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THE DEPICTION OF CEREMONIES IN OTTOMAN MINIATURES: HISTORICAL RECORD OR A MATTER OF PROTOCOL?

In the sixteenth-century Ottoman world, state ideology was to a great extent reflected in historians' perceptions and writings. What affected the historian's pen was manifested in the brush of the painter/designer (*naḳḳāş*) as well. These miniatures sometimes depicted events as they happened but at other times they only echoed how the parties involved wanted those events to be portrayed.

The sultans in particular were concerned about how they and the state would be perceived by others in written and visual form.[1] Since sultans wished to be seen as moral role models for their subjects, they did not want their flaws ever to be revealed. This motivation affected the official historiography considerably. In addition to the sovereign image promoted by statesmen and scholars, the hierarchical nature of the components of the Ottoman state was always deemed of paramount importance and, as a result, the rules needed to maintain this structure were written in the form of legal codes (sing. *ḳānūnnāme*) and protocol registers.

Within such a context, the state was party to the formation and maintenance of its political ideology, as were the writer and the painter, with their distinct personal backgrounds and political orientations. The perspectives of these parties have always affected how historical events were recorded. This particular study postulates that miniatures featuring ceremonies were sometimes used as if they were historical records, documenting how these occasions actually unfolded, while at other times they were intended to be visual protocol registers, showing how these events were supposed to have taken place.

TEXTUAL AND VISUAL APPROACHES TO DESCRIBING HISTORICAL EVENTS

Miniatures in Ottoman historical manuscripts are mostly in harmony with the texts they accompany. Upon close examination, we see that the authors of these manuscripts exerted a great effort to narrate events as they occurred and that same effort is also highly apparent in the miniatures. However, it is impossible for a historian or a painter to be totally unbiased. In recording events, official historians made sure that they conformed to the state ideology. Consequently, while examining historical texts, the reader should always consider the possibility that the events in question were chronicled not as they actually happened but as the author believed they were supposed to have occurred in order to reflect and validate state ideology. This point is also valid with respect to the painters of miniatures.

Historical manuscripts from the sixteenth century were mostly written by state officials for the sultans and statesmen.[2] Among such works, Selaniki's history (*Tārīḫ-i Selānīkī*),[3] written intermittently between 1563 and 1595, is noteworthy, since it was not composed at the behest of those in power but on the inclination of the historian himself, who could then write it as he wished. In a manuscript such as this, we see how a historian's background might be reflected in the way he narrated events. In such instances, historians were comparatively freer than they were with works for which they had received a royal commission (or ones that they gave to a sultan or statesmen even when they had no official support), since there was no predetermined individual to whom the work at hand was to be presented.

In a careful reading, the influence that a historian's personal background and political orientation had on the text he was composing can be identified. To illustrate, let us consider the example of Hoca Sa'deddin (d. 1599), who narrated the events that took place during the reign of Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20). Writing his book based on what he had learned from his father, Hasan Can (d. 1567), who was Selim I's confidant, Hoca Sa'deddin naturally described what had happened, especially the parts about Selim I, in a way that portrayed the sultan in a positive light. For instance, in order to present Selim as an innocent figure in his accession to the throne, Hoca Sa'deddin says that the sultan's father, Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), abdicated on his own accord and was not forced to do so by his son.[4] When considering this assertion, a researcher must take Hasan Can's close relationship with Selim I into consideration. Subsequent historians depicted Selim I's accession in different ways. Not surprisingly, those who specify Hoca Sa'deddin's book as their main source present a point of view that favors Selim. In contrast, in his manuscript on the same subject entitled *Ṭabaḳātü'l-memālik ve derecātu'l mesālik* (Levels of the Dominions and Grades of the Professions), the lord chancellor (*nişāncı*) Celalzade (d. 1567) recounts how the janissaries put pressure on Bayezid II to abdicate and how Selim I acceded to the throne only after a struggle.[5]

Another example of how a historian's personal background could influence his historical perspective would be the way Şükri-i Bidlisi (d. after 1530) was affected by his sources when shaping the content of his *Selīmnāme* (History of Selim), which was completed before 1530 (fig. 1). The events that Şükri discussed in his book were based on what he had heard from Şehsuvaroğlu 'Ali Beg (d. 1522), who admired Selim I and was appointed by him to be governor of the province of Dulkadiroğlu. After Şehsuvaroğlu 'Ali Beg's death, Şükri completed his manuscript with the help of Koçi Beg's account of the reign of Selim I. As one who was raised in the palace and fought beside the sultan in battles, Koçi Beg presented Şükri with his particular interpretation of Selim's life story. Thus, like Hoca Sa'deddin, Şükri portrayed the sultan as having done the best he could, given the circumstances of his reign.[6]

These manuscripts, which were often written in a literary style laden with emotion, became a way to laud



Fig. 1. The writer and *naḳḳāş* of the *Selīmnāme*. Şükri-i Bidlisi, *Selīmnāme-i Şükrī*, probably Maraş-Istanbul, ca. 1525–30, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1597-98, fol. 1a. (Photo: Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

the person to whom they were to be submitted and, within such a context, the identity of the recipient gained significance.[7] The parts of these works depicting ceremonies also had an effect on the future structure of the state. For example, in the *Ḳānūnnāme-i āl-i 'Oṣmān* (Law Code of the Ottomans), written during the reign of Mehmed II (r. 1453–83), it was stated that dignitaries such as the grand vizier, the chief justice, fiscal officials, the sultan's instructor, the lord chancellor, guardians, a group of officers (*alay begleri*), head tasters, salaried *müteferriḳa*s (court officials used for public or official missions), and some holders of land grants (*zaim*s), as well as scholars, should kiss the sultan's hand when coming into his presence. However, according to some other texts composed in a more florid literary style, whoever came before the sultan "became the dust on his feet" or "kissed the ground."[8] Such inconsistencies in describing the rules of protocol were of little consequence when the state was constantly victorious, but

as it started to lose its power and thus its self-esteem, these matters became increasingly important: the rules governing ceremonies multiplied along with the number of details involved. The situation was the same for the hierarchical rules that gave the state its structure. This growing complexity can be regarded in one of two ways: it either enriched the culture or caused the affairs of state to be slowed down by a growing bureaucracy.

The artists who painted miniatures for historical manuscripts worked in the imperial palace and were as much responsible to the state as the historians were. In comparison with the texts, which take more time to read and evaluate, miniatures can be considered forms of expression that convey their meaning in a much more immediate way.

Historians and artists generally recounted events as they actually happened in addition to indicating how they were supposed to have occurred. That is, they made an effort to narrate and portray scenes exactly as they had transpired, but they also incorporated the precepts of the protocol registers, as if all the rules had actually been followed in the ceremonies depicted. Most importantly, historians never failed to add details portraying those in power in a favorable light before they submitted the texts to them. For similar reasons, there were discrepancies in visual representations of such events. For instance, when depicting accession ceremonies, painters preferred to draw a soldier bowing before the sultan's throne rather than a statesman kissing the sultan's hand,[9] one rare example of which we find in the depiction of the enthronement of Ahmed I (r. 1603–17).[10] Had they been more commonplace, in such miniatures the sultan should have been depicted standing up to welcome high-ranking officials such as the grand vizier, the finance officers, the chief justices, and the sheyhulislam.[11] Nevertheless, such miniatures were never painted because the sultans did not wanted to be portrayed in a way that might seem to compromise the image of their sovereignty, that is, standing up to greet their own officials.[12]

Like historians/writers, artists always highlighted their subjects in a way that was consistent with the rules of ceremony and that clearly displayed the hierarchical structure and supremacy of the Ottoman state. For example, the pro-Selim perspective in Şükri's *Selīmnāme* is observable in its miniatures as well. In Ottoman sources, Shah Ismaʿil (d. 1524), the founder of the Safavid state, and his army are criticized for being overconfident and arrogant; according to the *Selīmnāme*, Shah Ismaʿil and his soldiers were, in fact, drunken cowards. Şükri takes the artistic license to have even the enemy proclaim Selim's greatness, when he has Shah Ismaʿil state that the true sultan was indeed Selim and that he himself was an insignificant figure. Having observed the Ottoman army, Ismaʿil says: "Osman is the shah of the world. We do not deserve to be called shah."[13] Ottoman historians delighted in describing events in this way and Şükri was no exception. Neither were the painters: a miniature depicting the intoxicated state of the Persian soldiers just before the Battle of Çaldıran, which took place on August 23, 1514, shows cupbearers handing Shah Ismaʿil and his combatants cups of wine.[14]

The same biased attitude on the part of the painters can be seen in the miniature in which Shah Ismaʿil is depicted observing the Ottoman army (fig. 2). In addition to Sultan Selim and those beside him on horseback, there are four janissaries standing neatly in formation with their guns, thereby underlining the army's discipline. In this miniature, the viewer immediately perceives the orderliness of the Ottoman army, whereas the stunned and cowardly shah is enveloped by his soldiers, who, except for the attendants, are shown wearing their armor.[15]

HISTORICAL EVENTS AS PORTRAYED IN OTTOMAN MINIATURES

Miniatures depicting historical events generally portray those events as they are described in historical records.[16] For this reason, they have been used as primary sources in various studies.[17]

Şükri's *Selīmnāme*, one of the earliest manuscripts to have miniatures depicting historical events, hews very closely to the truth as we know it from other sources in its depiction of episodes from that era. Take, for instance, the miniature depicting the actions of the Ottoman and Persian armies before the Battle of Çaldıran (fig. 2). To the left, we see a Safavid soldier in half-armor and wearing a white turban with a tall, thin, red, pipe-shaped inner cap and a plume in the back; he



Fig. 2. Shah Ismaʿil observes the Ottoman army. Şükri-i Bidlisi, *Selīmnāme-i Şükrī*, probably Maraş-Istanbul, ca. 1525–30, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1597-98, fol. 113a. (Photo: Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

is curiously watching the Ottoman army, encamped on the outskirts of a hill. Meanwhile, an Anatolian soldier provides the Safavids with intelligence about the Ottomans. The story relating what is depicted in the miniature is rendered in such a detailed way that even if there were no miniature at all, we would still be able to visualize the scene. The picture portrays exactly what the text describes. Şükri says that the Ottoman troops descended the hill carrying different flagpoles and dressed in various garments: the Mihailoğulları carry a red flag with a golden flagpole, while İsfendiyaroğlu and his attendants wear white garments and carry a green flag; Sinan Pasha and his troops carry flagpoles described as "the best."[18] When the Rumeli Beylerbeyi, Hasan Pasha, arrives, the Anatolian soldier tells Shah Ismaʿil such impressive things about this high-ranking official that Shah Ismaʿil puts his finger in his mouth to show his admiration, as well as his so-called regret at having engaged such a formidable and well-organized enemy. In the miniature, too, Shah Ismaʿil is depicted putting his finger in his mouth, a typical convention referring to awestruck wonder and bewilderment. Lastly, the text says that Sultan Selim I arrived with red and yellow flags, and the red, green, and white flags on the right side of the miniature are also described as belonging to the sultan.[19]



Fig. 3. The Celali revolt. Şükri-i Bidlisi, *Selīmnāme-i Şükrī,* probably Maraş-Istanbul, ca. 1525–30, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1597-98, fol. 264a. (Photo: Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Another miniature of the same manuscript portrays the Celali revolt (fig. 3).[20] The painting, featuring state forces and rebels, depicts the Anatolian public in 1518. According to the text, after the conquest of Egypt in 1517, a person called Celal from the Bozok tribe gathered a large number of people around him by claiming that he was the Mahdi.[21] Before Ferhad Pasha, who was assigned the mission of suppressing the revolt, managed to reach them, Şehsuvaroğlu ʿAli Beg caught them in the vicinity of Erzincan. In the miniature, Şehsuvaroğlu and his soldiers are shown fighting the rebels on horseback. The janissary in the forefront represents the state's official armed forces. In contrast to these soldiers, the rebels are on foot. According to the accompanying text, women also took part in this combat and they, too, are present in the miniature: we see two unarmed women and two children watching the battle with worried eyes.[22] Their presence in the scene effectively conveys the public nature of this movement. The women's blue and green caftans and headscarves, the upper parts of which resembled a *kaşbastı* (a tightly tied headband), as well as the children's short caftans and simple coifs, are representative of the clothing and hairstyle characteristic of Anatolia at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

These two miniatures display the great efforts taken by the painter to portray the reality of the sixteenth-century Ottoman world. Indeed, both miniatures closely reflect the content of the texts with which they were associated.

