

THE SULTAN AND HIS COMMANDERS: REPRESENTATIONS OF IDEAL
LEADERSHIP IN THE *ŞEHNĀME-Ī NĀDĪRĪ*

by

ÖZLEM YILDIZ

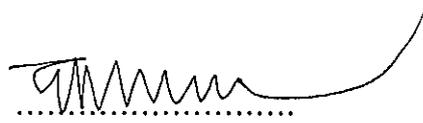
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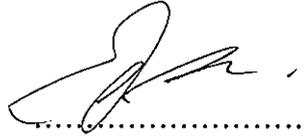
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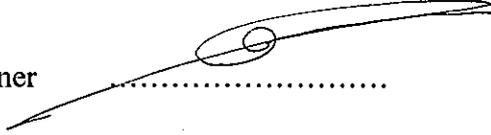
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ABSTRACT

THE SULTAN AND HIS COMMANDERS: REPRESENTATIONS OF IDEAL LEADERSHIP IN THE *ŞEHNĀME-İ NĀDİRĪ*

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M.A. Thesis, August 2017

Thesis supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Tülay Artan

Keywords: Osman II, Ganizade Nadiri, *şehname*, illustrated books, processions.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the text and miniatures of the illustrated version of the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* (Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1124), and to place it within the context of the Ottoman *şehnāme* writing tradition. The *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* narrates the accession of ‘Osmān II to the throne, as well as the campaigns and military interventions that occurred during his rule, including his Hotin campaign. This study focuses on the various representations of leadership in the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*, and suggests that the book seeks to convey an image of the sultan as a strong and victorious warrior, as well as a skillful archer and hunter. Similar characteristics are attributed to the Ottoman commanders, Hālīl Paşa, ‘Ali Paşa, İskender Paşa and Karakaş Mehmed Paşa, whose campaigns are also recounted in the book. The strong bonds of loyalty between the commanders and the sultan, as well as the Ottoman sense of their own superiority over their rivals, are both regularly emphasized in the text and the miniatures. Studied together with two contemporary narrative sources, *Zafernāme* and *Ġazānāme-i Hālīl Paşa*, the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* reflects an effort to continue the panegyric discourse of earlier works in the Ottoman *şehnāme* tradition.

ÖZET

SULTAN VE SERDARLARI: *ŞEHNĀME-İ NĀDİRĪ*'DE İDEAL LİDERLİĞİN TEMSİLİ

ÖZLEM YILDIZ

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Anahtar Kelimeler: II. Osman, Ganizade Nadiri, şehname, minyatürlü kitaplar, alaylar.

Bu tezin amacı, Şehnâme-i Nâdirî'yi Osmanlı şehnâme geleneği bağlamına yerleştirebilmek için kitabın minyatürlü nüshasının (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, H. 1124) metnini ve minyatürlerini incelemektir. Şehnâme-i Nâdirî, II. 'Osmân'ın cülusunu, ve Hotin seferi dahil olmak üzere onun yönetimi sırasında gerçekleşmiş olan seferleri ve askeri müdahaleleri anlatır. Bu çalışma, Şehnâme-i Nâdirî'deki liderlik temsillerine odaklanmakta ve kitabın, sultanın güçlü ve muzaffer bir savaşçı ve aynı zamanda becerikli bir okçu ve avcı olarak yansıtılması geleneğini devam ettirmeyi amaçladığını iddia etmektedir. Benzer özellikler, kitapta seferleri anlatılan Osmanlı serdarları Hâlîl Paşa, 'Ali Paşa, İskender Paşa ve Karakaş Mehmed Paşa'ya da atfedilmektedir. Serdarlar ve sultan arasındaki sadakat ve Osmanlı'nın rakipleri karşısında kendine atfettiği üstünlük de metinde ve minyatürlerde öne çıkmaktadır. İki çağdaş anlatı olan Zafernâme ve Ğazânâme-i Hâlîl Paşa ile birlikte incelendiğinde, Şehnâme-i Nâdirî kendinden önceki şehnâmelerdeki Osmanlı'yı yücelten söylemi devam ettirme çabasını yansıtmaktadır.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In *The Ghazi Sultans and the Frontiers of Islam*,¹ Ali Anooshahr provides a comparative analysis of three Muslim sultans of the late medieval and the early modern world, namely the Mughal emperor Bābur, Maḥmūd of Ġazna, and the Ottoman sultan Murād II. In his analysis, he pointedly does not ask whether Bābur was, in fact, “a real ġāzi;” rather, he chooses to ask “What did it mean for Bābur to *present himself as* or to *become* a ġāzi?”² Anooshahr analyzes a number of historical texts in his book, and he regularly emphasizes that these texts do not necessarily reflect actual historical events. Indeed, he demonstrates quite the opposite to be true; that these texts were shaped by the realities of their time.

Following along a similar line, it is the aim of this thesis to look closely at an Ottoman illustrated history of the early seventeenth-century, the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*, as well as two other contemporaneous unillustrated histories, the *Zafernāme* and the *Ġazānāme-i Ḥalīl Paşa*, in order to understand how the political, cultural and social realities of the time produced or otherwise influenced the representations of the historical figures in these works. More specifically, this study will trace how the notion of “ideal leadership” was represented through the vehicles of certain characters, and seek to grasp what it meant for a contemporary figure to be depicted in such a way, both for the authors and for the audience of the work. To place the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* in the context of the literary genre it belongs to, and to have a sense of the tradition that precedes it, we will first trace the production of Ottoman illustrated historical books from the earliest examples of the genre. Later, we will delve into the *Şehnāme*, the *Zafernāme* and the *Ġazānāme-i Ḥalīl Paşa*, with a particular focus upon the depictions of certain characters and episodes; in doing so, we will attempt to identify the symbolic and subtextual images formed through these works’ selective narration of events

¹Ali Anooshahr, *The Ghazi Sultans and the Frontiers of Islam: A comparative study of the late medieval and early modern periods* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

² *Ibid*, 4.

1.1. Ottoman Illustrated History Books, from Süleymān I to ‘Osmān II

The *Şāhnāme* of Firdevsī, completed in the early eleventh century, consists of a collection of the epic stories of the pre-Islamic kings of Persia, including both historical and mythic figures.³ The production of illustrated copies of the book began in the fourteenth century, helping readers to visualize the adventures of the just, brave and heroic rulers that make up most of the *Şāhnāme*'s cast of characters.⁴ The image of the ideal ruler in the *Şāhnāme* of Firdevsī was adopted by the courts of Islamic rulers, and the book was reproduced in the languages of these courts.⁵ These translations were not precise renditions of the text from the original Persian to other languages; they were, rather, adaptations of the stories to the receiving culture. The Ottoman court was not an exception in this regard. The Turkish translations of the *Şāhnāme* of Firdevsī were regularly copied, and these were illustrated with miniatures that placed the stories into an Ottoman context. In other words, the miniatures, too, were “translated” into the Ottoman visual language.⁶ The *Şāhnāme* of Firdevsī was translated into Turkish three times. The first translation, rendered in prose, was produced in 1450–51 for Murad II (r. 1421–44, 1446–51); the second translation was made by Şerif Amidī for the Mamluk sultan Kānşū Ğavrī and completed in 1511, and the third version was the work of Medhī, during the reign of ‘Osmān II (1618–22).⁷

The translation of the *Şāhnāme* of Firdevsī at the Ottoman court – that is, the reinterpretation of the text and the miniatures - was soon to give way to the translation of

³ Dick Davis, “Introduction” in Abolqasem Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh: The Persian Book of Kings*, trans. Dick Davis (London: Penguin Books, 2006).

⁴ On the question of the illustration of the *Şāhnāme*, Oleg Grabar, “Why was the Shahnama illustrated?,” *Iranian Studies* 43, no. 1 (2010): 91-96. For a collection of perspectives on various versions of illustrated *şāhnāmes*, *Shahnama: The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings*, ed. By Robert Hillenbrand (Hants: Ashgate, 2004).

⁵ Studies on two such productions include Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol “Shahnama”* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Firuza Abdullaeva and Charles P. Melville, *The Persian Book of Kings: Ibrahim Sultan’s Shahnama* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2008).

⁶ Serpil Bağcı, “From Translated Word to Translated Image: The Illustrated *Şehnāme-i Türki* Copies,” *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 162-76; Serpil Bağcı, “An Iranian Epic and an Ottoman Painter: Nakkaş Osman’s ‘New’ Visual Interpretation of the Shāhnāmāh,” in *Arts, Women and Scholars: Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture. Festschrift Hans Georg Majer*, ed. Sabine Prator & Christoph K. Neumann, (İstanbul: Simurg, 2002), 2: 421-50.

⁷ Serpil Bağcı, “An Iranian Epic and an Ottoman Painter: Nakkaş Osman’s ‘New’ Visual Interpretation of the Shāhnāmāh,” in *Arts, Women and Scholars: Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture. Festschrift Hans Georg Majer*, ed. Sabine Prator & Christoph K. Neumann (İstanbul: Simurg, 2002), 2: 421-50; Tülün Değirmenci, “‘Legitimizing’ a Young Sultan: Illustrated Copies of Medhī’s *Şehnāme-i Türki* in European Collections,” in *13th International Congress of Turkish Art, Proceedings*, ed. Geza David & Ibolya Gerelyes (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2009), 157-72.

the genre itself. Starting from the sixteenth century onwards, the Ottoman sultans began to commission their own *şehnāmes*. These were not about the mythical or historical figures of the past. Instead, these Ottoman *şehnāmes* retold the biographies of contemporary Ottoman sultans. These stories were concerned primarily with the martial and public deeds of the sultans, depicting their ascensions to the throne, their leadership abilities in battle, as well as their participation in activities such as hunting, accepting foreign envoys, celebrating religious festivities, holding discussions with their viziers, and making other public appearances. These texts were illuminated and illustrated with high quality miniatures, and were generally presented to the sultan as luxurious *objets d'art*.⁸

The Ottoman tradition of *şehnāme* writing was established long before the production of the illustrated copy of *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* that is the subject of this thesis. The Ottoman sultans of the sixteenth century, starting from Süleymān I (r. 1520–1566), commissioned illustrated history books in which stories from the lives of the sultans were written down and depicted.⁹ These monumental projects were carried out by groups of artists who were experienced in the arts of the book. Among them were *şehnāmecī*, or *şehnāme* authors, who could be described as official court historiographers, and the *ser-naḳkaşān*, or the head of the imperial painters, who directed the illustration of these imperial projects. A number of additional artists and craftsmen of the arts of the book were involved in the production of a *şehnāme*, such as calligraphers, painters, illuminators and bookbinders.¹⁰

While the first Ottoman *şehnāmes* were produced in the beginning of the sixteenth century, starting with the *Şehnāme* (c. 1500) of the historian Melik Ümmī, which focused on the reign of Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512), and Şükrü Bitlisī's *Selīmnāme* (1525) on the reign of Selīm I (1512-20), the tradition of the Ottoman *şehnāmes* truly took shape during

⁸ Zeren Tanındı, "Manuscript Production in the Ottoman Palace Workshop", *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, C.V, Leiden, 1990-1991, s.67-99; Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda and Zeren Tanındı, *Ottoman Painting* (İstanbul: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2012), Henceforth *Ottoman Painting*.

⁹ Zeren Akalay (Tanındı), "Osmanlı Tarihi ile İlgili Minyatürlü Yazmalar, Şehnameler ve Gazanamerler" (Unpub. PhD dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1972).

¹⁰ Zeren Tanındı, "Manuscript Production in the Ottoman Palace Workshop", *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, C.V, Leiden, 1990-1991, s.67-99; Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013).

the latter part of Süleymān I's reign (1520-66).¹¹ *Süleymānnāme*, the final volume of a five-volume *Şehnāme-i Āl-i 'Osmān*, commissioned by Süleymān I from the *şehnāmeçi* 'Ārifī, became the model for the later illustrated Ottoman histories.¹² It was also during Süleymān I's reign that an official post of the court *şehnāmeçi* was created, and 'Ārifī was assigned to this job as the official court historiographer.¹³ The office of *şehnāmeçi* as an institution, as well as their works and responsibilities, have been discussed by Christine Woodhead through an examination of the lives and works of five different *şehnāmeçis*: 'Ārifī (d. 1561–62), Eflātūn (d. 1569), Seyyid Loḡmān (dismissed by 1596–97), Ta'līkizāde (d. 1599–1600), and Ḥasan Hükmi (d. after 1638), who held the post for only a couple of years and did not ultimately produce a *şehnāme*.¹⁴ A recent study by Sinem Eryılmaz has focused in particular on the works of 'Ārifī and Eflātūn, the *şehnāmeçis* of Süleymān I; in it, Eryılmaz discusses the dynastic image that was created through the imperial book projects of Süleymān I.¹⁵ These projects, including the *Süleymānnāme*, repeatedly emphasized the centrality of the sultan, and served to promulgate the image of Süleymān I as an absolute and divinely-inspired ruler. The *Süleymānnāme* is a particularly notable example in this regard, with its heavy usage of symbolism and references to the history of the world and the Ottoman dynasty.¹⁶ The two other extant volumes of the *Şehnāme-i Āl-i 'Osmān* of 'Ārifī are the first and the fourth volumes. The first volume is the *Enbiyānāme*, the stories of the prophets; the fourth volume is the *'Osmānnāme*, the stories of the Ottoman sultans from 'Osmān I until Bayezid I.¹⁷

¹¹ Zeren Akalay (Tanındı), *ibid.* Esin Atıl, *Süleymannāme: The Illustrated History of Süleymān the Magnificent* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986), 44-49; *Ottoman Painting*. The Persian text and a Turkish summary of the *Süleymānnāme* are provided in Ahmet Faruk Çelik, "Fethullah Arifi Çelebi'nin 'Şahname-i Al-i Osman'ından *Süleymannāme*," (Unpub. PhD dissertation, Ankara Üniversitesi, 2009).

¹² Esin Atıl, *ibid.*, 44-49.

¹³ Necib Asım (Yazıksız), "Osmanlı Tarih-nüvisleri ve müverrihleri: Şehnameçiler", *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası* 1 (1911): 425-35; Christine Woodhead, "An Experiment in Official Historiography: The Post of Şehnāmeçi in the Ottoman Empire c. 1555-1605", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 75 (1983): 157-82.

¹⁴ Christine Woodhead, *ibid.*

¹⁵ Fatma Sinem Eryılmaz Arenas-Vives, "The Shehnamecis of Sultan Süleymān: 'Arif and Eflatun and Their Dynastic Project" (Unpub. PhD dissertation, The University of Chicago, 2010).

¹⁶ Fatma Sinem Eryılmaz Arenas-Vives, *ibid.*

¹⁷ Esin Atıl, *Süleymannāme: The Illustrated History of Süleymān the Magnificent* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986), 57-61.

Another Ottoman *şehnâme*, the *Şehnâme-i Selīm Hān*, was written by the *şehnāmeci* Seyyid Loḳmān and illustrated by Naḳḳāş ‘Osmān. The manuscript is shorter in length and has a reduced number of miniatures when compared to *Süleymānnâme*, which was composed of 617 folios and sixty-five illustrations.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the *Şehnâme-i Selīm Hān* was an enormous project as well, consisting of 158 folios and thirty-nine illustrations in the final version.¹⁹ The preservation of two draft copies of the *Şehnâme-i Selīm Hān* has provided historians with an opportunity to study the production process of the manuscript via comparative analysis. The *Şehnâme-i Selīm Hān* was first studied by Filiz Çağman, who identified the two draft copies and the final manuscript, and she was also the first to analyze the varying hands of different artists who had worked on the manuscripts.²⁰ Emine Fetvacı extended this analysis on the production process of the *Şehnâme-i Selīm Hān* by placing the text, images and illumination of the manuscript in context, and demonstrating that the messages conveyed in the text reflect different emphases present in the drafts and the final manuscript versions.²¹

The production of these illustrated histories was further studied in Fetvacı’s book, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court*, which shed light on the patronage, production, and consumption of illustrated histories through an analysis of those produced during Selīm II’s reign.²² In this work, Fetvacı also discusses the multiplicity of images attributed to the Ottoman sultans in the various illustrated histories of the late sixteenth century. In the earliest of these works, the image of the Ottoman sultan was one of a prophetic and heroic ruler, essentially a military leader; by the time of the later sultans, such as Selīm II and Murād III, however, this image fundamentally changed. As these sultans no longer went on campaign, their depictions shifted the image of the sultan towards a more background, legitimizing role.²³ However, these varying images were not necessarily mutually

¹⁸ Esin Atıl, *ibid*, 61.

¹⁹Filiz Çağman, “Şehname-i Selim Han ve Minyatürleri,” *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 5 (1972–73): 411–42.

²⁰ Filiz Çağman, *ibid*.

²¹ Emine Fetvacı, “The Production of the Şehnâme-i Selīm Hān” *Muqarnas* 26 (2009): 263-315.

²² Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013).

²³ Emine Fetvacı, *ibid*.

exclusive, and multiple images could be attributed to one sultan in different manuscript projects, according to the historical realities.²⁴

A crucial figure in the formulation of these images, and perhaps the most prolific and influential figure in the production of Ottoman illustrated histories in general, was Naḳḳāş ‘Osmān, who worked in the studio of the court artists (naḳḳaşhāne) from the latter years of Süleymān I’s reign, most likely from 1559 to 1566, until the first few years of Mehmed III’s (r. 1595-1603) reign.²⁵ During most of his long career, he worked as the *ser-naḳḳaşān*.²⁶ He worked with Seyyid Loḳmān, who was appointed as *şehnāmeçi* by Selīm II in 1569, to produce a number of illustrated books including the *Zafernāme* on Süleymān I’s Szigetvar campaign, the *Şehnāme-i Selīm Hān* describing Selīm II’s reign, the *Şehinşāhnāme* on Murād III’s reign, and the *Zübdetü’t-Tevāriḥ*, which details the achievements of the Ottoman sultans from ‘Osmān I to Murād III.²⁷ *Ḳıyāfetü’l-insāniye fī Şemā’ilü’l-‘Osmāniye*, or *Şemā’ilnāme*, is another work that was completed by Seyyid Loḳmān and Naḳḳāş ‘Osmān. This work consists of descriptions of the physical appearance of Ottoman sultans from ‘Osmān I to Murād III, with text written by Seyyid Loḳmān and the portraits of each sultan produced by Naḳḳāş ‘Osmān. These portraits set the standard for depictions of the Ottoman sultans in future illustrated histories, essentially creating the classical style of Ottoman portraiture.²⁸

It was the reign of Murād III that constituted the most prolific period for the patronage of manuscripts. He commissioned numerous books, which were to be completed

²⁴ Emine Fetvacı, *ibid.*

²⁵ Nurhan Atasoy, “Tarih Konulu Minyatürlerin Usta Nakkaşı Osman,” *Sanat Dünyamız* 73 (1999): 213-21; Serpil Bağcı, “An Iranian Epic and an Ottoman Painter: Nakkaş Osman’s ‘New’ Visual Interpretation of the Shāhnāmah,” in *Arts, Women and Scholars: Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture. Festschrift Hans Georg Majer*, ed. Sabine Prator & Christoph K. Neumann (İstanbul: Simurg, 2002), 2:421-50; Filiz Çağman, “Nakkaş Osman in Sixteenth Century Documents and Literature,” in *Turkish Art: 10th International Congress of Turkish Art* (Geneva, 1999), 197-206; Filiz Çağman, “Portrait Series of Nakkaş Osman,” in *The Sultan’s Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. Selim Kängal (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2000), 164-87.

²⁶ Filiz Çağman, “Portrait Series of Nakkaş Osman,” *The Sultan’s Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. by Selim Kängal (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2000), 164-87.

²⁷ Filiz Çağman, *ibid.*

²⁸ *Ottoman Painting*; Gülru Necipoğlu, “The Serial Portraits of Ottoman Sultans in Comparative Perspective” in *The Sultan’s Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. Selim Kängal (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2000), 22-61.

via the collaboration of master artists Seyyid Loḡmān and Naḡḡāş ‘Oḡmān.²⁹ In addition to the aforementioned *Zübdetü’t-Tevāriḡ* and *Şemā’ilnāme*, two additional major illustrated manuscript projects were completed during his reign: the *Şehinşāhnāme* and the *Sūrnāme-i Hümayūn*.

Şehinşāhnāme, which narrates a part of Murād III’s reign, from 1574 to 1580, was a manuscript project with fifty-eight illustrations completed under the collaboration of *şehnāmeçi* Seyyid Loḡmān and Naḡḡāş ‘Oḡmān. Fetvacı has argued that the representation of the sultanic image in the illustrated histories varied at different times during Murād III’s reign, and that the task of forming and promulgating this image had by that time ceased to be the work of the grand vizier, as it had been during the time of Süleymān I and Selīm II, and had instead been taken over by the servants of the inner household.³⁰ The fact that Murād III did not personally lead military campaigns was another factor which brought about these new variations in the sultan’s image, since it was not possible to portray him as a military leader and still remain relatively faithful to historical events.³¹ These variants did not represent entirely new developments of the sultanic image, however, but were rather adaptations and modifications of the already existing tradition of the “*şāhnāme*-type of sultan,” who is a politically and religiously legitimate ruler *as well as* a military leader. These adaptations and modifications were made by highlighting the elements of the archetype that fit the biography and characteristics of Murād III, such as his pious side, while portraying him as the legitimizing force behind the actions of his military commanders.³² A second volume of *Şehinşāhnāme* was also completed, and this work narrates and illustrates the years from 1580 to 1584 of Murād III’s reign with an additional ninety-five miniatures.³³

²⁹ Christine Woodhead, “Murad III and the Historians: Representations of Ottoman Imperial Authority in Late 16th-Century Historiography,” in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, ed. Hakan Karateke & Maurus Reinkowski (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 85-98; for an account of Murad III’s patronage of the art of manuscripts and architecture, see Aimee Elisabeth Froom, “A *Muraqqa’* for the Ottoman Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-1595) Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Mixtus 313” (Unpub. PhD dissertation, New York University, 2001), 306-15.

³⁰ Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013).

³¹ Emine Fetvacı, *ibid.*

³² Emine Fetvacı, *ibid.*

³³ *Ottoman Painting*; Emine Fetvacı, *ibid.*

Another extensive illustrated manuscript project was *Sŭrnāme-i Hŭmāyŭn*, depicting the festival held for the circumcision of Murād III's son Meḥmed (later to become Meḥmed III) in 1582, and accompanied by 250 double-page miniatures. The miniatures of *Sŭrnāme-i Hŭmāyŭn* depict the processions of various guilds passing through the Hippodrome, as well as the sultan, the invitees, and the people of the city watching these processions.³⁴ The fifty-two day long festival was, in itself, intended to both distract the city's populace from the financial and military crises of the time, , as well as to make a statement of imperial strength and world dominion through the display of skills and performers culled from around the world: Arabs, Egyptians, Persians, Indians and Europeans.³⁵ The text of the *Sŭrnāme* details the program of the activities for each day, and the miniatures convey to us the remarkable pomp and extravagance of the festival.³⁶

After the death of Murād III, and the dismissal of the *ṣehnāmeçi* Seyyid Loḳmān by the new sultan Meḥmed III upon his return from campaign in Eḡri (Eger), a fresh collaboration was begun between the new *ṣehnāmeçi*, Ta'likīzāde, and Naḳḳāş Ḥasan. This collaboration soon began to once again produce illustrated manuscript projects. Unlike most of the previous Ottoman *ṣehnāmes*, which had been written in Persian verse, the *Ṣehnāme-i Hŭmāyŭn*, written by Ta'likīzāde, was in Turkish and intermixed prose and verse. In Ta'likīzāde's introduction to the book, this change is stated to be the result of a personal wish by Mehmed III .³⁷

The *Ṣehnāme-i Hŭmāyŭn* provides us with an account of the Ottoman campaign in Hungary, conducted between 1593 and 1595, and led by the Grand Vizier Sinān Paşa (d. 1596). In this sense, the *Ṣehnāme-i Hŭmāyŭn* is different in content from previous Ottoman *ṣehnāmes*; it focuses on a campaign that was led by a commander, instead of the sultan himself. More importantly, the book does not revolve around the sultan's figure, but instead aims to provide a more general account of the campaign. There are, however, parts of the

³⁴ *Ottoman Painting*; Derin Terzioḡlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation" *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 84-100.

³⁵ Derin Terzioḡlu, *ibid*, 87.

³⁶ For an introduction to the manuscript and some of its miniatures, see Nurhan Atasoy, *Surname-i Hümayun: An Imperial Celebration* (İstanbul: Koçbank, 1997).

³⁷ Christine Woodhead, *Ta'likī-zāde's Ṣehnāme-i Hŭmāyŭn: A History of the Ottoman Campaign into Hungary 1593-94* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983), 17-19.

book which nevertheless contribute to the personal image of the sultan. In the introduction, Ta'likīzāde writes on the twenty merits of the Ottoman dynasty, which he states made their Empire particularly strong.³⁸ He describes these virtues in his earlier work, *Şemā'ilnāme-i Āl-i 'Osmān*, a book which resembles the *Hünernāme* in both style and content.³⁹ The virtues recounted in *Şehnāme-i Hümāyūn* – that is, the Ottomans' religion, geographic advantages, dynastic continuity, good knowledge of state administration, culture, and war-making abilities - are in accordance with the various traditional images portrayed in the previous Ottoman *şehnāmes*.

In her book – which, among other things, provides the text of the *Şehnāme-i Hümāyūn* - Christine Woodhead concludes that Ta'likīzāde attempted to encourage Meḥmed III to lead his military campaigns personally, both because of his own disapproval of the sultans' withdrawal from military leadership after Süleymān I, and because a sultan-led campaign would provide much better material for a *şehnāmecī* to work with in his productions.⁴⁰ Indeed, his next book project was going to be the *Eğri Fetihnāmesi*, or *Şehnāme-i Sultān Meḥmed-i Sālīs*, which depicts the Ottoman campaign on Eger led by Meḥmed III himself.⁴¹

During the reign of Aḥmed I (r. 1603-1617), not a single new Ottoman illustrated *şehnāme* was produced. The interests of the patrons of manuscript arts had, by this point, begun to shift in the direction of albums, which were collections of various kinds of texts, such as poetry and calligraphic specimens, combined with miniatures. These miniatures did not necessarily reflect the content of the text, and could be extracted from other manuscripts or individual pages, such as costume studies instead of narrative books.⁴² However, this does not mean that, during this period, the production of illustrated history books stopped altogether. One of the more notable examples from this time was the *Tācū't-t-evāriḥ*, written by Sa'deddīn Efendi (d. 1599), the tutor of Murād III, in 1574.⁴³ This work,

³⁸ Christine Woodhead, *ibid.*

³⁹ *Ottoman Painting*.

⁴⁰ Christine Woodhead, *ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ottoman Painting*.

⁴² Emine Fetvacı, "Enriched Narratives and Empowered Images in Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Manuscripts," *Ars Orientalis* 40 (2011): 243-66.

