

A New Look at Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's Illustrated Universal History

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Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa'nın Resimli Evrensel Tarihine Yeni Bir Bakış

Öz ■ Bu makale Bağdat valisi Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa (ö. 1602) için Bağdat'ta yazılmış bir evrensel tarihe yeni bir kaynak çerçevesinden tekrardan bakar. Bu kaynak (Bibliothèque nationale de France Supplément turc 1322), evrensel tarihin sunum nüshalarının (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi H. 1369 ve H. 1230) fihristinde belirtilmiş ancak tamamlanmamış hatime kısmını muhteva eder. Bu yeni kaynağın çerçevesinden evrensel tarihe tekrardan baktığımızda hatime kısmının da Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa'yı neredeyse bir sultan gibi yansıttığını ve eserin tümüne yayılmış yerel, Bağdatlı referansların mevcudiyeti fikrini pekiştirir. Ancak bu Paris yazması sadece eksik bir metnin geri kalanı değildir. Bu evrensel tarihten bölümler Zakariya al-Qazwini'nin (ö. 1283) *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt* eserinden bölümlerle birlikte sunularak neredeyse bir mecmua gibi görülebilir ve bu evrensel tarihe farklı bir perspektif katar.

Anahtar kelimeler: Osmanlı, evrensel tarih, Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa, mecmua, Bağdat.

Scholars are often plagued by fear that there might be yet another crucial source still waiting to be discovered in the archives and manuscript libraries. What we notice as we go through archives and catalogues is partly predicated on the parameters of our research, but in rare instances serendipity allows one to find a source after the completion of a project. This article arises from such a discovery—a curious manuscript from the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Supplément turc 1322, hereafter BnF Supp. turc 1322) that “completes” the universal history composed for the governor of Baghdad Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa (d.

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1602).¹ The article re-introduces the *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer* (Compilation of Biographies), the late-sixteenth- early-seventeenth-century illustrated universal history written for Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa in light of this new discovery.² This article presents the pieces of an intriguing puzzle that involves three manuscripts—two from the turn of the seventeenth century and one from the late seventeenth century—to suggest that BnF Supp. turc 1322 reframes this universal history by juxtaposing it with other texts, in effect becoming a compilation (*mecmu'a*).

In the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, there are two illustrated, deluxe manuscripts (Hazine 1369 and Hazine 1230) which were composed by an otherwise little-known historian Muhammed Tahir es-Siddiki el-Necibi el-Suhreverdi, who was a member of governor Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's household.³ These two manuscripts (which were prepared during Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's gubernatorial tenure in Baghdad between 1596 and 1602 as presentation copies for the governor) and the newly discovered manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale de France

- 1 On Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's career see Erhan Afyoncu, "Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 2006, XXXVII, 366–8.
- 2 On this manuscript see Tülün Değirmenci, "Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası: Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa ve Resimli Dünya Tarihi," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 49 (2017), pp. 171–203. Hereafter Değirmenci, "Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası;" Melis Taner, "Two Paths to Power: Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa and Hadım Yusuf Paşa and Their Art Patronage in Early-Seventeenth-Century Baghdad," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 54 (2019), pp. 57–117. Hereafter Taner, *Two Paths to Power*; Melis Taner, *Caught in a Whirlwind: A Cultural History of Ottoman Baghdad as Reflected in its Illustrated Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), chapter 2. Hereafter Taner, *A Cultural History of Ottoman Baghdad*.
- 3 Other than the fact that Muhammad Tahir was in Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's household and his affiliation with the Suhrawardiyya Sufi order, we do not know much about the author. The Suhrawardiyya order was a Sunni order founded by Ziya al-Din Abu'l Najib as-Suhrawardi (d. 1168), for whom a *khānqah* (lodge for Sufi gatherings) was built in Baghdad. Given the strong emphasis on Baghdad and Baghdadi persons in the universal history, and given his Suhrawardi connection, it is possible that Muhammad Tahir was from Baghdad. The seventeenth-century historian and author of a vast bibliographic encyclopedia Katib Çelebi (d. 1657) briefly mentions Muhammad Tahir as among the notables of the sixteenth century and writes that the *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer* is about some governors of Baghdad and is organized to have an introduction, six books, and a conclusion. Katip Çelebi, *Kitāb Kashf az-Zunūn 'an Asāmi'l Kutub wa'l Funūn* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1360–61), p. 541; Edgar Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Turcs Tome II Supplément, nos 573–1419* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1933), p. 234. Hereafter Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Turcs*.

(dated 23 February 1671) comprise the totality of the universal history authored by Muhammad Tahir. This universal history, as the author tells us in H. 1369, was organized by an introduction, six books, and a conclusion.⁴ These six books were to cover the celestial spheres and elements; pre-Islamic prophets and their contemporaries; the lives of the Prophet Muhammad and his family; the Umayyads; the collapse of the Umayyads and the transition of the caliphate to the Abbasids; the Abbasids and their near contemporaries. The conclusion was supposed to take the historical events to the present day, focusing on the tenure of Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa.⁵ H. 1369 and H. 1230 do cover the six books as promised. However, the concluding section is lacking in these two volumes.

4 As discussed by Değirmenci and Taner previously, H. 1369 covers the first five books and includes the beginning of book six on the Abbasids, reaching the beginning of caliph Harun al-Rashid's reign (r. 786–809). It ends mid-sentence. H. 1230 begins with a short introduction that notes that the author Muhammad Tahir thereby begins the second volume. Then, it picks up the story from the beginning of the sixth book. Thus, barring the short introduction in H. 1230, the text of the sixth book overlaps almost verbatim with the last forty-four folios of H. 1369. H. 1230 covers the whole of the sixth book, from the beginning of the Abbasids to their fall. It includes sections on contemporary shaykhs and ulema, as well as contemporary dynasties. It ends with a very brief account on Muhammad Khan (d. 1338), a claimant to the Ilkhanid throne. However, H. 1230 does not include the concluding section. Değirmenci, "Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası," pp. 190–192; Melis Taner, "Caught in a Whirlwind: Painting in Baghdad in the Late Sixteenth–Early Seventeenth Centuries" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2016), pp. 179–181. Hereafter Taner, *Caught in a Whirlwind*.

5 "...Bir muqaddime ve altı defter ve bir hatime üzerine tertib olunub Cāmi'ü's-Siyer tesmiye olundu...Defter-i evvel eflāk-ı devvār ve kevākib şevābit ve seyyār ve semevāt ve 'anaşır-ı çaharın aḥvāl ve āşarların beyan ider. Defter-i şani 'ulu'l 'azm aḥvalin ve zamanlarında vaqı' olan selātinlerin veḳa'ilerin ve seyyid-i enbiyā ve server-i aşfiya ḥazretlerinin vilādet-i şerifleri ve ğazavāt ve sa'ir veḳa'i ve hālātların beyān ider şalavat allah 'aleyhi ve 'aleyhim ecma'in. Defter-i şaliş şaḥabe-yi kiram-ı zevi'l ihtiram ḥazretlerinin ḥilāfetleri zamānında vaqı' olan veḳa'iler ve aḥval ve ḥavādişler ve İmam Ḥasan ve İmam Ḥüseyn şehadetlerinin vuḳu'u ve baḳı-yi e'imme-yi 'işna 'aşer aḥvalin beyan ider rıdvan allahu 'ala's şaḥabeti ve 'aleyhim ila yevmü'd dīn. Defter-i rabi' beni Ümeyyenin ḥükümetleri ve ol zamanda vaqı' olan aḥvali beyan ider. Defter-i ḥamis Ebu Müslim'in ḥurucu ve beni Ümeyye'den 'Abbasiler'e ḥükümet intikal eyledüĝin beyan ider. Defter-i sadis ḥulefa-yı beni 'Abbas aḥvalin ve zamanlarında vaqı' olan veḳa'i ve etraf selātinlerinin ihtilafların beyan ider. Ḥatime ol server-i mücahidan ve serdar-ı ğaziyan ve ol şadr-nişin-i vezaret ve şaḥib-i temkin-i eyalet ḥazretlerinin bu āna gelince ḥükümet eyledüĝi vilayetleri ve itdüĝi ğazaları beyan ider." Muhammed Tahir es-Siddiki el-Necibi el-Suhreverdi, *Cāmi'ü's-Siyer*, Topkapı Palace Museum Library H. 1369,