MINIATURES DEPICTING CEREMONIES

Since sultans and their statesmen attended and actively participated in state ceremonies, there were certain rules that had to be followed in accordance with the hierarchical structure of the Ottoman state.

Official state ceremonies included enthronements, the observance of semiannual *bayram* (Eid) festivities, and the rituals performed during Imperial Council meetings, which were held four times a week. There were also receptions for statesmen and ambassadors, the sultan's weekly Friday processions from the palace to the mosque (*Cumaʿ selāmlığı*), and events marking the departure of the sultan or a commander on a military campaign. Many of these occasions were described in sixteenth-century Ottoman miniatures. Indeed, ceremonies were one of the most important subjects treated in such works.

Of great significance were enthronement ceremonies, which, according to protocol registers, occurred after the throne was placed in front of the Gate of Felicity, namely, the third gate of the Topkapı palace in Istanbul. Invited guests formed a semicircle in front of the sultan, while statesmen waited in the Council Hall until



Fig. 4. The enthronement ceremony of Sultan Selim I. Seyyid Lokman, *Hünernāme*, vol. 1, Istanbul, ca. 1584, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1523, fol. 201a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

their names were called. At that point, they joined those standing in front of the sultan in order to greet him and take their oaths of allegiance.[23] Indeed, it was crucial that all members of the Imperial Council—statesmen, scholars, and high-ranking soldiers—be present at the enthronement ceremony. After a sultan's accession to the throne, all members of the Imperial Council were considered to have resigned; they were then reappointed by the new sultan after he was enthroned.

In the first volume of the *Hünernāme* (Book of Skills) of Seyyid Lokman (d. after 1601), which appeared in 1584, we see representations of the enthronement ceremonies of all the sultans who ascended the throne up to and including that of Sultan Selim I,[24] which was held in Istanbul in Yenibahçe—since his father, Bayezid II, was still at the Topkapı Palace—in front of the imperial tent. It is evident that the miniature and the accompanying text, which were created at the same time, perfectly conform to one another. In the text, the sultan is said to be in Istanbul, though, as mentioned above, not in the palace but in the imperial tent; the person swearing allegiance to him is an infantry officer (*yayabaşı* or *solak*). There is thus no inconsistency between the text and what we see in the miniature (fig. 4).

In the second volume of the same manuscript, completed in 1587–88, the description of the enthronement ceremony of Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–66) is much more realistic, since the sultan was almost the contemporary of the writer and the painter (fig. 5).[25] It is, in fact, consistent with the depiction of the enthronement found in 'Arifi's *Süleymānnāme* (History of Süleyman), written in 1558, relatively close to Süleyman's enthronement in 1520 (fig. 6).[26] In both miniatures, the young sultan is seen seated on his throne in front of the Gate of Felicity. Piri Pasha (d. 1532), the grand vizier, appears on the left side of the sultan, at a distance from the viziers standing to the sultan's right. In a number of miniatures, this highest-ranking official, the most powerful man after the sultan, is clearly featured more prominently than the other figures in the scene. Of all the miniatures from the sixteenth century featuring enthronements, the ones depicting that of Sultan Süleyman I conform most closely to the rules of protocol. After the death of Selim I, on September 22, 1520, in the vicinity of Çorlu (in northwestern Turkey), his son Süleyman set off from the province of Manisa (in western Turkey) for the palace, arriving there at midnight. Without waiting for the funeral to take place, Grand Vizier Piri Pasha left the coffin in the care of the other officials and quickly headed for Istanbul to attend the enthronement ceremony, as representative of all the statesmen.[27] This gesture by Piri Pasha indicates the importance attached to the statesmen's approval of the new sultan's rule. In both of the miniatures depicting Sultan Süleyman's enthronement ceremony (i.e., the ones from the *Süleymānnāme* and the *Hünernāme*), we see that the artists painted the scene in accordance with how it was described in the text.



Fig. 5. The enthronement ceremony of Sultan Süleyman I. Seyyid Lokman, *Hünernāme*, vol. 2, Istanbul, ca. 1587–88, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1524, fols. 25b–26a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

The presence of a soldier bowing before the sultan in each of the enthronement miniatures in the *Hünernāme* was a deliberate choice that reflected the way both the writer/historian and the painter highlighted state ideology. In fact, we can reach two conclusions from this most vivid representation of Ottoman ceremonial and political structure. Firstly, it indicates that as a symbol of power, the military recognized the sultan's rule. Secondly, the soldier and the sultan are shown facing each other, a sign of their direct interaction with one another. In each case, in the text describing the event portrayed in the miniature, the accession ceremony is depicted just as the protocol registers say it should have been. The event is recounted by the state, and thus from the state's perspective.[28]

The enthronement of Selim II (r. 1566–74) was first narrated in the *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār der Sefer-i Sīgetvār* (Joyful Chronicle of the Szigetvár Campaign), written by Feridun Ahmed Beg (d. 1581) in 1568 (figs. 7 and 8),[29] and then in Seyyid Lokman's *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān* (Book of Kings of Sultan Selim),[30] written in 1581 (fig. 9), which will be discussed in detail below. In both manuscripts, the individual taking the oath of allegiance is a soldier. The miniature depicting the enthronement of Murad III (r. 1574–95) (fig.10),[31] is, to a great extent, a repetition of the one showing the ceremony for his father in the *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān* (fig. 9):[32] we see the grand vizier standing apart from the other viziers, prominently highlighted, as well as a soldier taking his oath of allegiance to the sultan. This time, how-



Fig. 6. The enthronement ceremony of Sultan Süleyman I. ʻArifi, *Süleymānnāme,* Istanbul, ca. 1558, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1517, fol. 17b. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

ever, the ceremony takes place in the second courtyard of the Topkapı palace. The enthronement miniature in the *Süleymānnāme*, on the other hand, shows a state official or courtier-like *müteferriḳa* in front of the sultan (fig. 6).[33] The depiction of the enthronement ceremony of Ahmed I (fig. 11) was conceived differently from the others. In that work, the painter shows the sultan from a broader perspective, in a more spacious area. We see high-ranking officials waiting in a line in front of the Council Hall in the second court. For the first time, the person taking his oath of allegiance before the sultan is a statesman, who kisses his hand (as opposed to a soldier kneeling before him). This innovation indicates that the *şehnāme* writer (*şehnāmeci*) Lokman and the artist Nakkaş Osman were no longer working together and demonstrates a new style in depicting the enthronement ceremony. The change also has to do with the fact that the manuscript in which this miniature is painted is not a *şehnāme* written specifically to praise the sultan.[34]

Another ceremonial activity treated in miniatures was the sultan's reception of statesmen and envoys in the Chamber of Petitions (*ʻarż odası*).[35] Some of these miniatures show the Imperial Council convening in the palace, and many more depict the councils of the grand vizier and other viziers. Other miniatures show meetings of the Imperial Council being held in the Council Hall, located in the second courtyard of the Topkapı palace, in accordance with what was dictated by the *ḳānūnnāme*s. The grand vizier was the head of the Imperial Council and to his right sat the second, third, and fourth viziers, in that order. After the fourth vizier came the lord chancellor (*nişāncı*), to the left of whom sat the two chief justices and the fiscal officials (*defterdār*). The chief of clerks (*reisülküttab*) and the commander of the Imperial Guard (*ḳapıcılar ketḫüdası*) are depicted standing up and serving them, although they also attended the meetings of the Council.[36]

In portraying these gatherings of the Imperial Council, the painter clearly took protocol into account.[37] Miniatures in Şükri's *Selīmnāme* are the earliest known examples that we have showing statesmen sitting in front of the sultan, in two rows facing each other.[38] Such scenes indicate that the sultan was still in charge of the Imperial Council. It is generally inferred from what is written in the *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʻOsmān* that sultans ceased heading the Imperial Council's meetings during the reign of Mehmed II.[39] However, according to the *risāle* (treatise) of Koçi Beg, written in 1631, sultans stopped leading the Imperial Council after the reign of Sultan Süleyman I.[40]

In many other sultan-centered reception miniatures found in manuscripts written after Şükri's *Selīmnāme*, Council members are depicted standing (e.g., when visiting the sultan in his throne room or in the Petitions Chamber), again in conformity with the rules of protocol.[41]

A miniature found in the second volume of the *Hünernāme* depicts a Council meeting and shows us how a painting could portray matters of ceremony not



Fig. 7. The enthronement ceremony of Sultan Selim II. Feridun Ahmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār,* Çorlu, ca. 1568, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1339, fols. 110b–111a. (Photo: Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 8. Detail of fig. 7, "The enthronement ceremony of Sultan Selim II." Feridun Ahmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār*, Çorlu, ca. 1568, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1339, fol. 110b. (Photo: Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 9. The enthronement ceremony of Sultan Selim II. Seyyid Lokman, *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān,* Istanbul, ca. 1581, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. A. 3595, fol. 26b. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

conveyed in the accompanying text (fig. 12).[42] Here we see the interrogation of a kadi from Kayseri, about whom people had complained to the Council. The text itself does not tell us about the rules regarding seating arrangements but rather the reason for the complaint against the judge.[43] Instead, the miniature itself functions as a visual protocol register, showing the viewer how a session of the Imperial Council was conducted. At the meeting, held in the Council Hall in the second courtyard of the Topkapı palace, we see the grand vizier sitting just below the Tower of Justice, with three viziers to his right and the lord chancellor a bit more in front. To the grand vizier's left sit two chief justices and three fiscal officials. The painting thus provides us with information not given in the text. Miniatures depicting the receptions of ambassadors[44] and imperial processions (*alay-ı hümāyūn*)[45] also complement the information given in the accompanying written sources.