⁴³ *Ottoman Painting*.

describing an earlier period in Ottoman history (between the reigns of ‘Osmān I and Selīm I) was illustrated, containing fourteen illustrations that were modelled on the *Hünernāme* and the first *Şehinşāhnāme*.⁴⁴ Aside from this book, another notable example – and perhaps the work most akin to the *şehnāme* genre produced during reign of Ahmed I - was Muşafa Şāfi’s *Zübdetü’l-tevāriḥ*, which chronicled the period from the accession of Ahmed I in 1603 up to the work’s completion date in 1614.⁴⁵ This monumental work of 650 folios emphasized the virtues that made the sultan such an ideal ruler, including his justice, honesty, piety, intelligence, modesty, generosity, horsemanship and bravery, and exemplified these attributes through the narration of stories from the sultan’s life. In this way, it was quite similar to the Ottoman *şehnāmes*.⁴⁶ However, an illustrated copy of this book was not produced.⁴⁷ Finally, one last illustrated book produced during this time, the *Veḳāyi’-i ‘Ali Paşa*, provides us with an account of contemporary events. This work, written by Kelāmī, narrates the story of Yavuz ‘Ali Paşa (d. 1604), who served Ahmed I as the grand vizier for a short period. The book was illustrated with seven miniatures.⁴⁸

Illustrated books which eulogized Ottoman paşas and narrated their military campaigns – that is, *gazānāmes* - started to be produced as illustrated books during Süleymān I’s rule. In the two illustrated volumes that are attributed to his patronage, the *Fütūḥāt-ı Cemīle* of ‘Ārifī and the *Nüzhetü’l-aḥbār der Sefer-i Zīgetvār* of Feridūn Ahmed Bey (d. 1583), the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa (d. 1579) is presented as a capable grand vizier and a skilled commander and warrior.⁴⁹ Similarly, the Safavid campaign of Lala Muşafa Paşa’s (d. 1580) is described and illustrated in the *Nuşretnāme* of Gelibolulu

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Rhoads Murphey, “Mustafa Safi’s Version of the Kingly Virtues as Presented in His Zübdet’ül Tevarih, or Annals of Sultan Ahmed, 1012-1023 A.H./1603-1614 A.D.,” in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies* ed. Colin Imber & Keiko Kiyotaki (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 1:5-24.

⁴⁶ Rhoads Murphey, *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Christine Woodhead, “Reading Ottoman ‘Şehnāmes’: Official Historiography in the Late Sixteenth Century,” *Studia Islamica, Chroniques Médiévales Islamiques: Temps, Narration, Usages* 104/105 (2007): 67-80

⁴⁸ Christine Woodhead, *ibid.*; Emine Fetvacı, “Enriched Narratives and Empowered Images in Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Manuscripts,” *Ars Orientalis*, 40, (2011), 243-266.

⁴⁹ Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013); Zeren Tanındı, “Cat. No. 286: *Fütūḥāt-i Jamīla* (Admirable Conquests),” in *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600-1600*, ed. by David J. Roxburgh (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005), 449.

Muṣṭafa ‘Ālī (d. 1600).⁵⁰ A further example is Āsāfī Dal Meḥmed Çelebi’s (d. 1600?) *Şecā’atnâme*, which he wrote to chronicle his time in the service of Özdemiroğlu ‘Oṣmān Paşa during the latter parts (1578-1585) of the Ottoman-Safavid Wars of 1578-1590. This book does not only recount and illustrate the victories of Özdemiroğlu ‘Oṣmān Paşa, but also includes illustrated sections on the life of the author.⁵¹ The *Gencīne-i Feth-i Gence* of Raḥīmīzāde İbrāhīm Çavuş (d. 1600?), about Ferhād Paşa’s campaign (1583-1590) during the Ottoman-Safavid Wars of 1578-1590, represents yet another example of this type.⁵² As one final example, we would be remiss not to mention the *Tārīḥ-i Feth-i Yemen* of Muṣṭafa Rumūzī (d. 1582?), which was written at the wish of Sinān Paşa (d. 1596) and details the events that occurred in Yemen while he was serving there as the commander.⁵³

It is evident that the production of the Ottoman illustrated history books was not limited to *şehnāmes*, and the production of these works was not only a result of the sultans’ direct initiatives. In fact, palace grandees played some of the most important roles in the production of illustrated manuscripts, both *şehnāmes* and *gazānāmes*, acting as intermediaries between the sultan and the artists, as well as patrons themselves. While the grand viziers were the leading patrons of e manuscripts at the court for most of the second half of the sixteenth century – that is, aside from the sultan - the early seventeenth century brought about a shift in this role towards the the palace eunuchs, who came to increasingly dominate the commissioning of new works.⁵⁴ The author of the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* was also supported by a palace eunuch, Ġazanfer Ağa (d. 1603), who helped him to obtain commissions and job assignments from the sultan.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ *Ottoman Painting*; Emine Fetvacı, *ibid*; Gelibolulu Mustafa ‘Ālī, *Nusret-nâme*, ed. H. Mustafa Eravcı (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014); H. Mustafa Eravcı, “Mustafa ‘Ālī’nin Nusret-nâmesi ve Onun Işığında Yazarın Tarihçiliği” Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi 24, no. 38, (2005): 163-84; Pınar Koçyiğit, “Resimli Bir Osmanlı Gazânâmesi: Gelibolulu Mustafa Ālī (1541-1600) ve *Nusretnâme*’si (İstanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi H. 1365)” (Unpub. MA thesis, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi, 2012).

⁵¹ *Ottoman Painting*; Asafī Dal Mehmed Çelebi, *Şecā’atnâme: Özdemiroğlu Osman Paşa’nın Şark Seferleri 1578-1585*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2007); Gönül Kaya, “Resimli Bir Osmanlı Tarihi: Āsāfī Paşa’nın Şecāatnâme’si” (Unpub. MA thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2006).

⁵² *Ottoman Painting*.

⁵³ *Ibid*.

⁵⁴ Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013); Zeren Tanındı, “Bibliophile Aghas (Eunuchs) at Topkapı Saray”, *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 333-43.

⁵⁵ Tülün Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar: II. Osman Devrinde Değişen Güç Simgeleri* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012), Henceforth Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*.

1.2. *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*: The Manuscript, Patronage and Content

Two *şehnâmes* were written on the subject of ‘Osmân II’s (r. 1618-1622) reign, one of which is known to have been commissioned by the sultan himself. This was the *Şehnâme-i Türkî* of Medhî, a translation of the *Şāhnāme* of Firdevsî. This was not, in fact, a literal translation of the whole book into Turkish. Instead, it was Medhî’s rendition of the text into a narrative that combined the epic stories of the Persian *Şāhnāme* with the events of ‘Osmân II’s reign. The second one was an Ottoman *şehnâme*, which narrated the events that occurred from ‘Osmân II’s accession to the throne in February 1618 until his return from the Hotin campaign in January 1622.

The following seven copies of the text of the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* were located and studied by Numan Külekçi, in order to construct a transcription of the entire work.⁵⁶

1. Süleymaniye Library, Hacı Mahmud Efendi, No. 5250
2. Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi, No. 2703
3. Köprülü Library, Hafız (Ahmed) Paşa, No. 280
4. İstanbul University Library, No. 3635
5. İstanbul University Library, No. 4098 (folios 213-229)
6. Austrian National Library, No. 1050
7. National Library of France, Supplement no. 160

Another transcription by Dürdar Alikılıç was based on the Austrian National Library copy.⁵⁷ He also lists in his thesis the two copies in the Hacı Mahmud Efendi and Esad Efendi collections of the Süleymaniye Library. Neither Külekçi nor Alikılıç mention the only illustrated copy of the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, which is preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (Hazine 1124).⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Numan Külekçi, “Gani-zâde Nâdirî. Hayatı, Edebî Kişiliği, Eserleri. Dîvânı ve Şeh-nâmesinin Tenkidli Metni” (PhD diss., Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1985), 324-25, Henceforth Külekçi, “Gani-zâde Nâdirî.”

⁵⁷ Dürdar Alikılıç, “Gani-zâde Mehmed Nâdirî’nin Şehnâme-i Nâdirî’si” (Unpub. MA thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1993), xiii.

⁵⁸ Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu Cilt II* (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), 138.

Şehnâme-i Nâdirî was composed by Meḥmed b. ‘Abdülġanî (Ġanîzâde) (d. 1626), who wrote under the penname of Nâdirî. He was a *medrese* graduate, and he taught in various *medreses* in İstanbul and Galata from 1592 to 1602. He became married to the daughter of the *şeyhülislâm* Sun‘ullah Efendi (d. 1612) sometime during his career as a *medrese* professor. He then served in Salonica, Cairo, and Edirne as a *kadı*, and was assigned to İstanbul in the same position by Aḥmed I in 1607. He was eventually dismissed from this post and assigned as the *kadı* of Galata in 1610. He served as the Anatolian and Rumelian *kazasker* between 1612 and 1620. After leaving this post in 1620, he passed away in İstanbul in 1627.⁵⁹ In addition to the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, he composed a *dîvân*, in which he wrote eulogies for the sultans Murâd III, Meḥmed III, Aḥmed I, Muştafa I and ‘Oşmân II, as well as various palace grandees; he also included various petitions he had written, as well as a variety of complaints about the progress of his career.⁶⁰

Dîvân-ı Nâdirî is of particular interest for us, especially in terms of the composition of the text and the miniatures contained within the illustrated copy of the work. Külekçi lists twenty-two extant copies of the work, that include the whole or a part of the poems in the *Dîvân*.⁶¹ Only one of these copies, the one in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (Hazine 889), is illustrated, and it includes only a small portion of the poems included in other copies of Nâdirî’s *Dîvân*. The poems in the illustrated copy refer to the reigns of Murâd III, Meḥmed III and Aḥmed I; and the events that are depicted in the miniatures indicate that this copy might have been produced around 1605.⁶² Nevertheless, the poems that Nâdirî added to his *Dîvân* later contain references to the reigns of Muştafa I and ‘Oşmân II, as well as poems that praise these sultans. At the end of his *kaşîde* on the accession of ‘Oşmân II to the throne, he tells the reader that he served Murâd III, Meḥmed III and Aḥmed I by writing panegyrics for them, and begs the new sultan to allow him to continue his service.⁶³ We have yet to determine, however, whether or not ‘Oşmân II’s

⁵⁹ Külekçi, “Gani-zâde Nâdirî”; Mustafa Uzun, “Ganîzâde Mehmed Nâdirî,” *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (1996), 13: 355-56.

⁶⁰ Külekçi, *ibid.*

⁶¹ Külekçi, “Gani-zâde Nâdirî,” 16-17.

⁶² Zeren Tanındı, “Transformations of Words to Images: Portraits of Ottoman Courtiers in the *Dîvâns* of Bâkî and Nâdirî,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, *Islamic Arts* 43 (Spring 2003).

⁶³ Külekçi, “Gani-zâde Nâdirî,” 152-55.

accepted Nādirī's request, and whether the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* represents the product of such a commission.

Nādirī's career-related lines are not limited to those in his panegyric to the sultan. Two prominent figures to whom Nādirī wrote eulogizing poems in his *Dīvān* are the Chief Eunuch Ġazanfer Ağa, and the Equerry-in-Chief, 'Ali Ağa. In his introduction to the *Dīvān*, Nādirī writes that the *Dīvān* was written at the request of 'Ali Ağa, and he implies that it was presented to Ġazanfer Ağa.⁶⁴ The significance of these two figures is also made apparent in Nādirī's *kaşīdes*. The poet writes several panegyrics to both *ağas*, and in one particular poem, in which he eulogizes both, he reveals their close relationship and hints at their kinship via 'Ali Ağa's marriage to Ġazanfer Ağa's sister.⁶⁵ The scant information that is available regarding 'Ali Ağa reveals that he had a good relationship with Ġazanfer Ağa, and that they were influential in the palace in the late sixteenth century.⁶⁶ Indeed, Nādirī writes in his *kaşīde* that they were the "two wings of the state power," and that "their personalities were the same."⁶⁷ In the poem in which he describes and praises the *medrese* of Ġazanfer Ağa, Nādirī also requests that he be given a position at this institution; later, in one of the miniatures in *Dīvān-ı Nādirī*, we observe that he did, indeed, find a position as a professor at Ġazanfer Ağa's *medrese*.⁶⁸

The *Dīvān-ı Nādirī* contains valuable material for the study of the network surrounding Nādirī, and helps us to track the course of his relationships with potential patrons, as his career progressed and as the reigning sultan changed. His panegyrics to the sultans and palace officials, as in the examples above, demonstrate his interactions with the court, as well as the connections between the influential figures that he mentions in his poems. The illustrated version, which was completed during the early years of Aḥmed I's reign, most probably in 1605, provides us with additional content that is not covered in the text, especially through its visual portrayal of the most significant moments from the lives

⁶⁴ Külekçi, *ibid*, 102-103; Zeren Tanındı, *ibid*; Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 153-54.

⁶⁵ Külekçi, *ibid*, 206-207; Değirmenci, *ibid*.

⁶⁶ Zeren Tanındı, "Transformations of Words to Images: Portraits of Ottoman Courtiers in the Dîwâns of Bâkî and Nâdirî," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, *Islamic Arts* 43 (Spring 2003), 131-45.

⁶⁷ Külekçi, "Gani-zâde Nâdirî," 207.

⁶⁸ Külekçi, *ibid*, 196-198; Zeren Tanındı, *ibid*; Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 163-64.

of the figures in the book. This thesis will not focus particularly upon the *Dīvān-ı Nādirī*, however, as it does not contain any accounts of the short period that the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* describes and illustrates. Instead, we will use an approach here that is mostly concerned with the narration of the events of ‘Osmān II’s reign by historical sources contemporary to the period.

The miniatures of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library copy of the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* have been identified as the work of several different painters.⁶⁹ Among them, Ahmed Naq̄şī is the only painter whose name is known today. Naq̄şī’s miniature style can be characterized as essentially in the mode of classical Ottoman painting, following the model of Naq̄k̄āş ‘Osmān, but which nevertheless also utilized new techniques of visual depth to provide the viewer with a sense of perspective. This is particularly evident in his depictions of architecture.⁷⁰ Naq̄şī’s hand can be recognized in 113 different miniatures across six manuscripts and three albums.⁷¹ His earliest paintings are found in *Tercüme-i Şekāyik-ı Nūmāniye*, a translation of Taşköprülüzāde from Arabic, which contains the biographies of those scholars who lived between the reigns of ‘Osmān I and Süleymān I.⁷² Another manuscript which was illustrated solely by Naq̄şī was the *Dīvān-ı Nādirī*; this manuscript consists of a collection of panegyrics to the sultan and various palace grandees; prominent among these was Ğazanfer Ağa, who is known to have supported Nādirī’s book projects by mediating his relations with the palace.⁷³ Naq̄şī’s nine miniatures in the *Dīvān-ı Nādirī* represent the events that occurred during the period, although the poems of Nādirī have no historical content but consist only of eulogies to sultans and other high officials. Hence, the

⁶⁹ *Ottoman Painting*.

⁷⁰ Süheyl Ünver, *Ressam Naq̄şī, Hayatı ve Eserleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1949); Esin Atıl, “Ahmed Naq̄şī: An Eclectic Painter of the Early Seventeenth Century,” in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art, Proceedings*, ed. Geza Feher Jr. (Budapest, 1978), 103–21; Tülay Artan, “Arts and Architecture,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 3, The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 408-80.

⁷¹ Esin Atıl, *ibid.*

⁷² Süheyl Ünver, *ibid.*; Esin Atıl, *ibid.*

⁷³ Külekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 24-32; Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 159-60.

miniatures extend the content of the book for an audience already familiar with the events, rather than merely illustrating the text.⁷⁴

Şehnâme-i Nâdirî was the third manuscript that Nağşî worked on, but he illustrated only two miniatures in the book, one of which is a double-spread. One of these miniatures is a single-page painting which depicts ‘Osmân II at a *dîvân* meeting with his dignitaries (Fig. 7). The other one is an illustration of the procession of ‘Osmân II with his army on towards his Hotin campaign (Fig. 8).⁷⁵ Nağşî’s miniatures are also contained within the three manuscript copies of the *Şehnâme-i Türkî* that were composed by Medhî on the orders of ‘Osmân II.⁷⁶ Nağşî’s painting style, as it developed, came to be characterized by what Esin Atıl has called his “eclecticism and humor.”⁷⁷ He combined Ottoman, Persian and European elements, and added dynamism to his paintings with elements such as animated rocks and amusing details from daily life; these qualities are also evident in his two miniatures for the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*.⁷⁸ These miniatures will be discussed in chapter four of this thesis, in relation to the text of the book.

Şehnâme-i Nâdirî narrates events that occurred during the period from 1618 to the end of 1621. The book was written in the form of a *meşnevî*, a practical format for long stories, and it opens with chapters of praise and prayers to God (*taḥmîd* and *münâcat*), praises of the Prophet Muhammed (*n’at*) and stories of the ascension of the prophet (*mi’râc*), along with tributes to the first four caliphs of Islam (*çār yār-ı güzîn*); these laudatory passages were in keeping with the traditional opening of the *meşnevî* format. The next chapter of the work is a panegyric to ‘Osmân II. Finally, before entering into the book’s central historical narrative, there is one last chapter which discusses the reasons for the writing of the book.

⁷⁴ Zeren Tanındı, “Transformations of Words to Images: Portraits of Ottoman Courtiers in the *Dîwâns* of Bâkî and Nâdirî,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics, Islamic Arts* 43 (Spring 2003), 131-45; Emine Fetvacı, “Enriched Narratives and Empowered Images in Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Manuscripts,” *Ars Orientalis*, 40, (2011), 243-266;

⁷⁵ Esin Atıl, “Ahmed Nağşî: An Eclectic Painter of the Early Seventeenth Century,” in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art, Proceedings*, ed. Geza Feher Jr. (Budapest, 1978), 103–21.

⁷⁶ Esin Atıl, *ibid*; Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 99-102; Tülün Değirmenci, ““Legitimizing” s Young Sultan: Illustrated Copies of Medhî’s *Şehnâme-i Türkî* in European Collections,” in *13th International Congress of Turkish Art, Proceedings*, ed. Geza David & Ibolya Gerelyes (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2009), 157-72.

⁷⁷ Esin Atıl, *ibid*, 108.

⁷⁸ Esin Atıl, *ibid*.

Nādirī's stated reason for writing his *şehnāme* is a rather conventional one. He writes that his acquaintances requested him to write a *meşnevī*, because the Ottomans (*Rūmīyān*) had, up to that point, been able to compete with the Persians in regards to their *kaşīdes*, but there was as yet no available Ottoman *meşnevī* which could compare to the Persian ones in content and style. He first intended to write an Alexander romance (*İskendernāme*) – that is to say, a work in the genre depicting the epic adventures of İskender, a literary character formed from the convergence of *İskender-i Zülkarneyn*, a Quranic prophet-like figure, and *İskender-i Rūmī*, the historical Alexander the Great.⁷⁹ After describing this initial intention, however, Nādirī writes that he quickly realized, or rather heard a voice telling him, that writing an *İskendernāme* was useless, for the stories of Alexander consisted mostly of lies. For this reason, he writes that he instead decided to write the stories of the Ottoman sultans. He compares 'Osmān II with Alexander to further justify his choice of subject as the worthier one. He accepts that Alexander was a respected emperor and that he conquered the world, but adds that he could not compete with 'Osmān II, because the latter ruled the world right from his accession to the throne.⁸⁰

The patron of *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* is not definitively known. Although two contemporary sources, Kātib Çelebi and Nev'izāde Atāī, have reported that the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* was written on the orders of 'Osmān II, Nādirī does not provide us with a name as to who commissioned him with this work; indeed, he does not mention this even in his chapter on the reason for writing the book.⁸¹ Since the name of the patron of the book was not explicitly stated, the identity of the book's patron must instead be deduced from the content of the book. We, of course, immediately come to the possibility that *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* may have been presented to 'Osmān II upon his personal request: firstly, Nādirī describes his book as a *şehnāme*, and provides a long panegyric to 'Osmān II at the beginning of his book. Furthermore, the most prominent figure in the book is 'Osmān II. His only military campaign, the one to Hotin, is narrated in five chapters and illustrated

⁷⁹ A. Abel, "İskandar Nāma", *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 4:127-29; İsmail Ünver, "İskender", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (2000), 22:557-9. On the first known Ottoman *İskendernāme* written by the fourteenth-century poet Ahmedī, see E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry Volume 1* (London: Luzac & Co., 1900), 269-84.

⁸⁰ Külekçi, "Gani-zāde Nādirī," 324-5. Most of the pages describing "the reason for writing the book" in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library copy are missing in the manuscript.

⁸¹ Külekçi, *ibid*, 43.

with five miniatures, three of which are double-page paintings. This evidence is, however, by itself not enough to let us say with certainty that *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* was dedicated to the sultan; after all, the presence of a eulogy of the sultan, and his prominence in the work's narrative, were normal features of any illustrated history book in the Ottoman Empire, even if the work was not commissioned by the sultan himself.

Another possible patron of the book is Hâlîl Paşa. As will be discussed in chapter three, the grand vizier Hâlîl Paşa is the second most regularly featured figure in the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, after the sultan. His campaigns are recounted in five chapters, and he features in three double-page miniatures; this is in contrast to the other military commanders, whose campaigns are narrated in only one or two chapters. While the number of chapters and miniatures that feature a certain character in a *şehnâme* is not, by itself, sufficient to determine the book's patronage relationships, it demonstrates that certain figures were prioritized in the book's narrative, and possibly had a hand in its creation.

Tülün Değirmenci suggests that these different possibilities may be explained by the presence of various factions among the courtiers, and Nâdirî's relationships with these factions.⁸² She argues that Nâdirî was closer to Hâlîl Paşa than he was to 'Ali Paşa, and that this proximity is the reason for varying prominence of the two commanders in the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*. The state of the relationships between the depicted characters and Nâdirî, as well as their relationships with the patron of the book, may have played a further role in the manner of their representations in the text and miniatures. However, it is likely that there were other factors involved as well. Since we do not know how much say Nâdirî actually had in the production of the miniatures of his book, we have to consider that the artists, too, were participants in the book's content; this was particularly the case, as for the most part, the text of the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* is quite formulaic in its way of describing the paşas as brave and skilled commanders. Nuances of these characters' representation are thus understood more readily by looking at the miniatures of the book, rather than by reading the text. The text is, after all, an account of the events that occurred during 'Osmân II's reign, and the author provides a faithful narrative in terms of chronology - he does not omit events that happened, or invent new happenings. The miniatures, however, constitute

⁸² Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 244-5.

an area of much greater artistic freedom, in that they do not have to repeat the text but form a semi-independent field of expression that the audience can read and interpret. In other words, the miniatures are not mere illustrations of what is narrated in the text, but they constitute a distinct part of the narrative. They are the products of a complex web of relations among the authors, artists, and patrons, as well as of the processes of interpretation of the text by the artists. This thesis's aims are limited and it will leave the question of the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*'s patronage unanswered; rather, we shall focus here on the content of the book in relation to the previous and contemporaneous examples of the genre.

After stating the reasons why the book was written, the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* continues with the narrative history of 'Osmân II's reign. The order of the events that are narrated in the book is as follows:

'Osmân II ascends to the throne (March 1618).

Crimean prince Meḥmed Giray (d. 1629) escapes from Yedikule during 'Osmân II's sword-girding ceremony in Eyub, gets caught and is forgiven by the sultan (March 1618).

The Grand Vizier Ḥalîl Paşa is sent to fight Şah 'Abbās, and Tabriz is plundered by the Ottoman army (1618).

The Crimean Han Canbek Giray fights Kârçığāy Ḥān, the governor of Tabriz (1618).

Ḥalîl Paşa and Şah 'Abbās make peace, and Şah 'Abbās sends gifts to 'Osmân II (1619).

The Grand Admiral 'Ali Paşa goes on his naval campaign in the Mediterranean (1619).

The Governor of Özi (Ochakov) İskender Paşa embarks upon a Polish campaign (1620).

İskender Paşa fights the *kansler*, the Polish commander Stanislaw Zolkiewski (1620).

Ḥalîl Paşa captures the Italian city of Manfredonia (1620).

The Governor of Budin (Buda) Karakaş Mehmed Paşa conquers Vac; İskender Ağa marches on Habeş (Abyssinia); and Afrāsiyāb takes control of Basra (1620).

‘Osmān II gathers the *dīvān* to consult about the Polish campaign, and the Polish envoys’ requests for mercy are rejected by the sultan (1621).

‘Osmān II leaves İstanbul to embark upon the Polish campaign (29 April 1621), and arrives in Edirne (31 May 1621).

‘Osmān II marches from Edirne to the River Dniester, and Cossack soldiers are taken prisoner on the journey (June 1621).

The Ottoman army fights the sons of the Polish king, and the castle of Hotin is surrendered to the Ottomans (September 1621).

‘Osmān II starts his return from the campaign; his son is born while he is in Edirne; and the sultan finally arrives in Istanbul. He builds a kiosk and a caique to celebrate his victory (January 1622).

The book ends with a *hātīme*, or epilogue, in which Nādirī states his intentions to add to his *Şehnāme* the further events that would occur during ‘Osmān II’s reign. However, ‘Osmān II was deposed and killed in June 1622, a few months after his return from the Hotin campaign, and thus Nādirī never got a chance to fulfill his plans.

Some of the pages of the Topkapı copy of the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* are missing, and other pages were bound in the wrong places to fill the gaps caused by these missing pages. The manuscript starts at folio 1a with the thirteenth distich of the first chapter, the *taḥmīd*, which continues until the end of the folio 1b. Following pages of the *taḥmīd*, and the *mūnacāt* and *na‘t* were bound between 42a and 45b. 2a continues with the second half of the *mi‘rāciyye*. The panegyric on the four caliphs and the panegyric on ‘Osmān II follow the *mi‘rāciyye* in the right order. The chapter on the rationale for writing the book starts after the panegyric to ‘Osmān II, and is interrupted after its first sixth distich at the end of 4b. The rest of this chapter, and the beginning of the chapter on the accession of ‘Osmān II to the throne, are also missing. The remainder of the chapter on the accession continues at

5a. The later pages of the manuscript are in the right order, except for the missing pages on the Vac campaign of Karakaş Mehmed Paşa, which should have been bound from 42a to 45b.⁸³

In this study, I will examine the text and miniatures of the Topkapı Palace copy, and rely on Numan Külekçi's transcription for the pages that are missing in the illustrated copy, since the only differences between the two texts are minor changes of words or rhymes.

