

BOĞAZIÇI ÜNİVERSİTESİ DERGİSİ

Beşeri Bilimler — Humanities

Vol. 6 — 1978

TÂCÎ-ZÂDE CA'FER ÇELEBİ, AS A POET AND STATESMAN

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ABSTRACT

Tâci-zâde Ca'fer Çelebi was a prominent figure in the political life of Ottoman society in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, who both as a member of the council of State and as a personality of distinction in the literary activities of the period was able to influence future developments in these spheres. However, apart from a few articles in works of an encyclopaedic nature, no study has hitherto been devoted to his life and his activities as a poet and statesman. The present study collects all the existing information on his life and his career, and presents for the first time a reliable biography, seeking as well to establish his position in the literary environment of the age and in the Ottoman administration.

Tâci-zâde Ca'fer Çelebi may be regarded as one of the representative men of Ottoman society in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. A scholar, a poet and a statesman, he achieved distinction in the nascent educational and administrative institution, and by his poetry and prose works contributed to the cultural life of the new society and the formation of a language in which this might find expression. While regarded as a poet of secondary rank, his verse is still superior to that of most of his contemporaries; and were it not that he was rivalled by such great poets as Ahmed Paşa, Necâti and Mesîhî, it is likely that his reputation would have been greater than later critics allowed.

He lived in one of the most dynamic periods of Ottoman history, at that very time when the foundations were being laid for the distinctive Islamic Society created by the Ottomans: and for much of his life he was associated with the governmental

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apparatus that was guiding and shaping this. The efforts of Mehmed II to adorn his new capital with monuments commensurate to the greatness of his Christian predecessors were matched by his care that these should be staffed and directed by the most eminent figures in learning and culture that the Islamic East had to provide.¹ These foreigners were a stimulus and a challenge to the native scholars, who sought to emulate and exceed them within their own cultural milieu. That the poetry of Persia could be given an authentic Ottoman voice had been the contribution of the Ahmed Paşas and the Necâtis, and in elegant prose composition it was men such as Ca'fer Çelebi who demonstrated that Turkish could be no less beautiful and expressive than that of the Persian *münşis*.

Those features of literature and learning which were later to become the lifeless stereotypes of Ottoman culture found their first expression in this period, and they present themselves to us with vigour and freshness. One can sense the élan and enthusiasm of a new creative impulse in much of the literary productions associated with the reigns of Mehmed II and Bâyezid II, the latter being no less concerned than his father to foster the intellectual and artistic activities that would lend renown to the dynasty.² A man of many talents such as Ca'fer Çelebi found here an ideal situation in which to develop and mature; and the very frequency of his complaints in his poetry that he was not receiving due recognition for his qualities must be taken as an indication that such attributes commanded, and were expected to command, reward from the very centre of power.

After having achieved a position within the administrative institution, Ca'fer himself was able to extend such patronage to men of ability in both poetry and prose writing, and in this way fostered the cultural activities of the age as well as contributing to them. It is to cultivated personalities of this kind that we must look if we would wish to explain the flourishing literary life of Bâyezid's reign, a period that contributed as much to the spiritual development of Ottoman society as had his predecessor's to its military and political achievements. The poet was accorded as of right a position in society; not as a teacher or a preacher, but as one who tempered and refined the spirit of what was still basically a military state, in which the attitude of the camp intruded even into urban life. Ca'fer's own tragic end illustrates how difficult it was to resolve the contradictory tendencies, when the renewed military energies of the state under Selim allowed the balance which seemed to have been achieved by Bâyezid II to swing once again in favour of the soldier.



¹ Her kanda bir 'âlim-i mütebahhir-ü-müteferrid var ise, eger diyâr-ı Hindde ve eger vilâyet-i Sındde, bezâr ikrâm ve iltifâtla yolında bez-i mâl-ü-menâl idüb, menâsıb-ı 'âliye ve merâtib-i me'âliye birle istimâletler virüb, bi-z-zarûre her birinc vedâ-ı vatan ve terk-i mesken itdürürmiş. *Latîf*, pp. 61 - 2.

See also Hanna Sohrweide, 'Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im Osmanischen Reich (1453 - 1600), Ein Beitrag zur türkisch - persischen Kulturgeschichte', *Der Islam* 46 (1970), pp. 262 - 302.

² ... Bunların 'ahd-u-'asrında şu'ârâ çokdı ve ol devrde nazm-ı le'âlî-intizâmından bihter bir kâlâ-yı râ'ic yokdı. Şu'ârâ-yı Rûmun ekser ser-âmedleri bunlar devrinde gelmişlerdir ve bu 'asırda şöhret bulmuşlardır. Ve cevâ'iz ve 'atâyâsın ve vazâ'if ve sâliyhânesin yer otuz neferden mütecevaz şâ'ir-i mâhir var idi. Ve vilâyet-i 'Acemde bunlardan dahi Mevlânâ Câmiye her sâl bin 'aded fitorî varurdu. *Latîf*, p. 63.

The only source in which any mention is made of the genealogy of Ca'fer Çelebi is Hüseyin Hüsameddin's still unpublished *Nişancılar Durağı*.³ As has often been the complaint of his major work, *Amasya Tarihi*, here, too, he neglects to show from where he derived his information, which consequently must be treated with reserve. The notice on Ca'fer Çelebi is to be found on pages 68-73, and begins :

Ca'fer Çelebi : Amasyalıdır. İstanbulda Tâcî Beg dimekle meşhûr olan Kefe Beglerbegisi Hacı Beg-zâde Tâcüddin İbrâhim Paşa b. Safiyüddin Mustafa Çelebi b. Gâzî Mehmed Beg b. eş-Şeyh 'Alâ'eddin 'Alî b. İbrâhim mahdûmu olub, Tâcî Beg-zâde dimekle meşhûrdur.

No mention is to be found in the usual sources about any of the individuals mentioned in this genealogy, and it is only about his father, Tâcî Beg, that we have information which may be regarded as historical.

According to Latîfi⁴ and 'Âşık Çelebi,⁵ Tâcî Beg came from a noble family. In the *Amasya Tarihi* (III, 226) Hüseyin Hüsameddin places Tâcî Beg among the retainers of Hâcî Beg-zâde Halil Beg b. Gâzî Mehmed Beg in Amasya, and says that in 866 (1461-2) he entered the service of Şehzâde Bâyezîd, who at that time was governor of the province. It would seem that he gained the confidence and the respect of the future sultân, and in the *ŞN* (I, 487) he is spoken of as his *müdebbirü* 'I-umûr.⁶ In the Basvekalet Arşivi (Ali Emiri Tasnifi nu. 32) there is a *ferman* of Sultân Mehmed II, dated 883(1478), in which it is mentioned that the wife of Tâcî purchased a village from Bâyezîd's mother; Tâcî Beg is therein described as *oglum kapusunda hizmet iden*. In the same archive there is the *tahrîr defteri* for Tokat which also dates from the time of Mehmed II, and on page 49 Tâcî Beg is mentioned among the military chiefs (*ser'asker*) of Amasya.⁷

Very little reliance can be placed on the other information about Tâcî Beg, given by Hüseyin Hüsameddin in his *Amasya Tarihi*. In 875(1470-1), we are told that Tâcî Beg, a poet of Amasya, became *nişancı* to Şehzâde Bâyezîd (iii, 228); in 883 (1478), he is said to have fled to Baghdad to escape Mehmed II's punishment for having encouraged

3 The only copy of this work is in the private possession of his son, Kemaleddin Yaşar, now resident in Istanbul. See for description of this work, Turgut Akpınar, 'Amasya Tarihi Yazarı Hüseyin Hüsameddin ve Bilinmeyen Eserleri', *Bibliyografya*, I, 3 (Ankara 1972), pp. 163-8.

4 'Ulüv-i neseb ve kemâl-i haseble mevsûfdur. Latîfi, p. 117.

5 Tâcî Beglüler Rûmda şeref ve câh ile ma'rûf hânedân ve âzâde ve hân-zadedür. 'Âşık Çelebi, 60a.

6 'Âşık Çelebi (60a) calls him the *lâî* of Şehzâde Bâyezîd, but 'Alî (Künhü 'I-Ahbâr, 204a-b) says that 'Âşık Çelebi was confused by the title "beg" and that in fact he was only his *müdebbirü* 'I-umûr, which he explains meant *hasa emini*. Kâtib Çelebi (*Süllemü 'I-vüsûl*, Şehid Ali Paşa 1887, p. 365) also calls him the *müdebbirü* 'I-umûr. In his introduction to Ca'fer Çelebi's *Mahrûse-i İstanbul Fetihnâmesi* (supplement to *TOEM*, 20-21) Hâlis Efendi also refers to Tâcî Beg as the *lâî* of Şehzâde Bâyezîd, although he may be merely following 'Âşık Çelebi in this.

7 Tokat Tahrîr Defteri No. 15. For the reproduction of this record see Appendix A.I. Kınalı-zâde also says that Ca'fer's father was *sâhib-i seyf*, which means that he was from the military class (70a).

Şehzâde Bâyezîd in dissolute practices (iii, 231).⁸ In 887(1482), however, he returned from Baghdad to Amasya and again became *nişancı*, presumably to Şehzâde Ahmed for by this time Bâyezîd had become sultân. (iii, 235). The other information given in this work is very doubtful, and seems hardly worth repeating.