We have significantly fewer instances of miniatures illustrating *bayram* ceremonies in Ottoman times. A miniature showing Osman Pasha's visit to Murad III is the best example we have of how greetings were exchanged during this type of event (fig. 13).[46] The hierarchical nature of these occasions recalls the rules followed in enthronement ceremonies. Indeed, the *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOsmān* says that the *bayram* ceremony should be regarded as a model for how enthronements are to take place. In fact, the scenes portrayed in both *bayram* and enthronement miniatures show that both celebrations shared the same features, thus demonstrating that the artist clearly took the rules of protocol into account when painting these ceremonies in miniatures. During both enthronements and *bayram*s, a group of officials stood in a semicircle facing the sultan, who sat on his throne in front of the Gate of Felicity. In *bayram* ceremonies, the military band would in front of the colonnade close to the palace kitchen (fig. 13).[47] Another noteworthy detail is that if a prince from abroad, from Iran or the Crimea, for example, happened to be in the palace, he stood just behind and to the right of the sultan. Although enthronement ceremonies are today regarded as more important by most historians who focus on political history, the premium placed on the *bayram* ceremonies demonstrates that customs deriving from longstanding traditions had more weight than political ceremony.

The sultans' visits to holy places were also depicted as ceremonial activities.[48] We have very few examples of miniatures showing the rituals performed for princes when they were appointed governor of a province (*sancağa çıḳmaḳ*).[49] This must have been a ceremony to which little or no importance was attached, since each prince was a rival to the sultan. Accordingly, painters probably preferred to downplay rather than celebrate these events.

Funeral ceremonies, on the other hand, did not have a standardized form, though they were held after the enthronement of the new sultan. While there is only one miniature showing Sultan Bayezid's funeral,[50] Sultan Süleyman's funeral was depicted in very similar fashion in three different manuscripts (figs. 14 and 15).[51] Another miniature shows the funeral at the Topkapı palace of either Murad III or Selim II.[52]

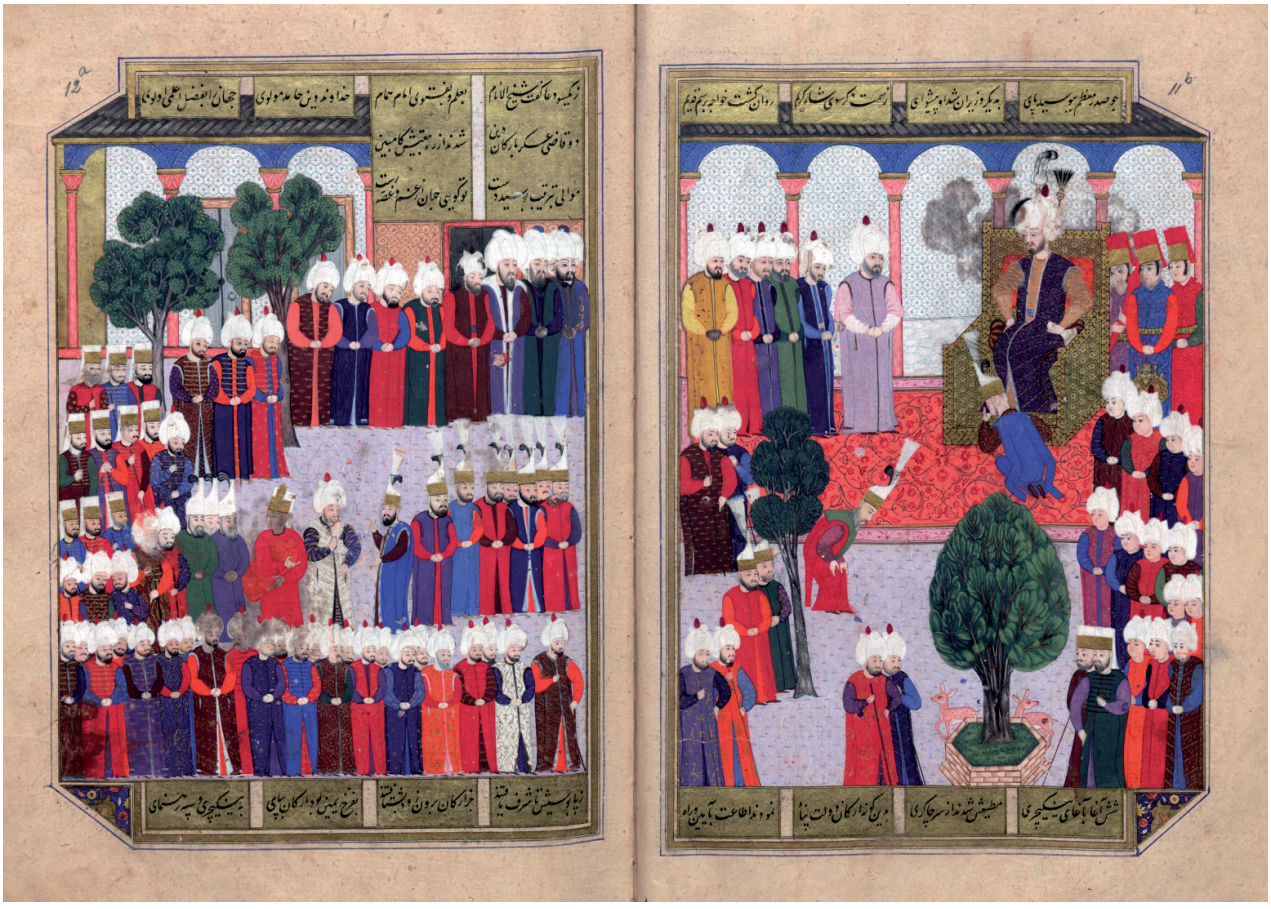


Fig. 10. The enthronement ceremony of Sultan Murad III. Seyyid Lokman, *Şehinşāhnāme*, vol. 1, ca. 1581, Istanbul University Library, Ms. FY. 1404, fols. 11b–12a. (Photo: courtesy of the Istanbul University Library)

MINIATURES AS VISUAL PROTOCOL REGISTERS? DEPICTIONS OF THE ENTHRONEMENT OF SELIM II IN BELGRADE

Sixteenth-century Ottoman miniatures featuring ceremonies functioned as protocol registers in the sense that they depicted what was supposed to happen in addition to what actually happened. We find the most striking examples of this in miniatures showing the enthronement ceremony of Selim II.

In 1566, Sultan Süleyman went on a campaign to Hungary with his army and his viziers, and besieged the castle of Szigetvár. During this siege, however, he developed an illness and died, upon which Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579) and other members of the Imperial Council notified Prince Selim, who was then governor of Kütahya, that he should come at once to where the army was encamped.[53] Instead, Selim immediately headed for Istanbul, accompanied by his instructor, Hoca Ataullah Efendi, his private tutor, Lala Hüseyin Pasha, and his confidant, Celal Beg, as well as Mirahur Hüsrev Pasha, the master of the sultan's horse; Ferhad Agha, the agha of the elite imperial cavalry corps (*sipāhī oğlan*); Ömer Agha, the chief of the salaried cavalry corps (*ulūfecibaşı*); and his soldiers and attendants.[54]

According to various historical texts, Selim II was enthroned in the Topkapı palace on 14 Rebiülevvel 974 (September 29, 1566), the very day he came from Kütahya to Istanbul.[55] Among those in attendance were



Fig. 11. The enthronement ceremony of Sultan Ahmed I. ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Bistami, *Miftāḥ al-Jifr al-jāmiʿ*, translated into Turkish by Seyyid Burhaneddin as *Tercüme-i-Cifrü'l-cāmiʿ*, Istanbul, ca. 1597–98, Istanbul University Library, Ms. TY. 6624, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: courtesy of the Istanbul University Library)

the sheyhulislam, Ebussuud Efendi (d. 1574); the guardsman of Istanbul, İskender Pasha; the finance officer of Anatolia, Küçük Hasan Çelebi; and Balıkzade ʿAli Çelebi, as well as Ataullah Efendi, Lala Hüseyin Pasha, Celal Beg, and scholars from the Sahn-ı Seman madrasas (the eight elite schools of the Fatih mosque in Istanbul), some of them retired.[56] Sixteenth-century sources do not mention any other details concerning this ceremony.

Three days after ascending the throne, the sultan left Istanbul. Ebussuud Efendi, together with Ahmed Efendi, the kadi of Istanbul, İskender Pasha, and the scholars and notables of the city, saw him off with a ceremony. Two miniatures from the *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār* depicting Selim's journey to Belgrade with his men (figs. 16 and 17) are consistent with what is stated in the corresponding text. One painting shows his serious demeanor during this campaign, and also his men's fatigue. Selim II appears on horseback wearing a red *çakşır* (a kind of trousers) and a short navy blue campaign caftan. Marching with him are guards (*solak*) and footmen (*peyk*) depicted as ceremonial troops. The attendants whom we see behind him are pulling their exhausted horses (fig. 16). In the corresponding text, it is stated that although they intended to march the distance that could be covered within a week, four thousand soldiers could not keep up with this fast pace and failed to continue.[57]

The next miniature in the same manuscript depicts Selim II sitting on a carpet spread on the grass, writing a response to a letter sent by the Grand Vizier and the other viziers (fig. 17).[58] He holds a sheet of paper in one hand and a pencil in the other.[59] To his right stand two aghas from the Privy Chamber (*ḫāṣoda*), one of whom is a personal servant in the sultan's retinue (*çūḳadār*) and the other a sword bearer (*silāḥdār*). To his left, two statesmen wait for him to finish and in the background two grooms hold the reins of the horses. According to

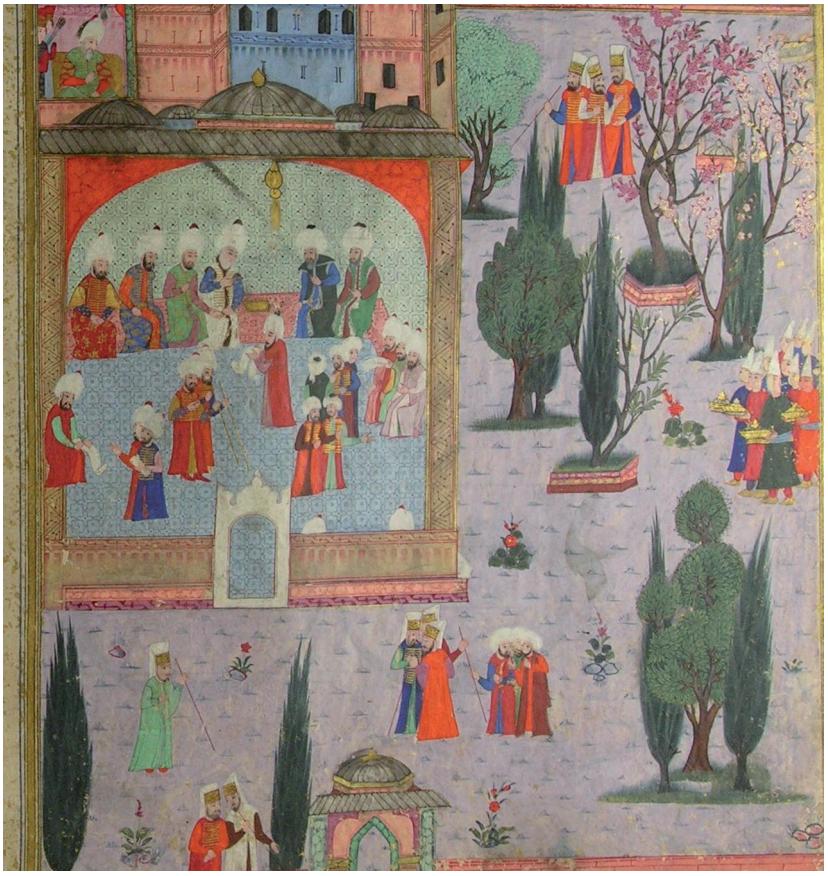


Fig. 12. The Imperial Council. Seyyid Lokman, *Hünernāme*, vol. 2, Istanbul, ca. 1587–88, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1524, fol. 237b. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

the text, Selim II sent his reply, which was addressed to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, with the same courier who had delivered the viziers' letter. In his response, Selim II hints to the grand vizier that it was not certain whether the latter would be reappointed after the enthronement ceremony.[60] Indeed, the tense relationship between the prince and the grand vizier may have influenced the events that followed. The way in which the subject matter of these two miniatures is portrayed exemplifies how author and painter approached the issues at hand.