This thesis will analyze the illustrated copy of the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* in terms of its continuation of the Ottoman *şehnâme* tradition, and the innovations that it brought to the format. In doing so, we shall focus particularly on the book's imagery, as it relates to the sultan and the commanders who led the various campaigns narrated in the book. In order to contextualize the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, the next chapter will survey the books written about the reign of 'Osmân II during this period, and how these books strove to depict the sultan and other prominent figures, such as the Grand Vizier Halîl Paşa. Following this, we will delve more deeply into the miniatures and text of the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*. The third chapter will analyze the various depictions of the campaigns that were led by the *serdârs*, or commanders, of 'Osmân II, and will focus on the similarities and differences between these depictions. The fourth chapter will focus more specifically on the portrayal of 'Osmân II and his image as a *ğâzî* sultan.

The text of the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* features several common themes. One repeated motif is the narration of the processions that occur when the army embarks on and returns from campaigns. Nâdirî describes these processions with a great deal of attention to material details. He describes the clothing and weapons of the soldiers, as well as those of the commanders and the sultan. These passages also include long sequences of praise for the sultan, in cases where he leads the army himself, as well as paeans to the valor of the soldiers. As he does throughout his verse, Nâdirî alludes to the characters of the original Persian *Şāhnāme* in order to glorify the contemporary army and its commanders. Another recurrent theme is the description of battles. Similar to the descriptions of the army on campaign, battles are recounted as epic stories where the Ottoman soldiers prove to be brave, strong and unceasingly victorious heroes. Their weaponry is also described in the

⁸³ Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 275n89.

battle scenes, and the expertise of the Ottoman soldiers in using such weapons is emphasized. The dialogues that occur between the sultan and the viziers, or between an Ottoman commander and a subordinate or counterpart, represent a third common motif. Such passages highlight the bonds of loyalty between the Ottoman characters, and their self-image of superiority against their rivals.

These themes contribute to the representation of a strong and victorious Ottoman army, attributes which are further reflected in the Ottoman leaders; they also constitute the most original element of the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*. As we shall see in the upcoming chapters, the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* is a faithful follower of the conventions of the Ottoman *şehnâme* genre in terms of its depiction of characters and events. However, the long passages that contain these recurrent themes provide room for a certain degree of creativity in the text, allowing the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* to possess some strikingly original expressions. Thus, the modern reader may classify the *Şehnâme* as part of a longer Ottoman *şehnâme* writing tradition, which nevertheless contains some noticeably divergent elements. These elements are most prominent in the book's battle scenes and dialogues, and these sections will be discussed in more detail in the relevant chapters; the descriptions of the processions will be provided in the Appendix, as these sections run to significant lengths.

2. CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVE SOURCES: *ZAFERNĀME* AND *ĠAZĀNĀME-İ HALİL PAŞA*

The events of the reign of ‘Osmān II were recorded in two contemporary unillustrated narrative sources, in addition to the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*. One of these is the *Zafernāme*, which describes the sultan’s Hotin campaign, and the other is the *Ġazānāme-i Halīl Paşa*, which recounts Halīl Paşa’s life and career, including the same military exploits that are narrated in the *Şehnāme*. Both sources are similar to the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* in terms of their descriptions of the military campaigns, particularly in regards to how the Ottomans are depicted as victorious whatever the actual course of events. The depiction of characters in these additional two sources are also in line with their representations in the *Şehnāme*; as an example, they describe ‘Osmān II and Halīl Paşa, the protagonists of the *Zafernāme* and the *Ġazānāme*, respectively, as ideal leaders with an unquenchable eagerness to fight, and with excellent military skills. What follows will present examples of these depictions from these latter two sources, and will also allow us to make comparisons with the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*. Taking these other two sources into consideration will help us to better understand the representations in the book, by demonstrating that these depictions and their characteristic features are not unique to the *Şehnāme*. They rather represent a continuation of a literary style, a style which is also evident in other prominent narrative sources of the time.

2.1. *Zafernāme*

The manuscript of *Zafernāme-i Belāġat-‘unvān der Beyān-ı Ġazavāt-ı Sultān ‘Osmān Hān-ı Ġāzī* was first located and studied by Yaşar Yücel, who also published a facsimile of the manuscript.⁸⁴ The text of the only extant copy was transcribed by Zeynep

⁸⁴ Yaşar Yücel, “Yeni Bulunan II. Osman Adına Yazılmış Bir ‘Zafer-nāme’,” *Bellefen* 43/170 (1979), 313-64; Yaşar Yücel, *Osmanlı Devlet Düzenine Ait Metinler VI: II. Osman Adına Yazılmış Zafer-name*, (Ankara: AÜ DTCF Yayınları, 1983).

Türk Sarıışık.⁸⁵ The *Zafernâme* was written by Kilarî Mehmed Çelebi under the penname Hâlisî,⁸⁶ and narrates a detailed account of the Polish campaign of ‘Osmân II, from the decision of the sultan to go on campaign in April 1621 to the end of the battle and the beginning of the journey back to İstanbul in October 1621. The author states that he wrote this book on the orders of ‘Osmân II.⁸⁷ Although Yücel argues that the author was an eyewitness to the Hotin campaign,⁸⁸ As Tezcan has pointed out, one of Hâlisî’s statements in his book seems to imply that he wrote this account with the information he acquired from his acquaintances who participated in the campaign.⁸⁹ If Hâlisî did not actually join the Hotin campaign, the book must have been written in the time period between the arrival of ‘Osmân II in İstanbul in January 1622 and his deposition in June 1622.⁹⁰ This is also possible; in another part in his book, Hâlisî mentions that he was an accountant (*maşraf kitâbeti*) in the imperial pantry.⁹¹

The only extant copy of the *Zafernâme* was located by Yücel in a private library in Ankara.⁹² Tezcan suggests that this copy was written after the death of ‘Osmân II, judging by the phrase “raḥmetullâhi ‘aleyhi,” meaning “may God have mercy on him,” written after the name of ‘Osmân II in the book. He also concludes that this copy is not the original one, because of the repeated usage of same words in the text that would seem to signify miscopying, and a passage in the book which states that the *Zafernâme* had already been presented to the sultan, and that the sultan was pleased.⁹³ However, the sentence that Tezcan uses to demonstrate that the *Zafernâme* pleased the sultan may also be interpreted

⁸⁵ Zeynep Türk Sarıışık, “II. Osman Dönemine Aid Bir Kaynak: Zafernâme,” (Unpub. MA thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi, 1999), Henceforth Sarıışık, “Zafernâme.”

⁸⁶ Yaşar Yücel, “Yeni Bulunan II. Osman Adına Yazılmış Bir ‘Zafer-nâme’,” *Bellekten* 43/170 (1979), 313-64; Baki Tezcan, “Zafernâme Müellifi Hâlisî’nin Bilinmeyen Bir Eseri Münâsebetiyle,” *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 19 (1999): 83-98.

⁸⁷ Baki Tezcan, *ibid.*

⁸⁸ Yaşar Yücel, *Osmanlı Devlet Düzenine Ait Metinler VI: II. Osman Adına Yazılmış Zafer-name*, (Ankara: AÜ DTCF Yayınları, 1983), iv.

⁸⁹ Baki Tezcan, *ibid.*

⁹⁰ Baki Tezcan, “Zafernâme Müellifi Hâlisî’nin Bilinmeyen Bir Eseri Münâsebetiyle,” *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 19 (1999): 83-98.

⁹¹ Baki Tezcan, *ibid.*, 86-87.

⁹² Yaşar Yücel, “Yeni Bulunan II. Osman Adına Yazılmış Bir ‘Zafer-nâme’,” *Bellekten* 43/170 (1979), 313-64

⁹³ Baki Tezcan, *ibid.*, 91.

as a statement of H̄ālisī's wish that the book be approved by the sultan, and so it does not necessarily imply that other, earlier copies exist.⁹⁴

Zafernâme is parallel in content and discourse with *Şehnâme-i Nādirī* on many points. Like the *Şehnâme*, *Zafernâme* states that 'Osmān II decided to go on a Polish campaign because of the regular Polish invasions of the Ottoman borderlands. The text describes the history of relations between the Poles and the Ottomans, reminding the reader that the Polish kings had abided by their agreements with the Ottoman sultans and paid their yearly tributes until Aḥmed I's time. However, during Aḥmed I's reign, the Polish king began to encourage the Cossacks to raid into the Black Sea regions of the Empire. Aḥmed I wanted to campaign against Poland, but he did not live long enough to do so. Since the Poles continued their activities after 'Osmān II came to power, the sultan first sent İskender Paşa, the governor of Özi (Ochakov) to campaign into the Polish lands.⁹⁵

H̄ālisī in a short passage tells us that İskender Paşa defeated the Polish army with the help of Kalgay⁹⁶ Sultan and K̄antemir Mirza, before starting with the main subject of the book - that is, the Hotin campaign. Since the conflict with the Polish was not yet settled, the sultan decided to lead a new campaign, personally. H̄ālisī explains the eagerness of 'Osmān II to lead the campaign as due to his "brave and zealous nature."⁹⁷ As described in the *Şehnâme-i Nādirī*, 'Osmān II refuses to change his decision to lead the campaign personally, despite being advised to send a commander instead of going into battle himself. Both *Şehnâme* and *Zafernâme* present the image of a sultan with a hunger to prove himself in battle. In both sources, 'Osmān II insists on leading the campaign, and justifies his desire by alluding to his ancestors, who went on campaigns and returned victorious. He, too, wants to achieve a similar feat.

⁹⁴ "Gerçi tuhfetü'l-fakîr-i ḥakîr-nükte ma'lûmdur; lâkin "her 'ayb ki sultân be-pesended hünerest" fehvâsına ğirre olub murâd eyledüm." Yaşar Yücel, Osmanlı *Devlet Düzenine Ait Metinler VI: II. Osman* Adına Yazılmış *Zafer-name*, (Ankara: AÜ DTCF Yayınları, 1983), 11; Sarıışık, "Zafernâme", 60-61; Baki Tezcan, *ibid*, 91. H̄ālisī alludes to the well-known verse by the thirteenth-century Persian poet Sa'dî-i Şirâzî, possibly hoping that the shortcomings of his book will be pardoned by the sultan.

⁹⁵ Sarıışık, "Zafernâme," 66.

⁹⁶ The title of Crimean crown princes. The word appears in the *Şehnâme-i Nādirī* in one of its earlier versions, "Kağalgāy." The more widely used version, "Kalgay" will be preferred throughout this thesis. See Halil İnalçık, "Kalgay" in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (2001), 24:259.

⁹⁷ Sarıışık, "Zafernâme," 69.

Essentially the same narrative is repeated in the account of Na‘imā, which was written in late seventeenth century and covered events from 1574 until 1651. However, Na‘imā also noted that the Grand Vizier ‘Ali Paşa, whose naval campaign in the Mediterranean is the subject of a chapter in the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, was the one who motivated the sultan towards *ğazâ*, and encouraged him to go on the Polish campaign.⁹⁸ Other late seventeenth-century authors, Peçevî and Topçular Katibi ‘Abdülkâdir Efendi, do not provide us with an account of the conversation between the sultan and the *dîvân* members on the sultan’s participation in the campaign. Both Peçevî and ‘Abdülkâdir Efendi recorded that the campaign started on the orders of the sultan, but do not mention ‘Osmân II’s personal eagerness to lead the campaign.⁹⁹ The *Zafernâme* and the *Şehnâme*, two contemporary sources that were written not only to keep historical records but also to propagate an image of a warrior sultan, emphasize the attitude of the sultan without mentioning ‘Ali Paşa’s influence; possibly this detail was intentionally omitted, as it could be seen to detract from the narrative of ‘Osmân II’s initiative.

Şehnâme-i Nâdirî portrays the relationship of the soldiers with the sultan - or the commander, for the campaigns other than that of Hotin - as one that required absolute loyalty from below and was balanced by a strong sense of generosity and benevolence from above. The soldiers demonstrated unconditional dedication to the orders, and the sultan or the commander awarded them with gifts of honor and luxury in return for their services. In several cases, which will be discussed further in the following chapters of this thesis, the sultan and his commanders granted robes of honor to their supportive subordinates such as the Crimean Hân Cānbek Giray, and provided the soldiers of the army with gold and silver gifts. *Zafernâme* conveys a similar sense of reciprocal trust. On his way to Hotin, ‘Osmân II orders a survey for the soldiers to register themselves, and he awards the ones who do so with *bağış*.¹⁰⁰ The author of *Zafernâme* narrates this event as a regular payment to the soldiers, while Na‘imâ recounts that the reason for this practice was a rumor about the

⁹⁸ *Târih-i Na‘imâ*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), 2:459, Henceforth *Na‘imâ*.

⁹⁹ *Topçular Kâtibi ‘Abdülkâdir (Kadrî) Efendi Tarihi*, ed. Ziya Yılmaz, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), 2:705-6, Henceforth *Topçular Kâtibi*; *Peçevi Tarihi*, ed. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982), 2:351, Henceforth *Peçevi*.

¹⁰⁰ Sarıışık, “Zafernâme,” 92-3.

falling number of soldiers as the army proceeded on its march.¹⁰¹ Na‘îmâ interprets this event as a signal of the worsening relations between ‘Osmân II and the janissaries, which would escalate in time, and would eventually result in the deposition and the execution of the sultan after his return from the campaign.¹⁰² However, in the *Zafernâme*, which was written before the troublesome end of ‘Osmân II’s reign, the practice seems to be one that ensured the loyalty between the sultan and the janissaries.

‘Osmân II’s skills as an archer and hunter also constitute a noticeable theme in the *Zafernâme*. An incident is recounted in the *Zafernâme*, and repeated in the *Şehnâme*, in which a Cossack prisoner escapes while the other prisoners were being executed on the orders of the sultan; this incident is used to convey the almost superhuman qualities of the sultan. In *Zafernâme*, ‘Osmân II first orders his men to shoot the fugitive prisoner, and when no one is able to do so, he accomplishes the task himself. The *Zafernâme* additionally relates that the sultan excelled in archery more than anyone else in his retinue. ‘Osmân II’s dexterity in archery is further emphasized in the *Zafernâme* with the recounting of another incident. Hâlisî tell us that the sultan, at one point, shot an arrow from one bank of the Danube, where he was standing with his army. The arrow managed to cross the river and landed four steps away on the opposite shore.¹⁰³ Hâlisî explains to the reader that this event is further “evidence [as] to the sultan’s excellent senses.”¹⁰⁴

The sultan’s hunting skills are similarly demonstrated in the *Zafernâme*. Unlike the *Şehnâme*, which describes the sultan hunting on his way back from the campaign, Hâlisî tells us that ‘Osmân II left the capital and stopped to hunt on his way to Hotin. Regardless of the time of the hunting, both sources emphasize the amount and variety of the game that the sultan and his company hunted. *Zafernâme* tells us that the sultan went hunting with the *Dārü’s-sa‘āde Ağası*, Süleymân Ağa (d. 1622) and the Grand Vizier Hüseyn Paşa (d. 1624), and together they hunted countless animals. They could “hunt a phoenix like a

¹⁰¹ *Na‘îmâ*, 465.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 476-77.

¹⁰³ Sarıışık, “Zafernâme,” 83.

¹⁰⁴ Sarıışık, *ibid*, 83.

pigeon, and tie lions and leopards on their saddle rings.”¹⁰⁵ With these cliché words, the author is praising the hunting skills of the sultan and his closest courtiers; this is something that Nādirī does in his book as well.

The result of the Hotin campaign is described in the *Zafernāme* as a victory, as is evident from the name of the work, although the campaign in fact ended with an agreement that included mutual compromises. The Agreement of Hotin guaranteed that the Poles would stop the Cossacks from raiding across the Black Sea, but also made it a condition that the Ottomans would prevent the Tatars from attacking the Polish realm.¹⁰⁶ Peçevī later interpreted the Hotin campaign as a loss because the Ottomans belittled their rivals.¹⁰⁷ The *Zafernāme* does not refer to such details, however; instead, as in the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*, it portrays an absolute Ottoman victory.

Throughout his narrative, Hālisī refers to Persian *Şāhnāme* characters that are known for their fighting skills and bravery. He also repeats the common motif of comparing the sultan to his Ottoman predecessors, especially to Süleymān I, whom Hālisī regards as the most successful among them. He ends his narrative by stating that such a great victory for Islam was unprecedented, and that even Süleymān I did not reach lands as distant as ‘Oṣmān II did.¹⁰⁸ The claim for the current sultan to have surpassed the achievements of his ancestors is a common statement in both the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* and in previous *şehnāmes*. *Zafernāme* continues the tradition of these other works by setting the previous sultans, especially Süleymān I, as the standard of an ideal ruler, before asserting that the existing sultan had surpassed them all.

¹⁰⁵ “Husūsâ her ne vakt-i huçeste-sâ’atde sayd u şikâra ‘azm buyursalar, ‘anka-yı çarhı hamâme gibi sayd ve şîr ü peleng-i feleği fitrâkine kayd eylerdi.” Sarıışık, *ibid*, 75.

¹⁰⁶ Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, “A historical outline of Polish-Ottoman political and diplomatic relations” in *War and Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th-19th Centuries* ed. Selim Kangal (İstanbul: Turkish Republic Ministry of Culture, 1999), 26. For the texts of both versions and their translations in English, see Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th Century): An Annotated Edition of ‘Ahdnames and Other Documents* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 1999), 376-87.

¹⁰⁷ Peçevî, 352-4.

¹⁰⁸ Sarıışık, “Zafernāme,” 130-1.

2.2. *Ġazānāme-i Ġalīl Paşa*

The *Ġazānāme-i Ġalīl Paşa*, or *Ġazavātnāme-i Ġalīl Paşa*, narrates the life and campaigns of the grand admiral (1609–11, 1613–16, 1619–23) and grand vizier (1616–19, 1626–28) Ġalīl Paşa (d. 1629).¹⁰⁹ Three copies of the book are located today in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (Revan 1482), Süleymaniye Library (Esad Efendi 2139) and Vienna Austrian National Library (H.O. 72), respectively.¹¹⁰ In the catalogue of Turkish manuscripts in the Topkapı Palace, the author of the book was mistakenly identified as Gelibolulu Muştafa ‘Ālī (d. 1600).¹¹¹ However, it is not possible that ‘Ālī recorded the events of the *Ġazānāme*, as most of these occurred sometime after his death.¹¹² The authorship of the book has also been attributed to Nādirī , because his penname was mentioned in the last distich of the poem at the end of the book, but Nādirī added this poem as *takrīz*, a eulogy of the work.¹¹³ The most probable author of the book, then, may be Vaşfi, who was also praised for his writing skills in the same poem.¹¹⁴ However, other than his name, we know little else about him, and so it is difficult to say this with certainty.

The *Ġazānāme* is similar to the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* in that its narration of events focuses specifically on those incidents that reflect the ideal and exemplary nature of the story’s main character. The book begins with the early life of Ġalīl Paşa, when he was a member of the falconer corps of the Topkapı Palace.¹¹⁵ His career as the head of the falconer corps and as the commander of the janissary corps, as well as the various

¹⁰⁹ A. H. de Groot, “Khalil Pasha, Kaysariyyeli”, *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 4:970-72; Agāh Sırrı Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey’in Ġazavāt-nāmesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000), 106-7.

¹¹⁰ Victor Ostapchuk, “An Ottoman *Ġazānāme* on Halil Paşa’s Naval Campaign against the Cossacks (1621),” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 14 (1990): 482-521.

¹¹¹ Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu Cilt II* (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), 380.

¹¹² Agāh Sırrı Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey’in Ġazavāt-nāmesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000), 107.

¹¹³ Victor Ostapchuk, “An Ottoman *Ġazānāme* on Halil Paşa’s Naval Campaign against the Cossacks (1621),” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 14 (1990): 482-521.

¹¹⁴ “Vasfi zeyn eyledikçe evrakı / Nâm-ı nâmîsi tutsun âfâkı” Meltem Aydın, “*Ġazānāme-i Halil Paşa 1595-1623* (Tahlil ve Metin),” (Unpub. PhD dissertation, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2010), 268, Henceforth Aydın, “*Ġazānāme*.” Uzunçarşılı and Babinger attributed the work to Vasfi. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi III. Cilt, 2. Kısım* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988) 373; Franz Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*, trans. Coşkun Üçok (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992), 197.

¹¹⁵ Victor Ostapchuk, *ibid.*

campaigns he participated in while holding these titles, are also included in the book.¹¹⁶ Among his exploits, he participated in the Eger campaign of Meḥmed III in 1596 as the head of the falconer corps, as well as fought against the Celālī rebels in Central Anatolia and Aleppo as the commander of the janissaries.¹¹⁷ Other exploits of Ḥalīl Paşa that are narrated in the *Ġazānāme* include his naval campaigns in the Mediterranean from 1609–14, his campaign against Safavid Iran in 1617–18, his naval campaign against the Italian city of Manfredonia, and his activities in the Black Sea in 1621 during ‘Osmān II’s Hotin campaign.¹¹⁸ The latter three undertakings, as they are recounted in the *Ġazānāme*, will be the main focus of this sub-chapter, as they are also narrated in our main primary source, *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*, and provide us with useful points of comparison.

Ḥalīl Paşa’s campaign in Ardabil is the first event which the *Ġazānāme* and the *Şehnāme* have in common. The grand vizier set out for the campaign during the rule of Aḥmed I. The death of Aḥmed I in 1617 was followed by Muştafa I’s short reign, after which ‘Osmān II came to power in February 1618. The *Ġazānāme* provides us with a letter written by ‘Osmān II to Ḥalīl Paşa after his accession.¹¹⁹ In this letter, the sultan himself recounts the issues surrounding his accession. He states that, while the Ottoman tradition of accession required the sultanate to pass from father to son, his right to be the sultan was unjustly given to his uncle Muştafa, simply because Muştafa was a few years older. He continues by explaining that Muştafa voluntarily chose to leave the throne to ‘Osmān II, thus allowing him to become the new sultan. Following this explanation, ‘Osmān II then orders Ḥalīl Paşa to continue the campaign that he had embarked upon during Aḥmed I’s rule as the commander-in-chief, and commands that he return home with a victory.

As in the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*, Ḥalīl Paşa’s Safavid campaign is portrayed as ultimately victorious in the *Ġazānāme*. As the book relates, when Ḥalīl Paşa arrives in Tabriz, he finds that Şah ‘Abbās has already fled. Yet, unlike the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*, the *Ġazānāme* does not then proceed to describe a long and heroic battle scene between the

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Aydın, “Gazânâme,” 218-9.

Ottoman and Safavid armies. The *Ġazānāme* instead focuses on the strategies that were adopted by the commander-in-chief, and the correspondence between Ḥalīl Paşa and the Safavid commander, Kārçigāy Han. The book showcases numerous examples of Ottoman strategic decision-making; Ḥalīl Paşa decides, for example, to not stay in Tabriz but rather to move forward, in order not to seem as though he is avoiding a decisive battle. In contrast, the Safavids are described in the book as constantly asking for peace. Kārçigāy Han writes to Ḥalīl Paşa, in order to tell him that Şah ‘Abbās is requesting a peace and will accept the Ottoman conditions; the grand vizier replies that, in order to restore the peace, the Persians will have to send a hundred loads of silk and a hundred loads of gifts each year to the sultan. This account of their correspondence is mirrored in the telling of the *Şehnāme*. Both sources aim to create an image of a victorious campaign, and to reinforce Ottoman superiority over their enemies; as will be discussed in chapter three of this thesis, however, the campaign did not, in fact, bring much success or any new acquisitions to the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, the final peace was essentially a repetition of the conditions of the earlier agreement made between Süleymān I and Şah Tahmāsb in 1555.

Ḥalīl Paşa’s relationship with the sultan is characterized in the *Ġazānāme* as an essentially magnanimous one. The first interaction between the sultan and the commander recorded in the *Ġazānāme* is the aforementioned letter, in which ‘Osmān II ordered that Ḥalīl Paşa maintain his role as commander-in-chief of the campaign armies. Another letter from the sultan is delivered to Ḥalīl Paşa at the end of the campaign, after Şah ‘Abbās agrees to the terms set out by Ḥalīl Paşa and delivers the predetermined amount of gifts. These gifts arrive in Van while Ḥalīl Paşa is in Tokat, and it is while he is there that he receives the letter of the sultan. According to the letter, the contents of which were recorded by Ḥālisī, the sultan writes that he has heard about the accomplishments of the grand vizier during the campaign, and that he is content with the services that Ḥalīl Paşa had rendered.¹²⁰ He adds that he has sent a sword and two robes of honor for the grand vizier in gratitude for his success.¹²¹ In this way, the author is attempting here to establish that the campaign ended with an Ottoman victory, the credit for which is largely due to Ḥalīl Paşa; this narrative, however, does not reflect the reality of the Ottoman situation.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 239.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 239.

On his return from the campaign in January 1619, Ḥalīl Paşa was dismissed from his position as the grand vizier, and was in return offered the governorship of Damascus. He declined this position and retreated to the *tekke* of his *şeyh*, or spiritual guide, Maḥmūd Hüdā'ī in Üsküdar; nevertheless he remained on as a vizier.¹²² He was appointed as the grand admiral of the Ottoman navy in December, 1619. This decline in Ḥalīl Paşa's rank is explained, in both the *Şehnâme* and the *Ġazânâme*, as being due to reasons other than his failure in the Safavid campaign. While the *Şehnâme* writes that Ḥalīl Paşa was simply tired of battles, and for this reason requested a less burdensome commission, the *Ġazânâme* presents us with a rather different explanation. The author of the *Ġazânâme* writes that, although 'Osmān II was content with Ḥalīl Paşa's service, "those who were ambitious about gaining the position of the grand vizier told lies that affected the opinions of the young and unexperienced sultan on the grand vizier negatively."¹²³

After this decrease in his rank, Ḥalīl Paşa became engaged in two different naval actions as the grand admiral during 'Osmān II's reign. The first one of these was his campaign against Manfredonia, a city on the Adriatic coast of the Italian peninsula. As in the *Şehnâme*, the *Ġazânâme* highlights the impregnability of the castle of Manfredonia. It states that "no army of Islam has ever set foot near this castle," and that "it was impossible to go near the castle and to climb over its towers because of the cannon and rifle fire."¹²⁴ However, the *Ġazânâme* recounts, the Grand Admiral Ḥalīl Paşa pays no heed to the castle's reputation and does not hesitate to fire cannons at the castle.¹²⁵ While the Ottoman cannons are able to damage the castle walls and kill enemy soldiers, skillful sailing leaves the Ottoman galleys unharmed from return fire.¹²⁶

The book tells us that the castle was penetrated by Ottoman soldiers in about four to five hours.¹²⁷ With the inner castle surrounded by the army, Ḥalīl Paşa finds it increasingly

¹²² A. H. de Groot, "Khalil Pasha, Kaysariyyeli", *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 4:970-72.

