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# Two Paths to Power: Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa and Hadım Yusuf Paşa and Their Art Patronage in Early-Seventeenth-Century Baghdad

Melis Taner\*

*İktidar Yolları: Erken Onyedinci Yüzyıl Bağdat'ında Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa ve Hadım Yusuf Paşa'nın Sanat Hamiliği*

**Öz** ■ On altıncı yüzyılın sonlarında Bağdat'ta canlı bir sanat ortamı oluştu. Bu makale bu canlanmaya katkıda bulunan iki vali hakkındadır. Bunlardan birisi resimli bir evrensel tarih yazdıran Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa (ö. 1602), diğeri ise İstanbul'dan Bağdat ve Basra'ya seyahati ve oradaki ayaklanmaları bastırmasıyla ilgili resimli, ufak bir eser yazdıran Yusuf Paşa'dır (ö. 1614). İki vali için hazırlanılan ve yaklaşık olarak aynı zamanlarda yazılan ve resimlendirilen bu eserler atandıkları eyalette, özellikle de yerel ve sınır ötesi huzursuzlukların, ama aynı zamanda, sanatta canlanmanın olduğu bir dönemde, güçlerini sağlamlaştırmaya çalışan bu valilerin sanat patronajlarında seçtikleri farklı yolları gösterir. Sadrazam Sokollu Mehmed Paşa'nın oğlu olarak çok daha muazzam bir eser hazırlatır Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa ve kendisini de evrensel tarihin bir parçası olarak hayal eder. Öte yandan, Yusuf Paşa'nın daha mütevazı eseri onu ayaklanmaları bastıran cesur ve dindar bir vali olarak yansıtır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Hasan Paşa, Yusuf Paşa, Bağdat, Basra, Sanat Patronajı, Propaganda.

This article focuses on the art patronage of two viziers in early-seventeenth-century Baghdad: Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa (d. 1602), a vizier prone to much grandiosity, and Hadım Yusuf Paşa (d. 1614), a court eunuch who rose to the rank of vizier but who, for the most part, seems to have fallen through the cracks of history. Through two unique works that were composed for these governors it shows the different directions the two patrons took in crafting an image for themselves as they dealt with uprisings and as they sought to establish themselves in their posts. Hasan Paşa, the son of the long-term grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed

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Paşa (d. 1579), aimed to highlight the idea of the rightly appointed rule and legitimacy by using his patrilineal connection, a more learned and deeply-rooted historical approach to rule, and through the examples of important vizier types through history. Lacking such a crucial family connection and legacy, Yusuf Paşa sought to legitimize his authority through a cast of piety and valor.

When the two respective viziers were appointed as governors to Baghdad, the frontier region of Basra and Baghdad had been beset by a number of uprisings. One can argue that the frontiers of both the Ottoman and Safavid empires was prime rebel real estate in that it afforded would-be insurgents and local powerholders a liminal geo-political space from which to wrangle and agitate for regional control. In fact, in 1623 the upstart Bekir Subaşı threatened to hand the province of Baghdad over to the Safavids unless he was given governorship. Baghdad was indeed lost to the Ottomans, only to be recaptured in 1638 under Murad IV (r. 1623–40). The years leading up to the rekindling of war between the Ottomans and the Safavids in 1603 and the Safavid conquest of Baghdad showed signs of unease and both Hasan Paşa and Yusuf Paşa, among others, had to face rebellions in this region.

However, this was also a time of much lively cultural and artistic production, particularly in Baghdad. From around 1590 until the first few years of the seventeenth century, there arose a burgeoning art market in Baghdad, partly sustained by an Ottoman socio-cultural context, a possible influx of artists from Shiraz<sup>1</sup> and

1 Çağman, Rührdanz, and Milstein point to certain stylistic similarities between Shiraz and Baghdad painting. In addition, the study on Shiraz painting by Lale Uluç points to the waning of production of deluxe manuscripts in Shiraz when the Turkmen Dhu'l-Qadirid governors of Shiraz were removed from office as part of the structural reforms of the Safavid ruler Shah 'Abbas I (r. 1588–1629). She points to the case of an illustrated *Mathnawī* of Jalal al-Din Rumi (New York Public Library, MS Per. 12)—containing the name of the patron Imam Virdi Beg b. Alp Aslan Dhu'l-Qadr and dated to 1603—as a possible link to the continued patronage of Dhu'l-Qadirids.

Filiz Çağman, "XVI. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Mevlevi Dergahlarında Gelişen bir Minyatür Okulu," *I. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi* (Istanbul: Tercüman Gazetesi ve Türkiyat Enstitüsü, 1979), pp. 651–77. Henceforth Çağman, "XVI. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Mevlevi Dergahlarında Gelişen bir Minyatür Okulu"; Karin Rührdanz, "Zwanzig Jahre Bagdader Buchillustration – Zu Voraussetzungen und Spezifik eines Zweiges der Türkischen Miniaturmalerei," *Mittelalterliche Malerei im Orient*, ed. Karin Rührdanz (Halle (Saale): Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1982), pp. 143–59, Henceforth Rührdanz, "Zwanzig Jahre Bagdader Buchillustration"; Rachel Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 1990). Henceforth Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad*; Lale Uluç, *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans and Ottoman Collectors: Sixteenth-Century Shiraz*

the relative stability afforded by the period of peace between the Ottomans and the Safavids after the war between 1578 and 1590 with more favorable conditions obtained by the Ottomans. In a little over a decade more than thirty illustrated manuscripts were produced in and around Baghdad. The majority of these consisted of works on the Karbala tragedy and the lives of Sufi mystics—not surprising as Baghdad was given the appellation “bastion of saints.” Close to a dozen illustrated genealogies—some of which contained notes of well wishes on the reader, suggesting a speculative market<sup>2</sup>—were produced. In addition, there were single-page paintings, as well as works of literature, such as the *Shahnameh* (Book of Kings) of Firdawsi (d. ca. 1020), or the *Hümayunname* (The Imperial Book) of ‘Ali Çelebi (d. 1550?), and works of history, such as the *Rawzat al-Şafâ* (Garden of Purity) of Mirkhwand (d. 1498). Mostly stylistically coherent, and distinct from Ottoman courtly illustrated manuscripts, this group shares elements from Ottoman, Safavid, and Indian painting reflective of the cosmopolitanism of Baghdad.<sup>3</sup>

While the particular location of Baghdad—at a nexus of major trade routes and distant enough from the central powers of both the Ottomans and the Safavids—afforded governors and upstarts alike to increase their wealth (partly through extortion)<sup>4</sup> and gave them an opportunity to showcase their wealth

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*Manuscripts* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2006); “Selling to the Court: Late-Sixteenth-Century Manuscript Production in Shiraz,” *Muqarnas* 17 (2000), pp. 73–96. On the New York Public Library *Mathnawî* see Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 265–7. Henceforth Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*.

2 Serpil Bağcı, “From Adam to Mehmed III: Silsilanama,” *The Sultan’s Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. Selim Kangal (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2000), pp. 188–202, 198.

3 On the stylistic and iconographic aspects of Baghdad paintings see Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad*.

4 The English merchant Anthony Sherley (1565–1636?) notes that upon arriving in Baghdad, the pasha seized their merchandise and returned to them half the price of their goods. Traveling some two decades before, in 1574, German botanist Rauwolff also hints at the extortion of governors when the traveler realized the pasha wanted to “screw a present out of us.” These examples point to the integration of officials in commercial life and trade, and show different possible ways of gaining wealth. That so many governors became rich in Baghdad and that several of them were patrons of art and architecture likely have to do with Baghdad’s position as a trading port. The Carmelite missionary Father Paul Simon, writing in 1608, notes Baghdad’s former fame as a trading port “on account of the caravans arriving from India and passing to go to Aleppo.” He adds, however that “it is ruined because the pasha [possibly Tavilzâde Muḥammed, a *bölükbaşı*, who claimed sole authority in Baghdad in 1608] who is in rebellion against the Sultan of Turkey, in order to pay his soldiery, has

through art patronage, the only two patrons that we know of for certain in this period are Hasan Paşa and Yusuf Paşa.<sup>5</sup> In this respect, a comparative study of their art patronage, particularly of the works that were specifically composed for these

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robbed and killed the richest merchants, the others have fled, and out of fear caravans no longer go to Baghdad.”

The importance and lucrateness of this trade route is testified in Niyāzī’s account on Elvendzāde ‘Alī Paşa’s 1583 campaign as well. Elvendzāde ‘Alī Paşa was appointed as commander in Baghdad and Shahrizol against the Safavids during the Ottoman-Safavid wars. However, before continuing on this campaign near Shushtar, he first had to deal with Emir Seccād, who was ruling in Dizful and siding at times with Ottomans and at times with Safavids. Emir Seccād was called to join the campaign against the Safavids. However, Emir Seccād replied negatively to ‘Alī Paşa’s missive. One reason was that Emir Seccād, according to Niyāzī’s reflection of his letter, was making his livelihood by robbing merchants’ ships traveling between Basra and Baghdad. Following the death of Emir Seccād, this area will come under the influence of Sayyid Mubārak, who will be discussed later in this article.

Anonymous, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1939), p. 138. On European travelers to Baghdad see Justin Marozzi, “Of Turks and Travelers,” *Baghdad: City of Peace, City of Blood* (London: Allen Lane, 2014), pp. 180–205. Henceforth Marozzi, *Baghdad: City of Peace, City of Blood*; Hamza Üzümcü, “Zafername-i Ali Paşa (Transkript ve Değerlendirme)” (MA Thesis, Afyonkarahisar Kocatepe Üniversitesi, 2008), pp. 21–2, 55.

- 5 In addition, the colophon of the above-mentioned manuscript of the *Mathnawī* of Mawlānā Rūmī provides the date (16 Ramaḍān 1011/ 28 February 1603) and the name of the patron Imam Verdi Beg b. Alp Arslan Dhu’l Qadr, whose identity remains unknown. Barbara Schmitz notes that stylistically the paintings appear closer to Shiraz paintings from the last two decades of the sixteenth century. She adds that the inclusion of Ottoman headgear, including the headgear of janissaries, also points to Baghdad. The 1603 New York Public Library manuscript, which names a Dhu’l-Qadirid officer as its patron, provides a connection between Shiraz and Baghdad. However, a close inspection of the manuscript shows that the colophon is likely a later addition and that the paintings appear where there was continuous text. In several places, parts of letters appear under some paintings (e.g. fol. 41b, 85a, 113a, 155a). It is possible that this manuscript was repurposed with the addition of paintings and dedication to a patron. Further research and close analysis of the painting and paper is necessary. Despite possible questions of whether the manuscript was initially prepared to include paintings or not, the manuscript is remarkable since illustrated copies of the *Mathnawī* are rare.

Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*, pp. 265–7. For an overview of illuminated and illustrated copies of the *Mathnawī* as well as patronage of art by the Mawlawī order see Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, “Illustration and the Art of the Book in the Sufi Orders in the Ottoman Empire,” *Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006), pp. 501–27. Henceforth Çağman and Tanındı, “Illustration and the Art of the Book in the Sufi Orders in the Ottoman Empire.”

two viziers, sheds light on the breadth of production in Baghdad and points to possible directions governors may take in highlighting their power and legitimacy dependent on their individual circumstances.

Among the corpus of texts that were illustrated in Baghdad, the two texts that were composed for Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa and Yusuf Paşa are new and unique works. Both were composed and illustrated in Baghdad. Appearing at a moment where non-royal patronage was becoming current at the Ottoman court, as well as a period of lively art production in the province of Baghdad, the works commissioned by the two governors portray different forms of illustrating power.<sup>6</sup> The multi-volume universal history, *Cami'üs Siyer* (Collection of Histories), that portrays Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa almost like a sultan contrasts sharply with the short, rather personal account of Yusuf Paşa's travels from Istanbul to Baghdad and Basra, and his deeds in and around Basra.<sup>7</sup> While Hasan Paşa's illustrated universal history plays on the idea of courtly universal histories and genealogies that presented the reigning sultan as the epitome and culmination of all history, Yusuf Paşa's travelogue-cum-campaign logbook is a modest work that nonetheless seeks to highlight the vizier's piety as well as his audacity in handling various local uprisings in Basra. A sense of political unrest, particularly in the frontiers of the empire, permeates both works—less subtly so in Yusuf Paşa's travelogue than Hasan Paşa's broader work.