In the *Bedâ'i 'û'l-Vekâ'i* a story is related from Ca'fer Çelebi about how his father, while in Amasya, had been given a purse of 3000 *akçes* by Şehzâde Bâyezîd to be distributed amongst the *dervişes* of Çelebi Halife (Şeyh Mehmed Çelebi el-Cemâli el-Karamani) in order that they might pray for his intention.⁹ This may be taken as indicating a close relation between Tâci Beg and Şehzâde Bâyezîd, which would certainly have favoured the fortunes of Ca'fer after the latter ascended the throne.

The date of Tâci beg's death would seem to be beyond dispute: in four chronograms given at the end of his son Sa'dî Çelebi's *Münşe'ât* this is fixed at 890(1485).¹⁰ In the *Süllem* Kâtib Çelebi says that his death occurred in Muharrem of this year, and that he was then fifty-four years of age; ¹¹ this would place his birth in 836(1432-3).¹²

In the two *tezkires*, Tâci Beg is included among the poets of his age. Lâtîfi describes him as the *defterdâr* of Şehzâde Bâyezîd in Amasya and quotes a single *matla'* as a sample of his work:¹³

Göz yaşlı gönül zülf-i perişânlar içinde
Kaldum karañu gicede bârânlar içinde

Kinalı-zâde Hasan Çelebi merely repeats Latîfi, who was clearly his only source, and offers the same verse (67b).

In the *Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn* (p. 147) he is listed among the calligraphers and is said to have studied the art along with Şeyh Hamdullâh, but the name of their master is not mentioned.¹⁴

⁸ The document in Feridûn Beg's *Münşe'ât* (I, 263-4) to which Hüseyin Hüsameddin refers does not mention Tâci Beg among the individuals accused by the sultân. The document, moreover, is dated 12 Muharrem 884 - the *Amasya Tarihi* would have it written in 873 or 881!

⁹ Hüseyin, *Bedâ'i'ü 'l-Vekâ'i*, II, 310a, ed. A. S. Tveritina, Moscow 1961.

¹⁰ Sa'dî Çelebi *Münşe'âtı*, ed. Necatî Lugal and Adnan Erzi (Istanbul 1956), pp. 68-69. Despite this definite evidence, the editors still attribute a letter dated 906 to Tâci Beg! (Introduction vii) The letter is by Ca'fer Çelebi, who in this work is usually referred to as *Efendi*.

¹¹ *Süllem*, p. 365.

¹² The name of his wife (or may of one of his wives) is recorded as Rabi'a Hatun. Cf. Ö. L. Barkan, 'Ayasofya Camii ve Eyüb Türbesinin 1489-1491 yıllarına ait Muhasebe bilânçoları,' *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XXIII, 1-2, (Istanbul 1962), p. 359. In the same *Muhasebe* mention is made of his two sons Ca'fer and Sa'dî as recipients of incomes from the *wakfs* of Ayasofya and Eyüb Türbesi between the years 1489 and 1491 (p. 357).

¹³ p. 108.

¹⁴ According to Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi no examples of his calligraphy have survived (*Fatih Devri Hattatları ve Hat Sanatı*, Istanbul 1953, p. 49).

Ca'fer is reported to have been born in Amasya in Şa'ban 856 (Aug. 1452).¹⁵ His early education in this city was received from Şeyhî-zâde Abdî, Mu'îd-zâde Muhyiddin Mehmed, Horâsânî-zâde es-Seyyid 'Abdullah Çelebi,¹⁶ and because of the position and the interests of his father this would presumably be the best that could be found at that time.¹⁷

We do not know at what age he left Amasya to continue his studies under scholars of greater reputation, but it would seem likely that it was Bursa rather than İstanbul that would offer him an advanced education at this time. The *Semâniye* in İstanbul did not begin to receive scholars until after Receb 875 (Jan. 1471), and most of the teachers under whom he is reported to have studied remained in Bursa to teach in the *medresses* of that city. According to ŞN these were Hacı Hasan-zâde (d. 911/1505-6), el-Kastalanî (d. 901/1495-6), Hâtib-zâde (d. 901/1495-6) and H'âce-zâde (d. 893/1488).¹⁸ In the *Heves-nâme* he mentions several of the prominent scholars of the *Semâniye*, amongst whom three of these names figure :

Sıfat-ı Semâniye

Bu câmi' çevresinde ol Şehinşâh
K'anı Itsün garik-i rahmet Allâh

Binâ İtmîş sekiz 'âli medârls
Ki her birinde bir ulu müderris

¹⁵ This date is given by Hüseyin Hüsameddin in *Nişancılar*, p. 68; however, Kâtib Çelebi in the *Süllem* (p. 69), says that he was 53 years of age when he died in 921, and this would put his birth in the year 868 (1463-4).

In the *Heves-nâme* (85b), which was completed in 899 (1493-4), reference is made to his love affair with a young woman which may have occurred shortly after his arrival in İstanbul about the year 891, in the course of which he refers to himself as being twenty-two years of age :

Egerçi her sözidür bir risâle
'Acebdür var ise bist ü dü sâle

Although there can be no absolute confidence placed in such tenuous evidence, this might be taken as broadly confirming the date of birth which can be deduced from the *Süllem*.

¹⁶ *Nişancılar*, p. 68.

¹⁷ *Seht*, p. 28; *Künbü 'l-Ahbâr*, 204b.

¹⁸ ŞN, I, 487; *Mecdi*, 435. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı says that Hızır Beg, the first *kâdı* of İstanbul was also one of Ca'fer's masters, but this would be impossible in as much as Hızır Beg died in 863! (*İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 229).

In a chronogram by Ca'fer Çelebi to be found in his brother's *Münşe'ât* (p. 82), another of his teachers at this time would appear to have been Kâdi-zâde (d. 899/1493-4) :

Kâdi-zâde mu'in-i şer'-i kavîm
Ki merâ bud bihterîn üstâd
Sevvümîn rûz ez meh-i ramazân
Şud birûn z'in sarây-ı hüzn-âbâd
Her ki be-şnid güft der tarih
Vatan-ı o behişt-i bâki bâd

Egerçi her biridür bahr-ı 'irfân
Velâkin dördidür deryâ-yı 'ummân

Hatib-oğlı biri ol merd-i dâna
K'anuñla idemez bahs İbn-i Sinâ

Biri dahi Arab meşhûr-ı 'âlem
Sütüde kavli fi'li dîni muhkem

Yiter fazlına anuñ bu 'alâme
Ki fetvâsı yürür Rûm ile Şâma

Biri deryâ-yı dâniş Kastalânî
K'odur hikmetde Eflâton-ı sâni

Biri Hacı Hasan-zâde Vahidî
Zamânuñ muktedâsı vü feridî

Fazîlet ma'deni vü ilm kânı
Şeri'at mesnedi Nu'mân-ı sâni

Musahhar tab'ına ma'kûl-ü-menkûl
Selâmet üzre zihn-i pâki mecbûl

Bular erbâb-ı fazluñ 'umdesidür
Mevâlî-yi 'izâmuñ zübdesidür

Heves-nâme 12a, 3-14

We may assume from the fact that he singles them out for special mention that they may have formerly been his own teachers in Bursa.

He received his *mülâzemet* from Hacı Hasan-zâde.¹⁹ He himself speaks of his accomplishments (*Divân*, p. 112)*:

86. Kılmışam hayli ehâdise tefâsire nazar
Olmışam ashâb-ı fikh-ı dîn arasında benâm

87. Çekmişem zahmet usûl ile furû'a bi-hesâb
İtmışem fenn-i kelâm u hikmete çok ihtimâm

As well as these formal studies, he also achieved a reputation as a calligrapher, having been a pupil of the famous Şeyh Hamdullah.²⁰

According to 'Âşık Çelebi, Ca'fer Çelebi, having finished his studies, entered the career of teaching.²¹ It seems probable that his first appointment was to the med-

* For the references to the *Divân*, my unpublished edition is used, *Ph. D. Thesis*, Edinburgh University, 1977.

¹⁹ 'Âşık Çelebi, 60a; Kınalı-zâde, 70a; Riyâzi, 45b; Hüsnü 'l-Ahbâr, 204b.

²⁰ Tuhte-i Hattâtın, p. 148; 'OM, I., p. 263.

²¹ 'Âşık Çelebi, 60a.

rese in Simav, where he also acted as *kâdi*.²² Mecdî mentions a mosque which he built in this city;²³ and in the vakf for his other mosque in Istanbul, provision is made for the stipends of the *imâm* and the *mü'ezzin* of the one in Simav.²⁴

Hüseyin Hüsâmeddin records an interesting incident which must have occurred during this appointment:

Şehzâde Cem mes'alesinde mukaddemâ müşârun ileyhe takdîm eylediği bir 'ubûdiyet-nâmesi tutulub tarafdarlığı ile ithâm edildiğinden 889'da 'azl ve haps edildi. Yedikule zindanında bir-buçuk yıl kadar kaldı. Sonra takdîm eylediği bir kasidesi ve Amasyalı ricâlin şefâ'ati neticesinde 891'de ıtlâk edildi.²⁵

The *kaside* mentioned here would probably be that found on page 512 of his *divân*, and this would give relevance to such *beys* as :

6. Şikâyetüm katı çokdur zemânenen şâhâ
Ki ben kemîne husûsında İtdî çok taksîr
7. Şu cürm içün ki 'udül eyledüm tarîkûmden
Döne döne feleg-i dîn-nevâz ide ta'zîr
13. Olan hod oldı mezâ mâ mezâ giden gitdi
Ki böyle yazmış imiş anı Kâtib-i takdîr
25. Yine tarîkûme varmaga eyleyüb himmet
Harâbe gönlümi anunla eyleyem ta'mîr
28. Yemin idem ki dahi çıkmayam tarîkûmden
Eger yagarsa bu yolda başuma hançer-ü-tîr

There is no information available about what *medrese* in Istanbul he taught in²⁶ until the year 899(1493-4), when through the influence of Çandarlı İbrâhim Paşa, he

²² Nişâncılar, p. 68.