Sultan Süleyman's death and Selim II's enthronement were described by both Feridun Ahmed Beg and Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, who each witnessed both events. Although the two authors' versions are more or less consistent with one another, their descriptions of Selim II's enthronement ceremony in Belgrade are different. Feridun Ahmed Beg, who was Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's confidant and personal secretary, gives a detailed account of the events leading up to the ceremony but fails to give sufficient information on the enthronement itself. On the other hand, Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, who worked for Feridun Ahmed Beg at the time, provides us with a clear account of everything that occurred. The same occasion is also described in Gelibolulu Mustafa 'Ali's *Heft meclis* (Seven Assemblies), Lokman's *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān* and the second volume of his *Hünernāme*, and Agehi's *Sīgetvārnāme* (History of the Szigetvár Campaign),[61] but they do not give the same level of detailed information.

After Selim II reached Belgrade, the army, on its way there from Szigetvár, was informed of Sultan Süleyman's death. Selim II waited in Belgrade for the arrival



Fig. 13. A *bayram* ceremony at the Topkapı palace. Seyyid Lokman, *Şehinşāhnāme*, vol. 2, Istanbul, ca. 1592, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. B. 200, fols. 159b–160a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

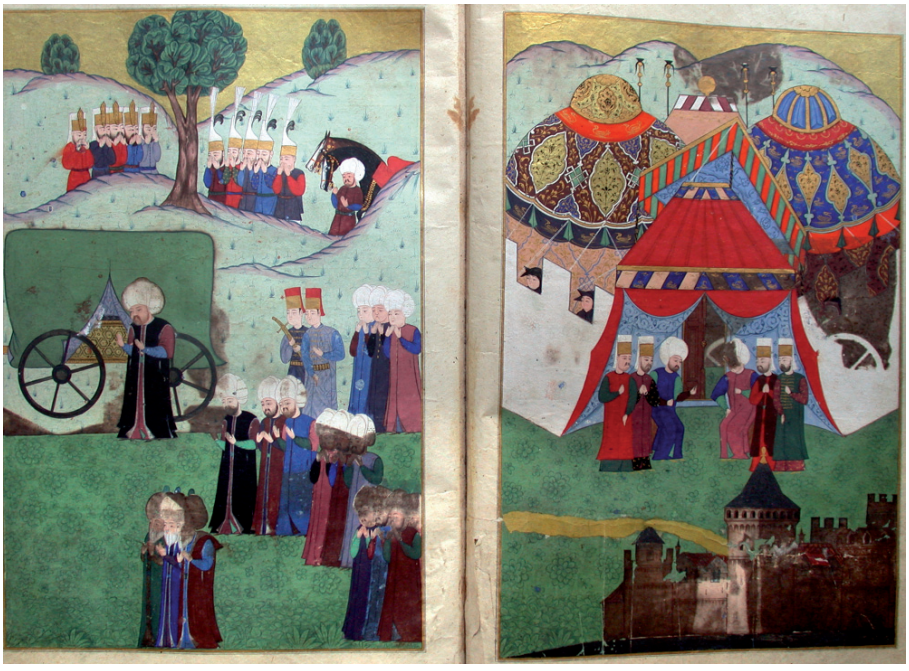


Fig. 14. The funeral of Sultan Süleyman I. Feridun Ahmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār der Sefer-i Sīgetvār,* Çorlu, ca. 1568, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1339, fols. 107b–108a. (Photo: Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 15. The funeral of Sultan Süleyman I. Seyyid Lokman, *Hünernāme*, vol. 2, Istanbul, ca. 1587–88, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1524, fol. 294a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

of the deceased sultan's coffin and the statesmen: a miniature depicts the funeral cortège approaching the city (fig. 15). According to tradition, the enthronement ceremony had to be carried out before the funeral prayers were offered. Sultan Süleyman I's imperial tent had been sent beforehand and was set up on a spot called the Sultan's Hill (*Hunkār tepesi*) when the funeral procession arrived.

As the army and statesmen approached Belgrade, the grand vizier wrote a letter to Selim II detailing how the enthronement ceremony was supposed to be performed. After explaining that he had ordered canopies, which were to be placed in front of the imperial tent, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha goes on to say that the throne sent from Istanbul had to be set up in front of the tent, between two horsetail banners (sing. *tuğ*). He then continues:

> After your accession, the statesmen will bow before the throne. The soldiers will expect you to decree that they will be given accession bonuses and promotions. When you say "Your bonuses and promotions are granted," then, following tradition, the janissary guardians will lift up their hands and pray for the deceased companions from their *ocaḳ* (corps) and all the Ottoman sultans. Then the funeral prayer will be performed and condolences will be accepted. The next day, the Council will be gathered inside and the state dignitaries who come to greet you will be presented with caftans.[62]

The new throne mentioned in the letter had actually been sent for Sultan Süleyman, but, in light of the circumstances, it was deemed appropriate to use it for the new sultan's accession ceremony. The guidelines provided by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha were followed in all the enthronements that took place in the sixteenth century. In the ceremony of Selim I, the throne was placed in front of the entrance to the imperial tent known as the *Bābü's-Sa'āde* (Gate of Felicity).

Selim II showed the letter sent by the grand vizier to Ataullah Efendi, Lala Hüseyin Pasha, and Celal Beg, to ask their opinion. These men, all of whom seemed to be uninformed about the protocol, said that the enthronement ceremony was supposed to be performed in Istanbul and that it was not necessary to hold one in Belgrade. They even said, "What would have happened if you hadn't stayed in Istanbul but had come directly here?" Speaking of the grand vizier in an accusatory tone, Celal Beg reminded the sultan of the saying that "An Ottoman sultan will never accede to the throne without walking under his servants' swords." In this section, Selaniki must have mined the rumors coming out of the grand vizier's immediate circle about the sultan's "uninformed" advisers. According to Selaniki, the sultan did not take the letter sent by the grand vizier seriously. He left his headquarters and, after looking at the imperial tent opposite him for a while, mounted his horse and sat on the throne that was located in the tent,[63] which had just been set up on the Sultan's Hill under the supervision of the chief gatekeeper (*ḳapıcıbaşı*). The head tent setter (*otaḳçıbaşı*) was apparently so surprised to see the sultan sitting in the imperial tent complex that he immediately ran to the grand vizier to tell him about the incident. The head tent setter's astonishment shows us that the sultan's actions were out of the norm.[64] The fact that



Fig. 16. Sultan Selim II on his journey from Istanbul to Belgrade. Feridun Ahmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār der Sefer-i Sīgetvār*, Çorlu, ca. 1568, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1339, fols. 83b–84a. (Photo: Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Feridun Ahmed Beg asked Sokollu Mehmed Pasha to rectify the situation also proves that the rules of ceremony had been violated. Feridun Ahmed Beg told the grand vizier that even if no enthronement ceremony was to be held, at least that part of the ceremony involving the oath of allegiance should be performed.[65] However, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who did not wish to confront the sultan about this, told him that there was no need for the oath of allegiance at that point, since it was not yet known whether he would be reappointed.[66]

That the sultan would ignore state protocol shocked both statesmen and soldiers alike.[67] It can easily be inferred that the sultan should not have entered the imperial tent before the enthronement ceremony was held. Feridun Ahmed Beg's worries, together with his assertion that "[h]e has already entered the imperial tent but at least the oath ceremony for the military should be carried out after setting the throne in the field," point directly to the significance of enthronement ceremonies in cementing the relationship between the new sultan and his army.

In his manuscript, Feridun Ahmed Beg does not assert that a throne had been set up in front of the imperial tent. He only writes that after the funeral ceremony, the sultan entered the tent and greeted the statesmen from the throne that had been set up within the tent.[68] If it had not been for Selaniki, who explained how Selim entered the tent even though no ceremony had occurred, Feridun Ahmed Beg's words could have implied that the enthronement had, in fact, taken place in Belgrade. However, according to the rules of protocol, the sultan's reception of visitors in the tent did not necessarily mean

that the enthronement ceremony had occurred. The second stage of the enthronement ceremony involved the sultan greeting the statesmen after they and the soldiers had taken the oath of allegiance. Previously, at the coronation of Selim I, for example, the enthronement ceremony had been held outside the palace, though he welcomed guests inside. Considering that Feridun Ahmed Beg's text was finished during the reign of Selim II and was submitted to the grand vizier or perhaps the sultan himself, it is quite understandable why he chose to discuss the matter in such ambiguous terms.[69] When describing the ceremony held in Istanbul, the same writer noted only that Selim had acceded to the throne and become caliph at an auspicious time.[70]

Feridun Ahmed Beg's manuscript must have affected his successors. Basing his argument on an unknown source, Peçevi states in his chronicle that Selim II arrived in Belgrade at midnight and that the accession ceremony was held early the next morning, before the funeral prayer was said. However, in the same book Peçevi also writes that Selim II acceded to the throne in Istanbul on 9 Rebiülevvel (September 24).[71] These conflicting bits of information indicate that the writer based his narrative on the assumption that if an event could not be documented, it would be permissible to fill in the blanks in the most appropriate way. ʿAli, on the other hand, states in his *Heft meclis*, written around 1569–70, that Selim entered the imperial tent the day he arrived in Belgrade and welcomed the state dignitaries one day after the funeral, in an Imperial Council meeting. This must have referred to the meeting where greetings for the enthronement were extended.[72] However, in a book covering only Sultan Süleyman's campaign in Hungary and his death, the enthronement of Selim II should have been described more extensively.