Hasan Paşa's universal history was composed by Muhammad Tahir el-Siddiki al-Najibi al-Suhrawardi, who was a member of the governor's household.<sup>8</sup> Yusuf

6 On non-royal patronage in the late sixteenth century see Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).

7 On Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's patronage see Tülün Değirmenci, "Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası: Sokulluzade Hasan Paşa ve Resimli Dünya Tarihi," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 49 (2017), pp. 171–203. Henceforth Değirmenci, "Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası"; Melis Taner, "Caught in a Whirlwind: Painting in Baghdad in the Late Sixteenth-Early Seventeenth Centuries" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2016), pp. 164–212. Henceforth Taner, "Caught in a Whirlwind". On his career see Erhan Afyoncu, "Sokulluzade Hasan Paşa," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 37 (2006), pp. 366–8. Henceforth Afyoncu, "Sokulluzade Hasan Paşa."

8 I have not encountered this author in biographical works, but from internal evidence we can see that he followed the Sufi Suhrawardi path (a Sunni order founded by Ziya al-Din Abu'l-Najib as-Suhrawardi (1097–1168) whose luxurious *khanqah* in Baghdad was built for him by the Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir) and that he was a servant of Hasan Paşa, for whom he composed this universal history.

Paşa's travelogue, likewise, was composed by a member of his household—by a poet named Muhlisi.<sup>9</sup> Their works are very much a reflection of the hybridity and liveliness of early seventeenth century Baghdad, as well as that of a sense of tumult and uncertainty that pervaded the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for this was also a time of transformation in the military and *timar* (non-hereditary prebend) systems, price inflation, debasement of the *akçe* (silver coin), social and political uprisings, and much displacement throughout Anatolia that also had reverberations in Baghdad. Echoes of unrest resound in both Hasan Paşa's universal history and Yusuf Paşa's travelogue. Both works are products of a similar context of an expanding base of patronage (both in the Ottoman capital and in the provinces), cultural and artistic flourishing in Baghdad, and general political unease of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries exacerbated to a certain extent by the province's liminal nature. In such a moment, and perhaps given the viziers' individual and specific circumstances, the two illustrated texts made for them diverge in their appearance, content and ambition as they forge different reflections of power.

### Hasan Paşa's Universal History

While Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa had managed to distinguish himself among his peers in the early to mid-1590s—the historian Selaniki remarks on his poise and flair in a 1593 *divân* (council) meeting—it was particularly in Baghdad, at a post that he considered to be a demotion, that he came into his own with his

9 Other than what little the author provides us in this account, we do not know much about his life. Cihan Okuyucu tentatively suggests the Istanbulite Hızır Çelebi as a possible contender. Mentioned in Riyazi's (d. 1644) *tezkiye* (poets' biography), this poet died in Mecca in 1618. While Okuyucu is skeptical about the author's poetic skills (barring possible scribal errors), the couplet—emphasizing the pleasure of partaking of stimulants—Riyazi chooses to include as an example of Muhlisi's work seems to align with some of the sources Muhlisi provides, such as the *shehrengiz* (city-thriller) of Halili (d. 1485), who composed his work when he fell in love with a youth from Izmit. In addition, that the Muhlisi mentioned in Riyazi's account died in Mecca also seems to be a possible hint: often Baghdad served as a way station on the way to Mecca.

Cihan Okuyucu, "Muhlisi'nin Çerkes Yusuf Paşa'nın Basra Valiliği Dolayısı İle Yazdığı Seyahatname," *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 67–69 (1990), pp. 115–35, 116. Henceforth Okuyucu, "Muhlisi'nin Çerkes Yusuf Paşa'nın Basra Valiliği Dolayısı İle Yazdığı Seyahatname"; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Turc 127, fol. 5a. Henceforth Turc 127.

patronage of art and architecture that affirmed his position as vizier and governor.<sup>10</sup> Son of the eminent grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and stepson of princess İsmihan Sultan (d. 1585, daughter of Sultan Selim II), Hasan Paşa appears to have embraced his lineage fully through flamboyant display. In Baghdad, he was noted to have proceeded to Friday prayers in sultanic habit and manner. Such behavior was a cause for concern, “lest news of this conduct should incur the sultan’s wrath.”<sup>11</sup> As though his stately behavior and showy attire were not enough, the automated, silver, ornamented throne he commissioned when he was governor of Baghdad attracted much attention.<sup>12</sup> The governor also gifted a silver door for the prayer hall of the Mawlawi shrine in Konya.<sup>13</sup> The Baghdadi historian Nazmizade

10 Selānikī mentions that Ḥasan Paşa’s father had endless power and possessions. Whether he makes a direct connection to this with regards to Ḥasan Paşa’s distinction is not too clear, but it is possible that Ḥasan Paşa built his aura around his father’s status.

Before his final post as governor of Baghdad, Hasan Paşa had had a long career beginning in the early 1570s. He served as district governor and governor-general in several provinces, including Bosnia, Rumelia, Aleppo, Diyarbekir, Anatolia (in Kütahya), Erzurum, and Damascus. He was among those who received the Safavid embassy bringing the hostage prince Haydar Mirza (d. 1595) as a guarantor of the peace treaty signed in 1590 between the Ottoman ruler Murad III and the Safavid shah Abbas I. The reception of the Safavid prince is illustrated in a *Divan* of Baki (d. 1600), which is stylistically attributable to Baghdad. Hasan Paşa was also appointed as commander in several battles, including the Ottoman-Safavid wars of 1578–1590 and the 1596 Eger campaign, during which the historian Peçevi saw him and observed his striking appearance.

Selānikī Muştafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selānikī*, I-II, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999), Vol. I, p. 315, Vol. II, p. 707. Henceforth Selānikī Muştafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selānikī*; Zeren Tanındı, “Transformation of Words to Images: Portraits of Ottoman Courtiers in the “Diwans” of Bākī and Nādirī,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 43 (2003), pp. 131–45, 134. Henceforth Tanındı, “Transformation of Words to Images”; Afyoncu, “Sokulluzade Hasan Paşa,” p. 37; İbrāhim Peçevî, *Peçevî Tārihi* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1864). Henceforth İbrāhim Peçevî, *Peçevî Tārihi*.

11 Tülün Değirmenci raises the issue of luxury consumption and clothing in the early modern Ottoman world in her article on Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa’s illustrated universal history. She sees this as pushing the boundaries of cultural norms. In all respects, Hasan Paşa seems to be transgressing certain norms with his appearance and his art patronage and this becomes all the more obvious in his post in Baghdad.

Değirmenci, “Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası”; İbrāhim Peçevî, *Peçevî Tārihi*, p. 29.

12 İbrāhim Peçevî, *Peçevî Tārihi*, p. 29.

13 On the door is the inscription: “Şadr-ı ‘azam Meḥmed’in halefî vüzera serveri Ḥasan Paşa āstāne-yi bāb-ı Monla’nın itdi elf [ve] şemanede ihdā.” (The successor of the grand vizier Meḥmed, Ḥasan Paşa, chief of viziers, gifted [it] to the threshold of the Mulla; 1008 (1599–1600)).



Murtaza further identifies this governor as the patron of the portico of the mosque known as Hasan Paşa Cami'i in Baghdad.<sup>14</sup> The Portuguese traveler Pedro Teixeira (d. 1641) attributes a new ditch, market, khan, and coffeehouse to Hasan Paşa in the city.<sup>15</sup> In Baghdad, Hasan Paşa appears to have found fertile ground for his architectural and artistic patronage.<sup>16</sup> Among his commissions, including an illustrated manuscript of the *Beng u Bâde* (Opium and Wine) of the poet Fuzuli (d. 1556) of Baghdad, and possibly a *Divân* of Baki,<sup>17</sup> the *Câmi'ü's Siyer* composed by Muhammad Tahir stands out in its volume and ambition.<sup>18</sup>

As the *Câmi'ü's Siyer* has recently been studied by Tülün Değirmenci, and as I also have focused on this work elsewhere, I will provide only a brief overview of it here.<sup>19</sup> This work of Muhammad Tahir—preserved today in two separate and incomplete volumes at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 1369, H. 1230)—consists of six “books” (*daftâr*). The first book begins with the creation of the universe. This is followed by the stories of prophets, pre-Islamic philosophers

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Serpil Bağcı, “Seyyid Battal Gazi Türbesi’nin Gümüş Kapısı Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler,” 9. *Milletlerarası Türk Sanatları Kongresi: Bildiriler, 23–27 Eylül 1991* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1995), pp. 225–38; Mehmet Yusufoglu, “Gümüş Kapı” *Anıt* ½ (1949), pp. 4–6.

14 Nazmizâde Murtaza, *Gülşen-i Hulefâ: Bağdat Tarihi 762-1717*, ed. Mehmed Karataş (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), p. 193. Henceforth Nazmizâde Murtaza, *Gülşen-i Hulefâ*.

15 Pedro Teixeira notes that the gateways of the khan and a new mosque were the only stone structures. Teixeira also introduces coffee and the coffeehouse. He writes that it was a place, where men gathered for conversation and entertainment; and pretty boys would attract customers, serve coffee and take payments. He adds that it was by the river and had two galleries with plenty of windows. Teixeira arrived in Baghdad in October 1604 and remained there for two months. The Açı Paşa Wazir mentioned by Teixeira is most probably Hasan Paşa.

Pedro Teixeira, *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira; with his “Kings of Harmuz,” and Extracts From his “Kings of Persia,”* trans. William F. Sinclair (London: Hakluyt Society, 1902), p. 61. Henceforth Teixeira, *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira*.

16 These are: *Ḥadiqatü's-Sü'edâ* (Süleymaniye Ktb. Fatih 4321) dated 1002 (1593/4); *Nafahât al-Uns* (Chester Beatty Library T. 474) dated 1003 (1594/1595); three *Silsilenâmes* (two are at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1521 and H. 1324, and one at the Chester Beatty Library, T. 423) all dated 1006 (1597/8).

17 Tanındı, “Transformation of Words to Images.”

18 On Hasan Paşa’s copy of the *Beng u Bâde* see Karin Rühdanz, “Zwanzig Jahre Bagdader Buchillustration.”

19 Değirmenci, *Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası*; Taner, “Caught in a Whirlwind,” pp. 160–212.

and dynasties. Next are the stories of the Prophet Muhammad, his companions, and the martyrdom of Imams Hasan (d. 670) and Husayn (d. 680). The next two books are on the rise and fall of the Umayyad dynasty. The sixth book is about the Abbasids and other contemporary dynasties, and on the Mongols and Ilkhanids following the fall of the Abbasids in 1258. According to an index provided in H. 1369, there was meant to be a concluding section on Hasan Paşa's governorship in Baghdad. Such a structure mimics courtly universal histories that begin with creation and end with the reigning sultan. The book as a whole, with its universal scope and together with the paintings (six complete paintings in H. 1369, nine in H. 1230), represents the grandiose vision of Hasan Paşa as the culmination of history, a point also made by Değirmenci.<sup>20</sup> Paralleling the structure of courtly universal histories, Hasan Paşa's *Cāmi'ūs Siyer* is an ambitious work. Seen together with his career path and his other artistic and architectural patronage, it highlights his lineage and his vizierial role. I would add to Değirmenci's apt analysis of this work—which sees art patronage as a political tool—by highlighting the idea that the *Cāmi'ūs Siyer* is also very much rooted in the local, in both the history and the present of early seventeenth-century Baghdad. As such, it pairs nicely with Yusuf Paşa's account of his travels and deeds in Basra and Baghdad because, both works, while missing sections on contemporary Baghdad, allude to the lively cultural milieu of this province. It was in this province that they could find the means for their patronage. They also point to the clashes in and around Baghdad and Basra and the region's intermediary nature between Ottomans, Safavids, and through the Indian Ocean, merchants and travelers of the Deccan and the Mughal lands. These manuscripts are products of Baghdad and even though the authors take different routes in forging an image of their patrons, both are rooted in the contemporary life and history of this Ottoman province conquered from the Safavids under Sultan Süleyman in 1534.

With its universal scope and focus on several important viziers through history, Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's *Cāmi'ūs Siyer* is a bold statement of legitimacy. After introductory accolades, the text in H. 1369 quickly turns to the praiseworthy qualities of the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, especially his tact and acuity in disguising the death of Sultan Süleyman during the Szigetvár campaign in Hungary in 1566. A portrayal of the meeting of Süleyman and the grand vizier is shown in the first painting (fig. 1). The unfinished painting depicts the sultan seated on a throne and Sokollu Mehmed Paşa standing before him with his hands

20 Değirmenci, *Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası*.

clasped. This painting comes at a critical point in the text, where Süleyman asked Sokollu Mehmed Paşa about the state of Szigetvár and the grand vizier replied that it would soon be conquered. Immediately below the painting, the author notes that when the battle gained intensity, the ruler fell ill and his condition worsened day by day.<sup>21</sup> Muhammad Tahir then highlights the grand vizier's acute judgment in concealing the ruler's condition until the fortress was captured and prince Selim, soon to be Selim II (r. 1566–74), was notified. Using the common reference of the good judgment of Asaf, the vizier of the prophet Solomon, the author exalts Sokollu Mehmed Paşa as the grand vizier of Sultan Süleyman. The importance of the Szigetvár campaign was also attested in the illustrated histories commissioned by Sokollu.<sup>22</sup> The inclusion of this particular detail enhances Hasan Paşa's role as the patron of this illustrated history as the son of the eminent grand vizier, who was also an important patron of art.