²³ Mecdî, p. 337.

²⁴ Portions of this vakf are to be found in Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, (Istanbul 1952), p. 487; *İstanbul Tahrir Defteri*, p. 298; and *Tapu Defteri*, Başvekâlet Arşivi, No. 251, pp. 531-2.

²⁵ Nişâncılar, p. 68. In fact, we have a *ta'rîh* by Ca'fer on the death of Sultân Cem :

Zâ'ir-i Beytü 'l-harem seyyâh-ı ber-ü-bahr Cem
K'ide lutfından Hüdâ erzânî cennetler ana
Çün koyub mihnet evin gitdi sarây-ı râhata
İşideñler didiler ta'rîh rahmetler ana
Münşe'ât, p. 83.

²⁶ We have a letter written to him from Bursa by his brother, Sa'dî Çelebi, dated Receb 897, in which he is invited to visit him there, where he has so many good friends. In another letter, also from Bursa, dated 898, he is requested to maintain a correspondence with him. (*Sa'dî Çelebi Mecmû'ası*, 106b-108a) At this time Ca'fer was trying to obtain a more remunerative position, and in the *kit'a* dedicated to 'Alî Paşa (*Divân*, p. 520), we may have an example of the efforts he was making for this purpose :

3. Neyyir-i burc-ı vefâ hazret-i Paşa ki anun
Pertev-i râyî durur şem'i şebistân-ı kerem

was given the *medrese* of Mahmûd Paşa with a stipend of 50 *akçe*.²⁷ It was in 899 that he completed the *Heves-nâme*, but as the work is without a dedication we are unable to say to whom he may have presented it.

While still in this post - and probably in Reb. I, 903 (Oct. 1497) - he was appointed to the imperial *Dîvân* as *nişancı*.²⁸ According to 'Âlî it had been decided that the person holding this office should be of the 'ulema class, and the members of the council were agreed that there was no one more deserving or capable than Ca'fer. On achieving this post he received the rank and style of *paşa*, and enjoyed most of the privileges of a *vezir*.²⁹ He was very conscious of his own dignity, and it was because of a protest that he made to the Sultân that the *nişancı* was henceforth given precedence over the *defterdâr* in the *Dîvân*, and allowed a vezirial tent when on campaign.³⁰

The earliest activity that can be discovered of his period in this office relates to the campaign against Moton and Koron in Ramazan 905 - Muharrem 906 (Apr. - Aug. 1500), in which he would appear to have participated.³¹ There is in his *Dîvân* a *kaside* (pp. 103), in which the taking of Moton is described in detail; and it was he who wrote the *feth-nâme* of the campaign (dated Muharrem 906/July 1500), which appears in the *Münşe'ât* of Sa'dî Çelebi.³² This was sent to Bursa from Moton.

Although his name does appear now and again in various connections in the subsequent years, it is not until the end of the reign of Bâyezid II that he figures in

8. Gam bucağında revâ mı ben olam ac u susuz
İrişe kamulara âb-ı sehâ nân-ı kerem

10. Geçer ekser günümüz killet ile himmet idün
Ki 'inâyet ide biz kulına sultân-ı kerem

11. Üstümüzden nazar-ı şefkatini eksimeyüb
Artura dirliğümüzi şeh-i devrân-ı kerem

12. Aslsuz oldug-içim yazısı timarumuzun
Niçe sa'y itdük ise çıkmadı ey kân-ı kerem

13. Meh-i amâlüm anon naksı hilâl itdi velî
Var ümidüm ki tamâm ide bu noksanı kerem

27 Only Hüseyin Hüsameddin in *Nişancılar* (p. 68) mentions İbrahim Paşa in connection with this appointment, but it is not improbable that Ca'fer or his father Taci Beg could have gained his friendship when he was in Amasya as the lâlâ of Şehzâde Bâyezid. The chronogram for the appointment by his brother Sa'dî is given in the *Münşe'ât*, p. 82. The information about his teaching career in Ş.N. I, p. 488, (Mecdi, p. 335) and in the *tezkires* - *Kınalı-zâde*, 70a, *Riyâzi*, 45b - is summary and lacking in detail. Gibb, *HOP*, II, p. 264, is certainly wrong in saying that the *medrese* of Mahmûd Paşa was his first appointment.

28 *Nişancılar*, p. 68. Three chronograms for this appointment are found in Sa'dî Çelebi's *Münşe'ât*, p. 85; S.N. Ergun, *TŞ*, II, erroneously gives the date as 904, and is probably the source for the same error in T. Gökbilgin, *İ.A.* III, p. 8.

29 *Kühü 'Ahbâr*, 204b.

30 *Aşık Çelebi*, 60b.

31 In the *Sa'dî Çelebi Mecmû'ası*, we have two letters sent from Bursa by Sa'dî to Ca'fer, who was in Edirne, probably prior to the commencement of the campaign. Both are dated 905, the first seeking favours for certain of his friends (70b-71a), and the other asking that the *muhtesib* of Bursa, who was in financial difficulties, be given his assistance (102a-102b).

32 pp. 45-8.

any major event.³³ Thus in the *İn'âmât defteri*³⁴ we find him recorded as having received a gift from the Sultân on 13 Reb. II 909 (5 Oct. 1503), in return for a *kaside* which he had written;³⁵ and again on 23 Cem. II 909 (13 Dec. 1503) he was rewarded for a letter he composed to be sent to the Sultân of Egypt.³⁶ On 5 Şa'ban 909 (23 Jan. 1504) and on 7 Receb 910 (14 Dec. 1504), he is also recorded as having received gifts but in what connection is not disclosed.³⁷ He is mentioned in four other places in this *defter* as a recipient of the Sultân's largesse; 12 Zî 'l-Ka'de 913 (15 Mar. 1508), 3 Reb. I 914 (2 May 1508), 15 Şevval 914 (6 Feb. 1509) and 24 Şevval 916 (24 Jan. 1511), but the reasons for the rewards are not stated.³⁸

In the *Tapu defteri*, no. 20, in the Başvekalet Arşivi, there is to be found an entry in his hand recording the conferment of the Hasan Fakih *Çiftliği* to Dâvûd Paşa on 6 Reb. II 910 (16 Sep. 1504);³⁹ and for Zî 'l-Ka'de of the same year he records in this register the villages which Bâyezid had conferred on his daughter Şâh Sultân in 896 (1490-1).⁴⁰ Again for Şa'ban 912 (Dec. 1506), we find in the same *defter* the entry in Ca'fer's hand recording the conferment by the Sultân of the village of Keşenlü near Edirne on Hanî Hatun, the daughter of Mustafa, the son of Mehmed II.⁴¹

Subsequent mention of him is made in the *İn'âmât defteri* under various years :

- 23 Cem. I 913 (1 Oct. 1507) : for a *ta'ziye* on the death of Şehzâde Mahmûd⁴²
 14 Safer 914 (14 Jun. 1508) : for a *kaside*⁴³

33 In the *Sa'dî Çelebi Mecmû'ası*, we have two letters written to him from Bursa in 906 by his brother Sa'dî, the first dated Ramazan, the other Zî'l-Hicce. Both complain of Ca'fer's neglect in writing to him. (62b - 64a; 93b - 94a resp.).

34 *Defter-i Müsveddât-ı İn'âmât ve taşaddukât ve teşrifât ve irsâliyat ve gayrihi*. Belediye Kütüphanesi, Mu'allim Cevdet Yazmaları No. 071.

35 *İn'âmât defteri*, p. 16. Appendix, A.2. It is very likely that this is the *Benefşe Kasidesi (Divân*, pp. 125), the 15th *beyt* of which speaks of the plague which struck Istanbul in 909 (1503):

15. Hâk oldu dirigâ bu yıl âsib-i vebâdan
 Çok 'ârızı gül turre-i tarrârı benefşe

The plague of 909 is mentioned in *Müneccimbaşı II*, p. 418.

The *kaside* is a *nazire* to that which Ahmed Paşa had earlier addressed to Sultân Cem, and reference to this is made towards the end, in the *beyt* :

56. Bu şî'r sevâdın okusun kanı ki Ahmed
 Görün ki nice olur imiş bâri benefşe

36 *İn'âmât defteri*, p. 25. Appendix, A. 3.

37 » » p. 32 and p. 37 resp.

38 * * * pp. 262, 282, 318 and 419 resp.

39 *Tapu defteri*, no. 20, p. 45.

40 * * * no. 20, p. 183; pp. 218-9.

