, heir to the throne. The remaining parts have been set apart for the death of Selim the Grim and for eulogies in praise of the Lawgiver. Gubari wrote his work entitled *Kabename* in 1556. He writes here of the history of the Prophet's mausoleum in Medina, of the repairs and facilities which the Sultan Süleyman had done there and of the pious foundations which he endowed. The poet has other works such as *Şebistan-i Hayal Naziresi* and *Yusuf and Züleyha*⁽⁹⁷⁾ based on other works which preceded them.

Süleymanname of Mahremi

Mahremi was born in Istanbul and received his education in Galata. He served for a long time as substitute *cadi* to Aşçı-zade Hasan Çelebi (died 942/1535-36) in the Galata and Salonika districts and on his way back from Salonika to Istanbul he was taken prisoner with his wife and two children by an enemy vessel. Leaving them as hostages Mahremi betook himself to Istanbul in order to find the necessary money for their release and died in this city.⁽⁹⁸⁾ The hostages were later rescued by Nakkaş Haydar in return for 1700 florins.⁽⁹⁹⁾ His contemporaries Beyani and Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi mention him as "someone of a lively disposition and companion to those of a pleasing character."⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Aşık Çelebi on the other hand mentions his "Basitname" of which the

words and similes are completely in Turkish. Faizi on his part has inserted a section taken from the author's *Şehname* into his *Tezkire*.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Whereas Latifi and Ali from Gelibolu mention debating between themselves and Keşfi, writer of *Selimname*.⁽¹⁰³⁾

Mahremi's works in verse, which is sometimes referred to as *Şehname*, but mostly as *Süleymanname*,⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ is made of two sections. The first relates Sultan Selim Yavuz holy wars, and the second partly the Lawgiver's holy wars. The first section which can be considered a perfect *Selimname*, constitutes nearly two thirds of the work.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Selim I's Iran and Egypt campaigns are related extensively therein. The praises heaped upon the Sultan Süleyman in the foreword (folio 19b), is proof that this work was penned in the days of this *padîşah*. The poet pointing out that he penned his work upon an unearthly signaling, further explains that he named it *Şehname*.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ The second section which is of greater interest to us starts with praises to the Lawgiver and requests of bounty from him (folio 238a). This is followed by accounts of the Canberdi Gazali uprising and the Belgrade and Rhodes campaigns. The book ends with the mention that Walachia and Moldavia were subjected to a capitation tax. Mahremi pointing out that he had dedicated his work to Sultan Süleyman and expected to live in affluence for the rest of his life thanks to the favors to be awarded by him, reserved once again his last couplets to the *padîşah*. The real importance of Mahremi, who related the happenings of his day by relying upon hearsay and narratives, is his being one of the first representatives of our national literature due to the simplicity of his language and style⁽¹⁰⁷⁾. In fact, Aşık Çelebi mentions his *Basitname* which is completely Turkish as to words and similes and cities and the following couplet as an example:

Gördüm seyirtir ol elâ gözlü geyik gibi
Düştüüm saçı tuzacağına ben üveyik gibi⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

The only copy known so far of Mahremi's *Şehname* is to be found in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Revan, Nr.

1287. This manuscript of 346 folios was written in the ta'lik style of writing. Agah Sırrı Levend mentions another work of Mahremi dealing with Beyazid II's campaigns and victories and the presence of one copy of this in the Türk Dil Kurumu (Turkish Language Society) Library under Nr. 77.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

Haki's Süleymanname

The Süleymanname in the Topkapı Palace Library (Revan, nr. 1289) belongs to someone writing with the pseudonym Haki. There are many poet who used this pseudonym in their poems.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ A note in the Süleymanname reveals that the poet was *cadi* of Niğde province and that he took part in the Lawgiver's Revan and Nahçıvan campaigns.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Though introduced as a native of Niğde and the author of *Selimname* in some writings,⁽¹¹²⁾ Haki's identity is still not clear. Nevertheless, we know that this person wrote his Süleymanname in verse in the year 1560.

Haki wrote his work upon a signal of the unknown. He started his Süleymanname with a classical introduction, after praising the Lawgiver and the Grand Vizier Rüstem Paşa, he dwelled on the causes of this campaign and spoke later of the army's route, of the war and lastly of the Amasya Agreement. The work ends with the Lawgiver's return to Istanbul. Haki's extravagant praising of Sultan Süleyman and his failing to mention such a deplorable event as the murder of Süleyman's heir Prince Mustafa, calls to mind the probability that the poet might have presented his work to the padishah. The poet's style is somewhat ponderous and dry as compared to that of his contemporaries.⁽¹¹³⁾

The Süleymanname of Eyyubi

Our knowledge concerning the poet who wrote under the pseudonym of Eyyubi was born in Istanbul's Eyup quarter and later adopted the "Eyyubi" pseudonym for that reason. His work indicates moreover that the poet had some connection with the Janissary corps. Though Süleymanname

lacks a name given to it by its writer, its being mentioned as *Risale-i Padişahname* (Padishah's Treatise) or more widely as *Menakib-ı Sultan Süleyman* (Exploits of Sultan Süleyman) stems from some subsequent sources⁽¹¹⁴⁾. Eyyubi points out that he wrote his historical account in 972/1564-65 for commemorating the rescue of the city from suffering a lack of water in the summer season thanks to the repair of the Istanbul viaducts, which had collapsed during a storm.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ In the opening chapters of this work, which consists of 1495 couplets, mention is made briefly of Sultan Süleyman's Belgrade, Rhodes, Buda, Vienna, German, Baghdad, Corfu, Moldavia, Istabor, Istoni-Belgrade and Nahçıvan campaigns to be followed by the charities of this padishah in Istanbul and in the provinces. The actual text comes later. Mention is made here of the repair undertaken on Istanbul's waterways. Concerning these repairs the other names cited in addition to Architect Sinan are High Admiral Piyale Paşa, Ali Aga, Commander-in chief of the Janissaries (Müezzinzade Ali Paşa appointed High Admiral in 1567). This part of the treatise complements⁽¹¹⁶⁾ information conveyed by Selaniki Mustafa⁽¹¹⁷⁾ and of Peçuyly İbrahim⁽¹¹⁸⁾ on the same topic.

Süleymanname of Senai

Our knowledge concerning Senai and his work is rather limited. There have been two poets in the days of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver, who have written under the pseudonym of "Senai" one being a native of Balıkesir and the other of Manisa.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ The native of Manisa travelled a lot, was regent for a time, later became the teacher of the Lawgiver's son and heir Mustafa, went to Amasya with this prince and died there in 970/1562-63.⁽¹²⁰⁾ No mention is made of the Süleymanname of Senai Mehmed, some of whose works are mentioned in OM, II, 118, only his *Selimname*'s name is cited.⁽¹²¹⁾ However, Senai mentioned in OM, III, 35 is allegedly the writer of a work regarding the

epoch of the Lawgiver. ⁽¹²²⁾ Senai of Balıkesir, whose biography is contained again in OM, II, 119-120 is the contemporary of Kinalızade Hasan. As the Süleymanname was completed in 947/1540-41 at the latest, its writer is probably the Senai of Manisa.

The history in verse with title **Süleymaniye** or **Fütuhat-ı Sultan Süleyman Han** (Conquests of Sultan Süleyman Khan) which is attributed to Senai and was not greatly admired by both Hasan Çelebi and Âli of Gelibolu, owes its existence to a divine inspiration. While the Lawgiver's military expeditions on behalf of Islam were discussed one night among friends, a voice came out of the unknown saying into his ear, "Why don't you write and explain all this", whereupon Senai hurrying to the padishah explained what happened, wrote his work in verse at his padishah's order and named it **Süleymaniye**. ⁽¹²⁴⁾ The copy in Revan Library (Number 1288) has 95 folios. The date July 6th. 1540 at the end of the manuscript is probably the date on which it was written. This work must have at least been written a short time before the above date. ⁽¹²⁵⁾ The **Süleymaniye** consisting of 4500 couplets written in the mesnevi style, starts with praises to God, supplications and greetings to the Prophet and following these with eulogies to the Lawgiver. Next, Sultan Süleyman's military expeditions and conquests in the west and in the east are described in due order. The book ends with the Moldavia campaign in 1538. The following couplets frequently reiterated by Senai:

It is rumoured by the talks of Janissaries
I heard them from the tongue of the wise
It is rumoured by the talk of narrators
Of olds and youngs taking part in the campaign

indicate that he wrote his work by making use of narrations of those who took part in battles. Its literary value notwithstanding. **Süleymaniye** is an original source for the first half of the Lawgiver's epoch thorough the detailed information it contains on the settling politics of the government the

mode of administration, the internal division of the army and the ceremonies taking place on the eves of campaigns.

