


TÜRK KÜLTÜRÜNE HİZMET VAKFI YAYINIDIR

Fatih
VE DÖNEMİ
MEHMED II AND
HIS PERIOD



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Fatih Sultan Mehmed Dönemi Kronolojisi

1432

30 Mart, Pazar Sultan II. Murad'ın 4. oğlu olarak Edirne'de Eski Saray'da Şehza de Seher vakti Mehmed'in doğması.

1443

Yaza doğru Sultan II. Murad'ın ikinci oğlu Mehmed Çelebi'yi lalaları Kasabzade Mahmud ve Nişancı İbrahim Beylerle birlikte Manisa'ya göndermesi.
— İzladı Savaşı sonrasında Şehzade Mehmed'den 5 yaş büyük olan Amasya Sancakbeyi Alaaddin Çelebi'nin ölümü; Mehmed'in babasının hayattaki tek oğlu olarak veliahd kalması.

1444

22 Mayıs Macar elçilerinin Edirne'de Sultan II. Murad tarafından kabulü sırasında Mehmed Çelebi'nin de babasının yanında bulunması.

Ağustos Sultan II. Murad'ın yeniçeri ağası ve diğer beyler önünde Mihaliç'te "cümle tac ve tahımı ve unvânımı fi'l-cümle oğluma verdim" sözleriyle saltanattan oğlu Mehmed lehine feragati.

— Sultan II. Murad'ın inziva için Bursa'ya çekilmesi.
— Bizans sarayında bulunan Şehzade Orhan'ın Incegiz'de isyanı; Deliorman'da faaliyetleri ve Midye yoluyla İstanbul'a dönmesi.

— Kasabzade Mahmud Bey'in Bursa'daki Murad'a mektup götürerek onu göreve daveti.
18-22 Eylül Haçlı ordusunun Tuna'yı geçmesi.

22 Eylül Edirne'deki karışıklıklar dolayısıyla bazı insanların Anadolu'ya kaçıışı; Hurufi ayaklanması.

20 Ekim Sultan II. Murad'ın Güzelcehisar'dan İstanbul Boğazı'nı geçerek Rumeli'ye geçmesi.

— Sultan II. Mehmed'in Çandarlı Halil Paşa'dan, babasının Edirne'de kalıp kendisinin Macar seferine gitmesini rica etmesini istemesi.

— Çandarlı Halil Paşa'nın muhalefeti üzerine Sultan Mehmed'in bizzat babasından sefer için izin istemesi.

— Babası Varna'ya giderken Mehmed'in Çandarlı Halil Paşa ile birlikte Edirne müdafasında kalması.

10 Kasım Varna'da muharebenin başlaması.

— Varna fetihnamelerinin bazılarında hükümdar olarak Mehmed'in adının geçmesi.

— Murad'ın sefer dönüşünde Edirne'de kısa ikamet ve Manisa'ya gitmesi. Kendisine Saruhan, Aydın ve Menteşe sancakları haslarının tahsisi.

1445

13 Ocak Hükümdarlığını bildirmek üzere Sultan II. Mehmed'in elçisinin Memlûk Sultanı Çakmak'ın huzuruna çıkması.

Yaz Hunyadi Yanoş(=Jean Hunyad)'ün Tuna ötesinde harekâtı.

— Eflak Beyi Wlad Drakul'un Turhanoglu'nun elinden Yergöğü kalesini alması.

Ağustos-Kasım Rumeli Beylerbeyi Şehabeddin Paşa'nın Sofya'ya kadar giderek mukabelesi ve Edirne'ye dönmesi.

— Sultan II. Mehmed'in Karamanoğlu, Kastamonu hakimi ve diğer beylere sert muamelesi üzerine bunların Manisa'daki İshak Paşa'dan bu konuda yardım talep etmeleri; durumdan haberdar olan Sultan Murad'ın oğlunu ikazı ve padişahın mülayim siyasete dönmesi.

1446

- 5 Mayıs Sultan II. Murad'ın Manisa'dan Edirne'ye gitmek üzere hareketi.
Sultan II. Murad'ın Bergama üzerinden sahilde Ayazmand'a, oradan Bursa'ya gitmesi; burada 3 ay kalması.
- Mayıs sonları Edirne'de yeniçerilerin Şehabeddin Paşa'ya karşı isyanı ve ücretlerine buçuk akçe zam yapılması.
- Ağustos Sultan II. Mehmed'in, Çandarlı Halil Paşa'nın muvakkat bir süre için geldiğini söyleyerek iknası üzerine babasını şehir dışında karşılaması ve usulen saltanatı kabulünü rica etmesi.
- Biati müteakip Sultan II. Murad'ın şehre girmesi.
- Mehmed'in, Zağanos, Şehabeddin ve Nişancı İbrahim Paşalarla Manisa'ya gitmesi.
- Mehmed Çelebi'nin Gülbahar Hatun ile evlenmesi.
- Sonbahar Venedikliler'den aldığı ganimetler yüzünden, Sultan II. Murad'ın Yusuf adlı adamını takdir dolu hükümlerle Manisa'ya oğluna göndermesi ve ganimetleri iade ettirmesi.

1446-1449

Bu üç yıllık süre içerisinde 1446 antlaşmasına rağmen Mehmed'in gönderdiği birliklerle Ege adaları, Eğriboz ve Mora'da Nauplia'yı vurdurması.

1448

— "Sultan Mehmed Çelebi"nin Ayasulug'da kendi adına bakır para bastırması.

— Mehmed Çelebi'nin Gülbahar Hatun'dan olan oğlu Şehzade Bayezid'in Dimetoka'da doğumu.

— Mehmed Çelebi'nin Arnavutluk'ta Iskender Bey'e karşı Kocacıkhisar'ı muhasarasına babası ile katılması.

— Hünyadi'ye karşı II. Kosova savaşında Han Mehmed'in de babası ile birlikte bulunması ve sağ kolda savaşması.

1449

— Mehmed Çelebi'nin Manisa'da bulunduğu bu yılda Gülşah Hatun ile evlenmesi.

— Mehmed Çelebi'nin, kitabesine göre babasının adı Abdullah olan annesi Hüma Hatun'un Bursa'da ölmesi; Sultan II. Murad'ın türbesinin 100 m. ötesinde bir bahçe içine gömülmesi.

1450

- Mehmed Çelebi'nin Gülşah Hatun'dan olan oğlu Şehzade Mustafa'nın doğumu.
- Mehmed Çelebi'nin, Arnavutluk'ta Akçahisar'a yapılan II. sefere babası ile birlikte katılması.
- Kasım-Aralık Mehmed Çelebi ile Dulkadiroğlu Süleyman Bey'in kızı Sitti Hatun'un Edirne'de yapılan muhteşem bir düğünle evlenmeleri; düğünden sonra Manisa'ya dönmeleri.

1451

- 3 Şubat Sultan II. Murad'ın 48 yaşında ölümü.
- 10 Şubat Çandarlı Halil Paşa'nın gönderdiği mektupla 7 gün sonra Mehmed'in, babasının ölümünü öğrenmesi.
- Mehmed Çelebi'nin 2 gün içerisinde Şehabeddin Paşa ile acilen Çanakkale Boğazı'na gelmesi.
- Gelibolu'ya geçtikten sonra Sultan Murad'ın ölüm haberinin etrafa duyurulması.
- Yeniçerilerin Edirne'de isyanı ve Çandarlı Halil Paşa'nın padişahın kendilerine ihsanda bulunacağı sözü üzerine sükûnetin sağlanması.
- 18 Şubat Mehmed Çelebi'nin Edirne'de 19 yaşında ikinci defa, ancak bu kez müstakil olarak

padişah olması.

İsfendiyaroğlu İbrahim Bey'in kızı Hatice Hatun'dan yeni doğmuş olan küçük kardeşi Ahmed'i öldürtmesi.

20 Mart

Sultan II. Mehmed'in, analığı Mara Sultan'ı babası Sırp Despotu Georges Branković'in yanına göndermesi; Alacahisar'ı analığının harçlığı olarak Branković'e vermesi.

Mayıs-Haziran

Karamanoğlu İbrahim Bey'in Osmanlılar aleyhine siyasi faaliyetlerde bulunarak yarındaki Aydın, Germiyan ve Menteşe beylerini vilayetlerine gönderirken, kendisinin de Alaiye kalesini işgal etmesi.

Anadolu Beylerbeyi Özgüroğlu İsa Bey'in Karaman'daki gelişmeleri haber vermesi.

Muhtemel Macar taarruzuna karşı Dayı Karaca Bey'in Sofya'ya gönderilmesi.

İshak Paşa'nın Divan'dan, Özgüroğlu İsa Bey'in Anadolu Beylerbeyliğinden azli; Çandarlı Halil Paşa'nın tesiriyle İshak Paşa'nın Anadolu Beylerbeyi olması; Ankara yerine Kütahya'nın Beylerbeylik merkezi yapılması.

Bizans ile anlaşarak Şehzade Orhan'a karşılık yıllık 300.000 akçe verilmesi ile Çorlu'ya kadar olan yerlerin İmparator Konstantin'e ait olduğunun kabulü.

Sultan Mehmed'in Bursa yolu ile Karaman'a gelmesi üzerine İbrahim Bey'in Taşeli dağlarına çekilmesi; tavassut için Mevlana Veli'yi padişah nezdine göndermesi.

Yapılan antlaşma ile Akşehir, Beyşehir ve Seydişehir kalelerinin Osmanlılara aidiyetini ve seferlere bir miktar askerle katılmayı kabul eden İbrahim Bey'in ayrıca kızını Sultan Mehmed'e vermesi.

Karaman'da iken Bizans elçilerinin Akşehir'de padişahın yanına gelerek Şehzade Orhan'ın tahsisatının iki misline çıkarılmasını istemeleri, aksi halde şehzadenin serbest bırakılacağını bildirmeleri.

Karaman'dan dönüş sırasında Bursa'ya girilirken yeniçerilerin direnişte bulunarak bahşişlerinin verilmesini talep etmeleri.

Sultan Mehmed'in Bursa'ya döndüğünde İshak Paşa'yı Menteşe Beyi Emir II. İlyas üzerine göndermesi; İlyas Bey'in Rodos'a firarı; Menteşe-ili'nin Osmanlı topraklarına ilhaki.

İstanbul yolu üzerinde Çandarlı Halil Paşa'nın adamı olarak bilinen yeniçeri ağası Kurtçu/Kazancı Doğan'ın azl edilmesi; yayabaşlarının şiddetle cezalandırılmaları.

Bursa'da iken Çanakkale Boğazı'nın yabancı gemiler tarafından kapatıldığı haberi üzerine, padişahın Kocaeli üzerinden İstanbul Boğazı'na gelip Anadolu Hisarı'nın bulunduğu yerden karşıya geçmesi.

10 Eylül

Venedik ile mevcut olan antlaşmanın yenilenmesi.

20 Kasım

Macarlarla 3 yıllık mütareke imzalanması.

21 Aralık

Cülüs tebriki için gelen Rodos elçisinin isteği üzerine Fatih'in Rodoslularla dostluk antlaşması imzalaması.

1452

12 Ocak

Papa ve İmparator da dahil olmak üzere kiliselerin birleşmesi konusunda anlaşılması.

Şubat

Sultan Mehmed'in Çandarlı Halil Paşa'yı Güzelce Hisar'ın karşısına Rumeli/Boğazkesen Hisar'ını inşa etmekle görevlendirmesi.

Mart

Hisar yapımından Bizans İmparatoru Konstantin Dragazes'in haberdar edilmesi; Padişah ile imparator arasında diplomatik bazı temasların gelişmesi.

Mart

Divan'ın Çandarlı Halil Paşa, Şehabeddin, Saruca ve Zağanos Paşalardan oluşması.

Mart

Gelibolu'dan 30 kadar harp gemisi ile bir miktar nakliye gemisinin Boğaziçi'ne sevk edilmesi; Sultan Mehmed'in kendisinin de karayolu ile bölgeye gelerek keşiflerde bulunup hisar inşaatına nezaret etmesi.

Mimar Muslihiddin'in plânlarına göre eski bir mabedin harabeleri üzerine inşaatın başlaması ve çalışmaların Çandarlı Halil Paşa, Şehabeddin, Saruca ve Zağanos Paşalar tarafından sürdürülmesi.



- 26 Mart Iskender Bey'in Kroja(Akçahisar)'yı vererek Arnavutluk'u Napoli Kralı Alphonse V.'in nüfuzuna sokup Osmanlılara karşı yardımlarını temin etme çabaları.
Büyük Zağanos burcunun yapılması.
Hisar inşaatı sürerken Akçaylı Mehmed Bey'in İstanbul ve civarını vurmakla görevlendirilmesi. İstanbul muhasarasının başlangıcındaki önemli gelişmelerden olmak üzere bazı köylüleri ve davalarını sürmesi.
- Haziran İsfendiyaroğlu'nun sürülerinin bazı tarlaları tahribi üzerine çobanlarla Silivri'nin doğusundaki Bigados köylüleri arasında ölümlü sonuçlanan kavganın çıkması.
- Ağustos sonları Hisarın Muslihiddin'in plânlarına uygun olarak, duvar kalınlığı 25 kadem, kuleleri kurşunla örtülü, denizin ortasına, hatta bir kısmı karşı sahile gülle atacak kapasitede toprakla takviye edilmiş, denize açılan 20 kapısı ve her kapıda bir top bulunacak şekilde bitirilmesi.
Hisar bitince Sultan Mehmed'in bir mil yaklaşarak bir tepe üzerinden şehri seyr etmesi.
- Ağustos Hisarın bitmesi ile serbest bırakılan bazı Osmanlı askerleriyle çobanlar arasında kavganın çıkması ve bir kısmının esir olarak şehre götürülüp kapıların kapatılması.
Boğazkesen Hisarı dizdarlığına 400 seçme askerle Firuz Ağa'nın getirilmesi; Boğaz'dan geçen gemilerin yelken indirerek, demirleyip kontrolü yapıldıktan ve harç ödedikten sonra geçebileceği şeklinde tenbih alması.
- 28 Ağustos Sultan Mehmed'in Edirne'ye hareketi.
- 1 Eylül Padişahın Edirne'ye gelmesi.
- 1 Ekim Turhan Bey ile oğulları Ahmed ve Ömer Beylerin, Bizans imparatorunun kardeşleri Dimitrios ve Thomas'ın Despot olarak bulunduğu Mora'da bunların muhtemel yardımlarını engellemek üzere harekâta başlaması.
- 6 Ekim Kardinal İsidor başkanlığındaki 200 kişilik Napoli okçu birliği ile Midilli başpiskoposunun İstanbul'a gelmesi.
- 26 Ekim Boğaz'dan geçerken uyarıları dinlemeyip durmayan Venedik kaptanı Antonio Rizo'nun arpa yüklü gemisinin batırılması.
- 12 Aralık Bizans İmparatorunun 300'den fazla papazın katıldığı büyük bir meclis toplayarak mezhepler arasındaki birliği kabul etmesi; padişaha sulh teklifinde bulunması; bunu temin için de Çandarlı Halil Paşa ile temasa geçmesi.
Anadolu askerinin Beykoz sırtlarındaki ormanlık bölgede toplanarak, Beykoz, Kilyos ve Fenerbahçe'de dalyanları bulunan Rallis Petrobups'un yardımıyla karşı sahile geçmeleri.
İmparatorun köyleri boşaltıp sakinlerini sur içine çekmesi; mezarlık taşları ile surları tamire başlaması.

1453

- Edirne'de mimar Muslihiddin ve Saruca ile Bizanslıların yanında iken sonradan Osmanlı hizmetine giren Macar asıllı Urban'ın nezaretinde top dökümüne başlanması.
Urban'ın daha büyük çapta topların dökülebileceğini ancak mermi tedarikinin güç olduğunu bildirmesi üzerine, bu işi bizzat padişahın üstlenmesi; böylece büyük bir top parkının oluşturulmuş olması; Sultan Mehmed'in İstanbul ve civarının plânlarını yaparak hücum ve yağım yerlerini tespit etmesi.
Edirne'de Sultan Mehmed'in hazırlıkları bizzat takibi; Çandarlı Halil Paşa'nın Bizansla temasının yayılması üzerine padişahın bir gece kendisini çağırarak altın ve gümüşlere aldanmamasını tenbih etmesi.
- 26 Ocak Yenediklilerin 10 kadırga ile İmparatorun yardım talebine cevap vermeleri; Giovanni Longo di Giustiniani'nin 400'ü Cenevizli olmak üzere 700 kişilik kuvveti ile İstanbul'a gelmesi.
Bizans İmparatoru Konstantin Dragazes'in müdafaa tedbirlerini alması; Ayasofya'da

gerçekleştirilen ilk birleşik ayine katılması; bazı Rumlarla Georgios Skolarios başkanlığındaki bazı papazların imparatora muhalefeti ve onu protesto etmeleri.

Giustiniani ile Latinleri sevmeyen Megaduk Lukaş Notaras(= Kir Luka) arasında ihtilafın ortaya çıkması.

Istanbul'u müdafaa eden birliklerin 8-9 bin kişi civarında bulunması; bunların 2-3 bininin Giustiniani'nin kumandası altında olması.

Giustiniani'nin, kara surlarının müdafaasını Ceneviz ve Venediklilere bırakıp Eğrikapı savunmasını bizzat üstlenmesi; Venedik balyosu ve Şehzade Orhan'ın da müdafaaya bizzat katılmaları.

12 Şubat Karamanoğlu İbrahim Bey'in Konya'ya gelmesi Venedik elçisi Giovaggi Mocenigo ile ticaret antlaşması yapması.

Şubat Rumeli Beylerbeyi Dayı Karaca Bey'in İstanbul'un fethini kolaylaştırmak üzere Karadeniz sahilindeki kaleleri almakla görevlendirilmesi. Nitekim bu sahildeki Misivri, Ahyolu ve Vize ile Silivri tarafındaki Ayios Stefanos'un ele geçirilmesi; Bigados'un da kendiliğinden teslim olması.

Dayı Karaca Bey'in sur dışına kimseyi çıkarmayacak derecede bölgeyi abluka altına alması.

Fetih için İslam hükümdarlarına ilanlar yapılması.

Vasiliki(=şahi) denilen büyük topun İstanbul'a götürülmek üzere Edirne'den yola çıkarılması; yol boyunca 30 araba ve 60 manda ile çekilerek, iki tarafında yoldan çıkmasını önlemek üzere 2000'er kişinin yardımıyla, yolların tesviyesi ve gerekli yerlerde köprü yapmak üzere 50 usta ve 200 işçiden mürekkep öncü birliğin çalışmaları ile ancak iki ayda İstanbul'a getirilebilmesi.

23 Mart Cuma Sultan Mehmed'in Edirne'den İstanbul'a hareketi.

Bahar Gelibolu'dan 12'şi çekdirme, 80'i çift güverteli kürekli ve 55'i küçük çapta 147 gemi içerisinde, kürekçilerden başka 20 000 azeb bulunan kuvvetin İstanbul'a sevk edilmesi.

2 Nisan Yalıköşkü civarındaki Kentenarion kulesi ile Galata surları arasına zincir çekilerek Haliç körfezinin yabancı gemilerin girişine kapatılması; Latin gemicilerden oluşan donanmanın, zinciri müdafaa ile görevlendirilmesi.

İbrahim Bey kumandasındaki kuvvetlerin Arnavutluk'ta faaliyette bulunmaları; ancak başarılı olamadıkları gibi İbrahim Bey'in de şehid olması.

5 Nisan Sultan Mehmed'in 3 büyük top ve 14 batarya ile desteklenen 80 000 kişilik ordusu ile St. Romen(=Topkapısı) önüne gelip otağını kurması.

Cebecibaşının askerlere silah dağıtması.

Anadolu Beylerbeyi İshak Paşa ile Mahmud Paşa sağ cenahta yer alarak Yıldızlıkapı(=Yedikule) ile Mermer Kule arasına; Rumeli Beylerbeyi Dayı Karaca Bey sol cenahta yerini alarak Ayvansaray Kapısı ile Tekfur Sarayı arasına; Çandarlı Halil Paşa ve silahlı kalkanlı askerlerle Sultan Mehmed Edirnekapı ile Topkapı arasına; Zağanos Paşa Pera(=Beyoğlu) ve Kasımpaşa sirtlarına; muntazam bir kuvvet Kağıthane Deresi'nin Haliç'e birleştiği noktaya; Baltaoğlu Süleyman Bey komutasındaki donanmanın Mermer Kule ile Haliç'e çekilen zincir arasına yerleşmesi.

9-14 bataryalık arbalet adlı silâhlar, uzun demir toplar, yürüyen harp makineleri ve yürüyen kulelerin Edirnekapı ile Tekfur Sarayı arası, Topkapı dışına ve Eğrikapı karşısına yerleştirilmesi.

Mahmud Paşa'nın dinî vecibeyi yerine getirmek üzere imparatora elçi olarak gönderilmesi; ancak şehri teslim talebinin imparator tarafından vergi ve başka kaleler verilmesi ile padişahın çırağ-ı hâssı olacağı sözüyle reddedilmesi.

Red cevabı üzerine tellâlar vasıtası ile muhasaranın başladığının ilân edilmesi.

İlk karşılaşma Giustiniani'nin topların yerleşmesini engellemek üzere hücumu geçmesi; ilk birliklerin dağılmasına rağmen muntazam kuvvetlerin müdafileri kaleye soktuktan sonra

- hendek üzerindeki köprüleri yıkması.
- 6 Nisan Büyük topun ateşlenmesi ile muhasaranın fiilen de başlamış olması.
- 11 Nisan Büyük topların Silivrikapı ile Topkapı arasına yerleştirilmesi.
- 12-18 Nisan Donanmanın Beşiktaş ve Salıpazarı önünde toplanması ve böylece İstanbul'un ilk defa deniz tarafından da muhasara edilmiş olması; Donanmanın bir kısmı Tarabya ve Rumelikavağı'nı zapt ederken Baltaoğlu Süleyman Bey'in Büyükada'nın kalesini fethetmesi; Haliç'teki zincire müteaddit hücumlarda bulunulması.
- Macar elçilik heyetinin Osmanlı ordugahına gelerek, Macar tahtına Hünyadi'nin naipliğinin bittiğini ve iktidarın genç kral Ladislas'a geçtiğini, dolayısıyla Sultan Mehmed'in cülusu sırasında Hünyadi ile yenilenen antlaşmanın da sona erdiğini bildirmeleri.
- 18 Nisan Bugüne kadar surlarda önemli gedikler açılmışsa da, ilk umumî hücumun bugün güneş battıktan iki saat sonra başlaması, ancak bir sonuç alınamaması.
- 20 Nisan 3 Ceneviz ve 1 Bizans gökesinin Zeytinburnu sahilinde görünmesi. Bizzat padişahın da karadan izlediği ve Yenikapı açıklarında meydana gelen ilk deniz savaşında başarı elde edilemeyerek 12 000 şehit verilmesi yardımı gelen bu gemilerin zincirin kısa süre açılmasıyla Haliç'e girmeleri.
- 21 Nisan Baltaoğlu Süleyman Bey'in azılikle yerine Hamza Bey'in kaptan olarak tayin edilmesi.
- Bu deniz savaşından ümitlenen Bizans'ın sulh teklifinde bulunması üzerine Divan'ın toplanması; burada Çandarlı Halil Paşa'nın sulhe yönelik çabaları; Zağanos ve Şehabeddin Paşalarla Hoca Turhan, Akşemseddin ve Molla Gürani gibi alimlerin padişahı desteklemesi üzerine muhasaraya devam kararının alınması.
- 21/22 Nisan Tophane-Humbaracı Yokuşu-Asmalı Mescid-Tepebaşı-Kasimpasha yoluyla 67 adet geminin İstanbul Boğazı'ndan Haliç Körfezi'ne indirilmesi.
- Humbarahane ile Defterdar arasına iki sandal genişliğinde gemilerden köprü kurulması.
- 28 Nisan Latin gemicilerin Haliç'e inen donanmayı yakma teşebbüslerinin ve başarısızlıkla sonuçlanması.
- 30 000 kişilik kuvvetin Bayrampaşa dedesi surlarına merdiven atarak hücum etmesi.
- Süratli bir Bizans gemisinin gelmeyen Venedik gemisini aramak üzere Çanakkale Boğazı'na gitmesi.
- 6 Mayıs Bayrampaşa deresi üzerindeki surlara yönelik umumî hücumla muhasaranın yeniden şiddetlenmesi.
- 12 Mayıs 50 000 kişilik diğer bir kuvvetin Tekfur Sarayı-Edirnekapı arasındaki surlarda bulunması.
- 14 Mayıs Sulukule Kapısı ve Haliç'deki Avcılar Kapısı karşısına Galata sirtlarından top atışında bulunulması, ancak yine istenilen sonuca ulaşılamaması.
- 16 Mayıs Karşılıklı lâğım mücadelelerinin sürdürülmesi; özellikle Sırp lâğımcıların gayretle kazılan lâğımların Eğrikapı'ya kadar uzatılması; Osmanlıların bu hücumlarının Bizans hizmetindeki Alman mühendislerin çabalarıyla başarısızlığa uğratılması.
- 18 Mayıs Büyük boyutlarda inşa edilen yürüyen kulelerle surlara hücum edilmesi ve bu hücumların Bizanslılar tarafından önlenmesi.
- 23 Mayıs İsfendiyaroğlu Kasım Bey'in umumî hücumdan önce elçi olarak imparatorun yanına giderek, istediği yere meselâ Mora'ya gitmesini teklif etmesi; İmparatorun Cenevizlilerin tesiriyle bu öneriyi reddedip, vergi ve daha bazı taahhüplerde bulunarak muhasaranın kaldırılmasına yönelik karşı teklifinin padişah tarafından geri çevrilmesi.
- Görünmeden Çanakkale Boğazı'na giden Bizans gemisinin aradığı Venedik gemisini bulamadan aynı şekilde geri dönmesi.
- 24 Mayıs Türklerin 29 Mayıs'ta umumî hücumu geçecekleri şeklinde bir haberin Bizanslılar arasında yayılması.
- 26 Mayıs Macar Kralı Ladislas'ın elçilerinin Osmanlı ordugahına gelerek muhasaranın kaldırıl-

- masını aksi takdirde güçlü bir Haçlı ordusunun geleceğini bildirip tehditte bulunmaları.
- 27 Mayıs/ Son gelişmeler üzerine Divan'ın son bir kez daha toplanarak durum Pazar değerlendirilmesi yapılması; Çandarlı Halil Paşa grubunun muhalefetine rağmen padişahın kendi fikrini belirterek muhasaraya devam kararını aldırması.
- Sultan Mehmed'in münadiler çıkartarak ve bizzat kendisi dolaşarak siperlerdeki askerlerin coşkusu artırılmaya yönelik faaliyetlerde bulunması.
- Padişahın kumandanları toplayarak savaş planlarını ayrıntısıyla onlara anlatması; herkese taarruz edeceği yeri bizzat göstermesi.
- 28 Mayıs/ Gündüzü dinlenerek sükunet içerisinde geçiren Osmanlı ordusunun gece yarısında "mum donanması" ile surları ışıklar altında bırakarak Bizanslıların büyük bir şaşkınlık içerisinde girmelerine yol açması.
- 29 Mayıs/ Şafak sökmeden ilk hücumların başlaması; güneş doğmadan 2 saat önce Giustiniani'nin kolundan veya bacağından yaralanması ve imparatorun ısrarına rağmen yerini terk edip gemisine çekilerek Sakız Adası'na doğru hareket etmesi.
- Yalıkapı'dan Samatya'ya kadar olan deniz hattından Hamza Bey'in, Haliç surlarından zırhlı birlikleri ile Zağanos Paşa'nın, yine zırhlı gömleklili Anadolu askerinin Bayrampaşa ve Topkapı civarından aynı anda hücumu geçmesi.
- Sabahleyin yeniçerilerin de katılımıyla üçüncü hücumun gerçekleştirilmesi.
- Bizans tarafında ise, St. Apotre = Havariyyun Kilisesi(=Fatih Camii) yakınındaki yedeklerin de müdafaa fiilen katılması; Giustiniani'nin yerinden ayrılmasından sonra Latinlerin korkuyla çekilmesi; İmparatorun Zeyrek yokuşunda azeblerle karşılaşması; burada çıkan karışıklıklar sırasında ölmesi.
- Aynı yönlere gelen Cebe Ali, Hamza Bey ve Dayı Karaca Bey'in Aksaray'da buluşması.
- Haliç sahilindeki surlardan ve Topkapı civarından şehre girildiği haberinin gelmesi üzerine, hücumun başladığı ilk anlardan itibaren atının üzerinde gelişmeleri takip eden Sultan Mehmed'in atından inerek şükür secdesi yapması ve daha sonra çadırına giderek dinlenmesi.
- Halkın sığındığı Ayasofya'nın da Osmanlı askerleri tarafından kontrol altına alınması; sadece Bahçekapı civarındaki Vasilin kulesinin Giritli gemiciler tarafından saat 2'ye kadar savunulması; padişahın bunları takdir ederek, gemilerine binip gidebilmelerine izin vermesi.
- Şehrin alınışıyla haklı olarak artık "Fatih" unvanını almış olan padişahın atı üzerinde, etrafındakilerin yaya olarak Ayasofya'ya gitmesi; padişahın korku ve ümitsizlik içerisinde bekleyen halka mal ve canlarının emniyette olduğunu da belirttiği bir konuşma yaparak onları teskin etmeye çalışması.
- Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Şehzade Orhan'ı arattırıp rahip elbisesiyle şehirden ayrılmak üzere iken yakalattırıp öldürtmesi.
- Fatih'in Gennadios'u arattırıp, Edirnekapı civarında saklandığı bir evde buldurması; kendisine büyük iltifatlarda bulunması.
- Fetihden sonra şehirde meydana gelen karışıklıkların o gün son bulması; gece herkesin evinde emniyet içerisinde olması.
- 30 Mayıs/ Sultan Mehmed'in savaş hâlinin bittiğini ilân etmesi.
- Çandarlı Halil Paşa'nın sadrazamlıktan azledilip tutuklanarak Yenicami kemeri ile deniz arasında bulunan Halil Paşa Burgosu denilen kulede haps edilmesi; birkaç gün sonra da Edirne'ye gönderilmesi.
- Çandarlı Halil Paşa'nın yerine sadrazamlığa Mahmud Paşa'nın getirilmesi.
- 31 Mayıs/ Şehrin sükuna kavuşması; Ordu ve donanmanın yerlerine dönmesi; askerinin şehirde dolaşmasının yasaklanması.
- 1 Haziran/ İlk cuma namazının Ayasofya'da kılınması.

- Georgios Skolarios'un kilise reisleri, rahipler ve halk tarafından Gennadios lâkabiyla patrik seçilmesi; Fatih'in kendisini yemeğe davet ederek ona ruhani reisliği temsil eden patriklik asası ile tacını verip kapiya kadar uğurlaması; kendisine patriklik makamı olarak da Havariler Kilisesi'ni(=bugün Fatih Camii'nin olduğu yer) tahsis etmesi ve ondan Ortodoks mezhebinin inanç sistemine ait bir metin istemesi; bu itikadnamenin daha sonra Karaferyeli Kadı Ahmed tarafından padişaha sunulması.
- Galata komiseri (Podesta) Angelo Zacchariya'nın tavsiyesi ile bir heyetin şehrin anahatlarını getirerek hukuklarının devamını talep etmeleri; Galatalıların fetih sırasındaki tavırları hatırlatılarak hukukları olmadığının ve kaçanların 3 ay içerisinde dönmemeleri hâlinde mallarına el konulacağına kendilerine bildirilmesi.
- 2 Haziran Zağanos Paşa'nın Galata'yı işgal edip kara surlarını yıktırması; Galata halkına vergi karşılığında serbest olduklarını gösteren padişah fermanının verilmesi.
- Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in şehirdeki sarayları gezerek, surların tamiri ile şehrin idaresini Karışdırın Süleyman Bey'e, kadılığını da Celâlzade Hızır Bey'e bırakarak Edirne'ye hareketi.
- 21 Haziran Padişahın Edirne'ye dönmesi.
- 10 Temmuz Candarlı Halil Paşa'nın Edirne'de idam edilmesi.
- Kasım Turhan Beyoğlu Ömer Bey'in Mora'ya gönderilmesi, ancak bir sonuç alamaması.

1454

- 18 Nisan Papa III. Calixtus'un Hristiyanları birlik altında birleştirme teşebbüsünde bulunması. Venedik Cumhuriyeti ile antlaşma yapılarak bazı ticarî serbestliklerin tanınması. Cenevizlilerin Ege ve Karadeniz'deki kolonilerini Fatih Sultan Mehmed ile anlaşmaya zorlamaları.
- Fatih'in, Sırp Despotu Georges Brankoviç'e elçi göndererek ölen despot Lazar'ın eski memleketi Mora vadisinin irsen kendisine ait olduğunu bildirmesi.
- Despotun Jean Hunyad'dan yardım ümidiyle Tuna'yı geçmesi.
- Macar Kralı Ladislas'ın Osmanlılara karşı tedbir almak üzere meclis toplaması.
- Yaz Fatih'in bizzat çıktığı seferle Semendire'yi alamadı ise de, Omol ve Sivricehisar'ı zapt etmesi.
- Fatih'in bölgeden çekilmesinden sonra Hunyad ve Brankoviç kuvvetlerinin Vidin-Niş hattından hareketi; Firuz Bey'in mağlubiyet ve esir düşmesi.
- Ekim Ömer Bey'in Mora'daki başarısızlığı üzerine Turhan Bey'in yanında Despot Dimitrios olduğu halde buraya gelmesi; Despotların 12 000 altın haraç ödemeyi ve Osmanlı hakimiyetini kabul etmeleri.
- 26 Aralık Osmanlı idaresinden endişelenen Mora halkının büyük bir göç hareketiyle bölgeden ayrılmalarını önlemek üzere kendilerine, can ve mallarının emniyette olduğunu bildiren bir ferman gönderilmesi.
- Bugün İstanbul Üniversitesi rektörlüğünün bahçesinde giriş kapısı yakınındaki alanda Fatih'in ilk sarayının inşa edilmesi.

1455

- 7 Ocak Karamanoğlu İbrahim Bey'in Fatih'i Memlûk Sultanı Seyfeddin Aynal'a şikâyeti.
- Bahar Şehzade Bayezid'in 7 yaşında iken sancakbeyi olarak Amasya'ya gitmesi.
- Ishakoğlu İsa Bey'in delaletiyle Fatih'in ikinci Sırp seferine çıkması. Güney Sırbistan'da Trepeça ve Novobroda'yı zapt etmesi; yapılan antlaşma ile Despotun Macarlardan ayrılarak 30 000 düka ve 3 000 akçe haraç ödemeyi ve belirli miktarda askerle seferlere yardımda bulunmayı kabul etmesi.
- Mahmud Paşa'nın, kardeşi Michael Angeloviç vasıtasıyla Sırbistan'da Macar aleyhtarı bir kitle oluşturması.
- Güney Sırbistan'dan İstanbul'a iskân edilmek üzere insanların sevk edilmesi.

- Arnavutluk'ta Iskender Bey'in Berat'ı muhasara etmesi üzerine Evranosoğlu İsa Bey'in 40 000 süvari ile bölgeye sevkı.
- 26 Temmuz Arnavut ve Napoli kuvvetlerinin hezimete uğratılması; Iskender Bey'in yeğeni Hamza Bey'in Fatih'e iltica etmesi.
- Eylül Boğdan Beyi Petru Aron'un Osmanlı Devleti'nin yüksek hakimiyetini tanınması; yıllık 12 000 altın ödemeyi kabul etmesi.
- Cenevizlilerin vergi vermek karşılığında Fatih ile antlaşma yapmak zorunda kalmaları.
- Fatih'in bugünkü Kapalıçarşı'nın temelini oluşturan Büyük Bedesten inşasını başlatması.
- Yeni Foça'dan İstanbul'a iskân edilmek üzere insanların sevk edilmesi.
- Aralık İstanbul ve Galata'da sayım yapılması.

1456

- Ocak Hamza Bey'in yerine Hâş Yunus Paşa'nın kaptan olarak tayin edilmesi.
- 5 Ocak Karamanoğlu İbrahim Bey'in Tarsus, Adana ve Külek'i istila etmek üzere teşebbüse geçmesi; Memlûklerin Karaman'ın tahribine yönelik siyasetleri üzerine Osmanlılarla antlaşmak zorunluluğunu duyması; Fatih ile yaptığı antlaşmaya sadık kalması.
- Taşoz, Enez, İmroz ve Semadrek adalarının fethi; Fatih'in de bizzat Enez'de karaya çıkması; bu adaların ahâlilerinin İstanbul'a getirilerek iskânı.
- 13 Haziran Sipahi, azeb ve yeniçerilerin de katıldığı ve 300 topla desteklenen 150 000 kişilik ordu ile Fatih'in bizzat Belgrad seferine çıkması; ordunun Tuna üzerindeki 200 çekdirmelik ince bir donanma ile takviye edilmesi; ancak filonun mağlubiyeti ve Dayı Karaca Bey'in ölümü.
- Fransisken tarikatı papaslarından Giovanni di Capistrano'nun teşvikiyle gayrete gelen Haçlı birliklerinin yeniçeri ve azepleri mağlup ederek onları ricata mecbur etmeleri; Yeniçeri Ağası Hasan Ağa'nın şehadeti ve Fatih'in yaralanması; orduda genel bir bozulmanın meydana gelmesi.
- 22 Temmuz Belgrad muhasarasının kaldırılması.
- 11 Ağustos Çarpışmalar sırasında yaralanmış olan Jean Hunyad ve Capistrano'nun kalede ölmeleleri.
- Arnavutluk'ta Iskender Bey'in Napoli, Sırp, Alman, İngiliz ve Fransızlardan yardım görmesi.
- Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Amirützes'e dünya haritasını yaptırması.
- İstanbul'da Osmanlı sarayında kardeşi Radul ile birlikte rehin tutulurken çok iyi bir şekilde terbiye edilen Wlad'ın Eflak Voyvodası olarak tayin edilmesi.

1457

- Edirne'de çıkan büyük yangından sonra İstanbul'un başkent olması.
- Bahar Şehzade Mustafa ve Bayezid'in Edirne'de sünnet edilmeleri.
- Papa III. Calixtus'un donanmayı Ege denizine göndermesi ve Osmanlılar aleyhine Uzun Hasan ve Gürcülerle temas çabaları; halefi olan II. Pius'un da bu çabaları sürdürmesi.
- Evranosoğlu İsa Bey'in önceki mağlubiyetine rağmen Iskender Bey üzerine gönderilmesi.
- Fatih'in kendisinin bizzat Mora'ya giderek, İstanbul fethinden sonra imparatora ait yerlerde veraset iddiasında bulunduğu şehirleri zapt etmek istemesi; Tarsos, Rupeli, Patras, Agion ve Korint'in ele geçirilmesi; bazı ahâlinin İstanbul'a nakledilmesi.
- Mora'daki yeni feth edilen yerlere ilâveten Teselya'nın da Turhan Beyoğlu Ömer Bey'in idaresine verilmesi.
- 7 Eylül Albulena Ovası'nda Mat nehri civarında yapılan savaşta Iskender Bey'in galip gelerek,

yeğeni Hamza'nın esir düşmesi.

1458

31 Mart

Brankoviç'in oğlu Lazar'ın da kısa süre içerisinde ölümü ve bunun üzerine Fatih'in Sırp yönetimi için veraset iddiasında bulunması.

Macarların Sırbistan'da Mahmud Paşa'nın kardeşi Mihail Angeloviç'i bertaraf ettikten başka ölen despotun kızı Helena'yı Bosna kralı ile evlendirme teşebbüsleri ve bu yolla Sırbistan üzerindeki ilhak düşüncelerini ortaya koymaları.

Sadrizam Mahmud Paşa'nın aynı zamanda Rumeli Beylerbeyi olarak Sırbistan seferine memur edilmesi; kendi parası ile techiz ettiği Rumeli askeri yanında Anadolu birlikleri ve 1000 yeniçeri ile daha da büyüyen ordusu ile Sırbistan'da Reşeva, Kuruca, Ostroviç ve Rudnik'i zapt etmesi.

Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Mora despotlarının vergilerini ve bağlılıklarını bildirmelerini beklemek üzere Serez'de konaklaması; bunlar gelmeyince Mora istikametinde hareket etmesi; yolda vergiler gönderilmiş ve anlaşma talebinde bulunulmuşsa da, padişahın 4 500 altınlık vergiyi kabul edip sulh şartlarını Mora'da görüşeceğini bildirmesi.

15 Mayıs

Fatih'in Korint boğazını geçip şehrin kuşatmasını başlatması ve yarımaddenin iç taraflarına doğru gitmesi.

Turhanoğlu Beyoğlu Ömer Bey'in Atina'yı teslim alması; Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Atina'da 4 gün kaldıktan sonra Üsküp'te Mahmud Paşa ile buluşması.

Bayramı Yellüyurd'da geçiren Mahmud Paşa'nın Güvercinlik (=Golumbaç)'i zapt ve tahkim ettikten sonra, Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey'i Macaristan'da akına memur etmesi; Martolosların da yardımını alarak Üsküp'te Fatih Sultan Mehmed ile buluşması.

Ekim

Fatih'in elçi göndererek evlenmek üzere Mora Despotu ve son Bizans imparatorunun kardeşi Dimitrios'tan kızını istemesi.

Aralık

Fatih'in İstanbul'a dönmesi.

Mora'dan İstanbul'a iskân edilmek üzere insanların sevk edilmesi.

Şeyh Ebülvefa ve Eyyüb Camilerinin inşasına başlanması.

1459

Has Yunus Paşa'nın yerine Kasım Bey'in kaptan olarak tayin edilmesi.

Taşoz ve Semadrek adalarından İstanbul'a iskân edilmek üzere insanların sevk edilmesi.

Şeyh Ebülvefa ve Eyyüb Camilerinin inşasının tamamlanması.

Haziran

Fatih'in Semendire'yi almak üzere sefere çıkması; Sofya'da iken Semendire halkının şehrin anahtarlarını getirmesi ile Sırbistan'ın doğrudan doğruya Osmanlı hakimiyetine girmesi.

Mora'da, ölen Bizans İmparatoru Konstantin Dragazes'in kardeşlerinden Thomas'ın Fatih ile yaptığı anlaşmayı bozarak, Batılıların da himayesiyle Dimitrios'a karşı galip gelmesi; Papa II. Pius'un Mora'yı Osmanlılarla mücadelede bir üs olarak görmesi.

Thomas'ın faaliyet imkânı bulmasından sorumlu tutulan Turhan Beyoğlu Ömer Bey'in azliyle Mora'ya Hamza Paşa'nın tayin edilmesi.

Thomas ve Dimitrios'un barışmaları ve bunu önleyemediği suçlamasıyla Hamza Paşa'nın azli ve Mora'nın idaresinin Zağanos Paşa'ya verilmesi.

Fatih Mora'da meşgul iken Evranosoğlu İsa Bey'in Arnavutluk'a, Hasan Beyoğlu İsa Bey'in Macaristan'a sevk edilmesi; Evranosoğlu'nun başarılarına rağmen diğer İsa Bey'in büyük bir bozguna uğraması; bu arada yine Macaristan'da Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in de bir hatası dolayısıyla cezalandırılmak üzere Fatih tarafından arattırılırken, kardeşleri İskender ve Kara Halil ile birlikte Tuna kenarında Macarları büyük bir bozguna uğrattığı gibi, ünlü komutanları Szilagy Michail(=İsvilaçoğlu)'i de esir etmesi; bu ba-

23 Aralık şarları üzerine Fatih tarafından afvedilmesi.
Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Çiçek Hatun'dan olan oğlu Şehzade Gıyaseddin Cem'in Edirne'de doğumu.

1460

13 Nisan Thomas'ın antlaşmaya razı olmuşken adamlarını ikna edememesi sebebiyle Osmanlıların istediği şekilde hareket etmekten kaçınması; Fatih'in despotluklara son vermek üzere Edirne'den II. Mora seferine çıkması.

30 Mayıs Mahmud Paşa'nın Dimitrios'un merkezi Mistra'yı muhasara ve zapt etmesi; despotu Rum kâtibi aracılığıyla ikna ederek Fatih'e göndermesi.

Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Dimitrios'a iltifat ederek kendisine Enez'i ikamet yeri olarak gösterip buranın Tuz gelirleri yanında 60 000 akçelik harçlık tahsis etmesi; Fatih'in Mistra'da 4 gün kalması.

28 Temmuz Despot Thomas'ın da Navarin'den bir gemiye binerek İtalya'ya iltica etmesi; daha sonra Çar III. İvan'ın kızı ile evlenip hânedanın armasını ona satması.

Mora ve Teselya'nın birleştirilerek Rumeli eyaletine bağlı bir sancak itibar edilip Zağanos Paşa'nın idaresine verilmesi.

Mora'dan İstanbul'a iskân edilmek üzere insanların sevk edilmesi.

Molla Fahreddin Acemi'nin ölümü üzerine Molla Hüsrev'in müftü olarak tayin edilmesi.

1461

22 Haziran Fatih'in plânladığı Karadeniz seferine çıkmadan önce Arnavutluk'ta İskender Bey ile 6 aylık mütareke yapması.

Temmuz Mahmud Paşa'nın 150 gemi ile deniz, Fatih'in de kara yolu ile Karadeniz sahillerini Osmanlı hakimiyetine almak üzere harekete geçerek önce Amasra'yı feth etmeleri.

Fatih'in 100 kadırgalık bir filo göndererek İsfendiyaroglu İsmail Bey'in elinden Sinop'u alması.

Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Trabzon'u himaye eden Uzun Hasan'a karşı Yassı-çemen'e kadar ilerlemesi; Uzun Hasan'ın barış talebini iletmek üzere elçilik heyeti olarak annesi Sare Hatun ile Çemişkezek Beyi Kürt Hasan'ı göndermesi.

Padişahın burada kuvvetlerini ikiye ayırarak Mahmud Paşa'yı ileri gönderip kendisinin Gümüşhane-Maçka yoluyla Trabzon önlerine gelmesi.

15 Ağustos Padişahın başında olduğu kara birlikleri yanında donanmanın da denizden muhasarası üzerine, ayrıca daha önce şehrin önüne gelen Mahmud Paşa'nın teyzesadesi ve imparatorun başmabeyncisi olan Georges Amirutzes'in yardımıyla halkı ve İmparator David Komnenos'u ikna etmesi sebebiyle şehrin sulhen ele geçirilmesi.

Kasım Bey'in Trabzon sancakbeyliğine nakli üzerine onun yerine Hadım İsmail Bey'in kaptan olarak tayin edilmesi.

İmparator David Komnenos'un İstanbul ve Edirne'ye getirildikten sonra Ferecik'te ikamet ettirilmesi; halkın bir kısmının sürgüne tabi tutularak İstanbul'da Fener semtine iskân edilmeleri; Samsun, Bafra ve Niksar havalisinden Trabzon'a iskân edilmek üzere nüfus nakli.

Fatih'in, Eflak'ta kendisine Tepeş=Kazık unvanıyla Kazıklı Voyvoda denilen III. Wlad'ı tabiiyet şartlarına uymaya davet etmesi; Wlad'ın bunu dikkate almadığı gibi, Niğbolu Sancakbeyi Hamza Bey ile Rum kâtibi Thomas Katavolenos'u kazığa vurdurması; Karadeniz seferini fırsat bilerek Tuna'yı geçmesi; Dobruca ve Kuzey Bulgaristan'ı yağmalaması.

Arnavutluk'ta İskender Bey'in Napoli'deki karışıklıklar sebebiyle Osmanlılarla anlaşmak zorunda kalması.

Büyük Bedesten inşasının tamamlanması.

1462

- Fatih Camii inşasının başlaması.
— Fatih ve Mahmud Paşa'nın başında bulunduğu Osmanlı ordusunun Wlad'a karşı imha seferinde bulunmak üzere Tuna'yı geçmesi.
— Wlad'ın Türkçe bilmesinden faydalanmak isteyerek Fatih ve Mahmud Paşa'nın çadırları yakınına kadar gelerek padişahı öldürme teşebbüsü ve kaçarak Erdel'e gitmesi; Macar Kralı Matthias Corvinus'un onu himaye etmekle suçlanmaktan çekindiği için hapsedirmesi.
— Wlad'ın kardeşi Radul'un Eflak Voyvodalığına(1462-1474) getirilmesi.
Yaz — Iskender Bey'in, üzerine gönderilen Sinan ve Hüseyin Beyleri Debre civarında yenmesi; ayrıca Yusuf Bey'in 18 000 kişilik kuvvetlerini de bozması.
— Midilli'den İstanbul'a iskân edilmek üzere insanların sevk edilmesi.
— Limni adasının alınması.
— Hadım İsmail Bey'in yerine Yakub Bey'in kaptan olarak tayin edilmesi.
— Bosna Kralı Stephan Tomaseviç'in Macar himayesini kabul ederek bazı kaleleri onlara vermesi.
— Fatih'in Kadirga limanı tersanesini kurdurması.

1463

- Şubat-Mart — Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in, kendi adıyla anılacak olan cami ve külliyesinin inşasını başlatması.
3 Nisan — Mahmud Paşa'nın Venedikliler üzerine memur edilmesi; Turhan Beyoğlu Ömer Bey ile birlikte Mora'ya çıkarak Germehisar'ı zapt etmesi; Mora'da Argos'un da zapt edilerek halkının iskân edilmek üzere İstanbul'a sevk edilmesi.
27 Nisan — Fatih'in teklifi üzerine Iskender Bey ile Arnavutluk'ta barış yapılması; buna rağmen Iskender Bey'in öte yandan Venedik ile de ittifak yapması.
22 Mayıs — Bosna'daki gelişmeler üzerine süratle bizzat bölgeye giden Fatih'in orduyu Üsküp'te toplaması; Sadrazam Mahmud Paşa'nın kralı yakalamak üzere görevlendirilmesi ve Turhan Beyoğlu Ömer Bey'in akıncı hizmetini ifa etmesi; Fatih ve Mahmud Paşa'nın büyük bir ordu ile bölgede olduğunu gören Kral Stephan Tomaseviç'in aman dileyerek sadrazama teslim olması.
— Fetih'ten sonra Bosna'nın sancak hâline getirilerek beyliğinin Minnetoğlu Ali Bey'e verilmesi; Mahmud Paşa'nın Hersek'e giderken, Kral Stephan'ın zaman kazanmak üzere daha sonra "Hersekzade Ahmed Paşa" olarak Osmanlı tarihinde yer alacak olan küçük oğlunu rehin olarak vermesi.
— Kralı ölümle cezalandırmak isteyen Fatih'in istediği fetvayı vermek için ulemanın çekinmesi üzerine, Musannifek Alaaddin Ali el-Bistami'nin bu fetvayı vermesi ve kralın öldürülmesi.
— Kral Stephan'ın öldürülmesinden sonra diğer iki oğlunun Bosna'yı taksim etmek istemeleri; ancak yoğun Osmanlı baskısı üzerine memleketlerini terk etmeleri.
— Bir kölenin Osmanlılara iade edilmemesi gibi zahirî bir sebebe ilâveten Iskender Bey ile saldırganlık antlaşması imzalamış olan Venedik'in aleyhine olarak Evranosoglu İsa Bey ile Turhan Beyoğlu Ömer Bey'in Argos ve İnebahtı civarındaki faaliyetleri.
28 Temmuz — Venedik'in Osmanlılara karşı savaş ilân etmesi.
12 Eylül — Macarlarla Venediklilerin Uzun Hasan ile de temas kurarak savunma, savaş ve barışta birlikte hareket etmek temeli üzerine anlaşmaları; Osmanlı hakimiyet ve tabiiyetinde olan bazı yerleri taksim etmeyi planlamaları.
19 Eylül — Midilli dükası Nicolas Gattilusio'nun, Osmanlı taraftarlığı töhmetiyle kardeşi Dominico'yu boğdurması, Katalanlara üs vermesi, dükaların vermekle mükellef oldukları

- 20 Ekim
1 Kasım
- miktarı göndermemesi üzerine Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Mahmud Paşa'yı adanın fetihle görevlendirmesi; 60 kadirga ve 7 nakliye gemisinden oluşan bir donanma ile adaya gelen sadrazamın dükanı esir ve adayı da feth ederek idaresini adamlarından Alaaddin Ali el-Bistami'ye vermesi.
- Osmanlı-Venedik kuvvetlerinin Korint kalesi önünde karşılaşmaları.
- Venedik-Macarlar-Uzun Hasan ittifakının, İstanbul'a getirilen, daha sonra da Serez'de yaşamasına izin verilen Trabzon Rum imparatoru ile temasa geçme tehlikesini dikka- te alan Fatih'in imparator ile ailesini öldürtmesi.
- Memlûk Sultanı Melik el-Eşref Aynal'ın Trabzon fethi için Fatih'i tebrik etmemesi se- bebiyle Kahire'ye giden Osmanlı elçisinin âdet hilâfına olarak sultanın huzurunda yer öpmemesi; Fatih'in de ez-Zahir Hoşkadem'in sultanlığını(1461-1467) tebrik etmeme- si.
- 16 Aralık
- Yakub Bey'in yerine Zağanos Paşa'nın kaptan olarak tayin edilmesi.
- Macar Kralı Matthias Corvinus'un Bosna'nın merkezi Yayça'yı işgal etmesi ve Izvornik kalesini kuşması; Venedik donanmasının Çanakkale Boğazı'nın girişini tutması.
- 1463-64 kışı
- Çanakkale'de boğazın iki tarafına Kal'a-i Sultaniyye ve Kiledülbahr hisarlarının yapıla- rak boğaz yanında İstanbul'un da emniyet altına alınması.

1464

- Bosna seferine çıkan Fatih'in Yayça'yı muhasara ettiği sırada Macarların Izvornik'i ku- şattıklarını haber alması üzerine Sofya'ya çekilerek Mahmud Paşa'yı Macarlarla savaşa memur etmesi; Martoloslar ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in de yardımlarıyla Macarların kaç- ması; Türk kuvvetlerinin Sava nehri ötesine kadar bunları takip etmesi.
- Arnavutluk'ta Iskender Bey'in Türklerle olan yeminli antlaşmasını bozarak Venedik- Macar ittifakına katılması.
- Agustos
- Karamanoğlu İbrahim Bey'in Gevele kalesinde vefat etmesi; sağlığında veliahd ilan et- tiği oğlu İshak Bey'in Silifke ve İçel'e hakim olması.
- Aynı zamanda Fatih'in de halasının oğlu olan İbrahim Bey'in diğer oğlu Pir Ahmed'in, kardeşleri Kasım, Alaaddin ve Süleyman ile eşrafın da desteğini alarak Konya'ya ha- kim olması.
- İshak Bey'in; talebi üzerine kendisini desteklemek için gelen Akkoyunlu birliklerin yardımıyla kardeşi Pir Ahmed'i mağlup etmesi; Akkoyunluların Kayseri, Aksaray, Konya ve Beyşehir civarını tahrip etmesi ve bunun halkın infialine yol açması.
- Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Kayseri'nin Osmanlılara verilmesi karşılığında, kendisine sı- gınan Pir Ahmed ve kardeşlerine askeri yardımda bulunması.
- Pir Ahmed'in Antalya ve Afyon Karahisar sancakbeylerinin de desteğiyle İshak Bey'i mağlup etmesi; Silifke haricinde bütün Karaman topraklarına hakim olması.

1465

- Nisan
- Balaban Paşa'nın Arnavutluk'ta Iskender Bey üzerine gönderilmesi ve bazı başarılar el- de etmesi.
- 18 Mayıs
- Mora eski despotlarından Thomas'ın Roma'da ölmesi.
- Agustos
- Balaban Paşa'nın Iskender Bey karşısında mağlup olması, ayrıca Yakub Paşa'nın şeha- deti.
- Aralık
- Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Şehsuvar Bey'i Dulkadir Beyliğine tayin etmesi.

1466

- Bahar
- Fatih'in Arnavutluk seferine çıkarak güçlü bir ordu ile Manastır'a gelmesi; Arnavutla- rın yaşadıkları yerleri terk ederek kendilerini güvende hissedecekleri sarp yerlere çe- kilmeleri; önemli Arnavutluk kalelerinin fethi ve buralardaki hakimiyeti güçlendir- mek üzere Türklerin Yund-ovası'nda Elbasan kalesini inşa etmeleri.

- Haziran Ishak Bey'in ailesini ve bir oğlunu Silifke'de bırakarak kendisinin, hazinesiyle birlikte Uzun Hasan'a iltica etmesi.
- Eylül Karamanoğlu Ishak Bey'in vefat etmesi; Pir Ahmed'in Osmanlı himayesinde Karaman Bey'i olması ve bundan Memlûkler ile Akkoyunluların rahatsızlık duyması.
- Karamanoğlu Pir Ahmed'in antlaşmalara rağmen Venedik ve Akkoyunlularla temasa geçmesi üzerine Fatih'in Afyon'dan ileri yürüyerek, Gevele ve Konya'yı zapt etmesi.
- Mahmud Paşa'nın Pir Ahmed'i takibe memur edilmesi; ancak Pir Ahmed'in yakalanamayarak Karataş'a geçmesi; ayrıca Turgutlu cemaatinin Memlûk sahasına kadar sürülmesi.
- Mahmud Paşa'nın sürgünlerin ilk zamanında Fatih'in emrine rağmen bazı Karamanlıları yerinde bırakması ve bundan dolayı fakirleri sürüp zenginleri yerlerinde bırakmakla suçlanması. Afyon'da çadırı başına yıkılmak suretiyle sadrazamlıktan azl edilmesi.
- Sadrazam Mahmud Paşa'nın azli üzerine bu göreve Rum Mehmed Paşa'nın tayin edilmesi.
- Pir Ahmed'in Karaman'dan uzaklaştırılması üzerine buranın idaresinin Manisa'da bulunan Şehzade Mustafa'ya verilmesi.
- Pir Ahmed'in kardeşi Kasım ile birlikte hareket ederek Larend'e'yi ele geçirme teşebbüsü ve başarısızlığa uğraması.
- Zağanos Paşa'nın yerine Mahmud Paşa'nın kaptan olarak tayin edilmesi.
- Kırım Hanı Hacı Giray'ın vefatı ve Mengli Giray'ın han olması.

1467

- Ocak Iskender Bey'in Roma'da Papa II. Paul'ü ziyaret ederek yardım talebi, ancak ümid ettiği desteği bulamaması.
- Arnavutluk'a dönen Iskender Bey'in Akçahisar üzerine yürüyerek Balaban Paşa'yı mağlup ve şehid etmesi; Elbasan kalesini kuşatması.
- Mevsimin kış olmasına rağmen Fatih'in tekrar Arnavutluk seferine çıkması; Iskender Bey'in Elbasan'dan uzaklaştığı haberinin gelmesi üzerine Osmanlı ordusunun kışı Filibe'de geçirmesi.
- Akkoyunlular'ın Karakoyunluları yenerek onların hakim olduğu bölgeleri de denetimleri altına alması.
- Uzun Hasan'ın Karaman beylerinin talebi üzerine onlara yardım amacıyla orta Anadolu'ya kuvvet göndererek tahribatta bulunması.
- Şehzade Bayezid'in Amasya sancakbeyi iken Dulkadiroğlu Alaüddeve'nin kızı Ayşe Hatun ile evlenmesi.
- Bahar Fatih'in Arnavutluk Belgrad'ından Arnavutluk'a girmesi ve aldığı her kalede garnizon kurması; ilk defa girilen Büzürşek vadisinde gündüz ve gece de devam etmek üzere çetin bir savaşın yapılması; Mahmud Paşa'nın İşkodra civarına sevk edilerek burada faaliyette bulunması.
- Sonbahar Şehsuvar Bey'in Memlûk Sultanı Hoşkadem'in kumandanı Bedri Bey emrindeki birlikleri mağlup etmesi.
- Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Şehsuvar Bey'i Memlûklere karşı himaye etmesi.

1468

- 17 Ocak Osmanlı ordusunun yine İşkodra önlerinde görünmesi üzerine Iskender Bey'in Arnavut beylerini toplayarak Elbasan kalesine hücum etmeyi düşünmesi, ancak buna vakit bulamadan ölmesi.
- Iskender Bey'in ölmesiyle Arnavutluk'ta Napoli, Venedik ve Papa'nın siyasi faaliyetler içerisinde olmaları.
- Şehsuvar Bey'in Memlûk Sultanı Kayıtbay'ın kumandanı Emir Kulaksız emrindeki

birlikleri mağlup etmesi; Memlûklere tabi olan Darende'yi zapt etmesi; Atabek Emir Özbek ile işbirliği yapan Üçokları yenmesi.

Kayıtbay'ın Memlûk sultanı olması üzerine giden Osmanlı elçisi âdet hilâfına olarak karşılanmadığı gibi, Fatih'in Dulkadir siyaseti ve daha bazı teşebbüsleri sebebiyle hakaret görmesi.

Arnavutluk seferi sırasında Mihaloğlu Ali Bey ve Davud Paşa'nın Macaristan üzerine gönderilmeleri; Vidin üzerinden Tuna'yı aşmaları.

Konya, Larende, Aksaray ve Ereğli'den İstanbul'un çeşitli semtlerine yerleştirilmek üzere sürgünlerde bulunulması(1468-71 arası).

Aralık Şehzade Cem'in 10 yaşında sancakbeyi olarak Kastamonu'ya gitmesi.

1469

Karamanoğlu Pir Ahmed'in Ereğli, Aksaray, Develi ve Niğde'yi ele geçirmesi.

Pir Ahmed'in kardeşi Kasım'ın da Adana ve Silifke'nin kuzeydoğusundaki Varsakların yardımını temin etmesi; Alaiye Beyi Kılıç Arslan ile işbirliği yapması.

Rum Mehmed Paşa'nın Karaman Beyleri üzerine yürümesi; Ereğli ve Larende'de sergilediği şiddetin halkın şikâyetine sebep olması; Kasım Bey'e yenilmesi.

Sadrazam Rum Mehmed Paşa'nın azledilerek yerine Ishak Paşa'nın tayin edilmesi.

25 Ekim Mengli Giray'ın Fatih'e gönderdiği mektupta kaptan Yakub Bey idaresindeki donanmanın Kırım sahillerindeki faaliyetlerinden şikâyette bulunması.

1470

Karamanoğlu Kasım Bey'in sağladığı desteklerle faaliyetlerini Ankara'ya kadar ilerletmesi.

Kasım Bey'in Sadrazam Ishak Paşa ve beraberindeki Gedik Ahmed Paşa kuvvetlerine Mut ovasında yenilerek Uzun Hasan'a iltica etmesi.

Haziran Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Eğriboz'a gelmesi; yapılan köprü ile adanın kara ile bağlantısının kurulması. Padişahın köprüyü geçerek sur yakınına çadırını kurması.

11 Temmuz Eğriboz muhasarasının Gelibolu Sancakbeyi Mahmud Paşa tarafından Çarşamba başlatılması ve ertesi gün (12 Temmuz) alınması.

Eski Mora despotu Dimitrios'un rahip Dorotheos adıyla Edirne'de ölmesi.

Karaman Beyleri ve Uzun Hasan ile temas hâlinde olan Venedik donanmasının İzmir ve Antalya'yı zapt ve yağma etmesi.

Şehzade Bayezid'in Gülbahar Hatun'dan olan oğlu Selim'in Amasya'da doğumu.

1471

Ocak Fatih Camii inşaatının bitmesi.

Türklerin Belgrad'ın batısında Sava nehri üzerinde Böğürdelen kalesini inşa etmeleri ve Macarların bunu engelleme çabaları.

Has Murad Paşa(ö. 1473) Camii'nin inşa edilmesi.

Uzun Hasan'ın, oğlu Zeynel Bey'i 30 000 kişilik bir güçle Karaman beylerine yardım amacıyla bölgeye göndermesi.

Fatih'in Memlûk Sultanı Kayıtbay ile Pir Ahmed'i desteklememesi şartıyla anlaşması üzerine, Dulkadiroğulları ile ilgisini azaltması sonucu, Emir Vesbek kumandasındaki Memlûk birliklerinin Şehsuvar Bey'i Anteb'de mağlup etmeleri.

Şehsuvar Bey'in Ceyhan kenarındaki Zamantı kalesine sığınması ve esir olarak Kahire'ye götürülmesi.

Gedik Ahmed Paşa'nın Karamanoğullarına sürekli destek veren Alaiye Beyi Lütfü Beyoğlu Kılıç Arslan üzerine yürüyerek, Alaiye'yi zapt edip, kendisini ailesiyle birlikte İstanbul'a göndermesi.

Gedik Ahmed Paşa'nın Silifke, Mokan ve Gorigos(=Kız Kulesi) kalelerini zapt etmesi.

Gedik Ahmed Pasha captures Silifke, Mokan and Gorigos (Maiden Tower) castles. Istanbul'a gönderilen Kılıç Arslan'ın kendisine mülk olarak verilen Gümülcine'den deniz yoluyla firar ederek Mısır'a, oradan da Uzun Hasan'a sığınması.

1472

Pir Ahmed ve Kasım Beylerin tesir ve teşvikiyle Uzun Hasan'ın bu beyler adına yurtlarını almak üzere veziri Bektaşoğlu Ömer Bey Musullu ile yeğeni Yusufça Mirza'yı Anadolu'ya göndermesi; bu kuvvetlerin ipek ticareti ve bundan alınan gümrük dolaşısıyla önemli merkez olan Tokat'ı tahrip etmeleri.

Uzun Hasan'ın himayesinde hareket eden Trabzon İmparatoru David Komnenos'un bir yeğenin Trabzon'a hücumda bulunması.

Şehzade Mustafa, Sadrazam İshak Paşa ve Anadolu Beylerbeyi Davud Paşa kuvvetlerinin Beyşehir gölü yakınlarındaki Kireli'nde yapılan savaş sonucunda Yusufça Mirza'yı esir etmeleri; Pir Ahmed'i yeniden Uzun Hasan'a ilticaya mecbur etmeleri.

Kasım Bey'in Varsak, Durgut, Çini, Bayat, Kosun ve Gögez gibi çeşitli boy ve oymakların yardımını temin ederek İçel'i zaptetmesi.

Dulkadiroğlu Şehsuvar Bey'in üç kardeşi ile birlikte Mısır'da öldürülmesi; Memlük Sultanı Kayıtbay'ın anlaşma hilâfına olarak Şah Budak'ı Dulkadir topraklarına göndermesi ve bunun Fatih'in infialine sebep olması.

Sadrazam İshak Paşa'nın azledilerek yerine Mahmud Paşa'nın kaptanlıktan alınarak ikinci defa sadrazam tayin edilmesi.

Çinili Köşk'ün yapılması.

1473

Egriboz'dan İstanbul'a iskân edilmek üzere insanların sevk edilmesi.

Fatih'in Rumeli akıncılarından Mihalogulları Ali ve İskender Beyleri Akkoyunlulara girişilecek harekâta hazırlık olmak üzere Sivas bölgesine göndermesi.

11 Nisan Pazar

Fatih'in Rumeli'nin müdâfaası için Şehzade Cem'i Edirne'de bırakarak Uzun Hasan'ın üzerine yürümek üzere İstanbul'dan ayrılıp İznik ve Yenişehir yolunu takip etmesi.

Beypazarı'nda Karaman Valisi Şehzade Mustafa'nın, Kazabad'da ise Amasya Valisi Şehzade Bayezid'in katılmasıyla Fatih'in ordusundaki muharip asker sayısının 85 000'e ulaşması.

Ağustos

Fatih'in Uzun Hasan ile meşgul olmasından istifade ile Pietro Moçenigo kumandasındaki müttefik haçlı donanmasından da destek alarak İshak Bey'in Silifke'yi muhasara etmesi ve Gorigos ile birlikte ele geçirmesi.

Pir Ahmed'in de Karaman bölgesine gelerek Ermenek ve Mennan'ı zapt etmesi.

Uzun Hasan'ın Erzincan civarına gelmekte olan Osmanlı ordusuna, vaktiyle Karakoyunlu hükümdarı Cihanşah ile Timur'un torunu Ebu Said'e karşı uyguladığı çeşitli harp hilelerine baş vurması; Mahmud Paşa'nın ikazlarına rağmen Rumeli Beylerbeyi Has Murad Paşa'nın zamansız ilerleyişi dolayısıyla pusuya düşerek kendisinin ölmesi ve Turhan Beyoğlu Ömer Bey ile defterdarı Hacı Bey'in esir olması.

Bu olumsuz gelişmelerin gerek Osmanlı ordusunda gerekse Edirne'de büyük ölçüde ümitsizliğe yol açması, hatta Edirne'de bazı devlet adamlarının Şehzade Cem'e biat etmeleri.

11 Ağustos

Osmanlı ordusunun Tercan'da Uçağızlı=Başkent'e ulaşması; öğle üzeri Çarşamba Otlukbeli adındaki bir tepe üzerinde Akkoyunlularla yapılan savaşı Fatih'i kazanması.

Otlukbeli zaferinden sonra 2-3 gün harp alanında kalan Osmanlı ordusunun daha sonra Bayburt'u alması.

23 Ağustos

Esir düşen Karakoyunlu ve Akkoyunluları afveden Fatih'in bölgeden Çarşamba ayrılması.

29 Ağustos Uzun Hasan'ın Otlukbeli savaşı sırasında ölen oğlu Zeynel Bey'in Pazar adamlarından Darab Bey'in, kuşatılan Şarkikarahisar'ı teslim etmesi.
Fatih Karahisar'da iken, Uzun Hasan'ın gönderdiği elçinin Mevlâna Ahmed Bekür-ci aracılığıyla barış teklifinde bulunması.
Uzun Hasan'ın ordusunda bulunan alim ve sanatkarlardan bazılarının iskân edilmek üzere İstanbul'a sevk edilmesi.
Otlukbeli savaşından galibiyetle çıkan Osmanlı kuvvetlerinin Karaman'a yönelmesi üzerine Venediklilerin bölgeden uzaklaşmaları; Pir Ahmed'in hanımı ve hazinesini alarak Mennan'da dağlık bölgelere çekilmesi ve sıkıntılar içerisinde vefat etmesi; Mut'a bağlı Sinanlı köyünün Değirmenlik yaylasında büyük atası Nure Sufi'nin yanına defnedilmesi.

1474

Silifke'nin Gedik Ahmed Paşa'ya, Develi-hisar ve Lülüte kalelerinin de Karaman Valisi Şehzade Mustafa'ya teslim olması.
Şehzade Cem'in oğlu Oğuz Han'ın Kastamonu'da doğması.
Karaman Valisi Şehzade Mustafa'nın vefatı.
Uzun Hasan'ın yaptığı antlaşmaya rağmen Venediklilerle temasa geçmeye çalışması üzerine, Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in kendisini bu sulh için ikna eden Sadrazam Mahmud Paşa'yı azlederek yerine Gedik Ahmed Paşa'yı bu göreve getirmesi.

Tem.-Ağustos Mahmud Paşa'nın idam edilmesi.
25 Aralık Kastamonu Sancakbeyi Şehzade Cem'in daha önce ölen ağabeyi Şehzade Mustafa'nın yerine Karaman Valisi olması.
Şehzade Cem'in Karaman halkına kendini sevdirmesi yanında, iyi ilişkiler kurduğu Kasım Bey'in (ö. 1483) İçel ve Larend'e de bazı yerleri yönetmesine izin vermesi.
Boğdan Beyi Stephan'ın, üzerine gönderilen Kırım kuvvetlerini mağlup ve beyleri Başbey Eminek'i esir etmesi; Eflak Bey'i Radu'yu kaçırp İbrail ve Kili'yi alması.

1475

Rumeli Beylerbeyi Hadım Süleyman Paşa'nın İskodra'yı almak üzere görevlendirilmesi ve Venedikli Antonio Lorendo tarafından savunulan kaleyi bir ay süreyle kuşatması; aciliyet kazanan Boğdan meselesi yüzünden padişahın izni ile muhasaranın kaldırılması.

17 Ocak Boğdan Beyi Stephan'ın, üzerine gönderilen Rumeli Beylerbeyi Hadım Süleyman Paşa'yı da Rakovitz'a da ağır bir yenilgiye uğratması; Süleyman Paşa'nın güçlkle kurtulabilmesi.

Yaz Sadrazam Gedik Ahmed Paşa'nın, emrine Azebler Ağası Mahmud Ağa kumandasında 10 000 azeb ve kapıkulu askeri, Rumeli askerleri ve bu askerleri taşıyan 100 gemiden oluşan donanma verilerek Karadeniz'deki Ceneviz müstemlekelerini fethetmek üzere görevlendirilmesi.

6 Haziran 4 günlük muhasaradan sonra Gedik Ahmed Paşa'nın Kefe'yi fethetmesi.
Haziran-Aralık Başta Azak ve Menkub olmak üzere bütün Ceneviz kolonilerinin ele geçirilmesi; Kırım'ın güneyinin Kefe, Menkub ve Soğdak açıyla 3 kadılık hâlinde teşkilatlandırılması.

3 kardeşi ile birlikte Soğdak'ta esir edilmiş olan Mengli Giray'ın, Gedik Ahmed Paşa tarafından kurtarılması ve "padişahın dostuna dost, düşmanına düşman" olmak şartıyla anlaşma yapılması üzerine tahtına dönmesi.
Kefe ve Menkub'dan İstanbul'a iskân edilmek üzere insanların sevk edilmesi; Menkub beyinin Yedikule'de hapsedilmesi.

1476

- 16 Mart Kırım kumandanlarından Eminek Bey'in söz verdiği hâlde bazı gelişmeler üzerine gelmemesi yüzünden sadece Osmanlılardan oluşan deniz ve kara birliklerinin Boğdan'a hareketi.
- Daha sonra 12 000 kişilik Eflak birliklerinin de Fatih'in ordusuna katılması; Varna'ya ulaşıldığında Boğdan elçilerinin gelerek antlaşma teklif etmeleri, ancak Fatih'in istediği şartları kabul etmemeleri üzerine Osmanlı birliklerinin Tuna'yı geçerek 40 gün Boğdan arazisinde ilerlemeleri; ancak Voyvoda'yı ele geçirememeleri.
- Rasboieni(=Ağaç Denizi) adlı vadide bir kılavuz hatası sonucu Fatih'in Voyvoda Stephan Çel Mare'nin birlikleri ile karşılaşması; yeniçerilerin bir anlık tereddüdü üzerine Fatih'in bizzat atını sürerek ilerlemesi.
- 27 Temmuz Boğdan voyvodasının Alba Valea'da yenilerek, yönetim merkezi Suçeva'nın tahrip edilmesi.
- 28 Temmuz Ordunun harp alanında konaklaması.
- Altınordu cephesinde Mengli Giray'ın yenilmesi ve Altınordu Hanı Seyyid Ahmed'in Kefe önlerine kadar gelmesi; Mengli Giray'ın Çıftkale'ye sığınması, azledilerek Yedikule'de hapsedilmesi ve yerine kardeşi Nur Devlet'in han olması.

1477

- Sadrazam Gedik Ahmed Paşa'nın İskodra'nın fethi için görevlendirilmek istenmesi, ancak paşanın itirazı üzerine azil ve Anadolu Hisarı'na hapsedilmesi ve yerine Karamanî Mehmed Paşa'nın sadrazam tayin edilmesi.
- 15 Mayıs Mihaloğlu Ali Bey idaresindeki Osmanlı kuvvetlerinin Iskender Bey'in ölümünden sonra Venedik'in eline geçmiş olan Akçahisar'ı kuşatması.
- Ekim-Kasım Bosna Beylerbeyi Iskender Paşa'nın kuvvetli bir orduyla Isonsa(=Aksu) ve Taglimento ırmaklarını aşarak Venedik şehri karşısındaki ovaya girmesi.

1478

- 6 Ocak Uzun Hasan'ın Tebriz'de ölmesi.
- Uzun Hasan'ın hakimiyeti altında bulunan Gümüşhane-Trabzon hattındaki bazı yerlerin bu arada Torul'un Fatih tarafından zaptedilmesi.
- Mayıs Eminek'in müracaatı üzerine Mengli Giray'ın ilk defa olmak üzere İstanbul'dan Kırım hanı olarak gönderilmesi.
- Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Boğdan ve Kırım meselelerini çözüme kavuşturduktan sonra son kez Arnavutluk seferine çıkması; öncü kuvvetler olarak Evranosoglu Ahmed ve Turhan Beyoğlu Ömer Beylerin hizmet etmeleri.
- 16 Haziran Sıkıntılı bir yürüyüşten sonra Osmanlı ordusunun, Venedik'in eline geçmiş olan Akçahisar önüne gelmesi; Evranosoglu'nun sıkı muhasarası neticesinde kalenin teslim edilmesi.
- 22 Haziran Rumeli Beylerbeyi Davud Paşa'nın Anadolu Beylerbeyi Süleyman Paşa ile birlikte İskodra üzerine gönderilmesi; kalenin tesliminin teklifi ve bunun reddedilmesi üzerine muhasaranın başlaması.
- 2 Temmuz Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in İskodra kalesi önüne gelmesi; kalenin dağlık ve sarp bir coğrafyada bulunması dolayısıyla toplar nakledilemediği için burada top dökülmesi ve yeni bir mermi çeşidinin kullanılması.
- 21, 22 Temmuz 2 umumî hücum yapılması.
- 27 Temmuz Gerçekleştirilen 3. hücumla hendekler geçildiği hâlde sonuç alınamaması üzerine harp meclisinin toplanması ve kalenin fethedilebilmesi için destek gördüğü yakınında bulunan diğer kalelerin ele geçirilmesinin zarurî olduğu görüşünün benimsenme-

- si.
1 Eylül / Harp meclisi kararına göre Davud Paşa'nın görevlendirildiği Gölbaşı kalesini alması. Süleyman Paşa'nın Dergos'u muhasara etmesi ve Davud Paşa'nın da buraya yardımcı üzerine kalenin fethedilmesi; bu iki paşanın Leş'i muhasara etmeleri ve ele geçirmele-
ri.
Etrafındaki kalelerin fethiyle sadece nehir yolundan Venedikle irtibat kuran İskodra'nın, bu bağlantısını da kesmek üzere Boyana nehri üzerine köprü ve kuleler yapılması.
7 Eylül / Leş'e gelen Fatih'in buradan İstanbul'a hareket etmesi.
8 Ekim / İskodra muhasarası Evranosolu Ahmed Bey'e bırakılarak ordunun da bölgeden ayrılması; 6 ay sonra kalenin teslim edilmesi; böylece Arnavutluk'un bir Türk vilayeti hâline gelmesi.
Kalan kalelerin alınması için Gedik Ahmed Paşa'nın görevlendirilmesi ve onun da bu kaleleri fethetmesi.
Yeni Saray'ın(= Saray-ı Cedîd-i Âmire) inşasının tamamlanması.
Gedik Ahmed Paşa'ya kaptanlık görevinin verilmesi.

1479

- 25 Ocak / İstanbul'da Osmanlı-Venedik barış antlaşmasının imzalanması.
25 Nisan / Venedik senatosunun İstanbul'da Osmanlılarla imzalanan antlaşmayı onaylaması.
Fatih'in gönderdiği donanma ile Taman ve bu yarımada'daki Matrega ile Anapa ve Kopa'yı zapt ettirmesi.
Gedik Ahmed Paşa'nın Adriyatik denizinde "Yedi Ada" olarak bilinen Zenta, Kefalonya ve Aya Mavra adalarını Venediklilerden alması; buralardan, İstanbul'a iskân etmek üzere insanların sevk edilmesi.
Ekim / Mesih Paşa'nın Rodos'a asker çıkarması; gördüğü mukabele üzerine Marmaris limanına çekilmesi.

1480

- 23 Mayıs / Fatih'in himayesini gören Dulkadirli Alaüddevle Bozkurt Bey'in, kardeşi Şah Budak karşısında önce mağlup olmasına rağmen daha sonra onu yenerek beyliğin yönetimini eline geçirmesi.
19 Haziran / Mesih Paşa'nın Rodos'ta St. Ethiene dağı civarına tekrar asker çıkarması.
Mesih Paşa birliklerinin Rodos'ta St. Nicolas kulesine yaptığı iki hücumdan da bir netice elde edememesi.
26 Temmuz / Gedik Ahmed Paşa'nın 28'i kadırğa olmak üzere 132 gemi ile Avlonya'dan Pulya sahillerine hareket etmesi.
28 Temmuz / Mesih Paşa'nın Rodos'ta Yahudi mahallesi tarafından yapılan hücumda da istenilen başarıya ulaşamaması.
28 Temmuz / Otranto yakınında Türk askerlerinin karaya çıkması.
11 Ağustos / Otranto'nun cebren ele geçirilmesi; civardaki bazı kalelerin feth edilerek akınların daha ileri bölgelere uzatılması.
Gedik Ahmed Paşa'nın yerine Mesih Ahmed Paşa'nın kaptan olarak tayin edilmesi.
Molla Hüsrev'in ölümü üzerine Molla Gürani'nin müftü olarak tayin edilmesi.
Fatih'in yanında bulunan Bayezid'in oğlu Şehzade Korkud ile Cem'in oğlu Şehzade Oğuzhan'ın sünnet olmaları.

1481

- 29 Nisan / Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in, hasta olmasına rağmen yeni bir sefer için Üsküdar'a geçmesi.
3 Mayıs / Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Gebze yakınında Hünkâr/Tekfur Çayırı'nda
İkinci vakti / Perşembe 31 yıllık saltanatından sonra 50 yaşı içerisinde olarak ölmesi.

The Ottoman - Byzantium Relations Before Fatih Era

The struggles between Ottomans and Byzantium go back to the first days of the Ottoman Empire. The Sultans before Fatih approached the Byzantium capital step by step with the conquests and they prepared the required background for the conquest of Istanbul.

The Ottomans, who were neighbor to Byzantium, were a small principality in Anatolia among Germiyanids and Çobanoğulları during the era that the Turkey Seljuk was weakened. The first relations with the Byzantium were generally in peace. Chief Osman, lived in Söğüt, had good relations with the neighbor lords of Bilecik, Yarıhisar and Harmankaya. But enmities showed up due to the worries of the Lords about the expansion of the Ottoman Principality. In 1284 the Ottomans defeated Inegöl lord in the first battle and conquered Kulacağhisar. This castle near Inegöl was the first castle of Byzantium that the Ottomans conquered. A few years later Karacahisar was also conquered. Due to improvements this city flourished and became the capital of Ottomans. Chief Osman began to stay here. The first Khutba, which was the sign of independence, was read here.

At the end of victories, the Turkmen groups in Anatolia, who were distressed by the Mongolian attacks, wanted to join the battle against Byzantium and settled in the lower Sakarya basin, which was under Ottoman control. Chief Osman became more and more powerful in this way both in terms of politics and military and finally conquered Bilecik, Yarıhisar and Inegöl in 1299 and declared independence. And he started his expeditions towards the most important cities of the Byzantium in the area, Iznik and Bursa.

The advance of the Ottomans couldn't be stopped by the Byzantium, who lived their brightest era during the IXth century and was weakened after this date due to internal and external influences. Besides the Byzantium re-established by VIIIth Mihail Palaiologos in 1261, there were also the Trabzon Rum Empire, and a Despot in Epirus ruled by the Angeli dynasty. And in the Balkans, Bulgaria and Serbia were a great danger for the Byzantium. During this time Byzantium was also at war with the Venice. Right beside the capital Constantinople, right across the Golden Horn, was Pera a colony of Geneva who signed a treaty against Byzantium and held the most of city's trade.

In the Anatolia on the other hand, as the Ottomans conquered Iznik and Bursa region Çobanoğulları around Kastamonu, Karesioğulları around Balıkesir, Saruhanlıs around Manisa and Aydınoğulları and Menteşoğulları on the shores of Aegean were fighting against Byzantium in Aegean and Marmara. And they were also battling among each other as they all claimed to be inheritor of the Seljuk Empire.

At the start of the XIVth century, Chief Osman

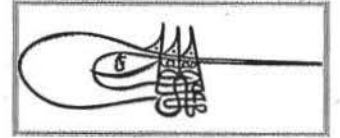
conquered the Melannion (Yenişehir) and laid siege on Iznik. Byzantium Emperor sent an expedition on east to save the city from Turkish pressure. But at the end of Bapheus (Koyunhisar) battle between Ottoman and Byzantium forces in July 27th 1302 Turkish army won a clear victory. The Ottomans met the regular Byzantium army for the first time in this battle near Yalova and beat them. Therefore the Byzantium sources talked of Ottomans and Chief Osman for the first time after this battle. Furthermore, İlhan İnalçık mentions 1302 Koyunhisar battle was a turning point in the history of Ottomans and claimed that the starting date of the Ottoman Empire should be this battle.

After this battle, Ottomans increased the pressure over Iznik and started expeditions towards Bursa and conquered the surrounding region. They won against the united army of the Lords in Koyunhisar and Dinboz. On the other hand the Byzantium emperor II. Andronikos requested help against Ottoman from İlhanlı and Alan in the Eastern Europe. But the Alan and after them Katalan failed against Ottoman.

Meanwhile Byzantium Anatolian lands except important centers Bursa, İzmit and Iznik were conquered by the Ottomans. Chief Osman became old and had an illness thus he left the state to his son Chief Orhan. Chief Orhan began to use Bursa, which he conquered on April, 6th 1326, as the capital. This city was the center of Silk trade thus by conquering the city Ottoman became powerful economically as much as politically. After this important conquest the pressure over Iznik increased. The city was about to fall which was under siege since the beginning of XIVth-century. Meanwhile IIIrd Andronikos came to throne of Byzantium.

The new Emperor started an East expedition with a big army to save Iznik and get the other cities in Anatolia back. Chief Orhan learnt about the expedition and left a small force in Iznik's siege and moved towards Istanbul. The battle was on the plains on the west of Eskihisar on the first days of June 1329 and Ottomans were victorious. The Pelekanon (Eskihisar) battle was the first battle to bring the rulers of both sides, a Byzantium Emperor and an Ottoman Sultan, across. At the end of this battle, which was a turning point in the history of Ottoman Empire, Byzantium Emperor escaped wounded and his army was scattered.

After the Pelekanon battle, Ottomans maintained a total superiority over the Byzantium. After this battle Byzantium never had an expedition over Turks. Iznik was conquered 2 years later in March 2nd, 1331. After Iznik Chief Osman moved over İzmit and laid siege. But the Emperor saved the city by accepting to join Ottomans, and pay tribute for the cities they held in the Kocaeli peninsula. This treaty



Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in tuğrası

Mehmet II Monogram

in 1333 saved Izmit for some time, but Ottomans kept an eye on the city and conquered it 4 years later.

The Ottoman raiders went on their expeditions and they could reach Uskudar whenever they wanted. Also Gemlik was conquered thus Byzantium's landing troops threat was nullified.

During 1335 and 1345, Ottomans used the Karasiogullari's, who joined the Ottoman, naval experiences and prepared to land on Rumelia over the South Marmara shores. Right at this time Byzantium Emperor IIIrd Andronikos Palaiologos died (1341) and was replaced by his son Vth Ioannes Palaiologos, who was 9 years old. But since Ioannes was too young, Ioannes Kantakuzenos (Commander of Army), known as Domestikos the Great, held the state under the name viceroy of the Emperor. But the struggle among them turned to a throne fight and Kantakuzenos left Istanbul and declared his independence in Dimetoka.

Kantakuzenos first agreed with Aydinoglu Chief Umur and fought against his rivals with his help. But after a Crusader army invaded Izmir and Chief Umur was forced to return to his country, he turned to Chief Orhan after his advice. Chief Orhan considered this request as a chance to pass to Rumelia and accepted it. According to the agreement, Chief Orhan would send reinforcements to Kantakuzenos and Kantakuzenos would give his daughter Theodora to Chief Orhan as a bride and would be Ottomans ally forever. After the treaty in 1346, Chief Orhan sent a force of 6000 men under his son Suleyman's command to Rumelia. Kantakuzenos first conquered Edirne by the Ottomans' help. Kantakuzenos entered the capital on February 3rd, 1347 and became joint Emperor Vth Ioannes Kantakuzenos with V. Ioannes Palaiologos. Meanwhile Chief Orhan went to Uskudar to celebrate his new Emperor father-in-law and had a meeting with Kantakuzenos in the summer of 1347. They signed a peace treaty between the two states. According to this Ottomans and Byzantium would be allies and would fight against Serbian threat together. In 1349 Selanik was saved from Serbian King Stephan Dusan by Suleiman Pasha and his Turkish army.

Kantakuzenos had problems with his throne partner, Ioannes, again and asked for help against him, Serbians, and Bulgarians from chief Orhan and offered a castle in Gallipoli to Ottomans. Suleiman Pasha moved upon this offer and beat Kantakuzenos's enemies. Upon this Kantakuzenos gave Çimpe castle to Ottomans in Gallipoli. Suleiman Pasha left some of his force in this castle as he was returning to Anatolia in 1353. Thus Turks won a castle in Europe after their 1352 victory and settled in Çimpe castle which was at a strategical position to cross from Dardanelles to Gallipoli.

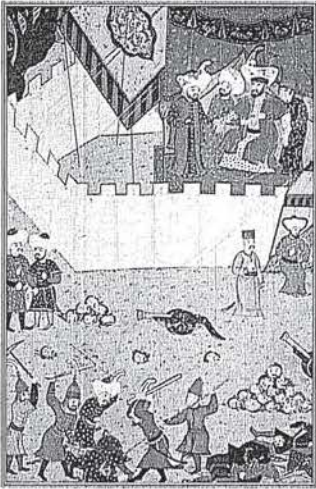
Suleiman Pasha crossed to Gallipoli with conquest in mind with 3000 men in 1354. He first conquered Bolayir. A big earthquake on the night of March

1/2, 1354 helped the Ottomans to conquer the region. Suleiman Pasha used this situation to his advantage and conquered Gallipoli whose walls were destroyed and its guards were lesser due to the earthquake. Suleiman Pasha got full control of the city and mended the walls and settled the Turkish families he brought from Anatolia here. Then he used Gallipoli as a base and conquered not only the peninsula but also, with expeditions from this castle, region up to Malkara, Keşan and Tekirdağ. Kantakuzenos was blamed for this situation and left the throne to his partner and settled in a monastery (1354).

Meanwhile Suleiman Pasha continued to advance in Thrace. An army column moved towards Tekirdağ, Çorlu and Vize while main forces under Suleiman Pasha's command made conquests towards Edirne and Dimetoka. Suleiman Pasha not only conquered these places but also made them Turkish lands by settling Turkish families he brought from Anatolia. The settling moved together with development. But Suleiman Pasha's death during a hunt stopped the Ottoman the conquests in Rumelia. Byzantium even took some places back during this term.

Shahzadah (sultan's son) Murad took command of forces in Rumelia after his brother's death, and continued his brother's conquest policy with his Lala (Manservant) Şahin Pasha. But during this time kidnapping of Orhan Ghazi's little son Shahzadah Halil by pirates from Foça during a boat trip in Izmit gulf stopped the conquests for a while. Vth Ioannes succeeded to sign a treaty in return for his help on this issue. Then a Byzantium naval force moved to Foça and rescued Shahzadah Halil and handed him back to his father. Ottoman's conquests continued after the rescue of Shahzadah Halil. Edirne and Dimetoka were conquered. Thus Ottomans conquered whole Gallipoli peninsula, and lands up to Dimetoka and Edirne at the end of this expedition that started in 1354 and continued 6-7 years and started to move towards west. But upon death of Orhan Ghazi Byzantium took back Çorlu, Burgaz and Malkara. Sultan Murad started his conquests in Rumelia after he took control of Anatolia. Besides Çorlu, Burgaz and Malkara he also conquered Filibe on the north of Edirne and thus cut the communication of Byzantium and Bulgarians and Serbians in Macedonia.

Vth Ioannes was getting cornered gradually and he was forced to request for a peace treaty in 1363. He accepted the lands in Thrace as Turkish lands, accepted to pay annual tax to Turks, and to provide military support to Turks if needed. This made the Byzantium a state belonging to the Ottoman. In the same year Ottomans won against a Crusader army (September 26th, 1371) and this made the Emperor more and more nervous. Vth Ioannes went to Europe to ask for military support but he had nothing. On the opposite Amadeo count of Savua moved to help and took Gallipoli and handed it over to Byzantium and this ended the treaty between Byzantium and



I. Murad'ın Sırp fedaisi tarafından şehit edilmesini gösteren minyatür

Miniature depicting Murad I murdered in battle by a Serbian Patriot

Ottomans. Ottomans moved again and not only took Gallipoli and Kırklareli but also Hayrabolu, Pınarhisar and Vize.

Emperor, failing to get military support from Europe, was forced to sign another treaty with the Ottomans. With the 1373 treaty the borders in Thrace was defined, and the tax and number of soldiers to be given were increased. Besides Emperor's son Theodoros would be kept as hostage by the Ottomans. Ottomans, starting from Ist Murad, made Byzantium part of the government and even began to determine the next Emperor. Likewise, IVth Andronikos took Vth Ioannes and his brother Manuel down from the throne with Ottoman help and took the throne. Ist Murad helped Vth Ioannes and his brother Manuel, who ran and took shelter in Ottomans, and succeeded to change the tax and soldier parts of the 1373 treaty in his advantage. He also got the right to have a qadi in Istanbul to function as a court for the Muslim trials.

Meanwhile Ottomans took control of South Macedonia and had control of Serez. But Selanik's governor joint Emperor Manuel incited the public against the Ottomans and therefore Ist Murad sent an army under Hayreddin Pasha's command over Serez and Selanik. Ottoman rule over Serez was established on this expedition but Selanik withstood for four years and was taken in 1387 by the Turks.

After Ist Murad was killed in Kosovo his son Ist Bayezid replaced him and during these times Byzantium was again having troubles about throne fights. Andronikos, who wanted the throne, came to Bursa and told Ist Bayezid that if he helped him he would pay more tax than his father and would always be part of Ottomans. Later he succeeded to enter the capital and get the throne with the help of Ottoman forces on April 14th 1390. But Andronikos's this second emperorship did not last long. This time old emperor Ioannes and his son Manuel escaped prison and came to Bayezid and they promised that in addition to tax increase they would also provide military support and even they would personally come with the forces if needed. And again to ensure the treaty would be followed Manuel would stay in Bursa. Upon this Bayezid supported them and helped them to get the throne back (September 17th 1390). But Bayezid asked that Andronikos and his son wouldn't be put into prison but would be given the rule of Silivri, Ereğli of Marmara Ereğli and Selanik. Thus Bayezid divided the Byzantium into two parts without using force by entering the throne fight between father and son.

During the first years of the Bayezid, Byzantium tried to survive under Ottoman rule; Old Emperor Vth Ioannes lived in Istanbul and his joint emperor Manuel lived in Bursa, according to the 1390 treaty. But Manuel, upon hearing his father's death, moved before his cousin VIIIth Ioannes and went to Istanbul leaving Bursa secretly without acknowledging Bayezid. He was crowned in Hagia Sofia as IIInd Manuel

Palaiologos (1391-1425).

Bayezid got very angry upon this event and sent an ambassador to request Manuel to join him, double the tax, a Turkish quarter to be established in Istanbul and a mosque to be built in it. But the new Emperor did not accept this counting on the Crusade and great walls of the city.

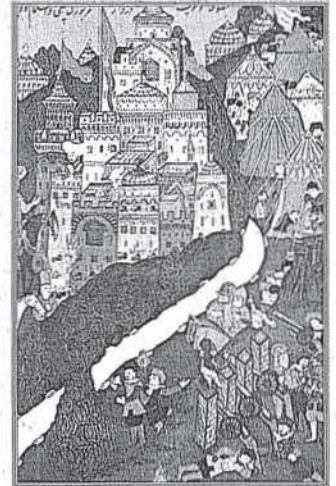
Ottoman army besieged the city. But they couldn't take a result of this siege that continued from 1391 to 1401 with pauses. The siege failed due to the thickness of walls of Istanbul, inability to siege the city on sea, insufficient Ottoman army strength, and new dangers showed up in both Balkans and Anatolia.

The first siege in 1391 continued for 7 months and the city people had almost famine together with many problems. The Emperor was having a difficult time so he accepted what Bayezid had offered him before. Bayezid accepted the treaty since Karamanogullari revolted in Anatolia and Hungarians entered the Ottoman borders in Balkans. But with this siege the Ottomans took all the lands up to the walls of Istanbul. They set up a garrison and began to control the city's in and outs.

Bayezid's second Istanbul siege that started in summer of 1395 and continued until spring of 1396 was not successful since the Crusaders laid siege on Nigbolu. Bayezid went to Nigbolu quickly and won against the Crusaders and determinedly came back to lay siege on Istanbul. He built a castle on the narrowest part of the Istanbul pass and thus stopped the help coming from Black Sea. Then he sent an ambassador to the Emperor and requested the surrender of the city. But Manuel refused this offer, even though people wanted to surrender due to fear of dangers posed by siege, since he had received money and soldier help from France. Thus Bayezid laid siege on Istanbul in spring of 1397 for the third time. This siege continued for 2 years but was unsuccessful.

The fourth siege of Bayezid on Istanbul started very hard in spring of 1400. People of Istanbul were under siege since 1391 and they were hungry and thirsty and the morale of the guarding soldiers was low. Emperor was about to surrender. But Byzantium was saved thanks to Timor's march over Anatolia. After the capture of Bayezid by the Timor, his captivity provided Byzantium another 50 years to live. IIInd Manuel tried to prevent the unification of Ottomans by supporting the Shahzadahs against each other.

The first Shahzadah to contact Byzantium was Emir Suleiman (Suleiman Çelebi). He signed a treaty with the joint emperor VIIIth Ioannes in Gallipoli in 1403. According to this treaty, that included Venice, Geneva and Rhodes knights, Emir Suleiman would give Kartal, Pendik and Gebze with some islands, Black Sea shores up to Misivri, Selanik and Tesalya Rumelia to Byzantium and the tax Byzantium was paying would be removed. Emir Suleiman would declare his independence in Edirne and would



Macarların Nigbolu Kalesini kuşatması ve Yıldırım Bayezid'in gelişini gösteren minyatür

Miniature depicting Magyar siege of Nigbolu Tower and Yıldırım Bayezid's arrival

be accepted by the Byzantium.

Emir Suleiman declared his independence in Edirne and began to rule in Rumelia. Then he moved to Anatolia and won against Musa Çelebi ruling in Bursa. He went to Istanbul on his way back to Rumelia and made another treaty. He left his brother Kasım Çelebi and his sister Fatma Sultan in Istanbul as hostage according to the treaty. Thus Byzantium Empire had an important chance to get Emir Suleiman under their command.

Meanwhile, Shahzadah Mehmed Çelebi and Isa Çelebi fought to rule in Bursa and Mehmed Çelebi won. Isa Çelebi took refuge in Istanbul. Isa Çelebi stayed in Istanbul for some time and was sent to Emir Suleiman. Emir Suleiman sent him over Mehmed Çelebi again but Isa Çelebi lost and was killed. Musa Çelebi, in Konya, agreed with Mehmed Çelebi and passed to Rumelia. He won over Emir Suleiman and Suleiman was killed. Musa Çelebi declared his independence in Edirne and followed an opposite policy against Byzantium. He laid siege on Istanbul. The fifth siege of the Ottomans started very hard. But when the Emperor gave a small force to Orhan Çelebi and sent him to Rumelia, the siege ended. This time Byzantium agreed with Mehmed Çelebi who wanted to get rule of Rumelia. After this agreement Çelebi Mehmed crossed to Rumelia over Istanbul but his first try was unsuccessful.

He finally won over Musa Çelebi and succeeded on joining the Ottoman under single flag. Mehmed Çelebi followed a friendly policy towards Byzantium. He renewed the friendship treaty between Byzantium and Ottomans. Lands conquered by Musa Çelebi were returned to Byzantium. This situation went on until Byzantium supported Yıldırım Bayezid's son Mustafa Çelebi who revolted for the Ottoman Throne in 1419.

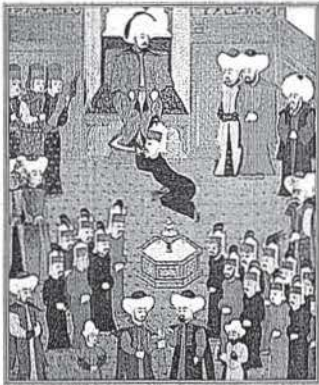
Mustafa Çelebi went to Istanbul after he was cornered in Selanik by the Ottoman Forces. He was sent to Limni Island by the emperor. Ist Mehmed could only provide his silence for three hundred thousand tribute to be paid annually. But when IInd Murad was enthroned Emperor Manuel released Mustafa Çelebi and Chief Cüneyd of Izmiroğlu from the Limni Island where they were kept as exiles. He helped them to get to Gallipoli. Mustafa Çelebi promised to give the whole lands on the North of Istanbul until Eflak including Gallipoli and whole Tesalya to Byzantium. He would leave one of his sons as a hostage in Istanbul to guarantee his promise. Mustafa Çelebi laid siege on Gallipoli after this treaty. At this time the army under Bayezid Pasha's command, who was sent by IInd Murad, reached Gallipoli. When the battle in Sazlıdere was won by Mustafa Çelebi, Bayezid pasha changed his side. Mustafa Çelebi then went to Edirne and declared his independence (October 1421). Some time later Gallipoli castle was also taken. Upon the disagreement on leaving the castle to Byzantium, Emperor tried to agree with IInd Murad. IInd Murad did not accept the

offer and besides he won over Mustafa Çelebi and killed him (1422). After this he laid siege on Istanbul to punish the emperor who supported him. This siege started in June of 1422 and it was harsher than the previous ones. This Byzantium began to support IInd Murad's brother Shahzadah Mustafa, who had taken refuge under Karamanoğulları after his father's death. Shahzadah Mustafa had revolted and conquered Iznik, after being incited by Karamanoğulları and Germiyanids in addition to Byzantium. IInd Murad had to end the siege when he learnt the situation. This siege was the last siege of Ottomans before the Fatih era. Istanbul was not besieged for thirty years after this date.

During the time that Ottoman army subdued the Hungarians and Serbia, IInd Murad followed a warm policy towards other Chieftains in Anatolia and Byzantium. During the same time Turkish raiders had laid siege on Selanik and had reached Mora in South Greece. The Ottoman - Venice war started when Selanik governor Andronikos, feeling desperate, had sold the city to Venice for 50,000 Byzantium gold (1423). On the other hand Byzantium was cornered and accepted to agree its previous vassal position, that they have been freed in 1402 and to pay tribute.

VIIIth Ioannes (1425-1448), who was enthroned after IInd Manuel's death, tried to save the Byzantium Empire which was divided and totally weakened. The new Emperor tried to keep Istanbul and surrounding while his brothers took control of Mora peninsula. Byzantium was crumbling down for being divided and lost its power. VIIIth Ioannes tried to join with the Western church against the increasing Turkish threat and seeing the only salvation to be Europe. Emperor's aim was to join the churches and thus provide their help. He went to Europe for this in 1437. They declared the union in Florence on June 6th 1439. But Byzantium people and Patricks of the Eastern Orthodox churches refused to join the Vatican and besides Western countries did not provide the help Emperor was hoping for. As a result VIIIth Ioannes failed in his help hopes after union.

While the Byzantium Emperor tried to unite with the Christian world, Hungary had established an alliance against the Turkish advance in Balkans and Lehistan-Hungarian king IIIrd Ladislav established a new Crusader army under the joint command of, Erdel (Transylvania) voyvoda Johannes Hunyadi and Serbian despot Georg Branković. IInd Murad on the other hand left the throne to his young son IInd Mehmed and moved to Manisa trusting the peace treaty he signed with the Hungarians on June 12th 1444. But the Hungarian king saw this as a chance to remove Turks from Balkans and broke the treaty and he moved towards Black Sea shores to unite with the Venice forces after passing through Bulgaria. This army, commanded by Hungarian King Ladislav, was reinforced by Polish, Eflak, Hirvat, German and Venice forces. The Byzantium Emperor released



Çelebi Mehmed'in culûsunu gösteren minyatür

Miniature depicting Çelebi Mehmed's accession to the throne

Shahzadah Orhan Çelebi from Istanbul, and Orhan Çelebi went to Rumelia and claimed his independence. When this move of Orhan Çelebi was heard in Edirne, the ministers of the state were agitated and called İnd Murad back to the capital. They also sent a force to capture Orhan Çelebi. But seeing the Ottoman forces' approach Orhan Çelebi took refuge in Istanbul. Meanwhile İnd Murad returned and won the Varna Battle on November 10th 1444. İnd Murad followed a friendlier and peaceful policy against Byzantium after this victory. This was due to Orhan Çelebi's present danger in Istanbul. İnd

Murad thought to establish a total control over Balkans first. The second Kosovo war in 1448 ensured the Turkish rule in Balkans. Byzantium had no hopes furthermore. Emperor VIIIrd Konstantinos' efforts could not save Byzantium. Turks had climbed all the steps from Söğüt to Istanbul. To finish the steps and to conquer Istanbul would be realized in young Turkish Sultan İnd Mehmed's era and The Byzantium Empire, that continued all throughout the Middle Age, would be history with the Age it lived in.

Fatih Era Europe Governments

If we consider the state of the European Governments during Fatih Sultan Mehmed's reign, which is around the second half of the 15th century, and their relations with the Ottoman Empire, we have the following views:

When the conquest of Istanbul took place in 1453, the state of the neighbor countries and Europe was quite complicated. Other than the actions taken by the pope 5th Nicolaus (1447-1455) to force the Christian world to act against Ottoman Turks, European governments were not seriously taking this issue into consideration. Because the Western Europe's France and England have consumed each other in the Hundred Year Wars, which started in 1339 in the first half of the 14th century and went on to the second half of the 15th century and marked the era. Though, especially the French Kings, have declared they would join the pope's crusade calls but did nothing in practice. Frankly the continuous attacks of the English, civil wars in the country and the economical problems would not let such an action. As a result, at the end of this long and consuming war king 7th Charles had been able to taken whole France back from English with two victories (1422-1461) - outside the city of Calais - and could establish the land unity of the France. But the country was very tired and the king neither had the time nor the military power to deal with other things.

In England, after the end of the Hundred Year Wars, the peace within the kingdom have not been able to established, and then a throne war among Lancaster dynasty, which also included the king 6th Henry, and York dynasty. This war is known as the War of Two Roses, and went on between 1455 and 1485 for thirty years, included many other noble families and cost many lives. Again during this time, there was a struggle over Eastern Mediterranean and Balkans between Aragon-Napoli King 5th Alfonso (14146-1458), the most powerful ruler in the Mediterranean, and the Venice, and Ottomans were trying to benefit from this situation and get Venice on their side by signing trade treaties with them.

On the other hand, the Papacy continued their enmity against Ottoman just as before 1453 and was trying hard to start a new crusade against Turks. But their efforts on this issue came out to be useless and conquest of Istanbul forced them to quit their superiority of Catholic Church claim over Byzantium Orthodox Church. Because the Orthodox Church was now under Turkish rule and they had no power to interfere. Other than these, Aragon king 5th Alfonso in Spain, Leon-Castilian king 2nd Jan (1406-1454) and 1st Alfonso (1438-1481) in Portugal were trying to establish Christian rule over the peninsula and destroy the Beni Ahmer government on the south who still survived. Besides, during these years, the wars among, the North European countries, Denmark and Switzerland were waging on. And in Hungary, who was the Ottoman's neighbor in the Balkans, the King's regent, Jan Hunyadi, was ruling.

After mentioning the state of Europe during the conquest of Istanbul, let's consider the European Countries' political lives during the 15th century one by one and talk about their relations with the Ottomans.

Papacy has started its rise at the end of the 11th century and continued it in the next century but it lost his esteem amongst the Christian world greatly compared to the previous centuries, due to the failure of the Crusades (1096-1291) against Muslims who were advancing continuously. Nevertheless Pope 5th Nicolaus used all his power to convince the Eastern and Western European governments to start a new crusade against Ottoman Turks to set up the destroyed Byzantium Empire, which became absolute after the conquest of Istanbul by Turks, and to get the Holy Lands back and he declared an edict that invited all Christians to war on September 30, 1453. But his efforts were in vain. Even though German Emperor 3rd Friedrich's (1452-1493) offer and encouragements provided meetings in Rome about the subject, nothing came out of them. On the contrary, the Venice, getting suspicious of Aragon-Napoli king's policies, especially over Albania, turned their back on Western European govern-



II. Murad'ın Macar Kralı Nâibi Yanko'nun miğferini kılıç darbesiyle parçalaması

Miniature depicting Murad II breaking Magyar Steward Yanko's helm into pieces

ments on their own benefits and signed treaties with the Ottomans in 1454.

After the death of 5th Nicolaus in 1455, 3rd Calixtus of Borgia family became the pope (1455-1458) and he moved with Aragon-Napoli king 5th Alfonso and together they tried to launch a Crusade⁸. They gathered a fleet of many ships to get the islands that were conquered by the Ottomans in the Aegean sea and this fleet got Limni, Semadirek and Taşoz islands in 1457 and placed garrisons there but they retreated in short time after the Turkish naval forces interruption. The islands were re-conquered by the Turks and all the Christian soldiers in the garrisons were killed. Thus this attempt of the Papacy gave no results.

When Pope 3rd Calixtus died 2nd Pius (1458-1464) took his place. 2nd Pius immediately started works to gather Western governments in Mantova and start a new crusade to get Istanbul¹⁰. But his actions were in vain too. The Venice and Florence thought getting involved in such a move could openly harm the economical gains and disappoint the new Ottoman Sultan with who they had signed a fresh treaty¹¹. The German king thought a war against Turks would help his enemy Hungarian king Corvinus (1458-1490). The French and Aragon kings were too busy on protecting their own gains over Italy and could not look over other problems. Meanwhile the French king 7th Charles has died and his son, who caused many problems with his moves, 11th Louis (1461-1483) replaced him. He had his own problems at home and he was in no condition to consider a move towards the East. Only Bourgogne duke had answered to the Papacy's request. It was apparent that the Western governors were no more interested in Eastern problems.

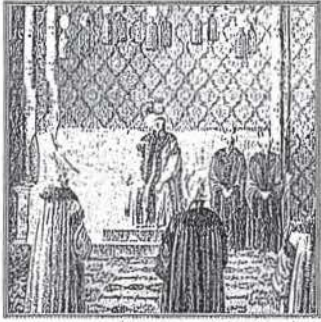
Pope 2nd Pius was determined to continue the preparations for the expedition. In 1463 his plans seemed to succeed. An Aluminum mine discovered right around this time in Papacy's land provided unusual income. The Doge of Venice seemed to support the papacy too. The Hungarian King, who finally could come to a treaty with the German king, was longing for such an expedition. Finally Pope issued an edict in the same year's October and showed its good intentions and determinedness on the subject. On the other hand, the excitement vanished as the months passed by. Only the Hungarian king's support was still the same, who was in war with the Ottomans. The Venice was in indecision. The other Italian cities were also calculating their trade losses because of this expedition. Even though he was enthusiastic, the Duke of Bourgogne Philippe. (1419-1467), he was in no condition to leave his lands due to the intrigues of the French king 11th Louis. Seeing the whole picture the Pope decided to take the leadership and declared that he would personally pay for the expenses of this expedition. He received the Cross with a ceremony, even though his health was not very good, in the Petrus Church in Roma in July 18,

1464. His men gathered a fleet in Ancona port with his orders. Pope 2nd Pius moved to Ancona port after a few days of the ceremony. But this trip consumed all his strength. His men understood he would pass away and kept the truth from him. None of the kings in Europe has joined his invitation for the expedition. The expedition was an impossible one. Pope passed away on 14 August when he reached Ancona without knowing the expedition was over¹².

Meanwhile the Ottoman kept on their conquests in Aegean and Balkans before 1460¹³. After the conquest of Istanbul, with expeditions over Mora, these lands were taken from Dimitrios and Thomas, who were brothers of the last Byzantium emperor. One third of the land was taken at first and Ottomans put an end to Athens Dukalik. Same way in 1459 all Serbian land except Belgrade was taken by the Ottoman's expeditions over Serbia¹⁴.

The war went on over Mora in 1460s too. Because the struggle between Dimitrios and Thomas was going on and they did not comply with the treaty between Ottomans. A new expedition, due to these matters, conquered whole Mora. Thomas immediately run to Pope 2nd Pius and Dimitrios took shelter under Ottoman and stayed in Enez as a loyal friend until he died¹⁵.

While these happened in the East, new crusades have been planned only because of the Popes' insistence but none of them took place. Because the European countries were not in a condition to do anything to stop the advance of the Ottomans in 1470s. France's King 11th Louis has not been able to unify his lands yet. First, he fought against Bourgogne duke Philippe and Charles (Brave) and after Philippe's death, against his son Duke Charles. Because Bourgogne were the leader in every move against the French Kingdom¹⁶. Duke Charles succeeded to gather the Countship of Flandre and its neighbors in his hand and he aimed to establish a kingdom on his own by unifying these lands. Besides he also tried to get the Alsace, Lorraine and Champagne. He even took some cities of Lorraine in 1473. He also made a treaty with King 4th Edward of England. Likewise King 4th Edward landed in Calais city of French Coast but he did nothing since the Bourgogne Duke did not show up. The French King 11th Louis used this chance and signed a peace treaty with the English King. In addition, he also convinced the Lorraine duke, Rhein cities and Switzerland cantons to join him, who were harmed by the policy that Bourgogne duke followed. Charles couldn't stop this alliance against him and was beaten by the Swedish in 1476. And in January of 1477 he both lost the battle and his life against Lorraine Duke. King 11th Louis used this chance and immediately conquered the lands of Bourgogne Duke. But Charles' daughter Marie was made to marry German King 3rd Friedrich's son Maximilian and thus his rights were protected against the French King¹⁷. Finally, in 1482, a treaty was signed with the French



Topkapı Sarayı, Arz odası,
Batılı elçilerin kabulü

Topkapı Palace, audience chamber, for
foreign ambassadors

King that gave the lands of Bourgogne Duke to him and Marie and Maximilian's son got the rest. This brought the end of the Bourgogne Duke and the danger he created.

The Anjou region, which was separated from the French Kingdom and became a Dukahk in 1360, was returned to the French lands in 1480 according to its last ruler Renaud. And in 1481 his nephew Charles du Maine died and the Provence province was added to the kingdom. Thus, France showed a continuous development during the reign of 11th Louis and it became a very powerful country at the end of 15th century. Louis kept the control of the government always at hand and gathered the parliament only if he saw necessary. He continued and sped up the modernization in the army that his father 7th Charles started: he increased regular army corporations and gathered the artillery, who he trained with high discipline, in special groups. He oversaw the tax collection from the population; thus he made sure that the country quickly overcame the burden of the Hundred Years War. France showed a continuous economical increase trend due to its location between new trade centers in Holland and England in North and trader Italian cities in the South, and Portugal harbor cities in the west, which were increasingly gaining importance, and Industrial regions in southern Germany in East. With this developments and strengthening, it even interfered Spain and Italy's problems.

After the 11th Louis' death, his son 8th Charles took the throne. But since he was too young his aunt Anne took care of the government for some time. Finally he overtook the rule and firstly he followed his ancestors' policy and attacked the Italian lands. But this move made his neighbors uncomfortable. German king Maximilian and Aragon king Ferdinand made almost all of the Italian cities unite against 8th Charles¹⁸. As a result of this, King 8th Charles was forced to return to France in 1495. The last military division that he left in Napoli surrendered in 1497. After the death of 8th Charles in 1498, Orleans duke 12th Louis took the throne (1498-1515) and he united France and Orleans by marrying the widow Queen Anne de Bretagne. He, just like his predecessor, was interested in Italy. But all of his plans over Italy were fruitless. He was expelled from Napoli by the Aragon king at the end, and he was also sent away from Milano and Geneva. In addition France came under the attack of Swedish and English. These attacks caused little damage.

If we take England into consideration during the same era, even though they seemed successful at both stages of the Hundred Years Wars, they seemed to get almost nothing at the end of war. In the end they were expelled from all French cities except for Calais¹⁹. Meanwhile the difficulties that the war brought and the epidemics ignited people to revolt frequently. The uneasiness went on even after the war and in 1455 the "war of two roses" between two

royal families caused the country to exhaust itself for years²⁰. But this war was fought only among the nobles and people have not been involved in it and they kept on their own works and trade. While the war continued 6th Henry ascended to the throne when his father 5th Henry died, but he was only one year old so naturally he wasn't able to rule. Thus the rule was at the hands of his uncles, Bedford and Gloucester dukes. They tried to enthrone their nephew in France but Jean d'Arc's Orleans victory in 1429 ended their dreams. Because after this victory 7th Charles was enthroned in Reims and following this event English was driven off France²¹. Besides Bourgogne duke, who was an English ally, turned their back and made peace with the French King in 1435.

The English soldiers, who were used to profitable lootings during the Hundred Years Wars in French lands, returned to the island after the war. These forces were idle and were part of any good or bad event. The country was in a total chaos. Even the King 6th Henry was seen as a usurpation²². York Duke Richard, who was considered as the closest heir to King 3rd Edward, finally revolted to the king but he was killed in the battle in 1460. Upon this event his son 4th Edward²³ became a candidate for the throne and he was accepted by the English and enthroned in 1461. He made himself loved by the population in short time. Some time later he won over Lancaster royal family supporters in Towton and completed his success by capturing 6th Henry in 1466. But peace in the country was not completely established. His desire to establish good relations with the Bourgogne caused uneasiness among people, especially his closest man Warwick, against it. 4th Edward won this struggle in 1471 too, and he got 6th Edward killed, who he kept in London Tower. After this he established a total control over the country and ruled it until 1483 without any significant opposition. He both established peace and order in the country and put an end to the French struggle with Pecquigny treaty in 1475. He left two little sons after his death. His elder son was supposed to be enthroned. But Edward's brother Gloucester duke Richard overtook the throne as the regent of the kids. He soon got them killed⁴² and became the king as 3rd Richard (1483-1485).

Richard had easily gotten the throne but he put everybody off him by many murders he committed one after another. Thus Henry Tudor, who was the last representative of Lancaster dynasty, landed to Milford Haven with 2.000 men from France in 1485, where he had taken shelter, and he received the support of all Galles region and most of the noblemen turned their back to Richard. As a result Richard lost the battle in Bosworth and got killed²⁵ and this ended the rule of Anjou dynasty.

Henry Tudor was enthroned as 7th Henry (1485-1509) was Richmond Count's son. He had spent all his life in France up to that time. He actu-



Kariye Camii kubbesi

Canopy of Carrie Mosque

ally did not have all the necessary titles. But he used the chances given to him very well; 3rd Richard's murders had kept everybody off York dynasty. He used this and landed on English island in August 1485 and received many supporters. After getting 3rd Richard killed in the battle, he was enthroned and established the Tudor dynasty. The chaotic situation in Europe and the danger that Turks created enabled him to overcome his opponents easily. He became a very talented politician. He served to establish national peace and end the enmity between the two families by marrying Elizabeth, a lady from York dynasty. Thus he solved three problems, which were connected to each other; he established national order; he secured external peace, also he helped the prosperity of the country to develop. Besides all he also had to deal with many revolts. But when he died the order in the country was established. Actually, England was prospering since 14th century. Farmers had a little land and enough food. People had a partial freedom. Especially during the One Hundred Years War and after it, they relaxed thinking that the island they accommodated protected them from many problems and began to see themselves superior to other nations²⁷.

To get to know the Germany at the second half of 15th century, it will be useful to go a little back in the history of the country and analyze it accordingly.

After the death of Sicilian-German emperor 2nd Friedrich in 1250 the link with the Italian and German were severed and Hohenstaufen dynasty has lost power thus the universal leadership dream also collapsed. Germany entered an era of great chaos between 1250-1273 also known as the Great Feud Era. The country was divided into small mixed religious and secular governments. Bandit knights, free villagers and powerful and rich trading cities like Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Frankfurt, Nürnberg, and Augsburg obtained their freedom. All of these were either uniting for some reason or going to the opposite sides. Finally some of them achieved a land unity and obtained a continuous unity; most important ones of them were Habsburg and Luxembourg dynasties. Prince Rudolf (1273-1291) of Habsburg dynasty gathered Austria, Corinthian and Stiria provinces under his command and became the leader in great landowners and tried to re-establish the empire. Then 4th Ludwig (1314-1346) of Bavaria got to the throne. He declared total freedom of German Empire against Papacy by his Frankfurt Edict in 1338. 4th Karl (1314-1346) of Luxembourg, who replaced him, re-designed the rules of enthroning an Emperor by removing the musts, about crowning taking place in Rome and blessing of the Pope, with his Edict with Golden Seal in 1356. After him 4th Karl's son Sigismund (1410-1437), who was Hungarian king since 1387 and who lost the battle against Sultan Yıldırım Bayezid in Nigbolu, was enthroned. Thus Hungary was unified with German Empire. Sigismund still tried to stop

Ottoman's advance in Balkans. And this time he lost against Beylerbeyi Sinan Pasha in 1426 and he hardly saved his life by escaping. Due to this victory of Ottoman he could not also interfere Serbia, which he wanted to take under protection. In addition, since it was known that he wanted to stop the Ottoman advance, an expedition was sent into Hungary under Evrenoz oğlu Ali Bey's command and 70.000 people were taken as captives. Also, during his reign, Basel Council was gathered to put an end to the ongoing religious chaos and Jan Hus and his followers, who offered new religious views, were imprisoned by this council.

After Sigismund's death, the throne was left to his son-in-law Albrecht of Austria of Habsburg dynasty. He also tried to stop the Turkish expeditions in Hungary. But his reign was short and his nephew 3rd Friedrich (1440-1493) replaced him in 1440. This person was the last Emperor to be crowned by the Pope. During 3rd Friedrich's era Ottoman's expeditions on Hungary went on. Even though Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus asked for help against Turks, Friedrich did not pay attention to this and Corvinus was forced to sign a treaty with the Ottomans. Even though 3rd Friedrich had a long reign, he couldn't unify Germany too and slipped Bohemia and Hungary off his hands. When he died he was replaced by 1st Maximilian (1493-1519). Maximilian, who was given, while his father was alive, the title King of Romans, was crowned easily. He was a cultured man and a good commander. He strengthened the Habsburg dynasty by heritages of marriages in the country and in Europe. By marrying Bourgogne duke's daughter Mary in 1477, he had the power to interfere Flandre lands. After the Arras treaty, that he signed with Bourgogne duke, he gave French King 11th Louis duke and Picardie lands and had the rest for himself. In addition, Maximilian had his daughter Margaret marry the French Prince and received Bourgogne and Artois region and a few other cities. He had the chance to interfere Italy after another marriage in 1494. But the control over Italy issue brought him against French King 1st François. He was forced to leave Milano region to him in 1515 after battles. Against all the difficulties that Maximilian faced, he succeeded to unite Austria and the lands around but he failed to achieve a total unity in Germany and to establish a central government.