41 *Tapu defteri*, no. 20, p. 46. Appendix, A. 4. A reference to this entry made in 925 (1519), mentions that it was made by Ca'fer Çelebi in his own hand (*Başvekalet Arşivi*, no. 77, p. 128; *Tapu defteri*, no. 370, p. 14). Appendix A. 5 and A. 6 resp.

42 *İn'âmât defteri*, p. 236.

43 » » » p. 279. A. 7.

- 17 Cem. II 915 (4 Oct. 1509) : on the occasion of the circumcision of his son⁴⁴
 8 Zî'l-Ka'de 915(18 Feb. 1510) : for a letter he wrote to the Sultân of Egypt⁴⁵
 Receb 916 (Oct. 1510) : for a letter he wrote to the Sultân of Egypt⁴⁶

In all the above entries he is described as holding the office of *tevkî'i* (*nişâncı*).

In the struggle for the succession which was waged among the princes towards the end of the reign of Bâyezîd, Ca'fer supported the party of Şehzâde Ahmed, even going so far as to write a *kasîde* in which he mentions him as *vâris-i mülk* and indicates that he expects him to be the future sultân:⁴⁷

27. Vâris-i mülk şeh Ahmed ki kul olmağa ana
Yüzini göge tutub Tañrıdan İster nergis
 71. Rîşte-i nazm-i dür-efşânım ile deste İdüb
Gönderür bezm-i dil-âvîzûñe Ca'fer nergis
 72. Ki el öpüb bulıcak hidmet-i şâh ile şeref
Kemterin bendeden irgüre du'âlar nergis
 75. Efser-i 'izz ü devlet kona Hakdan başuña
Niçe kîm zerden ura başına efser nergis

Bâyezîd had intended to abdicate in favour of Şehzâde Ahmed and had summoned him to Istanbul. While Ahmed was on his way to the capital, Bâyezîd II attempted to persuade the Janissaries to abandon Şehzâde Selim and to rally around Ahmed.⁴⁸ When Ahmed arrived at Üsküdar and camped there awaiting word from his father, a rumour spread among the Janissaries that Bâyezîd II and Ahmed's supporters were planning to bring Ahmed to Istanbul and proclaim him sultân.⁴⁹ To prevent this the Janissaries, who were in favour of Şehzâde Selim's cause, attacked and looted the houses of the eminent members of Ahmed's group, including that of Ca'fer Çelebi, and he is said to have barely escaped with his life.⁵⁰ The date of this event is variously given in the sources, but the most reliable is that found in the article by

⁴⁴ » » p. 351. A. 8.

⁴⁵ » » p. 366. A.9.

⁴⁶ » » p.402. A. 10.

⁴⁷ Divân pp. 194; in *Tevârih* (ed. Giese, I, p. 131) he is spoken of along with the *Kazasker Mü'eyyed-zâde* and *Yünüs Paşa* as being "*Sultân Ahmedlü*". In *ŞN*, I, p. 488, no reference is made to his support for Şehzâde Ahmed, and he is said to have been dismissed from the office of *tevkî'i* for a reason too long to go into.

⁴⁸ *Müneccimbaşı*, II, pp. 433 - 4.

⁴⁹ *Tevârih* (ed. Giese) I, p. 131; *Selim-nâmes*, p. 59.

⁵⁰ *Tâcu 't-Tevârih* II, pp. 190-1; İdris Bidlisi, *Selim-nâme* (British Museum Ad. 24969) 54b - 55a; *Vekâyi'-i Sultân Bâyezîd ve Selim Han* (Topkapı Sarayı, Emanet Hazinesi no. 1416) 29b.

Ç. Uluçay on the accession of Selim; 27 Cem. II 917 (21 Sep. 1511),⁵¹ which is based on an eyewitness report.

Following this riot Bâyezîd II gave way to the demands of the Janissaries and dismissed the nişancı Ca'fer Çelebi, together with the grand vizier Hersekoğlu Ahmed Paşa, the beylerbeyi of Rumili Hasan Paşa and the kazasker Mü'eyyed-zâde Abdurrahman Çelebi and appointed Çandarlızâde 'İsâ Çelebi to the position of nişancı.⁵² According to ŞN. Bâyezîd II offered Ca'fer a pension of 100 akçes a day, which was refused.⁵³

On 8 Safer 918 (25 Apr. 1512) Bâyezîd II abdicated in favour of his son Selim. Ca'fer wrote a Persian kasîde to commemorate Selim's accession.⁵⁴

Having abdicated Bâyezîd II set out for Dîmetoka to spend the remaining days of his life in his birthplace; but he died suddenly in the vicinity of Çorlu on the 10th of Reb. I (26 May 1512).⁵⁵ Ca'fer wrote a mersiye on this occasion in which he refers to the sorrow which afflicted Bâyezîd II on his abdication⁵⁶ and bewails his own sad situation.⁵⁷ This mersiye is noteworthy for the complete absence of the customary prayer for the new sultân.

⁵¹ Çagatay Uluçay, 'Yavuz Sultan Selim Nasıl Padişah Oldı', TD. VII, no. 10 (1954), p. 120. TŞ. II, p. 862 (918/1512); T. Gökbilgin, İ.A. III, p. 8 (918/1512). Marino Sanuto, Diari XXXII, p. 222, supports the date given by Ç. Uluçay: 21 September 1511.

⁵² İdris Bidlisi, Selim-nâme, 55a; Vekâyl'-i Sultân Bâyezîd ve Selim Han, 29b. In the Ottoman sources no date is given for the dismissal of these officials. İdris Bidlisi and Hoca Sa'deddin, Tâcu t-Tevârih II, p. 190, suggest that they were dismissed on the day after the riot.

⁵³ ŞN. I, p. 488. In Künhü l-Ahbâr, 204b, the sum is given as 200 akçes. After Selim's accession to the throne, this sum was augmented by the stipend from several kadılıks and was subsequently accepted by Ca'fer (Ş.N. I, p. 488).

⁵⁴ This kasîde exists only in Ms. M. (see Divân, p. 556). The first beyt is :

Cân-âferin ki der yed-i ma nakd-i cân nihâd
Behr-i nişâr-ı Şeh-i kâmrân nihâd

'Aşık Çelebi, 61a-b, gives the following account of this event: 'Aceb hikmetdür ki Sultân Selim merhûm serir-i saltanata cülûs itdükde ve Ca'fer Çelebi merhûm tehniye-i cülûs için dest-bûs itdükde bu kasideyi ithâf ider ki matla':

Cân-âferin ki ber kef-i mâ nakd-i cân nihâd
Behr-i nisâr-ı makdem-i şâh-ı cihân nihâd

Bu matla' egerçi bi-nazirdür amma tatayyur idügi zâhirdür. Bu kasideyi İshak Çelebi Işık Kâsım okudığında Işık Kâsım tekrâr okuyub ber kef-i mâ yerinde ber yed-i mâ okur. İshak Çelebi mukâbelede ber kef-i mâ dir. Işık Kâsım "yine kef geçdünüz ha!" dir. Ca'fer Çelebinün meclisinde bu şüm fâl dahi vâkı' olur. Kudret Allâhun, fâl vâkı'aya mutâbık ve bu ta'bir vâkı'aya muvâfık olur.

⁵⁵ There is some conflict in the sources over the exact location of the place in which Bâyezîd II died: while İdris, Selim-nâme 60a, gives it as Söğütü Dere in the vicinity of Edirne, Kemâlpâşazâde, Selim-nâme (Topkapı Saray Hazine no. 1424) 49b, gives it as Hasköy, also in the vicinity of Edirne. For a further discussion of this problem, see: Ş. Tekindag, Bâyezîd'in Ölüümü meselesi', TD. 24 (1970), pp. 1-16.

⁵⁶ V/11. Bundan gam ile gitti vü anda ümiddür
Kudsiler ile ülfet idüb şâdkâm ola

12. Çün kılmadı vefâ ana çarh-ı pür-cefâ
'Arif olana va'z-u-nasihat tamâm ola

⁵⁷ I/11. Hakâ ki sâyesinde birer pâdişâh idük
Mülk-i cihânda bilmemişüz ol hü mâ-yimiş

It is not possible to determine precisely how long Ca'fer remained without an official position, for none of the sources give the exact date on which he was re-appointed nişancı. According to the in'amât defteri, 'isâ Çelebi held the position of nişancı in 918,⁵⁸ and a document dated Cem. II 919 (Aug. 1513) still refers to him as holding this office.⁵⁹ The first reference to Ca'fer as nişancı is at the beginning of Şevvâl 919 (Dec. 1513).⁶⁰ Accordingly, it may be assumed that Ca'fer remained without an official position between 28 Cem. II 917 (21 Sep. 1511) and Şevvâl 919 (Dec. 1513). In a kasıde addressed to Sultân Selim, which was probably written in this period, Ca'fer complains about his own situation and asks the Sultân to give him an official post.⁶¹

A few months after Ca'fer Çelebi's re-appointment as nişancı Selim set off on the Çaldıran campaign, on 23 Muharrem 920 (20 Mar. 1514).⁶² 'Aşık Çelebi states that Ca'fer together with the historian İdris and Halimî Çelebi, the lâfâ of the Sultân,

12. Meclisler içre derd ile şimden girü dirîğ
Ney gibi her nefes işümüz vây vây imiş

IV/8 Yiriydi cân içinde ideydük yirin velî
Bu mihnet ü belâlar ile bizde cân kanı

58 In'amât defteri, p. 502.

59 İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Çandarlı Vezir Alâst, (Ankara 1975), p. 108.