Fütuhat-ı Süleymani (Conquests of Süleyman) written in verse by a poet named Ismail, the Iranian, is a history of the epoch of the Lawgiver reaching into the 1540's. This work penned by some one who had witnessed most happenings of the day gives information concerning the most prominent vizier's and the padishah's construction in Istanbul, the calligraphers and men of religion in addition to campaigns and conquests. Its copy in the Library of the Topkapı palace (Revan, Number 1422) consists of 32 folios and has been penned in 946/1539-40. ⁽¹²⁶⁾

Anonymous Süleymannames

Cihadü'l- mücahidîn (The combatant's holywar)

The anonymous Süleymanname titled **Cihadü'l- mücahidîn** covers the happenings which took place between 1520-1531. ⁽¹²⁷⁾ The copy of the work which is in the TSM Treasury under Nr. 1434, is recorded in the catalogue as **Cihad-ı Sultan Süleyman** (Sultan Süleyman's Holywar). ⁽¹²⁸⁾ This work which is written in a verse mesnevi style is formed of 3800 couplets.

Another anonymous work concerning this epoch is **Gazavat-ı Sultan Süleyman-ı Kanuni** (Epic poem of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver's Heroic Exploits). This very short Süleymanname, which is to be found between folios 181a-192b in the collection recorded under Nr. 3170/4 in the Nuruosmaniye Library, tells about the Lawgiver's campaigns and victories. ⁽¹²⁹⁾

The work to be found in the Topkapı Palace Library under Treasury, Number 1517 is a Süleymanname in verse written in Persian, narrating the epoch of the Lawgiver through 30000 couplets. It is the fifth section of the work of **Şehname** (dynastic history) writer Fethullah. ⁽¹³⁰⁾ The real importance of this work consisting of 617 folios, lies in the

very valuable 69 miniatures therein. These miniatures are the first specimens of Ottoman historical painting.⁽¹³¹⁾ More will be told about this work below.

Another anonymous Süleymanname bears the name **Fütuhât-ı Cemile** (Praiseworthy Victories). This work written in Persian in the mesnevi style comprises solely the Hungarian campaign during the reign of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver, more exactly in 1551, and the conquests during this campaign. Though this work bears some resemblance according to Karatay to the Şehname kept in the Treasury under Nr. 1592, it is shorter in length and concerns only the Hungarian campaign.⁽¹³²⁾

In the anonymous history bearing the name **Hikaye der-zaman-ı Sultan Süleyman** (Story of the times of Sultan Süleyman) events in the epoch of the Lawgiver are scattered haphazardly and biographies of some theological scholars have been included therein.⁽¹³³⁾

Similarly the anonymous history titled **Dâstân-ı Sultan Süleyman** to be found under Nr. 1268 of TSM Revan, covers the interval between the years 1520-1537.⁽¹³⁴⁾

No information could be obtained about the Süleymannames mentioned on page 84 of Babinger and on page 69 of Levend's **Gazavatnameler**, adapted from him. Though there is mention of a Süleymanname belonging to the famous poet Nev'i on page 85 of Babinger and on page 69 of **Gazavatnameler** no record has been found in contemporary sources of such a work belonging to Nev'i.

Both the Süleymanname written by Şemseddin Ahmet of Sivas in the name of Murad IV⁽¹³⁵⁾ and the famous Süleymanname of Kara Çelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi (Bulak 1248) do not enter the scope of our subject on account of being written much later.

We are concluding the subject of Süleymannames with similar works mentioned in bibliographies and catalogues, some of which are to be found in privately owned libraries.

No information could be obtained about the Süleymanname by Şemsi of Bursa, which is mentioned in, OM, III, 120, 169 and in Babinger, adapted from the above.⁽¹³⁶⁾ Similarly, Hariri of Kastamonu (died 940/1533-34),⁽¹³⁷⁾ a master of lyric and to the Lawgiver and was recompensed by the padishah accordingly.⁽¹³⁹⁾ However no copy of this work has been found.

Though mention is made of the Süleymanname by the Persian poet Şahi b. Kasım Çelebi of Tebriz (died 1538) in the **Keşfü'z-zunun zeyli** of Ismail pasha of Bagdad,⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ no copy there of has been seen. Hammer also mentions a Süleymanname by Hayatî⁽¹⁴¹⁾ but, no information could be obtained about this poet and his work.⁽¹⁴²⁾ Another Süleymanname is named in OM, I, 42. Again no information is available about this work belonging to someone called Behiştî Ramazan (died 970/1571-72).⁽¹⁴³⁾

III. BOOKS OF CONQUEST AND BOOKS OF VICTORIES

The expression fetihname (Book of Conquest) or zafername (Book of Victory) is used for designating letters sent to neighboring monarchs, khans, princes, governors and provincial cadis for announcing the seizing of a town, a fortress and battles ending in victory. Though short and epic in character, they are valued as original historical sources on account of their complementing general histories and chronicles.

A great many gazavatnames have been written concerning the conquests and victories of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver who spent nearly one fourth of his lifetime on battlefields. As pointed out above we ought to repeat that many manuscripts registered under different names in various libraries are fragments of one great Ottoman history and Süleymanname.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Our objective being not to speak of all historical works regarding the epoch of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver, but to give an idea about the historiography of that period, we shall content ourselves with considering

such examples about which knowledge could be obtained and conforming with as far possible to the chronological order.

a) Belgradnames

Feth-i Kal'a-i Belgrad (Conquest of the Castle of Belgrade): This work was authored by someone named Sa'yi. ⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ However it has not been possible to determine which one of the poets he was who lived during that period and used the same pseudonym. Though put forward by Atsız that the work in question might have been written by Sai Mehmed Çelebi (died 941/1534-35), this person's having seen the times of Sultan Fatih Mehmed shows him to be too old at the time. Therefore it appears that writing this account of conquest would be too difficult for him. ⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ Levend pointing out that the two Sa'yis of Prizren, whose biographies are given in OM, III, 50 have to be the same person and declaring that the person in question died during the reign of Selim I, underlines that he could not have been the author of the abovementioned work. ⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ This account of conquests, which is in verse, is rather good as far as poetry technique goes. Two copies of the work are to be found in the Esad Efendi (Süleymaniye) Library (number 927 folio. 31b-39a and number 2175. folio. 40b-47a).

Name-i Fütihat-ı Memalik-i Ungurus (Account of the Conquests of the Country of Hungary) is a work consisting of two treatises. The first of these concerns the capture of Belgrade and the second the capture of Buda in 1526. ⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ These are in all probability copies of accounts of conquest penned in connection with the abovementioned conquests and sent to cadis. ⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

One work concerning the capture of Belgrade is in the University of Istanbul Library (TY. 754) ⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ and registered as "Hungaria Expedition".

A physician (Tabib) called Ramazan also wrote during this time a work regarding this conquest. ⁽¹⁵¹⁾ It is evident

that this person who was a physician at court was not the head physician. Because the head physician of the day was Sinan. ⁽¹⁵²⁾ Ramazan personally took part in the Lawgiver's Belgrade campaign, wrote his account of conquest in Arabic and named it **er-Risaletü'l-fethiyyeti'l-ungurusiyye es-Süleymaniyye** (Treatise on the conquest of Hungary by Süleymaniye) in 1521 by relying on his observations. According to the author it seems that he wished to endear himself to the padişah and wrote his work with that purpose in mind. The only known copy of this work is in TSM, Revan, Number 1279. ⁽¹⁵³⁾ It has been entered into the catalogue under the heading **Fethiye**. ⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ The treatise consists of a foreword, ten chapters and a conclusion.

Fetihname-i Kal'a-i Belgrad (Account of the Conquest of the Castle of Belgrade) rumoured to be written by Lamii Çelebi, has not been found. ⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

b) Rodosnames

Our explanations concerning the Belgradname type of work above are valid also for works regarding the conquest of Rhodes. Treatises to be found in a great many libraries are really fragments of great works such as the Süleymannames of one of the Celalzade, Kemal Paşazade or Matrakçı Nasuh. As a matter of fact, the work mentioned in the **Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Kataloğu** (Catalogue of Historical and Geographical Manuscripts) Copy Nr II, 191-192, the **Flügel Catalogue**, II, 216 and the Rhodes Account of Conquest to be found under Number 757 in the Selimağa Library and under 3170/3 in the Nuruosmaniye Library are thus. The first of these are fragments of the Süleymanname of Celalzade Mustafa and the second of the Süleymanname of his brother Salih. Similarly, the **Mohacname** in the Istanbul University Library (TY 1285) is the work of Celalzade Salih.

The name of **Tarih-i Rodos** (History of Rhodes) ⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ attributed to Cennabi Paşa (died 969/1561-62), is not mentioned in contemporary tezkire and other sources. Only Ka-

tip Çelebi ⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ talks about this person's Divan (Collection of poems).