In addition to these three great states of the Western Europe, another future world power was developing in Spain during Fatih Sultan Mehmed's era. Towards the end of 15th century a free Portugal kingdom was established on the eastern half of the Iberia peninsula and a Spanish state was established when Aragon and Castalia crowns united. In the first half of the century, due to the crowded population, developments in the ship building, and impossibility to enlarge its borders on the peninsula due to other Spanish states forced Portugal to move South,



Silahdar Ağa

Carrier of Sultan's Sword

to Africa and get new lands there. This way they started to explore African shores. Even though they started a war against Morocco during king Eduardo (1433-1438), they lost it. The succeeding king, Pedro ruled a peaceful state. The wheat and sugar cane plantings on Madera and Asor islands provided rich incomes. In 1447 the first Portugal golden coin was minted (cruzado). In 1449 Henrique the sailor was crowned³⁹. A new war against Morocco was started and this time they were successful in conquering many cities. The trade on south was very profitable and the state had two important goals: to explore the western lands, the islands and to find a maritime line from south of Africa to India. In 1456 Cabo Verde islands were discovered. With the journey in Africa in 1471, Sao Tome and Annobon were reached and the equator was passed. 5th Alfonso opened the way for his kingdom by marrying 4th Henrique's heiress Juana of Castalia in 1455. His son 2nd Juan (1481-1495) intimidated the nobles and systemized the explorations and use of new found lands. In 1487 Cape Hope was passed and Indian Ocean was reached. But Cristoph Columbus, whose request for ships was turned down by Portugal King, returned from his voyage, which he went in name of Castilian king, and claimed he had reached India through west (1492-1493). In return, during king 1st Manuel (1495-1521), Vasco De Gamma reached India through sea, even though Muslim traders, who held the Far East trade, tried to stop him⁴⁰. Thus Portugal made a leap by taking over the Far East trade from Mameluk Sultanate. Perhaps not during Fatih Sultan Mehmed's reign, but after conquest of Egypt, the Ottomans grew interested in Indian Ocean due to spice trade and became rivals to Portugal in these waters.

Towards the middle of 13th century the collapsing Muslim rule over Spanish peninsula became useful to the Christian states, which were developing in the north of the country. In the same way the throne struggles within the Muslims let the development and strengthening of Castilian Kingdom by uniting with Leon kingdom. In the second half of the 15th century Castilian King 4th Enrique got his sister Isabella married to Aragon prince Ferdinand in October 1469. After 4th Enrique's death in December 1473, Isabella became the queen of Castalia (1474). Aragon king Ferdinand did not interfere his wife's country's affairs. Aragon and Castalia existed side by side as equal kingdoms. Isabella saved her country from invading Portugal king 5th Alfonso by Ferdinand's help (1479).

In 1490 Ferdinand asked for the overtake of Beni Ahmer state's city from Abu Abdullah, which was squeezed to only Granada in the peninsula, but his request was not accepted. Thus Ferdinand's army entered Granada plains and destroyed everything and besieged the city. The city had surrender after two months, thus this ended the Muslim power in Spain and Ferdinand's power grew as he established

unity in the country. He collected administrative and military power in his hands. He both intimidated the nobles and cowed people through the Inquisition. And to establish religious unity in the country he used the present hatred towards Berberi and Jewish people. With the Inquisition he established, he first demanded tax from Jews then deported them together with the Muslims. These people tried to reach African shores. In the following years Ottoman navy succeeded to get some of these to the Anatolia⁴⁵. Berberi were also deported too. Even though these behaviors caused Ferdinand-Isabella couple to receive Catholic Kings title by the Pope 6th Alexander Borgia, it also deprived the country of most hard-working and artist class. And again in this era Cristoph Columbus set sail to reach India with Ferdinand and Isabella's support; he continuously went west and reached Bahama's Watling islands (on the nights of 11-12 October 1492) and then reached Cuba and Haiti of Great Antilles. Ferdinand, put off the revolt of nobles that started after his wife's death in 1504, went on to enlarge his country by conquering Navar region, and some cities on the North African shore.

When we take the Italian peninsula during Fatih Sultan Mehmed's era's first years, we see that all Italian city states were trying to stay in good relationships with the Ottomans, primarily Venice, then Napoli kingdom and Papacy, Geneva, Milano, Florence, and Pisa in Italy, since they were struggling with each other. Among these, Geneva tried their best to have good relations, who were losing their east trade. Even though they had the Sultan's good intentions at first, they generally received his wrath afterwards. The two rivals Venice and Geneva tried to keep good relations with the Sultan. Milano and Napoli kingdom, on the other hand, kept their relationships at a distance at the beginning. But after Istanbul's conquest, Ottoman's expeditions on Albania and Mora disturbed 5th Alfonso's plans. Besides Venice was also trying to establish control over Albania. Ottoman tried to hold Venice from uniting with the Napoli kingdom by accepting Venice superiority in Albanian ports. The struggle and enmity between Venice and the Napoli kingdom went on after the death of 5th Alfonso in 1458 and during his son Ferdinand's reign (1458-1494) too. Venice stayed in struggle with other Italian cities, especially Florence's policies disturbed their first good relations with the Sultan. In that case Venice allied with both Pope 2nd Pius and Bourgogne Duke against Turks in 1463. But Pope's death in 1464 discontinued the planned crusade against Turks. And the alliance with the Bourgogne Duke was broken but Venice did not change its aims and moved against Turks together with Hungarian king and Albanian chief Iskender bey.

The war that Venice started against Ottoman in 1463 went on for 16 years. Even though they offered a treaty after their first attempts failed, their propos-



Ibrikdar Ağa

Official superintending the Sultan's ablution

al was refused by Sultan. So Venice had to continue the war, and found themselves new allies too. Alongside Pope and Napoli kingdom, Rhodes knights, Akkoyunid king Uzun Hasan and Karaman Chief promised to help. The war of Venice became a Crusade in 1472. The Christian fleet of 85 ships, first stroke Antalya then Izmir but failed to achieve a significant success. Meanwhile Ottoman army was launching successful expeditions over Dalmatians, Albanian region and Venice lands in North Italy. This long struggle with many phases finally ended in 1478 by a treaty signed by a Venice, which was deserted by its allies. Only after this Venice did their best to stay in good relations with the Ottomans even though all small Italian city-states, especially Milano, provoked them. After this treaty, Ottoman, who had Mora, Epiros and Albania, decided to cross the Adriatic Sea. First Zanta, Catalonia and

Ajavarma islands of Prince Leonardo was taken in Ion sea. The Italia expedition started in summer of 1480 and continued in August 1480 by capturing Otranto and surroundings. This place became a base for the conquest of Italy. But Fatih Sultan Mehmed's death on May 3, 1481, and Sultan 2nd Bayezid's calling back of Gedik Ahmed Pasha, and not sending any more reinforcements to this region stopped the conquest. Thus Napoli king Ferdinand had the chance to re-take the Otranto and its surroundings on September 10, 1481. But taking Turks off South Italy did not bring unity. These small city-states continued their struggle even after the death of Fatih Sultan Mehmed. And French kings did not give up their claims over Italy. As a result not only during Fatih Sultan Mehmed's era, the struggles amongst west-European countries went on to the end of 15th century and even after some following years.

Asia Governments

When the capital of the Eastern Roman empire, Istanbul, was conquered by Ottoman Turks, their ruler Mehmed II was not only heard in the West but also in the East and has awoken an admiration along with disbelief among the rulers. When he definitely ascended to the throne in 1451, the eastern borders of the Ottoman state was not definite. It was, therefore, very necessary to secure the eastern borders before the conquest of Istanbul.

From the point of the civil troubles of the Ottoman state, the Candaroğulları Principality based on Kastamonu-Sinop, Karamanogulları Principality based on Konya, and Dhulqadirid Principality based on Maraş-Elbistan were possible starting points of important political polemics. Among these, Karamanogulları and Dhulqadirid Principalities were in a place that interested the Mameluk Sultanate. Then, also Akkoyunids would join the struggle over these principalities. The newly ascended Sultan Mehmed II saw the conquest of Istanbul as the only important step for the continuum of the sultanate and development of the state so he took a new strategy over Karamanogulları, who were a continuous problem, to avoid any future problems that would hinder his great plan.

Karamanogulları took over the Seljuks inheritance and tried to establish a control over the other principalities of Anatolia. They had been in constant struggle with the Ottomans until the 14th century, and had spoiled the political and military plans of Ottomans about central Anatolia and caused various problems. After Murad II withdrew from the throne and left his throne to Mehmed II, the struggles in Europe and the difficulties that the Ottomans faced, prepared the conditions that Karamanogulları was waiting for. Also, because of this Mehmed II had threatened the Karamanogulları and Kastamonu

chiefs in his first years of rule (1444-1446) and Karaman Chief Ibrahim had complained about this issue to retired Murad II. In the year that Murad II died and Mehmed II ascended to the throne, Ibrahim attacked and took some castles in Hamid province vicinity and sent Germiyan, Aydın and Menteseogulları principality chiefs back to their places, which were now under Ottoman rule, and caused problems in those vicinities. Thus Karamanogulları showed they were still after their previous status quo.

Upon these new developments Mehmed II assigned Ishak Pasha as the head chief and started his first expedition on Karaman Lands. But when the ambassador of the Byzantium reached him in Akşehir and told of the threats, he preferred to make a treaty with Karaman chief Ibrahim. Ilgin was accepted as the border by two sides. Beyşehir, Seydişehir and Kırşehir were left to Ottomans. But the Karamanlı control over Alaiye (Alanya) would continue. While Mehmed II was busy with the preparations for the conquest of Istanbul, Chief Ibrahim signed a treaty with Venice ambassador in Konya (February 1453). After the conquest he thought it was his turn, so he complained about Mehmed II to Mameluk Sultan in 1455. But next year he attacked the Mameluk lands, so a Mameluk army under Hoşkadem's command entered Karaman lands and caused destruction. Chief Ibrahim turned to the Ottomans upon this. He accepted the Ottoman patronage and sent an army for the Ottoman Kastamonu-Trabzon expedition. His death (868/1464) caused a throne fight among Karamanogulları. This struggle among his sons brought on developments that caused direct interventions of Mameluk, Ottoman, Akkoyunids, and Dhulqadirid Principality. Especially the Akkoyunids' policy on Central Anatolia got more and more importance. When



Ağalar koğuşu ve Fatih Köşkü

Chamber of lords and Mehmed II Kiosk

Melik Aslan of Dhulqadirid started raid expeditions on Karaman lands, Karamanogulları asked for help from Akkoyunids, and Akkoyunids' Ruler Uzun Hasan entered the Karaman lands in 869 Muharrem (fall of 1464) and won against Dhulqadirid. He supported Chief Ishak for the rule of principality after taking acceptance from Mameluk. Upon this event Pir Ahmed, who was Mehmed II's aunt's son, opposed his brother Ishak and took refuge behind Ottomans.

Mehmed II calculated that harsh moves would have negative effects on the political environment of the geography ranging from Kahire to Tebriz and wanted to solve the problem through patronage so he supported Pir Ahmed. When Pir Ahmed won against his brother Ishak, the Ottoman control over Karaman was reestablished (1465). But this was not assented by both Mameluk and Akkoyunids as he foresaw. The Ottoman Sultan decided to protect Pir Ahmed against these two states. But Karaman had not totally accepted the Ottoman control. They wanted to follow a balance policy between these three states. When Ottoman and Mameluk had problems they immediately went on to sign treaties with Venice and Akkoyunids. Mehmed II attacked the region and took Konya. Pir Ahmed, running away from him, took shelter in Mameluk. A new province was established in Karaman and Prince Mustafa was assigned to rule it (1468).

Karamanogulları did not give up struggling though. Pir Ahmed took Ereğli, Aksaray, Develi, and Niğde on the east of Konya in 1469. Another Karaman, Chief Kasım, reached up to Ankara using the Ottoman's 1471 Eğriboz expedition for his advantage. But in the spring of 1471 Ottoman forces under Ishak Pasha's command took Larende and moved to İçel. Niğde was taken back and Chief Kasım ran to take shelter in Bulgar (Bolkar) Mountains among Turkmen tribes. Another Ottoman force under Gedik Ahmed Pasha had taken Alaiye and had taken hold of important fortifications. Akkoyunids intervention failed after they lost in Otlukbeli. Karamanogulları's resistance was totally over. Pir Ahmed lost a battle near Laredne. Castles, like Ermenek, Silifke, Develi, and Lülive, were under Ottoman control (1476). Chief Kasım, who had taken shelter in Mameluk, came to scene during the Cem event but he signed a treaty with Bayezid II and ruled a small part in İçel until he died. Some researchers claim that with the death of Kasım, the Karamanlı is over. But it is also known that some people of Karaman family joined the revolts in this region. One of them is Mustafa who led an important revolt between 1500 and 1501.

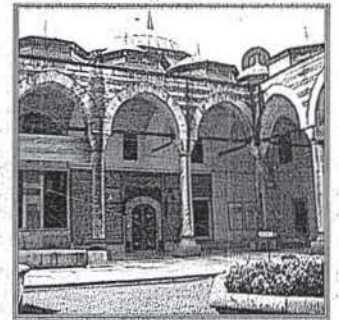
Mehmed II's primary policy has been taking the ex-Byzantium lands. The Sultan, seeing himself as the rightful inheritor of the lands, turned on the last remaining piece of the empire, Trabzon Rum State. Meanwhile Trabzon was a small state, which has sank back to only the vicinity around the city due to

long struggles against the Turkmen tribes around, and was paying tax to the Ottomans. But nevertheless they had not ignored the Akkoyunids against Ottoman and established kinship with Uzun Hasan (1458). Emperor's brother David had gone to Europe in search of allies. Mehmed II put a new strategy into action that covered the line from Kastamonu to Trabzon. The aim was to rule over the Anatolian shores of the Black sea, to make it a Turkish lake and thus controlling the trade routes passing from here.

The first step for this strategy, which ended in Trabzon, was the Ottoman controlled Jandarogulları. Candarogulları turned out to be a powerful border principality at the end of XIIIrd century and ruled over Black sea region and took hold of a region from Byzantium borders on the west to Sinop on the east. Even though Yıldırım Bayezid entered Kastamonu on his expedition towards inlands, chief Isfendiyar kept his position in Sinop; and he renewed his half-freedom during Çelebi Mehmed and this divided the Principality into two, one half-free, the other under Ottoman rule. During Murad II's rule the relations with Chief Isfendiyar was strengthened by kinship. Mehmed II's ascend to throne started the doom of Candarogulları. They signed treaties against Ottoman threat, both with Akkoyunids and Trabzon Rum State. When Mehmed II decided to attack Trabzon, he asked for soldiers from Isfendiyar's son Chief Ismail to attack Trabzon. Then under a guise he sent his forces under Mahmud Pasha's command to Kastamonu. Chief Ismail ran to Sinop. Kastamonu was given to Chief Kızıl Ahmed, who was sanjak chief of Bolu and was from the same family. He both made a Jandarogulları chief an Ottoman ruler and took Kastamonu and Sinop (1461). Amasra, a Geneva colony, was taken too.

During Mehmed II's expedition on Trabzon the Commenos, who were pressed in the shores from Giresun on the west to Batum on the east, were surrounded by crowded Çepni Turkmen groups around mountainous inland regions and these groups have changed the region's ethnical structure deeply. The Ottoman forces moved towards Trabzon over these Turkmen regions. But the road they followed was under Akkoyunids influence. Mehmed II passed over steep mountains by Koyulhisar-Erzincan road through Kelkit Valley and he also moved his fleet to lay siege on Trabzon. Even though Akkoyunids thought this expedition was for them, when they understood it was for Trabzon they tried diplomatic actions. Uzun Hasan sent his mother for Trabzon but Mehmed II refused her very kindly. There was no other option left for Commenos, being surrounded both from sea and land, but to surrender the city. Trabzon and the region became an Ottoman sanjak (1461).

Later the Geneva colony center Keşef was taken in 1475 and the conquest of the Black Sea was almost done; and even the Crimean Khanate accepted Ottoman control. As a result, all the main routes



Topkapı Sarayı

Topkapı Palace

and border gates that led from North Steppes of the Black Sea to Anatolia and the Straits were under Ottoman Control.

During Mehmed II's reign the Dhulqadirid, which came forward as a bumper government on the South-East of Anatolia and played a crucial role in Akkoyunids-Mameluk and Ottoman struggle, just as Karaman, was a principality based on Maraş. The Dhulqadirid, who were of Bozok Turkmen, had become a principality after taking control of the Elbistan-Maraş region in 1337 and they sometimes went in struggles, sometime in peace with the Mameluk sultanate and other small principalities in the region. They had continuously felt the pressure of Mameluk Sultanate over them and had some moves to take the central Anatolia. Within this frame, the Ottoman-Dhulqadirid relations had developments depending on relations with Karaman and Mameluk. The Ottoman had direct contact with Dhulqadirid during the reign of Yıldırım Bayezid. The relations developed during Çelebi Mehmed. During Murad II's reign the Dhulqadirid has taken steps back against Karaman and had lost places like Kayseri, Ürgüp and Karacahisar. Besides a Mameluk army had sacked Elbistan in 1436 and Dhulqadirid Chief Mehmed had to take shelter under Ottoman. The Dhulqadirid took Kayseri back in 1437 after getting Ottoman support. While these happened, they also strengthened their relations with Akkoyunids and Mameluk. Meanwhile Dhulqadirid Chief Suleiman got her daughter, Sitti Hatun, married to Prince Mehmed (Conqueror/Fatih) (1450), and tried to protect his principality against Karaman, Akkoyunids and Qarakoyunids with his kinship relation with Ottoman and Mameluk. Melik Aslan, who followed his father, tired to continue his good relations with Ottoman and Mameluk (1454). But he fell back against Karamanogulları and left Harput to Akkoyunids. The effect of Mameluk grew over the principality. Şahbudak, supported by the Mameluk, took place of his assassinated brother but his other brother şahsuvar did not accept this and took shelter under Ottoman. This let the Ottoman and Mameluk throne struggle over Dhulqadirid to surface. When şahsuvar came to throne, he rejected Mameluk Sultan Hoşkadem's rule. He defeated his uncle Rüstem sent onto him by Mameluk. He took Besni, Gerger, Birecik and Rumkale which were under Mameluk rule. He defeated the Mameluk army in 1467. But he couldn't stand against Mameluk without Ottoman support. He was captured and executed in Kahire by Mameluk (1472). They replaced him with şahbudak. But Alaüdevle, supported by Ottomans, defeated him and came to throne in 1480. Thus the struggle over the throne resulted in favor of Ottoman thanks to efficient policies of Mehmed II.

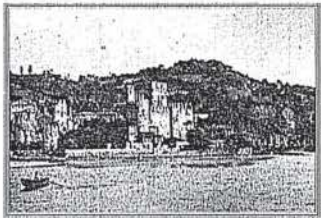
The Dhulqadirid problem also surfaced another struggle between, two Muslim States of Middle East, Ottoman and Mameluk. The Mameluk Sultanate

was established on one of the oldest civilization centers, was controlling historical trade routes, and was stepping forward as an application authority in searches of right between Muslim states as it controlled holy places of Islam. On the other hand the Ottoman had received fame, in all over Islamic world and especially in Mameluk, for their ghaza, for their conquests on West and for conquering Istanbul. The Mameluk Sultans approached the Ottoman rise with caution. For them, their rise as a legitimate state dependent on their title as the protector of the Caliphate; that is, they were the only authority to apply to. There was no change on this approach until the conquest of Istanbul. Until that time Ottoman rulers had applied to the Mameluk Sultan or Caliph for spiritual support. But the conquest changed the classical Mameluk-Ottoman relationship.

In 1453, the Ottoman ambassador sent to Kahire after the conquest, was assigned to tell the news and celebrate the new Mameluk Sultan Seyfeddin Aynal for his ascension. The conquest of Istanbul was celebrated in Mameluk cities. But in addition to this, some stresses in Mehmed II's letter was noticeable. The Ottoman Padishah praised the Mameluk service of the Hajj and presented himself as a ghazi with ghaza duty. Even though there was an air of friendship, after shows of peace between two states. While these took place Mameluk Sultanate had most of South-East Anatolia including Malatya and Çukurova region. Therefore Ottoman's advance in Central Anatolia and their effort to construct a power over Dhulqadirid was not taken good by Mameluk. Thus Aynal did not celebrate Fatih for his Trabzon expedition. Then Fatih answered this by not celebrating Hoşkadem's Sultanate. This shows the struggle between them had finally surfaced. The apparent display of this is related to the repairs of Hicaz water ways.

In an early date like 1458, Fatih's sending of craftsmen to mend Hicaz water ways after the complaints of Hajjis, was not taken as a good move by the Mameluk Sultan who was the protector and servant of hajj roads and Holly places. Mehmed II actually wanted to see the degree of reaction by Mameluk Sultanate as a response of his move. He had calculated that the two states would end in war now or then. The Karamanogulları and Dhulqadirid problems would be decisive on this. And the developments mentioned above were fore warnings of this. Şahsuvar's rule of Dhulqadirid increased the Ottoman power over the principality.

Meanwhile Mameluk Sultan Kayıtbay was in hard times due to problems in Syria and Dhulqadirid move, and searched for a treaty with Mehmed II. There was no result of the diplomatic attempts. After this Mameluk Sultan marched over Chief şahsuvar and defeated him. The captured şahsuvar was executed in Kahire. This situation raised the tension between Ottoman and Mameluk.



Anadolu Hisari

Anatolia Fort



Mehmed II put Alaüddevlü to the throne of Dhulqadirid. Alaüddevlü, with his Ottoman soldiers, lost the battle. The captured Ottoman soldiers were taken to Kahire and some of them were executed. Mehmed II sent Alaüddevlü back to Dhulqadirid principality in 1480 again and started moves to intimidate Mamelük. Kayıtbay tried to have precautions against Ottoman's march over Egypt. But Mehmed II's death in 1481 near Gebze relived him a lot. Thus the Mamelük problem was carried to Bayezid II reign, untouched.

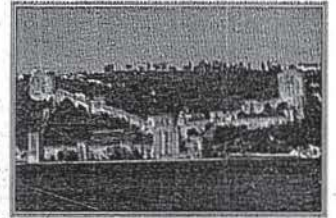
The most powerful neighbor of Ottomans, just like Mamelük, on the East was the Akkoyunids, which was a Turkmen confederation ruling the area between Euphrates and Dicle rivers. The roots of the state were Bayındır Türkmen. During Mehmed II's ascension to the throne and conquering Istanbul, they were in struggle with Qarakoyunids over Erzincan, Urfa, and Diyarbakır line in Eastern Anatolia. Besides, a throne struggle within them was waging on. Chief Uzun Hasan was continuing his actions in Erzincan region. He had taken Urfa, after fighting with his brothers, using activities Cihanşah of Qarakoyunids in Irak-i Acem region over Çağataylar, had launched expeditions over Erzurum and Bayburt regions, made his brothers accept his rule, and in 1457 he had fortified his position by defeating Cihanşah of Qarakoyunids in a war near Dicle River. Then, between 1458 and 1461, he started his Gürcistan expedition, and enlarged his activity area. He established good relations with his North neighbor Trabzon Rum State and married to Emperor David's cousin Theodora. Thus he formed an alliance against Ottomans in the Eastern Anatolia by having relationships with Trabzon Comnenos, Gürcü kingdoms, Karaman in the Central Anatolia and Candarogulları in the West Black sea. He enlarged the front diplomatically by secretly contacting with Venice and the West. He captured an advantage that could have given Mehmed II a hard time.

Uzun Hasan considered himself equal to the Fatih as he was a Ghazi too, and had in mind a policy like once Timur had on Anatolia. The answer of the Ottoman Padishah was taking Candarogulları in 1461 and launching an expedition over Trabzon. During this expedition, Koyulhisar and Şebinkarahisar, which was under Akkoyunids' rule, was taken. Trabzon was conquered. Uzun Hasan was sufficed with only diplomatic moves. The Ottoman's ruling of the shores put Uzun Hasan into problems. But he wanted to handle firstly Cihanşah of Qarakoyunids problem. He, meanwhile, did not refrain from being involved in Karaman-Ottoman, Dhulqadirid-Karaman, Ottoman-Dhulqadirid, and finally Mamelük struggles. The forces of Akkoyunids had provided the throne change in Karaman in 1464, but this did not last long. Uzun Hasan again intervened in Dhulqadirid problem and took Harput. He had taken Gerger before, to see how

Mamelük would react. Nevertheless his primary goal was Qarakoyunids.

Cihanşah of Qarakoyunids struggled with the wars with Timorids for a while, then in the country he struggled with his own sons' Hasan Ali and Pir Budak's uphold and tried to follow a policy to calm Akkoyunids down. He decided that it was time to deal with Akkoyunids when he finally solved civil problems, and took control of Baghdad in 1466. He even sent a letter to Mehmed II about his intentions as he marched on Uzun Hasan. But in November of 1467, he was defeated by Uzun Hasan's surprise attack in Muş plain and was killed. As a result of this success Uzun Hasan became the ruler of a large area ranging from Azerbaijan to Iraq-i Arab and from Harran to Persia and Kirman. For strengthening Uzun Hasan, it was time to settle accounts with Mehmed II. Uzun Hasan changed his capital from Diyarbakır to Tebriz and displayed a geopolitical change. This policy has been an important example for şah Ismail who, later, established the Safevi state. Uzun Hasan, then, made Timorids a local principality ruling over Horasan and Semerkand. He began to see himself as a world ruling warrior like Genghis Khan and Timur for his successes. He lists his duties that he fulfilled as a religious and rightful leader in a letter he sent to Mehmed II in 1470, and stresses his sensitivity for Islam. The Karaman problem became a good cause for him. With his ambassadors, he sent in 1470 to Venice and Pope, he told of his successes against Cihanşah of Qarakoyunids and Abu Said of Timorids and said the only obstacle was "Ottoman Chief" Mehmed. The Venice ambassador, who came in 1472, told him they would provide the support and give arms like rifles and cannons. Under these circumstances, Uzun Hasan marched over Qarakoyunids in the summer of 1472. Chiefs Pir Ahmed of Karaman and Kasım, and Kızıl Ahmed of İsfendiyaroglu were in this army which first attacked Tokat and mostly destroyed it and then moved on towards Kayseri over Sivas and entered Karaman lands. Akkoyunids and Karaman allied forces were defeated by Prince Mustafa and Gedik Ahmed Pasha in the summer of 1472 and totally destroyed.

Uzun Hasan did not seem to be bothered by this defeat. Suddenly in October, 1472 he attacked Mamelük. His aim was to provide the security of his Eastern borders before he attacked Ottomans, and to show himself powerful in both religious and military power. He quickly took Malatya, Kahta, Gerger, and Antep in October, 1472 and came to Halep. After he constructed the control over this region, which was strategically important, he marched on to Ottoman. Meanwhile a powerful fleet of Venice, Napoli, Rhodes, Pope's, and Latin Cyprus forces, who he had formed an alliance against Ottoman, was lurking in Aegean and Mediterranean since 1472 summer and was launching raids on shore cities. Mehmed II moved quickly and marched his army. He prevented Uzun Hasan from connecting with his allies.



Rumeli Hisarı

Rumeli Fort

Akkoyunids were gathering in Erzincan. Advancing Ottoman army followed Kelkit valley and reached Erzincan plain, and then Tercan. The battle in Otlukbeli region (Başkenti/Başköy) on August 11, 1473 was a total victory for Ottoman army. This battle is recorded as the Otlukbeli Battle in Ottoman archives and it has ended Uzun Hasan's hopes of world ruling warrior identity. Ottoman accepted their peace treaty and did not follow them. In his reports, Mehmed II, says he had not touched the Qarakoyunids and Çağataylı in Akkoyunids' army, which is interesting. After the battle the Akkoyunids border castles along Kelkit valley and all places except Koyulhisar, Sebinkarahisar, and Niksar were left under Akkoyunids rule. The defeat meant the end of the holy mission, that Uzun Hasan wanted to give himself. Akkoyunids were loyal to the treaty afterwards and no other important battles occurred. When Uzun Hasan died in 1478, the disintegration phase of the Akkoyunids started. Safavids came out of their basis as a follower of a very different religious ideology.

During Mehmed II's reign, not only Akkoyunids and Mameluk but also Qarakoyunids and Timorids have been contacted. It is known that, as mentioned above, Cihanşah of Qarakoyunids and Mehmed II were writing letters to each other. But, since Akkoyunids ended Qarakoyunids, the relations with them during Mehmed II's reign has been very short. On the other hand Mehmed II has sent a conquest report about Hungary expedition to Şahruh (d. 1447) of Timorids, who he contacted with during his first reign. He also wrote letters to Baygunsur Mirza, son of Şahruh, and Şahruh had celebrated his ascension in return. Also during a time, when Chief Uluğ emerged and tried to establish his control, his son Abdüllatif has written a letter to Mehmed II in Cumadelula 849 /August, 1445. Abdüllatif ruled over Transoxania after his father's death (October 1449) and was followed by İbrahim Sultan's son Mirza Abdullah, Abu Said and Hüseyin Baykara. It

is also known that after Otlukbeli battle, Uzun Hasan has tried to establish an alliance with Venice again and to counter this Mehmed II wrote a letter to Hüseyin Baykara, who was the most well known personality of Timorids, and proposed to attack from both sides. The Uzbek Khan Abulhayır (d. 1468), who was of Mehmed II's era, established the roots of a big khanship that would emerge over Maverainnehir and Khwarzm. And meanwhile in East Turkistan in Kaşgar and Yarkent local principalities were ruling. In 1456 Duglat Sansız Mirza's son Ebu Bekir Mirza got rid of the Mongol rulers in Kaşgar and Hoten and established a khanship with the capital city being Yarkent (1465). On the south-west of Lake Balkaş and along the banks of river Chu, Kazaks constituted a political state under Chiefs Kerey and Camibek Khans (1465-1480).

During Mehmed II's reign there were also the Muslim-Hindu governments known by their trade names. In India there was a disintegrated political structure, until the Baburids established an empire there in XVIth century. There were many small states in the south of India, which were established after Tuğluk, which was destroyed by Timur invasion. We can count Cavnpur, Malva Guridsi, Behmenids and Gucerat sultanate among these. Kalaçlar ruled over Malva after Guriler. Their ruler İst Mahmud was of Mehmed II's era. In 1469 he was replaced by his son Abdülkadir. Kalaçlar established the structure in Delphi and Malva region, which formed the Baburids Empire later on. There is a letter for Mehmed II from Behmenids from south of India. Sultan IIIrd Muhammed şah sent a letter to celebrate Mehmed II and told he wanted to establish good relationships. The famous Behmenid vizier Hoca Mahmud-i Gavani has had a very important role in these letters. Hoca Mahmud-i Gavani's representatives formed a trade center in Bursa during this time. The Ottoman did not have any relations with the Far East Asian countries.



Saka Başı

Head Servant

"Fatih Sultan Mehmed" His Life And Political Events Of The Period(1451-1481)

Sultan Mehmed who was born in Edirne on March 30, 1432 was the fourth son of II. Murad. He was sent to Manisa from Edirne together with his two menservants as a governor. Upon the death of his elder brother Şehzade Ali Çelebi, Amasya Goernor, he become the heir of the Ottoman throne. II Murad summoned him from Manisa to Edirne in the spring of 1444 with the thought of withdrawal from the throne. In June 12th of the same year, after he signed a treaty with the Hungarians and Karamanoglu, he left the throne to his son Mehmed and settled in Bursa. However, it caused internal and external turbulences and crises for the Ot-

oman State, since a child ascended to the throne. This period marked with crises between 1444-1446 caused deep impacts on the later life of Mehmed II.

However, when Murad II withdrew from the throne, certain unfavourable occurrences for the Ottomans had arisen. Besides the preparations for a crusade against the Ottomans, Karamanoglu also tried to be included in this alliance. In addition to such external problems, the fire in Edirne, competition among the Pashas to get the authority in management, and the riots were among the reasons for crisis. The main crisis was the power struggle after Murad II left the throne. Between Candarli Halil, and the

supporters of Mehmed II, Şehabeddin Şahin, Nisancı İbrahim and Zaganos Pashas who were trying to seize the power on behalf of Mehmed II. In addition to all these, Orhan Çelebi in Istanbul carried out activities in Rumelia to capture the throne, but he then escaped by being unsuccessful. The army of Crusaders has passed through Danube River in September 18th – 22nd. Eflaqs also supported the Hungarians. A Crusader fleet had captured the straits. Candarlı Halil and his supporters who wanted Murad II to be the Sultan again, had taken advantage of this and persuaded the young Sultan to ascend his father to the throne.

Sultan Murad came to Edirne and moved on the enemy, and after a violent war they heavily defeated the enemy in Varna. Sultan Murad went back to Manisa though Candarlı insisted for his stay in Edirne. However, after that date, another political power struggle began between Candarlı and his supporters and Mehmed II and his supporters. Candarlı was following a peace policy while supporters of Mehmed II were defending the policy of conquest and holy war. In this period, the idea of conquest of Istanbul was suggested again. According to Candarlı, there was not another alternative but Sultan Murad must have come to power again. Murad II also wanted to come to power again without hurting his son. There was a general idea that Sultan Mehmed was not governing the country efficiently, because of the events such as defeats against the Eflaqs in 1445, the Janissary riot in Edirne, some movements against Orhan Çelebi, and etc, though Candarlı was behind those occurrences. Upon these developments, Sultan Murad came to Edirne in August 1446 and ascended to throne with the help of Janissaries. Mehmed II was immediately sent to Manisa. He, together with Zaganos and Şahabeddin Pashas, began to wait to get revenge from Candarlı. In the meantime, the young sultan organized continuous attacks to Venetians in the Aegean Sea between 1446-1449, and thus he showed that he was the representative of holy war. He joined to the military expedition organized by his father against İskender Bey, and to war of Kosova II. He married to Sitti Hatun, daughter of Dulkadiroğlu Süleyman Bey, in 1450. When he received the letter of Vizier Candarlı about the death of his father after he returned to Manisa. Janissaries revolted because of the death of Murad II, but Candarlı persuaded them to calm down, and thus they took the oath for loyalty to Mehmed II.

Ascending the Throne of Mehmed II (Second time)

Mehmed II ascended the throne in Edirne for the second time, fifteen days after the death of his father (February 18th, 1451 / 16 Muharrem 855). A radical change in the internal and external policy of the state had also been expected after his ascend to the throne. This situation that was contrary to the policy of Candarlı Halil, the most effective vizier of Sultan Murad, had also showed itself with its main lines, when Mehmed ascended to the throne for the first time 6 years ago. The effective names in the policy of Mehmed were Zaganos, İbrahim Pasha and Hadım

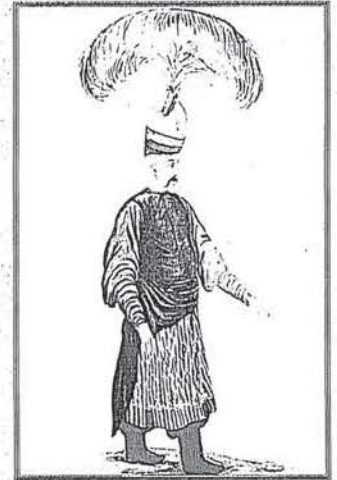
Şehabeddin Pasha. He was regarding the policy for conquest as the condition for sovereignty because of their influences. Mehmed II did not dismiss Candarlı Halil Pasha from vizierate, but he dismissed his supporters.

He treated in a soft manner to the foreign state envoys who came to Edirne to congratulate him. He thought that with this policy he would complete the necessary preparations for the conquest of Istanbul more easily. He made some concessions to Byzantine Emperor and Serbian despot. He renewed the treaties signed with Venice. He signed an armistice with Hungarians for a period of three years.

Mehmed II had to fight with Karamanogulları at the beginning of his sultanate. İbrahim Bey organized some attacks to take back the lands that were previously captured by Murad II. Therefore, Sultan Mehmed made his first military expedition on Karamanogulları. İshak Pasha, by granting him the rank of Anatolian Beylerbeyi, was sent against the Karamanoglu İbrahim Bey. He passed to Anatolian part with the gate soldiers and Anatolian soldiers. When the Sultan arrived in Akşehir in the vicinity of Karaman, İbrahim Bey who took refuge in Tasili, and sent Mevlana Veli as conciliator and asked for peace by promising to deliver Akşehir, Beyşehir and Seydisehir, and to send definite number of soldier every year. As a result of this, İlgün was accepted as the boundary between two states and Beyşehir, Kırşehir and Seydisehir were included in the Ottoman lands.

When Sultan Mehmed returned from the expedition to Karaman, he faced with the gratuity demands of the Janissaries who had revolted in his ascend to the throne, and who created unease. When the Sultan was around Bursa, the Janissaries stood up in two rows with their weapons on the way of Sultan. While the Sultan was passing between them they said "this is the first military expedition of our Sultan, it is necessary to give generous gifts to his men". They were hinting the gratuity to the Sultan with the armors they were bearing. Though Sultan Mehmed got very angry, he did not do anything that time. He ordered to be given them ten gold bags. However, a few day later, he summoned the Janissary Agha Kazancı Dogan and their pedestrian head and punished them with one hundred-stick beat. The Janissary Agha was dismissed and his duty was given to Mustafa Bey. This action of Sultan Mehmed on Janissaries made him more powerful against Candarlı and his supporters and so he had strengthen his rank. Besides, the Janissaries had been frightened. According to Tursun Bey this action had a great effect on Janissaries until the death of Sultan Mehmed. In his return from Karaman expedition, İshak Pasha was sent to Mentese province. Menteseoğlu who supported Karamanoglu could not resist against the Ottoman forces and he took refuge in Rhodes Island. Thus, those who acted with Karamanoglu İbrahim Bey was punished.

The Byzantium emperor, by taking the advantage of the Karaman expedition of Sultan Mehmed, demanded to increase the allocation given for the Şehzade Orhan in Istanbul. He had threatened that they would leave the prince in Rumelia if his demands we-



Solak

Sultan's guardman

re not met. The Byzantium envoys conveyed this demand to Vizier Halil Pasha. Halil Pasha replied that Sultan Mehmed was not like the previous Ottoman Sultans and such a demand was rather foolish. He handed the letter to the young Sultan. When Sultan Mehmed learned the demand of the Byzantium, he got very angry but by considering that the emperor might cause some problems while he was in Anatolia, he welcomed the envoys of the emperor with a smiling face. He told the envoys that he would return to Edirne soon and they might repeat the demands of the emperor and urgent needs of the city there. Upon this event, the Sultan considered it more appropriate to make an agreement with Karamanoglu Ibrahim Bey. When the Sultan returned to Edirne, he first sent officials to the region allocated for the expenses of Prince Orhan according to the treaty signed with Byzantium and cut the money sent from there. He dismissed the officials who collected the payments.

The information on the conquest of Istanbul which was the most important political event of the period, and which gave the title of Fatih (Conqueror) to the young Sultan, and the information on the reconstruction of Istanbul will be discussed in the article "Conquest of Istanbul" by Prof. Dr. Feridun Emeçen.

Serbia Expeditions, 1454-55

The main activity of Fatih between the dates 1454-1456 was to dominate the south of Danube. Fatih believed he would solve the Serbian problem in this way. Sultan Mehmed captured Omol and Sivrice-Hisar during his military expedition to Moravia valley in the summer of 1454. When the Ottoman army withdrew, the Hungarians began to attack in the Vidin-Niş region in the south and Serbia forces in the Kosovo region. Fatih, during his second Serbia expedition in the summer of 1455, directed his forces to the south Serbia. He captured the silver mines in Trepca, Novobrdó and Lab valley. By making a peace treaty under the condition of occupation of Vilk province, he became successful to separate Despot from Hungarians. Despot was also accepting to pay 3 million coins per year and send definite numbers of soldiers for the military expeditions. Fatih knew that to keep Serbia under firm control depend on to take Belgrade from Hungarians. Fatih had made Serbia impartial as they were not happy with the Catholic policy of Hungarians.

Belgrade Expedition, 1456

Fatih Sultan Mehmed deemed conquest of Belgrade which was a very strong castle constructed at the merging point of Danube and Sava Rivers, as the key for the conquest of Hungary. The Ottoman Sultan passed the winter in Edirne with the preparations for the military expedition. He sent the artilleries made in Grosavac to Hırsova via Danube River. The artilleries were delivered to Rumelian Beylerbeyi Dayı Karaca Pasha. Then Fatih entered Serbia via Sofia with his army. The Serbia Despot escaped to Hungary.

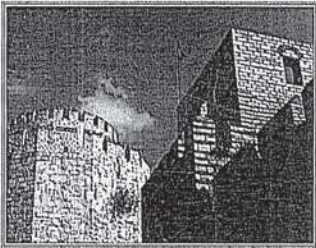
The Ottoman Army came in front of Belgrade and besieged the castle from the land. The Ottoman fleet reached to the castle from Danube. Thus, the

castle had been besieged from both sides, the river and the land. In the meantime, Johannes Hunyadi with his army settled in the other side of Danube: Rumelian Beylerbeyi Dayı Karaca Pasha wanted to besiege the other side of Danube to disperse the enemy and to secure the other side of the Danube. However, his offer was not accepted. Hunyadi Yanos had come in front of Belgrade not only with his land forces, but also with his fleet. The enemy fleet drove the Ottoman fleet back and they began to give aid to the castle. In the meantime, Dayı Karaca Pasha, one of the most esteemed commanders of the Turkish army, died because of a bombard shell. As a result of such developments, Sultan Mehmed gave an order for general attack on the Belgrade castle. However, before this general attack, Johannes Hunyadi had dispatched his forces in the Belgrade castle by using his ships, and those forces were waiting for the Ottoman attack.

Ottoman soldiers became successful in entering the castle, but they were unaware of the danger awaiting them. Furthermore, some of the Ottoman forces began to plunder the castle, thinking that the castle had fallen. The Hungarian forces in ambush attacked on them and destroyed the Ottoman forces in the castle. Upon the withdrawal of the Ottoman forces, very violent fight between the Ottoman forces and Hungarian forces began on the plain in front of the castle. Ottoman forces were defeated and the fight had approached very near to the Sultan Mehmed's military headquarter. He was proposed to withdraw and he replied as "Withdrawal is the sign of the cowards." and he refused to withdraw, and he personally joined in the fight and killed three enemy soldiers. But he was also injured during the fight. Sultan had prevented the definite defeat of the Ottoman army by doing so. The dispersed Ottoman soldiers attacked on the enemy again upon this behavior of the Sultan and driven the enemy back to Belgrade castle. In the meantime, Johannes Hunyadi, who directed his army on the plain, was hit under his arm with an arrow by an Ottoman soldier while he was returning to the castle, and he died three days later due to this wound. Then the Ottoman army returned to Edirne since the army lost its strength and most of his artilleries and equipment due to the violent battle. In the spring of 1457, Sultan Mehmed summoned his son Bayezid in Amasya and his other son Mustafa Çelebi in Manisa for circumcising. All those developments increased the hopes for a new Crusade in Europe. /

The Conquest of Serbia, 1458-59

When the Serbian despot Lazar, son of Brankovic died in 1458, Serbia had started the Ottoman-Hungarian competition. Szilagy, the Hungarian commander of the Belgrade castle, was planning to occupy Serbia. The Ottoman government decided to solve the Serbia problem definitely. While Sultan Mehmed was going to Mora expedition in 1458, he sent Mahmud Pasha to Serbia. Mahmud Pasha besieged Semendire, capital of Serbia, but he could not capture it. Mahmud Pasha then captured Sivricehisar second time that was famous with its silver mines. Then he captured Rodnik sides famous with its iron mines. Mahmud Pasha who continued his attacks captured Bo-



Yedikule Hisari,
Istanbul

Yedikule Fort,
Istanbul

gurdelen then made attacks to Hungarian parts. Mahmud Pasha withdrew around Nish because of the counterattack of the Hungarians. In the meantime, Fatih had conquered the places in Mora that were once bounded by Konstantine and arrived in Skopje. Mahmud Pasha met with the Sultan there. Mathias Corvin, by applying the tactic of his father, waited for coming of winter and dispersion of the Ottoman army. Fatih by taking extraordinary measures stayed in Skopje with his army. The King who passed Danube and attacked on Tahtali, was driven back. The Sultan then returned to Edirne. Next year, he personally moved on Semendire. He captured Sofia peacefully. (June 1459). Thus, Serbia became under sovereignty of the Ottomans.

The Activities of Crusaders in the Aegean Region, 1456-1457

In 1457, Sultan Mehmed had sent a force against to Iskender Bey in Albania. These forces were defeated near Berat by the Albanians. In the same year, there were developments against Ottomans in the Aegean Sea, and Pope Calixtus III established a fleet with 31 ships under the commandership of Cardinal Lodoviko Trevisan which was supported by Aragon and the king of Naples Alfonso, and they set off to capture the Ottoman islands in North Aegean Sea. The fleet of Pope captured Limnos and Taso via Rhodes.

Sultan Mehmed considered this success to be the cooperation of Domenico and Niccolo Gattilusio brothers from Lesbos and their protection of the pirate ships. Sultan Mehmed sent Admiral Ismail to this region with a fleet consisted of 150 ships. Though Ismail could not capture Limni, he destroyed the island and returned to Gallipolis with a great spoil. The Limnos public sent envoys to the Sultan with their taxes and informed that they wanted an agreement. The Sultan accepted their offer. The similar agreements were made with the other places in the Aegean Sea governed by Venice and Genoeva. As a result of these agreements, hopes of Calixtus to persuade the Latin Lords in the Aegean for cooperation with him vanished.

Mora under the sovereignty of the Ottomans, 1458-60

This region was under the dominion of the brothers of Constantine, Dimitrios and Thomas. Because of the revolts against those two brothers, they asked for help from the Ottomans and accepted to pay 12 thousands duka gold-tax per year. Thus, Turahan Beyoğlu Omer Bey entered into Mora with his raider forces and removed the opposing parties. After the death of Constantine, Mora Greeks wanted to announce Dimitrios as the emperor, but Thomas did not accept this. However, there was disagreement between two brothers. As the Albanians were on the part of Thomas, and as a result of some intrigues, some castles of Mora owned by Dimitrios were captured by Thomas, and Dimitrios who took refuge in the Monevrasia castle, asked the help of the Ottoman Sultan. Sultan sent Mahmud Pasha to Serbia for the protection of the north boundary and he himself marched to Mora in May 1458.

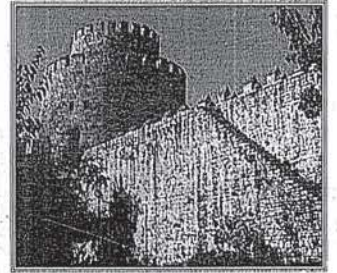
Mora had the characteristics to be an important base for the military expeditions of the Ottomans against Italy. In addition to this, Naples and Aragon King Alfons V, who increasingly became stronger and stronger in Balkans and Mediterranean and who wanted to establish an empire, wanted to use this region as the base for the attacks on Turks. The Ottoman forces, entered into Teselya, advanced towards to Corinth area. Corinth castle was besieged and the Sultan without waiting for it to be captured entered Mora and captured many castles there. Corinth castle also surrendered after a long siege because of hunger. Following this, with an agreement was signed between the Ottomans and Mora despots; and it was decided that Corinthians would keep their properties, one third of the castles captured by the Ottomans in Mora would be left to them, the management of other cities and castles would be under the control of Dimitrios and Thomas, they would give three thousands tax in gold per year and the Ottoman state would defend the despots in case of external attack. In this way, Mora became under sovereignty of the Ottomans, partly directly and partly by means of taxation. Turahan Beyoğlu Omer Bey was appointed as the North Mora Flag Chief Officer. (July 1458). In the meantime, Athens was captured by the Ottoman forces. However, there were new plans for a Crusade in Europe, activities of Thomas in Mora against Ottomans and his regaining of the power, the Sultan went on a expedition on Mora since he wanted to go on an expedition on Uzun Hasan.

The Sultan who came to Corinth marched on Sparta. Dimitrios surrendered the city to the Ottoman army. Thomas, who resisted, lost all the cities under his rule, left Mora and went to Rome for the protection of Pope Pius II. In the Mora expedition in 1460, the whole peninsula was captured, except the castles of Venice. After Argos was captured in 1463, Venetians decided to wage war against Ottomans for Mora. (July 28th, 1463).

We will describe the Ottoman operation against Venice later. We want to state other important expeditions of the Ottomans they had to make until 1463. The events between 1460-1463 caused strengthening of the ideas against the Ottomans, especially for organizing Crusades by Papa, and in this alliance not only the western countries but also the eastern countries took part. Sultan Mehmed who intended to go on a expedition on Uzun Hasan in 1460, and who had to postpone it, found the opportunity to direct his attention on the East.

The Conquest of Amasra, 1459

Before the expedition to be made to Candarogulları and Trabzon, Sultan Mehmed wanted to take Amasra, a Genoese colony in Anatolian coast of the Black Sea, under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire. Amasra was paying tax to the Ottoman State, but, it was protecting the pirate ships in the Black Sea. Sultan Mehmed himself went to Amasra by land and sent Mahmud Pasha to Amasra with a fleet. The Genoeva ruler of Amasra brought the keys of the city to the Sultan and he capitulated. While the Genoevarulers were sent to Istanbul, the people of another



Yedikule Hisari,
Istanbul

Yedikule Fort,
Istanbul

Ottoman settlement unit near Amasra were settled in Amasra.

Candarogulları Principality and the Conquest of Trabzon, 1461

The Ottoman fleet that was sent on Trabzon for the purposes of attack during the period of II Murad had been unsuccessful because of the storm. Then, the Greek (Anatolian) Beylerbeyi (Governor) Hızır Bey organized a raid on Trabzon. As a result of this raid Trabzon Greek Emperor Kalo Ioannes had to recognize the supreme sovereignty of the Ottomans by paying three thousands gold tax.

On the other hand, Trabzon emperor tried to find a powerful ally for himself and he married his daughter Theodora and Akkoyunid Uzun Hasan and and get the protection of Uzun Hasan against the Ottomans. Besides, he also contacted with Europe. The army corps of Uzun Hasan captured Koyulhisar, a boundary between two states, in 1460-61 and Rumeli Beylerbeyi Hamza Bey sent by Fatih to take back the castle had to withdraw by being defeated. He sent an envoy to Fatih and warned him not to struggle with Trabzon.

All these developments impelled Fatih to take urgent measures. Although, the lands of Trabzon Greek Empire contained the Black Sea coasts, beginning from Giresun and extending around Batum in those days, there were many Turkish populaces living on those lands and the influence of the Turks could be felt in many places.

In the spring of 1461, the Ottoman fleet began its journey towards the Black Sea. Sultan Mehmed sent an imperial decree to Candaroglu Ismail Bey and informed that he had the intention of waging war against Trabzon and when the Ottoman fleet arrived in Sinop their needs must be met. Fatih passed to Anatolian side with his army. When the army arrived around Ankara, a Divan meeting was held. Karamanoglu Kasım Bey and Candaroglu Hasan Celebi were also in the Ottoman military camp. Suddenly, Hasan Celebi was arrested and then it was announced that the expedition would be to Candar country. Ismail Bey who learned the occurrences, withdrew to Sinop castle. Ottoman fleet and Mahmud Pasha marched on this city, took the surrendered Ismail Bey with them and went back to Fatih. Yenisehir and its surroundings was given as feudal fief to Ismail Bey. Then, the Ottoman army began to march towards the east and Koyulhisar castle at the border of Ottoman-Akkoyunid was captured.

It was marched from here to Erzincan region. It was camped in Yassicemen plateau that is closer to Erzincan plain less than one-day walking distance. While the Ottoman army was camping there, Uzun Hasan sent his mother Sare Hatun, together with some of his trusted beys to Fatih as envoys. He hold the mother of Uzun Hasan for a while, and thus he prevented the action could be taken by Uzun Hasan in favor of Trabzon. The Ottoman army, following the way of Bayburt, marched towards Trabzon, they should have passed through the snowy and high Barkar Mountain. When the army arrived around Kelkit, Sultan Mehmed divided its army into two. He sent

forces of Mahmud Pasha on Trabzon from the west and the Sultan marched from the east together with his soldiers (Kapikulu) and Anatolian soldiers. Mahmud Pasha chose the more difficult ways than Fatih, and he probably got use of Cepni Turkmens in the area as guide during his march.

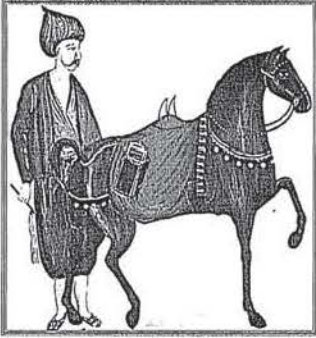
The Ottoman fleet had come before and surrounded Trabzon. However, Trabzon emperor had not estimated that Sultan Mehmed would be able to arrive in the city from south by passing over the mountains, that's why, he did not leave the city. First the raiders then the main army arrived in the city and they surrounded the castle from every point. During the preparations for the artillery fire before the attack, the emperor decided to surrender the area and the castle. He asked for mercy for his family and himself. All the region became Ottoman territory.

The Torul, Cezre and Caneah castles which were not captured during the Trabzon conquest, were captured by the Shehzade Bayezid in 1479. Sultan who wanted to finalize his purpose of ultimate sovereignty in Black Sea sent a fleet to Taman and Circassian coasts in the same year. This fleet captured Matrega (Tamatarhan) in the peninsula of Anapa, Kope and Taman.

Eflaq Expedition, 1462

In the middle of XVth century, Eflaq was ruling by Vladislav II who was under the protection of the Ottomans. Then, in 1456 it was ruled by the son of Vladislav, Vlad Cepes Kazıklı Voyvoda (Voyvoda with Pale) upon the assistance of the Ottomans. Vlad, who was loyal to Ottomans in the beginning, he caused many damages while the Ottomans were on Trabzon expedition.

Fatih Sultan Mehmed was informed about the deeds of Kazıklı Voyvoda. Sultan, by taking measures to capture Vlad, invited him to Istanbul by means of Silistre Chief Yunus Bey and on the other hand ordered Nigbolu Flag Chief Cakırcı Hamza Bey to catch him. Vlad, learned the plan of Hamza Bey who was waiting at the bank of Danube for him, and he captured Yunus Bey and Hamza Bey with a sudden attack and impaled them and their soldiers. Then he returned to Eflaq with a great slave convoy after he destroyed the cities near the band of Nigbolu, Vidin and Danube. Sultan Mehmed was very upset as a result of this event. Sultan wanted his viziers Mahmud and Ishak Pasha to bring Radul, brother of Vlad, in front of him and appointed Radul as Eflaq Voyvoda. Radul was given a force consisted of four thousand horsemen and sent to Nigbolu. He was ordered to wait there for the coming of the Sultan with the Ottoman army. In the spring of 1462, Sultan Mehmed began his Eflaq expedition. Bogdan Prince also supported the expedition. The Ottoman army was approximately one hundred fifty soldiers. Mahmud Pasha entered Eflaq before the Ottoman army, but he did not meet the forces of Vlad. Sultan Mehmed entered Danube River from the Black Sea with twenty five galleys and one hundred fifty transportation ship. He advanced towards Vidin. When Mahmud Pasha did not meet the forces of Vidin, he sent Evrenos Bey, son of Evrenosoglu Ali Bey, to the lands of Eflaq for raid.



Saka

Servant

When Sultan Mehmed arrived in the bank of Danube River, the forces of Kazıklı Voyvoda were at the other side of Danube. Sultan gave eighty ships and artillery to the janissaries. The Sultan and Ottoman army passed to the other side by means of janissaries, although two hundred fifty janissaries died in the attack. Vlad escaped. Sultan Mehmed ordered to distribute thirty-thousand gold to the janissaries. While the brother of Vlad, Radul, was going in front of the Ottoman army, some measures were taken for the possibility of night attack of Kazıklı Voyvoda. Ottoman forces were ready for such an attack and they defeated the Eflaqi army. Voyvoda who was defeated escaped to Hungary with some of his forces. However, he was imprisoned since he had made actions against Hungarians and he died there. After this victory, the Sultan returned to Edirne.

When the event of taking Eflaq under the Ottoman sovereignty is considered together with the conquest of Amasra, Sinop and Trabzon, it is seen that Sultan Mehmed ensured the control of west and south coasts of the Black Sea. In the same year, the two castles were constructed by Sultan Mehmed near Gallipolis, on two sides of Dardanelle, ensured passing from Aegean to the Black Sea under the sovereignty of the Ottomans.

The Conquest of Midilli Island, 1462

After the success of Eflaq expedition, Sultan Mehmed decided to capture the Midilli Island; because Nicolo from the Gattilusio brothers killed his elder brother to get the authority; he stopped paying tax to the Ottomans, protected the pirate ships against the Ottomans. The Ottoman fleet consisted of two hundred pieces under the command of Mahmud Pasha was sent to the island, since Nicolo did not pay any attention to the warnings of the Ottomans. Sultan Mehmed went to Ayazmend by land and pitched his tent on the other side of Midilli Island. After the fleet of Mahmud Pasha arrived in Midilli, he captured the harbor. The castle was besieged when the offer for surrendering was not accepted. Because of the artillery fire, great damage was inflicted on the castle. Then Sultan Mehmed passed the island and his tent was set on a location where he could see Midilli from the top. When people in the castle saw the preparation of the army after the arrival of Sultan, they understood that Ottomans would make a general attack and so they accepted to surrender. The castle commander was brought in front of the Sultan with his family and men. Sultan Mehmed passed to Anatolia after the castle surrendered, he gave orders to Mahmud Pasha to carry out necessary works for the castle and island and then he returned to Istanbul.

The conquest of Bosnia, 1463

The Bosnia Kingdom was paying tax to the Ottoman State before 1463 expedition. In spite of this, he joined certain activities in Europe against the Ottomans and he had arrested the envoy sent by the Sultan to collect the tax, this made Fatih very angry. The region was also rich with regard to gold and silver mines. There was a friendship and alliance between the king of Bosnia and the Hungarian king. The Sultan had offered Bosnian king a peace treaty many times if

he paid tax, but the king relying on the Hungarians had refused this offer with the idea of independency. The expeditions on him did not change his mind. Thus Sultan Mehmed, decided to organize an expedition to Bosnia.

When the Ottoman army under the command of Sultan Mehmet came to Vilitcrin via Skopje-Karadonlu way, they learned that Bosnia king burnt Agac Hisar. Upon this, the Sultan sent Mahmud Pasha as an advance guard. Mahmud Pasha captured the Bobosca and Visoka castles in Bosnia boundary. Sultan Mehmed established his military camp in Travnik region. When it was learned that Bosnia king was in Yayce castle, Mahmud Pasha was sent there with his soldiers. Ottoman forces captured Sokol and Kiluc castles one by one in which Bosnia king took refuge. The king asked for mercy, and he was forgiven and sent to Sultan Mehmed. Afterwards, Sultan Mehmet captured Yayce castle personally. Mahmud Pasha came to Yayce. When the Bosnia king and his brother were captured, Yayce castle also surrendered. King of Bosnia was beheaded. Mahmud Pasha then sent to Herzegovina. While the Herzegovina Chief was escaping, many castles in the region were captured. In addition, the lands of two principalities, Kovacoglu and Pavhoglu, were also added to the lands of the Ottomans. Kadis and Flag Chiefs were appointed to the conquered places and Emirs to the Bosnia mines.

2nd Bosnia Expedition, 1464

After the first Bosnia expedition, Venetians had made attacks in Mora and Hungarian king in Bosnia in winter of 1463, according to the agreement between them. Yayce castle had been delivered to Hungarian king by its voyvoda and chief guard. Hungarian king who had captured Srebrenice in the Serbian boundary besieged Izvornik. Hungarian king then returned by being satisfied with the castles he captured. Since Bosnia is vital for the Ottomans, Sultan Mehmed made his second Bosnia expedition in the spring of 1464. The target of Sultan Mehmed was to recapture the Yayce castle. Although the castle was surrendered by all means, it was not captured. Hungarian king came for help to the castle, and that's why Sultan Mehmed marched on the Hungarian king. Since he could not find the opportunity to fight with the king, he went to Sofia to pass the winter. Mahmud Pasha was sent to help Izvornik castle that was besieged by Hungarians. Mahmud Pasha broke the siege of the Hungarians and he returned to meet with Sultan in Sofia. Fatih Sultan Mehmed, with his second Bosnia expedition in which he personally attended, had prevented Bosnia to be captured by Hungarians and as a result of this, the Ottomans obtained a very important position in Balkans against the alliance between Venice-Hungary.

The Ottoman- Venice War and its results, 1463-1479

Republic of Venice did not want to encounter with the Ottomans until the conquest of Istanbul. Venice was busy with its rivals, Naples and Milano in Italy those times. However, successes of the Ottomans in the islands and their capturing the Venice colonies in



Fatih Sultan Mehmed

Mehmed II

Mora, urged Venice to look for a powerful alliance. With the encouragement of Pope, an alliance treaty was signed between Venice and Iskender Bey against the Ottomans. Then, Hungary and Burgonia also joined in this alliance. Naples did not join to this alliance. When Pope went to Ancona to invite Ragusa to this alliance, he died, and no result was obtained from these efforts for a new Crusade. However, the Republic of Venice, Hungarians and Iskender Bey began to a joint operation against the Ottomans.

The Venice Senate took a decision to wage war against the Ottomans in 1463 and Yakomo Loredano was appointed as the commander of the Venetian forces. The Venetians would be active in Mora, Hungarians in Bosnia and Iskender Bey in Albania. Venetians attacked on Mora in August of 1463. Upon this, the Sultan sent the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha to Mora: Venetians were defeated here. Though Hungarian king Mathias Carvin captured Yayce and some other castles, upon the Bosnia expedition of Sultan Mehmed in 1464, he then withdrew. The Venetian fleet and army that became unsuccessful in Mora then captured Tasoz, Imroz and Semadirek islands and occupied Athens with the commandship of Viktor Capello, but then they had to withdraw upon the attacks of Turks. In the same year, the Venetian fleet wanted to capture Midilli, but when they learned that the Ottoman army arrived in, they had to withdraw. In 1467, Republic of Venice asked for peace on condition that Imroz and Limni would be given to them. The Venetians whose offer was not accepted began their attacks again in Mora to turn the fight in favor of them. Turhan Beyoglu Omer Bey defeated the Venetians in Mora. Venetians had to withdraw with great loss. Kanalis, the commander of Venetian Forces, by moving from Egriboz island, occupied Limnos and Imroz 1467).

In 1470, Sultan Mehmed organized a great expedition against the activities of Kanalis in Aegean and the destruction he made in Enez. He acted to capture Egriboz Island which was a very important island for the Venetians. While Mahmud Pasha, Flag Chief of Gallipolis moved towards the island with his fleet consisted of about three hundred or four hundred ships, Sultan Mehmed moved with his force consisted of about seventy thousand of one hundred thousand soldiers by land. Although the siege of Egriboz was hard for the Ottomans, the island was conquered with the great success of the artillerymen of the Ottomans. (July 12th, 1470).

Venice wanted to make a treaty with the Ottomans after all these defeats, but they were not so much insistent for this since there was activities for a Crusade in Europe. Venetians sent Katerino Zeno, cousin of Despina Hatun, wife of Uzun Hasan, to Uzun Hasan and made alliance with him (1471). Uzun Hasan had his own reasons to make an alliance with the Venetians. In an attack to be made by the Venetians to the south coasts of Anatolia, he would attack from the north, and in this way he would capture the Karaman lands under the ruling of Sultan Mehmet since 1468 or by giving back these lands to Karaman Principality, he would have an outstanding

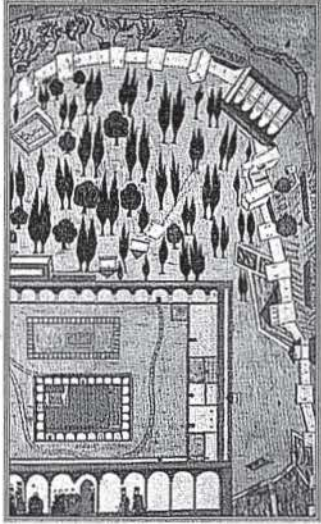
position in the Middle Anatolia by means of this Beylik subject to him:

After this diplomatic contact between the two parties, Mocenigo, the commander of Venetian Fleet landed on the coast of the Mediterranean with his fleet. He made destructions and plundering on the Aegean coasts. Then, fleet of the Kingdom of Naples and the fleet of Pope joined him in Mora. The number of the fleet was about eighty-five galleys. Venetian fleet caused great damages and plundering in Antalya and Izmir. This sea attack continued from the spring of 1472 to the autumn of the same year. While Sultan Mehmed marched on Uzun Hasan in 1473, the Venice fleet was continuing their activities under the commandship of Mocenigo. Karamanogulları was also acting with them. The allied fleet had assisted to Kasım Bey in Icel and some castles in Silifke and its surroundings had been captured by Mocenigo and given to Kasım Bey.

In addition to these activities of the Venetian fleet, the weapons demanded by Uzun Hasan from Venice were sent to Cyprus with the committee of Giosafat Barbaro upon the resolution of the Senate in the January of 1473. Uzun Hasan attacked on Mameluk territory first to get these weapons, and he was defeated. Therefore, Sultan Mehmed sent an envoy committee to Sultan of Mamelukes and offered him to act together against Uzun Hasan. Emir sent an envoy committee and gifts to Sultan Mehmed. Following this, Sultan Mehmed sent an envoy committee to Cairo. The committee was welcomed very sincerely in Cairo. Mameluke Sultan appointed an envoy to be sent to the Ottoman capital to establish an alliance against Akkoyunids. While Sultan Mehmed continuing such activities in the east, he was carrying out various activities in the west to break the alliance established against the Ottomans. Sultan Mehmed who wanted to separate Uzun Hasan from the other members of the alliance sent envoy committees to Venice and Hungary to earn time. Besides, land attacks directly targeting Venice were made to prevent the assistance of Venice during a prospective fighting with Uzun Hasan. The Ottoman raiders who moved from Bosnia in the autumn of 1472 advanced towards to Friuli near Venice and made plundering. It seems that the purpose of the Sultan during this attack was to march on Uzun Hasan. Because, during the expedition made by Yusuf Miza to the inside of Anatolia in the autumn of the same year when he plundered Tokat and Karaman areas, Sultan had passed to Anatolian side and upon the offer of his viziers he had postponed the expedition to be made on Uzun Hasan to 1473 year.

When Uzun Hasan was defeated by the Ottomans in 1473, Venice lost its greatest ally in the east. In 1474, peace negotiations between two parties fastened. Finally, in 1475, a non-aggression treaty was made for a one year period. Within this period, Kefe and Crimea expeditions were made with the Ottoman fleet (1475).

As soon as the treaty expired, the fight between two parties began again. The Venice fleet under the commandship of Loredano made destructions in



Topkapı Sarayı,
üçüncü avlu

Topkapı Palace,
third courtyard

the coasts of Anatolia. Ottomans who tried to capture Inebahtı in 1477 was defeated. In the same year, Bosnia Flag Chief Turahan Beyoğlu Omer Bey made a land attack to Venice. In this way the plundering of Mocenigo and Loredano at the Turkish coasts was got revenged. Then, two sides made peace negotiations, but no result was obtained.

Following this, Fatih went his 3rd Albanian expedition in the spring of 1478. Ottomans laid the surrendering of Iskodra as a condition for peace. After the Ottomans captured Kroya, they sent all the forces to Iskodra. Since the expedition took long, the Sultan returned to Istanbul. Six months after his return, Venetians surrendered Iskodra. Afterwards, the Ottoman-Venice peace treaty was signed and the war that lasted for sixteen years was ended. Civani Dorya who came to Istanbul in the name of the Republic of Venice accepted all the offers of the Ottoman state. According to the treaty, the Venetians would give back all the places they captured during this sixteen-year war: Kroya and Iskodra in Albania would be hold by the Ottomans. In return, Turks would give the places they took from the Venetians in Dalmatia, Albania and Mora. The slaves of both parties would be let free. Venetians accepted to pay one-hundred thousand filori indemnities and ten thousands duca tax to the Ottoman treasury each year, and alum lease taxes. Venice would have a right to assign a permanent ambassador in Istanbul. The treaty that ended the Ottoman-Venice war was signed in the spring of 1479 and the treaty was declared by the duke of Venice in April 25th 1479 in Saint Marcus Feast.

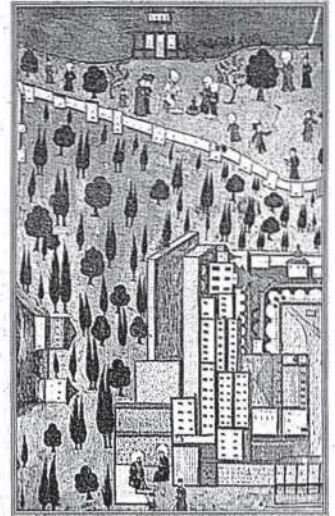
Albanian Expeditions and Conquest of Albanian, 1465-1478

Berat city that was captured by Turks in 1455 was besieged by Iskender Bey but could not be captured. Two years later, in 1457, the Ottoman forces under the commandship of Hamza Bey were defeated in Albulena plain by Iskender Bey. Hamza Bey was taken as a prisoner. However, as a result of the death of the King of Naples Alfons V in 1458, Iskender lost his powerful protector. For this reason, Iskender Bey accepted the Otoman sovereignty and taxes in 1460. Though Pope did not approve this agreement, Iskender Bey deemed it necessary. In 1461, Iskender Bey went to Italy to support Ferdinand against his rivals, the son of Alfons who became king after his father's death, and he saved Ferdinand. Iskender returned to his country in 1462 and upon the insistences of the Pope and envoy of Venice, he broke his relations with the Ottomans and assumed in a hostile manner. In the meantime, as the Ottomans were busy in Anatolia and Eflaq parts, they could not act for a definite attack on Iskender Bey. The developments in Balkans and Mora caused new results: When the Turks captured Bosnia and Argos, a city of Venetians in Mora, Venice wanted to make an alliance with Iskender Bey. After the treaty was signed between two parties, one year after the Republic of Venice decided to wage war against Turks with the Hungarians, in the spring of 1464, Iskender Bey began his operations against the Ottomans. In 1464, the forces under the commandship of Balaban Pasha partly became successful

against Iskender Bey. However, when both Balaban Pasha and Yakup Pasha were defeated by Iskender Bey, Sultan Mehmed decided to make an expedition on Albanian in 1465.

During the expedition of 1465, Fatih entered Albanian with his army consisted of 150 thousand soldiers. The Albanian people withdrew to mountains and the Sultan besieged Kroya castle. When it could not be captured, Ilbasan castle was constructed. Then, the Sultan returned back. Iskender appeared after Fatih returned. As he knew the importance of Kroya city for Albania, he asked the assistance of Hungary, Venice and Ragusa. He personally went to Rome in 1466 to ask the assistance of Pope. Iskender Bey who also obtained the assistance of Naples returned to Albania in 1467. He stopped the forces of Balaban Pasha who besieged Kroya. While Balaban Pasha died in the fight, the Turkish forces were ruined. Iskender Bey besieged Ilbasan castle.

Upon these developments, the Sultan went on his second Albanian expedition in the spring of 1467. While Kroya (Akçahisar) besieged, it was also attacked on Drac, but it could not be captured. (August 1467). Soldiers were put in the other captured places. The situation of Iskender Bey was getting worse. Iskender Bey was struggling much to capture Ilbasan castle that was constructed by Turks to permanently threat Kroya. However, in January 1468, Iskender Bey died in the town Lesh. Before his death, Iskender Bey had put his son Yani and his country in the care of the Republic of Venice. However, his wife went to Naples. The places belonging to Iskender were on dispute between the Ottomans, Venetians and Albanians for ten years after his death. Because of the resistance of Iskender Bey, Kroya city and places in the hands of Venetians could not have been captured. In the spring of 1478, Sultan Mehmed decided to go to expedition personally. In the meantime, negotiations between the Ottomans and Venetians to end the war were still continuing. Fatih, by taking advantage of cutting the negotiations, moved at the head of the army to definitely conclude the Albanian problem. Kroya which was under siege for a long time was captured in June 1478, and then Iskodra. The castle was besieged and bombarded by the artilleries. However, since many soldiers died during the siege, Lesh, Dergos and Golbası castles around Iskodra were captured and in this way helps that might come from the outside were prevented. Then soldiers were placed into the two towers constructed on two ends of the bridge over Boyana River going to Iskodra castle, and they would not let the ships that would come in front of the castle by the sea through the river. After Sultan Mehmed took such measures, he left the Raider Commander Evrenesoglu Ahmed Bey and forty thousand soldiers around Iskodra and he returned to Istanbul because of his sickness. Since all the connections of Iskodra castle was completely cut, the castle could not stand much, and it was surrendered under the condition that their lives and goods would be safe, and those who wanted to leave would be let go, and those who wanted to stay would be let to do so. In about six months after the return of the Sultan, the castle was captured in 1479.



Topkapı Sarayı,
ikinci avlu

Topkapı Palace,
second courtyard

Upon surrendering of Iskodra, the war with Venice that continued for 16 years, and that had turned into a Crusade once in a while, finished. The Republic of Venice accepted to make peace.

Relations between Ottoman State and Karaman Principality in Fatih period Relations before Otlukbeli War

Karamanoglu Ibrahim Bey died in 1463, after he ruled thirty nine years. He named his elder son Ishak as the ruler before his death. The other sons of Ibrahim bey, Pir Ahmed and his brothers objected to this decision. Since Ishak Bey could not resist to Pir Ahmed, he asked for the help of Mameluke Sultan. Ishak, who could not get the actual help from Mamelukes went to Uzun Hasan of Akkoyunids. He captured Karaman with his support. This time, Pir Ahmed applied to the Ottomans for help. Pir Ahmed left some of his lands to the Ottomans and asked the protection of Sultan Mehmed. Ishak Bey also applied to the Sultan for the same requests, but Ottomans supported Pir Ali. Ishak Bey went to Uzun Hasan. Pir Ahmed left Aksehir, Beyschri, Siklan Hisari and Ilgin areas to the Ottomans because of their helps.

Pir Ahmed fought with his brother Kasim Bey from 1465. He defeated him also, with the assistance of the Ottomans. Then Uzun Hasan helped Pir Ahmed who wanted to capture the places he left to the Ottomans. He made various actions against the Ottomans when they were busy with Venice, Pope, Naples, Hungary, Albania, and Rhodes. Upon this, Fatih personally went to Karaman expedition in 1466. Pir Ahmed escaped to Larende. Kevele castle and Konya that was the center of the state were captured. The grand vizier Mahmud Pasha was sent on Pir Ahmed. Pir Ahmed was defeated. At the end of the expedition, some people from Konya and Larende were sent to Istanbul. Manisa Flag Chief Shehzade Mustafa was assigned as the Karaman Governor (1466). Since the problems in Karaman did not come to an end, Rum Mehmed Pasha was sent on Karaman in 1468. Mehmed Pasha, who made great destructions in Karaman and fought with Varsak Turkmens, was defeated by Varsak ruler Uyuz Bey. He was dismissed first and then he was killed. Ishak Pasha was assigned in place of him. Ishak Pasha who marched on Pir Ahmed and Kasim Bey, attack to Larende in 1470. Pir Ahmed and Kasim Bey asked for the support of Uzun Hasan. Ishak Pasha transferred some people from Aksaray to Istanbul at the end of the expedition.

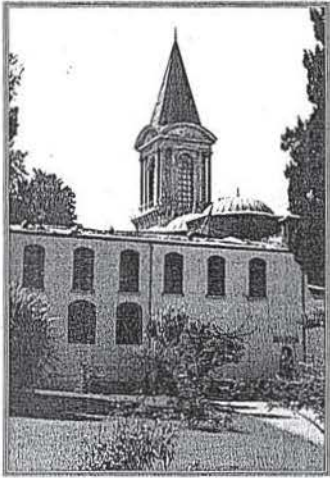
In 1471, Gedik Ahmed Pasha was sent to Karaman. He was ordered to capture Alaiye and then Silifse. Gedik Ahmed Pasha then captured the Minyan castle where some family members of Karamanogullari were staying. In the meantime; Pir Ahmed and Kasim Bey who took refuge in Uzun Hasan were trying to persuade Uzun Hasan to march on the Ottomans. As a result of these activities, Uzun Hasan sent them to Karaman with the forces he gave. Gedik Ahmed Pasha withdrew to Konya. Bektasoglu Emir Omer Bey, his cousin Yusuf Mirza and Kizil Ahmed Bey from Candarogullari had also participated to the forces sent by Uzun Hasan. These forces that arrived

in Erzincan sent a letter to Bayezid to take permission with the excuse that in fact they were going to ascend Dhulqadirids Kilic Aslan to the throne in place of his father, as they did not want to oppose to the Prince Bayezid. Before this letter was received by the Prince, Rum (Anatolian) Beylerbeyi Sarabdar Hamza Bey who resided in Tokat gave permission according to that letter. The forces that passed from the Ottoman boundary attacked on Tokat in the morning and destroyed and plundered the city and took many people in captivity. (1472).

Emir Bey who was commanding the Akkoyonid forces returned from there and headed towards Diyarbakir. He sent the other forces to Karaman under the command of Yusuf Mirza. These forces made operations in Karaman and Hamiteli starting from Kayseri and its surroundings. In the meantime, Sultan Mehmed ordered Shehzade Mustafa in Konya to withdraw to Afyonkarahisar and wait there until Anadolu Beylerbeyi Davut Pasha came. Akkoyonid forces under the command of Yusuf Mirza had arrived around Beysehir. After a very bloody war between the Ottoman forces under the command of Shehzade Mustafa and Akoyonlu forces, the Ottoman forces won. Yusuf Mirza and many Akkoyonid Beys were taken as captive. Those who escaped from this war subjected to the attack of Varsak Turkmen tribe around Karaman. As a result, one thousand from twenty thousand persons could not be rescued alive. Pir Ahmed Bey, Kizil Ahmed Bey and Kasim Bey who had joined to Akkoyonid forces escaped. Pir Ahmed and Kizil Ahmed took refuge in Uzun Hasan again. Kasim Bey went to Icel area and stayed in Silifse that was captured from the Ottomans with the assistance of Venetians.

The East Expeditions of Fatih and Otlukbeli War, 1473

Akkoyonid Ruler Uzun Hasan had owned Iraq, Azerbaijan and Iran as date of 1473 and made its state the biggest empire of the near east. He defeated and killed Karakoyonid Ruler Cihan Shah (1467) and following this, he also defeated Abu Said Khan from Timurids (1469). With his successes, Uzun Hasan thought he would also defeat the Ottomans. Uzun Hasan made some alliances with the western states against the Ottomans long before he began to operate against the Ottomans. Akkoyonid envoys had gone to the west in different times. Uzun Hasan, by means of his envoys, sent information about his operations in Anatolia to the Crusade Sea Forces who had destroyed the Mediterranean coasts, especially Antalya, and arrived in Rhodes. He demanded fired guns. In addition, he offered to make alliance with the Venetians against the Ottomans and Mamelukes. (1472). This offer was conveyed to the senate of Venice by the Venetian envoy Katerino Zeno. However, though the demanded guns were sent, they had not been received by Akkoyonids, but the Venetian Admiral Mocenigo destructed the Anatolian coasts. Due to these reasons, and their attacks, plunders and massacres on Ottoman lands, it was decided to make an expedition against the Akkoyonids. Mahmud Pasha was assigned as the grand vizier again. The expedi-



Topkapı Sarayı,
Adalet Kulesi

Topkapı Palace,
first courtyard

on was postponed to the year of 1473 to make the necessary preparations and Sultan Mehmed, upon the recommendations of his Viziers, he assigned Mihaloğlu Ali Bey as the governor of Sivas province, his brother Iskender Bey as the Kayseri Flag chief and his eldest brother Bali Bey as the Niksar Officer. The Raider Beys made destruction and plundering in Erzincan, Kemah, Aksar and Bayburt regions. In this way, Tokat plundering of Uzun Hasan was responded.

The Ottoman Army set off from Uskudar under the command of Fatih Sultan Mehmed in March 1473. Sultan Mehmed sent Prince Cem to Edirne for the protection of Rumelia. He had assigned two other princes in expedition. Bayezid was with Karaman soldiers. Rumeli Beylerbeyi Has Murad Pasha was commanding leading forces of thirty thousand soldiers. Anadolu Beylerbeyi Davud Pasha was with thirty thousand soldiers. In addition, there were one hundred thousand horsemen, which were not stated in the records. Besides, there was a union consisted of ten thousand janissaries, twenty thousand pedestrian soldiers and thirty thousand torment soldiers. After the Sultan moved from Istanbul, he arrived in Bursa Yenisehri. He joined the army with the forces of Rumelia Beylerbeyi Has Murad Pasha in Iznik. The Prince Mustafa with his Karaman unions joined to the army in Ankara, Beypazari and the Prince Beyezid with his own forces in Amasya, Kazova.

Sultan Mehmed did not accept the offer of the Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasha to capture Sarki Karahisar on the way of army. When the Ottoman army arrived in Erzincan, the first fighting with the forces of Uzun Hasan was done and the enemy was defeated. Uzun Hasan sent a union with five thousand soldiers under the command of Mehmed and Cemsit Beys against the Ottoman forces. When Sultan Mehmed learnt this, he also sent a union with five thousand soldiers under the command of Turahanoglu Omer Bey. The Ottoman forces defeated the forces of Uzun Hasan and took fifty soldiers as captive.

When the Ottoman army arrived nearby Tercan by following Euphrates valley, the forces of these two sides encountered again. Mahmud Pasha and Has Murad Pasha were sent with their selected forces against them. Forces of Uzun Hasan withdrew when they realized that the Ottoman forces were advancing towards them and they lied in ambush. Although Mahmud Pasha understood that the withdrawal was an ambush, forces of Has Murad Pasha advanced and they were defeated in this battle on August 4th, 1473. Some of the commanders of Ottomans; Turahanoglu Omer Bey, Aydinoglu Haci Bey and Fenarioglu Ahmed Pasha were taken as captive.

The Ottoman forces began to advance towards Bayburt in the north direction. Six days had passed but, the forces of Uzun Hasan had not appeared yet. In the seventh day, while the Ottoman army was about spending the night in the place called in Uc Agzli, the forces of Kafir Ishak from the forces of Uzun Hasan appeared on a hill in the location called Otlukbeli. Anatolian Beylerbeyi Davud Pasha and the Grand vizier Mahmud Pasha were sent to fight with the for-

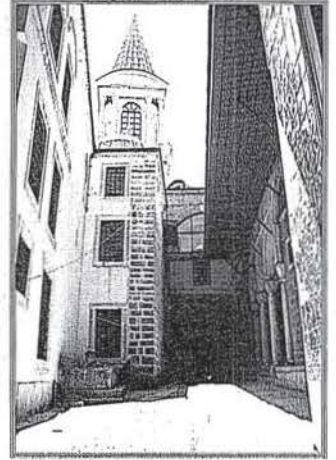
ces of Kafir Ishak and Davud Pasha defeated these forces and captured the hills of Otlukbeli, so in this way he saved the Ottoman army from a great danger. Davud Pasha attacked on the forces of Uzun Hasan. The right branch of the Ottoman army under the command of the Prince Bayezid had defeated Ugurlu Mehmed, the son of Uzun Hasan. The left branch under the command of Mustafa, the other son of Mehmed, had defeated the other son of Uzun Hasan, Zeynel Mirza, and they killed him. At the end of war, the military camp of Uzun Hasan was plundered.

Fatih Sultan Mehmed did not follow Uzun Hasan after the war by opposing to the views of his soldiers. He did not want to destroy this Muslim state and he stated that would not be a military expedition on behalf of Islam (gaza). In fact, Fatih had obtained his purpose with the Otlukbeli victory, eliminated Akkoyunid danger and forced Uzun Hasan to get along well with them. When Sultan Mehmed was in Sebinkarahisar, Uzun Hasan sent Ahmed Begurci to the Sultan with offer of peace and Fatih accepted request of Uzun Hasan for peace. Although Uzun Hasan made a peace treaty with the Ottomans, he accepted the Venice envoys that persuaded him for war. Upon this, Fatih sent an envoy to the grandson of Timur, Hüseyin Baykara, and suggested to make an attack on Uzun Hasan from both sides. In the meantime, Gedik Ahmed Pasha captured the Toros hills and Mediterranean coasts and completed the conquest of Karaman (1474).

The Crimea Expedition and acceptance of Ottoman Sovereignty by Crimea Khanate, 1475

In the North Black Sea, on the coasts of Crimea and Azak, Genoese had commercial colonies. Especially, Kefe was the most important center of the Genoese trade in the Black Sea. Genoese were trading with Iran, Russia and Middle Asia by means of both Kefe and other harbors. Fatih wanted to capture more than half of the Black Sea to hold Istanbul and the Dardanelles straits and wanted to turn this closed sea into Turkish lake. Therefore, he wanted to remove the Genova colonies there and capture the trade they were making.

By taking advantage of the yearly armistice, Sultan Mehmed decided to make the Black Sea expedition. In 1475, at the end of May, the Grand vizier Gedik Ahmed Pasha sailed in the Black sea with his seventy thousand soldiers and three hundred-piece fleet. At the beginning of June Kefe was captured. Afterwards, the fleet entered Azak Sea and captured the Azak castle. Then they captured the Menkup castle in the south of Crimea peninsula. About forty thousand people from Genova colonies were sent to Istanbul for settlement. Before Gedik Ahmed Pasha captured Kefe, Mengli Giray who had made a fight with his brother Nur Devlet for the throne, was defeated and escaped to Kefe was also there. Mengli Giray and his younger sister Yagmurca Sultan were brought in Istanbul and imprisoned in the towers of Istanbul for a while. Nur Devlet did not join to the Bogdan expedition, that's why he was dismissed and Mengli Giray Khan replaced him as the khan.



Topkapı Sarayı,
Harem ve Adalet Kulesi

Topkapı Palace,
harem and Justice Tower

Bogdan Expedition , 1476

Bogdan was under the Ottoman sovereignty since September 1455. While Bogdan Prince Stephan Cel Mare was paying his tax at the beginning, he tried to declare his independence in the period when Turks were fighting with Venice, Naples and Pope at sea and Albanians and Hungarians on land. Some of the Genova prisoners had taken refuge in Bogdan, while they were being transferred to Istanbul by ships after Keşe was captured, and he expelled the Eflaqui voyvoda from his country. Therefore, an expedition on Bogdan was decided. Rumelia Beylerbeyi Hadım Sülaymân Pasha was sent to Bogdan, but he was defeated (1476), and that's why, Sultan decided to go on an expedition personally.

Bey of Bogdan did not engage in a direct war and withdrew inside of the country. During his withdrawal, he burnt all the fields and vineyards and destroyed the grain and wheat products. With the support of ships arrived in Danube, the scarcity and losses were decreased. However, the army that looked for the enemy in Bogdan could not meet with them and they lost many soldiers because of scarcity. In the meantime, prince of Bogdan had hidden in the forest, and they fortified the front with artilleries. Ottoman army engaged in a violent battle. The janissaries were lying on the ground, as they were afraid of the noise of the artilleries. Upon this, Sultan Mehmed said to the Janissary Chief Trabzonlu Mehmed Agha "why these young men behave like this; do men who wear the belt of bravery behave like this?" and he personally joined to the war on his horse with his shield in his hand. Janissaries felt ashamed and began to attack. Though many solders died, they defeated the enemy. Bogdan Prince escaped from the battle field. The Ottoman army stayed in Bogdan lands for further two months and made plundering. Then they decided to return to Edirne. Bey of Eflaq was given gifts because of his services in the expedition.

When the Turkish army was passing over Danube on their way back from Bogdan expedition, Mihaloglu Ali Bey informed that the Hungarian king constructed three castles in Kobilović area where Danube and Morova Rivers merges and he would attack to the Ottoman lands by using this place as his military camp. Though it was winter, Sultan Mehmed decided to make an expedition to Semendire area to destroy these castles. When the Sultan arrived in this area with his army, the Hungarian king had returned to his country. In spite of the heavy winter conditions, Ottoman forces besieged the castles built by Hungarians. Finally, those defending the castles surrendered by begging for mercy. The castles were destroyed and demolished. Sultan Mehmed, with this expedition under very heavy winter conditions, showed that he would never permit the Hungarians to construct fortified areas on Danube River, and he had strengthened the Ottoman sovereignty once more.

Otranto ve Rhodes expeditions, 1480

After Fatih forced Venice, that was a strong state at the Mediterranean, to make peace, he was interested in the conquest of Rhodes, a door to Mediterranean, and Italy which seems suitable for invasion beca-

use of its internal conditions. After the treaty signed with Venice in 1479, Gedik Ahmed Pasha was assigned to Italy expedition. The Ottoman army under the command of Ahmed Pasha captured the Zanta, Kefalonya and Ayamavra islands, he could not capture Leonardo, the ruler of the islands. King of Naples protected Leonardo and this event created a base for the Italy expedition. The Ottoman fleet in Gallipolis consisted of approximately one hundred ships. On July 25th, 1480, Gedik Ahmed Pasha arrived in Polya coasts and besieged Otranto. On August 11th, 1480, Otranto was captured by Turks. War prisoners and spoils in significant amounts were obtained. The army sent by the king of Naples to take back Otranto was defeated by the forces of Ahmed Pasha. Ahmed Pasha also captured the other castles around Otranto. He placed food and ammunition in the castle in sufficient quantities. He wanted to use this castle as a base during the Italy operation. However, Sultan Mehmed had deceased at this time. Upon the invitation of Bayezid II, he returned to Istanbul and Italy conquest was postponed. King of Naples who wanted to take Otranto back, first captured the castle around Otranto with the support of Hungary and activity of fleet of Aragon. Then he captured Otranto on September 10th, 1481, that was hold by Turks for 13 months.

When the Ottoman state began Italy expedition, they also wanted to capture Rhodes in the hands of Saint Jean Knights. It was necessary to capture Rhodes to make the Ottoman sovereignty in Aegean for definite, since the islands were very close to Anatolian coasts and the rulers of Rhodes was acting against Ottoman interests. In fact, after the conquest of Istanbul, two expeditions in the years of 1455 and 1467 had been organized to the island but no positive results had been obtained. The Ottomans because of both military and commercial reasons could not accept the plundering of the commodities of the merchants from/to Turkey, Egypt and Syria by the knights in Rhodes Island and the pirates they supported. Sultan Mehmed also wanted to make an expedition to Egypt after the Rhodes expedition. Rhodes was in a strategic point in every kind of passing between Aegean Sea and Egypt.

Vizier Mesih Pasha made a landing operation to Rhodes Island on May 23rd, 1480, by around St. Ethiene Mountain with his fleet consisted of 160 ships and with his unions coming by land. Then, St. Nicolas tower of Rhodes castle was bombarded. The attack made from the destroyed side of the tower became unsuccessful. In the night of June 19th, the second attack that was made through the bridge constructed between the harbor break-water and St. Nicolas tower with the ships became also unsuccessful. Upon this, Mesih Pasha began to attack Rhodes castle not from the sea but from the land. The bombardment continued for 35 days and the city walls were greatly destroyed. Although Turkish forces entered the city for a while they were repelled. In the same period, when two ships from Naples entered Rhodes harbor in spite of the attempts of the Turkish fleet to stop, the soldiers in the castle became happy



İç Ağa

Inner director

with morale but this event increased the hopelessness of the Turkish party. When the food scarcity and help coming to Rhodes was informed to the Sultan, he ordered the army to return. Mesiş Pasha besieged Bodrum but he could not capture it. He was dismissed from his office of vizier because of his failures.

The last expedition of Fatih Sultan and his decease on May 3rd, 1481

Fatih Sultan Mehmed went to military expedition to the Anatolian side in the spring of 1481. According to Tursun Bey and İbn Kemal, the expedition would be on Egypt. The main reasons for the expedition of Sultan Mehmed on Egypt were the power fight for Dulkadir Principality, capital punishment of Şehsuvar Bey in Cairo, the official problems between two parties since the conquest of Istanbul, Hicaz water ways problem, seeking help of Karamanogulları from Cairo and Mameluke-Rhodes alliance during the Rhodes expedition after the Ottoman-Venice war. Sultan Mehmed had passed to the Anatolian part in the spring of 1481. But he was ill. His illness increased while he was passing the Straits. He was feeling uncomfortable with his feet and his distress increased when he arrived in the military camp in Hunkar Çayırı near Gebze. He deceased on May 3rd, 1481 when he was 49.

Personality of Fatih and the Ottoman State under his Rule

According to the information given by a western source, Fatih was a very dashing, intelligent ruler who wanted to gain reputation and honor, could resist to cold, hot, thirst, hunger and fatigue, spoke hard, brave and stranger to enjoyment and fun. He knew Greek and Slavic languages other than Turkish. In short, Fatih had all the characteristics of the empire founders in the history. His sole purpose was to dominate all the world and he was a powerful soldier and broad-minded man of culture. He resembled his grandfather Yıldırım Bayezid and his grandson Yavuz Sultan Selim. The hard measures he took and his protection and encouragement of science, was because of the purpose of him to make the state as the most powerful and superior one in the world. During his Sultanate, he acted in a very planned and programmed manner and so, he had always been one step ahead from his rivals in the wars even if he had to fight in several fronts. He showed the examples of a master diplomacy and he had never announced the routes of the expeditions before they began to march towards the enemies, and this provided great advantages to him. When necessary, he personally attacked on the enemies by endangering his life, had been a model for his soldiers and proved that he might have made sacrifices personally for the victory.

Fatih was the Ottoman Sultan who developed political and social institutions of the state and deter-

mined the future political developments of the state. He eliminated all the hindrances that might oppose to his ruling to establish a centralized management. At the beginning period of his ruling, he punished all the janissaries who revolted against him and established a definite authority on janissaries by electing personally the janissary masters. He had strengthened his authority by increasing the number of janissaries under his management.

Fatih was thinking different from his predecessors about the rank occupied by the Sultan. During the time of his father, Candarlı Halil Pasha had performed the office of vizier for 16 years by being almost the owner of the state. Fatih, after the conquest of Istanbul, eliminated Candarlı and elected the subsequent viziers generally among the subjects to demonstrate that the Sultan was the sole authority in the state. In his period, the grand vizier was only the absolute representative of the Sultan and he was the person who obeyed the orders and desires of the Sultan. The most famous of them was Mahmud Pasha and besides his grand vizierate he was also the governor of Rumelia, and he was controlling a big army. Fatih used slave origin people also in the other ranks of the state. He left the implementation of Islamic laws to the ulemas. (Muslim theologians and scholars). Kadhis (judges of Islamic law) who made decisions according to the traditional and religious laws had undertaken the duty of controlling the management. They had left the execution of judgments ehli-örf and in this way they separated the management and judgment. Turkish Sultans had not left their authority to make regulations in policy and management also after the recognition of Islamic rules. Fatih, depending on this authority, made various laws and codes. They were in the manner of the order of Sultan. Fatih was very severe in the implementations of the laws and codes and he did not favor to also his sons in these matters. However, the measures he took in financial areas and his severe applications caused dissatisfaction.

There was not any law and tradition that organized the change in the Sultanate. For this reason, it was not possible to appoint an heir apparent to the throne. Each of the brothers had the same right for the Sultanate. In the of Sultan's death, the fight between the brothers was inevitable. Such fights had caused great dangers for the state many times. Fatih expressed in his law that it was religiously permissible for the Sultan to kill his brothers for the sake of the future of the state when he ascended to the throne, and ulema also deemed this religiously permissible. In fact, this was not an obligatory law. It was an action that deemed religiously permissible for the state in case of absolute necessity. This principle had the purpose to protect the unity of state.



Yeniçeri

Janissary

The Conquest Of Istanbul

The interest of Ottoman on Istanbul has started from the days of establishment. The Ottoman Padişahs have been seen before the walls of Istanbul since Orhan Bey. After the initial good relations, which have taken place as mutual alliances, sieges on Istanbul have started since 1395 during 1st Bayezid era. Nevertheless sieges until Fatih era have failed due to various reasons.

The reasons of Mehmed II's choice of Istanbul as his main target go back to his prince and first years of reign. During his 2 years long first reign, the young Padişah, who was depressed under the emotional pressure of Çandarlı Halil Pasha and his father Murad II in Manisa, saw the conquest of Istanbul as his reign's exit point and his future's guarantee, under the external threats and Zaganos Pasha's effect. Also his bold behaviors on this path have received his father Murad's reaction. In addition, grand vizier Çandarlı Halil Pasha constituted the greatest obstacle in front of the conquest. The separation of pashas into factions between Çandarlı and Fatih's side and their struggles has its roots in this era. Çandarlı, who was using the Janissary, forced Mehmed and his supporters to wait for revenge after he called Murad II back to Edirne without acknowledging the young Padişah and sent him back to Manisa with a fail accompli.

Mehmed II kept Çandarlı Halil Pasha in his place after his second enthroning. Çandarlı knew the young Padişah's attitude towards him but his main force was the janissary, of which all power holders refrained. Mehmed II chose to incapacitate Çandarlı slowly by adding Şehabeddin, Saruca and Zaganos Pashas to his cabinet. Halil pasha was against the conquest of Istanbul. The recent claims about his refusal of conquering Istanbul being due to his closeness to Byzantium are doubtful. The greatest fear of Çandarlı was a probable Crusade following the conquest. The old grand vizier was suspicious about this new adventure since he remembered the hard years and so he wished to follow a mild policy. Mehmed II kept him, even though his reaction, to make use of his experience in diplomacy. As a matter of fact, Çandarlı renewed the treaty with Hungarians, had Serbian Despot and Bosnian King to be inclined to the Ottoman side and started a time gaining play with the Byzantium.

Another issue that the Mehmed II paid attention was the Janissary, who was known to be close to the grand vizier. The janissary organized the Buçuktepe incident, which caused him to leave the throne, and of course Çandarlı also was behind the incident. Thus he tried to get Çandarlı on his policy by courtesy and acted to get the command totally on himself. He got rid of Yeniçeri Ağa Kazancı Dogan and went through serious and fresh arrangements. Çandarlı's men were removed from important positions,

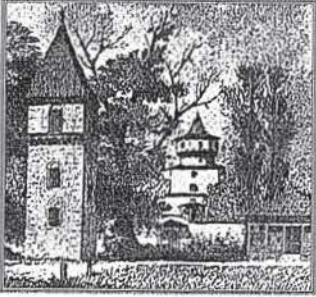
and were replaced by Padişah's men. As a result, he had 5000 janissaries ready to fight on his side during the siege.

After all these, preparations for the conquest such as, necessary soldiers, munitions, and equipment were started. Mehmed II was having important economical problems during the first times of his reign. This was because of expeditions and invasions during his father's era that caused destruction in Rumelia and the Timar system, which provided an important income. Thus precautions to increase the number of Timarli Sipahi were taken and the process of making Vakıf and Mülk lands, Timar lands, which would gain speed, was started. On the other hand, leaving the Novaberde silver mines to the Serbian caused a great lack of silver and minting low quality money affected kapikulu and ulema deeply who were receiving fixed payment. And during the siege preparations additional taxes were added to the public and customs taxes were increased. Everything was depended on the conquest of the Istanbul, which would pay for all of these.

Army preparations appear in Navy and land armies. It is necessary to talk about the obtaining and construction of cannons and other war machines able to destroy the walls. These are depicted as unusual for sieges, weird, frightening weapons by the authors of the era. Preparations for such weapons have been completed mostly in Edirne. Both local and foreign craftsmen have been used in molding the various types of cannons. Especially, the great cannon molded was a product of 3 months work, and according to the records of the era it could throw stones of 600 kg. The latest developments of the era were used in the preparations. This conquest has been the first effective use of cannon during sieges. In this sense, the first time firearms have been used effectively and with a special firing technique in this siege. Also there were, now not in use, the moving siege towers. The rifle was not an effective war tool in that time.

It was evident that Istanbul couldn't be taken by laying siege on the land only. Thus new ships were built in Gallipoli shipyards. According to the records of the era, 12 galleys, 70 kalyete, and 20 smaller ships were built. Together with other ships built in other places the number was reaching important numbers. But these ships, mostly small, were technically insufficient and at the same time the crew was inexperienced.

Another issue to be mentioned among the preparations is the castle, which was built to stop the help efforts, to control the narrowest part of the straits of Rumelia and Anatolian sides, and to cross the straits easily. This castle, together with the Anatolian castle, is a display of Ottoman siege style and it is of "havale" class of castles. The castle, which was built



Edirne Sarayı, Adalet Kulesi

Edirne Palace, Justice Tower

during the peacetime with the help of hundreds of workers, was finished in a short time. This situation gave Mehmed II hope and reinforced him morally by showing him his level of power and potential before the siege.

Mehmed II also calculated the spiritual reactions of such a conquest alongside its geographical and political necessity. The Islamic prophesy about the conquest of Istanbul, as being the conqueror of Constantinople, would give the sultan a spiritual power.

The preparations took quite long. The building of castle, started in April of 1452, was finished in August. The surface cause of the war seems to be an event between the Ottoman soldiers and local people. Near the completion of the castle, Mehmed II suddenly moved with 50,000 men and got a close look at the walls for three days. At the same time 2 Venice ships trying to pass the Straits was attempted to be stopped and one of them was sank by the canon fire from the castle, and this event pulled the Venice into war too. This made the Mehmed II's intention clear.

The Venice had trade relationships with both Byzantium and Ottoman. Some of Venice tradesmen, though their number was small, saw trade benefits in Turk's conquering Istanbul. Likewise when the question of whether Istanbul should be left to its own fate was voted there were seven approving votes in the Venice Senate. The remaining 74 people wanted to support the city's resistance. But their fleets were in war and busy with protecting their own colonies. The desperateness of the Venice was also valid for the Geneva, who had a colony in Galata. Even though the Pope made 3rd Frederick send a strong ultimatum to Ottoman Padişah, his efforts on helping Byzantium gave no fruits. The Byzantium Emperor, as a last hope, applied to the Pope and wanted to join the Orthodox Church and Vatican, if he wills. Pope's representatives, under Cardinal Isidor's leadership, came to Istanbul on 6th of October with the Napoli military (archers) unit. After hard discussions in the committee of unification, they declared that the two Churches were united. While people and religious men, together with some important army people, remained silent, the supporters were hoping that the issue would be reviewed after the city was rescued from threat.

Istanbul's, powerful looking, strong walls of approximately 22 km, and in some parts there were double walls, was not mended appropriately according to the era's needs due to economical problems. It was, nevertheless, a difficult obstacle to get over. The walls at the

Golden horn shores were 5,5 km and it reached up to Sarayburnu from Ayvansaray and from here it reached Yedikule (8 km) following the shores of the Marmara sea. This part of the wall was single lined and in some parts they were vertical to the sea. There was a trench full of seawater on the land walls. A chain could close the entrance to the Golden

Horn, and inside the chain there were Byzantium and Italian ships.

The siege, personally planned by the Mehmed II, put into action in a unique technical understanding. It is rumored that he read books on siege tactics and studied on plans. Even though long walls brought its disadvantages their thickness and height provided great advantage to the defenders. The soldiers of Byzantium were not crowded and they would have a hard time. It seems that Mehmed II prepared his plans accordingly. Probably under the light of previous siege experiences, he foresaw that a long siege would be useless and the city should be taken in a short time to prevent military and economical help from Europe. Also it was thought that a city taken by sword would have a different status according to the Islamic law and would provide total ruling power to the Padişah. This shows that Mehmed II has calculated the conquest of the city by sword would provide him great fame in the Islamic world and among his subjects.

Even though, according to the sources of era, Ottoman soldiers' number is told to be between 100,000 and 300,000, it is reasonable to accept it around 100,000 or a bit more. A quarter of them were janissaries and Kapikulu soldiers. There were also Serbian miners, German, Bohemian, and Hungarian craftsmen working as sappers. The main force of the army was consisting of Anatolian and Rumelian Timarli soldiers. Kapikulu and Azaps fighting in the first lines played the major role during the war. In addition to the regular soldiers there were also dervishes and tekke sheiks in the siege. Akşemseddin, Molla Gürani and Molla Hüseyin, who had great effect over Mehmed II, supported both Mehmed II and his commanders morally as they fortified religious look and respect. Especially, Akşemseddin is known to be mentioned as the moral engineer of the conquest since he supported the religious need of the conquest against the opposition, and supported Mehmed II and his commanders.

The Byzantium and Latin sources of the era claims that the army of the city was around 5,000, and this number has gone up to 8,000-9,000 together with the helping forces. In addition the civilian population helped in mending of the walls, in providing ammo and equipment and even as fighters during the war. The defenders were able to withstand the crowded Ottoman army thanks to their superiority in defense, even though they were outnumbered. They were of course not in a condition to withstand the attack for a long time without external help. It is estimated that there were around 30,000 men population in the city able to fight. Venice, Geneva and some other foreign forces also helped the defense. Byzantium forces were placed to defense positions chosen by the emperor himself. Emperor placed his base between Topkapı and Edirnekapı with his best troops. On his right fighter Giustiniani of Geneva, who was famous for his success in city defense with



Fatih Külliyesi

Mehmed II Edirne Building complex

his 700 men, of which 400 were of Geneva, who came to Istanbul in January 1453. Later the forces he commanded were moved to the center to reinforce the Emperor. Venice Balyo Minetto and his helpers were assigned to protect the Tekfur Palace. The trench, which was filled in time, was re-dig. The defense of four main gates of the city was given to four Venice commanders, up on the wish of Venice and Geneva. The old commander Teodor Caristino would defend between Eğrikapı (Kaligaria) and Xyloporta in the Golden Horn. Bishop Leonardo and Langosco brothers of Sakız Island were placed behind the ditch in this region. On the right of the Emperor were Cattaneo and Theophilos Palaeologos defending Silivrikapı region. Filippo Contarini of Venice defended the part from Marmara shore to Altinkapı (Yaldızlıkapı). Manuel of Geneva was ordered to defend Yaldızlıkapı. On his left, towards the sea, was Demetrius Kantakuzenos. Bartolomeo Soligo of Venice pulled the chain and closed the Golden Gate on 2nd April. Behind the chain the Byzantium and Italian ships were lined.

The walls on the Marmara Sea shore were protected with fewer soldiers. The Turkish Prince Orhan and his small paid Turkish soldiers defended Langa harbor. Catalans were deployed in the shoreline down Hippodrome. Cardinal Isidore was defending Sarayburnu (Acropolis cape) with 200 men. The part from Ayvansaray-Fener line to Sarayburnu was defended by Gabriel Trevisano, Golden Horn shores (until Ayakapı) was defended by Grand duke Lukas Notaras, and Captain Alvisio Diedo took the command of the fleet. And some reserves were placed in strategic locations in the city. The defenders had sufficient arrow, catapult, and spears alongside a few cannons.

Byzantium forces met the Ottoman army's front on 2 April and a small fight took place. But when they saw the Ottoman army's main divisions were coming, the Byzantium soldiers withdrew and closed the city gates, destroyed the bridges on the trenches and gave the last shape of the defense. Mehmed II came to the scene in the same day, and placed his command post on the hill (Maltepe) to the left of Lycos (Bayrampaşa) valley, and took his forces forward to form a front. In addition, he checked the walls from Marmara shores to the Golden Horn by sea and placed his troops according to his plan. Zaganos Pasha was ordered to keep the northern shores between Galata and Kağıthane, which was a Geneva colony, and the southern shores where the land walls started under pressure with the forces deployed on Beyoğlu and Kasımpaşa. Even a bridge was planned to be built between Hasköy and walls. Rumelian head chief (beylerbeyi) Karaca Pasha was ordered to lay siege on the land walls between the Golden Horn, up to Tekfur Palace, and Eğrikapı. The big cannons were on this front and their target was the single wall on the Palace part and their joining point with Theodosian walls. Anatolian head

chief Ishak Pasha and Mahmud Pasha was deployed in the region from Topkapı to Yaldızlıkapı and up to Mermerkule in the Marmara shore. In the center, in the Edirnekapı-Topkapı line, was Padişah himself and grand vizier. This part was the part thought to have the weakest walls, and the best part of the troops was deployed here with heavy cannons and the great cannon. The Ottoman Fleet, under Baltaoğlu Süleyman Bey's command, was patrolling along the Marmara and preventing any foreign ship to pass through. Another target was to force the Golden Horn chain and enter there. It could be said by looking at the strong army's location under Zaganos pasha's command, Mehmed II planned to enter the city from the weak and hard to defend Golden Horn walls by pressing on. Even it could be said that the preparations on carrying the ships over land to enter the Golden Horn in any case of failure should have been pre-planned and made.

The most effective weapons of Ottoman against the walls were the cannons. During this siege, where the cannons were used effectively according to the era's sources, cannons were placed carefully, and they were moved to different locations as needed. As the preparations for the siege completed on 6th April, Mehmed II asked the Emperor to surrender the city according to the Islamic traditions, but he was refused. To tell the truth both sides knew this was only a formality. Some researchers claim the active fight started as the great cannon was fired on 6th April while some claim it was on 12th April. Even though there were gaps in the walls after cannon fire the defenders quickly fixed these. Meanwhile the Ottoman fleet under Baltaoğlu's command moved towards the Golden Horn. According to Barbaro, who witnessed the defense, the cannons were deployed before the weaker walls in four different places on 11th April. The Ottoman fleet, consisting of Galleys, Galleons and small ships totaling to 145 pieces, was gathered before Beşiktaş-Kabataş on 12th April. Twelve Galley and 70-80 sail ship had perfect equipment. There were no other serious attacks other than cannon fire between 12 to 18 April. The first attack, towards the outer walls in Bayrampaşa stream, was prevented by effective defense of Giustiniani on 18th April. On 20th April 3 Geneva ships carrying supplies and help for Istanbul, together with a Byzantium transport ship that joined them in Dardanelle, showed up before Istanbul. Ottoman fleet moved to intercept them and confronted them before Yenikapı. Southwester prevented the rowed Ottoman ships to move, and high-boarded Geneva ships easily slipped through the barricade and succeeded to enter the Golden Horn. This failure caused uneasiness in the Ottoman Army. As a matter of fact Akşemseddin sent a letter asking Padişah to take necessary precautions. Even though the peace proposal of Byzantium was discussed after the first fight and the failure in the sea, Mehmed II decided to continue the siege with the support he received from



Müjdeci Başı, Serdengeçti Ağası,
Saroz Başı, Sâli Usta, Cebecilerin
Kâhyası

Higher

Akşemseddin and other pashas with him.

After this, precautions were taken to erase the remnants of failures and uphold the morale of the army. First the plan to carry ships over land to the Golden Horn was applied. After long preparations the ships, pulled over slipways sometimes by man or sometimes by machines, were lined over hills behind Kasımpaşa after a few days and were brought down into the Golden Horn. Therefore it seems impossible to move all the ships over that distance and bring them to the Golden Horn in one night. Another point of discussion is where these ships, reported to be around 60-70, were carried through. Some researchers claim the ships were carried from Tophane harbor, following Kumbaracabaşı slope, to Asmalı mescid and carried to Kasımpaşa over Tepebaşı road, while others, calculating that this path was too rugged and Dolmabahçe and Beşiktaş were a bay at that time, claim they were carried over Harbiye way, which was less bumpy, to Kasımpaşa or further into the region across the Eyup region. Besides it is also mentioned that the second path falls behind Zaganos Pasha's forces and therefore Galata Geneva colony and Byzantium were unaware of it, and if the first way were used they would certainly know it. The common issue in both up-to-date and Ottoman resources is that the ships were carried from the Galata side and put to sea from Kasımpaşa or across Eyup. In some newer dated Ottoman archives it is claimed that the fleet was built across Eyup in the Golden Horn or in Okmeydanı conflicts with up-to-date resources like siege eyewitness Durusun Bey. On the other hand Konstantin Mihaylovic, reported to be in the siege, in the wood, 4 Italian miles away from the shore, 30 Ottoman ships were built right after the completion of Rumelihisar and they were pulled over the mountainous land and put to the Golden Horn as their sails were open and lined up following each other forward. If we consider this knowledge together with previous eyewitness claims, it could be said that some ships were started to be built a little in Beşiktaş shore alongside the stream and the rest was carried over land and all together they were put to sea across the Golden Horn walls of Istanbul around today's Golden Horn bridge. It is impossible that the ships were put to sea in Kasımpaşa harbor due to Byzantium and Italian ships there.

Sudden appearance of 60 ships of various sizes in the Golden Horn put to sea in the night of 21st April and 22nd April, both covered the previous failures and increased the morale of the army, and caused great disappointment and surprise in Byzantium. Especially Italian sailors here were in great fear that the two fleets, the fleet in the Golden Horn and the fleet in Marmara, would move together and burn their ships. As a result they tried to burn the fleet in the Golden horn but failed. Besides Zaganos Pasha's cannons on Kasımpaşa and Okmeydanı slopes were opening protective fire upon Italian and

Byzantium ships for Ottoman fleet. Two Byzantium ships were sunk by cannon fire. Nevertheless the fleet in the Golden Horn did not play a crucial role in siege. They took care of protecting the bridge connecting the Ottoman forces on the north slopes of Golden Horn and attacking forces, and they were used as transports crossing to the other side.

On the land wall front, war heightened with a new general attack on walls in Bayrampaşa stream on 6th May. An attack was launched on 12th May between Edirnekapı and Tekfur Palace. Edirnekapı-Egrikapı walls were heavily destroyed with concentrated cannon fire, the attack on this part was fierce but ineffective. On 16th May a large tunnel was dig under the walls into the city but when it was discovered by the Byzantium soldiers, it was destroyed with a counter-tunnel. On 18th May an attack using large moving siege towers were ineffective, the tower was destroyed by fire. But according to Barbaro, a path between the base and the tower was covered with leather and Ottoman soldiers could reach the walls with no losses. The soldiers in filled the trench and raised the soil hill up to walls, which greatly helped to pass over the city walls. In addition the floating bridge was built in a way that it could be pulled to form a way to wall gates if needed.

On the other days cannon fire continued with all force. Also a new firing technique was developed. According to this technique the cannons were firing to form a triangle on the wall and then this part was fired upon to make it collapse. The tactics mentioned were being used this effectively for the first time. On the other hand, the cannon balls falling into city and the sound they produce was causing panic and fear in the city. The tunnels dug one after another was found and collapsed by the defenders. On 23rd May Mehmed II tried another negotiation with Isfendi-yaroğlu İsmail Bey but refused.

Last great preparations for a final assault were made in the following 2 days. Zaganos pasha would attack on the Golden Horn wall, Karaca pasha would take the area from the Golden Horn wall till the center on the right, İshak and Mahmud pashas would take the part from center to Marmara shore and the central forces, including Pađisah, would attack over Bayrampaşa stream and this last attack's target would be the region between Topkapı and Edirnekapı. When these great preparations were heard from the Byzantium side, Giustiniani asked that the cannons under Notaras' command should be moved to where the Ottoman central forces are. But Notaras refused this since he thought the attack would be focusing on the Golden Horn walls, but upon the Emperor's request the cannons were sent to where Giustiniani wanted. Meanwhile the chaos within the city ended and preparations for the final attack started. Emperor decided on the final preparations and defense plan with meetings he prepared, and afterwards he ordered his commanders to their places and had the inner city wall gates closed.



Salma Neferi, Nöbetçi, Haseki Ağa

Policeman, Duty officer, Veteran Ağa

Ottoman army had a festival in the night of 28-29 May and enlightened the area around the walls as daylight time with candles and completed their preparations by suddenly putting off all these lights, which caused fear in the populace of Istanbul.

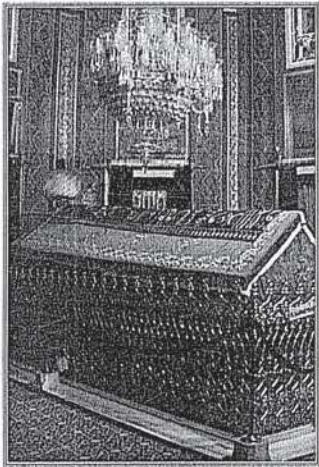
The final attack that ended with the fall of Istanbul started on 29th May towards morning. This attack was started not from a single point but from all directions. While the fleet laid siege on the Marmara walls up to Samatya as they landed their Azaps and attacked walls, a great attack was launched on walls, which were fixed to some extend, alongside Bayrampaşa valley, between Edirnekapi and Topkapı. An hour before the sunrise, the great cannon started to fire on the half-repaired walls and totally destroyed some parts of it and eased the attack. 300 Turkish soldiers succeeded to enter the second wall but they were repelled since the support could not reach here on time. But right afterwards a greater force passed through the second wall. During this fierce fight Giustiniani got wounded and he was immediately carried to his ship. A rumor, that the city had fallen and soldiers entered the city, spread among people and soldiers. People were in panic and began to run to the Golden Horn to get on to a ship. The forces attacking Topkapı gap and forces attacking the gap between Edirnekapi and Canbazhanekapısı (Kerkoporta) joined after fighting for some time among the walls and circled the defenders in Edirnekapi, and entered the city after they scattered the defenders in three points at the same time.

Emperor Konstantin personally came to replace Giustiniani and joined the fight here and lost his life with the wounds he received. In Francis' chronic, which tells the siege and enlarged in XVIth century, speaks of a janissary named Hasan climbing bravely through this fallen wall and made Byzantium soldiers run, he had 30 more janissaries to climb the wall, and more had followed them but Hasan fell to death after a stone and many arrows hit him, but following attackers had reached further and the Emperor and his soldiers died fighting them and Turks entered through the Agios Romanos (Topkapı) gate. In the same way Barbaro says that Turks entered the city through San Romano Gate as the sun was rising, that the Turkish fleet, under Zaganos pasha's command, approached the chain an hour before the sunrise and landed soldiers in Fener and after the Turkish flags were put up in the city these soldiers had quickly entered the city. In addition, they could not have any information whether the Emperor was killed or not while some people said he was strangled to death as Turks entered through San Romano gate. Kritovulos also mentions similar things.

Dukas, who was not there during the siege, claims that a group of 50 soldiers entered the city through a gate forgotten open and made the defending Byzantium soldiers run and the Emperor was left with a few men and fell with wounds he received

while Turkish group suffered only 3 losses. According to him the losses of the defenders is around 2000. Author Zorzi Dolfin of Venice claims that, based on Leonardo of Sakız, who was in the city during the siege, and his studies on other books, the great cannon moved before Topkapı destroyed the tower there and the debris filled the trench over which the Turkish soldiers entered the city. The Emperor was run over and killed in the chaos and 800 Rum and Latin was killed on each other. In a Romanian source there is legendary claim that the first to climb the walls were 5 scary looking Turks, and besides a very brave and well-built soldier, Mustafa Bey, entered the city with his Anatolian soldiers and had fought with the Emperor. The claim that Emperor was backing off towards Yaldızlıkapi and the Turks he met had killed him is in harmony with Kemalpaşazade's information that the Emperor backed off towards Yedikule as the Turks entered the city through Topkapı gap. While Tursun Bey, who eye witnessed the siege, mentions that a group of Azaps, mixed into janissaries, moved away from them after entering the city and moved towards a deserted region and the Emperor was secretly trying to reach his ship and these two met, and the emperor rode his horse over an azap but it tripped off and Emperor fell under the horse and the azap killed him knowing who he is, Kemalpaşazade writes that first army went into the city through the gap in Topkapı, and the Emperor was killed by an Azap, while he tried to run towards Yedikule, but he also mentions there are many rumors about this issue. In addition to these he also claims after Giustiniani was wounded the soldiers entered through here fought among the walls, and Anatolian soldiers entered around Silivrikapi, Rumelian soldiers entered around Edirnekapi, and navy soldiers also entered through bridges. And among Ottoman sources, which does not mentioned who entered the city first, only Bihişti claims it was his father Süleyman Bey, one of Rumelian Beys.

Even though S. Tansel, criticizing the present sources, stresses that the first entrance to the city should be through the Golden Horn wall, where the walls were weaker, and the Emperor moved towards the Golden Horn and met the Azaps on Zeyrek slope and lost his life in the fight here, and shows Kemalpaşazade as a reference, Both Tursun Bey's and Kemalpaşazade's statements on this issue does not match the claims. S. Runciman, who wrote a work on the siege using various resources, states that wounded Giustiniani left his position, despite the begging of the Emperor, and Emperor ran to Kerkoporta as he heard the Turks entered, but it was too late to close the gate forgotten open, and many Turks rushed in and defeated Bocchiardi's forces defending here, and he helplessly withdrew towards trenches in Bayrampaşa valley, and he had a fight with the janissaries at the small gate that Giustiniani passed with his cousin Theophilos Palaeologos and close friend Ioannes Dalmata, and he was among the



Fatih'in Türbesi

Mehmed II's tomb

fighters and never heard of again. The rumor "gate forgotten open" is questionable. A mythos has been created around this rumor, which took various shapes, in the romantic stories about the loss of Istanbul.

The conquest of the city by sword meant that it was open to looting and soldiers had three days for this according to the Islamic customs. Ottoman soldiers, flowing into the city from almost all directions, met in Aksaray as they took many slaves. Meanwhile some of the local people and Italians reached the ships in the Golden Horn and succeeded to set sail to Marmara Sea. Venice ships, a few Geneva war ship used the landing operation of Ottoman fleet to their advantage and fled by taking off the chain. Ottoman fleet then entered the harbor and took control of it only about noon.

Even though the Ottoman forces began to loot the city and some buildings were destroyed, everything calmed down towards evening. The army was taken under control as, now he earned the title "conqueror", Mehmed II entered the city. The number of dead in the city was around 4000. Mehmed II went to Hagia Sofia and promised the safety of people and religious men who gathered here and declared the place a mosque. Then he went to the palace of the Emperor. Meanwhile sergeants spread into the city and gathered the army soldiers. In addition to the destruction of buildings the looting was also stopped. Mehmed II returned to his base after the calmness in city was achieved. On the following day he gave patronage to important families, commanders, and high-level government officers and set them free by paying their ransom. He accepted Notaras and praised him, asked about Emperor, and sought for his corpse. Meanwhile Ottoman prince Orhan, who was killed in the fight, was identified. Venice received

a harsher treatment compared to Byzantium. This was because the two were still at war. Balyos Minotto, who was leader of the Venice colony and took active part in the war, one of his sons, and seven forthcoming Venice people were executed. Pere Julia commanding the Catalans together with 5-6 people shared the same destiny. Following them Lukas Notaras was also executed after some suggestions. Wounded Giustiniani also dies because of his wounds as he reached Sakız Island. Mehmed II entered the city on Friday and performed his first Friday prayer in Hagia Sofia. The order was established and it was time to build the city into a capital worthy of the State.

According to Runciman, Mehmed II did whatever he could to prevent the destruction of the city. The trade center on the Golden Horn shore, Empire Palace and surrounding in Blachernae, the church, houses and palaces near the Hippodrome, and Acropolis were greatly damaged but many churches were untouched. Since the districts of the city were divided by large fields and parks, local people ran to their house and surrendered to soldiers and the Padişah and saved their houses and churches and guards against any rape were sent. Runciman mentions that the church in Petron (Fener) district was untouched because they opened their doors on their own will and in Samatya on the Marmara shore, Imrahor and Narlıkapı regions also did the same. Also he reasons that the second biggest prayer place in the city, Havariyyun, being left untouched was due to Mehmed II's special order. This situation must be more due to that Mehmed II wished to make Istanbul his capital and to win the people of the city and policy to hold the local people in place in order to build a social and economical life worthy of a capital, than the agreement rules or opening the gates.