¹²³ Aydın, "Gazânâme," 240.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, 245.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, 246.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, 247.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, 247.

difficult to make a breakthrough; at some point, he decides to wear the coat that his *şeyh*, Maḥmūd Hüdā'ī, had given him. Upon wearing the coat, Ḥalīl Paşa finds that all of his fears has disappeared, and he orders the soldiers to launch a vigorous attack upon the castle.¹²⁸ The attack is ultimately successful and the inner castle submits; the Ottoman army enters the castle to collect booty.¹²⁹ The *Ġazānāme*, like the *Şehnāme*, records that the conquest of the castle was ultimately untenable; it was too far away from the Ottoman lands, and too close to the Venetian and Spanish realms.¹³⁰ Realizing this, the Ottoman navy decides to evacuate the castle, following the obligatory looting and burning of the town. While the biases of these two texts are obvious, information on this campaign from other sources is scarce. 'Abdülkādīr Efendi, for example, does not mention the event in his chronicle, while the historian Na'imā mentions only that Ḥalīl Paşa went to Manfredonia with forty galleys and conquered the castle in three days, before burning the city, taking prisoners and collecting the booty.¹³¹ The Ottoman strategy, along with the actual events of the siege, are omitted from Na'imā's account.

The next mission that Ḥalīl Paşa participated in was the Hotin campaign of 'Oṣmān II, for which he offered material and strategic support. The *Zafernāme* and the *Şehnāme* concur on the reason for the campaign, writing that the expedition was launched to end the increasingly devastating raids of the Cossacks across the Black Sea, and to stop the Polish king from encouraging this behavior. Ḥalīl Paşa's participation in this campaign is mentioned in the *Şehnāme*, but no details are provided.¹³² Instead, we can learn more about the details of this expedition from the *Zafernāme* and the *Ġazānāme*. Both sources tell us that 'Oṣmān II ordered Ḥalīl Paşa to sail into the Black Sea, in order to capture the Cossack ships, called *şaykas*, while the sultan was stopped over in İsakçı (Isaccea) on the banks of the River Danube. The *Ġazānāme* records that Ḥalīl Paşa captured twenty *şaykas* full of Cossack "bandits" and brought them to İsakçı,¹³³ while *Zafernāme* narrates that he returned

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, 248.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, 249.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 250-51.

¹³¹ Na'imā, 457; Aydın, "Gazânâme," 69.

¹³² Külekçi, "Gani-zâde Nâdirî," 394-5.

¹³³ Aydın, "Gazânâme," 257-8.

to the sultan with eighteen *şaykas* and two hundred Cossack prisoners.¹³⁴ Both *Zafernâme* and *Gazânâme* write that Hâlîl Paşa's success was marked by celebrations on both banks of the river, with Ottoman soldiers firing rifles and cannons.¹³⁵ The sultan ordered the Cossack prisoners to be executed, and the two sources indeed provide us with details about the executions, just as the *Şehnâme* does. As mentioned previously, both sources also record that 'Osmân II was pleased by the services of Grand Admiral Hâlîl Paşa, and awarded him with two robes of honor in return for his success.¹³⁶

The *Gazânâme* also records various letters that were sent to Hâlîl Paşa. Five of these letters were sent by 'Osmân II. The first three letters, two of which were already mentioned above, were sent during the Eastern campaign. In the first letter, the recently enthroned 'Osmân II confirms that the grand vizier will act as the commander of the Safavid campaign.¹³⁷ The second letter was delivered to the commander during the campaign, and in it, the sultan assures Hâlîl Paşa that he authorizes all of his future decisions.¹³⁸ The sultan sent another letter, later, informing Hâlîl Paşa that he is content with his services and happy with his successes during the campaign.¹³⁹ The two remaining letters concern the Hotin campaign, which Hâlîl Paşa, as the grand admiral, supported on the naval front by fighting the Cossacks' ships in the Black Sea. In one of the letters, 'Osmân II states that he is satisfied with the achievements of the grand admiral, who had by that time captured eighteen Cossack *şaykas*.¹⁴⁰ The last letter was related to 'Osmân II's order that Hâlîl Paşa should remain in İsakçı to protect a certain bridge, which had been recently built to allow the sultan to proceed to Hotin with his army.¹⁴¹ In all of these letters, the sultan acknowledges and praises Hâlîl Paşa, and provides him with the authorization to make and implement decisions as he sees fit.

¹³⁴ Sarıışık, "Zafernâme," 68.

¹³⁵ Aydın, "Gazânâme," 257; Sarıışık, "Zafernâme," 68.

¹³⁶ Aydın, "Gazânâme," 258; Sarıışık, "Zafernâme," 68.

¹³⁷ Aydın, "Gazânâme," 217-8.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, 220-1.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, 238-9.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 257.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, 259-60.

Both *Zafernâme* and *Ġazânâme* portray their main characters – that is, ‘Osmân II and Hâlîl Paşa, respectively - as ideal military leaders. The characteristics that are attached to this notion of ideal leadership include valor, determination, and a strong belief in the inevitability of victory. The sultan is further portrayed as a skilled hunter and archer, with the *Zafernâme* containing multiple depictions of the sultan hunting and training. Hâlîl Paşa’s relationship with Maĥmûd Hüdâ’î is also emphasized in the *Ġazânâme*, in an attempt to highlight his spiritual strength and piety. Both sources also underscore the absolute dominance of the sultan and Hâlîl Paşa over their subordinates, as well as Hâlîl Paşa’s unwavering loyalty to the sultan. All of these above characteristics are emphasized in the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* as well. The *Şehnâme* follows the rule of ‘Osmân II, albeit with fewer details than the *Zafernâme* and the *Ġazânâme*, and provides us not only with descriptions of the course of events, but also with many of the same characteristics of ideal leadership. The next two chapters will focus on these characteristics, as described in the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, and will attempt to understand how this work makes use of the ideal ruler archetypes to portray the sultan and his commanders.

3. THE COMMANDERS OF THE SULTAN IN THE *ŞEHNĀME-İ NĀDİRĪ*

3.1. Hālil Paşa

According to Nādirī, his reason for writing an Ottoman *şehnāme* instead of an *İskendernāme* (The Book of Alexander), was that the *İskendernāme* genre included fantasies and exaggerations, but an Ottoman *şehnāme* could tell the true stories of an Ottoman sultan.¹⁴² However, an examination of the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* demonstrates that the book does not only provide a chronological account of the events that occurred from the death of Aḥmed I (r. 1603–1617) until the end of ‘Oṣmān II’s (r. 1618–1622) Hotin campaign in 1621, but rather also endeavors to illustrate the ideal form of military leadership; it achieves this not only through the construction of the narrative, but also visually, via the miniatures. In fact, Nādirī sometimes highlights the themes of obedience and loyalty, which, in his view, seem to be the foundation of leadership, at the expense of the factual details of events. There are also cases where he deviates from the facts to provide the audience with a more pertinent narrative, more congruent with the image of ideal military leadership than the actual course of events could portray.

The themes of obedience and loyalty occur repeatedly throughout the book, both in the text and the miniatures, in the context of military campaigns. These themes are, naturally set against regular depictions of disobedience and disloyalty, the perpetrators of which invariably receive ignoble ends. The passages where these themes are most visible are when Nādirī’s account carefully conveys the details of conversations between a superior and a subordinate in times of counsel and command; this is true whether the conversation is between the sultan and the members of his *dīvān*, or between the commanders of the army and their subordinates. One such commander who is representative of these ideal characteristics in Nādirī’s narrative is, of course, the Grand Vizier Hālil Paşa (d. 1629).

During the period that is recounted in the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* Hālil Paşa appears as the first grand vizier to go personally on campaign. Four double-folio miniatures in the illustrated manuscript are related to Hālil Paşa, and three of them feature his figure, which makes him the second most depicted character of the book, after ‘Oṣmān II. Hālil Paşa’s

¹⁴² Kūlekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 325. The pages on which these verses were written are missing in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library copy (Hazine 1124).

first appearance in the text occurs when the Safavid ruler, Şah ‘Abbās I (r. 1587–1629), “exits the route of obedience” during the reign of Aḥmed I. Nādirī does not specify what exactly the disobedience of the Safavid şah against the Ottoman sultan is.¹⁴³ However, according to Özer Küpeli, while the Ottoman sources tell us that the main reason for the war was Şah ‘Abbās I’s refusal to pay an annual tribute of two loads of silk to the Ottoman sultan, Aḥmed I, the real reason was the Safavids’ “intransigent” attitude regarding the borders of Azerbaijan.¹⁴⁴ As Nādirī writes, the sultan becomes “furious and decides for his destruction.” To this end, he “charges one of his slaves [to do] battle” with Şah ‘Abbās I. The chosen slave (*kul*) is the Grand Vizier Ḥalīl Paşa, “the confidant of the sultan, who holds the rank of Cem” - one of the mythical kings of Iran, whose long and peaceful reign is recounted in the Persian *Şāhnāme* - ¹⁴⁵ and who is the “grandest of all the honorable viziers.”¹⁴⁶

The subject of the first miniature of *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* is Ḥalīl Paşa and his army plundering and destroying the city of Tabriz (Fig. 1).¹⁴⁷ Ḥalīl Paşa is visible at the center of the right side of this double folio miniature, as the most prominent figure. In the pages that come immediately before the illustrated folios, Nādirī describes:

As the doomsday arrived and destroyed the city
Domes fell on the ground like stars
Gold and marine settled on the earth
Stars and pieces of planets fell down.¹⁴⁸

In the left-hand-side folio, the miniature follows the text very closely. A mosque with a dome and two minarets are depicted in “gold and marine,” as stated in the verse. Flames are coming out of the door of the mosque in relation to the following couplet, this time emplaced on the corner of the illustrated folio:

¹⁴³ Külekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 334; Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H.1124, f. 10b, Henceforth TPML, H.1124.

¹⁴⁴ Özer Küpeli, *Osmanlı Safevi Münasebetleri*, (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2014), 91-99.

¹⁴⁵ Mahmoud Omidsalar, “Jamšid ii. In Persian Literature,” *Encyclopædia Iranica* 14/5 (2012): 522-8.

¹⁴⁶ Külekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 334; TPML, H.1124, f. 10b-11a.

¹⁴⁷ TPML, H. 1124, f. 13b-14a.

¹⁴⁸ Külekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 337; TPML, H.1124, f. 13a.

When flames filled the pool like a hearth
Drops of flame flew out of the fountain.¹⁴⁹

However, the right-hand-side folio of the miniature depicts a scene that is not elaborated upon by the author. On this folio, Ḥalīl Paşa is shown as the central figure of the scene, depicted as a commander who is leading and watching over his army. The prominence of Ḥalīl Paşa in this miniature - despite the fact that he is not especially notable in the related part of the narrative – can be interpreted as demonstrating his influence in the production of the manuscript, possibly due to his close relationship to the author.¹⁵⁰ Although Ḥalīl Paşa is, generally speaking, the central figure of the chapter in which Nādirī narrates the Battle of Serav, the passage immediately beside the illustration does not mention him at all. Still, it is clear that Halil Paşa was intended to be the primary focus of this painting, due to his visual prominence and central position. We encounter an entirely different situation in the later chapters of the manuscript, where the Grand Admiral ‘Ali Paşa’s naval campaign is recounted and illustrated. ‘Ali Paşa is of course, the central figure of the text, yet the accompanying illustrations show only his fleet without providing his portrait.¹⁵¹ For reasons such as these, the centrality of Ḥalīl Paşa in this first miniature of the manuscript would seem to indicate that the paşa is disproportionately significant in the book.¹⁵²

The looting of Tabriz by the Ottoman army is described at length in *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*. While the Grand Vizier Ḥalīl Paşa, assigned by Aḥmed I as the *serdār-ı ekrem* of the campaign in Iran, is on his way to Tabriz, Istanbul is shaken by news of the death of the young sultan. When ‘Osmān II ascends to the throne,¹⁵³ among his first actions is to send a

¹⁴⁹ Külekçi, *ibid*, 338; TPML, H.1124, f. 14a.

¹⁵⁰ Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 239.

¹⁵¹ TPML, H.1124, f. 28b-29a.

¹⁵² Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 244-45

¹⁵³ Nādirī does not give any account of the short reign of Muştafa I in this part of his verse. However, he provides slight references to the event elsewhere in the book, when he narrates the accession of ‘Osmān II. He mentions that ‘Osmān II ascended to the throne after a “false dawn”; Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 120.

message to Ḥalīl Paşa, which confirms his commission as Grand Vizier.¹⁵⁴ Ḥalīl Paşa’s presence is not mentioned again until the end of the chapter, after the verses in which the new sultan, ‘Osmān II, sends him orders to continue his campaign. The couplets that narrate how ‘Osmān II orders Ḥalīl Paşa to continue the campaign right after his enthronement are one of the few parts of the narrative where it is explicitly stated that this campaign was ordered by the sultan, and that he is the power behind it.

After the grand vizier receives the message, the Ottoman army “runs like the River Nile, drowns the cities and turns them into ruined lands like Ancient Egypt.” When they reach the city of Tabriz, they find it abandoned. The şah had already left the city and everything in it, “barely escaping with his life”¹⁵⁵ With the enemy’s possessions left unprotected, the Ottoman soldiers decide to destroy the buildings and loot whatever luxury goods they find.¹⁵⁶ The verse continues with a description of the city’s architectural and material details rather than concentrating on the deeds of Ḥalīl Paşa.

Nādirī’s next chapter, which includes the second miniature of the manuscript, opens with a mention of Ḥalīl Paşa as “the venerable and valorous vizier, the high and victorious advisor.”¹⁵⁷ Ḥalīl Paşa, after disgracing the “kızılbaş” and destroying their ability to fight, starts a council meeting with his commanders. He demands advice from his men regarding how to draw the Safavid şah to the battlefield. He states that, “unless he [Şah ‘Abbās I] is beaten with the strike of the sword, he will not stop his disobedience. His arrogance will only disappear if he is reprimanded.” He continues that, however, the şah has “abandoned all his possessions that are dear to him as a wife would be. He has no will to fight.”¹⁵⁸

In this passage, the “disobedience” of the Safavid ~~şah~~ şah is conveyed in such a way as to imply that he is a vassal of the Ottoman sultan. Ḥalīl Paşa is portrayed as the representative of the Ottoman sultan, against whom the Safavid şah rebelled, and the grand vizier is for this reason the one to reprimand the şah and to punish him, to deter him from

¹⁵⁴ Külleççi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 335; TPML, H.1124, f. 11a.

¹⁵⁵ Külleççi, *ibid*, 336; TPML, H.1124, f. 12a.

¹⁵⁶ Külleççi, *ibid*, 335-337; TPML, H.1124, f. 11a-12a.

¹⁵⁷ Külleççi, *ibid*, 339; TPML, H.1124, f. 15a.

¹⁵⁸ Külleççi, *ibid*, 339-340; TPML, H.1124, f. 15a-15b.

further rebellious acts. In short, Ḥalīl Paşa undertakes a mission of disciplining a vassal of the sultan who had disrespected the Ottoman throne. However, this interpretation can only be made through examining the opening couplets of this campaign’s narration. The role of the sultan as the driving force behind the campaign, the one who initiated it and decided its target, is not described further after the first few lines of the text. Indeed, Ḥalīl Paşa soon becomes the sole focus of the chapter, and the location of the campaign’s driving power, up until the end of the narrative. After the campaign ends and the peace negotiations between the Ottomans and Safavids begin, Nādirī still only briefly mentions the sultan, in regards to a letter that the grand vizier sent to Şah ‘Abbās, threatening him with the sultan’s wrath. The battle and the peace negotiations are held between Ḥalīl Paşa and Şah ‘Abbās I, while ‘Osmān II remains only as a distant background figure.

The “disobedience” of Şah ‘Abbās is contrasted with the obedience and loyalty of Ḥalīl Paşa’s commanders. When Ḥalīl Paşa asks his commanders how they should entice the Safavid army on to the battle-field, Cānbek Giray (d. 1635), the han of Crimea, responds in a rousing speech. “I am the commander of the House of Chinghiz Ḥan, and Iranians are our tribute-paying subjects. Let a few deceitful Iranians come face to face with the troops of Chinghiz, I will topple the crown of the şah and make it into a nest of a falcon.”¹⁵⁹ Ḥalīl Paşa finds this speech very pleasing and subsequently bestows upon the Tatar han a robe of honor made of silk, along with a jeweled sword.¹⁶⁰

This is a typical example of the theme of loyalty in the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*, and it is not only visible among the Ottoman actors of the book. After the conversation between Ḥalīl Paşa and Cānbek Giray, Nādirī goes on to narrate the march of Giray Ḥan’s army towards forces of Şah ‘Abbās. When Şah ‘Abbās hears that the Ottoman and Tatar forces are proceeding forwards into battle, he is, according to the text, incapacitated by fear. Then, a dialogue that is parallel to the one between Ḥalīl Paşa and Cānbek Giray Ḥan takes place between Şah ‘Abbās and Kārçığāy Ḥan I (d. 1625), the governor of Tabriz.¹⁶¹ Kārçığāy

¹⁵⁹ Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 340; TPML, H.1124, f. 15b

¹⁶⁰ Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 340; TPML, H.1124, f. 15b; Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 241.

¹⁶¹ Kārçığāy Ḥan I, an Armenian-origin slave of Şah ‘Abbās I, served as a commander of regiment of musketeers in the Battle of Sufiyan, fought between Ottoman and Safavid forces in 1605. He was promoted to commander-in-chief of

Ḥan comforts the şah by saying that he does not need to worry, because he has an abundance of soldiers and wealth. He continues to console the şah much in the same way that Giray Ḥan's speech comforted Halil Paşa, using many of the same terms. Kārçığāy Ḥan promises to destroy the enemy if the şah orders him to fight. Şah 'Abbās provides him with soldiers and sends him off to battle with the Ottomans.¹⁶²

The second miniature of the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* depicts the Battle of Serav (1618) between the Ottoman and Safavid armies (Fig. 2).¹⁶³ The Tatar han Cānbek Giray joins the battle with his army under the command of Ḥalīl Paşa. At the same time, Kārçığāy Ḥan fights for the Safavids, under the orders of Şah 'Abbās, as he had promised. A long passage describes the battle between the Ottoman and Safavid forces. The battle that starts with Kārçığāy Ḥan's offensive continues for a long time without either side gaining the upper hand. Nādirī narrates the battle by describing the clashes of the soldiers and their respective equipment and weapons.

Nādirī is very descriptive and attentive to material details when he narrates the battle between the Ottoman and Safavid armies. As the battle commences, he begins by describing arrows piercing shields that had become as thin as silk from the wear and tear of incessant combat. After the arrows, he continues by describing the soldiers' rifles: "Many a brave soldier grabbed their rifles and joined the battle like dragons." A description of their spears follows: "The blood that drips from spears fills the helmets as if the helmets were molds of candy." When swords come in to play, we read that, "the sound of clashing swords scared the stars." Finally, as the battle continues, soldiers begin to use maces to "smash the heads of the enemy."¹⁶⁴

The double-folio miniature depicting this scene is as vivid as the text. The page on the right side of the double-page miniature shows Cānbek Giray Ḥan in the center,

the army and given the title of khan. His victory over Halil Paşa in 1617 earned him the governorship of Tabriz and Azerbaijan. Sussan Babaie et al., *Slaves of the Shah: New Elites of Safavid Iran* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 114-27.

¹⁶² Kūlekçi, "Gani-zāde Nādirī," 341; TPML, H.1124, f. 16a-16b; Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 241.

¹⁶³ TPML, H.1124, f. 18b-19a.

¹⁶⁴ Kūlekçi, "Gani-zāde Nādirī," 342-343; 16b-17b.

watching and commanding his soldiers. A division of his army stands behind him, while ̤alil Pařa and his retinue are visible in the upper part of the page, supervising the whole scene. The organization of this miniature displays the central role Cānbek Giray played in the battle, but it also acknowledges that ̤alil Pařa was the main commander and tactician of the campaign. The left-hand page depicts the battle scene graphically. It gives the reader a visualization of almost every kind of war tool used by the Tatar and Safavid soldiers that had previously been mentioned in the verse. It is within the couplets on this double-folio painting that Nādirī ends his narration of the battle scene, stating that: “The fight went on from the morning until the night. Two armies have been fighting severely. Ottoman Tatars would not diminish. Nor would the Iranian endeavors weaken.”¹⁶⁵

It is at this point that we can see Nādirī making significant changes to actual events in order to make his narrative better suit a *řehnāme*. The battle that is described in this passage, that is, the Battle of Serav, was in fact a defeat for the Ottomans.¹⁶⁶ Instead of a realistic account of the battle and its consequences, Nādirī prefers to provide a heroic narrative with graphic and minute details. These details, which are also represented in the relevant miniature, consist more of verses in which the poet tells entertaining stories of the battle and shows off his literary technique, than passages of a historical account.

After the “stalemate,” Cānbek Giray ̤an and ̤alil Pařa come together to discuss the course of the battle. At the same time, ̤ārçigāy ̤an and řah ‘Abbās conduct a parallel discussion on the same topic. As the book recounts, while ̤ārçigāy ̤an gives bad news to the řah, leaving him anxious and upset, Giray ̤an is in contrast rewarded with a robe of honor by ̤alil Pařa for his success in battle. ̤alil Pařa still, however, wants to confront řah ‘Abbās himself. He comes up with a provocative method to bring the řah to the battleground. The grand vizier suggests marching on Ardabil and destroying the city; he plans to “burn the tombs of the ancestors of the řah” and to “stab his soul with the sword of sorrow,” thus forcing him out, on to the battleground.¹⁶⁷ However, the march of the

¹⁶⁵ Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 344; TPML, H.1124, f. 18b-19a.

¹⁶⁶ Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 241.

¹⁶⁷ Kūlekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 345; TPML, H.1124, f. 20a-20b.

Ottoman army to Ardabil does not lead the *şah* to deepen the war, but rather to plea to the sultan to spare the city.¹⁶⁸

The third miniature of the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* depicts the presents that were sent by the Safavid *şah* to the Ottoman sultan (Fig. 3).¹⁶⁹ As the text recounts, the march of the Ottoman army toward Ardabil frightens *Şah ‘Abbās*. For this reason, he sends a letter to *Ḥalîl Paşa*, in which he asks the Ottomans to show mercy. *Ḥalîl Paşa* agrees, on the condition that the Safavid *şah* send a hundred loads of silk every year to the Ottoman sultan and that the practice of *tabarra*¹⁷⁰ would be banned in the Safavid lands. The response of *Şah ‘Abbās* to these demands is recorded in *Nâdirî*’s verse, and the tone of it is extremely deferential to the sultan and compliant with the terms of their accord. The content of the letter, as provided by *Nâdirî*, helps us to understand how *Nâdirî* intended to portray the Safavid *şah* in relation to the Ottoman sultan:

I am only a slave and he is the *şah* who owns the throne
I am only a mote and he is the luminous sun
I am only a drop and he is the ocean that surrounds the world
I am only a dust of the earth and he is the main land.¹⁷¹

These words, which *Nâdirî* puts into *Şah ‘Abbās*’ letter, are indicative of the Ottoman image of the relative status quo between the Safavid *şah* and the Ottoman sultan. The *şah* is imagined as a weak subordinate in relation to the majesty of the Ottoman sultan, and this position is made clear through the words that *Nâdirî* has chosen for the *şah*’s response. These verses seem designed to support the notion that the fight between the Ottomans and the Safavids was one between a lord and a disobedient vassal, and that the resolution of the war came about because the *şah* finally recognized his status and made amends to the sultan; this notion, however, does not reflect historical reality.

¹⁶⁸ Kûlekçi, *ibid*, 347; TPML, H.1124, f. 21a.

¹⁶⁹ TPML, H.1124, f. 24b-25a.

¹⁷⁰ *Tabarra*’, the Arabo-Persian usage of the Arabic word *tabarru*’ or *tabarrî*, came to connote the ritual practice of cursing some of the companions of Prophet Muhammad, especially Ebû Bekir, ‘Ömer, and ‘Osmân. *Tabarra*’ was officially practiced under Safavids until *Şah İsmâ‘îl II* (r. 1576–1577) abolished it. However, the ritual continued to be practiced unofficially. J. Calmard, “*Tabarru*’, *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), 10:20-22.

¹⁷¹ Kûlekçi, “*Gani-zâde Nâdirî*,” 349; TPML, H.1124, f. 22a-22b.

After positioning himself as a humble servant of ‘Osmān II, Şah ‘Abbās continues his letter by writing that he is willing to accede to Ḥalīl Paşa’s demands, which is to say, a hundred loads of silk every year. He adds that he will send countless gifts along with the required amount of silk, and will furthermore ban the practice of *tabarra*. He continues by adding that “Those who practice *tabarra* are now the slaves of Sunnis”¹⁷² again providing the Ottoman reader with a reference to the relative status of the Shi‘ites and Sunnis, which in turn parallels the disparity between the şah and the sultan.

The terms of the treaty that are quoted in *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* seem to be in accordance with what is narrated in other sources of the period. Nādirī repeatedly mentions that one hundred loads of silk will be sent by Şah ‘Abbās to the Ottoman sultan every year, and that practice of *tabarra* will be banned in the Safavid realm. Other terms, which we can gather from other sources, included the settlement of border related issues, such as the adoption of the borderlines that had been determined in the earlier treaty made between Suleyman I and Şah Ṭahmāsb, in 1555.¹⁷³

Despite Nādirī’s general faithfulness to reality regarding the terms of agreement, his description of the treaty as a victory for Ottomans differs from other contemporary sources that report on the Ottoman-Safavid wars of early seventeenth century. In fact, the result of this conflict was far from being in the Ottomans’ favor. Despite the on-and-off battles that had been carried out since the reign of Aḥmed I, Ottomans received much less in the final peace settlement than they had originally demanded. Contrary to the glorious image that Nādirī provides, with the Treaty of Serav that settled the conflict in 1618, the Ottomans were forced to step back and agree to conditions that they had previously rejected.¹⁷⁴

As Nādirī relates, the letter continues by asking Ḥalīl Paşa to postpone to deadline for the reception of the tribute, writing that, as winter is approaching, it would be impossible to send the gifts while the roads are blocked by snow. He suggests, instead, to send the tribute in the following spring. His request is accepted, and Ḥalīl Paşa returns to

¹⁷² Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 349; TPML, H.1124, f. 22b.