In the second volume of the *Hünernāme*, Süleyman I's death, the arrival of the funeral cortège in Belgrade, and even the pattern on the cloth covering the coffin are all recounted. The statesmen and the army, which had left Szigetvár to go to Belgrade, were notified of Selim's arrival in Belgrade when they were about to reach the city, whereupon the sultan's death was announced and the army and the statesmen entered the city as a funeral cortège. The book tells us that after the funeral procession had arrived in Belgrade, Selim II emerged from his imperial tent and, wearing a *şemle* (a kind of dark blue or dark purple turban) on his head, he shed tears in front of the hearse as a sign of his grief. On the page opposite this text, there is a miniature depicting Selim II in a dark garment standing in front of the hearse, which is covered with a black cloth with gold threads, normally used to cover the Kaʿba (fig. 15).[73] It is noteworthy that while the writer elaborates on other issues, he refers to the accession ceremony by saying only that "he entered the imperial tent."



Fig. 17. Sultan Selim II writing a letter while on his journey from Istanbul to Belgrade. Feridun Ahmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār der Sefer-i Sīgetvār,* Çorlu, ca. 1568, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1339, fol. 84b. (Photo: Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

An enthronement ceremony in Belgrade that had been planned but not carried out was nevertheless considered done and depicted as such among the other miniatures in Feridun Ahmed Beg's *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār* (fig. 7).[74] This miniature, which is illustrated on two pages, can be regarded as a realistic expression of an event that never took place (since, in an infringement of protocol, the enthronement ceremony had previously been held at the Topkapı palace). In fact, this miniature answers the question "What would the ceremony have been like if it had actually been held?" The reddish imperial tent and the canopies under which the state dignitaries stand show the splendor and richness of the ritual.

Selim II sits on the gem-inlaid throne that was brought from Istanbul and placed just in front of the tent. However, his garb—a red inner robe layered under a white inner caftan and a dark blue outer caftan—does not conform with what other sources say he was wearing when he met the funeral cortège: according to the *Tārīḫ-i Sulṭān Süleymān* (Chronicle of Sultan Süleyman), the *Hünernāme*, and the *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār*, which all cover what happened on that day, Selim was dressed in dark-colored garments when he met the hearse. In view of the fact that these three sources all state that after the funeral prayer he greeted statesmen in this tent while wearing his mourning clothes, it is clear that the miniature depicts how he was supposed to have been dressed for his coronation rather than the actual clothes he wore. The sultan's personal servant (*çuhadar*) and swordbearer stand to his left, and in front of and beside them are men from the Privy Chamber. As they watch the ceremony, an infantry officer (*solak*) bows before the sultan, taking his oath of allegiance, while another one waits his turn. The painter seems to have imagined the ceremony as it would have been carried out had it actually been performed. To the sultan's right stand four viziers, including the grand vizier, rather than five: it is known that Pertev Pasha, the second vizier, was not in Belgrade, as he had been sent to conquer the castle of Göle (Gyula). To the right of the viziers are the chief justice of Anatolia, the chief justice of Rumelia, a scholar, and other state dignitaries, who stand with their hands folded. In the foreground, we see high-ranking foot guards, who comprise the sultan's ceremonial troops, and his guards as well. Standing behind the aforementioned figures are two aged soldiers and a soldier holding a pouch, who immediately capture the viewer's attention.[75] The miniature presents a typical enthronement scene, the clear drawings and vivid colors of the imperial tent and canopies imbuing the image with a sense of liveliness. Selim II's posture and clothes, together with the viziers' gestures, turbans, and caftans, further enhance the spectacle (figs. 7 and 8).

We have the names of those statesmen who were with Sultan Süleyman during the Szigetvár campaign and those who accompanied Selim II from Istanbul. We thus know with certainty which dignitaries were present in Belgrade that day and were supposed to attend the ceremony, namely, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha; Third Vizier Ferhad Pasha, who was also the sultan's son-in-law; Fourth Vizier Ahmed Pasha (also the sultan's son-in-law); Fifth Vizier Kızılahmedli Mustafa Pasha; Ataullah Efendi; Lala Hüseyin Pasha; Celal Beg; Hamid Efendi, the chief justice of Rumeli; Perviz Efendi, the chief justice of Anatolia; Kızılahmedli Şemsi Ahmed Pasha, the governor-general of Rumeli; Zal Mahmud Pasha, the governor-general of Anatolia; 'Ali Agha, the agha of the janissaries; and Murad Çelebi, the head finance officer.

The second miniature describing the same scene is located in the *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān*, which, as mentioned above, was written by Lokman, who was a protégé of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Feridun Ahmed Beg (fig. 9).[76] It is quite obvious that the artist who painted this miniature was inspired by the previous painting from the *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār*. Although they completely differ in style, the elements of the scene that the two painters intended to depict are the same. The throne located to the right in the *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān* miniature is distinct from the one in the former, with its higher, embroidered backrest. Nevertheless, the sultan sitting on it is wearing the same dark blue caftan, as a foot guard bowing before him takes his oath of allegiance. The statesmen attending the ceremony are shown from a wider perspective in this miniature, making the scene seem more crowded. Whereas only four viziers appeared in the former miniature, here five viziers are depicted. Pertev Pasha, who, as mentioned earlier, was most probably not in Belgrade at the time, is included in the picture as if he had actually been there. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who was also called Tavil Mehmed Pasha (*tavīl* meaning "tall") because of his height, can easily be identified as the individual in the forefront in the white caftan. The clothes of the other four viziers are plain in comparison with those of the viziers depicted in the *Nüzhetü'l esrār* (figs. 7 and 8). As in that miniature, to the viziers' right (on the left side of the page) are three men, apparently scholars, wearing outer ceremonial caftans (sing. *ḫil'at*) over their long-sleeved caftans. The first two must have been the chief justice of Anatolia and the chief justice of Rumelia, in which case, the third might have been the sultan's instructor. With its successful scene composition covering two pages, the miniature features all the characteristics of an enthronement ceremony.

The influence of the *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār* on the preparation of the *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān* is observable in the latter's portrayal of events in the miniatures (fig. 9). However, with its more elaborate, classical, static figures, the painters of the *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān* miniatures seem also to have been concerned with the aesthetic aspect of the scenes being described; the painters who created the miniatures in the *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār*, on the other hand, appear to have been more preoccupied with realistically portraying what was described in the text.[77]

THE JANISSARY UPRISING IN ISTANBUL

The disturbances caused by the janissaries when Selim II arrived in Istanbul prove that an accession ceremony such as the one depicted in figures 7 and 9 did not take place. They did not think the enthronement ceremony had been held and were still expecting it to be performed. As a result, when they entered Istanbul with the new sultan, they gathered in the front part of the palace in order to prevent him from entering, thus causing trouble. The first revolts actually broke out even before this, as they were about to enter Istanbul: in expectation of an official declaration from the sultan about their bonuses and promotions, the soldiers shouted, "The enthronement ceremony must be held now!" as they made their way into the city. They wanted the tradition to continue so that they could get their accession bonuses.[78]

In fact, what really caused the problem was that the oath of allegiance ceremony had not been held in Belgrade. In this traditional ceremony, the sultans would tell the janissaries, "Your bonuses and promotions are granted," thus honoring their soldiers. The soldier's oath and the sultan's promise of bonuses comprise an agreement and are a sign of mutual respect. Selim II gave the soldiers their bonuses but did not utter this sentence. When the sultan did not address them in Belgrade in an oath of allegiance ceremony and failed to honor their code, the soldiers became furious, perceiving it as an insult.

The army was now in Istanbul but the soldiers had not been provided with a satisfactory explanation about the sultan's contrary behavior in Belgrade. The soldiers walking in front of the sultan's carriage proceeded very slowly as they passed along narrow roads and slopes, thus hindering the sultan's progress to his destination. When they arrived at Bayezid II's bathhouse on the Divanyolu, they halted altogether, and injured their leader, 'Ali Agha, as well as the viziers, who were advising them to stay calm, by throwing them off their horses. Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Fourth Vizier Ahmed Pasha were able to talk to them only after placating them with large sums of money. When the janissaries reached the Topkapı palace, a group of them passed through the Imperial Gate and shut it behind them so that the sultan could not enter. Those who stayed outside made all the viziers dismount from their horses. At the insistence of his viziers, Selim II finally agreed to say to them, "Your bonuses and promotions will be accepted," and the janissary revolt was suppressed.[79] This enhanced Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's authority, which had been challenged by Selim's household officers, who had advised the sultan not to heed the grand vizier's letter.

If an enthronement ceremony had been held in Belgrade as it was supposed to have been, the sultan would have told the janissaries at that time that their bonuses had been granted. However, the janissaries revolted while entering Istanbul because their expectation of hearing the sultan's promise of bonuses had not been met. Although such events have been interpreted as evidence of the janissaries' dissatisfaction with their accession bonuses, they were actually disgruntled because the sultan had not uttered the words they expected to hear and so they shouted, "The enthronement is not valid." Moreover, it is known that the soldiers were, in fact, given accession bonuses in Belgrade, although they were smaller than usual.

According to some historians, this revolt broke out only because of money. However, as stated above, the janissaries did receive their bonuses in Belgrade, though a bit less than was customary. They were told that they would be given the rest in Istanbul. Perhaps the revolt was planned as a lesson for the sultan, who had ignored the grand vizier's suggestions in Belgrade in the first place. Indeed, the revolt might even have been fomented by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha himself, to intimidate the sultan. Whatever the real reason for the unrest, the pretext was the invalidity of the enthronement and such a

pretext confirms the idea that an established rule, which was supposed to have been followed, had been violated. Because Selim did not hold an enthronement ceremony (which would have included the oath of allegiance ceremony) in an open space in Belgrade, the janissaries felt that they had been ignored by the sultan and thus refused to accept his authority.

CONCLUSION

This incident well exemplifies the significance that close adherence to the rules of the enthronement ceremony had for solidifying the relationship between rulers and their subjects. As is known, Selim II had ascended to the throne in Istanbul. However, it appears that because none of the viziers and janissaries were present at this enthronement, it was not universally accepted as valid. It was thought that the throne would be set up in an open space in Belgrade and another ceremony held there. Another striking point is that all these miniatures depict the ceremony as having been held in front of the imperial tent in Belgrade. The fact that Feridun Ahmed Beg, the writer of the *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār* was in the army in addition to being the private secretary of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha must have colored his narration of these events; he must have described what should have happened based on his loyalties to the grand vizier (fig. 18). In the *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān*, too, which Lokman prepared and finished thirteen years later, the scene of the enthronement (fig. 9) was depicted as if the event had occurred in Belgrade. This second manuscript, written in accordance with the sultan's wishes, could have recounted the ceremony held in Istanbul. Yet, out of all the known miniatures, there is not one showing that Selim II had an enthronement ceremony in the Topkapı palace. Selim II, who had at first objected to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's ideas, must have subsequently followed his advice, seeing that the grand vizier had been right in this situation.

In conclusion, the miniature in Lokman's *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān* depicts the enthronement ceremony in Belgrade as it was supposed to have occurred, whether or not it actually took place. As mentioned above, the main reason for this is that miniatures were designed to be protocol registers as well as to document historical events. It must also have been a way to convey the beneficence of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who was known to have supported his contemporary writers and painters.[80] In both cases, we can interpret this as an example of miniatures in historical manuscripts being used to relate what was supposed to have happened, rather than what actually transpired.