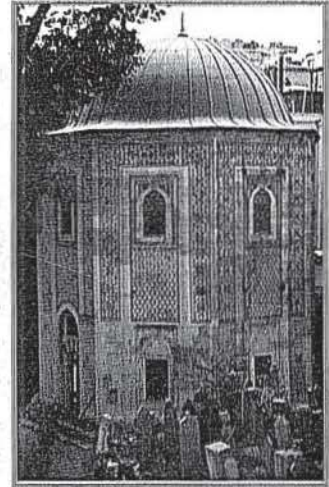
Results Of The Conquest Of Istanbul In The Slavic World

Conquest of Istanbul caused Holy Roman Empire to set forth new reasons for being the successor of the Rome, to which they had set forth for a long time. The term Byzantium that appeared in this period, was not used by the public of East Rome, but it was used in the west to insult.

Orthodox Church protected its independence under the control of state, and away from the domination of Western Catholic Church in Fatih period and in the later periods. On the other hand, Russia considered church as the basic element of "being Slav". In XVII th century, Patriarch Nikon corrected the Russian church liturgy and religious texts according to the norms of Istanbul and even the hierarchical reforms were the proof of such claims. Petro the Great made the church more dependent to the authority of

the empire than in the case in Byzantium. In such sense, Ottoman Empire played the historical role of Rome, and let the church be an administrative-cultural body with its distinct characteristics.

After the conquest of Istanbul, popular histories in Europe mentions the name of the city as Istanbul. This name is the version of Stinboli, and it is one of the many names of the city. The name Istanbul was used in some imperial edicts and even on some gravestones (it was used as Islambol by a scholar) in 18th century and before. On the other hand, the name Constantiniyye was used in imperial edicts, on coins, and even in bibliographies. Slavs called the city as Zarigrad (city of emperor) even today. Muslims called it as Dârü'l hilâfetü'l alıyye (Sublime house of caliphate). The city continued its attribute and claim to be the center of the Rome Empire even after the collapse of East Rome.



Mahmud Paşa Türbesi,
Istanbul

Mahmud Pasha's tomb,
Istanbul

Byzantium is a term which was used first by the German humanist Hieronymus Wolf in the 16th century. The public called themselves as Romanioi and the country as Romania (country of Romans). Turks also continued this tradition and called it as İklîm-i Rum (Country of Roum), and used expressions like Rumî. This word is not the equivalent of the term Hellen, but the equivalent of Rome, which is a cosmopolitan union. Turks are the main element of the third Rome; and the literary language of the army is Turkish.

The idea of Ottomanship was creating a national identity for the different religious and ethnical groups of the empire, and to state more properly for the elite of those groups especially in 19th century. Muzurus (Kostakil) Pasha, Bey of Fener Roum, was the London ambassador. He felt the Ottomanship so powerful that he drew the rage of the Greek nationalists while he was the ambassador of Athens, and he was injured in an attempt to assassinate him, and his left arm disabled.

The Muslim ruler is Vasilikos for the Christians of the conquered country. Turks have continued to use the expressions Roman, and Roum for the Hellenes till today. Peloponnes people was called Greek (İon), the people of Asia Minor was called Roum. In the same way, Roman Orthodox church is called Greek Orthodox church, and this is a misnomer.

Fatih Sultan Mehmed was regarding himself as the ruler of the whole Roman lands and the owner of the Roum throne. According to Babinger, he granted the title of Patriarch with the name Ghennadios to Georgios Sholarios in January 6th, 1454, who was liked much by the public, and who was the famous enemy of Roman Catholics. The new Patriarch got the honor to have meal with the ruler. The ruler gave Ghennadios the scepter of Patriarch and respected him much. With a decree, all the subjects of Roum Orthodox belief; that's to say, Bulgarian, Serbian, some of the Albanians, Macedonians, and some of the Arabs after 16th century were bound to him, and the Patriarch was the greatest authority for them in religious, administrative and financial issues.

In the meantime, Pope Pius II wrote a letter to Mehmed II, and invited him to Christianity. In his letter he says, "For this you need only a little water (aquae paucillum). You will be the greatest ruler ever and arbiter mundi". It was now understood that this letter, which was found by Babinger and was emphasized insistently by him, was never sent, and it stayed as a draft in the archives of Vatican.

Life in palace and the culture of the era was re-ordered by this new Muslim Roman Caesar. Sultans had sometimes used the title Caliphate even before the conquest of Egypt. However, the most important of all, Mehmed II used the title Roman Caesar (Kayser-i Rûm), which was not used by his successors.

Patriarch Ghennadios wrote a Turkish book on Christianity titled as İtikadname, (Book of Belief). Fatih met very frequently with all the religious figu-

res as well as Muslim scholars. Venetian envoy writes that he speaks Latin and Greek. Roman history was studied and argued in the palace. Giacomo de Languschi says, "There should be one state and one religion in the world." Is this the Islam?

Poet Trapezuntus of the period salutes him as the "Emperor of the Romans". This title and culture of Rome Emperor was abandoned entirely in the period of Selim I (1512-1520). Conquest of Arabia and Egypt, and the title "servant of Mecca and Medinah" borne by Sultan Selim, strengthened the Islamic ideology of the Turkish empire. The Rome idea was of minor importance from then on.

After Rome (Byzantium) collapsed, and especially in the 16th century, Moscow showed Byzantium as target to Russia. Rurik dynasty was the relative of Roums. Religion and law (zakon) was coming from there. Ivan Groznyi was announcing Moscow as the 3rd Rome. Is it possible for Moscow to be the 3rd Moscow. Undoubtedly, no.

What is Roman Empire? First Rome was pagan, the second one Christian, can it be the third on Muslim? An empire can be defined and established not only with religion; but with law, institutions and the life of the people and their culture. Until the 15th century, the role of an empire was not played but lived. Later on, especially in the Renaissance Europe, empire became a title and a theatre. In the 18th century world, Rome was just a memory; because cosmopolitan world has ended, and empires became nationalized. Rise of nationalism means the collapse of the empire culture.

In Ottoman Empire, some of the Fener Roum Beys and Turks in the 19th century were pursuing and Ottomanship ideology. We have mentioned above that Ambassador Kostaki Muzurus Pasha among them was attempted to assassinate, and injured and became disabled. Certain Fener Beys were pursuing a Byzantium-Ottoman synthesis, and they wanted to continue this union in the personality of Sultan, in other words, Vasilleos.

What is the third Rome, how it begins, how is it interpreted in terms of history science? It is time to discuss this issue, because Rome cannot survive with nationalism; and Rome dies where nationalism was born. In the Europe of the new era nationalism was born; the only antithesis of the nationalism and the national states could be a cosmopolitan empire, which does not emphasize ethnicité, which accepts the superiority of Islam, but on the other hand which gives the right to life and representation to the other religions, that's to say, Ottoman Empire. Neither state nor the people were using ethnical names. Turks, Kurds, Albanians called themselves as Muslim and Ottoman, (only the Arabs were using their tribal names). State is Ottoman, especially the Turks, "base intrigue" of the empire, were not using their ethnical names. However, Christian subjects contacted with Europe and nationalism, and the first nationalistic conflicts were seen among them. Ottoman Empire is



Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine Odası

Topkapı Palace, treasure chamber

the last Rome which collapsed as a result of modern world and nationalism. Such kind of empire cannot be established from now on. In this sense, the Third Rome theory of Moscow State of 15th – 16th centuries cannot be realistic. We should discuss the slogan, Moscow is the Third Rome, and there will not be any Fourth, which was defended by Moscow from the end of 15th century and which was declared officially by Ivan IV (Grozni). This view, which claims that Istanbul lost its historical superiority and mission since it was captured by Muslims, was not assumed to be right by neither the Christian nor the Slavic world, it was dominant only in Velico Russian culture.

Ivan III was a widower, and he married Sofya Paleologina the niece of the last Byzantium Emperor Constantin XI, who was living in Rome. The bride was bringing the Byzantium two-headed eagle coat of arms with her. Thus, Russia became an autocephal patriarch other than Constantinople. Undoubtedly Ottoman State was a world state; but, since it has not grandchildren with universal opinions and curiosity, our historical investigations are away from fine curiosity and activity.

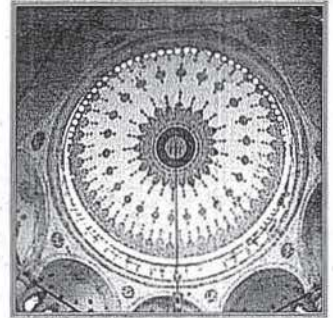
Remnant traditions of Golden Hordes of old Moscow was mixing with the claims being the inheritor of the Byzantium. Pope of Rome thought that he could get the support of Moscow with the help of Sofya Paleologina, he was mistaken. For this aim, he would use the Orthodox and Byzantium heritage.

Likewise, the letter written by the famous Filoteus to the Tsar Vasily III expresses this view; "Moscow is the third Rome, and there will not be any fourth". However, conquest of Istanbul caused a great shock, and it is possible to see the effects not only in the west but also in the east. It was vouchsafed, to Ottomans to complete the mission. Moscow began its activity to be a Rome in the north. Kazan, Ejderhan, and Siberia Khanates was captured by Russia between 1555-1582. On the other hand, southern Slavic world went under the sovereignty of Ottomans between 14th-15th centuries. Eflaq, Bogdan, Trabzon and some parts of Georgia was under the dominion of Ottomans. Third Rome thesis of Moscow would be sup-

ported by certain souther Slavic intellectuals such as Juri Krijanic in the 17th century. However, Slavic world did not recognize Moscow as Third Rome unanimously. This trend of the 18th-19th centuries turned into a historical memory which was forgotten very rapidly after the independence of the Balkan Slavs. Tsars of Moscow was using a title as "monarch of the world, tsar of all the Russians" which smells like universality, but this produced tradition would not be welcomed. Since 1480, a Russia in which second advent of Messiah would be seen was conceptualized. Tolerance to the religions only began to be seen after Katerina II, and of course, Jews was out of this. Even in 1640, Crimean Khans were not using the title *âlempenah* (monarch of the world), but they were using "sultan of all the Russians, or monarch of Great, Small and Belorussia", that's to say, sultan of Great Russia-Ukraine, Belorussia.

In 1522, Maksim Grek, the famous politician and the man of science of the period says, "Since Constantinople was captured by the unbeliever Turks, patriarch cannot decide freely. The mission is of Russia." Severe applications of Ivan III during the conquest of Novgorod, such as abolishing the independent Boyar *veçehesi*, and eradicating the autonomous religious authority of the city Vladika, were not in force after the unity with Ukraine in 1653, and even the Church of Ukraine was attached to Moscow as autonomous Small Russia Metropolitics 50 years later. Therefore, Third Rome ideals of Moscow was only a theory. Third Rome theory of Moscow seems that cannot be taken as seriously after the last Orthodox community church in Estonia separated from Moscow, but if the power of Russian church goes in parallel with the political authority, it is an old theory which may survive.

The last empire of the Muslim world, and the last makar of caliphate continued the inheritance of Rome in the new conditions with its several institutions. This universality, in which Turk-Islam synthesis constituted the center, can be understood better when the internal dynamics and expressions of the ethnic groups in the Ottoman Empire were studied.



Eyüp Sultan Camii kubbesi

Canopy of Eyüp Sultan Mosque

Turkish Istanbul As A Capital City

The comments on the development of Istanbul as a eastern city that it appears like circles around a single nucleus with the establishment of quarters, does not hold true for the whole city. Istanbul does not develop around a single nucleus like the other eastern cities, but each quarter develops around a foundation. Development of the city in the Ottoman period is directly related with the unique characteristics of the areas and their geographical features as in the Byzantium period. There are two attributes of the Ottoman city, like Bursa and Edirne; a grand mosque and a central bazaar. These attributes are seen in Hagia Sophia and Be-

destan in Istanbul; Fatih Complex, Sultan Bazaar and Sarachane (ateliers and shops for leather products) is added to them later on. Apart from these, public and the other state officials established small building groups in a hierarchical order around a masjid and its school which constitutes the center of a new quarter.

Although the building complexes created semi-independent groups in Istanbul, the city protected its organical integrity around harbor part of Golden Horn and a main street called Divanyolu on which army and the caravanserais passed. Although such building groups were planned beforehand, streets de-

veloped like crooked passages and cul-de-sacs except a few main streets.

Before the construction of Fatih building complex and Sultan Bazaar, two trade centers of Istanbul was Bedestan and Grand Bazaar; and Tahtakale and harbor area. It was decided to build a bedestan in Cakır Agha (Istanbul subaşı) quarter just after the conquest. (1456) Bedestan in which import goods were sold, and which was the center of financial transactions was also the hacc shop and the center of the economical life of the city. The Grand Bedestan of Istanbul (Bezzazistan, Jewelry Bedestan or Internal Bedestan), was built as strong as a castle with its 15 domes in order to protect the goods of merchants, wealth of the rich from burglary, plundering, and fire. The main road going to Zindankapı in the Byzantium period, Markos Embolos Maurianon, in other words, was called as Long Bazaar in the Ottoman period and it was the most active commercial area of the city.

The shops for merchants and artisans in chess order on the parallel streets were built on four main streets (sâhrâh) from the four doors of the Bedestan as in the other Ottoman cities established before the conquest of Istanbul. The shops of Muslims, Armenians, Jews and Roums were not in different streets, but they were mixed; on the other hand not only the artisans but most of the jewelers and bankers (moneylenders) were Muslim. This bazaar was extended in time, and it reached 1000 shops, it was closed with a roof and it turned into the Covered Bazaar with its 12 grand and 20 small gates. Since the rules of the Bedestan was in force in this process, it is accepted as the extension of the Bedestan.

The second grand bazaar in this area is known as Mahmud Pasha shops, and it was built nearby Mahmud Pasha public kitchen, and it contains 265 shops. It was given back again to Mahmud Pasha Foundation in Beyazid II period. Mehmed II constructed four large commercial buildings (caravansary); two in Tahtakale and two nearby Bedestan. These two caravansaries are; Slave Market Caravansary which is known as Kervansary-i Usera, and Cuhacı Caravansary (broadcloth weaver).

One of the first construction sites of Mehmed II was Tahtakale, which was established in the harbour area and controlled by Venetians before the conquest. After the conquest, Venetians were granted some commercial privileges and permission to build church in this area with the agreements.

The wharf at the Perama (Fish Market) gate was used as the main wharf in passing to Galata. However, in transit passings other wharves such as Yemis, Liman, and Balat were also used. All the old plans of Istanbul shows that boat traffic in this area was so dense. The ridges between the dock are and Bedestan was filled with commercial buildings. Mehmed II built two caravansaries, a custom building (kapan), a dried fruit building, a salt depot, a wax house, three boza house, seven stores, and 422 shops which were

the property of Hagia Sophia Foundation. Synagogue and Murat Pasha Caravansary was also in this area. Dried Fruit Building (Honey Building later on) Caravansary with its 11 depots downstairs and 16 rooms upstairs was on the east of this area. The main kapan of Istanbul (wax, salt, soap) and the customs were established in this area. Wood and lumber were brought to the Wood Market in Bahçe Kapı. This unloading site was used even in 19th century. City prison was at Vasiliko Gate (Dungeon Gate); it was called as Baba Cafer Dungeon later on.

According to the records of 898 (1493), there were 2350 shops, 4 caravansaries, 2 public baths, 21 boza houses, 22 başhane, 987 mukatalı houses in Istanbul and Galata, and annual revenue from them reaches to 718.421 silver coins. Local bazaars were established in the other districts of the city; those are, Hagia Sophia (39 shops); new shops in Kemer (17 shops); Dikilitas/Cemberlitas on the Divanyolu (Divan street) (77 shops and copper coin mint nearby); Hoca Piri Mesjid (26 shops) and 24 dyer shops and Chicken Market which was a Mahmud Pasha Foundation. The first janissary huts, Old Rooms, was on Shehzadebasi Street of today, and there was a bazaar with ten shops close to it. On the west of Old Rooms, there were 35 shops in the bazaar in 'Ustad Ayas quarter; 19 shops in the Kadıasker Dolabi Bazaar; and there was Karaman Bazaar nearby Holy Apostles Church.

The other important commercial zone was outside the city walls and between Unkapanı and Cibali of today. Mehmed II built Unkapanı and the bazaar with 31 shops. The first slaughterhouse and tannery (Quarter of Tanners) were established on the Golden Horn side.

The year 863/1459 was an important year for the development of the city; because, according to Kritovoulos, Mehmed II summoned his notables and wanted them to choose a district in the city which would be called with their names, and to build a mosque, a caravansary, a public bath and a market place there. He, himself chose Sarayburnu for the New Palace and the most beautiful place of the city for a mosque which would surpass Hagia Sophia. He could only begin the construction of the mosque in 867 (1462-3), in the neighborhood of Holy Apostles Church, where the Muslim population is more dense. This construction contributes to the extension of the city towards the city wall in the northwest and towards Golden Horn in the northeast. Mosque and its building complex was completed on January 1471.

Sultan Bazaar, established between the mosque and the Sarachane contained the section which was called Hızır Bey Celebi Rooms with 280 shops (records of the year 898/1493), 32 ateliers, 4 warehouses; Sarachane was composed of 110 shops surrounded by walls; outside the western and southern walls, there was 35 shops and 19 rooms which was called Beglik Dukkan (shops) and rooms. According to the records of 898 (1493) 142 saddle makers, all



Isa Bey Camii

Isa Bey Mosque

of them was Muslim and some of them were janissary, were working there. In the north, horse market, stables and the auxiliary industries such as *üzenci* and *surriers* were gathered. New huts were built for the janissaries at *Et Meydanı* (Meat Square) towards *Aksaray*, instead of Old Rooms which were built in 864/1460. These were renewed several times because of the fires and they were used until 1826 when the organization was abolished.

According to a record showing the financial status of *Fatih Building complex*, the annual revenue in 894 (1489) and 895 (1490) was around 1,5 million silver coins and this was more than the revenue of *Hagia Sophia*. 869.280 coins were allocated to the salaries, 461.417 coins to the food of the public kitchen, 72.000 coins to the hospital expenses, 18.522 coins to the repairment. Those who are working in the complex were; 102 persons were working in the mosque; 168 persons in the *madrassah*, 45 in the public kitchen, and 30 were in charge in the hospital. In addition to them, there were 21 employee collecting the incomes, and 17 workers for the repairing. 202.291 coins were paid annually to the poor scholars and their children, and the handicapped soldiers, apart from the salaries of 383 personnel. 3300 loaves of bread and two kinds of meal for at least 1117 people were given in the public kitchen. It was also a center of religious and pedagogical education.

On the other hand, *Pashas* built their own building complexes in the various districts of the city in order to encourage settlement and prosperity; thus thirteen subdistricts were established within seventy years after the conquest, and Turkish Istanbul acquired its shape. Mosques and *masjids* were financed by the foundations.

Mahmud Pasha who was the founder of one of the biggest foundations, chose a quite suitable location for his building complex, which was on the road connecting *Bedestan* and *Tahtakale* and the *Bahçe Kapısı* wharf, and it was recorded as *Mahmut Pasha* subdistrict. The buildings supporting this complex was on a very busy street heading towards harbour. Total income of the foundations of this complex was reaching to 606.513 coins. This area on which the complex was constructed remained as the most important commercial zone till 19th century. *Mahmud Pasha* also built two *masjids* around which two quarters established.

Murad Pasha subdistrict was constituted by 23 quarters established around the mosque built by *Has Murad Pasha* died in 878/1473. The complex was made up of those units: mosque in *Aksaray* (inscription dated 876/1471) and a *boza* house in *Aksaray*, a *başhane* and a public bath, a *caravansary* in *Tahtakale*, a *başhane* and a *madrassah* and a public kitchen supported by 9 shops in *Yenibahçe*. This subdistrict including today's *Aksaray*, *Laleli*, *Cerrahpaşa*, *Langa* and *Yenikapı* had small population formerly; but eleven quarters were established here in *Beyazid II* period.

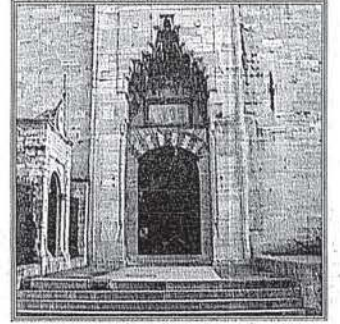
Abu'l Vefa subdistrict was between *Old Palace* and *Unkapani*, and goes towards *Golden Horn*, and had a crowded population ever since. *Mehmed II* built a mosque and a lodge for *Sheikh Abu'l-Vefa*. This subdistrict, which had *masjids* built by *Molla Husrev*, *Hızır Bey*, first *khadi* of *Istanbul*, *Molla Gurani* and etc., and by the scholars of the period and the tradesmen, was as settlement area. In *Beyazid II* period, six new subdistricts were established since the economical conditions of the city had improved. Settlement areas extended from *Fatih* and *Aksaray* towards the city walls, as a result of this, several *Byzantium* churches and monasteries were turned to mosques.

Sofia Harbour of the *Byzantine* period was used as a marine base after the conquest, and *Mehmed II* established a shipyard there between 1459-61. According to a document dated 860 (1455), in the area between *Yenikapı* and *Kumkapı*, and which was known as *Azebler Quarter*, *azeb* were settled. The harbour was filled with silt probably in 18th century, and it turned into *Cundi Square* and *Kadırga Bostanı*. The most important building in this subdistrict in *Fatih* period was the mint, which was in *Sekbanbaşı Yakup* quarter, and which was established for minting silver and gold coins, and which was called as *Sırmakes/Simkes Caravansary* later on, and the small bazaar with 8 shops constructed nearby.

Hadım Atik Pasha who became grand vizier two times and who was killed in 917/1511, constructed a mosque, a *madrassah*, a school, a public kitchen, and a *hankah* with its *caravansary* and shops in the *Forum Constantinii* part of *Divanyolu*. He also built a mosque (*Zincirlikuyu Mosque*) nearby *Edirnekapi*, and he turned *Hora Monastery Church* into a mosque (*Church Mosque/Kariye Mosque*). This subdistrict was constituted by scarcely populated 22 quarters. Annual revenue of the foundations allocated for this area reached to 471.998 coins (more than 8.000 duka gold). Most of the quarters in this subdistrict were established in *Beyazid II* period in *Balat-Edirnekapi-Bayrampasa Stream* area.

Ibrahim Pasha subdistrict was established around a mosque in *Uzuncarsı*, a *madrassah*, and a school which was built by *Candarlı Ibrahim Pasha* who was grand vizier in 1489. Although the foundation allocated to this subdistrict was comparatively poor (135.880 coin annual revenue), the subdistrict included the crowded commercial zone between *Grand Bazaar* and harbour, and moreover, some of the quarters were established by the rich merchants of *Mehmed II* period.

Davud Pasha subdistrict was established around the center of group of buildings constructed by grand vizier *Koca Davud Pasha* (1482-1497). *Davud Pasha* built a mosque, a public kitchen, a *madrassah*, a school and a fountain, and 108 shops and 11 rooms around the mosque (inscription dated 890/1785) in the vicinity of *Forum Arcadii*. There was a foundation which has annual revenue of



Fatih Camii girişi

The Entrance of Fatih Mosque

378.866 silver coins (around 7.500 duka). Eight new quarters were established here in the Beyazid II period.

It is obvious that the muslim population extended towards Silivrikapı towards the end of rule of Beyazid II. Likewise, grand vizier Mustafa Pasha turned St. Andrew church in Krisi into a mosque and Koca Mustafa Pasha subdistrict was established. The building complex was constituted by a public kitchen, a madrassah, a hankah, a school and the houses built for the imam and other employees according to the foundation. Annual revenue of this complex was more than half million silver coins. More than 17 quarters were established here in Beyazid II period.

Four subdistricts in the city walls; (Mustafa Pasha, Davud Pasha, Ali Pasha, and Topkapı) were scarcely populated, their number of foundations was a few and many masjids were supported by the treasury of the Sultan. Most of the quarters established during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent (four in Topkapı and three in Ali Pasha) were in this area. Mihrimah Sultan Building Complex dated 973/1565, encouraged settlement in Edirnekapı and its surrounding. Construction of a mosque in Topkapı by Kara Ahmed Pasha, and Hadım Ibrahim Pasha in Silivrikapı was the sign of the settlement at the entrance of the city.

90 % of the quarters were named after the person who built the mosque of the quarter: Certain figures (Subaşı Cakır Ağa, Kadıasker Molla Hüsrev) and some merchants (Elvanzade Hoca Sinan, Hacı Ibrahim from Skopje, Hoca Uveys, Hoca Halil) constructed more than one masjids after the conquest. According to the record of foundation dated 953/1456, 65 % of the people constructing mosque was military notables. Out of 219 place of worship; 46 was built by scholars and sheiks, 32 by merchants and jewelers, 28 by tradesmen, 18 by palāce aghas, 16 by the beys, 14 by the pashas, 12 by gate soldiers, 8 by the bureaucrats, 6 by the architects; and 39 by the others.

In XVI th century the population in the city walls increased rapidly, and therefore the settlement density in the quarters increased, masjids turned into mosques, new masjids were built, new building complexes established, and new quarters were established along Bayrampasa Stream towards city walls which were vacant previously. In the meantime, settlement area around Galata was extended towards Golden Horn and Tophane ridges, and Fındıklı, Cihangir and Kasimpasa districts appeared. Population increased. Grand viziers and state officials of the period established new mosques and building complexes. The most beautiful works of Ottoman architecture appeared in this period which began with Sinan the Architect.

Suleyman the Magnificent established a complex including a mosque, a madrassah, a hospital, a public kitchen, and a school in Avret Pazarı in Aksaray which became an important market place in this pe-

riod in 946/1539 on the name of his wife Hurrem, and in order to support this complex he established a foundation having a caravansary, a public bath, a wood store, bir slaughterhouse and the other shops which had half a million silver coins annual revenue. In addition in memory of his son Shehzade Mehmed, he established a complex with a mosque, madrassah, public kitchen, school, tomb, and caravansary on Divanyolu between Vefa and Sarachane (951-955/1544-1548), and for his other son Cihangir he built a mosque and school in Fındıklı which gave the name of him to the quarter. He also handed the area in the centre of the city, on a hill overlooking the harbour, and which was destroyed due to the fire to Sinan the architecture to build the most magnificent complex of the capital city. Suleymaniye Building Complex, which began to be built in July 1550, and was completed in October 1557, includes more than 18 units. The documents about the expenses of these constructions, is very important for the order followed such kind of great works. Materials and the artisans were gathered from several places of the empire, and the workers were kept under strict disciplinary conditions. 29 % of the artisans who were paid during the construction of the complex for five years and seven months were coming from Istanbul; 14 % from Rumelia and Islands and 13 % from Anatolia (there is no explanation for the other 44 %). 51 % of the 3523 workers working in the construction was Christian, and 49 % were Muslim. Masons, blacksmiths, and the plumbers were usually Christian, and carpenters, painters, glassmakers and artisans for lead-works was mostly Muslim. 55 % of the workers were free men, 40 % were Christian conscript boys, and 5 % were convicts for hard labor. All the foundations of Suleymaniye was gathered under a single foundation.

It is understood that Yenibağçe quarter is favoured by the statemen that the foundation of Sultan Selim with a mosque and madrassah, mosque built by Kadıasker Abdurrahman Celebi, mosque of Hurrem Cavus, mosque and madrassah of Kapudan Sinan Pasha, mosque of Sinan the Architecture, mosque of Janissary Clerk, mosque of Grand Vizier Lutfi Pasha, and palace, fountain, public bath and tomb of his wife Shah Huban is there. Palace of Mahmud Agha was also there.

Silivrikapı quarter began to develop with the foundation comprised of the Hadım Ibrahim Pasha mosque (958/1551), a madrassah, a school, 3 public baths, 4 grand residence, and 7 houses. The mosque and the public bath which were made build to Sinan the Architect by Hacı Evhâdi, were around Yedikule ramparts.

New foundations were established along the city walls of Marmara and Golden Horn. Mahmud Agha Mosque in Ahırkapı; the mosque made build by Ibrahim Pasha for his wife in Kumkapı; Bezirganazade and Sheikh Ferhad Mosques in Langa; Sokollu Mehmed Pasha/Esma Hatun Mosque in Kadırga, and its



Kapalı Çarşı girişi

The Entrance of

madrassah and lounge; Suleyman Subaşı and Tufek-hane Mosques in Unkapanı were the works of Sinan the Architect.

Actually, the construction period from 1540 to 1588 can be called as Sinan period. Sinan the architect with his team built 43 mosques, 52 masjids, 49 madrassahs, 7 darulkurra, 40 public baths, 28 palaces and kiosks, 3 public kitchens, 3 hospitals, 6 caravansaries for the sultan and the other notables in Istanbul. There are also many other works outside the city walls of Istanbul which are attributed to Sinan the Architect.

The area outside Yedikule where slaughterhouse and tanneries were located, developed gradually; there were 27 tanneries, 32 butchers and 5 kırıççı in the quarter previously, and in the next century, it was a developing subdivision of the province with a mosque, 7 masjids, 300 tanneries, 50 glue shops, and 70 kırıççı according to Evliya Celebi. These tanners were purchasing the viscera of all the animals slaughtered in Istanbul.

Settlement areas extended towards Eyup outside the city walls in the second half of 16th century and in the first half of 17th century. In the same period, quarters were established around the mosques and lounges built outside the main gates.

The latest examples of mosques and complexes in classical Ottoman architecture tradition were the Ahmed I mosque in Hippodrome, and Valide (New Mosque) in Eminonu. The first one was built between 1609 – 1617 by spending 1,5 million golds, and it includes a mosque, a madrassah, a hospital, a public kitchen, a daruzziyafe, a guest house, a school, a kiosk water dispenser, and a bazaar in the arasta (for the same artisans) style. A foundation was established for the mosque with the tributes paid by the Galata residents. The construction of New Mosque were begun by Safiye Sultan in 1006 (1597), but it remained uncompleted for a long time, and it was completed by Turhan Sultan as comprising a mosque, a darulkurra, a school, fountains, tomb of Turhan Sultan, and a bazaar (Mısır Bazaar), and shops in 1071-1074 (1660-1663).

Nuruosmaniye Building Complex (1748-1756) nearby Grand Bazaar with a mosque, a madrassah, a library, a kiosk for water dispensing; and Lâleli Building Complex (1760-1764) with a mosque, a madrassah, and a fountain in 18th century were built in European baroque style, and they were not included in classical Ottoman tradition.

It is remarkable that in the building complexes libraries and kiosks for water dispensing was available in this period instead of hospitals and public kitchens which require great sum of annual expenditure. This trend is more apparent in the foundations of the grand viziers. The other characteristic of this period was that new building complexes in old models were built in the scarcely populated areas of the city, or in the new settlement areas such as Uskudar or in the Bosphorus. Most important of them were

Kosem Valide Sultan Complex in Uskudar, Abdülhamid I Mosque in Beylerbeyi, and Mihrisah Sultan Complex in Eyup.

Istanbul developed in the city walls until 17th century. This 17,2 square kilometer area was not improved even in the peak point of Byzantium. There were many great pieces of land which were not settled in 1543. In this century, although there were building complexes and the palaces built by the notables in Lycus Valley and around the gates, those areas of the city were filled with parks, and market places, but they were scarcely populated. Other than these; there were many vacant lands such as Agha Meadow between Silivrikapı and Yedikule; Bostanyeri in the southern edge of the city, around Yedikule and between Samatya and Davud Pasha in the Marmara coastline; Langa vegetable garden, Kadırga vegetable garden, and Cundi Square. In Altı Mermer, Edirne Kapısı and Sultan Selim nearby the city walls, there were huge Byzantium open cisterns (they were all called as Cukur Bostanı). Even in the heavily populated areas such as the courtyards and gardens of Old Palace and New Palace, and the courtyards of the grand mosques (0,67 square kilometer) were not inhabited.

Open lands were not totally out of use. Courtyards of the mosques with their beautiful views and shadows of the trees were recreational sites. These courtyards were sometimes used as market place. Houses and shops began to invade Byzantium city squares in time, and some of them even disappeared. On the other hand, although Hippodrome (Horse Square) was small, it protected its feature to be the most important square of Istanbul for a long time; and it was used as a market place, and for horse shows though it was a recreational site.

At the end of the reign of Sultan Mehmed II, there were 182 quarters in Istanbul. This number reached to 219 in 1546 except the non-muslim quarters. This population growth continued in the later periods.

A quarter was an organical unit with its unique identity, established around a mosque, a church or a synagogue. It linked to the members of this society not only with their shared origin, religion and culture, but with the external factors enabling social solidarity. The administrators were regarding quarters as the unit having common responsibility for setting order, for payment of the taxes, and for fulfilling the other duties to the state. Majordomos of the guilds, trustees of the foundations, and the imams of the mosques were mediators between government and the directors of the foundations on the one hand, and merchants and foundation on the other. Finally, residents of a quarter were altogether responsible for public order. It was not easy for a stranger to be regarded as a inhabitant of a quarter; according to a general view, four year continuous residence was a must. Residence period was determined as five years for Istanbul. In 1579, every resident of a quarter became



Kapalı Çarşı, Sandal Bedesteni

Covered market, municipal auction room

guarantor for each other in order to prevent the criminals from escaping from justice; and it was thought to build gates between the quarters just for the same reason in 1578. Every quarter had a watchman, and in 16th residents of the quarter was fulfilling this duty each in turn; and they hired a watchman by paying his salary. The watchman who was very important for the life in quarters, became the remarkable figure of the Istanbul folklore. Every quarter was also responsible for the payment of the salaries of two or three street cleaner. In 1868, a few young men from every quarter were assigned as the firemen. Fireman was one of the most interesting figure of the Istanbul life.

Imam was the representative of the quarter in all the relations with the authorities. Edicts of the Sultan were sent to imams by the khadis or it was declared on the streets by the town barkers. Imam was also responsible for the fulfillment of the obligations of the quarter to the state, he was responsible to inform those who do not carry out their duties to the authorities, especially the khadi. In 1826, election of a chief for every quarter was the first step for the recognition of the civilian local administrators by the state.

Plan of Vavossore shows broad streets reaching all the regions of the city, but these streets disappeared in 16th century. Streets and the avenues of the city was shown only in the plan of translator Constantine in 1228 (1813). Divan Yolu, which was the most important avenue of the 19th century was only 3 – 3,5 m wide. Streets of Istanbul was twisted and full of cul-de-sacs, and it resembles those of the eastern cities of Middle Ages. According to a research, streets protected their characteristics in Mehmed II period, because chief architect preserved the old street plan in the reconstruction after the fires. According to the documents of 16th century, there was pavement on the streets. Construction and repairment of the pavements were maintained with the agreement signed with the majordomo of the pavement builders guild, the works were controlled by the mayor, chief architect, and the minister of aqueducts.

Cleaning of the grand squares and the avenues was done by the raw recruits and other military unions under the supervision of janissary agha, and the owners of the properties on these streets were also responsible for the cleaning; and later on garbage man and street sweepers were employed in the quarters. Removing of the garbage was the duty of garbage subaşı cleaning subaşı in other words, and he gives this work to the group called seeker. It was an obligation for everyone to be in their house after the prayer carried out two or three hours after sunset. The necessary arrangements for the lightening of the streets were not done yet, and those who goes out should carry lantern. Inhabitants of Istanbul and the foreign observers had the same opinion that the streets were disorderly and unclean.

Instructions which were made for controlling the construction styles of the buildings, for the cleaning

of the streets and the city, were effective in the appearance and plans of Turkish Istanbul. These instructions were prepared by the mayor and his assistants, and hasa chief architect, and minister of waterlines, and they were implemented by the khadis and subaşı. These duties were given to Ebniye-i Hasa Directorate in 1831. Most important of all was that all the constructions were under the control of the state. According to an edict declared in 1782, building contractors who build for the non-muslims without permission would be punished with death penalty. According to an instruction in 1559, the houses cannot be higher than two storeys, eaves and protruding parts cannot be build above the streets, but this prohibition was not conformed much. Most of the houses in Istanbul is wooden since it was cheap. In order to lessen the danger of fire, and to make it easier to reach the gates of the city and the wharves, the houses and the shops nearby the city walls would be built with 4 zira space between, according to an order in 1558. Construction of new palaces and public baths were forbidden for the sufficiency and preserving water. Cheap rooms for bachelor men was under tight control, and they were sometimes forbidden in order to prevent the rapid population growth. The population growth after 16th created the need for houses, thus, palaces with huge gardens were destroyed and adjacent wooden houses and shanties.

Mor severe instructions were being applied to the non-muslims. They could not build a house nearby a Muslim temple, and they could not even stay in a house nearby. They cannot build their houses higher than 9 zira, and from Malta stone, and they could not build public baths. It was forbidden to Muslims to sell their houses or lands to non-muslims. The limit for the height of the buildings for Muslims and non-muslims was abolished after Tanzimat (the period of political reforms in Ottoman history between 1839 - 1876). The houses built in Istanbul can be studied under five headings: houses, rooms, houses of quarters, gardened houses surrounded by walls, summer palaces and mansions. Room cells were single roomed and built around a courtyard as detached or in caravansary style; and mostly they were built on a shop. These houses were built by a foundation to earn income; and they were usually rented to the single men who came to Istanbul to find a job. Therefore this kind of places were called as bachelor rooms. These caravansaries in which such people stayed were also called as mücerredler caravansary. In 1543, a room made about 100 silver coin annual income. It is estimated that there were 12.000 bachelor rooms in Istanbul in 1672.

Poor artisans and the poor people were staying in single or two storey wooden or mud brick houses. In scarcely populated areas, small houses were made from wood or brick like in the villages of Anatolia, and it was separated from the street with a courtyard or garden. Such kind of house was about 400 square yards. Courtyards of the Gardened houses



Kariye Camii

Carrie Mosque

surrounded by walls were divided into two as internal and external. A residence was constituted by a house or more houses, or sometimes one room or more rooms; a kiosk, a toilet, a stable, a bath, a bakery, a lean-to roof, a quay, a cellar, a cool room, a mill, a section for the servants and slaves, a coop, a garden, a well, a fountain, and a section where always fire burns might be added to them. Palaces and detached houses belonged to the statemen and the rich merchants, and it was made up of a big mansion and many other side-buildings built on a wide land; therefore these were the bigger version of the abovementioned gardened houses. They had two courtyards mostly, and the land on which the building was constructed was surrounded by high walls. Palaces built by the viziers became the property of the Sultan in their death; and he give them to the lady of the family, or the other statemen as a gift. It is estimated that there were 120 palaces belonging to the sultan and the viziers in the middle of 17th century.

The number of the palaces, mansions built by the Sultan and nobles in the wide and well kept gardens or forests outside the city walls of Istanbul (Halkalı, Florya, Davutpasha), in the north of Golden Horn (Karaagasi, Piripasha, Kasimpasha, Kağıthane), and in Bosphorus and Uskudar increased gradually, and they formed the core of the elite quarters. Sultans formed new quarters by selling some parts of the gardens and small woods as land in 18th century.

Fires and Earthquakes

The fires which started in this heavily populated city with wooden houses on narrow streets affected the physical formation of it as well as its social and economical structure. In fact, the number of the fires was much more than normal; According to the calculations of Ergin; in 53 years from 1853 to 1906, 229 fires started in which 36.000 houses were ruined.

Many great fires started in Cibali quarter, and after all the city center destroyed, it reached to the coasts of Marmara Sea in Kümkapı, Yenikapı or Langa. Cibali was open to the risk of fire due to the characteristics of the industry and the organizations (for example caulking work) there, and since the Cibali-Unkapanı valley was open to the northeastern winds, and since there were many houses on the ridges towards Fatih. The fires started there advances in two lines and it reaches to Langa and Vefa via Fatih and Aksaray; to Yenikapı via Shehzadebaşı and Laleli. Fires were frequently seen in Tahtakale, Grand Bazaar, Fener, and Balat.

The fires caused great physical damages. For example, it is estimated that the goods burned down in the fire started in Grand Bazaar in 1102/1690 was worth 3 million kurus (about 2 million golds).

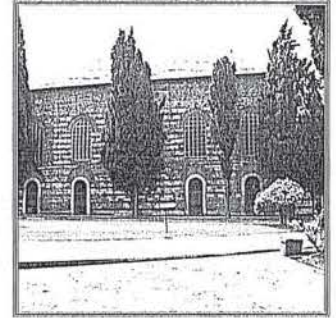
Fires caused several political, social, and economical crisis in Istanbul life. Most of the fires were started by the raw recruits or janissaries who left the janissary organization, and the tramps of the city joined them. In certain written sources, it is claimed

that the janissaries who were charged with putting out the fires in the city, caused the spreading of the fires. Grand vizier, janissary agha, bostancibaşı, and chief cuirassier were directing the operation in major fires, and sometimes Sultan was seen in the fire site in order to boost the morale and to ensure the discipline. The plunders done by the soldiers and the undisciplined groups could not be prevented. There were even plunderers who became rich in this way. Those who lost their houses took shelter in the courtyards of mosques, madrassahs, and in the vacant lands such as Langa vegetable garden with their property they could save. After the fire, both food and building material scarcity are seen, and thus the prices increase, and many people have to emigrate to the nearby cities. Fighting with fire was the duty of the janissaries, bostancılar, cuirassiers, and some of the water carriers with the condition that they would be exempted from some taxes, and baltacı guilds. Fire pumps of the French convert David were seen as a great laborsaving device after 1718. In 1719 water pumpers union was attached to janissaries. In 1285 (1868), there was a water pumper in every quarter; and in 1290 (1873) regular fire brigade was established. Fire insurance was begun only after 1890.

Earthquakes were also influential on the general appearance of the city. Istanbul was shaken with earthquakes 66 times between 1711 – 1894. Before the major earthquakes occured in 1099 (1688), 1180 (1766), and in 1894, there happened a tremendous earthquake in Cemaziyelevvel 915 / August, 22th, 1509 which was called as small doomsday in chronicles, and which tremors continued for weeks. City walls were damaged seriously, minarets collapsed, 109 mosques and 1070 houses ruined completely, and around 5.000 – 13.000 people died. 22 silver coins specific earthquake tax for the repairment was collected.

Population and Social Structure

Increasing the population of Istanbul was one of the most important issues for Fatih Sultan Mehmed during his reign. In the first years of his reign, special methods were applied; exiles were done from every part of the country; and then those people that would contribute to the development of the city (nobles, artisans, merchants) were brought in Istanbul from the conquered places. Migrants from every religion and race were always encouraged to come into Istanbul. The census in 860 (1455) shows that many Muslim migrants from Kocaeli, Saruhan, Aydın, Balıkesir and other places leave in groups, and in their places, migrants brought from Tekirdag and Corlu were settled in Kir Nikola and Kir Martas quarters. Many Jews who were exiled from Rumelia in 1455 were settled in the city, 42 families from Izdin were settled in Samatya in the houses evacuated by the muslims from Balıkesir; 38 families from Plovdiv were settled in Top Yıkığı, in the houses evacuated by the migrants from Paşlagonya and Tekirdag. The other migrants came from Edirne, Nigbolu, Tirhali,



Topkapı Sarayı, Ağalar Camii

Topkapı Palace, Ağalar Mosque

and from many other places.

Among the muslim migrants there were many artisans (tailor, jeweler, and etc.) and as well as members of dervish orders, and man of religion. Soldiers (janissaries, and *doğancılar*) became the owner of house in several quarters. Marine azabları settled in Azablar quarters. Groups of migrants were settled in a quarter or in a monastery. Sometimes Roums, Jews, and Muslims might live in the same building. In 1455, there were 42 Jewish families, 14 Roum and 13 Muslim families *Saḫatya*. The document dated 1455 shows that, the population of the quarters were small, there were few shops; churches, monasteries and the houses were vacant and in ruins. However, shortly afterwards, Fatih began to reside permanently in the new palace, and he encouraged the constructions, economical life, and new settlements. He ordered the return of all the Roums who escaped before and after the conquest in 863 (1459). He assigned an Orthodox and an Armenian Archbishop, and as well as a chief rabbi in order to make his capital city as the center of a worldwide empire. He encouraged the settlement of the artisans and the merchants in accordance with the Islamic tradition. The aim of the exiles from the conquered places was to support the Istanbul in terms of population.

Foundations of Fatih Sultan Mehmed shows that entirely the Jews were settled in Bahçekapı-Eminonu district; Muslims, the Jews, and the Roums in Fildarḫi quarter; and generally Jews along the harbour coastline. The names of the Muslims coming from Karaman, Ankara, and Iznik, and the Roums from Trabzon and Midilli were also mentioned.

The population increased significantly in the first half of 16th century mostly due to economical reasons. Documents of foundations show that many merchants, artisans from Edirne, Bursa, Ankara, Konya, Halep, Damascus, Cairo, and even from Iran (their number was not many) settled in Istanbul. However, the actual increase was seen with the migration of the young people from the poor regions and the farmer families coming to Istanbul to find job, which was called as house migration. It is found out that the 80 % general population increase was seen in the Ottoman cities of 16th century. Most probably, population growth in Istanbul was much higher. In the middle of this century the administrators noticed the overpopulation and its problems, and began to take certain measures. Authorities thought that overpopulation caused three basic problems: difficulty in procuring food and water, high cost of living; security problems due to the increase in robbery, murder, and fire occurrences; decrease in tax incomes from the provinces due to the increase in the number of unemployed masses in Istanbul. Therefore, authorities gathered the groups of bachelors in some periods (five or ten years) and exile them who were seen as the main source of the problem especially when riots, fires and famines occurred; beggars were also gathered in the same way, and they were

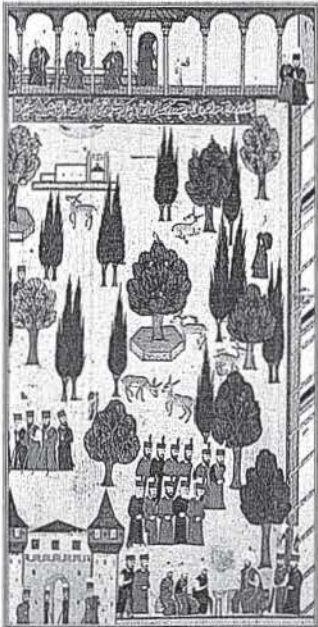
taken to the nearby towns to work. On the other hand, those who wanted to come into Istanbul for judiciary reasons, should take permission from the local *khadi* of the region they reside, and it was an obligation that the committees should be less in numbers. In order to reduce the immigrants and the house migration, control points were formed in the entrance to the city. Residents of the quarters were demanded to be guarantor for each other in order to prevent the migration and to provide the security, and the imams were responsible for not allowing the strangers in the quarters to stay. In spite of all these measures, an effective control mechanism could not be established, and the measures proved to be unsuccessful.

Non-muslim population in Istanbul in 1592 divided into six groups; Roums, Jews, Armenians, Karamanids, Galata Europeans, Galata Roums. Only the Orthodox and Armenian churches and Jewish chief rabbi were recognized officially. Europeans could get residence permit in Galata district. Some Europeans began to open doctor's office and fabric shops in Bahçekapı and Divanyolu in 19th century, but they were ordered to close them. Places inhabited by the Roums and Armenians were on the coastline of Marmara Sea, in Fener and Balat, and in Rumeḫian part. Non-muslims usually established their own quarters, and built their own churches and synagogues. Muslims did not accept the non-muslims among themselves since they regarded their way of life as inappropriate. Such conflicts, fires and construction of mosque nearby the non-muslim quarters, caused non-muslims to go away from the muslim quarters to coastline of Marmara Sea, to Golden Horn, and nearby the city walls.

On the other hand, Muslim and non-muslim merchants and artisans, who were controlled by the same account audit were working side by side in the market place; and protection of the non-muslims was for the interest of the treasury and state notables. The most important of all, the authorities were conscious of the necessity to apply the tolerance of Islam. Non-muslims, especially the Anatolian Armenians were affected much by the Turkish culture. Although every community spoke their own language, the common language spoken in Istanbul was Turkish.

Roum Orthodoxes, Armenians, and Jews were classified as different nationalities, and they depend on their own religious authorities in their internal affairs. Religious communities might directly apply to the Sultan for the removal of their religious leaders from the office; and the religious leaders again might apply to the Sultan for the implementation of their decisions. There were only three Roum church in Istanbul before the conquest, and in 18th century this number increased to 40.

Economical status of the Roum community was much better in Ottoman period than the last ten years of Byzantium, and they were satisfied with the



Topkapı Sarayı, İkinci Avlu

Topkapı Palace, second courtyard

conditions they were living in. Roums got important privileges, they took the place of Italians in the sea trade in Aegean and Black Sea, and they got the hold of the biggest part of the food trade of Istanbul. Besides trade, they increased their influence more by being the translator of the Divan and the marine forces in 17th century. Eflaqui and Bogdan voyvodas were selected among these families in later periods. In the census of 1833, the Roum nation was 50.343 men population.

Although, a group of Orthodox Christians brought from Karaman, and which did not know Greek, but spoke Turkish, was binded to the Roum Patriarchate, they had the characteristics of a different community. They engaged in the jewelry and embroidery, and they were rich.

Armenians elected their first patriarch in 1461 with the order of the Sultan. Post of the patriarch was Sulumanastir in Samatya quarter where Armenians densely populated. In 17th century, most populated quarter of the Armenians were Kumkapı and Armenian Patriarchate was moved to Surp Asdvadzadzin Church there in 1641. Armenian population was dense in Yenikapı, Kumkapı, Balat, and Topkapı quarters. There were Armenians living among the Jews in Besiktas, Kurucesme, and Ortakoy. Armenians were controlling the silk trade between Iran, Turkey and Italy in the 17th century, and many Armenians became rich through leasing and banking. The men population of Armenians in 1833 was 49.099.

Jews, who have 1647 houses at the end of Fatih Sultan Mehmed period, were divided into these main groups. Jews before the conquest; Karaites brought from Edirne and settled in harbour district; Rabbanis and Karaites brought from different places in Anatolia and Rumelia by force; and they give the number and houses of the Jewish groups mentioned in the tribute books of the Fatih period. It seems that Fatih showed mercy to the Jews during the conquest, and let them stay in their houses. In 894/1489 the number of total Jewish houses reached to 2027. Jews of Istanbul organized as different communities with their different synagogues and rabbis. In the middle of 16th century, there were 40-44 synagogue and their communities. In 1552, Marraons settled in Istanbul under the protection of the Sultan. Romaniot, Seferad, and Karait Jews protected their different identities until 17th century; but due to the fires in 1633 and 1660, there happened changes in their settlement, and the communities were mixed, and they turned into a single community. It is estimated that the number of Jewish houses reached to 12.000 in 19th century, and their population to 39.000. It was frequently seen that some of the non-muslims converted into Islam, and they worked ardently to spread Islam. Divan made monetary aid to those who converted into Islam under the name new-mus-

lim money. Topkapı gypsies could be shown as an example to those who converted to Islam as a group. It was frequently seen that Muslim men married to a non-muslim women, and such marriages were regarded as good and approved since it helped to spread Islam.

Although there were many people in janissary class who were benefiting from its favors, they were not actually soldiers. Even in Fatih Sultan Mehmed Period, some of the janissaries mixed in the society as tradesmen and artisans; and the number of janissaries choosing trade increased in parallel with the decrease in the value of the coins paid as salary. Police forces of the city were mostly from the janissaries. They provided the security, they superintend the market places, and kept the harbours under surveillance. These authorities were sometimes misused by some of them, and they used them to collect goods from the market, and to make trade. Lives and properties of the non-muslims was dependent on their sense of fairness. The security of the city was broken with the increasing janissary riots after 1600, the people were uneasy, shops were closed, the fear of fire and plunder was everywhere. Raw recruits had also an important role in the social life of Istanbul. The number of them in the Istanbul headquarters was 3000 at the beginning, and in 1555 it was 7000. They formed the main labor force in the public service, and they were also made work in the gardens of the palace.

In the expeditions all the palace people, and gate soldiers were with the Sultan. In this case, the markets became entirely disorderly; the prices increases; black market appears and famines are seen. Janissaries engaged in trade had to close their shops, and some of the tradesmen were called as armymen. Thus, some of the people of Istanbul left the city. This happened almost every year until Selim II period. Some of the statemen were reluctant for the joining of the Sultan to the military expeditions.

Epidemics were an important factor affecting the population of Istanbul. Plague, cholera, and small-pox caused decreases in the population as well as fires. In the plague epidemic of 871 (1466), 600 people died every day, and many left the city. Four years later plague again caused a stop in trade. In the later periods, several epidemics were seen. These diseases continued for months and sometimes for years, and caused the death of many people; 1000 people died in 1592, and 3000 in 1792.

The most reliable sources about the population of Istanbul in different periods were the tahrirs. However, since these records were for taxation purposes, they do not give the total population. Women, children, military class, students, and etc. were exempt from taxation and they were not stated in the tahrirs.



Topkapı Sarayı, ikinci avlu

Topkapı Palace, second courtyard

Central and country organization of Ottoman State

Central organization of Ottoman State of Ottoman had adopted more disciplined, modern and centralist administration method than previous Turkish states. But, authorization and responsibility given to country administrators made this centralist structure more relieved.

State Administration

During foundation period of State of Ottoman, in accordance with old Turkish mores, it was assumed that the country was at common property of the family and so, person appointed as Ulu bey (Grand Lord), at the same time, had been sovereign of country. Since period of Murad I, it has been decided to enthrone one of the sons of sovereign. But, since beginning of century XVII, this rule has been annulled, so it is also ensured to enthrone brother of sovereign by this way. On the other hand, law of Fatih (Conqueror; Mehmet II) on brother murdering had established principle of indivisibility of sovereignty being different from all previous Turkish states and this decision make history as a revolution. Furthermore, sovereign one had applied to opinion of notables of tribe at first times and some statesmen at later times by not deciding himself at important matters. Later, this function had been fulfilled by council called as Divan and undertaken all legislation tasks.

At administration of State of Ottoman, sovereign, divan undertaken legislation and execution task and learned man class and sheikhulislam ship representing law have been in most important place as effective powers. From these three powers, sovereign representing absolute monarchy had left most of his powers to divan. In this system, there was big role of military class called as seyyfiye. Sheikhulislam had represented both learned men class (ilmiye) and court cadis organized up to subdivisions of province and office of sheikhulislam undertaken task of today's court of constitution.

In administration, the Grand Vizier (later Sadrazam) and viziers are the first-degree assistances of sovereign. Everything has been executed in accordance with certain regulation and rules. Up to Fatih, this form was based on mores, and this had been as a written law by Fatih. Out of general rules of state, there were special rules in accordance with characteristics of every kaza (subdivision of province) and sanjak (subdivision of province). Rules were appropriate to Canonical Law, but most matter of state administration was based on general customs. By this way Kanunname-i Orfi Osmani (Customary code of laws of Ottoman) had been formed.

In administration, all authority had been gathered in the hand of padishah (Sultan of Ottoman) and divan representing him. All matters have been discussed in this council and presented to approval of padishah by bringing to a conclusion. Rules seen appropriate by padishah had become law provision by sealing with

imperial signature. In uncertain situation, juridical decision had been taken from sheikhulislam. Divan-ı Hümayân (Imperial Chancery of State) had characteristic of legislation and execution organ, at the same time, had hold all authorities of making appointment and removal as representative of central authority.

Divan fulfilled the legal function of department of last application for whose complaining from local administrations as today's Supreme Court and Council of State, while it had been arranging the relations between people and administrator as execution organ in country.

Administrative, financial, and juridical affairs out of first and second-degree affairs of central organization had been discussed at divans of Grand Vizier and Kadasker (chief military judge).

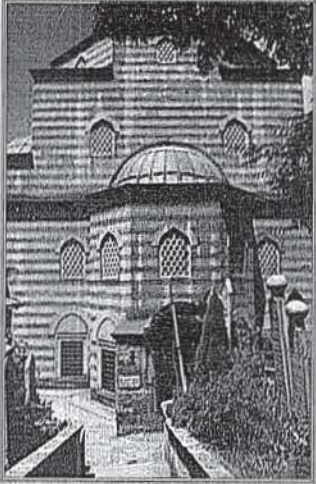
Divan met in presidency of Padishah to discuss important affairs of state had been called as Divan-ı Hümayân and formed by using previous samples. It is seen that divan had existed in Ottoman since the period of Orhan Gazi. Divan meetings had also continued in the period of Sultan Murad I, Yıldırım (Lightning) Bayezid, Chelebi (prince) Mehmed and Murad II. Since period of Fatih, the title of execution organ had been left to Grand Viziers and mühr-i hümayân (imperial seal) had been given them being the sign of this.

Until period of Kanuni (Suleiman the magnificent), divan meetings had been done in Divanhane beside of building called as Kubbealtı (Under Dome). At the period of Kanuni, Damat Ibrahim Pasha, the Grand Vizier, had today's building built and then the meetings had been hold in this building.

Working method of Divan:

Divan was open to all people being women or men without any discrimination against any nation, religion etc. In divan, administrative and customary affairs had been performed by Grand Vizier, affairs of domain by nishancı (marksman), affairs of law by Kadaskers (chief military judge), and financial affairs by defterdar (head of the financial department). Decisions taken and affairs performed in divan had been registered in log of Muhimme (important affair), Ahkâm (judicial sentences), Tahvli (perception), Ruğs Nâme and Ahidnâme, and kept in "Defterhâne" (office of registry of landed property) sealed by Grand Vizier by seal of Padishah.

Divan meetings had been started after morning pray and continued until noon. Divan had been dissociated after finishing of discussion of Divan-ı Hümayân (Imperial council) and in accordance to that day's rüznâme (agenda) and closure of Financial treasury and Defterhâne by the seal of Grand Vizier. Later, in divan, information on organization of Janissary had been taken by the accepting the chief of Janissary by Padishah, later the Kadaskers had entered to presence and presented the affairs related to them, and later Grand vizier with vizier and defterdar had been ac-



Şeyh Vefa Camii, İstanbul

Şeyh Vefa Mosque, İstanbul

cepted to presence.

Members of Divan:

Grand vizier, viziers, kadiaskers (chief military judge), defterdars (ministers of finance) and nişancı (marksman-title of an officer whose duty it was inscribe the sultan's imperial monogram over all imperial letters-patent) had participated to meetings of divan as principal members. Furthermore, reisülküttab (minister of foreign affairs), kapıcılar kethüdası (chief of doorkeepers), chief of guards had also participated to meeting of divan. But these last ones had been accepted as servant of divan so never sat down and always stood up. If governors general were in Istanbul, they had participated to divan.

Grand vizier and viziers:

In accordance with code of laws, grand vizier was the greatest of the ministers and high officials, and had unlimited attorney of Padishah. To show this attorney ship, Mühr-i Hümayûn (imperial seal) carrying the name of Padishah in the form of ring had been given him. At situation of removal, this ring had been taken him and given to new grand vizier.

In the early years of State of Ottoman, vizier had been appointed from ones grown up among the learned men class. There was only one vizier in early times; since the period of Murad I, number of vizier had been increased, so the first vizier called as grand vizier. In accordance with statements in histories, the first grand vizier was Chandarlı Halil Hayreddin Pasha. Until the end of century XV, the number of vizier had not exceeded the number of three. Viziers had got the name of Kubbe veziri (vizier of dome) or Kubbenişin since they had met in Kubbealtı (under dome) in Dîvân-ı hümayûn (Imperial council). Viziers had three tuğs (horse tails attached to a helmet).

In accordance with code of laws, grand vizier had large authorities, as stated in code of laws of Abdurrahman Pasha, all removals and promotions including appointment of ilmiye (learned men class) were at the authority of grand vizier. Furthermore, in code of laws of Fatih, he could give the timar (small military fief) up to 5999 aspers without asking to Padishah. He could judge to capital punishment in campaign for every one as sovereign. They had taken the title of serdâr-ı ekrem (commander in chief) when they had gone to war as the attorney of army commander in chief.

During campaign, grand viziers had left an attorney named as Sadaret Kaymakamı (official of representing the grand vizier in Istanbul when he was on a campaign) or Kaymakam-ı Rikâb-ı Hümayûn and carrying the seal of them in Istanbul. These had also managed the divan.

Statements send by grand vizier to Padishah had been called as telhis veya takrîr. They had signed their signature called as penche (paw) to the division starting from right side and extending to the bottom of letters written for voivodes of Transylvania, Walachia-Moldavia and governors of other states.

In early times, grand viziers had discussed the is-

sues that could not be solved in Dîvân-ı hümayûn, in İkinci Divan (divan of mid afternoon) met after the azan of mid afternoon of Monday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday in their government house. Furthermore, there were also Cuma Divanı (Friday Divan) held by participation of kadiaskers in morning of Friday and Çarşamba Divanı (divan of wednesday) held by participation of kadıs (of Istanbul, Galata, Eyüp and Uskudar (bilâd-ı selâse)).

Kadiaskers (chief military judge) :

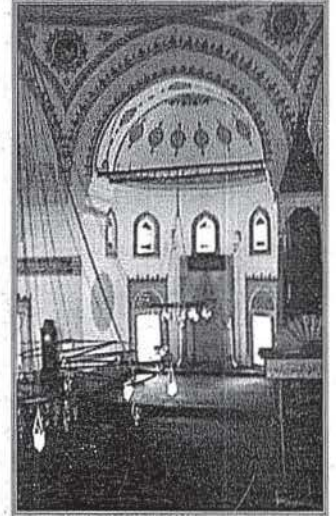
In state of Ottoman, in accordance with some sources, kadiasker ship that had dealt with the Canonical and juridical affairs related to military class, had been founded by Orhan Gazi in 1360 and Chandarlı Halil, kadı of Bursa, had been appointed as the first kadiasker. In accordance with other sources, it had been informed that the kadiasker ship had been founded by Murat I in 1362. Number of kadiasker was only one until 1480 and had been increased to 2 by the need in this year. The status and position of Rumeli Ö kadiasker was the more important and revenue also more than Kadiasker of Anatolia. Until the mid of century XIV, Kadiaskers (chief military judge) was superior to Sheikulislam called as chief of mufti in that time. Kadiaskers had dealt with canonical and legal affairs related to them by holding divan in their government house whole days of week except tuesday and wednesday. They had six assistances to perform their affairs as tezkereci (official charged with the duty of writing official memoranda), ruznâmçeci (clerk in charge of financial transaction), matlabcı (demonder), tatbiki (officer in a court of department who registers official seals for the purpose of comparing and identifying impressions that may be doubtful), mektupçu (chief secretary of a ministry) and kethüda (warden). When Padishah had participated to campaign, Kadiaskers had also participated to campaign. If Padishah had not participated, they had also not participated and Ordu kadısı (kadı of army) had been appointed instead of them.

Defterdar (minister of finance):

The phrase of defterdar had been appeared since the ends of century XIV in State of Ottoman. Defterdar was the certain attorney of property of padishah and his representative. Defterdar, principle member of Divan, had only entered the presence at the end of Divan of Tuesday and give information on his department. But he had discussed with grand vizier on telhis read by him at the presence of padishah and taken his approval. Number of defterdar has been increased and since century XVII that state had incurred the economical crisis, the title of viziership had been given to some of them.

Marksman (Nişancı) :

Nişancı called also as Tevkiî, Tuğrat veya Muvakki were member of Dîvân-ı Hümayûn and had placed at right of grand vizier and inferior of the viziers. Marksmen had been choosen from learned men class until beginning of century XVI. In spite of their position, they had position of a first class official in accordance



Mahmud Paşa Camii, Istanbul

Mahmud Paşa Mosque, Istanbul



ce with power they had. In accordance with Fatih *kanunnâmesi* (codes of Law of Fatih), it was in law to select *nişancı* from *muderrises* (professors) either in interior area or country. *Nişancı* had drawn the signature of *padishah* on writings written on behalf of him. The one of the most important duties of *nişancı* was also to issue and change in *Tahrîr Defterleri* (registers of assay) including land register of state.

Other members participated to Divan Divana katılan diğer üyeler :

Until the end of century XVII, even if, the *reisülküttâb*, the chief of clerks and secretaries of *Divân-ı Hümâyûn* were not the principle member of *divan*, they had great importance to write the texture by their experience. The duties of *Reisülküttâb* were to complete the verdicts given after they had corrected; to write orders in accordance with *firman* (imperial decree); to have letters come to sovereign and *grand vizier* translated and prepare replies to them and to act as *tezkereci* in *divan* if he is absent.

Kapıcılar Kethüdâsı form members of *divan* were master of ceremonies in place and ensure communication between *padishah* and *divan*. Matters that will be presented to *padishah* had been done by him. He had served with a silver sceptre in his hand at the *divan*.

Çavuşbaşı (chief of guard) were also from servants of *divan*. The guards in *divan*, approximately 300 persons, were in the command of him. Their number had reached to one thousand. Some of them were from paid soldier; some *timar* (small military fief) and some *zeamet* (large fief). Second group also called as *Gedikli Çavuş* (habitue guard). Chief of guard had dealt with the mission of police, found and arrested persons ordered him to arrest. Guards of *Divân-ı Hümâyûn* had also duty to take the order of government to province, transport the exiled one where they had been exiled, act as process server to whose decided to death. These had never sat at *divan*, but always stood up.

In *Divân-ı Hümâyûn* and *Pasha Kapısı* (*pasha door*), chiefs of secretaries had been gathered under the title of finance and secretaries of palace servant organizations, supervisor of the dockyards, prefect of a large town, comptroller of the supplies of barley head of kitchen and head of mill had been gathered under the title of *Divân-ı Hümâyûn Höcaları* (*Hodjas of Imperial Council*). While this title had been only given to chief of department of *Divân-ı Hümâyûn* in early ages, later also given to some servants out of these as a rank. Furthermore, there was a translator in *divan* to tell the claims of foreigners not known Turkish. They were called as *Divân-ı Hümâyûn Tercümanları* (*Translators of Imperial Council*). These had also served at meetings between envoys of foreign states and *grand vizier* or *padishah*.

Secretaries of Divân-ı Hümâyûn:

The issues in *Divân-ı Hümâyûn* had been performed under supervision of *reisülküttâb* and *beylikçi* (head of government chancery office) under his management. So, there were some clerks related to them,

these were called as *Divân kalemleri* (Clerks of *Divan*). These had been formed from clerks as *Sadaret Mektubî*, *Sadâret Kethüdâsı*, *Beylik* (*Divân*), *Tahvil*, *Ruûs*, *Âmedi* divisions as *Teşrifatçılık*, *Vak'anüvislik*, *Divân-ı Hümâyûn Höcaları*, *Divân-ı Hümâyûn Tercümanları*. Furthermore, in *Topkapı* palace, there were *Defterhâne* that register of all these items had been kept in.

1) *Beylikçi* (head of government chancery office) veya *Divân Kalemi* (Clerk of *Divân*) :

Master *Beylikçi*, head of this department, had supervised the clerk of *Divân-ı Hümâyûn* and kept the treaty made with foreign countries and ensured to perform them, arrived at a decision on all kind of claims, solved all disputes caused by land or various subjects and had *firman* and *brevet* written by signing his signature. Furthermore, in clerk office of *beylikçi*, decisions of great *divan* had been kept, documents discussed at *divan* had been transferred related places; registration of copies of orders and decisions had been done to book. These logs were called as *Muhimme defteri* (book of records of imperial Assembly of State), and writers were called as *muhimmenuvisan* (secretary changed with drafting documents of importance).

Tahvil Kalemi (the exchequer Bill office at the ministry of finance):

This secretary was also called as secretary of *nishan* or *kese*. There were appointment brevets of *hadis* of province, *vizier*; *beylerbeyi* (governor general), *governor of sanjak* (subdivision of province) called as *mevâlî* and logs of *zeâmet* and *timars*. when *zeâmet* and *timar* had been given to someone, logs were written in *Defterhâne*, then send to (the exchequer Bill office at the ministry of finance). Head of *Tahvil Kalemi* were called as *Tahvil Kesedârî* (official in charge of high appointments).

Ruûs Kalemi (Ruûs-ı Hümâyûn Kalemi) :

Brevets of appointment of task of officials had been issued here except *vizier*, *governor general* and *timar owner*. Financial affairs of ones taken wages from treasury and estates in mortmain, had also performed by this department and all procedure had been asked from this department.

Âmedi Kalemi (the receiver general of provincial correspondence addressed to the Grand Vizier):

The head of clerk office of *Âmedi* were called as *Âmedi-i Divân-ı Hümâyûn*, *Âmedi* or just *Âmedci*. Master *Âmedci* were private manager of clerk office of *reisülküttâb*. All *tahrîr*, *telhis* to be written by *grand vizier* to *padishah* and copies of treaty done with foreigner states and also copies of letters send by *grand vizier* to heads of foreigner states, protocols, writings and documents written to assays, translators and traders had always been written in this department.

Teşrifatçılık (mastership of ceremonies):

This was the one of the most important tasks in *Divân-ı Hümâyûn*. in spite of saying of *Hammer* as this official post had been founded by *Suleyman* the



Topkapı Sarayı

Topkapı Palace

Magnificent, there are provisions on mastering of ceremonies in Fatih Kanunnâmesi. It is also known that there were some principles to apply when foreigner assays entered to presence of padishah in the period of Murad II. It was necessary to know the customs and all ceremonies in palace for master of ceremonies. Giving wages in divan, feasts, coming of assays, delivery of treasury of Egypt, ceremonies and congratulations at accession of padishah to throne or festivals, putting out to sea of fleet, launching a ship, giving gifts or offering to padishah, rewarding with robe of honor to padishah, annual presentation, and ceremony at department of grand vizier were belonged to master of ceremonies.

Vak'anüvislik (Annalistship):

vak'anüvis registering documents related to various processes given to him by state had been seen since beginning of century XVIII in office of Divân-ı Hümâyün. Annalists had not seen all documents and had registered confidential ones by hearing orally. There was official post called as şeyhnâmenüvislik instead of vak'anüvislik before century XVIII. The first of Annalists that they were the state historian in general meaning, was Halepli Mustafa Nâima Efendi (master Mustafa Nâima from Halep).

Hodjas of Divân-ı Hümâyün Hocaları (Hâcegân-ı Divân-ı Hümâyün) :

chief of clerk offices in both Divân-ı hümâyün and Pashakapısı, and clerks of finance, palace servants and managers, ministers and heads of supervisor of the dockyards, a large town, the supplies of barley, kitchen and mill, arsenal, ceremonies, power mills had been gathered under the title of Divân-ı Hümâyün Hocaları (Hodjas of Imperial Council). In century XVIII, it had been formed from four classes, first class senior clerks had been formed from three defterdar (head of the financial department), nishancı (marksman), reisülküttâb and master of register; and appointed only for one years. Second class senior clerks had been formed by grand keeper of daily cashbook, accountant in chief and accountant of Anatolia from finance office. Third class had been formed from supervisor of the dockyards, prefect of a large town from masters of Bîrun (central public administration with office outside of Palace) of palace, comptroller of the supplies of barley and head of mill and clerk of masraf-ı şehriyârî (expense of sultan). Fourth-class hâcegân (senior clerks) had been formed from thirty-eight persons; twenty-two of these had been formed from managers of finance office clerks.

Translators of Divân-ı Hümâyün:

To employ a translator in Divan to tell the claim of foreigner one that not knows Turkish was in Law. Furthermore, translator of divan had also served during meeting of padishah or grand vizier and foreigner state envoys, and translated the letters. Translators had stood up at their place in divan. Furthermore there were state divan translator and court translator in some states of Ottoman that Turks had not resided. Furthermore, there was one translator for each of fo-

reigners worked in some departments and not know Turkish.

Main books of Divân-ı Hümâyün:

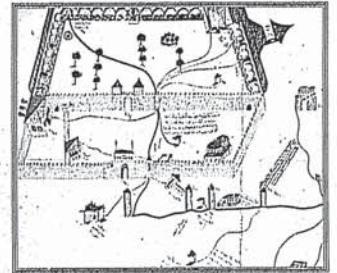
In Divân-ı Hümâyün, various books had been kept for various works. These were in ranges of thirty six, most important of them are: books of Mühimime (important or urgent affairs), ahkâm (judgments), ru-ûs (?), tahvil (transfer), nâme, ahidnâme and şikâyet (complaint). Furthermore, there were books of Buyruldu (ordered), and book of Ilm ü haber, books of register of command, books of goods and books of coming-going belonged to Bâb-ı Âsâfi. Also there were books of writing belonged to Defterhâne.

Defterhâne (office of hte registry of landed property) :

It was the one of three treasuries opened on the days of meeting and sealed by seal of padishah after the meeting in Divân-ı Hümâyün. The Cause of giving so importance to Def-terhâne, registration on land affairs of various parts of state, issues on reâyâ (tax paying subjects of the Ottoman Empire) organization of soldier with timar and servant on service of land had been placed there. Defterhâne had been separated to some clerk divisions but was one department. The manager of there was called as Dester Emîni (director of the registry of landed property). Defterhâne had been formed from three-clerk office as icmal (summary), mufassal and rûznâmçe. Clerk of summary had been kept registers showing border division of province, sort of land as public, has, zeâmet ve timar, all revenues of land.

Organization of palace :

The palace of padishahs had grown and their magnificence had increased by growing of state of Ottoman. Opposite of modest palace in Bursa, there were more exhaustive palaces had been built in Edirne. After the conquest of Istanbul by Fatih, they had resided to palace of Byzantium in Bayezid, in area of today's University of Istanbul; but, after residing here during one year, they had been started to build a new palace in same area since 1454 by insufficiency of old one, in 1458, they had moved to this completed building. This palace called as Eski Saray (old palace) or Saray-ı atik-i âmirî had four corners and had been built of stone. In this palace, harem, pool, water tank with fountain, kitchen, office of the palace pantry, flats for three thousand halbaldiers and rooms for white and black eunuchs had been built. Furthermore, there was a division for Enderun mektebi (Palace School). Later, instead of this palace, Topkapı Palace had been built in area of that time's olive grove in Sarayburnu. Space between outer door called as Bâb-ı Hümâyün (imperial door) in direction of Ayasofya Mosque and inner mid door was called as Birinci yer (first place); space between middoor and Bâbüssaâde (door of happiness) or Akağalar kapısı (door of white chiefs) was called as İkinci yer (second place) or Alay meydanı (parade ground); third spare interior from Bâbüssaâde was called as Enderun (palace) or Harem-ı Hümâyün (imperial harem). At the left of the parade



Topkapı Sarayı

Topkapı Palace

ground, there was building called as Kubbealtı and Divân-ı Hümâyûn had met in and places where registration of treasury and finance office had been kept.

In the first courtyard of palace, there were flats of servants called as *Birun erkânı*. In third courtyard, there were Arz Odası (room of presenting) where anvoyes had been accepted and *Hırka-i Saâdet* (holy cardigan) where holy trusts have been kept and flats for families of padishah and rooms for people of Enderun (Palace). *Bâb-ı Hümâyûn* and mid-door had been kept by doorkeepers under the commanding of superintendent of the ushers and third door had been kept by white eunuchs.

Enderun (palace) and Pages:

people of Enderun had been formed from children of Christian *tebaa* (subjects) called as *dewshirme* (recruiting of boys for Janissary corps) and youths taken as prisoner at wars and educated and volunteers. In accordance with the law of *dewshirme*, these had been collected in ages between eight and eighteen, then the tall, imposing, decent, and intelligent ones had been selected and send firstly to palace of Edirne, palace Galata, palace of Ibrahim Pasha to be educated in accordance with Turkish – Canonical customs and tradition, and then had been given to great and small rooms according to need of Enderun. Ones continued to education in palace had been appointed to *Seferli* (mobilized), *Kiler* (pantry) and *Hazine odaları* (chambers of account of sultan's treasury) according to their capacities, and they had appointed as *kapıku lu süvarisi* (palace servant) to go out of palace. *Rikâbdars* (equerry) from people of palace had learned the services of boot and shoe of padishah; *chukadars* (lackey) had perform services of carrying and dressing the caftan, fur and raincoat; furthermore, *chashigirs* had been educated on services of cooking for padishah; *cândîs* (warriors), *kemankeshs* (archer) and *silâhtars* (sword-bearer) had been educated on riding horse, pulling arch, using weapons.

Enderun (palace), had been founded in the period of Murad II, and the organization had been widen in the period of Fatih Sultan Mehmed. Education given there had been focused on kindness, honesty, religious subjects and natural sciences. So there had the identity of school for education of members of the civil services of state.

White and black eunuchs:

They were charged to keep the door of palace of Ottoman called as *Bâbüssaâde*. Until the end of century XVI, the most influential master of palace was *Bâbüssaâde* or *Kapı ağası* (master of door). They had ninty aspers as *ulûfe* (sum paid to a soldier for fodder of his horse) and yearly fifteen muslin, sixteen *enda zes* (measure about 26 inches) atlas and three thousand *kushak bahası* (?) in their command. If there were need they to go out of palace, the governor general of Egypt and emaret (leadership) had been given.

Black eunuchs had been changed in harem division where women had resided. The greatest manager of black eunuchs was called as *Dârüssaâde ağası* or

Kızlar ağası (master of happiness home or master of girls). They were called as *Harem ağası* (master of harem) by being charged there. Until the end of century XVI, they were under the command of *Kapı ağasına*. After this period, mastership of *Dârüssaâde* at level of viziership had been founded, then one of the masters of *Harem-i Hümâyûn* gained the trust of padishah had been appointed for this position.

Birun Erkânı (external high officials) (high officials charged in central public administration with office outside of palace):

Birun is a Persian word that means external. Space between *Bâb-ı Hümâyûn* and *Bâbüssaâde* of Topkapı palace is called as *Birun*. Ones from class of learned men as *hodja* of padishah, Sultan's chief physician, chief surgeon, oculist, imam of sultan and ones charged on civil tasks as prefect of town, comptroller of the supplies of barley, and head of milt were also called as *Birun halkı* or *Diş halkı* (*Birun* people or people of outside). Furthermore, *emîr-i âlem* (pasha of the lowest grade), *kapıcılar kethüdâsı* (chief of doorkeepers), *chavushbashi* (chief of corps of halberdiers of the sultan's bodyguard), *mi-rahur* (master of the horse), *bostancı* (member of the Imperial guard) and ones under the commanding of these from servant out of palace had been also placed in *birun erkânı*.

Military Organization :

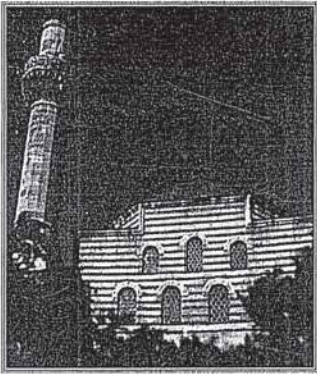
Information related to this subject had been given in related article.

Financing of Ottoman :

State of Ottoman had a financial organization since the period of principality. It is understood from the sources that the first financial organization in State of Ottoman had been founded by Chandarlı Kara Halil and Karamanlı Kara Rüstem in the period of Murad I.

Tax in State of Ottoman had been gathered in two divisions as canonical and customary. *Zekât* (alms), *öşür* (tithe), *haraç* (tribute) and *cizya* (capitation tax collected from non-Muslims) and their divisions, approximately eighty taxes, had been included as canonical taxes. *Tekâlif-i örfiyye* (taxes based on Common Law) had appeared in Ottoman in the name of *avarız vergisi* (extraordinary tax) in the period of Bayezid II being imposed tax by command of sultan in extraordinary time. This tax had been gathered in two parts as *Tekâlif-i örfiyye* and *Tekâlif-i şakka*. *Tekâlif-i örfiyye* had taxes upto 97. an extraordinary tax taken being *imdad-ı sefe-riyye* firstly when state had been in financial difficulties during war but later continuously was the most important one of these.

Avarız vergileri (extraordinary taxes) had been taken over units called as *avarız hanesi* (house for extraordinary tax). After falling off the exempted ones, rest of the population of village or quarter had been determined, and then determined number of real house been accepted as house of extraordinary tax, by this way, it was determined that how many houses



Murad Paşa Camii, Istanbul

Murad Paşa Mosque, Istanbul

of extraordinary tax village or quarter had. So the books showing house of extraordinary tax had been issued. Obligated ones of extraordinary tax were active population whose field in village and continuous work to live in city. Some ones charged to supply service behind the front as pass-guard, pontoon soldier, courier etc. were held exempted from extraordinary taxes. Furthermore, the people resided in battlefield had been also held exempted from this tax against damage.

A tax in cash had been also taken from people of place where army of Ottoman had pass on, this tax was a sort of Avârız (levy) and called as nüzül bedeli (value of camping). Being extraordinary tax, the food and various necessity materials needed by army had been covered by people in the value determined and this was called as sürsat bedeli (value of forced contributions). When state could not cover need enough by this ways, then needed grain had been purchased under the name of işıra bedeli (value of purchasing).

Cizya from canonical taxes, had been taken personally from zimmi (non-Muslim subjects) being tax of protection and security. Cizya had been taken from adult men of non-Muslim minorities (in other word, the citizenship agreement had been done with themselves). This tax had been taken from non-Muslim without a particular job under the name of yava Cizyasi (capitation tax of stranger). Monks, children not grown up, families charged in service of state, ones incapable to work had been exempted from Cizya. Cizya had been taken by house calculation according to regions and its amount was equal in each region.

State had collected incomes from both spoils and various taxes in treasury and expended there. In Ottoman treasury had two part as public or exterior treasury, internal treasury or enderun hazinesi (treasury of palace). From these, exterior treasury was the mean treasury of state and general revenues had been collected there. Other treasury was hazine-i hassa belonged to padishah. In State of Ottoman, organization issued services of state related to treasury was called as defterdarlık (office of Ministry of finance).

Defterdarlık (office of Ministry of finance) (Bâb-ı Defteri):

In the state of Ottoman, since the arrangement of budget had been started since period of Murad I, and concept of treasury had been formed in this period, it can be guessed that def-terdar (Minister of Finance) and defterdarlık (office of Ministry of Finance) had been used in that time. But the expression of defterdar has seen clearly in the period so Murad II. In Fâtih ka-nunnâmesi (code of laws of Fatih), defterdar had been expressed as certain attorney of property of padishah. But existing expressions as bashdefterdar (head of Minister of Finance), and defterdar show that the number of them had been increased due to widening of state. Position of Başdefterdar (minister of finance in chief) was position of Rumelia governor general.

Registers, books, promissory notes, income and outcome tables belonged to Ministry of Finance had

been kept in treasury of Finance. Accounts come from states had been kept consecutively and separately in cabinets. In code of laws of Fatih administration of office of Ministry of Finance had been given to derterdars (ministers of finance).

In accordance with code of laws, Defterdar (Minister of Finance) had special privileges as to write verdict related to treasury, guard ones served, offer to be spahi (calvary soldier), clerkship and even sanjak (subdivision of province) and zeâmet (large fief), ability to make rise up to 2 aspers, to speak with sultan by coming closer during campaign.

In early times there was only one defterdar, but number of it had been increased due to widening of country. In Rumelia, person dealing with financial affairs related to havass-ı hümâyûna had been called as Rumeli defterdarı (şikk-ı evvel defterdarı) (minister of finance of Rumeli) or bashdefterdar (minister of Finance in chief). As a matter of fact, there are expressions of bashdefterdar and defterdar in code of laws of Fatih. After the minister of Finance in chief, Ministry of Finance of Anatolia had been created to deal with financial affairs of Anatolia. When East Anatolia and Syria had been got by Yavuz Sultan Selim (Selim I), then another ministry of finance had been also formed to deal with financial affairs of there. This minister had resided in Haleb. In the middle of century XVI, coasts belonged to ministry of Rumelia and Anatolia had been separated and had formed third ministry of finance with mukataas (a farming out of public revenue) of Istanbul, this one was called as şikk-ı sâlis (the third financial division of Ottoman Empire including Hungary, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt and Arabia). So, three separated financial divisions had been formed in the rank of position in center Minister of finance in chief, minister of finance of Anatolia and minister of finance of şikk-ı sâni. In the period of Mehmed III, a fourth financial division had been formed for royal domain with revenue of 120.000 aspers on the coast of the Danube, but it had been cancelled in a short time.

Ministers of Finances had formed divan at the door of ministry for complaint related to financial affairs. Furthermore, ministers of finance had participated to divan in the days of divan, and in Tuesday, they had made explanation on financial subjects to padishah.

There were five officials in attendances of minister of finance in chief. First of them was the first collector called as baş-bâkikulu. There were sixty process-servers called as bâkikulu in his command. They had pursued ones who indebted to treasury, and collected money by way of imprisonment and threat.

Second bailiff of finance was Cizya baş-bâkikulu. This was the second bailiff of finance. He had pursued ones indebted in Cizya and determined ones from multezim (contractor or farmer of any branch of public revenue) of Cizya given iltizam (farming of a branch of the public revenue) and not paid their duties. The third official of minister of finance is veznedar-



Fatih Külliyesi

Mehmed II building complex

bashi (head of treasurer) who superintended the collection. Four treasurers under the command of him had weighed the golds and silvers by controlling the degree of money. Fourth of officials under the command of head of treasurer was sergi nazırı (spectator of pay office), and fifth sergi halifesi (clerk of the pay office), and both of them had hold the books of transaction of treasury.

Budgets of Ottoman :

In state of Ottoman, it is thought that the budget had been arranged since period of Murad I. But, It is able to determined from registers related to revenues and book of expenditure in Presidency Archive of Ottoman that the serious budget has belonged to year of 933-934 (A.D. 1526-27). Until the period of Suleiman the Magnificent, the budget had been in a stable situation according to revenue and expense. But, revenues and expenses had been increased and by decreasing percentage of coverage of revenues against expenses the deficit had been increased since middle of century XVI until end of century XVII.

Some of the causes of deficit in budget were wars done frequently and take long time, immigration of people by leaving their farmland empty by this wars, losing taken lands gradually, losing value of asper by notables and ministers and high officials had started to live luxury life and peoples had imitated them. However, the most important cause of deficit in Ottoman budget was geographical discoveries. As a matter of fact, after the bringing gold from new discovered land to Europe, at early times of Sulciman the Magnificent, 300 aspers had been cut from 100 drachmas of silver but at the end 450 aspers had been cut. This means loss of %50 in the value

Offices of Ottoman Financeri :

Here, offices of finances in century XVI will be examined in brief:

Office of first and second rough day-book of current financial transactions (Rûznâmçe-i evvel ve sâni kalemleri) :

This office had been obliged to register mukataas (rents paid to Evkaf (the government department in control of estates in mortmain) for cultivated land turned into building land or gardens), mevkufats (stores in government storehouse) and Cizya everyday. It was in the central organization. The wages of officials with ulufe called as müteferrikas (department of police station dealing with petty offenses, licenses, etc.), chashnigirs (taster to prince) and erbâb-ı kâlem, (writers) had been given by rûznâmecis. The money entered treasury and gold, silver, fur, fabric etc. Had been passed from the approval of rûznâmecis. The office manager of these was called as Rûznâmçe-i Evvel (the first rûznâmeci) and Rûznâmçe-i sâni (second rûznâmeci, little rûznâmeci).

Office for Rumelia Accountancy:

This office had examined and registered the accounts of padishah and administrators of estates in mortmain of vizier and send them to office of Rûznâ-

me (agenda) after registered them by comparing these with previous accounts in Istanbul and Rumelia. The manager of this office was called as Rumeli muhasebecisi (Accountant of Rumelia).

Office of Anatolia Accountancy:

In contrary to office of Rumelia Accountancy, it had examined the accounts of foundation belonged to padishah and viziers in Anatolia. It had researched licences of timar and wages and brevets of offices in Anatolia except Erzurum had been dealt in this accountancy. The manager of office was called as Anadolu muhasebecisi (accountant of Anatolia).

Office of reciprocation :

It had been issued the books of wages of palace servants and cavalry soldiers, matbah-ı âmiri, sultan's stable etc., and determined the amount of asper for ulufe being got out from treasury by comparing this with main register in treasury. Then, it had been divided into two departments as Piyade Mukabelesi kalemi (office of infantryman reciprocation) and Süvari Mukabelesi kalemi (office of cavalry reciprocation). It had given copy of book issued by it to rûznâmeci. It was the department of Hazine-i âmiri (the Exchequer). Its manager was called as "Mukabeleci" (Reciprocator).

Office of first Tax farmer (rent in chief) :

It was the office under minister of finance in chief. This office had dealt with affairs, customs transactions of ports in Ibrail, Isakçı, Tulça, Maçın, Ah-yolu and all ports on the coast of the Danube and salt pans. Furthermore, orders, decisions related to mukataas (a farming out of public revenue) in Empire, and registers of laws and application seals of mütezims (contractor or farmer of any branch of the public revenue) had been kept in this office. It had also dealt with administration affairs of groves belonged to Sultan's stable.

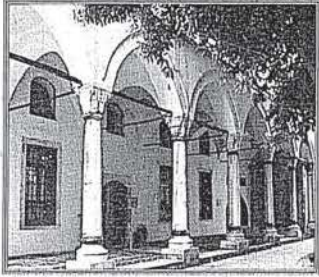
Office of second Tax Farmer (Mukataacı-i Sâni Kalemi):

In this office, affairs belonged to mines had been dealt with. In this mukatâa, there were hases (royal domains) separated from hases of Ibrahim Pasha, grand vizier of Suleiman The Magnificent, and related to office of ministry of finance of şikk-i evvel. Brevet and edicts had been given from there.

Office of third Tax Farmer (Mukataacı-i sâlis Kalemi):

The mukataas of Gallipoli, Chirmen, Serez, Trikala, Lepanto, Sacutari, Berat had been belonged to this office. Brevet and edicts had been given from this office and passed from correction of tax farmer.

Beside of these, there were offices as Tezkireci, Tezkireci-i ahkâm-ı Rumeli, Mevkufatçı (controller of the office of Suspended Payments), Varıdatçı, Kıla' tezkiyecisi, Mevcudatçı (official charged with registering existing things), Teslimatçı (officer charged on delivery) ve Dividar (?). In centry XVIII, offices of finance had widened and multiplied.



Topkapı Sarayı,
Harem Ağaları Koğuşu

Topkapı Palace,
Chamber of harem lords

The Country organization in State of Ottoman

Administrative divisions

Organization of Province:

In state of Ottoman country organization had been organized as village, nahiye (sub-district), kaza (subdivision of province), sanjak (subdivision of province) and province. Kazas had been formed by joining of village and nahiye. Sanjaks had been formed by joining of kazas. provinces had been formed by joining of sanjaks. In administrative organization, units had the biggest figures were kazas and sanjaks. There were kadi, alaybeyi (military rank connected with sif) and subashi in kazas as administrative class. Kadis had responsibility of non military Canonical and legal affairs. Furthermore, they were obliged to ensure the feeding, affairs on municipality and juridical affairs of kaza, and transactions wanted by government. Subashes (police superintendent) were obliged to ensure public security of kaza, and military affairs were in authority of alaybeyi. In kaza dependent on Governor general, discipline and military administration had been charged to subashi of timar. Sanjaks had been managed by person called as governor of sanjak. There are uncertain information as the word of sanjaks had been used in administrative organization of Ottoman in century XIV. However, it had been used commonly in century XV. Especially in century XVI, sanjak as an administrative unit had been placed in code of laws of Ottoman and its codes of laws had existed separately in tahrir defterleri (written survey of province).

Governor of sanjak "Governor of sanjak", the greatest administrator of sanjak had wide authorization and responsibilities on military and administrative subjects. He had dealt with participating war, during any war, under the command of governor general, he was being dependent on, with cultivated cavalry "timarli si-pahi" under his command, ensuring public order and security in sanjak, struggle against counterfeiting "counterfeiting", helping official charged in special task and ensuring easyness in their works. Furthermore sanjakbeys in border had also dealt with ensuring relations with foreigner countries in accordance with treaties. Punishment of guilty persons in sanjak had also been given to sanjakbeys. Sanjakbeys had taken whole or half of the taxes of crimes committed in their administration. In some sanjaks, they had shares on duty of yoke "duty of yoke" (land tax), birdal duty "resm-i arüsanane" (tax of marriage).

Degree of governors of sanjak had been assigned by revenue of royal domain. As stated in code of laws, royal domains up to four hundred thousand aspers could be given to them. If any sanjak had been given to minister of finance, it would be has of four hundred fifty thousand aspers, if given to commander in chief of the Janissaries, it would be has of four hundred thirty thousand aspers. Zeamet of thirty thousand aspers had been given to sons of the governor of sanjak.

Sanjakbeys had the position over all aghas in protocol. If they had left or retired from job, wages of sixty thousand aspers was paid as salary.

In administrative organization of Ottoman "administrative organization of Ottoman", province XE "province" (land of governor general) "land of governor general" had been formed by joining of sanjak. The provinces had been managed by governor general or mir-i miran "mir-i miran" equivalent to it. During century XIV, governor general was the commander of country forces and chief of beys scattered over various sanjaks. In this period, governors general had the identity as person responsible from all military affairs instead of being administrator of a certain region. During the period that conquest of Rumelia "Rumelia" had been continued and the sovereign had been in Anatolia "Anatolia" a Bey of Rumelia had been administrator of beys of Rumelia being Governor general of Rumelia. Suleiman Pasha son and army commander of Orhan Bey was a governor general. After him, this task had been given to Lala Shahin Pasha. But, by the increase of place conquered in Rumelia, to administer Anatolia and Rumelia with one commander had seemed objectionable and lands of governor general (office of governor general) of Anatolia and Rumelia had been formed. In century XV, lands of governor general of Rum (Sivas-Amasya) ve Karaman had needed added so the figure of lands of governor general had been increased to four.

Governors general had been obliged to be representative of sovereign in all political works, to do all issues about military in his divan, ensure security in his region, deal with appointment of timar and its supports. Furthermore, Governors general had to participate army in stated region with sanjakbeyleri in their region and cultivated cavalries under them. When he had obliged to campaign, he had left a person as attorney called as mütesellim (deputy lieutenant-governor and local collector of taxes and tithes). However much, he had appointed as hâkim (ruler) and vali (governor) over sanjakbeys, kadıs, and other officials and people, his powers in century XVI could not be more than inspection, especially over Governor of sanjak. He had been responsible administration of just his sanjak.

Governors general had resided in center of province. Center of office of governor general of Anatolia was city of Kutahya and Rumelia was Manastir. Juridical and legal affairs had been performed by kadi in the center of province. Affairs related to province had been discussed in divan gathered in presidency of him. Affairs related to treasury had been performed by officer of finance on property, affairs related to zeamet had been performed by kethüdâ of timar, and affairs related to timar had been performed by officer of finance on timar.

Degree of governor general of Anatolia was lower than governor general of Rumelia. Officials of finance of property, ones being rulers and marksmen, kadıs up to five hundred, sanjakbeys had has (royal doma-



Kara aga ve Ak aga

Black and white lords

in) of four hundred thousand aspers could be governor general. In code of laws, it is stated that least eight hundred thousand aspers and maximum one million two hundred thousand aspers has would be given to governor general, and if they had retired, they would retire with one hundred thousand aspers. If he had promoted to governor general of Rumelia from governor general, he had been little vizier. If he were governor general of Anatolia, he would be governor of Rumelia, if he had been promoted.

Up to middle of century of XVI, provinces of Ottoman had been separated into two parts as ones administered by has, namely *sâlyânesiz* (without annual rent), and *sâlyâneli* (with annual rent). Provinces administered by has were more than other and provinces of Rumelia, Buda, Antolia, Karaman, Dulkâdir, Sivas, Erzurum, Diyarbekir, Halep, Damascus, Tripoli (in Lebanon) had entered this group. Products of these had been separated has, *zeâmet*, and *timar* and managed from department of finance. Provinces with *Sâlyâne* (with annual rent) some *sanjaks* of Egypt, Abyssinian, Baghdad, Basra, Yemen and ve *Captain-pasha* and provinces of Tripoli (Libya), Tunis, Algeria. Products of these had been collected annually and directly by treasury without separating to has, *zeâmet* (large *fief*) ve *timar* (small *fief*) but separating wages of governor general, governor of *sanjak* and soldier etc.

Beside of these, there were *sanjaks* for *mîr-i mîranlık* and *Yurtluk-Ocaklık* *sanjaks* of *mîr-i mîranlık* were accepted by State of Ottoman as their properties had been owned by its owner but they had accepted the high sovereignty of State. These had given a determined tax and participated to wars by their soldiers, if needed. Word of *Mîr-i mîran* means "beylerbeyi" (governor general). They had had an administrative identity under the governor general until century XVI.

Some large and small places had been given to governors (*bey*) as *sanjak*, they had been given to son or brothers of governor of *sanjak* when they had become unemployed and these were called as *sanjak* of *Yurtluk* (country estate) — *Ocaklık* (family estate). Country estate had been used during life, but country — family estate had shown generational characteristics. Person that such land had been given to him, had not accepted as official owner of that land. He could not sell, donate, devote to pious foundation the land. Differences of country- family estates from *timar* were those, they had not given against any service and landlord had partially some juridical powers up to some degree. This system had been applied in lands captured from separate lords and lands believed his loyalty and devotion.

Privileged Governments :

In administrative organization of Ottoman Empire, there were some governments had special status out of province organization that they had been accepted partially free in their internal affair but they had accepted high sovereignty of state as *Walachia*, *Moldavia*. Kings of these had been chosen by state of Otto-

man among their nobles. These governments had given tax in determined amount, against protection they had.

Administration of Land

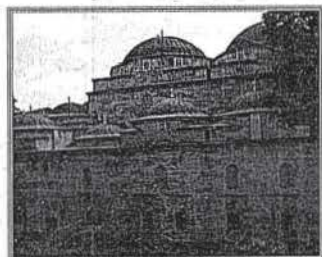
Division of Land: concerning with land, in law of Islam and books of politics, various definitions and divisions and classification had been done. According to Law of Islam, land had been divided into three parts. First of these is *arz-i ôshri*, (soil annexed by agreement and subject to the payment of a tithe) or *arazi-i ôşriyye* (tithe lands), second is *arz-i haraci* (land conquered by the sword and subject to payment of tribute) or *arazi-i haraciyye* (land, subject to the payment of the tribute), third is *arz-i taz'if* (?) or *arz-i emi-riyye* (?) namely *emi-riyye* (?). Division of land in this way is not caused from the products but from owners. As a matter of fact, the owners of lands have been divided into three parts. First ones are Muslims; seconds non-Muslims and third ones owners of land captured by conquest.

State of Ottoman had left order in land captured from lords of Anatolia as before, but had registered with the title deed of lands conquered in Rumelia as state land, but only church, monastery and religious foundation had been left free. Some lands had been left to their owners and put in status of property lands that these lands had been called as *mülk timar*. In code of laws of Ottoman, land had been accepted in five ranges:

Arâzi-i Memlûke (freehold lands): these are property lands. Possession rights of these lands had belonged completely to their landlords. They could transferred them by inheritance, sell, donate, left as pawn or make over to foundation. Lands of *Arâzi-i memlûke* had been divided in four types: a) lands in size of a half acre in or near village and small town accepted as land partly providing with housing, b) lands firstly belonged to *arâzi-i emiriyye* but later being included by *arâzi-i memlûke*, c) *Arâzi-i ôşriyye*, d) *Arâzi-i haraciyye*.

Oshri lands were either lands belonged to Muslims or given Muslims when they were conquered. These lands had been in property of their owners, against farming they had done, they had been obliged to give $1/5 - 1/10$ (*oshru*) of their products to state as tax. *Haraci* lands were lands belong to Christians. They had been obliged to give $1/5 - 1/10$ (*oshru*) of their products to state as tax called *haraci mukaseme* and plus tax of yoke (land tax) called as *haraci muvazzafa*. Taking taxes in different rates from both Muslims and non-Muslims had been a subject depended on watering of land directly, so productivity of lands.

Arâzi-i Mevkîfe (Foundation Land) : These kind of lands had been gathered under two divisions. From these, if property land had been appointed for a determined purpose, it had been called as *Sahih Vakıf* (True Foundation). Secondly, if any part or whole of right of possession of (*miri*) public land had been appointed as foundation, it had been called as *tahsisat*



Mahmud Paşa Camii

Mahmud Paşa Mosque

kabilinden vakıf (foundation under appropriations). Taxes of these lands had been appointed to religious, scientific or social organizations. Reâyâ (tax paying subject of Ottoman Empire) of Foundation had given these taxes (oshur and duty) to trustee of foundation that land appointed and that foundation had spend it in accordance with its deed of trust.

Arâzi-i Metrûke (Lands abandoned) : had been accepted in public lands. Had not had any rights of possession or property, but only could be presented to use of people.

Arâzi-i Mevat (Useless Lands): had also been accepted as public lands. They can be described as lands without possession of anyone. To accept any lands as useless had been depended on whether this land would be invigorated.

Arâzi-i Emiriyye : This kind of lands had belonged to state. These had been divided different parts according to their amount of tax and service. These lands had not belonged to who ones living on them, status of them were lessee. Land had been left to previous owner after conquest by the condition of being planted and they had given taxes charged against farming they had done to ones who revenues of there had been granted to him instead of treasury. When they had died, then these lands had been left to their children by condition of being planted. Generally, lands of Rumelia had been accepted as public.

Public lands had been divided into five divisions. From these, that ones which its revenue appointed to Padishah had been called as havass-ı hümâyûn. These had been managed by mukataa (a farming out of public revenue) and iltizam (tax farming) (to give management of lands to some one on behalf of himself). Second lands called as has and belonged to high officials of state as viziers, governors general, governors of sanjaks etc. Third lands appointed to daughters and families of padishah called as pashmaklık. Fourth lands given to officials of state as property by their services; these had been called as mâlikâne. Some kinds of lands were lands of country- family estate given to some commanders by their services, which could be transferred by inheritance when they had died. Furthermore, public lands had been appointed to ones supplying service behind the front as musellem (administrative official under governor), nomad (division of janissary), pedestrian, and musellem of gypsy and to chief of raiders (akinci; special corps of light cavalry whose duty was pillage the enemy), and toy-calas that they were the commander of troops of akinci. In addition, some kind of lands had been given to ones resided in guardhouse at a passes for serving palace and security of roads.

The most important divisions of public lands were zeâmet ve timars given to persons shown usefulness at wars. The name of dirlik had been given these lands, which known with their general name of timar, had been divided into three groups according to their revenues:

Has : was called for land with annual revenue of

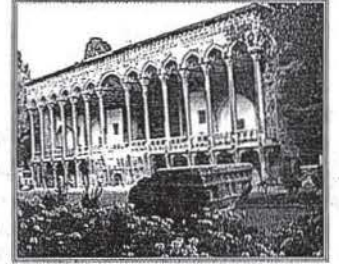
one hundred or more. Meaning of word is means of subsistence, way of subsistence, lands given to Padishah called as havass-ı hümâyûn. These were also called as padishah dirliği (wealth of padishah) instead of sahib-i arz (owners of sief) as in timar and zeâmet. Beside of Padishah, Hases had been given to persons, member of dynasty, sultans, viziers, governors general, governor of sanjak etc. Hases belonged to person other than padishah and member of dynasty had belonged to them during their service. They had lost this dirlik (wealth) when they had removed or died.

Hases had been administered by persons called as voyvoda (vaivode). Oshurs and other duties of land given as has had belonged to owner of has, and if peasant had not make farming, land had been taken from him and given to another one. Owner of has had to maintain an armoured and armed soldier called as cebelü for state against each of five thousand aspers. As a matter of fact, in century XV, in provinces of Anatolia, total revenue of hases belonged to first padishah and other officials of state were 41.052.010 aspers and 8210 cebelüs had been maintained. In the same way, There were 1125 cebelüs in hases in Rumelia.

Zeâmet : was called as dirlik (wealth) had revenue of twenty thousand aspers to one hundred thousand aspers. Zeâmet had been given officials of finance of treasury and timar resided in center of province, kethüdas (warden) of zeâmet commander of troops in sanjaks, wardens of castle, chiefs of doorkeepers, clerks of divan, clerk of office of finance and hazîne-i âmire (The Exchequer). Their zeâmets had not taken back until they had committed a serious crime, namely they had possession on them during their life. Owners of Zeâmet had to maintain cebelü for each five thousand aspers after first five thousand. Zeâmets had revenue over fifty thousand aspers were called as ağır zeâmet (heavy zeâmet). A zeâmet given anyone had been given to another one and never divided when he had died. For example, zeâmet of 25.000 aspers had been given to another one in same amount. This kind of zeâmets were called as tezkereli zeâmet (zeâmet with receipt). There were 195 zeâmets in province of Anatolia and 384 zeâmets in province of Rumelia beteen 1520-1535.

Owners of Zeâmet had collected the whole taxes in their zeâmets, the governor of sanjak and police superintendents (subashi) could not interfere them. During the war, they had participated to the war with their cebelüs under the command of their governor of sanjak. In other times without war, they had not depended on anyone, even they had captured guilty persons in their lands, and no one could interfere. Some times, Zeâmet could be given being shared. Two characteristics have been struck our eyes. First of these was way of giving a village to two persons equal shares. Second was way of registering revenue of region being share of one more than other.

Timar : name of timar had been given to dirlik (wealth) had revenue of one thousand aspers to 19.999 aspers. System of timar caused by need of for-



Çinili Köşk

Tiled Kiosk

ming a strong central administration and some political conditions in the period of formation had affected directly the economic and social status of country as well as military force.

System of timar had shown some similarities with western feudal systems in practice, but big differences between them can be determined if we examine them according to contents and goals. As a matter of fact, Feudals had not be contented with collecting revenue of land called as *rand-hâsil* (unearned income), but had also had the administrative, judicial and financial independence. All things living on land had been accepted to belong to them. They had had the power of possession of their lands. They had acknowledged king in center as grand senior and first knight, and participated him with their forces in war. King had not had the right of removal of them. But owners of timar were completely bounded to center and they were just lessee. Their rights had been limited by laws made by state. Always their lands could be retaken from them.

To give timar had been determined by various methods and laws. For example, grand viziers could give timars up to 5.999 aspers without asking anyone. Furthermore, governors general had had great power about distribution of small timars. Governors general could give timar up to determined amount to cultivated cavalries by their brevet carrying their signature. These kind of timars were called as *Tezkeresiz Timar* (timar without receipt). For greater timars, governors general had offered appointment by giving a receipt to person deserved timar and brevet of appointment had been given in Istanbul. These kind of timars were called as *Tezkereli Timar* (timar with receipt).

Timars had also been called according to service of person they given. First of them had reserved for ones serviced palace in some mosques being imam and preacher and been called as *Hizmet timarı* (timar for service). These kind of timars have also been called as *sivil timar* (civil timar) by some investigators. Because, there were non-military persons as imam, hadi, preacher, muhtesib (superintendent of police who has charge of examining weights, measures, provisions, etc.), mirahur (master of the horse), asesbashi (chief policeman). Second group of timar was timar called as *mustahfız timarı* (timar for commander of a fort) and appointed to guards of fort they were membered by their services. This timar had been given commander of fort, soldiers and all kind of servants charged in fort. Third group was called as *eshkinci timarı* (timar for mounted feudal yeoman) and most of the timar had entered this group.

Owners of Timar had been called as *sâhib-i arz* (landlord). If landlord had died or timar had become empty by any reason, his timar had been given to another body or his son, capable of bearing guns, if he had. Owner of timar could not transfer his timar anyone else. There were certain provisions in these subjects in codes of laws.

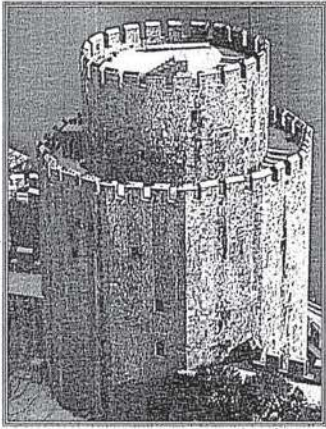
Any peasant left timar had been caught by owner of timar and placed same place again. This subject had been stated certainly in law on settling. Sipahi had replaced subjects left their lands with in ten years to their previous lands by moving them. On the other hand, a tax called as *çiftbozan* (to demolish their yoke) had been collected them because they left their lands empty. On the other hand, relations between peasant and spahi had not only been in favor of spahi. But they could act in accordance with laws.

Owners of timar had brought soldier for war according to revenue of timar appointed them. During a war, all *eshkinci* (mounted feudal yeoman), *zümâ* and *erbâb-ı timar* had participated to war under command of *serasker* (commander in chief) they bound. But, 1/10 of them had been left to keep region and perform works.

As in other organization of state, system of timar had been started to spoil and lost its old identity since end of the century XVI. Because, on the contrary of laws on distribution of timars, timars had been given to inappropriate persons had no relation with military profession by bribe, and this situation had caused to spoil the organization. For example, early times of century XVII, while 33,000 cultivated cavalries with *cebelüs* had been taken from Rumelia, this figure had decreased below two thousand. Also, in Anatolia, there were 18,700 soldiers and then it had decreased to one thousand. Also, it is stated in *Kitâb-ı Müstetâb* (approved book) that figure being two hundred thousand of cultivated cavalries had decreased to one of ten. So, Kochi Bey being in lead, many Ottoman authors had offered various methods to improve timar organization when they had explained the reasons of spoiling of it in their works. For example, in *Kitâb-ı Müstetâb* it have been stated that on the contrary of laws, the organization had spoiled by high officials of state had appointed owners of timar and taken timars from them randomly and desultory by bribe, and the spoil had started in the period of Murad III. Also Kochi Bey have written that *dirliks* had been taken by servants and slaves of high officials of state and businessmen by leaving old method and orders, and on this subject the bribe had played a great role.

According to Canikli Ali Pasha lived between years of 1720-1785; spoiling of timar based on three reasons: 1- When timar register book had brought to commander in chief, he had given all useful timars to his supporters, 2- most of useful timars had been given to vizier and high officials, 3- Owners of timars had formed breach by their fear, so they could not be useful.

Upon spoiling and loosing its old function in this way, timar had been removed gradually to use in service of military police and others since 1844.



Rumeli Hisarı,
Çandarlı Halil Paşa Kulesi

Rumeli Fort
Çandarlı Halil Pasha Tower

Military Organization

Land Forces

The Ottoman army did not have a regular military organization during the establishment years; the voluntary ghazis have undertaken the mission. Following the Mongol invasion, Turkmen and Anatolian Seljuk soldiers and commanders, who were running from Mongols, came to Osman Ghazi. In addition to these we should also add people from Turkish Islam world that came to Ottoman lands, which was known as *dârülcihat* (jihad land). Likewise these half militaristic - half civilian and all on-horse societies that organized under names such as *alperen* and *gazi*, *ahi*, *bacı* and *abdal*, who came to fight in the first wars against Byzantium in the name of religion and to conquer new lands, have been very helpful.

The first state organization and establishment of regular military have been achieved during Orhan Bey's reign. Thus Ottoman became a state rather than a frontier principality and the military had its place in the Ottoman Divan (state meetings). Orhan Ghazi placed all *timar* (fief held under condition of military service) under fixed units to some command levels. These were the main force in the Ottoman army: *Sipahi* (knight who held a grant of land from sultan in return for military service). These commanders joined to expeditions with people they gathered from their own tribe and clans. All of the *Timarli Sipahi* were on horse and they gathered into regiments and were given under regiment Beys' (Chief) command. Under them was a military rank "*çeribaşı*" (troop leader). During Orhan Bey's reign the second group was known as *yaya* and *müsellem*. These were the first regular and paid force, and they were established after the conquest of Bursa with *Kara Halil's*, who was *kadi* of here, recommendation. At first *yaya* were consisting of 1000 men, divided into 10 and 100 men groups under a *onbaşı* (corporal) and a *yüzbaşı* (captain) respectively and all were commanded by a *binbaşı* (major). *Yaya* took 2 *akçe* (silver coin) daily during expeditions, and they worked in their *miri* (state owned) lands after the expedition but they were free of all tax. *Yaya* have been used in back service and as castle guards after the establishment of *Yeniçeri Ocağı* (Headquarters). *Yaya* who had *Timar* were commanded in groups by *çeribaşı* called *yaya bey* in their own regions. Likewise *müsellem* are around 1000 and also a paid and regular force on horse, who were established at the same time with *Yaya*. They were divided into groups of 30. 5 of these went on to expeditions under the name *be-nevbet eşinci* and the rest of them called *yamak* stayed back and dealt with land works. They were too taken to back service after the establishment of *Yeniçeri*.

Thus it could be said that the main force of Ottoman Army during Orhan Ghazi consists of *yaya*, *müsellem* and *Sipahi*. Each of these was under the command of a *sanjak bey* and they were under the

command of Commander-in-chief. In time successful commanders received *sanjak* province as a reward and thus the number of the men increased.

Meanwhile permanent or temporary soldiers under the names *azeb*, *canbaz* (advance forces) and *garib* (Arabian and Persian volunteers) joined the army during the first conquests. Among these *azeb*, who were apt in military and strong youngsters chosen from Turks with *kefil* (guarantor), joined battles and became advance forces in time.

Akıncılar (raiders), who were deployed in front after the establishment of the Janissary and were organized with efforts of Ghazi Evrenos Bey (death 1417), were being used as front forces in the frontiers. *Akıncılar*, who lived in frontier regions in Rumeilia, usually had raids in summer into enemy countries in a certain organization. *Akıncılar* were not paid, they had their lives on raid booties and they were free of some taxes. The most important prerequisite of being an *Akıncı* was to be young and strong. *Akıncı* candidate had to have a guarantor as an imam, village *kethüda* (chief steward) or someone entrusted. *Akıncı* records were regularly kept as two copies, one in frontier *kadi* and the second in the capital. These records included *Akıncı's* name, look, father's name, region and village. State assigned the *Akıncı Bey*. This important duty was undertaken by important *Akıncı* families as *Mihal*, *Evrenos*, *Turhan* and *Malkoçoğlu*, and was inherited from father to son. *Akıncı* who were under *Evrenos Bey's* command stayed in Albania, *Turhan Oğulları* in Mora, *Mihal Oğulları* in Sofia, and *Malkoç Oğulları* around *Silistre*. According to the *Akıncı* rule, every 10 *Akıncı* were commanded by an *onbaşı* (corporal), every 100 *Akıncı* by a *subaşı* (captain) and every 1000 by a *binbaşı* (major). The number of *Akıncı* has increased and decreased through time. Lower ranked *Akıncı* officers were called *toyca* (*taviçe*). They were *Akıncı's* *çeribaşı* during peace times and *Alay Bey* during expeditions. *Akıncı* had their normal jobs during peacetime but they were the front forces of the main army and moved ahead, had reconnaissance missions, and secured roads, passages and bridges. A raid done with men less than 100 was called *çete*, over 100 men was called *haramilik* and raids with *Akıncı bey* was called *Akın*. Raids were exercised with a good plan and a good command chain. The *Akıncı* entered the enemy land in great numbers and divided into companies at strategic locations. *Akıncı* did not lay siege on castles since they did not have the required equipment: *Akıncı* used *kılıç* (sword), *kalkan* (shield), *pala* (scimitar), *mızrak* (spear) and *topuz* (mace) as weapon. They had spare horses to carry the booties back. *Akıncı* were mainly used in Rumelian border but since *Fatih Sultan Mehmed* reign they were also used at the Eastern borders.

With the conquest of Bursa, Ottoman army has reached 90 thousand with 40 thousand horsemen and 50 thousand infantry. This number increased to



Fatih Sultan Mehmed

Mehmed II

115 thousand with the merge of Karesi principality and it was even larger at the death of Orhan Bey.

During the reign of First Murad soldiers were taken from principalities and vassal states in Anatolia and Balkans upon need. Use of fire weapons started in this era too.

In addition when Molla Rüstem of ulema (professors) suggested that hums-ı şer'î should be exercised which was a right of the state in Islamic Law, and with Kazasker Kara Halil's approval, for every slave 25 akçe for Beytülmal (State treasury) and one of the slaves to be given to state if there are more than 5. The slaves of war were given to Turkish families and thus they learned Turkish, Turkish Islamic traditions and customs. But this was not enough to make them soldiers so a center to give them military training was established. As it will be explained below; it was decided to give them a basic military training in Acemi Ocağı in Gallipoli and then take them to Janissary Ocağı. This was nothing but a continuation of the gulâm system of old Islamic-Turkish states. Meanwhile the numbers of sanjaks and therefore the number of Sipahi had increased.

With Pençik Law the foundation of Janissary Ocağı and therefore Kapikulu Ocak has been laid. The method used with Pençik Oğlanları would be used in later Devsirme too. Pençik Oğlanları have been given to Turkish farmer families in Rumelia for education since the second half of the 15th century. Pençik Law continued to be used in Yıldırım Bayezid's reign. During his time Janissary Ocağı's number has reached 7000 and the number of Timarli Sipahi has been overgrown.

The employment of temporary paid worker soldiers, who were mostly non-Muslim young people and called Cerehor, has been during Yıldırım Bayezid's reign for the first time. Cerehor has been employed in back services in later times and they were sometimes employed in return for avarız.

During Fetret era an important part of the Kapikulu (royal guards) soldiers, including Janissary Aga, were in Edirne with oldest Schzade (sultan's son) Emir Süleyman. The Ottoman army was divided since all of the Schzade declared their sovereignties. Many men were lost during the civil wars. Meanwhile both central and province military systems survived intact. During Çelebi Mehmed's reign the recruiting through Devsirme was emphasized. The legalization of this application achieved after 2nd Murad's enthroning and it replaced Pençik law in time. During this Padişah's reign the number of kapikulu was around 5000. The main force was consisting of azep, Timarli Sipahi, yaya, Akinci and assisting Christian soldiers. The use of fire weapons has developed greatly.

According to the Devsirme law declared during this Padişah, Janissary Aga reported the soldier need for Kapikulu Ocağı to the Divan-ı Hümayûn and suitable Christian boys, aged 8-18, would be recruited according to the decision of the meeting. Devsirme was exercised under the supervision of Janissary and

Acemi Ocağı agas, based on need, in every three, five or seven years. Devsirme was exercised at first by local rulers, but since they misused their duties, a new system was brought during Fatih reign and teams of Janissary Officers, usually at high ranks, were sent from the capital to recruit. Local officers helped the Devsirme officer in every aspect. According to the Devsirme law; nobles, sons of fathers, one of two sons, the most suitable one if a family had many sons were recruited, and single sons were left to the family. In addition, orphans, greedy people, and sons of village kethüdas, who might have become greedy, were not recruited. Likewise, sons of herdsmen and shepherds, bald, bigheaded, beardless, naturally circumcised, and city children were among refused. And married or boys with a craft, with some exceptions, very tall or very short boys were refused too. The sons of Bosnian people, called poturoğulları, were an exception, they were being recruited for palace service because their fathers had accepted Islam all together and asked for this as a reward during Fatih Sultan Mehmed reign. The law of Devsirme was not applied to some responsibility holders as derbentçilik (mountain pass workers), maden (miners) and mirî inşaat işçiliği (state building workers). The chosen candidates were recorded in eşkal defteri (figure records). Then Devsirme were sent to the centers, and, after they were checked by Janissary Ağa, they were circumcised all together and Cizya tax (head tax collected from non-Muslims) was not taken any more if present. Since 2nd Murad, the ones for palace school were either submitted by Janissary Ağa or chosen by Saray Ağa. Strong ones, especially Bosnians, were given to Bostancı Ocağı. Devsirme were given to Turkish families and they learnt Turkish, and Turkish traditions and then they were taken to the Acemi Ocağı. The first Devsirme grand Vizier was Mahmud Pasha and he was assigned by Fatih. Other Devsirme grand viziers of this Padişah are Rum Mehmed Pashâ, İshak Pasha, and Gedik Mehmed Pasha.

There are two points whether the Devsirme is within the Islamic law. The first one is if they were taken from their families involuntarily and second one is their Islamisation.

According to the Islamic law the non-Muslim were not recruited for the Cizya tax they paid. But it should be accepted as legal that the state recruiting them and not taking the tax. If we accept that non-Muslim refused to be recruited then we should also accept that the state is powerless to recruit them. According to this we can take the Devsirme application as the non-Muslim's compulsory military service. Likewise the state's not taking the Cizya tax reinforces this view.

And Islam scholars claim that Devsirme being Islamised and circumcised is based on Prophet Mohammad's saying "Her doğan çocuk (İslâm) fıtrati üzere doğar. Daha sonra anne ve babası onu Yahudileştirir; Nasranileştirir ve Mecusileştirir (Buhârî, "Kader", 3, "Cenaiz", 80; Müslim, "Kader", 23, 24,



Kara Kullukçu

Sergeant

25; Müsned, II, 315, 346) "Every born baby is born on Islam belief. Later their father and mother make them Jewish, Christian or Zoroastrian". If we consider that they recruited Devsirme from 8-18 age group, we see that it is not a forced religion change but an effort to make them adopt the righteous religion before they were Christianized by their mother or father and before they were obliged to a religion (according to Imam-ı Azam a man's maturity age for a religion is 18). Therefore the claims of some orientalist to relate Devsirme directly to Islamisation and Turkisation are baseless. Since this application is mainly based on the need for soldier.

After this short introduction, we can say the land forces of Ottoman Empire, which counted up to hundred thousands during Fatih era, were consisting of central and province soldiers. The central forces, which were called Kapikulu Ocağı, were consisting of horsemen and infantry.

Infantry were divided into Acemi, Janissary, cebeci, topçu, top arabacı, humbaracı and lağımçı ocağı.

Acemi Ocağı (raw recruits headquarters) is the place all Central Ottoman soldiers were trained. The raw recruits trained here were distributed mainly to Janissary and other Kapikulu headquarters. This distribution process was called, in ocak terminology, bedergâh or kâpiya çıkma. The vacant places were filled with, following Janissary Ağa's request, Pençik Oğlanları or Devsirme who were staying with Turkish farmer families. Gallipoli Ocağı's strength was around 400-500.

An Acemi Ocağı Ağa was assigned to command the Gallipoli Acemi Ocağı. But after the conquest of İstanbul, another Acemi ocak was established here, and a baş Ağa was assigned under the name Gallipoli Ağa. There were 8 Acemi companies under his command and every company was commanded by an officer called çorbacı. When the Acemi Ocağı Ağa left his position, first çorbacı was assigned as the başyayabaşı of Ocak.

İstanbul Acemi Ocağı was established after the conquest of İstanbul by Fatih. People in İstanbul Acemi Ocağı were called torba oğlani or şâdi. Their barracks were called oda and it was between Şehzadebaşı and Vezneciler and beside barracks of Janissary called eski odalar. İstanbul Acemi Ocağı's strength was 31 orta (company). Acemi barracks were in opposite two lines; one of them was called kethüda and the other çavuş. There were 16 rooms, together with Ağa room, in Kethüda barracks and 15 rooms in Çavuş barracks. İstanbul Acemi Ocağı's commander was called İstanbul Ağa. Inhabitants of a room were called cemaat. The first room in the Ocak was the Ağa company. Çorbacı of the 31st room was the Acemi Ocağı clerk.

When there is a vacant position in Acemi Ocağı, with an order sent from capital, Anatolian and Rumelian ağas sent the most senior Acemi candidates to İstanbul. These candidates were inspected thoroughly at the Ağa kapısı (Ağa gate) according to the eşkal

desteri (figure records) and then they were accepted to the Acemi Ocak. The strength of İstanbul Ocağı was around 3000 in Fatih's reign.