¹⁷³ Özer Kūpeli, *Osmanlı Safevi Münasebetleri*, (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2014), 120.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*.

the Ottoman capital. Nādirī's description of Ḥalīl Paşa's return to İstanbul is somewhat evasive. He quickly mentions that, after a difficult march back to the capital under severe winter conditions, the grand vizier went immediately to visit the sultan. Upon meeting, 'Osmān II praises Ḥalīl Paşa and honors him with another robe of honor. However, as Nādirī relates, since Ḥalīl Paşa "suffered plenty from the troubles of campaigns, he wished to be at ease from then on."¹⁷⁵ For this reason, Halil Paşa requests that he be transferred, and conveys his wishes to take up the role of grand admiral; according to Nādirī, the sultan accepts this request and grants Ḥalīl Paşa his commission.¹⁷⁶ Nādirī, in this way, elegantly explains the apparent decrease in Ḥalīl Paşa's following the grand vizier's unsuccessful campaign against Safavid Iran.¹⁷⁷

Although Ḥalīl Paşa is described as being tired of troublesome campaigns, he does not retire from battles for long. We encounter him again very shortly in the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*, going on a naval campaign against Manfredonia in the Italian peninsula. His last appearance in the manuscript is in the miniature depicting this campaign (Fig. 4).¹⁷⁸ The passage in which Nādirī narrates the Manfredonia campaign of Ḥalīl Paşa starts with verses of praise towards his fleet: "The renowned vizier who is magically brave, led his galleys as if he rode dragons."¹⁷⁹ "And he aimed for the clime of Polye, to which he proceeded with his wings wide spread."¹⁸⁰ Nādirī then continues by describing the city of Manfredonia, as "the Egypt or Damascus of the infidels".¹⁸¹ He describes the beauty and the impregnability of the fortress.

Only after that, does Nādirī recount the battle between the Ottoman soldiers and the soldiers defending the castle, who hide behind the walls of the fortress, their black hats sticking out from behind the fortifications. After firing on the walls from some distance

¹⁷⁵ Kūlekçi, "Gani-zāde Nādirī," 350-351; TPML, H.1124, f. 23a-23b.

¹⁷⁶ Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 350-351; TPML, H.1124, f. 23a-23b.

¹⁷⁷ Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 235.

¹⁷⁸ TPML, H.1124, f. 40b-41a.

¹⁷⁹ Kūlekçi, "Gani-zāde Nādirī," 370; TPML, H.1124, f. 38b.

¹⁸⁰ Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 371; TPML, H.1124, f. 39a.

¹⁸¹ Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 371-372; TPML, H.1124, f. 39a-39b.

away, the Ottoman soldiers move close to the fortress and place their ladders on the walls; they are, with some difficulty, able to enter the city. After a long fight, the fortress is surrendered to the Ottoman navy. Hālil Paşa decides that the city is too far from the Abode of Islam and refuses to capture it, instead ordering his soldiers to pillage it and take everything of value. Although Nādirī does not provide us here with nearly as detailed a description as he did for the capture of Tabriz, he does describe the looting of Manfredonia in a short passage that also includes a description of the destruction of the town church. Finally, Hālil Paşa goes back to İstanbul, and is honored by the sultan once again for his service. He stays on as the grand admiral, and is given gifts of gold, silver, and precious textiles.¹⁸²

3.2. ‘Ali Paşa

‘Ali Paşa (d. 1621) is the commander of the second campaign that Nādirī has included in his work. Known alongside the cognomens Güzelce and İstanköylü, ‘Ali Paşa was a prominent figure in the court of ‘Osmān II. He was born in İstanköy (Kos), and successfully worked his way up to the palace through various positions in Damietta, Tunisia and Cyprus, as well as by offering generous gifts to the sultans Aḥmed I and ‘Osmān II.¹⁸³ He became the grand admiral of the Ottoman navy in 1617, only to be dismissed a very short time afterwards due to his loss of eleven Ottoman galleys during a storm in the Mediterranean; despite this, he was re-assigned to the same position shortly afterwards.¹⁸⁴ His successful naval campaign on the Mediterranean in 1619 earned him a position as the grand vizier.¹⁸⁵ In contrast to his favorable position in ‘Osmān II’s eyes, ‘Ali Paşa was unpopular among other state officials because of his financial policies; notably, he confiscated the properties of statesmen in order to provide the treasury with new

¹⁸² Külekçi, *ibid*, 374; TPML, H.1124, f. 41b-42a.

¹⁸³ R. Mantran, “‘Ali Pasha, Güzeldje’, *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), 1:395; Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 132-36; Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 242-45.

¹⁸⁴ R. Mantran, *ibid*, 395.

¹⁸⁵ R. Mantran, *ibid*; Değirmenci, *ibid*, 243; Baki Tezcan, *ibid*, 132.

funds.¹⁸⁶ ‘Ali Paşa was also known to support ‘Osmān II’s decision to personally lead the Polish campaign in 1621.¹⁸⁷ The influence of ‘Ali Paşa in ‘Osmān II’s decision to lead the campaign, however, is not mentioned in the chapter in which Nādirī narrates the *dīvān* meeting where this issue was discussed. In fact, the grand vizier died while he was still in Istanbul during the preparations for the campaign.¹⁸⁸

‘Ali Paşa features in one of the chapters of *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*, which includes a description of his naval campaign in 1619. The chapter comes right after the one that recounts the settlement of the war with the Safavids after Ḥalīl Paşa’s eastern campaign and the delivery of tribute to İstanbul. Ḥalīl Paşa was dismissed from the grand vizierate after the unsuccessful Safavid campaign, but remained as a lesser vizier and a member of the *dīvān*. He was assigned as the grand admiral in December 1619. The naval campaign of ‘Ali Paşa took place during the year that Ḥalīl Paşa was absent from both grand vizierate and the grand admiralty.

The chapter on ‘Ali Paşa’s naval campaign begins with ‘Osmān II’s order to defeat the “infidels of the sea.”¹⁸⁹ Nādirī uses several words to describe the enemy ‘Ali Paşa is fighting against, including *küffār*, *frenk*, and *eşkıyā*, words which all connote European pirates. The later seventeenth-century sources do not provide us with a great deal of detailed information on ‘Ali Paşa’s naval campaign in the Mediterranean, although Na‘īmā does mention that ‘Ali Paşa captured several galleons in 1619, bringing a vast amount of spoils back to the sultan, and that this service earned him a position as the grand vizier.¹⁹⁰ According to Na‘īmā, the previous grand vizier Meḥmed Paşa was unhappy with this arrangement and claimed that ‘Ali Paşa acquired these spoils, not from battle, but from a prior agreement with the Venetians and French; he further claimed that ‘Ali Paşa had actually acquired much more booty than he had revealed to the sultan. Despite these claims, however, Meḥmed Paşa nevertheless lost his title to ‘Ali Paşa.¹⁹¹ The *mühimme*

¹⁸⁶ Değirmenci, *ibid*, 243-244; Baki Tezcan, *ibid*, 132-133.

¹⁸⁷ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi 3. Cilt* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), 140.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*.

¹⁸⁹ Külekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 353; TPML, H.1124, f. 26a.

¹⁹⁰ Na‘īmā, 450.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*.

registers record that ‘Ali Paşa protected the Mediterranean throughout the year from pirates, particularly in the region of Morea where they had become especially strong.¹⁹² The expedition of ‘Ali Paşa that is recounted in the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* is, essentially, an episode of ‘Ali Paşa’s larger mission to combat piracy in the Mediterranean.

According to the text, ‘Ali Paşa set sail following the orders of the sultan. As Nâdirî recounts, “he equipped his navy at once with countless galleys full of the tools of war.”¹⁹³ Nâdirî offers us with a rather lengthy and detailed description of the navy of ‘Ali Paşa; it seems that he was somewhat fascinated by it. The forked banners of the ships are likened to *zûlfikâr*, the sword of the Caliph ‘Ali, who is a figure Nâdirî often references when discussing the bravery of Ottoman soldiers. The golden banners on the ship’s masts are also said to gleam like the sun shining over a cypress. The galleys are described as “rose-colored,” and the sea upon which they sail is likened to a green meadow. As beautiful as Nâdirî’s imagery is, however, he also makes clear that these ships are strong and formidable machines of war: “Like a dragon with forty feet, they topple the ships of the foe.”¹⁹⁴

‘Ali Paşa first sails to the Arab coast with the aim of “protecting the Mediterranean.”¹⁹⁵ He captures “three galleons of infidels” in Sidon without battle, “each resembling a black mountain adorned with charming banners,” or “an elephant with its trunk at the front.”¹⁹⁶ ‘Ali Paşa takes the crew of the galleons as prisoners and the cargo as booty. He then proceeds to the western Aegean coast and encounters two other galleons. These two galleons do not submit easily; a large battle takes place between them and Ottoman navy. The cannons of the galleons manage to strike the Ottoman galleys, but they do them as little harm as “a bullet would hurt a dragon.”¹⁹⁷ Finally, the Ottoman navy

¹⁹² “82 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (1026–1027 / 1617–1618),” (Ankara: T.C. Basbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 2000).

¹⁹³ Külekçi, “Gani-zâde Nâdirî,” 354; TPML, H.1124, f. 26a.

¹⁹⁴ Külekçi, *ibid*, 354; TPML, H.1124, f. 26b.

¹⁹⁵ Külekçi, *ibid*, 355; TPML, H.1124, f. 27a.

¹⁹⁶ “Anun her biri bir ‘aceb kara tağ / Nice dil-keş a’lâm ile üsti bağ. / Ya hüd her biri pîl-i merdüm rübâ / Ki pîşinde hortumu var pür-hevâ.” Külekçi, *ibid*, 355; TPML, H.1124, f. 27a.

¹⁹⁷ Külekçi, *ibid*, 356; TPML, H.1124, f. 28a.

seizes the two galleons, as well as “many more smaller ships that the author could not possibly cover in his writing.”¹⁹⁸

The next destination of ‘Ali Paşa’s navy is Ağrıboz (Euboea). The grand admiral receives word that the navies of his rivals are planning a raid on the Ottoman fleet, and he decides to strike them first. “The captain of the infidels” chooses to flee the battle instead of staying to fight.¹⁹⁹ ‘Ali Paşa chases him down to Navarin (Navarino),²⁰⁰ but he cannot catch the enemy’s ships, which prove to be faster and nimbler than those of the Ottomans; for this reason, he decides to abandon the hunt and return to the capital.

‘Ali Paşa returns to Istanbul with an “unprecedented” amount of booty.²⁰¹ He presents “eighty loads of cash, thousands and thousands of woolen and silk fabrics, and innumerable prisoners” to ‘Osmān II.²⁰² The sultan is so pleased with ‘Ali Paşa’s service that he not only rewards him with precious gifts, but also promotes him to the grand vizierate in 1619.

The miniature in this chapter is different in composition from the other miniatures of *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* (Fig. 5).²⁰³ These two pages are covered in a depiction of the sea, with battle ships sailing over it, and a small landscape with a fortress on the top-left corner of the left side page. We can easily recognize the rose-colored galleys of ‘Ali Paşa, which are depicted, in accordance with Nādirī’s description, with numerous oars and red and golden banners. The black ships in the miniature are identified as the galleons that were captured by the Ottomans.²⁰⁴ The miniature does not feature any recognizable characters, even omitting ‘Ali Paşa, the main protagonist of the chapter. The painting is, in fact, a portrayal of the strength of the Ottoman navy, rather than a portrayal of individuals who played a role in the event.

¹⁹⁸ Külekçi, *ibid*, 357; TPML, H.1124, f. 29b.

¹⁹⁹ Külekçi, *ibid*, 358; TPML, H.1124, f. 29b.

²⁰⁰ The name of the port appears as “Avarin” in the text. Külekçi, *ibid*, 358; TPML, H.1124, f. 29b.

²⁰¹ Külekçi, *ibid*, 358; TPML, H.1124, f. 30a.

²⁰² Külekçi, *ibid*, 358; TPML, H.1124, f. 30a.

²⁰³ TPML, H.1124, f. 28b-29a.

²⁰⁴ Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 244.

3.3. İskender Paşa

The Polish campaign of İskender Paşa (d. 1621), the governor of Özi (Ochakov), is also recounted in the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, yet it is neither the first nor the last conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the early seventeenth century. In fact, by that time, Crimean raids into Polish lands and Cossack attacks into the Black Sea - even into the suburban areas of Istanbul - had caused severe problems in the relations between the two states.²⁰⁵ Ottomans were also not content with Polish interference in the operations of an Ottoman vassal, the Moldavian voivodeship.²⁰⁶ Following an settlement signed between the Ottomans and the Poles - the negotiations for which were handled in 1617 by İskender Paşa and the Polish grand hetman, or commander, Stanislaw Zolkiewski (d. 1620) - the two sides agreed that the Poles would prevent the Cossacks from raiding in the Black Sea and would not get involved in Moldavian affairs, and that, in return, the Ottomans would prevent the Crimeans from attacking Polish lands.²⁰⁷ These terms were almost immediately violated by both sides, however, and the occupation of the fortress of Hotin by the Poles added to the tension.²⁰⁸ This dispute once more erupted into open conflict, resulting in the Battle of Tutoresca in 1620, which is narrated in *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* as the campaign of İskender Paşa against the “*kansler*, the commander of the infidels;” namely, Stanislaw Zolkiewski.²⁰⁹

The chapter starts with the rebellious acts of “the Polish brigands.”²¹⁰ As Nâdirî writes, “They placed themselves near Özi, building many strongholds and plenty of boats called *şayka* to acquire whatever they desire. Having sailed from Özi to the Black Sea, they

²⁰⁵ Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, “A historical outline of Polish-Ottoman political and diplomatic relations” in *War and Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th-19th Centuries* ed. Selim Kangal (İstanbul: Turkish Republic Ministry of Culture, 1999), 25; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi 3. Cilt* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), 139-40.

²⁰⁶ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *ibid*, 139.

²⁰⁷ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *ibid*; Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, “A historical outline of Polish-Ottoman political and diplomatic relations” in *War and Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th-19th Centuries* ed. Selim Kangal (İstanbul: Turkish Republic Ministry of Culture, 1999), 25.

²⁰⁸ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *ibid*, 140.

²⁰⁹ Külekçi “Gani-zâde Nâdirî,” 364; TPML, H.1124, f. 33a.

²¹⁰ Külekçi, *ibid*, 359; TPML, H.1124, f. 30a.

caused much villainy.”²¹¹ The Polish king is reproached over the actions of the brigands. He responds by saying, “There is a group of a people who are called the Cossacks. They are not under our command, nor do they abide by our customs.”²¹² The Ottomans clearly do not accept this excuse, as Nādirī continues by writing that “These words were sheer lies to cover his corruption.”²¹³ According to Nādirī, “Cossack is the name of those Polish bullies who are rebellious robbers.”²¹⁴ The Ottoman sultan warns the Polish king that he should control the Cossacks or else there will be war. However, these threats do not deter the king.

The sultan puts İskender Paşa in charge of the attack on the Poles; furthermore, he orders the Tatar prince Kalgay Sultan to support him in this campaign. İskender Paşa sends word to Kalgay Sultan and embarks upon his expedition to Poland. The journey is described by Nādirī, who gives us details about the composition and equipment of the army. As he writes: “By [İskender Paşa’s] side were the Rumelian soldiers, the foremost brave men of those lands.”²¹⁵ The military garments and weaponry of the soldiers are depicted in a rather grandiose manner in the text; examples include, “Some slayed a wolf and made a crown for himself out of its fur,” and “Each brave warrior is burning in the flames of hatred, wearing its smoke like wings of a crane.”²¹⁶

As İskender Paşa and his army arrive at the Polish border, Kalgay Sultan and his army ride out to meet them. “Thousands of Tatar soldiers were looking for war.”²¹⁷ The fighting skills of the Tatar soldiers are then eulogized: “They are as skilled archers as Rüstem, and they could hit the eye of an ant if they aimed at it. Their arrows could pass through granite, and pierce the sky like sunbeams.”²¹⁸ The repeated and lofty descriptions of the soldier’s garments and weaponry, together with their valor and expertise in warfare, is characteristic of the *Şehnâme-i Nādirī* and appears in this passage as a regular motif. We

²¹¹ Külekcı, *ibid*, 359; TPML, H.1124, f. 30a-30b.

²¹² Külekcı, *ibid*, 359; TPML, H.1124, f. 30b.

²¹³ Külekcı, *ibid*, 359; TPML, H.1124, f. 30b

²¹⁴ Külekcı, *ibid*, 360; TPML, H.1124, f. 30b

²¹⁵ Külekcı, *ibid*, 361; TPML, H.1124, f. 31b.

²¹⁶ Külekcı, *ibid*, 361; TPML, H.1124, f. 31b.

²¹⁷ Külekcı, *ibid*, 362; TPML, H.1124, f. 32a.

²¹⁸ Külekcı, *ibid*, 362; TPML, H.1124, f. 32a.

encounter much the same discourse in the chapters on Hālī Paşa's and 'Osmān II's campaigns, in which Nādirī portrays have a repetitive tone; the proficiency of the Ottoman soldiers with various kind of weapons render them each akin to Rüstem, the great warrior of Firdevsī's *Şāhnāme*.²¹⁹

As the Ottoman and Tatar armies mobilize and come together, the Polish king receives the news of the Ottoman advance and begins to prepare his army. As Nādirī writes, "The sultans of infidels" aided him with silver, soldier and food supplies.²²⁰ They formed a great army under the command of the *kansler*, Stanislaw Zolkiewski.²²¹ Nādirī describes Zolkiewski as a powerful commander: "He had fifty castles of his own, as well as countless towns and villages. He paid tribute to the king with his bravery, but he does not often take refuge in him. He was an independent king on those lands with a high position and his own soldiers. The king praised him and presented him the robes of honor of a commander. He assigned him as the commander of the soldiers of error."²²² As the narrative progresses, the army of Stanislaw Zolkiewski encounters the "soldiers of Islam". They camp backed by the River Prut, and construct moats on the remaining three sides of the camp. Ottoman soldiers take their places directly across from the Polish army. Nādirī ends his chapter with the two armies' confrontation, cutting to some distiches about wine and music; this literary device provides the reader with a sort of "cliffhanger" ending and gives a brief pause between the scenes of intense fighting and the complexity of the continuous narrative.

The next chapter begins with a kind of prelude, offering us with a description of the morning before the battle of İskender Paşa's and Zolkiewski's armies. When the narrative returns to the battle scene, the text speaks of a frenzied clash which is dominated by the noise and dust of cannon fire and the sounds of rifles fired by both sides. "Enchanted by war," İskender Paşa fearlessly enters into the dark smoke of the battle.²²³ Following this, Kalgay Sultan also enters the fray; the Tatar commander "attacked the infidels with the

²¹⁹ For the full text of these descriptions, see Appendix.

²²⁰ Külekçi, *ibid*, 363; TPML, H.1124, f. 32b.

²²¹ Külekçi, *ibid*, 363; TPML, H.1124, f. 32b.

²²² Külekçi, *ibid*, 363; TPML, H.1124, f. 32b.

²²³ Külekçi, *ibid*, 366; TPML, H.1124, f. 35a.

moves of a lion.”²²⁴ The soldiers devote their lives to the fight, and those who die from gunfire and other wounds become martyrs, gaining the favor of the God.

After this description of the battle, Nādirī tells us that the two armies cease to fight at night and they resume the battle again in the following morning. The battle lasts for four days, and on the fifth day the enemy begins to retreat. The Ottoman army chases them to the River Dniester. Squeezed between the Ottoman army and the river, the Polish army is “devastated.” Some of them drown in the river, while others are cut down by the swords of the Ottomans.

As the Ottoman army proves victorious in the battle, the Moldavian Voivode Casper Gratiani, called in the text “Gaşper, the leader of the people of Boğdan” (*ser-i hayl-i Boğdan olan Gaşper*), is killed by the “commanders of Islam” on the battle-field.²²⁵ He is not the only commander to be killed in the Battle of Tutora. The *kansler*, Zolkiewski, “wanted to escape, leaving his belongings behind.”²²⁶ However, a soldier catches up with him while he is running away and beheads him. Later, the head of the *kansler* is sent to the sultan. Nādirī reserves a passage of considerable length for the death of the *kansler*, emphasizing the temporality of life even for the most powerful among us. “That head, which did not bow for İskender [Paşa] was slammed on the ground by the hand of the wrath. That head, which was taller than the skies, now disappeared among blood and earth.”²²⁷

Nādirī refers to several well-known figures of Firdevsi’s *Şāhnāme* in the passage on the death of Zolkiewski. He refers to Rüstem, one of the most popular Persian kings in the epic, known for his physical strength and fighting skills.²²⁸ As he writes, “The lowly world renders even Rüstems weak in the end.” implying that even the strongest will die.²²⁹ Another character Nādirī refers to is Afrāsiyāb, when he writes that the garden in which

²²⁴ Külekcı, *ibid*, 366; TPML, H.1124, f. 35a.

²²⁵ Külekcı, *ibid*, 368; TPML, H.1124, f. 37a.

²²⁶ Külekcı, *ibid*, 368; TPML, H.1124, f. 37a.

²²⁷ Külekcı, *ibid*, 369; TPML, H.1124, f. 37b.

²²⁸ Abolqasem Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh: The Persian Book of Kings*, trans. Dick Davis (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 104-106, 135-137, 154-155.

²²⁹ Külekcı, *ibid*, 369; TPML, H.1124, f. 37b.

Afrāsiyāb once lived in is now sadly in ruins. Afrāsiyāb is the foremost Turanian king whose stories are told in the *Šāhnāme*, embodying the rivalry between Iran and Turan that constitutes a theme of central importance in the Persian epic.²³⁰ He is an evil yet sharp and strong commander, rather similar to the image of the *kansler* in Nādirī's poem. Afrāsiyāb lives a very long life, but even he is not capable of defeating death. There is also a reference to the Macedonian king Alexander the Great, another hero of the *Šāhnāme*, as well as *Īskendernāme*, who is depicted as a wise and able conqueror. As Nādirī writes, "The old bridge that Īskender passed through is now full of villainy."²³¹

The miniature depicting the battle between Īskender Paşa's and Zolkiewski's armies displays the moment most favorable to the fortunes of the Ottoman army (Fig. 6).²³² It displays both the scene of the battle itself, and the commanders of the Ottoman and Tatar armies overseeing the action. The central figure on the right-hand page, who is depicted on his horse in the midst of the Ottoman soldiers, must be Īskender Paşa. Indeed, Kalgay Sultan is depicted on the background of the same page, mounted and accompanied by Tatar soldiers, in a very similar manner. The left-side page matches Nādirī's text well. It shows Ottoman and Tatar soldiers clearly pressing their advantage over the Polish army; as Nādirī's text recounts, the Polish soldiers are shown being driven to the riverbank by the Ottoman and Tatar soldiers, and attempting to escape towards the river.

The two mounted figures in the foreground of the same page are of particular interest. We see an Ottoman soldier killing a rival by stabbing him in the neck with his sword, as the attacked soldier attempts to escape in the direction of the river. Judging by his grey beard and his characteristic golden helmet with an aigrette, the Polish soldier who is being killed could in fact be a depiction of the Polish commander Stanislaw Zolkiewski, who would have been seventy-three years old at the time. While there is little other evidence to support this assertion, when we consider that the slaying of the *kansler* takes up a considerable portion of the accompanying text, and that Nādirī's distiches tell us that Zolkiewski was

²³⁰Abolqasem Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh: The Persian Book of Kings*, trans. Dick Davis (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 110-130; E. Yarshater, "Afrasiab," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/6, (2012), pp. 570-576.

²³¹ Kulekçi, *ibid*, 369; TPML, H.1124, f. 38a.

²³² TPML, H.1124, f. 35b-36a.

beheaded by an Ottoman soldier while fleeing from fear,²³³ it seems reasonably safe to attribute this figure to him.

3.4. Karakaş Meḥmed Paşa

In one of the chapters of *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, three further events are narrated together. These are the conquest of Vac, by Karakaş Meḥmed Paşa (d. 1621), the Governor of Budin; İskender Ağa's march on Abyssinia; and the recapture of Basra by Afrâsiyâb (d. 1624), the governor of that particular province. Unfortunately, the pages of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library copy of the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* which recount the story of Karakaş Meḥmed Paşa's conquest of the Castle of Vac are no longer extant in the manuscript; instead of these pages, pages containing prayers to God (*münâcât*) praises of the Prophet Muḥammed (*n'at*), and the narration of the prophet's *mi'rac*, or ascension, (*mi'râciyye*) are culled from another part of the book and used to replace the missing pages²³⁴ These pages are traditionally part of the introduction to a work in the *mesnevî* format, in which *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* was written, and so we can assume that they originally belonged to the first few chapters of the book.²³⁵

We are able to follow the lost pages in the Topkapı copy via Külekçi's transcription, which is based upon the other surviving copies of the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*.²³⁶ Nâdirî starts the chapter with a description of Vac, a fortress near the River Danube, from which tribute was paid to the Ottomans. Nâdirî praises the town, similarly to how he had previously admired Manfredonia in the chapter on Ḥalîl Paşa's naval campaign. He describes the beauty of the fortress, its impregnability, and the power and skills of the soldiers who protect the fortress. He further praises the bounty of the surrounding lands: "The garden of paradise is jealous of those lands that yields three hundred thousand *dirhems* of produce every day."²³⁷ Nâdirî

²³³ "Koyup bār u büngâhını Kansler / Firār ihtiyār itdi hün der-ciger

Düşüp ardına bir dilîr-i cihân / Kesüp başını itdi kanın revân." Külekçi, "Gani-zâde Nâdirî," 368; TPML, H.1124, f. 37a.

²³⁴ TPML, H.1124, f. 42a-45b.

²³⁵ E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry Volume 1* (London: Luzac & Co., 1900), 76-77.

²³⁶ Külekçi, "Gani-zâde Nâdirî," 375-76.

²³⁷ Külekçi, *ibid*, 375.

leaves us with an impression of an impossibly strong fortress, rich in treasure, which only the majesty of the Ottoman army can overcome.

Nādirī continues by explaining the rationale for the campaign. Vac was conquered and annexed to Budin, and had been a part of the abode of Islam for several years. However, “the great king of Nemçe” - that is to say, the Habsburg emperor – had upset this situation by seizing Vac. Karakaş Meḥmed Paşa is sent to Budin as the governor, and he sees that the province has become ruined by “the infidels.”²³⁸ After “adorning those lands with his justice,” he desires to reconquer Vac. In contrast to the other chapters of *Şehnâme-i Nādirī*, in which various battles are embellished by grandiose and epic detail, here there is no description whatsoever of the conduct of the battle during Karakaş Meḥmed Paşa’s reconquest of Vac. In only five distiches, Nādirī remarks upon both the fast journey of Meḥmed Paşa to Vac, likening him to the archangel Gabriel; his arrival to the castle and his easy entry inside, due to the inattentiveness of the guards; and, finally, his conquest of the fortress. The brevity of the account of the conquest suggests that, despite the formidable description of the fortress in the text, Meḥmed Paşa was able to take the castle without much of a struggle; indeed, Na’īmā’s short account of the conquest of Vac by Meḥmed Paşa remarks that it took place via a cordial arrangement, and did not interrupt the peace that had already been established between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs.²³⁹

3.5. İskender Ağa and Afrāsiyāb

After describing the activities of Karakaş Meḥmed Paşa, Nādirī’s account continues by detailing İskender Ağa’s march on Abyssinia, followed by Afrāsiyāb’s recapture of Basra. Both figures are not viziers, and are therefore not referred to in the text by titles such as “vezīr-i hatīr” or paşa. In fact, their names do not even appear in the title: the title of the chapter on Karakaş Meḥmed Paşa, İskender Ağa and Afrāsiyāb reads “The conquest of the Fortress of Vac near Budin by Karakaş Paşa and the conquest of the province of Abyssinia

²³⁸ Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 376.