Upon revisiting the catalogues of the Bibliothèque nationale de France for a different project, I came across an unillustrated late-seventeenth-century copy of Muhammed Tahir's text, which begins with the history of Abbasids (book six), and ends with the concluding section (which does not name the author), thus completing—to some extent, which will be discussed later—what was announced in H. 1369.⁶ However, these are not the only texts in this manuscript. BnF Supp. turc 1322 also includes Turkish translations of sections from cosmographer and geographer Zakariya al-Qazwini's (d. 1283) *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt* (Wonders of Creation and Oddities of Existents) before the concluding section.⁷

By providing detailed summaries of Muhammad Tahir's text and highlighting the ways in which this concluding section departed from its main sources, the article first looks at the totality of the "text" of the universal history to revisit Muhammad Tahir's conception of this universal history prepared for the governor of Baghdad. Reading the two Topkapı volumes (that is, the introduction and the six books) together with the concluding section (in BnF Supp. turc 1322) reaffirms earlier points made regarding this project.⁸ The concluding section, like the introduction, insinuates Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's particular position in Baghdad

fol. 16a–b. Hereafter *Cāmi'üs-Siyer*, H. 1369; Değirmenci, "Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası," p. 190; Taner, *Two Paths to Power*, p. 65.

6 This is Supplément turc 1322 and is described by Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Turcs*, pp. 233–234.

7 While the use of language does not present a drastic change to explicitly warrant a different author/translator for these sections, the placement of such texts from the *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* in BnF Supp. turc 1322 (right after the historical section) is unusual. If they were translated by Muhammad Tahir, the more commonly expected place for them would be in book one of H. 1369, which describes the creation, celestial spheres, and the four elements. Earthly matters would then follow as they do in the in *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt*. So far, I have not been able to determine the authorship of this section. On Ottoman Turkish translations of the *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt* see Günay Kut, "Türk Edebiyatı'nda Acâibü'l Mahlūkât Tercümelere," *Beşinci Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi Tebliğleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1985), pp. 183–193; Feray Coşkun, "Working Paper: *'Ajā'ib wa Ghraā'ib* in the Early Ottoman Cosmographies," *Acā'ib: Occasional Papers on the Ottoman Perceptions of the Supernatural*, 1 (2020), pp. 85–104.

8 On these see Değirmenci, "Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası;" Taner, *Caught in a Whirlwind*, chapter 4; Taner, *Two Paths to Power*; Taner, *A Cultural History of Ottoman Baghdad*, chapter 2.

and the author's own pious inclinations. Next, taking the Paris manuscript as a whole, this article proposes that this manuscript is more than a "continuation" of the "missing text." Copied nearly seven decades after H. 1369 and H. 1230, BnF Supp. turc 1322 takes a different life of its own. By incorporating sections from particular sources and rearranging them, this manuscript, whose creator remains anonymous, functions as a *mecmu'a*, showing the particular and specific interests of the compiler of the manuscript.

Revisiting the Topkapı Manuscripts of the *Cāmi'ü's-Siyer*

As previously mentioned, H. 1369 and H. 1230 together comprise the six books of Muhammad Tahir's universal history. These are prepared in two separate volumes. H. 1369 is incomplete at the end and is missing several paintings, while H. 1230 is more or less complete—missing one painting and the promised concluding section. Neither has a colophon, but based on the stylistic aspects of the paintings, both can be attributed to Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's tenure in Baghdad (1598–1602).⁹ Indeed, the author writes that the governor would ask to hear about the deeds of the rightly guided caliphs and various rulers. These, Muhammed Tahir notes, were available in Arabic and Persian, and while the governor was versed in these languages, those with whom he would be conversing, were not. Thus, a work in Turkish was commissioned.¹⁰ Commissioning such a

9 The long introduction in H. 1369 discusses the reigns of sultans Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566), Selim II (r. 1566–1574), Murad III (r. 1574–1595), and Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603) and how following the Eger campaign (1596), Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa was appointed to Baghdad to quell uprisings that disrupted trade. Değirmenci, "Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası," p. 191; Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ü's-Siyer*, H. 1369, fols. 13b–14a.

10 "Bu çäker kimesne da'î-i kâdim ve muhliş-i mustakimleri şeref-i hıdmet-şereflerine müşerref olub mülazımları silkinde münselik ve bendeleri 'adedinde ma'dud buyurdıkları sebeble kemer-i hıdmeti miyan-ı cana bağlayub kemer-i hıdmeteş be-cân bendem can kemer-var ber miyan bendem du'a-yı devam-ı devletlerine kıyam gösterüb mülazemet eşnasında hulefa-yı râşidîn ve selâtin-i ma'delet âyinleriñ aḥvalinden istifsar ve ba'zı veḳa'ilerinden istiḥbar buyurdular. Bu daḳir leb-i edible hırmeterine 'arz eyledim ki lisan-ı 'Arabî ve zeban-ı Farsiyle taḥrir olunmuşdur. Sa'adete buyurdular ki Türkî dilince olsa münasibdir. Egerçi vücud-u şerifleri ḥilye-yi ma'arifle âraste ve zat-ı laṭifleri 'ilm u kemal ile piraste lisan-ı 'Arabî'de tariḳ-i ḥasan'a salık ve Farsi'de maḳâmat-ı salmana mâlikdir, lakin ba'zı aşḫâb-ı devlet ki şeref-i şöḫbetleriyle müşerref olub istima'ından maḥfuz olurlar. Aña binaen bu ḥaḳir-i ḳalilül' biḳa'a Muhammed Ṭahir es-Siddiḳî el-Necibî el-Sühreverdi ḡafara allahu lehu valideyhi ve aḥsanallahu ileyhuma ve ileyhi. 'Ala ḳadri't taḳat ba'zı veḳa'î cem' idüb Türkî dilince bir kitab-ı müşkin ḫitab ki Cāmi'ü's-Siyer-i enbiya ve

universal history, not to mention the preparation of luxury volumes embellished with paintings, shows the governor's interest in following in the footsteps of his eminent father, the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa (d. 1579), who was also an important patron of arts and literature.¹¹ Such a link is also supported by the unfinished designs for the first two paintings in H. 1369 (figs. 1 and 2). They represent the audiences of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa with Sultan Süleyman and that of Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa and Mehmed III, respectively, visually highlighting the connection between the father and son and their close and privileged relationships with the reigning sultans.¹² Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa, who had a long career in various gubernatorial and commandeering posts, and who boasted his esteemed pedigree—son of the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and stepson of

seyyidü'l mürselin şalavat allahu 'aleyhi ve 'aleyhim ecma'in ve zamanlarında vâkı' olan selâtinlerin veķa'ilerine muhtevi ve aķbar-ı aķva-i ĥulefa-yı raşidîn ile müntevi ve ĥulefa-yı benî 'Abbas ve ol zamanda zühur iden selâtinlerin keyfiyyet aķvallerinden mebni ola ve ol neyyir-i 'azam-ı vezaret ve mişbaķ-ı maķam-ı sa'adet salifü'z zıkr ism-i şerifleri ĥalkları gibi ĥasan ve cemi'-i aķran ve emşalinden müstaķsen nâm-ı nâmileriyle 'unvan-ı kitab-ı 'unvan ve iķtibas-ı sa'adetlerinden nişan bulub lem'e-yi iltifatlarına şubķ-u şadıķ gibi nur efşân ola." Muhammad Tahir, *Câmi'üs-Siyer*, H. 1369, fols. 15b–16a. Değirmenci, "Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası," p. 192; Muhammad Tahir, *Câmi'üs-Siyer*, H. 1369, fol. 15b.