In the introductory lines about Murad III's (r. 1574–95) accession, Muhammad Tahir writes that, "as previously, [the sultan] handed the keys of the treasury and rule to the cautious hands of that grand vizier with great respect."<sup>23</sup> The grand vizier, in turn, gave his all in "meeting all commands, replenishing the treasury and the army and mending the state."<sup>24</sup> The author then, without sparing too many words on the ruler, turns to the grand vizier's assassination, which he likens to what befell the companions of Prophet Muhammad, comparing Sokollu's assassin to Ibn Muljam, the assassin of caliph 'Ali. This is a potent metaphor.

Following an elegy of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, the author then introduces his son Hasan Paşa, the patron of the history. Mirroring Selim II and Murad III's entrustment of governance to Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, the newly enthroned Mehmed III appoints Hasan Paşa as commander on the western front.<sup>25</sup> Muhammad Tahir

21 H. 1369, fols. 6a–b.

22 On Sokollu's patronage of illustrated histories and the particular importance of the Szigetvár campaign, see Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court*, especially Chapter 3.

23 H. 1369., fol. 8b.

24 H. 1369., fol. 8b.

25 Here the author uses similar wording and writes: "As previously, the sapling of the garden of vizierate and head-exalting cypress of flower of premiership were deposited in [his] cautious hands." Mehmed III, the current ruler during whose reign the *Câmi'üs-Siyer* was composed, is esteemed as "the asylum of the world, shadow of God on earth, resplendent like the sun, scattering justice, protector and defender of religion, one who strengthens the world and religion, succour of Islam, asylum of east and west, protector of Mecca and Medina, master of 'Arab and 'Ajam, ruler of the rulers of the world."

H. 1369., fols. 10b–11a.

notes Hasan Paşa's closeness to the sultan during the Eger campaign in 1596. Following an ornate account of the success of the Ottomans, the author turns to Hasan Paşa's victory in subduing the rebellious Bedouins in the Lahsa and Basra region. Muhammad Tahir writes that, "some bandits appeared in the vicinity of Baghdad and caused disorder in the cities and blockaded the paths of the people and looted the possessions of merchants and caravans."<sup>26</sup>

One of these bandits was Sayyid Mubarak (d. 1616/7), the chieftain of the Shi'i Musha'sha' tribe.<sup>27</sup> The extremist Shi'i Musha'sha' tribe had, since the first half of the fifteenth century, great influence in Basra.<sup>28</sup> The tribe was nominally subjected to the Safavids.<sup>29</sup> A correspondence between the Ottoman sultan Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603) and the Safavid shah 'Abbas I (r. 1588–1629) noted that Sayyid Mubarak gained control of Huwaiza following the death of Sayyid Sajjad and the subsequent power struggle among his sons.<sup>30</sup> Taking advantage of the power

26 H. 1369., fol. 13a.

27 On Sayyid Mubarak see Rudi Matthee, "Relations Between the Center and the Periphery in Safavid Iran: The Western Borderlands v. the Eastern Frontier Zone," *Historian* 77 (2015), pp. 431–63; Rudi Matthee, "Between Arabs, Turks and Iranians: The Town of Basra, 1600–1700," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 69 (2006), pp. 53–78. Henceforth Matthee, "Between Arabs, Turks and Iranians."

28 Tarik Nafi Hamid, "The Political, Administrative and Economic History of Basra Province" (PhD diss., Victoria University of Manchester, 1980), p. 5.

29 Selānikī notes that when Ḥasan Paşa was appointed to defend Baghdad against Sayyid Mubarak, the Safavid ruler, Shāh 'Abbās, I sent a letter in 1599 warning him that Sayyid Mubarak was, of old, belonging to the Safavid dynasty and that he did not approve of an Ottoman attack on him, adding that, should Sayyid Mubarak act in insolence and disrespect in the Ottoman lands, he would be put in his place by the Safavids. Sayyid Mubarak's allegiance with the Safavids is corroborated in a later letter (dated December 1616) by Pietro della Valle, who notes that even though Sayyid Mubarak was an independent ruler, he recognized the authority of the Safavid shah. Pietro della Valle also passingly mentions that Sayyid Mubarak was in quarrel with the governor of Baghdad. Unfortunately, Pietro della Valle does not name this governor. He acknowledges rumors of attacks in Basra and Baghdad and notes that he chose not to go to "Babel."

Selānikī Muştafa Efendi, *Tāriḥ-i Selānikī*, Vol. II, pp. 745, 822, 828; Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle Il Pellegrino con Minuto Ragguaglio di Tutte le Cose Notabiliter Osservate in Essi: Discritti da lui Medesimo in 54 Lettere Familiari* (Rome, Appresso Vitale Mascardi, 1650), pp. 705–6. Henceforth Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle*.

30 This is corroborated by an order sent to the governor of Baghdad in 992 (1584/5). It notes that in the struggle among the sons of the recently deceased Sajjād, Sayyid Mubarak, son of Sayyid 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, ruler of Dawraq, attacked and killed some of the sons of Sayyid Sajjād (MHM 53.394).

vacuum, Sayyid Mubarak further used this region's liminality to leverage his power between the Ottomans and the Safavids.

As Baghdad was on the Aleppo-Baghdad-Basra-Hormuz trade route as well as the pilgrimage route to Mecca and Medina, it was a crucial trading port, and Sayyid Mubarak seems to have also exploited the region's position as a trade conduit. Like Muhammad Tahir, Selaniki points to Sayyid Mubarak's acts of pillaging in the areas of Basra, Lahsa, and Baghdad, where he and his bandits looted the goods of travelers and merchants.<sup>31</sup> News of Sayyid Mubarak had also reached Faizi (d. 1595), third poet-laureate at the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605), while traveling in Ahmednagar in the first years of the 1590s. Indeed, the author of the *Cāmi'ūš-Sīyer* also notes that Sayyid Mubarak caused such fear that travelers and merchants from India and Iran were not able to travel. Sayyid Mubarak caught the attention of European travelers as well. Pedro Teixeira, who was traveling to Basra in 1604, writes that, "Mombarek, son of Motelob ['Abd al-Muttalib]" held the northern plains of the Shatt al-'Arab.<sup>32</sup> Pietro della Valle (d. 1652), writing in 1616, notes Mubarak's antagonism with the governors of Baghdad and Basra.<sup>33</sup> Particularly Basra's location at the fringes of both the Ottoman and Safavid empires meant that local chieftains, such as Sayyid Mubarak, could hope to enhance their power. Both Hasan Paşa and, as we will see, Yusuf Paşa had struggled with the periodic raids of this Musha'sha' chieftain. While Sayyid Mubarak was not able to take Basra, his control over Huwaiza and the marshes

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While the above-mentioned letter points to the relative submission of Sayyid Sajjād to the Ottomans, that local Arab chieftain was also notorious since the 1570s for causing problems in the Baghdad-Basra region, and particularly for causing disruptions to trade. A number of *mühimmes* sent to the governors of Baghdad, Basra, and *begs* of Zikiyya (a fort belonging to Basra province) since the 1570s, as well as the above-mentioned *Ẓafernâme-i 'Alī Paşa* detailing the battles of Elvendzāde 'Alī Paşa, governor of Baghdad, against Sajjād, point to the turmoils in this frontier region (MHM 35.681). However, like the later correspondence, some of the *mühimme* registers also point out that Sajjād was given robes of honor for his submission to the Porte, rather than to the Safavids (MHM 32.604, MHM 52.210).

British Library Add. 7688, fol. 165a; *Ẓafernâme-i 'Alī Paşa*, Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Tarih Nu. 396; Hamza Üzümcü, "Niyazî ve Zafer-nâme-i Ali Paşa," *Tarih Kültür ve Sanat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4 (2015), pp. 105–20; Niyâzî: "Zafername-i Ali Paşa (Transkript ve Değerlendirme)," ed. Hamza Üzümcü, MA Thesis, Afyonkarahisar Kocatepe Üniversitesi, 2008..

31 Selânîkî Muştafa Efendi, *Tārîh-i Selânîkî*, Vol. II, pp. 745, 822, 828.

32 *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira*, p. 26.

33 Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle*, p. 705.

near Basra, disrupted trade, blocking the Indian Ocean trade through the Persian Gulf. Until his death Sayyid Mubarak maintained control beyond Basra, and was “said to have maintained secret contact with Basra’s Arab population, playing on anti-Turkish or at least anti-Ottoman sentiments among them.”<sup>34</sup>

In the *Cāmi’ü’s-Siyer*, it is at the point of the governor’s charge against the Arab chieftain that a design for a painting appears (fig. 2). This shows Mehmed III seated on a throne in a privileged audience given in his private residential quarters, rather than the ordinary hall of private audience. Facing him, on the right is presumably Hasan Paşa.<sup>35</sup> Like the first painting, this design appears at a crucial moment in the text in which Hasan Paşa was chosen by the sultan “after much serious thought and consideration” as the only official who could reclaim the region.<sup>36</sup> He was thus sent to Baghdad and, “like the sun of felicity, the lustrous rays of [his] magnificence destroyed the darkness of tyranny; and the flashing light of his sanguinary sword broke the necks of the enemy; the blackness of sedition was routed from the great city; he brought the province from disorder to calm.”<sup>37</sup> While Hasan Paşa’s successes at the Eger campaign are also highlighted in the text, it is this particular achievement in Baghdad, which gets illustrated, for it was on that occasion, according to the text, that Hasan Paşa was sent to Baghdad.

The potency of this painting is further enhanced through textual and visual parallels with the first painting of the manuscript. Specifically, both paintings depict privileged private meetings between the ruler and his vizier and appear at moments of investiture, in which the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and his son, the governor Hasan Paşa, show their courage against the enemy on either front of the empire. The paintings and the similar wording used to describe the grand

34 Matthee, “Between Turks, Arabs and Iranians,” p. 60.

35 Stylistically the first unfinished painting and this underdrawing do not appear to be made in Baghdad. At least their style differs from the idiosyncratic Baghdad style paintings. Note, for example, the taller, thinner turbans and elongated personages. While any intermediary provenance is not known until the late eighteenth century inscription—the front flyleaf of H. 1369 contains a note of ownership with the date 1742/3 and the name of Küçük el-Ḥacc Mehmed ibn Küçük Ḥacı ‘Alī Ağa from the Bazarbeyli district of Dimetoka—these underdrawings appear not to have been executed much later than the rest of the paintings.

36 H.1369, fol. 14a.

37 H.1369, fol. 14a.

vizier and the governor establish links between father and son. They are not just distinguished among their peers but also show efficacy in dealing with the enemies.<sup>38</sup>

After the lengthy account about Sokollu Mehmed's acuity and Hasan Paşa's valor in subduing the Musha'sha' chieftain, the author turns to the purpose of composition. The author writes that Hasan Paşa wished to know the histories of the first four caliphs and the deeds of rulers in the Turkish language.<sup>39</sup> He is careful to note that while the governor was learned in Arabic and Persian, those conversing with him would be deprived of conversation if the work were composed in Arabic or Persian. This implies that the text was meant to be read and be discussed among the companions/attendants of Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa.<sup>40</sup> The resulting work, which is a compilation and translation of various Persian and Arabic sources—including the works of Tabari, Mas'udi, Rashid al-Din, Mirkhwand, Ibn al-'Arabi, Ibn al-Jawzi, Zamakhshari, 'Attar, Nizami, Firdawsi, Jami, and Sa'di, among others—is titled *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer*.

With the exception of the painting depicting the meeting of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and Sultan Süleyman and the design representing the meeting of Hasan Paşa and Mehmed III, all of the finished paintings in this manuscript (H. 1369) belong to the section about pre-Islamic Persian kingdoms, in other words, the heroes of the *Shāhnāma*.<sup>41</sup> In addition, there were meant to be a number of paintings illustrating

38 In her article Tülün Değirmenci also mainly focuses on the image Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa wanted to create for himself through his paternal connection, highlighting the introductory section of the *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer* and its images; Değirmenci, *Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası*.