²³⁹ Na’īmâ, 458.

and the annexation of the province of Basra by the servants of the felicitous conqueror.”²⁴⁰ In contrast with the other headings of the book, which regularly include the names of the commanders whose campaigns are recounted in the relevant chapter, the second part of the title does not mention İskender Ağa’s and Afrāsiyāb’s names or positions. In fact, the only mention of İskender Ağa in the text comes about when Nādirī writes that he eventually became the governor of the province of Abyssinia, following the success of the campaign.²⁴¹ The text’s reference to Afrāsiyāb is limited as well. Nādirī only refers to an “ağa of the riflemen” (*ağası tüfengīlerin*), named Afrāsiyāb, who leads the intervention in Basra.²⁴² Although the inclusion of their stories in *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* demonstrates their significance to Nādirī and to the patron of the book, they appear as more distant figures because of the limited references in the text to their names, positions and deeds.

Nevertheless, Nādirī does offer us concise summaries of these events. As he recounts, the former governor of the province of Abyssinia, Maḥmūd Paşa, is betrayed by his deputy and killed by his soldiers. This deputy then takes control over the province. The sultan assigns İskender Ağa as the new governor of Abyssinia, and sends him there to restore order. Nādirī does not record the name of the mutinous deputy, but rather refers to him only as “the traitor,” with an occasional reference to his position as *kethüdā*. “The traitor” manages to escape to the Indian Ocean, but as he is sailing across the sea his ship sinks and he perishes. İskender Ağa enters the fortress of Sevakin, the residence of the governor of Abyssinia, and asserts his control over the rebellious province.

Following this, he briefly recounts events in Basra for the final portion of the chapter. An Arab emir, Mübārek (d. 1616-17), conquers the environs of Basra with the help of the Safavids, before passing away and leaving two sons behind. The sons fight for command of the lands their father conquered, but both die in battle. Although Külekçi refers to the subject of this chapter as “The conquest of Vac by Karakaş Mehmed Paşa, and

²⁴⁰ Külekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 375.

²⁴¹The event is recorded in a brief passage in Na’îmā’s account, which does not provide the name of İskender Ağa. “Habeş halkı, beylerbeyileri Mahmud Paşa’yı katl eyleyip cadde-i itâ’atten inhirâf göstermişler idi. Serkeşlerinin başı kesilip müceddeden teshîr ve kılâde-i itâ’ate idhâl olunmaları babında hüsn-i tedbir olundu.” *Na’îmâ*, 458. A list of Ottoman governors of Abyssinia does not include İskender Ağa’s name either. See Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti* (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1974), 183-84.

²⁴² Külekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 379.

the march of İskender Ağa on Abyssinia and Basra,”²⁴³ the recapture of Basra was actually accomplished by Afrāsiyāb, the governor of Basra, who had bought the right to control the province from the previous Ottoman governor, ‘Ali Paşa, in 1596.²⁴⁴ As Nādirī writes, Afrāsiyāb seizes the opportunity to attack and conquer the lands around Basra following the deaths of Mübārek’s heirs. He characterizes Afrāsiyāb as a kind of Rüstem-like figure, the agha of the riflemen. Although the enemy is numerous and strong, Afrāsiyāb is able to overcome them with ease. “He drowns the Arab soldiers in the earth, and defeated the Iranians.”²⁴⁵ In the end, more than thirty fortresses are captured, and all of the lands around Basra are conquered; Afrāsiyāb is ultimately victorious.

Şehnāme-i Nādirī recounts nine military campaigns and interventions in total, and only one of them is led by the sultan. The remaining eight are led by other commanders, including the Grand Vizier and Grand Admiral Ḥalīl Paşa; the Grand Admiral ‘Ali Paşa; the Governor of Özi, İskender Paşa; the Governor of Budin Karakaş, Mehmed Paşa; the Governor of Abyssinia, İskender Ağa; and the Governor of Basra, Afrāsiyāb. There is a clear difference in the way that Nādirī treats the first four figures in comparison to İskender Ağa and Afrāsiyāb, particularly in terms of how extensively they are referred to and accounted for in the book. Besides this disparity, however, the other four paşas are hardly given equal treatment either. As an example, while Ḥalīl Paşa’s campaigns cover a considerable part of the book – there are five chapters on his campaigns and three miniatures which depict him - ‘Ali Paşa is not even depicted in the only miniature that accompanies the chapter on his campaign.

Nevertheless, there are also repeated themes and motifs in all of these chapters that give a stylistic consistency to the work. İskender Paşa’s campaign in Poland, for example, is recounted in extensive detail, and at several points resembles the discourse of those chapters which detail Ḥalīl Paşa’s campaign. A common motif that occurs in both sections

²⁴³ Külekcı, *ibid*, 44.

²⁴⁴ Rudi Matthee, “Basra Between Arabs, Turks and Iranians: The Town of Basra 1600-1700,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 69 (2006): 53-78.

²⁴⁵ Külekcı, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 379; TPML, H.1124, f. 47a.

of the text is the unwavering valor and nobility of the Ottoman army, observable in the appearance, actions and skills of the soldiers. The text's description and praise of 'Ali Paşa's navy also emphasizes the strength and capability of the Ottoman military forces. The importance of obedience is another point that is regularly repeated in these chapters. The relationship of obedience and reward between H̄alil Paşa and Tatar han Cānbek Giray, as they fight against Şah 'Abbās and the Governor of Tabriz Q̄arçığāy H̄an, are paralleled in İskender Paşa's collaboration with Kalgay Sultan against the Polish commander Stanislaw Zolkiewski and his ally, the Moldavian Voivode Casper Gratiani. İskender Ağa's and Afrāsiyāb's marches on Abyssinia and Basra are also reactions against the disobedience of lesser actors: the mutinous deputy of Maḥmud Paşa, and Mübārek's heirs, respectively. Overall, these chapters seek to portray an Ottoman army that is unwaveringly strong and capable, even when it is led, not by the sultan himself, but by the adept commanders that he assigns.

4. THE IMAGE OF THE SULTAN IN THE *ŞEHNĀME-İ NĀDIRĪ*

In keeping with the *ġāzi*-sultan image he wished to project, ‘Osmān II (r. 1618 – 1622) is depicted in the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* as a heroic military character, particularly in regards to the various deeds recounted in the last chapters of the book. These chapters narrate his counsel in the *dīvān* regarding an upcoming campaign in Poland, his departure from Istanbul for the Polish campaign, and his expedition through Edirne to the River Danube; they culminate in his battle with the son of the Polish king in Hotin, his return from the campaign, and, finally, his arrival back in the Ottoman capital. Each of these chapters is illustrated with a miniature that complements the imagery produced by the text.²⁴⁶ In fact, the text and the miniatures are equally effective in forming the image of ‘Osmān II as a *ġāzi*-sultan, for the scenes chosen to be illustrated are drawn from the many heroic events recounted in the text, and their compositions reflect notions of an ideal *ġāzi*-sultan in a military setting.

The participation of sultans on military campaigns had long been an issue in the Ottoman narrative sources, and this was particularly so by ‘Osmān II’s time; many of the sources pointed to those sultans who had reigned after Süleymān I, and the considerable decrease in their mobility and military activity, as the reason for recent Ottoman defeats and the cause of the eventual decline of the Empire.²⁴⁷ That ‘Osmān II worked to revive the *ġāzi*-sultan image can be deduced from several of his actions during his short reign.²⁴⁸ The most clearly visible of these was his participation in the Hotin campaign. There are other actions, however, that can also be interpreted as contributions to his incipient image as a *ġāzi*-sultan; notably, this includes his marriage to Ākile, who was the daughter of the

²⁴⁶ Külekçi, *ibid*, 380-422; TPML, H.1124, f. 47b-77a,

²⁴⁷ Regarding the stance of contemporary Ottoman sources on the participation of sultans on military campaigns, and the interpretation of this stance by modern scholarship, see Hakan Karateke, “On the Tranquility and Repose of the Sultan” in Christine Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 116-29.

²⁴⁸ Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 250-52; Gabriel Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 18-21.

şeyhülislām Es‘ad Efendi and hence a free-born Muslim woman. This choice was contrary to the custom for Ottoman sultans, and was breaking with over a century of precedent.²⁴⁹ “Osmān II’s clampdown on the taverns and coffeehouses of Istanbul, as well as his austere choice of clothing, represent further possible attempts to realize and promote his ġāzī-sultan image.²⁵⁰

The chapters of the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* which focus upon ‘Osmān II heavily emphasize his image as a ġāzī-sultan, particularly by elaborating upon his participation in military combat and his leadership of the campaign. In accordance with the features of the Ottoman *şehnāme* genre, the sultan is portrayed as a unfalteringly victorious warrior and commander. This portrayal is constructed through the usage of various tropes and motifs that were common to the Ottoman *şehnāmes*. The following sub-chapters will analyze these aspects of the sultanic image, and in particular, how they were applied to the description of ‘Osmān II in the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*. These include his eagerness for battle, his wrath against his enemies, and his skills in securing victories, his abilities in hunting, and other prominent qualities of kingship. These characteristic aspects of sultans in the Ottoman *şehnāme* genre are crafted in the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* in a way that reflects the realities of the time. Although the account of the events is generally in line with the historical record, the interactions between the characters and the results of these events are subtly drawn to reflect those traits most exemplary of an ideal Ottoman ruler, even if these at times appear to be contradictory.

For these reasons, the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* can be interpreted as a part of ‘Osmān II’s larger project to promulgate an image of himself as ġāzī-sultan, particularly by focusing primarily on the military aspects of this image. Although the religious implications of the ġāzī image are also hinted at throughout the book, with numerous references to his personal piety and religious zeal, these references are usually incidental to the military actions of the sultan. As an example, the main reason for ‘Osmān II’s Hotin campaign is stated to be the regular raids of the Cossacks into the Black Sea and the intransigence of the Polish king;

²⁴⁹ Gabriel Piterberg, *ibid*, 18-21.

²⁵⁰ Gabriel Piterberg, *ibid*.

the religious service done by ‘Osmān II in “defeating the infidels” is mentioned only briefly at the end of the narration of the campaign.²⁵¹

4.1. An Eagerness for Ġazā

Nādirī begins his account of the deeds of ‘Osmān II with his counsel in the *dīvān*. As Nādirī writes, ‘Osmān II summons his viziers, the two *sadr*, the *şeyhülislām*, and his tutor. At the meeting, the sultan’s concerns become evident: “his [the Polish king’s] fire was not extinguished, and the flames of his miserable riot have blazed yet again.”²⁵²

The miniature depicting the *dīvān* meeting shows ‘Osmān II sitting in the center, with the members of the *dīvān* at his sides, listening to the sultan respectfully (Fig. 7).²⁵³ The viziers of ‘Osmān II are placed on the right side of the page; the religious scholars are on the left side. The viziers who joined these *dīvān* meetings are identified in the seventeenth-century primary sources, as well as in the secondary literature. Among the viziers, the one who is sitting next to the sultan is regularly identified as the Grand Vizier Hüseyn Paşa.²⁵⁴ However, Hüseyn Paşa only became the grand vizier after ‘Ali Paşa died in March, 1621, during the preparations for the campaign. This figure is thus more likely to be a portrait of ‘Ali Paşa, who, according to Na‘īmā, was influential in ‘Osmān II’s decision to launch a campaign against Poland. The second figure on the right is Gürcü (Hadım) Meḥmed Paşa (d. 1626), who is markedly prominent in other miniatures of the book as well.²⁵⁵ The other viziers who were present in the *dīvān* meeting include the viziers Nakkaş Hasan Paşa, Cıgalazāde Maḥmūd Paşa, Meḥmed Paşa and Receb Paşa, according

²⁵¹ For more on the motivation for launching the Polish campaign: Külekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 380-384; TPML, H.1124, f. 47b-50b. For promoting Islam by defeating infidels: Külekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 416; TPML, H.1124, f. 72b.

²⁵² Külekçi, *ibid*, 380; TPML, H.1124, f. 47b.

²⁵³ TPML, H.1124, f. 49a.

²⁵⁴ Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 252.

²⁵⁵ Tülay Artan, “Arts and Architecture,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 3, The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 408-80.

to the account of ‘Abdülkâdir Efendi.²⁵⁶ As depicted in the miniature, the sultan is facing the scholars, conversing with a figure to the right of him; this figure can be identified as his tutor ‘Ömer Efendi (d. 1622), while the second figure on the same side can be identified as the şeyhülislâm Es‘ad Efendi (d. 1625).²⁵⁷

‘Ömer Efendi was an influential figure during the reign of ‘Osmân II,²⁵⁸ and his prominent position in the miniature demonstrates his significance. Despite his lower rank in comparison to the other religious scholars, he sits closer to the sultan than the şeyhülislâm does, and is depicted conversing with him. He is also the only religious figure whose name is mentioned in the text of the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*. Another prominent figure in this miniature, and in the whole illustration program of the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, is Süleymân Ağa, who appears in every miniature in which the sultan is also depicted. He features in these paintings very prominently, and is always depicted close to the sultan, although his name is never explicitly mentioned in the text. In the miniature depicting the *dîvân* meeting, he, too, appears standing on the left. His proximity to and influence on the sultan are recorded by other, near-contemporary sources of the seventeenth-century, and his prominence in the miniatures of the book raises questions regarding his possible role in the commission and production of the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*.²⁵⁹

The text continues to describe the discussions between the sultan and the attendants of the *dîvân* meeting. ‘Osmân II asks his high officials regarding what is needed to overcome the Polish king. He does not receive any satisfactory responses. Finally, he offers his own opinion: he states that he personally should go on a campaign against the Polish lands, in order to “tear the impure body of the cursed Polish king into pieces with his sharp sword.”²⁶⁰ There is some dissension among members of the *dîvân*, many of whom find it unnecessary or dangerous for the sultan to join the campaign; they advise him to assign one

²⁵⁶ *Topçular Kâtibi*, 705; Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 252.

²⁵⁷ Tülün Değirmenci, *ibid*, 252.

²⁵⁸ Baki Tezcan, “The 1622 Military Rebellion in İstanbul: A Historiographical Journey,” *The International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 8, (2002), 2-34; Tülün Değirmenci, *ibid*, 22-23.

²⁵⁹ Tülün Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 264-65.

²⁶⁰ Külekçi, “Gani-zâde Nâdirî,” 380; TPML, H.1124, f. 48a.

of his commanders to lead it. ‘Oṣmān II is, however, nevertheless determined to take this opportunity to lead a campaign, and return victorious in the manner of his ancestors. He convinces the *dīvān* that he will lead the campaign. The members respond obediently, saying that “it is our obligation to obey your commands.”²⁶¹

‘Oṣmān II’s determination to lead the Polish campaign himself is also demonstrated by his correspondence with the Polish king. Nādirī provides the reader with a letter that was reportedly written by the Polish king to ‘Oṣmān II, begging the sultan for mercy. The poet constructs the text of the letter in such a way as to imply that the relationship between the Ottoman sultan and the Polish king is one, not of equals, but between a master and vassal.

The Polish king is frightened when he receives the news that ‘Oṣmān II has ordered the army to prepare for campaigning. According to Nādirī, he immediately regrets his previous wrong-doings, and sends an envoy to the Ottoman sultan with a letter of apology. His letter starts with the customary praise of ‘Oṣmān II, and then enumerates the various offenses that have angered the Ottoman sultan. The Polish king then pledges loyalty to the Ottoman sultan, writing that all of his ancestors have been servants of the Ottoman sultans, and that the Ottoman sultans had always been merciful towards them. He wants to assure ‘Oṣmān II that the Cossacks, who caused all of the recent trouble in the Black Sea, are not under his command, and that he did not order them to raid along the Black Sea coast. He even offers his services to fight against the Cossacks, sparing the Ottoman sultan from the exertion of a campaign.²⁶² ‘Oṣmān II immediately sends the envoy and the letter back to the Polish king. When the envoy arrives at the court of the Polish king and reports back, the king becomes even more fearful and sends a second envoy. The sultan does not even allow the second envoy to enter the capital; rather, he sends a group of officials to stop him a few stations away from the city. The second Polish envoy is forced to return without even delivering his message to Istanbul.²⁶³ Nādirī thus demonstrates the alacrity with which ‘Oṣmān II decides to go on campaign, apparently confident of returning in triumph.

²⁶¹ Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 381; TPML, H.1124, f. 48b.

²⁶² Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 382-383; TPML, H.1124, f. 49b-50a.

²⁶³ Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 383-384; TPML, H.1124, f. 50a-50b.

Finally, the departure date for ‘Osmān II’s much awaited campaign arrives. Nādirī begins his chapter on the army’s march to Hotin by describing the coming of spring, which had been set as the first day of the campaign. With the time of *bahar* comes the time of *sefer*; as Nādirī writes, “When the şāh-like spring comes (...), the routed winter deserts those lands.”²⁶⁴ For this reason, as the spring of 1621 arrives, ‘Osmān II orders preparations for the campaign to commence.

Nādirī describes the procession of the sultan and the army from the İstanbul in great detail, mirroring the details provided in the accompanying miniature. Nādirī’s description begins with the sultan and dwells upon officials and soldiers of various positions, guiding the reader to the depictions of the same figures in the painting. The characteristics that Nādirī provides for each group or character reflect their heroic natures, and they are furthermore described alongside their rather pompous clothing and equipment.

We may take Nādirī’s description of the sultan as an example. Nādirī starts by portraying the splendor of the sultan through his clothing and equipment. The sultan girds a fully jeweled dagger on his waist. Nādirī likens the jewels on the dagger to drops of water running through a golden channel. He then compares the sultan’s “royal body” to a sea in which the dagger swims like a rockfish. The sultan girds a sword adorned with jewels, that resemble a dragon, and Nādirī describes the moment that he puts on his sash and scabbard.. He then girds a jeweled quiver, which Nādirī claims resembles a fountain, albeit one that sheds fire instead of water. His tent is wrapped, not with a golden chain, but with a dragon and a phoenix. When “the şāh of the şāhs, the enemy-hunter” mounts his horse, stars fall from the sky.²⁶⁵

Viziers are the next to be described, after the sultan. “The land-conquering, heroic viziers” armed with their battle equipment, are each “the şāh of plentiful slaves” and “higher in rank than many of the ancient rulers.”²⁶⁶ Following this, Nādirī comes to the commanders of the soldiers, who are wearing jeweled armors and who are each “a Rüstem

²⁶⁴ Külekçi, *ibid.*, 386; TPML, H.1124, f. 52a.

²⁶⁵ Külekçi, *ibid.*, 387; TPML, H.1124, f. 52b-53a.

²⁶⁶ Külekçi, *ibid.*, 388-389; TPML, H.1124, f. 55a.

of the time.”²⁶⁷ The janissaries are marching in front of the procession. Nādirī describes them as the *Bektāşiyān*, holding their fire-spewing snakes. *Cebecis* are the next to be described by the poet, wearing helmets, and like the brave soldiers of the *Bektāşiyān*, they are described holding their rifles. Nādirī likens the artillerymen to Behrām-ı Gür, the Sasanian king Behrām V, who is also a popular character in the *Şāhnāme* of Firdevsī.²⁶⁸ They follow the *Bektāşiyān* with cannons and rifles, holding aloft their green banners. *Sipāhīs* join the procession with their red and yellow banners, which Nādirī imagines as a field of tulips. Each of these soldiers are like “Ḥaydar-ı Nāmdār,”²⁶⁹ and their red, yellow, white and green forked banners flutter like ‘Ali’s forked sword, *zūlfikār*.²⁷⁰

The double-folio miniature depicting the procession of the sultan and the army for the Polish campaign is perhaps the most grandiose painting of the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* (Fig. 8).²⁷¹ In parallel with Nādirī’s verse surrounding the illustrated pages, the right-hand page places ‘Osmān II in the center, with his golden-embroidered fur robe, mounted on a horse with an equally splendid harness. The sultan is accompanied by his guardsmen and the black eunuch, and followed by troops holding colorful banners which Nādirī describes at some length in his verse. The verse that decorates the illustrated right page also draws the attention of the reader to the troops of the sultan: “The banners of the king of kings are all along the way, while the troops of warriors are marching elegantly.”²⁷²

The left page of the miniature depicts the viziers leading the whole procession, each one arranged in order of rank.²⁷³ The viziers are followed by high ranking officials and religious scholars, among whom the head of the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammed is

²⁶⁷ Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 389; TPML, H.1124, f. 55a

²⁶⁸ C.L. Huart & H. Massé, “Bahrām” in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991) 2:938-9; Enver Konukçu, “Behrām-ı Gür,” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (1992), 5:356.

²⁶⁹ Ḥaydar (literally, lion) is one of the epithets of ‘Ali b. Ebu Tālib, the fourth caliph and the son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammed. A more frequently used version is Ḥaydar-ı Kerrār. See DİA, “Ḥaydar,” *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (1998), 17:24.

²⁷⁰ Kūlekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 391; TPML, H.1124, f. 56a.

²⁷¹ TPML, H.1124, f. 53b-54a.

²⁷² Kūlekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 387; TPML, H.1124, f. 53b.

²⁷³ Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 257.

recognizable by his green turban. Besides this figure, the religious character of the march is marked by a banner that bears the names of Prophet Muḥammed, the four caliphs, and the grandsons of the prophet, as well as the *tevḥīd* formula, stating the oneness of the God. The janissaries are lined up alongside the procession of the high officials. The two pages of the painting are connected not only by the continuity of the procession, but also by the existence of a crowd watching this spectacular parade in a line in the front, adding a colorful audience to the noise and pomp of the setting.²⁷⁴

4.2. Wrathfulness towards the Enemy

The next chapter of *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* recounts the various events that happened during the army's journey from Edirne to the River Dniester. The sultan stays in the Edirne Palace for a while. We read that, as the army proceeds, a pavilion is built for the sultan "on the waterfront."²⁷⁵ The sultan spends "many days in that pavilion, providing justice and illuminating the universe."²⁷⁶ He bestows upon the *ġāzīs* gold and silver as campaign bonuses (*sefer bahşişi*). He then orders that Ḥalīl Paşa, who has become the grand admiral,²⁷⁷ go and "hunt" the enemy – that is, the Cossacks - in the Black Sea.²⁷⁸ As the text relates, "Ḥalīl Paşa's flame-like, rose-colored galleys set sail in the darkness of the Black Sea."²⁷⁹ The Ottoman galleys and Cossack *şaykas*²⁸⁰ fought each other across the water; in the end, the Cossack ships are seized by the Ottoman fleet, and many Cossacks are taken prisoner.

²⁷⁴ TPML, H.1124, f. 53b-54a.

²⁷⁵ Külekçi, "Gani-zâde Nâdirî," 393; TPML, H.1124, f. 58b.

²⁷⁶ Külekçi, *ibid*, 394; TPML, H.1124, f. 58b.

²⁷⁷ This change in rank, as well as Nâdirî's perspective on it, are discussed in Chapter 2 and 3.

²⁷⁸ Külekçi, *ibid*, 394; TPML, H.1124, f. 59a.

²⁷⁹ Külekçi, *ibid*, 394; TPML, H.1124, f. 59a.

²⁸⁰ *Şayka*: a kind of boat used in the Black Sea. V. Bahadır Alkım et al., *Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*, (İstanbul: Sev Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık, 1998).

While this naval battle between the Ottoman and Cossack forces is taking place, the sultan arrives at the banks of the River Danube. The prisoners are brought to Hâlîl Paşa, and he takes them to the sultan. According to Nâdirî, the Ottoman treatment of the prisoners was harsh:

“The king of kings showed his wrath to the prisoners, all of them were put to death and perished. Some were beaten under the feet of elephants and swallowed by the earth, turning into dough. Their bodies were flattened and resembled the paintings on a church wall. Those who saw the ones who were smashed by elephants thought that they were bacon. Some were burnt and disappeared, they experienced the infernal torture. Fire spread over the parts of their bodies; their bodies shed fire. Behold the spells of the heaven, they turned many men into salamanders. Some were killed by two galleys, each pulling from their feet. The curious state of the men of the time resembled that of the people of Nîmten.”²⁸¹

After this passage, delineating the various macabre means by which the Ottoman army killed its prisoners, the narrative continues with the march of the army towards Poland. When they reach the River Prut, they encounter further detachments of Cossacks. The Cossacks notice the oncoming Ottoman soldiers, and the majority of them flee from the area. Some of the rest hide in a dark cave, and others hide in the thicket surrounding the cave. The sultan orders his soldiers, already “accustomed to victory,” to fight them.²⁸² The soldiers set fire to the opening of the cave so that the smoke kills the Cossacks inside. They skin the ones who escape the cave “like foxes.”²⁸³

After a short clash with the remaining Cossacks in the thicket, the Ottoman soldiers bring the prisoners to the sultan, encamped on the waterfront. The sultan orders that the prisoners to be killed. While the order is being performed, one of the prisoners escapes and dives into the water. Nâdirî rather joyfully recounts the prisoner’s shock as, having almost

²⁸¹ Kûlekçi, “Gani-zâde Nâdirî,” 397-398; TPML, H.1124, f. 60a-60b. Nâdirî refers to people of *Nîmten*, an “imaginary race of creatures shaped like men cloven from head to fork, one half being male and the other female” V. Bahadır Alkım et al., *Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*, (İstanbul: Sev Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık, 1998).

²⁸² Kûlekçi, *ibid*, 399; TPML, H.1124, f. 61a.

²⁸³ Kûlekçi, *ibid*, 399; TPML, H.1124, f. 61a.

escaped, he is shot in the neck by the sultan's own arrow. The one-page miniature in this chapter of *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* depicts the moment when 'Osmân II shoots the fugitive prisoner (Fig. 9).²⁸⁴ The sultan is depicted holding his bow and sitting on his throne under a canopy, accompanied by his guardsmen and Süleymân Ağa. The arrow that the sultan has just shot is depicted, buried deep into the neck of the prisoner, as he still attempts to swim away from his inevitable execution. Other prisoners are being herded into the middle of the scene, between the sultan's forces and the river. The chapter continues with Ottoman soldiers burning the forest to disperse the rest of the Cossacks hiding there, and executing hundreds of them "without mercy;" Nâdirî's narration then continues with verses of praise for the "outstanding ghâzîs," who had succeeded in "eliminating the cursed people."²⁸⁵

This chapter, entitled as the "Departure of the sultan from Edirne, arrival of the victorious soldiers to his presence, the sultan's arrival to the River Dniester on the border of the land of the infidels, and some incidents that occurred on the way"²⁸⁶ largely narrates the various occurrences that took place during the march of the Ottoman army to Poland. The chapter revolves around the different deeds of the Ottoman soldiers under the sultan's command, before the actual battle starts. In the text, the sultan is depicted as a ruthless leader, maintaining an undiminished devotion to *ğazâ* all the way from the beginning of the campaign. His attitude is wrathful, and his orders are fierce. The Ottoman soldiers are depicted as unfailingly loyal, motivated by an eagerness to fight, and they conduct their orders to kill prisoners without complaint.