The work of Physician (Tabib) Ramazan mentioned above is a real (fetihname) history of the conquest of Rhodes. This personality whom we cited above in connection with the history of the conquest of Belgrade, had promised in his work connected with Belgrade that he would write an account of the conquest of Rhodes and he was true to his word. The only known copy of this work titled **er-Risaletü'l-fethiyyeti'l-Radusiyye** (Treatise on the Conquest of Rhodes) is in the the Paris National Library (Nr. 1622). ⁽¹⁵⁸⁾

The work in Arabic titled **Minah Rabbi'l-Beriyye fi Fethi Radusi'l-Ebiyye** and authored in 1522 by Abdürrahim el-Abbasi on behalf of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver on the occasion of the conquest of Rhodes is likewise an account of the conquest of said island. The only known copy of this work, hand written by the author himself, is in TSM, Treasury (Number 1599) and consists of 69 folios. ⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

The **Fetihname-i Rodos** (History of the Conquest of Rhodes) attributed to Lamii Çelebi and his **Belgrad fetihnamesi** **History of the Conquest of Belgrade** has not been encountered anywhere. Both accounts of conquest are mentioned only in Lamii Çelebi's **İbretname**. ⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

c) Accounts of conquests and victories related to the Mohac and Hungary campaigns

Some of these are likewise related sections of a big Süleymanname and are recorded under different headings in various libraries. For example, the work, copies of which are to be found under the title of **Zafername-i Sultan Süleyman** (Account of the Victories of Sultan Süleyman) in the **Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Kataloğu** (Catalogue of Historical-Geographical Manuscripts), folios 120-124, are in actual fact in section regarding the conquest of Hungary in Ibn Kemal's 10th Book. ⁽¹⁶¹⁾ Similarly, the **Budin Fetihnamesi** (Book of Con-

quest of Buda) attributed to Celalzade Salih, was mentioned above as being a section of this same author's **Süleymanname**. In addition to the above, we ought to point out that **Budin Fetihnamesi** ⁽¹⁶²⁾ (Account of the Conquest of Buda) authored by Salih Çelebi, is registered under the heading **Mohacname** in the University of Istanbul Library (TY. 1285). ⁽¹⁶³⁾

Bahari's small work in verse named **Fetihname-i Ungurus** (Account of the Conquest of Hungary) is a typical account of that victory. The pseudonym "Bahari" having been used at the time by Cadi Ali Efendi (died 1551), the abovementioned work is probably his. ⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ The name "Kıyametname" used in the text has perhaps been given by the author. ⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ Bahari has personally participated in this campaign of the Lawgiver and has expressed in words all that he had been witness to. One copy of his work is to be found in the Hacı Mahmud Efendi (Süleymaniye) Library (Number 5345).

Fütuhi Hüseyin Çelebi's **Enisü'l-guzat** (Companion to the ghasiz) also concerns the Hungary campaign of 1526. Hüseyin Çelebi, a poet of the Lawgiver's period, has written his fetihname in verse ⁽¹⁶⁶⁾. This little account of conquest is in Ayasofya Library (number 3785) ⁽¹⁶⁷⁾. Hüseyin Çelebi's other works in verse named **Tuhfetü'l-mecalis** and **Naz u Niyaz** are mentioned in OM, II, 362.

Tarih-i Şikloş, Estergon and İstoni-Belgrade (*History of Şikloş, Estergon and İstoni-Belgrad*) (Account of the Conquest of Estergon and İstoni-Belgrade) written by Muradi ⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ at the order of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver, is more like a *Gazavatname* (epic poem of heroic exploits) rather than a fetihname (account of conquests) in style. Muradi has told in this work the Lawgiver's Istanbul and Estergon campaigns in the years 1541-43 ⁽¹⁶⁹⁾. One copy thereof containing about 40 miniatures is to be found in TSM, Treasury number 1608. ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ The name of this work is mentioned as **Fetihname-i Estergon ve İstoni-Belgrad** (Account of the Conquest of Estergon and İstoni-Belgrade) in OM, III, 169. Its name in some libraries on the other hand is **Tarihi-Şikloş** (History of Şik-

loş). For example, Muradi has a manuscript bearing this name in the Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha (Süleymaniye) Library (Number 700). The author had written this work at the order of Rüstem Pasha. ⁽¹⁷¹⁾

The work named **Fetihname-i Kal'a-i Budin** regards the second conquest of Buda in the year 1541 and it is anonymously written. ⁽¹⁷²⁾ Another anonymous fetihname about the same conquest is mentioned on page 39 of the Pertsch Catalogue. These two fetihnams are perhaps one and the same and are of the type sent to the cadis.

It was pointed out earlier that **Name-i Fütuhât-ı Memalik-i Ungurus** (Account of the Conquest of the Country of Hungary) mentioned above, was a fetihname regarding the conquest of Belgrade and Buda. As underlined above, this work consists of two short treatises and we must repeat that it may be copies of fetihname sent to the cadis. ⁽¹⁷³⁾

d) The Lawgiver's sixth campaign, namely the Irak Campaign, is mostly expounded in the Süleymannames

However, there is another work named **Mecmu-i menazil** more frequently **Beyan-ı menazil-i sefer-i Irakeyn-i Sultan Süleyman Han** (Declaration of the Stages of Sultan Süleyman's Expedition Against the Country of two Iraqs) written for this campaign. The stages surmounted are illustrated one by one therein. It was explained previously that this work was first penned independently and was illustrated and that only its text was later inserted by Matrakçı Nasuh into the **Süleymanname**.

Mention is made in the **Pertsch Catalogue** (folios 88-89) of a work with subject the conquest of Baghdad in 1534. Its lack of a classical title and foreword leads us to think that this account of conquest also may be part of a great work. ⁽¹⁷⁴⁾

The author of **Camiü'l-cevahir** of unknown authorship deals with the second Iran campaign upon which Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver embarked in 1548. This work,

which was characterized as a Süleymanname by A.S. Levend, was written in prose. It starts with the outset of the Lawgiver's campaign, describes the capture of many castles and in particular of Van castle and ends with the return of the padishah to Istanbul. Two copies of this Süleymanname are to be found in the Istanbul University (TY, 3769) and the Reşid Efendi (Süleymaniye) libraries (Nr. 655). ⁽¹⁷⁵⁾

Haki's Süleymanname dealing with the Lawgiver's eastern campaign was mentioned above. On the other hand, the contents of the **Süleymanname** ⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ claimed to be written by Taşlıçalı Yahya (died 1582), but left unfinished, are still unknown. ⁽¹⁷⁷⁾

e) Münşeât-ı Fetihname-i Karaboğdan

(Writings about the Account of the conquest of Moldavia) authored by Ebu İshak Hacı-i Cihan on the subject of Sultan Süleyman's eighth campaign, namely the campaign of Moldavia and its ensuring conquest, has only one copy, which is presently in Cairo. ⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

We ought to specify that both **Tabakatü'l-memalik** (Accounts of the Dominions) and chapters in **Matrakçı Nasuh's Süleymanname**, which deal with this campaign, have been entered into library card indexes ⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ the same as independent works. ⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

Ibrahim Mülhimi's (died 1650) **Fetihname-i Karaboğdan** (Conquest of Moldavia) does not enter the scope of our subject. ⁽¹⁸¹⁾

f) Sigetvernames

Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver's last war, namely the Sigetvar campaign, has just as those preceding it become the subject of a great many works both in verse and in prose. Some of those were contemporary that is, were written in the days of the Lawgiver and some later. We shall deal here with those Sigetvernames written in the days of the Lawgiver.

One of the two important works concerning this campaign was written by Feridun Ahmed Bey. This writer better known by his famous work *Münşeâtü's-selatin* (Writings about the Sultan) entered the service of Sokullu Mehmed Pasha in 1552, took part in the Lawgiver's Nahcivan (1554) and Sigetvar (1566) campaigns, was appointed twice nişancı (inscriber of the imperial monogram) in 1573 and in 1581 and died in 1583.⁽¹⁸²⁾

In his work *Nüzhetü'l-ahbar* concerning the Sigetvar campaign, he expressed his personal observations about this campaign in which he participated. Feridun Bey chose 1566, which was the date of departure to this campaign as the starting point of this treatise, he narrated further on the Lawgiver's death, the activities of Sokullu, Selim II's accession to the throne and events in the first year of his reign. The complete name of this work is *Nüzhetül-esrari'l-ahbar der ahbar-ı sefer-i Sigetvar*. However, this account of victory generally known as *Nüzhetü'l-ahbar* is recorded as *Süleymanname* in TSM, Treasury (number 1339). This work which was copied in 1567 was probably written by hand by Feridun Bey himself.⁽¹⁸³⁾ A copy of this work is registered under Ali Emirî, Tarih, number 330 in the Millet Library. Feridun Bey's *Sigetvarname* was later summarized in the year 1648⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ by Şinasi Mehmed Ağa one Janissary colonel (Çorbacı) in the times of Sultan İbrahim, under the name of *Nüzhetü'l-ahbar fi icmal-i sefer-i Sigetvar*.

Agehi Mansur Çelebi's work concerning this campaign is named *Fetihname-i Kal'a-i Sigetvar* (Account of the Conquest of the Castle of Sigetvar) or *Tarih-i gazat-ı Sigetvar* (History of the Sigetvar War).⁽¹⁸⁵⁾

Mansur Çelebi⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ belonged at first to the Ulema class, but he was later transferred to the navy by Piyale Pasha. He died in 1577. Besides his abovementioned work, he also has a Divan, that is, a collection of poems. A lengthy poem of his concerning the sailors' language is well-known.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾

In the opening chapter of his book Mansur Çelebi enum-

erates the reasons of this campaign and proceeds to narrate the Lawgiver's death and Selim II's accession to the throne. Agehi Mansur Çelebi has dedicated his work to Sokullu.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ One copy of the work is in the Istanbul University library under Number TY. 3884 and consists of 25 folios.