11 Indeed, the connection between the father and the son is highlighted in the long introduction in H. 1369 as well. Here, the author focuses on Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's important role in state administration and the trust that sultans Süleyman I, Selim II, and Murad III had in this grand vizier. In this respect, the Siege of Szigetvár (1566) is particularly highlighted, for during this siege the elderly Sultan Süleyman passed away and Sokollu Mehmed Paşa wisely concealed the ruler's condition until the fortress was captured and the heir apparent Prince Selim was notified. On Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's patronage of illustrated manuscripts see Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court*, chapter 3. Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's other son Mustafa Paşa was also a well-known patron of architecture. On his patronage see Mehmed Emin Yılmaz and Gökçe Günel, "Sâhibül Hayrât Makbûl (Sokollu) Mustafa Paşa" (Possessor of Good Works and Deeds Makbûl (Sokollu) Mustafa Paşa)," *OTAM*, 38 (2015), pp. 219–252.

12 This close familial connection is highlighted in another illustrated manuscript prepared in Baghdad for Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa the *Beng u Bâde* (Opium of Wine) of Fuzuli (d. 1566) (Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden Eb. 362). Illustrated with three paintings, interlineal gold illumination on all the pages, illuminated headings, and gold speckled margins, this small manuscript is indeed a luxury copy. Its colophon notes that it was prepared by the order of the governor Hasan Paşa, son of the deceased and martyred grand vizier Mehmed Paşa, thus making a direct attribution to this governor.

the daughter of Sultan Selim II, princess İsmihan Sultan (d. 1585)—thus made sure to cement this relationship in his patronage of art and literature.

Cāmi'ūs-Siyer is a clear example of Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's ambitions. This work was composed during Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's tenure in Baghdad between 1596 and 1602, which, if we take the historian Selaniki Mustafa Efendi's (d. 1600) word, was a low point in Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's long career—this historian notes that Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa fell out of favour after the Eger campaign and was sent to Baghdad as a way to keep him away from the capital.¹³ Conversely and understandably, Muhammad Tahir only has laudatory words for Sokolluzade, noting that it was his success and courage during the Eger campaign that led him to his appointment in Baghdad.¹⁴ This was to be the governor's final post—Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa died in a protracted war against Celali rebels.¹⁵

The physical qualities of the two Topkapı manuscripts hint at the volatility of the period—with bouts of uprisings and economic uncertainty—and the likelihood that the project was not completed due to the patron's sudden death. While both manuscripts are the same size (345x200 mm) and appear to have been executed around the same time based on stylistic features, they were written in two different calligraphic styles—H. 1369 in the sloping *nasta'liq* style and H. 1230 in a rounder *naskh* style. Perhaps they were simultaneously copied by different calligraphers to speed up the production process.¹⁶

13 Selaniki Mustafa Efendi does not dwell on the reasons for this appointment. However, the decision to send Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa to Baghdad, away from the capital, may have been because of his increasing power. It was during the Eger campaign that Sokolluzade Mehmed Paşa captured the attention of the historian İbrahim Peçevi (d. 1650), himself a relative of the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa. This historian noted Sokolluzade's lavish brocaded atlas garments and his grandiose manners in Eger. Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's imperious manners were noted by Selaniki Mustafa Efendi as well, who also pointed to the governor's father's wealth and power. İbrahim Peçevi, *Peçevi Tārihi, Cild-i Şānī* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1864), p. 31. Hereafter Peçevi, *Peçevi Tārihi*; Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tārih-i Selānikī*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, 2 vol. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999), vol. 1, p. 135, vol. 2, p. 722; Değirmenci, "Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası," p. 175–6.

14 Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, H. 1369, fols. 11a–11b.

15 For further information on the battle in Tokat, where Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa was killed, see Afyoncu, "Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa," p. 368.

16 H. 1369 contains 578 folios with sixteen lines to a page. H. 1230 has 219 folios with twenty-five lines to a page, making for a denser script, hence fewer pages—perhaps showing an economizing sensitivity. The calligraphic style of H. 1230 is very close to that of

The different calligraphic styles and the incomplete paintings all suggest that the project had to end abruptly, likely due to the patron's death in battle. H. 1369 lacks illumination and overall shows further signs of wear compared to H. 1230. However, regardless of the incomplete paintings,¹⁷ those that are complete point to the finesse of the project and highlight the ambitious imperial visions of Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa, who appears to have made the best of the lively art market in Baghdad by commissioning for himself such a grand work that would place him at the culmination of history, much in the manner of Ottoman official histories, like the mid-sixteenth-century *Şehnâme-i Âl-i 'Osman* (The Book of Kings of the House of Osman).¹⁸ This is further supported by the concluding section that was to deal with contemporary events, including Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's tenure in Baghdad. The next section of this article provides a brief summary of this concluding section.

another Baghdadi manuscript copied by 'Ali bin Muhammed el-Tustari (the sixth volume of the *Rawzat al-Şafî* (Garden of the Pure) of Mirkhwand (d. 1498), British Library Or. 5736). This calligrapher also copied in 1600 another manuscript attributed to Baghdad—a *Ḥadiqatü's-Sü'edâ* (Garden of the Blessed) presently in the Museum of Ethnography in Ankara, Besim Atalay Env. 7294. H. 1369 ends mid-sentence but a catchword suggests it continued further. The final seven folios are written in a different handwriting. It is possible that this section may be a later addition. The manuscript has been rebound and a section has been placed out of order and several folios are missing. Unfortunately, due to the tight binding, it is difficult to determine the quires. The only note of ownership is on the front flyleaf and gives date 1742–43 and the name of a certain Küçük el-Hacc Mehmed ibn Küçük Hacı 'Ali Ağa from the Bazarbeyli district of Dimetoka. On the physical attributes of these two volumes see Taner, *Caught in a Whirlwind*, pp.178–179. On this final note also see Değirmenci, "Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası," p. 190.

17 H. 1369 has six complete paintings with space left for thirty-seven further paintings, and H. 1230 has nine paintings with space left for one more, appearing in the section covering the Mongol ruler Hulagu Khan (d. 1265). In H. 1369, at the end of the section on the four elements there is space left for a painting. After this, the text moves on to a discussion of desert winds, the nature of water, fog and smoke. The majority of the paintings that were planned but not executed were to be in the section on pre-Islamic prophets. This would align with the popularity in the last quarter of the sixteenth century of illustrated manuscripts of the *Qişaş al-Anbiyâ* (Stories of the Prophets). On these manuscripts see Rachel Milstein, K. Rührdanz and B. Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of the Qişaş al-Anbiyâ* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1999).

18 On this work see Fatma Sinem Eryılmaz, "The *Shehnamecis* of Sultan Suleyman: Arif and Eflatun and their Dynastic Project," (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2010).

Bibliothèque nationale de France's Supplément turc 1322 as the Missing Text

H. 1230 contains the complete text of the sixth book but lacks the conclusion that was promised in H. 1369. H. 1230 begins with a very short introduction in which God, the Prophet Muhammad and the Ottoman ruler Mehmed III are praised. Muhammad Tahir is identified as the author, and it is noted that the first volume of the *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer* has been completed and the second volume thus begins. This is followed by a sub-heading that announces the beginning of book six.¹⁹ This section—that is, the beginning of the history of the Abbasids—overlaps almost verbatim with the final forty-four folios of H. 1369. H. 1230 continues this text further to include the history of the Abbasid caliphate from its beginning until collapse by the Mongols (1258). It includes stories on contemporary shaykhs and ulema as well as other contemporary dynasties, taking the history all the way up to the early fourteenth century and ends with a brief story about Muhammad Khan (d. 1338), a claimant to the Ilkhanid throne. H. 1230 ends here.