Fig. 18. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Feridun Ahmed Beg. Feridun Ahmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār der Sefer-i Sīgetvār*, Çorlu, ca. 1568, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1339, fol. 41b. (Photo: Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

These miniatures are all officially constructed images of Ottoman sovereignty. Ottoman historians/writers, however, regarded them not just as images, but also as a medium that showed the proper way to conduct one's life and administer the empire, thereby strengthening and reinforcing the state ideology.

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NOTES

1. See the comments on the ideal sultan's image by Christine Woodhead, "Perspectives on Süleyman," and Colin Imber, "Ideals and Legitimation in Early Ottoman History," in *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*, ed. Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead (London and New York, 1995), 164–90, 138–53, respectively.
2. The writers of the main sources were the sheyhulislam Kemalpaşazade (*Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i ʿOs̱mān* [Annals of the Ottoman Dynasty]), the lord chancellor (*nişāncı*) Celalzade (*Ṭabaḳātü'l-memālik ve derecātu'l mesālik* [Levels of the Dominions and Grades of the Professions]), the grand vizier Lütfi Pasha (*Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i ʿOs̱mān* [History of the Ottoman Dynasty]), the lord chancellor Feridun Ahmed Beg (*Münşeatü's-selātīn* [Writings of the Sultans], *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār der Sefer-i Sīgetvār* [Joyful Chronicle of the Szigetvár Campaign]), Hoca Saʿdeddin, the son of Hasan Can, Selim I's confidant, and the sultan's instructor (*Tācü't-tevārīḫ* [Crown of Histories]), and the clerk and finance officer Gelibolulu Mustafa ʿAli, who was known to have always intended to present his work to statesmen or the sultan (*Künhü'l-aḫbār* [Essence of Events] and *Heft meclis* [Seven Assemblies]). There are also books by ʿArifi (*Süleymānnāme* [History of Süleyman]), Seyyid Lokman (*Hünernāme* [Book of Skills], *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān* [Book of Kings of Selim], *Şehinşāhnāme* [Book of King of Kings]), and Taʿlikizade (*Şehnāme-i hümāyūn* [Royal Book of Kings]), who were all officially appointed writers of *şehnāme*s [sing. *şehnāmeci*], charged with keeping records of events.
3. Selānīkī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i Selānīkī*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1989).
4. Hoca Saʿdeddin, *Tācü't-tevārīḫ*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1279–80 [1863–64]), 2:203.
5. Celālzade Muṣṭafā, *Selīm-nāme*, ed. Ahmet Uğur and Mustafa Çuhadar (Ankara, 1990), 97–98. For further details on the accession of Selim I, see Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, *XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Devleti'nde Cülûs ve Cenaze Törenleri* (Ankara, 1999), 42–47.
6. According to Şükri, "[h]e vacated the throne and restored it to his son," which suggests that he did it on his own accord. Şükrī-i Bidlīsī, *Selīmnāme*, Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library (henceforth TSK), Ms. H. 1597-98, fol. 59b. See also Şükrī-i Bidlīsī, *Selīm-nāme*, ed. Mustafa Argunşah (Kayseri, 1997).
7. This subject has attracted the attention of other researchers, such as Emine Fetvacı, who finished a well-prepared doctoral thesis on the topic. See Emine Fetvacı, "Viziers to Eunuchs: Transitions in Ottoman Manuscript Patronage, 1566–1617" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2005).
8. Leysīzāde Meḥmed Efendi, *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOs̱mān*, in Abdülkadir Özcan, "Fātih'in Teşkilat Kanunnâmesi ve Nizam-ı Alem için Kardeş Katli Meselesi," *Tarih Dergisi* 33 (1982): 44.
9. As a result of the growing bureaucracy, ceremonies became more elaborate in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The manner of extending greetings to guests must have been influenced by the records in these manuscripts, many of which are full of exaggerated compliments.
10. This miniature depicting Ahmed I's accession to the throne is found in Şerif bin Seyyid Muhammed ibn eş-Şeyh Seyyid Burhaneddin's Ottoman Turkish translation of the *Miftāḥ al-Jifr al-jāmiʿ* by ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. ʿAli b. Ahmad al-Bistami (d. 1454): Şerīf bin Seyyid Muḥammed ibn eş-Şeyh Seyyid Burhaneddin, *Tercüme-i Cifrü'l-cāmiʿ*, Istanbul University Library (henceforth İÜK), Ms. TY. 6624, fols. 1b, 2a (see fig. 11). Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge and London, 1991), 60, fig. 40; Bahattin Yaman, *Osmanlı Resim Sanatında Kıyamet Alametleri: Tercüme-i Cifru'l-Câmi ve Tasvirli Nüshaları* (PhD diss. Hacettepe University, 2002), 154, 192; Nurhan Atasoy, *Hasbahçe: Osmanlı Kültüründe Bahçe ve Çiçek* (Istanbul, 2002), 253, 254, fig. 365; and Banu Mahir, *Osmanlı Minyatür Sanatı* (Istanbul, 2005), 116. Hüsamettin Aksu maintains, however, that it shows the accession of Mehmed III: Hüsamettin Aksu, "Tercüme-i Cifr (Cefr) el-Cami' Tasvirleri," in *Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları: Yıldız Demiriz'e Armağan*, ed. M. Baha Tanman and Uşun Tükel (Istanbul, 2001), 22.
11. Accession ceremonies were performed in accordance with the codes regulating *bayram* ceremonies. In the *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOs̱mān*, the sultan dictated these codes of conduct as follows: "I pronounce it my duty to stand up and welcome my instructor, my sheyhulislam, my viziers, my head finance officer (*başdefterdār*), and my lord chancellor (*nişāncı*), who come to exchange greetings" (*Ve hocama ve müftiyü'l-enāma ve vüzerāma ve ḳazıʿaskerlerime ve başdefterdārıma ve nişāncıya kendim ḳalḳmaḳ ḳānūnumdur*). Leysīzāde Meḥmed Efendi, *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOs̱mān*, 44. According to the *risāle* (treatise) of Koçi Beg, thought to have been written in 1631, the sultan welcomed statesmen such as the *naḳībuleşrāf* (the head of those descended from the Prophet Muhammad) by standing up, which indicates that this had become a long-lasting tradition. See Koçi Bey, *Koçi Bey Risalesi*, ed. Zuhuri Danışman (Istanbul, 1972), 132, 134.
12. For further notes on how the oath of allegiance ceremonies were conducted, see Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Lütfi Paşa Āsafnāmesi (Yeni Bir Metin Tesisi Denemesi)," in *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (Istanbul, 1991), 49–99.
13. Şükrī-i Bidlīsī, *Selīmnāme*, TSK, Ms. H. 1597-98, fol. 123b: *Şāh ʿālemde hemān ʿOs̱mān imiş/Şāhlık ismi bize bühtān imiş*.
14. Ibid., fol. 124b.
15. Ibid., fol. 113a.
16. For some of the research that has been conducted on realism in the depiction of historical events in miniatures, see Nurhan Atasoy, "Türk Minyatüründe Tarihi Gerçekçilik," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 1 (1965): 103–9; Nurhan Atasoy, "The Documentary Value of Ottoman Miniatures," in *Mansel'e*

Armağan (Ankara, 1974), 749–55; Zeren Akalay (Tanındı), "Tarihi Konuda İlk Osmanlı Minyatürleri," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 2 (1968): 102–16; Zeren Akalay (Tanındı), "Tarihi Konularda Türk Minyatürleri," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 3 (1970): 151–66; Esin Atıl, "Minyatürlerle Osmanlı Tarihi I," *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi* 30 (March 1970): 64–70; Esin Atıl, "Minyatürlerle Osmanlı Tarihi II," *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi* 32 (May 1970): 69–74; Zeren Akalay (Tanındı), "Osmanlı Tarihi ile İlgili Minyatürlü Yazmalar (Şehnameler ve Gazanameler)" (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 1972). Akalay's doctoral thesis is the first well-rounded study on Ottoman historical manuscripts with miniatures and is a leading source for those who intend to specialize in this field. See also Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, "Minyatürlü Yazmaların Tarihî Kaynak Olma Nitelikleri ve Nüzhetü'l-esrâr," in *Tarih Boyunca Türk Tarihinin Kaynakları Semineri, 6–7 Haziran 1996, Bildiriler* (Istanbul, 1997), 31–46; Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, "Minyatürler ve Tarihi Belge Özellikleri," *Osmanlı Kültür ve Sanat* 11 (1999): 180–85; Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, "Selimnâme-i Şükrî Minyatürlerinin Tarihi Değeri," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı: Nurhan Atasoy'a Armağan* (forthcoming, Istanbul University Press).