39 TPML H.1369, fol., 15b.

40 Değirmenci, *Bir Osmanlı Paşasının Padişahlık Rüyası*, p. 192.

41 Among the many possible scenes to have an illustration (for the many illustrated *Shāhnāmas*, including one made in Baghdad (H. 1486), may have served as possible models), those of the *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer* are relatively rarely illustrated in other examples. These illustrations include: the battle between Afrasiyab and Zav (appearing at a moment when Afrasiyab's army is defeated by the Iranian army of Zav) (H. 1369, fol. 146b), Alexander receiving the ruler of China (H. 1369, fol. 162b), Bahram Gur hunting in India (H. 1369, fol. 178b), the death of Nushzad at the hands of Ram Barzin (H. 1369, fol. 252a), and Farrukh Hurmuzd killed on the orders of Azarmidukht (H. 1369, fol. 260a). In addition to the paintings depicting pre-Islamic dynasties, two others were planned to illustrate the Battle of Qadisiyya between the Muslim Arab and the Sasanid Persian armies (H. 1369, fols. 215a, 235a). Another painting was planned to appear in the story of the Yemenite ruler Mürsed ibn-i Külal and the girl who interpreted his nightmare (H. 1369, fol. 273b). The story of the encounter between Fatıma bint Mürr el-Has'amiyye and 'Abdullah bin 'Abdü'l Muttalib,



Old Testament prophets—possibly making a link with the popular manuscripts of the *Qisas al-Anbiyā* (Stories of the Prophets) as well as universal histories. Other paintings that were to be included are, like the choices for the section on pre-Islamic Persia, rarely illustrated scenes. With spaces left for thirty-five additional paintings throughout H. 1369, the manuscript was planned to have a relatively rich program of illustration, which unfortunately was not finished. Several pages also lack rulings and illumination. H. 1369 contains the first five books denoted in the index. After a two-page break, the sixth book begins but ends mid-sentence in an account on the reign of the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809). It must also be noted that the final seven pages of this section are written in a different hand. It is likely that this sixth section was added at a later point. Unfortunately, it is not possible to figure out the gatherings from the current condition of the manuscript.

The beginning of H. 1230 (until the middle of folio 30a) overlaps with the final forty-four folios of H. 1369. However, this manuscript also includes a short introduction. H. 1230 begins with the requisite encomium with these words:

It will not be hidden to the discerning and far-sighted minds, who have ever illuminating lantern-like hearts, that Muhammad Tahir al-Najibi, the composer of these fragrant writings—may God Almighty grant him success in his endeavor—began writing the second volume after the first volume of the histories on the august fortuneed prophets and caliphs and lofty sultans [had been] completed, which has been adorned and extended<sup>42</sup> with the name of Sultan Meh-

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father of Prophet Muhammad also has a space left for a painting at a moment when the woman noticed light radiating from ‘Abdullah’s face and realizing it to be a divine radiance, approached ‘Abdullah to express her wish to carry his offspring (H. 1369, fol. 286b). These are rarely portrayed scenes. Further planned but unexecuted paintings were to be about the battles between Imam ‘Ali and Mu’awiya (H. 1369, fols. 395b, 404b, 413b, 420a, 428b, 451a); the execution of Abu Salama (H. 1369, fol. 549a); and the meeting between Abu Muslim, the general who had been influential in toppling the Umayyad dynasty, and Malik b. al-Haytham (H. 1369, fol. 556b).

<sup>42</sup> The terms “müzeyyen and müzeyyel” give the sense of ornamenting, extending, supplementing, adding on to, or more literally in the case of “müzeyyel” adding length to the hem of a dress. As TPML H. 1369 is incomplete, it is not possible to judge whether this introductory section was meant to be included. Folios 533b–534a are left blank in TPML H. 1369 and the text, beginning with “It is reported that there were thirty seven caliphs who acceded to the throne of the Abbasid caliphate” starts from the middle of the page on folio 534b. Elsewhere in TPML H. 1369 there are spaces left for rubrics, which were to be added in red, blue or gold ink. So, it is possible that TPML H. 1369 would also include this introductory paragraph, which begins TPML H. 1230.



med Khan—may the Merciful support him—[who is the] center of the celestial spheres, shadow of the creator on earth, crown of the sultans, the fairest of the [existing] rulers, king of kings of the world, possessor of the throne of Jam, heir to Solomon, protector of mankind.<sup>43</sup>

It then takes up the story of the Abbasids. The overlapping section begins with the Abbasid revolution and the reign of the first Abbasid caliph, Abu al-‘Abbas al-Saffah (r. 750–54) and continues until the beginning of the caliphate of Harun al-Rashid.<sup>44</sup>

While this overlapping section was intended to have three paintings in H. 1369, these scenes are not selected for illustration in H. 1230. Instead, the first painting in H. 1230 shows the meeting of the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid (fig. 3) and his influential vizier Yahya b. Khalid (d. 806) of the Barmakid family. Even though towards the end of Harun al-Rashid’s reign the Barmakid family of viziers fell into disgrace, in the *Cāmi’ü’s-Siyer*, the meeting of the caliph and the vizier appears at the moment when the latter is at the peak of his powers, having been “given the reigns of governance, and his sons given high rank and distinguished among [their] peers.”<sup>45</sup> The painting depicts the caliph Harun al-Rashid, dressed in black with a historical sensitivity to the typical color of Abbasid caliphal attire. He sits cross-legged on a cushion and faces the vizier, who sits kneeling on the rug before the caliph. A youth, dressed in yellow and red, stands to the right, hands clasped

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This introductory paragraph may be unique to TPML H. 1230. After this introductory section and the rubric in red, which notes “the sixth book on the Abbasid caliphs and neighboring rulers,” TPML H. 1230 continues with the sentence, “It is reported that there were thirty-seven caliphs who acceded to the throne of the Abbasid caliphate.” The rest of the text up to folio 30a is almost the same as the last forty-four folios of TPML H. 1369.

43 TPML H. 1230, fol. 1b.

44 As yet, it is difficult to come to a conclusion about the two manuscripts, but given the different handwriting in the two manuscripts, the slight differences in the calligraphy of H. 1369, its incomplete paintings, the blank spaces before Book 6, it is likely that H. 1369 was to contain the first five books while a separate volumes would be dedicated to the Abbasids and another to the supplementary section. This may be due to the wish to have a speedy production process by having different calligraphers copying the text at the same time. On the other hand, such an order would also put emphasis on a pre-Abbasid, Abbasid, Ottoman division of history. That the two manuscripts belong to two separate sets is also a possibility, albeit a weaker one. As the paintings are contemporary in H. 1369 and H. 1230, it is not very likely that another patron would commission a text that was composed for Hasan Paşa.

45 H. 1230, fols. 33a–33b.

before him. Others, including a dark-skinned, white-bearded man, sit around the caliph and the vizier, on either side of a water fountain. A youth wearing a wide ogival-patterned brocade white garment, a design typical of Ottoman silk brocade textiles at that time and often encountered in Baghdad painting, stands right outside the enclosure as a dark-skinned attendant peaks out from behind the curtains. A portly, mustachioed man, wearing a turban with a peacock feather aigrette, stands outside the enclosure, in the garden. Note the dark greens, the many flowers in the garden and the figures with almond-shaped eyes, squat figures with large turbans, all typical of contemporary Baghdad paintings.

The second painting (fig. 4) in this manuscript portrays the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–61) in discussion with a stocky, bearded man. Two attendants stand on the left, one of them holding the caliph's sword. Four men stare out from the gateway; two of them, on either side of a portly dark-skinned man, look directly at the viewer, another feature often encountered in contemporary paintings from Baghdad. Right outside the caliph's palace are several Jews and Christians, here depicted as contemporary Europeans. A turbaned attendant dressed in red holds one by the wrist and points towards him. This painting appears at the moment when al-Mutawakkil imposed sumptuary laws on the Jews and Christians in 850. That this particular scene is chosen for illustration may resonate with the relatively recent imposition of sumptuary laws on Jews and Christians by the Ottoman ruler Murad III, wherein Jews were ordered to wear red headgear instead of saffron-colored ones.<sup>46</sup> Likewise, the headgear of the Shi'i rebels in the account of Yusuf Paşa's deeds in Basra was likened to that of the Jews.<sup>47</sup>

While the first painting in this *Cāmi'ü's-Siyer* manuscript highlighted the vizier of the caliph Harun al-Rashid and the second painting presented a somewhat murky view of al-Mutawakkil, the following two paintings that appear in H. 1230 represent moments of defeat for the Abbasid caliphs. One of these (fig. 5) depicts the severed head of the caliph al-Muqtadir (r. 908–32) brought before

46 Muṣṭafa 'Ālī writes in the *Künhü'l Abbār* that the sultan's imam, who is not named in the *Künhü'l Abbār*, but whom Selānikī identifies as Mevlānā 'Abdü'l Kerīm (d. 1593–94), was responsible for the sumptuary laws ordering non-Muslims and Jews to put on red caps instead of "sky colored" and saffron-yellow turbans.

Muṣṭafa 'Ālī, *Künhü'l Abbār, Dördüncü Rükün*, 1599, facsimile edition with an introduction by Ali Çavuşoğlu and A. Uğur (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009), fols. 519b–520a and Selānikī Muṣṭafa Efendi, *Tārīh-i Selānikī*, 348. Henceforth Muṣṭafa 'Ālī, *Künhü'l Abbār*.

47 Turc 127, fol. 22b.

his commander Munis al-Muzaffar (d. 933). The latter had been commander-in-chief during the reign of al-Mu‘tadid (r. 892–902) and later of al-Muqtadir; he had been influential in quelling a palace coup against the latter in 908.<sup>48</sup> While two decades later Munis was to confront the caliph—this defeat of the caliph is illustrated in the manuscript—the author does not necessarily cast the commander in a negative light. Instead, he voices Munis’ indignation at the beheading of the caliph without his knowledge.

The following painting (fig. 6) depicts yet another defeat: this time of the last Abbasid caliph, al-Mus‘tasim Billah (r. 1242–58). In a relatively short account, the author writes that this caliph had great wealth, property, splendid fabrics, gold and silver coins, and that his name was voiced in the *khutba* (Friday sermon) in the east and west. After this brief introduction, the author turns to a year-by-year account of his reign, in which there was an outbreak of the plague, flooding of the Tigris, and finally the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258. The painting shows the Mongol Ilkhanid ruler Hulagu Khan seated on a throne in a tent. The Ilkhanids are portrayed with a sensitivity to their headgear and Mongolian features. Hulagu Khan is conversing with another Mongol official, while the Mongol army stands in waiting. On the lower left, two officers of the army are beheading prisoners, whose severed heads and decapitated corpses lie on the ground. On the right, the caliph and his sons stand hands clasped. They are dressed in ceremonial black garments. Muhammad Tahir ends his account on the Abbasid caliphate with a brief overview of al-Musta‘sim’s length of life and rule and a Persian poem regarding the names of the Abbasid caliphs.<sup>49</sup> Interestingly, in several cases, it is the role of the vizier or commander that is highlighted rather than the Abbasid caliph. This may be a subtle commentary on the role Hasan Paşa wished to claim for himself through his patrilineal link.

48 On the role and influence of Munis in Abbasid administration see İhsan Arslan, “Abbasi Devleti’ndeki Komutanların Siyasi ve İdari Sahalarda Etkileri, Munisü’l Muzaffer Örneği (The Influence of the Commanders in the Abbasid State on the Political and Administrative Fields, the Example of Munisü’l Muzaffer),” *The Journal of International Social Studies* 26 (2013), p. 57–76; Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (London: Pearson, 2004), p. 191; TPML H. 1230, fols. 68b–69a.

49 This poem, whose author is not named in the *Cāmi’ü’s-Siyer* is by Hindushah Nakhjuvani. See Louise Marlow, “Teaching Wisdom: A Persian Work of Advice for Atabeg Ahmad of Luristan,” *Mirror for the Muslim Prince: Islam and the Theory of the Statecraft*, ed. Mehrzad Boroujerdi (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2013), pp. 122–60.

Following the history of the Abbasid caliphate, the author gives an account of the imams of the four schools of Sunni jurisprudence. Of these, the Baghdadi Abu Hanifa is given distinction through a more detailed narrative as the founder of the Hanafi legal school adhered to by the Ottomans. Next, the author presents the story of various shaykhs, some of whom were buried in Baghdad. Among the shaykhs ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Gilani (d. 1166), Ziya al-Din Abu al-Najib al-Suhrawardi (d. 1168), Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi (d. 1191), Baha’ al-Din Walad (d. 1231), Shams-i Tabrizi (d. 1248), and Farid al-Din ‘Attar (d. 1220) are highlighted with more detailed accounts. ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Gilani (fig. 7), Baha’ al-Din Walad (fig. 8) and Shams-i Tabrizi (fig. 9) are further emphasized by the inclusion of paintings.