Like H. 1230, BnF Supp. turc 1322 also begins with the short introduction that notes the beginning of volume two. This section is introduced by the title “*min Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*,” or “from *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*,” marking that this is a selection from the complete text of the universal history. As with H. 1230, this manuscript also covers book six in its totality.²⁰ However, the Paris manuscript has additional ma-

19 “*Amma ba'd erbāb-ı ulū'l elbāb-ı firāset ve kiyāset me'ablarıñ mişkāt-ı hvaırlarına mahfi buyurulmıya ki mü'ellif-i kelām-ı müşgin erkām Muḥammed Ṭahir el-Necibi vafaḳallahu ta'ala be-tevfik-i rızaihi padişah-ı 'ālî-miḳdar-ı gerdün-medar zıll-ı kirdikar efser-i selaṭin ve 'ādil-i havaḳin şeyh-i şehinşah-ı 'arşa-yı'alem ve mesned-i taht-nişin-i Cem vāriş-i mülk-ü Süleymān ve ḥāfız-ı 'ibād-ı raḥman Sulṭān Muḥammed Han eyyede'l-raḥman ḥazretleriniñ ism-i hümāyun-u sa'adet maḳrunlarıyla müzeyyen ve müzeyyel kitāb-ı hayrül me'al-i hümāyun fāl enbiya-yi'āzam ve ḥulefa ve selāṭin-i 'ālî-maḳāmların aḥvāl ve āşārları muḥtevi olan tevāriḥin cild-i evveli itmāmından soñra cild-i şāniye şüru' olundu.” Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, H. 1230, fol. 1b.*

20 Book six begins by saying that there are thirty-seven Abbasid caliphs and that their rule lasted five hundred twenty-three years and two months. The account follows the account of successive Abbasid caliphs and important events in their reigns. Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, H. 1230, fols. 1b–87b; BnF Supplément turc 1322, fols. 2a–73a. An account of the imams the four schools of jurisprudence and in particular on Abu Hanifa (d. 767) (particularly important for the Ottoman house who followed the Hanafi legal school, and particularly important for Baghdad as it housed his shrine) follows this. Then come brief accounts of ulema and shayks; often the name of the Abbasid caliph during

terials, including the “missing” conclusion. Right after the end of book six and with little transition bar a hemistich from the poet Nizami’s (d. 1209) *Khamisa* (Quintet),²¹ the compiler begins the new section on “some wonders of creatures and marvels of existents that came into being by God’s own providence.”²² This, and the following sections which will be described later in this article, come, for the most part, from a Turkish translation of Zakariya al-Qazwini’s *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Mawjūdāt*. After these additional materials, BnF Suppl. turc 1322 then turns to the “conclusion regarding the Ottoman sultans’ wars, conquests, deeds, and the accounts of viziers, ulema, and shaykhs.”²³ So, the Paris manuscript begins with book six of Muhammad Tahir’s universal history, continues with sections from *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt* as well as sections on advice, then ends with Muhammad Tahir’s conclusion that covers a history of the Ottoman rulers.

Leaving the sections from the *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt* for the time being, I will jump to the “conclusion” and consider this section together with the texts of the

whose reign they lived is mentioned. Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi’ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fols. 73a–124b; Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi’ūs-Siyer*, H. 1230, fols. 87b–144b. After this section, polities and dynasties contemporary to the Abbasids are denoted, beginning with the Tahirids, Samanids, Buyids, Ziyarids, Ghaznavids, Fatimids, Seljukids, Khawarzmshahis, Zangids, Genghisids and ending with the Ilkhanids, taking the timeline nearly a century after the collapse of the Abbasids. Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi’ūs-Siyer*, H. 1230, fols. 144b–219a; Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi’ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fols. 124b–188a. As has been pointed above, part of the section on the Abbasids can also be found in H. 1369. After an account of the Umayyad caliph Hisham ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 724–743), the section ends. The next two pages are left blank. Then the account of the Abbasids begins on folio 534b. However, there is no introductory section in this instance. It begins “it has been told that there were thirty-seven Abbasid caliphs and their caliphate lasted five hundred twenty-three years and two months.” The manuscript ends mid-sentence on folio 577b, at the beginning of the reign of the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid.

21 The hemistich —found only in the Paris manuscript, and not the Topkapı manuscript (H. 1230)— appears at the end of Nizami’s *Khusraw wa Shirin* (Khusraw and Shirin) and warns against evil doing as it behoves nature to punish in return (*Chu bad kardi ma-bash iman zi āfāt / Ki wājib shod tabi’at-ra mukafāt*). Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi’ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 188a.

22 Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi’ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 188a.

23 *Ḥatime selāṭīn-i āl-i ‘Osmān’ın gāzavat ve fūtuḥāt ve veka’ileri ve zamanlarında olan vüzera ve ‘ulema ve meşayihleriñ aḥval beyan olunur.* Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi’ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 299b.

two Topkapı manuscripts. As mentioned above, H. 1369 announced a concluding section on the battles and the tenure of the governor up to the present day. The concluding section in BnF Supp. turc 1322 does not fully deliver this. Instead, it covers the battles and conquests of the Ottoman rulers from the empire's foundation until the reign of Sultan Süleyman. Nonetheless, this section subtly incorporates Sokullu Hasan Paşa into this earlier Ottoman history through its emphasis on Baghdad.

In this concluding section, Muhammad Tahir (who is not named in the Paris manuscript but whose authorship is clear, as will be pointed later) cites the widely-known histories of Ramazanzade Mehmed Paşa (d. 1571) and Hoca Sadeddin's (d. 1599) translation of Muslihuddin Lari's (d. 1572) universal history *Mir'ât al-Adwâr wa Mirqat al-Akhhbâr* (Mirror of Ages and the Staircase of Histories) as being among those that portray the glory of the Ottomans.²⁴ The section owes much to these sources, particularly the former. While Muhammad Tahir does not take Ramazanzade's work verbatim and does not repeat the same modular structure, the similarity of contents is undeniable. Muhammad Tahir embellishes the account with his own verses in Persian.²⁵ An important difference, however, is

24 Muhammad Tahir, *Câmi'üs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol., 299b. On Hoca Sadeddin see Şerafettin Turan, "Hoca Sadeddin," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, XVIII, 1998, pp. 196–198. On Muslihuddin Lari see Hulusi Kılıç, "Muslihuddin Lari," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, XXVII, 2003, pp. 103–104 and see Baki Tezcan, "Muslihuddin Lari (d. 1572): The Fate of an Immigrant Polymath in the Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire," *History from Below: A Tribute in Memory of Donald Quataert*, eds. Selim Karahasanoğlu and Deniz Cenk Demir (Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi University Press, 2016), pp. 617–628.

25 On the influence of Ramazanzade on later historians see Rukiye Özdemir, "Ramazanzade'nin Târih-i Nişâncı Paşa İsimli Eserinin Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmânlar Üzerine Etkileri," *Turkish Studies*, 14/1 (2019), pp. 553–576. Ramazanzade's section on the Ottomans—which constitutes the majority of his universal history—is organized into smaller sections. These briefly denote the ruler's date of death, place of burial, number and names of his sons and their date of birth, (in the case of the earlier sultans) the names of warriors, lists of conquests before and after the ruler's accession, the ruler's charitable acts, lists of ulema, shaykhs and viziers active during the ruler's reign. While Muhammad Tahir does take the basic information from this work, his account is placed in a more fluid narrative compared to Ramazanzade's. The modular nature of Ramazanzade's organization can be observed in the layout of a manuscript copy dated to February/March 1569 (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 4153). Of course, different manuscript copies may organize the layout of the text in different ways, this early manuscript is suggestive of the close relationship between the content and organization of the text itself and how it is organized on the page.

Muhammed Tahir's allusion to the significance of Baghdad in Ottoman expansion. In florid style, the author points to the importance of history and the value of the Ottomans, who "did not rest even a moment in following the path of God in jihad and *ghaza* against the perfidious infidels, and in reinforcing the true religion and fostering the customs of the path of the Prophet."²⁶ Indeed, he continues that, if carefully scrutinized, no ruler, bar the four rightly guided caliphs comes close to the Ottoman rulers in this respect, particularly in controlling the *haremeyn-i şerifeyn* (Mecca and Medina) and protecting and fostering the shrines of prophets and saints.²⁷ With this last point, Muhammad Tahir is likely alluding to Baghdad, the province which Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa controlled and which boasted many shrines important to both the Ottomans and the Safavids. The idea of possess-

26 "Amma sebeb-i nazm-ı umûr-u ehl-i 'âlem ve vasıta-yı intizâm-ı ahvâl-i cumhûr-u benî Adem hâdım-ı Mekke-yi mu'âzama ve Medine-yi mükerrerme-yi muhtereme olan pâdişâhân-ı kamkâr-ı zamân ve şehriyâr-ı nâmdar-ı cihân şehinşâhân-ı 'alî-tebâr âl-i 'Osmân ki daimü'l evkât fi-sebilillah cihad ve gaza-yı küffâr-ı bed-nihâd idüb takvîyet-i dîn-i mübîn ve ihya-yı merâsim sünen-i seyyidü'l mürselîn 'aleyhi's şalavat min rabbü'l 'alemîn ila yevmü'd dîn itmekden bir sa'at belki bir ân ârâm itmemişdirler... oña bina'en bu münşî-i erkâm-ı ahvâl-i ekâbir-i dîn ve memla-yi mecmu'a-yı âşâr-ı ehl-i yakîn ve münhi-yi etvâr-ı selâtin ve havâkin hasbü'l imkân ahvâl-i pâdişâh-ı âl-i 'Osmân bâbında 'arşa-yı beyân ve mağall-i 'ayanda semend-i fikri cevelan virüb hame-yi siyah-fam nahîfü'l endam ile mişâl-i haç u hal-i gül-ruhân-ı nesim-ebdân şâhife-yi kâfûri üzre semt-i tertib ve nehc-i te'lîfe ikdâm ikdâmıyla şuru' eyledi." Muhammad Tahir, *Câmi'üs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol., 300a.