60 İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Tarihi, II (Ankara 1949), p. 629.

61 Divân p. 207.

79. Ne sür durur ki hüner sikkesi-yle 'âlemde
'Aziz iken direm-âsâ kapunda olam hâr

82. Elin şel eylemiş âlâm yazmadın bir beyt
Ki sana lâyük ola ey Şeh-i felek-mikdâr

83. Garibler durur emmâ cemî-i ebyâtum
N'ola garib-nevâz ola Şâh-i nikû-kâr

84. Egerçi kapladı dil gülşenini ser-tâ-ser
Harim-i sinede hâr-ı gumüm nâ-hencâr

85. Bahâr-ı ma'deletünde ümid-vâram kim
Hezâr gonça-ı şâdi bitüre her bir hâr

86. Ne gam belâfar ile kıldı ise kâmetümi
Hamide çeng gibi rüzgâr-ı bed-kirdâr

87. Nevâziş eyler isen nağme-i dil-âvîzüm
Getüre şevk ile raksa cihânda her ne ki var

88. Çü kimyâ nazarun hâki zer kılur benden
Diriğ itme 'inâyet nazarların zinhâr

90. Bana ne vakt-i ferâgat ne inzivâ demidür
Tena'um eylemedin devletünde bir mikdâr

91. Cefâlarına sipihr itmedin henüz 'ivâz
Zemâne eylemedin itdügüne istiğfâr

92. Cihân faza'ilümün virmedin dahi kadrin
Bizâ'at-i hünerüm bulmadın dahi bâzâr

93. Karin-i hâllüm olursa vüfûr-ı 'âtıfetün
Koyam zemânede devründe ben de çok âsâr

62 J. R. Walsh, 'Çaldıran', EI2

accompanied Selim and held conversations with him.⁶³ While the army was at İzmit, Ca'fer composed a letter in Persian which was sent to Şâh İsmail on the 27th of Safer 920 (23 Apr. 1514),⁶⁴ and during the course of the campaign Ca'fer wrote a further two letters to the Şâh. The first of the letters, which were written in Turkish was composed at Erzincan, in Cem. I 920 (Jun. 1514),⁶⁵ and the second at Çormük in the following month.⁶⁶

On 2nd Receb 920 (23 August 1514) the Şâh was routed at Çaldıran and fled, abandoning his treasury and even his wife, Taclu Hanım.⁶⁷ Selim presented Taclu Hanım to Ca'fer Çelebi, his *nişancı*.⁶⁸

On the return from the Çaldıran campaign, camp was set up at Çoban Köprü⁶⁹ and the march was halted for one day while appointments and dismissals were made in several of the offices of state. Zeyrek-zâde left the post of *kazasker* of Anadolu and Ca'fer Çelebi was appointed in his place.⁷⁰

On 16th Şevvâl 920 (6 Dec. 1514), Selim reached Amasya, where he intended to spend the winter before continuing the campaign the following year.⁷¹ Dukakin-oglu Ahmed Paşa was appointed to the grand vizierate replacing Hersekoglu Ahmed Paşa, who had been dismissed while returning from Çaldıran. On 8th Muharrem 921 (23 Feb. 1515), the Janissaries, with the encouragement of some of the ministers of state,

⁶³ Hattâ sefer-i Erdebilde 'azimet-i Şâh İsmâ'ilde ekser evkât Montâ İdris ve Halimî Çelebi ve Ca'fer Çelebi merhûm Pâdişâh ile çâr 'unsur gibi hem-'inân, harf-zenân ve bezgüyân giderlermiş. 'Aşık Çelebi, 60b.

⁶⁴ İdris Bildisi, *Selim-nâme*, 71a; Celâl-zâde, *Me'âsir*, 127a-129a; Hüseyin, *Bedâ'ü 'l-vekâi*, II, p. 429.

⁶⁵ Celâl-zâde, *Me'âsir*, 132b-133b; *Münşe'ât mecmûası* (D.T.C.F. İsmail Saib Yaz. I/4504), 36a.

⁶⁶ Ş. Tekindag, 'Yavuzun İran Seferi', *TD*, XVII, 22, p. 62; *Tâcu 't-Tevârih* II, p. 256.

⁶⁷ Taclu Hanım's status is the subject of some discussion by the historians of this period. Hoca Sa'deddin, *Tâcu 't-Tevârih* II, p. 373, and Müneccimbaşı II, p. 465, state that she was not the wife but merely a favourite concubine. For the discussion on this subject, see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, 'Şâh İsmailin Zevcesi Taclu Hanımın Mücevheratı', *Bellekten* XXIII, 92 (Ankara 1959), pp. 611-9.

⁶⁸ Similarly Taclu Hanım's status in respect of Ca'fer Çelebi is also the subject of some discussion. According to *Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân*, p. 237, Selim presented Taclu Hanım to Ca'fer as his wife, having dismissed the Şâh as a heretic and consequently any marriage contracted by him was uncanonical and thus no impediment to a further marriage by Taclu Hanım. Çerkesler Karibi, 19b, and Celâl zâde, *Me'âsir*, 143b, mention that she was presented to Ca'fer but failed to specify whether she was to become his wife or concubine. İbn-i Kemâl, however, states that Ca'fer was requested by the Sultân to accept Taclu Hanım as a wife (*Selim-nâmes*, p. 112-3). The account given by Şa'ban Şifâ'i, *Fezâ'il-i Âl-i 'Osmân*, 109a-b, is contradictory in that he states that the Sultân wished to send Taclu Hanım to Istanbul but Ca'fer married her without the consent of the Sultân, who when he heard of the marriage became extremely angry and maintained that she was already married and was therefore unable to enter into a further marriage. Ca'fer Çelebi countered this argument with several proofs of the invalidity of *kızılbaş* marriage services and was able to placate the Sultân's anger. The *Câmî'ü 't-Tevârih*, 260a, suggests that Selim's anger was not placated and attributes Ca'fer's death to his marriage with Taclu Hanım.

⁶⁹ İbn-i Kemâl, 9th *Defter*, in *Selim-nâmes*, p. 124.

⁷⁰ The date of this appointment is given in İbn-i Kemâl as "after 25th Receb" (*Selim-nâmes*, p. 125). In Feridün Beg I p. 413, *Bedâ'ü 'l-Vekâ'i*, II, p. 444, and *Me'âsir*, 148a, the date is 25th Şa'ban.

⁷¹ İbn-i Kemâl, 9th *Defter*, in *Selim-nâmes*, p. 127.

rioted in order to force the Sultân to abandon the campaign and to return to İstanbul.⁷² They attacked and burned the houses of Pîrî Paşa, Halîmî Çelebi and Ca'fer Çelebi.⁷³ The Sultân discovered that Dukakin-oğlu Ahmed Paşa had been responsible for inciting the riot and had him killed ten days later.⁷⁴

After spending the winter at Amasya and annexing the *beylik* of Dulkadir, the cities of Kemah and Diyarbakır and some citadels in the east, Sultân Selim returned to İstanbul on 29th Cem. I, 921 (11 May 1515). He soon set about discovering which of his ministers had incited the Janissaries at Amasya.⁷⁵ Summoning the Janissary *aga* and some senior members of the corps denounce the leaders of the revolt, he learned that the persons responsible were the second vizier İskender Ağa, the *kazasker* Ca'fer Çelebi and Balyemez Osman Ağa, the *sekbanbaşı*.⁷⁶ İskender Ağa and Osman Ağa were executed forthwith, and Ca'fer Çelebi was summoned to the Sultân's presence.⁷⁷ According to Hoca Sa'deddin, Selim asked Ca'fer Çelebi to suggest what suitable punishment might be meted out to a person who encouraged the troops of Islam to revolt and, upon receiving the reply that such a person, if proved guilty, should be executed, he ordered Ca'fer's execution.⁷⁸ According to Şükrü, the question was framed differently and, on being asked to suggest a punishment for a person

72 İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, II, p. 257.

73 *Me'âşir*, 150b. According to Hüseyin Husameddin, *Amasya Tarihi*, III, pp. 275-6, the riots were caused by the appointment of Pîrî Çelebi to a vizierate which had traditionally been given to a person who had joined the ranks of the Ottoman forces from the *devşirme*. Janissaries petitioned their *ağa* İskender Ağa, who in turn requested Ca'fer Çelebi and Halîmî Çelebi, the *lâta* of the Sultân, to try to influence the Sultân. Ca'fer Çelebi and Halîmî Çelebi, however, were reluctant to petition the Sultân and asked the Janissaries to accept the Sultân's will without obligation. Having been incited to riot by Dukakin-oğlu and his *kethüda*, the Janissaries disregarded this advice, and, rising in revolt on 8th Muharrem (23 Feb. 1515), they set to looting the houses of Pîrî Paşa, Ca'fer Çelebi and Halîmî Çelebi.