Originally from the province of Gilan, ‘Abd al-Qadir went to Baghdad at a young age to acquire religious learning. When his father passed away he had bequeathed eighty *dinars*, which were divided between ‘Abd al-Qadir and his brother. Their mother had sewn ‘Abd al-Qadir’s share of his inheritance into his quilt and sent him off to Baghdad, admonishing him to always be truthful. When the convoy he joined passed from Hamadan, they were accosted by a group of bandits. The bandits looted the merchandise of the convoy and then asked ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Gilani if he had any possessions, to which he replied that he had forty *dinars* sewn in his quilt. Not believing him, the bandits took ‘Abd al-Qadir to their leader. He repeated the same reply, and his money was found. His candor took the bandits by surprise and when they remarked that he could have kept this a secret, the young ‘Abd al-Qadir told them that his mother had warned him to always speak the truth. The scene that is here depicted is of the bandits repenting (fig. 7).

‘Abd al-Qadir al-Gilani, the founder of the Qadiriyya order in Baghdad, was certainly an influential figure in the Abbasid capital, where he was eventually buried near his shrine, restored soon after the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman conquered Baghdad from the Safavids.<sup>50</sup> Throughout Muhammad Tahir’s account, there is a notable emphasis on the history of Baghdad and figures from or based in Baghdad, as well as references to sources from Baghdadi authors. Thus it comes as no surprise that ‘Abd al-Qadir is highlighted with both a more detailed story and a painting. Similarly, it is no surprise that Ziya al-Din Abu al-Najib al-Suhrawardi and Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi, in whose Suhrawardiyya Sufi order the author belonged, play a prominent role in the *Cāmi’ü’s-Siyer*. However, the particular episode of the bandits’ repentance may also have to do with the context in which Muhammad

50 Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), p. 470. Henceforth Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*.

Tahir composed his universal history. The introduction to his *Cāmi'ūs-Siyer* situated the patron's appointment to Baghdad in the context of the Celali uprisings—one such rebellion would eventually lead to Hasan Paşa's death. Resonances with Ottoman Baghdad are further accentuated by the contemporary local costumes and distinctive turbans worn by individuals.

The next two paintings portray Baha' al-Din Walad, the father of Mawlana Rumi, who is preaching just before leaving Balkh (fig. 8); and Baha' al-Din Walad's son Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273) meeting Shams-i Tabrizi in Konya (fig. 9). Both paintings partake of the interest in deeds of Mawlana Rumi and of Sufi mystics: the Mawlawi order of dervishes with its headquarters based in central Anatolia, at Konya, was in fact represented by a network of interdependent Mawlawi convents built in the capitals of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman empire, including Damascus, Aleppo, and Cairo. There was also a Mawlawi convent in Baghdad.<sup>51</sup> The deeds of Rumi were popularized in Baghdad in the late sixteenth century, with illustrated copies of Aflaki's *Manāqib al-Ārifin* (Merits of the Mystics), Derviş Mahmud Mesnevihan's *Tercüme-i Şevākīb-ı Menākīb* (Translation of Stars of Legends),<sup>52</sup> Jami's *Nafahāt al-Uns* (Breezes/Breaths of Humanity), as well as Mawlana's *Mathnawī-yi Ma'nawī* (Moral Poetry) produced in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It has been suggested that members of the Mawlawi order were potential buyers of illustrated manuscripts in Baghdad.<sup>53</sup> Hasan Paşa's

51 Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad*, pp. 2–3; Marozzi, *Baghdad: City of Peace, City of Blood*, pp. 187–8; Çağman, “XVI. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Mevlevi Dergahlarında Gelişen Bir Minyatür Okulu,” pp. 662–3; Çağman and Tanındı, “The Book in the Sufi Orders in the Ottoman Empire,” pp. 501–31, 523; ‘Alī Enver, *Semāhāne-i Edeb* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013), pp. 199–200; Şakīb Dede, *Sefīne-i Nefīse-i Mevleviyyān*, Vol. II (Bulak, 1283), p. 185; Naẓmizāde Murtaẓa, *Gülşen-i Hulefā*, p. 194; Clément Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad dans les Temps Modernes* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901), p. 46; Richard Coke, *Baghdad: The City of Peace* (London: Butterworth, 1927), p. 193; ‘Abbās al-Azzawī *Tārīkh al-‘Irāq*, Vol. IV (Baghdad: Maṭba‘at Baghdād, 1935–49), pp. 129–130; Erdinç Gülcü, “Osmanlı İdaresinde Bağdat (1534–1623)” (PhD diss., Fırat Üniversitesi, 1999), p. 195; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlanadan Sonra Mevlevilik* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1953), pp. 334–5. Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. IV, p. 239.

52 For a recent study on the illustrated manuscripts of the *Manāqib al-Ārifin* and *Tercüme-i Şevākīb-ı Menākīb* see Hesna Haral, “Osmanlı Minyatüründe Mevlana'nın Yaşam Öyküsü: Menakibü'l Arifin ve Tercüme-i Sevakib-ı Menakib Nüshaları” (PhD diss., Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2014).

53 Çağman, “XVI. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Mevlevi Dergahlarında Gelişen Bir Minyatür Okulu,” pp. 662–3.

support of the order can also be evinced from his gifting of the silver door to the convent in Konya. The paintings in the *Cāmi'ūs-Sīyer* further support this.

Following an account of the Abbasid caliphate and contemporary shaykhs and ulema, Muhammad Tahir then focuses on the Abbasid's contemporaries. This section contains two paintings, as well as a space left for a painting on the Mongol invasions (fol. 210a). One painting portrays a prisoner being paraded with a golden tray and ewer balanced on his head, as was the custom in eleventh-century Gujarat, illustrating a story of Mahmud of Ghazni's (r. 1002–30) conquest of Somnath temple in 1026 (fig. 10).<sup>54</sup>

The final painting (fig. 11) shows the audience of the young Anatolian (Rum) Seljuq ruler Kay Khusraw III (r. 1265–84) and his chief minister Mu'in al-Din Parvaneh (d. 1277). After giving a brief account of the reigns of the rulers of the

54 In *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad*, Rachel Milstein points to the frequent portrayal of Indians and Europeans in Baghdad paintings. In addition to Indian figure types included in a number of manuscripts from Baghdad, TPML H. 1369 and TPML H. 1230 are also interesting in terms of their inclusion of paintings set in India, such as this particular painting, or *Babram Gur Hunting in India* (H. 1369, fol. 178b). In this painting, it is also interesting to note that the Indian figures in the background not only appear with darker skin to represent their distinctness, but they are also depicted in an Indian manner. Ottoman-Safavid-Portuguese relations and the important role of Basra and Baghdad in the Indian Ocean trade may have to do with the prevalence of paintings set in India.

In another work, Milstein briefly points out similarities between the *Hümāyūnnāme* (The Imperial Book) and Mughal copies of the *Anwar-i Suhaylī* (Lights of Canopus). With regards to possible links to India, Milstein also presents the example of an illustrated *Yūsufu Zulaykhā*, possibly made in Golconda (Salar Jung Museum in Hyderabad) that is stylistically similar to Baghdad manuscripts. Additionally she notes that among the group of *Majālis al-'Ushshāq* (Assemblies of Lovers) manuscripts generally attributed to Shiraz, several were found in India. Milstein points to the need for further study with regards to connections between Shiraz, Qazvin, India and Iraq. I have not been able to find direct connections yet, except for several comments by the Mughal poet Faizi and Father Paul Simon (see above). Baghdad's position as an outlet to the Indian Ocean as well as a point of transit trade makes these broad connections likely. Further research will shed more light on relations among Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals. For now, my reading of the text of the *Cāmi'ūs-Sīyer* at least allows for a more accurate identification of the painting than has been put forth in previous scholarship, and makes a direct connection with Gujarat.

Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Baghdad*, pp. 45, 65, 86; Rachel Milstein, "From South India to the Ottoman Empire – Passages in 16<sup>th</sup> Century Miniature Painting," 9. *Milletlerarası Türk Sanatları Kongresi, Bildiriler: 23–27 Eylül 1991*, Vol. II (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1991), pp. 497–506; Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Seljuqs of Rum and the Mongol invasion of Anatolia, Muhammad Tahir writes that as Kay Khusraw III was a child at the time of his succession, Mu‘in al-Din Parvaneh was given charge of carrying out the affairs of state.<sup>55</sup> This resounds with how Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, and, later, his son Hasan Paşa were also entrusted with carrying out of the affairs of state. Mu‘in al-Din Parvaneh was an influential statesman, who orchestrated the murder of Sultan Kilij Arslan IV (r. 1248–65). Mu‘in al-Din Parvaneh’s father Muhadhdhab al-Din ‘Ali al-Daylami too was a vizier, who had served the Seljuq sultan Kay Khusraw II (r. 1237–46).<sup>56</sup> Given the influence of the father and son in state affairs, this painting emphasizes the role of the vizierial figure, in effect heightening the role of governor Hasan Paşa cast in this universal history.

The paintings of H. 1230 in particular emphasize the role of viziers. Yahya b. Khalid Barmaki, of the eminent Barmakid family of viziers, appears at a moment when he was at the height of his power (fig. 3). This painting can be seen along with the first two paintings of H. 1369 (figs. 1–2), which represented Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and his son Hasan Paşa in the private audience of the sultan, highlighting their privileged position. In addition, the rather murky scene of the severed head of the caliph al-Muqtadir brought before the caliph’s commander, Munis, (fig. 5), and the latter’s indignation at the caliph’s murder, as well as the audience of Kay Khusraw III and Mu‘in al-Din Parvaneh (fig. 11) further emphasize the role of the vizier. Together with the text, which focuses on Baghdadi figures, the choice of illustrations, their subject matter, and mode of representation also present a localized view of universal history, which highlight the position of the governor Hasan Paşa.

Necipoğlu points to the fact that Sokollu Mehmed Paşa was accused of nepotism by the historian Peçevi, a relative of the grand vizier. That Sokollu’s sons, Hasan Paşa and Kurd Kasım Beg (d. 1571), were able to rise to important provincial positions even after the grand vizier’s marriage to the princess Ismihan Sultan, shows the grand vizier’s influence in using his position to leverage the

<sup>55</sup> TPML H. 1230, fol. 194a.

<sup>56</sup> *The Cambridge History of Iran, V: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle, [Online]. The Cambridge History of Iran. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Available from: Cambridge Histories Online <http://dx.doi.org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521069366> [Accessed 24 November 2015]. On Mu‘in al-Din Pervaneh see Nejat Kaymaz, *Pervâne Mu‘inü’l-Din Süleyman* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1970).



posts of his family and clique.<sup>57</sup> Additionally, Günhan Börekçi's study on court factions shows the complicated and competitive relations among high-ranking officials.<sup>58</sup> In the case of Hasan Paşa, his immediate connection to Sokollu Mehmed Paşa is highlighted not only in the *Câmi'üs-Siyer* (in text and painting) but also in the colophon of Fuzuli's *Beng u Bâde*, which remarks that the manuscript was copied for Hasan Paşa, son of Sokollu Mehmed. The small but richly illuminated manuscript with three paintings ends with the note that it was commissioned on the order of the "great commander and governor of Baghdad, Hasan Paşa, son of the deceased grand vizier Mehmed Paşa."<sup>59</sup> In the case of Hasan Paşa, his self-evident credentials, namely his direct connection to Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and tangential connection to İsmihan Sultan, make a direct statement of rightful rule.

The *Câmi'üs-Siyer* and *Beng u Bâde* are works that are directly connected to Hasan Paşa's patronage. His patronage of art and architecture can be seen along the lines of the broadening base of patronage in the late sixteenth century, as well as the increasing interest in collecting artworks that the Ottoman bureaucrat Mustafa 'Âli (d. 1600) had pointed out in his *Menâkıb-ı Hünerverân* (Epic Deeds of Artists).<sup>60</sup> It is noteworthy that it is in Baghdad that Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's patronage peaks. Having had a more or less successful career, he seemed to consider his appointment to Baghdad a demotion, apparently having fallen out of favor after the Eger campaign. Hasan Paşa was demoted from the governorship of Belgrade, initially to Malkara, presumably to exile, but was able to remain in Istanbul. Following the governor Elvendzade 'Ali Paşa's death in 1598, he was appointed to Baghdad, likely in an effort to distance him from the court. According to Selaniki, he was loath to go.<sup>61</sup> Given the obviously less desirable choice of imprisonment, Hasan

57 On Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's relation and patronage with the princess İsmihan Sultan see Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, pp. 330–45.

58 Günhan Börekçi, "Factions and Favorites at the Courts of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) and his Immediate Predecessors" (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2010). Henceforth Börekçi, "Factions and Favorites."