27 "Hakkâ ki eger nazâr-ı dağîk ve fikr-i amîk ile tefekkür ve te'emmül olunsa ebu'l beşer zamânında hayrül beşeriñ eyyâm-ı sa'adet maqrûnuna vuşul bulunca hulefa-yı râşidinden bu âna gelince hulefa-yı erba'adan gayrı serîr-i salţanat üzre cülûs iden hulefa-yı benî 'Abbas ve hulefa-yı benî Isma'il ve sa'ir pâdişâhlardan selâtin-i âl-i 'Osmân'a şebih ve manend gazi ve mücâhid fi-sebilallah emval ve enfes ile 'arşa-yı 'âlemde nâdir belki bir pâdişâh bu sa'adet-i 'uzmaya muvaffak olmamışdır. Li-müellifihi sa'adet-i ezeli her şeh naşib olmaz 'inayet-i ebedi her sere refîk olmaz. Huşûşen ihya-yı merâsim-i sünen-i dîn-i Muhammedi bâbında ikdâm-ı tamâm ve ihtimâm-ı malakelam idüb inçiyâd-ı şeri'at-ı garra ve etba'-ı tarik-i hüdanîñ nehc-i müstakiminden inhiraf ve inşiraf göstermeyüb şâbit-çadem ve rasîh-dem olub tevfiğ-i ilah ve teveccüh-ü resûlullah ile haremeyn-i şerifeyn hıdmetiniñ sa'adet-i 'uzması havza-yı taşarruflarına getürüb ve cemî'i-i enbiya-yı 'azam ve evliya-yı kiram ve meşâyih ve 'ulema-yı zevî'l ihtirâm hazretleriniñ mezar-et-i keşirül envârları hayta-yı hükümet-i 'adalet maqrûnlarına dağil olub ihyalarına ba'ış ve 'imaraât-i müşahidlerine tamâm mertebe şarf-ı emvâl idüb bedel-i himmet itmışlerdür. Bu âşâr u 'alamât ve emarât ve halât irtifa' medaric-i sa'adet darin ve izdiyâd-ı meratib-i rifat ve şeref menzilinlerine şevâhid zâhir ve beyyinât bâhirdir." Muhammad Tahir, *Câmi'üs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 300b.

ing and controlling such holy sites as Mecca, Medina, and those that housed the shrines of holy figures, as well as the idea of the ceaseless zeal for *jihad* to fortify the religion continue in the long Persian verse that follows.

This verse section is interesting for its allusions to the significance of the lands under Sokulluzade Hasan Pasa's rule. Muhammad Tahir writes that the lofty sultans were always making war against the infidel, conquering their land, subduing "Rum and Firang," taking "Sham and Halab," "Misr and Maghrib," "lands of Yemen and Habash,"²⁸—referring to the extent of the Ottoman Empire on all fronts. Following all the conquests, which Muhammad Tahir emphasizes were in the name of God, the Ottomans also made sure to build mosques, charitable foundations, water channels (here Mecca is specifically mentioned) and to renovate and replenish the cities.²⁹ From picturing the broader extent of the Empire, Muhammad Tahir then specifies certain provinces and cities that fell under the control of the Ottomans, such as Van, Vastan, Kars, Mosul, Anbar, Baghdad, Basra, and Lahsa, saying that wherever the Ottomans went, they captured those lands with their sharp swords and shields.³⁰ Muhammad Tahir ends this rather long versified account by saying that were Firdawsi alive, he would write another *Shāhnāma*.³¹

28 "...Be-quwwat giriftand shahr u diyār / zi kuffār-ı bad-kış nā-payidar /be-masjīd badal sākhtand dayrhā/ nihādand ba-har masjidi khayrhā / musakhkhar ba-kardand Rum u Firang / giriftand Sham u Ḥalab bī-dirang / digar Mişr u Maghrib-zamin sar be-sar / musakhkhar beshod niz hem baḥr u barr / diyār-ı Yaman shahr-i Şan'ā tamām / beshod fatḥ az barq-ı zarb-ı ḥesam / Bilād-i Ḥabash niz ta Zangbar / iṭā'at ba-kardand bī-ikhtiyar." Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 300b–301a.

29 On the construction of water channels see Tuğba Aydeniz, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Mekke'nin Yönetimi (1517–1617)" (PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2010), esp. pp. 94–99. Guy Burak, "Between Istanbul and Gujarat: Descriptions of Mecca in the Sixteenth-Century Indian Ocean," *Muqarnas*, 34 (2017), pp. 287–320.

30 "... Musakhkhar shod ḥayṭa-yı arz-ı Rum / hama ān ḥavālī va ān marzbūm / digar Van va Vaştan va ham Qarş nīz / ba-dast āmad az zarb-i shamshir-i tīz / digar Moşul shahr-i Anbar ham / ki ba-takht-i 'Abbāsiyān dar qadam / bād humāyun sulṭan-ı Rum / giriftand fi'l ḥal ān marzbūm / ba-shod fatḥ-i Bağdād-i dār as-salam / ham aṭrāf-i u shod musakhkhar tamām / Başra va aṭrāf-ı u baḥr u barr / dar āmad ba-takht-i taşarruf digar / chu al-Ḥasa va Baḥrayn zi aqsa-yı bilād / bi-'awn-i ḥuda shod muyassar kushad / digar az jaza'ir firāwan qal'a / goshādand bī-ḥadd u bī-'adad buqa' / zi mashriq-zamin tā ba-sarḥadd-i Fars / giriftand rūy-u zamīn bī-qiyās / ba-har jā nihādand tigh-i sitiz / giriftand bā jawb ān jāyi nīz." Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 301a.

31 "Ki Firdaws chun zand kardad āger / navīsad yakī shāhnāma-ye digar." Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 301a.

The hindsight of the end of the Ottoman-Safavid war of 1578–1590 with more favorable conditions for the Ottomans is clear in this poem that focuses on the military might of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, the aforementioned cities listed in the poem—most of them in the eastern front—are, for the most part, connected with Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa, even though some of them had come under Ottoman control during the reign of Sultan Süleyman.³² Thus, while the account that follows traces the history of the Ottoman Empire from the time of the Seljuqs and the rise of the house of Osman until the reign of Sultan Süleyman, the poem subtly incorporates Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa into this “glorious” past, for it hints at the cities and provinces associated with the governor. The emphasis on Baghdad in particular is subtly weaved throughout this universal history.³³

Muhammad Tahir ends the account with the reign of Sultan Süleyman to whom a considerably greater portion of the work is dedicated. In the case of this ruler, the text is organized in a manner that follows his conquests in a chronological order. All of these are preceded by an emphasis on war against the infidel. Following the account of the wars and the captured fortresses, other events of the respective years are succinctly denoted, such as the circumcision of the sultan’s sons.³⁴ Even though Muhammad Tahir partly relies on Küçük Nişancı’s work for the history of the earlier Ottoman rulers, in the case of Sultan Süleyman, Muhammad Tahir does fully adhere to Küçük Nişancı’s text. Küçük Nişancı’s text on the ruler begins with requisite praises of the sultan, including his competence in poetry and eloquence and his sense of justice. He also mentions the ruler’s banning of wine and music and the appearance of mendicant dervishes (*qalandar*) and “heretics” (*rafizi*).³⁵ Following these rather long narrative sections, Küçük Nişancı then turns to a more modular way of listing the sons of the ruler, his viziers, their dates of birth, date, office, etc. This is followed by an account of the ruler’s battles and conquests. The final major event included in Küçük Nişancı’s account is the rebellion and execution of Prince Bayezid in Qazwin (1561).