17. Nurhan Atasoy, "Minyatürlerde Türk Büyükleri ve Alp Arslan," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 2 (Istanbul, 1971): 59–64; Nurhan Atasoy, *İbrahim Paşa Sarayı* (Istanbul, 1972); Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*; Tarım Ertuğ, *Cülûs ve Cenaze Törenleri*.
18. Şükrī-i Bidlīsī, *Selīmnāme,* TSK, Ms. H. 1597-98, fols. 114a–117a.
19. Ibid., fols. 119a–122b.
20. Ibid., fol. 264a.
21. In the text, the name of the person who described himself as holy (*mehdi*) was recorded as Celal. With his supporters, he first fought against the Bozok tribe, which was his own tribe. Şükrī-i Bidlīsī, *Selīmnāme*, TSK, Ms. H. 1597-98, fol. 259a; Şükrī-i Bidlīsī, *Selīm-nāme*, ed. Argunşah, 297–98.
22. Şükrī-i Bidlīsī, *Selīmnāme,* TSK, Ms. H. 1597-98, fols. 264b, 265a.
23. Tarım Ertuğ, *Cülûs ve Cenaze Törenleri*, 148, 149.
24. Seyyid Lokman, *Hünernāme*, vol. 1 (henceforth *Hünernāme* 1), TSK, Ms. H. 1523. For the accession of Osman I (r. 1299–1324), see fol. 49a; Orhan (r. 1324–62), fol. 62a; Murad I (r. 1362–89), fol. 75b; Yıldırım Bayezid (r. 1389–1402), fol. 96b; Çelebi Mehmed I (r. 1413–21), fol. 112b; Murad II (r. 1421–44, 1446–51), fol. 132b; Mehmed II (r. 1451–81), fol. 153b; Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), fol. 178a; Selim I (r. 1512–20), fol. 201a. Although the painter tried to convey the atmosphere of the era in these miniatures, he was obviously not a contemporary of the people depicted and thus did not witness these occasions himself, something that researchers need to take into account when using these works as historical sources. Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (henceforth *DİA*) (Istanbul, 1988–), s.v. "Hünernâme (Minyatürlü Yazma Eser/A Manuscript with Miniatures)."
25. Seyyid Lokman, *Hünernāme*, vol. 2 (henceforth *Hünernāme* 2), TSK, Ms. H. 1524, fols. 25b, 26a.
26. See ʿĀrifī, *Süleymānnāme*, TSK, Ms. H. 1517, fols. 17b, 18a. See also Esin Atıl, *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, D.C. and New York, 1986), 91; Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power,* 42, fig. 27.
27. Bostān Çelebi, *Cülūs-nāme-i Sulṭān Süleymān*, TSK, Ms. R. 1283, fols. 2b–4a; Celālzāde Muṣṭafā, *Selīm-nāme,* 219–21; Hadīdī, *Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i ʿOṯmān (1299–1523)*, ed. Necdet Öztürk (Istanbul, 1991), 421; Tarım Ertuğ, *Cülûs ve Cenaze Törenleri*, 47–48, 94–96, .
28. In the text, it is stated that ceremonial troops such as infantry officers (sing. *solak*), footmen (sing. *peyk* and *şatır*, a rank similar to lieutenant), and janissaries (sing. *şatır*, *sekbanbaşı*, and *yayabaşı*) were present at the ceremony with their guns. Moreover, the feudal cavalry (*sipāhī)*, sword bearers (*silāḥdār*), and the right and left cavalry corps (*ulūfeci* and *garīp*), together with their agha, comprised the military attendants at the ceremony. It is also stated that the attendants of the governor-general of Rumelia came to the ceremony wearing tiger-striped garments and a kind of cap known as *Rüstemī*: Seyyid Lokman, *Hünernāme* 2, TSK, Ms. H. 1524, fols. 24a–24b.
29. Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār der Sefer-i Sīgetvār*, TSK, Ms. H. 1339, fols. 45b–120b.
30. Seyyid Lokman, *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān*, TSK, Ms. A. 3595.
31. See Seyyid Lokman, *Şehinşāhnāme*, vol. 1 (henceforth *Şehinşāhnāme* 1), İÜK, Ms. FY. 1404, fols. 11b, 12a.
32. Enthronement ceremonies of Süleyman I: ʿĀrifī, *Süleymānnāme*, TSK, Ms. H. 1517, fols. 17b–18a; Seyyid Lokman, *Hünernāme* 1, TSK, Ms. H. 1523, fols. 25b–26a. Enthronement ceremonies of Selim II: Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār,* TSK, Ms. H. 1339, fols. 83b–84a; Seyyid Lokman, *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān*, TSK, Ms. A. 3595*,* fol. 26b. Enthronement ceremony of Murad III: Seyyid Lokman, *Şehinşāhnāme* 1, İÜK, Ms. FY. 1404, fols. 11b–12a.
33. This state official could be a courtier such as a *müteferriḳa* (the son of a high-ranking official working in the palace). In all depictions of ceremonies, a mid-level official appears. To illustrate, it was not a janissary agha but a *solak* or *yayabaşı* whom the artist chose to represent the military; they could be identified by the fancy garments they wore and were distinguished by a high cap ornamented with a plume. In these ceremonies, the *müteferriḳa*s took their oath of allegiance after members of the Imperial Council did.
34. The miniature (fig. 11) appears in Şerif bin Seyyid Muhammed ibn eş-Şeyh Seyyid Burhaneddin's Ottoman Turkish translation of ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Bistami's *Miftāḥ al-Jifr al-jāmiʿ*: *Tercüme-i-Cifrü'l-cāmiʿ*, İÜK, Ms. TY. 6624, fols. 1b–2a. See n. 10 above.
35. Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Minyatürlerde Divān-ı Hümāyūn ve Arz Odası," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 16 (1998): 48–68.
36. Özcan, "Fâtih'in Teşkilat Kanunnâmesi," 33; Hezārfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhīsü'l-beyān fī Kavānīn-i Āl-i Osmān*, ed. Sevim İlgürel (Ankara, 1998), 74–77. Tevkii Abdürrahman Pasha, "Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri, Kanunnâme-i Āl-i Osman," *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 1, 3 (Istanbul, 1331 [1912–13]): 506–11.

37. See ʿĀrifī, *Süleymānnāme*, TSK, Ms. H. 1517, fols. 37b–38a; Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār*, TSK, Ms. H. 1339, fol. 41b; Seyyid Lokman, *Hünernāme* 2, TSK, Ms. H. 1524, fol. 237b; Seyyid Lokman, *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān*, TSK, Ms. A. 3595, fols. 27a, 28a, 29a, 29b, 30a; Seyyid Lokman, *Şehinşāhnāme* 1, İÜK, Ms. FY. 1404, fols. 13b, 14b, 15a, 16a, 16b, 17a; Āsafī Dal Meḥmed Çelebi, *Şeca'atnāme*, İÜK, Ms. T. 6043, fol. 8a.
38. The miniature shows Bayezid II with his statesmen: Şükrī-i Bidlīsī, *Selīmnām*e, TSK, Ms. H. 1597-98, fol. 52b.
39. This information is derived from the following statements of Mehmed II: "First a chamber of petitions must be built so that my dignified self may be seated behind the veil (*pes-i perde*) when my viziers, chiefs justice, and finance officers come to consult me four times a week." Özcan, "Fâtih'in Teşkilat Kanunnâmesi," 42. Uzunçarşılı bases his argument that the sultan quit attending the Imperial Council meetings on the statement in the *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOsmān* that the sultan sat "behind the veil" (*pes-i perde*): İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilātı* (Ankara, 1948), 3.
40. Koçi Bey, *Koçi Bey Risalesi*, 68.
41. In ʿĀrifī's *Süleymānnāme*, TSK, Ms. H. 1517, fol. 189b, we see the reception of a commander by the sultan in the environs of Sofia; fol. 260a, the reception of İbrahim Pasha by the sultan; fol. 309a, King János Zápolyai of Hungary (r. 1526–40) submitting his crown to Sultan Süleyman; fol. 360a, Sultan Süleyman welcoming Barbaros Hayrettin Pasha; fol. 441a, the sultan receiving the nanny and advisers of the Hungarian king János Zsigmond (r. 1540–70) in his imperial tent complex; fol. 600a, the visit by Shah Tahmasp's ambassador to Sultan Süleyman to plead for mercy.
42. Seyyid, Lokman, *Hünernāme* 2, TSK, Ms. H. 1524, fol. 237b.
43. Ibid., fols. 235b–238b.
44. ʿĀrifī, *Süleymānnāme*, TSK, Ms. H. 1517, fol. 328a, European envoys delivering Ferdinand's letter during an Imperial Council meeting; fol. 332a, the reception of the Iranian envoy; fol. 337a, the reception of the Austrian (Nemçe) envoy; fol. 346a, the reception of the French envoy; fol. 471b, the sultan's reception of Alkas Mirza; fol. 519a, Devlet Giray Khan's visit to the sultan; fol. 603a, the visit of the envoy of Shah Tahmasp with Sultan Süleyman. See also Seyyid Lokman, *Tārīḫ-i Sulṭān Süleymān*, Dublin Chester Beatty Library (henceforth CBL), Ms. 413, fol. 14b, the Iranian envoy's visit with the sultan with presents; Seyyid Lokman, *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān*, TSK, Ms. A. 3595, fols. 53b–54a, the visit of Şahkulu Han (an Iranian envoy) to the palace in Edirne; Seyyid Lokman, *Şehinşāhnāme* 1, İÜK, Ms. FY. 1404, fols. 41b–42a, the visit of Tokmak Han (an Iranian envoy) to the Ottoman sultan, and fol. 143b, the French envoy's visit. The miniatures illustrating the Ottoman envoy's visits with other sovereigns are: ʿĀrifī, *Süleymānnāme*, TSK, Ms. H. 1517, fol. 374a, Ibrahim Pasha's visit with the Iranian shah; fol. 506a, the Ottoman envoy's visit with Alkas Mirza; and fol. 550a, the Ottoman envoy İskender Pasha's submission of a letter to Shah Tahmasp. See also Zeren Tanındı, "Osmanlı Sarayında Safevi Şehzadeler ve Elçiler" = "Safavid Princes and Envoys in the Ottoman Court," in *Proceedings of the International "Interaction in Art" Symposium, Hacettepe University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Art History, Ankara, Turkey November 25–27 (1998)*, ed. Zeynep Yasa Yaman (Ankara, 2000), 236–41.
45. Nurhan Atasoy, "Processions and Protocol in Ottoman Istanbul," in *The Sultan's Procession*, ed. Karin Ådahl (Istanbul, 2006), 169–95. For the miniature depicting the imperial procession passing before the Iranian envoys, which shows the order in which the sultan and his attendants marched outside the palace, see also Seyyid Lokman, *Şehinşāhnāme* 1, İÜK, Ms. FY. 1404, fols. 38b–39a; *Şehnāme-i Nādiri*, TSK, Ms. H. 889, fol. 4a, the Friday (*Cumaʿ*) procession.
46. Seyyid Lokman, *Şehinşāhnāme,* vol. 2 (henceforth *Şehinşāhnāme* 2), TSK, Ms. B. 200, fols. 159b, 160a; *Kitāb-ı Gencīne-i Fetḥ-i Gence*, TSK, Ms. R. 1296, fol. 5b; Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, "Onsekizinci Yüzyıl Osmanlı Sarayı'nda Bayram Törenleri," in *Mübahat Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (Istanbul, 2006), 573–94.
47. See Seyyid Lokman, *Şehinşāhnāme* 2, TSK, Ms. B. 200, fol. 159b. For further details on the ceremony, see Hezārfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhīsü'l-beyān,* 78–81; Tarım Ertuğ, "Bayram Törenleri," 573–94.
48. Seyyid Lokman, *Tārīḫ-i Sulṭān Süleymān*, CBL, Ms. 413, fol. 38b, Sultan Süleyman I visiting the tomb of Eyüp Sultan; Seyyid Lokman, *Hünernāme* 2, TSK, Ms. H. 1524, fol. 40a, Sultan Süleyman I visiting the tomb of Imam Huseyin in Baghdad. On the funerary mosque complex and cortège in the fifteenth and sixteen centuries, see Nicolas Vatin, "Aux origines du pèlerinage à Eyüp des sultans ottomans," *Turcica* 27 (1995): 91–99; Gülru Necipoğlu, "Dynastic Imprints on the Cityscape: The Collective Message of Imperial Funerary Mosque Complexes in Istanbul," in *Cimetières et traditions funéraires dans le monde Islamique = İslam Dünyasında Mezarlıklar ve Defin Gelenekleri*, ed. J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont and A. Tibet, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1996), 1:23–26.
49. ʿĀrifī, *Süleymānnāme*, TSK, Ms. H. 1517, fol. 445a.
50. Şükrī-i Bidlīsī, *Selīmnāme,* TSK, Ms. H. 1597-98, fol. 62a.
51. For the scene in which Selim welcomes the funeral cortège in Belgrade, see Seyyid Lokman, *Tārīḫ-i Sulṭān Süleymān*, CBL, Ms. 413, fols. 116b–117a; Seyyid Lokman, *Hünernāme* 2, TSK, Ms. H. 1524, fol. 294a (fig. 15); and Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār*, TSK, Ms. H. 1339, fols. 107b–108a (fig. 14). For Sultan Suleyman's funeral before his burial in Istanbul, see Seyyid Lokman, *Tārīḫ-i Sulṭān Süleymān*, CBL, Ms. 413, fol. 115b.
52. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, acc. no. 14. 693.
53. The grand vizier and the state officials sent him a letter urging him to catch up with the army immediately. Meanwhile, in order to hide the truth from the soldiers, the Imperial Council continued to meet, administer the affairs of state, and appoint individuals to new posts: Seyyid Lokman, *Hünernāme* 2, TSK, Ms. H. 1524, fol. 293a. A courier named Hasan Çavuş arrived at Sıçanlı plain on the outskirts of Kütahya to deliver the news to Prince Selim. For the min-

iature illustrating the courier in front of the prince's tent, see Seyyid Lokman, *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān*, TSK, Ms. A. 3595, fol. 24b. The courier, who was apparently known for his speed, was expected to reach Kütahya from Istanbul within two days: see Topkapı Palace Archive, E. 11680-3.