59 Fuzûlî, *Beng u Bâde*, Dresden Eb. 362, fol. 28b.

60 Muştafa 'Âli, *Mustafa 'Ali's Epic Deeds of Artists: A Critical Edition of the Earliest Ottoman Text about the Calligraphers and Painters of the Islamic World*, trans. and ed. by Esra Akın-Kıvanç (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Serpil Bağcı, "Kitap Sanatları ve Mustafa Ali," *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî Çalıştayı Bildirileri (28–29 Nisan 2011)*, ed. İ. Hakkı Aksoyak (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2014), pp. 25–41.

61 Selânikî Muştafa Efendi, *Tārīh-i Selânikî*, Vol. II, p. 722.



Paşa found his way to Baghdad.<sup>62</sup> While it is not possible to say whether this had an influence on his extensive patronage (given he was already distinguished among peers), it is clear that he found the means for it in Baghdad, which was already a vibrant center of art production. Considering the fact that Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa overshadows even his royal-blooded stepbrother Ibrahim Han with his art patronage, it is possible that Hasan Paşa, in a post that he thought unfavorable, found in that same post the means to exert his authority and legitimacy through art. Among his art and architectural patronage, the *Cāmi'ūs-Siyyer* in particular is a bold and explicit statement of power and legitimacy that is further enhanced by Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa's demeanor.

### Travels and Deeds of Yusuf Paşa

Compared to Hasan Paşa's grand visions of his position as evinced in his universal history, Yusuf Paşa appears to be more modest in his ambitions. However, it is interesting that along with Hasan Paşa, Yusuf Paşa is the only other securely known patron of an illustrated manuscript attributed to Baghdad. While differing in scope and ambition, the illustrated manuscript prepared for Yusuf Paşa is also a newly composed work, written for this governor. Yusuf Paşa's travels are preserved in a unique manuscript (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Turc 127).<sup>63</sup> The incomplete manuscript contains thirty-nine folios and seven paintings, stylistically attributable to Baghdad.<sup>64</sup> It follows the travels of the vizier Çerkes Yusuf Paşa, who left Istanbul in 1602 to Basra and Baghdad, where he was to take up his gubernatorial post in 1605.<sup>65</sup> Muhlisi traveled with him; along the way he took notes of their journey. He later compiled the draft in Baghdad.<sup>66</sup> The work in

<sup>62</sup> Afyoncu, *Sokulluzade Hasan Paşa*, p. 367.

<sup>63</sup> I was able to only study a microfilm as the manuscript has been missing from the library for almost two decades.

<sup>64</sup> For a detailed stylistic and iconographic analysis of Baghdad painting in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries see Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad*.

<sup>65</sup> Cihan Okuyucu has published an introductory study and transcription of the first half of this manuscript. See Okuyucu, *Muhlisi'nin Çerkes Yusuf Paşa'nın Basra Valiliği Dolayısı İle Yazdığı Seyahatname*. More recently, a thesis, which does not cite Okuyucu, studies its paintings, and provides a transcription of the whole text.

Coşkun Özdemir, "Fransız Milli Kütüphanesinde Bulunan "Sefernâme" (Turc-127) Elyazmasının Minyatürleri" (MA Thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2014).

<sup>66</sup> Turc 127, fol. 3b.

question thus spans a period of three years and is, as planned by Muhlisi, a personal account that defies straightforward categorization into a certain genre. Rather, the text is an eyewitness report by a member of Yusuf Paşa's household to pay his debt of gratitude and meant to glorify the vizier, who is described as the "Plato of the time; Rustam of the field of war; Hatem-i Ta'i of generosity; Anushirvan of justice."<sup>67</sup> This text fits within the broader context of the proliferation of illustrated accounts of the deeds and campaigns of Ottoman officials.<sup>68</sup>

Muhlisi's work is loosely divided into three parts: the first section deals with the travels of the vizier and his retinue. This is a remarkable and rare early example of an illustrated travelogue.<sup>69</sup> The second section focuses on various uprisings in Basra and the vizier's courage at quelling them. Unfortunately this part ends abruptly mid-sentence and it is missing a number of pages, making it hard, at times, to reconstruct the chain of events. Nevertheless, it sheds light on the power dynamics in and around Basra. The third "section" or supplement/appendix (*zayl*), no longer extant, was to focus on the poets of Baghdad and Basra, including samples of their poetry and chronograms.

Through this work we get a rare insight into the life and deeds of Yusuf Paşa. In his reason for composition, Muhlisi addresses the dedicatee as a Circassian—Çerkes Ağa Yusuf Paşa.<sup>70</sup> The brief career path provided in Muhlisi's account intimates him to have been a court eunuch.<sup>71</sup> This is corroborated by his stocky, beardless figure in the illustrations of the Paris manuscript. Hadım

<sup>67</sup> Turc 127, fol. 3a.

<sup>68</sup> On this particular context, especially the broadening of the base of patronage from the last quarter of the sixteenth century, see Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court*. On contemporary and near contemporary illustrated accounts of campaigns see Soner Demirsoy, *Kelâmi-i Rumi'nin Vekâyi'-i Ali Paşa [Yavuz Ali Paşa'nın Mısır Valiliği (1601–1603)]* (Istanbul: Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2010); Tülün Değirmenci, "Sözleri Dinlensin, Tasviri İzlensin: Tulu'i'nin *Paşanâme'si* ve 17. Yüzyıldan Eşkiya Hikayeleri," *Kebikeç* 33 (2012), pp. 127–47.

<sup>69</sup> The travels of the architect Mehmed Agha to Arabia in the late sixteenth century are recently the topic of an article by Gül Kale, "Visual and Embodied Memory of an Ottoman Architect: Travelling on Campaign, Pilgrimage and Trade Routes in the Middle East," *The Mercantile Effect: Art and Exchange in the Islamicate World During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, ed. Sussan Babaie and Melanie Gibson (London: Gingko Library Art Series, 2017), pp. 124–40.

<sup>70</sup> Turc 127, fol. 2b

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

(eunuch) Yusuf Paşa had been governor of Van (1598/99) and *muhafız* (keeper) of Üsküdar (1607/8).<sup>72</sup> Between these dates, Yusuf Paşa was sent to Basra and Baghdad, whereby he was also given his vizierial title.<sup>73</sup> When Yusuf Paşa arrived in Basra in early 1603, the province had recently been turned over to the control of a local power-holder. The former Ottoman governor of the province, ‘Ali Paşa, had sold the government to Afrasiyab, who was to be subordinate to the Ottoman ruler.<sup>74</sup> No mention is made of this in Muhlisi’s text that focuses on the military successes of Yusuf Paşa.

Pedro Teixeira points out that when he and his company arrived in Baghdad in 1604, the recently appointed governor was “called Issuf or Iuṣef Paşa, a eunuch, and a Xerquez [Circassian] by nation.”<sup>75</sup> Just as the company was about to leave Baghdad, Teixeira writes, the Paşa was given a vizierial title.<sup>76</sup> Interestingly, Yusuf Paşa’s name does not appear in the list of governors of Baghdad provided by the eighteenth-century Baghdadi author Nazmizade Murtaza. However, an unpublished mid-seventeenth century account by Mustafa b. Molla Rıdvan el-Bagdadi (d. after 1660) mentions that Hadım Yusuf Paşa, displaced from Basra and appointed to Baghdad, was not allowed into the latter city by the rebel Tavilzade Mehmed.<sup>77</sup> While Muhlisi does not mention Tavilzade Mehmed—the incomplete manuscript lacks an account of Yusuf Paşa’s affairs in Baghdad—the work is replete with stories of rebellions. In fact, Yusuf Paşa’s valor, and especially his relative courage vis-à-vis other governors in quelling rebellions, is continuously highlighted. Given Yusuf Paşa’s rather tenuous hold over Baghdad, his patronage of this illustrated manuscript may have been an attempt to consolidate his power against rebels and other Ottoman officials contending for power in the region. That is, Muhlisi’s account paints a commendatory picture of the vizier, whose recognition as governor of Baghdad, it seems from the mid-seventeenth century history of the city, to have been, at

72 Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), p. 1698; Mehmet Nermi Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, I (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2001), 37.

73 Turc 127, fol. 2b.

74 Matthee, “Between Arabs, Turks and Iranians,” p. 59.

75 Teixeira, *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira*, p. 70.

76 Teixeira, *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira*, p. 70.

77 Muştafa b. Molla Rıdvan adds that upon seeing their ferocious acts and the difficulty of requital, Hadım Yusuf Paşa returned to the capital.

Muştafa b. Molla Rıdvan el-Bağdâdî, *Tevârih-i Fetihnâme-i Bağdâd* (Histories on the Conquest of Baghdad), Bodleian Library Or. 276, fol. 65b.

best, contested. Nonetheless, or perhaps because of it, the author highlights the atmosphere of rebellion, the vizier's valor, and the fleetingness of power.

After his return from Baghdad, Yusuf Paşa was sent in 1608 to Bursa to subdue the rebel Kalenderoğlu.<sup>78</sup> We next read of the vizier, several years later when Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) traveled to Edirne for a hunting trip together with his retinue, which included the grand vizier Nasuh Paşa (d. 1614) and Yusuf Paşa, among others.<sup>79</sup> According to the chronicler Topçular Katibi 'Abdülkadir (d. 1644?), Yusuf Paşa, then the third-ranking vizier, had a household of some three hundred members.<sup>80</sup> Upon his death in 1614, his vizierate and properties were transferred to Kalender Paşa (d. 1616), the second treasurer and building supervisor of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque.<sup>81</sup>

While Muhlisi's text must be read in the context of the Celali uprisings, the author is as much interested in giving an account of the sites they see, in particular the shrines they visit. This aspect is most evident in the first section of his work. Specifically, this part deals prominently with the sites of visitation along the road from Istanbul to Basra and shows an interest in visiting ancient or holy sites, with a sense of both paying respect and sightseeing. Shrine visitation had great importance for Yusuf Paşa as he journeyed towards Basra. Indeed, pilgrimage to shrines is a foremost aspect of travel as can also be seen in the case of the commander Lala Mustafa Paşa's (d. 1580) visitation of the tomb of Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi in Konya on his way to an eastern campaign.<sup>82</sup> Like Lala Mustafa Paşa, Yusuf Paşa visited the shrine of Rumi and took part in the *sama* (whirling) with the dervishes. This instance is illustrated by two facing paintings in the manuscript, viewed almost like a double-page painting. Amidst whirling dervishes wearing tall, brown caps, there joins the beardless Yusuf Paşa, dressed in a yellow and orange garment and

78 Na'imā, *Tārīh-i Na'imā*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, Vol. II (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), p. 338. Henceforth, Na'imā, *Tārīh-i Na'imā*. Muştafa Sâfi, *Muştafa Sâfi'nin Zübdetü't Tevârih'i*, ed. İbrahim Hakkı Çuhadar, Vol. II (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), p. 71. Henceforth Muştafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü't Tevârih*.

79 Na'imā, *Tārīh-i Na'imā*, p. 338; Muştafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü't Tevârih*, p. 152.

80 Topçular Kâtibi 'Abdülkâdir (Kâdrî) Efendi, *Topçular Katibi Abdülkadir Efendi Tarihi*, ed. Ziya Yılmaz (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), p. 604.

81 Na'imā, *Tārīh-i Na'imā*, p. 418; Muştafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü't Tevârih*, p. 322. On Kalender's career see Serpil Bağcı, "Presenting *Vassâl* Kalender's Works: The Prefaces of Three Ottoman Albums," *Muqarnas* 30 (2013), pp. 255–313.

82 Muştafa 'Âlî, *Künhü'l Abbâr*, fol. 484a.

wearing a tall, white turban (fig. 12a). The Paşa's attendants observe the *sama*' from behind a low, brick wall.

The author points out that the city also boasted the shrines of the members of the Seljukid house. The close connection of memory, remembrance, and shrine visitation is solidified in text and image as the architectural edifices are described and depicted, while the author also cautions against presumptions of permanence. He notes: "the arduous wind and the cruel, capricious fortune was not faithful to those sultans and turned them into base earth"<sup>83</sup>—a premonitory *memento mori*. On the next page, the Paşa is depicted praying in the mosque of Rumi's shrine complex, whose turquoise-painted dome—conveying holiness—rising from a tall drum, and tapering minaret, are shown above the text block extending into the upper margin.<sup>84</sup> The extension of architectural elements into the upper margin, the tall drum, and the tapering minaret are characteristic of Baghdad painting in the late sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries as can be seen in several other contemporary examples.<sup>85</sup> Likewise, the relatively squat figures, the distinctive, tri-lobed turbans are also characteristic of illustrated works produced in Baghdad in this period. Seated, praying, behind the Paşa, is a bearded man dressed in turquoise and brown. He appears again, neck slightly bent, peering from behind the door on folio 7b. A similar figure appears later as well (fig. 13). Could this be an author portrait? While we have no way of corroborating this, such a portrait would further highlight the author's closeness to Yusuf Paşa, for whom he wanted to compose this text.