The responsibility of İstanbul Acemi Ocağı was directly on İstanbul Ağa. Dismissing and appointments of Oda zabıtları was determined by İstanbul Ağa, and service and training of soldiers was his responsibility. kulluk (police station) duties of Janissary who were out of İstanbul was fulfilled by Acemi under İstanbul Ağa's command. Anatolian and Rumelian ağas were the highest ranking officers following the İstanbul Ağa. Anatolian Ağa was higher ranking than Rumelian. The duties of these two Ağas were mentioned above. Rumelian Ağa would become Anatolian Ağa if promoted. After the corruption of Devsirme system these two Ağas became İstanbul Ağa's associates. Another important officer of the Ocak was kethüda.

Çavuş followed the Kethüda. And following him was his substitute aşçıbaşı and âriyeti çavuş. If aşçıbaşı promoted he would become a çavuş and if çavuş promoted he would become a kethüda. The control of Acemi in police station duty was on çavuş and aşçıbaşı together.

Every room's commander was called çorbacı or yayabaşı. The first room called Ağa bölüğü, was so crowded it was divided into 9 subdivisions, and the highest ranking officer was called bölükbaşı and the most highest ranking officer among them was called başbölükbaşı. The highest ranking of the yayabaşı was called başyayabaşı. They would wear börk on their heads as Janissary did. If they promoted they became Janissary yayabaşısı or Sipahi and would go to country with 20.000 akçe zeamet. Every çorbacı was responsible for his room's discipline and services.

The meals of the soldiers in Acemi Ocağı were prepared with their daily wages and by themselves, and Acemi who were out of the Ocak would be prepared by the kitchen they are in. Ocak's high-ranking officers had, in addition to their sodla, sodla rights in certain amounts. The ulufe (salary) of the Acemi was paid tri-monthly in the barracks square by the Ocak Katib. Paying for broadcloth for their uniforms started during Fatih reign. Acemi wore a conical yellow serpuş on their head. Under their military greatcoat they wore a robe with buttons till waist and a little wide at bottom, which was called dolama. They had a sash and a dagger at their waists.

There was a mescid (small mosque) in the İstanbul barracks and an imam and muezzin chosen from among the Acemi had them do their prayers. And there was a dungeon in the barracks square where the convicts punished. Two old Acemi were responsible for opening and closing the barrack gates. People chosen from Devsirme to work in hasbahçe and bostan were called bostancı ocağı çıkmaları. They worked in gardens and vegetable gardens in köşk and yalı around and in İstanbul and then they would be accepted to Janissary Ocağı. Every bostancı received 1000 akçe called silâh baha at their Kâpiya Çıkma ceremony.



Çuhadar

Footman

Janissary Ocağı was established probably in 1363 after the conquest of Edirne and it is the first regular army in Europe after Romans. The names and personal records were kept in main records called Kütük and thus the entrance of ordinary people was prevented. Since military service was continuous, at first, Janissary were bachelors and stayed in the barracks. The first Janissary barracks was in Edirne. The importance of barracks in Edirne has decreased after the conquest of Istanbul.

The Janissary Ocağ was divided into two as cemaat (yayabaşı) ortaları and sekban companies during Fatih reign. The infantry companies, whose number grew through time, were called cemaat and their number increased to 101. Sekban, who were 65 of cemaat ortaları, was of 34 companies.

Yayabaşı or cemaat ortaları are the first companies of the Ocağ. Yayalar were only 10 at the establishment but in time they grew proportionally into 101.

65th of Janissary cemaat ortaları is the sekban ortası. The strength of Sekban, which consisted of a little horsemen and 35 companies of men-on-foot, varied from 40-70 companies. Sekban were separate and autonomous from the Janissary until 1451. In this year 2nd Mehmed dismissed that time's Janissary Ağa Kazancı Doğan since he could not keep order during the return from Karaman expedition, during which Janissary demanded gratuity and caused some disorder. 2nd Mehmed added around 6000 sekban, who were more loyal to the palace, to the Janissary Ocağ and left around 500 sekban for hunting parties.

Cemaat Ortaları, who were the oldest company of the Janissary, were commanded by the following officers in order:

Janissary Ağa: Janissary Ağa was the highest-ranking officer both in Janissary and in Acemi Ocağı. Ağa gathered a meeting called Ağa divan to keep the Ocağ working and to take care of cases, and went to expeditions with a standard that had two plumes that showed his Ağalık, and a white standard called İmam-ı azam bayrağı. His substitute in the capital was Sekbanbaşı. If Padişah was in the palace Janissary Ağa also joined the divan but if he is not a vizier he stayed outdoors. He would not join the divan at all if Padişah was not in the palace. He would enter the Divan-ı Humayun at the end and would submit his reports about the progress of the Ocağ. Another duty of them was to keep order in Istanbul so they would patrol the city from time to time with his men and punish improper and guilty people. To extinguish fires in Istanbul was also a duty of Janissary Ağa and his Janissary.

Sekbanbaşı: He is the commander of Sekban who were independent until 16th century but they joined the Janissary with Fatih's order in 1451. He is the second ranking officer after Ağa.

Kul Kethüda: He is the third ranking officer of the Janissary Ocağı. He had more influence over Ocağ soldiers than the previous two. He was also res-

ponsible for the progress of the Ocağ as the substitute of Padişah. People who wanted a talk with Ağa in Ağa divan day would apply to Kul Kethüda. Kethüda bey was a fixed member of the Ağa divan and was aware of everything going on in the Ocağ. To deploy the Janissary in war order during battles was Kul Kethüda's duty. If Kul Kethüda promoted he would become Sekbanbaşı.

Other important officers of the Ocağ were Zagarıbaşı, Saksoncubaşı, Turnacıbaşı, hasekibaşı, başdeveci Ağa and başyayabaşı.

In addition to these 60, 61, 62 and 63rd companies of cemaat companies were called solak Ortaları. Solak companies were chosen from among strong, powerful looking brave and experienced Janissary and they would serve as the guards of Padişah during expeditions. Solak companies were established during Yıldırım Bayezid. 12 solak soldiers accompanied Padişah in his trips and while he was going to mosque they were called rikâb-ı hümayûn solakları. Solakbaşı would be assigned from oldest 4 kethüda of their own company. During battles solak surrounded Padişah and Janissary surrounded them. During the first years of Fatih the strength of solak was around 200.

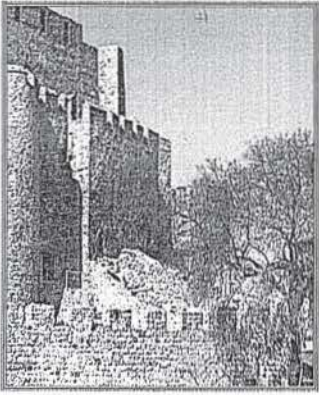
Zenberek means big bow or small artillery carried over horse or camel. Cemaat companies' 82nd company was consisting from zenberekçiler and their commander was called zenberekçibaşı.

Ocağ imam, also called Ağa's imam, was chosen from medrese-educated soldiers of Janissary. 28th company of Cemaat companies was imam ortası. There were four muezzins under this person. Imam wore a big quilted turban called örf, which was worn by professors, instead of a yayabaşı keçe during peacetime. He would be imam for Ağa during prayers.

In addition to above-mentioned company and division commanders every company and division had company officers called başodabaşı, oda kethüdası, odabaşı, vekilhâç, bayraktar, başeski and usta.

Janissary barracks in Istanbul were called yeni odalar (new rooms) and eski odalar (old rooms). Both of them were built during Fatih reign. Eski odalar were in Şehzadebaşı and Eski Odalar were in Aksaray. There were sentries at gates to prevent entrance of non-Janissary people. Most of the historical upholds have occurred in Yeni Odalar around Sofular in Aksaray. Etmeydanı was also there. Over Oda doors were that company's or division's sign. The wooden Janissary rooms have sometimes burnt and they were forced to stay in tents. Janissary rooms were covered with mats. The candles used in lightening were bought by every company or division by themselves from a fixed price.

Janissary wore a serpuş on their head called börk. Börk was a serpuş made from white felt around 45 cm. with a back curl. Janissary had a blue or dark blue broadcloth military greatcoat with large sleeves and an over clothe like a robe called dolama. They wore a tight çakşır (leg feathers) and a raincoat called bârânî over dolama. Green broadcloth called sob-



Rumeli Hisarı

Rumeli Fort

ramanı was given to Janissary Çorbacı. Firstly Janissary Aga and other company commanders received clothes two times a year; for winter and for summer. Ocak officer's boots' color changed by their ranks.

Janissary Ocağı had many different flags. These were Imam-ı azam bayrağı (flag), Aga sancağı (standart), Alay bayrağı (flag), kethüda bayrağı (flag) and company and divisions' red-yellow çatal bayrak (forked flags). The white flag given by Hacı Bektaş Sheikh walked in the front of Janissary Aga. While going to expedition Imam-ı Azam's flag made from white silk came from back. This flag showed that the Ocak was Sunni. Every flag had a flagman. The one carried Imam-ı Azam's flag was called başbayraktar. Every company and division had their own sign.

Janissary had two kinds of duties during peacetime in state capital and in the country. Their most important duty in capital was Divan-ı Hümayun Guard that they did in turns. Another important duty of them in capital was to extinguish fires. The ones successful at this were promoted to Janissary horsemen or sent to timar. A part of Janissary patrolled in the city with their officers and kept order.

Their duties out of İstanbul were divided into two as city and castle duties. The ones in cities controlled and kept the order. Janissary's most important country duty was castle guarding. Janissary guarded castles for 3 years in turns.

Janissary, since their establishment, were trained in first at arrow then in fire weapons. Janissary who were successful at training shots were rewarded with becoming a Kapikulu horsemen or Timarli Sipahi. Being Kapikulu horsemen was called Bölüğe Çıkma.

Guilty Janissary had their punishments based on their rank. Every man was punished by his own oda Kethüda, bölükbaşısı or odabaşısı. Capital punishments were exercised usually at Rumelian castle at night. Capital punishment, exile and jail punishments were given only after a good investigation and with consent of the grand vizier.

Janissary went to war together with Padişah himself. Janissary went before Padişah during the expeditions, and when he stopped they would build their tents around his otağ-ı hümayun (sultan's tent). During battle the defense of sultan was solaklar and Kapikulu horsemen's duty. This was because almost all of Janissary were in trenches. During battles often they were checked in headquarters and areas near front so deserting was prevented. Tradesmen and craftsmen, who were called orducu esnafı (army tradesmen), were taken with Janissary in order to provide their needs. Before the army moved orders were sent to region kadıs on the road to make necessary preparations. During expeditions Janissary were given flour and hard biscuits. During battles Janissary were deployed in the center of Ottoman Army. On the right and left of them were the Kapikulu Horsemen. On the wide, that is on the wings were the Timarli Sipahi.

Janissary were given weapons, ammunition, pic-

kaxe, and shovels by cebeci before the battle. Janissary always had their traditional prayer gülbank before the battle. When the battle started usually at the lines fired at the enemy. This was called fındık serpme (sprinkling nuts) among Janissary. Volunteers who were successful in castle siege wars were called serdengeçti. Janissary carried a dagger and a bigger knife later during peacetimes. They had a bow made of horn and arrows during expeditions. Other weapons they used were, shield, dagger, axe and zenberlek.

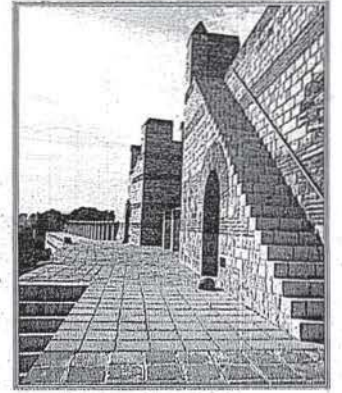
Experienced Janissary were called Korucu. They did not actively joined expeditions and even if they did they would be deployed in back duties as tent guard. Janissary going to expeditions were called eşkinçi. Commander of Korucu was Korucu başı. Retired Janissary were called oturak.

Janissary katibi, who had an important position among Janissary, was assigned within the Ocak until Fatih. But to prevent them to misuse their duty under the pressure of Janissary Aga, it has been a law to assign them from outside during this padişah's reign. Katip, who was also called Janissary Efendisi, kept the great records of Acemi and Janissary Ocağı, called kütük, and salary records called ulufe. The ulufe (mevâcib) records of Janissary were kept by katips called şakird in Janissary effendi's department.

Ağakapısı is the place where Janissary Aga accommodated. There were many departments, bureaus, training fields and a mosque in Ağakapısı. Aga İmamı also accommodated here. The divan gathered at Ağakapısı under Janissary ağa's heading was called Ağa Divan. Ocak problems were solved here and Ocak cases were discussed. The members of the Ağa Divan were high-ranking officers as sekbanbaşı, kul kethüda, zağarcıbaşı, saksoncubaşı, turnacıbaşı, başçavuş, and Janissary kâtibi.

Janissary Ocağı had a regular health service. One of the duties of Meydan Çorbacı was to carry sick and wounded during the expeditions. There were many doctors and surgeons in Ağakapısı. Merchants, who were mostly Greek or Jewish, did the shopping and ulufe formalities of soldiers at borders. Meanwhile they had a portion of these shopping.

Salaries of the Janissary were given every three-month in Divan-ı Hümayun before grand vizier and it was called ulufe (mevâcib). The salaries were recorded in Mevâcib records with the first letters of each three months as Masar (muharrem, sefer, rebi-ülevvel), Recec (rebiülâhir, cemaziyelevvel, cemaziyeleahir), Reşen (receb, şaban, ramazan), and Lezez (şevval, zilkade, zilhicce). Every ulufe kist was given together with the last two months' so it was called kisteyn mevâcibi (double kist salary). From time to time the successful Janissary were rewarded with salary increases called mukarrer (decided) or terakki (progress). In addition the zarar-ı lahm price given to compensate for undercoats and meat also summed up to a great number. Janissary were given cülâs (enthroning) and sefer bahşişi (expedition gratuity) in addition to their salaries. Sultan enthroned would



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give gratuity to Kapikulu and give a salary increase. *Sefer bahşişi* was given for the first expedition of the new sultan. Both applications were started with *Fatih*.

Cebeci Ocağı's soldiers would provide Janissary with attack and defense weapons as arrow, bow, gun, sword, pickaxe, shovel, gunpowder, fuse, bullet, armor and helmets, carried them to battlefield, would take care of these during peacetime and kept them in *cebehane*. Janissary received their training guns from *cebehane* and returned them to here at the end of training. *Cebeci* too, like Janissary, went to country service every three year in turns. The biggest and most important weapon warehouses in country were in *Budin* and *Belgrade*. Even though the establishment date of *Cebeci Ocağı* is uncertain, it is certain that it was after Janissary *ocağı*'s establishment. *Cebeci Ocağı*'s soldiers were too taken from *Aceci Ocağı*.

Cebeci were divided into *orta* and companies as Janissary. There were 37 *cemaat ortası* and 59 companies. Though they were not crowded, their number had increased and decreased depending on the number of Janissary. If *Padisah* or grand vizier went on to expedition all of them, and if a vizier went on to expedition some of them were sent with.

The highest-ranking officer in *Ocağı* is the *cebecibaşı*. His place in protocol was after *Kapıcılar Kethüda* and before *topçubaşı*. It was *cebecibaşı*'s responsibility to keep order in *Ayasofya*, *Hocapaşa* and *Kapıcılar* regions. There were four *Kethüda* following the *cebecibaşı*. The highest one was the *başkethüda*. Usually he was promoted to *cebecibaşı*. Following him were *cebeciler başçavuşu*, commanders of *Cebeci orta* and companies, *odabaşı* and lower officers called *usta*. *Cebeciler Katibi* kept the records of spent or bought weapons' prices.

Cebeciler barracks was near *Ayasofya* over stables in *Yerebatan*. There were rooms for officers and soldiers. The workshops and warehouses of the *Ocağı* were here. The reduced supplies of the *Cebehane* were completed with the request of *Cebecibaşı* from *Divan-ı Hümayün*. The war equipments produced in the *Ocağı* could also be bought from civil tradesmen. Among the craftsmen of *Cebeci* workshop were *tirger* (bow-maker), *zırhger* (armor-maker), *kundakçı* (gunstock-maker) and *tüfekçi* (gun-maker). When going to expedition the war equipments were loaded onto horses and camels by *Cebeci* and they were distributed among Janissary as they were approaching the battlefield. They were deployed in behind the sultan tent's center. *Cebeci* received their payment three-monthly as Janissary.

Topçu Ocağı (Artillery headquarters) is a *Kapikulu* infantry class. Their duty was to produce artillery and use them in battlefield. The establishment date is not known but since they took men from *Aceci Ocağı* it can be said it was after the establishment of Janissary *Ocağı*. The use of artillery has developed greatly during *Fatih* era and use of artillery has increased. The take of men to *Topçu Ocağı* was done upon request of *topçubaşı* to *Divan-ı Hümayün*. If

the service of a *topçu* were good he would either be promoted within the *Ocağı* or sent to *timar*. *Topçu* were of two kinds as casters and users.

Topçu Ocağı barracks and artillery casting workshops were in *Istanbul Tophane* region. *Fatih Sultan Mehmed* had built these workshops. The chief of workshops was *dökücübaşı*. He was also the most skilled craftsman and with a auxiliary he was the commander of craftsmen as *tamirci* (repairer), *burgucu* (hole-maker), *yamacı* (patch-maker), *kefçegir*, *dökümcü* (caster), *demirci* (blacksmith), and *marangoz* (carpenter). Artillery casting workers could be promoted to craftsman level. Ottoman Empire had reached great distances and therefore there were artillery workshops outside *Istanbul* especially in border castles in order to protect the unity of the state. The cannonballs, called *Top yuvarlağı*, were made near mines and then moved to places where they would be used. The craftsmen of country casting workshops were sent from *Istanbul* casting workshop. Ottoman used cannonballs weighted between 8 and 22 *okka* (an *okka* is 1282 grams). And some of the artillery caliber was around a meter. Smaller cannonballs were usually for the cannons in ships in rivers. Mortars were of great use during the siege of *Istanbul*. It is also known that artillery types *şayka*, *prankı*, *havan* and *havayı* were used during this era. And each of these types had small, medium and large types.

Topçu Ocağı was consisting of *Orta* and companies. *Ağa* company was very crowded and it was further divided into 5 companies under the name *cemaat*. Artillery soldiers received artillery training two days a week under the supervision of veteran artillery users. Every type of artillery had a veteran user. *Kapikulu* artillerymen also served at castles on borders. There were also local artillerymen who had *timar* in these border castles.

Artilleries were transferred according to their sizes on mules, camels or carts during expeditions. A part of the artillery moved in front of Janissary in center, and others moved at the left and right of the army. The siege artillery called *Kal'aküb* came at the back or they were not taken if not necessary. In places where it was impossible to carry artillery, they were produced at the encampment.

Highest-ranking officer in *Ocağı* was *Topçubaşı*. Following him were high-ranking officers as *dökücübaşı*, *kethüda* and *çavuş* and following them were the lower ranking officers as *çorbacı* or *bölükbaşı*, and *dökücü halife*. There was also an *Ocağı Katib*. Every company had *bölükbaşı* or *Çorbacı* followed by *odabaşı* or *vekilharç* (bullers). *Tophane nâzırı* and *tophane emini* kept records of the equipment went in and out of *Ocağı*. *Topçubaşı*'s peacetime duty was to keep order of *Tophane* and *Beyoğlu* regions. Artillerymen received their salaries every three month as Janissary.

The establishment of *top arabacıları ocağı* (artillery cart headquarters) of *Kapikulu Ocağı* *meri-on-foot* is not known but it is highly probable that it was



İçoğlan, Zülüflü Baltacı, Eski Saray, Baltacı, Müezzîn

Inner eunuch, Palace Fortifier, Muezzin

in the second half of 15th century. Since 2nd Mehmed had carried his cannons with carts from Edirne to Istanbul. But there is no mention of Arabacıbaşı in Fatih's organization law.

Acemi Ocağı provided the men need of Top Arabacıları Ocak. Arabacı soldiers stayed in their headquarters in Istanbul and went on to duties in castles in turns. Since their duties were related to artilleries, every castle that had artillery also had top arabacı. Even though it is clear that their workshops were in Tophane, some document tells us that their barracks was in Şehiremini region, while some other mentions some of their barracks were in Ahırkapı region.

The highest-ranking officer of Top Arabacıları Ocak was Top Arabacıbaşı. This man was assigned from royal stable's saraç and small mirahur kethüda. In addition to him the Ocak's other officers were kethüda, başçavuş, kethüdayeri and ocak kâtibi. Officers of Orta and companies were, as in other Kapikulu Ocaks, bölükbaşı, odabaşı, halife etc.

Humbara (grenade) is a weapon thrown by hand or artillery, which had explosive material and made of iron or bronze. Humbaracı during Fatih were all Timarlı and part of artillery and Cebeci headquarters.

Lağımçılar were also infantry Kapikulu soldiers as of two kinds as with ulufe and dirlik. Lağımçı that had salaries were part of Cebeci. They were mainly used in castle conquests since 2nd Murad.

The existence of Süvari kapikulu askerleri (Kapikulu horsemen) goes back to 1st Murad. The horsemen were established under the name sipah and silahdar with the recommendation of Kara Timurtas Pasha and then these horsemen were divided into six companies with addition of right and left Ulufeci ulufeciyan-ı yemin and yesar, and right and left garip companies guraba-i yemin and yesar. Therefore Kapikulu horsemen were also called altı bölük halkı (people of six companies). The establishment of last four companies called Bölükât-ı erbaa or dört bölük (four companies) should be in the middle of 15th century.

The horsemen of Kapikulu were superior to infantry Kapikulu, who were also under command of sultan himself. Even for the infantry soldiers of Kapikulu it was a promotion to become a horseman. But power and importance was at Janissary. Soldiers of horsemen headquarters were taken primarily from Janissary headquarters and infantry kapikulu headquarters.

The most prestigious of Kapikulu horsemen, who were also called Altı Bölük Yoldaşları (six companies fellows), were sipah, and following them were silahdar company. They were called Yukarı bölükler (upper companies), the ulufeci companies on right and left Orta Bölükler (central companies), and Garip companies on right and left wings Aşağı Bölükler (Lower Companies). Every company had their own banner.

The sipah company, which was established during Fatih era, was also called kırmızı bayrak (the

red flag) due to their flag's color. The most important duty of Sipahi during peacetime was to collect taxes as Cizya, resm-i ganem, mukataa etc. During battle they were night guards together with silahdar company soldiers. During expedition sipah company's duty was to guide the army and during battle to dig trenches and make soldiers dig trenches.

Silahdar Bölüğü, also called Sarı Bayrak (yellow flag) due to their flag color, was the oldest of horsemen headquarters and was established during Yıldırım Bayezid reign. Their commander is Silahdar Aga. First soldiers were iç Oğlan of Harem-i Hümayün (Royal Harem quarters). Then soldiers from other palaces were taken. They went to expedition on the right of the Sultan until Fatih but during his time they passed to left since sipah company became more prestigious. Silahdar opened the roads that the army would use and also get the bridges fixed.

Ulufeciyan-ı yemin that is sağ ulufeciler (right paid) companies of Ulufeci, also called Orta Bölükler, were called Yeşil Bayrak (Green Flag) due to their flag color. Ulufeciyan-ı yesar's (Left Paid) flag was yellow-white. The right Ulufeci went on the right wing of the Sipahi and left Ulufeci went on the left wing of Silahdar. The treasure was guarded by Ulufeci in turns during the expedition.

The organization of gureba, also called Aşağı bölükler, as a headquarters and company took place in the middle of 15th century. Soldiers who achieved very dangerous missions during battles were taken into these companies. They protected the otağ-ı hümayün (Sultan's Tent) and weights during expeditions. But their real important mission was to guard Sancak-ı Şerif (prophet's flag) and other banners. There were also service soldiers with Sipah, Silahdar and two Ulufeci companies.

Aga of Kapikulu horsemen, who were divided into six companies, were different and independent. These six companies' Agas were also called rikâb (Özengi) Aga due to their proximity to the Sultan. The Aga of horsemen could be promoted to higher ranks.

The strength of Ottoman army was eyalet askerleri (province soldiers). And most important part of them were soldiers called Timarlı Sipahi. The country forces' other soldiers used in front and back services and above-mentioned auxiliary forces, as akıncı, azeb, gönüllü, yaya and müselleme were also province forces.

The strength of Ottoman army was the Timarlı Sipahi, which existed since Orhan Ghazi reign. When a place was given to a person as dirlik, he was required to first cultivate it and provide military service. This system was seen as iktâ system in previous Islam states but Ottoman developed and applied it. Dirlik were given to soldiers who achieved great duties in battle. Most of the miri lands that belonged to the state were distributed as Timar. The holder of Timar was called sahib-i arz, sâhib-i raiyyet or more widely as timarlı sipahi. This person had the right to collect the taxes in his region. But he had to fulfill



Karakullukçu, Usta, Karakullukçu

Sergeant, master, sergeant

some militaristic duties in return. His most important duty was to feed horsemen called *cebelü* with a fixed portion of the yearly income he got from the land. Timar holders fed a *cebelü* for every 3000 akçe income, *zeamet* and has holders fed a *cebelü* for every 5000 akçe. All kinds of expenditures of these warriors like horse, weapon, dressing, food, and drinks were on *dirlik* holder. If a Sipahi was dead and had a son, a part of his timar would be given to him and the rest distributed. If a Sipahi without a son died his timar was given to someone else.

There were two copies of records on Timarli Sipahi and Zeamet holders. One copy was kept in the capital while the other was kept in the province. Beylerbeyi, who was the mayor of the province, had checks based on this record and *münhal* (un-owned) Timar and Zeamets could be easily seen through these records.

Sometime before the expedition the beylerbeyi and sanjaks bey were informed on where the expedition is for and where the army gathers. And they would inform the Timarli Sipahi in their region. Thus the forces in every region gathered under the command of beylerbeyi. Timarli Sipahi left 1 of 10 *cebelü* in the timar region thus kept the agricultural process going. The commander of 1000 Sipahi was called Alay beyi. There were *subaşı* and *çeribaşı* under his command. Alay beyi, *Subaşı* and *Çeribaşı* were also responsible for the order in their region.

Timarli Sipahi were not paid or fed even during expedition, all of their expenditures were paid by timar incomes. For this every Sipahi of a sanjak sent 5-10 soldier to their region and get some money. These soldiers were called *harçlıkçı*.

Timarli Sipahi were all horsemen and they had strong, well running, breed horses. Their weapons were usually sword, spear, bow and shield. Successful Sipahi could get a timar rise or even a Zeamet. Sipahi too old to go to expeditions were retired with some retirement pay and their Timar was given to someone else. Successful *cebelü* could have Timar too. If a Sipahi died his family would be given enough Timar. If his son is too young he could send a *cebelü* instead of him until he grew up. Children of dead Sipahi would be given timar that had more income.

Sipahi's punishments changed according to his crime. The greatest punishment for a Sipahi was removal of the Timar he had. Usually Sipahi who did not join the expedition with no excuse would receive this punishment. For minor crimes their Timar could be taken temporarily.

Azebler were light infantry and the auxiliary front forces of Ottoman army even before the establishment of Janissary Ocağı. It was a must to choose them among Turks and they be strong, brave and warrior with a guarantor. The strength of Azeb changed according to the size and importance of the castle they had to guard and they were divided into companies called *orta*. Their commander was Azebler Aga. There were Azebler Katibi and other minor officers following him. Azebler joined the battle under

Beylerbeyi's command and in addition to their duty as castle guard, they also had duties as bridge building and *lağımçılık*. These light infantries crescent tactics have been vital in winning the first battles during foundation years. In addition to first infantry Azeb forces, in 15th century *kale azebleri* (castle Azeb) were also established. These men were part of infantry forces of *serhad kulu* (border men).

Cerehor, *canbaz*, *şatır*, *yürük*, *yaya* and *müsellem* were used in back services in Ottoman army auxiliary forces. Some of them have been mentioned above.

Yaya (Infantry) headquarters, which some provinces had, were under the command of an infantry bey. Main duties of *Yaya* who went on expeditions in turns were to open roads, digging trenches and moats, carrying artillery and cannonballs, and carrying grain stocks. During peacetime they would be busy with mending the castles, and working in mines or shipyards.

*Müsellem*ler, who were taken to back services as *Yaya* during 15th century, were accommodated both in Anatolia and Rumelia. They were all horsemen and ones in Anatolian were all Muslim while ones in Rumelia were mixed as Muslim and Non-Muslim. *Müsellem*ler started a few days before the main forces and fixed the roads and bridges, and cut the forests. Every 30 *müsellem* was taken an *Ocak* and only 1 of 5 went to expedition.

And *gönüllü* and *beşliler* served in castles were of *serhad kulları*. All of them were chosen from local population. Their salaries were paid from the local treasury. Commander of *Gönüllü* was *gönüllü Ağa*, and *Beşli* was *beşli Ağa*.

We should also mention that among the castle forces there are also guards called *hisar eri*, *Azeb* or *farisan* under *dizdar*'s command.

Ottoman Naval Forces

Introduction to the Naval Forces

We need to identify some important revolutionary points to track the changes occurred within the Ottoman Naval Forces during its period of 150 years, from the beginning to the Conquest of Istanbul. The first period is the introduction to the seas as they reached Marmara shores and hit the sailor principalities, the second period is the time that *Yıldırım Bayezid* established a shipyard and base for fleet in Gallipoli and competition with Venice, and third period is the *Fatih Sultan Mehmed*'s opening to Black and Mediterranean seas after the conquest of Istanbul and establishing the basis of Ottoman Empire.

Turks' introduction to the seas goes back to first years of conquering Anatolia. Turks reaching North and South shores quickly started their actions in the sea. Chief *Çaka* was the first real Turkish Chief to start the naval actions who conquered Izmir and its surroundings in 1085. With his fleet of 40 ships, he conquered islands like *Midilli*, *Sakız*, *Sisam* and *Rodos*, which are strategically important, and kept on the struggle to withstand Byzantium at the seas successfully. Chief *Çaka*, who was a man of organi-



Yeniçeri

Janissary

zation and a good sailor himself, posed a sample to the following Turkish sailors. We know that the Seljuk established a shipyard in Alanya for Mediterranean, and a shipyard in Sinop for Black sea. Thus they both took the Mediterranean shores under safety and launched attacks up to the Crimea in Black sea.

Other states, which were established after the Seljuk, did not neglect naval forces due to their geographical locations. For example, Aydinoglu Chief Ghazi Umur established a fleet of 300 – 400 ships and launched attacks on Cyprus and Girit. He secured Anatolia's Aegean shores against Venice after his attacks on Bozcaada, Sakız and Gallipoli. The success he gained at sea made him a mythical personality among the Ottoman sailors. Other than Aydinoglu Karasi, Saruhan and Menteşe principalities in Aegean and Marmara shores, and Candarogullari principality in Sinop in Black sea developed as a sailor beelike. These principalities, which had their own naval forces, established the basis of Ottoman naval forces.

Ottoman Naval force is established upon a tradition of West Anatolia sea ghazi that dates back to 14th century. Even though they were established as a small land state, the Ottomans developed their naval knowledge and experience after they reached the shores and made good use of the fleet and seamen that they inherited from sailor principalities.

Ottomans seriously saw the need of a fleet first time when they conquered the Karasi beelike (1347-48) and reached shores. During the Chief Orhan's rule that is, during the time to crossing to Rumelia the Ottoman naval forces were based on the Karasi principality's and developed gradually. They established the nucleus of the Ottoman naval forces with the shipyards they built in Edincik, Gemlik, Karamürsel and especially in Izmit. Also the ship, a small "Çekdiri" type boat, designed by the Chief Karamürsel himself was used by the Ottoman naval forces for centuries shows that the initial efforts were mostly long lasting.

The first step to Rumelia

Ottomans started the conquest of Rumelia by conquering the Gallipoli (1354) and tried to develop it by expanding towards the Balkans and also by expanding to the sea and developing new policies. Thus Gallipoli was not only the first place to open to Balkans and action base, it was also the first place to open to the sea. In 1388, Murad I moved against the Serbian alliance in Balkans and crossed his Anatolian army using the ships prepared by Yence (Yenice) Chief.

Establishment of the Gallipoli Shipyard and Its Organization

Ottomans tired to establish an important shipyard and a naval base in Gallipoli after they settled in Rumelia to guard Dardanelles and Marmara shores against Venice and Geneva who had trade colonies in Black sea and Aegean. First Yıldırım Bayezid tried to establish a base in Gallipoli. In 1390

he assigned Saruca Pasha to kapudan-ı deryalık (commander of naval forces) and fortified the port and rebuilt and repaired the shipyard in Gallipoli. After these operations the Gallipoli shipyard became a fully established state shipyard with its port able to shelter 3 row galleys, ship building workbenches, storehouses, fountains on shores for ships water supply, ship biscuit bakeries and with its armory. After all these it was announced that the straits were under Turkish control and any ship passing would be checked. During the time the Ottoman fleet was 60 ships.

Yıldırım Bayezid was planning a total control of the Dardanelles. In a paper during the reign of Mehmed II about Gallipoli in 879/1475, there are detailed information about the Ottoman Naval Force Organization. It identifies the organization of the ships and the personnel on them according to what they do. In 1475 the fleet in Gallipoli composed of kadirga (galleon), kalyata (galley), kayık (boat), horse ships, and trade ships. Among these people, reis (captain) and azab personnel of kadirga and kalyata had a mecavib (salary). If we take each captain had a kadirga, there were 93 kadirga, 5 kalyata, 11 boats, and 59 horse ships. It is known that trade ships were used to transport soldiers or munitions and tools when Ottoman naval forces need. 13 trade ships were listed in service of the shipyard.

During that time the ships were powered by oarsmen and sails were used to support them and many oarsmen were needed. For this reason, some of the local people around Gallipoli were assigned as oarsman for being free of taxes like avarız, haraç and ispençe.

There were other classes as to repair and support the shipyard besides naval force service. For example in 1475, three people were assigned to prepare zemberek arrow and they produced 10.800 arrows for avarız tax. This number indicates that during the 15th century mainly the arrows were used as a weapon in ship battles.

In Gallipoli there were also benna (architect, master builder, carpenter for buildings), meremmetçi (repairman), kalafatçı (caulker), marangoz (carpenter), bıçkıcı (saw man) and limancı (longshoreman) who worked in the service of the shipyard and repair of the ships. That makes up a total of 89 people who were responsible for repairing ships, upkeep of shipyard and port and preparing the supplies for ships. According to this, in 1475, there were 1737 naval forces personnel, and 89 people for support in Gallipoli which makes up a total of 1826 people.

Ottoman-Venice Conflict

After establishing the Ottoman unity, Çelebi Mehmed gave importance to the naval force actions and enlivened the Straits guard by reinforcing the Gallipoli castle and these resulted in Ottoman Empire's naval victories. Even though Chief Çalı, who was the era's most famous Turkish sailor, lost the war against Venice (1416) with his ships, which were made in Gallipoli, the Ottomans went on to keep the



Baş Karakullukçu

Head Sergeant

Straits control at hand.

During this era the Ottomans made use of naval knowledge from Venice and Geneva. While they had friendly relationships with Geneva, they sometimes went in fights with Venice so this gives some information how they made use of their knowledge. The Ottomans made use of Geneva's naval knowledge with who they were in good relations since Chief Orhan against Venice. Likewise, during the 1416 Ottoman-Venice sea wars, the mercenaries who fought for the Ottomans were mostly from Geneva and Latin countries. On the other hand, on developing shipyards and ship technology we can see the effect of Venice who were the most famous sea empire of the age. During the reign of Murad II, the sea base in Gallipoli was reinforced and as a result of this the Ottoman fleet put out to sea in 1429 sacked some Venice controlled islands and succeeded in blockading Selanik which was blockaded from land too (1430).

Istanbul Blockade and Carrying Ships over land

During the preparations of Mehmed II's conquest of Byzantium capital, to establish the fleet and organizing to prevent any help coming over sea and guarding the sea ways were of utmost importance. He both repaired the Anatolian castle and built the Rumelia castle just opposite it and thus took the control of passage to the Black sea and blockaded the trade route to Istanbul and took control of it. He additionally made an announcement and ordered all ships passing from the Straits to stop in front of castle and pay selamiyye akçesi (security money) and resume their route after getting permission. If they try to evade, no matter which country they belong to, they would be sank by the batteries on Rumelia castle. Likewise in November 1452, a ship from Venice, carrying grain to Istanbul, did not comply to control order and was sank by artillery fire from the Rumelia castle. After the conquest of Istanbul this control was stricter and every ship passing the Straits was searched for smuggled goods or slaves.

Among the preparations for the conquest of Istanbul by Mehmed II, the activities in Gallipoli to prepare the fleet takes up an important place. During his first years the shipyard was reinforced and Kapitan-ı derya Chief Baltaoğlu Süleyman brought old ships here for repairs and had many new ones built. The Ottoman fleet, consisting of 350-400 ships including boats of various sizes, had not had an important role in conquering Istanbul but it is apparent it had a deterrent effect and kept the city under blockade. On April 20, 3 Geneva ships, bringing help to Istanbul, formed up with a Venice ship and moved to reach the Golden Horn. Even though the Ottoman fleet tried to stop them near Yenikapı, they failed. This event caused great reactions and the naval force commander was taken out of command and Chief Hamza was assigned for his place. During the siege a part of the fleet was carried over land to Golden Horn and this was repeated in 1456 in Belgrade and

in 1470 in Egriboz and has been added to the history as an important siege tactic. On the morning of April 23 about 70 Turkish ships have been carried and seeing them has surprised both Byzantium and Venice soldiers. Their attempts to sink them have been prevented thanks to Turkish artillery fire.

The conqueror of Istanbul has used the inherited Kadirga port as a shipyard for some time and then built a shipyard of a few docks on the side where today Golden Horn shipyard is. He also had a small mosque and council house built. The conquest of Istanbul made Fatih to be called Sultan of the Seas (Sultan of lands and seas). After this era the Ottoman's many conquests on seas also paved the way to the establishment of Ottoman Sea Empire.

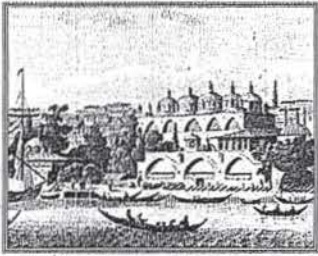
Sultân-ı berr u bahr (Sultan "Ruler" of Seas and Lands)

The conquest of Istanbul started the era that the Ottomans turned their sea policies to far seas and turned the struggle over inner seas to far seas. This turning is primarily about the defense of Istanbul and has acted in two directions. The first direction is the Black sea while the second direction is the Mediterranean. Fatih Sultan Mehmed strengthened the control he set up over the Straits, which connect the Asia and Europe, after the conquest. The next conquering policy was on the Black sea. The Ottoman fleet under Sadrazam Mahmud pasha took Amasra in 1459 from Geneva and Sinop and its surroundings from Candaroğulları with a fleet of 100 ships aiming to take all the Anatolian shores of the Black sea. In the same year the Trabzon-Rum Empire was blockaded both from sea and land and was taken by the Ottomans. During this time the Ottoman fleet was around 150 ships. Once the conquest of the Anatolian shores was complete, it was the turn of North shores. During the Crimean throne struggles Gedik Ahmed Pasha moved with a powerful fleet and took Kefe and some other strong Geneva fortifications (1475). With the conquest of Crimea the eastern trade routes were in hands of Ottomans. The Crimean expedition is the first and a very important step of Fatih to make the Black sea a Turkish lake.

Ottoman-Venice conflict over Aegean: The Conquest of Bogazönü Islands.

Fatih, as he controlled Istanbul strait and Black sea after the conquest, he did not neglect to fortify the Dardanelles on the south. Just like the Anatolia castle and Rumelia castle on opposite sides of Istanbul strait, he had built the Kal'a-i Sultaniye and Kilit-i Bahr castles on both sides of the Dardanelle. With this he both secured Istanbul against fleets of Venice, Geneva, Papacy and Rhodes and the trade route between Mediterranean and the Black sea was totally under control.

The conquest of Istanbul leded Ottomans to protect the new capital from naval attacks. While the fleet was directed towards the Anatolian shores on the Black sea, it was also directed towards the targets in the Aegean. In 1455 a fleet of 80 ships moved



Tophane

Tophane

against the Knights of Rhode, and raided İstanköy, İncirli, Sömbeki, Leryos and Kalimnos islands around Rhode and took slaves and goods. Next year Sadrazam Mahmud Pasha conquered the Geneva islands of Taşoz, Semadirek, İmroz and Limni which were lined in front of the Dardanelles (1456).

Finally in 1462, a fleet of 110 ships, prepared in Gallipoli after the direct order of Fatih to Mahmud Pasha, moved out and took Midilli islands. Midilli became an island based province and was one of the first places in which tahrir movements took place.

Between 1463 and 1479 the Ottoman-Venice conflict, which went on for 16 years, was fought on seas and shore cities under the control of Venice. The most important one in these expeditions is the conquest of Eğriboz Island (1470). Mahmud Pasha, who was a grand vizier and assigned to rule Gallipoli province, prepared a fleet of 400 ships including kadirga, sail ships, and boats and besieged Eğriboz and took it. During the siege he connected the island and the main land by bridging ships over sea.

Pulya Expedition: The First Ottomans in Italy

Most of the Albanian shores were under Ottoman control. Finally they had signed a treaty with the Venice (1479) and this encouraged the Ottomans to push forward on seas. From this point, these have been the Fatih's attempts to open the Ottoman naval activities to west Mediterranean. Gedik Mehmed Pasha came to Pulya shores of Italy in 1480 with a force of more than 15.000 soldiers and siege cannon loaded ships after he completed his preparations. The Ottoman fleet anchored in Otranto port of Napoli kingdom, landed soldiers and ammunition, in short time they conquered Otranto and its vicinity. The biggest church in Otranto, Saint Petrus, was converted to a mosque as a reminder of the conquest. The army moved into the land and along the shore and launched expeditions to Lecce, Brindisi, and Toranto. Gedik Ahmed Pasha wanted to continue his conquests but upon the death of Fatih he was called back. Otranto. The failure of Italy expedition was primarily due to the problem of Cem.

With this expedition Fatih, after conquering the east center of Roman Empire, İstanbul, wanted to take the center of west Roman Empire, Rome. At the same time as the fleet moved onto Rome, another fleet moved on to Rhode under Mesih Pasha's command but the siege failed. But being able to launch two strong sea expeditions in the same year shows us that the Ottoman state's naval force is on its way to become an Empire.

Bayezid II is on Fatih's Way

The Ottoman naval force during the rule of Bayezid II is a continuation of the Ottoman policies developed during Fatih's rule. In 1484 Kili and Akkirman, which were among the most important trade ports, and this made the Ottoman owning all South-North trade exits in the Black sea. Due to this the famous port cities of the Black sea became bonded warehouses between capital İstanbul and East

European trade.

After taking control of the Black sea the Ottomans turned back to the Mediterranean, and at the same time they developed their shipyards and built new ships. As a result of this the Ottomans became more and more powerful at seas, and took İnebahtı in 1499, Moton in 1500, Koron and Navarin. Thus Ottoman presence became gradually persistent in Mediterranean and the sailormen became more affiliate and experienced in this sea.

Even though the Ottoman fleet, which became very important during Fatih's rule, outnumbered the Venice fleet in the reign of Bayezid II, they did not have talented and experienced sailors. The Ottoman ship building technology underwent some changes. The Ottoman sailors observing the Venice, Geneva and Spanish ships for a long time and built Çekdiri and Kalyon in Venice style and Göke ships in Spanish style. Two Gökes, which is a mixture of Kadirga and Kalyon, were built and given to the command of Kemal and Burak captains.

It is possible to say the following, after the Ottoman sea policy followed in the 15th century. "The fleets of Fatih and Bayezid II Bayezid have removed the Geneva colonies in the Black sea. Again they had mostly incapacitated the power of East Mediterranean and Aegean forces of Venice and Geneva. The victorious Ottoman navy, at the end of these wars, has transferred the traditional Mediterranean naval technology to itself". As Famous Mediterranean historian Braudel points out, "Despite the land battles and raids of the pirates, there was an order in Mediterranean and this order ended with the Ottoman presence".

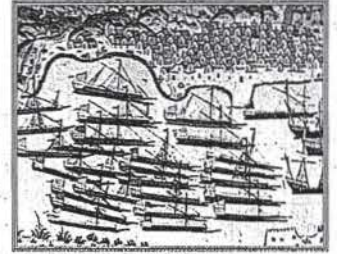
New Aims in Navy

We see there are two new powers emerging in the Mediterranean in the second half of the 15th century. The Ottomans, having ended the Byzantium Empire by conquering İstanbul in 1453, and the Spanish, after ending the Endulus Islamic state, formed up their naval forces and set sail in Mediterranean. They clashed in the central Mediterranean and started a battle that would continue for more than a century. Upon the entrance of the Spanish, the Ottoman turned upon Adriatic and North Africa.

During the reign of Bayezid II, there were two sea battles waging, one against the Spanish who were massacring the Endulus Muslims and the other against Portugal who were threatening the Muslims in Red Sea region, especially for Mameluk who asked for help to defend the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

Ottoman-Endulus Approach

The Endulus Muslims asked for help from Bayezid II to be saved from Spanish who was forcing them to change their religion. But Ottoman was too busy with Cem Issue and Mameluk, so the help and fleet for Endulus were not sufficient. On the other hand the free lance Captain Kemal and other such people's efforts to save Endulus people have been useful. During this time and during the time that Bar-



Ince Donanma

Light fleet

baros Hayreddin Pasha was commanding the Ottoman navy, some of the Spanish Muslims, known as people of müdeccel (müdeccel taifesi) or Moriscos, were carried to North Africa and most of them stayed there. The self-defending fight of Moriscos' against Spanish has continued until 17th century and has come to an end by their total destruction. A. Hess claims that the Endulus Muslims continue to work as the fifth arm of the Ottoman.

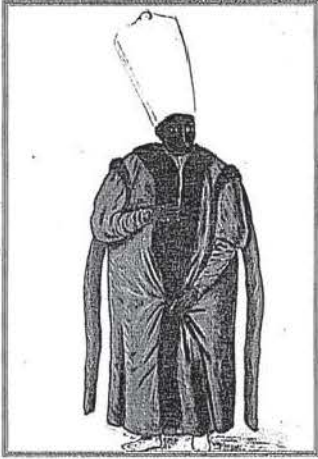
Emergence of the Piracy

The most important aspect of the XVth century Ottoman navy is that they restored the piracy, which was as old as the history of sea. The development of Ottoman pirates in Mediterranean, on the other hand, started with the semi-formal activities of nameless pirates towards the end of 15th century. Here, it is necessary to correct a false image about the Turkish Pirates. Piracy is mostly seen as banditry but it should be kept in mind that these pirates moved in accordance with Islamic Law and moved as the sea representatives of land forward forces with Islamic jihad and ghaza in mind. As a result of this they were called "levend" (navy soldier) or "gonullu levend" (volunteer levend) and if they moved out of the authority they were "harami levend" (brigand levend). They were also punished for this. We should also remember that the Ottoman Pirates' activities in the east Mediterranean at the end of 15th century,

constituted a support for the Ottoman navy that would develop in the following years. So, when the Ottoman navy showed up in the Mediterranean as a powerful force, the pirate ships have joined the navy and thus combined their forces. These pirate ships moved under the command of the Ottoman navy at times of expeditions and freely at the other times. The best examples for these are the sailors who grew up between the time of Captain Kemal and Barbarous Hayreddin Pasha as a pirate and then worked formally under the government authority.

During the first conflicts the pirates moved individually and they were not unified. In the following years, as the conquests developed, they began to move together with the Ottoman Navy or they joined the navy. Thus they reached up to West Mediterranean and tried to settle their accounts with the Spaniards.

As a result of this long struggle in Mediterranean and the Red Sea, the Ottoman Navy continued to develop and began to become an Empire Navy after the second half of XVth century.



Kızlar Ağası

Chief black eunuch

Palace Organization And Protocol

It has been determined that, during Mehmed II's time, four palaces as Edirne, old Istanbul and new Istanbul palaces. If we add the fifth palace, in Manisa during his sehzadehood, it seems that he was the most experienced sultan living in palaces. Likewise the organization and protocol in palaces have been written down and legalized during his time.

Both of Fatih's enthroning ceremonies (culus merasimi) have been performed in Edirne palace. The repairs and additions done after 1457, clearly shows that following the conquest the use of Edirne Palace by Fatih has continued. Actually a circumcision ceremony performed in Edirne Palace shows that this city has been actively used as the capital for some time after the conquest. Fatih has not done, during his first two years of his enthroning, any changes on the organization, which existed during 2nd Murad's time, and concentrated his efforts on the conquest of Istanbul as his main target.

He has stayed in his pavilion as he did during the siege and he had returned to Edirne about twenty days later. He had chosen the place to built his palace and had given orders to start the construction. Likewise a new palace was built behind today's Bayezid Square in one year. There was a simple, towerless wall around it. It is difficult to determine how long

did Fatih stayed in this old palace. It is because he was always in Edirne Palace during his expeditions to Balkans and Central Europe. For example after his Serbia expedition in 1455 he had stayed in Edirne and prepared for Belgrade expedition. His accommodation in Istanbul is after Otlukbeli war.

Tursun Bey notes that Istanbul had become the capital right after the conquest and Padişah built a palace with walls around and in this palace he built a harem, enderun (palace school) and a private resting area and also a şikargah where he put wild animals. And in a few years he started the new palace's construction.

When we look at the previous palaces, like Edirne new and Bursa palaces, they are usually at the edge of the city. Likewise when the Ottoman padişah's state tent and tents for his people, which were placed everywhere the Padişah went for an expedition or during migration, would be expected to be surrounded for protection but 16th century miniatures shows that it was, on the contrary, placed on an overlooking position to the edge of the city. The choice of Topkapi palace's location is primarily due to Sarayburnu's geographical position. The place was an olive field, which also fit well to the choice of not establishing the new world over the ruins. The Anatolian side, that was conquered ago, was also in the sight and the city

was developing around this sight.

The most important part of Fatih era state organization is the Divānihümāyun (the state meeting); which was a tradition of Turkish-Islamic states. The meeting, headed by Padişah until Fatih, was left to the grand vizier after he settled in his new palace. The building of arz odası (Presentation room) has separated Padişah from the meeting. Though it is known that Fatih was heading the state meeting during the expedition over Kazıklı Voyvoda. Divan meetings were taking place in Divanhane, only a little away from today's Kubbealtı. The structure and building of Arz Odası and Adalet Kulesi (Tower of Justice) are directly related to their organization and functions. Until this time every morning the grand vizier, viziers, kazasker representing law and education, defterdar representing economy, and nisanci attended to the meeting under Padişah's heading. State affairs, allocations and promotions were discussed and people who had law cases could bring their cases to the divan, which was the highest and just court.

Fatih, no more headed the meetings, he is the ruler of the East and the West, built the Adalet Kule to show his worry and claim to be just, and palace behind the Divanhane to show it is not only the padişah's palace but also the administration center of state. Thus Padişah could join the meetings freely. Arz Odası across Bâbüssaâde, in this era, supported this view and gave palace the property of being the highest state place together with Divanhane. An official reception room has been constructed first time in Topkapı palace's practice. Likewise such departments have been added to the Edirne Palace during Fatih's era. Arz Odası did not belong to enderun, harem or bîrûn, it was placed in the center of these three and seen as a glorious representation place of the state.

Three monument like gates Bâbihümāyun, Bâbüsselâm, and Bâbüssaâde of the palace shape the structure in accordance with organization with the squares in front. It is accepted that the walls surrounding the palace (sûr-ı sultan), and the main gates are built in Fatih era. The great square between Bâbihümāyun and Bâbüsselâm gates is the place where bîrûn people worked and was a place that ordinary people could enter. Especially during cülûs and festival celebrations citizen favored here besides soldiers and they could even partially join the celebrations. With these properties the first place is very important since it, open to citizens, shows that, though it is surrounded with walls, the state center is not isolated from the people.

The Alây square between Bâbüsselâm and Bâbüssaâde gates is the most important administration center of the state with its two properties. First of these is that the Divanhane is here where the state meetings took place. This Divanhane has been rebuilt during Kanuni and called Kubbealtı. Two most important state ceremonies are held here during

Cülûs and festivals. Statesmen brought their thrones here during these festivals and together with ulema and army representatives, had biat, reception, and congratulation celebrations. Matbah-ı âmire, which is on the right after Bâbüsselâm, has been built in this era but it owes its significant view in the palace silhouette to later dates.

When you enter from Bâbüssaâde, there is the Arz Odası across and the square here was also called the Enderun Square, since enderun rooms' doors were here. Statesmen could not enter here other than during their acceptance in the Arz Odası. Harem, on the other hand, is a separate structure on the right side of the second and third squares.

The Palace is, as told above, examined organizationally in three parts; bîrûn, enderun and harem. Divan is not in this grouping since it has a different function. Bîrûn, in the first square, consisted of people and departments that provided the needs of the palace without the need for city tradesmen. Emin people as matbah-ı âmire emini, istabl-ı âmire emini, arpa emini, doctors like cerrahbaşı, kehhalbaşı, people of ulema class like hünkâr imami, padişah hocası were considered as bîrûn people since they did not have a house here and so came in the morning and left at night. As structures bakers, and their workers, hospitals, nakkaşhane (writings house), mimarlar ocağı (house of engineers), mehterhane (royal band), were called istabl-ı âmire bîrûn.

Enderun living in the third square were divided into sub-groups starting from the small room. The most clever and beautiful ones of the young boys collected for Acemi Ocağı were chosen and separated for Enderun, they were not given to farmer families like others. They were first taken to Edirne Old Palace and were sent to Edirne New Palace or Topkapı Palace. Even though they were also sent to Galata and Ibrahim Pasha Palaces, during Fatih era Acemi Oğlanları were accommodating in Edirne Old Palace. Among these Poturoğlanları (Muslim kids from Bosnia) were considered special and were taken to palace directly, not sent to farmer families.

Enderun was consisting of the following: Büyük and küçük odalar (Great and small rooms) (hane-i kebir and hane-i sagir), doğancı koğuşu (hane-i bazyan) that was called şahinciler koğuşu during Fatih era, Kiler odası, Hazine odası, and Has oda. Enderun school has raised many important statesmen and artists throughout the Ottoman history.

Harem organization; since there was not a perfect and crowded organization during Fatih era, it was not mentioned much. This department's, which was under Bâbüssaâde Aga who was also called Akaga, head was always valide sultan (Sultan's mother). Padişah's wives, sisters and daughters lived here other than her. But the real development of Harem is after Kanuni.

According to the document mentioned above, the population of Topkapı palace, thinking Fatih has just



Kızlar Ağası

Chief black eunuch

moved to his new palace, in 883 is 726 and this is a realistic number. The fourth squares emergence is due to other buildings' construction here later.

Has Bahçe (Royal Garden) was developing towards sea and was decorated with flowers and separated as a place for resting and strolling. And in a part of the garden there were the vegetables grown for

the palace's need. The Bostancı's (vegetable gardener) houses must have been built after Fatih since there is no mentioning of them in the records of the era.

Cinili Köşk, which is one of the first buildings in Topkapı Palace, is a good example of the era's decorations and architecture, and it is known that Fatih had it built together with the walls

Fatih Sultan Mehmet's Place In The Ottoman Law

The structure of Ottoman Law: Ottomans, who were of Hanefi sect, used a law system in accordance with this sect's view. But in application there are different aspects from the previous examples. The applications in Fatih era are the clearest examples of this. Since Fatih played a founder role in the establishment and changing stages of the Ottoman law system by his applications and laws.

The Ottoman law was of two branches as Şer'i (religious) and Örfi (martial law). Islamic law leaves the details to person or institution in charge and defines broad rules changing according to time and place.

In the pre-Islamic Turks martial law concept was called töre. The traditions, which showed independence, were respected by everyone including the ruler. The Ruler also had the power to establish a new martial law. This application continued in the Islamic era too. Just as, Ottoman Pađisah continued this custom, starting from Fatih, and filled the areas with arrangements, called Kanunnâme, ferman (decree), adaletnâme, and yasaknâme, left free by the religious law. In addition to the religious law, which included the İslâm's orders, there was also the martial law called as örf-i pađiřahi, örf-i sultânî, yasâğ-ı pađiřahi, siyaset, and siyaset-i řer'iye.

Religious-Martial law relation: The martial law has been created by the restricted legislation power of the Pađisah, which he used to cover the issues that were not in the religious law. Issues, outside the religious law called Tazir crimes, were left to Pađisah and related institutions, with the rule that they should not be contrary to the religious law.

Ottoman Pađisahs, Fatih himself in the first place, used their legislation power, considering this separation, only in these issues. They left issues on religious law to Ulema (Muslim theologians and scholars). The references of religious law are the fikih and fatwa books written since the four caliphs. During Fatih's era Molla Hüsrev (death: 885/1480) has written a law book called "el-Gurer" and its explanation "ed-Dürer".

These were short and brief sentences but not in form of articles. Therefore it was used as law in courts by kadi for years. Molla Hüsrev transferred his long occupational life's experience in his work. A copy of the work, given as a present for Fatih, has survived to date. There are also views of řafii, Maliki

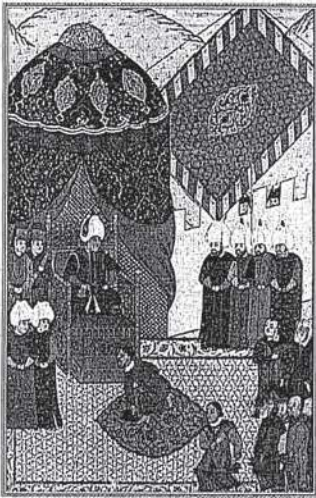
and Hanbeli sects in addition to Hanefi sect in the work.

Properties of religious-martial law: Religious law consists of the orders in the Book and the Sunna, and interpretations of muctehids (interpreter of Islamic law). The rules do not change according to time and place and no other sentence could be made contrary to clear orders. On the other hand interpretations can change by time and place. A present interpretation does not prevent a new one to be made on the same issue. And about the martial law, they are limited to the lifespan of the Pađisah put them to application. New ruler of the state can either accept them or replace them with new ones. Likewise Fatih mentions this fact by saying "bu kanun atam dedem kanunudur, benim dahi kanunumdur" (This law is my father's and ancestors' law and so it be mine too) in his organizational law.

Novelties Fatih brought to Ulema: In the Ottoman Empire Judges, Muftis, and Professors represented the religious law and therefore they were called ulema or religious man (ehl-i řer). Until Fatih the head of Ulema and court is the kazasker. And as the borders were enlarged during Fatih's era, the kazasker was divided into two in 1480 as Anatolian and Rumelian kazasker. During this era the Kazaskers remained as the head of courts but leadership of scholars became to be Sheikh al-Islam.

In the first days of the Ottoman there was only one central Mufti (Sheikh al-Islam). Later, each province, sanjaks, and province subdivisions began to have a Mufti. In the Ottoman Empire Mufti and Judge were separate personalities but sometimes these two duties met in one person. Even though rare, in the beginning Mufti, Judge and professor united in the same person. After the conquest of Istanbul both Hizir Bey and Molla Hüsrev served as both Mufti and Judge. Usually the Judge and the Mufti were different people though. Muftis belonged to scholar class and were assigned by Sheikh al-Islam.

Fatih, in his organizational law, declared that the person at the head of scholars would be called Seyhülislam and would be connected to grand vizier administratively while he would be superior to the grand vizier. But this has been evidence that this law does not belong to Fatih. This is due to because there are views that the situation was so since 17th century or since 2nd Murad era. But what is important here is that the head of scholars is a person titled Mufti or



Topkapı Sarayı, Arz odası

Topkapı Palace, audience chamber

Hodja effendi or Sheikh al-Islam.

On the other hand Sheikh al-Islam did not have the right to assign Kadi or professor or to join the council. These power and rights belonged to Kazasker. And Kazaskers were assigned by grand vizier's request. Therefore being Sheikh al-Islam was a prestigious but powerless title for that time. His greatest duty was to issue fatwa upon the request of Padişah or other officials.

With Fatih's law, it has been accepted that Kazaskers had power to assign people, without acknowledging Padişah, in places related to them and for jobs to which a daily salary of less than 2 silver coins was paid. Kazaskers also joined the grand viziers Friday councils. They went over the issues presented to the council together with the grand vizier. Also they had the power to hear a case in their mansions on days other than Tuesdays and Wednesdays. Kazaskers had the power to use sultan's signature for decisions after the judgment in the council or decisions in other places and to announce them to related responsible under Kazasker orders title.

Novelties that Fatih brought to men of martial law and to martial law: In the Ottoman Empire people who had the executive power and their assistants were called *ehl-i örf* (men of martial law). Since it is impossible to consider martial law and men of martial separately, it will be wise to review the novelties he brought to men of martial and martial law together with decrees and laws to prevent repetitions.

Fatih's decree laws: the laws that were issued to solve a particular subject and based on the legislation power of the Padişah are called decree-laws. Such laws are known to exist during the time before Fatih too. Even though mostly they deal with a particular subject they can also include other subjects too. Laws are broadened versions of these. Decree laws have been registered in mukataa records, which are a kind of income record, kadi registers, and in essays (*tahrir*) in full or as a summary. The number of these has increased during Fatih's era. Decree laws are in the form of *berat*, *yasaknâme*, *kanunnâme*, and *tevkî'i*. *Berat* is an officer assignment paper and also includes laws and organizations related to his duty. *Yasaknâme*, generally, declares the sanctions in laws and organizations and the authority given to the sanction-man. *Kanunnâme*, generally, are decrees to define the laws about an issue for people responsible for collecting taxes and giving them the authority for application. *Tevki'i*, mentioned here, has the Sultan's signature and is the announcements for state authorities like Kadi and Subaşı about certain laws. Of course all these rules are about issues that are outside the religious laws. Even though Fatih did not make important novelties in the decree laws; the novelties he brought for martial law was with decrees.

Fatih's Laws:

Reâyâ Laws: The first law of Ottoman surviving to date is Fatih's Reâyâ laws. It has been issued

right after the conquest of Istanbul. For example, Edirne Müddü (a kind of batman measure) has been accepted for grains. The customs fee rates belong to the Fatih era's first years. The law consists of two parts, in the first part there are the fines and on the second part there are the taxes taken from both Muslim and Non-Muslim.

The sentences on the Fatih's law have been used, with minimal changes, in 17th century too. Determining the Tazir fines, which were within the Sultan's legislative power, was not only an authority but also a duty. The most important point in carrying out this duty is to leave absolute judicial discretion to the judge.

As with the other branches of Islam law, no Turkish Islam state has gone legislative acts on had and kısas sentences in punishment law. It is due to the fact that fikih books were law only lacking an item number. Tazir crimes and sentences have been left to the Padişah. Kadi have acted in the name of ruler during the first years of establishment and this duty had finished in Fatih's era. Therefore, Fatih has been the first Muslim state ruler; as far as known, to organize laws in tazir sentence area.

This law's, which is a reference and the first of its kind, first section, which is about sentences, has three sub-sections. The first is about adultery and related crimes, second is about swearing, fighting, and homicide, and the third is about alcohol consuming, theft and slandering. Only tazir sentences have been organized here. Hanefi sect's views have been used as reference here. For example, the sentence of homosexuality is a religious crime in other sects while it is a tazir crime. The first time is sentenced to cash penalty and tazir with a stick. If repeated the guilty is executed.

There are no contrary laws to had sentences in the fikih books. There are the tazir sentences to be given to had crimes which have not been totally committed therefore had sentences cannot be given.

Organization Law: Fatih's greatest work in law is this law. But there is a discussion on whether this law belongs to Fatih, its system and the famous brother-murdering sentence.

The system and law value of the law: It consists of an introduction and 3 chapters. In the introduction it is told that there were no collection of laws of the previous Sultans until Fatih especially after he conquered Istanbul and the duty to compile the traditions and fill the lacking parts based on organizations that they belong to in a form of law is given to Nişancı Leyszâde Muhammed b. Mustafa. In the following parts some of the missing things have been filled by Fatih himself. The first chapter has Nişancı Leyszâde Muhammed b. Mustafa title and handles the high order people and organizations of the central and the country organization. Second chapter has *Selâtin-i izâma lâzım olan tertib ü âyin beyanındadır* title and, starting from the Padişah, defines the place and duties of higher-level statesmen



Haremde cariyeler

Odalisques in harem

and palace attendants in ceremonies. The third chapter has the title *ahvâl-i cerâim ve her ehl-i mansibin âyidleri beyânındadır* and some *tazir* crimes and sentences and addressing style for some of higher-level statesmen. There are no order or system in the law. It can be seen that it has a order that does not fit Ottoman state structure and central organization hierarchy. While it needed to start from the *Padisah*, it starts by the grand vizier and laws about *padisah* is in the second chapter. An order has been tried to be established both in the authorities and duties of people and organizations ruling the government and palace attendants. Besides there are repetitions.

Halil Inalcik relates this lack of system to the *Kul* (servant) system. Fuat Köprülü and Abdülkadir Özcan, on the other hand, claim that the law does not include all the orders of *Padisah*. Inalcik also accepts that the law does not include all of the organization during *Fatih* era. Dilger relates the inconsistencies between the introduction and the main body of the law to that the protocol rules have been created later and some authorities did not exist during *Fatih's* era. In sum, it is claimed that the law was prepared as a core and the text was completed as the time went by into what we have today. Mumcu agrees with this view too. While Berki mentions that the copy in Vienna Royal library has the date 1029 and this refers to 143 years after *Fatih's* death, and no copier or source have been mentioned in the text, there are no such documents in the *Hazine-i Evrak* (Document library/treasure), and there should be at least 1 copy of such a document in Ottoman scholars or statesmen, there is no Mehmed b. Mustafa during *Fatih's* era who claims to have written the text as *nişancı*, the text is scrambled and full of typing errors, and a *nişancı* of that era would never write a law such scrambled, and a scientist and litterateur *Padisah* would never accept such a writing, murdering an innocent man is absolutely forbidden and a great crime in Islam law, A *Padisah* as religious as *Fatih* would not resort to it, and there were no scholar to accept such a thing (murdering brothers) and they would not give *fatwa* to such a law and therefore the law can not be belonging to *Fatih*.

The discussion about the validity of the writing has been decreased greatly after a more copy was found in Koca Müverrih Hüseyin Effendi of Bosnia's work *Bedâyiü'l-Vekâyi*, which he wrote, more carefully and therefore more reliable, while he was the *reisül-küttap* (head of books). Abdülkadir Özcan used both copies while Akgündüz used *Bedâyiü'l-Vekâyi* copy and Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi copy to publish the law. In addition to the above copies of the law there are also summaries of it in other chronological history books. Therefore, until evidence on the contrary is found, this law should be accepted as *Fatih's*.

The whole organization during *Fatih* era may not be mentioned in the above-mentioned law. This would not make it lacking. This is mainly due to that

the authors of the law are not claiming to have mentioned all the organizations of the era. Also it is possible that the law came into existence as a collection of past rules rather than as a whole and single entity. We are forced to use only the knowledge in the history books since all of the documents of *Fatih* era have not survived to date. Maybe later researchers can recover a *Divan* copy or a record in *Şer'iye* registries. Then this discussion will automatically end. Besides, the novelties, the law brings are not foreign based. Almost all of the sentences in the law are practiced after *Fatih* era, so, in terms of law, it does not matter whether they were in the law or the law was written at once. For example, murdering brothers have been applied before and after *Fatih*. If this took place in the law, which is a debated topic, it only made an application written. The same is true for whether the name *Seyhülislam* was used or not during the era or whether he was the head of scholars or not. It is not that much important whether the head of the scholars is called *Seyhülislam* or not. What is important is someone carrying that title is the head of scholars. Therefore these debates are not important for law.

Novelties that the law brought: Until *Fatih* era, there was no regulation about state organization. Previous *Padisahs* issued orders but they were mostly about deeds, essays, *Timar* and tax system rather than a law. Most of these have been lost. After *Fatih* had conquered Istanbul it was time, in his own words "*ahval-i saltanata nizam getirmek*" (to bring order to the state of Sultanate). And *Fatih* did his duty on this; he settled the Ottoman state to become a world Empire by issuing laws after the conquest. It is therefore, some historians he has been called as the true founder of the Ottoman State.

Even though *Fatih's* law is the second law of Ottoman that survived to date, it is the first one with its novelties. Since the *Reâyâ* law, mentioned above, has not brought any change to the issues that already existed. The words "*bu kanun atam dedem kanunudur*" (this law is my father's and ancestors') is a clear evidence of this. Likewise Köprülü has proved that the Ottoman took the organization and protocol system directly from their ancestors. In the same *Fatih* might have used such a method to show that he values his ancestors' traditions more than his own will. At this point "*benim dahi kanunumdur*" (is also my law) sentence might be displaying the validity of laws in Ottoman. In reality the validity of a law is limited to the life of the *Padisah* so *Fatih* shows that he accepts the previous laws during his reign too.

Since it is not clear whether the organizations were written or traditional during the times before *Fatih*, and since we don't have any previous written document, by the words "*bu kanun atam dedem kanunudur*" (this law is my father's and ancestors'), it must be accepted that the previous laws were traditional and not written and *Fatih* noted some of laws about organizations.

On the other hand *Fatih*, brought many novelties



Zülüfî Baltacı

Fortifier

about Ottoman organization and protocol. He made some of them written and the rest applied. The first thing he did in his law is that he made the grand vizier the head of the Divân -ı Hümâyûn. Fatih declared with this law that he would no longer be head of the council and instead he would watch the meeting behind a curtain. It has been legalized that the council would meet four days of the week and then viziers, Kazaskers, and Defterdar would be accepted before the throne and submit the issues about them to Padişah. He also ordered to prepare a room for submitting. Other statesmen like, Kadî, beylerbeyi, would be able to apply to Padişah only through a petition.

And about the protocol, the sentence "Cenâb-ı şerîfîmle kimese taam yemek kanunum değildir; meğer ehl-i iyalden ola. Ecdâd-ı izamım vüzerası ile yerlermiş ben ref' etmişindir" (no one can have a meal together with majesty me, spare if they are of my family. My ancestors have eaten with their viziers, I have abolished) should be mentioned. Even though the palace organization and protocol have been defined clearly in this law, an important question, who can be vizier, has been left unanswered. As well known, Fatih has brought a novelty in this too and started the tradition to assign vizier from Devşirme. It cannot be explained the absence of this issue with the style of writing. It is clearly explained that the nişancı, who is a lower authority than vizier, would be assigned from among sahn professors. We can deduce that the law does not include all the organization and protocol both during and before Fatih era from the information in era's chronicles. Researchers, basing on this, have concluded that the law is a collection of issues in divan and published to ease the works of the statesmen. Even though it could be accepted generally, it should also be noted that some issues were left blank purposefully, for example, writing down that the vizier would be assigned from Devşirme would make it a law. Likely, Padişahs' following Fatih, lived with Cariye (female slave) without taking them under their nikah (marriage) and it should be accepted that Fatih started it as a tradition without mentioning it in laws.

Evaluation of the law in terms of Religious Law: The following could be said when we look at the law to check its compatibility with the religious law: The issues in the law are the issues not mentioned in the religious law and left to Padişah to fill them basing on tradition and issue at his own will. Therefore there is nothing contrary to the Religious Law. But the brother murder issue's compatibility with the Religious Law is still debated. According to Akgündüz, a law like this can be placed in the law in harmony with the Religious Law. There are decrees about the murdering of people who could cause disorder in the Fikih and fatwa. Nevertheless there have been malversations. That is, the person who legalized this is not guilty but the person who made use of it is. According to Akman and Aydın on the other

hand, murdering brothers is a traditional practice and its accordance with Religious Law is at least debated. Therefore there has not been any fatwa about the issue during the times it was practiced. For example, Sheik al-Islam Esat Effendi did not let 2nd Osman to murder his brother so 2nd Osman took it from Rumelian Kazasker Taşköprüzade Kemalettin effendi, who wanted to be Sheik al-Islam. In sum even though murdering brothers cannot be defended nor by humanity and nor by Islamic Law, there are certain causes, which existed since the very early Turkish states, that pushed Ottoman to practice it. The aim here is to establish the view that unity of the sovereignty and unity of the state.

As well known, murdering brothers started from Anatolian Seljuks and continued in Ottoman as a tradition since 1st Murad. Fatih only made it written. Therefore murdering brothers is not an issue brought in by Fatih. It is known that in Turkish State Tradition the state is the property of the family (ülüş system) and murdering brothers is based on this. But early Turks preferred to share the state among brothers to murder each other. Meanwhile Ottomans preferred to murder their brothers to provide continuity of the State.

It cannot be said that Padişah murdering brothers without putting out elements first is in accordance with the Religious Law. Since this law requires that a brother is needed to revolt to get murdered. And murdering who revolted is a had sentence and not debated. In Islamic law it is debated if the head of the state can give death punishment let alone murdering an innocent person. People who thought positively on this issue had given clear examples on which Padişah could give death penalty. Therefore, Fatih had done a hard work by adding this issue, which was practiced traditionally, to law (which is claimed to exist as mentioned above the law's belonging to Fatih is debated let alone this item.) and it is hard to explain by Religious Law. He had put the responsibility on scholars by saying "Ekseri ulema tecviz etmiş" (most of the scholars have accepted), but there is no fikih decree about scholars agreeing on it or Sheik al-Islam fatwa. Even though about 50 princes have been murdered throughout the Ottoman history and these practices are most probably done over fatwa, we have no fatwa about it yet. If a fatwa is taken from a scholar it is most probably due to fear or due to ambition as in 2nd Osman example.

Sum: Fatih can really be accepted as the second founder of the Ottoman State with his renovations. He had made the Ottoman law a systematical law by issuing Edicts and laws about issues in Religious law and had leded the creation of a traditional law alongside Religious Law. Other than murdering brothers sentence, all of his laws are compatible with the Religious law. In this issue he had made a practiced subject written. Likewise Fatih had declared by saying "bu kanun atam dedem kanunudur" (this is my father's and ancestors' law) that the written tradi-



Haseki

Veteran

tional laws are not only his own and he had made some of practiced traditional laws written.

Nevertheless Fatih had brought many important novelties with the decrees and his practical applications for Ottoman State organization. Until that time Padişah had headed Dîvan-ı Hümâyûn but he had changed this and brought to watch behind a curtain and the result to be submitted to Padişah. He had practically established the viziers' being chosen from

Devsirme and following viziers, with only a few exceptions, have been chosen from Devsirme. This issue has had many important results for the Ottoman. He had abolished the meals with viziers. He had assigned two kazasker and lightened the burden on this position.

As a result Fatih had succeeded to make us talk about him after 550 years by his novelties in law system among the Ottoman Padişahs.

Scientific Life And Science Organization

Ottomans laid their base on Turkish and Islamic tradition in science and cultural life as in the state organization, and they brought new dimensions in this area, and they applied it as the policy of the state to establish various science institutios and to encourage scholars and scientists. Fatih Sultan Mehmed, who had a strong personality and skills, and who grew up in such an environment, undertook radical actions during his reign, and aimed to make Ottoman State a worldwide state and an empire.

Class of seyfiye and scientists became evident as a profession in the state organization in Fatih period, and kalemiye was established later on. Ottoman scientist class was employed in the appropriate positions in the state after the proper education in madrasah which was a classical and definite Islamic educational institution.

There were certain applications which began in the establishment period of Ottoman State and which institutionalized in the Fatih period and gave their best fruits. The most important of all was the consultation with the scholars. In the early period, scholars were the member of Divan-ı Hümâyûn, that's to say, they assigned to the key positions in the central bureaucracy such as vizirate, grand vizirate, kadaskerlik, provincial treasury, nişançılık, and so on. The best example for such an application was seen in the careers of those from Candarlı family. Members of the family, almost all of whom educated in madrasah, became khadi and kadasker first, and then worked at the top positions such as vizierate or grand vizierate, and they worked in idea and in act in the foundation of military, scientific, and administrative institutions. The power and influence of the first family of science and viziers were broken with the blow of Fatih on the Candarlı family.

One of the most important element which enlivened the scientific life in this period was the travels for learning and teaching (students and scholars) science. This aspect, which was encouraged with the hadiths, has a rooted tradition in Islamic world. Students which were educated to a certain level in Ottoman State, went to the well-known science centers such as Cairo, Samarqand, Buhara, Transaxonia, Baghdad, and Damascus with the advice of their teachers, and they finished their education and

returned back as a trained scholar on Islamic religion, culture, civilization, and geography. It was known that which city was famous on which area, by the scientific circles through those who went and came back there, and through the guest teachers, and thus they were advised to the student going on an academical journey. In addition, scholars from various countries of Islamic world were coming into Ottoman state with the invitation of the Ottoman Sultans.

Periods of Murad II and Mehmed II had their significant characteristics in this sense. This period, with the establishment of Sheikh ul-Islam (1425); foundation of grand madrasahs in Edirne, Bursa, and in other cities, and the development of scientific and sufistic movements were as if the period in which cultural preparations for the great conquest were done. Many scholars came into Ottoman country. Those scholars educated by Sadeddin Taftazani (died in 791/1389), and Seyyid Şerif Cürçani (died in 816/1413) brought the scientific and philosophical movements and the debates into Ottoman country from the countries they were coming, and a apparent development was achieved.

Fatih, who sees himself as the heir of Byzantium and Rome, and who takes Alexander the Great as an example, contributes much to the rulership concept with his education, his relations with his teachers, with his scientific understanding, his ruling style besides his warrior and conqueror characteristics. Therefore, Makyeveli showed Fatih as an example to absolutist rule in his book Prince. Although he spent much of his life on the battlefields, he established good relations with the scientific circles, and he always made use of their views. Understanding and approach of Fatih in this sense was more systematic than his father. He gathered the scholars and scientist in the army just after the conquest of Istanbul, and wanted them to begin education as soon as possible, he alloted some of the churches as madrasah until the construction of the grand complex was completed.

The most important characteristic of the scientific life in Fatih period was the scientific debates. Fatih was interested not only in Islamic science, but in other various ideas, sects, Christian belief system, and he let the discussions among the scholars who he trusted their knowledge, and sometimes he personal-



Kul Kâhyası

Foreman of servants

ly joined these discussions.

One of the most important encounters in metaphysics in Islamic world was undoubtedly the one between Ghazali (died in 1111) who wrote *Tehafütü'l-felâsife* as an answer to the philosophers, and Ibn Rushd (died in 1198) who wrote *Tehafütü'l-Tehafüt* as a reply to Ghazali. Fatih makes this very famous and outstanding debate of Islamic theology once again on the agenda, and wants Hocazade Muslihiddin Efendi (died in 1488), the distinguished scholar of the period, and Alâeddin Tüsi to reevaluate the views of Ghazali. Finally, analysis and evaluations of Hocazade was appreciated.

It is known that Fatih took great pleasure from the discussion of metaphysical subjects. It is a fact that the debate on unity of God between two well-known scholars of the period, Hocazade and Molla Zeyrek (died in 1474 – 5), continued for six days in his presence.

Byzantium and western historians states that Mehmed II was interested in Christianity after the conquest, and they even claimed that he admired to it. They wrote that he discussed with Gennadius Scholarius, Istanbul Patriarch, and the Patriarch Maxim Manuel on certain subjects about Christian belief. They set forth that he wanted for the digging of a grave when he heard the belief that the dead bodies of those who were excommunicated according to Orthodox church would not decay. All of these things was due to the curiosity of Fatih, who was a sincere Muslim and who were interested in metaphysics.

Fatih was interested in Hurufi views, and it is known that followers of Fazlullah Hurufi influenced the sultan to a certain extent, and penetrated into the palace. However, this was ended when Fahreddin-i Razi refuted their views after his debate with the Hurufis, and proved the inconsistency of their views, and that they caused discord in the society, and he gave *setwa* for their punishment for all these.

Dürerü'l-hükam, commentary book of Molla Hüsrev (died in 1480), who was one of the teachers of Fatih, and who performed the duty of Sheikh ul-Islam, on *Gurerü'l-ahkam*, the book of fiqh (Muslim canonical jurisprudence) was taught as course book in Ottoman madrasahs for centuries. Molla Gürani's *Gayetü'l-emâni fi tefsiri Seb'a'l-mesâni* was a valuable commentary on Koran. Developments in intellectual and philosophical areas were worth appreciation. There were important works of Alâeddin Tüsi and Hatibzâde. Developments in history field were exemplary studies. *Tarih-i Ebû'l-seth*, book of Tursun Bey (died after 1491) who participated in some of the expeditions of Fatih, was a detailed sultanate history written by an observer who was an eyewitness to the events. In this period, *Behcetü'l-teyarih* written by Sukrullah in Persian for Mahmud Pasha, History of Karamani Mehmed Pasha, and History of Kritovoulos, who witnessed the events of the period, can be stated as the remarkable works.

Studies in scientific field were worth attention. A

great liveliness was seen in mathematics and astronomy when Ali Kuscü (died in 1474) came to Ottoman country with the invitation of Fatih. Ali Kuscü who took courses from Ulug Bey, grandchild of Timur, and Kadızade, and who made very successful studies in Samarqand joined Uzun Hasan, Akkoyunid ruler then, and he comes to Fatih as his envoy. Fatih invited this bright scholar to Istanbul, and after he finished his temporary diplomatic duty, he settled in Istanbul with his family. He was welcome by Hocazade, great scholar of the period, and the other scholar in Uskudar, and he even got use of his short voyage to the other side of the city with galley by engaging in a scientific discussion on tide. Fatih granted him 200 silver coins as salary per day, and bestowed him the professor title of Hagia Sophia madrasah. He presented his work in Persian *Risale fi'l-hey'e* to Fatih. He wrote several works on mathematics, astronomy, Islamic theology, fiqh, linguistics and grammer, in book of commentary of marginal notes style.

Another name who contributed much in this field was Sinan Pasha (died in 1486), son of Hızır Bey, the first khadi of Istanbul. This scholar, who was known especially for his literary side, participated in several debates in the presence of the sultan; and their discussions on the calculation of the angles and planets were especially remarkable. Sinan Pasha who was an expert on several fields of science, wrote books on them.

Cerrahiyye-i İlhaniyye which was a book of medicine dedicated to Fatih by Sabuncuoğlu Serafeddin from Amasya, a physician in the 15th century, was a work which was decorated with miniatures of patients, operation, and surgical tools. Another figure who gave works on medicine, and participated into the the discussions was Aksemseddin, though his main field was sufism. He sets forth important views in his work *Maddetü'l-hayat*.

Madrasahs of Fatih: It is known that some of the churches and rooms of Hagia Sophia was turned into madrasah after the conquest of Istanbul in order to commence scientific studies immediately, and the works for the construction of the main complex started. The construction of the complex began in 1463 in the quarter, which is named after him as Fatih today, finished in eight years in 1471. Mahmud Pasha and Ali Kuscü, famous figures of the period, showed great effort in the preparation of the plan, programme, and the organization of the complex, especially the madrasah. Fatih complex was consisted of many units such as a mosque, eight sahn, eight tetimme madrasahs, a tabhâne, a public kitchen, a hospital, a *darü'ttâlim*, the stables of caravansary, and the tombs of Fatih and his wife Gulbahar Sultan. Madrasahs of Fatih, which was called as sahn-ı seman, medaris-i semaniye, were located four as on the Mediterranean side, and four as on the Black Sea side; and the education programme was largely on commentary of Koran, hadith, fiqh, and theology. Tetimme



Kul Kâhyası

Foreman of servants

madrasahs which were preparing students to sahn-i seman were behind the sahn-i seman madrasahs. Those who were educated in tetimme was called as suhte, and in sahn as danismend. There were nineteen rooms and a class in each sahn madrasah. The scholar and his assistant were given a room to each, and a room for the caretaker of the madrasah, and a room for the cleaner of the madrasah. The remaining fifteen rooms were allotted to the danismends. Therefore, there stayed 120 danismends in total in the sahn madrasahs. It is known that there were nahari students who were attending to the madrasah from outside. The number of students attending to tetimme was more than sahn.

Charter of the Fatih Foundation: The most reliable source on all those subjects is the charter of the complex. There are different charters of the complex for different periods which were translated into Arabic and Turkish.

The Arabic text and its translation is not the same, and the translation includes certain additions, explanations, and comments in it. In the charter there is general information on the salaries of the scholars, conditions, and the method. It also gives accurate information on annual account balance of the complex during 1489-1490, its incomes and expenditures, annual surplus (zevâid-i evkâf), and its operations. In this account book it is mentioned that 314.230 silver coins were allocated to sahn madrasahs out of 1.535.536 coins annual income. The scholar was given 50-80 coins, his assistant 5 coins, students 2 coins, doorkeeper, cleaner and sweeper 2 coins each as daily wage. The number of personnel of hospital was around thirty; and half of it was medical personnel like doctor, surgent, ophthalmologist; and the other half was service personnel like clerk, majordomo, cellerman, caretaker, and the gardener. The annual expenditure of the hospital for supplies was 72.000 coins. 45 staff was in charge in the public kitchen in which madrasah personel and students were served. The annual expenditure of the kitchen for supplies was 461.417 coins.

Fatih madrasahs educated ten thousands of scholars, bureaucrats, and finance experts from its establishment to 20th century. The biographies of those most famous among them were recorded in Şaka'ik-i Numaniye and its addenda. Short biographies of the scholars worked in these madrasahs between XVth – XVIth centuries were written by Cahid Baltacı. It should be remembered that the scholar who gave the courses and who gave the license to the student in Islamic educational history was very important. The real tradition was established on this. Madrasah comes after it. This reality is understood from the graduation certificates called icazetname (license). In this certificate sequence of the teachers, the courses, and the books taught in these courses were mentioned. This concept is very different from the current system.

Mescid-i Nebevî (Masjid of the Prophet

Mohammed), was used also for education, and training in the Islamic world besides worshipping, and by taking this as an example, this tradition was continued by Umayyeds, Abbasids, Selcuks, and Ottomans without any cessation. This education was done one by one with the teacher and it could be in semi-circle style. This was not an alternative education method, but it was an complementary activity. Scholars who were called as dersiam were giving lessons in selatin mosques which was oriented towards all the community. Fatih Mosque and Beyazid Mosque had a special position in this sense in the Ottoman history. In this two mosques built in an area heavily inhabited and in a circle of families in the neighborhood, lesson circles, meetings, madrasah examinations, inquiry and special meetings on science, meetings of soldiers and some non-satisfied groups were held apart from performing namaz.

Enderun: One other institute of education, which got its real identity in Fatih Sultan Mehmed period, in addition to his contribution to sahn-i seman madrasahs, and which was claimed by some to be established by Fatih himself, was Enderun. In spite of the traditional character of madrasah, Enderun was an original educational institute.

It had the attribute of being the most important official educational institution outside the madrasah from the middle of XVth century in the Ottoman State. This school in which military and administrative personnel was trained, was established to educate the human resources for the central and local bureaucracy. It constituted the basic educational unit in which Ottoman ideology and mentality were taught, and it had an important role in deciding the political targets, and in the operation of the main institutions of the state. Although, two different claims are set forth about the establishment of Enderun, whether in Murad II period, or Fatih Sultan Mehmed Period; its base was laid in Edirne Palace in Sultan Murad period, but it can be stated that it got its real organization in Fatih period. The main purpose for establishing such kind of institution was to train competent administrator-commanders for Ottoman State which had a military base; and to provide reliable administrative personnel for the rapidly growing state to govern the masses with different religions, language and culture. Since the state had a very heterogeneous social structure, culture and discipline were taken as the basic principles for such kind of educational institution instead of race and blood tie, and the personnel was trained in this framework.

It was necessary to give a basic education to the children, who was recruited and had no ties with their families; before they were accepted to Enderun. Children recruited from Christian families, learned Turkish, Islamic principles and customs in a Muslim Turkish family, and then they took courses and trainings in different places to develop their bodily and spiritual abilities. They were called as novice boys.



Saka

Servant

After certain trainings and education, they become *cıkma* and go to different military unions, those who are highly skillful were accepted into Enderun for giving them higher education.

The education in Enderun was established on seven levels as; Big and Small rooms, Falconer ward, Traveler ward, Cellar room, Treasury room, and Fine room. Endo-boys (boys in) who cannot manage to finish the education, leaves the school in the middle as a *cıkma* and joins to various military unions. The young boys in Enderun take courses on Islamic religion and culture, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and trainings on sports such as wrestling, jumping, running, and shooting arrow. Those who are educated in these rooms were wearing a robe called *dolama*, therefore, they were called as *dolamalı* (with *dolama*). The age of the boys were around fifteen. There were menseservants who establish the discipline and help the boys for various things.

Cellar ward was established in Fatih Sultan Mehmed Period. The chief of this ward was *serkilâri-i hâssa*. Serving meals to the sultan was the duty of this ward. Endo-boys of this ward was preparing and preserving all the food and beverages, such as bread, fruit, dried fruit, dessert, sherbet and etc. for the Sultan and Harem-i Humayun. Candles of the rooms of the palace and the masjids were procured by this ward. There were around thirty boys in this ward. Endo-boys go to gate soldiers rider company when they leave the ward.

Treasury ward was also established by Fatih. The chief of this ward was guard of treasury and majordomo of treasury. Guard of treasury was one of the most influential officers in the palace. He was the head of the around 2000 palace artisans who called *ehl-i hiref*, and he was also responsible for the security of Enderun treasury, jewelry and precious goods in the palace. He was always with the sultan both in peace and in war. The number of the boys in this ward increased to 150 sometimes. When they leave this ward they go to gate soldiers rider company, *müteferikalik*, and *çaşnigirlik*.

Fine room (has oda) was the last level of Enderun, and it was also established by Fatih. Four famous officer of the Fine Room was, *has odabası*, *silâhtar*, *cuhadar*, *rikâbdar*; only the *has odabası* has the authority to come into the presence of the Sultan, that's why it was mentioned in Fatih *Kanunnâmesi* (Book of Law). Total number of the officers of the fine room was forty. The duties of the officers of the fine room was to clean *Hırka-i Saâdet Dairesi*, maintenance of the goods, to burn aloes-wood tree in the holy nights, to pour rose water, and to guard holy property of the Prophet. Those, *Hünkâr müezzini* (muezzin of the sultan), *sır kâtibi* (clerk of the secrets), *sarıkcıbaşı* (chief turban officer), *kahvecibaşı* (chief coffee maker), *başçavuş* (sergeant major) was selected among the members of the fine room. Members of the fine room was staying in the room called *Mabeyn* next to Harem, and when they leave

the fine room they were assigned to important positions according to their seniority.

When we take its operational system and its programme into consideration, Enderun was not a school, but it was more a course and an internship institution where various skills, arts, administrative and political knowledge were taught in applied manner, and where the abilities were brought to light. There were specific rules and procedures in the seven rooms, in leaving, promotion, and replacement of the vacant positions in Enderun. However, there were applications of the Sultans in leaving and in promoting outside the procedures.

Enderun system was based on a educational process with several levels in an organical bond. The success comes mostly from the integrity it had. The candidates were selected by examined their physical, bodily, and psychological characteristics by the mobile teams formed specifically, and which act in consistent with certain rules. Certain attributes were taken into consideration in these families they were given to. Courses on Turkish and Islamic culture and sport courses in which they improve their bodily abilities were basic in the prep classes in the palaces. One of the basic principles in this education system which was complied from the very beginning was leaving. This application was improved in Kanuni period, and those who could not succeed and improve in the education process from the prep classes till the end of the Enderun education were taken from here and sent to different position in the military. Therefore, only the exceptionally successful ones could complete the education. Moreover, the number of the boys in the rooms were decreased according to leaving method in specific intervals in consistent with the fixed quota in the wards, and new skillful boys were admitted into.

The other most important principal in Enderun system was to inculcate the culture effectively. Young boys coming from different races and religious background were trained in Islam-Turkish culture. Foreign observers mention that Turks take great pleasure in educating skillful people, and they bear every kind of difficulties for his end; and in the selection they choose those with beautiful faces and without any physical defect, and they state that this was due to the belief of Turks that in a beautiful face an ugly soul cannot hide. The other basic principle of Enderun education was discipline. Every behaviour and movement of a boy who is attending to Enderun education should be prudent. Especially the *akaghas* in Enderun was very strict in conforming to the rules. Even the tiniest fault was punished. The main punishments were *bastinado*, not letting sleep, and letting go hungry. This discipline makes the young patient, tough to every kind of difficulty, respectful, and humble. Their dormitory was in ward style and there was a bed of *akagha* among eight or ten boys. Rice and meat were their main food. The boys were not allowed to eat much, but they were not underfed. Since the young know that they could reach to every



Bostancı Başı

Commander of the Sultans bodyguards

kind of posts in the government, this make them to obey principles and increase their determination to work.

The environment in which Enderun boys were living also helped them to improve their knowledge and good manners. Topkapı Palace were a center which became a scene to administrative, political and diplomatic activities for centuries. Governors of the country, beys of the sanjaks, khadis; diplomatic committees from Muslim and non-muslim countries, envoys; Divan-ı Hümayun members such as grand viziers, viziers, kazaskers were in a intensive activity in this palace. This provides the young in Enderun with a vast vision; and experience. Viziers, chief governors, beys of sanjaks and other administrative officers in different positions working at the center or in the provinces were those who educated in this institution.

When we compare Enderun with madrasah which was based on different methods and targets, the former was more successful and lucky in reaching its goals. While madrasah education became weaker and weaker due to the privileges and patronage given to the children of the scholars, Enderun became the most successful educational institution of the empire in the early periods with its strict discipline, with its principle that accept success, and competence as the unique mean to promote, and with its principle not to make any concessions for any privileges. That's why, many western observers and ambassadors who stayed in Istanbul for years were interested in the education of Enderun, and even the most hostile ones appreciated its success.

However, the discipline and quality of education in Enderun were weakened in the XVIIth century due to the admission of unsuitable people because of certain protection and favoritism in contrary to the available procedures, and since the education system could not cope with the new requirements, and since the gate soldiers had great power and influence in determining the political power. This institution began to lose its importance like the other institutions in the empire in general.

Fatih as an Organizer: It is known that some educational institutions established in his reign and established before, improved greatly in his period. Mehmed II was a sultan who was well-known with his organizer characteristic. He was the founder of an organization which would enable him to dominate worldwide. That's why in his Kanunnâme (Book of Law), there were many sentences for this end. Developments in the state organization in Fatih period were exceedingly important. The reliable information on the Ottoman institutions could be gotten only from the Fatih period. In this Kanunnâme, there are concise expressions about the offices and posts of khadi, scholar, sheik ul-Islam, kazasker, teacher of the sultan, and the education system.

Kazasker: (Military judge) It was established in the beginning of the reign of Murad I to deal with the

lawsuits of the army and military personnel in general, to administer subdivisions of a province, and judiciary organization, and to establish harmony in between. Hayreddin Pasha and Ali Pasha from Candarli family were assigned to this office in the beginning; and the famous scholar in the later periods. In Fatih period, Molla Gürani, Molla Hüsrev, Hocazade Muslihiddin, Mevlana Veliiyüddin, Hasan Samsuni, Ali el-Fenari Celebi of Manisa was appointed as kazasker; in the last year of his reign the office of kazasker was divided into two as Rumelia and Anatolia since the lands of the country was extended a lot, and since only one kazasker could not handle all the educational organization, and since there were more than one vizier in the Divan, and since the chief governorship and provincial treasurer office were divided into two as Rumelia and Anatolia; and Molla Kastalani was assigned to Rumelia, and Hacı Hasan-zade to Anatolia. There is not enough information on the organization and the operation of the post in Fatih period. However, there is certain information on protocol in Kanunname. Kazasker was given broad authority on legal and Sheria issues.

Meşayih: Aksemseddin, Akhiyik Sultan and the other well-known sheiks and their hundreds of disciples joined Fatih when he set off Istanbul from Edirne for the siege of Istanbul in the spring of 1453. It is known that Aksemseddin gave lectures at Zeyrek Mosque when he stayed in Istanbul, and that he had studies on medical science as a professional doctor.

Post of Sheik al-Islam: This office was established at the beginning of the reign of Murad II in 1425, and the well-known scholar Molla Fenari was assigned as the first sheik ul-Islam. It is known that three famous scholars were assigned to this post in Fatih period. However, information on its organization and operations is limited.

In this period, Molla Fahreddin-i Acemi (1436- died in 1460; from Murad II period till his death); Molla Hüsrev (1460- died in 1480); and Molla Gürani (1480- died in 1488) was in charge with the office till their deaths.

Post of Teacher of the Sultan: Teacher of the Sultan was one of the educational institutions which had its form in this period. There are sentences in Kanunnâme.

Fatih had several teachers, and the events between him and his teacher during his education became stories among the public. His teacher-student relation with Molla Gürani was very remarkable.

The period between 1444-1551 in Manisa had great importance in his education and preparation to the throne. The young ruler, who experienced the heavy responsibility of the rulership for a short time, spent all his time with his teachers. Molla Gürani and Hüsrev were not the only teachers of him. He selected certain valuable scholars as his honorary teacher in the name of müderris-i sultanî (teacher of the sultan) after his accession to the throne. His other teachers were, Molla Hatipzade, Molla Hasan Sam-



Veziriazam

Grand Vizier

sunî, and Sinan Pasha, son of Hızır Bey.

Families of scholars: Due to the respect to education and the masters of education in Islamic religion and society, it became a tradition that the profession of education passed from the father to son, and the grandchildren, and therefore many old and well-known families were formed. We see such examples also in other Islamic states. Those families had more different identity in Ottomans with the special privileges granted to them, and an educational web was woven with the forming of kinship relations between those families.

The first privilege to the scholar families: It began with the right granted to the son of Molla Fenari (died in 1431) by Murad II. Molla Fenari and his sons and grandchildren were appointed to the teacher office in *mâdrasah* with forty coins salary. The scope of those privileges were broadened and granted to the other families of the scholars.

Post of Khadi of İstanbul: The other educational office established by Fatih was khadi of İstanbul. It was established in 1453, just after the conquest, and the famous scholar of the period, Hızır Bey became the first khadi, and then Molla Hüsrev became the second khadi. The esteem of this office increased when famous scholars were assigned to this post one after another in the second half of 15th century. The tabulated list, *Esmârü't-tevarih* gives the names, their appointment date and their date of dismissal of 420 khadi to this post including the reiterated appointments between 857-1294 /1453-1877. This list gives a general idea, though it is not much accurate.

In the beginning, all the appointments to the educational staff, and the khadi to İstanbul were done through the proposal of the *kazasker* to the grand vizier, and then grand vizier to the sultan and with his approval; but after separating office of *kazasker* into two in 1481, *kazasker* of Rumelia became authorized for the khadi office in İstanbul since it is in the borders of Rumelia. It is known that there was a change in high level scholar appointments (*Mevleviyet*); and it was done through the proposal of sheik *ul-Islam* to the grand vizier in 16th century. However, appointments sometimes could be done by the sultan independently by informing the grand vizier with *Hatt-ı Humâyûn*. Protocol: According to *Fatih Kanunnâmesi*, khadi of İstanbul which was one of the high scholar posts, sits in front of provincial treasurer, and he was equal with the chief governor. He was in the first rank in the ceremonies such as, accessions to the throne, sword parades, funerals, *mevlits*, *bairams*, and circumcision fests. Their epithet was *Akzâ kuzatü'l-müslimî*, which was the more developed version of the epithet of khadi. They had special outfits they wore on, and on their head in the *divan* meetings, and in the ceremonies.

Though office of khadi of İstanbul, which was also called as khadi of the throne, *effendi* of İstanbul, *molla* of İstanbul, based on Islamic and Turkish judi-

cial system in terms of its general principles, it had a different organizational structure and amount of work in terms of his title and duties since it was the office of khadi of the capital city, and since there was not a chief governorship office. It was organized as four independent khadi post as İstanbul and *Bilâd-ı Selâse*. This term expresses the *Eyup* (*Havass-ı Refia*) khadi post including the places; historical peninsula or İstanbul in the city walls, those places upto *Catalca* and *Silivri* outside the city walls; *Galata khadi* post including places from *Beyoğlu* to *Rumeli Kavagi*; and *Uskudar khadi* post including all the Anatolian part and *Gebze*. All of them was in the grand khadi offices in *mevleviyet* degree. In this broad area, twenty seven courts were established in history in order to carry out legal and administrative works effectively, and most of them established as deputies attached to those four khadi posts.

Result: Sultanate of Fatih Sultan Mehmed was a turning point in the establishment of new institutions as well as it commenced a new mentality in terms of administrative and political conceptualizations. Education institutions such as *sahn-ı seman* *mâdrasahs*, and *Enderun* had great significance among those institutions. He added new institutions to the available ones, and brought new approaches to their operations, and he also brought new dimensions to the Ottoman scientific and intellectual life.

Different elements and applications are seen when it was taken into consideration in terms of history of science and culture. His relations with the scholars of the period; his invitations to the scholars from the famous centers of Islamic world, such as *Samarqand*, *Bukhara*, *Cairo*, *Damascus*, *Baghdad*; and even his invitations to many Christian scholars and religious figures in contrary to the usual practices of the period by extending the scope to the Christian world, were the developments worth attention. He contributed much to the enlivening of the intellectual life by reopening the high quality and fruitful debates.

His sensitivity for books and libraries which he regarded as the basic support of the intellectual life, was very striking. His efforts to establish a palace library including books about different subjects and different cultures as well as different libraries in *Fatih* complex and mosque library shows that his horizon was so broad.

İstanbul in *Fatih's* mind was a worldwide city with its scholars and educational institutions in every field. He did not consider the developments in education field enough, in spite of *sahn-ı seman*, and he wanted such scholars that can compete with their counterparts like Arabic and Persian. In a scientific gathering in his presence, he expressed his sadness that though he founded a worldwide state, though he built a perfect *mâdrasah*, the great scholars were still coming from different countries; in reply the scholars told him that the science is a tradition, and it takes time to settle this tradition down, and when it settles down it would give its permanent fruits.



Kapi Agasi

Chief White eunuch

Social Life

Fuat Köprülü, who analyzed the political, military, administrative, ethnical, and religious background thoroughly that enabled the foundation of Ottoman State by the Muslim Turks on the western end of Asia Minor at the beginning of 14th century generally with the aim of ghaza (holy war), showed the characteristics of this border tribe which was formed by certain military, religious, and craftsmen and tradesmen classes like, Anatolian Ghazis, Ahis, Bacis, Abdals. The community establishing the state was being reshaped, and a new culture was created with the expansion and growth of the new state. Fatih Sultan Mehmed, who conquered Istanbul was one of the significant figures that put his mark on this new formation.

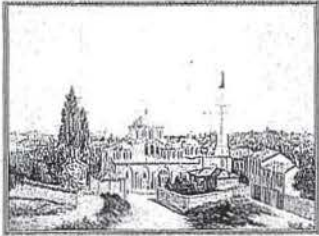
Human beings themselves, creative subject of history, in other words of culture, become an element of culture by forming new social structures or by turning into different structures. Ottoman thinker Kinalzâde Ali Celebi refers to this topic in the 16th century, "if the individuals gather for good deeds, for doing favors and for avoiding from evil and disgrace, this community is a virtuous group." and thus he expresses the view that society is an element of culture. The most important characteristic of the Ottoman society was that it had such philosophy. This philosophy was systematized by Farabi, the Turkish philosopher, in the first half of the 11th century with his book *Medinetü'l-Fâdila* (Virtuous City). The social life in Fatih period was based on this philosophy of doing favors. Fatih who turned Ottoman State into a worldwide state from a small principality by conquering countries, described his conquest as small war (cihad-ı asgar), and the activities for making the people of this country happy, and improving the country as great war (cihad-ı ekber). This was a contest for doing good works, and making favors.

Fatih expanded the total area of Ottoman country to 2.214.000 km² with his conquests in Asia and Europe. Ottoman lands were expanding from Danube to Euphrates. Thus many communities, Turks or other nationalities, Muslim or non-muslim were added to the Ottoman society. The people of the lands belonging to Turkish principalities which were established after the collapse of Turkey Seljuk State was mostly the Turks, because after Malazgirt Victory, Anatolia became a homeland for Turks due to the migrations. Ottoman society got a different structure after the non-muslim citizens were added to it. These people from different cultures lived in peace for centuries under the rule of Muslim Turks, of course, with certain cultural interactions, but without any changes and transformations against their will power. Fatih who legalized certain applications inherited from his ancestors, and who enacted new laws, had his role in the establishment of this system that enabled those groups with different cultures to live in

peace together.

The idea of human-society of the Ottoman Turks was the base of the social life in Fatih period. Human being is the most honorable creature according to Fatih and the society raising him. Humans are civilized due to their creation. Therefore, man needs other human beings in order to gain his livelihood, and continue his life. This need caused the formation of the societies and the nations. The only way to continue social life is solidarity and helping each other. The sustainment of the harmony among the members of the society depends on the level of inborn skills of every individual and the continuation of these skills. Such kind of division of labor makes differentiation and stratification compulsory in the society. This point of view forming the philosophical base of the Ottoman society, was supported with Islamic principles. These views forming the base of Ottoman social order, and administrative philosophy were explained with a formula called circle of justice or circle of fairness. This concept which goes back to Sasanids, and which was explained in *Kutadgu Bilig*, and in the works of *Nizamulmulk*, and *Ghazali*, was interpreted and explained again in *Ahlâk-ı Alâî* by Kinalzâde Ali Efendi, and *Tarih* by *Natma*. According to this view; peace on earth can be achieved through justice; earth is a garden with its walls called state; *Sheria* is the order of the state; sovereignty is the protector of *Sheria*; it requires a powerful army to have the political power; in other words, to own the sovereignty, to establish the state by integrating the country and the public; a great wealth is needed to feed a powerful army; it requires the public which live in peace and abundance to have this great wealth; the life of the public in peace and abundance depends on a just government. These rings of the circle of justice; justice, state, *Sheria* (law), sovereignty, army, wealth, public, constitute the basic principles of the social structure according to the Ottomans. If one of these rings is destroyed, the state and the society are doomed to collapse. The other most important element in the social structure of this period was the rules of *fiqh*, which was the religious, legal, and social interpretation of Islam.

According to this system, all the nations were divided into two big political body as muslim, and non-muslim. Muslim, was the most comprehensive name of all the nations which believe in Islam, no matter in what madhab or tariqa they are, or no matter if they have heretic views or different opinions or not. Under the name non-muslim (infidel), all the nations which do not accept the holy mission of Prophet Mohammed on earth were expressed. All the unbelievers were only one nation according to Ottoman point of view. According to another political classification, Ottomans divided all the people on earth into four as, Muslims, *Zimmi*, (non-muslims), *Müste'minler*, (refugees), and *harbiler*, (enemies).



Kariye Camii

Karie Mosque

Muslims were all the nations who believe in the religion of Prophet Mohammed as stated above. Non-muslims were all the Christian, Jewish and pagan subjects under the dominion of Islam. They are obliged to pay tribute. Refugees were those strangers who come into and go out of the state whether temporarily according to agreements or international law, or the local inhabitants or those settled in the empire. The term Müste'min means those who ask for mercy, and favor, and those who take shelter. Harbiler which is derived from the word Harb (war), expresses the enemies of the Muslims, or those nations which the empire did not establish contact with agreements.

Fiqh was dividing all the nations into seven groups, the first two of them were Muslims and non-muslims. These are, Sunnites, which comprises all the muslims believing in the four sunnite madhabs, (Hanafi, Shafi'i, Maliki, Hanbali). Shi'ites, were the supporters of Caliph Ali, which does not recognize the first three Caliphs as legitimate, and it also comprised all the heterodoxes arisen in Islam. Kitabiler (who have books) were the Jews and Christians who were given holy books before Prophet Mohammed, that's to say, Torah, the Book of Psalms, and Bible, in other words those who were honored with revelation. Fiqh was set them apart from the pagans in its many judgements. For example, kitabiler can marry Muslims, though pagans cannot. However, this had also limits. Only the Muslim men can marry Christian or Jewish women, the opposite was not the case. The other group was the zoroastrians, i.e. those who worship fire, or the supporters of Zoroastre. They were treated differently in the application of certain articles of the civil law or criminal code. Arabian pagans were called as abede-i evsân-ı Arab, and the pagans of other nations were called as abede-i evsân-ı Acem, The last group of this religious division was mürtedler. They were those who converted into another religion by giving up Islamic faith. It was a great crime. Even if they became taxpayers under the status of Zimmi, this was not enough for them to be forgiven. Theoretically, they can save their lives only by converting into Islam again.

People were also classified in terms of their natural, civil and moral attributes. People can be free or slave regardless of their ethnical or religious status. All the social and political structure of the state was divided into four in terms of civil status. Sherifs or the emirs descending from the lineage of Prophet of Islam, Fukaha and men of law were coming first. Secondly, comes the viziers in the various positions in the state organization, high rank officials, and all the officials of the state. They were called as ruesa. Thirdly, comes the evsât-ı sükiye, who were the Muslim bourgeoisie, and the citizens, and those who did not have any public work, and those who live on their production or on their wealth. The fourth class was hisâs, lower class people, those who are under the status of slave, those subjects out of public work, and public office.

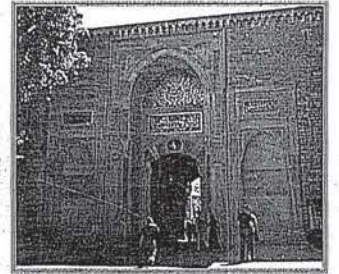
Ottoman citizens were divided into two in terms of moral attributes. Sâlihler (men of virtue), who were worthy of trust in witnessing in legal issues under the name şuhûdül-'udûl (those who did not swerve from honesty) were forming the first group. Fasıklar (bad tempered, and infidels) were forming the second group. Fiqh was forbidding some of the civil things to them, and their witnessing were accepted sometimes.

Semi-official Ottoman law code, that's to say, fiqh was classifying and evaluating the people in terms of various criteria.

Another point we should know in order to approach closer to the social life in Fatih Period was the demographical structure of the Ottoman society. Demographic estimations on the population of Ottoman State can be made by taking the books of compositions. Unfortunately, so few books of compositions were left from the Fatih period. Therefore, it is impossible to estimate the general population of the country in this period. However, we have information on the demographical status after thirty years from the death of Fatih.

According to the calculations of Barkan, in the five main principalities of Ottomans in Asia (Anatolia, Karaman, Zulkadriye, Diyarbekir, and Roum) there were 1.146.697 households in total; 1.067.355 Muslims, 78.783 Christians, 559 Jews, including the administrators (military class) between 1520-35. In Rumelia, (including the population of Istanbul and administrators), there were 1.191.799 households in total; 291.593 Muslims, 888.002 Christian, 12.593 Jews. If we calculate five person in a household, population of Ottoman Anatolia was 5.733.485, and Rumelia was 5.958.995, and in total 11.692.480. Barkan thinks that this population was about 12 – 12,5 million when those who were not registered in the books were added. 58,12 % of this population was Muslim, 41,34 % was Christian, and 0,54 % was Jews. The proportion of these three religious groups remained almost the same in the next centuries. However, the proportions could change from region to region. Although Christian population of the conquered lands were bigger after the conquest, the proportion was changed in favor of Turks when Turks were settled there in time. Of course, there were those from the locals who converted into Islam, but their number was not so many. Turkish population coming from other places into the region played the main role in the Islamisation of the regions, converting of the locals into Islam was spontaneous and it was a slow and gradual process. 90 % Islamisation and Turkicization during the conquest could also be seen as in the case with Middle Black Sea Region.

As we can see, Ottoman society was formed by the communities with different religions, races, and madhabs in Fatih period as in the other periods. However, the society was structured not only on the basis of race, but on the basis of thought and belief. There were Roums, Armenians, Jews, Romans, Slavs, and Arabs among the components forming the Otto-



Topkapı Sarayı Babühümâyün Kapısı

Topkapı Palace Babühümâyün Gate

man society other than the Turks who were dominant in the state government. This complex structure of the society was due to the demographic characteristic of the geography on which the state was ruled. The understanding of the Ottomans on administration, politics and humans played the significant role in this, since the state let every community free in their beliefs, and give them certain level of autonomy, and it did not assimilated any of them.

The declaration of mercy addressing the Christian locals announced by Fatih Sultan Mehmed after the conquest of Istanbul was an extremely important application in terms of human rights, since it comprised freedom of belief, worship, travel, trade and dressing. In this declaration Fatih told in today's Turkish after he swore on God, Prophet Mohammed, Koran, one hundred twenty four thousand prophets, his grandfather, his father and his sons; "We let the Galata people perform their customs and prayers freely like the other people submitting to us, upon the request of the ministers, and Signor Baraban Balios, Signor Marquis Drifango and the dragoman Nikola Pelazoni sent to our Imperial Port by the Catholic priests of the city. The houses, shops, vineyards, mills, ships, trade establishments, and the other property of the inhabitants will not be touched. They have the permission to sell their merchandise everywhere in our country. They can travel on land and in the seas freely, and they are exempted from customs and forced labor. These rules and regulations will be valid from today till forever. We will protect them like we protect ourselves. They can perform their religious ceremonies in their churches as they want, their ministers and priest will not be told harsh words.."

Ottoman State organized the communities according to their religion or madhabs, because of this understanding which was expressed in the declaration of mercy of Fatih and in many other Ottoman documents originating from certain principles of Islamic law; and reorganized the ethnical and religious communities under its dominion. The term community was meaning the concrete organization of ethnical structure, religious identity and solidary trio. Such an organization was a realistic and contemporary approach for that day. There was a meta-nation or meta-tribal state concept in the cultural tradition of the Ottomans inherited from Central Asia and extended as far as Anatolia. Turkish tribes became united by means of Islam. Ethnical sentiments of the tribes became insignificant, and religious identity became of primary importance. Therefore, the base of the social organization of the Turks was the community with religious characteristics. There were Turks, Arabs, Iranians, Bosnians, and Albanians among the groups forming the Muslim majority in the Ottoman society. Ottoman rulers were aware that religion could create stronger feeling of solidarity than blood or kinship relations as an imperial tradition. In fact, this was emphasized in the doctrine of the religion they believe. Thus, religious-ethnical communities established

the base for the political-administrative organization. Of course, this did not come out from day to night. As the area of the empire extended, and as the number of Turkish and non-muslims groups increased under the sovereignty of Ottomans, religious communities became more evident and more important in the administrative organization, and thus the nation system was born. Orthodox nation, under the administration of Roum Orthodox Patriarchate, Armenian nation, comprising all the eastern Christians who were not Orthodox, Jewish nation, under the administration of chief Rabbi, and this system was developed in the second half of the 15th century. In fact, this formation was nothing more than the formalization of the available statuses of the religious communities. Ottomans, thus showed a realistic conduct. Moreover, Islam was giving a separate importance to Christians, and Jews who had holy books as we mentioned above, and they were called as zimmi in Islamic law. Zimmi are those who are the member of the celestial religions such as Christianity and Judaism, who accepted the dominion of Islam, and who were protected and shown hospitality by Muslim community and the administration. This was a religious obligation for the Muslims. Certain articles of the Ottoman Sheria law gives Christians the right to govern themselves as different ethnical-religious communities and under religious-cultural autonomy. Non-muslims who were the subjects of Ottoman State used this right, and they were governed by their own patriarchs and ecclesiastical assemblies. This Nation System derived from this right was applied by the Ottomans with great skill. The identities of the subgroups of the various religions were preserved, and they allowed to live their beliefs, and cultures and perform their prayers, and this was especially looked after. Yenadios who were assigned to Fener Roum Patriarchate just after the conquest of Istanbul by Mehmed II, and the other patriarchs following him were regarded as the esteemed members of the state administration. Some researchers said that Christianity made an advance in Ottoman nation system, and patriarch made his worldly and spiritual authority felt by all the Orthodoxes from Adriatic to Persian Gulf. The most populated group in the Ottoman nation system was Orthodox nation. Their religious and administrative center was Fener Patriarchate. Since most of the Orthodoxes were Roum, this patriarchate was also called as Roum Patriarchate. People of Eflaq-Bogdan, and Montenegro, Serbians, and Bulgarians bounded to this church. In addition, the empire take the necessary measurements in order to prevent the assimilation of the religious subgroups. The monopoly of the Roum Church over the Balkans were limited by giving partial autonomy to Ohri Arshovek in the 16th century which was the continuation of old Bulgarian Church. Besides, Serbian Patriarchate was established in Pec in 1557 with the initiative of Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. Thus, non-muslims with holy books could preserve their temples no matter



Kadi

Judge

which sect they believe, and live their beliefs. According to G. Veinstein, this attitude of the Ottoman authorities, was just the contrast of the intolerance of Catholics to Jews and Orthodoxes.

The other nation which has different status in Ottoman society was Armenian nation. Armenians were neither Orthodox nor Catholic. They have a teaching which defends Jesus Christ has a unique nature, and which is called monophysit. That's why they were accused of being irreligious by the Orthodoxes. Armenians of the Van region bound to Akdamar Kagogikos (Archpatriarch), Armenians of Kozan, Maras, and Calippo regions bound to Sis Kagogikos. There were many Armenians in Istanbul. The most important spiritual center of the Armenians during the conquest of Istanbul was Ecmiyadzin. Fatih brought archbishop in Bursa in Istanbul after the conquest and assigned him as the Patriarch of the Armenian Church, and granted him the same authorities with Roum Patriarch and chief Rabbi. However, they were also bound to Ecmiyadzin spiritually. Patriarch was a bishop and, his title of patriarchate was an official civil-service post. State carried out its relations with the Armenian community through Istanbul Patriarch, and regarded him as the highest post. Although Katagikoses were the greatest spiritual leaders, they did not have official titles in state protocol. Georgian and Syrian communities under the Armenian Church were preserving their characteristics, and their leaders had authority over their communities. Such an organization limited the expansion of Islam, and contributed much to the preservation of the identities of the ethnical-religious communities. There were also other Christian Churches in Ottoman society such as Syrian, Jacobean, Nesturian, and Marunian.

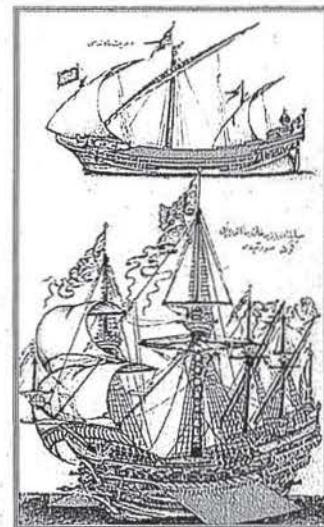
The other religious group in Ottoman society was Jews. Jews were mostly residing in harbour cities like Istanbul, Izmir, and Tseloniki, and populated cities like Baghdad and Calippo. The ethnical structure, religion and community was overlapping in Jews, unlike the Christians. The classifications such as Askenazi, Sefardik, and Karaim was not because of ethnical structure or religious understanding, but because of the cultural influence of the regions they were living. Romaniots were the local Jews living in the regions conquered by the Ottomans. They were speaking Greek. The second group was Askenazis, who migrated into Ottoman country from Germany and even from France at the beginning of the 15th century, or even before that date. However, when the Ottoman Jews were meant, Sefarads were coming to the mind who escaped from the oppression began in the southern Europe from the end of the 15th century after the exile decision taken against the Spanish Jews in 1492, and Portuguese Jews in 1496. Sefarads settled as communities (Kehillot in Hebrew) according to the Ottoman documents, mostly in Istanbul, Tseloniki, Izmir and Edirne in Anatolia, and major cities of the Balkans. Ottoman administration settled some of the Jews into newly conquered lands by persuading them

or by exiling them. Although there is doubt on the exact date of the organization of all the Jews in the Empire under the legal and administrative authority of the Chief Rabbi in Istanbul, it is known that Jewish groups organized as communities (kehillot), every community lived in their own quarter, and gathered around their own synagogues, had their own rabbis, and it was in accordance with the general pattern of Ottoman city organization. The active unit of the Ottoman city was not the city itself, but the quarters which were defined religiously, and which had its own place of worship, that's to say, communities organized around mosques, churches or synagogues, and under the leadership of imam, minister, or rabbi. Therefore, it is understood that there were many provincial rabbis on Ottoman Jews. It will not be a mistake to say that Jewish communities lived a peaceful and harmonious life in Ottoman country from these indications such as the invitations of the Ottoman Jews to their coreligionists fervently in Europe into Turkey, and the positive impressions of the European travelers about the Jews in Turkey. Shortly, it can be said that organization in nation system form by which Fatih Sultan Mehmed laid its base, contributed a lot to the realization of Ottoman world order or *pax ottomana* which enables different ethnical and religious groups to live in peace and harmony.

Another factor that played-role in the organization of the Ottoman social life was the legalization of the customary law. *Kanunnâme* of Fatih was a total of official laws which systematized state organization, form of governing, and certain financial and penal issues by taking the previous applications into consideration. These issues such as ranks of the state officials, protocol regulations, the distribution of subsistence given to the state officials as salary, and certain financial and penal issues were arranged with this *Kanunnâme* which includes the customary applications depending on the decisions of the Sultans.

The Ottoman society can be divided into two major classes functionally which was regarded as crucial for the peace and order of the society, and for the continuation of the social life in a healthy manner: administrators (military-administrative), administereds (subjects). The first of them were those who were given religious or administrative authority by the Sultan; the others were those from various religious and racial groups which did not participate in administration. The duty of the subjects were to support military class by making production and paying taxes no matter from which religion or race they were. The duty of the military class in the leadership of the Sultan was to administer justice and provide the subjects with prosperity by applying Ottoman Law consisting of *Sheria* of Islam, and customary laws. The aim of the economical activities of this system was not to make profit, but to provide prosperity to the people.

Administrators can be divided into four subgroups in the classical period Ottoman society as, Sultan and public of the Palace, Swordsmen, Bureaucrats,



XV.yy Osmanlı Gemileri

XVth century Ottoman ships

and Scholars. The Sultan and the public of the Palace should be taken into consideration separately. Swordsmen were the administrators in the Timar and Slave systems. Fatih built a mechanism that enabled slave origins to be promoted to the higher ranks in order to strengthen his central authority. Bureaucrats were Muslim. There were non-muslims among Knights and notables of the central government. Non-muslims who converted into Islam could work in the army and bureaucracy. Scholars were consisted of those groups such as man of religion and scientist with madrasah origin, thinkers, poets, historians working in educational, setwa, judicial and religious areas; Patriarches of the Christians and Chief Rabbi and those close to them; members of Assembly of Holy Church; Christian thinkers, poets, doctors, and low rank priests can be evaluated in this category.

Administereds (subjects) can be divided into two according to their functions; tradesmen and artisans; and the villagers. Wholesalers, and retailers, jewelers, manufacturers of various goods, artisans organized under guilds, master workers who were member of a guild and who were living in caravansaries or in the quarters developing around the castle of the old city can be listed as tradesmen and artisans. They could be Muslim or non-muslims who had almost the same qualifications. Villagers were those who had the fief or wafk lands at their disposal, or small private farm owners. There were other villagers who did not have lands, but work for the landowners in return for a share of the crop. Nomads living at the mountains as animal husbander or woodcutter should also be listed in this group. There is no distinction as Muslim or non-muslim in terms of villagers. Of course, some of the non-muslims had the lands of the church at their disposal.