The most striking part of the chapter, the narration of the first clash with the Cossacks and the execution of the Cossack prisoners, is also the subject matter of the only miniature accompanying this chapter. The miniature reinforces what is emphasized in the text, depicting the sultan in a heroic pose right after the moment he shoots his arrow at the fugitive prisoner. The reader can thus visualize 'Osmân II's abilities as an archer, as well as his power to punish any discord and disobedience against his orders. The scene also

²⁸⁴ TPML, H.1124, f. 62a.

²⁸⁵ Külekçi, "Gani-zâde Nâdirî," 400; TPML, H.1124, f. 62b.

²⁸⁶ TPML, H.1124, f. 57a.

demonstrates the sultan supervising the execution of his orders, which enables him to interfere during a moment of disorder.

4.3. The Victorious Sultan

Nādirī closes the chapter with a depiction of Cānbek Giray Ḥan’s participation in the conflict, providing the Ottoman army with troops who “have knowledge of the science of war” and granting his support for the upcoming Battle of Hotin, which is the subject of the next chapter of the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*.²⁸⁷ Since the Polish king is old and sick, he sends his son to lead the battle against the Ottoman army. The son of the king reaches the Castle of Hotin on the coast of the River Dniester. According to Nādirī’s account, with thirty thousand Cossack soldiers and supporting forces from the Habsburg Empire, the total number of the Polish forces comprises almost two hundred thousand men.

The narration of the Battle of Hotin is as long and epic as any of the previous battle scenes in *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*. It includes descriptions of the Ottoman’s masterful use of battle tools such as rifles, arrows, swords, and maces and celebrations of their abilities in combat. As Nādirī writes, the intense fighting between the two forces “raises dust to heavens.”²⁸⁸ After a battle of three to four days, the Polish army abandons close combat, but nevertheless remains in their camp and continues to fire rifles and cannons at the Ottomans from a distance. The Ottoman soldiers continue to attack, and the battle stretches on; eventually, it reaches its fortieth day. When the Polish king attempts to send military aid to the battlefield, the Nogay bey Ḳantemir Mirza²⁸⁹ manages to intercept the ships

²⁸⁷ Kūlekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 401; TPML, H.1124, f. 63a.

²⁸⁸ Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 408; TPML, H.1124, f. 63a.

²⁸⁹ The relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth involved principalities such as Moldavia, the Ukrainian Cossack hetmanate, the Crimean khanate and the Nogay horde. The chief of the Nogay horde, Ḳantemir, was already known for his attacks into Poland in support of İskender Paşa’s campaigns in 1618 and 1620, years before the Hotin campaign. His contributions to the Hotin campaign gained him even more prestige with sultan. Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th Century): An Annotated Edition of ‘Ahdnames and Other Documents* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 1999), xvi-xviii; Mihnea Berindei, “La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues, 1600-1637”, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1(1977): 273-307.

carrying these supplies. He brings the provisions to the sultan, and they are distributed amongst the Ottoman soldiers.

The sultan orders K̄antemir Mirza to “destroy the Polish lands”, and the mirza executes these orders.²⁹⁰ He goes to “the Polish climes” with six groups of soldiers in a month, and brings back “three hundred thousand prisoners” to the sultan.²⁹¹ One hundred and fifty thousand of these prisoners are executed, with an additional thirty thousand villages are destroyed; many large cities are demolished, and only a few fortresses are spared. All of the Cossack troops are defeated, and the Polish lands are conquered. The Poles beg the Ottoman sultan for forgiveness. Finally, the king pays tribute, and agrees to obey the commands of the sultan. He evacuates the fortress of Hotin, and agrees that Cossacks will no longer sail on the Black Sea. According to Nādirī’s narrative in his *Şehnāme*, then, the Hotin campaign can only be characterized as a resounding success.

The painting depicting the battle of Hotin is one of the most dynamic and minutely detailed miniatures of the entire *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* (Fig. 10).²⁹² The sultan is depicted at the top of the right-hand page, sitting under a canopy accompanied by his guardsmen and a black eunuch. On the foreground of the page, Ottoman soldiers are holding Polish prisoners and killing them, while battle drums are drawn being played and cannons are fired toward the Polish camp depicted on the facing page. The left page displays the Polish camp surrounded by a moat. Ottoman soldiers are attacking the camp, and both sides are firing at each other. The Polish soldiers who are outside the moat are pictured running towards the camp, fleeing close combat as per Nādirī’s verse. The mounted group of soldiers at the top-right corner of the page have been interpreted as the supporting soldiers of K̄antemir Mirza,²⁹³ hence it is possible that the opposite corner displays the aid sent by the Polish king, which will be stopped and seized by the mirza.

²⁹⁰ K̄ulekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 409; TPML, H.1124, f. 69a.

²⁹¹ K̄ulekçi, *ibid.*, 410; TPML, H.1124, f. 69a.

²⁹² TPML, H.1124, f. 67b-68a.

²⁹³ Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 261.

The Agreement of Hotin, which was signed on 9 October 1621, did involve assurances by the Polish that the Cossacks would no longer cause trouble on the Black Sea. On the other hand, it also included a condition stipulating that the Crimean Tatars no longer attack the Polish lands. Moreover, the clause that requires the Polish king to pay tribute to the Ottoman sultan exists only in the Ottoman version of the agreement, and not in the Polish text. In fact, the Polish never accepted this latter term, and the disagreement caused trouble in the future relations of the two states.²⁹⁴

After recounting the results of the Battle of Hotin, Nādirī makes an effort to aggrandize the achievement of ‘Oṣmān II: “What a praiseworthy victory and an obvious conquest is granted to the triumphant sultan! None of the previous sultans witnessed such a crushing of the enemy.”²⁹⁵ Here, the poet is referencing an earlier moment in the text - ‘Oṣmān II’s council meeting - where the young sultan stated his wish to be a ġāzī like his ancestors. Now, according to Nādirī’s narrative, ‘Oṣmān II not only succeeds in his wish, but he also achieves an even greater victory than the previous ġāzī sultans ever managed. Yet, historically speaking, the results of the Battle of Hotin were not particularly beneficial for Ottomans. The Polish resistance against the Ottoman attack was successful, and the Agreement of Hotin was a result more of Polish endurance than the Ottoman attack. Hence, the terms of the agreement were not directly in favor of the Ottomans. Rather, the agreement was an effort to restore the peace that had been established after İskender Paşa’s successful campaigns in 1617 and 1620,²⁹⁶ the latter of which is the subject of a previous illustrated chapter in *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*.

²⁹⁴ Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, “A historical outline of Polish-Ottoman political and diplomatic relations” in *War and Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th-19th Centuries* ed. Selim Kangal (İstanbul: Turkish Republic Ministry of Culture, 1999), 26. For the texts of both versions and their translations in English, see Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th Century): An Annotated Edition of ‘Ahdnames and Other Documents* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 1999), 376-87.

²⁹⁵ Külekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 410; TPML, H.1124, f. 69b.

²⁹⁶ Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, “A historical outline of Polish-Ottoman political and diplomatic relations” in *War and Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th-19th Centuries* ed. Selim Kangal (İstanbul: Turkish Republic Ministry of Culture, 1999), 25.

4.4. The Sultan as a Skillful Hunter

The penultimate chapter of *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* is related to ‘Osmân II’s return from the Hotin campaign. “When the ġazā was accomplished, the exalted sultan reverted to his throne with glory and success, and paraded with pomp and circumstance.”²⁹⁷ As Nâdirî writes, the sultan arrives in Edirne to stay in the palace for a few days. While he is in Edirne, he goes on the battue,²⁹⁸ and this hunting party is described at length by Nâdirî. He describes the setting, in which animals are driven into a circle, and the circle is filled with smoke from the fire of rifles.²⁹⁹

The discourse employed by Nâdirî during the passage on hunting in Edirne is replete with references to the sultan’s authority and his ġazî image. A rabbit and a fox are caught by a hound, a bird in a tree is shot in the eye with an arrow, a cheetah “commits ġazā” and kills a swine, partridges “give their lives willingly” for the sultan, and a hawk crashes into a stork, a crane and a goose. Through what seems, to the modern reader, to be amusing scenes in which wild animals are cast as the actors of an action-documentary, Nâdirî conveys a subtextual message which supports the sultanic image. Swine had symbolized non-Muslims in Ottoman literary imagery from very early on, and the Ottoman sultan or commander who hunted them were usually represented by lions.³⁰⁰ The cheetah killing swine as a “ġazā” is Nâdirî’s interpolation of a well-known allegory, placed right after the “victory” over the said “infidels.” Here, Nâdirî is referencing Solomon, the Biblical and Quranic prophet-king who had the power to communicate and rule over animals: “Wild

²⁹⁷ Kûlekçi, “Gani-zâde Nâdirî,” 411; TPML, H.1124, f. 70a.

²⁹⁸ A type of hunting that was practiced with the help of beaters who drove the game animals towards the hunters. It was mostly performed in the hunting parks in and around Edirne. Tûlay Artan, “Ahmed I’s Hunting Parties: Feasting in Adversity, Enhancing the Ordinary” in *Starting with Food: Culinary Approaches to Ottoman History*, ed. Amy Singer (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2011), 93-138.

²⁹⁹ Kûlekçi, “Gani-zâde Nâdirî,” 412; TPML, H.1124, f. 70b-71a.

³⁰⁰ Melis Taner, “‘Power to Kill:’ A Discourse of the Royal Hunt During the Reigns of Süleyman the Magnificent and Ahmed I” (Unpub. MA thesis, Sabancı University, 2009), 44-49.

animals and birds obeyed the exalted Solomon-like sultan in hunting.”³⁰¹ Thus, following depictions of the obedience of viziers, soldiers, vassals and even enemy kings to the Ottoman sultan, the book describes even wild animals and of nature itself bending to the will of the sultan.

It does not come across as a surprise, then, that Nādirī reserves a long passage for hunting, especially so if we take into consideration the common view of hunting as one of the duties of the sultan, and even more so of a ġāzī sultan. It is also known that ‘Osmān II had a personal fondness for such activities. Moreover, it has been argued that the royal sport of hunting was viewed as a responsibility of a sultan, and indeed this activity is well-documented in narrative and illustrated books, especially for Süleymān I’s and Aḥmed I’s reigns.³⁰² It could also be expected that this scene would be illustrated with a miniature showing the sultan’s hunting skills, as was the practice for previous illustrated histories of the Ottoman dynasty.³⁰³ Strangely, however, a scene of ‘Osmān II hunting was not chosen as a subject to be illustrated in the book. The miniature in this chapter of *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* depicts ‘Osmān II in his pavilion in Topkapı Palace, and in his imperial caique, both of which were, according to Nādirī, newly-built for the celebration of the victorious campaign. The reason for this choice could be that the martial and archery skills of the sultan were already covered in the previous miniatures. If an economical depiction was to be made, it does make a certain sense that the only miniature in the chapter depicts a new and significant subject in a book, particularly since none of the chapters in the book feature more than one miniature.

³⁰¹ Kūlekçi, “Gani-zāde Nādirī,” 414. Twenty-four distiches (probably one folio), including this one is missing in the related pages of TPML, H.1124.

³⁰² Tūlay Artan, “A *Book of Kings* Produced and Represented as A Treatise on Hunting”, *Muqarnas* 25 (2009): 299-330.

³⁰³ Serpil Bağcı, “Visualizing Power: Portrayals of the Sultans in Illustrated Histories of the Ottoman Dynasty”, *Islamic Art* 6 (2009): 113-28.

4.5. Ruler of the Land and the Sea

Before the construction of the new kiosk and caique, there is one more episode in Nādirī's verse that is of importance. While 'Oṣmān II is hunting and spending time in Edirne palace, his son is born. After staying in Edirne with the newly-born *ṣehzāde* for some time, the sultan and his entourage depart for Istanbul. According to Nādirī, the sultan is welcomed by the people of the capital with great joy. "Especially the leaders of Islam revered the sultan, because he favored the religion, and he defeated the people of error (*dalāl ehli*)."³⁰⁴ Nādirī then, once more, compares the sultan with the previous sultans, as he did after the alleged success of the campaign. He writes that "No other sultan did what he did at this age, that is, to go on the pilgrimage of *ğazā*. At this age, only 'Ali went on *ğazā*, and he is the guide of the sultan."³⁰⁵

Finally, the sultan sits back on his throne in the Topkapı Palace. "The ruler of the land and the sea desired to leave a monument on the land and the sea."³⁰⁶ Thus, 'Oṣmān II decides to order the construction of a pavilion and an imperial caique. He assigns his vizier and *bostancıbaşı* Meḥmed to take charge of this order; according to the text, "he pleases the sultan by completing both."³⁰⁷ The last miniature of *Ṣehnāme-i Nādirī* depicts the sultan in his new imperial caique on the water, and in his new pavilion (Fig. 11).³⁰⁸ Both sides of the double-page miniature feature 'Oṣmān II; in the left-hand page, we witness his enjoyment of the new caique and in the right, he is sitting on his throne in the pavilion. Besides him are Süleymān Aḡa and another figure, most probably Meḥmed Paṣa, who oversaw the completion of the two projects.³⁰⁹ The miniature is different from the previous pictures in the book in that it has a much more static composition, providing the audience with a sense

³⁰⁴ Kūlekçi, "Gani-zāde Nādirī," 416; TPML, H.1124, f. 72b.

³⁰⁵ Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 416; TPML, H.1124, f. 72b.

³⁰⁶ Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 417; TPML, H.1124, f. 73a.

³⁰⁷ Kūlekçi, *ibid*, 417; TPML, H.1124, f. 73a.

³⁰⁸ TPML, H.1124, f. 73b-74a.

³⁰⁹ Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*, 250-52; Gabriel Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 262-63; TPML, H.1124, f. 73b-74a.

of stability and calmness. It displays the “victorious” ġāzī sultan back in his palace, ruling the Empire, comfortable in the knowledge that he acquired the charisma and legitimacy he had sought in leading a campaign.

5. CONCLUSION

This thesis has attempted to offer a close reading of the illustrated *Şehnâme-i Nādirī*, with the aim of placing it into the broader context of the Ottoman *şehnâme* writing tradition. The study has mainly focused on the depiction of the characters and the events that are described in the book, and tried to identify the characteristic qualities that are attributed to these main figures. Exploring these qualities has allowed us to draw the contours of the conceptual ideal of leadership, particularly as they are delineated in the *Şehnâme-i Nādirī*. While many alternative readings of the manuscript are possible, the one that has been presented here is one that views its narrative of the various events that occurred during the reign of ‘Osmān II as being constructed of three interconnected layers.

One layer is the account of historical facts. Although Nādirī molds the events and their consequences into a shape more characteristic of the *şehnâme* genre, the format in which imperial glories are told, he still provides the reader with a general and fair account of events, as well as the notable figures who were involved in these events. The miniatures of the illustrated copy follow the text very carefully in many cases, helping support this account. Another layer we must take into account is Nādirī’s efforts to demonstrate his pride in his own verse. This is noticeable in the long passages where he describes the architecture of Tabriz and Manfredonia, the acts of fighting during battles, and the material details of the booty that the Ottoman soldiers captured.

A strikingly common theme throughout the narrative is the regular appearance of processions.³¹⁰ Various marches of the army led by one of the commanders or by the sultan are described in great detail in the text. The material equipment of the soldiers, such as their clothing, their numerous weapons, decorations on the harnesses of the horses, and the banners of the Ottoman army, are described side by side with the bravery of the soldiers and the glory of their commanders. Such passages are ideal examples of Nādirī’s originality in *şehnâme* writing. While the book as a whole is a continuation of the Ottoman *şehnâme* tradition, Nādirī’s long descriptions of processions result in a novel interpretation of the genre.

³¹⁰ See Appendix.

The third layer we must examine is where Nādirī's text and the miniatures of the illustrated copy come together to create an ideal image of leadership. This image is put forward through the actions and interactions of the characters, as they deal with reported events. In the chapters featuring the commanders of the sultan, Nādirī represents the ideal military leader, who is eager to face and fight the enemy, and obedient to the orders of the sultan; we see how the Ottoman sultan can count upon the loyal support of his subordinates, such as Cānbek Giray, who also highlights the theme of loyalty through his relationship to Ḥalīl Paşa. The chapters that are related to the sultan, on the other hand, represent 'Oṣmān II as an absolute ruler and warrior, who is as ready for battle as his commanders, and who leaves no room for the smallest disobedience. His skills as an archer and hunter are underscored to mold his image into the proper shape for a protagonist of a *ṣehnāme*.

The representation of ideal leadership in the *Ṣehnāme-i Nādirī* sits comfortably among other book projects which narrate the events of 'Oṣmān II's reign. These two narrative sources - the *Zafernāme*, which concerns the Hotin campaign of 'Oṣmān II, and the *Ġazānāme-i Ḥalīl Paşa*, which details the career and campaigns of the Grand Vizier and Grand Admiral Ḥalīl Paşa - seek to create a similar image for their own respective protagonists. The similarity of these representations demonstrates the continuation of a tradition that had developed during the reign of Süleymān I, with the first Ottoman *ṣehnāmes* and *ġazānāmes*. The characterization of these events and characters remained the same despite, the evolution of the historical circumstances.

This manner of reading the *Ṣehnāme-i Nādirī* helps us to understand the outlook that the producers of Ottoman *ṣehnāmes* - that is to say, not only the artists and craftsmen who actually produced these works, but also the patrons who made these productions possible by commissioning and financing them - intended to reflect in these imperial books. However, this method, which concentrates mostly upon the content of the *Ṣehnāme-i Nādirī*, has also the effect of raising more questions than it answers. One question that immediately comes to mind relates to the personal networks of the characters that are depicted in the book. A detailed study of the biographies of prominent figures of the book, such as Ḥalīl Paşa, Gürcü Meḥmed Paşa, Süleymān Aġa, and 'Ömer Efendi could shed

light on their relationships to each other and to ‘Osmān II, helping us to have a better grasp on the circumstances under which the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* was produced.

Another question which deserves to be answered relates to the identity of the patron of the book. While it is clear from the text that the patron of the work looked favorably upon the aforementioned figures, an in-depth study is required as to the respective influence of each of them in the production of the manuscript, and, more generally, as to the role that they played in crafting ‘Osmān II’s public image. The question of the book’s patron leads us to further questions regarding the producers of the book. The illustrated *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* is mainly a product of the partnership between its author, Ġanīzāde Nādirī, and the head painter Naḳṣī, who directed its illustration and painted some of its miniatures. This partnership is also evident in the *Dīvān-ı Nādirī*, which was illustrated solely by Naḳṣī himself. It is clear that further studies of this partnership could reveal important information on the motivations behind the production of the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*. Answers to these questions will serve to enlighten us about still unexplored issues regarding this *Şehnāme*, as well as Ottoman *şehnāmes* in general, and will hopefully enhance the contribution that this thesis makes to the already extant literature on this subject.

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APPENDIX I:

The procession of ‘Osmān II to Eyub for his sword-girding ceremony³¹¹

Ꞑuşandı kılıç anda hūrşīd-vār
Ana maşrıķ oldu revāk-ı mezār

O tīg-ı muraşşa ki şāhānedür
Zafer murgına āb ile dānedür

Çekildi rikāb-ı şehe bir semend
Ki reşķ eyler ana sipihr-i bülend

Meger gerdeni bir kiyānī kemān
Zih olsa n’ola ana zerrīn-‘inān

‘Aceb hūb-raqķaş-ı şūr-ı zafer
Ana çār-pāre gümüş na‘ller

Cebīninde var şemse-i cevherī
Se-dīde o şāhīb-kırān aşķarı

Süvār oldu fermān-dih-i rüzgār
Esed üzre hūrşīd-i raķşende-vār

Mücevher otāķa olup şu‘le-zen
Nişān virdi bir ebr-i pür-berķden

³¹¹ Kūlekçi, “Ganī-zāde Nādiri,” 327-9.

Ya ŧhbāzdur cevheri zeng-dār
Hümā zıllına vardı ŧandı ŧikār

Çü deprendi ol nerre-ŧiriyle
Zemīn ü zemān oldu pür-zelzele

Çıķup çarķa āvāz-ı zerrīne kūs
Mehābetden itdi güneŧ ħāk-būs

İriŧdi Srāfīl'e bang-ı nefir
Dem-i ŧūr-ı aķyādan oldu ħabīr

Bihār-ı sipāh oldu cümbiŧ-künān
Revān ebrhāy-ı ħurīniŧ-künān

Veziirān-ı dānā-dil-i hūŧ-yār
Önince semend-i sa'ādet süvār

Anun her biri Rüstem-i dāstān
Vezīr adına līk ħusrev-niŧān

Süleymān ki sultān-ı mümtāz idi
Umūrında Aŧaf'la dem-sāz idi

Bu ŧāh-ı cihān eylesün serveri
Ki yanında var nice Aŧaf'ları

Önince revān oldu a'lām-ı dīn
Ĥakāyık-ŧināsān-ı ehl-i yakīn

Skender ki řāh-ı felek-tāc idi
Aristo-yı dānāya muhtāc idi

Bu řāhun rikābında var bī-kıyās
Aristo gibi nice hikmet-řinās

řolāklar çekildi olup cilve-ger
Zer-üşküf güneş şorgıcı řu‘leler

Ya-ħūd Ka‘be-i cāha cārūbdur
Anun çün güneş gibi mergūbdur

Açılmış kumaş-ı mūnaķķaş o yol
Ana sīm-naķş-ı ķaranfildür ol

Olup her biri řekl-i sīmīn-teber
Teber-serleri halka tezkīr ider

Revān-řātırān-ı zer-endūde tāc
Ki her biri ister güneşden ģarāc

O tāc oldu fānūs-ı řem‘-i zafer
Çıķar pırehenden źiyā řanma zer

Ya zer-baft pūřide ģar-gāhdur
Ki iķbāl ol ģar-gehe řāhdur

Bu ģali bilür her zekī vü ģabī
Ki destār-ı mihrün odur ķalıbı

Gidüp çāvşān ferd-i āyīn ile
Güneş gibi hep gürz-i zerrīn ile

Degül gürz o bir necm-i dūnbāle-dār
Ki evc-i şerefde olur āşikār

Olup çöb-i zer üzre zerrīne gūy
Nazar nāvekin itdiler sū-be-sūy

Yise şeş-perīn düşmen-i bī-şebāt
Ana teng olur hāne-i şeş-cihāt

O deste hüner çarhınun mihverī
Hilāl-ı felekdür anun her biri

Virüp pençde şeşperi ana ād
Şeş ü beş ana düşdi naqş-ı murād

Gidüp başda cünd-i Bektāşiyān
Dilāver dilīrān-ı pür-hāşiyān

Gice şubh-ı şādık gibi nūr-bağş
Güneş gibi zer-üsküf eyler dırağş

Yem-i cenge keştīdür ol serverān
Gice dāmeninde açar bādbān

Anun her biri kūh-veş gergeden
Cenībinde ki şāh-ı düşmen-şiken

Zer-üsküfle ham uçlı bu kilik hemân

Hilâl u güneşdür ki itmiş kırân

Degül yüklük üstinde bir küleng

Duḡân şaldı bir şem‘a-i zerd-reng

Feres-rân olup şâh-ı ‘izzet-ķarîn

Revân oldu rûh-ı zamân ü zemîn

Selâmına cân atdı ḡalk-ı cihân

N’ola olsa ham-geşte ķadler kemân

Dü-tâ ķadler oldu hilâl-i şühûr

O ḡürşiddeden itdiler kesb-i nûr

Du‘āya el açdı sigâr ü kibâr

O yol nehr ü her su nihâl -i çenâr

Olup pence-i mihr evce revân

Du‘asına ķaldırdu el āsümân

Yol üstinde ḡâke olup zer-nişâr

Gül evrâķını dökdi bād-ı bahâr

Yem-i desti engüştden mevc hîz

N’ola olsa mânend-i kef nuķre-rîz

Vîrür merd-i muḡtāca sîm ü zeri

Ne sîm ü ne zer bezl ider güheri

BU vech üzre sultān-ı gerdün hırām
Hırāmān olup itdi tahtın maķām

İlāhī maķāmında pāyende kıl
Ana cümle eltāfun erzende kıl

The Polish campaign of İskender Paşa³¹²

Süvār oldu raḥş-ı şabā sür‘ate
Revān Leh mülkini ğārete

Ṭaķındı güneş gibi zerrīne tiğ
Hurūş itdi mānend-i ğarrende mīğ

Yanınca revān Rūmili ‘askeri
O mülkün ser-āmed dilāverleri

Meger baḥr-ı rūm idi ‘asker hemān
N’ola anda yelkenler olsa ‘ıyān

Alaca yılan Ḳostanise meger
Çatal bayrağı birle mār-ı dü-ser

Çü rūmī siperdür anun ekseri
‘Alī’dür ki kapmış der-i Ḥayber’i

Per ü bālı var yelkenün murğ-vār
Semenderdür ol kırmızı rengi nār

³¹² Külekçi, “Ganî-zāde Nâdirî,” 361-2.

Yeşil yelkeni ıayr-ı huırat-nümā
İçinde seri rûh-ı ehl-i hüdü

Kimi öldürüp muşt ile gürg-i ner
Anun postını tāk idinmiş geyer

Ġazāl-ı veġā nāfesidür o tāk
Ana müy-ı ser misk-i ‘anber revāc

Pelengine pūşun cüdāsı diraht
Dirahtun velī nūr u zıl laht laht

Yanar āteş-i kīne her merd-i ceng
Anun düdü başında per-i küleḡ

Kimisi geyüp kaz göküsi cebe
Biner āb-ı şāfi-şıfat eşhebe

‘Arağ-çīn geyer nice fāyıkları
Sever nā-şüküfte şakāyıkları

Kurarmış yayın bir Tehemten-reviş
Şakāyık küşād olmaġa başlamış

Olup Kostanise mehīb ejdehā
Degül topı yutmuş henüz ol ġidā

Kimi ser bürehne şokar başa per
O mecnün-ı perhāşa bir murġ-ı ser

Çıkup çarğa gül-bang-ı zerrīne-nāy
Sipihr oldu āzurde hūy u hāy

O deryā-yı kahr oldu cünbiş-künān
Ol ebr-i ‘azābī gurīniş-künān

Süm-i raşş ile nīzeler germ-hīz
Felek pāre pāre zemīn rīz rīz

Zemīn gerd olup çıkdı gökden yana
Kucup çekdi pehlūye arzı semā

Şerer-bār olup na‘l-i sümm-i sūtūr
Semender-mişāl oldu bī-ħad tuyūr

Toz itdi felek baħrin enbāşte
O topraqda toħm erzeni kāşte

‘Alemler açup şukqa-i perniyān
Per ü bāl açup uçdı sīmurğ-sān

Leh’ün itdi serħaddine çün duħūl
Kağalgāy sultānda buldu vuşūl

Sipāh-ı Tatar’ı hezārān hezār
Sitīzende mānend-i çerşmān-ı yār

Dilīrān-ı Cengīzi-i şīr ü zūr
Şabā-seyr ü ħūnī sıbā‘ u tuyūr

Çemendür ki eṭrāf-ı telde mekīn
Rü'ūsında alpakda ki pūstīn

‘Aceb tīr-zen-i avm-i Rūstem-kemān
Urur eşm-i mūr-ı iderse nişān

Oı seng-i hārādan eyler gūzer
Deler arı mānend-i nūr-ı başar

Yeter amısı h‘ārī-i dūşmene
Ki ejder kemendi şalar gerdene

İki ‘asker ol yirde cem‘ oldılar
O yir oldı bareyne mecma‘ meger

Procession of ‘Osmān II and the army for the Polish campaign³¹³

Nūcūmı hākimān-ı hey‘et-şinās
Suṭurlāb ile oldı sā‘at-şinās

Suṭurlāb-ı mihr ile bercīs hem
Bu hıdmetde olmışdı şābit-adem

İrişdi ū vaa‘ādet-eşer
Olundı cihāndār-ı dehre haber

Çeküp dergehe raş-ı pūr şevketi
Şitābında esb-i şabā sūr‘atı

³¹³ Kūleki, “Ganī-zāde Nādirī,” 386-92.