74 Celât-zâde, *Me'âşir*, 150b, is certainly mistaken in recounting that Ca'fer was executed together with Dukakin-oğlu. Ca'fer Çelebi was executed after his return to İstanbul. *Feridûn Begi*, I, p. 412, adds that a further reason for Dukakin-oğlu's execution was the rumour that he had come to some agreement with Dulkadir-oğlu 'Alâü' d-devle.

75 *Tâcu 't-Tevârih*, II, p. 298; *Vekâyi'-i Sultân Bâyezid ve Selim Han*, 44b.

76 *Tâcu 't-Tevârih*, II, p. 298; *Vekâyi'-i Sultân Bâyezid ve Selim Han*, 44b. Şükrü, *Selîm-nâme*, 121a, relates the denouncing of the instigators of the uprising thus :

Bu fesâdi ey erenler serveri
İtdi birkaç bî-hüred yeniçeri
Lâk bâ'is bunda üç bî-behredür
İşbu tahrîk ile anlar şöhredür
Biri İskender Paşa durur benâm
Ol biri sekmenbaş ey Nîk-nâm
Biri dahi kâzı'askerdür ki Şâh
Sanur anı her cihetden nîk-h'âh

77 Şükrü, *Selîm-nâme*, 122a. 'Âli (Künhü 'l-Ahbâr, 205a), however, states that the Sultân sent a man to Ca'fer Çelebi to ask some questions.

78 *Tâcu 't-Tevârih*, II, s. 298. According to Çerkesler Kâtibi, 29b, after Ca'fer's execution Selim regretted having killed Dukakin-oğlu, considering him to be innocent :

Bir teessüf çekdi anda pâdişâh
Kim Dukakin-oğlu gitti bî-günâh

Feridûn Begi I, p. 415, gives a detailed account of the trial and execution.

who intended to kill a *müslim*, Ca'fer replied similarly that if his guilt was proved, the penalty should be death. Şükrü frames the Sultân's reply in the following *beys*:⁷⁹

Men ki Şâham 'ilmüm irmişdür tamâm
Sen de inkâr idemezsın uş kelâm

Sen fulân menzilde bir gün âşikâr
Dimedüñ ml ki Ferîd-i rûzgâr

Pirî Paşanuñ helâkidür savab
Şimdi inkâr eyler iseñ vir cevâb

Katline sa'y itdün anun bî-gümân
Cürmsüz çekdün ana tig-i zebân

It can be understood from the following *beys* that Şükrü considered some rivalry to have existed between Pirî Paşa and Ca'fer Çelebi, and that Pirî had denounced Ca'fer as a rabblrouser and advised the Sultân to execute him:⁸⁰

Pirî Paşa hod baña bir gün nihân
Didi ki ey Hüsrev-i mülk-i cihân

Kazı'asker fitnedür ref' eylegil
Yir yüzinden fitneyi def' eylegil

'Âli indicates another reason for Ca'fer's execution. 'Âli was informed by Celâl-zâde that during the period in which Selim was struggling to obtain the throne he met the army of his father, Bâyezid II, at Karışdırın Ovası and withdrew his troops without a fight, retiring towards Kefe. On the occasion of this military withdrawal, Selim became the victim of a satirical work which was unfortunately attributed to Ca'fer, and became the cause for his execution.⁸¹ There is support for this account in the *İn'âmât Defteri*. It is recorded that in Cem. I 917 a poet by the name of عیالی presented a *ta'rîh* about the defeat of Selim Beg to Bâyezid and was remunerated.⁸² This *ta'rîh* could be attributed to Ca'fer. Furthermore, Celâl-zâde gives an account in his *Me'âsir* (103a) which is connected with the above story. After Selim's withdrawal Ca'fer was reported to have said *سك بصحرا* "the dog has gone into the desert", and his words became famous at that time. Celâl-zâde considers that this remark was instrumental in bringing about Ca'fer's execution.

⁷⁹ Şükrü, *Selim-nâme*, 122a.

⁸⁰ Şükrü, *Selim-nâme*, 122a.

⁸¹ *Kühü 'Ahbâr*, 205a.

⁸² *İn'âmât Defteri*, p. 454. Appendix A. 11.

عیالی شاعری کہ تاریخ انہزام سلیم تک آورد

This *ta'rîh* may be a chronogram, or it may, in fact, refer to a work of history.

The *tezkires* give the following line as a chronogram for Ca'fer's execution:⁸³

واه گندی بو جهاندن جعفر

However, this chronogram produces the year 920, which is clearly wrong, as the historical sources are agreed upon the 8th Receb 921 (18 Aug. 1515) as the date of his execution.⁸⁴

According to 'Âşık Çelebi and 'Âli, Ca'fer had tried in vain to persuade the Sultân of his innocence and, quoting historical precedents, he had recounted that Hârûn Reşid had suffered pangs of guilt after the execution of his vizier Ca'fer Bermeki, whom he felt he had executed unjustly.⁸⁵

After Ca'fer's execution his corpse was taken to Balat to the mosque⁸⁶ which had been named after him, and buried there by his brother Sa'dî Çelebi.⁸⁷

In the *tezkires* it is recounted that Ca'fer had a premonition of his own death. Two or three days before Ca'fer's execution, Mevlânâ Necmî went to Ca'fer's house to pay a visit, during the course of which Ca'fer told him that he had just written a *gazel*, of which he particularly liked this couplet:⁸⁸

Ben şehîd-i tîg-i 'îşk oldukda râh-ı yârda
Yumadın defn eyleñüz tenden gubârı gitmesün⁸⁹

'Âşık Çelebi sees in this couplet an allusion to Ca'fer's execution.

Sultân Selim showed remorse for Ca'fer's execution and castigated his courtiers for not having advised imprisonment rather than death.⁹⁰ Following Ca'fer's death, a fire broke out among the houses and shops which belonged to the *vâkf* of Atik 'Ali Paşa in Dikilitaş. Sultân Selim visited the scene in order to supervise the extinguishing of the fire, and is reported to have said "this fire is a spark from the fire of poor innocent Ca'fer's sigh".⁹¹ Another anecdote supports the idea that Selim showed

⁸³ *Kafzâde Fâ'izî*, 21a; *Riyâzi*, 45b. S. N. Ergun prefers to rely on the chronogram and considers the historical sources to be at fault. (*TŞ.* II, p. 883). 'OM. I, p. 263, and *HOP.* II, p. 269, also give the date as 920. As Sultân Selim returned to Istanbul after the Çaldıran campaign on 29 Cem. I 921, it is certain that the historical sources are correct.

⁸⁴ *Tevârih* (ed. Giese), I, p. 134; *Bedâ'ü 'I-Vekâ'î*, II, 448b; *SO.* II, p. 63; *Amasya Tarihi*, III, p. 277.

⁸⁵ 'Âşık Çelebi, 60b-61a; *Künhü 'I-Ahbâr*, 205a.

⁸⁶ For his mosque in Balat, see *Hadîkâtü 'I-Cevâmî'*, I, p. 39. For its vakfiye, see *Istanbul Tahrir Defteri*, p. 298.

⁸⁷ *Sehi*, p. 28; 'Âşık Çelebi, 61a; *Kınalı-zâde*, 71a. 'Âşık Çelebi, 156b, recounts that Sa'dî Çelebi was so struck by grief at the death of his brother that he could not stop himself from cursing the one responsible, and for a long time afterwards lived in continual fear that he had been overheard, and his words reported to the palace.

⁸⁸ 'Âşık Çelebi, 61a; *Kınalı-zâde*, 71a, *Riyâzi*, 46a.

⁸⁹ *Divân*, p. 416.

⁹⁰ *Künhü 'I-Ahbâr*, 205b. 'Âli's statement that Selim had executed Dukakin-oğlu for not having prevented his ordering Ca'fer's execution is certainly mistaken, for Dukakin-oğlu had been killed in Amasya before this date.

⁹¹ 'Âşık Çelebi, 61a; *Kınalı-zâde*, 70b; *Riyâzi*, 45b-46a.

regret, as he is reported to have said "there were only two great men in Rûm: one of them was Mü'eyyéd-zâde, the other Tâcî-zâde Ca'fer. What a pity that the first reached old age before I ascended the throne and the other I killed without realizing his true worth".⁹²

Following Ca'fer's death his wife Taclu Hanım was received into Selim's presence on 15th Receb and given an imperial bequest.⁹³ According to the *Câmî'ü 't-Tevârih*, she benefited from the revenue of lands at Tırhala, which were given to her for the remainder of her life. She died in 984 (1576-7).⁹⁴

It is reported in the *tezkires* that Ca'fer was survived by a son who wrote poetry under the *mahlas* of Ca'ferî.⁹⁵ Ca'ferî spent a convivial life and died from an overdose of opium.⁹⁶ We can find some of his poem in certain *mecmu'as*.⁹⁷ In a vakf document dating from the beginning of Zî 'l-Ka'de 918 (Jan. 1513) it is mentioned that Ca'fer Çelebi had other children, but no mention is made of their names.⁹⁸

Apart from his mosque in Istanbul, Ca'fer was responsible for building a mosque and a *hamam* in Simav, a *kervansaray* in Bergama⁹⁹ and a primary school in Edirne.¹⁰⁰

Ca'fer Çelebi's brother Sa'dî Çelebi was also famous as a *münşi* and poet. Sa'dî Çelebi's background is more or less the same as that of his brother. He was born in Amasya,¹⁰¹ on what date we do not know. After studying under the famous scholars of his time, such as Mevlânâ Kâsım, known as Kâdî-zâde, and Hacı Hasan-zâde, most likely in Bursa, he was appointed *müderris* to the *medrese* of Gazi Murâd in Bursa.¹⁰² According to certain records in his *Mecmû'a*, he was in Bursa between the years 897 (1491-2) and 906 (1500-1).¹⁰³ On pages 147b to 150a of this *mecmû'a* there are some Arabic poems written in 905 (1499-1500) while he was still there.