The sources mention the poet Merahi's *Sigetvarname*, a copy of which is supposed to be in Vienna (Flugel, II, 226) and *Sigetvarnames* attributed to poets Aşık Çelebi and Seyfi.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ However, no information could be obtained about these. The work about the same campaign called *Heft Meclis* by Mustafa Âli of Gelibolu was published in 1316, that is written much later than the epoch of the Lawgiver and as such does not enter the scope of our subject. Another work which concerns this same campaign is *Heft Destan* (Seven Epics), which is often confused with Ali's *Heft Meclis* and attributed to this poet.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾

IV. WORKS CONCERNING NAVAL EXPEDITIONS

Works concerning naval expeditions in the times of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver constitute another type of this period's historiography. Works which can be termed Barbarosname have been written for the naval campaigns of Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha, one of the greatest seamen in world history.

It is well known that the life and campaigns of Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha were written at the order of the Lawgiver by Sinan Çavuş or by someone using the pseudonym of Muradi⁽¹⁹¹⁾ in the first person as if told by that renowned seaman himself. These two names were thought to belong to the same person until recently. That is, "Muradi" was thought to be the pseudonym used by Sinan Çavuş. In actual fact the attribution of works to Sinan Çavuş has its origin in Hammer.⁽¹⁹²⁾ However, there is no record of the name of Sinan Çavuş on works attributed to him. On the contrary the record of Muradi can be observed on them.⁽¹⁹³⁾ It is understood that Sinan Çavuş is a different personality who

brought the Lawgiver's imperial edict to Barbaros in Algiers. ⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ Muradi's real name and identity has not been established up to now. This person took part in some of Barbaros's campaigns and penned some of this renowned seaman's battles in prose and in verse. ⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ It was mentioned above that Muradi who took part at the vizier's wish in the Lawgiver's campaigns in Hungary, wrote **Tarihi-i feth-i Şikloş** (History of the Conquest of Şikloş) about these campaigns. ⁽¹⁹⁶⁾

It is now evident that **Fetihname-i Hayreddin Paşa** (Account of Conquests of Hayreddin Pasha), ⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ registered under number TY.2475 in the University of Istanbul Library and **Kitab-ı feth-i kal'a-i Nova** (Account of the Conquest of Nova Castle) ⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ are really fragments of **Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa**. ⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ Likewise, one section thereof is in the Hidiviyye (Khédive) library ⁽²⁰⁰⁾ in Egypt under the name **Tarih-i Hayreddin Pasha** ⁽²⁰¹⁾ and **Fetihname-i Hayreddin Pasha**. ⁽²⁰²⁾ **Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Pasha** (Epic Poem of the Exploits of Hayreddin Pasha) is a kind of biography of Barbaros and his brothers. It is at the same time a history extending until 1539. ⁽²⁰³⁾

Another poet who sang the Barbaros brothers' naval battles is Yetim (Orphan) Ali Çelebi (died 1552). Ali Çelebi who joined the navy thanks to Seydi Ali Reis's protection and upon Barbaros's offer, has written his work in verse called **Lüccetü'l-ahyar** (boundless seas). In this work he narrates Hayreddin Pasha's battles until his death in 1546. ⁽²⁰⁴⁾ An important feature of Yetim Ali Çelebi's poems is that they reflect expressions used in the navy of those days. ⁽²⁰⁵⁾

Another Barbarosname is **Tarih-i Cezayir, Gazavat-ı Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha** (History of Algiers, Heroic Exploits of Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha). This work was written by Hüseyin b. Ali of Kastamonu, The author was a contemporary of Hayreddin Pasha and took part in the Algiers campaign. ⁽²⁰⁶⁾

Barbaros's campaigns have served as a subject to writers who were not the contemporaries of the glorious seaman as well. For example, Safi, who lived in the beginning of the

XVII Century dedicated his Barbarosname with name **Cihadname** (Account of a Holy War) to the padishah **Murad III**. ⁽²⁰⁷⁾

Likewise, the battles of the Barbaros brothers, the Christians attacking Algiers have been narrated in the work in Arabic **ez-Zühretü'n-neyyire** of unknown authorship. Its unknown author is said to have lived in the beginning of the 18th Century. ⁽²⁰⁸⁾

The naval historiography of the epoch of the Lawgiver is not limited to the battles of Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha. The famed India campaign of Hadım (Castrated) Süleyman Paşa, one of the grand viziers of the Lawgiver's epoch, has served as a subject to Fethullah Arif Çelebi, of whom and of whose Şehname (dynastic history) authorship we shall talk below. Arif Çelebi had written all his works in Persian, up to that time, but upon being challenged by Süleyman Paşa to the effect, "Can you write any poems in Turkish" he hastened to compose a **Sefername** composed of 2000 couplets. ⁽²⁰⁹⁾

The conquest of Tripoli by the famous seaman Turgut Reis in the days of Sinan Paşa (died 1554), one of the High Admirals of the Lawgiver's epoch, and the victory over the Spanish Armada was written out by the poet named Nigari of Galata. This gazaname consisting of 999 couplets has no name. ⁽²¹⁰⁾ Nigari, who was originally an artist, ⁽²¹¹⁾ answered to the name of Haydar. ⁽²¹²⁾ He died during the reign of Selim II. ⁽²¹³⁾ His work is interesting in that it reflects the sailors' language of the time. ⁽²¹⁴⁾

Independent works were also written for Piyale Paşa's (one of the most famous Grand Admirals of the day) Cerbe campaign.

The most important Zafername (Book of victory) regarding this battle is **Ferah**, the work of Zekeriyazade (son of Zekeriyaya). Our knowledge concerning Zekeriyazade is next to nothing. His name is not known. We know only that he was a clerk in the dockyards and that he went on military expedi-

tions in the retinue of Piyale Pasha in order to give their pay to the Navy people.⁽²¹⁵⁾ The only known copy of his work is in the Üsküdar Selimağa Library under Number 768.⁽²¹⁶⁾ The start of the expedition, the conquest of Cerba, the passage of Tripoli and the return to Istanbul are narrated in this work, which consists of five parts. The language of the work is sincere and reflects the particularities of the Turkish of the day.

Another work regarding Piyale Pasha's Cerba victory has been written by Nidai. He finished his work named *Fetih-name-i kal'a-i Cerbe* in 1560. Nidai's real identity is unknown.⁽²¹⁷⁾ This work's language is more artificial as compared to the work of Zekeriyazade. Its only known copy is in the British Museum Library.⁽²¹⁸⁾

V. OFFICIAL HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE TIMES OF THE LAWGIVER DYNASTIC HISTORIOGRAPHY

Dynastic historiography⁽²¹⁹⁾ ought to be considered a different and official school in Ottoman historiography. The Ottomans inspired by the *Şehname* of the Persian poet Firdevsi, wrote similar works. The principal job of dynastic historians, who were in the position of being the private historians of Ottoman padishahs, was limited to recording that particular padishah's qualities, victories and hunting adventures. For the first time among the Ottomans Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror commissioned a poet named Şehdi (Shehdi) to write an Ottoman history in verse, however, this personage wrote only 4000 couplets and died before being able to complete his work.⁽²²⁰⁾ It is well known that Sultan Selim the Yavuz had İdris of Bitlis and Kemal Pashazade write an Ottoman history in prose each. Selim I ordered also two poets named Talii and Sücudi to write the history of their own expeditions. We have no knowledge whether the abovementioned two padishahs appointed official dynastic historiographers.

The period of the Lawgiver constitutes the second and an

important phase of dynastic historiography. Because this padishah assigned a salary⁽²²¹⁾ not only to the person he appointed as dynastic historiographer but also to those in the position of helpers to him such as painters, gilders and calligraphers. Thus, it can be said that dynastic historiography became a palace appointment and assumed an official character in the days of the Lawgiver.⁽²²²⁾

The first dynastic historiographer of the epoch of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver was Fethullah Arif Çelebi⁽²²³⁾ of Persian origin. This man, who was Ibrahim Gülşeni's grandson on his mother's side, was appointed dynastic historiographer by Sultan Süleyman⁽²²⁴⁾ with a salary of first 60, then 70 akças (silver coins). Arif Çelebi remained at this post until his death in 969/1561-62. In addition to being versed in the sciences of astronomy and geometry, he was a master of the "divani" calligraphy.⁽²²⁵⁾ Fethullah Arif Çelebi wrote the *Şehname-i al-i Osman* (history of the Ottoman dynasty) in 60000 couplets and presented it to the Lawgiver.⁽²²⁶⁾ *Şehname* consists of five volumes. The first volume is enbiyane, that is the history of the prophets. The second and third volumes probably concern the emergence of Islam and the first Turkish states, the fourth volume the establishment of the Ottoman state, the fifth volume the period of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver. "Süleymanname" which is only the fifth volume of the work, is registered under TSM, Treasury, 1517. This *Süleymanname* which was completed in 1558 consists of 617 folios. Moreover it contains 69 valuable miniatures.⁽²²⁷⁾ Fethullah Arif later started to write the famed *Hünername*, but his life did not suffice to write more than a few pages⁽²²⁸⁾ and this work was later nearly completed by Seyyid Lokman.