54. Among his attendants, there were even mercenary soldiers hired for the Battle of Konya. In the budget *ḳānūnnāme* dated 974–75 (1567–68), it is stated that 4,956 attendants accompanied Selim II from Kütahya: Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri* (Istanbul, 1990–), 7:390. In Belgrade, the janissaries became furious with Selim II and shouted "Hit the mercenary soldiers!" as they battered them. Selānīkī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i Selānīkī*, 1:51.
55. The prince was in Kadıköy at dawn and reached Üsküdar by midmorning. Meanwhile, members of the palace household were informed of his imminent arrival, which gave them enough time to finish preparations: Selānīkī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i Selānīkī*, 1:40, 41. Different dates are given in the various books that recount the same event. According to İbrahim Peçevī, *Tārīḫ-i Peçevī*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1283 [1866–67]), 1:421, and Ş. Turan, *İA*, s.v. "Selim II," it was 9 Rebiülevvel (September 24), whereas, according to Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār,* TSK, Ms. H. 1339, fols. 71a, 79a, it was 8 Rebiülevvel (September 23). Unlike the others, Hasan Beyzade says two enthronement ceremonies were held, one in Istanbul and the other in Belgrade: Ḥasan Bey-zāde Aḥmed Paşa, *Hasan Bey-zāde Tārīhi*, ed. Şevki Nezihi Aykut, 3 vols. (Ankara, 2004), 2:153–54.
56. Selim II, who stayed in Istanbul for three days, first visited the funerary shrine of Eyüp and then the tombs of his forefathers. On each visit, he gave out alms amounting to 30,000 *akçe*s and had a sacrificial animal slaughtered. However, I have not encountered any data concerning a sword-girding ceremony held in Eyüp after the enthronement.
57. Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār,* TSK, Ms. H. 1339, fol. 83a.
58. Ibid., fol. 84b.
59. In the part where he says "I am about to arrive, God willing" (*Ben daḥi inşallāh hemān irüşmek üzereyin*), the miniature and the text were designed to complement each other. Ibid., fol. 85a.
60. Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār*, TSK, Ms. H. 1339, fol. 85b: *Her ne ʿarz-ı aḫbār olındıysa maʾlūm-ı şerīfüm olmışdur. Berḫūrdār-ı dīn ü devlet olasın. Haḳḳā budur ki Devlet-i āl-ī ʿOs̱mānda sebḳat eden hiẕmetine hadd ü pāyān yoḳdur. ʿĀḳıbetüñ ve aḥirüñ ḫayr olsun, hiẕmet ise ancaḳ olur. İmdi rikāb-ı hümāyūnumla ol ḥavālıyi müşerref edinceye degin vezāretde ḳāīm-i maḳām-ı salṭanatum olup, umur-ı dīn ü devletde muḫālefet edenleri ʿarż edesin*. (I have been informed of everything. May you always be successful and beneficial in state and religious affairs. You have performed excellently for the Ottoman state and this is acknowledged by everyone. May God protect you from all evils and grant you a bright future. At this very moment, the state needs your support. Until I come, you are the grand vizier of the state. Meanwhile, you must identify those who are involved in any opposition movement and inform me about them.) Upon receiving this letter, the grand vizier expressed his doubts as to whether or not he would remain in this post. Selānīkī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i Selānīkī*, 1:49, 50.
61. Āgehī Manşūr Çelebi, *Sīgetvārnāme*, İÜK, Ms. TY. 3884, fols. 24b, 25a.
62. Selānīkī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i Selānīkī*, 1:48.
63. There was a throne set up in the imperial tent in addition to the one set up in front of it.
64. The setting up of the tent by the *otaḳçıbaşı* (head tent setter) under the guidance of the *ḳapıcıbaşı* (chief gatekeeper) was in conformance with the sixteenth-century Ottoman state's ceremonial regulations.
65. Selānīkī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i Selānīkī*, 1:49. *Otaḳ-ı hümāyūna girdikleri mübārek ola, teẕkire yazalum ki, serīr-i salṭanat meydānda kurılup, kul tāifesinüñ kadīmī terk olunmaz kānūnlarıdur, dileyeceklerin dileyüp, cevābı virilsün, ʿāḳıbet nedāmeti çekilmesün diyelüm*. (Feridun Ahmed Beg said, "May his entrance to the imperial tent complex be propitious. Let us write a letter so that they can set the throne in the court, the soldiers can state their wishes, and the sultan can respond to them. Otherwise, it would lead to regret.")
66. Selānīkī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i Selānīkī*, 1:49. After each accession to the throne, all high-ranking officials were considered to have resigned; they were then reappointed by the new sultan after the enthronement ceremony. As mentioned above, this was clearly stated in the letter sent by Selim II. See Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār,* TSK, Ms. H. 1339, fol. 85b.
67. Undoubtedly, Selim knew what he did and why but we have to consider the possibility that the sultan may not have known, or may have forgotten some of the rules of protocol. While this might be tolerated, the grand vizier was expected to be aware of all such regulations. For example, if at the *bayram* or *cülūs* ceremony the sultan happened to stand up, the ceremonial troops were supposed to clap and say, "Proceed, my padishah!" (*ḫareket-i hümāyūn pādişāhum*), and when the sultan sat down, the ceremonial troops would say, "Rest, my padishah!" (*istirāḥat-ı hümāyūn pādişāhum*). İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara, 1984), 213.
68. Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār*, TSK, Ms. H. 1339, fols. 109b–110a: *Saʿādetlü pādişāh-ı ʿālem daḥi henüz libās-ı mātem ile baş çādıra çıḳup oṭurup cemiʾ-ı erkān ve ʿaʿyān gelüp el öpüp taḫt-ı salṭanat mübārek olsun ve ʿömrüñ devletüñ ziyāde olsun ve merḥūm pādişāh ġāzīnüñ daḥi raḥmetlerini ve maġfiretlerini Ḥaḳḳ subḥānehu ve teʿālā ziyāde eylesün deyü duʿālar ve s̱enālar eyledüler*. (In his mourning garments, the sultan sat in his imperial tent and all the state dignitaries came to greet him and wish him a propitious sovereignty and a long-lasting state. They also prayed for the deceased sultan and wished that his sins would be forgiven by God.)

69. For further information on the preparation of the manuscript for Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, see Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın "Sigetvarnâmeler," *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 1, 1 (1952): 124–36; Tarım Ertuğ, "Minyatürlü Yazmaların Tarihî Kaynak Olma Nitelikleri," 31–46; Fetvacı, "Viziers to Eunuchs," 83–139; Nicolas Vatin, "Vérité et demi-vérité dans le *Nüzhetü-l-esrâri-l-aḫbâr der Sefer-i Sigetvâr* de Ferîdûn," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61 (2008): 249–59.
70. Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār*, TSK, Ms. H. 1339, fol. 71b: *Bir sā'at-i müteberrekede yümn ü devletle ve 'izz ü hürmetle serīr-i salṭanatda ve ḫilāfetde cülūs-i hümāyūn buyurdılar*. (The sultan acceded to the throne and the caliphate at a propitious time.)
71. İbrāhīm Peçevī, *Peçevi Tarihi*, ed. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal (Ankara, 1992), 296–97. İbrahim Peçevī, *Tārīḫ-i Peçevī*, 1:423.
72. Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, *Heft meclis: Cennetmekân Sultan Süleyman Kanunî hazretlerinin son seferi olan (Sigetvar) muharebesine dairdir* (Dersaadet, 1316 [1900–1901]), 47, 49. In this book, there is no account of a ceremony for the oath of allegiance. On the manuscripts also prepared for Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, see Cornell H. Fleischer, *Tarihçi Mustafa Āli: Bir Osmanlı Aydın ve Bürokratı*, trans. Ayla Ortaç (Istanbul, 1996), 59. (Translation of Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541–1600)*, [Princeton 1986]).
73. Seyyid Lokman, *Hünernāme* 2, TSK, Ms. H. 1524, fols. 293a–294a. In his description of the enthronement of Sultan Süleyman in the first pages of the book (fols. 23b, 24a), he states that the sultan did not have a beard at the time; he says that the throne was set in front of the Gate of Felicity (*Bābü's-Sa'āde*), and mentions a number of details, such as the caps that the participants were wearing. This suggests two possibilities. It could have been that because the manuscript was a *şehnāme* written for Süleyman I, details about Selim II were overlooked; alternatively, the writer might have mentioned the occasion only briefly to avoid discussing the tumultuous situation. The latter seems to be a more plausible explanation. The other sultans' accession ceremonies are recounted in detail; that of Selim II is the only exception. Writers of that era liked telling the story of the Szigetvár campaign and this avoidance of Selim's accession leads to a gap in the narration of events. It should also be noted that the *Hünernāme* was written after the death of Selim II.
74. Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār,* TSK, Ms. H. 1339, fols. 110b, 111a.
75. The same figure is seen in the depictions of the accession ceremonies in the *Hünernāme*, the *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān,* and the *Şehinşāhnāme*, which rules out the possibility of a coincidence. In the *Şehnāme-i Ta'līḳīzāde*, too, there is a figure among İbrahim Pasha's attendants holding a similar pouch, which could have been used for carrying the ceremonial caftans (sing. *ḫil'at*): Ta'līḳīzāde, *Şehnāme-i Ta'līḳīzāde*, TSK, Ms. A. 3592, fol. 41b.
76. Seyyid Loḳmān, *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān*, TSK, Ms. A. 3595, fol. 26b; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, acc. no. 14. 694. See also Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, trans. Esin Atıl (Istanbul, 1974), pl. 14.
77. According to Necipoğlu, "Selim II, who appears only in a few miniatures of the Nuzhatu'l-ahbār, is depicted with remarkable portrait-like quality." Gülru Necipoğlu, "A Period of Transition: Portraits of Selim II," in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (Istanbul, 2000), 202.
78. It also must have been difficult for Selim to follow a sultan like Süleyman to the throne. Süleyman's soldiers had been campaigning with him for more than forty years and they acted almost as if they were one with him. Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Nüzhetü esrāri'l-aḫbār*, TSK, Ms. H. 1339, fol. 116b.
79. Selānīkī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i Selānīkī*, 1:56–57; Ḥasan Bey-zāde Aḥmed Paşa, *Hasan Bey-zāde Tārīhi*, 2:196–98.
80. See Fetvacı, "Viziers to Eunuchs," 83–139, esp. 131.