Equally important for the traveling Paşa were the architecture and the tales and myths surrounding them. The author notes that the arms and weapons of warriors and sultans kept in the Konya shrines were viewed—depicted in the painting as well (fig. 12b). Their souls were remembered with prayers, and were commended, for, "men of this time [were] not capable of using the weapons."<sup>86</sup>

83 Turc 127, fol. 8a.

84 On the 'Ala al-Din Mosque see Scott Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque in Konya Reconsidered," *Artibus Asiae* 51 (1991), pp. 54–74.

85 For example, see paintings "Zayn al-'Abidin Preaching" in several illustrated manuscripts of the *Ḥadīqatü's-Sü'edā* (Garden of the Blessed) (Brooklyn Museum of Art 70.143, fol. 506a and British Library Or. 12009, fol. 269b), or the dispersed page with a painting representing "The Entry of Prince Haydar Mirza" in a *Divan* of Baki (Metropolitan Museum of Art 45.174.5).

86 Turc 127, fol. 8b.

In addition to the weapons, there was a gilded, bejeweled standard; “past rulers, even Timur, were warned that the hands of whoever coveted it and attempted to seize it would dry up.”<sup>87</sup> Muhlisi continues with another reported story that relates that the Seljuk ruler ‘Ala al-Din (most likely ‘Ala al-Din Kayqubad I, r. 1219–37) had willed that, should his mosque and his *waqf* require any repairs, a jewel from the standard may then be sold for its upkeep. In addition to such objects, Muhlisi writes that they also viewed a Qur’an reportedly copied in the Kufic script by ‘Ali b. Abi Talib.<sup>88</sup>

Adjacent to the shrine, there was a mosque like that of Hagia Sophia; in its courtyard it had two marble columns that were reportedly brought there by prophet Khidr. Muhlisi adds that in that land a source of water sprung when the Seljuk ruler ‘Ala al-Din dropped his ewer, which he used for his ablutions; that source neither overflowed nor diminished. In emulation of his Seljuk predecessor, and no doubt in an act of public propaganda, the vizier performed his ablutions at that source and prayed.<sup>89</sup> By performing ritual prayer in these spaces, the vizier is inserting himself into a greater narrative of sanctity. By extension, Muhlisi’s narrative becomes a tale of an itinerant Yusuf Paşa collecting tokens of legitimacy on the way to his new post.

Value attached through history to the site/monument/object also becomes cause for warning, particularly against hubris. Muhlisi provides us a remarkable example of such an admonition when the vizier visits the shrine of Dede Sultan, another “pilgrimage site” of the vizier and his retinue. He writes:

When the circumstances of those rulers of the old were viewed, and their acts in this cruel earth were considered, it was taken as an exemplar that this baseless world was but a contemptible transit that made many a chief cower, many a ruler take up the coffin as throne; that ruined the cup of Jamshid, snatched away Kaykawuses and blinded Isfandiyars. Many a Kaykawus this *div* slayed / Left in that snare wailing / Left many a Kaykhusraw in the wilderness / [And] blinded Isfandiyar.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> The origin and development of the Kufic script is generally attributed to ‘Ali b. Abi Talib. That the Qur’an they viewed was reportedly copied by ‘Ali b. Abi Talib greatly enhances its value.

<sup>89</sup> Turc 127, fol. 9a.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

The fate and fall of such legendary heroes recounted by Muhlisi serve as cautionary models for those in power. Modesty, piety and good works are set out to be the foremost characteristics of a ruler as he is constantly warned against hubris.

Leaving Konya in early October 1602, the vizier traveled to Tarsus. At the time, the region was beset by *subte* (student) uprisings, and Ramazanoğlu Isma‘il Beg, governor of Adana, was charged to quell the uprisings.<sup>91</sup> Muhlisi does mention that the region had been unsettled by uprisings. However, bypassing the role of Ramazanoğlu Isma‘il Beg, he only focuses on Yusuf Paşa’s statement that, “it is up to us to rid the said bandits from among the Muslim folk.”<sup>92</sup> In Tarsus Yusuf Paşa was received by Ramazanoğlu Isma‘il Beg who hosted him and took him to see the famed place of visitation of the Old Testament prophet Daniel on the Ceyhan River.<sup>93</sup> The painting (fig. 13) that represents this visit shows a close connection to the text (as was the case with the previous two paintings). It visualizes the main points of attraction in one frame—the river (under which Daniel is buried), the bridge, the mosque, and the well into which the first muezzin Bilal b. Rabah (d. 638?) disappeared, all of which are described in the text. Amidst these, the Paşa looms large, emphasizing his rank. His larger size—often encountered in Baghdad painting to highlight a figure’s importance—and placement together with Ramazanoğlu Isma‘il Beg, along with the relative absence of the latter’s deeds in Tarsus, focus attention only on Yusuf Paşa. The Paşa’s juxtaposition with named and unnamed governors and local rulers points to a sense of competition and rank among governors.

As with the previous site, warning verses on the impermanence of the world follow the painting. The author reminds that, “one must not stray from the path of justice and the foundations of shari‘a—for the world is perfidious and reproachful; the fulcrum of possessions [is] grief, the “trans-diacriticalization” (*taṣḥīf*) of silver (*sīm*) grief (*sitam*), the end of rule a blow, the source of want a pit” and “one must

91 For a history of the Ramazanoğulları see Faruk Sümer, “Ramazanoğulları,” *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 34 (2007), pp. 442–5; Mustafa Akdağ, *Celali İsyânları, 1550–1603* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1963), p. 226. Henceforth Akdağ, *Celali İsyânları*.

92 Turc 127, fol. 10a.

93 On the history and topography of Tarsus see Oya Pancaroğlu, “Visible/Invisible: Sanctity, History and Topography in Tarsus,” *Akdeniz Kentleri: Gelecek için Geçmişin Birikimi – Mediterranean Cities: Antiquity as Future* (Mersin: Mersin University Press, 2013), pp. 109–21.

contemplate why he has been created.”<sup>94</sup> Fortunately, as one might expect, Yusuf Paşa is clearly identified as embodying that good quality and attribute.<sup>95</sup> Such verses and notes of caution often accompany observations of the stations, especially when shrines are visited. In such a way, Yusuf Paşa’s humility, piety and beneficence are highlighted throughout the first section of the work.

From Tarsus, the Paşa and his retinue traveled via Adana, Payas, Kilis, Aleppo, to ‘Ayntab (modern Antep). Some, according to Muhlisi, warned Yusuf Paşa not to enter ‘Ayntab on account of possible uprisings. The region of ‘Ayntab had been shaken up by the revolts of Karayazıcı in the late sixteenth century. Its governorship had been given, at the turn of the century, to Karayazıcı in exchange for the governor-turned-rebel Hüseyin Paşa (d. 1600). Soon, Karayazıcı reverted to rebellion. He was dealt a blow by Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa, who was aided by a number of governors and local rulers, including Mir Şeref, the ruler of Jizra. While Karayazıcı died from natural causes in 1602, his rebellion caused much turbulence in Anatolia.<sup>96</sup>

Governor, and sometimes rebel, Köse Sefer had stationed his men in order to protect Kızılhisar. The Celali rebellions had already destabilized ‘Ayntab, providing an opportunity for contenders to power to manipulate their hold over the region. In her study on ‘Ayntab in the seventeenth century, Canbakal points out that after 1609 Köse Sefer would “[wreak] havoc in the area of ‘Ayntab for seven years.”<sup>97</sup> At this point, when Yusuf Paşa entered ‘Ayntab, Köse Sefer appeared to be siding with the Porte. He met the Paşa upon his entrance into the city, hosted a feast, and granted him camels and horses.<sup>98</sup> While with hindsight we can follow Köse Sefer’s proclivity to rebellious behavior/opportunism, Muhlisi’s warnings about the possibility of rebellions point to the volatile environment of the region. In light of Yusuf Paşa’s previous encounters with rebels throughout his journey, the

94 Turc 127, fol. 12a.

95 Turc 127, fol. 13b.

96 Börekçi, “Factions and Favorites,” pp. 34–5; Akdağ, *Celali İsyânları*, pp. 190–201.

97 Hülya Canbakal cites an Armenian chronicle from 1609 that notes that former governor of Erzurum, Köse Sefer, turned rebellious. See Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: ‘Ayntāb in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), p. 28; Yaghia Kasuni, “History of Aintab and its Environs” *Armenian History of Aintab, Patmutyun Antepi Hayo*, ed. Kevord Sarafian (Los Angeles: Union of the Armenians of Aintab in America, 1953), pp. 297–8.

98 Turc 127, fols. 15b–16a.



governor is depicted as someone who can maintain control. This is perhaps most crucial given the fact that he appears not to have been able to do so in Baghdad.

The sense of a power play is captured in the painting that depicts the meeting of Köse Sefer and Yusuf Paşa (fig. 14). The painting reflects the procession of the two sides, armed, along winding green hills. The composition is balanced with Köse Sefer and Yusuf Paşa placed centrally. Köse Sefer wears a plumed turban wrapped around a red cap, while Yusuf Paşa is represented with his yellow and red garment and tall white turban. The distinction of Yusuf Paşa, his valor in facing uprisings, and his dealings with local rulers, governors, and upstarts is highlighted in both text and image throughout the manuscript. Often, whether it is vis-à-vis local rulers or vis-à-vis rebels, Yusuf Paşa is depicted as the valorous vizier who can easily control a situation through negotiation.

The next station in the journey is Ruha (Urfa). Muhlisi points out that the tall, minaret-like posts used for the catapult from which the Prophet Abraham was cast into the fire were still standing in the inner citadel.<sup>99</sup> Muhlisi briefly relates that the fire became a rose-garden for Abraham; as the prophet bent down amongst the raging flames, water began to percolate from around his knees, shielding him. That source, Muhlisi writes, was full of fish. When the Ottoman ruler Süleyman I visited the spring, a white fish swam up to him. The sultan, aware of the sanctity of the water and its aquatic inhabitants, thus placed a golden earring on the fish. After the fish died, it was ceremonially interred before the mosque.<sup>100</sup> The author writes that Yusuf Paşa made sacrifices, prayed in the mosque and distributed grants. Here, as previously, the vizier's beneficence is highlighted. Yusuf Paşa "granted such sums of money that from the silver coins that fell in the pool, the fish adorned their coats with silver scales/coins" (*şol kadar akça taşadduk eylediler ki şuya düşen akçadan ol havzın mahileri cübbe ve kabalarına gümüş pul dikdiler*).<sup>101</sup> While remarking on Yusuf Paşa's generosity, Muhlisi's pun makes a connection between the vizier and Sultan Süleyman I. A further connection to this ruler is made later in the text, where Muhlisi compares the number of casualties in the al-Jaza'ir, the islands around the region of the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, when the governor of Basra, Kubad Paşa, first conquered a fortress there during Süleyman's reign to that of Yusuf Paşa's siege of the same fortress, taking it back from the rebels.<sup>102</sup>

99 Turc 127, fol. 17a.

100 Turc 127, fol. 18a.

101 Ibid.

102 Turc 127, fols. 28a–b.

Yusuf Paşa's visit to Urfa is highlighted with a painting (fig. 15). Looming large over the others included in the composition, Yusuf Paşa stands before the spring, resting one hand on the trunk of a tree. An attendant dressed in yellow holds the Paşa's sword, while a dwarf can be partially seen from behind the tree. In the distance, behind the green hills and purplish rocks can be seen two minaret-like towers—the posts used for the catapult as related in the text. As with the previous paintings, this painting also shows a close relationship with the text, summarizing in visual form the essential points of visitation in each station, while at the same time emphasizing the central position of Yusuf Paşa.

Yusuf Paşa next traveled via Nusaybin to Jizra, Upper Mesopotamia, where he was hosted by Mir Şeref, the ruler of Jizra. Like the assemblies with Ramazanoğlu Isma'il Beg and Köse Sefer, Yusuf Paşa's meeting with Mir Şeref is illustrated with a painting (fig. 16). Wearing a tall, white turban, and dressed in a fur-lined green and blue garment, Yusuf Paşa sits facing Mir Şeref underneath a canopied tent. The latter is distinguished by his wide, plumed turban. The portly and beardless Yusuf Paşa is depicted slightly larger than Mir Şeref, but there is an overall sense of balance between the two groups as they come together. While the author does not provide details about Jizra, he points to the reciprocal gift exchange between Yusuf Paşa and Mir Şeref. The choice of illustrating assemblies with different local power-holders, gift exchange, feasting, and giving advice further highlight Yusuf Paşa's own role as a power-holder or at least as a contender in his respective post in Baghdad.