The second dynastic historiographer of the Lawgiver's period was Eflatun Şirvani, who succeeded to Fethulla Arif. This Turkoman from Şirvan who coveted Arif's post in the latter's lifetime, reached his longed for goal only after his predecessor's death and kept this post until his death in 1569. Eflatun, who used the pseudonym "Hazani" in his Tur-

kish poems and the pseudonym "Esiri" in his Persian poems, was simultaneously a good calligrapher, a gilder and a painter of miniatures. It is possible that these talents of his played a role in his appointment to the post of dynastic historiographer. No is that he wrote three chapters of the **Hünername** started by Fethullah. ⁽²³⁰⁾ He was succeeded by Lokman, the most famous of Ottoman dynastic historiographers, who was appointed to this post by Selim II. **Hünername** was developed to an important extent by this writer, who unfortunately could no finish it. Seyyid Lokman is the writer of other works as well. ⁽²³¹⁾

VI. BIOGRAPHIC WORKS

Taking into consideration that biography writing was not differentiated from history in the XVI Century, mention is made below of biographic works of the Ottomans was written in the days of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver. ⁽²³²⁾ The first biographic works in prose are the Tezkires. Tezkire type works based on accounts books, which are typical examples of Arab biography writing, have been assigned to people in certain professions, certain subjects, and especially to saints and poets. ⁽²³³⁾

Biographical Dictionaries (Tezkireler)

The first Tezkire among the Ottomans was authored by Şehi Bey (died 1548). Our knowledge concerning the life of Edirne born Şehi Bey is very limited. However, we know that he had been secretary of the council of state to the Lawgiver during the latter's days as a crown prince and trustee to certain soup kitchens for the poor and to Darülhadis (schools of Islamic tradition). ⁽²³⁴⁾ Şehi Bey completed his tezkire called **Heşt Bihişt** (The Eight Paradises, in 1538. In the first chapter of this work, which consists of eight chapters, there is mention of the Lawgiver, in the second chapter of former poet padishahs and of crown princes, in the third chapter of

viziers and statesmen, in the fourth chapter of Islamic scholars, in the fifth section of poets, who died at the time the work was being written, in the sixth chapter of poets, whom the author met and conversed with, in the seventh and eighth chapters of young poets who were the contemporaries of the author. **Heşt Bihişt**, which exerted a big influence on future tezkire writing officials, was published in 1325 in Istanbul and a version in German was published in 1941 in Tübingen. ⁽²³⁵⁾

The **Tezkire** of Latifi of Kastamonu is the second work of its kind. Latifi, a talented poet as well, entered first the Ulema class, but became later a clerk to the Minister of Finance İskender Çelebi. He completed his **Tezkire** in 1546 and presented it first to Sultan Süleyman and later to Murad III. As a reward he was appointed trustee of the Eyüp vakfı (pious foundation), he later became a clerk of public works in Rhodes, he finally went to Egypt and probably died in 1582. ⁽²³⁶⁾ Latifi, enumerated the poets in alphabetical order, reserved ample place for their works and did not refrain from criticism when he deemed it necessary. Latifi's style is ponderous as compared to that of Şehi. The **Latifi's biographical dictionary** was published in 1314 in Istanbul. Moreover, a summary of the above work in German was published in 1950 in Tübingen. The author has other works as well. ⁽²³⁷⁾

The third biography writer, who wrote as tezkire in the day of the Lawgiver is Ahdi Ahmet Çelebi (died 1593). Baghdad born Ahmet Çelebi came to Istanbul as a young man, after having lived there for ten years among the scholars and poets of the day, he returned to Baghdad in 1565 and wrote there his tezkire, which he named **Gülşen-i şüara** (Rose Garden of Poets) on this date. Calculation of the numerical value of the letters of the work's title gives the number 971, which is the date on which it was written. Ahdi, who penned his tezkire in the name of the crown prince Selim, talks about the Lawgiver, Selim II and the other princes in the three sections of the work. The writer took up once again this tezkire in the final years of this life, added the poet san-

jak governors and financial administrators of the provinces to it. ⁽²³⁸⁾

The Ottoman state's fourth tezkire is **Meşairü's-şuara**, which was authored during the last year ou the Lawgiver's period. It was written by Aşık Çelebi. Aşık Çelebi was a member of the Ulema class (Islamic scholar), served as cadi in various places and died in Skopje in 1568. ⁽²³⁹⁾ We have mentioned above that Aşık Çelebi, who was the author of various works and translations from the Arabic, wrote the famous **Meşairü's Şuara** in 1566. After talking about poetry and poets in the rather long introduction, the author takes up the subject of poet padishahs. He had talks with Latifi, but a opposed to him he composed his works in conformity with the **ebced** calculation, that is, in conformity with the numerical values of the letters of the alphabet. Aşık Çelebi started writing his work in the days of the Lawgiver, completed it after the accession of Selim II to the throne and presented it to him in 1566. While composing the biographies of poets who were his contemporaries, the author described quite clearly the social aspects of his time. Thus naming his tezkire "Tevarihü's-şuara", he pointed out that his work was a historical source. ⁽²⁴⁰⁾ the facsimile of the Aşık Çelebi tezkire was performed in 1971 in London by G.M. Meredith-Owens with a foreword and notes.

eş-Şakaiku'n - Nu'maniyye

The first independent and real biographic work written about Ottoman scholars and sheikhs is a work of the Lawgiver's period also. **eş-Şakaiku'n Numaniyye fi ulemai'd - devleti'l - Osmaniyye** authored by Taşköprüzade Ahmed Efendi is the first example of this sort of work. ⁽²⁴¹⁾ Ahmed Efendi, mentioned as "Ebü'l-hayr" (Father of the good) and son of a family from Taşköprü, was born in Bursa in 1495. His father Muslihiddin Mustafa was a teacher of Selim I. Isamüddin Ahmed, who received his first lessons from his father and from his uncle, rose swiftly in the Ulema profession, worked

as a professor and cadi at various places, was appointed cadi of Istanbul in 1551. but, his eyesight failing, he was retired a few years later and he occupied himself with writing until his death 1561. ⁽²⁴²⁾ The real fame of Ahmet Efendi, who wrote many valuable works of religious, literary and biographi character, stems from the abovementioned **eş-Şakaik** in Arabic. ⁽²⁴³⁾ In fact, this work completed in 1558, received an enthusiastic reception in the years it was written, was translated into Turkish and supplements were written to it. In the **Şakaik** all scholars and sheihhs of Ottoman padishahs from Osman Gazi to the Lawgiver were taken up in a separate chapter. The work contains the biographies of some 502 scholars and sheihhs.

The author of the tezkire Aşık Çelebi and Muhtesibzade Mehmed Haki translated this work during the lifetime of the author. The translation and supplements accomplished by Mehmed Mecdi of Edirne (died 1590) after seeing the supplements and tezkire of poets done before him, gave **Şakaik** quite a different character, but the name Taşköprüzade was not forgotten. Mecdi's translation is entitled **Hadaiku's Şakaik**, but this work has always been metioned as **Translation of Şakaik**. Mecdi's translation was published in 1269 and its translation into German by O. Rescher in 1927.

Nev'izade Atayi (died in 1635) wrote a beautiful supplement titled **Hadaiku'l-hakaik fi tekmeleti's-Şakaik** to Mecdi's supplement in the 15th century. Uşşakizade Ibrahim (died 1724) and later in a more perfect way Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi (died in 1732) wrote supplements to the Atayi supplement under the title of **Vekayiü'l-fudala**. And finally Ismet Efendi of Fındıklı who died in the opening years of the 20th Century wrought the closing link of the chain of supplements with his work entitled **Tekmeletü's-Şakaik fi hakk-ı ehli'l-hakaik** However, this giant work of Ismet Efendi's burning during the Fındıklı fire of 1314 caused an important part of Ottoman scholars who lived in the 18th 19th Centuries to be plunged into the darkness of history. Only those parts of the work presented by Ismet Efendi to Abdülhamit II are today in the

University of Istanbul Library. ⁽²⁴⁴⁾

Taşköprüzade penned a biographic work with title **Netayi-cül' ahbar** before attempting the **Şakaik**. He narrated in this work the lives of philosophers, physicians and astronomers who emerged in the Islamic world since the advent of Islam.

The bibliographic work of this author with title **Miftahü's saade** (Key a Happiness) tells about more than 150 branches of science. This work was later translated into Turkish by the author's son Kemaleddin Efendi and re-named **Mevzuatü'l-ulum** (Laws of the Sciences) and presented to Ahmed I. **Mevzuatü'l-ulum** was published several times and translated into German by O. Rescher. ⁽²⁴⁵⁾

In conclusion, one cannot say that Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver's times, which were in all respects the most brilliant period of Ottoman history, produced such important Ottoman historical works as **Heşt Bihişt** and Ibn Kemal's **Tevarih-i al-i Osman** written during the reign of Bayezid II as well as **Künhü'l-ahbar** (The Essence of news) and **Tacü't-tevarih** (Crown of the Chronicles) written at the end of the 16th Century, However, **Tabakatü'l-memalik** of Celalzade and the histories authored by Matrakçı Nasuh and Bostan are the most beautiful examples of the **Süleymanname** type. A significant increase is also observed during the reign of the Lawgiver in the number of gazavatnames, fetihnames and zafernames in verse as well as in prose. The start of historiography of an official character during Sultan Süleyman's reign constitutes an important phase of Ottoman historiography. The first classical examples of histories embellished with miniatures and the first independent examples of biographical works in prose among the Ottomans are again encountered during Sultan Süleyman's reign.