Muhammad Tahir also mentions this event and takes the historical section further, until the Siege of Szigetvár. However, Muhammad Tahir’s account of the

32 Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa had a long career since the early 1570s until his death in the early seventeenth century. He served in Bosnia, Rumelia, Aleppo, Diyarbekir, Anatolia (in Kütahya), Erzurum, Damascus, and of course in Baghdad.

33 See Taner, *Two Paths to Power*.

34 Muhammad Tahir, *Câmi’üs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 345a.

35 Ramazanade, *Tarih-i Nişancı*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 4153, fols. 89b–94b.

final campaign of Szigetvár is brief—he notes that this has already been discussed in the introduction.³⁶ Indeed, as we see in H. 1369, Muhammad Tahir had dealt with the siege and particularly with Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's role in this war and in disguising the death of Sultan Süleyman at length. This shows that the concluding section is indeed the “missing” conclusion to H. 1369 and H. 1230 and was authored by Muhammad Tahir. Thus passing over the Siege of Szigetvár in this concluding section, Muhammed Tahir then segues into a discussion of Sultan Süleyman's charitable deeds and architectural patronage, beginning with the Süleymaniye Mosque complex. This section, too, finds its comparable source in Küçük Nişancı's work.³⁷ The final sections deal with the eminent ulema, chief military judges and shaykhs active during Sultan Süleyman's reign, also partly borrowed from Küçük Nişancı's work. However, Muhammad Tahir does not suffice with this source. He also includes information about figures from Baghdad, Najaf, and Karbala, eminent figures of the Bektashi order, such as Hüseyin Dede of the convent of the Abdals of Rum in the Shrine of Husayn in Karbala, as well as those belonging to the Suhrawardiyya order to which the author also belonged.³⁸ While all shaykhs and *sayyids* (those whose lineage can be traced back to Prophet Muhammad) listed by Muhammad Tahir are praised for their piety, Shaykh Nurullah Suhrawardi al-Siddiqi (d. 1590) of the Suhrawardiyya order is praised further for his munificence and is noted for his conversation with Sultan Süleyman when he conquered Baghdad.³⁹

36 “Feth-i kal'a-yı mezbur sene erba'a ve seb'in ve tis'ami'ye şehri-i şaferinde vaqı' oldu. Bu gaza-yı cân-fersây ve bu cihâd-ı miñnet efzây tafşilen cild olunañ dibâcesinde beyân olunmuşdur.” Muhammad Tahir, *Câmi'üs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 353a.

37 Ramazanade ends the historical section with insurgency and death of Prince Bayezid and his sons (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 4153, fols. 110a–110b). This is concluded with a note on the sultan's control of the empire and hyperbolic statements that no other ruler has conquered more land. The section on the sultan's charitable deeds follows this (111b–117b); Muhammad Tahir, *Câmi'üs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fols. 353a–356a.

38 Muhammad Tahir, *Câmi'üs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fols. 358a–358b. The emphasis on Baghdadi figures can also be seen in H. 1230 where figures that are particularly important to Baghdad or to the pious inclinations of the author are dealt with in more detail. Among these are 'Abdullah Ansari (1006–1088), 'Abd al-Qadir Gaylani (1078–1166), Shaykh Ziya al-Din Abu'l Najib Abd al-Qahir al-Suhrawardi (1097–1168), Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi (1154–1191), Shaykh Baha al-Din Walad (1151–1231), Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi (1207–1273) and Shams-i Tabrizi. Muhammad Tahir, *Câmi'üs-Siyer*, H. 1230, fols. 87b–91a, 106a–109a, 110b–113b, 120a–121b.

39 “Hâkân-ı zamân Sulţân Süleymân hazretleri Bağdâd feth eyledikde miraren kendüsiyle müşâhabet idüb du'a-yı hayr iltimas idüb istimdâd-ı himmet eylemiştir.” Muhammad Tahir, *Câmi'üs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 358b.

The account ends with several scholars from Baghdad, with the final figure being Muslihuddin Lari, whose work was mentioned previously by Muhammad Tahir.⁴⁰ In such manner, the author puts his own spin on the whole account by shining a light on Baghdadi figures. As pointed out in a previous article on this universal history, the Baghdadi focus is subtle but ever present throughout Muhammad Tahir's work.⁴¹ This work that entwines the local with the universal—a work whose sources range from eminent Persian poets like Jami,⁴² Nizami, Sa'di, to historians like Mirkhwand (d. 1498)⁴³ and Küçük Nişancı, or scholars or theologians like Zamakhshari (d. 1144), Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 1201), Ibn Arabi (d. 1240)⁴⁴—deserves to be named along the likes of the works of Küçük Nişancı, Mustafa 'Ali, Cenabi. As such, further acknowledgement of Muhammad Tahir as the author of an extensive universal history would contribute to our knowledge of history writing and to cast our glance beyond the court.

Bibliothèque nationale de France's Supplément turc 1322 as a *Mecmu'a*

That the text of the short introduction and the complete text of book six overlap with H. 1230 shows that BnF Supp. turc 1322 does indeed include Muhammad Tahir's *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*. In addition, the concluding section on the Ottoman sultans, particularly with the reference to the Siege of Szigetvár, also undeniably belongs to this work. This is the “missing” part that somehow did not make it to H. 1369 or H. 1230, perhaps again due to the patron's early demise. It is possible that there is a draft of the full work that remains to be uncovered. It is also possible that this concluding too was going to continue with an account about

40 Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 359a.

41 Taner, *Two Paths to Power*, especially pp. 75–78.

42 Parts of the account on Joseph are taken from Jami's (d. 1492) *Haft Awrang* (Seven Thrones) but the author does not always explicitly cite this source. See Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, H. 1369, fols. 53b–56b, 60a–60b, 69b.

43 The author cites the *Rawḍat al-Şafa'* (Gardens of Purity) (H. 1369, fol. 133a) in his discussion of Pythagoras. Additionally, regarding Jamasp, he cites the *Tarikh-i Guzīda* (Select History) of Hamdallah Qazwini (d. after 1339/40).

44 Zamakhshari is cited several times by Muhammad Tahir, particularly regarding the story of the pre-Islamic prophets, specifically Moses. Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, H. 1369, fol. 76a, 84a, 103a. Regarding Solomon and his throne, Muhammad Tahir references sources like the exegesis of al-Raghib al-Isfahani (d. 1109), Zamakhshari and Ibn al-Jawzi (fols. 103a–104b).

Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa but was not completed. These would then comprise all of what was promised in the introduction in H. 1369.

What makes BnF Supp. turc 1322 even more curious, however, are the sections that are included between the end of book six and the beginning of Muhammad Tahir's conclusion, none of which shows any signs of mis-binding. The manuscript is written in one hand and is in good order with sections smoothly following one another. The texts that are appended after the end of book six are selections from a Turkish translation of Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt* along with a short section on Luqman's advice to his son on proper conduct. This is then followed by the abovementioned conclusion.

In the remainder of this article, I will present a brief summary of these two sections of this hitherto unknown manuscript and suggest that Supp. turc 1322 can be considered a *mecmu'a* created in 1671 by someone who brought together sections from Muhammad Tahir's little-circulated universal history with specific sections from Qazwini's cosmographic work.