At the top of the social hierarchy of the Ottoman societies were the Sultan and public of the Palace close to him. Ottoman Sultans, resided in Topkapi Palace built by Fatih Sultan Mehmed for three and a half centuries, after they stayed in the palaces in Bursa and Edirne. Topkapi Palace was the residence of the Sultan on the one hand; but it was also an institution where the Sultan established relations with the public; where some of the officials of the state worked; where the meetings were held with the foreign state representatives; where certain religious and political ceremonies took place; and therefore it had a unique structure. Topkapi Palace was formed by three sections; Harem, Enderun, Bırân. The statuses and the duties of those living or working in these three sections were different. They had certain privileges due to their closeness to the Sultan. That's why, they were more prestigious for the public outside the palace.

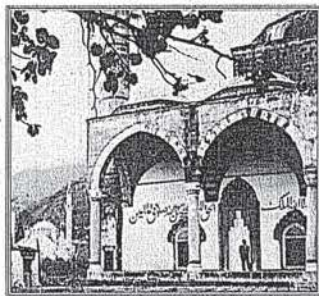
Palace was the place where the most refined Ottoman culture was produced by living. Fatih made books on philosophy, history, geography, and medicine in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and even ancient Greek written, and collected important manuscripts of the Christian and Muslim world. Fatih was both a

scientist and a poet. He found the opportunity to talk to and discuss with the scholars and artists he brought from all over the world, from Asia and Europe. Enderun, one of the the sections of the palace was a school which gave theoretical and applied education, and which trained high level administrators by teaching them Ottoman culture and customs.

The vocational training, practicing and general education were given together in the Ottoman educational institutions such as the madrasahs where the scholars were educated, and Enderun where military officials (Swordsmen), and in other units where bureaucrats were educated. The aim of such an education and training was to raise administrators and specialists to run the wheel of state most effectively with availabilities of the period in accordance with the administrative rules of the Islamic society. This education system raised many statesmen, jurist, and commander, and many successful figures in the applied sciences such as medicine, and architecture as well. These people was cultured and moderate. They spoke Persian and Arabic. They knew the classical literature of the Islamic culture well, and participated in the literary activities of their period, and followed it closely. They, and the Sultan himself first of all, had relations with a sufic tariqa apart from their official education. Their sufic knowledge and experience enabled them to be broad-minded, to have religious sincerity, to be controlled, to be moderate, to be self-controlled, that's to say, it helped them to assimilate the necessary virtues for Ottoman manners.

The social life in the other cities and towns outside the Palace and Istanbul was organized around sites of public service built by charity system; the tradesmen and merchants were organized according to guild system in these sites; villagers were organized around farming system in the agricultural areas. It can be said that charity system, in other words goodness system, Turkish humanism forms the base of all the Ottomans social life. Although we know that this system was applied in-all the Muslim Turkish societies before the Ottomans, it reached its consistency in Ottoman style, and we can take Fatih Building Complex as the beginning for its turning into concrete works.

Fatih who built the Hagia Sophia Mosque Complex and its infrastructural institutions first, and then he ordered the construction of Fatih Building complex, in other words Fatih Charity Site, which was named as his name in Istanbul, and which he established by following the rules and traditions of building public site forming the core of the city depending on the Ottoman charity system. The total area of the charity buildings of this complex which was completed in eight years, was one hundred thousand square meters. Mosque is in the center of the site. There were eight big and eight small madrasahs on both sides in parallel to the Mosque, a winter guesthouse, a public facility (guesthouse and soup kitchen), a hospital, a primary school, and a library.



Manisa Camii

Manisa Mosque

Adequate number of functionaries were assigned for these institutions. The Muslims gathered in the mosque with azan perform their complete set of prayers; in the schools and madrasahs education was given in primary level to higher level; and the information produced here were conveyed to the people of the quarter and the guests coming there, and thus it was become widespread. 383 site employees were working in Fatih Charity Site. All these employees, travelers and the poor were having meal in the public kitchen, and the guests were staying in the guesthouse. Employees were also paid salaries. 3500 loaves of bread was distributed apart from the meals cooked in the public kitchen. The patients were treated for free in the hospitals. There were also houses for the scholars around this complex; and the madrasah students were staying in the cells (rooms) in the madrasah allotted to them, having their meals in the public kitchen, and were given allowances.

The structure of the core of the Fatih Charity (Goodness) Site and its operational mechanism is that. Fatih built shops around this charity site in order to afford the maintenance and operational expenses continuously. The Grand Bazaar (Bazaar of the Sultan) which was consisted of 280 shops surrounded by walls, Grand Sarachane (Bazaar of Leather Producers and Seller) which was consisted of 110 shops, and hammams (Cukur Hammam, and Irgatlar Hammam). There were a horse bazaar, and stables in the north of the site. New barracks were built for the janissaries in the north of Sarachane. There were other income sources of the complex in different places. All of them were wakf. Some of the income resources donated by Fatih to Hagia Sophia Mosque, and Fatih Complex were: Bey Caruvansary, Un-kapanı (Flour Stock), Yemis-kapanı (Dried Fruit Stock), Salt Warehouse, Waxhouse, Soaphouse, Presshouse, Tannery, Slaughterhouse, Painthouse, two hammams, 46 butcher shops, 41 restaurants, 28 Bozahouse, bakeries, and 2000 shops in several bazaars all around the city.

Annual income of the Fatih Complex was 1.321.219 silver coins (32.000 gold coins). The site was repaired, the necessary consumer goods were purchased, and the salaries of the employees were paid with this income. Scholars and disabled soldiers were put on salary from this income.

There were merchants and tradesmen in these places of employment who controlled the economical life. Although the local production and trade was carried out by the tradesmen, the trade between the cities, regions and countries were carried out by the merchants. Tradesmen mean classes and branches of work. It can be said that all the people of the city was organized under guilds in terms of their classes, except the military class and the foreigners. The members of a guild were having the same religion, but there were guilds which had members both Muslim and non-muslim. Guilds had a hierarchical structure, which continued the traditions of ahi and which ba-

sed on morality, honor, generosity, self-sacrifice, and solidarity under a strong religious sentiment.

Charity site was the center which formed the core of a quarter. Therefore, there were houses around the social and economical institutions in the site. Thus, the most important unit of the city, and even the social life of all the society was established. In this charity site, which was named as medine-i fādila by Farabi, virtuous site in other words, a social life based on division of labor and solidarity was continued.

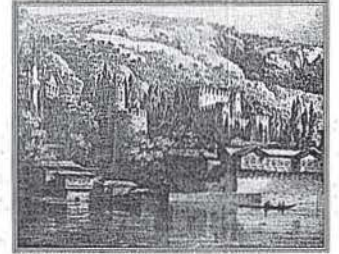
Fatih was not alone in this conceptions and activities for establishing charity sites, and the people around him was competing each other for establishing new charity sites through wakfs, as N. Iorga mentions, "he does not see the victory in terrific ruins, but to reconstruct the conquered city in a systematized way, and continuously create".

The groups brought in the city with their demands or due to exile were settled into a vacant place in the city under a name community, and then these communities formed their sites or quarters around a temple of their beliefs. The religious leader of the temple and the majordomo representing the public played the primary role in the administration of the quarter.

Viziers also established charity sites other than those of Fatih. Among those, Mahmud Pasha, Murad Pasha, Gedik Ahmet Pasha, Mustafa Pasha, Candarli Ibrahim Pasha, Hadim Ali Pasha Complexes can be mentioned first. Around these complexes in several districts of the city which had mosque, madrasah, school, public kitchen, and other social and religious services for the public, quarters were established in time, and in 1500s Istanbul had 12 subdistricts. There had a complex at the center of every subdistrict, and the quarters developed around masjids, churches or synagogues.

These institutions were established by the volunteers not by the state. Charity or public sites, complexes in other words, were wakf institutions with independent management. Wakf means the donation of a movable or immovable property by its owner for winning the God's sake in order to meet any needs of the public for religious, charity or social purposes for an undefined period of time. There is no obligation or for coercion behind this activity, but the free will of a person who had a feeling of individual responsibility and a conscience of serving towards mankind, in other words, goodness, mercy, helping and solidarity to others, that's to say a person who takes pleasure from giving physical or spiritual peace to a humanbeing, and a person who take the similar cultural values as his principles.

The works of Fatih and the people of his period were the concrete form of these feelings while they were building Istanbul. We may call the culture of this period as wakf culture. One third of all the movable and immovable goods of the Ottomans was wakf. Wakf had put its mark on every area of society and culture, from education to art, from social solida-



Anadolu Hisari

Anatolia Fort

city to city planning, from transportation to scientific studies. Although there are many researches about wakfs, the charity system which formed the establishment and development dynamics of it was recently noticed. In the document collections about wakfs and wakf charters including Fatih period, and in other works especially the history literature, it is seen that Turks used the term charity consciously, and run it as the system of the state and the society. It can even be said that spirit of charity was the overall social spirit of the Ottoman country. It is possible to see the reflections of this system in the behaviors of Turkish people even today, which will be helpful in explaining both the religious and philosophical base and the applications of all the Islamic period Turkish wakfs.

Charity system is the basic ingredient of the Turkish civilization. The philosophical base of this system can be found in *Medīnetü'l-fādila* (virtuous, ideal society) of Turkish philosopher Farabi who wrote his work in the forties of the 10th century.

According to Farabi, a human cannot survive alone, and be perfect. The perfection, which is the aim of the creation can only be achieved only when many humanbeings helping each other come together. A city which takes helping as its aim in issues for means of happiness, is a virtuous, perfect city (*madina fādila*), and a society in which its members help each other to have happiness is a virtuous, perfect society. A nation in which its cities help each other for the purpose of the happiness of the country is a virtuous, perfect nation. A virtuous, perfect and universal state can be possible only when all the nations of it help each other to reach happiness.

16th century Ottoman thinker Kınalızāde Āli Celebi, expresses that this virtuous and happy city conceptualized by Farabi was realized in the Ottoman period. These were the public sites or complexes built by Fatih and the people of his period, and which continued in the next centuries by improving it. Actually, it can be said that the target to live in such a site was almost realized... The factor behind it was the wakfs, which can be defined as the third sector of the period; more accurately, the charity system behind the wakfs.

The thought that triggered this ideal in Islamic period Turkish history, which is tried to be reached by the world today was this verse of the Koran; "everyone and (every nation) has a direction and a way. You strive for making charities (social and good works, goodness), compete each other in doing so..." Charity was interpreted as every kind of behavior and works in the spirit of solidarity that make a person happy in both worlds. This was a matter of love. Not only the material supports, but a good remark, and even a smiling face were regarded in the category of goodness. It was believed that the love for every living thing, not only for the humans, gaining the hearts with such behavior, and working for making people happy is a worship. Yusuf Has Hācib says in *Kutadgu Bilig* "Be better than every one, and try to make favo-

urs every time..

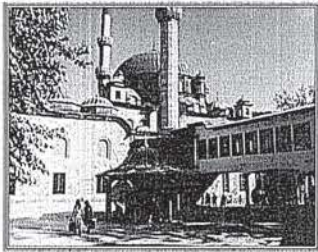
In order to make goodnesses in an extent to establish charity sites, it should be had property, in order to have property it should be worked. In the charters of the Turkish wakfs, the verse of the Koran there is nothing for man than those he worked for, and the hadith of the Prophet Mohammed this who revitalized an arid land, is the owner of it were referred; and the goods donated by the founders of the wakf was stated to be the pure production of the labor of them; thus the importance and the value of the individual responsibility of man, his labor and his efforts were emphasized.

The fact that some or all of these estates earned with efforts were donated in order to meet the needs of people, is usually tried to be explained with certain notions expressed in the verses of Koran encouraging social solidarity and support.

The term *hayrat* (charitable acts) is very important among these. The word derives from *hayır*, and its plural form is *hayrat*, and these words were the most used words in Ottoman literature. The word *hayır* which means goodness, benevolence, benefit, good luck, and happiness, has an extensive use in Turkish. It is used in the idioms and proverbs. When people meet in the mornings they say each other "hayırlı sabahlar" (good morning), and in the evenings "hayırlı akşamlar" (good evening). To a person bought a new thing it is said "hayrım gör" (May it bring you luck) to express the wish to use it in good days. A dream or an unexpected event is "hayra yorulur" (interpreted favorably). If you do a deed worth praise for religious aspects or humanity, you do good works i.e., "hayır işlemiş". On the other hand, the principle "want good for your neighbor, thus good happens to you" is the most important maxim that describes the Turkish philanthropy which forms the base for the social relations in the Turkish society.

The city, which was turned from Constantinople into Istanbul by Fatih, appeared as a city of charity, in other words a city of goodness. The feelings of helping each other, which is very important for the social life, turned into buildings, complex of services and a complete set of social institutions in the form of charity sites by becoming concrete. Asıkpashazade says that "property is something that spent on goodness". According to Tursun Bey, historian of Fatih, human-being is a social creature which was given highest honor and glory. He should live in society. Tursun Bey formulates the living of humans in communities as it is civilization, and it is called as city, village, or nomad group. According to him, humans want to live together because of their creation, humans is in need of each other in order to help each other. This helping is only possible when gathered together. Tursun Bey describes politics as the measures to be taken in order to provide helping in society by the engagement of the people with the jobs they are responsible to do.

If we analyze this point of view in terms of social psychology, Turkish people of Fatih era perceived



Eyüp Camii

Eyüp Mosque

Complex or charity site as a cultural product based on the balance of faith, thought and action. According to them, everything depends on the personal responsibility of individual and his free will. Everyone should feel the problems of all the humanity as their own problems, they should work and produce for this purpose, and spend the surplus to meet the needs of other people and solve their difficulties with his free will. The best way to do this was to build public site (complex) which formed the core of the Muslim Turkish city. In Fatih era, the conquered cities and towns were reshaped in consistent with the spirit of charity while the Ottoman State was turning into a world-wide state from a principality, and new towns and cities were being established and the old ones were being expanded.

Fatih Sultan Mehmed tells in the charter of the Fatih Complex as "Hüner bir şehir bünyâd itmekdür / Re'âyâ kalbin âbâd itmekdür." The couplet means; the actual work, competence and ability is to lay the foundation of a city, is to establish a city, and thus to cheer the hearts of people, and make it forever. Therefore, the public sites (complexes) which were established with such feelings and thoughts of Fatih were the places where social integration created, and where social life was directed.

The scholars and the students of the madrasah were together with the workers of the complex, the poors in the neighborhood, and the travelers in the public kitchen during meal times; and together with the great part of the city population other than those mentioned above in the mosque during five times namaz performance. The mosque in the center of the complex and the other mosques and masjids of the city were the doors of the madrasah, which was the university of Ottomans, to the common people, and they were conference halls. The information produced in the madrasah could be conveyed to the public by the scholars and students of the madrasah through these halls.

The other mosques in the various areas of the country also had the same function. As it is known that the education was suspended for three months every year, and the students scattered around different regions of the country, and spread the knowledge of the madrasah to the remotest places through these mosques. Although everyone cannot find the opportunity to attend formal education, a common culture was created everywhere in the country thanks to the continuous education in these public sites. The people who got the same cultural values, and the same behavioral norms through this waqf public sites, they gain a common identity and thus social integration became widespread.

This socio-cultural structuring which we try to draw the typology was applied not only in Istanbul but in all the cities of Ottoman country according to the economical powers of their inhabitants. The cities

developed and shaped around the waqf complexes, were connected to each other by waqf bridges and roads. The waqf caravansaries on these road networks was the most humane and the most civilized institution built on earth till today. According to the anecdotes of the travelers, there were summer kiosks, and winter residences in these caravansaries which keep the transportation network of Anatolia and the trade roads alive. It is possible to find everything in there in every season. There were many workers in these caravansaries whose salaries were paid by the waqf. Every traveler (Muslim, non-muslim, free and slave) was served the equal amount of food. Shoes of the travelers were repaired if necessary, and shoes were given to those who did not have a pair. Every kind of care, including the shoeing of the animals were taken for free. A veterinarian was also appointed for the treatment of sick animals.

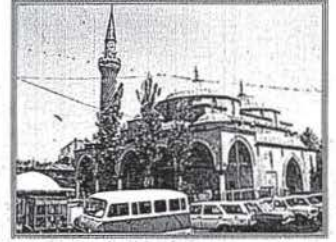
The sick travelers were examined and the necessary medicines were given to them and they were treated. No one was let go before he got well. If there happens a death, the funeral was hold by the waqf.

All the Turkish World, from Karakhanids to Ottomans were embellished with charity activities, through these waqf institutions established by these people who work hard and earn a lot, but who believe in the ephemerality of the world, and who were not captured by the material wealth, and who made their wealth eternal by donating them the socio-economical and cultural services for mankind. There were lodges, and guesthouses which perform almost the same function on these arrivals on the roads which did not have caravansaries.

There was a belief system in this love and mercy. Those people who owned charities in the classical period Turkish world believed that this world is an transitory guesthouse; but when they go back to God, in order to get the happiness of eternal world, they should work hard in the world and spend their earnings to make other people happy in this world.

Believing in the ephemerality of the world did not mean the reason supposed to be as the one that caused the underdevelopment of Islamic world, that's to say indolence, resigning himself to his fate. It meant that work humanely in this love morality, and to reach eternity by spending his earnings for the happiness of humanity. This is only possible by freeing oneself from the captivity of material. A matter of love.

The cause which put its mark on the Ottoman social life of Fatih Sultan Mehmed era, was this love, and the spirit of charity which I tried to explain above, and the behaviors motivated by them. If this love and spirit, which is terribly needed by today's world that lost its balance are understood and revitalized again, thus it can be contributed to happiness of the mankind by establishing new civilizations.



Gedik Ahmet Paşa Camii,
(Afyon)

Gedik Ahmet Pasha Mosque,
(Afyon)

Tradesmer Organization And Trades

Ottoman state continued also in the reign of Mehmed II its applications of the production policies directed towards the monopolization of the industry sector as well as of the tradesmen and trade system and related to that of commerce and agriculture sectors which had been started in the earlier stages. The necessity that this monopoloid rights recognized in tradesmen organizations should lead to the rights and obligations which would have been beneficial to the state, tradesmen-consumer and consumer trio and not to harm them had been in fact one of the most important aims of general production-consumption policies of the Ottoman state which were applied in almost all periods.

Production sell and purchase of products and services monopolies of tradesmen organizations have been the most important aims in achieving the general production-consumption goals such as to prevent tradesmen organizations, which had been formed by the state since the foundation of the Ottoman State and had determined the general aims of this policy, from getting any harm from their getting into destructive competition; to take the necessary economic and legal precautions which would ensure the continuity of production; to provide the people who would produce goods and services in favor of the consumer in quality and with prices in accordance with this quality with the production of the only those goods or services thus to prevent the ones who do not know the delicacy of workmanship from producing not quality but expensive goods and harming the consumer and consequently the economy itself and making unjust income.

Firstly, we should determine and deal with the economic and legal development phases of the tradesmen starting from the foundation and establishment period of the Ottoman State to the reign of Mehmed II when the organization system of the tradesmen was spread. The first phase which also includes the Mehmed II era is the birth of tradesmen organizational system which founded on the production of the goods and services, purchasing and selling monopolies.

The state in this phase, relevant to the goals of the general economic and social policies followed, tries to form the goals of the policies directed towards the tradesmen and organize them in accordance with these goals by giving them legal and economic rights and obligations. In this phase, the state performs this organization of the tradesmen efforts by general regulative laws and among them especially by the general amercement laws which also included the arrangements about the tradesmen.

Although the general laws of the Ottoman State in hand, which also included the arrangements about the tradesmen, started from Fatih Sultan Mehmed

Era (A.H. 855 – 886 / 1451 – 1481); some of them had been in force in the previous eras.

According to the result we drove from the texts of the amercement laws and other general laws concerning the tradesmen, the state in this phase were trying to reach the following two objectives which would have shaped the organizational structure of the tradesmen in social and economic ways;

To make sure that the production meets the need of people, in other words the production meets the demands. To ensure the constant continuity of the production in such a way that it meets the needs of the demands.

To determine the appropriate price for every good and service, appropriate for both the producer and the consumer. To make sure that these prices are in force.

We will call the activities shown by the state for the application of the first general social and economic objectives as "production policies"; and the activities shown for the second objective as "price policies".

The state in this phase should have relied on the economic organizations which could fulfill the production and pricing policies for realizing the objectives told according to the conditions of the age, and had the rights and obligations to carry out the objectives of these policies.

Likewise, when we look at the amercement laws and other general laws concerning the tradesmen, we see that the state acted always for the purpose of relying the production and pricing policies applied in the agricultural regions and in the cities on the economic organizations which could have realized the objectives of these policies and make its moves so as to establish the organizations relevant to this goal.

In this phase, the state gave in fact a lot of importance to the tradesmen in the establishment of the economic organization in the cities. The state was making its efforts in order to provide the tradesmen with the organization that would have realized the objectives of the state's production and pricing policies, in other words, in the formation of the tradesmen organizations which could carry the obligations mentioned about the tradesmen in the amercement laws and general regulations.

State was not merely giving obligations to the tradesmen. It was giving the tradesmen some rights which would make the establishment of the tradesmen organizations that could carry these obligations very appealing. These rights, with their other aspect, was implied in themselves at the same time the obligations that the tradesmen have to the state.

According to the result we have drawn from the amercement laws and general laws regarding the tradesmen, the rights and obligations that the state gave to them lead to the establishment of the tradesmen's monopolies of purchase, production and sale.



Kapalı Çarşı

Covered market

They are the rights and obligations which include the following five elements. They give vast amount of advantages to the tradesmen and the tradesmen organizations were being formed within the framework of these rights.

These rights and the obligations they contain are composed of the determination of the following five elements.

States policy of forming these tradesmen organizations which included these five elements and composed of the rights and obligations of tradesmen's purchase, production and sale; established the basis of Ottoman tradesmen organization system which lasted until the second half of the 19th century.

According to the documents we have, we can land the efforts of the state to organize the tradesmen on to the second half of the 15th century.

In the sentence of a law belonging to this era, production of wax was prohibited except the mumhane (wax house, where the wax was produced). In order to ensure that the production was made only in the mumhane, it was ordered that the raw materiel used in the production of the wax have to be taken directly to the mumhane for sale and not anywhere else.

In this way, the right to produce and sell the wax and the right to purchase the raw material needed in the production of the wax in Istanbul region was given only to the tradesmen who deals with wax business in buildings called mumhane. Thus, by transferring the raw material needed in the production of the wax to the mumhane, the necessary precautions to ensure that enough wax production was reached for Istanbul were taken and since the wax would have been sold in the mumhane, the control of quality and price also became easy. In his phase, the state actively undertook also the protection of the monopoly containing rights it had given to the tradesmen organizations. Likewise, if we take the same example again, in spite of the fact there was the monopoly of wax production and sale for the wax tradesmen with an order of the Emperor, wax trade of a grocer in Bursa named Hacı Sinan Kulu İlyas was determined by the Bursa judge and the grocer was warned about obeying the prohibition of wax purchase, sale and production to others other than the wax tradesmen.

The rules of inside-organization relations and rules concerning the production for each of the tradesmen organizations organized in sub units of the trade branches, along with the general law and amercement laws, were determined by the customs and traditions concerning the activities of the organizations and the rules and regulations formed by the individuals that had formed that organization. The wide autonomy given to the tradesmen unions in determining the rules and regulations regarding the organization of their production and work life had also limits. A major part of the rules and regulations about the tradesmen were already included in the amercement laws and some general laws. The autonomy of the tradesmen was sometimes given in the

subjects like the production and allocation by the state itself. Moreover, the tradesmen who do not obey the general law were complained against the judge or directly to the High Council again by the tradesmen. The biggest interference to the autonomy of the tradesmen could be seen in the phases of tradesmen organizations' obtaining the raw material, the production techniques and quality when turning the raw material to end product and the sale of the end product. In the interferences which happened along the way of a good or service from being produced to the time of consumption, the most mentioned and taken place in the documents subject was the price, determination of the price and obeying the determined price. We have many orders placed about this subject beginning from the reign of Mehmed II in both general laws and amercement laws. In a law among these dated 1087 / 1676, it was mentioned that the tradesmen so called ehl-i dükkan (grocers) sell with very high prices, way higher than normal and they gave great damage to their customers and this damage given to the customers was also given to the public and that a reasonable price should have been given in order to prevent this damage and who were responsible in giving this.

The biggest implication that showed the necessity of an increase in prices had been the widespread violation of the pricing law among the tradesmen by selling their products to their customers with high prices. The resulting price which was due to the necessary violation of pricing laws resulting from economic reasons, as mentioned in the law text above, is a damage given to the public and this makes the rearrangement of pricing in favor of both the tradesmen and the consumer a must.

For this reason, a decree was given to the judge of the district in question where the damage was taken, judge and the knowledgeable convene to re-determine the prices. They name the new price by considering the increase in raw material and other goods and services and this generally resulted in an increased pricing.

The violation of pricing mentioned here are not the violations resulting from the high prices with the purpose of speculation but that resulting from the increase of prices in the cost of goods and services the tradesmen produce and from that in other goods and services due to economic reasons was an obligatory one. The tradesmen were warned by the judge because of these kinds of pricing violations. Nevertheless if the violations continue becoming widespread, as mentioned the text of law above, the decision was given as to increase the prices in order not to give any damage to anyone. There are many documents in the records of judges showing that the decisions were given to increase the prices and in a virtually chronological manner and following the same phases.

The prices for the essential foodstuffs like bread, meat, all kinds of solid and liquid cooking oils, cheese, milk, yoghurt and the materials used in the produc-



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tion of these foodstuffs (wheat, barley, rye etc. grain, flour; sheep and cattle) were immediately determined according to the scarcity and abundance of these foodstuffs and the increase or decrease in the cost prices. The prices, with the special pricing policy of the state to the essential foodstuffs, were being determined again when a change was needed due to the rational reasons resulting from the natural laws of the economy. Because, the scarcity or abundance of these kinds of essential foodstuffs which had a high amount of flexibility in prices with respect to the industrial and commercial goods, immediately affected the prices of the foodstuffs in question.

The people who seemed to be grasped this matter and directed the pricing policy of the Ottoman State, determined the new price without allowing a delay according to the seasons when this kind of foodstuffs were rare or abundant and according the amount of this scarcity or abundance.

It is possible to see the waves of the prices of this kind of foodstuffs increasing or decreasing in times of abundance or famine in the price books and other judge records. Since it was difficult to transport the foodstuffs to the cities especially in the winter, prices of the essential foodstuffs increased together with the beginning of the winter.

The tradesmen who violate the pricing law by selling the essential foodstuffs more expensive the determined price were called as muhtekir which means profiteer and they were severely punished. The capital punishment was also among those.

The salesclerk of a bakery in Mercan Istanbul who sold bread less than the current weight was executed in front of the bakery and orders were given to the neighboring judges for the catching and execution of the master of the bakery. The reasons which necessitate the increase in the goods and services other than the essential foodstuffs were bound not to the scarcity or abundance of them like the essential foodstuffs but whether the units which had formed their capacity according to the demand of the market to those goods and services in the production of them, were making any profit from it in certain ratios or not.

Price was also containing the profit gained. For this reason, the price given to this kind of goods or services, had to be arranged according to the changes in input costs of these goods and services, the relative changes in the prices of other goods or services in other words according to the price movements in the general economy. Nonetheless, it was not possible for the judges and the knowledgeable to make this calculation unless they had to have some measures.

In fact, the mechanism which made this kind of a calculation was the market itself. Since the price in the market which was formed according to the supply and demand of the goods or services, contained in itself this kind of calculations, the new market price formed could be said to be a good price which had any harm neither to the customer nor to the trades-

men according to the Ottoman judge or the knowledgeable. That's why; the prices were re-determined when many violations happened.

In order to produce certain kind of goods and services belonging to a certain branch of work in more suitable conditions, the tradesmen related to that certain branch of work should come together and form their organization which would be active in their own branch. The fact that for the organization of the tradesmen, this certain branch of work to be active again in certain sub work units; the area of production activities of the tradesmen organizations, the quality of the goods and services they would produce and the production techniques they would use should have been determined beforehand; was a necessity of the applied tradesmen system. These necessities, provided by the tradesmen law and the allotment policy which had formed the framework of the organizational system of tradesmen were closely related to the monopoloid rights given to the tradesmen unions in the obtaining of raw materials, the production of goods and services and selling of them.

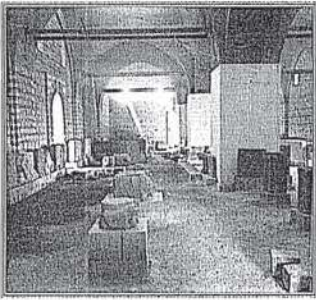
The tradesmen had also close relations with the Ottoman foundation system which played a major role in the development of not only the economic life but also the cities. The tradesmen were making their productions as tenants in the foundation buildings in the cities where they had organized. With this respect, the Ottoman foundations undertook a great role in the establishments and development of other cities like they did in Istanbul. As a requisite of this role which was a major element of the Ottoman foundation system, the bazaars and shops needed in the city were being built by the foundations.

Since the production and obtaining of the goods and services the city needs was also among the aimed at, the shops were being rent by the owner foundations to the tradesmen and merchants. In this way, the most important relation between the foundations and the tradesmen was revealed.

Since the relation of the tradesmen with the foundations was based mainly upon being tenants, we will deal here the development phases in the applied law in favor of the tenant tradesman. These developments are in two phases with respect to the relation with the tradesmen and the reign of Mehmed II takes place in the first phase.

The first phase is the phase where the similar methods to the foundation bi-rental method, was put forward. The method of icâre-i tavile (long term rental), which we know started in the reign of Mehmed II, was an important development for the tradesmen who are tenants of the foundation property and one of the first applications of the bi-rental method put forward completely in the reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1520 - 1566).

The method of foundation property rental used in this phase on the other hand was the method called icâre-i vâhide (short term rental). The most prominent feature of this method was that this kind of founda-



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dation properties were rented without any advance payment and rented in monthly intervals. When the determined time ended the rental contract was also becoming invalid.

Fatih Sultan Mehmed began to rent the foundation properties in a different method than the foundations with *icâre-i vâhîde* method with rental contracts making use of a method called *icâre-i tavile*. This new application resembled more the bi-rental method.

With the *icâre-i tavile* system, an important step to the bi-rental system where the tradesmen were not tenants for a certain period of time but the right to stay in the property as long as they give their rents was given, was taken. This case was very important for the tradesmen with respect to the continuity of the production.

When we look at the phase in which the tradesmen regulations were formed, no confirmation from the state was needed in order for the tradesmen regulations applied to be put into effect. Therefore, we will call the regulations applied by the tradesmen union but not confirmed by the state as unofficial tradesmen regulations. The regulations which we call official tradesmen regulations are the tradesmen regulations which were confirmed by the state and were appeared in later ages.

For the tradesmen related to the craft to produce certain goods and services belonging to a certain branch of craft in better conditions, they should have come together and formed own their tradesmen organizations to be active in their field.

The fact that the area of activity of the tradesmen unions and the quality of the goods and services they would have produced and their techniques of production should have been determined beforehand for a certain branch of craft again to be active in certain sub work elements of tradesmen was a necessity of the tradesmen system in force. These necessities were closely related to all kinds of monopoloid rights given about obtaining of raw material, the production and selling of goods and services.

The nucleus of this organizations was formed by the common rules which would have been obeyed by all tradesmen belonging to all kinds tradesmen group. This first current regulation among the tradesmen, upon the confirmation or setting mostly by a judge or sometimes directly by the grand vizier either exactly or some new matters included, was recorded in one of the offices, as mentioned in the documents as "aklâmdan birine – one of the offices", of the great council, and became official and tradesmen regulation when the legal (confirmed by the state) decree was given to the tradesmen. Confirmation of the tradesmen regulation was the last phase in the completion of the formation of the tradesmen organizations and gaining the vast privileges given to them.

Not every tradesmen organization could reach this last phase but it was possible for every craft group to be organized in the fields which were not in the monopoly of other tradesmen unions. The first

step towards becoming an organization was to form the unofficial tradesmen regulation. Establishment of tradesmen unions within the framework of certain regulations can be regarded as a necessary first step towards tradesmen organizations and to be an organized tradesmen union but it was not enough. Because in order for this tradesmen group to make their production activities with a monopoloid right to produce, sell and purchase the raw material needed for the production the services it produced and would produce, and to become an organization; there had not to be another tradesmen organization which had gained the monopoloid rights in its field before.

Establishment of the tradesmen groups was happening within the framework of a certain activity regulations. Administrative positions of the tradesmen group should have been determined in order for such a regulation to be established and carried out. Nevertheless, in this phase the group (administrative positions) authority did not need to be absolutely determined hierarchically for all tradesmen groups. Because, though not common, some newly formed tradesmen groups had a tendency to follow the old traditional relevant regulations which had existed before in the field they started their activities in.

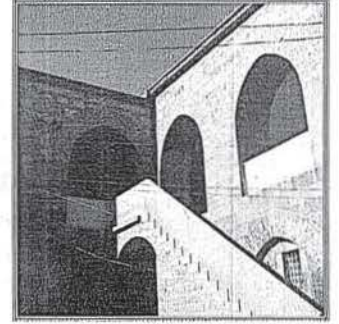
We can call this first regulation regarding the activities of the tradesmen group as unofficial tradesmen regulation since theoretically the regulation was not confirmed by the state yet.

In this phase, although the tradesmen group made their activities within the framework of the tradesmen group's own regulation and the inspection of the administrators of the tradesmen group, there was no clue as to whether or not their activities were also confirmed by the state.

Though the tradesmen union did not need to take any confirmation (permission) from the state to begin their activities. We reached this conclusion since we did not encountered any record about a need to take any confirmation.

In fact, even though a tradesmen group to begin its activity was not limited with any kind of record, the tradesmen organization system in force automatically required such a confirmation. Because, the quality and price of all kinds of goods and services along with the taxes to be collected from the tradesmen were the matters the state had felt the necessity to always and effectively follow and did follow. Judge and muhtesip (municipality official) were the two authorities who did these continuous and effective control and inspection on these matters.

In order to protect the consumer from getting any harm by way like production of not quality goods and services, selling the products higher than the determined price, the judge and the municipality official who were in charge were really effective in the tradesmen system within which the tradesmen groups who begin their activities to produce goods and services were applying to the judge for the administrators to confirm.



Candaroglu Ismail Bey Hanı,
(Kastamonu)

Candaroglu Ismail Bey Caravanseraı,
(Kastamonu)

The main objective of this application was to make the activities of the newly established tradesmen group legal. Because when the judge confirmed the administrator; this meant that the activities of the tradesmen group were also confirmed.

In the application, election of the administrator, changing of the elected administrator based upon a plausible reason or requesting from the state to appoint an administrator for them were all initiatives of the tradesmen group. The judge could not appoint an administrator whom the tradesmen did not want.

In spite of all these, the underlying reason behind the fact that the tradesmen group went to the judge for him to confirm their administrator could most probably be due to assure the validity of the activities of their tradesmen union.

After the judge had confirmed the administrator and the tradesmen organization had been given warrant as to which tradesmen group he had been the administrator of, the activity of the tradesmen group also became officially legal.

On the other hand, no warrant was necessary in order for a tradesmen union to become legal and for someone to become the administrative of any tradesmen union in the tradesmen system.

Like the head of the brave, assistant to the administrator together with the administrative committee who were called either "müsinn ihtiyarları – council of the wise" or "lonca ustaları – guild masters" could freely be elected by the tradesmen union, they could also elect the administrator.

Another important result of the appointment of administrators who had warrants for the tradesmen groups, apart from gaining legality, was that the fact that the tradesmen groups who make their activities in their fields are autonomous union was also under the guarantee of the state.

Because, the administrators were not only the most responsible people of the tradesmen unions to the state in carrying out of the guild organization in the control of the state, but also the most authorized people to defend the tradesmen union they were the administrative of against other tradesmen unions and against the state.

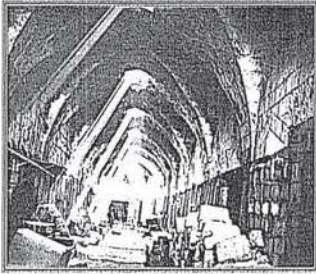
With respect to our subject on the other hand, in this phase, legally confirmation of the administrator of the tradesmen union and recording to the judge register by doing so legally confirmation of his duty, were also gaining the current tradesmen regulation in common a semi-legal quality.

We call it semi-legal because though the common regulation was very well known and applied by the tradesmen authorities, first of all the administrator himself, apart from the administrator's being legally confirmed by taking his warrant from the judge, the general rules of the common regulation were not entered in the official records.

It is true that the common regulations among the tradesmen was valid even though it did not enter the official documents as long as it was not against the policies applied by the state about the guild organization.

Nevertheless, the recording of this regulation to the official documents was meant that the regulation recorded was under the guarantee of the state. Since the monopoloid rights give to the tradesmen unions were also included in these regulations, the existence of official papers necessary was an important privilege given to the tradesmen union when there was interference to the monopoly of the union and it provides them with the intervention of the state. Therefore, some tradesmen unions were recording some of the rules of their common regulation to the warrants of their administrators.

Semi-legal tradesmen regulations were keeping the order within the union but they were not enough in the assurance of obeying of the tradesmen in the union to the current regulation of the union and preventing the harm to be taken from the goods and services produced by the tradesmen outside the union. These matters were quite important in carrying out an organized activity and its continuity. Each tradesmen union was named after their craft thus the names of the tradesmen unions give us also the names of the crafts. Documents do not allow us to give detailed presentation of the tradesmen organizations and crafts in the reign of Mehmed II.



Ankara Bedesteni

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Coins

It is necessary to examine the Fatih period coins in two parts as 1st and 2nd accession. The importance of the coins as a historical document is seen in the confusion of the determination of the Fatih's 1st accession. As regards, 1st accession is given as 1444-1446 and 1444 is present on the coins. However, different opinions are told by historians. Sultan Murad abnegated from the throne after 2nd Varna war, left the sovereignty to his son Sultan Mehmed and went to Manisa. Shahzadah Mehmed stayed in Edirne, reigned until third return of Sultan Murad and minted coins as a sultan. These coins, minted in Edirne, are from silver akche, also copper

and silver coins dated 1444 (848) are present. The metre's of these coins, which were minted in Edirne, are reduced from 6 carats to 5 carats to lighten the financial burden of the State did not worked and caused a value decrease in the collected taxes, consequently annoyed the financial position.

Since 2nd accession (1451-1481) of Fatih went out of circulation the akches which were minted in his father period and cut new akches. These high degreed akches which were in the market, supplied an income to the treasure. The process, which is repeated in every 10 years, is done as in every 5 years by Fatih and Fatih put his coins to the market. First Ottoman

golden coin is minted according to the scale of the Venice Dukedom used in the Mediterranean Region in Fatih's period. These golden coins called as Sultani, had a weight of 3,50 g and diameter of 20 mm. Ibrahim Artuk who is a talented numismatist, determined that Fatih's first golden coin was cut in 882.

The treasure of Fatih Sultan Mehmed was consist of dukas known as Frank florins which were used freely in Ottoman. However, there were many imitation dukas in the treasure. The usage of these coins were continued for a time after Sultani's came. Fatih, also minted a silver coin named ten lira piece which was weighed 10 grams. These coins are called Mehmed Hani big akche or "Silver Sultaniye" because of their sizes. However, the silver akches were cut in mints of the cities, small coins were minted in Istanbul.

A poverty of gold and silver was in Fatih period. The silver amount, which were given to the jewellery, gilders as miners, were limited as 200 dirhem. A reason of this was; merchants, who were regarding to the gold and silver, woven and other goods, were took out these coins as a response and collected gold, silver and silver ingot coins and also akches in another city and sold to the eastern markets. If, the value rise of the coins, which were minted in 1450-1477 examined, the coins gained a third due to the conquest period. It is obtained from the determinations of the Bursa and Şeriyeh cities that, in 1450, 375.5 akches are made from 100 dirhem silver. However in 1470 it was increased to 400 akches.

Darphâne-i Âmirî was established in day laborer bazaar as the first Ottoman Empire mint in Fatih period. Other mints were established later in different cities to decrease the burden of the state. These mints, which were out of Istanbul, were controlled by Darphâne-i Âmirî. Fatih minted coins after his first accession in cities as Edirne, Ayasluk, Bursa, Serez, Kostantiniye, Üsküp, Amasya, Tire, Novar, Konya.

The richness of the pattern, which were seen in the past periods, left its place to write and simply forms since XIV. Century. This simplicity seen at the end of XIV. century, was continued in Ottoman Period coins. The kufi prints, seen in the coins minted in the first periods of Ottoman, left its place to the round lined writings. There are coins with tugra (signature of the sultan) as determined from the exhibited coins. In our topic, four written and two animal figured coins will be examined. The surprised situation is that, dragon and lion figures were treated in both coins minted in Ayasluk and Amasya in Fatih's period. There is no other animal figure in the coins of Ottoman.

Lion figure seen in the coin minted in Amasya, were used frequently in the coins of Egypt Ayyubids, Mongol and Ilhanids, Artukids, Seljukids and other art branches. These lions were projected as single or couple. Lion figure is a symbol existed in Iran before Anatolia. It represents Hüsröv and Şirin. Astronomers, E. Druin and Herzfeld, expressed that, it is about Esed zodiac as astrologically. Lion is a moth-

er in past Turkish stories. In Safranizm, the dead rises the sky with lion. The usage in grave and tomb, depends on this. In Bektashi order, lion is identified with Hz. Ali.

The second animal figured coin minted in Ayasluk and dragon figured. The dragon presented in both sides of the coin, Mangır, is a description of snake-dragon with knotted body. A same coin exists in Cairo Arabic Museum. This person represents the hero of Iranian, Rüstem and his son mentioned in Sehname of Firdevsi. This style of dragon pattern is seen in the coins of Artuklu.

Anyhow, the dragon-snake description is universal and exists in all periods and cultures. In Far East and China belief, the dragon flies and due to this function, contacted with sky world and seasons, also takes adjective of wideness and plenty symbol. It takes an important role with this symbol in iconography of Middle Asia and Far East. Serpen figure present in Islam work of arts called universe and also either water source or clouds in past Turkish texts. The belief, came to the Anatolia with Turks, is taken as to disturb magic and spell, cut the evil eye and preservative power to the illness, was took place for these qualities in art and culture. Dragon headed gargoyles are done with this belief. In past Turks, the creation of the universe belief was that, the male and female snakes hugged each other, life and universe, health and happiness are symbolised with two snakes hugged. Same properties are seen in the west art.

Astrology became to the first place in belief and idea system in the Middle Age. It is used in handwriting books, literature work, architecture, hand arts because of the sensitivity of the Middle Age scholar. It is not a mistake for an innovator sultan as Fatih to put this figure to his coin, it is considered as he minted the coin under the effects of this art presented in Anatolia, in addition of the domination of writings to the Ottoman coins.

As seen in Fatih's golden, ten piece sultani, akche and mangır coins, writings were used instead of the figured and kufi written coins of Selcuk and Beyliks. In Kostantaniye minted and 1480 dated coin, written in the middle "Sultan Mehmed Han azze nasruhi, darp eri ve senesi", on the rear face "Altın başan, denizde ve karada Allah'ın yardımına layık izzet sahibi". Second example is Novar minted, 1470 dated ten piece silver coin. On the front face, "Murad Han oğlu Mehmed, Allah saltanatını devamlı kılsın, darp yeri ve senesi" is written, on the rare face "İki karanın sultanı ve iki denizin hakani, Sultan Oğlu Sultan" is presented. Third example is Üsküp minted, 1475 dated akche. On the front face "Murad Han Oğlu Sultan Mehmed" is written, on the rare face, "Allah aziz yardımları ile onu aziz kılsın, sene ve darp yeri" is written. Forth example is Konya minted, undated mangır. On the front face "Murad Han Oğlu Mehmed, Allah onu aziz yardımları ile galip kılsın", on the rare face "mint place" and "Mülkü devamlı olsun" are written.



Kırkküçük Han, (Istanbul)

Kırkküçük Caravanseraı, (Istanbul)

From the examinations of four coins, simple writings are circled with plain and pearl lined borders. It seen that the eulogies of the Sultan were written in a humility manner. However, in Selçuklu coins, the eulogies were as "The assistant of religion and world father of victories, pleasure of religion and world, the shadow of Allah in the world, exalted of the religion and the world".

As a result, the coins, found in excavation and exhibited, which were two spice animal figured, were

cut due to the sufism ideas stamped to the Middle Age and other coins were cut parallel to the beginning of the biggest expert Seyh Hamdullah period and becoming of the writings to the first place. From this date, writing art found the most value in Ottoman, very talented calligrapher were grown. As seen from the decorations of the Ottoman coins, the design of the coins are run with the culture and art lines of the existed country and the period.

Religious Life

It can be said that the classical Ottoman social structure, which is defined as an order based on differences, took its shape from Fatih Sultan Mehmed period. In this order, which had a pluralistic feature in socio-cultural, and religious areas, pluralism was understood and applied as to protect and maintain the difference. Although this model held the various religious, cultural communities together, it enabled them to preserve their own languages, ideas, and life styles, and it did not cause assimilation.

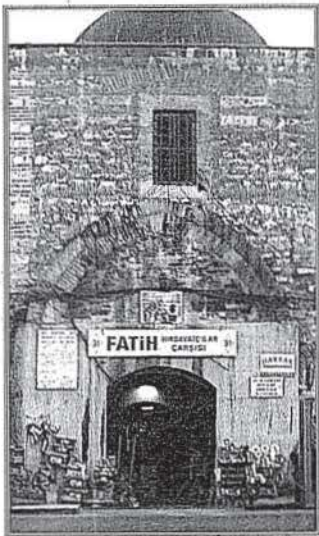
Ottoman society was shaped around a structure based on religious views, and the requirements related to them. Members of the religious class, such as imam, preacher, muezzin, sheikh, and dervish, were among the prominent group like other public officials apart from the military and judiciary officials. An Ottoman quarter was established around a mosque or church. The village life was also shaped around the mosque just as the city life. There were also dervish lodges in some of them. They acted as a bridge between the office of khadi and the inhabitants of the quarter in certain issues such as witnessing, suretyship, and taxes.

Muslims and non-muslims were staying together in the Ottoman quarter units. Religious community leaders in the quarters and villages were the representatives of their communities. The conviction that the non-muslim communities should settle in a far quarter outside the city walls do not have the base to be generalized, because there are examples that they inhabited in the city walls. Janissaries who were placed as garrison into the castles conquered by Fatih, were not only to protect the castle from the enemy attacks, but also prevent the Muslim community to treat non-muslims in a bad manner. Moreover, the state enacted certain rules in order to prevent the members of different ethnical, religious and social groups to insult each other and conflict between themselves. Every community knew how to treat each other, and for example they knew how to greet each other on the street. All the Ottoman subjects had the right to apply to the Divan-i Humayun (Sultan's Divan) for the injustice regardless of their religion, and sex. The state accepted the peace and prosperity of its subjects as a religious obligation. Every nation

were electing their religious leader and spiritual council freely, and submit to the approval of the state. They were organizing their civil rights such as marriage, divorce and testament according to their legal code, and the disagreements were solved in their courts established on their religious rules. Intervention of the Ottoman administrators were by no means the case. The state on the other hand, undertook solving the disagreements between Muslims and non-muslims, which it regarded as its principal subjects like the Muslims, as its duty.

Centers of the Religious Life and Characteristics

The form and characteristics of the religious life in Fatih Sultan Mehmed period were established before him with their main features since the functions of the religious centers for providing the religious manners and morality, performing the worship, teaching the religious knowledge, talking about, discussing, and solving the religious issues in the centers of religious life such as mosque, masjid, madrasah, school, lodge. In Ottoman state people from different religions and sects were living in comfort. There were fiqh madhabs such as Hanafi, Hanbali, Maliki and Shafi'i; belief madhabs such as Maturidi, and Eshari; and the schools which deal with the issues with different methods such as philosophy, theology, and sufism, which shaped the religious life in Ehl-i Sunnah Islam. It was an important evidence of the mutual tolerance and indulgence between these sects and schools that there were not any serious conflicts caused by dominating each other, since there were no such domination. In the establishment of such an environment of peace and freedom, the equilibrium policy of the state played the main role by being at the same distance to every group. For instance, when the first madrasah was established in Iznik, Davud-i Kayseri (died in 1350), who was a distinguished and competent figure in philosophy, theology, and sufism, was assigned as the chief scholar, and the base for the balanced operation of the schools were laid in this way. It should be kept in mind that the philosophy went in hand with theology in Turks before Fatih period. Since the state was at the same distance to all schools, madrasah circles and the sufic circles and the lodge circles which



Fatih Hanı, (Istanbul)

Mehmed II Caravanserai, (Istanbul)

were the center of life became closer, and the sufist-scholar, scholar-sufist type developed in the society. This also influenced the functions of religious institutions, and lodged mosques, which functioned both as mosque and lodge became widespread. Its influence on the Turkish architecture of Ottoman period was seen from 13th century, as mosque-madrasah, and mosque-lodge in the same courtyard, and in the building complexes, three important institutions of the religious life, mosque, madrasah, and the lodge were built side by side.

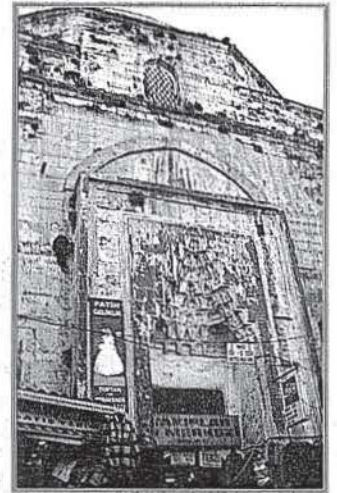
Scholar-sufists, who were esteemed much by not only the state but also by the people, played important roles in strengthening the balance between madrasah circles and sufic circles. They were cognizant of both madrasah education and the education in the lodges, they grasped the methods and the systems of both institutions, and evaluated them in a comparative manner, and tried to bring these different methods and disciplines together. The works containing the disciplines such as theology, fiqh, sufism together, can be regarded as the products of this effort. The book *Râhatü'l-kulûb* by Kutbuddin Izniki'nin (died in 1418), one of the significant sufist-scholars, should be mentioned as example for such works. In this Turkish work, which stated that the science is constituted by three parts; belief, Shari'a, and heart; and respectively theology, fiqh, and sufism was brought together. The other examples are *Misbâhu'l-üns* and *Aynü'l-âyân* by the first sheik ul-Islam, Molla Fenârî (died in 1430). Fenârî, in his book *Misbâhu'l-üns* which he wrote as a commentary book on *Miftâhu'l-gayb* written by Sadreddin Konevi, foster child of Ibnu'l-Arabî, states that he tries to explain the rules put forth via discovery method (sufic method), to those who are using methods of opinion and sign (theological method). In his book *Aynü'l-âyân*, he combined sufism and theology in order to comment on *Fatih* sura. In this work he gives broad information on commentary, he mentions *mevhibe* while he enumerates the sciences which a commentator needs, besides hadith, fiqh, theology, and he also sometimes applies discovery method in the commentary of the sûras. There are many examples showing that such kind of works, which were written before *Fatih*, were continued to be written in *Fatih* period. The most significant example in this sense is *Hallü'r-rumûz ve keşfü'l-künûz* in Arabic written by Mevlâ Musannifek (Alâeddin Ali b. Muhammed, died in 1470-71), who was an important sufist-scholar respected by the Sultan, in which he combined sufism and theology.

Since the courses taught in the madrasahs, which were the center of the religious and scientific life, and the resources advised to the students did not contain the views of only one madhab, this also contributed to the madhabs to become closer. For example, from the early periods beside the works of commentator like Hanafi, and Maturidi, works of *Zemahsheri*, *el-Keşşâf*, *Kâdi Beyzâvi*, *Envâru't-tenzil*, *Fahreddin*

Râzi et-Tefstru'l-kebir, *Ibn Kesir Tefstru'l-Kur'an* and *Kurtubî el-Câmi li-ahkâmi'l-Kur'an* were also taught, and this also shows that not only Hanafi madhab influenced the understanding and interpreting of *Kur'an-ı Kerim*. The first writer of these works were from Mu'tezili madhab, and the others were Shafi'i-Eshari and the last one was Maliki. In faith and theology field apart from the Hanafi authors like *Ebu'l-mu'in en-Nesefti*, and *Ömer en-Nesefti*, Shafi'i authors and their books such as *Beyzâvi's Tavâliu'l-envâr*, *el-İcî's el-Mevâkıf*, *Teftâzânî's Şerhu'l-Akaid* and *Şerhu'l-Mekasid*, *Seyyid Şerif el-Cürcânî's Şerhu'l-Mevâkıf* were the works known by the madrasah circles. It is known that the abovementioned work of *Teftâzânî* was the most taught work in the madrasahs. It should be also mentioned that one of the the most respected work in moral issues in addition to these works, was *Imam Gazzali's Ihyâü ulâmi'd-dîn*, who was from Shafi, and Eshari madhab.

It is seen that lodge circles also contributed to the establishment of a peaceful and tolerant environment in the society apart from the contributions of madrasah circles. Sheiks and dervishes, who migrated into Anatolia from different regions helped much to the state in the establishment of the Ottoman state. Some of them participated into the conquests with the ghazis, and some settled in the villages of Anatolia, or in entirely vacant places, and engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. The lodges of those people, among whom there were also madrasah teachers, where they built on mountains and slopes under heavy conditions in inappropriate locations, contributed much to the development of those areas. Because, they tilled the lands and turned them into gardens and vineyards, grew high quality fruit trees, and dig wells to irrigate the lands, and built mills in several places. On the other hand, they also support the army during the expeditions. Since some of the lodges were established on the borders, this made the operations of the army easier. Those dervishes showed the administrators that they did not only engage with worshipping in their lodges, and they were ready to every kind of service to the state, and thus they obtained the trust and appreciation of the state and established close contacts with the state officials. This trust and appreciation to the sheiks and dervishes caused a tendency to sufism among the statesmen, and they supported sufism to expand on the regions they ruled over. Therefore, apart from the schools, and madrasahs established by the state, lodges were established with the support of the statesmen. Since the sheiks and dervishes improved themselves with certain knowledge, arts and professions; since they studied the sciences taught in the madrasahs, and since they emphasized Sharia especially by mentioning the togetherness of Sharia and tariqa, this created tolerance towards them among the madrasah circles.

Because of such reasons, when we came to *Fatih*



Mahmud Paşa Hamamı, (Istanbul)

Mahmud Pasha Turkish Bath, (Istanbul)

period, those institutions shaping the religious life; mosques, madrasahs, and lodges, were acting in solidarity and helping each other instead of spending their energy for contending with each other. Many madrasah teachers were also member of a lodge, and the sheiks of the lodges studied Sharia knowledge with their efforts. Some of them were the scholars educated in madrasahs. State stood at the same distance to both of them, and tried not to spoil the harmony between them. Sultans firstly, and the notables of the state had close contact with both madrasah circle and sufic circle. Thus, a perfect union was established on state-lodge-madrasah triangle.

State continued to take steps to reinforce this union during the reign of Fatih Sultan Mehmed. One day Fatih told his kazasker Alâeddin Ali Fenârî (died in 903/1497) "There are three community, theologians, sufists, and philosophers, who are dealing with science of truth; and their ideas should be reasoned by bringing all of them together." This showed that the efforts to make the schools closer were followed and supported by the statesmen, and the state continue to stand at the same distance to the each school. Kazasker replied Fatih that "Molla Abdurrahman Câmî can do this job best," and the Sultan send precious gifts with an envoy to Molla Câmî, and demanded him to write a treatise reasoning views of these three schools. Thus, Molla Câmî wrote his book *ed-Dürretü'l-fâhira fî tahkiki mezhebi's-sâfiyye ve'l-mütেকellimîn ve'l-hukemâi'l-mütেকaddimîn* in Arabic, and he discussed different views on the existence and unity of Allah, reality of Allah's names and attributes, character of Allah's knowledge and will, precedence of the universe. Fatih also demanded Kutbuddinzâde Mehmed Iznîkî (died in 1480) to take *Misbâhu'l-üns*, the commentary book of Sheik al-Islam Molla Fenârî on *Miftâhu'l-gayb*, up again and write it in more understandable manner; and this work can also be mentioned as one of the works making different disciplines closer.

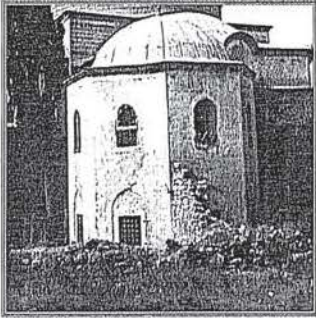
State continued its efforts to continue and improve its religious and scientific heritage of the previous period without damaging the balance in the building of the institutions. For example, Fatih built the mosque named after him in Istanbul, and the Sahn-ı Seman madrasah in it, a school for children, and *Dâru't-tâlim*, and established the wakfs for them, and also he built a mosque with two functions (mosque and house of unity) for Sheikh Vefâ (Musli-huddin Mustafa, died in 1491) and his disciples of Zeyniyye tariqa, and double hammam. It is estimated that the rooms in "U" form in the north of the mosque built in later periods were used as dervish rooms, and some part was used as madrasah. On the other hand, Huseyin b. Abdullah, one of the Saray-ı Âtik Aghas, built a masjid-lodge for Âshukpashazâde Dervish Ahmed (died after 1484), another Sheik of Zeyniyye tariqa in Fatih quarter. It is known that Fatih also installed water line to Zeyniyye lodge, ordered that all the vineyards and gardens in Konya

donated to the mosque and lodge of Sheikh Vefâ in Meram, to be given water in its season after he captured Konya from Karamanogulları, and the employees of the wakf would be exempt from every kind of taxes. In addition, Fatih also wanted to build a lodge for Aksemseddin (died in 1459) madrasah origned sheikh of Bayramiye taraiqa, which gave its moral support during the conquest of Istanbul, but he could not realize this since the sheikh went to Goynuk.

Influence of Lodges on Religious Life

It is understood that lodges, one of the centers of religious life, could reach comparatively broader and more different communities in the society than the madrasahs, and thus they were more influential in forming the religious life. High qualifications of sheiks such as their moral quality, their level of knowledge, and their persuasion abilities played the main role in this. It will be more helpful to take two lodges of Zeyniyye tariqa, one in capital city of Istanbul, and the other in Bursa, as example in order to explain the situation better.

According to the sources, Sheik Vefâ, who was the head of the lodge in Istanbul, which was mentioned above to be established by Fatih, had knowledge not only on sufism, but also in positive sciences, he was competent in astronomy, had music knowledge, was known to write amulets, wrote poems in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, wrote various works in versé form and in prose. Lâmiî Celebi, prominent figure of the period, told "Câmî-i ulâm-i zâhir ve bâtın idi. Ekser-i fânûnda yed-i ulyâsı var idi" to explain his level of knowledge, and Sinan Pasha considered him to be interpreter scholars. His work *Rûznâme* was on astronomy. Melhame gives information on the behaviors of people on earth according to the positions of the stars and planets in space. When the Christian disagreed on determining the Easter day, they applied to Sheikh Vefâ, and thus they determine the day, and this show that his proficiency in ilm-i nücâm *was accepted by all. Karamani Mehmed Pasha, grand vizier of Fatih, wanted him to write an amulet for himself for protection from accidents and evil, and he put it in his turban. Many thinkers and artists attended his lodge, most probably because of his knowledge in positive sciences. Among those figures, there were famous scholars of the period such as Sinan Pasha, who was teacher in Sahn madrasah, and the teacher of Fatih, and who was promoted to the grand vizierate later on; Molla Lutfi, Sahn teacher, and one of the teachers of Sheikh ul-Islam Kemal Pashazâde; Zenbilli Ali Efendi who was the Sheik ul-Islam during reigns of three able Sultans, Bâyezid II, Yavuz Sultan Selim and Suleyman the Magnificent; and the well-known poets and artists such as Safâyi, Zâit of Balıkesir, Sabayî of Edirne, Sem'i of Rumelia, Calligrapher Kasim, Calligrapher Abdûlmuttalib b. Seyyid Murtaza. According to the records, Molla Lutfi was giving courses in madrasah until midafternoon, and then he goes to Vefâ lodge and taught Buhârî until sunset prayer. It is under-



Üsküdar Rum Mehmed Paşa Külliyesi

Üsküdar Greek Mehmet Pasha building complex

stood that Fatih Sultan Mehmed also attended Vefâ lodge sometimes.

In the lodge in Bursa, Tâceddin İbrahim Karamânî (died in 1467) was the head of the lodge between 1452-1467, and then Sheik Abdullah (died in 1489) of Kastamonu, who was also known as Hacı Halife. Both of them had knowledge on positive sciences. Mevlâ Ayas of Bursa, who was the teacher of Fatih in his childhood, completed his sufic training under the instruction of Tâceddin İbrahim Karamânî. On the other hand, scientists were consulting Hacı Halife on certain issues because of his competence in this field. Khâdi of Bursa, and Kadızâde Mevlâ Kasım, Sahn teacher were among those who made scientific consultations with him. Some historians mentions him as erudite-sufist, and Tasköprizâde used the expression "the sheikh whose fame is beyond the horizon" for him. There are those figures who attended his lodge like grand vizier İbrahim Pasha, kazasker Alâeddin-Ali Fenârî, khâdi Shucâ Celebi, madrasah teacher Mehmed Efendi, and the sufist Rustem Halife. İbrahim Pasha, who was promoted to grand vizierate in Sultan Bâyezid II period, was a member of Candarli family which raised many scholars and statesmen to Ottoman State from the very beginning of its establishment. Alâeddin Ali Fenârî was the grandchild of the first Sheikh ul-Islam Molla Fenârî, and he was from Feârî family which raised many scholars and statesmen. Mehmed Efendi, who was known to be lecturer in madrasah, and khâdi, was the son of famous Hocazâde, instructor of Fatih. Sufist Rustem Halife was believed to meet Hızır, and believed to show miracles, and in order to hide his condition he taught Koran in primary school. When the circles in which those people are in was taken into consideration, it can be understood how different was the influence area of this lodge.

Apart from Zeyniyye tariqa in Fatih period, there were lodges in different cities of those tariqas; Bayramiyye, Nakshibendiyye, Mevleviyye, Halvetiyye, Kadiriyye, Kubreviyye, Semerkandiyye, and they contributed to the shaping of the religious life.

Religious Atmosphere in the Expeditions

Religious atmosphere formed in the society in usual times, was formed among the soldiers in military expeditions. Kazaskers were responsible for the application of the religious rules by the soldiers, and the sheiks, and the dervishes were responsible for keeping the morale of the soldiers high. Dervishes continued their support in the later periods, which they gave to the army in the establishment period. It is known well that Fatih had great morale support from Akshemseddin during the conquest of Istanbul.

Fatih took Sheikh Sinan Ferevi (died in 1485) to the expeditions in Rumelia lands, who was active in there, and benefited much from his conversations and his prayers for the victory of his army. In Eğriboz and Bogdan expeditions well-known sufist-scholar Kutbuddin-zâde Mehmed İzniki (1482) were took part.

İzniki collected and distributed the prayers for the victory of the army to the soldiers. This anecdote told by Tasköprizade shows it better how much importance Fatih gave to this matter; when he set off for fighting with Uzun Hasan, Derviş Mehmed b. Hızır Şah (died after 1473) was among those who came to meet him while he was passing through Bursa. He was waiting for the Sultan at the side of the road on his donkey, the Sultan passes by him and greets him without realizing who he is, and after a while he asks grand vizier Mahmud Pasha "Is not he Dervish Mehmed?" and grand vizier replies him as "Yes," and the Sultan sends the grand vizier to him and tells him, "Go after him, and want him to pray for me."

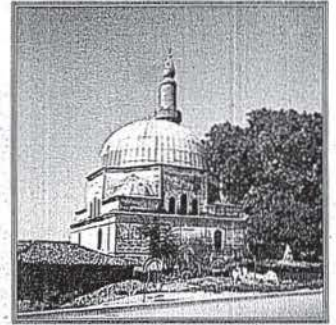
Influence of the Books on Religious Life

The influence of the books on religious life should also be mentioned apart from the institutions and the individuals. The books taught in the madrasahs in a framework of a program were in scientific manner, and enabled students to raise as a religious functionary and man of science. Those who were raised in these institutions, conveyed their knowledge and religious information to the public in their sermons, and conversations which they made according to knowledge level of the public in the mosques and the masjids, and thus they tried to shape the religious life of the society. There were also those works in verse and prose form written by the sufists which the society could benefit directly, and they were read among the people changing hands many times, and conveyed to the next generations, thus the liveliness of the religious sentiment and thought was continued. We see the examples of such kind of works which were written also before Fatih period, in Fatih period and after. Those works like Vesiletü'n-necât, Mukaddime, Müzekki'n-nûfûs, Muhammediyye, Envârul-âşîkîn should be mentioned for the Fatih period. Books of sagas had also influence on religious life.

The prose Vesiletü'n-necât written by Suleyman Celebi in 1409 in Bursa is also called Mevlid-i Nebî. It is known that mevlids, in which the life of Prophet Mohammed was told from his birth, became a part of the religious life of the Turkish society.

Mukaddime written by Kutbuddin İzniki (died in 1418) is accepted as the first example of Turkish catechism, tradition. Certain subjects on belief, and morality such as namâz, fast, hajj, worshipping was taken in to consideration in this work which was written for the children and the young.

Müzekki'n-nûfûs, written by Esrefoglu Abdullah Rûmî (died in 1469 - 70-?) was among those works read most by the people. Although technical information on religious issues was not given in the book like the books of catechism, the basics of the religious life, moral maturity, training of the cravings of the body, purification of the soul were narrated in a plain language. Those matters which may lead someone to commit a sin were emphasized, and a style which cause someone to hate from the immoral and irreligious behaviours was used in it. Verse form was also



Ayşe Kadın Camii, (Edirne)

Ayşe Kadın Mosque, (Edirne)

used in this work, and many sufi issues were also explained.

In the work *Muhammediyye* written by Yazıcızâde Mehmed Bicân (died in 1450) in 1449 in couplet form with 9000 couplets, the life and the character of Prophet Mohammed was narrated basically, but the other prophets were introduced and information on the friends of Prophet Mohammed was given. We can call this work a History of Prophets or History of Islam. This work, written in a plain language was liked in Anatolia and outside Anatolia as well, and it was read with modes by those called *Muhammediyehan* for centuries.

Envârul-âşikin written by Yazıcızâde Ahmed Bicân (died in 1466) was the translation of the work *Megâribü'z-zamân li-gurâbi'l-eshyâ fi'l-ayni ve'l-ıyân* by his brother Mehmed Bicân in Arabic, partly by changing and partly by developing it with a plain Turkish. The work was completed in 1451 in Gallipolis.

Certain Religious Conflicts

It should be mentioned that there appeared individual unpleasant occurrences and disagreements although the harmony between the madhabs and schools which was established beforehand in the religious life, continued in Fatih period. Many significant statesmen in Istanbul became the disciple to Ali Rûmî, a Halvetiyye sheikh, and Fatih Sultan Mehmed wanted him to leave Istanbul since he thought that he might declare his sultanate, and it is an remarkable example that the sheikh left Istanbul. It is told that members of Zeyniyye tariqa played certain role in the development of this event, though the true nature of it was not known exactly. Another event took place between Sheikh Vefâ and the scholars. According to the records scholars of Istanbul accepted it as a mixing of the madhabs that Sheikh Vefâ who was a Hanafi, pronounce the "bismillahirrahmanirrahim" loud in namaz like Shafi'ites, and sit for rest, and in order to warn the sheikh they gathered in a mosque under the leadership of Sheikh ul-Islam Molla Gurâni. When Sinan Pasha, who was among the invitees, learned the reason for the meeting from Molla Gurâni, asks scholars that "If Sheikh Vefâ tells you that 'I interpreted this so', how would you answer?" Gurani asks him "Is he an commentator?", and he answers him, "Yes, he knows the commentary of Koran with its seven different esoteric meanings, and knows all the hadiths in kütüb-ü sitte by heart. And he also knows the conditions for commenting." He replies, "Yes," to the question of Gurâni, "Do you testify this?" Then Gurâni tells the scholars, "Let's go. It is not right to object a person who has a witness like Sinan Pasha." It is also conveyed that Sinan Pasha defends his Sheikh thus, "The scholars are not ousted from madhab of Imam-i Azam with this much disagreement. Don't you see that even the imams of Hanafi madhab oppose to him in many issues... Why is a quarrel provoked from an opposition of such a esoterically and exoterically

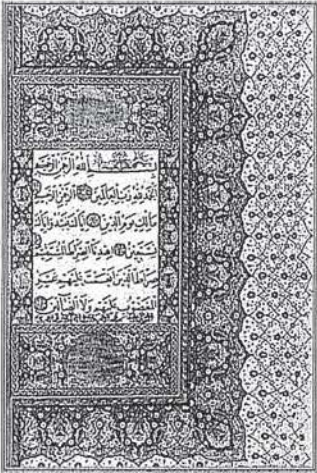
mature saint? Those who object to him, it is because of their bigotry and ignorance. Those who doubt him, it is because of their going astray."

It is understood that certain views of Muhyiddin Ibnü'l-Arabî also caused dissension. For example, when Kutbuddinzâde Mehmed Iznikî expressed the views of Ibnul-Arabî about the faith of Pharaoh, and the state of the unbelievers in the hell, this caused serious arguments among the scholars, and Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasha, who was affraid of alot more serious debates, requested Iznikî and he was left no choice but to tell that he shared the same views with the majority of the scholars. However, he also told that he would make a more extensive explanation on the views of Ibnu'l-Arabî when the environment become more suitable. When the opinion of Sheikh Vefâ was asked, he told, "I wish two believers like Ibnu'l Arabî witness about thus about us." and he evaded from answering the question directly.

An event about the Hurufi tariqa took place in Fatih period should be mentioned here. Hurufi movement which was an esoteric movement established by Fazlullah-ı Hurufi (died in 1394) based on the secrets of letters, became influential in Anatolia in Celebi Sultan Mehmed and Sultan Murad, and it reached to the palace in Fatih period, due to the tolerance of the Sultan to the different views and beliefs, and it influenced even the young sultan, according to the Taskoprizade. Members of Hurufi tariqa was using the tactics in Ottoman country, which they use in Herat, Isfahan, and Tabriz, and they were trying to win supporters among the janissaries on the one hand; and were trying to make the Hurufite as the official madhab of the state by influencing Fatih on the other, and trying to get the power. Mahmud Pasha realized the gravity of the situation and warned the scholars, and thus Fahreddin-i Acemi persuaded the Sultan for the punishment of the Hurufites, and the caught Hurufite members were killed in Edirne. It is understood from this event and the other events after the Fatih period that the basic element that determine the manner of conduct of the state was not the beliefs of those people, but their activities against the unity and integrity of the state. Sheikh Bedreddin Simâvi (died in 1420) and his supporters, who started an important revolt movement and revolution against the state before Fatih period, were punished for the same reason, and members of Bedreddini tariqa were kept under restraint in Fatih period.

Non-Muslims

Fatih period was a period in which the harmony and unity in terms of freedom of belief was protected not only for Muslims, but also for the non-muslims. Non-muslims were granted an autonomous status as a community in the state structure in this period. Fatih Sultan Mehmed wanted the Roms to elect a new Patriarch to the position of Patriarchate which became vacant with the resignation of Patriarch Athanasios II during the arguements for the unification of Eastern and Western Churches before the con-



XV. yy Kuran-ı Kerim

XVth century Koran

quest of Istanbul, and he assigned Gennadios as the Patriarch of the Orthodox Church in Istanbul in 1454 by conforming to the demands of the Roums. Fatih also granted Gennadios the rank of vizier and the title head of the nation; and thus the Patriarch got legal authority in addition to their spiritual authorities. He was also given the right to talk in the Divan meetings for the interests of the Orthodoxes since he was the head of all Orthodoxes in the country. Historian Hammer states that Fatih invited Gennadios to the palace and gave him the scepter of patriarchate as the symbol of his spiritual and legal authorities. The patriarch firstly, and all the clergy was exempted from taxation with the warrant of privilege of the Sultan, and Orthodox church got the right to be managed with its own rules and regulations, and it was accepted that such procedures like marriages, internments, testaments and inheritances would be conducted according to Orthodox laws. Judgements of the Orthodox courts were accepted as valid for the incidents took place in their community. Religious ceremonies and grand feasts especially the Easter were performed openly in the cities and villages like in the old days. Roum Orthodox public was not obliged with any other thing except the payment of tributes. It is stated that these privileges were more comprehensive and strong than that of those granted in legal and religious area in Byzantium period.

Fatih also guaranteed the Catholics like the Orthodoxes that their rights to perform their religious ceremonies freely, and their churches would not be taken back. These were mentioned openly in the agreement signed in June 1453 after the conquest of Istanbul with the Catholics residing in Galata, and in the imperial edict given to the Catholic ministers in Bosnia after the conquest of Bosnia. Fatih did not give the Catholics the status of nation, since they were attached to Papacy in Rome in religious issues, since their population in Ottoman country is less, and since they reside only in Istanbul, Albania, and Bosnia.

Fatih made an arrangement about the Armenians in 1461, and brought Hovakim, their highest religious leader into Istanbul from Bursa, and gave him the title of Armenian Patriarch. It is stated that Sulumanastır (Saint Yorgi) Roum Church in Samatya was allotted to them for their worship. Fatih also gave Hovakim the documents that gave him the authority to undertake the spiritual courts of all the Armenians living in Anatolia.

The Jews was also granted the right to have their own synagogues, and to perform their religious services freely under the leadership of their chief rabbi. Fatih invited Moshe Kapsali, the last chief rabbi of Byzantium in his presence, and authorized him to hear the cases of the Jews, and gave him an edict that their temples would not be touched, and they would not be hindered from their worships and reading Torah. Although this autonomy granted by Fatih to the non-Muslims were told to be originated from certain political reasons, it should be known that the

main reason was Islam, and the other reasons were of secondary importance. Because the non-Muslim subjects have the right to live, work, to the protection of the state in terms of freedom of religion and conscience, and to live and perform education in conformity with their beliefs according to Islamic law. The state is obliged to protect their property and lives just like the Muslims; and it should also fight for this end if necessary.

This attitude of Fatih to the non-Muslims, caused the return of many Orthodoxes back, who escaped from Istanbul. This environment of freedom and tolerance made Ottoman country a shelter for the Jews who was subjected to the tyranny of the Christians. Fatih encouraged the Jews, who were subjected to tyranny and oppression in Germany, Spain and any place in West Europe, to come into his country by saying "Come and take shelter in my shadow," and for this he used Isaac Tzarfati, chief rabbi in Edirne, who escaped from the oppression in Southern Germany. It is recorded that Tzarfati made such a call to the Jews, "We are informed of all the sufferings and oppression you have to bear in German lands... The ministers and the bishops of Rome want to eradicate the memory of Jacob, and the name of Israel. They invented new cruelties every time. They have a desire to impale you all... My brothers, I was born in Germany, and studied theology with German rabbis, but I was expelled from my own country, and came to God blessed Turkish lands full of beauties. I found peace and happiness here. Turkiye can be a country of peace for you too... You should migrate from there and come here. There is nothing we may complain in the lands of the Turks..."

Some of the Jews who settled in various locations in Turkiye, settled in Mediterranean islands like Cyprus, Patras and Corfu, but they did not find the same tolerance from the Greek natives who formed the majority there, as the tolerance of the Muslims in Turkish lands. Jewish subjects of Ottomans also engaged in agriculture, and Muslim and Jewish peasants tilled the land together. They even became the owner of fields and vineyards. However, they could not become owners of the lands, and till the lands in Europe.

In this period, Catholics put severe pressure on Orthodox Christians from their religion apart from the Jews. When Serbian Prince Hunyadi was asked what he would do to the Orthodox Roum Church if he became the ruler of the region, he answered, "I would build Catholic Churches everywhere." The answer of Fatih to the same question was, "A church in which your people can pray will be built next to every mosque." People of Mora wanted the help of Fatih in 1458 against the Venetians, and the people of Athens against their Italian Duke Francesco Acciajuoli, because of his tolerance to Orthodoxes and their ministers. It is told that Makarios, archbishop of Antakya said about the Catholic Polishes tyrannizing the Orthodoxes, "We



Gedik Ahmet Paşa Camii. (Afyon)

Gedik Ahmet Pasha Mosque, (Afyon)

cried for thousands of people, women, men, girls and boys. May the God make the state of Turks eternal,

because Turks does not touch the religion of Christians and Jews after they collect the taxes..."

Wakfs

Fatih Sultan Mehmed Han established wakfs in dimension that will not be compared to wakfs established before him. Abundance and wide-spread of the charities and the goods donated to these charities, and strength of rules and conditions set for management of these charities and their goods caused to appreciation of all foreign and native people. But, there is not any extensive study in this topic.

There are the charters belonging to Fatih Sultan Mehmed Han in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish as a whole and as chapters in the General Directorate of Wakfs, in the Turkish Islam Works Museum, and in Archives of Topkapi Palace and Ottoman Archives bound to the Prime Ministry. According to greatness of these Wakfs, they are respectively First Wakfs Complex including Hagia Sophia, New Mosque (Fatih Mosque) and its buildings complex, Sheik Vefa Mosque, Kalenderhane Mosque, Buildings Complex of Mosque, Galata New Mosque and Rumelihisari Mosque, and Eyup Wakfs Complex established as the name of Abu Eyyub el-Ensari, Emir Sultan. Wakf in Bursa, and Wakf of Red Abdal Lodge in Yozgat.

Original text in Arabic of the Charter belonging to wakfs and consisting essential point of our investigation has been preserved in cases of the General Directorate. The Charter consists of three hundred and seventy pages excluding first and last pages of its translation. Each page consists of eleven lines. It is a good script example written with black colored ink. First text of the Charter in Arabic was in January 1471.

The Chapter in Arabic, registered with number 7744/4 in Archives of the Topkapi Palace Museum is copy, which was re-written in Arabic on June 17, 1496 by order of Bayezid II, of the Charter of Fatih Sultan Mehmet Han mentioned above in first line. The Charter consists of 75 leafs totally. It is leather bound. There are decorative figures in front and back covers. In head-page, nine lines exist after the formula bismillahirrahmanirrahim, and, in the other pages, thirteen lines exist. In 75/A, namely, in left side of last page, signature of Sultan Bayezid II. Under the same page, finishing date of the Chapter is written in Arabic.

In the other Charter, registered with number E 7744/2 and written in Arabic, placed as roll in the Topkapi Palace Museum and approximately in length of 6 meters is about wakf established in the name of Abu Eyyub el-Ensari in Istanbul by Fatih Sultan Mehmed, and about that Catallar, Kocac, New Boyalik, Yumureakli, Karacalar, Celtikci, Kepsut, Ucbeden villages bound to the Mihalic (Karacabey) county

were conquered.

The Chapter in Arabic, registered with number T.I.E.M. 2182 consists of 105 leafs. There are eleven lines in each page. It was written with black colored ink and script. It is leather bound and with separators. In cover page, the writing that this charter is belonging to Sultan Mehmed (Let Allah arise your position in hearts to the top), son of Murat Han, exists. In last page, its finishing date (July 19, 1496) and the signature of Bayezid II exist.

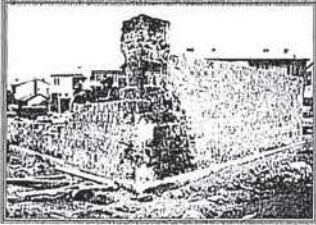
The Chapter, registered with number BOA 19/1 in the Ottoman Archives bound to the Prime Ministry, is of charity, which was established, in the name of Emir Sultan, the Great Saint (1368-1429), by Fatih Sultan Mehmed in Bursa. It is as a scroll and in length of 10 meters. It consists of 178 lines. In first page of the Charter, the signature of Fatih Sultan Mehmed exists. In this Charter, it is talked elaborately about that in Zindancik, Hüseyin Hisari, Yar Hisari, Yeniçeli in Inegol, and in Baskil; Karapucek, Beseli Piri, Calik Sekid, Alpinar, Bozburun villages in Kocaeli and in center of Bursa, and in Edremit, Havran, Aydinlik, Gonen, grounds, vineyards, mills and lands together with shops, houses, hammam and other immovables, and grounds, vineyards, mills and lands were sold and donated. In this Charter, we see that meals given daily, grains like wheat and barley given annually other than wages as drachma given employees daily as double handful and bushel are mentioned, and they were separated according to situations and responsibilities degree of everybody. In the end of this Charter, finishing date is written in Arabic (January 18, 1470).

The Charter that is a book consisting of 149 pages and 13 lines in each page, and its copy were prepared by Hasan Oz, old Manager of the Topkapi Palace and established by the German Archeology Institute is also in the Topkapi Palace Museum. This is a copy printed from the original by the order of Beyazid II.

Other than them, we estimate that Wakfs of Fatih Sultan Mehmed were in Edirne, Manisa, Trabzon, Istanbul and different centers of the country. In Page 66 of the Charter containing the Wakfs in Istanbul and Galata, it is expressed that special charters were written because they are unique works and their charities and utilities are infinite, and that they were not taken into this book not to bore readers.

Istanbul ve Galata Wakfs

The Charter constituting main topic of our writing is 370 pages and was translated from Arabic to Ottoman language. First 38 pages include introduction chapter. This was not translated in new writing. Summarily, in this chapter,



Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Prizren'deki Namazgahı

Open air prayer platform of Mehmed II in Prizren

Briefly, in this chapter, it talked about clearly that Fatih Sultan Mehmed ascended the Ottoman throne, where strong or weak everybody can shelter, in February 1451, and he asked Cenab-i Hak (God) for the conquest of Istanbul, and he said "if the conquest will be fate, I will donate everything", and he realized his prayer on May 29, 1453, he struggled for the conquest about 10 years, and he aimed to correct life condition of the people, and he encouraged the kazaskers (chief military judges), senators, statemen, ulemas and sheiks, religion scholars and all reign high officials to create charity works in Istanbul from their booties and benefactions, mentioned in the Hadid Sura of Koran and presented by Canab-i Hak (God), and that scientists and artists were brought from Anatolia and Rumeli (Thrace) to Istanbul, and thus, the ruined city was converted to beautiful city.

We learn from Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi that as a result of Fatih's efforts and encouragements, the following works were built in his era.

In introduction of the Charter,

Fatih Sultan Mehmed tended to charity works immediately in 867 year of the Moslem calendar (1463) after his military conquests and decided to carry out charity works written in this charter. Because of the charity works were seen and appreciated, and fine works were completed in month Receb of 875 year of the Moslem calendar (January 1471), it is determined that this wakf deed was written in details.

Mosque and Masjid	192	Castle	13
Darulkurra	2	Bridge	9
Barrack	2	Archaic hospital	1
Madrassah	53	Palace	5
Lodge	4	Hammam	88
Shipyard	1	Summer palace	1
School	52	Clock room (at a mosque)	1
Bazaar-Covered Market	35	Sebil	1
Foundry	1	Kervansaray	12
Library	1	Hospital	2
Han	31	Small Lodge	27
Archaic Fountain	2	Mint	4
Printing-house	1	Tomb	54
Darulhadis	1	Shop	1000
Grave	144	Fountain	14
Charity	27	Water plant	10

Charity buildings donated

It is necessary to consider this pre-information about temple built by Fatih Sultan Mehmed or converted from church to mosque. The Havariler Church built in era of Konstantinus I (324-337) was available in place of the Fatih Mosque. After the conquest, this church that was restored many times was assigned to Patriarch II by Fatih Sultan Mehmed to be used as the Patriarchate. Because this building was ruined, the Patriarch was carried to the Teotokos Patmakaristos Church (Fethiye Mosque) in 1455.

An important matter is also that when Fatih Sul-

tan Mehmed conquered Istanbul, he found out two principal temples, science and social welfare centers of the Byzantium in this city. One was Hagia Sophia. Other one was the Pantokrator Church in Zeyrek and the Pantepopt Church near it.

In the Pantokrator Church, there are also a monastery that can accommodate 700 priest, hospital, guesthouse and poorhouse. According to historical sources, the church was free from the mayor's sentences, taxes and other payments.

Until Fatih Sultan Mehmed built new buildings, he utilized all establishments of the Byzantium. He assigned Molla Husrev, his teacher, as a head of the establishments in Hagia Sophia, and charged Zeyrek Mehmet Efendi to run establishments bound to them.

After he conquered the Hagia Sophia Mosque, which was a church before, and the Zeyrek Mosque, Old Imaret Mosque, Kalenderhane Mosque, New Mosque in Galata and the mosque in Silivri, he included them to his wakfs. Furthermore, he built a mosque in Sheikh Vefa Quarter in Istanbul, and a mosque in Rumeli Hisari, the Fatih Mosque and sixteen madrassahs; school, library, guesthouse and two high buildings, which one was a hospital and the other one was a charity built for old and homeless people. Other than them, all services in New Imaret madrassahs in north of the Fatih Mosque, and in Mullah Zeyrek madrassahs and the Hagia Sophia madrassahs are charity works mentioned in the Charter of Fatih Sultan Mehmed.

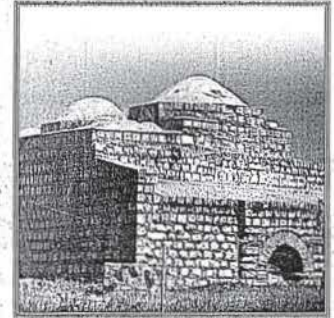
Wakfs villages and areas

Places bound to the Silivri Castle, Benatos Village and Rados Village in Tekirdag, Kefere Quarter, Ceribasi Farm and its land, Eregli Village, Hando Village, and Papislik Village in Corlu, Iskoplos Village, Hamza Village, Seviler Village, Hemsehri Village, Malkoclu Village, Padra Village, Ereglice Village, Bektasli Village, Karakuslu Village, Korucu (Dolye) Village, Yundoglan Village, Hizirci Village, Koyun Kafiri Village, and a place called Kurtcagiz Virani Musellimligi (administrative board under governor in the Ottoman era) bound to the Kirklareli sanjak.

Isbatla Village, Kara Yahya Musellimligi Village, Kurbaga Reis (Asagi Celtikci) Village, Sucukdere (Kavakli) Village, Genc (Young) Farm (near Sucukdere Village), Fekle Village, Serahine Village, Hasboga Village, Ceybeci Farm bound to Hasboga Village, Orenli Village, Kabanos Village, and Cihun Huri Village bound to the Vize sanjak,

Real estates and shops in Istanbul and Galata

Before giving a list of real estates in Istanbul, it is necessary to clarify a very important matter. Fatih Sultan Mehmed carried out real estate counting, namely cadastral investigation of Istanbul. Cebbe Ali,



Edirne Sarayı hamamı

Turkish bath of Edirne Palace

Ruler of Bursa, and Dursun, his brother's son and Ruler of Tugrusina, implemented this work. We see that all building and areas mentioned in this Charter were enumerated according to dates.

Bezzazistan (market hall of seller of dry goods and nations) is also called bezzaziye shops. This market is near Mahmut Pasa Charity Building and in Çakırağa Mesjid Quarter in Istanbul. It is a large and closed place, which is placed in middle lower side of the Grand Bazaar and is also known as the Cevahir Bedesten (central building in the Grand Bazaar), and in which 118 shops were available in that era. According to some sources, shop number was 122, 126 or 128. Around it, fabric sellers, skullcap sellers and tailors were available. All shops called "Flea Market (used goods market)" were bound to this Bedesten, and their number was 849. The Sandal Bedesten was introduced briefly as "Four-faced Bazaar" in the Charter. When the Cevahir Bedesten, namely the Grand Bedesten was built first, it was named "New Bedesten". It was named "the Old Bedesten", after the Sandal Bedesten was built.

In the bazaar called "the Big Bazaar" near the Fatih Mosque, there were 286 shops and 32 cells for trade purposes. Today, it is a big bazaar consisting of 265 four-corner shops in place called "the Mahmut Pasa markets" in the Mahmut Pasa Quarter. The Saraclar Bazaar is a big market, where saddlers were available, the Can Alici Church near Sarachane currently. In the bazaar known among the people as "the Beylikler Markets" near the Saraclar Bazaar in the Ustad Ayas Mesjid Quarters, there were 35 shops. These shops are near Kazasker Dolabi today. In the same place, there were also 11 shops. In the place called Old Rooms where homes of the Recruit Janisaries were available, there were also 10 contiguous shops. Six ones of 26 shops were neighbors and 20 ones were contiguous. Their four sides were surrounded with the roads. In the bazaar near Sarachane in the Yakub Bey Mesjid Quarters, there were 8 contiguous shops. In the same place, there was also one shop.

12 contiguous shops, which were near the New Castle and four sides were surrounded with empty area, were of Wakf. In the places outside the Castle, there were also 6 shops. They were also contiguous and surrounded with empty area. In the Un Kapisi Quarter, there were 31 shops. They were contiguous as the two, tree, four, five and six shops. There were many properties belonging to private individuals around them. Some shops were used for various purposes like soap slaughtering, halvah production. In the Sari Demirci (Yellow Blacksmith) Mesjid Quarter, there are 21 contiguous as the one, four, five and ten shops. Over one of single shops, there was a high home. In Kunfoz Kapisi (Door), there was a bazaar consisting of 22 shops. In the bazaar called Deb-baghane (Tannery), there were 27 shops. They were outside castle and in seashore. In the place known as

Silահhane, there were 32 shops. One of the bazaars was the Old Great Mosque Bazaar; namely the Hagia Sophia Bazaar. In this bazaar, there were 39 shops that their boundaries and taxes or rents were determined. In the Hagia Sophia Quarter, there were 5 shops as that two ones were in one place, and tree ones in another place. Near Yenikapi, there were also 4 shops. Totally, 48 shops were of the Wakf. 17 contiguous and reciprocal shops in the Hagia Sophia Quarter in north side of entrance of the Topkapi Palace were also of the Wakf.

In the place called Balikpazari (Fish Bazaar), there were 10 contiguous and reciprocal shops. Because of these shops, it was named "the Balikpazari Quarter". In this place, there were totally 10 shops, together with one single shop in the same place. 44 contiguous shops as the two, four, five, six, seven, nine and eleven shops, and two houses were properties of the Wakf.

Caravansary and hammams

Founder of the Wakf built caravansaries for accommodation of guests. They were a business complex called the Sultan Caravansary or Bey Caravansary and having 89 rooms. There were 42 shops around this caravansary. It is in the Daye Hatun Quarter, namely today in Mahmut Pasa Quarter. In the Bodrum Caravansary, there were 40 rooms and 14 shops. As the Wakf's Caravansaries, the Yemis Kapani Caravansary consisting of 27 rooms and 16 shops as big and little in the Tahtakale Quarter, and only 4 trade caravansaries called the Old Caravansary in Odun Kapisi were in the list concerning properties of the Wakf.

In order to provide the bathing requirements of the people, hammams were built. 10 ones of the following hammams are in Istanbul, and three ones are in Galata.

Houses in Istanbul

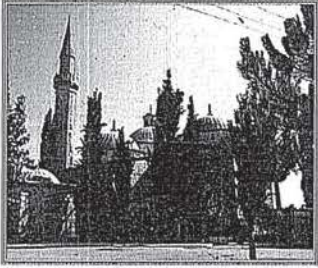
Other than them, a list of all real estates in 52 Quarters of Istanbul is given below:

House (its features are not determined)	133
Single house	268
Double house	75
House with arbor	30
House with high arbor	2
High house	4
Yard Type House	10
House with Furnace	3
House with basement	1

Shops in Istanbul

Shop (its features are not determined)	145
Shop with arbor	6

It was determined that eight ones of shops were used as dye-house, and respectively, three ones of shops as linseed oil mill, two ones as boza shop, one as candle factory, and one of shops as potter's shop. I was not explained that for which purpose other shops were used.



Mihaliç Camii, Karacabey, (Bursa)

Mihaliç Mosque, Karacabey, (Bursa)

Cells (Rooms) in Istanbul

Most of 174 rooms as a whole and contiguously that were used for commercial purposes as warehouse and storage in various places of Istanbul were of the *Wakf*.

Considering use manner of above-mentioned real estates and their incomes, we estimate that these real estates were grouped as single and double properties, property with arbor, yarn type property etc. Even if the word "Gurfe" means room in Arabic, it is determined that this word was used as the word "arbor" in the Charter. Furthermore, it is determined that names of streets and quarters, where these real estates were, common roads, castle, mosque, mesjid, church, shop and bazaar around these real estates, and neighbor was woman or man, and Muslim or not in the Charter.

Other than above real estates, 3 old churches were taken into the real estate list of the *Wakf*.

Wakf customs trap

We see that Fatih Sultan Mehmed Han include all customs incomes to his *wakf*. The place outside castle that four sides were surrounded the roads, and that is known as "Customs Trap" was the real estate of the *wakf*. In pages 162, 163 and 164 of the Charter, the sentence "... it is determined that tithe at 1/4 rate will be taken from Muslim traders, who came with their goods to Istanbul, tithe at 1/2 rate will be taken from Non-Muslim traders, who came with their goods to Istanbul, and that a person, who is religious, chaste, honest and avoids to commit a sin, is assigned by the state. It is stipulated that all traders spend their times in Istanbul. Considering that both sides can be wrong, this person must treat good to all traders, who act in accordance with the laws; and passed over desert without water and came to Istanbul, avoiding to break heart and without carrying out squabble and disputing. This person must be approved by everybody, and must obtain satisfaction of all traders, and thus, must make an effort to increase their trade volume. Traders must also

According to the Charter, the important place outside castle that four sides were surrounded the roads, and that is known as "Salt Storage" is in the real estate list of the *wakf* (Page 164 of the Charter).

Tahtakale Hammam	Yehud Hammam
Sinanpasa Hammam	Sirt Hammam
Kadiasker Hammam	Azaplar Hammam
Balat Door Hammam	Cavusbasi Hammam
Kulle Hammam	New Hammam
Direklise Hammam	Hammam of Cami Mahallesi
Karakoy Hammam	

The real estates gained through conquest in Galata

Houses:

High Houses (double)	4
Houses without arbor	313

Houses with arbor	190
Houses with high arbor	16
Houses with ground	7
Houses without roof (roof cover)	4
Shops:	
Shops without arbor	72
Shops with arbor	29
Single arbor (upon rampart)	1
Cellars:	
Cellar without arbor	18
Cellar with arbor	91
High cellar with arbor	13
Cells (Rooms):	35
Hammam:	1
Old Church:	1

It is clarified certainly that in which streets or quarters all above-mentioned *wakf* properties were, and to whom the real estates belonged, and these real estate were contiguous or separate and their connections with stable places like rampart, castle, mosque or church.

Mills in Istanbul and Galata

Fatih Sultan Mehmed built mills in 33 quarters, and donate them to meet force major requirement of the people. According to capacities and requirements of quarters, there were 3 or 4 mills in some quarters. There was a house near one of these mills, and there was a furnace near other one. There was also an arbor upon other one. Place of one mill is a land. While carrying our introduction of mills, it is determined absolutely that whose properties they were near, and what their connections with castle, rampart, mosque, church, roads or doors were. Mills carried out grinding works by Horsepower. There were 52 *wakf* mills in Istanbul.

In Galata, one of places gained through conquest, there were two *wakf* mills. Topside of one of two mills was with arbor. Upon other one, an arbor was available, and near it, a house was available.

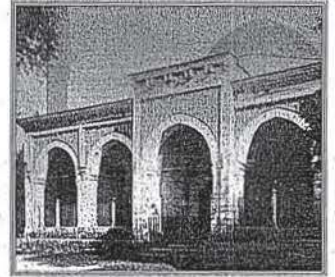
Lands Donated

Fatih Sultan Mehmed also donated some lands other than these buildings. They were 5-portions land in the Balık Pazari (Fish Market) door, and 7-portions land, which were used by being paid monthly rents by tenants known as rental lands outside the Castle in the line of Bahçekapi. These lands were used as vegetable gardens.

Wakf owner expressed that everybody will experience the death, and is mortal and transient, and everybody need to comply with all conditions put by the *wakf* in the Charter.

Services on Condition of Charity Officials of the Fatih Mosque

Fatih Sultan Mehmed Han stipulated that a pious person having powerful oratory was charged as a preacher in the mosque built in his name. It was determined that All officials in the following list, where their numbers, tasks and wages are, must give



Hamza Bey Camii, (Bursa)

Hamza Beg Mosque, (Bursa)

important to science, ethics, virtue, honesty, and have God fear and task consciousness, and must have properties such as to behave good and equal to the people at each level.

Task Number Daily wage per person

- Preacher 130 aspers (Ottoman money)
- Imam 210 aspers
- Muezzin 125 aspers
- Hafız (who knows the whole Koran) 107 aspers to president, 5 aspers to 9 person
- Cuzhan (reader and reciter of the Koran) 203 aspers to president, 2 aspers to 19 person
- Tevhidhan 203 aspers to president, 2 aspers to 19 person
- Musalli (continuously) 57 aspers
- Muarraf (guide) 16 aspers
- Muvakkit (timekeeper at a mosque) 110 aspers
- Kayyum (caretaker of a mosque) 65 aspers
- Kandilci (tender of oil lamps in a mosque) 45 aspers
- Mosque janitor 23 aspers
- Pointer 13 aspers

Other than wages given for officials, 4 aspers daily for wicker carpet from material used in mosque, and 5 aspers for olive oil used in illumination, and also 1 asper for broom, oil-lamp and cleaning materials were assigned.

Officials of the Fatih Madrassahs

For each Semaniye madrassah in both sides of the Mosque, a person, who is unique through his knowledge, and therefore, always deserves to stand ahead, and has capability to give lessons, and spent his life for his education in technical sciences, and is qualified, must be appointed as a Muderris (a grade in the hierarchy of Ulema). Great Muderrises and old Muderrises stipulated that his person must go to his madrassah every day, and teach capable students in accordance with arrangement and order put by the madrassah, out of vacation days, and must equip tradesmen with his vast knowledge, and in return to his task, salary of 50 aspers must be given him.

It was decided that with his capable, high ethic, good-tempered and right ideas and opinions, a person, who is unique among his matches, and has ability to summarize books and teach, and to give detailed information must be charged as a tutor, and 5 aspers must be given him.

For each madrassah, it was seen fit that 15 danismends must be charged, and must come into lessons with teachers daily wage of 2 aspers must be given for each one of danismends, who will be muderrises in the future.

It is certain condition of the charter that all above explained tasks will be carried out personally by officials, and conditions like failure and negligence will never approved, and, unless any excuse that will be seen as a legal obstacle, or will be accepted, these official will never appointed as representatives.

It was stipulated that the students that educated in

the Tetimme madrassahs (small madrassahs) are clever, skillful and diligent. Feeding expenses of these students were determined monthly as 15 aspers for each room, and their education expenses were also determined daily as 4 aspers.

It was decided that after importance of tasks of manager and officials charged in the Fatih Library, and their services to scientists will explain them elaborately, 6 aspers must be given manager, and 4 aspers must be given each official.

Officials of Darussifa (Hospital)

Two experienced and expert doctors, who diagnose health conditions of patients very well, and have wide knowledge in medicine, and know medical methods at top level, with wide knowledge obtained from the book "Kanun-i Sifa (Law of Health)" must be appointed.

It was stipulated that they must behave patients mercifully and tenderly twice a day, with contentment, and must ask after patients, and undertake to give most necessary and most appropriate medicines clarified in medicine books, and must never act loosely for health of patients, and must never grudge to spend their top level efforts, and 20 aspers must be given them.

Properties that dead patients leaved must be delivered to heirs. Right is most deserved thing that someone deserves of. It is one of conditions clarified in the charter that properties leaved by somebody that has not any heir must be utilized and used for hospital works by the wakf director and doctors.

It was also stipulated in the charter that 5 aspers every day for shrouding dead people must be provided, and this money must be collected in cash-box by wakf director, when absent of dead people, and nobody must never intervene in this money, and if not necessary, without any compulsion and restriction, this money must be spent

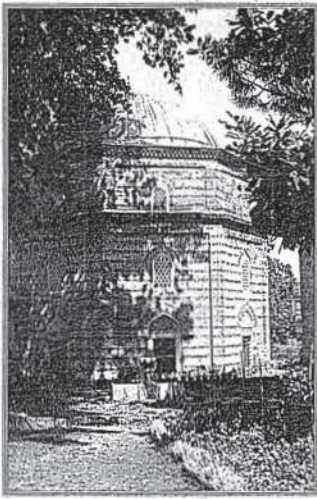
The list of personnel in the Hospital was as follows:

Hospital personnel Number Daily Wage (per person)

- Doctor 220 aspers
- Cost manager 1 4 aspers
- Treasurer 1 4 aspers
- Oculist 18 aspers
- Surgeon 18 aspers
- Pharmacist 16 aspers
- Warehouse director 1 4 aspers
- Cook 23 aspers
- Doorkeeper 13 aspers
- Nurse's aide 23 aspers
- Environ keeper 12 aspers

Officials of the Fatih Charities

It was stipulated that in the charity and dining hall, a person, who has responsibility sense, is well-known with being pious man, and is honest and modest, was charged as sheikh, namely director, and all



Cem Sultan Türbesi, (Bursa)

Prince Cem's Tomb, (Bursa)

necessary services can be given guests, who came to the guesthouse, and visit day is limited with 3 days, and all guests were seen off with various gifts, and that the goods of passengers were preserved in good conditions, and daily 20 aspers were given servant, who carried out these services.

One of most important sentences in the Charter deed is behavior style against rich guests, who come to the Charity with widow women. It is expressed clearly that 15000 aspers from the Wakf's incomes are assigned annually for pious widow women and rich men, who stayed in the women's guesthouse. Is an important condition of the Wakf that services before feast are given rich men, who brought their servants and want to meet their requirements easily, with women, who remained weak due to absence of food, and do not go out due to their ethic understandings.

Employees of the Charity Number Daily Wages (per person)

- Director (Sheikh) 120 aspers
- Clerk 16 aspers
- Representative of Expenses 15 aspers
- Butler 15 aspers
- Cleaner 23 aspers
- Kayyum (caretaker of a mosque) 23 aspers
- Kandilci (tender of oil lamps in a mosque) 23 aspers
- Distributor 43 aspers
- Doorkeeper 23 aspers
- Chief cooker 64 aspers
- Et hamalı 13 aspers
- Wheat beater 23 aspers
- Dishwasher 22 aspers
- Barn employee 22 aspers
- Barley Superintendent 12 aspers
- Wood carrier 12 aspers
- Maniü'n-nüks (çevreci) 12 aspers

Other than employees, it is expressed clearly that monthly 150 aspers as cost of pods and pans used in refectory, daily real flour of one-and-half muts (a grain measure) from wheat for bread consumed in refectory, fleshy meat of 240 okes (a weight of 400 drachmas or 2,8 lb.) everyday, rice of six bushels (36 kilos) to cook soup in accordance with Istanbul's traditions, and rice of one mut and five bushels to cook pilaf, zerde and zirbace in Friday, religion festival and Ramadan nights was purchased, and daily rice of six bushels was used for cooking soup in other days, and beaten wheat of six bushels to cook wheat soup, and chickpea of a half bushel was used everyday, and clean salt of one mut and three bushels in the end of every month, and daily pure honey of forty-two okes during year in Ramadan, Friday and region days and nights was spent, and also daily butter of sixty-two bushels for days and nights, and zagferan of forty-two drachmas in Ramadan nights was used, daily eight aspers were assigned for vegetables according to season, sufficient almond, dry grape and dry apricot

could be purchased, and all measures and and care were under control of trustee.

A pious person, who is intelligent, skilful, prudent, and complies with condition of the wakf, and is careful in all works of the Fatih Mosque, guesthouses, hospitals, madrassahs, libraries and schools, and in purchase and use of materials, and, with his good temper and honesty, won everybody's trust, must be a manager. It was stipulated that this director must receive 50 aspers in reply to tasks to carry out completely registration, record, and all property works, a person, who is an intelligent, experienced, expert and pious, must be charged as a clerk under order of director, and this clerk must receive daily 10 aspers in reply to tasks to hold all accounts and records of the wakf, without causing and doubt, and to seal all logbooks, and keep in sacks.

Very important subject is that if the wakf's incomes decrease due to natural disasters, and any decrease in services occurs, it is necessary to require support from director of the Hagia Sophia Wakf, and all expenses are taken under record, but charity conditions will not be decreased.

Officials of the Hagia Sophia Mosque

The Hagia Sophia Mosque is one of the temples that Fatih Sultan Mehmet gave important particularly. All officials must be full with love of science, culture, loyalty and task, and carry out their tasks completely.

Officials	Number	Günlük Ücreti
Preacher		115 aspers
Imam		115 aspers+10 aspers
Hafız (who knows the whole Koran)	9	5 aspers
Cuzhan (reader and reciter of the Koran)		202 aspers
Tehlilhan		142 aspers (3 aspers to president)
Muezzin		65 aspers
Muarriş (duahan)	1	6 aspers
Muvakkit	1	10 aspers
Kayyum (caretaker of a mosque)	4	4 aspers
Kandilci (tender of oil lamps in a mosque)	3	5 aspers
Pointer	1	2 aspers

Other than personnel expenses, 10 aspers are determined daily for olive-oil used in illumination of the Hagia Sophia, and other requirements such as wicker, oil-lamp and broom. It was stipulated that the Wakf's director must provided this requirements.

Officials of the Daruttalim (school)

Fatih Sultan Mehmed built a school in a place near west door of the New Mosque built him. He ensured that orplan children were educated, and if not, children of poor families were educated. In this school,

It was appreciated that daily wage of a person, who was charged as a teacher, was 6 aspers, and daily wage of school servant, who carried out all services, was 2 aspers, and daily wage of a person, who carried

out cleaning and door-keeping works, was 1 asper.

Officials of the Zeyrek, Sheikh Vefa and Old Imaret Mosque

In the mosque know as the Zeyrek Complex (a collection of buildings of an institution, composed of schools, a mosque, lunatic asylum, hospital, kitchen etc.) because of ceşşs around it, it was determined that wage of one imam was 8 aspers, and wages of totally 5 hafizs (who know the whole Koran), their president's wage was 3 aspers, and remaining four hahizs' wages were 2 aspers, and wage of one person, who worked as a muezzin and duahan (who prayers), was 3 aspers, and second muezzin's wage was 2 aspers, and wages of doorkeeper and oil-lamps tender were also 2 aspers, and 1 asper was paid for wicker, illumination and lamp oil.

Fatih Sultan Mehmed Khan left appointment task to Seikh Vefazade, a great scholar, for the mosque that Sultan re-built in the Seikh Vefazade Quarter and for a mamam that Sultan built in a place near the mosque throughout hid lifetime, and stipulated that people, who were wise and effective, and had responsibility sense, and were equipped with whatever attribute were charged.

It was determined that an equip consisting of totally 13 person as one preacher with daily wage of 5 aspers, and one imam with daily wage of 5 aspers, and 5 hafiz-muezzins (president with wage of 3 aspers, and others with wage of 2 aspers), and also 2 muezzin with daily wage of 1 asper, and 2 kayyims (caretakers) with daily wage of 2 aspers, and one muarrif (who prays) with daily wage of 1 asper, and also one kayyim, who works as an oil-lamps tender, with daily wage of 2 aspers were appointed.

It was decided that administration works in the Seikh Vefazade Mosque, where one imam, two muezzins and one kayyim were charged for the Old Imaret Mosque, and totally 11 person consisting of imam, muezzin, kayyim, muarrif, kândilci were charged for the New Mosque in Galata, were under control of Seikh Vefa throughout his lifetime, and all expenses in the Vefazade Mosque was equal to expenses of the Galata Mosque, and was not incomplete or further.

It was condition that one imam with daily wage of 6 aspers, and one muzezzin and kayyim with daily wage of 4 aspers were charged in the Yeni Kule Mosque, which Fatih Sultan Mehmed built for Rumeli Hisari.

Officials of the Kalenderhane Lodge

Fatih Sultan Mehmed arranged the kulliye called Kalenderhane as a perfect place in every respect that we can call it a rest home today. He ensured that people consisting of guests and needy people were entertained here in best conditions, and they were satisfied through a Turkish music group consisting of four person. We see that considerable money was assigned

daily for their meal and accommodation expenses. Furthermore, he bequeathed that 40 aspers for poor people and 15 aspers for guests were distributed daily, and respectively 100 aspers daily for orphans in Istanbul, and a half drachma monthly, namely 15 aspers daily for all other orphans. The orphans in this category were not limited. But, we ordered that when a child grew up and rescued from dependent position, salary of this child would be given another child. It was stipulated that these salary giving and ending transactions were registered in administration logbook in center of the government.

Administrational Officials

In the Charter, it is talked about night-watchmen, second executive, tax collectors, arc employees, and other employees, who were ready for a service at any time, and were called paymaster because of his financial and administrational responsibilities. Without changing order in the Charter, let us find the information about these officials.

Night-watchmen

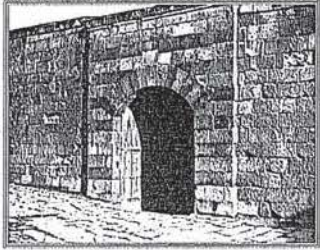
4 night-watchmen were charged in the Fabric Sellers Bazaar in the Great Bazaar, where 118 shops (122, 124 or 128 shops according to some records) existed, and are known as the Cevahir Bedestan today, and is determined as Bezzazistan in the Chapter. It was determined that they received daily wage of 4 aspers for his night works. It was required that they spent excessive effort to protect the goods and fabrics of traders, and met all expectations of these trades, and prayed for sultan and his family. It is accepted that these night-watchmen inspected all shops around this bazaar.

Second Executive

A pious, powerful, intelligent and independent excessive must have been appointed to be charged in mosques, mesjids and lodges excluding establishment near the Fatih Mosque. As we see, there were two different and responsible executives of Fatih Sultan Mehmed as with center of the Hagia Sophia and with center of the Fatih Mosque. The official clarified in this article was an executive, who was responsible for all services near the Hagia Sophia Mosque.

A person, who was selected among the people that paid their rents regularly in all shops, trade rooms; houses, rental places in Istanbul, and received their salary from the Wakf's incomes, and took great care to pay shares of right holders to the officials called "murtezika" (servants of a department of government as salaried dependents), and was faithful, intelligent and had responsibility sense must be charged as an executive. He must have been a person,

- who could settle outstanding accounts with the Wakf's collectors and renters, and knew well income-output transactions, and spent great effort to increase the wakf's incomes as per others, and preferred renters, who could pay their rents, and could act honesty; and



Ankara Bedesteni

Ankara Covered market

- who spent effort for maintenance, repair and restoration of charity buildings and rental properties, and
- who ensured that all buildings, which were exposed to destruction due to the use; were protected spent effort that shops did not remain empty, and
- who found a person that could pay the highest rent to the Wakf, and
- who spent great effort to rent not less than one year, and not more than two years, and
- who demanded a surety that was reliable and accepted to pay, when tenants demanded more, and
- who behaved hurry in removal of conflicts, and in resolution of matters, and in hesitation situations, by not acting docile and cool, while carrying out transactions, and
- who entered explanations of all transactions into the Wakf's records, and also implemented all transactions in accordance with the records of the wakf's director.

A clerk must be appointed to be charged in the wakfs executed by this executive. This clerk must enter common transactions between the wakf's director and traders into the records in accordance with all procedures, must not be neglected to enter all transactions into the records. Fearing the Day of Judgment, after he must complete all accounts and sealed with the executive's seal, he must deliver to the Sultanate Council.

Money Collector

In collecting services of the wakf, 18 person, who were experienced, and had certain references, and were honest, and protected their soul from treachery, must be charged.

One person of them must be charged as a responsible in the Silivri town and bound places, and respectively, One person of them in the Eregli town and bound places, and

One person of them in the Rados and Benatos villages and bound places, and

One person of them in the villages of the Vize district, and

One person of them in the Iskoblos, Badra and Ereglice villages of the Kırklareli district, and in arcs in the Vice sanjak.

13 money collector should also have been charged as money collectors of shops, hammams, warehouses, cells, other homes and real estates in rent in Istanbul, the big city, and in Galata, place of the conquest. One of them must be charged as money collector of hammams, and respectively, second one as money collector of boza shops, third one as money collector of storehouses (for sheep heads and trotters) and wakf's caravansaries, fourth one as money collector of the Bezzazistan and its shops (of all the Great Bazaar), fifth one as money collector of shops and other places in Tahtakale, sixth one as money collector of the Sultan Bazaar and its butcher shops, tanning yards and others, seventh one as money collector of the Dikilitas

(Cemberlitas) Bazaar, and also two person as money collector of homes in Istanbul, and one person as money collector of homes in Istanbul.

Two money collectors were appointed to protect machineries, tools and warehouses necessary for construction and repair works. When construction works started, they must be ready for giving services to architects, masters, workers and stone master, if necessary materials were available, these collectors must deliver them to the masters immediately. If nor available, they must sell these materials upon appropriate prices, and spent great effort to bring them necessary places.

Director, clerk, trustee, money collector, or any official must not avoid cheating in trade.

6 remaining money collectors were under order of director. Wherever they were charged to collect the goods to the wakf, they must be ready for order of trustee. They must deliver the goods that they took delivery to trustee immediately.

Officials of Arcs

10 person were charged as arc servants for water flowing in mosques, which relieve, hammams, high charity buildings, famous madrassahs and fountains in them, in homes and different buildings.

Each one of them must be a master, who know well conditions of buildings and bazaars, and is expert generally in remain, and particularly in arc repair and lead processing, and also expert in frame working of charity building and repair of flat surfaces. Each one of them must be educated in lead mastery (namely foreman), and each one must be responsible in repair of leads of high domes, and each one arcs of fountains, springs and wells bound to the wakf. Each one must be charged in regularly implement works concerning hammam cupboards, and 7 remaining person also in shops, hammams, homes, caravansaries and other rental places.

When water failure happened in any place of the wakf, if possible to repair in the same day, the wakf's employees must provide this service, and not have demand any additional payment from the wakf's director. They must be contented with their wages. If a duration is more than one day, wages must be given also them as given other officials, It must not be stingy.

Mutemet (Fiduciary)

In page 345 of the Charter, a service group called mutemet (fiduciary) is clarified. Their tasks are to ensure that all employees carried out quickly their tasks, because conditions such as failure and delays of the services in the wakf, and any neglect in tasks of employees, and to encourage avoiding of neglect of tasks. It was stipulated that they received daily wage of 4 aspers, because of they spent great effort to preserve all the wakf's goods and complete all works in the wakf.

According to the records in 1490, 496 employees



Fatih Sultan Mehmed

Mehmed II

and servants were charged in the Fatih Mosque and its places, and 457 employees and servants were charged in the Fatih Mosque and its places. Furthermore, such a servant group was required for control and coordination of all officials and employees charged in charity buildings and real estates belonging to the wakf over thousands clarified in this Charter. Considering that this charter was written after Fatih Sultan Mehmed Khan established his Wakf, and passed 5-years period for being a strong establishment of the wakf, it is seen clearly that inspection works of these individuals are also required other than a pointer. Money collectors, executives and fiduciaries are important experienced officials, who are effective in the wakf. vakfiyesini kurup.

Working conditions of Trustees and Directors

Throughout lifetime of the Wakf's founder (Fatih Sultan Mehmed), he was authorized fully to appoint and dismiss the wakf officials, and take measures to execute all works regularly in direction of his initiative, and to determine necessary payments, to change conditions procedures of the wakf, and increase and decrease number of the wakf's personnel. If he give up executing these works, it is condition that execution task of the wakf pass from father to son. In other words, a person, standing at throne, finds employees, who deserve of administration works of the wakf, was charged to ensure regularly execution of the wakf's works.

A trustee also spends all effort to increase the wakf's incomes and rental costs. Whatever thing God grants as the wakf's income, from all of incomes, it must be provided particularly standing of charity buildings and secondly completion of incompletes of real estates and other rental immovables. Then, 1/20 of remaining incomes was fallen off as appointment cost from incomes, final amount must be delivered to the Exchequer. After the charity buildings was required and strengthened, and necessary repairs of real estates were carried out, and customer satisfaction was provided, and also appointment cost was fallen off, with remaining income excess, expenses clarified in this book must be carried out.

Trustees and director must spend great effort to increase the wakf's income in their works, and know that God is holder to revenge, and aware of everything, and can see everything true, they must rent real estate of the wakf to reliable tenants, and must not bother to tenants, and must prefer most appropriate conditions, and therefore the must arrange all agreements in this way. In the end of the works, they must also necessary effort.

When one-year account of the Wakf director was settled in Divan-ı Humayun (the Imperial Chancery), it is appeared that he is right and trust holder, it is condition that he continue his task, necessary esteem and respect are shown him. Otherwise, another person must be appointed in spite of this director. His task

must be ended, and his mistake must be told him, and he must be scolded.

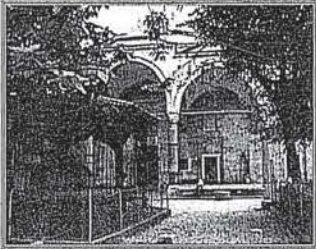
In the end of the year, madrassah teachers, sheikhs, preachers, imams, tutors, other notables, whose superior properties are clarified in the charter, and briefly, all of officials, who receive salary from the wakf's incomes, must gather in the Fatih Mosque. In their witnessing, income-output logbook of the wakf must be read. According to the conditions of the wakf that its execution is compulsory, if any wrong action happens, or any crime is committed, or any action, which requires dismissal, of any person, who works for everybody's satisfaction and acts in accordance with the rule "conditions of anybody, who donated, are just like verse of God", occurs, authorities punish this person.

If the wakf's incomes are sufficient to places determined as a cost in the Charter, separation and deviation from the purpose, carelessness, looseness and mistakes must never allowed.

When charity buildings mentioned pages 354 and 355 of the Charter collapsed or became condition that they could not be used because of years and centuries passed or due to other reasons, the wakf's incomes must be spent particularly for restoration of these charity buildings, and for becoming condition that they will give service again. Fatih Sultan Mehmed stipulated that if it is not possible, all incomes remained to his child without daughter-son difference, and when his generation ended, all incomes must be used for Muslim poor and needy people. Meanwhile, the wakf's founder believes that a person, who has influence and power that will ensure that the wakf leaved this untidy condition, and the wakf acted in accordance with establishing conditions.

Registration of the Wakf

After Fatih Sultan Mehmed established, wakf institutions that we summarized as charities, he wrote his charter. The properties that he donated in presence of a judge in a place, where a person that he will charge as a trustee and witnesses exist: The Fatih Mosque, Hagia Sophia Mosque, Mullah Zeyrek Mosque, Sheik Vefazade Mosque, Galata Mosque, Silivri Mosque and Yeni Kule (Rumeli Hisari) Mosque. He expressed certainly that he donated these seven mosques eternally for God's sake and delivered them to the trustee, and determined as main condition of his charter that all Muslim people can carry out Friday worship and other worships eternally there. Additionally, he explain that the donated and deliver the mosque called old charity to the trustee for Friday and other namazs. He determined clearly that he donated high madrassahs and other buildings near the Fatih Mosque to train people, who are intelligent and skilful, and are interested in the science, and donated the buildings known as Kalenderhane (hospice for wandering dervishes) for people, who traveled, and all of Charity and Hospital for Muslims and



Mahmud Paşa Camii, (Istanbul)

Mahmud Pasha-Mosque, (Istanbul)

all slaves of God, and donated school building for Koran education of children, and donated villages, arable fields, pastures, homes, rental shops, warehouses, granaries, trade rooms (cells), mills and other estates, places bound with bound boundaries and the justices, branches, hills, mountains, arcs, rivers, fruity and fruitless trees, and all these properties, and, with all laws and taxes, because of they are considered as contents, additions and annexes of the charter, and all above-mentioned old or new, far or near, contiguous or apart properties, together with all their parts and delivered them to trustee. He clarifies that nobody from civil administration can interfere to these institutions and declares it to trustee. Trustee also declares that he delivered the buildings belonging to charities, other real estates and rental shops in present of witnesses. With his approval declaration, establishment process of the wakf is completed.

Arbitrary and Curse

As determined in last page of the Charter, Complying with opinion of Abu Hanifa, Imam-i Azam, Fatih Sultan Mehmet, a founder of the wakf, in presence of the judge, said that: "I donated this wakf under my responsibility. Let the trustee relinquish all payments, which properties were not clarified, and deliver them to old holder." With delicate understanding, the trustee said: "Muslim community together with imam performed the namaz in the mosques and beautiful mesjids, which properties are clarified above. Good services for any purpose are carried out very long time in his valuable and shining schools, charities, hospitals, hospices. These real estates are rented under condition of the person, who donated, and their incomes are distributed to right holders. In this case, there is not any hesitation regarding these wakfs, and it is not possible to deny this matter. Furthermore, according to opinion of Imameyn (Imam-i Abu Yusuf and Imam-i Mohammed), henceforth annulment and cancellation are not possible. Annulment and cancellation are out of possibility." Then, they applied to legal authority (the judge). After a long thinking, the judge, whose internal world is bright, observed this great understanding of the trustee, and approved donation of a whole wakf as irrevocable. Thus, confirmation of these charities and beauties realized.

In last pages of the Charter, it is written that: "Whoever changes this testaben after hearing and accepting, its sin is of the individuals, who chanced it. Surely, Allah (God) hears and knows everything, (Surra Bakara 181 of Koran)". After seeing this order, let a person, who wants to use the wakf for his bad purposes, and to damage it, stand in presence of God, and think that:

What the verse "a person, who always prevents favor (Surra Kalem 12 of Koran)" and

"does nothing for another (Fatur 19)" means. He cannot answer in presence of God.

It is said: "Who is more cruel than people, who spend great effort to prohibit saying God's name? They have no power to go into there without fear. For them, there is a degradation in the world. For them, there is a great torment in the other world. (Surra Bakara 114 of Koran)"

It is mentioned that: "That day, all people stand in presence of God (Surra Mutaffifin 6 of Koran) and "Is not response of a favor only another favor?" (Surra Rahman 60 of Koran)

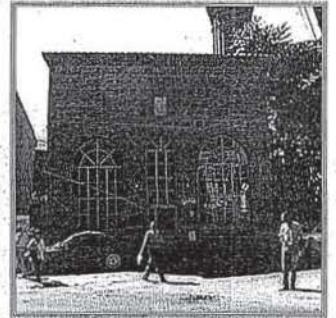
God willing!

The Curse chapter was added to Arabic texts of above verses, completed in a style suitable to Fatih Sultan Mehmed.

As a result, the Fatih charters explain us the time before 550 years as a real photograph. In this photograph it is demonstrated quarter by quarter and street by street that after conquering the Byzantium, which weakened economically due to reasons such as the Crusades, sieges of different states for conquest or occupation purpose, internal struggles, and authority debility, and firstly, cadastral determination were carried out, Istanbul became a modern city.