Sometime between 906 (1500-1) and 909 (1503-4), Sa'dî Çelebi must have come to Istanbul, since in a record in the *İn'âmât Defteri* it is mentioned that Sa'dî Çelebi, *müderris* in the *medrese* of 'Alî Paşa, in Cem. I 909 (Oct. 1503) presented a *kaside* to

92 'Aşık Çelebi, 61a; Kınalı-zâde, 70b; Riyâzî, 45b - 46a.

93 Feridûn Beg, I, p. 418.

94 Câmî'ü 't-Tevârih (Sül. Lib. Fatih, 4306), 260b.

95 'Aşık Çelebi, 62b - 63a; Kınalı-zâde, 72a. According to Hüseyin Hüsameddîn his name was İbrahim Bâli Çelebi. (Nişâncılar, p. 72).

96 'Aşık Çelebi, 62b; Kınalı-zâde, 72a.

97 Egridirli Hacı Kemal, *Mecmu'atü 'n-Nezâ'ir*, p. 869 - 70; Pervâne Bey *Mecmu'ası*, 625a, 364a; *Mecmu'atü 'n-Nezâ'ir* (Hasan Hüsnü Paşa, no. 1031), 301b; *Mecmu'atü 'n-Nezâ'ir* (Un. Ktp. T.Y. 752), 80a.

98 Tapu Defteri, no. 251, 531-2. Istanbul Tahrir Defteri, p. 298.

99 Istanbul Tahrir Defteri, p. 298.

100 Tapu Defteri, no. 1070, p. 150 - 1.

101 'Alî (Kühü 'l-Ahbâr), 204b.

102 ŞN. I, p. 490; Mecdî, p. 337.

103 Sa'dî Çelebi *Mecmû'ası*: for Sa'dî Çelebi's letters sent from Bursa to his brother Ca'fer, see: 106b - 107b; 107b - 108a; 70b - 71a; 102a - 102b; 62b - 64a; 93b - 94a.

the Sultan.¹⁰⁴ According to the *ŞN.* he was later appointed to the *Semâniye*.¹⁰⁵ at that time the highest institution of learning. Again in the *İn'amât Defteri*, it is recorded that one of the *müderri*s of the *Semâniye*, Mevlânâ sa'dî, the brother of the *Nişancı*, presented another *kaside* in Zi 'l-Hicce 915 (Mar. 1510).¹⁰⁶

Sa'dî Çelebi probably spent the remainder of his life teaching in Istanbul. As already mentioned, when Ca'fer Çelebi was executed in 921 (1515) Sa'dî removed his brother's body and buried it. 'Âşık Çelebi says that shortly after Ca'fer Çelebi's death someone was required to write a letter in Arabic to the Sultân of Egypt, Kansu Gavri, and Sa'dî Çelebi was summoned to the palace for this purpose. Selim I was very pleased with the letter he composed and rewarded Sa'dî Çelebi with a promotion of 30 *akçes* and a gift of 30,000 *akçes*.¹⁰⁷

In *ŞN.* it is recorded that before he died Sa'dî Çelebi made the Pilgrimage and, on his return, was retired with a pension of 80 *akçes*. The date of his death is 922 (1516). His tomb is in the garden of the primary school built by him in Balat.¹⁰⁸ 'Âşık Çelebi, however, says that Sa'dî died during the Egyptian campaign.¹⁰⁹

Apart from his teaching, Sa'dî Çelebi also wrote a number of commentaries in Arabic on text-books used in the *medreses*,¹¹⁰ and according to Hüseyin Hüsâmeddin he is also the author of a work entitled *Hayru 'l-Ahlâm*, in which is described the charms of the city of Amasya.¹¹¹ His Arabic *divân* in his *Mecmû'a* is incomplete,¹¹² and some of his Turkish *beyts* are to be found in the *tezkires*.¹¹³ His Arabic poetry is praised by the *tezkirowriters* who claim that his abilities in this language are superior to his brother's,¹¹⁴ while Kınalı-zâde Hasan Çelebi maintains that his *inşâ*, too, is preferable.¹¹⁵

104 p. 17 (Appendix A. 12) For a letter written while in Istanbul, in 909, to Ca'fer see: Sa'dî Çelebi *Mecmû'ası*, 105b - 106a.

105 *ŞN.* I, p. 490; *Mecdi*, p. 337.

106 p. 375. (Appendix A. 13).

107 'Âşık Çelebi, 156a - b.

108 *ŞN.* I, p. 490; *Mecdi*, p. 337. For the *vakfiye* of his school, see: *Istanbul Tahrir Defteri*, p. 298, and *Tapu Defteri*, no. 251, p. 532.

109 'Âşık Çelebi, 157a.

110 For his works, see: *ŞN.* I, p. 491; *Mecdi*, p. 338; 'OM. I, p. 263.

111 *Amasya Tarihi*, I, p. 13.

112 Sa'dî Çelebi *Mecmû'ası*, 24a - 26a; 29a - 34a; 56a - 57a; 103a; 110a; 147b - 150a.

113 'Âşık Çelebi, 157a; Kalfâde Fa'izî, 35a; *Mecdi* 337.

114 'Âşık Çelebi, 156a; Kınalı-zâde, 135a.

115 135a.

تاجی زاده

دورده موردی که کوی ایام طایفه خنزار موردی که کوی ایام طایفه خنزار	دورده موردی که کوی ایام طایفه خنزار موردی که کوی ایام طایفه خنزار
دورده موردی که کوی ایام طایفه خنزار موردی که کوی ایام طایفه خنزار	دورده موردی که کوی ایام طایفه خنزار موردی که کوی ایام طایفه خنزار
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Appendix A1

معدود است انما مان و صدقانه و کرمه مان
 وار سالمان و عاقل است و عظیم و لعبه مننه
 قیو و قشوانه

تذکره حسن ۲ ۱۲ رابع الالف ۶ ۹۰۹

مولانا صورتی که در حدیث آورد	تیسر کی و کلمه ای که در حدیث آورد	لورنگی مردی که در حدیث آورد	والاسی که در حدیث آورد	موردی که در حدیث آورد	موردی که در حدیث آورد	موردی که در حدیث آورد
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Appendix A2

تذکره حسن ۲ ۳۳ مننه

مولانا صورتی که در حدیث آورد	تیسر کی و کلمه ای که در حدیث آورد	لورنگی مردی که در حدیث آورد	والاسی که در حدیث آورد	موردی که در حدیث آورد	موردی که در حدیث آورد
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Appendix A3

و قلمه من مرصوم مطاه مصطلح فده ۶۰ کسره بر لور لده ۶۰ مرصوم
 مطاه اندر خانه علم الرقه والند لک فائده بر کور به کج و و و و و
 و سوزن و نوابین و لرا قیل و مال غایب و مال معدوم و مال معاص
 و ریح غنی و مال بهر جهات که ملک ایرب و قدر عیش و تنای خوش طبع و سوز
 فضل و قیامت و بر لور فائده و فن اسانبلک با اشته که معین جانه ستم
 و قف المرح

۶۰
 کسره و قف لور

Appendix A5

و قلمه من مرصوم مطاه مصطلح
 کسره نام ۶۰ کسره مطاه مار به خانه
 سوزن و نوابین و لرا قیل و مال غایب و مال معدوم و مال معاص
 و ریح غنی و مال بهر جهات که ملک ایرب و قدر عیش و تنای خوش طبع و سوز
 فضل و قیامت و بر لور فائده و فن اسانبلک با اشته که معین جانه ستم
 و قف المرح

کسره نام ۶۰
 سوزن و نوابین
 و ریح غنی
 و قف المرح

Appendix A6

هوان بونا
 صغیر علی نوسفی که
 فضیلت ناکه
 حاله .

روغ
 س
 ایو .

کام اوغور که
 و ن اقلان اولانه
 حاله .

ماورود
 و ن اقلان اولانه
 حاله .

Appendix A7

کورد لست اسما مان و نوسفی فان و نوسفان
 وار مانان و ناکه لست و نوز کوره و نوز
 ۱ شری عاکری ان ۹۱۵۷

ایس اولان صغیر علی نوسفی که و لدر سن نشفه نواحد کورد ۱۱ اسمه
 صغیر علی نوسفی که
 حاله .

Appendix A8

۱ شری عاکری ان ۹۱۵۷

ایس اولان صغیر علی نوسفی که و لدر سن نشفه نواحد کورد ۱۱ اسمه
 صغیر علی نوسفی که
 حاله .

و ن اقلان اولانه
 حاله .

صغیر علی نوسفی که
 حاله .

صغیر علی نوسفی که
 حاله .