NOTES

1. Ahmedi: he is from Sivas according to Latifi (Tezkire, Istanbul 1314, pages 82-84).
2. Necip Asım, "Osmanlı tarihçilerinin müverrihleri" (Ottoman Historians and Chroniclers), **Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası (TOEM)** (Ottoman History Council Review), Istanbul 1329, fascicule 7, page 45: M.C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, "Osmanlı Tarih Yazıcılığı" (Ottoman Historiography), **Belleten** (1971), XXXV/140, pages 655-663.
3. V.L. Ménage, "Osmanlı tarihçiliğinin başlangıcı" (Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography), translation: Salih Özbaran, **Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi (TED)** (History Institute Review), Number: 9, Istanbul 1978, pages: 227-240.
4. Tekindağ, "Selimnames", **TED**, Number: I, page: 197.
5. Mehmed Tahir of Bursa, **Osmanlı Müellifleri (OM)** (Ottoman Writers), Istanbul 1324, III, 151; Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, **Matrakçı Nasuh**, Ankara 1963, page: 2.
6. Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver's title of appreciation, is to be found in the Nurosmaniye Library at the end of the manuscript under number 298.
7. Nasuhü's-Silahi, **Beyan-ı menazil-i sefer-i İrakeyn** (Declaration of the Stages of the Expedition against the 2 Countries of Iraq) pages: 3, 29.
8. Mehmed Süreyya, **Sicill-i Osmani (SO)** (Ottoman Register), Istanbul 1308-1315 IV, page: 555.
9. **Beyan-ı menazil**, (Declaration of the Stages), pages: 3-5.
10. Yurdaydın, "New information concerning the life and works of Matrakçı Nasuh", **Belleten**, Ankara 1965, XXIX/114, page: 329.
11. One copy of this is to be found in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, (TSM), Revan, 1286.
12. This sefername (account of expedition) one name of which is **Mecmu-i menazil** was published by A. Gabriel under the title "Les étapes d'une campagne dans les deux Irak d'après un manuscrit du XVIIème siècle" (Stages of a campaign in the two Iraqs according to a manuscript of the 16th century) in **Suria**, ix (1928), pages 328-349, but more perfectly in 1944 by Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın with a more extensive introduction about Nasuh and his works together with its facsimile.
13. Aurel Decei turned this piece to account as "Gift to Fuad Köprülü in the 60th year of his birth", Istanbul 1953, pages: 113-124.
14. This work, which is in TSM, Treasury, 1608 concerns the Hungary campaign of the Lawgiver in 1542-43. For the evaluation of miniatures accompanying this manuscript look: Z. Akalay, "Sanat Tarihi Yılığ" (Art History Yearbook), Istanbul 1968, II, 103 vd.
15. **Beyan-ı menazil** (Declaration of the Stages), pages 12-21.
16. L. Forrer, **Das Osmanische Chronik des Rustem Pascha** (Ottoman Chronicle of Rustem Pasha), Leipzig 1923.
17. Ş. Altundağ-Ş. Turan, "Rustem Pasha", **Encyclopaedia of Islam (IA)** ix, 802.
18. **Beyan-ı menazil**, pages 22-23.
19. **Tevarih-i al-i Osman** (Chronicles of the Exalted Osmanlis) attributed in the Blochet catalogue (II, 133) to Ayas Pasha, one of the grand viziers in the Lawgiver's time, must be evaluated in the same manner.
20. Yurdaydın has pointed out that this could be read as **Cemalü'l-küttab ve kemalü'l-hüsbab** (The beauty of clerks and the perfection of reckoning) as well (Belleten, XXIX/114, page 333).

21. One copy of this work is in the Istanbul University Library. TY. 2719.
22. The author's copy of this work is in the Nuruosmaniye Library under Number TY. 2984.
23. One copy of this work is to be found in the Esad Efendi (Süleymaniye) Library under Number 2206.
24. **Tarih-i Peçevi** (Peçevi History), Istanbul 1283, I, 44; Cemaleddin, **Ayine-i zurefa** (Mirror of wittys) Istanbul 1314, page: 10, 27-28; **SO**, IV, 120; **OM**, III, 53.
25. Şerafeddin Turan, "Ramazan-zade", **IA**, ix, 620-21. For manuscript copies look: **Catalogue of Historical-Geographical Manuscripts in Istanbul Libraries** (TCYK), Istanbul 1943, page: 211-219.
26. Nev'izade Atayi, **Hadaikü'l-hakaik** (Zeyl-i Şakaik), Istanbul 1268, pages: 169-172; **SO**, IV, 494.
27. Katip Çelebi, **Keşfü'z zunun** (KZ) Istanbul 1971, II, 1646.
28. Şerafettin Turan, "Sadeddin", **IA**, x, 31.
29. **TCYK**-pages 91-95; Franz Babinger, **Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri** (Ottoman Historians and their Works), Translator: Coşkun Üçok, Ankara 1982, pages: 105-106.
30. **KZ**, II, 1649; **OM**, II, 348; Babinger, 80.
31. Mecdi Mehmed. **Hadaikü'ş-Şakaik** (Translation of Şakaik), Istanbul 1269 pages: 471-73.
32. **Tezkire-i Sehi**, Istanbul 1325, pages 86-87; **Tezkire-i Latifi** Istanbul 1314 (1898), pages: 154-56. Âli, K. **Ahbar**, Istanbul University library, TY. 5959, 407a.
33. Köprülüzade M. Fuad, "Deli Birader" (Crazy Brother), **Yeni Mecmua**, Istanbul 1917. Number 15, pages: 285-288; same author, "Gazali", **IA**, IV, 728-29.
34. **OM**, III, 138
35. Babinger, 67.
36. To be found as **Tarih-i al-i Osman** (History of the Ottoman Dynasty) in **KZ**, I, 284; **Şehname-i Ali Osman** (Dynastic History of the Ottomans) in the **Hammer History**, (translation by Ata Bey, I, 32).
37. Latifi, 127-129; **SO**, II, 110; **OM**, III, 45-46.
38. Esad Efendi (Süleymaniye) library, Number 2081, 169b.
39. **Tacü't-tevarih** (Crown of the Chronicles), Istanbul 1279, I, 217.
40. Sehi, 101; Latifi, 127-28.
41. Mecdi, 389-90; **A.Zurefa**, 10, 25; **OM**, III, 63.
42. Its name in **KZ**, I, 284 is **Tarih-i al-i Osman** (History of the Ottoman Dynasty).
43. Babinger, 81.
44. Th. Menzel-B.Kütükoğlu, "Muhyiddin Mehmed", **IA**, VIII, 556.
45. **OM**, III, 132.
46. Concerning this subject which was given ample space in **Tevarih-i al-i Osman** (Chronicles of the Ottoman Dynasty) look: Nesimi Yazıcı: "Lutfi Pasha, his views concerning the Ottoman communication system and his achievements", **İletişim**, Ankara 1982, pages: 217-44.
47. Osmanzade Taib Ahmed, **Hadikatü'l-vüzera** (Garden of Viziers), Istanbul 1271, page: 27.
48. Sehi, 25-26.
49. Moreover look. **OM**, III, 133-34.
50. Köprülüzade M. Fuad, "Lutfi Pasha", **Türkiyat Mecmuası** (TM) (Review of Türkiyat), Istanbul 1925, I, 146-47.
51. Babinger, 89-91; Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Lutfi Pasha", **IA**, VII, 96-101.

52. R. Tschudi, **Das Asafname des Lutfi Pasha** (The Asafname of Lutfi Pasha), (texts with criticism and German translation), Berlin 1910; Ahmet Uğur, "Asafname-i Vezir Lutfi Paşa", **Ankara University Review of Islamic Science**, Nr. 4, Ankara 1980, pages: 243-258; same author, **Asafname**, Ankara 1982.
53. Tekindağ, "Selimnames", **TED**, I, 204, 226-29.
54. Copies of books Nr. 8 and 9 in the Fatih Library (Number 4221) and Veliyüddin Library (Number 2427) were published by Ahmed Uğur with their evaluation in German, Berlin 1985.
55. Tekindağ, same article, 207-12. For more extensive information about Celalzade's **Selimname** look. Celia J. Kerslake, "The Selimname of Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi as a Historical Source", **Turcica**, Paris-Strasbourg, IX/2-X pages 39-51.
56. Tekindağ, same article, 215-16.
57. Same author, 220-22.
58. Same author, 230.
59. **SO**, IV, 375.
60. **OM**, III, 37-39.
61. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Celalzade", **IA**, III, 61.
62. Atayi, **Zeyl-i Şakaik** (Appendix to "Şakaik"), 113-14; **A.Zurefa**, 25-27.
63. On page 248 **KZ**, I, its name appears as **Tarih-i al-i Osman** (History of the Ottoman Dynasty) and on page 308 **Tarih-i Nişancı** (Nişancı History).
64. Ağah Sırrı Levend, **Gazavat-nameler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Gazavat-namesi** (Gazavatnames and the Gazavatname of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey), Ankara 1956, pages 4,48,51,64.
65. According to I. H. Uzunçarşılı, Celalzade had written this **Fetihname** (Book of Victory) before becoming inscriber of the imperial monogram in a more simple style ("Two great personalities who lived in the middle of the 17th century: Celalzade Mustafa of Tosya and Salih Çelebiler" **Belleten**, xxv/87 1958, page 408).
66. Uzunçarşılı, same article, 409-411; Tekindağ, "Selimnames", page: 211.
67. Latifi, **Tezkire** (Tezkire), 335-37; Aşık Çelebi, **Tezkire** Publisher: G.M. Meredith-Owens, London 1971, 134a-135b; Babinger, 113-15; Gökbilgin, same article, 61-63.
68. **Hammer**, **Devlet-i Osmaniye Tarihi** (History of the Ottoman State), translation: Ata Bey, İstanbul 1330, V,3.
69. Babinger, 92-93.
70. Yurdaydın, "Bostan'ın Süleymannamesi" (Bostan's Süleymanname), **Belleten**, xix/74, (April 1955), pages: 137-202.
71. Atayi, 129-32; **KZ**, I, 191.
72. **SO**, IV, 376; **OM**, I, 253.
73. For other copies look: **Gazavat-nameler** (Gazavatnames) 51-53, 166, 167.
74. Yurdaydın, same article, 137-202.
75. Same author, place shown.
76. Mustakımzade Süleyman Sadeddin, **Tuhfe-i hattatın** (Calligrapher's Gift), Istanbul 1928, page: 229.
77. Uzunçarşılı, same article, pages: 430-433.
78. Gökbilgin, "Celal-zade", **IA**, II, 63-64.
79. Latifi, 218; Aşık Çelebi, 214b-216a; Atayi, 47-49.
80. **OM**, II, 279; Babinger, 112; **Gazavat-nameler** (Gazavatnames) 40, 42, 47-48, 379.
81. Gökbilgin, same article, page: 63.