Services provided students accepted to universities are education without money, and are to provide students the scholarships in amount more than salaries of the wakf's servants, and to give all lecturer high salaries. It is expressed that other services are to provide service quality in hospitals, charities, guesthouses and hospices, and bring to homes of old women and people, who cannot come to refectory, because they were ashamed, and to entertain and see off quests with gifts, and earn salary, in presence of the judge, to orphans, who have not parents, to carry out burial process without any restriction in burial expenses of dead people in hospital or hospice, to give inheritors the heritage, with understanding "right is a compulsory that need to be carried out". Satisfactory of tradesmen, who carry out trade in Bedestan (the central building in the Great Bazaar), and traders, bring trade goods from so far countries, are provided. Necessary attention is paid for construction and restoration works of charity buildings and rental immovables. All of above mentioned values together with properties required in executives, directors, money collectors, watchmen and other employees, and other information in the Charter are an expression of ethic and service understanding in that period.

The Charters and other documents belonging to Fatih Sultan Mehmed are available in archives of five different general directorates. Most of them is as rolls, and worn out as much as not touching with hand. They need to be collected through a commission, and their repair and maintenance need to be carried out in pathology laboratories without spending time. It is a native task that these precious documents need to be translated and transferred to the science and new generations.



Ahmed Camii, (Bursa)

Ahmed Mosque, (Bursa)

Madrasas

After the conquest, firstly the Sultan and all the notables began to act in order to flourishing of Istanbul. As a first act, some of the churches and monasteries remained from the Byzantium age were turned into mosques, the buildings surrounding these churches and monasteries on the other hand became madrasas (schools). In the following years, new complexes, firstly the Sultan's complex, were built.

Ayasofya-yi Kebir Madrasa

Right after the conquest, while Hagia Sofia was being turned into a mosque due to the need for a praying place for the Muslims, priest rooms became madrasas (857 AH / 1453 AD), later probably at the same time with the establishment of the library (1466), a new madrasa with a single floor was made to be built again by Fatih Sultan Mehmed. The madrasa to which some additions were made later on was later demolished fully in 1873. The students were temporarily distributed to different schools for that time being. On the petition of the students for whom no school could have been found, şeyhülislamlik (head office of Islam) had its hands in the business and had the school rebuilt. The school, which was on the side of the mosque that sees the Topkapı Palace, was used as a dormitory for the orphans by the Istanbul municipality and was demolished in 1935.

Hagia Sofia Madrasa was the most advanced school until the establishment of the Fatih Madrasa and in the reign of Mehmed II the biggest scholars like Molla Husrev and Ali Kuşçu gave lessons there. Madrasa of Hagia Sofia was the sixth in rank.

Kalenderhane Madrasa

One of the converted buildings after the conquest is the Christ Acataliptos Monastery near Bozdoğan Belt. Since it was converted to mosque, imaret and dervish lodge by Fatih Sultan Mehmed, it was named as "kalenderhane (dervish lodge)". Later a madrasa and a sibyan (elementary) school was added next to it. Ekrem Haklı Ayverdi writes that according to its charity records, on Fridays Kalenderhane was a mevlevi house where religious rituals were practiced, a dervish lodge for the visitors and a free charity kitchen for the orphans nonetheless, the name "Medrese-i Kalenderhane (dervish lodge school)" was written in the account book dated 20 years after and it mentioned about the students and the teachers. It does not exist. Kalenderhane is seen to be a school for 30 people between 1497 and 1498 AH, for 40 people until the middle of the 15th century, later as a school for 50 people.

Zeyrek Madrasa

Pantokrator Monastery in Zeyrek district which had 40 rooms was also transformed into a madrasa after the conquest and Mehmed Zeyrek Efendi was appointed there with 50 akçe (currency) per day as the teacher of the school. The building was used as a

school for a short period of time, then was converted to a mosque probably after the building of Fatih Complex.

Şemsüddin Molla Gürani Madrasa

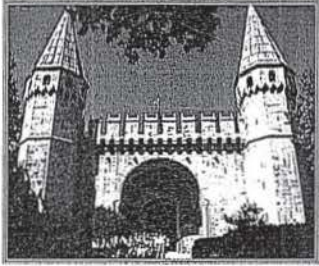
After the conquest, Şemsüddin Ahmed Efendi (d. 1488) who was one of the şeyhülislams (head of Islam) of the age, he converted the building next to while converting the Saint Theodor Church which was located between the Molla Şemsedin Mosque Street in Vefa and Divan Fendi Street into a mosque, he had the building next to the church converted to a madrasa. Although it says in its charity book that it is a dârülhanis, the indications show that it was a madrasa. In the beginning of the 16th century the madrasa seemed to be for twenty people, on the other hand it seemed at the end of the same century to be for 50 people. Although the mosque survived, it was last seen in 1918 as mostly in ruins, and the madrasa does no longer exist.

Sultan Mehmed Han Madrasa (Sahn-i Seman)

Construction of the mosque and the complex which was composed of many buildings (madrasas, turbe, hospital, tabhane, imaret, library, darü'talim, elementary school, bath and caravansary) and after which the district had its name was started ten years after the conquest by Fatih Sultan Mehmed. The madrasa for the construction of which the chief architect Sinaneddin Yusuf Ağa d. 876 / 1471) was appointed, had 16 madrasas eight of which is semaniye and another eight is tetimme. According to the epitaph of the mosque, the construction had been between 867-875 / 1463-1470. Nevertheless, the madrasas were not built at the same time with the mosque, they were finished after the construction of the mosque.

Madrasas were made in two lines on the north and south of the mosque, the first line near the mosque to be semaniye and the ones on the second line to be tetimme. From the semaniye madrasas, the ones on the north of the mosque were called "Blak" (Blak Sea), the ones on the south of the mosque were called "White" (White Sea-the Mediterranean) and these were named from the east to the west as baş kurşunlu, çifte kurşunlu, çifte ayak kurşunlu and ayak kurşunlu. In each of these madrasas which exist today, there are 19 rooms and a classroom-masjid (small mosque). Each of these rooms has windows to the street. The classrooms of baş and ayak kurşunlu madrasas are on the walls on the outer side. Classrooms of çifte baş and çifte ayak kurşunlu madrasas are located on their backs and have three under windows and three up windows. Mihrabs are on the opposite side of the entrances. There are bathrooms and ablution houses in the open backyards behind the classrooms.

Tetimme madrasas were numbered from east to west in Arabic. On both directions, the ones on the



Topkapı Sarayı, Bâbüsselâm

Topkapı Palace, Bâbüsselâm

eastern side were called Baş Tetimme-i Sefid (or Ülä-yı Tetimme and Baş Tetimme-i Siyah. After these, the ones on the Mediterranean side were called Sâniye, Sâlise, Râbi'a, the ones on the Black Sea side on the other hand Hâmise, Sâdisè, Sâbi'a and Sâmine respectively. The number of cells in them were not always equal. According to the report in 1914, the ones on the Mediterranean side were made up of 10 cells; from the ones on the Black Sea side Baş Tetimme/Hâmise was made up of 12, Sâdisè and Sâmine 12 and Sâbi'a 10 cells. However, in the notebook dated 1792, Hâmise and Sâmine among these madrasas had eight, Sâdisè and Sâbi'a had 10 cells.

Fatih complex, like most of other structures, could not reach today as it was when it was first built. It took great damage in the earthquake in 13 Zilhicce 1179 (23 May 1766), some of its parts were rebuilt and some parts were repaired. The complex took a major damage in the 1894 earthquake. Semaniye madrasas of the complex, which had gone many repairs in different times, were repaired again by the foundations in 1955 and today it serves as a student dormitory.

According to the foundation records, the sahn madrasas had to be for 50 people whereas they had a different place when compared to the other madrasas. Some madrasas were even called as "sahn".

Tabhane Madrasa

The madrasa included in the Fatih complex is located on the southeast of the mosque, leading ahead from The Mediterranean-Baş Kurşunlu Madrasa and on the upper side of Fevzi Pasha Street. Madrasa is composed of 14 rooms, 12 iwans with big domes, a cellar between the rooms, a ladder leading to the lead roofing, two side iwans with two domes of each and a surrounding iwan with 20 domes. The building was in fact built as a tabhane but it lost this function of its in the middle of the 19th century and began to be used as a madrasa. The madrasa is seen in 1914 with some additions to it namely under some of its domes just one, under some two and even three sheds were added. Along with these sheds the number of rooms rised up to 47.

Murad Paşa-yı Atik Madrasa

Has Murad Pasha who was one of the viziers of the Fatih Sultan Mehmed Era, built the complex composed of a mosque, a madrasa, a twin bath and a tabhane. Today it is located in Aksaray on the corner of Vatan and Millet Avenues.

Upon the death of the Pasha (878 / 1473) the madrasa was completed by Mesih Pasha (viz. 1585-86). Murad Pasha madrasa on the west side of the mosque's yard was repaired in various dates and was demolished by the municipality in 1930s. Madrasa had at first 12 rooms. In 1885, a new building, which had 16 rooms for one person, was attached to it. Later one more room was added on each of the corner rooms therefore the number of rooms rose to

18. According to its foundation records, it was for 20 people. It became for 30 in 1535-36, in the last quarter of the 16th century firstly for 40 then for 50 and in the middle of the 17th century for 60 people.

Ishak Pasha Madrasa

Ishak Pasha was a grand vizier in the reign of Mehmed II and Bâyezid II (1469 – 1472) and one of the people who served in the flourish of Istanbul. The mosque was composed of five rooms with a little madrasa, a bath and an elementary school. It was located following the walls of Topkapı Palace and on the right when coming down to Ahırkapı. The madrasa the location of which can not be determined today, became unusable yet in the first quarter of the 20th century.

Ibrahim Pasha-yı Atik Madrasa

A manzume (little complex) with a madrasa, an elementary school and a fountain of water was built by Halil Paşazade Ibrahim Pasha of Çandar. Zil'hade 1069 / July – August 1689 was the time it was built and the time when the first teacher was appointed. The madrasa which had 13 rooms was demolished by the foundation in 1918. Today we can see only a portion of its wall among the shops standing in its place.

Mahmud Paşa-yı Veli Madrasa

Mahmud Pasha (viz. 1453 – 1466; 1472 – 1473) who was one of the grand viziers of the reign of Mehmed II, too built a complex composed of a mosque, a madrasa, an elementary school (sıbyan mektebi), court, imaret, tomb, twin bath, caravansary (Kürhçü Caravansary), a bazaar and a fountain in the district which is today named after him. The dates of completion of the buildings which formed the complex are different. While the date when the mosque opened to prayer was 867 – 1463, the completion of the madrasa was ten years later than that in 877 / 1472 – 1473. It was composed of 18 cells.

It took damage in the 1894 earthquake but the repair could be made in 1896. Although the madrasa, which undergone a big repair in 1904, is in good condition in 1914, it is understood that no lessons were being made in its classrooms. Only one its classroom survived today. It is on the Nuruosmaniye side corner of Mahmud Pasha Elementary School yard on the Mengene Street which is perpendicular to Nuruosmaniye Street. According to its foundation records, even though the madrasa was for fifty people, it was determined as for 60 in the middle of the 17th century.

Hoca Hayreddin Madrasa

The mosque and the madrasa, which were built between 1469 and 1473 for the mentor of Mehmed II, were next to each other and it is guessed that the madrasa was ruined in the 19th century. According to its foundation records it was for twenty five, but in the first quarter of the 16th century it was firstly for thirty then forty and fifty and in the end reached to hariç rank.



Ishak Paşa Camii, (İnegöl, Bursa)

Ishak Pasha Mosque, (İnegöl, Bursa)

Kirmasti Madrasa

Mevlana Yusuf son of Hüseyin Kirmasti (d. 1494 – 95) was the Istanbul kadi (judge) in the reign of Bâyezid II and he was one of the scholars of Fatih era as well. He established foundations in both İstanbul and Kirmasti. The Register of İstanbul Foundations mentions about two masjids madrasas (medreseteyn) in İstanbul. It is recorded on the corner of the Hadâku's-şakaik of Mecdi Mehmed Efendi that along with his house he had a madrasa and a school. In the madrasa lists which belong to the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, we can see only one madrasa called Kirmasti in the Vefa district. The founder of this madrasa was shown as Evliya Mehmed Efendi.

Rum Mehmed Pasha Madrasa

The date of completion of the manzume (small complex) of Rum Mehmed Pasha (viz. 1466 – 1469), who was one of the grand viziers of the reign of Mehmed II, which was composed of a mosque, a madrasa, an imaret and a bath and which was built in Üsküdar was A.H. 876 / 1471 – 1472. Today the parts except the mosque do not exist. The madrasa which was for forty people when first built, became for fifty people in 1461, and got the rank dahil in the middle of the 17th century. Three madrasas in Edirne and one madrasa in Bursa were determined to be belong to the reign of Mehmed II.

Peykler Madrasa

Peykler Madrasa was built by Mehmed II in Edirne, on the northern side of the Mosque with three balconies, on the opposite of the fountain court and next to the Madrasa with clock. While the madrasa, which had 17 cells and two classrooms,

was for fifty people when first established, it was among the madrasas for sixty people in the middle of the 17th century.

Saraciye Madrasa

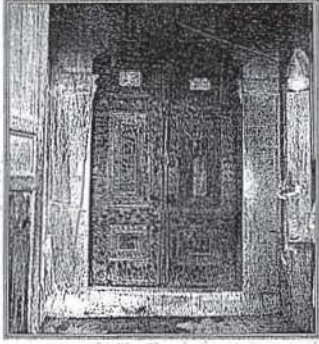
Saraciye Madrasa was the second of the madrasas that were built in the reign of Mehmed II in Edirne. It was around the mosque with three balconies according to Ayverdi, and according to Cahit Baltacı it was around the New Palace in Janissary neighborhood. That's why it was also called as Center Madrasa. The founder of the madrasa, which was also called İsmail Bey Madrasa, is Hacı Kemaleddin son of Abdullah Efendi, one of the scholars of the Mehmed II era. The madrasa could not survive. It had nine rooms and for twenty people.

Eski İbrahim Pasha Madrasa

The other madrasa in Edirne was a piece of the manzume, which was composed of a mosque, a madrasa, an imaret, a teachers lounge etc., built by Çandarlızade İbrahim Pasha who would be made grand vizier (1498 – 1499) by Bayezid II. Since the madrasa in the Çukacı Street of İbrahim Paşa Neighborhood was demolished in 1877, it could not reach our time. According to its foundation record dated A.H. 869 / 1564 – 1565 it was for twenty people but it can be seen among the ones for forty people at the end of the 16th century.

Ahmed Pasha Madrasa

This madrasa, which was located under Muradiye in Bursa, was made by Ahmed Pasha (d. A.H. 902 / 1496), major of Bursa, son of Veliyüddin. The madrasa, which had 11 rooms, was especially drew attention due its front side being opened.



Rum Mehmed Paşa Külliyesi kapısı,
(İstanbul)

The door of Greek Mehmet Pasha
building complex, Üsküdar, (İstanbul)

Turkish Language And Literature

The period of Mehmed II (Fatih) not only ended an era and started a new one in history but also caused a period in Turkish literature and language to end allowing a new, important age to start. At the end of the 15th century, in the first 19 years of the reign of Mehmed II and Bayezid II, the middle age of the Turkish language ended and the period of New Turkish started. This way, the foundation period of Turkish Literature ended and Classical Ottoman Literature came to being. It was natural for the Turkish literature and language to develop and change parallel to the historical changes. Sultans and statesmen considered this issue very important.

Mehmed II, just like all other Ottoman sultans esteemed science and scientist very important. Scientist such as Molla Gürani came to his palace from very far away places such as Egypt. In Mehmed II's age, along with fiqh, Islamic theology and logic, positive scientist have also been esteemed. Mehmed II has protected scientists without discriminating them according to their religion or religious sect.

Byzantium historians Kritovulos noted that Meh-

med II could speak Hebrew, Keldanian, Greek, Slavic and Latin besides Arabic and Persian. Moreover, Mehmed II was known to be a have a passion for books. In the Fatih Books Collection of the Topkapı Library, there were 585 handwritten manuscripts besides the Islamic works of Mehmet II. Among the physic and mathematic works, some manuscripts that are written in 11th and 15th centuries, we also come across Holy Koran and its commentaries. What is more, on Mehmed II's order, some works had been translated. Italian Giovanni Mario Angiolillo, and famous painter Gentile Bellini had been patrons of Mehmed II's palace. Besides these people, the scientist Amirokis and his son were among those who are patronized in Mehmed II's palace. Angonon Criacus, a passionate lover of old works of art and archeology came to İstanbul and worked as a clerk at the palace.

Besides all these characteristics, Mehmed II was also a sultan who was interested in examining religions, religious sects, belief systems and supernatural issues. He carried out some studies about Hurufists and Christianity, followed scientific debates, and

wanted these debates to be written down.

Thanks to Mehmet II, some book had been translated into Turkish. One of these major books is *Kitab-ı Oklidis* (The book of Oklidis) which is also known as *Kitâbu Usûl ve'l- Erkân*. Mehmed II made this important work of geometry and read it. Ali Emir Efenâî felt the need to explain this issue as follows:

Mehmed II ordered the books *Kitâb-ı Mesâdarat*'i and *Matimatiki Sintaksis* to be copied since he wished to read them. He also ordered the copy of the commentary on the prominent language and science scholar Sibeveyh's unique work on syntax prepared by Şeyh Abu Said Sayrafi. Moreover, these works also include the samples of the ornamenting and binding styles of Mehmed II's period.

In the same period, the art calligraphy was very advanced as well. The sultan was fairly well known for his calligraphies in *sûlus*, *nesih* and *rik'a* styles. He has even written a *vakıfame* (deed of trust) about the related to the possession of the building site of *Arpaçlar Mosque* and its lodges.

Besides calligraphers in this period many important musicians also lived. One of the most prominent musicians of the period was *Abdulkadir Merâgi* a lute player named *Şirmen* and a *kanun* (a zither-like instrument) player named *Ishak* lived in the palace. *Abdulkadir Kellatî* of Iran also visited the palace. He was respected and attended music gatherings. In one of these gatherings the singer *Usta Şems* who also wrote poems with the pseudonym *Nahîfi*, entered a contest with *Kellatî* and he wrote a poem impromptu and composed a song in the presence of the sultan.

In Mehmet II period, Turkish language and literature developed as well. In this period many Turkish works which are important in the history of Turkish literature has been published. We can examine the works of the era under two headings: Turkish Language in Mehmed II's Period and Turkish Literature In Mehmed II's Period.

Turkish Language in Mehmed II Period

Turkish language went through *Altay Period*, *Oldest Turkish Period*, *Early Turkish Period*, *Old Turkish Period* and *Middle Turkish Period*. The texts of the first three periods could not be found. As a result, these periods are only hypothetical. However, we have texts belonging to the Old Turkish period (8th-11th cc) and Middle Turkish (11th-15th cc). Within this classification, Mehmed II period falls into the last century of Middle Turkish. After this period, periods of Turkish, *New Turkish* (16th-19th cc) and *Modern Turkish* (after 20th cc) would be lived.

The Middle Turkish period cover XIIIth and XVth centuries according to some scholars and it covers XIth and XVth centuries according to some others. In this period, the difference which appear on the level of regional dialects in Old Turkish period became accents in Middle Turkish period. According to this, Turkish was spoken in a large area including *Anatolia*, *the Balkans*, *Egypt*, *Crimea*, *Deşt-i Kıpçak*, *Golden Horde*, *Khwarazm*, *West and East Turkestan*

and the north of Asia. According to *Mahmud of Kashgar*, Turkish had two regional dialects, *Hakaniye* and *Oghuz Turkish*, at the end of the Old Turkish period, during the transition to Middle Turkish.

Hakaniye Turkish lived in *Karakhanids state* and *Oghuz Turkish* flourished in *Seljuk State*. Turkish spread to a big area from *East Turkestan* to *Anatolia* and is used in many works.

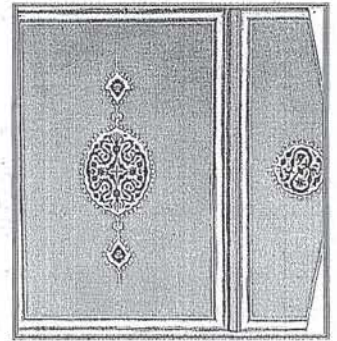
All works, including the *vakıfnames* and *kanunnames* (legal codes) written by Mehmed II himself, belong to the Middle Turkish be they literary or not. Middle Turkish which make up the period following Old Turkish era has been classified into two as *North-Eastern Turkish* and *Western Turkish* and this classification has surfaced as a division of *Eastern Turkish* and *Western Turkish*. *Western Turkish* continued to live as *Turkey Turkish* and *Azeri Turkish*, two branches of *Oghuz Turkish*. However, these two branches started to separate by 16th century.

Northeastern Turkish (XIIIth-XIVth century) followed from the Old Turkish. After the 14th century, *Kıpçak Turkish* appeared as the Northern Turkish and *Chagatai Turkish* appeared as the Eastern Turkish. *Kıpçak Turkish* had been mostly used in *Egypt* and in time, it was adapted to *Old Anatolian Turkish* and in Mehmed II period, all differences disappeared. The literature environment formed around the *Egypt palace* was dominated by *Anatolian Turkish*. Parallel to the time of Mehmed II and *Bayazid*, the domination of Turkish in the age of *Egypt sultans Sultan Kayıtbay* (d.1495) and his son *Muhammed* (d.1500), who were found of literature and poetry carried out and it ended in the last *Mameluk sultan Kansu Gavri* (d.1516). He not only used *Anatolian Turkish* in his poems but he also has a *Turkish divan* (a collection of poems).

Mehmet II's age has also been a milestone for *Western Turkish* which is the biggest branch of Middle Turkish. *Western Turkish* is *Oghuz Turkish*. It includes *Azerbaijan* and *Anatolia*. As an extension, it is the Turkish used in *Iraq*, *Syria* and the *Balkans*. *Anatolia* was the leading place where literature has been growing. *Western Turkish* is used only as the 'language of writing'. The Turkish that reached Mehmed II's time can be considered the first step of the *Historical Turkey Turkish* (13th-20th century).

In this classification, Turkish of Mehmed II's period forms the last era of *Old Anatolia* or *Early Ottoman Turkish*, which is also called *Old Turkey Turkish*. In this era, *Azeri* and *Ottoman Turkish* were not separated very clearly. We see that at the start of 16th century, both regions stated using their own dialects and begin separating. We have to handle Mehmed II's period as a start of these differences in *Western Turkish*.

It is a fact that many small and large works had been produced during this development process. We see that these activities continue vividly in Mehmed II's age. We can even take the beginning of his reign (1444) as the starting point of the issue at question.



XV.yüzyıl cilt örneği

XVth century bookbinding sample

The age of Mehmet II had stated in that date even though there had been some interruptions after this date. The works of the period can be grouped into three as dictionaries, prose, poem collections and mesnevis. Moreover, it would be appropriate to consider the cultural activities that started out in Mehmet II's time and continue in Bayezid II's reign. One of the most important works of this kind are the dictionaries. However, before talking about these works prepared in Mehmet II's time, we should mention the dictionaries written in Anatolia before this era. Zehretü'l-edeb that is prepared by the kadi of Çemişkezek, Şihabeddin Ahmed b.Zekeriya, Nasibü'l-Fityân put down on paper by Husam-i Huyî and Silkü'l-Cevâhir produced by Ahmed el-Engürî are considered to be pioneers in this area. These works had been followed by Ahmedi's Mirkatü'l-Edeb dictionary which is written in verse between 1360-1377. After that, Ahmed-i Dâ'nin wrote Ukâdu'l- Cevâhir for Shahzadah Murad, the son of Mehmed I (1413-1421) and the dictionary Tuhfetü'l-Fakir who is author is unknown.. Miştahü'l-Lugatı that is written by Mahmud b. Edhem for Murad II and mostly explain the Persian grammar is worth mentioning. The most important characteristic of these works is that they had been written for the education of the children of sultans and important statesmen. In Mehmed II's time, things would change and Turkish would also be included in the dictionaries. One of the most important dictionaries of this kind is the Persian- Turkish dictionary named Bahrü'l-Garâib written by Lutfullah b.Ebi Yusuf el-Halimî. The author of the work which is known as Lugat-i Halimî had worked as a kadi in Mehmet II's time and had been supported by Sadrazam Mahmud Paşa.



Baş Karakullukçular ve Orta sakası

Sergeants and servants

Pir Mehmed b. Yüsus el-Ankaravî (d.1461-62) made the translation an Arabic-Turkish dictionary Mültekâtü's-Sihâh which is named as Tercümanü'l-Lûgat. The work is also known as Lûgat-ı Kara Pirî. We should also mention the dictionary of İzzeddin Abdüllatif who is known as Feriştahoğlu. The Arabic-Turkish dictionary Feriştahoğlu Lûgatı, based the words handled and explained in the dictionary to the words in Koran. All these activities in Mehmed II's period related to dictionaries allowed a language infrastructure to be prepared and the activities went on in the following centuries.

The prose works written in Mehmed II's period are very important. The majority of these works have religious content. However, the foundation of Turkish prose had been completed by this period. One can note many Turkish prose works such as Erzurumlu Darir's Yüz Hadis Tercümesi and Siretü'n-Nebi written towards the end of 14th century following Behcetü'l-Hadaik, Kenzü'l-Kübera written by Seyhioğlu Mustafa in 1401. We also come across İrşâdü'l-Mürîd ile'l-Murâd min Tercemeti Kitâb-ı Mirsâdi'l-İbâd, Hayâtü'l-Hayavân Tercümesi written during the reign of Murad II and presented to him, Manyasoğlu's Gülistan Tercümesi, Şirvanlı Mah-

mud's Tuhfe-i Murâdi, Kâbusnâme translated by Mercimek Ahmed, and works like Tarih-i İbni Kesir Tercümesi, A'cebü'l-Ucab, Danişmend-nâme, Ceva-hir-nâme-i Sultan Muradî.

The prose work written during Mehmed II's reign came to being as a result of such a development. The leading prose works of the period were Ahmed-i Bican's (1465-70) Rühü'l-Ervah, Acâibü'l-Mahlûkat, Dürr-i Mekkân. Moreover, his brothers work, Megaribü'z-Zamân, had been translated into Turkish with the name Envârü'l-Aşikin. The author was mostly famous for this work. His aim was to allow Turkish nation to be able to read the work in question.

The works of Ahmed-i Bican have religious, mystical, legendary and mythological characteristics. More than his own written works, the author prepared translated and collected prose works. He did not intend his works to have artistic value; he sometimes used the same topic in his different works. His works, written in a Turkish understandable even today, has an important role with respect to original and translated works in Turkish language history. We should also note that by writing in Turkish, the author had shown his love for servicing the Turkish nation and his language consciousness.

Another noteworthy work of the Mehmet II age is Eşrefoğlu Rumi's prose, Müzekki'n-Nüfâs, Müzekki'n-Nüfâs talks about the soul (nefs)states, world and afterlife, envy, generosity, stinginess, mischief making, controlling anger, zikir, Hallac-ı Mansur, being virtuous and the situations causing a person to behave good or bad. It also tells some fragments of the lives of the holy people and prophets such as Hasan-i Basri, Rabia-yı Adeviyye and advices people to be good and virtuous. It includes the words of the Prophet. The book uses a fluent and pleasant language. There are some examples of poems in it. Although we come across the 've' (and) particle as the sentence initial particle, it is also used as a conjunction in short sentences. There are only a few phrases formed by using Arabic and Persian rules. Because of this characteristic, the work has a very special place within the Mystical Turkish Literature.

Written in Mehmed II's period, Münyetü'l-Ebrâr ve Gunyetü'l-Ahyâr is also one of the major works, which is important with respect to Turkish language history. Abdurrahim Karahisarî wrote this book in 857/1453, two months after the Istanbul was conquered, in İznik with the Akşemseddin's signal. Münyetü'l-Ebrâr is made up of two main parts and each part has ten chapters. The work talks about the path to God, the resting places of mysticism and the states of the soul. It also talks about the good and bad habits of human beings and tells how one can get rid of bad habits and how he can control his self, nefis. The books had been written in a very fluent, clear Turkish. With respect to the language of Münyetü'l-Ebrâr we can say that it is rich with respect to mystical terms it includes. Another stylistic characteristic of the book is that it is written in short sentences thus is

sincere and pleasant. It includes pieces of verse. Using the language in a conversational tone is a special characteristic of Mehmed II's age. Karahisarî, also wrote a mesnevi (poem) named Vahdetnâme.

One of the works we have of Mehmed II's period is Saltukname. Saltukname is collected with the order of Sultan Cem by Abulhayr-i Rumi. It includes folkloric elements and reflects the spirit of gaza (holy war). The work, which was collected in seven years, talks about the legendary life, wars and braver of Saru Saltuk. Saltukname is a continuation of works like Battalname and Danişmendname. These works had kept the spirit of gaza alive in Anatolia and Rumelia and had been read by the people for centuries.

Historiography was very important in Mehmed II's age. Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 1484) is one of the history writers who lived to see Bayezid II's reign but nonetheless start writing in Mehmed II's period. Derviş Ahmed, grandson of the 14th century poets Aşık Paşa (d.1332), used Aşıkî as pseudonym in his poems. He was a close friend of both Murad II and Mehmed II. He attended military expeditions with both sultans. Although he used certain sources in writing the part of the work that tell times before Murad II's reign, he witnessed the rest of the events himself. He used a clear, understandable Turkish. Aşıkî very rarely used sentences with ki. He sometimes uses daily language. His style is natural and sincere, not a bit artificial. The pleasantness of the language used is due to this.

The Fetihnâme-i Sultan Mehmed written by Kivâmî, who is thought to be one of the treasury officials, is one of the most important histories of the period. The book had been written for Beyazid II. While quoting events, a unique composition is used in the work which has prose and poems together. For each event, the sequence of poem-prose-poem, description-event-prayer and praise is followed. The vividity in the poetry and prose is due to the repetitions used sentence or verse initially. Descriptions are usually about the seasons. Spring has a special place among these descriptions. One comes across repetitions at the start of almost every issue. These repetitions continue in the form of sentences and paragraphs. Although it cites the conquests of Mehmed II's era, it does not specify the dates of the conquests. It is different from Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi in that it includes more poems and that it is written for Bayezid II. In Kivâmî's work, poetry is more prominent and he is concerned about the artistic value of the work. Kivâmî starts out telling the issue with a poem, continues with prose than ends with poem. He uses sequential sentences and it has more the structures with ki than Aşıkpaşazade. The last three parts of the work, which has 28 parts in total, talks about Beyazid II.

Another remnant of language that tells us the period of Mehmed II is Tarih-i Ebû'l-Feth written by Tursun Bey. His real name is Tür-ı Sîmâ Bey and he is the son of Hamza Bey and the grandson of İznik governor general Firuz Bey. Tursun Bey's first office is

being a "city clerk". Later he was charged as a clerk in the council of state, Anatolia Treasury Official and the clerk of council of state when he was the Anatolia Treasury Official Majordomo. As a result he learned Arabic, Turkish, Persian and literature fairly well. He attended many military campaigns besides the conquest of Istanbul; he even attended the Rhodes and Otranto campaigns. In his works he cites the era of Mehmed II and the beginning of Bayezid II's reign. Just like Aşıkpaşazade, he cites the events he witnessed himself. Tarih-i Ebû'l-Feth he submitted to Bayezid II differs from the works of Aşıkpaşazade and Kivâmî with respect to style and language. Above all, Tursun Bey is a clerk in the council of state. He educated himself thanks to his job and lived as a member of official writers. As a result his language is ornamented and complicated. He used Arabic and Persian quotations frequently. This is a feature he gained during his education.

With respect to Turkish language history, Tarih-i Abu'l-Feth is the first example of Classical Ottoman Turkish. With Tursun Bey, we see the language gets more ornate. In the siyasetname, Kenzû'l-Kübera, written by Şeyhoğlu Mustafa, who lived in the Germanian and Ottoman palaces, we see the same feature.

The works of Molla Lütfi, who attracts attention with his style and criticism, are also important for Turkish language history. He was called Deli Lütfi, Molla Lütfi, Tokatlı Lütfi, Lütfullah Çelebi and Sarı Lütfi in his family and among the members of the palace and he was reckless and was very plainspoken. Because of his character he had many enemies and this prepared a very bad ending to his life. Being one of the scholars of the era Lütfi, a student of Sinan Paşa, was the teacher of Kemal Paşazade. He was the first library administrator of Ottomans since he was assigned to direct Mehmet II's library. The scholar who worked as a professor (müderri) in Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul attracts attention with his satires. In his work Harnâme he talks about the debates of a molla named Uslu and the viziers of his time and the life story of Uslu. Lütfi picked up the name Uslu (Uslu) which means 'donkey' in Serbian on purpose. From a Turkish folk literature perspective, this pamphlet (risale), Harname, written satirically, is noteworthy with respect to the proverbs related to donkeys. With its clear and understandable language, the ease of exposition, the intricate, original thoughts of the author, the work has an important place in Turkish language history.

Many important works on medicine has been produced in Mehmed II's age. The most important of these are Sabuncuoğlu's Cerrahiyye-i İlhanîyye and Mücerrebname. Cerrahiyye-i İlhanîyye has been submitted to Mehmed II. It is mainly the translation of Zehravi's et-Tasrif with a few additional parts. It includes commentaries. The work is very important for Turkish. Mücerrebname, which is made up of eighteen parts is an original work. Since it includes



Humbaracılar

Grenade thrower

the names of diseases and medicine, medical terminology and plant names, it is not only important for Turkish language history but also for Turkish medical history. Although its subject is medicine, it has a clear and understandable language.

Another important medical works written in Mehmed II's era is Firdevsî-i Tavîl's (Uzun Firdevsî, d. after 1512) prose work *Kıssanâme-i Süleyman Aleyhisselâm*. The work has been prepared with the order of Mehmed II and the first six volumes had been completed in his reign. However, Uzun Firdevsî's important literary works had been created in Beyazîd II's time.

The most important issue about the Turkish language in Mehmed II's era is the reorganization of official writing language. The letter written by Karamanî Mehmet Paşa for Mehmed II and sent to Uzun Hasan is a very important sample of this. The use of a more 'majestic' construction style and the certain measures and styles used in it started to put pressure on Turkish. Those who are expert on legal language played an important role in this. Moreover, Mehmed II considered official correspondence important and all formal writings such as the laws, the firmans, warrants and similar papers had been seen and corrected by the sultan and the experts mentioned above. As a result, an official writing style emerged and Turkish language had been 'strained'. Besides the idea of "writing in Turkish, developing Turkish by using it more", which was prominent since the start of 14th century and which was supported by Gülşehrî and Aşık Paşa, and later on by Erzurumlu Dârîr and Seyhoğlu Mustafa, another view arguing "Turkish was not strong enough in expression, it must be enriched with Arabic and Persian words", which is supported by Seyhî and Gelibolulu Âlî has emerged. The official writing style of Mehmed II's time started out with such a language view and continued in the following periods. Even though sultans like Beyazîd II and Mehmet III warnings against it, the literary and historical works had been written with an ornamented Turkish. In the works written this way, words were borrowed from not only Arabic and Persian but also from the other Ottoman nations', such as Greek, Armenian, Albanian, Bosnian and Serbian:

The official language's being ornate even formalized brought about the idea of 'construction samples or templates. Thus (language) construction magazines such as *Menahicü'l-İnşâ* began to be published for the first time in Turkish language and literature history. This work is one of first samples of ornamented prose. As mentioned before, Tursun Bey's work *Tarih-i Abu'l-feth* was also one of the pioneers of ornamented prose works. This style would spread more in 16th century. Another representative of this style is Sinan Paşa (1440-1486), the author of *Tazarrûnâme*, which affected literature until Republican era. Ornamented and artistic prose inevitably brought about a less understandable Turkish. We might say that the Turkish prose, in its real sense, was establis-

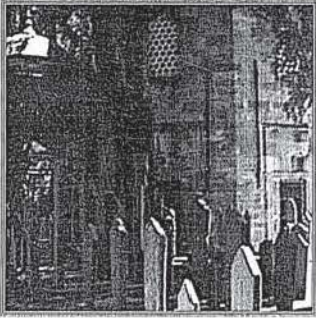
hed by Sinan Paşa. However, the ornate and incomprehensible language he uses in *Tazarrûnâme* is one that would doom Turkish in the future. The best part of Sinan Paşa's prose is that he uses short sentences. The same holds for his *Tezkiretü'l-Evliyâ* and *Marifnâme*. However, in the work to be produced later on, longer sentences would appear very frequently and with use of the borrowed words, a very incomprehensible prose language would appear. Starting with the historians İbni Kemal, Hoca Sadeddin etc, tezkiire writers like Aşık Çelebi, Sâlim, Safâyî used this type of prose in XVIIth century. This was not an appropriate movement with respect to Turkish language.

Nevertheless, both the *Kanunnâme*'s and the construction magazines written in the period are important for Turkish language history.

We should also consider the Turkish world in general in Mehmed II's period and mention the works written in Chagatai, the Eastern Turkish, during the reign of Mehmet II and Murad II. The Turkish known as "Eastern Turkish" had been the prominent language in Middle Asia in the period mentioned. Some culture centers were founded and Samarkand was one of them in the first half of 15th century. The city had become an important culture center in the time of Uluğ Bey and his son Abdullatif. The palace poets of Uluğ Bey, Sekkâkî, lighten up the literature world. Sekkâkî (d.1460?), the head poet, had been a start for the pre-Chagatai literature. He was followed by poets like Atâi Mukîmî, Yakînî, Emîrî and Gedâi who served Turkish.

In the second half of the century, Herat became the center for literature and science. Lutfî had been one of the most prominent poets of Chagatai Turkish with respect to literary quality. He first lived in Shiraz and Tebriz. He wrote *kasidas* giving advice to Şahrûh, Baysungur and Baysungur's son Alaüddevlî and he had been patronized especially by Baysungur. He also tutored Alaüddevlî.

Without doubt, Lutfî is one of the most important Chagatai poets who lived in Mehmed II's era and wrote in Eastern Turkish. He was more devoted to use of Turkish than the other poets who lived in the first half of 15th century were. He used Turkish more frequently than his contemporaries did. We can see the presence of language elements and words of Old Turkish in Lutfî's work even though they are not very frequent. It is also true for the prominent linguist and poet Ali Şîr Nevâî, who produced his works in the second half of 15th century and who became a milestone for the foundation and development of Chagatai Turkish Literature. However, these archaic elements would be the exceptional samples in the Chagatai literature. Lutfî was such an important poet of his period because not only he used Turkish well but also he avoids writing poems with misconstructured meter, rhyme or redif. He draws attention with his *tuyuğs* (verse composed of four hemistichs). His poetry technique indicates he knows and uses the possibilities of



Davud Paşa Türbesi, (İstanbul)

Davud Pasha Tomb, (İstanbul)

Turkish language very well. Besides, he not only uses the aruz templates suitable for Turkish syllable meter but also the folkloric idioms, proverbs and thus shows the power of his work with this well-known and noble Turkish taste. Moreover, his work is very realistic. Lutfi who comes second in using *tuyuğs* after Kadî Burhaneddin affected the following centuries as well. Besides the poets who write in Eastern Turkish, there have been poets, Western Turkish poets, like Fuzuli, who wrote Lutfi nazires (similar poems to Lutfi's).

Besides his Divan, Lutfi wrote a mesnevi named *Gül ü Nevruz*. He also has Persian poems. *Zafername*, which was a translation of Lutfi has not survive until our time.

Lutfi's works are very important with respect to Turkish Literature History. An examination of the language of his divan shows that Lutfi and other poets writing in Chagatai Turkish in Mehmet II's period used some elements of Oghuz and Kipchak accent, which make up Western Turkish. *Gedat*, one of the poets of the period who write in Chagatai Turkish like Lutfi, is a poet using features of Western Turkish. We come across such usages in his *Şiban Han Divanı*. However, we do not come across such usage frequently in one of the most important Classical Chagatai Turkish and Turkish literature, Ali Şir Nevâî. In fact, Chagatai Turkish literature had really developed and peaked with Ali Şir Nevâî. The period in question starts in Mehmed II's reign and continues in Bayezid II's reign. Turkish Sultan Huseyin Baykara is also very important for Chagatai Turkish as well. Huseyin Baykara, who was contemporary with Ottoman sultans Mehmed II and Bayezid II, showed great interest in Turkish and supported such an important poet like Ali Şir Nevâî. Many scholars and poets, who write in Turkish and Persian, attended the science and literature meetings he organized. One of the important scholars and writer of the era, Molla Abdurrahman Câmî, is one of the scholars who attended these meetings. This Nakshibendi scholar and poet was also welcomed in and invited to Istanbul by Mehmed II. His son Bayezid II (1481-1512) had fulfilled what Mehmed II wanted to do. Bayezid II also showed interest to Abdurrahman Câmî (1413-1492) and invited him to Istanbul.

He sent him a thousand florins each year. Ali Şir Nevâî, who is the author of many prose and poetry works, has been considered an important figure with respect to his ideas, practices and writings about Turkish- both in the era he lived and other eras. First of all, Ali Şir Nevâî was a devotee of Turkish and a poet who defended Turkish comprehending its strength. He did more than just voicing this idea; he wrote prose in order to serve Turkish and became a prominent figure in Turkish literature with his poets *tezkiye Mecâlisü'n- Nefâis*. He defended the idea that Turkish was more superior than Persian and stated his efforts in serving Turkish. Nevâî's will for writing in Turkish was not limited to writing *Muhakemetü'l-Lugateyn*.

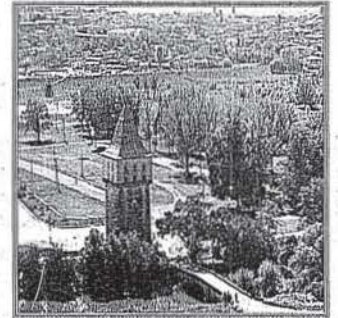
Whatever Molla Abdurrahman, Câmî made for the Persian language and literature of that era, Ali Şir Nevâî did for Turkish nation and Turkish language. Like Huseyin Baykara, Ali Şir Nevâî was a follower of Molla Câmî with respect to belief and faith. Parallel to Huseyin Baykara, he chose to serve Turkish nation with the same faith and belief and he succeeded in serving the Turkish nation. Having a refined taste, Ali Şir Nevâî reviewed Molla Câmî's poems with his order.

Ali Şir Nevâî is the first poet to write a hamse (a collection of five mesnevis) in Turkish literature. What is more there has been no other poet until him who wrote four divans. His four divans gathered in *Hazâinü'l-Maâni* are *Garaibü's-Sıgar*, *Nevâdirü's-Şebâb*, *Bedâiyü'l-Vasat* and *Fevâidü'l-Kiber*. In his mesnevis *Hayretü'l-Ebrâr*, *Ferhad u Şirîn*, *Leyli vü Mecnân*, *Seba-i Seyyâre*, *Sedd-i Iskenderî* and *Lisânü't-Tayr* he went beyond the limits of hamse and included six mesnevis. His *Muhakemetü'l-Lugateyn*, *Mecâlisü'n-Nefâis*, *Mizânü'l-Evzân* and *Nesâimü'l-Mahabbé* are among scientific-literary works. All these works have been the shining stars of Turkish language and literature in each period. Because of this characteristic Ali Şir Nevâî has influenced many other poets who lived after him. Fuzulî is one of the most important figures among these poets. In addition, important poets, such as Selim I, Bayezid II, Bâkî, Nedim and Şeyh Galip, who write in Ottoman Turkish, knew Nevâî and enjoyed his work. The admiration led to a new era in Ottoman poetry and many poets wrote "Nevâî Style" ghazels. It was also the case with *Müşak Baba* and Şeyh Galip.

In the following part of this paper, we will handle the works which carry the characteristics of Middle Turkish with respect to language and history and which are created in the Ottoman Turkish world of Mehmed II. Considering this fact, we will handle the poets and their works as well. The effects of Arabic and Persian over Turkish language created a 'pro-Turkish' trend among writers, scholars and poets who support Turkish. This trend was by started Mahmud of Kashgar in 11th century and carried out by *Âşık Paşa*, *Gülşehrî*, *Dadîr* of Erzurum and *Şeyhoğlu Mustafa* in 14th century. In 15th century, with the order of Murat II, it was supported by the statesmen and reached Mehmed II's age. In this period the official language started to become ornamented and the trend of using a 'heavy' language started out by Şeyhi continued. This led to the orientation of some poets like Kemal, the author of *Selâtinname*, to be a part of pro-Turkish trend. In the following periods, Bayezid II would also be one of the sultan who support the latter trend.

Turkish Literature in Mehmed II Period

Turkish literature existed vividly in the capital cities Bursa and Edirne before the time of Mehmed II. Besides, in other cities, some traditional cultural activities were going on. *Kütahya* was one of these cities. Similarly, cities like Konya, Amasya, Manisa, and



Fatih Köprüsü ve Adalet Kulesi,
(Edirne)

Mehmed II Bridge and Justice Tower,
(Edirne)

Kastamonu were cultural centers. However, after the abolishment of beyliks in Murad II's time, these vivid activities had been carried to the Ottoman capital. With this respect, Bursa and Edirne were more developed than the other cities.

With the conquest of Istanbul, scientific, literary and cultural activities had been moved to this city and the other cities lost their liveliness to a certain extent. However, Edirne and Bursa kept on being culture centers. The cities in which the shazadahs lived carried on scientific, literary and cultural activities modeling Istanbul. With the support and encouragement of the sultans, shazadahs and viziers literary groups had been formed around these people. Moreover, this encouragement led to many scholars, poets and artists, especially those from Iran, to come to Ottoman country. Mehmed II is the first sultan who has a divan in the Ottoman palace.

Sehî handled him from very different points in the entry he had for Mehmed II. He mentions Mehmed II's administrative and military skills, the importance he gave to science, his attention for students, the value he bestowed to the poets, the gathering in which he listened the poems, his care for the people, his walks among the people in disguise, his ability as a poet and his poetry. Sehî mentions the abundance of Mehmed II's poems but he does not mention the organization of these poems into a divan. According to him, Mehmed II's words are brave and ghazels are lover-like. His poems are unique and didactic and his style in writing ghazels is elite. In the time Sehî made this evaluation, poets like Bâkî were hardly producing poetry. The general specifications of divan poetry can also be seen in Fâtiḥ's poems. That his poetry contains incorrect meter, as it is the case with other poets in his age and following times, should be considered normal. However, Mehmed II is strong with respect to rhymes. In some couplets, his language reflects his ruler identity more than his artist identity. Despite this, he is a humble, sensitive poet who does not care about moral world, who has lyric tendencies and who is very devoted to the 'lover'.

When talking about the literature of Mehmed II's age, the first poet to be come to mind is Ahmed Paşa. The poet who was born in Edirne who died in Bursa can be placed between Şeyhî and Necâtî with respect to his place in Turkish literature. Ahmed Paşa, who worked as a professor at Muradiye Medrese of Bursa, had been noticed by the sultan during his duty as kadi in Edirne. He attended the conquest of Istanbul, became a kazasker, the nedim of sultan, the tutor of the sultan and then he was given the post of a vizier. Sehî mentions him as a fluent poet who uses language beautifully. Because of the rumor that he is excessively found of one of sultan nedims, he has been sent to jail but he asked for forgiveness by writing the kasida Kerimî. Mehmed II forgave him considering his efforts in tutoring him. Prominent poets of 16th century such as Necâtî and Bâkî had been affected by

him. However, there are also poets such as Tâcizâde Cafer Çelebi, who consider Ahmed Paşa's work as the reflection of Persian Literature of that age on Turkish literature.

Leaving all these besides, Ahmet Paşa is a poet who had a unique place in Turkish literature and whose fame had been recognized by Molla Câmî. He was known as a master of poetry in the time he lived and his fame lived after his death as well. His most important virtue was not being jealous. He played an important role in protecting the poets to allow literature to develop. He even introduced poets like Melihî to the sultan. He wrote Kerem kasida as a nazire to Şeyhî, Güneş kasida to Atâî and Gönül murabbai to Melihî. Mehmed II wrote a muhammes to his gönül murabbai.

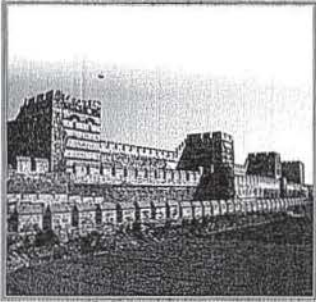
Ahmet Paşa is also remarkable with his recording of dates. The beloved is the most important figure in his poems. In almost all of his poems, he mentions love. He is a poet with wide imagination and he has vivid descriptions. He uses the figures of allusions (mazmun) very skillfully. He has mastered aruz and has a strong prose style. Besides Arabic and Persian poems, he wrote Greek ghazels as well. Ahmed Paşa who died in 1496 in Bursa has a Divan.

Ahmed Paşa mostly uses an ornamented language. However, he sometimes wrote in understandable, clear Turkish. His poems are very fluent. He is one of the important figures of Turkish literature with his elegant, harmonious style.

Another poet of th period is one of Mehmed II's grand viziers Mahmud Paşa. Mahmud Paşa has a divan. He uses the pseudonym Andî when writing poems. He is of Serbian origin and he had been educated at the Edirne palace. He caught mehmed II's attention and went on to military expeditions with the sultan. He served well in the Belgrade siege and became a vizier. He attended the expeditions in conquering Amasra, Sinop and Trabzon. Moreover, he helped the conquest of Serbia and conquered Bosnia. He could speak Arabic, Persian, Serbian and Greek.

He was famous for his Persian and Turkish poems. His poems are significant for their artistic value. New, original sayings and wisdom are the features of his poetry. He had influence on the raising of scholars and poets such as Karamanî Mehmed Paşa and Kasım Paşa and oriented them to serving the state. He had been of great service with this respect. Moreover, he supported poets like Hayâlî, Sarıca Kemal and Enverî.

Another vizier of the period is Mehmed Paşa of Karaman. According to the information provided by Sehî, he is a scion of Celâleddin Rumi. He uses the pseudonym Nişanî when writing poems. He was wise, intelligent and profound. he raised from being a marksman to being a vizier. At first he taught at Mahmud Paşa medrese. Karamanî Mehmed Paşa could speak Arabic very well and winning Mehmed II's appreciation, he was assigned to the post for organizing and arranging Mehmed II's kanunnames.



Istanbul Surları

Istanbul City walls

The famous letter Mehmed II had sent to *uzun hasan* had been written by *Karamanî Mehmed Paşa*. He was killed by the janissaries after Mehmed II's death. His grave is in *Şeyh Vefa tekke*. He also wrote risales in Arabic and formulated official writing. His use of clear, fluent and understandable language in his poems makes him an important figure in Turkish language history.

Another poet who lived in Mehmed II's period is *Cemâlî*. The poet who is from *Akşehir* is *Şeyhî's* nephew. Being borne around 1410 and died in the last years of *Beyazîd II's* reign, he lived a long life. He was active with respect to literature in *Murad II's* and *Mehmed II's* age. He wrote an appendix for the famous poet *Şeyhî's Hüsvrev ü Şîrîn*. He came to Istanbul after the conquest. In his *kasidas* and verse, he praises Mehmed II and the conquest of Istanbul. His *kasida* with the "Feth ü Zafer" (conquest and victory) redif, he cites Mehmed II and the conquest.

He also wrote Arabic and Persian poems. *Cemâlî* has many poems. Beside his artisican side, he is also known for the way he recorded date and his 'acib' poems which are considered to be odd. He is one of the first poets, along with *Ahmet Paşa*, *Cem Sultan* and *Aynî of Karaman*, who started out the tradition to record dates in poems. His *ghazels* in which he used no *elif* letter or without any dotted letters is noteworthy. When we examine his *divan*, we see that the language he uses becomes ornamented and he started to use Ottoman Turkish. If we consider all of his works, except the language he used in his *divan*, we can say that his language is clear and easy to understand. *Cemâlî's* first poem is 109-couplet appendix he wrote to *Şeyhî's Hüsvrev ü Şîrîn*.

Hümâ yü Hümâyün (Gülşen-i Uşşâk): This work is written in 1446 for *Murad II*. *Hümâ* is the male and *Hümâyün* is the female hero of the poem. The poet discusses a love affair of these who characters.

Miftâhu'l-Ferec: The work had been presented to Mehmed II in 1456. It is a religious work. It also includes *kasidas* for Mehmed II.

Resâil (Risâle-i Acibe): It is a work the poet calls 'acayib' (strange) in the introduction of *Miftâhu'l-Ferec*. It has been presented to Mehmed II.

Cemâlî states this work is the first sample of its kind. *Şair bu adla ikinci bir risalesinden bahsederse de bu esere rastlanmamıştır*. In his 73-couplet *mesnevi* named *Der-beyân-ı Meşakkat-ı Sefer ü Zarâret ü Mülâzemet Cemâlî* cites the Albania campaign. *Yusuf u Züleyha* is another *mesnevi* of *Cemâlî*.

Divan: The work has a complex arrangement and it is written with *hareke* (vowel points). It also includes Arabic and Persian poems. The *kasides*, *ghazels* and *mütezads* have dates and explanatory titles.

Cemâlî produced original, 'garib' works in the period longer than 25 years in which he wrote poems. Especially he was very active during *Murad II* and *Mehmed II's* reign. He continued to use charac-

teristics of Old Anatolian Turkish during the transition to classical Ottoman Turkish. He holds an important place in the Turkish language history because of this characteristic.

Aşkî is another poet who feels close to *Fatih* and who writes *kasidas* for him. *Aşkî* wrote around twenty *kasidas* for *Fatih*. *Sehî* states that besides being close to the sultan the poet was noteworthy with his mastery on poetic rules, beauty of his *ghazels*. He also states *Aşkî's* style did not affect the following periods. *Lattîfi*, *Hasan Çelebi* and *Aşık Çelebi* considered his poems 'not so tasteful' and valuable and famous. He was famous because of his closeness with *Mehmed II*.

It is not correct to compare *Aşkî* with the leading poets of the era or Turkish literature in general within the framework of the art concept of 16th century. We should consider him a successful poet of his age. We should also consider the conquerer of Istanbul within the same framework. We should keep in mind that Mehmed II had ordered poets like *Kabûlî* to write *nazires* to *Ahmed Paşa's* and *Aşkî's* *ghazels*. We should consider that the poetic and artistic taste of 16th century poets were shaped by Mehmed II and the poets around him.

Another poet who is well known for his closeness to *Fatih* and who wrote a *kasida* for *Fatih* is *Ulvî*. The poet was affiliated with *Murad II* at first and later on, he came to Mehmed II. He was appreciated and praised by the sultan. He differs from the other poets around *Fatih* since he has a mystical side.

Melihi, who is superior with respect to aesthetic and eloquence, is the teacher of *Ahmed Paşa*. He was introduced to Mehmed II by *Ahmed Paşa*. *Fatih* showed interest to him and enjoyed his conversation. *Melihi*, who wrote poems with a clear, understandable and beautiful Turkish, was an eloquent and witty poet. The poems of *Melihi*, who was a master of poetry techniques and the science of poetry, have been renowned and *nazires* has been written for his poems. However, he does not have many poems. Moreover, many classical Ottoman poets wrote *nazires* to his poems.

Despite all his positive qualities, he is excessively found of liquor. He gave himself to drinking (wine) and he was expelled from the palace and the sultan's service. Even though Mehmed II forbade him to drink, he could not stop his addiction to wine. The scarcity of his poems may be because of this.

Mehmed II showed interest in the poets who are not from Ottoman lands. *Hâmîdî of Isfahan* is one of these poets. *Hâmîdî* first lived in *Kastamonu* and *Bursa*. Later on, he came to Istanbul and was introduced to the sultan. The poet acted as a *nedim* of Mehmed II and he was appreciated by him. He submitted *kasidas* and various poems (*manzume*) to him. He copied and translated books for the sultan's library.

Hâmîdî stayed in Mehmed II's palace for twenty years but he offended the sultan as he found the gifts



Fatih Sultan Mehmed

Mehmed II

he was given worthless. As a result, he was expelled from the palace to Bursa.

Another poet who lived in Mehmed II's palace is Kabûlî (d.1478) of Şirvan. The poet first came to Amasya and Bayezîd enjoyed his company so he stayed with him as musahip and nedim. Kabûlî was admitted to the Ottoman palace with the help of a poem he sent to Mehmed II. He attended gatherings of the sultan and went on military campaigns. On the order of the sultan, he wrote nazîres to Aşki's and Ahmed Paşa's poems. He submitted poems to the important statesmen. However, after seven years he was expelled from the palace.

Leâlî is another character who draw attention in Mehmed II's period. He gained a place in the palace pretending he is Persian. The poet who is from Tokat in reality went to Iran to receive education; he attended Molla Câmî's gatherings and conveyed Molla's regards to the sultan. The sultan behaved friendly to him, gave him a tekke and bestowed him gifts. Nonetheless, when they found out he is not Persian indeed, the tekke was taken back and he was sent away from the presence of the sultan. Leâlî has Arabic and Persian poems.

Nizâmî of Karaman lived during the reign of Mehmed II. He was born in Konya between 1435 and 1440. His poems tell us although he was young he was well educated and cultured. He received basic education from his father and he belonged to a learned family. His father was one of professors (müderris) Konya Molla Veliyüddin. Nizâmî learned Persian and the science of poetics and literature in Iran. The poet returned to Konya while İbrahim Bey was the ruler of the Karamans and he submitted kasidas to Karaman rulers İbrahim Bey and Pir Ahmed Bey. He was appreciated and protected by Mahmud Paşa and he was introduced to Mehmed II. Mehmed II heard about Nizâmî and summoned him to İstanbul. However, the poet died on the way to İstanbul when he was around 30-35.

Nizâmî, who was very well known and loved in his time, was considered superior to Ahmed paşa at certain points. That Latîfî praised Nizâmî shows that his work was appreciated in 16th century. Nizâmî borrowed meanings and dreams from the Persian poets and wrote nazîres and tahmises to Hafîz's ghazels. He is an important figure of the nazîre trend that started during Mehmed II's reign.

Nizâmî wrote poems in three languages. Although he has Turkish and Persian poems, his Arabic poems could not be obtained. In his poems, he talks about the life in the era he lived and the society's way of life. He has lines and couplets that remind of folk literature. Moreover, he has the perfection of harmony, the power of expressions and mastery of meter. The poet, who uses clear expression, is noteworthy because of his style that makes use of syllable repetitions, puns and allegories. In Nizâmî's poems, the appearance is more prominent. He has the ability to cover the flaws in his poems with the figures of speech

and puns. He tries sometimes to get rid of mazmuns, uses everyday language and cites traditions. because of all these features Nizami Divanı has an important place in the Turkish Language History.

Another poet of the Mehmed II era is Sarıca Kemal who died in 1483. The poet who was from the Bergama town of Saruhan state was patronized by Mahmud Paşa. Being one of the prominent poets of the period, Sarıca Kemal was known as the teacher and companion (musahip) of Mahmud Paşa according to Latîfî and Paşa's companion and his children's teacher according to Sehit and Aşık Çelebi. There are two copies of his divan.

He also translated Tarihü'l-Mu'cem fi Asâr-i Mulûkû'l-Acem written by Fazlullah b. Abdullah'ın in 12th century (hegira calendar) with the name Belâgatnâme. The investigations showed that the Selâtin-nâme, which is thought to be written by Sarıca Kemal was in fact written by another Kemal. Selâtin-nâme was submitted to Beyazîd II in 1490. However, Kemal-i Zerdi was already dead by then.

There are women poets in Mehmed II's era as well. One of them is Zeyneb Hatun (d.474). His father is some Mehmed of Amasya. Zeyneb Hatun learned Arabic and Persian from her father at first. Although her poems were included in tezkires, the divan, which she is said to have prepared, could not be found. Her poems have a harmony based on Şeyhî. Another woman poet who lived after Zeynep Hatun is Mihri Hatun (d.1506).

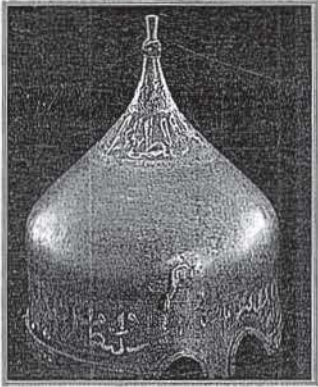
In Mehmed II's era, there were poets among the tradesmen as well. Hufî the shoemaker is among them. Latîfî mentioned him as 'without books and notebooks he became a mufti and a scholar' and he had a very strong memory. Upon hearing his fame, Mehmed II invited him to the palace, listened to his poems and bestowed him gifts. Hufî who is admired by Mehmed II and whose poems we come across in nazîre magazines is told to have a divan. He had lovely ghazels describing the beloved.

Another poet who caught Mehmed II's attention is Fenâyi. The simple ghazels he wrote for the beloved are worth attention. The poets of the era mentioned him in their poems.

The reign of Mehmed II is the first era that poetry was given real value. It is only natural since not only Mehmed II but also his sons Cem and Bayezid were poets. However, the most productive of these three was Cem.

Cem had started receiving education at a very early age and he had been raised using the best opportunities of that era. He had further education in his Konya years and chose his treasury officials, marksmen among those who are interested in literature and poetry with a refined taste. Târâbî was Cem's tutor and Sâdî was his marksman. Şâhidî and Haydar served him as treasury official. Besides these poets Kandî, La'î, Şâhidî, Şerîf-i Amidî and Aynî were also around Cem.

Cem who wrote Persian poems also had kasidas



XV.yy Miğfer

XVth century helm

and ghazels. Cem's poetry reflects the life he leads. Themes of his poems include the beloved, longing and begging besides submitting to the God. He does not write *mersiyes* from a distance.

Cem wrote ghazels, *mesnevis* and *muammas*. Besides his Turkish *divan* he also has a Persian *divan*. However, his Persian *divan* had been included at the start of his Turkish *divan*. This *divan* is kept at the Bursa Public Library. His Turkish *divan* includes 11 *kasida*, 348 *ghazel*, 1 *rubai*, 42 *muamma* and 19 *müfredat*.

Cemşid ü Hurşid: Cem wrote this *mesnevi* at the age of 19 and submitted it to his father Mehmed II. It is the translation of *Selmân-i Savecti's* *mesnevi*. Translating this work, Cem showed his mastery of Persian. This *mesnevi*, which is in fact named *Âyât-ı Uşşâk* and made up of 5374 couplets, is more than a simple translation. We must note that the translation is much more richer when compared to *Selmân's* original work. Most of the *ghazels* included in the work also appear in *Cem Divanı*.

Aynî of Karaman is one of the most important poets who has a *divan* and who is famous for his closeness with Cem. He is from *Tirmiz* originally. He first came to the *Karaman* land and then moved to *Kastamonu* which was one of the leading science and culture centers of the time. The poet had tutored Cem and receives his attention and thus he could not be separated from the *shazadah*. He went to *Karaman* with Cem. *Aynî* cites his love and happiness and the days he spent in *Kastamonu* and *Sinop* in the following separation poem. He is a poet who speaks Arabic and Persian fluently and who writes poems in three languages. We should also note that he was interested in logic, astronomy and onomancy. *Aynî* also talked about *Sultan Kasım* in his poetry and received his attention. He submitted *kasidas* to him and wrote a *mersiye* upon his death. *Aynî of Karaman* who talks about Cem very frequently in his poetry, follows him very closely and cries for his bad fortune.

Aynî's only work that remains is his *divan*. The *kasida* and *musammât* part includes 58 and *ghazeliyat* part includes 512 *manzumes*. After *Ahmedi's* *divan*, this work is the largest *divan* written in 15th century. His *divan* includes Arabic and Persian poems. Moreover, the part following the *ghazels* looks like a *muamma* book. The poet wrote 136 *muammas* in this part. 6 of these *muammas* are Arabic, 103 are Persian and 27 are Turkish. Except these, if we consider the *Cifrnâme* that is within the *kasida* and *musammâts* as a separate work, we can assume *Aynî* has three works: *Divanı*, *Muamma* and *Cifrnâme*. However, all these works are included in the *Divanı*.

We know that Cem has written 41 *muammas*. If we consider Turkish literature within this respect and leave out the poets who write in Eastern Turkish, we can claim that *Cem Sultan* and *Aynî of Karaman* were the first poets to handle this type of poetry seriously. *Aynî* included social events in his *divan* as well. He most frequently mentioned events related to Cem.

Aynî talks within the measures of the old poetry.

Aynî who writes in Old Anatolian Turkish used an understandable, clear and plain language. He uses only a few Persian phrases in his *ghazels* and some of his *kasidas*. These phrases are usually understandable to the lay people. He also used the language of the *Karaman* area. When this aspect of the work is considered, the importance of the work with respect to Turkish language history would easily be understood.

Türâbî: This poet who was the tutor of Cem was a virtuous, mature and wise person. He lived in *Istanbul* and made his living with the money supplied by the state. *Türâbî* was a dervish-like person and he gave advice to the people on *Fridays* and enlightened them.

There are poets who did not abandon *Sultan Cem* and lived with him in the foreign land until the end of their lives. *Haydar*, *Kandı*, *La'li* and *Şehâyi* are among those. *Haydar* was a poet who was initially *Cem's* treasury official in *Konya*. He was *Cem's* confidant and *nedim* and he never left Cem. He is one of the 30 people who attended Cem when he sought refuge with the *Rhodes Knights*. This poet who was with Cem all through the *shazada's* adventurous life, fetched his belonging, his monkey and his parrot back to *Istanbul*. He even painted the white parrot Cem liked very much into black and handed it to *Bayezid* along with Cem's other possessions. *Bayezid II* like the words 'el-hükümü li'llah pâyendebâd ömr-i pâdişâh' taught to the parrot by *Haydar* and he bestowed *Haydar* a *zeamet* (a large *timar*) in *Germiyan*. *Haydar* wrote *kasidas* for *Bayezid II* as well.

Kandı died in foreign lands. *Sa'dî-i Sirozî* is also one of the poets who is close to Cem and who went to foreign lands with him. *Sa'dî of Siroz* had forward-looking actions. He came to *Istanbul* from Europe in the disguise of a beggar and met some people. The letters he was carrying when he was caught made the sultan angry and he was thrown to the *Bosphorus* from the *Galata* strait and drowned. The poet who was Cem's marksman was a master of poetry. His poems were included in magazines like *Camî'n-Nezâir* and he had a very clear and smooth style.

Şâhidî is one of Cem's poets. There is no information about his life. He wrote the *mesnevi* known as *Gülşen-i Uşşâk* or *Mecnûn u Leylâ* in 1478 for *Cem Sultan*. This work is known to be the first work that handles the *Leylâ ile Mecnûn* tale as the main theme all by itself. While writing this work *Şâhidî* made use of the Persian artists *Nizâmî's* and *Hüsrevî's* work. The work is important with respect to language history.

Beside *Cemâli's* *Hümâ ve Hümâyün* (*Gülşen-i Uşşâk*), and *Miftâhü'l-Ferec*, *Aşkî's* *Hest Peyker*, *Cem Sultan's* *Cemşid ü Hurşid* and *Şâhidî's* *Gülşen-i Uşşâk* (*Mecnûn u Leylâ*, many *mesnevis* with historical, religious and other various themes were written in this era.

The most important history work written in



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Mehmed II's era is Enveri's *Düstürnâme*. Envert lived during Mehmed II's and Bayezid II's reign. His work shows that he was well educated. He attended Wallachia, Bosnia and Mitylene campaigns with Mahmut Paşa. The finished his *Düstürnâme* in 1465 and submitted it to Mahmut Paşa. Although his *Tefferrücnâme*, which he had written for Mehmed II has been mentioned, this work has not been found yet.

Düstürnâme, which is written in the form of a *mesnevi* is written in verse. It is made up of three chapters. First chapter is about the time before the Anatolian *Begliks* were founded. In this part, the poet provides information about the prophets, Persian rulers, Ghaznavids, Seljuks, Khwarazmshahs and Mongolians. In the second part, he cites the history of *Aydınogullari*. The last part is about the Ottomans.

In Mehmed II's era, there were *mesnevis* which have Sufist themes as well. *Vahdetnâme* written by Abdurrahim Karahisârî is one of the most important samples. He is from a famous family named *Mısıroğlu* of *Afyon*. The vaqfs his father *Mevlânâ Alaaddin* founded in *Afyon* existed in and around *Afyon* for a long time. Abdurrahim Karahisârî became famous since he was the successor of *Akşemseddin* and since he was raised by *Akşemseddin*. He spent most of his life beside *Akşemseddin*. He attended the Istanbul campaign in 1453 and after *Aşemseddin* and Mehmed II had disagreements, he went back to his hometown. Abdurrahim Karahisârî who lived in *Iznik* and *Göynük* for a while, died after 1483.

He was considered to be one of the *walis* (holy men) of *Afyon* and he was not forgotten by the people. He was an scholar, wiseman, writer and poet who served in the way *Akşemseddin* indicated and who enlightened his readers and listeners with his work. He wrote *Vahdetnâme* because of his love for *Akşemseddin*.

He has four works. His *Risâle fî-Esrâti's-Sâ'ati* is in Arabic. He wrote *Münyetü'l-Ebrâr* because of *Akşemseddin's* wish. *Tercüme-i Kasîde-i Bürde* is a *manzume* in verse which praises the prophet.

Vahdetnâme is one of the *mesnevis* of Mehmed II era. It is made up of 4267 couplets and it talks about Islamic mysticism. It starts out talking about the God and the prophets, then the value, importance and the essence of Islam are mentioned. Meanwhile, stories appropriate to the issues are also cited. Written in 1461, the work was submitted to the Grand Vizier Mahmud Paşa. It is taught to be under the influence of *Garîb-nâme* however, although it resembles *Aşık Paşa's* work with respect to rhyme, its arrangement and order is not similar to the work mentioned. The poet talks about *Akşemseddin* and himself and provides the features of his work. The work has a fluent style. *Karahisârî* is a master of Turkish both in poetry and in prose. As an open-minded poet and writer with a rich vocabulary, he wrote the best samples of Old Anatolian Turkish. Even in the didactic parts of his work we see the fluency of his language. Altho-

ugh he uses Arabic and Persian words, he rarely uses foreign phrases. Because of this characteristic, the work has a very special place within Turkish language history.

In Mehmed II's era, some poets who followed Süleyman Çelebi and who produced similar works also lived. One of the most important of these poets is Poet Ahmet. There is little information about Ahmed who was a *mevlid* writer. In fact, many *mevlit* writers' personality has been shadowed by Süleyman Çelebi. Ahmed is also among them. However, Ahmed, who used repetition and addressing in his work, has been included into the *Mevlid* with his strong style. People added his words to Süleyman Çelebi's *Mevlid*. We can say this is due to Ahmed's original usages or Süleyman Çelebi's marking. The poet uses some lyricist elements in his poems and 'merhaba' part of his work shows this very well. Ahmed wrote his work in 1468. *Kerîmî* in 1458, *Sinanoglu* and *Hocaoglu* in 1478 and *Halil* in 1491 were the poets who wrote *mevlids*. *Akşemseddinzâde Hamdullah Hamdi* followed these poets. We also come across another poet, Ahmedî, who translated *Attar's Esrâr-nâme* into Turkish. Ahmedî wrote this *mesnevi* in 1479.

Muhammediye, one of the most important works of Turkish literature of the period between Mehmed II's enthronement and 1451, had been finished in 1449. The work that was written in three years and its poet was appreciated and respected.

At the beginning of his *mesnevi*, *Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed* (d.1453) wrote *tevhids* and *medhiyes* (laudatory poems) and used the *kasida* style in these poems. However, the speciality of *Muhammediye* is that it has an air of praise and *münâcât* all through. In this work, the poet is not concerned for art and does not claim he is a good poet. *Muhammediye* is treasure for Turkish language. The author uses the daily language in his own style.

In *Muhammediye* the highest degree of 'poeticness' and harmony is observed in *münacaats* and praises. There are some vivid and colourful descriptions. The poet uses different meters while citing different events. This proves his mastery of the meters and provides his easy-going citation style. Another characteristic of *Muhammediye's* the poet is that he had hidden some of Sufists features behind simple words. However, he never violates the lines of sharia believing it would be inappropriate. Moreover, he uses old poetry *mazmuns* and vocabulary skillfully. *Muhammediye* has played an important role in Turkish people's life and has been read for centuries.

Another *mesnevi* written in the year *Muhammediye* was written is *Ravza-i Envâr*. The *mesnevi* written by *Çelebizâde Mevlânâ Derviş Mehmed Efendi's*, or with his pseudonym *Derviş Hayalî's*, is noteworthy with respect to its expressions. The poet cites his own name in his work from time to time. We have to mention Mehmed b. *Sinaneddin's Delîl'l-İbâd* written in 1481 as one of the *mesnevis* written in



Pirî Esnaf, Usta, Tulumbacı

Artisans Master, fireman

Mehmed II's era and had religious themes.

Besides these mesnevi's Halilî's *Furkatnâme* has a special place within that era. Halilî (d.1485) is originally from Diyarbakır and he received his education in Iran. The poet who came from Iran in the first days of Mehmed II's reign, wrote *Furkatnâme* in 1471. His *divan* style works are under the influence of Nesîmî.

In his work, he cites a love story he lived. The work had been written with artistic concerns. Although it is a mesnevi it includes some ghazels. The stories are told in the form of letters between the lover and the beloved. The letter style has a very important role in the expression. The work is noteworthy with this respect. In *Furkatnâme*, the events experienced by the poet had been cited in a half mystical half romantic atmosphere. With this respect, the work reminds us of a Sufist, mystical love as well. Moreover, the poet's being affected by Nesîmî and his being in the middle of the path to Fuzûlî, his expressions and sincerity are also noteworthy.

Although İbrahim b. Bali, who lived in the end of Mehmed II's reign, wrote *Hikmetnâme* in 1487, he had been raised in Mehmed II's age. With its 13000 couplets, *Hikmetnâme* is a didactic work. Along with the places he had visited, the poet uses the genesis, the nature and history of the prophets as theme. The work has a very clear language.

Akşemseddinzâde Hamdullah Hamdî has a special place among these poets. In that period, the mesnevis that attract most attention had been written by him. Except having a *divan*, Hamdullah Hamdî (1449-1503) is the author of mesnevis named Ahmediye, Mevlid, Yusuf u Zeliha, Leylâ ve Mecnûn, Tuhfetü'l- Uşşâk, Kıyâfet-nâme and Pendnâme. Şeyh Baba Yusuf Sivrihisari, who is Akşemseddin's student, is one of the mesnevi writers of this intermediary period. He was born in Sivrihisar in 1430's. According to the information evliya Çelebi provided, he was one of the sheiks of Bayezid II and a successor of Akşemseddin. He stayed in İstanbul after he received education and he attended the opening ceremony of Bayezid mosque. What is more, Bayezid II assigned him as the first Friday and imam seat preacher. Şeyh Baba Yusuf Sivrihisari, who lived his childhood during Murad II's reign, his adulthood during Mehmed II's reign and his old age during Bayezid II's reign, died in 1511-1512.

Sivrihisari has four works named *Divan*, *Risâletü'n-Nürîyye*, *Tefsir* and *Mevhûb-ı Mahbûb*. His *Divan* and his *Mevhûb-ı Mahbûb* mesnevi are noteworthy. He uses the pseudonyms Şeyhoğlu and bn Seyhî. Because of that he has been confused with Şeyhoğlu Mustafa who lived in Bayezid I's era and who is the writer of *Kenzü'l-Kübera*. However, he died a full century after Şeyhoğlu Mustafa. He completed his mesnevi in 913/1507-8 and the poet was a spiritually rich sheikh. He uses Arabic and Persian couplets in his work. His mesnevi is important with respect to the advice it gives. He sometimes gives ad-

vice to the sultan and criticizes the sheiks of the era. He provides information about being a dervish. He talks about the prophet and his wars, the mirac and other issues related to religion.

In Mehmed II's era, besides these poets, there were some poets who are involved with the people and who are concerned with the education of the lay people. There were poets who followed the line of Emir Sultan (d.1429), Hacı Bayram Velî (d.1429/1430) and Kaygusuz Abdal (d.1444) who lived during Murad II's reign. Among these poets there were some who are still loved by the Turkish people and known to be *walis*. Akşemseddin (1389-1459) is one of the most important of these poets.

Akşemseddin, who is a scion of the first caliph Ebubekir, is the son of Şeyh Hamza. He came and settled down in Kavak town of Amasya with his family at the age of seven. After he has finished his education, he became a scholar at the *Osmancık Medrese*. He was taught about Sufism first by Zeyneddin-i Hafî, who lived in Aleppo, then by Hacı Bayram Velî. With the order of his mentor, he went to *Beypazarı* and then to *Göynük* to illuminate people. He took Hacı Bayram Velî's place after his death. He died in 1459 and he is buried in *Göynük*.

Since Hacı Bayram Velî was close to the sultan, he also got in touch with Murad II. He tutored Mehmed II and prepared him for the conquest of İstanbul. He attended the siege of İstanbul and acted as the morale supporter of the army. He found out the grave of Abu Ayyub-ı Ansârî. He delivered the first *khutba* in Hagia Sophia. Then he returned to *Göynük*. *Risâletü'n-Nürîyye*, *Def'-i Matâin*, *Risâle-i Zikrullah*, *Risâle-i Şerh-i Akvâl-i Hacı Bayram Velî*, *Telhis-i Def'-i Matâin* and *Makamât-ı Evliyâ* are the works he wrote.

Akşemseddin was a scholar who had deep knowledge of literature and science. He was educated at the sciences of the time and he had considerable knowledge of medicine as well. His *tariqa* had been continued by his students after his death and the hymns he had sung were appreciated and they were sang in the dervish lodges. In his poems, he not only talks about love and heart but also gives advices from time to time. We also come across poems he talks about Sufism and his sheik.

Abdurrahim-i Rûmî is another poet of the era. He is the son of Merzifon commander Saru Danişmend Emir Azîz Efendi who is one of the prominent figures of Zeyniyye *tariqa*. He was born in 1400's and received his education in Amasya. He is Akşemseddin's classmate. He became a scholar and taught at *Osmancık Medrese*. As he wished to educate himself with respect to Sufism, he became a follower of Zeyneddin-i Hafî. He went to Heart and he came to the Haf town near Heart with his mentor. Taking his mentor's permission he settled in Merzifon and gave lectures at Çelebi Mehmed medrese. The most important work of Abdurrahim-i Rûmî who passed away in 1460 is his *divan* *Aşknâme*. In his poems he



Sol Haseki, Çuhadar, Bölük Ağası

Left Veteran, Footman, Company Commander

talked about divine love, the ephemerality of the time, taking chances, forswearing (committing sins) and advices. He has books such as *İrşādü'l-Enâm*, *Divânçe-i İllâhiyyât* and *Minhâcü'l-İrşâd*.

Eşrefoğlu Râmî (1353?-1469) is known for his Yunus style poems and he is noteworthy for his hymns. Eşrefoğlu Râmî who is said to be a scion of the prophet is born in İznik. He received his earlier education in his hometown. Then he went to Bursa Çelebi Mehmed medrese. He became a follower of Hacı Bayram-ı Velî. He served him for 11 years and became a imam of the dervish lodge. He married his mentor's daughter. He came to İznik to spread his *tariqa*. When he came across some obstacles, he went to Hama to see Hüseyin Hamavî. He carried out çile and returned to İznik to understand the Kadiri *Tariqa*. Eventually he founded the Eşrefiye branch of this *tariqa*. He lived a long life. Eşrefoğlu Râmî who died in 1469 is buried in İznik. He wrote poems and the famous work of Sufism *Müzekki'n-Nüfûs*. He used a clear, understandable Turkish in his works. He holds an important place in the Turkish language history because of this characteristic. He used syllabic meter and aruz meter in his poems. *Müzekki'n-Nüfûs*, which is written with a sincere and clear language, is a very important work with respect to religious Sufism terms. The work is mostly didactic with the advice he gives.

Another student of Akşemseddin, İbrahim Tennârî (d.1482), is also one of the Sufist poets of the era. He wrote his *Gülzâr-ı Ma'nevî* with the encouragement of Akşemseddin. The work has its roots in Mevlânâ's *Mesnevî*. However, it also includes information about worshipping, application and ethics. He has other poems as well.

The real name of Kemal Ümmî, who is one of the divan owner poets of the era, is İsmail. He was born in Niğde at the beginning of 15th century. He wrote *kasidas*, *ghazels* and *mesnevîs*. He was famous for his hymns and he was known not only in Anatolia but also among the Crimean, Kazan, Başkurt and Uzbek Turks. As a result, he has many offices in various places. The poet, who died in 1475, has sent an example for those who lived after him with respect to 'tekke' poetry. He has many poems in which he talks about the love of God, ephemerality of the world, worshipping and ethics and advice. He gathered his poems in his *Divan*. Moreover, he has a work, *Kırk Armağan*, which is more didactic. He used clear, understandable, everyday language in his poems. Thus, he has a lively and attractive style.

Dede Ömer Rüşenî is one of the tekke poets who lived in Mehmed II's era. He was called Rüşenî since he is from the Rüşenî village of Türe. He started receiving education in his hometown. He went to Bursa. After graduating, he became a scholar (*müderris*). He went to Karaman and Baku. He joined the Halvetî *tariqa*. He passed away in 1487 in Tebriz. His path in Halvetî *tariqa* continued as Rüşenî *tariqa*.

After he joined the *tariqa* Ömer Rüşenî's poems,

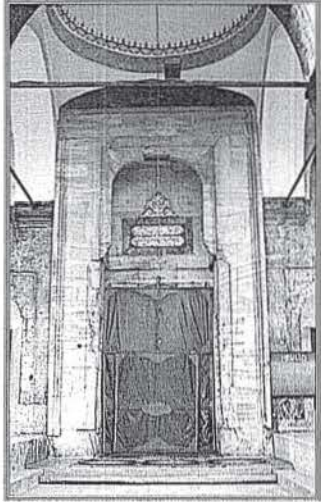
which were lover-like and close to satire, became more religious and Sufist. He has a *Divan* of middle length. He has *mesnevîs* named *Neynâme*, *Miskinnâme*, *Silsilenâme*, *Çobannâme*, *Kalemnâme* and *Kissanâme*. He has a clear language and a fluent style.

The religious and Sufist literature works of Mehmed II's era continued with poets like Muhiddin Dolu (1426-1495), Cemâl-i Halvetî (d.1496) at the beginning of Bayezid II's reign. At the end of this overview, while we analyze the Turkish language and literature during Mehmed II's era, we must note his fondness of science and art and that he is the first Ottoman sultan or shahadah who has a *divan* and who uses a pseudonym. These facts underlie the scientific and literary activeness of his era.

Turkish is seen as a language that produced works in two big branches. In Ottoman and Azeri world the Western Turkish is used. In Chagatai region which is represented by Samarqand, where Timur and his scions reign, and Heart, the Eastern Turkish is used. The century in question is the last century of Middle Turkish which started in 11th cc. Until this period, Turkish is divided into North-eastern Turkish, Northern Turkish and Eastern Turkish which lived parallel to Western Turkish. Northern Turkish was used in work created in Egypt. However, after 14th century, the Northern Turkish, which is also known as Kipchak Turkish, has gradually been replaced with Western Turkish and all the differences disappear by the time of Mehmed II's reign. During Mehmed II's reign, in Egypt Kayıtbay, in Herat Hüseyin Baykara and in Istanbul Mehmed II, all of which are poet sultan's, were in power. The language used in the works created in Egypt and Istanbul were the same. The works written in the Eastern Turkish has been affected by the Western Turkish. However, the influence of Western Turkish over Eastern Turkish, which is developed carrying some features of Old Turkish and which is open to language elements, has been minimized while it is transformed into Chagatai Turkish, a process that is started with Nevâî. Despite this fact the relation between western and eastern Turks has never been broken. The poets and writes of both regions visited each other and presented their poems in literary gatherings. Moreover, the poets in Istanbul and other culture centers wrote *ghazels* in Chagatai Turkish for their *divans* and thus indicated the value they give to the cultural relationship and the Nevâî language.

This era is the last century of the Middle Turkish period. All works, whether literary or not, are a part of this era. Dictionaries, historical and religious works are very important for Turkish language history. Moreover, the works of Lutfî and Ali Şir Nevâî is important for this period of Turkish. It is also noteworthy that the classical Chagatai literature started out with Lutfî and reached an apex with Nevâî.

The same holds for the Ottoman Turks as well. We come across important cultural activities during



Murad Paşa Camii, (Istanbul)

Murad Paşa Mosque, (Istanbul)

Murad II's reign. Murad II was a supporter of 'Turkishism' and his wish related to writing with a clear, understandable language prevailed during Mehmed II's reign as well. The works of the era used non-ornamented and conversation language based expressions. However, in Mehmed II's era the prose style was majestic and imposing. Many words are borrowed from especially Arabic and Persian and certain grammar elements are used frequently. As result, people like Kivâmi, Tursun Beg and Sinan Paşa, who grew up during Mehmed II's reign and created work during Bayezid II's reign used methods similar to the prose style. Sinan Paşa and Tursun Beg were the pioneers of ornamented prose.

The literature activities of Mehmed II's era continued vividly in Istanbul around the sultan and the viziers. The sultan's fondness of science, art and poetry increased his attention towards poets. Mehmed II who talked to poets one by one and who invited them to his gatherings not only showed interest to the poets who are close to him but also to those who are far away. There are poets like Nizâmî of Karaman who passed away on their way to Istanbul when they are invited by the sultan. Mahmud Paşa and Karamanî Mehmed Paşa, Mehmed II's viziers, are also poets. Mahmud Pasha, who uses the pseudonym Adnî, has a divan. Mehmed Pasha used the pseudonym Nişânî. Cemâlî came to Istanbul after the conquest. The most important poet of the era is Ahmed Pasha. Melihî is noteworthy for his poems especially for his murabba that ha the redif 'gönül'. Aşkî is the poet who wrote the most kasidas to Mehmed II.

As a result of this literary liveliness in the palace,

Total Analysis Of Cultural And Aesthetic Elements In Fatih (Avni) Divanı

Mehmed II who lead the 'great conquest' which started one of the most important transformations in history, was not only a powerful ruler, a major political genius, a potent strategist and a victorious commander but also an intellectual and a gifted poet who has been noted in the world of culture, art and literature. Mehmed II was a sultan who has been raised by the most prominent scientists, intellectuals and artist and who could speak many western and eastern languages fluently, who had profound knowledge of mathematics, exact sciences, philosophy and literature.

We come across information about poet identity of Mehmed II in the tezkire (documents) and nazire magazines (magazine for poems similar to those of famous poets) of that period. A copy of Divan-ı Sultan Mehmed, which includes some of poems written by Mehmed II has survived up to this date. This copy is the manuscript found by Ali Emîri Efendi and today, it is registered as No.305 in 'Hand Written Manuscripts Department' of Fatih Millet Library (Fatih Public Library). Ali Emîri Efendi copied

the shazadahs of Mehmed II are poets who have divans. Bayezid II used Adli pseudonym in his poems and produced a divan. Cem Sultan attracts attention with his cultural side even from his very early ages. When he was only 14, when his father was on a campaign against Uzun Hasan, he ordered Abulhayr-ı Râmî to collect the Saltuknâme stories and thus the important work came to being. He used the name Cem in his poems and translated the mesnevi 'Cemşid ü Hurşid'. When he was the Sancak Beg (the commander, ruler) of Kastamonu and Konya, he gathered poets around him and created a lively literature community, which is known as the Poets of Cem. These poets were loyal to Cem until the end of their lives. Aynî of Karaman, Sadî-i Cem, Tûrâbî, La'î, Kandî and Şâhidî are among these poets.

When Mehmed II passed away on 3 May 1481, Bayezid II kept on carrying out the literary activities within the palace. Bayezid II is a sultan who has a divan. However, he usually made people around him write poems. Tursun Beg wrote Tarih-i Ebu'l-Feth'i and Kivâmi'nin Fetih-nâme-i Sultan Mehmed upon the demand of Bayezid II.. Sinan Paşa produced his works in this era. The Bayezid II era is noteworthy for its mesnevis. Akşemşeddinzâde Hamdullah Hamdi and Şeyh Baba Yusuf Sivrihisari who lived in Mehmed II's era are the most important mesnevi writers of the period. Mystical Turkish Literature produced examples in Mehmed II's age with prominent figures. Akşemsetdin, Eşrefoğlu Râmî, Abdurrahim-i Rumî, İbrahim Tennârî, Kemal Ümmî and Dede Ömer Rüşenî are the most important poets of the era.



Fatih Sultan Mehmed

Mehmed II

the manuscript that is mostly formed of ghazels (odes) twice by its own handwriting and introduced the manuscript to others.

Dr. George Jacob is the first person to published some of Mehmed II's poems in a well-organized manner. The "Divan-ı Avni" published by Jacob in Berlin in 1904 is only a limited collection of ghazels. Most of the poems included in the book are poems Jacob copied from a handwritten magazine in Upsala Royal University Library and some others are from tezkires.

The second book related to the Mehmed II poems is "Fatih Divanı" prepared by Saffet Sıtkı (Bilmen) on the 500th anniversary of the Conquest and printed in 1944. This book is based on the copies prepared by Ali Emîri's using the manuscript in Millet Library.

The third Fatih Divanı publication is the book named "Fatih'in Şiirleri". This book is prepared by Kemal Edip Ünsel (Kürkçüoğlu) again on the 500th anniversary of the conquest. It is published in 1946 by Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish History Institution) and is totally based on Ali Emîri's copy. This latter

publication consists of 87 poems (10 of which are not included in Ali Emiri's copy) and is the most reliable publication with its transcriptions and the facsimile of Ali Emiri's manuscript.

The total analysis on the cultural and aesthetic elements of Fatih Divanı we put forward in this work is based on the text, which included the transcription, published by Kemal Edip Ünsel.

The cultural, poetic and aesthetic elements in Fatih Divanı that included 425-450 couplets will be handled in eight main chapters under fifty-nine headings. The couplets are analyzed with respect to the historical, cultural, religious, mysticism, scientific and aesthetic values that fed the Turkish literature.

The numbers of these couplets are recorded along with the number of ghazels that contain them (i.e. for the fourth couplet in the twenty-ninth ghazel the record is shown as g.29/4; for the fifth couplet of the fifty-sixth ghazel it is shown as and sometimes these couplets are shown within the text.

If the whole article is examined carefully, the reader will have the chance to glimpse at the colorful thought, culture and aesthetic world of Mehmed II, who is not only a mighty ruler but also a prominent artist. Such an attempt will also allow the reader to get to know the classical Turkish literature system in an intense manner.

Cosmic Elements

The sky (çarh-i mualla, künbed-i hadra)

In Avnî Divanı two figures of speech related to sky are used. In the first one the parallelism is formed between the sky and a wine bubble.

The second figure of speech related to the sky is contained in the first couplet of the first ghazel. Here, the sky is defined as a person who watches the world with a thousand eyes.

The Sun and the Moon (Afitab u mah)

The lover is as beautiful as a fairy. Because of her unique beauty, the prices on the love market have raised. The lover is so beautiful that on the love market, the price of this beauty can only be paid by the sun and moon.

Universe and world

Three figures of speech are used with relation to the mortal life. In one of these, the universe is described as a vineyard (or a garden). The universe is like a very big garden which contain certain elements such as water, air, fields, and creatures living in them.

In the second figure of speech about the mortal life, the universe is described as the painter (miniaturist) Mani. The world is thought to resemble the painter Mani with the beauties he has created on earth.

Time

The concept of time is defined as an hag (old lady-zâl) since it is old and causes many unexpected problems and plays tricks on people. At the same time, Zâl is the father of Rustem and son of Sâm who is the hero of the Iranian Şehname. Since his eyebrows and eyelashes were white at birth, he was na-

med Zâl, which meant 'old lady'.

Person Types

In Avnî Divanı, we come across eight elements that symbolize positive or negative personalities. These are "love", "beloved", "lover/lover", "rival", "foe", "cupbearer", "apprentice to a barkeeper" and "bigot". We will group these elements as a. Lover, beloved b. Lover c. Rival, foe d. Cupbearer, apprentice to a bar keeper and e. Bigot and analyze them.

Love (beloved)

In the Divanı, the love (beloved) character has been defined in thirty two different ways. The figure of speech elements are used repetitiously in some of the couplets. According to Avnî, the beloved is like the prophet Salomon who sits on the throne of beauty. The lover is the dust and the soil on the road. Everybody passing by, walks over the soil. The lover is defined as something else as well: An ant. This figure of speech is used in order to denote the unique beauty and eminence of the beloved and the hopelessness, disarray and helplessness the lover feels since his beloved is ignorant of him. In the couplet, there is a reference to the Holy Koran's Nelm sura in which the story of Salomon the prophet, who can understand the birds' and all other animals' language, who talked to the ants and who was a mighty ruler, is told.

The coquettish cypress (beloved) who resembles moonlight in black is just like the sultan of Europe. In this couplet, the beloved who draws attention in her black dresses (or robes worn by Christians), looks like a cypress tree because of her posture. Later she is defined as the shining moonlight that lightens the dark sky and eventually all these features are thought to be belonging to the sultan of the Europe (or Galata); she is the Shah of Galata. In this couplet Avnî addresses himself and says: "O Avnî, do not think that your beloved will surrender to you easily. You are only the sultan of Istanbul, she is the Shah of Galata." The beloved one of the poet is living in Galata where the Christians live and because of her beauty, she is the sultan of Galata country. On the other hand, Avnî is the sultan of Istanbul. Of course, the beloved is considered more valuable than Avnî and Galata over which she rules, is more valuable than Istanbul, the beloved is sun-faced angel and the moon shining over the universe.

The lover (poet)

The lover character has been used eighteen times in definition in Avnî Divanı. (In some of these definitions, the poet talks about himself as the lover)

The lover drank the wine of love and started watching the universe. Love is an elixir that reminds people the reality of the materials and the reason for existence. A lover who drinks it up right, will be able to see the reality of everything.

The lover has shown his silver tears and gold-colored face to everyone and thus has been buried into the earth just like Karun who has boasted of his properties and buried into the earth by God because of that.

The lover is the sultan of love and his country is



Kariye Camii

Karie Mosque

the desert of sorrow. According to Avnî, the heart of the lover is ill because of love. The lover (Avnî) should not be worried for being crazy or complain about madness since by falling in love, he has voluntarily given himself over a beauty who has fairy blood. The lovers lost so much weight, got so ill because of the expectance for reunion and sorrow of separation that one can think they are almost dead.

The lover has grown so thin because of the pain, trouble and the sorrow of separation and almost turned to soil that, his heart is afraid to wail and cry thinking it would turn to dust. The lover who is miserable and wretched has been wondering around as a "mote" in an upset and confused manner. The lover is also a diver. He cries and wants the pearl of reunion. It is not surprising that he expects this kind of pearls from the sea that is made up of his tears.

Rival (foe)

The third character we come across in Avnî Divanı is the rival (foe). Everything that comes between the lover and the beloved are called 'the rival'. The rival (foe) can appear as the other lovers of the beloved one, the fate that impedes the reunion with the beloved or a person who guards the beloved one, who is as young as a kid, on the streets acting as a nanny. The character of rival and the foe (stranger) is always called bad names and insults in classical Turkish literature texts as he hinders the reunion of the lover and the beloved and he is always cursed.

Foe hurts the lover always in this way or that, makes him tired of living coming between him and his beloved. Thus, the foe looks like the Satan to the lover. The foe, just like an infidel swears to those who are in love with the face of the beloved.

Since the rival has been guarding the beloved's door as a (black) dog, he has become arrogant, and thinking himself as an important, prominent person, he scorned the lovers.

The lover has to fight with this rival bravely for the sake of the beloved one. If this filthy rival does not die just like a dog, the lover would lose the beloved one. However, the lover has been going through yearning and been burning with the fire of sorrow, he is almost dead and he became a part of the soil.

Cupbearer (The apprentice of the barkeeper)

The cupbearer and barkeeper's apprentice are characters we come across in Avnî Divanı. Cupbearer is the person who serves the wine goblet, the drink in the drinking party. Most of the time, the cupbearer is equal to the beloved one for the poet (the lover). The cupbearer intoxicates those at the drinking party with her beauty, posture, sweet talk and coquettish attitude. According to Avnî, the bar is a church and the cupbearer is the prominent figure of this church.

Bigot

Bigot is the name of one who does not look deep into the religious issues, who cannot grasp the truth about belief, who is insincere about the religious matters. In the Classical Ottoman poetry, bigot is always an opponent of the lover character, who is bohemian, as he denies the love. The bigot character

is mentioned only once in Avnî Divanı. According to Avnî, the bigot denies the ones who are in love with the face of the beloved and represent them as ones who are no longer believers of Islam.

Elements Related To The Beloved And The Lover

Nineteen elements related to the lover and the beloved characters has been defined in Avnî Divanı. These are listed as follows from top to down:

Height

Both the lover and the beloved are used in colorful figure of speech with respect to their various features such as swinging coquettishly or bending double (of the lover). In Avnî's poetry, the height of the lover and the beloved are mentioned as follows:

The beloved is tall and slender as a sapling; she is the sky-high cypress tree of the beauty garden. Beauty is honored and exalted by her height.

Forehead

The forehead, which is the upper part of the face, is defined as moonlight since it is white and brightness; the face resembles the moonlight shining in the dark sky.

The face of the beloved (cema) and the face of the lover

The beautiful woman Avnî has fallen in love with is such an angel with a white and bright face like the sun, she is loved by the whole world. (If we interpret the *âlem mahûdir*- she is the moon of the universe as *âlem onun mahûdir*- the universe is made up of her moon) all of the beautiful women (on earth) take their brightness from her and look dim like the moon when they are compared with her face's brightness. Avnî is the subject of such a beautiful sultan that the people of the whole world are beggars to her. This lover has such a unique beauty that her face is as bright, white and enlightened as the midmorning sun.

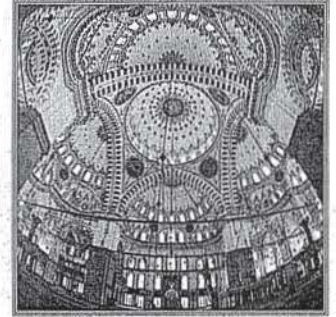
Another group of important elements among the aesthetic features in classical Turkish literature are dynasty, palace and issues related to palace. Mehmed II, who was one of the most mighty and powerful sultans of the Ottoman Dynasty, used these elements very successfully as well. In a couplet Avnî described the elements of the beloved's face beauty within the context of palace life and reflected the glorious feelings of a mighty sultan. Avnî used figures of speech about the face of the beloved within the context of palace and dynasty. In a couplet, Avnî draws a parallel between the (faded and hollow) face of the lover and a dry vineyard.

The beloved's cheek

Avnî, used the 'cheek of the beloved' in various figures of speech. These can be listed as follows:

The cheek is a rose since it is red, bright and beautiful. No red rose in the garden can be more beautiful than the cheek of the beloved; those who see her (eyes that are enchanted by coyness and) red cheeks feel the need to say to the beloved 'how two bunches of fresh roses suit your drunk eyes in this beauty gathering!'

Ruler side of Mehmed II also appears in descri-



Fatih Camii

Fatih Mosque

bing the cheeks of the beloved and he draws a magnificent view: The beloved's beauty has arrived as a sultan and sat back comfortably to the red satin throne decorated with jewels (fuzz and beauty spots) of her cheek. The eyebrows who are the door-men of the beauty sultan served her two musk-scented wine goblets.

Lover's sweat

For Avnî, the sweat dropping from the cheek of the beloved are like groups of stars that gather around the moon and beautify it.

The fine hair on the face of the beloved (calligraphy) and beauty spots (status)

The fuzz and beauty spots on the face completes the beauty of the face. These fuzz and beauty spots are used in many figures of speech with respect to their look on the face and their shapes. Avnî uses the following figures of speech with respect to the fuzz and beauty spots on the lover's face: The dark and sweet smelling beauty spots on the beloved's face which is surrounded by the curly hair of the beloved resemble bunches of black pepper blooms that grow on thin branches.

The eye of the lover and the beloved

The eye of the beloved is related to the infidelity concept due to its blackness, cruelty and its shedding blood and thus it is defined as infidel.

However, the eye of an infidel is as free as the sweet lips of the beloved are free to do what is worthy of them, that is the eye is free to hurt the beloved's heart or even to kill him. The lover is ready and even eager to accept anything the lover does to him.

Because of dark color, setting lover fighting and seducing of beloved's the eyes of are described as the source of mischief or sometimes even directly mischief itself. The heart of the lover has been caught by the mischief-maker eyes of the beloved like a mad person who has become a subject of gossip.

When the eyes of the beloved drunk with coyness and flirtatious air intends to tear bosoms with its furious gazes, the lovers start seeking medicine. The beloved's (black and mischief-maker) eyes look into Avnî's eyes with furious gazes and capture his land of heart like a brigand.

In the classical Ottoman poetry, the eye of the beloved is described as a gazelle since it does not submit easily, takes to fright even by the gazes and does not become friends with people. In Avnî Divanı, the eye of the beloved is handled within this thought frame: The lover, has ended up in desert with the desire of the gazelle eye of the beloved; just like the valuable musk that falls to the ground off the stomach of a gazelle, he has left his home and ended up in a far away place with the love of her curly, black hair and has.

As it was stated in the part about the beauty of the lover's face, all of the beauty elements have been described in conformity with the dynasty concept and all of the elements of face play a suitable role in this scene.

Avnî, the soul (life) bird of the lover, which burns

with the longing for the beloved and flutters in his cage with excite of reaching her, has been flying in the love and desire sky.

The tears of the lover

The tears of the lovers as an element of the eye and face, has been used in many beautiful figures of speech with respect to their brightness, consequent flow etc. The tears of the lover has been used in the following descriptions in Avnî Divanı:

Just like the Bedahşahan scarlet gets its brightness from the light of a star, the red lips of the beloved get refreshed with the tears of the lover. Although the lover makes his tears stars and his sigh the Milky Way, the moon-faced beloved does not treat him with love or kindness at all. Even though the lover (Avnî) spends the cash of tears in plenty, he feels he is deceived in this exchange since he cannot buy the reunion (commodity). The lover feels shame since he has shown everybody his silver tears and the gold of his yellow face; he feels he is like Karun (who has been buried down to earth by God since he boasted about his wealth) among the lovers. The lover sheds tears like April rain from his eyes that are like clouds and hopes to get near to the pearl teeth (to be recipient of the honors to see her smile or to kiss her).

Beloved's eyebrow

The eyebrow that is one of the beauty elements related to the beloved used in many figures of speech in classical poetry. Avnî Divanı includes many beautiful descriptions about the eyebrow that is one of the basic beauty elements with respect to its shape, color and place in the face.

In one couplet, the face of the beloved is defined as the day due to its whiteness and brightness; her hair is defined as the dark night with its blackness and curls.

In another couplet, the eyebrows of the beloved, is again defined as a violin. However, the word viola (keman) used in this couplet does not mean the bow shot by an arrow; it means the wine goblet (the word kemane also means the glass from which one drinks wine. See Burhan-i Kati). Avnî meant wine goblet when he used the word keman however he made a pun since the other meaning of the word is bow. Another figure of speech used related to the beloved's eyebrow is mihrab.

In a couplet, Avnî defines the eyebrow of the beloved as a sultan's signature. According to this, he thinks the poems about the sidelocks of the beloved as piles of paper and the sentences about the beauty of the eyebrows as sultan's signature.

In Avnî Divanı there is another interesting figure of speech used about the beloved's eyebrow which we come across very frequently in classical Ottoman poetry. The beloved has filled the daggers of her furious gaze into the pot of the eyebrows.

The eyelash of the lover and the beloved

The eyelash that completes the beauty of the eye which is the most meaningful organ on the face has been used in different and beautiful figures of speech with respect to both the beloved and the lover. Avnî



XVI.yy Osmanlı Otağı

XVth century Ottoman tent

describes the lover's and the beloved's eyelashes as follows:

The eyelashes of the lover are like the bits and pieces of wood that obstruct the river of tear that will reach and tell the beloved how the lover suffers for her love. When the eye of the beloved intends to shed blood (with its furious gaze) the lover tries to find a remedy thinking this is a sharp sword; when her bloody eyelashes intend to wound bosoms, the lover thins of them as fatal bayonets. The eyelashes of the beloved are sharp daggers. The infidel eyes of the beloved (drunk with the coyness wine), intends to shed the blood of Muslims holding the sword made of her lashes.

If the eyelash of the lover that resembles Moses kills the lover he will accept it and would never demand the lips of the beloved (which are like Jesus) to resurrect again.

The beloved's mouth and lips

Mouth and lips are two beauty elements that are used most frequently in the classical Ottoman poetry. In Avnî Divanı, the following figures of speech are used:

When one tries to describe the beloved's mouth, he could only talk about its smallness; when one wants to talk about her hair, he could only mention its length (reaching to her ankles).

The lover asked himself the taste he desired and understood the honey of lips of the beloved is ready in the beloved's beauty table.

As the furious glazes of this lover kills, her lips bring you back to life (like Jesus does). The face of the beloved is bariam crescent and sidelocks are Isra night. The ones who desire her lips do not talk about her cypress tree like height since those who value their own life stay away from temporary desires and whims.

The teeth of the beloved

In Avnî Divanı, the teeth of the beloved are described as pearls as common in the classical Ottoman literature. Just like an April cloud that creates bright pearls; the lover cries and shed tears with the hope that he will get close to the teeth of the beloved.

Again, in another couplet which refers to the legend that the pearl is made up of the April rain that floods into oysters in the depth of the sea and big rivers, the lover cries because of his admiration of the beloved's bright and beautiful teeth. His tears becomes and ocean.

The hair of the beloved (bangs, locks)

In classical Ottoman poetry, the hair of the beloved is one of the aesthetic elements used in texts. Hair has been used in colorful descriptions with its length, blackness, curly appearance and its relationship with the face, beauty spots on the face, the chin and lips. In Avnî Divanı, the hair (bangs, locks) has been used in the following descriptions:

Within the same framework, the locks of the beloved are the Night of Kadir; her eyebrows are bariam crescent; reunion with her is the bariam morning and separation from her is Ramadan (since you have to do without the delights of life) The whi-

te and bright face of the beloved is the day and her black hair locks are the night. The face of the beloved is the sultan of the land of beauty; the eyebrows are the doormen of this sultan, her eye is the executioner of the sultan who hurts the lovers with the sword of furious gaze and her curly, black locks are the guards of the beauty sultan. The black hair locks of the beloved are shining with the effect of her cheek. This resembles the illumination of gatherings and rooms at nights by bright candle.

The gaze of the beloved

The furious, indifferent, languishing gaze is one of the beauty elements that is most commonly used in classical literature. In Avnî Divanı, the gaze of the beloved, which is thought in relation with the eye, eyebrow, eyelashes and different characteristics of these, is described as follows:

The furious and languishing gaze of the beloved, which has incredible effects on the lover, resembles Moses' miraculous hand; her crimson lips are like Jesus' breath and they revive the dead heart of the lover. The bandit gaze that holds swords (of sharp gazes) and arrows (made of eyelashes) and pickpocket sidelock (that keep on robbing the heart and soul with its long hand) of the beloved are walking around to mob the city of his heart.

Like a city left in the dark of the night, the heart of the lover, which has been hooked to the sidelocks of the beloved, receives terrifying news from the satellite (herald) like gaze of the beloved. The beloved has filled the furious gaze lances to the eyebrow pot and getting ready to throw them. The heart of the lover is eager to be the target of these lances. The beloved not only stabs the lover with the dagger of separation but also throws him the lances of her furious gazes. To the lover, those lances feels sacred like soul. None can stand against (or afford to buy that precious) gaze sword of the beloved. However, the lover (Avnî) is a very eager buyer and wishes to buy that sword paying the worth with his life. The lover's bosom is burning with the fire of love and longing. The lover had slowed the river of his tears but could not quench the thirst.

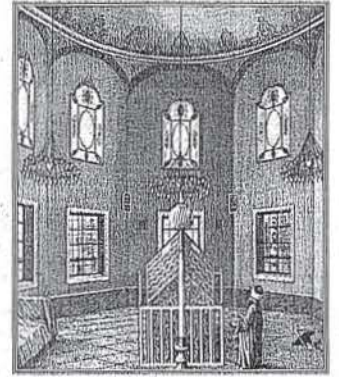
The dust of the beloved's path

According to Avnî, the dust on the beloved's path increase the light of lover's eyes (kohl) and endless torture she makes is what fills the heart with joy. All that the lover wishes is to reach the crimson lips of the lover (and thus revive); only worry of his eye is (to rub itself to) the dust of her feet (to be able to see everything). The dust of the beloved's feet is the crown of the lover (who is the sultan of the love country), the district of the beloved is his throne, Cemsid and Cem are jealous of the crown and the throne of the lover.

The place the beloved lives

The place where the beloved lives is used in many beautiful and meaningful figures of speech by the classical poets. Avnî defines the district (or village) of the beloved in poetry as follows:

As mentioned in the earlier article, the dust of the lover's feet is the crown of the lover (who is the



Fatih'in Türbesi

Tomb of Mehmed II

sultan of the love country) and the district of the beloved is his throne. The place the beloved stays is a rose garden; the lovers are the nightingale of this rose garden. The lover has turned the place the lover stays a garden of tulip with his blood tears; he turned that tulip garden into a bird garden with his cries and wails.

The lover's door

According to Avnî, the heart of the lover hopes to be able to reach the lover's door without losing his life. But this is impossible since the stingy will not be admitted to the paradise. If the lover finds the opportunity to live in the door of the beloved, he would feel as if he is living in the highest position in the sky.

The bosom of the lover

The rib cage of the body of the lover, who has lost weight with the pain of separation and longing, is protruded and his ribs can be seen. Avnî describes the bosom of the lover, which is full of wounds made by the 'gaze swords' and which is full of love's burning fire, as follows:

The lover should host the beloved with the wine of his (bloody) tears and the rebab[a stringed instrument] of his bosom (that wails with the pain of love). The lover is crying so much that the tears forms a sea. This way he wants to put out the fireplace of his bosom that hides his glowing core-like heart. The soul (life) bird of the lover, which burns with the longing for the beloved and stutters in his cage with excitement, of reaching her has been flying in the love and desire sky. The eye of the lover is a place where the soul bird is beating its wings; the heart (bosom) is the cage woven in the shape of a net (with the ribs turning outside and the wounds on the bosom) in which the bird of soul is obliged to live.

The heart of the beloved

The desire for the pearl-like teeth of the lover, turns the tears of the lover into a sea, the wish for her crimson colored lips makes the heart of the lover bleed.

The lover's wound of separation

It is impossible to describe and explain the wounds on the lover's bosom caused by being separated from the beloved. To see these tremendous wounds one has to look inside the collar of the lover.

Elements Related To The Nature

Plants (rose-bud, rose; narcissus; box tree and cypress tree)

In Avnî Divani, the plant names that mentioned are rosebuds, rose, narcissus, box tree and cypress tree and these plants are described as follows:

The beloved rose wears a red dress in the garden and ornaments her dress with buttons made of rosebuds. The married rose bud wrote a secret letter to the rose sultan but the nightingale started wandering around each and every branch in the garden reading the letter out loud. Although the roses and rosebuds agreed (to reproach the beloved), when that beloved with sugar lips starts to talk, they cannot find the opportunity to talk. The beloved first harassed the rose with her beautiful and bright rose

like face and then first made the cypress tree a slave of the beauty of her height then released it. Because that beauty who has a slight cast in the eye will come and wander around the garden, the narcissus fixed its eyes on the road and the box tree is standing up waiting for her longingly.

Animals (nightingale)

Nightingale, the unchanging symbol of love literature all around the world, is one of the aesthetic elements used in some of the most beautiful couplets in Turkish classical literature. Nightingale sometimes represents the lover; sometimes the poet who writes beautiful poems and sometimes the people who reveal secrets. In Avnî Divani, the latter characteristic is used:

Natural formations ("saba" the east wind; shadow)

The name of the light and nice wind blowing from the east is saba. In classical Turkish literature, this wind is referred to with respect to its multi dimensional relation with the beloved's sidelocks, the spring and the beautiful flowers blossoming in that season and its mediation between the lover and the beloved in many ways. Saba is used in two couplets of the Avnî Divani. According to these:

Saba, who is able to answer difficult riddles, fails to unlock the knots in the tip of the beloved's sidelocks which are full of love secrets. Only a lover who is really aware of the mystery of love can unlock those knots. When autumn comes, saba spreads a very beautiful colorfully embroidered silk mattress (made up of several different yellow leaves).

Shadow, In Avnî Divani, the shadow element is used in only one couplet. According to this; The lover wishes to pay his humble respects to the beloved secretly and alone but he can never find the opportunity. Whenever the lover sets off on the road to go where the beloved is, his shadow does not leave him alone and becomes his companion by force.

Geographical Elements (Place Names)

In Avnî Divani, we come across two place names used as an element of aesthetic. One of these is Istanbul, the other is Kalata (Galata). Istanbul is the main city where the poet, who is also the sultan, lives. His palace is also situated in this city. Galata is the name of a district where the non-Muslim lives and Muslims do not visit frequently. Since mostly Christians live in this area, the place is also called Frengistan (Europe). According to Avnî, those who see Galata (and the beauties wandering around like houris in it) cannot fall in love with Garden of Firdevs. Those who see the cypress-like beloved swaying there cannot think of the cypress trees (growing up in the garden of Eden). Avnî should not think the beauty from Galata, whom he falls for, would one day submit to him. Avnî is (just) the shah of Istanbul and that beloved is the sultan of Galata (which is the capital city of beauty country and which is superior than Paradise).



Fatih Sultan Mehmed

Mehmed II

Daily Life elements

Candle

In the gathering of the beloved, the candle, which burns dropping its oil from the edge of the flame, is similar to the lover who spends his life crying and wailing in an upsetting manner

Wine

Wine, which has these characteristics and which had been used in real and/or figurative meanings (along with the bar and goblet images), is used as follows in Avnî Divanı:

One should not ask questions about the content of the wine to the lover who is drunk with the wine (of love), one who has sink into the sea does not know the reality of the sea. (The fish who live in the sea do not know the sea). The (love) wine, the lover drinks in the sorrow gathering of the beloved is such a sea that the blue dome of the sky is just an air bubble formed on that sea. Oil lamps burn in the bar. However, the one who is drunk with love wine does not need a candle. The cupbearer's full moon like bright cheeks and the joy and pleasure the wine gives him is enough to illuminate his surrounding. If people visited the bar, which resembles the churches of the Zoroastrians, like Muslims circumambulating the place, they would see the maksoorah candles burned by the wine goblets.

Bar

In the classical poetry texts, just like wine, the concept of bar had been used in its real and figurative (mystic) sense very frequently.

No matter how long one is going to stay in the place where events occur (this world) the best thing to do is to use the bar as a shelter. As long as the love sultan has a fortress like the bar, the sorrow soldiers can never reach him. If people visited the bar, which resembles the churches of the Zoroastrians, like Muslims circumambulating the place, they would see the maksoorah candles burned by the wine goblets.

Elements About Poems

Avnî who is one of the powerful and original poets of our classical poetry used these concepts albeit in a limited fashion. The poetic elements we come across in Avnî Divanı can be named as follows:

Word

When the beloved starts walking in a swaying movement with her cypress tree-like height, the lovers feel like they are going to die. However, a word she would bestow would grant Avnî life (like Jesus does). Avnî would not wear the most precious pearl or ruby of the world as an ear ring but the parrot of his nature falls for the beloved who says sweet words.

Poem and its construction

According to Avnî, the poems should never talk about the rival in the poems they write; this destroys the house (basis) of the poem because the point in writing a poem is to tell the qualities of the beloved. Nothing but love, beloved and romance is worthy of poems.

Abstract Elements

The words, which make up the basis of the literature and poetry, can be grouped into two. The first of these are concrete words that describe tangible items of the cultural elements, the second group includes words the intangible sides of life which cannot be seen or touched but felt. Avnî's poems, which are very colorful and original with respect to concrete elements, reflect the richness and diversity of classical literature in the use of abstract elements. We can evaluate these elements within the figure of speech, description and metaphor system and according to elements these concepts are compared with:

Sigh

For the sighs, which mean the wail and crying rising to the sky at dawn from the lover's heart who is separated from the beloved cruelly, Avnî uses the following descriptions: Avnî (the lover), put branching amulets on the neck of his sigh's satellite (herald) to protect it from the tricks and ruses of his giant (jinni) rival. The rain clouds in the sky are the vapor of the sighs raising from the lover's heart. The lover should carry the flame of sighs over his head because that flame would lighten the path to the beloved's path on the separation night.

Mind

In one of the couplets in the Divan, the concept of mind is used as metaphor. According to this metaphor, the lover has been robbed of the cash of (his mind) while lying on the road in an enchanted manner at night and thus he has no more money to drink the (love) wine.

Love

In Avnî Divanı the following descriptions are used for the love, the most exciting feeling in a human being's life and the endless inspiration source: The lover, takes the wine from the (out of the Godly love wine)-jar and watches the whole world from that position. The aim of the lover is the sorrow of love. Although he has spent the cash of tears, he failed to obtain the reunion of the beloved, thus the lover (Avnî) has lost money in the love market. The substance of the lover (Avnî) has been burned down with the flame of love and turned to ash.

The beloved has turned her sidelocks to eagles and the curls on the tips of those locks became the paws of the eagle to hunt the bird of the lover's soul in the air of love. The desert of separation has not tired the Arabian horse of love. That Arabian horse is looking for an arena big enough for it to run till the judgment day.

Trouble

In the Avnî Divanı trouble, which means the pain, sorrow, calamity the lover goes through, is thought as a valley. (To be able to be a real lover) the lover should sometimes wear a khirkah (cardigan) made of the dust of pain and torture mountain sometimes should get naked and wander around the valley of torture like Mecnun (a mad man).

Life (soul)

In Avnî Divanı, the concept of life (soul), the re-



Peşk

Arrow

ason human beings are alive, has been used in the following descriptions: The one who undresses and embraces that silver-skinned beloved one night, would feel as if he has dressed the body of his soul in a dress of pleasure and delight. The beloved has turned her sidelocks to eagles and the curls on the tips of those locks became the paws of the eagle to hunt the bird of the lover's soul in the 'air' of love.

Cruelty (cefa)

There are six figures of speech related to cefa which means torture and hurt: (To be able to be a real lover) the lover should sometimes wear a khirkah (cardigan) made of the dust of hurt and torture mountain sometimes should get naked and wander around the valley of torture like Mecnun (a mad man). The collar of the lover has been torn apart by the hand of cruelty. Avnî (as the lover), described the pain and torture the beloved caused as hell.

Madness (Cünân)

Cünun which means madness, insanity, wildness, is described as a desert in the Divan.

Trouble and pain (dert and mihnet)

The concept of dert and mihnet which mean all of the paid and problems faced and endured in the path of love and for the sake of beloved has been used in two figures of speech in Avnî Divanı: The product of love; the trap; thorn.

Heart (gönül)

One of the very basic concepts of the classical Ottoman poetry, heart has been used in a great many, colorful figures of speech. We can even claim that this literature is a 'literature of heart'. One almost never comes across a couplet in which the element of heart is not considered. In Avnî Divanı, the element that is most commonly used in the figures of speech is heart. The following figures of speech has been used in Avnî Divanı with relation to heart: What develops the soul property (country) of the lover is the quenched stell of the beloved's bosom stabbing gazes and what illuminates the house of his heart is the beloved's dagger (that shines like a candle). Since the beloved has been the sultan of the lover's heart for many years, the country of heart has prospered with equality and justice. The (eyes of the) beloved (which resemble the slanting eyed Turks of Hita country) has drunk the pure coquettishness wine and sends the massacre and loot army to the country of heart. The red roses on the cheek of the beloved has turned the heart of the lover into a nightingale (and make it moan). The heart of the lover never felt happiness of reunion with the beloved, the house of heart, which has been destroyed with the hands of cruelty and torture, has never been prosperous, the nightingale of life and soul has never been able to escape the sorrow trap.

There has been an influx of blood to the heart of the beloved because of his desire to see the beloved's beautiful face. The heart resembles a river that runs with rose petals over it.

End of life (Ecel)

Ecel which means end of life, the last days of life has been used in two figures of speech in Avnî Divanı:

ni: It is a mediator who ceases the fights over unimportant mortal issues (g.8/4) and the sherbet which cures the pain the love patients suffer.

Nonexistence (fenâ)

Fenâ, which means mortality, nonexistence, losing one's existence because of love is used in one couplet: Here the bosom (heart) of the lover which has been torn apart with wounds and sears, is described as a rose bloomed in the garden of mortality, his body, which is full of scars like a patchwork khirkah, is described as the rosebuds of this garden.

Separation (firak, fûrket)

Firak and fûrket, which is derived from the same root means leaving a friend and separation from the beloved. Firâk, fûrket are defined as follows in the Avnî Divanı: Separation from the beloved is Ramadan fasting; meeting with her again (reunion) is the barian morning being away from the beloved is a poisonous thorn, meeting with her again (reunion) and the honey lips the beloved is the cure. Separation from the beloved is a poison that sickens the heart.

Grief

The following descriptions are used for gam, grief, which means the sorrow, worry, pain and anxiety endured for love: The lover drinks such a (love) wine in the sorrow gathering of the beloved that the sky seems just a simple air bubble formed on its rough sea. For the lover the only product of the world field is grief. Grief is like a dark night for the lover. The grief fire has burned down the city of body. The lover wanders around the grief desert everyday and stays at the separation guesthouse every night. The country of the lover is a grief desert.

Dream

There are the following descriptions about the vision of beloved the lover has in his heart: The vision of the beloved in the heart of the lover is like a salve for the heart wound. The vision of the idol like beauty of the beloved in the (loving) heart of poet is like the ornaments and pictures in the heart church. The vision of the beloved comes and sits in lover's house of heart like a sultan.

Pain of separation (Hicr)

The words hicr and hicran means separation, unforgettable heart ache and sorrow. These concepts are defined as follows in the Divanı: The beloved not only wounds the lover with the dagger of separation but also stabs the lover in the chest with the spear of her coquettish gaze. The lover stands against the separation arrows the lover shoots. The lover got used to the torture of separation. Separation is disappointing like the autumn. The lover is desires the very precious reunion fabric of the beloved without considering the cut (the flaw) he got because of separation.

Beauty (Hüsn)

The following figures of speech and definitions are used related to hüsn, which means all of the physical and spiritual beauties of the beloved: The Godly beauty garden has become nicer with the beauty of the beloved and the beauty spring (or fresh



XV.yüzyıl, Zirh

XVth century shield

flower) has satisfied its thirst with the water of her face(s cloud). The beloved sits in the throne of beauty like a sultan. The army of the beloved's beauty has concurred the whole world and her hair has set up a black bower to the beauty sultan. The sultan of beauty, has sat on (the throne of) beloved's cheek.

Lack of greed (istigna)

Istigna, which means being content with one has when used for the lover and which means acting coquettishly, moving slowly and not caring when used for the beloved, has been defined as follows: If the whole world was presented to people of the earth, the share of the poor (those who are humble) would be the city of istigna (doing with what they have got). When the saddening wind of istigna (acting coquettishly, not caring) blows, the sky and the stars are scattered like ashes containing live coal.

Being unesteemed (mezellet)

The concept of mezellet which means "being scorned, having no esteem" is used in one couplet. According to this couplet, the lover over whose head the mezellet soil has been spread is holding an old and battered goblet begging for a gulp of (love) wine.