From there, Yusuf Paşa and his retinue travel to Mosul, and thence to Baghdad. At this point, it appears that a folio has been mis-bound and at least one folio is missing. As far as I have been able to reconstruct the order of the text, the company traveled to Baghdad, where they visited important sites and shrines, and sacrifices were made, as usual. Unfortunately, Muhlisi has left this list of sites incomplete, with space left for them in the text. The governor of Baghdad at the time was, according to Muhlisi, Sinan Paşazade Mehmed (d. 1605), the son of the grand-vizier Koca Sinan Paşa. Like Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa, Sinan Paşazade Mehmed Paşa was the son of a grand-vizier. The historians Solakzade (d. 1658) and Na'ima (d. 1716) hint at competition between the fathers and sons, particularly over the sons' governorships. The former suggests Sinan Paşa's ambitions in promoting his son over Hasan Paşa, particularly wanting the governorship of Rumelia to be given to his son rather than to Hasan Paşa.<sup>103</sup> Yusuf Paşa's gubernatorial post in Baghdad was to replace the vacancy left by such eminent figures with close connections.

103 İbrâhîm Peçevî, *Târih-i Peçevî*, p. 31. On Sinân Paşazâde Mehmed's career in Buda and Rumelia also see Selânikî Muştafa Efendi, *Târih-i Selânikî*, Vol. I, pp. 263, 314–5, 331,

Ending the “travelogue” section of the work, Muhlisi notes the stations from Baghdad to Basra. As if to foreshadow the second part of his text, Muhlisi adds that while Basra belongs to the “well-protected domains,” its periphery, Khuzistan, is under the control of the abovementioned rebel Mubarak, the chieftain of the Shi‘i Musha‘sha‘ tribe. In the second section of the work, Sayyid Mubarak appears as the figure to whom rebels turn for help against the Ottoman forces of Yusuf Paşa. The cursory introduction of this character and the Khuzistan region beyond the “well-protected domains” of the Ottomans prepares the reader for the second part of the work, which takes on a different tenor. The first section ends as the company reaches Basra proper. In a way, the first part of the work sets out the scenery, literally and figuratively. The description of the sites and their stories not only provide a lively account of the stations visited, but also act as a warning against worldliness. Furthermore, the frequent encounters with rebels or complaints about rebels as they coursed through Anatolia and Iraq introduce the reader to the second part of the work, which deals more closely with a number of uprisings in Basra.

The second part of the work—as marked by the author—details Yusuf Paşa’s repression of local uprisings. The Paşa’s dauntlessness is highlighted here as well. However, unlike the first part of the manuscript, this section focuses mainly on a number of skirmishes in and around Basra. Here, as portrayed by Muhlisi, the focus appears to be both on local uprisings and rebellions but also on sectarian clashes. Muhlisi writes that in Basra there was a group of heretics and Shi‘is, including several “bandits” from among volunteers in the local garrison, as well as scribes and lieutenants. They would don red headgear (a reference to the Safavid qizilbash turban) in the manner of Jews (*Yahudiveş*), topped with bird feathers, and would always hold polo sticks in their hands. They acted contrary to the ways of the believers (*ehl-i iman*), gathered each day and gossiped, even reviling the companions of the Prophet. They also bullied those who complained about them, often pillaging others’ properties, going so far as forcing eminent men to marry off their daughters to whomever they wanted.<sup>104</sup> When news of such behavior reached Yusuf Paşa he resolved, “to rid their wretched bodies from the world.”<sup>105</sup> He cautioned the council attendees to don the *mücevveze*, a tall, plaited turban worn by Ottoman grandees, differing from that of the Safavids. The heretics replied, in

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336–7, 369, 381, 390, 394–5, 397. Solakzâde, *Şolakzâde Târîhi*, Vol. II (Istanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1298 [1880/1]), p. 359; Börekçi, “Factions and Favorites,” pp. 40–1, 120–1.

<sup>104</sup> Turc 127, fol. 23a.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

the words of Muhlisi: “God forbid! The *mücevveze* is an unbecoming headgear. Our impure heads are unyielding; it is appropriate for the illustrious, fortunate head, not our ill-starred heads.”<sup>106</sup> Here, as elsewhere in the text, Muhlisi makes sure to denounce the pro-Safavid “heretics.” Matters escalated further, when in July-August 1603, a row broke out between an old *çavuş* and a heretical *bölükbaşı*. The old *çavuş* appeared before the council, battered, his white beard bloodied. Yusuf Paşa, having decided to quell such rebellious behavior, invited them once more to his council. The rebels armed themselves, and reached out to Mubarak, the ruler of Huwaiza, and to Hicris, ruler of al-Jaza’ir, saying: “Us brigands must rid the group of Sunnis from Basra; come at once and take the keys to the city.”<sup>107</sup> At this point, Muhlisi highlights the inherent courage of Yusuf Paşa and the perseverance of his smaller army against the “rebels and heretics.” Hence, the rebels decided to flee; the renegades were chased by ships and finally caught and beheaded. Muhlisi posits the execution as a warning and example to those who entertain seditious thoughts. He adds: “Chiefly, the *pādshāh* of Rum (i.e., the Ottoman sultan) is the protector of the boundaries of Islam from the wicked infidels; [he is] responsible for serving the Two Holy Places (Mecca and Medina). The rank of his sovereignty is the basis of the caliphate and his person is the pole of Islam; [he is] the manifest aide with sublime caliphate, sovereignty, and piety.”<sup>108</sup> In addition to highlighting the role of the sultan in safeguarding orthodoxy, the author notes that the Basran poet Zühdi had composed a qasida, and that he himself had composed a chronogram to mark the event. The qasida and chronogram, Muhlisi notes, are recorded in the *zayl*, which, unfortunately, is missing from the Paris manuscript.

The author adds that some escapees fled to seek help from Mubarak. At their bidding, Mubarak attacked several forts bordering al-Jaza’ir. The author points out that the Bedouins in al-Jaza’ir would “follow the path of mutiny;” some among the rebels would claim the produce of the sub-province for themselves and threaten to hand over the area to the ruler of al-Jaza’ir.<sup>109</sup> There were many such threats in the frontiers of the empire. Muhlisi adds that the leader or protector chosen by the heretics in al-Jaza’ir was expelled upon the repossession of the fortress—for it was, “the imperial ancient law (*kanûn-u kadîm-i shehriyârî*) to forbid handing out offices to Bedouin perpetrators of perdition, and it was disagreeable to those of

106 Turc 127, fol. 23b.

107 Turc 127, fol. 24b–25a. I have not been able to find out about “Hicris” unfortunately.

108 Turc 127, fol. 26b.

109 Turc 127, fol. 27a.

understanding to appoint proprietors of heresy and heterodoxy to fortresses in the empire's frontiers."<sup>110</sup> Such a comment points to the precariousness of the frontier, as well as other regions in turmoil, where, at times, a policy of appeasement and granting of offices, was resorted to.

At this point a painting representing the victorious Yusuf Paşa appears. Muhlisi's verses on the triumph of Yusuf Paşa, and of the "four friends" (*çāryār*, i.e. first four Sunni caliphs) over the "heretics" frame the painting (fig. 17). The vizier sits on a high-backed chair, while his victorious cavalry and soldiers arrive and present the decapitated heads of the vanquished rebels. As with the previous paintings of this manuscript, Yusuf Paşa is centrally placed and depicted larger than the rest of the figures. The painting reflects a close relation to the text where the author points out:

If he sets out to subdue the enemy / Opportunity and assistance become his guide  
/ It was as if conquest and victory were his comrades / His sword would chop the  
enemy's head / His lance would pierce hearts and lungs / That lion seized five  
fortresses from al-Jaza'ir / He gave tumult to the infidel / May the four friends be  
a serpent to them; come pray / With loft and glory and conquest / They returned  
to Basra / With victory came the takers of spoils / The Muslim soldiers came  
into the city / And the severed heads of the enemy were placed on the fortress.<sup>111</sup>

Defeated, Mubarak "promised to stay away from the Ottoman borders and to refrain from odious action, [whereupon] he escaped to his hellish abode."<sup>112</sup> The author is also careful to add that no Muslim (*ehl-i Īslām*) was harmed in this battle.<sup>113</sup> However, further skirmishes continued. A certain Ali Ağa, an agha of the 'azēbs of the Kapan fort—initially suspected of sedition but first shown mercy—attacked the janissary commander Muhammad Ağa. Muhlisi notes that at the time, they were celebrating the news of the accession of Sultan Ahmed I in Basra. Celebrations halted, Yusuf Paşa personally led the siege against Ali Ağa in the Kapan fort.<sup>114</sup> Following the successful siege, "the enemies on all sides heard [of the news]; fear striking their hearts, they showed loyalty and sent embassies and gifts." Various tribes—from the Gulf, to Hormuz, and Najd—sent gifts and embassies to Basra. At this point, the manuscript abruptly ends.

<sup>110</sup> Turc 127, fol. 29a.

<sup>111</sup> Turc 127, fols. 29b–30a.

<sup>112</sup> Turc 127, fol. 34a.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Turc 127, fol. 36b.

Even though the following sections are missing, Muhlisi's detailed account on Basra provides a welcome addition to the history of early seventeenth-century Basra. It captures the gist of the environment of unease and rebellion throughout Anatolia and beyond, sectarian clashes, and contentions for power in the frontiers of the empire. The short account emphasizes Yusuf Paşa's valor in this uncertain environment and provides a personalized work that merges the genres of travelogue with *sefernâme* (account of expedition). Set in a similar historical context, yet with different circumstances, Hasan Paşa's universal history focuses on the role of the vizier through historic examples and shows the governor as the culmination of history.

### Conclusion

While the genre of universal history makes different claims to power than a personal account of travels and deeds, both Yusuf Paşa and Hasan Paşa seemed to need recognition in their posts in Baghdad, having dealt with a number of rebellions in eastern Anatolia and Iraq. In Baghdad, they found a lively cultural and artistic sphere, possibly fed by an exile of artists from Shiraz and sustained by a mostly Ottoman socio-cultural context, albeit not to the exclusion of a non-Ottoman market. The corpus of illustrated manuscripts (mostly composed in Ottoman Turkish and some in Persian) produced in the 1590s to the first decade of the seventeenth century shows a remarkable stylistic coherence that appears to take elements from Ottoman and Safavid painting, and even Indian painting, given Baghdad's cosmopolitan nature. This trend finally peters out with the rekindling of conflict with the Safavids in the early seventeenth century. Once the particular conditions (such as sustained interest, social and political stability, and availability of artists and materials) favorable to such prolific production disappeared so did the coherence of manuscript production.

The illustrated manuscripts of Yusuf Paşa and Hasan Paşa highlight their valor in different ways. In the case of Hasan Paşa, his patrilineal links, his success in various posts, especially his confrontation with Sayyid Mubarak, paved the way to his image as established by Muhammad Tahir as the culmination of history. In the case of Yusuf Paşa, who lacked Hasan Paşa's grandeur and closely-knit network, Muhlisi's account paints an image of him as a valorous, just and pious leader. Compared with the voluminous and extensive universal history of Hasan Paşa, Yusuf Paşa's account of his travels from Istanbul to Baghdad and Basra is

more intimate. In the case of Yusuf Paşa, a performative narrative of pilgrimage attempts to legitimate the governor's tenuous position in Baghdad, as his courage in an uncertain environment is constantly pointed out. As opposed to Hasan Paşa's bolder statements of power, Yusuf Paşa's account takes on a more subdued voice. Yet, both are very much a product of the environment of unease and rebellion, particularly in the border zones of the empire and both highlight aspects of power and legitimacy as the two viziers strive to maintain and enhance their status quo in Baghdad.

**Abstract ■** In the final decade of the sixteenth century a lively art market flourished in Baghdad. This article focuses on two governors, Sokolluzade Hasan Paşa (d. 1602) and Yusuf Paşa (d. 1614), who greatly contributed to this artistic flowering by commissioning unique works: an illustrated universal history and an illustrated travelogue-cum-campaign logbook, respectively. These texts, composed around the same time and written for Hasan Paşa and Yusuf Paşa, show the different directions the two viziers took as they strived to establish their power base in Baghdad at a time when art and cultural life was burgeoning, but also when there was much unrest locally and on the international front. It argues that Hasan Paşa's patrilineal links with the eminent Sokollu Mehmed Paşa prompted a grander, universal vision of history that placed the governor as the culmination of history. Compared to this bolder work, Yusuf Paşa's travelogue presents an image of the vizier as a pious pilgrim, who, at the same time, bravely tackles bandits in and around Basra.

Keywords: Hasan Paşa, Yusuf Paşa, Baghdad, Basra, art patronage, artistic propaganda.

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