Didiler ki bismi'llah ey şeh-nişân
Şükkühında mehdî-yi âhır-zemân

Yirinden turup ol şeh-i ser-firâz
İdüp evvelâ Haq'ka yüzbin niyâz

Ŧaķındı bele haņcer-i pür güher
Güher kaņtre-i ebr o mizâb-ı zer

Vücüd-ı şerîfi yem-i serveri
Güherden kıya balığı haņceri

Ŧuşandı çü şemşîr-i gevher-nişân
O dem bađladı kâhr-ı haşma miyân

Muraşsa' kılıç ejder-i mühre-dâr
Ne ejder o kim mühresi bî-şumâr

Ŧaķındı cevâhirlü bir tîrkeşi
Ki çeşme şalar şu'le-i âteşi

Meger yakmađa düşmen ü kişverin
O 'anķa semenderden almış perin

Degül ol otâkâ vü zencîr-i zer
Ki 'anķa vü ejder şarılmış meger

Yâ-hüd ol otâkâ şehâb-ı siyâh
Çeker çarķa bir ejder-i kîne-h'vâh

Çıkup ol şehen-şāh-ı düşmen şikār
Semend-i şabā seyre oldı süvār

Çü deprendi ol rahş-ı hicā hücūm
Şerer saçdı gökden döküldi nücūm

Çıkup çarha gül-bang-ı kūs-ı rahīl
‘Alem şukkası şaldı zıll-i zalīl

Şafır -i nefir oldı āfāk-gir
Serāsime ol şayhadan çarh-ı pır

‘Alem-hāy-ı şāhen-şehi ser-be-evc
Hırāmında cengāverān fevc fevc

Sipeh şaldı dünyāya zilzāl-i saht
Felek pāre pāre zemīn laht laht

Yedekler ser-ā-pā muraşsa‘ seleb
Meger cümlesi kūh-ı kār idi heb

Olup zelzele cünbīş-i tevsenān
Zuhūr eylemiş cümle ahcār-ı kār

Ya çarh-ı sevābit anun her biri
Diraşsān nücūm anda cevherleri

Ya-hūd her biri bir yem-i dür-nişār
Ki māhī-i şemşir ü kalkanı var

‘Alem mehcesi çıkdı gerdūna dek
Ol engüsterine zümürüd felek

Olup mehcenün gümüşi kelpeteyn
Çeküp encümün dişlerin virdi şeyn

Olup bād ile şukka gerdün-resān
Felek fülki buldı ‘aceb bād-bān

Tüfengün bulup dūd-ı ‘ūdın güneş
Olur şukkadān farkına şāl-keş

Ƙad-ı tūğı bir āb-ı bālā-devān
Ki fevvāre-i husrevīden ‘ıyān

Degül tūğı şad-rişte-i āb-ı nāb
Ser-i ābdan hāke eyler şitāb

Çıkup çarha gül-bāng-ı ğarrende-yāy
Felek oldı ser-geşte-i hūy u hāy

‘Ömer-nām olan h‘āce-i pādişāh
Ki olmışdı şāh-ı efāzıl-penāh

O ğün anları itdi hūsn-i siğāl
‘Ömer itdi icrā-yı neyl-i kemāl

Degül şūf o Nīl üzre emvāce bağ
Hem ahle’l-miyāha olur mā-şadağ

Esüp başlı bir Nîl kabarmış o mā
Ki destârlar mevc-i pür-kef-nümā

Dilâver vezîrân-ı kişver-sitân
Binüp sâz-ı ceng ile oldı revân

Anun her biri şâh-ı gerdün-gulâm
Ki bir mülk-i mahşûsı var hâs-nām

En alçaqları bî-kabûl-ı cedel
Şehân-ı kadîmün çoğundan ecel

Anun her biri gösterip bir alây
Süvâr itdi bir cünd-i ceng-âzmây

Muraşsa‘-cebe serverân-ı dilîr
Ki evlâd-ı şâhib-kırâna nazîr

Sütürânı raqqaş idi dil-sitân
Eteklîk o raqqâşa bergüstvân

Anun ekşeri Rüstem-i rûzgâr
Ki bebrine pûş idi ebreş-süvâr

Revân oldı sultân-ı mâlik-riqâb
Haţ-ı üstüvâ-râh u şâh âfitâb

Önince kerâmetle Bektâşiyân
Tutar her biri mâr-ı âteş-feşân

Zer eskef güneşdür ki bedr-i bedîd
Yanında keçe bir şehâb-ı sefîd

O yüklik ocağ başıdur zer-nişân
Per-i murğ anun farkı üzre duhân

Giçe kaşr-ı zer-kâr-ı şâh-ı vegâ
Ki dāmânı bir perde olmuş ana

Tokınuğça cevlân-gehün şarşarı
Şalar maqrama fethe dāmenleri

Kemîne suqurlât-ı ahdar ğılâf
Zer-eskef güneş k'anda var inkisâf

Çuğa viridi bād -ı yem-i ahdarı
Gice rîg-i ebyaz ki sâhil yeri

Tüfeng ellerinde demirden qalem
Siyeh dūdıdur ana miskîn raqam

'Adūvânı tîz isteyüp oldu zâr
Anun çün saçar ana rengîn şerâr

İderler duhân lüledür her tüfeng
Hele buldı ruşsat ana merd-i ceng

Ṭutan gerçi bunlar velî old duhân
'Ācebdür ki olmuş 'adūdan 'ıyân

Cebecilerün cüdi āhen-ķabā
Zer-endüde miġferle cevlān-nümā

O tūġ-ı beyāzı ki miġferdedür
Ki mecmū‘u serdür hevā-gerdedür

Nücüm olsa vāķıf eger ŗānına
İder idi ķıl anı dendānına

Fiŗek hāvanıdur o miġfer meger
Yanup ŗaldı bālā-devān ŗu‘leler

Ya fevvāredür miġferi dāyimā
Nice riŗte-i āli serdür hevā

Ya-ħūd devħa-i nev-nihāl-i enār
Aġarmıŗ ŗitāda olup berf-vār

Tüfeng ile bunlarda āteŗ-feŗān
Miŗāl-i dilīrān- Bektāŗiyān

Çü minfāh idi ellerinde tüfeng
Bulurdı anunla ‘alev nār-ı ceng

‘Araba süvār oldı hep topciyān
Anunla olur ŗop-ı rüyin revān

Bulup ejder-i ŗopa anlar zafer
‘Arabayla Behrām-ı Gür oldılar

Anun da çođı ullanurlar tñfeng
Geyer sebz yelken o merdān-ı ceng

Per ü bāl açup sebz yelkenleri
Zaferdür o tñtñlerñn sñkkeri

Sipāhiler ardınca oldu sñvār
Kızıl şarı bayrakları lāle-zār

Şafağdur meger bayrak-ı la'l-sān
Ki rñmñ-i simāk ùzre olmış 'ıyān

'Aceb güher-i bayrak-ı zerd-gñn
Ki geh birine itdi cezb-i sñtñn

Beyāzı anun şem'-i rñmña zıyā
Ki bir cānibe egmiş anı şabā

Anun sebzini berk-i ter kııl hayāl
Ki aşlanmış ol berk ile bir nihāl

Anun her biri Haydar-ı nām-dār
Çatal bayrakı kāfire zñlfeķār

Dñ şāha olup garden-i dñşmene
Kefen bir mıķaşdur ten-i dñşmene

İderler nice ejdehāyı şikār
Per ü bāl-ı terkeşle simurğ-vār

oyup dūŝe ol rümh ile bayrađı
Olur düm-i simurđ iki bayrađı

Olup od zer ortada āfitāb
Degül terkeŝ iki bölünmiŝ ŝehāb

Oyup per-i peykān ile āb-dār
Birisinde avs-ı uzeh āŝikār

ubār eyledi āsümāna ŝitāb
Ru-ı āfitāb oldu müŝkīn niāb

Zemīn oldu gerd-i sipehden semā
Nücüm-ı felek seng-i rīze ana

ubār-ı zemīn itdi arlı münīr
amer oldu ol hāk iinde ‘azīr

Girüp ana cāmūs-ı ŝevr-i semā
Olur ba‘zı ‘uzvī ŝiyāhī-nümā

ü mülk-i Leh’e vardı ŝāh u sipāh
Nümāyān olup nice bin bār-gāh

Anı seyr iden ŝandı bī-irtiyāb
Yem-i ‘asker ire hezārān abāb

Dırāzı anun od u pesti siper
Sepīdi vü zerdi ile sīm ü zer

Olup çār-sū-yı sipāhı fezā
Anun çün sipāhīyle pür dāyimā

Her ol hayme kim oldı zengār-reng
Sipihrl olmış ol pür-sürüşān-ı ceng

Ya-ḥūd hindüvāne güli gūy-ı zer
Yinüp nışfı ḳalmışdı nışf-ı diger

Meger mışr-ı naşr oldı ol hayme-gāh
Sefīdi şeker kelle sebzi külāh

Çü memnū‘dur bāde-i lāle-gūn
O meyḥānenün cāmı hep ser-nigūn

Fezā āsümān haymelerdür nücūm
Olurlar şeyātīn-ı küfre rücūm

Ḳamerdür ana hayme-i pādişāh
Şoḳağı anun hāledür gerd-i māh

Bedenli şoḳağı ki maḳbūldür
Hemāna ḥişār-ı Stanbul’dur

Cevāmi‘ ḥıyām-ı şafā-güsteri
Ayaşofya’dur hayme-i ekberi

İnüp bār-gāhına şāh-ı cihān
Ten-i haymeye oldı rūḥ-ı revān

O dem şadr-a‘zam-ı vezîr-i hatîr
Sipeh-dâr-ı sultân-ı gerdûn-serîr

Dilâver-i dilîr felek-menzilet
‘Alî-kef Hüseyn Hasan menkıbet

Çeküp halka bir tuhfe ‘âlî-sımât
Sımât eyledi anlara inbisât

Turup anda bir hafta şâhib-ķırân
Binüp ba‘d-ezân râha oldu revân

Edirne konagına çün vardı râh
Biraz anda mekş itdi ‘âlem-penâh

**Procession of the army from Edirne to the bank of the River Danube while the sultan
stays in the Edirne palace³¹⁴**

Ser-âmed şehen-şâh-ı şâhib-ķırân
‘Adû-ķüş cihân-dâr-ı ķişver sitân

Çü bir kaç gün anda karar eyledi
‘Adâletle nazm-ı diyâr eyledi

Ķopup yerlerinden sipâhân-ı şark
O deryâya iķlîm-i ĝarb oldu ĝark

³¹⁴ Kûlekçi, “Ganî-zâde Nâdiri,” 393.

Gelüp cünbişe nice yüz bin sipāh
Nehārı ğubār itdi şām-ı siyāh

Dem-i nāy idüp çarhı pür velvele
Yire şaldı sümm-i feres zelzele

Gelüp cūşa tā hadd-i ekrāddan
O deryā-yı kīn oldı kim emvāc-zen

Dilīrān-ı Āmid'ün 'askeri tiz-mīg
Ki bārānı peykān idi berķi tīg

Ocaqlıqlarından çıkan kürdler
Firūzende nīrān-ı duzah-şerer

Olup cilve-ger hayl-i Şām u Haleb
Hücüm itdi şīrān-ı mülk-i 'Arab

Şaf-ı Şāmiyān tīre-şām-ı şenā
Şerār-ı tūfengi nücüm-ı belā

Atar hayl-i Şehbā şihāb-ı felek
İder dīv-i bed-ḥ^vāha dünyāyı teng

Ƙonup sāhile hayl-i āyin-zafer
Leb-i āba dendān idi haymeler

Şu yanında kim naşb oldı ḥıyām
Leb-i Nīl ehrāma oldı maķām

Procession of ‘Osmān II from the Edirne palace to the bank of the River Danube

Tezelzül bulup şarḡ u ġarb-ı cihān
Ḳıyām-ı Ḳıyāmetden oldı nişān

Süm-i rahş ile nīzeler sehm-nāk
Zemīn pāre pāre felek çāk çāk

Çü vākt oldı sultān- şāhib-Ḳırān
İdüp Ḳaşd-ı Ḳaşm oldı cünbiş-künān

Ederine sarāyından itdi ḥurūc
O bāz itdi evc-i ġurāba ‘urūc

Şalup şubḡa ġülbāng-ı zerrīne nāy
Kim itdi felekde melek dest ü pāy

Ġāv-ı kūsdan zehreler oldı çāk
Biri birine girdi eflāk u ḡāk

Şülüş kāfidür şekl-i zerrīn-nefīr
Ki yazmış anı āb-ı zerle debīr

O kāfun mü’eddāsı teşbīh-i tām
Ki ceng oldı hem-tā-yı rüz-ı Ḳıyām

Ḳırāmende a‘lām-ı şāhen-şehi
Şimāl ile cünbīde serv-i sehī

‘Alem üzre kim çarḡ-ı efrāşte
‘Alem şāhdur pīl-i berdāşte

Şehen-şāha bir bir yitüp ol huyül
Karışmakta bahr-ı muhîte süyül
Bu resme gidüp şāh-ı ‘ālem-penāh
Tuna nehrine müntehī oldı rāh

Passage of the army over the bridge built on the River Danube³¹⁵

Şürü‘ itdi ‘asker mürür itmege
Süvār u piyāde ‘ubur itmege

Ni‘al ile ile zer mehçeler kīne-ḥ^vāh
Serāsīme anlarla māhī vü māh

Giçüp rüz u şeb cün-i āyīn zafer
Otuz günden artuğda itdi güzer

İdüp ‘aks zer-i cevşenān āb-ı nār
Ḥabāb-ı firāvānı oldı şerār

Şırāṭ oldı üstinde pül bī-gümān
Güzār eyledi andan İslāmiyān

İdüp mülk-i Boğdan’ı ğarḳ ol sipāh
Çekildi Leh’e şāh-ı devlet-penāh

Ḥırāmende ḥayl-i zafer rehberi
İrişdi Purut nehrine yolları

³¹⁵ Külekçi, “Ganî-zāde Nâdiri,” 398.

Procession of ‘Osmān II from the Polish campaign to Edirne³¹⁶

Şükūhında sulţān-ı mülk-i yakīn

Bu resme olur taht-ı dāniş-nişin

Ki kār-ı ğazā çünki oldu tamām

Rücū‘ itdi sulţān-ı ‘ālī maķām

Dönüp tahtına ‘izz ü iķbāl ile

Ħırām eyledi ferr ü iclāl ile

Yemīn ü yesārında fetĥ ü zafer

Pes ü pişi dārāyi-i baĥr u ber

Şikeste küleh kūşe-i devleti

Küşāde ‘alem şukķa-i şevketi

Ruĥı āfitāb-ı sipihr-i fütūh

Ana nisbet ile sūhā mülke yūh

Yolından zafer buldı şāh-ı cihān

Reh-i pāy-ı tahtına oldu revān

Çü menzil-geh oldu ana Edrine

Zafer meysere meymenet meymene

Bulup taht-ı şāni-i mülke vuşūl

Sarāy-ı dil-ārāya kıldı duĥūl

³¹⁶ Kūlekçi, “Ganī-zāde Nādiri,” 411-2.

Fezâsında meyl-i şikâr eyledi
Bir iki gün anda karar eyledi

Procession of ‘Osman II and the army from Edirne to İstanbul³¹⁷

Olnca müyesser huşul-ı merâm
Sa‘âdetle şahen-şeh itdi hırâm

Stanbul’a ‘azm itdi şahib-ķırân
O rûh-ı cihân oldu râha revân

Şu sâ‘at ki yaklaşdı vaqt-ı vuşul
Sa‘âdetle şehre iderken duhul

Döşendi nice atlas-ı mu‘teber
Süpürdi solaklar egüp hâke ser

İnüp spâyine kaşr-ı billürdan
Ser-â-ser döşetdi güneş nürdan

Çü pâ-bûsına teşne oldu cihân
Döşendi ana atlas-ı âsümân

Velî eski olmakla ol bî-şebât
Güzer kılmayup itmedi iltifât

Şu ‘unvân ile girdi şahib-ķırân
Ki hayretde kaldı zamîn ü zemân

³¹⁷ Kûlekçi, “Ganî-zâde Nâdiri,” 415-6.

Fürüzân-‘alem şukkasından zafer
Sehâb içre berç-i cihân cilve-ger

Açar tûğlardan zülâl-i veğâ
‘Araç-rîz olur kâkül-i dil-rübâ

Dem-i nây sūr-ı Serâfil-vâr
‘Adu kırdüğün itmede âşikâr

Ğurîvinde pîl üzre bir hışba kūs
Meh ü mihre itdürmekde hâk-būs

Çıkup karşıya cümle halk-ı cihân
Du‘âsiyle olmağda raḫbû’l-lisân

Ḥusūsâ ki â‘lâm-ı dîn-i mübîn
Ayağına itmekde vaz’-ı cebîn

Ki himmetle ihyâ-yı dîn eyledi
Ḍalâl ehlini ḫâsîrin eyledi

Eger mümkün olsa şığâr u kibâr
Ana cevher-i cân iderdi nişâr

Bu şevketle girdi şeh-i nev-civân
Ten-i şehre bahş eyledi tâze cân

‘Aceb şâh-ı Cem-câh mümtâzdur

Dilîr-i civân-baht u ser-bâzdur

Bu sinn içre bir şâh anı itmedi
Bu yoldan ğazâ haccına gitmedi

Bu sinde ‘Alî itdi ancağ ğazâ
‘Aliyy-i velîdür ana reh-nümâ

Giçüp taht-ı mülkine sultânımız
Yirine oturdı hele cânumız

APPENDIX II: IMAGES



Figure 1. Ottoman army plundering Tabriz,

TPML, H. 1124, 13b-14a.



**Figure 2. Battle of Serav between Ottoman-Crimean and Safavid forces,
TPML, H. 1124, 18b-19a.**



Figure 3. Gifts sent by Şah ‘Abbās arriving in İstanbul,
TPML, H. 1124, 24b-25a.



Figure 4. Halil Paşa's naval campaign on Manfredonia,
TPML, H. 1124, 40b-41a.

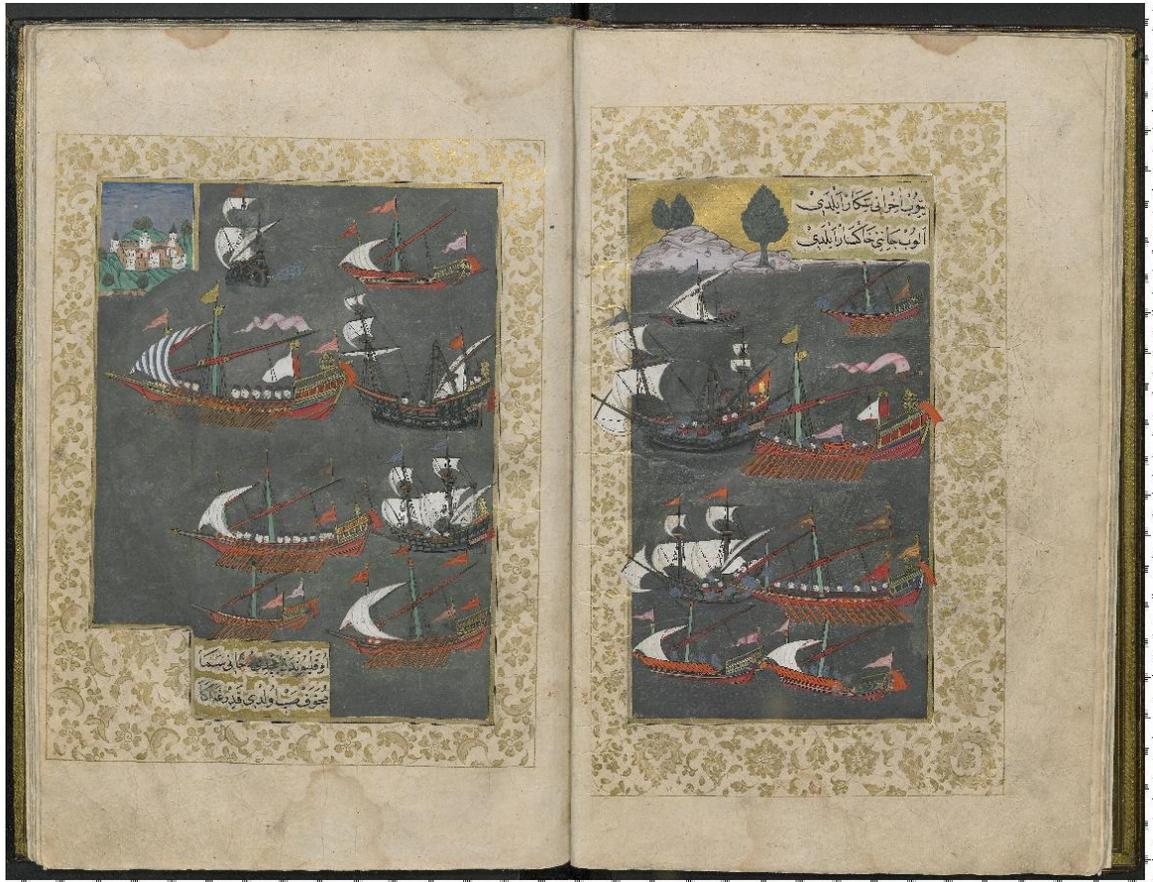


Figure 5. Ottoman navy under 'Ali Paşa's command,
TPML, H. 1124, 28b-29a.



**Figure 6. İskender Paşa's Polish campaign,
TPML, H. 1124, 35b-36a.**

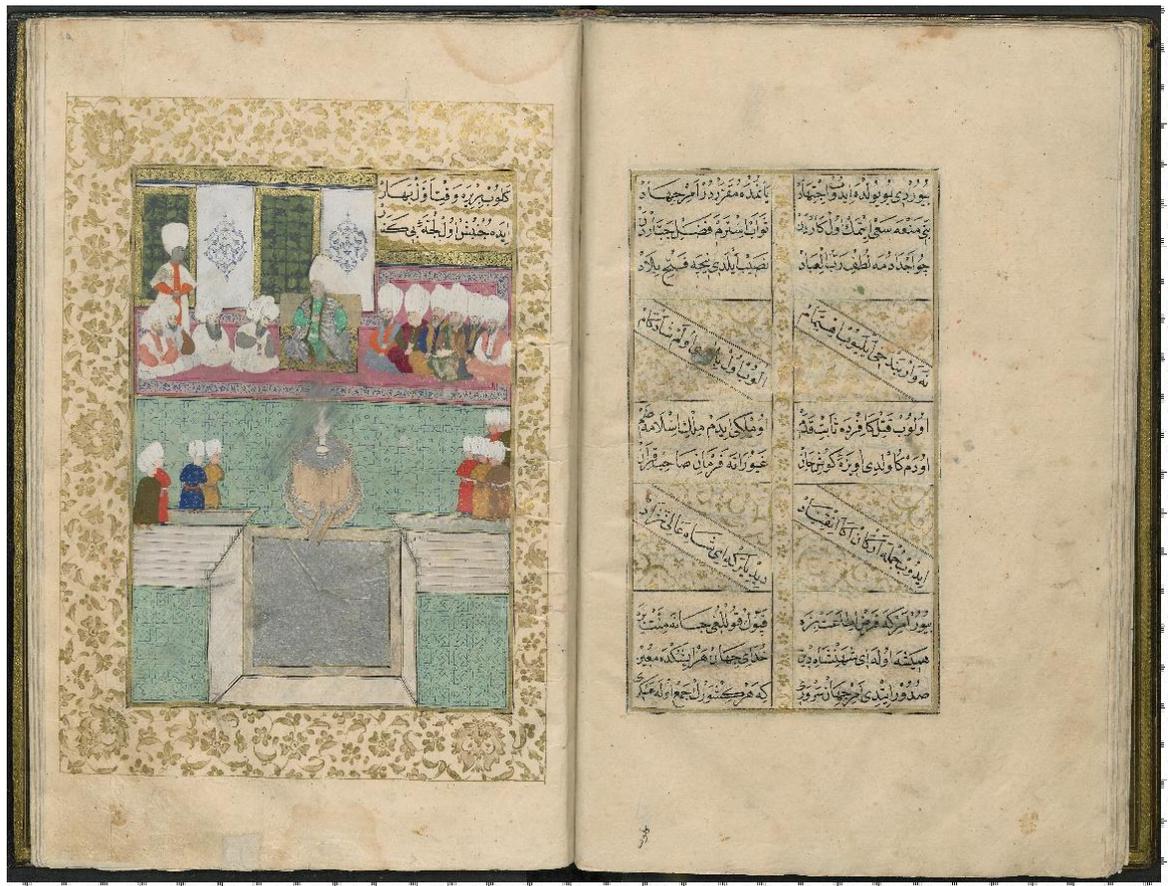


Figure 7. 'Osmān II holding a discussion at the *dīwān*,
 TPML, H. 1124, 49a.



**Figure 8. ‘Oṣmān II and the army proceeding for the Hotin campaign,
TPML, H. 1124, 53b-54a.**



Figure 9. 'Osman II shooting the fugitive Cossack prisoner,
TPML, H. 1124, 62a.



**Figure 10. Ottoman-Polish battle during the Hotin campaign,
TPML, H. 1124, 67b-68a.**



Figure 11. The new kiosk and caique built by ‘Osmān II,
 TPML, H. 1124, 73b-74a.