82. Celalzade Salih's *Süleymanname*, Ankara University Review of the Faculty of Theology, Ankara 1967, xv, 1-12.
83. *Gazavatnames*, places shown.
84. Yurdaydın, same article, pages: 11-12.
85. Mecdi, pages: 381-85.
86. KZ, I, 283; A. Zurefa, 19-20.
87. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, "Kemal Paşazade", IA, VI, 565.
88. *Gazavatnames*, 3,43-45, 166.
89. Veliyüddin Efendi (Beyazid) Library, Number 2447.
90. Fehmi Edhem Karatay, TSM. Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts, Istanbul 1961, II, 347-48.
91. The section about İstanbul's conquest in the 7th Book was thought to be a separate work and entitled *Tarih-i Konstantiniyye* (History of Konstantinopolis) (*Gazavatnames*, 170)
92. Yurdaydın "About the 10th Book of Kemalpaşazade's Chronicle of the Ottoman Dynasty", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, Ankara 1956, III, 107-115.
93. Sehi, 43; Latifi, 70-82.
94. Gubari is a native of Caraman according to Latifi (Tezkire, 252-53); Atayi, 192-93.
95. Aşık Çelebi, *Meşairü's-şuara*, 285a-286b; SO, III, 311.
96. *Tuhfe-i hattatın* (Gift of calligraphers), 354.
97. İ. Parmaksızoğlu, "Life and work of Abdurrahman Gubari", *Tarih Dergisi* (History Review), İstanbul 1950, I/2, 347-56.
98. SO, IV, Died in 98 in the first years of Murat III's reign.
99. Köprülüzade M. Fuad, *First Heralds of the Trend Toward National Literature*, İstanbul 1928, pages 18-24.
100. Beyani, *Tezkire*, Ali Emiri Library, Tarih, 767, 91b; Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkire*, Published by Şemsettin Kutluk, Ankara 1981, II, 856-868.
101. Aşık Çelebi, 117b-118a.
102. *Zübdetül-eş'ar*, (Choicest works of the best poets), İstanbul University Library TY. 1646, 97a-98b.
103. Latifi, 306; *Kühü'l-ahbar* (The Essence of news), İstanbul University Library T.Y. 5959, 417a.
104. KZ, II, 1026; OM, III, 183.
105. TSM, Revan, 1287, 1b-230a.
106. Hammer, Beyani and Hammer relying upon Latifi and Babinger quoting Hammer (page 72) talk about one Süleymanname of his which contains only Sultan Süleyman's wars.
107. Köprülüzade, same work, page 19; N. Sami Banarlı, *Resimli Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* İstanbul 1983, I, 622.
108. I have observed that this hazel eyed goes about like a deer Like a dove have I fallen into the trap of her hair. *Meşairü's-şuara*, 118b.
109. *Gazavatnames*, 176.
110. SO, II, 264.
111. TSM, Revan, 1289, 6a.
112. OM, III, 186; Babinger, 61.
113. *Gazavatnames*, 57-58.
114. There is mention of some of his translations in OM, III, 10 and Babinger, 72.
115. Esat Efendi (Süleymaniye) Library, Kumber 2422, 10a-12a.
116. Selaniki, *History*, İstanbul 1281, I, 2-7.
117. Peçuylu, *History*, İstanbul 1283, I, 424, vd.
118. Robert Anhagger, "Eyyubi'nin Menakıb-ı Sultan Süleyman" (Exploits of Sultan Süleyman by Eyyubi.) *Tarih Dergisi* (Historical Review), I/1-2, İstanbul 1949, pages: 119-138; *Gazavatnames*, 56.
119. Kinalzade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkire*, 241-43.
120. OM, II, 118, III, 35; it is pointed out that he died on the same date as the Crown Prince, namely in 960/1553, in SO, II, 65.
121. *Gazavatnames*, 30; Tekindağ, "Selimnames", 229.
122. However, only the name of someone called Senai is given in OM, III, 185. Compare, *Gazavatnames*, 30; Tekindağ, same article, page 229.
123. Aşık Çelebi, 259b-260a.
124. TSM, Revan, 1283, 5a-b.
125. Karatay, TSM. Turkish Manuscripts, I, 223; *Gazavatnames*, 66.
126. Karatay, TSM. Persian Manuscripts, pages: 60-61.
127. *Gazavatnames*, 40.
128. Karatay, *Turkish Manuscripts*, I, 228.
129. TCYK, 283-284; *Gazavatnames*, 64.
130. Karatay, *Persian Manuscripts*, page: 61.
131. Nurhan Atasoy, "The Süleymanname dated 1558 and Hungarian Decorator Pervane", *Sanat Tarihi Yılığ* (Art History Yearbook), İstanbul 1970, III, 167; Zeren Akalay "Turkish Miniatures about historical subjects", same work, page: 151. There will be mention of this Süleymanname below.
132. Karatay, *Persian Manuscripts*, pages 61-62. This work's poet is Şehname author Fethullah Arif according to Esin Atıl. (*Süleymanname*, Washington 1986, pages 56-57).
133. TCYK, 286; *Gazavatnames*, 68.
134. Karatay, *Turkish Manuscripts*, I, 217.
135. *Gazavatnames*, 66-67.
136. Some work, 67.
137. Latifi, 129-130; Kinalzade, 283.
138. Latifi, place shown.
139. Babinger, 71.
140. Compare: İsmail Pasha of Baghdad Esma ü'l müellifin (author's names), İstanbul 1951, page: 415.
141. *Devlet-i Osmaniye Tarihi* (History of the Ottoman State), VI, 158.
142. Babinger, 61; *Gazavatnames*, 69.
143. SO, II, 34; Babinger, 50.
144. Like Ibn Kemal's *Tevarih-i al-i Osman* (Chronicles of the Ottoman Dynasty), Celalzade Mustafa's *Tabakatü'l-memalik* (Accounts of the Dominions) and *Matrakçı Nasuh's* and Celalzade Salih's *Süleymannames*.
145. Atsız reads this like "Sa'i" (Unknown Ottoman histories in İstanbul Libraries), *Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Bülteni* (Bulletin of the Association of Turkish Librarians), Ankara 1957, VI/1-2, pages 77-79.
146. SO, III, 2.
147. *Gazavatnames*, 39.
148. *Flugel*, II, 220.
149. Feridun Ahmed Bey, *Münşeati's-selatin* (Sultan's writings), İstanbul 1274, I, 515-518; *Gazavatnames* 47,175.
150. *Gazavatnames*, 166, 171.
151. Hammer, *Devlet-i Osmaniye Tarihi* (History of the Ottoman State), V,4; OM, III, 171; *Gazavatnames*, 43.
152. Mecdi, 514.