Appendix A9

مقدمه ایست که در این کتاب در بیان
 واریات و اشعار و نوکریه و غیره
 ۲ شهر رمضان ۹۱۴

۱۴۴
 این کتاب در بیان
 مقدمه ایست که در این کتاب در بیان
 واریات و اشعار و نوکریه و غیره
 ۲ شهر رمضان ۹۱۴

اولیای این کتاب
 در بیان واریات و اشعار و نوکریه و غیره
 ۲ شهر رمضان ۹۱۴

۱۴۴
 این کتاب در بیان
 مقدمه ایست که در این کتاب در بیان
 واریات و اشعار و نوکریه و غیره
 ۲ شهر رمضان ۹۱۴

Appendix A10

۱۴۴
 این کتاب در بیان
 مقدمه ایست که در این کتاب در بیان
 واریات و اشعار و نوکریه و غیره
 ۲ شهر رمضان ۹۱۴

۱۴۴
 این کتاب در بیان
 مقدمه ایست که در این کتاب در بیان
 واریات و اشعار و نوکریه و غیره
 ۲ شهر رمضان ۹۱۴

Appendix A11

فهرست آثار اولی سال ۱۹۰۴

تجدید	برای همه زبانها و ایدیه	ایرانی	تذکره	۲	ماهی	منا
سایه	ابدال در استانبول	مونا	تذکره	۲	ماهی	منا
۱۹۰۴	فهرست اولی سال ۱۹۰۴	تذکره	۲	ماهی	منا	منا
۱۹۰۴	فهرست اولی سال ۱۹۰۴	تذکره	۲	ماهی	منا	منا

Appendix A12

فهرست آثار اولی سال ۱۹۱۵

تجدید	برای همه زبانها و ایدیه	ایرانی	تذکره	۲	ماهی	منا
سایه	ابدال در استانبول	مونا	تذکره	۲	ماهی	منا
۱۹۱۵	فهرست اولی سال ۱۹۱۵	تذکره	۲	ماهی	منا	منا
۱۹۱۵	فهرست اولی سال ۱۹۱۵	تذکره	۲	ماهی	منا	منا

تجدید	برای همه زبانها و ایدیه	ایرانی	تذکره	۲	ماهی	منا
سایه	ابدال در استانبول	مونا	تذکره	۲	ماهی	منا
۱۹۱۵	فهرست اولی سال ۱۹۱۵	تذکره	۲	ماهی	منا	منا
۱۹۱۵	فهرست اولی سال ۱۹۱۵	تذکره	۲	ماهی	منا	منا

Appendix A13

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Ahmed Paşa** : Ali Nihad Tarlan, **Ahmed Paşa Divanı**, İstanbul 1966.
- Amasya Tarihi** : Hüseyin Hüsameddin, **Amasya Tarihi**, 4 vols. İstanbul 1327 - 1928.
- 'Âşık Çelebi** : Meşâ'irü 'ş-Şu'arâ or Tezkire of 'Âşık Çelebi, ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, London 1971.
- Âşıkpaşa-zâde** : Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmândan 'Âşıkpaşa-zâde Tarihi, ed. 'Âli Beg, İstanbul 1332.
- Belleten** : Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten, Ankara 1934.
- Beyânî** : Beyânî, Tezkiretü ş-Şu'ara Millet Library no. 757, İstanbul.
- DTCF** : Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi.
- EI** : Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leyden 1913 - 1942.
- EI2** : Encyclopaedia of Islam, London 1960.
- Feridün Beg1** : Feridün Beg, Münşe'atü 's-Selâtin, 2 vols. İstanbul 1264.
- Feridün Beg2** : Feridün Beg, Münşe'atü 's-Selâtin, 2 vols. İstanbul 1274.
- Heves-nâme** : Tacî-zâde Ca'fer Çelebi, Heves-nâme, Bibliotheque Nationale A.F. 300.
- HOP** : E. J. W. Gibb, **History of Ottoman Poetry**, 6 vols. reprint London 1958 - 63.
- İA** : İslam Ansiklopedisi, İstanbul 1950 -
- İlmîye Teşkilâtı** : İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, **İlmîye Teşkilâtı**, Ankara 1965.
- İn'âmât Defteri** : Defter-i Müsveddât-ı İn'âmât ve Tasaddukât ve Teşrifât ve İrsâliyat ve gayrihi, Belediye Library, Muallim Cevdet Mss. 0.71, İstanbul.
- İstanbul Tahrir Defteri** : İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri, 953(1546) Tarihi, ed. Ö. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, İstanbul 1970.
- KZ** : Kâtib Çelebi, Keşfü 'z-Zünün..., 2 vols. ed. Kılıslı Rifat Bilge and Şerafeddin Yaltkaya, İstanbul 1941.
- Kaf-zâde Fâ'izi** : Kaf-zâde Fâ'izi, Zübdetü 'l-Eş'âr, Süleymaniye Library, Şehid Ali Paşa, no. 1877, İstanbul.
- Kınalı-zâde** : Kınalı-zâde Hasan Çelebi, **Tezkire-i Şu'arâ**, British Museum Add. 24 957, London.
- Künhü 'l-Ahbâr** : Mustafâ 'Âli, Gelibolulu, Künhü 'l-Ahbâr, University Library, TH 2290, İstanbul.
- Latîfi** : Latîfi, **Tezkire-i Latîfi**, İstanbul 1314.
- Lutfî Paşa Tevârih** : Lutfî Paşa, **Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân**, ed. 'Âli Beg, İstanbul 1341.
- Me'âsir** : Celâl-zâde Mustafâ Çelebi, **Me'âsir-i Selim Hân**, British Museum Add. 7848, London.
- Mecdi** : Mehmed Mecdi, **Hadâ'ikü 'ş-Şakâ'ik**, İstanbul 1269.
- Müneccimbaşı** : Münecimbaşı Ahmed Dede, **Müneccimbaşı Tarihi**, 2 vols. trans. İsmail Erünsal, İstanbul 1974.

- Münşe'âtı** : Tâci-zâde Sadî Çelebi Münşe'âtı, ed. Necati Lugal and Adnan Erzi, İstanbul 1956.
- Neşri** : Mehmed Neşri, *Kitâb-ı Cihân-nümâ, Neşri Tarihi*, ed. F. R. Unat and M. A. Koymen, 2 vols. Ankara 1949 - 57.
- Nişâncılar** : Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Nişâncılar Durağı*.
- 'OM** : Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir, *'Osmânî Mü'ellifleri*, vol. I, İstanbul 1333.
- Riyâzî** : Riyâzî Mehmed b. Mustafâ, *Riyâzu 'ş-Şu'arâ*, Nuruosmaniye Library no. 3724 İstanbul.
- SO** : Mehmed Süreyyâ, *Sicill-i 'Osmânî*, 4 vols. İstanbul 1308-1315.
- Sa'dî Çelebi Mecmû'ası** : Tâci-zâde Sa'dî Çelebi, *Sa'dî Çelebi Mecmû'ası* Beyazıt Library Veli-yüddin Efendi, no. 3258, İstanbul.
- Sehi** : Sehi, *Tezkire-i Sehi*, İstanbul 1325.
- Selîm-nâmes** : Ahmed Uğur, *The Reign of Sultan Selim I in the light of the Selim-nâme literature*, Ph. D. Edinburgh University 1973.
- Süllem** : Kâtib Çelebi, *Süllemü 'l-Vüsûl*, Süleymaniye Library, Şehid Ali Paşa, no. 1887 İstanbul.
- ŞN** : Taşköprü-zâde Ahmed b. Mustafâ, *es-Şakâ'ikü 'nu'mânîye fi 'ulemâi 'd-Devletü 'l-Osmânîye in the margin of Vefeyâtü 'l-A'yân*, Mısır 1310.
- TD** : *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, İstanbul 1949 -
- TDED** : *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, İstanbul 1946 -
- TOEM** : *Tarih-i 'Osmânî Encümeni Mecmû'ası*, İstanbul.
- TŞ** : Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk Şairleri*, vol. 2, İstanbul 1938.
- Tâcu 't-Tevârih** : Hoca Sa'deddin b. Hasan Can, *Tâcu 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, İstanbul 1280.
- Tevârih** : Friedrich Giese, *Die Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken*, vol. I, Breslau, 1922.
- Tuhfe-i Hattâtın** : Müstakim-zâde Süleyman Sa'düddin Efendi, *Tuhfe-i Hattâtın*, ed. İbnü'l-Emin Mahmûd Kemal, İstanbul 1928.

ŞAIR VE DEVLET ADAMI OLARAK TÂCİ-ZÂDE CA'FER ÇELEBİ

ÖZET

Tâci-zâde Ca'fer Çelebi (1452-1515), Osmanlı devlet idaresinde hem devlet adamı hem de bir sanatkâr olarak önemli bir rol oynamış ve bu iki sahada meydana gelen gelişmeleri etkilemiştir. Bununla birlikte ansiklopedik mahiyetteki eserlerde verilen sınırlı bilgilerin dışında, Ca'fer Çelebi sanatkâr ve devlet adamı olarak ciddi bir incelemeye konu olmamıştır.

Bu yazıda, tarihî ve edebî kaynaklar ve arşiv belgeleri kullanılarak ve yer yer de kendi eserlerinden yararlanılarak Ca'fer Çelebi'nin güvenilir bir biyografisi verilmeye ve devri içindeki yeri belirtilmeye çalışılmıştır.