Right after the end of book six, the text in BnF Supp. turc 1322 continues on the same page with a new section on wonders of creation. The authorship of this work is not clear but based on the contents, it is a close translation of Zakariya al-Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*. While citing diverse sources such as ancient authors like Ptolemy and Aristotle; the seventh-century Yemenite convert Ka'b al-Akhbar (d. 652–6); historian and geographer Ibn al-Faqih (fl. 902); the polymath al-Biruni (d. after 1050); Andalusian traveller Abu Hamid al-Gharnati (d. 1170); and Zakariya al-Qazwini, the author, in effect, mainly follows the latter's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* in content.⁴⁵ However, the structure of Qazwini's text—broadly speaking organized into celestial and earthly matters—is not followed in full in the Paris manuscript. In certain places, the compiler follows the

⁴⁵ For comparison, I have used the 1280 manuscript, which to date, is the earliest manuscript of Qazwini *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt* (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod.arab. 464). On this manuscript see Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer, "Die Illustrationen des "Münchener Qazwini" von 1280 (Cod. Monac. arab. 464): Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis ihres Stils," (Ph.D. diss., Universität München, 1971) and Helga Rebhan, *Die Wunder der Schöpfung: Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek aus dem islamischen Kulturkreis* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2010). On the *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt* see Persis Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011). Hereafter Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam*.

order of materials presented in Qazwini's work, and in others reframes selections from this work. This supports the point that BnF Supp. turc 1322 is conceived as a *mecmu'a*, with sections culled from different sources and organized in a particular manner. It suggests a certain authorial choice in the materials chosen to be included.

In this manuscript, the sections taken from *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* begin with an account of the seven seas and the marvels and wonders found in them. The account begins with the encircling ocean, using this as a point of orientation to discuss the other seas. Next, the seven seas, their islands, and the wonders and oddities of these places are discussed. In addition to the creatures of the islands—such as a creature that resembled a cat but had wings like a bat's, spanning from their ears to tails—⁴⁶ wonder-inducing trees and plants and fish are also described. The latter is particularly important for sea lore, and several of the tales are attributed to sailors and merchants. In some instances, the trade value of certain things, or how trade is conducted, is also mentioned along with the medicinal value of the product.⁴⁷ In other instances, the dangers of the seas are pointed out, particularly at certain times of ebb and tide, or when the sun is in a certain sign. This, along with the description of the creatures of the sea, some of whom possess dangers to the ships and sailors, adds a level of excitement to the account, often told through the survivor of potential dangers.⁴⁸

Following the rather long account of the seven seas and the islands (fols. 188b–204b), the compiler then includes sections about sea creatures, which are organized alphabetically (fols. 204b–210a).⁴⁹ Here, the text in BnF Supp. turc 1322 also closely follows Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*. For most, with the exception

46 Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 190a.

47 For example, the translator of Qazwini's work explains how cloves are sold on an island in the Bay of Bengal—merchants come and set up their merchandise on the shore and return to their ships by night; they would find cloves by their merchandise and depending on their satisfaction with the amount, trade would be conducted thus. He also adds that one property of the clove is that, if consumed fresh, it preserves youth. Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fols. 193a–193b.

48 One survivor, for example, managed to escape from a cannibalistic group by observing how the inhabitants of the island fed, then ate his companions. Seeing this, he made himself feeble and emaciated, and finding an opportunity, escaped. Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 200a.

49 This alphabetical order follows the Arabic names of the animals. The first to be described is “şu tavşanı” (sea hare, *arnab al-ma'*), followed by *alis*, a big fish that is not hunted unlike

of the alligator, the mythical serpent *tannin*, and the crab, physical descriptions are only briefly given, along with their medicinal benefits. Next, the compiler moves onto a discussion of mountains (fols. 210a–222a) to be followed by rivers and water sources which also closely follow Qazwini’s *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt* and which are also arranged in alphabetical order (fols. 222a–237b).⁵⁰

This section is followed by a discussion of plants, “which are fostered by rains (of divine mercy),” highlighting the element of awe yet again.⁵¹ As per Qazwini’s *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt*, trees are described first (fols. 237b–252a), followed by herbs and shrubs (fols. 252a–268a). However, unlike Qazwini’s work, which begins with minerals, then continues with plants and animals, BnF Supp. turc 1322 only includes the section on plants, bypassing the section on minerals. As with previous sections on the seas, mountains, rivers and water sources, the plants are introduced with a brief introduction that highlights God’s omnipotence and wisdom. Different kinds of seeds are briefly mentioned, such as that of grains and of fruits. The feeding system of plants is also described through a discussion of the various powers—attraction (that draws the water from the earth through the veins), retention (keeping the moisture and water in the branches), digestion (that divides and sends the moisture and water to all parts of the plant), and expulsion (getting rid of extra matter). In these and other respects, plants and animals are compared.⁵² After the general introduction on plants, trees are listed with brief descriptions of their physical characteristics, their medicinal properties and uses, and at times with pointers about how to grow them. These are also organized in al-

other fish, “*şu ādemi*” (merman/mermaid, *insan al-ma’*), “*şu öküzü*” (sea cow, *baqar al-ma’*), etc. Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi’ü’s-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 204b.

50 After a short introduction on the importance of mountains in keeping the earth stable, in leading rain water and melted snow down through rivers and sources of water, short descriptions of mountains are given. The section on mountains is followed by that of rivers. First, the author explains that by God’s wisdom and omnipotence, rain and snow fall. The water is preserved in caverns, which then flow down in the form of rivers. These flow in different directions, from east to west, north to south or vice versa. Water from the rivers is used in agriculture and building and sustenance and the rest flows into the sea; some evaporates, becomes clouds, and the cycle goes on, until the day of judgment. Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi’ü’s-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fols. 222a–222b.

51 Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi’ü’s-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 237b.

52 For example, the equivalent of seeds and fruits in plants is semen in men, or of leaves in plants is hair and fur in animals. Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi’ü’s-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fols. 238b–239a.

phabetical order. In a similar manner, shrubs—those plants that lack trunks—are organized alphabetically and their morphology and medicinal benefits and uses are mentioned. As with the animals, some better-known and more widely-used plants, such as grape, date palm, and lemon, are given longer descriptions, some fortified by stories.⁵³ Along the lines of medicinal benefits, the author also devotes a section to various oils (*duhn*, sg.) (fols. 268a–268b). These are very succinctly mentioned, followed by a short list of cold and hot oils, and cold and hot herbs.⁵⁴

Bypassing animals (which do appear in Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*), and again, with little transition, the compiler then moves on to a discussion of time—how centuries are divided into years, and how years are divided into months, and months into days, and days into hours (fols. 268b–283a). With similar emphasis on God's wisdom, this section highlights how the passing of time is inevitable and warns against cursing the vicissitudes of time for this is God's will too.⁵⁵ In this section, also based on *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*—where it appears at the end of the section on celestial matters—the meaning of day and night, the hours of the day, when day time is the longest and when it is the shortest; days of the week; months of the lunar and solar calendars, as well as according to the Persian and Greek systems; and the four seasons (fols. 268b–282b) are discussed.

It is also noted that every millennium a prophet is sent, beginning with Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Solomon, Jesus Christ, and ending with the Prophet Muhammad. The section on time (with emphasis on the passing of time) ends with an “apt” story (*bu ahvāle münāsib bir hikāyet-i ġarībe ve rivāyet-i 'acibe ile sebkat bulan kelāmi hatm idelüm*): When a ruler summoned Khidr, the pre-Islamic prophet/messenger, and asked him to tell him a wondrous story, Khidr told him that there was a great city with many people and buildings. He asked the people who established the city, and the people replied that it was an ancient city, that they or their fathers did not know. Khidr returned to the same place after five hundred years to find that the city had disappeared. When he asked someone collecting hay when the city fell into ruin, the hay collector replied that it had always been that way. Then Khidr came back five hundred years later to find the same place now a sea, and when he asked the people about it, they replied in the same manner, saying it had always been that way. Another five hundred years later, it was dry land. Come another five

53 On the importance of narrative and suspense, see Berlekamp's account of the lemon tree in Chapter 2 of *Wonder, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam*, especially pp. 64–68.

54 Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 268b.