Ordeal (mihnet)

Mihnet (ordeal) that has been defined as "trouble, torture, sorrow, problem, pain, disaster" in the dictionary, described as the pain the lover endures for the sake of the beloved. This concept has been used in one couplet as a part of a figure of speech: According to this, even if the lover cries and wails every night, all he would get from that rose-faced beloved one is nothing but the thorn of hurt.

Cries and wail (nâle and feryâd, zarî and efgân)

The nâle ve feryâd, zarî ve efgân concepts, which denote the lover's groaning and asking for help out loud since he suffers from the love, has been used twice in Avnî Divanı: Crying and complaining with pain is like very close friends of the lover who respond to the voices the lover produces in the trouble (pain, torture, problem) gathering. Moaning and wailing are the confidants and comrades of the lover at the house of separation from the lover. Just like a rose blossoming upon hearing the singing of the nightingale, the beloved smiles when she hears the wails and cries of the lover.

Death

The figures of speech used about death in Avnî Divanı: Since the fate takes a brave man six feet under everyday, one should no keep mentioning the goblet of death and ask for the wine goblet that makes one drunk and knock him down. Death is the cure for the illness of the heart.

Reunion

Avnî uses this concept in his poems with the following figures of speech: The value of the reunion good (fabric) cannot be calculated. The heart of the lover wants to buy it without regarding his own flaw. The reunion good of the beloved is valuable as life. Avnî as spent all of his tear cash and could not buy the good of beloved's reunion. Avnî has lost money in

the (love) market

Conclusion

The conclusions we reach at the end of the total analysis of poems of Mehmed II can be cited as follows:

1. The poems of Mehmed II, a mighty sultan, who was educated well, who could speak many languages and who had the scientific, cultural, philosophical, political and intellectual knowledge and insight, reflect the sophisticated and almost perfect content of the classical Ottoman literature molded with his own qualities.

2. These poems which form a small book with respect to volume, carries the colorful, sincere and original reflections of an artist who is very sophisticated in thought and feeling.

3. In the couplets and verses, one can feel the gleaming reflections of the character of a sultan who rules a world empire, who is determined to be the Kaiser of the west along with being the sultan of east, and whose personality has been strengthened by being and artist and master of words.

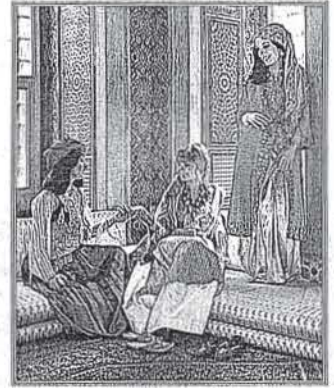
4. After a detailed examination and comparison of the prominent poets of in the Turkish literature in the period, one can claim Avnî the poet, is not an ordinary poet as suggested. Instead Avnî can be considered one of the most prominent poets of the era when his style which is versatile with respect to knowledge and imagination.

5. Avnî's poetry not only reflected the knowledge, culture and aesthetic values of classical Turkish literature with its all might but also was open to all issues related to Islamic mysticism and figurative ideas, symbolism and effects feeding even allegory relevant to mysticism. In his poems, the concrete concepts like the lover, the bodily beauties of beloved, wine, bar, church, idol, cupbearer, sultan, slave etc are used both in their mortal (real) sense and their mystical (platonic) meaning as elements of metaphor and symbolism.

6. Avnî's poems has an amazing richness with respect to expression styles and arts such as use of figure of speech, personification, metaphors, allusion, deduction and allegory.

7. Avnî is a prominent poet of our literature with his divan which is small in volume but which is important with respect to its literary and aesthetical value. This aspect of the poet shall be clearer after it is 'translated into' prose and interpreted seriously.

8. With their strong intellectual, cultural, mystical, philosophical and aesthetic structure, Mehmed II's poems reflect the quality of our perception of state combining the identity of an artist and a poet with the character of a mighty ruler in one person.



Harem ve cariyeler

Harem and odalisque

Architecture

Ottoman architecture had given its first examples in Iznik and Bursa. It is seen that the developments of Ottoman architecture which showed a new progress in Bursa were concentrated mainly on mosque architecture which cumulated on itself a more functional and symbolic expression, at the same time constituted the focal point of the city weaving. The cubic one domed form of structure used in the architecture since the Seljuks was strengthened in the reign of Orhan Bey, dimensions were widened and new space search was started. Multi columned mosque type in architecture, though continued being tried time to time, was mostly abandoned some time later because it did not meet the needs of the Ottoman architects' logic of place widening. Bilecik Orhan Ghazi Mosque built in the first half of the 14th century has always been seen as a step to central dome development.

Widening the single domed space to the forward by extending in the Green Mosque (1378-1391), which is the most important example of Ottoman architecture in Iznik, was a new experiment. Both Orhan Gazi Mosque and Iznik Green Mosque show us that search for development and new space in the Ottoman architecture had started in early periods.

The properties which were shown as the messengers of a new style in Iznik architecture were domed plan main space of which was extended forward in mosques, first experiments in reverse T plan, marble mihrabs, capitals with stalactites and different wall weaves made with lines of ashlar and brick. Moreover, Iznik being the place where Suleiman Pasha Madrasa as the messenger of the birth of a new madrasa architecture different from the Seljuks, where Yakup Celebi Imaret as an imaret as imaret and being a place where the first tombs in the Ottoman style were built; with all these qualities of it, had been a center which sheltered the seeds of the development of the Ottoman architecture.

The Ottoman architecture which had started in Iznik showed a sparkling development in Bursa. Alâeddin Bey Mosque dated 1335 in Bursa which was built by Alâeddin Bey son of Osman Gazi was a structure where the square planned one domed scheme applied in Hacı Ozbek Mosque (1333) was repeated. Again Orhan Mosque (1339) in Bursa on the other hand comes before us as one of the examples of the mosques with projections (with places on the sides) with its main space covered with two domes one after another and other little domes on the sides and with the last congregation place added to this.

We see in Yıldırım Mosque built in 1382 with its 19,3 meters dome that big dome experiments had started in the early periods. Hamza Bey Mosque with its 17,5 meters dome which was built by Emir Hamza Bey in Old Zağra in Bulgaria in 1409 as a complete duplicate of Yıldırım Mosque is a good example that shows that these experiments were also conducted outside Anatolia. The most monumental example of multi-domed great mosque type in the Ottoman mosques is the Bursa Great Mosque (1396 - 1400). It is seen that the construction of the great

mosques numbers of which change later in the vast geography lying from the Balkans to Cairo and which were covered with domes equal to each other; was continued for a long period of time.

The research and developments in this first preparatory period we mentioned in the Ottoman architecture lasted from the beginning of the Ottoman civilization to the reign of Mehmed II. Activities of the Ottoman architects after the conquest who prepared themselves before the conquest by making many experiments, has been to widen the dimensions of relevant types either for the purpose of revising the plan types used before, by abandoning some of them or use them less often but foremost of all creating well-organized places.

While mosques, masjids (small mosques), madrasas (schools), bedestens (bazaar covered with exactly same size domes) were being built in whole of the 14th century and the first half of the 15th which was the period of first preparation; mosques with tabhanes (places on both sides of the praying area in multi-purpose mosques of the time used not only for prayer but also for gatherings) were also built in this first period. These building types which are called reverse T type can be seen in the early Ottoman period firstly in Bursa then in Anatolia and the lands of Rumelia conquered either few or many in number and as different examples. In these buildings, little places with domes next to the court in the middle are either tabhanes or zaviye (projection) rooms; the second place following the place with domes is the place of prayer namaz (ritual of worship) was performed.

This type of architecture which included various purposes among the religious structures of the early Ottoman period was used for many years and in a way became a symbol of the setting up and development periods. These structures which were called mosques with zaviyes and tabhanes, in comparison to the mosques which were the places of prayer, were contained in themselves also the places for sitting and living in. It is seen that the construction of mosques with zaviyes (side places), were designed separately along with the complexes, firstly in Iznik, Bursa and Edirne, in Istanbul during the conquest, in some important centers in the reign of Mehmed II and densely built. First mosques built within the framework of urgent development of Istanbul right after the conquest of the city and their becoming the capital city of the Empire, are the examples of the types of mosques with tabhanes or side places (wings) we mentioned. In Bursa; Karacabiyi (Mihalic) Mosque (1457), in Istanbul; Mahmud Pasha Mosque (1462), Murad Pasha Mosque (1471), Davud Pasha Mosque (1485), in Inegöl; Ishak Pasha Mosque (1468), in Bursa; Hamza Bey Mosque (1461) and in Skoplye; Isa Bey Mosque (1475) are the mosques that were built in this type.

Along with the mosques with zaviyes which had existed in certain ways in the Ottoman architecture for long years, new experiments which lead to the new developments could also be seen. A closer example to this is Üç Sereferi Mosque (Mosque with three



Rumeli Hisarı

Rumeli Fort

balconies) in Edirne. Structures of the early period came to a new understanding in Uç Şerefeli Mosque and this structure has become one of the structures that constituted in one way a turning point in Ottoman architecture. Uç Şerefeli Mosque dated 1447 in Edirne, both with its plan and increase in the number of minarets and balconies, added many new elements to the Ottoman architecture which could be the messengers of the Classical Period. The minaret with three balconies which gave the mosque its name is the highest minarets after the minarets of Selimiye and the oldest monumental example. Moreover, the minaret the three balconies of which has three different ways to reach, became a pioneer to the minarets of Selimiye also with this quality of its.

The level the Ottoman art reached in the 15th century with Uç Şerefeli Mosque brought with itself new assimilations in architecture after the conquest of Istanbul and the appearance of a big new Empire between the western and eastern worlds. An architecture common features of which were strong was dominant in the lands of the Ottoman Empire by the architects and other artisans of the Empire. The Ottoman Palace on this subject on the other hand shaped the activities of architecture consciously by its royal architects. Royal Architects Society not only developed the rich construction activities in the vast geography of the Ottoman Empire extended to three continents but also had a great influence on them all in turning them into a style of Ottoman architecture. Although the first establishment date of the royal architects is not known, they were first mentioned in the documents in the 16th century. However, together with the conquest, the desire of Mehmed II to make Istanbul the capital city of Turkic and Muslim world required the existence of an organization to carry out the construction activities he had started in the city therefore we can deduce that this royal architects society was formed most probably some time after 1453.

Before the conquest of Istanbul, social life had concentrated the centers like Iznik, Bursa, Edirne and Rumelia. Institutions, administrative system, urbanization, accumulation of architectural works to monuments and documents proves that the era of Fatih Sultan Mehmed was a time when a development in the most general sense had already begun. The Ottoman accumulation, which had its reflections in the cultural life in the Bursa Edirne axis towards the middle of the 15th century, while opening a new era of history in Istanbul, at the same time the behavior types transferred to the lifestyle of this new era, showing focused dimensions; reflected in all areas of art and architecture.

Style of Fatih era created architectural developments never seen until that time neither in Rumalia nor in Byzantium by evaluating the accumulation of the Beyliks period in all branches of art, especially in architecture.

The actual innovation in architecture in the reign of Mehmed II was that they dealt with the problem of half domes with courage for the first time. The architecture of this era blazed a trail in space issue with the central plan extended by half domes. The old Fatih Mosque, which had been a first step in this way

with a half dome experiment on a large degree, provided all the big Ottoman mosques with the development in this subject. Applications with single half domes, for example, as in Üsküdar Rum Mehmed Pasha and Çemberlitaş Atik Ali Pasha mosques in Istanbul, were repeated on a large scale with the shortening of side aisles along a single dome and this application was gone further later by putting a second half dome to Beyazıt Mosque. Moreover, Fatih architectural manzume, being the first large scale complex in Ottomans, had constituted as an example to all the other complexes built after it. This complex was at the same time the first Turkish University set up by Mehmed II in Istanbul.

In this transition era of Ottoman architecture, square shaped madrasas, which were constituted of cells fronts of which were arcades lined around a court, were also built apart from middle size mosques and masjids in rapidly Turkicized Ottoman cities, especially in Istanbul. There was a classroom-masjid with bigger domes in the middle of these madrasas. The first palace built in the reign of Mehmed II contained little palaces namely kiosks which were built according to the old Turkish customs. The palace of the Sultan in Sarayburnu is a complex of various buildings added for hundreds of years and was built similar to the Edirne Palace which had been built before.

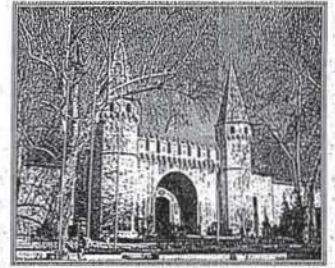
Again in this period, we see that the construction of bridges which had been started all over the lands of the Ottoman before. Moreover, as the number of foundation buildings increased in cities, bazaars (arasta) and baths which were bringing a lot of income, the construction of such building was given great importance since the foundation buildings needed an income.

Apart from the Rumelia and the Seven Towers Forts, the Walls of Sultan and Bâb-ı Hümayun were among the important works of Fatih era that draw attention.

Along the thirty year sovereignty of Fatih Sultan Mehmed who conquered Istanbul in 1453 and opened a new era, on various cities of the Empire firstly in Istanbul, Bursa and Edirne 300 mosques 85 of which had domes, 57 schools, 59 baths, 29 vaulted bazaars, caravansaries, palace with fortress, walls and bridges were built. However, unfortunately most of them were demolished by different reasons in time.

Baths are one of the important building types of early age Ottoman architecture. Baths, which were among the examples of our civil architecture, are cubic structures covered by little and big domes, equipped with many windows and light candles.

In Bursa where big sized mosques had been built before, only middle and little sized mosques were built in the reign of Mehmed II. Brick or a material which was a mixture of brick and stone was amply used on the surfaces of the mosques in Bursa as decorations because they could easily be obtained in comparison to stone. Karaca Bey (Mihaliç) Mosque (1457) in Karacabey district of Bursa is the mosque which has the earliest date in Fatih era. Last prayer section of the mosque was composed of the entrance and prayer place lined up one another in north south direction and two side wings on its west which had



Topkapı Sarayı, Bâbüsselâm

Topkapı Palace, Entrance

corridors in front of them. Prayer place of the mosque has a square plan and covered with a dome 10 meters in diameter on pendentives. Mihrab section bound to this section and the sections on the sides have also domes. The entrance which is located in the middle of the south wall of the last congregation section which has five cells, draws attention due to the quality of its very colorful decoration, stone and marble work. Walls of the building was bonded with two lines of bricks and one line of stone in mixed technique and the minaret was built all from stone. There is the tomb of Bülbül Hatun, wife of Karacabey, dated 1473, which was built after the mosque and located near the minaret.

Mihrablı Bridge located on the road to Karacabey from Bursa, as mentioned on its epitaph, was built by Selçuk Hatun, aunt of Fatih Sultan Mehmed, in 1465. The bridge itself which was also known as Selçuk Hatun Bridge was demolished and its epitaph was preserved in a mosque.

One of the tombs in the graveyard of Muradiye Mosque in Bursa belongs to one of the sons of Fatih Sultan Mehmed. Şehzade Sultan Mustafa and Sultan Cem Tomb where both of them were buried is dated to 1497. Windows on top of each other were opened on the sides of the hexagonal tomb each side of which is 7 meters long. Walls of inner surface was covered with hexagonal turquoise ceramics (majolica like) up to the top of the lower window, few dark blue ceramics in between and gold gilded embellishments. Top of tomb walls were decorated with belts and dome hoop ribbons while the dome with handmade embellishments. Cem Sultan tomb with its rich inner decoration with vegetal and geometric motifs and calligraphy can be regarded as an excellent example which shows the Turkish inner embellishment art of the 15th century.

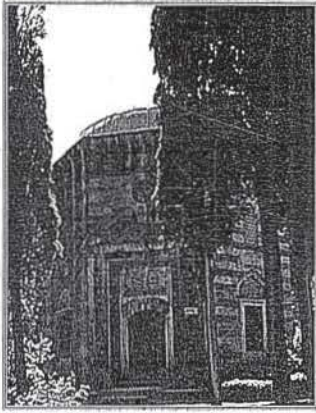
Inegöl İshak Pasha Mosque in the Inegöl bazaar, is a part of a complex which had also a madrasa and a tomb. İshak Pasha who built the complex is one of the notable people of the state who lived in the reigns of Murad II and Mehmed II. He was a commander in the conquest of Istanbul and became the grand vizier in the reign of Mehmed II for three times. Middle section of this mosque, according to the foundation records of which it is understood that it was built before 1486, was covered with two domes. Sections with domes on the sides were extended towards north and covered with cloistered vaults. In front of this section there was the last congregation section covered with five domes. Minaret of the mosque has an octagonal pedestal, cylindrical body and a single balcony. It is understood from the epitaph on the entrance door of the İshak Pasha Complex's classroom and from the foundation records of its madrasa that the construction had started in 1468 and completed and opened for service in 1482. In the madrasa which had an open court with a U plan, the classroom was on the north of the yard, the hexagonal planned tomb with a dome was on the east of the mosque. Other structure built in the reign of Mehmed II in Bursa are as follows: Seyid Ali Tomb (1483), Sitti Hatun Mosque (1459 - 1460), Hamza Bey Mosque, Hacilar Mosque (1466), Düsturhan (Maksem) Mosque (1479), Ahmed Dâi Mosque (1471), Salt Bazaar

Mosque (after 1479), Bülbül Hatun Tomb (1501), Çakır Ağa Bath (1480) and Al Boyacılar Bath (1486).

Edirne, which was decorated with palaces, summer palaces, bridges, caravansaries, vaulted bazaars, dervish lodges, madrasas, schools, imarets, baths and hospitals etc. since 1361 - 1362 when it was captured, in time became architecturally the most important center of Ottoman building art. While it had been a small city established within a fortress on the bank of Meriç river before it was conquered by the Ottomans, Edirne which was developed and flourished after the conquest has been, after Iznik and Bursa, the center of the state and the government until 1453 when Istanbul was conquered. In the reign of Mehmed II, middle and little sized mosques were built in Edirne instead of big sized mosques. Only a few of them survived. One of these buildings, which were built from all ashlar and had domes, is Gülbahar Hatun Masjid. As understood from its epitaph, Gülbahar Hatun Masjid was built in 1451 in Edirne, the days near the conquest of Istanbul, got this name because it was built after Gülbahar Hatun who was the mother of Bayezid II and wife of Mehmed II.

There is no trace of the old palace built by Sultan Murad Hüdavendigâr in Edirne. The new palace, the construction of which was started by Murad II in 1450 in the west of Tunca, was completed by Fatih Sultan Mehmed upon the death of Murad II. Mehmed II built his first palace in Beyazıt district of Istanbul after he conquered it then he built the Topkapı Palace which was called the new palace. In spite of this palace, Selim II, hunter Sultan Mehmed and especially Kanuni were inhabited in the new Edirne Palace from time to time. Although some of its buildings have lost their original character due to the repairs they went through, Edirne palace had the most damage during the Russian invasion in 1878. When the Russian army approached Edirne, governor Cemil Pasha ordered the self destruction of the arsenals within the buildings of the palace where military equipments were kept. The fire caught upon this caused the buildings of the palace to ruin. The structures made in the Edirne Palace during the reign of Mehmed II are Bâb-ı Hümâyün, kitchens, stoves, pantries, annexes built for the servants in one corner of the Alay square, Bâbüssaade, presentation room, Cihannüma Pavilion, Kum Pavilion and some part of Royal Harem and Royal School. The Presentation Room which was one of the oldest annexes of the palace is place where ambassadors were received and important meetings were made.

Cihannüma Pavilion (Sultan Pavilion, Royal Room Kiosk, Royal Throne Pavilion), which was located in the second square (Kum square) of the Edirne Palace, was built in 1452. Central part of it which resembled a tower was seven floors. The palace had a terrace in front of it which was 35 meters long, 25 meters wide and 6 meters high with double stairs and a big pool furnished with marble panels. The big library of the palace was located on the basement floor of the pavilion. There were ten rooms, three sitting rooms, a corridor of royal rooms in the Cihannüma Pavilion.



Şehzade Sultan Mustafa Türbesi,
(Bursa)

Tomb of Prince Mustafa,
(Bursa)

Kum Pavilion, which was known to be a Fatih era building, was also in the square. One bay window of it, also known as Pavilion with Bath or Pavilion of Princes, was called Cem Sultan Bay Window (Cem Şah Room) which oversaw the square. Pavilion was entered from an entrance hall paved with stones and had a little pool. From there you can enter a big living room. One of the annexes of the Kum Pavilion was a three marble basined bath. The bath consisted of a cool place with three domes a warm place and an eyvan.

The kitchens of Edirne Palace which were on the corner of the Alay Square, were covered with eight domes. There were cooker rooms on both sides of the kitchen door. Fatih Bridge which connects the Rolay Garden Chicken Forest to the Black Gate at the shore and from there to the Palace, had three cells. Middle cell was 8.20 meters, side cells were 6.10 meters wide and the length of the bridge was 34.20 meters. Other structures built in Edirne in the reign of Mehmed II are the following: Ayşe Kadın Mosque (1468), Hacı Alemüddin Mosque (Saraçlar Mosque) (1455 – 1456), Selçuk Hatun Masjid (1653); Fatma Hatun Mosque (1468 – 1469), Çakır Ağa Masjid (1482) and Kasım Pasha Mosque (1479).

Hagia Sophia, which was the biggest church in the Byzantium era, was converted to a mosque by Mehmed II after the conquest and as the first mosque made for the sultan been the structure where the first Friday prayer was conducted. This structure, which served as the great mosque of Istanbul from 1453 to 1934 when it became a museum, was protected by Mehmed II from getting any damage. Mehmed II regarded the mosque as the first work of his charity and built a madrasa next to it later on. In the following years, the architecture of this madrasa was changed and during the repair in 1934, it was demolished. It is mentioned that the first minaret of Hagia Sophia built in the reign of Mehmed II was built with wood on the south one of the corner towers next to the half dome in the west. The minaret survived until 1573 when it was taken away in the repair. Although the brick minaret on the southwest corner of the mosque is said to be the Mehmed II minaret, there is a stronger possibility that this minaret was in fact built in the reign of Bayezid II. The grooved minaret on the southwest corner of the mosque which is thought to be a work of the Bayezid II era; is in fact a work of Architect Sinan. The other two minarets, supporting props, tombs, fountain, library, elementary school, charity kitchen are all additive structures of Turkish era which were built in the later periods.

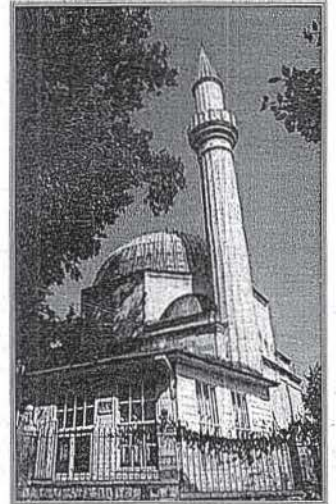
Fatih Mosque (1463 – 1470) which was built by Fatih Sultan Mehmed, constituted the center of the complex composed of the structures like madrasas, tabhane, hospital, tombs, caravansary, imaret, school, bath and library. There is a dome which is 26 meters wide on the old Fatih Mosque, and a half dome also covers its mihrab and the two minarets of the mosque had one balcony on each. Plan of the old Fatih Mosque which was almost a square, was formed by the architect Sinan-i Atik by adding a half dome to the central dome and one more domes to the lines of domes on the sides. Sinan-i Atik with this application of his, provided a united space with

respect to inner effect, at the same time he was able to create an outer effect never seen before by lifting the central part of the mosque upwards. Sinan-i Atik, at the same time created with this structure the first example of the architectural understanding that would prevail in the Ottoman architecture. Buildings of Fatih complex are divided into two groups. The first group of buildings consist of directly scientific institutions. They are the madrasas which were called "tetimme" or "sahn", schools and libraries surrounding the mosque. The second group of buildings include the social and cultural establishments like hospital, guest house, imaret and caravansary and these were located ahead of the mosque.

Madrasas built by Mehmed II are eight in number, four sahn and four tetimme madrasa on both sides of the mosque. For this reason, these were called "semaniye" in the meaning of eight sahn. There is a tabhane on the kiblah direction of the Mediterranean side madrasa of these madrasas which were under patronage of a university, imaret and caravansary on the right of tabhane, and the hospital right the opposite of it. Tabhane, imaret, caravansary and hospital were built outside the boundary containing the mosque and the madrasa. The square of the mosque had four gates. They were called Soup Gate (Tabhane Gate), Hospital Gate, Cookie Makers Gate (Candy makers Gate) and Painter Gate.

The mosque received heavy damage due to earthquakes, especially the 1509 earthquake which was called "the little doomsday". Capitals of its four columns were fallen in this earthquake and the dome was leaned to one side. Again in this earthquake, domes of the imaret, bimarhane, sahn-i seman madrasa and some other places of Fatih complex were collapsed. The mosque continued to take damage from the following earthquakes it has been through. A bigger damage was caught by the 1765 earthquake with which the dome of the mosque was collapsed. Mustafa III built today's mosque which had a bigger dome surrounded by four half domes over the old Fatih Mosque between 1767 – 1771. Except from the arch gate, fountain yard and mihrab up to the first balcony of its minarets, the new Fatih Mosque was all rebuilt. Though it became different than the old one but still there are some places carrying the traces resembling the old Fatih Mosque. The first Fatih Mosque a large scale similar of Atik Ali Pasha Mosque, which was built a few time later in Çemberlitaş, with respect to its plan.

Davud Pasha Mosque the construction date of which was written on its epitaph as 1585 was built by Koca Davud Pasha. It had complex buildings like tabhane, madrasa, school, tomb and fountain. Even the neighborhood got its name from the mosque. It is one of the most beautiful examples of vizier mosques, typical example of mosques with zaviye. Square space of he mosque, its tabhane rooms on the sides, last congregation place with five cells, all of them were covered with domes. From the style of the minarets we could say that it had its current shape in later times after 1766 earthquake. Davud Pasha Mosque, which was among the mosques which took great damage from the fires and earthquakes of Istanbul, had ashlar on the outer surfaces. Its foun-



Ayşe Kadın Camii,
(Edirne)

Ayşe Kadın Mosque,
(Edirne)

tain by the way, was rebuilt in recent years.

Mehmed II, after his conquest of Istanbul, had built a palace called the Old Palace on the place where the central buildings of Istanbul University is today at the Beyazıt Square, and he ordered the construction of another palace in Sarayburnu while he was living in the Old Palace. Thus, the New Palace lying as a triangle towards the Marmara Sea on the Sarayburnu peninsula was built. Surroundings of the peninsula was enclosed with the shore walls. The Royal Walls was formed by the convergence of these sea walls with a wall from the land during the construction of this new palace. The Royal Walls has been a term used sometimes for only a land wall combining the two ends of the sea walls or sometimes for all the walls containing in itself the palace complex which was spread on a wide area and Marmara shore walls. There were gates connecting the walls to outside. The most important of those gates is the Royal Gate. It is the biggest entrance gate of the palace and according to its epitaph the Royal Gate was built by Mehmed II in 1478. There was a pavilion called Fatih Pavilion on it. It had been there before. The Royal Gate lost its real appearance because this pavilion could not survive. Since it is the main entrance of the biggest palace of the Ottoman Empire, and one of the examples of the first settled Turkish architecture after the conquest of Istanbul, it has a different importance among the others.

Çinili Kiosk and Fatih Kiosk in Topkapı Palace are the oldest buildings of the palace that reflect the Fatih era style and the most important ones with respect to architecture. Çinili Kiosk is structure which was composed of 4 eyvans opening to a central living room with a big dome and rooms with the same size domes on the corners. The construction date of it is written on the epitaph on the wall as 1472. There is an arcade lying from end to end with high sharply pointed belts on slender columns. As far as the architectural qualities are concerned, it is the only example since no structure similar to it were never built in the Ottoman architecture. This kiosk which is thought to be a place in the front yard of which sports like jereed and wrestling were performed before the emperor and the notables and the contestants were gifted by them and thus encouraged, is said to have two floors and the rooms in the upper floor were used during daytime but no one stayed at nights.

Because of the abundance and brilliance of its ceramics (majolica like earthenware), it was called as Glass Palace. The embellishment of the kiosk with its ceramics in vegetal and geometric motifs in blue, purple, oxide brown and tile red color are especially concentrated on the top of the gate and on both sides of the entrance.

The construction of the Fatih Kiosk, which was located on the east of the third yard of the palace, was finished in 1462 – 1463. Fatih Kiosk, which was the first structure built in this yard, was formed according to the Turkish home and the room with three domes opens under the arcade that opens to the yard. Kiosk had a bath next to its rooms. The basement floor was used as a treasury. It is understood that it was used as the treasury chamber of the kiosk after Yavuz Sultan Selim had turned from his Egypt cam-

paign.

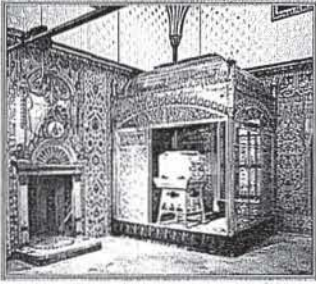
The Royal Room (Hırka-i Saadet Chamber, Chamber of Sacred Entrusted Things) is the second kiosk built in the Enderun court (third court). It was built between 1565 and 1468. This structure which was consisted of two rooms and a hall in front of them was later added new rooms with domes on the east and south of it and arcades on its four corners. This kiosk continues to serve as the "Hırka-i Saadet" room where the "Sacred Entrustments" are kept.

Presentation Room was located right in front of the entrance of the Royal Gate at the Topkapı Palace. It was built by Mehmed II and had three doors two opening to the Royal Gate and other to the library of Ahmed III. The room had dimensions of 1.30 m X 9.05 m. It was a place where the Ottoman Emperors had official talks with grand viziers and head of Islams and received foreign ambassadors. Presentation Room, which carries the memories of various ages with its architecture, epitaphs and embellishments, has lost its original shape when it was first built in the reign of Mehmed II. It was thought that the first building had been demolished in the 1509 earthquake and it was rebuilt in the reign of Kanuni and in other periods after him.

Ağalar Mosque was one of the structures that firstly built in the reign of Mehmed II in Topkapı Palace. It is the biggest building of the palace between the Royal Room and the Presentation Room. Since inner boys and zülülü ağas were praying in Ağalar Mosque it got its name after this. This building is also called the emperor mosque and has a rectangular plan which extends in length.

Turkish military architecture in the Ottoman period has an important role together with religious and civil architecture. Rumelia Castle, castles on the Çanakkale strait, wall surrounding the Topkapı Palace from outside and defense walls of Yedikule which were built in this period are the most beautiful examples that give us some idea on the military architecture of the age.

Among them the Rumelia Castle (1452) was built by Mehmed II during the preparations of the conquest of Istanbul to gain control of the strait on the Rumelia side of the strait. There is a rumor that the plan of the fort the name of which differs in documents as "Yenice Hisar", "Yeni Hisar" or "Boğazkesen Hisarı" was actually made by Mehmed II himself and the architect was Muslihiddin. Rumelia Fort, taking into consideration its location, was built with block ashlar. From the walls connecting the fortress and towers, the west wall is 5 meters, the south wall 3 meters and the walls along the shore is 4 – 5 meters wide. One of the 13 towers of the fortress supporting the walls is a rectangle, six of them are multisided and six have circular plan. Its three big towers named after Halil Pasha, Saruca Pasha and Zaganos Pasha are connected each other with little walls and towers adjacent to body walls and enclose an area of 250 m X 125 m. The fort has five gates. From the mosque, which is a charity of Mehmed II and located inside the fort, only the body of the minaret remained safe. Apart from the cistern under the mosque and two fountains without epitaphs there are ruined houses in the courtyard. Since the Rumelia Castle had lost its



Topkapı Sarayı, Has Oda

Topkapı Palace, Royal Room

strategic importance after the conquest, upper sides of the Trait were considered to be the suitable places for the new castles to be built. The Fort on the other hand was used as a prison in the Ottoman period. After that the structure took damage from the various earthquakes was repaired many times.

In the caravansaries with two courts the first example of which had been seen in the reign of Orhan Gazi in Bursa, had the stables and cellars in the little court, shops in the big court, working places and rooms on top of them. One of the examples of this kind of caravansaries in the reign of Mehmed II is the Kürkçü Caravansary in the Eminönü district of Istanbul, on the Mahmutpaşa slope. Kürkçü Caravansary, which was an important example among the caravansaries that survived from the reign of Mehmed II, built by grand vizier Mahmud Pasha with two courts and two floors. The architect was Atik Sinan. The top section of the 48 square meters of space in the basement floor of the structure built in dimensions of 128 m X 68 m, was covered with cradle vaults. Upper floor places on the other hand are opened to outside with windows. Stable spaces around the second court of the Kürkçü Caravansary could not come to our time with its original state. Upon them, there are windows and an additional floor which opens to outside with a door. The other Fatih era structures in Istanbul are the First Eyüp Mosque (1458 - 1459), Mahmud Pasha Mosque (1462), Sheikh Vefa Complex (1476), Rum Mehmed Pasha Complex (1471 - 1472) and Covered Bazaar.

It is possible to see many examples of religious and sivil military examples belonging to the Fatih era all over Anatolia apart from Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul. Kal'e-i Sultaniye and Kilidü'l-Bahr in Çanakkale, again in Çardak Çanakkale Yakup Bey Caravansary, Gedik Ahmed Pasha Mosque in Afyon, vaulted bazaar in Ankara, Hersekoglu Ahmed Pasha Mosque in Hersek, Zağanos Pasha Mosque and Kaya Bey Masjid in Balıkesir, Rum Mehmed Pasha Mosque in Tire, Fatih Mosque in Babaeski, Great Mosque in Küre and Sheikh Sinan Mosque in Alaşehir.

One of the two mosques with two domes built by Hersekoglu Ahmed Pasha, one of the viziers of Mehmed II, is in Hersek, a place between Yalova and Karamürsel, the other is in Keşan. The mosque of the complex in Hersek composed of a caravansary, a bath, a madrasa, a school and an imaret was called Hersekoglu Ahmed Pasha Mosque. The mosque was damaged in the earthquake in 1766 and repaired.

Afyon Gedik Ahmed Pasha Mosque is the most important building of the complex which had a madrasa and a bath. It was built by grand vizier Gedik Ahmed Pasha in 1472. It is one of the mosques with zaviye. Two big domes one after another 11.5 meters in diameter and three lower domes on the sides are covering the mosque. There is a mosque on the right of the mosque and a bigger twin bath women section of which is smaller is near the mosque.

According to its epitaph, Babaeski Fatih Mosque, which is located in the little square in the market section of the Edirne Istanbul road which goes from the middle of Babaeski, was built by Mehmed II in 1467. The original architectural character of the mosque, which has a square planned prayer space, a minaret

with a single balcony on the northwest corner and subsequently added last congregation section, could not be protected.

Rum Mehmed Pasha, apart from the one in Istanbul, has also a complex he built in Tire district of Izmir.

As examples to the mosques among the many architectures work built in each city conquered in Rumelia in the reign of Mehmed II, Fatih Mosque in Priştine, İsa Bey Mosque in Üsküp, Mahmud Pasha Mosque in Sofya and Fethiye Mosque in Atina can be given.

Atina Fethiye Mosque is also known as Fatih Mosque and Çarşı Mosque. It was associated with Fatih Sultan Mehmed due to its name. Since it has no epitaph we cannot know the exact date. Nevertheless, it is learned from a repair paper dated 1791 -1972 that it was repaired. The same paper tells us that the mosque was from the Mehmed II foundation. The mosque was covered with four half domes surrounding a central dome and four little domes on the corders. Upper surface of the domes was coated with clay tile and its walls have two lines of windows and the last congregation section of it is in the shape of an open space with five belts. Only the cradle and a few stairs are left from its minaret which was built separate from the mosque today.

Many of the structures that had a defensive purpose built in the Ottoman period are today outside our borders, in Europe, some part in Northern Africa and Caucasus. These were built to protect the borders from Tuna to Hungary, important passageways, ports and conquered lands. These are İlbahasan (Elbasan) Castle (1466) built in the border of Albania and Yugoslavia, Vidin Castle on the south of Bulgaria and Eğriboz Castle in Greece. The architectural works of the reign of Mehmed II were of course not limited to the ones mentioned above. The architecture of this era with both the ones that did not survive and the ones that did can be said that it is a transition period architecture which connects the early Ottoman and classical Ottoman period architectures and bears the traces of both periods since it has been in this fusion.

Fatih era, which has always been a period in Ottoman architecture that always develops and advances, contained neither the abundantly embellished surfaces in which stone and brick masses are dissolved nor the monotonous architecture with repeated domes that spoils the whole anymore. In the mosques of this period, last congregation places, big domes covering the central space and half domes supporting them, structural elements that fit the pyramidal mass of the mosque, more from the satisfaction of the eye, create in us a livelihood and action in peace with their columns and piers which had no expression of heaviness. Architecture in this period is balanced from inside and outside, constructive, functional and heartening.

As a result, there is only one reality that comes out when the architectural works of the Fatih era were examined all together. That is, as mentioned by Semavi Eyice in his pithy expression, "... the conscious, programmed architecture of Fatih era, progressing in parallel to the political and military developments, is never an architecture of "military



Topkapı Sarayı, Harem

Topkapı Palace, Harem

encampment" which was established with hurry in smoking ruins of a period of war and conquest..."

Apart from the disappeared ones of the architectural works of this era such as mosque, madrasa, bath, vaulted bazaar, caravansary, palace, fort, cas-

tle, wall, bridge etc. the ones that survived and exist today are important being the living evidences of the fact that Fatih Sultan Mehmed has carried out the big progress in Turkish history also in architecture.

Libraries

Historical Development

With conquest of Istanbul, the Ottoman State begins to turn out to be an empire. Since Mehmed II wanted to make Istanbul not only the centre of a world-wide empire, but also a cultural centre, as well, he began to reconstruct the city, just after the conquest. This construction activity is named as büyük cihat (big jihad) in Turkish Vakıfname (charter of a foundation). Even before the conquest, Istanbul had become the dead centre of a dead empire, and it was damaged more during the conquest. For this reason, repair of city walls, re-settlement of the city, and changing existing temples into mosques and medrese (theological school) (theological school attached to a mosque) were the first handled jobs in the city. Resources of that period give detailed information about reconstruction, especially settlement of the city.

There is information about first cultural institutions established after conquest in resources: Zeyrek Medrese (theological school) is established at priest chambers at the upper floor of the Pantokrator Monastery, and Molla Zeyrek is deployed as teacher, with daily fee of fifty akçe (money)(money)(money). Then tuition begins in Hagia Sofia. Education went on in mosques and medrese (theological school) restored from churches, until Semaniye Medrese (theological school) were established.

One of the buildings built after the conquest is the Eski Saray (Old Palace) in Bayezid. This is known that the books brought by Mehmed II from Manisa to Edirne palace, were transferred to Eski Saray, after its completion. This palace library, which is the first library founded after conquest in Istanbul was moved to Yeni Saray (New Palace) later. We learn from resources and certain documents that Molla Lütü, one of the most famous scientists of that era, worked as hafızıkütüp (one who memorises the Koran and other books) at this library. Tezkireci Sehi (d. 1548) tells the below anecdote, which happened during the deployment of Molla Lütü, between him and Sultan Fatih:

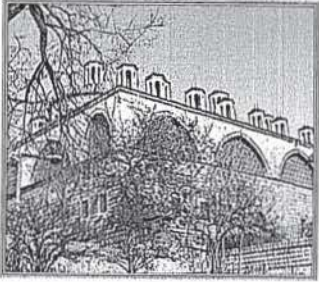
"Rivayet iderler ki bir gün Sultan Mehmed bir kitab murad idinüb Kitabhaneye gelmiş. Molla Lütü'ye hitab idüb bana şol kitabı aliver diyu emreyledi. Kitab bir yüksecük yirde bulunub eli kitaba irmedi. Kitaplar öninde yirde bir mermer pâresi taş yaturmuş. Mevlânâ Lütü ol taşa basub kitabı alub Padişah eline vireyin dimişiken Sultan Mehmed merhum incinüb hay neyledün ol taş İsa aleyhisselam mevlididir, o taş üstüne doğmuşdur didi. Molla Lütü dahi nesne dimeyüb kitabhanede hizmetine meşgul olub hizmet iderken kitaplar üstüne örtülmüş bir köhne bez pâresin görür. Güveler yemiş, delük delük eylemiş üstü kapkara toz olmuş yatur. Nazükligile ol beze iki elinün parmağı uciyla edeb ve ihtiram birle-

yaşısub ol bezi getürüb i'zâz u ikrâm uslubunda Sultan Mehmed'in oturduğı yirde dizi üstine kor. Sultan Mehmed bunu göricek bi-huzur olub bunu benüm üstüne neye getürdün diyicek Molla Lütü devlellü Padişah neye bi-huzur olursuz. Bu bez İsa Peygamberin bişigi bezidür diyü cevap virdi"

Researchers have different views about the first foundation library established in Istanbul. While Süheyl Ünver claims that first foundation library was established in Mahmud Paşa Medrese (theological school), Selim Nüzhet Gerçek defends that the library established in Eyüp Külliyesi (863 – 1459) was older than this. When the establishment date of Mahmud Paşa Külliyesi is considered, it is obvious that Süheyl Ünver's idea is not acceptable. The proof claimed by Selim Nüzhet Gerçek to prove his idea is very inefficient. But from another foundation record we understand that Eyüp Külliyesi library was established before Mahmud Paşa Medrese (theological school) library. It is stated in the Arabic deed that belongs to this külliye (a collection of buildings) copied in 990/1582 that a person was deployed to preserve the books put in the medrese (theological school) then one dirhem (money) would be given to hafızıkütüp, daily. Süheyl Ünver claims that this deed belongs to the next century of the establishment of the külliye, so it could not be used as a proof, however, since it is stated in Eyüp foundation accounting balance of years 893-895/1489-1491, prepared thirty years after the establishment of the foundation, that somebody named Fakih was a hafızıkütüp at the mosque and he took one akçe (money)(money) a day, this objection is invalid.

Since the conditions about the operation of the library and names and numbers of the books put in the library were not indicated in Eyüp deed, volume and quality of the collection is not known. According to the head note of the book recorded in Hz. Halid no. 178 and titled Kimyâ-yı Saâdet (Chemistry of Happiness), Mehmed Paşa, Grand Vizier of the era, devoted this book to the ones in Eyüp Medrese (theological school) in middle of Zilhicce in 884 (February 1480). Mehmed Paşa stipulated the following about this book he devoted: That it would not be changed, it would not be taken to somewhere else, and it would not stay at the same person more than three months, and it would not be lent to the same person for the second time. The Eyüp library enriched more with the devotions made later. From a record put in year 1071/1667, it is understood that the library was active on this date.

Beside being older than the Mahmud Paşa medrese (theological school) library, the Eyüp Külliyesi library is not the first library established in Istanbul after the conquest. Because a deed found in



Tophane

Tophane

the archives of General Management of Foundations states that Şeyh Muhammed b. Şeyh Hasan Geylânî, known as Visâli, established a library with a little collection in the angle in Surdîbi (At Iskelesi) in Istanbul, in year 858/1454, that is one year later the conquest. No hafızıkütüp was deployed for the preservation and maintenance of this collection that consisted of about twenty books on theology, and probably submitted to the use of the tekke (chapel of dervishes) members.

Researchers share the same view about that a library was established by Mehmed II in Hagia Sofia, a part of which was turned into a medrese (theological school) after the conquest. The only proof claimed about this issue is this Arabian note on a book determined by Süheyl Ünver to have been devoted by Mehmed II to Hagia Sofia: This copy was devoted by Sultan to his medrese (theological school) famous as Hagia Sofia at the beginning of Zilkade in year 869. Kadiasker Mahmud b. Seydî Ahmed told that this was true, as well.

This is known that education was given temporarily in Hagia Sofia Medrese (theological school), until Semaniye medrese (theological school)leri were established. That teachers, tutors, and students of Hagia Sofia were not paid salaries in the Fatih deeds show this, as well. There are also points that would make us think that education was not regular. The first teacher deployed in this medrese (theological school), Molla Hüsrev, accepted this duty in addition to his job as kadı (judge) of Istanbul, and Galata and Üsküdar. Second teacher, Ali Kuşçu, was deployed with daily fee of 200 akçe (money)(money)(money). Being deployed with daily fee of 200 akçe (money)(money)for a medrese (theological school) of sixty akçe (money)(money)makes us think that this duty is a deference. According to an anecdote in Şakayık, Manisazade Muhyiddin, who had been attending this medrese (theological school), was deployed as the teacher of Mahmud Paşa medrese (theological school), construction of which was completed in 877/1472-3. Since a medrese (theological school) of fifty akçe (money)(money)(money) would not be given to a person whose education was completed recently, Manisazade was not an educated student in the way we understand.

Can we admit that Hagia Sofia Medrese (theological school) had a library, based upon a note on a single book, which we deduce that it was active at years 863/1459-875/1470-1, only through some biographies in Şakayık? This single book was probably transferred to Fatih Külliyesi library, after postponing of Hagia Sofia Medrese (theological school)'s activity in 875/1470-1. The results of counting show this clearly. If there had been a library in Hagia Sofia, was only a book brought to Fatih Külliyesi library? Also, words of Mahmud I, who established a library in Hagia Sofia in 1152/1740, at prologue of the catalogue of the books given by him to this library as ecdâd-ı 'izâm ve eslâf-ı kirâmlarından birinin hatırına hutâr etmeyen hayr-ı 'azîm ve bir-i cesîm sünâh etmekle câmi-i şerîf-i mezkûrda may be taken as a proof strengthening the suspects on this subject.

This is the same with Zeyrek Medrese (theological school)si library. There are a few books at hand that

we know having been devoted to this medrese (theological school). One of them was devoted by Fatih, and the other one by Mahbub Çelebi, both were devoted by anonymous people. From the records on them, we understand that these four books were transferred to Fatih Külliyesi library.

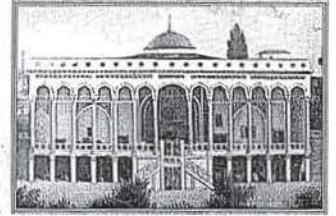
When Semâniye medrese (theological school) were opened, education in Zeyrek was cancelled, and medrese (theological school) was turned into a mosque. It is understood that although some books were granted to Zeyrek medrese (theological school) for the requirement of teachers and students, there was no attempt to found a library. If a library had been established in Zeyrek by Fatih, there must have been a collection of 100-200 books in the library, according to the standards of the era. That only a few books have remained from such a collection, and no records from such a library strengthens the idea that there was not any library established in Zeyrek Medrese (theological school).

The Hagia Sofia and Zeyrek samples give the idea that Fatih planned to establish a big külliye just after the conquest of Istanbul, and tried to make up the education job with certain temporary measures. That Hagia Sofia and Zeyrek did not own a detached vakfiye (deed) and the oldest dated vakfiye (deed) of Fatih was issued after the establishment of Semâniye supports this idea.

In the Fatih era, attempts of establishing a library continued in Edirne, the old centre of the Empire, and some other cities, beside Istanbul. Since there was a collection of books in Edirne, which went on as a leader in scientific field in the years following the conquest of Istanbul, it is observed that there were not only libraries in the medrese (theological school) established in this city, but also district libraries with small collections.

In a vakfiye (deed) issued by Çandarlızade İbrahim Paşa, for his imaret (soup-kitchen) in Edirne, between dates 859-869/1455-1465, names of books in the library of the imaret (soup-kitchen) are given and it is stated that hafızıkütüp was given one akçe (money)(money)of daily fee. In this collection of 99 Arabian books, beside books of tefsir, hadis, fihrih, there were several theological books, a book of medicine, and a book the name of which was not determined by the listing person. According to a record in registry book of Edirne prepared in the Selim II era, these books were at hands of hafızıkütüp Süleyman while orthography was prepared.

We learn from a record in registry book of Edirne that Ali Fakih b. İbrahim, müezzin of Cami-i Cedid in Edirne, devoted his books to himself, his family and his freed slaves, with his vakfiye (deed) issued in 875/1470-1471. With a condition put into the vakfiye (deed), it is requested that these books shall be given to sulhâ-i ehl-i ilimden kütüb-i mezkûre'nin mütalâasına muhtaç olanlara, after his and his freed slaves' generations come to an end. Inspection of books was left to himself during his existence, and to gice ile imâmet eyleyen kimesneye in Cami-i Cedid after his death. It was one of the conditions of the vakfiye (deed) that books shall not be kept away from the needful persons. It is understood from the vakfiye (deed) that books shall have been kept in the house by



Çinili Köşk

Tiled Kiosk

Ali Fakih.

At the issue date of registry book (the era of Selim II), according to the declaration of the counting person, most of the books were lost. Only fifteen books were left behind.

The library established by Mesud Halife, one of the teachers and sheikhs of the Fatih era, in Edirne in 885/1480-81, draws attention for being a tekke library, and due to certain conditions in its vakfiye (deed). Mesud Halife devotes his books first to his children, then to the ones from his religious sect, who were sitting in his chapel. However, books shall have been given to ones out of the chapel, who requested to benefit from them. According to the record of counting, books of Mesud Halife were not protected well and only nineteen books were left behind. Three of these nineteen books being theological, and others being about Islamic sciences, may be explained by Mesud Halife's being both a teacher and a sheikh.

It is observed from legal records of Bursa that Mevlânâ Mehmed b. Armağan, known as Molla Yegân, a scientist of the Fatih era, established a library, by devoting some books to the temple he made built, through his vakfiye (deed) approved in 865/1460-61. According to a record in the vakfiye (deed), names of 2900 devoted books of various sciences were written by vakıf himself at the back page of a Keşşâf Tefsiri copy.

Author of Amasya Tarihi (History of Amasya) states that Hızır Paşa, one of the Ottoman commanders, established a library near his medrese (theological school) in Amasya in 870/1465-1466. We learn from a deployment letter that hafızıkütüp of this library was getting one akçe (money)(money)daily.

The rich collection of the library draws attention, established by Isa Bey, son of Ishak, one of the commanders of the Sultan Murad II era, in his medrese (theological school) in Üsküp, in 874 Saferi /August 1469. A hafızıkütüp was deployed with two akçe (money)(money)daily fee, for the preservation of this collection of more than 300 books, including religious sciences, like tefsir, hadis and fıkah, and some literature and medicine books.

The külliye demanded to be established in Istanbul by Fatih Sultan Mehmed could only be completed only after eight years, in 875 Recep (1470). Researches agree that there were a few libraries, beside a mosque, medrese (theological school) and imaret (soup-kitchen) in the külliye. Süheyl Ünver thinks that Fatih established three libraries in this külliye and these are the library in the mosque, the Sahn-ı semân library in a separate building, and private libraries of the medrese (theological school). Müjgân Cunbur and some other researchers repeat the view of Süheyl Ünver, with little differences.

Tacüt-tevârih and Hammer, two of historical resources mentioning the Fatih library, just mention a little about the library in the mosque.

When some archives documents and Fatih vakfiye (deed) are reviewed, it is observed that the idea of several libraries in the külliye is not based upon sound bases. Therefore, after first determining the point of rise of the idea that there were several libraries, were there really several libraries in the külliye, at the same time? Then we have to find the

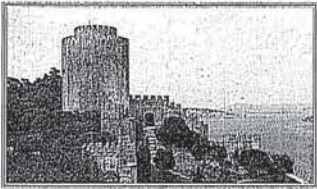
answer to the question, otherwise, were various evolutionary stages of the library in the külliye accepted as separate libraries by different researchers, without realising this?

Upon a review of the Fatih vakfiye (deed) by following the sequence of Osman Ergin, it is understood that this subject arose from non review of the vakfiye (deed) by S. Ünver in a system. Süheyl Ünver first reviews the library in the mosque and bookstore of Sahn-ı semân library based upon the Turkish vakfiye (deed) of Fatih, and then reviews the private libraries of the medrese (theological school) based upon the Arabian vakfiye (deed) (Türk İslâm Eserleri no. 2202). Because the development in the vakfiye (deed) is not considered, there occurs more than one libraries. Researchers that take S. Ünver as a source repeat the same mistake, too.

The oldest dated vakfiye (deed) of Fatih Sultan Mehmed at our hand was probably issued between years 877-878/1472-1473. This vakfiye (deed) says Sultan deployed four hafızıkütüp for the preservation of the books devoted to four medrese (theological school), with five akçe (money) daily fee. The list of the books devoted to four medrese (theological school) is at the back page of another copy of the same vakfiye (deed) in Prime Ministry Archives. According to this vakfiye (deed), firstly four libraries were established in four medrese (theological school), during the opening of Fatih Külliyesi. In the copy of the Arabian vakfiye (deed) of Fatih dated 901/1596, issued in the Bayezid II era, medrese (theological school) libraries are not mentioned, it just said that he made a place (buk'a) for preservation of the books devoted for the teachers and students in the medrese (theological school), at west side of the temple, and then mentioned a hafızıkütüp deployed for six akçe (money) daily, and a kâtibikütüp to get four akçe (money)daily fee, and the qualifications sought for these.

The Turkish vakfiye (deed) published by General Directorate of Foundations is a translation of the Arabian vakfiye (deed) issued in the Bayezid II era, made at the end of XVIIth century. There is not much difference related with the points about the library.

When the vakfiye (deed) are grouped and reviewed according to the sequence of Osman Ergin, it is observed that four libraries established in four of Semâniye medrese (theological school) were later transferred to the library established in the mosque, also the books in Hagia Sofia and Zeyrek medrese (theological school) were brought and a central library was established. However, so far it was impossible to determine when this transfer and unification process was executed from the existing vakfiye (deed) and foundation records. The Fatih Külliyesi vakfiye (deed) devoted by Nuri Arslan Bey to Süleymaniye Library brings clarity to this subject. Till date only the copy of this vakfiye (deed) dated 901/1596 in Turko-Islam Works Museum, which was issued by Bayezid II in Arabian in 887/1482, was known. According to this vakfiye (deed), Sultan Bayezid II rearranged the vakıf about Fatih Külliyesi, after he came to the throne, and transferred the libraries in Semâniye medrese (theological school) to the library in the mosque, probably at this date. He turned four



Rumeli Hisarı

Rumeli Fort

hafızıkütüp job into one hafızıkütüp job and one kâtibikütüp job. This point is clear in accounting balances of 894-895/1489-1490 of the Fatih Külliyesi; there is no trace of any library personnel in the medrese (theological school), and there are hafızıkütüp and kâtibikütüp among mosque personnel.

There are other proofs to support this view. When the list of books devoted to Semâniye medrese (theological school) and catalogue of Fatih Mosque library are compared, it is observed that many books in medrese (theological school) libraries exist in the mosque library, as well. This may be a proof to show us that the books in the medrese (theological school) were transferred to mosque library. But it is not wrong to say that certain books of every field of science were followed in the Ottoman medrese (theological school). It is possible to see a Keşşâf or Beyzâvî tefsir or Sahih-i Buhârî in most of the libraries of the Fatih era. Therefore, the books in the medrese (theological school) libraries existing in the catalogue of mosque library does not show that these books were transferred to the mosque library from medrese (theological school) libraries.

Since such an objection was considered, the comparison between both collections was made by choosing books of certain characteristic in the medrese (theological school) libraries. For instance, in one of the medrese (theological school) libraries, there are only three volumes of Kitabu'l-etrâf of five volumes. The same book is recorded at page 11a of the mosque library catalogue, and it is stated that only III-IV-Vth volumes are remaining. The Keşşâf tefsir of three volumes in the Sinobiye medrese (theological school) was said to be missing. The same book is at page 4a of the mosque library catalogue in its incomplete state. In Şehiyye medrese (theological school), there is only first volume of the book named Camiü'l-usul. The same book is seen at page 9b of the mosque library catalogue. A copy of Tarih-i Cengiz Han is at Muslihiddin medrese (theological school) library, which is not usual to exist in collection of medrese (theological school) libraries. We see the same book in the mosque library catalogue (39b). Other than these, as mentioned before, a few books devoted to Hagia Sofia and Zeyrek medrese (theological school) are recorded in mosque library catalogue.

While mentioning the Fatih Mosque library, Hoca Sadeddin, states that the devoted books had more than one copy, in order to save readers from reading in shifts. When the library catalogue is reviewed, it is really common to see a few copies of a book. This is probably the result of gathering books coming from four medrese (theological school) at one place.

Also, that no hafızıkütüp deployed in the medrese (theological school) was mentioned in balances of various eras of the Fatih Külliye shows that the libraries in these medrese (theological school) were transferred to the mosque. Otherwise, you have to admit that over 300 books in the libraries of the medrese (theological school) were lost in a very short period of fifteen years.

Kritovulus says that beside many charity works, Fatih encouraged the government men and wealthy

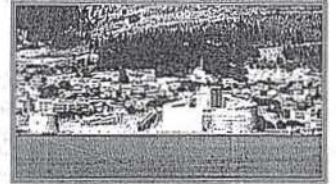
people nearby him to act for reconstruction of the city:

...ve erkân-ı devleti ve zât-ı şâhaneleri nezdinde hâiz-i nüfûz ve i'tibâr olan ve servet-i cesîmeye mâlik bulunan zevâtı nezdine celb iderek şehri dâhilinde çarşular ve hânlar ve dükkânlar ve hamamlar ve muhteşem hâneler, camiler ve ma'bedler inşa etmelerine müsâ'ade... ve şehri tezyîn idecek mebânî-i cesîme vücûda getirmelerini irade etti.

Mahmud Pasha, sadrazam of the era, obeyed the order of Fatih and he not only established a külliye that consisted of units such as medrese (theological school), imaret (soup-kitchen), primary school, court, temple, bath, but also constructed some charity works in other cities of the empire. Mahmud Paşa established one each library at his medrese (theological school) in Istanbul and Hasköy. In the summary of his vakfiye (deed) dated 878/1473-1474, recorded in Foundations of Istanbul Registry Book, 195 books put into the medrese (theological school) in Hasköy and 8 books given to the medrese (theological school) in Istanbul were only mentioned by indicating the number, without giving their names. According to the vakfiye (deed), a hafızıkütüp was deployed for the Istanbul Medrese (theological school), with five akçe (money) daily fee. It is deduced that no official was deployed for the preservation of the books in the other medrese (theological school).

Gedik Ahmed Paşa, one of the veziriazam of Fatih, established a külliye that consisted of a mosque, imaret (soup-kitchen), bath, medrese (theological school) and library in Afyon, other than the charity works in the district known in his name in Istanbul. We do not have any information about the status of the library in the Fatih era. It is observed in certain duty books that the hafızıkütüp in the staff of medrese (theological school) was paid one akçe (money) of daily fee.

Due to a devotion record in Foundations of Istanbul Registry Book, it is known that there was a library in the külliye constructed for Muslihiddin Mustafa, known as Sheikh Vefa, one of the sheikhs of the Fatih era. According to this foundation record of year 919 Receb/1513 September, there were bound and non-bound books in the chapel and the hafızıkütüp deployed for the preservation of these books was paid one akçe (money) daily. But, since the vakfiye (deed) in this record was issued in the Bayezid II era, it was difficult to determine the era when the library was established in. A document found in Istanbul records has removed the doubts about this subject, and it enriches our information about the library. According to this Arabian document issued by Mevlânâ Alaaddin deployed for the inspection of the foundations in the Bayezid II era, the sultan of the era ordered the status of the foundation to be determined and made operative, since there was no approved vakfiye (deed) of the foundations of Sheikh Vefa. Upon this, Mevlânâ Alaaddin went to the place of the foundation, and determined the status of the foundation, before the mentioned witnesses and Musa b. Ahmed, an official of the foundation, trustee of the foundation, and clerk Mehmed b. Isa, and prepared this document dated Recep 890/July 1485.



Kilitü'l-bahr kalesi, (Çanakkale)

Kilitü'l-bahr Fortress, (Çanakkale)

There are important information about the chapel library in the document of Mevlânâ Alâaddin. First of all, we learn that the existing books in the chapel were devoted by Sheikh Vefa. Also, the number of books in various fields of science and it is stated that the names of these books were written in a book approved by Rumeli kadasker. It is observed that various conditions were claimed about book borrowing; Sheikh Vefa classified people in his vakfiye (deed) into three as upper class (e'âli), middle class (evâsıt), and lower class (edâni), and stipulated that his books shall have been given to reliable, trustworthy people from upper class without any pawn, but to others against a pawn and a reliable sponsor: It is also stated in the vakfiye (deed) that members of three classes shall be of Istanbul public.

In a devotion record entered at the end of XVIIth century, it is stated that these books still remain in the chapel of Sheikh Vefa, and there is a hafızıkütüp with one akçe (money) daily fee. We do not know what has happened to Sheikh Vefa books in the following centuries. This collection probably dispersed after closure of the chapels. Abdulkadir Erdoğan determined a book bearing the foundation seal of Sheikh Vefa in Köprülü Library. Another book bearing the foundation seal of Sheikh Vefa is at Şehit Ali Paşa Library (no. 140).

Although the libraries in Sadreddin Konevi chapel in Konya and Hoca Ferruh medrese (theological school), and the library in Sübaşı temple in Beyşehir are the libraries established before the Fatih era, they may be named among the Fatih libraries, since Konya was added into the Ottoman land during the reign of this sultan. There is a counting record dated 888 /1483, which shows the books in Sadreddin Konevi library in the foundation and census book of Konya. In this list giving names of a hundred and seventy books, the author copy books of Muhyiddin Arabî draws most attention.

Organisation:

It is observed that the number of hafızıkütüp which was one in establishment era libraries did not increase in the libraries established after the conquest of Istanbul, and this number did not change until detached libraries were established, with one or two exceptions. Vakfiye (deed) give information not only about the number of the hafızıkütüp to be deployed in the libraries, but also their characteristics:

First medrese (theological school) library was established in Eyüp Külliyesi, after the conquest of Istanbul. Hafızıkütüp is mentioned as below in the Arabian vakfiye (deed) of this külliye:

another person will be deployed to preserve the books put there.

According to our information today, the first vakfiye (deed) including certain conditions about the characteristics to be sought in the persons to be deployed as a hafızıkütüp is the Fatih vakfiye (deed). As per a record in this vakfiye (deed), a hafızıkütüp shall be:

"able in the names of the books, and able to meet the books required by teachers, assistants, and students".

There is no record about the characteristics to be sought in a hafızıkütüp in the vakfiye (deed) of other

libraries established in the Fatih era.

We come across certain information in the vakfiye (deed), about the duties to be fulfilled by the hafızıkütüp. The duties of hafızıkütüp of the library established by Mehmed II in Fatih Külliyesi were explained as the following in the Arabian and Turkish vakfiye (deed) of this külliye: hafızıkütüp shall not keep the books away from the members of the medrese (theological school), shall make maximum effort about preservation, and shall supervise borrowing.

The salary of hafızıkütüp varied between one or two akçe (money) in libraries of the establishment era, it did not vary in most of the libraries established out of Istanbul, only the hafızıkütüp of the library established in Fatih Külliyesi was paid six and hafızıkütüp of Mahmud Paşa Medrese (theological school) si was paid five akçe (money) daily.

Hafızıkütüp of the libraries established in big külliye were generally given meal and fodla from the kitchen of imaret (soup-kitchen). Hafızıkütüp of the külliye was also named among the ones eating at Fatih cookhouse.

Sometimes a kâtibikütüp was deployed in Ottoman foundation libraries, besides hafızıkütüp. It is stated in the Fatih vakfiye (deed) that a clerk was deployed for the hafızıkütüp. The duties of the kâtib-i kütüp were explained as below, named as clerk-in the vakfiye (deed):

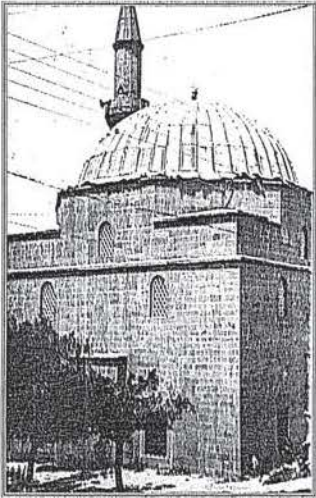
ve hafızu'l-kütüb için bir kâtib-i 'arif-i cami'i'l-ma'arif ta'yin buyurdular ki dâru'l-kütübde olan kütüb-i şerifenin kemmiyet ve esâmisî deşterinde mazbut ve mahfuz ve her kime ne makule kitâb virildiye deşterinde mukayyed olmağla ma'lâm ve mel-hûzi ola. Ve bi'l-cümle kâtib-i emîn ma'rifeti ile, hafızu'l-kütüb talibine lâzım oldukça kütüb-i mevkufeyi tefrik...

A bookbinder was also deployed for the repair and maintenance of the books in foundation libraries. Only in the staff of Eyüp Mosque there was a bookbinder among the libraries established in the Fatih era. The maintenance of the rich collection devoted by Fatih Sultan Mehmed to his külliye was probably executed by the bookbinders deployed in the palace.

The number of books in the libraries of the establishment era generally does not exceed a hundred. From the libraries established in Istanbul after the conquest, there were 195 books in Mahmud Paşa, 381 books in chapel of Sheikh Vefa, and 839 books in Fatih Külliyesi. There were 331 books in İshak Bey Library in Üsküp, from the libraries established out of Istanbul. The number of books in Edirne libraries varies from 19 to 99 at this era. According to a vakfiye (deed) in registry records of Bursa, the number of books devoted by Molla Yegân to be put to his temple after his death is 2900. This is a rather high number for XVth century.

There are certain records in the vakfiye (deed) about inspection of collections in foundation libraries. In the vakfiye (deed) of Fatih library dated 887/1482, the minister of the foundation was requested to come and inspect the books once in a three months, then this frequency was reduced to one month.

It is usual for the names of the books devoted in



Herseköğlü Ahmed Paşa Camii,
(Keşan)

Herseköğlü Ahmed Pasha Mosque,
(Keşan)

first period Ottoman foundation libraries to be added at the end of the vakfiye (deed). There are catalogues in lists of some libraries established in Istanbul after the conquest. Book lists of the libraries established in the four medrese (theological school) in Fatih Külliyesi (875/1470) were recorded at back page of a vakfiye (deed) of this külliye for the first time. There were not titles of subjects in those lists, but firstly books of tefsir, then hadis and fihih were tried to be given in the sequence of the books. Also the number of volumes of the books were given and it was stated whether they were complete or not, and names of the authors of some books were given and it was indicated that a copy was gilt. Although it was stated in the Fatih vakfiye (deed) that a katibikütüp was deployed for the preparation of the catalogue of these collections transferred to the library in the Fatih Mosque later, Hacı Hasanzade, who prepared a catalogue of this library in 968/1560-1561, did not mention there was a catalogue prepared in the Fatih era, among the catalogues he had seen.

Sadrazam Mahmud Paşa at his library in the medrese (theological school) in Istanbul and Hasköy, and Sheikh Vefa at his library in his chapel in Vefa, did not write the names of the books in a list in their vakfiye (deed), but they classified the books according to their subject titles, and indicated how many books were there on each subject. These two studies may be accepted as the first attempts on determination of subject title.

The lists of the collections of a few libraries established in Edirne in the Fatih era are recorded in a book that belongs to foundation registry of Edirne. These lists do not have any difference from the attached lists to the vakfiye (deed) seen before.

In the list prepared during the counting of books in the library of Sadreddin Konevi Dergâhi in Konya in 888/1483, certain issues that did not take place in other library catalogues were mentioned, though not systematically. For instance, it was stated that some of the books in the library were the author-written books. Names of the authors of some books were given. A few books, the names of which were not determined, were indicated as gayr-ı malum. At one place it was recorded that the book was gilded, at another place the type of script and at another place it was recorded as an old bind.

In Ottoman foundation libraries, lending books out of the library was a widespread implementation until the end of XVIIth century. As per the vakfiye

(deed) of the külliye established by Fatih in Istanbul, books were borrowed by the ones in need from the library in the mosque. Also, there are records about a few books, which were lent and lost, in the catalogue of this library prepared at the Kanuni Sultan Süleyman era.

Foundation records about two little libraries established by Mesud Halife and Ali Fakih in Edirne at the Fatih era show that the books of these two libraries could have been taken out of the library through borrowing.

We mentioned above the conditions about borrowing, among the records put in the vakfiye (deed) by Sheikh Vefa, one of the sheikhs of the Fatih era, about the library he established in Vefa in Istanbul.

In vakfiye (deed) of Molla Yegân, a scientist of the Fatih era, dated 865/1461, it was stated that his books could have been lent to the able ones against pawn and sponsor, but they shall not be lent to the ecnebi, that is, the ones who are not from the city public, for more than one year, and such people were not allowed to take the books out of the city.

There is not any record about borrowing in the vakfiye (deed) of the library established by Fatih in Eyüp Külliyesi. However, since the foundation records on these two books devoted by veziriazam Mehmed Paşa to this library show that these books may be lent to the persons out of the library, probably the books of the main collection were being lent, as well. Mehmed Paşa stated that the period of borrowing is three months in a record he put on one of these books.

In the vakfiye (deed) of the library established by Abdurrahim Karahisarî, one of the sheikhs of the era, in Afyon, there is a different condition about borrowing; according to the vakfiye (deed) dated 888/1483, the books to be lent against a pawn shall not stay with the reader more than one year, and if it is requested at the beginning of next year again, it shall be lent against a new pawn. It seems that Abdurrahim Karahisarî wanted to make a solution for the difference of value that may occur between the pawn and the book, through the way of renewing the borrowing.

Since we can only find the information about other libraries established in the Fatih era from the vakfiye (deed) summaries and some foundation records, we do not know how a practise continued in these libraries about borrowing. However, it is understood from the samples found that the founders of the libraries had an inclination to lend the books.



Topkapı Sarayı, Adalet Köşkü

Topkapı Palace, Justice Kiosk

The Calligraphy Art

Fatih Sultan Mehmed laid the first foundation of the calligraphy art, which was seen also in the former Islam states, and will be referred as "Turkish Calligraphy Art in the future, through conquest of Istanbul. In this article written with the title "The calligraphy art during the Fatih era", all kind of writings used in art works of considerable calligraphers will be examined, after historical process, which prepared new developments, was determined. Then, biographies and artistic properties

of calligraphers trained during the Fatih era, and their contributions to the calligraphy art throughout the Ottoman era will be clarified.

1. THE CALLIGRAPHY ART FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE FATİH ERA

The calligraphy art, which also keeps up its importance and mystery in the present, has been used in the mean "beautiful handwriting art" in the Islamic culture. The Arabic script constitutes the calligraphy art, which was referred as the term "Husn-i hat"

mostly. The calligraphy art described with the sentence "it is a spiritual geometry formed by using material instruments" in sources is a shaping of the Arabic words through efforts always to look for the beauty and through some materials such as reed pan, finished paper and soot ink as more clear expression.

Due to messages given in the Surra Kalem and Alak of Koran, and the Prophet Mohammed's studies concerning calligraphy, and because of some marks such as vowel point, point, gemination mark and relative mark were improved, and the Arabic words were written differently in head, middle and end of any word, and vertical and horizontal motion of pan caused changes shapes of the words, and all statemen were interested in the calligraphy art personally or protected craftsmen and due to other reasons, the Arabic script escaped to be a simple script. These reason ensured that the Arabic script became an art, and developed and was spread out. Through contribution of Non-Arabic Muslims, an Islamic calligraphy art was constituted. But afterwards, due to style and esthetic properties formed by Turkish calligraphers, this calligraphy art was called "Turkish Calligraphy Art".

Through efforts of calligraphers such as Kutbu'l-Muharrir, who lived in last era of the amayyads (A.D.771), and Dahhak b. Aclan, Ishak b. Hammād ye Ahvelü'l-Muharrir, who grew up in first era of the Abbasids, first improvement begun in the way that the Arabic words became art. In this era, many handwriting style referred as names such as kufi (the Cufic script of Arabic writing), celt (calligraphy a spectacular style of writing), riyusi (an Arabic writing style), nisf, muamerat, sulus, sulus (calligraphy a style of Arabic script with large letters), muselsel; muhakkak and iraki exists. These handwriting styles are different according to their properties such as their sizes, places and positions, where they have been used, and paper dimensions.

Through effort of Ibn Mukle (A.D.940), who grew up in Bagdat that was a culture center in the Abbasids' era, a new era started in the Calligraphy Art. The handwriting styles such as muhakkak, reyhani (Arabic calligraphy kind of monumental writing similar to cufic), tevki', rik'a (Arabic script a cursive style of writing); sulus, nesih, improved from cufic writing style and referred as the term "aklam-i sitte" is a production of system that Ibn Mukle determined and created basic measures of the calligraphy art.

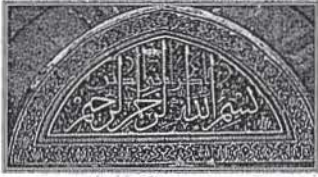
These writing styles in the aklam-i sitte group (the six styles of writing consisting of rik'a, muhakkak, sulus, reyhani, nesih and tevki) was beautified through efforts of Ali b. Hilal (A.D. 1032), known as the nickname "Ibn Bevvab", and Yakut el-Musta'simi (A.D. 1298), Turkis citizen and a palace calligrapher in the Musta era, the Abbasids' caliph, and stability in their measures was provided. Improvements in writing styles such as sulus and nesih would have started also in hands of the Ottoman calligraphers since the Fatih era after one-

and-half year. After the Abbasids were wiped from the history scene in 1258, improvement of the calligraphy art continued in hands of Turkish and Persian craftsmen. In parallel to political improvements, after Damascus and Baghdad, Cairo, Kurtuba, Samarqand, Musul, Herat, Tabriz, Konya and Amasya cities kept on improvement of the calligraphy art before the Ottoman Empire, and became culture centers, where precious art works were created.

The following names among some calligraphers, who grew up before establishment of the Ottoman Empire appear: Ibnu'l-Bevvab, Yakut el-Musta'simi, Ahmed b. es-Suhreverdî, Ergun b. el-Kamili, Abdullah es-Sayrafi, Mubarek Sah b. Kutb, Muhammed b. Haydar el-Huseyni, Yahya Sufi, Abu Bekr b. Ahmed b. Abdullah Gaznevi, Muhammed b. Altunbas, Ali b. Muhammed b. Zeyd el-Huseyni el-Musuli, Kadi Abdullah b. Ahmed bin Fadlullah el-Kazvini, Muhammed b. Mes'ud el-Ebheri, Hasan b. Osman el-Mevlevi, Muhammed b. Muhammed b. Ibrahim b. Mudimi, Osman b. Hüseyin el-Verrak el-Gaznevi, Hasan b. Coban b. Abdullah el-Konevi, Ismail b. Yusuf, Izzeddin el-Hattat es-Savaci, Kutlu Hoca b. Abdullah et-Türki.

When the Korans and other handwriting art works written in the Anatolian Seljuks era were investigated in respect of the calligraphy art, the following properties were determined: Beginning with Ibn Mukle and continuing with ustadan-i seb'a, students of Ibnu'l-Bevvab, Yakut el-Musta'simi and Yakut, as writing styles, writings of the aklam-i sitte group are used. Especially, the Korans were in big size, and written muhakkak and reyhani handwriting styles. Two writing styles have been found together sometimes as only muhakkak or reyhani, or sometimes as one-line muhakkak in the upper, middle or lower sides, and three- or five-lines reyhani in intervals. Sulus and nesih writing styles are less as per others. Other than the Koran and other handwriting art works, improvements concerning the calligraphy art could also followed up from any murakka (Arabic calligraphy collage) (writing albums consisting of different writing styles and bond in book style), which started to become widespread after Yakut el-Musta'simi. Mostly, there are some Arabic calligraphy collages (murakka) written in dual style from a whole of writings of the aklam-i sitte group, or as muhakkak - reyhani, tevki' - rik'a or sulus - nesih. Furthermore, inscriptions in architectural works built in this era are important for finding out nature and artistic properties of these writing styles.

Through Yakut and his students, writing styles and their properties used in era of the Anatolian Seljuks and other States was also applied in the Ottoman State until the Fatih era. However, the summit that Yakut and his students reached in the calligraphy art were not exceeded, because calligraphers, who applied new style, did not grow up until the Fatih era. In this process, political struggles and crisis occurred afterwards prevented that the calligraphy



Fatih Camii Kitabesi

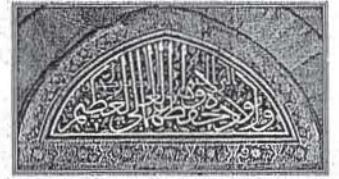
Inscription of Fatih Mosque

art samples reached the present era. Therefore, the calligraphy art samples belonging to two-hundred-and-fifty-years era of the Ottoman Empire can be followed mostly in archeological works.

Until the Fatih era, most important architectural works in boundary of the Ottoman State were built in Bursa, Amasya and Edirne cities. When buildings in this era were examined chronologically, it was understood that first work known with its inspection belonging to the Ottoman State was the Hacı Zeynel (Hacı Ozbek) Mosque built in 734/1333-34 in Iznik. Even inscription of this building did not carry worth in respect of the calligraphy art, it is important because of its property that it is most early dated known inscription belonging to the Ottoman era. In the buildings such as the Hudavendigâr Mosque (767/1366) in Canakkale-Tuzla, the Cankirikapi Bridge (777/1375) in Ankara, the Mustafa Kemal Paşa – Lala Sahin Paşa Tomb in Bursa, the New Mosque (780-794/1378-1392) in Iznik, the Koyun Bridge (785/1383) in Bergama built in the Murad Hüdâvendigar era, properties of the calligraphy art belonging to the Anatolian Seljuks era is still dominating. Only in the inscription of the Cankirikapi Bridge of all these inscriptions written with the Celi sulus writing style, the writing "Calligrapher Mohammed b. Lacir" was determined in the text. The tezyini kufi (decorative Cufic script) writing style was used in window pediment and niche as last congregation places of the Green Mosque in Iznik.

Most important property seen in the calligraphy art in Yıldırım Bayezid is that kufi and celi sulus writing styles were included together to composition in the same line. This composition used first in crowned door of the Milas Firuz Bey Mosque (797/1394) was also applied to the Green Mosque and Tomb (822/1419) in Bursa and the Old Mosque in Edirne (816/1414) during the Celebi Mehmed era, the Muradiye Mosque (839/1435) and the Three-Balconies Mosque (841-851/1437-1447) during the Sultan Murad II era. The inscriptions of the Milas Firuz Bey Mosque have different importance in respect of being indefinite of calligrapher. The calligrapher of these writings consisting of the ma'kifi, tezyini kufi, muhakkak and celi sulus writing styles was Musa b. Adil. In was understood that the calligrapher, who wrote his name with "Ketebe Musa b. Adil en-Nakkas" in the right side of the mosque's niche, was also a carver, and also planned decorative program of this structure. Even the Ulu Mosque, which is most important architectural work belonging to the Yıldırım Bayezid era, in Bursa contained many writings in property of the calligraphy museum, original writings belonging to the era, when it was built, are seen only in its wooden pulpit. Composition blanks in the celi sulus writings in the buildings such as the Yıldırım Bâyezid Tomb in Bursa (809/1406) and the Bâyezid Paşa Mosque in Amasya (817/1414) were tried to be covered with rumi (pertaining to the Ottomans), leaf and curled patterns.

The most important structure belonging to the Celebi Mehmed era is certainly the Green Kulliye (a collection of buildings of an institution, usually composed of schools, mosque, lunatic asylum, hospital, kitchen, etc.) in Bursa. Especially, the mosque and tomb have rather rich examples in respect of ma'kifi, kufi and celi sulus writing styles. Crowded door, window frames and pediments, mahfils (private pews in a mosque) and liwans (three-walled vaulted antechamber) are elements that the writings were found. Contents of the writing as much as their composition have reflected political and social conditions after the Fetret era. In texts out of constructional and artistic inscriptions, the meanings such as giving alms, protecting poor and needy people in society, being benevolent and generous, serving something to neighbors and guests, having faith in God, not submitting to oppression of person, who built the structure, not living in abasement, and fighting for eternity, unity and wholeness of the state have been emphasized. In these inscriptions written in Arabic and Persian, there is a composition that the kufi and celi sulus writings as a "band writing" style were applied in the same line in niche, mahfils (private pews in a mosque) and liwans (three-walled vaulted antechamber). This composition style was used in the Milas Firuz Bey Mosque 25 years ago. This use was increased in next years. But, this composition style was left after the Bayezid II era. Even the celi sulus writings carry the Seljuks' tracks, they clearly indicates difference signs. Calligrapher of these writings, which were first signs of the Ottoman's celi sulus writings deserved upon crowned door of the mosque. In right side of crowned, it was written that Hacı İvaz Paşa was an architect, planner of the structure and calligrapher of the writings. The writings in the tomb are same with ones in the mosque as content, composition and form. But, most important improvement in these structures was that the sentence "Accilu bi's-salati kable'l-fev" (without prayer before letting escape) was written in the niche from right to left, and also the "Accilu bi'l-teybeti kable'l-mev" (without penitence before death) was written in the niche from left to right as one within the other. Thus, the seekings excluding istif (composition) in style of line order in respect of the calligraphy art entered. First application realized as "musenna istif" (double-dotted composition). This property that carries importance in improvement of the calligraphy art is seen in the Mahmud Celebi Mosque in Iznik (846/1442), in the pulpit of the Old Mosque (816/1414) in Edirne, and also in the Sultan Cem Tomb in Bursa. Because celi sulus writing style is most appropriate to the istif (composition), the musenna (double-dotted) compositions caused new seekings of the calligraphers. The Three-Balconies Mosque in Edirne (841-851/1437-1447), a magnificent structure belonging to the Murad II era, carries different importance in respect of improvement of the calligraphy art through the musenna celi sulus istifs (composition) worked in oval



Fatih Camii Kitabesi

Inscription of Fatih Mosque

form upon niches of crowned door. Because of the inscriptions of the Three-Balconies Mosque that its calligrapher is not definite resemble to inscriptions of the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul, and these inscriptions were written by Yahya Sufi from Edirne, it was put forward that the inscriptions in Edirne were also done by the same craftsman.

Position of the calligraphy art during the Fatih era

During his prince, Fatih, who dialed with scientific and cultural activities in Manisa, received scientific education from prominent teachers, and established a personal library. Then, he make rich his library through books, which were remained from his father. Meanwhile, the palace embroidery house, which became a tradition since the Seljuks era, also during the Ottoman era, it served first in Bursa, and later in Edirne. After the conquest of Istanbul, Fatih, one hand, dialed with improvement of this city, and on other hand, he invited many craftsman, scholar and scientist from Rumeli (Thrace, European side of current Turkey) and Anatolia to Istanbul in order to realize cultural and artistic attacks.

Fatih, who took these craftsmen, scholars and scientists coming from Anatolia, West (Europe) and other Islam countries to Istanbul, participate personally to their meetings, and charged craftsmen in the palace's embroidery house. He made recopy a part of the art works, written in Arabic, Persian and west languages, to calligraphers, and made gild and bind them to carvers and gilders, and made acquire a part of them to his library through their translation.

Baba Nakhas (Expert Carver), Uzbek citizen, was appointed as an executive to the embroidery house that Fatih established in his palace. Other than recopying, binding and gilding works, also other art branches such as tile-making, carpet and weapon making were carried out in this embroidery house. The art works belonging this era were examined, determining similarities as motif, pattern and composition among the calligraphy art, gilding, tile-working, miniature, binding, sword, helmet, stone and wooden works exposed that these arts were focused in center of the embroidery house. When the books belonging to the Fatih era that a part of them were found in the libraries of Suleymaniye and the Topkapi Palace Museum were examined in respect of the calligraphy, gilding, binding and miniature arts, it was determined that new methods arose during this era, and foundations of next evolutions were laid.

Yahya Rumi accepted as sage man among Anatolian calligraphers created many art work and educated many student. Muslihiddin Abdurrahman Celebi, his student, was charged as Amasya Cadi (judge of Islamic canon law). The Amasya calligraphy school established through the calligraphers such as Abdullal Celébi from Amasya, a marksman of Fatih Sultan Mehmed, and Sinaneddin Yusuf Celebi and Hayreddin Halil Çelebi pioneered creation of the calligraphy art during the Fatih Sultan Mehmed era.

Writing Styles Used

The muhakkak, reyhani, tevki, rik'a, sulus and nesih writing styles, which were in the aklam-i sitte group during the Fatih era, were used as widespread during the Fatih era. But, in next time, the Yakut style bound to Abbasid understanding left its place to the understanding developed by Sheikh Hamdullah.

Tevkii and Rik'a : It is defined that it is a writing style as a half of words was written flatly and another half of them was written roundly. Pan thickness of the 'tevki' (the Sultan's signature) writing is near the sulus writing, and about 3 mm. The rik'a writing (Arabic script a cursive style of writing) is also its small writing style. Both are the first writing styles, which completed their improvement in the aklam-i sitte group. Words in these writing styles were adhered one each other, and have property as they go on in line, and were stacked up towards the end of line. They were used mostly in front and back pages of privilege letters, royal patents, imperial edicts, laws, charter and manuscript art works.

Muhakkak ve Reyhani : These writing styles defined as that one-and-half part of them was written flatly, and remaining part was written roundly were reached perfect by the calligrapher Yakut el-Musta'simi from Amasya from the Ottoman era. Then; these writing styles were spread to Anatolia through calligraphers such as Mubarek Sah bin Kutb, Abdullal Sayrafi, Abdullal bin Suhreverdi, Ergun bin Abdullal el-Kâmili, Yahya Sofi, his students. The muhakkak ve reyhani were of popular writing styles during the Anatolian Seljuks and States era. In the muhakkak writing styles, pan thickness is 3-4 mm., and in the reyhani writing styles is about 1-2 mm. These writing styles were also in demand during the Fatih era as well as previous eras. They were used in writing manuscript works such as Kur'an-i Kerim (Koran), En'am-i Serif and Duaname (Prayer writing). But, since this period, popularity of these writing decreased, because Sheikh Hamdullah marked a new epoch in the sulus and-nesih writings. Ahmed Karahisari and Hasan Celebi, his student were last representative in 16th century.

Sulus : These writing style defined as that its four parts were written flatly, and its two parts were written roundly is written by opened pan of 3-4 mm in size. In structure of words, flat, curved and deep lines take places instead of sharp and hard appearances. Due to its properties, it is also appropriate to implement of circular and elliptical compositions as well as it can be written in flat lines. The sulus writing accepted as base in education of the calligraphy art was also preferred in manuscript works and the architecture. The double-dotted compositions called "musenna istif", sultans' signatures, and band writings in the architecture were mostly written the sulus writing style and in the celi writing style, which is in bigger sizes of the sulus writing. The new seekings in sulus and celi sulus beginning from the Celebi Mehmed era began to ripen trough Yahya Sofi, Ali



Fatih Camii Mimarı Sihan-ı Atik'in mezarı.

The tomb of Sinan-ı Atik, the architect of Fatih Mosque

bin Yahya Sofi, Celaleddin Amasi, and, his sons, Cemal and Muhyiddin Amasi and their brothers, and Sheikh Hamdullah during the Fatih Sultan Mehmed era. Especially, the celi sulus writings in the Three-Balones Mosque in Edirne, and the celi writings of father-son Yahya and Ali Sofi, whose signs are found in the Fatih Mosque and Bab-i Humayun (the Imperial Gate, name of the outermost big gate of Topkapi Palace) and in Istanbul, and in the Sultan Bayezid II Mosque in Amasya, carried on their effects until 19th century.

The level achieved in the calligraphy art in Amasya and in Istanbul during the Fatih era, provided that the sulus and nesih writing styles came to the fore through great efforts of Sheikh Hamdullah.

Sheikh Hamdullah created new sizes as per shapes and sizes of sulus words in Yakut's style before him. Faltering and hesitation in the sulus writing in Yakut's style were removed in Sheikh's style, and were reached classical sizes.

Nesih : This writing style is written as 1/3 of the sulus writing style in size, namely, is written by pen opened 1 mm in thickness. Its word form is fit partially to the sulus writing. In the nesih writing style, the words follow up one each other in the same direction and in equal height. It is a writing style, which is most widespread used in writing of Koran and other manuscript works.

New vivacity that calligraphers during the Fatih era and especially Sheikh Hamdullah brought to the nesih writing caused that it took places of reyhani and rik'a writing styles. In Yakut style, the nesih words found their characters, but did not reach for unity. Letters did not combine in word and line, but remained dispersedly. Sheikh Hamdullah removed this dispersed position, and defined his classical rules. He obtained fluency and harmony in action of pen and slope of letters to line.

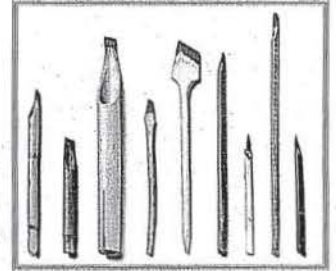
Maturity reached in the nesih writing caused that the Kur'an-i Kerim (Koran) was just written by this writing style. Thus, after the Fatih era, the tradition that the Korans were written from benii to end by the nesih writing style instead of mixed writing styles such as muhakkak – reyhani, muhakkak – nesih, muhakkak – sulus – nesih begun. The understandings such as page orders, line intervals and easy readability of text provided that the nesih writing style was in demand as the Mushaf calligraphy art in all Islam worlds.

Talikh (Nestalik) : It is seen that the nestalik writing style (Persian writing style) begun to be spread in Istanbul, after political struggle between the Ottoman Empire and states in east territories such as Akkoyunlu and Karakoyunlu during the Fatih era. The writing style, formed by Persian calligraphers and known as the name "nestalik", was only expressed with the term talikh by Ottoman calligraphers. It is a writing style that has letters sloping to right, and that is deeply and static. This writing style was used for book writing during the Fatih era

according to manuscripts determined in museums and libraries. In its letters, thinness-thickness rate is so clear. In this writing style, there is not fortitude and magnificent as much as in the sulus writing. It is known that famous calligraphers such as Esedullah Kirmani, Molla Husrev, Sabir, Hamidi, Giyasu'l-Mucellid el-Isfahani and Seyyidi Muhammed el-Munsi, who came from Iran and Azerbaijan, and settled in Istanbul presented art works by the nestalik writing style. The Hikmetu'l Israk of Sühreverdi used for Fatih Sultan Mehmed, and the Egriboz Fetihnamesi (Imperial letter announcing a conquest) are examples of the nestalik calligraphy art. Also in Ottoman architecture, this writing was first used in inscription of the Daru'l-Hadis Mosque in Edirne in 838/1435. It was also used in inscription of the Selcuk Hatun Mesjid in Edirne in 860/1456 during the Fatih era. The talikh (nestalik) writing style, which was official writing of Sheikhulislam office and scientific environments from Ottoman history from the Fatih era, attained artistic properties in 18th century.

Divani : This writing style, which means "Divana mensup" (belonging to Council) was used in official correspondences of the Ottoman Empire. Is is known that in result that the tevki' – rik'a calligraphy in the aklam-i sitte was treated through local understandings, this writing appeared in Iran, and it was called "talikh" (suspension) in this region due position of words as if they were suspended. It was used and improved by writers called "munsi" in correspondences of states such as Akkoyunlu and Karakoyunlu states, which existed in present East Anatolia and Iran geographies in 14th and 15th centuries. In result of the wars that Fatih Sultan Mehmed realized with Akkoyunlu state in 1473, their Secretaries of the Council were also brought to Istanbul, and therefore the kadim talikh (ancient suspension) calligraphy used in the east begun to be known by Ottoman calligraphers since the Fatih Sultan Mehmed era. Due to reforms that Tacuddin carried out in this writing during the Fatih era, he is accepted as craftsman that carried the divani calligraphy into its present shapes and sizes. Giving vowel pointed (hareke), pointed, intricate (girift) and composition (istif) styles the name "celi divani" (large variety of handwriting used in the imperial chancery) with changes obtained, it was used in top level official correspondences since 16th century. This writing, which was taught only in Divan-i Humayun (the Imperial Chancery of State) due to secrets in official correspondences of the State, completed its improvement in 19th and 20th centuries.

Kufi and Ma'hili : Use of these writing styles is more less than the writings aklam-i sitte group and the writings such as talikh (nestalik) and divani, which were recently improved during the Ottoman era. While these writing styles were sometimes preferred in manuscript works, heads of chapters, and also in heads of surras (section) of Korans, they especially in the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul are most



Hat kalemleri

Calligraphy pens

important examples in the architecture belonging to the Fatih Sultan Mehmed era. In examples in the Firuz Bey Mosque in Milas, the Green Mosque and Tomb in Bursa, the Old Mosque in Edirne, the Three-Balconies Mosque and the Muradiye Mosque in Edirne belonging the Early Ottoman era, use of the celi sulus and tezyini küfi (decorative Cufic scripts) together in the same line was also repeated in courtyard with of the Fatih Mosque. Other than these writings known that their examples in two window pediments reached until today, and they were written by calligrapher Yahya es-Sufi, they were used in wooden doors of the Lined Kiosk and Fatih Kiosk (the Treasury Board) in Istanbul, and in embroidery of the Sultan Cem Tomb in Bursa built by Fatih in the same period.

Siyakat (writing style used in treasury accounts and documents) : Even it has not an artistic property, it was used in some documents, title deeds, financial and official correspondences of the State. The siyakat writing improved through interaction kufi and nesih writing styles is not a measured writing style, but mostly it has properties such as shortening lengths of vertical words, joining non-contiguous words, separating vowel points and points. Most old examples of this writing, known that it was used since the umayyads era, and determined that it was in financial works during the Abbasids and Seljuks era, belonging to the Ottoman era, were embroidered during the Fatih Sultan Mehmed era. Examples in file "Fatih Sultan Mehmed" in the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry in Istanbul shows that the siyakat writing was exposed to some changes in process passing from Anatolian Seljuks to Ottoman Empire. The clerks such as Husam-i Rumi, Tacizade Cafer Çelebi known during the Fatih Sultan Mehmed era played a role in its improvement.

The Celi Writing (a spectacular writing style): The celi writings, which shows ripening process depending on improvement of architectural works, give important clues concerning the Fatih era. If architectural structures, which were built between 1451 and 1481 years are examined, it is seen that the tezyini kufi, ma'kili, muhakkak, sulus, talik and celi writing styles were used. The tezyini kufi writing was used together with the celi sulus writing such as in the Green Mosque and Tomb.

These applications are found in two window pediment in courtyard with portico and wooden doors of the Istanbul Fatih Mosque (867-875/1463-1470), and in wooden doors of the Lined Kiosk and Fatih Kiosk (the Treasury Board) in Istanbul (877/1472), and in embroidery of the Sultan Cem Tomb in Bursa (884/1479). In accordance with this style, inscription of the Tiled Kiosk is a single example that the muhakkak and celi sulus writing styles were used in the same line. In this inscription written in Persian, the muhakkak writing style written by thin pan, and the celi sulus writing style written by big pan are found. The talik (or nestalik as the name in that peri-

od) writing style was used in the Selcuk Hatun Mesjid, which was built in Edirne in 860/1456. In this inscription, letters are just far from sizes of the celi talik writing style and composition (istif) understanding. But, it is very important due to cultural interaction during the Fatih era to the calligraphy art, and differences in writing styles.

The most biggest development in the celi writings was realized in the celi sulus writing style. The writing style used most widespread in the architecture is the celi sulus writing. It is most appropriate writing style to different material sorts and compositions. The celi sulus writing style was used almost in all structures beginning from the Haci Zeynel (Uzbek) Mosque in Iznik, which was most earliest inscription belonging to the Ottoman era. The celi sulus writing style was used first by Mehmed bin Lacir in inscription of the Cankirikapi Bridge in Ankara in 777/1375. Inscriptions, stone columns, window pediments, domes, verses of the Koran, the Prophet Mohammed's studies and prayers on niches were usually written by celi sulus writing style.

The celi sulus writings used in Ottoman architecture have also carried the Seljuks' effects as much as the Fatih era approximately. This effect is seen as vertical letters lined up as groups and side by side, and letters such as nun, kaf, sin, sad were not written deeply, but flatly, and the letters, lam and elif, were written italic, and the "kef" was sometimes written curvedly or wavy, and steps were stubby and round, the letter "elif" was curved from its lower side to left. Because of the celi sulus writing style in structures such as the Nilufer Hatun Charity in Iznik, the Green Mosque and Tomb in Bursa, Yildirim Mosque and Tomb in Bursa, and the Three-Balconies Mosque in Edirne have tracks of new seekings far-off Seljuks' effects, it can be said that the celi sulus writing style was improved especially in hands of Yahya es-Sufi and his son Ali bin Yahya es-Sufi, and Sheikh Hamdullah since the Fatih era.

The Fatih Mosque, Mahmud Paşa Mosque, the Murad Paşa Mosque and the Bab-i Humayun in Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, the Sultan Bayezid mosques in Edirne, Istanbul and Amasya are most definite examples of this style.

Most important change that attracted attention in the celi sulus writings during the Fatih era is composition (istif) understanding. This change has appeared in musenna compositions (istif).

The musenna composition, which first example is found in crowned doors entering into innermost place from courtyard of the Three-Balconies Mosque, has reflected most beautiful and ripest properties in the sentence "Nasrun mina'llahi ve sethun karib ve beşiri'l-mü'minine ya Muhammed" written by Ali b. Yahya es-Sufi in the Hagia Sophia side of the Bab-i Humayun in the Topkapi Palace, and in the expression: "Ketebehâ ad'afû'l-âbid Ali bin Mezîd es-Safî" including the calligrapher's signature, and also in the verse of the Koran "Inne'l-muttakine fi cennâtin ve



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'uyân...', after the Besmele-i Serif (the writing "Bismillahirrahmanirrahim). Furthermore, the musenna composition was also applied in the verse Rabbenâ âtinâ fi'd-dünyâ haseneten ve fi'l-âhireti haseneten ve kinâ 'azâbe'n-nâr" in inscription the Murad Pasa Mosque (876/1471-72), and in the sentence "Tevekkülü alâ Hâlıkü" in both sides of croned door of the Mahmud Paşa Mosque (867/1462-63) in Istanbul:

Considerable Calligraphers During the Fatih Era

Some calligraphers during the Fatih era are as follows:

Yahya es-Sufi : It is not known when he, from Edirne, was born. It is not definite that who taught this craftsman, one of the most famous calligraphers during the Fatih era, the calligrapher. It is recorded in the Tuhfe-i Hattatin (Calligraphers Book) that the inscriptions written in celi sulus writing style in courtyard with portico and internal and external window pediments of the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul were embroidered by Yahya es-Sufi. Basing on the inscription in this places, it was understood that he created works in sulus and celi sulus writing styles. His most famous student was his son Ali. According to signature that Ali used in inscriptions, it is seen that he recorded his father as the name "Mezid" (abundant). It is put forward that he might have written inscriptions of the Three-Balconies Mosque in Edirne, because of he was from Edirne, and this mosque was built during his era. Another works belonging to this calligrapher was not encountered. He was dead in 882/1477-78. (According to Muslim/Christian calendars).

Ali b. Yahya es-Sufi : The calligraphy, whose birth date is not definite, was from Edirne, and learn the calligraphy art from his father. Although he was expert in every kind of writing styles, he was the most considerable calligrapher. He laid of the Ottoman celi sulus writing style especially in the celi sulus writing style and the musenna (double-dotted) compositions.

As we know and according to chronological order, his works are inscriptions of The Fatih Mosque (875/1470) and the Bab-i Humayun (the Imperial Gate) of the Topkapi Palace (883/1478) in Istanbul, and the Sultan Bayezid II Mosque (893/1487-88) in Amasya. He put his sign with the expression "Ketebehu Ali b. Sufi" (ketebehu means he wrote it) in inscription of the Fatih Mosque consisting of three parts upon main door, and with the expression "Ketebehu ad'afu'l-'abid Ali b. Mezid es-Sufi" circularly by using the musenna composition in the Bab-i Hayun (the Imperial Gate), and with the expression "Ketebehu ad'afu'l-'abid Ali b. Mezid" in the end of inscription of the Bayezid Mosque in Amasya. Historical process, unity in word anatomies and harmony in signature provide us the conclusion that Ali es-Sufi was the calligrapher of these three works. From these three works, his artistic skills in the calligraphy art and creativity in the musenna compositions appear.

The writings constitute turning point that the Ottomans left slowly the Anatolian Seljuks's style concerning improvement of the calligraphy art in it architecture, and entered into new seekings. Grave of the calligrapher, whose death date is unknown, is in the Calligraphers Tomb of the Karaca Ahmet Cemetary in Istanbul.

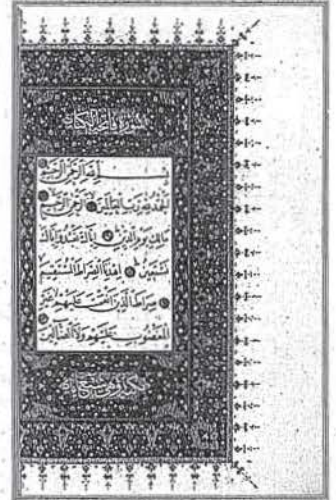
Sheikh Hamdullah : It is estimated that he was born in Amasya between 830/1427 and 833/1430. He was son of Mustafa Dede and Hafize Hatun. The craftsman, who was born in establishment years of the Ottoman Empire, trained himself in scientific and artistic environments in Amasya that was most important city of the Anatoliand Seljuks and Ottoman State. He begun his education from Sufi Yahya Celebizade Ali Celebi and completed it in Hayreddin Halil Celebi Marasi. Examining the writings of Yakut el-Mustasimi and Abdullah Sayrafi, he encouraged his education.

There are two different periods as Amasya and Istanbul in his life. Bayezid II, who was a sultan in Amasya, he learnt the calligraphy art from Sheikh Hamdullah during his task. When Bayezid II ascended the throne, because of Fatih Sultan Mehmed dead in 1481, he raised his teacher's position to palace calligrapher position. Sheikh Hamdullah, who examined thoroughly the writing examples belonging to Yakut given by the ruler, created a new style including foundations of the Ottoman Turkish Calligraphy art through his studies. The Sheikh style started beginning from this period. New sizes that he brought especially into sulus and nesih writings among the aklam-i sitte writing styles caused that these writings were in demand in the calligraphy art education and literature. Because of new style of Sheikh Hamdullah, the nesih writing style gained importance instead of the reyhani writing style in Mushaf literature. Beginning from this period, Mushaf writing process by the nesih writing only as a single writing style begun, and thus Mushaf writing process was left.

Sheikh Hamdullah reproduced two books regarding the medicine for personal library of Fatih Sultan Mehmed. These books are the book "Kitabu Huneyn bin Ishak fi'l-Mesail and Ecvibetiha fi't-Tib" (TSMK Sultan Ahmed III Library, 1996) and the book "Mesalihü'l-Ebdan ve'l-Enfus".

Sheikh Hamdullah, who produced many book such as Kur'an-i Kerim (Koran), prayer books, evrad-i serif, murakka, dialed less with the celi writing style in the architecture. Inscriptions of the Firuz Aga, Davud Pasa and Bayezid mosques in Istanbul, and the Sultan Bayezid Mosque in Edirne are his works.

His son Mustafa Dede (945/1538), his groom Sukrullah Halife, Hayreddin Kudsi (943/1536), Sultan Korkud (919/1513), Mahmud Desteri (953/1546) and Mustafa bin Nasuh can be considered among his students. The Sheikh style, which constitutes foundation of Turkish calligraphy art were shape in hand of the Ottoman calligraphers, and



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reached perfection in 19th century.

Seyyidi Muhammed el-Munsi : While the calligrapher, whose birth date and place is unknown, was board clerk of Sultan Uzun Hasan in Akkoyunlu State, was found among scholars, scientists and craftsmen that Fatih Sultan Mehmed brought to Istanbul after the war in 878/1473.

It is estimated that the calligrapher had a role in creation of the Ottoman divani calligraphy art. He reproduced Suhreverdi's work named "Hikmetu'l-Israk" in 882/1477 in Istanbul for personal library of Fatih Sultan Mehmed. This work is important in respect of the calligraphy and gilding arts. Due to his signature in his works, it was understood that he dead after 908/1502.

Ahmed Çelebi : The calligrapher was from Merzifon, and son of Ahi Toy bin Ahmed Merzifoni. The craftsman, whose birth date is unknown, is known as Semseddin Ahmed Katib. He was charged as a clerk of the Divan-i Humayun during Sultan Murad II. After Fatih Sultan Mehmed ascended the throne in 1451, he continued his task. Then, he was charges as reisulkuttab (Minister of Foreign Affairs) in 858/1454. He was one of the calligraphers, who wrote for personal library of Fatih Sultan Mehmed. He used the signature "Ahmed bin Ahi Toy el-Katibu's-Sultani". His death date is unknown definitely. According to his works, it is understood that he was living in 861/1456-57.

Hayreddin Halil Celebi : The calligraphy, whose birth date is unknown, was from Maras, and his father's name was Hasan bin Ali. After he settled in Amasya, he practiced the writings of Süfi Yahya Çelebi and Sinaneddin Yusuf Çelebi, the calligraphers during Celebi Sultan Mehmed. He was charged as council clerk of Sezade Alaeddin, the Amasya governor. The craftsman was the calligraphy teacher of the calligraphers Seyyid Ibrahim, Muhyiddin Kosec and Sheikh Hamdullah. He was dead in 876/1471.

Celâleddin Amasî : The calligrapher was from Amasya, but his birth date is unknown. His father was Ali Celebizade Alaeddin Hasan Celebi. He was relative of Sheikh Hamdullah, who was the famous calligrapher during the Fatih Sultan Mehmed and Bayezid eras. He learnt the calligraphy art from Hayreddin Marasi, Süfi Yahya Celebi and Fettahi Yahya Nisaburi. He stayed for a moment in Istanbul through invitation of the ruler during Bayezid II. Then, he came back as a calligraphy teacher during Sultan Ahmed. The calligrapher, who provided great contribution to establishment of the Ottoman calligraphy art, had a specific style. But, the style of Sheikh Hamdullah was more preferred. He was dead in 893/1488. Most considerable students, who was educated by him, were sons Cemal and Muhyiddin Amasi.

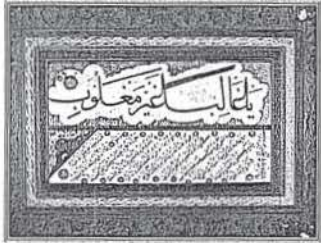
Cemal Amâsi : It is estimated that the calligrapher was born between 835/1431 and 840/1436 years. He was son of Celaleddin Amasi. Real name of

the craftsman, who was known as Cemal, was Mehmed Cemaleddin. He was one of craftsmen, who wrote beautifully the aklam-i sitte and especially sulus, nesih and rik'a calligraphy arts during Fatih Sultan Mehmet. The Mushaf-i Serif, which was written by him, in the Turkish-Islam Art Works Museum No 97 carries the date 913/1507. His prayer books are also in the Topkapi Museum and special collections.

Muhyiddin Amasi : He was second son of Celaleddin Amasi, and relative of Sheikh Hamdullah. The craftsman, whose birth date is unknown, was of important calligraphers like his father and brother Cemal Amasi during Fatih Sultan Mehmed. Muhyiddin Amasi learnt the aklam-i sitte writing styles from his father, and acquired a diploma. According to calligraphy art memorials, it is known that he lived a hundred years, and was living during Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, and the ruler put forward that Sheikh Hamdullah was too old, and therefore he charged Muhyiddin Amasi to write Mushaf-i Serif. The Kaside-i Burde, which was reproduced by Muhyiddin Amasi and found in Ayverdi collection, show that it carries differences Yakut style as appropriate to characteristic of the Ottoman calligraphy art in 15th century, and he entered into a new style seeking with more fluent and round word structure. The calligrapher, who completed his calligraphy art education in Amasya, was dead there.

Abdullah Amasi : The calligrapher, who was son of Ilyas bin Ali, was from Amasya, ans relative of Seikh. He was of students of Celaleddin Amasi. It is estimated that he was born in 840/1436. Abdullah Amasi was of craftsmen, who could write by using personal style in establishment of Turkish calligraphy art during Fatih Sultan Mehmed. Even he used a style, resembling flat pan properties, of Yakut el-Mustasimi in his writings, with his round and curved lines, he was different from Yakut el-Mustasimi. But he did not exceed the style of Sheikh Hamdullah that they presented their calligraphy works in the same period. The craftsman, who trained calligraphers such as Pir Mehmed bin Hayreddin, Semseddin Amasi and Kasim bin Abdullah, was known first in Amasya, and in all Islam world. According to Koran, manuscript works and murakkas (calligraphy collage), because his signature was encountered latest in 930/1524 during the Kanuni Sultan Süleyman era, it might be that he was dead after these dates.

Ahmed b. Abdullah el-Hicazi : The calligrapher, whose works' translations were not encountered biography book regarding the calligraphy art, wrote the Kur'an-i Kerim (Koran) dated 856/1452 displayed in the Mevlana Museum. According to information in cession pages, the book "Mustaf" was written in Edirne. In this work, muhakkak, reyhani, sulus and nesih writing style were used. This work has reflected the style of the Seljuks era and Yakut el-Mustasimi in the calligraphy and gilding understandings.



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Esedullah el-Kirmanî : The calligrapher, whose birth date is unknown, learnt the calligraphy art from Mehmed el-Kirmanî. This craftsman, who continued Yakut style that has cornered and hard characters, did not comply with new understanding improved by Sheikh Hamdullah. He was teacher of Ahmed Karahisari, who was a famous craftsman during Kanuni Sultan Suleyman, and a calligrapher of the Suleymaniye and Selimiye mosques. He was dead in 892/1486.

When the Kur'an-i Kerims (Korans), manuscript art works, murakkas and architectural works in the museums and libraries, other calligraphers, who lived during the Fatih Sultan Mehmed era, are as follows: Mehmed b. Seyyid Gari, Abdurrahman Hatemi bin Ali b. Seyh Pir Ali, Ahmed b. Hocâ Yahya Sibekezade, Seyyid Ali, Ali Yetim, Cemaleddin Abdullah b. Ali, Hasan b. Abdussamed es-Samsuni, Kemal es-Sani, Mecdeddin, Mehmed b. Mehmed Hamdi, Muhyiddin Kosec, Mir Taci, Giyasu'l-Mucellid Isfahani, Melikzade, Abdullah b. Mahmud, Husam-i Rumi, Ibrahim Munif, Seyyid Ibrahim, Yesir Ahmed Katib, Bedreddin Katib, Yusuf Katib, Cemal Katib, Ahmed, Seyyidi Mehmed, Efsahi and Naziri.

Effect of the calligraphy art during the Fatih era to following era

Istanbul was last of important cities, where scientists and art specialists gathered, and Turkish-Islam civilization was shaped. The calligraphy art has its share of this move.

150-years process from establishment of the Ottoman Empire was preparation period in respect of Turkish calligraphy art, and the Fatih era was also establishment period. Most important factors of this improvement are that:

Fatih Sultan Mehmed invited some craftsmen in Anatolia and other Turkish-Islam geography to Istanbul, and he also brought some ones to Istanbul after the conquests. Thus, other than aklam-i sitte writing style, different writing styles such as talik (nestalik) and divani were known, learn and improved also in Istanbul.

The palace embroidery housed that was established during the Seljuks era and that its presence was also known in Edirne during the Ottoman era was carried into the Topkapi Palace built in Istanbul after the conquest. Briefly, the palace embroidery house continued the tradition.

As a ruler, Fatih Sultan Mehmed was interested in the art, artists and craftsmen. For his personal library, he made write many manuscript works to the calligraphers. He prepared appropriate environment to for bookbinders, gilders, carvers and other art groups for activities such as gilding, binding and miniature.

Artistic environments concerning education of the calligraphy art established in Bursa, Edirne and especially in Amasya were carried to Istanbul partially.

The aklam-i sitte writing style in effect of the

Yakut e-Mustasimi style reached a definite satisfaction. The use areas of the tevki' and rik'a writing styles narrowed. The sulus and nesih writing styles preferred instead of muhakkak and reyhani. Sheikh Hamdullah marked a new epoch in the sulus and nesih writing style, and it was accepted by the calligraphy art environments.

Improvements obtained in the calligraphy art during the Fatih era gave their fruits during the Bayezid II and Kanuni Sultan Suleyman eras, and strated process of Turkish calligraphy art. Sheikh Hamdullah, who had most great share in its improvement, was known as title "kibletu'l-kuttab". Although he marked a new epoch in the aklam-i sitte and especially sulus – nesih writing styles, it was transferred to new generations through his son Mustafa Dede, his bridegroom Sukrullah Halife and his other students. Kanunî döneminde Ahmed Karahisari and his students were last representatives of the aklam-i sitte writing style in the Yakut style during Kanuni Sultan Suleyman. They couldn't hold on against the reforms of Sheikh Hamdullah. The nesih writing style ripened in hands of Sheikh Hamdullah and his students was used in Mushaf (the Koran). The sulus writing style was also in murakkas and tablets, and the muhakkak and reyhani writing styles were slowly left in the end of 17th century. Thus, in and after 17th century, the sulus, nesih, talik, divani and rik'a writing styles were used intensively.

Calligraphers followed up the style of Sheikh Hamdullah until 17th century. Calligraphers, who assembled this style, were given the title such as "He wrote just like Sheikh" or Seyh-i sani.

Hafiz Osman, who grew up in 17th century, examined the Sheikh Hamdullah's writings, and subjected them to an esthetic elimination, and created a special calligraphy style. The understanding that he created in position, body and esthetic structures of letters constituted the Hafiz Osman style. Mustafa Râkım (1758-1826) begun to apply the sulus writing style improved by Hafiz Osman to celi sulus writing style in the beginning of 19th century. Thus, the sulus and nesih writing styles reached until today in hands of Hafiz Osman, Seyyid Abdullah (1731), Mehmed Rasim (1755), Ismail Zuhdi (1806), Mustafa Rakim (1826), Mahmud Celaleddin (1829), Kazasker Mustafa İzzet Efendi (1876), Mehmed Sevki Efendi (1887), Mehmed Sefik Bey (1880), Sami Efendi (1912), Kamil Akdik (1941). The talik writing style was applied by calligraphers such as Veliyyuddin Efendi (1768), Yesari Mehmed Efendi (1798), Yesarizade Mustafa İzzet Efendi (1849), Sami Efendi (1912), Necmeddin Okyay (1976). This writing style released Iran effect, and obtained Ottoman style.

The calligraphy art, which has hard discipline and education model depending on master-apprentice relationship, was shaped in hands of Turkish calligraphers, and renewed itself.

Consequently, the calligraphy art during the Fatih era had property of formation period of Turkish



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calligraphy art. In this period improved in Edirne-Edirne – Amasya – Istanbul triangle, other than aklam-i sitte group writings (muhakkak, reyhani, tevki', rik'a, sulus, nesih), other writing styles such as divani and talik (nestalik) gained a new character in hands of Ottoman-Turkish calligraphers. In this for-

mation, Fatih Sultan Mehmet has also great share, who encouraged all calligraphers, and prepared an easy working environment for them in embroidery haouse, as much as them.

Miniature Painting And The Art Of Ornameting

The first two books that are prepared in Edirne before the conquest of Istanbul and that are defined as "pictured" (tasvirli) books are Dilsüzname which is now hold at Oxford Bodleian Library and Külliyyat-ı Kâtibi which is recorded in Revan 989 of Topkapi Palace Museum Library. The third of such books, Iskendername, which is written and illustrated in the middle of 15th century by Ahmedî, is recently at Marciana Library in Venice. This third work is defined as the first illustrated history book because of parts which are about Ottoman history.

Despite Mehmed II's well known bibliophilic tendency and appreciation of pictures, the number of books with miniatures belonging to his era which remained to the our date is very limited.

Cerrâhiyetü'l-Hâniye, which is prepared and submitted to Mehmed II in 1465 by Sabuncuoğlu Şerefeddin of Amasya, includes many (surgical) operation scenes. Although the pictures in this book are 'dimensionless' and made up of naive drawings due to miniature techniques, they can be considered as the samples of the era's painting concept.

In his biographical work, Menâkıb-ı Hün-er-erân, poet and historian Mustafa Âli Bey of Gelibolu (1541-1599) declared that Sinan the Miniaturist and Şiblizade Ahmet were among the painters of Mehmed II after a delay of a hundred years. It is noted that Sinan the Miniaturist or Sinan Bey, who is known to have received education from foreign painters, "was an important character in the palace who had relations with the Italians and who is sent to Venice as ambassador in 1480".

Since it has traces of Italian technique, it is not clear whether the portrait of Mehmed II, which shows him holding a handkerchief in his left hand and smelling a rose with his right, is painted by Sinan the Miniaturist or by his pupil Şiblizade Ahmet who was a master of portraits. The relations of Sinan the Miniaturist and Şiblizade Ahmed with the European trends along with their traditional Timurly painting technique is noteworthy.

Another portrait of Mehmed II, which is now being kept at Topkapi Palace Museum Library with the number Hazine 2153, belonging to 1460 or 1480 is also thought to be painted by Sinan the Miniaturist. Since the portrait strongly resembles the picture of Mehmed II, which is on a locket painted by Costanzo da Ferrara, the probability that the work indeed belong to Sinan Bey is not very high. However, it is

possible that Sinan the Miniaturist copied the painting in the locket to paint the portrait in question.

Mehmed II, who was following the Renaissance movement of Europe very closely, demanded Matteo de'Pasti, a famous locket artist, to be sent to Istanbul but due to political reasons the artist was not able to come to Istanbul. It is also known that Mehmed II asked Venice authorities to send architects, painters and even sculptors to Istanbul. Gentile Bellini, who came to Istanbul in September 1479, as a result of such a summon stayed in the city until January 1481. According to the notes of Gian-Maria Angiolello, who was the treasury officer of Mehmed II in the mentioned period, Bellini was welcomed and treated respectfully.

At first Bellini painted and submitted a Venice landscape to Mehmed II upon his request and later on he finished the famous portrait after a long and hard work period-according to some records the portrait is finished six months before the sultan's death.

The work Bellini created in Istanbul includes several paintings picturing the daily life in the Ottoman Empire and landscapes of Istanbul. For example, he painted the Arcadius Pillar, which was 47 meters high and fully erect when he painted the monument. All that remains of the pillar is its base which is in Cerrahpaşa.

Gentile Bellini, is not the first foreign artist to come to Mehmed II's palace. Twenty years before him famous locket artist Matteo Pasti of Verona has been invited but failed to come. However among those who came to Istanbul there are artist like Bertoldo di Giovanni, who was in Istanbul when Bellini was also in the city and who painted a portrait and the 1480 locket of Mehmed II, and Costanzo da Ferrara, who depicted Mehmed II very well in his locket dated 1481.

It is noted that Bellini made a second copy of the famous portrait and going back to his country took this second copy with him. The portrait in the London National Gallery is said to be the second copy. It is also believed that the original copy in the Palace "has probably been destroyed along with all other paintings hanging on the walls of the palace during Bayezid II's (1481-1512) reign by the conservative group".

According to the notes of Angiolello, Mehmed II's son Bayezid II, unlike his father, was very conservative about pictures. "Right after his ascend to the throne, he sold all Bellini paintings in the



Baş Haseki

Head Veteran

Palace...most of the paintings were bought by merchants coming from Italy".

Whether Mehmed II's portraits were destroyed or sold or not and whether the Bellini portrait in the National Gallery is the original or the copy are open to dispute but it is definite that Mehmed II made European painters paint pictures and lockets and hang the paintings to the Palace walls.

Süheyl Ünver says:

"Mehmed II was never a conservative person. His scientific mind allowed the country to get away from the effects preventing the countries development. He is the first sultan to have his portraits made and a plenty of them. The portraits of sultan's who reigned after him were painted after they passed away.."

The Istanbul University Rectorate led by Süheyl Ünver published a document with the title "Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Ölümü ve Hâdiseleri Üzerine Bir Vesika" [A Document on the Death of Mehmed II and Related Events] in 1952. The original

of this document is an old document written in French, which is recorded in the Princeton University Library Manuscripts Section with no.186, dated 12 September 1481. The funeral of Mehmed II is cited as follows in the document mentioned:

"On the sarcophagus there was an illustration of the Sultan [as if he was alive, "sultâni" dresses were laid on it and an elegant turban was wrapped to the headpiece..." This depiction, which implies that the famous portrait by Bellini was next to the coffin is not plausible at all. However the scene depicted reminds us of Mehmed II's excessive interest in painting and Bayezid II's destruction of the paintings in the palace and his words about his father

The Mehmed II portraits being displayed in the Topkapı Palace today is a not a very successful copy that is painted by Fausto Zonaro (1854-1929) who lived in Istanbul between 1896-1908 with the title *ressam-ı hazret-i şehriyârî* as the Palace Painter.

The Art Of Bookbinding

Binding is the covering within which the leaves of a book are bound in order to protect them from getting worn out. It was developed in the Central Asia then was passed on to Arabic Peninsula and to Anatolia, and gained importance as a branch of art particularly in Seljuk Turks. The importance that Muslim Turks gave to books enabled the books to be written in elaborate writings, illuminated in accordance with its sacredness, and refinedly and exquisitely but strongly bound so as to be protected.

This art of ours had showed a great development in the Ottoman era. The Ottoman palace had a major role in this development. Bookbinders had different ranks and positions amongst each other such as *ser oda* (head of room), *ser keth* (head of order), *ser mücellit üda* (head of high bookbinders). It is seen from the *Ehl-i Hiref* (artisans) books of the palace that their number was about fifty. Art had gained a popularity outside the palace as well. In this way, many valuable masterpieces some of which could reach our time, were able to be made. This era when the most valuable and beautiful examples in the classical style were emerged has been the time when the finest specimen were given.

According to the expression of Evliya Çelebi, in the 17th century 300 bookbinders were working in ten binding houses only in Istanbul. Fatih era had been not only a bridge between Seljuk and Ottoman cultures and arts but also at the same time influenced European bindings and effects of Turk-Islamic art of bookbinding were seen in European bindings. The illustrative motifs on the binding covers had been handmade without using any kind of mold from the 12th century up until the 15th. In the reign of Mehmed II, like all other things, Turkish art of book

binding had reached it zenith, everything to be made about book binding was made and a great development was achieved. We see that the use binding covers was started after this time.

Embellishments made on the cover, *sertab* (the middle part of the peace covering the book's opening side) and *mikleb* (triangular last part of the peace covering the book's opening side, it enters inside the book cover and acts as a book mark) are the characteristics of classical Turkish style book binding. We can not encounter in the Turkish bindings the human and animal figures and mythological creatures which can be found in Iranian book bindings. The motif in Turks are generally stylized plants, in most cases in the shape of a flower. The embellishments on the book bindings can be various in shape. *Hatayî* (Kâşî, Horasanî, Buhârâ and Dihlevî), *Herat* (Şiraz, İsfahan), *Arab* (el-Cezîre, Halep, Fars), *Mamluk* (Mısır), *Magribî*, *Râmî* (Seljuk), *Türk*, *Ottoman* (Diyarbakır, Amasya, Bursa, Edirne, İstanbul) are the major styles.

Mehmed II has collected many fine bound and embellished books made in the embellishment and binding houses in his palace and devoted to the education institutions he established. Fatih Sultan Mehmed opened his collections of books in excellent bindings in Abû Ayyûb el-Ansarî Mosque, Fatih Mosque, Fatih University, Topkapı Palace mansions to the use of people and the scientific community.