153. Yurdaydın, "A new work of Tabib Ramazan", *İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* (Review of the Faculty of Theology), Ankara 1960. VIII, 55-60.
154. Karatay, TSM, Arabic Manuscripts, s.476.
155. *Gazavatnames*, 39-40.
156. Blochet Catalogue, Suppl., 1553.
157. KZ, I, 782.
158. This copy was translated in 1759 by Tercier into French under the title of "Tezkire concerning the conquest of the city the island of Rhodes" and published in Paris.
159. Karatay, Arabic Manuscripts, III, 477.
160. *Gazavatnames*, 40, 43.
161. Same work, 43-45.
162. TSM, Revan, 1280; TSM, Ahmed III, 3096.
163. *Gazavatnames*, 47-48.
164. Latîfî, 103; Aşık Çelebi, 57a-58a; Kınalızade, 222-23.
165. *Gazavatnames*, 45-46.
166. OM, II, 362.
167. *Gazavatnames*, 46-47.
168. Under Hammer's influence (V,4,6.) Muradi's works were attributed to Sinan Çavuş until recent times. Another viewpoint was to the effect that "Muradi" was Sinan Çavuş's pseudonym and that these two personalities were one and the same person. Yurdaydın's valuable research disclosed that they were two separate personalities, and that Sinan Çavuş was the person who took the Lawgiver's edict to Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha in Algiers. The narrator of Barbaros's naval battles was not Sinan Çavuş, but Muradi. (Yurdaydın, "Muradi and his Works", *Bellekten*, Ankara 1963, xxvii/107, pages 453-466).
169. Babinger, 86-87; *Gazavatnames*, 54-55.
170. Karatay, Turkish Manuscripts, I, 218.
171. *Gazavatnames*, 55.
172. One copy of this work is to be found in the Istanbul University Library (TY. 6183).
173. *Gazavatnames*, 47.
174. Same work, 49-50.
175. For other copies look TCYK, 281-282.
176. SO, IV, 634.
177. *Gazavatnames*, 68-69.
178. Ali Hilmi ed-Dağüstani, *Fihristü'l-kütübî't-türkiyyetî'l-mevcude fi'l-kütübhanetî'l-Hidiviyye* (List of Turkish manuscripts present in the Khedive's library), Cairo 1306, page 159. Another fetihname regarding this campaign is mentioned in the Pertsch catalogue (page 474).
179. OM, III, 151; *Gazavatnames*, 50.
180. For example, the manuscript present in the Ayasofya (Süleymaniye) Library under Number 3319 is *Tabakatü'l-memalik's* (Accounts of the Dominions) section concerning the Moldavia campaign. Likewise, the fetihname present in TSM, Revan, 1284/2 is the section concerning this campaign in *Matrakçı Nasuh's Süleymanname*. We had mentioned above that this was published by A. Decei.
181. OM, III, 13.
182. Atayî, Zeyl-i Şakaik (Appendix to "Şakaik"), 336; OM, II, 363; J.H. Mordtmann, "Feridun Bey", IA, IV, 569-70.
183. Yurdaydın, "Sigetvarnames", Review of the Faculty of Theology, Ankara 1952

- I/1-2, page: 125; *Gazavatnames*, 58-59.
184. OM, III, 30; Babinger, 19.
185. It is in the form of *Tarih-i al-i Osman* (History of the Ottoman Dynasty) in KZ, I, 284-85.
186. Kınalızade, 168-69.
187. Aşık Çelebi, 45b; SO, IV, 518; OM, III, 4; Babinger, 77-78.
188. Yurdaydın, same article, 130-31.
189. Babinger, 75; *Gazavatnames*, 59-60, 63.
190. Babinger, 83; *Gazavatnames*, 61; Yurdaydın, same article, 124.
191. *Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa* (Military Expeditions of Hayreddin Pasha), University Library TY. 94, 2a-3a.
192. *Devlet-i Osmaniyye Tarihi* (History of the Ottoman State), V,4; *Flugel*, II, 227-28; Babinger, 86-87.
193. TY., 94, Ib; *Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa* in verse, TSM, Revan, 1291, 342a.
194. Yurdaydın, "Muradi and his works", *Bellekten*, (July 1963), xxvii/107; page 459.
195. OM, III, 63; Necib Asım, "Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa", TOEM, 4th fascicule, İstanbul 1328, pages 233-238.
196. For the Vienna and Paris copies of this work, which is mentioned in TCYK, page 295 among anonymous works, look *Flugel*, II, 227-28, Blochet I, 28.
197. *Gazavatnames*, 70-73.
198. Yurdaydın, same article, 453-456.
199. *Gazavatnames*, 53-54; Yurdaydın, likewise, place shown.
200. Ali Hilmi, same catalogue, page 169.
201. Same work, page 212.
202. *Gazavatnames*, 76.
203. Necib Asım, same article.
204. Latîfî, 370-71; Aşık Çelebi, 93a-95b; Kınalızade, 1071-76; *Gazavatnames*, 74-75.
205. Sehi, 130; Andreas Tietze, "Sailors' language in 16th century Turkish poetry", Gift on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday to Fuad Köprülü, İstanbul 1953, page 506.
206. OM, III, 180.
207. *Gazavatnames*, 75.
208. Same work, 75-76.
209. Aşık Çelebi, 165a-166a; *Gazavatnames*, 76. No. Copy of the work has been found
210. Levend has included this work both under the title of *Sinan Paşa'nın Gazavatı* (Military Expeditions of Sinan Pasha) and *Dürer-i derya* (pearls of the sea), 76-77.
211. Âli, Menakib-i Hünerveran (Epics of Calligraphers and Book Craftsmen), Author; Müjgan Cumbur, Ankara 1982, page 119.
212. Aşık Çelebi, 138b-139a; Kınalızade, 1001-1002.
213. Babinger, 73.
214. A. Tietze, same article, page 502. For Nigari's life and works look A. Suheyl Ünver, "Painter Nigari: His Life and Works," Ankara 1946.
215. OM, III, 63; Babinger, 73.
216. This copy was simplified by Orhan Şaik Gökyay and published in 1980.
217. Babinger, 74; *Gazavatnames*, 78.
218. Rieu Catalogue, page 178.
219. While the Süleymannames were introduced above, mention was made of the

- fact that Gubari and Mahremi also wrote unofficially a *Şehname* each.
220. *Sehi*, 128; Kınalızade, 528; Aşık Çelebi, 253a-b; Babinger 29-30.
221. Necib Aşım, "Ottoman Historians and chroniclers", *TOEM* 7th fascicule, İstanbul 1329, page 426.
222. *Ayine-i zurafa*, 39-40; Bekir Kütükoğlu "Vekayinüvis", *IA*, xii, 271.
223. It was mentioned above that Fethullah had written a *Sefername* (Account of an Expedition) in Turkish about Hadım Süleyman Paşa's (Sülayman Pasha the Castrated) India campaign.
224. Ahmet Lutfi Efendi, *Tarih* (History), İstanbul 1290, I,4; Ahmet Refik Bey writes about his appointment to writer of *Şehnames* during the reign of Selim I (*Yeni Mecmua*, Nr. 9 (6.9.1917), page: 169.
225. Aşık Çelebi, 165a-166b; Atayi, 31; *Hediyetü'l-arifin* (Gift of the Wise), İstanbul 1951, II, 815; *OM*, III, 116-17; Babinger, 97.
226. N. Aşım, same article, 428-429.
227. Arif's Süleymanname and his miniatures were evaluated in 1986 by Esin Atlı.
228. For *Hunername* in two volumes registered under, *TSM*, Treasury, 1523 and 1524 consult Ahmet Tevhid, *Hunername*, *TOEM*, 2th fascicule, İstanbul 1328, pages 103-111 and Nigar Anafarta, *Hunername: Its Miniatures and Craftsmen*, İstanbul 1969.
229. M. Arif, same article, 430; Babinger, 98.
230. Ahmed Refik, "Şehname writing among us, Seyyid Lokman and his successors" *Yeni Mecmua*, Number: 9 (6.9.1917), page 170
231. Ahmed Refik, "Life in 16th Century İstanbul, İstanbul 1935, pages: 35-36; A. Tevhid, same article, page: 108.
232. However, we ought to point out that Nefehatü'l-üns work of the famous Persian poet of the 15th Century Molla Cami, which presents the biographies of Sufis and especially of the notables of the Nakshi sect, was translated into Turkish with many supplements by Lamii Çelebi during the first year of the Lawgiver's reign.
233. Abdülkadir Karahan, "Tezkire", *IA*, xii/I, 236.
234. Latifi, 196; Aşık Çelebi, 106b-107b.
235. Ömer Faruk Akün, "Sehi Bey" *IA*, x, 316-320. Agah Sırrı Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Ankara 1973, pages 257-259.
236. Âli, *Künhü'l-ahbar* (The Essence of the news), İstanbul University Library, TY. 5959, 415b vd; Nihad Cetin, "Latifi", *IA*, VII, 19-22.
237. Levend, same work, 264-269.
238. Aşık Çelebi, 184b; *Künhü'l-ahbar*, TY, 5959, 491b; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1900, III, 198.
239. M. Fuad Köprülü, "Aşık Çelebi", *IA*, I, 695-701.
240. Levend, same work, 274-280.
241. It was mentioned above in note Nr. 232 of biographic supplements added by Lamii Çelebi to the *Nefehat* (A single blast of the trumpet) translation.
242. Atayi, *Zeyl-i Şakaik* (Supplement to "Şakaik"), 8-11; Münir Aktepe, "Taşköprüzade", *IA*, xii/I, 42-44,
243. For scientific viewpoints of Taşköprüzade look. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Taşköprüzade and his scientific views", *İslâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, İstanbul 1975, VI/1-2, pages 127-138 and VI/3-4, 169-182.
244. Behçet Gönül, "Al-Şakaik al-Nu'maniya translations and their supplements in İstanbul libraries", *Türkiyat Review*, İstanbul 1945, VII-VIII, 136-168.
245. Münir Aktepe, same article, page 43.