55 Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 268b.

hundred years, it was a built city once again. Hearing this, the king wanted to leave his kingdom and follow Khidr. Khidr did not accept this proposition, yet recommended that the king follow the youth through whom he had summoned him.⁵⁶

With this exemplary tale, the compiler of the manuscript transitions into a new section that focuses on important virtues and moral dispositions of honored and reverent servants [of God] (fols. 283a–293a).⁵⁷ Among these are continence, generosity, courage, contentment, gentleness, honor, forgiveness, caution, intelligence, truthfulness, loyalty, mercy, eloquence, and modesty. All of these virtues are explained at great length with many examples to better describe them. In most cases, reference is made to figures such as the pre-Islamic prophet Luqman, the prophet-king Solomon, and Prophet Muhammad, all of whom embody such characteristics. There are also appropriate Quranic verses and lines of poetry, mainly from Hafiz of Shiraz (d. 1390) and Sa'di of Shiraz (d. 1291/2?). The compiler also adds that insofar as good qualities and virtues are mentioned, bad qualities, such as stinginess should also be mentioned, for everything has its opposite.⁵⁸ Stinginess, explained at length with several examples, is the only vice that is mentioned—at the end of the section (fol. 293a–295b) the compiler says this should suffice. This section on merits (and demerits), with the exception of Persian verses, is taken from Qazwini's work as well. However, the way the compiler has chosen to organize this section in the broader scope of his work is different. In the *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, this section falls into the broader chapter on man (which, as the rational animal, follows the sections on minerals and plants). In BnF Suppl. turc 1322, this leads to a final section on advice. Thus, ending with a litany in Arabic (wishing to be freed from bad characteristics), it transitions into a series of advice that Luqman gave his son (fols. 295b–299b).⁵⁹ The list of

56 Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 282b. In Qazwini's work, this ends the section on the celestial matters (*'ulwiyyāt*). The next section (*maqala*) begins earthly matters (*sufliyyāt*). Qazwini, *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Ghara'ib al-Mawjūdāt*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod.arab. 464, fols. 50b–51a.

57 In Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, the section on time and the story about Khidr allows the author to transition into the earthly matters (as seen in the previous footnote). In BnF Supplément turc 1322, it is used to transition into a discussion on virtues, thus shifting the focus from an organization that divides creation into a supra- and sub-lunar spheres into one that highlights virtues and ethics in a fleeting world.

58 Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fol. 293a.

59 Even though Luqman is known for his advice (particularly in the Quran) and such bits of advice appear in treatises on ethics, I have not yet been able to find the particular source.

counsel varies from lofty ones such as being steadfast in the uniqueness of God; choosing benevolent and wise friends and keeping them honoured; seeing teachers as fathers and showing them reverence; staying away from stinginess; being generous and humble; showing reverence to the elderly; to more mundane ones such as keeping one's clothes and body clean; wearing long johns at night lest one is exposed; not walking in front of the elderly; teaching one's children horse riding and shooting arrows; to not scratching oneself in public.⁶⁰ Each of these is further emphasized with appropriate Persian verses, taken mostly from Nizami and Sa'di. The section ends with further—yet summary—advice on being fearful of God, being patient, grateful, truthful, soft-spoken and humble attributed to the prophet-king Solomon. It is right after this that the aforementioned concluding section appears (fols. 299a–359b). In a way, the focus on good behaviour and morals then transitions into the story of the Ottoman house.

By way of a Conclusion

While I do not completely disregard the possibility that these sections from the *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* were part of Muhammad Tahir's *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer* and were translated by this author to be incorporated into his universal history, their particular placement in the Paris manuscript is curious. If these sections were indeed part of Muhammad Tahir's universal history, they would have been placed in the more appropriate spot in the first book of the universal history. Rather, I suggest that BnF Supp. turc 1322 is a new creation, a *mecmu'a*.⁶¹ The Paris manuscript begins with a “section” from the *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*. It continues with sections from *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt*, which do not always follow the order presented in Qazwini's original work. By the seventeenth century, the

60 Muhammad Tahir, *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*, BnF Supplément turc 1322, fols. 295b–299b.

61 *Mecmu'as* have received great scholarly reception recently. Helmed by MESTAP, a project on the classification of *mecmu'as* of poetry and literature, many theses and dissertations have been published in the last few years. “Mestap,” last modified December 24, 2022, <https://mestap.com/mestap/>. Most of these works focus, as per the guidance of the project, on *mecmu'as* of poetry, which nonetheless also include other sorts of texts. The ongoing results of the project show the great popularity of such compilations. This project has been introduced by M. Fatih Köksal, “Şiir Mecmûalarının Önemi ve “Mecmûaların Sistematik Tasnifi Projesi” (MESTAP),” *Eski Türk Edebiyatı Çalışmaları VII Mecmûa: Osmanlı Edebiyatının Kırkambarı*, ed. Hatice Aynur et al. (Istanbul: Turkuaz Yayınları, 2012), pp. 409–431. This volume on *mecmu'as* is a crucial source on studies on compilations. Henceforth Aynur, *Mecmûa: Osmanlı Edebiyatının Kırkambarı*.

interest in the *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt* had waned to some extent, and the particular sections taken from this work also appear to be quite specific, suggesting a personal interest. These are then followed by Luqman’s advice, which do not appear in Qazwini’s work, and finally, the manuscript ends with the concluding section from Muhammad Tahir’s universal history—yet another selection. The exact time (Monday morning) when the work was completed was clearly noted at the end, adding a personal touch to the manuscript.

The selective content of BnF Supp. turc 1322 also aligns with the compilatory tendencies of the period, described as an “age of *mecmu’as*.”⁶² Of course, the hypothesis that the Paris manuscript is a *mecmu’a* also brings forth many new questions, though ones without an answer: who might have been the compiler (there is no sign of any note of ownership or other personal note in the manuscript)? More interestingly, why was the little-known work of Muhammad Tahir chosen? It is tempting to imagine this work to come from the hand of one compiler (the handwriting is consistent throughout) who likely had a particular connection to Muhammad Tahir, who was an otherwise little-known historian, and who wished to pair this work with selections of personal interest, like the wonders of the seas, plants, aspects of time, and moralistic advice.

Overall, this serendipitous discovery, which brings Muhammad Tahir’s universal history to completion, reinforces previous arguments surrounding this universal history—that it highlights Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa’s position in Baghdad at a very particular point in time while interweaving the author’s pious inclinations. However, thinking of BnF Supp. turc 1322 as a work unto itself—one that brings together history with wonders of creation and an emphasis on ethics—suggests this puzzling manuscript is more than a continuation of a universal history but is a new, late seventeenth-century creation. By juxtaposing the history of the Abbasids and their contemporaries with sections from the *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt* and moralistic writings, and then ending with a history of the Ottoman rulers, extracted from the universal history of Muhammad Tahir, this manuscript reframes these individual works and shows the particular interests of the compiler.

62 On *mecmuas* see Aynur, *Mecmûa: Osmanlı Edebiyatının Kırkambarı*, and more particularly on seventeenth century compilatory trends see Cemal Kafadar’s essay in this volume, “Sohbete Çelebi, Çelebiye Mecmûa,” pp. 43–53.

A New Look at Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's Illustrated Universal History

Abstract ■ This article revisits a universal history written in the late sixteenth century for the governor of Baghdad Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa (d. 1602) in light of a newly-discovered source that provides the missing concluding section of this universal history. This concluding section (Bibliothèque nationale de France Supplément turc 1322), which was announced in the index but not completed in the extant presentation copies (Topkapı Palace Museum Library H. 1369 and H. 1230), reinforces the idea of Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's imperial claims at the same time as it highlights the Baghdadi tenor of the work, as it was written in Baghdad by an author who belonged to the governor's household. However, the Paris manuscript presents no mere conclusion or continuation of a universal history. It is rather akin to a compilation (*mecmu'a*) that juxtaposes sections from this universal history with sections from Zakariya al-Qazwini's (d. 1283) *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt*, thus recontextualizing this late-sixteenth-century universal history.

Keywords: Ottoman, universal history, Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa, majmua, Baghdad.

Figures



Fig. 1 Audience of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa with Sultan Süleyman, *Câmi'ü's-Siyer*, TPML H. 1369, fol. 6a.



Fig. 2 Audience of Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa with Sultan Mehmed III, *Câmi'ü's-Siyer*, TPML H. 1369, fol. 13a.

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