The late Kemal Çığ in his work *Türk Kitapları* (Turkish Books) says the following: three leaves, roses, blooms, water lily, rose geranium leaf, cloud, hill, *penç*, *Hatayî*, vineyard and awl which were stylized from nature were used in the book bindings made in Istanbul in this era and we cannot encounter any view, arabesque and live creature motifs. The



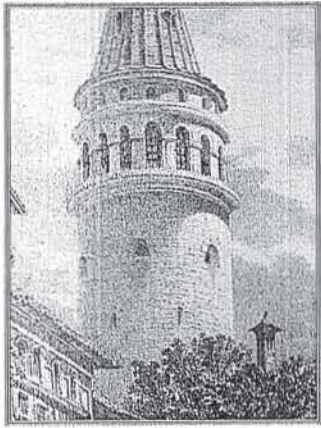
Dilsiz

Dumb

manner of these motifs in the book bindings of all Islamic peoples are in the shape of *şemse*, corner piece and border nevertheless, Turkish book binding has a difference when looked in the sense of taste. There are some other differences inside the book. Insides are mainly thick, carved, plain, elegant, elaborate and composed only of central medallion and sometimes contains in the same way the corner piece. Background is single or two color. Sometimes the embellishment outside is repeated also inside as changed leather color.

The fact that on the cover of imam Merzûkî's *Şerh-ı Divânü'l-Hamâse* written by a calligrapher named Şemsedin Kutsî in 1464 for Fatih Sultan Mehmed, there were embellishments below the relief motifs that it was combed with sharp pointed hot metal; has created an artistic air which could no be encountered any other people. This work can be regarded as the initiation of the Turkish art taste finding its national character in book bindings.

The binding of Koran which was written by Hamdullah-ı Amâsî, the magnificent and excellent calligrapher of the 15th century Turkish world, in 1493 with a highly elaborate writing is one of the finest of the book bindings that were made with cold stamp. Inside and outside of the covers bear the same character. 15th century Turkish motifs like *Râmi*, *Halayt*, *penç*, *seberk*, *gonca* and *tepelik* were used in decoration. The leveling of the motifs according to which they were relief, superiority of the highly elaborate taste, the harmony ensured by the calligraphies written in gold, are all full of artistic ability to which one could not come across even in Heart in that century. One of the features of this book is that three golden rulers were put in parallel to each other, middle is darker, on the outer edges which constitutes the thickness. This process making of which is extremely difficult gives an extraordinary richness to the outlook of the binding.



Galata Kulesi

Galata Tower

Music

Music outside the Ottoman Territories in Fatih Era

We know that there were musical works in the regions outside Ottoman territories, especially in the neighbor states. Musical work *Risale fi ilmi'l-musika* in Persian language of Abdurrahman Cami (died in 1492) whom Fatih invited to Istanbul was among these. An important work giving explanation of terms of the era, *Risale der musiki*, of poet and musician Binai, who was known as contemporary with Ali Shir Nevai and who stayed in Tebriz with Akkoyunlu's Sultan Yakup Khan, was published. Some of the Binai's compositions were recorded by Shems-i Rumi, one of the musicians in Fatih's place.

Akkoyunlu's Uzun Hasan (1453-1478) and his son Sultan Yakub (1478-1490) were the sultans who attached great importance to music. Hasan the Long had a 98-peopled team of stringed instruments which was called *ehl-i tarab* and which he took even to campaigns. Theoretical work *Behchetu'r-ruh* in Persian language, which was believed to belong to Abdulmu'min, was written XV century. The legitimacy of *devran* and *sema* which were very popular in *sufism* were discussed outside the Ottoman territories. Ibn Zeydun es-Shazeli (died in 1477), who was brought up in Tunisia and known for his influence over the region from Tunisia till the Cairo, wrote a work of art about the importance of the legitimacy of *sema*. Philosopher Devvani (died in 1502) who stayed with Akkoyunids' for a long time gave short notes of information about the relationship between music and mathematics and about the musical theory in his work *Ahlak* that he wrote in Persian. It was admitted that Dede Korkut Stories that involved musical elements was written down in

the region of Kars and Erzurum in the second half of XV century.

One of the religious intellectuals, Zeynelabidin Mahmud Huseyni (died in 1512) left the Ottoman territories, went to Timurids state and stayed there for a very long time. Huseyni devoted his work *Kanun-ı ilmi ve amelî-i musiki* written in Persian to Ali Shir Nevai, the vizier of Huseyin Bakara, the ruler of Timurlu state. Dede Omer Rusheni, who left Anatolia, settled down in Tebriz, the capital of Akkoyunlus and received credit from Yakub Khan, had an important work of art, *Neyname* on which he worked by taking Mevlana's *Mesnevi* as an example. Although it contained musical elements, it was not a directly a musical work. But it was believed that Dede Omer Rûseni had a composition that reaches today. Besides the musical works we tried to mention shortly above, there were other Arabian and Persian musical works written in XV century. In the miniatures of XV century painted in the time of Timurlid-sand Akkoyunids, one can see that *chenk* (primitive harp), *rebab* (a kind of ancient violin), *ney* (reed flute), *ut* (lute) were played before the sultan from the musical elements. There were no drawings in the notebook, which became famous with the name of the Notebook of Fatih. There were figures of a giant playing *rebab* (a kind of ancient violin) and of giants playing with handkerchiefs in their hands, in the miniatures called *Fatih Album*. Legendary musician Barbed and his music were usually mentioned in *Iskendername*. There were two works, one with 66 miniatures and other with 40 miniatures, which were written outside the Ottoman territories in the Fatih era.

In various researches, it was found out that Andalusia Muslims, which still existed in today's

Spain in Europe during the Fatih Era, affected the Europe from the aspects of literature, architecture and music, altogether with the understanding of science, religion and philosophy. Europeans were affected by this civilization and musical tastes, and the Flanders (Flemish, Flamenco) musical era, in other words Renaissance started. The greatest leader of this music was G. Dufay (1400-1473) and the most important followers were Jean de Ockeghem and Jacob Obrech. The most important event of these years was the publication of the musical notes, which had been written by handwriting till that day, in the printing house for the first time in 1476. Two Western musical theoreticians were considered as important personalities in this era. B. Ramos de Pareja wrote the works of art, named *Liber de arte contrapuncti* and *Musica Practica*.

Resources of Fatih Era

In this section, we'll deal with the composers around Fatih and in the music world in Ottoman territories between the years 1451-1481 during which Fatih ruled. Although there were various articles about the music in the Fatih era, there weren't enough resources researching about the era and its composers. So, Fatih era waits to be enlightened from the perspective of music. In this article, we'll focus on only the composers whose compositions were detected, since it is impossible to handle the music of Fatih era from all perspectives.

It is possible to find a lot of information as resources, considering that there are Ottoman Archives documents Prime Minister's Office, political histories, digest of laws, *tezkire* (memorials), magazines of compositions, works of art with miniatures. Since important part of archive documents were not suitable for studying, we've used *Dester-i Musveddat-i In'amat* and *Hicri 883 Senesi Mevacib Desteri*.

According to this notebook which stated the daily wages given to the people staying in the place; of the *guyende* (singers) who were among the *silahdaran* (custodian of the arms) affiliated to Yakub Aga, Mevlana Emre's daily wage was 15, Eminuddin's daily wage was 12, Hüseyin's daily wage was 6, Ali's daily wage was 5 *akche* (small silver coin). Among the performers, daily wage of lute player Shirmerd was 7, that of zither player Ishak was 6, and that of lute player Bahadır was 8 *akche* (small silver coin) and who was among the *silahdaran* (custodian of the arms) affiliated to Turgut Bey. Among the companies, there was also a *rakkas* (male dancer). The daily wage of the male dancer whose name was Yusuf was 12 *akche* (small silver coin). According to the records of the same notebook, it was mentioned about a *zevvakin* (sultan's food tasters) community which contained this male dancer and which was affiliated to Sinan Bey. This should have been a team of people who were responsible to make the sultan entertain containing the foods and the cuisine and to perform entertainment in the place. Sinan whose daily wage was 47 *akche* and his son Mehmet whose

daily wage was 22 *akche* (small silver coin) was seen as the *serzevvakın* (the head of the community).

In works of the political history writers, we cannot see much information about music of the era. From the information given by Tursun Bey, we know that instruments like *ut* (lute), *cheng* (primitive harp), *şeshtar* (a six-stringed lute), *tambur* (long necked-lute), *rebab* (a kind of ancient violin), *barbet* (*barbette*), *kanun* (zither), *ney* (reed flute); melodic creations like *şehnaz*, *ushshak*, *neva*, *muhayyer* were known in those days and that there were *muhanniye* concubines singing and dancing girls playing *chengs* (primitive harp) in the wedding ceremonies. *Ashikpashazede* mentioned about the singers who joined the circumcision ceremony of Prince Bayezid, only by saying that "*hoshtanlar okudular* (*hoshtans sang*)".

We can see that *def* (a tambourine with jingles), *cheng* (primitive harp) and *ney* (reed flute) were miniaturized in the works of arts like *Dilsuzname* that was known to be written in Fatih era. Other resources for Fatih era were libraries aboard, some of which contains works of art with miniatures. These works of art should be published as soon as possible.

Traditions like making female dancers dance and playing drums and shrill pipes were to be valid for the Turkish people and tradesmen in Fatih era. From the records of *Mecmuatu'n-nezair* and *Camu'n-nezair* that Fuad Koprulu examined, we've learned that some of the bards lived in Fatih era. It is seen that after the conquest of Istanbul by Fatih, Jewish became experts of *saz* (*rush*) and illusion in *Kuruçesmê* and Greeks became experts of *saz* (*rush*) in Galata taverns and that like many taverns by the seaside having many fishermen, Galata taverns were famous for their *hanende* (singers), *sazende* (performers), *mutrib* (minstrels). There were *rakkas'* (male dancers) and *mahbubs* (lovers, sweet-talkers) dancing and talking which their unique veils called *Israil-peche* (Israel-veil), *yahudi-peche* (Jewish-veil) in the taverns of Jewish neighborhood. Like Turks, Christians and Jewish went to forests, excursion spots, vineyards and gardens outside the city walls of Istanbul.

Fatih Sultan Mehmet listened the Janissary band without standing up.

Place Musicians of Fatih Era

Hace Abdulaziz Celebi: The youngest of three sons of Hacı Abdulkadir Meragi (died in 1435), the famous musician and theoretician. He was born in Semerkant after 1405. He took first steps of his religious education and music lessons in the city of Herat where he began to live after 1410. He came from Herat to Bursa with a copy of *Makasidu'l-Elhan*, dated 1421, which his father wrote for Murat II. When Murat II took over Edirne in 1422, he gave Hacı Abdulaziz the village of Hacı Temurhan, which was nearby the city as feudal tenure, because of his art.



Yere Batan Sarnıcı

Yere Batan Cistern

Hacı Abdulaziz's father wrote a footnote to his work *Makasidu'l-Elhan*. Besides this, he also wrote a musical theory named *Nekavetu'l-Edvar* for Mehmed II on the occasion of his ascending to throne. Since Hacı Abdulaziz did not refer *Fatih* as *Ebulfez*, the title given to *Fatih* after his conquest of Istanbul in the preamble of this work of art, it should have been written in Edirne. In his work of art, he told that he invented two melodic creations named *shube-i shahi* and *shube-i sefa* in the name of *Fatih*. The fact that there were no mentioning about the conquest of Istanbul in the lyrics he composed for praising *Fatih* in these melodic creations showed that this work of art was written before the conquest of Istanbul. *Nekavetu'l-Edvar* was composed of one *mukaddime*, 12 *fasıl*, and one *hatime*. Hacı Abdulaziz *Chelebi* who received great compliments during the time of Murat II was *cemaat-i mutrabanin*. He gave lute lessons in the place and *Enderun*.

Of his works, an *amel* that was *zengule* melodic creation and Persian composition, a work of music that was in *chadarb* style, a *chadarb taksim* of *huseyni* melodic creation and a composition that was in *sunbule* melodic creation were recorded. Some of the compositions with the signature of *Hacı* which were seen in lyrics magazines and whose notes are known today should have been belong to him.

It was recorded down that Hacı Abdulaziz *Chelebi* made one composition in each of the *shube-i shahi* and *shube-i sefa* melodic creations which were his own creations on the occasion of *Fatih*'s ascending to throne. *Mulemmas* and translations that Hacı Abdulaziz composed were as follows. The lyrics of the two compositions in *shube-i shahi* melodic creation:

Inne kisra ahidina sultanu asrin'illezi/
Mislehu lem yesmai'l-eflaku fi husni's-siyem/
Hüsrev-i sahib-kıran Sultan Mehmed an ki u/
Der meyân-ı pâdişâhân şod be sultan-i âlem/
Ve'hve hakânün hasibün min havakini'z-zamâni/
Ve'hve sultanün nesibün min selâtini'l-acem/
Dâdhâh-i dergehi-i adl-i to sad Nâşirevân/
Hâşecîn-i harmen-i cûd-i to sad Kâvus u Cem/
Râhatü'l-ervâhi li'l-uşşâki fi husni'l-lika/
Lezzetü'l-eshbâhi fi'l-afâki min lüfi's-siyem/
Tig hem çün zulfikâret hâmi-i İslâm şod/
Tâ keşed â'dâ ez-o ser der giribân-i adem.

Devletet tâ keşt ageh baht-i â'dâ huşte şod/
Daima bidâr dâr ân devlet-i agâh râ/
Ey melik zıkr-i to çün ez âlem-i sıldk ü safast/
Der dud-yı şâh gâ ân zıkr-i bi ikrah râ/
Tâ beka-yı ins ü cänn ü berr ü bahr ü kân ola/
Tâ sebat-ı mihr ü mâh ü zühre vü keyvân durur/
Devletin pâyende olsun tâc ü tahtun müstedâm/
Kubbe-i hadîrada tâ çarh-ı felek gerdân durrur.
The lyrics of composition of Hacı Abdulaziz in his own of *shube-i sefa* melodic creation:

Tabe bi-nefsih midihâ turre-i mişk sây-i to/
Perde-i gonce-i midih rûhande-i dilküşâ-yı to/
Şah nişin çeşm-i men tekye ki hayatest/
Cây-i duat şah-i men bi to mebdâ cây-i to/
Ey gül-i hoşnestim-i men bülbül-i hiş râ bi-hüs-rân/
Kez ser-i sıldk mi-kuned şeb heme şeb dua-yı to/
Cuş-i şarab u şur-ı aşk ân nefsem rû der ser/
Kın ser pâr heves şod hâk-i der serây-i to/
Dilk-i gedâ-yı aşk va genc bûd der âstân/
Zûd be-saltanat resed her ki bûd gedâ-yı to.
Abdulaziz also had a composition other than those mentioned which was recorded by *shems-i rumi*:
Tâb-i beneşe mi-dehed her turre-i mişküşây-i to/
Perde-i gonca mi-dehed hânde-i dilküşâ-yı to/
sünbûle, Abdulaziz b. Abdülkadir, sedarb, 130a
Ali Avvad who composed for *Fatih* Sultan Mehmet was recorded in the lyrics anthologies as a man playing lute. This person received a lot of compliments of Bayezid II later on and composed *culus tebrigi* (congratulation for ascending to throne), which a poet having the pseudonym of *Sayili* wrote, in *dugah* melodic composition and *sedarb* style.
Sipih-i saltanat der ber mülk-i Osman/ Şeh-i âşak Sultan ibni Sultan/
Tura bādâ beka-yı âb u hakest/ Eger ber bād şod taht-ı Süleyman/
Süleymanî tura zibed ki hâhed/ Zi divânet selâtin hükm u ferman/
Hemîşe sâl u mâhet iyd u-nevrüz/ Kî ta hasmet şevêd zin gussa kurban/
Merân ez der ki hod Sâyili ra/ Kî ümmid-i gedâ bâşed Sultan
Ali Can Kalenderî's mentioning of *Fatih* Sultan Mehmet in his buselik composition delivers an atmosphere of congratulation.
Sagari: He was famous with the name of *Kazgaz* Ali of Edirne. The poet who, we know that was a friend of *Shems-i Rumi*, another musician took rush lessons from *Ali Purtuk*. In his *tezkire* (memorials), *Sehi* mentioned how enviably talented *Sagari* was in playing and made everybody entertain in the assembly right away. *Sagari* visited the place and performed *fasils*. He prepared his tomb, planting around cypress, almond and peach trees towards the end of his life. *Sagari* had a *Divan* (collected poems). *Sagari* who saw the *Bayezid II* era and *Yavuz* Sultan *Selim* era after *Fatih* era died in 1520.
Shemseddin Nahifi: Since *Sehi* mentioned that *Mevlana Nahifi* became famous as *Guyende* usta *Shems*, he was a *hanende* (singer) with a beautiful voice. *Nahifi* whom *Tashkoproluzade* recorded as *el-Mevla Shemseddin* and *Mecdi* recorded as *Mevlana Shemseddin* was originally from *Aydın*. After he received fundamental knowledge in his early ages in *Aydın*, he began a journey in order to increase his knowledge and experience and went to *India*, *Iran* and *Arabia* during the rule of *Murat II*. He visited *Tabriz* and *Baghdad* and he took lessons from different scholars, learned *Arabic* and *Persian*



Kâtip

Clerk

languages with their literary arts developed his talent in music science. Nahifi Shems-i Rumi returned to Anatolia later on and entered the place of Sultan Mehmet thanks to his talent in music. In a visit of sazende (performer) Abdulkadir Gulabi who came from Iran to Sultan Fatih, Nahifi arranged a composition, couplets and melodic creation of which belonged to himself, on the behalf of the sultan and thus showed his supremacy, knowledge and experience. Nahifi Shems-i Rumi gathered his friends Sagari and Kazzaz Ali of Edirne and music fasils.

However, in one day, Nahifi Shems-i Rumi made a mistake before Fatih Sultan Mehmed and was sent away from the place.

Shems-i Rumi who later on settled in Bursa began to live away from people and gave music lessons to the ones who wished to learn music in exchange for one drachma. His mind weakened towards the end of his life and he died in 1494. It was said that his tomb was near Bursa Dede Effendi Small Mosque and he was one of the ancestors of Mikarizade Yahya Effendi who was sheikh al-Islam between the years 1662-1674. None of the tezkiireci (one who wrote memorials) but Schi recorded the poems of Nahifi Shems-i Rumi who was said to write poems in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian. Today, we had a lyrics magazine, which contained Shems-i Rumi's work about a music that was later on named as Bereket. According to the records in this magazine, it was known that Shems-i Rumi had 14 compositions in the melodic creations of hicaz, chargah (two pieces), nuhust, gerdaniye (two pieces), buselik (two pieces), karcigar, nevashebkari, zavil (two pieces), acem, sünbüle.

Some Musicians Outside the Place:

Mevlana Shavur: He was among the kadhi of Kastamonu. He was known for his talent in music as well as his knowledge in religious. Latifi who gave place to his poets said that Mevlana Shavur also wrote a musical work of art. According to some tezkiire (memorials), Shavur died in Bayezid II era. Mevlana Shavur's name was mentioned in a magazine with an addition of a title "fakir" to his name. Eight of his compositions, one of which had Arabic lyrics and others of which had Persian lyrics were recorded. These compositions had the melodic creations of irak, huseyni, zavil, avaz, shenaz, turki hicaz and nihavend.

Mevlana Shems-i: He was also from Kastamonu and was a kadhi. Latifi Chelebi said that Necati appreciated him because of his talent of composition, of musical knowledge, and composition of his own works and that Necati mentioned about Mevlana Shems-i as shems-i edvari. Latifi Chelebi also informed that Mevlana Shems-i had a musical work of art. It was known that Mevlana Shems-i had three compositions. One of these compositions was an amel having Persian and another was neva shebkari in evsat stlye. We learned from O. Wright's book that there were two lyrics handwritings, on which it was

stated that Mevlana Shems-i had more compositions, in Bodleian Library. But we cannot get the opportunity to see these lyrics handwritings.

Besides these composers, it was recorded in Kuliyat-i Shems-i Rumi that Mevlana Mehmed Siyah Kastamoni about whose life we didn't have any information had two compositions in irak and acem melodic creations. Although there were other poets who interested in music, their compositions could not reach today.

Religion Music:

We've known that religion music was also present in Fatih era. From the records in foundation books, we've learned that people like yasinhan, cuzhan, ihlashan, salavathan, naathan, mevlithan, duagu, mesnevihan, semazen, and shiirhan were commissioned and paid.

The religious music of Fatih era consisted of pieces for worship like ezan (the call to prayer), kamet (the muezzin's call signaling the beginning of the prayer), naat (poem praising the Prophet Muhammed), tekbir (esteeming great), sala (a chant from the minaret on occasions of the Friday namaz, a call to a funeral service and a similar sacred occasions), salat (ritual prayer), and temcid (a chant sung from the minarets at night about an hour after the last service of worship during the months of Rejeb, Shaban and Ramazan) and hymns about religious matters. The people who read Koran by heart with beautiful voice, zakirs (dervish performing zikir in a lodge) and the people who were charged to recite salas were also in this group. The books about two elements of religion music, such as devran and sema were evaluated under this title. On the other hand, the tradition after the emergence of Islam was to learn the various readings of the Koran from a master person. So, seven or ten type of kiraat and tevcid were learned from such masters in Darulhuffaz. Turks used many Arabic books written on this subject, especially after accepting Islam as their religion. In the schools that were in a complex of buildings adjacent to Fatih's mosque and which were called Daruttalim the lessons of kiraat were given to the students. One may think that hymns were thought in the schools that were busy with the childrens' Koran education in Fatih era, which was a situation to be seen in the records of the following eras.

Mevlevis knew the instruments especially like ney (reed flute), rebab (a kind of ancient violin), and kudum (a small double drum) since Mevlana. Playing these instruments was popular among the dervishes. Thus the dervish lodges gathered some of the artists under their roof. In an accountant balance sheet, it was seen that there was a mesnevihan (one who recites Mesnevi) named Dervish Mehmed and a hanende (singer) named Mustafa Muslihiddin Halife in Edirne Mevlevi Lodge from Sultan Mehmet II to 1487. Mevlevi Hüdayi Salih Dede (died in 1480) was appointed to Seyyid Kemal tomb in Mugla with the courteous of Fatih and worked as mesnevihan.



Müjdeci

Messenger

(one who recites Mesnevi) in Mugla until his death. Fani Dede (died in 1505) who grew up in Afyon Mevlevi Lodge went from Konya to Lazkiye Mevlevi Lodge near Damascus as postnishin (head of a religious order) in the Fatih era. Kastamonu Mevlevi Lodge was founded during Candaroulları time. Dede Sultan (died in 1514) was postnishin (head of religious order) during Fatih era in this lodge that operated until 1878. The accountant balance sheet of Edirne Mevlevi Lodge showed the wages given to reed flute player Veled-i Ulu, reed flute player Ahmed Dede, drummer Pir Ahmed, tambourine player Muhyiddin Haci Ebri, tambourine player Shemseddin, and tabor player Kemal. Cemaleddin Chelebi who was one of the mevlevi close to Fatih and who was also a postnishin (head of a religious order) told the good news about the birth of his son Bayezid to Fatih. Fatih wore arakiye from Chelebi Emir Adil, the postnishin (head of a religious order) of Konya Mevlevi. Hizir Bey who was a mevlevi dervish was the kadhi of Istanbul and Dervish Azmi was the kitchen clerk of Fatih. Hudayi Dede and Fenni Dede were the important poets and mevlevi sheikhs who performed sema ceremony during Fatih era. Mevlevi poet Sheikh Sem'i of Skopje who was one of the friends of Sheikhs Vefa died in a ceremony of zikir and devran. The belief that the beste-i kadims (old compositions) in the melodic creations of penchgah, dugah, and huseyni were composed by Molla Cami, or Abdulkadir Meragi or Hace Abdülaziz, who was one of Meragi's sons was refuted by Rauf Yekta. In the same article, Rauf Yekta pointed the vast information about the ceremonies performed in Konya and Karahisar lodges in the book *Sejine-i Mevleviyan* which was a resource written later on and by looking the conditions of lyrics and works, he estimated that beste-i kadims (old compositions) were not able to be composed before 1450 and that they might be composed in the second half of XV. century.

Besides these, it was known that dervishes in Istanbul and Anatolia performed sema and dervan and song hymns. In this era, the sufis whose hymns were composed were as follows:

Eshrefoglu Rumi: Eshrefoglu whose real name was Abdullah was originally a child of Mecca. He was born in Iznik and educated in Chelebi Mehmed Medresesi in Bursa. Upon a dream he had, he abandoned his science and arrived Haci Bayram Veli, following Emir Sultan and he stayed with Huseyin el-Hamevi, one of grandchildren of Abdulkadir Geylani in Hama village of Syria later on. After completing his suffering here, he took Kadiri caliphate and returned to Iznik. He tried to direct the people of Anatolia to the right way by the method of Kadiri-Eshref branch. When doctors could not find a cure to the illness of the mother of Fatih Sultan Mehmed, Eshrefoglu was invited to Istanbul. Eshrefoglu returned to Iznik after curing Fatih's mother. He wrote books named *Divan* (collected poems),

Müzekki'n-nufus, *Tarikatname*. Eshrefoglu Rumi who died in Iznik in 1469 had various lyrics composed in hymn anthology of Mustakimzade. Besides these, it was recorded that he also composed in buse-lik melodic creation a hymn, starting as follows:

Gönlüm alanın sözünü daim dinleyesim gelir;

Derdi-i huniyle aşıkların daim duyusum gelir;

Abdurrahim Tirsi: He was born somewhere near Iznik. He used to join with his father to listen Eshrefoglu's conversations. Upon a demand from Eshrefoglu, his family left Abdurrahim Tirsi to Eshrefoglu for his education. Eshrefoglu brought up Tirsi and made Tirsi marry his daughter. Upon the will of Eshrefoglu, Abdurrahim Tirsi took his place. He died in Iznik in 926 according to the Moslem Calender and buried next to his sheikh. Abdurrahim Tirsi was known to have poems and in later records it was written that he had a composition in bayati melodic creation.

It was recorded in *tezkiire* (memorials) that Dai who was a rifai sheikh in Kastamonu and Shems-i Hisari who was a poet from Nakshibendi sect had musical knowledge. According to the information given in *tezkiire* (memorials) we learned that there was a book of Shems-i Hisari who was a famous hanende (singer) but we do not know whether this book about fenn-i edvar reached today or not.

Although Akshemseddin who was the teacher of Fatih, Hizir Bey who was kadhi of Istanbul and his son ulema Sinan Bey were looked music with tolerance, one did not think that these people had no relation with performance or compositions.

Music Pieces Written in Fatih Era

Apart from the works of Abdülaziz Chelebi, Nekavetül Edvar, Shems-i Hisari, Mevlana Shemi (his work was named Shemi Edvari) and Nahifi Shems-i (his work named was Bereket) all of which we mentioned above, there were other works were closely concerned with the era.

As of other music pieces of Fatih era, Fethullah Shirvani presented a work of art named *Mecelle fi'l-musika* in Arabic to Fatih. Fethullah Shirvani gave information about ika, usul, aralık and treatment with music in his book, which he stated that he left unfinished. Bayram Akdoğan who wrote a doctorate thesis on this work determined that Fethullah Shirvani had nothing to do with music except this book. Although no other connection to music of Hariri, the poet from Bursa than translation of a work which Yusuf of Kirshehir wrote in Persian language, it was highly possible that he was a musician because he was a poet, as well as he did the translation of this book.

Although it was alleged that logician and music theoretician Mehmed Chelebi from Ladik, who was brought up in Fatih era, presented his work about music to Fatih, it was later on revealed that this work was actually presented to Bayezid II. In the *tezkiire* (memorials), Katibi who was a calligrapher from Bursa was recorded to be a composer and a



Çuhadar Ağa

Footman

musician who lived from Fatih era till Yavuz Sultan Selim era, but no of his compositions could be found. It was true for the poets who were known for their interest in music in Fatih era, such as Abdulkadir Gulabi, Senai, Valihi, lute player Zari-i Suzeni of Mudürnu, and Zeyneb Hatun.

Cemaleddinoglu who lived in Amasya during Fatih era wrote a music piece in Arabic language for sultan's son Bayezid. However, this piece is nothing but a copy of Safiyyuddin Abdilmumin's work taken without mentioning his name.

Sports

Lessons on the physical and spiritual development of the students had a very important role among the lessons given in the enderun, which had been initiated in the Edirne Palace in the reign of Murad II, emerged in its true meaning in the reign of Mehmed II and had been the place where all the administrative and military personnel of the state was educated. The students here was not only thought religious and mental sciences but also archery (kemankeşlik), equestrianism (cündilik), jereed playing (ciritbazlık), sword and rifle use. Jereed contests were conducted on the north of the Topkapı Palace and Pumpkin Square on Wednesdays and Saturdays for the equestrians. Mehmed II had had this square set up for sportive activities. For instance, archers were aiming a pumpkin put on a high stake erected in the middle of the square while they were riding their horses at full their speed. The square got his name from it.

The first horse racing in the Ottomans were made in the reign of Orhan Gazi in 1326. The first foundation about the equestrianism was established in the newly conquered Bursa.

Çelebi Sultan Mehmed, Grandfather of Mehmed II, had had two cavalry units called Lahanacılar and Bamyacılar in Merzifon and Amasya established, and had made them carry out practice and race against each other. These two equestrianism schools existed for a long period of time.

In 1450, the feasts made in the honor of his wife Sitti Hatun upon their wedding had took three months and during these celebrations there had been contests of equestrianism, wrestling, fencing, jereed, etc.

The famous Hippodrome Square, which is now in the place of today's Sultanahmet Square, where celebrations and games were conducted along with horse and car races; continued its previous function after the conquest of Istanbul by Mehmed II, only its name changed to Horse Square. Horse riders were also practicing, making special shows and playing jereed in the Horse Square.

In the horse races during the Edirne festival conducted in 1457, the first horse coming to the festival area from a certain distance was considered to be the winner. Aşıkpaşazade tells about this race in his work as "they came from many days of road" and shows that the distance determined for the race was in fact very long. Bayezid Pasha who could reach the first days of Mehmed II and equestrian Hürrem Bey whose tomb is in Şehremini today are among the important equestrians of the Fatih era.

Mehmed II had important contributions in the development of archers (kemankeşlik) in Ottomans

as a sport. Sultan himself got involved in archery, had the area where the ships were transferred to Haliç on sledges during the conquest set up as Okmeydanı (Arrow Square) and ordered as "no bird should ever fly over this area". The security of the square was given to head of Janissaries and trespassing was regarded as a serious crime. This place was also known as the Square of Archers. Apart from archery, wrestling, fencing and marksmanship contests and exercises were carried out. Later, Mehmed II had had an archers' lodge built in Unkapanı in order for the archers to continue their exercises also in winter time. New arrangements were made for Okmeydanı and archers' lodge after Mehmed II by his son Bayezid II who was also a skilled archer. We understand from the author's claim that the archers' lodge here existed until the time of Evliya Çelebi.

Moreover in the reign of Mehmed II, in the Assembly of Gatekeepers (Cemaat-ı Bevvâbin) in the organization of outer affairs (birün teşkilatı) of Topkapı Palace there were also archers and hunters.

It is possible to find information, though short, about the famous archers of the Fatih era in the work of Bahtiyarzade Hasan Çelebi named Kavname. According to this, some of the famous archers of the Fatih era were these;

Benli Karagöz was one of the archers of Janissary organization. He shot his arrows in the reigns of Mehmed II, Bayezid II and Yavuz Sultan Selim. It is said that he improved his range even when he was old. In the special archery skills contests called meydan günü (day of the square), range stones had been erected on the points that the arrows shot by the archers fell and if a shot made was better i.e. further than the previous ones, the range stones were placed to the new location and the success of the archer was written with its date.

Seyis Mahmud was one of the stablemen of the Fatih era. He knew the custom and rules of archery very well.

It is said about Sinan Subaşı that he was so powerful that he could draw the tensest bows.

Kazaz Ahmed Ağa was one of the first archers who came to the Arrow Square when it was first opened. It is said the he made great puta shots. Puta is an arrow type which was shot to an idol or a target called shelter (tray, basket, ostrich or chicken egg, shield etc.). The shot made to idol was called puta shot. Feathers of the puta arrow was made from eagle or swan. The puta arrow had two types namely, hadde and puta. There is a strange saying in Evliya Çelebi about the appearance of puta arrow. According to it, Fatih Sultan Mehmed had the icons in Hagia Sophia brought to Arrow Square after the conquest



Kahveci Başı

Coffe maker

and used them as targets. Puta arrow got his name from this incident.

Şirmend, another archer of the Fatih era, was raised in the protection of Arab and he was the archer who erected the second range stone in the Lodos Range in Arrow Square.

Archer Sinan was someone who was liked by Fatih due to his success in archery.

In 1457, Mehmed II had the circumcision ceremonies of his princes. In the archery contests made on the third day of the celebrations made on behalf of this event, shots of archers to the horseshoe very accurately made everyone filled with admiration to them. Horse races and fencing contests were also conducted in the same celebrations.

One other sport branch which was popular in the Ottomans was the wrestling which was the sport of our ancestors. This sport had always been protected and supported by the Ottoman Sultans. There is information in the sources regarding the opening of the first wrestlers' lodges in Bursa and Edirne by Orhan Gazi and Murad I in the Ottomans. Fatih Sultan Mehmed had also great interest in the sport of wrestling. Wrestler Demir Lodge was built in his time next to the archers' lodge in Unkapanı. Apart from this lodge, again in the reign of Mehmed II, Wrestler Şüca Lodge was built in the Atlamataşı place around Unkapanı in Istanbul. The wrestlers trained in these lodges used to carry out their sport in religious festivals and on special days and in the celebrations of the Sultan. Prince Bayezid who had been the governor of Amasya in the reign of Mehmed II, had gathered wrestlers from the nearby countries in his palace and

he brought these wrestlers to Istanbul when he became the Sultan and formed a company from them.

Wrestlers who were belong to the mentioned wrestlers' lodges were time to time called to the palace and wrestled with the palace wrestlers before the Sultan. The oldest examples about these wrestling performances, which were called huzur güreşleri (presence wrestling) since they were made before the Sultan, is belong to the reign Bayezid II successor of Mehmed II. The wrestling competition between Beşir Ahmed and Süleyman wrestlers ended with the victory of Beşir Ahmed. Bayezid II gave the winner 3.000 piaster and the loser 1.500 piaster. Though we do not have any example from the reign of Mehmed II, if we take into consideration his contributions to wrestling, it is strongly probable that huzur güreşleri have also been made during his time. Nevertheless, it is cited that there is a hand written pamphlet in İzzet Koyuncuoğlu Library in Konya which tells about the wrestling competitions made in the palace in the reign of Mehmed II. Besides, Atıf Kahraman also cites that there should be wrestlers among the Assembly of Gatekeepers (Cemaat-ı Bevvâbîn) in the organization of outer affairs (birun teşkilatı) of Topkapı Palace.

The sportive activities in the reign of Mehmed II are not limited to these. However, we can only talk as much as the sources talk. Nevertheless, it is clearly understood, even from these notes, that he was also a sportsman, and a good fighter, had had sports facilities built and supported and protected the sports activities and sportsmen during his time.



Aşçıbaşı, usta

Head cook, master

Food Of The Fatih

Materials and food in the kitchen of the Fatih era will be found after taking help from several main sources. The most important of these sources for the materials in the kitchen is kitchen cost books kept in the beginning of 1469, 1471, 1473, and 1474. The essay published by Omer Lutfi Barkan is very important from this aspect.

Ahmed Refik published only a few sections of these books. Based upon this document, Süheyl Ünver gave information about the palace kitchen of Fatih era, as a chapter in Food of the Fatih Era. These books including kitchen-costs of the beginning of 1469, 1471, 1473, and 1474 of the Fatih Sultan Mehmed era, which were kept with a great care, are like treasure in various ways. Since the food and drink, pots, spices, and herbs to make medicine of that term were written in this book, these books are first-hand official documents that show what is eaten in Fatih's palace every day, and where authentic and daily food names of that term are recorded, and daily and monthly kitchen cost of the palace is written down. What was made from the materials bought for the kitchen, for whom they were made, their purchasing prices, where the material came from, transport and carriage costs were writ-

ten down with all details. Also, food costs of lions, tigers, wolves, hyena, monkeys, parrots, doves, and rabbits in the palace and the bids given were recorded in the book. The language of these records are generally Arabic and Persian. Very few are Turkish. The cost books were kept according to a certain rule. Measures that show the quantity of the material bought (such as kileçe, mūd, lodra) are XVth century weight measures. The name of the purchased material was written at random by the clerk keeping the book. For instance, lentil and ades, rice and erz, carrot and gezer are seen in two ways. The food that will be listed below in italics show the state of the word in the document, and the ones in parentheses are our explanation. Other than this important source, Fatih Aşhânesi Tevzi'nâmesi (Distribution of Fatih Cookhouse), Nazmu'l-tabâyi' (Nature's Verses) attributed to Şeyhî (d. after 1431) in XVth century, food recipes of Mehmed bin Mahmud Şirvânî (d. XVth century), and his book titled Sultâniyye (Sultanic), which was submitted to Çelebi Mehmed (1413-1421), and also essays of Omer Lutfi Barkan, titled, Documents of History will be referred in this essay.

Before continuing with the subject of food, let us first give a list of materials purchased for the pala-

ce kitchen of Fatih reign:

âb (water), âb-ı gûre (verjuice), âb-ı nâne (mini water), âb-ı râziyâne (fennel water), âbi (quince), ades (lentils), opium, citron, âlâ (plum), âlâ-yı Amaskine (Damascus plum), âlâ-yı hâim (unripe plum), âlâ-yı turş (sour plum), âlâ-yı cân (life plum), emrâd (pear), enâr-ı şîrin (sweet pomegranate), enâr-ı turş (sour pomegranate), anberbâris (Karamuk, common barberry), anber-i hâim (unripe ambergris), anisun (anise), ararod (arrowroot, bamboo), ârd (flour), ârd-ı bakla (broadbean flour), ârd-ı simid (thin, pure flour), asel (honey), asel-i gömeç (honeycomb), asfur (Aspire, wild saffron), asl-i hindibâ (dandelion root), asl-i kerefis (celery root), quince, almond, badencan (aubergine), bâdrençbüye (balm), broadbean, bakla-i ter (fresh broadbean), basal (onion, root etc. roots), basal-i geber (caper onion), basal-ı kerefis (celery onion root), basal-ı râziyâne (fennel onion), baş-paça (head-feet of sheep), bat (goose), benefşe (violet), benefşe-i huşk (dried violet), fresh violet, bere (lamb), berf (snow), berg-i engûr (grapes leaves), besbâse (skinny shell on nut), bittih (melon-water melon), beyza (egg), beyza-i mâkiyân (chicken egg), beyza-i mâhi (fish egg), vegetables, boza (zythum), böğrölce (kidney bean), börek (pie), börek-i mâkiyân (chicken pie), börek-i sükkert (sugar pie, baklava, şeker-bâre (a type of dessert)), cracked wheat, buzgale (kidling), câvers (millet), cev (barley), cev-âb (barley water; a drink made of cinnamon), cevz-i hindî (little coconut), green almond, çeltük (rice, the shell of which is taken), cumin, çükündür (beet), dakik (flour), dakik-i sodula (sodula flour), darçın (cinnamon), dâr-ı fülful (long pepper), diğ (cooking poi), mulberry, dud-ı beyaz (white mulberry), dâd-ı siyâh (black mulberry), durak otu (dill), dutmaç (soup with noodles), dible, duhn (millet), emrâd-ı şâmî (Damascus pear), enâr (pomegranate), artichoke, engûr (grapes), engûr-ı turş (sour grapes), erz (rice), erzên (millet), nut, pine-nut, fülful (black pepper), fülful-i ebyâz (white black pepper), ganem (sheep), gâv (cow), gendüm (wheat), gendüm-i kâbide (grind wheat), gezer (carrot), giyâh-ı kekik (thyme), gûre (unripe grapes), gûşt (meat), gülâb (rose water), starch wafers, gülnar (wild pomegranate flower), styrax, günlük-i sefid (white styrax), habbetü's-sevdâ (funnel, nigella sativa), hâk-i pekmez (marl), halka-i zülbiyye (zülbiye ring), hall (vinegar), harbuz (water melon), sinapis, hasrum (unripe grapes), hashish, haviç, caviar, helvâ-yı tâze (fresh helva (Turkish sweetmeat)), helvâ-yı zülbiye (zülbiye helva), hummis (chick-pea), dandelion, hinduvâne (water melon), hinta (wheat), cucumber, cucumber pickles, hoşâb (stewed fruit), hummaz (sheep sorrel), hurma-i Medine (Medina date), iblik (castrated well-fed cock), fig, incir-i huşk (dried fig), incir-i lob (lobe fig), isferâç (asparagus), isfinah (spinach), oyster, işkembe-i gâv (cow tripe), kaküle-i kebîr (big car-

damom), kaküle-i sagir (little cardamom), fried vegetables, kalye-i mâkiyân (fried chicken), clove, karidy (shrimp), katık ma'peynir (cheese addition), kavun-ı ağaç (citron), fried meat, apricot, cream, goose, kebab (roast or grilled meat in pieces), kebâbe (pieces that resemble black pepper), geber (caper), kebâter (dove), kedû (gourd, squash), kelem (cabbage), kelem-turş (cabbage pickles), kemmân (cumin), kestane (chestnut), cumin, kiras (cherry), kirde (bread), kırmız (a kind of paint derived from a tiny insect and that gives a beautiful red colour), kişnic (coriander), cornel, cabbage, pap, leben (milk), leblebü (parched chick-peas), lemon, lisân-ı serv (an edible plant called bugloss), lüffân (sour pomegranate), mâhi (fish), mâhi-i huşk (dried fish), mâhi-i mâr (eel), mâhi-i morina (codfish), mâkiyân (chicken), mantı (puff stuffed with mincemeat), lettuce, mâst (yoghurt), mâstâve (a kind of dish, like chopped cucumber, prepared with yoghurt and orache), mastaki (gum mastie), me'mâniyye (helva attributed to Caliph Me'mân), melâik (spoons, plural of mil'aka) mercimek (lentils), mevîz-i ahmer (red grapes), mevîz-i esved, mevîz-i siyâh (black grapes), mevîz-i murg (currants), mevîz-i surh-ı razakan (red raisins), fruit, meyve-i mersin (myrtle tree), musk, muhallebi (a type of sweetmeat made of milk), munbar (Turkish sausage of rice and meat, fried), murabba-i zencefil (ginger jam), medlar, murg-ı âbi (duck), murg-ı keklik (partridge), nân (bread), mint, nân-ı hâs (special bread), nân-ı kirde (Persian bread), yufka ekmeği (thin wafer), very thin round bread, nârdâne (pomegranate in pieces), nardeng-i Gelibolu (Gallipoli treacle. Treacle: sour treacle derived from fruit such as pomegranate, plum, cornel, apple), nârenc-ı turş (sour orange), nemek (salt), nemek-i Eflâk (Wallachian salt), nemek-i harcî (simple salt), nemek-i Keçe (Keçe salt), water lily, starch, chick-pea, nohâd-ı siyâh (black chick-pea. Chick-pea is black, white, and red.), nıkl (snack), ökre (vermicelli), duck, rue, paça-i ganem (sheep feet), orache, treacle, rusks, penîr-ı tekerlek (round cheese), penîr (cheese), penîr-ı lor (curd cheese), perverde (jam, marmalade), pervizen-i mây (thin sieve), pestil (dried fruit pulp), pide (bread in soft flat cakes), pide-i kedû (gourd pide), chick, leek, piyâz (onion), piyâz-ı lznik (lznik onion), pastry, râsen (elecampane), râvend (rhubarb), râziyâne (fennel), revgan-ı bâdem (almond oil), revgan-ı bâdem-i telh (bitter almond oil), revgan-ı dünbe (cooking fat), revgan-ı Keçe (Keçe oil), revgan-ı paça (feet oil), revgan-ı penbe (cotton oil), revgan-ı pih (animal fat), revgan-ı Rûmeli (Rumelia oil), revgan-ı sâde (simple oil), revgan-ı şahm (animal fat), revgan-ı şîr (sesame oil, şırlagan), revgan-ı zeyt (olive oil), rişte (home-made vermicelli), rûmmân (pomegranate), gum mastie, salma (this food of stewed mussels will be mentioned later), senbâse (pastry with syrup), sarı âlâ (yellow plum), sebû (jug),



Aşçı

Cook

sefercel (quince), semizot (purslane), ser-i ganem (lamb head), ser-i haşhaş (hashish head), sib (apple), sîh (chop), sîr (garlic), vinegar, sumac, subiyе, sâsen (sesame), sükker-i harci (simple sugar), sükker-i mükerrem (fever sugar), sükker-i nebât (bamboo sugar), şa'ir (barley), turnip, şarâb-ı hummâz (sheep sorrel wine), şeftâlâ (peach), şelcem (turnip), şerbet-i koka (coconut syrup), şerbet-i meviz-i siyâh (black grapes syrup), şikem-i gâv (cow tripe), şîr (milk), şirden (second stomach of ruminants), şîre-i tâze (fresh grapejuice), şırlagan (sesame oil), şişkebab (mutton chops), soup, şükûfe-i beneşse (violet flower), tarhana (dried curds), terhun (vegetable with this name, wormwood, artemisa), tamarind, cress, terencübîn (a kind of helva to have strength), terîne (a kind of addition), tîn (fig), radish, turb-ı siyâh (black radish), turş-ı engûr (grapes pickles), turş-ı kebere (caper pickles), orange, tutkal-ı mâhî (fish paste), tuffâh (apple), unnâb (juzube), utruç (lemon), sorb, varak-ı kerm ve asma (vine and vine-leaf), varak-ı zeheb (golden leaf), verd-i ahmer (red rose), verd-i beneşse (violet flower), verd-i sakız (resin rose), black cherry, yah (ice), yahni (stew of meat), yarpuz (wild mint), zağferan (saffron), zencebil (ginger), zerâvende-i müdevver (birthwort), zerâvende-i tavil, zerd âlâ (small apricot), zerrinkadeh (narcissus), zübdân (butter), zülbiye/zülâbiye (helva).

According to the above list, vegetables that are not available in cost books of Fatih palace kitchen are potatoes, tomatoes and beans. This is known that tomatoes and potatoes arrived in Turkey later.

Palace kitchen was used only for cooking food. There is another section called Helvahane (Helva house), where there was prepared various desserts, jams, syrups, and toffee. Even odorous soaps were prepared here. The toffee and syrups made in Helvahane were put into jars and were sent to certain people, according to records of Barkan.

Another aspect of these documents published by Barkan is the medical herbs and animal substances that entered into this Helvahane. These materials are the medicine prepared by head doctor for the patients in bimarhane, and syrup and toffee required in the palace.

There was another section in palace kitchen for the sultans, where the food of the Sultans were cooked. In this place called Kuşhane matbahı and matbah-ı hâs, twelve cooks and chief cook called ser-çîni served for the sultan (nefs-i hümâyân).

In palace kitchen they used to cook for the patients, as well. It is determined from the documents of Barkan that they generally bought orache and fresh plum to make soup, chicken to make food, and lettuce, spinach, orache from vegetables. According to these documents, some of the spices, food, and drink included in the private kitchen of the sultan are as following.

Spices. In order to use in food and desserts, su-

mac (put into senbâse), cumin (hemmân), mint, saffron (zaferan), musk, cinnamon (dârçîn), clove, ambergris, coriander, black pepper (dâr-ı fûlful), pepper (fûlful), black cumin, thyme, mustard, coconut shell (besbâse), ginger.

Fish. Freshwater fish. It is recorded that these fish were brought from Terkos, in the documents published by Barkan. It is recorded that they were eaten with onion and garlic. If the garlic was not fresh, it was probably put as sauce on the fish. Mackerel and fish egg were also among the materials purchased. Since thyme was bought for the eel, fish must have been eaten with thyme on it.

Zythum. It is obviously seen that zythum was consumed much in the Fatih era. When it was bought for the Sultan's kitchen, it was bought in quantities like eleven or fourteen jugs. Zythum was not only bought as ready-made but it was also made in helvahane.

Börek (Pastry). The börek (pastry) cooked for the Sultan was sent to bakeries. (2 Zilhicce (the twelfth lunar month) 878/ 20th April 1474: Nakdiye: ücret-i firun, be-cihet-i puhten-i börek-i Hâssa.) The above is not a unique sample. This tradition had continued for centuries, actually until modern ovens reached houses. We did not come across mincemeat in the Fatih era. Meat was probably turned into mince in the kitchen, after it was bought from the butcher. As pastry filling, chicken (mâkiyân) was widely used.

Soup (Şurba). With parsley. A soup cooked for the Sultan and the servants. Probably, unripe grapes (güre), yellow plums or fresh plums (âlâ-yı ter) were also added into this soup. It is also noticeable that the parsley (recorded as mağdenos) bought for the soup were bought daily from the market gardener. There is also a type of soup made with orache. Gourd soup and cabbage soup are also met in records. Since cheese was purchased for the cabbage soup, it must have been a different cabbage soup.

Bread (nân). The types of bread made in palace kitchen are the ones made of sodula, kirde, thin, and special flour (ârd-ı hassa, ârd-ı şimîd). Flour was generally brought from Bursa. The Kirde bread was usually eaten with head-feet. Various types of breads were consumed in the palace. Beside the Kirde bread, there is also bread (nân).

Meat. When sheep and lamb were purchased for the palace kitchen, turnip and egg were bought, as well. This is repeated almost everytime when lamb is purchased: beyza ve şelcem be-cihet-i berre-i Hâssa. Cow meat was also purchased for the palace kitchen.

Caviar. 10 vakiyye (1 vakiyye 1283 grams) caviar, and special boxes for caviar were bought for the private kitchen of the Sultan on 15 Rebiülevvel (the third month of the lunar month) 876/ 1st September 1471 on Sunday. Again on same month, 11 vakiyye 100 dirhem (1 dirhem= 3 grams, approxi-



Santurcu

Dulcimer player

mately 14.400 grams) caviar was purchased in total.

Helvâ-yı zülbiyye and helvâ-yı me'mûniyye. These helvas were prepared especially in festivals. A good example for this is the great banquet (ta'âm-ı temâşâ) given for the state members on 11 Zilhicce (the twelfth lunar month) 875 (31st May 1471) in the Kurban festival (the festival when the sheep are sacrificed for God). 20 cows were purchased and zülbiyye helva of 45 vakiyye (57 kg, 735 grams) was cooked for this banquet. Black grapes syrup, treacle, senbuse (a kind of pastry in triangular shape), and yahni (stew of meat) were cooked, and it is recorded that rice and milk was bought for me'mûniyye helva in 10 Zilhicce (the twelfth lunar month), that is the first day of the festival.

Cracked-wheat pilaf with chestnut. This is a popular dish prepared frequently. As recorded in the kitchen cost book of Zilhicce (twelfth lunar month) in year 873/1469, 16 heads, 23 sheep feet were purchased for the private kitchen of Fatih (This was not only purchased for matbah-ı hâssa but also for the chief as "agayân") on 3rd Zilhicce Wednesday (14th June 1469). Together with head-feet, feet oil (revgan-ı paça), onion (piyâz), garlic (sîr) for mantı (puff stuffed with mincemeat), chestnut for the cracked wheat pilaf, milk (leben) and rice (erz) for muhallebi (a type of sweetmeat made of milk), cress, tarragon, onion and garlic, chicken sliced into two were purchased. 18 pairs of these were kept for the kebab (roast or grilled meat in small pieces), 2 pairs for the muhallebi, 3 pairs for the generals, and 4 pairs for the patients. This document also shows that kirde (recorded as nân-ı kirde), which is a type of bread made of flour without leaven, to be eaten with head-feet, eggs and turnip (şelcem) to cook lamb, fresh plums (âlâ ter) for Divan (state committee) and for the soup to be cooked for the valets were purchased.

Mantı (puff stuffed with mincemeat). This is obvious that mantı, which is a traditional food for current Turkish kitchen, was popular in Fatih's kitchen, as well. Although what is filled in mantı was not told clearly, we learn how it was made from the recipe given by Mehmed b. Mahmud Şirvânî at the same century.

Tenth day of the same month is the Kurban Festival (Festival of Sacrifices). 20 cows (gâvân), and for the banquet (ta'âm-ı temâşâ) given for the festival 1000 pots were purchased for this day. Zülbiyye helvası (a kind of dessert), zythum for matbah-ı hâssa, chicken kebab (roasted meat in pieces) and fried chicken, vegetables with yoghurt, salma (a kind of stew), mantı (puff stuffed with mincemeat), kabunî, kuzu (lamb), senbâse.

Muhallebi. A kind of dessert made by rice flour, milk, sugar, and oil.

Duck (murg-ı âbi). This is also purchased in two slit pieces. Duck egg (beyza-i murg-ı âbi) pas-

ses in kitchen notebooks, as well.

Leek. Made with egg. It is either fried or made with sauce.

Pide (bread in soft flat cake). It was cooked with cheese or gourd.

Salad. Salad is not mentioned in these documents published by Barkan. They must have prepared salad from radish, lettuce, cress, cucumber or these must have eaten without going under any process together with food.

Sütlü Kadayıf (A type of sweet pastry with milk). A special type of kadayıf made with milk in the palace.

Şiş kebabi (Chop meat). Special chops (sîh) were purchased in order to make şiş kebabi. Since onion was bought together, it may have been cooked over fire by putting a piece of meat and a piece of onion on the chop.

Water. It was brought by the saka (waterman) to palace kitchen.

Fried chicken, chicken kebab (meat in pieces), chicken pie. Almost every day, chicken (mâkiyân) was purchased both for matbah-ı âmire and matbah-ı hâssa, and the above mentioned food were prepared from these. It is understood that chicken were purchased not as a whole one, but in pieces, like today. Because they were always sold in pairs under name cemaheyn (two sides, wings).

Pickles. Pickles were frequently purchased for the palace. Pickles named in books are artichoke, cabbage, turnip, caber pickles.

Fruit. Emrud (Pear), âbî (quince), sib (apple), mulberry, plum, fig, mevîz-i ahmer (red dried grapes), black cherry, cornel, hinduvane (water melon), harbuze (melon), apricot, mevîz-i siyah (black dried grapes), peach, sorb, wild apricot, engâr (grapes) are frequently purchased fruit for the palace. Black cherry was brought in basket; jujube, orange, and most of the others were brought in steelyard, keyilçe, vakiyye, and müdd (weight measures) from various regions of Anatolia. For example, pears were bought from Tokat, and black cherries from Bursa.

Types of oil. Revgan-ı zeyt (olive oil), revgan-ı semsem (sesame oil), revgan-ı sade (simple oil), revgan-ı dünbe (tail oil), revgan-ı pîh (animal oil).

Almost all types of food and drink deduced from these documents of 1469, 1471 and 1473 are these. Although certain food and desserts are not named, it is possible to guess something by looking at the materials purchased. For instance, aşure and keşkek (types of desserts) are not mentioned. But when it is considered where was grind wheat (gendüm-i kâbide) used, which was bought frequently, aşure, wheat soup, and keşkek is remembered. These are mostly known and cooked food during that era. When it comes to vegetables not mentioned in these books of the Fatih era, it is known that these did not exist at this era. Tomatoes and potatoes we-



Çeşnigir

Chief food taster

re mentioned earlier. Here it is known from these documents that beans were not known, as well.

Another important document is *Fatih Aşhânesi Tevzi'nâmesi* (Distribution Book of Fatih Cookhouse) published by A. Süheyl Ünver. We learn the food made in the Fatih cook house, to whom, in what quantity, and when these food were given, from this document. This *Tevzi'nâme* (Distribution Book) was written by Mehmed b. Hüsâm at the end of 952 Rebiyülâhiri (fourth month of the lunar year), at the beginning of July 1545. We understand that this person was deployed for this job from the information given at the beginning of *Tevzi'nâme*. First a list of food cooked in the cookhouse, then a short information on to whom these food were given will be written below.

Asel: Honey, gourd jam with honey, wheat food (soup cooked with wheat and flour), dâne (rice), sour food (a type of food made with meat and plums), *sodla/sodula* (Thick roll bread. Former Venice bread, daily cookhouse bread), fig, black grapes, gourd with unripe grapes, rice soup with parsley, sheep feet, aubergine pickles, rice, black plums, onion pickles, grape pickles, ragout (of sheep meat), orache with yoghurt, *zerde zirbâc/zirva, zirpaça*: Dish prepared of sheep feet with garlic and boiled rice.

This list of foods, which is very simple and of few types, is very strong in nourishment. These food were given to the poor, cookhouse workers, mosque workers, and to the *medrese* (Moslem college). Food was served twice in a day in the cookhouse. Rice soup in the morning, wheat food in the evening, and on Friday nights, wheat food in the morning, rice (dâne), *zerde* and *zirbâc* in the evening were cooked. For breakfast and dinner, 320 *vakiyye* (weight measure) sheep meat was purchased every day; half of it was cooked in the morning, and half was cooked in the evening. All this quantity was prepared for the evening in Ramadan (ninth lunar month). 3300 *sodula* were distributed every day.

Another book that mentions food of the Fatih era is *Nazmu't-Tabâyi* written by Şeyhî. In this book dedicated to Murad II., names of the food proper to four characters of man are given, and how the harm given by the ones that are not proper to certain characters will be removed. These are hot, dry, wet, and cold.

Now the names of foods and drinks of the Murad II era. Firstly, waters were reviewed in the book, and after the properties of fountain water, well water, ice waters were explained, how essence waters obtained by distilling certain herbs are good for certain diseases is mentioned. Wines and syrups in third group (drinks used as medicine for certain diseases), oils, then three types of bread (pastry bread, biscuits, "kak" (dried fruit) and rice bread), various meat, fish, fried vegetables, fresh and dried fruit, vegetables; grains, desserts, cheese-yoghurt,

odours, bath, pros and cons of various clothes, and the book ends with suggestions for measures to remove harms of various clothes.

Additions to the translation of the Arabian book *Kitâbü't-tabih* (written in 623/1226) of Mehmed b. Mahmud Şirvânî (d. 881 or 912/1476 or 1506) and Muhammed b. Hasan b. Muhammed b. el Kerim el Kâtib el-Bağdâdî and his book named *Sultâniyye* (Sultan's Book) are about food.

When we put the translation of *Kitâbü't-tabih* of Mehmed b. Mahmud Şirvânî aside and review the recipes of dishes added by himself at the end of the translation, we meet the below listed dishes and among these dishes, recipes of dishes served in palace kitchen in 1469, especially to Fatih Sultan Mehmed, are given, as well.

We have determined that recipes of 77 food and desserts added by Mehmed b. Mahmud Şirvânî to *Kitâbü't-tabih* are types of food known by Turks, as well. Because, recipes given by Şirvânî were given so disorderly, and without making any classification like soups, meat, etc. that it brings mind that Şirvânî wrote these recipes whenever he remembered, that is, he tried to give recipes of popular, well-known food.

Sultaniyye; Another book of Mehmed b. Mahmud Şirvânî about food is *Sultâniyye*, which consisted of fourteen *bâbs* (parts), submitted to Çelebi Mehmed (1413-1421). In this book, what food matches with what character, and how to remove the harm by eating certain food, when it does not match is told, like in the above mentioned *Tabi'at-nâme* and Şeyhî's *Nazmu't-tabâyi*.

The first, second, and thirteenth parts of these 14 parts are about food and drink. First part consists of six divisions, second part consists of two divisions, and thirteenth part tells the nature of the food. This part is of twenty three divisions.

There is another important series of essays about food published by Barkan. In these three essays published in *Tarih Vesikalari* (Historical Documents) about cities of Istanbul, Bursa and Edirne, Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, tells especially about the prices of food and laws executed upon irregularities in sales of the salesmen. Barkan states that these laws of rate books issued for Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne upon the order of Beyazid II in 907/1501 are the oldest laws of rate books. There are many detailed information in these laws of rate, such as meat prices according to various seasons, how much can the income of leather tradesmen be, salaries of carpenters and wall constructors, principles to be obeyed by the slave-sellers, rules of baths, how the bread prices are determined, regulations about cook houses, bread and bread-makers, and foods to be cooked; prices of food and determination of food and how will their control be made etc.

From *Kanunnâme-i ihtisâb-ı Bursa*: "...And one *kahtar* (a weight measure) of Sophia and Kara-

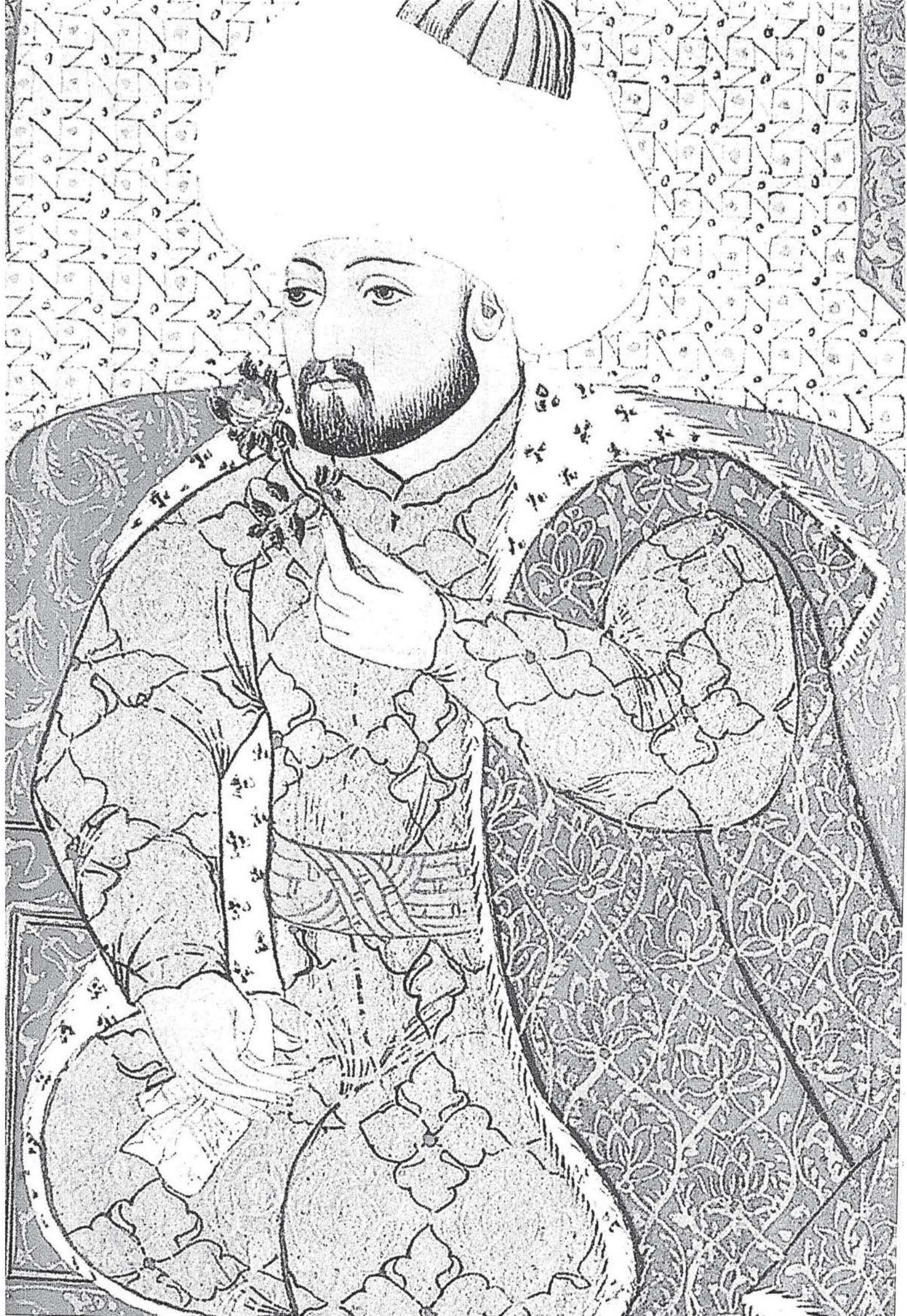


Haseki Sultan

Veteran Sultan

man cheese shall be ninety akça (coin), and one hundred fifty dirhem (a weight measure) shall be one akça (coin). Rate of Eşme cheese shall be two hundred and fifty dirhem for one akça. And rate of Midilli cheese of one vakiyye (a weight measure) shall be two akças, and one vakiyye of curd cheese shall be two akças, and rate of teleme cheese shall be one akça for three hundred dirhems, then it shall be increased according to its weight" (Barkan 1942: 25). " ... And eggs shall be one akça for ten. Last spring fourteen of them were for one akça. In August, sixteen of them were for one akça."

Consequently, when the food of the Fatih era are evaluated, one sees that they are not different from today, except for certain foods, desserts, and syrups that have been forgotten. Of course, this is not necessary to remind that our kitchen today is much richer due to various interactions. It presents a great variety with breads, animal substances, vegetables, pastry, desserts of pastry, desserts of milk, soups generally dominated with meat, spice types.





Chronology of Sultan Mehmed Period

- 1442*
- March 30th, Sunday Birth of Shehzade Mehmed in Old Palace in Edirne as the fourth son of Sultan Murad II.
- 1443*
- Towards summer Sending of Mehmed Celebi, second son of Sultan Murad II, to Manisa with his manservants Kasabzade Mahmud and Nisancı Ibrahim Beys.
- Death of Amasya Sanjakbey Alaaddin Celebi, five years older than Shehzade Mehmed, after the Izladi War; Mehmed became the heir apparent to the throne since he was the only son of his father.
- 1444*
- May, 22nd Mehmed Celebi was present while the Hungarian envoys were received by Sultan Murad II in Edirne.
- August Renunciation of the throne by Sultan Murad II to his son Mehmed in Mihalic in the presence of the janissary agha and other beys with his words, "I give my all crown and throne, and titles to my son".
- Withdrawal into solitude of Sultan Murad II in Bursa.
- Revolt of Shehzade Orhan in Incegiz who was in the Byzantium Palace; his activities in Deliorman, and his return to Istanbul via Midye.
- September, 18th-22nd Army of Crusaders passed River Danube.
- September, 22nd Escape of people to Anatolia due to the civic turmoil in Edirne; Hurufi Revolt.
- October, 20th Sultan Murad II comes to Rumelia by passing through Bosphorus from Guzelcehisar.
- Sultan Mehmed II wants Candarli Halil Pasha to request from his father to stay in Edirne, and he to go on expedition on Hungary.
- Sultan Mehmed wants his father's permission to go on expedition personally, since Candarli Halil Pasha oppose him.
- Mehmed stays in Edirne with Candarli Halil Pasha in Edirne for the defense of the city, while his father goes to Varna.
- November, 10th Battle of Varna begins.
- In some of the book of conquest of Varna, Mehmed was named as ruler.
- Murad stays shortly in Edirne in his return from expedition, and goes to Manisa.
- Saruhan, Aydin, and Mentese sanjaks was given as royalty to him.
- 1445*
- January, 13th Envoy of Sultan Mehmed II comes before the Sultan Cakmak of Mamelukes to announce the rulership of him.
- Summer Military operations of Hunyadi Yanos (Jean Hunyad) beyond the River Danube.
- Eflaqi Bey Wlad Drakul captures Yergogu castles by defeating Turhanoglu.
- August-November Retaliation of Sehabeddin Pasha of Rumeli Governor by going to Sofia, and his return to Edirne.
- Severe treatment of Sultan Mehmed II to the bey of Karamanoglu, ruler of Kastamonu, and the other beys; they want the help of Ishak Pasha in Manisa; Sultan Murad who learns the situation, warns his son, and Mehmed begins a milder politics.
- 1446*
- May, 5th Sultan Murad II sets off from Manisa to Edirne.
- Sultan Muad II goes to Ayazmand on the coastline via Bergama, then goes to Bursa and stays for 3 months there.
- End of May Janissaries revolted against Sehabeddin Pasha, and their salaries increased half coin.
- August Candarli Halil Pasha persuades Sultan Mehmed II that his father comes temporarily,

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and he meets him outside the city and request properly from his father to accept throne.
Sultan Murad II enters the city after the biat*.
Mehmed goes to Manisa with Zaganos, Sehabeddin, and Nisançı Ibrahim Pashas.
Mehmed Celebi marries Gulbahar Hatun.

Autumn

Sultan Murad II sends his man Yusuf to his son with reprimanding decrees to Manisa due to the spoils he captured from Venetians, and he makes his son give them back.

1446-1449

In spite of the treaty of 1446, forces of Mehmed attacks on Aegean islands, Egribos, Mora, and Nauplia, in this three-year period.

1448

Sultan Mehmed Celebi minted money on his name in Ayasulug.

Birth of Shehzade Bayezid in Dimetoka, son of Mehmed Celebi and Gulbahar Hatun.
Mehmed Celebi goes to surround Kocacıkhisar in Albania against Iskender Bey with his father.

Khan Mehmed fights against Hunyadi in the second Kosovo War with his father at the right division.

1449

Mehmed Celebi marries Gulsah Hatun while he is in Manisa in this year.

Death of Huma Hatun, whose name of father is Abdullah according to her gravestone, in Bursa, mother of Mehmed Celebi; her burial to a garden 100 m away from the tomb of Sultan Murad II.

1450

Birth of Shehzade Mustafa, son of Mehmed Celebi and Gulsah Hatun.

November-December

Mehmed Celebi goes to the second expedition on Akcahisar in Albania with his father.
Marriage of Mehmed Celebi and Sitti Hatun, daughter of Suleyman Bey of Dulka-diroglu with a magnificent wedding festival in Edirne; their return to Manisa after the wedding.

1451

February, 3rd
Wednesday

Death of Sultan Murad II at the age of 48.

February, 10th

Mehmed learns the death of his father 7 days later with the letter sent by Candarli Halil Pasha.

Mehmed Celebi comes to Dardanelle Strait urgently in 2 days with Sehabeddin Pasha.
Announcement of the death of Sultan Murad after they pass to Gallipolis.

Revolt of janissaries in Edirne, and their calming down as a result of the promise of Candarli Halil Pasha that the sultan bestow them gifts.

February, 18th

Mehmed Celebi ascends to the throne for the second time at the age of 19, but this time he becomes the independent sultan.

He makes his newborn brother Ahmet kill, who is the son of Hatice Hatun, daughter of Isfendiyaroglu Ibrahim Bey and Sultan Murad.

March, 20th

Sultan Mehmed sends his stepmother Mara Hatun back to his father Georges Brankovic, Serbian Despot; and he gives Alacahisar to Brankovic as the allowance of his stepmother.

May - June

Karamanoglu Ibrahim Bey begins political activities against Ottomans, and sends the beys of Aydin, Germiyan, and Mentese to their provinces, and he invades Alaiye castle.
Anatolian Governor Ozturoglu Isa Bey informs the developments.

Dayi Karaca Bey is sent to Sofia in case of a probable Hungarian attack.

Dismission of Ishak Pasha from the Divan, of Isa Bey from the Governership of Anatolia; Ishak Pasha becomes the Governor of Anatolia with the influence of Candarli Halil Pasha; Kutahya becomes the center of Governorship instead of Ankara.

Agreement with Byzantium on Sehzade Orhan, and it will be given 300.000 coins per year to Byzantium, and the region as far as Corlu will be given to Emperor Constan-

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tine.

Sultan Mehmed comes to Karaman via Bursa; Ibrahim Bey withdraws to Taseli Mountains; he sends Mevlana Veli to the Sultan as mediator.

According to the agreement; Beysehir and Seydisehir castles belongs to Ottomans; Ibrahim Bey accepts to join the expeditions with certain number of soldiers; to marry his daughter to Sultan Mehmed.

Byzantium envoys comes to Sultan in Aksehir while he is in Karaman, they demand the allocation to be increased as twice, otherwise they threatens to let shehzade free.

On their return from Karaman; janissaries resisted at the borders of city of Bursa, and demanded their gratuity.

Sultan Mehmed sends Ishak Pasha on Emir Ilyas II, Bey of Mentese; Ilyas Bey escapes to Rhodes; Mentese province is annexed to lands of Ottomans.

Dismission of Janissary Agha Kurtcu/Kazançı Dogan, who is known as the man of Candarli Halil Pasha; punishment of pedestrian chiefs severely.

Due the information in Bursa, that the Dardanelles Strait is closed by the foreign ships; Sultan comes to Istanbul Strait via Kocaeli, and passes it from the place where Anatolian Fortress is.

September, 10th Renewal of the already available treaties with Venetians.

November, 20th Signature of three-years armistice with Hungarians.

December, 21st Signature of Friendship Treaty with Rhodes, upon the request of the envoy of Rhodes who comes to congratulate him for his accession to the throne.

1452

January, 12th It was agreed also both by the Pope and Emperor that the churches will be joined.
February Sultan Mehmed assigns Candarli Halil Pasha to build Rumelia/Bogazkesen Castle opposite the Guzelce Castle.

March Byzantium Emperor Constantine Dragazes is informed about the construction of castle; certain diplomatical contacts are developed between the Sultan and Emperor.

March Divan is constituted by the Candarli Halil Pasha, Schabeddin Pasha, Saruca and Zaganos Pashas.

March Certain number of transport ships are sent to Bosphorus from Gallipolis with 30 war-ships; Sultan Mehmed comes to the area via land, makes reconnaissances on the region and supervises the construction.

The construction begins on an ancient temple according to the plans of Architect Muslihiddin, and the works are continued by Candarli Halil Pasha, Schabeddin, Saruca, and Zaganos Pashas.

March, 26th Iskender Bey gives Kroja (Akcahisar) to Alphonse V, king of Naples to get his protection for Albania; he tries to get his help against Ottomans.

Construction of Great Zaganos tower.

Akcaylı Mehmed Bey is assigned to attack Istanbul and its surroundings. He exiles some villagers and their livestock; this is one of the important developments before the siege of Istanbul.

June Fight between the herdsmen and the Bigados villagers in the east of Silivri because of the destruction caused by the flocks of Isfendiyaroglu.

End of August The construction of the castle is completed in convenient with the plans of Muslihiddin; walls are 25 feet, towers are coated with lead, castle is strenghtened by the artilleries which can fire upto the middle of the sea, and some even to the opposite shore, and there are 20 doors to the sea, and an artillery in each door.

August After the construction of the castle finishes, some of the Ottoman soldiers are set free, and they fight with herdsmen, some of the herdsmen are taken as captive to the city and doors are closed.

Firuz Agha is assigned to the dizdarlık* of Bogazkesen Castle with 400 selected soldiers; he is ordered that the ships can pass through the Bosphorus after furling their sails; casting anchor; and after the control and payment of their fees.

August, 28th Sultan Mehmed moves to Edirne.

September, 1st Sultan comes to Edirne.

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October, 1st Turhan Bey and his sons, Ahmed and Omer Beys begin operations in Mora where Dimitrios and Thomas, brothers of the emperor, are ruling as Despots, in order to prevent their possible helps to the emperor.

October, 6th Archbishop of Midilli comes to Istanbul with an archer union of 200 archers under the leadership of Cardinal Isidor.

October, 26th Ship of Venetian captain Antonio Rizo, loaded with barley, sinks since he does not pay attention to the warnings while he pass through the Bosphorus.

December, 12th Byzantium Emperor gathers an assembly in which more than 300 ministers participates, and they accepts the union among the sects; they proposes peace to the Sultan; and they contact with Candali Halil Pasha to realize this.

Anatolian soldiers gathers in the forested area on the ridge of Beykoz, and they pass to the other side with the help of Rallis Petrobups who has fishgarts in Beykoz, Kilyos, and Fenerbahce.

Emperor evacuates the villages and takes their inhabitants into the castle; repairment of city walls and gravestones.

1453

Casting of the artilleries under the supervision of Hungarian Urban who is with Musli-hiddin in Edirne and Saruca with the Byzantines, and who then comes under the service of Ottomans.

Urban informs that bigger artilleries can be casted but procurement of cannonballs with proper sizes is not so easy; Sultan undertake this work personally; thus a big artillery park is built; Sultan Mehmed work on the plans of Istanbul and its surroundings and determines the points for attack and underground tunnels.

Sultan Mehmed personally supervises the preparations in Edirne; news on the contacts of Candarli Halil Pasha with Byzantium spreads, and Sultan summons him one night and warn him not to be deceived by silver and gold.

January, 26th Venetians respond to the demands of help of the Emperor with 10 galleys; Giovanni Longo di Giustiniani comes to Istanbul with his force with 700 soldiers out of which 400 is Genoese.

Byzantium Emperor Constantine Dragazes takes the defense measures; he joins the first united religious ceremony in Hagia Sophia; opposition of some Roums and ministers under the leadership of Georgious Skolarios to the Emperor and their protest. Disagreement between Giustiniani and Megaduk Lukas Notaras (Dirty Luka) who does not like the Latins.

Forces defending Istanbul is constituted by 8-9 thousand soldiers, and 2-3 thousand of them are under the command of Giustiniani.

Guistiniani leaves the defense of the land city walls to the Genoese and Venetian forces; he personally undertakes the defense of Egrikapi; Venetian balyos* and Shehzade Orhan also participates in the defense.

February, 12th Karamanoglu Ibrahim Bey signs a commercial agreement with the Venetian envoy Giovaggi Mocenigo who comes to Konya.

February Rumelian Governor Dayı Karaca Bey is assigned to capture the castles on the Black Sea coast, in order to make the conquest of Istanbul easier. Misivri, Ahyolu and Ayios Stefanos between Vize and Silivri are captured; and Bigados surrenders by itself. Dayı Karaca blockades the area so strictly that no one can go out of the city walls.

Announcements for the conquest to the Muslim Rulers.

The great artillery called Vasiliki (Shahi) sets off from Edirne to Istanbul; it is pulled by 30 carriages and 60 water buffaloes; in order not to go the carriages off the road 2000 people evens the roads; and an advance union with 50 masters and 200 workers for the construction of bridges when necessary; it takes two months to carry it to Istanbul.

March, 23rd
Wednesday
Spring

Sultan Mehmed sets off from Edirne to Istanbul.

A force with 20000 torment soldiers other than the oarsmen, in 147 ships, out of which 12 are çekdirme*, 80 are double deck oared, and 55 are small boats sailed from Galipolis to Istanbul.

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- April, 2nd Chain was strung up between Galata ramparts and Kentanarion tower in the vicinity of Yahkosku; thus Golden Horn was closed to the passing of the foreign ships; a fleet of Latin sailors was charged with the defense of the chain.
Forces under the command of Ibrahim Bey make operations in Albania; but they become unsuccessful and Ibrahim Bey becomes martyr.
- April, 5th Sultan Mehmed comes in front of St. Roman (Topkapı) with his 80000 army which is supported by 3 huge artillery, and 14 batteries and establish his pavillion there.
Chief cuirassier distributes weapons to the soldiers.
Anatolian Governor Ishak Pasha and Mahmud Pasha are on the right wing, between Yıldızkapı (Yedikule) and Mermer Kule; Rumelian Governor Dayı Karaca Bey on the left wing, between Ayyansaray Port and Palace of the Lord; Candarlı Halil and Sultan Mehmed with his soldiers with armor and shield are between Edirnekapi and Topkapı; Zaganos Pasha is between Pera (Beyoglu) and Kasimpasa ridges; a regular force is on the point where Kagithane Stream and Golden Horn merges; fleet under the command of Baltaoglu Suleyman Bey is between Mermer Kule and the chain stringed to Golden Horn.
Weapons called arbalet* with 9-14 batteries, long iron artilleries, moving war machines, and moving towers are located between Edirnekapi and Palace of the Lord, outside Topkapı, and opposite of Egrikapi.
Mahmud Pasha is sent to the emperor as envoy in order to perform a religious duty; but the offer to surrender is refused by promising to give new taxes, other castles, and to be the "genuine apprentice of the sultan".
Announcement of the siege by the barkers upon the refusal to surrender.
- First encounter Guistiniani attacks in order to prevent the artilleries to be placed; although the first unions are scattered, regular forces drive back the defenders back to castle, and destroy the bridges over the ditch.
- April, 6th Actual beginning of the siege with the great artillery is set fire.
- April, 11th Great artilleries are located between Silivrikapi and Topkapı.
- April, 12th-18th Fleet gathers in front of Besiktas and Salupazari, and thus Istanbul is besieged from the sea for the first time; while some of the fleet is controlling Tarabya and Rumelikavagi, Baltaoglu Suleyman Bey captures the castle of Buyukada; and several attacks on the chain in Golden Horn.
Hungarian envoy committee comes to the headquarters of Ottomans and informs that the duty of Hunyadi as viceroy to the Hungarian throne is ended, and the political power passes to the young king Ladislas; and the treaty renewed with Hunyadi during the accession of Sultan Mehmed to the throne is null and void.
- April, 18th Although serious breaches in the city walls is opened before, the first general attack begins after two hours from sunset, but it ends with no success.
- April, 20th 3 Geneose and 1 Byzantium göke* is seen at the coast of Zeytinburnu. In the first sea battle which is watched by the Sultan on the land, and which takes place nearby Yenikapi is a defeat and 12000 soldiers dies as martyrs; and these ships pass into Golden Horn while the chain is opened for a short period of time.
- April, 21st Baltaoglu Suleyman Bey is dismissed and Hamza Bey is assigned as captain to the fleet. Byzantium which becomes hopeful because of this sea battle offered to make peace; Divan gathers; efforts of Candarlı Halil Pasha for peace; and the support of Zaganos and Sehabeddin Pashas, and scholars such as Hodja Turhan, Aksemseddin and Molla Gurani to the Sultan for siege, and it is decided for the continuation of the siege.
- In the Night of 21th-22th 67 ships are dragged by the land from the Bosphorus to Golden Horn via Tophane-Humbaracı slope-Asmalı Mescid-Tepebası-Kasimpasa.
Building a bridge with two rowboat wide ships between Humbarahane and Desterdar.
- April, 28th Attempts of the Latin sailors to set the fleet on fire is ended with failure.
30000 soldiers attacked to the city walls on the Bayrampasa Stream by setting ladders against the walls.
A rapid Byzantium ships goes to Dardanelles Strait to look for the Venetian ship which does not arrive.

- May, 6th The siege intensifies with the general attack to the walls on the Bayrampasa Stream.
- May, 12th Another force with 50000 soldiers attacks to the walls between Palace of the Lord and Edirnekapi.
- May, 14th Sulukule Port and Avclar Port in Golden Horn is blasted with artillery fire, but the desired result is not obtained.
- May, 16th Fights for mutuall underground tunnels continues; tunnels dug with the efforts of the Serbian sappers goes to the Egrikapi; but the attacks of Ottomans is ended with failure with the help of the German engineers under the service of Byzantium.
- May, 18 Attacks on the walls with huge moving towers, but the attacks are stopped by the Byzantines.
- May, 23 Isfendiyaroglu Kasim-Bey goes to Emperor as envoy before the general attack; and he proposes him he can go wherever he want to, for example to Mora; Emperor refuses the offer with the influence of Genoese; his counter proposal to give extra taxes and new promises is refused by the Sultan.
- The Byzantium ship which goes to Dardanelles Strait to find the Venetian ship, comes back with no result.
- May, 24th Spreading of a news among the Byzantines that the Turks would make a general attack on May 29th.
- May, 26th Envoys of Hungarian King Ladislas comes to the headquarters of Ottomans, and threaten them with a strong Crusader army to come if they do not stop the siege.
- May, 27th Sunday The Divan gathers for the last time to evaluate the latest developments; in spite of the opposition from the Candarli Halil Pasha group, Sultan states his own view and makes them decide to continue the siege.
- Sultan Mehmed sends barkers and he goes around among the soldiers in the trenches in order to elevate the enthusiasm of them personally.
- Sultan gathers his commanders and explain them the plans of war; and showed everyone where he would attack.
- May, 28th Ottoman army passes the day by resting, and in the middle of the night they equip with candles and they light the city walls up; this astonishes the Byzantines alot.
- May, 29th The first attacks begin before dawn; Guistiniani is wounded from his arm and leg 2 hours before the sunrise; and in spite of the insistence of the Emperor; he leaves his post and move to go back to Sakiz Island.
- Hamza Bey attacks from the sea line between Yalikapi and Samatya, Zaganos Pasha attacks to the city walls on the Golden Horn with his armored soldiers, and the armored Anatolian soldiers attack on the Bayrampasa and Topkapi at the same time.
- Third attack is done with the participation of the janissaries in the morning.
- On the Byzantium part; substitute forces in the vicinity of St. Apotre = Havariyyun Church (Fatih Mosque) join the defense; Latins withdraws with fear after Guistiniani leaves his post; Emperor encounters with torment soldiers on the Zeyrek slope, and he dies in the turmoil there.
- Cebe Ali, Hamza Bey and Dayı Karaca Bey who are coming from different directions meet at Aksaray.
- Sultan Mehmed prostrate himself to show his gratitude to God by dismounting from his horse on which he is riding to watch the developments from the beginning of the attacks, with the news that the forces get in the city from the walls on the Golden Horn and in the vicinity of Topkapi.
- Hagia Sophia, in which the people take shelter, is also taken under control by the Ottoman soldiers; Vasilin Tower in the vicinity of Bahcekapi is defended by the Greek sailors till two o'clock in the afternoon; the Sultan appreciates their efforts and lets them go with their ships.
- The Sultan who gets the title of "Fatih" (Conqueror) with the conquest of city goes to Hagia Sophia on his horse and the others on foot; there, he makes a speech to the people who are waiting in fear and dispondency, and tries to calm them down by assuring that their lives and properties are under security.
- Fatih Sultan Mehmed has Shehzade Orhan sought, and Orhan is cought while he is leaving the city in disguise of a minister, and he is killed.

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- Fatih has Gennadios sought, and he is found in a house around Edirnekapi; and Fatih treats him in a friendly way and compliments.
- After the conquest, the turmoil in the city is ended that day; and everyone is safe and sound in their homes at that night.
- May, 30th Declaration of the end of the War by Sultan Mehmed.
Candarlı Halil Pasha is dismissed from his office of grand vizierate; he is arrested and imprisoned in the tower called Halil Pasha Burgos* between the arch of Yeniciami and the sea; and a few days later he is sent to Edirne.
Mahmud Pasha is assigned as grand vizier in place of Candarlı Halil Pasha.
- May, 31st The city is in tranquility; the army and the fleet goes back to their locations; the soldiers are forbidden to walk around in the city.
- June, 1st The first Friday prayer is performed in Hagia Sophia.
Georgios Skolarios is elected as patriarch under the title Gennadios by the church leaders, ministers and the public; Fatih invites him to dinner and gives him the scepter and crown of patriarch representing the spiritual leadership, and takes him to the door while he is leaving; he allocates Church of Apostles (today's Fatih Mosque) as the office of the patriarch; and he wants him to write a text on the belief system of the Orthodox sect; and this book of belief is presented to the Sultan by Karaferyeli Khadi Ahmed.
A committee brings the keys of the city with the advise of Angelo Zacchariya, inspector of Galata (Podesta), and they request for the continuation of their rights; behaviors of the Galata people during the conquest is reminded to them, and they are told that they have no rights, and if those who escaped do not come back in three months, their property will be confiscated.
- June, 2nd Zaganos Pasha invades Galata and destroys the land ramparts, and Galata people are given the imperial edict of the Sultan stating they are free in return of payment of their taxes.
Fatih Sultan Mehmed takes a tour to the palaces in the city; and he assigns Karısdıran Suleyman Bey as the governor of the city and Celalzade Hızır Bey as the khadi of the city, and he moves to Edirne.
- June, 21st Return of the Sultan to Edirne.
- July, 10th Execution of Candarlı Halil Pasha in Edirne.
Turhan Beyoglu Omer Bey is sent to Mora; but he gets no result.
- 1454
- Pope Calixtus III tries to unite Christians.
- April, 18th An agreement is signed with Republic of Venice and certain commercial freedoms are granted to them.
Genoese forces their colonies in Aegean Sea and Black Sea to agree with Sultan Mehmed.
Fatih sends envoy to Serbian Despot Georges Brankovic and states him that Mora valley, old country of the dead despot Lazar, belongs to Fatih hereditarily.
Despot passes the Danube River with the hope that he would get the help of Jean Hunyad.
Ladislas, the Hungarian King, gathers the assembly in order to take measures against the Ottomans.
- Summer Fatih goes on an expedition personally, although he could not capture Semendire, he captures Omol and Sivricehisar.
Forces of Hunyad and Brankovic move from the Vidin-Nsh line after the withdrawal of Fatih from the region; defeat of Firuz Bey and his captivity.
- October Turhan Bey comes to Mora with Despot Dimitrios upon the defeat of Omer Bey; Despots accepts to pay 12000 gold coins as protection money and the dominion of the Ottomans.
- December, 26th An imperial edict is sent to the people of Mora, who are anxious about the Ottoman administration, in order to prevent them from leaving the region with a great emigration movement; and they are informed that their lives and property are under protection.
First palace of Fatih is built on the area where today near the entrance gate of the gar-

den of rectorate of Istanbul University.

1455

January, 7th

Karamanoglu Ibrahim Bey lodges a complaint against Fatih to the Mameluke Sultan Seyfeddin Aynal.

— Spring

Shehzade Bayeid goes to Amasya as the governor of the sanjak at the age of 7. Fatih goes to his second Serbian expedition with the guidance of Ishakoglu Isa Bey. He captures Trepeca and Novobroda; Despot leaves the Hungarians with the treaty, and accepts to pay 30000 duka* and 3000 silver coins protection money and to help the expedition by sending certain number of soldier.

— July, 26th

Mahmud Pasha forms a mass of people opposing to Hungarians in Serbia with the help of his brother Michael Angelovic.

— September

People are sent to Istanbul from Southern Serbia for settlement.

Evrenosoglu Isa Bey is sent to Albania with 40 000 horsemen to help Iskender Bey who is besieging Berat castle.

Albanian and Naples forces are defeated overwhelmingly; Hamza Bey, nephew of Iskender Bey takes refuge in Fatih.

— December

Petru Aron, Bey of Bogdan recognizes the sublime sovereignty of Ottomans and accepts to pay 12 000 gold annually.

Genoese have to sign a treaty with Fatih paying their taxes.

Beginning of the construction of Great Bedestan, the basis of today's Grand Bazaar by Fatih.

People are sent from New Foca to Istanbul for settlement.

Census in Istanbul and Galata.

1456

January

Has Yunus Pasha is assigned as captain to the fleet in the place of Hamza Bey.

January, 5th

Karamanoglu Ibrahim Bey set about invading Tarsus, Adana and Kulek; he feels the obligation to make an agreement with Ottomans upon the politics of Mamelukes for the destruction of Karaman; he remain true to the agreement with Fatih.

— June, 13th

Tasoz, Enez, Imroz and Semadirek islands are conquered; Fatih goes ashore at Enez; inhabitants of these islands are sent to Istanbul for settlement.

Fatih goes on Belgrade expedition with 150 000 soldiers consisting from the knights, torment soldiers and janissaries, which is supported by 300 artilleries; reinforcement of the army with a fleet of 200 çekdirme*; defeat of the fleet and the death of Dayı Karaca Bey.

— July, 22nd

Crusaders becomes eager to fight with the encouragement of Giovanni di Capistrano, a Fransiscan minister; and they defeat janissaries and the torment soldiers, and force them to retreat; martyrdom of the Janissary Agha, Hasan Aga, and injury of Fatih; a general defeat in the army.

— August, 11th

Belgrade siege is stopped.

Jean Hunyad and Capistrano, who are wounded in the fight, die in the castle.

Iskender Bey gets the helps of Naples, Serbia, Germany, England and France.

Fatih Sultan Mehmed has Amiruzes to draw the map of the world.

Wlad, who is kept as hostage in Istanbul with his brother Radul, and who is trained and educated well, is assigned as the Voyvoda of Eflaq.

1457

— Spring

Istanbul becomes the capital city after the great fire in Edirne.

Circumcision of Shehzade Mustafa and Bayazid in Edirne.

Pope Calixtus III sends the fleet to Aegean Sea, and his efforts to get in contact with Uzun Hasan and Georgians against the Ottomans; and his success of Pius II continues these efforts.

In spite of the defeat of Evrenosoglu Isa Bey by Iskender Bey, he is sent on him once more.

Fatih goes to Mora; he wants to capture the cities which he claims inheritance after the

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conquest of Istanbul, and which belongs to the emperor once; Tarsos, Rupeli, Patras, Agion and Corinth are captured; some of the inhabitants of these cities are sent to Istanbul.

September, 7th
Teselya is also given to the administration of Turhan Beyoglu Omer Bey, in addition to the places captured newly in Mora.
In the battle on the Albulena Plain near Mat River, Iskender Bey wins, and his nephew is taken as captive.

1458

March, 31st
Death of Lazar, son of Brankovic, in a very short time, and thus Fatih claims inheritance on the rule of Serbia.

Hungarians eliminates Mihail Angelovic, brother of Mahmud Pasha in Serbia; they attempt to marry Helena, daughter of the dead despot, to the king of Bosnia; and thus they show their intentions to annex Serbia to their lands.

Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasha is assigned to the expedition on Serbia, as the Governor of Rumelia at the same time; he captures Reseva, Kuruca, Ostrovic and Rudnik with his Rumelian forces which he equipped with his own money, and the Anatolian forces and 1000 janissaries.

Fatih Sultan Mehmet encamps in Serez to wait for the Mora Despots to send their taxes and declare their loyalty; he moves towards Mora since those do not come; although the taxes are sent on their way, and the request for agreement is stated, Sultan accepts 4500 gold tax and notify that he will discuss the condition of the agreement in Mora.

May, 15th
Fatih begins the siege of the city by passing the Corinth Strait, and moves towards the internal parts of the peninsula.

Turhanoglu Beyoglu Omer Bey takes the control of Athens; Fatih Sultan Mehmed stays 4 days in Athens, then meets Mahmud Pasha in Skopje.

Mahmud Pasha passes the bairam in Yelluyurd; he captures Guvercinlik (Golumbac) and fortifies it; he assigns Minnetoglu Mehmed Bey for the raid on Hungary; he meets Fatih Sultan Mehmed in Skopje, by also taking the help of Martoloses.

October
Fatih sends envoy to Dimitrios, Mora Despot and the brother of last Byzantium Emperor; to ask him to give her daughter as a bride.

December
Fatih returns to Istanbul.

People are sent from Mora to Istanbul for settlement.

Construction of Sheyh Ebulvefa and Eyyup Mosques begins.

1459

Kasim Bey is assigned as the captain to the fleet in the place of Has Yunus Pasha.

People are sent from Taso and Semadrek islands to Istanbul for settlement.

Construction of Sheyh Ebulvefa and Eyyub Mosques is completed.

June
Fatih goes on an expedition to capture Semendire; Semendire public brings the keys of the city while he is in Sofia, and thus Serbia directly gets under the dominion of Ottomans.

Thomas in Mora, brother of the Byzantium Emperor Constantine Dragazes, violates the agreement he signed with Fatih, and wins the battle against Dimitrios with the support of Westerners; Pope Pius II sees Mora as a base for the struggle against the Ottomans.

Turhan Beyoglu Omer Bey is held responsible for the activities of Thomas in Mora, and he is dismissed and Hamza Pasha is assigned in place of him.

Thomas and Dimitrios make peace, Hamza Pasha is dismissed with the accusation that he could not prevent this; Mora is given the rule of Zaganos Pasha.

Evrenesoglu Isa Bey is sent to Albania, and Hasan Beyoglu Isa Bey to Hungary while Fatih is busy with Mora; although Evrenesoglu becomes successful, the other Isa Bey is defeated severely; in the meantime, Fatih has Mihaloglu Ali Bey sought in Hungary, due to a mistake he makes; but he with his brothers Iskender and Kara Halil defeat Hungarians terribly nearby Danube River; and he takes Szilagy Michail (Isvilacoglu), the famous commander of the Hungarians as captive; he is forgiven because of his success-

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December, 23rd es.
Birth of Shehzade Gyaseddin Cem in Edirne, son of Fatih Sultan Mehmed and Cicek Hatun.

1460

April, 13th Although Thomas is willing to sign agreement, he could not persuade his men, and thus he does not act in accordance with the demands of Ottomans; Fatih goes on second Mora expedition in order to end despotic regimes.

May, 30th Mahmud Pasha besieges, and captures Mistra, center of Dimitrios; he persuades the Despot with the mediation of his Roum clerk, and sends him to Fatih.

— Fatih Sultan Mehmed compliments Dimitrios, and shows Enez as his residence; and he allocates the salt incomes of the region and 60 000 silver coin allowance to him; Fatih stays 4 days in Mistra.

July, 28th Despot Thomas embarks on a ship in Navarin and takes refuge in Italy; then he marries to the daughter of Tsar Ivan. III, and he sells the coat of arms of the imperial house to him.

— Mora and Teselya are joined and a sanjak attached to Rumelia Province is formed, and this sanjak is given to the administration of Zaganos Pasha.

— People are sent from Mora to Istanbul for settlement.

— Molla Husrev is assigned as musti upon the death of Molla Fahreddin Acemi.

1461

— June, 22nd Fatih signs a 6-months armistice with Iskender Bey in Albania before he goes the Black Sea expedition he planned.

— July Mahmud Pasha sets off via sea with 150 ships, and Fatih via land to take the coasts of Black Sea under the sovereignty of Ottomans; and they capture Amasra.

— Fatih sends a fleet of 100 galleys on Isfendiyaroglu Ismail Bey, and captures Sinop from him.

— Fatih Sultan Mehmed moves upto Yassi-çemen against Uzun Hasan who protects Trabzon; Uzun Hasan sends his mother Sare Hatun and Kurd Hasan, Bey of Cemiskezek as envoy committee to convey his request for peace.

— Sultan divides his forces into two, and sends Mahmud Pasha forward, and he comes to Trabzon via Gumushane-Macka route.

August, 15th The city captured peacefully since Georges Amirutzēs, son of the aunt of Mahmud Pasha, and the başmabeynci* of the emperor persuades David Komnenos, the emperor, and the people of the city, and upon the siege of the land forces commanded by Fatih by the land, and besides of the fleet by the sea.

— Kasım Bey is assigned as the governor of the Trabzon sanjak, and Hadım Ismail Bey is assigned in place of him as the captain.

— Emperor David Komnenos is taken to Istanbul and then to Edirne, and then he is resided in Ferecik; some of the people is subjected to exile and they are settled in Fener district; transfer of people into Trabzon from the environs of Samsun, Bafra and Niksar.

— Fatih invites Wlad III, who is called as Tepes=Pale, Paled Voyvoda in Eflaq, to comply with the conditions of citizenship; Wlad ignores this and he impales Hamza Bey, the governor of Nigbolu Sanjak, and Thomas Katavolenos, the Roum clerk; he passes the Danube River by taking advantage of the Black Sea expedition; he plunders Dobric and North Bulgaria.

— Iskender Bey in Albania has to come to an agreement with Ottomans due to the civic turmoil in Naples.

— Construction of the Grand Bedestan is completed.

1462

— Construction of Fatih Mosque begins.

— Ottoman army under the command of Fatih and Mahmud Pasha passes Danube River for a destroy expedition on Wlad.

— Attempt of Wlad, who takes the advantage of speaking Turkish to come near the tents

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of Fatih and Mahmud Pasha, to kill the Sultan; he escapes to Erdel; Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus imprison him in fear of accusation for protection.
Radul, brother of Wlad is brought to the office of Voyvoda of Eflaq (1462-1474)
Summer Iskender Bey defeats Sinan and Huseyin Beys, who are sent on him, nearby Debre; he also defeats the 18 000 soldiers of Yusuf Bey.
People are sent to Istanbul from Midilli for settlement.
Limnos Island is captured.
Yakub Bey is assigned as the captain in place of Hadim Ismail Bey.
Stephan Tomasevic, the king of Bosnia, accepts the protection of Hungary, and gives some of his castles to the Hungarians.
Fatih orders for the construction of shipyard in Kadirga Harbour.

1463

February-March Fatih Sultan Mehmed has the construction of the mosque and the building complex which is called by his name begin.
April, 3rd Mahmud Pasha is assigned to an expedition on Venetians; he, together with Turhan Beyoglu Omer Bey land on Mora and capture Germehisar; Argos in Mora is also captured and the public of the castle is sent to Istanbul for settlement.
April, 27th Peace treaty with Iskender Bey in Albania upon the proposal of Fatih; though Iskender Bey establishes an alliance with Venice at the same time.
May, 22nd Fatih goes to the region upon the developments in Bosnia, and gathers the army in Skopje; Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasha is assigned to catch the king, and Turhan Beyoglu Omer Bey carries out the duty of raider. King Stephan Tomasevic surrenders by asking for mercy to Grand Vizier when he sees Fatih and Mahmud Pasha in the region with their overwhelming army.
Bosnia is turned into a sanjak after its conquest, and governorship is given to Minnetoglu Ali Bey; while Mahmud Pasha is going to Herzegovina, King Stephan gives his younger son as hostage, who would be called as "Hersekzade Ahmed Pasha" in the Ottoman history, to earn time.
Fatih wants to punish the king with death penalty, but the Muslim scholars are reluctant to give the fetwa; then Musannifek Alaaddin Ali el-Bistami gives the fetwa and the king is killed.
Evrenesoglu Isa Bey and Turhan Beyoglu Omer Bey carry out activities in Argos and Inebahti against Venice because of an outward reason such as a slave is not sent back to Ottomans; and in addition aggression agreement of Venice with Iskender Bey.
July, 28th Declaration of war by Venice against the Ottomans.
September, 12th Hungarians and Venetians contact also with Uzun Hasan, and arrive to an agreement on the basis of acting together in war, peace and in defense; they plan to divide some places under the dominion of Ottomans among each other.
September, 19th Nicholas Gattilusio, duke of Midilli Island, has his brother Dominico strangle with the accusation of being the supporter of Ottomans; gives a base to Catalans; does not send the amount of money which the dukes are obliged to; thus, Fatih assigns Mahmut Pasha for the conquest of the island; Grand Vizier comes to the island with a fleet of 60 galleys and 7 troopships; he takes duke as captive and conquer the island, and then gives the administration of the island one of his men, Alaaddin Ali el-Bistami.
October, 20th Forces of Ottomans and Venetians encounter in front of the Corinth castle.
Fatih has the emperor of Trabzon Roum Empire and his family, who was brought to Istanbul first and then allowed to live in Serez, kill in order to prevent the Venice-Hungary-Uzun Hasan alliance from contacting with him.
Melik el-Esref Aynal, Sultan of Mamelukes, does not congratulate Fatih for the conquest of Trabzon, and that's why an Ottoman envoy goes to Cairo and does not bent to the floor before the sultan though it is a custom; Fatih does not congratulate the sultanate of ez-Zahir Hoskadem (1461-1467) in retaliation.
Zaganos Pasha is assigned as captain in place of Yakub Bey.
December, 16th Mathias Cornivus, king of Hungary, invades Yayca, center of Bosnia, and besieges Izvornik castle; fleet of Venice closes the entrance of Dardanelles Strait.

Winter of 1463-64 Two castles, Kal'a-i Sultaniyye and Kildülbahr are built on both sides of Dardanelles Strait, and thus Istanbul is also secured besides the strait.

1464

Fatih learns that Hungarians besieges Izvornik while he is besieging Yayca during his Bosnia expedition, and he retreat to Sofia and assigns Mahmud Pasha to wage war on Hungarians; Hungarians escape with the help of Martoloses and Mihaloglu Ali Bey; Turkish forces follow them beyond the Sava River.

Iskender Bey in Albania violates the sworn agreement with Turks and joins to the Venice-Hungary alliance.

August

Karamanoglu Ibrahim Bey dies in Gevele castle; his son Ishak Bey, who Ibrahim Bey declared as heir to the throne while he is living, establish his dominion in Silifke and Icel.

Pir Ahmed, other son of Ibrahim Bey who is also the son of the aunt of Fatih, dominates in Konya with the support of his brothers Kasim, Alaaddin, and Suleyman and the notables.

Ishak Bey defeats his brother Pir Ahmed with the aid of Akkoyunid forces which come to help upon the request of Ishak Bey; Akkoyunid forces destroy Kayseri, Aksaray, Konya, and Beysehir and surroundings, and this arouses indignation among the public. Fatih Sultan Mehmed gives military aid to Pir Ahmed and his brothers who takes refuge in Ottomans, under the condition that Kayseri will be given to Ottomans.

Pir Ahmed defeats Ishak Bey with the help of governors of Antalya and Afyon Karahisar sanjaks; he dominates over the whole Karaman lands except Silifke.

1465

April

Balaban Pasha is sent on Iskender Bey in Albania, and he gets some successes.

May, 18th

Thomas, an old Mora despot, dies in Rome.

August

Balaban Pasha is defeated by Iskender Bey, and Yakub Pasha is martyred.

December

Fatih Sultan Mehmed assigns Sehsuvar Bey as the governor of Dulkadir Principal.

1466

Spring

Fatih goes on Albania expedition and comes to Manastir; Albanians leaves their homes and retreat to precipitous places where they can feel safer; conquest of important Albanian castles and Turks build Elbasan castle in Yund Plain to reinforce their dominion in the region.

June

Ishak Bey leaves his family and one of his son in Silifke, and he takes refuge in Uzun Hasan with his treasure.

September

Ishak Bey of Karamanoglu dies; Pir Ahmed becomes the ruler of Karaman under the protection of Ottomans and Mamelukes and Akkoyunids feel uneasy upon this.

Fatih goes beyond Afyon, and captures Gevele and Konya since Karamanoglu Pir Ahmed get into touch with Venice and Akkoyunids in spite of the agreements with the Ottomans.

Mahmud Pasha is assigned to follow Pir Ahmed; but Pir Ahmed cannot be caught and goes to Karatas; in addition people of Turgutlu is expelled upto the Mameluke territory. Mahmud Pasha leaves some Karaman people in their places in spite of the order of the Fatih to send them exile; therefore he is accused of sending the poor people to exile and leaving the rich in their places; he is dismissed from the grand vizierate in Afyon by pulling his tent down on his head.

Roum Mehmed Pasha is assigned as grand vizier upon the dismissal of Mahmud Pasha.

Pir Ahmed is taken away from the Karaman lands, and the administration of this area is given to Shehzade Mustafa residing in Manisa.

Pir Ahmed attempts to capture Larende with his brother Kasim, but he becomes unsuccessful.

Mahmud Pasha is assigned as captain in place of Zaganos Pasha.

Haci Giray, Khan of Crimea, dies and Mengli Giray becomes Khan.

1467

- January Iskender Bey visits Pope Paul II in Rome, and request help, but he does not get the support he expects.
— Iskender Bey returns to Albania and attacks on Akcahisar and defeats Balaban Pasha and martyrs him; he besieges Elbasan castle.
— Fatih goes on Albania expedition once more in spite of the winter; Ottoman army passes winter in Plovdiv since the information that Iskender Bey left Elbasan.
— Akkoyunids defeats Karakoyunids and takes the control of the region they are dominating.
— Uzun Hasan sends forces to Middle Anatolia upon the request of Karaman Beys, and causes destruction in the area.
— Shehzade Bayezid marries Ayse Hatun, daughter of Dulkadiroglu Alauddevle, while he is the governor of Amasya sanjak.
Spring Fatih enters Albania from Albanian Belgrade, and he establishes garrison in every castle he captures; in Buzursek valley in which for the first time is entered, a violent war which continues day and night takes place; Mahmud Pasha is sent over Iskodra and he carries out activities there.
Autumn Sehsuvar Bey defeats the forces of Bedri bey, commander of Mameluke Sultan Hoskadem.
— Fatih Sultan Mehmed protects Sehsuvar Bey against Mamelukes.

1468

- January, 17th Iskender Bey thinks to attack on Elbasan castle by gathering Albanian Beys, since Ottoman army comes in front of Iskodra, but he dies.
— Naples, Venice and Pope engage in political activities in Albania after the death of Iskender Bey.
— Sehsuvar Bey defeats the forces of Emir Kulaksız, commander of Mameluke Sultan Kayıtbay; he captures Darende which is under the dominion of Mamelukes; he defeats Ucols who are cooperating with Atabek Emir Ozbek.
— Ottoman envoy, who goes to Kayıtbay for his accession to the Mameluke throne as Sultan, is not welcomed according to the traditions, and they insults Fatih because of his Dulkadir politics and his other attempts.
— Mihaloglu Ali Bey and Davud Pasha is sent on Hungary during the expedition on Albania; they pass Danube River via Vidin.
— Exiles are sent to Istanbul from Konya, Larende, Aksaray, and Ereğli to settle them in several district in Istanbul. (between 1468-1471)
December Shehzade Cem is sent to Kastamonu as governor of sanjak at the age of 10.

1469

- Karamanoglu Pir Ahmed captures Ereğli, Aksaray, Develi and Nigde.
— Kasım Bey, brother of Pir Ahmed gets the help of Varsaks on the northeast of Adana and Silifke; makes cooperation with Kılıc Arslan, bey of Alaiye.
— Roum Mehmed Pasha walks on Karaman Beys; his violence in Ereğli and Larende causes complaints of the people; he is defeated by Kasım Bey.
— Grand Vizier Roum Mehmed Pasha is dismissed and Ishak Pasha is assigned in place of him.
October, 25th Mengli Giray complains in his letter to Fatih from the activities of the fleet under the command of Yakub Bey on Crimea coasts.

1470

- Karamanoglu Kasım Bey carries his activities upto Ankara with the supports he gets.
— Kasım Bey takes refuge in Uzun Hasan by being defeated by the forces of Grand Vizier Ishak Pasha and along with the forces of Gedik Ahmed Pasha.
June Fatih Sultan Mehmed comes to Eğriboz; island and shore is connected each other with a bridge. Sultan passes the bridge and pitches his tent nearby the city wall.

July, 11th
Wednesday

Siege of Egriboz is begun by Mahmud Pasha governor of Gallipolis Sanjak, and it is captured the next day. (July, 12th)
Dimitrios dies in Edirne under the pseudonym minister Dorotheos.
Fleet of Venice, which is in touch with beys of Karaman, and Uzun Hasan, captures and plunders Izmir and Antalya.
Birth of Selim in Amasya, son of Shehzade Beyazid and Gulbahar Hatun.

1471

January

Construction of Fatih Mosque is completed.
Turks builds Bogurdelen Castle on the Sava River in the west of Belgrade; Hungarians tries to hinder this.
Has Murad Pasha Mosque is constructed. (died in 1473)
Uzun Hasan sends his son Zeynel Bey with 30 000 soldiers to the region in order to help the Karaman beys.
Fatih agrees with Mameluke Sultan Kayıtbay under the condition that he will not support Pir Ahmed; Fatih reduces his support to Dulkadirogulları, and therefore Mameluke forces under the command of Emir Vesbek defeat Şehsuvar Bey in Anteb. Şehsuvar Bey takes shelter in the Zamantı Castle nearby Ceyhan River, and he is taken as captive to Cairo.
Gedik Ahmed Pasha goes to expedition on Lutfu Beyoglu Kılıc Arslan, bey of Alaiye, who is continuously supporting Karamanogulları; he captures Alaiye, and sends him to Istanbul with his family.
Gedik Ahmed Pasha captures Silifke, Moka and Gorigos (Maiden Tower) castles. Kılıc Arslan, who is sent to Istanbul and then to Gumulcine which is given him as property, escapes via sea and goes to Egypt, and then he takes refuge in Uzun Hasan.

1472

Uzun Hasan sends his nephew Yusufca Mirza and his vizier Bektasoglu Omer Bey to Anatolia due to the influence and encouragement of Pir Ahmed and Kasım Beys, in order to take their states back; these forces destroy Tokat which is an important center in terms of silk trade and the customs tariffs imposed on it.
One of the nephews of David Komnenos, the Trabzon Emperor, who is acting under the protection of Uzun Hasan, attacks to Trabzon.
Yusufca Mirza is taken as captive as a result of the battle in Kireli nearby Lake Beysehir, by the forces of Shehzade Mustafa, Grand Vizier Ishak Pasha and chief Bey of Anatolia, Davud Pasha; they force Pir Ahmed again to take refuge in Uzun Hasan.
Kasım Bey captures Icel by taking the support of several clans and tribes like Varsak, Durgut, Cini, Bayat, Kosun and Goges.
Dulkadiroglu Şehsuvar Bey and his three brothers is killed in Egypt; Mameluke Sultan Kayıtbay sends Shah Budak to Dulkadir lands by violating the agreement; this makes Fatih very angry.
Grand Vizier Ishak Pasha is dismissed and Mahmud Pasha is assigned in place of him by taking him from the office of captainship.
Majolica Kiosk is built.

1473

April, 11th Sunday

People are sent from Egriboz to Istanbul for settlement.
Fatih sends Mihalogulları Ali and Iskender Beys from the Rumelia raiders to Sivas region for the preparation of the expedition on Akkoyunids.
Fatih leaves Shehzade Cem in Edirne for the defense of Rumelia, and he moves from Istanbul to go for an expedition on Uzun Hasan, he follows the Iznik and Yenisehir road.
Number of combatant soldiers in the army of Fatih reaches to 85 000 with the participation of the forces of Shehzade Mustafa, governor of Karaman, in Beypazarı, and Shehzade Bayezid, governor of Amasya, in Kazabad.



August Ishak Bey besieges Silifke and captures it and Gorigos by using the advantage that Fatih is busy with Uzun Hasan and with the support of allied crusader fleet under the command of Pietro Mocenigo.
 — Pir Ahmed comes to Karaman region and captures Ermenek and Mennan.
 — Uzun Hasan uses several war tricks, he used once against Cihanshah, ruler of Karakoyunids and Ebu Said, the grandson of Temur, against the Ottoman army coming towards Erzincan; Has Murad Pasha, chief governor of Rumelia, in spite of the warnings of Mahmud Pasha, goes forward untimely, and falls into an ambush, and dies, and Turhan Beyoglu Omer Bey and his provincial treasurer Hacı Bey is taken as captives. This negative developments creates great despondency both in Ottoman army and in Edirne; and some statesmen bias* to Shehzade Cem.

August, 11 Wednesday Ottoman army comes to Ucağızlı (capital city) in Tercan; Fatih wins the battle over the hill called Otlukbeli with the Akkoyunids at noon.
 — Ottoman army, which stays 2-3 days on the battlefield after the Otlukbeli victory, then captures Bayburt.

August, 23rd Wednesday Fatih forgives the captive Akkoyunids and Karakoyunids, and leaves the region.

August, 29th Sunday Darab Bey, man of Zeynel Bey, who is son of Uzun Hasan and died during the Otlukbeli War, surrenders the besieged Sarkikarahisar.

— Uzun Hasan request for peace by sending an envoy for the mediation of Mevlana Ahmed Bekurci while Fatih is in Karahisar.

— Some of the scholars, scientists and artisans in the army of Uzun Hasan are sent to Istanbul for settlement.

— Venetians goes away from Karaman, since Ottoman forces which win the victory in Otlukbeli are directed towards the region; Pir Ahmed takes his wife and treasure with him and withdraw the mountainous area in Mennan, and there he dies in distress; he is buried nearby Nure Sufi, his grandfather, in Degirmenlik plateau of Sinanlı village in Mut.

1474

— Silifke surrenders to Gedik Ahmed Pasha, and Develi-hisar and Lulue castles to Shehzade Mustafa, governor of Karaman.

— Birth of Oguz Khan, son of Shehzade Cem, in Kastamonu.

— Death of Shehzade Mustafa, governor of Karaman.

— Uzun Hasan tries to get into contact with Venetians in spite of the agreement with the Ottomans; Fatih dismisses Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasha who persuades him for the peace and assigns Gedik Ahmed Pasha in place of him.

July - August Execution of Mahmud Pasha.

December, 25th Shehzade Cem, bey of Kastamonu Sanjak, becomes the governor of Karaman, in place of his brother Shehzade Mustafa.

— Shehzade Cem makes the Karaman people like him, and he lets Kasim Bey, with whom he establishes good relations, (dies in 1483) govern certain regions in Icel and Larende.

— Stephan, bey of Bogdan defeats the Crimean forces sent on him, and takes their bey, Basbey Eminek as captive; he makes Radu, bey of Eflaq escape, and he captures Ibrail and Kili.

1475

— Hadım Suleyman Pasha, chief governor of Rumelia, is assigned to capture Iskodra and he besieges the castle for a month, which is defended by Venetian Antonio Lorendo; the siege is lifted with the permission of the Sultan since Bogdan issue becomes urgent.

January, 17th Stephan, bey of Bogdan defeats Hadım Suleyman Pasha, chief governor of Rumelia, in Rakovitza overwhelmingly; Suleyman Pasha saves his life with difficulty.

Summer Grand Vizier Gedik Ahmed Pasha is assigned for the conquest of Genoese colonies in Black Sea by giving 10 000 torment soldier under the command of Mahmud Aga, agha of torment soldiers, gate soldiers, and Rumelian soldiers and 100 ships carrying these

- soldiers in his orders.
Gedik Ahmed Pasha conquers Keefe after a 4 days siege.
- June, 6th
- June-December All the Genoese colonies, Azak and Menkub most of all among them are captured; south of Crimea is organized under three offices of khadis as Keefe, Menkub and Sogdak.
— Mengli Giray, who is held captive in Sogdak with his three brothers, is saved by Gedik Ahmed Pasha, and he return to his throne by making an agreement under the condition that "he will be the friend of the friend of Sultan; and the enemy of the enemy of the Sultan".
— People are sent to Istanbul from Keefe and Menkub for settlement; bey of Menkub is imprisoned in Yedikule.
- 1476
- March, 16th Only the Ottoman land and marine forces move towards Bogdan since Eminek Bey, one of the Crimean commanders cannot come due to some developments though he promised to do so.
— Then Eflaqi forces of 12 000 soldiers join to army of Fatih; when they arrive in Varna, envoys of Bogdan comes and propose agreement, but they do not accept the conditions demanded by Fatih; thus Ottoman forces pass Danube River and goes around in Bogdan territory for 40 days, but they cannot find Voyvoda.
— Fatih meets the forces of Voyvoda Stephan Cel Mare in a valley called Rasboieni (Sea of Trees) because of the mistake of the guide; janissaries hesitate for a moment, but Fatih rides his horse and goes forward.
— Voyvoda of Bogdan is defeated in Alba Valea, and Suceva, administrative center is destroyed.
- July, 27th
- July, 28th The army bivouacks on the battle field.
— Mengli Giray is defeated in the Golden Hordes front and Seyyid Ahmed, Khan of Golden Hordes State comes in front of Keefe; Mengli Giray takes shelter in Cifitkale; and he is dismissed and imprisoned in Yedikule, and his brother Nur Devlet is assigned in place of him.
- 1477
- Grand Vizier is wanted to be assigned for the conquest of Iskodra, but he refuses this, and he is dismissed and imprisoned Anatolian Castle, and Karamani Mehmed Pasha is assigned in place of him.
- May, 15th Ottoman forces under the command of Mihaloglu Ali Bey, besieges Akcahisar, which was captured by Venice after the death of Iskender Bey.
- September
November Iskender Pasha, chief governor of Bosnia enters the Plain opposite the city of Venice by passing the Isonsa and Taglimento Rivers with a powerful army.
- 1478
- January, 6th Uzun Hasan dies in Tebriz.
— Fatih captures some of the places on the Gumushane-Trabzon line under the dominion of Uzun Hasan, and Torul.
- May Mengli Giray is sent as Khan of Crimea from Istanbul for the first time upon the application of Eminek.
— Fatih Sultan Mehmed goes to an expedition on Albania for the last time after he solve the problems in Bogdan and Crimea; Evranosoglu Ahmed Bey and Turhan Beyoglu Omer Bey serve as the raider forces.
- June, 16th Ottoman army comes in front of Akcahisar which was captured by Venice, after a difficult walking; the castle is surrendered as a result of the overwhelming siege of Evranosoglu.
- June, 22nd Davud Pasha, chief Governor of Rumelia, is sent on Iskodra with Suleyman Pasha, chief governor of Anatolia; they demanded the surrendering of the castle and they

Fatih
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MEHMED II AND
HIS PERIOD



- July, 2nd besiege the castle upon their refusal.
Fatih comes in front of Iskodra castle; artilleries cannot be delivered since the castle is on a mountainous region, therefore artilleries are casted there and new kind of cannonball is used.
- July, 21st-22nd 2 general attacks are made.
July, 27th Although ditches are passed with the 3rd general attack, no result is obtained; therefore war council is gathered, and they decide to capture other castles nearby Iskodra in order to capture the castle, since they support it.
Davud Pasha who is assigned by the war council, captures Golbası castle.
- September, 1st Suleyman Pasha besieges Dergos and Davud Pasha helps him, thus the castle is captured; those two pashas besieges Les and captures it.
After the conquest of all the castles around Iskodra, the only way for the contact with Venice is via River; in order to break this contact, a bridge and towers are built on Boyana River.
- September, 7th Fatih, who comes to Les, moves to Istanbul.
October, 8th The army leaves the region by assigning Evranosoglu Ahmed Bey for the siege of Iskodra; the castle surrenders 6 months later; thus Albania becomes a Turkish Province.
Gedik Ahmed Pasha is assigned for the conquest of remaing castles, and he captures all the castles.
Construction of the Yeni Saray (Saray-ı Cedid-i Âmire) is completed.
Gedik Ahmed Pasha is assigned as the captain.

1479

- January, 25th Ottoman-Venice peace treaty is signed in Istanbul.
April, 25th Senate of Venice approves the treaty signed in Istanbul with the Ottomans.
The fleet sent by Fatih captures Taman peninsula and Matrega, Anapa and Kopa there.
Gedik Ahmed Pasha captures Zenta, Kefalonya and Aya Mavra islands, which are known as "Seven Islands" in the Adriatic from the Venetians; people from these islands are sent to Istanbul for settlement.
October Mesih Pasha lands troops on Rhodes; but he retreats to Marmaris Harbor due to the resistance.

1480

- Alauddevle Bozkurt Bey, who is protected by Fatih, is defeated by his brother Shah Budak first, but then he defeats his brother and gets the control of the principality.
May, 23rd Mesih Pasha lands soldiers again on Rhodes around the St. Ethiene Mountain.
June, 19th Forces of Mesih Pasha get no result from their two attacks on St. Nicholas tower.
July, 26th Gedik Ahmed Pasha sails towards Pulya coasts from Avlonya with 132 ships, out of which 28 are galleys.
July, 28th Mesih Pasha cannot get the expected result from the attacks made from the Jewish quarters of the Island.
July, 28th Turkish soldiers lands nearby Otranto.
August, 11th Otranto is captured by force; some of the castles around is captured and the raids goes towards the internal areas.
Mesih Ahmed Pasha is assigned as the captain in place of Gedik Ahmed Pasha.
Molla Gurani is assigned as musti after the death of Molla Husrev.
Shehzade Korkud, son of Bayezid, and Shehzade Oguzhan, son of Cem, who are staying with Fatih is circumcised.

1481

- April, 29th Fatih passes to Uskudar for an expedition, although he is ill.
May, 3rd Thursday Midafternoon Fatih Sultan Mehmed dies at the age of 50, after his 31 years of ruling on the Sultan/Feudal Lord Meadow nearby Gebze.